

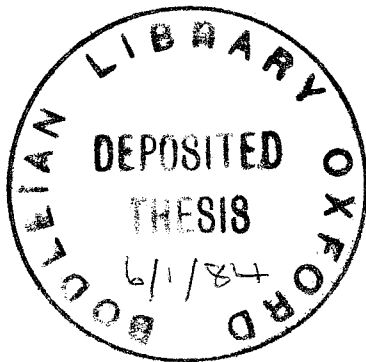
The Roman Army in Syria, Judaea and Arabia.

Volume 2

NOTES

[MT 1983]

[M. Witt on D.Phil. thesis]



GRACEY M.H

**PLEASE NOTE: no pages bear numbers 66-68, 71-73; page 115 bound in twice
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Notes on the Introduction

- 1 G.L. Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, Appendix I, p 145 f, esp. 160-163.
- 2 See for his latest account *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II Principat VIII, pp 687-730.
- 3 In his *Dislokation der Auxiliarformationen*.
- 4 II *Reclutamento delle Legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Milan-Rome 1953 and *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II I 339-391.
- 5 In his Appendix C (*Reclutamento*, o.c. in previous note, p 213 f) Forni lists a mere three legionaries whose origins are known from the legions in Syria from Augustus to Nero, three from Vespasian to Trajan and seven from Hadrian to the end of the third century. These samples are not large enough to support generalisations without leaving room for doubt.
- 6 See Forni, *Reclutamento*, p 54 and for his latest statement of his conclusions *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II I pp 383-5.
- 7 D.L. Kennedy, *The Auxilia and Numeri raised in the Roman province of Syria*, Appendix 1, table 3, p 294 and comment p 295.
- 8 PW RE XXIII 1 1957 s.v. *Procurator* 1240-1279 VI 1264-5 and for an updated version of the same see *Abrégé des procurateurs équestres*, Paris 1974.
- 9 See o.c. in note 7, pp 74-5.
- 10 See K. Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, esp. pp 18-19 ; Alföldy, G., *Hilfstruppen*, pp 27-30 ; P. A. Holder, *Auxilia*, pp 144-160 for recent summaries.
- 11 *Historia*, 17 1968 pp 215-227.
- 12 For further refinements of categories see J.C. Mann, *Epigraphische Studien*, 9 1972 pp 233-241.
- 13 *Studies in the ancient history of northern Iraq*, London 1968.

Volume 2. NotesChapter I I. Notes on the army of Syria from 27 BC to AD 54-55

1. Dio 53. 12. 7. and Schürer, 2nd ed., p 255.
2. J.C. Mann, ANRW, Principat, I The Frontiers of the Principate, p 508 f., esp. p 521 f.
3. Tacitus, Annals, 2. 79.
4. Schürer, 2nd ed., p 260.
5. Tacitus, Annals, 2. 79. 3.
6. Parker, Roman Legions, p 128.
7. 1972. 624.
8. See E. Frezouls, AAAS, 4-5, 1954-5, p 89 f. and more recently by the same author ANRW II 8. 1977, pp 164-197.
9. Schürer, 2nd ed. p 260.
10. Tacitus, Annals 2. 57.
11. See Ritterling RE Legio, 1235, 1672.
12. For details see Schürer, pp 448-9, n. 34 (1).
13. See p 14 and Josephus, BJ. 7. 17.
14. Tacitus, Histories, 3. 24. Antonius Primus in AD 69 encouraged the soldiers of III Gallica " ut sub M. Antonio Parthos, sub Corbulone Armenios,..... pepulissent." See also Plutarch, Antony 42.
15. Head, 2nd ed. p 739 f.
16. We have evidence from the north of Syria but none certainly datable to this period. See Ritterling, RE Legio 1525.
17. Head, Historia Numorum, 2nd ed. l.c. in note 15.
18. Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 18.
19. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17. 286 ; BJ. 2. 40.
20. Tacitus, Annals, 4. 5.
21. From c. 12-6 BC. See Levick, Colonies, Appendix V p 203 f.
22. See Syme, JRS. 23 1933 p 31 f. He suggests that Syria had a garrison of as many as five legions for much of Augustus' reign.
23. See Syme, l.c. in previous note, p 14 f, esp. p 29 f.

24. 1922. 109 - 1969-70. 652. - Devijver, L I6.
25. 1969-70. 649. - Devijver, L I6.
26. VIII I5529 and p 26I6 - 1969-70. 653.
27. See G.L. Cheesman, JRS 1913 p 253 f : The family of the Caristanii at Antioch in Pisidia - Devijver, C 81.
28. ILS 2510 - III 6707.
29. See e.g. CIL XII p 20 f.
30. See the commentary in Howald and Meyer, Die römische Schweiz, Texte und Inschriften, 1940 no. 461. The use of the name Nantuas suggests that Scaurus was recruited before AD 47.
31. See Cheesman, JRS 1913 p 253 f. and B. Levick, Roman Colonies, p II2 f - ILS 9485 - Devijver, C 80.
32. X. I258 - Devijver, R 2I.
33. XVI 3.
34. As Nesselhauf supposed. See XVI 3 and note.
35. As proposed by M. Roxan, BAR Supplementary Series, The Notitia Dignitatum, Table IV, p 76.
36. See ala number 2I at end.
37. See ala number 20 at end.
38. XVI 87.
39. XVI 87. See ala number IO at end.
40. See Roxan, New Diplomas, no. 3.
41. IX 3664.
- 4IA. 1926. 82 - JRS I4. 1924. See Devijver, Incertus 65 for the latest discussion. He notes that E. Birley has written to him stating a preference for restoring " prae]f. alae Anti[anae" to " alae Anti[ochensium."
42. In 88 (XVI 35).
43. See Josephus, BJ 2. 460.
44. Almost certainly, although the inscription was found at Venice. See Stein, PIR 2nd ed., Aemilius 406.
45. See Josephus, AJ 18. I.
46. See III 6687 - ILS 2683 and PIR, 2nd ed., l.c. in note 44 - Devijver, A 90.

1. For an account of the background and the campaigns see CAH X c. XXII, sections v-vii, pp 758-773.
2. Tacitus, Annals 13.8.
3. Tacitus, Annals, 13. 8. 2.
4. Tacitus, Annals, 13. 35. 4., probably IV Scythica from Moesia. See Ritterling, Legio, 1558 and Parker, Roman Legions, p 135. Or from Germany. See S. Dusanic, A military diploma of AD 65, Germania, 56 1978 pp 461-475, esp. pp 470-471.
5. Tacitus, Annals, 14. 26. 4.
6. See e.g. Annals, 15. 9.
7. See Annals, 15. 9.
8. Tacitus, Annals, 15. 25. 5. " et quinta decima legio e Pannonia adlecta est." It came from Carnuntum.
9. Tacitus, Annals, 15. 26. 2.
10. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 284 f.
11. Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 17. Titus in 70 after taking Jerusalem decides not to send X Fretensis back to the Euphrates, where it used to be.
12. Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 17.
13. Tacitus, Annals, 12. 12.
14. See CAH X c. XXII p 774.
15. Tacitus, Annals, 13. 8. 2.
16. Tacitus, Annals, 13. 35. 4.
17. De Effectu Disciplinae, 4. 2. 3.
18. Tacitus, Annals, 13. 35. 4.
19. XVI 35.
20. XVI 39 and see Nesselhauf, XVI 35, note I.
21. I am indebted to D+D.L.Kennedy for sending me a copy of his article " Millitary cohorts : the evidence of Josephus, BJ 3. 4. 2 (67) and of epigraphy," to be published in ZPE 50 1983, pp 253-263.
22. Josephus, BJ 3. 67.
23. XVI 59 and for discussion see B. Isaac, "The Decapolis of Syria, a neglected inscription," ZPE 44. 1981 p 72 f.

Notes on the army of Syria from Vespasian's reign to Trajan's Parthian war

(1)

1. Josephus BJ 7. 17.
2. Josephus BJ 3. 29.
3. Josephus BJ 5. 44.
4. See J. Wagner Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma Wiesbaden 1976 (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients B10 esp. p 143f.
5. 1908. 25, 26; IGLS I. 77.
6. 1903. 252 - ILS 9115 from Seleuceia in Pieria; III 6705 from Beroea.
7. Josephus BJ 7. 219f.
8. Epitome 68. 19. 2.
9. See Boissevain on Dio l.c. III p207.
10. R. K. M'Elderry CQ 3. 1909 p52f.
11. See M'Elderry o.c. p52 and Muller Ptolemy p967b.
12. ILS 8903.
13. IGLS 4. 1399.
14. Pliny Epistola I. 20.
15. We cannot trace the movements of legions in the east at this time. But see L. Keppie Latomus 32. 1973 859f.
16. See G. Bowersock The Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia ZPE 5. 1970 pp42-3.
17. See J. C. Mann Hermes 91. 1963 p483.
18. See E. Ritterling Rheinisches Mus. 58 1903 p478f.
- 18A. XVI 35 and M. M. Roxan Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977 n. 3.
19. XVI 44, 45.
20. See XVI 44 and note ad loc.
21. Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977, ed. M. M. Roxan no. 3.
22. XVI 35.
23. CIL XVI pp 196-7.
24. See J. C. Mann, Epigraphische Studien 9 p233f for a discussion of the changes of the wording of diplomas. On diplomas in general see also G. Alföldy Historia 17 1968 p 215f.

Notes on the army of Syria from Vespasian's reign to Trajan's Parthian war
(2)

25. XVI 44 and note.
- 25A. See the table at the end of Mann's article cited in note 24.
26. See E. Birley, Roman Garrisons in Wales, Arch. Camb. 102. 1952-3 p9f for a working out of this theory for British diplomas.
- 26A. See Mann's article cited in note 24.
27. 1961. 319 = M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 4.
28. ILS 2510 - III 6707.
29. See R. P. Harper in Dumbarton Oaks Papers n. 29 1975 p321.
30. See R. P. Harper o.c.
31. III 143871 - IGLS 6. 2867.
32. ILS 9168.
33. IGR III 1168.
34. M. M. Roxan Roman Military Diplomas n. 3.
35. And is not specifically attested as being for Syria but the fact that its recipient belonged to a unit in Syria in 88 (XVI 35), the ala veterana Gallica, renders this beyond doubt.
36. 1961 319 = Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 4.
37. See his o.c. in note 20 p239.
38. Three alae and four cohorts are listed in the diploma for Syria Palaestina of 139 (XVI 87). They are as follows:
- | | Still there in 186 |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. Alae : ala Gallorum et Thracum (Constantium) | Yes |
| ala Antiana Gallorum | Yes |
| ala VII Phrygum | No |
| 2. Cohorts: I Thracum milliaria | Yes |
| I Sebastena (?) | Yes |
| I Flavia c.R. | Yes? |
| IIII Bracaraugustanorum | Yes |
39. See M. M. Roxan Roman Military Diplomas n. 69.
40. 1969/70. 653.
41. ILS 9485 - 1914. 262. = Devijver, C. 80.
42. XVI 64.
43. For details of its later history see W. Wagner Dislokation pl7f. For the unit in Syria see the list of units below.

44. M.M. Roxan, no. 3.
45. M.M. Roxan, no. 4.
46. Where it is attested in I39 (XVI 87).
47. XVI I06.
48. I947. I7I.
49. Syria 22 I94I, esp. p 226 f.
50. VI 3I032 - ILS I4I8 - Devijver, C I70.
51. See Pliny, Ep. 7. 3I and PIR 2nd ed. C966.
52. I96I. 3I9 - M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 4.
53. XVI 3.
54. M.M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 3.
55. XVI 3.
56. XVI 35.
57. M.M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 5.
58. ILS 27I0 - V 3356. See also V 3337-8 and note ad loc. and Devijver, C I22.
59. I935. I67 and Pflaum, Carrières, II6 - Devijver, De Aegypto, 2.
60. IGLS 6. 2783.
61. See the list of alae in Appendix I.
62. See Lesquier, L'Armée romaine d'Égypte, Appendix 2.
63. See Lesquier, o.c. p 76 f.
64. XVI 35. For the command of the cohort in Syria at about this time by an officer whose name is lost see B. Isaac, The Decapolis in Syria, a neglected inscription, ZPE 44 I98I pp 67-74.
65. XVI 39.
66. W. Wagner, Dislokation, p 60 f.
67. Speidel, JRS 60 I970 p I47.
68. For a possible view of its origin see W.M. Ramsay, Studies in the province Galatia, JRS I4 I924 pp 202-3. He suggests the ala was raised in southern Galatia to guard the Taurus frontier against the local mountaineers.
69. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 3.
70. ILS 27II - II 425I - Devijver, V 30.

1. 3. Notes on the army of Syria from Vespasian's reign to Trajan's Parthian war (4)
71. After c. AD 85. See Devijver, l.c. in previous note.
72. IGRR III 500 II, lines 54-6. For the career see Pflaum, *Carrières*, 76 and Devijver, I 55.
73. I925. 44.- Devijver, C I43.
74. See most recently G. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, pp 30-31 and, of earlier discussions, especially W. Wagner, *Dislokation*, p 67 f and *Acta Archaeologica Hungarica*, I 1951, p 198, in "The Distribution of troops in Pannonia Inferior in the 2nd century AD," by A. Radnoti and L. Barkoczi.
75. XVI 31.
76. M.M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, no. 3.
77. On these campaigns see Syme, *CAH XI* p 168 f.
78. M.M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, no. 3.
79. M.M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, no. 4.
80. XVI 39.
81. XVI 46.
82. XVI 54.
83. ILS 2724.
84. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, no. 3.
85. *Ant. Jud.* XIX 365 and BJ 3. 66.
86. See e.g. VIII 9358 and 9359.
87. Welles, *Gerasa*, nos. 199, 200 and 201.
88. BJ 4. 487-8.
89. *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, p 45 f.
90. XVI 33.
91. See e.g. XVI 35 ; Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, no. 4.
92. XVI 106.
93. See pages 308-9, ala 38.
94. IGRR III I420 - ILS 8868.
95. ILS 2709 - XII I357 - Devijver, S 8.

- I. 3. Notes on the army of Syria from Vespasian's reign to Trajan's Parthian war (5)
96. See Hirschfeld at XII I357, who dates it to the first century from its script. The tribunate in the legio XXI Rapax, destroyed in Pannonia about turn of the first to second century, provides a terminus ante quem.
97. II 425I - Devijver, V 30.
98. XVI 35.
99. M.M. Roxan, RMD no. 4.
100. The inscription is noted by R.P. Harper, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 29, 1975 p 321.
101. XVI 76-7. For the later history of the unit see Wagner, *Dislokation*, p 73 f.
102. XVI 35.
103. XVI 106.
104. XVI 35.
105. XVI 35.
106. R.P. Harper, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 29, 1975 p 321.
108. XVI 35.
109. XVI 35.
110. XVI 106.
111. IX 4855a - Devijver, F 63.
112. For discussion see p 125.
113. Josephus, BJ 7. 227.
114. M.M. Roxan, RMD no. 3.
115. Roxan, RMD no. 4.
116. XIII 3684.
117. See E. Birley, *Alae and cohortes milliariae*, *Corolla mem. E. Swoboda dedicata*, p 55.
118. See Appendix I, p 316 cohort 35.
119. XI 6117 - Devijver, M 7.
120. See Devijver, M 7 for recent literature. He prefers an early second century date.
121. VI 3654.

- I. 3. Notes on the army of Syria from Vespasian reign to Trajan's Parthian war
(6)
- I22. See A. Degrassi, *Atti della Acad. Naz. dei Lincei*, 1968 8th series, Mem. class di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. XIII 1967-8, p 15 f no. 5 - Devijver, V 28.
- I23. See Degrassi, o.c. in note I22, p 25 f.
- I24. ILS 9168 - III I3483a. See the commentary in " *Inscrizioni Greche e Latine per lo studio della Bibbia*," by E. Gabba, no. 25.
- I25. Tacitus, *Histories*, 2. 83.
- I26. XVI 35.
- I27. Roxan, RMD no. 4.
- I28. XVI I06 and see Appendix I, p 317, cohort 39.
- I29. See Schürer, 2nd ed, p 570 note 53 for the most recent account of Ituraean units.
- I30. XVI 35.
- I31. See e.g. XIII 7040-2, 1901. 86, 1929. I31 and Stein, *Truppenkörper*, p 199.
- I32. XVI 57.
- I33. See G. Alföldy, *Acta Arch. Hungarica*, 14. 1962 p 270 f.
- I34. XVI 26.
- I35. XVI 35.
- I36. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- I37. XVI 35. It has however been suggested that this may be a Thracian cohort. See J.C. Mann, *IEJ* 19 1969 p 211 f.
- I38. IGRR III 1168.
- I39. ILS 8863 - 1905. 6. - Devijver, P 72.
- I40. Pflaum argues (*Carrières*, 72, p 168) that Augurinus commanded not a cohort but an ala, which he would identify with an ala milliaria active in Trajan's Dacian wars (see Pflaum, o.c. p 168, no. 2 for references to the unit). But this identification is improbable. It is unnecessary to assume - and unlikely - that an ala milliaria has here been confused with a cohors milliaria. The difference in status between the two is too great. Also the promotion from legionary tribune to command of a milliary ala is exceptionally sudden. It is simpler to suppose that the Syrian cohort was transferred to the west to take part in one of Trajan's Dacian wars.
- I41. ILS 7526 - III 2006.
- I42. See *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, II 7 f. for the army.
- I43. See SHA, 1.c. in previous note, I3. 3.

- I.3. Notes on the army of Syria from Vespasian reign to Trajan's Parthian war (7)
- I44. I926. 74.
- I45. XVI 35.
- I46. See Appendix I, p 320, cohort 49.
- I47. XVI 35.
- I48. XVI I28.
- I49. CIG add. 5783c.
- I50. ILS 8865 - Devijver, F I09.
- I51. XVI 35.
- I52. XVI 29.
- I53. Syria, 22 194I p 236 f. no. 6 - 1947. I72. and p 237 f. no. 7.
- I54. XVI 35.
- I55. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- I56. XVI 87.
- I57. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- I58. XVI 35. See also pages 20-21.
- I59. Antiquités de l'Euphrate, Exposition des découvertes de la campagne internationale de sauvegarde des Antiquités de l'Euphrate, p 95.
- I60. IGRR IV I565 - Devijver, C I69.
- I61. See PIR 2nd ed. C 965 and p xxii in the addenda note 965 and Devijver, C I69.
- I62. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
- I63. XVI 33.
- I64. See Appendix I, p 324, cohort 69.
- I65. XVI 33.
- I66. XVI 35.
- I67. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- I68. III I43871 - IGLS 6 2867 and see plate XXI - Devijver, Incertus 69 p 924.
- I69. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- I70. XVI I06.
- I71. XVI 35 and see I939. I26.

I.3. Notes on the army of Syria from Vespasian's reign to Trajan's Parthian war (8)

172. ILS 947I - Devijver, A 5.
173. ILS 947I - Devijver, loc. cit. in previous note.
174. XVI 35.
175. Despite enquiries. See now for the inscription Speidel, ZPE 38 1980 pp 146-148, Lixa of the third Thracian cohort, and Marcus Titius, ZPE 42 1981 p 272.
176. XVI 35.
177. ILS I34I and for Proculus' career see Pflaum, *Carrières*, II3 - Devijver, V 29.
178. See CIL Supplem. Italic. Fasc. I no. 10.
179. See Ritterling, *Ost. Jahr.* III 1900. p 31.
180. The ala Flavia praetoria singularium, the cohors I Flavia c.R. and the cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum.
181. XVI 35.
182. ILS 2510.
183. ILS 2709.
184. Syria 22 194I p 236 f. no. 6 - 1947. 172. and p 237 f. no. 7.
185. See Seyrig, Syria, l.c. in previous note no. 7.
186. See R.P. Harper, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 29, 1975, p 321 for a reference to the inscription, which is not yet published.
187. See the work cited in the previous note.
188. *Antiquités de l'Euphrate, Exposition des découvertes de la campagne internationale de sauvegarde des Antiquités de l'Euphrate*, p 95.
189. 1933. 205.
190. Cantineau, *Inscript. Palmyr.*, 1931. no. 6 of AD 75-6 and no. 7 of AD 81 - SEG VII nos. 141-2.
191. See page 26.
192. III I43871 - IGLS 6. 2867.

Notes on the army of Syria from Vespasian's reign to Trajan's Parthian war
(9)

193. IGLS 6 2783.

194. See page 29 .

195. ILS 9168 - III 13483a.

Notes on the army of Syria from Trajan's Parthian war to the war of
Lucius Verus (1)

1. Trajan had a monument set up at Artaxata in 116 "pe]r leg. IIII Scyt(hicam)" and a tribune of the legion was decorated by the emperor.
2. See *above* p 14.
3. E.g. Julius Severus. See IGRR III 175, 174 and PIR 2nd ed. IV 573 at the time of Hadrian's Jewish War.
4. Bowersock, ZPE 5. 1970 pp 42-3 and JRS 1975 p 184.
5. L. Aburnius (ILS 9471) and T. Pontius Sabinus (ILS 2726).
6. Ptol. Geog. V 14 8. Ptolemy was active from c.127-148.
7. Ptol. Geog. V 14 22.
8. 1951. 148 - IGLS 4. 1399.
9. Ritterling, Rhein. Mus. 58 1903 p 476 on III 151.
10. III 42; III 14147 no. 6.
11. See L. Keppie, Latomus 32 1973 p 859f, who argues for the legion's presence in Judaea in these years.
12. For which see e.g. Lepper, Trajan's Parthian War, p 174f.
13. ILS 2727 and 1935. 167.
14. ILS 2660.
15. See Excavations at Dura VI 480 and III 13587 from Jerusalem, attesting a vexillation there in 116.
16. Ritterling Legio 1754.
17. Arrian Ektaxis 5. 15. 24.
18. Ritterling Legio 1390f.
19. SHA Hadrian 4.2.
20. V. 877.
21. III 6706 - IGLS I. 148 and see Ritterling Legio 1390f.
22. See Suda s.v. $\Sigma\pi\omicron\ \omicron\iota$.
23. ILS 9491.
24. XVI 106.
25. Tacitus Annals 13 35 4.
26. XVI 35.

1. 4. Notes on the army of Syria from Trajan's Parthian war to the war of
Lucius Verus (2)
27. XVI 39.
28. See I969/70. 583 and Speidel, JRS 60. 1970, p I47.
29. XVI 61.
30. See Appendix I, pages 308-9, ala 38.
31. XVI I03.
32. Two of the three units there listed, the ala VII Phrygum and the cohors
IIII Callaeorum Lucensium have been earlier attested in Syria, the former
in one (Roxan, RMD 3) and the latter in the other diploma for 88 (XVI 35).
The cohort is also listed in the diploma of I86 (Roxan, RMD 69) for Syria
Palaestina.
33. XVI I06.
34. ILS 2724 and add. p clxxix.
35. See Appendix 2, p 328 f.
36. IGRR III II40 - Waddington 2I2I.
37. I933. 2I2.
38. IGLS I I39, corrected in vol. III p 682.
39. IGRR III I23I.
40. XVI 35.
41. ILS 2724.
42. XVI 29.
43. M.M. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
44. XVI 87.
45. XIV 535I - Devijver, Incertus 257.
46. XVI I06.
47. I947. I7I - Devijver, C I65.
48. IGRR III I259 - Waddington, 2267.
49. XVI 87.
50. XVI I03.
51. I933. 270 - Devijver, C I68.

- I. 4. Notes on the army of Syria from Trajan's Parthian war to the war of Lucius Verus (3)
52. Pius' tribunate in IV Scythica can most probably be dated after that legion's move to the east in 57. He was the first of his family to receive the citizenship and his tribe, Quirina, is that assigned by Claudius, Nero and the Flavians to those they enfranchised. A terminus post quem of 57 makes a Flavian date most likely.
53. IGRR III 670, 671 and 672 - Devijver, C II6.
54. 1938. 169 and Merlin, Rev. Arch. XVII 1941, pp 38-9 - Devijver, C 265.
55. ILS 2741 - Devijver, De Aegypto 86.
56. ILS 2724.
57. For the complete history of the unit see appendix I, p 307, ala 32.
58. ILS 2724.
59. ILS 9471 - Devijver, A 5.
60. After 20th Feb. II6, when Trajan received the title Parthicus. See e.g. Lepper, Trajan's Parthian War, p 209.
61. XVI I06.
62. See E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p 133 ff. and especially p 146 f. and Devijver, V 92.
63. III I4I56 no. 3 - II8 and Pflaum, Carrières, I55, p 363 f and 367 for the date.
- 63A. X 6426.
64. On which see H. Seyrig, Syria, I4. 1933, p II6 f.
- 64A. 1933. 207.
65. 1933. 210.
66. 1933. 211:
67. XVI I06.
68. 1929. I25 - Devijver, C II5.
69. See Pflaum, Carrières, no. II0 and Brunt, JRS 65 1975, p 145.
70. The cohorts I Pannoniorum equitata veterana was probably in Moesia Superior in the second century (see XVI 54 for I03-7 and XVI III for I59/60): the legion XI Claudia was based at Durostorum in Lower Moesia.
71. IGRR III I420 - ILS 8868 - Devijver, Incertus 30.
72. See e.g. Dio 49. 36.
73. See Klio, XII 1912 p I60.

- I. 4. Notes on the army of Syria from Trajan's Parthian war to the war of Lucius Verus (4)
74. ILS 1327 - VI 31856 and see Pflaum, *Carrières*, 180 - Devijver, I 136.
75. ILS 2724.
76. ILS 8869.
77. 1933. 209.
78. 1947. 173.
- 78A. XVI 106.
79. ILS 2724.
80. XVI 103. See on this reading M. Roxan, *Epig. Stud.*, 1972 p 246 f.
81. XVI 106.
82. ILS 2724.
83. XVI 106.
84. XVI 83.
85. XVI 45.
86. XVI 78.
87. III 129 and 6658. For the exact findspot of the inscription see Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Arabia*, III p 197.
88. See *Jahresh. des Ost. arch. Inst.* III 1900, p 26.
89. See ILS III 2 Addenda, p clxxix for the revised reading.
90. XVI 106.
91. V 2481 - Devijver, V 27.
92. See Appendix I, p 314, cohort 18.
93. XVI 106.
94. IX 4859a.
95. XVI 106.
96. ILS 2724 and add. p clxxix.
97. See Bormann, *JOAI* III 1900, pp 28-9.
98. Roxan, *RMD*, no. 4.
99. See page 63.

- I. 4. Notes on the army of Syria from Trajan's Parthian war to the war of Lucius Verus (5)
- I00. See XVI 99, listing the unit in Moesia Inferior in 99 and XVI 58, listing it there in II4. See Wagner, Dislokation, p I4I and list in Appendix I.
- I01. XVI I03.
- I02. XVI I06 and I972. 669.
- I03. XVI I06.
- I04. See SHA, Pertinax I. 6. (" Dein praefectus cohortis in Syriam profectus Tito Aurelio - Antoninus Pius - imperatore ") and Bonner Jahrbücher, 1962, p 407 f, Der Pertinaxstein aus Brühl. On this inscription Pertinax is p[raef coh. VII] Gal|[1] or(um). The number of the cohort is not preserved but the cohors VII Gallorum was the only Gallic cohort based in Syria. On Pertinax' career see Devijver, H 9.
- I05. III II93 - ILS 2746 - Devijver, I I49.
- I06. SHA Pertinax I.
- I07. III I3I.
- I08. III I32.
- I09. III I4I60 no. 3.
- I10. XIII 3684.
- III. I956. I24 and Pflaum, Carrières, IBI bis p 480 and add. See also Devijver, V 23.
- II2. See Princeton Arch. Exped. to Syria, III Greek and Latin inscriptions, A part 2, p 2I no. I7.
- II3. I933. 2I5, corrected in Antiqu. Syr. II ed. H. Seyrig, Add. and Corr.
- II4. CIG 3902c - IGRR 4 728 - Devijver, F I04.
- II5. XI 4376 - Devijver, Incertus 20I.
- II6. XVI I06.
- II7. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- II8. ILS 2724.
- II8A. ILS 90II and see Pflaum, Carrières, II9 and addendum. See Devijver, S 69.
- II9. XVI 35.
- I20. XVI I06.
- I2I. I964. 225 - VIII 20I44 - Devijver, C I46.

- I. 4. Notes on the army of Syria from Trajan's Parthian war to the war of Lucius Verus (6)
- I22. Notitia Dignitatum, Or. 28. 4I.
- I23. XVI 106.
- I24. ILS 2724.
- I25. XVI 106.
- I26. ILS 2724.
- I27. VIII 21037 - Devijver, I 7.
- I28. See Ptolemy, V. 16. 4.
- I29. ILS 9471 - Devijver, A 5.
- I30. 1947. 168 - Syria 22 1941 p 226, no. I. See Seyrig here for the dating and l.c. no. 2. For Athenodorus' career see Devijver, A 8.
- I31. 1947. 168.
- I32. Syria, l.c. no. 2 in note I30.
- I33. XVI 106.
- I34. ILS 2724.
- I35. XVI 106.
- I36. ILS 2724.
- I37. XIV 162.
- I38. XVI 44. See also W. Wagner, Dislokation, p 185 f for the unit's earlier history.
- I39. XVI 78.
- I40. 1927. 95.
- I41. See W.M. Ramsey, JRS 19. 1929, p 155 f.
- I42. XVI 106.
- I43. ILS 2724.
- I44. See appendix 2 p 328 f.
- I45. VIII 9363 - ILS I351 - Devijver, S 98.
- I46. M.M. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- I47. 1911. 124 - Devijver, R 5.
- I48. III I43871 and see p 33. For the career see Devijver, Incertus 69.

- I.4. Notes on the army of Syria from Trajan's Parthian war to the war of Lucius Verus (7)
- I49. ILS 2724 and ILS III 2 Addenda, p clxxix.
- I50. M.M. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- I51. XVI I06.
- I52. I9II. I24 - Devijver, R. 5.
- I53. ILS 2724 and addendum, ILS III 2 p clxxix. The cohort here listed is more probably the II Thracum Syriaca. The Syriaca served mainly to distinguish the Syrian cohorts II Thracum from cohortes II Thracum outside the province. Inside Syria cohort II Thracum was enough.
- I53A. XIV 2957.
- I54. ILS 947I - Devijver, A 5.
- I55. XVI I06.
- I56. ILS I327. His command is dated by Pflaum to c. I57-I60 (Carrières, no. I80).
- I57. ILS 947I.
- I58. ILS 9I73.
- I59. See Carcopino, Syria 6. I925 p I2I f. for an attempt at a more precise dating and for a suggested earlier dating, to c. I45, see E. Albertini, Inscriptions d'El Kantara et de la region, à propos des Numeri Syriens de Numidie, Revue Africaine, 72 I93I, pp 242-27I.
- I60. XVI I06.
- I6I. I947. I7I.
- I62. IGRR III I259.
- I63. See pages 44-45.
- I64. See pages 45-46.
- I65. III I29 and 6658.
- I66. I9II. I24.
- I67. III I3I - Khan abu Shamat, about thirty-five miles north-north-west of Damascus, is roughly the location of Hatne.
- I68. XVI 35.
- I69. Ala II Flavia Agrippiana, VII Phrygum, Augusta Syriaca and Flavia praetoria singularium.

Notes on the army of Syria from Trajan's Parthian war to the war of
Lucius Verus (8)

170. Cohors VI Hispanorum, I Gaetulorum, II Equitum, I Lucensium.
171. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas no. 3.
172. See R. P. Harper, Dumbarton Oaks Papers no. 29, 1975 p321.
173. III 131.
174. III 129 and 6658.
175. 1911. 124.
176. 1933. 215 and H. Seyrig, Antiqu. Syr. II Add. and Corr.
177. See J. T. Milik, "Inscriptions grecques et nabatéennes de Rawwafah," in Preliminary survey in NW Arabia, Bulletin no. 10 of the Institute of Archaeology, London, 1972 pp 54-57.
178. La Palmyrène du nord-ouest 1951.
179. Referred to at 1952. 240. But for the text see Schlumberger, La Palmyrène du nord-ouest, p 87.
180. IGLS I. 139, corrected in III p 682.
181. IGRR III 1140 - Waddington 2121.
182. IGRR III 1231.

CHAPTER 2

Notes on the Parthian war of Lucius Verus

1. Dio 71. 2. 1.
2. SHA Marcus 8.6.
3. Schwendemann, Der historische Wert der vita Marci bei den SHA, Heidelberg 1923 p 125.
4. See Fronto ad Verum imp. 2.1. esp. 19-20 - Haines II p 128f esp. 148f on the Syrian army; SHA Avidius Cassius, 5. 5-7; Fronto, Princ. Hist. 12f - Haines II 208f.
5. SHA Verus 7. 1-6.
6. See 1972. 556 for its participation in the fighting in Armenia in 163 and Lucian's reference (Πως δει ἱστορίαν συγγραφέν, Teubner II pt. I 31) to an introduction to an Indica, in which Cassius and the third legion are described as crossing the Indus, details he would expect his readers to be familiar with.
7. See below, p 72
8. See J. Wagner, Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma, Wiesbaden 1976 - Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients B/10 p 139f.
9. Under Commodus L. Fabius Cilo had been leg. leg. XVI Fl(aviae) F(irmae) Samosate. ILS 1142.
10. Dio 72. 25. 2.
11. I Minervia. See XIII 8213, ILS 1098 and Ritterling Legio 1421.
12. II Adiutrix. See e.g. ILS 8977 and Ritterling 1446.
13. V Macedonica. See III 7505 and Ritterling Legio 1576.
14. See VIII 7050 and Ritterling De Legione X Gemina p 59f.
15. SHA Marcus 12. 13.
16. See Appendix 2 p 328f.
17. ILS 2724 and addendum.

Notes on the army of Syria and Mesopotamia from the end of Verus' war to the eastern wars of Severus (I)

1. See pages 68 f.
2. ILS 8853 and see Pflaum, *Carrières* I 218 ter (309) - Devijver, A 132.
3. ILS 2741. See Devijver, *De Aegypto* 86. Marcellus' command of the ala VII Phrygum can be dated soon after 166 and certainly before 184.
4. See Maricq, *Syria* 35 1958 p 295 f.
5. ILS 8853 - Devijver, A 132.
6. See Pflaum, *Carrières* 218 ter 309, p 578.
7. XVI 106.
8. ILS 1327 - Devijver, I 72.
9. On the text of this inscription see Seyrig, *Syria* XIV 1933, p 159 f and Pflaum, *Carrières*, 180 n. 2.
10. See e.g. BGU III 807, P. Amh. II 108, 107.
11. Lesquier, *L'Armée d'Égypte*, pp 82-3. There is also a doubtful reference to the ala in a fragmentary papyrus from Dura (Final Report, V.I. no. 66 MM 1.5).
12. Lesquier, *L'Armée d'Égypte*, pp 82-3.
13. 1933. 214 - *Syria* XIV 1933 p 164.
14. ILS 8869.
15. Speidel, *Syria* XLIX 1972 p 439 f.
16. Possibly the aim was to give the units tours of duty under different conditions. In Palmyra action against Arab raiders would perhaps be necessary ; in Egypt administration will have been the main task.
17. See page 75.
18. See page 47 and III 129 and 6658.
19. 1969-70. 610.
20. ILS 2724.
21. See Appendix I, cohorts 18, p 314.
22. XVI 106.
23. ILS 2724 and addendum. III Dacorum is read. I Ul(pia) Dacorum Bormann suggests as an emendation (JOAI III 1900, pp 28-9).
- 23A. ND Or. 33. 33.
24. Roxan, *RMD*, no. 4.

Notes on the army of Syria and Mesopotamia from the end of Verus' war to the eastern wars of Severus (2)

25. ND Or. 35. 32.
26. ILS 8853 and see Pflaum, Carrières, 218 ter. 309 - Devijver, A I32.
27. Wagner, Dislokation, p I20.
28. ILS I437 - VIII 7039 and see Pflaum, Carrières, I58 p 383 - Devijver, C I78.
29. Pflaum, Carrières, I58 p 379.
30. XVI I06.
31. III I32 and I4I60 no. 3.
32. SHA Pertinax I. 6. and on Pertinax' career see Kolbe, Der Pertinaxstein aus Brühl, Bonner Jahrbuch, 1962 p 407 f and Devijver, H 9.
33. I956. I24 - Devijver, V 43.
34. See E. Birley, Corolla Memoriae E. Swoboda Dedicata, Cohortes and alae milliariae, p 58.
35. Dura, Reports of the seventh and eighth seasons, p 83 f. no. 845 of AD I68 and no. 846 of I70/I71.
- 36.
37. See Dura Final Report V. I. Parchments and Papyri, p 24 note 4 for references to discussions of the Palmyrene militia.
38. XVI I06.
39. I954. 265.
40. XVI I06.
41. ILS 2724.
42. I92I. 64 and see H.G. Pflaum, Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, 27. 1962 p 82 f and for Alexianus' career Devijver, I 32.
43. See Pflaum, l.c. in previous note, p 92.
44. XVI 87.
45. XVI I06.
46. ILS I327. See Pflaum, Carrières, no. I80, who suggests a date c. I57-I60 - Devijver, I 72.
47. See Dura Papyri IOI - Final Report V. I. no. 26.
48. ILS 9173.

Notes on the army of Syria and Mesopotamia from the end of Verus' war to the eastern wars of Severus (3)

49. See Carcopino, Syria 6 1925, p 118, where he tries to date the inscription between 180 and 184. But he assumes that the distinction between Palmyreni sagittarii and the numerus Palmyrenorum is more than a terminological one and thus that all references to the troops as numerus should be dated later than references to the Palmyreni as sagittarii. This is improbable. For further discussion of the date of the inscription see notes, p 20, no. 159.
50. XVI 106.
51. ILS 2724.
52. I93I. 113.
53. See Excavations at Dura, Second season, p 83 f.
54. 1928. 86.
55. See Excavations at Dura, Fifth season, p 226 f. no. 56I - 1934. 280.
56. IGRR III 1113.
57. IGRR III 1114.
58. See e.g. IGRR III 1116.
59. Le Bas and Waddington, 2264.
60. See p 73.
61. Excavations at Dura, Final Report, V. I. p 24 no. 4.
62. Dio 75. I. 3 - Loeb, p 196.
63. Dio 75. I. 2 - Loeb, p 196.
64. Kornemann, Coloniae PW RE 4. I. 554 Mesopotamien (22), nos. 290-292. See also Hill, p xc, BM Catalogue Arabia etc.
65. E.W Gray (OCD, 2nd ed., Singara) dates the elevation of Singara to a colonia to Severus Alexander's reign. For the context of the elevation of Edessa under Caracalla c. 212/3 see R. Duncan-Jones, Praefectus Mesopotamiae et Osrhoenae, Classical Philology, 64 1969 pp 229-233, esp. p 232.

Notes on the Severan period (1)

1. Herodian 2. 15. 5. for Pannonian and 2. 14. 6. for Moesian troops.
2. The dates may be 199 and 200. See Maricq, *The Last Years of Hatra, Syria* 34 1957 p 291 no. 4.
3. Ingholt, *Syria* 13. 1932 p 282f.
4. See two inscriptions ^{at-}testing the reconstruction of a bridge over the river Chabrina (III 6709 - IGLS I 39; III 6710 - IGLS I 140).
5. Dio 55 23 3, writing from 207-219 according to Millar, *Cassius Dio* p 30.
6. See the report of the VI/VII Season, p 85f no. 847.
7. See the Report of the IX Season 3 pp 107-110 no. 970 and p 130.
8. Final Report, *Parchments and Papyri V. I* no. 64.
9. See Dura, Report VI p 495 no. 843.
10. Dura Final Report V. I. no. 43.
11. Dura Report VII/VIII p 85f no. 847.
12. Dura Report IX 3 pp 107-110 no. 970 cf. p 130.
13. Dura Report VI p 77f no. 60 - 1937 239.
14. Dura Final Report V. I. no. 32.
15. D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq* p 77f.
16. ILS 9477. The legion is entitled "[Σε]βηριανῆς [Αντ]ων[ι]νιανῆς", which probably refer to Caracalla and Severus.
17. See Eckhel III p 518 and H. O. Castelin, *Numismatic notes and monographs*, 108. 1946, *Coinage of Rhesaina in Mesopotamia*.
18. Note Dio's reference (80. 4. 5.) to "στρατιῶται Κελτικοί".
19. A tombstone of a soldier "leg. III Italicae Antoniniana", was set up at Perinthus in Thrace (III 14207 no. 6 and see Ritterling *Legio* 1536).
20. A vexillation of III Augusta returned from the east to Lambaesis in 218 or soon afterwards. See VIII 2564 - 18052. It is a dedication by duplarii "regressi de expeditione felicissima orientali".
21. See SHA Caracalla 6.7. The legion is well attested at Apamea, often used as a base-camp for expeditions at this period. See eg IGLS 4. 1357, 1359, 1360, 1371-1372; 1971. 469; 1974. 647.
22. Dura Final Report V.I. *Parchments and Papyri* no. 66.

Notes on the Severan period (2)

23. 1958. 239, 240.
24. V. 3. 9.
25. V. 3. 9.
26. We hear of men transferred to other legions (see ILS 2314-7) and III Gallica's name was erased from inscriptions. See e.g. ILS 2657.
27. Österr. Jahresheft. VIII 1905 Beiblatt 6, giving an inscription by a centurion of the legion "Val. Hilarae M. Aurel. Timon leg. III Gall. S(everianae) A(lexandria nae) coniugi piiss", perhaps from Viminacium, attesting the legion's existence under Severus Alexander.
28. Herodian VI 4. 7.
- 28A. Herodian V. 3. 9.
29. Dussaud, Topographie p 271 and see map XIV suggests a site about half-way between Palmyra and Damascus, at Jebel Medin, about twenty miles north-west of Qaryatein.
30. III 755 and addendum pp 993 and 1338.
31. See eg Schlumberger La Palmyrène du nord-ouest; A. H. M. Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces c.X Syria p 269f.
32. Waddington, 2279 = III 113.

Notes on the auxilia of Syria and Mesopotamia from the end of
Severus' eastern wars to Diocletian (1)

1. 1908. 273 - Prentice American Expedition to Syria, 1899-1900 p 144, no. 131 - IGLS 4. 1361, q.v. for commentary.
2. XVI 61 and see below, *ala 6 p 302*.
3. Historia Augusta, Maximinus II. 7.
4. ILS 9148 - XIII 7323.
5. III 99.
6. IGRR 3. 1094 - OGIS 628 - Brünnow and Domaszewski, Provincia Arabia, III p 207, no. 35.
7. OGIS 614 and Reinach, Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex. 1910, p 147f.
8. Le Bas and Waddington 2562g - IGRR 3. 1093.
9. III 130 and 14160 no. 2.
10. III 14160 no. 2.
11. See Reinach in the article cited in note 7, p 149, who suggests reading *ala c.R. Vo*.
12. Dura, Final Report V.I no. 100.
13. See the Final Report cited in note 100 and note ad loc.
14. 1969-70. 610.
15. 1969-70. 611.
16. He reigned from 244 to 249.
17. 1933. 216.
18. ND Or. 37. 33.
19. IGLS 4. 1356.
20. See Lengle, PW VI A Tribunus numeri col. 2454 12 on the use of *numerus* for a former *ala* or cohort.
21. ILS 2724.
22. Dura, Final Report V.I. Parchments and Papyri 82 col. ii l. 8.
23. Dura, Final Report cited in note 22, 83 p 274.
24. 1954. 266. See Dura Excavations, Ninth Season part III pp 112-4, no. 972.
25. III 131.

Notes on the auxilia of Syria and Mesopotamia from the end of
Severus' eastern wars to Diocletian (2)

26. III 132.
27. Furia Sabinia Tranquillina (PIR 2nd ed. III 587) was the wife of Gordian III and daughter of Timesitheus. Gordian married her in 241 but died three years later, in 244 (PIR 2nd ed. I 839).
28. III 14160 no. 3.
29. Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq p 79.
30. Schürer, 2nd ed. Appendix I p 570f no. 53.
31. Loc. cit. in note 30.
32. The cohort is attested in Moesia Inferior in 99 (XVI 45) and before 114 (XVI 58).
33. 1908. 22 and see V. Chapot, *Frontière*, p 402.
34. Or. 38. 35.
35. ILS 2590 - III 12251.
- 35A. Herodian 3. 3-5.
36. Dio 79. 32. In 218 'οἱ γὰρ Μαυροὶ οἱ τῷ Ταραντῆ κατὰ τὸ συμμαχικὸν πενήθετες προθυμοτάτῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μακρινου, ἄτε καὶ δημοέθους σφισιν ὄντος, ἠγωνίσαντο and Herodian 4. 15. I., describing the battle against the Persians in 217: οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτάκτως τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς συστήσαντες τὰς φαλαγγὰς, ἑκάτερωθεν τε τοὺς Ἴππιαις καὶ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους παρατάξαντες,...."
37. 1958. 239, 240.
38. K. Muller, FGH IV p 187 fr. 9.
39. Maricq, Syria 35. 1958 p 342.
40. Zosimus, I. 52. 3. 'συνετακτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Μαυρουσία Ἴππιος αὐτοῖς (sc. οἱ τοῦ βασιλικου τελους).
41. Final Report, V. I. Parchments and Papyri, no. 30, ll 3-4.
42. Qatne means "little". See Final Report 30, p 154 no. 4. A Qatne is known from Assyrian records on the mid-Khabur. See Dussaud, *Topographie* p 487.
43. See Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, p 154.
44. HA, The Two Maximini, ll. 7.
- 44A. See Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, 30 p 154 for the suggestion that the unit was recruited for the Parthian war of Severus Alexander.

Notes on the auxilia of Syria and Mesopotamia from the end Severus' eastern wars to Diocletian (3)

45. See especially Dura, Final Report, V. I. Parchments and Papyri, p 26 f.
46. See Dura, o.c. in note 45, no. 56, especially A.
47. See o.c. in note 45, no. 100.
48. See e.g. col. xxi 7.
49. See Dura, Report of VII/VIII Seasons, 83 f. nos. 845 and 846.
50. See e.g. Ingholt, Syria 1932, p 278 f.
51. See e.g. XVI 94 for AD 147, 196I. 174, ILS 8852 and N.D. Occ. 35.24.
52. Note incidentally the cohors IV Palaestinorum under the dux Palaestinae (ND Or. 34. 46.).
53. See Dura, Final Report, V. I. no. 60 B I. 9 f.
54. 1922. 23.
55. 1948. 124 - Dura, 9th Season, p 176 f. no. 939 - Devijver, I 131.
56. See Dura, 9th Season, l.c. in note 55.
57. 1940. 240.
58. Referred to by Gilliam, Final Report, V. I. p 27, no. 2.
59. Note the place names in the rosters and the vexillations at Appadana in 64 - DP 15.
60. See especially the major rosters, Final Report 100 and 101, and e.g. no. 64.
61. Final Report, Papyri, no. 66.
62. See l.c. in note 61, no. 55.
63. See l.c. in note 61, no. 100.
64. See l.c. in note 61, no. 83.
65. See l.c. in note 61, no. 89.
66. See l.c. in note 61, no. 97.
67. For the text of the inscription see J-P. Rey-Coquais, JRS 68 1978, p 68 and no. 332.
68. See Groag, PIR 2nd ed., A 1211 (1933).
69. XVI 106.
70. 1954. 265 - Dura, Ninth Season, part III, p 110 f.

Notes on the auxilia of Syria and Mesopotamia from the end of
Severus' eastern wars to Diocletian (4)

71. N.D. Or. 35. 29.
72. XVI 106.
73. Dura, Final Report, V. I., Parchments and Papyri, no. 26, and see C. B. Welles, Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental, I 1937, especially p 275f.
74. Dura, Final Report, V. I, no. 26.
75. See above page 74-75.
76. ILS 2540 and see Wagner, Dislokation, p 211.
77. Dura, Final Report, V. I., p 24f.
78. Dura, Final Report, V. I., p 154f.
79. Dura, Final Report, V. I., p 154, note 4.
80. D. Oates, Studies in the History of Northern Iraq, p 80f.
81. OGIS 628.
82. III 14160 no. 3.

The Roman army in Syria and Mesopotamia from Severus Alexander to
Diocletian (1)

1. Dio 79. 32. 1.
2. H. G. Pflaum, *Carrières* II 316 and addendum.
3. VIII 20996.
4. HA. Two Maximini II. 7.
5. ILS 9479 and see Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p 185f; Traianus Mucianus 5; *Inscr. Graec. Bulg.* III 2nd ed. 41f for commentary.
6. ILS 9479 1 16f.
7. On their organisation see *Abinnaeus Archive*, p 15f.
8. 6.6.2: They suffered severely from the weather; 6.7.3, 6.4.3. The vexillations that were based at Palmyra under Rutilius Crispus were perhaps from the Danube legions. See IGRR III 1033.
9. III 6764, if the reading leg. XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis) S(everianae) A(lexandrianae) is correct.
10. 1908. 272 and III 187, though in a later reading of the inscription I is preferred to II Parthica (see III 14393 p 2328 no. 80). But see also IGLS 4. 1359, 1360, 1371, 1372; 1974. 647 and 1971. 469. This last inscription is ingeniously dated to 231-233 (W. van Rengen in J. Balty, *Actes du colloque Apamée de Syrie*, 1969, p 95f, especially p 99f on inscription no. 4). This inscription is the tombstone of an Aurelius Tator, strator of the legate of II Parthica. It is surprising to find the legion under a legate but another inscription refers to a praefectus ... vice legati (ILS 1356 and see O. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, pp 398-9). We see here stages in a move back from praefecti to legati under Alexander Severus. By the time of his Parthian war the legion was back in charge of a full legatus.
11. HA Severus Alexander 61. 8, Two Maximini 11.7.
12. From 233 to 238, though Hatra was garrisoned after 238.
13. HA Three Gordians, 26.3.
14. III 196.
15. See most conveniently Maricq, *Syria* 35 1958 p 295f, especially p 306f.
16. l.c. in note 15, p 307, section 6f.
17. HA Maximus and Balbinus, 16. 3. Under them "fuit et Scythici belli principium".
18. HA Three Gordians, 26. 4.
19. Maricq, *Syria* 35. 1958 p 309, section 10f.

The Roman army in Syria and Mesopotamia from Severus Alexander to
Diocletian (2)

20. See Rostovtzeff, Berytus 8. 1943 p 24f (and note 24) for a reconstruction of the campaign.
21. T. Pekary and Walser, Die Krise des römischen Reiches, p 28f for a summary of the Res Gestae and Pekary in Historia II 1962 123f for a chronology of the 250's. For the dating of the second campaign of Sapor's to 256, see Honigmann, E. and A. Maricq, Recherches sur les Res Gestae divi Saporis, Acad. Royale de Belges (Classe des Lettres) 2nd series, 47. 1952-3 p 131f.
22. Pekary, Historia II 1962, p 123f, especially pp 127-8.
23. Zosimus, I. 36 on his capture.
24. But it almost certainly included legionaries from the two legions of Moesia Superior, IIII Flavia and VII Claudia (see esp. III 195 - IGLS I 150 and note ad loc.; III 194 - IGLS I 151).
25. See Syria, 35 1958 p 310f and table, p 342.
26. So in the list we find Γερμανοί, Πάτια, Νυρικοί, Δακεία, Περνυρία, Μυσία.
27. If the restoration [Is] Πάτια is right.
28. XIII 6780 and Ritterling, PW. RE Legio, 1339-40.
29. Or Pamphylia. See Henning, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, p 514, 14. 1952.
30. Amastris.
31. They are Ἀμαστρία, Βιθυνία, Ἀσία, Λυκαονία, Λυκία, Λυσία
32. HA Thirty Tyrants, 12 13. According to the writer Macrianus "quadraginta quinque milia militum secum duceret ...", but he was defeated by Aureolus.
33. HA Thirty Tyrants, 12.
34. Zosimus, I. 39. I; see also Eusebius, Chronicle of Jerome, Ann. 266 p 221 (Helm): "collecta agrestium manu"; Jordanes, Rom. 290: collecta rusticorum manu; Orosius, 7. 22. 12, "per Odenatum quendam collecta agresti manu".
35. Although we do have evidence suggesting the discontent of Roman officers under Odenathus (see the Continuation of Dio, FGH, Muller vol. IV, p 195 no. 8, 1). However it is clear that the Palmyrene army in 269, at the time of the conquest of Egypt, and in 272, at the battle outside Emesa, was largely Oriental. See Zosimus, I. 44, 52. It included clibanarii and sagittarii (Rufus Festus 24).
36. Persian War 2.5.
37. See HA Thirty Tyrants, 15. 2-3; Eutropius 9. 10. He made two campaigns. See Alföldy, Berytus V. 1938 p 76f.

The Roman army in Syria and Mesopotamia from Severus Alexander to
Diocletian (3)

38. Rufus Festus, Breviarium 23.
39. Zosimus 12. 23. 4.
40. Rufus Festus, Breviarum 24 and the notes ad loc. by Eadie;
see also F. Millar, JRS 61 1971. p 1f.
41. HA Claudius II 1-2- Zosimus I. 44.
42. Zosimus I 52. 3-4.
43. HA Thirty Tyrants, 12. 14. Macrianus was defeated on the
borders of Thrace and Illyricum: triginta denique milia militum
in Aureoli potestatem concessere. The figure is repeated at 13. 3.
44. Zosimus I. 53; Rufus Festus 24.
45. HA Aur. 30. 4.
46. See Homo, Aurelian p 85 note 2 for a discussion of the chronology.
47. HA Aurelian 35. 4; 36. 4.
48. Festus 23 and see Eadie ad loc.
49. Homo Aurelian p 209f suggests that it did not come under Roman
control: "cette province n'etait pas reconquise". See also
Moise de Chorene, History III 77, FHG Muller, vol. V p 396.
50. ND Or. 32. 30.
51. HA Carus 8.1: ingenti apparatu et totis viribus Probi
profligato magna ex parte bello Sarmatico ... contra Persas
profectus; and see Eutropius 9. 18. I.

Notes on Diocletian and the eastern army (1)

1. Ammianus Marcellinus History, 23.5.4.
2. E.g. Mambri - Jebel Qubur at-Tibri, 5 miles from Zenobia-Halebiye (see Procopius De Aedificiis 2.6.2; 8.7).
3. Van Berchem, L'Armée p 1f.
4. Chronographia, XII 308.
5. Lepper, Trajan's Parthian War, p 54f, 62f.
6. A.H.M. Jones, Later Roman Empire II p 649f.
7. A.H.M. Jones, The date and value of the Verona list, JRS 44 1954, pp 21-9.
8. Martyrium SS. Sergii et Bacchi, Anal. Boll. XIV 1895 377, 384.
9. See below, p 100f.
10. Van Berchem, L'Armée p 10f, especially p 15f.
11. J.C. Mann, Duces and Comites in the Fourth Century, CBA Research Report 18, The Saxon Shore, 1977, ed. D.E. Johnston (henceforth referred to as Duces and Comites) p 12. For the view that there was a divided command see Van Berchem, L'Armée, p 18f, reviewed by Seston, Historia 4. 1955 p 284f.
12. That is with names like Jovia, Herculia, Valeria, Diocletiana etc. Such units include the ala nova Diocletiana (32.34), the cohorts III Herculia (32.40) and see 33.30, 33.34, 35.27, 35.31, 36.36. See also below.
13. Ammianus 20. 6. 8.
14. Ammianus 20. 7. 1.
15. Petrus Patricius FHG IV 14.
16. Ammianus 18. 9. 3.
17. Ammianus 23. 5. 4.
18. ND. Or. 35. 24.
19. See Dillemann, Mesopotamie p 203 - Apphadana, for which see RE Supplement 1-2, 112.
20. N.D. Or. 33.28.
21. N.D. Or. 33.23.
22. G. Bowersock, A new Antonine inscription from the Syrian desert, Chiron 6 1976 p 354.
23. N.D. Or. 32.31.

Notes on Diocletian and the eastern army (2)

24. N.D. Or. 32.30.
- 24A. J.C. Mann, *Duces and Comites in the Fourth Century* (as in note 11), p 12 and note 6.
- 24B. 1934. 7-8.
25. *Panegyricus XI (III) 5.4.*
26. See e.g. *Theophanes Chron. 8. 5793-7c.*
27. *Eutropius IX 24-5.*
28. *Eutropius IX 25; Festus Breviarium 25.*
29. *Petrus Patricius FHG IV 14.*
30. *Ammianus 20. 7. 1.*
31. *Festus 14, and for comments see Dillemann, Mesopotamie p 210f.*
32. *Julian Oratio 1 13B.*
33. *Libanius Oratio 59. 71; Festus Breviarium 26.2.*
34. *Rufus Festus 27; Libanius Oratio 59. 75; Hieronymus-Jerome Chron. 2354.*
35. *Julian Oratio 1 18d.*
36. *Chron. of Constantine, Mommsen Chronica Minora I p 236; Hieronymus-Jerome, Chron. 2363, and Seeck, Untergang IV Anhang p 424, note on 93.2.*
37. *Libanius Oratio 59. 92.*
38. *Libanius Oratio 59. 106-9; Julian Oratio I 24A; Festus, Breviarium 27; Eutropius X 10. 1.*
39. I.e. before 337. See *Ammianus 18. 9. 1. Hanc civitatem olim perquam brevem, Caesar etiam tum Constantius ... turribus circumdedit amplis et moenibus.*
40. See *Yaqob, Wright, W, Catalogue of the Syriac MSS of the British Museum p 1136b.*
41. - *The Castle of the Rock - Cephas. See E. Honigmann, Ostgrenze, Corpus Brux. Hist. - Byzantion 3. 1935 p 3f.*
42. *Julian Oratio I 27A, II 62C, 67B.*
43. See e.g. *Ammianus XIV 3, XV 13. 4, XVI 9. 1, XVII 5. 1, Zonaras XIII 7. 13f. for the constant raiding across the Mesopotamian frontier.*

Notes on Diocletian and the eastern army (3)

44. At Amida in 359 were "Magnentiaci et Decentiaci, quos post consummatos civiles procinctus, ut fallaces et turbidos, ad Orientem venire compulit imperator, ubi nihil praeter bella timetur externa" (Ammianus 18. 9. 3).
45. Ammianus 18. 6. 20.
46. Ammianus 18. 9f.
47. Ammianus 20. 7.
48. Ammianus 20. 6.
49. See PLRE and Ammianus 18.6.2. In 359 Ursicinus had kept the east free from loss for ten years. Ursicinus seems to be the first magister militum per Orientem attested in the east. He may have been preceded by Hermogenes (PLRE Hermogenes I p 422f) as magister militum per Orientem in 342. But if, as is very likely, Constantius II was then in Antioch, Hermogenes will most plausibly have been magister equitum in praesentale.
50. It is unlikely however that Ursicinus and his successors as Magister Equitum per Orientem had no field army of their own.
51. Ammianus 25. 6. 2.
52. Ammianus 25. 6. 3.
53. Ammianus 25. 6. 13.
54. Ammianus 23.2.7: cum exercitu et Scytharum auxiliis; Zosimus (III 25.6) also refers to οἱ Γοτθοί.
55. Ammianus 23. 3. 8.
56. See below, p 100f.
57. Ammianus 25. 7. 9; 27. 12, 15, 18; Zosimus 3. 31 and see Seeck, Untergang, Anhang IV p 514, 362. 31.
58. Dillemann, Mésopotamie p 218f and Fig. 31 p 227.
59. Ammianus 29. 1. 1-4.
60. In Osrhoene we find (N.D. Or. 35. 34) the ala I Salutaria Duodecima constituta. The entry has been incompletely corrected, with nuper deleted and the station inserted. The unit was perhaps therefore a recent arrival. In Mesopotamia we find (N.D. Or. 36.22) the Equites Felices Honoriani Illyriciani at Constantius' base of Constantina (see Ammianus 18.9.1. if this is the same city). We also meet several Theodosian units under the magister militum per Orientem: two units of the palatine auxilia (Or. VII 36,37), a legio comitatensis (7.47) and a legio pseudocomitatensis (7. 57).
61. A.H.M. Jones, Later Roman Empire III, Appendix II p 351.

Notes on the System of the Notitia (1)

1. See below, p 110.
2. Van Berchem, *L'Armée* p 8 and map at end of volume.
3. Honigmann, RE 1932 s.v. Syria 1678-9.
4. Van Berchem, *L'Armée* p 10f.
5. See especially M. Dunand, *Rev. Biblique* 40 1931 p 227, 416f and 579f and R. Mouterde, *MUSJ* XV. 1930 p 219f, 339f.
- 5A. This is the order of the manuscripts, in which Or. 34 (Palestine) and Or. 37 (Arabia) precede the Syrian and Mesopotamian commands (v. Seeck, *Notitia* p 67). Without Arabia and Palestine the original order is geographical, from north to south, as far as this is possible with so oddly-shaped a frontier.
6. Poidebard, *La Trace* p 46.
7. Khan Manqoura is the largest, with an area of only 0.76 ha., while the others are considerably smaller, e.g. Khan el-Qattar and Khan Hallabat are only 0.2 in size.
8. The following six bases of cohorts, alae and equites can be given their ancient names and roughly located (v. Van Berchem, *L'Armée* p 13 and map at end of volume).
 1. Khan el-Hallabat = Beriaraca (Or. 32.34), base of the ala nova Diocletiana (v. esp. III 14177.4)
 2. Khan el-Qattar = Carneia (Or. 32.36, Neia in Seeck's text), base of the ala prima Alamannorum.
 3. Khan el-Basiri = Avira [ca] or Auraca (Or. 32.34, Seeck's Abina), base of a unit of equites sagittarii indigenae.
 4. Khan Aneybe = Anab [atha] (Or. 32.41, Oneuatha in Seeck's text), base of the cohors V pacata Alamannorum.
 5. Khan el-Manqoura = Valle Alba (Or. 32.42), base of the cohors I Julia lectorum.
 6. Valle Diocletiana (Or. 32.43) is possibly Khan at-Trab (v. Dunand, *Rev. Biblique* 40. 1931 p 583; Mouterde, p 230 note 3 in the work cited in note 5 above, prefers Khan as-Samat), base of the cohors II Aegyptiorum.
9. N.D. Or. 32.43 and number 6 in note 8.
10. N.D. Or. 32.30.
11. N.D. Or. 32.31.
12. Dussaud, *Topographie* p 266, 271.
13. See l.c. in note 12.
14. Number 3 in note 8 above.
15. N.D. Or. 32.28.
16. IGRR III 1094.

Notes on the System of the Notitia (2)

17. See for a brief note AE 1947. 183 and for the full text and discussion Syria 23. 1942-3 p 173f, especially pp 194-200.
18. 1947. 182.
19. l.c. in the previous note l 38f. This is usually identified with modern Kara, north-east of Damascus. See Honigmann RE s.v. *Kαρα*.
20. N.D. Or. 32.33.
21. Le Bas-Waddington Voyage III no. 2571.
22. Österr. Jahreshefte III Beiblatt p 19 no. 2.
23. N.D. Or. 32. 25.
24. Dussaud, Topographie pp 263-4.
25. For a summary setting-out of the evidence see Honigmann RE 1932 . Syria 1703. The most recent full discussion of the locations of the Notitia is that of Dussaud's Topographie, especially pp 267f. Most worth noting are the following:
 1. The identification of Otthara (32. 18) with modern Ghounthour, on the basis of the similarity of ancient and modern names (see Dussaud, p 268).
 2. That of Euhari (Or. 32. 19), the Eumari of the Antonine Itinerary (195. 9 ed. by O. Cuntz) on a route to Neapolis (see Dussaud p 265f, 280) with modern Hauwarin, about 15 kilometres north-north-west of Qaryatein.
 3. That of Betproclis (N.D. Or. 32.27) with Bir el Fourqlous, an oasis (Dussaud p 270) between Palmyra and Emesa-Homs.
 But only in the case of Euhari-Hauwarin can we be sure of being in the right area.
26. Sozomen 6. 38 - P.G. 67. 1408.
27. See also Socrates H.E. IV 36 (PG 67. 556) and Theodoret H.E. 4. 20 (PG 82.1181).
28. See *above*, p 96.
29. N.D. Or. 32.34.
30. N.D. Or. 32.40.
31. N.D. Or. 32.35, ala Francorum; 32.36, ala Alamannorum; 32.37, ala I Saxonum; 32. 41, cohors V pacata Alamannorum.
32. The ala I Damascena (32.33).

Notes on the System of the Notitia (3)

33. See A.H.M. Jones JRS 44 1954, The Date and Value of the Verona List, p 23. Eufkratensis certainly existed by 358 (Libanius Epist. 21) but had perhaps been split off from Syria by Diocletian and called Augusta Eufkratensis before being reunited by Constantine.
If the Acta SS Sergii et Bacchi, set in the years 303-5, are not anachronistic, then Eufkratensis already had a dux by this date (see Anal. Boll. 14 1895 377, 384).
34. N.D. Or. 33. 28.
35. See most conveniently E. Honigmann PW RE IV A.I 1931 953-960.
36. N.D. Or. 33. 23.
37. Ptolemy, Geography (ed. Nobbe) 15. 24.
38. See Bowersock, A new Antonine inscription from the Syrian desert, Chiron 6. 1976 p 354.
39. N.D. Or. 33. 16.
40. O. Cuntz, Itineraria Romana I 1929. 194 and 195.
41. See Dussaud, Topographie p 273. Seriane and Isriye sound similar and an Arab geographer refers to a Sيريye, which is Isriye.
42. Honigmann PW RE II A.2 1723-4. It lies between Selemye and Isriye.
43. N.D. Or. 33. 17.
44. O. Cuntz, Itineraria Romana 197.5.
45. Dussaud, Topographie pp 273-4, 256f.
46. A. Musil, Palmyrena pp 243-4.
47. A. Musil, o.c. in previous note pp 48-9.
48. For e.g. Acadama (N.D. Or. 33.21) Dussaud suggests Qdeym, about sixty kilometres north of Palmyra, but this depends on the similarity of the sounds of the names and nothing else.
49. N.D. Or. 33.25.
50. See e.g. Dussaud, Topographie, p 452f.
51. In the Acta SS. Sergii et Bacchi (see Anal. Boll. 14 1895 pp 375, 384), which has a dramatic date of 303-5, the dux of Augusta Eufkratensis is based at Barbalissus.
52. N.D. Or. 33. 26.
53. See R.P. Harper, Dumbarton Oaks Papers no. 29 1975 p 319f, especially pp 320-2.

Notes on the System of the Notitia (4)

54. See Ptolemy, Geography V. XV. 17, where Athis is listed in Chalybonitis and after Sura. In the Peutinger table it lies west of Sura and twelve miles before Barbalissus.
55. N.D. Or. 33. 27.
56. See PW RE II A2 1684-1688 for a history of the city.
57. N.D. Or. 33. 30.
58. Palmyrena p 253.
59. Topographie, p 276.
60. Tabus - Palmyrena p 254.
61. N.D. Or. 33. 30. and see A.H.M. Jones, Later Roman Empire Vol. I pp 38, 41 on the title.
62. N.D. Or. 33. 34.
63. See e.g. Zosimus 4. 25 for Theodosius' conflict with the Goths. But they had been raiding the empire since at least 238.
64. For the best discussion of the evidence see Dillemann, Haute Mesopotamie Orientale et pays adjacents, Institut français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, vol. 72 1962.
65. N.D. Or. 35. 16.
66. See Chapot, Frontière p 288f; Herzfeld, I 156f.
67. Ammianus, 23. 3. 7. "... Danavam venit castra praesidiaria, unde ortus Belias fluuius funditur in Euphrates ... postridie ventum est ad Callinicum".
68. Dussaud, Topographie p 481 note 3.
69. N.D. Or. 35. 18.
70. De Aedificiis, II. 4.
71. See Dillemann, Mésopotamie p 229. The identification is rejected by Honigmann, Ostgrenze p 13 note 4.
72. N.D. Or. 35. 19.
73. Dillemann, Mésopotamie, p 230 and fig. 31.
74. Number 931 in Honigmann, Le Synekdemus d'Hiéroclès et l'opuscule géographique de George de Chypre, Corpus Bruxellense Hist. Byz., 1939. p 49f. The βη'ίουδαες of no. 930 Dillemann identifies (p 230) with the Sinas of Procopius (De Aed. 2. 4. 14) and Sina Iudaeorum of the Notitia (Or. 35. 19).
75. N.D. Or. 35. 23.

Notes on the System of the Notitia (5)

76. Mesopotamie, p 232.
77. O.c. in previous note, Fig. 32.
78. An ala under the dux Osrhoenae (N.D. Or. 35. 30) and a unit of equites under the dux Mesopotamiae (N.D. Or. 36. 20).
79. N.D. Or. 35. 31: inter Thannourim et Horobam.
80. N.D. Or. 35. 20.
81. See Dillemann, Mesopotamie p 203 note 3 and Honigsmann, Byzantion IX 1934 p 476.
82. N.D. Or. 35. 31.
83. Ammianus, 23. 5. 1f.
84. Seeck in his apparatus suggests that the legio III Parthica has here fallen out.
85. Dussaud, Topographie p 483.
86. Thillaamana (N.D. Or. 35.32) might be Tell Tawil, about twenty-five km from Resaina-Ras el-'Ain along the Khabur towards Thannouris. But there is no firm evidence (see Dillemann o.c. p 108 and map Fig. XI). For Thillafica (N.D. Or. 35.29) he proposes 'Ain el-Beida (o.c. pp 186-7 and Fig. XVII), about 100 km south-south-west of Ras el-'Ain - Resaina, where there is archaeological evidence for a fort. Procopius has Thillafica in the environs of Resain. 'Ain el-Beida is thus rather too far away. Finally Thillacama (N.D. Or. 35.27) Dillemann identifies with Thilaticomum, which probably lay about 35 km south-west of Batnae-Seroudj on the road to Hierapolis-Membidj (v. p 178 and Fig. 33). But all these identifications await confirmation by inscriptions or archaeology.
87. Ammianus, 14. 3. 2. In 354.
88. See A.H.M. Jones, The Date and Value of the Verona list, JRS 44 1954 p 23 note 32.
89. N.D. Or. 35.32 and see M. Roxan, BAR Supplementary Series 15, Table 1 no. 10.
90. See below and ILS 1437.
p63
91. N.D. Or. 35. 29.
92. See M. Roxan, o.c. in note 89, Table 2 no. 7. Compare the ala I miliaria Sebastena (N.D. Or. 34.32), another probable example of the promotion of a cohort, last heard in Syria Palaestina in 186, to an ala by the time of the Notitia.
93. 1954. 265.

Notes on the System of the Notitia (6)

94. Note especially Ammianus 25. 7.9. Sapor demanded "pro redemptione nostra (ie of the Romans) quinque regiones Transtigritanas cum castellis quindecim, et Nisibim et Singara et castra Maurorum, munimentum perquam opportunum". All his demands were accepted (see Ammianus, l.c. II). For discussion of the evidence see Dillemann, *Mesopotamie* p 218f.
95. See above, p 70.
96. A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p 222 and note 12, p 444.
97. See Ritterling, *PW RE Legio* 1482.
98. N.D. Or. 36. 30.
99. Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* p 228.
100. N.D. Or. 36. 19. 21.
101. V. Chapot, *Frontière* pp 323-4.
102. Ammianus 18. 9. 1. "Hanc civitatem olim perquam brevem Caesar etiam tum Constantius, ut accolae suffragium possint habere tutissimum, ..., turribus circumdedit amplis et moenibus ..."
103. N.D. Or. 36. 20.
104. V. Chapot, *Frontière* p 302f, especially p 304.
105. See Malalas p 345 Bonn.
106. N.D. Or. 36. 22.
107. N.D. Or. 36. 28.
108. Written as Tell Teiniz on the French I: 200,000 map of Hasake.
109. Dussaud, *Topographie* p 488.
110. See Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* for discussion.
1. He suggests for Apadna (N.D. Or. 36. 23) the site of Harzem, on the southern edge of the Tur Abdin on a route to Amida (see p 159 and Fig. 38 on p 293). Apadna is the Persian for a satrap's palace and the name Afadna Harzem is found (see Zacharias the Rhetor, ed. Ahrens VII 4 p 112 - Migne PG 85). But for another view, locating Apadna at Tell Abad in the Tur Abdin see *RE Supplement I* col. 98-9 v.s. Apādnas.
 2. He identifies Mefana-Cartha (N.D. Or. 36. 25) with the Manacarta of the Ravenna Cosmography and the Monocarton of Theophylact Simocatta (*History, Corpus Script. Hist. Byz. I. 13*) and locates it at Tell Armen (Dillemann o.c. pp 165-6). The tell lies about 40 km west of Dara (see Dillemann o.c. Fig. XI). Honigmann (*Geogr. Cypr. no. 903*) doubts the location.

Contd...

Notes on the System of the Notitia (7)

110. Contd...

3. He identifies Assara (N.D. Or. 36. 26) with Massara and the Matzaron of Theophylact Simocatta (Hist. 2.18) and locates it at Maserte, a town about 10 km west of Fafa in the Tur Abdin (see Dillemann, o.c. Fig. 11 p 32).
4. The identification of the Notitia's Thilbisme (N.D. Or. 36.27) with Tell Besme, presumably Procopius' Bismideon (De. Aedificiis 2.6), which lies west of Mařdin and about 50 km north-east of Veransehir (see Dussaud, Topographie p 491 note 5) is plausible. But other candidates have been suggested (see Dillemann o 109f).

111. N.D. Or. 36. 32.

112. Dillemann, Mésopotamie pp 156-7.

113. Dillemann, o.c. in previous note, Fig. 11 opposite p 32.

114. N.D. Or. 36. 36.

115. Dillemann, Mésopotamie p 157 has found the Arabic for "cold spring" in a name in the vicinity of Khan Cheikhan (قرسى + contracted 'ain). See also Ammianus 18. 6. 16.

116. N.D. Or. 36.33.

117. See Dillemann, Mésopotamie, p 231.

118. N.D. Or. 36. 36.

119. N.D. Or. 36. 34.

120. The legions were in 360 accompanied "cum sagittariis pluribus Zabdicenis, in quorum solo tunc nobis obtemperantium hoc est municipium positum" (Ammianus 20. 7. 1.) See V. Chapot, Frontière p 319f on Bezabde.

121. N.D. Or. 36. 33.

122. Ammianus 18. 9. 3.

123. N.D. Or. 35. 32-3; 36. 35-6.

Notes on the Command of the Magister Militum per Orientem (1)

1. N.D. Or. 7.
2. A.H.M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire I*. p 97f and p 124f; J.C. Mann, *Duces and Comites* p 12f.
3. On which see J.C. Mann, *Duces and Comites* pp 13-14.
4. For a discussion of the development of the system see Jones, *Later Roman Empire II* 608f; J.C. Mann, *l.c.* in note 3 p 11f, 13-14.
5. See J.C. Mann, *Duces and Comites*, p 13.
6. See Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* p 115 and especially Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* 6. 38.
7. See Downey, *Antioch*, p 454, 459, 471-2, 484f, 490, 530.
8. See Theophanes, *AM* 6018- Euagrius I. 18, referring to "στρατηγος των ἑξωων ταγματων" and "των στρατηγων τα καταγωγια".
9. See e.g. Ammianus, 18. 6. 2.
10. N.D. Or. 7.
11. For Antioch as a military base for Persian wars see Libanius, *Or.* 19. 54. 20. 47. It was full of troops in 360 (see Libanius *Oratio* 41. 177-9) and during Julian's stay at Antioch (see Ammianus 22. 12. 6-7; 14. 3; 25. 4. 7).
12. Libanius *Oratio* 46. 13.
13. For extortion from innkeepers see Libanius *Or.* 46. 13: οὗτοι δε οἱ στρατιωται πανθ' ἑπλως ἐπιερχονται πανταχοθεν ἔλκοντες και εἰ μη κρεαυς ἢ τι των τολουτων ἐνι, φεροντες ἀργυριου.
14. On which see Libanius *Or.* 19. 36; 2. 9.
15. See Petit, *Libanius* pp 234-245 for a discussion of the uprisings at Antioch in the second half of the fourth century.
16. N.D. Or. 7. 49-58.
17. N.D. Or. 7. 54.
18. N.D. Or. 7. 55.
19. N.D. Or. 7. 49.
20. At Bezabde in 360, according to Ammianus 20. 7. 1.
21. So A.H.M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire III* Appendix 2, Table IX p 369. *Legio V Parthica* was destroyed at Amida in 359 (Ammianus 18.9.3: 19.8).
22. See above p 99.

Notes on the Command of the Magister Militum per Orientem (2)

23. N.D. Or. 7. 36.
24. N.D. Or. 7. 37.
25. N.D. Or. 7. 47.
26. N.D. Or. 7. 57.
27. N.D. Or. 7. 51.
28. N.D. Occ. 33. 49.
29. N.D. Or. 7. 53.
30. N.D. Occ. 40. 30-32.
31. N.D. Or. 7. 56. The comes Isauriae still has the legions II and III Isaura (Or. 29. 7. 8).
32. N.D. Or. 7. 46.
33. N.D. Or. 7. 44. 45.
34. N.D. Or. 7. 39.
35. N.D. Or. 7. 41.
36. N.D. Or. 7. 42.
37. For example legio I Flavia Constantia (Or. 7. 44), legio II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum (Or. 7. 46). Cunei are first found under Constantine and the cuneus II clibanariorum Palmirenorum may have been assigned to this command by Constantius.
38. See Liebeschuetz, Antioch p 117f.
39. A.H.M. Jones, Later Roman Empire, p 631.

CHAPTER 3

Notes on Recruitment to the Auxilia of Syria (I)

1. ILS 2683 - Devijver, A 90.
2. E. Schürer, History of the Jewish People, 2nd ed. vol. I p 259 for further references.
3. The cohorts I Augusta (see Appendix I p 312, cohort 9) and the cohorts II Classica (l.c. p 314, cohort 19).
4. See PIR, 2nd ed. Aemilius 406.
5. On which see E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p 138 f.
6. 1969/70. 652, 1969/70. 649, 1969/70. 653. See Devijver, L 16.
7. A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, p 358.
8. XVI 3. See Devijver, M 54.
9. See W. Schulze, Eigennamen, especially p 361.
10. ILS 9485. See Devijver, C 80.
11. B. Levick, Roman Colonies, p 34 f.
12. B. Levick, Roman Colonies, p 62 f.
13. On the family see G.L. Cheesman, JRS 3 1913, p 254 f, 260 f ; B. Levick, Roman Colonies, p 112 f.
14. X. 1258. See Devijver, R 21.
15. Holder, Auxilia from Augustus to Trajan, pages 121-2.
16. G.L. Cheesman, JRS 3 1913, p 253 f.
17. 1914. 260 - Cheesman, o.c. in note 16, no. 2.
18. 1922. 109 - 1969/70. 652.
19. ILS 2510. For the date see Howald and Meyer, Die römische Schweiz, Texte und Inschriften, 1940. no. 461. They argue from the use of the word Nantuas to the recruitment of Scaurus before AD 47.
20. On whom see CIL XII p 20 f.
21. XVI 3.
22. Detschew, Die Thrakischen Sprachreste, p 403 for Romaesta, p 392 for Rescentus and p 478 for Spiurum, a place-name.
23. From Antioch we have an inscription datable to early in Tiberius' reign (c. AD 18. See IGLS 3. 836 - 1903. 251 - ILS 8967), set up by a C. Julius Christus (Chr(e)stus, Dessau in ILS) Dioch eq. duplic., who most probably came from an auxiliary unit in Syria. The Iulius in his name suggests that he may only recently have received the Roman citizenship and the Christus suggests an origin in the Greek half of the empire.

Notes on Recruitment to the Auxilia of Syria (2)

24. Josephus, BJ. I. 324.
- 24A. D.L. Kennedy, The Auxilia and Numeri raised in the Roman province of Syria, Unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, pages 73-75.
- 24B. Josephus, BJ. 6. 54.
25. See for Proculus ILS 9168, for Domitius XVI 59 and B. Isaac, The Decapolis, in Syria, a neglected inscription, ZPE 44 1981, pp 67-74.
- 25A. However the reading of Titius and therefore the date of the inscription are not certain. See Notes page 3, note 54B and on lixae l.c. note 54C.
26. ILS 2711 and see Devijver, V 30.
27. His final name was Edetanus and the Edetani were a populus Hispaniae Tarraconensis (v. ILS ad 2711).
28. I928. 44 - Devijver, C I43.
29. XVI 35 of AD 88.
30. XVI 87 of AD 139.
31. See G. Alföldy, Hilfstruppen, p 131 for a discussion of the evidence available for length of commands, and E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p 137 f., who suggests that three to four years was fairly usual.
32. I935. 167 and H.G. Pflaum, Carrières, I no. 116 p 283. See Devijver, De Aegypto, 2.
33. PIR 2nd ed. vol. I 355 : it is here suggested that the consul of 127 was the procurator's son. Pflaum (l.c. in note 32, would prefer to believe that the later consul received the citizenship of Tripolis as a mark of honour. But the fact that the procurator Iuncus never left the east during his career certainly favours an eastern origin.
34. IGRR III 500. See Devijver, I 55.
35. See Pflaum, Carrières, 76 and PIR 2nd ed. J 288. For the entry of the family into the senate see Walton, JRS 19 1929, p 54 f.
36. ILS I341. See Devijver, I 55.
37. Pflaum, Carrières, 113 and addendum.
38. ILS 9471, and see PIR 2nd ed. A 20 and Devijver, A 4.
39. See Appendix I, p 308 and ala 35.
40. ILS 8863. See Devijver, P 72.
41. Pflaum, Carrières, 72 for Pomponius' career and o.c. 71 for that of his cousin.
42. See Appendix I, cohort 47, p 319.

Notes on Recruitment to the Auxilia of Syria (3)

43. Compare the widening catchment area for senators, especially under Trajan and his successors. See Walton, *Oriental Senators*, JRS 19 1929, especially p 54 f.
44. CIL II p 251 f.
45. Pliny, *Natural History*, 5. 109.
49. E. Ritterling, *PW RE Legio*, 1789 for the destruction of the legion. For Sappius' career see Devijver, S 8.
50. IX 4855a and see Devijver, F 63, who dates the career only to the second century.
51. Bowersock, *Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia*, ZPE 5. 1970, esp. p 40 f.
52. XI 6117 and Devijver, M 7.
53. See Notes p 123, no. 121 for arguments in favour of Maesius commanding the cohorts I Italica milliaria and a consequent dating of the inscription to before c. 145.
54. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p 469.
55. Devijver, M 7, who considers that Rufus came from Forum Sempronii.
56. VI 3528. See Devijver, P 2.
57. See Appendix I, cohort 39, p 317.
58. IGLS 3. II44.
59. 1947. 172 - Syria, XXII 1941, p 236, no. 6 and l.c. no. 7.
60. XVI 35.
61. XVI 87 and see Appendix I, cohort 65, p 323.
62. See Pape, *Griechisches Namenbuch*, and Seyrig, *Syria*, XXII 1941, p 236 and note ad loc.
63. See pages 14 f.
64. XVI 106.

Notes on Recruitment to the Auxilia of Syria (4)

65. For the most up-to-date history of Chalcis under Libanon, see E. Schürer, 2nd ed. vol. I Appendix I p 561 f, especially 572 f. The problem of the two cities of Chalcis is mentioned by Carcopino (Syria, 6. 1925. p II9 note 5). He too plumps for Chalcis under Libanon on the grounds that the cohort was recruited at the same time as one Damascene cohort (on which see Stein, Truppenkörper, p 188) and perhaps others.
66. See E. Schürer, 2nd ed vol. I, Appendix I p570, note 53 on Ituraean units.
67. See E. Schürer, 2nd ed. vol. I, p 572 f. Perhaps Aristoboulos of Chalcidice (Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 226) was the son of Herod of Chalcis, who was king of Lesser Armenia. But which Chalcidice Josephus is referring to is not clear.
68. III I29 and 6658, and see Brünnow and Domaszewski, Die Provincia Arabia, III p 197 for the findspot of the inscription.
69. Klio, 37. 1959, pp 211-2 - Roxan, RMD, no. 5.
70. See Detschew, Thrakischen Sprachreste, p 434.
71. Though precisely which is uncertain. See Klio, l.c. p 215 f. for the alternatives.
72. XVI 3.
73. XVI 35.
74. Pliny, Natural History, 4. II. 40, referring to the " Bessorum multa nomina " and Detschew, o.c. in note 70, p 37 s. $\beta\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma$ for references.
75. 196I. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
76. For Dolae see Detschew, Thrakischen Sprachreste, p 32.
77. See JRS 29. 1939. p 28 f.
78. See G. Alföldy, Hilfstruppen, p 29 for parallels.
81. ZPE 16. 1975, p 121 f - Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
82. XIII 3684.
83. IGRR III II68.
84. ILS 7528.

Notes on Recruitment to the Auxilia of Syria (5)

85. See below, cohort 47, p 319 and above p 31.
86. ILS 9168.
87. Tacitus, Histories, 2 83.
88. E. Schürer, 2nd ed. The History of the Jewish People, vol. I, Appendix 2, p 583f.
89. Josephus, Jewish War, I. 155-7; Jewish Antiquities, 14. 74-6.
90. A.H.M. Jones, JRS 18, 1928 p 144f.
91. 1930. 89 - Welles, Gerasa, p 447, inscription no. 201.
92. 1930. 90 - Welles, Gerasa 200.
93. III 14159 - Welles, Gerasa no. 199.
94. E.g. the cohorts I Ascalonitanorum, I Sebastena and I Ituraeorum. See also K. Kraft, Rekrutierung, p 62f.

Notes on Recruitment from Hadrian to Severus (I)

1. 1929. 123. See Devijver, C II5.
2. In the inscription cited in note I he is "γενομενον δια βίου
Διος Σολμεως | ξερα"
3. The cohors I Pannoniorum veterana was in Moesia Superior c. 103-107
(see XVI 54 and note 2) and perhaps in I65 (XVI 120).
4. See Appendix I, ala 38, pages 308-9.
5. For Valerius Eudaemon see Pflaum, Carrières, II0 and P. Brunt, JRS 65
1975, p I45.
6. Since 91 BC. See RE, Termessus, col. 749 f.
7. For Celer's career see Devijver, V 92. On his tribe see Kubitschek,
Imperium Romanum trib. discriptum, p I7, 271.
8. X. 6426 and I933. 207.
9. XVI 54 for I03-7.
10. XVI 87 for I39.
11. The cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria was in Dacia in I10 (XVI 57) and
Dacia Porollissensis in I59 (XVI I10).
12. XVI I06.
13. I933. 207.
14. I933. 210, 211.
15. III I4156 no. 3 - I18 and Pflaum, Carrières, I55.
16. Pflaum, o.c. in previous note p 365 f.
17. I947. I68 - Syria XXII I94I, p 226, no. 2 and l.c. no. I. See Devijver, A 8.
18. See H. Seyrig, Syria XXII I94I, p 226 f and p 229.
19. XVI 78.
20. See Appendix I, cohort 58, p 322. The unit was in Syria by I56-7 (XVI 106).
21. XVI 78.
22. I947. I70.
23. I947. I69.
24. I964. 225. - Devijver, C I46.
25. Certainly before I60. See also VIII 20I44 and Kornemann, RE Colonia 558.
26. H.G. Pflaum, Libya III I955, p I35 f - Devijver, V 23.

Notes on Recruitment from Hadrian to Severus (2)

27. On the career see Devijver, V 23 and Pflaum, *Carrières*, IBI bis and addendum.
28. See RE Poetovio, especially II72 f.
29. III 4108 and I749.
30. III 4033.
31. See F. Cumont, *L'Annexion de Pont Polemoniaque et de la Petite Armenie*, *Anatolian Studies* presented to Sir W.M Ramsay, 1923, p 109 f.
32. See Dio, 74. 3. 1 (Loeb p 216), and on Pertinax' career Devijver, H 9 and add. p 510.
33. *Historia Augusta*, Pertinax, I. 6.
34. As for previous note.
35. III 1193 - ILS 2746. On Corinthianus' career see Devijver, I 49.
36. See OCD s. Theveste.
37. H.G. Pflaum, *Carrières*, I pp 490-1.
38. Marcus and Verus reigned jointly from 161-169. See R.L.V. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, 4th ed. 1914, p 199 f ; Marcus and Commodus reigned jointly from 176 to 180 (o.c. p 199 f and p 203 f).
39. Pflaum, o.c. in note 37, p 492.
40. XVI 103.
41. ILS 8853 - IGRR IV 1213 (see Pflaum, *Carrières*, 218 ter and Stein, *Ritterstand*, p 399) - PIR 2nd ed. A 821 - Devijver, A 132.
42. So von Premerstein, *Osterreich. Jahreshefte*, XIII 1910, p 205, no. 21.
43. The cohorts II Numidarum and II Flavia Bessorum were in Dacia in 129 (XVI 75).
44. XVI 78.
45. See Appendix I, cohort 28, p 315.
46. 1921. 64 - 1963. 42 and *Bayerische Vorgeschichtesblätter*, 27. 1962, p 82 f, especially p 95 f. See also PIR 2nd ed. J 192 and Devijver, I 32.
47. H.G. Pflaum, art. cit. in previous note, p 96.
48. ILS 2741 and Devijver, N 6.
49. XIV 4148.
50. See PW RE Lavinium, col. 1007 f.
51. See IGRR III 670, 671 and 672 - Devijver, C II6.
52. III 670.

53. In III 670 he is " γραμματεὺς Λυκίων τοῦ κοινού."
54. See Ritterling, *Legio*, PW RE, col. 1409 f. and Devijver, C II6.
- 54A. 1933. 270 and see Devijver, C I68.
55. V 284I. See Devijver, V 27, who suggests a possibly 2nd century date.
56. The ala Flaviana he commanded was probably the ala Gallorum Flaviana, in Moesia Inferior in 99 (XVI 44), I05 (XVI 50) and I60 (XVI III).
57. ILS 90II.
58. H.G. Pflaum, *Carrières*, II9, p 290 f. and Devijver, S 69, who suggests a date of c. 125.
59. ILS 8865 and see Devijver, F I09, who suggests a 2nd century date and that Flavianus came from Samos.
60. XVI 35.
61. ILS I327. See Devijver, I I36.
62. ILS 8869 and see Devijver, I I36.
63. H.G. Pflaum, *Carrières*, I80, p 458 f.
64. See Gsell and Carcopino, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, 1971, p 7 f ; *Maroc Antique*, p 204, 218.
65. See pages I35-6.
66. E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, p I48 f.
67. XVI I06 for I56-7. For Julianus' career see Devijver, I 72.
68. There in I54 (XVI I04) and see Wagner, *Dislokation*, p I48 f.
69. ILS 2724.
70. ILS 8869.
71. H.G. Pflaum, *Carrières*, p 459 f. and Devijver, I 72.
72. 1947. I73. On Clodius' career see Devijver, C I95.
73. See Plutarch, *Galba*, I3. 3. and PIR, 2nd ed, C II63.
74. See Appendix I, ala 38, pages 308-9.
75. In addition to the commanders discussed in the text we have the following the precise date of whose command and origin are not both known.
1. Aelius Herculanus commanded the cohorts I Flavia Chalcidenorum in 162 (See III I29 - 6658 and Devijver, A 36). His cognomen suggests a possibly Thracian origin.
 2. Tiberius Claudius Antoninus commanded the cohorts V Ulpia Petraeorum before his premature death at the age of 21 years (XIV I62 and see Devijver, C II8). His command of a Trajanic cohort of Arabians suggests a date after 106 and Devijver supposes a second century date. Antoninus was probably an Italian.

Notes on Recruitment from Hadrian to Severus (4)

75. Continued.
3. C. Valerius Florinus commanded the cohors II Thracum Syriaca during Hadrian's reign (Devijver, V 10). He came from Malaca, in Baetica in Spain.
 4. M. Claudius Restitutus commanded the cohors I Gaetulorum (ILS I437 and see Devijver, C 178) at a date before c. 140 and came from Cirta in Numidia.
 5. Trebius Maximus was in charge of the cohors II Ulpia equitum at Dura in 194 (1934. 280. See Devijver, T 37). His origin is uncertain.
 6. We have several inscriptions from Gaul attesting the career of G. Iulius Serenus, who commanded the ala VII Phrygum during Trajan's reign (See Devijver, C 123).
76. XVI I06.
77. XVI I06 lists five Trajanic cohorts, whose titles give their origins :
1. I Ulpia Dacorum.
 2. I Ulpia Petreorum.
 3. II Ulpia Paphlagonum.
 4. III Ulpia Paphlagonum.
 5. V Ulpia Petreorum.
78. On which see PW RE, XVIII. 4, col. 2486 f., esp. 2528 f. and A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p 167 f. Paphlagonia was annexed to Galatia in 6/5 BC. It lay east of Bithynia of the north coast of Asia Minor.
79. XVI I03.
80. 1933. 211 - Syria, I4. 1933, p 161 f., no. 5.
81. See Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-ouest*, 1951, p 87. The inscription is referred to at 1952. 240.
82. 1933. 212 - Syria, 1933 I4 p 162, no. 6.
83. See Seyrig, *Syria 1933*, p 164 and Ingholt, *Studier over Palmyrenik Skulptur*, p 1. 12 no. 1.
84. 1933. 213.
85. See Detschew, *Thrakischen Sprachreste*, p 88.
86. Detschew, o.c. in previous note, p 492 f.
87. ILS 8869 and see Syria, I4 1933 p 159, no. 2 for an improved reading.
88. 1933. 214 - Syria, I4 1933, no. 8, p 164 f.
89. ILS 9173. See the works cited in Notes, p 20, no. 159 for discussion of the date of the inscription.
90. 1928. 86 and see Dura, *Report on the 1st Season*, no. 2, p 42 f.
91. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*, p 271.
92. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, gives e.g. Titienus, p 243 and Tittienus, p 430.

Notes on Recruitment from Hadrian to Severus (5)

93. K. Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p 62 f. For the Rhine and Danube frontiers he emphasizes the two main trends of (1) later recruitment from the region in which the unit was based and (2) the later despatch of individual recruits from distant provinces.
94. Syria, XLVIII, 1970 p 319 and see *Stud. Palm.* III 1969, p 73.
95. 1933. 215 - Syria, I4 1933, p 166, no. 9, corrected by Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, II Add. and Corr.
96. See Seyrig, Syria, l.c. in note 94.
97. ILS 254I and see Ritterling's emendation, III I4I60 no. 1, referring to III I23.
98. See pages 55-6.
99. We also have from Canatha in the Hauran, which was in Syria from I06 to the reign of either Septimius Severus or Diocletian, the tombstone (IGRR III I231) of a *Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ναταργήλος στρατευσαμένος Σεκουρίων τ[ης] Β' αλκας*. He was no doubt from the east of the empire but his precise origin is not clear.
- I00. See pages 88-89.
- I01. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, V. I., ed. C.B. Welles and others, Papyri I00 and I01. Henceforth papyri from this volume are referred to as P. Dura.
- I02. P. Dura 56. See Devijver, U I9. He cites parallels for Valentinus' name from Dacia.
- I03. P. Dura 63. See Devijver, A 269, who prefers a western origin.
- I04. See e.g. Pape, *Griechischer Eigennamen*, vol.I.
- I05. P. Dura 64. See on Iustillus' career Devijver, A 238.
- I06. P. Dura 82, col. i, line 3. See Devijver, I I09.
- I07. P. Dura, I25-7. See Devijver, L 3.
- I08. See e.g. P Dura I25, l. II.
- I09. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p 84.
- I10. 1948. I24. See Cumont, *Fouilles*, p 363 8a, for a representation of Terentius sacrificing in the temple of Bel and Devijver, I I31 for his career.
- I11. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p 84.
- I12. 1958. 239, 240. For Quintianus' career see Devijver, P 28.
- I13. 1958. 240 and Maricq, Syria 34 1957, pp 289-290 for the reading.

Notes on Recruitment from Hadrian to Severus (6)

- II4. See page I40.
- II5. P Dura, 58 1. 2. See Devijver, A 233.
- II6. See pages I52 f.
- II7. ILS 9472 and Devijver, M 49, who suggests that Mestrius came from Thessalonica in Macedonia. He proposes a date of c. 200 to 250.
- II8. XVI 56 for the cohors I Flavia Musulamiorum, and see ILS 2003 and VIII 4879.
- II9. See Dura, Preliminary Report, II p 90f. no. H3 - I93I. II5. See Devijver, S I2.
- I20. M. Roxan, RMD, no. 76, note 6.
- I21. Dura, Preliminary Report, III pp 40-2, no. D I43. See Devijver, N 30.
- I22. Dura, Preliminary Report, VI p 35, Graffito no. 6I3. See Devijver, C 284.
- I23. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p I65 f.
- I24. Dura, Preliminary Report, VII/VIII p 90, no. 848.
- I25. For a table of centurions see Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, p 29.
- I25A. Among the centurions of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum we find e.g. Domitius Antoninus (P Dura 98, col. iv, l. 17), A[urel]ius Castricius (P Dura I00, col. xvi l. 8 f. On this reading see Gilliam, Historia 1965, p 84, note 36) and Iulius Marinus (col. xxi I f.).
- I26. Where citizenship was only sparingly granted before 2I2. See Gilliam, Historia, 1965, p 8I f.
- I27. P. Dura I00, col. I. 1.2.
- I28. Gilliam, TAPA, 88 1957, p 167 and note 34.
- I29. See e.g. P. Dura, 66L, col. xv. 3.
- I30. P. Dura 58.
- I31. P. Dura I07, l.6.
- I32. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, p 60.
- I33. In P. Dura I00 of c. 2I9 (col. xxvi I4 f) we find a reference to the (centurio) Malchiana and in P. Dura I0I of c. 222 (col. xliii I5) to the (centurio) Malchi.
- I34. P. Dura II3.
- I35. P. Dura I22 l. 4.
- I36. P. Dura II2 l. 2.

Notes on Recruitment from Hadrian to Severus (7)

- I37. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, p 29.
- I38. Gilliam, TAPA, 88 1957, p 167.
- I39. 1928. 86.
- I40. Geschichte Lat. Eigennamen, p 430, and for similar names see p 242 f.
- I41. H. Seyrig, Syria 1941 22, pp 227-8. He here proposes an administrative measure of Hadrian's assigning all Roman citizens of Palmyra to the same tribe, which suggests that they were by this time fairly numerous at Palmyra.
- I42. Starck, Personal Names in Palmyrene inscriptions.
- I43- I45. The Semitic names are : Aurel. Zeb[id]as Iarh[ae]i (P. Dura 100, col. xxxi l. 22), Aurel(ius) Themars[a]T[i]berini (l.c. col. xxxiii l. 24). The names of Latin type are : Aurel(ius) Luci[u]s Octavius (o.c. col. xxxviii l. 2), Aur(elius) Ul[pius]Antoninus (o.c. col. xli l. 2). The Greek name is Aurel(ius) Ulpius Demetrius (o.c. col. xxxvi l. 1).
- I46. On the ala nova firma catafractaria see Appendix I, ala 27, p 306.
- I47. Zangemeister suggests (XIII 7323) the Παγία of Ptolemy's Geography (V 19), in Babylonia.
- I48. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, 100 and p 261.
- I48A. See the ingenious theory of D.L. Kennedy in his unpublished D. Phil. thesis, The Auxilia and Numeri raised in the Roman province of Syria, p221. He suggests that the cohors XX Palmyrenorum was the 20th cohort in the province at the time of its creation.
- I49. XVI 68.
- I50. PW RE Cichorius, Cohors, 315 f.
- I51. See PW RE Mauretania, Geschichte, col. 2375 f.
- I52. 1958. 239, 240.
- I53. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, 30 ll. 3-4.
- I53A. For the suggestion that large-scale recruitment occurred rather under Marcus Aurelius and that for example the cohors XX Palmyrenorum was entitled twentieth because it was the twentieth cohort in Syria see Kennedy, o.c. in note I48A, pp 215 f. and p 221 f. respectively.
- I54. See Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, V. I p 58 f.
- I55. D. Schlumberger, Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales, 1942-3, IX p 53 f.
- I56. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, p 61 f.
- I57. Though not always. See E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, The Origins of Equestrian Officers : prosopographical method, p 162-3.

Notes on Recruitment from Hadrian to Severus (8)

158. Only in the cases of the rosters do we have enough names to give us a representative sample. They all date to between 217-222 and do not allow us therefore to trace changing proportions. The Semitic element was however certainly larger than the figures suggest as Syrians who became Roman citizens often adopted Latin names.
159. Schlumberger, *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, IX 1942, p 53f.
160. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, 26.
161. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, 30.
162. Loc. cit. in previous note, verso l. 3.
163. Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, p 63.
164. IGLS 4. 1361 - Prentice American Expedition to Syria, III p 143 no. 131 - 1908. 273.
165. XVI 61.
166. Bericht der römisch-germanisch Kommission, 27 1937 p 82 no. 103.
167. See TAPA 88 1957 p 167, and Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, 100 col. i l.12.

Notes on Recruitment in the east from 259 to c. 395 (1)

1. See above, pages 88-9.
2. Zosimus I. 36 and see Pekary, Historia II 1962 p 123f.
3. HA. Triginta Tyranni, 12, 12f.
4. See e.g. Rufus Festus, 23 and Zonaras 12. c. 23 (Dindorf, vol. III p 142) and Homo, Aurelien, pp 46-7.
5. See above, p 88
6. HA. Triginta Tyranni 14. 1.
7. C. Müller, FGH IV p 195 no. 8.2.
8. Zosimus, I. 44, 52; Rufus Festus 23.
9. See above, pages 89-90
10. IGRR III 1203.
11. Pape, Griechische Eigennamen s. $\xi\rho\mu\zeta$
12. See above, page 140.
13. The phrasing is very similar in all our sources. Typical is Rufus Festus 23, where we find "collecta Syrorum agrestium manu". See also Jordanes, Romana et Getica 290; Orosius, 7. 22. 12-13; Jerome, Chronicon (Helm) p 221.
14. Compare the bringing in of non-local troops after the revolt of the Rhine forces in the civil war of 68-9. See K. Kraft, Rekrutierung.
15. See IGLS 3. 1141 - 1940. 168 - Syria 20. 1939 p 312 no. 11.
16. Ammianus, 18. 6. 1f.
17. Ammianus, 18. 8. 10.
18. Libanius, Forster 656.
19. Libanius, Epistola 245.4 οἱ τῆς Ἀρκῆς βουλευταὶ Καρτερίου εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγγράφουσιν....
20. Ammianus, 25. 7. 13.
21. Q. v. in Holder, Keltischer Sprachschatz, vol. I.
22. Libanius, Epistola 1057.
23. PLRE Thalassius 4. See also Seeck, Die Briefe des Libanius, s. Moderatus.
- 23A. Pape, Griechischer Eigennamen s. Καρτεριος.

Notes on Recruitment in the east from 259 to c. 395 (2)

24. Ammianus, 31. 16. 8.
25. They can be supplemented by two pieces of epigraphic evidence. From near Antioch we have the tombstone of a veteran, Valerius Romullus (IGLS 2. 523), datable to AD 310, who "ἀναφερομενος ἦν ἐν Παυνονιας ἄνωτερας" i.e. was enrolled in that province. But Romullus gives no unit to which he belonged and may have served either on the governor's staff at Antioch or in one of the Syrian legions. Then on a dedication of 302 from Palmyra (Sanctuary of Baalshamin, III p 43 no. 31) we find an optio princeps, Avitus, but again no unit is given. The inscriptions thus add nothing of substance to the picture given by the Notitia.
26. See the discussion by Hoffmann (Bewegungsheer, p 81) of the origins of the soldiers on the inscriptions from the cemetery at Concordia, dated by Hoffmann, most probably, to 394-5 (v. l.c. p 101).
27. Ammianus 31. 16. 8.
28. Eight of twelve are so labelled and there is a unit of Saraceni (Or. 32. 28) not described as indigenae (l.c. 20, 22-7, 29).
29. Ammianus 23.3.8; 23.5.1.
30. Homo, Aurélien p 61f and PW X. 2.1347 s. Iuthungi for their later history.
31. For a general picture of the Mesopotamian frontier from Diocletian to the sixth century see Dillemann, Haute Mésopotamie orientale, p 210f and p 220f for a discussion of the evidence for the Constantinian period.
32. A.H.M. Jones, JRS 44. 1954 p 23 note 32.
33. A.H.M. Jones, Later Roman Empire I p 124f and see above, p 112f.

Notes on Chapter Four Judaea from the reign of Herod to the revolt of the Jews under Nero

1 The Army of Herod

1 Josephus tells us that c. 53-51 BC, when C. Cassius Longinus was governor (Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 247), he linked the powerful everywhere with bonds of friendship and hospitality to himself (Josephus, Jewish War, I 181).

2 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIV 128 ; Jewish War, I 187.

3 Josephus, Jewish War, I 194.

4 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIV 143 ; Jewish War, I 199.

5 Josephus, Jewish War, I 226.

6 He pleased Cassius in 44 by his prompt payment of what was required of him (Josephus, Jewish War, I 220-I, 225).

7 Josephus, Jewish War, I 282 f.

8 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 252.

9 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 71-3.

10 Josephus, Jewish War, I 286 f.

11 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIV 419, in 38 BC.

12 Josephus, Jewish War, I 364.

13 Josephus, Jewish War, I 118.

14 Josephus, Jewish War, V 176 f.

15 Notitia Dignitatum, 34 47 ; 48.

16 Josephus, Jewish War, I 417.

17 Josephus, Jewish War, I 419.

18 Josephus, Jewish War, I 308.

19 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 71-73.

20 Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 55.

21 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 52 ; Jewish Antiquities, I7 266. After Herod's death 3,000 Sebastenes came over to the Romans. They had few local loyalties.

22 See Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVI 271 f. for the intractable nature of the Trachonites.

- 23 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 57 f.
- 24 Josephus, Jewish War, I 672 ; Jewish Antiquities, XVI 198-9.
- 25 Josephus, Jewish War, I 397.
- 26 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 294.
- 27 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 294, Jewish War, II 36.
- 28 Josephus, Life, II5, II7-8.
- 29 Josephus, Jewish War, I 403.
- 30 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 293.
- 31 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVI 271 f.
- 32 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVI 285.
- 33 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVI 292.
- 34 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 24.
- 35 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 257.
- 36 Schürer, 2nd ed I pp 336-7, note 2.
- 37 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 25.
- 38 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 24.
- 39 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 31.
- 40 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 27.
- 41 For a brief life-history see Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 442 f ; and also l.c. p 471 f.
- 42 Josephus, Jewish War, I 535 ; Jewish Antiquities, XVI 332.
- 43 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 52, 74 ; Jewish Antiquities, XVII 266.
- 44 See for example Jewish War, I 301 f.
- 45 Josephus, Jewish War, I 301 f.
- 46 Josephus, Jewish War, I 302-3 : the Romans were in winter-quarters.
- 47 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 52 ; Jewish Antiquities, XVII 266.
- 48 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 317.
- 49 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 294; Jewish War, 2 36.

Notes on Chapter Four 2 Herod and the Negev

- 1 See M. Gichon, The Origin of the Limes Palaestinae and major phases of its development, in Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, Beiheft 19 der Bonner Jahrbücher, 1967, p 175 f ; also by the same author see IEJ 17 1967 p 27 f ; Provincialia Festschrift Laur-Belart, 1968, p 317 f., and Research on the Limes Palaestinae : a stocktaking, Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, 1979, BAR, International Series, no. 71 p 843 f for the latest research.
- 2 IEJ 17 1967 Fig. 4 for a rainfall map of the Judaeian desert.
- 3 B. Rothenburg, Limes Congress 7 1967 p 211 f, especially fig. 100 on p 213, and B. Isaac, Trade Routes to Arabia and the Roman Army, BAR International Series 71, Roman Frontier Studies, 1979, vol. III, pp 889-901.
- 4 See B. Isaac, o.c. in previous note.
- 5 For the extent of Nabataean settlement see Bowersock, JRS 61 1971 p 221.
- 6 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIV 15.
- 7 Josephus, Jewish War, I 364 f.
- 8 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIV 31. When in 65 BC Scaurus arrived in Judaea, the Nabataeans in support of Hyrcanus are described as " not well disposed to war. "
- 9 Strabo, Geography, I 6 4 23 (780).
- 10 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVI 220 f : Syllaeus visits Herod.
- 11 Josephus, Jewish War, I 487 . Syllaeus, the ἐπιτροπος (steward or vizier) of Obodas, the Arab king, was Herod's deadly enemy.
- 12 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVI 280.
- 13 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVI 282, 286 f.
- 14 Strabo, Geography, I 6 4 21 (779).
- 15 Josephus, Jewish War, I 12.
- 16 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 349 f.
- 17 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 352.
- 18 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 351. In 23-22 BC, at the time of Agrippa's visit to Lesbos.

Notes on Chapter Four 2 Herod and the Negev (2)

- 19 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XV 352 and see Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 337.
- 20 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, I 5 353.
- 21 Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 55.
- 22 See M. Gichon, IEJ 17 1967 pp 27-42, esp. p 36.
- 23 See o.c. in previous note and map, p 28.
- 24 M. Avi-Yonah, Encyclopedia of the Archaeological Excavations of the Holy Land (henceforth EAEHL), 1975 I p 74 f.
- 25 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVIII 147.
- 26 The four Flavian forts range in size from 0.4 to 1 acre in size (see M. Gichon, Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, 6th Limes Congress, 1967, pp 177-8.
- 27 See the Oxford Classical Dictionary under Strabo. He was collecting geographical material in Egypt between 25 and 19 BC.
- 28 Strabo, Geography, 16 Z 20 - 756.
- 29 Eusebius, Onomasticon, p 25 I3 K.
- 30 Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1552-1615, edited by U. Heyd. See c. IV, Keeping the Bedouins in check.

Notes on Chapter Four 3 From the death of Herod to the Jewish War

- 1 Idumaea, Judaea and Samaria. On Archelaus see Schürer, 2nd ed. I pp 354-357. On his kingdom see Schürer, l.c., Josephus, Jewish War VII 293 and for a map A.H.M. Jones, The Herods of Judaea, Map II.
- 2 See Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 357 f, especially pp 357-360 for discussion and further literature. For the inscription describing Pontius Pilate, who governed Judaea from AD 26 to 36, as praefectus see I963 I04 and I971 477, and for discussion of the title see A.H.M.Jones, Studies in Roman Government and Law, p II5 f, esp. p II9 f.
- 3 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 365.
- 4 Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 52 ; Jewish Antiquities, XVII 266. For detailed discussion see Schürer, 2nd ed. pp 363-365.
- 5 Acts 10 I. On the recruitment of cohortes Italicae c.R. see Cheesman, Auxilia, pp 65-66 and 208 and in this work cohort 39.
- 6 See Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 365, note 54 ; E. Gabba, Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia, no's 25, 26. Possibly Proculus Rabili filius belonged to this cohort (III I3483a - ILS 9168) and his epitaph should be connected with the reinforcements brought by Mucianus to the west in AD 69. In which case the cohort will have been in Syria before 69 and possibly in Palestine in AD 40. But it is unlikely that it served in Palestine under a Jewish king like Agrippa I, who reigned from AD 41-44.
- 7 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 215.
- 8 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 218.
- 9 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 356 f.
- 10 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 360 f.
- 11 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 364 f.
- 12 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 366 f. Vespasian enlisted the units into his forces in AD 67 (Josephus, Jewish War, 3 66).
- 13 I948 I50 - QDAP XII I946, p 94 f. no. II. See also no. I51.
- 14 See cohort 65, p 323.
- 15 Acts 27 I ; see Schürer, 2nd ed. p 364.
- 16 For a discussion as to why units received the title Augusta see Holder, The Auxilia from Augustus to Trajan, BAR International Series, 70 1980, pp 14-15.

- 17 XVI 35.
- 18 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 365.
- 19 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 365.
- 20 See R. Syme, CAH XI, p 145 f, especially pp 149-150. He favours a date of 84-5 for the war.
- 21 See e.g. CIL VIII 9359, 21039.
- 22 XVI 33.
- 23 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XX 173-177.
- 24 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 266-270.
- 25 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 268.
- 26 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XX 176.
- 27 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 484.
- 28 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 485.
- 29 See e.g. John, 18 12 and Acts, 21 31 for references to a *σπερα* under its *χειλιάρχος*.
- 30 See e.g. Tacitus, Histories, 2 78 and Schürer, 2nd ed. p 361 for discussion.
- 31 Josephus, Jewish War, III 12.
- 32 Josephus, Jewish War, II 268 *της ἐκεῖ συναγωγῆς* ; Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XX 176.
- 33 See Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 467.
- 34 For a detailed account see Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 484 f.
- 35 Josephus, Jewish War, 7 163 f.
- 36 Josephus, Jewish War, 7 304 f.
- 37 Josephus, Jewish War, 7 217.
- 38 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 366.
- 39 XVI 33.

Chapter 5

Notes on the Army of Judaea from AD 66/70 to 106

I The Neronian Jewish Revolt.

1. Josephus, Jewish War, 3. 67, refers to two sizes of cohorts without giving their identity
2. Josephus, Jewish War, 3 65 f
3. See Tacitus, Annals, XV 6, 25 and 63, and *above* p. 12
4. For the base of V Macedonica see Ritterling, PW RE legio 1574. It was at Oescus from at least Claudius' reign
5. For XV Apollinaris from Pannonia see Tacitus, Annals, 15. 25 ; for its base at Carnuntum see Ritterling PW Legio 1749
6. CAH X c.XXII VII pp. 770-773
7. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 284 f
8. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 499 f
9. In 58. See Tacitus, Annals, XIII 40
10. Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 18
11. Josephus, Jewish War, 3. 66
12. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX 366
13. Josephus, Jewish War, VII 9
14. Josephus, Jewish War, V. 39 f
15. They are probably covered by the phrase " συχνοὶ καὶ τῆς ἑυπίας ἑπικουροί."

ἑπικουροί.
16. V. 7007. = ILS 2544

Notes on the army of Judaea from AD 70 to AD 132

- 1 Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 5.
- 2 Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 217.
- 3 Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 163 f.
- 4 For details see Schürer, 2nd ed., I p 515 f.
- 5 Gichon and Isaac, A Flavian inscription from Jerusalem, IEJ 24 1974, p 117 f.
- 6 ILS 9095.
- 7 Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 37.
- 8 ILS 2727.
- 9 ILS 4393.
- 10 See Dura Excavations, Fourth Season, p 56 f. and Sixth Season, p 480 f. Also a senatorial tribunus laticlavus, Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus, served in this legion and XII Fulminata and was decorated for service in Trajan's Parthian war (D. Blackman, Akta der VI Int. Kong. of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, 1972, pp 566-568).
- 11 E.M. Smallwood, Palestine c. AD 115-118, Historia II, 1962 p 500 f.
- 12 SHA Vita Hadriani, 5.2.
- 13 A contribution by III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana is implied by the inscription of Julius Karus from Cyrene. See E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp 23-24 ; E.M. Smallwood, Documents of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, no. 263.
- 14 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 518 f., no's 11, 12 and 14.
- 15 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 518, no. 12.
- 16 Pflaum, Remarques sur la province de Judée, IEJ 19 1969 p 232 f.
- 17 Latomus 19 1960 p 109. See also Avi-Yonah, PW RE Suppl. XIII 1974, col. 400.
- 18 Weber, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrians, 1908, p 119 f.
- 19 D.L. Kennedy, Legio VI Ferrata : the annexation and initial garrison of Arabia, HSCP 84 1980 p 283 f, especially pp 297-299. He dates the inscription to the tribunician year of 118-119. For earlier restorations giving dates of 129-130 and 123 respectively see Welles in Kraeling, Gerasa, p 435 no. 171, and Bowersock, The annexation and initial garrison of Arabia, ZPE 5 1970 pp 42-43.

Notes on the army of Judaea from AD 70 to AD 132 (2)

- 20 III 14147 no. 6, and L. Keppie, The Legionary Garrison of Judaea under Hadrian, Latomus, 1972 p 859 f. A milestone has been cited to indicate the presence of II Traiana in Judaea in 120 (B. Isaac and I. Roll, Legio II Traiana in Judaea, ZPE 33 1979 pp 149-156). But J.R. Rea (The legio II Traiana in Judaea ? ZPE 38 1980 pp 220-221) has shown that the reading II Traiana was incorrect. All we can say is that elements of II Traiana were in Judaea before the end of Hadrian's reign.
- 21 A. Negev, IEJ 14 1964 p 245 f.
- 22 Latomus, 19 1960 p 110, no. 5. For further inscriptions see B. Lifschitz, Latomus 19 1960 p 109 f. and N. Tzori, An inscription of Legio VI Ferrata from the northern Jordan valley, IEJ 21 1971 p 53 f.
- 23 Josephus, Jewish War, 7. 5.
- 24 Josephus, Jewish War, 1 572 ; Jewish Antiquities, XVI 198-199.
- 25 In AD 44 Josephus refers to an ala and five cohorts of Sebastenes (Jewish Antiquities, XIX 365).
- 26 Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 58.
- 27 XVI 87.
- 28 M.Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 69.
- 29 XVI 87.
- 30 See below, p 270 f.

31. See p 217 f.
32. PW RE VII 464.
33. See X 797, giving the career of a Sp. Turranius Proculus praef(ectus) cohort(is) Gaitul(orum), and note V 7895, a first century inscription attesting an African, Quadratus, Mutumbal f. coh. Gaet(ulorum).
34. V. 7007 - ILS 2544.
35. ILS 949I. See Devijver, V 31.
36. E.M. Smallwood, Palestine, c. AD 115-118, Historia, II 1962, p 500 f., and especially SHA, Hadrian, 5. 2.
37. Seyrig, Syria, 22 1941, p 219.
- 37A. 1962. 276. See Devijver, Incertus, p 926.
38. See e.g. VIII 9358, referring to an ala Gemina Seba[sten(orum), and VIII 9359, referring to an ala Gemina Sebasten(a), both from Caesarea in Mauretania.
39. BGU II 26. 2.
40. 1968. 513.
41. See Appendix I, cohort 37, p 317.
42. XVI 87.
43. Caesar, Civil War, I 38-39.
44. Pflaum, Syria, 44 1967, p 338 f. - Roxan, RMD, no. 9.
45. It is attested there e.g. in c. 156 (BGU II 696) and later (see Cichorius, PW RE Cohors, 311).
- 45A. A table of Thracian cohorts in Judaea, Syria and Arabia

Units	86	88	91	late 1st cent.	I24	I39	I86	3rd cent. (212)	ND
Cohors I Thracum	Judaea XVI 33								?Dux Arabiae Or.37.32.
Cohors I Thracum mill.			In Syria Roxan 4		Engedi Pal.	Syria Pal.	Syria Pal. XVI 87 Roxan 9	?	Dux Arabiae Or.37.31
Cohors I Augusta Thracum		Roxan 3		Kurnub Palestine				?	Dux Arabiae Or.37.32.
Cohors I milliaria		XVI 35 In Syria							

It is uncertain which cohort is referred to simply as cohors I Thracum on an inscription from Arabia of 212 (Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A Greek and Latin inscriptions, part 2, p 21, no. 17).

- 46 1961. 319 - Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no.4.
- 47 XVI 35. There is no other evidence for a unit of this title.
- 48 See XVI 35, 1961, 319 - M.M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no.4,
and Polotsky, IEJ 12 1962 p 259 f.
- 49 M.M.Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 3, and J.C. Mann, IEJ, 19 1969,
p 211 f.
- 50 1967. 530 and 1969-70. 632.
- 51 XVI 33 and Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 3.
- 52 Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 3.
- 53 J.C. Mann, IEJ 19 1969 p211 f.
- 54 1961 319 - Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no.4.
- 55 IEJ 12 1962 p 259 f.
- 56 XVI 87 and Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 69.
- 57 See below, cohort 70 p 324 , note 232.
- 58 XVI 33.
- 59 Syria 44 1967 p 353 - 1968. 513.
- 60 Wilcken, Griechische Ostaka aus Aegypten und Nubien, p.127.
- 61 1968. 513.
- 62 Mitteis, Chrestomathie, no. 372 col. III - P. Cattoui II.
- 63 XVI 87.
- 64 Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 3.
- 65 See above note 53.
- 66 See below, cohort 69 p 324
- 67 1961. 319 - Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas.
- 68 H. Polotsky, IEJ 12 1962 p 259 f.
- 69 See the articles cited in notes 53 and 55.

Notes on the Great Revolt under Hadrian

- 1 On the revolt in general see S. Applebaum, Prolegomena to the study of the second Jewish revolt, BAR Supplementary series, 7 1976.
- 2 HA, Vita Hadriani, 14.2.
- 3 Dio 69. 12 1-2, and see the discussion in Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 536 f.
- 4 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 542 and notes 122 and 123.
- 5 App-ian, Syriaca, 50 (252) refers to "the great city of Jerusalem, most sacred to the Jews, which Hadrian again in my time razed to the ground".
- 6 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 518.
- 7 Dio 69 13 2.
- 8 For fuller treatments of the legions involved in the war see Ritterling, PW RE XII 1291-2, Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 547 note 150 and Applebaum, o.c. in note 1 p 44 f.
- 9 See e.g. III 7334 and XI 6339. Note also the transfer of Egyptians from the Misene fleet to X Fretensis (XVI Appendix 13) by Hadrian. They were discharged in 150.
- 10 See below, pp 267-8 .
- 11 Latomus 19 1960 p 110 no.5.
- 12 ILS 1071 and ILS 2083.
- 13 See BGU I 140. For the movements of this unit see below pages 265-269.
- 14 See e.g. ILS 2313.
- 15 See VI 3505 from Rome, which gives the opening part of the career of Sextus Attius Senecio, who as tribune of X Gemina was "missus a divo Hadriano in expeditione Iudaica ad vexilla [tiones deducendas in...." But it is not certain that the vexillation was composed of troops from that legion. See also ILS 1065 and Ritterling (De leg. X Gemina, p 59 f) for criticism of the evidence.
- 16 III 14155 no. 2 and for a foundation coin of Aelia Cap (itolina) with the legend le(gio) V see J. Meysham, The legion which reconquered Jerusalem in the war of Bar Kokhba, PEQ 90 1958 19 f.
- 17 Avi-Yonah, QDAP VIII 1939 p 57 f.
- 18 Ritterling, PW RE Legio 1576 f.
- 19 Ritterling, o.c. in previous note 1698.
- 20 On what is known of this legion's movements at this time see Keppie, The Legionary Garrison of Judaea under Hadrian, Latomus 1972 p 862 f. and Schürer, 2nd ed. p 548 note 150.
- 21 A. Negev, IEJ 14 1964 p 245 f.

- 22 1909. 235 - ILS 9132.
- 23 XVI 107, datable to 156/7.
- 24 Germania 34 1956 75.
- 25 XVI 94 and see below, *chart 10 p 312*

The Garrison of Judaea from 135 to Severus1 Legions

- 1 III 6641.
- 2 For a collection of the evidence for VI Ferrata's presence in Syria Palaestine see Lifshitz, Latomus 19 1960 pp 109-111. Add IEJ 21 1971 p 53 f.
- 3 For a discussion of the geographical evidence see E. Ritterling, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, 58 pp 633-5, especially pp 634-5.
- 4 An alternative view is suggested by R.K. M'El-derry, CQ II 1908 pp 110-113, especially pp 112-3, that VI Ferrata was first based at Caparcotna-Kefr Kut and later moved to Legio-Lejjun-Megiddo, nine miles to the north-west. This is possible but there is so far no evidence for such a move. It is simpler to suppose that the legion remained at a single base in this region.
- 5 IX 5362.
- 6 III 6814-6816 and 1920. 78.
- 7 ILS 2288.
- 8 Lifshitz, Latomus 19 1960 p 110, no.5; AE. 1928. 137.
- 9 Note the following inscriptions and tiles:
 1. IEJ 21 1971 p 53 f. from Tell Shalem, 11km south of Beth Shean-Scythopolis.
 2. Harvard excavations at Samaria, ed. G. Reisner, vol. I p 251; vol. II, plate 59 f. from Samaria.
 3. 1933. 158 from Eleutheropolis-Beit Jibrin.
 4. IEJ 1974 24, a roof-tile from Horvat Hazon.
 5. G. Schimacher, Tell el-Mutesellim I, Leipzig 1908 p 175 fig. 261 from Lejjun.

2 Auxilia, from AD 135 to Severus

- 1 Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 69.
- 2 Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 3.
- 3 1961. 319 - Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 4.
- 4 Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas (henceforth RMD), 69.
- 5 Roxan, RMD, p 90 note 3.
- 6 ND Or. 34. 31.
- 7 Roxan, RMD 3.
- 8 XVI 87. Intus the unit is listed simply as ala Ant(iana) and extrinsecus as ala Ant(iana) Gall(orum).

- 9 Roxan, RMD 69.
- 10 For a full discussion see under Syria pages 245, 434, 121, and below pp 307, ala no. 31.
- 11 A Julius Demosthenes (IGRR III 500 II ll. 54-56) ἔγενετο χειλιάρχος λεγεωνος Σιδη(ρως) και ἑπαρχος εἰλης ἑβδωμης Φρυγων before, according to Pflaum (Carrières, no. 76), being appointed to a procuratorship between 103 and 114. Legio VI Ferrata was at the time probably still in Syria (see Keppie, Latomus 32 1973 p 862) though an Arabian base under Trajan is certainly possible (see Bowersock, JRS 1975 p 184 and ZPE 5 1970 pp 42-43).
- 12 VI 1838 - ILS 2727.
- 13 1905. 55.
- 14 Josephus, Jewish War, 3. 36.
- 15 XVI 103.
- 16 PW RE Cichorius, Cohors 256.
- 17 Kraft, Germania, 34 1956 p 75.
- 18 Germania, 39 1961 p 103. For the references to the cohort in Raetia see conveniently the table in Bayerische Vorgeschichtesbl., 1968 33 p 92 f, Zwei neue Militärdiplome, by H.G. Kellner, opposite p 98.
- 19 ILS 5549.
- 20 Roxan, RMD 69.
- 21 Wilcken, Pap. Urk. I. 2. 144.
- 22 Mitteis, Pap. Urk. II 207.
- 23 Roxan, RMD 69.
- 24 ILS 2727 and see below appendix 1 p 332.
- 25 See below appendix 1. p 328f.
- 26 Roxan, 69 and see pages 90-91 and note 4.
- 27 ND Or. 34. 45.
- 28 Roxan, RMD 69.
- 29 Roxan, RMD 69.
- 30 1935, 167, PW RE X 954 and Pflaum, Carrières, I p 281 f. The fact that he is tribunus and not praefectus cohortis suggests that the cohort is milliaria.
- 31 Roxan, RMD 69, and note 4.

- 32 W. Wagner, *Dislokation*, pp 168-171 for a discussion of the evidence for the two cohorts *Montanorum* in the west.
- 33 See above p 208.
- 34 Roxan, *RMD* 69.
- 35 See for example Josephus, *Jewish War*, I 125.
- 36 XIV 162.
- 37 1924. 132.
- 38 1934. 132.
- 39 1972. 592.
- 40 Ritterling, *Legio 1749 f.*
- 41 Cichorius, *Ala 1247 and add 1914*. 128 and 1966. 472.
- 42 XVI 35.
- 43 1961. 319.
- 44 Roxan, *RMD* 69.
- 45 1948. 151.
- 46 See below for the earlier history of the unit, p 324, cohort no. 70.
- 47 Roxan, *RMD* 69.
- 48 Polotsky *IEJ* 12 1962 p 259 f.
- 49 M. Speidel, *ZPE* 35 1979 pp 170-172.
- 50 Roxan, *RMD* 69.
- 51 Josephus, *Jewish War*, 3. 65 f.
- 52 See above pp 217-218.
- 53 1924. 132.
- 54 1905. 55.
- 55 See above p 218.
- 56 1948. 151 and see above, p 217.
- 57 Josephus, *Jewish War*, 7. 217.
- 58 Josephus, *Jewish War*, 3. 36.
- 59 See above p 176, 189f

1. M. Avi-Yonah, Die Geschichte der Juden im Zeitalter der Talmud, cc. IV and V.
2. Zosimus, History, I 52. 4.
3. 1905. 212, and see Clermont-Ganneau, Rec. d'Arch. Or., VII p 205.
4. See pages 225 f.
5. Antoniniana suggests Caracalla, Elagabalus or Severus Alexander. The two Augusti could be either Caracalla and Geta (209/212) or Severus Alexander and Elagabalus (221/222).
See R. Cagnat, Cours d'épigraphie Latine, p 208 f. and 212 f.
6. BMC Pal., p xxxiii.
7. Onomasticon, p 6 l. 20 f.
8. See E. Ritterling, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, 58 pp 633-5.
9. R.K. M'Elderry (CQ II 1908, pp 110-113) suggests the identification of Caparcotna with Kefr Kut and that the legion moved later nine miles to the north-west, to Legio-Lejjun-Megiddo.
10. 1966. 495 - Avi-Yonah, IEJ 16 1966, p 135 f.
11. E. Ritterling, PW RE Legio, I592.
12. 1948. 145 - QDAP XII 1946, p 89 f.
13. HA Elagabalus, I7.
14. IGRR III 1107.
15. For its location see Renan, Mission de Phénicie, p 676 and map in vol. of plates, fig. I.
16. The legion may possibly have survived to Decius' reign (249-251). See Eckhel, III p 333 for a coin with vexilla inscribed S(exta?) and T(ertia?).
17. CGBM Syria p 286, no. 25.
18. J.C. Mann, Unpublished thesis, p 272 f.
19. 1948. 148 - Avi-Yonah, QDAP 12 1946, p 93, no. 9. The text reads "EQEX/NOMERQM.MAU/RORUM. For the reading "eques ex numero Maurorum" see QDAP l.c. p 93 note 5. See for further discussion M.P. Speidel, The Rise of Ethnic Units in the Roman Imperial Army, ANRW II 3, pp 202-231, esp.p214.
20. QDAP, o.c. in previous note 8.
21. L.c. in note 10 above.
22. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 12 1946 p 91 f.

- 23 HA Severus 9.5.
- 24 Avi-Yonah, QDAP 12 1946 p 92 f.
- 25 For discussion see Avi-Yonah, o.c. in previous note p 93 f.
- 26 See for example ILS 6472, VIII 2200 and Avi-Yonah, o.c. in note 24, p 93 no. 6 for further examples.
- 26A N.D. Or. 34. 21.
- 27 Herodian 3. 3-5 refers to *Μαυρουσιου ἀκοντιστάς*.
Note that Augendus on his tombstone is shown thrusting with a spear.
- 28 N.D. Or. 34. 21. and see above for the transfer of X Fretensis from Jerusalem.
- 29 See below p 234f.
- 30 Zosimus, History, I 52. 4.
- 31 1905. 212.

Notes on the Roman Army in Palestine in the fourth century

1. More recent work has undermined the precision of the dating of Jones, JRS 44 1954 p 21 f. of the Verona list to c. AD 312-314. T. D. Barnes (The Unity of the Verona list, ZPE 1975, pp 275-278) has argued that the particular sections are datable to incompatible dates and the list cannot therefore be treated as a whole. A.K. Bowman (Papyri and Roman Imperial History, 1960-1975, JRS 66 1976, pages 153-173) confirms that the list for Numidia reflects a situation after 314. Since Eusebius (Martyrs of Palestine, 7.2.) refers to "Phaeno in Palestine" and was writing before 313, about an event of 307, Barnes' thesis, that each area of the list needs to be dated independently, is only confirmed (See for further discussion H.I. MacAdam, Studies in the History of the Roman province of Arabia, Unpublished Manchester Ph. D. thesis, pp 35-40). The end result is that the Verona list's second Arabia, plausibly Arabia Petraea, was joined to Palestine certainly before Eusebius was writing, in or earlier than 313, and possibly, if Eusebius is not being anachronistic, to before 307. The section for Arabia may therefore similarly be dated certainly to before 313 and possibly to before 307.
2. For discussion see Alt, ZDPV 71 1955 Augusta Libanensis, p 173 f., esp. 175 f.
3. Patrum Nicaenorum, ed. J.H. Gelzer and others, c.XI, pp LX-LXIV. Aila is here listed in Palestine and not in a separate Arabian province.
4. For details see Brünnow and Domaszewski, Die Provincia Arabia, III p 277 f.
5. Avi-Yonah, Holy Land, p 121.
6. See in particular Alt's Limes Palestinae in PJB 26 1930, p43 f., corrected in PJB 27 1931, p 75 f., on the northern Negev sector ; see Aus der 'arabah, II ZDPV, 58 1935, p 1 f. on the eastern sector. For the best recent survey of the roads in the second century province of Arabia, turned over to Palestine in the fourth century, see Bowersock, A report on Arabia Provincia, JRS 61 1971, p236 f.
7. B. Rothenburg, The 'arabah in Roman and Byzantine times, Israel Limes Congress, VII 1967, p 211 f.
8. S.T. Parker, ADAJ 21 1976 p 19 f.
9. In Parker's late-Roman IV period (284-324). See fig. 3 on p 31.
10. Colt, Excavations at Nessana, I p 17.
11. See most conveniently A. Alt, Die griechischen Inschriften der Pal. Tertia, no's I-4 with SEG 8 282 and Alt's comment in ZDPV 46 1923, p 52 note 1. For the best discussion of the place-names in inscription no. 2 see Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7 p 257 f.
12. Alt, Die griechischen Inschriften der Pal. Tertia (henceforth GIPT), I 1.6]σταλ ; 4. 1. 9 [σ]υντελεστων.
13. C.J. Kraemer, Excavations at Nessana, III Non-literary papyri, no. 39, p 122. The reforms of Anastasius (491-518) made συντελεστα rather than curiales responsible for tax collection.
14. See GIPT, 2 and Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7 p 259 for a translation. The rates descent from 1 to 7, rise at 8 and descend again to 17.
15. For this theory see Hartmann, ZDPV 36 1913, p 182 ; Alt, ZDPV 58 1935, p 21 f.
16. See p 230.

Notes on the Roman Army in Palestine in the fourth century (2)

17. C J Kraemer, Excavations at Nessana III Non-literary papyri, no 37
18. See for example Abel, Géographie de Palestine, II p. 177 and, more reliably, for the sites in Palestine, Alt, PJB 26 1930 p. 43 f. corrected in PJB 27 1931 p. 75 f. For sites in the 'arabah see Alt, aus der 'Arabah, II ZDPV 58 1935 p. 1 f. But his views have to be modified in the light of B Rothenburg, Limes Congress 7 1967 p. 211 f
19. ND Or. 34. 18
20. For a description of the site see Alt, Limes Palaestinae, 1930 26 p. 52 f. Gichon (Israel and her vicinity, p. 39) considers an enclosure on the biblical tell to be the Roman fort
21. Alt, GIPT 14, 27
22. Alt, GIPT 14. See Alt, ZDPV 50 1927 p. 173 f
23. ND Or. 34. 20.
24. Eusebius, Onomasticon p. 118 I 5 f : a village called Chermala to this day, explicable as Carmel, ten miles of Hebron ; see also p. 172, l. 20 f.
25. PJB 1931 27 p. 75 f. He locates the fort in a structure of 0.8 ha.
26. ND Or. 34.22
27. ND Or. 34. 19
28. Alt, PJB 26 1930 p. 52 f
29. J H Gelzer, Descriptio orbis Romani, 1027
30. See Avi-Yonah's map of Roman Palestine
31. See Alt, PJB 1930 p. 54 f. for suggestions rejected in PJB 27 1931 p. 82 f. His last suggestion of Khirbet el-Far, where a route from Gaza to Elusa crossed an east-west route from Beersheba to the coast, is certainly the most plausible.
32. See Gichon, Israel and her vicinity p. 39 for reference to the possible remains of the fort
33. Eusebius, Onomasticon, p. 130 l. 7 f
34. Theodosian Code, 7 4 30 and on the identification see Alt, PJB 26 1930 p. 53 f

Notes on the Roman Army in Palestine in the fourth century (3)

35. Avi-Yonah, The Madaba mosaic map, sheet 9
36. Musil, Arabia Petraea II I p. 224. Political difficulties have hindered the checking of this site. See Gichon, Israel and her vicinity, p. 40.
37. Alt, aus der 'Arabah, ZDPV 58 1935 pp. 24, 26, 28
38. For a description see Glueck, AASOR XV 1934-5, p. 71. There is a watchtower there today, Nabataean in Glueck's view
39. ADAJ 21 1976 p. 19 f. and no. 32 on the table on p. 24
40. Alt, GIPT, no. 2
41. Brünnow, Florilegium, p. 75 no. 1. The ruins are described by Frank, aus der 'Arabah, ZDPV 57 1934 p. 236 f. The identification of Auara and Zadagatta is also argued by Stein, Geographical Journal, 95 1940 p. 437 and Aharoni, IEJ 13 1963 p. 41 on the ground of distances in the Peutinger table
42. Moyet el-Chalde and el-Kuwera by Alt, aus der 'Arabah (henceforth AA) II ZDPV 1935 58 p. 28. Both were occupied during the fourth century according to the pottery (Parker, o.c. in note 8, p. 25, no's 38 and 37)
43. ND Or. 34. 26
44. Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research, 14 1924 p. 4
45. ND Or. 34. 27
46. Eusebius, Onomasticon, p. 142 I. 13 f
- 46a. Alt, GIPT no. 2 and see Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7 p. 275 for detailed comment
47. Alt, GIPT no. 2 and Clermont-Ganneau, RAO p. 275
48. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7 p. 275
49. Avi-Yonah, The Madaba mosaic map, Plate 4
50. Alt, GIPT no. 2
51. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7 p. 280 no. 14
52. See Glueck, Explorations II, AASOR XV p. 12 f. for a description of the site and the wide area over which the sherds were found. The site was still a crossroads for caravans in the 1930's (l.c.p. 16). For a photo see Explorations III AASOR XVIII-XIX 1937-39 p. 152 fig. 52

Notes on the Roman Army in Palestine in the fourth century (4)

53. B Rothenburg, Limes Congress VII 1967 p. 214
54. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7 p. 282
55. Avi-Yonah, The Madaba mosaic map, sheet 4
56. Stein, Surveys on the Roman Frontier in Iraq and Trans-jordan, Geographical Journal, 95 1940 p. 437 and Aharoni, IEJ 13 1963 p. 41. Both argue that the distances given on the Peutinger Table for the stations below Zadagatta coincide with the distances of Sadaqa-Humeima, Humeima-Khalde and Khalde-Aqaba. So the southernmost praesidium is most probably Khalde. See in general Bowersock, JRS 61 1971 p. 239
57. Glueck, AASOR 14 1934 - Explorations I p. 78
58. Glueck, AASOR 15 1935 - Explorations II p. 39 f. for a description of the site. For its location see the folding maps at the back of the volume
59. Alt, GIPT, no. 2
60. Alt, AA II ZDPV 58 1935 p. 29. It is attractive to think of 'της Γρα [' as a reference to the area in which Arridela lay and as the beginning of the Greek word for Chara, which the southern desert is now called. But see Clermont-Ganneau RAO 7 p. 329 f. for alternative explanations.
61. Eusebius, Onomasticon, p. 14 3
62. See Avi-Yonah, Map of Roman Palestine and The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. I, A-D s. Arad.
63. PJB 26 1930 p. 48 f
64. ND Or. 34. 46, and Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7 p. 283 no. 17. See note I for an alternative suggestion and Alt, AA II ZDPV 58 1935 p. 33 f
65. Eusebius, Onomasticon, p. 8 l. 8 f
66. GIPT, no 2
67. B Rothenburg, The 'arabah, Israel Limes Congress, 7 1967 p. 215 f
68. See especially Rothenburg, l.c. in previous note
69. Lawrence and Woolley, The Wilderness of Zin, Map 1, opposite p. 3 for its location
70. ND Or. 34. 32

Notes on the Roman Army in Palestine in the fourth century (5)

71. ND Or. 34. 48
72. ND Or. 34. 47
73. ND Or. 34. 34
74. See below ala no. 13 p. 303
75. ILS 9488
76. ND Or. 34. 32
77. M Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977, no. 69
78. E Birley, Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata, Alae and Cohortes milliariae
79. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 69
80. ND Or. 37. 26. ND Or. 35. 29.
81. ND Or. 34. 33
82. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 69
83. J B Glubb, War in the Desert, p. 33
84. ND Or. 34. 36
85. See below under cohors I milliaria, no. 47 p. 319.
86. ND Or. 34. 45
87. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, no. 69
88. ND Or. 34. 44
89. 1934. 230
90. ND Or. 34. 46. and see above pp. 78-80, 82-3.
91. ND Or. 34. 48
92. ND Or. 34. 35
93. See III 14381, 14382 ; III 88 and see below p. 263.
94. ND Or. 34. 42

Notes on the Army of Agrippa II

- 1 See Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 471 f. on Agrippa II.
- 2 On its history see Schürer, 2nd ed. I Appendix I p 561 f, especially p 564.
- 3 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XX 138 ; Jewish War, II 247.
- 4 OGIS 424.
- 5 Josephus, Jewish War, 2 421. In AD 66 Agrippa sent 2,000 cavalry, from Auranitis, Batanaea and Trachonitis, to protect the people of Jerusalem.
- 6 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 23 f.
- 7 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 31. Whatever size of army Agrippa maintained, Philip trained it and led it wherever was necessary.
- 8 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 28.
- 9 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 29.
- 10 See PIR, 1st ed, s.v. Modius, no. 481 for variants of the name.
- 11 Josephus, Life, 180.
- 12 Josephus, Life, 114.
- 13 Josephus, Jewish War, II 520.
- 14 OGIS 425 - IGRR III 1144. For another officer, an Archieus, who was a centurion under one of the Agrippas and in Trajan's reign served as a strategos, on an inscription from the Hauran, see I966 493 and Seyrig, Syria, 42 1965 p 31 f.
- 15 PW Herodes, Supplementum, II col. 166 no. 22.
- 16 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVI 285.
- 17 See for the scope of the office Josephus, Jewish War, I 203 ; Jewish Antiquities, XIV 158.
- 18 I967 525 and Avi-Yonah in IEJ 16 1966, p 258 f. Avi-Yonah suggests that Clemens commanded Agrippa's cohort after command of a unit in the Roman army. Such a demotion is unlikely. It is simpler to suppose the posts on the inscription are listed in the order in which they were held. Clemens is then promoted from a command in a client king's army to a regular Roman unit. See the discussion in L'Année Épigraphique, l.c.
- 19 Josephus, Jewish War, II 481, 500 ; III 68 ; IV 11-16 ; V 1-2.

Notes on the Army of Agrippa II (2)

- 20 See P.A. Brunt, JRS 1975 p 143.
- 21 See Avi-Yonah, l.c. in note 17, p 264.
- 22 OGIS 421 - Le Bas-Waddington, III 2112.
- 23 $\chi\alpha\rho\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ or son of $\chi\alpha\rho\eta\varsigma$.
- 24 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 364 and note 52.
- 25 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 364.
- 26 OGIS 426.
- 27 Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 481 f. and note 47.
- 28 See, for example, Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVII 28 on the Babylonian colony in Batanaea, a region centring on the town of Deraa, in modern Syria (See Schürer, 2nd ed. I p 336 f. and note 2). The Romans, he comments, succeeded the Agrippas as rulers.

Chapter Six

Notes on recruitment from Augustus to Nero

1. E Schürer, 2nd. ed. I p. 514 f
2. E Schürer, 2nd. ed. I p. 293
3. Josephus, Jewish War, I 527
4. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17 29-31
5. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17 29
6. Josephus, Jewish War, I 535 ; 27. 1
7. E Schürer, 2nd. ed. I p. 293 for the chronology
8. Schulze, Eigennamen, p. 258 f
9. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 58
10. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 52 ; Jewish Antiquities, 17 266
11. See below p 170 f.
12. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 15 III f
13. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 16 271 f
14. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 16 285
15. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 57 f
16. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 58
17. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 52 and more briefly Jewish Antiquities, 17. 266
18. Josephus, Jewish War, I 672 and see Jewish Antiquities, 17. 198-9
19. Josephus, Jewish War, I 397 and Jewish Antiquities, 15 217
20. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17. 29
21. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 16
22. Josephus, Jewish War, I 403
23. E Schürer, 2nd. ed. I p. 354 f
24. E Schürer, 2nd. ed. I p. 357 f

Notes on recruitment from Augustus to Nero (2)

25. See below p. 317. A cohors II Italica was in Syria by 88 (XVI 35) and probably earlier.
26. See E Schürer, 2nd. ed. I p. 365 and especially note 54 for a thorough discussion
27. See E Schurer, 2nd. ed. I p. 455
28. See above pp. 187f.
29. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 20 138 ; Jewish War, 2 247
30. E Schürer, 2nd. ed. I p. 472 f
31. This is the most probable date. See Schürer, 2nd. ed. I p. 481 f and note 47.
32. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 421
33. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17. 23-29
34. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17. 31
35. He trained and led Agrippa's army, Jewish Antiquities, 17. 31
36. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17. 24
37. See Avi-Yonah, 16 258 f and AE 1967 525
38. P A Brunt, JRS 1975 p. 143
39. Compare the versions of Avi-Yonah, IEJ 16 1966, p. 258 f. and AE 1967 525
40. 1967. 525
41. See e.g. ILS index. It is originally Etruscan
42. OGIS 425 - IGRR III 1144. For comment see especially H Bengtson, Die Strategie, München. Beiträge, 32 vol. 2 p. 268 and P W Herodes, Supplement II col. 166 note 22
43. For another stratopedarchos see Josephus, Jewish War, I 535
44. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 16 285
45. PJB 36 1940 102-3, and see Waddington, III 2392 f, 2441, 2445 f
46. OGIS 421 - IGRR III 1136 - Waddington, 2112

Notes on recruitment from Augustus to Nero (3)

47. Pape, Griechische Eigennamen, s v $\chi\alpha\rho\gamma\varsigma$.
48. See Waddington, 2135 for the precise location of the findspot
49. According to the most plausible restoration. See Dittenberger, OGIS 422 note and see Waddington, 2135
50. 1925. 121 and see Syria V 1924 p. 324 f for a discussion of the inscription
51. See below for the cohors Augusta. p. 312, cohort 9
52. Revue Archéologique, I p. 412 no. 13 - Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria, III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, A Pt. 6, no. 769 p. 365, and see Syria, l.c. in previous note for a defence of Clermont-Ganneau's reading in Revue Archeologique, I p. 412 no. 13
53. Revue Archeologique, I p. 412 no. 13
54. IGRR III 1136 = OGIS 421 = Waddington 2112
55. Schulze, Eigennamen, p. 151, with two examples from Rome and one from Ostia
56. 1966. 493 and Seyrig, Syria 42 1965 p. 31 f
57. E Schürer, 2nd. ed. p. 481 f and note 47. 8
58. Seyrig, l.c. p. 33 no.5
59. Josephus, Jewish War, 2. 421
60. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 17. 29
61. OGIS 425 = IGRR III 1144. See above p. 193f

Notes on Recruitment in Judaea from AD 70 to 200

1. V 7007. See Devijver, V 8.
2. Kornemann, PW RE Colonia, no. 131.
3. Schürer, 2nd ed. I, p 491 f.
4. On primipilares see Domaszewski, Rangordnung, 2nd ed., p 116 and the introduction, p 30 and in greater detail B. Dobson, Die Primipilaren des römischen Heeres, Epigraphische Studien, 10, Düsseldorf, 1975.
5. Kubitschek, Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum, p 272.
6. Gilliam, Historia, 14 1965, especially p 77 f.
7. ILS 9491. See Devijver, V 31.
8. Ritterling, PW RE Legio 1620.
9. The colony of Berytus-Beirut was founded in 14 BC. See Kornemann, PW RE Colonia, 532, no. 115.
10. 1967. 525 and see for discussion pp 241-2. See on the career Devijver, M 68.
11. XVI 26.
12. See pages 241-242.
13. XVI 33. See Devijver, C 161.
14. Kornemann, PW RE Colonia, no. 118. It was granted by Caesar to the Roman adventurer Sittius. See Appian, Civil War, 4. 54 and Pliny, Natural History, 5. 22.
15. ILS 5549 - VIII 7079. See Devijver, A 197.
16. H.G. Pflaum, IEJ 19 1969, p 232 f., Remarques sur la province de Judée.
17. Kubitschek, Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum, p 271.
18. The cohors I Damascenorum is not attested in Syria Palaestina until 139 (XVI 87).
19. On Minicianus' career see V 5126 - ILS 2722, PIR 2nd ed, C 1406 and Devijver, C 240.
20. Pliny, Letters, 7. 22.
21. Sherwin-White, Letters of Pliny, 7. 22. 2.
22. On praefecti fabrum see B. Dobson, Britain and Rome, ed. by Dobson and Jarrett, p 64 f.
23. On the ala VII Phrygum see Appendix I, ala no. 31, p 307.
24. 1925. 44. See Devijver, C 143.

Notes on Recruitment in Judaea from AD 70 to 200 (2)

25. In Syria in 88 (XVI 35), the cohors I Flavia equitata was in Palestine by 139 (XVI 87).
26. Caesarea had been the capital of the native king Juba and was granted the status of a colony by Claudius (Pliny, Natural History, I 20 and see Kornemann, PW RE Colonia, col. 559, no. 367.
27. IGRR IV 882 - CIG 3953 1. See Devijver, U 18.
28. 1935. I67. See Pflaum, Carrières, no. 116 and Devijver, A 81.
29. The cohors I Pannoniorum was in Egypt by 83 (XVI 29). A cohors Augusta Pannoniorum was in Syria in 88 (XVI 35) but this is probably a different cohort.
30. XVI 87.
31. IGRR IV 1565. See Devijver, C 169.
32. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p 160.
33. Devijver suggests (C 169) that the inscription is probably datable to the late first century.
34. E. Birley, Alae and Cohortes Milliariae, especially p 55 f. But see now D.L. Kennedy, Millitary cohorts : the evidence of Josephus, BJ III 4.2. (67) and of epigraphy, ZPE 50 1983, pp 253-268.
35. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
36. VI 31032 - ILS I418 and see Pliny, Letters, 7. 30. See Devijver, C 170.
37. XVI 87. See Devijver, F 38.
38. Merlin, Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie, p 49, no. 261. See Devijver, F 10.
39. VIII III72.
40. See pages I22-3 and I40.
41. IGRR IV 882 - CIG 3953 1.
42. See pages I22-3 and I40.
43. XI 2618.
44. See Dessau's comments on XIV 2618.
45. Cichorius, PW RE Cohors, 280.

Notes on recruitment in Judaea from AD 70 to 200 (3)

46. Ritterling, PW RE Legio 1438. II Adiutrix was in Britain from 71 to 86 and in Upper Pannonia from early in the second century
47. We find only units prefixed with imperial names, as for example the cohorts I Ulpia Dacorum in Syria in 157 (XVI 106) and I Aelia Dacorum in Britain in 146 (XVI 93)
48. XVI 87 and see below. cohort 17, p. 314.
49. 1972. 592
50. Ritterling, PW RE Legio, 1749 f
51. Cichorius, PW RE Ala 1247 gives three inscriptions referring to the ala (III 6821, 6822 and 6831) and Calder, JRS 2 1912 p. 99 no. 31 - 1914. 128 notes a fourth. They are all from Pisidian Antioch
52. XII 2535
53. Cichorius, PW RE Cohors, 337
54. The Thracian cohort was in Syria Palaestina in 124, 139 and 186 (see below p. 324) cohort no. 70
55. XVI 33
56. XVI 87
57. M Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977, no. 69
58. On the Gaetulians see PW RE VII 464
59. See for example VIII 9359 and Ephemeris Epigraphica V. 1000
60. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 19 366
61. The diploma was found in a library at Enyed, about 20 miles south of Klausenburg-modern Cluj in Romania. See Bonner Jbücher, 13 1848 p. 26 f
62. XVI 33
63. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste pp 248-9.
64. In the text we find COLOLETIC (XVI 33 note 1). Kubitschek (Ost. Jahreshefte, 17 1914 p. 157 f) suggests that this refers to the Thracian tribe of Coelalatae, to which Tacitus refers (Annals 3. 38). This is more likely than that Col(onia) Ole(i) tic(o) - Ἀβλαίου τεύχος, a place in Pontic Thrace between Apollonia and Salmydessos, should be restored (see XVI 33 note I on this suggestion).

Notes on Recruitment in Judaea from AD 70 to 200 (4)

65. Ptolemy, Geography, ed. Müller, 3. II. 6.
66. 1967. 530 - 1969/70. 632.
67. Ptolemy, Geography, ed. Müller, 5. 15. 7.
68. Polotsky, IEJ 12 1962, p 259.
69. Schulze, Eigennamen, p 153, and Holder, Keltischer Sprachschatz, II col. 383-4. It was not unusual for centurions and decurions in the auxilia to be promoted from the ranks of the legions. Possibly Valens was an Italian from X Fretensis.
70. XVI IO7.
71. Schürer, 2nd ed. vol. I p 542 f.
72. 1905. 55.
73. For a discussion of such grants see C.E. Goodfellow, Roman Citizenship, p. 97 f. and 63 f for the army of Antonius.
74. 1948. 150.
75. For which see Schulze, Eigennamen, p 145.
- 75A. Some recruitment of Jews into Roman forces in Judaea in the late first and early second century is suggested by the evidence of the Midrash (S. Applebaum, Jews and Service in the Roman Army, Roman Frontier Studies, 7 1967, pp 181-3, especially p 182).

Notes on Recruitment from c. AD 200 to 400

76. N.D. Or. 34. 23-29.
77. N.D. Or. 34. 35.
78. N.D. Or. 34. 42.
79. Colt, Excavations at Nessana, vol. I.
80. S.T. Parker, ADAJ 21. 1976, p 19 f.

Installations

- I For the latest archaeological research see the following works of S.T. Parker : Archaeological Survey of the Limes Arabicus : a preliminary report, ADAJ 21 1976, 19-31 ; Towards a history of the Limes Arabicus, Roman Frontier Studies, 12 1979, BAR International Series 71, part 3, 1980, pp 865-878 ; The central limes Arabicus project : the 1980 campaign, ADAJ 25 1981 pp 171-178 and for a fuller summary of the results of the excavation at Lejjun see American Schools of Oriental Research, Newsletter, 8 1981, pp 8-20. See also D.L. Kennedy, Preliminary Report of a survey of Roman Military Installations in north-eastern Jordan, ADAJ 25 1981, pp 21-24. For the nature of the Arabian frontier see G.W. Bowersock, HSCP 80 1976, pp 219-229.
- 2 ADAJ 21 1976 pp 19-31.
- 3 Parker, ADAJ 25 1981 pp 171-178 ; ASOR, Newsletter, 8 1981, pp 8-20.
- 4 ADAJ 21 1976, p 26.
- 5 III I4I49 no. 2.
- 6 Princeton Expedition to Syria, map of southern Hauran.
- 7 See Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A no. 232 and p I32 and for its use to describe the frontier walls of Britain see for example RIB 2034 and 2205 for the phrase opus valli applied to the Antonine Wall.
- 8 J.T. Milik, Inscriptions grecques et nabateennes de Rawwafah, in Preliminary Survey in NW Arabia, Bulletin no. 10 of the Institute of Archaeology, London, 1972, pp 54-57.
- 9 See pp 66-67.
- 10 See D.L. Kennedy, The Frontier Policy of Septimius Severus : new evidence from Arabia, Roman Frontier Studies 12, 1979, BAR International Series, 71, part III, 1980, pp 879-887, esp. p 883 and idem, ZPE 37 1980 pp 24-26.
- 11 H.M.D. Parker, A history of the Roman World from AD 138 to 337 pp 71-2 ; A.R. Birley, Septimius Severus, 1971, p 205 f.
- 12 See the article cited in Roman Frontier Studies, note 10, p 883.
- 13 ADAJ 21 1976 p 23 no. 5.
- 14 The Frontier Policy of Septimius Severus : new evidence from Arabia, art. cit. in note 11, p 881 and S.T. Parker and P.M. McDermott, ZPE 28 1978, pp 61-66.

Notes on the Arabian Frontier and its installations (2)

- 15 Kennedy, o.c. in previous note pp 881-2. He suggests (pp 885-6) that a vexillation of III Cyrenaica was based for a time at Azraq.
- 16 The Frontier Policy of Septimius Severus, art. cit. in note 10, pp 883-884 and plate 58.2.
- 17 M.P. Speidel, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Principat*, 11 8, pp 687-730, p 694.
- 18 For a description of the site see Princeton Expedition to Syria, II A, p 70 f.
- 19 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A p 21 f, no. 17.
- 20 SEG XVI 820.
- 21 Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Studies, 138 1955, p 29 f. The inscription was not found in situ but it is unlikely to have been moved far from where it was originally used.
- 22 See Maricq, Syria 35 1958 p 295 f.
- 23 1905 212.
- 24 H.G. Pflaum, Syria 29 1952, p 307.
- 25 Α πύλη , IGRR 3 I288 and see Pflaum, o.c. in previous note p 310 f.
- 26 Α τείχος , IGRR 3 I287 - OGIS 614 and see Pflaum, o.c. p 313 f.
- 27 For πύργοι , see IGRR 3 I286 and Pflaum, o.c. p 312 f.
- 28 1915 I04 - Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A p 283 no. 686 and Pflaum, p 316 f.
- 29 IGRR 3 I324 - Waddington 1909 and see Syria, 29 1952 p 321.
- 30 A.Musil, Kusejr 'Amra, 1907 I p 129 f.
- 31 Malalas, Chronographia, XII 308 Bonn.
- 32 ADAJ 21 1976 p 27.
- 33 Parker, o.c. in previous note, p 27 and forts 5-7, p 23.
- 34 IGRR 3 I339.
- 35 See Panegyrici Latini, II 5 4 and for comment W. Ensslin, Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletian, and Parker, Roman Frontier Studies 12 1979, BAR Int. Series, 71 part III, p 871.

- 36 W. Caskel, Die Inschrift von en-Nemara neu gesehen, MUSJ 45 1969 pp 367-395.
- 37 ADAJ 25 1981 pp 171-178 ; ASOR, Newsletter 8 1981 pp 8-20.
- 38 ADAJ 21 1976 p 24 no. 30.
- 39 Brünnow and Domaszewski, Die Provincia Arabia, II p 49 f.
- 40 " " " , Die Provincia Arabia, II p 58 f.
- 41 III I4I49.
- 42 ADAJ 21 1976 p 24 no. 22.
- 43 Princeton Expedition, II A p 145 f for a description of the site.
- 44 Parker, ADAJ 21 1976 p 23 no. 1.
- 45 See M.Gichon, Roman Frontier Studies, 12 1979, BAR Int. Series 71, part III, 1980, pp 843-864, esp. pp 856-7 for a summary of the latest research.
- 46 Parker, ADAJ 21 1976 p 19 f, esp. p 27.
- 47 Bowersock, JRS 61 1971 p 241 - 1977 836.
- 48 Parker, ADAJ 21 1976 p 23 no. 5.
- 49 Iliffe, QDAP 10 1944 p 62 f.
- 50 Dunand, Revue Biblique, 41 1932 pp 571-2.
- 51 See p 276.
- 52 1933 I71.
- 53 1933 I70.
- 54 Waddington, 2194.
- 55 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A p 125, no. 224 - Dussaud and Macler, Voyage au Safa, p 177, no. 47. The inscription was found at I'nat but Dussaud and Macler were told that it came from Der el Kahf, about 5 miles south-east of I'nat on the Roman road from Salkhad.
- 56 I911 243.
- 57 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A no. 229, p 127 f - III I4381, I4382.
- 58 III 88 - ILS 773 - Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A no. 223, p 133.
- 59 The equites VIIII Dalmatae, in Arabia in 371 (III 88 - ILS 773 - Princeton Expedition III A no. 223), are later attested in the Notitia (Or. 5 37). See Parker, o.c. in note 33 p 874 for comment.

Notes on the Arabian frontier and its installations (4)

- 60 Parker, ADAJ 2I 1976 p 23, no's 4-6.
- 61 The fort is small, with an area of only 0.16 ha.
- 62 Parker, ADAJ 2I 1976, p 23, no. 2.
- 63 I9II 24I. The text of the inscription suggests that it was a new fort.
- 64 ADAJ 2I 1976, pp 27-28.

Notes on the garrison of Arabia from AD 106 to Diocletian

- 1 For the most recent and most exhaustive discussion of this question see D.L. Kennedy, *Legio VI Ferrata: The Annexation and Early Garrison of Arabia*, HSCP 84 1980 pp 283-309. For a summary of the bibliography of this subject see in the article cited p 284 note 4.
- 2 Ptolemy, *Geography* V 16 4 βoστρα λεγιωνυ' Κυρηναικη and see Müller's note ad loc.
- 3 III 96, datable to AD 162-166.
- 4 See CR 33 1919 p 49 for an inscription from Psechis.
- 5 BGU I 140 - Mitteis, 373.
- 6 For the dating of P. Michigan 465 - Smallwood, *Documents of the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 307a, see R.W. Davies, *Joining the Roman Army*, *Bonner Jahrbuch*, 169 1969 p 226 and note 104.
- 7 Michigan Papyrus VIII, *Papyri from Karanis*, 1951 p 5 f, no's 465 and 466 - E.M. Smallwood, *Documents of the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, no. 307.
- 8 O.c. in previous note, 466 - Smallwood, 307 b, l. 40 f.
- 9 Husselman, *Papyri from Karanis*, 1971 no. 562 p 101 f.
- 10 Bowersock (*JRS* 65 1975 p 184) has questioned this identification on the grounds of differing scripts in the papyri of 107-8 and that of 119. But it would be surprising if Apollinarius' handwriting had remained unchanged over 11 years.
- 11 C.M. Bennett and D.L. Kennedy, *A new Roman Military Inscription from Petra, Levant*, 10 1978 163-165.
- 12 Dio, 68. 32.
- 13 We have fragments of an inscription from a triumphal arch from Dura (1933, 225), datable to 115/116. The legion's participation is confirmed by an inscription recording decorations awarded by Trajan to a senatorial rather than equestrian tribune of the unit. For this see D. Blackman, *Akta VI Int. Kong. of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, 1972, pp 566-568.
- 14 III 13587.
- 15 See SHA Hadrian 12. 7-8 for the Parthian scare and ILS 5919 for the participation of III Cyrenaicae in a task-force ordered by Hadrian.
- 16 For a detailed elaboration of such a view see Kennedy, o.c. in note 1, especially pp 303 f.
- 17 See for example 14149 no's 19 and 21 of AD III.
- 18 He is restored in P. Mich. 466 - Smallwood, o.c. in note 7, l. 25, and was still governor in 115.

- 19 A.H.M. Jones, *Inscriptions from Jerash*, JRS 18 1928 p 146 f. no. 3 - Kraeling, *Gerasa*, p 435 no. 171 - D.L. Kennedy, o.c. in note 1, especially pp 297-299.
- 20 Welles in Kraeling, *Gerasa* p 435, no. 171, restores the inscription to give a date of 129/130 and Bowersock, *ZPE* 5 1970 p 43, to give the date of 124.
- 21 The previous editors based their conclusions on III cos. preserved on the inscription. Kennedy would link the III with a previous trib. pote] st and restore III after the cos. (see his o.c. in note 1, pp 297-299).
- 22 O.c. in note 1, pp 297-299.
- 23 The surviving text suggests the grammar of the inscription. The "runt" of the last line can only be the ending of the third person plural perfect of a verb and fece] runt is most easily restored. Even if another verb is posited, it must be an action by some person or persons connected with VI Ferrata and therefore demands the presence of the legion at Gerasa when the inscription was set up. Welles' milites (o.c. in note 20) is a plausible guess for the subject of the verb.
- 24 1909. 132 - Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A 1921 p 236, no. 541. See also Sartre, *ZPE* 13 1974 p 85 f.
- 25 See D.L. Kennedy, o.c. in note 1, especially pp 299-302.
- 26 For detailed discussion see D.L. Kennedy, o.c. in note 1, pp 302-3.
- 27 See below pp 198 - 200.
- 28 O.c. in note 1, p 299.
- 29 Ritterling, *PW RE Legio*, 1486.
- 30 III 96 and see *PIR* 2nd ed. IV about Geminus Marcianus.
- 31 III 92 and see *PIR* 2nd ed. A 754.
- 32 1965. 18.
- 33 Perhaps in a region newly transferred from Phoenice to Arabia.
- 34 *IGRR* III 1329.
- 35 1937. 239 - Dura, 6th report, p 77 f. no. 60.
- 36 1934. 277 - Dura, Preliminary Report no. 5, 1934 p 221.
- 37 III 89.
- 38 *N.D. Or.* 37. 21.
- 39 *Latomus*, 33 1974 p 935 f, *Exercitus Arabicus*.
- 40 For the transfer of certain cities in Syria and Judaea to Roman administration see in general Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 14 74-76, and *Jewish War*, I 155-7.

- 41 Welles, in Kraeling, Gerasa, no's 199-201.
- 42 XVI 55.
- 43 III 5654.
- 44 On which see the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria of 1899-1900.
- 45 Syria, 7 1926, pp 326-335, Rapport sur une mission archéologique au Djebel Druze, by M. Dunand, p 328.
- 46 ILS 2528 - III 4832 and see III 11506, from near Klagenfurt in Noricum. See Wagner, Dislokation, p 25 f. The name Aggaeus is Semitic. He was probably recruited while the unit was in the east.
- 47 H. Seyrig, Postes romaines sur la route de Médine, Syria, 22 1941, p 218 f.
- 48 J.T. Milik, Inscriptions grecques et nabatéennes de Rawwafah, in Preliminary Survey in north-west Arabia, Bulletin no. 10 of the Institute of Archaeology, London, 1972, pp 54-57.
- 49 Seyrig, o.c. in note 47, p 223.
- 50 Seyrig, o.c. in note 47, p 219, graffito I.
- 51 O.c. in note 47, graffito 3.
- 52 XVI 33.
- 53 SEG 24 1964 1064.
- 54 See A. Radulescu, Inscriptii Inedite din Dobrogea, no. 10, p 155 f. in Noi monumente epigraphice dein Scythia Minor, edited by A. Aricescu.
- 55 III 99 - ILS 2771.
- 56 For its presence in Germany and its eastern membership see for example ILS 9148 - XIII 7323, Germania XV 1931 8 f., and see Ber. RGK, 27 1937 p 82 no. 103 from Cannstatt. On the ala see Stein, Truppenkörper, p 128 f.
- 57 IGRR III 1231.
- 58 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A no. 17 p 21 f.
- 59 See Cichorius, PW RE Cohors, 237. The African cohorts that are certainly known are all 1 Afrorum.
- 60 See above p 79f, 82f.
- 61 1968, 513.
- 62 Pflaum, Un nouveau diplome militaire d'un soldat de l'armée d'Égypte, Syria 44. 1967 p 356.
- 63 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A p 21, no.17.
- 64 CIG 3902 c from Eumenia in Phrygia, attesting a $\chi\epsilon[\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\rho]\chi\omicron\nu$ and XI 4376, referring to a praefectus.

65. 1933. 215 - Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, I p 84, no. 9, corrected in *Additions and Corrections in Antiquités Syriennes*, II.
66. 1968. 513.
67. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
68. 1967. 530, and see IEJ 19 1969, p 211 f.
69. III 109, 110 ; 1928, 154.
70. XVI 33.
71. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
72. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4 and see pages 204 f.
73. Princeton Expedition to Syria, IIIA p 21, no. 17.
74. N.D. Or. 37. 32.
75. Princeton Expedition to Syria, IIIA p 21, no. 17.
76. The reading is IITRR. See Princeton Expedition, l.c. in previous note, p 22. An alternative suggested there is II It(u)r(aeorum), another unit not otherwise attested in Arabia.
77. Dura, Final Report, V I Parchments and Papyri, no. 26.
78. See Appendix I, p 326, cohort 76.
79. ILS 9173.
80. S.T. Parker, ADAJ 21 1976, p 23, no. 5.
81. Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, III, section 14, p 268 f.
82. III 111, IGRR III 1257 - Waddington 2271.
83. Waddington 2270.
84. Waddington 2267.
85. See page 273.
86. III 14149 no. 2.
87. Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A, no. 17, p 21.
88. See pages 270-1.
89. JRS 61 1971 p 230 - 1977. 835.
90. 1911. 244 - Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A p 123, no. 223.
91. On units of gentiles see M.P. Speidel, *The Rise of Ethnic Units in the Roman Imperial Army*, ANRW II Principat 3, pp 202-231, and Rowell, YCS VI 1939, p 71 f., and especially p 87 f. for a commentary on an inscription of 232 from Walldürn referring to Brittones gentiles. See p 290 f. on the inscription from I'nat.

Notes on the Roman Army in Arabia from Diocletian to the Notitia

- 1 See p 92 f.
- 2 Areopolis is in the Notitia's province of Arabia (Or. 37. 17).
- 3 See Alt, ZDPV 71 1955 173 f.
- 4 See p 225 and especially note 3.
- 5 S.T. Parker, ADAJ 21 1976, p 27 and p 24, no's 24 and 30.
- 6 N.D. Or. 37. 22.
- 7 See pp 260-261.
- 8 S.T. Parker, o.c. in note 5, especially p 27.
- 9 Ammianus 14. 8. 2.
- 10 Bowersock, Le monde grec: Hommages a C. Preaux, p 513 f, especially p 521
- 11 Bowersock, o.c. in previous note, p 520.
- 12 See above p 274.
- 13 IGRR III 1252.
- 14 Ammianus 14. 8. 2.
- 15 Ammianus 24. 2. 4.
- 15A For the fullest account of the episode see Sozomen, Historia Eccl., 6. 38. and for a briefer narrative see Socrates, Eccl. Hist. 4. 36. For the date see Hussey's edition of Sozomen, vol III and his note on 6. 38. 1.
- 16 Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. 6. 38. 1.
- 17 For a brief summary of the evidence see van Berchem, L'Armée, p 24 f., especially p 26 f.
- 18 S.T. Parker, ADAJ 21 1976 p 19 f.
- 19 Colt, Excavations at Nessana, I p 17.
- 20 Brunnow and Domeszewski, Die Provincia Arabia, II p 49f.
- 21 Ammianus, 14. 8. 2.
- 22 Festschrift für H. Kiepert, 1898 pp 65-9.
- 23 Florilegium for de Vogue, 1909 pp 65-77. See also the somewhat later survey of F.M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine, II 1938 p 187 f. Many of his identifications are however based on wholly inadequate evidence.
- 24 N.D. Or. 37. 14.
- 25 Princeton Expedition to Syria, II A p 143.

- 26 N.D. Or. 37. 16.
- 27 Gertude Bell notes in *The Desert and the Sown*, p 35 that "there must have been a great city here".
- 28 Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p 10 l 17 refers to Ἀρεοπολις
της Ἀραβίας.
- 29 It is however worth noting the plausible identification by Domaszewski (*Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, p 70 f.) of the Notitia's Tricomia (Or. 37. 15) with Umm el Jemal on the grounds of the geographical order within the groups of similar units.
- 30 N.D. Or. 37. 20.
- 31 For a diagram and discussion see Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, II p 320 f.
- 32 Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, II p 224 f.
- 33 Brünnow (*Florilegium*, p 70) argues this on the grounds that Kahf means "hollow" in A abic. See however Vailhe (*Échos d'Orient*, II 1899, p 92) remarking on the numerous subterranean towns of the Hauran. Occupation of Der el Kahf mainly in the fourth century is suggested by the pottery (Parker, *owc.* in note 5, p 23, no. 1).
- 34 Princeton Expedition to Syria, II p 145 f. for a description of the remains.
- 35 N.D. Or. 37. 21.
- 36 IV Martia may have been in Arabia from Aurelian's reign. There is no firm evidence for its arrival (Ritterling, *PW RE* 1556). The pottery evidence favours a Diocletianic occupation of el Lejjun-Betthoro (Parker, *ADAJ* 21 1976, p 19 f., especially p 24, no. 24), from where a single possible pre-Diocletianic sherd has come to light.
- 37 N.D. Or. 37. 21.
- 38 See Domaszewski, *Florilegium for de Vogué*, p 69, for the arguments.
- 39 On late-empire legions see A.H.M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, p.681.
- 40 N.D. Or. 39. 29-31.
- 41 N.D. Or. 39. 32-35.
- 42 Brünnow and Domeszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, I p 433 f.
- 43 See S.S. Frere and J.K. St. Joseph, *Britannia*, 5 1974 pp 1-129 for the excavation of the fortress at Longthorpe.
- 44 S.T. Parker, *ADAJ* 21 1976 p 24 no. 30.
- 45 N.D. Or. 37. 34.
- 46 N.D. Or. 37. 35.
- 47 S.T. Parker, *ADAJ* 21 1976 p 19 f.

- 48 O.c. in previous note, p 24, no's 19 and 20.
- 49 O.c. in note 47, fig. I, forts 17 and 24 on pages 23-24.
- 50 N.D. Or. 37. 31.
- 51 BrÜnnow (Die Provincia Arabia, II p 222 f) suggests el Hadid as a possible site for Adtitha and the pottery from the site implies fourth century occupation (S.T. Parker, ADAJ 21 1976 p 19 f and p 23 no.7).
- 52 N.D. Or. 37. 30.
- 53 S.T. Parker, ADAJ 21 1976 p 23 no. 5.
- 54 Germer-Durand, Bulletin Archéologique, 1904 p 4, notes that BrÜnnow in 1898 was unable to cover the stretch of road from Gadda-Chau to Bostra because warring tribes made the journey dangerous.
- 54A 1928. 154 from Umm el Quottein; III 109, 110 from Imtan.
- 55 N.D. Or. 37. 29.
- 56 BrÜnnow and Domaszewski, Die Provincia Arabia, II p 315; Germer-Durand Bulletin Archéologique, 1904 p 14 f.
- 57 S.T. Parker, ADAJ 21 1976 p 23 no. 16.
- 58 1911. 241.
- 59 BrÜnnow, Florilegium for de Vogué, p 70 f.
- 60 1911. 241 from Qasr el Ba'iq; from Qasr el Hallabat, Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A 17, p 21 f, no. 17; p 22 f., no. 18.
- 61 N.D. Or. 37. 14.
- 62 III 14380 - Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A no. 228, of 306; III 14381-2 - Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A no. 229, of 367-375. For the pottery, suggesting mainly fourth century occupation, see Parker, o.c. in note 47, p 23 no.1).
- 63 Waddington 2194.
- 64 1933. 170 - SEG VII 1062.

Notes on the identity of the Arabian army in the fourth century AD

- 1 Waddington 2037, and see A.H.M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, p 634 on the post of actuatorius.
- 2 N.D. Or. 37. 14.
- 3 Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, p 3.
- 4 III 88 - ILS 773.
- 5 N.D. Or. 37. 16.
- 6 See above p 279.
- 7 Gertrude Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*, p 35.
- 8 N.D. Or. 37. 29, 30.
- 9 III 14382 - Dussaud and Macler, *Voyage*, p 180 no. 51. See also above p 171.
- 10 III 88 - ILS 773.
- 11 See above p 281
- 12 N.D. Or. 37. 31.
- 13 N.D. Or. 37. 27.
- 14 Bowersock, *JRS* 61 1971 p 241.
- 15 N.D. Or. 37. 26.
- 16 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A 2 p 21 no. 17. See above p 155 and M Roxan, *BAR Supplementary Series*, 15 1976 p 74, Table 4.
- 17 N.D. Or. 34. 32.
- 18 M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 69.
- 19 See above p 273.
- 20 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A p 21 no.17.
- 21 M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 69.
- 22 1905. 212.
- 22A For the remains at Zerka see Brunnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, II pp 222-3. There is a castle here of uncertain date. Water is available all the year round and we know from the inscription of the existence of a fort here from at least the 250's.
- 23 N.D. Or. 37. 33.
- 24 III 2706.
- 25 N.D. Or. 37. 35.

- 26 Alföldy, Acta Archaeologica Hungarica, 1962 pp 263-5.
- 27 Wagner, Dislokation, p 85 f.
- 28 As suggested by Ritterling, Festschrift für O. Hirschfeld, 1903 p 347
no. 1.
- 29 N.D. Or. 37. 34.

Notes on recruitment to the army of Arabia

- 1 1930. 89 - Welles, Gerasa, 201, p 447.
- 2 Detschew, Die Thrakischen Sprachreste, p 149 f.
- 3 Detschew, o.c. in previous note, p 492 f.
- 4 Welles in Kraeling, Gerasa, no. 199.
- 5 Detschew, o.c. in note 2, p 167 f.
- 6 The name is read as *Κοτελοης* in Detschew, Die Thrakischen Sprachreste, p 276.
- 7 1930. 90 - Welles, in Kraeling, Gerasa, no. 200.
- 8 The name appears as *Ζημικενθις* in Greek.
- 9 Detschew, o.c. in note 2, p 188.
- 10 1930. 98 - Welles in Kraeling, Gerasa, p 399 no. 52.
- 11 See A.H.M. Jones, JRS 18 1928 p 152 for commentary on the inscription.
- 12 In Greek the text runs as follows: *τη πατριδι την κερκιδα βελιδων
[εκοδομη]θεν.*
- 13 XVI 55.
- 14 The name is lost from the Greek text but can be partly restored from the remains of a Palmyrene text.
- 15 1947. 171 - Seyrig, Syria, 22 1941 p 234, no. 5.
- 16 See for example III 109 from Motha-Imtan and 1928. 154 from Umm el Quottein.
- 17 See above pp 39 and 68f, Ptolemy, V. 14. 8. and for epigraphic evidence IGLS I. 52.
- 18 1933. 207. and see E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p 146 f.
- 19 ILS 1327:
- 20 See H. Seyrig, Syria 22 1941, especially p 234 f, no. 5.
- 21 See above p 136
- 22 SEG 24 1964 1064 - 1974. 579.
- 23 Detschew, Die Thrakischen Sprachreste, p 286.
- 24 Keltischer Sprachschatz, II col. 1428.
- 25 CIG 4494.
- 26 Reynolds and Ward-Perkins, Inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania, no. 96.

- 27 See Kornemann, PW RE Colonia, no. 338, referring to Itineraria Antoniniana and VIII 2568, l. 71, giving a soldier from Sab(ratha). See also OCD, 2nd ed. and Reynolds and Ward-Perkins, Inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania, no. 96.
- 28 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A no. 223, p 123. For the most recent discussion of this inscription see M. Speidel, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, The Roman Army in Arabia, Prinzipat*, II 8, pp 687-730, especially pp 712 f.
- 29 M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen*, 2nd ed., 1965, p 76 f. See also the brief article of Fiebiger, ZDPV 66 1943 p 69 f.
- 30 See above p 86.
- 31 Maricq. *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, Syria 35 1958 p 307, l. 7.
- 32 For, for example, sixth century references to the alleged ancestor of the Gothic kings, Ostrogotha, see M. Schönfeld, o.c. in note 29, p 178, and for examples from the late fourth century see D. Hoffman, *Bewegungsheer*, p 82.
- 33 1965. 27. For similar names see *Revue Archéologique*, IV 1884, p 276, no. 33 - Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orientale*, I 1888, p 19, no. 33 and Dussaud and Macler, *Mission*, p 261 no. 65.
- 34 Dio 75. 3. - Loeb, pp 198-199. Here the Scythians, a name used generally for tribes beyond the Danube, are restrained from trouble.
- 35 SHA Severus, 12. 6.
- 36 In a papyrus of 346 P. Abinn. 60. lines 2-3) a soldier is described as ἀναφερομε[νος] ἐν καστροῖς Διον[υ]σιαδο[ς]
Here the term means "enlisted at" or "on the books of". An earlier parallel occurs in a papyrus of AD 204 from Egypt (BGU XI 2024). Here we find a reference to ἑπταῶν ἀπο τῶν ἐν Θηβαΐσι [ἀρι]θμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναφερομενω,
where the cavalry are listed with the other units. Here again the meaning is "listed among".
- 37 III 99 from Bostra - Waddington, 1951.
- 38 Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p 467.
- 39 For the first inscription see JRS 18 1928 p 171 no. 39 - SEG VII 827 - Welles in Kraeling, Gerasa, no. 190; for the second see JRS 18 1928 p 172 no. 40 - SEG VII 826 - Welles in Kraeling, Gerasa, no. 189.
- 40 III 90 from Bostra - Waddington, 1949. For its dating see H.G. Pflaum, *Syria* 29 1952 p 313 f.
- 41 1900. 160 - IGRR III 1287 - OGIS 614.
- 42 See above p 140.
- 43 See above page 136.
- 44 H. Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire, L'Ancienne Frontière entre la Syrie et le Hijaz*, p 310, 315 f.
- 45 See J.T. Milik, *Inscriptions grecques et nabatéennes de Rawwfah*, in *Preliminary Survey in NW Arabia*, Bulletin no. 10 of the Institute of Archaeology, London 1972, pp 54-7.

- 46 H. Seyrig, Postes romaines sur la route de Médine, Syria 22 1941 p 220.
- 47 Periplous of the Erythraean Sea, c. 19.
- 48 H. Seyrig, o.c. in note 46, p 222 f.
- 49 O.c. in previous note, graffito no. 8.
- 50 O.c. in note 46, graffiti no's 3 and 7.
- 51 See Jaussen and Savignac, Mission archéologique en Arabie, II p 647 f, no's 14-17 for a brief comment on the texts.
- 52 O.c. in note 46, no. 15.
- 53 O.c. in note 46, no. 16.
- 54 O.c. in note 46, no. 17.
- 55 Dura, Final Report, V. I., Parchments and Papyri, p 60.
- 56 So we find for example in graffito 14 (o.c. in note 46) ἔκκυς ἀλα instead of ἔππενς εἰλγς.
- 57 See H. Seyrig, l.c. in note 46, numbers 5 and following, and Jaussen and Savignac, o.c. in note 51, pp 193 f. and 644 f. for commentary.
- 58 Note for example Κασο(ς), Ξεουγρος, Οὐλπης Μελγνος, Οὐλπιανος, Αὐτωνεινος.
- 59 Note for example Vaballas (Seyrig, o.c. in note 46, graffiti 16, 17) and the names in Nabataean (O.c. II, 12 and 13).
- 60 H. Seyrig, Postes romaines sur la route de Médine, Syria 22 1941, p 218 f. graffito no. 9.
- 61 O.c. in previous note, graffito no. 13.
- 62 IGRR III 1307.
- 63 IGRR III 1308.
- 64 See above, pp 270-274.
- 65 Seyrig, Postes romaines sur la route de Médine, Syria 22 1941, p 219, no. 5
- 66 Dura, Final Report, V Parchments and Papyri, p 64.
- 67 1911. 244 - Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A p 123, no. 223.
- 68 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A no. 224, p 125.
- 69 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A, p.119, no. 213.
- 70 III 88 - ILS 773.
- 71 Wuthnow, Semitische Personennamen.
- 72 III 14381, 2 - Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A, no. 229, p 127 f.

- 73 See above pages 61 - 64.
- 74 Compare for example Flavius Abinnaeus, The Ab-inaeus Archive, p. 7.
- 75 1933. 185 - SEG VII 1194.
- 76 N.D. Or. 37. 14.
- 77 P.M. Costa, Oriental Epigraphic Congress, 1975, p 69 f.
- 78 For the location of Baraqish-Yathil see most conveniently P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, and map p 63.
- 79 See above page 85.
- 80 E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, Prosopographical Method, pp 158-9.
- 81 Waddington 2037.
- 82 A.H.M. Jones, Later Roman Empire, p 634.
- 83 Wüthnow, Semitische Personennamen.
- 84 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A p 136, no. 237 - Brünnow and Domaszewski, Die Provincia Arabia, III p 296.
- 85 Wuthnow, Semitische Personennamen.
- 86 See Wuthnow, o.c. in note 85, for an exact parallel and some similar examples.
- 88 1926. 149 - Mouterde, Syria 6 1925 p 243 f for text and commentary.
- 89 Mouterde, Syria 6 1925 p 244 no. 6.
- 90 N.D. Or. 37.
- 91 N.D. Or. 37. 18-20.
- 92 N.D. Or. 37. 34.

Notes on the Conclusion

- I Res Gestae 29. 2.
- 2 B. Levick, Roman Colonies in southern Asia Minor, Appendix V, p 306 f.
- 3 ILS 2683 - III 6687.
- 4 XVI 35.
- 5 M.M. Roxan, RMD.
- 6 R.P. Harper, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, no. 29, 1975 p 321.
- 7 See eg Cantineau, Inscript. Palm. 1931, no. 6 of AD 75-6.
- 8 XVI 106.
- 9 III 129 and 6658.
- 10 See the ingenious speculations of D.L. Kennedy, The Auxilia and Numeri raised in the Roman province of Syria, Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, p 213 f, esp. pp 215-220, where he suggests that a unit of Palmyreni was created in 164-5 rather than during the Severan period.
- 11 M. Speidel, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, II Principat VIII 1977, pp 687-730, p 694, on the basis of the reference to two Augusti, argues for a reference to Marcus and Verus (161-165) or Severus and Caracalla (197-211). A dating to this period is plausible but several other possibilities remain, including Diocletian and Maximian (286-305), which make it difficult to rule out a late third to early fourth century date.
- 12 Waddington, 2196.
- 13 Waddington, 2203.
- 14 J.T. Milik, Inscriptions grecques et latines de Ruwwafa, 1972, pp 54-57.
- 15 See A. Negev, IEJ 13 1963, p 124, referring to CIS II 964 for the single reference to Arabs ravaging the desert borderlands datable to before the mid-third century.
- 16 See eg SHA, Three Gordians, 26 5-6 ; Zonaras, XII 18 III p 129, ed. Dindorf.
- 17 See p 277 and W. Caskel, Die Inschrift von en-Nemara neu gesehen, Mélanges de l'université St. Joseph de Beyrouth, 45 1969 pp 367-379.
- 18 See most recently M. Gichon, Research on the Limes Palaestinae : a stocktaking, Roman Frontier Studies, 1979 BAR International Series, 71, p 843 f.

- 19 E.N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*, Johns Hopkins, 1976.
- 20 Tacitus, *Annals*, I2 I2.
- 21 Tacitus, *Annals*, I2 IO-I4.
- 22 Velleius, *History*, II IOI.
- 23 Mattingley and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, V I p104, no. 453.
- 24 E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, pp I37-8.
- 25 O.c. in previous note, *Equestrian Officers*, pp I35-153.
- 26 H.G. Pflaum, *PW RE XXIII.I. 1957 s.v. Procurator I240-I279, VI, I264-5*, updated in *Abrégé des procurateurs équestres*, Paris 1974, on the origin of procurators.
- 27 The proportion of African procurators in the third century is disputed. Pflaum (l.c. in note 26) sees a huge increase in the proportion of African procurators; Jarrett (*The African Contribution to the Imperial Equestrian Service, Historia I2 1963 pp 209-226*), using only precisely datable inscriptions, sees no substantial increase in Africans in the equestrian service after Severus' accession.
- 28 Walton, *JRS I9 1929 pp 38-63*; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium romanum bis zum Ende des 2 Jahrhunderts n. Chr., Hypomnemata 58, Göttingen 1979*.
- 29 For a discussion as to how and why families gained admission to the senate see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, p 290 f.
- 30 See Halfmann, o.c. in note 28, p 71 and table p 78.
- 31 See Halfmann, o.c. in note 28, pp 78-81.
- 32 P.A. Holder, *The Auxilia from Augustus to Trajan, BAR International Series, 70 1980*.
- 33 See G.L. Cheesman, *Auxilia*, pp 70 f, 78 f; K. Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, pp13-15.
- 34 K. Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, pp I38-9.
- 35 A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, c. XVII, pp 607-686*.
- 36 See in general G. Forni, *Il Reclutamento delle Legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano, 1951*, and *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, II I pp 339-391*. For the period from Augustus to Nero we have, for example, three legionaries whose origins are known, of whom one came from Syria. See o.c. first above, Appendix C.

Notes on the Conclusion (3)

- 37 See Forni, o.c. in note 36, p 54, referring to Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII 7 I, who has " iuventutem proximas per provincias quaesitam supplendis Orientis legionibus " in AD 54 ; in AD 58 Corbulo had a dilectus " per Galatiam Cappadociamque " (*Ann.* 13 35) and in 69 soldiers of III Gallica saluted the rising sun, as Tacitus comments (*Hist.* 3 24), " ita in Syria mos est."
- 38 *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II I pp 383-5.
- 39 D.L. Kennedy, *The Auxilia and Numeri raised in the Roman province of Syria*, Unpublished Oxford D. Phil. Thesis.
- 40 E. Schürer, 2nd ed., pp 362-3, note 44.
- 41 H.I. MacAdam, *Studies in the history of the Roman province of Arabia*, Unpublished Manchester Ph. D. thesis.
- 42 IGRR III I220- Waddington, 2380.

1. N.D. Or. 36. 22.
2. IGRR III II40 - Waddington, 2121.
3. ILS 2724 and addendum, p CLXXIX. See Devijver, V I7.
4. ILS 8853 - IGRR IV I213. See Devijver, A I32.
5. I933. 212.
6. IGLS I I39, corrected in vol. III, p 682.
7. IGRR III I231.
8. XVI 69.
9. See XIII 6235 from Worms and E. Stein, Truppenkörper, p I21 f.
10. XII 2231.
11. I958. I56 and see H.G. Pflaum, Carrières, III p 975 and Devijver, De Aegypto I04 for discussion.
12. I967. 287.
13. N.D. Or. 32. 36.
14. ILS 2724.
15. XVI 29.
16. See Cichorius, PW RE Ala I234.
17. ILS 2510.
18. I969/70. 653. See Devijver, L I6.
19. I969/70. 653.
20. I969/70. 652, 649.
21. X I258. See Devijver, R 21.
22. ILS 9485 - I914. 262. See Devijver, C 80.
23. III II97, for example.
24. Dislokation, p I7 f.
25. XVI 47.
26. XVI 61.
27. III 6748.
28. For which see F. Cumont, Studia Pontica II, Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie, p 305 f.

29. It was in Pannonia for example in I50 (XVI 99) and I67 (XVI I23)
30. 1908. 273 - IGLS 4 I361.
31. W. Wagner, Dislokation, p 20 f.
32. Britannia, 7. 1977, especially pages 251-2.
33. N.D. Or. 36. 34.
34. This is referred to by M. Dunand in Syria, VII 1926, p 328.
35. III 4382 - ILS 2528. For discussion see Wagner, Dislokation, p 25 f.
36. N. D. Or. 37. 27.
37. N. D. Or. 32. 33.
38. N. D. Or. 32. 34.
39. N. D. Or. 35. 31.
40. XVI 3 and see M. Roxan, BAR Supplementary Series, I5, p 62 and table IV.
41. M. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
42. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 69.
43. XVI 87.
44. Roxan, RMD, no. 69.
45. N.D. Or. 34. 34.
46. XIV 5351. See Devijver, Incertus 257.
47. ILS 9488. See Devijver, C I87.
48. XVI I06.
49. 1947. I71 and for comment see H. Seyrig, Syria, 22 1941, p 234, no. 5.
50. ILS 2541 - III I23, emended by Ritterling (Jahresheft d. Ost. arch. Inst., III 1900, p 27) from ex dupl. Val(eriae) (sc.alae) dr(omedarior)um to ex dupl. al(ae) U(lpiae) dr(omedarior)um.
51. IGRR III I259.
52. The inscriptions are referred to only at 1933. 239. For the texts see Schlumberger, La Palmyrene du nord-ouest, 1951, pp 86-7.
53. See Seyrig, Syria, 22 1941, p 218 f.
54. VI 31032 - ILS I418. See Devijver, C I70.
55. Pliny, Letters, 7. 31 and see PIR 2nd ed. C 966.
56. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
57. N.D. Or. 32. 38.
58. N.D. Or. 36. 33.

59. N.D. Or. 32. 35.
60. V. 7007 - ILS 2544.
61. XVI 33.
62. ILS 949I. See Devijver, V 31.
63. IGLS 6. 2783.
64. 1974. 579 and see Seyrig, Syria 22 1941, p 219, no's 1-4.
65. Almost certainly Syrian. See M. Roxan, BAR Supplementary Series, 15, p 62.
66. XVI 33.
67. M. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
68. XVI 33.
69. M. Roxan, RMD, no. 69.
70. 1926. 82 - JRS I4 1924 p 201, Ramsay, Studies in Galatia. He would read :
ala An[t]i/[ochensium . Birley prefers ala An[t]i/[ana. See Devijver, Incertus
65.
71. N.D. Or. 34. 33.
72. XVI 3. The unit is listed either as ala veterana Gallorum et Thracum
(Nesselhauf, note ad XVI 3) or simply as ala veterana Gallorum (Roxan,
BAR, Supplementary Series, 15, Appendix, table IV).
73. XVI 35.
74. Klio, 37 1959, p 210 f. - M. Roxan, RMD, no. 5, where it appears in the
genitive as alae veterana[e Ga]ll[i]ca[e].
75. Lesquier, L'Armée romaine d'Egypte, Appendix 2.
76. Lesquier, o.c. in previous note, p 76 f.
77. ILS 2710 - V 3356 and 3337-8 and note. See Devijver, C 122.
78. 1935. 167 and see Pflaum, Carrières, no. 226 and Devijver, De Aegypto, 2.
79. IGLS 6. 2783.
80. N.D. Or. 33. 30.
81. N.D. Or. 37. 26.
82. See Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A 17, p 21 f.
83. N.D. Or. 33. 31.
84. N.D. Or. 34. 35.
85. See ILS 9148 - XIII 7323 for its presence in Germany.
86. ILS 2771 - III 99.

- 59. N.D. Or. 32. 35.
- 60. V. 7007 - ILS 2544.
- 61. XVI 33.
- 62. ILS 9491. See Devijver, V 31.
- 63. IGLS 6. 2783.
- 64. 1974. 579 and see Seyrig, Syria 22 1941, p 219, no's 1-4.
- 65. Almost certainly Syrian. See M. Roxan, BAR Supplementary Series, 15, p 62.
- 66. XVI 33.
- 67. M. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
- 68. XVI 33.
- 69. M. Roxan, RMD, no. 69.
- 70. 1926. 82 - JRS I4 1924 p 201, Ramsay, Studies in Galatia. He would read :
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- 71. N.D. Or. 34. 33.
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(Nesselhauf, note ad XVI 3) or simply as ala veterana Gallorum (Roxan,
BAR, Supplementary Series, 15, Appendix, table IV).
- 73. XVI 35.
- 74. Klio, 37 1959, p 210 f. - M. Roxan, RMD, no. 5, where it appears in the
genitive as alae veterana[e Ga]ll[i]ca[e].
- 75. Lesquier, L'Armée romaine d'Egypte, Appendix 2.
- 76. Lesquier, o.c. in previous note, p 76 f.
- 77. ILS 2710 - V 3356 and 3337-8 and note. See Devijver, C I22.
- 78. 1935. 167 and see Pflaum, Carrières, no. 226 and Devijver, De Aegypto, 2.
- 79. IGLS 6. 2783.
- 80. N.D. Or. 33. 30.
- 81. N.D. Or. 37. 26.
- 82. See Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A I7, p 21 f.
- 83. N.D. Or. 33. 31.
- 84. N.D. Or. 34. 35.
- 85. See ILS 9148 - XIII 7323 for its presence in Germany.
- 86. ILS 2771 - III 99.

87. XVI 35.
88. XVI 39.
89. 1969/70. 583.
90. IGRR I 824. See B. Isaac, *The Decapolis in Syria, a neglected inscription*, ZPE 44 1981, pp 67-74 for discussion and dating of this career to 90-93, under Domitian.
91. Dislokation, p 60 f.
92. JRS 60 1970, p 147.
93. N.D. Or. 35. 29.
94. ILS 9013. See Pflaum, *Carrières*, 157 and Devijver, A 167, who suggests the command of an ala Parthorum in Mesopotamia c. 150.
95. N.D. Or. 35. 30.
96. On the origin of the ala VII Phrygum see Ramsay, *Studies in Galatia*, JRS 14 1924, p 201.
97. ILS 2711 - II 4251.
98. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
99. XVI 87.
100. 1905. 55.
101. XVI 103.
102. IGRR III 500, lines 54-6 and see Pflaum, *Carrières*, 76 and Devijver, I 55.
103. 1925. 44. See Devijver, C 143.
104. ILS 2727 - VI 1838. See Devijver, A 182.
105. 1933. 270. See Devijver, C 168.
106. III 670, 671, 672. See Devijver, C 116.
107. See Devijver, I 123 on the career of Sextus Iulius Serenus.
108. ILS 2741 - XIV 171. See Devijver, *De Aegypto*, 86.
109. For which see most recently G. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, pp 30-31.
110. XVI 31.
111. M. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
112. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
113. ILS 2724.
114. N.D. Or. 38. 26.
115. N.D. Or. 32. 37.

II6. Josephus, BJ I 403.

II7

II7. Josephus, BJ 2. 52 ; AJ, I7. 266.

II8. Josephus, BJ 2. 215.

II9. Josephus, AJ 19. 365.

I20. Cumanus was procurator from AD 48 to c. 52. See Schürer, 2nd ed., p 458 f.

I21. Josephus, BJ 2 236 ; AJ 20. I22.

I22. Josephus, BJ 3. 66.

I23. Josephus, AJ. 19. 366 f.

I24. Roxan, RMD, 3.

I25. See for example VIII 9358, 9359 ; Ephemeris Epigraphica, V I000 and VIII I7900 from Tingad in Numidia.

I26. N.D. Or. 34. 32.

I27. ILS 9471. See Devijver, A 5.

I28. ILS 2724. See Devijver, V 17.

I29. See I933. 207 and X 6426 and for comment E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p I46 f.

I30. I933. 207.

I31. XVI 106.

I32. ILS 8853 - CIG 3497. For the date see Pflaum, Carrières, 218 ter 309 and Devijver, A I32.

I33. III I4I59 no. I - Welles, Gerasa, no. I99 ; I930. 90 - Welles, Gerasa, no. 200 ; I930. 89 - Welles, Gerasa, no. 20I.

I34. XVI 55.

I35. M. Roxan, BAR Supplementary Series, I5 I976, Table IV, p 76.

I36. II 4239 and ILS 2709 - XII I357.

I37. See pages 45-46.

I38. IGRR III I420 - ILS 8868.

I39. See von Premerstein, Klio I2 I9I2, p I60.

I40. Dio, History, 49. 36.

I41. XVI 106.

I42. I929. I25. See Devijver, C II5.

I43. ILS 2724.

- I14. ILS 8869 and ILS I327. For comment see Pflaum, Carrières, I80 and Devijver, I 72. I18
- I45. I933. 209.
- I46. I947. I73. See Devijver, C I95.
- I47. I933. 213.
- I48. I940. I66 - IGLS III I188.
- I49. For its presence in Egypt in I85 see for example BGU III 807 ; P. Amh. II I07, I08. For the ala's later history see Lesquier, L'Armée romaine d'Egypte, p 78 f. It is last referred to in AD 202.
- I50. XVI 33.
- I51. I962. 276.
- I52. I931. III.
- I53. L'Armée romaine d'Egypte, p 79 f.
- I54. XVI 35.
- I55. I961. 319 - M. Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- I56. II 425I. See Devijver, V 30.
- I57. R.P. Harper, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, no. 29, I975, p 32I.
- I58. I937. 38.
- I59. XVI 76-77.
- I60. IGRR III 57.
- I61. N.D. Or. 37. 29.
- I62. N.D. Or. 34. 35.
- I63. N.D. Or. 37. 30.
- I64. N.D. Or. 35. 27.
- I65. IGRR I I184. For the remaining evidence see Lesquier, L'Armée romaine d'Egypte, pp 82-3.
- I66. I933. 214, and see Speidel, Syria, 49 I972, p 495 f.
- I67. See Lesquier, L'Armée romaine d'Egypte, p 80 f.
- I68. III I60 and I4I60 no. 2 - Waddington, 2562c.

Notes on the cohorts in Syria, Judaea and Arabia

- 1 N.D. Or. 34. 40.
- 2 N.D. Or. 32. 43.
- 3 Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A 17, p 21 f.
- 4 N.D. Or. 32. 41.
- 5 N.D. Or. 37. 35.
- 6 N.D. Or. 36. 35.
- 7 N.D. Or. 37. 34.
- 8 IX 3664.
- 9 XVI 35.
- 10 XVI 106.
- 11 ILS 2724.
- 12 Dura, Final Report, V I, Parchments and Papyri, XIII 1 9.
- 13 ILS 2683 - III 6687.
- 14 1925. 121.
- 15 IGRR III 1136 - OGIS 421 - Waddington 2112.
- 16 Acts of the Apostles, 27. 1.
- 17 See Schürer, 2nd ed. p 364 for a sensible discussion.
- 18 XVI 87.
- 19 Kraft, Germania, 34 1956 75.
- 20 XVI 94.
- 21 Kellner BVB1. 31 1966 p 90 no. 1.
- 22 Merlin, Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie, p 49, no. 261. See Devijver,
F 10.
- 23 XVI 35.
- 24 XVI 87.
- 25 M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, 69.
- 26 ILS 5549 - VIII 7079. See Devijver, A 197.
- 27 XVI 46.
- 28 See III 215 from Knodara, to the north-west of Salamis in the east of
the island.

- 120
29. On the trouble in Cyprus see Dio, 68. 32. 2 ; ILS 9491. For the destruction of Salamis see Eusebius, Chron., ed. Schoene II p 164 (19th year of Trajan) ; Orosius, Historia contra Paganos, 7. 12. section 8 : " Sane Salaminam, urbem Cypri, interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt."
 30. XVI 112, 113.
 31. XVI 35.
 32. R.P. Harper, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, no. 29, 1975, p 321.
 33. XVI 103.
 34. ILS 2724.
 35. XVI 106, revised by M. Roxan, 1972. 669.
 36. XVI 33.
 37. N.D. Or. 34. 39.
 38. XVI 106.
 39. III I29 - III 6658.
 40. In place of the former reading of coh(ors) V Chalc(idenorum) see that of the addendum to ILS 2724 (p CLXXIX) of coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Chalc(idenorum). Bormann has suggested a similar reading (JOAI, III 1900, p 26) of coh(ors) [I F]l[a]v(ia) Chalc(idenorum).
 41. 1969/70. 610.
 42. 1969/70. 611.
 43. 1933. 216.
 44. Syria. 47 1970, p 319.
 45. N.D. Or. 34. 30.
 46. See Wilcken, Papyrusurkunden, I 2 144 for AD 132/3 and II 207 for 135.
 47. XVI 87.
 48. Roxan, RMD, no. 69.
 49. ILS 2722. See Devijver, C 240.
 50. XIV 2618. See Devijver, F 13. The restoration of Da mascenorum is very uncertain.
 51. ILS 2724.
 52. V 2841. See Devijver, V 27.
 53. Final Report, V. I, Parchments and Papyri, no. 82, col. II, p 275, l. 8.
 54. 1954. 266.
 55. ILS 2683 - III 6687. See Devijver, A 90.

- 56. XVI 35.
- 57. XVI 106.
- 58. IX 4855a. See Devijver, F63.
- 59. N.D. Or. 34. 47.
- 60. See Ritterling, Wiener Studien, 1902, p 364.
- 61. ILS 2748.
- 62. Pflaum's reading of ILS 9195 here makes Wagner's suggestion that the unit took part in Vespasian's Jewish War less likely.
- 63. XVI 106.
- 64. ILS 2724 and addendum, p CLXXIX, and see JOAI, III 1900, pp 25-29.
- 65. N.D. Or. 33. 33.
- 66. IGLS 4 1356.
- 67. The inscriptions are referred to at I952. 239. For the texts see Schlumberger, La Palmyrène du nord-ouest, 1951, pp 86-7.
- 68. N.D. Or. 34. 43.
- 69. N.D. Or. 35. 33.
- 70. XVI 35.
- 71. XVI 87.
- 72. ILS 2724 and addendum, and Dessau's note ad loc.
- 73. 1925. 44. See Devijver, C 143.
- 74. OGIS 705. See Devijver, De Aegypto, 57.
- 75. N.D. Or. 34. 45.
- 76. N.D. Or. 34. 41.
- 77. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
- 78. O.c. in previous note, no. 4.
- 79. ILS 1437 - VIII 7039. See Pflaum, Carrières, 158 and Devijver, C 178.
- 80. ILS 8853 - IGRR IV 1213, and see Pflaum, Carrières, 218 ter (309) and Devijver, A 132.
- 81. N. D. Or. 35. 32.
- 82. XVI 87.
- 83. Roxan, RMD, 69.
- 84. IGRR IV 882 - CIG 39531. See Devijver, U 18.

85. 1934. 230.
86. XVI 87.
87. Roxan, RMD, 69.
88. N.D. Or. 34. 44.
89. It is attested there in 99 (XVI 45) and before II4 (XVI 58).
90. XVI 103.
91. XVI 106.
92. III 131.
93. III 132.
94. III 132 and I4I60 no. 3.
95. III 1193 - ILS 2746. See Devijver, I 49.
96. Kolbe, Bonner Jahrbücher 1962 p 407 and SHA Pertinax, I. 6. See most recently Devijver, H 9 and add. p 510.
97. 1935. 167.- See Devijver, De Aegypto, 2.
98. XVI 87.
99. The reading is however very uncertain. See M. Roxan, RMD, 69 and note 4.
100. 1948. 50.
101. N.D. Or. 33. 32.
102. N.D. Or. 34. 42.
103. XIII 3684. The reading of this inscription is however uncertain.
104. 1956. 124. See Pflaum, Carrières, I8I bis and addendum and Devijver, V 23.
105. E. Birley, Alae and cohortes milliariae, Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata, p 58.
106. N.D. Or. 32. 40.
107. It is attested there for example in 83 (XVI 29) and 99 (ILS 8907).
108. 1968. 513 - Roxan, RMD, no. 9.
109. Lesquier, L'Armée romaine d'Egypte, p 88 f.
110. Syria, 44 1967, p 355.
111. Princeton Expedition to Syria, III Greek and Latin inscriptions, A part 2, p 21, no. 17.
112. 1933. 215, corrected in Antiquités Syriennes by H. Seyrig, II, Additions and Corrections.

- II3. IGRR IV 728, on which see Devijver, F I04 and XI 4376, on which see Devijver, Incertus, 201.
- II4. Acts, IO. I.
- II5. See Schürer, 2nd ed., p 365.
- II5A. Cheesman, Auxilia, pages 65-67.
- II5B. Cheesman, Auxilia, page 66, note 2.
- II6. See I4383a - ILS 9I68. For a plausible context see Tacitus, Histories, 2.8. 3 and Wagner, Dislokation, p I56 for comment.
- II7. XVI 35.
- II8. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- II9. XVI 106.
- I20. VI 3528. See Devijver, P¹ 2.
- I21. XI 6117. The precise dating of this inscription depends on whether the unnumbered cohors Italica in this inscription is considered to be a cohors I or cohors II Italica. In the former case it can be identified with the cohors I Italica milliaria voluntaria c.R. which was in Cappadocia by I45 (See Degrassi, o.c. in note I22) and which may be presumed to be in Syria when the inscription was set up. In favour of this is the fact that the cohors II Italica is never entitled voluntaria, while the cohors I Italica later in Cappadocia and the unnumbered cohort of this inscription are so described. This is the alternative I have adopted in the text (See p 29). In the case of an identification with the cohors II Italica, a standing member of Syria's garrison, which is assumed by Devijver (M 7), the terminus ante quem of the departure of the cohort from the province ceases to exist and it is only possible to date the inscription between the Flavians and I94, though Devijver would prefer a Trajanic dating.
- I22. VI 3654 and for a fragment which completes this broken career inscription see Degrassi, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1968, 8th series, Memorie, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. XIII, 1967-8, inscription 5. On the career see Devijver, V 28.
- I23. ILS 8865. See Devijver, F I09.
- I24. XVI 35.
- I25. XVI 57. Another possibility is that the cohort, like several units in garrison in Syria, was transferred to Mauretania, where a cohors I Ituraeorum is attested from 109 (XVI I06 and see M. Roxan, The Auxilia of Mauretania Tingitana, Latomus 32 1973, pp 838-855). However this unit's possession of a c. R. title tells against this identification.
- I26. IGRR III I139.
- I27. III 8716. But the reference is possibly to a cohort of Tyrians. See Devijver, V. 3.
- I28. D. Oates, Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq, p 79.
- I29. 1967. 525. See Devijver, M. 68.
- I30. 1908. 22.

131. N.D. Or. 38. 35.
132. XVI 26.
133. XVI 35.
134. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
135. ILS 2724.
136. ILS 9011. For the date see Pflaum, *Carrières*, 119 and addendum, who suggests it is Hadrianic and Devijver, S 69, who proposes a date of c. 125.
137. For two other cohortes I Lusitanorum see Wagner, *Dislokation*, p 161 f.
138. XVI 33.
139. Pflaum, *Syria* 44 1967, p 352 - Roxan, RMD, no. 9.
140. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, p 92 f.
141. 1958. 239, 240.
142. See in the text pages 78-83. See however the novel view of Kennedy, *The Auxilia and Numeri raised in the Roman province of Syria*, Unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, p 221) that such cohorts were numbered from the total number of cohorts in the province at the time of their creation.
143. XVI 35.
144. See cohort no. 70 and J.C. Mann, *IEJ* 19 1969, p 212.
145. IGRR III 1168.
146. 1905. 6 - ILS 8863 and see Devijver, P 72. For the second career see 1926.74.
147. ILS 7528 - III 2006.
148. N.D. Or. 34. 36.
149. XVI 87.
150. XVI 61.
151. XVI 123.
152. XVI 35.
153. 1908. 149. See Devijver, N. 18.
154. ILS 9472. See Devijver, M 49, who suggests a date of c. 200-250.
155. XVI 35.
156. XVI 128.
157. *Athenische Mitteilungen*, IX 262 - ILS 8865. See Devijver, F 109.
158. CIG add. 5783c.
159. N.D. Or. 32. 44.

- I60. N.D. Or. 34. 46.
- I61. Dura 6th Season, p 433 f - Dura, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, no. 30, ll. 3-4.
- I62. See pages 78-83 in the text. However see also note I42 above, p I24.
- I63. See for a brief history of the unit, Dura, Final Report, V Part I, Parchments and Papyri, p 26 f. For the theory that it was created under Marcus Aurelius see D.L. Kennedy, o.c. in note I42, p I24 above, pages 215 f.
- I64. See Dura, Final Report cited in the previous note, no. I00 of 219 for enlistments going back to I92. But see also Kennedy, o.c. in previous note.
- I65. See Final Report, 60 B and in general p I9I f, no's 54-150 for the cohort's files.
- I66. I923. 23.
- I67. On which see Dura Excavations, 9th Season, p I76 f. and Devijver, I I3I.
- I68. I948. 124.
- I69. I940. 240.
- I70. Referred to by Gilliam, Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, V I. p 27, no. 12.
- I71. See Final Report, Parchments and Papyri, no. 64 and note the place names in the rosters, especially 100 and 101.
- I72. XVI 35.
- I73. XVI 29.
- I74. XVI 106.
- I75. The inscription is unpublished. See for its text J-P. Rey-Coquais, JRS 68 1978, p 68 and note 332.
- I76. For Julius Saturninus see Groag, PIR 2nd ed. A I2II.
- I77. N.D. Or. 28. 41.
- I78. I964. 225. See Devijver, C I46.
- I79. XVI 106.
- I80. ILS 2724.
- I81. I954. 265.
- I82. N.D. Or. 35. 29.
- I83. See in the text pages 235-6.
- I84. XVI 106.
- I85. ILS 2724.
- I86. VIII 21037. See Devijver, I 7.
- I87. ILS 9471. See Devijver, A 5.
- I88. XVI 106.

- 189. ILS 2724.
- 190. 1947. 168 - Seyrig, Syria, 22 1941, p 226, no's 1 and 2. See Devijver, A 8.
- 191. XVI 87.
- 192. 1921.64 and see Pflaum, Bayerische Vorgeschichtesblätter, 27. 1962, p 82 f. and Devijver, I 32.
- 193. The first three cohorts of Petraeans were, or became, milliary. For the first cohort we have only the high position of the unit in the diploma for 156-7 (XVI 106), where it is listed second. The cohors II Petraeorum is specifically attested as milliary (ILS 2728), as is the third cohort on a career from Morocco (1931. 36). The latter unit was also commanded by a $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ -tribunus rather than an $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ -praefectus (ILS 9471), which implies that it was milliary. For the remaining cohorts what evidence we have suggests that they were quingenary. They are listed low down on the diplomas they appear in - the cohors IV Petraeorum is tenth cohort on the diploma of 139 for Syria Palaestine (XVI 87) and the sixth cohort is eleventh in the same diploma. Then the fifth Petraean cohort was commanded by a praefectus for his first militia (XIV 162), which strongly suggests that it was quingenary. Probably Alexianus therefore, commanding a Petraean cohort for his first militia, was in charge of one of the quingenary units, IV, V or VI.
- 194. XVI 106.
- 195. ILS 2724.
- 196. XIV 162.
- 197. XVI 87.
- 198. 1934. 132.
- 199. 1972. 592. See Devijver, Incertus, 24, who dates the career to the reign of Caracalla or later.
- 200. ILS 2724 and addendum, p clxxix.
- 201. Antiquités de l'Euphrate, Exposition des découvertes de la campagne internationale de sauvegarde des Antiquités de l'Euphrate, Aleppo museum, Tell el Hajj, R. Stucky, p 94 f.
- 202. L.c. in previous note, p 96.
- 203. N.D. Or. 34. 48.
- 204. XVI 35.
- 205. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
- 206. XVI 87.
- 207. Roxan, RMD, 69.
- 208. N.D. Or. 34. 32. For the promotion of cohorts to alae see page 152.
- 209. Seyrig, Syria, 22 1941, p 236, no. 6 - 1947. 172, and Syria, l.c. p 237 no. 7.
- 210. 1948. 151.
- 211. 1948. 150.

212. XVI 44.
213. XVI 78.
214. 1927. 95.
215. XVI 106.
216. ILS 2724.
217. VI I543. See Devijver, V I25.
218. ILS I351 - VIII 9363. See Devijver, S 98. It is not certain which Sygambran cohort is referred to on the inscription.
219. III I4147 no. 2 - ILS 8907.
220. 1968. 513 - Roxan, RMD, no. 9.
221. Roxan, RMD, no. 3.
222. XVI 33. For comment see J.C. Mann (IEJ 1969, 19, p 213) and Roxan, BAR Supplementary Series, 15 1976 p 65. But Roxan's suggestion that the cohors I Thracum in Judaea in 86 (XVI 33) was raised to milliary status by I39 (XVI 87) takes no account of the already existing cohors I Thracum milliaria in Syria in AD 91 (Roxan, RMD, no. 4), which may easily have been transferred to Syria Palaestina. It is not later attested in Syria.
223. 1967. 530.
224. III I09, 110.
225. 1928. I54.
226. J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward-Perkins, Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania, no. 96. See Devijver, A 266.
227. 1947. I71. See Devijver, C I65.
228. Princeton Expedition to Syria, III A, Greek and Latin inscriptions, part 2, no. 17.
229. N.D. Or. 37. 32.
230. XVI 35, but see no. 47 above.
231. 1961. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.
232. Polotsky, IEJ 12 1962, p 260. The troops here were plausibly outposted from Hebron, where a tile-stamp of the unit has been found. See M.P. Speidel, ZPE 35 1979, pp 170-172.
233. XVI 87.
234. Roxan, RMD, 69.
235. N.D. Or. 37. 31.
236. IGRR IV I565. See Devijver, C I69.
237. This inscription is reported to be in the Austrian Institute of Archaeology. See PIR 2nd ed. C 965. The reference however may not be to this cohort. See PIR addenda, p xxii n. 965. Also the Pollio of this inscription may well not be the P. Claudius Pollio of the Teos inscription. Devijver, C I69 and note 236 above.

239. See in text pages 204-5.

240. XVI 33.

241. Roxan's attempt (BAR, Supplementary Series, 15 1976, p 65) to identify this cohort with the cohors I Thracum in Syria Palaestina in I39 (XVI 87) is doubtful. See above note 222.

242. Princeton Expedition to Syria, III Greek and Latin inscriptions, A part 2, p 21, no. 17.

243. N.D. Or. 37. 32.

244. See OGIS 586 - IGLS 7 40II and Devijver, De Aegypto, 108. At least 5 cohortes I Thracum are known (See Pflaum, Carrieres, 181 bis, pp 479-80 for references). But the two posts of the -inius Secun- of the inscription from Aradus, his attachment to Tiberius Julius Alexander in the Jewish War and the sub(?) -procuratorship of Syria, were both in the region of Syria and Judaea. Perhaps our officer was selected for the former post because of his familiarity with the area, possibly gained through command of the cohors I Thracum in Judaea in 86. The unit may have been transferred to Egypt later, where we find such a cohort by I27 (I937. II2).

245. See I937. II2.

246. XVI 22.

247. XVI 33.

248. Pflaum, Syria 44 1967, p 353 f. - Roxan, RMD, no. 9.

249. XVI 35.

250. I96I. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.

251. III I4387 1 - IGLS 6 2687. See Devijver, Incertus, 69.

252. I9II. I24. On the basis of the text and style of this inscription (See Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures des musees ottomans, III I404) I have dated it to 150-200. Devijver, R 5 without discussion dates it to the late first to early second century.

253. ILS 2724 and addendum, p clxxix. The absence of any title from the cohort means that the Egyptian cohors II Thracum cannot be ruled out.

254. I96I. 319 - Roxan, RMD, no. 4.

255. XVI 106.

256. ILS 2724 and addendum. But see note 253 above.

257. XIV 2957. See Devijver, V 10.

258. XVI 35.

259. ILS 9471. See Devijver, A 5.

260. XVI 106.
261. ILS I327. See Pflaum, *Carrières* 180 and Devijver, I 72 for the date.
262. X 6100. See Devijver, B 30, who suggests a possibly second century date.
263. Final Report, *Parchments and Papyri*, V. I. no. 26.
264. XVI 35.
265. For the text and brief discussion of the inscription see Speidel, ZPE 38 1980, pp 146-8. For a possible dating of the inscription see Speidel, ZPE 42 1981, p 272. But the reading of the name of the soldier is not secure. See Notes p 3, 54B.
266. ILS 9471. See Devijver, A 5.
267. ILS 9173.
268. Princeton Expedition to Syria, III Greek and Latin inscriptions, A p 21, no. 17.
269. XVI 35.
270. CIL Supplementum Italicum, Fasc. I, no. 10. See Devijver, S 45 for dating to the Flavian period.
271. II 1970 - ILS I341. See Devijver, V 29.
272. As suggested by Ritterling, *Ost. Jahreh.* III 1900, p 31.
273. XVI 106.
274. ILS 2724.
275. 1928. 86.
276. 1934. 280 - Dura Excavations, 5th Season, p 226 f. no. 561.
277. 1931. II3.
278. 1933. 270. See Devijver, C 168.
279. ILS 8852. See Devijver, P 95.
280. N.D. Or. 33. 34.
281. N.D. Or. 34. 38.
282. N.D. Or. 37. 33.
283. N.D. Or. 36. 36.

Notes on the date of Lollianus' command of his vexillation in Mesopotamia

- 1 XVI 106.
- 2 Jahresheft des Österr. archÄol. Inst. III 1900 II f, esp. 21 f.
- 3 XVI 106.
- 4 XVI 44.
- 5 XVI 78.
- 6 1927. 95. See Ritterling JRS 17 1927 pp 30-31. On the garrison of Eumeneia see Ramsay JRS 19. 1929 p 155 f and 18. 1928 p 187 f.
- 7 XVI 106.
- 8 XVI 87.
- 9 XVI 106.
- 10 IGR III 1420.
- 11 See Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I p 245 no. 68.
- 12 Dio uses Παιονία for Pannonia (see e.g. 49. 36). But see below p 46 and Premerstein, Klio XII 1912 p 160 f. for an alternative explanation.
- 13 It is hazardous to argue from careers to dispositions but it is perhaps worth noting a Hadrianic commander of the unit whose first and second commands were in Moesia Inferior and Superior respectively before his prefecture of the ala (1929. 125. See Pflaum Carrières no. 110). This is the same part of the empire that our anonymous officer was active in.
- 14 ILS 1327 and see Pflaum, Carrières no. 180. Julianus was "donis militaribus donatus ab imperatoribus Antonino et Vero ob victoriam [belli Parthi] ci".
- 15 XVI 83.
- 16 In 99 (XVI 45) and 134 (XVI 78).

Notes on Excavations and the Negev

- 1 The section lay "alongside the paved and colonnaded street which flanks the southern bank of the wadi Musa as it cuts from east to west across the Petra basin". (P. Parr, A Sequence of pottery from Petra, in Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, ed. by J.A. Sanders, p 351).
- 2 J. Starcky, AAS, XXI IX, Congres Int. d'Arch. Classique, pp 79-86, especially p 81 f.
- 3 H.D. Colt, Excavations at Nessana, 1 1962 and for a brief summary of the picture in this period see pp 15-6 and EAEHL vol. III p 927 f.
- 4 See the anonymous Periplous of the Erythraean Sea, of the first century AD, c. 19 (C. Müller, Geogr. Graeci Minores, p 272) and Mommsen's discussion (römische Geschichte, V Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian, p 479 and note I).
- 5 See the Periplous, c. 19. Leuke Kome is a large trading centre (ἐμποριον μεγα) from where camel traders (καμηληποροι) travel back and forth in numbers as large as armies (ἵσπερ κη στρατοπεδου)
- 6 Probably alich II. See Bowersock, JRS 61 1971, p 223. Malich II reigned from AD 40 to AD 70.
- 7 See above p 225 f for an overall view of the ducate of Palaestina and p 233 for a note on the miliary significance of Nessana.
- 8 See A. Negev, PEQ, 1969 p 4 f for a summary of the relevant evidence.
- 9 Oboda-Avdat (EAEHL, II v.s. Eboda pp 345-55); Elusa (o.c. II 359-360); Subeita (o.c. vol. IV, 1116-1124); Kurnub-Mampsis (o.c. III pp 722-735).
- 10 IEJ, 17. 1967 pp 46-55, and see EAEHL vol. II pp 345-354. For the excavation of an area datable to the second to third century see Hadashot Archaeologiyot, xiii-iv, Oct. 1977, 68.
- 11 IEJ, 1.c. in previous note, especially p 48 f and p 54 f.
- 12 A. Negev, The Nabataean workshop at Oboda, 1974, esp. 43 f.
- 13 PEQ, 1976 p 125 and note 6.
- 14 For a summary of the results of the excavation see PEQ, 1966, The Date of the Petra-Gaza road, p 89 f, esp. p 94 f. See also for a general summary of Negev's interpretations of the sites in the Negev PEQ 1969, p 5 f.
- 15 See e.g. A. Negev, The Nabataean workshop at Oboda, p 43 f.
- 16 O.c. in previous note p 45.
- 17 A. Negev, Nabataean inscriptions from the Negev, IEJ, 13 1963, p 112 f. esp. p 120 f. See also Bowersock's criticism in JRS 61 1971 p 225.
- 18 PEQ, 1966, p 89 esp. p 94 f.

- 19 PEQ, 1969 p 5 f.
- 20 PEQ, 1969, especially pp 6-7.
- 21 Between c. 242 (see IEJ 13 1963 p 122 for a tombstone of this date) and the end of the third century.
- 22 H.D. Colt, Excavations at Nessana, I p 16.
- 23 PEQ 1969 p 5 f, especially pp 8-9.
- 24 J.A. Sauer, Preliminary Report, Heshbon pottery, 1971, 1973.
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