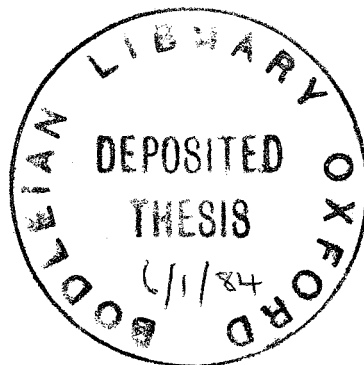


The Roman Army in Syria, Judaea and Arabia.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty Board of Literae Humaniores in the  
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GRACEY M.H.



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N.B. These maps are intended only as a rough guide to the dispositions of units referred to in the text.

ABSTRACT

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The Roman Army in Syria, Judaea and

October 1981 [ie 1987]

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I have attempted to answer three questions in this thesis. Firstly, what was the identity of the garrisons of Syria, Judaea and Arabia from the reign of Augustus to the end of the fourth century? Secondly, what were the dispositions of these troops and the implications of these dispositions? In the first two chapters I discuss the evidence for the units in garrison in Syria and trace their changing role as Syria was pacified and Roman power expanded eastwards, gradually but relentlessly until the mid-third century, recovering under Diocletian but relapsing into a defensive posture by c. AD 400. In chapters four, five and seven I examine the best-attested armies of the client-kings who ruled Judaea and its environs and those of the Roman provinces of Judaea, later Syria-Palaestine, and Arabia and trace their changing role from armies of pacification to forces of frontier defence.

I have thirdly, in chapters three, six and eight, examined recruitment to the auxilia of the provincial armies during the same period. Most commanders in Syria under the Julio-Claudian emperors came from Italy or Augustan colonies. By the later first century they are coming from the more civilised provinces of the empire and by the third century from Syria itself. Our slight evidence for Judaea and Arabia suggests similar trends, with evidence for local commanders in Arabia in the fourth century. A not inconsiderable proportion of the soldiers these officers commanded were during the early first century drawn from the west and, despite increasing local recruitment, recruits from outside Syria continued to be sent during the second century. Severus recruited on a vast scale from the east but local forces continued in the fourth century to be supplemented by units from the west.

In my concluding chapter nine I outline the development of the frontier in the light of my work and present my findings on recruitment against the background of evidence for legionary recruitment in the east and for auxiliary recruitment in the rest of the empire.

ABSTRACT

I have set out to answer three questions in this thesis. Firstly, what was the identity of the garrisons of Syria, Judaea and Arabia from the reign of Augustus to the date of the composition of the Notitia Dignitatum? Secondly, what were their dispositions and the implications of these dispositions? Finally I have examined recruitment to the auxilia of the provincial armies during the same period.

In the first chapter I outline the identity and dispositions of the legions and auxilia in Syria from Augustus to the Veran Parthian war. The occupying and pacifying forces of Augustus, concentrated in the north-west of the province, are moved eastwards to become an army of frontier defence facing Parthia on the Euphrates and, in the second century, bringing the desert under increasingly tight Roman control. The auxiliary forces, originally mainly from the west, are reinforced from outside the province by Trajan. A rough idea of their dispositions is given, I argue, by the diplomas of AD 88 and that of 156-7.

In the second chapter I examine Syria's garrison from Verus' Parthian war to the Notitia. Roman expansion across the Euphrates after the Veran victory culminated in Severus' creation of Mesopotamia and the consequent reorganisation of the garrison to protect the new province and routes to Syria and to police the new frontier. Severus recruited auxiliary units on a large scale to garrison his conquests.

In the mid third century we hear mainly of repeated campaigns in Mesopotamia. The forces of Syria and Mesopotamia were largely destroyed by Sapor in the 250's and the Roman frontier in Mesopotamia collapsed. Rome's straits aided the brief rise of Palmyra, whose king could draw on the largely native Roman forces in Phoenice, experienced in desert warfare.

Diocletian completely reorganised the eastern frontier and his system, largely preserved throughout the fourth century, is reflected in the Notitia. He created a system of two legion frontier provinces from Phoenice to northern Mesopotamia, of which the troops were based mainly on the roads along the frontier in the desert provinces and in fortresses on major east-west roads in the provinces facing Persia. By the end of the fourth century these latter forces are backed up by a field army based at or near Antioch.

In chapter three I examine the origins of the soldiers of the auxilia in Syria. In the Julio-Claudian period the commanders of the auxiliary units are all Italians or from Augustan colonies. The soldiers they commanded were drawn to a considerable extent from the west, though there was some local supplementary recruitment. For the period from Vespasian to Trajan the commanding officers are being drawn from the more civilised provinces of the empire, from Spain, Africa and Asia. Recruitment from the west, especially Thrace, continues, even into units not originally from the west. But new units and recruits are also drawn from Syria.

For the period from Hadrian to Severus commanders are coming from a wide variety of provinces, including Syria itself. New units are drawn from newly conquered regions like Dacia and recruits from sources of long standing as well as from Syria.

For the first half of the third century we lack evidence for commanders. But there was unprecedented recruitment of soldiers from the cities of the east to units remaining in garrison on the eastern frontier, like the Palmyrene cohort at Dura. After Roman defeats in the 250's some Roman officers continued to serve for a time under Odenathus. Most of the Palmyrene forces were however largely Syrian, though many will have served in Roman units in the east.

In the fourth century the Notitia lists make it clear that units of

Franks, Saxons and other western tribes have taken the place of Thracians and Paphlagonians as supplements to local recruits, who are serving in both units of equites and old-style alae and cohorts.

In chapter four I turn to Judaea and consider the early career of Herod, whose forces were taken over by the Romans when his kingdom became a province. Herod built up an army on the Roman model from military colonies and border settlements, stiffened by an elite of units of western tribesmen. I examine the evidence for Herod and his relations with the Nabataean kingdom and argue that there was no highly organised frontier system directed against the Nabataeans in the Negev. The forts there were to protect traders, travellers and local inhabitants from desert marauders. I go on to consider what evidence we have for the auxiliary forces in Judaea from 4 BC to AD 66, of which we hear mainly of Sebastene units, and conclude with an examination of the evidence for the army of Agrippa II, who from AD 53 ruled a kingdom in the Hauran region.

In chapter five I consider the evidence for the identity and dispositions of the garrison of Judaea from the Jewish revolt under Nero to the Notitia. I note the slight evidence for the effects of the annexation of Arabia, the evidence for the strong garrison after the Hadrianic revolt and for a continuing occupation of the heart of the province during the second century. The Roman army remained an army of occupation. This had changed by the early fourth century. By the time of the Notitia the garrison of a Palestine including the southern half of Trajan's Arabia, was based mainly in the northern Negev and by Trajan's road to Aila-Aqaba.

In chapter six I examine the evidence for recruitment to the forces in Judaea. The senior officers in Herod's army included Roman citizens, possibly Italians, as well as his Babylonian colonists. His standing army was drawn from his kingdom's frontier areas, with contingents from the west. Of the

later client kings of the region only the army of Agrippa II is discussed. His officers were drawn from the Babylonian colony, from natives of the kingdom and probably from the Grecised upper classes of the cities. His soldiers were drawn from his kingdom and were possibly stiffened by Roman veterans.

In the period from AD 70 to the end of the second century the commanders of the units in Judaea were drawn from Italy, from Roman colonies, especially in Africa, and then from the east, from cities in Asia Minor and Syria. The units they commanded had been originally for the most part drawn from western provinces like Thrace, Africa and Spain, with an influx under Trajan from Galatia and Arabia, from which provinces some recruits were later sent, though there was also considerable local recruitment.

In chapter seven I examine the army in Arabia, first outlining the development of the Arabian frontier by considering the epigraphic evidence for the frontier in the light of the latest archaeological evidence for the region. The desert fringes were garrisoned in the later second century and during the Severan period. There was retrenchment in the later third century, followed by reinforcement under Diocletian and a continued concern for the frontier in the fourth century.

I go on to discuss the first legionary garrison of Arabia, arguing that III Cyrenaica of a vexillation of it was in Arabia between 106 and 119 but that the legion was not permanently transferred to Arabia until after 119. I then examine the evidence for the auxilia, which in addition to garrisoning the desert fringes occupied points as far distant from the heartland of the province as Meda'in Saleh in Saudi Arabia to protect caravans and to keep an eye on nomadic tribes.

I then consider the evidence for the army of the truncated Arabian

province of the fourth century and of the Notitia in the light of recent archaeological evidence. It reveals troops concentrated in forts on or by the province's frontier road from Lejjun north to Amman-Philadelphia and to the south and south-west of the Hauran. In a final section of the chapter I discuss the identity of the garrison.

In chapter eight I discuss the evidence for recruitment to the army of Arabia. A unit of Thracians garrisoned the city of Gerasa in the Decapolis before the creation of the province of Arabia. In the second century the three known commanders suggest that, as in Syria, a wide variety of provinces were being drawn on. Natives of the province mainly from the towns were serving in the Arabian army from the later second century. This probably continued into the fourth century. The slight epigraphic evidence suggests recruitment of the local Semitic population, with one son following his father into the army.

In chapter nine I list in alphabetical order the alae and cohorts that belonged to the garrisons of Syria, Judaea and Arabia and briefly outline their histories. I conclude with two appendices. In the first I argue for a Veran date for the command of Lollianus in Mesopotamia and in the second I discuss the archaeological evidence for the history of the Negev from Augustus to the fourth century, arguing for a period of prosperity in the first century BC and into the first century AD, followed by a decline during the second and third centuries, though with continuing occupation, until there was a revival of prosperity in the fourth and early fifth centuries.

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Bibliography    Abbreviations

Years followed by a number, as e.g. 1967. 42. refer to the year of publication and the number of an inscription in *L'Année Épigraphique*.

A Roman number followed by one in Arabic numerals refer respectively to the volume and number of an inscription in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL).

AAAS - *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*.

BASOR - Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

AASOR - The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

ADAJ - Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

AC - *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.

BAR - British Archaeological Reports.

Ber. RGK - Bericht der römisch-germanisch Kommission.

BGU - Aegyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, Berlin.

CAH - Cambridge Ancient History.

CGBM - Catalogue of the Greek coins of the British Museum.

CIG - *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

CR - Classical Review.

CSHB-- *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*.

EAEHL - Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations of the Holy Land.

FGH - *Fragmenta Graecorum Historicorum*, ed. C. Müller.

GIPT - *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia*, ed. A. Alt.

IGRR - *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, ed. R. Cagnat.

HSCP - Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.

Inscr. Graec. Bulg. - *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, ed. G. Mihailov.

IGLS - *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, vol's I-7, Paris, 1929-1970.

ILS - *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau.

- IEJ - Israel Exploration Journal.
- JOAI - Jahresheft des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.
- JRS - Journal of Roman Studies.
- JRZM - Jahrbuch des römisch-germanisch Zentralmuseums, Mainz.
- MUSJ - Mélanges de l'université St. Joseph de Beyrouth.
- ND - Notitia Dignitatum.
- OGIS - Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, ed. W. Dittenberger.
- OCD - Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed.
- OCT - Oxford Classical Text.
- P. Amh. - The Amherst Papyri of Lord Amherst of Hackney, ed. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, London 1900, 1901, 2 vol's.
- P.Cattaoui - P.Cattaoui I, ed. B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, P.M. Meyer, in Archiv für Papyrusforschung, III p 55 f.
- PEQ - Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
- PG - Patrologia Graeca, ed. Migne.
- PJB - Palästina Jahrbuch.
- PIR - Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Berlin 1897-8.
- PLRE - Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire.
- Princeton - Publications of the Princeton University Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5, 1909, Leyden, 1907-1949.
- PW RE - Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.
- QDAP - Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.
- RAO - Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, Paris 1888-1924.
- RMD - M.M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977, Institute of Archaeology, London, Occasional Publications, no. 2, 1978.
- SEG - Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
- Stud. Pal. - Studia palmyrenskie, Warsaw. From 1966.

TAPA - Transactions of the American Philological Society.

YCS - Yale Classical Studies.

ZPE - Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

ZDPV - Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins.

[ ] enclose letters supposed to have been originally in the text.

( ) enclose letters added to complete a word abbreviated in the text.

< > enclose letters either omitted or wrong in the text.

| marks the beginning of a line.

A dot under a letter indicates that its reading is not certain.

#### Additional Abbreviations

ANRW - Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, ed. H Temporini, Berlin.

Devijver, De Aegypto - H. Devijver, De Aegypto et Exercitu Romano sive Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae ab Augusto ad Gallienum seu statione seu origine ad Aegyptum pertinebant, Studia Hellenistica, Louvain, 1975.

Devijver - H. Devijver, Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum, 3 volumes, Louvain, 1976-1980.

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- Zosimus, *History*, ed. L. Mendelssohn.

### Introduction

I have tried in this thesis to examine certain aspects of the histories of the armies of the provinces of Syria, Judaea and Arabia from the predominance of Augustus to the end of the fourth century. Sufficient fresh evidence for the army of Syria has come to light to make it worthwhile to try to gather and examine the evidence and attempt to trace the army's development. I have tried to do the same for Judaea and Arabia which both had close links with Syria. Judaea was seen as part of the governor of Syria's responsibility until it became a separate province. The desert frontier of Arabia east of the Jordan became, as Roman influence extended into the desert, an integral part of Rome's defences facing the desert, finally recognised administratively by Diocletian. I have also included the province of Mesopotamia from its creation by Severus when considering the frontier defence of Syria, though I have hesitated to include it in the title as so little is known about its army. All Roman provinces had links with their neighbours but geography and politics emphasized those between the provinces mentioned above.

I have begun with the identity of the forces in the provinces. The identity of the legions, apart from particular problems like the first legion to be based in Arabia, is well established. I have therefore only briefly noted the legions in garrison, to give a perspective against which the auxiliary garrison has to be seen, and have concentrated on the auxilia. Since the brief summary of Cheesman (1) much additional evidence for the auxiliary garrisons of Syria, Judaea and Arabia has come to light. Speidel (2) has written accounts of the Arabian garrison but no attempt has been made to pull together and assess the evidence for the identity of these garrisons.

There were two possible ways of presenting the evidence for the auxiliary units. The first alternative was to list the units and discuss the evidence for each unit over the whole period, the method preferred by W. Wagner (3). The second alternative was to break up the evidence for the units into chronological sections and to discuss the evidence for each unit period by period. I have preferred the latter method, despite the complex organisation it has meant, as I wished the emphasis to be on the provincial armies rather than the individual units, to allow the changing role of the armies to be brought out. I have therefore given a summary history of the individual units in a separate section.

After establishing the identity of the units in garrison, I have gone on to work out, as far as the evidence allowed, their dispositions. So each chronological section concludes with a discussion of the units referred to. The changing dispositions of the troops give us some idea of the developing role of the provincial armies.

I have finally gone on to examine the evidence for the recruitment to the army in each of the provinces. The evidence for legionary recruitment has already been considered empire-wide from Augustus to the third century by G. Forni (4). In view of the poverty of epigraphic evidence for legionaries serving in the Syrian legions, it is impossible to reach secure conclusions (5). However hints in the literary evidence suggest that a considerable number of recruits to the legions in Syria were from the beginning of the principate drawn from the cities of Syria and neighbouring provinces (6), possibly including non-citizens (7). This provides a background for recruitment to the auxilia to which I have restricted myself.

I have dealt with auxiliary commanders and men separately because of their differing catchment areas. Of the commanders I have attempted to

discover the origins and trace the changing areas of recruitment. The results need to be handled with caution as the proportion of commanders whose careers have survived is very small, of the order of 2-3%. However some check on the results is offered by the more abundant evidence for procurators studied by Pflaum (8). To discover the origin of recruits to the auxiliary units, if we know the date of the creation of the unit, we can start with that unit's title. For later recruits we have to depend on evidence for individuals. For such recruits we have very little evidence from the provinces here considered and the hazards of this inadequate evidence are illustrated in the Julio-Claudian period. By the 50's there were several Thracian and Gallic *alae* in Syria and *auxilia* in Syria were continuing to draw men from western provinces (see pp II9-20). But to generalise on such a basis is to take risks. We know firstly that it is likely that legionaries were recruited from the eastern provinces from as early as Augustus' reign and secondly Kennedy, from his study of units recruited from Syria (9), has argued strongly that units recruited in Syria, which presumably continued to draw recruits from Syria, formed a proportion of the Syrian garrison at the same time. What proportion, and for how long, we cannot say. Only additional evidence will give us a clearer idea of the extent of recruitment from the east and west in the Julio-Claudian period.

It remains to outline the main types of evidence which a study of this sort depends on and to touch on their strengths and weaknesses when it comes to answering the questions outlined above.

First and foremost comes the work of ancient writers that has survived. This covers the relevant provinces, during the four centuries here considered, only very unevenly. For the Julio-Claudian period up to the civil war of AD 69 Tacitus at times gives valuable information on Syria and its garrison. For the second and third centuries the ancient writers do not

provide us with sufficient information for a detailed narrative of the history of the empire's eastern frontier and only occasionally are relevant facts to be found in the sparse epitomes of Dio, the unreliable biographies of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* or the history of Herodian, covering the period from AD 180 to AD 238, probably very roughly the span of his own life. His work has survived in full but it is selective, imprecise and not always to be relied upon. For the eastern frontier in the fourth century the work of greatest note is that of Ammianus Marcellinus, a soldier and Greek, whose work has survived for the years from 353 to 378 and who took part in campaigns against Persia which he vividly describes.

The above writers do from time to time provide us with information about the size and origin of expeditionary forces, about the transfer of units to and from the eastern army and about the identity of particular garrisons, although they were in general more interested in personalities and great events. The same is true of one other ancient writer, who nevertheless provides us with the most valuable information about the garrison of Judaea up to the suppression of the Jewish revolt that broke out under Nero. This is Josephus, two of whose works are worth mentioning here - he wrote a history of the Jewish people from earliest times to the outbreak of the revolt in AD 66, which he called the *Jewish Antiquities*, and he wrote a history of the revolt, preceded by an account of the Jewish state from the second century BC, which he called the *Jewish War*. Josephus himself took part in this war and, as far as we can tell, is a reliable source. He is fairly detailed and provides valuable evidence about the garrison of Judaea, about the composition of the Roman expeditionary force and about changes the upheaval caused to the garrison of Syria.

Very different from Josephus but of comparable value is the *Notitia Dignitatum*, with its list of the forces in garrison throughout the empire, at a date - for the eastern half at least - of c. AD 400. This document uniquely complements the narrative history of the frontier, giving the names of units and their bases and allowing us to see the frontier as an administrative whole.

The literary sources are thus of some value but this value is limited by the gaps in their coverage of the period, the sparseness of their accounts and by their interest in questions different from those here dealt with. The only major exceptions to these qualifications are Josephus, with his detailed description of a single war, and the *Notitia*, with its view of the frontier from an office-desk.

The second major category of evidence are inscriptions, which fill in some of the gaps left by the literary sources. The history of inscriptions is one aspect of the history of the empire. Until the end of the Republic inscriptions tended to be set up by Romans of substance. As Augustus brought peace and prosperity to the Roman world and Romans were spread in colonies throughout the empire, the newly wealthy aped the manners of their betters and it became fashionable to set up inscriptions. The fashion spread down even as far as auxiliary soldiers and, from Augustus' reign, the basic evidence for the detailed histories of auxiliary units is provided by inscriptions of various types, including those giving the careers of commanding officers, altars, building inscriptions and, most importantly, tombstones.

The collection and analysis of the available inscriptions help us towards the dates of a unit's existence, its location and origin and sometimes throw light on conditions of service and what a soldier did after discharge from the army. Such evidence complements the literary

sources where we have them, filling out the bland general statements of the historian, and provides the material for an outline military history of a province, with the identity of units in the army and hints about their dispositions and recruitment.

What inscriptions can tell us is limited, however, firstly by their nature. They may tell us when a unit existed but not inform us precisely when that unit was created or finally disbanded or destroyed. Secondly the number of inscriptions that have survived varies from region to region as a consequence of a great variety of human and geographic factors, ranging from the ability of the soldiers concerned to pay for, and desire to set up, inscriptions to the availability of suitable stone and the extent of modern fieldwork in the area. A variety of such factors, including in particular the relative lack of fieldwork and excavation of Roman sites in the Middle East, has meant that the number of military inscriptions found in the Roman provinces of Syria, Judaea and Arabia has been relatively small. This lack can to some extent be made good in putting together the history of individual units by evidence from other parts of the empire. But it means that the evidence for the dispositions of units in the provinces is scanty ; it also means that the evidence for recruitment is unbalanced and liable to be presenting a misleading picture. This is because the evidence of inscriptions for recruitment for the relevant eastern provinces is so sparse and that from the west is so much more abundant. Largely from inscriptional evidence from the west we know of units recruited in the west which served in the Julio-Claudian period in the garrison of Syria ; and of individuals who served in them ; we know of units recruited in the east but have no corresponding evidence for individuals serving in them.

We have fairly numerous inscriptions until the Severan period. But thereafter we have fewer until, by the time of the collapse of the empire's defences in the mid-third century, inscriptions have ceased to be a major source of information about the army.

In general the main limitation of the value of inscriptions is that they can only be roughly dated. When neither the text of an inscription nor its archaeological findspot give any clue to its date, guidelines based on the script and wording have been worked out and are constantly being refined (10).

An important sub-category of epigraphic evidence are discharge diplomas, of which we have, as with inscriptions, comparatively few for the eastern provinces - we have six for Syria, three for Judaea/Syria Palaestina and none for Arabia, compared with, for example, 30 for the African province of Tingitana. They list units with men due for discharge and give the province, date and recipient of the diploma. But, as with inscriptions, their timespan is limited : the earliest known dates to AD 54 and the latest is the diploma for Syria Palaestina of 186 and the great majority are datable to between the reigns of Vespasian and Antoninus Pius. Their main types have been distinguished by G. Alföldy (11), whose terminology is used in the text : Type I diplomas are issued only to serving soldiers and are found until at least AD 105 ; Type II diplomas are issued both to serving soldiers and veterans and Type III diplomas are issued to veterans only (12).

A marginal additional source of evidence for units and their dispositions are tile-stamps ; few however have so far been discovered in the east, no doubt partly through lack of excavation. They are a valuable supplement to inscriptions in locating where a unit was based but are difficult to date with precision.

A third special category of evidence is papyri. For Syria the most

abundant supply of this comes from Dura Europus but there are also relevant papyri from finds in the Judaeian desert. Those from Dura in particular throw interesting light on the daily life of soldiers and recruitment to the unit in garrison there, the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum. The Dura papyri are also especially valuable because they come from a period for which our other evidence of all sorts is very scanty.

The final major category of evidence is archaeology. The Roman archaeology of the Middle East is still in its infancy. In Roman Mesopotamia there have been excavations at Ain Sinu, near Singara, by D. Oates (13) and there have been rescue excavations in Roman Syria at sites along the Euphrates before the construction of a new dam, and at Palmyra. But a vast amount of work remains to be done. Most recently the greatest progress has been made in modern Jordan, on the borders of Roman Arabia, with surveys and the continuing excavation of el Lejjun by S. Thomas Parker and the surveys of D. L. Kennedy at forts like Qasr el Hallabat and Qasr 'Azraq. Excavation is of crucial importance in first building up a chronology for the history of the desert frontier, for locating the units in garrison and confirming or denying the validity of the meagre literary evidence.

## CHAPTER ONE

1. The army of Syria from its receipt by Augustus as part of his provincia (27 BC) to the eastern wars under Nero (54-55 AD).

Augustus received Syria as part of the province assigned to him in 27 BC (1). The Roman province of Syria was bounded under Augustus by client kingdoms, of Cilicia in the north, of Commagene with its capital at Samosata to the north-east, and of Herod's Judaea to the south. Its heartland was the coastal region and the trading cities of the north, between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Beyond these areas and roughly south and south-east of an arc running from the Euphrates west of Sura and round to the east of Emesa-Homs and Damascus lay desert, on the fringes of which, where there was water, it was possible for thinly populated villages to survive. Beyond these only nomadic tribes with their herds of sheep or camels could make a living.

Syria's strategic importance was the result of geography and the province's border with the only organised power that was at all comparable with Rome, that of Parthia. The province straddled the only major communications artery between Asia Minor and Iran (2). Control of this bottleneck between the mountains of Armenia to the north and the Arabian desert in the south was crucial for the protection of the Syrian cities of the coast and the north of the province from the sort of raids Parthian forces had made during the civil wars and for the security of Asia Minor beyond the Taurus.

To cover the Syrian cities and block this invasion route, the legionary garrison was spread out across the province from Cyrrhus and later Zeugma in the north to Raphanea in the south.

In more detail, Legio VI Ferrata was probably in Syria during Augustus' reign, though it is not expressly referred to until AD 17 (3). At this date, attempts were made by agents of Cn. Calpurnius Piso, then governor of Syria (4), to interfere with the legion's loyalty.

One of these agents was "Laodiciam urbem Syriae adpulsus, cum hiberna sextae legionis peteret" (5). Laodiceia lay about 50 miles down the coast of Syria from Antioch.

Tacitus tends to use such old-fashioned terms as *hiberna* when the legions were already occupying permanent bases. Whether the whole legion was based here or not we cannot be certain. It clearly had its headquarters in this area - Parker (6) suggests they were somewhat inland, at Apamea. But so far we have no inscriptions from this period to help us with the legion's whereabouts. Most helpful is a recently discovered inscription recording the career of a recruit from Cilicia, who served in the legion under Tiberius (7). But this merely offers slight confirmation of a base in the north of Syria.

There is similar evidence for Legio X Fretensis. This unit is earliest attested as based at Cyrrhus, a Seleucid military centre (8), in AD 17. Tiberius' nephew, Germanicus and Cn. Piso, governor of Syria from AD 17-19 (9), "Cyrrhi demum apud hiberna decumae legionis convenere" (10). Cyrrhus lay about 60 miles north-east of Antioch, about half-way between that city and the Euphrates.

How long the legion had, in AD 17, been based there is uncertain (11). It is possible that it had been moved there in connection with the annexation of Commagene in AD 17, on the death of the client-king, Antiochus III (12), but we again have no epigraphic confirmation of this or any other base of the legion. By the 60's AD the legion was based on the Euphrates (13) but the exact date of its move is uncertain.

The presence of Legio III Gallica in Syria is also poorly attested in this period. But it had been based in the east from before Augustus' reign and had distinguished itself under Antony against the Parthians (14). That it remained in Syria during our period is confirmed by the occurrence of its number, with those of other Syrian legions, on coins from Ptolemais-Ace, so implying the participation of veterans from the legion in the colony established there by Claudius (15). But whereabouts in the province it was based we have so far no clue (16).

A fourth legion, probably in Syria from Augustus' reign, was Legio XII Fulminata. The earliest reference to this legion occurs on the same coins from Ptolemais of Claudius' reign that gave the number of III Gallica (17), signifying that it too contributed veterans to the colony. Of the location of the legion we hear nothing until Josephus' note that before the outbreak of the Jewish revolt the legion was based at Raphanea (18), about 25 miles inland from Aradus. But how long before the 60's AD the legion had been moved there, about 50 miles south of the base of VI Ferrata near Laodiceia, we cannot say.

It is possible that XII Fulminata was the fourth legion to join the garrison of Syria, perhaps from Egypt. It is tempting to argue for a date after 4 BC, when Josephus tells us there were only three legions in the province (19), and before AD 23, when Tacitus tells us that Syria had a garrison of 4 legions (20).

This may well be correct but probably disguises a more complicated reality. Before 4 BC Syria was plausibly garrisoned by more than three legions. But for some years previously there had been major fighting in Cilicia against the Homonadenses (21). In 4 BC one or even two Syrian legions may have been away in Cilicia (22). Then some years before Tacitus' survey of AD 23 a legion was possibly withdrawn in AD 6 (23), so reducing the province's garrison to the four legions noted above, which remained in Syria throughout the Julio-Claudian period.

Under Augustus there was much military activity throughout the empire. Syria will have been no exception. But we lack the evidence to trace the movements of the legions. It is only under Tiberius that we meet legions at Cyrrhus and in the neighbourhood of Apamea and Laodiceia. Both these bases are about equidistant from Antioch, the first target of a raiding force coming up the Tigris or Euphrates and across the north Syrian plain.

Possibly under Augustus a force was based near Antioch itself and in the Tiberian locations we see the first step away from a concentration of an expeditionary force on ice to the distribution of individual legions to strategic points throughout the province, as the effectiveness of the garrison as a deterrent against Parthia became apparent and the troops came to be used more for keeping order in the cities of Syria and intervening in Judaea and Cilicia. For such tasks the legions were best spread out across the province, as we find them early in Tiberius' reign.

AUXILIA For the auxilia of this period we are dependent on a few inscriptions, a fragmentary diploma and occasional references in the literary sources. The evidence for the individual units, listed in alphabetical order, is discussed below.

I. ALAE : Ala Bosporanorum This ala was certainly in Syria in the latter part of our period. It is first attested in AD 54 on one of several inscriptions from Thugga in Africa Proconsularis, which concern a M. Licinius Rufus. The datable inscription is a dedication to Claudius by [M. Licinius Rufus praef(ectus) alae] I Bosphoranae (24). Rufus also appears as [pr]aef(ectus) alae Bosphoranae ex[rcitus qui est in Syria] (25) and his name is restored on a third inscription, M. Licin]io Rufo, praefecto [alae Bospor]anae in Syria (26).

How long the unit had been based in Syria we cannot say, but units of Bosporani are found in the regular army from early in Augustus' reign. We have an inscription set up to a Caristianus Fronto (27) datable to either 19 or 25 BC, who was " praef(ectus) coh(ortis) Bos[poranorum]."

We have a single clue to the base of the ala when it was in Syria. This is an inscription from Jerablus, a town on the west bank of the Euphrates about 20 miles north-north-east of Hierapolis-Membij and near ancient Europus (28). This is the tombstone of an eques of the ala, a Scaurus Ambitouti filius, who came from the Alpine tribe of Nantuates (29). It is almost certainly of

Claudian-Neronian date (30).

The ala was probably still in Syria when it was commanded by another C. Caristianus Fronto, whose career is given on an inscription from Antioch in Pisidia, of which city he was probably a native (31). His command preceded his adlection to the senate, probably by Vespasian and Titus in their joint consulship of AD 73-4. Finally a second cursus from Nola in Campania (32) refers to a T. Rutilius Varus, who was " praefectus alae Bos[poranorum ]" before becoming qu(aestor) divi Vespasiani."

The ala was thus part of the garrison of Syria for much of the Julio-Claudian period.

Ala veterana Gallica The earliest datable reference to this unit is in the diploma of 54 (33), almost certainly for Syria, where it is listed as ala veterana Gallorum.

" Gallorum " in the text of the diploma is followed by " et Thracum." It is not clear whether the " ala veterana Gallica et Thracum " was a single unit (34) and dropped the " et Thracum " from its title or we are dealing with two units here, a Gallic and a Thracian ala (35).

There are two Thracian alae with which the proposed ala in Syria in 54 might be identified, the ala Thracum Herculiana (36) or the ala Thracum Augusta (37). But of these units the first is not attested in Syria before the end of the first century and the latter is referred to in the east only during the Flavian period. We also find parallels for the dropping of part of a unit's title. The ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana of XVI 3 had by I39 (38) lost the Thracum from its title. The case for two alae being concealed beneath the title " ala veterana Gallorum et Thracum " must remain not proven until we have more evidence.

Both the other alae in the fragmentary diploma (XVI 3) are nowhere else attested during the Julio-Claudian period but are later found in the east. The ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana becomes the ala Antiana Gallorum in Syria

Palaestina in 139 (39) while the ala Gallorum et Thracum will be the ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium in Syria in 88 (40). It is possible that the former unit is referred to on a Tiberian inscription from near Antioch in Pisidia, where ANII may be restored as ANTI (ANA) but this is very doubtful (41A)

II. COHORTES Cohors I Ascalonitanorum sagittaria We have a single piece of evidence for this unit in our period. This is a fragmentary Tiberian inscription from Marsi Marruvium in Italy (41). It contains part of an enactment of Tiberius, after which comes " praefect sagittar[ ] " followed by a consular date, probably of AD 18, and concluding with " Ascalonitanae iiiivir [....]" It is probable that Ascalonitanae was preceded by " cohortis " and the name of the commander. If so, this is by far the earliest reference to the unit. It gives no hint where it was based but the fact that the first province in which it is attested - though not until 70 years later (42) - is Syria makes it reasonable to assume that it was already in Tiberius' reign based there.

Ascalon, like Sebaste-Samaria, was a city largely inhabited by Syrians. Both cities suffered reprisal massacres at the hands of the Jews in AD 66 in the run-up to the Jewish revolt (43). It remains a possibility that the cohort recruited from Ascalon was, like those from Sebaste, removed from Palestine by Vespasian. But only fresh evidence will answer the question.

Cohors I Augusta A unit with this title was stationed in Syria under Augustus. From Beirut (44) we have the career inscription of a Q. Aemilius Secundus, who served under P. Sulpicius Quirinius (45), legate of Syria in AD 6. Secundus (46) was " praefectus cohort(is) Aug(ustae) I pr[a]efect(us) cohort(is) II Classicae " and after conducting a census at Apamea, possibly where VI Ferrata was based, he was sent on a campaign against the Ituraeans (47), whose kingdom had been dismembered by Augustus. He had planted a Roman colony at Beirut and assigned it a large territory stretching over the Libanus mountains into the Massyas valley (48) and divided up the rest of the kingdom between cities and dynasts.

Secundus was thus active in southern Syria. The presence of a cohors Augusta in this region in the 1st century is confirmed by three further inscriptions of post-Augustan date. The first is a dedication by a " ἑκατοντάρχης σπειρης Αὐγουστῆς " attesting work done in AD 76 and a reconstruction in AD 88 (49). It comes from Souweida in the Jebel Hauran (ancient Auranitis). The second is a dedication to a king Agrippa, probably Agrippa II, who ruled a kingdom which included Batanaea (the region just west of el-Ledja and the Hauran) and Trachonitis (the modern el-Ledja) from AD 53 to c 92, by an officer who was : " ἐπικ[ρχος... ] σπειρης Αὐγουστῆς " (50). The inscription came from el-Hit (Eithae) on the northern fringes of the Jebel Hauran.

The identification of Secundus' cohort with that operating in Agrippa's kingdom must remain open to doubt (51). The Agrippan inscriptions date from over 50 years later than that for Aemilius Secundus and the title Augusta is not a very distinctive one. But the strongest argument in favour is the roughly similar region in which both cohortes Augustae were operating. The transfer of the cohort down to the Jebel Hauran area as pacification progressed in the Mt. Libanon region is plausible and it is not impossible for a regular unit to be seconded to the army of a client king (52).

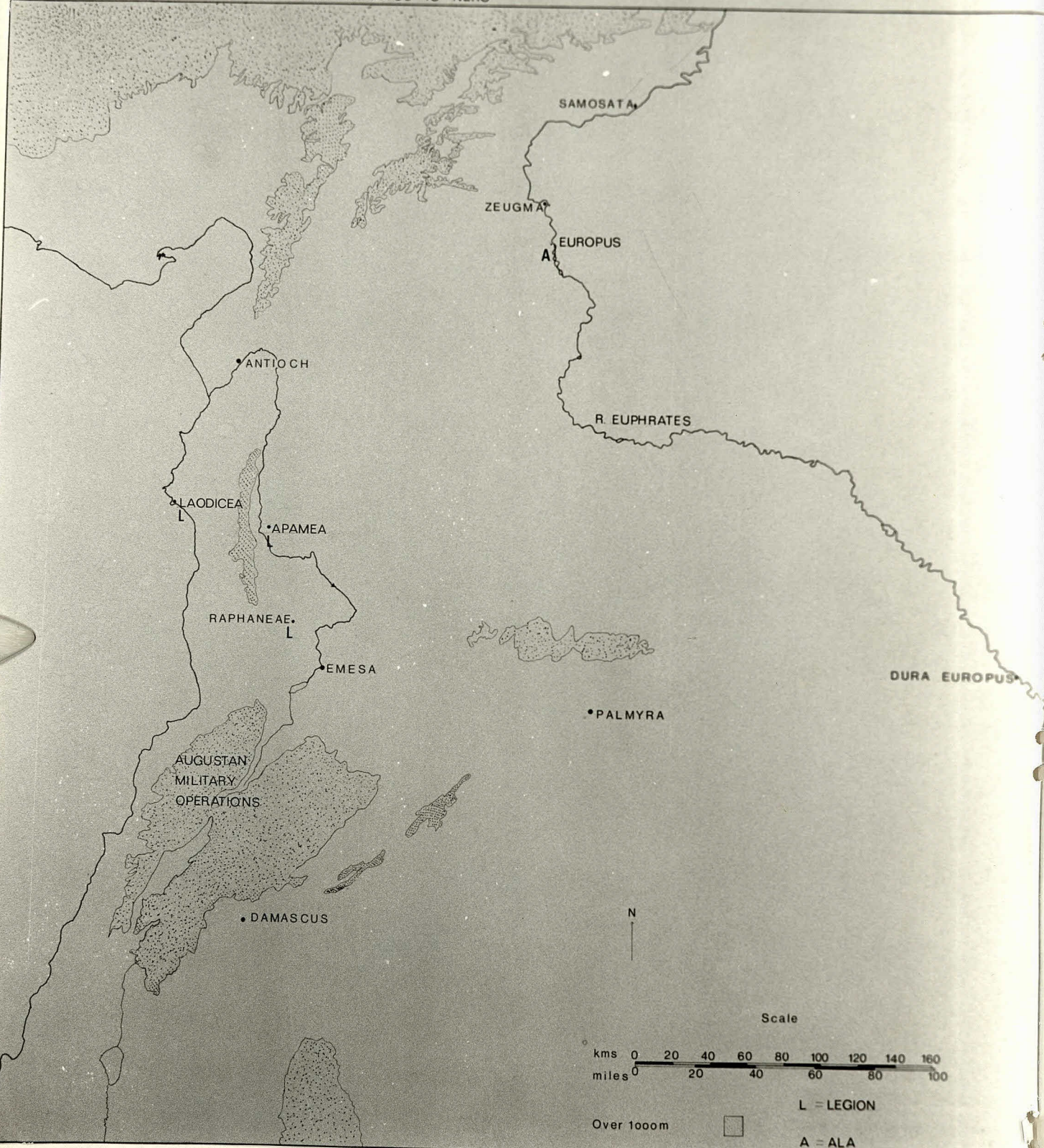
Cohors II Classica: This unit is attested in our period only in the inscription discussed above, giving the career of Q. Aemilius Secundus (53). It was thus in Syria by late in Augustus' reign, perhaps based in the south-west of the province, with which Secundus was most familiar. From Beirut himself, he took a census at Apamea and campaigned against the Ituraeans, who lived in the mountains on his doorstep.

The cohort remained in Syria. It is listed there in a diploma for 88 (XVI 35).

Cohors I Thracum Syriaca: There is no positive evidence for the presence of this unit in Syria except for its title. It had been

Map I Legions and auxilia from Augustus to Nero

SYRIA LEGIONS AND AUXILIA FROM AUGUSTUS TO NERO



transferred to the west by late in Vespasian's reign, for it appears in a diploma of AD 78 for Moesia (XVI 22) and so had probably been in garrison in Syria before this date. This is confirmed by an official dedication of the unit to its commander, L. Vecilius Modestus (54), who, in the inscription from Ravna in Moesia Superior, describes himself as " praef. coh. I Thrac. Syr. in Moesia eq." This apparently superfluous " in Moesia " is explained if the unit had been recently transferred from Syria. This gains some confirmation from Modestus' previous post of " trib. mil. leg. VI Ferr. in Syria."

Cohors III Thracum Syriaca, later equitata A recently discovered inscription, the precise findspot of which is uncertain but which is now in the museum at Aleppo, is the tombstone of a M. Titius Lixa, who served in this cohort (54A). Speidel has argued for an Augustan date for the inscription as, according to his reading, the soldier possesses the praenomen and nomen of a governor of Syria of c. 10 BC (54B), which the soldier may have adopted if he received his citizenship from the governor (54C). If Speidel is right, the cohort was in Syria during the Julio-Claudian period.

Conclusion What can we say of the activities of the auxiliary troops during this period, of their numbers and dispositions ?

We can be sure that Augustus provided the province with a strong cavalry force. Legions were weak in cavalry and Parthian armies were largely mounted, with strong heavy cavalry contingents (55). The memory of Crassus' defeat and of subsequent Parthian raids (56) will have ensured that the Roman forces in Syria under Augustus were more than sufficient to deter further such attacks. Josephus' note of Varus' preparations for intervention in Judaea in 4 BC offers some substantiation of this. Varus took with him two legions, four alae and auxiliaries provided by client-kings (57). It is by regular Roman cavalry that the legions were supported. But the duties of such units in practice will have been modified by the stability of the empire, the quiescence of Parthia and the changed role of the legions that this brought about.

Under Augustus and Tiberius fighting armies became provincial garrisons.

Auxiliaries formed part of such armies and tended to encamp at first in the neighbourhood of the legions they accompanied. As annual campaigning ceased, temporary camps became permanent. This is best attested in Upper Germany. After the abandonment of plans to hold a province beyond the Rhine, we see on the ground a campaigning army in the early stages of becoming a garrison army. So 7 alae and 13 cohorts are attested in the region of the 2 legion fortress at Mainz (58). In Syria too Roman auxiliaries will during this period have been brigaded with legions.

Pacification within Syria will have been a major task of such units. By Tiberius' reign VI Ferrata at Cyrrhus on the edge of the Amanus range and X Fretensis at Raphanea in the Barzius mountains and within reach of the Libanus and Anti-Libanus will have provided base-camps for the sort of expeditions that Aemilius Secundus was sent to carry out (59), aimed at compelling natives like the Ituraeans to give up their habits of brigandage and pursue a settled life. Client kings had been given the most intractable of such territory - regions like Batanaea and Trachonitis - but much work of pacification was necessary under Augustus in Syria itself.

As the pacification of such areas was achieved and only supervision became necessary, cohorts will have become redundant and, like the possible example of the cohors Augusta above, transferred to the armies of client-kings. It was the take-over of such kingdoms which increased the demand for Roman troops for such duties. This happened on a large scale in the Flavian period, with for example the absorption of Commagene into the empire, and is reflected in the total of at least 18 cohorts in the province in AD 88 (60).

But not all Syria needed pacification. The cities of the northern plain will have needed garrisons from the beginning of the Roman occupation of Syria. Here Rome faced Parthian territory and an army based on Antioch required warning of an invasion along the Tigris and Euphrates and across the northern plains. Our earliest evidence for a Roman presence in this area is an inscription from Jerablus, by the ancient Europus, which dates from the Claudian-Neronian period (61). It is the tombstone of a cavalryman and suggests that there was a Roman cavalry

garrison here at this date. This ala and other auxiliary units may have been moved to the Euphrates by Corbulo, who probably moved a legion to Zeugma (see below p 12). We do not so far have any firm evidence for the garrisoning of the Euphrates line that predates Corbulo (62).

So in this period the role of the auxilia as support troops for the legions on campaign will in practice have been overshadowed by their use for pacification and increasingly, as the desert margins suffered the firm hand which brought the Roman peace, for maintaining law and order in such areas. Auxiliary units will have tended to move away from the legions to the desert fringes of the province.

It is rash to try to put any figures to a garrison which surely fluctuated over 80 years. For alae we have minima only of 4 units late in Augustus' reign (63) and 5 at the end of Nero's reign (64). In the two diplomas of 88 (65) eight alae are listed. The total in our period probably lay closer to the latter figure.

The mere four cohorts attested may point to the smallness of the force of auxiliary infantry in the province. But this is a very risky argument in view of our scanty evidence. We might deduce from the small force of auxiliaries that accompanied Corbulo between 54 and 57 (66) that the auxiliary garrison was a small one and that the forces of client-kings performed the tasks that later devolved upon the regular auxilia. But we cannot go further than the probability that the total number of cohorts in the province during the Julio-Claudian period was considerably less than the eighteen such units we find there in 88.

## 2. Corbulo's Eastern Wars and the Garrison of Syria (1)

In 54 Corbulo was charged with regaining Armenia (2). His duties involved the command of units of the Syrian garrison and his experiences probably caused changes in dispositions.

Corbulo's appointment resulted from the determination of the new regime to obtain a satisfactory settlement in Armenia. Most of the action took place outside the province of Syria. But when he was appointed, and Cappadocia and Galatia were put under his control, he was assigned half the army of Syria (3). He arrived early in 55 and after Vologases had accepted his demand for hostages, devoted his first efforts to training the laxly disciplined Syrian forces. From 57 to 60 he campaigned in Armenia, with an army reinforced by a legion from the west in 58 (4), and succeeded in AD 60 in establishing a Roman nominee on the Armenian throne. In the same year he was appointed governor of Syria in place of Quadratus, who had died (5).

In 61 the new king of Armenia plundered Adiabene and provoked Parthian counter-action. Corbulo, in view of the Parthian threat to his province, asked for a separate general for Armenia. Corbulo meanwhile put Syria into a state of defence, moving legions up to the Euphrates, fortifying walls and protecting river-crossings (6).

Parthian forces shut up the Roman nominee, Tigranes, in Tigranocerta while the Parthian king maintained his headquarters at Nisibis, from where he could threaten Syria and help his forces before Tigranocerta. An armistice - still in 61 - was arranged. But it was decided in Rome to annex Armenia. Caesennius Paetus was sent out to do the job.

He arrived in 62. His incompetence brought capitulation to Vologases in the same year of his forces in Armenia. The Parthian king had been

discouraged from invading Syria by Corbulo's vigorous precautions at Zeugma (7).

There followed negotiations and a display of force by Corbulo, now commander-in-chief of the forces in the east. He gathered together in 63 an army which included two Syrian legions (III Gallica and VI Ferrata), two from the Danube provinces (V Macedonica and XV Apollinaris (8)) with legionary vexillations from Egypt and Illyricum (9), with which he succeeded in persuading Tiridates, the Parthian candidate for the Armenian throne, and Volagases to accept the proposed agreement, that Tiridates receive his crown from Nero in Italy.

In 66 the two legions from the Danube provinces presumably remained in Syria prior to the Jewish war. There was already trouble in Judaea in AD 66 (10). This still left 5 legions in or about Syria. Probably one of these, X Fretensis, had moved its headquarters to Zeugma on the Euphrates (11). It is likely that Corbulo well appreciated that city's crucial importance for the protection of Syria and Parthia in 61 and 62 and not improbable that he left a legionary garrison there, which became its permanent depot. Certainly X Fretensis was based on the Euphrates before the Jewish revolt (12) and Tacitus gives no hint that Zeugma was the base of a legion before the arrival of Corbulo. In 49 he expressly mentions Cassius' encampment there (13). A move forward here would be paralleled by the advancement of direct Roman control further north by the annexation of Pontus in 64-5. (14). The effective loss of Armenia will have demanded greater military preparedness.

AUXILIA: Tacitus' account of the campaigns gives us little help with the identification or disposition of the auxiliaries then in Syria - of the half of the garrison that Corbulo received in 54. (15). Most of the recruits from Galatia will probably have joined the legions (16). But

one small indicator of the small number of auxiliaries in Syria before this time is Frontinus' statement in his "Stratagemms" (I7) that "Domitius Corbulo duabus legionibus (i.e. between 54 and 57, when IV Scythica arrived, that is to say when Corbulo was in charge of half of the province's garrison) et paucissimis auxiliis disciplina correcta Parthos sustinuit."

However auxiliary reinforcements were brought from the west. Legio IV Scythica in 56-7 came "cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium" (I8). The legion remained in the east, as perhaps did some of its auxilia. The ala II Pannoniorum was possibly among them. The unit was in Syria in 88 (I9) but back in Moesia by 93 (20).

It has also been recently argued (2I) that Corbulo was responsible, while he was in the east between 54 and 66 for strengthening the auxiliary forces of the province by drafting large numbers of fresh recruits into the already existing units, and so creating milliary units. If such units had been transferred from a strengthened Syrian army, the surprisingly large number of ten auxiliary cohorts in Judaea under Vespasian in AD 67, referred to by Josephus (22), would be explained. That such recruitment took place is epigraphically confirmed by the discharge of a soldier in 88 from the cohors II Surorum milliaria in Mauretania (23), who had very likely been recruited by Corbulo in Syria in 62-63. Large-scale recruitment in the early 60's might also explain the comparatively large number of four diplomas for 88 and 9I for Syria, if large numbers of soldiers recruited in Syria in the early 60's were at this period receiving their discharge. All in all the evidence thus suggests a considerable strengthening of the Syria auxilia by Corbulo.

### 3. The army of Syria from Vespasian's reign to Trajan's Parthian war

Legions: Corbulo's activities in the east were followed almost immediately by the troubles in Judaea and then by civil war. By 66, as we saw, X Fretensis was already based on the Euphrates (1), probably having been moved to Zeugma by Corbulo. But its stay there was short. Summoned to take part in Vespasian's campaign against the Jews, it was at Antioch early in 67 (2). Zeugma however blocked the main route from Parthia and was a vulnerable base to leave ungarrisoned. Even after the departure of X Fretensis there were still legionary forces in 69/70 on the Euphrates. Josephus refers to 3,000 "guards from the Euphrates" (3), who accompanied Titus. They were clearly legionaries, for they replaced drafts from the Syrian legions dispatched by Vespasian with Mucianus to Italy. They presumably therefore came from a legion which was occupying the depot of X Fretensis at Zeugma. This legion was most probably IV Scythica, the only legion in Syria in 69/70 not fully engaged with Titus in Judaea or with Mucianus in the west. The legion was Titus' last available source of legionary reinforcements.

After the Jewish war, X Fretensis remained in Judaea. IV Scythica very plausibly remained at Zeugma. This is certainly where it was based later. This has been strikingly put beyond doubt by the discovery of tile-stamps there (4). They confirm the evidence of inscriptions from the quarries of Enesch (5), about 20 miles north of Zeugma on the right bank of the Euphrates, on which only the legion IV Scythica is mentioned, and that of other inscriptions from the north of Syria (6). The tile-stamps cannot be dated earlier than the later 2nd to 3rd centuries nor can the inscriptions be dated with precision but it is most likely that the legion had stayed put at Zeugma from the Flavian period.

Soon after the return of the Syrian legions from Italy, came Caesennius Paetus' expedition to annex Commagene in 72 (7). There were certainly good strategic reasons for annexation. Communications with the new legionary bases on the upper Euphrates ran through the kingdom and the capital, Samosata, controlled a major crossing of the Euphrates.

There is good reason to believe that a legion was based at Samosata from 72. By c. 150 a legion from Cappadocia, XVI Flavia Firma, had been moved there but this legion was in Cappadocia until the 2nd century.

The major obstacle to the presence of a legionary depot here from the Flavian period is the statement in the epitome of Dio (8) that

Trajan, 40 years later, " *μέχρι Σαμοσατών προχωρήσας και άμαχι*

*αύτα παραλαβών ες τα Σατάλα ήλθε* ". But there are objections to the reading of Samosata here. It is surprising to find Trajan taking a city without a battle, which had long belonged to the empire. We would expect such a comment about a city outside the empire and Samosata has been plausibly amended to Arsamosata, a city just beyond the confines of Roman Cappadocia and in Parthian territory and from where a move to Satala is far easier than from Samosata (9). Accepting this makes it possible to argue that Samosata received a legion immediately after the annexation of Commagene, which is certainly the most likely occasion.

Which Syrian legion can have had its depot there? VI Ferrata is a possibility, after its use in Paetus' expedition (10). The only positive argument for it are variant figures in manuscripts of the Antonine Itinerary (11). Also possible is III Gallica, which left an inscription in the living rock by the Euphrates near Samosata (12), which is datable to AD 73, just after the expedition against Commagene. We cannot be certain. Whichever legion had its depot here was replaced by XVI Flavia Firma, probably after Trajan's Parthian war.

This leaves us with the legionary base at Raphanea. III Gallica was certainly based there later in the 2nd century. We have a soldier's tombstone from the site (13). That it was there in the Flavian period gains some confirmation from the younger Pliny's service in it as legionary tribune early in Domitian's reign. For he was then a close friend of a philosopher, who had links with Epiphaneia, the modern Hama, by the Orontes about 20 miles north-west of Raphanea (14).

The Syrian garrison was in sum in the Flavian period reduced from the 4 legions of the Julio-Claudian period to 3. But these 3 were no longer concentrated in the interior of the province but were now part of a chain which stretched from Satala in northern Cappadocia to Jerusalem. Two of the three that remained were very probably at forward bases guarding crossings of the Euphrates, where their task of deterring invasion was clear and there was less chance of the relaxation of discipline that faced Corbulo in 55.

The legions in Syria remained in these bases under the Flavian emperors. It is not until Trajan's reign that there are major upheavals of the legions in Syria (15). First came the annexation of Arabia in AD 106. Elements of VI Ferrata were certainly active in Arabia under Hadrian and may have taken part in the annexation of the new province (16). The participation of this legion is certainly most easily explained if it was at the time based at Raphanea, the southernmost legionary base in Syria.

Then a further legion made its appearance in the east at about this time, II Traiana. All we know about it for certain is that it was raised in c. 104/5 (17) and that it was in Syria by 117/8 (18). It was no doubt sent thither in order to take part in Trajan's campaigns against the Parthians. (On which see below).

AUXILIA from Vespasian's reign to Trajan's Parthian war:

For this period we are relatively well-supplied with diplomas - we

have a total of 4, of which two are for precisely the same date, the 7th November 88 (18A). Together they give a total of 8 alae and 19 cohorts, which must represent a very substantial proportion of the total auxiliary garrison of the province.

But why do we have 2 such contemporary diplomas and what light do they throw on the Syrian army?

We have a single comparable pair of contemporary diplomas for the 14th August 99 from Moesia Inferior (19). They were most probably drawn up for auxilia in given areas, possibly, as Nesselhauf suggests (20), by the staff of the legions of the province, listing those based closest to each legion. The parallel exclusiveness of the Syrian lists suggests a similar conclusion of potential importance for the dispositions of the auxiliary units in the province. But there is also a difference between the two pairs. Each of the Moesian diplomas caters for both soldiers in active service and those being discharged. Of the Syrian pair, one (21) does the same but the other caters only for soldiers still in active service (22).

How are we to explain these differences and similarities? We need first to understand the system for the production of diplomas. Most probably every year or so each auxiliary unit sent its list of serving men due for discharge and those already discharged to the provincial governor, possibly, as is highly likely in the case of the Moesian diplomas, via a legionary base. The governor sent on the lists he received for the province to Rome, to the appropriate office. This office had to prepare both the imperial constitution, which was stuck up on the Capitol (23), and the individual copies, which were given to the discharged soldiers. These copies were on valuable metal and had to be transported in large numbers. So the smaller they were the better. The Rome offices therefore experimented with the texts (24). Only those sections of the text concerned with the granting of soldiers'

rights were however altered (25A). If brevity was the overriding consideration we might expect the lists of units and the governor to be cut out. But this brings us up against the conservatism of the Roman bureaucracy and the question of the distribution of the completed diplomas. Presumably they returned by the same channels by which they had been sent to Rome, back to the governor then in command of the province, who would need for this reason to be on the diploma, and from his staff via the hypothetical legionary clearing-house to the units to which the serving or discharged soldiers belonged. Perhaps the list of units were important for this distribution, which may account for their preservation. They were of no importance to the recipient of the diploma.

For our purposes the main point to note here is the major role of the office in Rome. It was responsible for the frequent changes in wording in diplomas between c. 74 and 110 (26A) and the search for a brief and precise text that suited all recipients. The differing texts of the two diplomas of 88 will undoubtedly go back to this office.

But why was it felt necessary to have differing texts for these diplomas issued on the same day? It is tempting to take the difference a stage further back and argue that the two legionary collecting-centres compiled their lists in two different ways: in the first a single list of soldiers was made out, containing indiscriminately those continuing in service and those retiring from service. In the second separate lists were made out for those continuing in service and those being discharged. The provincial governor merely sent on the three lists, which resulted at the Rome office in diplomas of type II (26A) for all soldiers in the area of Roxan 3 and of types I and III for those in the XVI 35 region. By accident of survival only a diploma of type I remains for the latter area; others of type III were presumably also produced. It is highly unlikely that no unit in XVI 35 was discharging men in 88.

If this is accepted, we can press the parallel with the Moesian diplomas, having rid ourselves of the obstacle of the differing rubrics. The Moesian diplomas probably list auxilia in different regions. It is tempting to suppose the same of the Syrian diplomas. Nesselhauf suggests (25) that the auxilia in Moesia belonged to particular legionary zones. This is also possible for the Syrian diplomas (26) but the diploma of 91 (27), with its list of units which include some from both diplomas of 88, rules out any defined and fixed area. But we do not for this reason have to reject a geographical explanation out of hand. It may be that the lists of men from the individual auxiliary units were collected by officers on tours of inspection, who did not necessarily follow the same routes every year or cover the same area. But the units listed would tend to be in a particular part of a province and if we had two lists from the same year we might well argue that they covered different parts of that province.

It is certainly worth making out a case for the diplomas of 88. There is some reason, though the evidence is only slight, for arguing that the units in Roxan 3 (see note 24) were based in the north while those in XVI 35 were located in the south of Syria. The only ala in Roxan 3, whose activity we can trace, is the ala Bosporanorum, with its dead rider at Europus (28). And all the units leaving evidence of their location and listed in XVI 35 were based, as far as we can tell, in central or southern Syria. From central Syria there is the evidence of two newly discovered inscriptions, which are so far unpublished. The first of these is a tombstone of a veteran of the ala III Thracum from Abu Hureira (29), on the Euphrates between ancient Barbalissus and Sura. The date of the inscription is uncertain but the ala was transferred to the west early in the 2nd century and the inscription is almost certainly of Flavian or early Trajanic date. That this area was occupied before the Flavian period is unlikely. Then there is also a

Trajanic building inscription of a cohort, the cohorts IIII Callaecorum Lucensium, from Safsafa, about ten miles further down the Euphrates (30). Both these units are listed on XVI 35 and strengthen the view that the list is of units in a particular region. That this region extended to the south of Syria receives some support from an inscription from Baalbek. This is the fragment of a career which may hint at the location of the unit. (31). There is slight evidence too that the cohorts II Italica c.R. voluntariorum was also based in the south of Syria. It was drawing recruits from towns like Philadelphia-Amman (32), which, if one of the nearest sources of suitable recruits, suggests a base in southern Syria. Then the cohorts milliaria in the Trachonitis (33) may be the cohorts I Milliaria in XVI 35.

There is also finally an argument from the large preponderance of cavalry in the Roxan 3 diploma. Such a garrison is best suited to the flat frontier plains to the west of the Euphrates in the north of Syria. The cavalry units could also be concentrated to support a legionary task-force in facing a largely mounted Parthian army.

It is tempting in sum to regard XVI 35 as containing units based in the south and east of the province, from the Euphrates bend down to the Libanus mountains, while the other diploma (34) lists units based along and to the west of the Euphrates before the great eastern bend. But confirmation of this will have to await fresh inscriptions.

Only three years after 88, in 91, we again have two diplomas for the province. One of these is very fragmentary (35) and only the name of its recipient's unit has survived. The second diploma for the year lists 3 alae and 7 cohorts (36), a selection, as noted below, from both the diplomas of 88. It is of Mann's type IIC (37), an early version of the diploma for both serving soldiers and veterans. Not enough of the first-mentioned diploma has survived to allow comparison of their rubrics. But the absence of the single unit of the fragmentary

diploma from the list in the complete diploma suggests that, like the two diplomas for 88, the lists were mutually exclusive.

For the rest of the period we are without diplomas and so cannot trace in detail the changes in the garrison of Syria resulting from the annexation of Arabia and preparations for Trajan's war. But a surprisingly large number of units in Syria in 88 and 91 recur in Syria Palaestina in 139 (38). Most of these are still to be found in the province in 186 (39), suggesting that they had become permanent members of the province's garrison. The fact that a fairly high proportion of the units in the diploma for 156/7 for Syria are Trajanic creations, 2 of 3 alae and 6 of 16 cohorts, suggests that the Syrian garrison was strongly reinforced with newly created units late in Trajan's reign. Most of these will have been recruited for Trajan's Parthian war, perhaps with a view to garrisoning newly conquered territories. Such preparations, which came to nought, and the demands of the new province of Arabia, which also needed a garrison, led to a displacement of auxiliary units out of Syria and their replacement by new creations. The Jewish revolt at the end of Trajan's reign will only have accelerated this trend.

#### Individual Units:

Ala Bosporanorum: We have no certain evidence for the presence of this ala in Syria after the end of Claudius' reign (40). The question is when it was transferred to the west. There are two flimsy arguments in favour of keeping the unit in Syria till Trajan's reign. Firstly it was commanded under Vespasian by an officer from the east, from Antioch in Pisidia (41). It does not follow from this that the unit was at this time based in the east. But the most plausible occasion for the transfer of the unit to the west are Trajan's Dacian wars.

The ala is earliest attested in the west in a fragmentary diploma of 116 for Pannonia Superior (42). It is later attested on several inscriptions from Dacia (43).

Ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium: This unit is listed in one of the diplomas for Syria for 88 (44) and recurs in the complete diploma of 91 for the province (45). So far no evidence for the ala has come to light within the province. It was transferred to Syria Palaestina (46) under Trajan, probably between 106 and 132.

Ala I Dromedariorum: Trajan had at least one ala of cameleers created (47), the unit of the diploma probably being the ala of Palmyrene cameleers of which we have the career inscription of a commander of the 150's (48). This Trajanic unit is one sign of the encroachment of Roman influence on the desert fringes, the importance of the control of which, in a major campaign through semi-desert regions against Parthia, Trajan's father will have emphasised to the future emperor. At Palmyra the spread of Roman influence is reflected in the families adopting the nomen Ulpianus, largely acquired at this period, as Seyrig argues (49), through military service. This unit of cameleers, probably not the only one in the province, will have offered one avenue to citizenship.

Ala Flavia Milliaria: An ala of this title was commanded by Ti. Claudius Pollio (50) and can only be the ala milliaria in Syria that he commanded when Pliny was serving in the province as tribunus laticlavus soon after AD 81 (51). We find no other reference simply to an ala Flavia milliaria in Syria. It is certainly risky to identify it with the ala Flavia praetoria singularium in Syria in 91 (52), which is nowhere distinguished as milliary.

Ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana: This ala, like its sister mixed cohort above, is only scantily attested in Syria. It is listed in the almost certainly Syrian diploma of 54 (53) and in one of the

diplomas for 88 (54). It was transferred to Palestine before 139.

Ala veterana Gallica: This ala was probably in Syria by 54 (55) and is listed there in 88 (56) and in the fragmentary diploma for 91 (57), the Thracian recipient of which was a member of the ala.

The remaining references do not help very much with establishing where it was based and when exactly it was transferred from the province. It is referred to in a Domitianic career inscription from Verona (58) of a Ti. Claudius Alpinus, who was also decorated in a German war, probably that of the late 80's. It was also commanded late in Trajan's or early in Hadrian's reign by Aemilius Iuncus (59). Iuncus was decorated in Trajan's Parthian war but it is not certain what command he was then holding. The position of the decorations, after the ala command, suggest that he was in charge of our unit but Pflaum argues (l.c. in Carr. in n. 59), from the absence of a vexillum from the decorations, that his command was of a cohort and not an ala. In this case his ala command would be datable to Hadrian's reign, by which time the unit was perhaps already in Egypt.

A final possible reference to the unit gives a valuable clue to the area in which it operated. This is a very fragmentary inscription from Heliopolis (60), referring to a "[cu]rator alarum trium | ....n..., veteran(ae)". So far the only other ala with veterana in its title which we know to have operated in the east is the ala veterana Gaetulorum (61), which took part in Vespasian's Jewish war and remained afterwards in Judaea. The fact that it was never, as far as we know, based in Syria supports the reference to our ala. Its transfer to Egypt, perhaps involving a stop-over in Syria Palaestina to help with the suppression of the rebellion of the Jews at the end of Trajan's reign, best suits a base in the south of Syria.

The ala had reached Egypt before AD 130 (62). It remained in that province until well into the third century (63).

Ala II Pannoniorum: This ala was in Syria in 88 (64) but remained there only temporarily. By 93 it was in Moesia (65) to help with Domitian's northern wars.

For a full history of the unit see Wagner (66) and Speidel (67).

Ala VII Phrygum: This ala of Phrygians is an anomaly. It is the only known unit of Phrygians (68) in the Roman army.

The date of the unit's establishment is unknown but the fact that it was discharging men in 88 (69) suggests that it was a pre-Flavian creation. The earliest evidence for its presence in Syria is an inscription from Tarrago in Hispania Citerior (70). This gives the career of a M. Valerius Propinquus Grattius Cerealis Edetanus, who was adlected into the equestrian order by Titus and so must have served as "praef. alae Phrygum item praef. alae Thracum in Syr[ia]" in the middle years of Domitian's reign (71). The ala then appears simply as ala Phrygum in the diploma for 88 mentioned above.

From Trajan's reign we have another reference on an inscription from Oenoanda in Lycia-Pamphylia to an officer of the unit, a Julius Demosthenes, "ὅς ἐγένετο χειλικρχος λεγωνος Σιδη(ρας) και ἐπαρχος ἑλλης ἑβδομης Φρυγων" (72), before being appointed to a procuratorship between 103 and 114. The preceding tribunate in legio VI Ferrata was probably held while the legion was still in Syria and before it became involved in the annexation of Arabia. But this does not help us with the location of the ala.

Another commander of the unit from early in Trajan's reign, who came from Caesarea (Cherchel) on the coast of Mauretania, was Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus, adlected by Nerva "in quinque decuriis" (73). He commanded the ala after legionary tribunates in two eastern legions, IV Scythica, probably at Zeugma, and XII Fulminata, then in Cappadocia.

It may be pure coincidence that these two tribunates, one in the south of Cappadocia and the other in the north of Syria, were followed by the command of an ala, which, on the theory advanced above, will have been based in north Syria. So far however we have no evidence from the ground from Syria for the unit.

Ala Flavia praetoria singularium: Diplomas provide us with considerable information about alae praetoriae and alae singularium but it is difficult to sort out the units involved (74). The variation in titles and the mobility demanded suggest that we are dealing with at least two units. So in 85 we find an ala praetoria in Pannonia (75), while, only 3 years later, in 88 (76), we meet the ala praetoria singularium in Syria. These were also years during which it is unlikely that troops were withdrawn from Pannonia and Moesia. It was probably in AD 85 that Dacians invaded Moesia and defeated Roman forces in AD 86. In 89 Domitian launched an expedition from Pannonia (77).

The ala praetoria singularium in Syria in 88 (78) is listed in 91 (79) as ala Flavia praetoria singularium. It is usually identified with the ala praetoria found in Moesia Superior in 93 (80) and 100 (81), which is listed as ala praetoria singularium in the fragmentary diploma of c. 103-7 for the same province (82). But it would be easier to posit an ala Flavia praetoria singularium, based in Syria from at least late in the first century to late in the second century - for we find an ala praetoria listed among the units contributing to Lollianus' expedition (83) in the Parthian war of Lucius Verus -, which was distinct from the ala praetoria (singularium) in Pannonia.

Ala Sebastena: This ala is attested in Syria only once, in 88 (84). It was almost certainly the ala of Sebastenes and Caesaraeans referred to by Josephus (85), which was transferred from Judaea by Vespasian. It was perhaps this ala that we find in Mauretania, where it is attested from about Hadrian's reign (86). When it was moved thither we cannot say but it was clearly in Syria for the early part of our period.

Ala I Thracum Augusta: Technically in Syria was this ala, attested on three inscriptions from Gerasa (87). The unit possibly garrisoned the city for a period after the Jewish revolt when, according to Josephus (88), the city was sacked - although Kraeling (89) prefers not to take this literally. Apart from the three tombstones of equites of the ala there is no further evidence from Gerasa to suggest the presence of a garrison.

Two other alae Thracum are attested in the neighbourhood of Gerasa, the ala Thracum Mauretana in Judaea (90) and the ala III Augusta Thracum in Syria under Domitian (91). But the ala I Thracum Augusta is certainly distinct from both these units. It was probably transferred from Syria to the Danube after the emergency of the Jewish revolt was over by Vespasian or Domitian.

Ala Thracum Herculiana: It is not certain whether this ala was in Syria before the mid-second century, when it is listed on a diploma (92). It was operating "ἐν Πανωνίᾳ" which may signify Pannonia or a region in Macedonia (93), after Hadrian's creation of the province of Syria Palaestina (94), which suggests that it was still at this time in the west. There is however one slight piece of evidence that the ala had been in Syria at the end of the first or early in the second century. This is the career of C. Sappius Flavus (95), datable to the late first century (96). For after commanding the ala he was "praefectus ripae fluminis Euphratis", a post for which we might expect previous experience in the area. But this is a slender thread of argument. Before his ala command Flavus had been tribune of the legio XXI Rapax in Pannonia. The ala Thracum may well have been based at the time in the west, though it is surprising if it was in Pannonia that it is not mentioned on any of the numerous diplomas we have for Pannonia between 80 and 114.

Ala III Augusta Thracum: This ala was in Syria from early in Domitian's reign, when it was commanded by M. Valerius Grattius Cerealis Edetanus (97). It was his second ala command in the province after the ala Phrygum. The Thracian ala is then listed in diplomas for 88 (98) and 91 (99).

Some clue to the whereabouts of its base in Syria is offered by the so far unpublished tombstone of a veteran of the ala, which has recently come to light at Abu Hureira, between Barbalissus and Sura on the Euphrates (100).

91 AD is the latest firm date for the ala's presence in Syria. It was probably transferred to the west early in the second century, perhaps after Trajan's Parthian war. By 133 it was in Pannonia (101).

#### COHORTS

Cohors I Ascalonitanorum: This cohort was in Syria during our period. It is listed on one of the diplomas for 88 (102) and appears in the province later in the second century (103).

Cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum: This unit is only once attested in Syria, in 88 (104). At some date after this, probably between 106 and 132, but before 139, it was transferred to Palastine.

Cohors IIII Callaecorum Lucensium: This cohort was probably based in Syria throughout our period. The earliest reference to it is in one of the 88 diplomas (105) and it is attested in the province later in the second century.

An unpublished building inscription of the unit has been found at Safsafa between Barbalissus and Sura on the Euphrates (106). This strongly suggests that the unit was based here for part at least of its stay in Syria. We would expect occupation of the Euphrates bend under the Flavian emperors, Trajan and during the second century, which

is confirmed by this Trajanic inscription.

Cohors I Flavia c. R.: This Flavian creation is first attested in 88 (108). The *civium Romanorum* there written out in full suggests a fairly recent honour. By 139 the unit had been transferred to Syria Palaestina.

Cohors II Classica: This regiment was a permanent member of the Syrian garrison. It was in the province in 88 (109) and in the mid-second century (110). The only other evidence for it, perhaps datable to our period, is the career of L. Flavius Novatus Victor Iunianus (111), who, after a tribunate in legio III Cyrenaica either in Egypt or Arabia, came north into Syria to command this unit.

Cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum: This unit, established by a Flavian emperor, is not attested in Syria during our period. However the fact that it derived from Syria, is attested there later and is nowhere else attested making it not unlikely that it remained in the province after its creation.

It is not certain which of the two cities of Chalcis the unit was recruited from, though Chalcis under Libanon is the more probable (112). It is possible that the unit belonged to the royal forces of Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, who was himself still king of Chalcis in 72 (113), and that on the latter's death a regular Roman auxiliary unit was formed from the royal troops.

Cohors I Gaetulorum: This unit is attested in Syria in this period only on two diplomas in 88 (114) and 91 (115).

Cohors I Hamiorum milliaria: A single inscription attests this unit's presence in Syria. This is the tombstone of a "Fl. [C] or (nelius) Rufinus 7 ex [co] hort(e) [pr(ima)] Ha[m] (iorum) milliaria." from Trier in Gallia Belgica (116), who helpfully informs us that the unit was "in Syria". The date of the inscription is uncertain but the fact that the *milliaria* is written out in full suggests a late

first to early second century date (117). It was possibly later transferred to Cappadocia (118).

Cohors I Italica milliaria voluntaria: L. Maesius Rufus, whose career is given on an inscription from Forum Sempronii (119), commanded a cohors milliaria Italica voluntaria in Syria most probably during the Flavian-Trajanic period and certainly before Hadrian's reign (120). That Rufus commanded a cohort distinct from the cohors II Italica c. R. voluntaria, which was also in Syria during the Flavian period, is put beyond doubt by the recent discovery of a new fragment of an inscription which completes an already known fragment (121). This gives us the complete career of a P. Valerius Priscus (122), who for his militia secunda commanded the cohors I Italica milliaria voluntaria c. R. in Cappad(ocia). The career can be dated roughly to Trajan's reign - it is certainly not later than 145 (123). By this date therefore the Italian cohort had been transferred to Cappadocia from Syria. But it had been in Syria during our period.

Cohors II Italica c. R. vol. sag.: Possibly the earliest evidence that this unit formed part of the garrison of Syria is an epitaph from Carnuntum of a Proculus, Rabili filius, from Philadelphia, who was "optio coh. II Italic(ae) c.R. ex vexil(latione) sagit(tari orum) exercitus Syriaci" (124). This vexillation had not improbably been sent to the west by Mucianus in 69 (125).

A recruit from Philadelphia, the modern Amman, might point to a base in the south rather than the north of Syria, if it was drawing on the closest sources for its recruits. It is certainly listed in the diploma for 88 (126) which, I have argued above, gives units based in mid- to south Syria.

The cohort was permanently based in Syria. It is listed there again in 91 (127) and later in the second century (128).

Cohors I Ituraeorum:(129) A cohors I Ituraeorum is once attested in Syria, in one of the diplomas for 88 (130). This unit is perhaps identical with the cohort attested in several inscriptions from Mainz (131), which are dated by Stein (l.c. in n. 131) to the Flavian period at the latest. If we are dealing with one unit it must have been transferred from Mainz back to Syria by 88 and then back to the west, to Dacia, where it is listed in a diploma of 110 (132). These frequent movements raise the suspicion that we are dealing with 2 cohortes I Ituraeorum, of which one operated in the west and a second in Syria, though the only reference we have to it there is in a diploma of 88.

Cohors I Lucensium: This cohort, originally recruited in Spain, was based in Dalmatia early in the first century (133), in Pannonia by 80 (134) and in Syria by 88 (135), where it is again attested in 91 (136). It is again possible that we have here two distinct units, one in the west and one in the east, but so far the evidence is quite compatible with a single unit. After 91 it remained in the east until at least the later second century.

Cohors I Milliaria: The presence of a cohors I milliaria in Syria is clear from its occurrence on one of the diplomas of 88 (137). The existence of a unit with so undistinctive a title is confirmed by an inscription from Tell ech Chehab in Trachonitis (138). This is the tombstone of uncertain date of a G. Valerius Maximus, "στρα(τιωτης) χωρητης μιλι(αριας)."

We have three other inscriptions which perhaps refer to this unit. Of these none stems from Syria but two can be connected with the unit with fair probability. The first, and most helpful, is the career inscription of a M. Pomponius Augurinus from Argos (139). Augurinus was tribune of X Fretensis and "ἐπαρχος στρατης α' χειλιου Σπου."

He was decorated, presumably while he held this command, in one of Trajan's Dacian wars. But the fact that all Augurinus' other posts were in the east suggests that the milliary cohort (140) had a similar location.

The second reference to the cohort occurs on a funerary inscription from Salona in Dalmatia (141). This has three parts. The first commemorates a Syrian businessman who died at Sirmium, while the second section, set up later, commemorates the businessman's brother, who was "7 coh. I<sup>co</sup>", who also lived at Sirmium.

It is tempting to argue that the Syrian centurion, Aurelius Apollonius, perished at Sirmium after the cohort had come from the east to take part in Trajan's campaigns against the Dacians. This is possible but the names of the Syrians make one suspicious. For all three are Aurelii, which suggests a date after the Constitutio Antoniniana in 212. A possibly third century context is then offered by the eastern army which Severus Alexander brought with him from the east (142) and which, on his murder, Maximinus Thrax took over. After campaigning in Germany he marched to Sirmium (143). But it is not impossible that the same milliary cohort came to the west on both these occasions.

The third inscription, from Ak-Kilisse in Lycaonia (144), merely confirms the existence of a cohors I milliaria, perhaps based in the east. It is in Greek, suggesting that Condianus, whose career it commemorates, came from the Greek-speaking east.

Probably, in conclusion, a cohors milliaria was permanently based in Syria.

Cohors Musulamiorum: This unit, originally recruited from African nomads accustomed to the desert, was in Syria by 88 (145). It is otherwise unattested in this period. For later evidence see below (146).

Cohors I Numidarum: This cohort is also only once referred to in Syria, in one of the 88 diplomas (147). It is perhaps identical with

the cohors I Flavia Numidarum in Lyci<sup>a</sup>-Pamphylia in 178 (148) but this is very doubtful.

Otherwise we have two career inscriptions of possible relevance. The first of these clearly concerns the Pamphylian unit, of which it gives of the career of a commander from the Pamphylian port of Perge (149). The second (150) is the slightly battered career inscription from Samos of a Flavianus "ἐπαρχος στρατης πρωτης Νομιδων". This is very probably the Syrian cohort. All Flavianus' other commands were in Syria or Cappadocia - his *secunda militia* was the charge of the miliary cohors I Italica discussed above, in Syria until transferred to Cappadocia by the early second century, and his *militia tertia* was of a unit probably in Cappadocia.

The precise date of Flavianus' career is not certain. What remains however of his father's Greek name suggests that he was the first of his family to receive Roman citizenship. His tribe was Quirina, to which Claudius, Nero and the Flavian emperors assigned new citizens, and his career may date roughly to this period.

Cohors Augusta Pannoniorum: This cohort was in Syria in 88 (151). It may be right to identify it with the cohors I Pannoniorum in Egypt in 83 (152) but this is doubtful. After 88 it remained permanently in Syria (see below p. 321).

Cohors I Sebastena: The presence of a cohort of this title in Syria is suggested by two inscriptions from the agora of Palmyra in honour of a certain Celesticus (153), who served as centurion in each of the three Syrian legions which garrisoned the province from 58, when IIII Scythica arrived from the west, to c. 106-125, during which period VI Ferrata left the province. After these legionary posts Celesticus was [curator?] of the cohors I Sebastena, listed in diplomas for 88 (154) and 91 (155) in Syria. It was perhaps later transferred to Syria Palaestina, where we find a cohors I Seb(astena) in 139 (156).

The inscriptions from Palmyra give us no clue to the whereabouts of the cohort's base.

Cohors I Thracum milliaria : This unit was in Syria in 91 (I57). A cohors milliaria is listed in one of the 88 diplomas (I58) but this is most probably the milliary cohort discussed above.

By I24 the unit had been transferred to Syria Palaestina (see p 205). During its stay in Syria and therefore before I24 the unit was based at Tell el Hajj, possibly ancient Eragiza, a site on the right bank of the Euphrates about 23 kilometres north of Meskene/Balis, where tile-stamps of a cohors prima milliaria Thracum have been found (I59).

It was commanded, when still in Syria, by P. Claudius Pollio, whose career is attested on a Greek inscription of the first century AD from Teos (I60). That the same cohort is referred to, as cohors I Thracum Syriacum (sic), on an unpublished inscription from Ephesus (I61), remains possible but doubtful.

Cohors I Augusta Thracum : This unit was in Syria in 88 (I62). It is otherwise not attested in the province. It may just have been transferred from Judaea, where a cohors I Thracum is listed in 86 (I63), but this is doubtful (I64). By late in the first century the unit was certainly in Judaea, from where it was transferred to Arabia.

Cohors II Thracum c.R. : This cohort is almost certainly distinct from the cohors II Thracum attested in Judaea in 86 (I65). It is only scantily attested in Syria, in 88 (I66) and 91 (I67), but both times with the distinctive c.R. title.

There is a single further certain reference to the unit, which cannot be precisely dated. This is the fragment of a career inscription from Baalbek (I68). The officer concerned, whose name is lost, had commanded the cohors " I I Thrac(um) c. R.." This gives us a possible, but by no means secure, clue to where the cohort was operating.

Cohors II Thracum Syriaca: The earliest reference to this unit is in the Syrian diploma for 91 (I69). It is otherwise unattested in this period but was still in Syria in 156-7 (I70) and so presumably remained in garrison in the province.

Cohors III Augusta Thracum: This cohort was in Syria in 88 (I71) and was commanded during Trajan's reign by a L. Aburnius, whose career inscription comes from Alabanda in Caria (I72) and who was "ἐπαρχος σπιρης τριτης Σεβαστων Θρακων ἑπικης ." The unit was a permanent member of the garrison of Syria.

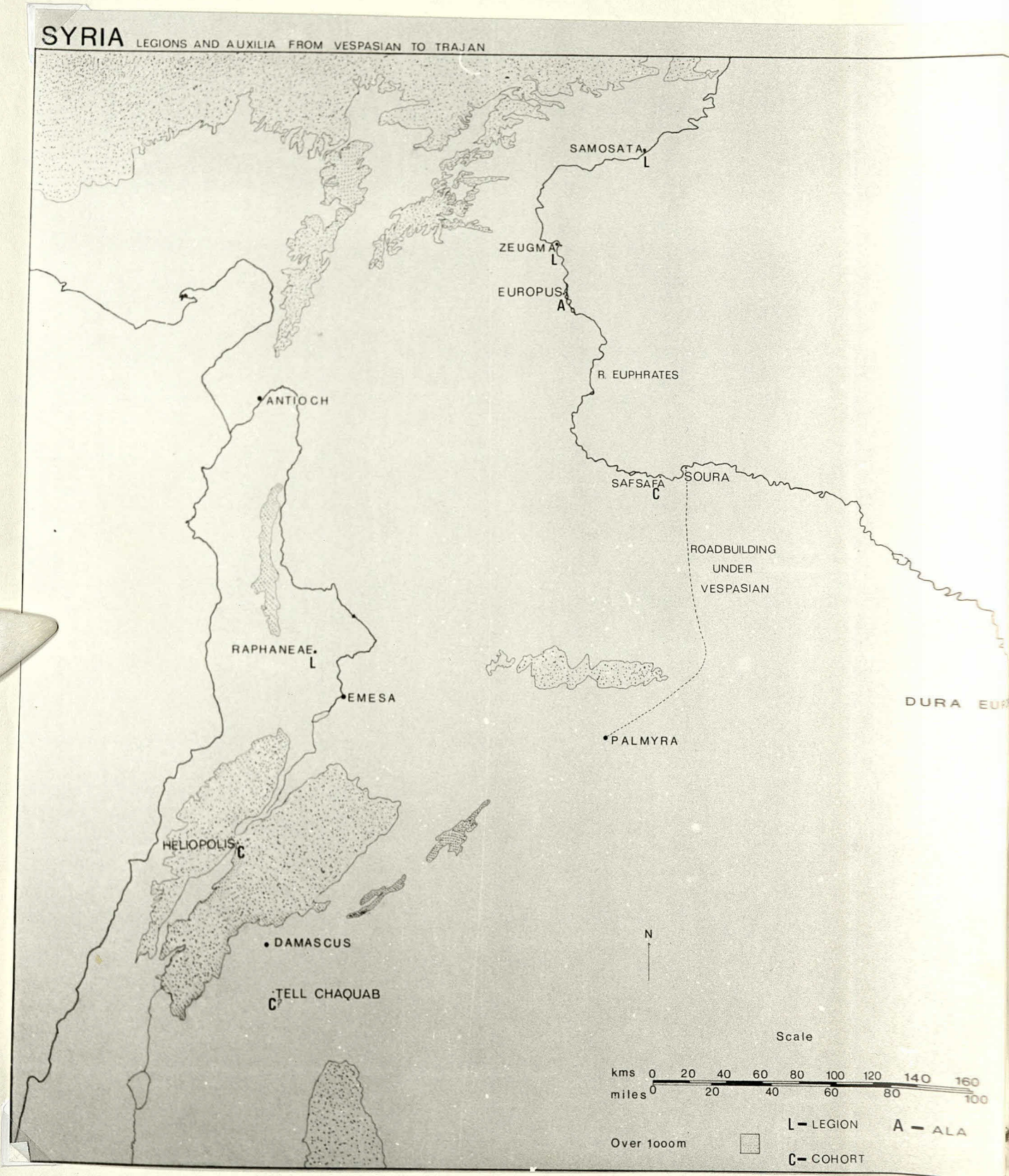
Cohors III Thracum Syriaca equitata : This Thracian cohort was commanded by L. Aburnius immediately after his charge of the cohort above (I73) and before he became "ἐπιμελητης εὐθηνίας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Παρθικῷ ." It too is attested in one of the diplomas for 88 (I74) and remained permanently in the province.

Cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca : This cohort is probably the cohorts IIII Syriaca of one of the 88 diplomas (I76). It is next referred to in the career of L. Valerius Proculus, who commanded the unit as the first stage of his equestrian career, probably late in Trajan's or early in Hadrian's reign (I77).

The unit is only referred to once more, on a fragmentary inscription from Pola (I78). Again the officer, whose name is lost, commanded the cohort as the first stage in his career, before becoming tribune of legio V Macedonica in Moesia.

It was perhaps to Moesia that the cohort was transferred in the later first century (I79).

Map 2 Legions and auxilia from Vespasian to Trajan



### Conclusions:

We are best equipped in this period, with two complete diplomas for the same date, to estimate the total garrison of the province c.88. But we cannot get safely beyond the total of eight alae and nineteen cohorts in these diplomas. We have far too little other evidence, either archaeological or literary, to give us an overall picture of the garrisoning of the province. It is unlikely that we have the total garrison even for 88 in the two diplomas. We can be sure that units were omitted from the lists because they happened not to have men due for diplomas. Also we have in the list above several units not on the diplomas, which were in Syria during the Flavian and Trajanic period. That period however was one of about fifty years, in which there will have been considerable movements of units in and out of the province.

What we can say of the Flavian auxiliary garrison and changes after Corbulo's wars and the suppression of the Jewish revolt is limited by our lack of knowledge of the Julio-Claudian garrison. We meet only three units that were clearly Flavian creations (180), far fewer than those created by Trajan in the east.

It is noteworthy how high a proportion of both alae and cohorts stemmed originally from the west - five of the eight alae which, apart from a single Pannonian unit, are all Thracian or mixed units of Thracians and Gauls. The same is true of the cohorts. Ten out of eighteen were originally recruited in the west and, of the former, half are of Thracian origin. Of the rest we find two African cohorts - one of which was discharging Thracian veterans in 88 (181) - and two from the east.

Our evidence offers more that can helpfully be said about dispositions. We have already met the cavalry-men from Europus-Jerablus

before the Flavian period (182). Under the Flavian emperors further steps were taken to ensure the security of this area. We meet praefecti ripae Euphratis, like Sappius Flavius (183) after his ala command and Celesticus after his centurionates in the Syrian legions (184). Such officials no doubt looked after the policing of the river frontier (185), which will certainly have been garrisoned by auxiliary units in permanent forts by the end of our period. This is confirmed by recent evidence from the Euphrates banks. An inscription from Safsafa, on the right bank of the Euphrates about 20 kilometres east of Abu Hureira (186), is a dedication to Trajan commemorating the construction of a valetudinarium. It was not found in situ but it is unlikely to have moved far from where it was originally set up by the cohors IIII Lucensium. A second inscription (187) from Abu Hureira is a tombstone of a veteran of the ala III Augusta Thracum, which can be dated from the unit's movements to before 133. The soldier had possibly bought some land and settled down near his old base. Then tile-stamps from another site by the Euphrates, Tell el Hajj (188), about 23 kilometres north of Meskene-Balis, suggest the presence there of the cohors I Thracum milliaria. By Trajan's reign auxiliary units in permanent forts garrisoned the right bank of the Euphrates from north of Meskene-Balis to at least Safsafa. The groundwork had probably been laid by Syria's Flavian governors, who, as in other parts of the empire, turned their minds to the consolidation and strengthening of the frontier defences.

In the southern half of the province we have evidence of Roman preoccupation with the line from Soura on the Euphrates to Palmyra under Vespasian, with road-works under the governor, M. Ulpius Traianus,

father of the emperor, in 75 (189). Perhaps at the same time work was carried out on the route between Palmyra and Damascus. It is certainly about this time that increasing Roman influence becomes perceptible at Palmyra. The earliest inscriptions from the agora there date to late in Vespasian's and early in Domitian's reigns (190). And in military terms it is under Trajan that we meet the first unit of cameleers, the most practicable way of policing the desert fringes, which - or one of which, if there were more than one - was composed of Palmyrenes.

The remaining evidence from the south-west frontier region is scrappy. The Thracian ala at Gerasa (191) was probably only a temporary measure during the troubled aftermath of the Jewish revolt. But the protection of cities on the desert fringes remained a permanent responsibility, for which troops could be more easily spared as the pacification of the interior was completed. Such a duty was perhaps carried on from Baalbek - Heliopolis as late as our period. We have two inscriptions from here. The first is the fragment of a career of a commander of the cohors II Thracum c. R. (191), which is of uncertain date though the unit is only attested for certain in Syria during our period. The second inscription is also a fragment (192), referring to the curator of a veteran ala, and is discussed above (193). The unknown honorand probably commanded a task-force, perhaps in the vicinity of Heliopolis and before AD 130. It is risky to argue from career inscriptions, especially incomplete ones, but it is tempting to regard Heliopolis-Baalbek as of some importance militarily for the south-western frontier region of Syria into our period. Probably here, as further north, there was penetration of Roman influence into the desert fringes. Hence we find, for example, a soldier from Philadelphia serving by AD 69 in the cohors II Italica (194).

#### 4. From Trajan's Parthian war to the war of L. Verus

The main question we have to ask of Trajan's war, the first in which the resources of the empire were brought to bear on Rome's major rival, is its effect on the garrison of Syria. It is clear however from the evidence we have for the movements of legions that the Syrian garrison cannot be considered in isolation from that of the other eastern provinces.

Of the Syrian legions IV Scythica took part in Trajan's war (1) and returned to its base at Zeugma, where, as we have seen, tile-stamps attest to its presence later in the second century (2). This is confirmed by the fact that most of the evidence for the legion comes from the north of Syria. It is the good communications of Zeugma with Antioch that explain why, when a stand-in for the governor of Syria was required, the legate of IV Scythica usually did the job (3). It is also noteworthy that an exceptionally large number of well-born tribuni laticlavii served in the legion. Their influence presumably allowed them to choose the legion from which it was most easy to get to Antioch. Although Raphanea was closer as the crow flies the road from Zeugma is easier.

The whereabouts of VI Ferrata at the outbreak of the Parthian war is uncertain. A vexillation, if not the whole legion, may have been in Arabia at the time (4). But elements, at least, of the legion took part in Trajan's expedition. Two tribunes received decorations from Trajan (5). Whether the legion returned to a base in Syria after the war is uncertain. It may have been moved to Judaea or Arabia immediately after the war. Troops were needed to suppress the threatening trouble in Judaea and there will still have been plenty of civil engineering work to do in the new province of Arabia. Possibly a temporary move to

Judaea was frozen and resulted in the permanent stationing of the legion at Caparcotna. It received a permanent replacement in Syria in the form of legio XVI Flavia, from the more northerly Cappadocian fortress of Satala. The legion remained here for the rest of the second century but the earliest evidence for its presence at Samosata is that of Ptolemy, of c. AD 140 (6). That it was to Samosata that XVI Flavia moved is slight evidence that this was where VI Ferrata had previously been based.

That III Gallica, the third Syrian legion, also took part in Trajan's campaigns can hardly be doubted. So far however we have no evidence. After the war the legion went - almost certainly returned - to Raphanea. Ptolemy, writing late in Hadrian's or early in Antoninus Pius' reign, informs us that "Ραφανεα λεγ. τριτη" (7) and we have a single inscription from the site referring to the legion (8).

In addition to the regular garrison of Syria and of the other eastern provinces we have evidence of a new formation of Trajan's raised in 104/5. This legion was in Syria directly after the Parthian war (9), in which it will have participated - though we do not so far have any evidence for this. By 128 it had probably been transferred to Egypt (10).

Between 119 and 128 we do not know where it was based but, if we cannot be certain of this, it is clear that there was plenty to keep an extra legion occupied, in particular in Judaea and Arabia in these years (11).

There is no need for an exhaustive list of the units taking part in Trajan's war (12). But it is interesting to note which provinces were drawn on. Legions from Syria's neighbour provinces of Judaea and Cappadocia took part. Military tribunes from X Fretensis (13) and a

centurion from XVI Flavia won decorations (14). Otherwise, apart from III Cyrenaica from Egypt (15), all the reinforcements came from the battle-hardened Danube legions. These probably included XV Apollinaris, based at Carnuntum in Pannonia after the Dacian wars (16) but by the end of Hadrian's reign forming part of the garrison of Cappadocia (17). Probably also I Adiutrix from Dacia (18) came to the east. Hadrian "expeditionis Parthicae tempore ... utebatur ..... amicitia Platorii Nepotis," (19) then in command of the unit (20). We have a tombstone from Cyrrhus of a soldier of the legion (21). Lastly VII Claudia from Upper Moesia also took part in full strength (22) - certainly by the time of the revolt in Cyprus (23).

But such reinforcements are what we should expect. Both Corbulo and Vespasian made use of Danube legions for their respective campaigns. For our purposes they are helpful in indicating the provinces - Pannonia Superior, Dacia and Moesia Superior - from which we would also expect auxiliary forces for the expedition of Trajan. Some such units did come to the east and, as we will see, remained permanently in Syria.

Under Trajan the composition of the auxiliary garrison was considerably altered. During his reign large numbers of new units were created, many of which remained in the east. Probably a large proportion of these were raised with the Parthian war in mind, perhaps with a view to garrisoning newly-conquered territory. So in the Syrian diploma of 156/7 (24) two of the three alae and six of the sixteen cohorts are creations of Trajan. Of these the two cohortes Paphlagonum, recruited from Paphlagonia in northern Asia Minor, suggest comparison with Corbulo's recruiting efforts in the east and his "per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus". (25). The cohors I Ulpia Dacorum, recruited during or after Trajan's Dacian wars, probably accompanied I Adiutrix to the east. These are units

that remained permanently in Syria. Most of the auxiliaries that accompanied the legions returned to their home bases. These included such units as the ala II Pannoniorum from Upper Moesia. This ala had been in Syria in 88 (26), had returned to Moesia by 93 (27) but came to the east for Trajan's Parthian expedition, presumably with VII Claudia (28). The same was true of the ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria, described as "missa in expeditionem" on a diploma of Pannonia Inferior for 114 (29). One unit which may have come to the east with Trajan's expeditionary forces is the ala Thracum Herculiana. It was part of the permanent garrison of the province by 156/7, before the Veran Parthian war, though we find it operating in the west after Hadrian's creation of the province of Syria Palaestina (30). It may therefore have returned to the west after the Parthian war. But its movements in this period are not yet clear.

Auxilia in Syria from the start of Hadrian's reign (117) to L. Verus' Parthian war:

We have two fragmentary diplomas for this period. The first is a small fragment from Siscia in Pannonia Superior (31), which can only be dated roughly to between 134 and 154 on textual grounds. That it is for Syria is uncertain as the relevant part of the diploma is lost. But this is a reasonable inference from the units listed (32), though only three of the three alae and seven cohorts originally given are legible. Somewhat later is a much larger fragment of an Antonine diploma of 156/7 (33), all except one of whose four alae and sixteen cohorts are legible.

Alae: Ala II Flavia Agrippiana This unit was almost certainly in Syria before Lucius Verus' Parthian war. The major argument for this

is that the ala was commanded by Lollianus for his third militia (34), which precedes on his career inscription his command of a vexillation in Mesopotamia, which I argue (35) is datable to Lucius Verus' war. A dating of this command to Trajan's war only brings the ala's probable presence in the east down even earlier. It is highly probable that Lollianus received the command of the vexillation while he was in command of the ala Agrippiana.

The most plausible occasion for its transfer to the east is Trajan's Parthian war. It probably came from one of the German provinces, as is implied by a fragmentary inscription from Eithae in Batanaea (36), which refers to a soldier whose name is lost

"ἀπο Γερμανίας ἀνελεθῶν καὶ ἐν εἰληγῇ Ἀγριππικῆν ἀποθανῶν".

Other evidence from the ground confirms the ala's presence in Syria. An inscription from Palmyra refers to a Valerius Caianus, duplicarius of the ala (37). Then from north Syria we have a fragmentary epitaph of an [Alex]ander [eques alae?] Fl(aviae) Agrip(pianae) (38), from Europus on the Euphrates south of Zeugma.

Finally it is possible that the soldier "στρατευσαμενος Σεκουριῶν τ[ησ] β' ἀλας," whose tombstone was found at Qanawat-Canatha in the Hauran (39) and is perhaps datable to the third century, served in our ala, for the only other ala secunda attested in Syria is the ala Pannoniorum. This unit was in Syria in 88 (40) but back in Moesia Superior by the end of the first century.

The three - two certain and one probable - pieces of evidence from south-eastern Syria suggest that the ala was based in this area, presumably on the fringes of the desert. The epitaph from Europus may well belong to a soldier who died when the ala was taking part-

or travelling to take part in - an imperial expedition against Parthia.

Such expeditions tended to be assembled in the north of the province at cities like Hierapolis.

Ala Augusta Syriaca: A unit of this title provided a vexillation for Lollianus' expedition to Mesopotamia (41). It is nowhere else attested in Syria but is perhaps identical with the ala Augusta in Egypt in 83 (42).

Ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium: This ala, in Syria in 91 (43), perhaps remained in the province for at least part of our period before its transfer to Palestine by 139 (44).

We have a single reference to the unit which is roughly datable to the first half of the second century. This is a career inscription from Ostia (45). The anonymous honorand, before his first procuratorial post, was "praefectus alae equitum cons(tantium)" either in Syria or Syria Palaestina.

Ala I Ulnia dromedariorum Palmyrenorum: A unit of cameleers is listed in the diploma of 156/7 (46). Its title lacks the Palmyreni but the unit is probably identical to that commanded by Tiberius Claudius Phi [...], to whom we have a dedication (47) raised by a M. Ulpus Iarhai, who has nine statues set up to him at Palmyra, all datable to between 155 and 159.

It is possible that the undated tombstone (48) of a dromedarius from Nemara, about 150 miles south-south-west of Palmyra and some twenty miles beyond the Hauran and into the desert, belongs to the Palmyrene ala. It is unlikely however that the Palmyrene ala was the only unit of cameleers in this region.

Ala VII Phrygum: This ala remained in Syria until Hadrian's Jewish war, when it was transferred to Palestine and where we find it in 139 (49). If, as is most likely, the ala was in Syria Palaestina

by 134, the reference to it on the fragmentary diploma datable to between 134 and 154 (50) shows it back in Syria again, whither it will have returned at some date after 139 and before 154, assuming, as is more probable, that this fragment is of a diploma for Syria and not Syria Palaestina.

Most of the rest of the evidence for the unit consists of career inscriptions. It was commanded by two officers from the Greek east. Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Pius, honoured by his home city of Pergamum (51), was tribune in two of the Syrian legions before commanding the ala, probably under the Flavian emperors or Trajan (52). The legions were the IV Scythica at Zeugma and III Gallica at Raphanaeae. The temporary transfer of the ala Phrygum to Syria Palaestina slightly favours a base in the south of Syria. It may be that Pius did not have to move far to his ala command from his legionary tribunate at Raphanaeae.

The second officer's career is given on several inscriptions from Patara in Lycia-Pamphylia (53). Tiberius Claudius Agrippinus also commanded the ala after two legionary tribunes, probably in the later first and early second century. The ala is also referred to on three very fragmentary inscriptions from Lugdunum Convenarum (54) but they do not provide us with any very helpful information about the unit. Our latest reference to it occurs on a career inscription from Ostia of a C. Nasennius Marcellus Senior (55), who commanded the unit late in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Ala Flavia Praetoria Singularium: The ala praetoria contributing to Lollianus' vexillation in Mesopotamia (56) was probably the ala Flavia Praetoria Singularium in Syria under Domitian. The ala is not otherwise attested (57).

Ala I Ulpia Singularium: That this ala is distinct from that above is put beyond doubt by Lollianus' inscription (58), in which the ala praetoria is listed separately from the ala singularium.

The earliest evidence for the unit is the career of L. Aburnius (59), who commanded the ala at the end of Trajan's or early in Hadrian's reign. Aburnius was "ἐπιμελητής εὐθηνίας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς Παρθικῆς τῆς ὀχθῆς τῶν Εὐφράτου", was decorated late in the war and then commanded the ala I Ulpia singularium.

The ala was based at Palmyra in the 150's and is listed in the diploma of 156/7 (61). Its garrisoning of Palmyra can be inferred from two career inscriptions for the same man, C. Vibius Celer Rufus (62). The first of these comes from Circeii, on the west coast of Italy south of Rome. In it the Circeienses honour their patron, who commanded the ala I Ulpia singularium as the third stage in his equestrian military career (63A). Vibius Celer is then again honoured on an inscription from Palmyra (64A) by that city's authorities as "ἐπαρχὸν τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀλῆς" which can only be the ala listed on his career from Circeii, the ala I Ulpia singularium. The command can be dated roughly to the 150's AD from Celer's next post, as procurator of Arabia (63).

The presence of the ala at Palmyra is confirmed by two other inscriptions (64) from the city. One of these is fragmentary and preserves only the name of the unit (65); the second is the epitaph of a "Iulis (sic) Bassus [eq] alae Ulp. singul(arium)" (66).

How long the ala remained at Palmyra is not clear. It had certainly been replaced by the ala Thracum Herculiana by 167.

Ala Thracum Herculiana: By 156/7 this ala was in Syria (67). But when it arrived is difficult to establish. It was commanded by Tiberius Claudius Agrippa in the later 130's (68), who went on to be "ἀρχιστρατῶν ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου Εὐδαμονος", prefect of Egypt in 142/3 (69). This might suggest an eastern base for the unit but Agrippa's previous commands had been in the Moesian provinces (70). Such arguments are anyway very insecure.

At some date after 136, a terminus post quem given by a headless career inscription from Prusias ad Hypium (71), the unit was ἐν Πεωνίᾳ.

Πεωνία is probably Pannonia. We find Cassius Dio using Παιονία for the province (72), though Premerstein has argued that it indicates the northern Macedonian region of Παιονία (73). Wherever Πεωνία is, the reference to the province or region of only one of the officer's commands suggests that the ala may not have been operating in its usual province but was taking part in an expedition when commanded by our unknown officer. The unit may have been transferred temporarily from the east.

It is thus not possible to establish the presence of the ala in Syria before 156/7. After that date it remained there down to Lucius Verus' Parthian war, in which it participated. Julius Julianus was decorated during the war and his command of the unit (74) can be dated to 163-167; it also contributed troopers to Lollianus' vexillation (75).

Another inscription in honour of Julianus (76) comes from Palmyra. Here the title φιλοπατρις indicates that he had been granted honorary citizenship. On the same inscription his prefecture of the Thracian ala is mentioned. Presumably it was while commanding this ala at Palmyra that he had received this honour. Several other inscriptions attest its presence there. They include the epitaph of an eques (77) and an inscription in honour of a later commander of the unit (78).

#### COHORTS:

Cohors I Ascalonitarum sag.: This unit is only scantily attested but remained part of the garrison of the province throughout this period. It is listed in the diploma of 156/7 (78A) and contributed a vexillation to Lollianus' expeditionary force (79).

Cohors IIII Callaecorum Lucensium: This unit is similarly attested. It is first listed in the fragmentary diploma for Syria of c. 134-154 (80) and then on the diploma for 156/7 (81). It contributed troops to Lollianus' force (82) but is nowhere later attested.

Cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum eq. sag.: This unit is first attested in Syria in 156-157 (83). It may have been transferred from Moesia Inferior, where we find a cohors I Chalcidenorum in 138 (84), but this is unlikely. The absence of Flavia from the title of the cohort there and the lack of any other evidence for the Flavian unit's presence outside Syria lend support to the view that in the 138 diploma I has been written by mistake for II. The cohors II Chalcidenorum was in Moesia in 99 (85) and 134 (86). It is simpler to suppose that the Flavian unit was permanently based in Syria.

The base of the unit at the outbreak of the Veran Parthian war lay about twenty miles north-east of Damascus on the road to Palmyra at Admedera-Dmeyr. In the remains of a fort, of which the original was perhaps built by the cohort, was a dedication of 162 to Lucius Verus (87).

The revised reading of ILS 2724 has confirmed the emendation of Bormann (88) of the former text's "V Chalcidenorum" to "I Fl(avia) Chalcidenorum" (89) and we can now be certain that the cohort took part in Lollianus' task-force.

Cohors II Equitum: This cohort needs to be carefully distinguished from the cohors II Ulp(ia) equit(ata) of the diploma of 156/7 (90). For in Lollianus' vexillation we find both the "cohors II Ulpia Equit(ata) c. R." (number 2) and the "cohors II equitum" (number 6). This is the only certain reference to the unit in our period. But at an uncertain date L. Valerius Priscus, whose career is given on a career

from Vienne (91), commanded the cohors secunda equitatum before going on to a tribunate in X Fretensis. This is clearly our cohort.

The cohort's later activity in the region of Dura (92) perhaps favours a northern base for the unit at this time.

Cohors II Classica: This long-standing member of Syria's garrison was in the province in 156/7 (93). Apart from the reference in the diploma we have only the career inscription of G. Flavius Iunianus, who was prefect of the cohort before - most probably - a tribunate in the legio III Cyrenaica (94).

Cohors I Ulpia Dacorum: This cohort presumably came to the east with Trajan for his Parthian war. It was in Syria in 156/7 (95). The only other possible reference to it occurs on Lollianus' inscription where we find the cohors III Dacorum contributing to his vexillation (96). The cohort's title is perhaps to be emended to cohors I Ul(pia) Dacorum (97). Neither a cohors III Dacorum nor any other Dacian cohort above "I" is elsewhere attested.

Cohors I Gaetulorum: This cohort is unattested in Syria in our period but the fact that it appears in one of the diplomas for 91 (98) and again, still in Syria, in the later second century (99) suggests that it remained in garrison in the province.

Cohors VII Gallorum: This cohort was in Moesia Inferior until at least 114 (100). It had been transferred to Syria in time to appear in the fragment of a diploma for 134-154 (101). The number of the unit here is lost but the cohors VII Gallorum is the only Gallic cohort attested in Syria at this time, if the plausible emendation of IV Gall to IV Call in the diploma of 156/7 is accepted (102). The cohort possibly came to the east for Trajan's Parthian war or Hadrian's Jewish revolt.

It then remained in garrison in the province. It was there in 156/7 (103) and was commanded during Antoninus Pius' reign by the future emperor Pertinax (104) and at the end of Antoninus Pius' or

the beginning of Marcus Aurelius' reign by C. Iulius Corinthianus from Theveste in Africa (105).

We are told that Pertinax was compelled to walk to his unit from Antioch but not the route he took (106). We have however other possible clues to where the unit was based. From Hatne, about thirty-five miles north-west of Damascus, comes a dedication of a cohors VII (107). The reference to our cohort of Gauls is probable, as no other cohort with so high a number is attested in Syria. From the same spot and datable to a century later we have a second inscription (108), a dedication by a cohors VII CAIM . But this offers no easy solution to the difficulty. It has been emended, by Ritterling, to cohors VII Gall(orum) (109), which is plausible but not certain.

Cohors I Hamiorum milliaria: That this cohort was in Syria in our period is uncertain. It was attested there on an inscription (110) probably datable to the late first or early second century. It was then commanded just before the Veran Parthian war by M. Valerius Maximianus (111). That Maximianus commanded a milliary cohort is clear from his post as tribune of the unit. That his Hamian cohort was in the east is suggested by Maximianus' next post, that of "praepositus orae gentium Ponti Polemoniani" which involved operations in northern Cappadocia and for which Maximianus was decorated. But this still leaves us uncertain where the unit was based. After the above inscription, it is not again attested in Syria and may well have been based in Cappadocia, a province for which we have no diplomas and about the garrison of which we are ill-informed.

Cohors VI Hispanorum: This cohort was probably in Syria in our period before a transfer to Arabia by 212 (112) but none of the evidence for it can be precisely dated. This includes a tombstone

for his son of a soldier of the unit from al Basiri (II3), about fifty miles south-west of Palmyra and at the end of a modern track from the city. There was perhaps an outpost of the unit here.

The cohort's existence is confirmed by two fragmentary career inscriptions, one from Eumenia in Phrygia (II4) and the second, a fragment only (II5), from Ameria in Italy. But neither of these can be dated.

Cohors II Italica c.R. In Syria in 156/7 (II6), the cohort is not otherwise attested.

Cohors I Lucensium In Syria in 91 (II7), this cohort contributed to Lollianus' vexillation (II8) but is otherwise referred to only on a single career inscription, that of T. Statilius Optatus (II8A). This is probably, but not certainly, of Hadrianic date.

Cohors I Augusta Pannoniorum In Syria in 88 (II9) entitled cohors Augusta Pannoniorum, the cohort was still in the province in 156/7 (I20), now the cohors I Augusta Pannoniorum.

We have a single career of a commander of the unit, L. Claudius Honoratus, on an inscription from Cuicul in Numidia (I21). He was elevated to the equestrian order by Antoninus Pius, under whom he will have served his first command, that of the Pannonian cohort.

The cohort was still in Syria under Commodus (see below p 81 ) but later, at an uncertain date, was transferred to Egypt, where we find it in the Notitia (I22).

Cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum As far as we can judge, this unit remained in Syria from its establishment under Trajan to the war of Lucius Verus. It was in Syria in 156/7 (I23), took part in Lollianus' expedition (I24) and was still in Syria or Mesopotamia in 251 (see below p. 81 ).

Cohors III Ulpia Paphlagonum: The evidence for this cohort is similar to that for its sister unit above. It is listed in the diploma of 156/7 (125) and among Lollianus' forces (126). Otherwise we have only a reference on a fragmentary career inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis (127). The officer, whose name is lost, commanded the cohors III Ulpia Pa[ph]lagonum as the first stage in his equestrian militia. He next became tribune in legio III Cyrenaica, perhaps already at Bostra, where it was based from fairly early in the second century (128).

Cohors I Ulpia Petraeorum: This Trajanic cohort was transferred soon after its creation c.106 to Syria. One of its earliest commanders was a Lucius Aburnius (129). He was *ἐπιμελητής* or praepositus rather than the unit's permanent commander or prefect. Perhaps the unit still had native Arabian officers and Aburnius was assigned temporarily to the unit to assist with its incorporation into the Roman army. Aburnius' command probably just preceded Trajan's Parthian war, during which he was given another special post, as "*ἐπιμελητής εὐθηνίας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς ὀχθῆς τοῦ Εὐφράτου*".

Another commander of the cohort was honoured, probably during Hadrian's reign, in two inscriptions set up at Palmyra (130). He was M. Acilius Athenodorus, almost certainly a native of Palmyra. The first inscription (131) was set up by a friend to Athenodorus, "*χειλιάρχος λεγ. ἰ Φρετησίας καὶ χειλιάρχος σπειρας α' Οὐλπίας Πτραϊκῆς*". The second (132) has a similar text. It may be that a Palmyrene, with his local expertise, was deliberately put in charge of this newly raised unit of Arabians but we have not the evidence to check this.

The cohort was still in Syria in 156/7 (133) and contributed a vexillation to Lollianus' force (134).

Cohors V Ulpia Petraeorum: This cohort was in Syria in 156/7 (135) and contributed troops to Lollianus' vexillation (135). It is otherwise attested only in the career of Tiberius Claudius Antoninus from Ostia (137), who died during or after his first command.

Cohors I Claudia Sygambrum veterana: In Moesia Inferior in 99 (138), when it is listed as cohors I Sygambrum veterana, the cohort is listed there again in 134 (139), this time as cohors I Claudia Sygambrorum. It was transferred during Hadrian's reign from Moesia Inferior to Asia (140). That this took place after 134 and before Hadrian's death in 138 is a reasonable inference. If the move to Asia took place earlier in Hadrian's reign and before 134, we would have to suppose a move back to Moesia Inferior before that date and a later move to Syria before 156/7. This is unnecessarily complicated.

The cohort was transferred as a whole to Eumenia in Phrygia, to replace another cohort moved to Cappadocia (141). The occasion of this move is not clear. By 134-138 the hardest fighting in Hadrian's Jewish war was over but no doubt the garrison of Syria Palaestina needed strengthening after the revolt and gaps in other provinces were filled by transfers from the west.

The cohort was in Syria in 156/7 (142) and contributed troops to Lollianus' vexillation (143). This contribution provides a strong argument for dating Lollianus' activities to Lucius Verus' war (144). The great majority of the contributing units were permanent members of the Syrian garrison. This was true of the Sygambran cohort only for Lucius Verus' and not for Trajan's war.

It was probably this unit that was commanded by a Q...n...ionius Severus, praef. coh. Sigambrum in the latter half of the second century (145).

Cohors II Thracum c.R.: After 91 (146) the fate of this cohort is uncertain. There are three later possible references to it but two of these are disputed. The first of these is a dedication to Jupiter on a statue from es-Sukhne (147), about forty miles north-east of Palmyra on the way to Deir ez-Zor and a junction of several tracks. It was set up by a Sex. Rasius Proculus, praef. coh. II Thrac(um), probably in the second half of the second century. But the absence of the distinctive c.R. title makes it equally possibly a reference to the cohors II Thracum Syriaca below.

The only certain reference to our unit is on a fragment of a career inscription from Baalbek already referred to (148), in which the unknown officer commanded the cohors I I Thracum c.R. eq. But the date of this is uncertain.

In Lollian's list of cohorts (149) we meet a cohors II Thracum but we cannot be certain whether it is this unit or the cohort noted below.

Cohors II Thracum Syriaca: In Syria in 91 (150), this cohort is listed there again in 156/7 (151). It may be that the cohort referred to on the inscription from Sukhne mentioned above (152) and the second Thracian cohort listed in Lollian's vexillation (153) are this unit. We cannot distinguish between the two cohortes II Thracum. All we can be sure of is that this unit was in Syria during our period.

Otherwise the cohort is referred to on a single cursus honorum from Praeneste (153A). C. Valerius Florinus commanded the cohors II Thracum Syriaca as the first stage of his equestrian militia.

Cohors III Augusta Thracum: This unit was in Syria throughout our period. L. Aburnius commanded it (154) just before the outbreak of Trajan's Parthian war and it is listed in the province in 156/7 (155).

Map 3 Legions and auxilia from Hadrian to Marcus Aurelius

SYRIA

LEGIONS AND AUXILIA FROM HADRIAN TO MARCUS AURELIUS



About this time Julius Julianus was in charge of it (156).

Cohors III Thracum Syriaca equitata: Two inscriptions imply this unit's presence in Syria immediately before and soon after the end of our period. The first is the career of L. Aburnius (157), all of whose military commands were in Syria and who was decorated in Trajan's Parthian war. The second is a funerary inscription from el-Kantara in Numidia (158), datable to the second half of the second century (159). This gives the career of a Palmyrene who was transferred from the cohors III Thracum to an African cohort.

Cohors II Ulpia equitata: This Trajanic unit is earliest attested in Syria in 156/7 (160). It contributed to Lollianus' task-force but is not otherwise referred to.

#### Conclusion:

The evidence for auxiliary units in this period gives some support for the theory outlined above that the diplomas of 88 list the units in different parts of Syria. For, as far as our evidence allows us to say, this seems to be true for the diploma of 156/7 too. All the units on the diploma for which we have evidence operated in the south and south-east of the province. The ala I Ulpia dromedariorum was almost certainly a Palmyrene unit (161). We would expect a unit of cameleers to be operating on the south-eastern desert fringes of the province and this gains slight confirmation from the tombstone of a dromedarius from Nemara (162). Then both the other two alae on the diploma garrisoned Palmyra during our period, the ala I Ulpia singularium in the 150's (163) and the ala Thracum Herculiana in the 160's (164).

What evidence we have for the dispositions of the cohorts also puts them in this part of the province. The cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum built the fort at Admedera-Dmeyr just outside Damascus (165); a cohors

II Thracum has left evidence of its presence at Sukhne (166), north-east of Palmyra; there is perhaps evidence of the cohorts VII Gallorum at Hatne under Hadrian (167). It is true that the bulk of our evidence from the ground comes from this part of the province but that so many of the units we meet here recur on the diploma certainly strengthens the view that the list on the diploma is of units from a particular region of the province.

The 156/7 diploma's list also has surprisingly similar proportions to one of those of 88 (168). In the latter year four alae and seventeen cohorts had been discharging; in 156/7 the totals are four alae and sixteen cohorts. It is also noticeable that, despite the lack of evidence for identifying units in Syria apart from diplomas, we have as many as four alae (169), of which two certainly formed part of the permanent garrison of the province, but only the same number of cohorts (170), which are not listed in the Antonine diploma. This calls to mind the comparatively large number of alae in the other diploma for 88 (171), where we find five alae and two cohorts. Perhaps also in 156/7 a diploma with such a list was issued. The similarity between the other two diplomas certainly suggests that a similar rationale underlay their compilation. The evidence for the disposition of the units listed at both dates supports the view that the rationale was geographical and that they both listed units in the southern half of the province.

What changes can we see in the dispositions of the units in this period? Under Vespasian roads were built and the route along the Euphrates eastern bend was garrisoned by auxiliary units. From Safsafa (172) we have a dedication of 109 referring to the construction of a valetudinarium by the cohorts III Lucensium. The unit must have been based near here. Probably the Euphrates road, where Rome faced Parthian territory, was occupied by units, which manned customs posts and patrolled the frontier. Under Trajan units from desert areas were

recruited. By the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius major routes through the desert were garrisoned. Palmyra was the base of an ala by the 150's and perhaps from Hadrian's reign. For the garrisoning of the tracks from Damascus to Palmyra and from Palmyra to the Euphrates we have several pieces of evidence. Datable to our period are the Hadrianic dedication (173) of a cohors VII from Hatne and the inscription of the Chalcidene cohort of 162 from Dmeyr-Admedera (174), about twenty-five miles north-north-east of Damascus. Then we also have the evidence for a cohors II Thracum from Soukhne (175), about forty miles north-east of Palmyra and datable to the latter half of the second century, and the tombstone set up by a soldier of the sixth Spanish cohort, dating to before 212, from Bir Bassiri (176) about forty-five miles south-west of Palmyra and the site of a spring. The desert tracks in this region were strongly held.

It will no doubt have been particularly in these years, as the pax Romana was imposed increasingly firmly on the undefined desert fringes of the province and tribal sheikhs who preferred peace and subsidies were given discreet support, that Palmyra especially flourished. A recently discovered inscription reveals Roman diplomacy attempting to bring order to tribal anarchy far beyond the settled heartland of Arabia at about this time. A desert tribe had a temple built with the encouragement of the provincial governor, who made peace among them, at Ruwafa, about two hundred and fifty kilometres south-east of Aqaba. From the temple we have fragments of a dedication of 166 to 169 to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (177). Probably similar policies were put into practise in Syria. One result was the wealth of Palmyra and her merchants.

The work of Schlumberger (178) has revealed how some of this wealth was spent in an enlightened manner in order to build cisterns to allow villages to survive in waterless regions where none could survive before. Those to the north-west of Palmyra, in regions which previously in their

natural state had only provided temporary pasture for Beduin, became habitable and exploitable throughout the year, perhaps by newly-settled nomads pasturing their flocks.

The dating of these developments is uncertain but they can most plausibly be linked with the Roman penetration of the area outlined above, which really began in the Flavian period. This is confirmed by the only date we have for the working of the system, which comes from a fragmentary inscription for 156, on which the name of a Thracian, presumably a soldier and perhaps from one of our cohortes II Thracum, is given. It comes from Tahoun el-Masek about thirty kilometres north-west of Palmyra (179). Such villages will have needed constant protection against Beduin raids and it is probable that several cohorts were assigned to such duties in the barren neighbourhood of Palmyra.

About the remaining frontier regions of the province we are poorly informed. In the north the Euphrates line was still garrisoned and no doubt consolidated by Hadrian. From this part of the province we have only the fragmentary epitaph of an eques of the ala Agrippiana (180) from Europus-Jerablus on the Euphrates south of Zeugma. This ala was not however permanently based in the north of the province. A fragmentary and headless tombstone of the unit comes from Eithae-el Hit in the north-eastern Hauran (181). That the unknown soldier here commemorated came from Germany, from where the unit came to the east, probably in the second century, suggests a second century date for the inscription, during which period the ala was presumably in garrison on the Syrian side of the border between Arabia and Syria. Its presence in this region is confirmed by the tombstone of a soldier from an ala secunda from Canatha-Qanawat, a town about twelve miles south-east of Eithae-el Hit and just inside the province of Syria (182).

CHAPTER TWO1. The Parthian War of Lucius Verus

The events leading up to this Parthian war early in Marcus Aurelius' reign had their roots in the dissatisfaction of the Parthian king at the end of Pius' reign. Armenia, the cause of so much trouble in the Julio-Claudian period, was the flashpoint. Soon after Pius' death in 161 the Parthian king entered Armenia, expelled its ruler and installed his own nominee on the Armenian throne. The governor of Cappadocia attempted to drive the Parthian forces from Armenia but was trapped at Elegeia on the upper reaches of the Euphrates and lost the legion he had with him (1). In 161 or 162, the governor of Syria was also defeated by the Parthians (2).

Marcus Aurelius quickly took counter-measures. He sent his brother, Lucius Verus, to the east in the spring of 162 (3). The Syrian army, languishing in inactivity, was in 163 restored to effectiveness (4), while in the same year the energetic governor of Cappadocia, Statius Priscus, occupied Armenia and stormed the capital, Artaxata (5). In 164 preparations were made for an invasion of Parthia and in 165 Avidius Cassius marched with one Roman force into Osrhoene, taking the road east to the Tigris. Another force marched down the Euphrates to Doura, where the Parthians were defeated. The former force beat through strong Parthian opposition to take Edessa and Nisibis and the two columns were united for successful assaults on the cities of Seleuceia and Ctesiphon. In 166, in a final demonstration of Roman power, an assault under Avidius Cassius was launched across the northern Tigris into Media.

What effects did this war have on the army of Syria? We can be sure that many of the eastern legions took part in the campaigns, though this is certain only of the III Gallica from Raphaneae (6).

The legion however returned to its previous base after the war, where it is later attested, though we find part of the legion outposted to the south-west fringes of the province during our period (7). That IIII Scythica remained at Zeugma is now put beyond doubt by tile-stamps of the legion from the site, which are roughly datable to the late second to early third century (8). The third legion of the province, XVI Flavia Firma, also appears later (9) at its previous base of Samosata. The legionary garrison was thus unaffected by the war.

Large-scale reinforcements were sent from the west. Marcus Aurelius, addressing his army in Pannonia during the war against the Marcomanni, after he had heard of the revolt in the east of Avidius Cassius in 175, refers scathingly to the part played by the eastern troops in the Parthian war compared with those from the west (10). Specifically attested are legions from as far afield as Germania Inferior (11), from Pannonia Superior (12) and from Moesia Inferior (13) and vexillations from Pannonia Superior (14). As far as we can tell, though possibly all the Pannonian legions contributed vexillations, no more than a single legion was transferred from particular provinces. Our evidence for the participation of legions is not abundant but we may see here deliberate policy. After the war against the Parthians, the troops from the west did not remain in the east. The danger of war on the Danube frontier had been appreciated before the outbreak of the Parthian war (15) and the western legionaries were quickly returned to their home bases after the fighting against the Parthians was over.

We have no evidence of auxiliary units transferred to the east for the Veran war which remained in Syria. In fact the only evidence for auxilia active in Syria, which probably belongs to the war (16), is the list of units which sent vexillations to Lollianus' task-force (17). Of these the vast majority were permanent members of the Syrian garrison.

Exactly to what use a force consisting of vexillations of equites electi from so many units was put is uncertain. It is difficult to imagine such a motley force, which cannot have had much time for training together, performing well in action. The absence of decorations is against its taking part in much fighting. The large number of contributing units presumably indicates an emergency scraping together of all the cavalry available, which was certainly at a premium in campaigns against Parthia in view of the long distances involved and of the largely mounted Parthian forces. But whether Lollianus' vexillations from these forces were used for scouting or protecting a marching column or for a special mission we cannot say.

The effect of the Veran war on the composition of the garrison of Syria, whether legionary or auxiliary, was slight. The Veran war was the first Parthian war under the empire which resulted in the introduction of no new legions to the east and led to no adjustments of the strengths of the eastern provincial armies.

2. The Army in Syria and Mesopotamia from the end of Verus' war (166) to the eastern wars of Severus (193)

Legions: We have little evidence for the bases of the three Syrian legions for this fairly short period. But that they continued to occupy the same bases as in the previous period is confirmed by evidence from the Severan period. XVI Flavia Firma remained at Samosata, where it had been stationed since Hadrian's reign; IIII Scythica continued to be based at Zeugma and III Gallica near Raphanea (1).

Auxilia: Ala II Flavia Agrippiana: This unit presumably remained in Syria after Verus' Parthian war. It was commanded in the 180's by a T. Ant. Cl. Alfenus Arignotus (2). This is the latest evidence for its existence.

Ala VII Phrygum: The latest certain reference to this unit is an inscription from Ostia, for a C. Nasennius Marcellus Senior (3). The precise date of his command is uncertain but it was probably at the end of Antoninus Pius' reign. The unit perhaps survived into the second half of the third century to account for the occurrence of Phrygia in the list of nations serving in the army of Valerian defeated by Sapor, probably in 259 (4).

Ala I (Ulpia) Singularium: The same Arignotus who commanded the ala II Flavia Agrippiana above (5) was also " *πραποσιτον ελης σιν- [γ]λαριων* " perhaps contemporaneously with the former command (6). This unit is certainly the ala I Ulpia singularium listed in the diploma for Syria of 156/7 (7).

Ala Thracum Herculiana: After taking part in Lucius Verus' Parthian war (8) this ala was in garrison at Palmyra. This is clear from an inscription in honour of Julius Julianus (9), " *επαρχ[ος] ελης Ηρακλειαν [ης.....]* ", datable to AD 167. How long it remained

in Syria cannot be precisely established but it was probably there until shortly before 185, by which date it had been transferred to Egypt, from where we have several receipts for the unit's supplies (10). It remained from then on permanently in garrison in Egypt (11).

Ala Vocontiorum: This ala was based in Egypt for much of the second century (12) but was transferred to Syria at some date between 165 and 183, from which year we have a fragmentary dedication from Palmyra of a centurion of legio II Traiana, in temporary command of the unit, and a decurion of the ala (13). The inscription commemorates the construction of a "camp(um) cum tribunali no(v)um". This temporary command by the centurion from an Egyptian legion and the building work suggest a recent move. Since the ala Thracum Herculiana, at Palmyra in 167 (14), first appears at Coptos in Egypt in 185, the precise station from which the ala Vocontiorum had come, it has been suggested that the two alae had exchanged bases (15). But it is difficult to understand why this should have been necessary (16).

The ala remained permanently in Syria, where it is attested later in the third century (17).

Cohortes: Cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum: This cohort was in Syria throughout our period. It is attested in the province just before Verus' war at Admedera-Dmeyr just outside Damascus on the way to Palmyra (18), and again, early in the third century, at Palmyra (19).

Cohors II Equitum: This unit took part in Verus' war (20). Its title is not very distinctive but it is probably this cohort that is referred to in several inscriptions from later in the third century (21) and not the cohors II Ulpia equitata, which is also attested there.

Cohors I Ulpia Dacorum: After being listed in Syria in 156/7 (22) and taking part in Verus' Parthian war (23) this unit is unattested until the end of the fourth century, when it appears under the dux

Syriae in the Notitia (23A). It thus presumably survived in Syria throughout the intervening period.

Cohors I Gaetulorum: This cohort was in Syria in 91 (24). After this date we have no secure evidence for where it was based until, three centuries later, we find it in the Notitia, under the dux of Osrhoene (25). This suggests again that the cohort remained part of the garrison of Syria until transferred to Mesopotamia.

Otherwise we have the careers of two officers who commanded the unit roughly during this period. The first is Arignotus (26), probably in charge of the unit in the 170's, before commanding the ala singularium and ala II Flavia Agrippiana. He was "χιλιαρχον σπερας πρωτης Κιλικων, πραιποσιτον σπερας πρωτης Γαιτουλων", "appointments which were perhaps contemporary. The cohors I Cilicum was based in Moesia Inferior (27) and Arignotus was perhaps active in the Danube wars at the end of Marcus Aurelius' reign. Possibly the cohors I Gaetulorum was temporarily transferred from Syria after the suppression of Avidius Cassius' revolt in 175 to strengthen the forces on the Danube.

Roughly contemporary with Arignotus' career is that of M. Claudius Restitutus (28), dated by Pflaum to the later second century (29). He commanded the cohors I Gaetulorum, probably in Syria, before travelling to Spain to serve as legionary tribune in the legio VII Gemina. He then returned to Syria for an accounting job, "ad putandas rationes Syriae civitatum".

Cohors VII Gallorum: This unit is not attested in Syria from evidence from the ground during our period but was in the province in 156/7 (30) and perhaps lies concealed beneath the cohors VII CAIM of a third century dedication (31).

It was commanded at some date during Antoninus Pius' reign by the future emperor Pertinax, who had to walk from Antioch to the base of the unit (32).

Cohors I Hamiorum milliaria: This unit was not certainly in the province. It was commanded in the 160's, just before Lucius Verus' Parthian war, by M. Valerius Maximianus (33), who went on to an appointment on the coast of Pontus Polemoniacus during the war. This makes an eastern base a possibility but the absence of any other reference to it from Syria makes it doubtful if <sup>it</sup> was here. It was perhaps based in Cappadocia (34).

Palmyreni sagittarii: We find at Dura in 168 (35) and 170/1 (36) a group of Palmyrene archers, who perhaps served as the Roman garrison of the city, though they may have been part of a Palmyrene-organised militia (37).

Cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum: This unit was in Syria in 156/7 (38) and is again attested there in AD 251, when a vexillation set up a dedication to Zeus (39) at Dura. It probably therefore remained in Syria during our period.

Cohors V? Ulpia Petraeorum: This cohort was in Syria before the Parthian war of L. Verus (40), in which it took part (41). It was perhaps this cohort that was commanded by the Emesan C. Julius Avitus Alexianus (42), probably in the late 180's (43). Unfortunately the cohort's number has not survived on the inscription but the fact that Alexianus commanded it for his first militia implies that it was quingenary and of the six cohorts of Petraeans established only numbers four to six were of this strength. However Alexianus may have commanded any of these last three. The cohortes IIII and VI Petraeorum were both in Palestine in 139 (44) but were perhaps permanently based in Arabia.

Cohors III Augusta Thracum: This cohort was in Syria in 156-7 (45) and was commanded by Julius Julianus (46) at about this date.

The unit survived the eastern wars of L. Verus and Severus and is next attested in a papyrus from Dura of AD 227 (47).

Cohors III Thracum Syriaca equitata: We have a single reference to what is probably this cohort during our period, on an inscription from el-Kantara in Numidia (48). It is the tombstone of a Palmyrene, Agrippa Themis f(i)lius, who was "7] coh III Thra[c]um item translatus i]n coh I Ch(a)lci[d]enor(um) iusso [i]mp. curam[a]git Palmyr. [s]ag. ann. X." The inscription is roughly datable to the late second century (49).

Cohors II Ulpia equitata c.R. sag.: This cohort was in Syria in 156/7 (50) and took part in L. Verus' Parthian war (51). Some time after the war it was moved to the recently-taken fortress of Dura (taken in 164 or 165) where it is named on a headless altar (52) from the little Roman temple there, constructed early in the period of Roman occupation (53). Here a centurion of IIII Scythica "pra]epos[itu]s numerorum" constructed a temple on an enlarged site (campo adampiato) "per coh. II Ulp. eq. civium Romanorum sagittariorum". The cohort perhaps received the citizenship for distinguished service in Verus' war.

The unit is named again in an inscription that is more precisely datable, to 185-192 (54). This is a dedication "pro salute Com(modi)" by two decurions of the unit, which is now entitled "coh. II Ulp. eq. Com." Finally its presence at Dura at this time is confirmed by an inscription of 194 "pro salutem (sic) et victori imp. L. Sep(timii) Sev(eri)" and Clodius Albinus by the tribune of the "coh(ors) II Ulp(ia) eq(uitum)" (55).

### Conclusions:

Our evidence for dispositions comes only from the border regions of the province, from the south-east where settlements lay on the margins of the desert and from central and north-eastern Syria, where

Rome faced Parthia.

In the south-east Palmyra continued to be garrisoned by an ala, the ala Thracum Herculiana for part of our period, with the immediate neighbourhood no doubt protected by cohorts. The construction of the fort at Dmeyr-Admedera in 162 reveals a tightening of control in this region. That troops were located in the desert fringes of the province not just in the region of Palmyra is confirmed by inscriptions from Phaena-el Mismiye, on the northern edge of el Ledja, the rough scrub-land between Damascus and Souweida. We have two inscriptions from the 160's, both dedications, one to Marcus and Verus (56) and the other to Marcus alone (57), both of which were supervised by centurions of III Gallica. We also have later evidence of centurions at Phaena under Commodus (58). It is not improbable that a detachment of troops was under the command of the centurions, perhaps charged with protecting the settlements of the area. Possibly there was also military activity at the same time at the remote spot of en Nemara, which lay about 35 miles east-north-east of Souweida, some way into the desert. Here there was building "Ἐπι Ἀ(ὐτοκράτορος) Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνεῖνου" (59), possibly, though not certainly, Marcus Aurelius. That there was a military outpost here in the early third century is certain (60). From here a watch could be kept on tribes likely to raid the northern Hauran, part of the province of Syria.

The Veran war was a great victory for the Romans. The terms of the settlement with the Parthians that followed it are not certain. In view of the serious Danube wars it is unlikely that sufficient troops could be spared for annexation. But Roman prestige will have been high and there is evidence that northern Mesopotamia began to come under Roman dominance. The fortress of Dura, taken in 164 or 165, was retained, extending Roman control down the Euphrates, one of the major invasion routes from Parthia. The form which Roman control of Dura

took is unclear. The force of Palmyreni sagittarii first attested in garrison after the Roman take-over (61) no doubt continued their job of guarding caravans and protecting the city against a sudden desert raid alike under Roman as under Parthian overlordship. But by the end of Commodus' reign a Roman auxiliary cohort (see below page 79) was in garrison. That other cities of strategic importance in northern Mesopotamia had received Roman garrisons by the reign of Commodus is confirmed by literary evidence. By 193 the Osrhoeni and Adiabeni tried to win Severus' favour. But they were reluctant either to abandon their fortifications or to receive garrisons and demanded that the garrisons that remained be removed (62). Among the cities garrisoned before 193 and besieged by the Osrhoeni and Adiabeni was Nisibis (63). Nisibis lay on the second major invasion route from Parthia across northern Syria to the wealthy heartland of the Roman province. If Nisibis received a Roman garrison, it is likely that Edessa and Carrhae, major cities between Nisibis and the Euphrates on the same route, and possibly Singara, about 60 miles south-east of Nisibis, also received Roman troops. This perhaps partly explains why these cities were honoured with the title of Roman colony, which Carrhae perhaps received under Marcus Aurelius (64), Edessa under Caracalla and the more isolated Singara under Severus Alexander (65).

About the identity of these garrison we have no evidence. Probably troops were drawn from the Euphrates line, when territory east of it was effectively under Roman control.

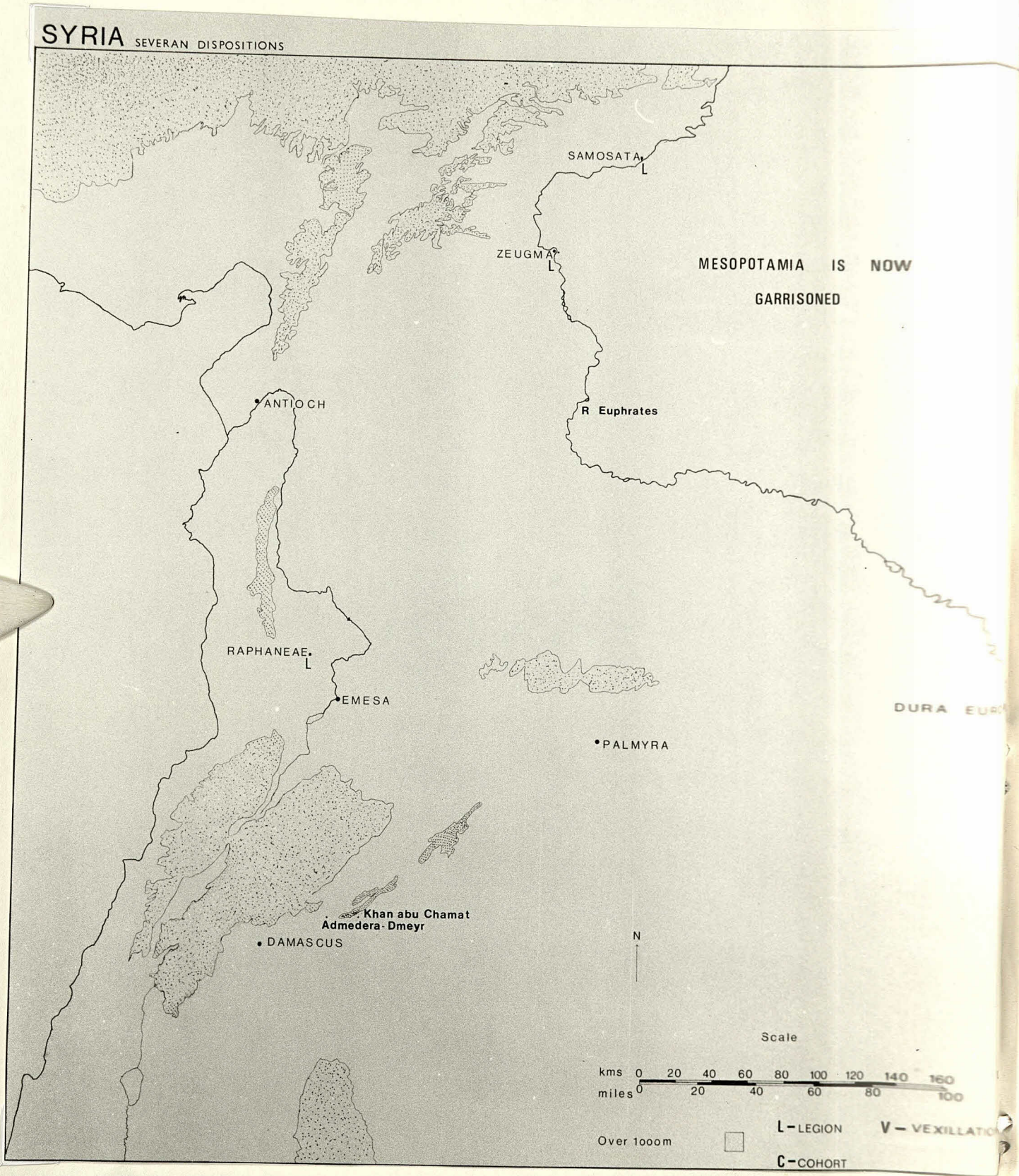
### 3. The Severan Period

Severus took the creeping domination by Rome of Mesopotamia, to which the Veran victory had paved the way, to a logical if drastic conclusion by creating a Roman province out of the plains of northern Mesopotamia. This meant in practice vaster and more sudden changes in the east than the empire had yet experienced.

Roman dominance in the east was strengthened by Severus' victories. He fought two campaigns, the first after the defeat of his rival for the empire, the governor of Syria, Pescennius Niger, in 193-4. The latter had received help from the Mesopotamian dynasts of Osrhoene and Adiabene and from the desert city of Hatra. This gave Severus a pretext for a campaign in northern Mesopotamia with the troops he had brought from the west, mainly from the Danube provinces (1). In 196 Septimius left the east to march against his rival, Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain. After the destruction of the latter Severus returned in 197 with three new legions (1-III Parthicae), specially raised for an eastern war. Parthian forces were driven from northern Mesopotamia and Severus marched down the Euphrates in 198 to deliver the coup de grâce - what was becoming the mark of a successful Parthian war - the sack of Ctesiphon. Perhaps in the same year the desert city of Hatra was attacked; it was again attacked the next year, 199, but on neither occasion with any success (2).

Rome's superiority over Parthia was thus crushingly reaffirmed. But this time there was no withdrawal. The wars were accompanied by administrative changes. Syria was first of all reorganised. One of the last three provinces in the empire with three legions, Severus divided it in late 194 or early 195 (3). In the north was Syria Coele, a consular province with two legions. These were XVI Flavia Firma and IIII Scythica. They retained their respective headquarters, at Samosata (4) and Zeugma (5), but the creation of Mesopotamia radically altered their military

Map 4 Severan Dispositions

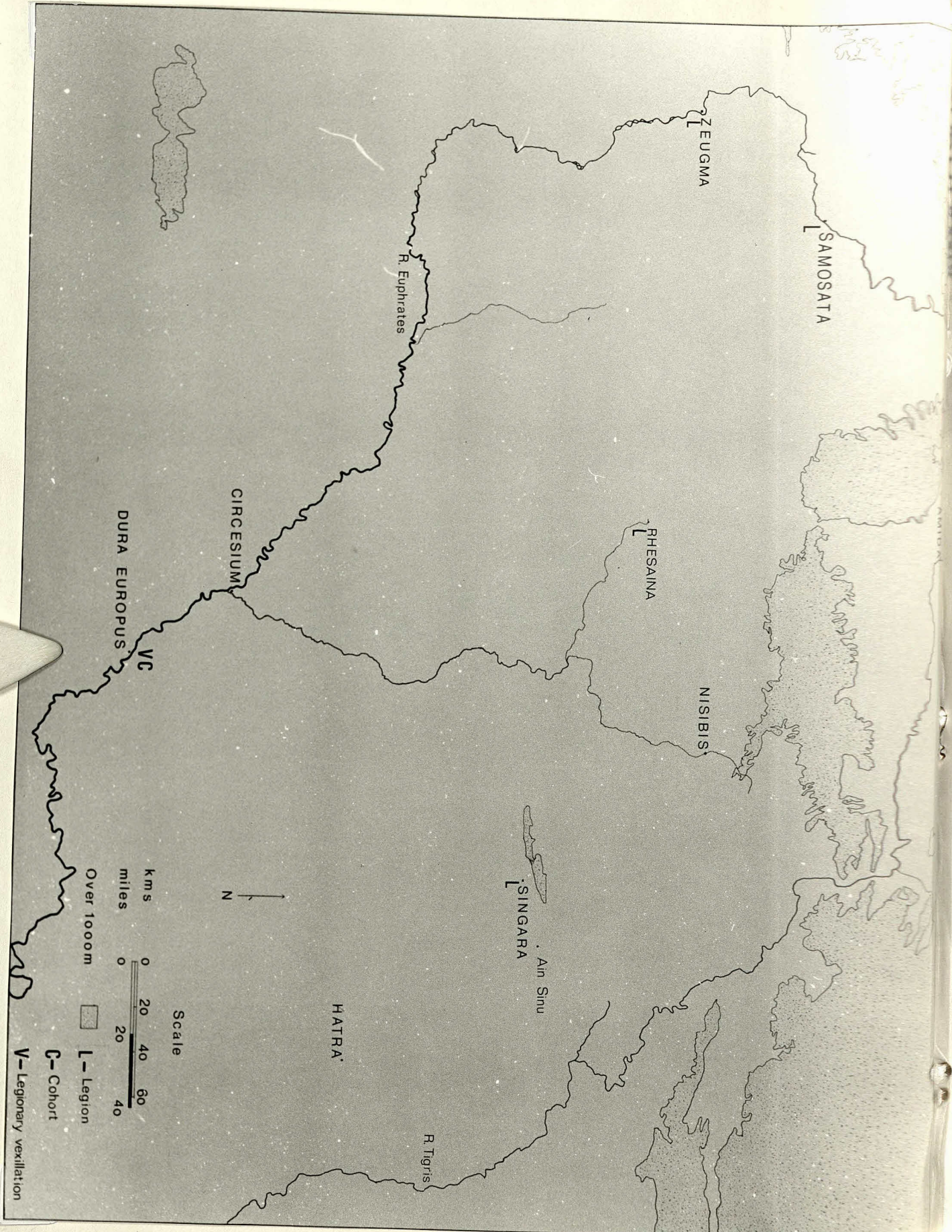


roles. They no longer primarily blocked the Parthian invasion route up the Tigris, which crossed the northern plain and headed for the Euphrates at Zeugma and Samosata. This had been the legions' function probably since Vespasian's reign. Now this job was taken over by the new legions in Mesopotamia. XVI Flavia and IV Scythica still provided a reserve for these legions. Resaina-Ras el-Ain was within easy reach of both bases but the primary task of the legions in Syria Coele was now to block the Parthian invasion route up the Euphrates. Both Mesopotamian legions could be moved down to the Euphrates but the heart of the province lay in the cities of the north like Nisibis, Carrhae and Edessa. With the northerly route in Roman hands the Euphrates route offered the quickest way into Roman Syria. Zeugma is a long way up the Euphrates, which explains the later move of a legion to Soura, but the changed role of the Syrian legions under Severus is emphasised by two things. First is the presence of vexillations of both legions at Dura.

A vexillation of XVI Flavia collaborated in the construction of a Mithraeum between 209 and 211 (6) and possibly in the building of a Dolichenum in 211 (7). A letter of 221 (8) suggests that soldiers of the legion were there then, a graffito from the praetorium entitles the unit Severiana, implying the presence of a vexillation in Dura under Severus Alexander (9) and finally a papyrus, probably from the reign of Gordian III, refers to the legion (10). Taken together all this evidence suggests that the vexillation was a permanent fixture.

There is similar, though not quite so abundant, evidence for a vexillation of IV Scythica. Between 209 and 211 a detachment of this legion assisted with the Mithraeum (11) and perhaps with the Dolichenum (12). Then in 216, with a detachment of III Cyrenaica, a vexillation took part in the construction of an amphitheatre (13). It is not

Map 5 Severan Dispositions in Mesopotamia



unlikely that the same detachment was still at Dura in 254 (14). Both vexillations were at Dura to provide a forward protection of Syria Coele.

It is this change in the strategic demands on the legions of Syria Coele, caused by the creation of Mesopotamia, that explains the at first sight anomalous attachment of the outpost fortress Dura administratively to Syria Coele and not either Syria Phoenice or Mesopotamia. This was done because the main object of any Parthian invading force was the rich cities of the Syrian hinterland. After Severus' reforms the Euphrates route was the only remaining unprotected route to this objective.

Severus' revolutionary step was the creation of the province of Mesopotamia in 198. Running probably along the southern slopes of the Tur Abdin in the north to the Tigris, the eastern boundary of the province followed that river and then turned to the west. Recent excavations (15) have confirmed that it ran along the southern edge of the Jebel Sinjar, Jebel Jaribe and Jebel Cembe roughly to the Khabur, which it followed south to its confluence with the Euphrates at Circesium.

The new province was garrisoned by two of the newly-created legions, I and III Parthicae, under equestrian praefecti. I Parthica was based at Singara (16), probably by Severus. III Parthica's base is not certain but coins from the reign of Severus Alexander and Trajan Decius (17) with a vexillum and the number III have been found at Resaina-Ras el-Ain on the upper Khabur. It is likely that Severus based the legion there.

The strategic thinking behind these dispositions is clear. Both legions stood in the path of a Parthian expedition which had come up

the Tigris and intended to head west to the Euphrates at Zeugma. The legion at Singara threatened smaller forces coming up the Tigris. In the case of a major expedition it was dangerous for a Parthian army to leave so large an enemy force in its rear and across its supply-lines. The legion at Rhesaina straddled the major road to Zeugma. It could move down the Khabur against a force proceeding up the Euphrates and it could be easily reinforced from Zeugma and Samosata against a force approaching from the direction of Nisibis. But as it turned out such strategic considerations were outweighed by political changes in the major power against which they were directed.

Severus' new province survived for about a generation. Before the later years of the reign of Severus Alexander the Romans fought a single war against the Parthians, the responsibility for which lay largely with Caracalla. This imperial expedition as usual included contingents from the west (18), possibly from Raetia (19) and from Africa (20). And Caracalla was accompanied by the Rome-based legion, II Parthica, whose prefect was one of his murderers (21). The Syrian and Mesopotamian armies will also undoubtedly have been engaged. In Dura the correspondence file of Postumius Aurelianus (22) apparently contains letters recalling scattered troops of the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum. But we have no reason to suppose that Caracalla made any alterations to his father's arrangements in Syria and Mesopotamia.

After Caracalla's assassination in 217, his praetorian prefect, Macrinus, succeeded him. Under his command there was an indecisive engagement with the Parthians after which a settlement was negotiated under which Rome retained Mesopotamia. Rome managed to keep control of the province though with increasing difficulty against the new and

aggressive dynasty of the Sassanids. But the Romans were still fighting hard in the 240's when, under Gordian III (238-244), we find a garrison of Moors (23) in the desert city of Hatra, west of the Tigris and about seventy-five kilometres south-east of Singara.

In Phoenice the III Gallica remained the only legion in the province, the governor being also the legionary legate. It remained at Raphanea until the beginning of Elagabalus' reign. Herodian, in his account of Elagabalus' rise to power in 218, comments (24) that the main camp of the province, certainly the legionary head-quarters, was near Emesa-Homs. The reference here can only be to Raphanea, which lay twenty miles north-west of the city and from where the soldiers were  $\phi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\omega\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \dots \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \tau\eta\nu \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\nu$  (25).

Under Elagabalus revolts caused the legion's disbandment (26) but it was re-established under Severus Alexander (27), who had it moved from Raphanea. When the emperor was in the east for his Persian war of 231/2 Herodian tells us (28) of revolts of troops in Syria and Alexander's move of the legionary fortress to a different site, which seemed better suited to preventing barbarian raids. He makes here no specific reference to the III Gallica but, as he has said earlier, in relating what happened when the legion was based near Emesa-Homs, that  $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon \mu\epsilon\tau\eta\nu\epsilon\chi\theta\eta \acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$  (28A).

The precise location of the new base is uncertain. But it was clearly not far from Damascus (29). We have an inscription of the late third to early fourth century (30) from Nicopolis in Moesia Inferior of a Marcellinus " ex praef(ecto) leg(ionis) III Gallicae Danavae Damasco."

Herodian's brief note of the cause of the legion's move is the earliest evidence we have for Roman trouble with raids from the desert. The move of a legion at first sight suggests that the problem was a severe one but it is impossible to be sure whether there were not also political motives for the move. It may have been the involvement of the legion in Elagabalus' bid for power that led to the decision to move it from a large city like Emesa in the settled hinterland of the province to the frontier.

But such a move of the legion is easy to explain by reference to the military demands of the province. There had been a legion at Raphanea since at least the 60's AD, for almost two hundred years. It had been located there when the region to the south-east needed pacification and to provide a conveniently sited reserve which could be drawn upon in case of a Parthian attack towards Antioch. There will have been little pacification necessary after the early second century. During that century Syria flourished and settlement was pushed out to the desert fringes of the province (31). Syria remained under a governor at Antioch, who was concerned to protect the province against the Parthians. But with Severus' creation of Mesopotamia the governor of Phoenice, at the same time legionary legate, will have been mainly preoccupied with the desert frontier from Damascus through Palmyra to the Euphrates. A move of III Gallica to this line was a sensible measure, a reinforcement of the auxiliary garrisons which already occupied this frontier region. We have already noted (see above p. 66) the evidence from Phaena and en-Nemara for military activity on the desert margins of the province south of Damascus. From en Nemara we have a possible reference to the Severan legion, II Parthica (32).

4. The auxilia of Syria and Mesopotamia from the end of Severus' eastern wars (199) to Diocletian.

The evidence for the auxilia in this period is very scrappy. There are signs that Severus recruited a large number of new auxiliary units but many will have been destroyed in the course of the almost incessant warfare in the east in the third century, culminating in the disastrous campaigns of the 250's and the capture of Valerian - particularly if the majority of the new units were in garrison in the new province of Mesopotamia. We are very heavily dependent on the narrow spotlight of the evidence from Dura, which lasts us only until 256, and there is very little we can say about the units in Mesopotamia.

Alae: Ala Britannica: From Kal'at el Mudik, near Apamea in Syria (1), we have the epitaph of an "Aurelius Maximianus [str]ato[r] pra[efecti] alae Britannicae" dated to 225-230. Whether this is the same ala that was in the east for Trajan's Parthian war (2) is probable but not certain. It had, perhaps, been transferred to the east for Severus Alexander's expedition against the Parthians, which began in 232. But it is the only reference to the unit we have in this period.

Ala nova firma catafractaria: This unit is nowhere attested in the east. But there are pointers towards its presence in garrison there. We know that Severus Alexander took a large number of troops to the west after his Parthian war in 234 (3). These included the ala firma cataphractaria, of which a decurion perished and was buried near Frankfurt (4). He came from Mesopotamia.

Now the ala was soon again in the east. In the reign of Philip (244-249) a prefect of the ala set up an inscription at Bostra in honour of the prefect of the Mesopotamian legion, I Parthica, "praeposito optimo" (5). The ala had perhaps been campaigning with

the legion in Mesopotamia in Philip's reign.

Ala Vocontiorum: We have two third century inscriptions which have been connected with this ala. They both came from the neighbourhood of the fort of Admedera-Dmeyr, just north-east of Damascus. The first (6) is a dedication by "Σ.....ος Ἀννιανος [ε]τρατωρ ἐπαρχου εἰλης Οὐοκοντιων ὑπερ σωτηριας των κυριων αὐτο <sup>κρατορων</sup> ^". Attempts have been made to relate him to a Statilius Ammianus known from a text of 263-4 (7) but they are very doubtful. However, our inscription can be roughly dated. There were two emperors when it was set up and the temple with the epistyle from which it comes was dedicated in 245 (8). So the inscription must belong to the reign of the two Philips or of Valerian and Gallienus (253-259).

The second inscription is of a similar date - from the joint reigns of Valerian and Gallienus - but here the reference to the ala is uncertain (9). The earlier reading in CIL is ala Ep Vol, emended by Domaszewski (10) to ala p(rima) Vo(contiorum) (11). But the unit is nowhere else attested with the number one and the reference to the ala Vocontiorum must remain doubtful.

Cohorts: Cohors I Ascalonitarum felix sagittaria: This cohort survived into the third century. In one of the big rosters from Dura (12) of 219 there is an entry of 209, which refers to a soldier "trasl. ex coh. Ascol. sin[gul. A]urel. Iulius Mar[c]i [anus" (XIII 1.9). The name of the cohort should almost certainly be expanded to Asc(a)l(onitanorum) (13). This suggests that the cohort was still in 209 based in Syria or Mesopotamia. It is the latest reference to the cohort.

Cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum: This cohort had been transferred to Palmyra by Severus' reign. From 206-7 (14) we have a dedication to Septimius Severus from the city. We also have a fragmentary dedication from the same place to one of Severus' successors, either Elagabalus (218-222) or Severus Alexander (222-235) (15). It was set up by the "cohors Chalcidenorum e[q]sag." and a numerus, the name of which has been badly mutilated. Finally, also from Palmyra and dating to the reign of Philip (16), is a dedication by the cohort to M. Otacilia Severa, the mother of the emperor (17). This is the last reference we have to the cohort.

Cohors I Ulpia Dacorum: The survival of this unit throughout this period is confirmed by the listing of the cohors prima Dacorum in the Notitia under the dux Syriae (18). It is possible that "Ἀστέριος τριβουνος νουμερον Αακων" (19), mentioned in an epitaph from Apamea datable to the fourth century or later, commanded what had originally been the cohors Dacorum (20).

Cohors II Equitum: The first almost certain reference to this cohort, after its occurrence in the Lollian inscription (21), and not to the similarly entitled cohors II Ulpia equitata is on a papyrus from Dura, on which a daily record of the strength of the cohort was given, with a note of important events (22). The relevant entry reads "z reversus ex q(uondam?) d(e)p(utatis) cum eis ad praet(orium) praes(idis) ex coh. II Eq." This suggests that the unit was based at Dura when the papyrus was being compiled in the last two years of Severus Alexander's reign (233-235). (23).

The final reference to what is presumably the same unit occurs in a Greek dedication by "στ(ατιωτα) σπ(ι)ρης β ἐπ(ι)κεις Γαλλ(ι)ανης Οὐλο(υ)σιανης" (24), dating from the reigns of Gallus and Volusian (251-253), when the unit must still have been in garrison at Dura.

Cohors VII Gallorum (?) From the same spot as a dedication to Hadrian of 138 (25) by a cohors VII, from Hatne, just north-east of Damascus, comes a dedication to Sabinia Tranquillina (26), datable to slightly over a century later - 241-244 (27) - by a cohors VII CAIM. This is perhaps emended rightly by Ritterling to cohors VII GALL(orum) (28), in which case the cohort will have survived at least till Gordian III's Parthian war.

Cohors VI Ituraeorum: Possibly datable to this period is a brick with the inscription COH(ORS) VI I [ ], which is restored by Oates (29) as I [turaeorum]. The highest numbered cohort of Ituraeans that, beyond doubt, existed is the cohors III Ituraeorum (30), though a cohors VII Ituraeorum is once attested (31). If the restoration is correct, it provides us with the name of one more auxiliary unit forming part of the garrison of Mesopotamia.

Cohors I Lepidiana equitata c.R.: This unit was in Moesia Inferior in the second century but at some date after 114 (32) and before Severus' Parthian war it was transferred to the east. We have a dedication to Severus by the "cohors [Lep. equ. c. R.]" from Melik Cherif on the northern reaches of the Euphrates and in Armenia Minor south-west of Satala (33). It dates to 199. Its findspot suggests that the unit was in Cappadocia rather than in Syria and this is confirmed by a later reference to it in the Notitia, where the cohors I Lepidiana is listed under the dux Armeniae (34). The only other reference to the unit does not help with its location. L. Calpurnius Valens, whose epitaph comes from Asia Minor - probably Izmir -, served as an optio in the unit possibly when the unit was in the east (35).

Mauri: This heading is not quite parallel with those of single alae and cohorts. There were several units of Mauri, - at least nine if the cohors IX Maurorum at Hatra under Severus Alexander was not part of a composite series. They first appear in the forces of

Pescennius Niger, which suggests that such units were at that time stationed in the east. After Niger's defeat late in 193 or early in 194 at the hands of Severus, the cities of Laodiceia and Tyre threw off their allegiance to the former. In response Niger from Antioch

" ἐπιπέμπει τὰς πόλεις ἀμφοτέραις Μαυρουσίους τε ἄκοντιστάς  
οὓς εἶχε καὶ μέρος τοξοτῶν " (35A).

During the third century, Moorish auxilia are frequently referred to as part of imperial expeditions in the east. They are found in Macrinus' army in 216-218 (36) and they were also used as local garrisons. Under Gordian III (238-244) the cohorts IX Maurorum was based at Hatra (37). Later in the third century we find Mauri in Valerian's ill-fated army in 260 (38), which is confirmed by the occurrence of " Μαυριτανία " in the list of places of origin of the contingents in Valerian's army in the great inscription of Sapor (39). Aurelian too, in his expedition of 272 against Palmyra, had Mauri in his army (40). The frequent reference to such troops, which were usually mounted, is one sign of the increasing importance of cavalry in the third century army.

Cohors XII Palaestinarum: This unit is known from a single document only, a contract of marriage of an Aurelius Alexander " στρατιώτης σπειρης δωδεκατης Παλαιστεινων Σεουηριανης Ἀλεξανδριανης " (41). The contract was drawn up on October 1st, 232 " ἐν Κατνῆ (ie at Qatne (42)) πρὸς χειμασίᾳ " of the unit. The cohort is otherwise unattested at Dura, but the presence of the marriage contract there is possibly explained by the date: Severus Alexander had just defeated the Persians, in the summer of 232, and the cohorts XII Palaestinarum had participated in his expeditionary force, in which perhaps Alexander had met his wife-to-be, whose husband may have been slain in the war (43). The Historia Augusta, in the life of

the two Maximini (44), emphasises the eastern troops in the army of Alexander, which his successor, Maximinus, led against the Germans.

From the above evidence it is not clear that the cohort was permanently based in the east. It is probable, however, in view of its high number, that it belonged to a series of auxiliary units established by Severus (44A), like the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum, for his eastern wars and the garrisoning of his new conquests and that it was, therefore, stationed in the east.

Cohors XX Palmyrenorum milliaria equitata:(45) This unit is known only from papyri and inscriptions from Dura. The earliest reference to it occurs in letters of 208, addressed to its commanding officer (46), which concern the probatio and assignment of horses to the cavalymen of the cohort. But dates of enlistment in the roster of 219 (47) go back to 192 (48) and men who joined the unit at this date are numerous enough to make it improbable that they were all transferred from other units. The cohort was presumably, therefore, raised in Severus' first Parthian campaign, though this may only have meant a reorganisation on Roman lines of a group of Palmyrene archers stationed at Dura in 170-171 (49).

The high numbering of the units is unparalleled. No other cohort of Palmyrenes is attested and it is difficult to accept that nineteen other cohorts could have been simultaneously recruited from Palmyra even if, in some cases, this recruitment merely meant the Roman re-organisation of existing Palmyrene units. That there was a Palmyrene militia of some sort is certain (50). But that it was large enough to provide the basis for twenty cohorts is doubtful. The closest parallel are the six cohorts of Petraeans recruited by Trajan from what

was presumably the army of the Nabataean king. This is a very large total even for a numerous people. The Roman tendency to number new series from I makes it difficult to judge how many cohorts were recruited from a particular tribe but the highest Batavian cohort known is the cohors IX Batavorum (51). The most plausible alternative to a single series is that the Palmyrene unit was part of a composite series, which perhaps included the cohors IX Maurorum and cohors XII Palaestinorum (52). This would be a departure from normal practice but provides the easiest explanation of the cohort's high number.

The unit was almost certainly based at Dura from at least 208 to 256, when the city was besieged and taken by the Persians. In a circular of 208 (53) Dura is included in the central position in the distribution district and the cohort was probably already based at Dura by then. The only dated reference to the cohort on an inscription is from 230 (54), a dedication to Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea by soldiers of the unit. But the epitaph of Julius Terentius, *χειλιάρχου σπειρας κ' Παλ(μυρενων)του θρασυου εν στρατικis στενακρον πολεμοισι* (55) and the fresco from the temple of Bel can be assigned to c. 239 (56). Several other not precisely datable inscriptions confirm the unit's presence at Dura. These include a fragment referring to the liberalitas of ( a member of ?) the unit (57) and the unpublished graffiti from the Mithraeum (58). Papyri also attest that it was in the mid-Euphrates area c. 218-222 (59) and the fact that part of the cohort's archives was hidden under the ramp prepared for the siege suggests that the unit was still then at Dura and was perhaps destroyed when the city was taken by the Persians in 256.

Although the headquarters of the unit was at Dura and most of the cohort was based there, detachments were regularly stationed at other posts up and down the Euphrates (60), despite the exposed site of the fortress.

The papyri tell us little of the campaigns in which the cohort took part. The file of letters of Postumius Aurelianus (61) probably reveals preparations for participation in Caracalla's Parthian campaign of 216. The cohort also seems to have been involved in disorders under Elagabalus (62) and to have provided an escort for him in 219 (63). It took part in Severus Alexander's Parthian campaign in 233 (64) and perhaps suffered losses in 239 (65) and 251 (66).

Cohors I Augusta Pannoniorum: The presence of this cohort in Syria under Commodus is attested by a headless dedication to the emperor, not yet published (67), which was set up during the governorship of Syria of Julius Saturninus, between 185 and 187 (68).

Cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum: This unit was probably transferred by Severus from Syria to his new province of Mesopotamia about AD 198. It is only scantily attested. It was in Syria in 156-7 (69) but we find a vexillation at Dura in 251. A dedication to Zeus was set up at that date by a vexillation "σπειρης β' Παφλαγον. Γαλλικωνης Ουβολουσιανης" (70). How long the vexillation had been at Dura we cannot say nor do we know enough about the state of the Euphrates frontier at this time to suggest an occasion for the reinforcement of the Dura garrison. But that the unit then had its base in the western half of Severus' Mesopotamia gains some support from its later station in the Notitia, under the dux Osrhoenae (71).

Cohors III Augusta Thracum: This cohort was also in Syria in 156-7 (72). The next reference to it is in a papyrus from Dura (73) datable to 227. It too perhaps was moved in to garrison Severus' province of Mesopotamia about 198 or to reinforce the garrison of Dura before AD 227.

The papyrus is a document recording the purchase of a plot of land, a vineyard of perhaps three acres, by a veteran of our cohort, from a villager of Aramaic stock. The vineyard lay near the confluence of the Khabur and the Euphrates, which was a centre of farming and viticulture. The veteran was expanding his present holding - he clearly owned a vineyard on the west side of the property he was buying (74). He had probably been discharged from the Thracian cohort then " ἐν Σαχάρᾳ Παραχελμασίᾳ " and settled down in the vicinity of his unit's base.

#### Conclusions:

Our evidence hints at large-scale recruitment of new auxiliary units under Severus. This is not surprising. The new province of Mesopotamia will have needed a large auxiliary garrison to patrol its frontiers. There is evidence that some units were drawn from the new province. We do not hear of the *ala nova firma catafractaria* until 234. But it is not unlikely that this unit, which had probably been transferred to the west from Mesopotamia (75), was a Severan creation and was permanently based in Syria or Mesopotamia. We have also evidence for a *numerus Hosromorum* (sic), ie. of Osrhoeni, on an inscription from Intercisa-Duna Pentele in Pannonia Inferior (76). Again we do not know if the unit was at any time based in Osrhoene but it is another unit drawn from the new province.

We also have increasing evidence for units with numbers higher than those we have met before in the titles of *auxilia*. It was usual for the Romans to number every group of units from I when they were recruiting auxiliaries. As a result there are several *cohortes I Thracum*, each recruited on different occasions, and few numbered higher than four or five. But in Syria in the Severan period we meet

a cohors VI I [turaeorum] , a cohors IX Maurorum, a cohors XIII Palaestinorum and a cohors XX Palmyrenorum. Similarly in Arabia we meet a cohors V Afrorum Severiana. It is difficult to accept that there were at least eleven other units of Palestinians and nineteen others of Palmyrenes, and it is far simpler to assume that these units were all established as part of a composite series on the initiative of Severus, for his Parthian wars and with a view to garrisoning his new province. One or two members of so cosmopolitan a list may have survived to the Notitia, where we find, for example, a cohors IV Frygum and a cohors IV Palaestinorum.

However, even if Severus was responsible for only a single series of at least twenty units, the result was a vast increase in the auxiliary garrison on the eastern frontier. Trajan offers the closest parallel but Severus succeeded in keeping control of his conquests, which needed a large permanent garrison.

For the dispositions of the auxiliary units we have very little evidence. We have abundant material from Dura but very little else. The complexity of the picture presented here emphasises the poverty of our other evidence. At Dura (77) three periods can be roughly distinguished: in the first (from c. 165-208) the fortress was garrisoned by Palmyrene archers and a quingenary cohort; in the second, roughly under Caracalla, we find a milliary cohort and a reinforcement of legionary vexillations, while in the third, down to the fall of Dura to the Persians, we have evidence for two further auxiliary cohorts. The military activity here emphasises the constant pre-occupation with the defence of the eastern frontier that is not always clear from the fragmentary evidence for the period.

In Mesopotamia we can be reasonably certain that the frontier line up the Khabur, across to the Tigris south of the Jebel Sinjar and north-west along the Tigris was garrisoned and patrolled by auxiliary units. The cohors XII Palaestinorum was " ἐν Κατῶν πρὸς Χερσαίῳ "

in 232 (78), which may be a site mid-way up the Khabur (79), where an auxiliary unit was based permanently. For the stretch of frontier south of the Jebel Sinjar we have the evidence of Oates' excavations at Ain Sinu (80), thirty kilometres east of Beled Sinjar. The finds suggest that the auxiliary fort here was occupied from Severus' reign to that of Severus Alexander. The maintenance of Roman troops in this area to the reign of Gordian III (238-244) is confirmed by the dedications of the cohorts IX Maurorum from Hatra.

For the rest of Syria we have only scraps of evidence. But that for the ala Vocontiorum from Admedera-Dmeyr (81) and for a cohort from Hatne (82) remind us of the continuing occupation of the major route from Damascus to Palmyra and the Euphrates along the desert fringes.

5. The Roman army in Syria and Mesopotamia from Severus Alexander (222-235) to Diocletian

During this period we find increasingly numerous references to new units of auxilia side-by-side with old-style alae and cohorts in the armies the emperors led against the Parthians and Persians. In Caracalla's forces we meet the Mauri, who fought so energetically for their fellow-countryman, Ma crinus (1). It was probably in Caracalla's Parthian war that L. Licinius Hierocles was "praeposito equitum itemque peditum iuniorum Maurorum", (2) who was honoured by an inscription under Severus Alexander (3). Under that emperor in his eastern campaigns we find a reference to "Mauris et Osrhoenis et Parthis et omnibus quos secum Alexander ducebat ad bellum" (4). The career of Traianus Mucianus (5), datable to the second half of the third century, involved the command "στρατεὺς [μενων περὶ] [ων και ἐπιπεω(ν) Μα] [ων και] Ὀσροηνων" and he was also active in Mesopotamia (6).

Neither the reasons for, nor the course of, the development and increasing significance of these new units (7) is clear. But it is probable that constant warfare in the plains of Mesopotamia against a largely mounted adversary was a significant factor in their rise. The main contributors of such troops are Mauri, Osrhoeni and Parthi, who usually fought from horseback and were accustomed to semi-desert conditions. The central sector of the Syrian frontier along the Euphrates seems from the first century to have had numerous cavalry stationed along it. But the Lollianus inscription reveals that, for operations in Mesopotamia later in the second century, cavalry formations had to be cobbled together from a large number of different units. The new auxilia rendered such expedients unnecessary.

After the fighting under Macrinus the eastern frontier remained quiet until, after the overthrow of the Parthians by Ardashir, of

the Sassanid house, Mesopotamia was invaded in 230. The Romans retaliated in 232 under Severus Alexander. Probably the nucleus to his army derived from the Danube provinces. Herodian refers several times to "οἱ Ἰλλυρικοὶ στρατιῶται" (8). There is no secure evidence for the participation of individual legions but XXX Ulpia from Germania Inferior was perhaps involved (9) and we have numerous inscriptions from Apamea, used as the headquarters of expeditionary forces for the wars of Caracalla and Elagabalus, of the presence there of the legio II Parthica (10). Units of the new type of auxilia discussed above certainly served in Alexander's army (11).

But Alexander's war was only a brief respite (12). A further invasion of Mesopotamia by Ardashir in 238 induced Gordian III to lead an expedition against Persia (13). The I Adiutrix from Pannonia Inferior probably took part (14) but this is the only legion we can specify. But for this war and for the hostilities of the next two decades the Roman evidence is supplemented from a new source, the so-called Res Gestae Divi Saporis, from near Persepolis (15). It is often tendentious but there is no reason to doubt that the information given there about the Roman armies is on the whole reliable.

The first campaign referred to in the inscription is that of Gordian III of 242. According to the account there (16) "Γορδιανὸς Καίσαρ ἀπο πάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς Γοῦθῶν τε καὶ Γερμανῶν ἔθνων [δυναμὴν συνέλεξεν]." The Germans perhaps should be interpreted as troops from the legions in Germany. The participation of Goths in the war is otherwise unattested but very plausible. We first hear of Roman conflicts with Goths in 238, the last year of Maximinus' reign (17), and the military successes of Gordian III on his march to the east (18) were probably against Gothic forces. The account in the Res Gestae suggests that many were press-ganged into Gordian's expedition.

In the final years before Diocletian the picture becomes more confused as the empire was torn by internal strife and the Persians broke through the eastern frontier. Sapor in his Res Gestae describes a second campaign, when he attacked the Romans because of a dispute over Armenia (19) "καὶ δυνάμιν Ῥωμαίων ἑξήκοντα χεῖλιαδας ἐν βαρβαλίσσῳ ἀνιλαμέν". He then ravaged Syria and took numerous towns, which he lists. The nucleus of the army defeated by Sapor was perhaps the permanent garrison of Syria (20). The date of the invasion was probably 256 (21).

Valerian came to the east for the second time probably in 258 (22) and was captured - again probably - in the summer of 259 (23). The Roman evidence does not help us much with the composition of Valerian's army (24) but Sapor's inscription gives us a list of the contingents in the army according to nationality (25) - "ἀπὸ ἔθνους" in the inscription. What the sources for the lists were we cannot say but on the whole the places listed are where we would have expected troops for such an expeditionary army to come from. All the provinces along the Rhine and Danube are mentioned (26), the standard sources of reinforcement for Parthian wars. The presence of legions or vexillations from the provinces named may be the reason for listing Spain (27), Cappadocia, Syria (possibly Syria Coele), Phoenice, Arabia and Mesopotamia. Possible confirmation of the absence of forces from Upper Germany in 255 is an inscription from Mainz of that year, attesting the presence there of the legion XX Valeria Victrix from Britain (28).

The remaining names were perhaps derived from the geographical titles of auxiliary units. This would account for Campania (29), "Θρα [κία], Γαλατία, Φρυγία and Μαυριτανία". We know of units of Thracians in Syria, of Galatians in Syria Palaestina and of the ala

VII Phrygum in Syria, from where we also have evidence of cohorts of Mauri. The remaining names are of provinces and a city (30) in Asia Minor (31), perhaps the origin of auxiliary units or individual soldiers who took part in the war.

Thus in general the list implies a force of standard pattern: participation in part or as a whole of the legions and presumably auxilia of the eastern provinces, supported by reinforcements from the legions of the west. The only sign of the new developments is the reference to Mauretania and presumably to Moorish auxilia.

The remnants of the Roman forces in 260 were then marched to the west by Valerian's officer, Macrianus (32), who had been proclaimed emperor (33). This was the signal for the rise of the Palmyrene empire under its native ruler, Odenathus. The very scrappy literary evidence suggests that the force he led was made up largely of Syrian farmers. According to Zosimus (34) " ὁ δὲ (sc. Odenathus) τοῖς αὐτοῦ λελειμμένοις στρατοπέδοις δύναμιν ἀναμιξάσθαι πλείστην ἄκραιν..." "The troops left behind" were presumably largely outposted Roman auxilia. No doubt the nucleus of his forces was formed from the Palmyrene cavalry, clearly a significant part of the forces which opposed Aurelius in 272 (35). By Procopius (36) Odenathus is called " ἀρχὼν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ". With his army Odenathus captured Nisibis and Carrhae, reconquered Mesopotamia and penetrated as far as Otesiphon (37). In 262 he was rewarded by Gallienus (38) with the title of dux and officially entrusted with the command of the Roman armies in the east (39). By his actions the frontiers of Septimius Severus seem to have been restored. Odenathus was assassinated in 266 or 267 (40). He was succeeded by Vaballathus, his son, and his widow, Zenobia. But they, after taking over Egypt in 269 and much of Asia Minor (41), were defeated by Aurelian in 272 and Palmyra was destroyed in 273.

The effect of this turbulent period on the army we cannot measure in detail. Presumably the Syrian garrison was badly damaged by Sapor's

invasion of 256 and the chaos consequent on the defeat and capture of Valerian, the remnants of whose army were withdrawn from the east by Macrianus. It is possible that when Odenathus became dux he took over some troops of the former Roman garrisons of Syria and Mesopotamia but our evidence suggests that the majority of his forces were Palmyrene or at any rate Syrian.

In 271-272 Aurelian marched against Palmyra. Zosimus helpfully describes his army (42): "ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο (sc. the Roman forces) τῆ τε Δαλματῶν ἵππῳ καὶ Μυσοῖς καὶ Παισιῖν καὶ ἔτι γε Νωρικοῖς καὶ Ῥαίτοις ἀπερ ἔστι Κελτικὰ τὰ γένη. ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις οἱ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τέλους..... συνέτετακτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Μαυρουσία ἵππος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας αἱ τε ἀπὸ Τυανῶν δυνάμεις καὶ ἐκ τῆς μεσησίων τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης τελεῖ τινα..."

Here again the pattern is fairly standard: vexillations from the legions of Pannonia and Moesia, Noricum and Raetia, and from the eastern provinces, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenice and Palestine. Some of these latter were perhaps survivals of Valerian's army, incorporated in the forces of Aurelian on the defeat of Macrianus in 260-1 (43). The distinctive features are the two cavalry contingents, "ἡ Δαλματῶν ἵππος" and "ἡ Μαυρουσία ἵππος", very useful against the Palmyrenes with their heavy cavalry (44).

The extent of Aurelian's reorganisation of the eastern frontier after the destruction of Palmyra is not clear. Our main evidence is the Notitia. Here in all the eastern ducates at the head of the list of units in garrison we find a group of cavalry units called Illyriciani, implying that they originally belonged to the Illyrian army. We regularly find equites Dalmatae, Mauri, Scutarii and Promoti. This common feature suggests that the units were distributed throughout the provinces according to the reorganisation of the eastern garrisons on a uniform plan. It is possible that Aurelian, after the defeat of

Zenobia, undertook such a reorganisation. But we have no secure dating evidence and Aurelian did not himself remain long in the east, returning in 272 to the Danube (45) and in 273 quickly to the west (46). He had clearly not settled the eastern frontier to his satisfaction for, when he was assassinated, he was on his way there on a Parthian campaign (47). We do not know anything about the administration of Mesopotamia at this time. It had been conquered from the Persians between 262 and 264 by Odenathus (48) and it was presumably transferred to Roman control after the fall of the Palmyrene empire (49). But we cannot be sure of the extent of this control. The fact that we do find in the *Notitia* so many types of unit that we know to have formed part of Aurelian's army, the *equites Dalmatae*, the *Mauri* and the *legio I Illyricorum* (50) suggests, as is very likely, that Aurelian left some of units from his army in the east. But we have no proof that they were not taken from a later expeditionary force, for example that of Galerius of 297.

Between 273 and 282 there is no evidence of any military activity on the eastern frontier and the extent of Roman control is not clear. In 282 the emperor Carus made an expedition against the Persians with an army with which he had been campaigning against the Sarmatians (51). He defeated the Persians and took Ctesiphon before perishing in 283. It is unlikely that he had time to reorganise the frontier defences. Mesopotamia probably remained under titular if insecure Roman domination, partly as a result of the internal troubles of the Sassanid monarchy, to the peace settlement of 287.

But what in conclusion of the armies of Syria and Mesopotamia at the end of this period of constant campaigning and counter-campaigning? The army which had been in Syria since Augustus' reign and had been vastly expanded by Severus was in all likelihood shattered in Sapor's

campaigns of the 250's. Remnants may have been incorporated into Odenathus' forces but few of these will have survived Palmyra's defeat. In the period after 273, when the empire was fighting for its very existence, temporary expedients will have been the order of the day. Few troops could be spared for the remote eastern frontier. Temporary secondments and survivals will have held the forts as well as they were able. Reorganisation and reinforcement were necessary to stave off the collapse of Roman control of Mesopotamia.

## 6. Diocletian and the eastern army.

The rough outline of Diocletian's reorganisation of the eastern frontier is clear. He put a greatly strengthened garrison into an overhauled and very strongly fortified frontier system. However, our evidence for specifically Diocletianic work is slight. We hear that he fortified Circesium (1) and of three forts on the frontiers of Euphratesia, a region along the Euphrates bank (2). In general we know that, in the north, after the Persians had attacked and been defeated, Diocletian annexed more territory even than Severus and divided what lay east of the Euphrates into two provinces, Osrhoene in the west and Mesopotamia in the east; in the south he had a road built along the edge of the desert, from the Euphrates south to Arabia (3).

How were Diocletian's troops disposed? Diocletian's system is briefly described in the sixth century world chronicle of Malalas (4), no very reliable source (5). The emperor "ἐκτίσε δε και εἰς τα λιμιτα καστρα.... ἀπο της Αἰγυπτου ἕως των Περσικων ὄρων, ταξας ἐν αὐτοῖς στρατιωτας λιμιτανεους, προχειρισαμενους και δουκας κατα ἐπαρχιαν ἐνδοτερω των καστρων καθεζεσθαι μετα πολλης βοηθεας προς παραφυλακην."

But this account is open to some criticism. There is first some anachronism. The distinction between *limitanei*, in the sense of frontier troops of lower grade than those belonging to a field army (*comitatenses*), only developed after Diocletian (6). But that Diocletian did create military regions under *duces* based somewhat in the rear of the frontier and commanding reserve forces is supported by our evidence for the *dux* of the province of *Augusta Euphratensis*, probably roughly the southern Euphrates bank split off by Diocletian from the Severan Syria Coele (7). He was based well back at *Barbalissus* (8) and so fits in well with Malalas' description.

But almost our only detailed evidence for this system comes from the Notitia of a century later (9). Probably, as is suggested by the evidence presented by Van Berchem for Phoenice (10), the more mobile equites tended to be based " ἐνδοτέρω τῶν κωστῶν " so they could bring help to hard-pressed frontier forces. That the dux commanded all the troops in his " ἐπαρχία " seems the most sensible arrangement and is supported by most of the evidence (11).

But if we are to go any further in attempting to pin down Diocletian's arrangements we have to turn to the Notitia. It is probably that emperor's blueprint we see reflected in the common organisation of the ducates into equites, legions and then alae and cohortes. Although only a small proportion of the units in the eastern provinces betray a Diocletianic origin (12), Diocletian was a great organiser and it is to him that an overall reorganisation of the eastern frontier is most plausibly assigned. But how do his arrangements, as far as we can assess them, compare with what came before and what came later?

This is a difficult question. We can only give a partial answer. It is only the strength and dispositions of the legionary garrisons of Diocletian that we can get anywhere near pinning down and comparing with those of Severus. But under the conservative Diocletian the legions still remained the most important units of the Roman army. It was only after Constantine's creation of a permanent field army and the withdrawal of vexillations from frontier units, which did not return, that their importance declined and they were gradually reduced to the level of auxiliary units. Where there were no violent upheavals there was no incentive for change. After Diocletian there were no extensive re-organisations of the eastern frontier before the date of the Notitia. The legions in the east under Severus, except VI Ferrata, are found in the Notitia and the innate conservatism of the Roman army in the face of a threat which did not radically change during the fourth century, confirmed by cases where we have evidence, makes it plausible

to suppose that the legions in the Notitia did remain - apart from in north-eastern Mesopotamia, where the frontier was changed - where Diocletian placed them.

Severus garrisoned the two Syrian provinces and Mesopotamia with five legions. The two in Mesopotamia, at Singara and Resaina-Ras el Ain, lay roughly on a line running through the centre of Mesopotamia from Zeugma, the bridgehead over the Euphrates for Syria-Coele. Because of the fighting and frontier changes in this area the bases of Diocletian's legions are uncertain. Probably one was based at Singara, where we find the I Parthica in 360 (13). The II Parthica may possibly have been located at Bezabde, where it is found with two other legions in 360 (14). From here it could oversee the trans-Tigritane regions, which came under Roman influence by the peace of 297 (15). We also hear of a legio V Parthica, forming in 359 the regular garrison of Amida (16), but because of the military activity in this area it would be hazardous to say more than that Diocletian not improbably put a legionary garrison into a city along the Tigris in north-east Mesopotamia.

In the south-east the loss of the outpost fortress of Dura, garrisoned under Severus by legionary vexillations from Syria-Coele, was compensated for by Diocletian's fortification of Circesium (17), where we find legio IV Parthica based in the Notitia (18)!. Possibly another legion, the III Parthica, has fallen out of the next line of the Notitia, though the occupation of a base only thirty-five kilometres north-east of Circesium on the lower Khabur at Apadna (19) makes little strategic sense. We would expect a second legion to be based on the main road through Mesopotamia to Zeugma or further north-west along the Euphrates.

The overall impression here is of a considerable strengthening of the Severan garrison of two legions for this area. How far this was the work of Diocletian and not Constantius we cannot say. But, if

the legiones Parthicae IV and V were creations of Diocletian for Mesopotamia, Severus' garrison was doubled. We cannot compare the bases of the legions in this region but it may not be coincidence that we know of no Diocletianic base well behind the frontier.

The Severan province of Syria Coele had had a garrison of two legions, XVI Flavia in the north at Samosata and IV Scythica at Zeugma. These two legions survived to the time of the Notitia, where we find XVI Flavia at Soura, east of the Euphrates bend (20), in the Diocletianic province of Eufkratensis. IV Scythica is at Oresa in the Notitia (21). This has been identified as Tayibe, a site midway between Soura and Palmyra. But there is no evidence that this was occupied in Classical times (22).

In Phoenice the single Severan legion, the III Gallica, had been moved forward to the fringes of the desert by Severus Alexander. In the Notitia it is listed at Danava (23), the location of which is not certain but which was probably sited on the edge of the desert near Damascus. In the Notitia a second legion is also listed in the province, the legio I Illyricorum at Palmyra (24). It had perhaps been there since Aurelian's sack of the city.

There had been no major wars or frontier changes in the sectors of the eastern frontier from Syria Phoenice to the Mesopotamian frontier on the Khabur between Diocletian's reorganisation and the compiling of the Notitia. Before Diocletian, from about 215, no province had had a garrison of more than two legions. Diocletian, instead of accepting this a maximum, made it the norm and strengthened in particular the garrison of Severus' vulnerable Mesopotamia by splitting it into two such provinces. He also raised Phoenice to the same level. This gives a uniform organisation and eight instead of Severus' five legions. Dispositions are more hazardous. But if those in Phoenice and Syria in the Notitia are essentially Diocletian's they do suggest a coherent,

not to say schematic, planning, with legions spaced out along the empire's frontier from Danava in the south, through Palmyra, to Soura, down the Euphrates to Circesium and possibly up to Singara and Bezabde. Some of these provinces received specialist military, as distinct from civil, commanders, entitled duces (24A). Such officers could give coherence to the defence of particular sectors of frontier, especially necessary where Roman control had to be re-asserted, as on the desert frontiers. It was a flexible system. A dux could be assigned more than once civil province (24B).

#### The Eastern Frontier in the Fourth Century:

After the treaty of 287, there was peace with the Persians till 297 and the normal desultory fighting with desert tribesmen (25). But in 297 a Persian army invaded Armenia and Osrhoene and reached Syria (26). After a preliminary reverse (27), Galerius, Diocletian's Caesar, with troops from the Danube provinces completely defeated the Persians (28).

From Nisibis peace was dictated to the Persian king, Narses, in 298. The frontier there agreed upon ran along the Tigris in north-eastern Mesopotamia (29) down to Bezabde (30) and several regions beyond this stretch of the Tigris came under Roman influence (31). From the Tigris the frontier ran south-east to include Singara and then westwards to the Khabur, which it followed to the Euphrates by Circesium.

After the peace of 298, relations between Rome and Persia remained peaceful for more than a generation. But Sapor II, after coming to the throne as a child in 309, decided when he came of age to try to win back from Rome the territory lost in the peace of 297. Tension on the frontier is clear after 333 (32) and probably in 334 the Persians intervened in Armenia. Constantine declared war (33) but died in 337 before his preparations were completed.

Under Constantius a war of sieges and raids developed. Sapor invaded Mesopotamia probably in 338, taking advantage of the confusion caused by Constantine's death (34). But he came to terms with Constantius after failing to take Nisibis (35). Further campaigns by both sides followed. Finally in 348 (36) the Persian royal army was met by the Roman army under Constantius, which included a large contingent of Gothic troops (37). A battle was fought with heavy casualties on both sides (38). Neither side however won a decisive victory.

Constantius concerned himself with the north-eastern frontier of Mesopotamia along the Tigris. The regions beyond this stretch of the Tigris, which Diocletian had brought under Roman suzerainty, were of strategic importance as they protected northern Mesopotamia from Persians attacking from Armenia. Constantius had established Amida as a fortress when he was Caesar to his father, Constantine (39). Then a Syriac source (40) refers, in addition to his fortification of Amida, to Constantius' construction of two fortresses to protect the inhabitants of the region from Persian raiders, one of which was on the Tigris and was called Hisn Kef (41), the legionary base Cefa of the Notitia. Along this stretch of the frontier Constantius strengthened the Roman defences. But Persian attacks into Mesopotamia continued. When Sapor heard of the revolt of Magnentius, he prepared a further expedition and besieged Nisibis for the third time, but yet again failed to take the city (42).

From 353 and down to 378 the narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus provides us with fuller information about the eastern frontier. Only incidentally, however, does he help us with the identity and dispositions of troops based permanently in Mesopotamia (43). But he does illustrate how and why the forces in garrison changed. Detachments

were withdrawn from the frontier to suppress the usurper, Magnentius, and were replaced by troops from Magnentius' forces, whose loyalty to Constantius was open to doubt (44). He also makes it clear that the satrapies beyond the Tigris, which Diocletian had brought under Roman influence, had reverted to Persian domination. Ammianus regarded their governor as a Persian nominee (45). Roman weakness was emphasised by further action on the north-eastern Mesopotamian front. In 359 Amida was lost to Sapor (46) and in 360 Bezabde (47) and Singara (48). This provoked a counter-expedition from Constantius but one which achieved nothing.

Constantius was succeeded by Julian, who led an expedition against the Persians, about which Ammianus gives us a lengthy account. But, to appreciate what this tells us about the frontier armies, we need to bear in mind the effects of Constantine's military reforms. He had to fight long and hard to become sole emperor. This led him greatly to expand the forces he used for these campaigns into a permanent field army, which he placed under the command of two newly-created officers, the *magister peditum* and *magister equitum*. By the end of Constantine's reign permanent field armies existed, known as *comitatenses*. Under his son's rule these forces fell into regional groups under *magistri*. When Constantius reunited the empire under his sole rule this practice continued. Substantial parts of the army were attached to the *Augusti*, those serving in *praesentia*, but large bodies of the field army remained permanently outposted. One of these seems to have been based at Antioch. It came under the command of a *magister militum per Orientem*. But the early history of this office is unclear. The earliest known such officer was Ursicinus, under whom Ammianus served, who was *magister* from 349 to 359 (49). He seems to be supreme commander in the east. By the time of the *Notitia* we find a distinct

force under his command. But there is no evidence for such a force till the end of the fourth century (50).

Such is the background we need for Ammianus' account of Julian's Persian expedition. Such expeditions were no longer made up of vexillations from a variety of provincial armies. We hear instead of "Joviani and Herculiani" (51), of "Victores" (52), units no doubt from Constantius' field army. Gauls "mixti cum arcto is Germanis" (53) Julian will have brought with him from Gaul. Such units were supported by a variety of auxiliaries, including Goths (54), troops provided by the king of Armenia and desert tribesmen, Saraceni (55).

We hear little of troops contributed by the forces based on the frontiers of the eastern provinces. No doubt the best of these had already been withdrawn for service in the field armies. For the frontier troops we have to turn to the Notitia (56).

Julian's successor, Jovian, in order to extricate the army on its return march from Persian territory, made an ignominious peace with the Persians (57). He gave up a considerable portion of north-eastern Mesopotamia, including Singara and Nisibis, and all claims to the former Roman protectorates beyond the Tigris. It is the frontier-line in Mesopotamia established after this peace that we find in the Notitia (58).

For the rest of the fourth century the Mesopotamian frontier was relatively untroubled, although there was strife in Armenia with the Persians in the 360's. In 371 a Roman victory led to a peace treaty (59). But there were further troubles in the 370's until Theodosius succeeded in arranging a firm peace with Persia. He and his sons strengthened the frontier garrisons of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene with new regiments (60) or at least replaced units withdrawn from the frontier to reinforce the comitatus. It is the organisation of the frontier between 395 and 413 (61) that we find in the Notitia.

## 7. The System of the Notitia:

The evidence provided by the Notitia is unique. It gives an overall picture of the frontier defences circa AD 400 with the troops and their dispositions, though so far only in Syria Phoenice, of the provinces we are here concerned with, can more than a small proportion of the stations be located on the ground. It also provides useful material for tracing the development of the frontier armies. If in its essentials the system there preserved is that of Diocletian, there were also changes during the fourth century. Several units were raised (1), others will have been lost and yet others withdrawn to other fronts. There was also, as we have seen, a major alteration to the frontier in north-eastern Mesopotamia, after Julian's Persian expedition. Apart from this, as far as we can tell, changes to the eastern frontier and its forces during the fourth century were on a small scale.

The Eastern Ducates from Phoenice (Or.32) to Mesopotamia (Or.36), omitting Or.34 (Palaestina) (5A):

Or. 32 Dux Phoenicis: This dux commanded roughly the eastern sector of Syria Phoenice (2). A fair number of its stations on the Strata Diocletiana can be identified (3).

The Strata was a military road built, or at least reconstructed, by Diocletian along the desert fringes of the province (4). It ran south-east from Soura on the Euphrates to Palmyra, then along the south of the Jebel Rawaq to Khan abu Charat, near Dmeyr. It continued south from here at least to the Hauran and joined a similar road along the Arabian frontier. The discovery of numerous milestones from the period of the tetrarchy have established its route beyond doubt (5).

For the sector from Palmyra towards Damascus, the road ran parallel to an earlier route along the north of the Jebel Rawaq and it is probable that the eight similar ruins on this new line (6) - even if what is visible is the result of later rebuilding - lie on Diocletianic foundations,

though this has not yet been confirmed by excavation. Later rebuilding might explain some of their features, like their small size. Forts suitable for auxiliary units we would expect to be considerably larger (7). However, whatever the date of the material remains, the milestones give us not only distances in miles but also, in some cases, the names of the stations between which the miles are counted. This allows us to locate several of the units listed in the Notitia on the ground (8). Even if, as is the case with the base of Valle Diocletiana (9), the exact geographical location is not proven beyond doubt, we can still be sure that the Roman unit was based within a small area and on Diocletian's frontier road. To these six bases we can also add that of one of the legions in Phoenice. The legio I Illyricorum (10) was based at Palmyra. With less precision we can also locate the legio III Gallica. This legion was at Danaba (11), which lies twenty miles from Nazala - Qaryatein in the direction of Damascus on the Peutinger table (12). Dussaud (13) has located this site at modern Medin but this is so far unsupported by any solid evidence.

For the rest of the units in Phoenice things are more difficult. Apart from the unit of equites at el-Basiri (14) we have inscriptional evidence for only two other bases of such a unit. There is first the site of Thelsee (15). From Dmeir we have an inscription of a soldier who was  $\Theta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\epsilon\gamma\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (16) and from the temple of Zeus there we also have the mutilated record of a lawsuit, in which the prosecutor was aided by the " $\pi\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  τῆς  $\Theta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\omega\nu$   $\mu\eta\tau\rho\kappa\omega\mu\eta\varsigma$ ." (17). But Thelsee was not simply a renaming of Dmeir-Admedera, the site of the temple and the second century auxiliary fort. For in a second inscription (18) from the temple recording a legal debate before Caracalla in 216 we meet a "defen(sorem) Go[har(ienorum)]" (1.4) and discover that the temple lies in the community of Goaria (19).

But probably within the district of the *μητροκωμη* of Thelsee there were less important villages, which included Goaria. If this is correct we can again be sure of the rough location of Thelsee, near Dmeir, but would be hard put to locate the ancient settlement and fort precisely on the ground. The second base that can be identified from inscriptions is Mezala (20). In an inscription from Qaryatein we meet a reference to a *Ναζαληνος* (21) and on another is a dedication " *Θεω μεγαλω [Να]ζαλ [ηνων* " (22). Mezala was certainly the modern town of Qaryatein, which lay behind the *Strata Diocletiana*.

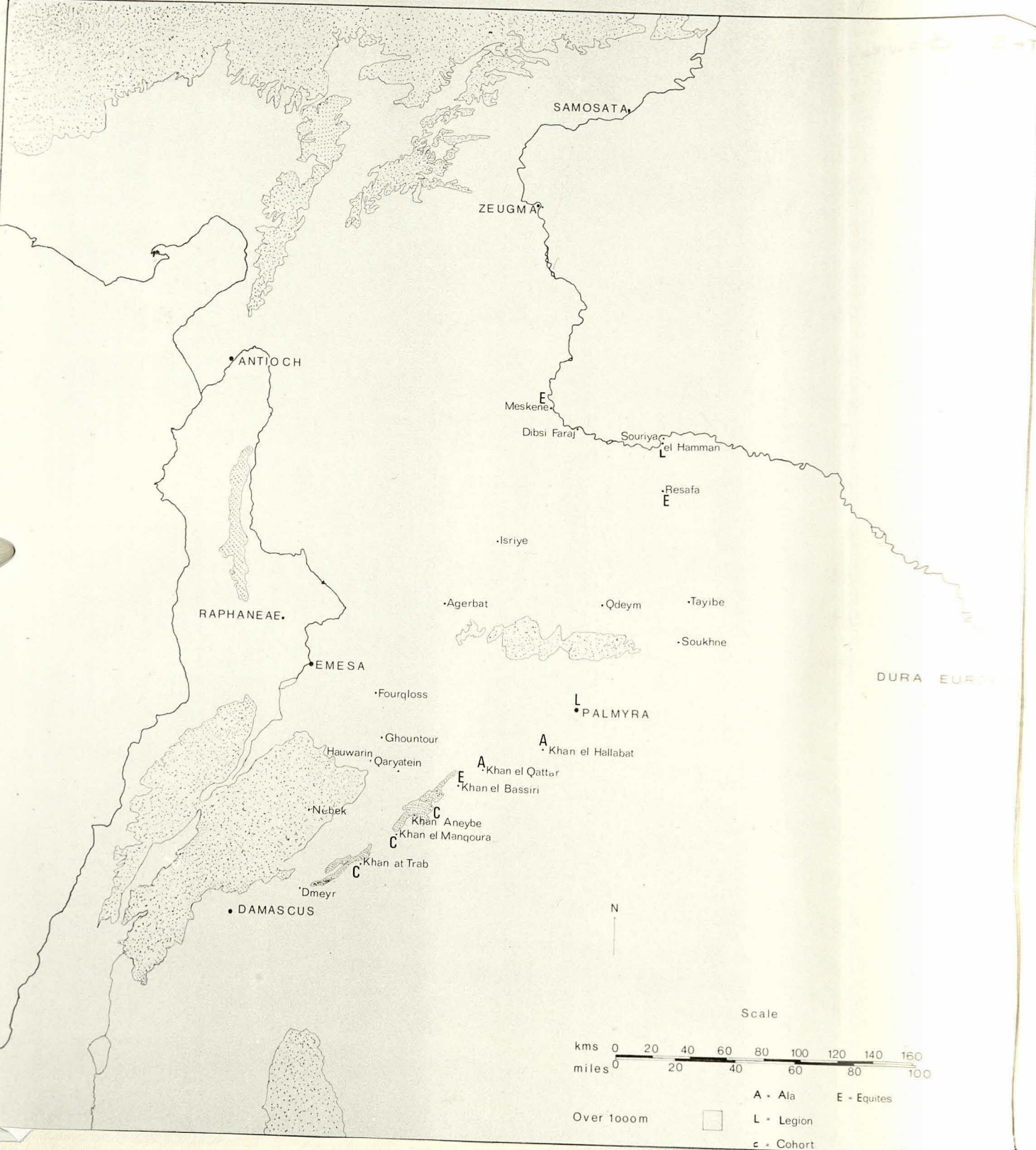
For the remaining bases of equites we have no inscripational evidence. The Peutinger table gives us some idea of the location of Casama (23). It lies on the route from Damascus to Palmyra, between Admedera-Dmeyr and Palmyra, on a route which probably ran behind the Diocletianic road. It might be the modern Nebk (24). But the rest are even less certain than this (25).

Thanks largely to the evidence of the milestones, we can gain a good idea of the dispositions of the units in this ducate. The *Strata* is strongly garrisoned by a mixture of old *auxilia* and equites, and major posts behind this line are also held. But how the system worked in practice it is difficult to say without more evidence for conditions on the frontier of Phoenice during the fourth century. We do not know how thickly populated the desert fringes were nor how much trade the *Strata* carried. However such a heavy occupation as we find here of a road in front of the *Jebel Rawaq*, which provided some barrier against raiders into the settled part of the province, suggests that the road itself and the traffic it carried were thought worth a very heavy expenditure of troops.

The only evidence we do have for military action on this frontier

Map 6 Syria from the Notitia

SYRIA From the Notitia



at about this time reached our sources because it was exceptional.

This was the raiding undertaken by the Arab queen, Mavia, who

" τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ ἔθνους (i.e. the Saracens) ἐπιτροπεύουσα ἐδῆου

τὰς Φοινικῶν καὶ Παλαιστίνων πόλεις, ἕχρι καὶ Αἰγυπτίω!" (26). On this occasion

the desert tribes succeeded in defeating the combined forces of the magister militum and of the duces of Phoenice and Palestine in 372-373 (27). What the episode emphasises is, despite the paper strength of the Roman frontier forces, how the balance of power on the fringes of the desert was altering to Rome's disadvantage.

The names of some of the units provide clues to their origin and the date of their recruitment. Apart from the standard units of equites Illyriciani (stemming originally from Aurelian's army of 271-2 and possibly reinforced by Illyrian troops serving under Galerius in 297 (28)) we meet two Diocletianic units among the older auxilia, the ala nova Diocletiana (29) and the cohors III Herculia (30). Of the rest, none can be traced back earlier than the third century. Four units (31) were formed from western tribes and were probably recruited during the fourth century. The rest are of eastern origin, although only one was originally recruited in the province (32).

Cr. 33 Dux Syriae: This ducate is a combination of the separate commands of Syria and Eufkratensis, which existed at some time in the fourth century. They may well have been created by Diocletian (33). On the ground the command of the dux, which corresponds roughly to the eastern part of Severus' Syria Coele, runs from Barbalissus around the Euphrates' bend to the south-east to Sura and from there, leaving the river, south to Palmyra.

The forces of the dux are of the usual pattern for the eastern ducates. The two legions formerly garrisoned the Severan province of Syria Coele. They have been moved from the north-east of the province, from Zeugma and Samosata, to the south-east, to strengthen the forces in the frontier sector north of that looked after by the dux of Phoenice.

Of the two legions, the XVI Flavia (34) is at Sura, modern es-Suriya, on the southern bank of the Euphrates north of Resafa (35). The IV Scythica (36) is at Oresa, Ptolemy's Ὀρῆσα in Palmyrene (37). Its precise site is uncertain but possible later traces of the name make a location near the modern village of et-Tayibe plausible. This lies about ninety kilometres north-east of Palmyra. But so far little evidence of occupation in Classical times has come to light here (38).

Few of the bases of the equites can be pinpointed. Seriane (39) appears in the Antonine Itinerary on a route between Chalcis-Qinnesrin and Emesa-Homs (40). This gives us its rough location. More precisely, identifications with the modern Isriye (41) or, further to the west, with es-Sa'n was S'en have been put forward (42).

Occariba (43) is listed on the Peutinger table and the Antonine Itinerary, where it appears as Occara (44). Dussaud (45) identifies the site with the modern 'Oqarib, about thirty-five kilometres east-north-east of Selemiye. For from Theleda-Teil 'Ada en route to Palmyra it is twenty eight miles to 'Oqarib (46). But no Roman remains have so far been discovered here (47).

Identifications of the remaining bases are quite insecure (48).

About this part of Syria, roughly north of a line between Emesa-Homs and Palmyra and up to the Euphrates, we are very ill-informed. No site has been examined by excavation and we cannot locate enough of the units to say more than that the equites occupied road junctions and presumably major settlements behind the Strata Diocletiana. Only the legion, if it is correctly based at Tayibe, lay on the Strata Diocletiana. Possibly Diocletian intended it to be able to help to deal with raids into this sector of the Strata and be able to send troops if necessary to the Euphrates, either at Soura or Circesium.

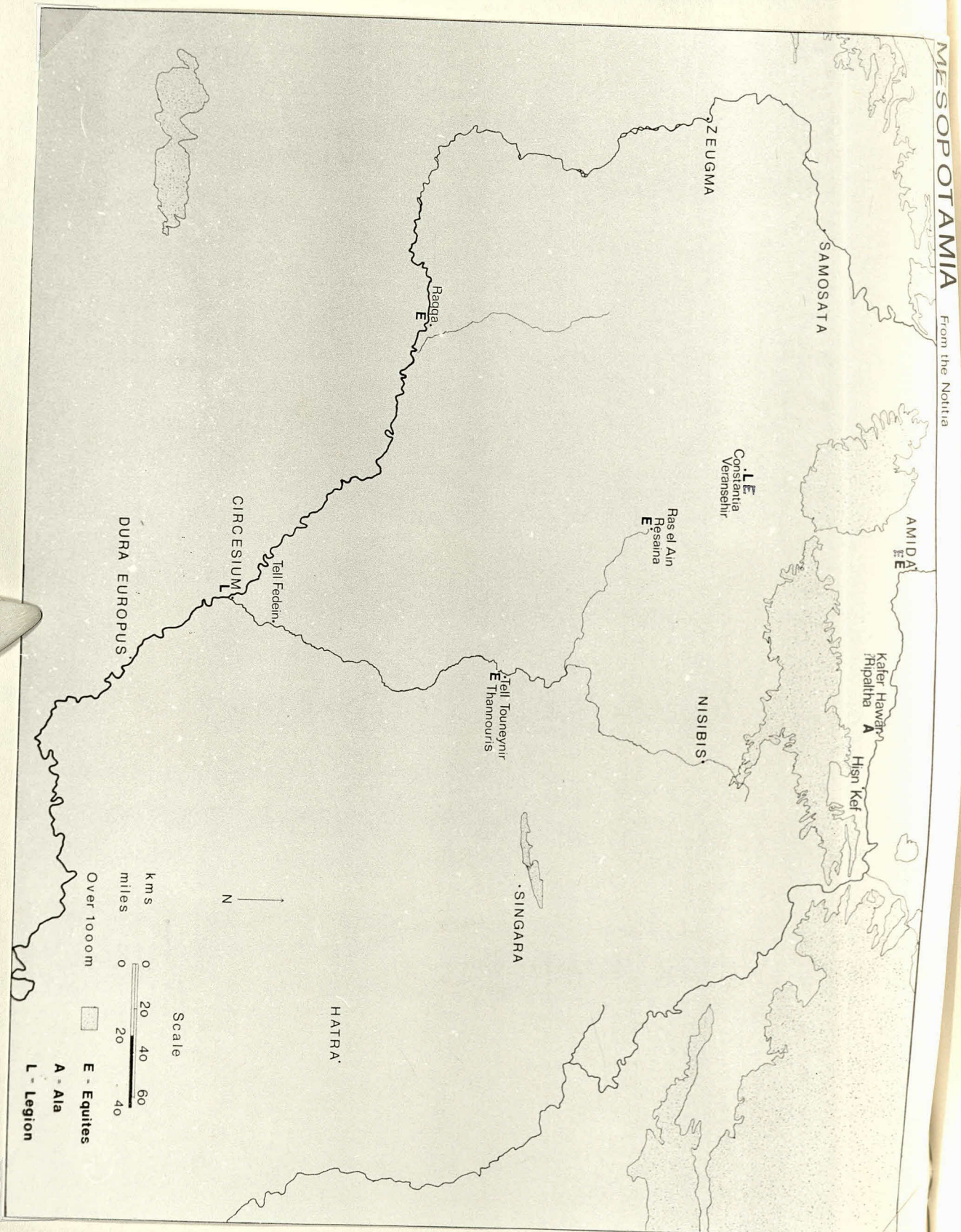
Possibly in the legionary dispositions of Syria and Phoenice we see traces of rigid planning by Diocletian, with legions spaced out at intervals along the desert roads at Soura, Taiyibe, Palmyra and Danaba. It is unlikely that in such circumstances the legions continued to be major units. Probably they were reduced during the fourth century by the loss of vexillations to little more than cohort size by the date of the Notitia.

Turning to the legion and equites listed under Augusta Eufratensis, Barbalissus (49) lay on the west bank of the river, about seventy kilometres above Soura-Souriya at modern Balis or Eski Meskene (50). It had been for a time the base of a dux (51) of Augusta Eufratensis. Neocaesarea (52) is probably a new name given to the town of Athis, rebuilt and refortified in the later third century (53). Ptolemy and the Peutinger table confirm the view that Athis is the modern Dibsi Faraj (54), where substantial rebuilding in the late third and fourth century provide a pretext for a change of name. The Notitia's Rosapha (55) is finally the modern Resafa, ancient Sergiopolis (56).

The legion and equites in Augusta Eufratensis were thus spread out along the west bank of the Euphrates south from Barbalissus and, from Soura, garrisoned the first stretch of the Strata en route to Syria Phoenice.

But of the older auxilia none can be reliably located. It is not even clear what sector of the frontier they garrisoned. For Ammuda (57) Musil (58) suggested Umm 'Ammud which lies south-west of the Euphrates bend. Then for Ammattha Dussaud (59) proposed Jebel el-Hamman in the same region. Neither of these identifications is reliable although units were probably garrisoning this area. But for Helela Musil proposes a site by the Euphrates about Deir ez-Zoor. (60). Again the garrisoning of the right bank below Sura is plausible but we have so far no evidence for it.

Map 7 Mesopotamia from the Notitia



The forces at the disposal of the dux Syriae differ slightly from those under his counterpart in Phoenice. The dux of Phoenice has more of the older *auxilia*. Possibly this goes back to the destruction of the Syrian army by Sapor in the 250's. In type of troops the armies are very similar. The units are all mounted, apart from four cohorts in Syria and five in Phoenice.

The titles of only a few of the units help us with their date of origin. The *ala I nova Herculia* (61) and the *cohors III Valeria* (62) are creations of Diocletian. When the *cohors I Gotthorum* was sent to the east we cannot say. Theodosius (63) may have sent the Goths of the *cohors I Gotthorum* to the east but their arrival may have been earlier. The *cohors I Ulpia Dacorum* is the sole survivor from the second century. It first came to Syria almost three centuries before the *Notitia*, under Trajan.

Osrhoene and Mesopotamia: The *duces* of these provinces presided over the most exposed sectors of the eastern frontier. Here major warfare between Romans and Persians brought about the modification of Diocletian's arrangements. For Mesopotamia it is the frontier after the Roman withdrawal of 363 that we find in the *Notitia* (64).

Of the bases in Osrhoene only a small proportion can be reliably located.

Callinicum (65) is Raqqa, beside the Euphrates east of Sura (66). Dabana is probably the Danava where Julian's forces spent a night on their march against the Persians (67). Julian's Danava lay a day's march from Callinicum on the road to Carrhae and near the source of the river Balikh. It has been identified with the modern 'Ain el-Arous, though this has not yet been confirmed by archaeology (68).

With the next base, Banasam (69), Seeck compares in his apparatus Procopius' (70) "*βενεδικτην*", probably the monastery of Qartemin, founded in the first year of Anastasius' reign (491), which lay about

forty kilometres north-west of Nisibis (71). The similar names suggest that the site of the monastery was also that of the Notitia base but this is not a very secure identification. The next base, Sina Iudaeorum (72), Dilleman would locate in the same part of the world, at modern Fafa, about forty-five kilometres north-north-west of Nisibis (73), on the grounds that it precedes " *καστρον Μασαρων* " (74) in the geographical work of George of Cyprus, which was compiled about 600 AD. Thirdly the Notitia's Rasin (75) Dilleman would locate (76) on the grounds of its similar name with Redjil, which is sited about five kilometres south-south-east of Hisn Kef beside the Tigris (77).

None of these last three identifications is secure. It is also surprising to find units listed under the *dux* Osrhoene so far to the north-east, mixed up with units in Mesopotamia. All the bases in Osrhoene which can be located with certainty lie south of a line running past Resaina and Thannouris. Resaina is apparently the base of a unit from each command (78); on the Khabur the most northerly base in Osrhoene is south of Thannouris (79).

About the bases of the next two units we can however be reasonably sure. Craba (80) is almost certainly Tell Arban, on the Khabur about forty kilometres south of Thannouris (81). The similarity of the modern and Roman names is here striking. But even if the Roman fort was not on this tell, its approximate location in this region is clear from the siting of another unit "inter Thannourim" a site just south of Hassake on the Khabur, "et Horoban" (82).

A single legion is listed in Osrhoene, at Circesium, modern el-Buseir, just north of the convergence of the Khabur with the Euphrates. Ammianus tells us that Diocletian strengthened the fortifications of the place (83). Possibly the lacuna of the following line contained another legion (84), so making Osrhoene fit with the pattern of the other ducates. If so, the legion may have been based at Apatna, possibly Tell Fedein, the first staging post of Arabic itineraries up the Khabur (85).

For the bases of the auxilia that remain, Dillemann makes some suggestions (86) but all that we can rely on are the location of an ala at Resaia-Resaina and of another along the Khabur between Thannouris and Oraba.

So, making use of what reliable evidence we have, the overall picture of the dispositions in Osrhoene is one of the occupation of major roads, most of which run beside the rivers of the province, the Euphrates, the Khabur and the Balikh. Most heavily occupied is the southern sector of the Khabur from Thannouris down to Circesium, where one - and possibly a second - legion, a unit of equites and an ala were based. We can be sure that the Khabur valley was one of the "Mesopotamiae tractus crebro inquietari sueti" (87), which "praetenturis et stationibus servabantur agrariis". Without doubt the skeleton of the bases was filled out with the paraphernalia of fortlets and signal stations and facilities necessary to protect the local population and defeat the frontier raiders.

All the units, apart from two cohorts, were mounted. Of the equites the great majority are indigenae. Two of the alae are clearly creations of Diocletian, the ala VII Valeria praelectorum (N.D. Or 35. 27) and the ala I nova Diocletiana (N.D. Or. 35. 31). The cohors I Eufkratensis must also postdate the creation of Syria Eufkratensis, probably by Diocletian (88). But of the old auxilia a few have managed to survive the third century. The cohors I Gaetulorum (89) was last attested circa AD 200 under the command of M. Claudius Restitutus (90). Then the ala II Paphlagonum (91) almost certainly derives from the cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum (92), last heard of in 251, when a vexillation of the unit was at Dura (93).

The dux Mesopotamiae (Or. 36) The Notitia for this ducate reflects the situation after the peace of Jovian in 363, when that emperor gave

up a slice of north-eastern Mesopotamia, which included the major fortresses of Nisibis, Singara and castra Maurorum (94). Before 363 the dispositions were different: legio I Parthica was probably based at Singara (95). After the treaty it was withdrawn to Constantia-Veransehir, a city about sixty kilometres north-north-west of Resaina-Ras el'Ain (96). The pre-363 base of Mesopotamia's second legion, the legio II Parthica - probably a vexillation of the Rome-based legion sent to the east in the third century or at the latest by 312 (97) - is uncertain. It may have garrisoned a forward base on the Tigris like Bezabde-Djezireh, which was given up by Jovian. But by the time of the Notitia the legion is at Cefae (98), almost certainly Hisn Kef, a site on the Tigris almost directly north of Nisibis across the Tur Abdin (99).

Several of the equites were based in major cities in the province. Two units of equites Illyriciani were based at Amida (100), modern Diyarbakir (101), which had been strongly fortified by Constantius circa 349 (102), was stormed by Sapor in 359 but later rebuilt by the Romans. Another unit was based at Theodosiopolis-Resaina (103), roughly the modern Ras el-'Ain (104), which lay east of Carrhae on the upper reaches of the Khabur (105). Then at Constantia, the base of one of the Mesopotamian legions, we also find a unit of equites (106). Finally Thannouris (107) is probably Tell Touneynir (108), just south of modern Hassake on the Khabur (109). The bases of the remaining equites are less certain (110).

To judge from the bases of equites and Legions we are reasonably sure of, the dispositions in Mesopotamia were similar to those of Osrhoene. The units garrison roads along the Tigris and the Upper Khabur, with reinforcements in major fortresses somewhat in the rear, like Amida and Constantia, both by this date garrisoned by two units.

The identification of the remaining bases of the equites too often depends on arguments from similar names which need confirmation from archaeology.

The same is true of the bases of the three alae and two cohorts in the province. Of the ala bases Cartha (111) is possibly Kerk or Arcaiapis (112), a site just below Amida on the right bank of the Tigris (113). From here a road ran south across the Tur Abdin to Armen, past Khan Cheikhan, which was plausibly Meicarire-Aquae Frigidae (114), the base of a cohort (115). Finally Ripaltha (116), base of a Frankish ala, was possibly a fortress on the lofty bank of the Tigris between Hisn Kef and Amida (117), but there is no evidence for a precise location.

These identifications, if correct, suggest that the older auxilia protected roads in the frontier region and were integrated into a system with the equites and legions. There is no question of equites lying behind a screen of older auxilia.

Those of the older type of auxilia whose date of origin we can ascertain are Diocletianic or later. The cohors XIV Valeria Zabdenorum (118) and the ala XV Flavia Carduenorum (119) were both recruited from Transtigritane regions taken in 290 from the Persians but lost to Roman control well before the peace of Jovian in 363. The units were probably raised after the Roman takeover. We find Zabdiceni (120), presumably identical with the Notitia's Zabdeni, forming part of the garrison of Bezabde, a fortress on the Tigris below Amida, when it was besieged by Sapor in 360. Of the remaining units, all were recruited in the eastern provinces, apart from an ala of Franks (121), probably raised in the fourth century.

Despite the difficulties in making full use of the Notitia evidence we can see clear differences between ducatus like Mesopotamia and Osrhoene, which directly faced the Persians, and those like Phoenice,

where the main problem was the Saracens and where the main traffic flow was along the frontier. In Osrhoene and Mesopotamia the traffic in the frontier region will have been mainly across the frontier, from east to west and vice versa, which was followed by major military expeditions from both sides. In Osrhoene and Mesopotamia it was not only necessary to deal with persistent frontier raiding but also with expeditions like that of Sapor of 360, which reduced Amida to ruins. So both on the route along the Tigris up to Amida-Diyarbakir and on the east-west road through Nisibis and Constantia there are units based along the road, which are backed up by fortresses with large garrisons like Amida and Constantia. At the time of Sapor's invasion in 359, Amida (122) was garrisoned by the Legio V Parthica "cum indigenarum turma non contemnenda" - no doubt in Ammianus' terms a unit of equites indigenae. Depending on the gravity of the threat, units could be moved back into Amida and reinforcements from the eastern field army awaited, or the units from the fortress could be at once moved up to the front. The need for major fortresses to be prepared for sieges was made clear by the fate of Nisibis in the 340's. And the need for mobility for warfare on this front is emphasized by the small number of cohorts in both Mesopotamia and Osrhoene - only two in each province (123).

8. The Command of the Magister Militum per Orientem:

In addition to the troops stationed on the frontiers a substantial body was also based in the east under the magister militum per Orientem in the Notitia (1).

In essence, this goes back to the army reforms of Constantine (2). He greatly expanded the field army, which he placed under the command of two newly-created officers, the magister peditum and magister equitum. By the end of Constantine's reign, permanent field armies existed, known as comitatenses. Under the rule of his sons this army fell into regional groups, at first large armies under magistri and by the time of Stilicho and mainly in the west smaller field armies under comites (3). Under Constantius' sole rule the armies remained in regional groups. Substantial contingents were attached to the Augustus, those serving in praesentale, but individual field armies remained permanently outposted. One of these seems to have been based at Antioch.

So developed the system we find in the Notitia, probably fully so by the end of the reign of Theodosius I (4). Parallel with it went the tendency to put frontier forces under the command of duces. By circa 350 most frontier armies were under such officers (5).

The forces of the magister militum were probably based near Antioch, though it is not clear how long he had commanded a force of the scale and composition of that we find listed in the Notitia, which, assuming a rough strength of five hundred men per unit, perhaps amounted to about 15,500 men. By circa 400 the units in the Notitia were almost certainly based near Antioch, where the magister militum per Orientem, certainly the "στρατηγος" of Libanius (6), was located in the fifth century (7) and where he had his permanent headquarters (8).

But how long a magister militum had been based at Antioch is uncertain. The earliest attested is Ursicinus, with whom Ammianus served, and who was active from 349-359 (9). But if the post had been occupied permanently since the 340's the absence of any reference to him in Libanius' speeches is surprising. His silence suggests that the permanent basing of the large forces we find in the Notitia (10) did not take place until late in the fourth century. There must have been troops based near the city, who were able to intervene quickly to suppress the Riot of Statutes (AD 387) but there is no evidence that the number of soldiers was large, although in time of war, when a campaign was being prepared against the Persians, the city became full of troops (11).

In the 390's, but not before, we hear of a unit based in the city itself, the "ἐγκαθημενος λοχος" (12) and of troubles with soldiers (13). But there is no evidence of trouble before the riot of Statutes in 387. (14). Up to that rising it seems to have been deliberate policy not to use the army to control the civil population (15).

The general evidence on the development of the field army suggests that in its nucleus the army of the magister militum per Orientem, as we find it in the Notitia, goes back to the reign of Constantius II (337-361). The source of some of the units can with plausibility be suggested. Of the pseudo-comitatenses there listed (16), units promoted to the comitatenses from the frontier forces, the IV Italica (17), VI Parthica (18), I Armeniaca (19) and II Armeniaca (20) perhaps garrisoned Diocletian's conquests across the Tigris (21) or the north-eastern corner of Mesopotamia given up to the Persians by Jovian in 363 (22). That the forces of the magister militum were gradually reinforced is also suggested by the relatively large number of Theodosian

units, a total of four, the Felices Arcadiani seniores (23), the Felices Honoriani seniores (24), the legio I Flavia Theodosiana (25) and the Balistarii Theodosiaci (26). The first two were probably raised by Theodosius I, between the date of Honorius' birth (384) and Theodosius' death (395). Of the others, the Fortenses auxiliarii (27) are a detachment from Valeria (28) and I Italica (29) is from Moesia II (30). The I Isaura sagittaria is the first of three legions under the comes Isauriae (31) and the Transtigritani were perhaps raised from the Armenian satrapies annexed by Theodosius I.

Of the rest of the units we find one created by Valens (32), the legio II Felix Valentis Thebaeorum, and two creations of, probably, Constantius II (33). The majority are fourth century formations with a few exceptions among the legiones comitatenses, where we find some former vexillations of legions of the Principate. A detachment of V Macedonica, withdrawn from Dacia by Gallienus, perhaps accompanied Aurelian or Galerius to the east (34). Then Septima Gemina (35) points to legio VII Gemina from Spain and Decima Gemina (36) to legio X Gemina from Vindobona in Pannonia Superior.

But it is clearly more risky to argue from the detachments of the field armies to their origins and movements than it is for the frontier armies. The field army groups were the first source of reinforcements for expeditions on other frontiers and, on the occasion of campaigns against the Persians, would tend to be absorbed in the expeditionary forces and reorganised afterwards. The frontier forces, long stationed at the same base and with local ties, would be more likely to leave troops at their base, to which vexillations seconded to the expedition would return. Each Persian war demanded large-scale preparations and recruitment. It is not surprising

therefore that, though a nucleus may go back to Constantius (37), its composition will have changed radically since the Persian wars. As we saw, a fair number of units joined the command either after the withdrawal of 363, after the last major war before the Notitia was drawn up, or were seconded to <sup>it</sup> by Theodosius. The precise date of this large force, assuming it was brigaded together, is uncertain. But it was presumably not far from the magister militum's headquarters at Antioch (38), if it was not actually billeted in the city itself. Field army units were regularly accommodated in this way in this period (39).

In conclusion, the Notitia is in appearance impressive, but this is deceptive and to interpret it we need to consider it against its historical background, taking into account conditions of warfare and the balance of power in the fourth century. In the period from c. AD 200 to 400 the nature of warfare has greatly changed. The fourth century imperial expeditions of Rome and Persia frequently got no further than sieges of the great fortress cities of eastern Mesopotamia like Nisibis and Amida. But the fighting was often on Roman soil and it was in the later fourth century that the Roman frontier line was acknowledged to have been moved back towards the west.

From the Julio-Claudian period the Roman military presence had moved gradually to the frontiers, to the political border with Parthia and towards and into the desert, which was gradually brought under tighter Roman control. This is particularly apparent in the second century, when Roman influence reaches out far into the desert and in relation to Parthia culminates in the creation by Severus of his province of Mesopotamia. Collapse followed c. AD 250 but Diocletian was not content with re-establishing Severus' provincial boundaries but went further, in bringing trans-Tigritane regions under Roman influence. But the effort to maintain Roman influence on this frontier was too great even

for an emperor at Constantinople. In the mid-fourth century there were frequent expeditions to eastern Mesopotamia, which led to the first withdrawal, that of 363. The Notitia line in Mesopotamia and Osrhoene is thus a frontier on the defensive, with considerable forces in great fortresses on the main east-west roads and a final insurance against a major Persian expedition offered by the field army at Antioch. Only in Phoenice, against lesser opposition, is the Diocletianic linear ~~front~~ clearer but here too the dense line of forts is a sign as much of weakness as of strength. An unchallenged Rome in alliance with Palmyra could control the desert more economically and effectively in the second century. The Mavia episode makes the apparent strength of the Notitia forces less impressive.

CHAPTER THREERecruitment to the Auxilia of Syria

The main questions discussed here are the origins of the auxilia based in Syria and where their commanders and recruits came from in the following periods, as far as the available evidence allows. The commanders are dealt with separately, as their distinct career structure demands. Only in the third century period is there enough evidence to treat the centurions and under-officers separately from the ordinary troopers.

1. From Augustus to Nero: (1) Commanding Officers:

By far the earliest career of a commander of an auxiliary unit in Syria is that of Q. Aemilius Secundus (1), who served under P. Sulpicius Quirinius, when the latter was governor of Syria (from AD 6 (2)). He commanded two cohorts (3) and went on to fill several municipal posts in, almost certainly, the Augustan colony of Beirut (4). This suggests he was a member of the colony and had perhaps been settled there by Augustus. His career is notably irregular, before the development of the regular equestrian cursus (5).

We have no further commanders of Syrian auxiliary units until late in Claudius' reign. Three inscriptions have been found at Thugga in Africa Proconsularis which relate to M. Licinius Rufus (6). The first of these is a dedication to the emperor, Claudius, datable to AD 54, which provides a terminus ante quem for Rufus' command of the ala I Bosphorana then in Syria. Rufus was almost certainly a member of the Caesaraean-Augustan colony of Carthage, where he was flamen Augusti. The city exercised some kind of supervision over dual communities like that of Thugga (7). Rufus, too, like Aemilius Secundus, did not follow what later became the standard equestrian militiae. Only a single

command, that of the ala Bosphorana, is referred to on the inscriptions.

Precisely datable to AD 54 is the command of the ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana by M. Milonius Verus Iunonianus (8). The nomen Milonius is several times attested in Italy (9), which suggests that Milonius was of Italian ancestry though it is not a secure evidence for an Italian origin.

Later in Nero's reign the ala Bosphorana again was commanded by C. Caristianus Fronto (10), who was later, after serving as military tribune, adlected by Vespasian into the senate. Fronto's inscription comes from Antioch in Pisidia and we are in the rare position of knowing something about his family. The Caristanii were one of the leading families of the Augustan colony of Antioch in Pisidia, founded probably in 25 BC (11). They were of Italian origin (12) but by the time of Caristianus Fronto's career they had been living in Antioch probably for four generations (13).

Roughly contemporary with Fronto's career is that of T. Rutilius Varus, again praef. alae Bos(poranorum), before becoming quaestor divi Vespasiani (14). It is possible that Rutilius came from Nola, of which town he was patron, but this is not certain. He was, however, almost certainly from Italy.

We thus have a total of only five auxiliary commands for this period. But it is notable that all are either Italians, as far as we can tell, or citizens of Augustan colonies and hence of Italian origin. Where we have detailed evidence, as in the case of Licinius Rufus and Caristianus Fronto, it is clear that the officers came from the colonies' leading families. No doubt men from these backgrounds formed a high proportion of the commanders of Syrian auxilia in this period.

(2) Recruitment of ordinary soldiers:

A rough guide to the origin of the men recruited to an auxiliary unit within twenty-five years of its establishment is its title. If it remained where it was first raised, it continued to recruit men in that area as far as possible. If it moved away, it tended to recruit men from the area to which it had been moved. Alae however were often reinforced in the first century by men from Gaul and Thrace (15).

Of the dates of the creation of the units in Syria in this period we are ignorant. The majority were, perhaps, raised under Augustus. We find there four alae, an ala Bosporanorum, an ala veterana Gallica and two alae Gallorum et Thracum.

The Bosporani lived in the Crimea and round the shores of the sea of Azov (16) and we find a cohort of Bosporani already in existence by early in Augustus' reign (17).

The ala is however not first attested until AD 54, on one of the inscriptions discussed above referring to M. Licinius Rufus (18). A single member of the ala is attested in the first century on an inscription datable to our period (19). This is the tombstone of an eques of the unit, a Scaurus Ambitouti filius, who came not from the Bosporani but from the Alpine tribe of Nantuates (20).

For the ala veterana Gallica - this title we find in 54 (21) suggests that the unit had by then been in existence for some time - we again have a single trooper attested. The diploma of AD 54 (21) was given to "Romaestae Rescenti f. Spiuro". Romaesta and Rescentus are names of Thracian type (22), though there are no precise parallels. Again the ala was receiving recruits neither from its original recruiting ground nor from the region where it was raised.

For the remaining units we have only their titles. In addition to the two alae Gallorum et Thracum we have two cohorts, whose titles betray their origin, a cohors I Ascalonitanorum and a cohors I Thracum Syriaca, but whose date of establishment is not known. The cohort from

Ascalon is the only unit recruited in the east attested in Syria in this period.

It is clear from their titles that a fair proportion of auxiliary units in this period were originally from the west. Some recruitment from the western provinces continued after the discharge of the units' original recruits. However it needs to be remembered that we have almost no evidence from Syria itself (23) and in view of the evidence of Josephus for recruitment from Syria by Roman commanders as early as the 30's BC, when in the fighting between the forces of Antigonus and Herod, the latter's brother lost five cohorts, newly recruited from Syria (24), lent him by Antony's general, Machaeras, and in view also of the work of Kennedy, who has shown that under Augustus soldiers recruited in Syria were retained in garrison in the province (24A), we can assume that considerable local recruitment to the auxilia also took place during the period. This is illustrated by the brave Sabinus at the siege of Jerusalem in 70 BC (24B), from Syria, and two other soldiers, Proculus, Rabili filius, and Domitius, Domiti filius, both recruited by Corbulo when he was in the east (25). Possibly M. Titius Lixa, if the reading of Titius and the consequent dating to the Augustan period are correct, who is commemorated on one of few tombstones of auxiliary soldiers from Syria, was also a native of the province, a campfollower recruited into the regular auxilia (25A).

## 2. Recruitment from Vespasian to Trajan : I Commanding Officers

Our evidence for commanders in this period is more abundant but we have only a few career inscriptions which can be dated with any precision and where we can be sure of the officer's origins.

We have this data for the following careers : (I) M. Valerius Propinquus Grattius Cerealis Edetanus (26) was adlected into the equestrian order by Titus and hence will have served his military career early in Domitian's reign. He himself came from Hispania Tarraconensis, of which province he was flamen (27). He spent his militia prima in command of a cohort in Germany, his militia secunda in Moesia before moving to Syria for two posts of the militia tertia, as commander of the ala VII Phrygum and ala III Thracum.

Valerius Propinquus' career is the only one we have that was served under Domitian, but we have several for Trajan's reign.

(2) From Cherchel (Caesarea) in Mauretania came Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus (28), adlected into the equestrian order by Nerva and so serving his military career mainly under Trajan. After two cohort commands, of which the second, of the cohors I Flavia c. R., was in Syria (29) or Judaea (30), and legionary tribunates in two eastern legions, Helvius was promoted to command of the ala VII Phrygum. The number of his posts is considerable and, with an average of four years each (31), Helvius' six commands will have occupied him for much of his active life. All that we can check were in the east.

(3) From Ephesus we have the career of an Aemilius Iuncus, who, after command of two cohorts in the east and a tribunate in the legio X Fretensis in Palestine, was promoted to prefect of the Syrian ala Gallorum veterana, in which post he was decorated by Trajan in his Parthian war (32). He perhaps came from Tripolis in Syria, like his relation (33) who became consul in 127. It is clear that all Iuncus' military and procuratorial posts were in the east.

(4) Fourthly, on the genealogical inscription of the Licinnii from Oenoanda (34), there is a reference (ll. 54-56) to a " Γ [Ῥίου] λῆιος Δημοσθενής , " who served as " ἐπαρχὸς εἰλητῆς ἑβδόμης Φρυγῶν. " at some date under Trajan before c. 103-114 (35). His son married into the Licinnii and so the father's family will certainly have belonged to the aristocracy of Lycia.

(5) Then from Malaca in Baetica we have the career of a L. Valerius Proculus (36), who was " praef(ectus) cohort(is) IIII Trachum Syriacae. " late in Trajan's or early in Hadrian's reign before going on to a legionary tribunate in Moesia Superior and a procuratorial career (37). It is probable that he originated from Spain.

(6) From Alabanda in Caria we have a detailed career inscription of a L. Aburnius (38), who after being "praefectus fabrum Romae" spent almost the whole of his military career in the east. The only exception was a legionary tribunate in III Augusta in Africa. Of the rest all we can verify were in Syria. He was prefect of two Syrian cohorts and praepositus of a third - perhaps simultaneously with the second. In Trajan's Parthian war he was appointed praefectus annonae ripae Euphratis and during the war received a legionary tribunate in one of the Syrian legions. After being decorated in this post he became commander of the ala I Ulpia Singularium, which is earliest attested on this inscription and which is later found in Syria (39). He then returned to serve ὑπερ τῆς πατριδος as a legal representative, which strongly suggests that he was a native of Alabanda.

(7) Finally we have from Argos the career inscription of an A. Pomponius Augurinus T. Prifernius Paetus (40). He is the cousin of a fellow equestrian officer and later procurator from Reate (41). His career can be dated to Trajan's reign. He served first as a legionary in X Fretensis in Palestine and then commanded a cohors milliaria, probably based in Syria (42). It is very likely that, like his cousin, he too was a native of Reate.

These seven careers are the most helpful for the origins and careers of the officers commanding the Syrian auxiliary units. All except one are from provincial communities and from their most wealthy and high-born circles, as is clear particularly in the cases of Julius Demosthenes and Valerius Propinquus. Officers are now coming from towns without previous colonial ties with Rome (43), Valerius Proculus from Malaca, a civitas foederata till the Flavian period (44), when it became a municipium Flavium, Aburnius from a civitas libera (45) and Aemilius Iuncus perhaps from Tripolis. They are coming from in particular the

more civilised provinces of the empire. Of those discussed above, two came from Spain and one each from Africa, Mauretania, Asia and Lycia. The contrast with the officers of the first period, all from Italy or Roman colonies, is clear.

In addition to the above we have several inscriptions of eastern officers, which we are unable to date securely or where the origin of the officer is not clear.

1. From Vasio in Gallia Narbonensis we have the career of C. Sappius Flavius, who commanded the ala Thracum Herculiana after a tribunate in the legio XXI Rapax, the destruction of which in the late first to early second century (49) provides a terminus ante quem for the career. The fact that Flavius was honoured by the Varienses and had left a legacy for the decoration of a portico there suggests that he was a native of the city.

2. A third career that cannot be precisely dated is that of L. Flavius Novatus Victor Iunianus (50), who first commanded the cohors II Classica, permanently based in Syria, before receiving a legionary tribunate in the III Cyrenaica, in Egypt, before its transfer to Arabia, probably under Hadrian (51). The inscription comes from Forum Novum and Flavius Novatus was almost certainly a native of the town.

3. The career of L. Maesius Rufus (52) can only be dated to between the Flavian period and 194, though Devijver prefers a Trajanic date (52). It is uncertain which of the two cohortes milliariae Italicae was commanded by Maesius. I have argued that it is more likely to have been the cohors I Italica which was the unit

"quae est in Syria" (53). His name (54) and the local benefactions, for which the inscription was set up, suggest that Rufus came from Forum Sempronii in Umbria, where the inscription was found. An Italian origin is now certain (55).

4. An inscription from Rome commemorates the career of C. Paccius Firmius (56), who commanded a cohors II Italica probably during this period. A cohors II Italica c.R. was permanently based in Syria (57). Paccius was from Italy (56).

We must conclude with a few inconclusive fragments. From Seleucia Pieria we have a fragmentary Vespasianic inscription referring to a Flavius who was [ἐπαρ] | χον χωρτ(ης) (58). The fact that this public inscription, set up by the demos of Seleucia, at the same time honoured Flavius' father, Flavianus, suggests that the family were natives of the city. But whether the cohort commanded by Flavius was based in Syria we cannot say. We have finally two Trajanic inscriptions from Palmyra (59). They do not give the career of an equestrian officer but are noted here because Celesticus, referred to on both the inscriptions, also commanded the cohors I Sebastena, still in Syria in 88 (60) though in Palestine by 139 (61), after centurionates in several Syrian legions - an unusual way to an auxiliary command. Celesticus (62) is a Greek proper name, suggesting that its owner came from a Greek community, though his precise origin is not clear.

The additional equestrian careers above fill out our picture, with officers from Pergamum in Asia, Gallia Narbonensis, Italy and possibly Syria. Side by side with Italians are domi nobiles from the provinces.

#### From Vespasian to Trajan: 2: Ordinary Soldiers:

For this period we are well-informed about the garrison of the province (63). A very high proportion of the units - five of the eight

alae and nine of the eighteen cohorts - are from the west. All of these western alae, apart from a single unit from Pannonia, are either Thracians or mixed units of Gauls and Thracians. For the cohorts we find a wider spread of origins: the majority are from the west but Africa and the east contribute three each.

But the date of the creation of most of these units is not known and the fact that they were discharging in 88 and 91 men who will have served for twenty-five years, most probably in the same unit, suggests that their origin goes back to before our period.

The only unit which was certainly recruited in our period and whose title informs us of the source of its recruits is the cohort I Flavia Chalcidenorum, though it is not specifically attested in Syria until 156-7 (64). This cohort was recruited in Syria under the Flavians from a city called Chalcis. There are, however, two such cities in Syria, Chalcis under Libanon in Ituraea and Chalcis ad Belum, just south of Beroea (modern Aleppo) in central Syria (65). On a priori grounds the unit was most probably recruited from Chalcis under Libanon formerly capital of the Iturean kingdom. Several auxiliary units were drawn from this kingdom and appear in our sources mainly from the last two decades of the first century (66). Perhaps the cohort was formed from a force the ruler of Chalcis - who this was after 53 is uncertain (67) - had had at his disposal. Its incorporation into the Roman army may thus be seen as a further element in the regularisation of the Syrian frontier region. It is notable that the earliest inscription from Syria attesting the unit was found near Damascus (68) only about twenty-five miles south-east of Chalcis under Libanon.

For the remaining units we are dependent on the reference to individual soldiers. In 91 one of the diplomas of that year (69) was issued to a "[grega] li Sauthi [...] is f. Scaen.", who served

in the ala veterana Gallica. Seuthes is a very common Thracian name (70) and Scaen(us) is almost certainly the name of a Thracian tribe (71). The soldier's Thracian origin is also confirmed by the findspot of the diploma, Gradiste in Bulgaria. The soldier presumably returned home after his discharge. The ala veterana Gallica had been based in Syria for well over twenty-five years, for it is listed in the province in 54 (72). So Seuthes must have been sent from Thrace to the east.

That Seuthes was not an isolated case is suggested by three further diplomas for Syria, all of which were found in western Europe. The first is one of the diplomas (73) for 88 presented to " Bitho Seuthi f(ilio) Besso," who was in fact serving in a cohors Musulamiorum. The Bessi were a people in Thrace " divided into many tribes " (74). The diploma again was found within the borders of ancient Thrace, at the village of Muhovo in Bulgaria. The second diploma, that for Syria for 91 (75), also came from Bulgaria. It was presented to a gregalis of the ala III Thracum Augusta, " Quelse Dolae f. Thrac. " (76), self-confessedly a Thracian. The third diploma is another for 88 (77), also issued to a soldier of the cohors Musulamiorum, " pediti Gorio, Stibi f(ilio), Dacus." He presumably came from near Nicopolis, where the diploma was found, and not from the original home of his tribe, which was not yet part of the empire (78).

Finally the most recently discovered diploma for Syria of 88 was given to a "Dassio Dasentis f. Pannonio" (81), who had served as a gregalis in the ala Phrygum. We have here a further soldier from the west, this time from Pannonia.

Apart from the evidence of diplomas we have no precisely datable evidence to help us with the origins of soldiers recruited to the army of Syria. But four inscriptions are relevant. The first is a tombstone of "Fl(avius) [C]or(nelius) Rufinus 7 ex [co]hort(e) [pr(ima)] Ha[n(iorum)] milliaria" (82). Its date is not secure but the milliaria written out in full perhaps suggests the late first to early second century. Rufinus tells us that he was "genito in Asia Trallis defuncto Aug(usta) Tr(everorum)." He thus provides a rare example of a soldier from a city in Asia Minor serving in a rank lower than that of commanding officer in a unit recruited originally from Epiphaneia on the Orontes (modern Hama).

Then from Tell ech Chehab in Trachonitis we have the tombstone (83) of a G. Valerius Maximus "στρ < [τ] χωρτ. μιλι(αριος)". Here the date is uncertain. The name is clearly of Latin type, suggesting Valerius was a Roman citizen, but does not help us very greatly with his origin.

We have thirdly a multiple tombstone from Salona on the Dalmatian coast (84). Here again the date of the inscription is not certain, though the occurrence of Aurelius three times - both the brothers and the father have such a nomen - suggests a date after 212, though the context (85) might be thought to support a Trajanic date. Here the nationality of T. Aurelius Apollonius, "7 coh. I milliaria", is given. He is a Syrian and, if the inscription were datable to Trajan's reign, would provide the earliest example of a centurion of Syrian origin in the auxilia in Syria.

We have finally an inscription from Carnuntum (86), which again cannot be dated with certainty. It is of a soldier who "mil(itavit) optio coh(ortis) II Italic(ae) c. R. .... ex vexillariis sagittariis exer(citus) Syriaci." Possibly the vexillation came to the west with Mucianus in 69 (87) but there is no hint in Tacitus that Mucianus, en route to Italy, came as far north as this. Carnuntum suggests rather the northern wars of Marcus Aurelius in the 170's and 180's. The soldier was a Proculus Rabili f. from Philadelphia, one of the towns of the Decapolis. His father's name suggests he was of Arab stock. One of the Nabataean kings, who reigned from 70 to 106 (88), was called Rabbil. Proculus was serving in the cohors II Italica c.R., which was permanently based in Syria. The service of an Arabian in this unit shows yet again how little notice was taken of a unit's title, when it came to later recruitment. That there was local recruitment to the Syrian auxilia in our period is a priori probable but the insecure date of this inscription does not provide us with any support for this view.

In this context the late first century tombstones of the ala Thracum Augusta need to be discussed. As one of the cities of the Decapolis Gerasa was attached to Syria (89). Three tombstones of equites of the ala I Thracum Augusta have been found there and been dated to the later first century AD (90). A Doritses Tarsi f(ilius) died at the age of thirty-two years (91). Then we have two bilingual inscriptions. The first is of a Ζιμικεϋθις Ἐσιωπην υἱος (Ziemices Ziopen f(ilius) in the Latin) (92) and the second of a Ι(ουλιος) Οὐ(αλεριος) Τενες Ἐπτακεντου υἱος (Val(erius) [Tenes] Eptace[nti]s f.) set up by his brother, Q. Veases (93). These names all imply a Thracian origin. Probably the unit had been transferred from Thrace for the Jewish revolt.

The most reliable evidence is thus offered by the diplomas, though their predominantly East European provenance may well give us

an unbalanced picture. What they do make clear is that there was a fair amount of post-establishment recruitment from the western provinces, particularly Thrace, to the units based in Syria, not only to those units originally recruited from the west but even to an originally African cohort like the cohors Musulamiorum. But the example of the cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum in turn informs us that some local recruitment was taking place and it seems reasonable to suppose that the locally recruited units (94) continued to receive at least some recruits either from their original recruiting grounds or the locality in which they were based.

Careers of prefects of alae in Syria

| <u>Evidence</u>     | <u>Date of ala command</u> | <u>Name</u>   | <u>Status before 3<br/>militiae</u>                             | <u>I</u>                                  | <u>II</u>                               | <u>III</u>             | <u>Water</u>   |
|---------------------|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------------------|--|
| ILS 27II            | Domitianic                 | M. Val. Propinquus<br>Grattius Cerealis<br>Edetanus | Promoted to<br>equestrian<br>order by<br>Titus                  | praef.<br>coh.                            | trib.<br>leg.                           | praef.<br>alae         | Praef.<br>fabr.<br>bis.  |
| I925. 44.           | Trajanic                   | Ti. Claudius<br>Helvius Secundus                    | Adl. a Nerva<br>in 5 dec.<br>? scriba quaest.<br>et aed. curul. | praef.<br>coh.(x3,<br>once repeated)      | trib.<br>leg.<br>(x2, once<br>repeated) | praef.<br>alae<br>(x2) | Praef.<br>fabr.<br>Romae.  |
| I935. I67           | Trajanic                   | Aemilius Iuncus                                     | ?   | praef.<br>coh.,<br>trib.<br>coh.          | trib.<br>leg.                           | praef.<br>alae.        | proc.<br>post  |
| IGRR III 500        | Trajanic                   | G. Iulius Demosthenes                               | ?   |   |   | praef.<br>alae         | ?  |
| I933. 270           | 120-194                    | Tib. Cl(audius) Pius                                | ?   | trib.<br>coh.                             | trib.<br>leg.                           | praef.<br>alae         | praef.<br>alae<br>in<br>Pergamum                                   |
| ILS 947I            | Trajanic                   | L. Aburnius   | ?   | praef.<br>coh.(x2)<br>praepositus<br>(xI) | trib.<br>leg.<br>(x2)                   | praef.<br>alae         | praef.<br>alae<br>ἐπιδικος<br>ὑπερ τῆς<br>παιδείδος                |
| I929. I25           | Hadrianic                  | Tib. Claudius<br>Agrippa                            | ?   | praef.<br>coh.                            | trib.<br>leg.                           | praef.<br>alae         | praef.<br>alae<br>ἐπιδικος<br>στρατῶν<br>to<br>prefect<br>of Egypt |
| X 6426-<br>I933.207 | Hadrianic/<br>Antonine     | G. Vibius Celer                                     | ?   | praef.<br>coh.                            | trib.<br>coh.                           | praef.<br>alae.        |  |

| (Evidence)  | (Date of ala command) | (Name)                        | (Status before 3 militiae) | I                    | II                   | III         | (Later)  |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------|--|
| ILS 274I  | Marcus Aurelius       | C. Nasennius Marcellus Senior | ?                          | praef. coh.          | trib. coh.           | praef. alae | praef. fabr. aedilis; quaestor etc                                       |
| IGRR III 670, 671, 672.                                 | ? Second Century      | Tib. Cl(audius) Agrippinus    | praef. fabr. eques         |                      | trib. leg. (x2)      | praef. alae | ὑπαρχεὺς τῶν ἑβαστῶν.<br>ὑπαρχὴ κατέως τοῦ Ἀυκ. κοινῶν<br>flamen Augusti |
| I969/70. 652  | Claudian              | M. Licinius Rufus             | ?                          | -                    | -                    | praef. alae |  |
| XVI 3   | AD 54                 | M. Milonius Verus Iunonianus  | ?                          | ?                    | ? praef. alae        |             | ?  |
| ILS 9485  | Late Neronian         | C. Caristianus Fronto         | ?                          | -                    | trib. mil.           | praef. alae | Made a senator by Vespasian; followed a ser career.                      |
| X. I258   | Nero-Vespasian        | T. Rutilius Varus             |                            |                      | trib. mil.           | praef. alae | Quaestor divi Vespasiani.  |
| XI 6II7   | Flavian-194           | L. Maesius Rufus              | praef. fabr.               | trib. mil. coh. mil. | trib. mil. coh. mil. | -           | Procurator Augusti.  |
| <u>Careers of prefects/tribunes of cohorts in Syria</u> |                       |                               |                            |                      |                      |             |  |
| III 6687-   |                       |                               |                            |                      |                      |             |  |
| ILS 2683  | c. AD 6               | Q. Aemilius Q.f. Secundus     | praef. fabrum              | praef. coh.          | praef. coh.          |             | Municipal officia in colonia.  |
| ILS I34I  | Trajanic              | L. Valerius Proculus          |                            | praef. mil.          | trib. mil.           | praef. mil. | Procuratorial career.  |

|                   |                |   |                              |            |             |                                      |
|-------------------|----------------|---|------------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| ILS 9474          | Trajanic       | L. Aburnius                                 | praef. coh (x 2) praep. coh. | trib. leg. | praef. alae | Legal rep. in Alabanda               |
| ILS 8863          | Trajanic       | A. Pomponius Augurinus T. Priferrius Paetus |                              | trib. leg. | trib. coh.  |                                      |
| IX 4855a          | Second Century | L. Flavius Novatus Victor Iunianus          | praef. coh.                  | trib. leg. |             |                                      |
| 1921. 64-1963. 42 | Severan        | G. Iulius Avitus Alexianus                  | praef. coh.                  | trib. leg. | praef. alae | Procuratorial and senatorial career. |
| XIV 162           | Second Century | Tib. Cl. Antoninus                          | praef. coh.                  |            |             |                                      |
| XIV 2957          | Hadrianic      | C. Valerius L. f. Quir. Florinus            | praef. coh.                  |            |             |                                      |
| ILS 1437          | ? before 195   | M. Claudius Restitutus                      | praef. coh.                  |            |             |                                      |
| 1934. 280         | 194            | Trebius Maximus                             | praef. coh.                  |            |             |                                      |
| VI 3528           | ?              | C. Paccius Firmus                           |                              |            | trib. mil.  |                                      |

Soldiers serving in the auxilia of Syria:

| <u>Evidence</u>                                     | <u>Unit</u>                   | <u>Name</u>                        | <u>Origin</u>                  | <u>Rank</u> | <u>Stipendia</u> | <u>Date</u>        | <u>Peregr. or citizen</u> |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| ILS 2510  | ala Bosporanorum              | Scaurus<br>Ambitouti f.            | Hantuates                      | Eques       |                  | Mid 1st<br>Century | P                         |
| XVI 3   | ala vet. Gallica              | Romaesta<br>Rescenti f.<br>Spiurus | Thracian                       | Eques       | 25               | AD 54              | P                         |
| Klio 37<br>1959 pp211-<br>2                         | ala vet. Gall.                | Seuthes ...<br>is f. Scaenus       | Thracian                       | Gregalis    | 25               | 91                 | P                         |
| XVI 35  | Cohors Musul-<br>amiorum      | Bithys Seuthi<br>f. Bessus         | Thracian                       | Pedes       | 25               | 88                 | P                         |
| 1961. 319   | ala III Thracum<br>Aug.       | Quelse Dolae f.                    | Thracian                       | Gregalis    | 25               | 91                 | P                         |
| III 13433a<br>- ILS 9168                            | Cohors II<br>Italica c.R.     | Proclus<br>Rabili f.               | Philadel(phia)                 | Optio       | ?                | ? c.69             | C                         |
| JPS 1939<br>pp 28-9                                 | Cohors I<br>Musulamiorum      | Gorio Stibi f.                     | Dacian, from<br>near Nicopolis | Pedes       | 25               | 88                 | P                         |
| ZPE 16.<br>1975 121 f.                              | Ala VII<br>Phrygum            | Dassius<br>Dasentis f.             | Pannonian                      | Gregalis    | 25               | 88                 | P                         |
| 1933. 211   | Ala Ulpia<br>Singularium      | Iulius Bassus                      |                                | Eques       |                  | 150-160's          | ? C                       |
| Schlumberger,<br>La Palmyrène du NW, ?<br>1951 p.87 |                               | Eptemalis<br>Mucaterelis           | Thracian                       |             |                  |                    | P                         |
| ILS 9173  | Cohors III<br>Thracum Syriaca | Agrippa Theini f.                  | Palmyra                        | Centurion   |                  | 150-200            | P                         |
| 1933. 213   |                               | Brizanus Tarsae f.                 |                                | Eques       |                  |                    | P                         |

| (Evidence)               | (Unit)                          | (Name)                              | (Origin)         | (Rank)                   | (Stipendia)                 | (Date)                   | (Peregr. or citizen). |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Syria 47.<br>1970 p. 319 |                                 | Amathallat f.<br>Sabbiti            |                  | Optio                    |                             | ?                        | P                     |
| 1933. 212                | ala Flavia<br>Agrippiana        | Valerius Gaiamus                    |                  |                          |                             | ?160's/<br>170's         | C                     |
| ILS 2541                 | ala Valeria<br>dromedariorum(?) | Iulius Candidus                     |                  | veteranus<br>ex. duplic. |                             |                          | C                     |
| 1928. 86                 | Cohors II<br>Ulpia equitata II. | I. Pac. Nigreinus<br>Ael. Tittianus |                  | Decurions                |                             |                          |                       |
| ZPE 38<br>1980 p146      | Cohors III<br>Thracum Syriaca   | M. Pitus<br>Lixa                    | ? Camp-followers | Miles                    | Died at 40<br>years of age. | ?Flavian-<br>2nd century |                       |

### 3. Recruitment from Hadrian to Severus

I. Commanding Officers: For this period we have nine officers commanding units in the east, whose names, origins and the approximate date of their commands are known.

1. Earliest is Tiberius Claudius Agrippa (1). He came from Termessus, as is strongly implied by his tenure of a priesthood there (2). He followed the standard career, commanding a cohort in Moesia Superior (3), serving as legionary tribune in the XI Claudia in Moesia Inferior before commanding the ala Thracum Heracliana, probably in Syria (4), in the late 130's. His career can be dated with some precision for he went on to be ἀρχιστρατωρ to Valerius Eudaemon, who was prefect of Egypt in 142-3 (5). Agrippa was clearly from the local aristocracy of Termessus, a city in south-west Pisidia, which had long had treaty relations with Rome (6).

2. From the 150's we have the career of G. Vibius Celer, illustrated in several inscriptions. He was certainly an Italian as his tribe, Pomptina, was only assigned to towns in Italy (7), and probably from Circeii. He was patron of the town (8) and it had been assigned the tribe Pomptina.

His first command was of a cohors I Montanorum, either one in Moesia Superior (9) or one in Syria Palaestina (10). He was then promoted to tribune of a milliary cohort in Dacia (11) and for his *tertia militia* commanded the ala I Ulpia Singularium in Syria in 156-7 (12). Where exactly in the province this unit was based we are told by an inscription from Palmyra (13), honouring " Γ. Οὐεβιον Κελερα, ἐπαρχον της ἐνθαδε εἰλης ". The ala's presence at Palmyra is confirmed by reference to it on two other inscriptions from the same city (14).

Celer's final appointment was as procurator of Arabia (15), towards the end of Antoninus Pius' reign (16). This would suggest that he commanded the ala at Palmyra in the 150's. He thus commanded auxilia

in both the Latin west and Greek east, where he was retained for his Arabian procuratorship.

3. A third career that can be dated with some probability roughly to the reign of Antoninus Pius is that of M. Acilius Athenodorus (17). His membership of the tribe Sergia suggests a terminus post quem of Hadrian's reign (18) and Athenodorus was probably related to the Palmyrene, M. Acilius Alexander, who was in command of the cohors I Claudia Sygambrorum in Moesia Inferior in 134 (19). Athenodorus was certainly a Palmyrene. His name translates the Palmyrene Wabballath and his father was called Acilius Moquimo, the latter being a common Palmyrene name. He served in two equestrian military posts, commanding the cohors I Ulpia Petraeorum in Syria (20) and serving as tribune in the legio X Fretensis in Palestine.

Athenodorus is the first Palmyrene attested as commanding an auxiliary unit in the east. We find several Palmyrenes in charge of units in the west from Hadrian's reign. In 134 the Palmyrene M. Acilius Alexander, referred to above, commanded a cohort in Moesia Inferior (21). Between 138 and 159 an inscription was set up at Palmyra in honour of T. Aelius "...ἐπαρχος των] ἐν Ποδολι [σω της ἀνωτε]ρης Δακίας τοξοτων " (22) and in 141 to a M. Ulpus Abgar, who filled the same post (23).

4. From Cuicul in Numidia we have the career inscription of a L. Claudius Honoratus, promoted to the equestrian order by Pius (24). Cuicul joined the IV coloniae Cirtenses in the early of mid-second century (25) and this link between Cirta and Cuicul is attested in our inscription. Honoratus was "col(oniae) Cirt(ensis) dec(urio) et aed(ilis), col(oniae) Cuic(ulitanae) dec(urio) et aed(ilis)." These posts, the priesthoods and the local benefactions make it certain that Honoratus was a member of the local aristocracy. He only served two stages in the

equestrian career. For the first he commanded the cohorts I Augusta Pan(noniorum) in Syria and for the second he was a tribune in the legio II Adiutrix in Pannonia Inferior.

5. Another inscription from Africa (26) gives the career of M. Valerius Maximianus, who came from Poetovio in Pannonia Inferior (27). This town was formerly a legionary base and was made a colony by Trajan, who settled veterans, largely of Italian origin, there (28). His father had held several priesthoods, having been quinquennialis at Poetovio (29) and sacerdotalis (30) of Pannonia Superior. Valerius clearly came from one of the province's leading families.

His equestrian career can be dated with some precision. His first post was the command of a cohort of Thracians and for the second he was tribune of a cohort I Hamiorum c. R., almost certainly the unit earlier in Syria, which we know to have been military, but which by the time of Maximianus' command was most plausibly in Cappadocia. This appointment he filled in the later 150's/early 160's, just before Lucius Verus' Parthian war, when he was put in charge of the coast of the gentes Polemoniani, the former kingdom of Polemo, annexed by Nero in AD 64 (31). Maximianus' task was the protection of the Roman communications during Verus' Parthian expedition. He went on to command first an ala quingenaria and then an ala milliaria in Pannonia Superior, his native province.

6. Datable to the end of Pius' reign and the early years of Marcus Aurelius' reign is the first equestrian command of the future emperor Pertinax, who came from the municipium of Alba Pompeia in Liguria (32). A late starter upon the equestrian career ladder, " praefectus cohortis in Syriam profectus Tito Aurelio imperatore (i.e. Antoninus Pius) " (33), he served in this post when he was thirty-four, about AD 160. It was probably while in command of this unit that he was promoted to legionary tribune as a result of distinguished service

in the Parthian war of Marcus Aurelius (162-166).

The Historia Augusta gives us a tantalising piece of information. Pertinax made unauthorised use of the facilities of the imperial post to reach Antioch. For this reason he "pedibus ab Antiochia ad Legationem suam iter facere coactus est" (34). But we are not told how long the walk took him. However, it is tempting, in the light of his honours in the Parthian war, to suppose that the walk brought him to a base in the north of Syria, perhaps on the Euphrates; but this is to strain the evidence.

7. On an inscription from Apulum in Dacia (35) we have the career of a C. Iulius Corinthianus from Theveste in Africa Proconsularis. The city became a colony probably under Trajan, when III Augusta moved from Theveste to Lambaesis (36).

The inscription almost certainly dates to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Corinthianus was decorated by "sacratissimi imperatores". Sacratissimi is used of all emperors from Domitian to Marcus Aurelius but is not attested again till the mid-third century, when it is applied to Valerian and Gallienus (37). Plural such emperors may therefore either be Marcus and Verus or Marcus and Commodus (38). It is Corinthianus' command of the vexillatio Dacorum Parthica which favours the first alternative (39). The title Parthica may well have been received as a result of participation in the Veran Parthian war, when Corinthianus was in charge of the unit. This puts Corinthianus' previous command, of the cohors VII Gallorum, at the end of Pius' or early in Marcus Aurelius' reign. By this date the cohort had been transferred from Moesia Inferior to the east, where it is first attested on the fragment of a diploma of 134/154 (40).

8. We next have the career of a T. Ant. Cl. Alf. Anignotus from Thyatira, in Lydia (41). It is clear from his priesthoods that he was a native of the city at the same time as being an eques Romanus and ἑπιστατικὸν συνέβη, υἱὸν καὶ ἑκγονὸν ἀρχιερέων Ἀσίας.

His career seems to be given in roughly reverse order. This suggests that his first appointment was as " (ἐ)π(α)ρ(χον) ἀννοῦης θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου [καὶ λ]ιμένων Σελευκείας Πει[ε]ρ[ι]κ[α]ς " - presumably the surveillance of supplies for Marcus Aurelius' expedition to the east to suppress Avidius Cassius' bid for power. It is possible that this job was combined with the command of the two cohorts which follow on the career (42), though this seems rather a large command for the first equestrian militia. Both the cohorts were in Dacia earlier in the second century (43) and were perhaps moved temporarily to Syria in 175. For his *secunda militia* Arignotus was tribune of the cohorts I Cilicum, in Moesia in 134 (44) and which he perhaps commanded simultaneously with the Syrian-based cohorts I Gaetulorum (45). Finally he took charge of the ala II Flavia Agrippiana, certainly in Syria, perhaps doubling as praefectus of the ala Singularium. Arignotus then left the service and returned to Thyatira, where he became priest of the local god, Tyrinnos, and neocorate of the imperial cult.

The reason for Arignotus' repeated double commands is not clear. It may be that there was a dearth of officers of tried experience and loyalty to command the auxilia in the disturbed period after the revolt of Avidius Cassius.

9. A fragmentary inscription from Salona gives the career of a G. Iulius Avitus Alexianus (46), who commanded a quingenary cohort Petraeorum (either IIII, V or VI), probably under Septimius Severus, as the first stage of his equestrian career. He went on to serve as tribune in a legion and as praefectus of an ala but the names of the units have been lost from the inscription. He was a member of the family of royal-priests of Emesa-Homs and of the same generation as the Syrian princesses, Julia Domna, Severus' wife, and Julia Maesa, her sister (47). Alexianus is the first known equestrian officer from Emesa

and presumably owed his appointments to the favour of Julia Domna.

10. We have finally the career of a G. Nasennius Marcellus Senior (48), from Rome, which is roughly datable to Antoninus Pius' reign, as Marcellus' tenure of the post of duumvir quinquennalis can be dated to 166 (49). His first command was of a cohort in Egypt, the base of the cohorts I Italica c.R. voluntariorum he commanded next is unknown but his final post was as praefectus alae Phrygum in Syria. His origin is suggested by the municipal posts of "praetor et pontifex Laurentium Lavenatium" - he presumably derived from Lavinium in Latium (50).

In sum, for this period we have commanders from the upper classes of provincial communities from a remarkably wide area. Only two provinces contributed more than a single officer, Italy and Syria - the latter including the exceptional Julius Avitus. Otherwise we find a single commander from Lycia-Pamphylia, Numidia, Pannonia Superior, Asia and Africa. All of these officers served in several provinces of the empire and only the Palmyrene, Acilius Athenodorus, served continuously near his city of origin. It is clear that in this period non-Italian sources for officers are being tapped on a large scale.

We also have the careers of several officers which we cannot either date securely or whose origins we cannot be sure of. In the first category are three inscriptions (51) from Patara, in Lycia-Pamphylia, giving the career of Tiberius Claudius Agrippinus. He was clearly a native - he tells us in one of the inscriptions (52) that he was "Παταρεὺς καὶ Μυρῆνς (a citizen of Myra, a neighbouring city) πολιτευόμενος· δε καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι πραισῖς" and after his military service he served as secretary of the Lycian league (53).

For his military service he was tribune in III Gallica in Syria, tribune of I Italica at Novae in Moesia Inferior and finally praefectus

alae Phrygum in Syria, after which he retired from military service and occupied himself with local priesthoods and offices. His service in the legio I Italica, created in 69/70, gives a terminus post quem for his career, which is roughly datable to the early second century (54).

From Pergamum we have the career of a Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Pius, who after the command of a cohort and two tribunates of legions in Syria concluded his military service with a prefecture of the ala VII Phrygum. His career can only be dated to between c. 120-194 (54A). Pergamum was his native city.

The career of L. Valerius Priscus, on an inscription from Patavium/Padua, can only probably be dated to the second century (55). He commanded the cohors II equitatum and the cohors III Thracum, the former certainly in Syria. He then went on to a tribunate of X Fretensis in Palestine before concluding his military service with the command of an ala in Moesia Inferior (56).

Then from Rome we have the career of a T. Statilius Optatus, which is probably datable to about 125 (58). Optatus began his career as commander of the cohors I Lucensium probably in Syria and then served as tribune in legio VI Ferrata, by the time of his appointment almost certainly in Palestine. His remaining military and procuratorial posts were in the west. He derived almost certainly from Italy (58).

We also have the fragmentary career from Samos (59) of a certain Flavianus, who commanded a cohors Numidarum, probably the unit in Syria in 88 (6), at a date during the second century. It is likely that he was a native of Samos (59).

The above careers thus confirm the diversity of the origins of the officers found in the first list, giving us here commanders from Lycia-Pamphylia, Pergamum and Samos, as well as the pair from Italy.

In the case of two commanders we have some clue as to their origin but they do not allow a firm conclusion. The first is L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Iulianus, whose equestrian career is given on two inscriptions, one from Rome (61) and the second from Palmyra (62). On the

latter inscription he is described as "εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλοπατρις" and this has led to the view that Julianus was a native of Palmyra (63). The name Julius Julianus is certainly fairly common in the Dura rosters 100 and 101 of the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum. But commanders of Roman auxiliary troops were often given the citizenship of the municipium they protected and also filled municipal posts (64). So, though Julianus, like his predecessor, C. Vibius Celer (65), may well have been "πολετής καὶ συνέδρος" he was not necessarily a native of the city (66). It would certainly be unusual to find a native in command of the Roman garrison of his own city.

Julianus' career gives no clue to his origin. He served both in the east and the west. His career began with the command of the cohorts III Thracum in Syria (67). He was promoted to tribune of the cohorts I Ulpia Pannoniorum milliaria in Pannonia Superior (68) between 160 and 163 and then returned to Syria to command the ala Thracum Herculana in Lucius Verus' Parthian war (69). He was honoured at Palmyra in October 167 at the time of his advancement to the quarta militaria (70) and moved to the west for the command of an ala milliaria in Noricum (71).

Also from Palmyra we have the career of a Clodius Celsus "ἐπαρχὸς αἰλῆς Ἡρακλιανῆς" (72). He was perhaps a Syrian. The only other Clodius Celsus we know of came from Antioch. He dissuaded Nymphidius Sabinus from making a bid for the throne in 68 (73).

The date of Celsus' command can be roughly estimated. The ala Thracum Herculiana replaced the ala I Ulpia Singularium at Palmyra - at least it is unlikely that there were two alae for long both based in the city. The latter unit was still at Palmyra in the 150's when it was commanded by Vibius Celer (74). The ala Thracum Herculana was at Palmyra by 167 but had moved to Egypt by 185. Celsus' command may thus be dated to between the later 150's and early 180's.

From these inscriptions we cannot date we receive a similar picture to that from those we can date: one officer from Syria, one from Gaul and one from Lycia-Pamphylia. The watchword is diversity of origin, with a considerable proportion continuing to come from the Latin west (75).

Recruitment to other ranks in the Syrian auxilia from Hadrian to Severus:

The units recruited by Trajan, which we find in Syria in 156/7 (76), give us some help with the recruiting grounds then being used (77), namely Dacia, Petra and Paphlagonia (78). Dacia had only recently been conquered and Petra, capital of the Nabataean kingdom, only lately incorporated into the empire. Of the six units recruited from here, four remained in the east and two of these in Syria. Paphlagonia, finally, was a largely mountainous region in western Galatia. These names suggest that units brought from the west continued to play some role in garrisoning Syria, though by now one overshadowed by units recruited from the east itself.

Lack of evidence makes it impossible to trace the recruitment trends in the second century. We have only a few pieces to go on. The earliest of these is the fragment of a probably Syrian diploma, roughly datable to 134-154 (79). The diploma was presented "...] to Sarabae [f....], " but the origin of this name is not clear. The find-spot of the diploma, Siscia in Pannonia Superior, suggests a Pannonian origin for the discharged soldier.

A large proportion of the few inscriptions we have attesting ordinary soldiers or under-officers in Syria in this period come from Palmyra. They include the tombstone of a "Iulius Bassus eq(ues) alae Ulp(ia) Singul(arium)" (80), who presumably served in the unit when it was at Palmyra in the mid-second century. Bassus was clearly a Roman citizen but his origin is not clear.

Datable to 156 is an inscription from 30 kilometres southwest of Palmyra (81). It is a fragment of an ex-voto inscription of an Eptemalus Mucateralis. That Eptemalus was a soldier is probably but not expressly stated and no unit is given. But the names are Thracian and the parallels of Thracian recruits to units in the east from the late first century favour the view that Eptemalus was serving, or had served, in an auxiliary unit based near Palmyra.

A third inscription from Palmyra is the tombstone of a Valerius Gaianus, dupl(icarius) alae Fla(viae) Agr(ippianae) (82). This unit was in the east by 162, though how long it had been there is not clear. Again the name does not help with the man's origin.

Datable to the second century and perhaps to the third quarter (83) is the tombstone of a "Brizanus Tarsae f. eq(ues) al(ae)" (84). Both the names are Thracian - Brizanus being quite common (85) and Tarsus very common (86). Possibly he served in the ala Thracum Herculana, based at Palmyra from at least 167 to some date before 185. But, whatever ala Brizanus served in, his inscription suggests that eastern auxiliary units continued to receive recruits from Thrace until at least well into the second century.

Also from Palmyra is the honorary inscription set up in 167 to Julius Julianus by an Aurelius Mareas (87). Here again it is by no means certain that Mareas was a soldier but, if he was, his Semitic name suggests that he was a local recruit.

Precisely datable to 173 is another inscription from Palmyra (88), a dedication by a legionary centurion and Sextus Xenocrat(es) decurio exerc(itator) al(ae) (sc. Vocontiorum). Xenocrates' name suggests he came from a Greek community and therefore from the east of the empire but we cannot be more specific than this.

Datable probably to Commodus' reign is an inscription from

el-Kantara in Numidia (89). This gives in unusual detail the career of a Palmyrene centurion, who first served in the cohors III Thracum Syriaca in Syria and then was transferred, perhaps by Commodus, to a cohors I Chalcidenorum in Numidia, where he took over the command of a unit of Palmyrene sagittarii. Agrippa is the earliest native of Palmyra, below the rank of commanding officer, attested as serving in an eastern auxiliary unit. The fact that he was a centurion suggests that by Commodus' reign he had served for a considerable period and that Palmyrenes were being recruited to the auxilia in Syria at least by the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Roughly datable to 185-192 is a dedication from Dura to Commodus by two decurions of the cohors II Ulpia equitata Commodiana (90). The decurions are named. The first is a Pac. Nigreinus Tromen(tina) and the second an Ael(ius) Tittianus. The former belongs to a tribe granted to citizens in Italy and four towns in Dalmatia (91) and so perhaps originated from one of these areas. The latter name is unparalleled, though of Italian type (92), but this is not very helpful for the decurion's origin.

The above inscriptions thus provide us with little reliable information about the origins of the soldiers. The single certain and one possible Thracian soldiers do however suggest that some degree of recruitment from the west continued during the second century and the career of Agrippa Themis f. makes it clear that by late in the second century Palmyrenes were being recruited to units based in their home province.

How far this was the case we cannot say (93). The series of Petraean units, of which four remained in the east, make it clear that by Trajan's reign units recruited from the eastern frontier region were regularly left in garrison there. Only one, however, of the at least six Ituraean units recruited in the first century, is once only

attested in Syria.

In addition to these roughly datable inscriptions we have several others referring to soldiers serving in the east. From Palmyra we have the dedication of Amathallat f. Sabbiti, who was an opt(io) eq(uitum) in an uncertain unit (94). He was certainly a Syrian and perhaps a Palmyrene. Then from el-Basiri, ninety kilometres south-west of Palmyra on the road to Damascus, we have a tombstone (95) set up by a "C. Laberius Fronto mil(es) coh(ortis) VI Hisp(anorum), (centuria) Nymphidi Heli filio suo". The precise interpretation of this inscription is not clear. Either Fronto was burying his son Heli, a Semitic name (96), which suggests that he was himself a Syrian; or his son died before he was given his name and Fronto belonged to the century of Nymphidius Helius. This would tell us nothing about Fronto's origin but it is perhaps unlikely that he left his son unnamed. We have finally from southern Syria a tombstone from Rimet el-Lohf, ten miles north-west of Canatha-Qanawat in the Hauran (97). Iulius Candidus was a "veteranus ex dupl(icario) Val(eriae sc. alae) drum (=dromedariorum)." Membership of a unit of dromedarii suggests a terminus post quem of the reign of Trajan (98). Also the post of duplicarius suggests a second-third century rather than a later date. But although Julius' name is of Latin form this is not enough to help us to pin down his origin (99).

Undated these inscriptions are of limited help. The first and perhaps the second suggest local recruitment and Candidus perhaps comes from the west but his name is not enough to prove this.

#### 4. Recruitment from Septimius Severus to Valerian

Apart from the Dura papyri we have very little evidence for recruitment to the armies of Syria and Mesopotamia in this period. The composition of the Syrian army probably remained substantially unchanged until the invasions of Sapor of 256 and 258, when it is

likely that a large part of the Roman garrison was destroyed (100). But numerous new units, about which we are very inadequately informed, were raised in our period to garrison the new province of Mesopotamia, which do give us some clue to the areas then being tapped for recruits.

In comparison with the evidence we otherwise have to deal with that for Dura is superabundant. We have the two great rolls (101) of the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum and numerous other lists of soldiers. But this evidence brings with it its own problems. We have no comparable evidence for any other eastern city nor do we have any general history of Dura or the province of Syria for this period and so the evidence exists in something of a vacuum. On the military side this is illustrated by the fact that although we have such very detailed information about the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum we know nothing for certain about the units of 1-19 of the series of which the Palmyrene cohort was presumably the twentieth.

I. Commanding Officers: Almost all the commanders named appear on the papyri from Dura.

1. The earliest reference is in a letter from Marius Maximus, governor of Syria, "Ulpio Valentino trib(uno) coh(ortis)" of 208 (102). Valentinus' family received the citizenship from Trajan and so clearly did not come originally from Dura but we have no further clue to his origin.

2. From 211 we have fragments of 2 letters (103), of which copies were sent "Agathonio" probably the commander of the cohort. The name is quite a common Greek one (104), which suggests an eastern origin.

3. Two letters from a praepositus in 221 were written ".....] io Iustillo;" tribune of the Palmyrene cohort (105) and (No. 4) somewhat

later in a morning report of c. 233 we find as tribune a Iulius Rufianus (106). Both names are elsewhere unattested but their Latin type suggests the commanders are from the west or Romanised circles in the east.

4. In 235 in three decisions of a tribune (107) we find a Laronianus Secundianus as tribune (108). Laronius is a rare Latin nomen, which certainly suggests a western origin for the tribune or at least his family (109).

5. From 239 we have a tribune attested on one of the comparatively rare inscriptions from Dura (110), a Julius Terentius "τον Θρασον ἐν στρατιας στεναρον πολέμοισι...". Terentius was a Latin nomen with a long history (111).

6. From about the same time and datably only roughly to the reign of Gordian III (238-244) we have two inscriptions referring to a commander of the cohorts IX Maurorum, who was also trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I P(arthicae) (112). He is Q. Petronius Quintianus and he helpfully gives his origo - he came from [Nico] media in Bithynia (113). We have already met commanders in the second century from Lycia-Pamphylia and Asia (114).

7. The latest name of, probably, a tribune of the Palmyrene cohort occurs in the fragment of a letter roughly datable to 240-250, addressed to an Aurel(ius) Intenianus (115). The nomen Aurelius and the cognomen ending in -anus suggest a local origin (116).

8. It is possible that G. Mestrius Servilianus, whose career is probably datable to the third century (117) and who commanded the cohorts I Musulamiorum equitata, was a Palmyrene. But the cohort of Musulamii based in Syria is never given a I and so it is more probable that Servilianus commanded the cohorts I Musulamiorum in Mauretania by 107 (118).

We have finally the names of four tribuni, almost certainly of the Palmyrene cohort, though this is not expressly stated, on

inscriptions and graffiti from Dura. A Scribonius Mucianus has left a dedication to the god Iarebolus (I19). Both Scribonius and Mucianus are fairly common Roman names and Mucianus implies a Thracian origin of the commander's family (I20). Less helpful is the fragment of a dedication to the same god by a 'Νεϛ]κκρϛοϛ' (I21), a name of Greek type. Thirdly we have a graffito inscribed on behalf of a 'Κρησκ[ε]ντικυοϛ χιλιαρχοϛ' (I22). Again this name is otherwise unattested, though in form it is reminiscent of the fabricated nomina discussed by Birley (I23). But again we can only note another name of Latin type. Finally in the Mithraeum at Dura, under the head of a donor, was written " Archelao trib(un)o feliciter " (I24). The name suggests an eastern origin.

The only precise origin we have is that of Quintianus from Nicomedia in Bithynia. We can assume that commanders of units in Syria continued to come from the provinces from which we met officers in the second century (see above p I40). The names above allow only a very rough and ready distinction between those of Greek and Latin type. There are seven of the latter type of name whose bearers presumably came from the west or Romanised circles in the east. Of the former we have three, who no doubt came from the upper classes of cities in the east. Possibly one officer, Aurelius Intenianus, in command about AD 240-250, came from Mesopotamia itself, but this is very uncertain.

2. Under-officers (I) Centurions (I25) The evidence from Dura makes it worthwhile treating centurions separately. Most of the centurions known from the papyri (I25A) have names of Latin type without Aurelius or Septimius and so presumably possessed the citizenship before 212 and were unlikely to have come from Dura (I26). Only in the case of Septimius Danymus (I27) can, with some probability, the origin of a centurion be established. The name Danymus is very

rare and is only found at Dura. It is probably of Macedonian origin, suggesting that Septimius Danymus (128) belonged to a Macedonian family, which had long formed part of Dura's aristocracy and had received the citizenship from Severus.

Otherwise we find several centurions with Greek names (129) in one of the letters of Postumus Aurelianus of 216. Seleucus is one of the Greek names attested at Dura before the arrival of the Roman army there (130), while Achaeus, the name of another centurion attested in a roster of c. 240 (131), is a Greek name which is first attested in the military papyri (132), suggesting that Achaeus was perhaps not a native of Dura but came with the army.

The first attested centurion with a Semitic name is Malchus in 219 (133). Somewhat later we hear of several others. In a papyrus of 230-240 (134) there is a mention of a (centuria) Themarsa, and from 241-2 (135) we meet a (centuria) Mocimi, while finally in a roster of 241-2 we come across a centurion called Barzas (136). No doubt these were soldiers from Syria or Mesopotamia who had been promoted from the ranks.

Names are not a reliable guide to their bearers' origin. But the gradually increasing number of names of clearly Semitic among those of Latin type is clear (137) and probably indicates increasing recruitment from Dura and environs working its way through into the centurionate from the ranks. Danymus is perhaps an example of a scion of an aristocratic Dura family going straight into the unit with a centurion's commission (138).

(2) Decurions: What proportion of the decurions of the Palmyrene cohort were drawn from Dura in the third century? Neither the evidence of inscriptions nor papyri allow us to answer these questions satisfactorily. Under Commodus a decurion of the cohort II Ulpia eq(uitata), Aelius Tibbians, assisted in setting up a

dedication to the emperor (139). His cognomen is not precisely paralleled (14) but he, or rather his family, had received the citizenship from Hadrian. We know that Hadrian made grants of citizenship here (141). Serving in a Palmyrene cohort, he may well be from Palmyra. But we cannot be certain.

Then the evidence of the names of decurions from papyri is relatively abundant. But recruits from both cities after the Constitio Antoniniana might bear names of Roman, Greek or Semitic type. The two Semitic names of decurions in the papyri are, not surprisingly, found at Palmyra (142). For the rest the names of decurions are of all these three types. In c. 219 we find, of 5 centurions, two with names of Semitic type, two of Latin form and a fifth with a Latinised Greek name (143-145). But since both Palmyra and Dura had a largely Semitic population, which included Greeks and Roman citizens, we cannot judge how many new recruits from Dura were reaching the decurionate.

But that recruits were being drawn from Mesopotamia from early in the third century is clear from certain tombstones of members of the ala nova firma catafractaria, recruited c. AD 200 by Severus (146). The tombstones come from the west but the ala was recruited in the east and returned thither after operations in the west. From the point of view of recruitment it is justifiable to regard it as part of the army of the east. Its decurions included:

| (Name)           | (Origin)   | (Rank)   | (Date) | (Evidence)              |
|------------------|--|----------|--------|-------------------------|
| Biribam Absei f. | Oriundo ex provincia Mesopo[ta]miae domo RAC or G. | Decurion | ?234-8 | ILS 9148 from Rodelheim |
| Barsemis Abbei   | n(atione) d(omo) ? Carrae                          | Decurion |        | ILS 2540 Intercisa      |

Both these decurions were thus recruited from Severus' new province of Mesopotamia. Carrae is Carrhae - modern Harran in north-western Mesopotamia. What town RAC or RAG are the first letters of is uncertain (I47).

3. Recruitment of ordinary soldiers Some idea of the recruiting areas is given by the names of the units created in this period. The cohorts XX Palmyrenorum was possibly established by Severus in I94 (I48), if it was not an earlier creation of Marcus Aurelius (I48A). Palmyrene archers had served in the auxilia since Domitian's reign (I49). Trajan had created a unit of Palmyrene cameleers and auxiliary commanders of Palmyrene origin, like Acilius Athenodorus, had served in the east from about Hadrian's reign. Then it is in the late second and early third century that we first hear of Mauri in the regular auxilia (I50). We find Moorish troops in Syria before the arrival of Severus in the east, perhaps recruited in the aftermath of the wars under Marcus Aurelius (I5I) against the Moors. Perhaps the cohorts IX Maurorum, at Hatra under Gordian III (238-244) (I52), was part of a series which included the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum and which was established by Severus. Thirdly we have a single reference to a cohorts XII Palaestinorum, in winter quarters in 232 at Dura (I53). It is not clear whether the unit was permanently based in Syria but it too perhaps formed part of the same series, which was possibly intended mainly to provide a garrison for the new province of Mesopotamia (I53A).

Recruits from all these sources would be well-suited to the desert conditions of the eastern frontier. The Moors came from the desert fringes of Mauretania. For the Palmyrenes, Dura was almost their home-ground and the Palaestini, on the Mesopotamian limes, had

not been moved far from their recruiting grounds. The proportion of units moved in from far distant areas declines again in this period.

Apart from the general evidence of the titles the basic raw material for the individual recruits is offered by the names from the rosters and lists from Dura. These provide a mass of names but, because of the lack of background or comparative material, this is only of limited value for establishing the origins of the soldiers.

The population of Dura was itself very mixed. Before the third century the names are what we would expect to find in a Seleucid colony in a Semitic environment, with names of Greek and Semitic type (154). With the arrival of the Roman army at Dura we meet numerous hitherto unattested names, which confirm an influx of new personnel. In the military lists quite a high proportion of the names are of Roman type - usually praenomen or nomen with cognomen. Most of the names are formations in -anus or -inus or descriptive terms suitable to soldiers, as for example Valens. Especially common is a group of names which were sensible in both Latin and Aramaic, as for example Germanus, Bassus, Marinus and Romanus. Of the nomina the commonest are Aurelius, Aelius, Ulpus and Julius. The frequency of all but Julius is self-explanatory. The reason for the latter's popularity was presumably because it was borne by Julia Domna, wife of Septimius and mother of Caracalla. It is notable that at Palmyra the newly-enfranchised received the names Julius Aurelius, not just Aurelius, perhaps because of Palmyra's connection with Emesa (155). The scarcity of Septimii probably reflects the policy of Severus, continuing the long-standing tradition of only sparing grants of citizenship, even though he made Palmyra a colony.

There are finally Semitic names, which are in the majority in the military lists. They are usually Aramaic and often specifically

Palmyrene (156). For at least the first twenty-five years of the existence of the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum (up to c. 217), we would expect a largely Palmyrene membership of the unit and, after the arrival of the cohort at Dura, some degree of local recruitment. But it is impossible to distinguish Palmyrene and Dura names on the papyri and so trace this process.

The names alone must therefore be treated with caution. Those of Latin type like Romanus and Germanus may well, as we saw, conceal soldiers of Semitic origin. Also citizens from all parts of the empire often accepted names of Latin type when they received the citizenship. But, on the other hand, Semitic names are distinctive and those of Greek type will in most cases (157) imply an origin in a city in the Greek east of the empire. Bearing in mind these reservations we get the following figures for the names of each type:

| (Type of Document)          | (Ref. (Dura Final Rept. Parchm. & Papyri). | (Date)                  | (Names of Latin type) | (Greek) | (Semitic) |
|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------|-----------|
| File of P. Aur.             | no. 66                                     | 216                     | 1                     | 2       | 6         |
| Roster                      | 98   | 217-9                   | 38                    | 22      | 99        |
| Roster                      | 100  | 219 (or slightly later) | 152                   | 43      | 445       |
| Roster                      | 101  | 222 (or slightly later) | 126                   | 45      | 258       |
| Letter with list of names   | 67   | 223-5                   | 11                    | 4       | 17        |
| List of names               | 115  | 232                     | 2                     | 4       | 19        |
| Morning Report              | 82   | 233                     | 6                     | 8       | 4         |
| List of names by centurions | 117  | 236                     | 2                     | 2       | 7         |

| (Type of document)                | (Ref. (Dura<br>Final Rept.<br>Parchm. and<br>Papyri)) | (Date)     | (Names of<br>Latin type) | (Greek) | (Semitic) |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------|--------------------------|---------|-----------|
| Guard Roster                      | 107   | c.240      | 9                        | 5       | 20        |
| List by centurions<br>of soldiers | 122   | 241 or 242 | 3                        | 2       | 4         |
| Strength Report                   | 95  | 250 or 251 | 1                        | -       | 1         |

In all but one of the papyri (82) the Semitic names are in a majority. This single exception is a morning report, in which a comparatively large number of principales and immunes are referred to. Clearly, therefore, throughout this period a majority of the soldiers were of Semitic stock (158).

But how many came from Palmyra and how many from Dura? Soldiers with the nomina Ulpus and Aelius, who appear on the rosters, must derive from families who had received the citizenship from Trajan or Hadrian. Such names occur in considerable numbers. In the roster 100 we find 21 Ulpus and in 101 18. In the same rosters there are respectively 22 and 17 Aelii. These soldiers can hardly have been natives of Dura, which was only incorporated into the empire by Severus. But our evidence suggests (159) that until 212 only a select minority at Palmyra possessed the citizenship. However, presumably a proportion of the soldiers who had served in Palmyrene units in other parts of the empire returned to their home city after their service and the sons of such military families, themselves Roman citizens and so bearing names of Latin type, will often have followed a military career. Service in a unit of Palmyrenes based in the familiar habitat of the desert fringes, on the Syrian limes, will have been more attractive than service in far-distant provinces.

The bearers of such names serving in a Palmyrene unit will almost certainly have come from Palmyra. Of the rest of those with Semitic names some no doubt were drawn from the migrating tribesmen who moved across, or were persuaded to settle on, Palmyrene territory (see *above* pp. 56-7). But what proportion of men in the unit such recruits formed we cannot say.

The Dura papyri provide us with two pieces of evidence for units other than the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum. We have first a deed of sale, datable to AD 227, recording the purchase of a plot of land by a veteran of the cohort III Augusta Thracum (160), based in Syria late in the second century and by 227 perhaps transferred to the Mesopotamian limes. The document is witnessed by several soldiers, who presumably belonged to the unit. Of the seven names two are of Semitic type (Salmanes and Monimus), four are Greek (Demetrius, Serapeio, Diogenes and Theodorus) and only one of Latin type (Vepo Flavianus). It is true that the names are of principales and immunes and that the seven names is hardly an average cross-section but the proportions are so different from those of the documents of the XX Palmyrenorum that they suggest the troops were recruited from an area where there was a larger Greek or Greek-influenced population than at Dura or Palmyra.

Secondly we have the marriage contract of Aurelius Alexander, serving in the cohort XII Palaestinarum (161). His name is of Greek type. The name of only one witness has survived complete, of an Ant(onius) Mezianus (162). Mezianus is a name of Semitic type (163), which is very close to that of a Palmyrene tribe. They may both have come from Palestine, from where the cohort was originally drawn.

Apart from the Dura evidence, we have only a few fragments. These include from Apamea the tombstone of an Aurelius Maximianus, [st]rator

p[*r(aefecti)*] (164) of the ala Britannica, according to the most probable restoration, set up by a Sep(timius) Luta(c)ianus, an eques of the same ala. Lutacianus possibly came from Mursa in Pannonia Inferior. The unit had been transferred to the east for Trajan's Parthian war from Pannonia Inferior (165) and the reference to it on Lutacianus' tombstone suggests it was again transferred to the east c. 225-30, the approximate date of the inscription. We have no further reference to the unit in the east. It was therefore not certainly a permanent member of the garrison of Syria, and we cannot argue from the presence of a Pannonian at Apamea to continuing recruitment from that area to Syria.

We also have the evidence of the ala nova firma catafractaria (v. above pp 151-2 ). On a tombstone from Cannstatt in Germania Superior we have the tombstones of two equites of the ala (166), datable to 234-8. They are both of Semitic type (the names are Aurelius Saluda and Aurelius Regrethus) but the precise origins are only given of two decurions, from cities in Mesopotamia (v. above p 151 ). Probably the equites came from the same province. If so, they are further evidence of recruitment by Severus from Mesopotamia to the eastern armies.

The mass of evidence from Dura does not provide us with precise answers to such questions as the extent of recruitment from Dura to the Palmyrene cohort. The only certain native of Dura we can cite is Septimius Danymus, centurion of the cohort by 219 (167). What is emphasised is the large-scale recruitment from cities in the east, be it Palmyra or Dura, to the Roman forces in the region. If Dura is typical, many cities of Syria and Mesopotamia will have been, from Severus' reign, garrisoned by fairly locally recruited troops. Severus'

departure from the practice of two centuries will have been the scale of recruitment demanded by his annexation of Mesopotamia from cities in the empire like Palmyra, which with their population accustomed to desert conditions could best provide soldiers for the new province. Such units would then draw recruits from the cities they garrisoned, like Dura. Recruitment from Mesopotamia in the early third century is confirmed by the evidence of the *ala nova firme catafractaria*. But we are in the end brought to further questions - as for example the extent of Severus' recruitment of *auxilia* from the east and of how typical Dura was of the frontier cities of the desert lines, questions which we are not yet able to answer.

Careers of commanders from Severus to Valerian

| <u>Evidence</u>                                  | <u>Date of command</u> | <u>Name</u>             | <u>Status before 3<br/>militiae</u> | <u>Commands</u>   |
|--|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Dura pap.56                                      | 208                    | Ulpus Valentinus        |                                     | Trib. coh. XX Palm  |
| Dura pap.63                                      | 211                    | Agathonius              |                                     | Trib. coh. XX Palm  |
| Dura pap.64                                      | 221                    | ]ius Iustillus          |                                     | Trib. coh. XX Palm  |
| Dura pap.82<br>(col. i. 1.3)                     | 233                    | Iulius Rufianus         |                                     | Trib. coh. XX Palm  |
| Dura pap.125-7                                   | 235                    | Laronius Secundianus    |                                     | Trib. coh. XX Palm  |
| 1948. 124  | 239                    | Julius Terentius        |                                     | Trib. coh. XX Palm  |
| 1958. 239,240 c.238-244                          |                        | Q. Petronius Quintianus |                                     | Trib. mil. leg. I<br>P(arthicae), trib.<br>coh. IX Maurorum<br>Gordianae. |
| Dura pap.58 1.3                                  | 240-250                | Aurelius Intenianus     |                                     | Trib. coh. XX Palm  |
| ILS 9472   | 3rd century            | G. Mestrius Servilianus |                                     | Trib. coh. I Mus-<br>ulamiorum, praef.<br>alae Palm.                      |
| Prelim. Report<br>II p.90 f no.H3 -<br>1931. 115 | ?3rd century           | Scribonius Mucianus     |                                     | ?Trib.coh. XX Palm  |
| Prelim. Report III<br>pp 40-42, no. D 143        | ?3rd century           | Neicarchus              |                                     | ? Trib. coh.  |
| Prel. Report VI<br>p.35 Graffito no.613          | ?3rd century           | Crescentianus           |                                     | ? Trib. coh.  |
| Prelim. Report<br>VII/VIII<br>p. 90 no. 848      | ? 3rd century          | Archelaus               |                                     | Trib. coh.  |

5. Recruitment to the army in Syria, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia from the end of Valerian's reign to the date of the composition of the eastern section of the Notitia (c. 395)

The composition of the forces based in these provinces was drastically altered several times in the first fifty years of this period. Much of the provinces' permanent garrison was probably destroyed by Sapor in 256 at the battle of Barbalissus (1). Valerian came to the east with a relieving army in 259 but was himself taken prisoner later in the same year (2). A remnant of Valerian's forces was marched to the west by Macrianus (3) and the defence of Rome's eastern provinces against Persia was taken over by Odenathus, prince of Palmyra, at first on his own initiative but from 261 with the title dux, which he received from Gallienus, at the head of his own and Roman forces (4). He continued to command Roman forces in the east until his death, between August 266 and August 267.

The likelihood is that surviving units of the Roman auxiliary garrison, which were, as we have seen (5), to a considerable extent locally recruited, served under Odenathus, despite his execution of such senior Roman officers as Valerian's prefect, Ballista, and the latter's son, Quietus (6). That some such units remained under their Roman commanders is confirmed by an anecdote about a certain Carinus, a Roman and probably an army officer, who had little sympathy with Odenathus' pretensions and hence was probably not from Syria (7). He grew annoyed at Odenathus' insistence that he was fighting on behalf of the Romans and Odenathus therefore ordered the man's execution. Loyalties were strained by the new Palmyrene regime.

The rupture with Rome after Odenathus' death no doubt brought the removal of officers loyal to Rome, who had remained in the Syrian and Mesopotamian forces now under Palmyrene control. In 269, when Egypt was conquered, and in 272, at the battle of Emesa, we hear only of Oriental elements in Zenobia's army (8). What forces Aurelian left

behind in the east after his defeat of the Palmyrenes in 272 is uncertain (9).

From the period before Diocletian we have a single reference to a possible commander of a military unit in the east. This occurs on a lead weight from Antioch, datable to AD 265, when Odenathus was ruling Palmyra (10). It is inscribed "ἐπι Μάρκου Αἰρηλίου ἑταῖρος χειλιάρχου". Hierax was presumably commander of an auxiliary unit. His was a fairly common Greek name, earlier attested at Antioch (11). As we have seen (12), commanders from Greek communities in the east of the empire have been attested from the second century.

Our scrappy evidence allows us to separate two strands from the period 260-272. Some officers of Roman troops continued to serve in the area under Palmyrene control until at least the death of Odenathus. No doubt the auxiliary cohorts that had survived Sapor's invasions, of which a large proportion by this date will have been made up of Syrian and Mesopotamian peasants, also came under Odenathus, though the use in our summary sources of words like *rusticani* and *agrestis* (13) gives the impression, misleading or not, that they were untrained and recruited by Odenathus himself. After 273 we might expect Aurelian to have left some western units in the eastern provinces to ensure against Persian attacks or another attempt at secession (14). But we have no evidence for the army of Syria and Mesopotamia in this period.

The Fourth Century: For the period from c. 298 to 395, when the *Notitia* lists for the east were last revised, we are dependent on the *Notitia* itself and isolated references in the fourth century sources to soldiers serving in the east.

1. Commanding Officers Ammianus refers to several commanders in the east but it is not usually clear whether the units commanded were based in the east or merely operating there temporarily in an expeditionary force.

(1) The earliest officer mentioned is an Atil(ius) Successus, who set up a dedication at Seleucia Pieria to the governor of Syria Coele (15), dated by PLRE to the later third to early fourth century. He describes himself only as a tribunus on the inscription and he was presumably serving as a military tribune in Syria when he set up the dedication. The Latin name suggests he derived from the west of the empire.

There is then a large gap until we come to the officers referred to by Ammianus. In 359 Ursicinus was sent back to Mesopotamia as danger threatened (16). Near Nisibis Ammianus met (no.2) "Abdigildum quendam tribunum", presumably the commander of a Mesopotamian auxiliary unit perhaps based in or near the Tigris. His name is clearly neither of Greek or Latin type.

In the same year, 359, when the Romans invaded Mesopotamia, a Roman detachment was attacked by a superior force of Persians and put to flight. Ursicinus escaped (no. 3) "cum Aiadalthe tribuno" (17). Again the name suggests a non-Roman origin but it is not clear whether Aiadalthes commanded a local unit or one brought from the west by Ursicinus.

(4) Mentioned in Libanius' correspondence is a certain Carterius, who in 361 " ὁπλα τε ἐωνηταὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἄρη θέραιπενεὶ καὶ γεγόνεν ἀντι ῥήτορος στρατιωτῆς

" (18). Libanius does not specify his military rank but he was clearly of curial status (19) and perhaps came to command a unit in one of the far-eastern ducates. Libanius tells us that he came from Arca in Cappadocia.

(5-7) Ammianus then refers to three tribunes serving in Julian's expeditionary force, who were given in 363 as hostages on the conclusion of Jovian's peace (20). The names in the text are "Nemota et Victor ... et Bellovaedius, insignium numerorum tribuni". The units commanded by these men are not identified and the fact that they are described as insignes may imply that they were comitatenses rather than from the frontier armies. However, even if the latter alternative were correct, only the name Bellovaedius is helpful in suggesting a western origin (21).

(8) We can conclude with an officer who was certainly operating in one of the ducates with which we are concerned. This was a certain Moderatus, who was " ἡγουμενος στρατιωτῶν " in 392 (22). His protection of the property of a Thalassius (23) suggests that he commanded a unit in Euphratensis.

Apart from Moderatus (8) therefore only two of the above-listed officers very probably commanded units based in Syria, Mesopotamia or Osrhoene, Successus (1) and Carterius (4), the former with a Latin and the latter with a Greek name and coming from Cappadocia (23A). In the case of the two commanders with outlandish names, Abdigildus (2) and Aiadalthes (3), it remains only possible. In fact more helpful than all this evidence for our purposes is the statement of Ammianus that the Goths in the east were all under Roman officers, to which he adds the comment " quod his temporibus (ie. in 378) raro contingit" (24). By 378 certain Roman troops in the east remained under Roman officers, who no doubt included a substantial proportion of property-owners like Carterius above; but many will have been officered by men from the tribes or regions from which the units were drawn.

2. Recruitment of ordinary soldiers: Our main evidence for the composition of the units in the ducal armies of Syria and Mesopotamia

are the lists of the Notitia (25). The titles of the units, however, inform us only of the identity of the recruits until the discharge of that unit's original members. We need therefore to know the date of the unit's establishment. Probably a considerable proportion of those in the eastern ducates were created by Diocletian, when he reorganised the frontier-system in the east, but in this case these units will have lost their original recruits after c. 325 (26). No doubt there was a large degree of local recruitment, supplemented, as was normal practice in the fourth century, by barbarians drawn from outside the empire. Ammianus informs us that the Goths, who in 378 were under the command of the "magister militum trans Taurum" were "dispersos per varias civitates et castra" (27), presumably not just in units "Gothorum".

Or. 32: dux Foenicis The titles of the equites are fairly standard and give no hint of their date of establishment. Among them we find a unit of Mauri (N.D. Or 32. 18) and of Dalmatae (N.D. Or.32. 21), though the vast majority are indigenae (28). Of the latter, two are more precisely defined as being Saraceni (N.D. Or. 32. 27,28). We find Saraceni offering Julian assistance, which was gratefully accepted, as he was marching past Coracesium on his Persian expedition (29). They were nomadic tribesmen attracted by hopes of plunder.

The names of five of the alae help us with their origins. Of these, two were originally locally recruited, the ala from Damascus (N.D. Or.32. 33) and the ala Foenicum (N.D. Or. 32. 38). The remaining three came from the west, from tribes the empire came into contact with in the later third and fourth century, Franks (N.D. Or. 32. 35), Alamanni (N.D. Or. 32. 36) and Saxons (N.D. Or.32. 37).

The cohorts reveal a similar mixture of eastern and western units, with an Egyptian cohort (N.D. Or. 32. 43), a cohors Orientalis (N.D. Or. 32. 44) and a unit of Alamanni (N.D. Or. 32. 41).

The title of two other units betray the approximate date of their establishment. The ala nova Diocletiana (N.D. Or. 32. 34) and the cohors III Herculia (N.D. Or. 32. 40) were both clearly Diocletianic creations but neither of these titles helps us with the units' original recruits.

The composition of the army of the dux Syriae (Or. 33) is very similar to that of Phoenice. The Notitia list begins with the standard pattern of equites Illyriciani, which includes a unit of Dalmatae (N.D. Or. 33. 25) and another of Mauri (N.D. Or. 33. 26), followed by equites indigenae. A single ala and cohort reveal their origins. The ala Iuthungorum was recruited from a tribe which had been contributing auxilia to the Roman army since before 270 (30). The cohort of Goths could have been created at any date after 238 until the later fourth century.

Again two of the units were certainly established by Diocletian, the ala I nova Herculia (N.D. Or. 33. 30) and the cohors III Valeria (N.D. Or. 33. 34), but the titles tell us no more than this.

Without detailed evidence for the men serving in these units we can say nothing about changes in composition in the fourth century. But the lists make the outlines clear. Large-scale local recruitment, especially of equites, was supplemented by barbarians from outside the empire. These latter have taken the place in the fourth century of the Gauls and Thracians in the first century and the Dacians and Paphlagonians in the second century.

The ducates of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia (31) Or. 35 dux Osrhoenae:

Two of the equites in this ducate are given distinctive titles. One of them, based at Mediana, is entitled Medianenses (N.D. Or. 35.22) presumably derived from so long a sojourn there. Then the last unit listed is the equites primi Osrhoeni (N.D. Or. 35.23), which somewhat clarifies the indigenae element of the title. For the rest the titles serve to emphasise the degree of local recruitment of equites. Six out of nine are equites indigenae.

Among the alae and cohorts, apart from two units surviving from the second century (N.D. Or. 35. 29 and 32), we find two certain creations of Diocletian, the ala VII praelectorum (N.D. Or. 35.27) and the ala I nova Diocletiana (N.D. Or. 35.31), and a third unit, the cohors I Eufratensis (N.D. Or. 35.33), that was probably established during his reign. It was most plausibly Diocletian who was responsible for the subdivision of Syria Coele, one of the parts of which was Syria Eufratensis (32). The stamp of this emperor on Osrhoene thus remains very clear.

In contrast to the ducates of Syria and Phoenice there are no barbarian units in Osrhoene. Apart from the two second century survivals, the two remaining units, an ala I Parthorum (N.D. Or. 35. 30) and the cohors Eufratensis (N.D. Or. 35. 33), were both from the east and familiar with its desert.

Or. 36: dux Mesopotamiae: The titles of three Mesopotamian equites indigenae - Arabanenses (N.D. Or. 36. 25), Pafenses (N.D. Or. 36. 26) and Thibithenses (N.D. Or. 36. 27) - again probably indicate a long stay at their bases, which in the case of the first two, whose present bases are different, had stuck with them after the withdrawal of 363.

Of the cohorts all but one were raised in the east. Two of these

(N.D. Or. 36. 34,36), derived from trans-Tigritane regions, which came under Roman control in 298 and were given up in 363. They were probably recruited by Diocletian from this newly-occupied territory. Otherwise we have an ala from Egypt (N.D. Or. 36. 32), a cohort of Arabs (N.D. Or. 36. 35) and the single unit from the west, the ala VIII Flavia Francorum, created by an emperor of the house of Constantine, who used the honorific Flavia.

The watchword for Osrhoene is thus local recruitment, especially of equites, with evidence for the survival of much of the work of Diocletian. In Mesopotamia on the other hand changes resulting from the withdrawal of 363 are very clear. However the probably Diocletianic ala of Cordueni and cohort of Zabdeni emphasise recruitment on the outermost bounds of the empire, with later barbarian reinforcements suggested by the Constantinian ala of Franks.

The Eastern Field Army A field army had been based in the east from the reign of Constantius II (33). The composition of such a force was, however, much more fluid than that of the frontier armies and will have fluctuated with each Persian war and the need for reinforcements in the west. This force, as listed in the Notitia (Or. VII), contained a proportion of units originally recruited in the east - equites Orientales (Or. VII 26, 28), clibanarii Parthi (N.D. Or VII, 32) and a cuneus Palmirenorum (L.c. 34). But most of the troops listed had been transferred thither at some uncertain date during the fourth century and without more evidence for the individual units and their movements they cannot be regarded as permanent elements of the Roman forces in the provinces we are concerned with.

CHAPTER FOURJudaea from the reign of Herod to the revolt of the Jews under Nero

I. The Army of Herod Herod came to power in a turbulent period. His father, Antipater, had been the power behind the weak Hasmonaean king, Hyrcanus, who Pompey had left in charge of a truncated kingdom in Palestine (1). He realised that his position depended on Rome's favour. His aid to Caesar in 48-7 (2) earned him Roman citizenship and exemption from taxes (3) and he was made praefectus of Judaea in place of the legitimate Hasmonaean heir (4). He conscientiously co-operated with the local Roman commander until his death in 43 BC (5) and advanced his sons to military commands in which Herod in particular excelled himself (6). He and his brother were appointed tetrarchs of Judaea in 42-I by Antony but in 40 BC Herod was driven out by the Parthians. He went to Rome where he was known to men of influence and was appointed king of the Jews (7). He had however to fight for his kingdom against Antigonus, the Hasmonaean claimant, and it was not until 37 BC that, with the help of Antony's forces, Jerusalem was taken and Antigonus put to death (8). From this date Herod enjoyed the support of a Roman legion based at Jerusalem until its withdrawal in 30 BC (9).

After Antony's defeat at Actium in 31 BC Herod was confirmed in his position by Octavian and his territory increased. Thanks to Josephus we are relatively well informed about his rule and the problems of defence and control that he faced remained similar, after the kingdom had been thoroughly pacified, to those of the Roman equestrian and praetorian governors until the later second century. The frontier regions had to be guarded but the main priority was control of a recalcitrant population. It is thus worthwhile outlining how Herod maintained control of his kingdom.

Fortresses were one of the means he used. Herod appreciated their usefulness long before he was established on the throne. When in flight

from the Parthians he had left his kinsfolk in Masada, which was in good order and well-supplied for a siege (10). Alexandrium was rebuilt on his return to Judaea as king before the capture of Jerusalem in 38 BC (11). Hyrcania he had taken in 36 BC (12) before the Actian war. In Jerusalem he rebuilt the ancient citadel dominating the temple. Its name, Antonia (13), dates its construction to before Antony's demise. He also built a second citadel in the upper city (14), completed by 29 BC. The rough region east of Jerusalem was strongly held by Herod, as it was in the late fourth century, which is clear from the Notitia (15). Herod had three forts dominating the region, Cyprus overlooking Jericho (16), Herodium seven miles to the south (17) and Hyrcania, referred to above and lying eight miles south-east of Jerusalem, with Alexandrium in the Jordan valley fifteen miles north of Jericho (18).

For the period from 37 to 30 BC Herod had the support of a Roman legion based at Jerusalem (19). Henceforth he had to rely on his own troops. They included his fellow-countrymen, Idumaeans (20), recruits from his own military settlements like Sebaste (21) or from the wild tribes in the north-east of his kingdom (22). A unit of Trachonites took part in the disturbances after Herod's death (23). But the best elements of his standing army came from the fighting men of the west. Herod's funeral procession was led by three élite corps of Gauls, Thracians and Germans (24). Early in his reign Herod's guard had been reinforced by 400 Gauls, formerly Cleopatra's and presented to Herod by Augustus (25).

Herod also followed the practice of Hellenistic kings in building up a reserve army by granting lots of land on condition of military service in time of need. Many of these reservists were settled at Hesbon-Esbonitis (26), east of the Dead Sea, to keep a watch against inroads from the desert. Another body was settled at Gabae, north of Mount Carmel (27). The duty of these colonists was to hold Galilee in check, as they attempted to do in the Great Rebellion, which broke out in AD 66 (28). But the most important

military settlement was at Samaria, where Herod granted lots to 6,000 men (29). He refounded the city and renamed it Sebaste in 27 BC. Its function is summed up by Josephus (30) : it was one day's march from Jerusalem and would be useful for controlling both those in the city and those in the country.

In the unruly north-eastern provinces of his kingdom Herod planted two colonies to police the area, after a serious revolt by the inhabitants (II-9 BC), who resented being compelled to exchange lucrative brigandage for a scanty living from the soil (31). The first colony established in Trachonitis-el Lejah (32) was made up of 3,000 Idumaeans, fellow-countrymen of Herod. The colony was destroyed during a second revolt of IO-9 BC (33). The second was more unusual. Zamaris, a wealthy Babylonian Jew, migrated from Parthian to Roman territory (34) when C. Sentius Saturninus was governor of Syria (? IO/9 to ? 7/6 BC (35)). Herod offered Zamaris a permanent home in his kingdom, in Batanaea, a region centring on the modern town of Deraa (36), on very favourable terms. In return for policing the area Zamaris and his followers were granted land free of taxes (37). Zamaris accepted the offer and built the village of Bathyra and fortified the area. He was clearly a man of some substance. He came from Babylon with 500 cavalry, all of them horse-archers, and a group of about one hundred relatives (38). The Babylonian Jews, living in an alien country, out of touch with the Jews of Palestine and dependent on the Herodian house for their favoured position, remained loyal to the dynasty. Zamaris' grandson, Philip, led and trained the army of Agrippa II (39). The settlement flourished under Herod (40), as a result of its immunity from taxation. Its prosperity attracted the eye of Herod's successors (41) but it continued to provide them with cavalry.

On the question of the organisation of Herod's army the evidence suggests that the model was Rome, not the armies of the Hellenistic kings. The language of command was probably Greek - Josephus naturally uses Greek titles but the occurrence in Aramaic of for example  $\tau\alpha\{\} \alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\varsigma$

and ἑπταρχος suggests that they were actually used. Of the officers referred to some have Greek names but many have those of Latin type, as for example the military tribune Volumnius (42). We find Rufus and Gratus in charge of the royal infantry and cavalry respectively (43). The evidence of names is not conclusive proof of origin but the probability is that they were Italians.

Also the terms Josephus uses of Herod's forces are the same as those he uses for Roman auxiliary units, as for example (44) σπειρα for cohort and ἰλη for ala, used of the cavalry forces with which Herod engaged the brigands in 39-38 BC (45) and which were stated to be non-Roman (46). But it is risky to press Josephus' terminology too far. It may be true that he is guilty of some anachronism. The evidence however also suggests units of 500 or 1,000 men. In the unrest after Herod's death 3,000 Sebastenes went over to the Romans (47). In 25 BC Herod sent 500 men from his bodyguard to take part in Aelius Gallus' campaign (48). 500 was the standard size of regular Roman auxiliary units, which were accordingly named quingenaria.

Herod, after the withdrawal of the Roman legion in 30 BC, thus built up a royal army, manned by foreign mercenaries and recruits from his own colonies with which he kept his kingdom under firm rule. The units recruited from Caesarea and Sebaste certainly remained in Judaea until their transfer elsewhere by Vespasian ; it is likely that others of Herod's units survived. The constancy of the problems of the control of Judaea is emphasized by later dispositions similar to Herod's : he had settled colonists at Gabae, north of Mount Carmel (49). From nearby Haifa the tombstone of an auxiliary cavalryman, of possibly Hadrianic date (see pages 212-3), suggests similar dispositions in the aftermath of the Hadrianic revolt, with a view to control of Galilee, by Hadrian's reign dominated by a legion at Caparcotna.

From 71 a legion at Jerusalem took over the job of Herod's main forces. But it is likely that the auxiliary forces performed similar duties to Herod's garrison down to the take-over of Arabia in 106, protecting the Negev frontier region, garrisoning the major fortresses that Herod had occupied and sites like Gaba which gave control of the civil population.

## 2. Herod and the Negev (I)

Judaea had a frontier with the Nabataean kingdom both in the east and the south. To the south lay the border country of the northern Negev, semi-desert terrain, where settlements lived from water stored in cisterns (2). Through this region ran among others the major Nabataean caravan route from Eilat to Petra and from the Nabataean capital to Gaza and the Mediterranean (3). This was a valuable source of revenue, especially for the Nabataean king, and structures for the accommodation and protection of these caravans and for travellers using the route had been constructed before it was given a road to Roman standards in the late first century BC to early first century AD (4).

It is worth briefly considering, as a background to what we know of this frontier region in the first century AD and down to AD 106, the political relations between Herod and the Nabataean kings of Petra and the measures that were taken to protect the frontier region.

The southern frontier of Herod's kingdom ran along the northern edges of the Negev and the territory to the south was an area of Nabataean settlement (5). What steps the Nabataean king at Petra (6) took to protect the merchants who paid him tolls are uncertain. But it was in his interest to ensure that they travelled through the desert unscathed. The Nabataean king, like the king of Judaea, had a vested interest in peace and security. Relations between these two rulers, as Josephus makes clear, depended largely on the rulers themselves. So Antipater, father of Herod the Great, was a close friend of the Nabataean king Aretas. The war between the two nations that began in 32 BC was stirred up by Cleopatra (7) and this is confirmed by the joint testimony of Josephus (8) and Strabo (9) to the unwarlike qualities of the Nabataeans.

There was also much coming and going between the two courts (10). The troubles of the years 10-9 BC were largely the result of personal hostility between Herod and Syllaeus (11). It was in the interests of both rulers to co-operate in keeping the peace and protecting their subjects and the firm hand of Augustus generally restrained hostile client kings from violence.

This picture provides the political background to the Negev frontier region. The Nabataean settlements were hardly a threat to a king or Roman governor of Judaea. The Nabataeans were themselves concerned to protect the caravan traffic from raiders from the desert. Nomadic tribesmen, concerned only with plunder and their inter-tribal feuds and responsible to no established king, were the common enemies of both rulers. What is more, the Nabataeans, who came originally from southern Arabia and had themselves not been averse to raiding, were by the Augustan period under Roman domination. In the dispute between Herod and Syllaeus of 10-9 BC the case was first brought before the Roman authorities (12) ; then Syllaeus went off to Rome (13). He cannot act independently of Augustus. In more general terms Strabo, writing early in the first century AD, comments that the Nabataeans often used to overrun Syria before they became, as they now were, subject to the Romans (14).

What sort of military organisation and the remains of what sort of installations should we expect in Herod's frontier region and against whom were they directed ? Herod himself stemmed from here, where his family had large estates (15). He, if anyone, was qualified to take the steps necessary for the area's security. But in his description of Herod's security measures Josephus says

nothing about the Idumaeen frontier. The only example of Arab raiding into Herod's kingdom is politically motivated (16). The tetrarch, Zenodorus, angry that his kingdom had been given to Herod, sold off part of it to its Arab inhabitants, who disputed Herod's ownership of it (17). Josephus tells us that they had long been hostile to Herod's rule and now attempted to revolt against his government (18). Their action included the ravaging of Herod's territory. They were not however desert raiders but the settled inhabitants of Auranitis, that is to say the Jebel Hauran (19). It was within Herod's power to send an army against them but he preferred to take no action and allow the discontent to fade away (20). This episode thus offers no evidence for frontier fortifications against desert raids.

We do hear of a veteran settlement in Idumaea - 2,000 of Herod's veterans revolted on his death in 4 BC (21). Such a settlement strengthened Herod's hold on the region and provided a source of reliable troops if there was trouble in the area. It is unlikely that it was directed against the Nabataeans in their desert cities beyond Herod's jurisdiction.

Several fortlets were occupied in the Herodian period in the southern Negev region. Herodian pottery has been found at six structures between the mouth of the Zohar valley in the east (22) and Ber Shema (Bersama) in the west (23). Fortified settlements with Herodian occupation have also been noted, as for example at Arad (24). But for contemporary interpretation of the use of these remains we have only the reference in Josephus to a visit by

Agrippa εἰς τινὰ πύργον ἐν Μαλαθῶν τῆς

Ἰσομαχίας , at a time when he was intending to commit suicide as a result of his financial troubles (25). The identification of this tower with the Herodian " fortlet " at Malhata is possible and the use made of it by Agrippa suggests that it was a tower of the sort commonly used as road-stations or for the protection of travellers or local inhabitants in case of a sudden nomad raid rather than as a base for a detachment of a frontier garrison.

From Josephus and archaeology we thus gain some conception of conditions in the Negev and Herod's measures to protect the region. It is likely that the Roman prefects who later administered the province from AD 6 to 41 dealt with the region in a similar manner. The archaeological evidence does not necessarily imply continuous occupation by detachments from units in Herod's army. It could only signify casual occupation by travellers or temporary occupation by local inhabitants. The small size of the " fortlets " (26) and the silence of our sources for the well-documented Herodian period suggest that there was no heavily-garrisoned frontier line. This is confirmed by what Josephus has to say about the politics of the region. After 31 BC trouble between Herod and the Arab regime at Petra was settled by Augustus. Herod had no reason to fear trouble from Nabataean caravan cities in the Negev. Indeed they and Herod's inhabitants of Idumaea faced similar problems : how to deal with hit-and-run desert raiders, intent on robbing caravans and travellers. Strabo, collecting geographical material in the east in the late 20's BC (27), refers to the beneficial effects of the establishment of Roman order in Damascene (28), which has led to the break-up of robber-bands, who attacked in particular merchants from Arabia Felix. The installations built and occupied

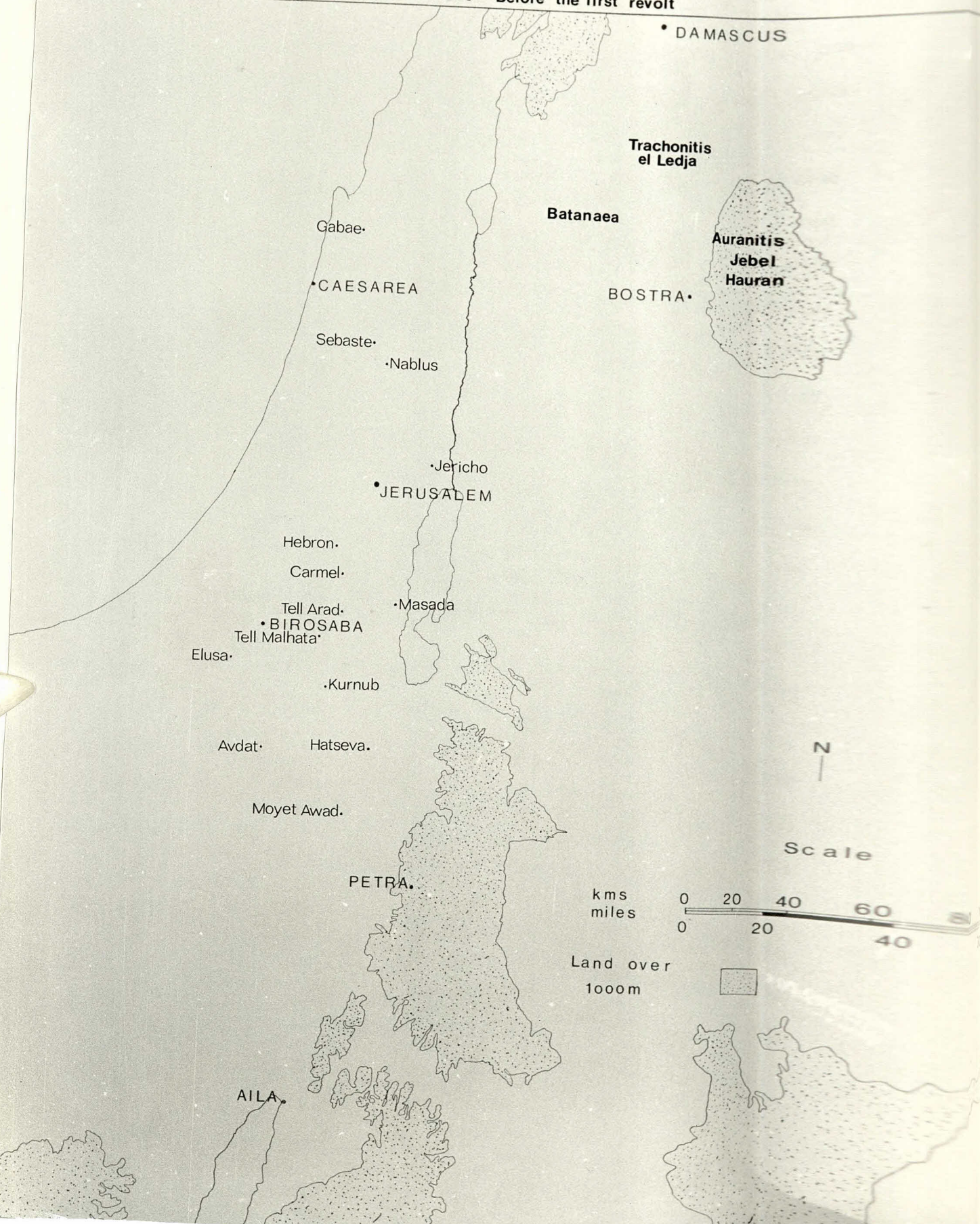
at this time in Idumaea were directed to the same aim. It is interesting to note in this connection the much later reference in Jerome's translation of Eusebius to a "castellum militum situm .. .... ob auxilia viatorum" (29). The idea of a fortified zone constructed to entrap intruders is anachronistic. Forts were used to hold down <sup>an</sup> area, like for example Herod's city of Sebaste, or to provide a refuge for travellers or peasants living nearby from raiders, a function performed by the Babylonian Zamaris and his settlement. The forts in the Negev are too small and too far apart to allow raiders to be ambushed. It is simpler to see them as road stations, perhaps garrisoned by detachments, which in the second century AD may have been provided by the cohorts I Augusta Thracum (see p 324 and cohort 69) when it was based at Kurnub/Mampsis.

It is instructive to compare the worse state of affairs revealed by Ottoman documents on Palestine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries AD (30). The emphasis is on keeping the roads clear of brigands and Bedouin and safe for travellers. So for example in document 61 a beg proposes "to build a watchtower (burc) near a place which is a camping ground of many brigands. If ten fortress-soldiers and twenty cavalrymen and mounted musketeers from the fortress ..... are stationed here, the roads .... will be safe." Or again (document 62), "at a place ..... through which many merchants pass, is a meeting-place of rebellious Bedouins and other trouble-makers and high-way robbers. They attack pilgrims and merchants. If a caravanserai with a tower at each corner is built here and two or three soldiers are taken from ..... fortresses and ten men stationed in each tower, the place may be inhabited and cultivated." Probably Herod and later Roman administrators of the desert fringes had similar ideas.

Map 8 Judaea before the first revolt (AD 66)

# JUDAEA AND ARABIA

Before the first revolt



### 3. From the death of Herod to the Jewish War

After Herod's death his kingdom was divided between his three sons. Archelaus, the eldest, received the heart of his father's kingdom (1) and the Romans confirmed him in power by leaving a legion from Syria at Jerusalem, presumably until things had settled down. He no doubt inherited the bulk of Herod's armed forces. In AD 6 he was deposed and his kingdom became a province under an equestrian praefectus, a title which emphasized the military nature of the post (2). The army commanded by the prefect remained, as far as we can tell, substantially that of Herod. The five cohorts and one ala of Caesareans and Sebastenes, attested in AD 44 after the death of Agrippa (3), who had been given the province by Claudius, were presumably the three thousand Sebastenes who, on the death of Herod in 4 BC, had gone over to the Romans. They will therefore have formed part of the army at the disposal of the Roman prefects from AD 6 to AD 41.

Otherwise we hear only of a *σπειρα ἰταλική* in Caesarea about AD 40 (5). A certain Cornelius was *ἐκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπειρῆς τῆς καλουμένης ἰταλικῆς*. Such a unit will originally have been recruited from Roman citizens, and possibly freedmen, from Italy, though after moving to the east it may later have drawn on citizen recruits who were not Italians. If the reference to such a unit is not anachronistic, it is possible that the cohors II Italica later attested in Syria (6) - or a vexillation of it - was serving in Judaea about AD 40 under

the equestrian prefect.

In AD 41 Claudius gave Herod's grandson, Agrippa, the province ruled by Roman prefects since AD 6 and the Hauran, which Agrippa had already ruled for four years (AD 37-41) (7). He no doubt inherited the Roman defence establishment and also began to build a great defensive wall round Jerusalem (8) but died before its completion.

Agrippa's death was met with abuse by the people of Caesarea and Sebaste (9). This led Claudius in AD 44 to despatch a procurator to Judaea (10), who had been instructed to punish the people of Sebaste and Caesarea for their insulting behaviour (11) by transferring the ala of Caesareans and Sebastenes elsewhere and the five cohorts to Pontus, to campaign there, and selecting soldiers from the Roman units in Syria to take their place. In fact Claudius gave way to the storm of protest this aroused and the units remained in the province for another decade and a half, until at last Vespasian transferred them from Judaea (12).

A possible reference to the fifth Sebastene cohort occurs on an inscription from Sebaste (13), which reads " Arr [untianus ?] | tesse [rarius] | coh(ortis) V [Augustae ?] | c. R. [Sebastenae ?]. But its date is uncertain and it may refer to the Sebastene cohort attested in Syria Palaestina in the second century (14). It remains possible however that this was the  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta$ , the usual Greek name for cohorts Augusta, referred to in Caesarea about AD 60 (15). The title was possibly an abbreviation of  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\nu\nu\nu$ , the  $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta$  being a distinguishing title of the Sebastene cohort (16).

Where Vespasian transferred the units is uncertain. The earliest evidence for a Sebastene unit outside Judaea is of AD 88, for a cohort in a diploma for Syria (17). Possibly the units were moved at first to Syria, were replaced, as Claudius intended (18), by units from that province and were only later transferred elsewhere according to military demands. Josephus' ala of Sebastenes (19) was possibly transferred to Mauretania to take part in a war fought there in the 80's AD (20) and remained there in garrison. Inscriptions inform us of such an ala's presence (21). Success in the war possibly allowed the ala Thracum Mauretana to be moved to Palestine, where it is found in 86 (22).

During Judaea's final years under procuratorial rule, from AD 44-66, Josephus provides us with only snippets about the garrison. He gives detailed accounts of the disputes between Syrians and Jews at Caesarea in 59-60 in both the Antiquities (23) and the Jewish War (24). In the latter Josephus states (25) that the Syrians, whom he also calls the Greeks, were supported by the soldiers " for most of the Roman troops based there were recruited from Syria and were ready to help their kinsmen." But in the Antiquities the Syrians are arrogant " because most of the Roman troops there were from Caesarea and Sebaste " (26). Possibly by ἐκ Συρίας Josephus is loosely referring to the country round Caesarea and Sebaste, from which non-Jewish recruits were drawn, rather than the Roman province of Syria. His account in the Jewish War certainly suggests that the units were at that time continuing to draw on Sebaste and Caesarea.

For the dispositions of the auxiliary units in the ethnarchy

of Archelaus, of Idumaea, Judaea and Samaria, which Roman equestrian governors administered between AD 6-41 and from AD 44-66, we rely mainly on references in Josephus while he is describing the outbreak of the Jewish rebellion in AD 66. So rebels destroyed the Herodian fortress of Cypros, which overlooked Jericho, and killed its garrison (27). They also took over the fortress of Machaerus, in the mountains on the eastern slopes of the Dead Sea and on the borders of Arabia (28). Then it is clear from Gospel narratives that a cohort was based at Jerusalem (29). We can also assume a garrison at Caesarea, the seat of the governor of the province (30). Then in late 66-early 67 Jewish forces attacked Ascalon. It was garrisoned by a cohort and an ala (31), possibly the regular peace-time garrison of the town. Finally there was a unit of Sebastenes at Sebaste (32) in 59-60.

Clearly a considerable proportion of the province's garrison was based in the heart of the province. The troops at Machaerus protected a strong-point and deterred brigands from Arabia. No doubt there were similar posts facing the Negev. But the restlessness of the province's inhabitants pinned down an unusually large number of forces whose job was merely to keep the peace.

In the 60's civil disorder was frequent (33). Finally, in 66 AD, revolt broke out. In the same year the governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, marched to suppress the outbreak but his decision to withdraw before he had taken Jerusalem turned his retreat into a rout. The rebellion spread. Early in 67 Vespasian marched against the rebels (34) but it was not until 70 that Jerusalem

fell. The legion X Fretensis remained in garrison and the reduction of the remaining fortresses in rebel hands, like Machaerus (35) and Masada (36), was carried on. The Roman grip was strengthened by the planting of a colony of 800 veterans at Emmaus, between Jerusalem and the coast (37). The Sebastene units were withdrawn from the province's garrison (38) but it is not until the Domitianic diploma of 86 (39) that we hear of the identity of their replacements.

CHAPTER FIVE     The Army of Judaea, later Syria Palaestina, from AD 66 to  
the Notitia.     I     The Neronian Jewish Revolt

From the point of view of the army of Judaea the composition of an expeditionary force operational in the province is not in itself of great importance. Most of the units departed after the fighting was over. However the army of Judaea was considerably altered by Vespasian after the suppression of the revolt and the former garrison was to a large extent replaced by units from the expeditionary force. As a result of Josephus' account of the revolt we are comparatively well-informed about the forces involved, though in fact Josephus does not help greatly with the identity of auxiliary units. He is content to note the number of troops without giving the units' names (1).

The expeditionary forces are twice described by Josephus. First the army that assembled at Ptolemais under Vespasian in the spring of 67 is given (2), with the legions V Macedonica, X Fretensis and XV Apollinaris. All these three legions had served in Corbulo's eastern campaigns. V Macedonica and XV Apollinaris had both been transferred to the east in 62 (3). The former had long been based in Moesia (4) and the latter's base was Carnuntum in Pannonia (5). They almost certainly remained in the east until 66, when Tiridates went to Rome to receive the crown of Armenia from Nero (6). In that year trouble broke out in Judaea (7) and Cestius Gallus' intervention only made matters worse (8). They will then have awaited the arrival of Vespasian in 67. His third choice, X Fretensis, was a Syrian legion based on the Euphrates (see *above* p I2 and note II), and probably at Zeugma, from before the trouble in Judaea. It had earlier served under Corbulo in Armenia (9) and probably later, until summoned by Vespasian, remained in garrison at Zeugma, preventing a sudden Parthian thrust across Mesopotamia and into Syria.

These legions were reinforced in 69, when Titus took over, by the legion XIII Fulminata, which Cestius Gallus had chosen to take in its entirety when he made his abortive attack on Jerusalem. He had taken it because, of the Syrian legions, it was based nearest to Judaea, at Raphanea (10). Its ill-success in 66 was however remembered and caused its banishment by Titus from the comfortable base at Raphanea to remote Melitene in wild Cappadocia (10).

The auxiliary forces are referred to with the legions. Vespasian at Ptolemais commanded "eighteen cohorts; there were in addition five cohorts and a single ala of cavalry from Caesarea, and five other alae from the Syrian garrison" (11). Josephus does not however give us the titles of any of these auxiliary units. The Sebastene units had formed part of the garrison of Judaea since Herod's foundation of Sebaste. They were all transferred from the province by Vespasian after the suppression of the Jewish revolt (12), and were replaced by units from the expeditionary force (13).

The second passage, describing the army with which Titus marched to take Jerusalem, adds little to the above (14). Josephus makes no specific reference to regular auxiliary units (15).

The only auxiliary unit certainly attested as taking part in this war is the ala Gaetulorum. This is attested by a Vespasianic inscription from Gallia Cisalpina (16), a dedication to C. Valerius Clemens, by "decuriones alae Gaetulorum quibus praefuit bello Iudaico sub divo Vespasiano Augusto". It remained in the province after the war (see below pp. 201-2) and probably came to Judaea as part of Vespasian's forces.

The Army of Judaea from the end of the first revolt (c.AD 70) to the second revolt (AD 132)

Legions After suppressing the revolt Titus left the legio X Fretensis as a permanent garrison for the province, based at Jerusalem (1) and reinforced by a settlement of veterans at Emmaus (2). The legion was used in mopping-up operations against the rebels, as in the taking of the fortresses of Herodium and Machaerus (3) by the province's first legate, Lucilius Bassus, and of Masada by his successor, Flavius Silva (4). His presence in Jerusalem later in Vespasian's reign is independently attested by a dedication to Vespasian and Titus (5), datable to between 72 and 79. The legion's official base at Jerusalem is also referred to in a discharge document, datable to AD 94 and issued to veterans " qui militaverunt Hierosolymnis in leg(ione) X Fretense " (6). It is probable however that at least a vexillation of the legion was based at Caesarea, which Vespasian had made a Roman colony. Jerusalem had been completely razed by Titus' forces (7) and Caesarea was the seat of the governor.

We have no evidence of any activity by X Fretensis in connection with the annexation of Arabia. After that the next major upheaval that affected the garrison of Judaea was Trajan's Parthian war. At least a vexillation of X Fretensis took part (8). Then in 116-7 (9) a vexillation of III Cyrenaica from Egypt set up a dedication to Serapis at Jerusalem. This legion took part in - or sent a vexillation to - the Parthian war (10), for it set up an arch near Dura in 115. The vexillation in Jerusalem had perhaps returned from Mesopotamia at the news of the trouble in Palestine.

For there was a serious threat of revolt in Palestine at the end of Trajan's reign (11). Our scanty evidence suggests that an actual rising took place, which had to be suppressed by military force, and order was not completely restored at the time of Trajan's

death. (12). But Trajan's prompt action in appointing Lusius Quietus as governor of the province prevented it from becoming as serious as revolts in the Diaspora. Presumably X Fretensis took part in the action but we have no evidence for the units involved (13).

After the legateship of Quietus we know of two governors of Palestine who were consulars (14). In view of the revolts of 116-7 Quietus' appointment can be explained as an anomaly but the fact that the governor of 132, Q. Tineius Rufus (15), was also a consular suggests that by then the province had been promoted from praetorian to consular status.

This change in the province's status would imply an increase in the province's garrison from one to two legions (16). From what date a second legion was based in Palestine the evidence for the legions does not make clear. Lifshitz (17) argues convincingly for a terminus ante quem of 130 on the basis of a milestone from the Caparcotna-Diocaesarea road, which gives the latter place as the caput viae. This suggests that by that date Caparcotna was in use as a military base and perhaps already occupied by VI Ferrata. Pflaum (l.c. in note 16) would date the transfer of a second legion to Palestine to the first of Hadrian's journeys through the east, in 123 (18), which is compatible with the latest dating of the inscription from Gerasa referring to VI Ferrata, to AD 118-9 (19). It is however possible that yet another legion, II Traiana, was based in Judaea for a short period before it was moved to Egypt, where it is first attested in 128 (20). This legion was certainly in Palestine at some point during Hadrian's reign (21), for it assisted X Fretensis in work on the aqueduct at Caesarea under Hadrian.

It is clear too that at least vexillations of VI Ferrata were operating in Judaea under Hadrian. From the same aqueduct at Caesarea we have a dedication to Hadrian "per vexil(lationem) leg(ionis) VI Fe[r](ratae)" (22). But the repairs to the aqueduct

cannot be more precisely dated than to Hadrian's reign - they may even have been necessitated by war damage during the Hadrianic Jewish war. We are thus thrown back on the milestone of AD 130 as the earliest pointer to the presence of a second legion in Judaea. VI Ferrata is the most likely candidate, though it is not specifically attested at Caparcotna until the reign of Antoninus Pius.

#### Auxilia from AD 70 to AD 132

Of literary evidence for the auxilia in this period we have only Josephus' dismissive reference to "certain alae of cavalry and units of infantry" (23), after noting Titus' decision late in 70 to leave X Fretensis in the province. This is supplemented by the diploma of AD 86 (XVI 87), which lists two alae and four cohorts.

We do not know what proportion of the garrison this represents but various considerations suggest that the total auxiliary garrison of the province was considerably greater than this. Herod, as we have seen, had large forces at his disposal. The task of his regime and that of the Roman governor under Vespasian was roughly comparable - the maintenance of security throughout Judaea. Vespasian's governor had a legion at his disposal but in Judaea this was more use as a strategic reserve and as a deterrent to open warfare. Herod's elite corps of Gauls, Thracians and Germans (24), based presumably at Jerusalem, protecting Herod and garrisoning the city, performed a similar function. In addition there were the 3,000 Sebastenes (25) and the archers from the Trachonitis (26), all supported by his veteran settlers. Under the later regime it was the security duties of troops like the Sebastenes, removed by Vespasian, which were based in the cities, of the garrisons of remote fortresses like Masada and of the military colonies, sited at strategic posts in the interior and in the vulnerable frontier areas, which were taken over by the regular auxilia. In the restless province of Judaea a force

greater than that in the diploma of AD 86 will have been necessary.

The later diplomas for Palestine, dating from after the annexation of Arabia, which must have reduced, if only slightly, the demands on the auxilia of Judaea, confirm this view. That of I39 (27) represents a garrison inflated by the Hadrianic Jewish revolt but the later second century was a period of comparative tranquillity and yet in the diploma of I86 (28) we find two alae and seven cohorts - almost twice as many cohorts as in the diploma of 86.

Possibly too Vespasian moved in units he had himself created. The main body of recruits for such units will not have been due for discharge until 25 years after their creation, that is to say c. 95. They will therefore not be listed in a diploma of 86.

There will therefore most probably have been substantially more auxiliary units in Judaea between 70 and I06 than are listed on the diploma for 86. For the period from I06 to the outbreak of the Hadrianic revolt in I32 we have no diploma and very little other evidence. However the large number of Trajanic units in the diploma of I39 (29), the military changes involved in the annexation of Arabia (30) and the complete disparity between the lists of units in the diplomas of 86 and I39 (31) suggest far-reaching changes.

Individual Units     Ala veterana Gaetulorum     The Gaetuli were nomadic tribes in northern Mauretania and Numidia (32) and so were well adapted to the desert frontier in Judaea. The earliest surviving reference to a regular unit - a cohort - of Gaetuli dates from Claudius' reign (33). In the case of our unit the title veterana supports the obvious implication of the receipt of a diploma in 86 by a member of the unit - that it had been in existence for at least 25 years, that is to say from at least AD 61. However its station before the Jewish War is not known. It presumably received the title veterana, which it does not bear in the Vespasianic dedication to the commander of the unit from Gallia Cisalpina (34) to distinguish it

from the ala I Flavia Gaetulorum, which will have been founded by one of the Flavian emperors between AD 70 and 86.

The fact that the unit took part in the Jewish war of Vespasian and that it is listed in the diploma of 86 suggests that it remained in the province between these dates. The ala was in the east until at least 117, presumably still in Judaea but possibly already in Arabia. It is attested, simply as ala Gaetulorum, on a career inscription from Berytus-Beirut (35). This career of C. Valerius Rufus spanned both Trajan's and Hadrian's reigns and the date of his command of the ala can be established with some precision. For immediately before his command Rufus had been sent by Trajan, already Parthicus and therefore in 116 or 117, "Cyprum in expeditionem". He will thus have commanded the unit either during or soon after the disturbances in Palestine (36).

At some date after 106 the ala was transferred to Arabia, where it is referred to on graffiti from Medain Saleh (37), probably a Roman customs post for caravans from the Arabian Gulf. It lies about 180 miles south-east of Aqaba, in modern Saudi Arabia.

Ala I Thracum Mauretana This ala is only very scantily attested. The reference to the unit on the diploma of 86 for Judaea (XVI 33) is the only datable evidence for its presence there. It is perhaps this unit that partly survives on a fragmentary inscription from Caesarea (37A) best restored as [praef(ectus) alae Th]rac[um] leg(ati) Aug(usti) | leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) c[omes]. The findspot of the inscription, Caesarea, the seat of the governor<sup>of</sup> the province, suggests that the officer served on the governor's staff at some stage in his career rather than that the ala was based here - unless it was on garrison duty in the town for a time.

The title Mauretana suggests that the unit had formerly been in garrison in that province and it was perhaps transferred to

Palestine at the same time as the ala Gaetulorum above, as part of the replacement for the Sebastene units. An ala Sebastenorum is in fact found in Mauretania Caesariensis, providing some support for the view that an exchange took place, though the earliest evidence for it is of Hadrianic or slightly later date (38).

Precisely how long the unit remained in Palestine is uncertain but it was transferred to Egypt by about the middle of the second century. A cavalryman from a Mauretanian ala is mentioned on an Egyptian papyrus of 154-5 (39) and the unit remained in Egypt until the later second century.

Cohortes Cohors II Cantabrorum The Cantabri were a tribe of northern Spain only finally subdued by Augustus and Agrippa in campaigns of the 20's BC. The cohors II Cantabrorum is the only Cantabrian unit attested in the Roman army and appears only in the Domitianic diploma of 86 (XVI 33). We know nothing of its earlier or later history.

Cohors I Hispanorum This cohort was transferred from Egypt to Judaea in 105 (40) but is not independently referred to in Judaea. It may well have been intended for the Arabian invasion force (41).

Cohors V Gemella This cohort was in Syria or Judaea from about 117-120 until the revolt under Hadrian. But it is not specifically attested in Judaea until 139 (42).

Cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata The Lusitani came from north-west Spain and Caesar refers to Lusitanian auxiliaries in the forces of the Pompeians during the civil wars (43). The earliest reference to a cohors I Lusitanorum is in the diploma of AD 60 for Pannonia (XVI 4). The Judaeian cohort is attested in that province only in the Domitianic diploma of 86 (XVI 33). It was later transferred to Egypt, perhaps in connection with the annexation of Arabia, for it is listed in Egypt in 105 (44). It remained

permanently in Egypt (45).

Cohors I Thracum It is not easy to disentangle the histories of the Thracian units attested in Palestine (45A). We find in the Domitianic diploma of 86 (XVI 33) a cohors I Thracum. But the next reference to the unit is unclear. It is possible that it is to be identified with the cohors I Thracum milliaria of the diploma for Syria of 91 (46), a unit which appears in neither of the Syrian diplomas for AD 88 unless it lies concealed beneath the title cohors I milliaria (47). This identification demands a move of the unit from Judaea to Syria between 86 and 91 and a move back to Judaea before 124 (48). The other main obstacle to this view is the absence of any sign in the Judaeen diploma of 86 that the unit was milliary - it is not even listed first on the diploma. We would also thus have to assume a promotion to milliary status between 86 and 91.

A second alternative is to identify the cohort in Judaea in 86 with the cohors I Augusta Thracum, attested in the most recently discovered diploma of 88 for Syria (49). On this view the cohort was back in Judaea again by the late first century, to judge from the tombstone of an eques c(o)hortis I Augusta(e) T(h)racum from Kurnub-Mampsis in the Negev (50). It was soon afterwards, probably in or after 106, transferred to the new province of Arabia, where it is attested in several inscriptions from the Bostra region. The main objections to this view are twofold: first, the difference in titles on diplomas issued at dates only two years apart, cohors I Thracum in the Judaeen diploma of 86 and cohors I Augusta Thracum in the Syrian diploma of 88 (51), and, secondly, the smart move from Judaea to Syria after 86 and before 88, followed by a return to Judaea before the end of the first century.

The difficulties of both views suggest a third alternative, that the cohors I Thracum in Judaea in 86 was distinct from both

the Thracian cohorts referred to above. Like the Cantabrian cohort above it will then have disappeared from our records. This is the least difficult view but can only be confirmed by fresh evidence.

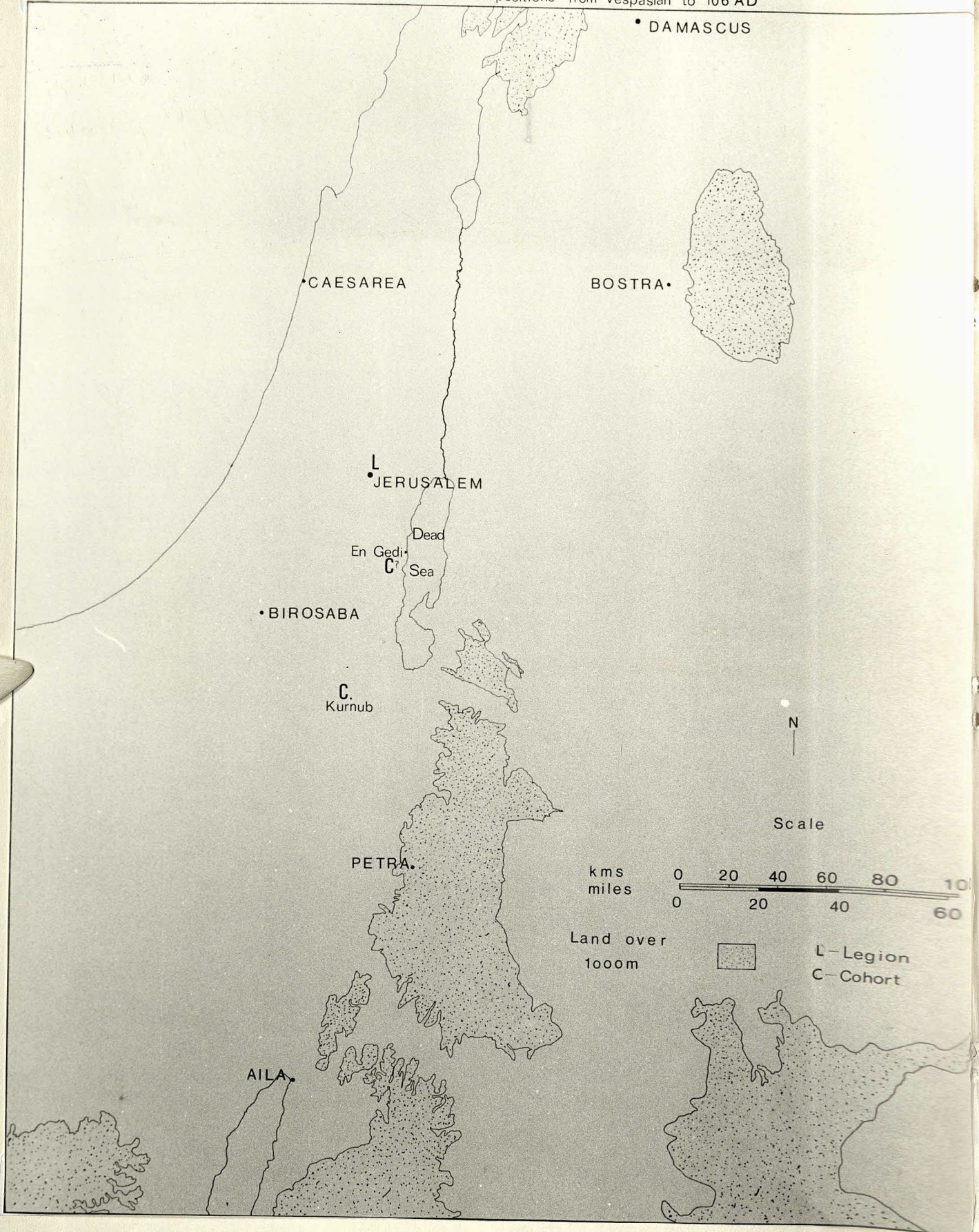
Cohors I Augusta Thracum This cohort was transferred to Judaea from Syria soon after 88 (52). By late in the first century it - or a part of the unit - was in garrison at Kurnub-Mampsis in the Negev, which is implied by the tombstone of an eques of the unit from here (53). It was later, after 106, transferred to Arabia.

Cohors I Thracum milliaria At some date after 91 (54) and before 124 this cohort was transferred from Syria to Judaea, probably at the time of the annexation of Arabia. In 124, according to a Judaeen papyrus (55), there was a military post at Engedi, occupied by troops from the cohort. The unit remained in the province up to, during and after the Hadrianic Jewish revolt. It is attested again in 139 and 186 (56) and very probably had its headquarters at Hebron by 124 (57).

Cohors II Thracum This cohort is also listed in the Judaeen diploma for 86. It was probably moved into Judaea by Vespasian. The 86 diploma was given to a soldier from the unit, who was of Thracian origin and was possibly recruited before the cohort was brought to Judaea (58). We can follow its later fate: with the cohorts I Augusta Lusitanorum (see above pp 203-4) it was transferred before 105 to Egypt, where these two cohorts were, as seems most probable, exchanged for a pair of Egyptian cohorts described on the Egyptian diploma of 105 (59) as "extranatae in Iudaeam", presumably for the annexation of Arabia. The cohorts II Thracum will thus have formed part of Judaea's garrison from before 86 to shortly before 105. Its transfer to Egypt was permanent. It is attested there for example in 167 (60) and later.

# JUDAEA AND ARABIA

Dispositions from Vespasian to 106 AD



Cohors I Thebaeorum Like the cohors I Hispanorum above this unit had been transferred to Judaea from Egypt in 105 (61), no doubt for the invasion of Arabia. It later returned to Egypt (62).

Our evidence for this period is scanty. We are heavily dependent on the diploma of 86 (XVI 33) for the identity of the garrison. Probably troops raised by Trajan, of which we find numerous examples in the diploma of 139 (63), made their appearance in Judaea after the reorganisation of 106 but we do not have the evidence to be specific.

Some hints of the troop movements taking place during the period can however be noted. The cohors I Augusta Thracum was moved from Syria in 88 (64) to Judaea by the late first century (65) and later to Arabia, according to the most likely identification (66). Then the cohors I Thracum milliaria, in Syria in 91 (67), was by 124 at Engedi, beside the Dead Sea in the south of Judaea (68); both these units illustrate movements we would expect of troops to take part in the invasion of the kingdom of Petra and to garrison the newly acquired territory. These demands brought units from Syria and Egypt into Judaea, some of which, like the cohors I Thracum milliaria, became part of Judaea's permanent garrison.

As regards dispositions we have only fragments of evidence. The inscription from Kurnub in the Negev and the papyrus from Engedi (69), possibly an outpost of a unit based at Hebron, emphasise the Roman concern to police the southern borders of the province, a perennial preoccupation of the region's rulers. Herod had kept Masada, just south of Engedi, garrisoned and the station at Kurnub looks forward two centuries to the Notitia's line of forts across the south of Palestine. Of the occupation of the interior, surely strongly held after the revolt of 66-70, we hear nothing.

### 3. The Great Revolt under Hadrian (132-135) (1)

For this revolt, undoubtedly as serious and difficult to suppress as the revolt put down by Vespasian and Titus, we have only the scanty accounts of the *Historia Augusta* (2) and Dio (3). Even the chronology is not certain: Its outbreak is best connected with the foundation of the colony of Aelia Capitolina and Hadrian's eastern travels (4). It was not until Hadrian departed from the east, in 131-2, that the revolt finally broke out. It quickly spread through Judaea. Probably the rebels took Jerusalem, base of X Fretensis (5). The heartland of the revolt was apparently the Judaeen desert. All the identifiable places held by Bar Kokhba in the texts, Herodium, Tekoa and Engedi, were in this area. However none of the evidence tells us very much about the course of the war. At the time of the outbreak Tineius Rufus was governor (6) but he and his troops were no match for the rebels and the uprising spread through Palestine and beyond the frontiers (7). Many troops were brought in from other provinces to suppress the revolt and the best generals were assigned to Palestine.

Troops involved in the war (8) Legio X Fretensis, long part of Palestine's garrison, was certainly heavily involved (9). VI Ferrata had probably been transferred to Palestine before the revolt broke out (10). A dedication from the aqueduct at Caesarea to Hadrian attests its presence in the province at some date during that emperor's reign (11). Then vexillations from two eastern legions certainly took part, one from III Cyrenaica (12), in Egypt in 119 but possibly by c. 130 in Arabia (13), and one from III Gallica (14) from Raphanea in the south of Syria.

As in the first Jewish war there were also reinforcements from the western provinces. It is probable, though not absolutely certain,

that a vexillation of legio X Gemina, from Vindobona in Pannonia Superior, took part (15). Detachments from Moesian legions were certainly engaged. An inscription from Bettir, ten kilometres south-west of Jerusalem, refers to detachments of V Mac(edonica) and XI Claudia (16). The dating of this inscription to the Hadrianic Jewish war is made almost certain by a tombstone of a P. Aelius Capito from Beisan (17). V Macedonica was at the time based at Troesmis, in the east of Moesia Inferior (18), and XI Claudia was part of the garrison of the same province, based probably at Durostorum (19). It is possible too that a vexillation of II Traiana fought in the war (20). An inscription from Caesarea attests the presence there of a detachment in Hadrian's reign (21).

The main effect of the war on the garrison of Palestine as a whole must have been to confirm the decision to base a second legion in the province. But despite the larger garrison, as happened in the previous revolt, large legionary reinforcements had to be drawn from the western provinces, from Moesia Inferior and possibly Pannonia Superior, to reinforce vexillations from the neighbouring eastern provinces. The impression given by our evidence is that a large number of vexillations was used, instead of the smaller number of complete legions which fought for Vespasian and Titus. The vexillations returned to their home bases after the war.

As regards the *auxilia odd* fragments of evidence imply the participation of auxiliary units from the west. An inscription from Samaria-Sebaste is plausibly to be assigned to the Hadrianic war (22). It is a dedication set up by "mil(ites) v[e]xi[l]lationis coh(ortium?) Pa(nnoniae) cives Sisc(iani) et Varcian(i) et Latobici". Then a diploma for Dacia Superior indirectly suggests the participation of at least one unit from that province (23). The diploma was given to a Barsimses, from Caesarea. The Semitic name suggests Caesarea

in Syria Palaestina. He was discharged in 156-7 and will therefore have joined his unit, the cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria, in 131-2, when the revolt had just broken out. It is highly likely that his unit had been transferred to Syria Palaestina for the war. Finally the cohors III Bracaraugustanorum was in Raetia in 125/8 (24), was in Syria Palaestina in 139 (XVI 87) and was back in Raetia by 147 (25). It probably came out for the war.

However, most of the auxiliary units and vexillations transferred to the east returned, like the legions, to their home bases. Most of the units in the diploma of 139 (XVI 87 and see below p 210f) were either eastern creations of Trajan or had long been based in the east.

4. The Garrison of Judaea-Syria Palaestina from the end of the Hadrianic war (135) to the beginning of Severus' reign

Legions There are few datable inscriptions referring to X Fretensis after Hadrian's reign but an inscription from Jerusalem, in honour of " M. Junius Maximus leg(atus) Aug(ustorum) leg(ionis) X Fr(étensis) Ant(oninianae) " (I) and datable to the early third century, confirms that the legion remained based throughout this period at Jerusalem.

Legio VI Ferrata (2) was, as we saw, probably based at Caparcotna in Galilee from c. AD 130 (3). It is most likely that Caparcotna was later called Legio, corrupted to Lejjun, and is to be located at Megiddo, between Caesarea and Scythopolis-Beth Shean (4). But the site has so far not been excavated. However from a base on the southern border of Galilee it could command both Galilee itself and Samaria, the northern half of the province, while X Fretensis controlled the southern half from Jerusalem.

Several pieces of precisely datable evidence attest the legion's presence here in this period. From c. 150 we have an inscription referring to a trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) in Syria Palaestina (5). Then from the reign of Antoninus Pius we have three inscriptions relating to a C. Novius Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus (6), a tribunus laticlavus " leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) Caparcot(nae)." Finally the list of legions, dating from not earlier than Marcus Aurelius' reign (7), suggests that the legion was in the same province as X Fretensis.

We have other inscriptions which refer to vexillations of VI Ferrata, of which two can be dated to Hadrian's reign (8). Both are from Caesarea. Of the other evidence for the unit from Syria Palaestina in the form of inscriptions and tiles all but a single inscription come from the northern half of the province. They confirm the legion's activities in this area (9).

The auxilia of Syria Palaestina (1) from the end of the 2nd Jewish revolt (135) to the Parthian war of Verus (163-166) and (2) from c. 166 to 193

For the period from 135 to c. 163 we have a single diploma, found in Israel, near Lake Tiberias, and dating to 139, four years after the end of the Jewish revolt (XVI 87). It lists only one more ala than the diploma of 86 (XVI 33) - giving three in all - but reveals a surprisingly large increase in the number of cohorts, which jump from four in the diploma of 86 to twelve in that of 139. This must reflect the heavy military occupation of the province after the revolt under Hadrian.

For the period from 166 to 193 we have also a single diploma, of 186, with a substantially reduced list of units (1). It is tempting to see in both these diplomas roughly the total strength of the province's auxiliary garrison.

ALAE: Ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantiana It is difficult to follow the fate of this unit as it is not always given its full title, which appears to have changed in the course of the second century. The second ala Gallorum et Thracum in the fragmentary diploma of Syria of 54 (XVI 3) is probably the ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium of the diplomas of 88 (2) and 91 (3) for Syria. It was apparently transferred to Syria Palaestina by 139 for we find in the diploma for that year an ala Gall(orum) et Thr(acum) (XVI 87). Its text is <sup>ex</sup>ceptionally abbreviated - on the inner face it has ala Gall(orum) only - and so the omission of "Constantium" is understandable. Then two alae of Gauls and Thracians are listed in the diploma for Syria Palaestina for 186 (4). Both appear as Antiana on the diploma but it is plausible that one of them is our unit, and that either Antiana has been accidentally repeated or C[ONST]ANTIANA should be read (5). The continued presence of the unit in the province is

confirmed by the reference to an ala Constantiana in the Notitia under the dux Palaestinae (6).

Ala Gallorum (et Thracum) Antiana This second composite unit of Gauls and Thracians is similarly attested to the previous unit. It is listed on the fragment of a diploma for Syria for 54 (XVI 3), was still in Syria in 88 (7) and before 139 was transferred to Syria Palaestina (8). Here it is listed briefly as ala Gallorum Antiana without the Thracum. It remained in the province and is listed as ala Antiana Gallorum on the Commodan diploma for 186 (9). It was later probably moved to Arabia (see below p 305 ala no. 21).

Ala VII Phrygum (10) This ala most probably remained part of the garrison of Syria until at least Trajan's reign (11). It is possible that it had been transferred to Syria Palaestina early in Hadrian's reign, when it was commanded by Atinius Paternus (12), "praef(ectus) alae VII Phrygum", after his service as tribune in X Fretensis, then in Palestine, at the time of Trajan's Parthian war. But Paternus may well have moved to Syria after his legionary service in Syria Palaestina.

By the time of the Jewish revolt under Hadrian the unit was no doubt in Syria Palaestina. It is listed in the diploma for 139 (XVI 87) and its presence is confirmed by an inscription from Haifa (13). This is the tombstone of a L. Antonius Valens, eques alae Septu [ma] e PRSO, best emended to PRYG. No other ala Septima apart from our unit is known to have been stationed in Syria Palaestina.

The inscription's findspot is significant. Present-day Haifa lies on a projecting bluff about eight miles south around the coast from Akko, former Ace-Ptolemais. It was here, by Mount Carmel, that Herod established his colony of Gaba, where he settled

discharged cavalrymen (14). From here they dominated Galilee. The inscription suggests that a similar site was occupied after the revolt under Hadrian had been suppressed. The Roman ala had a similar job to the colonists of Herod.

The ala may have later returned to Syria, if the fragment of a diploma of 134-154 (15) lists units in Syria and not Syria Palaestina and if, as is most probable, it should be dated after the Hadrianic Jewish revolt. But the later fate of the unit is uncertain.

Cohorts Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum This unit is only once referred to as being in Syria Palaestina, in the diploma of 139 (XVI 87). Two certainly distinct cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum are attested in the second century (16), one in Britain and the second in Raetia. The latter, certainly the unit in Palestine, was based in Raetia for much of the second century - it was there from 107 (XVI 55) to 125/128 (17) and was back again from 147 (XVI 94) to 168 (18). Clearly therefore it was moved to Syria Palaestina after 125/128, presumably for the Jewish war in 132. It remained in the east till 139, as part of the forces of occupation of Syria Palaestina, before a transfer back to Raetia before 147.

Cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum This cohort of Bracaraugustani is more frequently attested in the east than its fellow cohort discussed above. It first appears in one of the Syrian diplomas for 88 (XVI 35) and was later, before 139, transferred to Syria Palaestina (XVI 87). Its presence there, before the province's name was changed to Syria Palaestina i.e. before c. AD 135, is confirmed by the career inscription of a C. Aufidius Maximus, which helpfully gives the province in which he commanded the unit - "praefectus cohort(is) IIII Bracar(augustanor)um in Judaea". (19). The cohort then remained in Judaea, where we find it listed in the diploma for the province of 186 (20).

Cohors I Damascenorum This cohort, listed in the diploma for Syria Palaestina for 139 (XVI 87), is certainly distinct from the cohors I Flavia Damascenorum attested in Germania Superior in 134 (XVI 80). It is probably to be identified with the cohort attested on papyri from Egypt, datable to between 132/133 (21) and 135 (22). In this case it will have been transferred to Palestine in the aftermath of the Jewish revolt, to join the forces of occupation. It then remained as part of the province's garrison until at least 186, when it is listed on the diploma for that year (23).

Cohors I Flavia c.R. equitata This unit was based in Syria until at least 88 (XVI 35). It was later, before 139 (XVI 87), transferred to Judaea and is listed among Lollianus' vexillation in Mesopotamia (24), which implies a return to Syria by the date of the Veran Parthian war (25).

It is possible that the uncertain reading of the diploma for Syria Palaestina for 186 conceals a reference to this unit (26). It is the most plausible of several candidates. It is a first cohort and heads a list which is in numerical order. Then much later a cohors prima Flavia is listed in the Notitia under the dux Palaestinae (27). The unit may well have been transferred to Syria for the Veran Parthian war and back to Syria Palaestina by 186.

Cohors I Ulpia Galatarum Three cohorts of Galatae are attested, all probably established by Trajan and two appear as part of the garrison of Syria Palaestina. The earliest dated reference to the cohors I Ulpia Galatarum is in the diploma for Syria Palaestina for 139 (XVI 87) - where in fact the title Ulpia is omitted. That the unit remained in garrison in the province is clear from the reference to it in the diploma of 186 (28).

Cohors II Ulpia Galatarum This unit is similarly attested to its sister cohort above. It is listed in Syria Palaestina in 139 (XVI 87), again without the title Ulpia, and is still there in 186, with the Ulpia title (29).

Cohors V Gemella c. R. This unit is first attested in the career inscription of a certain Aemilius Iuncus, who was "tribunus coh(ortis) V Gemellae c. R." under Trajan (30). He was decorated in Trajan's Parthian war and the absence of vexilla suggests the command of a cohort, possibly our unit. He went on to a tribunate in X Fretensis at Jerusalem.

The unit may already have been in Syria Palaestina under Trajan. It was certainly there in 139 (XVI 87) and is one of the candidates for first cohort in the diploma for the province of 186 (31). The fact that Iuncus commanded the cohort as tribunus and not praefectus suggests it was milliary, which might entitle it to first position. But it is nowhere specifically described as milliaria and it would be surprising to find a cohors V heading a list otherwise in numerical order.

Cohors I Montanorum This unit is referred to only once in Syria Palaestina on the diploma of 139 (XVI 87). It is probably identical with one of the two cohortes Montanorum attested elsewhere (32). One of these is listed in a diploma for Moesia Superior of 100 (XVI 46), where it is distinguished with the title c(ivium) R(omanorum) and again in 159/160 (XVI 111) where the c. R. is omitted. The second appears in Pannonia Inferior in 114 (XVI 61) and was still there in 167 (XVI 123). The absence of c. R. from the unit in Syria Palaestina might suggest that it was the latter unit. But the omission of the title from the former in the diploma of 159/60, the fact that Moesia Superior is further east than Pannonia Inferior and that two legions from the former province (33) took part in

the Jewish war favour the identification of the unit in Palestine with the former cohort. In this case it presumably accompanied V Macedonica or XI Claudia to the east. That it was only a temporary member of the garrison of Syria Palaestina is confirmed by its absence from the diploma of 186 (34).

Cohors IIII Petraeorum This unit forms part of a series of six cohorts created by Trajan from the inhabitants of Petra or, more probably, from the army of the kings of Nabataea, whose capital Petra had long been (35), after his annexation of Arabia in 106. It is attested only once, on the diploma of 139 for Syria Palaestina (XVI 87), where it is listed simply as cohors IIII Petraeorum. Its Trajanic foundation can however hardly be doubted. We have no reason to believe that more than a single series of Petraean cohorts was raised and the cohortes V (36) and VI (37) Ulpia Petraeorum are specifically attested.

The unit presumably took part in Hadrian's Jewish war and was retained at least until 139 as part of the occupation army.

Cohors VI Ulpia Petraeorum This unit is the highest numbered cohort of Petraeans so far known in the series recruited by Trajan. It is slightly better attested than its sister unit above.

Like the fourth cohort the sixth was also in Syria Palaestina in 139 (XVI 87). Of the inscriptions referring to the unit one gives a possible clue to the unit's base in the province. This gives merely the name of the unit, coh(ors) VI Ulp(ia) Pet[ra(eorum)] (38), but was found at Emmaus, about ten miles north-west of Jerusalem. Titus had established here a settlement of military colonists after the end of the Veopasianic Jewish war, to maintain security in the area. No doubt the duties of the Petraean cohort were similar.

The unit is not attested again in the province and perhaps returned to Arabia after 139.

It was commanded probably in the second century by an officer whose name has been lost from his career inscription (39). He went on to a legionary tribunate in XV Apollinaris, probably after its move to Cappadocia from Pannonia in 117 (40). His third militia, the command of an ala, was almost certainly also in the east (41).

Cohors I Sebastena milliaria The first datable reference to a Sebastene cohort in Syria Palaestina after the transfer by Vespasian of the units recruited from Sebaste away from the province occurs, about seventy years later, in the diploma of 139 (XVI 87). There we find a milliary cohort, perhaps to be identified with the Sebastene cohort in Syria in 88 (42) and 91 (43). In which case it was probably transferred to Judaea for the suppression of Hadrian's Jewish revolt and then remained in garrison there. It was still in Syria Palaestina in 186 (44).

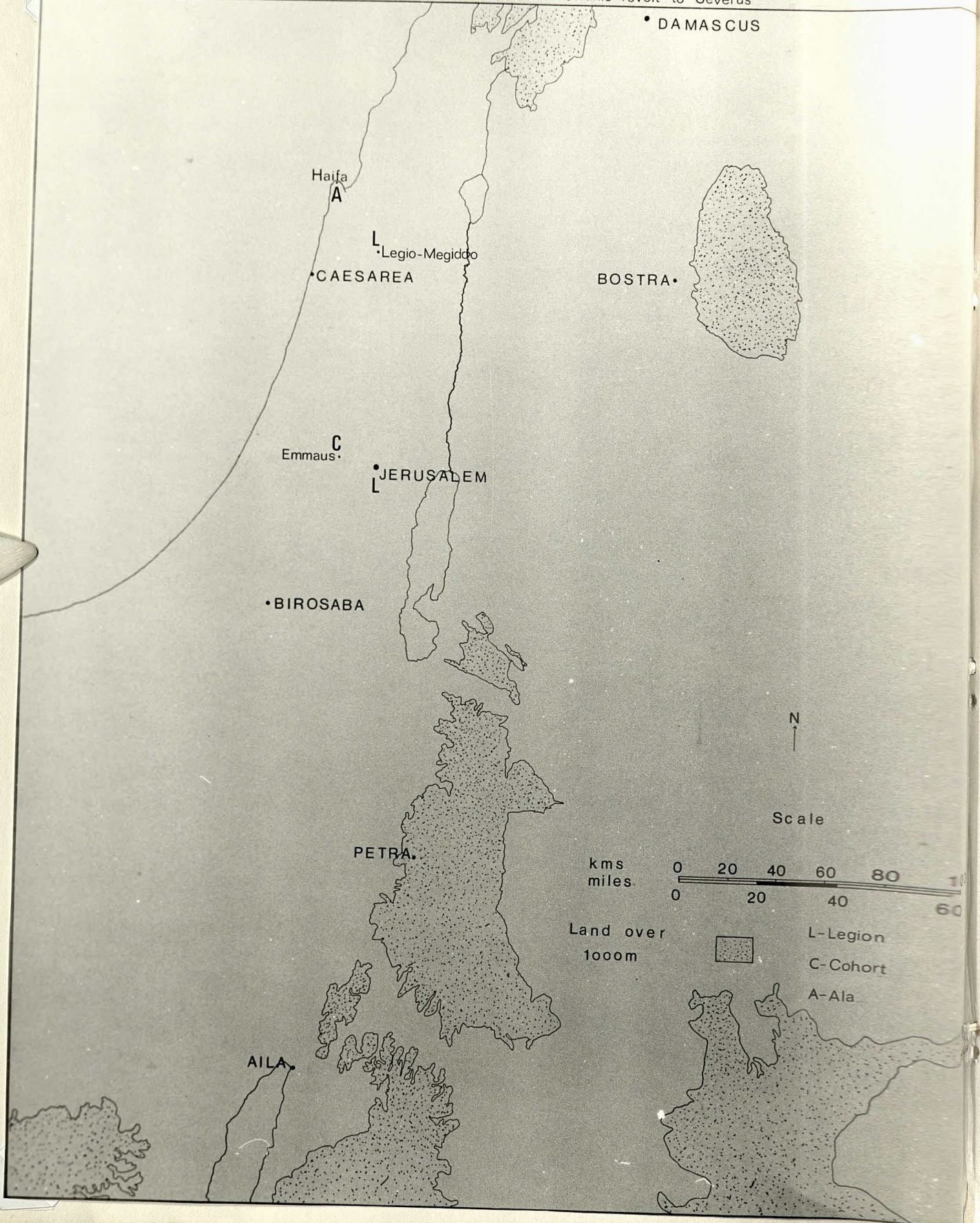
The presence of at least one cohort of Sebastenes in the province at about this time is confirmed by an inscription from Sebaste-Samaria. This is the tombstone of a Treblanus Rufus (45), "miles c.R. m(illiariae?) S[ebast(ena)?", which is roughly datable to the first half of the second century. The findspot of the inscription does not necessarily imply that the cohort was operating in the Sebaste area - it may just have been Rufus' home town - but it is certainly possible that this Sebastene cohort was allowed to be based near the city it was originally recruited from and perhaps again receive recruits from it.

Cohors I Thracum milliaria This unit was in Syria Palaestina in 139 (XVI 87 and see note 46) and was still in the province in 186 (47).

We have several pieces of evidence for its whereabouts. Troops from the cohort were based at En-gedi in 124 (48). It is plausible

# JUDAEA AND ARABIA

After the Hadrianic revolt to Severus



that they formed an outpost of the unit, the headquarters of which were at Hebron, almost eighteen miles north-north-west of En-gedi and on a major road to Arabia. Here a tilestamp of the cohort has been found (49). This link with Hebron is confirmed by the find there of the diploma for Syria Palaestina of 186, which was issued to a member of the cohort (50).

How large was the garrison of Syria Palaestina during our period? No doubt **its** strength fluctuated. After the war the diploma of 139 (XVI 87) strongly suggests that a powerful force of auxiliaries remained in garrison. That, as we would expect, the garrison was inflated by units that later returned to their home bases is implied by the presence of units like the cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum, which was back in Raetia by 147 (XVI 94).

But what proportion of the garrison of Syria Palaestina is listed on the 139 diploma? It is plausible to assume that such a large force as three alae and twelve cohorts represents the majority of the garrison, at least all the units which had men receiving diplomas. We have few comparative figures but Vespasian in 66-67 had with him 23 cohorts and six alae for his expeditionary force (51). The retention of half an expeditionary force in garrison for the maintenance of security appears sufficient.

Such a view assumes that the diploma lists the auxiliaries in the parts of the province overseen by both legions, VI Ferrata at Caparcotna and X Fretensis at Jerusalem. This is supported by the presence in the diploma of the ala VII Phrygum, most probably based near Haifa in the north of the province, and the cohorts I Thracum milliaria, most plausibly based at Hebron in the south (52).

This leads to the question of the regular garrison of Syria Palaestina, that is to say a garrison not inflated by units temporarily transferred to keep down a rebellious population.

If the diploma of 139 gives us roughly the total number of units in the province, do the diplomas of 86 and 186 do the same, or do they list units in particular regions only? By 186 there were two legions in Syria Palaestina and we might expect a larger auxiliary garrison than a century earlier. In the diploma of 186 we have the cohorts I Thracum milliaria based at Hebron and the Sebastene cohort, possibly based in or near Sebaste. But we know so little about dispositions that it would be rash to argue that the units in this diploma were largely based in the south of the province. It is simplest to assume that the diploma of 186 lists all the auxiliary units in the province which had men ready for discharge.

What finally does the evidence tell us about the auxiliary dispositions during this period? We have evidence for auxiliary units from Emmaus (53), Haifa (54), Hebron and En-gedi (55) and possible Sebaste (56), surrounding legions at Caparcotna and Jerusalem. All are plausible locations for units in garrison. Titus had set up a military colony at Emmaus after the first Jewish revolt (57) and Herod had established one near Haifa (58). Both were aimed at holding down a hostile population. A large garrison had been maintained at Sebaste since Herod's time (59). Hebron was on a main road to Arabia and was a convenient centre for keeping an eye on the road to Petra in the south and Gaza in the west and on the mountainous edges of the Dead Sea, where the fortress of Masada had to be kept out of rebel hands. The forces therefore were concentrated at strategic points and major towns inside the province to ensure against further outbreaks of rebellion.

5. The Roman Army in Palestine from the end of the second century to the Notitia

1. c. 200 to Diocletian

In the period of military and political upheaval of the third century Syria Palaestina suffered from the oppression of competitors for the imperial power that affected the rest of the empire. Vivid glimpses of the troubles are apparent through the evidence of the Talmud and Midrash (1). But this is not specific enough to identify particular units or inform us of their movements and in a period of such constant military activity we need detailed information to be able to distinguish permanent from temporary moves. No doubt the legions of Palestine contributed to the armies for the eastern campaigns of Severus, Caracalla, Severus Alexander and Gordian and suffered heavy casualties in the wars against Sapor I. But we cannot trace how these wars or the Palmyrene military dominance of the 260's affected the garrison of Palestine. Our only specific evidence is a note of Zosimus; that, in the army Aurelian led against Palmyra in 272, there were troops from Palestine who, in addition to their other equipment, carried clubs and cudgels (2). But we cannot tell from this special armament whether they were regular auxilia or specially recruited for the war.

We have a single inscription that is relevant to the changing dispositions of the garrison in Palestine. This comes from Qalaat ez-Zerk about twenty kilometres north-east of Amman on the road to Bostra, and attests the transfer of a unit or units, the identity of which has been lost, from Palestine to Arabia "tutelae gratia". The inscription can be dated to 253-259 (3) and the move was no doubt caused by trouble from desert tribes. That this was no isolated move is revealed by the Notitia dispositions (4).

For the units within the province of Palestine the evidence for the third century is slight:

Legio X Fretensis The main question with this legion is how long it remained at Jerusalem before its transfer to Aila, at the head of the Red Sea. Its presence at Jerusalem early in the third century is attested by an inscription set up by a leg(atus) Aug(ustorum) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) Ant(oniniana) (5). From somewhat later in the third century we have a coin of Trebonianus Gallus, who reigned from 251 to 253, from Neapolis-Nablus (6). On one side of this are Poseidon, a board and military standards. A board is the emblem of X Fretensis and the coin perhaps suggests that the legion was still based in Palestine at this date.

A terminus ante quem for the move is offered by Eusebius in his Onomasticon, written about 330, in which Aila is referred to as the base of the legion (7). Almost certainly the transfer was Diocletian's, as part of his reorganisation of the eastern frontier.

Legio VI Ferrata It is most probable that VI Ferrata continued to garrison a base at Caparcotna-Lejjun (8), rather than moving from Carapcotna-Kefr Kut nine miles north-west to a new base at Legio-Lejjun-Megiddo (9). A move over so short a distance is unlikely and for the base of a legion to be called unofficially Legio and for the unofficial designation to become widely accepted is easily understandable. But only excavation will finally answer the question whether there was a move or not.

The legion remained in Palestine until the early third century. We have a dedication from Caesarea of a "(centurio) [leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae)] f(idelis) c(ōnstantis) Ant(oniniana)" (10) to an equestrian governor of Syria Palaestina, on whose staff the centurion had been serving and to whom he had presumably been seconded from his legion. It can be dated to between the reigns of Severus, from whom it received the titles fidelis constans (11), and Severus Alexander, who reigned from 222 to 235 and who was the last emperor under whom the title

Antoniniana was added to a regular unit's title but is most plausibly assigned to the reign of Elagabalus (218-222). Under Severus Alexander units were normally entitled Severiana and/or Alexandriana).

The latest firmly <sup>a</sup>datable evidence for the legion's presence in Palestine is a dedication from near its base to Sarapis on behalf of Elagabalus, by a Iulius Isidorianus "p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) VI Ferrat(ae) f.c. [Antoninianae ? (12). The Antoninianae will have been erased on Elagabalus' damnatio memoriae (13).

Survival into the later third century is perhaps suggested by an inscription (14) from Doueir, about twenty kilometres south-east of Tyre (15). It is a dedication to Apollo by the manager (οἰκονομος) of the ἡγεμῶν λεγ(ωνος) σ', the legatus of the sixth legion. This is very likely to be the VI Ferrata. The problem lies with the date. It is not certain what era the inscription is dated by. If it is dated by the era of Antioch, we have a date of 273, if by that of Tyre, of 196. It is thus a slender support for the prolongation of the legion's life to as late as 273.

That the legion was still in existence in Philip's reign (244-249) (16) is suggested by a coin from Damascus (17) with the legend legio VI F(errata). It is unlikely that a legion recently destroyed would be thus commemorated. But the use of the coin as an argument for the transfer of the legion to Syria Phoenice is hazardous. Damascus became a colony in Philip's reign and the coin referring to VI Ferrata is similar to those produced by veteran colonies in the early principate, which commemorated the legions whose veterans took part in the original settlement. Damascus was not a veteran colony but VI Ferrata had been in Syria in the first century and the coins may represent an attempt by the city in the third century to claim, without being really entitled to it, the prestige owed a veteran colony. This is conjectural but there are parallels for such false claims (18). They serve as warnings against

arguing simply from the reference to a legion on a city's coins to the presence of that legion in garrison nearby. There is so far no good reason to suppose that VI Ferrata had moved its headquarters from Caparcotna-Lejjun at the time of its destruction - most probably in the campaigns against Sapor of the 250's.

We have only a few fragments of evidence for the *auxilia* in Palestine during this period.

From Nablus-Neapolis, about thirty miles north of Jerusalem, we have the tombstone of an "eques ex numero Maurorum" (19). Its relevance here is not certain as it cannot be precisely dated. It was found with two other inscriptions, a tombstone of a soldier of the legion IV Flavia, based at Singidunum in Moesia Superior from late in the first century (20), and another of a Palmyrene (21). This had led Avi-Yonah to the view (22) that they were all set up at the same time. The occasion, he suggests, was Nablus' loss of its Roman citizenship at the hands of Severus, "quod pro Nigro diu in armis fuerunt" (23).

But it is not necessary to infer from these words that troops from Severus' army were actually in action against Neapolis. It would have been suicidal for the inhabitants to hold out after Niger had been defeated. The reference in the *Historia Augusta* is perhaps more plausibly to fighting between cities before the outcome of the struggle between Severus and Niger was decided. Also the absence of any evidence for a Roman garrison at Nablus in no way prevented Roman soldiers from dying or being buried there. The city lay on the Roman road from Jerusalem to Caparcotna-Lejjun and troops must often have been marching through the town. So although the legionary tombstone is very probably Severan (24) there is no need to assume that the other two inscriptions are of the same date.

The tombstone of the eques Maurus was perhaps later. The name Augindai is unparalleled (25). But numerous African names beginning with Au- (26) suggest that Augindus was a native Moor. The numerus of which he was a member, like the unit of equites Mauri in the Notitia under the dux Palaestinae (26)<sup>A</sup>, will have originally recruited from Moorish tribesmen in Africa. Augindus presumably joined the numerus when it was created or was later sent out to Palestine.

We first hear of Moors in the east in the service of Pescennius Niger (27) but no doubt many units were raised for the cavalry forces of Gallienus and Aurelian, which Diocletian distributed about the frontiers. Such considerations would favour either a very late second to early third century date, when we know that Moorish units were active in the east, or a date after the assignment, most probably by Diocletian, of a Moorish unit to Jerusalem (28).

About the identity of the garrison of Palestine in the third century we can say only that Moorish units operated in the province and several second century auxiliary units which survived to appear in the Notitia (29) lists may be supposed to have remained in the province. But the main general trend in the third century towards the weakening of the forces in garrison in the province and their movement away to deal with more serious emergencies is emphasised by Zosimus' reference (30) to troops from Palestine being used against Palmyra by Aurelian in 272 and by the move of troops from Palestine to deal with raiders into the more exposed province of Arabia (31).

## 2. The Roman Army in Palestine during the fourth century

By the beginning of the fourth century the old province of Arabia had been broken up, most plausibly by Diocletian. In the *Laterculus Veronensis* (I), which lists in sections the provinces of the empire, we find in the Arabian section two Arabias, one of which is almost certainly the southern half of the old province of Arabia, centring on Petra (2). This section may be dated to before 313 and possibly to before 307 (1). The southern Arabian province was then reunited with Palestine, in a reversal of the previous policy of fragmentation, possibly by Constantine. This unification had been carried out by 325, by which time we find Aila-Aqaba in Palestine (3).

The main military result of this reorganisation was that the southern half of the Arabian frontier, the routes across the northern Negev and from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean came under a single dux, whose largest unit, X Fretensis, had been transferred from Jerusalem to the head of the Red Sea. This unified command of the frontier area continued throughout the rest of our period, though there were administrative changes on the civil side. The amalgamation of southern Arabia and Palestine was broken up late in the reign of Constantius II, in 357-8, and the frontier province became *Palaestina Salutaris*, with its capital at Elusa (4). In about 400 a further subdivision of the settled province brought a change of name for the frontier province, from *Salutaris* to *Tertia* (5), but no change to the military organisation.

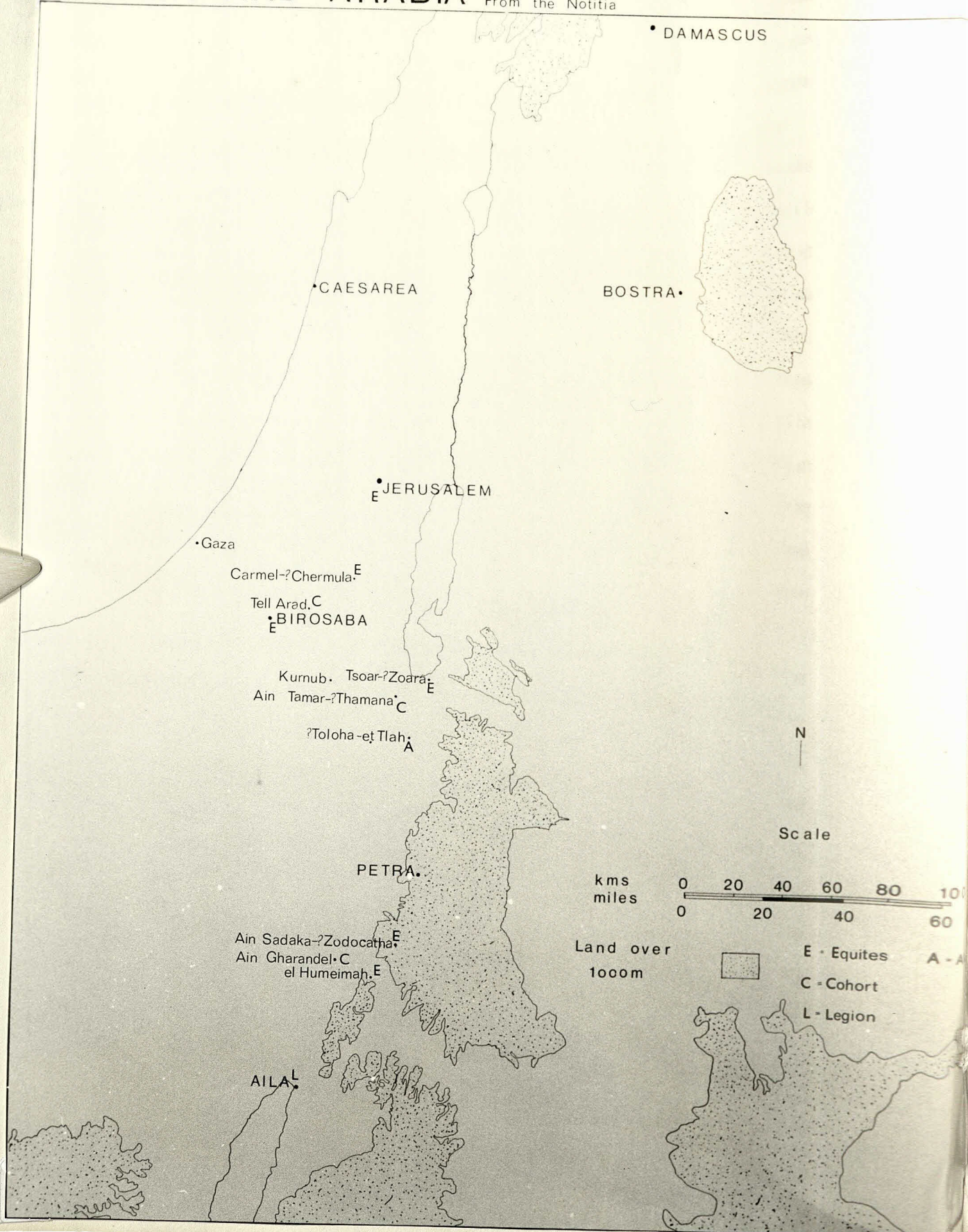
The army of the dux Palaestinae      Dispositions      Recent archaeological work in this region has done as much to correct earlier studies as to advance our knowledge (6). And, as a result of today's political difficulties, progress has been uneven in the parts of the province in Israel and Jordan, with sections of the frontier tending to be emphasized at the expense of the whole.

The surface remains in Israeli northern Negev have been examined and with the aid of the *Notitia* we can gain some idea of the military

Map II Dispositions in Palaestina from the Notitia

# JUDAEA AND ARABIA

From the Notitia



occupation of the area. The 'arabah valley has also been recently and carefully surveyed (7). The survey disproved the view that this valley, running from the bottom of the Red Sea down to Aila, had been the course of a Roman road. The small fortlets along its course, the occupation of which in the fourth century was proved by pottery, protected sources of water on east-west roads.

Finally our knowledge of the sector of the province formerly in Arabia and now in Jordan has recently been advanced by a pottery survey of a large number of sites along the province's eastern border (8). The sherds from many of these sites suggest that occupation began about the time of Diocletian (9), which fits in very well with the literary tradition for his reinforcement of the frontiers. According to the pottery the frontier was most heavily occupied in the mid fourth century before a decline set in, which continued down to its collapse in the seventh century. This picture is confirmed by the excavations of Nessana-Auja el Hafir in the Negeb (see below, Appendix 3 p. 336 ), where a new fort was built in the early fifth century.

But for our purposes a survey of this sort has only limited value. The presence of fourth century sherds at sites close to Trajan's road down not prove a permanent military occupation. They may merely indicate a short-lived civil settlement around a disused Nabataean fort. Then in the case of military sites the pottery does not allow us to distinguish headquarters from outposts. Even the ruins of the forts themselves are not of decisive help here. The fifth century fort at Nessana (10) was the base of a unit of cameleers and yet the fort was a mere 0.3 hectares in size. Therefore for precise dispositions we have to fall back on the literary evidence.

The Notitia remains the basic source. But several other written sources assist us with the identification of sites. The only contemporary evidence is Eusebius' gazetteer of biblical sites, the Onomasticon, written between 324 and 336 for the pilgrim visiting Palestine. But some epigraphic and literary evidence of much later date is also of use.

From Beersheba we have several fragmentary inscriptions giving taxes paid by soldiers and civilians in the northern Negev area (11). They cannot be precisely dated but the references to *συντελεσται* (12) suggest a sixth century date (13). In the second inscription is a list of towns of which several recur in the Notitia. The names are followed by the prescribed taxes on the basis of which they can be divided into groups (14) and what little we know of the location of the towns suggests that this grouping was geographical (15). So the towns of Huarra and Zadacatha in the first group lay on Trajan's road between Aila and Petra. But Toloana, in the second group, was probably et-Tlah, sited (16) at the southern end of the Dead Sea.

Also helpful is a papyrus from Nessana, which gives a list of towns in the neighbourhood (17). It is dated to the mid sixth century but again gives several towns referred to in the Notitia.

Much has been written about the identification of the military sites in Palastina Tertia (18) but many of the proposed identifications are highly conjectural. In only a minority of cases can even the rough location of the sites of bases mentioned in the Notitia be established. The sites which can either be precisely or roughly located are discussed below.

Most of the bases of the equites Illyriciani can, if only approximately, be located. Benosaba (19) is the modern Beersheba, a convenient staging point on the way from Aila to Gaza (20). It lay about 30 miles south-east of the coastal city. Its later military

importance is emphasised by two epitaphs of Roman officers of the sixth and seventh centuries found here (21). One of them was perhaps dux of the province (22). The tax inscriptions also reveal the town's administrative significance by the sixth century.

Chermula (23) corresponds to the biblical Carmel, as Eusebius helpfully explains, telling us at the same time that it lay ten miles south of Hebron and that troops were stationed there (24). Carmel is the Kirmil of today and Alt describes the ruins there (25). It lay about 30 miles south of Jerusalem on the main road to the south.

The approximate locations of Birsama (26) and Menochia-Menois (27) are less certain (28). If Birsama is rightly identified with the  $\Sigma\lambda\tau\omega\nu\dots\beta\alpha\rho\varsigma\alpha\mu\omega\nu$  of George of Cyprus' Descriptio (29), which is there listed under Palaestina prima and not tertia, the frontier province, it probably lay to the west of the northern Negev, where the civil province cut into the frontier region (30). Alt attempts a more precise location between Beersheba and the Mediterranean (31), which has become accepted but which cannot be taken to be proven (32).

Then the Notitia's Menochia, finally, is probably Eusebius' Menois,  $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\omega\nu\Gamma\alpha\varsigma\eta\varsigma\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\chi\upsilon\eta$  (33). Other courses confirm this approximate location. It is referred to together with Birsama in an imperial edict of 409 (34) and appears close to the Mediterranean on the Madaba mosaic map (35). But its precise site has not yet been established (36).

Four of the equites Illyriciani were thus spaced out on routes across the northern Negev, with three on the edge of the desert, the fourth somewhat in the rear at Chermula and the fifth in garrison at Jerusalem.

Of the seven bases of the equites indigenae only three or possibly four can be located. Zodocatha is the Zadagatta of the Peutinger table (37), now 'Ain Sadaka, just south of Petra on Trajan's road. To this day

there is a strong spring there and considerable remains (38).

Parker's recent pottery survey gives sherds from the site from about the time of Diocletian to the late fifth century (39).

The Notitia's Hauana can only be the Hauarra of the Peutinger table, the Auara of the second inscription from Beersheba (40). According to the Table it lay 20 miles south of Zadagatta. On the ground this brings one slightly beyond the site of el-Hemeimah (41), where there are extensive ruins. But two fortlets further south have also been suggested (42). Its approximate whereabouts are however certain.

Thirdly Byzantine Zoara (43) is certainly to be located on the ground with the ruins of Kh. Sheikh 'Isa at the south-eastern end of the Dead Sea, which were visited in 1924 by an American expedition (44).

Finally the Notitia's Robatha (45) is perhaps Eusebius'  $\rho\omega\beta\omicron\theta$   $\rho\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ .....  $\eta$   $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$   $\rho\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\nu\theta\alpha$   $\eta\nu$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$   $\gamma\delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\omega\nu$ , where there was a Roman military post (46). Robatha is listed, in the second inscription from Beersheba, at the head of the second group. (46A). The places in this group we can locate lay south of the Dead Sea and north of Petra. The indications in Eusebius, the location in Gebalene-Edom and the presence there of a king of the Idumaeans confirm this siting but allow of no greater precision.

There are three other bases of equites indigenae in the Notitia, Sobaia (Or. 34. 23), Sabure sive Veterocaria (l.c. 28) and Moahile (l.c. 29). They can all be plausibly linked to the names of places on the second Beersheba inscription, which gives us a rough idea of their location. So Sabaia must be the inscription's Sobaia (47), which stands in last place in the first group and therefore lay in the region between Petra and Aila. The Notitia's Veterocaria can only be the  $\kappa\alpha\rho\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$  of the Beersheba inscription (48), which lies in sixth place in the same group as Sobaia. Moa finally on the

inscription is perhaps the Notitia's Moahile (Or. 34. 29).

It comes sixth in the Beersheba inscription's second group and its location in the region south of the Dead Sea is confirmed by its appearance on the Madaba map (49) in a line with Thamara and Praesidium. But none of these sites of bases of equites indigenae can with any confidence be pinpointed on the ground.

Our scanty evidence thus inclines towards locating all the units of equites indigenae either on or near the section of Trajan's road from Aila to Arabia that lay in Palestine or on its branches across the southern end of the Dead Sea.

Of the alae and cohorts' bases only very few can be pinned down on the ground. A case can be made out for identifying the Notitia's Toloha (Or. 34. 34), the Toloana of the Beersheba edict (50), which stands in seventh place in the inscription's second group, with the modern site of et-Tlah (51), where there was clearly a large settlement in Nabataean times, though there is so far little evidence for Roman occupation (52). The site lies about 20 miles south of the southern end of the Dead Sea, on the eastern edge of the 'arabah at the point of convergence of two roads from the west, one from Kurnub-Mampsis and the other from 'Ain Tamar. But even here the case for identification is not overwhelming. The main point in favour is the similarity of the modern and ancient names, which can be a deceptive indicator. The latest surveyor of the area emphasised the bulk of Nabataean and the absence of Roman remains (53).

An ala in the Notitia is based "apud Praesidium" (Or. 34. 35) and a cohort "Praesidio" (Or. 34. 41). In the Beersheba edict we find a single "Praesidium" in tenth position in the second group (54). Other literary sources provide us with two other references to praesidia : in the Peutinger Table between Ad Dianam and Huarra on Trajan's road south of Petra is a psidio and on the mosaic map from Madaba, over

mosaics of small towered structures, the three names Praesidium, Thamara and Moa stand together (55). These two references favour the obvious inference from the Notitia that there were two bases to which Praesidium had stuck as a name. The first clearly lay near the southern end of Trajan's road to Aila (56), while the latter's association with Thamara and Moa suggests a location not too far from the southern end of the Dead Sea. The position of the Praesidium in the Beersheba edict, in the second group, would put this site in the same area. No further precision is yet possible.

Several of the cohort bases can be fairly closely identified. The Notitia's Arieldela (Or. 34. 44) is certainly the Beersheba edict's Ἀριδδελᾶ , lying fifth in the first group, and a case can be made out for locating it. Two sites are known with present-day names very similar to Ariddela. The first is Kh. Gharandel in the mountainous region north of Petra, now only a "small featureless ruined site" (57), while the second is an 'Ain Gharandel, where a spring rises in the desert area to the south, on the eastern edge of the 'arabah. Here ruined buildings and Nabataean, though not yet Roman, sherds have been found (58). Ariddela's presence in the first group of the Beersheba inscription (59) suggests that it lay to the south of Petra and favours identification with the second 'Ain Gharandal' (60).

The approximate position of Moleatha is fairly certain (Or. 34. 45). It is clearly Eusebius' Μολαθαία , a town he uses to measure distances from (61), which was 20 miles from Hebron and four miles from the biblical site of Arad, now known as Tell Arad in the north-eastern Negev (62). The Roman fort Alt would like to locate at the Tell el-Milh of today (63).

There is finally some evidence for the siting of the Notitia's Thamana (64), assuming, as is most probable, that it is the Θάμαρα κωμη of the Onomasticon (65) - "a day's journey from Mapsis (Mampsis-Kurnub) as you travel from Hebron to Aila. It is now a military post

φρουρίων στρατιωτικῶν)" - and the Thomara of the Beersheba inscription (66). In the last-named inscription it is, as we would expect, in the second group, of those in the region south of the Dead Sea. In the Peutinger Table we find a Thamaro on a road branching from the route from Jerusalem to Elusa, which passes across the southern end of the Dead Sea. Its rough location is thus clear and it is plausibly identified with the ruins of 'Ain Tamar, where two fourth century fortlets have been found (67).

Locations for most of the other bases of units in the Notitia have been suggested but rest on insufficient evidence. More work is necessary to support a detailed overall reconstruction of the fourth century frontier system. For the 'arabah later work has disproved many of Alt's over-ambitious conclusions in the area (68). Only excavation promises to distinguish outposts from headquarters, military from civilian and casual from permanent occupation.

The results from this summary are meagre. In the northern Negev settlements on the caravan-routes were garrisoned by equites Illyriciani, aided by auxilia like the cohort at Moleatha (ND Or. 34. 45). We can be sure that they were mainly engaged in protecting the caravans and the towns, with their carefully cultivated lands, which lay along the trade-routes, against encroachment from nomads. The far more vulnerable sector of the southern half of Trajan's road, exposed to raids from the Hejaz and the Arabian deserts is in the hands of X Fretensis, units of equites indigenae and auxilia. But while infantry were necessary for the garrisoning of strongpoints by springs they were of little use against mounted raiders. The brunt of the unceasing task of reconnaissance and interception of raiders on camels must have fallen to the equites indigenae, all of which were based in this eastern part of the province, assisted by mounted auxilia. It was only sensible to recruit locally for such units from the start. Such recruits would know the ground as well as the nomadic tribesmen against whom they were

pitted. The withdrawal of such units would have caused a collapse of frontier security whereas equites Illyriciani could be more easily transferred for periods into a field-army from the less seriously threatened routes facing Sinai.

Further detail in the reconstruction of the system will only come from study and excavations on the ground. But an illustration of how things worked in the sixth century is provided by the excavations at Nessana. The job of the unit, based on the edge of the cultivable land in the south-western Negev (69), cannot have been very different from that of many of the units in the Notitia. The Nessana fort, like many in the fourth century, was very small, designed as an armoury and headquarters for the unit and as a place of refuge in an emergency rather than to provide accommodation for the troopers. Despite the small size of 0.3 ha., papyri reveal that a numerus of dromedarii, probably 200 strong, was based here - a type of unit ideally suited for policing the desert.

The dux of Palestine had more units under his command than his fellow duces on the eastern frontier. He was in charge of a similar number of equites but a larger number of auxilia of the older type - seventeen in all compared with twelve under the dux of Phoenice (70), who had the second largest total. Partly this was a result of the length of the frontier with its sectors facing south across the Negev and east from the Dead Sea to Aila. Then there is also an unusually high proportion of older auxilia surviving from the second century, no doubt because the frontiers of Palestine did not suffer so badly from the Persian invasions of the mid third century as the Syrian sectors and were thus not so completely denuded of troops. The troubles with Palmyra will also have upset Rome's control over the desert tribes, built up over the preceding century, and the heavy garrisoning of the Negev and the reorganisation of the Palestine frontier perhaps points

to greater concern with the caravan traffic which had earlier come via Palmyra and which now had to come via Aila and was in need of stronger protection.

By this late date the role of the army in Palestine was no longer that of an army of occupation. But it is notable that, although X Fretensis has moved to remote Aila, the capital of the ancient Jewish kingdom is still occupied by a unit of equites, which is supported by two cohorts, one between Aelia-Jerusalem and Jericho (71) and a second beside the Jordan (72). There is still a residual concern for internal security.

The alae surviving from the second century include, most probably, the ala Constantiana (73), which is most likely to be a direct descendant of the ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantiana in Syria in the first century and in Syria Palaestina by 139 (74). An ala Constantium - presumably this unit - was commanded by a Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Subatianus Proculus in the early third century, who went on to become legate of VI Ferrata in Palestine (75). It is most likely that he commanded the ala in Palestine.

The ala prima miliaria Sebastena (76) is probably descended from the cohors I Sebastena milliaria in Syria Palaestina in 186 (77). During the late first and second centuries alae milliariae were élite units. There were only very few of them and they were based at points of particular vulnerability on the frontier (78). There is no evidence that such a unit was ever based in Palestine. But it is possible, after the alae milliariae of the second century had been eclipsed by the units of equites which appear during the third century, that the Sebastene milliary cohort was promoted to ala. The titles of the ala in the Notitia are identical with those of the cohort of the 186 diploma (79) and the ala VI Hispanorum under the dux Arabiae, the ala secunda Paflagonum under the dux of Osrhoene and possibly the ala prima milliaria

under the dux Palaestinae (see cohorts 38, 47 and 56 in the list at the end) offer plausible parallels for promotion from cohort (80).

Thirdly the ala Antana dromedariorum (81) may well be the lineal descendant of the ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana, listed in Syria Palaestina in 186 (82), though in this case we have to assume a transformation from a cavalry unit into one of cameleers. This is again not difficult to accept on a desert frontier. Camels were more suitable for operating in the desert than horses though they were not of much use in battles demanding much manoeuvring. They could only be used for a single charge (83). We can thus imagine that cavalry might be withdrawn for fighting elsewhere and an original camel reconnaissance section might come to predominate and cause a transformation into a unit of cameleers.

The ala prima milliaria (84) may, as we saw, derive from a cohors I milliaria attested in Syria (85) but this is very uncertain.

Of the cohorts surviving from the second century the cohors prima Flavia (86) probably derives from the cohors I Flavia c.R. in Syria Palaestina in 139 (XVI 87). The cohors II Ulpia Galatarum was in Syria Palaestina in 186 (87) and remained in the province to occupy a base at Arieldela in the Notitia (88). Its sister unit, the cohors I Ulpia Galatarum, also in Syria Palaestina in 186 (87), had survived till 238, when a commander of the unit set up an inscription at Aquileia (89), but is not again attested in Palestine.

Of the remaining units a few inform us of their dates of establishment. The cohors IV Palaestinorum was possibly a Severan creation, part of the same series as the cohors XII Palaestinorum (90). The cohors duodecima Valeria (91) was a creation of Diocletian's. Lastly are a few units that had been sent only comparatively recently to the Palestine frontier. The ala secunda felix Valentiana (92) was a creation of Valens, emperor in the east from 364 to 378. Under the joint rule of Valens and his brother Valentinian the frontiers were

not neglected. We have evidence of building work carried out on the Arabian frontier (93). Of a slightly later date is the cohors Gratiana (94), a creation of Gratian, emperor from 375 to 383.

We thus see preserved under a single command units from a variety of periods, established at dates ranging from the first to the fourth century. New units continued to be created and sent to this frontier region. The numerus Theodosiacus of the Nessana papyri does not appear in the Notitia. Either it was a unit of Theodosius, emperor from 379 to 395, later sent to Palestine, or it was a creation of his namesake, Theodosius II, emperor from 408 to 450.

The Army of Agrippa II

About the armies of the client-kings, who were mainly of the family of Herod the Great and who ruled small kingdoms on Judaea's borders, we know little. The only exception is that of Agrippa II (1), son of Agrippa I and hence grandson of Herod. He first received from Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis, from the city of that name in the plain of Massyas between the Libanus and Anti-Libanus mountains (2), in AD 48. Then in 53 he was granted in its stead a much larger kingdom which included Batanaea, Trachonitis and Gaulanitis (3). Much of this was wild country. In an inscription of Agrippa's from Canatha/Qanawat in the Hauran (4) we find a reference to people hiding in caves. No doubt force was necessary to protect the population. Agrippa had a large force of cavalry recruited from natives of his kingdom (5). These troops will have been trained by Philip, grandson of the Babylonian Zamaris, settled by Herod in Batanaea (6). Philip was a close friend of Agrippa's and trained his army (7). The experience gained from three generations living in the area will have accustomed the Babylonians to the peculiar problems of its defence. The colony was a bastion of Agrippa's rule and, despite the royal taxation (8), was able to contribute an ala of cavalry to serve as the king's body-guard (9).

Among the Babylonians serving with Agrippa with military duties was Modius Aequus (10), also a grandson of Zamaris, who was the king's viceroy (11). He was sent in late 66-67, when he is described as a  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , to take the fortress of Gamala, on the coast of Lake Tiberias (12). Another Babylonian, Silas by name, went over to the Jewish rebels in 66 (13). We hear of several other officers from inscriptions, though it is not always certain which of the two king Agrippas they served. From Sur, in the rough country of the Leja (Trachonitis) about twenty-three miles north-west of Souweida, we have an inscription (14) for a

$\text{Ἡρωδῆος Ἀγrippῶν}$  whose name suggests a local origin (15).

He was στρατοπεδορχης ἑπτεων κολωνετων, who were possibly drawn from descendants of the 3,000 Idumaeans settled by Herod the Great in Trachonitis (16). After his military command he went on to serve Agrippa as στρατηγος (17).

We also hear of an officer in Agrippa's army who also commanded a regular Roman unit. An inscription from Bir el-Malik, between Dora and Atlit north of Caesarea on the coast (18), gives the career of T. Mucius Clemens, who commanded a cohort in Agrippa's army at about the time of the Jewish revolt, when Agrippa's forces fought together with the Romans (19). Clemens went on to assist Ti. Claudius Alexander, prefect of Egypt from AD 66-70 (20), before commanding a regular Roman unit, the cohors I [Lepi]diana equitata, and going on finally to assist the procurator of Syria. Possibly, as Avi-Yonah suggests (21), he had links with the Hellenised Jewish aristocracy.

Of particular units in Agrippa's forces, we have evidence for one only. From el-Hit, ancient Eithae on the margins of the Hauran about six miles north-north-west of Shahba, we have a fragmentary inscription (22) from the reign of a king Agrippa referring to an officer (23) who commanded a σπειρης Αὐ[γουστης] and was a στρατηγ]ος Νομαδων. It is tempting to link the cohort with the σπειρα Σεβαστη referred to in Acts (27. 1) as having been stationed in Caesarea about AD 60 (24). But by itself the title Augusta is insufficient to distinguish an auxiliary unit. The cohors Augusta in Acts might well have been a cohors Augusta Sebastenorum (25). The post of στρατηγος Νομαδων throws interesting light on the relations between a client king and the nomadic tribes of the desert. The officer's job was no doubt to keep in touch and on friendly terms with local sheikhs, to keep an eye on tribal movements and protect the settled population of the kingdom. The Romans will have inherited such a system.

Agrippa II had a long reign. He was still alive in 92 (26) but probably died soon afterwards (27). His kingdom was annexed to Syria by Domitian (28), who will have taken over the forces of a thoroughly pacified kingdom.

CHAPTER SIX1. Judaean Auxilia Recruitment from Augustus to Nero's reign

In Judaea during this early period we can distinguish two periods. The first is covered by the reign of Herod, from 37 BC to his death in 4 BC. He had his own army about which Josephus provides us with some information. His reign is followed by a period of procuratorial rule of Judaea, which exists side-by-side with several client kingdoms, about which we are sporadically informed. This state of affairs lasts to the outbreak of hostilities leading into the first Jewish War in 66, after which Judaea was ruled by senatorial governors of praetorian rank (1), though some client kingdoms, like that of Agrippa II, continued to exist until well after the war.

1. Officers in Herod's army

Josephus provides us with the names of several officers in Herod's forces.

About 8 BC (2) Antipater, as part of his schemes against his brothers, accused them of secret discussions "with Iucundus and Tyrannus, who had become the commanders of the king's (Herod's) cavalry (ἵππων ἄρχοι) but had been dismissed for some offences." (3) We hear no more of these officers. Iucundus is a Latin cognomen and suggests a western origin. Tyrannus is clearly a Greek name.

Then in his digression about the Babylonian Zamaris (4) Josephus mentions one of his sons, Iacimus, "who was conspicuously brave and welded the Babylonians under him into a cavalry unit ; an ala of these men provided a bodyguard for these kings (i.e. Herod and his relations who ruled Trachonitis)." (5) The ala here referred to was probably commanded by one of Zamaris' relations.

Another officer referred to by Josephus is a 'Ὀύολουμνιον...τον στρατοπέδου' (6), sent on a diplomatic mission by the king about 8 BC (7).

Volumnius is a Roman nomen of Etruscan origin (8).

Finally in the troubles after Herod's death in 4 BC two other officers of Herod's are referred to. The first of these is a Gratus, "the commander of the royal infantry" (9). Like Iucundus this is a Roman cognomen, as is Rufus, the name of the commander of the king's cavalry (10).

This selection of names suggests a predominance of senior officers of if not Italian origin, then certainly from Romanised circles. This is plausible in view of the large-scale demobilisation of soldiers after the end of the civil war at Actium in 31 BC. Some of these will no doubt have been eager to continue with a military career but unable to do so in the regular forces. Herod, as we have seen (11), will have been convinced by his early career of the effectiveness of Roman military methods and have been in turn eager for experienced Roman commanders for his own forces.

Ordinary soldiers in Herod's army Josephus provides us with a considerable amount of evidence for the men serving in Herod's forces.

The earliest evidence for the forces serving under Herod after he had gained control of his kingdom and built up a permanent army in his campaigning against the Arabs in 32-31 BC (12). Josephus here constantly refers to Herod's forces as οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. This was the simplest contrast with οἱ Ἀραβῆς but does suggest that this army was not composed to any large extent of western mercenaries. It probably consisted largely of levies from the communities of Judaea, eager to fight against a traditional enemy.

Then in 10/9 BC Herod led another campaign against the Arabs (13). After he had defeated them, he kept down the local bandits by settling 3,000 Idumaeans in the Trachonitis-el Leja (14). These were probably veterans from Herod's army, though this is not explicitly stated.

Then in the disturbances in connection with Herod's death in 4 BC we hear of archers from the Trachonitis. The destruction caused by Simon of Peraea (15) would have been much worse had not the commander of the king's infantry gone to meet him with the archers from Trachonitis (16). In the disorder at this time most of the royal troops went over to the rebels but the most warlike element, the 3,000 Sebastenes, went over to the Romans (17). These troops were recruited from Herod's colony of Sebaste and are several times referred to by Josephus.

Herod also had contingents of troops from the west. At his funeral the escort for the bier included his bodyguards, the Thracian contingent, Germans and Gauls, all equipped as for war (18). These were the élite of Herod's forces and Gallic troops at least had been serving in Herod's forces since early in his reign. Herod had received from Octavian after Actium in 31 BC Cleopatra's bodyguard of 400 Gauls (19). The bodyguards referred to above were probably in part at least Babylonian Jews. Josephus refers to the contribution of an ala to the royal bodyguard by the community founded by Zamaris (20).

In 4 BC a majority of the royal troops sympathised with the complaints of their compatriots against the procurator of Syria, Sabinus (21), and went over to the rebels. They were no doubt largely drawn from the native population. But a hard core of the best troops were from Sebaste and owed Herod personal loyalty as founder of the city (22). The same applied to the troops from the west and the colony of Babylonians.

After Herod Herod's kingdom was divided on his death in 4 BC.

Archelaus received the largest share, Judaea with Samaria and Idumaea (23). No doubt he inherited a proportion of Herod's army which included the units from Sebaste-Samaria during his brief rule. From AD 6-41 Judaea came under equestrian governors (24). During this period we have only the reference in Acts (10.I) to an Italian cohort, a centurion of which was at Caesarea in about AD 40. This most obviously suggests a cohort of Roman citizens from Italy, who were likely to have been freedmen and may in this case have been of eastern extraction (see below cohort 39 ). Even so it is unlikely that a unit of Roman citizens served under the Jewish king Agrippa I, who reigned over Judaea from AD 41-44. Under the equestrian governors it is mainly of locally recruited units like the Sebastenes that we hear. But it remains possible that the cohors II Italica, in Syria most probably by well before 88 (25), spent a period in garrison at Caesarea. We cannot however be sure of the reliability of the writer of Acts over such details (26) and it is possible that the centurion of AD 40 has been assigned to a unit which was only later based at Caesarea.

For the final period after the death of Agrippa I in AD 44 until the outbreak of the Jewish revolt in AD 66 Judaea again came under equestrian governors (27). But again we have no detailed evidence about the army. The evidence for the Sebastenes (28) suggests that throughout these changes of government the army remained substantially that of Herod's.

Of the other client kings in the area of southern Syria it is only about the army of Agrippa II, after he had received the kingdom of Batanaea, Trachonitis and Gaulanitis in 53 (29), that we can say anything useful.

Recruitment to the army of Agrippa II Agrippa II, when he gave up Chalcis in Lebanon in 53 (30), received in return the tetrarchies of Philip, which included Batanaea, Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, and of Lysanias (Abila). After the Jewish revolt these territories were increased by Vespasian, as a reward for Agrippa's loyalty to Rome. He remained king of his dominions until his death in 92/3 (31).

We have both literary and epigraphic evidence for the officers and men serving in his army.

Commanding officers When Agrippa sent reinforcements in AD 66 to support the peace-party in Jerusalem they were under the cavalry-commander Darius and the general (στρατηγός) Philip, son of Iacimus (32). Philip was the grandson of the Babylonian Zamaris, settled by Herod in Batanaea (33). Josephus elsewhere emphasises the friendship between himself and Agrippa (34) and refers to his command of Agrippa's army (35).

Then the name of the cavalry commander, Darius, was a Persian one and the forces of the Babylonians were mounted - Zamaris, when he arrived, had been accompanied by 500 mounted archers (36). Possibly Darius too was of Babylonian extraction.

An inscription from Bir el Malik between Dora and Athlit on the Mediterranean coast north of Caesarea (37) is a fragmentary dedication to a T. Mucius Clemens, who commanded a cohort in the army of Agrippa II about the time when Tiberius Julius Alexander was prefect of Egypt (from AD 66 to 70) (38).

The progress of his career is disputed (39) but it is more plausible, with the editors of *l'Année Épigraphique* (40), to suppose that Clemens began his military service in the army of Agrippa II and only later rose to a command in the Roman army than vice versa. This is what the order of posts on the inscription suggests and there is no reason to suppose that this is not chronological.

Clemens will then have begun his career as prefect of a cohort in the army of Agrippa II in the late 60's. The full title of his unit is unfortunately lost.

Clemens himself was a Roman citizen. His gentilicium, Mucius, is fairly common in the first century (41), as is the cognomen Clemens - especially in the later first century. The fact that his inscription is in Greek suggests that he came from the Greek-speaking part of the empire but it is by no means certain that the "sons" who set up the inscription belonged to Clemens' family. He also clearly came from Romanised circles. His own praenomen, Titus, was different from that of his father, which implies that his was not the first generation to possess the citizenship. And his posts as assistant to the prefect of Egypt and procurators suggest influence and education. But we cannot get beyond the probability that Clemens came from a wealthy family of an eastern province of the empire.

We have next from the town of Sur, north-west of the Jebel Hauran, a dedication (42), datable to AD 75 or 80, to a Herodes Ἄβμου στρατοπεδ-  
αρχησαντι ἑπιπεων κολωνελτων και στρατιωτων και στρατηγος βασιλεω  
μεγαλω Ἀγριππᾶ (43), certainly Agrippa II. Herod thus commanded a force of mounted colonists and infantry. His title suggests that the colony was regarded as a military encampment. Possibly the colonists were descended from the 3,000 Idumaeans settled by Herod the Great in the Trachonitis (44). Our Herod was also a στρατηγος, a small-time governor, in Agrippa's service, and most probably of Trachonitis. He was thus considerably more than just a soldier.

The name of his father makes a local origin certain. Aumos was the name of a Sun-god known only in Trachonitis (45).

We then have two inscriptions of officers who served a king Agrippa, though it is not certain whether Agrippa I or II is meant. Only the fact that Agrippa II reigned for so much longer than his father favours identification with him.

From Eithae, modern el Hit, near Shakka in the north-eastern corner of the Hauran, we have an inscription set up by an ἑπάρχης [ρχος....] σπειρης Αὐτοκράτορος καὶ στρατηγῶν Νομάδων

(46). Only the name of the officer's father survives - Χάρητος. The name Chares is a common Greek one (47), suggesting that the son came from a Grecised community.

The officer commanded a regular unit in Agrippa's army and also as "general of nomads" looked after the desert tribesmen who lived on the borders of Agrippa's kingdom.

Another inscription from the same area is from Deir esch scha (48) in the Hauran. It is a building inscription set up by a Διομήδης (Χάρητος) (49), who was a commander of one of Agrippa's units. Again the names suggest an origin from Greek-speaking circles.

The names of the above five officers thus suggest varied origins. Zamaris and his colony remained loyal to the house of Herod. There was some recruitment of locals like Herod, son of Aumos, but also a considerable proportion with names of Greek type, who possibly came from the upper classes of the cities of the region. Finally the career of Clemens, the only citizen of the five, emphasises the links of Agrippa's army with Rome.

Other officers and men From the environs of Soueida, the ancient Soada-Dionysias, about fifteen miles north-east of Bostra, comes a dedication (50) by a Lucius Obulnius, centurion of a cohors Augusta (51). He oversaw work carried out in AD 76 and 88. It is highly probable that the same man is mentioned in another inscription from the Hauran, this time from Seeia-Si', just south-east of Canatha-Qanawat (52). This latter inscription is fragmentary but on it can be read Ὀβουλνίου and ἑκατοῦτ[ρχης] σπειρης Αὐτοκράτορος.

The recurrence of the name Obulnius as centurion of a cohors Augusta confirms the reading of Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue Archéologique* (53).

The inscriptions do not make it clear whether Obulnius had been seconded to the Hauran from the garrison of Syria or Judaea or was serving in the army of Agrippa. The existence of the two inscriptions argues to some extent in favour of a fairly long stay. Also the command of a cohorts Augusta by the anonymous son of Chares (54) makes it clear that such a unit belonged to the army of Agrippa. If Obulnius had been centurion in another unit of the same name he would surely have signposted the fact on his inscription.

Obulnius' rare nomen is of Etruscan origin (55). How he came to possess it is uncertain. The names Lucius and Obulnius suggest that he was a citizen but, apart from implying that he came from Romanised circles - possibly he was the son of a Roman auxiliary veteran, who had received the citizenship -, do not help us with his origin. Only the Greek of the inscriptions suggests an eastern provenance.

Another inscription found in the Hauran (56), though its precise findspot is uncertain, gives the name of another centurion who served under Agrippa II. This was set up by an Archieus, who served as centurion under Agrippa for eighteen years before being given, though not immediately after the previous post, the job of  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  under Trajan (57).

The name Archieus is unparalleled, though Archias/Archies are common Greek names. Also it appears on the inscription without a patronymic, which sometimes implies foreign origin, particularly in the case of epitaphs (58). This inscription however occurs on a stone with a female bust and is more probably a votive dedication.

Archieus spent the best part of his life in the Hauran. He refers to 28 years of service under Agrippa II and Trajan. It is most probable that he came from this part of the world.

Ordinary soldiers For the troops commanded by the above officers we are dependent on two references in Josephus and one of the inscriptions referred to above.

In AD 66 Agrippa sent a force of 2,000 cavalry to assist the pro-Romans at Jerusalem (59). Josephus helpfully specifies their nationality - they were from Auranitis, Batanaea and Trachonitis. Also from Batanaea was the ala of Babylonians which served as a body-guard for Agrippa and his predecessors (60). Such regular forces were also reinforced by colonists like those commanded by Herod, son of Aunos (61).

Our evidence therefore suggests that, unlike Herod, with his western troops, the majority of Agrippa's forces were recruited from the difficult country of his own kingdom. No doubt the former brigands made good soldiers.

2. Recruitment to the Roman garrison of Judaea from c. AD 70 to the end of the second century

Commanding officers We have only two career inscriptions referring to ala commands in Judaea in this period.

The first of these comes from Augusta Taurinorum, modern Turin, in Gallia Cisalpina (1). It is the career of a C. Valerius Clemens, former primus pilus, municipal official and patron of the Augustan veteran colony of Turin (2). However his only command that is mentioned on the inscription is of the ala Gaetulorum in the Jewish War under Vespasian, who was in the east from 67-69 (3). The inscription was set up by decurions of the ala.

Clemens will have pursued a military career in the legions culminating in the post of primus pilus (4), after which he retired to his home town (5). For the command of the ala Gaetulorum he was called out of his retirement.

Without previous experience of cavalry Clemens, possibly when he was serving in Judaea as primus pilus - on active service normal rules could be ignored -, was selected to command an ala. This lack of cavalry experience was not unusual. Most praefecti equitum commanding alae had only previously commanded infantry units. This was true also of the troopers. Many equites had formerly served as infantry (6). The crucial qualification for promotion to cavalry from infantry was length of experience. This justified Clemens' move from legions to auxilia.

The second inscription gives the career of a C. Valerius Rufus and comes from Beirut (7). Rufus first commanded an auxiliary cohort, the base of which is uncertain, before becoming tribune in legio VII Claudia, based at Viminacium in Moesia Superior (8), at the time of its engagement in Trajan's Parthian War. His third militia was the command of the ala Gaetulorum in Judaea.

Rufus was certainly a citizen of the Augustan military colony of Berytus (9). He received duoviral potestas there and his tribe, Fabia, had been assigned to the colony. He spent much of his military service - part of his second and his third militia - in the east.

Clemens was recruited for a particular emergency but Rufus' career emphasises the role of the Roman veteran colonies in the east for the provision of officers for the auxiliary units based in the east.

We are better supplied with the careers of prefects and tribunes of cohorts in Judaea in this period. The following inscriptions can be dated:

1. It is worth briefly noting here T. Mucius Clemens' (10) command of the cohorts [Lepi?] diana, though the unit was not permanently based in Judaea. In AD 80 it is attested in Pannonia (11). But the fact that Clemens, all of whose other posts were in the east, was in charge of the cohort - most probably in the early 70's - makes it plausible that it formed part of the garrison of Judaea in the immediate aftermath of Vespasian's revolt. Clemens was probably from the east of the empire (12).

2. From early in Domitian's reign we find a Claudius Montanus in command of the cohorts II Thracum in Judaea in 86 (13). His name suggests a western origin.

3. From Cirta in Numidia, a colony since the time of Julius Caesar (14), we have the career of a C. Aufidius Maximus (15), who commanded the cohorts IIII Bracarum in Judaea. His *secunda militia* as tribune of the legio XII Fulminata "in Cappadocia" gives us a date for the career after the transfer of the legion, formerly in Syria, to Cappadocia in AD 70. Then the reference to the presence of the cohort in Judaea dates the inscription to before c. 132, when the province was renamed Syria Palaestina (16).

Maximus was certainly a native of Cirta. He was a member of the tribe, Quirina, which was assigned to the city (17) and paid for the construction of some buildings in the city "ob honorem pontificatus".

4. A man who, soon after 106-7, commanded the cohorts I Damascenorum in Judaea (18) was Pliny's friend, C. Cornelius Minicianus (19), whom Pliny recommended for a tribunate (20). Minicianus came from Bergomum, to the north-east of Milan, where his career inscription was found and where he held municipal office. Also his tribe, Voturia, had been assigned to the town.

Minicianus began his equestrian career probably when he was about forty years of age (21). After his command in Judaea he went on to a tribunate in the African legion, III Augusta, and to a post of praefectus fabrum (22) to a magistrate before continuing with civilian posts.

5. Already discussed for his command of the ala Phrygum in Syria (23) is the long career under Trajan of Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus (24). For his first militia Secundus commanded successively three cohorts. The provinces in which the first two of these were based, a cohort equitata and the cohort II Bracaraugustanorum, are not certain but the cohort I Flavia equitata was in Judaea by 139 (25).

Secundus came from Caesarea, modern Cherchel in Mauretania Caesariensis (26).

6. From Themisonium, in southern Phrygia, we have the career of a M. Ulpus Tryphon Megas Antonianus, son of Zenon (27). He was the first of his family to receive the citizenship - he is son of Zeno, rather than, in the Roman fashion, M(arci) f(ilius). The Ulpus suggests that he received his citizenship from Trajan, though he was not given Trajan's tribe. His name, as it stands, is a conflation of Greek and Roman elements.

The distinction of his family is clear from the fact that he was high-priest of Asia. About his post as  $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , tribunus,

presumably of a legion or military cohort, Tryphon is reticent. He is more helpful about his prefecture, of the cohorts I Ulpia Galatarum. This was a creation of Trajan's and the newly enfranchised Tryphon will have been one of its early commanders.

Tryphon was a native of Themisonium.

7. Also discussed above for his command of an ala in Syria is Aemilius Iuncus (28), probably a native of Tripolis in Syria. His cohort commands can be dated before Trajan's Parthian war. He was first prefect of a cohort I Pannoniorum in Egypt (29) and then tribune of the cohorts V Gemella c. R., in Syria Palaestina in 139 (30), though otherwise very poorly attested in the province.

8. From Teos, on the coast of Asia Minor south of Smyrna, we have an inscription set up in honour of a P. Claudius Pollio (31), commander of the cohort I milliaria Thracum, by a friend of his, a Tiberius Claudius Charmus, from nearby Clazomenae. The cognomen Pollio and differing praenomina of father and son (32) might suggest an Italian origin but the fact that the inscription was set up at Teos makes a local origin most plausible (33).

Two features give us some help with the date of the inscription.

The inclusion of praenomina suggests that it is of relatively early date, perhaps of the late first century AD. Then the writing out in full of

μειλιάρια            also favours a date late in the first century.

Military units begin to be widely attested in the Flavian period and it is particularly under the Flavian emperors that we meet the term milliaria in full (34). Such a date (33) suggests that Pollio probably commanded the unit not in Syria Palaestina but in Syria, where it is attested in AD 91 (35).

It is probably coincidence that P. Claudius Pollio's father's praenomen was Tiberius and that we meet a Tiberius Claudius Pollio in command of an ala milliaria in Syria in the early 80's (36), particularly if Publius came from Teos while Tiberius was clearly an Italian. If they were both from Italy, it would be an attractive conjecture to see a father commanding a milliary ala in his late 40's and his son beginning an equestrian career some 20 years later, following in his father's footsteps in the Syrian auxilia.

9. Then the diploma of I39 for Syria Palaestina (37) was received by a soldier in the cohors II Galatarum. This was commanded by Q. Flavius Amatianus from Capua.

10. Finally we have the career (38) of M. Fabius Mettianus, who commanded the cohors III Bracaraugustanorum as the first stage in his equestrian military service. Mettianus' career is dated to the second century by his tribunate in the legio XXX Ulpia Victrix, created by Trajan. The inscription came from Segermes, modern Henchir-Harat, roughly half-way between Carthage and Hadrumetum in the province of Africa, which became the municipium Aurelium Augustum (39). This was clearly Mettianus' home town as the career, in the form of a dedication, was set up jointly by Mettianus, his wife and daughter.

It is worthwhile distinguishing three categories from the origins of the officers listed above. First are commanders from Italy, forming three of the ten - a higher proportion than we find in Syria (40) for the same period. Then come officers from Roman colonies, or, in the case of Mettianus, a municipium of long-standing. They make up four of the ten, of which three come from north Africa and the fourth from Berytus-Beirut. This may indicate some attempt to select officers accustomed to desert conditions. The remaining three are all Trajanic, Iuncus from Syria and the two others from cities in Asia Minor. The proud reference of the officers to the commands emphasize their novelty for

the upper classes of the smaller cities of Asia Minor. Tryphon is "in all things first in his city and in his prefecture" (ἐπ' ἅρ' ἄρ' ) (41).

If we look at the evidence for commanders chronologically the earliest are all from Italy, apart from T. Mucius Clemens, with his service in Agrippa's army. Almost all the rest date from Trajan's or early in Hadrian's reign. They include Minicianus from Bergomum but their increasing diversity of origin, from Africa, Phrygia and Syria, emphasises the widening catchment area of commanders, a trend apparent from the better evidence for Syria (42). For the rest of the century however we have insufficient evidence to trace the pattern of recruitment.

Undated inscriptions of commanding officers in Judaea (AD 70 to the end of the second century)

Several fragmentary inscriptions attest officers who perhaps commanded units in Judaea in this period but cannot be dated at all precisely.

1. From Tusculum, just outside Rome, we have a funerary inscription for an A, Fabius Proculus (43), which can be dated to after c. AD 70/71. But its relevance here is uncertain. Proculus was prefect of a cohors I Da [.... This has been restored either as Da [corum (44) or Da [mascenorum (45). In favour of the former restoration is Proculus' tribunate in II Adiutrix, which was based mainly in the west (46). On the other hand no unit simply entitled cohors I Dacorum is anywhere attested (47) while we find a cohors I Damascenorum in Syria Palaestina in, for example, AD 139 (48). Probability slightly favours the second alternative. This would give us a further commander in Judaea from Italy. His dedication was set up by his wife who will have done so at their home town.

2. From Ephesus we have an acephalous dedication for an anonymous equestrian officer (49). It can be dated to after 106 as the officer began his career with the command of a unit of Petraeans, of which the series was only established after the annexation of Arabia. The career seems to be in descending order. After his cohort command of the cohorts VI Petraeorum in Syria Palaestina in 139 (XVI 87), the officer was promoted to a tribunate in legio XV Apollinaris, based in Cappadocia from after Trajan's Parthian war (50). The highest line of the inscription that has survived reads G]ermaniciana[e and the reference is certainly to the ala Augusta Germaniciana, based at Antioch in Pisidia (51).

Perhaps our anonymous officer was a native of Ephesus, where the inscription was set up with whom the procurator rationis privatae per Asiam, Phrygiam et Cariam became acquainted in the course of carrying out his duties. But this is unverifiable conjecture.

3. From Gallia Narbonensis, between the Roman towns of Augustum and Lacus Lemavus comes a fragmentary dedication to a "tribun [o coh. prim ? or milliari] ae Thrac (um) [... adlect.] inter [p]raet(orios)." (52) The title tribunus suggests that the Thracian cohort here referred to was milliary and the only such cohort we know of (53) was based in Syria in 91 and was in Judaea by 124 (54). There is thus a good chance that it was commanded by our officer, who probably came from this part of Gallia Narbonensis.

4. Although datable to the early third century the career of a commander of the ala Constantium, presumably the ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium (see above pp 211-12), is, because of the almost total lack of evidence for the army of Syria Palaestina in the third century, most conveniently discussed here. This is an honorific inscription (ILS 9488) set up by his daughters so their father, Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Subatianus Proculus, for outstanding services to his patria, i.e. the city of Cuicul in Numidia, where the inscription was found and of which city

Proculus was a native. We have already met a commander from Cuicul serving in Syria in the later second century (see above pp 136-7).

Members of the upper classes of colonies in the African provinces were coming to command units on the eastern frontier, where they would have no problems with the climate and be familiar with conditions on a desert frontier.

The above careers thus give us possible officers from Italy (no. 1), from Asia (no. 2), datable to the second century, and Africa (no. 4), datable to the early third century, and the remoter possibility of a Gallic officer (no. 3). They slightly fill out the picture given by the precisely datable inscriptions.

Ordinary soldiers and other ranks in Judaea (AD 70 - end of second century)

We have three diplomas for Judaea for this period, one for AD 86 (55), a second for 139 (56) and a third for 186 (57). All the units in the first of these (55) were originally raised outside Judaea. Of the two alae one is of Gaetulians, a tribe that lived in southern Mauretania and Numidia (58), and the second is the ala Thracum Mauretana. The Mauretana suggests a spell of garrison duty in the province of Mauretania. Both the units had links with this African province, where we later find evidence of an ala Sebastena (59). So it is plausible to suppose that, when Vespasian transferred the Sebastene units from the province (60), at least one was sent to Mauretania, from where certainly one and possibly two units were sent to Palestine in their stead.

Of the cohorts two were of Thracians and the remaining two from Spanish tribes. None of the units' titles gives any clue to when they were established. The only hard evidence for their recruits is the recipient of the diploma for 86 (55), who returned to the west after discharge (61). This, with the origo he gives (see below), suggests

that he was a native Thracian and was not descended from the troops Herod had brought from the west. Some at least of the cohorts in the province in 86 had probably been brought there by Vespasian.

Our next diploma is for 139 (56). In it none of the units listed in the diploma for 86 recur. There is still a substantial proportion of units with western titles (62) but we can infer the composition only of units established roughly within the previous 25 years, which restricts us to the Trajanic creations, the two pairs of Galatian and Petraean cohorts. New areas in the eastern half of the empire are now being drawn upon.

The latest diploma of 186 (57) for Syria Palaestina does not help us with trends in recruitment. All the units, apart from the two whose names cannot be read with certainty, had been in garrison in the province in 139. No new units had in the meantime been created. Also the name of the recipient of the diploma, who was serving in a Thracian unit, has been lost.

The diploma evidence is to some extent filled out by that for individual soldiers:

1. The earliest soldier attested in this category was a Seuthes, Trabithi f(ilius), eques in the cohors II Thracum, who was discharged in AD 86 (62). The name Seuthes is a common Thracian one (63) though Trabithus is otherwise unattested. The origo follows the name and probably refers to the tribe of Coelalatae (64), which in the Hadrianic period, when Ptolemy was writing, had become a  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\iota\alpha$  (65) in Thrace.

The main point is thus not in dispute. Seuthes was of Thracian origin.

2. From Kurnub we have a funerary inscription for a Diogenes Alexandri eques of the cohors I Augusta Thracum (66). Kurnub is the ancient

Mampsis in Idumaea (67). The trooper's Greek names suggest an eastern origin.

3. On a papyrus <sup>a</sup>datable to 124 from Engedi we find a record of a loan to a local inhabitant by a Magonius Valens, centurion of the cohors I milliaria Thracum (68). Magonius is a rare nomen of Etruscan type (69), which suggests an Italian origin.

4. A diploma for Dacia Superior datable to AD 156/7 (70) provides indirect evidence for auxiliary recruitment in Judaea. The discharge date of 156 or 157 gives a date of recruitment of 132 or 131, precisely the time of the outbreak of the Hadrianic Jewish revolt (71). The diploma was given to a Barsimses Callistenis f(ilius). Barsimses is clearly an Oriental name and the Caesarea he gives as his place of origin is certainly the city of that name in Syria Palaestina.

Very probably therefore the cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria, or at least a vexillation of the unit, went to the east to assist in the suppression of the Hadrianic revolt and, while in Syria Palaestina, recruited Barsimses from Caesarea. We thus have a very good example of Roman recruiting methods. The cohort needed recruits when in the east and took them from the nearest available source. Presumably the cohort needing recruits while away from its home province drew them from the normal recruiting grounds of auxiliary units permanently garrisoned there.

5. Roughly datable to the Hadrianic-Antonine period is the tombstone from Haifa (72), just south of Akko-Ptolemais, of an eques of what was probably the ala VII Phrygum, L. Antonius Valens. His nomen suggests that his family may have received the citizenship from Antony (73), who was generous with grants of citizenship. In this case he probably derived from the eastern half of the empire.

6. The diploma of 139 for Syria Palaestina (XVI 87) was given to a Gaius Lucii f(ilius), who had served as pedes in the cohors II Ulpia Galatarum and who probably joined up at about the time the unit was

created in preparation for Trajan's Parthian war. He indicates his origin - he came from Nicia, Nicaea in Bithynia.

7. Finally a fragmentary inscription from Samaria-Sebaste (74) preserves the first three letters of a tesserarius of a certain cohort V in Palestine. They are plausibly the first three letters of such a name as Arr[untianus or Arr[untanus (75), both nomina of Etruscan origin. This is however a very insecure argument for the soldier's origin.

Under the Flavian emperors Judaea's garrison was largely composed of units from the west, from Thrace, Africa and Spain. The evidence of units' titles is confirmed by the Thracian recipient of the diploma for 86 above (no. 1). Presumably these units began to draw recruits from the regions in which they were based (75A) Diogenes son of Alexander's membership of the cohort I Augusta Thracum is consistent with this view (no. 2). It is supported by the example of Barsimses above (no. 4), from Caesarea.

Under Trajan freshly recruited units from Galatia and Arabia Petraea join the province's garrison. Soldiers from other parts of Asia Minor joined the Galatian units, as is illustrated by Gaius son of Lucius from Nicaea in Bithynia (no. 6).

For the rest of our period the diploma of 186 (56) suggests that there was little change in the composition of the garrison. Presumably the Trajanic units, like those brought to the province by Vespasian, began to fill vacant places with local recruits like Barsimses above (no. 4).

### 3. Recruitment to the garrison of Judaea from c. AD 200 to c. AD 400

For the third century we have only fragments of evidence discussed above (pp 220-224), which indicate the presence of Moorish units in the province, and the career of Subatianus Proculus also discussed (pp 252-3).

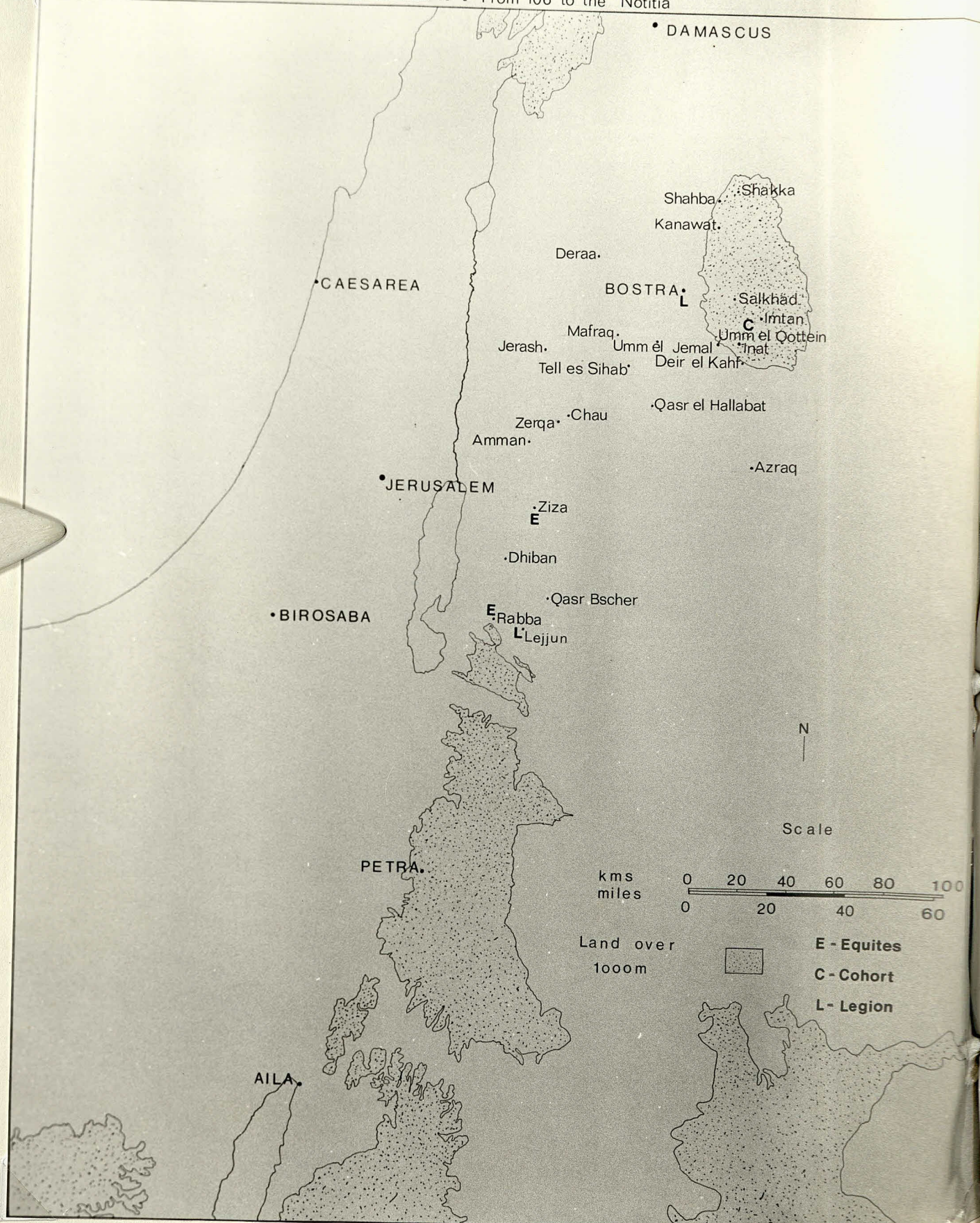
Diocletian's reorganisation brought a change in the province's frontiers and made it a sector of his eastern desert frontier. It received the standard Diocletianic organisation in which units of equites played a major part. Many of these were indigenae, recruited from the inhabitants of the desert fringes (76). The auxilia of older type probably created after 200 were drawn from a variety of sources, ranging from Carthage (ND Or. 34. 39), through Phrygia (ND Or. 34. 41) and Crete (ND Or. 34. 47) to the possibly Severan and locally recruited units of Palestinians (ND Or. 34. 47). Units from outside the ducate continued to be despatched there, as is clear from the presence of a unit created by Valens, emperor of the east from 364 to 378 (77), another of Gratian's, emperor from 375 to 383 (78) and of the presence at Nessana-Auja el Hafir (79) of a *numerus Theodosiacus*, probably a unit established by Theodosius II, emperor from 408-450.

Most plausibly these units from a variety of sources began to draw their recruits from the region in which they were based, as centuries before the units sent to Judaea by Vespasian and Trajan had done. We have so far no evidence for individual recruits. But we know from archaeological evidence (80) that the occupation of the desert frontier regions intensified under Diocletian. Civil settlements will have grown up around military bases, which guarded caravan routes and protected cisterns and valuable cultivable land. Such settlements will no doubt have provided recruits for the old auxilia and the *equites*, who were also possibly drawn from nomadic tribesmen. However for greater precision we will have to await further evidence.

Map I2 Sites in the Arabian provinces from AD 106 to the Notitia

# JUDAEA AND ARABIA

From 106 to the Notitia



## Chapter 7 The Army of Arabia

### I The Arabian Frontier and its Installations (I)

The Roman frontier in Arabia has recently been the object of intensive study, which is still continuing. To provide a backdrop for my discussion of the Roman Army in Arabia it will be helpful to offer a provisional outline of the history of the frontier from AD 106 to c. AD 400, noting the so far published results of recent excavation and exploration. Of this recent work the most important so far has been, firstly, S.T. Parker's pottery survey of the sector of the Roman frontier in Arabia in present-day Jordan (2), which has given a general overall view of the occupation of the frontier region. Secondly, Parker began in 1980 to excavate the fortress of el Lejjun, which lies about 16 kilometres east-north-east of Kerak/Characmoab (3), and his confirmation of a Diocletianic date for the fortress is a major step forward in putting the province's history on a firm basis of fact rather than conjecture.

For the history of the Roman frontier in Arabia from AD 106 we are dependent on inscriptions and recent archaeological work. At first, after the construction of a new road from Bostra south to Aila/Aqaba, the Romans, Parker suggests (4), took over the frontier fortifications of the Nabataean kingdom to which they added new forts. Inscriptions give us some precise detail. The earliest is a fragmentary dedication to Marcus Aurelius, datable to 176-180, from the ruins of the Roman city of Umm el Jemal (5), just east of Trajan's road about 24 kilometres south-south-west of Bostra. It came from the city's main gate, in the north-west, over the link-road to the Trajanic road (6), and refers to the completion of an opus valli. Vallum, with the meaning of ditch, wall and turrets, is found especially in military contexts (7). Possibly a fort was built here c. 176-180 in front of the road and a town later grew up around it.

The evidence of the inscription from Ruwwafa (8), about 250 kilometres south-east of Aqaba, which is datable to I66-I69, makes it clear that in the period after the successful Veran Parthian war the Romans were exercising influence over Beduin tribes far from the major roads and cities of the province. This is attested at a period when the Romans were tightening their grip on the desert fringes, both in south-east Syria (9) and, as the Umm el Jemal inscription suggests, in Arabia.

The defences of Arabia were further strengthened during the Severan period. In I93-4 road-building, begun under Pertinax, was carried out on major roads between cities, including the stretch between Amman/Philadelphia and Bostra (I0). After his victories over Parthia Severus toured the east from late in I99 to early 202 (II) and plausibly encouraged his governor to build a road north of Azraq for which Kennedy (I2) has discovered the milestones. The road improved Azraq's links with the Hauran and blocked the wadi Sirhan, so preventing attacks on the exposed section of road recently worked on between Amman/Philadelphia and Bostra, which, after the abandonment of Azraq in c. AD 400, we find strongly garrisoned in the Notitia. The lack of pottery datable by Parker to before AD 235 (I3) leaves occupation by Severus in doubt ; but other evidence strongly favours occupation at this time. One inscription, which Kennedy dates to c. 200-202 (I4), attests the construction of a fort at Qasr el 'Uweinid, ten kilometres south-west of Azraq; another, also from 'Uweinid, attests the construction of a castellum, a praesidium and a bath-house by a vexillation of the legion III Cyrenaica in 20I (I5). It is highly unlikely that, if 'Uweinid was occupied at this time, Azraq, a major oasis and junction of desert tracks, was left ungarrisoned. This is only confirmed by Kennedy's noting of a fort of playing-card shape, suggesting a date before the middle of the third century, from an aerial photograph (I6).

We thus see under Severus a further tightening of Roman control over the desert fringes of Roman Arabia. The occupation of Azraq gave Rome greater control over the seasonal movements of tribes along the desert fringes and prevented the site's use as a base for a raid on settled Arabia. Roman influence possibly extended in this period even as far as the oasis of al Jawf, beyond the mouth of the wadi Sirhan and about 230 miles south-east of Azraq, if the unpublished altar, set up by a centurion of III Cyrenaica, is datable to this period(17).

Continuing fortification in this region is confirmed by an inscription from the often rebuilt fort of Qasr el Hallabat, which lies about 19 kilometres south-south-west of Umm el Jemal in a region that was once cultivated but is now desert (18). In the walls of the surviving ruins a dedication to Caracalla of AD 212 had been reset, which attested the construction of a *castellum novum* by several auxiliary units (19).

Parker's pottery survey does not allow him to detect traces of the chaos of the mid-third century on the Arabian frontier. Inscriptions do however suggest insecurity here too. Towers were built along major roads, as a last resort to warn of, and offer protection from, sudden raids. From Dhiban, the site of a modern police post, on Trajan's road south about 20 kilometres north of Rabba/Areopolis, we have the building inscription of a tower (20), most probably datable to AD 245-6 (21). At the time of Sapor's two invasions of Syria (22), of 256 and 259, an inscription from Qala'at ez Zerka, about 20 kilometres north-east of Amman, and datable to 253-259 (23), informs us that troops had been transferred from Palestine to protect Arabia, possibly from Arab raiders encouraged by the Persians. Insecurity in Arabia is confirmed by a spate of building, in particular at the town of Deraa /Adraha (24), west of the Jebel Druze. Gates (25), walls (26) and towers (27) were built in the early 260's and more work followed in the 270's (28). Somewhat later, in 278-9 (29), we have evidence for the construction of a wall, probably

for the city, at Bostra, as well as evidence for Arab restiveness at this time (30).

It is clear that from the 250's and down to c280 the Romans were unable to maintain security in the border regions, despite the transfer of troops into the province, and the cities were troubled by raids from the desert.

Diocletian rebuilt the defences of the eastern frontier  $\xi\pi\omicron$  τῆς Ἀλγυπτοῦ εἰς τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων (31). His efforts are clearly reflected in Parker's survey, where he notes an increase in the number of occupied forts from 14 to 30 (32). Even allowing for uncertainty in individual cases, the vast scale of the increased defence effort is clear. The Severan forward defences in the wadi Sirhan around Azraq were restored (33) and the occupation of Azraq itself is attested by an inscription set up by a protector Heraclius, presumably a member of the fort's garrison (34). But Diocletian felt that restoration of the status quo ante was insufficient to meet new threats from the desert. We have evidence of his campaigning against the Arabs in 290 (35) and we know that early in the fourth century a paramount sheikh, Imru'alqais, was uniting the tribes of Arabia under his control (36). It was possibly to meet this threat that the central sector of the Arabian frontier was strongly reinforced by the construction of a legionary fortress at el Lejjun, which Parker is at present excavating (37). He has already confirmed that it and the nearby fort were built c. AD 300 and pottery suggests that a second large fortress at Udruh, about 20 kilometres north-west of Ma'an (38), was constructed at about the same time.

The evidence of archaeology for rebuilding on the frontier is confirmed by inscriptions. From Qasr Bscher (39), on the outer frontier road about 10 miles north-east of Rabba/Areopolis, a dedication was found still in situ over the south gate of the fortlet (40). This was dedicated to the

tetrarchs by the praeses provinciae Arabiae, who " castra praetorii Mobeni .... perfici curavit " (41). The pottery suggests that this was a new Diocletianic fortification (42). Finally we have the fragment of a dedication of AD 306 from Der el Kahf, a ruin in what is now desert about 15 miles south-south-east of Salkhad in the Hauran (43). It is not clear from the pottery if this was a new Diocletianic fort or a rebuilding of an earlier fort (44).

What is clear is that in Arabia, as in Syria, Diocletian attempted to restore and maintain the Severan frontier and, where he saw new threats to Roman trade and communications even on so remote a sector of the frontier as that from Philadelphia to Aqaba, he was prepared to garrison it with strong forces.

The administrative changes in the fourth century have already been noted (see p 276). It will be convenient here to note the general picture during the fourth century for the regions covered by the Notitia ducates of Arabia, roughly coextensive with Trajanic Arabia north of Areopolis/Rabba, and of Palaestina, the southern half of Trajan's Arabia and the frontier region of Syria Palaestina (see p 225). It is possible to gain a general picture of the sectors of these frontiers in modern Jordan from the work of Parker (see the works cited in note I) ; for the western sector of the frontier region in modern Israel a similar overall picture is not so far obtainable (45).

Throughout the fourth century a large number of sites continued to be occupied on the frontiers of the ducates of Arabia and Palaestina facing the desert (46). This is attested by several inscriptions. From Azraq we have a dedication (47) to Constantine Augustus and his two eldest sons as Caesars, which is therefore datable to AD 326-333. It commemorates the construction of a building, referred to on a part of the inscription that has been lost, " [inc]uria vetustate/[parietu?]m in ruina conlapsam." This

fits with the pottery from the site which suggests occupation roughly between the periods 235-284 and 363 (48). The second inscription (49) is more informative. It comes from the desert about 30 miles east of Mafrag, from the south-western edges of the Jebel Druze. It attests the construction of a reservoir by a protector, a Roman military officer, who explains that it was the sight of peasants as they fetched water for their own use being ambushed and slain by Saracens (ie nomadic Arabs) that caused him to build the reservoir. Presumably the construction of the reservoir made it unnecessary for the peasants to use water-points where they were liable to be attacked by desert raiders. This inscription thus gives us a rare insight into the activity of a Roman military official protecting the settled population on the fringes of the desert.

About ten years later, roughly half-way through the reign of Constantius, we have several more inscriptions attesting building on the frontier. Two inscriptions come from Radeime (50), east of Chaqqa in the northern Hauran, a region transferred from Syria Phoenice to Arabia in Diocletian's frontier reforms of about 295 (51). Both inscriptions commemorate the construction of  $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ , one by the praeses, the civil governor, in AD 349 (52), and the other, datable to 348-351, by the dux (53), the military governor, Flavius Silvinianus. He is probably identical with the Salvinianus who occurs on another inscription from the north-east Hauran, from el Aradjeh, about 6 kilometres south-east of Chaqqa (54), datable to AD 351 and commemorating the construction of another  $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ . Roughly contemporary inscriptions attest the construction of towers in the southern Hauran. Under the same Silvinianus a tower was built at or near I'nat, about 7 kilometres north-west of Der el Kahf in the southern Hauran (55), in AD 348. And apparently on his own initiative, a veteran built another tower at el Meskuk, about 6 kilometres south-east of Salkhad, just to the west of the Roman road to Der el Kahf (56).

Clearly in these years the fortifications in the Hauran were being maintained and additions made. It is not clear whether this had anything to do with the major events of the period. It was in AD 350 that Magnentius revolted and Constantius broke off his campaigning in the east against Sapor. So the fortifications may have been designed against raiders encouraged by the Persians. What they do make clear is that the garrison could not guarantee complete security on the desert fringes of the province.

A continuing concern to maintain the fortifications of the Arabian frontier towards the end of the fourth century is attested by a fragmentary dedication from the wall of the fortress at Der el Kahf to Valentinian, Valens and Gratian Augusti (57) - datable therefore to between 367 and 375 - which states that the castellum was "[i]n [...s]ede posit[um] atque [ampli]a [t]um" under the supervision of a dux. Another dedication to the same Augusti comes from Umm el Jemal (58). It commemorates the construction of a burgus. So, under Valens in the east, as under his brother in the west, the frontiers were attended to.

After Adrianople in 378 the likelihood that troops were transferred away from less seriously threatened frontiers like Arabia's is confirmed by the presence of a unit of equites from Arabia with <sup>the</sup> field army at Constantinople in the Notitia (59). From Arabia itself there is some evidence for retrenchment in the later fourth century. The Notitia dispositions, gaining some confirmation from the pottery evidence (60), suggest that Azraq had been given up by c. AD 400 though in compensation the stretch of road across the top of the wadi Sirhan, from Amman/Philadelphia to Bostra, was heavily garrisoned (see pp 281-2).

However that there was continuing concern for the frontiers of Arabia into the fifth century is confirmed by the construction of a new fort (61), though on a site possibly occupied since Diocletianic times (62), which

was built in 411 (63) under the emperor Arcadius at Qasr el Ba'ik, just east of Trajan's road near Umm el Jemal.

In brief therefore the Romans under Trajan took over the Nabataean frontier organisation, building their own arterial road. By the reign of Marcus Aurelius new forts were being built on or near Trajan's road and Roman influence extended far into the desert, to tribal meeting-places like Ruwwafa and frontier posts like Meda'in Saleh. Under Severus Roman troops were moved forward from the urban heartland of the province to at least seasonal bases at and in the neighbourhood of Azraq beyond the head of the wadi Sirhan. In the military collapse of the 250's, despite outside reinforcements, cities felt insecure and built walls for their protection. Diocletian then strengthened the garrison, restored the Severan bases in the wadi Sirhan and massively increased the forces east of the Dead Sea and wadi 'arabah, with legionaries at el Lejjun and plausibly Udruh. No doubt troops were withdrawn for the civil wars of the early fourth century but a heavy occupation of the Arabian frontier continued. However the balance of power shifted during the century to Rome's disfavour. The construction of towers in mid-century suggests insecurity on the desert fringes ; in 372 the Arab queen Mavia was able to break through the frontier defences (see p 277). There were further withdrawals after 378 and by c. AD 400 a retreat from Azraq is likely. Nevertheless it is not until the fifth century that a sharp decline in occupation suggests a drastic weakening in the defences of the frontier (64).

## 2. The Legions: Garrison of Arabia from AD 106 to Diocletian

The only question at issue here is the legionary garrison of the province before the end of Hadrian's reign, by which time III Cyrenaica was at Bostra (1). The earliest reference to the presence of the legion there is in a manuscript of Ptolemy's Geography, written about AD 150 (2). It is not referred to on a precisely datable inscription until early in Marcus Aurelius' reign (3).

But it is not simply a matter of arguing for the date of the move of the legion from its base in Egypt to a new base in Arabia. Soldiers from III Cyrenaica were still operating in Egypt c. 117-119 (4) and in 119 the winter-quarters of III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana were still being referred to (5). However the evidence of papyri suggests very strongly that soldiers of the legion were in Arabia in AD 107-8 (6). We have two letters written to his family at Karanis by a Julius Apollinarius, who was serving in Arabia (7). He was clearly an Egyptian serving with other Egyptians (8) and therefore in a legion from that province. We know from a lease from Karanis (9) that by 119 Apollinarius - and it is difficult to accept that this is not the same person as the writer of the previous letter (10) -, now back in Egypt, was serving in III Cyrenaica. This evidence makes a very strong case for the presence of soldiers from III Cyrenaica in Arabia in the immediate aftermath of the conquest. It is only confirmed by the tombstone of an eques of the legion from Petra (11), the capital of the Nabataean king and the focus of any resistance to the take-over. It can be dated to very early in the second century.

How is it possible to reconcile this evidence for the presence of soldiers from III Cyrenaica in Arabia with that for its presence at Alexandria in 119? There are two possibilities. Either the legion was transferred lock, stock and barrel to Arabia after taking part in the invasion of 106 and was later moved back to Egypt, plausibly at

the time of the revolts in Cyrene and Egypt in c. 117 (12).

Considerable demands were put on the legion at this time. It took part in Trajan's Parthian war (13) and a vexillation was at Jerusalem in 116 (14), to help deal with a rebellious Jewish population.

Later, after Hadrian had given up Trajan's eastern conquests and had over-awed the Parthians in AD 123 (15), he had time to devote attention to the eastern frontier and III Cyrenaica could be brought back from a comparatively tranquil Egypt to Arabia, this time permanently. (16)

The alternative is to suggest that a vexillation of III Cyrenaica remained in the province after the invasion of Arabia and that the legion retained its headquarters in Egypt until it was moved to Arabia under Hadrian after 119. This means that for a good part of the period from 106 to 119 a vexillation remained outposted from its headquarters. This is unusual but it raises the question whether Trajan intended Arabia to have a permanent legionary garrison. The Nabataean kingdom, centring on the remote fastness of Petra, was a kingdom of caravan towns, lacking great cities like Antioch or Alexandria or the threat of attack from a major power like Parthia. Yet legionary engineers were needed for in particular Trajan's grandiose road-building scheme, the cutting and paving of his "via nova a finibus Syriae usque ad mare Rubrum" (17), which he left to C. Claudius Severus, apparently governor for most of Trajan's reign (18). The emperor's father, who had overseen road-building work between Palmyra and Damascus (see *above* pages 36-37), had no doubt spoken to him of the advantages of improving communications on the edge of the desert. Trajan's work will have connected up with what his father had overseen.

In view therefore of the civil engineering that was necessary and the military duties of an occupying force, the guarding of caravans and patrolling of the desert fringes, that were more suited to auxilia than to legions, it is not implausible to suppose that Trajan did not intend Arabia to have a permanent legionary garrison. It will then have been

Hadrian who, after 119, judging that trouble with Parthia and unrest in Judaea needed particularly to be guarded against, transferred III Cyrenaica from Egypt to Bostra in the north of Arabia, from where it could quickly be moved either to Syria or Judaea.

It is clear in conclusion that soldiers of III Cyrenaica were in Arabia between 106 and 119. Whether Arabia was formally assigned III Cyrenaica in its early years must remain as yet unproven.

The picture is also complicated by the evidence for the presence of a second legion in Arabia late in Trajan's and early in Hadrian's reign. First we have a fragmentary dedication to Hadrian (19) on which there is a reference to legion VI Ferrata. The date on the inscription is only partly preserved. Earlier restorations had given two possible dates, either 129/130 (20), in which winter Hadrian visited Gerasa, or 124 (21). Both involved the unusual placing of a figure in front of the cos. of the consular date. The latest restoration, that of Kennedy (22), overcomes this difficulty and plausibly proposes the date of 118/119. The stone is very likely to be a fragment of a building inscription (23). If so, then part at least of the legion was in Arabia in 118/119, soon after the conclusion of Trajan's Parthian war. That the legion was present for more than just a brief visit is suggested by the tombstone of an optio of VI Ferrata found at Bostra (24), though the soldier himself came from Amman-Philadelphia. The legion had therefore been drawing recruits from Arabia. And the fact that the optio was buried at Bostra and not at his home town of Amman-Philadelphia is most easily explained if he was serving at the time of his death at Bostra, then, as later, the legionary base of the province. Further confirmation of the presence of VI Ferrata in Arabia comes from a recently discovered fragmentary inscription from Amman (25). Only the left-hand half of the stone has survived. It reads VEXIL [LATIO] / LEG V [... and the most plausible restoration of the last line is of LEG V [I Ferr(atae)]. No other legion based in the east has a Roman number beginning with V.

The presence of VI Ferrata in Arabia early in Hadrian's reign is surprising. For Hadrian the main priorities at the beginning of his reign were the Danube and the frontier with Parthia, and VI Ferrata had previously been most plausibly based at Samosata (see above pp 15, 38-9 ), blocking a Euphrates crossing-point. Possibly III Cyrenaica - or a vexillation of the unit - had to be removed from Arabia to Egypt to deal with trouble there c. 117 and its place was taken by VI Ferrata, which could be spared as a legion had come from the west, which allowed XVI Flavia from Satala in Cappadocia to occupy Ferrata's most likely base at Samosata (26). Finally, and possibly as result of Hadrian's visit to the eastern provinces c. 123, VI Ferrata was moved to Caparcotna in the by now consular province of Syria Palaestina (27) (see above pp 199-200 ). Its move no doubt coincided with the permanent transfer of III Cyrenaica from Egypt to Bostra.

It is likely in sum that III Cyrenaica took part in the invasion of Arabia in 106 and that troops from the legion remained in the new province for much of Trajan's reign. By early in Hadrian's reign - 118/9 by Kennedy's dating (28) - troops from VI Ferrata were in Arabia, allowing the return of the III Cyrenaica presence to Egypt. But VI Ferrata was probably by about AD 130 (see above p.200 ) moved to Syria Palaestina and its place in turn taken by III Cyrenaica, which finally moved its head-quarters to Arabia. The precise date of the move is unclear. The legion's place in Egypt was almost certainly taken by II Traiana, first attested there in 127-8 (29). But the question of the date is complicated by the mysterious disappearance of the long-standing second legion in Egypt, XXII Deiotariana, which is no longer attested from about this period. The move of III Cyrenaica most probably took place in the 120's, giving time for VI Ferrata to leave signs of its presence in Syria Palaestina under Hadrian (see above p.199), and was possibly ordered by Hadrian while in the east.

After the dedication to Marcianus, the governor of 162-166 (30), the legion is often mentioned on inscriptions from Arabia. Marcianus' successor, Antistius Adventus, received a dedication (31) and during the early third century such dedications become increasingly numerous. Optiones and principales of the legion set up one to Septimius Severus (32). The legion has the title Antoniniana on an inscription from Athila-Atil, about three miles north-east of Souweida (33). And a soldier of the legion, who had perished in Mesopotamia during the eastern campaigns of Caracalla and Macrinus (215-218), was buried at Bostra in 219-220 (34).

For a period in the third century a detachment of the legion was based at Dura. An inscription of 216 attests the construction of an amphitheatre jointly by vexillations of IV Scythica and III Cyrenaica (35). The legion's presence at Dura between 211 and 222 is confirmed by the inscription of leg(io) III Cyr(enaica) Antonin[iana] on the west doorway of the praetorium (36).

From the later third century we have a dedication (37) to Aelius Aurelius Theo by the optios and centurions of leg(io) III Kyr (enaica) Valeriana Galliena, datable from the legion's titles to the joint reigns of Valerius and Gallienus (253-259). That a rump at least of the legion remained at Bostra throughout our period is clear from a reference to the legion in the Notitia (38).

The auxilia in Arabia The evidence for the units of auxilia in Arabia has been recently collected by Speidel (39). It is nevertheless worth briefly noting the units attested in the province against a chronological framework and discussing the problems that arise.

Before 106 Before its annexation there was a Roman military presence on the borders of Arabia. From Gerasa, which belonged to the Decapolis and therefore to Syria before its incorporation into Arabia (40), we have three tombstones of equites of the ala Thracum Augusta (41). All of them date to the first century. The ala was probably moved to Gerasa after the first Jewish war.

After the annexation of Arabia, when Gerasa ceased to be a Roman frontier region, we have no further evidence for the unit either from Gerasa itself or Arabia. What we do have is a diploma of 107 for Raetia (48) and inscriptions from Traismauer on the Danube bank in Noricum, one of which is datable to 140-144 (43), attesting there an ala I Augusta Thracum. The only difference between the titles of the units on these two lots of inscriptions is that on those from Gerasa the ala is Thracum Augusta and on those from the west it is Augusta Thracum. This is not an insuperable obstacle to identification, especially as the ala Thracum Augusta is not again attested in the east. If this is right we must assume a transfer from Gerasa to the Danube by Domitian or Trajan.

From 106 to Diocletian Alae From Chahba, ancient Philippopolis in the northern Hauran (44), we have a dedication in honour of the father of the emperor Philip by the equites of the ala celerum Philippiana (45). The inscription can therefore be dated to 244-249. The ala is not otherwise attested in Arabia and only one other inscription referring to an ala celerum is known (46). The unit was probably only temporarily at Philippopolis.

The evidence for the presence of at least a detachment of an ala dromedariorum confirms the spread of direct Roman control far beyond the cities on or in the neighbourhood of Trajan's road in the late second and early third centuries. The evidence consists of graffiti in which soldiers' names are given, which suggest that they were inscribed

during this period (47). These graffiti were discovered at a site near Meda'in Saleh, which lies just north of el 'Ula, about three hundred miles south-east of Aqaba, on a modern track from Roman Arabia to Medina. Meda'in Saleh lies about 120 miles south-east of Ruwafa, where the dedication of 166-169, attesting the intervention of the governor of Arabia as peacemaker between desert tribes, was found (48). The Roman forces were no doubt supervising the caravan traffic from Arabia and keeping an eye on the tribes in the region (49).

Also attested at Meda'in Saleh is an ala Γετουρων (50) or Γετουλων (51), which is certainly an ala Gaetulorum, very probably the ala veterana Gaetulorum in Judaea in 86 (52). This is confirmed by a dedication from Tomi in Moesia Inferior by an ἐπαρχος ἑπτῶν ἀλῆς Γαυτουλων των ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ (53), dated by its editor to the later second to early third century - perhaps to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (54). The ala presumably moved from Judaea to Arabia in 106 and became a permanent member of the province's garrison.

Another ala attested only once in Arabia is the ala nova firma milliaria cataphractaria Philippiana (55). This heavy-armed cavalry unit was in Germany in the 230's, having probably been transferred thither from the east by Severus Alexander in 234 (56). The Arabian inscription is a dedication by a prefect of the ala to his praepositus, formerly equestrian prefect of the legio I Parthica and dux. What the prefect of the ala was doing at Bostra during Philip's reign is not clear but it is unlikely that such a valuable unit remained for so long in the comparative backwater of a province like Arabia.

Possibly a garrison in Arabia was an anonymous ala secunda. From Canatha-Qanawat in the Hauran we have the tombstone of a Tiberius Claudius Natarelus στρατηγικὸς ἀρχηγὸς δεκουριῶν τ[ῆς] β' ἀλῆς (57). But so far no ala secunda has otherwise been attested in Arabia.

We thus have evidence for only two alae in Arabia in the second century - those attested on the graffiti from the Meda'in Saleh region. It would be risky to assume that the other two alae, in Arabia during Philip's reign, were part of the province's permanent garrison. Philip, who came from Chahba-Philippopolis in the north of the Hauran, no doubt took special measures for the security of his province of origin.

Cohorts    Cohors V Afrorum Severiana    Soldiers from this unit assisted in the construction of a new fort at Qasr el Hallabat (58), south of the city of Umm el Jemal, early in the reign of Caracalla. Neither this unit nor any other Severan African cohort is elsewhere attested (59). It is another of the numerous auxiliary units created by Severus for the garrison of the east and may well have formed part of a composite series which included cohorts VI I[turaeorum], IX Maurorum, XII Palaestinorum and XX Palmyrenorum, all in Syria in the Severan period (60).

Cohors I Hispanorum    This cohort has not so far been attested in Arabia. But on a diploma for Egypt (61) of the 24th September 105, just before the invasion of Arabia, two cohorts are listed as "extranatae in Iudaeam". One of these is the cohors I Hispanorum. It is a plausible guess that it was moved to Judaea for Trajan's annexation of Arabia (62).

Cohors VI Hispanorum    This cohort is referred to in a single datable inscription, a dedication of 212 to Caracalla from Qasr el Hallabat (63). Two fragments of career inscriptions belong to officers who commanded the unit (64) but neither is datable. We also have a tombstone from Syria. This was set up by a C. Laberius Fronto, "mil(es) coh(ortis) VI Hisp(anorum)" for his son (65). It came from el Basiri, about 90 kilometres south-west of Palmyra on the road to Damascus. Again it is not datable but was perhaps set up by Fronto when the cohort was based in Syria and before it was transferred to Arabia. His burial of his son suggests he was at that time permanently settled in the area.

Cohors I Thebaeorum Like the cohors I Hispanorum above this unit was transferred to Judaea late in 105 (66) and is not again attested, either in Judaea or Arabia. But it probably took part in Trajan's take-over of Arabia.

Cohors I Augusta Thracum This unit was in Syria in 88 (67). Fairly shortly afterwards it was transferred to Palestine. At Kurnub, on the north-eastern borders of the Negev, was found the tombstone of an eques of the cohort (68), datable to the Flavian-Trajanic period. The cohort was perhaps transferred for the annexation of Arabia, where, unusually, the unit is several times attested. We have two inscriptions from Imtan, ancient Motha, which lies about seven miles south-east of Salchad in the southern Hauran, and another from Umm el Quottein, about nine miles west-south-west of Motha-Imtan. The cohort was clearly based in this area (69).

The existence of a cohors I Thracum distinct from the above is possible but open to some doubt. To postulate such a unit avoids the difficulties involved in identifying the cohors I Thracum of the Judaeian diploma of 86 (70) with either the cohors I Augusta Thracum in Syria in 88 (71) or the cohors I Thracum milliaria in Syria in 91 (72). We also have two references to a straightforward cohors I Thracum in Arabia. The first is on the building inscription from Qasr el Hallabat (73). Soldiers of the cohors I Thrac(um) assisted in constructing the fort. The second reference is of much later date. We find in the Notitia a cohors prima Thracum under the dux Arabiae (74). But neither of these references renders the existence of such a cohors I Thracum beyond doubt. On the Hallabat inscription there is considerable abbreviation of the titles of the units and alterations and omissions from a unit's title may easily be envisaged in the gap of almost two centuries down to the Notitia.

A final possible Thracian cohort we again owe to the Hallabat inscription (75). The fourth cohort there listed was in all probability the cohors III T(h)r(acum) (76). Two other cohortes III Thracum appear in the east. One of these is the cohors III Augusta Thracum, in winter-quarters north of Dura in AD 227 (77), which was probably based on the Mesopotamian limes (78). The second is the cohors III Thracum Syriaca, based probably near Palmyra till at least the end of the second century (79). Identification with either of these units is possible but it is simpler to assume the move of the latter unit from the Palmyra region to Arabia than the transfer of the III Augusta Thracum from Mesopotamia.

The above evidence gives us the identity of six and possibly seven cohorts based for at least part of our period in Arabia. It is insufficient, particularly in the absence of diplomas, to give some idea of the size of the province's garrison, which probably fluctuated greatly between 106 and the late third century, reaching a peak during Severus' reign and declining thereafter. The evidence does however fill out that of the building work in the frontier regions, which suggested the garrisoning of important desert tracks at points well beyond the major cities of the province, in addition to sites closer to the province's settled fringes. Azraq was almost certainly occupied during the Severan period. Third century occupation is implied by the pottery (80). En Nemara, a remote site about 60 kilometres north-east of Souweida in the Hauran, was also occupied in the late second to third centuries. It lay on the northern boundaries of the Trajanic province of Arabia, the frontiers of which probably ran through the middle of the Hauran until at least Severus' reign and possibly later (81), though by Diocletian's reign the northern Hauran and el Leja had been transferred to the northern province of Arabia. But, whichever province it belonged to administratively in the late second to third century, the site had military connections with Arabia, for we have several references to the Arabian legion, III Cyrenaica (82), in addition to the tombstones of a decurion (83) and a cameleer (84). South of en Nemara

we know that the sites of Motha-Imtan (85), of Umm el Jemal (86) and Qasr el Hallabat (87) were occupied during the same period. Then the extent of Roman control beyond Aqaba is emphasised by the graffiti of troopers from the Gaetulian ala and the unit of cameleers from Meda'in Saleh (88), from where we also have the inscription of a painter from the Arabian legion, III Cyrenaica (89).

We have a final piece of evidence for the working of the army on the desert fringes in the Severan period. This is an inscription from I'nat, in the southern Hauran, about four miles south-south-west of Motha-Imtan, which is datable to AD 208 (90). This is the tome of Gouththa (Γουθηθα), son of Herminarius, who was in charge of the gentiles enrolled at Motha. In third century we find in the west gentiles, men from the tribes on the empire's frontiers, recruited and formed into irregular units. The gentiles at Motha were most probably Goths recruited into the Roman army, comparable with Brittones and Mauri gentiles (91). The inscription from I'nat suggests that numeri in the sense of irregular units recruited from local tribesmen, were being used in Arabia early in the third century, no doubt to assist the regular auxilia with the policing of the frontier.

### 3. The Roman Army in Arabia from Diocletian to the Notitia

Diocletian greatly strengthened the Roman forces in Syria and Mesopotamia (I). Recent archaeological work has provided solid confirmation that Roman forces in Arabia were also reinforced. The province was however drastically reorganised during this period. Probably under Diocletian the Trajanic province was split into a northern half extending from el Leja, the rough region north-west of the Hauran, south to beyond the city of Rabba-Areopolis on Trajan's road (2) and a southern half, which included Petra and environs and Aqaba at the head of the Red Sea (3). The southern half was joined to the province of Palestine by 325 at the latest (4).

We are therefore concerned here with two Diocletianic provinces of Arabia, roughly co-extensive with the Trajanic province. During Diocletian's reign two large forts were built (5), at el Lejjun - possibly ancient Betthoro, the base of legion IV Martia in the Notitia (6) -, which lies about 10 miles south-east of Rabba-Areopolis, and Udruh, near Petra. The evidence for building work has already been noted (7) and a recent pottery survey suggests a heavier occupation of the desert fringes from Diocletian's reign (8). Thus during the early fourth century, as further north, strong forces were based in the two Arabian provinces on the very edge of the settled land to ward off incursions from the desert.

However from the reunification, which had taken place by 325, down to the Notitia, the province lost the southern stretch of Trajan's road and became a frontier sector, though a major one, commanding the wadi Sirhan, between Syria Phoenice and Palaestina Salutaris. A dense occupation of sites on the desert margins continued during this period and Ammianus (9) notes the strategic location of forts at passes to prevent the entry of raiding parties from the desert into the settled part of the province. It is this organisation that we find in the Notitia.

There is some evidence that Diocletian had to face a real threat to Roman control of Arabia. The fall of Palmyra and a northward migration of tribes (10) aided the rise of the Lakhmid dynasty, which held court at al Hira on the north-eastern borders of the Syrian desert. It lay in the nature of the free-for-all of nomadic life in the deserts of Arabia that a talented sheikh could carve out a dominant position for himself. In the late third century the influence of Rome on desert politics waned and it is probable that Imru'lqais, almost certainly the second king of the Lakhmid dynasty (11), was such a paramount sheikh. He died in 328 and his tomb was discovered at en Nemara, a site in the desert about 60 kilometres north-north-east of Souweida in the Hauran, where Roman troops had been based in the second- early third century (12) and from where we have a Diocletianic boundary stone (13). Imru'lqais' conquests included Nejran, just north of the North Yemeni border in Saudi Arabia, and it may have been against the raiding expeditions of such a powerful sheikh that Diocletian's fortresses at el Lejjun and Udhruh were directed.

Later in the fourth century Ammianus in his description of the province of Arabia under the year 354 implies that Arabia was a province on the defensive (14) and in his narrative of Julian's Persian expedition in 363 refers to a paramount sheikh of the tribe of Assanitae who had ravaged Roman territory with every kind of cruelty (15). That the balance of power had altered to the Roman's disfavour by the later fourth century is confirmed by an episode datable to 372 (15A). The widowed Arab queen Mavia ravaged the cities of Phoenice and Palaestina as far as Egypt (16). Clearly Diocletian's provinces of Palaestina, the two Arabias and Phoenice must have suffered. The dux of Phoenice called on the assistance of the magister militum per Orientem but their combined forces were defeated by Mavia. After the battle peace was patched up by negotiation and the whole tribe converted to Christianity.

This was clearly an exceptional episode. Relations between the Roman authorities and major tribes on the empire's borders did not usually break down so badly. It does however illustrate that the Romans were not always fully able to control powerful sheikhs of tribes on the desert fringes. The network of forts needs to be seen against this background. Raiding was part of the way of life of the desert tribes and, despite normally friendly relations with major sheikhs, constant vigilance was necessary to protect the settled population of the desert fringes.

Dispositions (17) The recent pottery survey of that sector of the Arabian frontier in Jordan (18) gives us some idea of the complexity of the organisation of the frontier defences. Further precision will come only from excavation but it is worthwhile in general to note the small size of the forts of this period. One of the few desert stations that has been excavated, that of Nessana-Auja el Hafir in the north-west Negev, had a fort built in the early fifth century that was only 0.3 ha in size (19). The fortlet at Qasr Bscher, with its Diocletianic inscription over the gate, has an internal area of only 0.17 ha. (20). It is risky to argue from the size of ruined forts unless they have building inscriptions and there is no apparent evidence for later rebuilding. But the small size of the above two forts and the large number of sites with Roman sherds datable to the fourth century - far more numerous than the sites listed in the Notitia - suggest that units had many contingents out-posted, so providing a dense network of posts to intercept nomadic <sup>raids</sup> and confirming the picture given by Ammianus (21). It is only a skeleton of this network that is provided by the Notitia.

It is nevertheless worthwhile attempting to locate as many as possible of the Notitia's place-names on the ground. The names have been thoroughly discussed by Dom<sup>a</sup>szewski (22) and Br<sup>u</sup>nnow in particular (23), although they are too inclined to attach names to surviving ruins. Many Roman ruins, especially in regions that have continued to be inhabited, have disappeared. They include the fort of the equites at Motha (24), certainly modern Imtan, a village in the south of the Hauran, where Butler (25) noted numerous remains of occupation "but little or nothing in situ or not changed through the construction of the modern town". It is unlikely that the example of Motha-Imtan is unique. The headquarters of auxiliary units will not infrequently have been major settlements, with vexillations outpos<sup>e</sup>d, as we find with the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum at Dura. The siting of such settlements in Arabia often depended on the availability of water and the same sites will therefore have tended to be occupied in later periods. Roman remains are more likely at remoter sites.

However the whereabouts of several bases in the Notitia is fairly certain. Of those of the equites Illyriciani Ziza (26) should be the Jiza of the present day, which lies about 30 kilometres south of Philadelphia-Amman. There are considerable ruins here (27) and also a modern police post. Then Areopolis is certainly the Greek name for Rabba, formerly a city in Moab in Trajan's road (28) and still today a town in Jordan on the road to Aqaba. None of the other sites can be securely identified. (29)

None of the bases of the four equites indigenae can be precisely located, though the approximate site of Gadda (30) is clear. According to the Peutinger table it lay 12 miles from Philadelphia-Amman on a route to Bostra (31). Brunnow pins it down to some ruins at Chau, east of Qala'at ez Zerka, which are about the right distance from Philadelphia-Amman (32). It was clearly a settlement on the road from Philadelphia to Bostra. The identification of Speluncae with Der el

Kahf (33) is also possible but there are numerous caves in the Hauran area. There was certainly a fourth century fort there (34) but whether it was the base of a unit or merely an outpost we cannot say. The surviving ruins, which have probably suffered considerable rebuilding since the fourth century, may however preserve the original size of the fort. They cover an area of only 0.3 ha.

Four of the eight units of equites can therefore - if only approximately - be located. Three of these are on the line of Trajan's road, protecting the province's main artery of trade and communication, with the fourth at Motha-Imtan on the cultivated fringes of the province. The other units were no doubt distributed within the frontier zone which reached round the Jebel Hauran. The base at Motha-Imtan emphasises that there was no hard and fast scheme by which equites lay back from the frontier behind a screen of alae and cohorts.

Of the two legions III Cyrenaica remained at the capital of the Trajanic province, Bostra (35). A second legion, the IV Martia, had been based in the northern half of Arabia since Diocletian's reign (36). Most probably the Notitia's Betthoro (37) was the ruined fortress of el Lejjun, about 10 kilometres east of Areopolis-Rabba (38). With a size of only 4.6 ha. (11.5 acres) it is too small to accommodate the 6,000 men of an early imperial legion. The IV Martia may have been of smaller size from the first (39) or have had vexillations permanently outposted, as had for example the Diocletianic legio II Herculia, which was divided into three parts in Scythia (40). Similarly the legio I Iovia was divided into four vexillations in the same province (41). Both of these Diocletianic creations will have been originally of the size of early imperial legions. This may well have also been true of IV Martia and a vexillation of this unit may have been outposted at Udhruh (42), a fortress about 20 kilometres east of Petra. With an area of c. 4.7 ha. - 11.7 acres this is only comparable in size with el Lejjun in Arabia and with vexillation fortresses of the early empire

excavated in the west (43). The pottery is compatible with occupation from the reign of Diocletian and throughout the fourth century (44).

Of the five cohorts two were based in the neighbourhood of the wadi Mujib, the ancient Arnon, which joins the Dead Sea about half-way along its length. One cohort was based "in ripa Vade Afaris fluvii in castris Arnonensibus" (45); another is based apud Arnona (46). Their precise sites are uncertain but Parker (47) lists 2 forts on Trajan's road near the wadi (48) probably occupied during the fourth century. Further east are outposts occupied during the same period (49).

Further north beside Trajan's road between Bostra and Philadelphia-Amman the Notitia's Adtitha (50) is certainly the Hatita of the Peutinger table, which is further <sup>from</sup> Gadda-Chau on a route to Can<sup>a</sup>tha-Qanawat in the Hauran. It is possibly to be located at el Hadid, a fort near Zarqa (51) by Trajan's road, which was probably occupied during the fourth century. A second unit, an ala created more plausibly by Valens, who ruled the east from 364 to 378, than his brother, emperor of the west from 364 to 375, was also based apud Adittha (52), which must be Adtitha. This reinforcement of the stretch of road between Philadelphia-Amman and Bostra in the later fourth century comes at about the time of Mavia's ravages. By this period Roman control of Azraq and environs had been given up. No base in the Notitia can plausibly be identified with Azraq and pottery suggests that Roman occupation of the site ceased about the middle of the fourth century (53). Such an evacuation of this strategic site blocking the wadi Sirhan left Trajan's road north-east of Amman Philadelphia open to attack by nomadic tribesmen coming up the wadi Sirhan. It was probably against such a threat that the Valentinian ala was intended. The vulnerability of this stretch of road when Azraq was not occupied is illustrated by the fact that under Turkish rule this stretch of road remained unsafe for travellers during the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. (54)

Of the other ala bases only that of Thainatha (55), the Thantia of the Peutinger table, 24 miles from Bostra on the road from Philadelphia-Amman, can be roughly located. A precise location at Tell es Sihab, by the twenty-fourth milestone on Trajan's road from Bostra, has been suggested (56). Although no significant Roman remains have so far been discovered here, the base was clearly in this area. The ala in garrison was also created by Valens to reinforce the stretch of road discussed above.

Combined with the pottery evidence for occupation of sites the Notitia list gives us a good idea of how the Arabian frontier from the Hauran to Rabba-Areopolis was garrisoned about 400. Troops were concentrated in the region of the wadi Mujib in the south both on the line of Trajan's road and further east. North of the wadi Mujib were forts like Khirbet ez Zona (57), about 10 kilometres south of Jiza. Then the road from Amman-Philadelphia to Bostra was heavily garrisoned, with units at Chau-Gadda, Thainatha and two at Adtitha-el Hadid. The pottery survey has confirmed the existence of forts only at Adtitha-el Hadid in addition to the already secure Qasr el Ba'iq (58), possibly an outpost of a unit of equites based in the town of Umm el Jemal (59), and Qasr el Hallabat, both of which have produced Roman building inscriptions (60). But it is clear that four units garrisoned this stretch of road by about AD 400. Such a strong force was, as we have seen, necessitated by the Roman withdrawal from Azraq. Finally in the sector of the fourth century province of Arabia in modern Syria we do not have the benefit of a pottery survey of frontier sites. The margins of the Hauran were clearly garrisoned. A unit of equites was based at Motha-Imtan (61). There was a fourth century fort at Der el Kahf (62), about 15 miles south-east of Salkhad and on a track from Azraq to the Hauran. Then some attention was devoted to the eastern fringes of the Hauran - we hear of a  $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  built at

el Aradjeh, just south-east of Chaqqa on the north-eastern edge of the Hauran (63) in 351 and of another at Radeime in the northern Hauran built in 348 (64). But the country east of the Hauran is difficult and there are few tracks through it. Few of the province's garrison will have been needed to protect this part of the province.

#### 4. The Identity of the Arabian army in the fourth century AD

The composition of the army of the dux of Arabia was similar to that of the dux of Phoenice. Both provinces performed similar functions. The Diocletianic province of Arabia, stretching approximately from the rough country of el Leja around the Hauran and down Trajan's road to Rabba-Areopolis, now formed the next sector of settled land which had to be defended against marauders from the desert. The main difference from Phoenice, with its long tracks along the desert margins, like that from Damascus to Palmyra, always vulnerable to raids from tribes in north Syria, is that Arabia is vulnerable from the desert mainly from the wadi Sirhan. More static defences could protect the densely populated Hauran and the settlements along Trajan's road. This difference is reflected in the smaller number of mobile units of equites in Arabia - eight, compared with twelve in Phoenice.

The epigraphic evidence for units in the province in this period is scanty. We have a mere two inscriptions:

Datable to 350 AD and from Imtan is the tombstone of a Lucius Ursus, who was *actuarius*, or quartermaster, of the vexillation of Mothani (1). About fifty years later we find at Motha-Imtan in the *Notitia* (2), from which the adjective *Mothanus* clearly comes, a unit of equites *Illyriciani*. This will almost certainly have been the unit in which Ursus was serving. By the fourth century the term *vexillatio* had come to mean specifically a unit of cavalry (3).

The second inscription is a dedication to Valentinian, Valens and Gratian from Umm el Jemal (4). This commemorates the construction of a *burgus* by the "*devotissimi equites VIII Dalmatae*". In the *Notitia* we find a unit of equites *Dalmatae Illyriciani*, based at Ziza (5), probably modern Jiza (6), where extensive ruins have been noted (7) and which lies about twenty miles south of Amman-Philadelphia. The two units are perhaps identical.

The other units of equites are unattested in the province and their undistinctive titles offer us no help for their history.

Of the *alae* two are clearly Valentinianic reinforcements (8). We have already noted the refurbishing of Der el Kahf during the joint reigns of Valens and Valentinian, between 367 and 375 (9), and the *burgus* built at Umm el Jemal (10). Both the Valentinianic units were, as we saw (11), based in the same area, between Amman-Philadelphia and Bostra, and one joined a unit already in this sector, at Adtitha-el Hadid (12). The frontier was thus continuing to receive attention in the later fourth century.

Then the *ala* II Constantiana (13) was probably a Constantinian unit but cannot be connected with any attested frontier work. The only building during Constantine's reign was at Azraq, between 326 and 333 (14).

The *ala* VI Hispanorum (15) had almost certainly been promoted from the *cohors* VI Hispanorum, referred to in the Hallabat building inscription of 212 (16). A probable parallel for such promotion found in the *Notitia* is the *ala* I miliaria Sebastena under the *dux* of Palestine (17), which probably derived from the *cohors* I Sebastena miliaria, in Palestine in 186 (18).

At least one cohort had been in Arabia since the second century. The *cohors prima Thracum* (18A), whether identical with the *cohors* I Augusta Thracum, which was active in the southern Hauran (19), or a distinct cohort, had been in Arabia from at least 212 (20), when it joined in the construction of a fort at Qasr el Hallabat.

The *cohors* I miliaria Thracum (ND Or. 37. 31) is very probably descended from the *cohors* I Thracum miliaria, last attested in Palestine in 186 (21). The tendency in the third century was for troops garrisoning the hinterland to be moved to the margins of the settled land. So *legio* X Fretensis was transferred from Jerusalem to Aila at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. Also a transfer from Palestine

to Arabia "tutelae gratia" is revealed by an inscription of 253-259 from Qala'at ez Zerka (22), just north-east of Amman-Philadelphia. It is worth noting that the Thracian cohort's base at Adtitha-el Hadid lay very near Qala'at ez Zerka, though it would be rash to suppose that the unit formed part of the force which constructed the fort referred to in the inscription. (22A)

The cohorts VIII voluntaria (23) is not otherwise attested in Arabia. A unit of this title is however attested in Dalmatia, at the latest in 245 (24). Either there were two such cohorts or the Dalmatian unit was transferred to the east in the late third or fourth century. In favour of the second alternative is the parallel case of the cohorts III Alpinorum (25). Such a unit had been in Dalmatia from the early Principate (26) and was last attested in Pannonia in about 200 AD (27). Possibly both units were brought to the east by Aurelian, when he brought an army from the west against Palmyra (28).

Finally the cohorts III felix Arabum is a rare, well-labelled case of a unit that was originally recruited in the province where it remained in garrison (29).

Into the formal structure of the Notitia command of the dux of Arabia a variety of units has been fitted. What is most notable about those in Arabia is that the old-style auxilia de minore laterculo are still seen to be playing an active role in the defence of the frontier. It was not units of equites that Valens created but cohorts to garrison his renovated defences on the desert fringes. Clearly such units continued during the late fourth century to complement the more modern units of equites on the frontier.

CHAPTER EIGHT    Recruitment to the army of Arabia

1.    Before 106    We have four inscriptions from Gerasa which date from before the creation of the province of Arabia.    Gerasa then belonged to the league of the Decapolis and so technically to the province of Syria, not Arabia.    But it is worthwhile noting Roman military treatment of this area before it became part of Roman Arabia.

We have three tombstones of equites of an ala Thracum Augusta, based at Gerasa during the Flavian period.

The first is of a Doritses Tarsi f(ilius), who was an eques of the ala Thracum Augusta (1).    Both the name of the trooper and his father are demonstrably Thracian - Doritses is one version of a fairly common name (2), while Tarsus is very common (3).    Without a doubt Doritses was a native of Thrace.

The next two inscriptions have both Greek and Latin texts.    The first of these was set up for a Val(erius) Tenes Eptacentis f(ilius), whose praenomen is unclear from the inscription (4).    His father's name, Eptacentus, is a common Thracian one (5), though Tenes is not otherwise attested.    Clearly Valerius was the first member of his family to receive the citizenship.    His brother was probably also serving in the ala.    He will also therefore have been of Thracian origin, though his name Veases (6) is not elsewhere attested.

The third trooper in the ala was another Thracian non-citizen (7).    His name, Ziemices (8), is unparalleled (9), as is that of his father, Ziopes.    But they are certainly of Thracian type.    The name of the decurion of Ziemices' turma is also given on the inscription.    He was a G(aius) Vesper.    The name of the commander of Doritses' turma, Terentius, is likewise thoroughly Roman and betrays no Thracian connection.

We have finally a dedication (10), datable to between 83 and 96 from the title Germanicus borne by the emperor Domitian, which he received in 83 (11). This was set up by a Titus [Fla]vius son of Dionysius Epe[.....], who was a veteran decurion. He was certainly a native of Gerasa - he tells us that he built a section of theatre benches for his native city (12). His praenomen and nomen, Titus and Flavius, make it clear that he received the citizenship from one of the Flavian emperors. But the question we have to ask to be sure of Flavius' relevance here is the province in which he served. It is tempting to suppose that he served in the Thracian ala to which the soldiers discussed above belonged. His office of decurion makes it clear that he served in a mounted unit, or at least a unit with a cavalry contingent. But if he joined the Thracian ala about 70 AD, the most probable date of its arrival in Gerasa, he would not have received his honesta missio until 95, which is rather close to the upper limit of the inscription's date, 96 AD, the year of Domitian's death. Flavius' service in the ala Thracum Augusta must thus remain uncertain.

The ala I Thracum Augusta, when it came to the east, was clearly composed largely of troopers, who were natives of Thrace, but may have recruited locals like Titus Flavius when at Gerasa. It was officered by Roman citizens, whose names bear no trace of Thracian influence. They were probably either Italians or from Roman colonies. The unit was most likely back in the west before 107, when an ala I Augusta Thracum<sup>was</sup> attested in Raetia (13).

## 2. Recruitment from 106 to Diocletian

Commanding Officers For the second century we have very few commanders of units in Arabia. The earliest is a Tiberius Claudius Phi [ (14), whose career was given in an honorary inscription of the Palmyrene, M. Ulpius Iarhai (15), to whom several statues were set up between 155 and 159. This gives an approximate terminus ante quem for Claudius' career, which he must have followed during Antoninus Pius' reign.

It is his first command that is relevant here, his prefecture of the cohorts I Augusta Thracum equitata, attested on several inscriptions from the southern Hauran (16). He later went on to serve as tribune in the Syrian legion, XVI Flavia Firma, based at Samosata (17), modern Samsat on the Euphrates in south-eastern Turkey, and for his third militia as prefect of a unit of Palmyrene cameleers.

The surviving part of Claudius' cognomen, Phi [ ....., suggests an eastern rather than a western origin - there are numerous Greek names beginning with these letters - and it is possible that he came from Palmyra. On the inscription he is described as πολειτη]ν της Παλμυρη- [v]ων πολεως. This does not however prove the point. Honorary citizenship was often conferred by the Palmyrenes on commanders of units based at Palmyra. This is proved in the case of C. Vibius Celer (18) and probable in that of Julius Julianus (19). In this case though there is no reason to suppose that any of Claudius' commands were held at Palmyra itself, though the ala of cameleers will have been based on the fringes of the desert, probably in south-eastern Syria. The date of the inscription, which is roughly assignable to the reign of Antoninus Pius (20), is also compatible with a Palmyrene commander of an auxiliary unit in Syria. The first attested such commander belongs to Antoninus Pius' reign (21). However it would be surprising to find a native of Palmyra in charge of a unit from his own city and the case for Palmyrene origin must remain unproved. The officer may have come from elsewhere in the east and his citizenship may be honorary.

Another probably second century commander of a unit in Arabia, the *ala veterana Gaetulorum*, is the Sedatius Apollonius who set up a dedication (22) in the provincial capital of Moesia Inferior, Tomi, to the Ἡρώς Μανιβάζου, a Thracian hero elsewhere spelled Μανιμάσου (23). The inscription is dated by its editor to the late second to early third century, which fits with the absence of praenomen.

Sedatius' names offer hints of his origin. Sedatius is listed in Holder (24) as a Celtic name but is found as far east as Palmyra (25). But the cognomen Apollonius and the Greek text of the inscription suggest an eastern origin. The dedication to Manibazus points to acceptance of this local cult. Perhaps Sedatianus came from a Greek family from a city in one of the Danubian provinces.

A third commander of an Arabian auxiliary unit is an Avitius Rufus, whose career is preserved on an inscription from Sabratha in Roman Tripolitania (26). After commanding the *cohors I Augusta Thracum* in Arabia, Rufus went on to a tribunate in the *legio VII Gemina* in Spain. But he died before he was promoted further, "proximus tertiae militiae".

His duovirate at Sabratha and the fact that it was his father who set up his tombstone, "sua pecunia", argue strongly that Rufus was a native of the town, which became a Roman colony in the second century AD (27).

The above three officers are the only known commanders of *auxilia* in Arabia roughly during the second century AD. None came from further west, as far as we can tell, than the Danube provinces. Tiberius Claudius Phi [...] was very probably an easterner but only Rufus' origin is fairly certain. Coming from Africa he will have been familiar with the climate of the desert fringes, where his unit operated.

For the third century we have evidence of a roughly similar number of commanders. From I'nat, on the Roman road from Salkhad to Der el Kahf and about four miles north-north-west of the latter, in the southern Hauran, we have the tombstone, datable to 208, of the young son of

Herminarios, who was praepositus of the gentiles listed or enrolled among the Mothani, that is to say the inhabitants of Motha-Imtan (28). Herminarius is a name of German type (29) and he set up a tomb for his son, Gouththa, a name nowhere precisely paralleled but suggesting a Gothic connection, though it is not until the 230's that we have secure evidence of Roman conflict with Goths (30). The Goths however appear as Gouththoi in the Res Gestae of Sapor, describing the campaigns of the 250's, (31) and there are, admittedly of much later date, parallels for the at first sight surprising use of a tribal for a personal name (32). The presence of Gothic tribesmen is also confirmed by the appearance of the name Gothos on a tombstone from Bostra (33).

It is likely therefore that a Gothic commander was in charge of a contingent of his fellow tribesmen at Motha-Imtan in AD 208. The presence of such a contingent on the borders of Arabia at so early a date is surprising. No doubt early in the reign of Severus the threat from Gothic tribes on the Danube, perhaps cryptically hinted at by the epitome of Dio for the year 196 (34), had led to the recruitment and transfer of Gothic tribesmen to the remote Arabian frontier, a province whose loyalty to Severus had not been wholehearted (35) and from which he had possibly withdrawn troops.

The gentiles themselves are described as ἀναφερομενοι ἐν Μοθανοῖς. Strictly the phrase ἀναφεροσθαλι ἐν (36) means "listed at" or "among". The Mothani are the inhabitants of Motha-Imtan. Ancient writers frequently speak of the inhabitants where we would simply use the name of the place. The simplest interpretation of the phrase therefore is that the gentiles were listed at Motha-Imtan, i.e. formed in whole or in part the garrison of the place. What their later fate was we cannot say. Presumably the Goths assisted the regular auxilia until discharge or eventual absorption into a regular unit.

The early date of this reference to Goths emphasises continuity with the later empire. In the fourth century it was common practice to transfer barbarians from the west for military service on the desert frontier, when we find in the Notitia an ala of Franks in Mesopotamia (ND Or. 36. 33) and units of Goths and Iuthungi in Diocletianic Syria (ND Or. 33. 32 and 31 respectively). Rome's relations with the Goths clearly go back to the Severan period though there is no reason to suppose serious trouble with them at this time. Their appearance in Arabia reminds us how little we know in detail of Roman arrangements in the third century for the defence of the desert fringes.

From Philip's reign we have an honorary inscription set up by the commander of an élite ala milliaria catafractaria, a Trebicius Gavoinus (37). The nomen Trebicius is Italian and derived from the name of a god (38) but it would be risky to deduce the officer's origin from this alone.

Probably datable to about AD 250 are two inscriptions set up in honour of an Aurelius Julianus at Gerasa (39). He was *πρῶτος* and *λογιστής* of the city, as well as its patron, and was probably a native of Gerasa. But his relevance here is open to doubt. All we have of his military service on his inscription is *ἐκστρατειῶν* and this service may have been spent entirely outside Arabia.

Of similar date is a dedication (40), datable to 253-6, to his patron, the praeses of Arabia, by the prefect of an ala, Statilius Ammianus. Ammianus was perhaps serving on his patron's staff and we hear of him a few years later in 262-3, as interim governor of the province of Arabia on an inscription from Adraha-Deraa (41). His name however gives no clue to his origin.

We can only helpfully interpret the evidence of commanders from Arabia against the background of the fuller evidence for commanders in Syria. There we found that during the mid to later second century commanders in Syria were being drawn from a variety of provinces, from Pannonia through Asia and round to the north African provinces (42).

No doubt the same was true of Arabia during the second century. Inscriptions provide a single additional African officer and two vague possibilities, one probably from Asia Minor and the second possibly from a Danube province.

In the third century we are, even in Syria, hampered by lack of hard evidence. But by now we are meeting commanders recruited in the east who are commanding units in the eastern provinces (43). Recruitment from the Arabian towns is confirmed by the example of the officer from Gerasa, though we have so far no example of an officer commanding a unit in Arabia who came from a city in the province. The only other two commanders attested are insufficient for generalisation and need to be considered separately. The *ala milliaria* of armoured cavalry was probably in Arabia through the intervention of the Arabian emperor Philip and cannot be regarded as part of Arabia's permanent garrison. Statilius Ammianus may have come from the same part of the world as his patron, Aelius Aurelius Theo, whose name suggests that he came from the east of the empire. We can only conclude by saying that the catchment area during the third century clearly takes in cities throughout the empire. And, at least from the Severan period, regular units are supplemented by irregular units under their own leaders like the almost certainly Gothic Herminarius.

Recruitment of ordinary soldiers from 106 AD to Diocletian The main evidence for soldiers serving in Arabia is provided by graffiti found engraved on rocks at two sites between Meda'in Saleh and el 'Ula in the northern Hejaz, about 250 miles south-east of Aqaba on a modern track to Medina. Meda'in Saleh is the ancient Hegra, which lay on the ancient caravan route through Arabia. We know that the Hegra and el 'Ula region represented the limits of both Nabataean and Byzantine claims to suzerainty and probably therefore the rough limit to which Roman control was extended in the second century after Trajan's takeover of the

Nabataean kingdom (44). That this involved more than the garrisoning of posts along the caravan tracks has been recently confirmed by the evidence of the governor of Arabia's intervention to keep the peace between desert tribes, attested on an inscription datable to between 166 and 169 from Ruwwafa, about 120 miles south-east of Aqaba (45). But it was the desert tracks that bore the valuable caravan traffic and which needed the protection of Roman troops (46), who also no doubt collected tolls, as was already being done by a centurion at Leuke Kome during the late first century BC and early first century AD (47).

The graffiti from near Meda'in Saleh can be roughly dated from the names of the soldiers themselves (48). The nomina and cognomina of second century emperors from Trajan (49) to Severus (50), combined with the absence of Aurelius, firmly suggest the later second to early third century.

From the first site come four Greek inscriptions (51). Two of the men refer to themselves as equites of the ala Gaetulorum. Their names are Roman - among them are an Urbanus (52) and a Volscianus Severus (53) - but they also include a Germanus (54), a name common at Dura and chosen because it could equally easily be rendered in Greek, Latin or Aramaic (55). It is interesting incidentally to note that military terms are transliterations of the Latin and not translations into Greek (56).

The longest list of names comes from a second site between Meda'in Saleh and el 'Ula (57). Most of the inscriptions are in Greek but there are some in Nabataean and a single one in Latin. The names however are either Latin (58) or Semitic (59), with the single exception of the Greek  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$  (60), who anyway has a Nabataean second name. Probably most of these men came from the settled part of Arabia, though we can be certain of this in only one case. One of the Nabataeans (61) tells us that he came from Salkhad, a town in the southern Hauran. Probably those with Roman names were second generation members of the auxilia, whose fathers had received their citizenship on discharge after

25 years service in an auxiliary unit. Recruitment from Arabia on a considerable scale had been begun by Trajan soon after his annexation of the province. He established six cohorts of Petraeans. Their sons, already citizens, could have been joining Roman auxiliary units from the 130's.

Apart from these graffiti there is little other evidence. We have two eligible inscriptions but neither of these can be even roughly dated. They both come from the village of Orman, which lies about three miles east of Salkhad in the southern Hauran. The first contains four Homeric hexameters (62) and was set up by a certain Ammonius  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\nu \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\iota\lambda\eta$  for his daughter. But it is certain neither that Ammonius served in the auxilia nor at what date he set up the tombstone. The second inscription is also a tombstone, of a  $M\omicron\sigma\sigma\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \text{\AA}\text{S}\text{I}\text{S}\text{O}\text{V} \text{ } \text{E}\text{\Pi}\text{A}\text{E}\text{V}\text{S}$  (63). Both names are Semitic. The former is not precisely paralleled but Mosseus, who was not a citizen and therefore must have been an auxiliary cavalryman, is a fairly common Semitic name.

None of the auxiliary units attested in Arabia in the second to third century bears a title implying its creation in Arabia for service in that province (64). No Petraean unit is attested in Arabia. But our scanty evidence suggests that by the later second century soldiers were being recruited for the auxilia from the indigenous population. The Greek texts of most of the graffiti referred to above suggest that the soldiers came mainly from the towns, which were centres of Greek civilisation, and this is confirmed by the soldier from Salkhad. The only junior officer attested, the decurion Marinus (65), bore a Semitic name (66). No doubt by the third century the various auxiliary units in Arabia were composed largely of local recruits. But by early in the third century the regular auxilia were being supplemented by gentiles on the desert fringes (67). Such troops were usually drawn from uncivilised tribes

on the empire's frontiers. It is not clear from the text of the inscription whether the gentiles at Motha-Imtan had been brought from the west or were drawn from nomadic tribesmen, attracted by a career in a Roman force at a time when Roman control of the settled land and of the tribes that lived on the desert's margins had reduced the opportunities for raiding. The latter alternative will certainly have been the more effective militarily.

### 3. Recruitment to the Arabian army from Diocletian to the Notitia

Commanding Officers For the fourth century the earliest commander attested is the  $\xi\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , the Greek for the Latin praefectus, Priscus by name, through whose foresight and enthusiasm a tower was built in AD 348 at I'nat, about seven kilometres north-west of Der el Kahf (68) on the road to Salkhad. He was presumably the commander of the auxiliary unit, a quingenary cohort or ala, in the locality of the tower. He is possibly the same Priscus, whose tomb was found at Umm el Qottein, about seven miles west of I'nat (69), where he is described as  $\xi\pi\omicron\pi\rho\tau\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\rho\varsigma$ . His death at the age of 60, with the absence of any hint that it was violent, might suggest that he had returned to an area of which he was a native. But this is very uncertain.

For the rest we have two Valentinianic inscriptions. One of these is unusually informative (70). It comes from Umm el Jemal and commemorates the construction of a burgus by a unit of equites under their tribune, Vahalus. Vahalus is clearly the Semitic name written in Greek as  $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  (71). He was probably locally recruited. The second inscription is from Der el Kahf and attests the enlargement of the fort (72), overseen by the prefect of the cohort, Valentinianus. His name does not however help us with his origin.

We have no precise evidence. But the easterner Vahalus was in command of a unit of equites, which precede alae and cohorts in the Notitia lists and were of greater prestige. Probably the same was true of the less senior auxiliary units. The evidence from Syria is of little help for comparative purposes (73), as it is mainly concerned with major campaigning against Persia. However in Arabia, where the army's role was mainly the protection of the local settled populace against raids from the desert, it is reasonable to suppose that locally recruited units were commanded by men from the cities of Syria and Arabia like Vahalus above. (74)

Other officers and ordinary soldiers from Diocletian to the Notitia

The earliest helpful inscription is a Diocletianic tombstone (75) from Motha-Imtan of AD 306-7, of a Λαίτιλα, Δουκην(αριου) Πριμακηρος - presumably consecutive commands. The name is unparalleled but the titles of rank provide slight independent confirmation of the view that in essence the structure of the Notitia goes back to Diocletian. Laitila was ducenarius and primicerius, ranks in the new units of equites rather than the older alae and cohorts. We know that by the time of the Notitia a unit of equites was at Motha-Imtan (76). Very probably Laitila was serving in this unit.

Roughly datable from its letter-forms to the later third to fourth century is a fragmentary inscription (77) from the Jawf of North Yemen, about 1,000 miles south-south-east of Aqaba, said to be from Baraqish-Yathil (78). Fragments of a Greek and Latin text have been preserved. The Latin runs P ] Corne[lius ..... / EQUES N]. The last letter, part of an N or an M, is best restored as the first letter of Maurus. Mauri began to serve in the east early in the third century (79) and equites Mauri had, probably by Diocletian's reign, become a standard element of the armies of the duces of the eastern frontier. Cornelius' bilingual inscription suggests however that he was no unlettered Moor. Indeed the inclusion of his praenomen is surprising (80). The inscription raises a number of tantalising questions. What, for example, was Cornelius doing in so remote a spot? But this, as well as where Cornelius came from within the empire, remains uncertain.

More informative is another inscription from Motha-Imtan (81), datable to AD 350. It is the tomb of an Οὐρσος Βιορχος, probably a mistake for Βιάρχος, the title of a non-commissioned rank in the new units of the later third and fourth centuries (82). The inscription was set up by a son of the deceased, L. Ursus, himself an actuarius of the vexillatio Mothanon, the unit of equites based at

Motha-Imtan. The name Ursus is Semitic (83) and service by father and son in the same unit suggests that they lived in the neighbourhood. Probably we see here an example of the working of Diocletian's legislation, by which sons were compelled to follow their father's careers.

Slightly outside our period is an inscription which commemorates the construction of a fort at Umm el Jemal in 412-3 (84). It is worth noting because it was founded σπουδῆ βασσοῦ πριμικ[ηρίου]. The post of primicerius indicates that Bassus served in a unit of equites and his name is a common Semitic one (85). So very probably we have in Bassus a locally recruited officer of a unit of equites.

For the rest we have two inscriptions of fourth century date which cannot be precisely dated. The first comes from Sarech in the Ajlun, about twenty kilometres north-west of Gerasa (86). It is the tombstone of a [1]ωρος [2]πο προτ[εκτορος]. His post is not specified but his name is clearly Semitic (87) and he was probably operating in his home area. The second is an inscription which comes from the Hauran but whose precise findspot is not recorded (88). It tells of the murder of Ἀγγαῖος Ἰλλου... ἐν τῇ χωρᾷ, slain ὑπο τῇ δεκαδραρχίᾳ, which Mouterde takes to mean "in his post as decurion". This is odd Greek but, if right, suggests that Aggaios was a member of an auxiliary cohort or ala. The name Aggaios is Semitic though Ἰλλος (89) is not certainly so. But Aggaios was most probably a local and slain in some border skirmish.

The Notitia list for Arabia (90) is of the standard pattern for the ducates of the eastern frontier. It includes three units of equites indigenae (91), who presumably continued to recruit locally. Of the rest, the cohors III felix Arabum (92) may be a fourth century creation but we have no certain example of a unit created in the fourth century which betrays the area of its origin. However the evidence discussed above,

for all its scantiness, suggests that the army of Arabia was in the fourth century largely composed of men from the east and most plausibly from Arabia itself. It was a local army whose main function was to protect the settled population of Arabia and the trade which flowed through the province from desert marauders.

Conclusion

It remains to state my conclusions. The first question I set out to answer was that of the identity of the armies of Syria, Judaea and Arabia, noting at the same time the scanty evidence for Mesopotamia. This was an indispensable preliminary to further work and I have presented the available evidence in the chronological sections above and have summarised the evidence for each auxiliary unit in Appendix I. The limitations of general conclusions based solely on such evidence will be at once apparent. A fair proportion of the inscriptional evidence for particular units comes from outside Syria and many inscriptions give only the name of a unit. We can only see behind the name of a unit to the reality of its operation in, for example, the Dura papyri. We cannot therefore get further than the mere identity of the units and rough dates for their presence in the province. Then the evidence is so fragmentary that overall assessments of the garrison at a particular period are very hazardous. Only a very broad outline of the relevant provinces' garrisons is possible.

The evidence for identity is most usefully considered in conjunction with the second question I set out to answer, that of the dispositions of the Roman forces. Like the evidence for the identity of units, I have considered that for the dispositions in the chronological sections, where I have traced the development in, for example, Syria from expeditionary force-in-waiting to a garrison gradually tightening its grip over an ever-widening area of desert in the later first and second centuries AD. It is here that an overall sketch of the development of the frontiers in the area I have considered is worth making. In the body of the thesis the overall trends are somewhat obscured by the need to consider each province separately, especially where, as in Palestine and Arabia in the fourth century, the administrative history is complex. In tracing the broad lines of the development of the frontier it is possible, for example,

to consider the frontier section from the Euphrates to the Red Sea as the geographic unity it is, instead of piece by piece.

It is particularly worth bringing out the effect of Roman intervention in the perennial friction between desert and sown in Arabia. While I have been doing this work, light has been thrown on this by literary and archaeological evidence, which needs to be considered against the background of the conditions and the ways of life of tribes on the desert fringes of the provinces of Syria, Arabia and southern Judaea. We are unlikely ever to be able to write a political and military history of this development but the hints in the evidence we have do allow us some conception of how the system operated.

The third and final question I have attempted to answer is that of the sources of recruitment to the armies of the relevant provinces. What is needed here is a discussion of my own findings against the background of what we know about recruitment trends elsewhere in the empire.

I will therefore begin with a brief summary of the changing composition of the army of Syria, of the threats it faced and its reaction to these threats in the period from the first to the end of the fourth century.

When Augustus received Syria as part of his province in 27 BC the memory of the Parthian defeat of Crassus in 56 BC, of Parthian raids into the province in 51, 40 and 38 BC and of Antony's not wholly successful counter-operations of 39-35 was still fresh. Augustus however decided against an expedition of revenge against Parthia and was satisfied with a diplomatic settlement in 20 BC (I), by which he received back captured Roman standards.

It is likely that Roman legionary dispositions in Syria after 20 BC took account of fears of a sudden Parthian raid into Syria and one or more, of a total Syrian garrison of at least four legions, were based at or near Antioch, from where forces could be sent to take part in,

for example, the war against the Homonadenses of c. 12-6 BC (2). By the reign of Tiberius we find the legions, as they became accustomed to peace, distributed among cities in northern Syria, at Cyrrhus, Apamea and Laodiceia.

For the auxilia during the Julio-Claudian period we have only a fragmentary diploma and a very few inscriptions. A considerable proportion of the units may well have been based with the legions, as we find, for example, at Mainz in Upper Germany in this period. Apart from supporting the legions, auxilia were used for the pacification of territory on the desert fringes of the province. But much of the borderlands of Syria was ruled by client-kings, whose kingdoms extended from Cilicia in the north, through Commagene in the north-east to Judaea in the south. They usually possessed their own armed forces, sufficient for keeping the peace in their kingdoms.

During the period from 20 BC to AD 55 pacification was vigorously carried on, by Roman forces like that of Aemilius Secundus in AD 6 against Ituraei (3) and by client kings. Between 55 and 64 AD Corbulo was active in the east and it is likely that he moved X Fretensis forward to a base at Zeugma on the Euphrates.

I argue that a legion, possibly IV Scythica, remained at Zeugma from the Flavian period. In 72 Commagene was irrevocably annexed and I argue that a second legion, either VI Ferrata or III Gallica, was after the annexation moved to Samosata. A third legion was based at Raphanae, probably from the Flavian period III Gallica. By now the dispositions of the legions are very different from the Julio-Claudian period. They are based at intervals along the frontier region, which extends from Satala, in the north of the new province of Cappadocia, through Syria to a legion in Judaea, X Fretensis at Jerusalem.

The auxiliary garrison of the province is best attested in the period from Vespasian to Trajan and over half of the units came originally from the west. I argue that one of the pair of diplomas of AD 88 from this period contains units based in the south and east of the province (4) and the second lists units based along and to the west of the Euphrates bend (5).

Under the Flavian emperors many of the client-kingdoms were absorbed into the empire and the frontier regions came under direct Roman supervision. Thus we meet prefects of the Euphrates bank and units were by Trajan's reign based along the river. This is established beyond doubt by a building inscription from Safsafa (6). There were also road-works between Soura and Palmyra in 75. Roman influence, in the form of inscriptions from the agora, becomes apparent at Palmyra late in Vespasian's and early in Domitian's reign (7) and under Trajan the appearance of a unit of cameleers attests a direct Roman interest in policing the desert fringes.

The Trajanic war against Parthia caused legionary movements but legions continued to occupy the same bases as before the war. The auxiliary garrison received a large influx of Trajanic creations. I argue that those listed in the diploma of 156/7 (8) operated in the south and south-east of the province. By this period the desert fringes were under direct Roman control. An ala was based at Palmyra by the 150's and a fort was built at Dmeyr/Admedera, just outside Damascus, in 162 (9). Cities like Palmyra flourished as never before thanks to the pax Romana.

The upheaval of the Veran war against Parthia, of 164-166, again brought no change to the Syrian legions. But we have further evidence of direct Roman control of the desert fringes in el-Leja, north of the

Hauran, and at en-Nemara, in the desert east of the Hauran (see p 66). Also Rome's crushing victory in the war led to the extension of Roman control beyond the Euphrates at least as far as the confluence with the Khabur, just beyond which lay the fortress of Dura Europus, which was taken in 164 or 165 and remained under Roman control. Before Severus came to the east in 193 cities in Mesopotamia as far east as Nisibis had received Roman garrisons (see pp 66-7).

After his campaigns against Parthia in 193-4 and 197-9 Severus reorganised the eastern frontier. In north Syria the two legions remained in the same bases, at Samosata and Zeugma, but their role was completely changed. They were now back-up forces to two legions in the new province of Mesopotamia, which, based well forward at Singara and possibly Resaina/Ras-el 'Ain, blocked the Parthian invasion route up the Tigris and across northern Mesopotamia into Syria. As the legions in Syria Coele were no longer in the front line against Parthia, forward protection of the province against a Parthian force marching by the alternative route up the Euphrates was achieved by the despatch of vexillations to Dura, where they are attested by before the end of Severus' reign (see pp 68-71).

The legion at Raphanae, III Gallica, which will long have been concerned with the south-eastern sector of the province, facing the desert, was separated off in the new province of Phoenice (see pp 71-2).

Whatever the justification of Severus' division of Syria from the point of view of safeguarding his position by dividing up a three legion province, it also had a logic from the point of view of the defence of Syria. Since the Roman take-over Syria had been exposed, in essence, to two threats, from Parthia and from desert tribesmen. The nature of the first threat, from an organised state comparable with Rome,

had remained unchanged since Rome moved into Syria. Apart from the unsuccessful venture of Trajan, the Roman emperors had been satisfied with the Euphrates as a frontier until, after the crushing success of Roman arms in the Veran war of 164-166, forces under direct Roman control were left in cities like Dura and Nisibis beyond the Euphrates. Severus made regular this extension of Roman control by his creation of the province of Mesopotamia which moved Rome's eastern frontier closer to Parthia, along the upper Tigris and down the Khabur.

The military preparations for, and results of, this extension of the empire are difficult to trace in detail. Large numbers of new units had been created by the early third century, to garrison the new province, to occupy its cities and police the new frontiers (see pages 82-84). But it is not yet clear, firstly, precisely how many new units were created nor, secondly, the division of responsibility between the emperors of the late second to early third century (10).

The second threat was very different in nature and the Roman governor was at first insulated from it by the client-states on Syria's desert fringes. It came from nomadic Beduin, not so much from those tribes which pastured sheep and goats and which in their seasonal wanderings did not go far from the fringes of the desert. Potentially more dangerous were the nomads who bred camels and who were less dependent on particular grazing or water-holes on the fringes of the desert. A group of raiders from such a tribe could travel 60 miles or more in a night ride to their raid's destination. But such raids were only worthwhile if they were to be successful. If hard fighting and the likelihood of heavy casualties were in

prospect in a raid on a tribe of sheep-pasturers or on the settled fringes of the desert, then the camel-breeders preferred fighting against and stealing from tribes of their own kind. If there was no opposition, raiding of this sort was likely to become rife ; but if settlements on the edges of the desert were well protected, such raiding was no problem. It could be prevented by the garrisoning of major water-holes and tribal meeting-places and by vigilant intelligence-gathering about the tribes and their movements.

Before the Roman occupation of Syria, raiding of the type outlined above was prevalent. Much of the territory on the fringes of the desert was rough and the inhabitants, like for example the Ituraeans, inclined to brigandage. When Syria was taken over by Pompey and became a Roman province, most of the difficult and unpacified country of this nature was left in the hands of client-kings, like Herod of Judaea. They forced the unsettled border population to live peaceably and in particular to till the soil. Herod's efforts in this direction are especially well attested. The client-kings then protected the new settlements against desert raiders in the ways outlined above. So we meet for example the post of

στρατηγὸς Νομαδῶν in the army of Agrippa II. As

the territory of these kings was satisfactorily pacified, the Romans, usually waiting until the king died, took them over and either absorbed them into already existing provinces or sent out Roman officials to administer them.

The final stage in the Roman absorption of client-kingdoms on the eastern frontier was Trajan's take-over of the kingdom of Petra in AD 106. Its importance as a route for trade, with its wealthy cities, its remoteness and the great distances along caravan routes to its frontier-posts led to its transformation into a Roman province with its own governor. The Romans were here brought face to face with the desert

of the Arabian peninsula and in the new Roman province of Arabia were confronted by the same problems vis à vis nomadic tribes as they faced in the sector of Syria south of the Euphrates bend. If we consider the evidence from both these frontier regions we can gain some impression of the stages by which Roman control was extended and the methods that were used.

As the Romans took over control of the desert fringes in the early second century, the successful prevention of raiding was becoming increasingly important as settlements flourished on the edges of the desert, which brought wealth which could be invested in engineering work to conserve water and extend the amount of land that could support settlement. Units of cameleers, ideal for desert patrols, had been created by Trajan's reign. By the 150's Palmyra had a Roman garrison and in 156 we have evidence for the occupation of remote outposts by Roman troops (see pp 56-7). Forts were built on routes along the desert fringes, as at Dmeyr/Admedera in 162. At the same time remote frontier stations and water-holes, from Meda'in Saleh, just north of al 'Ula in modern Saudi Arabia, to Azraq, in the wadi Sirhan, and en Nemara, east of the Hauran, were occupied (see pp 60, 274-5). Possibly even as remote an oasis as al Jawf, over 200 miles south-east of Azraq along the wadi Sirhan, was occupied in the late second to early third century but the dating of the occupation is still insecure (II). The control of such remote oases was necessitated by the need to be able to prevent raiding parties, who could move far and fast, from making their preparations in, and returning to, territory beyond Roman control. Close supervision of tribal movements on the desert fringes was also necessary and we have hints of this in

our evidence. Agrippa II's strategos Nomadon in the first century has already been mentioned. Persons with similar duties with titles like ἑθνοκράτης (12) and of ἀπο ἐθνους νομαδων (13) appear on inscriptions of the second to third century from Arabia. Their duties no doubt included the supervision of migrating tribes. Then upon this military <sup>framework</sup> were imposed the methods of diplomacy. The Roman governor fostered respect for Rome by, for example, encouraging the tribe of Thamudeni to build a temple in 166 to 169 to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus at the remote traditional tribal meeting place of Ruwwafa, about 130 miles south-east of Aqaba (14). The result of these efforts was the imposition of peace on the desert fringes and of expanding and prosperous settlements on the desert fringes until the mid third century (15).

It was the Syrian sector of the frontier facing the desert which the legion in Severus' new province of Phoenice presided over. This role was emphasized by its move from Raphanea closer to the desert borders of the province during the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235. See p 72).

Rome's defences against Parthia and the desert tribes remained effective until the mid-third century and it is simplest from this point to deal with them separately. Now that Rome controlled Mesopotamia, conflicts with Parthia and, after 230, with the vigorous Persian Sassanid dynasty became more frequent, with fighting in Roman Mesopotamia during the years 216-218, 230-232 and 238-244. Roman retaliation was successful until the Persian king Sapor crushed the Roman forces in the east, penetrated into Syria in 256 and ignominiously defeated an imperial

expeditionary force in 258-9. This led to the breakaway Palmyrene empire and Aurelian's destruction of Palmyra in 273, the cornerstone of the Syrian defence against the desert (see pp. 85-91).

For this period we have only fragments of evidence, sufficient to give us only a partial view of the units in garrison and their dispositions in the period up to 230, until which time Mesopotamia was successfully defended. After that date the frontier was repeatedly broken through and the forces of the province were unable to prevent Persian attacks which in 242 reached as far west as Antioch (16). The garrison of the province, with much of that of Syria too, was largely destroyed in the 250's. We have almost no evidence about the army of the region until Diocletian (see pp 85-91).

Diocletian restored with strengthened forces the Severan frontier, with additions beyond the Tigris. He broke up the Severan province of Mesopotamia into two parts. In the north-east a truncated Mesopotamia received two legions, based possibly at Singara and Bezabde, which blocked the Tigris invasion route. A south-westerly province of Osrhoene, with one of its legions at Circesium, blocked the route up the Euphrates and was backed up by the legions of Syria, moved from Zeugma and Samosata in the north-east of the province to Soura on the Euphrates and possibly Taiyibe, 50 miles south of the river on the way to Palmyra (see pp 92-96).

During Constantine's reign Diocletian's frontier armies were weakened in favour of field armies and at least from the reign of Constantius II

(337-361) a contingent of the field army was based at or near Antioch (pp 112-116). As regards the auxilia, we have very little evidence until we reach the Notitia, of c. AD 400, by which time a slice of eastern Mesopotamia had been lost in 363 to Persia, after Julian's unsuccessful Persian campaign. An examination of the evidence for the Notitia ducates of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene (pp 106-111) emphasizes the occupation of forts on the Euphrates, Khabur and upper Tigris with units doubled in major fortress cities on roads in the rear.

The impression of strength given by the Notitia is belied by the frequent Persian invasions of Mesopotamia in the fourth century, the Roman withdrawal of 363 and the maintenance of a strong force as far back as Antioch, though its presence there is partly explicable in terms of the desire of an emperor at Constantinople to have troops not too far away. As in the second century a bureaucratic line is maintained but fortresses like Constantia-Veranşehir are strongly garrisoned and in readiness to be held against Persian attacks. The Notitia frontier against Persia is one on the defensive (pp 100-116, esp. 115-116).

We need now to turn to the army and the threat from the desert. This is most helpfully considered by looking at the desert frontier of Syria, Arabia and the fourth century province of Palaestina. In Syria Palmyra was destroyed in 273 and with <sup>it</sup> no doubt the system of protection of the desert fringes which had been absorbed into the Roman administration. It is in the nature of the desert tribes quickly to take advantage of a weakening control of the desert fringes and we can be sure that the Syrian desert borderlands fell victim to increasingly serious raids from the desert in the period from 273 to Diocletian's reestablishment of Roman control (see p 258 f).

Until the mid third century Arabia was protected from attacks from the desert by units in garrison on the fringes of the settled province

and at and around strategically important oases like Azraq and at frontier points on caravan routes like Meda'in Saleh (see pp 274-5). The works of fortification in the period after the 250's are no doubt a response to raiding from the desert. The collapse of Roman control of tribes on the province's borders will have been one factor in the rise of Imru'alqais, a sheikh of the Lakhm dynasty, whose capital was at Hira and whose tribesmen served in Persian expeditions against the Roman empire (17). Imru'alqais built up a personal following of tribes and extended his control over en Nemara, where Roman troops had previously been in garrison and where he had himself buried in 328.

It was against threats of this nature that Diocletian reorganised the frontier facing the Arabian desert (see p 225, 276). His reinforcement of the frontier in Arabia is now clear from archaeological evidence (pp 276-78). But it was not sufficient to re-establish permanently the sort of control that Rome had imposed on the desert in the second century. A serious raid of 372 into Phoenice and Palaestina confirms this (see pp 277-8). Again it is not until the Notitia that we can assess the overall frontier defences. The units we can locate in the truncated Arabia (pp 282-3) are based on or near Trajan's road north of the wadi el Mujib and on the road from Amman/Philadelphia to Bostra, with legions at Bostra and Betthoro/el Lejjun. The southern half of Trajanic Arabia, split off by Diocletian and added to Palaestina (see p 225), now had a legion, X Fretensis, at Aila/Aqaba in garrison, and the main frontier roads were protected by equites indigenae and alae and cohorts (see pp 232-3).

Like its defences against Persia, the Notitia's deployments towards

the desert look impressive on paper. But when seen in comparison with what we know of the defences built up in the second century, they appear less impressive. Azraq, key to control of the wadi Sirhan, is not held. Nor are distant oases like Meda'in Saleh or Jawf. Only the frontier roads and settled margins of the desert were occupied by apparently considerable forces which will have been sufficient to prevent small-scale raiding but the invasion of 371 emphasized the ineffectiveness of the defences against major attacks mounted from the desert (see on fourth century Palaestina pp 225-236 and on Arabia pp 276-283).

Judaea was one of the most important client-kingdoms that ringed Syria. It was ruled by Herod from 37 to 4 BC who, after the withdrawal of a legion based at Jerusalem in 30 BC, maintained control with an army recruited from his border regions, his own cities and tribes from the frontier regions of the west (see pp 167 f). His kingdom was divided between his three sons but much of Herod's army survived and remained based in cities and fortresses throughout the province to keep the restive population in check.

After the suppression of the Jewish revolt of 67-70 the legion X Fretensis was left at Jerusalem and Judaea became a Roman province (see p 196 f). By 130 a second legion was in the province, now renamed Syria Palaestina, at Caparcotna, to dominate the north of the province (see pp 199-200). The evidence for the auxilia in the period from Vespasian to the Hadrianic revolt reveals movements into the province, no doubt in connection with the take-over of Arabia, and units on the southern and eastern borders of the province (see pp 200-206).

After the revolt of 132-135 two legions continued in garrison with substantial auxiliary support, much of which continued to be based in the interior of the province, to keep order, as well as on the province's frontiers (see pp 211-219).

In the third century X Fretensis remained at Jerusalem until at least the mid-third century before transfer to Aila-Aqaba, where it had reached by 330 (see p. 221). VI Ferrata remained in Syria Palaestina certainly until the reign of Elagabalus (218-222) but was possibly destroyed in the fighting against Persia in the 250's (see pp 221-223). The scanty evidence for the auxilia suggests that units tended to be moved out of the province, to defeat the breakaway Palmyrene state or defend the Arabian frontier (see pp 223-4).

There was major administrative reorganisation c. 300 and by 325 the southern half of the Arabian frontier had been attached to Palestine. The main fighting unit was X Fretensis at remote Aila and the Notitia evidence reveals units of equites and cohorts based at water-points on or near the major road north from Aila to the southern end of the Dead Sea and routes across the eastern side of the Negev towards Gaza (see pp 225-236).

Judaea was an anomalous province. Its Jewish population was not easily reconciled to Roman rule and this led to its retaining a strong garrison to prevent rebellion until the second half of the second century (see pp 211-219), though since the Roman creation of the province the frontiers were also attended to. There was some occupation of the routes across the Negev from the Flavian period (18). But by 330, and probably as a result of reorganisation by Diocletian, all legions had been moved from the heartland of the province and X Fretensis was at Aila, at the southern end of the main Roman defences facing the Arabian desert, and Palestine forms the final link in the similarly-organised chain of Roman ducates, whose commanders protected trade and the settled population from the desert and which extended from the Euphrates to the Gulf of Aqaba and across the Mediterranean.

I have already dealt with Arabia in the fourth century and the methods by which the desert frontier was protected. It remains to note the question of the province's first legionary garrison. I suggest that a vexillation of III Cyrenaica took part in the Roman take-over of the province in AD 106 and remained outposted from its headquarters in Egypt until after 119 ; also that troops from VI Ferrata were in the province by 118/9 and for a period before the legion's permanent transfer to Caparcotna in Syria Palaestina by 130. By that date it had been decided to move III Cyrenaica permanently from Egypt to Arabia (see pp 265-269). The auxilia in the second to mid-third century garrisoned the settled fringes of the desert and major watering-points on tracks well beyond the settled heart of the province (see pp 265-269).

Can any conclusions about imperial strategy be drawn from this study of a particular sector of Roman frontier ? Luttwak in his recent work (19) has claimed to be able to distinguish three periods in the history of the empire's frontiers. How do these fit the picture outlined above of Rome's frontiers facing Parthia and the desert ?

Luttwak's three periods are as follows : under the Julio-Claudian emperors Rome's armies were mobile striking forces and the empire's perimeters were to a large extent surrounded by client-kingdoms. In the period from the Flavians to the Severan emperors frontiers were precisely defined and the armed forces were based along the frontier line to deal with hostile activity outside the perimeter. In the third period, from the collapse of the frontier in the mid-third century until the creation of regional field armies in the mid-fourth century, the characteristic system is seen as defence in depth.

How far do Luttwak's changes in strategy fit the sector of the eastern

frontier I have considered? First an important implication of the word strategy must be noted. It implies a particular view of the decision-making processes of the empire, that Roman emperors and their advisers were in the habit of consciously working out overall strategic plans and putting them into practice. It is undeniable that particular emperors like Hadrian and Diocletian did have worked out and put into practice particular plans for particular sectors, which resulted for example in the construction of Hadrian's Wall. But that Roman emperors and their advisers were in the habit of thinking in terms of frontier strategy is open to doubt. The Roman emperor had to deal with a great variety of problems and when a military crisis arose had to make do with the troop deployments and a frontier organisation inherited from a predecessor, the working of which had been affected by decisions made by officials from the level of governor downwards. It is impossible that all changes affecting a frontier can have been under an emperor's control, which is the unspoken assumption of the use of the word strategy to describe changes which we know of largely from such fragmentary evidence as archaeology and inscriptions for installations for which it is often impossible to deduce the overall rationale. We should talk rather of the development of the frontiers than their strategy.

This is confirmed when we consider the extent to which my findings fit in with Luttwak's three periods. In the Julio-Claudian period the Roman legions did lie by cities well back from the frontier zone, which was ringed by client states, and trouble with Parthia in Syria was prevented, as for example in 49 when Cassius Longinus, governor of Syria, moved an army to Zeugma on the Euphrates (20), to provide a send-off for a claimant to the Parthian throne requested by a faction of the Parthian nobility (21). Client kingdoms like Judaea also insulated Rome from the desert.

The Euphrates formed the limit of Roman administration from Augustus' reign. In AD 2 Gaius Caesar had met the king of Parthia on an island in the middle of the river (22). But, as Luttwak's theory demands, it was the Flavian emperors who reorganised the frontier facing Parthia on the Euphrates : client kingdoms, as for example Commagene in 72, were taken over, legions were moved nearer to a frontier which was garrisoned with auxiliary troops housed in permanent forts. Direct Roman control reached to the edge of the desert with the absorption of kingdoms like that of Agrippa II under Domitian.

But it is in the second century that Luttwak's analysis, with its emphasis on precisely-defined frontiers, begins to fit less well. Towards Parthia, after the successful Veran war of 163-165, expansion continued beyond the Euphrates frontier, with the garrisoning by Roman forces of cities like Dura and Nisibis in Mesopotamia. Towards the desert Roman forces were garrisoning Palmyra by the 150's and outposts in the desert like Meda'in Saleh and en Nemara by the end of the second century. It is the defences of this period that can best be described as defence in depth, both towards the desert and before Severus' creation of the new province of Mesopotamia by 199, towards Parthia.

In the mid-third century the Roman frontier in Mesopotamia finally collapsed and it was the complete defeat of Roman forces by Shapur I in the 250's that allowed him to penetrate to Antioch in, for example, 257 (23). It was no decision to adopt a different strategy but a result of military defeat.

The evidence for Diocletian's dispositions suggest that he too did not organise a defence in depth after Roman victory in 295. Legions were brought forward from their second to third century positions,

from such bases as Ras el 'Ain/Resaina to Coracesium, from Zeugma and Samosata to Soura on the Euphrates bend and in Palaestina from Jerusalem to Aila/Aqaba. Diocletian preferred the heavy garrisoning of the frontier line, from Mesopotamia on the upper Tigris to Aila on the gulf of Aqaba. It was only in the later fourth century, where Rome faced Persia, as regional field armies were created and Rome was unable to react in time to protect the eastern frontier in Mesopotamia, that we find by AD 400 in the Notitia fortresses like Constantia/Veranşehir behind the frontier line garrisoned by several units and an imperial field army a long way in the rear at Antioch.

Where Rome faced Arabia the evidence suggests that Diocletian, with his occupation of strategic sites like Azraq, attempted to restore the successful defence in depth of the second to third century, backed up by heavy occupation of a frontier road system. But the evidence of the Notitia makes it clear that by the end of the fourth century any attempt to control the desert by the occupation of remote outposts had been given up. Only a network of frontier roads is by that time occupied.

The evidence for the frontiers facing Parthia, later Persia, and those facing the Arabs make it clear that their development is more complicated than Luttwak's analysis suggests. There is no simple development of strategy in his periods. Rather, once the Romans have constructed frontier installations in the shape of a frontier road garrisoned by auxiliary units along the Euphrates by Trajan's reign, similar installations are constructed, as far as we can tell, on each new frontier, that of Severus, surely that of Diocletian and indicated by the Notitia. Luttwak's defence in depth in his third period is merely a failure to defend the frontier perimeter. Two true types

of defence in depth are apparent on this frontier : when after the Veran war Roman forces occupied cities beyond the Roman bureaucratic frontier ; and in c. AD 400 when fortresses behind the frontier were occupied as defences against Persian breakthroughs, likely through Roman military weakness. Then Luttwak's prescription of defined perimeter frontiers from the Flavians does not fit the sophisticated control of the desert that developed until 250 ; nor does his defence in depth fit the fourth century organisation, which represents a Roman attempt to defend trade and the settled population against desert raiders.

It remains to summarise my conclusions on the question of recruitment, first of commanders and then of other ranks, to the auxilia of Syria, Judaea and Arabia. To appreciate these findings it is necessary first to be aware of the limitations of the evidence and secondly to see the conclusions against the background of what we know of comparable recruitment from other parts of the empire.

In the first place the evidence for equestrian officers is, in general, scanty. If we take the period from Vespasian to Trajan (AD 69-117), about fifty years, when we know that there were about 30 auxiliary units in garrison in Syria, and assume that each equestrian command lasted for about three years (24), then about 500 Romans commanded auxiliary units during this period. For the same period we have 12 relevant inscriptions, which gives us a percentage of 2.4 % of the total. Then for only 7 of these 12 do we have both the date and the origin of the officer. We have therefore only a very small sample, which may well not be truly representative of the whole. For the conclusions to be valid it is necessary to assume that the surviving sample is representative. The uncertainty of the assumption must be borne in mind. My conclusions may have to be

modified in the light of fresh evidence.

It is therefore important to be able to see the evidence for Syria against a background of the evidence for comparable officers for the whole empire, where the total number of inscriptions on which conclusions are based is larger. It is not possible to do this exactly, as equestrian military officers have not so far been studied on a province by province basis. For comparative purposes we have to make do with a note of the conclusions from the study of those equestrian officers who went on to become procurators. Although they represent only a small proportion of the most successful equestrian military officers (25), the catchment area of the two groups is the same and we can expect procurators to have a similar spread of origins to equestrian commanders.

The evidence for procurators has been examined by Pflaum and he comes to the following conclusions (26) : before Claudius' reforms the majority of procurators are from Italy and more than half their number continue to come from Italy at least until early in the third century. From Claudius' reign procurators are drawn from provinces like Gallia Narbonensis, near Italy and well-Romanised, and for the first time from the Greek-speaking eastern provinces. This trend continues during the second century, when proportions remain fairly constant, about a half from Italy, a quarter from the east and a final quarter from the western provinces. In the third century the proportion of Italians begins to decline and procurators for the first time are met with from provinces on the fringes of the empire, like Arabia (27).

With this picture of changing sources of recruitment for equestrian officials, it is worth comparing the evidence for senators from the east of the empire (28). We are dealing here with a different social class but similar limitations apply to the evidence for senators as

for equites. We can note a trend but the epigraphic evidence does not tell us why particular senators were admitted to the order - we have to assume such grounds as wealth, friendship and attitude to the Roman order (29).

The first senators from the east to enter the Roman senate in the Julio-Claudian period were largely from Roman colonies in the east (30). Vespasian, establishing the rule of a new dynasty, recruited a considerable number of new men to the senate, though of the 20 attested only four are from the east. There is little evidence for Domitian but that for Trajan and his successors shows fairly substantial recruitment from the eastern provinces (31).

My conclusions need to be seen against such a general background. For Syria all the commanders of the auxiliary units attested during the Julio-Claudian period were Italians or from Augustan colonies (see pp 117-118). For the period from Vespasian to Trajan the equestrian commanders, like procurators, are coming from the more civilised provinces of the empire, from Spain, Africa and Asia (see pp 120-124). For the rest of the second century, from Hadrian to Severus, the commanders are coming from a wide variety of provinces, with single officers from provinces ranging from Lycia-Pamphylia, through Pannonia Superior to Numidia and including two from Italy and Syria itself (see pp 135-143).

We lack detailed evidence for the third century but it is likely that commanders sent to Syria continued to be recruited from throughout the empire, as did procurators, until, with the rise of the Palmyrene empire, Odenathus and his successors appointed local men they could trust. After 273 the identity of the forces in Syria is uncertain (pp 160-161).

For the fourth century our very scanty evidence suggests that commanders in Syria tended to be themselves from the eastern provinces of the empire (see pp 162-3).

In Judaea the senior officers in Herod's army included Roman citizens, possibly Italians, as well as upper-class members of his Babylonian colony (see pp 237-8). The officers of Agrippa II were also drawn from the same colony, from natives of his kingdom who included members of the Grecised upper classes of the cities (see pp 241-3).

For the rest of the period it is most convenient to consider the evidence, scantier than that for Syria, for officers commanding auxiliary units in Judaea from AD 70 and Arabia from AD 106 together. For the period down to the reign of Severus we meet commanders in Judaea from Italy, from Roman colonies, especially in Africa, and from the east, from cities in Asia Minor and Syria (see pp 246-251). Of the three second century commanders attested in Arabia one derives from Africa, a second possibly from a Danube province and the third is probably from the east of the empire. The sample is very small but the diversity of origin confirms the picture suggested by the evidence from Judaea.

For the rest of the period we have no evidence from Judaea nor any for Arabia for the third century. The little evidence for commanders we have for the fourth century suggests that the units in garrison were commanded by locally recruited officers (p 297).

We next need to turn to the evidence for the ordinary soldiers in the units. This needs to be seen against the background, first, of recruitment to the auxilia in other provinces of the empire and, secondly, against what we know of recruitment to the legions in the eastern provinces.

For the period from Augustus to Trajan this question has been most recently considered by P.A. Holder (32). In his chapter on recruitment

(c.8 p I09 f) he divides his treatment into two periods, pre-Flavian and Flavio-Trajanic. He concludes that before Claudius in normal conditions the ethnic composition of particular regiments was maintained as far as was practical, apart from in the east and Egypt where local recruitment soon began. If it was difficult to get recruits from the same people, they were sent from regions where manpower was reasonably plentiful.

This system, in Holder's view, began to break down under Claudius and Nero. Men were still sent to units of the same ethnic origin but distance began to become an obstacle. Thus the number of local recruits increased. After the civil wars of 69-70 it became normal for recruits to be taken from their province of origin or sent to neighbouring provinces. By this time traditional areas of recruitment on non-citizens, like Spain, which were well inside the frontiers, were replaced by frontier regions, where auxiliary units were by now permanently settled.

The evidence for individual provinces suggests that local recruitment from the region in which the unit was based was generally operational from about Hadrian's reign (33). From his study of recruitment to *alae* and cohorts on the Rhine and Danube Kraft (34) concludes that in the post-Trajanic period recruits for the *auxilia* were largely drawn from the frontier regions and the neighbourhood of the base of the unit, although in the post-Hadrianic period recruits were also sent to distant provinces. What evidence we have suggests that these trends continued to operate in the early third century, until the collapse of the frontiers in the mid-third century.

The Roman army of the fourth century is best described by A.H.M. Jones (35). By this period there was an annual levy to provide the army with citizen recruits but a large proportion of the army was composed of barbarian tribesmen from outside the empire, ranging from volunteers

to prisoners-of-war. There are in the *Notitia* many units named after barbarian tribes but it is unlikely that by this date any attempt was made to maintain a unit's tribal character after it had been moved to a frontier region.

It is against such a background of auxiliary recruitment that the evidence for soldiers serving in Syria, Judaea and Arabia has to be considered. It is also important, particularly in view of the distorting effect of the lack of inscriptions from Syria, to bear in mind what evidence we have for the unusual development of recruitment to the legions in the east. The epigraphic evidence for the origins of, for example, the legionaries serving in Syria is very scanty (36). However Tacitus (37) implies that by the beginning of Nero's reign recruits for the Syrian legions were being drawn from Syria or neighbouring provinces and Forni, in his most recent survey (38), concludes that the eastern provinces, from Asia through Syria to Egypt, furnished, from the beginning of the principate, the majority of recruits to the legions in Syria and Egypt. If this is the case with the legions, we should not be surprised if the same was true of the auxiliary forces.

It remains to consider my conclusions in context. For the Julio-Claudian period we have almost no direct evidence for the identity of soldiers serving in the Syrian auxilia until the 50's AD, though the diploma evidence takes us back to recruitment 25 years previously, to the late 20's and early 30's (see pp II9-120). The sole exception is a cohort from Ascalon, attested under Tiberius. But a partial answer to the question of the identity of the early garrison of the province is suggested by the work of Kennedy (39), who has examined the evidence for units recruited from Syria. He points to the substantial recruitment of Syrian archers during the civil wars and argues that under Augustus a proportion of these units were retained in garrison in Syria itself (o.c. pp 73-75). He supports this by arguing that units were

drawn from particular cities and tribes of Syria during this period, as for example from the Ituraei under Augustus (o.c. p 173), of units of Antiochenses (o.c. p 82) and Commageni (o.c. p 91) under Tiberius. The plausibility of such a view is strengthened by the evidence for legionary recruitment outlined above. We may reasonably assume therefore that the cities and peoples of Syria and their neighbours, from the tribe of Bosporani to the city of Ascalon, contributed a substantial proportion of the auxiliary units in garrison in the province under Augustus and Tiberius.

However at least from the 20's and 30's AD units drawn from western tribes in Gaul and Thrace were also based in Syria (see pp 119-120). According to Holder (o.c. note 32) in the pre-Claudian period the ethnic composition of such units will have been maintained and, if this is loosely interpreted to mean that they continued to receive recruits from western tribes rather than drew on their locality, it is confirmed by a fragment of evidence (p 119) : in AD 54 a Thracian was discharged from the *ala veterana Gallica*. Post-establishment recruitment from the west is also confirmed by the presence of an Alpine tribesman in a unit of Bosporani, originally from the Crimea, on a rare inscription from Syria datable to before AD 47 (see p 119 and note 20).

In the light therefore of the work of Holder and Kennedy and the fragments of evidence we possess it is likely that in the Julio-Claudian period a proportion of the Syrian auxilia was drawn from the province and continued to recruit from it. The garrison however also included units recruited originally in the west which continued to receive recruits from western tribes with suitable manpower to spare. It must also be remembered, for an overall picture, that the province was during this period surrounded by client-kingdoms whose rulers, like Agrippa II, recruited their own forces largely from their own kingdoms.

For the period from Vespasian to Trajan we are well informed about the identity of the garrison, although the titles of the units are only reliable guides to the origin of the recruits for 25 years after the

unit's creation (pp 124-129). It remains impressive that over half of the alae and cohorts were originally from the west, with units from Africa and the east. However we have to bear in mind the lack of evidence from Syria and the general conclusions of Holder based on greater and more balanced evidence, that local recruitment was already increasing under Claudius and Nero and that this trend continued under the Flavian emperors to Trajan. But the evidence reveals that there was some post-establishment recruitment and men from in particular Thrace continued to be sent to serve in the Syrian auxilia, not just in units originally from the west. We find one Thracian in a cohors Musulamiorum originally from Africa (see p 126).

For the period from Hadrian to Severus (see pp 143-146) the same provisos apply. We have clear evidence of new units from Petra in Arabia and Dacia, of the continuing presence of soldiers from Thrace and of some recruitment from Syria itself. Again the evidence is insufficient to establish proportions of recruits from particular parts of the empire. By the late second century however the evidence of the titles of units, confirmed by the need to garrison fresh conquests and illustrated by the Dura papyri, strongly suggest very heavy recruitment from Syria and its frontier regions, from where recruits continued to be drawn. Such were conditions until the 250's.

For the fourth century our evidence is scanty (see pp 163-167). Until 325 it is likely that the titles of units created by Diocletian give some indication of the origin of the soldiers and that the units included Moors and Dalmati. However the majority of units of equites were locally recruited from the start and the local titles of several units in for example Mesopotamia suggest that by AD 400 they had long been based in the same region from which it is likely that they drew their recruits (see pp 166-167). At the same time the Notitia lists emphasize that the local units were at times supplemented by barbarians,

particularly from the west (see pp 163-167).

The army of Herod was drawn from his frontier areas, his colonies and from tribesmen from the west (see pp 237-239). Apart from that of Herod, the only army of a client-king for which there is some evidence is that of Agrippa II, whose troops were drawn from his own kingdom, possibly stiffened by Roman veterans (see pp 241-3).

In the period from AD 70 to the end of the second century the units attested in Judaea were mainly drawn from the western provinces like Thrace, Africa and Spain, with an influx under Trajan from Galatia and Arabia. The same provisos must be borne in mind in considering the evidence for Judaea, later Syria Palaestina, as for Syria : we have very few relevant inscriptions from the province. There will have been supplementary recruitment from the non-Jewish inhabitants of the province (40) to the units in garrison but its scale is uncertain. For the rest of the period we have no evidence.

For Arabia the scanty evidence suggests that recruits, drawn mainly from the towns, were serving in the Arabian army from the later second century (see pp 293-296). This probably continued into the fourth century, when our slight epigraphic evidence suggests recruitment from the local Semitic population, with son following father into the army (see pp 298-300). These conclusions are confirmed by the evidence for veterans in Arabia collected by MacAdam (41). Of the inscriptions giving veterans' names only seven are dated, including a single one from the second century (42), of c. 180. But on the basis of this evidence MacAdam argues that by c. AD 200, within three generations of the conquest of Arabia, legionary veterans and ex-auxiliaries settled in the province provided a solid basis of citizen families to supply the manpower needs of the legion and the auxilia. This confirms the conclusions reached above by the examination of the evidence for serving auxiliaries (see pp 295-6).

Appendix 1An alphabetical list of the auxiliary units attested in Syria, Judaea and Arabia referred to in the textAlae

1. Ala secunda nova Aegyptiorum This ala was in Mesopotamia in the Notitia (1).
2. Ala II Flavia Agrippiana This ala was transferred to Syria from Germany (2) before the Parthian War of Lucius Verus, for it contributed to Lollianus' forces and was commanded by him for his third militia (3). It was commanded in the 180's by a T. Arignotus (4) and is attested in Syria in two inscriptions, an epitaph of a duplicarius from Palmyra (5) and another from Europus-Jerabis on the upper Euphrates (6). It is perhaps the ala secunda of a tombstone from Canatha-Qanawat in the Hauran (7).

An ala Agrippiana is several times mentioned on other inscriptions. But most of these refer more plausibly to the ala Agrippiana miniata in Britain in 122 (8). This is probably the ala Agrippiana that had been in what later became Upper Germany in the Julio-Claudian period (9). Our ala was clearly a Flavian creation and another Julio-Claudian inscription from Grenoble-Gratianopolis in Gallia Narbonensis (10) must refer to the ala later in Britain. A later broken inscription from Cherchel in Mauretania Caesariensis datable to the second century does not have room for a Flavia before the Agrippiana (11) and the officer is most likely to have served in the British unit. We have finally a fragmentary career from Vaison-la-Romaine (12), which mentions an ala Agrippiana but we cannot be certain which unit is here referred to.

See above pages 41-3, 61.

3. Ala I Alamannorum This unit was in Phoenice in the Notitia (13).

See above page 103.

4 Ala Augusta Syriaca A unit of this name contributed to Lollianus' task-force (14). It is perhaps the ala Augusta in Egypt in AD 83 (15). It is not otherwise attested in Syria.

See above page 43.

5 Ala Bosphoranorum (16) This unit was in Syria during the Claudian-Neronian period (17). Its presence there is confirmed by an inscription from Thugga in Africa roconsularis which refers to the unit as being "in Syria" (18) and which is one of three set up for (19) or by (20) a Licinius Rufus, who commanded the unit before AD 54. We also have two Vespasianic commanding officers, one from Nola in Campania (21) and the second from Antioch in Pisidia (22).

By Trajan's reign the ala was in Dacia (23), where it is well attested. For its later history see W. Wagner (24).

See above pages 4-5, 21-2, 119.

6 Ala Britannica We have several pieces of evidence from the east for an ala Britannica, which plausibly relate to the same unit. The ala I Flavia Britannica was based in the west but used for eastern expeditions. It was in Pannonia in 102 (25) and "missa in expeditionem", that is Trajan's Parthian War, in 114 (26). It is probably its activities in this war that have left us two inscriptions from north-eastern Asia Minor, one from Amasea in Pontus (27) and the second from Purkh-Nicopolis in Armenia Minor (28). The ala is several times attested in Pannonia Inferior in the later second century (29) and is most plausibly the ala Britannica attested in the east in the third century. A tombstone of the soldier of such a unit (30) was found at Qalaat el Mudik-Apamea, by the Orontes about 25 miles north-west of the modern town of Hama, ancient Epiphaneia. It had presumably been transferred again from the west for an eastern war.

For details of the unit's history in the west see W. Wagner (31) and, more recently, the note of D. Kennedy (32).

See above pages 41, 74.

- 7 Ala XV Carduenorum This unit was in Mesopotamia in the Notitia (33).  
See above page 110
- 8 Ala Celerum Philippiana This ala is only once attested in the east, on an unpublished dedication of the unit from Shahba-Philippopolis in the north of the Hauran, which is datable to the reign of the emperor Philip (244-249) (34). It is otherwise mentioned on a single inscription, the gravestone of a Semitic member of the unit from Virunum in Noricum (35).  
See above pages 270
- 9 Ala secunda Constantiana This unit was in Arabia in the Notitia (36).  
See above pages 285
- 10 Ala prima Damascena This unit was serving under the dux Foenicis in the Notitia (37).  
See above page 103.
- 11 Ala nova Diocletiana This unit was in Foenice in the Notitia (38).  
See above page 103
- 12 Ala prima nova Diocletiana This unit was in Osrhoene in the Notitia (39).  
See above page 108
- 13 Ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium Possibly the final ala Gallorum et Thracum in the almost certainly Syrian diploma of AD 54 (40) was entitled Constantium. The unit was in Syria in 88 (41) and 91 (42) and is perhaps the ala Gall. et Thr. in the abbreviated text of the diploma of 139 for Syria Palaestina (43), where it was probably based in 186 (44). In the Notitia we find an ala Constantiana (45) under the dux Palaestinae, which had most likely evolved from the original mixed unit.  
It was commanded by an anonymous officer during the first half of the second century (46) and by a native of Cuicul early in the third century (47).

See above pages 6, 22, 211-2, 234, 252-3.

14 Ala I Ulpia dromedariorum Palmy<sup>r</sup>enorum This unit was in Syria in 156-7 (48) and at about the same date an inscription was set up at Palmyra in honour of a commander of the ala (49).

A tombstone of a dromedarius from the southern fringes of Syria has been emended to refer to this ala (50) but the reference remains open to doubt. Possibly a dromedarius, whose tombstone comes from en Nemara (51), served in this unit, though this ala was not the only Roman unit with cameleers on the south-eastern desert fringes. From north-west of Palmyra we have two gravestones of dromedarii who were serving in a cohort (52).

See above pages 43, 54

15 Ala dromedariorum An ala of cameleers was also operating in Arabia in the latter half of the second century (53).

See above pages 270-271.

16 Ala Flavia milliaria An ala of this title was commanded by Ti(berius) Claudius Pollio (54) and can only be the ala milliaria in Syria that he commanded when Pliny was serving as tribunus laticlavus in the province soon after AD 81 (55). We find no other reference simply to an ala Flavia milliaria in Syria. It is risky to identify it with the ala Flavia praetoria singularium, in Syria in 91 (56), which is nowhere distinguished as milliary.

See above p. 22.

17 Ala prima Foenicum This ala was under the dux Foenice in the Notitia (57)

18 Ala octava Flavia Francorum This ala was in Mesopotamia in the Notitia (58)

See above page 110.

19 Ala prima Francorum This ala was in Foenice in the Notitia (59).

See above page 103

20 Ala veterana Gaetulorum This ala took part in Vespasian's suppression of the Jewish revolt (60). It was in Judaea in 86 (61) and was commanded early in Hadrian's reign by a Valerius Rufus (62). It is perhaps the ala veterana of an inscription from Heliopolis (63).

By the later second century the ala was in Arabia (64).

See above pages 197, 201-2, 246, 271.

21 Ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana This ala is first attested in the Syrian (65) diploma of 54 (66) as ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana and was still there in 88 (67). It was in Palestine as ala Ant(iana) Gallorum in 139 (68) and was still there in 186 (69).

It is perhaps referred to, if ANII was intended to be an abbreviation of Antiana, on a fragmentary career inscription datable to Tiberius' reign from near Antioch in Pisidia (70).

Under the dux Palaestinae (71) is an ala Antana dromedariorum, which had probably evolved from the mixed cavalry unit.

For a conjectural origin of the ala see Stein, *Truppenkorper*, p 122.

See above pages 5-6, 22-3, 212, 235.

22 Ala veterana Gallica First attested in the above-mentioned diploma for 54 (72), it was still in Syria, as ala veterana Gallica, in 88 (73) and is mentioned in the fragment of a diploma for 91 (74). By 130 it had been transferred to Egypt (75), where it is later frequently referred to (76).

Of its commanders who are attested, Claudius Alpinus under Domitian (77) and possibly Aemilius Iuncus (78) in the early second century, were in charge of the unit in Syria before its move from the province.

It and the ala veterana Gaetulorum (no. 20 above) are the only veteran alae attested in the province. It is thus the only other candidate for the ala veterana commanded by a curator on a fragmentary inscription from Heliopolis (79).

See above pages 5, 23, 121.

- 23 Ala prima nova Herculia This unit was in Syria in the Notitia (80).  
See above page 106.
- 24 Ala VI Hispanorum This unit is only once attested, in the Notitia under the dux of Arabia (81). It was probably promoted from the cohors VI Hispanorum (82).  
See above pages 285 and the cohors VI Hispanorum (no. 38 below).
- 25 Ala prima Iuthungorum This unit was in Syria in the Notitia (83).
- 26 Ala prima milliaria (84) See the cohors I milliaria (cohort no. 47 below).
- 27 Ala nova firmamilliaria catafractaria This unit was recruited at the end of the second or early in the third century from Severus' new province of Mesopotamia. It came to the west most plausibly with the army of Severus Alexander in 234 (85) and was back in the east by Philip's reign, when it is attested at Bostra (86).  
See above page 271, and for a discussion of the evidence for the unit in the west see Stein, *Truppenkörper*, p 128 f. See also above p 151f, 157.
- 28 Ala II Pannoniorum This ala was in Syria in 88 (87) but remained there only temporarily. By 93 it was in Moesia (88). It came to the east for Trajan's Parthian War (89) but returned to garrison Dacia.  
It is perhaps referred to in a fragmentary cursus from Thrace (90).  
See above page 24. For a full history of the unit see Wagner (91) and Speidel (92).
- 29 Ala II Paflagonum (93) See the cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum below (cohort no. 56).
- 30 Ala Parthorum An ala Parthorum sagittaria perhaps belonged to the Syrian army. Such a unit was commanded by an officer in the second century, who spent most of his career in the east (94). By the time of the Notitia there was an ala I Parthorum in Osrhoene (95).  
See above pages 166.

31 Ala VII Phrygum (96) In Syria under Domitian (97), this ala is attested there in 88 (98). By 139 it was in Syria Palaestina (99), where its presence is independently confirmed by an inscription from Haifa (100). It is certainly to be restored on the fragment of a diploma for Syria or Syria Palaestina of AD 134-54 (101).

We have the careers of several commanders of the ala, from Asia Minor (102), Mauretania (103) and from Rome (104) under Trajan. From the later second century we have others from Pergamum (105), Lycia-Pamphylia (106) and Lugdunum *Convenatum* (107).

It is last attested on an Antonine career inscription from Rome (108).

See above pages 24-5, 43-4, 121, 212-3.

32 Ala Flavia praetoria singularium Probably not the western ala praetoria (109), listed in Pannonia in 85 (110), a time when all the troops in Pannonia and Moesia were needed for Domitian's Dacian wars, the ala praetoria was in Syria in 88 (111) and 91 (112), when it is listed as ala Flavia praetoria singularium.

Ours is certainly the ala praetoria of the Lollian inscription (113). It perhaps remained in the east to be listed under the dux Armeniae in the Notitia (114).

See above page 25.

33 Ala prima Saxonum This unit was in Foenice in the Notitia (115).

See above page 103.

34 Ala Sebastena Herod founded Sebaste and settled 6,000 colonists there (116). From this colony he recruited troops loyal to himself (117). They remained in garrison of Sebaste and its neighbourhood after Herod's death and under the rule of his son, and also during the government of the procurators from the deposition of Herod's son, Archelaus, in AD 6 until the appointment by Claudius of Agrippa I in AD 41 (118). It is on Agrippa's death in AD 44 that we first hear specifically of an ala of Sebastenes and Caesaraeans (119). Between 44 and 66 the ala is from time to time referred to - we find the procurator Cumanus (120) at the

head of the unit with some infantry (121). Probably the ala joining Vespasian from Caesarea in 67 was our unit (122). After the suppression of the revolt it was transferred with the rest of the Sebastene units from Judaea (123).

An ala Sebastenorum remained in the east - it was in Syria in 88 (124). It was later transferred to Mauretania, from where we have several references to an ala Gemina Sebastenorum (125).

The ala I miliaria Sebastena under the dux Palaestinae (126) was probably derived from a cohors Sebastena miliaria (see below cohort no. 65).

See above pages 25, 176, 189-190.

35 Ala I Ulpia Singularium This ala is first attested on a Trajanic career inscription (127), it contributed cavalry to Lollianus' force (128) and was based at Palmyra in the 150's (129), from where we also have the epitaph of an eques of the unit (130). It was in Syria in 156-7 (131) and is last attested in a career datable to the 180's (132).

See above pages 44-5, 135 and the Lollianus list, Appendix I p 332.

36 Ala Augusta Syriaca For the unit with this title in Lollianus' vexillation (ILS 2724) see the ala Augusta Syriaca (ala no. 4 above).

37 Ala (1) Thracum Augusta This ala was based at Gerasa during the later first century, where it is attested on three inscriptions (133). By 107 the unit was in Raetia (134) and by early in Antoninus Pius' reign had been moved to Noricum, where it remained until the later third century.

For details of the unit's history in the west see Stein, Truppenkörper, p 154 f, Wagner, Dislokation, p 72 f. and M. Roxan (135).

See below pages 270 and 287-8

38 Ala Thracum Herculiana This unit is earliest attested on two late first to early second century inscriptions (136). When and from where it came to Syria is unclear (137). After the creation of Syria Palaestina we find the unit operating ἐν Πλευρωῖα (138), possibly the Παιονία of north Macedonia (139), though the term is also used by Dio for Pannonia (140).

The earliest secure data for its presence in Syria is 156-7 (141), though it was probably in the east when commanded in the 130's to 140's by Tiberius Agrippa (142). A contingent served with Lollianus (143) and we have independent confirmation of the unit's participation in Verus' Parthian war (144).

The ala is attested on several inscriptions from Palmyra, the epitaph of an eques (145), an inscription in honour of a commander (146) and perhaps on a fragmentary dedication of a Thracian eques (147). It is clearly the  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta \text{ Ἡρακλιωτῶν}$  of the fragment of an inscription from Seleucia Pieria (148).

Between 167 and 185 the ala was transferred from Syria to Egypt (149).

See below pages 45-6, 61-2, 135.

39 Ala I Thracum Mauretana This ala was in Judaea in 86 (150). It is perhaps the unit of Thracians referred to on a fragmentary inscription from Caesarea (151) and it was possibly men from the unit who were responsible for a dedication at Jerusalem of the templum genii [A] frice (152). By 134 the unit was in Egypt, where it is last attested in 288.

See above pages 202-3; for the history of the unit in Egypt see Lesquier (153).

40 Ala III Augusta Thracum This ala was in Syria in 88 (154) and 91 (155) and its presence "in Syria" is noted on a career inscription from early in Domitian's reign (156), where it lacks the Augusta. Its place of garrison is suggested by an unpublished inscription of a veteran of the unit from Abu Houreira (157), a site on the south bank of the Euphrates' eastern bend about 30 miles west of Raqqa, ancient Callinicum. This is datable to before the unit's transfer to the west early in the second century, when an eques of the unit was buried at Carnuntum (158). By 133 the ala was in Pannonia (159).

From Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia we have the fragmentary tombstone of a standard-bearer of the unit (160).

For the later history of the unit in the west see Wager, Dislokation, p 73 f.

41 Ala prima Valentiana This unit is listed in Arabia in the Notitia (161).

See above pages 281-282, 285.

42 Ala secunda felix Valentiana This ala is listed in Palaestina in the Notitia (162).

See above pages 235-6

43 Ala secunda felix Valentiniana This ala is listed in Arabia in the Notitia (163).

44 Ala septima Valeria praelectorum This ala is under the dux of Osrhoene in the Notitia (164).

See above page 103

45 Ala Vocontiorum This unit was in Egypt in the second century, where it is last attested in 165 (165). Before 183 it had been transferred to Syria (166). We have two other inscriptions for the unit, both from in or near Dmeyr-Admedera, between Damascus and Palmyra. The first is a dedication by a strator of the commander of the unit, datable to the later third century (167). The second is a dedication datable to 253-9 and probably set up by the ala (168).

See above pages 62, 75.

Cohorts

- 1 Cohors I Agentaria This unit was in Palaestina in the Notitia (1).
- 2 Cohors II Aegyptiorum This unit was in Foenice in the Notitia (2).
- 3 Cohors V Afrorum Severiana This unit is only once attested in Arabia, on a building inscription of 212 from Qasr el Hallabat (3). It was probably a creation of Severus and possibly belonged to a series which included the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum.

See above page 272.

- 4 Cohors V pacata Alamannorum This unit was in Foenice in the Notitia (4).

See above page 103.

- 5 Cohors III Alpinorum Last attested in the third century in Pannonia, this unit is only once attested in the east, under the dux Arabiae in the Notitia (5).

For the earlier history of the unit see Wagner, Dislokation, p 85 f; Alföldy, Acta Archaeologica Hungarica, 1962, pp 263-5.

See above page 286.

- 6 Cohors quinquagenaria Arabum This cohort was in the ducate of Mesopotamia in the Notitia (6).

- 7 Cohors tertia felix Arabum This cohort was in Arabia in the Notitia (7).

See above pages 286, 299.

- 8 Cohors I Ascalonitarum sagittaria This unit is probably referred to on a fragmentary Tiberian inscription from Italy (8). It was in Syria in 88 (9), in 156-7 (10) and contributed to Lollianus' task-force (11). It is last referred to on a papyrus from Dura, in an entry of 209 (12).

See above pages 6, 27, 46, 75.

9 Cohors Augusta We have several reference to cohortes Augustae but the title is not distinctive enough to allow us to be certain of the identification of particular units. In AD 6 a cohort Augusta I was in Syria (13). Then we find several references to cohortes Augustae in the army of Agrippa 11 - on inscriptions from Souweida (14) of AD 76 and Eitha-el Hit in the northern Hauran (15). Perhaps the  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta$  in Caesarea in AD 60 (16) was the same unit (17). No later references to the unit - or units - are known.

See pages 6-7, 194.

10 Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum This unit is only once attested in Syria Palaestina in 139 (18) and had almost certainly be<sup>en</sup> transferred thither from Raetia, where it is attested in 125/128 (19) and again in 147 (20). A temporary transfer from Raetia to the east is confirmed by the unit's absence from the Raetian diploma of 139-141 (21).

It was perhaps commanded in the east by M. Fabius Mettianus (22).

For a detailed history of the unit see Stein, *Truppenkörper*, p 171 f, with H-J. Kellner, *BVBl.* 36, 1971, p 241 for a note of the recent evidence of diplomas.

See above page 213.

11 Cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum In Syria in 88 (23), the cohort had been transferred to Syria Palaestina by 139 (24) and was still there in 186 (25). It was commanded there by a C. Aufidius Maximus (26).

See a-bove pages 27, 213.

12 Cohors VII Breucorum This cohort was in Moesia Superior in 100 (27), whence it was transferred to the east, probably for Trajan's Parthian war, during which service it was moved to Cyprus (28), probably to deal with a Jewish revolt. In the rebellion the Cypriot city of Salamis was destroyed (29). The cohort was back in Lower Pannonia by 151-160 (30).

For a full history of the unit see Wagner, *Dislokation*, p 101 f.

13 Cohors IIII Callaecorum Lucensium This unit was in Syria in 88 (31) and set up a dedication to Trajan in the latter part of his reign (32), which is so far unpublished but was found at Safsafa on the south bank of the Euphrates about 20 miles south-south-west of Raqqa. The cohort was probably based here.

It is listed in the diploma of 134-154 for Syria or Syria Palaestina (33), contributed to Lollianus' force (34) and is almost certainly to be read in the Syrian diploma of 156-7 (35).

See below pages 27-8, 47, 55.

13A Cohors I Canathenorum An inscription from Motha-Imtan (III 14379) was set up by soldiers of a coh(ors) I AUG (ustae) CANNHEN, possibly to be restored Can[at]hen(orum), but we have no other evidence for such a unit in Arabia.

14 Cohors II Cantabrorum This unit was in Judaea in 86 (36) but is not again attested.

See above page 203.

15 Cohors X Carthaginensis This unit was in Palaestina in the Notitia (37)

16 Cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum equitata sagittaria This unit is earliest referred to in Syria in 156-7 (38). It set up a dedication to L. Verus at Dmeyr-Admedera in 162 (39) and probably contributed troopers to Lollianus' force (40).

The remaining inscriptions referring to this unit derive from Palmyra - dedications to Severus of 206-7 (41), to Elagabalus or Severus Alexander (42) and to the mother of the emperor Philip (43).

A dedication from the fort of Diocletian at Palmyra was set up by an opti(o) eq(uitum) (44). He perhaps belonged to the Chalcidene cohort, if not to the legio I Illyricorum (45).

See above pages 28, 47, 62, 76, 125 and Appendix 2 on Lollianus' vexillation, p 331.

17 Cohors I Damascenorum In Egypt in the early 130's (46), this unit had been moved to Syria Palaestina by 139 (47), where it remained until 186 (48).

It was commanded under Trajan by C. Cornelius Minicianus (49) and was perhaps referred to on a broken career inscription from Tusculum (50).

For the history of the unit in Egypt see Lesquier, *L'Armée*, p 87 f.

See above page 214.

18 Cohors II Equitum This unit must be distinguished from the cohors II Ulpia equitata (see below cohort no. 79), which is listed separately on the Lollianus inscription.

Lollianus' list suggests (51) the unit's presence in Syria in the second century. At an uncertain date it was commanded by a L. Valerius Priscus (52). It is referred to on a papyrus from Dura (53) from the reign of Severus Alexander and finally was responsible for a dedication at Dura during the joint reigns of Gallus and Volusian (251-253) (54).

See above pages 62, 76.

19 Cohors II Classica sagittaria This unit was in Syria late in Augustus' reign - in or after AD 6 - (55) and is attested there in 88 (56) and 156-7 (57). We have the career of a commander of the cohort from Italy (58).

See above pages 7, 28, 48.

20 Cohors II Cretensis This cohort was in Palaestina in the Notitia (59).

21 Cohors III Augusta Cyrenaica This cohort was in Moesia in the first century, possibly came to the east perhaps with V Macedonica in 62 (60), and was based in the second century in Cappadocia (61).

For details of the unit's history see Wagner, *Dislokation*, p 128 f and Pflaum, *Carrières I*. 35a (47) and 93 bis, p 81 f (62).

22 Cohors I Ulpia Dacorum This unit was in Syria in 156-7 (63) and is probably the cohors III Dacorum of Lollianus' inscription (64).

It survived to the end of the fourth century. Under the dux Syriae we find a cohors prima Ulpia Dacorum (65). It is perhaps the

νομιερος Δακωv of a later inscription from Apamea (66).

See above pages 48, 106.

23 Cohors II E(mesenorum ?) The existence of this unit is very doubtful. From north-west of Palmyra we have two tombstones of dromedarii (67). One of these was from a co(hors) II E, possibly to be restored as E(mesenorum).

24 Cohors I Equitata This unit was in Palaestina in the Notitia (68).

25 Cohors I Eufratensis This unit was in Osrhoene in the Notitia (69).

See above page 108.

36 Cohors I Flavia civium Romanorum equitata In Syria in 88 (70), the cohort was in Syria Palaestina by 139 (71). It was almost certainly mentioned in the Lollian list, though the text is not absolutely clear (72).

We have the careers of two commanders of the unit, one Trajanic (73) and a second Antonine, of 158 (74).

The cohort survived in Palestine until the end of the fourth century (75).

See above pages 28, 214, 235.

27 Cohors IV Frygum This unit was in Palaestina in the Notitia (76).

28 Cohors I Gaetulorum In Syria in 88 (77) and 91 (78), the cohort was commanded in the later second century, when probably still in Syria, by a M. Claudius Restitutus (79) and in the 170's by an Alfenus Arignotus (80).

It survived to the late fourth century, when we find it in garrison in Osrhoene (81).

See above pages 28, 48, 63, 108.

29 Cohors I Ulpia Galatarum This Trajanic unit was in Palestine in 139 (82) and remained there at least until 186 (83). It was commanded in the second century by an officer from Asia Minor (84) and survived until at least AD 238 (85), when it was taking part in an expedition in the west.

See above pages 214, 235.

30 Cohors II Ulpia Galatarum In Syria Palaestina in 139 (86), this cohort was still there in 186 (87) and survived until the late fourth century, when it is attested under the dux Palaestinae (88).

See above pages 215, 235.

31 Cohors VII Gallorum This cohort was based in Moesia Inferior until early in the second century (89). It was in the east by 134/154 (90) and in Syria in 156-7 (91). It is probably the cohors VII of a dedication of 138 from Hatne (92), a site about 35 miles north-north-west of Damascus on the way to Palmyra, and possibly the cohors VII CAIMP (93). emended by Ritterling to VII GALL(orum) (94), of a dedication of 241-244, also from Hatne.

It was commanded, probably during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in Syria by C. Iulius Corinthianus from Theveste (95) and in the mid to late second century by the emperor-to-be, Pertinax (96).

See above pages 48-49, 63, 77.

32 Cohors V Gemella c(ivium) R(omanorum) This unit is earliest attested on a Trajanic career inscription of an officer, all of whose commands were in the east (97). By 139 it was in Syria Palaestina (98) and was still perhaps there in 186 (99). It is one candidate for the cohors V of a fragmentary tombstone from Samaria (100), though the cohors V Sebastena (see below cohort no. 66) is also possible.

See below pages 203, 215.

33 Cohors I Gotthorum This unit was in Syria in the Notitia (101).

34 Cohors II Gratiana This unit was in Palaestina in the Notitia (102).

See above page 236.

35 Cohors I Hamiorum milliaria This unit is placed in Syria by the epitaph of a centurion, perhaps datable to the late first to early second century (103), from Trier. It is once more attested, commanded by Valerius Maximianus in the 160's (104), with the additional title of c(ivium) R(omanorum). By this date the unit may well have been based in Cappadocia (105).

See below pages 28-9, 77.

36 Cohors III Herculia This unit was in Foenice in the Notitia (I06).

See above page I03.

37 Cohors I Hispanorum This cohort was in Egypt in the later first century (I07) but in a diploma of I05 for Egypt (I08) it is described as "extraslata in Iudaeam." It was perhaps transferred from here to Arabia.

For the unit's history see Lesquier (I09) and Pflaum (II0).

See above pages 203, 272.

38 Cohors VI Hispanorum This unit was in Arabia in 2I2 (III). It had perhaps been earlier based in Syria, from where we have a tombstone set up by a soldier of the unit (II2). We also have two fragmentary careers which mention the unit (II3).

By the fourth century the cohort had probably been promoted to ala VI Hispanorum (ND Or. 37. 26).

See above pages 49-50, 272.

39 Cohors II Italica c(ivium) R(omanorum) milliaria (?) The earliest reference to a possible member of this cohort is in the Acts of the Apostles (II4), to a centurion from the  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$  Ἰταλικῆ, of about AD 40. It is surprising to find an Italian cohort of Roman citizens serving in the forces of a client king and the writer may be guilty of anachronism (II5) but units with the title Italica c. R. were originally the product of special levies, which included freedmen (II5A), and Cheesman (II5B) suggests that this unit may represent the remnant of 4,000 freedmen from the east, who were banished to Sardinia for military service by Tiberius in AD 19.

Probably by about AD 69 a cohors II Italica belonged to the army of Syria (II6). It was in Syria in 88 (II7), in 91 (II8) and 156-7 (II9).

An inscription attests a single commander of the unit, C. Paccius Firmus (I20). The fact that he was a tribune suggests that the unit was milliary.

See above pages 29, 50, 188.

40 Cohors I milliaria Italica voluntariorum An unnumbered cohors milliaria Italica voluntariorum "quae est in Syria" was commanded by L. Maesius Rufus most plausibly in the late Neronian-Flavian period (I21). This is

almost certainly the cohorts I Italica milliaria voluntariorum c(ivium) R(omanorum), which by the early to mid second century had been transferred to Cappadocia (122).

The unit was also commanded by Flavianus of Samos (123).

See above page 29.

41 Cohors I Ituraeorum It is probably this cohort that was in Germania Superior until it was moved to Syria by AD 88 (124). By 110 it was back in the west and in Dacia (125).

We have epitaphs of probable commanders of the unit from Eitha-el Hit in the northern Hauran (126) and another from Salona in Dalmatia (127).

For detailed histories of the unit see Stein, *Truppenkörper*, p 199, and Wagner, *Dislokation*, p 157 f.

See above page 30.

42 Cohors VI Ituraeorum (?) From Tell Hayal, ancient Alaina, in Mesopotamia about 30 kilometres west of Singara, has come a brick on which could be read COH(ORS) VI I [ ], which may most plausibly be restored as I [ turaeorum (127A). Auxiliary units had been recruited from Ituraea in southern Syria from the later first century and it is not unlikely that Severus, who recruited on a large scale in the east, drew on this region. The cohort's high number makes it a candidate for inclusion in a composite list of units recruited largely from the east that it is plausible to assign to Severus (see above p 83). A unit with this title is not otherwise attested.

43 Cohors I Lepidiana equitata c(ivium) R(omanorum) Not certainly in Syria, Judaea or Arabia but probably in the east in the 60's when commanded by T. Mucius Clemens (128), this unit was in Pannonia by AD 80. It was still in the west, in Moesia Inferior, before 114 (129) but returned to the east during the second century. We have an inscription of AD 199 from Armenia Minor (130) and this unit was still in Armenia in the late fourth century (131).

See Wagner, *Dislokation*, p 159 for the unit's history in the west and see above pages 77, 194.

44 Cohors I Lucensium Probably the cohort in Pannonia in AD 80 (132), it was in Syria in 88 (133) and 91 (134) and contributed to the force of Lollianus (135).

It was commanded by T. Statilius Optatus, probably under Hadrian (136).

On the unit see most recently Alföldy, *Acta Archaeologica Hungarica*, 14 1962, p 270.

See above pages 30, 50.

45 Cohors I Augusta <sup>Prætoria</sup> Lusitanorum This cohort (137) is earliest attested in Judaea in 86 (138). By 105 it was in Egypt (139).

For a detailed history of the unit see Lesquier (140) and Pflaum (l.c. in note 139).

See above page 203.

46 Cohors IX Maurorum This cohort is attested solely on two inscriptions from Hatra in Mesopotamia, datable to the reign of Gordian III (141). It was probably a creation of Severus' and may well have belonged to the same series as, for example, the cohors XII Palaestinorum and cohors XX Palmyrenorum (142).

See above page 77-78.

47 Cohors I Milliaria The existence of a single unit of this title is open to some doubt. A cohors I Milliaria was in Syria in 88 (143) but this may be the cohors I Thracum milliaria (144). We do however have the tomb-stone of a soldier of a cohors milliaria (145) from the Trachonitis and the careers of two commanders (146) of a unit with only this title.

A soldier of a cohors milliaria who was of Syrian origin died at *Salona*, perhaps while participating in the campaigns of Maximinus Thrax, emperor from 253-258 (147). Possibly the cohort returned to the east and was promoted to ala, becoming the ala prima milliaria in the Notitia (148).

See above pages 30-31, 127.

48 Cohors I Montanorum This cohort is once attested in Syria Palestina, in 139 (149). It is probably the cohors I Montanorum in Pannonia Inferior in 114 (150), where it is later attested (151).

For the later history of the unit in the west see Wagner, Dislokation, p 170 f.

See above page 215-216.

49 Cohors I Musulamiorum This cohort was in Syria in 88 (152) and was commanded by an officer from Spain (153). It is perhaps the  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$   $\pi\rho\omega\tau\eta$   $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\eta$  of a  $\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  third c-entury inscription from Thessalonica (154).

See above page 31.

50 Cohors I Numidarum This unit was in Spain in 88 (155). It is perhaps identical with the cohors I Flavia Numidarum in Lycia-Pamphylia in 178 (156).

Our unit appears on a probably later first century cursus from Samos (157). And the cohors I  $[\Phi\lambda. N] \omicron\upsilon\mu\iota\delta\omega\nu$  is mentioned on an inscription from Brundisium (158).

See above page 31-32.

51 Cohors I Orientalis This unit was in Foenice in the Notitia (159).

52 Cohors IV Palaestinatorum This unit was in Palaestina in the Notitia (160). It may belong to the same series as the unit below.

See above page 235.

53 Cohors XII Palaestinatorum This unit is only once referred to. It was encamped near Dura in 232 (161). It probably belonged to a series of units created by Severus (162).

See above pages 78-9.

54 Cohors XX Palmyrenorum milliaria equitata (163) This unit was probably raised in 192 (164) for Severus' first Parthian campaigns and appears to have been based at Dura by 208 (165). It is mentioned on an inscription of 230 (166) and we have the epitaph of a commander of the unit referred to in the fresco of the temple of Bel (167), which is datable to about AD 239 (168). Several other not precisely datable inscriptions

attest the unit's presence there. These include a fragment referring to the liberalitas (of a member of ?) the unit (169) and the unpublished graffiti from the Mithraeum (170). Also papyri from the archive specifically attest the cohort's location near Dura in for example AD 221, when there was a vexillation at Appadana (171).

The unit probably remained at Dura until the city's destruction in AD 256.

See above pages 79-81.

55 Cohors I Augusta Pannoniorum In Syria in 88 (172), the cohors Augusta Pannoniorum is perhaps the cohors I Pannoniorum in Egypt in 83 (173). As I A[ug(usta)] Pannon(iorum) it was in the diploma of 156-7 (174). It was still in Syria under Commodus, to whom it set up an inscription, now headless (175), while Julius Saturninus was governor of Syria, that is to say between 185 and 187 (176). Before the late fourth century it had been transferred to Egypt (177).

The unit is referred to on a single career inscription, of the mid to late second century (178).

For the history of the unit in Egypt see Lesquier, *L'Armée*, p 93.

See above pages 32, 50, 81.

56 Cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum This cohort was in Syria in 156-7 (179) and contributed to Lollianus' expedition (180). The unit was still in Syria or Mesopotamia in 251, from which date we have the dedication of a vexillation from Dura (181).

In the Notitia under the dux of Osrhoene we find an ala secunda Paflagonus (182). It is highly likely that our cohort was, like several other cohorts in the east (183), promoted to ala during the late third to fourth century.

See below pages 50, 81, 108.

57 Cohors III Ulpia Paphlagonum Like its sister cohort above, this unit was in Syria in 156-7 (184) and contributed to Lollianus' forces (185). It is also referred to on a fragmentary career inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis (186).

58 Cohors I Ulpia Petraeorum This unit was commanded by a L. A burnius late in Trajan's reign (187), was in Syria in 156-7 (188) and contributed to Lollianus' force (189).

It is otherwise referred to on two honorary inscriptions for M. Acilius Athenodorus from Palmyra (190).

See above page 51.

59 Cohors IIII Petraeorum This unit was in Syria Palaestina in 139 (191). It was perhaps commanded in the early third century by C. Julius Avitus Alexianus (192), in charge of one of the three quingenary cohorts of Petraeans, which were numbered IV to VI (193).

See above page 216.

60 Cohors V Ulpia Petraeorum This unit was in Syria in 156-7 (194) and took part in Lollianus' expedition (195).

It is once otherwise attested on a career inscription from Ostia (196).

See above page 52.

61 Cohors VI Ulpia Petraeorum This cohort was in Syria Palaestina in 139 (197). Its presence there is confirmed by an inscription of the unit from Emmaus, just north-west of Jerusalem (198).

It is once more referred to, on a headless career inscription from Ephesus (199).

See above pages 216-7.

62 Cohors I Ulpia Sagittariorum This unit is attested only in Lollianus' task-force (200). It cannot certainly be identified with any other unit in the east.

See below the Appendix on Lollianus' force, pp 328f., p. 332.

63 Cohors II Pia Fidelis A unit with this title is attested on tile-stamp from Tell el Hajj, a site about 23 kilometres north of Meskene-Balis on the right bank of the Euphrates (201), which is possibly the ancient Eragiza (202).

64 Cohors I Salutaria This unit was in Palaestine in the Notitia (203).

65 Cohors I Sebastena For the early history of units recruited from Sebaste see under the ala Sebastena (ala no. 34 above). Five Sebastene cohorts garrisoned Sebaste and its neighbourhood until after the Vespasianic war, when they were transferred elsewhere.

We find a cohors I Sebastena in Syria in 88 (204) and 91 (205). This is probably the cohors I Sebastena milliaria in Syria Palaestina in 139 (206) and still there in 186 (207). It had perhaps been promoted from cohort to ala by the time of the Notitia, where we find an ala I milliaria Sebastena under the dux Palaestinae (208).

Two copies of the cursus of a Celesticus mention a cohors I Sebastena (209) and it is perhaps to our cohort that the soldier, whose epitaph came from Samaria-Sebaste, belonged (210).

See above pages 32-3, 217.

66 Cohors V [? Augusta ?] c. R. [Sebastena ?] A cohort with this title has been suggested for a fragmentary inscription from Sebaste-Samaria (211). But its existence is very doubtful.

67 Cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana In Moesia Inferior in 99 (212) and 134 (213), the cohort was transferred between 134 and 138 to Asia (214) and from there to Syria, where we find it in 156-7 (215). It also contributed to Lollianus' task-force (216).

It is also referred to on two career inscriptions, one of Flavian date, before the unit reached Syria (217), and the second, datable to the later second century, from Caesarea in Mauretania (218).

See above pages 52 and Appendix on Lollianus' force, 329-330.

68 Cohors I Thebaeorum equitata In Egypt in the first century - it is attested there in 99 (219) -, we find it in a diploma for Egypt of 105 (220) "extranlata in Iudaeam". The move was presumably in connection with Trajan's invasion of Arabia. However the unit's later fate is uncertain. It is not again attested.

See Wagner, Dislokation, p 185 f.

See above page 273.

69 Cohors I Augusta Thracum This unit was in Syria in 88 (221) and may be the cohors I Thracum in Judaea in 86 (222). By late in the first century the unit was at Kurnub-Mampsis in the Negev (223) and is later attested in Arabia, on inscriptions from Motha-Imtan (224) and Umm el Qottein (225) in the southern Hauran.

We also have the careers of two officers who served in the unit, one from Tripolitania (226) and the second from Palmyra (227).

It is perhaps this unit that is described simply as cohors I Thracum on an inscription from Qasr el Hallabat of AD 212 (228) and appears in the Notitia under the dux Arabiae (229).

See above pages 33, 205, 273.

70 Cohors I Thracum (Syriaca) milliaria Possibly the cohors I milliaria in Syria in 88 (230), this unit was in Syria in 91 (231) and had been transferred to Syria-Palaestina by 124 (232), where we find it in 139 (233) and 186 (234). By the late fourth century the unit was in Arabia (235).

The cohort is referred to on a career inscription from Teos (236) and <sup>possibly</sup> on an unpublished career inscription of a commander from Ephesus (237). In the former inscription the unit is entitled cohors prima miliaria Thracum; in the latter it appears as cohors I Thracum Syriacum (sic).

From Tell el Hajj, a site on the right bank of the Euphrates about 23 kilometres north of Meskene-Balis, have come the tile-stamps of a cohors prima Thracum milliaria (238), presumably this unit. They can be dated to before 124 from the movements of the unit, which had by that date been transferred to Syria Palaestina, and suggest where the unit was based in the Flavian-Trajanic period.

See above pages 33, 205, 285.

71 Cohors I Thracum (239) The existence of such a unit, distinct from the two discussed above, is uncertain. But the difficulties of identifying the cohors I Thracum in Judaea in 86 (240) with either of the others favours such a view (241). It also remains possible that the cohors I Thracum of the Severan inscription from Qasr el Hallabat (242)

in this unit and that the cohors prima Thracum of the Notitia's Arabia (243) derives from this unit rather than from the cohors I Augusta Thracum above (cohort no. 68).

It was perhaps commanded by -inius Secun- under Nero (244) and may have been transferred to Egypt rather than Arabia (245).

See above pages 204-5, 273, 285.

72 Cohors I Thracum Syriaca This unit is not attested in Syria but the title Syriaca suggests its presence there before its transfer to Moesia by AD 78 (246).

For the cohort's later history see Wagner, Dislokation, p 191 f.

See above pages 7-8.

73 Cohors II Thracum This cohort was in Judaea in 86 (247) but by 105 had been transferred to Egypt (248).

For the history of the unit in Egypt see Lesquier, L'Armée romaine d'Égypte, p 95 f.

See above page 205.

74 Cohors II Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum) This unit was in Syria in 88 (249) and 91 (250). It is then referred to in the fragment of the career inscription of a commander of the unit (251) and perhaps in a dedication from Soukhne, a site about 40 miles north-east of Palmyra, datable to the later second century (252). But the lack of the c. R. title suggests that the cohort of the inscription is the unit below (no. 75).

It is perhaps this unit that is the cohors II Thracum in Lollianus' force (253). But the absence of the c. R. title means that the cohort below (no. 74) is also a possible candidate.

See above pages 33, 53

75 Cohors II Thracum Syriaca This cohort was in Syria in 91 (254) and was still there in 156-7 (255). It is possibly the cohors II Thracum of Lollianus' force (256). It is more easy to understand the omission of the title Syriaca from a list of units most of which were in garrison in Syria than the c. R. of the cohort above (no. 74), which was an honour  
th unit had received

Otherwise the unit is referred to only on a cursus from Praeneste (257) and is the second possible candidate for identification with the cohorts II Thracum of the inscription from Soukhne referred to above (see cohort 74 above).

See above pages 34, 53.

76 Cohors III Augusta Thracum This unit was in Syria in 88 (258), was commanded by a L. Aburnius under Trajan (25) and was still in Syria in 156-7 (260). It was commanded about this time by Julius Julianus (261) and at an uncertain date by a L. Bruttius Celer from Latium (262).

A veteran of the cohort was buying land at Dura in AD 227 (263).

See above pages 34, 53-4, 64-5, 81-2, 274.

77 Cohors III Thracum Syriaca equitata This cohort was in Syria in 88 (264). From Syria we have the tombstone of a member of the unit (265), possibly of Augustan date. It was commanded by L. Aburnius under Trajan (266) and is referred to on the tombstone of a centurion of the unit from el Kantara in Numidia (267).

It is perhaps the cohorts III Thracum in Arabia in 212 (268).

See above pages 34, 54, 65, 274.

78 Cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca This is probably the cohorts IIII Syriaca in Syria in 88 (269). It is otherwise referred to only on two career inscriptions, one from Pola (270) and the second, datable to Trajan's reign, from Malaca in Baetica (271).

The unit was perhaps transferred to Moesia in the later first century (272).

See above page 34.

79 Cohors II Ulpia equitata c(ivium) R(omanorum) This unit was in Syria in 156-7 (273) and contributed to Lollianus' forces (274). By 185-92 it was at Dura (275) and we have a further dedication by the cohort datable to 194 (276). Roughly datable to the same period is a headless building inscription of the unit (277).

It was probably the στρατα ἑπτακὴ Ῥωμαίων πολιτῶν (278)

commanded by Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Pius and was also under the charge of a T. Porcius Cornelianus (279).

See above pages 54, 65.

80 Cohors III Valeria This unit was in Syria in the Notitia (280).

See above page 106.

81 Cohors XII Valeria This cohort was in Palaestina in the Notitia (281).

See above page 235.

82 Cohors VIII Voluntaria This unit was under the dux Arabiae in the Notitia (282).

See above page 286.

83 Cohors XIV Valeria Zabdenorum This unit was in Mesopotamia in the Notitia (283).

See above page 110.

APPENDIX 2The date of Lollianus' command of his vexillation in Mesopotamia  
(ILS 2724 and addendum p CLXXIX)

The dating of this expedition, with its long list of auxiliary units contributing cavalry vexillations, is of considerable importance for the history of the Syrian auxilia. For the units listed are nearly all independently attested in Syria and a firm date would give the list almost the value of a diploma for the province. The number of units involved suggests that the occasion was a major Parthian expedition - Lollianus was "praepositus in Mesopotamia" - and the reference to units created by Trajan makes it plain that his is the earliest such war that is possible. There is on the other hand no evidence for a terminus ante quem. It is possible that the Parthian war was one of Severus' but the absence of any positive evidence for this and for a date after Trajan's war is against so late a date. The most likely occasions remain Trajan's or Lucius Verus' Parthian wars.

In an article written not long after the discovery of the diploma for Syria for 156-7 (1) Bormann argues (2) for a dating to Lucius Verus' Parthian war. His main point is the similarity of the units in Lollianus' vexillation to those in the diploma of 156-7. More recent evidence has only confirmed this. Two of the probable five alae of the inscription and nine - and perhaps 11 - of the fifteen cohorts recur in the diploma. This argument therefore continues to carry weight. After Trajan's war we can be sure that units were transferred from Syria to Syria Palaestina, to deal with the trouble at the end of Trajan's reign and to garrison the province after the Hadrianic revolt. On both these occasions there were probably permanent changes to the Syrian garrison. But it remains true that the annexation of Arabia and Trajan's creation of new units for his eastern campaigns, which will have caused greater permanent changes to the Syrian garrison, both belong before the Trajanic Parthian expedition. However

at the time of that expedition the future garrison of Syria was not fixed and a vexillation of units, almost all of which were to belong to that garrison, is surprising if it was drawn from an expeditionary force with contingents from various provincial armies. We would expect the participation of units that ended up in different parts of the empire. And it is certainly likely that between Trajan's Parthian war and 156-7 there were changes in Syria's garrison greater than a dating of Lollianus' vexillation to that war would imply.

Bormann's dating is confirmed by two further arguments. The more compelling of these concerns the cohors I Sygambrum, the last cohort of Lollianus' list, which is certainly the cohors I Claudia Sygambrum in Syria in 156-7 (3). This cohort was in Moesia Inferior in AD 99 (4) and was still there in 134 (5). It is possible that it was transferred to the east and back between these dates to take part in Trajan's Parthian war. But it will then only have been a temporary migrant to the east, whereas the great majority of the other units were permanently in Syria. By the time of the Veran war, on the other hand, the cohort had been in Syria for at least five years.

Then for the Sygambran cohort we not only have this diploma evidence for its presence in the west but also specific evidence for its transfer from its base at Kutlowitza in Moesia Inferior to a new base at Eumeneia (6) in Phrygia during Hadrian's reign. Since the cohort was in Moesia in 134 the move can just plausibly be dated after this and before Hadrian's death in 138. It was not transferred directly to Syria but its commander "a Moesia Inf(eriore) Montan(ensi) praesidio (Kutlowitza) numerum in Asia(m) perduxit", to Eumeneia. From here, after exactly how long an interval we cannot say, the cohort went on to Syria, where it had reached by 156-7 (7).

The occasion for this transfer is not clear. It is tempting to connect it with Hadrian's Jewish war but by 135 most of the fighting was over. Its absence from the diploma for Judaea of 139 (8) suggests that

this province was not the Sygambran cohort's ultimate destination.

But it may well have taken the place in Syria of a unit transferred from that province to Judaea as part of the forces of occupation. As we have seen it was in Syria by 156-7.

The evidence for a second unit, the ala Thracum Herculiana, also offers some support for a Veran date for Lollianus' vexillation. Like the Sygambran cohort this ala is not attested in the east until 156-7 (9). Its absence from the Flavian diplomas for the province suggests that it had not reached Syria by then and that it was still in the west after 136 is implied by a headless inscription from Prusias ad Hypium (10).

This gives the career of an officer, whose name is lost, who was

" ἑταρχος ἐ]ν Πρωνια τῆς α' Θρακῶν Ἡρακλείουσ "

and it is datable from a reference to Syria Palaestina to after c. 136 (11).

Πρωνια is probably to be equated with Pannonia, though this is disputed (12), and it is simplest to assume that the ala was still at this time in the west. There are however reasons for suspecting that things are not quite as simple as this. The unknown officer gives the location of only one of the three units he served in. There was possibly something special about it, for example that it had recently changed its province of garrison. Our unknown officer may have known of its transfer to Syria and made it clear to expert readers of his inscription that he commanded the unit before its transfer to Syria. It is difficult certainly to have the unit permanently based in Pannonia, for it is attested on none of the numerous Pannonian diplomas for the early second century. It may perhaps have been transferred to Pannonia temporarily from Cappadocia. Our unknown officer commanded a cohort in that province and served as tribune in XVI Flavia Firma, by the date of his post probably transferred from Cappadocia to northern Syria (13). But this is very conjectural. The crucial point is that the ala was not in Syria at some date after 136 and was unlikely at this time to have been permanently based there.

As with the Sygambran cohort we would have to assume a special trip to take part in Trajan's Parthian war and a return to the unit's original base. That, on the other hand, the ala took part in Lucius Verus' war is certain. It was commanded by Julius Julianus (14) between 163 and 167, who was decorated for his conduct in the war.

A similar but more doubtful argument for a later date concerns another cohort in Lollianus' force. A cohors I Chal(cidenorum) is listed in the diploma of 138 for Moesia Inferior (15). By 156-7 the cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum was in Syria, where it contributed to Lollianus' vexillation and is later several times attested. We thus have another example of a cohort transferred to Syria long after Trajan's Parthian war. But some suspicion is justified here that we are not dealing with the same unit. In the 138 diploma Flavia is absent from the unit's title and, while the cohors I Chalcidenorum is nowhere else attested in the province, a cohors II Chalcidenorum was certainly in Moesia Inferior at this time (16). I may have been written for II in the diploma for 138 and no Moesian unit transferred to Syria. So this argument cannot be pressed.

But the other two arguments are strong enough to make a Veran more plausible than a Trajanic date. The main ground for a Trajanic date is the clear evidence of Trajan's hand in the participating units. But this is itself no argument against a dating to Verus' war, when so many of Trajan's units were still in Syria.

The units of Lollianus' expedition in Mesopotamia  
(See ILS and addendum ILS III 2 p CLXXIX)

|                              |   |  |
|------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 Alae                       | In Syria in the first century                                 | In Syria in the second century and later                       |
| Praetoria                    | ala Flavia praetoria singularium AD 91 (1961. 319 - Roaxan 4) |  |
| Augusta                      | perhaps the same unit   |  |
| Syriaca                      |   |  |
| Agrippiana                   |   | ILS 8853 and IGRR III 114C (later 2nd century)                 |
| Herculiana                   |   | 157 (XVI 106)  |
| Singularium                  |   | 157 (XVI 106) ala I Ulpia singularium                          |
| Total: most probably 5       |   |  |
| 2 Cohortes                   |   |  |
| I Lucensium                  | 1961. 319 (AD 91) - ILS 9011 (? in Syria) Roxan 4             |  |
| II Ulpia Equi [t. c. R.]     |   | 157 (XVI 106)  |
| I Fl(avia) c.R.              | XVI 35 (AD 88)  |  |
| II Thracum                   | 2 cohortes II Thracum were in Syria                           | 157 (XVI 106) Cohors II Thracum Syriaca (prob.)                |
| III Ulpia Paphlagonum        |   | 157 (XVI 106)  |
| II Equitum                   |   | At Dura 233-235 (See F.R. Parchments and Papyri 82 col.ii 1.8. |
| I Ascalonitarum              | XVI 35 (AD 88)  | 157 (XVI 106)  |
| I Flavia Chalcidenorum       |   | 157 (XVI 106)  |
| V Petreorum                  |   | 157 (XVI 106)  |
| IIII (Callaecorum) Lucensium | XVI 35 (AD 88)  | 134-154 (XVI 103); 157 (XVI 106); see also 1972 669            |
| I Ulpia Petreorum            |   | 157 (XVI 106)  |
| II Ulpia Paphlagonum         |   | 157 (XVI 106)  |
| I Ulpia Sagittariorum        |   |  |

III Dacorum

Perhaps the cohors I Ulpia  
Dacorum of XVI 106

I Sygambrium

157 (XVI 106)

Total 15

The Contribution of Recent Excavations to the Military History of the Negev from Augustus to the fourth century

The careful excavation of a section in the centre of Petra (1), the layers of which can be roughly dated by coins, has brought a large advance in the dating of Nabataean pottery. This dating has considerable historical significance and suggested to Parr (o.c. in note I, p 369) four main stages in the architectural development of the century of Petra, which will have reflected the fate of the city as a whole and, plausibly, that of the kingdom also.

Parr's four stages are as follows : first an early stage of small buildings of simple design and construction, dating from the mid- to late third century BC to the later first century BC. The second major stage was one of monumental structures and of a great town plan. It coincided with the first 'Nabataean' type of pottery and Parr dates it to after 8 BC, when Aretas IV began his reign. The third major stage was marked by the construction of a paved street and is dated to after AD 76. Finally came a period of decline and abandonment, which disturbance of the upper ground levels made impossible to date.

Generalising from this single sequence we see a great programme of new building at Petra under Augustus and the early empire, during stage 2. A great Augustan resurgence at Petra is confirmed (2) by Starcky's summary of the views about the Khazneh tomb and the major temple, the Qasr, at Petra. Both are probably Augustan. Prosperity then continued throughout the first century AD, with the construction of a paved street after AD 76. None of the phases after XIII, after AD 76, can be precisely date but it is tempting to see Parr's major stage of decline and dereliction as coming after Trajan's take-over of the province in AD 106.

That this picture was true not only of Petra but also of settlements in the Negev had been suggested by the American excavations at Nessana-Auja el-Hafir in the Negev (3). Nessana was prosperous during the first century BC and first century AD, when the Nabataean kings were raking in the

customs dues from the caravan trade. We find a 25 per cent customs charge being levied at Leuke Kome (4), through which camel-traders in numbers often as large as armies (5) passed, en route often for Petra and thence, in many cases, across the Negev and via Nessana to Gaza and the Mediterranean. This was under the Nabataean king Malich (6).

But as at Parr's Petra decline set in after the first century AD, with the setting-up of the Roman province, which brought with it the diversion of the customs dues to Roman coffers and the construction of the Trajanic road from the Red Sea to Syria. Hence the caravan road from Petra to Gaza was less intensively used and there came decline at Nessana in the second century and stagnation in the third century. This continued to the end of the fourth century (7), when there was a revival of the town's fortunes and the construction of a fort early in the fifth century.

However this comfortable picture of the Negev has been shaken by recent excavations combined with a reassessment of those at Nessana (8).

Several sites in the Negev have been quite recently excavated (9). Most importance of these are Oboda-Avdat (10), excavated from 1958, and Kurnub-Mampsis, excavated from 1965 (11). At Avdat a layer of ash was discovered about the gate-tower of the Nabataean acropolis, which was first dated, apparently on a priori grounds, to the Roman conquest of the kingdom in 106. But in 1960 the discovery of a potter's workshop (12) persuaded the excavator, A. Negev, to down-date the destruction attested by the layer from 106 to 50 AD. He notes that he was able to date the destruction of the gate-tower precisely to AD 50 (13) but nowhere gives the archaeological sections which persuaded him to make this change (14). The arguments for this dating are based on the large amounts of pottery which Negev dates to before AD 50 (15) and the lack of coins later than AD 40 (16). But the precise dating of the occupation of sites by means of pottery is notoriously difficult and the conflict between Negev's proposed history of Oboda and that suggested by the evidence from Petra must throw some doubt on his interpretation.

These doubts are confirmed by Negev's preliminary dating of the destruction level at Oboda-Avdat to AD 150 (17), a century earlier than his later dating. We find the former dating in Negev's article on the date of the Petra-Gaza road (18), where it is preceded by a short period from AD 88 to 126. It is here difficult to see how such a short period was distinguished from the archaeological evidence, which has not yet been published.

Negev analyses the archaeological evidence from other sites in the Negev in an article entitled "The Chronology of the middle Nabataean period" (19), which he dates to between 25-1 BC and 50 AD. Here he attempts to reinterpret the results of earlier excavations in the light of the conclusions he has drawn from Oboda-Avdat (20). But his arguments are based ultimately on the pottery from Oboda-Avdat, for the dating of which, as we have noted, the archaeological evidence has not been published. Negev's view also demands an abrupt later history for the town, between the later second century - after the end of Negev's late Nabataean period - and the sixth century. According to Negev there were periods of total abandonment interspersed with a period of occupation in the third century (21). For this period no pottery evidence is cited. Such drastic fluctuations are not only implausible but they imply a very different history for Oboda than that for nearby Nessana-Auja el-Hafir, from where we have hard evidence in the form of papyri for the construction of a fort between AD 400 and 425 (22). Part of the function of this fort was to protect the desert roads, including that from Petra to Gaza. According to Negev Oboda-Avdat was derelict at this time (23).

In his chronology article (23) Negev analyses the evidence from Kurnub-Mampsis. He argues here for a gap between his "late Nabataean" period (75/100 to 125/150) and a "late Roman" period. But a large hoard of coins, of which most belong to the early third century while a considerable proportion are of late first to early second century, favours continuity of occupation up to the date of burial of the hoard, if, as is most probable,

the coins were collected and buried by a local inhabitant.

Dating of sites in the Negev by pottery is particularly difficult because there is no reliable dating of pottery during the Roman period (c. AD 106 to 395). On the other side of the Jordan with the publication of a preliminary report on the pottery from the American excavations at Esbus-Tell Heshban, just north of Medaba and south of Amman-Philadelphia, the beginnings of a pottery chronology are developing (24). This will in time give a surer chronology for occupation during the Roman period. This difficulty is at the root of the recent variant datings of the occupation of the towns of the Negev. The most recent excavation (25) is beginning to throw further doubt on some of the datings discussed above. At Oboda-Avdar Negev has himself discovered a second to third century quarter, which eliminates one of his periods of abandonment.

It is in conclusion simplest in the present state of our evidence to return to the outline picture suggested by the evidence from Petra, of prosperity in the first century BC and AD, followed by a period of decline, the scanty remains of which have led to the difficulties in dating discussed above. Probably there was continuous, though reduced, occupation till the revival of prosperity in the early fifth century, attested by the garrisoning of Nessana.