

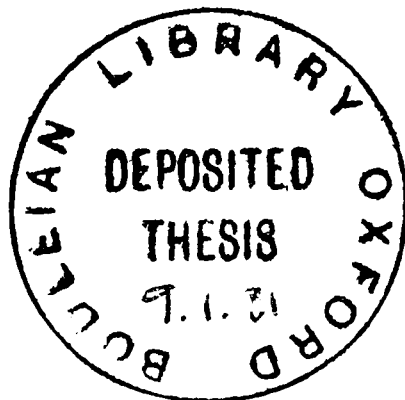
THE AUXILIA AND NUMERI RAISED IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF SYRIA

by

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty Board of Literae Humaniores in
the University of Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Submitted August 1980^{MT}



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ABSTRACT

In classical times the military value of the Semitic peoples was often called into doubt. A superficial examination does not support the charges of the classical writers. This thesis sets out to examine the military contribution made by the native population of the province of Syria to the non-citizen regiments of the Roman army.

Introduction: the current state of knowledge about the Syrian auxilia is briefly summarised.

Chapter 1 defines the scope and objectives of the thesis: temporally, from the late Republic until the mid-third century; spatially, the area of the province of Syria on the eve of the annexation of Arabia; while, the units treated are those which are described as alae, cohortes and 'numeri'.

Chapter 2 is devoted to a treatment of the literary, epigraphic, papyrological, archaeological and artistic sources. Attention is then given to fundamental criteria relevant to the examination of the individual units.

Chapter 3 treats the background to the employment of Syrian soldiers from the Persian Wars onwards, but especially in the late Republic and very early Principate.

Chapter 4 is the main part of the thesis, being a detailed discussion of all the evidence for some 57 regiments. Each group of units - characterised by its tribal name - is preceded by a brief discussion of the region and its contribution to the legions and equestrian militiae.

Chapter 5 resumes the preceding work and offers some general conclusions concerning the (considerable) contribution of Syria to the auxilia, their recruitment pattern (probably little different to that of the auxilia as a whole), and tabulates the evidence for formation dates and subsequent distribution.

Six appendices look at: 'Tables' presenting the evidence for Syrian legionaries and Syrian auxiliaries on the diplomas; 'Dynastic Titles'; 'The Career of C. Velius Rufus...'; 'Mesopotamian Soldiers in the Roman Army'; the date of the career of Valerius Lollianus; and, a study of Josephus BJ, III, 66.

Illustrations consist of maps and photographs.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been almost six years in preparation. During that time there have been a good many interruptions, often extensive: full-time employment almost completely stopped work for two years while lecture courses were prepared; two expeditions to carry out field-work in the Middle East occupied a further 7 or 8 months. That it has now been completed is due in no small part to the generosity of my colleagues in the Department of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology in Sheffield University who spared me a teaching load as heavy as their own even after my courses had been prepared.

I cannot name all of the many people who have assisted me over the years and in the final preparation of the thesis. However, a number deserve special mention. First, my supervisor, Professor S. S. Frere who has never failed to respond swiftly to my requests for advice and in reading earlier drafts of various sections. He has saved me from many errors, provided valuable references and I have incorporated many of his suggestions into the text. That the quality of my expression in this work as a whole is not higher is in spite of his red pen!

Margaret Roxan has been very kind, patient and understanding in dealing with my queries especially during the last few months of work. There are few people who were better qualified to answer my questions on the auxilia.

Henry MacAdam, whose appointment to an Assistant Professorship in the American University at Beirut deprived me of the value of his advice during the past year, must be thanked. The way in which he managed

to bring his own doctoral thesis to its conclusion last August under very difficult circumstances and after a number of unwelcome interruptions, gave me the necessary incentive to finish my own.

Dr. B. Dobson, Dr. V. Maxfield, Paul Holder and Michael Gracey must also be mentioned amongst those who have helped at various stages.

As I am now well aware, the final preparation of a large piece of work requires the services of skilled and able typists: to our two departmental secretaries (alphabetically), Pauline Sykes and Angela Taylor, I owe an especially large debt. Without them both, the final submission of this work would have been long delayed. Their skill in deciphering my handwriting must be on a par with that of many of the best palaeographers!

Finally, my wife, Julie. She has lived with this work for several years and must by now be heartily sick of it. However, she has borne with my absences, listened patiently to my excited exposition of bright new ideas one day - and equally patiently when a night's sleep showed them to be untenable! She is the best research assistant I am ever likely to have and, in dedicating this work to her, it is in the knowledge that it is a woefully inadequate recognition of her contribution.

None of the above are of course to be held responsible for the views expressed herein.

* * *

Unless otherwise stated, translations in the text are usually taken or adapted from that available in the relevant volume of the Loeb Classical Library.

Abbreviations

<u>AA</u>	<u>Archaeologia Aeliana</u>
<u>AA(A)S</u>	<u>Annales Archéologiques (Arabes) Syriens</u>
<u>AAASH</u>	<u>Acta Archaeologica Academia Scientiarum Hungaricae</u>
<u>AAf.</u>	<u>Antiquités Africaines</u>
<u>AE</u>	<u>L'Année Épigraphique</u>
<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>AJP</u>	<u>American Journal of Philology</u>
<u>AMN</u>	<u>Acta Musei Napocensis</u>
<u>ANRW</u>	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, ed. H. Temporini</u>
<u>AS</u>	<u>Ancient Society</u>
<u>TIR</u>	<u>Tabula Imperii Romani</u>
<u>ASyr.</u>	<u>Antiquités Syriennes</u>
<u>BAA</u>	<u>Bulletin d'Archéologie Algériennes</u>
<u>BCTH</u>	<u>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques</u>
<u>BGU</u>	<u>Berliner Griechische Urkunden</u>
<u>BICS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</u>
<u>BJ</u>	<u>Bonner Jahrbücher</u>
<u>BMC</u>	<u>British Museum Catalogue of Coins</u>
<u>BRGK</u>	<u>Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</u>
<u>EVbl.</u>	<u>Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter</u>
<u>CAH</u>	<u>Cambridge Ancient History</u>
<u>CERP</u>	<u>Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces</u>
<u>ChLA</u>	<u>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</u>
<u>CIL</u>	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</u>
<u>CIS</u>	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</u>

CP Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Équestres, H.-G. Pflaum

CRAI Comptes rendues des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres

Devijver, A1 etc. Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrum quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum, H. Devijver

Devijver, SH1 etc. De Aegypto et Exercitu Romano sive Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrum quae ab Augusto ad Gallienum seu statione seu origine ad Aegyptum Pertinebant, H. Devijver, Studia Hellenistica, 22

Dura Papyri The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report V,1
The Parchments and Papyri, Welles et al.

Dura Report, I-IX. The Excavations at Dura Europos, Preliminary Report of the First (etc.) Season of Work, Baur et al.

ES Epigraphische Studien

ESAR An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome

HSCP Harvard Studies in Classical Philology

HTR Harvard Theological Review

IEJ Israel Exploration Journal

IGLS Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie

IGRR Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes

ILAlg. Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie

ILER Inscripciones Latinas de la España Romana, J. Vives (ed.)

ILM Inscriptions Latines du Maroc, L. Chatelain (ed.)

ILS Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae

IRT Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania

JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JÖAI, Bbl Jahreshefte des österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes (Beiblatt)

JRCAS Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

- JRS Journal of Roman Studies
- Limes III Limes-Studien: Vorträge des 3. Internationalen Limes-Kongresses in Rheinfelden/Basel 1957, R. Laur-Belart (ed.)
Basel, 1959
- Limes VI Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms (1964): Vorträge des 6 Internationalen Limes Kongresses in Süddeutschland,
Köln and Graz, 1967
- Limes VII Roman Frontier Studies, 1967, M. Gichon (ed.), Tel Aviv, 1971
- Limes VIII Roman Frontier Studies 1969: Eighth International Congress of Limesforschung, E. Birley, B. Dobson and M. Jarrett (eds.)
Cardiff, 1974
- Limes IX Actes du IXe Congrès International d'Études sur les Frontières Romaines, 1972, M. Pippidi (ed.), Bucharest, 1974
- Limes X Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II (1974): Vorträge des 10. Internationalen Limes Kongresses in der Germania inferior, 1974, Köln, 1977
- Limes XI Limes: Akten des XI Internationalen Limeskongresses, 1976,
J. Fitz (ed.), Budapest, 1977
- Limes XII Roman Frontier Studies, 1979, W. S. Hanson and L. J. F. Keppie,
(eds.), Oxford, 1980 (=BAR, S71)
- LRE Later Roman Empire, A. H. M. Jones
- MZ Mainzer Zeitschrift
- Not.Dig.,Or./Oc. Notitia Dignitatum, Oriens/Occidens, O. Seeck (ed.)
- NT New Testament
- OT Old Testament
- O. Tait Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and various other collections, J. G. Tait
- PA Die Provincia Arabia, Brünnow and Domaszewski
- PBA Proceedings of the British Academy

- P.Beatty Panop. Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin,
Skeat
- PBSR Papers of the British School at Rome
- P.Dura The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report: The
Parchments and Papyri, Welles et al.
- PECS Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites, Stillwell (ed.)
- PES Princeton (Archaeological) Expedition to Syria 1904-05
and 1909, Butler et al.
- P.Fay. Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth
- PIR Prosopographia Imperii Romani
- P.Lond. Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Kenyon and Bell
- P.Mich. Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection, Edgar et al.
- P.Oxy. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Grenfell, Hunt et al.
- QDAP Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine
- R.E. Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
- REA Revue des Études Anciennes
- RIB Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Collingwood and Wright (eds.)
- RIC Roman Imperial Coinage, Mattingly and Sydenham (eds.)
- RIU Die römischen Inschriften ungarens, L. Barkóczy and
A. Mócsy (eds.)
- Roxan, no.--- Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977, M. Roxan (ed.)
- SB Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, F. Preisigke
and F. Bilabel (eds.)
- SCIV Studii si cercetări de istorie veche
- SEHHW Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,
M. I. Rostovtzeff
- SEHRE Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,
M. I. Rostovtzeff

SHA Scriptores Historiae Augustae

SP Select Papyri, Grenfell and Hunt (eds.)

TAPA Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association

WDZ Westdeutsch Zeitschrift

YCS Yale Classical Studies

ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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IV Tombstone of M. Situs from Aleppo Museum
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- D. VII Archers on Trajan's Column
VIII Altar of Sextius Ursus from Heddernheim (28.07)

INTRODUCTION

In the course of the last century, only two attempts have been made to provide some overall account of the Roman auxiliary forces: the articles in the Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft under ala, cohors and numerus were necessarily brief, while G.L. Cheesman's The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army, invaluable still, was an essay, a step (as Cheesman put it) on the way to a more comprehensive work. During the three generations which have elapsed, the trend in auxilia studies has been towards fragmenting the subject to examine constituent parts. Considerable advances have been made by a plethora of articles in specialist journals, while entire monographs have been devoted to various aspects. Amongst the former have appeared treatments on pay and organisation, and on such ethnic groups as the Thracian and Breucan units.¹ Amongst the latter there have been works on recruitment to the auxilia on Rhine and Danube, on their distribution over the Balkans, on the auxilia in Germania inferior and from the Spanish provinces, a monograph on the early auxilia and, to my knowledge, two other 'Studies' in the auxilia are forthcoming.² There have, too, been unpublished theses such as those on the auxilia in Dacia and from the Iberian peninsula, while a third, on the auxiliary garrison of Syria, is near completion.³ The time may not be far away when a new, expanded edition of Cheesman can be written. Such a study will inevitably present an account much fuller in the light of new evidence, considerably modified in many respects, and it would have to deal with those aspects omitted by Cheesman or unforeseen by him not least, a number of regiments unattested in his time. The changes anticipated are attributable not only to the effects of the types of studies just mentioned but also to new approaches. Today, in the study of history

generally, much more emphasis is placed on social and economic approaches. The ancient historian of course has not been blessed with the extensive data available to colleagues working with the modern world, but he is not without resource and means. The wealth of new epigraphic material to come to light this century, the enormous numbers of papyri - a number even from outside Egypt - have provided raw material for social and economic studies, invaluable complemented by the activities of and discoveries resulting from innumerable archaeological programmes. From the modern historian, the ancient historian has borrowed the prosopographical method which has done so much to widen our knowledge and understanding of the workings and character of Roman society in general. All have been of importance for military studies in ways ranging from clarifying the internal organisation of individual units to examining their camps. The result is that, on the canvas of the Roman world, not only has the perceived image of the auxilia changed but the canvas itself is far wider, richer and more complete than in Cheesman's time. The picture will of course never be perfect but it is the task of the historian as much to correct and fill out the canvas in its details as to interpret the fragmentary, often distorted image.

Just as the quantity of evidence has increased, methods changed and the areas of particular interest shifted in ancient history generally, so too with studies of the Roman army. Roman military studies remain immensely popular as evidenced by theses, publications and conferences. There has, however, been something of a shift in the areas of particular interest. Numbers of units, unit strength, location, ranks and promotion have retained their interest but are supplemented by fresh aspects.

The military career as an avenue for social mobility, the army as an instrument of romanisation, army pay as a factor in imperial finances (and conversely, financial difficulties as factors in revolt and civil war), the relationship between military camps, trade routes and trade, the army in society, racial mobility via the army - all have attracted attention.⁴

Factors which have made social studies of the army both attractive and possible are the nature of the evidence and the character of recruits. It is a commonplace that ancient historical sources were, by and large, written by, and of, the ruling class. We hear much of the educated, civilized urban dwellers in Rome and in the provincial cities; it is only in times of serious rural unrest and rebellion that we get a glimpse beneath the surface and some hint of the character of the lives of the 90% or more of the Empire's population in the towns and villages. There are three ways in which we may seek to remedy this defect. First, there are papyri, preserving documents pertaining to the everyday activities of rural Egyptians. However, where comparisons can be made, Egypt is often so untypical of the Empire as a whole, that one must apply its evidence elsewhere with considerable caution. Second, inscriptions from the city of Rome - over 60,000 of them - give us some evidence, if only names, for the 'urban poor many of whom were of rural background. Finally, there is the epigraphic evidence for the Roman army, especially that for the auxilia. The Roman army drew most of its recruits from the rural population of the Empire, and this is especially true of the auxilia. Since these men avidly embraced the upper class and urban fashion of erecting inscriptions, a study of this corpus of material provides us with a window-view -

however small - into something of the lives, beliefs, customs and activities of up to a quarter of a million men drawn from the rural population about whom we would otherwise hear little or nothing.

The point is well-illustrated in the case of the cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittariorum (below, 102-5). The most famous sons of the north Syrian city of Cyrrhus were C. Avidius Cassius and his father C. Avidius Heliodorus.⁵ Their names reveal something of their transition from an enfranchised Greek family to one with a purely Roman name. The epigraphic evidence from Cyrrhus likewise concentrates on the Hellenized/Romanized population of the city and even the known legionaries have names which would be unremarkable anywhere in the romanized communities of the Empire. The six legionaries are, however, paralleled by the group of auxiliaries from Cyrrhestica with pure Semitic names. Just as the Roman names of the former group give a glimpse into the nature of the civilized urban population of the cities of Cyrrhestica, so too, we need hardly doubt that the latter are representatives of the distinctive Semitic rural population, still largely unaffected by the hellenized ways of the long-standing "Greco-Macedonian" colonial population in their midst. It is a happy trend which has led to the production of the sort of prosopographical lists which permit these comparisons. Poor relations when laid beside the career inscriptions of the eminent, they nevertheless open up an important avenue of research and shed some light on the Empire's rural population.

Finally, in 1940, W.E. Brown was awarded a doctorate by Yale University for his dissertation on the Oriental Auxiliaries of the Roman Imperial Army. The existence of this work only became known to

me some 18 months after I had begun my research in 1974 and, in the four and a half years which have elapsed since then, I have been unable to obtain access to it. However, long ago, Cheesman observed with regard to his own work that relying as it did "largely upon epigraphical evidence to which additions are constantly being made, it is equally necessary that the scattered material should at intervals be collected and utilized, and that the unfortunate collector should realize that his conclusions will inevitably be revised in the future in the light of fresh evidence". The sources of evidence for my study, as for Cheesman's, are principally epigraphic and papyrological. As the register of this evidence at the end of this work shows, most was unknown to Cheesman, almost half has only been published since 1940.

1. See the bibliography below.
2. K. Kraft, Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau, 1951; W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in der Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien, 1938; G. Alföldy, Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania inferior, 1968; J.M. Roldan Hervas, Hispania y el Ejército Romano, 1974; P.A. Holder, The Auxilia from Augustus to Trajan, 1980; studies forthcoming by Professors D.B. Saddington and J.F. Gilliam.
3. M. Roxan, The Auxilia of the Roman Army raised in the Iberian Peninsula, 1973; M. Gracey for forthcoming dissertation on Syrian auxiliary garrison.
4. See for example the works by Dobson, Rostovtzeff, MacMullen, Watson, Brunt, Crawford, Middleton.
5. PIR² A 1402; A 1404 and Pflaum, CP. no. 106.

CHAPTER 1: SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

In 1916, Bouchier observed that of all the Semitic peoples in the Roman East, only the Jews made any attempt to resist or throw off the Roman yoke.¹ The self-evident truth of the statement must of course be seen in proper context: the Romans after all did not conquer the Semitic peoples of the East but rather overthrew their Hellenistic, even Armenian, rulers. Nevertheless, it is a commonly held view - amongst both ancient and modern writers - that the fighting men of the East in general were effete, decadent and far inferior to European soldiers. The ease with which the Italian legions of Lucullus, Pompey, Gabinius and Caesar (to say nothing of Alexander, the Scipios and Sulla before them) had overcome resistance in the East must have done much to foster the often contemptuous attitude of Romans/Europeans towards Orientals, which the virtual annihilation of Crassus' army did little to retard. The image raised up by Fronto in the mid-second century of the undisciplined, sumptuous life-styles of the ineffective Roman armies of Syria at that time, would have been recognized by Corbulo a century earlier when his Armenian War had had to be preceded by a rigorous toughening winter spent under canvas in the Armenian Mountains, and by Septimius Severus almost 40 years on when his own eastern troops dashed themselves unsuccessfully against the walls of Hatra while the European soldiers, who could have pressed home the assault, held back in pique.² Yet there must be more to be said for the soldiery of the East even if judged only by its ability to withstand the upheavals of the late Empire, its subsequent ability to reconquer much of the West in the early sixth century and then to establish, for almost a millenium longer, a powerful, vigorous state. Moreover, the Romans clearly made use of the local military manpower resources from

an early date to fill up both the legions and resident auxilia, (App. 1), as well as in units for use elsewhere.

A treatment of the military contribution of the entire East to the Roman armed forces would have been at least twice the length of the current work; nor would it have been necessary. The contributions of the numerous provinces from the Bosphorus to the Nile to the legions, auxilia, fleets and Rome cohorts varied in quantity and quality, but by far the largest contribution came from the single Roman province of Syria. Syria is an appropriate choice for study for other reasons too. First, its large population³ was almost entirely a Semitic one, from the Phoenicians of the Levant to the beduin Arabs of the desert. Again, it was one of the three great military provinces of the Empire (together with Britain and Pannonia) and very prosperous.⁴ In fact, no other eastern province would have been at all appropriate, between them contributing far less than Syria alone. From the purely personal academic point of view the decision to study the soldiers coming from a province rather than in it has the inestimable advantage of widening the horizons. Syrians served in virtually every garrisoned province of the Empire and an examination of them inevitably involved varying amounts of study of the military sites of the entire Empire from Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall to Castellum Dimmidi in Numidia, Syene on the borders of Ethiopia and Intercisa on the Danube. Finally, given the desirability of concentrating on Syria alone, one must bear in mind that the province contributed both legionaries and auxiliaries. It is my intention to discuss only the latter. Not only do we know much more about auxiliaries individually and through being able to trace their ethnic units, but also they were drawn overwhelmingly from the Semitic native population.

Fig. 1 "Greater Syria" (CERP², 227).



The legionaries on the other hand, initially at least often of Italian immigrant stock, were at most times recruited from the hellenized/romanized cosmopolitan population of Syria.⁵

The temporal scope of this thesis may be swiftly set forth. Essentially I am concerned to trace the extent and process of exploitation by Rome of the military manpower resources of Syria from the creation of the province in 63 B.C., through the emergence of formal alae, cohortes and "numeri", to the mid-third century. The Notitia Dignitatum lists many auxiliary units, most created in the late third and fourth centuries; only the handful which are clearly earlier units restructured or whose omission from the discussion is academically undesirable, have been treated.⁶ We know most of this handful only from this single reference. "Syria" in the widest sense comprises the land between the deserts of Sinai, Arabia and Mesopotamia, and the Mediterranean and the Taurus Mountains. In the classical period, it was divided internally into Coele Syria and Syria Phoenice which were, in essence, Seleucid and Ptolemaic Syria respectively before the arrival of Rome. In the Islamic period it was "the land on the left" (as one came north out of Arabia, the direction of beduin migration for centuries) - es-Shams as opposed to al-Iraq. In the Roman period, the lands of greater Syria were more or less co-extensive with the provinces of Syria, Palestine and Arabia.⁷ For the purposes of this thesis it is with Syria alone that I am concerned. Not only were the Jews highly distinctive amongst Semites generally but their military contribution was negligible;⁸ indeed, as one of the few internal provinces with a legionary garrison, they were militarily a liability.⁹ Over the Jordan river, the Nabataeans retained their autonomy for

almost 170 years after the annexation of Syria and, although they contributed troops to Roman wars, it would be as wrong to regard them as a client people like the populations of Chalcis, Emesa and Judaea, as it would be to regard Osrhōene before the late second century in this way.¹⁰ Moreover, the evidence for Arabian auxilia is slight: six cohorts of Petraeans are known, at least three milliary, but no single soldier below the rank of prefect or tribune is attested and we cannot, therefore, learn anything of the original personnel or of subsequent recruitment patterns. The Syria with which I am concerned is the area of provincia Syria on the eve of the annexation of Arabia; a province stretching from the Decapolis cities to the Mediterranean, Mt. Amanus, the Taurus and the Euphrates. In the east it encompassed Palmyra; in the North, Commagene - although essentially Arian in population - was geographically and administratively a natural part of Syria.¹¹ Cilicia, however, at one time under the governors of Syria, is excluded as being ethnically, geographically¹² and, from Vespasian,¹³ administratively separate.

Finally, the objectives of this thesis. Broadly speaking, the overall aim is to trace the process by which the Romans exploited the military manpower of Syria. In practice, since there is little specific evidence for Syrians in non-"Syrian" auxiliary' regiments in their home province and quantification is impossible in any but the broadest terms,¹⁴ the assessment of her contribution is based on an examination of the ethnic units she contributed to the Roman army. More precisely, this thesis traces the use of Syrian soldiers in non-legionary contexts through the literary sources for the late Republic/early Empire and the literary, epigraphic and papyrological evidence for the subsequent period.

The technical task of quantifying the military contribution is complemented by an examination of the use made of the forces involved, their distribution, specialist skills and impact on non-Syrian communities. Cheesman, it must be remembered, was of the opinion that "oriental regiments" (by which he seems to mean specialist archer regiments from the East; he examines cohors I Hemesenorum sag., ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sag. and cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sag.)¹⁵ unlike almost all other regiments, maintained a unique recruiting procedure in that they regularly received drafts from the East which enabled them to retain their distinctive cultural and military characteristics. Consequently, close attention must be paid to the origins of the personnel of those Syrian regiments based in Europe and North Africa.

CHAPTER 1: NOTES

1. Bouchier, 50.
2. Fronto, Preamble to History, 10 (Loeb p. 207); 12 (p. 209)
". . . . the most demoralised of all, however, were the Syrian soldiers, mutinous, disobedient, seldom with their units",
". . . . so cowed by unsuccessful battles as to listen for the trumpet as the signal for flight".; 13 (p. 211) ". . . . the Syrians dandy ways"; idem, Ep. 19 (Loeb p. 149) "The army you took over was demoralised with luxury and immorality and prolonged idleness. The soldiers at Antioch were want to spend their time clapping actors, and were more often found in the nearest cafe-garden than in the ranks. Horses shaggy from neglect, but every hair plucked from their riders With all the men better clothed than armed"

Tacitus, Ann. XII 35. "His troops had come from Syria. Demoralised by years of peace, they took badly to service conditions. The army actually contained old soldiers who had never been on guard or watch, who found ramparts and ditches strange novelties flashy money-makers who had soldiered in towns".

Cassius Dio lxxvi.12.3

Cf. Dio lxxii.25.1 in which Dio puts into the mouth of Marcus Aurelius a speech concerning the forces of Avidius Cassius: "For surely Cilicians, Syrians, Jews and Egyptians have never proved superior to you"

3. Cumont, 1934, 187ff.
4. Bouchier, 1 et seq., Heichelheim, ESAR, 1938.
5. As demonstrated by their names. Cf. note 2 above.
6. Such as those alae which are believed to be converted cohorts - Ritterling, 1927, 31, n. 3; cf. Roxan, 1976, 61.
7. Indications of the general sense in which "Syria" was employed may be gained from the literary sources:

Appian, Syr. VIII.50 concerning Pompey's eastern campaigns of 66 B.C. "In this way the Romans, without fighting, came into possession of Cilicia, inland Syria and Coele-Syria, Phoenice, Palestine and all the other countries bearing the Syrian name from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea"; cf. Mith. XVI, 106.

Strabo, Geog. XVI.2.1-2 "Syria is bounded on the north by Cilicia and Mt. Amanus; It is bounded on the East, by the Euphrates and by the Arabian Scenitae this side the Euphrates; and on the south by Arabia Felix and Egypt; and on the west by the Egyptian and Syrian Seas as far as Issus Some writers divide Syria as a whole into Coelo-Syrians and Syrians and Phoenicians"

8. Ethnic regiments raised in Judaea - Sebasteniens and from Ascalon, were from the non-Jewish communities. Cf. Applebaum, Limes VII, 181-4.
9. One legion under the Flavians, two from Trajan; to these must be added the auxiliaries: in 86 (CIL, XVI, 33) - 2 alae, 4 cohs., 139 (XVI, 87 a force expanded by recent war) - 3 alae, 12 cohs, 186 (Roxan, no. 69) - 2 alae, 7 cohs. Together, the military establishment in the second century was some 15,000 soldiers; there is little evidence for auxiliaries and legionaries from Judaea (Appendix 1, Tables) but cf. Applebaum, Limes VII, 181-4.
10. Negev, 1977, 520 et seq.; Schürer², 574-586.
11. Strabo, Geog.XVI.2.2 "We set down as parts of Syria both Commagene and the Selucis of Syria"; cf. XVI.2.3.
12. Cicero, Ep.V.20 "I hurried to Amanus which divides Syria from Cilicia by its watershed"; Strabo, Geog. XVI.2.2 (note 8 above).
13. CAH, XI, 602-5.
14. See now MacAdam, 1979, 202 for veterans of the Arabian army.
15. Op.cit. 82ff.

CHAPTER 2: SOURCES AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the character and quantity of the evidence for Syrian auxiliaries, its availability, strengths and limitations. No historian of the past will ever have access to all the evidence that was once available for his period. Much was destroyed in antiquity, still more has been lost since: thus, the great library at Alexandria was destroyed by fire in 47 B.C., and much of the public records of the Roman state was lost in a fire under Commodus.¹ More specifically, the military diplomas explain that they are an extract from a bronze original: - descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum divi Aug. ad Minervam. By the close of the second century, these bronze tables must have been numerous, yet none have survived, most probably being melted down in antiquity.² Likewise, finds in Egypt and, more especially, at Dura Europos, reveal the very considerable amount of paperwork generated (and retained for long periods³) by the Roman army. Over most of the Empire climatic and soil conditions are not conducive to the survival of such documents, which have consequently long since disappeared.

A Sources

1. Literary: The most serious weakness of the available literary evidence for the Roman army is the general one remarked above and common to almost all ancient histories: the writers, mainly senators and equites, were most concerned with their own class, with affairs of state and major political events. The causes and outcome of wars were interesting; the size, detailed composition and ethnic origin of the armies were of no

concern. These things were omitted partly because of ignorance, partly because though known, they were taken for granted, and partly because they were not in any case considered fit material for history. For Tacitus, the duty of the historian was to record great deeds and infamies that men might not escape the impartial judgement of posterity.⁴ This sense of moral purpose in historians and the almost total focus of their attentions on Rome or on the figures of the major players, whether in Rome or elsewhere, inevitably left little or no room for the technical discussion of the means by which the Empire was garrisoned and guarded other than in the most general of terms. There is, for example, the infuriating passage in Tacitus enumerating the forces of the Empire, the blocks of legions allocated province by province, then concluding, "Then, at appropriate points outside Italy, the provincials contributed naval crews, and auxiliary cavalry and infantry. Altogether these were about as numerous as the regular army. But I cannot enumerat  them since, as circumstances required, they changed stations, or were increased or decreased in numbers". (Ann.IV.5)

The process which had transformed the irregular levies of the late Republic into a force of at least 125,000 soldiers, divided into regiments drawn from subject peoples - matters of considerable interest

to us - was of no interest to ancient writers.

Tacitus is not unique in his lack of attention to such detail even where wars are being discussed; indeed, on the contrary, he is one of the more informative and useful writers.⁵ Only a handful of auxiliary regiments of any origin at any time are explicitly mentioned by an ancient literary source, and most of these are in Tacitus.⁶ Nor is that all; such discussion as we do receive from our literary sources about the size and composition of forces is, on the one hand, often highly generalized and infuriatingly vague, while, on the other, it may even be untrustworthy. Herodian, for example, is notoriously unreliable being more concerned with style than accuracy.⁷ Likewise we should be wary of reports of battles which are often no more than standard pattern-book accounts.

The literary accounts we have are uneven too in their treatment of the period under discussion: Tacitus does not treat the reign of Augustus; extensive continuous accounts are available only from the often trivial "Lives" in Suetonius; Trajan's great wars, like those of Domitian, are shadowy events. As well as being patchy in general treatment, the works available are often individually defective: neither the Annals nor the Histories are complete; while Dio has survived only for the period

68 B.C. - A.D. 47, ^{most of} the subsequent period being known only through the epitomes and extracts compiled by the medieval Byzantine writers. Finally, most of the surviving material is not contemporary with the period treated by it. Even our better sources, Josephus (for the Antiquities), Tacitus, Appian and Dio, are dependent in the main on earlier lost accounts.

The limitations of the literary evidence are numerous and unwelcome but there are also considerable strengths which must be taken into account. First, there is the obvious fact that there is a considerable quantity of useful material to work with ranging from the fairly precise figures as given by Josephus and Velleius Paterculus,⁸ through the vague but still useful accounts in Tacitus, to such gems as that preserved by Lucian of Samosata in his essay "How to Write History" (28). Josephus reveals a great deal about the size of auxiliary forces in Neronian and early Flavian Syria and Judaea and from his references much can be deduced as to their origin and the occasion of their recruitment.⁹ Tacitus exemplifies the generalisations of ancient historians when dealing with the details of military forces, but references to the scale of auxiliary usage and the categories of soldiers employed are valuable.¹⁰ Lucian is unique in

recounting a charming little anecdote from an inferior historian whom he is criticising. In it, we hear of a Moorish horseman, lost and wandering in the countryside after the Battle of Dura Europos, meeting a group of Syrian peasants. A link is found since one of the peasants had visited a brother who had soldiered in Mauretania and has a tale to exchange with the Moor of his own land. It is believable because it is circumstantial, because Moorish cavalry formed part of the garrison of Syria and because, conversely, Syrian regiments were prominent in the garrison of Mauretania.¹¹

Next, we might note that important too in the history of the Syrian auxilia is a detailed knowledge of the availability of recruits in various parts of Syria both generally and because of recent incorporation of specific regions, and this is usually only to be derived from the literary sources. Likewise, the possible occasions for enrollment of new units, for levies, is usually to be deduced from a knowledge of the history of Syria, the Empire generally and the requirements of the imperial government (below, 43-7).

Finally, there is the chronological distribution of the surviving literary evidence. The crucial period in the history of the auxilia generally is the late Republic and early Empire - the period which

saw the genesis and subsequent development of irregular levies raised for specific campaigns into organized standing regiments fully integrated into the armed forces and providing an important, and growing, element. Moreover, this early period is one for which we have little epigraphic evidence: none for the late Republic, still relatively sparse before the Flavians. However, we are fortunate in two ways. The dearth of epigraphic evidence in the early period is conveniently compensated for by the weight of the literary material. Second, given that we might have had one category or the other, it is desirable that in this period of flux in which even the best of inscriptions might contribute little, it should have been the literary sources which survived in the greater quantity.

The Notitia Dignitatum requires a separate mention as being unique. It is well-established that the state of affairs represented in the document is of varying date, the western sections having been revised to a later date than the eastern, sometime after their common terminus post quem of 395.¹² Thus there is no single date for the whole document and, for the purposes of this thesis, I take it to be simply "c. 400" or "late fourth century", the precise date being somewhat irrelevant. The list of regiments often provides

not only the last attestation of a unit but usually the first attestation since the late second/early third century. For Cappadocia, the Notitia register under Armenia, together with the list in Arrian's Ektaxis of over 250 years earlier, forms virtually the sum total of our evidence for that province. Hints for the location of units at earlier dates is provided in the place-names recorded e.g. "Commagena" in Noricum (Oc.XXXIV.36) (Below, 92).

2. Inscriptional: The core of any study of the auxilia as a whole is the evidence provided by a large and varied corpus of inscriptions. Inscriptions are common enough in the Roman Republic but the establishment of the Principate saw a sharp increase in the number erected, as well as a marked change in the social groups commissioning them. Until the end of the Republic, inscriptions, by and large, are attributable to official bodies and the well-to-do. Linked (presumably) with the extensive and permanent settlement of Italians in the provinces as colonists and soldiers in the Triumviral period and the early principate, is the genesis of a fashion for setting up inscriptions, first amongst these people themselves, then by those who would emulate them. The fashion evidently soon spread to auxiliary soldiers and, from Augustus onwards, the basic evidence for the identification and subsequent tracing of individual units is

epigraphic: the careers of prefects and tribunes, altars set up by all ranks, records of building activities by the military and - the majority - tombstones.

The contributions made by inscriptions are obvious enough in terms of providing some basic date of existence, character, location and origin; internal organisation, the customs of the dedicant, the families of soldiers, and something of life expectancy, conditions of service and post-military activities.¹³ Furthermore, as noted above, inscriptions became more numerous in the very periods in which the literary evidence begins to fail us, they can provide the framework of the disposition of military forces - by reference to find-spots or internal evidence - at various times, and give indications - or more - of the forces involved in specific campaigns.¹⁴ An understanding of the development and growth of the equestrian military career is founded on the establishment of the number and type of regiments in existence and the extent and nature of the hierarchy which these permit.¹⁵ Finally, there are unclassified inscriptions such as the fragments of Hadrian's adlocutio to, amongst other units of the army in Africa, the cohors V Commagenorum.¹⁶

The limitations of the epigraphic evidence can

be swiftly stated. First, while it provides a vital core of evidence for the existence of specific units, all too often it is clear that the date of the formation and final extinction of regiments will never be known: texts such as that of Agrippa, Themi f., almost certainly the first commander of the numerus Palmyrenorum in Numidia, are virtually unique. In fact, attempts to supply the answers concerning formation and loss - where at all possible - are usually matters of inference, conjecture or speculation from the events reported in the literary sources: thus, we may postulate formation dates for units of Commagenians from the known occasions (by Tiberius, Gaius and Vespasian) for the incorporation of Commagene with the Empire (below, 43-7), while the date of the disappearance of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum at Dura Europos is clearly to be inferred from the historically attested invasion of the Persians in 256, their known military successes in Syria and the datable archaeological evidence for the sack and subsequent desertion of Dura Europos in the mid-250's.¹⁷

The epigraphic material available from any given region is a reflection too of various factors: the destructive effects of intensive human activity, the level of archaeological/antiquarian interest in modern times, ancient local fashion, and the economic ability of people to set up inscriptions. Thus the

rate of destruction and loss over the military sites of western Europe is liable to be relatively high: the surviving relevant epigraphic material which undoubtedly existed on such eastern sites as Alexandria is unlikely to be recovered until re-development permits the sort of investigations carried out at Mainz and Arrabona in recent years which are so productive epigraphically.¹⁸ Elsewhere the opportunity for fresh discoveries at Syene in Upper Egypt is now lost, as a result of the flooding caused by the first Aswan Dam. Since most new texts are recovered in the course of fieldwork, the virtual inaccessibility of much of the Middle East until relatively recent times, and the continuing low level of work even today, leave considerable blanks in our picture. Finally, the popularity of the fashion amongst soldiers varied not only from region to region but even from one category of unit to another. For example, "numeri" tend not to be attested epigraphically during the first generation of their existence. It is well-known, moreover, that horsemen, especially of the alae, are more likely to be attested than infantry, and are more likely to have set up figured tombstones; the explanation almost certainly lies in their greater financial resources, and results in an imbalance towards cavalry regiments in the evidence available.

Career inscriptions are an important source of evidence for units, accompanied, on occasion, by an explicit statement of the garrison province. The category as a whole, along with epigraphic attestations generally, begins to decline towards the middle of the third century. Even before that, however, from Septimius Severus at least, equestrians who went on to procuratorial careers begin to pass over the details of their tres militiae with some such formula as militiis equestribus perfunctus (below, 41).

Military tile stamps found on a site can be immensely important for locating specific units in particular forts. Dating is difficult however, and, not infrequently, tiles/bricks were re-used¹⁹ and also shipped out for use over quite wide areas.

Finally, there are military diplomas providing, in many cases, the framework of our knowledge of individual units. These have undoubtedly made an enormous contribution to our knowledge of provincial garrisons and, since most Syrian regiments served in the West, the comparative dearth of diplomas relating to Syria and Egypt,²⁰ and their total absence so far for Cappadocia and Arabia, is less serious than it might have been in building up a picture of Syrian regiments from the garrisons of those provinces since there were few there anyway.

Like inscriptions in general, diplomas are available on the whole in the greatest numbers for those regions where archaeological activity has been most intensive, although other factors must be at work. Their comparative rarity in Britain despite the extensive work and huge auxiliary garrison is in sharp contrast to the picture for Mauretania Tingitana with little archaeology and a much smaller garrison: 12 whole and fragmentary against 30 for Tingitana, all the latter found since 1933. While most diplomas provide the staple information listing the units due for discharge, the province, the recipient and date, a few record especially valuable extra information. For example, the diploma for Pannonia of 150 (CIL, XVI, 99) refers to units of the two provinces in expedition(e) Mauretan(iae) Caesar(i)ens(is): the expeditionary force includes a Syrian unit, ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum, which, together with a few of the others, is independently attested on this campaign by a tombstone at Caesarea Mauretaniae (below, 146f). The principal limitation associated with the evidence of diplomas, the corpus of which is happily increasing by 2 or 3 annually, is the time-span for which they are available. They are thought to have been initiated by Claudius and they would certainly not have been necessary after the Constitutio Antoniniana. At the moment the earliest

known is for 54 or a little before, the latest for 186.²¹ The preceding and subsequent periods are the poorer by far because of their absence.

Diplomas are also relatively infrequent for the first and last 20 years of their known span: of a grand total of 175 between 54 and 186 we have 3 only between 54 and 74, and 7 between 166 and 186.

The assignment of close and secure dates to undated epigraphic evidence, important and often difficult, is discussed below under "Dating Criteria".

3. Papyrological: This category of evidence provides especially important data for the Syrian auxilia, much of it unknown to Cheesman. At least four of the long-standing garrison regiments in Egypt were Syrian in origin²² and a glance at the register of texts for these reveals that almost one-third are papyrological. The papyri are important for three reasons. First, they attest to aspects of the units little known from other sources: internal organisation, daily life in the ranks, recruitment, discharge and post-military activities.²³ Second, they fill in some gaps in the early Empire when inscriptions are still comparatively rare and diplomas not yet issued. Third, when diplomas, in the late second century, and inscriptions in the mid-third century, all but dry up, it is the papyri which, for Egypt (and,

in one case, Syria) at least, take the history of units forward, as with the cohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum, attested papyrologically in c. 215 and again in 298, thus bridging the gap between the second-century references and the final attestation in the Notitia Dignitatum (below, 86ff and 19). Outside of Egypt, papyri are rare. While those from the Sinai and Negev Deserts contribute nothing to this study, the cache from Dura Europos in Syria is of immeasurable importance both generally and for the Syrian auxilia in particular. Not only do they provide us with extensive evidence for a unit known only from the papyri and inscriptions found at Dura, but the material is on a massive scale, giving data on the day-to-day functioning of the unit, its strength and (peculiar) organization. Of the 134 documents listed by Fink, no less than 83 are from Dura!

Ostraca play a minor role in studying the Syrian auxilia but, again in Egypt, one group from a series of receipts for supplies and were probably issued to men of an Ituraean cohort (below, 167).

4. Archaeological: During the last century excavation and field-survey have recovered an enormous quantity of data which, like many of the inscriptions and papyri alluded to above, may be of considerable value to this study. One thinks, for example, of the diplomas from Tingitana and the Danube provinces, the inscriptions

from Mainz, Intercisa²⁴ and Castellum Dimmidi²⁵; and of course the Dura papyri. Important as these are, they remain but one aspect of the contribution which field-work may make to this study. The character of a unit's camp, its associated settlement and the length of occupation may all be determined with varying degrees of precision from the remaining artefacts and the nature of the physical remains. Thus, excavation at Drajna-de-Sus, Wallachia, revealed tile stamps of cohors I Flavia Commagenorum (together with those of other units - below) in a two period fort whose term of occupation - as the pottery and coins made clear - was short. In Scotland, the fort at Bar Hill revealed evidence of two separate periods of occupation and of two different regiments. The inscriptions do not themselves reveal the sequence of occupation but the excavator's revelations about the remains and the location of the monuments, permit us to assign the Hamians to the Antonine II period (below, 109ff). In Numidia, the texts of the Palmyrenè archers at Castellum Dimmidi must be interpreted in the light of the archaeologist's report of a small fort - for not more than 100 men - and of very poor construction technique (below, 206).

An important limitation to the potential contribution of archaeological evidence is raised by

the slight amounts of field-work carried out in some frontier areas. The "Ituraeans" mentioned by Arrian²⁶ (like others of the units named by him) are unknown in Cappadocia itself from epigraphic finds, and thus we have no indication of their fort and know nothing whatsoever of their stay in Cappadocia. Syria, Arabia, Palestine and Egypt are a little better off but by only a little. In Tingitana, regiments such as the cohors I Ituraeorum, (well-known from a succession of diplomas to have been a long-standing part of the garrison - there for at least 3 centuries) are otherwise totally unattested (below, 157 ff). More regiments undoubtedly remain unknown because of lack of field-work: the Palmyrenes at Dura have been mentioned, but, even on the Rhine, Mainz has recently disgorged two inscriptions for the otherwise unknown ala Parthorum et Araborum.²⁷

Finally, the small-finds of excavation may reveal cultural aspects of a Semitic garrison; arrow-heads and bone-stiffeners of the composite bow (as at Bar Hill) disclose aspects of the garrison which may be valuably compared with the evidence of relief sculpture and paintings.

5. Art: There are two main sources of representations of Syrian soldiers to set beside literary description and inference from their military characteristics. First there are a number of tombstones, mostly for cavalrymen,

which incorporate a figure - usually in relief - to represent the deceased. Usually, as on the stone of Julius Galonius of the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum, the deceased is shown on horseback discharging his bow. Less expensive texts may nevertheless show the soldiers' weapons as on the stone of Dacnas Apsaci f. of the cohors II Cyrrhestarum (sagittariorum) and on two of the texts of the Hamians at Bar Hill.

Second, we may look at the magnificent full-length figure on Trajan's column in ankle-length robe topped by a leather (?) jerkin to the hips, with "Phrygian" cap and clutching a bow. Undoubtedly an archer and almost certainly an ethnic Syrian who may be conveniently contrasted with the Hamian archer on the Housesteads text who shows no evidence of oriental garb.

Paintings, frescoes and mosaics are of little use except in providing the representation of oriental costume in general and occasionally of archers in hunting scenes such as those from Dura Europos.²⁸

B Methods of Investigation

I Tools

- a) Onomastic Studies: Amongst the many names of soldiers and their families recorded in the

inscriptions and papyri, few are accompanied by an explicit origo. Since the pattern of recruitment to the auxilia as a whole, and to specific units in particular, is determined largely by quantifying the evidence for origo, historians have had to turn to a study of names, many of which are characteristic of particular peoples, even tribes; within Italy, even of restricted communities. Fortunately, a number of studies have armed scholars with many of the necessary tools for this work in the shape of corpora of names: thus, for example, we have Kajanto on cognomina and Schulze on nomina; Holder on Celtic names, Alföldy on Dalmatian, Pape on Greek and so on. For Syrian/Semitic names Preisigke's Namenbuch is old (1922) and less useful than the title promises; Wuthnow's Die Semitischen Menschennamen, is much more valuable but now very much outdated (1930); for Palmyrene names we may turn to Stark's Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions (1971), and Sala's Lexicon Nominum Semiticarum . . . in Aegypto . . . repays consultation. In practice, none of these can be used alone, and, for a large collection of indisputable Palmyrene/Semitic names and a valuable discussion, I have made very considerable use of Dura Papyri.

An almost immediate difficulty is encountered with spelling in that the translation of Semitic names and script into Greek or Roman characters produces many variations of the same name, some of which are, additionally, romanised in sound. Once again, to supplement the meagre store of Semitic names in Roman script which may be used for cross-reference, we may turn to the huge store of names in Roman script in the Dura papyri which has multiplied the previous corpus several times over.

- b) Prosopography: With the extension of the prosopographical approach in recent years from the traditional area of the senatorial class into the equestrian order and beyond, the technique has become increasingly important for studies such as this. Until recently, discussion of numbers of equestrian officers - those who had gone on to a civil career - could be found only in Pflaum's magisterial Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres. Now the entire body of equestrian officers has been collected in Devijver's Prosopographia Militarium Equestrium. Less spectacular, but of value, are such prosopographies as that of Cavenaille²⁹ for the garrison of Egypt providing an index and references

to the names of all known soldiers. Until such time as the process of collecting such material is complete, recourse must still be had to the name lists in CIL, XVI and Roxan, and in the relevant sections of other volumes of CIL, in ILS, IGRR and L'Année Epigraphique. The availability of a comprehensive register may be anticipated in the completion of the proposed data bank for all Latin inscriptions:³⁰ the computer-produced index to CIL, VI has already shown what may be achieved.

In practice, of course, with so large a pool of people, many of whom may never have been attested at all except on some administrative document long since destroyed or perished, the chances of building up the sort of dossiers on auxiliaries and their families achievable with the senatorial and equestrian orders is slight. In theory, however, it is possible given sufficient evidence. Some auxiliaries are attested for example more than once at Intercisa with its huge corpus of evidence and much has been done to trace a family beyond simply the one generation.³¹ At Dura Europos in the papyri, individuals frequently crop up more

than once; and in Egypt, although there is as yet no auxiliary equivalent, the potential for a prosopographical study of the kind already done for Julius Apollinarius, Terentius Sabinus and Abbinaeus is all there in the more extensive documentation.³²

- c) Analogy: With evidence scarce and fragmentary one must inevitably seek clarification from better-attested, better-understood areas. Thus it is possible to make inferences about one unit by reference to another, about wider characteristics by analogy with the legions and even the armies of other states both ancient and modern: thus my proposed interpretation of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum. However, care must be taken: with slight evidence one may blithely extend the interpretation of one unit to all others knowing that "the evidence does not contradict" this. Thus no one doubted the six centuries of a quingenary cohort and ten of milliary until brought face to face with the extensive and indisputable evidence for the milliary Palmyrene unit at Dura with only six centuries.

II Techniques and Approaches

1. Dating Criteria: Very few inscriptions bear an

explicit date: only a handful of those considered here - mainly milestones and building inscriptions - can be expected to bear a date expressed in terms of imperial titles; a few more have consular dates. Most inscriptions must, in fact, be dated - with varying degrees of precision - by deduction or inference. Scholars have developed a formidable array of dating criteria based, on the whole, on observation, close attention to detail and the application of common sense.³³ Unless one is exceptionally confident, it is advisable to seek a date from two or more independent criteria: most criteria are indicators, distinguished quite often by exceptions to the rule, and, therefore, harmonious results derived from two or more features will lend greater credibility to the conclusion.

A Some criteria are obvious enough: Find-spot can be an important consideration: Arabia Petraea was not annexed until A.D. 106; Roman Mesopotamia, especially to the east of the Wadi Khabur, has a short history; Trajan's Dacia likewise has known termini and a short history. Again, units named for one-time client-states must have a formation date closely bound up with the annexation of the area. Finally,

a reference to a known historical event or personage speaks for itself. Other criteria are less obvious. Information provided by the text is often of value, especially with career inscriptions: the sequence cohors, legion, ala only appears after Claudius; again, the emperor who introduced many of the growing number of procuratorial posts is often known and thus a terminus post quem provided for an equestrian career,³⁴ even the length of service of a soldier can indicate a date since it gradually reduced from the virtually unrestricted term of the very early Empire to a fixed term of c. 25/6 years by the time of Trajan.³⁵

- B The prosopographical approach is one of the most fruitful. Few of the men and women named on the texts are otherwise attested, but much can be deduced from their names:
- a) In the early Empire, long-service soldiers, granted citizenships after a number of years, can often be dated from the imperial names which they adopted - e.g. C. Julius — ,
Ti. Julius — and Ti. Claudius —
for men enfranchised by Augustus,

Tiberius and Claudius respectively.

- b) After Claudius, veterans normally adopted the praenomen and nomen of the reigning emperor upon enfranchisement and discharge. By the middle of the first century, the spread of imperial gentilicia amongst soldiers, their families and provincials generally, often permits a text to be given a terminus post quem from the date of the latest such gentilicium in the text. One may usually assume too that, since the attractions of auxiliary service to second and subsequent generations of an enfranchised family were slight, the date of such a text is liable to be within a generation or two of the terminus post quem.
- c) After the Constitutio Antoniniana, a huge number of "M. Aurelii ——" appear in the records (see, for example, the Dura papyri). They are a difficult group since the names were also those of Marcus and Commodus and, in general, the best that can be said is that on balance an undated "M. Aurelius ——" is more likely to have been enfranchised

by Caracalla (but see below, 123f).

Moreover, with so many "Aurelii" the name soon became meaningless and was dropped in favour of more distinctive names.

- d) Under the Tetrarchs, soldiers quite frequently assumed the nomen "Valerius" in honour of the Augusti; in the fourth century the same is true of "Flavius" and the house of Constantine.
- e) Soldiers with non-imperial but otherwise distinctive nomina may have taken their name from a known provincial governor to whom they owed their citizenship.
- f) Praenomina tend to be dropped from the second century onwards and are uncommon in the third century.

C Dates may be inferred from the nomenclature of units:

- a) Regiments bearing imperial nomina - Claudia, Flavia, Ulpia and so on: the name can usually be regarded as an indicator of the emperor under whom the unit was formed. Where a predecessor has been damned his new units might have been renamed (below, App. 2).

- b) More precise dating is possible in the third century with the practice, then current, of adding a variable surname to the standard titles - Severiana, Antoniniana, Volusiana etc. The surname is formed from the imperial cognomen and the date may thus be fixed within the span of the (often short) reign to which the name belongs (App. 2).
- c) Honorary titles can be useful: c.R. appears not to have been awarded before the Flavian period and most such honorary titles seem only to begin in the Flavian period.
- d) Millitary units certainly exist in the Flavian period, but probably go back to Nero at least.³⁶

As a general rule, the multiplication of names both for units and people can be attributed to a trend beginning in the late first century and being most striking in the Antonine period - see for example, the 39 names of Q. Pompeius Falco³⁷ and the cohors I ∞ Aurelia Antonina Hemesenorum equitata sagittariorum c.R.

- D Most attention has been given to formulae and language, from which studies the following

indicators have emerged:

- a) Tombstones with the deceased in the nominative belong to the first century, being superseded by
- b) Dis manibus and the dative for the deceased, beginning in the Flavian period. It is soon abbreviated to Dis. man. and D.m. In the second century, the deceased is not uncommonly put in the nominative after D.m.
- c) H(ic) s(itus) e(st) is a first century indicator especially when used with the nominative, but it is still in use on the Danube in the second century.
- d) The omission of filius (fil or f.) is normally a first century indicator.
- e) Also first century is age and service length expressed in the genitive.
- f) Service length expressed as: aera is generally pre-Flavian; the term is stipendia thereafter; militavit is common from the early third century.
- g) The regiment in the ablative - (de) ala and (ex) cohorte - are first century, usually pre-Flavian.
- h) In the Augustan period units seem often to have been named for their commander

and often lacked a numeral.

- i) Milliaria written as a word is most likely to be Flavian, commonly rendered by the symbol ∞ thereafter.
- j) Pflaum has observed that, from the reign of Septimius Severus, equestrians who went on to hold a succession of procuratorial posts frequently passed over their tres militiae by the employment of some such formula as militiis equestribus perfunctus.³⁸
- k) Augg(g) and impp(p). refer to periods of joint rule by two or even three, Augusti. In the reign of Septimius Severus, his youngest son Geta, proclaimed Caesar in 198 and Augustus in 209, is nevertheless not infrequently treated as an Augustus from 198. This is especially true in Africa where texts quite commonly bear Auggg. and imppp. from 198 onwards.³⁹
- l) Indifference to length of life, as expressed by the formula p(lus) m(inus), is indicative of a Christian.

E Next, there is the question of style and execution: examination of such features as the palaeography of the text, formal decorative elements (gables, portals, framing

etc.) and figuring.

- a) Various attempts have been made to extract a detailed chronology from a study of letter forms⁴⁰ but little use is made of palaeography here because of the uncertainty of the method. Thus the Gordons' in their fundamental work on the subject:

If asked to answer categorically, Yes or No, the question "Can you actually date Latin inscriptions palaeographically?", we should have to answer, "In our opinion, No." If allowed to add qualifications, we should re-iterate the ability to distinguish among archaic or early inscriptions, those of a middle period from about Augustus to about the end of the second century, and those of a later date.

(A.E. and J.S. Gordon, Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions, I, 3)

- b) There has been a great deal of progress made with regard to decoration and figuring on texts from the Rhine and, to a lesser extent, the Danube and even Africa, areas for which the evidence is also most abundant.⁴¹ Where sufficient material is available, the output of particular workshops or traditions has been detected and something of a typology based on decorative conventions has been proposed. In general, the types are dated by reference to the more plentiful

tombstones of associated legions whose movements are usually better-known and dated.⁴² In a number of cases, especially on the Rhine, one may be quite confident in applying such criteria; elsewhere the evidence is less satisfying and the groups often too small to form a viable sample for study. On the whole, the approach must be treated with caution and preference given to historical and epigraphic criteria. Holder, for example, is almost certainly incorrect in attributing - on artistic grounds - the arrival of the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum at Arrabona to the pre-Flavian period (below, 141).

2. General Consideration, Inferences and Assumptions:

In the detailed treatment of the Syrian regiments in chapters 3 and 4, interpretation and understanding are dependent as much on the implications of the points enumerated below as on explicit data. Those notes are a mixture of general points based on the testimony of ancient sources, on deductions from fragmentary evidence of diverse kinds, and on common-sense assumptions in those areas where evidence fails us entirely.

a) Recruitment Occasions: We are seldom told of

the occasion, much less the motive, for the formation of a unit. Nevertheless, we may plausibly deduce that regiments were raised for one of a number of specific purposes: warfare, an external threat, acquisition of new territorial responsibility, securing a new territory by the drafting of its young men.⁴³

A register of such occasions may be compiled although its incomplete nature must be recognised. To take but one example: the Roman practice of shuttling surplus manpower along a line rather than moving it direct to the place it was most needed, would mean that a war in Britain, for example, might have led to the army taking advantage of some available manpower in Syria to form a new regiment while moving an established unit of the Syrian garrison westwards. The effects of raising a new unit or of moving a regiment would certainly repay further investigation, but, without such a study, such potential occasions as distant wars can only be kept in mind. Again the securing of a new area and the drafting of recently acquired provincials to some extent cancelled each other out - the annexation of Commagene, for example, both necessitated a garrison on that sector of the Euphrates

frontier and, simultaneously, provided regiments which directly or indirectly relieved the units which were actually posted in Commagene. The annexation of Emesa, however, was probably a minor administrative matter requiring little, if any, military activity: Hemeseni were available for service but none were needed, which may explain the conflict between the probable incorporation of the kingdom and the much later date for the formation of the cohors I Hemesenorum (below, 117; 122).

The obvious occasions are:

- i) Pompey's preparations for the war of Pharsalus in 49-8 B.C.
- ii) Caesar's Alexandrine War and his passage through Syria in 47 B.C.
- iii) Cassius in 44-2 B.C.
- iv) Ventidius Bassus in 39-8 B.C.
- v) Antony, 41-30 B.C. (see below, 172 f.)
- vi) Octavian in the aftermath of the death of Antony and Cleopatra - 30-29 B.C.
- vii) (Reinforcements needed to supplement the forces involved in Augustan campaigns on the Rhine and in the Balkans).

- viii) Domitius Corbulo, 54-66 but esp. 62-6.⁴⁴
- ix) Cestius Gallus in 66.
- x) Vespasian, 67-9.
- xi) Mucianus in 69.
- xii) Titus in 69-79.
- xiii) (Domitian in the 80's to reinforce his armies engaged in European wars).
- xiv) Trajan for his Dacian (101-2; 105-6) and Parthian (113-7) Wars.
- xv) Hadrian in 117-8 (settlement of East); 123 (Parthian scare); 132-5 (Second Jewish Revolt).
- xvi) Antoninus g. 160 (Parthian War scare).
- xvii) Lucius Verus' Parthian War of 162-5.
- xviii) (Marcus' wars in Europe in 166-7; 169-75).
- xix) Avidius Cassius and Marcus in 175-6.
- xx) Pescennius Niger, 193-4.
- xxi) Septimius Severus, 194-9.
- xxii) Caracalla, 214-8.
- xxiii) Alexander Severus, 230-3.
- xxiv) Gordian III and Philip, 242-4.

[The annexation dates of client-states, important but seldom clear and simple, are

discussed below individually in the context of an examination of the units raised from their populace.]

- b) Formation Procedure: Josephus, speaking of events in 38 B.C., remarks on the destruction of a force of 5 cohorts under Herod's brother Joseph which comprised units recently formed by and received from Ventidius Bassus. They are described as "new levies from Syria, with no stiffening of veterans to strengthen the morale of raw recruits".⁴⁵ More than a century later, Tacitus records the mutiny of a cohort in Britain:

That same summer a cohort of the Usipii that had been levied in Germany and transferred to Britain committed a crime remarkable enough to deserve record. They had had attached to them a centurion and soldiers, to teach them discipline in the first place, and thereafter serve as models and directors. These they now murdered.

(Tacitus, Agricola, 28)

We may conclude from such evidence what we might otherwise have inferred as likely anyway, namely that a new formation received a party of veterans to officer, train and provide a "stiffening", but that the bulk of the unit would be recruits. The implications are important in two ways. First, for at least 25 years none but the members of this

core of seasoned soldiers would become eligible for discharge and that, consequently, not even a succession of detailed diplomas for its province of garrison would be likely to betray its presence until at least a generation after its arrival. Second, the unit would have an irregular discharge pattern for many years after its formation: a substantial release c. 25 years on, and again c. 25 years later still, but little or nothing during the first 25 years and still slight during the second (below, 217f). These points must both be borne in mind when considering the absence of a unit from early diplomas.

- c) Diplomas: Diplomas claim to record regiments in a named province which have men being discharged on a specified date. While we still do not fully understand the process by which the list for any given occasion was drawn up or the reasoning behind it, three points are clear. First, omissions may be due to the fact that regiments formed within the past 25 years have no men yet eligible for discharge ((b) above). Next, we have pairs of diplomas for the same province and issued on the same day, but with

a different or partly overlapping list of units. Therefore, units missing from one diploma may be on a second issued on the same day, an example of which may yet be found - thus, the pair for Syria of 88 with mutually exclusive lists of 3 alae and 17 cohorts, and 5 alae and 2 cohorts respectively (CIL, XVI, 35; Roxan, no. 3). Unfortunately, we cannot automatically assume that the combined strength presented by such pairs of diplomas records the total garrison, although in the Syrian example at least that cannot be far off the truth.⁴⁶ Third, while some diplomas explicitly allude to units absent on an expedition, Speidel has shown that the inclusion of a unit can, on occasions, skate over the fact that an indeterminate part of it is abroad at the time.⁴⁷

- d) Soldiers' Nomenclature: In theory, a Syrian will be easily detectable from his distinctive Semitic name; in practice, the situation is rather more complex. First, there is the possibility of the soldier with some unpronounceable, outlandish name, adopting a "Roman" one. The practice, common enough in modern times amongst immigrants to North America, is attested in the Roman Empire with such well-

known examples as the letter of the Egyptian sailor, Apion, writing from his base with the fleet at Misenum, telling his father that he has now become Antonius Maximus.⁴⁸ Of course, where the entire unit was composed of men of the same ethnic origin we may suppose that the incentive to change one's name would be much less. Second, there is the naming of the children of Syrian soldiers in service in the West. The four diplomas issued to Syrian soldiers are of interest here: (see p. 51). Both of the above points are illustrated on these diplomas: the two soldiers serving in non-Syrian regiments have adopted "Roman" names; the two in the Syrian regiments have retained their Semitic ones. Again, while the children of Timus and Maximus would not be recognizable as Syrians from their names - what would one be able to say about a P. Aelius Secundus or an Aelia Maxima? - two of the children of Bargátes and Thaemus would be: Nal(amos)⁴⁹ and Zena.⁵⁰ In short, the peregrine sons of Syrians (i.e. those whose fathers died before enfranchisement) joining their father's regiment, may often not be detectable as they become "westernised". On the other hand, not all soldiers with a Semitic

ala I Ham.sag. (M.T.)

CIL, XVI, 161: Zena) children of (M. Ulpius) Bargates, Zaei f. - Hamius
(14/10/109) Saturninus) and Iulia Deisata, Iulii fil. - Sura

ala I Aug.Itur.sag. (Dacia)

CIL, XVI, 57: NaI) children of (M. Ulpius) Thaemus, Horati f. - Ituraei
(17/2/110) Marcus) and — ?
Antonius)

coh. I Flavia Bessorum (M.s)

CIL, XVI, 67: Secundus) children of M. Antonius Timus, Timi f. - Syrian
(29/6/120) Marcellina) and Doroturma, Dotochae fil. - (Moesian)

ala Gallorum Tauriana c.R. (M.T.)

CIL, XVI, 169: Maximus) children of M. Antonius Maximus, Antoni f. - Syrus
(18/11/122) Maxima) and Valeria Messia, Messi, fil. - (Baetican)

name need be Syrian in the strict sense of the term - some at least will be the mixed-blood sons of Syrian soldiers: in the above examples, had Thaemus died in service and his eldest son enlisted, he would appear as Nal(amos), Thaemi f.

- e) Citizen Auxiliaries: From the preceding point it can be seen that the possession of the tria nomina need not imply Roman citizenship in a serving soldier. Amongst eastern soldiers in particular, taking a "Roman" name was a common practice; usually it was one of a handful regarded as typically "Roman" - Maximus, Antonius, Silvanus, Proculus etc.⁵¹
- f) Syrian Soldiers: Where a Syrian regiment, serving elsewhere has Syrian personnel in it, the most plausible explanation is that the unit had still been in its home province at the time of their enlistment. The alternatives are to postulate either a recent return to Syria on campaign or a subsequent draft from it. Drafts of soldiers moved from one province to another are well-attested: there are, for example, the 126 Asian recruits being enrolled in cohors I Lusitanorum in Egypt in 117;⁵² Germans, Italians and Noricans sent to Britain;⁵³ and legionaries of III Augusta transferred to

Syria or Arabia in 127.⁵⁴ However, it is my contention that the evidence does not adequately support the conclusion that there was an official policy of retaining the ethnic characteristic of certain units - most notably Syrian archer regiments - by means of drafts from Syria. Rather, the process by which some areas could produce more recruits than was necessary for the maintenance of local units, and others could not produce enough - especially under the abnormal losses of warfare - must have often led to the transfers of bands of new recruits from one region to another. In such circumstances, given the considerable manpower resources of Syria, it is scarcely surprising that drafts of Syrians being sent to make good shortfalls in the recruitment to units in Europe and Africa would inevitably on occasion have ended in "Syrian" regiments stationed there. If, in addition, the recruit already knew how to ride and/or handle a bow there would be yet more likelihood of him being sent to an archer regiment, most of which were Syrian. The striking feature about such statistics as those prepared by Holder is the speed with which units accepted recruits of other ethnic origins. Where the

soldier actually belongs to the tribe/
community for whom the regiment is named,
he may legitimately be regarded as a recruit
to the unit before it left its home territory
and/or an original recruit. Thus the 3
Beroeans and the Cyrrhestican in the cohors
II Cyrrhestarum are patently original recruits;
the cohors XX Palmyrenorum remained in its
recruitment locality for almost a century after
recruitment and its soldiers were mainly
Palmyrenes, and when the cohors I Thebaeorum
quit Egypt for Iudaea and Arabia in 105, most
of its personnel will have been Egyptian, many
of them Thebans.

- g) Replacement Recruits: Despite the foregoing,
there are well-attested examples of soldiers
of a particular ethnic group, in a unit named
for that group, at a date long after the unit
has left its native province. Such cases
are best discussed individually as they arise.
Suffice it to say that for the auxilia as for
the legions, the practice was soon established
of filling places in regiments with men
available locally whatever the nominal
composition of the unit.
- h) Fragility of Auxiliary Regiments: Tacitus
claimed that the number of auxiliary regiments

varied according to the needs of the time;⁵⁵ more influential in the matter of disappearance of units is their small size, their employment as frontier troops, and as more expendable shock troops in battle and in campaign.⁵⁶ From Augustus to Septimius Severus, 3 legions were lost with Varus, four others disappeared subsequently (V. Alaudae, IX Hisp., XXI Rapax and XXII Deiot.), and four on the Rhine in 69 were severely depleted - one destroyed (XV Pq.) and the remnants of the other three subsequently disbanded. From time to time detachments of legions were wiped out, as in the case of the men of IX Hispana in the Boudiccan revolt.^{56(a)} A similar loss rate to the auxiliary forces would entail the loss of at least 100 units, possibly as many as 200.⁵⁷

The literary evidence is informative: 3 alae and 6 cohorts were lost with Varus (Vell.Paterc.II.cxvii.1); a cohort in 70 on the Rhine (Tacitus, Hist.IV.70); a cohort at Trapezus in 69 (Tacitus, Hist.III.47); two cohorts massacred by the Rhoxolani in Moesia in 68 (Tacitus, Hist.I.79); 5 cohorts in Syria in 38 B.C. (Josephus, BJ,I.323f.); an ala almost destroyed by the Ordovices in c. 77 (Tacitus, Agricola,XVIII.1); the Usipii

destroyed by mutiny and desertion (Tacitus, Agricola, XXVIII); and, of course, the inferred end of cohors XX Palmyrenorum at Dura Europos in the 250's (Dura Papyri, 27). In view of the silence of our sources about the disappearance of such legions as IX Hispana and XXII Deiotariana, we need not hesitate to propose destruction as the explanation in a good many cases where there is an abrupt termination of attestations of auxiliary units.

- i) Regimental Numerals: The great majority of all known auxiliary regiments bear a numeral in the bracket I-IV and, in many cases, all or most of a numerical and ethnic series are individually attested. However, in a handful of well-attested cases, regiments exist bearing strikingly high numerals and no other member of the presumed series is known. In such cases, it has been traditional to suppose/infer the one-time existence of the lower numbers and to guess at their loss or disbandment on the testimony of the fluctuations mentioned by Tacitus. In the case of XX Palmyrenorum such a procedure is plainly absurd (below, 221ff.). What, therefore, of other units with high numerals? With

cohortes I-IV and VI Brittonum, the inference of a cohors V is not to be cavilled at; likewise a number of other such almost complete series (Tables in Holder, 1980, 217-40). Amongst Syrian units the inference of cohortes IV-VI Ituraeorum depended on the reading of a cohors VII: the latter is now generally discredited and the series need not be taken beyond cohors III (below, 347f). Cohors VI Commagenorum is rather more problematic. Holder, for example, follows Cheesman and Cichorius in taking the series to be cohortes I and II Flavia Commagenorum with III-V inferred. However, there are no grounds for believing cohors VI to have been Flavia, nor is there anything to suggest it was part of a second, later, series grafted into the Flavia series. The notion of a composite series, proposed years ago to explain the cohors XX Palmyrenorum (disputed by me below, 221ff), is one which may be worth considering here. The lower numbers would be difficult to detect since it could include any low numbers such as I(?) and II Cyrrhestarum; on the other hand, it might solve the problem of cohors IV Cypria and possibly, even ala VII Phrygum.⁵⁸

j) Conversion to Alae: It is commonly believed

that, with the greater need for cavalry in the later Empire, a number of cohorts were converted and became alae.⁵⁹ One obvious equation is between the cohors I Damascenorum in Palestine in 186 and the ala prima Damascena in Syria Phoenice in the Notitia Dignitatum.

- k) Degeneration of Auxiliary Units: The pre-Severan auxilia in the Notitia Dignitatum are the same units in name only. It must be borne in mind that just as the status of the legions plummeted soon to be followed by a huge decrease in their size, so too the "Syrian" auxiliary units in the Notitia, like other auxiliary units, had long since become little more than a static frontier militia. This point helps, too, to explain the virtual total silence with regard to these units between the first half of the third century and the compilation of the Notitia list - only one (cohors I Apamenorum in, significantly, Egypt) of the possible half dozen Syrian regiments in the Notitia is attested during the preceding 150 years.
- l) Parthians and Ituraeans: In a survey of "Syrian" regiments, I exclude, for obvious reasons, the units of Parthians (which I have discussed to some extent elsewhere -

Kennedy, 1977b). The Ituraean regiments, on the other hand, are traditionally listed as part of the contribution of Syria Palaestina: Cheesman and, more recently, Holder, group them along with units from Sebaste-Samaria and Ascalon. In fact, they are an Arab people whose territory was not subject - even via client-rulers - to the Julio-Claudian procurators, or even to the senatorial governors of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina.⁶⁰ That some of the petty rulers of parts of the one-time united Ituraean principality were Jewish, is irrelevant; the territory was part of Syria proper until some of the southern possessions were allocated to Arabia in 106.

1. Plutarch, Caesar, 49; Dio, lxxiii.24.2.
2. A number of stone inscriptions listing praetorians and equites singulares have survived, e.g. CIL,VI,32536.
3. Many of the Dura papyri, for example, were buried in the 250's although relating to the garrison of over a generation before.
4. Ann. III.65.
5. For auxiliaries in the early imperial writers in general, see Saddington, 1970.
6. Saddington 1970, 99, 102, 106 etc.; Pliny, Ep.VII.31 - cf. ILS 1418; Josephus alludes to regiments of Sebastenians - Saddington, 1970, 120; NT, Acts, 10.1.
7. Whittaker, Herodian, lii et seq.
8. Josephus, BJ, II.18.9 (500) for example; Velleius Paterculus, 113.1 and 119.4.
9. Cf. Saddington, 1970, 117-21.
10. Saddington, 1970, 89 et seq.
11. Moors in Syria - Herodian, III.3.4; Syrian regiments in Mauretania - ala I Hamiorum, cohors I Ituraeorum, cohors II Syrorum saq. ∞ (see further below, App. 4), cf. Euzennat, 1971 on orientals in Mauretania in general.
12. Jones, LRE, App.II; cf. the recent remarks by Mann, 1976, 1-9.
13. A selection of relevant articles may be found in the bibliography.
14. The Lollian inscription (App. 5) is a good example of this; cf. now Saxer, 1967, passim.
15. Birley, 1966, 57f., 61f.
16. ILS 2487, 9133-9135^a.
17. Dura Papyri, 27
18. The annual reports in MZ and in Arrabona.
19. E.g. tile stamps of the numerus Syrorum Malvensium, a regiment removed to Mauretania under Septimius, were being re-used in a wall of Philip the Arab at their old base of Romula; cf. Speidel, 1973, 169. and below.
20. Syria (7; two fragmentary), Egypt (3).
21. CIL,XVI,2 and Roxan, no.69.
22. Cohortes I Apamenorum, II and III Ituraeorum and ala Commagenorum.

23. See, for example, the texts collected by Fink, Records.
24. Intercisa, I and II; Vago, 1970.
25. Picard, 1949.
26. Ektaxis, 1 and 18.
27. AE(1967) 339; MZ,69(1974) 247 no. 248 records what may be a cohors III (sagittariorum) (below,).
28. Cumont, Fouilles, pls. LIV; XCVIII.
29. N.B. the supplement by N. Criniti, 1973, 93-158.
30. E. J. Jory,1973; 1974; 1975.
31. Fitz, 1972, chs. 3 and 5.
32. P. Mich. VIII, 465-6;467-81 and Husselman, 1971,5-8; Abinnaeus Archive, Bell, et al.
33. What follows is based on material derived from a wide variety of works most prominent of which are: Kraft, 18-19; Alföldy, 1969, 27-30; Roxan, Ph.D., 1973; Saddington, 1972 and 1975; and, of course, innumerable articles by E. Birley; see now Holder, 1980, 144-66.
34. See now the useful tables in Pflaum, 1974a, 9-43.
35. Cf. the tables in Holder, 1980, 57ff.
36. Holder, echoing Birley, 1966, 55, doubts a pre-Flavian origin but I can see no grounds for over-turning the explicit reference in Josephus to the milliary regiments of Cestius Gallus in 67; the great recruitment programme of Corbulo a few years earlier would have been an attractive occasion for experimenting with such a useful new formation. Scholars probably attribute too many of the military reforms of the first century to the reforming Flavian emperors.
37. ILS 1035.
38. CP, p. 606 - nos. 184, 229, 255, 262, 281, 346, and ILS 2753 (cf. 2752) and 2751.
39. A. R. Birley, 1971, 219; e.g. CIL,VIII,2465 - Vict. Augggg. (3 May, 198).
40. E.g. Welles apud C. Kraeling, Gerasa, 1938, 358-67.
41. Rhine - Gabelman, 1972; Danube - Schober, 1923; Africa - Lassère, 1973.
42. See now the use to which Holder puts such evidence, 144-66.
43. Thus the units of Thracians and Petraeans were soon moved away from the new provinces. Sebastenians, Thebans and others, can, however, be found in their native province for long periods after formation.

44. Vigorous recruiting is recorded in Ann.XX.3.2; cf. the Syrians from Philadelphia recruited in c. 62/3 - ILS 9168 and CIL,XVI,159
45. BJ,I,323f.
46. See now the remarks by Holder, 1980, 167f.
47. Speidel, Limes XI, 132.
48. SP, 112.
49. Wuthnow, 81.
50. See now the remarks by Euzennat, 1971, 168 on the loss of distinctive names in Mauretania Tingitana including two of the cases discussed above.
51. Cf. the practice of trying to hide servile origin amongst the descendents of freedmen in the same way - A. M. Duff, 1958, 56-8.
52. Fink, no. 74.
53. E. Birley, 1952.
54. ILS 2487; cf. Kennedy, 1980, 305f.
55. Ann.IV.5.
56. Agricola, for example, boasts that having placed his auxiliaries in the front line at Mons Graupius the battle was won by them without the legions becoming involved and the consequent loss of 'Roman' blood (Agr. 35).
- 56a. Tacitus, XIV.32.6; Frere, Britannia², 106 doubts that very many could have been lost on that occasion since the legionary reinforcements sent after the revolt were only 2000 strong; idem, 1974, 38.
57. Cf. the estimates by E. Birley of the numbers of units in existence in the late second century in 1966, 57f and 61f - c.360 regiments of all kinds and sizes. Since many of these were post-Augustan creations, there had been a sizeable loss rate if one takes the statement of Tacitus, Ann.IV.5 as a guide and calculate some 250 regiments at the accession of Tiberius.
58. Cf. Roxan, 1976, Table III, no. 12. Holder, 1980, 112 suggests that cohors IIII Cypria may have belonged to a series raised in another province.
59. Ritterling, 1927, 31 n.3; cf. now Roxan, 1976, 61 and 64f.
60. N.B. Jones, 1931, 253; Id. CERP,² 454, n.35; Schürer², 561f; and OT Gen., 25.15 and IChr. 31.5.19 listing 'Jetur' among the sons of Ishmael i.e. Arabs; cf. Dussaud, 1955, 176f.

CHAPTER 3: MILITARY MANPOWER EXPLOITATION
IN SYRIA BEFORE TIBERIUS

A The Pre-Roman Period

The evidence available for Syrian soldiery in the period before the arrival of Pompey is slight, often merely negative. A very striking feature of the roll-call of armies, whether Persian or Hellenistic, is in fact, the almost total absence of Syrians as such, or peoples known to be Syrian. In Herodotus, for example, the enumeration of all the forces brought together by Xerxes for his invasion of Greece includes, by name, almost all the peoples of the Persian Empire.¹ From Syria, however, only the sailors manning the Phoenician fleet are an indisputable contingent and, even there, the marines are expressly said to be Persians, Medes or Sacae. To be sure, "Syrians" are mentioned, but they are almost certainly Cappadocians: thus, they are characterised as equipped in the same way as Ligyans, Matieni, Mariandynians and Paphlagonians - all resident in Anatolia - and the "Syrians" themselves are said to be "Cappadocians; as the Persian^s call them". Elsewhere, too, it is clear that "Syria" and Cappadocia are regarded as synonymous and are to be located in Anatolia.² We may nevertheless be on firmer ground with Herodotus's reference to the contingent of Arabians whose weapon "was the bow, carried at the right side - a long bow which assumed a reverse curve when unstrung"; and, later, Arabians again appear in the tally of mounted troops similarly equipped, but riding camels. By "Arabian" may be meant any one of the peoples termed "Arabs" in the area from Mesopotamia across the Syrian Desert to the Arabian peninsula, and occupying - amongst others - the regions

of the later Arab dynasts of Emesa and the Ituraean principality.

The absence of peoples from Syria proper would have been the more remarkable were it not paralleled in the hellenistic period for which we have rather better evidence in general. It is beyond dispute that the rulers of Seleucid Syria shunned the pool of military manpower available in that country. Bar-Kochva has collected and analysed the evidence for the Seleucid forces in campaigns such as those of Raphia and Magnesia and in the great military parade at Daphne.³ Apart from the Macedonian settlers and the ubiquitous Greek and Cretan mercenaries, a wide variety of subject peoples and mercenaries are encountered: Dahae, Carmanians, Cilicians, Lydians, Persians, Philistines and Jews. However, as Bar-Kochva remarks:

The striking absentees from the three great performances of the Seleucid army are the people of Mesopotamia and Syria. Phoenicians indeed were presumably the backbone of the Seleucid navy but in general, it seems evident that the Seleucids were reluctant to employ Syrians and Babylonians (apart from the Jews, who were a special case) in their land forces. The current explanation that the Syrians' and Mesopotamians were effeminate and 'soft', certainly has no substance. Roman propaganda should not obscure the long military traditions of these people. Considerations of Seleucid internal politics are more acceptable reasons: arming the indigenous peoples at the nerve centre of the Empire and

developing their military potential was too risky an undertaking and also partially superfluous in view of the heavy concentration of the regular army in northern Syria A revolt of armed natives in the remoter provinces could always have been put down by resolute action from the centre, but an uprising in Syria would have undermined the very existence of the kingdom.

(The Seleucid Army, 52)

The explanation, as Bar-Kochva noted, is to be found in a comparison with Ptolemaic Egypt which did recruit from amongst the native peoples and paid the price in internal revolts.⁴ It is striking, too, that Egyptian soldiers are absent from the land forces of Xerxes: like Syria, it provided a fleet but no soldiers.⁵ One can easily understand that the Persians would not wish to arm native Egyptian forces but could the same be true of Syria? Assyrians, for example, had quite recently been absorbed into the Persian Empire yet they appear in Xerxes' great army; why not, therefore Syrians who had long since ceased to be a people ruling themselves? A possible explanation - or at least partial one - may lie in the character of the soldiers most commonly associated with Syria: archers. Archers are traditional and major components of the forces of the Persian heartland and many of their Iranian subjects.⁶ In short, the Persians did not need Syrian soldiers. Again we might bear in mind that the best and most numerous archers in Syria were to be found amongst the peoples of, or on, the desert's fringe or in

the mountainous regions. These areas may have been, in part at least, but lightly subject to Persia; and, on the other hand, some of their contributions may be subsumed in the 'Arabian' contingent.⁷

For the early Hellenistic period, when the wars of the Successors forced the latter to seek forces from wherever available, Diodorus Siculus is of value and gives some indication that Syrians were utilized. The striking characteristic of the subject forces employed is the considerable number of archers: equally, however, they are almost invariably described as "Persian" bowmen.⁸ Nevertheless, Eumenes, who was harder pressed for military support may have employed Syrians (if we may trust the term) to judge by his circulation of a letter to his soldiers "written in the Syrian writing".⁹ A few years later there is no hint even of Syrians in the forces brought together by Antigonus at Ipsus. Indeed, while allies are summoned and ships brought from Phoenicia, Syria (apparently) supplies only wheat.¹⁰

In the subsequent period, only one reference seems to reveal the employment of native Syrians, when Aratus captured Corinth which had a garrison of 400 Syrian mercenaries. Since such garrisons are elsewhere described as "barbarising", it may be that they are Semitic Syrians.¹¹

B The Roman Republic and Early Empire

If the Persians showed little desire to employ Syrians to any extent, and the Hellenistic rulers of the region avoided

their use as a matter of policy, the Romans showed no such hesitation. To be sure, the process had begun indirectly in the final, inglorious years of Seleucid Syria with the emergence of a number of powerful Arab dynasts along the edge of the Syrian Desert in particular. Two of these princelings, Azizus and Sampsigeramus, played a part in the demise of the last independent Seleucids; the latter of the dynasts, indeed, having "come with his army" imprisoned and killed Antiochus Grypus.¹² Pompey's settlement of the East gave formal recognition to the existence of native rulers in the new province of Syria - men such as the above pair, whose emergent petty armies were encouraged to exercise control over such areas as the difficult terrain of the mountains of the Ituraean principality and Commagene, and the desert and pre-desert of Emesa.¹³ Apart from saving the Roman authorities the expense and effort of administration of difficult and little-hellenized regions, it brought the bonus of available allied armies from which it was but a short step to the direct recruitment of native soldiers as mercenaries.

The swift appearance of Syrian soldiery with the Roman forces in the East is not difficult to explain. In 68 B.C., the campaigns of Lucullus taught the Romans two lessons. The first was the need for light infantry and cavalry alongside the legions in the East; the second was the awareness of the danger from the archery, especially the mounted bowmen, of the peoples of the East as a whole.¹⁴ A few years later, in 64 B.C., Pompey's tactics against the Iberians had to take account of their archery:

"By a charge he came to close quarters with the enemy's bowmen before they could show their skill, and very promptly routed them".¹⁵ The next year, with Syria newly annexed, we hear of the first explicit employment of Syrian mercenaries by the Romans: Pompey ". . . . started in pursuit of Aristobulus with the Roman forces and a large contingent of Syrian auxiliaries (συμμάχοι)".¹⁶ These forces may well have included the armies of dynasts such as Antiochus of Commagene - whom Pompey had recently confirmed in power and to whom he had even given more territory¹⁷ - and Sampsigeramus of Emesa; but, equally, Pompey had just subdued Ituraea and its bowmen would have made attractive mercenaries.

In the immediately subsequent years, the Roman governors of the new province had to contend with the raids of the neighbouring Arabs - according to Appian, first Scaurus and then his successors Marcius Philippus and Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus had to devote their time throughout their terms of office to this task.¹⁹ It would be unwise to over-estimate the extent to which these early governors, and their successor Aulus Gabinius (57-5 B.C.), employed Syrian mercenaries in their campaigns. One might logically suppose that limited numbers of mercenaries were employed from the outset for use in the regular task of policing, for which legionaries alone would have been unsuitable; when larger forces were required, client-kings would be called upon to bring up their armies. After all, these client-armies, under military obligation to Rome, cost her nothing; mercenaries were expensive. The point is underlined in 53 B.C. with Crassus's

preparations for his final disastrous campaign against the Parthians; ". . . . (he) prescribed quotas of soldiers for districts and dynasts to furnish, only to remit the prescription when money was offered him" ²⁰ All the peoples of Syria had military obligations but in this case the less-warlike and the unwilling could avoid service. Whether the payment mentioned was used to pay mercenaries is unknown; likewise, it is impossible to determine to what extent Syrians were employed. According to Plutarch, Crassus had 4000 cavalry and 4000 light-armed troops. ²¹ Not all were local, that much is clear: 1000 at least of the cavalry were from the West, Gauls sent by Caesar. However, we may suppose that a large proportion of the remaining 7000 were Syrian, of whom the 500 archers used by Publius Crassus in his final desperate charge may be especially singled out. ²²

It was a fundamental principle in ancient societies that, in time of war, all able-bodied citizens could be called upon for service. This is what is implied in the above passage concerning Crassus; and in late 53 with the governor dead, much of his army slaughtered and the rest scattered or demoralized, we need hardly doubt that a new and extensive levy was carried out in Syria by his de facto successor, C. Cassius Longinus, to whom had fallen the task of organizing defence. ²³ Although the situation never became as dangerous as it at first appeared, the letters of Cicero sent home from his province of Cilicia in 51-50 B.C. illustrate something of the Roman fears and of the sort of measures being taken in a second-line province. ²⁴ He

had enrolled Roman citizens in the region and received from King Deiotarus of Galatia, 30 cohorts of 400 men each and 2000 cavalry; later he says, ". . . . the auxiliaries (auxilia) certainly are good, Galatians, Pisidians, Lycians (the main strength of my force)" It is a plausible assumption that in Syria, Cassius and his successor, Bibulus, did no less in regard to calling upon the forces of allied rulers, enrolling levies from the directly supervised communities and employing mercenaries. Certainly, from this point onwards, Syrian soldiers seem to have been drawn upon regularly and freely; recognition, presumably, of their value. The Parthian threat seems to have been averted in 51-50, but in 49 Syria was called upon to send support to the army of Pompey in Thessaly. The then governor, Metellus Scipio, is said to have "levied horsemen from the whole province" and archers were brought westwards in large numbers.²⁵ The Syrian element amongst Pompey's archers cannot be exactly computed and he clearly had other sources which he can be seen exploiting as early as his flight from Italy and then again at Dyrrachium.²⁶ In Thessaly, and at Pharsalus, his forces included a "multitude of archers": "he had archers from Crete and Lacedaemon, from Pontus and Syria and the other states, to the number of 3000" ²⁷ Of the native Syrian dynasts who rallied to his support, Antiochus of Commagene is explicitly credited with supplying 200 cavalry, many of them archers.²⁸ Furthermore, there seems no reason - in view of the sequel - to discredit Lucan's explicit mention of Ituraeans among the Pompeian archers as poetic licence, even if they are

singled out because of their subsequent prominence.²⁹

In the Alexandrian and African Wars which followed, we can see Caesar swiftly exploiting the military potential of the East:

"Mithridates of Pergamum had been sent into Syria and Cilicia at the outbreak of the Alexandrian War to fetch reinforcements; and now, accompanied by large reinforcements which he had speedily raised, thanks to the very helpful attitude adopted by the states"30

It comes as little surprise, therefore, to find Caesar in Africa employing archers: "Ituraeans, Syrians and men of divers races - and thronged his forces with numerous drafts of them".³¹

Presumably these are mainly recent recruits since Pompey's archers at Pharsalus suffered heavily. Some of the latter may have escaped to Africa with the Pompeians if we judge by the reference to the mounted bowmen with Cato and Scipio.³²

The prominence of Syrian, especially Ituraean, archers, in Africa may allow us to deduce their subsequent retention by Caesar in the later Civil Wars and his intended employment of them thereafter. That some at least were retained is proven by Antony's use of Ituraean bowmen as a bodyguard in Rome in 44-3 (below, 138).³³

In the renewed civil war against the assassins of Caesar, the East again contributed soldiers to the losing side. Between Caesar's visit to Syria in 47 and its assignment to Antony in 41, the province had been racked by strife. First there was war between Caesar's governors and the Pompeian supporter Q. Caecilius Bassus who, we are explicitly told, recruited

Syrians to his forces - both Tyre and Apamea are mentioned.³⁴ Then between Cassius Longinus (appointed by Caesar shortly before his murder) and Caesar's generals on the spot, and finally between Cassius and Dolabella whom Antony had appointed in place of Cassius.³⁵ Victorious, Cassius collected forces for the looming war with Antony and Octavian.³⁶ Staius Marcius, for example, was sent by him to the Peloponⁿese with a legion and archers; he subsequently fought at sea against the triumvirs and after Philippi joined Sextus Pompey in Sicily with two legions and 500 archers, many at least of the latter presumably Syrian.³⁷ Cassius himself levied large forces "from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Persians".³⁸ At Philippi, Cassius had 2000 Gallic and Spanish cavalry and 4000 mounted bowmen, "Arabs, Medes and Parthians" and this excluded, apparently, the forces of the allied kings and tetrarchs some of whom he had recently installed in Syria.³⁹

The aftermath of the battle of Philippi again brought misfortune to Syria. While Antony was in Egypt, Greece and Italy over the next few years, the Parthian forces, summoned by Cassius to join him at Philippi, deliberately arrived late and instead overran Syria, Iudaea and much of Asia Minor.⁴⁰ It seems that the defeat and ejection of the Parthians by Antony's general Ventidius Bassus, was achieved in part at least by his employment of native troops: Frontinus alludes to Cyrrhestic allies and Josephus reports 5 newly levied cohorts being sent by Ventidius to Herod soon after; they are called 'Roman' but are probably Syrians.⁴¹ In the following year, 37, Herod and C. Sossius,

Antony's new governor of Syria, besieged Jerusalem with a force of legions and 6000 cavalry "not including the Syrian auxiliaries (συμμάχοι) who formed no inconsiderable contingent".⁴² Herod too, recruited on his own behalf in Syria: 800 mountaineers from the Lebanon - Ituraeans possibly.⁴³

Antony's domination of Syria undoubtedly led to the recruitment of native soldiers and not only for his Parthian campaign and the war of Actium: cut off from the West and its recruiting grounds, he may be supposed to have made good some of the deficiencies in his legionary army by complementary local levies (below, 172 f). Like Cassius and Pompey before him, Antony employed large numbers of archers at Actium - 2000 of which we are told he embarked on his fleet for the battle - and, like them, he was supported by Syrian client-kings, amongst whom Mithridates of Commagene is explicitly mentioned.⁴⁴

The literary accounts of warfare in the East under the Julio-Claudian dynasty confirms the picture emerging from the foregoing survey, namely that what the Romans wanted from Syria was archers - mounted and foot, - and, to a lesser extent, cavalry, and that these were obtainable and were used. Faced, very often, in the East by enemies whose forces were largely composed of both, this is a scarcely surprising development; the Civil Wars, however, led to their employment in the West in Greece, Egypt, Africa, Rome and Sicily, from which it was but a short step to their retention in the West with the regular armies there. This certainly seems to be true of Caesar's and Antony's Ituraeans. The details of the process by which this

came about are not available, but may be inferred from the way in which the literary evidence for Syrians and archers in the West is complemented by the growing body of epigraphic evidence which appears in the early principate revealing the names and locations of Syrian units on the Rhine and in the Balkans in particular. The Cretan, Greek and Asiatic archers so prominent in the late Republic can be seen being displaced by Syrians in the sources, and the trend is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence: only one Cretan cohort and two or three Thracian regiments of archers are known in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods.⁴⁵

After Actium, Octavian set about the settlement of the East. In practice this would involve the allocation of military forces, which in turn implies that some at least of the mercenary soldiers drawn from subject peoples took on an official and permanent status. In short, just as in the generation before Actium the Gallic and Spanish cavalry in the East had become de facto a permanent part of the military establishment there,⁴⁶ so too one may suppose that this occurred not only with forces such as the Ituraeans in the West but with Syrians in Syria and neighbouring provinces. The process had 'certainly begun long before Actium but it seems likely that it was given a new impetus during Antony's decade of dominance of the East. Nevertheless, it seems undeniable that it was under Augustus that the de facto permanence of units and their allocation to specific provinces became institutionalised. Something of the development may be detected in chance literary references and from inscriptions,

though the detailed picture does not emerge until later, when diplomas become common in the Flavian period. Nevertheless, the situation which appears quite clearly then, may be inferred for the Augustan and Tiberian period too from, for example, the frequent evidence for archers in the armies of Drusus, Varus and Germanicus in Germany.⁴⁷ More valuable, is the report in Strabo that in 24 B.C. the garrison of Egypt consisted of 3 alae and 9 cohorts,⁴⁸ besides the 3 legions: the cohorts were distributed as 3 in Alexandria, 3 at Syene, and 3 in the remaining land, with the alae similarly divided. For there is good reason to suppose that two of those cohorts were the II and III Ituraeorum so well attested in Egypt in the century which followed (below, \6\). We need scarcely doubt that a similar displacement and formalisation of Syrian regiments took place elsewhere too at an early date.

Despite the development of standing regiments of Syrian auxiliaries, and the arrival of units from other provinces, a major part of any Roman army on campaign in the East for a century after Actium remained the forces of the petty rulers of backward or peripheral areas in Syria: most prominent are the kings of Commagene and Emesa and the men who ruled over parts of the former Ituraean principality, especially Chalcis. Varus, for example, setting out against the Jews in 4 B.C., ordered these rulers to meet him with their forces at Ptolemais.⁴⁹ Seventy years later, Cestius Gallus, Vespasian and Titus all made significant use of client-armies: Vespasian, for example, is said to have been supported by 2000 foot archers and 1000

cavalry from each of the 3 more important kinglets - Antiochus of Commagene, Agrippa of Chalcis and Soaemus of Emesa -, in addition to 5000 men from Arabia Petraea and 23 cohorts and 6 alae, many of them from the garrison of Syria, with no less than 10 of the cohorts said to be 1000-strong.⁵⁰ A decade before, during the external war against Armenia and Parthia, Corbulo and Paetus could have drawn on similar client forces, and may well have been responsible for the creation of a number of new Syrian regiments.⁵¹

The literary evidence for the Empire as it becomes established is increasingly complemented and illuminated by the epigraphic and papyrological evidence. As a result, the literary references as a whole from Tacitus to Cassius Dio and Herodian are best dealt with in the specific context of individual units and ethnic groups to which we may now turn.

1. Herodotus, Hist.VII.60 et seq.
2. The region of the later Roman province of Cappadocia was the Persian satrapy of (Syri-) Cappadocia while the land to the south, later to be called Syria by Greeks and Romans, was the satrapy of Abar-Nahara (= 'Beyond-the-River') - CAH,IV,195ff.
3. Bar-Kochva, 1976, 48-53.
4. Ibid. 53; cf. Griffiths, 1975 (1935), 111ff.
5. Herodotus, Hist. 60 et seq., esp. 89.
6. See, for example, the reported boast carved on the tomb of Darius: "I was friend to my friends; as horseman and bowman, I proved myself superior to all others...." (Strabo, Geog. XV.3.8.); cf. XI.13.6 for the Cassaei supplying an ally with 13,000 archers; XV.3.18 regarding the training of Persians in the use of the bow, javelin and to ride from the ages of 5 to 24; XVI.1.18; Diod.Sic., XIX.21.3.
7. It is significant that in the Roman period the greatest number of Syrian units were named for the peoples of the desert or pre-desert from the Trachonitas to Hama and Palmyra.
8. Diod.Sic., XVIII.16.4; 15.1; XIX.14.5 (cf.XVII.110.2); 17.4; 29.2; 30.3.
9. Ibid. XIX.23.1-3.
10. Ibid. XIX.58.1.
11. Plutarch, Aratus, 182 et seq.,; 24.1; cf. Griffiths, 1975 (1935), 68 and note 3.
12. Sullivan, 1977a, 198 et seq., cf. Rey-Coquais, 1978, 44f; CERP,² 256 .
13. Appian, Mith. XVII.114-118; Cicero Ad.Att. II.16; Plutarch. Pom. 38-2. Josephus, Ant. XIV.3.2; cf. Rey-Coquais, 1978, 45; Sullivan, 1977a, 204; Jones, 1931, 265; Id. CERP², 257-60; Schürer², 563f; Jones, 1940, 202 et seq
14. Dio XXXVI.5.1-2.
15. Dio XXXVII.2.3.
16. Josephus, BJ, I.133.
17. Appian, Mith. XVII.114.
18. Appian, Mith. XVI.106; cf. Josephus, Ant. XIV.3.2.

19. Appian, Syr. VIII.51; cf. Schürer², 244f.
20. Plutarch, Cras. XVII.5.
21. Id. XX.1.
22. Id. XXV.2.
23. Dio XL.28f., Josephus, Ant. XIV.7.3 (119); cf. Schürer², 247.
24. Cicero, Ad Att. V.16; 18; 21; VI.1; 5.
25. Caesar, BC, III.31; cf. Appian, BC, II.10.70-1; Caesar, BC, III.3; Dio, XLI.55.2-3; for this and the subsequent civil wars see Rostovtzeff, SEHWW, 991 et seq.
26. Caesar, BC, I.27 (Brundisium); III.44 and 53 (Dyrrachium).
27. Caesar, BC, III.93 and III.4.
28. Caesar, BC, III.4.
29. Lucan, Phar. VII.230; cf. 514-5.
30. Caesar, BA1; 26; cf. 25
31. Caesar, BAf; 20; cf. 12; 13; 34; 60; 77; 78; 81 and 83.
32. Caesar, BC, III.93 and BAf., 19.
33. Cicero, Phil. II.49 (112) and 8 (19); XIII.8 (19).
34. Dio XLVII. 26.1-27.2; cf. 27.3 "... Bassus was joined by Alchaudmius the Arabian.... and in the battle proved greatly superior in his archery...." Appian, BC, III.xi.77-8.
35. Schürer², 248-50.
36. Josephus, BJ, I.225; AJ, XIV.11.2 (272); Appian, BC, III.11.77-8.
37. Appian, BC, IV.ix.74; xii.99; V.iii.25.
38. Appian, BC, IV.12.99.
39. Appian, BC, IV.11.88; Josephus, BJ, I.239.
40. Appian, BC, IV.8.63; V.7.65; Dio XLVIII.24.5 et seq.; Plutarch, Ant.XXX.1.
41. Frontinus, Strat. I.1.6; Josephus, BJ, I.323-4. Saddington, 1970, 122 observes that Strabo speaks of "9 cohorts of Romans" in Egypt but that, "as in Josephus .. (they) .. must have been Romans from the point of view of the local inhabitants, that is, auxiliaries, not legionaries".
42. Josephus, BJ, I.346.
43. Josephus, BJ, I.329.

44. Dio L.16.1-3; 23.1; Plutarch, Ant. 64.1; 61.1-2; 56.4; Dio L.13.7. shows that the Emesene contingent had been led to Actium by their king Iamblichus.
45. See now Holder, 1980, 227f.; 230.
46. Gauls served with Crassus in 53, Gauls and Spaniards with Antony in 36 and Herod the Great was to inherit a troop of Gallic horse from Cleopatra. (Josephus, BJ, I.672-3 records amongst the units following Herod's bier Thracians, Romans and Gauls.)
47. Drusus: inferred from the finds in the fort at Dangestteten on the upper Rhine which is dated to 15- c.10 B.C. (BRGK, 1970-71, 197ff.; Wells, 1972, 315f.); Varus: Dio LVI.21.4; 22.2a; Germanicus: Tacitus, Ann., I.56; II.16 (mounted and unmounted archers); II.17.
- 48 Cf. Saddington, 1970, 122 and above note 41.
49. Josephus, BJ, III.66-8; cf. Jones, 1940, 207.
50. Josephus, BJ, II.66; for Cestius: BJ, II.500; Titus: BJ, V.42-4 and 460; Tacitus, Hist. V.1. Schürer², 1973, 487, 491f, 501. The Midrash Genesis, lvi.11 reports "80,000" Palmyrenes at the seige; an exaggeration certainly, but presumably only of the fact (Friedman and Simon, 1939,I,502).
51. Tacitus, Ann. XIII.8 et seq.; XV.12 and 25-6.

CHAPTER 4: THE REGIMENTS

The regiments treated here, with the exception of one group, are dealt with alphabetically, with all categories, whenever raised, being discussed under the single heading. The exception concerns those units raised amongst the Ituraeans. With these it seemed best to group together not only those explicitly described as Ituraeans, but also those named for regions of the former principality and sharing common characteristics and ethnic origin. Thus, regiments of Canatheni, Chalcideni and, for the sake of uniformity, Damasceni, are all subsumed under the general heading of Ituraeae.

ANTIOCHENSES

Only one soldier of the unit below is attested and, since he is not an original recruit, his origo of Anazarbus cannot help in determining for which of the many Antiochs the unit is named. I follow earlier writers in assigning it to Antioch-on-the-Orontes, that being by far the most likely source of such a regiment.¹

Few Syrian regiments can be explicitly attributed to one of the Greek cities of the province; although in this case it would have been remarkable if the substantial peregrine, even non-Greek population of so populous a city had not been capable of producing at least one regiment. Syrian Antioch was given an initial population of mixed Greek origin numbering perhaps 5,300 adult males.² They played a prominent role in Seleucid armies throughout the pre-Roman period, suffering especially heavy losses under Antiochus VII Sidetes.³ In view of the apparent exclusion of native Syrians from the Seleucid armies (above, 63ff), we may confidently infer that these Hellenistic Antiochene soldiers were recruited only from the citizen body of

"Greeks" and Babylonian Jews.⁴ Little is heard of the military activities of the populace until the second century A.D., with the exception of a report of the entire populace - local and resident Romans - taking up arms to exclude Pompey in 48 B.C., and another of some of them manning the city walls during the crisis of the Parthian invasion of 40 B.C.⁵ Nevertheless, entry into military formations would be expected given the proximity of so much of the provincial garrison, its frequent use as the seat of army headquarters during eastern campaigns, and the presence of the governor and his singulares. Thus, 14 legionaries give Antiochia as origo on the inscriptions, all from the period of the Flavians onwards (App. 1, Table I). The second century evidence begins with the report of enthusiastic backing given by the metropolis to their fellow-Syrian, the usurper Avidius Cassius.⁶ ^{Half a} generation later they sprang to help Pescennius Niger. Herodian tells us that in 193 large numbers of the lower classes joined the army for the impending war against Septimius Severus. Even after the defeats at Cyzicus and Nicaea and the forcing of the Cilician Gates, Niger was able to raise still more recruits: "A vast number, almost the entire youth of Antioch"; and later, after the final defeat, at Issus, the city was "full of weeping and grief as people lamented for their sons and brothers".⁷ Making due allowance for rhetorical exaggeration, it is still clear that Antioch had substantial reserves of military manpower.

Cohors I Antiochensium sagittariorum⁸

The unit first appears on the diploma of 75 for undivided Moesia,

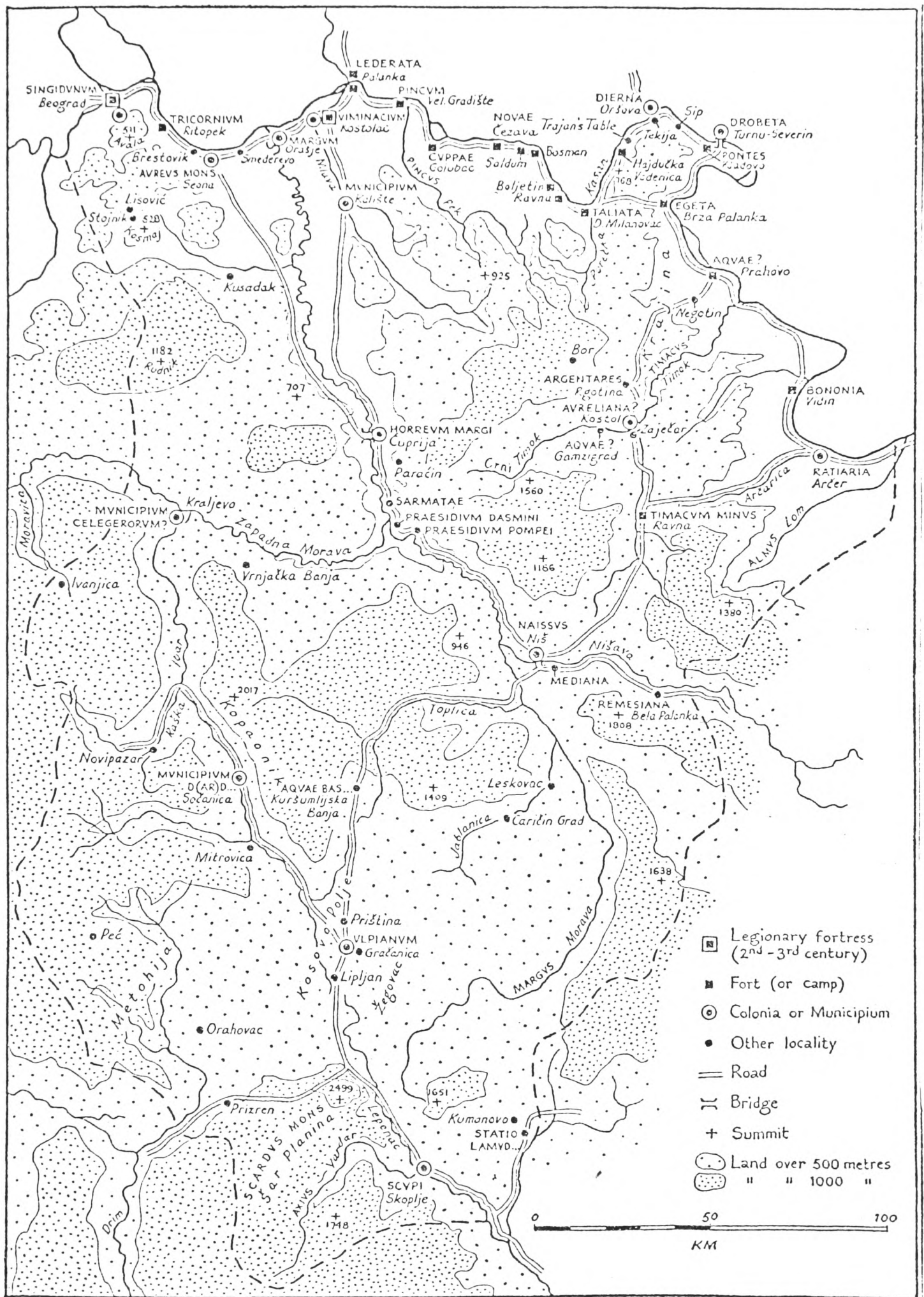


Fig. 2 Moesia Superior (Mócsy, 1974).

indicating formation by not later than c. 50 (Roxan, no. 2). As yet there are no Moesian diplomas earlier than 75 but it appears on four subsequent diplomas - for 94, 100, 159/60 and 161, and is absent from four others - for 78, 82, 96 and 103/6 - all for Moesia superior.⁹ An attractive occasion for the regiment's arrival would be in the early 70's either with Mucianus or in the subsequent Flavian restorations and strengthening in the West.¹⁰ The diplomas may hint at a discharge pattern still being evident implying recruitment not too far back into the Julio-Claudian period - A.D. 17 to meet the need for a garrison in newly annexed Commagene is a possibility, and would accord with the absence of a dynastic title (below, App. 2).¹¹

At the other end of the time scale, we may take the date of the diploma for 161 much further by examining the cursus for one of its prefects (01.08; 09). Q. Cosconius Fronto must have commanded the unit in the reign of Septimius Severus and, arguably c. 197/8, (below, 83f).

The unit very probably participated in Trajan's Dacian Wars but was returned to its original province at their conclusion.¹² In 102/5, according to a damaged building inscription, they were at Drobeta on the Dacian side of the Danube (01.04). The diploma of 100 (CIL, XVI, 46), issued to a veteran of this unit, was found in Pannonia, at Siscia, which has been taken to indicate a Pannonian station at one point.¹³ The later station is unknown but somewhere in the vicinity of Viminacium has been conjectured.¹⁴ The regiment is only once characterized as sagittaria but, since that is the diploma of 161 (Roxan, no. 55), we may assume that it had been a unit of archers from the outset.

The epigraphic evidence provides the names of three prefects and a single soldier. The diploma for 100 records the prefect as M. Calpurnius Sabinus¹⁵ (CIL,XVI,46). It does not seem possible to identify him with Calpurnius Sabinus, epistrategus Thebaid s.¹⁶ The latter held office during the prefecture of Pompeius Planta who was still in office on 14 February 100 and whose successor had arrived by 102, possibly as early as 100/1.¹⁷ It is possible, but unlikely, that our prefect would have had time to complete his tres militiae and begin his first sexagenarian procuratorship, and then only if Planta remained in office until 102. No origo is given and the names are unⁿstructive: Sabinus is one of the 18 most common cognomina in the Empire.¹⁸

M. Aemilius Bassus (CIL,XVI,163) can be dated with some precision in this command because he is named in relation to his second militia as tribunus cohors I Brittonum on a diploma of 110.¹⁹ An Italian from Albintimilium, he proceeded to a procuratorial career, mainly in the East and including epistrategus Thebaidos under Hadrian.

Q. Cosconius Fronto²⁰ is named as prefect on two texts from Sardinia (01.08;.09) where he later served as proc. Augg. et praef. prov. Sardiniae. According to Pflaum, the province of Sardinia first received its equestrian governors in the reign of Commodus and the references to Augg. should therefore be taken as Septimius and Caracalla, 198-209.²¹ However, much more may be made of the text whose stages may be tabulated:

praef. fabr. a cos. adlecto

praef. coh. I Antiochensium

trib. mil. leg. I Italicae

proc. Augg. ad vectiq. XX her. per Pontium et Bithyniam et

Pontum mediterraneum et Paphlagoniam

proc. Augg. item ad vectiq. XX her. per Pamphyliam

Lyciam Phrygiam Galatiam et insulas Cyclades

subpraef. annonae urbis

proc. Augg. ad vectiq. ferr. Gall.

proc. Augg. et praef. prov. Sardiniae.

Pflaum observed that Fronto is one of the last examples of an eques mentioning a prefecture of works, and it is notable too that he went straight from the legio I Italica to a successful equestrian civil career. In view of the date implied by Augg. in his procuratorial posts, some reconstruction and hence refinement of date is possible. One of the consuls for 196 or 197 was Cosconius Gentianus. In view of the comparative rarity of the nomen it is tempting to identify the consul by whom Fronto was adlected as this man, presumably a kinsman. Substantiation is provided by Fronto's subsequent movements which took him to Moesia superior to command the cohort, then a transfer to the neighbouring province of inferior to a tribunate in the legio I Italica: in 198, the governor of Moesia/^{inferior} was Cosconius Gentianus, the reason, presumably, for Fronto's transfer to that particular province.²² The subsequent financial posts, covering much of Asia Minor, would accord well with the efforts of the early years of Septimius to raise money. The prefecture of the cohort may, therefore, be dated to c. 197/8. No origo is given but the nomen is most common in North Italy.²³ The tribe, one of the least common, is most frequently attested in North Italy and in Bithynia-et-Pontus.²⁴ Citing the tribe at all is rare by this date and may be an additional

indicator that Q. Cosconius Fronto is an Italian.

The sole ranker known is the recipient of the diploma of 100 (CIL,XVI,46): "Sopias, son of Sarmosus, from Anazarbus". There is nothing particularly significant about a recruit from Asia Minor joining a cohors Antiochensium in Moesia c. 75: the army in Moesia, especially inferior, regularly drew replacements from Asia (above, 52f). The statistics for the legions show: I Italica - of 16 known, in the Claudius to Trajan period, 6 were from Asia Minor or Syria; V Macedonica - 12 of 20 known in the same period (both Moesia inferior); VII Claudia - 25 of 66 in the period Augustus - Trajan; no Asiatics appear in IV Flavia, the legion furthest from Asia.²⁵ Looking at the evidence for the employment of Asian recruits: of 105 'Asiatics', 31 went to Africa, 22 to Egypt and the remaining 52 to legions on the lower Danube.²⁶ The diplomas show a similar situation: of 13 recipients known in the Moesian auxilia, 3 are easterners only one of whom - probably an initial recruit - was in an ethnic regiment.²⁷

I have not been able to find parallels for the names of father or son.

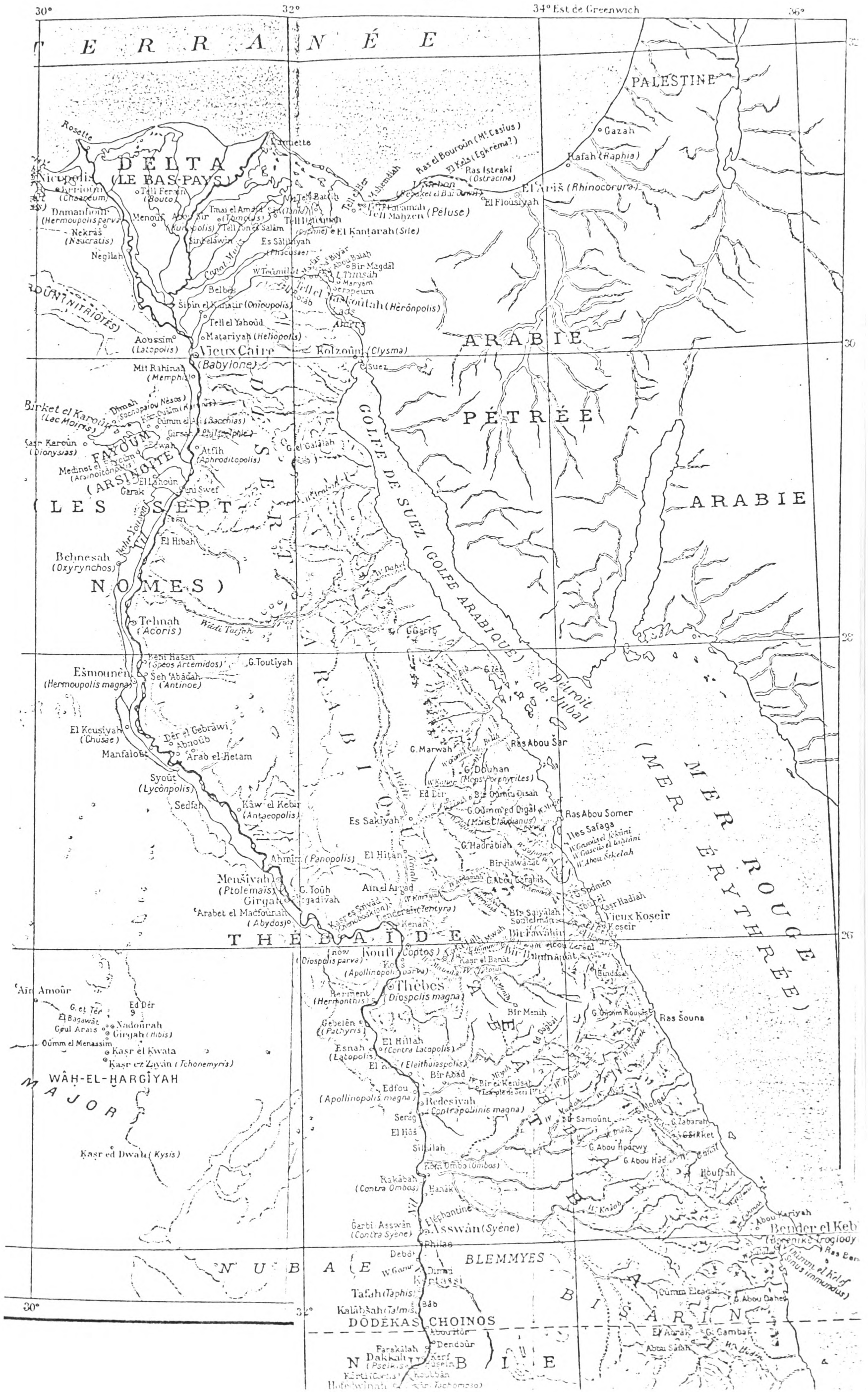
APAMENI

The city of Apamaea (formerly Pella) was the headquarters of the armed forces of the Seleucid Empire: seat of the royal stud farms, the elephant stables, war office and military training school. According to Strabo, the majority of Macedonian settlers in Syria went to the military colony established at Apamaea.¹ Since there were 5,300 settlers at Antioch and 6,000 at Cyrrhus, this is of relevance to the size of the establishment at Apamaea. During the wars of the period following the death of Caesar, we are told that Q. Caecilius Bassus enrolled soldiers at Apamaea, but otherwise the city is little in evidence.² However, some idea of the extensive population may be gained from the unique cursus of Q. Aemilius Secundus recording his supervision of part of the famous census conducted by Quirinius in Syria in A.D. 6.³ Secundus took the census of Apamaea and records that the tally was millium homin. civium CXVII. The precise implications of the figure are debatable, the fact that Apamaea and its territory had a substantial population is beyond dispute.⁴ In the Julio-Claudian period the city was honoured, becoming, according to coins, Claudia Apamaea.⁵ Apameans are prominent in the legions: one in Egypt in the Augustus-Gaius period, four in III Augusta in the Flavio-Trajanic period, and three others in the period after Hadrian (below, App. 1 Table I).

Cohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum equitata⁶

As a result of the matching of two pieces of a cursus honorum, of P. Valerius Priscus the earliest attestation to this regiment may now be placed, on the grounds of style and content, in the reign of

Fig. 3 Egypt (Lesquier, 1918).



Trajan.⁷ The text (02.02) explicitly says in Cappadocia. However, it is not amongst the regiments named by Arrian in the Ektaxis - "Aplanoi" is certainly to be equated with the cohors Apula⁸ - and, appears in Egypt on a papyrus of 144. The Egyptian names of the soldiers of the latter text imply that, by that date, the unit had been in ~~the~~ this new province for some years: an obvious occasion for its movement would be in the early years of Hadrian to compensate for the 3 units removed by Trajan in 105 for transfer to Judaea and then Arabia.⁹ The restoration of the text for Priscus, by revealing the unit in Cappadocia before Egypt, allows us to presume an early date for its formation in line with the absence of an imperial name.

The regiment evidently remained in Egypt, being attested there in the later second century, in c. 200/25, c.215, in 298 (02.14; 02.12; 02.17) and still there on the Notitia Dignitatum (Or. XXXI.60).

The location of the regiment in the area of the Fayyûm may be inferred from the find-spot of the letter of Apion (02.13) to his father which was delivered initially to the camp of the cohort at Philadelphia. In the Diocletianic period it may have been at or near Panopolis,¹⁰ but a century later it is placed by the Notitia at Silsilas - further south between Apollonopolis and Syene.¹¹

As Birley observed, the Cappadocian regiment is sagittaria, that in Egypt is never so described.¹² It may have ceased to be sagittaria but, equally, such descriptions are frequently omitted. Only the Lollian text describes it as equitata.

The earliest of the known prefects is P. Valerius Priscus who commanded the unit in Cappadocia in the early second century before moving to the milliary cohors I Italica in the same province. Priscus

is a Spaniard from Urçi, Hispania citerior.¹³ Some years later, M. Valerius Lollianus (02.01) held the command, probably just before or soon after it left Cappadocia. He is probably from Byllis, Macedonia (App. 5).¹⁴ Like Priscus, the Italian C. Nasennius Marcellus, commanded both the Apameni and then, in his militia secunda, the cohors I Italica in Cappadocia (2.07;.08). The command may be dated to the reign of Marcus from the dated civil posts of Iivir quinquenalis III (166) and curator operum publicarum et aquarum perpetuus (184).¹⁵

Five centurions are attested - four by name - all in Egypt, none of whom need be anything other than Egyptian (02.06 and .02.10; .02.11;.02.16). Likewise, 3 - possibly 5 - milites who are probably all Egyptian (02.04 and .05;.02.13;.02.16;.17).

COMMAGENI

Like the other principal client-states in the province of Syria, Commagene achieved its autonomy and gained its own dynasty during the period of Seleucid disintegration.¹ Its first ruler, Ptolemaios, seized power in 163 B.C. "because they (the Seleucids) were busy with their own affairs (and because he was) chiefly emboldened by (Commagene's) natural advantages for defence".² The dynasty, indeed the aristocracy as a whole, was essentially Aryan by race, though somewhat hellenized; moreover, during the succeeding reigns they intermarried not only with the Parthian royal family but also the remaining Seleucids.³ In 87 B.C. the state became tributary to Tigranes of Armenia; and in 63 B.C. was recognized - even enlarged - by Pompey as one of the buffer states on the eastern frontier of Syria.⁴

During the 134 years of its existence as a Roman client-state, Commagene made a considerable military contribution to Roman expeditionary forces. As the most important and the wealthiest of such states in Syria;⁵ its king and armed forces would have had to be prominent in any call for troops for Roman campaigns. It is during the civil wars of the late Republic that they first appear: both Appian and Caesar allude to Commagenians in the forces of Pompey at Pharsalus; Caesar numbers the cavalry force at 200 many, he says, archers.⁶ The figure is surprisingly small when compared with the Commagenian contingents of a century later; an indication perhaps of half-hearted support for Pompey or military obligations in Syria.⁷

Commagenians are not expressly mentioned at Philippi, but are to be presumed amongst "the allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians

in Asia leading a large additional force of foot soldiers and about 5,000 horse".⁸ In 38 B.C., Ventidius Bassus opened the Roman ^mcampaign against the rebel Antiochus of Commagene but, ineffectually prosecuted by Antony himself when he arrived to take command, a peace was soon concluded.⁹ A few years later Mithridates, the son and successor of this Antiochus, sent soldiers to join Antony's army at Actium.¹⁰ Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the Antonian defeat, Octavian recognized the king and the dynasty survived for a further 36 years. Then, in A.D. 17, Tiberius had Antiochus III removed and his kingdom, annexed to Syria, was placed under Q. Servaeus.¹¹ In 38, Gaius restored Antiochus IV Epiphanes but as swiftly removed him, and it was left to Claudius, in 41¹² to restore the dynasty for the last time. During this final act in the kingdom's history, it provided large-scale and valuable assistance to Rome in her wars: in 54, Nero ordered the Commagenian ruler to prepare an army for an invasion of Parthia;¹³ in 66, Cestius Gallus received 2,000 mounted archers and 3,000 foot archers for his campaign into Judaea;¹⁴ ⁱⁿ 67, Vespasian had 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 foot archers in Judaea;¹⁵ in 69, we hear of the king's son, another Antiochus Epiphanes, being wounded at the First Battle of Bedrⁱacum while cheering on the forces of Otho;¹⁶ finally, this same son joined the army of Titus at Jerusalem in command of the Commagenian contingent, "bringing with him, besides numerous other forces, a bodyguard calling themselves 'Macedonians', all just out of their teens, tall and trained and equipped in the Macedonian manner" The force fought gallantly in the seⁱge which followed though decimated by their endeavours.¹⁷ Two years later Rome invaded

Commagene, the royal army mutinied and her king retired to Rome. Antiochus IV's sons, having first fled to Parthia, were persuaded to return to the West and, with their inheritance finally incorporated within Syria, joined their father in his honourable retirement.¹⁸

Two legionaries give their homes as in Commagene: one, of the Flavio-Trajanic period, in III Augusta, ~~is~~ filed from Zeugma, while another, in II Traiana of the second century, was from Samosata (below, App. 1 Table I). Amongst auxiliaries, we have a soldier of cohors I Hemesenorum at Intercisa who gives his home as Samosata (12.25).

The territory itself was extensive and, as Diodorus Siculus noted, "had natural advantages for defence". Mainly mountainous with rich valleys and upland pasturage it had strong geographical and ethnic ties with the Iranian peoples to the East, a point reflected in many personal names. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them relying, like their neighbours, on mounted and, especially, foot archers.

ala I Commagenorum¹⁹

Cheesman gave this regiment a Flavian origin but a recently published papyrus has disclosed its existence, in Egypt, in the reign of Claudius, 48/52 (03.01). In fact, a pre-Flavian origin was already implied by the inclusion of the unit on the Egyptian diploma of 83 (CIL,XVI,29) and from the absence of a dynastic title. We may speculate on formation being either in the reign of Gaius or, more probably, when Tiberius annexed the kingdom in A.D. 17. The latest attestations are a diploma of 128/38 (CIL,XVI,174) and on a

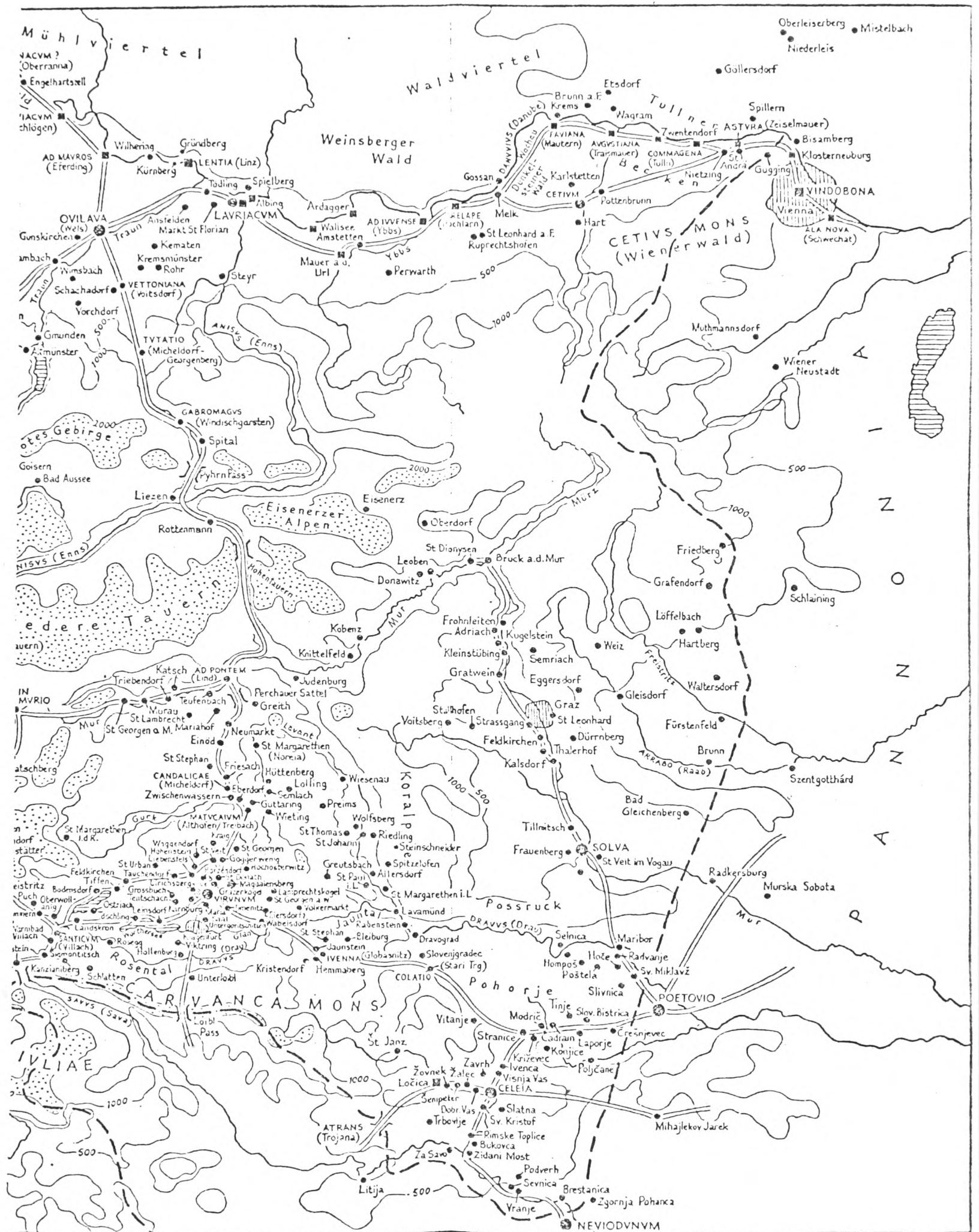


Fig. A. Eastern Noricum (Alföldy, 1974).

tombstone of the late second/early third century (03.14; cf. 03.11).

On the basis of the career of L. Aelius Aeternus (03.02) whose text was found at Europos in Commagene and is dated to pre-83; probably now pre-48/52, it has been suggested that the unit was stationed in Commagene itself prior to its transfer to Egypt.²⁰ While it may indeed have had an early station before Egypt, this text does not, however, allow us to postulate one. First, Aeternus' first post mentioned is a tribunate of a legion which is restored on the text: legio I[II Gallica]. While this legion's precise station cannot be located, it was certainly in Syria,²¹ possibly even in Commagene and the find-spot of the text may indicate no more than the station of the legion at the time Aeternus heard of his appointment to the ala. The text then recorded both his current and next command.²² Second, the new papyrus (03.01) by showing the unit in Egypt as early as 48/52 makes a prior Commagenian station for it under Aeternus' command, less likely.

The station of the unit in Egypt is unknown but may be inferred from the find-spot of three texts naming it (03.04; .05;.06) to be at Talmis in the Dodecaschoinos, south of Syene. The texts are undated but probably mid-first century (below, 93f). This region, an important one on the border with Ethiopia, was probably best patrolled by cavalry.

The unit is on the Egyptian diploma for 83 (CIL,XVI,29), but not that of 105 (Roxan, no. 9) and must have moved under Domitian or Trajan to the Danube where it appears on the Norican diploma of 106 (CIL,XVI,52). In Noricum its base was clearly the "Commagena" of the Notitia (Oc.XXXIV.36) which has been identified with Tulln on

the Danube near the border with Pannonia.²³ However, with the exception of a dedication pro salute Comaci(a)e et Com(magenorum) (03.12), which is presumably a reference to the unit, none of the three epitaphs from Noricum naming the unit (03.08;.03.10;.03.13) come from Tulln itself. Archaeologically, the fort at Tulln seems to have been occupied by 96²⁴ and the most likely occasion for the unit's transfer would have been in the course of Domitian's wars of the mid-80's and the need to strengthen the upper Danube.

The regiment is never described as sagittaria, though this is what one would have expected of a Commagenian unit. It is possible that it was originally composed of archers but that the skill was not maintained as replacements joined up during its sojourn in Egypt.

and Ti. Claudius Honoratus are
L. Aelius Aeternus / the only prefects known and they probably commanded the unit while it was in Egypt (above, 92). Four decurions are attested: two in Egypt, Bassus and Gaius (03.04;.05) and two in Noricum, Sin.(?) and Iaeus(03.08;.10). The former are probably Egyptians. Sin. may be Sin(as), an oriental name, or it may be Sin(gularis).²⁵ It is in any case late second/early third century in date. Iaeus is paralleled in Syria.²⁶ but the name could be Jewish: his wife, Afrodisia has a Greek name paralleled in Egypt.²⁷ At the time of his death he was 60 and had retired from the army; I am inclined to regard him as a recruit to the unit while in Egypt whose service spanned its transfer to Noricum.

None of the four soldiers attested in Noricum need be anything other than local (03.10;.11;03.13;.14); the thirteen attested in Egypt are more varied: Heliodorus, Antonius, Valerius, Rufus, Sabinus,

Taurus, Crispus, Germanus and Marcus are all attested, often common, in Egypt;²⁸ Mareas, Antiochus, Mamboraeus and Mithridates are almost certainly Commagenians.²⁹ Since the two sets of names are mixed on a pair of documents (03.04;.05), they must date to a period during which the unit still has a number of original Commagenians who arrived in Egypt with it, but is now being complemented by a growing body of local Egyptians. The late Julio-Claudian period is the most likely date, though Tiberius is possible.

Cohortes I-V Commagenorum

Cheesman believed all the Commagenian regiments to be of Flavian formation and, for the cohorts, proposed a series as follows.³⁰

I Flavia Commagenorum

II Flavia Commagenorum

III-V Commagenorum supposed because of

VI Commagenorum

This is still the situation to be found in Holder.³¹ Clearly, this is the most economical interpretation of the evidence but it presupposes that in all the attestations of the cohors VI (6), the Flavia has been omitted. Such an omission would be in no way unusual in itself - some of the attestations for cohortes I and II Flavia omit the Flavia - but is less plausible in so many texts, 3 of which are official, one of them being Hadrian's address at Lambaesis. I am inclined to believe that ^{it was never Flavia, and the recent proof that} the ala I Commagenorum was pre-Flavian too, provides valuable support. The only evidence for one of the resulting cohortes I-V which are to be inferred - the cohors III Commagenorum - refers to cohors III Gallorum (below, 346f). Assuming

that the cohorts were all raised in A.D. 17, one must suppose that they were either disbanded later or, if retained in Syria, returned to the restored monarch a generation later (this requires cohors VI to have been removed from Syria before the restoration).³² I have noted above, that since we also have a cohors IIII Cypria and an ala VII Phrygum in isolation, it may be necessary to consider a composite series to which the cohors VI Commagenorum also belonged (above, 56f).

Cohors VI Commagenorum equitata

The earliest attestation is in the address of Hadrian to the army of Africa at Lambaesis in 128 (04.01); the latest names a man who was governor of Numidia in 201/8 or 210/12 (04.05).³³ It was probably raised in A.D. 17.

The regiment's base in Numidia was probably the fort at Mesarfelta between el-Kantara and Gemellae.³⁴ Its activities in Africa are quite well attested: as we have seen, it was one of the regiments which took part in the manoeuvres before Hadrian in 128 for which its mounted element was congratulated for its performance, despite having had to follow the cavalry of an auxiliary ala. In 174 the unit is recorded to have just returned from Mauretania where, like a number of Numidian regiments, it had been on campaign (04.02).³⁵ A few years later, c. 177/80 it rebuilt the amphitheatre at Mesarfelta (04.03) and Carcopino is of the opinion that either this unit or the Chalcideni (below, 1st - 4),³⁶ on the orders of the governor Ti. Claudius Gordianus (c. 188), constructed the observatory on the Djebel Selloum.³⁷

An alternative explanation for the unit's numeral may be that, at

the time of its transfer to Africa, it did not yet bear a number and, on arrival, it was given the numeral VI simply because it thereby became the sixth cohort in the garrison. It is notable that the ala I Commagenorum, which was probably raised at the same time, is never given its numeral on any of the Egyptian texts implying, possibly, that it too had no numeral initially. The cohort strength in Africa is difficult to gauge in the first century; in the time of Marcus Aurelius, on the other hand, there were probably six cohorts in total in the garrison.³⁸

The unit is never described more fully than VI Commagenorum. Nevertheless, Hadrian's address makes it clear that it was part-mounted and the text of 174 refers to a decurion of the unit. Likewise, one may speculate on what is meant by Hadrian's final remarks: "you hurled stones from slings and fought with missiles"; it would appear that slinging from horseback was part of their armoury of skills, and one may wonder if the second phrase does not indicate their skill as archers too.³⁹

Little need be said of the three attested prefects; no origin can be given to those on the texts of 194 and the early third century, but T. Atilius Juvenalis (04.04) was probably a native of Batna near Lambaesis.⁴⁰ Popilius E [. . . .], (04.02) decurion of the cohort in 174 has a comparatively rare nomen but could be either Italian or, more likely, African. The sole ranker (04.06), Julius Musicus, buried at Zarai some 30 miles north-west of Lambaesis, died at the age of 21; his mother Geminia Lacona may be identified as the woman of the same name on another epitaph at Zarai, who died aged 75 and was buried by her (second or later?) husband Ca[. .]veius Firmus.⁴¹

Both husband and wife are probably Africans.

Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum⁴²

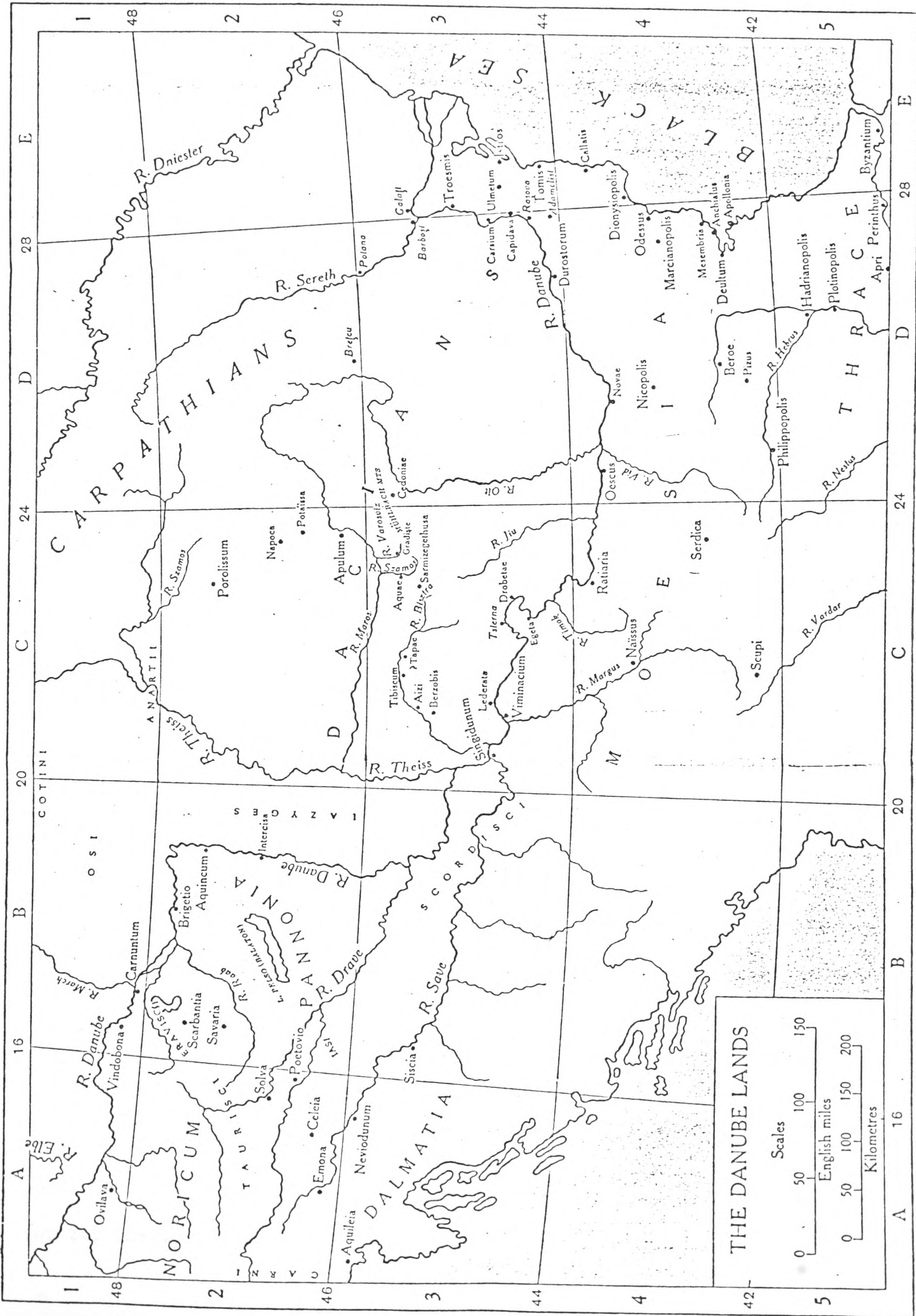
The earliest dated text is the Lower Moesian diploma of 105 (CIL,XVI,50). However, the epitaph from Constanza (Tomis) is probably late first century (05.01). In fact, there is no reason to doubt that this unit was formed in c. 72 when Commagene was annexed. The latest certain date is from the diploma of Dacia inferior for 140 (Roxan, no. 39). (There are no later diplomas for Dacia inferior).

The tombstone from Constanza implies a station there in the late first century but, with the annexation of Dacia, the unit transferred to the new province.⁴³ It is attested on tile-stamps at the fort of Drajna-de-Sus to the East of the river Olt (05.03;.04). The fort was abandoned by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, so occupation by the unit would have been short - c. 105/6-120.⁴⁴ Although it is attested on the Antonine diploma in Dacia inferior, for its location we are again dependent on the evidence of tile-stamps. Clearly it was brought back west of the Olt and based in the south-east of the province with detachments at some or all of the 3 riverbank forts of Acidava (Enosesti) (05.09), Romula (Resca) (05.07) and Slaveni (05.08).⁴⁵

The tile-stamps from Drajna are not conclusive, but they may imply that the unit formed part of the initial garrison of the province and hence of Trajan's expeditionary force.⁴⁶ It was intended to watch over Muntenia.

None of the surviving evidence characterizes the unit as equitata (contra, Holder, 1980, 231) or sagittaria. We would have expected both characteristics, as the cohors II (below) certainly was, and it is

Fig. 6



probably simply a matter of evidence.

Of the two prefects attested, C. Betitius Pietas (05.05), an Italian from Aeclanum, is probably late first/early second century. The family is well-known in the region of Hirpinum (Regio II) with members attested into the third century.⁴⁷ M. Antonius Modianus (05.06) went on to a tribunate in the legio XX Valeria victrix at Chester.⁴⁸

The veteran and two soldiers of the regiment on the epitaph at Constanza (05.01) must be late first century: Mithridates is Commagenian, Barales is Semitic (probably to be equated with Barathes or Barlahas or even Berullos)⁴⁹ and, since the regiment probably moved to Dacia in 106, it is plausible to regard them as men recruited before the unit left Syria - possibly initial recruits. The date then would have to be not later than c. 97 (72 + 25). The veteran, M. Julius Tertullus could be any nationality from his names: a Syrian adopting a Roman name and taking a nomen from someone other than the reigning emperor (a provincial governor perhaps or former prefect of the unit ?); or, since he was retired before the two dedicants, one of the veterans drafted in, or even a subsequent transfer.

Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum equitata⁵⁰

Like the cohors I of this series the above unit must have been formed c. 72. The earliest explicit attestation comes from the new Upper Moesian diploma of 96 (below) (Roxan, no. 6); the latest is for 245 (06.16) with a number of others clearly first half of third

century (06.14;.15;.20;.21).

Diplomas for 96, 100 and 104/5 (Roxan, no. 6; CIL,XVI,46;54) all place the unit in Moesia superior but, as yet, no other attestation enables us to assign it a specific base. It joined its sister unit in Dacia soon after, appearing on the diplomas for 110, and 157 (CIL,XVI,163;107). Its base in Dacia is not in doubt: by 127/38 it is at Micia, and is attested there or nearby in 164 (bis), 193 (bis), 198/211, 222-35, 245 and on several undated texts (06.08;.09;.12;.13;.14;.15;.16). The outlying texts at Deva and Ampelum probably imply outposts (06.17-.20;.31;.32;.36;.33;.34;.35;.38). The fort at Micia is a large one: 590' x 1180' (16 acres).⁵¹ It is clear, however, that the Commagenians were not the sole tenants: numerous inscriptions attest other regiments in simultaneous occupation. Thus, at the outset it was probably sharing with the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum (below, 145), then, also in the second century (presumably by 139 by which time the Ituraeans had arrived back in Pannonia (inferior)) we find the ala I Hispanorum Campagonum and ala I Bosporanorum also in occupation.⁵² The explanation for the brigading together of a cohort and an ala is not hard to find: apart from its strategically important position on the western limes,^{12 miles} to the north lay the great gold mines of Dacia and the fort of Micia, the most westerly of the province, occupied a strategic position on the river Mures, important both militarily and in a customs role.⁵³

Assuming that the cohort was brought to the Danube under Vespasian or Domitian, it will have seen service in the latter's Danubian wars before participation in the Dacian campaigns of Trajan. Most of the texts from Micia are building inscriptions, in two of which - for 193

and 222-35 (possibly even 198/211) (06.12;06.15) - it was involved in rebuilding the balneum. The papyrus from Egypt of 136 (?) naming an ex-prefect (06.06) clearly implies nothing about station.

The same papyrus (06.06) explicitly calls the unit equitata, and this is confirmed by an undated Mician text (06.24) naming a decurion of the unit. The diploma for 110 (CIL,XVI,163) calls it sagittaria but it does not appear as such on any other text: the diploma for 157 (CIL,XVI,163; cf. 107) lists the cohors I Thracum with its designation sag(ittariorum) but this unit is simply called [II.Fl.] Commagenor(um). It may have ceased to be composed of archers by the time of Antoninus Pius.

Of the nine, possibly ten, prefects attested, Aelianus, the ex-prefect on the papyrus of 136 (06.06), is an Egyptian from Alexandria.⁵⁴ C. Vettius Sabinianus Hospes (06.10;.11), from Thuburbo Maius, is well-known, being adlected into the Senate by Antoninus and given important tasks by Marcus in the Marcommanic war. His rapid rise is undoubtedly due in part at least to the eminence of his father by adoption, a senior procurator and, probably, friend of Hadrian.⁵⁵ Sex. Boebius Scribonius Castus (06.12;.13) may well be African.⁵⁶ Iulius Arcanus (06.19) bears a rare cognomen, attested only in Rome (1) and at Narbo (1); Kajanto suggests the name may have its origin in the small Volscian town of Arx,⁵⁷ in which case a provincial origin may be more likely for this man, descendant of a settler from Arx. With the exception of Aelianus, all the prefects were probably from the West.⁵⁸

The decurion L. Sossius (06.24) bears a nomen common in the Balkans: Dacia (2), Moesia (1), Greece (1), Dalmatia (5) and

Pannonia (1);⁵⁹ Cavenaille, however, lists four in the garrison of Egypt,⁶⁰ and we should not forget the Antonian governor of Syria, C. Sossius. Nevertheless, the decurion is probably a native of the Balkans. Kraft described the centurion C. Iulius Aeternalis as (06.27) "wohl Orientale, da anscheinend orientalische Frau". This oriental wife is based on [. . .]tzia!⁶¹ Nor can Aeternalis himself be plausibly described as an oriental: Kajanto noted 16 examples⁶² - 7 of the 8 I have examined have a Balkan origin. The other centurion, Lucius (06.28), is uninformative; likewise the soldier Crispus (06.28) and the actar(ius) Ianuarius (06.25). Aurelius Maturus (?) (06.20) may be a Moor,⁶³ units of whom served in Dacia, and some men of which restored a temple at Micia itself in 204.⁶⁴ Kraft thought he might, alternatively, be oriental because of his wife, Aurelia Surilla, and son, Aurelius Surus. The latter, however, is milis(sic) n(umeri) M(aurorum) M(iciensis?) while the cognomina are common enough in the West and well-known in the Balkans.⁶⁵ Finally, we might note that the Commagenian deity Turmasgades was worshipped locally (06.22)⁶⁶ and, of the altars from Micia in general to Iupiter Optimus Maximus, one is explicitly Dolichenus (06.26), with others, from Ampelum, deo[ae]ter] n(o) [C]ommac. Dulc., I.o.m. D. et deo Commaceno, I.o.m. Commagenorum [ae]terno (06.33;.34;.35). If one judges by the names associated with these texts both as sacerdotes (Aurel. Marinus, Adde (sic) Barsemei, Oceanus, Socratis and Marinus Mariani) (06.34;.35) and devotees (M. Cocceius Themo (sic) and, perhaps, Opelus Surus (06.36;.38) it would appear both that the cult continued to be presided over by orientals, and that some at least of the worshippers belonged to the substantial oriental population in Dacia generally. The former point has been already noted with regard to Dolichena in general.⁶⁷

CYRRHESTICI

The city of Cyrrhus, which gave its name to the territory, was a major Macedonian colony with 6000 Macedonian settlers, a number probably surpassed only by Apamaea (cf. Antioch with 5,300 "Greeks").¹ In the classical period the region of Cyrrhestica stretched from Mt. Amanus and somewhere to the west of Gindaras, to the Euphrates; from the Nicopolis-Zeugma boundary with Comanae to a line between Beroea and Chalcis.² This is a substantial territory - c. 3-4000 km²³ - with rich agricultural lands and several important cities apart from Cyrrhus itself - Beroea, Hierapolis, Batna, Europos and Gindaras. With the collapse of Seleucid power and control in the late second/early third century, the region passed into the hands of bandits and petty chieftains - Gindaras is described by Strabo as the acropolis of Cyrrhestica and "a natural stronghold for robbers"; we hear of a Heraclion of Beroea and Pliny mentions 17 tetrarchs.⁴

Like the mountains of the Ituraean bandits, the Amanus range was also a breeding ground for robbers, against whom Cicero conducted campaigns on the Cilician side, while, two and half centuries before, Demetrius Poliorcetes had done as much on the Syrian side.⁵ In the aftermath of Actium and the second Parthian invasion of Roman Syria, Cyrrhestica became well-known at Rome because 'of Ventidius Bassus' great victory there over the Parthians in 38 B.C.⁶ A hint at the composition of Ventidius' allied forces may be gleaned from the reference to a Cyrrhestican, Pharnaesus, who proved treacherous,⁷ while, soon after, Ventidius loaned Herod the Great 5 cohorts recently levied in Syria (above, 72).⁸ It is highly probable that Cyrrhesticans were enrolled by Ventidius for service. After the Augustan settlement

in the East, the four legions of the garrison would have been set to watch over and protect the more populous areas. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, to be told by Tacitus that, in A.D. 18, Cyrrhus was the winter-quarters of the legion X Fretensis.⁹

In subsequent years, Cyrrhestica made a significant contribution to the legions: Forni counts 3 in the span 70-117, and 2 in the later period (Cyrrhus); 1 in the span 117 onwards (Beroea); 1 in 70-117 and 1 in 117 onwards (Hierapolis); 1 in the Flavian period from Zeugma (below, App. 1, Table I). In the auxiliary forces, we have P. Insteius Agrippae f. of the cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum (below, 152f.) from Cyrrhus and discharged in 98. At the other end of the ^{social} scale is the great Marcan general and would-be emperor, Avidius Cassius, also a native of Cyrrhus.¹⁰

Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittariorum^{10(a)}

Nothing is known of a cohors I in this series. The second cohort, however, well illustrates the rapid changes which have taken place in our knowledge of Syrian auxilia this century. The unit was unknown to Cichorius; Dessau and Cheesman could list it only because of a single discovery by their time (07.01), but ascribed it variously to Syria and Macedonia.¹¹ The Dura Papyri were soon to produce the necessary parallels for the names to prove Dessau's belief in a Syrian origin, and, today, we have a total of 5 texts referring to the regiment (07.01-.05).

None of the texts is explicitly dated. Nevertheless, assignment to the early Julio-Claudian period seems certain from the find-spots in Dalmatian cities, from comparison of the monuments with roughly

datable legionary examples in the same area, and from the formulae of the texts.¹² The occasion of the unit's formation is not known - it may have gone back to Ventidius in 38 B.C., or been recruited thereafter for the Actian War or to meet Augustus' requirements in European campaigns. All of the known personnel are Syrian and nothing suggests that the unit outlived its initial recruits.^{12a} Whether it was destroyed, disbanded or amalgamated with another specialist unit as numbers declined is unknown. The last of these suggestions has a certain attraction in view of the mixed regiments ala Parthorum et Araborum¹³ and the cohors I sagittariorum (below, 242).

Regimental bases may be inferred from the find-spots at Iader (1), Burnum (1), Tilurium (2) and Salona (1).¹⁴

The occasion of transfer to Dalmatia must likewise be guessed at from the probable date of the texts. One may consider, for example, the Pannonian War of 13-9 B.C. for which considerable forces must have been gathered, and the Pannonian Revolt of A.D. 6-9 in which, so Velleius Paterculus records, Tiberius disposed of 70 cohorts and at least 14 alae.¹⁵ When one considers, too, the recent Varian disaster in Germany and Augustus' known recruiting efforts,¹⁶ it is clear that many new regiments must have been brought to Rhine and Danube about this time.

The unit itself is never described as sagittaria yet it clearly was a unit of archers: bows and arrows are portrayed on two tombstones (07.04;.05) and one soldier is explicitly described as sagit(tarius) (07.05).

All the known personnel (6) are rankers and all bear Syrian names;¹⁷

three give their home as Beroea (07.01;.02;.04) one as Cyrrhus itself (07.03); a fifth is called Beres (07.05). It would seem that the unit took its name from the region of Cyrrhestica, rather than the city, from which it was recruited¹⁸ - as, indeed, the form of its name implies. It is striking too, that no "Greeks" are attested amongst the personnel.

HAMII

Almost nothing is known of Hama in the classical period. It was an established city before Alexander and renamed Epiphaneia by the Seleucid Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It minted in the Hellenistic period though not under the Romans. It is mentioned by Pliny the Elder and was a bishopric in the late Roman period, but does not appear in the Notitia Dignitatum. Like a number of other Syrian cities renamed in the classical period it reappeared after the Arab conquest with its original semitic name.¹

ala I Hamiorum Surorum sagittariorum²

The regiment appears for the first time on the Mauretanian diploma of 88, and then on a series of others through to 159.³ Its presence on the diploma of 88 implies that it may have been discharging men recruited c. 25 years before, c. 62/3 and, certainly, the absence of an imperial name suggests a pre-Flavian date. The year is significant for the recruitment drive of Corbulo;⁴ it does not necessarily follow that the unit was actually formed at that time although that is probably the case. The latest dated text is the diploma of 159 but, since we have no later diplomas for this province and few enough inscriptions in general from the region,⁵ the year is not significant; the unit is not listed in the Notitia Dignitatum.

All of the 12 attestations place the regiment in Mauretania Tingitana. When it arrived is uncertain; pre-88 is assured, and, if we may draw the obvious conclusion from the discharge of Bargates, Zaei f., Hamius in 109 (CIL,XVI,161), we may infer that at the time of his recruitment, c. 83/4 or a little earlier, the unit was still in

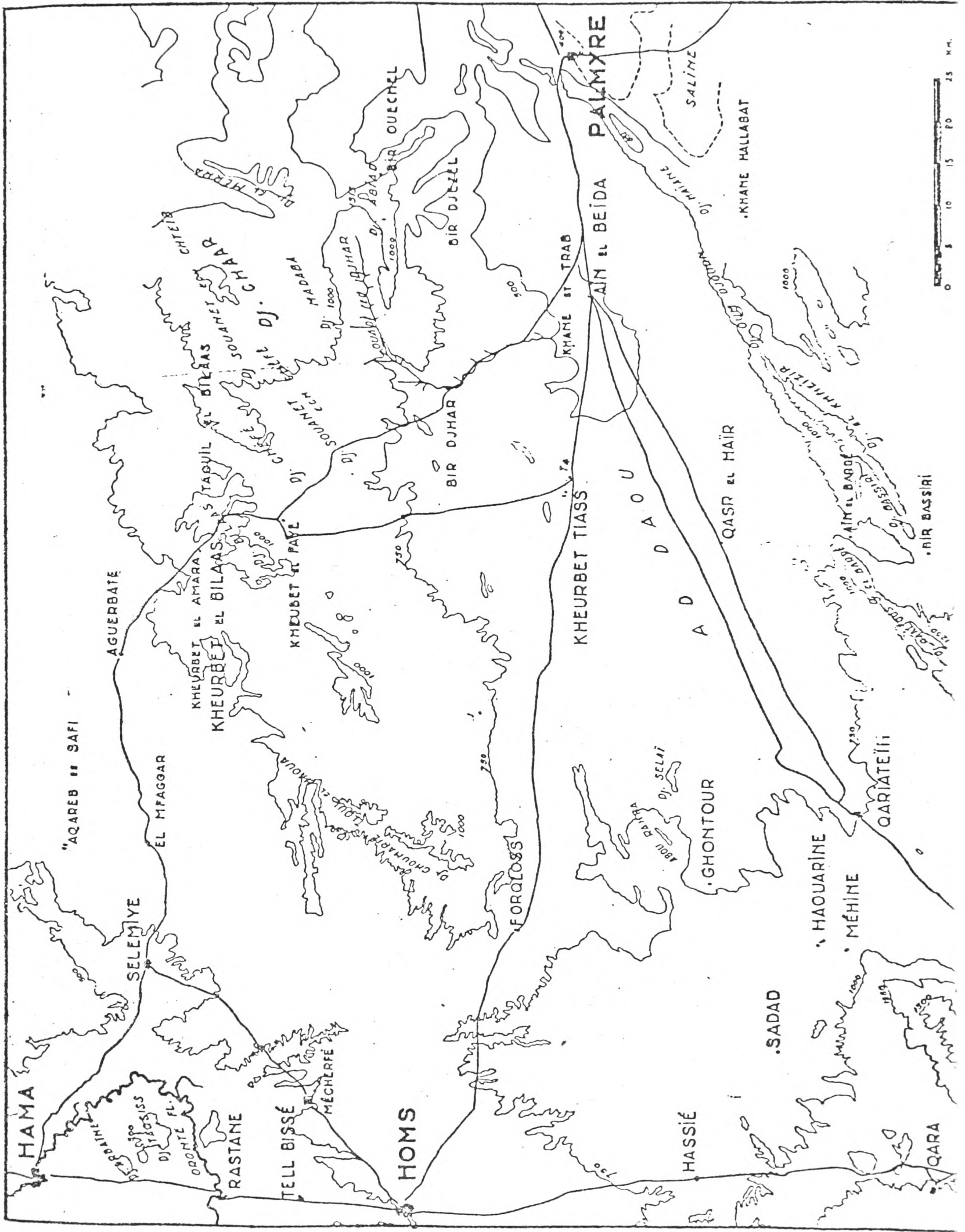


Fig. 7 Central Syria (Schlumberger, 1939, fig.1).

Syria. Its base in Syria could have been anywhere: Bargates' origo might indicate somewhere in the region of Hama itself, but then we also have the first century tombstone of Valerius Ab̄das who is "Calcidenus" i.e. from Chalcis. Certainly a station in some province other than Mauretania may be inferred from the names Annius Afrinus borne by a soldier of the unit in Mauretania (below, 108).

The regiment was, therefore, in Tingitana from just before 88 until at least 159. Indications of station are to be gleaned from the find-spots of tombstones: thus, we have one from Tingis with a second century date (08.11) and another from Oppidum Novum (Ksar el-Kebis) (08.12). Moreover, Roxan has drawn attention to the first century epitaph from Tocolosida (08.01), where there is a large 2 hectare fort in an important position near Volubilis, and which would accord with her theory that the otherwise eccentric ordering of units on the Tingitanian diploma reflects their geographical⁶ ordering.

We may suppose that the unit, especially since it was mounted, played a part in all or most of the many campaigns along the southern frontier of the difficult province. Curiously, however, in the late first century when most of the units in Tingitana were given block grants of citizenship, the Hamians seem not to have been included (App. 4).

The regiment is explicitly described as sagittaria on diplomas as early as 109 and must certainly have been an archer unit from the outset.

Only one prefect is known - C. Maesius Tertius - in 109 (CIL, XVI,161), and, since he is attested later - in an office in 113 as sub-prefect of the vigiles - his Italian origin can be established

too.⁷

Of the rankers, Bargates the Hamian and his Syrian wife have been discussed above (CIL,XVI,161).⁸ Valerius Abdas has a common semitic name and gives his origo as Chalcis (08.12). The absence of D.m., the use of the nominative and his origo, all point to a first century date.⁹ The tombstone of [. . .]vellicus (08.11) is uninformative but is probably second century. The final^{9a} tombstone is the most interesting: Niger Monimus, a veteran (presumably of the Hamian ala), a co-dedicant of the tombstone, is, like Valerius Abdas, a Syrian with a complimentary "Roman" name (08.01). Holder dates the text to the Flavio-Trajanic period,¹⁰ proposing the discharge of the deceased by Trajan. The names of the deceased - Annius Afrinus, son of Abdas - most probably disclose an earlier date. The names are not simply adoptive "Roman" names but rather a rare combination; indeed, it is difficult to avoid seeing his ⁿchoice being influenced by M. Annius Afrinus, consul c. 67, though the connection of the latter with our soldier, with Syria, or with Mauretania is unknown. The best that might be said is that the consul could - if he had lived long enough - have been proconsul of Africa in the early to mid-80's.¹¹

The Hamian ala made its contribution to a more general oriental impact in Mauretania which received a number of Syrian regiments in garrison and had a significant oriental population.¹²

Cohors I Hamiorum sagittariorum¹³

This cohort is attested only in Britain. It appears first on the diploma of 122 and again on those of 124 and 135: it is not on those for 98, 103, 105.¹⁴ The diploma for 122 (CIL,XVI,69) implies

formation not later than 97; it may well have been formed under Domitian but not borne his name after his damnatio memoriae.¹⁵ However, it could as easily have been a much earlier creation. The latest date we have is an altar to - appropriately - Dea Suria, naming the governor Calpurnius Agricola in office c. 163-6 (09.05). However, the same fort has produced another, metrical, inscription to the Syrian goddess, set up by an individual who is militans tribunus in praefecto dono principis (09.15). The allusion in the text to Syria and Libya, and the hint of there being an ulterior motive for this particular dedication to the Dea Suria, has led to it being dated to the Severan period with Julia Domna intended as the "Syrian Goddess".¹⁶ The evidence is scarcely secure but it may well be a reference to this unit in the period suggested.

The find-spots of the inscriptions of the unit disclose two stations. A dedication of 136-8 (09.04) places it at Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall, as does that of c. 163-6 (09.05). Carvoran has produced, in addition, a number of other texts attributable explicitly or by inference to the Hamians and, where datable to any degree, to be assigned to or around one of the above dates (09.07;.08;.10;.11). This polarisation of dates is explained by the absence of the unit at its second station for most of the intervening period in the Antonine occupation of Lowland Scotland. The evidence for this absence consists of two inscriptions at the fort of Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall - an altar erected by a prefect and the tombstone of another (09.16;.18). A third, mutilated, inscription from the site may be assigned to the unit and a fourth, from nearby, is probably associated with it (09.17;.19). The Antonine occupation extended from c. 141 to

c. 163/5, and in most forts falls into two phases with the break coming c. 158.¹⁷ At Bar Hill the evidence of two inscriptions for the cohors I Baetasiorum¹⁸ stimulated the search for evidence to see with which phase each unit should be associated. The texts themselves can only be dated to the "Antonine" period, and recourse has been had to the results of the excavations carried out by MacDonald long ago and recently published by Robertson, Scott and Keppie. The last of these argues that the designation c.R. was given to the Baetasii in the early second century - the period immediately prior to the building of the Antonine Wall being most likely. The emphasis of this title in one of the texts from Bar Hill, says Keppie, plausibly suggests a recent award and therefore probable Antonine I occupation for the Baetasii. He noted that the presence of the two Baetasian texts in the well, while those of the Hamians were not, raised a difficulty. He also needed to explain the 12 arrow-heads in the silt at the bottom of the well - these, he argues, need not belong to the Hamians since archery was practised even by legionaries and in any case we have no way of knowing how often the well was cleaned out. On balance he thought the Baetasians Antonine I and the Hamians Antonine II.¹⁹

Keppie's arguments and conclusion are unnecessarily indefinite. First, it is rather perverse, given the attested presence of the only cohort of archers in Britain, to seriously consider the 12 arrow-heads in the well silt as belonging to anyone other than the Hamians. This gives rise to two points. First, the well must surely have been cleaned out at intervals as Keppie implies and would probably have been deliberately filled at the end of Antonine I as it certainly

was after Antonine II. Second, the finds in the silt are very few, indicative perhaps of a very short stay. In short, the arrow-heads should be attributed to the most recent garrison not the primary garrison.

The problem may be considered from another view[^]point since the Bar Hill inscriptions divide into two groups not only on the basis of unit but also of find-spot: those of the Baetasii (2) both come from the well-fill, while those of the Hamii (3 + 1?) were all found outside the fort. The implications are clear: the latter group were all abandoned on the surface in or around the fort whence they were removed in modern times, while those of the Baetasii were buried and lost from sight until excavation recovered them. We might conclude that the dedications of the Hamians were thrown out by the incoming Baetasians who then showed as little concern for their own inscriptions when they themselves departed. However, rather than postulate the Baetasians inexplicably manhandling these stones out of the fort instead of retaining them for building material, we may perhaps look at it from the point of view of the reverse order of occupation. Then we might postulate the Hamians utilizing the Baetasian texts in rebuilding the principia when they, like other material from the principia, were then thrown into the well when the Hamians left. At the same time, they attempted to safeguard their own dedications from the well-attested final conflagration by hiding them outside the fort, even if that meant no more than rolling them down the steep slopes. In short, the evidence may again most plausibly be interpreted to show the Hamians being the Antonine II garrison. As yet, we have no clue as to which fort they occupied in

the Antonine I period: they might even have been employed piecemeal in a number of forts such as, for example, Newstead where arrow-heads have been found for this period.²⁰

Apart from its involvement in the re-occupation of southern Scotland, the unit is attested involved in building work at Carvoran: three texts (09.07;.08;.09) record ditch digging by 3 different centuries over a total length of 324 feet.

Three texts (09.01;.02;.04) describe the unit as sagittaria, all in the Hadrianic period. However, one later text from Bar Hill depicts a bow and arrows (09.17) and another depicts a bow (09.16)^{20a} both, as we have seen, probably to be dated to c. 158-163. Moreover, a relief from Housesteads of an archer, but lacking any text, is almost certainly to be attributed to the Hamians 12 miles away at Carvoran.²¹

Five prefects and a tribune acting as prefect are attested. T. Flavius Secundus (09.04;.07;.08) may be from Asia²² and M. Caecilius Donatianus (09.15) is probably African.²³ Best-known is Caristianus Iustianus (09.16) one of the well-known Caristianii of Antioch ad Pisidiam.²⁴ On the three ditch-building records we have the names of 3 centurions - Silvanus, Iul. Ca[...] and Primus - whose names are uninformative. Of the soldiers, Julius Pollio (09.11) and Sabinus (09.12) are included because they are commemorated on altars at Carvoran, one to I.o.m. Heliopolitanus and the other to De(a) Hammi(a). At Shirva Farm between Auchendavy and Bar Hill was found the tombstone (09.19):

D.m./Salmanes/vixit an XV/Salmanes/posuit.

The names are semitic and it is tempting to connect these Syrians - father and son? - with the Syrian Hamians. However, Haverfield

(followed by Wright) has suggested that they might be some of the ubiquitous eastern traders in the Empire,²⁵ and, in the absence of their occupation and of any hint even that the Hamian unit still had any Syrian personnel so long after its formation, some such explanation seems called for. At Carvoran is the inscription of another oriental (09.14):

D.m./Lifana B[...]/ci filia v[ix]/it ann.[..]/L. Seno[fil]us
av[un]/culus[fe]/cit.

No occupation is given and orientals are not uncommon in Britain.^{25b}

The texts available include altars to Dea Suria (1) (09.05), I.o.m. Dolichenus Heliopolitanus (2) (09.11;09.13) and De(a) Hammia (1) (09.12). The first two are common enough dedications in the second century and certainly not exclusive to orientals;²⁶ the latter is more personal but need not be seen as necessarily indicative of Hamian personnel - if early it might do, if later it is likely to be no more than worship of the deity of the unit.

Finally, the Housesteads relief may be cited as evidence for the equipment of a Hamian archer: Webster²⁷ quotes Arrian's description of "sharp-shooters" - "Their long flat-bladed sword hangs from their shoulder and they carry oblong shields and iron helmets, breast-plates and small-greaves . . . they also carry small axes with a circular edge".²⁸ The relief depicts (pl. I) a soldier in crested helmet, large sword strapped out of the way across his back from top right to bottom left, dagger at waist, axe with small blade in his right hand and a carved bow in his left. He may be wearing a scale tunic and has his cloak swept back over his shoulders.

Cohors I Hamiorum c.R. milliaria²⁹

A lengthy career inscription (10.01) from Numidia to the well-known Antonine and Marcan general M. Valerius Maximianus, records his pre-senatorial career too. The second militia is as trib. coh. I (H)am. civium R. The c.R. and the milliary status to be inferred from the tribunate distinguish it from the British unit and Prof. E. Birley has suggested it as a regiment in the garrison of Cappadocia.³⁰ It should be noted that the reading is by no means conclusive: the omission of the initial H is not critical but the A and M are read from a ligature of the A set into the M.³¹

Cohors II Hamiorum

The unit is attested from two texts in Africa: the first is a dedication by a prefect in the period 198-211 (11.01) and comes from the road station of Ain Wif (Thenadassa) in Tripolitania, c. 60 miles south-west of Leptis Magna.³² The reading is by no means assured - COH II HM or COH II THM (TH in ligature) - and H(a)m(iorum) is proposed by the editors in preference to H(e)m(esenorum) not least because of the second text from the same province. This second text (11.02) was reported at Henschir bu-Seba'a in the Ager Thevestinus, some 160 miles due east of Lambaesis and over 400 miles in a direct line west-north-west of Ain Wif. The Thevestinus text was set up to his mother by Julius Vale [rius], mil. coh. II/Amiorum.

The prefect, M. Caninius Adiutor Faustianus, possibly an Italian, is known only from this dedication.³³ In view of the termini, the victory alluded to might be either the Second Parthian War or the

war in Britain; the description of Geta as Augustus is not conclusive, especially, as the editors observed, in view of the impp. in line 3; and a date soon after 198 would conform with the emphasis placed on elaborating the names and the titles of the imperial family as if recently assumed.

HEMESENI

Emesa (modern Homs) lies on the Orontes river in central Syria astride the major north-south artery of communication of the interior. The vicinity is well-watered and is surrounded by rich agricultural land, but it lies on the dividing line between fertile belt and desert steppe - the Syrian desert commencing just to the east. Despite the proximity of the desert, it benefitted commercially, like Hama, from being situated at the point where the rich caravans from Palmyra, 100 miles due east, emerged from the desert and rested before crossing the mountains to the seaports of the Mediterranean. Thus, it was not only a prosperous agricultural centre but also a major caravan city.¹

In the first century B.C. the internal turmoil and fragmentation of the Seleucid kingdom was hastened, in its final stages, by two Arab chiefs Azizus and Sampsigeramus. These, having had one of the competing Seleucids (Antiochus XIII Asiaticus) done to death and sought to dispose of his rival (Philip II Barypous), made personal gains from their initiative and treachery.² Sampsigeramus seems to have been recognized and made tributary by Pompey - probably because he represented an island of stability in the chaotic conditions within Syria. Like other client-rulers, his heirs, the subsequent dynasts of Emesa, provided contingents to the Roman armies when required: Cicero may have received such aid in 50 B.C., Cassius certainly must have; in 47 B.C. we hear that amongst those who came to Caesar's aid in Egypt was one, Iamblichus, almost certainly the current ruler of Emesa. The civil wars were a difficult period for all the client-rulers of Syria, not least for the dynasts of Emesa. Iamblichus - apparently while in Greece with his forces in 31 B.C. - was executed by

Antony; while, in the following year 30 B.C., Octavian deposed his brother and successor Alexander, who was then killed in Rome in 29. In 20, however, Augustus restored "the hereditary territory of the Arabs" to "Iamblichus, son of Iamblichus", and the family ruled for almost another century, perhaps longer.

By the time of Nero the "phylarchs" of Emesa had become kings and one of these, Sohaemus, even received consular ornaments. In 66, Sohaemus aided the Syrian governor, Cestius Gallus, by providing 4,000 men for the Jewish War: according to Josephus, one third was cavalry, two thirds archers.³ In 68, Vespasian had the support of 1,000 Emesene cavalry and 2,000 archers; and we may suppose that the force which besieged Jerusalem with Titus in 70 was of similar size.⁴ Two years later, the same king was one of two client-rulers called upon - rather humiliatingly - by the Syrian governor Paetus, to join him in invading Commagene and deposing its king, Sohaemus' own cousin, Antiochus IV.⁵

Just when the Emesene kingdom was annexed to Rome is unknown. We have a text of 78/9 referring to a C. Julius Sampsigeramus who is not, however, given any royal titles;⁶ titles which are heard of for the last time in fact in 72 in the above mentioned invasion of Commagene. The Julii Sampsigerami remain well-known at Emesa in the second century, apparently, however, no longer as kings but as leading members of the aristocracy, possibly as "priest-kings" without temporal power. Just when the family ceased to rule is a matter of debate. Imperial minting only begins at Emesa under Antoninus Pius giving a rather distant terminus ante quem.⁷ However, a coin of Domitian - highly suspect - has been taken to indicate the suppression

of the dynasty as early as the late first century;⁸ most scholars are inclined in fact to regard annexation as falling in the 70's, between 72 and the above mentioned text of 78/9.⁹ Annexation soon after that of Commagene in 72, and as part of Vespasian's general policy in Syria,¹⁰ is an attractive possibility but is as yet far from proven. Against so early a date one may consider the evidence (below) that the earliest formed Emesene regiment was only to appear in, probably, the early 160's. If only for security reasons, the incorporation of Emesene forces - like those of Commagene¹¹ and Nabataea¹² - would have been expected. (The literary sources for Trajan's Parthian War are so poor that their silence on the question of Syrian client-kings in support cannot be cited in support of first century annexation; nor can the evidence of a single legionary from Emesa in the Flavio-Trajanic period (App. 1).¹³)

I am inclined, on balance, to accept a first century annexation date. Vespasian, who had not scrupled to depose the same Commagenian ruler who had rendered him such signal service in the recent wars, would have had as little compunction about employing Emesene forces in the annexation of Commagene, than about deposing their ruler too. Alternatively, any one of the Flavians may simply have declined to appoint a successor when the Emesene king died. After all, client-kings were useful only for as long as they were able men and had a rôle to play: the death of, for example, Sohaemus, may have been taken as the opportunity to end the dynasty which had successfully (if one judges only by peace and the existence of an Emesene legionary) administered a difficult area, and brought it far along the road of civilisation and romanization. In the absence of detailed

evidence, one might consider the possibility that Emesa was reduced to the same sort of status as Palmyra to the east; a city-state with its own aristocratic governing body, its once-royal "priest-kings", and with its own armed forces to act as caravan police. After all, Emesa remained a still largely Arab state with local traditions,¹⁴ and with an important rôle to play in the caravan trade and policing its very extensive desert lands.¹⁵ As with Palmyra, it was not until Marcus Aurelius, that a formal cohort was recruited from its territory.

The token of Emesa's final assimilation within the Roman province came with the grants of colonial status and the ius Italicum by Caracalla.¹⁶ The latter of course was honouring the home of his mother, the empress Julia Domna, whose sister's two grandsons were each to become emperor in their turn a few years later. At the same time the Emesene relatives of the imperial family held prominent posts in the imperial government.¹⁷

The final mention of specific military activity by Emesa comes in the mid-third century when, in the reign of Valerian, according to Malalas, one Sampsigeramus led a contingent out against the Persians.¹⁸

Cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antonina Hemesenorum sagittariorum
equitata c.R.¹⁹

The Emesene cohort is remarkable for the enormous number of epigraphic attestations to its existence: a few are on diplomas, but the great majority come from in or around its sole known base at Intercisa in Pannonia inferior.²⁰ Like that other well-attested regiment, the cohors XX Palmyrenorum, its history is comparatively

short, and almost exactly contemporary.

Chronological Framework: In 1929 Rostovtzeff proposed formation by Trajan;²¹ in 1932 Lambrino argued for Hadrian and a few years later, Wagner could still accept a Trajanic origin. Few scholars today would accept either proposal because of the evidence of a series of texts which give the unit its imperial nomen:²²

1. coh. I ∞ Ant. [Hemesenorum] - 180/3 (12.01)
2. [cohors] I Aur. Antonina ∞ H[em.] - 184/5 (12.02)
3. coh. ∞ Anto. Hemes. c.R. - 201/2 (12.03)
4. coh. I ∞ Hemes. Aurel. Antoniniana sag. eq. c.R.
- Caracalla (12.04)
5. coho[rt. A]nt. ∞ He[mes.] - Severus
Alexander (12.05)

By themselves, the final two, even three, texts could be interpreted as examples of the honorific variable cognomina given to all units as a suffix in the third century (below, App. 2); the first two texts make it clear, however, that we are dealing with dynastic titles. In short, Aurelia may reveal formation by either Marcus or Commodus, but the Antonina could only have been an additional honour given by Marcus: so we have formation by Marcus (161/80). Fitz attempted to narrow the span down by arguing that the diploma CIL, XVI,131 must therefore be dated to between 186 (161 + 25 years service) and 190 (the year he took - following Nesselhauf - as the probable limit for auxiliary diplomas).²³ Then, taking his belief that diplomas were only issued at the end of campaigns, and that therefore this one was most probably issued in 186 at the close of the campaign of 185/6, he was able to propose formation c. 161/2 as part of the

preparation for the Parthian War of Lucius Verus. Mann has criticized this on three points:²⁴ first, the limit of 190 was a notional one, not a fixed point. Indeed it was proposed at a time when the latest auxiliary diploma was for 178; we now have one for 186,²⁵ and 190 is no longer a secure upper limit. Second, the lettering is of a type which should make it post-178, but may take it as late as 192.²⁶ Third, the 'end of campaign' theory for the issue of diplomas is untenable. On the basis of the very useful epitaph of Aurelius Bazas (12.08, below), Mann proposed formation between 161 and 169, with a preference for 167/9.

The question of formation cannot be left there. First, it is important to note that the double imperial name cannot be taken as evidence for recruitment by Antoninus Pius with a subsequent honour by Marcus on the parallel of cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum ∞ c.R.²⁷ The correct parallel is surely the ala I Flavia Domitiana Britannica ∞ c.R.,²⁸ where honouring with the imperial name had to be from the cognomen to avoid the absurdity of Flavia bis. Thus, the Hemeseni were the "First Aurelian Cohort of Hemeseni, Antoninus' Own", where the Antoninus is Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.²⁹ (App. 2)

Next there is the epitaph of Aurelius Bazas (12.08):

[D].m./[A]ur. Bazas vet. ex[coh. ∞/H]emes'. domo Cl[.../mi]ssus
honestam[iss/...] Val. Pudente etc.

Valerius Pudens governed Pannonia inferior c.192/4 which implies recruitment for Bazas not later than 169 and probably not earlier than 166/7. Mann thought he might have been an initial recruit. I regard this as unlikely. The origo of Bazas is commonly and plausibly restored as Cl[audia Apamaea] which would suggest that he was not an

initial recruit but a replacement, albeit while the regiment was still in Syria. Again, if we must seek a formation date between 161 (the accession of Marcus) and 169 (the latest recruitment date for Bazas), the preparations for the campaign of Lucius Verus are far more likely than after the war. In short, formation c. 162, with Bazas as a replacement to the unit after the war, would be acceptable; other examples of such eastern replacements may be found (below).

At the other end of the time scale the latest attestations of the regiment are an inscription naming Gordian III (12.09) and another, of 252, of Trebonianus Gallus (12.10). When the disastrous incursions of the reign of Gallienus (253-68) are past, we find in the epigraphic record at Intercisa - much reduced in number - no mention of the Hemeseni, but instead, the presence of a numerus equitum scutariorum.³⁰ The inscription naming the latter is dated to post-260, and the semitic name of the soldier - Aurelius Monimus - is too much of a coincidence to imply anything other than recruitment from the romanized oriental community at Intercisa itself.³¹ The suggestion of Fitz that the remains of the Emesene cohort had been integrated into the latter unit.³² is unnecessary. At what precise point the Emesene cohort ceased to exist is unknown, but the reign of Gallienus provided occasions enough.

Regimental Base(s): The initial base of the regiment was probably in Syria and- if we judge from the origins of two Syrian recruits - possibly on the Orontes in the vicinity of Apamea and Arethusa (below). The notion that it had been stationed in Moesia superior³³ before moving to Intercisa is based on the Thracian names amongst the personnel. This cannot stand: the community at Intercisa already

included a significant Thracian element from the ala I Thracum veterana stationed there from c. 150.³⁴ The Emesene cohort first appears at Intercisa on the inscription of 180/3 (12.01) and the fort was rebuilt about then.³⁵ Mann is probably correct in suggesting that it was brought from Syria to Intercisa in 177/8;³⁶ it might, of course, have been brought west in 175/6 as a result of Marcus' visit to the East.

Character of the Regiment: The four important descriptive epithets - milliaria sagittariorum equitata c.R. - appear together on only two texts, one of Caracalla (12.04) and one of Gordian III (12.09); a third text, of 201/2 (12.03), lists all but the equitata. Emesa was perfectly capable of providing a milliary unit of archers from the outset and its archer characteristic was clearly retained to the end.

A particularly interesting feature is the question of the occasion for the unit being awarded its block grant of citizenship and the c.R. title. The occasion has to be placed between formation and the earliest dated attestation in 199/202 (12.03). It can in fact be dated more closely from a consideration of the names. Until the very last years of Commodus, none of the unit's personnel would have been eligible for discharge. Subsequently (leaving aside the brief reigns of Pertinax, Didius Julianus and Macrinus) for almost half a century, all peregrine discharges would have become M. Aurelii or L. Septimii. Even allowing for a mass discharge late in the reign of Commodus, and the implications in terms of a reduced level of discharge under Septimius Severus, it is remarkable that not one of the 56 named soldiers of this regiment is an L. Septimius ———, while no less

than 31 are Aurelii! Indeed, in the community as whole while most imperial nomina are represented, some well-represented, the Septimii are rare and the nomen largely confined to women.³⁷ A rough estimate would give a total of some 6,000 to 7,000 men passing through the regiment in the course of its history: it is conceivable that c. 1,000 of them could have been given early citizenship and not been well-represented in the record. If, on the other hand, we postulate the honour being given under Marcus or Commodus the absence of Septimii is explained: for most of the period 193-211 few, if any time-served soldiers in the cohort will have needed citizenship. An obvious occasion would be the Danubian wars of Marcus' last years, which would have meant that it would only be in the period c. 202/3 onwards that there would again be soldiers - recruited in the late 170's or under Commodus - who would not already be citizens.

It may be that the title Antonina was awarded at the same time - which would confirm a Marcan date - though it might have been granted earlier, perhaps as a loyalty reward at the time of Avidius Cassius' revolt.

Personnel: In view of its comparatively short history, a surprisingly large number of tribunes are attested - eight, possibly nine.³⁸ Most of these need not detain us, there being a broad measure of agreement between Fitz and Devijver on dating and origo.

M. Campanius Marcellus is dated by Fitz to "probably between 161/2 and 165", but Devijver gives 176/80. Since the former would probably make him the first prefect and commander while in Syria, while the latter might allow him to command it at Intercisa, it makes some difference. The evidence is provided by a brief career inscription

from Capua and a dedication from Intercisa set up by some soldiers of the cohort referring to their "former tribune" Marcellus (12.11):

M. Campanio M. fil. M. nep. Fal. Marcello proc. A[ug]ustor. ad Me[rc]urium Alexandr., proc. provinc. Cypri, praef. eq. alae Parth., trib. coh. pr. Hemesen., praef. coh III Breucor.[c.R. in provi]ncia Cypro.

and (12.12):

[Num]ini Dianae T[i]fatinae[...in or ad me]mor. Cam[pani] Marc]elli tunc trib. n. co[.....]s templum [a so]lo exstruxeru[nt].

Diana Tifatina is the Capuan variant of Diana and had, by the later second century, become orientalised. The plausible interpretation of the text above is that Marcellus had introduced his own orientalised Campanian deity to the Hemeseni, some of whom - soldiers or veterans - now commemorated this while erecting a new temple to their own Emesene god, Sol Elagabalus. However, only if we could be sure of the restoration co[m]milites..] rather than co[m]nveterani..] could we propose a terminus post quem of 199/202 - 25 = 174/7. Fitz achieves his early date from the other text - which he interprets to have Marcellus serving in Britain with III Breucorum, before being taken east with the governor M. Statius Priscus when the latter went to assume command of Cappadocia in the Parthian War of Lucius Verus. There he commanded the new Emesene cohort, then the ala I Parthorum at Resaina in Mesopotamia, became procurator of the province of Cyprus and finally (on this text) held a procuratorship of two Augusti whom Fitz takes to be Marcus and Commodus, 176-80. A number of criticisms can be raised: first, the ala Parthorum is attested at

Resaina in Mesopotamia in the Notitia Dignitatum but it would be rash indeed to assume it had been there for almost two and a half centuries. It need not even be in the East: ala I Augusta Parthorum is well-known in Mauretania Caesariensis in the second century, though it is never described as sagittaria on any of the eleven texts from Mauretania; more likely is the ala Parthor. sagit., probably based in the East in the second century and probably the regiment on the Notitia. Syria, Cappadocia and Mesopotamia are all possible locations: to assert Resaina is grossly over-optimistic.³⁹ Next, Fitz's contention that III Breucorum was based in Britain at the time of Marcellus' command is far from proven.⁴⁰ Third, he advances no explanation for the long gap between the unit command and the procuratorial post in Egypt - eleven years at least (165 to 176). Finally, one may doubt a proposition which sees veterans making a dedication and naming the commander who had introduced the cult in question as long as 35 to 40 years before. Fitz is certainly correct in saying that the evidence is slender. In essence, we have a terminus ante quem of 199/202 and another possible date based on his Alexandrian procuratorship under two Augusti who may be consecutive or concurrent. Fitz opts for concurrent, but Marcellus had made no reference to emperors at all in his preceding procuratorship so one might argue that he mentions two emperors here because his appointment had been confirmed by a new ruler. Thus, we could have termini based on the two Augusti of:- 161-7; 176-8; c. 179-81; 192-3; 198-199/202. My own preference - and it can be no more than that - is to have the Alexandrian post under Marcus and Commodus (c. 176-7), Cyprus under Marcus alone (c. 174-5), and the command of the Emesene cohort in c. 170/1 in the East.

L. Valerius Valerianus (12.13) is of interest particularly because he is named in Dio as the commander of the Severan cavalry in the decisive battle at Issus in 194,⁴¹ who then went on to a distinguished career. Duncan-Jones⁴² has identified him with the Puteolian who governed Mesopotamia and Osrhoene in the third century, but Devijver doubts the equation and retains the older origo of Pannonia.

Q. Modius Rufus (12.03;.12), an Italian, is dated to 201/2 by Fitz in the belief that the dedication marked the visit of Septimius and Caracalla in that year. No such visit is known or necessary,⁴³ and Devijver is right to date Modius Rufus only from the governor named on the same text who held office from 199-202.

Calpurnius Irenaeus (12.16) is dated by Fitz to the middle or second part of the third century (following Erdélyi and Fülep, Intercisa, I, 196 and 257), while Devijver proposes under Commodus or later. The caution of the latter is to be preferred.

The tribunes, therefore, may be summarised as follows:

M. Campanius Marcellus	(Devijver, M71)	(12.11;.12)	Capua	c. 170/1?
Iulius [....]	(Devijver, I5)	(12.01)	?	c. 180-3
L. Valerius Valerianus	(Devijver, V43)	(12.13)	Pannonia/ Puteoli	c. 183-6
[....]us Severus	(Devijver, S99)	(12.06)	West	c. 186-90
M. Minic[ius]	(Devijver, M58)	(12.15)	Italian	c. 190
Q. Modius Rufus	(Devijver, M65)	(12.03;.12)	Italian	c. 199.202
M. Porcius Verus	(Devijver, P98)	(12.14)	West/Spain?	222/35
Calpurnius Irenaeus	(Devijver, C56)	(12.16)	East?	post-c. 180
Flavius Valerianus?	(Devijver, F80)	(12.17)	West?	3rd cent?

No less than 56⁴⁴ centurions, decurions and other ranks are attested, of whom no less than 12 give an explicit origo: Emesa (6), Arethusa (1), Cl[audia Apamaea] (1), Sam(osata? or -os?) (1), Carrhae (1), Edessa (1) and "[?Hemes]a ex Syria" (1);⁴⁵ eight others have names which are indisputably Semitic.⁴⁶ Of the remainder, some are clearly western or have western names and Mann is right to be sceptical of Fitz' identification of some of the names as oriental. Again, the latter's attempt to prepare percentages of ethnic groups within the unit is absurd. Some of the "westerners" may well be second generation Syrians or half-Syrians, while many locals would simply never think to commemorate themselves to the same extent as Syrian immigrants.⁴⁷ Thus, it is important to reiterate Mann's point that, strong as were the eastern influences in the community at Intercisa as a whole, the local element is undoubtedly much stronger than surviving evidence would have us believe.⁴⁸

The presence of soldiers other than Syrians or Pannonians (and Thracians) may be explained by transfers, recruitment to a vexillation on transfer, or recruits drawn from areas of surplus. The large number of Syrians has been accounted for otherwise. As long as the regiment was believed to have been formed in the early second century, the presence of Syrians in the unit in the late second and early third century (dated in most cases by the name "Aurelius") was taken to be proof that the unit received drafts of soldiers from its home province to maintain its ethnic and military character.⁴⁹ Formation by Marcus and its transfer from Syria only in the later part of that emperor's reign, radically alter the picture. Nevertheless, the old belief still lingers. Thus we have Mócsy: "During the Severan period

the cohort was further reinforced from Syria".⁵⁰ An examination of the 20 explicit and inferred orientals/Syrians permits this thesis to be firmly rejected:⁵¹

- a) Five men give Hemesa as their origo and a sixth may be restored as such. Of these, four are M. Aurelii (12.18;.19;.20;.21), one gives only the cognomen (12.22) and on the remaining one the praenomen and nomen are lost (12.06). There is nothing whatsoever to prevent any one of these men being an initial recruit, granted citizenship en bloc while in service (above, 123f) or on discharge in or soon after 187.
- b) Of the remaining five who give an origo, 3 are Aurelii and their homes in Arethusa (12.23), Apamaea (12.08) and Edessa (12.24) would be perfectly consistent with men recruited as replacements to the unit before it left Syria for the Danube. With these, citizenship as part of the above mentioned block grant is the most likely explanation. In the case of Aurelius Bazas from Apamaea, his discharge in 192/4 permits us to place his recruitment not later than 167/9 (above, 121). Aelius Munatius domo Sam. (12.26) is commonly given a Commagenian origo.⁵² While this is not improbable, the cognomen is quite common in Egypt and Africa/Mauretania (as the derivative Munatianus), and there are six Munatiae/Munatii in Spain, and a Numatius in the Egyptian garrison gives a Galatian origo.⁵³ In contrast, I have been able

to find only one Monnatios (= Munatius?) in Syria.⁵⁴

After 28 years service our Aelius Munatius would certainly have been a citizen. His wife is an Aurelia. Fitz assigns him to a mid-third century date - presumably on the basis of the "Aurelia".

Barsemis, Abbei (f.), domo Carris, an Osrhöenian,

is one of the more discussed of the personnel (12.25):

I.o.m. Barsemis Abbei/dec. ala firma/katafractaria/
ex numero Hos/roruorum (sic) maq./coh. ∞ Hemes./
n.d. Carris et/Aur. Iulia coniux/eius v.s.l.m./
Aurelia Thicimim/et Aurelia Asalia et/filias
Barsimia tit./de. c.s. scr.

Mesopotamian regiments are discussed below (App. 3), where the background to units of cataphracts and Osrhöenian archers is discussed more fully. The ala firma is attested on the Rhine in, probably, 235/8, while Osrhöeni, known in the army of Caracalla, figure very prominently in the forces of Alexander Severus and then Maximinus Thrax. A date in the second quarter of the third century thus seems likely.⁵⁵ The problem really has been to place the posts in sequence, thus we have:

Fülep, Speidel ⁵⁶	<u>numerus</u>	<u>ala</u>	cohort
Fitz ⁵⁷	cohort	<u>numerus</u>	<u>ala</u>

Fitz rejected Fülep's sequence on the ground that the position in the ala is superior to that in the cohort, and that (dec) numerus is to be understood. For

Speidel, the find-spot of the text at Intercisa is decisive in determining the final post, while the numerus - without any indication of rank - becomes his first regiment. Fitz must certainly be wrong: the numerus must precede the ala - as the text says. Likewise his contention that "nothing permits us to suppose that the numerus Osrhöenorum and the ala firma catafractaria had, in the third century, even provisionally, been stationed in Pannonia"; he uses this as evidence that there was no occasion for Barsemis to transfer from either of those units to the cohort, while claiming he could have transferred from the cohort when Severus Alexander passed through on his way back from the East. This cannot stand.⁵⁸ First, there is absolutely no reason to believe that proximity was essential in transfers between units. Second, the Osrhöeni and catafracts were probably part of Severus Alexander's field army, and then that of Maximinus. They were certainly with the latter when he invaded Italy in 238;⁵⁹ and we need hardly doubt that Maximinus had employed them when he moved his headquarters to Sirmium in Pannonia inferior.⁶⁰

Since Barsemis is a Mesopotamian and two of his regiments are Mesopotamian, it is scarcely stretching credibility to suppose that he initially served in one of these; the text makes it clear that that unit

should be the Osrhöenian archers. Then, if, as Fitz contends, the magister was inferior to a decurion (the alternative, (i)mag(inifer), is certainly inferior),⁶¹ one would expect the cohort to come next, with the decurionate last of all. How such a sequence could have come about is not difficult to see: Barsemis came west with Severus Alexander and fought on the Rhine. The unrest and eventual mutiny amongst the Osrhöenian contingent must have led to the dispersal of some at least of their apparently large numbers: there is in fact some evidence for the word Osrhöenorum being removed from inscriptions (App. 3). The word should, I believe, be "dispersed", not "cashiered" any more than for the men of III Augusta a few years later: Barsemis was transferred into the Emesene cohort of archers, in which he rose to the rank of mag(ister) - an instructor, presumably, in archery, in which the Osrhöene were especially skilled. The remaining problem is why then, if the final post was in the ala, was the text erected at Intercisa? The explanation, I would suggest, is that this is an example at rather lower rank of a text indicating what Eric Birley has recently described as "impending or recent movement".⁶² In other words, the magister Barsemis is celebrating his promotion and transfer by a dedication to Jupiter, in which he gives pride of place to his new status.⁶³

c) Eight men with Semitic names, four of them Aurelii (12.27;.28;.29;30;31;.32;.33;.34). These may be either men recruited before the unit left Syria or sons of Syrian soldiers. Fitz, following Erdélyi, almost invariably assigns them a mid-third century date on the basis, presumably, of the "Aurelius";⁶⁴ the date may be correct but not because of the presupposition of a new draft of Syrians in the Severan period. Indeed, Aurelius Monimus (12.27) and Aurelius Barsamsus (12.28), both serving soldiers, could be pre-Severan soldiers enfranchised by the block grant of citizenship.

Like other units which served in whole or in part in the East during the many Severan wars,⁶⁵ the Hemeseni may be presumed to have acquired eastern replacements, though I cannot discover any such personnel. The arrival of Barsemis, Abbei f. may have heralded the influx of other Osrhöeni, and for the same reason: only Aurelius Sallamas (12.24) is a possible example, but he is more likely to have joined up before the unit left Syria to come to Intercisa.

Numerus Hemesenorum sagittariorum (?)

The earliest text is dated 198/211 (13.01), almost certainly to be narrowed to 209/11; four others are dated, or are datable to Caracalla, 211/18 (13.02;.03;.04;.05). Its arrival at the station of El-Kantara is almost certainly to be linked with the departure of the previous garrison, the numerus Palmyrenorum. The departure of the latter is to be placed between the final attestation of the

Palmyreni in 194 and their first appearance on one of their new, more advanced sites, Castellum Dimmidi, in 222/35. Since the latter fort was built as early as 198, that may have been the occasion for their departure. That same year also saw the end of the war against the Parthians in the East, and the first occasion for Septimius Severus to look to the disposition of his forces around the Empire. In Africa, that took the form of moving garrisons forward into new, more advanced forts which date to 198 and the years which follow. In view of the links of the Severan dynasty with Emesa and the dating from Africa, both for the unit and the frontier changes, it does not seem too improbable to assign formation of the unit to Septimius Severus probably in the period 194/8.

The unit is probably ^{the} numerus Hemesenorum named as the source of transfers of archers on an Egyptian papyrus (13.07). Regrettably the papyrus can only be dated "second/third century".⁶⁶

All of the attestations come from or nearby the fort of el-Kantara in Numidia. The fort itself has not been identified amongst the ruins on the site.⁶⁷ One text (13.05), a building inscription, comes from a burgus 10 miles to the south and is dated 211/17.

None of the texts from el-Kantara indicate the character of the unit though the Egyptian papyrus - if it refers to this unit - tells us what we would otherwise have deduced, namely, that it was sagittaria, and almost certainly infantry.

The el-Kantara texts give us the names of three commanding officers, all centurions of III Augusta detached as praepositi:

Julius Draco	(198/211, probably 209/211)	(13.01)
M. Ulpus Optatus	(211/8)	(13.04)
C. Julius Aelurio	(211/8)	(13.02;.03;.05)

The only known ranker is the cornicularius P. Claudius who buried his wife Julia Secunda at el-Kantara. She is probably African, and it may be that he - because of the literacy required - had simply been attached to the unit.

Appropriately, for a unit originally formed from men whose chief city, Emesa, held the renowned temple of the god Sol Elagabalus, one of the el-Kantara inscriptions is a dedication to the Sun God (13.03), while a second mentions the restoration of a temple of Sol (13.01).

Numerus Regi. Emes. Eudeoru(m)

An inscription from Concordia in Italy reads (13a.01):

Flavia Optata mili(tis) de/num(ero) Regi(orum?) Emes(enorum)
Iudeo/ru(m). Si quis pos ovitu(m) me(um) arc(am) volu(erit)
ap(erire),<i>n(feret) fisci/<vir>(ibus) aur(i) lib(ram) una(m).

Applebaum is sceptical of the restoration of a late inscription to give regi(orum), when the kings of Emesa had been suppressed so long before.⁶⁸ He proposed to restore regi(onis) and, since there were no known Jewish settlements around Emesa itself, looked instead to Intercisa with the Jewish community and synagogue known there.

ITURAEI

At its height, the Ituraean principality included within its boundaries the eponymous homelands not only of the regular regiments of Ituraeans, but also those of the Chalcideni, Canatheni and Damasceni; as I argue below, it should also be the origo of the ala celerum (cf. above, 80). In view not only of their one-time inclusion within this single state, but also their cultural and ethnic homogeneity and the cohesion of their respective districts, they are best treated as a group under the umbrella title of "Ituraei".

The heartland of the Ituraean principality in southern Syria centred on the Massyas plain and the rugged mountainous areas of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges.¹ At its height - under the tetrarchs Ptolemy, son of Mennaenus (c. 85 - c. 40 B.C.), Lysanias, son of Ptolemy (c. 40-34) and (?) Zenodorus, son (?) of Lysanias (c. 34-?) - the principality stretched from the Mediterranean coast at Botrys and Arca to the Hauran; from Chalcis and Heliopolis to the Sea of Galilee. Its period of greatness - first secured by Pompey's recognition - seems to have been during and just after the era of the Second Triumvirate and, in view of Caesar's and Antony's use of Ituraean archers (below, 138), it would be tempting but speculative to associate their particular fortune with Caesar's favour. Dis-memberment of this huge area seems to have begun before 30 B.C. since in that year we find the tetrarch Zenodorus as the leasee of parts of his father's (?) territory from Cleopatra of Egypt.² The granting of parts of the principality to the Queen of Egypt by Mark Antony would accord well with her aim of restoring the extent of the former lands of the Ptolemies, as well as with the grants made by

the terms of the so-called Donations of Alexandria in 34 B.C.³ Already, however, Canatha and, almost certainly, Damascus had been lost to the Ituraean tetrarchs. Both lay within the domains of Mennaeus but the former was declared a free city, adopted the Pompeian era and the name "Gabinia"; while Damascus retained the Seleucid era and, despite some evidence which seems to show it subject to the Nabataeans in the time of Tiberius, as a city of the Decapolis was almost certainly a free city too from the time of Pompey's reorganization.⁴

Pompey had treated Ituraea lightly - because of a timely bribe says Josephus⁵ - removing Canatha, and probably Damascus, from its direct control but restoring parts of Gaulanitis recently conquered by the Jews.⁶ That it retained its native princes for so long is undoubtedly due to the rugged, intractable nature of the terrain of so much of the region and to the fierce independence and lawlessness of its inhabitants. In short, an administrative and civilizing task best left to its able native rulers.⁷

It has been suggested that the real break up of the principality comes in the middle years of the reign of Augustus,⁸ as evidenced by the career of Q. Aemilius Secundus missu Quirini adversos Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi.⁹ While a campaign carried out by a fairly junior equestrian officer was unlikely to have been on a very large scale - his own current command, II Classica, and probably one or two others at most being involved - the implications of the campaign are important. We may plausibly infer either that the text reveals the heartland of the old principality already directly administered by the governor of Syria, or that the principality was too

weak to suppress these mountaineers itself. Whatever the explanation, it seems true to say that, under Augustus, this important area straddling both the lateral and longitudinal land routes¹⁰ was largely brought under direct Roman control. Tetrarchs of united Ituraea disappear, though rump states remained: under Claudius we hear of separate states of Chalcis and Ituraea within the region of the former principality. Chalcis lasted on until its final incorporation in Syria in the Flavian period;¹¹ Ituraea seems to have been absorbed in 49,¹² although there is reason to believe that parts remained under petty local dynasts for a short period after this.¹³

Ituraeans - employing the term in its widest sense - appear alongside and as part of Roman forces at an early date (above, 136f.). Despite Pompey's punitive campaign against them in 64 B.C., they appear on his side at Pharsalus in 48; the Ituraean prince of Arca was amongst those who came to Caesar's aid at Alexandria in 47; Ituraeans are explicitly named amongst the ~~troops~~ troops of Syrian archers with Caesar in the African War; and, most startling of all, they were used by Antony in Rome itself:

"Why do you bring Ityraeans, of all tribes the most barbarous, down into the forum with their arrows?"

(Cicero, Phil. II.44 (112); cf. II.8 (19), and XIII.8 (18))

In all the literary references to this people it is their skill as archers which singles them out for special comment: even Vergil, talking of trees, remarks that "yews are bent into Ituraean bows".¹⁴

Apart from the campaign of Aemilius Secundus against the Ituraean mountaineers, we have further evidence of the latter's predatory and lawless habits in the remarks of Strabo concerning their raids on

Damascus.¹⁵ The earlier punitive campaign of Pompey, too, was nothing new: Alexander the Great is said by Plutarch to have "led a force against the Arabian tribes who inhabit the mountains of the Anti-Lebanon".¹⁶

Schürer believed that the occasion of the campaign of Aemilius Secundus under the governor Quirinius (c. A.D. 6) was significant for the recruitment of Ituraean regular auxilia:

After the amalgamation of Ituraean territory with the province of Syria, regular auxiliary forces were raised there. From the final decades of the first century, and occasionally even earlier, Ituraean alae and cohortes made their appearance in widely separated provinces of the Roman Empire.¹⁷

It is my contention that the impetus towards the use of permanently stationed regiments of Ituraeans outside Syria came under Mark Antony rather than Augustus (cf. below, 172f.).

Apart from men in "Ituraean" regiments who give their origo as Ituraea or Chalcis, "Ituraeans" may also be detected in other auxiliary regiments as well as in the legions. Thus, there is the "Iturarius" in cohors III (sagittariorum?) at Mainz (52.01), and the Calcidenus in the ala Hamiorum in Mauretania Tingitana (08.12). In the legions, a man of Chalcis served in XV Apollinaris in the Flavian period, 4 Heliopolitans in III Augusta in the period from Vespasian to Diocletian, while Damascus contributed another 4 men to the legions the most interesting of whom is the soldier in III Cyrenaica in the Claudio-Neronian period (App. 1, Table I).

Racially the Ituraeans are Arabs, nominal descendants perhaps of Jetur, a son of Ishmael, though the occasional references to them as Syrians and the Aramaic form of the names of some Ituraean soldiers

implies that they were yet another Arab nomad tribe settled in an area of existing Aramaic culture and people.¹⁸

ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum¹⁹

This regiment is one of the three cited by Cheesman in support of his thesis that oriental regiments kept "their natural character in the second century" by means of constant drafts of recruits from the East. Consequently, it is desirable to examine all the evidence for this regiment in close detail.

The framework is provided by a body of 10 diplomas which underscore the broad pattern known since the beginning of the century:

98	Pannonia	<u>CIL</u> ,XVI,42
110 (<u>bis</u>)	Dacia	<u>CIL</u> ,XVI,57; 163
139; 148 (<u>bis</u>); 150; 159? (<u>bis</u>); 167	Pannonia inferior	<u>CIL</u> ,XVI,175; 179; 180; 99; 112; 113; 123.

The overall picture can be considerably filled out by an examination of the other epigraphic material, taking account of archaeological evidence and by reference to a variety of studies relevant to this unit and the provinces in question.

The major problems concern chronology. The upper limit presents no real problems: the evidence from inscriptions can take us into the third century - the veteran L. Septimius Lister (14.22) was clearly discharged between 193 and 211; and if the inscription from Ulcisia Castra (14.23) refers to this unit, the combination of a soldier called Aur(elius) and the imperial title of the regiment, Severiane (sic) would date it to 222-35. No later date is yet known and the unit is not listed in the Notitia Dignitatum.

The unit first appears on the diploma of 98 which in itself may almost certainly be taken to indicate that lxi was formed not later than c. 72/3. At the other extreme the title Augusta invites the supposition of recruitment by Augustus. We must also consider the implications of one of the diplomas for 110 which records, Thaemus, Horati f., Ituraeus, ex gregale alae I Aug. Ituraeor. The first inference one may make is that, at the date of recruitment, the regiment was still based in Syria and, apparently, in the south of the province. Nominally that date would be c. 84/5 but, since the Dacian Army may not have released time-expired men during the years between annexation and 110, he may well have been recruited under Titus or even Vespasian. In view of the scant evidence for the garrison of Syria before the complementary pairs of diplomas for 88 and 91 (below, 328, 343), there is no reason why this unit could not have been based in Syria for three or four generations before transfer to the Danube in the early years of Domitian.

The above, otherwise plausible, interpretation is at variance however with the dating of some epigraphic attestations of the unit from its Pannonian base at Arrabona. Holder (following Kraft) has recently dated two (14.03; .04) of these texts to show the deceased, recruited under 'Tib./Claud.', dying under 'Claud./Nero'.²⁰ Holder's dating is based on the application of epigraphic criteria, and its acceptance necessitates two conclusions. First, the unit was moved to Pannonia under Tiberius or Claudius at the latest and remained unattested on any of the Pannonian diplomas of 80, 84 and 85,²¹ only appearing for the first time on that of 98 (CIL,XVI,42). Second, that the unit, originally formed from Ituraeans in the very early

principate, co-incidentally, received an Ituraean recruit to its ranks c. 80 and while it was in Europe. Unless one accepts the notion of repeated drafts of soldiers from the Ituraean homeland, one has little alternative but to reject the dating. As Holder notes, Arrabona, like other sites on the Pannonian stretch of the Danube, was not occupied before Claudius.²² The ala I Ulpia Contariorum milliaria is the well-attested second century garrison²³ so that between the occupation date and its arrival, we must fit in not only the Ituraeans but also the ala I Pannoniorum, ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum²⁴ and - under Vespasian apparently - cohors I Noricorum equitata.²⁵ Holder plausibly dates the 3 tombstones of the ala I Pannoniorum to 'Claud./Nero'; the unit is on a Moesian diploma for 99, and a tombstone from Tomis (Moesia inferior) was set up by a T. Flavius Capito, a veteran and ex-decurion decorated ab imp. Vespasiano ob virtutem.²⁶ The latter shows that the unit had left Arrabona by 79 at the latest. The text for the ala I Hispanorum is probably earlier and they may well have preceded the Pannonians at Arrabona.²⁷ Finally there are the Noricans whom Wachter (followed by Mócsy) has located at Arrabona under Vespasian. The sequence seems clear: the Pannonians, in garrison under Nero, were drawn away south-eastwards in the early years of Vespasian to strengthen the threatened lower Danube.²⁸ As a stop-gap, a cohort of Noricans took over, until replaced in the late 70's or early 80's by the newly arrived ala I Augusta Ituraeorum. Further support for dating this unit is to be gained from an examination of the site.

Arrabona lies at an important strategic site close to the point where the Arrabon river enters the Danube. It lies too at the focal

point where roads from the interior - from Savaria and Mursella - form a junction with the principal river highway running south-east from Carnuntum to Aquincum and beyond. The early Roman advances in Pannonia brought them, in the second phase, from the line of the Drave up the Danube itself. The early fort at Arrabona, like the later, is lost beneath extensive 17th-century fortifications and the modern town.³⁰ Nevertheless, considerable investigation of the site has been carried out and a great deal of material has become available for study. Dr. D. Gabler, who has been principally involved in its interpretation has concluded from the sigillata that the site - previously a native settlement - became more intensively occupied in the mid-first century. Drawing on other evidence he concluded: 'In accord with the flux (sic) of coins and the epigraphical data, the large size import [of sigillata] beginning in the 70's and 80's of the century proves that the standing military occupation of Arrabona and the construction of the camp are to be dated to these decades'.³¹ In a subsequent publication³² he assigned the Ituraeans as the garrison of the first permanent fort in the second half of the first century. In Gabler's view, the site saw non-permanent garrisons in the middle of the century and only the arrival of the Ituraeans produced a permanent fort.

As I have just outlined, the question of the garrison is by no means as clear-cut as Gabler would have us believe, but his remarks concerning the impermanence of the garrison before the 70's or 80's accord well with the evidence for 3 different regiments during the preceding generation. What then of Holder's pre-Flavian dating for the Ituraeans at Arrabona? First, the epigraphic criteria

employed should never be pressed so far as to suggest that we may confidently assign specific formulae to either pre- or post-Flavian periods. Second, there is the question of lingering fashions on isolated sites. Unlike such great bases as, for example, Mainz, Arrabona was still a new settlement in the 70's and 80's where conventions and fashions in tombstones would linger much longer. The arrival of a regiment of Syrian soldiers, men with little tradition of erecting tombstones in Greek much less in Latin, invites the interpretation that they simply copied what they saw around them: tombstones set up in the Julio-Claudian period by the alae of Hispani and Pannonij.

Regimental Base(s): For its stay in Syria we know nothing, other than the hint of a possible southern base implicit in the Ituraean discharged in 110, and the other who died at Arrabona after 5 years service (14.04). As I have argued, it was brought west c. 80 - probably the early years of Domitian - and installed in the fort of Arrabona. A text of first century date from Intercisa (14.06) has led to the suggestion - favourably received by the reviewer - that the first stone fort there was built by the Ituraeans under Domitian who remained there until the Trajanic Dacian Wars.³³ The alternative suggestion that it lay at Aquincum immediately prior to the Dacian Wars cannot be correct: both texts of the unit from there are later in date - late second (14.19) and early third centuries (14.22) respectively. In any case, Aquincum, as a major community and legionary base, would have attracted discharged soldiers at any time without implying the presence of their units.

Trajan's Dacian Wars took the regiment to the new province where

it probably lay at Micia³⁴ (14.09), whose later permanent second century garrison was the cohors II Flavia Commagenorum (above, 99). It was there in 110, as the diploma shows, and was back in Pannonia (inferior this time) by 139, as shown by another diploma.³⁵ Its station in Pannonia in this early part of the second century is uncertain. However, we do have an altar from Aquincum (14.22) and another from Ulcisia Castra (14.23), both datable to the first half of the third century; there are also the epitaphs from Sirmium (14.20), and another now in the Budapest Museum (14.19) (origin unknown but presumably local i.e. Aquincum). There is also a tile stamp from Sirmium: A(lae) I(turaeorum) S(agittariorum) (cf. AL(ae) I(turaeorum) S(agittariorum) on a brick-stamp from Intercisa).³⁶ As I have noted, the Aquincum texts cannot be relied upon since it was the provincial capital and would attract discharged soldiers. Similarly, the prefect of the ala might have regarded Sirmium as a preferable burial place for his wife than a frontier fort. Tiles, too, often travelled considerable distances. It is possible, however, that Ulcisia Castra - from which we have the altar (14.23) - was the station under Severus Alexander. If we follow the widely accepted thesis of Radnoti and Barkóczy, then a change of base must have occurred since the second century.³⁷ These scholars have plausibly argued that the apparently irrational listing of the auxiliary regiments on the diplomas of Pannonia inferior for 148, reflects the geographical sequence of the units along the Danube. In their scheme, the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum would have been in the very south of the province and they proposed Rittium (Surduk), east of Sirmium as the base. The fort at Rittium - c. 300 x 400 metres - lying on the Gradina Hill above the Danube, has

produced two altars to Jupiter Dolichenus and stamped bricks of the cohors II Asturum and the cohors II Ituraeorum (according to Stillwell, PECS, 515, but presumably the cohors I Itur. was intended since II was in Egypt - below, 161). Rittium is certainly an attractive site, but until some more positive evidence arises it can only be tentatively accepted.³⁸

Activities: From its presence in Dacia in 110, one may plausibly infer its participation in the recent Dacian Wars. More interesting by far, however, is its involvement in the Mauretanian War in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

From the evidence of the diploma for 150, it has long been known that this regiment was one of five from the Pannonias called upon by Antoninus to participate in the suppression of the Moorish War. Soldiers of these alae were dim(issis) honest(a) miss(ione) per Porcium Vetustinum proc(uratorem) cum essent in expedition(e) Mauretan(iae) Caesariens(is) The war is a shadowy one, but a considerable body of evidence now shows that detachments were sent from Noricum, the Pannonias, Moesia superior and Britain.³⁹ One such piece is of particular relevance to the present unit (14.14):

D.M./Iulius Galianus eq./alae I Aug. Itur. vix. a./XXXXV
mil. an. XXIII/C. Beliabo heres et/M. Intaeius Secus/her.
exer. Panon. inferior. (AE (1955) 131, from Tipasa,
Mauretania Caesariensis)

The reference to Pannonia inferior - formed c. 103 - must place it after that date in view of the other evidence from and around Tipasa to Danubian soldiers, we need not look for any occasion other than Antoninus' Moorish War. The names of the soldiers are interesting: C. Beliabus has an Aramaic name, while Intaeius (= Instaeius;

Insteius) is common in the East though not, apparently, Syrian. The latter is also apparently a Roman citizen. The deceased himself bears a cognomen which is interesting: Kajanto records a dozen examples of Gal(l)ianus in CIL and, although it has Gallic connotations, eight of his examples come from CIL, VIII!⁴⁰ Clearly the deceased could not have been recruited into the regiment while it was in Africa for Antoninus' war which was short - Speidel believes it may have been as brief as a single campaign in c. 149 - our man had served for 23 years! Just what we should make of the names on this epitaph is by no means obvious: the presence of C. Beliabus (and possibly Intaeius), both perhaps colleagues or veterans, is no more proof of oriental soldiers in the regiment in the early second century than the presence of the eques, Iulius Galianus, is evidence for a draft from Africa. They may be descendants, perhaps, of orientals.

Next we can examine a text from Rome: (14.13)^{40a}

I.O.M./Heliopolita/no vexillatio/alae Iture/orum praebe/ntibus
Cla./Rufino et Ur/sione decurio/nes posuerunt

(CIL, VI, 421 = ILS 2546, from Rome)

Speidel has now plausibly suggested that detachments only of the Pannonian alae were sent to Mauretania and not, as previously believed, the entire units.⁴¹ There is no date for this text but an obvious occasion - and another is difficult to think of - for a Danubian archer regiment to have a detachment in the vicinity of Rome, would be while they were on their way to embark for Africa during the reign of Antoninus.

Character of the Regiment: Curiously, despite more than 20 attestations, the unit is only once explicitly described as sagittaria - on the

diploma for 150 recording its contribution to the Mauretanian expedition (CIL,XVI,99). Confirmation is provided graphically on two of the tombstones which each depict a mounted galloping soldier with bow stretched to fire; one is the epitaph from Tipasa (14.14). The fact that the deceased on the latter is clearly a horse-archer and, equally clearly, not an oriental, only serves to underscore my contention that specialist archer units could and did recruit and train non-orientals. The absence of the title sagittaria from the inscriptions on stone causes no surprise: absence from all but one of several diplomas is noteworthy. It is the more surprising in that eight of the diplomas (CIL,XVI,57; 99; 112; 113; 163; 175; 179; 180) do explicitly cite one or more other regiments as sagittaria. (CIL, XVI,123 omits the sag(ittaria) from a regiment previously cited as such).

Personnel: Neither of the prefects require much comment. C. Vettius Priscus, (CIL,XVI,57) an Italian perhaps, is precisely dated in office by the diploma to February 110; Iovius Tusculanus (14.20) buried his wife at Sirmium in, probably the second century. Six decurions are named: Zanis on the Arrabona text is probably an oriental (14.04); Albanus Balvi f. domo Betavos has a Celtic name; Ti. Iulius Reitugenus may be Spanish⁴² connected in some way with the former Spanish garrison, and Lucanus has a name common in the provinces - all three again on a text from or near Arrabona (14.05);⁴³ the two decurions on the dedication from Rome are undistinguished (14.13). Finally, a duplicarius, 6 equites, a miles (sic) and 4 veterans. The Arrabona texts give the names of at least 6 Semites; one of these (14.14), together with the recipient of the diploma of 110 (CIL,XVI,57),

is explicitly described as 'Ituraei'. As we have seen, the Tipasa text has an Aramaic name amongst the heirs to the dead man. At Arrabona, we can see something of the composition of the unit in its first generation away from Syria with a wholly Syrian complement; the Arrabona-Brigetio text reveals Europeans (14.05) as does that from Intercisa (14.06). By 110 when Thaemus was being discharged, he and the other longest serving soldiers will have been the last of the Syrian soldiers who came to the Danube c. 80. C. Beliabus, the heir of Julius Galianus at Tipasa, if a colleague or veteran (he seems not to have been a relative) may have been about the same age as Galianus - c. 45, and could have been the son of one of those Syrians who originally came to Europe with the regiment and perhaps died before discharge and enfranchisement.

Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum^{43a}

Chronological Framework: Out of the numerous attestations to Ituraean cohorts with the numeral I, we may immediately distinguish the above unit because of the distinctive nature of its title and the absence of any ambiguity in the evidence assignable to it. The earliest attestation is on a diploma for 80 (CIL,XVI,26), implying formation not later than c. 54/5. At the other extreme is the diploma for 158 (CIL,XVI,108), and its mention on two inscriptions naming prefects, one second century (15.10), the other probably second half of the second century (15.11). There is no reason why Augusta could not have been derived from the emperor Augustus. The occasion of the unit's transfer from Syria may be inferred from the Syrian, discharged in 98, whose recruitment date in or before c. 72/3 provides a terminus

post quem (CIL,XVI,42). Since the diploma for 80 provides the upper limit for transfer, the most attractive occasions are with Mucianus in 70, or in the Vespasianic restructuring and strengthening of the military dispositions on the Danube in the succeeding years. In 102 it is still in undivided Pannonia (CIL,XVI,47), by 110 it is in undivided Dacia (CIL,XVI,57).

Regimental Bases: We have only the merest hint of its location in Pannonia: the diploma of 98 was issued to a soldier of this unit and was found near Vardomb, in what was to become Pannonia inferior under Trajan. Some slight support for this indication that it was stationed in the south of the province of Pannonia may be inferred from the diploma of 102, issued to the soldier of another regiment, but including the Ituraeans among the list of units for discharge: this diploma was found at Aquincum, also in Pannonia inferior.

The evidence from Dacia for location is more satisfactory. Recent excavations at Buciumi,⁴⁴ in north-western Romania, on the site of a fort some 17 kms. south-south-west of Porolissum, have recovered a tile (15.09) stamped COH I AVG, and a fragment of a building inscription preserves the top of a numeral I preceded by a vertical stroke which the editors propose restoring asCO]H I[AVG... (15.08). Certainly there is no doubt that the numeral can only be I, and the evidence of the tile-stamp lends weight to the restoration.⁴⁵ (We might also note here the tile-stamp from Porolissum marked COH AVG.⁴⁶) Only two cohorts in Dacia can be expanded from I Aug.: Ituraeorum saq. and Nervia Pacensis Brittonum milliaria.

In the final publication of the Buciumi excavations, it was suggested that the cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum was in garrison at the

same time as the cohors II Nervia Pacensis Brittonum milliaria, attested there on an inscription and on tile-stamps. The inspiration for the suggestion was the previously postulated double garrison of cohortes II Hispanorum and I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria at Bologna, 22 kms. further to the south-south-west on the same stretch of limes.⁴⁷ While the large garrison at Bologna of some 1,500 men may be accepted inside a fort 213 x 133 m. (28, 329 sq.m.), can a garrison of the same size be accepted at Buciumi which, in its turf and timber phase in the early second century, was 150 x 128 m. (19, 200)?⁴⁸ Even allowing for the horses of the part-mounted soldiers of II Hispanorum at Bologna, it seems to me preferable to follow Russu in his supposition that the Ituraeans at Buciumi were succeeded by the Brittones, and that the change came before 144 at which date the Ituraeans appear on a diploma (CIL,XVI,90) as part of the garrison of Dacia superior to the south. The occupation at Buciumi itself is dated soon after the Trajanic annexation: 67 of the 265 coins are Trajanic and 45 of those are dated between 100 and 110.⁴⁹ This turf and timber phase was replaced by a slightly larger fort (167 x 134) soon after the middle of the second century. The fort lies north of a branch of the river Agrijului just east of a gap in the Mese hills of north-western Dacia, and presumably was sited there to cover the route through this gap into the interior of the province. Where the regiment was stationed during its stay in Dacia superior is not known.

Activities: One may suppose participation in the Jewish War of 66-70 and in the Second Dacian War of Trajan, if not the First. The absence of the unit from the otherwise very full Pannonian diplomas

of 84 and 85 (CIL,XVI,30; 31) must raise the possibility of its temporary absence from the province - perhaps on the Rhine for Domitian's German War.

Character: Only one text, one of the diplomas for 110 (CIL,XVI,57), describes the unit as sagittaria; it is not so-designated on the Dacian diplomas for 157 and 158 (CIL,XVI,107; 108), although in each case the diploma does include another unit explicitly described as sag(ittaria) (cohors I Thracum).

Personnel: Only one soldier and two prefects are known. The diploma of 98 records (CIL,XVI,42):

cohort(is) I August(ae) Ituraeorum, cui praest L. Callidius
L.f. Ste(llatina tribu) Camidienus, dimisso honesta missione
ex pedite P. Insteio Agrippae f., Cyrrh(o)

The prefect is known from an inscription from Vettona (Regio VI), and is probably Italian.⁵⁰ P. Insteius, from Cyrrhus in northern Syria, is more interesting. Kraft unhesitatingly called him peregrine,⁵¹ and there is indeed evidence for easterners taking a Latin name on enrolment (above, 49-50). However, P. Insteius is a rather unlikely name for a recruit who is simply looking for a common 'Roman' name to settle on. Whether he was indeed a citizen or a peregrinus, the name is worth a closer examination simply because of its rarity.

Excursus 1

I can find no parallel or close variant of this name in either Wuthnow or Preisigke although it is discussed by Schultze.⁵² There are a number of examples of the name both in literature and on inscriptions. The most eminent bearer is the praetor Insteius Celer,

in office under Antoninus Pius.⁵³ A century earlier, however, we have the lieutenant of Corbulo in the East in the late 50's: Insteius Capito appears twice in the pages of Tacitus (Ann.XIII.8 and 39), first as a centurion, later as praefectus castrorum. While it would be inappropriate here to enter into a detailed analysis of the distribution and frequency of the nomen, which is certainly Italian in origin, it is worth making the observation that a significant feature of the examples that have come to my attention is their association with an eastern context: apart from Insteius Capito, we also have a Ἰστανός in Egypt,⁵⁴ M. Intaeus Secus associated with a clear semitic name in the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum (above, 166) as well as our man here who is explicitly given a Syrian origo. Corbulo's lieutenant may well be the clue: he is clearly a ranker risen to high station and, given the swiftness with which the eastern legions began local recruitment, there is good reason to speculate that he was drawn from a locally settled Italian family.⁵⁵

More important perhaps than the name of the soldier is the fact of a Syrian being discharged from the cohort in 98: the most obvious inference is that at the time of his recruitment in c. 72/3 or earlier, his unit was stationed in Syria, perhaps in the north around Cyrrhus. Since the unit was in Pannonia in 80, a transfer date of some time under Vespasian seems to follow, though whether occurring with Mucianus, or following in the early 70's as part of the strengthening of the Danube frontier, we cannot at the moment determine.⁵⁶

Of the two prefects T. Statilius Taurus (15.10), - an Italian perhaps - is certainly post c. 88, the occasion when the legion XXII Primegenia, in which he held a tribunate, received its titles

pia fidelis. He is probably second century and it would be tempting to explain his succession of posts - praef. fab., praef. coh. I Aug. Itur, praef. coh. VI Thrac., trib. mil. leg. XXII Prim. - as being linked to the consulship and subsequent posts of a relative and/or patron: one of the consuls T. Statilius ——— who held office in 115, 144, 155?, 171, 198 or 9, is a possibility. T. Statilius Barbarus, consul 198 or 199 governed Germania superior in c. 200.⁵⁷ Little can be said of the prefect [A]elius ——— (15.11) on the badly mutilated inscription from Sarmizegetusa, other than noting his origin at Palmyra, the second century date implicit in his nomen and the find-spot of the text.

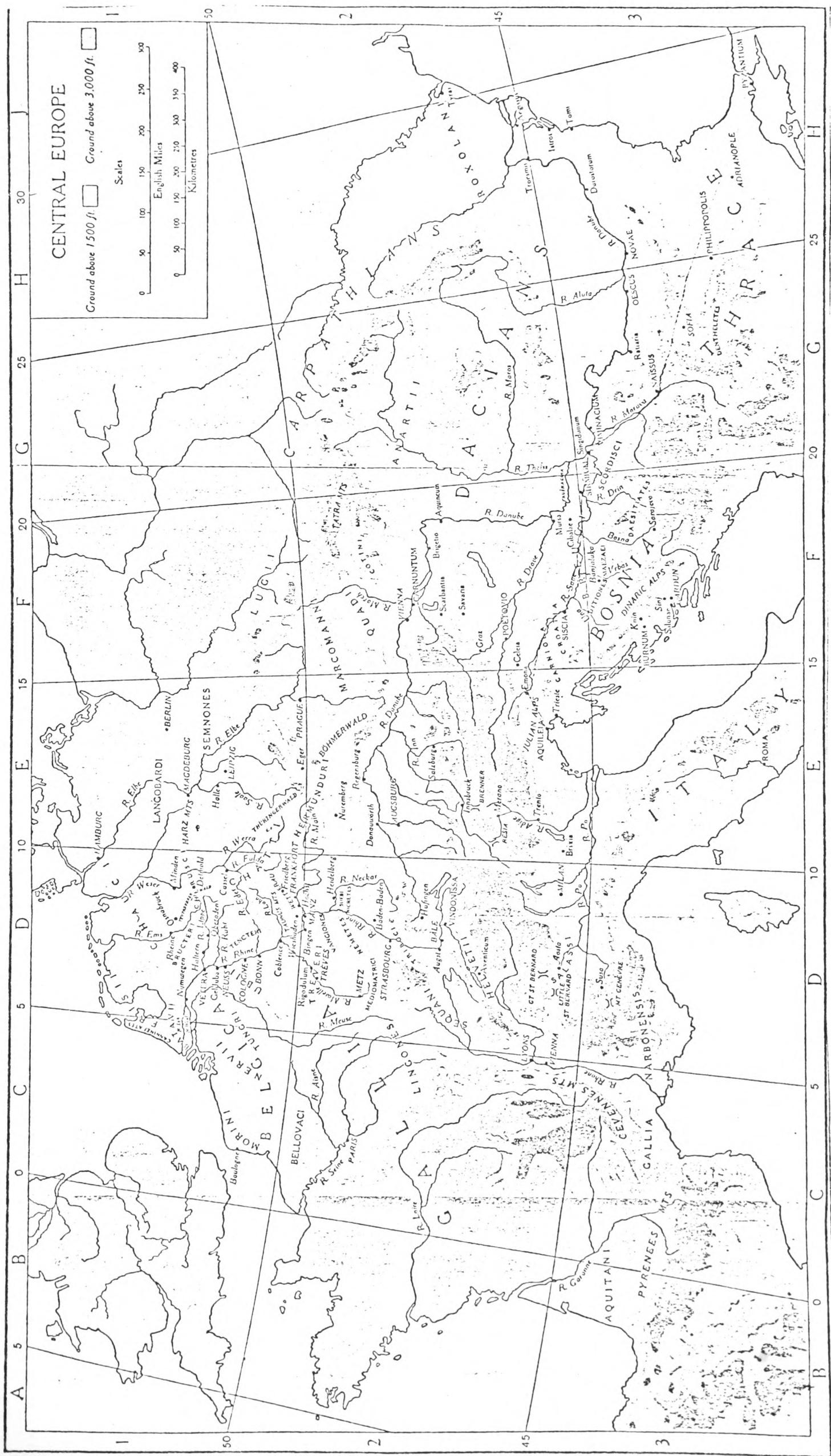
*

The evidence for the above cohort could be isolated with comparative ease largely because of the distinctive dynastic epithet. There remains a considerable body of evidence for up to five more Ituraean cohorts bearing the same number. We may begin by establishing the existence of at least two distinct units which between them absorb much of the evidence available: the diploma for Dacia for 110 (CIL, XVI, 57) records not only the preceding unit but a cohors I Ituraeorum. Furthermore, the diploma of 109 for Mauretania Tingitana records a cohors I Ituraeorum c.R. We may concentrate therefore on seeking previous and subsequent locations for these two distinct units from the pool at our disposal.

Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittariorum (equitata?)^{57a}

None of the evidence for this unit - all of which comes from or close to Mainz - is explicitly dated, and we are dependent on the subjective conclusions to be derived from epigraphic and artistic

Fig. 9



criteria. A first century date is clear from such formulae as h.s.e., and the use of the nominative for the deceased, the ablative for the unit, and from the absence of D.m. A closer date is inferred from comparison of the figuring and the style of the stone with closely dated stones of legionaries at the great fortress of Mainz; they are thus allocated to the reign of Tiberius.⁵⁸ All the known personnel on these texts are dead soldiers and their dedicants, with survival length for the deceased ranging from 2 to 21 years. None is time-expired and, on the texts where names are preserved, the men are clearly Semitic (16.01;.02) and probably Semitic (16.03). In short, the unit probably came to Mainz direct from the East and its known personnel all died within a short time of one another. The unit itself seems to have stayed for a short period and has no evident local or even European recruits. What became of it is unknown. Wagner, Stein and Kraft suggested identifying it with the regiment on the Syrian diploma of 88 (CIL,XVI,35);⁵⁹ Beneš seems to identify it with the cohors I Ituraeorum in Dacia in 110 (CIL,XVI,57);⁶⁰ Schürer, following Wagner, identifies it with both the Syrian and the Dacian unit;⁶¹ most recently, Holder equates it with the cohors I Ituraeorum c.R. on the Tingitana diploma for 109⁶² (below, 157).

First, the equations with the Syrian and/or Dacian regiment are weakened by the considerable length of the silence between the unit's attestation at Mainz under Tiberius and its next appearance in Syria in 88 (CIL,XVI,35), much less Dacia in 110. Just why it should have been sent all the way East again - as Wagner - is even harder to understand. Second, the Tingitanan unit appears on diplomas in 109 (CIL,XVI,161) and thereafter, but is missing on that for 88 (CIL,XVI,159);

the cohors I in Syria is on the Syrian diploma of 88, not amongst those preserved on the pair of Syrian diplomas for 91 (Roxan, nos. 4 and 5), nor heard of again in that province. Consequently, apart from the difficulty in accepting a silence of four generations between Mainz and Tingitana, it is highly probable that the Syrian regiment went to Mauretania after 88 (see below, p. 157 and App. 4; cf. however, p. 158).

I am inclined to regard this regiment in the same way as the cohors II Cyrrhestarum (above, 104), as one which declined in numbers and was eventually disbanded/re-distributed. In this context, it is interesting to note the broadly contemporary tombstone from Mainz to Molaecus, Samuti f., ... ex co. III(?), Iturarius, stip. XIII... (52.01). Stümpel's⁶³ suggested co. III has been taken by Holder⁶⁴ to be cohors III (sagittariorum) though one may have some reservations (below, 242): there is nothing to hinder the belief that Molaecus, like other archers come to the Rhine in a national unit, may then have been transferred to a cohors sagittariorum formed from the depleted ranks of such national units as they grew older (below, 242).

As one would expect from a unit of Ituraeans, it was certainly composed of archers: the tombstone of Monimus, Ierombali f., (16.01) depicts an archer, and we have a tile from Rheinzabern (16.03) reading:]ITUR SAG[.... Whether it was also equitata is dependent on the acceptance of the restoration]R. equi[tum/ coh. I I]tu[raeorum? ... (16.07).

Finally, there is the question of where the unit lay while in Germany. Possibilities are the fort at Mainz-Weisenau, 2 miles to the south of the fortress, or at Kastel where there was a later

bridgehead fort. There is also the possibility that the unit was inside the fortress itself. Von Petrikovits has recently observed that, in the pre-Flavian period, there is particularly strong evidence for an ala inside the bases at both Mainz and Bonn.⁶⁵

Cohors I Ituraeorum c.R.⁶⁶

This unit first appears in Mauretania Tingitana on the diploma for 109 (CIL,XVI,161); it is restored on those for 114/7 and 122 (CIL,XVI,165; 169), and is on those for 129/32, 156/7 (bis), and 159 (CIL,XVI,173; 181; 182 and Roxan no. 53). Clearly it remained thereafter since it must be the cohors prima [I]tyraeorum under the comes Tingitaniae in the Notitia Dignitatum (Oc. XXVI.16). Apart from the diplomas there is only one other certain attestation in this province - a mutilated dedication from Segermes in Africa by a prefect coh. I[t]u[rae]or. provinciae Ting. (17.10).

Where did it come from? Holder's identification with the Ituraeans at Mainz under Tiberius is unconvincing (above, 155), nor can it be the regiment in Dacia in 110, or the un-numbered unit of Arrian's Cappadocian army in 135⁶⁷ (Arrian had no time to call up neighbouring reinforcements, much less draw units from Tingitana). As I have already noted, the best equation is with the Ituraean regiment on the diploma of Syria for 88. I have developed a theory for its transfer to Mauretania - not uncommon for Syrian units: ala I Hamiorum and cohors II Syrorum to Tingitana, ala Augusta Parthorum and cohors Surorum in Caesariensis, cohors I Chalcidenorum, VI Commagenorum, and numeri of Palmyreni and Hemeseni in Africa - in connection with the warfare in the reign of Domitian which I have re-

dated to c. 91/2 (below, App. 4). However, while the equation is attractive, it must be acknowledged that there is at least one other equation for the unit on the Syrian diploma of 88: Margaret Roxan has suggested to me that the Syrian unit may be that in Dacia in 110 and subsequently employed in Cappadocia.⁶⁸ (App. 4). No location for the unit in Syria is known while in Tingitana only the base given of the Notitia is available: Castra Bariensi, equatable perhaps with Banasa.⁶⁹

At no time is the unit ever described as sagittaria or even equitata. The important feature, however, is the honorific title civium Romanorum, a title which it shares with several others in the province. Regretably, none of the diplomas was issued to a soldier of this regiment (nor, indeed, do we know of any personnel apart from a single prefect). We have, therefore, no clue to the date of the award. In theory, it should be possible to get an indication not just from a discharge from this unit, but from any of the units c.R. on the diplomas of Tingitana up to, say, 138. In other words, a discharged soldier who, at the time of his final discharge is already a 'Flavius', a 'Cocceius' or an 'Ulpus' would strongly hint at the particular reign in which the awards had been made. Indeed, 80% of the ten units which appear on the diploma of 88 have become c.R. before the end of Trajan's reign, most probably all before 109.⁷⁰ In short, we may plausibly infer a very extensive and successful local campaign. Again, we have no less than 29 fragmentary or complete diplomas for Mauretania Tingitana: unfortunately, only three preserve the name of the man discharged from a c.R. unit in the period in question:

CIL, XVI, 166 for 118]lani f. Flavus
169 for 122 M. Antonius Maximus, Antoni f., Syrus
173 for 129/32 M. Publilius Saturnius, Publili
f., Tingitana

The first is too fragmentary; neither of the others received their award of citizenship from an emperor. (Nor can any name be attributed to a grant by a governor of the Mauretians or even of Baetica - cf. however, Publilius Memorialis who held procuratorial posts in Numidia under Vespasian.⁷¹ From a province which has been so productive of diplomas in recent years, there is still hope of a discovery which will assist in dating the grant of c.R. I believe, however, that a closer date for the award can be discovered on the basis of the termini of 88 and 109 provided by the diplomas, and by a re-examination of the career inscriptions of C. Velius Rufus. I have discussed the evidence below in Appendix 4. It is suggested there that not only should we accept the termini of 88 and 109 given by the diplomas, but that the posts of Velius Rufus may be re-dated to reveal war against the tribes of Mauretania - on a considerable scale - soon after 89 and probably not later than c. 92/3: a date soon after c. 90 is probable.

Nothing useful can be said about the prefect Quadratus Laet[ianus] (17.10), the only individual so far known associated with the unit.

Cohors I Ituraeorum milliaria (?)

The Dacian diploma for 110 (CIL, XVI, 57) records not only the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum and the cohort I Augusta Ituraeorum sag., but also the above named regiment (without milliaria). It does not appear in Dacia again and was probably employed there simply as part

of the initial, inflated post-conquest garrison. Where did it come from and where did it go after 110? As noted above, one explanation is that it is to be equated with the cohors I Ituraeorum on the Syrian diploma of 88 (CIL,XVI,35), and possibly with the cohors Ituraeorum sagittariorum equitata in Arrian's Cappadocian army in 135. In view of Trajan's subsequent Armenian campaign, there is much to commend the latter identification; the former is more difficult. My own preference is to identify the Dacian unit with the cohors milliaria Ituraeorum attested on a text from Serdica, Moesia inferior (18.02), a text of unknown date (possibly late first century),⁷² and also, perhaps, with the unit on a mutilated text from Eitha in (appropriately) the Hauran of southern Syria which records the transfer of 'Ituraeans' to Moesia (18.01). In short, a milliary unit of Ituraeans, transferred from their homeland to Moesia in the (probably late) first century, in Dacia in 110 and sent to Cappadocia thereafter where it appears once only in 135. (Ektaxis, 18). One thinks of the end of Nero's reign as an appropriate occasion for the formation of such a milliary regiment in Syria⁷³ in which case, its absence from the diplomas of undivided Moesia for 75, 78, and 82 (Roxan no. 2, CIL,XVI,22; 28) and even from the pair for Moesia inferior for 99 (CIL,XVI,44; 45), would indicate no more than that no men were yet eligible for discharge.

*

Finally, three texts remain. All are career inscriptions and the find-spots are therefore not significant. Two present the unique problem among oriental regiments that the abbreviated title may be expanded to fit two different units: are the letters COHITYR to be expanded as COH(ors) ITYR(aeorum) or COH(ors) I TYR(iorum)?

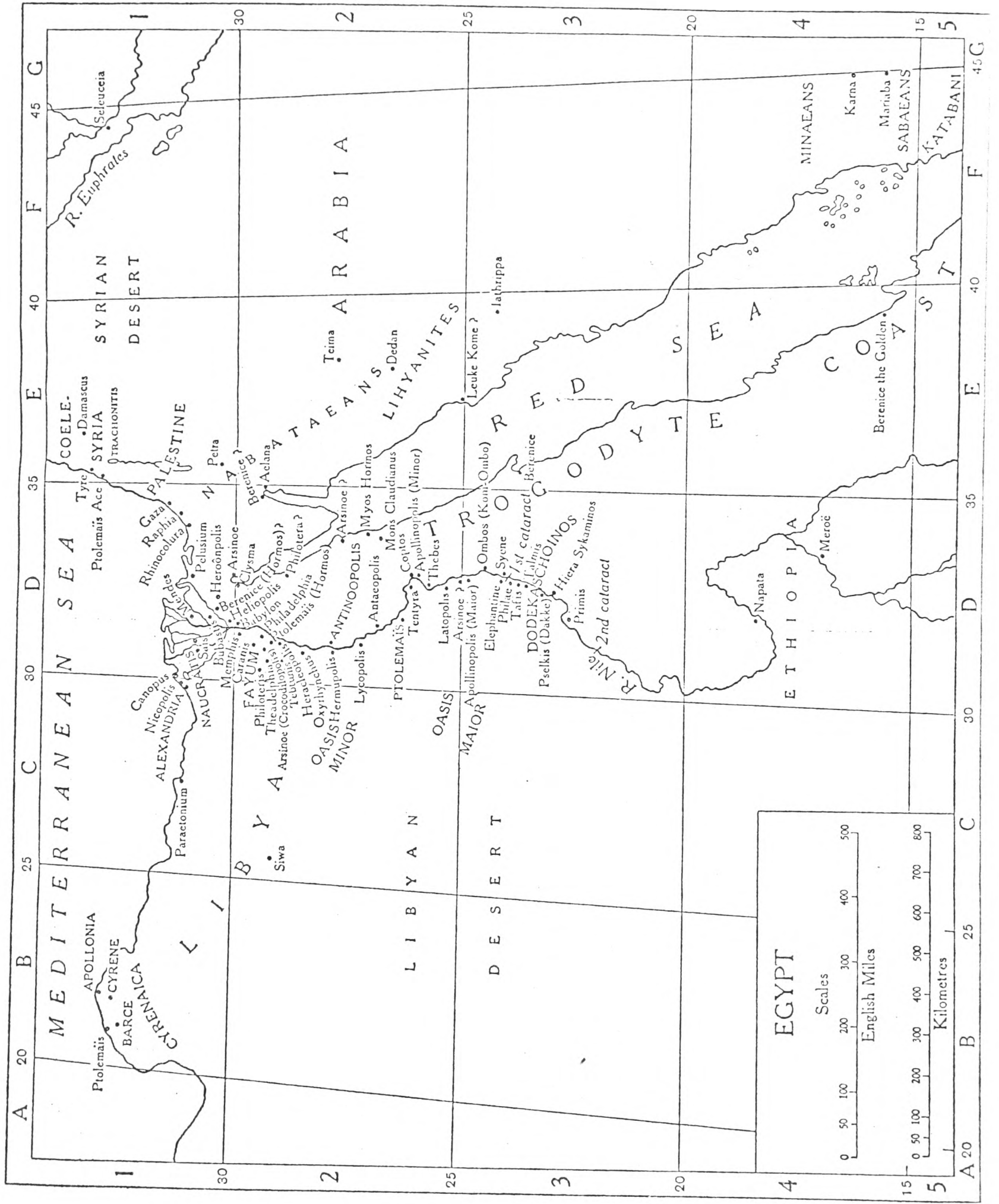
The latter unit was also based on the Danube, in Moesia inferior. An inspection of the stone might assist but, since neither is accessible to me, I can only indicate a preference for Tyrriorum in both cases. The reasoning is simply that the numeral is included more often than not in inscriptions, and that in these cases the texts were commissioned by equestrian officers who not only could afford the text to be cut properly, but would have had an appreciation that the army consisted of more than a single Ituraean regiment and that a numeral was important for identification.⁷⁴ Both texts are, accordingly, discussed below under 'Tyrriorum'.

The final text certainly refers to Ituraeans. (\ 8.50). Ti. Claudius Heras was decorated in a war while tribune in the second of two legions with which he served - III Cyrenaica (previously with XII Fulminata). Both legions took part in the Jewish War of 69-71, and this is the date usually attributed to Heras. His prefecture of the cohors Ituraeorum, prior to this, may also have been in Syria - possibly the cohors I Ituraeorum of the Syrian diploma of 88 which I have argued was then moved to Mauretania Tingitana. The possibility cannot be excluded that he commanded one of the Ituraean regiments in Egypt which bore a higher numeral.

Cohors II Ituraeorum equitata⁷⁵

Chronological Framework: A succession of clearly dated texts places the unit in Egypt from 83 to the late fourth century:

9 March, 83 (?)	inscription on statue of Memnon	(19.12)
9 June, 83	diploma (not issued to this unit)	(CIL, XVI, 29)
(before Sept.), 98	dedication at Aswan (=Syene)	(19.14)
24 Sept., 105	diploma of this unit; found in Syria (?)	(Roxan, no. 9)



13 Jan., 136	Pselcis	(19.16)
143/4	Talmis	(19.17;.18)
146/7	Talmis	(19.19)
156/61	diploma (not issued to this unit)	(CIL,XVI,184)
188	naming a veteran discharged	
	31 Dec., 177	(19.21)
204	Arsinöe	(19.22)
late fourth century	<u>Notitia Dignitatum</u>	(Or. XXVIII.44)

The regiment was almost certainly in Egypt much earlier, possibly since the annexation in 30 B.C.

1. First, we have an epitaph from Pselcis (19.09):

C. Iulius Suavis/Q.f., dec. coh. II Itur./ann. XXXXII

The nominative implies a first-century A.D. date; the name suggests the early part of the century, probably Augustus or early Tiberius and recruitment under the former.

2. A dedication from Syene (19.10):

C. Caesari Aug. Germanico divi Aug./pronepoti Ti. Caesaris Aug.,n. Germanici Caesaris f./cos.II, trib. potest., pontif. maximo, imp. patri patriae/ per C. Vitrasium Pollionem, praef. Aegyp., cohors Ituraeor./cui praest L. Eienus L.f.Fal. Saturninus anno III Caesaris Augusti/Germanici IIII kal. Maias. N.d. II. III

The date is 28 April, A.D. 39, and, as will be seen, the unit is almost certainly the second cohort of Ituraeans.

3. Strabo (Geog.,xvii.1.12 (797)) tells us that in Egypt:

There are also three legions of soldiers, one of which is stationed in the city and the others in the country; and apart from these there are nine Roman cohorts, three in the city, three on the borders of Aethiopia in Syene, as a guard for that region, and three in the rest of the country. And there are also three bodies of cavalry, which likewise are assigned to the various critical points.

Under the first prefect, Cornelius Gallus, the southern boundary of Upper Egypt was the First Cataract, but, under

the third, C. Petronius, the Ethiopians seized not only Philae to the south of this First Cataract but also Syene and Elephantine to the north. The outcome of the ensuing war was a peace in 21 B.C. which established a Roman military zone, the Dodecaschoinos, to the south of the First Cataract, an area which certainly included Philae, Talmis and Pselcis.⁷⁶

The conclusions which emerge are that, even before this war with the Ethiopians, Philae at least was regarded as Roman in that it could be 'seized'; i.e. the establishment of the Dodecaschoinos was merely the formalising of an existing situation. Again, the fact that the three cohorts at Syene in Strabo's time were still there in 98 suggests that it continued to be used as a joint base, the auxiliary equivalent perhaps of the double and treble winter-quarters of the legions.

4. Among the many inscriptions cut on the walls of the temple of Isis at Philae is the following (19.07):⁷⁷

Ἰούνιος ἔνθα Σαβῖνος, ἔχων Ἴτυραιῖδα πόρπαν,
ἴκτο, Συηναίας ἐσμὸν ἄγων στρατιᾶς,
ἃ παν(εο)ρτεύουσα νέοις ἐγάνωσεν ἰάκχοις "
Εἴσιν ἐκσῶζειν κόσμον ἐπισταμέναν.
[Αἰθιοπῶν γὰρ ? φ]ῦλα μεμνηνότεα Ῥωμυλίδαισι
[νικάσας πολλ?]ᾶς ἤκεν ἔχων ἀγέλας.
[- - - - - κατὰ ?] μῶλον, ἐρεῖς, τότε Καί[σ]αρος ἀνὴρ,
- - - - - [κ]αὶ στέφος ἀρμόσατο.

Iunius Sabinus is almost certainly a centurion in command of a detachment of Ituraeans and, again, we must surely

identify the unit as the second cohort so well-attested in this region.⁷⁸ The important points, however, are that he is returned recently from an unnamed expedition and that, from the reference to 'Caesar', he is probably referring to Augustus rather than any of the successors whose names would have been qualified as on the inscription of A.D. 39. Bernand is probably correct in restoring the people against whom the expedition was directed as the Ethiopians.

5. M.P. Speidel has recently discussed a group of Augustan and Tiberian texts from Egypt's eastern desert.⁷⁹ The people mentioned in them are clearly soldiers, but they refer not to well-known units but to regiments identified by the names of their commanders - cohors Facundi, cohors Nigri and cohors Flori (19.01-.06). Speidel concluded that it was, in fact, only a single regiment known to its personnel by the names of its changing commanders. He may be right: certainly three of the six texts, each giving a different commander's name have come from the same location in the Wadi Hammamat. However, the area over which the texts are spread is large - over 220 miles' in length, most of it to the east of the river, in the desert.⁸⁰ Again, the region includes Syene close to its centre, a site which we know to have been the headquarters of three cohorts in the early years of Augustus and again in 98. On balance I am inclined to think that Speidel's texts may refer to two or more cohorts. However, he is probably right in believing

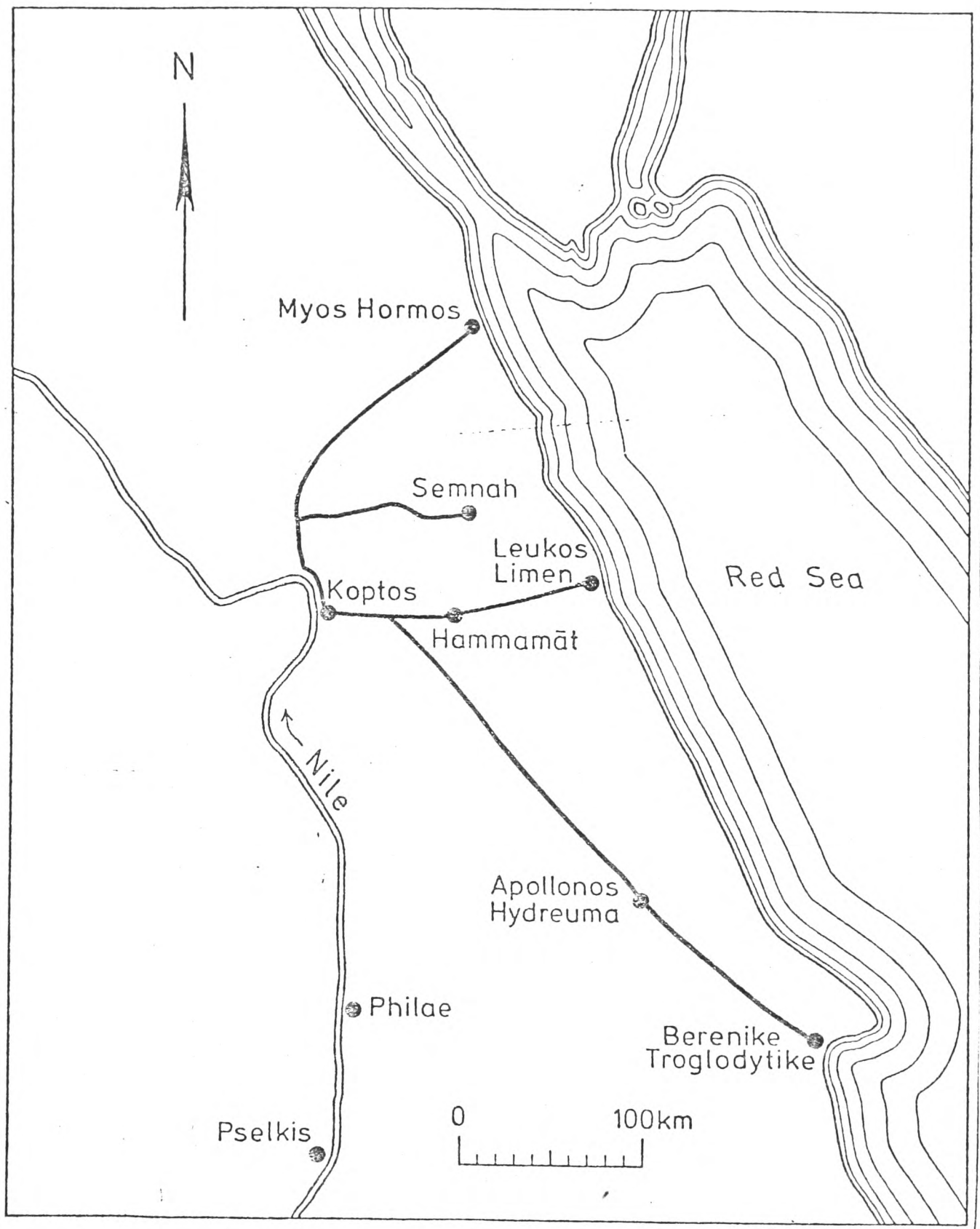


Fig. 11 Eastern desert of Egypt (Speidel, 1977, 513).

that the presence of two clear Semitic names amongst the personnel probably points to one of the units being the cohors II Ituraeorum.

On the basis of the foregoing, the balance of probabilities is clearly in favour of the cohors II Ituraeorum being based in Egypt under Augustus, probably as one of the three cohorts stationed at Syene.

The Regimental Base(s): Under Augustus, Caligula and Trajan the base was certainly Syene. Lesquier, however, believed that the evidence from Talmis, Philae, Pselcis and Hiera Sykaminos show that it was moved south into the Dodescashoinos; the date of these appeared to be in the early part of the second century and, in view of the three texts from Pselcis and the group of ostraca receipts from that site which may belong to this unit, that was seen as its headquarters. The unit may in fact have been moved to a more southerly base, though I do not think it necessary to suppose so. First, one of the attestations at Pselcis is that mentioning C. Iulius Suavis (19.09), probably Augustan, certainly first-century, therefore, showing operations in the south before the text of 98 which still places his unit at Syene. Again, even in the Augustan period when the Roman garrison was at Syene, Roman influence extended south into Nubia and the region would almost certainly have been patrolled. We might note too, that none of the personnel attested at these Nubian bases is a prefect; the various N.C.O's would be just what we would expect for a detachment. In short, the probability is that the garrison of Syene remained intact well beyond the first century. The triple base was essentially a winter-quarters - a term, be it noted, applied

to the camp of III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana at Nicopolis in 119⁸¹ - from which detachments of varying sizes will have moved out each spring into summer camps along the Nile and probably into the desert.⁸² Amongst these bases were Philae, Talmis, Pselcis and Hieria Sykaminos.

By the fourth century the garrison of Syene had certainly been reduced - one cohort and milites miliarenses - and the Ituraeans have moved north to appear at Alyi in Augustamnica.

Activities of the Cohort: As seen above (p.163), the cohort took part in a foreign expedition which is best interpreted as that of Petronius into Ethiopia. Presumably it had been one of those cohorts defeated by the Ethiopians in 28 B.C. when they captured Syene.⁸³ It has been suggested that the evidence of the inscription of 98 from Syene should be looked at in conjunction with the evidence from Hunt's Pridianum.⁸⁴ The latter is the day report of a cohors I Hispanorum veterana in Moesia in September of a year which may be 100, 101, 104 or 105. Discussion of this regiment has failed to identify it conclusively with either the cohors I Hispanorum in Pannonia in 60 or that in Egypt. However, Fink has recently arrived at the same preference as Hunt, namely that it is in fact the Egyptian unit. He notes that, while there is an obvious explanation for the presence of an Egyptian unit on the Danube at that time, Cichorius and Lesquier felt that it could not be that from Syene which was attested there in 98 or 99. He went on:

. . . it seems not to have been noticed that the inscription, though it names the prefects of the I Hispanorum and the II Ituraeorum equitata, states explicitly that P. Claudius Justus, the prefect of the I Thebaeorum equitata, is the curator of the other two cohorts. This I take to mean that

the other two prefects and the bulk of their soldiers are absent from Egypt, leaving Iustus as locum tenens to handle the routine affairs of the token formations which remained at headquarters. . . . the fact that the papyrus comes from Egypt favours the identification with the Egyptian cohort.⁸⁵

One may assume, too, that there would be every reason to expect that the unit sent detachments at least to the Jewish War of Vespasian and Titus, possibly to that of Hadrian and perhaps even to more distant wars in Syria. The regular duties of the unit probably involved patrolling along the river and in the deserts.⁸⁶

Character of the Regiment: That it was part-mounted is made clear by the references to it as equitata (19.14;.18), and to a decurion (19.09). There is nothing whatsoever to suggest that the unit was composed of archers.

Personnel: The personnel may include the names mentioned on the ostraca from Pselcis (19.27). However, they should be treated cautiously for two reasons: first, it is by no means certain that the unit to which supplies are being issued is the one under discussion. Moreover, there is a strong probability that more than one unit is involved. Likewise, there is no certainty that all the names on the ostraca belong to the same unit. None of the names is certainly paralleled elsewhere.⁸⁷

I have noted above the two Semites in the first quarter of the first century who may belong to this unit: Gabinius Thaemus (19.01) and Mammogais Bataei (19.05).⁸⁸ The name Gabinius is certainly suggestive, given the honour in which A. Gabinius was held in southern Syria as a result of his reconstruction of the cities there in the period 57-55 B.C. C. Julius Suavis has a Latin name and

most certainly be an early recruit; ann. XXXXII makes most sense as a length of service rather than life, and hence he would have been enfranchised some years before.

Deserving of especial attention is the recipient of the diploma of 105: M. Spedius M.f. Corbulo, ex pedite, Hippo. Given the find-spot of the diploma (probably in Syria) the identification of his origo was naturally with the Hippos of the Syrian Decap^olis on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee.⁸⁹ Allowing service of 25 years or more we may calculate his birth year as c. 50 - c. 62 and infer that the cognomen was derived from Nero's general Domitius Corbulo, and dates either from his activity in Armenia in the late 50's or, more probably, from his governorship of Syria in the early 60's. The nomen Spedius is attested in Egypt under Augustus or Tiberius - it belonged to a soldier of XXII Deiotariana (?), C. Spedius C.f. Pol(lia) from Cyrene; and at Palmyra in A.D. 58 we have a non-Palmyrene called L. Spedius Chrysanthus.⁹⁰ There seems little reason to doubt, however, that Spedius Corbulo is Syrian. The tria nomina is also noteworthy. There is no governor of Egypt, Syria or any other province from whom he may have taken the M. Spedius upon acquiring citizenship. There seems little doubt, however, that he was a citizen before discharge and not simply 'a man taking 'Roman' names on enlistment - the names are too rare to be an obvious choice and his father too has a Roman praenomen. Whence came his citizenship and why did he join an auxiliary regiment? The obvious solution, though in the nature of things unprovable, is that he is the descendant of a freedman who had taken his citizenship from his erstwhile master one M.(?) Spedius ———. This would

explain his presence in an auxiliary cohort at such an early date: he would have been ineligible to join a legion.⁹¹ Certainly, we need not see in his recruitment to the Ituraean cohort the continued enlistment of Syrians in Syrian regiments - nothing suggests that the cohors II was/continued to be sagittaria and needed drafts of specialist archers. His enrolment in a unit in Upper Egypt is probably simply a matter of Egypt needing recruits and Syria having a surplus. It would appear - understandably - that Nubia held no attractions for a man brought up in the hills around Lake Tiberias and he returned home, soon to find himself in the new province of Arabia.

Cohors III Ituraeorum equitata⁹²

Chronological Framework: The earliest dated attestation is for 9 June, 83 (CIL,XVI,129) (indicating recruitment at least as early as c. 57/8); the latest, a papyrus of 243/4 (20.08). Nothing can be done to push the unit's service in Egypt beyond 243/4 - it does not appear on the Notitia Dignitatum; but there is room for discussion concerning the time of its arrival.

As discussed above, it is probable that the cohors II Ituraeorum came to Egypt in the early years of the Augustan province and, prima facie, we might have supposed that its sister unit - next in the numerical sequence - arrived at the same time. Further support can be found from an examination of the known garrison. Strabo tells us that in the early Augustan period there were 9 cohorts in Egypt: we know the names of 15 cohorts which were or may have been in Egypt before the Severan period.⁹³ Of these latter, I Ulpia Afrorum equitata and I Flavia Cilicum can be immediately eliminated from the

Augustan garrison since they are clearly later creations; the same may be true of the cohors Nervia Pacensis Brittonum (?) which, in any case, appears for the first and only time in 156/61 (CIL, XVI, 184). The I Augusta Lusitanorum and the II Thracum are both attested in Judaea during the first century and should probably be rejected too.⁹⁴ Unless there were in fact two units of the same name (above, p. 86~~f~~) the cohors I Apamenorum, attested in Cappadocia under Trajan and Hadrian should also be eliminated from consideration. Finally, the cohors II Commagenorum was, as we have seen (above, p. 95~~f~~) never in Egypt. Eight units remain:

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Attested in Egypt from:</u> ⁹⁵
cohors	I Damascenorum	139 (?) (refers to an ex-prefect; see below, p. 187)
	I Hispanorum eq.	83
	II Ituraeorum	Julio-Claudian, probably Augustus
	III Ituraeorum	83
	I Pannoniorum	83
	Scutata c.R.	Tiberius
	I Thebaeorum	Augustus
	II Thebaeorum	83

It would be absurd to pretend that this list represented 8 of the 9 units of the Augustan garrison; equally, we may be sure that most of the units named were indeed in Egypt under Augustus. The cohors II Thebaeorum was probably raised at the same time as its sister unit, as - I have suggested - was the case with II and III Ituraeorum.

The third cohort of Ituraeans was probably recruited in the late first century B.C., by Augustus, possibly taken over from Antony.

The Regimental Base: The evidence does little more than hint at a likely area. A papyrus from Oxyrhynchus concerning the arrival of six new recruits (a copy, not the original) (20.05); the papyrus from Karanis noting promotions within this unit and another (20.08); the

record of a legal transaction concerning a soldier of this unit (20.04), also from Karanis; a reference to a prefect from Thebes (20.13); an inscription mentioning this and another unit on a rock face at Ptolemais Hormos (20.09); and two dedications by soldiers from Talmis (20.01;.02), both of the same year.⁹⁶ Leaving aside the latter, we have then an indication that the unit was based in Upper Egypt and probably in the Fayuum. Another rock inscription from Ptolemais Hormos mentions the ala Vocontiorum which seems to have garrisoned Babylon after the departure of the legion there in the reign of Tiberius: it was certainly the new garrison in A.D. 59.⁹⁷ On balance, I am inclined to see the Talmis texts as set up during the unit's participation in a campaign in the south, and to regard it as normally part of the garrison which Strabo tells us was 'in the rest of the country; i.e. distinct from that in Alexandria and the southern garrison centred on Syene.

Character of the Regiment: Despite the renown of Ituraeans as archers, this unit, too, is nowhere described as sagittaria. On the other hand, it is nowhere described as equitata, yet the promotions recorded for 243/4 (20.08) have one man made decurion and another promoted from cavalryman to centurion.⁹⁸ It may be that it had not always been part-mounted but it may equally be a salutary warning of just how defective our evidence is.

Personnel: The various documents provide us with the names of 4 prefects, 3 centurions, 1 decurion, 1 cornicularius, 1 singularis, 15 soldiers and 6 tirones. Of the soldiers themselves, none bears a name which need make him anything other than Egyptian. No text is certainly old enough to provide us with any mention of a man who

might be an initial recruit.

A feature of the personnel of this unit which has already attracted a great deal of attention is the status of the recruits of 103: all bear the tria nomina of citizens and it has been argued that, even at this early date, auxiliary units had substantial intakes of Roman citizens.⁹⁹ With the possible exception of Veturius Gemellus, all of the names are of the typical "Roman" sort which a native Egyptian might choose to replace his own more outlandish name when he entered service. I am not inclined to regard them as necessarily citizen recruits. The only other feature worth remark amongst this group - if the figures can be trusted - is the ages given by the men; all are rather older than we might have expected: recruits could enter at 18; this group are all 20 or over.

Finally, we have a very badly damaged epitaph from Clusium in Italy (20.50). The deceased is almost certainly a prefect who died in command of an Ituraean regiment: Ituraeorum sagittarior. qui in bello cecidit. Devijver tentatively suggests a second century date and identifies it with the unit in Cappadocia. However, the war mentioned might equally have been in Europe or even in Mauretania.

The Ituraean Regiments'

Precise dates for formation are unknown. Possible occasions are during Antony's rule in the East, under Augustus during his settlement of the East and his forces, and in A.D. 69. Clearly, the units known were formed on a variety of occasions (the Ituraeans employed by Pompey? and Caesar were almost certainly irregular mercenaries, possibly never formalised as auxilia):

- A ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum
cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum
- B (a cohors I Ituraeorum)
cohors II Ituraeorum equitata
cohors III Ituraeorum equitata
- C (a cohors I Ituraeorum)
- D cohors I Ituraeorum ∞ (?)

Group A are clearly a formation (or re-formation) of Augustus - i.e. between 27 B.C. and A.D. 14; simultaneous formation is probable. Group B, certainly raised simultaneously as a series, must take a recruitment date prior to the earliest terminus ante quem of any one of them - in this case, the cohors II, which is almost certainly in Egypt under Augustus. Since, however, they do not bear the title Augusta, they may therefore be Antonian formations taken over by Augustus, a possibility which would be supported by the evidence of Antony's Ituraean bodyguard. The unit in Group C may be either of the two cohortes I - i.e. giving termini ante quem of Claudius-Nero. The military cohort in Group D may be Neronian or early Flavian in date.

It is clear that the 'Ituraean' region of southern Syria made a considerable contribution to the Roman armed forces from an early date, with probably most of the seven known units raised before the death of Augustus and all before the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. If we include some, or all, of the units raised among the Canatheni, Chalcideni and Damasceni, the contribution is still more impressive. We must bear in mind too, that most of these regiments spent all or the greater part of their known life-span serving in areas other than Syria. Their eponymous homeland soon became a

fruitful source of manpower for the locally based Roman forces, both in the auxiliary units and the legions.¹⁰⁰ Of course, it was not simply that the population of a rugged, basically agricultural region was more likely to make better soldiers than the city-orientated peoples of the seaboard and the fertile belt between 'desert and sown'. The Hauran and Trachonitis - the wild volcanic region of southern Syria - in Antiquity, as today, was a thickly populated area, fertile when intelligently farmed and water carefully husbanded, and literally studded with large stone-built villages.¹⁰¹ In short, ideal ground for recruits.¹⁰²

Finally we might note three other Ituraeans, in civil contexts: Tacitus mentions a client of Junia Silana with the name Iturius - an ex-slave perhaps? We have too, an epitaph from Rome:

Dis manibus/Ituriae Nice vix. a. XXXI/L. Iturius Zosimus/
patronus libertae

Cohors I Augusta Canathenorum (?)¹⁰³

The sole text (21.01) is on a badly damaged inscription reported from Imtan, 15 kms south-east of Salkhad towards Deir el-Kahf. As such, a date post-106 is probable, since the area only came into Roman hands with the annexation of Arabia. The text, as published by Dussaud and Macler in 1901, reads:

....]mil. et/qu. [i]tes/coh. I Aug./CANNHEN/et [.]ACHIOT/fece.

The editors proposed to interpret it as a reference to I Flavia Canathenorum. If indeed it is the latter unit, it provides us with a venue for that unit immediately prior to transfer to Raetia.

Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittariorum¹⁰⁴

With the discovery of a great deal of new evidence in recent years, the history of this regiment may be traced much more fully than could be done by Stein in 1932. The name Flavia implies formation as early as, perhaps, 69. Likewise, its appearance on the diploma of 125/8 (Roxan, no. 32) indicates formation under Vespasian. It is tempting to see it as one of the 10 milliary cohorts in the army of Syria alluded to by Josephus with regard to 68.¹⁰⁵ The latest certain date comes from the diploma of 167/8 (Roxan, no. 68) but the cursus of M. Plotius Faustus (22.09) who commanded both this regiment and the cohors III Ituraeorum in Egypt, is almost certainly to be dated to post-192.¹⁰⁶ The text from Imtan (21.01) discussed above may give us the earliest known station for the regiment in the north-east of the new province of Arabia. A natural assumption would be that it had previously been based in southern Syria. It would follow, too, that its transfer westwards would have to come between 106 and 125/8; Radnoti suggested a direct move in c. 125.¹⁰⁷ In Raetia, the unit appears, or is restorable on diplomas for 125/8, 147, 153, 153/7 (bis), 156/7, 149/61, 162, 166 and 168 (Roxan, no. 32, CIL,XVI,94; Roxan, no. 46; 51; CIL,XVI,183;117; Roxan,no. 59; CIL,XVI,118; 121; Roxan, no. 68). Tile-stamps have been reported at Eining, Pföding, Kösching, Regensburg and Straubing:¹⁰⁸ Stein proposed the latter as its station because of a text of 163 from there which may allude to it (22.13).

Apart from its possible participation in the annexation of Arabia we know nothing certain about its activities.

The regiment's numerical strength and characteristic as archers are attested clearly on the later diplomas for 153/7 (bis) and 166

(Roxan, no. 51; CIL,XVI,117;121), but not on that for 167/8. The latter, however, not only omits milliaria sagittaria for this unit, but gives few qualifying epithets to other regiments and omits milliaria too from the title of the cohors IX Batavorum. In view of its origin, it seems likely that it was composed of archers from the outset. Its milliary status is implied still in the rank of Plotius Faustus (22.09) who is tribune of the unit. Only two prefects and one soldier are known. The diploma for 162 (CIL,XVI,118) has a prefect with the nomen Aelius indicating, perhaps, an original grant of citizenship from Hadrian to his father or grandfather. The recipient - whose name is also broken - is especially interesting: Asvodane R[.....] f. [.....] - a clearly Semitic name paralleled in the Dura papyri for example in the forms Avidas, Avadas and Audas.¹⁰⁹ Discharged in 162, he must have been recruited c. 136/7 or before, and, since the regiment was already in Raetia by that date, he must be explained either in terms of a draft from the East or by reference to his ancestry. For the latter, one might suggest his birth c. 117/8 at the latest - at which time the unit may well have been in Syria still - to a Syrian soldier who then died in service in Raetia so that his family lost their chance of citizenship.

The other prefect, M. Plotius Faustus, comes from a well-known family at Timgad.

ala Celerum sagittariorum

At the turn of this century only one reference to this unit was known - an epitaph from Vir^unum in Noricum: (23.02)¹¹⁰

Aggaeo/hexarcho/alae Celerum/viro sagittandi/peritissimo vi/
militum interem/(p)to Monna/marito amantissimo.

Cichorius thought it probably to be dated to after the Diocletianic-Constantinian reforms and Wagner concurred that the office of hexarchus was certainly suggestive of the late third or fourth centuries.¹¹¹ Wagner, however, was able to make use of the studies of Hofmann and Schober which had concluded that, stylistically, the writing, execution and relief were second century.¹¹² Although aware of a new reference to the unit - which Pflaum subsequently exploited to provide a later formation-date - Wagner concluded that the unit was indeed a second century formation and suggested that its arrival on the Danube was likely to have been in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Wagner had remarked on the unit's name which he noted was redolent of very early Roman military affairs. The name, in fact, is explained by Livy:

"Great though Romulus was, he was better loved by the commons than by the senate, and best of all by the army. He maintained, in peace as in war, a personal armed guard of 300 men, whom he called Celeres - 'the Swift'."¹¹³

Building on this, Pflaum drew in the text reported in outline (it was lost soon after), by Dunand in 1926: "A Chohba, l'ancienne Philippopolis, j'ai relevé une dédicace, probablement inédite, en l'honneur de Marinus, le père de l'empereur Philippe, par les cavaliers de l'ala celerum Philippiana".¹¹⁴ The coincidence of the date (244-9), the location of the text in the home city of the reigning emperor, the impending millenary celebrations which would invoke the memory of Rome's founder, all led Pflaum to suggest that the ala Celerum was in fact a creation of Philip the Arab who made it the garrison of Philippopolis.¹¹⁵ Speidel has recently taken the discussion a little further in implicitly rejecting the ala as the garrison of Philippopolis, by

drawing attention to one, possibly two other units in the region at this time which he thought were best explained as part of the forces of Philip, visiting his home before returning to Rome: legio I Parthica Philippiana and ala nova firma catafractaria (milliaria) Philippiana.¹¹⁶

I am not entirely satisfied with the above interpretation: some of its features were admittedly presented tentatively but the reservations need to be stated. Let us begin with the secure points: the regiment is certainly composed of archers (the wife of Aggaeus explicitly describes him as a man extraordinarily skilled in archery) and, given the oriental name borne by Aggaeus¹¹⁷ and the preponderance of eastern origins for archer regiments generally, we need have little hesitation in ascribing its recruitment ground to one of the Semitic provinces. The combination of the fame of southern Syria for its archers, the almost certain recruitment by Philip, and one of the only two attestations being from Philip's home city make the Lejā the most likely origo for the unit. Why was it at Philippopolis? I find the suggestion of a visit by Philip himself implausible. Against it we might cite the time factor: Gordian III was killed just near Circesium on 25 February 244 or a few days later.¹¹⁸ A dedication from Albanum by men of the legion II Parthica (which would have been with Gordian in the eastern campaign) celebrating the Victorious Return of Philip is dated 23 July 244.¹¹⁹ If we assume - as seems the obvious interpretation - that it implies that the emperor and his field army have returned to Rome by that date then there would have been little time for Philip to have made a visit to his home city. Moreover, it would have been an unnecessarily and unwisely sentimental action for a mature and ruthless man who had just murdered his predecessor; he

had more pressing problems, not least terminating the war with Persia and securing his own position. The direct route to Rome would have taken him across Asia Minor then either along the via Egnatia and a sea crossing to Italy, or north through Illyricum and down into Italy. The distances are considerable: the first is c. 2000 miles, the second c. 2500 miles. The Roman army marched 20 M.P. per day and rested up on the third day. Allowing: i) for rest on each third day, and ii) leaving out the rest, we get minimum and maximum figures as follows: via Brindisi - 100 and 150 days; via Aquileia - 125 and 188 days. Since he only has a maximum of 146 days to make peace and return, and for the men of II Parthica to return to their barracks outside Rome and have the dedication cut, a detour south into the Lejā is highly improbable. He never came to the East again.

What of the evidence to support a visit to the Lejā-Hauran region? It consists of the Dunand text for the ala Celerum, and a dedication from Bostra to the prefect of the legio I Parthica Philippiana erected by the prefect of the ala nova firma catafractaria (milliaria) Philippiana, 'praeposito optimo'.¹²⁰ It is unnecessary to infer the presence of the legion in Arabia; the presence of the ala on the other hand is likely. The suggestion is that the ala nova, like the ala Celerum was in Philip's retinue:¹²¹ the only other possibility is that it was part of the garrison. In favour of this latter is the possibility too that it is still there at the end of the next century, appearing in the Notitia list as the ala nona (sic) milliaria.¹²² While we might legitimately hesitate to believe in a milliary ala of heavy cavalry in the Hauran area, we must reflect that if it is not the same unit then Arabia still had a normal milliary ala which is

scarcely more plausible.

I am inclined to think that the solution lies in the Dunand text. Philip did not visit his home, but the upgrading of its status and its renaming, together with the presence there of the emperor's father - Marinus - made a military force desirable. What more natural than a bodyguard of the fierce local archers whose fidelity could be relied on? The name too could be seen as symbolic: a bodyguard for the emperor's father at a time when the emperor himself was about to celebrate the foundation of Rome by the Father of the City itself.¹²³ It might have seemed too that the name, with its overtones of swiftness often applied to arrows,¹²⁴ was appropriate for a regiment of archers. The ala nova may have been sent to the vicinity at this time as a garrison, in the same way as military formations today are to be found close to the various residences of heads of state. The death of Philip would have seen the removal of the ala Celerum, and, it would seem, its transfer to the Danube. The regiment may not have gone directly to Noricum but its presence in that province at any time in the 250's - 70's would be entirely understandable. Noricum, like Pannonia, suffered severely in the barbarian invasions of the next quarter century: the literary sources are scant but archaeology furnishes further evidence. Road building in the period is one part of the story; a more significant part is the coin-hoards - most are of the 260's but some begin c. 253-4 or soon after, and are found even in the interior at Solva and near Virunum.¹²⁵

If my suggestions above are correct, the Aggaeus text must post-date 249 - i.e. it is 250 or later. The ethnic origin of Aggaeus would indicate that his death falls within c. 25 years of the unit's

transfer from the East; it is also long enough after its arrival in Noricum for his marriage to Monna, a local woman.¹²⁶ Furthermore, although the stylistic dating must be incorrect, it may be taken to indicate that an earlier rather than a later date for the Aggaeus text is to be preferred.

Finally, the province from which the unit was drawn. In the second century, the Lejā is part of Syria; in the fourth, its towns are dating by the era of Bostra. The commonly held view is that the region was added to Arabia by Septimius Severus.¹²⁷ MacAdam has, however, taken issue with this and argued that, since the evidence only shows the use of the Arabian era in the fourth century, the burden of proof lies with those who wish a Severan date rather than those who think the date must be later.¹²⁸ Until we have more evidence the matter will not be more satisfactorily settled. MacAdam's disagreement with the Severan date I find attractive and, while his preference for a Diocletianic one may well be correct, I wonder if we might not also consider Philip as the emperor responsible for the change? As part of Arabia, Philippopolis was close to the provincial capital; as part of Syria it could scarcely have been more remote.

Cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata^{128a}

None of the attestations of this unit give it an imperial nomen, indicating, perhaps, a pre-Flavian origin. The earliest precisely dated text is for 125/6 (24.02), but reference to it can be found much earlier from the career of T. Staberius Secundus: he was successively praef. coh. Chalciden. in Africa, tribunus militum leg. VII Geminae

felicis in Germania and praef. equit. alae Moesicae felicis torquatae (24.01). A date comes from the (Lower) German diploma of 15 April, 78 (CIL,XVI,23) issued to a trooper of the ala Moesica under the command of this man. The only occasion at this period in which the legion VII Gemina may be supposed to have been in Germany is with the expedition of Vespasian in 74. From this it follows that he must have commanded the Chalcideni in Africa in the very early years of Vespasian, c. 70/2. Recently, an acephalous dedication to an equestrian officer and procurator has come to light (24.50): the individual commanded a cohort Chalci]denor[um, followed by ala]I Panno[n]io[rum, his next (procuratorial) post being explicitly under Vespasian. Since there were alae I Pannoniorum both in Moesia inferior alongside II Chalcidenorum and in Africa alongside I Chalcidenorum there is no way of knowing which Chalcidic unit is to be restored here. The latest certain date is for 164 (24.03;.04); again, however, we have a broken text from Tatilti in Mauretania Caesariensis of the Severan period (24.08) reading ...]na coh.IIII []IDEN/[... The editor proposed an otherwise unattested fourth cohort (Flavia?) of Chalcideni,¹²⁹ but a reference to the cohors I makes more sense. One explanation might be a joint dedication by four cohorts: [I Chalc] iden(orun) [et IV Syga]m (b^rorum) [et; more likely, however, is ... coh IIII/[Sygamb(rorum) et I Chalc]iden(orum)/...¹³⁰

The earliest station of the unit in Numidia is unknown but may have been in the west where, in 125/6, the unit is mentioned on a statue base in the newly built fort of Gemellae. Gemellae, 190 x 150 m. in size, is situated on a projection of the western end of the Numidian limes, and, although the earliest building inscription from there is

for 132/3 for the principia, it is probably correct to assume that either the principia followed some years after the main work or else there was an earlier provisional camp on the site.¹³¹ If the unit was in garrison, it was a short stay: under Antoninus Pius (and later) the ala I Pannoniorum is attested there.¹³² The Chalcideni probably moved at that time to the eastern end of the Numidian limes, where they appear at Bir-Umm Ali in 163/4 on two texts (24.03;.04) and on two other undated stones (24.06;.07). The move is probably to be associated with the troubles in Africa in the reign of Antoninus Pius. This necessitated the loan of a vexillation of the legion VI Ferrata from Judaea as early as 145 which was responsible for building a new military road eastwards across the saltus Arausius from Lambaesis.¹³³ As we have seen above, the regiment may have been at Tatilti in Mauretania Caesariensis in the Severan period (24.08).

The unit is clearly quingenary and equitata; there is no hint, however, that it was sagittaria. In view of the prominence of archers amongst the royal forces of Chalcis, this is something of a surprise. It is possible, of course, that it originated in Chalcis ad Belum in the north, rather than the Ituraean city of that name. More probable, however, are the possibilities either that sag(ittaria) is simply being abbreviated out on the surviving texts or that, as an old regiment, it had failed to maintain its archer capability and was simply a locally recruited regiment by the Flavian period.

There are two certain prefects - T. Staberius Secundus (24.01), c. 70/2, was probably an Italian, possibly from Rome itself, although the nomen is most frequently met around Capua.¹³⁴ C. Suetonius Ianuarius (24.06) clearly owed his family's citizenship to

C. Suetonius Paulinus who had operated in Mauretania with such distinction in 41-3. Kajanto notes 2007 examples of Ianuarius, most of them in Africa where lucky names were popular.¹³⁵ Our man is named in the tombstones he had erected to his wife at Bir-Umm Ali which should date the text to the middle or later second century. From Urgavo in Baetica we have the career of the Spaniard (24.05)

C. Venaecius Voconianus praef. coh. Chalcedonen. (sic), trib. leg. III Gall[i]cae felicis, pr[ae]f. alae I Lem^a[v]orum. The ala was in Africa, the legion in Syria, but there is no way of being sure which of the two cohortes I Chalcedenorum (assuming that was what was intended) is meant. The absence of Flavia might point to Africa; on the other hand, it was not uncommon for a man to hold his second militia close to or in the same province as his first.

Finally, there is the acephalous altar from Bir-Umm Ali (24.07) dedicated by the praef. coh. nomine Galloni(us?). The regiment in question is possibly the Chalcideni.

No soldiers of the unit are known as yet.

Cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum¹³⁶

The earliest certain attestation is the diploma of Moesia inferior of 99 (CIL,XVI,45) implying formation c. 73/4 or earlier. There is also the cursus from Thrace (24.50) mentioned above which may refer to this unit rather than the first cohort in Africa, and which is dated to Vespasian. Again, the absence of a Kaiserbeiname implies a pre-Flavian date and, assuming the two units were formed simultaneously, the terminus ante quem must in any case be pushed back to c. 70/2 (24.01). The latest certain date is the diploma for 138 (CIL,XVI,83)

(the bronze reads I but there can be no doubt that it is simply an error for II),¹³⁷ but it is listed too - II[Ch]alc[id(enorum)] sag(ittariorum) - on a diploma for c. 157 (Roxan, no. 50).

We remain as ignorant today as Wagner was in 1938 regarding where precisely in Moesia inferior it was stationed.¹³⁸ Likewise, even the time of its arrival in Moesia is unknown: we have no diploma earlier than 99 for inferior and it is not on the diplomas of undivided Moesia.

Only the latest diploma (Roxan, no. 50) describes it as sagittaria but presumably it had been a regiment of archers from the outset. No personnel are known.

Cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum equitata sagittariorum^{138a}

The regiment is one of the 16 cohorts listed on the Syrian diploma for 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 106) and appears for the last time on an inscription from the Syrian diplomas for 88 (Roxan, no. 3; CIL, XVI, 35) *Palmyra of 244/7 (26.07). The Flavia implies formation between 69 and 96 and certainly its absence* and 91 (Roxan, nos. 4 and 5) may be easily explained by its recent formation, while the diploma of 134/8 (CIL, XVI, 103) preserves only alae. I believe, however, that on two texts it may be traced in Syria earlier than 156/7. First, a vexillation of the unit is part of the special mounted force of M. Valerius Lollianus' praepositus in Mesopotamia (26.01); I have argued below (App. 5) that the commonly attributed date of L. Verus' Parthian War is probably too late and a Hadrianic date accords better with the evidence. Second, the coh. I Ch(a)lci[d]enor(um) into which the auxiliary centurion, Agrippa, Themis f. was transferred (26.02), is best interpreted as the Syrian rather than the African unit. The matter is more appropriately discussed

in connection with the numerus Palmyrenorum (below, 20\) in Numidia, since it is important for the formation and arrival of that unit in Africa. It will be seen there, too, that my preferred occasion for the transfer is the reign of Hadrian.

Most of the units contributing to Lollianus's special command can be traced in Syria, and it is likely that this is where the cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum was stationed at that time. Likewise, I have argued below (203-6) that Agrippa, Themis f. was transferred to this unit because it was stationed in Palmyrenia where he was to take command of a newly raised numerus of the local archers. In 162 the cohort was responsible for a dedication to the emperor (26.04) at Admedera (Dumeir) on the Damascus-Palmyra road some 120 miles southwest of the latter; in 206/7 its prefect created a dedication to Septimius Severus at Palmyra (26.05) and it is still there under Elagabalus or Severus Alexander (26.06) and under Philip the Arab (26.07). It may be this unit too which is alluded to on a damaged altar erected by an opti(o) eq(uitum) at Palmyra (26.08).

That it was part-mounted is implicit in its contribution to the mounted force of Lollianus, and it is explicitly equitata sagittariorum on three subsequent texts: 162 (26.04), 206/7 (26.05) and Elagabalus/Severus Alexander (26.06).

Of the four known prefects, Lollianus (26.01) is discussed below (App. 5) and Aelius Herculanius owed his family's citizenship to Hadrian or Antoninus; the other two are respectively largely, and wholly, unreadable.

Agrippa, Themis f. is the most interesting of the unit's personnel. He gives Palmyra as his origo and had begun service in cohors III

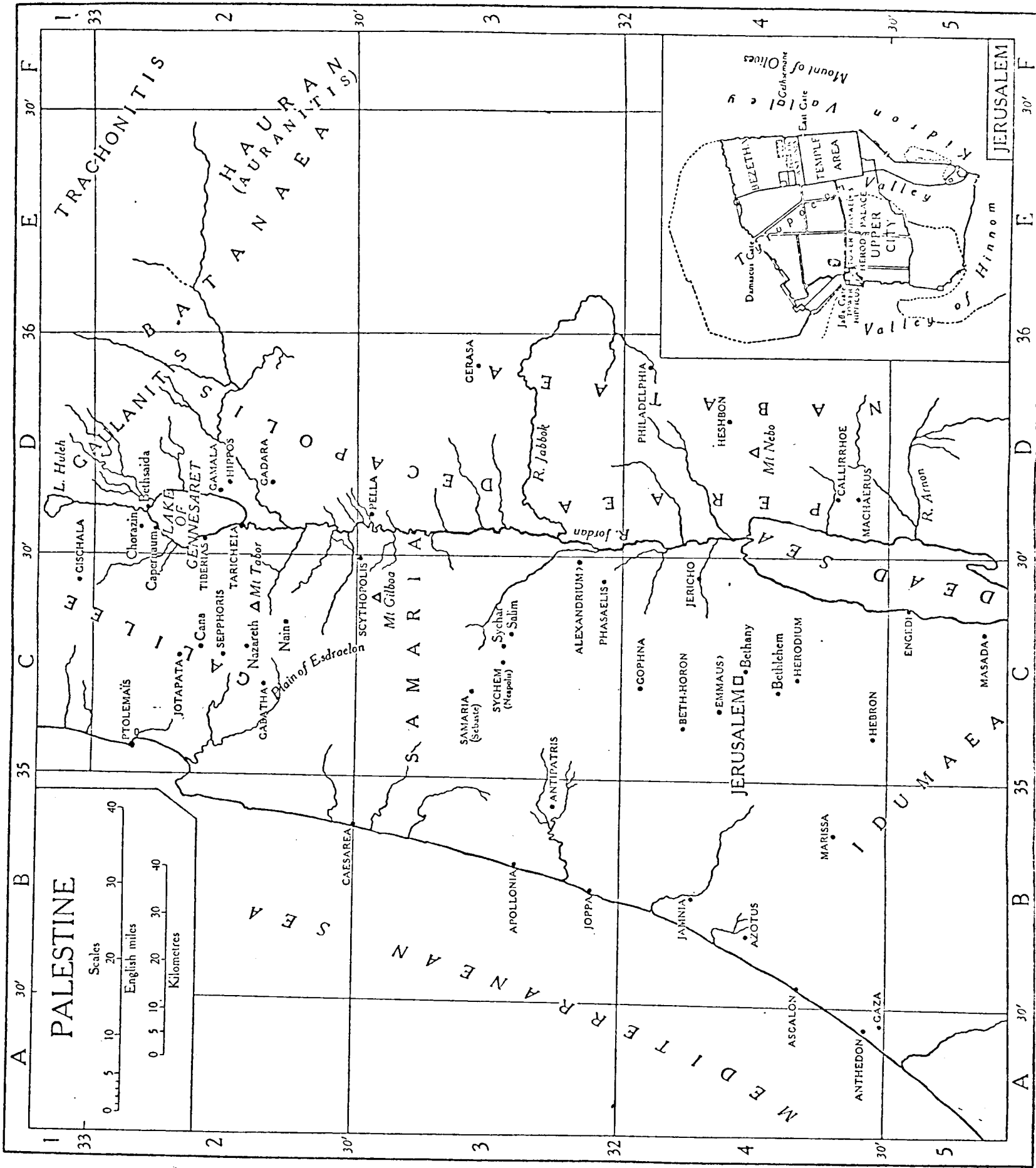
Thracum Syriaca in Syria (below, 201) rising to centurion. His origo and ability are enough to explain his exceptional transfer to the Chalcidic unit which lay near Palmyra and to which he was probably to belong while overseeing the recruitment and training of Palmyreni sagittarii whom he subsequently conducted to el-Kantara in Numidia. The date is probably Hadrianic, possibly c. 127/31 (below, 205). Finally, Amathallat, Sabbiti f., optio (26.08), if he belongs to this unit, is almost certainly a Palmyrene.¹³⁹

Cohors I Damascenorum¹⁴⁰

From Egypt have come 3 documents referring to two men who are described as former-prefects, all 3 papyri dating to 132/3 (27.01), and 135 (27.02;.03). Four years later, the regiment appears on the diploma of Syria Palestina of 139 (CIL, XVI, 87) implying formation by 113/4. In fact, we may place the unit earlier still, both from the cursus of C. Cornelius Minicianus (27.05) who commanded the unit a few years before c. 107/8 (below, 198), and probably from the absence of an imperial nomen. The latest certain attestation is the diploma of 186 (Roxan, no. 69). However, the ala prima Damascena of the Notitia Dignitatum may be the same unit converted to cavalry (below, 191 f.).

The documents concerning the ex-prefects in Egypt tell us nothing about station. The evidence of the two diplomas from Syria Palaestina for 139 and 186 would seem to be borne out by the career of Minicianus. He has been identified with Pliny's correspondent of that name ornamentum regionis meae.¹⁴¹ Pliny thanks the consular Q. Pompeius Falco in a letter for granting his friend Minicianus the tribunate he

Fig. 12



had requested for him. Minicianus' appointments seem only to overlap with those of Falco in one area: Falco governed Judaea c. 108, the same province in which the cohors I Damascenorum is found in 139. The obvious difficulty is that this was a prefecture while Pliny explicitly thanks Falco for a tribunate (of a legion, presumably). According to Sherwin-White, Minicianus "seemed to have received a prefecture instead".¹⁴² Eric Birley, who originally doubted the identification of Pliny's correspondent with the individual on the curus, seems now to have modified that view, while Antony Birley suggests that Falco was unable to grant the tribunate which would have allowed Minicianus "to omit the militia prima" and he had to settle for the prefecture instead.¹⁴³ Another recent writer simply asserts that Falco did not grant the request since the tribunate actually held was in the African legion III Augusta, with which Falco had no contact.¹⁴⁴ The reconciliation of the prefecture actually held with Pliny's explicit statement, may be resolved by reference to Falco's career. There were, in fact, only 3 occasions in Falco's career under Trajan when he had, or could anticipate, the gift of a legionary tribunate at his disposal: this command of the V Macedonica in Trajan's first Dacian War is too early, and his governorship of Moesia inferior c. 116-7 comes a few years after the supposed date of Pliny's death.¹⁴⁵ It has been remarked that Falco anomalously held two successive praetorian governorships - of Lycia-et-Pamphylia and then of Iudaea. Smallwood¹⁴⁶ regarded the second post as evidence of trouble in Judaea at that time. A. Birley¹⁴⁷ has more plausibly seen it as part of the moves made to see that neighbouring provinces were in able hands in the immediate aftermath of the annexation of

Arabia in 106. Certainly the dating would fit well with the suffect consulship in 108, which is the only space available for Falco.¹⁴⁸ Unless one supposes that Falco had in fact been destined for Numidia and command of its legion after Lycia-et-Pamphylia and was able to arrange with the replacement that one of the tribunes there still went to Minicianus, it is probable that the latter settled for the command actually available when Falco's unexpected transfer was announced. That the regiment was already in Iudaea/Syria Palestine c. 108 seems likely, but we have no evidence for its whereabouts before that - whether in Judaea or elsewhere - nor do we know anything of its station in that province.

Nothing is known of any personnel other than the two prefects, Claudius Philoxenus (27.02;.03) and Claudius Serenus (27.01), both of whom were probably Egyptians.

Cohors I Flavia Damascenorum milliaria equitata sagittariorum¹⁴⁹

The imperial nomen implies formation between 69 and 96, but the appearance of the regiment on the Upper German diploma of 90 (CIL,XVI,36) suggests it had men enrolled as early as c. 64/5, if not before. A formation date in the early 60's - perhaps by Corbulo c. 62/3 - would accord well with discharge in '90 followed by more in 117 (CIL,XVI,62;63), almost exactly the appropriate span later if one accepts the cyclical theory (above,47f). The latest attestation is now the altar erected by an ex-decurion, bearing the consular date of 227 (28.07).

The unit was probably based in Syria until Vespasian's bid for the throne. The date of its transfer has been placed by Schönberger¹⁵⁰

between 82 and 90 because the unit was not on the (Upper) German diplomas of 74 or 82 (CIL,XVI,20;29 - this latter in fact may be for 83: ad n. 28). Such an argument is in itself untenable, but is certainly to be overturned if a late Nero/early Vespasian formation date for the unit is accepted, with the consequent absence of time-expired men for c. 25 years. In fact, the most obvious and attractive occasion for its arrival from the East would be as part of the general Vespasianic reforms and reinforcement on the Rhine in the early 70's, especially once the Jewish War's conclusion released men from that area.¹⁵¹ In the second century the unit was stationed at Friedberg in the Wetterau.¹⁵² However, that site had been the base for cohort^es I and IV Aquitanorum in the early Flavian period, and the Damasceni probably only moved there c. 89 as part of the transfers following the suppression of Saturninus' revolt.¹⁵³ Prior to this move to Friedberg it may have lain at Heddernheim from which has come another altar (28.01), this time erected to I.o.m. Dolichenus. Heddernheim was the site of a Dolichenum finally destroyed in the reign of Maximinus Thrax.¹⁵⁴ and it may have owed its origin to the one-time garrison of Syrian soldiers, though their presence at Friedberg a few miles to the north-west might well have been adequate.

No prefects are known, but the soldiers are of interest. Apart from Sextius Ursus (28.07), the ex-decurion in the early third century, we have the epitaph of Faustinus Faustinus (28.08) who served, too, as singularis of the provincial governor, probably in the second century.¹⁵⁵ Kraft regards him as a German or Gaul. The other two texts are more interesting: the cornicularius Soemus Severus (28.02) is clearly an oriental with a common Roman name tacked on to

his own semitic one, Soemus (more commonly Soaemus or Sohaemus).¹⁵⁶ Kraft, curiously, regards him as a citizen, which is unnecessary, but he is probably right to assign him to the end of the first century: he may be a recruit before transfer from Syria or even the peregrine son of such a soldier. His dedication to Mars and Victory implies recent successful warfare which, if he was an initial recruit, might have been Domitian's Chattan War of 83-5. The dedication inscribed on a silver offering to Jupiter Dolichenus was made by Tib. Cl. [...] (28.01), a centurion.¹⁵⁷ Kraft observed that he must be a citizen, and dated him to the middle of the second century. His names, however, suggest citizenship, or an original grant of citizenship, from Claudius or Nero. Admittedly there would then be the problem of a dedication to Dolichenus at such an early date. Speidel has noted that the earliest dated dedication to Dolichenus - outside of Commagene - so far known is from Lambaesis for 125/6.¹⁵⁸ He observes, however, that that dedication recorded the inauguration of a temple to the cult by the governor of Africa, and that usually the imperial authorities followed such trends rather than led the way. In short, there is nothing to hinder the possibility that the Heddernheim dedication was made in the late first century.

ala I Damascena

The sole reference comes from the Notitia Dignitatum under the Dux Foenicis (Or. XXXII.33): ala prima Damascena, monte Iovis. The location of Mons Iovis is the main problem. Dussaud confessed ignorance but conjectured 'le poste de Djebel Seis'.¹⁵⁹ Musil, on the other hand, looked for "the fort on Jupiter's mountain at the fort

of Abu Sindah which stands on a high hill".¹⁶⁰ The latter lies east of Homs on the road to Palmyra, is 45.40 x 41.20 m., with loopholes, one of which has a cross cut above it. The ground there is open and suitable for cavalry. Tell Seys on the other hand is a spectacular extinct volcano some 105 kms. south-east of Damascus, around the slopes of which lie many ruins which were seen not only by Dussaud, but also Poidebard, as the site of a Roman post.¹⁶¹ There are few more-outstanding landmarks in Syria Phoenice and, if correctly identified, the name Mons Iovis would be easily explicable. There are two objections: first the name was probably given by people acquainted not with the whole of Syria but merely their own locality. In this case, a high hill in any one of a number of localities might have qualified for that grandiose title, within the narrow horizons of the local population. Second, Sauvaget has investigated some of the ruins on the hill slopes and, although he would like to believe that there had been a Roman fort there, he has found no trace of it and is adamant that the so-called castellum is in fact Islamic, of the early eighth century.¹⁶²

No secure decision can be reached, though it might be felt that Tell Seys remains the more attractive and its extensive ruins may yet reveal the Roman post that would surely have been placed on so fine a vantage point.

Long ago, Ritterling¹⁶³ suggested that some pre-Severan cohorts were converted to alae, and the suggestion has been adopted recently in the case of this regiment by Roxan who suggests, attractively, identification with the cohors I Damascenorum in Syria Palestina in the second century.¹⁶⁴

PALMYRENI

Over the years, the questions of the relationship of Palmyra to the Roman Empire and later its status within it, have been much debated. The difficulty arose over the explicit statement by the Elder Pliny who claimed that Palmyra was an autonomous buffer state between Rome and Parthia.¹ This contention is no longer accepted: historians can, for example, point to the involvement of Germanicus there, later still that by Mucianus and, in the early Flavian period, the construction of a road from Palmyra to Sura on the Euphrates by Traianus senior.² Moreover, it is in this same period that we get out earliest evidence for Palmyrene soldiers with the Roman army - the Midrash alludes to Palmyrenes in Vespasian's service in the Jewish War of 69,³ and, more secure, diplomas in 120 (CIL, XVI, 68 and Roxan, no. 17) record the discharge of Palmyreni sagittarii; a few years later still, Hadrian visited the city and it took the honorific title Hadriane.⁴

The territory of the city was extensive. On the East and North it was bounded by the Euphrates; on the West it had boundaries with its neighbours at Kheurbet el-Bilaas, c. 75 kms to the northwest towards Hama, and at Qasr el-Heir, c. 65 kms to the southwest towards Damascus (its boundary, in fact, with Emesa).⁵ A huge area, the centre of which was Palmyra itself, the largest oasis in the entire Syrian desert.

The city based its prosperity on the caravan trade which it controlled between the Euphrates and the caravan cities of the desert's edge - Damascus, Emesa and Hama - and on which it levied a toll. The wealth of the city was well-enough known in the late Republic to have tempted Antony into his fruitless dash across the Syrian desert to try and seize it.⁶ Even at that stage, their

prowess as archers was established, and it is the bowmen who were exploited by Rome as early as Trajan, probably as early as Vespasian. Its men received their training in the city's militia which watched over and conveyed the caravans across the desert.⁷ A striking number of Palmyrene units are found in the Roman army: apart from the two milliary regiments stationed in Syria itself, units were despatched to serve in at least three other provinces. Clearly the city lost little of its vigour if one judges by its role in the defeat of the Persians and its rule over the eastern Empire in the third quarter of the third century.⁸ Sherwin-White has noted that contemporary and later Roman writers saw the third century Palmyrene state as essentially non-Roman and their ruler not as a rebel, but as an invader of Roman provinces.⁹ The first point is explicable, given the continued comparative isolation of the caravan city and the nature of its land and people, however far they had allowed classical ideas into their architecture and administrative vocabulary.¹⁰ It is difficult to believe, however, that at that time Palmyra was anything other than a part of the Roman Empire, and the rhetoric of Roman writers no more than propaganda designed to whip up popular support against an "alien invader". Looking back, one can see the landmarks in the city's changing status: road-building under Vespasian¹¹ must have been the crucial step in bringing Palmyra under close Roman control, even if its isolation and important role required it to have a wider degree of autonomy under its own local aristocracy than enjoyed by cities further west. The process of assimilation continued under Trajan¹² and culminated in the successful visit of Hadrian (a striking number of Palmyrenes have the nomen Aelia). A century later, it was granted colonial status by the Severi.¹³

Despite the comparatively early appearance of Palmyreni with the Roman forces, no certain legionaries with a Palmyrene origo have been discovered. Further up the scale, however, they are prominent as equestrian officers: in the second century, no less than seven are known, and an eighth appears in the third century.¹⁴

ala I Ulpia Palmyrenorum dromedariorum milliaria

The Syrian diploma for 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 106) has long provided us with evidence for the existence of an ala I Ulpia dromad. (sic) (milliaria). Formation no later than 117 was obvious but, until much more recently, the unit was otherwise unknown and the best suggestion for its origin was Cheesman's proposal of Arabia.¹⁵ In 1945, however, a new Greek inscription from Palmyra was published, recording the career of a local Palmyrene equestrian officer, Ti. Claudius Phi/[... whose third militia was as praefectus alae primae [Ulpia] dromedariorum Palmyren[orum] (30.01). The dedication was made by M. Ulpus Iarhi¹⁶as who is otherwise attested in the period 155-9 from a number of dedications made at Palmyra.¹⁶ Clearly the unit was raised in Palmyrenia and, for obvious reasons, retained there to watch over the caravan routes. Its special characteristic¹⁷ is probably the explanation for a Palmyrene commander.

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A considerable body of evidence is now available attesting the presence of two, possibly three distinct units of Palmyrene archers in Dacia. In the second century these numeri are named from their station and, in the third century, they may have been upgraded to alae and cohortes. In the earliest stage, however, they were

apparently simply described as Palmyreni sagittarii. They appear as such on four diplomas (CIL, XVI, ad. n. 68; Roxan nos. 17, 27 and 28) and on a fragment, (Roxan, Frg. 2) all Dacia superior - two for 120 and two for 126. Both diplomas for 126 came from Jupa/Tibiscum where we later find a numerus Palmyrenorum, while those for 120, as well as the fragment, come from the north-west of the province - Porolissum, Samum and Larginia. Again, the first of these is the base of a numerus. We may deduce, therefore, that the diplomas refer to different numeri, and we may also consider that the units were raised c. 94/5 and c. 100/1 respectively.

Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium¹⁸

The earliest evidence is probably the pair of diplomas of 126 (Roxan, nos. 27; 28), with implied formation by c. 100/1. A recent discovery at Tibiscum (31.03), probably referring to this unit, seemed to have a soldier enfranchised by Hadrian. The latest evidence is the cursus honorum - not yet fully accepted as genuine¹⁹ - of 193/235 from Sarmizegethusa (31.08).

The unit clearly takes its name from its station: three texts record that name - n. Palmyren. Tibiscensium (31.06 from Apulum); numerus Pal[...]/Tibisc[...] (31.08 from Sarmizegethusa); and NPT (31.09 a tile-stamp from Tibiscum). In fact, of the nine attestations, six are from Tibiscum (Roxan, nos. 27; 28; 31.03; .04; .05; .07).

Apart from the two diplomas, none of the attestations ever describe the unit as sagittaria.

Six texts preserve the names of personnel: both diplomas record men with acceptable Palmyrene names [...Per]hev f. and Perhev, Athenaton f. - three inscriptions also have Semitic, probably Palmyrene names

Fl. (or A]el.)²⁰ Guras II DEI (?) (plus an associate Ael. Habibis) (31.04), Ae. Boraeus Zabdiboli f. (31.05), and, possibly, Bana (31.07).²¹ P. A]el. ...] vet ex op[t... who made a dedication to the Palmyrene god Malachbel is probably a Palmyrene too (31.03). The final text (31.06) preserves well-known Thracian names - Mucatra, Brasi f. and Mucapor Mucatral.²² Since all the Semitic personnel are Aelii there is no need to doubt that they were initial recruits. One is explicitly a veteran (31.03) but the others may well still be serving soldiers. The explanation for their adopted name may, as Dusanic has suggested,²³ be due to a special block grant before they had served their time. The Thracians presumably reveal the arrival of replacements from wherever available.

The Tibiscum area was also the headquarters of the numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium in the same period and, more importantly, of the cohors I Vindelicorum ∞ c.R.p.f.,²⁴ presumably the main military force at this strategic centre in south-western Dacia.

Numerus Palmyrenorum O(]ptatianensium)²⁵

The unit may be one of those on the diplomas of 120 (CIL, XVI, 68 adn. and Roxan, no. 17). Otherwise, it is known from only two texts neither of which may be dated with any confidence. Iul(ius) C(), buried at Suceaua is uninformative (31.01); [P A]el. Sept(imius) Audeus qui et Maximus, a veteran and ex-centurion died aged 60 at Sarmizegethusa (32.02). The stone also names [A]el. Sept. Romanus (his son?) a legionary, Septimia [Se]ptimia quae et Revocata, his daughter, [C]ornelia Antonia, his wife, and Septimius Asclepiades, his freedman. Audeus is probably the Palmyrene name Audas, Aude,

Audes or Audos.²⁶ In interpreting the text, there seems little to choose between on the one hand, enfranchisement by Septimius Severus, and, on the other, a Semite, Audeus "known as Maximus", who was enfranchised by Hadrian and added the nomen Septimius.

In both attestations, the unit is abbreviated as NPO in which the O is taken to be Optatiana. Neither text in fact comes from the text, but one for the N(umerus) M(aurorum) O(ptatianensis) does, and has provided the solution.²⁷

Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium sagittariorum equitata c.R.²⁸

The diplomas of 120 from north-western Dacia (CIL, XVI, 68 and ad. n. Roxan, no. 17) may well be the earliest evidence for this unit: one, certainly, was found at Porolissum itself. At the other end of the time scale, we have a text from Porolissum referring to N.Pal. sagit. (33.05) and dated 211/8, another from the same city (33.08) marked N.P.P., and a third (33.10) referring to an eques Aurel. Iustinus - both of the latter probably third century. Finally, there is the unique text (33.12) bearing the imperial cognomen Decianus and dated, therefore, 249/51.

The name makes the station clear, and almost all of the Dacian evidence in fact comes from Porolissum. From Palmyra itself come two texts: one (33.14) explicitly refers to the prefect (?) T. Aelius [...] in command of Palmyrene archers at Porolissum in Dacia. Presumably a local notable enfranchised by Antoninus Pius. The other (33.13), dated to 141, refers to M. Ulpus Abgarus, praefectus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum. Enfranchised by Trajan, one may suppose that his command had been held under Trajan or Hadrian (he has a son

who in 141 is a centurion). Both men are especially interesting as native Palmyrenes, apparently recently - perhaps specifically - enfranchised at the time of their appointment. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Palmyrene troops with the Roman forces in these early stages, were commanded by their own notables. The second prefect, T. Aelius [...] if correctly dated, only makes sense if the unit at Porolissum still retains its ethnic Palmyrene character; a coincidence of Palmyrene officer and "Palmyrene" unit seems unlikely.

The two soldiers discharged in 120 give their home as Palmyr(a). Likewise, Salmas, Rami (f.), (33.06), who buried his wife at Porolissum, is Semitic but the text is undated. The next attestations are late second early/third century, recording soldiers such as Aur. Gaianus (33.07), the Aurelii on the recent, damaged text from Porolissum (33.08) and Aurelius Iustinus and (?) his brother Aurelius Maximus (33.10) - probably local replacements. Likewise the optio Do[...] Mucianus (33.09). From Potaissa comes another text (33.15) which must refer to this unit or to that at Optatiana. It records a veteran n. Palmur, Aelius Bolhas, Bannaei (f.) who, together with his wife Ael(ia) Domestica, set up an epitaph to their three daughters. The Semitic names of the soldier and his nomen date his discharge by Hadrian (though Antoninus is possible). Finally, there is Val(erius) Them(us), a veteran with a Semitic cognomen of an un-named unit who set up an altar at Porolissum (33.11).

The unit is clearly equitata (33.10) and sagittaria (33.05); uniquely, the latest attestation (33.12) also describes it as c(ivium) R(omanorum) - no other numerus is known to have received a block grant of citizenship.^{28a}

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Finally, two general points may be made. First, it is not certain that the Optatienses and Poroliss^{enses} were distinct units; they may have been the same unit split or moved; or different units, one of which arrived later - e.g., the unit at Porolissum may have only arrived under Antoninus Pius. Second, a tombstone from Emaus/Neapolis (33.50) naming a Belleius, Thaimus (f.), Palmyrenus has been dated to the campaign of Septimius Severus against Niger. On the basis of its close similarity in style to a tombstone of a Moorish soldier on the same site, and the association of both with a tombstone of a soldier of legion IV Flavia, it has been proposed that Belleius was a soldier and part of Septimius' expeditionary force from the Danube.²⁹ This seems unlikely. First, the Palmyrene units in Dacia probably no longer had any Palmyrene soldiers in their ranks. Second, the text is in Greek, when we would expect Latin from a soldier stationed in Dacia. Third, Pescennius Niger had a force of Moors in his army.³⁰ In short, since the siege of Emaus followed the defeat of Niger, it is just as likely that Septimius employed a mixture of his own soldiers and those of Niger, and both the Moor and Palmyrene may have been part of the army of Syria.

Numerus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum (Numidia)

A considerable number of inscriptions now attest to the presence of a Palmyrene unit in Numidia in the second and third centuries.

Chronology: the earliest certain date is 194 (34.11), and, given that the Empire was then convulsed by a civil war in which Africa was on the side lines and even in a different camp to Syria, the intro-

duction of the unit to the area must be attributed to the period before the death of Commodus on 31 December 192. Four other texts are arguably earlier: first, Albertini has dated to 177-8 a damaged inscription (34.22) which, admittedly does not name the Palmyreni but whom he proposes to restore.³¹ He argues, plausibly, that the inscription was created by a centurion of III Augusta which regularly supplied the praepositi for the numerus and, more significant, it was a dedication to the Palmyrene god Malagbel. Second, there is a dedication pro salute imp. Caesaris M. Aurelii Antonini Aug. Pii (34.03) which may be dated to either Marcus or Caracalla. Since the praepositus numeri named is M. Annius Valens, the former may be preferable. The preference is under-scored by the probability that the Palmyrenes had in any case quit el-Kantara the find-spot - by c. 200 (below, 206). Third, another damaged inscription from el-Kantara preserves IMPE[...]/SARM[...]/PALM[...] (34.08): the title "Sarmaticus" should refer to either Marcus or Commodus. Finally, there is the much-debated epitaph (34.04) recording the career of Agrippa, Themis f., again from el-Kantara (above, 186):

D.m.s. Agrippa Themis/[f]il. Palmyra q(ui) f(uit)/[7] coh.
III Thra/[c]um Syr. item/[t]ranslatu[m/ i]n coh. I
Ch(a)lci/denor. iusso/[i]mp. curam/[e]git Palmyr./[s]ag.
ann. X/[...]/XIII vix. an. LV/[f]ec. lib. et pro.[...]

Potentially, this text is the most important of the four since it gives us the name of the man who was probably the first commander of the Palmyrene archers in Numidia. The problem has been to date the inscription and the question was hotly debated in the 1920^s and 1930^s by the two French scholars, Carcopino and Albertini, in a series of articles.³² Carcopino began with the premise that the archers were

upgraded in status to a numerus when Palmyra was given colonial status. He concluded that the text of 194 recorded the first legionary praepositus of the newly re-categorised numerus and, by counting back the ten years of Agrippa's command, concluded that the imp. - singular - alluded to was Commodus, sole emperor from 180 to 192. Albertini shifted his position and, in his later piece satisfactorily exploded Carcopino's theory of a link between colonial status for both Palmyra and Hemesa, and the formation of numeri of Palmyreni and Hemeseni. He then went on to suggest an earlier date for Agrippa's appointment. His dating of the restored text (34.22) to 177-8 to show a legionary centurion as praepositus, required Agrippa's appointment to have been at least ten years before. Since this would take us back to the joint reign of Marcus and Verus (161-9), the appointment had to have been made by Antoninus at least - i.e. pre-161 - and, since the text implies that the same emperor is still living, one has to go back further still to a terminus ante quem of c. 150/1. Significantly, perhaps, Carcopino made no reply to this article of Albertini's. Both scholars accepted the Chalcidic unit named as the cohors I Chalcidenorum attested in Numidia (above, 186 f).

Since the time of that great debate, much work has been done in Numidia and new evidence come to light. Agrippa's career may, therefore, be re-examined: A. Agrippa's first recorded post is as a centurion in cohors III Thracum Syriaca which is known from only three other texts: (i) the diploma of 88 for Syria (CIL, XVI, 35; it is probably to be restored to one of the pair for 91 - Roxan, nos. 4 and 5 - no. 5 in fact); (ii) a cursus honorum referring to the very early years of the second century and on which most - if not

all - of the posts seem to be in the East, often Syria (ILS 9471 and below, App. 5); (iii) an unpublished epitaph in the Aleppo Museum, Syria, recorded by me in 1976 - M. Situs, lixa coh./III Thracum Syriac./vixit annos XL/heredes ex testa/mentum fecerunt (pl. IV). Situs may be a Syrian;³³ the use of the nominative and the absence of D.m. indicate a first century date. If we may deduce anything from a probable find-spot within the orbit of Aleppo - possibly Aleppo itself - then the unit may well have had a station in Cyrrhestica in the first century. It is absent from the Lollianus list of cohortes equitatae (App. 5) and is not on the diploma of 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 106). Taking in conjunction with Agrippa's Palmyrene home, a base in northern Syria towards the Euphrates in the Flavio-Trajanic period is a plausible inference.

B. As seen above (181, 185), two distinct cohortes I Chalcidenorum are attested: one in Africa from at least the 70^s onwards, the other - distinguished by the nomen Flavia - in the Syrian desert in the second century and at Palmyra itself by the early third; it may have been at Palmyra much earlier. Traditionally, the Chalcideni on the Agrippa text have been identified with the unit in Numidia. In fact, plausible cases can be made out for both units:

Either (a) Agrippa, a Palmyrene centurion in the cohors III Thracum Syriaca in northern Syria, was designated to take charge of a draft of his fellow-countrymen which was to be posted to Numidia. While the recruiting, training and equipping was under way, Agrippa was officially attached to the auxiliary unit closest to Palmyra which also probably supplied the facilities for instruction and equipping - the cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum equitata sagittariorum would clearly have been highly suitable. After basic

training, Agrippa conducted the unit to Numidia to take up station at el-Kantara. The Chalcideni in Numidia could then be seen as a red-herring; the absence of Flavia from Agrippa's text is certainly not crucial - economy, error or confusion with the local regiment on the part of the lapicide could explain it.

Or (b) Agrippa was appointed to take command of a Palmyrene archer unit in Numidia attached to the cohors I Chalcidenorum.³⁴ This, Carcopino's theory, argued that the cohort, known at Bir Um-Ali in 164 (24.03; .04), must have moved west after that date for Agrippa to be a centurion in it. The fact that the dating of Agrippa's command can be shown to be much earlier, is now conveniently complemented by the recent discovery of the dedication by the Chalcideni at Gemellae in the west of the province near el-Kantara (24.02). In other words, it is no longer a case of postulating a move by the Chalcideni west from Bir Um-Ali in the late second century, but of knowing that, at the time of Agrippa's command at el-Kantara, the cohors I Chalcidenorum was then nearby and subsequently moved east.

First, the question of date. The evidence for the cohors III Thracum Syriaca points to an early second century date. Next, the alternative under (b) above points to a transfer before 164 and probably under Hadrian. Third, the text of Mōcimus in Palmyrene script from Lambaesis (34.23) is not explicitly military, but it is a logical inference that he had been associated with, or was part of the Palmyrene unit. The text has a date of 149-50 on it. Fourth, terminology. The diplomas of 120 and 126 describe the Palmyrene archers in Dacia as Palmyreni sagittarii; later they appear as numeri. Likewise, the two texts from Palmyra (33.13; .14) itself refer to

eparchoi who command Palmyreni sagittarii (Jan. 141) and sagittarii respectively. The point cannot be pressed, but it would look as if these irregular units of Palmyria were not yet officially thought of as numeri in the early reign of Antoninus.³⁵ Finally, amongst the soldiers with Semitic names at el-Kantara, one has the cognomen Hadrianus (34.05).

Adding these points to the arguments of Albertini, it becomes clear that all the indications point to Agrippa's appointment being either by Antoninus or Hadrian. In favour of the former, one thinks of the presence of a vexillation of VI Ferrata from Syria in Numidia in 145 as a possible occasion for transfer of the archers too.³⁶ Under Hadrian, we may think of his visit to Palmyra in 131 and its taking of the title Hadrianē; only a few years earlier, in 128, he had visited Africa and inspected its garrisons.³⁷ He would thus have been well placed for assessing the needs of Numidia, and then for seeing the opportunity of exploiting Palmyrene archers from the Syrian steppe in a similar terrain in Numidia. Finally, I do not think we can rule out Trajan who had served in Syria as a tribune and certainly exploited the Palmyrene archers in his later wars. On balance, however, I am inclined to favour a Hadrianic date.

The choice of Chalcidic unit for Agrippa's appointment is equally unclear. Again, on balance, I favour the Syrian regiment both because it makes sense to have the Palmyrene recruits under the tutelage of a regular cohort in Syria while training,³⁸ and because it allows Agrippa to be effectively an autonomous praepositus once he reached Numidia and fits in with the legionary centurions who follow him as praepositi of the archers.

At the other extreme, we know of the existence of the unit well into the third century: there is a dated text of 234 (34.27), while another preserves part of the name of Gordian III and is probably to be dated to 238 (34.28 and below, 207).

Regimental bases: the find-spots of inscriptions point in particular to el-Kantara (Calceus Herculis) and Messad (Castellum Dimmidi), with an outlying base at el-Gahra (34.28) and, possibly, one at Ausum (?). For the first two sites the texts fall into two distinct chronological groups: the latest dated evidence from el-Kantara is for 194 (34.11); the earliest at Messad is for Alexander Severus (222-35) (34.24). An obvious inference is that the unit moved south to Messad between these two dates. A date is available in the form of building inscriptions from Messad recording construction of the principia by vexillations of III Augusta, III Gallica and the ala I Pannoniorum.³⁹ Since el-Kantara became the station of the numerus Hemesenorum (above, 133ff.) under Septimius Severus, probably 198/211, and his reign was also a period of advance, it seems plausible to see the arrival of the Hemeseni coinciding broadly with the departure of the Palmyreni c. 198. Carcopino however suggested that the Hemeseni merely reinforced the Palmyreni who continued to have their headquarters at el-Kantara, while garrisoning more distant outposts. His contention is supported to some extent by the size of Messad which he believes could only hold about 100 men, and by one text from there which he read as VEXIL. N. PAL. (34.26). Picard's tracing of the latter⁴⁰ allows the possible reading of AL (in ligature looking like N) PAN (with AN in ligature). For the size, though, one must agree that this was either an outpost or else take it as the headquarters for a unit up to 80% of whose strength was permanently spread around other outpost forts. (The size of the

unit at any time is unknown and was possibly never large.) Picard⁴¹ argues that the first garrison of Messad was a legionary vexillation, but that by 234 it was sharing the fort with some of the Palmyreni who had arrived not earlier than 226; by 235 the legionaries had gone. Considerable caution must be exercised, however, since Picard relies heavily on arguments from silence. In view of Septimius' known forward policy in Tripolitania, Numidia and Mauretania⁴² and his efficient use of manpower resources, I cannot believe that the Hemeseni and Palmyreni were at el-Kantara simultaneously. It seems much more plausible that the latter was released for more advanced garrison work and that, at Messad at least, they also had a detachment of legionaries alongside them; the fact that the Palmyreni are not attested at Messad until long after their last appearance at el-Kantara is probably merely a matter of evidence. The numerus was probably split up - as the legion III Augusta itself was⁴³ - around a number of advanced posts on the Numidian limes. Obvious contenders are Ain Rich and el-Gahra-which are broadly contemporary; and possibly Ausum; further south-west there are two conjectured forts at Ksar el-Fedj and Laghouat (40 and 80 kms respectively from Messad).⁴⁴ As at Messad, these outposts may well have combined archers and legionaries, with possibly even a few cavalry.

Occupation at Messad came to an end early in the reign of Gordian III: inscriptions there reveal that the name of Maximinus had been chiselled off and they must therefore post-date his damnatio memoriae; while the fact that the name of III Augusta was not removed may indicate that the site was evacuated before the legion was cashiered later in 238.⁴⁵ The Gordianic text from el-Gahra (34.28) is a

reflection of the continued occupation of an outpost after the disbandment of III Augusta.

Personnel: several texts preserve names of soldiers who are explicitly, or by inference, soldiers of this unit. From el-Kantara come the names of five commanders, a centurion (34.01) and three rankers (34.01; .02; .05); we may confidently add to these a decurion (34.14), a medicus (34.13) and two rankers (34.13; .15) whose unit is not named but which must be this one: in the case of Heranus Herani f., Palmurenus and his medical friend Malcus, there need be no doubt. The decurion M. Herennius Urbanus (34.14) is commemorating someone with a Semitic name while his own is probably another variant of the Palmyrene name Haeranus, Heranus etc. Finally, Themarsus on the third text (34.15) is one of the most common Palmyrene names at Dura Europos (cf. 34.16). Possible personnel or families of personnel are to be found in a number of other texts with Semitic names (34.09; .16-.21) which probably belong to the Palmyrene rather than the later Hemesene unit. Likewise, there is the Palmyrene Mocimus who died at Lambaesis (34.23). From Messad we get the names of a centurion and thirteen rankers (34.24). Only one of these men - C. Cannius Malcus - need be anything other than African, and even here, the tria nomina imply citizenship. Cannius is rare and I can find no senatorial or equestrian official in Africa from whom it might have been derived; there is, however, T. Caunius (sic) Priscus, leg. Aug. pr.pr., cos. des. on two texts from Lambaesis which may be c. 186.⁴⁶

The personnel, therefore, divide into two groups. Those who are Semitic or even Palmyrene come from el-Kantara; those from Messad, with the possible exception of C. Cannius Malcus, are probably all

African. Nothing suggests that the unit received subsequent drafts from Syria, and all the Semitic names could easily belong to initial Palmyrene personnel in the middle and later second century or, in an isolated and introverted Semitic community, to a retention of ethnic Palmyrene names/slowness of Africanization.⁴⁷ By the time of Alexander Severus there is little trace among the "Palmyrene" personnel of their ethnic origin.^{47a}

Agrippa, Themis was clearly the first commander of the Palmyrene archers in Numidia, but none of his four known successors was Palmyrene. Like Agrippa they were all centurions, but in their case, seconded from a legion, III Augusta, as praepositi numeri. Like these prae-
positi, both the centurions of the numerus, Maximus and Gallonianus⁴⁸ (34.01; .24) are probably Africans.

Role: the frequency with which Syrian regiments were posted to serve in North Africa is striking and clearly due to the similarity of terrain and climate. Often they were employed in specific desert roles and they made an obviously important contribution to the defence of the limes there.⁴⁹ Indeed, P. Troussset has suggested that after the disgrace and disbandment of the III Augusta, the entire sector of frontier around Gemellae was left in the hands of the numerus and the ala I Pannoniorum.⁵⁰

Impact of the unit in Numidia: their military role of patrolling the Numidian desert is clear, while the frequency with which Syrian units were sent to North Africa attests their success. Culturally, we can only detect their impact through religion. Despite the probable subsequent recruitment to the unit from the local population - local Numidians and the descendants of Palmyrene soldiers - the Palmyrene gods retained their popularity even where - as seems probable - the

men themselves abandoned their distinctive names, script and language (?).⁵¹ For example, Maximus Hadrianus, son of Zabdibolus, has "Roman" names and a Palmyrene father, and married a local woman Valeria Dulcis (34.05).⁵² At el-Kantara, a centurion of III Augusta, set up an altar to the Palmyrene god Malagbelus (34.10); his own name was T. Fl. (Ae(lius)? - son of a man enfranchised between 138 and 161 ?) Monsuetas (presumably for Mansuetas). At Messad in the time of Alexander Severus two more such dedications were set up (34.24; .25). The obvious inference is that, long after the last native Palmyrene in the unit had gone, the popular deity of the initial recruits continued to be regarded with reverence by the subsequent personnel and even rubbed off on the legionaries of the associated garrison.

Ala Numerus Equitum Palmyrenorum Porolissensium⁵³

There is no reason to dispute Wagner's attractive suggestion that the numerus Palmyrenorum (Porolissenium) (above, 198) was broken up into its constituent elements to form the ala here and the cohors I below. It is attested only this once (35.01), unless it is to be equated with the al(a) Palm(yrenorum) below. Wagner dated the split to 251 and most scholars agree on a mid-third century date.⁵⁴

Cohors I Palmyrenorum Porolissensium⁵⁵

According to Wagner's interpretation, this cohort is the infantry part of the numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium. Conveniently, the sole attestation (36.01) comes from Potaissa and, since all three names on the text bear the nomen Aurelius, it probably belongs to the first half of the third century. None of the cognomina - Celsus, Celsinianus

and Bassus - are at all illuminating; certainly they are not Semitic.

Ala Palmyrenorum

This unit is known only from a tile stamp (37.01) reading AL PALM. It was found on the site of a newly discovered fort at Borosneul Mare in north-eastern Dacia. The fort produced attestations of four other units, one of which - ala I Latobicorum - is named on a building inscription of 123/4.⁵⁶

(Vexillatio) Hadrianorum Palmyrenorum sagittariorum⁵⁷

= ala VIII Palmyrenorum

The vexillatio appears once only (38.01) - on a dedication by the vexillarius M. Aurelius Belacabus, son of Ieraios, set up at Coptos in Egypt to the popular Palmyrene god Ierabol. Since Belacabus is clearly himself Palmyrene, the recent arrival of the unit in Egypt may be inferred. The text gives the unit the variable dynastic title Antoniniana and the date is on the stone: July, 216. The regiment's continued presence in Egypt, indeed its very existence, is based on the proposed identification by Lesquier of this unit with the ala VIII Palmyrenorum at Phoenicon recorded in the Notitia Dignitatum (Or. XXXI. 49). Given the proximity of Phoenicon to Coptos, Lesquier may well be correct in regarding the ala as the earlier unit, upgraded and numbered on some unknown system; possibly, at the time of its creation as an ala, it became the eighth ala in Egypt (Or. XXXI records no less than fifteen alae in the Thebaid in the late fourth century). Alternatively, Belacabus was in command of a vexillation of what was already an ala VIII Palmyrenorum. One must be careful however, - as Lesquier was not - because the Caracallan unit is nowhere described

as cavalry and most Palmyrene units were in fact infantry. It may of course, be a converted cohort.

It is to be assumed that the unit was based in or around Coptos; it would certainly have been well suited to patrolling the important trade routes stretching out across the desert towards the Red Sea.⁵⁸ Phoenicon lies some 20 miles east of Coptos at an important junction, a small oasis, where the Leucos Limen and Berenice roads diverge. Rostovtzeff suggested that it may have been sited there to protect the valuable Berenice - Coptos caravans, just as Palmyrene archers had long protected the caravans from Babylonia to the Levant across the Syrian desert.⁵⁹

Lesquier incorrectly described the detachment as equites Palmyreni: nothing in the text suggests they were mounted and his description is presumably based on inference from his equation of the unit with the ala VIII.

At the time that this text at Coptos was inscribed, Egypt had only recently had its garrison legion restored after an absence for Caracalla's German War.⁶⁰ In 215, the emperor himself had visited Egypt and had there initiated a massacre, probably as a pre-emptive strike against incipient revolt.⁶¹ It is tempting to link its arrival to the emperor's visit, although the best we can actually say is that it probably arrived within Belacabus' lifetime. ,

Cuneus Equitum Secundorum Clibanariorum Palmirenorum (sic)

Cavalry are uncommon amongst the Palmyrene units of the Roman army; a detachment of these heavy cavalry - 'oven-men' - is, therefore, the more surprising. The unit is recorded only once, amongst the ten vexillationes comitatenses under the command of the magister militum

per Orientem in the Notitia (Or. VII. 34) and, like the other clibanarii, is possibly a fourth century creation.

[Numerus Palmyrenorum ?]

An inscription from Corbridge reads (40.01):

[D.] m./[Ba]rathes Pal/murenus vexila (sic)/vixit anos (sic) LXVIII

Richmond proposed a numerus Palmyrenorum on the basis of restoring vexil(l)a(rius).⁶² It has been pointed out, however, that he might equally have been vexillarius of a trade guild at Corbridge and not, therefore, military at all.⁶³ There is no way of knowing if he is to be identified with the Barates Palmyrenus who erected a tombstone (40.02) at South Shields to his wife and former slave, Regina.⁶⁴

Cohors XX Palmyrenorum sagittariorum equitata milliaria

In 1923, Franz Cumont published a badly damaged inscription found in the course of his excavations at Dura Europos on the lower Euphrates, which preserved a reference to a COH XX PALMY[...] (41.03).⁶⁵ Until that year, the very existence of this unit had been totally unsuspected, but, in the subsequent French and then American excavations, so many additional attestations were recovered as to make this unit (still known only from evidence from this single site) probably the best-known regiment of the Roman army. The evidence, of course, consists not just of the handful of inscriptions but, in particular, of the substantial quantity of parchments and papyri unearthed at Dura, much of it being archives of the unit.⁶⁶ It is strange to think that this regiment, with its short history and single remote station at the easternmost end of the Empire, should today be the regiment for which we have the largest body of military records of any kind, the most extensive list of personnel,

the widest knowledge about its (anomalous!) internal organisation, and about the daily employment of its soldiers. One has only to glance at the Table of Contents in Fink's Military Records, to see that no less than 83 of the 134 documents in that corpus came from Dura Europos and refer to this unit.

Chronological framework: on any interpretation, the lifespan of the regiment was a short one; coincidentally, as I argue below, almost exactly co-terminus with the cohors I Hemesenorum. There is wide agreement on its loss being c. 256 when the Persians captured and sacked the city (the latest dated attestation is for 251, possibly 255, (P. Dura 97, cf. 96)). At the other extreme, however, there is more debate concerning its formation; the earliest attestation is a document of 208.⁶⁷ I believe that a more precise date can be found for its formation; the problem is in any event, bound up with its strength.

Excursus 1

Recruitment date and nominal strength: for answers to both of these matters we are dependent on the evidence of the papyri. As Professor Gilliam observed in 1957, the earliest dated text was for 208 but there were four men on the roster of 219 who had enlisted in 192,:

and the men from the early years of Severus' reign are numerous enough to make it rather doubtful that they were all transferred into a unit formed later. The cohort may have been raised during Severus' first Parthian campaign, when there would have been need for additions to the eastern armies, but other occasions in the preceding decades are equally possible. ...a group of Palmyrene archers was stationed in Dura in 170/1, and it is possible that they formed the nucleus from which the cohort was created.⁶⁸

Despite the pre-Severan indications, and despite the otherwise straightforward logic of associating the addition of the territory around Dura

c. 164/5 with the creation of the regiment later found in garrison there, it is the Severan date which has found favour.^{69.}

The rosters make it clear that the unit had the strength appropriate to a milliary regiment although the texts themselves show, without any doubt whatsoever, that it was divided into not ten centuries and eight (?) turmae but into six and five respectively,⁷⁰ i.e. the structure of a quingenary unit. Fink suggested that this represented a change in internal organisation for new units since Hyginus had written (probably under Marcus Aurelius).⁷¹ More recently, Davies proposed that, like other milliary regiments, the Palmyrene unit had at one time detached part of its strength for service elsewhere, leaving at headquarters what was virtually a quingenary cohort. Unlike the other known examples which recovered their vexillation and their milliary status, the Palmyrenes, Davies suggested, made good for what became a permanent detachment by increasing the strength of the remaining centuries, rather than recruiting four additional ones.⁷² The obvious objections to this suggestion are: (a) the missing four cohorts on permanent detachment are unattested; (b) it presupposes that the division into vexillation and parent body was 4:6 and (c) it leaves unanswered the question of why the authorities would choose to increase the size of the remaining cohorts, rather than take the more obvious step of simply enrolling four more cohorts to replace those removed.

In what follows, I would like to suggest (1) that the formation date is coincidental with the seizure of the city - 164/5 - and (2) that the regiment, originally a traditional six-century quingenary cohort with five turmae of mounted infantry, was literally 'doubled'

to a sort of milliary status in the years which followed 175, probably as a result of the visit of Marcus Aurelius in 175-6. The basis for my proposals is the table offered by Fink in the Final Report of the Papyri which lays out the number of men recruited each year, as preserved in the great rosters for 219 and 222. The figures are not precise but the number of individuals (894) for which we have a precise date represents a very large proportion of the probable total (c. 1200).

The figures are as follows:

TABLE 1

Year	Total	Year	Total
A.D. 192	3	A.D. 208	11
193	19	209	15
194	4	210	13
195	43	211	0
196	21	212	26
197	1	213	0
198	5	214	119
199	33	215	40
200	12	216	129
201	94	217	3
202	27	218	0
203	75	219	5
204	109	220	2
205	45	221	5
206	11	222	10
207	27		

Recruitment of the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum (Fink, Final Report V)

For Fink the fluctuating numbers were to be attributed to two factors: the constant represented by the "principle of recruitment in alternate years", and the variable stemming from changing "recruitment policies". For example: 43 recruits in 195 when Septimius Severus was embarking on his First Parthian War; "the large totals

for 204 might be the result either of the disturbances which took Severus to Africa in 203 or of those which had begun in Britain in 204..., or both"; and "the great rise in 214-16 undoubtedly reflects preparations for his [Caracalla's] Parthian War". Similarly, the low points are taken to be years when there were pre-occupations elsewhere or general peace. Fink concluded:

It appears, therefore, that recruitment in general was limited to the numbers required for immediately foreseeable needs. Recruitment was probably on a regional basis, so that wars in Britain or Germany might result in an almost complete suspension of recruiting in Syria, but when Egypt or Africa was involved, Syria would be called upon.⁷³

There is obviously much good sense in this summation. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that the contrast was not between vigorous recruitment in times of need and active discouragement otherwise. Rather in times of general or local quiescence, little attempt would be made to press recruits unless numbers fell off dramatically. In short, recruitment was a perennial activity given an added impetus when required. More importantly, Fink makes no allowance in his interpretation for the numbers of recruits in any given year being related to the number of discharges in that same year. Long-established regiments would have annual, or biennial, losses to their strength which varied only slightly from the average, except where warfare introduced a new factor. New regiments, on the other hand, would have a quite abnormal discharge profile for two or more generations after formation. The new regiment would consist largely of new recruits with a stiffening of veterans for officering and training. In brief:

A First 25 years - an artificially low loss rate. Losses would be of deaths in service, the

discharge of the infirm and of the veterans as their time expired. Intake would be on a minor scale to balance minor losses.

- B After 25 years - all the survivors of the original intake released creating a discharge peak. The process would probably have been staggered over more than one year to minimize disruption. Years 26 and 27 would see an intake bulge in the recruitment pattern.
- C Years 26 to 50 - loss rate higher than under A above but still artificially low. Losses due to deaths and infirmity plus the discharge of men enrolled in phase A to replace the losses. Average intake higher than in phase A.
- D Years 51-2 - mass discharge of the intake bulge of B above; probably staggered reflecting staggered intake 25/6 years earlier. Again an intake peak; but lower than under B.

Thereafter the profile of discharge and intake would progressively approximate to that for long-established units as the bulges were squeezed out. The point to be drawn is that intake level would broadly balance loss rate.

Applying these proposals to the figures in Table 1: it is readily apparent that if one hypothesizes formation in '164/5 a period of low intake would follow, then a heavy loss/intake in 189/91 and another in 214/16. In short, the recruitment pattern deduced above harmonizes with the available figures for the unit.

If we now build on this theory for large intakes, it would follow that the large number of recruits in 201/4 (340) are likely to be a reflection of a recent discharge bulge. Such a bulge would, in turn,

have to imply a substantial intake in c. 175/6-8/9, a period which would not fit in with the above scheme for a loss pattern. In 175/6, Marcus Aurelius visited Syria and, so the Historia Augusta tells us, treated with kings and settled the East.⁷⁴ There is nothing inherently improbable about Marcus being responsible for ordering a strengthening of the Palmyrene cohort at Dura, the first major stronghold in the Parthian line of advance. If we carry speculation still further and draw upon another suggestion of R.W. Davies, an explanation for the peculiar internal arrangement may be forthcoming. Davies has proposed that the numerical relationship of cohortes milliariae equitatae to cohortes quingenariae equitatae was of the order 10:6 and that the centuries in each were the same size as legionary centuries, i.e. 80. Thus a milliary cohort was $(10 \times 80) + 240$ mounted infantry = 1040 and a quingenary, $(6 \times 80) + 120 = 600$.⁷⁵ Various figures for the nominal strength of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum have been calculated from the rosters: c. 1171 (P. Dura 82), c. 1050 (P. Dura 89) for the incomplete rosters, and, for the complete c. 1210 (P. Dura 100) and 1040 (P. Dura 101).⁷⁶ I would suggest that the regiment was not ever strictly a 'milliary' cohort but rather one whose strength had been literally 'doubled', i.e. $2[(6 \times 80) + 120]$. Why such a procedure might have been adopted must remain a matter for speculation: perhaps because it allowed the strength to be built up gradually and uniformly over the existing centuries rather than either looking for four cohorts of tiros with a few veterans mixed in or redistributing the existing complement over all ten centuries. The total absence of the title milliaria from all documents may simply have been because it was not strictly a regular milliary regiment.

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If one accepts the proposition that the birth of the Palmyrene unit was associated with the annexation of Dura Europos in 164/5, one further matter must be discussed: the apparently irregular sagittarii in Dura under Marcus Aurelius. Two texts allude to them - one refers to a 'strategos...in command of the archers who are in Dura' (41.06) and is for 168; the second, for 170/1, alludes to a 'strategos sagittarii' (41.04).⁷⁷ Gilliam speculated that this body of archers may have been the 'nucleus from which the cohort was created'.⁷⁸ There is much to commend such an interpretation: it would be difficult otherwise to believe that, for a time at least after 164/5, Dura Europos included in its garrison not only a regular cohort of Palmyrene soldiers but also an irregular unit under a strategos. The problem is not insuperable and may be resolved satisfactorily by some such theory as the following: the annexation of Dura Europos and vicinity saw the installation in the city of a substantial garrison consisting of the cohors II Ulpia equitata - known in Syria in 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 106; cf. ILS 2724 ad. = 02.01) and certainly in Dura in the later years of Commodus and again in 194⁷⁹ - and a body of Palmyrene archers. By 175/6, if not since the outset, these latter were organized in 6 centuries. In that year, or soon after, this quingenary unit was 'doubled' and raised in status to become a formal auxiliary cohort. In short, the annexation of Dura led to the installation of a newly formed quingenary numerus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum/Palmyreni sagittarii; just over a decade later, it became a milliary cohort as part of Marcus' reinforcement of the Euphrates frontier.

Character of the regiment: none of our texts explicitly describe the cohort as milliary, part-mounted, or archers. Nevertheless, the papyri in particular place it beyond question that the regiment would in fact have been officially known as the cohors XX Palmyrenorum sagittariorum equitata milliaria.⁸⁰ In addition, a detachment of dromedarii was attached to this unit, as was the case with the cohors I Lusitanorum in Egypt.⁸¹

Excursus 2

The interpretation of the numeral XX: In his discussion of the levy in individual provinces, Cheesman remarked that, "when new regiments were raised some time after the original levy they seem to have begun a fresh series instead of being included in the old ones."⁸² Moreover, it is an axiom of Cheesman's thinking, in his summary of known regiments in his Appendix II, that one could "suppose" from the existence of even a single unit in an ethnic series which has a numeral in excess of I that the lower number(s) had at one time existed and were yet to be attested. Thus, for example, one could "suppose" cohortes IV and V Brittonum because of the existence of I-III and VI; likewise, he "supposes" the existence of III, IV and V Commagenorum because of the known cohors VI Commagenorum (above, 56^p).⁸³ When, a few years later, Cumont discovered the first evidence for a cohors XX Palmyrenorum he unhesitatingly stated that Palmyra must therefore have contributed at least 19 other regiments to the Roman army.⁸⁴ At the time in question the proposition will have had a greater plausibility than today, in that the investigation of Dura Europos had produced evidence not only for this unit but also a cohors XII Palaestinarum⁸⁵ - likewise previously unknown - and it must have seemed that ignorance of cohortes I-XIX

Palmyrenorum was due solely to lack of archaeological investigation in the East. Few would subscribe to that theory today. As long ago as 1959, Professor Gilliam expressed his scepticism about a possible series of at least 20 regiments of Palmyrenes, especially one apparently raised as a single levy and distinct from the Palmyrene numeri.⁸⁶ His suggestion that the series was a composite one including perhaps XII Palaestinorum was not only attractive in itself, but solved the problem of 11 other unattested regiments raised in Palaestina! A composite series of a sort was, after all, already well-established with the cohortes voluntariorum and ingenuorum numbering from I to at least XXXII.⁸⁷ Professor Eric Birley elaborated the idea, suggesting other "likely candidates": cohors IV Palaestinorum (Not.Dig.Or. XXXIV. 46), ala VIII Palmyrenorum (XXXI. 49 - a "converted cohort") and cohors IX Maurorum (attested at Hatra in the 240^s - Sumer, 11 (1955) 39-43).⁸⁸ Despite the attractiveness of the proposal it is, I believe, correct only in approach. A great deal of new evidence has been published not only since Cumont's work, but also since Gilliam wrote, from which an alternative solution may be deduced.

For the early Empire at least the validity of Cheesman's "supposition" seems undeniable in many cases. It is clear, however, if we look at the numbering system employed amongst the legions that the approach there was not a rigid one, and we should bear this in mind when seeking explanations for numbering in the auxilia. To be sure, Galba and Vespasian chose the numbers I and II for their new legions Adiutrices; Marcus followed on from Nero's new legion I Italica with his II and III Italicae; Septimius' I-III Parthicae were themselves built on with IV, V and VI Parthicae. In short, not only do we find new series being initiated but also old ones being added to.

More profitable for our purposes is Galba's new legion VII Galbiana, raised in Spain, and, according to Parker, numbered to follow on from the legion VI Victrix stationed in Spain already.⁸⁹ Again, Gaius (or Claudius) had raised legions XV and XXII Primigenia, the numbering of which makes no sense if we do not accept Parker's explanation that they were chosen "to suit the numerical series in the two provinces of Germany" into which they were posted - Germania superior had legions numbered II, XIII and XIV and inferior had I, V, XX and XXI.⁹⁰ Finally, there is Trajan who formed two new legions - II Traiana and XXX Ulpia. Clearly neither were following upon a named series, each being unique in its cognomen. Likewise, since there was no legio XXIX, that cannot be the explanation for XXX Ulpia's numeral. Again it is to Parker that we must turn for an explanation: XXX was formed first and so numbered because it thereby became the 30th legion in the Roman army; later, II Traiana was formed and so numbered because it was Trajan's second legion.⁹¹ We might also debate whether the latter was so numbered because it was initially sent to join a legion I or because it became the second legion in a particular province (Judaea perhaps?), but there can be no serious doubts about legio XXX.

The question of cohors XX Palmyrenorum being part of a composite series has already been discussed: what of the other possibilities raised by this review of the criteria employed in numbering legions? First, since there was no cohors XIX in Syria, we may dismiss that particular possibility. Nor, as we have seen, was there any existing series of Palmyrene cohorts from which the number might follow. Was it perhaps the twentieth cohort (even regiment?) raised by Marcus Aurelius? That emperor certainly increased the auxiliary establishment

considerably: cohortes I Aurelia Brittonum ∞, I Aurelia Dardanorum ∞. (I Aurelia Dacorum "supposed because of the existence of"), II Aurelia Dacorum, I Nova Surorum ∞ sagittariorum, I Hemesenorum ∞ sagittariorum, Maurorum ∞ (?). Did he also raise IX Maurorum and XII Palaestinatorum?; he certainly recruited 11,000 Sarmatians, and there may be other regiments not bearing his name.⁹² Clearly this must be considered. Finally, we come to the possibility that the Palmyrenes were the 20th cohort in a particular province - i.e. Syria. Support is available; the two complementary diplomas of the year 88 for Syria list eight alae and 19 cohorts (Roxan, no. 3 and CIL, XVI, 35); the diploma for Syria of 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 106) with [4?] alae and 16 cohorts is clearly not a complete list of the alae and is probably not complete for the cohorts either. Lucian records a Moorish horseman in Syria at the Battle of Dura Europos,⁹³ while cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum is in Syria in 156 and on the Lollianus list (above, 185ff). As I have argued above (122 f.), the cohors I Hemesenorum milliaria was probably still stationed in Syria as late as the last few years of Marcus and does not appear at Intercisa until c. 180/3. It does not, therefore, seem unduly bold to suggest that the auxiliary garrison of Syria in 164 consisted of 19 cohorts and that the annexation of the new territory invited the allocation to the additional garrison cohort of the numeral XX.

The question is, of course, never likely to be securely "solved" but, on balance, I am inclined to favour this final possibility that the cohors XX Palmyrenorum was so numbered because, at the time of its formation, there were already 19 cohorts in Syria. Of the available explanations, it has a ring of plausibility that the others lack. While it need not be the explanation in every case, it may well be that this is how we may account for such units as IX Maurorum and

XII Palaestinorum: not members of a composite series as such, but, at the time of their assignment, the 9th and 12th units in a particular province.⁹⁴

Regimental base: Dura Europos was clearly the regimental headquarters and, despite the evidence for other regiments (cohors III Augusta Thracum and cohors XII Palaestinorum)⁹⁵ attested in the vicinity, the Palmyreni clearly supplied the garrisons of outposts. For example, Becchufrayn had a garrison of c. 100 men.⁹⁶ In all, mentioned in the papyri are six outposts which between them account for at least 187 men in 219, and at least 112 in 222.⁹⁷ It would seem that the regiment was responsible for providing outpost garrisons along a considerable stretch of the Euphrates valley from the Parthian frontier north-westwards through Dura to at least Appadana at the mouth of the Khabur River.

The regiment was probably typical of many in the East. In a region of ancient and advanced urbanisation, it was not a case of a town growing up around its fort but of a military base being planted within an existing city.⁹⁸ Since all but one of the outposts - Castellum Arabum is the exception - are known to the military clerks in Dura by their local Aramaic names, it is clear that they too were settled on existing communities.

Activities: There is little direct evidence for the regiment's non-routine activities. We may be sure that it formed a part of the forces of Pescennius Niger and that it contributed to successive Parthian Wars in the armies of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Severus Alexander, Gordian III/Philip and Valerian. Losses in the Parthian Wars of Septimius probably account for the abnormally high enrollment figures for 195 (43) and for 199 (33). The capture of the city in

c. 251 almost certainly involved the destruction of the regiment.

Of particular interest is the painted shield recovered at Dura which apparently depicts a journey made by a soldier (as part of a vexillation presumably) who travelled to the Balkans in the time of Septimius Severus.⁹⁹ Another vexillation going outside the province has been proposed from the roster of 219 which may be interpreted to show at least 59 soldiers being sent with Elagabalus to Rome, or, less likely, to him at Rome.¹⁰⁰ Other entries in the papyri record small groups or individuals carrying out more routine tasks such as purchasing barley for the horses and travelling (with dispatches?) to provincial headquarters.¹⁰¹

In 239, a raid by the Persians against Dura led to the death in combat of the tribune of the cohort, Julius Terentius, so well-known both from his metrical epitaph (41.01) and from the famous fresco depicting him sacrificing (plate II).¹⁰² It is possible that the roster of that year reveals evidence of troop losses in the fighting.¹⁰³ Finally, the entry 'Parthia' in the roster for 219 might reflect Roman raids or simply scouting into Parthian territory.¹⁰⁴

Personnel: The publication of the Dura Parchments and Papyri in 1957 included a discussion of the organization, officers and men of the regiment which, since no new evidence relating to the unit has subsequently come to light, remains the standard treatment. Twelve officers are known: six are described as tribuni, two as praepositi (presumably legionary centurions) and four are not given a title; a further four men, all tribuni, appear in the various records, some, possibly all, of whom were also commanders of the Palmyrene cohort.¹⁰⁵

A striking feature of all these officers is that none would otherwise have been known to us but for these attestations from Dura;

in no case can any man be traced elsewhere and - with a single exception - we know nothing of their previous or subsequent careers. The exception is the Julius Terentius mentioned above, whom we know ended his career in this post at Dura in 238 when he was killed in a Persian raid the brunt of which was, presumably, borne by his force.¹⁰⁶ The origins of all these commanding officers - largely unknown - suggest no pattern of preferences. The usual title of the commander - tribunus - confirms the military status of the unit. If the earlier detachment of sagittarii at Dura was the forerunner and nucleus of the cohort, then we must add the strategoi who commanded them and were of Palmyrene origin.

The documents also provide us with the names of successive centurions and decurions of the cohort,¹⁰⁷ in addition to the several hundred men in the lower ranks. With the exception of a handful of Latin or Greek names, almost all the personnel below the rank of tribune have semitic names and are almost certainly locally recruited, presumably from Palmyrenia and from the vicinity of Dura and its outposts. After the Constitutio Antoniniana all of the peregrine members of the unit adopted the nomen Aurelius.¹⁰⁸

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Finally, we may note the absence of any imperial nomen for the unit: here we might have expected Aurelia Palmyrenorum. One may cite the parallel of the cohors I Hemesenorum (above, 120f.) which is found with one or both of its dynastic titles Aurelia and Antonina in only five of the large number of attestations to it. I suspect that, as with the Hemeseni, the already lengthy name was frequently shortened in popular usage and that, in the event, the employment of variable dynastic titles soon became more common and popular, thus displacing the relatively undistinguished Aurelia (App. 2).

Cohors Seleu(ciensium)¹

The regiment is known from one attestation only, an epitaph found at Asciburgium in Germania inferior. The stone - lost during the Second World War - presented some difficulties in reading and restoration; the following text is based upon that of Alföldy (42.01):

Erpirodi / Tib. Iul. C(h)ar / etis f. Sdeb / das domo /
Turo missi / cius ex coh. / Silau(ciensium?), [a]nno(rum)(?) /
L V(?) h.s.e. Tib. Iul. / Antus f.c. / Et Primigenia
lib(erta)eius anno(rum) / III h.s.e.

Earlier writers read lines 7 and 8 as Silauciens/iu(m) (e.g. Dessau) and Silau/.jnens/iu(m) (e.g. Lehner). Whatever the reading, it is difficult to see the name as derived from anywhere other than Seleucia. With so many cities of that name and with the sole known soldier having an origo in Tyre and a pure Semitic name,^{1a} it is probably not Seleucia Pieraea² from which it took its name. Bechert may well be correct in ascribing it to Seleucia on the Euphrates.³ The soldier was clearly enfranchised by Tiberius, and probably recruited in the reign of Augustus⁴ to an existing unit. No personnel whatsoever from a Seleucia are known in the Roman army.

While there is no evidence to support the view that the unit was composed of archers,⁵ it is not improbable; cf. the cohors II Cyrrhestarum which likewise is never explicitly described as sagittaria but clearly was (above, 105).

Under Claudius the fort at Asciburgium was occupied by the ala Tungrorum and the Seleucienses were probably the Tiberian garrison.⁶ Nothing is known of the unit thereafter. Alföldy has suggested its loss in the Batavian Revolt, but this seems far too late. More probable is its loss, or simply decline and redistribution under Tiberius or Claudius.

SURI

In the same way that we find regiments of Breuci, Latobici and Varciani on the one hand, and of Pannoni on the other; of Astures, Cantabri and Lucenses, and of Hispani; so too Syria not only has the foregoing regiments named for places and peoples within the province, but also named for the province/provincials themselves. Technically, of course, just as we find some Spanish regiments actually called Hispanorum Aravacorum, or Hispanorum Asturum, so too all of the above regiments could officially have added Syrorum/Surorum (the y and u are interchangeable) to their titles. In fact, one of the above does just that: two of the diplomas for Mauretania Tingitana give the ala of Hamian archers there the formal title ala I Hamiorum Syrorum sagittariorum (CIL, XVI, 169; 170; 181; 182). Nevertheless, there are a group of units which seem never to have been given any more precise a designation than "Syri" and it is with these that this section is concerned.

Amongst the mass of literary evidence recording the employment of Syrian soldiers are many items which do not give us a precise name for the particular Syrians involved: in some cases only a particular people or community is intended; in others it is clear that the men recruited were taken from wherever available, and probably no effort was made to differentiate between groups.

Much has already been said about the use of military manpower in Syria in chapter III above; it is sufficient here simply to add a few of the more direct attestations to "Syrians" as a provincial group. Thus we hear of Syrian auxiliaries at the siege of Jerusalem in 37 B.C. "who formed no inconsiderable contingent" and who are

recorded as distinct from the provincial garrison. (Josephus, BJ, I. 346). In 66, Cestius Gallus not only called upon the assistance of the client-states but "further auxiliaries in very large numbers were collected from the towns" (Josephus, BJ, II. 500). In the Jewish War we hear of a centurion and ten men, cut off at Gamala, who overhear some local rebels discuss their plan of action. Gallus, the centurion, understands the language because he was a "Syrian, like his companions". (Josephus, BJ, IV, 37f., cf. VI. 54 for the soldier "Sabinus, a native of Syria".) When Mucianus withdrew troops from the siege of Jerusalem, Titus made good some of the loss by drawing more heavily on "the allied princes and Syrians", and can even call upon 3,000 guards from the Euphrates (Josephus, BJ, V, 42ff).

A full tally of "Syrian" legionaries is given below (App. 1, Table I) to which we may add such men as Antonius Maximus, Syrus, discharged from the ala Gallorum Tauriana in 122 (CIL, XVI, 169) and the unknown of the cohors I sagittariorum buried at Bingen (51.03).

ala II Syr(orum) c.R.

A dedication from Sala in Mauretania Tingitana seems (on the best interpretation) to place this regiment in that province in or soon after 144 (43.01).¹ It may be this same unit named as ala S. and alluded to on a broken tombstone from Ain Schkour to the east of Sala (43.02).

The unit does not appear on any of the diplomas for Tingitana although they span this period. Two possibilities have been put forward by Mrs. Roxan: it may have arrived just before 144 with its only recorded prefect Sulpicius Felix whose previous post had been in Cappadocia, or it may have been formed by splitting up the cohors

II Syrorum sagittariorum equitata milliaria.² In favour of the latter it may be noted that the unit is described as milliary on the diplomas up to 122, but not on either of those for 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 181; 182).

ala II Septimia Surorum milliaria

Known only from a single inscription from Carnuntum (44.01) dated to 219, but giving no indication of station. The obvious formation dates during the reign of Septimius are from the levies of Pescennius Niger in 193, or for his wars in the East. The prefect, [...] M. f. Faustianus, is a native of Savaria, Pannonia superior.³

Cohors Surorum

Ti. Iulius Selvanus (sic) ex chor. Sur. who was buried at Mainz (45.01), evidently received his citizenship from Tiberius. This may be the cohors I sagittariorum nearby at Bingen (below, 241) and/or the cohors I Syrorum sagittariorum in Mauretania Tingitana (below, 231~~R~~). S(i)lvanus is an extremely common cognomen⁴ but, if we once admit that this particular soldier is Syrian - as Kraft and Holder do - then there is no need to follow Holder in describing him as a Syrian Greek;⁵ Silvanus in association with pure Semitic names is common enough at Dura Europos.

Cohors I Syrorum sagittariorum equitata

An inscription from Caesaraea Mauretaniae (46.01) records one C. Iulius Dapnus, chorte Surorum, annorum L, militavit annis XXX. The name reveals enfranchisement by Gaius (38-41), and we may suppose

that the unit was part of the initial garrison of Mauretania when it was annexed in 40. A plausible suggestion is that the unit is to be identified with the cohors Surorum attested at Mainz a little earlier (above, 231) and/or it may be identified with the cohors I sagittariorum at Bingen (below, 241).⁶ Given this man's length of service, he may well have been recruited in the last years of Augustus and this would tie in too with the probable recruitment date of Tib. Julius Selvanus at Mainz (45.01).

The subsequent history of the unit can be followed only uncertainly - if at all. Cichorius thought that this unit may have been the cohors veterana which gave rise to the cohors I nova ∞ Surorum sagittariorum of the Severan period (below, 235).⁷ However, tracing it in the period between c. 40 and the early third century is, at best, tentative. A broken dedication to several deities and with the name Aelius on it (46.04), was found at Chella in Mauretania; it alludes to eq. coh. Su[rorum]... which may be this or, more probably, the next unit.⁸ More recently, an inscription from Tripolitania of 198/211 (possibly 198/205)⁹ records building activity/a dedication to Sol Hieroboles, the favourite Palmyrene deity (above, 209) by a vexilla[tio]nem leg. III A[u]g. et mil. coh[o]rt[is] S[yro[r]um sagit-[ta]riorum (46.02). At Lambaesis there is an epitaph on which we may read Bullatius Sabinus trib. cohort. I Syrorum (46.03); Devijver thinks it may be third century. Finally, there is the career of L. Marcius Avitus preserved on an inscription in the museum of Leite Vasconcelas, Portugal: praef. fabr., praef. coh. I S[u]ror. sagitta[r.], trib. mil. leg. X Freten[s.], praef. eq. alae I sing[u]lar. c.R., donis donato... (46.05). Since the text was dedicated by Marcius Maternus, a man with the same nomen, it is probable that the latter's choice of gentilicium

is significant. The choice was probably due to his unit having been awarded the c.R. under the command of this Marcius Avitus whose personal distinctions may also have been awarded at that time.¹⁰ A date for the text is rather more difficult: the original editor assigned it to the late Julio-Claudian period, Holder prefers Trajan and Devijver goes no closer than simply second century.¹¹ There is no indication of a station for the cohors I Syrorum sagittariorum, the prefect's subsequent post was in Palestine.

The best that can be said is that the unit at Caesarea under Claudius may plausibly be identified with one or both of the units at Mainz and Bingen a few years before. Moreover, if the hints we have from possible references to this unit are acceptable, then it had a station in Africa in later years, possibly as late as the Severan period.

Finally, there is the major caveat that only two texts actually give the unit a numeral and there was, after all, a well-known cohors II Syrorum nearby in Mauretania Tingitana.

Cohors II Syrorum sagittariorum ∞ equitata

The unit is attested on five diplomas of Mauretania Tingitana from 88 (CIL, XVI, 159) to 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 182); on the two earliest it lacks the name Syrorum (CIL, XVI, 159 (88); 165 (114/7)). Its presence on the diploma of 88 implies initial recruitment at least as early as c. 62/3. Given that the recipient, Domitius, Domiti f., belongs to this unit and is a native of Philad(elphia) (= Amman, Jordan) - then still part of the Syrian Decapolis - it is likely that the unit had come to Mauretania some time after his recruitment. Our veteran Domitius may have been an initial recruit to a regiment raised in the

Decapolis and/or southern Syria in preparation for the campaigns of Paetus and Domitius Corbulo beginning 62/3. Support may be found for recruitment in the Decapolis at this very time by reference to an epitaph from Carnuntum (57.01 and below, 248) to another archer from Philadelphia who died c. 70 after 7 years service!

Formed probably c. 62/3, the unit must have spent its early years in Syria and/or Judaea. We may confidently assume that its transfer westwards did not come until the civil wars, and probably not until after the capture of Jerusalem.

The only hint of its station in Tingitana comes from the text from Chella (= Sala), which lacks the numeral but probably refers to this unit (47.09).

The later diplomas do not give the unit its milliary symbol (CIL, XVI, 181; 182); none at all describe it as equitata, although that is to be inferred from the discharge of the eques Domitius in 88 and from the "eq." on the Chella text (47.09).¹²

Holder has suggested that the unit was part of a series with I and III sagittariorum being the units of those names in Germany (below, 241 ff).¹³ This, however, presupposes this unit, too, to be Augustan or Tiberian in origin when, as I have argued, it was almost certainly formed c. 62/3. Moreover, I have suggested below (242) that at the time of formation the cohortes sagittariorum, wherever their personnel came from, had archery as the common trait rather than any ethnic origin. Again, Holder is unwilling to see milliary units in the pre-69 period, regarding them as one outcome of the early Flavian reform;¹⁴ as I have argued (App. 6) they almost certainly go back to the early 60^s, if not earlier.

Cohors I ∞ nova Surorum sagittariorum equitata

One text is dated to 230 precisely (48.06), one mentions Julia Mamaea (222/35) (48.05) and five include Severiana in the title (48.03-.07). Such considerations led to the suggestion that the unit was formed by Alexander Severus.¹⁵ The obvious occasions, however, for Alexander to have had the unit raised would have been either in conjunction with his Parthian War or in preparation for his German campaign, both of which post-date the Lower Pannonian inscription of 230. Moreover it is now clear that the system of the variable cognomen borne by units goes back to Septimius at least (App. 2), with the result that one or more of these texts could be of the period 193/211.¹⁶ Finally we may cite the possible soldier Sep. Bauleus whose nomen points to Septimius Severus, while his cognomen is Semitic of a type common at Dura Europos.¹⁷ The other personnel - Ulpus Valens, Q. Aelius Apollo^{nus} and M. Aurelius Priscus - are probably all local replacements.

As noted above (231) Cichorius thought the nova required a cohors (veterana) Surorum and pointed to the cohors I Syrorum in North Africa.¹⁸ The alternative is that the nova indicates re-formation, (re)novata after decimation in battle or even cashiering (as happened with the legion III Augusta) (below, 305). Whether the unit was equitata or not depends on the text of Sep. Bauleus (48.01) which does not actually record his unit.

The station occupied by the unit was Ulcisia Castra upstream of Aquincum in Pannonia inferior, a fort apparently occupied by cohors I Thracum c.R. in the second century.¹⁹

Numerus Syrorum sagittariorum (∞ Malvensium) = Suri sagittarii

The unit has recently been discussed very fully by Speidel and his findings form the basis for most of what follows.²⁰

The earliest texts, referring to Suri sagittarii and dating to 133, place the unit in the forts of Raducinesti (49.02) and Bivolari (Arutela) (49.01) about 20 kms apart on the River Olt in Dacia inferior. At a later date, in its new guise of numerus Syrorum, it is found further south at Romula (49.03; .07) - probably its headquarters - and at Slaveni (49.08).²¹ At some point it had a detachment further east at Piva Pietrei opposite Carsium in Moesia inferior (49.09).²² The two soldiers named on the last text both bear the nomen Flavius and a likely date would be before the annexation of Dacia.

In the third century it is in Mauretania Caesariensis. The date of its arrival there, where it was based (by inference) at Numerus Surorum (= Lalla Marnia) can be dated to ante 217/8 in which year that site had an access road built, presumably to serve the new fort.²³ Since it is attested at Caesaraea too, it need not necessarily have gone directly to Numerus Surorum; Speidel, in fact, links its arrival to the changes effected in Mauretania by Septimius Severus when, c. 200, both provinces were placed under a single governor pro legato.²⁴ He cites, in support, the epitaph of Sex. Iulius Iulianus, ...tribunus n. Syrorum M(a)lvensium, hic sepultus est, dum deducit iuniores Bessos ∞ in Tingitana(m) provinci(a)m (49.04 - from Caesaraea). Speidel argues that at the time of Iulianus' death, the numerus was already in Mauretania, and the deceased had been sent to conduct the Bessi to that province where he was then to join his unit. Once again, says Speidel, the appropriate time for such a considerable reinforcement of the province was the reign of Septimius. The unit is attested twice more at

Caesaraea (49.10; .11) and twice at Numerus Surorum (49.12; .13); the latest date for it is 272, a text from the frontier fort (49.12). Speidel argues that the indications point to the fort at Numerus Surorum being large enough to accommodate a milliary unit (250X400 m.). He believes that support for the unit's milliary status is to be found both in Iulianus' title of tribune, rather than prefect or praepositus, and in the extent of the area under the unit's control in Dacia. Further support may be forthcoming in one of the Romula texts of which Speidel has published an illustration and a corrected reading (49.03):

Soli invic/to Mithrae / libr. cum / Anton. Z[o]/ilo act(a)ri/
n. S(yrorum) [.]

Speidel argues quite correctly that the photograph does not allow the final letter to be restored as S(agittariorum) as in earlier publications. In fact, the remains are curved and preserve what can only be the beginning of a C, G, O, Q - or, ∞.

Three commanders are known: Sex. Iulius Iulianus gives his origo as Germania superior (49.04); Sex. Iulius Possessor, who commanded the unit in Dacia under Antoninus or in the early years of Marcus, is from Mactor in Africa (49.05); Lentinius Priscianus, from Lower Germany (?) is third century (49.13). Finally, there is T. Cl. [..]OS[..] (49.01) who is not listed by Devijver for this text, but who may be identified with Claudius Sosius (c. 186). Our text has the tr.p. date of 133 and Claudius Sosius is recorded as praef. alae I Bospor. in the time of Hadrian or Antoninus; this latter unit is in Dacia. It is by no means certain of course that our text is recording the name of the commander of the Suri sagittarii, rather than simply an equestrian official overseeing the work in question on behalf of the procurator.

The known soldiers are Anton. Zoilus (49.03) actarius; Cl. Montanus (49.06) imaginifer; Fl. Ianuarius and Fl. Avitianus (49.09) signifer - all in Europe; Antonius Avitus (49.10) miles; ACRIOV (?) (49.11) miles; Aur. Massamarus (49.12) optio.

Speidel regards Zoilus, with his Greek name, as evidence that the numerus "continued to receive recruits from the Orient while it was stationed in Dacia".²⁵ This cannot stand. First, the text cannot be dated closer than "second-century"; he could, therefore, if an oriental, even have been an initial recruit. Second, and more important, this Greek name is to be found not only in the Orient as Speidel observes, but is common, too, south of the Danube in Macedonia, and also in Moesia whence the Dacian army received many of its replacements: thus, from Rome, we have the praetorian C. Iulius, Zoili filius, Fabia, Montanus, domo Heraclea Sentica;²⁶ while from Tomis, Moesia inferior, comes ΠΙΣ. Αἰλιος [Αν]τωνίου Σω[κ]λου, ἀρχι[στρατηγ]ός. .²⁷ If Speidel is incorrect in his interpretation of Zoilus, his scepticism, however, about the proposed Alpine origin of Cl. Montanus²⁸ is borne out by the first of these texts which gives us a Montanus from Macedonia! Ianuarius is most popular in Africa; Avitianus and Avitus are to be found overwhelmingly in Europe.²⁹ Massamarus is probably Celtic.³⁰ In short, in all but one case the soldiers are probably or possibly from the Danube area, and there is nothing to support a theory of continued drafts from the East.

Finally, there is a text from Caesarea which reads Quadrati Suri/sagittari . This may refer to this unit or to either of the cohortes Syrorum in North Africa (49.50).

TYRI

The Tyrian contribution to the Roman army may be briefly stated: an inscription records M. Iulius M.f. Fabia Pisonianus qui et Dion, prefect of the cohors I Sygambrorum, who gives his home as Tyre.¹ Three legionaries have Tyre as their origo (App. 1, Table I) and, as we have seen (above, 228), the sole known soldier of the cohors Silaucensium was from Tyre (42.01).

Cohors I Tyrriorum sagittariorum²

One of the very few early epigraphic attestations for an auxiliary unit concerns this regiment: the career of C. Atilius A.f. Glabrio - dated pre-A.D.15³ - includes his command of cohor[tis or -t. I] / Tyrriorum sagittar. (50.01). To this we may add a text from Antoich ad Pisidiam on which the name of the equestrian officer concerned is lost, but which probably refers to this unit (50.02):

...prae] / fec. coh. ITYR / trib. mil. leg. IV / Scytic.
praef. / equit. praef. rip. / Danuvi / d.d.

I have suggested above that the I Tyr. is to be preferred to Ityr (160f) and the date allows some further support. In his original publication, Ramsay dated it to 'pre-A.D.10' but offered no explanation.⁴ Holder makes it Claudio-Neronian and Devijver says pre-Flavian.⁵ The important point is that, until Nero, the legion was based in Macedonia rather than Moesia⁶ so that all three of this man's identifiable commands would have been in the same area (below, 240). At the other extreme, the latest attestation is the Dacian diploma of 140 (Roxan, no. 39). Given the very early date for Glabrio, a reference in Cassius Dio to events in 44 B.C. may be of significance for the unit's recruitment:⁷

in that year, Caecilius Bassus enlisted a force of soldiers at Tyre and fought an unsuccessful battle with the governor of Syria (above, 71f.). The next dated attestation after Glabrio is the diploma of 99 for Moesia inferior (CIL, XVI, 45) and, if we may bring in the above acephalous text as a bridge,⁸ it may not be too fanciful to speculate on the origin of the unit and the means by which it came to the lower Danube. In 43 B.C., the army of Caecilius Bassus passed to the conspirator Cassius Longinus, and he in turn soon led the forces of Syria and the East westwards to Philippi.⁹ In the carve up of forces after the battle, a body of archers in Roman pay, rather than in the train of a client-king, would have been a valuable and flexible force and might well have been assigned to the considerable legionary garrison which Antony left on the lower Danube.¹⁰ The creation of the imperial province of Moesia in c. A.D.3 would have moved it northwards onto the new Danubian frontier. Nor need we envisage any problem to the survival of such an early creation and to its continued archer characteristic: after the East, Thrace was probably the next most important source of archers for replacements.¹¹

The stations of the unit are unknown: the epitaph of L. Valerius [...] found at Salona (50.04), probably referring to this unit rather than the Ituraeans, cannot be used in this pursuit (above, 160f.).¹² Since the unit is on the Dacia inferior diploma of 140 (Roxan, no. 39), it is tempting to suppose that it was moved to Dacia by Trajan.

Since the unit appears on the earliest and the latest texts as sagittaria we may be confident that it retained its initial characteristic.

No personnel below the rank of prefect are yet known.

SAGITTARII

A number of regiments incorporating the word sagittariorum in their titles are clearly or arguably Syrian in their origin. In all cases an ethnic is omitted/missing although, since most are known only from a few texts, it is by no means certain that it has not simply been left out in abbreviation in the texts we have available. Thus the cohors II milliaria Syrorum sagittariorum above, occasionally omits the Syrorum (47.01; .02; .03) and, but for the numerous other attestations to it which include the ethnic, we might have registered it simply as a regiment of archers. Indeed, it has been suggested (above, 234) that the cohors II milliaria Syrorum sagittariorum is in fact the second regiment in a series which includes cohortes I and III sagittariorum to be discussed below.

Cohors I sagittariorum¹

Five inscriptions allude to this regiment. Epigraphic criteria point to a pre-Flavian date and two of the soldiers were probably Augustan recruits: Tib. Iul. Abdes who served 40 years and died aged 62, received his citizenship from Tiberius (51.04); C. Iulius Hastaius, enfranchised by Gaius and described as a missicius (51.05) would certainly have been recruited by A.D.16 at the latest and probably some years earlier. Both are probably also initial recruits (below, 242).

All five texts come from Bingen (= Bingium) 20 miles west of Mainz in Germania superior and, unless it is to be equated with the cohors Syrorum (= cohors I Syrorum sagittariorum in Mauretania Tingitana ?) at Mainz at much the same period (above, 231~~8~~), we know

of no other station. The fort at Bingen seems to have been occupied in the late Augustan/early Tiberian period, while its initial garrison of auxiliaries was probably replaced by legionaries in the Flavian period.² The other garrisons attested in this pre-Flavian period are the cohors I Pannoniorum and the cohors IV Delmatarum.³

Four of the soldiers named are Syrian - two are explicitly called 'Surus', one ^{gives as his origo} 'Sidonia'⁴ and one has a Syrian name, Hastaius = Ataius.⁵ The fifth known soldier is a Cretan.

The absence of an ethnic for the regiment may be explained otherwise than by supposing that it was actually, or effectively, 'Syrorum'. The mixture of four Syrians and a Cretan implies a mixed unit which was simply a regiment of archers with no common geographical background. One can envisage such units arising from the amalgamation of the rumps of ageing regiments of Syrian, Cretan, Thracian, even Gallic archers (above, 104), and/or even from the remnants of units decimated in warfare. In such an amalgamation, Syrians, the people from whom most archers were recruited, would have been more prominent than the other ethnic groups.

Cohors III sagittariorum

Three texts are available. First, a recent discovery at Mainz-Weisenau records (52.01):

Molaecus / Samuti f. / an. L ex co. III(?) / Ituraius /
stip. XIII / h.s.e.

The editor⁶ read line three as co(hors) III though an alternative might be noted. The numeral is unclear (plate III) and could be read as COHIT which would accord better with the soldier's Ituraean origin.

The text is probably pre-Flavian.

Next come two career inscriptions. On one (52.02) the officer

commanded the unit under Claudius or early in the reign of Nero. His previous post in IV Scythica may have been in Moesia where it was until at least 45, or on the Rhine where it may have been by c. 56/7.⁷ On the other career inscription, Cn. Munatius Aurelius Bassus (52.03) commanded in succession the cohors III then the cohors II Asturum and was then censitor civium Romanorum coloniae Victricensis quae est in Britannia Camaloduni. Camulodunum took its victory title after 51 while II Asturum was in Germania inferior as late as 89 and in Britain by 105.⁸ Dating of Bassus' commands has therefore ranged as late as Cichorius' third century proposal; a Trajanic date, however, is probably to be preferred,⁹ though it could of course be as early as 51. An earlier rather than a later date is to be preferred.

Cohors I sagittariorum milliaria equitata¹⁰

Like the cohors I nova milliaria Surorum sagittariorum equitata, the only dynastic title ever attributed to this unit in the references is one of the variable sort, based on the imperial cognomen; it may therefore be a creation of the Severan period (App. 2). One of the attestations - a tile-stamp - is probably to be restored as A[nt(oniniana)] (53.01), while two others are Gordiana (53.04; .05); an early date, therefore, of 211/8 (Caracalla) or 219/22 (Elágabalus) is to be inferred.

The fort of the unit may be inferred from the find-spots of the evidence which is, in all six cases, Drobeta in Dacia superior, at an important crossing of the Danube.

The absence of an ethnic for this archer regiment may indicate its mixed origin. Unless the tile-stamp restored as A[nt(oniniana)]

(53.01) is rejected, it is not possible to suggest equating this unit with the cohors I nova milliaria Surorum sagittariorum equitata at Aquincum under Alexander Severus (above, 235).

None of the personnel need be anything other than local recruits: names such as Mercurius, Iulianus and Iulius (53.03; .06) are all common in the West and would be unremarkable in Danubian recruits.¹¹ Aurelius Mercurius (53.03) is especially interesting because he claims to be infiglinis magister super milites LX. An acephalous, and probably third century, career inscription from Rome may be alluding to this regiment in recording tr. coh. eq. sagitt. (53.07).

Cohors I Ulpia sagittariorum equitata¹²

The mounted infantry of the cavalry force commanded by Valerius Lollianus in Mesopotamia (App. 5) included a detachment from this regiment (02.01). Evidently formed by Trajan, it is unattested elsewhere. On the assumption that Lollianus' force was drawn from Syria and one or more adjacent provinces (possibly even as far as Egypt), it is surprising that this unit is only attested this once. In the second century, apart from inscriptions, there are two diplomas for Egypt, four for Judaea, two for Syria (one broken), in addition to Arrian's list for Cappadocia. Cichorius' suggestion that it is to be identified on the Notitia Dignitatum as the cohors prima sagittariorum at Naitha under the comes limitis Aegypti (Or. XXVIII. 40), must certainly be incorrect. A short existence is implied, and my proposed lower dating (to Hadrian, perhaps) of Lollianus' special command would accord with this. Cf. the amount of evidence for the cohors II below.

No personnel are known, no ethnic appears, but its archer status and the nature of its sole attestation make an eastern origin likely.

Cohors II Ulpia sagittariorum equitata c.R. (milliaria?)

It has been suggested that this unit is the second of a pair of citizen units formed by Trajan, the first of which is the cohors I Ulpia c.R. in Britain.¹³ Much more likely is a pairing with the previous unit, also sagittaria, also in the East - and to suppose a block grant of citizenship to this unit subsequent to its formation.

Formed, apparently, by Trajan, it is presumably the cohors II Ulpia equi[tata c.]R. on the Lollianus inscription (02.01) and the cohors II Ulpia equit. on the Syrian diploma of 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 106). It then appears on a number of texts from Dura Europos where it appears to have been in garrison for a time: one of 185/92 (55.03), is followed by one of 194 (55.04), while another of, probably, the third century gives the unit its full name: II Ulp. eq. civium Romanorum sagittariorum (55.05). A text of c. 251 from Dura recording *σπεῖρα β' ἑπικὴ* (55.08) may refer either to this unit or, in view of the half century of silence since the previous citation, it could be the cohors II equestris (P. Dura, 82). Finally, an inscription from Marseille of the early third century (55.06) refers to *σπεῖρα β' Οὐλη(α) [Σ]υρια[κα]* which is probably our unit.¹⁴ Like the cohors I Ulpia sag eq. above, it was most probably raised in the East for Trajan's Parthian War. Given its station in Syria, it is not surprising to find an obvious local recruit - [Abra]eus Mocimi f. (55.04) - amongst the soldiers. One text describes (55.04) the commander, in 194, as tribune, while the Marseille text (55.06) of a few years later, describes the commander of the cohors II Ulpia Suriaca as a prefect. Since the former implies

a milliary cohort - which seems unlikely - the tribune may be holding this rank because of some special circumstances (cf. 09.15 and above, 109).

Only the text of 194 describes the unit as sagittaria; on the other hand, c.R., which appears in full on that same text (55.05), is current as early as the Lollian inscription and may have been awarded during Trajan's Parthian War.

Cohors I Aelia Caes. milliaria sagittariorum equitata¹⁵

The earliest text is for 133 (CIL, XVI, 76; [77]); the latest for 230 (56.13). Because of this early date, an association with Aelius Caesar, Hadrian's first choice as successor, is impossible since the latter was only adopted in 136.¹⁶ Wagner saw the Caes. as evidence of origo and proposed formation in one of the Caesarea's of Asia Minor.¹⁷ Some such explanation is possible, but an alternative to Wagner's theory may be advanced.

First, we have no less than 14 attestations of the unit on only one of which - the earliest - do we find Caes.¹⁸ City names incorporated in the names of units are known, nor need we be surprised at the suppression of one or more elements of the full name in other attestations. The elements which most commonly appear, and were clearly the important ones, are Aelia sagittariorum. Second, Aelia points to formation by Hadrian, yet the soldiers being discharged on the Upper Pannonian diplomas of 133 (CIL, XVI, 76; [77]) must have been enrolled c. 107/8.¹⁹ A possible explanation may be that, just as the pedites singulares Pannonici were later recast as the cohors I Aelia singularium in the province to which they had been sent,²⁰ so it was, too, with the archers under consideration. We might then

explain the discharges of 133 as men recruited under Trajan into one unit, being released c. 25 years later from another in which they found themselves as the result of being detached for special duties. The force from which the new regiment was formed would have had to be some such as the vexillatio sagit. exer. Syriaci (57.01) or the vexillatio militum Maurorum Caesariensium.²¹ The latter might in fact suggest the true origin of the unit: Mauretania Caesariensis. A force of archers from that province might be described as vexillatio milliaria sagittariorum Caesariensium. In its recast form, the origin in Mauretania would only be recorded as worth remembering so long as the unit contained men who had belonged to the original draft. An occasion for the transfer of such a detachment from Mauretania to the Danube would make most sense at the outset of Hadrian's reign, when there were serious disturbances on the Danube.²² Significantly, perhaps, the man appointed to a special command over Dacia and Pannonia inferior to meet this emergency, Q. Marcius Turbo, had been brought there from another special command - restoring order in Mauretania.²³ The obvious problem in seeing an origo amongst the Syrian archer regiments in Mauretania is that most such units were in Tingitana not Caesariensis. However, this impression may be the result of the poverty of our sources for Caesariensis while Syrian archers may well have been the composition of such units as the ala and cohors Nerviana and, possibly, the cohors I Flavia Musulamiorum, which had come to Africa from a long stay in Syria (below, 217).²⁴

The known sole location of the regiment is Pannonia superior; the particular station being, apparently, Klosterneuberg just beyond Vindobona (56.10-.13).²⁵

Two tribunes and a tesserarius are attested. The latter, Q. Attius, Conerti f., Tertinus has a Celtic name²⁶ and filiation, and is probably a local recruit in what was a Celtic region.

Miscellaneous sagittarii

A soldier from Philadelphia (Amman), buried at Carnuntum, is said to be ex vexil. sagit. exer. Syriaci (57.01): he had probably come to Europe with part of Mucianus' army in 70 (above, 234). It has not been possible to trace this vexillation as a regular autonomous unit in Europe thereafter, although such a transformation could have been expected. Presumably it was returned to the East or divided as needed amongst the archer regiments in Europe.

At Sabratha in Cyrenaica is the following stone: Ulpiano V[...]/sagitt. nati[one...]/NVS ann. p.m.[...]/... etc. (57.02). The p(lus) m(inus) probably indicates a Christian and a third or fourth century date (above, 41).

Of a similar date to the above are a tile-stamp from Viminacium: eq. sag. (57.03), and an inscription from Salona mentioning a n(umerus) sagittariorum (57.04). From Egypt come fourth century references to mounted archers on a papyrus of 300 (57.05), and to archers on an inscription (57.06).

Finally, there is the acephalous career inscription (53.07) which I suggested above (244) may be alluding to one of the cohortes milliariae sagittariorum since it describes the officer as tr. coh. eq. sagitt.; cohors I milliaria sagittariorum equitata at Drobeta seems the most probable choice if we are to avoid supposing a great deal of the unit's name to have been suppressed on the career inscription.

Possibles

Various other regiments which do not have an ethnic title, but which may be of eastern origin, can be indicated. All are characterised by the title Augusta (App. 2):

<u>ala Augusta</u>	Egypt	<u>P.Hamb.</u> , 1 (=Holder,no.151) - Sept.,57
<u>ala Augusta Germaniciana</u>	Galatia	<u>AE</u> (1914)128 - Nero, but probably named for Germanicus? (=Holder,23)
<u>cohors I Augusta</u>	Syria	<u>ILS</u> 2683 (=Holder,E3) - <u>c.A.D.</u> 6
<u>cohors I Augusta Cyrenaica</u>	Galatia	<u>AE</u> (1930)107 (=Holder,no.1351) ¹ - Flavian
<u>cohors II Augusta Cyrenaica</u>	Germ.sup.	<u>CIL</u> ,XVI,20 (74) - <u>c.</u> 49 or earlier
<u>cohors III Augusta Cyrenaica</u>	Moesia	<u>ILS</u> 2538 (=Holder,E101) - Claudius ?
and, possibly,		
<u>ala I Augusta gemina colonorum</u>	Syria/ Cappadocia	<u>CIL</u> ,VIII, 8934 - Hadrian <u>IGRR</u> ,III,1140 - 75/80 (without <u>Augusta</u>)

It need hardly be said that even to describe them as 'eastern' origin is highly insecure.

Numerus Orientalium

Two Egyptian papyri give the only known references to this unit. One, dated 203, begins with ἀρχοῦ ἀνατολικῶν and alludes to sagittarii lower down the text (58.01). The second (58.02), dated no closer than second/third century, is a list of transfers, including one ex n̄. Or*i*entalium (above, 134). Fink concludes² that the texts are contemporary, and that the civil and eastern wars of Septimius Severus would have been an obvious occasion for formation. Whether or not it was Syrian is not known.

Antiochenses

1. Cheesman, 1914, 181; Wagner, 86; cf. Holder, 1980, 231.
2. Bar-Kochva, 1976, 29f. For the population size at a later date: Downey, 1958, 84-91 and Downey, 1961, 582f.
3. Diodorus Siculus, XXXIV.17
4. Bar-Kochva, 1976, 29
5. Caesar, BC, III.102
6. SHA, Marc., XXV.4
7. Herodian, III.1.4; 2.10; 4.1; 4.6.
8. Wagner, 86f.; Cichorius, 241; Kraft, 1030-1; Beneš, 41/4
9. CIL, XVI, 39; 46; 111; Roxan, no.55 and CIL, XVI, 22; 28; Roxan, no.6; CIL, XVI, 54 (cf. Roxan, p.24).
10. Roxan, no.2 was issued to Hera, Serapionis f., Antioc. of cohors I Raetorum which may be the cohort mentioned by Tacitus in Cappadocia (Hist., II.82) and now brought to the West by Mucianus (cf. Roxan, no.2, n.7). Cf. Gudea, Limes XI, 226f. proposing the unit at Drobeta in Moesia superior from the time of Domitian's Dacian War.
11. Recruits regularly served 30 or more years under Tiberius and a mass discharge and intake in the middle years of Claudius would lead to similar 'bulges' at approximately 25 year intervals as the period of service began to be standardised.
12. Beneš, 41/4; cf. Gudea, Limes XI, 226f.
13. Wagner, 86f.
14. Beneš, 41/4
15. Devijver, C60
16. CP, No.58 = IGRR, 1, 1154
17. Bastianini, 1975, 279; cf. CP, nos.58 and 59.
18. Kajanto, 38 and 51
19. Devijver, A75 and CIL, XVI, 163
20. Devijver, C253
21. CP, no.264
22. IGRR, I, 854; cf. Degrassi, 55; Alföldy, 1968, 141; Birley, 1971, 341
23. Barbieri, 1952, no.195 calls him Italian; Alföldy, 1968, 141 notes Cosconii elsewhere.
24. Kubitschek, 1889, 271
25. Forni, 1953, passim. Cf. Stümpel, 1974, 247 for a 'Parthus Anazarbaeus' in the ala Parthorum et Araborum and the Anazarbene discharged from II Traiana in 157 (AE (1955) 238). For Anazarbus itself, Gough, 1952, 85-149.
26. Forni, 1953, App.B.
27. CIL, XVI, 22 (Cilician); 46 (Anazarbus); Roxan, no.2 (Antiochia).

Apameni

1. Strabo, Geog., XVI. 2.10; cf. Bar-Kochva, 1976, 28f.
2. Dio, xlvii.27.1-2
3. ILS 2683. See the discussion by Cumont, 1934, 178-90 and Balty and Balty, 1977, 117-20.
4. Strabo, Geog., XVI.2.11. says that it was bounded on the East by the desert territory of the Arab chiefs, Parapotamia (cf. Schlumberger, 1939, 56 and 58f. for the possibility that it stretched as far East as Khirbet el-Bilaas between Apamea and Palmyra). For its boundaries in general see Dussaud, 1927, 200-7; Schlumberger, 1939, 58f.; Balty and Balty, 1977, 117-20. Cumont, 1934, 189 estimates the total population of the territory of Apamea at four or five hundred thousand people.

5. Seyrig, 1950, 20; Balty and Balty, 1977, 120-2, cf. below, 121f.(12.08) the soldier of cohors I Hemesenorum - domo CI [audia Apamea].
6. Lesquier, 1918, 76
7. Degrassi, 1967-8, 15-25; cf. AE (1974) 226.
8. Arrian, Ektaxis, 7 and 14; cf. Speidel, 1976, 339f. The Notitia Dignitatum (Or. XXXVIII. 34) lists a cohors Apul<et>a civium Romanorum which is certainly the same regiment. Devijver, V28 identifies the Apameni with the Aplanoi.
9. Roxan, no.9; cf. Pflaum, 1967, 356.
10. Skeat, 1964, 111
11. IIR, 'Coptos' 6G
12. E. Birley, in Devijver, VI7
13. Devijver, V28
14. Devijver, V17 = SH 119 = Devijver, 1974, 470.
15. Devijver, N6 = SH 86 = Devijver, 1974, 46-7; Meiggs, 1979, 202,509f.

Commageni

1. See now Sullivan, 1977c for a discussion of the dynasty as a whole.
2. Diodorus Siculus, xxxi.19a.
3. Sullivan, 1977c, 753 et seq.; 766f.
4. Appian, Mith., xvi.106; xvii.114.
5. Josephus, BJ, V.460.
6. Appian, BC, ii.8.49; Caesar, BC, III.4; cf. Appian, BC, ii.10.71.
7. Sullivan, 1977c, 767. The total force is 7000, of which 3600 are accounted for by named contingents and the remainder are Bessi, Dardani, Macedonians, Thracians and others (Caesar, BC, iii.4)
8. Appian, BC, iv.11.88; cf. 12.99; 15.133.
9. Plutarch, Ant., xxxiv.2
10. Ibid., lxi.1-2.
11. Tacitus, Ann., ii.56.4. For the annexations and restorations see in general CERP², 458, n.49.
12. Dio, lix.8.2 and Suetonius, Gaius, xvi; Dio, lx.8.1.
13. Tacitus, Ann., xiii.7.1. and cf. xiv.26.1. for A.D.60.
14. Josephus, BJ, ii.500
15. Ibid., iii.66
16. Tacitus, Hist., ii.25
17. Josephus, BJ, v.460
18. Ibid. vii.223-34 and Suetonius, Vesp., viii.4; cf. ILS 9200 (below, App.4).
19. Cichorius, 1238-9; Wagner, 29f.; Kraft, 240-4.
20. IGLS I, 137 = Devijver, A20; cf. Pflaum, 1967, 351-2.
21. Parker, 1958, 128
22. Cf. below, 130-2 where another such text is suggested as being one of those which reveal 'impending or recent movement'.
23. Alföldy, 1974, 257.
24. Ibid. 144
25. Wuthnow, 109; Kajanto, 320.
26. Wuthnow, 59.
27. Pape, 1884, 181f.; Preisigke, 1922, 68 and Cavenaille, 1970, 213; cf. however, its frequency in Europe - e.g. Dalmatia: Alföldy, 1969, 152.
28. Cavenaille, 1970, s.v.vb.
29. Antiochus and Mithridates speak for themselves; Wuthnow, 71 and 73 and Dura Papyri, index for the other two; cf. IGLS, I, 49 - 'Mambogeos, Alexandri f.' from Perre, Commagene.

30. Cheesman, 181.
31. Holder, 1980, 231; cf. however, 16 and 121 where he concedes the possibility that there may be two different series - one pre-Flavian, or, a single early series, two of which were awarded the 'battle honour' Flavia.
32. There is, of course, no need to assume that the force of 5000 cavalry and infantry sent to join Cestius Gallus represented the royal army which one might expect to be incorporated when annexation took place. It is far more probable that a modest professional force was supplemented in wartime by feudal contingents as in Parthia. Thus we would have an explanation for why c.5000 royal troops in the Jewish War produced only two cohorts in A.D.72 (below).
33. Thomasson, 1960, II, 205; cf. Alföldy, 1968, 141.
34. Troussset, Limes XI, 567, but cf. Fentress, 1979, 89, no.17 and 90, no.21.
35. Picard, 1949, 58-60 and n.47
36. Carcopino, 1925, 118.
37. CIL, VIII, 2495.
38. Cheesman, 164f.; if the same consideration were applied to the ala VII Phyrqum in diplomas for that year (CIL, XVI, 35 and Roxan, no.3) have a total of 8 alae in the province. Cf. above, 56f. and more fully below, 221ff. with regard to the cohors XX Palmyrenorum.
39. Cf. Cheesman, 131f.
40. Devijver, A177 and Jarrett, 1972, 151f, no.25.
41. CIL, VIII, 4543.
42. Wagner, 123f; Beneš, 73/35
43. Cf. Condurachi, Limes VII, 163 who asserts that the unit was at Tomis throughout the second and third centuries!
44. Stefan, 1948, 115-44, esp.140 et seq.; cf. PECS, 282. Tile stamps from the site also refer to the legions I Italica (numerous), V Mac. (several) and XI Claudia (a few).
45. Vladescu and Bordea, Limes XI, 360.
46. The fort at Drajna-de-Sus is 200 x 176 m (3.5 hectares) and is distinctive for its casemate wall (Stefan, 1948, 116-19; cf. Protase, Limes XI, 303f.) In its earliest phase it had been built of turf and timber; the second period was brick-built.
47. Devijver, B22; CIL, IX, 6083.28; 6083.141, 1163; PAR² B118 vir clarissimus and patronus coloniae Conusii in 223.
48. Devijver, A138
49. Wuthnow, 33,34,36; Dura Papyri, index.
50. Cichorius, 274; Wagner, 124-6; Kraft, nos.1340-4; Beneš, 73/36.
51. PECS, s.v. 'Micia'. (180 x 360m.).
52. Ala I Aug.Itur. - below, 140-9; ala I Hisp.Camp. - CIL, III, 1342, 1377, 1378, 1380; ala I Bosp. - CIL III, 1344; cf. the evidence for cohortes I Alpinorum and I Vindelicorum - CIL, III, 1343; leg.XIII - CIL, III 7858 12565 - and numerus Maurorum - AE (1944) 774 - and see now the commentary on AE (1975) 731. In general, cf. Petolescu, Limes X, 369, and 1972, 43-9.
53. PECS, s.v. 'Micia'.
54. Devijver, A267 = SH I
55. Devijver, V80; Jarrett, 1972, 212f.; Merlin, 1919, 255-72.
56. Devijver, B 26
57. Devijver, I 24
58. Devijver, A 165; I 132; M 1; P 74; R 29; Incertus 37.

⌊ Syria, one may see that in 33 (some time after its arrival) the complimentary

59. CIL, III, index; Schulze, 425; cf. Alföldy, 1969, 121.
60. Cavenaille, 1970, 297, nos.1980-3.
61. Kraft, no.1343.
62. Kajanto, 274.
63. The text printed in CIL gave MAIVRVS which they interpreted as Maurus (followed by Kraft, no.1344); Speidel, 1975, 210 regards this as etymologically bad and suggested Maturus as better.
64. Beneš, 145/9 - 152/16; Speidel, 1975, 208ff., esp.209.
65. Alföldy, 1969, 303; cf. Speidel, 1975, 210 and idem, 1976a,
66. Gilliam, 1974; Russu, 1969, 185. ILS 4073-4a.
67. Toth, 1973, 109-16, esp.114f.

Cyrrhestici

1. Bar-Kochva, 1976, 29-31.
2. Frézouls, 1977, 164-8.
3. Idem, 177, n.61; Cumont, 1934, 88 for an estimate of the population of Cyrrhus itself of c.200,000.
4. Idem., 175f; Strabo, Geog., xvi.2.7 and Pliny, NH, v.19.82.
5. Cicero, Ad Att., v.20.3; Ad fam., xv.4.8; Plutarch, Dem., xlvi.4
6. See e.g. Strabo, Geog., xvi.2.8; Plutarch, Ant., xxxiv.1-2.
7. Frontinus, Strat., i.1.6.
8. Josephus, BJ, I.323-4.
9. Tacitus, Ann., ii.57
10. SHA, Marc., xxv. 12; cf. C.Avidius Heliodorus (CP no.106), Cassius' father.
- 10a. Alföldy, 1962, 268.
11. Cheesman, 179 and note 4 (conceding Syria as a possibility).
12. Holder, 1980, 151f. and nos. 1361-5 (assuming Augustan recruitment in each case); cf. Wilkes, 1969, 473 and Alföldy, 1962, 268 and 287 - pre-Flavian
- 12a. Alföldy, 1962, 268 suggests a long stay in Dalmatia. Certainly the career of M. Pytha might allow us as much as 35 years, but the unit could well have served elsewhere first.
13. Kennedy, 1977, 523, 526 and 528f.
14. Alföldy, 1962, 268; Wilkes, 1969, 473 - both have a preference for Burnum.
15. Velleius Paterculus, cxiii.1.
16. Cheesman, 65ff.
17. Alföldy, 1969, 363; Wuthnow and Dura Papyri, index s.v. vb.
18. Alföldy, 1962, 268.

Hamii

1. R.-E., VI (1907), 192; CERP², 228, 231, 250, 260-2, 267; cf. Robertson, et al; 1975, 24.
2. Roxan, 1973q, 845f., no.5; cf. Euzennat, 1971, 176.
3. CIL, XVI, 159, 161; 165; 169; 170; 181; 182; Roxan, no.53 and 54.
4. Cf. above 46; inscriptions 47.01 and 57.01; two Syrian diplomas recording discharges in 88 and two for 91 - again, presumably, reflecting Corbulo's recruiting programme (CIL, XVI, 85; Roxan, no.3; 4; 5).
5. Roxan, 1973a, 843.
6. Roxan, 1973a, 846.
7. Devijver, M 8; CP no.78

8. For all these men see now, Euzennat, 1971, 164f., 168, 171f.
9. Holder, 1980, no.483 proposes death in the Trajanic period.
- 9a. I omit AE (1909) 71 (=Holder, 1980, no.481) as being unlikely to refer to this unit - see below, 347.
10. Holder, 1980, no.482
11. Degrassi, 1952, 18; Afrinus' colleague in the consulship, C.Paccius Africanus, governed Africa in the late 70s (Eck, 1970, 234). N.B.M. Annius Heutyches attested at Volubilis (BCTH, (1946-9), 433f).
12. Euzennat, 1971, 161-78; esp.176ff.
13. Robertson, et al., 1975, 26-9.
14. CIL, XVI, 69; 70; 82 and 43; 48; 51.
15. The ala I Flavia Domitiana Britannica milliaria c.R. dropped Domitiana in favour of Augusta after Domitian's death - below, App.2.
16. Commentary to RIB 1791; cf. Jarrett, 1972, 165, no.35.
17. Hartley, 1972, 41ff.; cf. Frere, 1974, 179f. - the precise dates are still a matter of dispute both with regard to the beginning and end of Antonine II
18. RIB 2170-1
19. Robertson, et al., 1975, 26-9. Frere, 1974, 180 regards the arrow-heads in the bottom of the well and the Baetasian inscriptions in the upper part as evidence for first Hamian, then Baetasian occupation.
20. Curle, 1911, 189; cf. J.L. Davies, 1977, 266, n.58 for Prof. E. Birley's view that archers could have been employed in small detachments on a fairly regular basis.
- 20a. Haverfield, 1899, 153.
21. Webster, 1969, 151; J.L. Davies, 1977, 266 and n.53.
22. Devijver, F 68.
23. Devijver, C 13
24. Devijver, C 83 and cf. C 80-82 and 84; Cheesman, 1913, 253-66.
25. RIB 2182 (commentary)
- 25a. A.R. Birley, 1980, 111 and 128
26. Jarrett, 1972, 165, no.35.
27. Webster, 1969, 151. It is not universally accepted that the soldier is a Hamian: Webster, 1969, 151, n.1 and J.L. Davies, 1977, 266 and n.58.
28. Arrian, Tactica, 44.
29. Pflaum, 1955, 135-9; CP no.181 bis, p.480; Devijver, V 23
30. Birley, 1966, 58 and 63 (cf. Devijver, V 28); contra Pflaum, CP, no.181 bis, p.480. In view of Maximianus' subsequent special command in Pontus Polemonianus, Birley is the more likely to be correct. In any case, Pflaum's suggestion of Germany was based on his identification of the unit with a cohors I Hamiorum milliaria attested at Treves (CIL, XIII,3684). I discuss it below, 347.
31. Pflaum, 1955, 134, and fig. and text.
32. Goodchild and Ward-Perkins, 1949, 84ff.
33. Devijver, C76.

Hemeseni

1. Altheim and Stiehl, 1964, I, 139-63; cf. Dussaud, 1955, 82-4.
2. Sullivan, 1977a, 198-219 has recently discussed the 'Dynasty of Emesa' and, unless otherwise stated, references in what follows can be found there.
3. Josephus, BJ, II.500.

4. Josephus, BJ, III.68 and Tacitus, Hist., V.1.2.
5. Josephus, BJ, VII.255-6.
6. IGLS, VII, 2212
7. BMC, 'Galatia', lxiv and 237.
8. Seyrig, 1959, 64, n.6.
9. Rey-Coquais, 1978, 50; cf. Bowersock, 1973, 140 following Rey-Coquais in IGLS, VII, 4011 and dating annexation to precisely between 72 and 78.
10. Bowersock, 1973, 133-40; esp.140.
11. See above s.v. 'Commageni',
12. Most of the cohortes Petraeorum were 'Ulpiae'; probably all were so-called.
13. CIL, III, 7500 for V Macedonica.
14. Dussaud, 1955, 82-4.
15. The extent of Emesene territory may be gauged from a boundary marker at Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi half-way between Emesa and Palmyra: Fin[es] Vinter/Hadrianos/Palmyrenos/et/[He]mesenos (AE(1939)180); cf. AE(1939)178-9 from Kheurbet el-Bilas half-way between Apamea and Palmyra. All three texts are discussed by Schlumberger, 1939, 52-67.
16. Digest, 50.15.1.4; 8.6. See now the evidence for centuriation around Emesa in van Lière, 1964, 55-8; cf. Kennedy, 1980^o forthcoming.
17. E.g. Sex. Varius Marcellus (CP 237).
18. Malalas, xii, p.296.
19. Major treatments may be found in Barkóczi et al., 1954; M.R. Alföldi et al., 1957; Fitz, 1972; Wagner, 142-6.
20. Over 50 texts explicitly or arguably refer to this unit; many other inscriptions from the site refer to the civilian community.
21. Dura Report.I (Rostevtzeff), 56, n.1; Wagner, 142; Lambrino, 1932, 266; cf. Cheesman, 182 (early second century).
22. Adapted from Fitz, 1972, 45 f.
23. Fitz, 1972, 46f.
24. Mann, 1974, 259f.
25. Roxan, no.69.
26. A view repeated in Roxan, 1978, 26, *131,
27. CIL, XVI, 57 and 110.
28. ILS 9140 and Kraft, no.202. I exclude examples where one of the titles is Augusta
29. It would follow, too, that units raised under Antoninus Pius would be called Aelia not Antonina
30. Fitz, 1972, no.18 = Barkóczi et al., 1954, no.32
31. Mócsy, 1974, 227-30.
32. Fitz, 1972, 125f.
33. Beneš, 93/56
34. Fitz, 1972, 34 and 47f; cf. Mann, 1974, 259.
35. Fitz, 1972, 47 et seq.
36. Mann, 1974, 259.
37. Barkóczi, 1964, 281-3.
38. It is not clear whether F. Valer[ianus tri]bunus [sagittario] rum Hem[esenorum] should be included here - AE (1903) 302 from Viminacium. Cf. Fitz, 1972, 221f.
39. Kennedy, Limes XI, 524-8.
40. Id. 525
41. Dio, lxxv.7.1 and 4.
42. Duncan-Jones, 1969, 229-33 and 1970, 107-9.
43. Birley, 1971, 213f.
44. Fitz, 1972, 128f and 198-222
45. Fitz, 1972, 129-34 and 128, n.1.

46. Aurelius Monimus (12.18), Mocr. (12.31), Aurelius Barsamsus (12.28), Marinus Silvanus (12.34), Aurelius Damas (12.29), Aurelius Monaia (12.30), Monimus Aglaeus (12.33), Julius Barsimius (12.32).
47. Mann, 1974, 260.
48. Idem.
49. Cheesman, 83; Petersen, 1966, 65; Fitz, 1972, 149.
50. Mócsy, 1974, 195.
51. Most are discussed by Fitz, 1972, 138f; as will be seen below, I disagree with most of his dates.
52. Fitz, 1972, 153, no.26.
53. Preisigke, 220 and Cavenaille, 1970, nos.1559-60; Kajanto, 151; ILER, nos.2514, 2569, 4303, 4316, 4655 and 5089; Cavenaille, 1970, no.1560.
54. Wuthnow, 78.
55. Speidel, 1975, 229; Fitz, 1972, 138.
56. Fülöp, Intercisa, I, 251; Speidel, 1975, 229 and n.83a.
57. Fitz, 1972, 136 and n.1.
58. Id., 136, n.1.
59. Herodian, VIII.1.1-2.
60. Herodian, VII.2.9. and n.3.
61. Fitz, 1972, 135f. The alternative expansion was proposed to me in a letter by Prof. E. Birley.
62. E. Birley, 1979, 496-505.
63. In a letter, Prof. Birley stated 'if one takes the analogy of the phrase "ex eq.R.", it seems reasonable to assume that Barsemis began his career as a soldier in the numerus Hosruorum, then became mag(ister) and finally decurio of the ala firma Katafractaria.'
64. Fitz, 1972, 138.
65. See for example, Speidel, 1976a, 124 et seq. for easterners in legiones I & II Adiutrices in the Severan period.
66. P.Mich. VII, 454 = Fink, no.30.
67. Fentress, 1979, 91, no.24.
68. Applebaum, Limes VII, 182.

Ituraei

1. The main lines of the rise and development of the Ituraean principality, its fragmentation, and the absorption of the parts within the Empire are traced in the brief but fundamental treatments by Jones, 1931, 265-75 and Schürer², 1973, 561-73; cf. Dussaud, 1955, 176ff.
2. Josephus, AJ, XV.10.1 (344); BJ, L.20.4 (398-9).
3. CAH, X, 80.2
4. Jones, CERP², 258f. The question of the status of Damascus being anything other than a free city of the province of Syria is based on three points. First, the city was seized by the Nabataeans in 85 B.C. and held until at least 62. Next, St. Paul speaks of escaping the clutches of the ethnarch of King Aretas of Arabia while he was in Damascus. Third, the city did not mint coins under Gaius or Claudius. The evidence against the city being held by the Nabataeans and in favour of its continuous subjection to Rome from 62 B.C. onwards is laid out in Schürer², 1973, 579, 581f; cf. Rey-coquais, 1978, 50 (against Nabataean control) and n.77; Bietenhardt, 1977, 256ff. (arguing for Nabataean control).
5. Josephus, AJ, XIV.3.2. (38-9).

6. Jones, CERP², 258f.; Dussaud, 1955, 76ff.
7. Jones, 1931, 268 f. and PES for a detailed archaeological survey of this region of southern Syria; Jones, 1940, 205, CERP², 258.
8. Schürer², 569.
9. ILS 2683
10. Dussaud, 1955, 148.
11. Coins with an era beginning in A.D.92 were issued by a Chalcis which many (e.g. Schürer², 1973, 573 and Note) take to be the Ituraean one. Jones (1931, 267 and n.10) follows Head (1911, 778) in assigning the coins to Chalcis and Belus the northern city of the same name.
12. Tacitus, Ann., XII.23.
13. Jones, 1931, 267f.
14. Vergil, Geor., II, 448
15. Strabo, Geog., XVI.2.18
16. Plutarch, Alex., 24.
17. Schürer², 1973, 570.
18. Ibid., 561f.
19. Cichorius, 1250; Wagner, 52-4; Schürer, 1973, 570, n.53, Petersen, 1966, 65-7; There seems to be no basis for the suggestion that the unit served in Lower Germany before Pannaria - cf Wagner, 52.
20. Holder, 1980, nos. 571-2; cf.155; Kraft, 1951, nos.421-2; cf. Wagner, 52f.
21. CIL, XVI, 26; 30; 31.
22. Holder, 1980, 154 following Stiglitz et al 1977, 657.
23. See for example, CIL, III, 4378.
24. R.E. Suppl.XII (1970) 91-8, s.v. 'Arrabona' (Gabler)
25. Wachtel, 1966, 247; cf. Mócsy, 1974, 81. Gabler (1970, 92) assigned it to the reign of Nero.
26. CIL, XVI, 44; CIL, III, 14453.
27. Holder, 1980, no.521 dates the tombstone to Nero.
28. One must bear in mind that at a crucial moment in the civil wars of 69, Mucianus had been deflected from his march through the Balkans in order to repel a serious incursion by the Dacians (Tacitus, Hist. III.46) and in 70, Fonteius Agrippa, the governor of Moesia was actually killed in battle in a renewed invasion across the lower Danube (Garzetti, 1974, 232). Agrippa, we are told (Tacitus, Hist. III.47) was given reinforcements from the army of Vitellius and we need hardly doubt that his defeat would have led to still more troops being rushed to bolster that front.
29. Gabler, 1970, 91-8; PEGS, 95; annual reports of the work there may be found in recent volumes of Arrabona.
30. Gabler, Limes X, 305f. and see fig.5 on p.306 for a 17th century plan of the site.
31. Gabler, 1967, 50-3; cf. more recently the same author in Gabler, 1970, 92 and 1971, 83-91, esp.88-90. Mócsy, 1959, 243 regards some of the epitaphs as pre-Flavian - presumably following Kraft, 1951, nos.421-2.
32. Gabler, 1968, 51-78; English resumé (of the Hungarian) on 78.
33. Fitz, 1972, 39ff, 44; Mann, 1974, 259.
34. Wagner, 53; Beneš, 25; Russu, 1972, no.11.
35. CIL, XVI, 57; 163; 175.
36. Mirkovic, 1971, 103; Fitz, 1972, 40.
37. Radnoti-Barkóczy, 1951, 209; cf. Radnoti, Limes III, 134-51, esp.135ff.
38. Eadie, Limes XI, 218.
39. See now, Speidel, Limes XI, 129-35 (note 4 collects the evidence for the Pannonian contingents). Prof. Frere has drawn my attention to AJA 64 (1970), 274 - Sex Flavius Quietus...p.p.leg. XX V.v. misso cum exer.in exp.Maur. ab. imp. Antonino Aug.

40. Kajanto, 147 = 195.
- 40a. Saxer, 1967, no.116 - no date given.
41. Speidel, Limes XI, 133
42. Cf. CIL, II, 2324; 2402; 2907.
43. Location is given in CIL as near Arrabona; Holder, 1980, 155 records his belief that it was 'almost certainly' found at Brigetio some miles to the East.
- 43a. Wagner, 158-9; Beneš, 100/63; Schürer,²1973, 570f., n.53.
44. Chirila et al., 1972; cf. Wilkes, 1974, 260f. (reviewing the foregoing).
45. Ibid., 117 and pl.139.
46. SCIV, X (1959), 316 - discussed by Russu, Limes IX^{aa1}; cf. Russu, 1972, 72f., no.50.
47. Op.cit., 117f.; cf. Russu, Limes IX, 219f. For Bologna, see now Gudea, Limes X, 313-30 and PECS, s.v. 'Bologna.'
48. Russu, Limes IX, 219-25 for fort sizes in Dacia superior, esp. 219f for these two sites; cf. Chirila et al., 1972.
49. Chirila et al., 1972, 105f.
50. Devijver, C50; CIL, XI, 7978, cf. 5175
51. Kraft, 76 and no.1541.
52. Schulze, 358 and 405.
53. AE (1973) 36.
54. IG Ins. Mor. Aeg., 2, 361.
55. Cf. C. Velius Rufus from Heliopolis who became primus pilus under the Flavians - App.4.
56. V. Mac. and XV Ap. both returned to the Danube after more than a decade in the East cf. ILS 9168.
57. Degrassi, 1952, 228.
- 57a. Wagner, 158f; Cichorius, 305; Kraft, nos.1540-2; Schürer, 540, n.53.
58. Holder, 1980, 147f. and 312f.
59. Wagner, 158; Kraft, no.1530; Stein, 199
60. Beneš, 101/64.
61. Schürer², 1973, 540, n.53.
62. Holder, 1980, 232
63. Stümpel, 1974, 248.
64. Holder, 1980, 323, no.2061.
65. von Petrikovits, 1975, 50 et seq. Cf. now C.M. Wells, Limes XI, 659f.
66. Roxan, 1973, 846; Cichorius, 305; Schürer², 1973, 570, n.53.
67. Arrian, Ektaxis, 18.
68. Personal communication; cf. Holder, 1980, 232.
69. Roxan, 1973, 846.
70. Diplomas for 109 (CIL, XVI, 161; 162) and for 114/7 (CIL, XVI, 165).
71. CP 35a; Devijver, PIII.
72. The text begins with a reference to a procuratorship of Thrace (restored) which, if accepted, may be dated to between 46 and the reign of Trajan; cf. AE (1907) 50.
73. Josephus, BJ, III.66.
74. See now Saddington, 1973, 539.
75. Cichorius, 305f; Lesquier, 90; Schürer, 570, n.53; Pflaum, 1967, 354.
76. Lesquier, 13ff.
77. Recent revised text in E. Bernand, II, 19 no.159.
78. Ibid.; cf. Devijver, p.501.
79. Speidel, Limes X, 511-15.
80. We might compare, however, the territory watched over by, for example, the Tripolitanian forts of Bu-Ngem and Gheria el-Garbia which were separated by c.125 miles; R. Goodchild, 1954.

81. SP, no.213
82. We might compare the evidence for the garrison at Dura-Europos which had detachments stationed over a wide area around Dura, not only downstream but even up on the Khabur River. The references by soldiers at various sites in Nubia may likewise be the result of rotating detachments in permanent outposts.
83. Strabo, Geog. xvii.
84. Fink, 217ff.
85. Ibid. 219 and 223, no.24.
86. Rastortzeff, SEHRE, 606 n.19; cf. Speidel, Limes X, 511-5
87. Cf. Fink, no.78; esp. pp.310ff.
88. Speidel, Limes X, 511-15 and below.
89. Pflaum, 1967, 347f.
90. CIL, III, 6627, ii.29; IGRR, III 1539 (cf. CERP², 266)
91. A.M. Duff, 1958, 56f.
92. Lesquier, 1918, 91; Pflaum, 1967, 354; Cichorius, 306; Schurer², 1973, 571, n .53 (1). CIL, XVI, 29; P.Mich. III, 164.
93. The list is provided by Lesquier, 1918, 83 and modified in the light of Pflaum, 1967, 353 et seq.
94. Pflaum, 1967, 352-3
95. Pflaum, 1967, passim
96. IGRR, I, 1339-40.
97. P. Hamb. 2; cf. CAH, XI, 245 and 743, Speidel, 1972; Lesquier, 1918, 82-3; Pflaum, 1967, 351f.
98. P. Mich. III, 164.
99. Cheesman, 33; cf. Davies, 1969, 232f. and Holder, 1980, 49f.
100. MacAdam, 1979, 202 et seq.; Jones, 1931, 270.
101. PES: Cf. Tchalenko, 1953, for a similarly rugged but populous area in north-western Syria.
102. Vegetius, I.3; cf. Davies, 1969, 209.
103. Speidel, 1977b, 709.
104. Stein, 1932, 180f.; Kelmer, 1971, 209f.
105. Josephus, BJ, III.66
106. The use of signa probably begins in the late second century (Kajanto, 1966, 57f.) while another text to our men gives his military career in the form a militiis III which is probably Severan or later (above, 41)
107. Radnoti, 1961, 113.
108. Stein, 1932, 181.
109. Dura Papyri, 62; cf. Wuthnow, 30.
110. ILS 2528.
111. Cichorius, 1236f., Wagner, 25f; cf. Kraft; 144; Alföldy, 1974, 257
112. Hofmann, 1905, no.39; Schober, 1923, no.104.
113. Livy, I.15.8; cf. Digest, 1.2.2.15.
114. Dunand, 1926, 328.
115. Pflaum, CP, p.848.
116. Speidel, 1976, 702f, 698f, 704f.
117. Wuthnow, 11.
118. Lorient, 796 argues for Philip's acclamation some time between 1 and 14 March; for Gordian's death: K.F.W. Lehmann, Kaiser Gordian III (Diss.), Berlin, 1911.
119. ILS 505. Robertson, 1977, lxxxvii, rather curiously takes 23 July as a terminus post quem for his accession.
120. ILS 2771
121. Speidel, 1977, 704f.
122. Not.Dig. Or. XXXVII.25.
123. In fact, Philip had his father deified as part of the early honouring of his whole family: Cohen, 1892, 180, nos.1-2; IGRR, III 1199-1200.

124. Lewis and Short, s.v. 'celer'
125. G. Alföldy, 1974, 169ff.
126. CIL, III, 13519a from Virunum and naming a man called Monnus; the name is not listed by Kajanto. Holder, 1904, 173, lists four examples.
127. Brunnow and Domaszewski, PA, III, 264-7; followed recently by Bowersock, 1971, 230.
128. MacAdam, 1979, 29 et. seq.
- 128a. Carcopino 1925, 119; Cagnat, 1913, 200f.
129. Massiera, 1936, 468-70.
130. The text is broken on all sides but the right and it is clear that there must have been several letters at least missing before both COH IIII and IDEN. The cohors IV Sygambrorum was in the province in the second century (CIL, XVI, 56)
131. Baradez, 1949, 103; Fentress, 1979, 84. Cf. Trouset, Limes XI, 559-76.
132. Fentress, 1979, 84.
133. ILS 2479; cf. Fentress, 1979, 114.
134. Schulze, 163.
135. Kajanto, 1965, 218f.
136. Wagner, 118; Beneš, 67/30.
137. Wagner, 118; Nesselhauf accepted the I and equated the unit with that in Syria!
138. Beneš, 67/30 regards the find-spot of the diploma of c.157 (Roxan, no.50) as significant and suggests that the unit lay in the orbit of the legion XI Claudia which was at Durostorum. Since we do not know to whom the diploma was issued, the find-spot in north-east Bulgaria is irrelevant to the station of this unit.
- 138a. Seyrig, 1934, 84f.
139. Gawlikowski, 1970, 319, no.4 and pl.xix.
140. Lesquier, 1919, 87f.
141. Pliny, Ep.VII.22; addressed also in III.9; IV.II; VIII.12; possibly the recipient of I.17; VI.31 and VII.12 (Sherwin-White, 1966, 50, 179-81 and 193), but see now the review by C.P. Jones, 1968, 117f.
142. Sherwin-White, 1966, 429.
143. E. Birley, 1953, 141; A.R. Birley, 1977, 366, n.29; id.363.
144. McDermott, 1976, 244.
145. Falco is attested in the province in 116 and 117, his predecessor was known there in 112 so that it remains possible, though unlikely, that he had gone there as early as 113 (A.R. Birley, 1977, 363 and nn.39-40). The date of Pliny's death is presumed to be in 113 (Sherwin-White, 1966, 82; cf.84).
146. Smallwood, 1976, 355; cf.549 for a biographical note on Falco and McDermott, 1976, 241-50; Syme, 1958, 4 makes the same point; cf.Schürer² 1973, 516f.
147. A. R. Birley, 1977, 362.
148. Ibid., 363.
149. Cichorius, 279; Stein, 1932, 188; Merlat, 1946, 75-80; Kraft, 1951, 174-5 and nos.1380-3; Schönberger, 1973, 146-51.
150. Schönberger, 1973, 146, following Stein, 1932, 188.
151. Garzetti, 1974, 255.
152. Schönberger, 1969, 149.
153. Schönberger, 1973, 147. The tile stamp of the unit (CIL, XVI, 12441) from Deutz (Germ. inf.) cannot be taken as evidence of an earlier station (Alföldy, 1968, 8).

154. Toth, 1973, 109-16.
155. Cheesman, 1914, 121.
156. Cf. Julia Soaemias, mother of Elagabalus, Sohaemus, king of Emesa and Sohaemus, tetrarch of Arca in northern Lebanon. (PIR,² J704; J582; S546).
157. Merlat, 1946, 75-80.
158. Speidel, 1978, 4; ILS 4311a - also discussed by Thomasson, 1972, Numidia.
159. Dussaud, 1927, 271.
160. Musil, 1928, 43-5; 252.
161. Poidebard, 1934, pl.LIV-LVIII
162. Sauvaget, 1939, 239-56, esp.252-6.
163. Ritterling, 1927, 31,n.3.
164. Roxan, 1976, 75, table II and 65.

Palmyreni

1. Pliny, NH, V.88
2. Seyrig, 1932, 266-77; CERP², 265f.; Bowersock, 1973; 135ff.
3. Midrash Genesis, LVI, II; cf. Forni, 1958, 27 and Saddington, 1975, 196, n.73.
4. CERP², 266 and n.52. Rostovtzeff (SEHRE, 428f. and 606, n.20) is probably nearer the mark in assessing its status when he describes it as 'half-independent' and compares it with the kingdom of Bosphorus - a vassal state with a Roman garrison but considerable autonomy. We might note too that even under its king, Bosphorus supplied a cohors Bosporanorum to the Roman army (AE (1914) 260 of c.25-19B.C.; cf. Cheesman, 1913, 261, note).
5. Schlumberger, 1939, 43-73.
6. Appian, BC, V.I.9
7. CERP², 459, n.52.
8. CAH, XII, 174 et seq.
9. Sherwin-White, 1973, 450f.
10. Colledge, 1976, 218.
11. Lepper, 1948, 113f.
12. Idem.; cf. CERP², 266 and n.52.
13. Digest, L.xv.1.5 - probably granted by Septimius (CERP², 458, n.52)
14. E. Birley, 1969, 74 and nn.82-3.
15. Cheesman, 1914, 182 and n.2
16. AE(1947) 171
17. Dromedarii figure in the Dura papyri as part of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum (Dura Papyri, 33). Other dromedarii are to be found in the garrison of Arabia (ILS 2541 and CIL, III, 93) while entire regiments are stationed in southern Egypt: ala tertia dromedariorum, at Maximianopolis (Not.Dig. Or. XXXI.48); ala secunda Herculia, at Psinaula (Not.Dig.Or. XXXI.54 and see now P. Beatty Panop. 2.29ff. and 2.166ff. dated to 299/300 and 300 respectively); ala prima Valeria dromedariorum, at Precteos (Not.Dig. Or. XXXI.57) cf. ILS 2541 from Syria referring to a dupl.Val. (or V.al.) drum.(sic.); Seyrig, 1941, 218-23 lists graffiti cut by dromedarii at Meda' in Salih in North-West Saudi Arabia.
18. Wagner, 213; Beneš, 155/19; Mann, 1954, 504.
19. The editors of L'Annee Épigraphique remained doubtful; cf. Devijver, P12.

20. Mann, 1954, 504.
21. Found in this form and in compounds at Palmyra, e.g. the latinized form Bannaeus see CIL, III, 7999; 14216; AE (1967) 394.
22. Detschew, 1957, 314ff., 317.
23. Dusanic, Limes XII, 1061f., following Forni, 1958, 15-25.
24. Beneš, 152/16 and 135/98
25. Wagner, 211, Beneš, 153/17
26. P.Dura 101. xxvii.25; Wuthnow, 28f.
27. Beneš, 150/14.
28. Wagner, 212; Beneš, 154/18
- 28a. Rowell, RE, XVII, 1336; 2550.
29. Avi-Yonah, 1946, 92-4.
30. Herodian, III.3.4f. Coincidentally, the text associates the Moorish spearmen with a section of archers.
31. Albertini, 1934, 30 et seq.
32. Carcopino, 1925, 120ff.; 1933, 37 et seq.; Albertini, 1931, 204 et seq.; 1934, 36ff. cf. Picard, 1949, 104 and n.31, Mann, 1954, 504 f.
33. Wuthnow, 109. I have been unable as yet to discover where this stone was found; Beroea itself is, of course, possible.
34. As a parallel for such an act, Carcopino cited the case of the Syrian dromedarii attached to cohors I Lusitanorum in Egypt (Fink, no.64)
35. Cf. however, Hyginus, de munit. 29-30 with its reference to 'Palmyreni'; the date is now thought to be the reign of Marcus.
36. ILS 2479; cf. AE (1940), 141; AE(1948) 213-6 = Saxer, 1967, nos.313-7 for building work at Castellum Dimmidi (=Messad) by a vexillation of the Syrian legion III Gallica in 198.
37. IGRR, III, 1054; ILS 2487 and 9133-5.
38. For the garrison in and around Palmyra, see Seyrig, 1934, 70-86; cf. Rey-Coquais, 1978, 68-9.
39. Texts cited in note 36 above.
40. Picard, 1949, no.23
41. Picard, 1949, 102ff.
42. Kennedy, Limes XII, 880 for a summary and references.
43. See for example the find-spots as listed by Saxer, 1967, 136 (for numbers).
44. Fentress, 1979, 114, cf. 87; cf. Carcopino, 1933, 22f.
45. Picard, 1949, 115 et seq.; cf. Fentress, 1979, 87.
46. ILS 3843 and 3893.
47. The time span is not an objection: only one text from Messad produced a reference to personnel from a period of c.40 years; it is not surprising, therefore to have several texts for initial personnel at el-Kantara, then little more during the remainder of its stay there as it became 'Africanized'.
- 47a. Cheesman, 1914, 88 believing in a Severan date for transfer claimed that the unit continued to receive Syrian drafts as late as Gordian III; cf. Rowell, RE, 2549-52 and Dura Papyri, 27, n.7.
48. One of the three examples of Gallonianus is from Africa (Kajanto, 147 and above, 146).
49. Carcopino, 1925, 119; Baradez, 1949, 135, 173.
50. P. Troussel, Limes XI, 563 broadly following Carcopino, 1933, 22f.
51. Only two texts (34.01;.02) are bilingual, plus one other (34.23) which is not certainly military.
52. Kajanto, 282.
53. Wagner, 56; Beneš, 154/18.
54. Devijver, M49; Beneš, 154/18.

55. Cichorius, 321; Wagner, 174-5; Beneš, 114/77
56. Zoltan, 1975, 343-54, esp.344f.; cf. AE (1974) 565 and 564
57. Lesquier, 1918, 96f.; van Berchem, Limes VII, 127, n.9 discusses the role of this unit and the ala II Herculia dromedariorum at Psinabla and the ala III dromedariorum at Maximianopolis, all performing similar functions.
58. TIR 'Coptos'.
59. SEHRE, 605, n.19.
60. Parker, 1958, 121.
61. Herodian, IV.9.6-8; Dio LXXVIII.22.
62. Richmond, 1943, 203.
63. E. Birley, 1953, 81; Mann, 1954, 504f.
64. RIB 1065 + pl.XV
65. Cumont, 1923, 18 Fouilles, 357, no.3
66. Dura Papyri.
67. P.Dura 56 and 97; cf. 118; p.27
68. Dura Papyri, 26f.
69. E. Birley, 1967, 68; Davies, 1967, III, n.17 (by implication).
70. Dura Papyri, 28
71. Dura Papyri, 30
72. Davies, 1967, III, n.17.
73. Dura Papyri, 34f.
74. SHA, Marc., XXVI.I and XXVII.1
75. Davies, 1967, 112f.
76. Dura Papyri, 30f.
77. Ibid., 24, n.2
78. Ibid., 26f.
79. Dura Report I, 32-4; V, 226-4, no.561 and cf.II, 83-6, no.111
80. Dura Papyri, 28; cf.26 and n.1
81. Ibid., 33; Fink, no.64
82. Cheesman, 1914, 59.
83. Ibid., 171 and 181
84. Cumont, Fouilles, liv and 358.
85. P. Dura, 30, 3/4.
86. Dura Papyri, 26f.
87. Cheesman, 1914, 186f.
88. E. Birley, 1967, 68.
89. Parker, 1958, 99f.
90. Ibid., 93-8.
91. Ibid., 109-15.
92. Dio, LXXII.16.2
93. Lucian, 'How to Write History', 28
94. In the Notitia it may be possible to see some correspondence between isolated high numbers in auxiliary units and the total number of alae or cohorts in that province - e.g. Or.XXXI : cohors XI in a province with 10 cohorts; XXXII: cohors V in a province with 5 cohorts; XXXIV: cohortes X and XII in a province with 11 cohorts. Cf. above, 563.
95. Dura Papyri, 26
96. Ibid., 40
97. Idem.
98. One thinks, for example, of the continuing problem of trying to locate the legionary fortress of III Cyrenaica amongst the remains at Bostra.
99. Cumont, Fouilles, 323 et seq.; cf. Wagner, 175 and Beneš, 115/78.

100. Dura Papyri, 41.
101. Ibid., 39ff.
102. Welles, 1941, 79-102; Cumont, Fouilles, Pls.XLIX-LI
103. Dura Report IV, 112-4, no.233; Welles, 1941, 99.
104. Dura Papyri, 40.
105. Ibid., 228
106. Welles, 1941, 96 et seq.
107. Dura Papyri, 28 et seq.
108. Ibid., 37f.

Seleucienses

1. First published by H. Lehner, 1918, no.668 and pl.16. See Cichorius, 332; Stein, 1932, 212; Cheesman, 1914, 69, n.3; Kraft, 1951, 185; Alföldy, 1968, 69f. and no.150.; Bechert, 1974, 63.
2. As proposed by Alföldy, 1968, 69f.
3. Bechert, 1974, 63ff.
4. Cf. Holder, 1980, 146 and no.2081
5. Stein, 1932, 212.
6. Alföldy, 1968, 69 saw the cavalry regiment arriving in the Claudio-Neronian period but the date has recently been lowered by Bechert (Limes XII, 507)
- 1a Wuthnow, 1930, s.v. Zabdas, Zabdos, Zebeideas, Zebeidos, Sabdos; Dura Papyri, s.v. Zabdas, Zabdes; Wuthnow, 1930, s.v. Charetos. Sdebdas is probably an attempt to render Zebdas.

Suri

1. Devijver S86; E. Birley, 1966, 65, n.7.
2. Roxan, 1973, 843, n.38 and 847, no.6.
3. E. Birley, 1966 65, no.7 argues that the four posts held by Sulpicius are in fact a double militia secunda followed by a traditional milita tertia in an ala quingenaria. Cf. his examples on 58f. of men who commanded alae milliariae.
4. Kajanto, 57 lists 516 Silvani.
5. Kraft, nos.1830-1; Holder, 1980, nos.2120-1 and 135.
6. Cf. Holder, 1980, nos.2120-2.
7. Cichorius, 334.
8. Roxan, 1973, 847, n.74 takes it to be the cohors II Syrorum.
9. After the explicit naming of Septimius, Caracalla, Geta and Julia, the expression totiusq. domus divinae makes little sense unless it refers to Plautianus and Plautilla. Saxer, 1967, no.299, following the editors (PBSR, 28 (1960) 57 takes the reference to Geta too literally and restricts the dating to 209/11.
10. Holder, 1980, 52 and nos.761-2.
11. Holder, 1980, nos.761-2; Devijver M26.
12. Roxan, 1973, 847.
13. Holder, 1980, 13, n.9 and nos.2040 and 2060.
14. Ibid.6.
15. Cichorius, 334; Wagner, 187; Kraft, no.1840.
16. PES, 1921, 22f., no.17 : cohors V Afrorum Severiana (dated to 212/3); cf.Fitz, 1976, 215-24.
17. I take Bauleus to be a variant spelling of Bolaeus, Ballaeus and Bellaeus ("belonging to Bel"): Dura Papyri, index; cf. Fink, no.81, v.12-13 (Beleus). Kraft, 68 and no 1844 describes him as a Greek.
18. Cichorius, 334.

19. Nagy, 1973, 39-57 (resumé in English).
20. Speidel, 1973, 169-77; cf. Wagner, 214f.; Tudor, OR³, 33ff., 352; Rowell R.E., 2553; Callies, 1964,; Cagnat, 1913, 251; Salama, 1966-7, 212ff; Beneš 160/24.
21. Vladescu and Bordea, Limes XI, 359-60
22. Following Speidel, 1973, 170, n.7 - contra Wagner, 216.
23. Salama, 1966-7, 183-97; cf. Speidel, 1973, 170.
24. Speidel, 1973, 173f.; cf. Thomasson, 1960, II, 265.
25. Speidel, 1973, 176.
26. ILS 2032; cf. 2039, 5084, 7445, 8819, 9127, 9129.
27. IGRR, I-II, 600.
28. Proposed by Callies, 1964, 193, n.358.
29. Kajanto, s.v. cagna.
30. Holder, 1904, II, 432 and 435.

Tyri

1. AE (1927) 95 = Devijver 195.
2. Cichorius, 345; Wagner, 195; Tudor, OR³ 348; Beneš, 132/95.
3. Devijver A176; Suolahti, 1956, 346, no.22.
4. Ramsay, 1924, 189 - he also preferred Ityr.
5. Holder, 1980, E95; Devijver A176.
6. Kos, Limes XI, 282 and 289; it was certainly in Moesia by 33/4 - ILS 2281 has this legion plus V Macedonica building a tow path along the Danube in that year.
7. Dio xlvii.26.1.; cf. Appian, BC ii.11.77f.
8. It is not on the diplomas of undivided Moesia for 75 or 78 (Roxan, no.2 and CIL, XVI, 22); that for 97 preserves no names.
9. Appian, BC iv.8.63 et seq., esp. iv.11.88 where the forces of Cassius are said to consist of "2000 Spanish and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him leading a large additional force of foot-soldiers and about 5000 horse." Cf. Dio xlvi.38.4.
10. Tarn, 1932, 75-81; Kos, Limes XI, 277-96. Antony left 6 legions in Macedonia after Philippi because of unrest among the local tribes. Trouble occurred in 38 B.C. and on a far greater scale in 30-28 when M. Licinius Crassus inflicted resounding defeats on Bastarnae, Moesi, Getae and Thracians. It was still not pacified, however, and there was a Thracian uprising c.12 B.C. followed by expeditions beyond the river in the succeeding years. It would be true to say that, after Philippi, substantial forces were permanently required in the region down to c.A.D.3 when the new military province of Moesia was created. For auxiliaries in Moesia in the early Empire: Gerov, 1967, 85ff. Kos, Limes XI,
11. Beneš, 132/95 curiously attributes the formation of the unit to the second half of the first (he actually says second; an error presumably) century.
12. Pflaum, CP, no.92 and pp.967f. restores his final post as proc.Aug. p [rov.Dalmat.]

Sagittarii

1. Cichorius, 329; Stein, 1932, 210.
2. Wells, 1972, 283; Schönberger, 1969, 153; von Elbe, 1977, 61.

3. Kraft, nos.1690-2; Holder, 1980, nos.1940-2 and Kraft, nos.1360-3; Holder, 1980, nos.1380-3.
 4. One of those called Surus is from Tripoli (Σι.οα).
 5. Wuthnow, 28.
 6. Stümpel, 1974, 247f., followed by Holder, 1980, 2060-1.
 7. See now Dusanic, 1978, 469 et seq.
 8. Pflaum, CP no.80; E. Birley, 1953, 22-4; cf. Frere, Britannia³, 230.
 9. Cichorius, 330; Devijver, M72; Holder, 1980, 78 and E156.
 10. Cichorius, 329; Wagner, 182/3; Beneš, 123/86.
 11. Kajanto 1965, s.v. individual names.
 12. Cichorius, 330.
 13. Holder, 1980, 18.
 14. A papyrus from Egypt dated October, 159 records the epikrisis of a veteran of a σπεῖρα β' Οὐλίνα ἑταιρικήs which must be a different unit (BGU, I, 142)
 15. Cichorius, 329; Wagner, 183ff.
 16. Wagner, 183, n.757.
 17. Ibid., 183
 18. It does not seem at all probable that the text is a mistake for the cohors I Aelia Gaes (atorum) milliaria which was in Dacia (Beneš,82/45).
 19. Cf. Nesselhauf, CIL, XVI, 76, n.3.
 20. Speidel, 1972b, 299-305; esp.301ff.; For other examples of such detachments, see Mann, 1954, 501f.
 21. ILS 9168
 22. Garzetti, 1974, 382f.
 23. SHA, Had., VI.1:7; VII.3 and Roxan, nos.21 and 22 for men discharged in 123 in Dacia Porolissensis and Pannonia inferior per Marcium Turbonem.
 24. The only possible sources known are the ala I Augusta Parthorum and the cohors Surorum (above Q3i).
 25. Wagner, 184 and n.761 for a full distribution of tile-stamps of this unit. For Klosterneuberg being the Cannabiaca of the Notitia (Oc.XXXIV.46) see Mócsy, 1974, 88; cf. Alföldy,1974, 199f. and 202 for an identification of Cannabiaca with Mauer-an-der-Url or Zwentendorf Radnoti, Limes III, 139, 141 for the base at Klosterneuberg.
 26. Holder, I, 1054; II, 1799.
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1. Holder, 1980, 14 and 20 regards the cohortes Cyrenaica as raised in Cyrenaica contra the views expressed by me (Kennedy, 1977b, 249); I find his arguments unconvincing and that the question is still, at the least, an open one.
 2. Fink, no.30.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

From the outset of their involvement in Syria, Roman generals made frequent and increasingly extensive use of the local soldiery. Initially, the native military manpower was exploited indirectly through local petty rulers who were called upon or found it expedient to provide contingents from their own armed forces in support of Roman wars. Nor does this practice ever really die out. To be sure it is most evident during the civil wars of the late Republic and probably reached its height during the first century of the Principate, culminating in the huge forces supplied by the allied kings and princes in the suppression of the First Jewish Revolt. The process continued, however, even if the more prominent of these princelings disappeared under Vespasian: in the later first century and for much of the second century it is to Palmyra that Rome can turn for irregular native troops often under their own officers. In the third century, such forces come additionally from beyond the Euphrates in what was to become Roman Mesopotamia; the swarms of Osrhœnian archers of the Severan armies are the inheritors of rôles once played by Ituraean, Emesene, Commagenian, Palmyrene and even Nabataean archers. The crisis of the mid-third century provides a satisfying conclusion in revealing the activities of autonomous Palmyrene forces against the Persians who have defeated Valerian and in the record of a Sampsigeramus of Emesa who led out that city's militia against the common enemy in the East. Three centuries on and we appear to have come full circle.

As we have seen (chapter 3), Rome was just as quick to employ Syrian soldiers directly as mercenaries: Ituraeans, "Syrians", Tyrians

and Apamaeans can all be found on one side or another during the final wars of the Republic. Indeed, we may be confident that the pressures of those very wars, which led successive Roman generals to recruit legions from amongst not only Italians overseas but also from men with little claim or pretence to either Roman citizenship or Italian ancestry,¹ gave an impetus to the recruitment of Syrian mercenaries. The cohors II Cyrrhestarum and the cohors I Tyrriorum may both have had their origins in the Republican period. Again, it may be that other Syrian auxiliary units of the Principate had their inception in the bodies of Syrian soldiers raised by Antony; the cohortes I-III Ituraeorum may well have been creations of Antony or his generals.

The Table below (5.2) summarises certain features of the regiments discussed above: (i) the earliest attested date; (ii) the earliest inferrable date (i.e. where we have a diploma for 100 the inferrable date is c. 74/5; dynastic titles speak for themselves; (iii) the suggested occasion of recruitment.

The distribution of formation dates may be tabulated with varying degrees of confidence for 44 regiments:

Table 5.1

Republic	2	Vespasian	3
Antony/Augustus	4	Domitian	2
Augustus	5	Trajan	5
Augustus/Tiberius	1	Hadrian	2
Tiberius	4	Marcus	2
Nero (below, App.6)	5	Severus	5
Julio-Claudians	3	Philip	1
Pre-Flavian	<u>24</u>	Post-70	<u>20</u>
	=====		=====

We cannot be absolutely confident of the emperor under whom any given unit was formed but the general distribution is broadly to be trusted. More important, however, is the split between pre- and post-70 formations, figures which are much more reliable. The two numbers show that some 45% of the units from Syria were created after c.70; even if we take no account of the numeri in the table, the figure is still c. 37% (i.e. 14 of 38 units).

These figures are striking when compared with those for the distribution of formation dates for the auxilia as a whole. There, the units formed after 70 represent only about 20% of the whole (App. 2, Table App. 2.1). Clearly, the overwhelming majority of all known auxiliary regiments had their origins in the Julio-Claudian period; the ^{relative} balance is the same with Syrian units but the proportions are quite different. If we look at the auxilia from, for example, Spain, Gaul and Pannonia,² it is evident that only a handful of the many units formed in these provinces were created after 70. We may explain the contrast in a number of ways. First, Spain and Gaul rapidly become romanised and potential soldiers contained an increasing proportion who were eligible for legionary service. Indeed, this is true of much of the West as a whole where romanisation was attractive and much more avidly pursued than in the East. Rapid urbanisation and romanisation would produce a marked difference between the ready availability of warlike tribesmen in the early principate and a peaceful, more settled and prosperous population by the Flavian period. Second, the Rhine and Danube had substantial garrisons which required considerable numbers of replacements. The rapid decline in the numbers of Western units formed

by the mid-first century may be due to the absence of a surplus of available manpower over necessary replacements for existing units. Third, the system of permitting parts of Syria to remain under their own native rulers meant that the protracted process by which they were broken up and finally absorbed staggered the occasions at which the eastern parts of Syria were opened up to recruitment or the royal forces were incorporated in the Roman army. Thus the Flavian period saw the appearance of new Commagenian and Chalcidic units and the earliest appearance of the first of what was to be a considerable series of Palmyrene regiments. Fourth, a glance at the list in Table 5.2 reveals that with few exceptions the Syrian auxiliary regiments came from that section of the population which lived along the desert's edge and in the more isolated and difficult terrains of the Syrian desert itself and the lava country of the Hauran and Trachonitis. Conversely, the origins of Syrian legionaries (App. 1, Table I), especially in the first century, are almost entirely western and associated with the major classical urban centres. In short, from the outset and for three centuries thereafter, Syrian auxiliaries came largely from the more backward, least hellenized/romanized Semitic peoples. The long cultural history of these people, the resilience of their native traditions may have made them much more resistant to classical influences. Unlike the barbarian tribes of the West, the non-hellenized peoples of the East would have found little attraction in a rather alien classical culture. Indeed, they were sheltered from romanisation by the strength of an aloof hellenistic culture in much of urban Syria. The outcome of these processes was surely that when additional auxiliary forces were sought in the later first century

onwards, and emperors turned to the more backward, rugged parts of the Empire for vigorous recruits, much of eastern Syria was able to produce units of the same sort of quality and quantity as did northern Britain, Dalmatia, Mauretania and central Asia Minor in the late first and second century.

The above discussion has been extensive and is important for the very good reason that my detailed treatment of the individual units has led me to the conclusion that, in general, the Roman military authorities did not recruit Syrian units principally for their skill as archers.

Of the 57 entries in Table 5.2, no less than 32 are described as sagittaria. In the light of the literary evidence relating to Syrian soldiers in Roman service, it was to be expected that the great majority of Syrian auxiliary regiments would have consisted of archers. Thus, I have little doubt that all of the cohortes Ituraeorum and the Palmyrene numeri were initially, if not subsequently, composed of archers. The same may be true of other regiments. If we divide the Syrian units into those stationed along the eastern frontier and those based elsewhere, there is evidence to support, and none to contradict the general contention that the former were, and remained, sagittaria (see for example, cohors II Flavia Chalciderorium sagittariorum). We could hardly expect it to be otherwise: replacements to the ranks were drawn from a populace skilled in and proud of their archery and their protagonists whether Parthian, Mede or Armenian employed bowmen as major components of their forces. The point is emphasized when one sees such units as the cohortes I and II Italicae sagittariorum.³ Both were stationed on the eastern frontier and both clearly became sagittaria

rather than having been recruited amongst an archer people. Likewise, the presence of the Palmyrene archer Agrippa, Themis f. in the cohors III Thracum Syriaca in Syria almost certainly implies something about that unit's principal weaponry. (34.04)

Turning to the second group, three subdivisions may be isolated. First, one finds archer units such as the cohors I sagittariorum (51) the cohors II (and I?) Cyrrhestarum (7) and the cohors I Ituraeorum (16) which can only be traced in a single generation of soldiers and may well simply have died out or been disbanded as the archers were not replaced or new bowmen trained. Next, two cohortes I Ituraeorum (17 and 18), the cohortes II-III Ituraeorum (19 and 20) and three (3, 4 and 5) of the four Commagenian units never appear as sagittaria directly or by implication although these are groups we would have expected to be overwhelmingly sagittaria. Likewise two Hamian units (10 and 11), one Chalcidic (24), one Damascene (27) and three Syrian units (43, 44 and 45). Most of these, possibly all, were probably initially sagittaria but did not retain the bow as their principal weapon and new recruits were drawn in locally who would have had to have been trained. Then there are those units which appear as sagittaria within a generation after they have left the area in which bowmen would have been the natural local replacements. Thus, we have the cohors I Hamiorum in Britain which is explicitly sagittaria on three Hadrianic texts (09.01; .02; .04) and not thereafter. I interpret this particular case to mean that in 136-8 (the latest attestation of sagittaria (09.04)) the unit was within 25 years of leaving Syria. Happily, this would accord with the earliest attestation of the unit in Britain in 122 (09.01). As I have stated

above, I regard this unit as a Domitianic creation, and it seems clear to me that it is one archer regiment which is attested during the period while it still has eastern archers in it but that, within a generation or so of leaving an area with natural archer replacements, the bow, as its principal weapon, was abandoned. Like even the legions, the bow probably remained one of the weapons used by such auxiliary cohorts. The cohors I Apamenorum (2) is sagittariorum in Cappadocia, but never on any of the many attestations to it in Egypt. The cohors II Flavia Commagenorum (6) is sagittariorum only on the diploma of 110 and on an undated, but probably late first/early second century inscription (06.22); presumably, c.84/5 it was still in Syria. It would be unwise to look for too many others: first, it involves an argument from silence which may only be proposed with any degree of confidence where we have a great deal of quite detailed evidence. Second, it is possible that the conservatism of the Roman army meant that some regiments, long accustomed to a particular title, retained it long after it ceased to be valid. Thus one might see the cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum, possibly stationed in the East for as long as three generations before its Flavian transfer to the Danube, retaining its title sagittaria as late as 110 (15.04). For much the same reasons modern armies still include regiments of cavalry now equipped with tanks and armoured cars.

Finally, there are a number of indisputable cases of western based Syrian regiments which clearly remained sagittaria in fact as well as in name. Thus, the ala I Hamiorum (8) in Mauretania Tingitana preserves the archer title over at least three generations; the cohors I Hemesenorum sagittariorum (12) still bears the title as late as

Gordian III (12.09) although it had come west in c.180; and the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum (14), archers in the early Flavian period, is still sagittaria c.159 and, a happy chance, the tombstone of Julius Gaius (14.14) of c.150 depicts him as a mounted archer! (plate V).

It follows from the above discussion that it is misleading to think of "Syrian archer" regiments in large numbers on Rhine and Danube and in North Africa. It is my contention that in most cases, regiments of Syrian archers ceased to be sagittaria within a generation of leaving their natural recruiting grounds in the East. As will be seen below, they also ceased to be Syrian in anything but name.

This is not to say that archers were not valued. Indeed, it is clear that from the civil wars of the late Republic at the latest, Roman generals made good use of bodies of archers in the West. Thus, Caesar is said to have had an advantage over the Gauls "because the barbarians do not use archery".⁴ While this is certainly not true - the Ruteni for example are said by Hirtius (apud "Caesar") to be bowmen,⁵ and it is probably a [R]utenus (below, 347) who served in a regiment in Mauretania Tingitana - the general point is borne out by Tacitus and Herodian. In A.D. 9, following the disaster to Varus, only one fort was able to hold out, partly "because the Romans employed numerous archers..."⁶ In the third century, Alexander Severus mustered a large force of archers for use on the Rhine who were said to be especially valuable, finding "the German's bare heads and large bodies an easy long-distance target for their arrows".⁷ Later, the same men in use by Maximinus: "The most effective troops against German tactics

seem to be the spearmen and archers who make their surprise, light-armed raids and then retire without difficulty".⁸ The Romans knew as well as anyone how powerful a weapon was the bow when employed en masse by skilled soldiers. Ventidius Bassus displayed his generalship against the Parthians by keeping his men in camp until the enemy had been enticed close enough for the Roman infantry to come to grips. In so doing, "he escaped their arrows which they shot from a distance".⁹ A century and a half later, Arrian's account of his campaign against the Alani revealed the confident use of archers by a Roman general on the eastern frontier.¹⁰ According to Dio, however, in 161, an entire legion was destroyed in Armenia by enemy archers.¹¹

Hadrian's address to the Commagenians at Lambaesis (04.01) in 128 alluded to another weapon employed by Roman soldiers in general but here mentioned in connection with the Syrian unit: the sling. In 70, Vespasian, we are told by Josephus, employed archers and slingers both as snipers and in firing volleys at the enemy. The text, in fact, refers to "Arab archers and Syrian slingers and stone-throwers".¹² Thus, we may be the more confident in assuming that the slingers employed by Antony in Media were largely Syrian, too. Indeed, the latter group were commended for their accuracy, superior range and greater killing power than archers.¹³

Both archers and slingers will have been armed with more than just these eponymous weapons. We have already seen Arrian's description of an archer (above, (13)) and the Housesteads archer (pl. I) carries not only the bow and small axe spoken of by Arrian, but also a sword slung over his back.

Only three regiments are composed of horse archers: the Ituraeans are on Augustan formation, but it is probably not until Nero that the next ala sagittariorum, the ala I Hamiorum, was formed; almost two centuries more elapsed before the creation of the ala celerum. We should not be over-impressed by this apparent neglect of an arm employed as the strike force by the Parthians. First, there were ^{other} regiments of mounted archers: the ala Parthorum et Araborum for one;¹⁴ the ala Commagenorum may also have been composed of archers at first and, of course, a considerable number of the Syrian infantry units were equitata. Nineteen are certainly equitata, of which 15 are also sagittariorum. Second, cavalry in general were few in number amongst the Syrian regiments. According to E. Birley's calculations the auxiliary forces of the second century consisted of some 310 cohorts and 100 alae (i.e. the cavalry was c. 24% of the total);¹⁵ the Syrian units consist of 36 cohorts and 7 alae (cavalry thus c. 16% of the total).

Finally, we may note that of the 36 cohorts on the list, no less than 12 were, or are probably, milliary; i.e. c. 33%. By comparison, E. Birley calculated that there were c. 270 quingenary and only c. 40 or 50 milliary cohorts in the auxilia as a whole; i.e. c. 13% to c. 15.6%. So high a proportion considerably adds to the arguments in favour of believing in Josephus' claim that Syria boasted 10 milliary cohorts in 67 (App. 6).

Syrian regiments are to be found in every military province in the Empire. Table 5.3 presents the distribution as known to us together with the earliest and latest certain dates in each case. There is a strong probability that in most cases a newly formed regiment

was based in Syria *cf.* in the vicinity, and only subsequently moved elsewhere. Few units remained in Syria for any length of time as far as we can see from this table, but it may be misleading. The evidence for Syria itself only appears for the first time in any detail in 88/91 with the diplomas for those years but by then the reinforcement and reform of the armies on the Rhine and Danube had clearly drawn many units to those areas while the quiescence of the East and the availability of manpower made that the obvious source of new units. Likewise the creation of Cappadocia in c. 70 drew units northwards. In the pre-Flavian period the garrison of Syria probably included a far higher proportion of Syrian regiments than under Domitian and later.

Apart from the obvious concentrations of "Syrian" regiments on the Rhine and, especially, the Danube, the desert frontiers of North Africa were defended by a succession of Syrian units posted there at intervals over the centuries: the Apameni (2), Commageni (3), Ituraeans (19, 20) and Palmyreni (38) in Egypt; in Africa, Commageni (4), Hamii (10, 11), Hemeseni (13), Chalcedeni (24) and Palmyreni (34); Syri (45/6, 49) (and Parthi) in Mauretania Caesariensis; Hamii (8), Ituraeae (17), Syri (43, 47) in Tingitana. The obvious good sense in matching Syrians to a similar terrain and environment needs no further explanation (above, 205).

The curious single Syrian regiment which appears in Britain with its huge auxiliary garrison is in striking contrast to the succession of Syrian units which served in the Mainz area: Ituraeans (16), Damasceni (28 - probably 'Egyptian' by the time they arrived), Suri (45), sagittarii (51, 52?); to these we might add the ala Parthorum et Araborum. This

considerable body of archers on the middle Rhine in the early principate is paralleled in the reign of Maximinus Thrax by the "swarms" of Osrhōenian archers brought in by his predecessor and, presumably, for the same reason: their effectiveness against poorly armoured barbarian infantry. The increase in the military importance of the Danube inevitably led to new eastern regiments going there instead of the Rhine. The reinforcement of the Danube by Vespasian was probably the occasion for the arrival of Syrian units such as the I Antiochensium (1), II Flavia Commagenorum (6), the ala I and cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum to join the Tyrians (50) who had long been there. Later still the annexation of Dacia increased the requirements of the Danube and the numeri Palmyrenorum (31, 32 and 33) appear, although they may in fact have begun to arrive under Domitian. The cohors I Hemesenorum milliaria (12) arrived in the last years of Marcus by which time few of the Syrian units on the Danube would have had any actual Syrians in them. Finally, the first half of the third century saw an ala and a cohort of Syrians (44 and 48) appear in Pannonia under, probably Septimius Severus. Two generations later, the ala celerum was brought to Noricum from Arabia (23).

We must turn now to the question of recruitment. As I noted above (||) it has long been believed that oriental regiments retained their ethnic characteristic by means of regular drafts from the East. The explanation advanced was that archery was a skill not easily acquired, good bowmen being trained from childhood. The general objections are clear enough. First, such a procedure would have been at variance with the regular Roman practice of simply recruiting replacements locally or by drafts from areas of surplus. Thus, since the lower Danube garrisons

regularly received drafts from the manpower surpluses of Asia Minor, inevitably some Asians might be found in "Syrian" regiments long-based on the Danube. Second, archery was clearly a part of the training of most Roman soldiers, including legionaries.¹⁶ Consistent accuracy requires regular practice but competence can certainly be achieved after a fairly short time of instruction by able archers - such as Barsemis Abbei f. (12.25). Moreover, most archers were used in firing volleys, a rôle in which the veriest novice can display an acceptable standard.¹⁷ Third, there is the evidence from the inscriptions of soldiers in these Syrian regiments. Cheesman cited the cohors I Hemesenorum milliaria as the classic case of an eastern regiment which received drafts of Syrians long after it had left Syria. As we have seen, the conclusion was based on the belief that the unit came to the west at the beginning of the second century while the known Syrian personnel were late second and early third century in date. The realisation that the unit only came West c. 180 destroys the theory and leaves the Syrian soldiers of the tombstones as initial or pre-transfer recruits (above, ~~1200~~). Likewise the other claimed examples: the ala I and cohors I Augustae Ituraeorum, the Palmyrene numeri in Dacia and Numidia and the ala I Hamiorum in Tingitana. In the handful of cases where an oriental soldier or even just an oriental name is found in a unit which has been stationed in the West for more than 25 years, it is possible to explain him either as a member of a casual draft such as the Anazarbene in the cohors I Antiochensium, or as the descendant of a Syrian soldier who retained his ethnic name or whose father died before enfranchisement. However, it is not to these few exceptions that we should look for *guidance* but to the totality of

evidence. Then it becomes clear that Syrian regiments outside of Syria drew replacements from the military settlement, the province and beyond if necessary. The notion of continued recruitment from the East to Syrian regiments is a myth.

Finally, there is the question of the impact of Syrian units in the West. The existence of civilian Syrian populations in Dacia and along the Danube-Intercisa and Ulcisia Castra in particular - has long been known.¹⁸ More communities of a Syrian character sprang up at sites such as el-Kantara in Numidia, and they may be presumed at less well-known sites such as Carvoran. Assessing the level of the impact of a Syrian unit is difficult to quantify. Because they are aliens they tend to be commemorated more often than the native population who are thus under-represented in the epigraphic record, perhaps seriously under-represented. Commonsense would suggest, however, that a Syrian regiment set down in an isolated frontier fort - a site such as el-Kantara rather than Mainz - would create its own little Syrian-flavoured community. Outside influences from the native or romanised population would make slower headway, Syrian names would persist into the second generation or longer. Almost by definition, however, that same second generation would be only half Syrian and amongst them Syrian customs and language would already have been disappearing. Indeed, at a larger but more cosmopolitan fort such as Intercisa we can actually see from inscriptions that the sons of some Hemesene soldiers bore Roman names, boasted citizenship and served in the legions (e.g. 12.18). Thus, whether in isolated communities or in the interior or on a thoroughfare, the end result was soon the same with the loss of Syrian identity.

One area in which the impact of Syrian units may be seen very clearly and with a long-lasting effect, is religion. To be sure, again we must be cautious of over-estimating the influence of eastern cults. Their devotees will have been more inclined to raise altars and shrines simply because their beliefs were alien to the local society than would the latter to native deities which may, indeed probably were, much more popular. Nevertheless, the spread of oriental cults, Jupiter Dolichenus (Heliopolitanus), "deus Commagenus", Turmazgades, Elagabalus of Emesa and, of course, the popular Palmyrene god Malagbel, are all found associated with the personnel of Syrian units or with the communities around the forts of Syrian regiments. Of particular interest is the continued worship of, for example, Malagbel by the Palmyrene unit at el-Kantara long after the Palmyrene personnel have gone. As I have suggested above, it may be appropriate to see such worship as this almost as the continued reverence of the patron deity of the unit associated perhaps with the genius of the regiment. The same process can be detected in the cohors I Hemesenorum (12.36).

The units which left by far the most enduring mark on the regions to which they were sent are the two which gave their names to the fort sites: Numerus Syrorum in Mauretania Caesariensis and Commagena in Raetia. A considerable irony indeed: neither unit may be regarded as amongst the largest, neither is amongst the best-known, neither is amongst those with the longest known history. What they have in common is that by the time they reached the sites to which they gave their names they had each had a considerable intermediate station outside of Syria - the Commageni were probably all Egyptians by the time the unit reached Raetia, the Syri were probably Dacians and Moesians!

TABLE 5.2

<u>RIAN REGIMENTS:</u>	<u>Formation Dates</u>	<u>Earliest dated Attestation</u>	<u>Earliest Inferred Date</u>	<u>Formed by:</u> ?Probably; ?? Possibly; ??? Guess.
ohors I Antiochensium sagittariorum		75	c.50	Tiberius 17 ???
ohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum equitata		c.100	-	-
la I Commagenorum		48/52	-	Tiberius 17 ???
ohors VI Commagenorum equitata		128	-	Tiberius 17 ???
ohors I Flavia Commagenorum		105	c.80	Vespasian c.72 ?
ohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum equitata		96	c.71/2	Vespasian c.72 ?
ohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittariorum		-	Aug./Tib.	c.38 B.C. ??
la I Hamiorum Surorum sagittariorum		88	c.62/3	Nero c.62/3 ?
ohors I Hamiorum sagittariorum		122	c.96/7	Domitian ?
ohors I Hamiorum c.R. milliarum		Marcus	-	-
ohors II Hamiorum		Sept.	-	-
ohors I milliarum Aurelia Antonina Hemesenorum sagittariorum equitata c.R.		180/3	Marcus	Marcus c.162 ?
umerus Hemesenorum sagittariorum (?)		198/211	209/11	Septimius c.194/8 ?
umerus Regi. Emes. Iudeorum				
la I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum		98	c.72/3	Augustus ?
ohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum		80	c.54/5	Augustus ?
ohors I Ituraeorum sagittariorum (equitata ?)		-	Tib.	Ant./Aug. ??
ohors I Ituraeorum c.R.		88	c.62/3	Ant./Aug. ??
ohors I Ituraeorum milliarum (?)		110	c.84/5	Nero c.62/3 ???

TABLE 5.3

THE SYRIAN REGIMENTS: Distribution

1.	cohors I Antiochensium sagittariorum	Moes. sup. = 75 - c.197/8
2.	cohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum equitata	Capp. = Trajan; Egypt = 144 - c.400
3.	ala I Commagenorum	Egypt = 48/52 - 83; Nor. = 106 - late 2 ^{early} 3 cent.
4.	cohors VI Commagenorum equitata	Africa = 128 - 201/12
5.	cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	Moes. inf. = late 1; Dacia = 105/6 - 140
6.	cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum equitata	Moes. sup. 96 - 104/5; Dacia = 105 - 245
7.	cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittariorum	Dalmatia = Aug./Tib.
8.	ala I Hamiorum Surorum sagittariorum	Maur. Ting. = 88 - 159
9.	cohors I Hamiorum sagittariorum	Brit. = 122 - 163/6
10.	cohors I Hamiorum c.R. milliaris	Africa = 161/80
11.	cohors II Hamiorum	Africa = 198/211
12.	cohors I milliaris Aurelia Antonina Hemesenorum sag. eq. c.R.	Syria; Pann. inf. = 180/3 - 252
13.	numerus Hemesenorum sagittariorum (?)	Africa = 198/211 - 211/18
13a.	numerus Regi. Emes. Iudeorum	
14.	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum	Pann. = 98; Dacia = 110; Pann. inf. = 139 - 225/35
15.	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum	Pann. = 80 - 102; Dacia = 110 - 158
16.	cohors I Ituraeorum sagittariorum (equitata ?)	Germ. sup. = Tib.
17.	cohors I Ituraeorum c.R.	Syria = 88; Maur. Ting. = 109 - c.400
18.	cohors I Ituraeorum milliaris (?)	Syria; Moes. inf. = late 1; Dac. = 110; Capp. = 135

	Earliest dated Attestation	Earliest Inferred Date	Formed by: ? Probably; ?? Possibly; ??? Guess.
41. cohors XX Palmyrenorum sagittariorum equitata milliaria	208	164/5	Marcus
42. cohors Silau(censium)	Tib.	Aug.	Augustus ?
43. ala II Syr(orum) c.R.	-	144	-
44. ala II Septimia Surorum milliaria	219	198/211	Septimius ?
45. cohors Surorum	Tib.	Aug.	Augustus?
46. Cohors I Syrorum sagittariorum equitata) same regiment?			
47. cohors II Syrorum sagittariorum milliaria equitata	88	c.62/3	Nero
48. cohors I milliaria nova Surorum sagittariorum equitata	Sev.Alex.	Sept. ?	Septimius ??
49. numerus Syrorum sagittariorum (milliaria Malvensium) = Suri sagittarii	133	-	-
50. cohors I Tyriorum sagittariorum	pre-15	-	44 BC
51. cohors I sagittariorum	-	Tib./Aug.	Tiberius ??
52. cohors III sagittariorum	-	Claud./Nero	Aug./Tib. ?
53. cohors I sagittariorum milliaria equitata	-	211/8	Septimius ?
54. cohors I Ulpia sagittariorum equitata	-	98/117	Trajan ?
55. cohors II Ulpia sagittariorum equitata c.R. (milliaria ?)	156/7	98/117	Trajan ?
56. cohors I Aelia Caes. milliaria sagittariorum equitata	133	c.107/8	Hadrian ?

TABLE 5.3

THE SYRIAN REGIMENTS: Distribution

1. cohors I Antiochensium sagittariorum	Moes. sup. = 75 - c.197/8
2. cohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum equitata	Capp. = Trajan; Egypt = 144 - c.400
3. ala I Commagenorum	Egypt = 48/52 - 83; Nor. = 106 - late 2 ^{early} 3 cent.
4. cohors VI Commagenorum equitata	Africa = 128 - 201/12
5. cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	Moes. inf. = late 1; Dacia = 105/6 - 140
6. cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum equitata	Moes. sup. 96 - 104/5; Dacia = 105 - 245
7. cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittariorum	Dalmatia = Aug./Tib.
8. ala I Hamiorum Surorum sagittariorum	Maur. Ting. = 88 - 159
9. cohors I Hamiorum sagittariorum	Brit. = 122 - 163/6
10. cohors I Hamiorum c.R. milliaria	Africa = 161/80
11. cohors II Hamiorum	Africa = 198/211
12. cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antonina Hemesenorum sag. eq. c.R.	Syria; Pann. inf. = 180/3 - 252
13. numerus Hemesenorum sagittariorum (?)	Africa = 198/211 - 211/18
13a. numerus Regi. Emes. Iudeorum	
14. ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum	Pann. = 98; Dacia = 110; Pann. inf. = 139 - 225/35
15. cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum	Pann. = 80 - 102; Dacia = 110 - 158
16. cohors I Ituraeorum sagittariorum (equitata ?)	Germ. sup. = Tib.
17. cohors I Ituraeorum c.R.	Syria = 88; Maur. Ting. = 109 - c.400
18. cohors I Ituraeorum milliaria (?)	Syria; Moes. inf. = late 1; Dac. = 110; Capp. = 135

19. cohors II Ituraeorum equitata
Egypt = (39)83 - c.400
20. cohors III Ituraeorum equitata
Egypt = 83 - 243/4
21. cohors I Augusta Canathenorum (?)
Arabia = 2nd cent. ?
22. cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittariorum
Raet. = 125/8 - post-192
23. ala celerum sagittariorum
Arabia = 244/9; Noricum = late 3
24. cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata
Africa = c.70/2 - 164 (Severan)
25. cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum
Moes. inf. = 99 - c.157
26. cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum equitata sagittariorum
Syria = 156/7 - 244/7
27. cohors I Damascenorum
Iudaea = c.107/8 - c.400
28. cohors I Flavia Damascenorum milliaria equitata sagittariorum
Germ. sup. = c.90 - 227
29. ala I Damascena (= 27 ?)
30. ala I Ulpia Palmyrenorum dromedariorum milliaria
Syria = c.156/7 - c.155/9
31. numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium sagittariorum
Dacia = 126 - 193/235
32. numerus Palmyrenorum O(ptatianensis)
Dacia = 120 ? - 198/211
33. numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium sagittariorum equitata c.R.
Dacia = 120 - 249/51
34. numerus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum (Numidia)
Africa = (Hadrian) 198 - 238
35. ala equitorum numeri Palmyrenorum Porolissensium
Dacia = c.251
36. cohors I Palmyrenorum Porolissensium
Dacia = 1st half 3
37. ala Palmyrenorum (= 35 ?)
Egypt = 216 - c.400
38. (Vexillatio) Hadrianorum Palmyrenorum sagittariorum
= ala VIII Palmyrenorum
39. cuneus equitum secundarum clibanariorum Palmirenorum (sic)
40. (numerus Palmyrenorum ? Britain)

41. cohors XX Palmyrenorum sagittariorum equitata milliaria
 Syria = 208 - c.251/5
42. cohors Silau(censium)
 Germ. inf. = Aug./Tib.
43. ala II Syr(orum) c.R.
 Maur. Ting. = c.144
44. ala II Septimia Surorum milliaria
 Pann. sup. = 219
45. cohors Surorum) same regiment?
)
46. cohors I Syrorum sagittariorum equitata)
)
 Syria ?; Maur. Ting. = 88 - 156/7
47. cohors II Syrorum sagittariorum milliaria equitata
 Pann. inf. = 198/211 ? - 230
48. cohors I milliaria nova Surorum sagittariorum equitata
 Dacia = 133; Maur. Caes. = c.217/8 - 272
49. numerus Syrorum sagittariorum (milliaria Malvensium) = Suri sagittarii
 Moes. = pre-A.D.15-99; Dacia = 140
50. cohors I Tyrorum sagittariorum
 Germ. sup. = Aug./Tib.
51. cohors I sagittariorum
 Germ. sup. = early 1 - c.Nero
52. cohors III sagittariorum
 Dacia = early 3
53. cohors I sagittariorum milliaria equitata
 Syria = Hadrian ?
54. cohors I Ulpia sagittariorum equitata
 Syria = Hadrian ? - c.251
55. cohors II Ulpia sagittariorum equitata c.R. (milliaria ?)
 Pann. sup. = 133 - 230
56. cohors I Aelia Caes. milliaria sagittariorum equitata

NOTES

1. Legions were recruited both from Italian settlers in the provinces and, in the case of Caesar's V Alaudae, from Gauls.
2. See the tables in Che sman, App. II and Holder, 1980, App. III.
3. Holder, 1980, 66f., 68.
4. Dio, XXXIX. 43. 1.
5. Caesar, BC, I. 51.
6. Dio, LVI. 22. 2a.
7. Herodian, VI. 7. 8.
8. Ibid. VII. 2. 1.
9. Frontinus, Strat., II. 2. 5.
10. Arrian, Ektaxis.
11. Dio, LXXI. 2. 1.
12. Josephus, BJ, III. 151; 168; 211; 219.
13. Dio, XLIX. 26. 2.
14. Kennedy, 1977a.
15. E. Birley, 1966, 54ff. The percentages calculated by Roxan, 1976, 61 are incorrect.
16. Vegetius, de re militari, I. 15.
17. See for example, Anna Comnena, Alexiad, XV. 3 on the Byzantine emperor training recruits as archers while waiting for campaigning to begin in the eleventh century.
18. E.g. Gostar, 1964; Fitz, 1972; Mócsy, 1974, 227-30.

Appendix 1: Tables

The tables below lay out the information available for the recruitment of legionary soldiers originating in the oriental provinces under discussion. The evidence is drawn from the material collected in the two works by G. Forni: Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano, Milano-Rome 1953 and "Estrazione etnica e sociale dei soldati delle legioni nei primi tre secoli dell 'impero", ANRW II.1, 339-91.

TABLE I

Legionaries with Origo in the Orient.

Origo	Augustus -Gaius	Claudius-Nero	Flavians-Trajan	Hadrian-c. 300
Aere				III Gallia
Anthedon			III Augusta	X Gemina
Antioch			III Augusta (2)	II Traiana (3)
			XV Apollinaris (2)	XII Fulminata
Apamaea	III Cyrenaica <u>or</u> XXII Deiotariana		III Augusta (4)	III Augusta (5)
				II Adiutrix
Aradus			III Augusta	II Parthica
Arethusa				II Traiana
Ascalon				III Augusta
Beroea				III Gallia
Berytus	XXII Deiotariana	VII Claudia	XV Apollinaris (2)	II Traiana
Caesarea				III Augusta
Capitolias			III Augusta	III Gallia
Chalcis			III Augusta	II Traiana
Cyrrhus			XV Apollinaris (3)	III Augusta
Damascus		III Cyrenaica	XV Apollinaris (3)	II Traiana (3)
			III Cyrenaica <u>or</u> XXII Deiotariana	II Traiana (5)
			III Augusta (2)	VI Ferrata (2)
			III Augusta	II Traiana (2)
Emesa			V Macedonica	
Epiphania			III Augusta	II Traiana (2)
Emesa			V Macedonica	II Adiutrix
Gabala			III Augusta	III Augusta
Gadara		X Fretensis	III Augusta	II Traiana
Gaza			III Augusta	II Traiana
Heliopolis			III Augusta (3)	III Augusta
Hierapolis			XV Apollinaris	II Traiana

Origo	August ^{us} -Gaius	Claudius-Nero	Flavians-Trajan	Hadrian-c. 300
Hippus				II Adiutrix
Laodicea	III Cyrenaica or XXII Deiotariana		III Augusta (2)	I Minervia III Cyrenaica I Parthica II Traiana
Larissa			III Augusta	II Traiana
Philadelphia				II Traiana
Ptolemais			III Augusta (2)	VI Ferrata
Samosata			III Augusta	II Traiana
Scythopolis			I Italica	
Sebaste				II Traiana
Sergiopolis			XV Apollinaris	X Fretensis
Sidon	III Cyrenaica		III Augusta (10) III Cyrenaica or XXII Deiotariana	
Tripolis			III Augusta	
Tyrus			III Augusta (2) III Cyrenaica or XXII Deiotariana	
Zeugma			III Augusta	
<hr/>				
Syria	4	3	53	50 II Traiana III Gallica XI Claudia III Augusta
<hr/>				
	4	3	53	54

TABLE II
Origins of Legionaries in the Roman Army

A.1953

B.1974

	Augustus to Gaius	Claudius to Nero	Flavians to Trajan	Hadrian to 3rd cent.	Total	Origin	Augustus to Gaius	Claudius to Nero	Flavians to Trajan	Hadrian to 3rd cent.	Total
207	117		73	17	414	Italy	213	123	82	35	453
2	4	9	13	13	28	Hisp. Tarraconensis	2	6	11	15	34
3	13	3	1	1	20	Hisp. Baetica	3	13	3	1	20
3	1	4	3	3	11	Hisp. Lusitania	3	1	4	3	11
			5	5	5	Gallia Belgica				5	5
31	55	34	6	6	126	Gallia Narbonensis	31	58	34	6	129
4	4	17	5	5	30	Gallia Lugd. et. Aqu.	4	4	18	5	31
14	9	6	10	10	39	Macedonia	14	10	7	10	41
2	2	4	5	5	13	Asia	3	2	4	5	14
3		29	3	3	35	Bithynia	3		30	6	39
30	4	6	2	2	42	Galatia	30	5	6	5	46
9	1	2			12	Pamphylia/Pisidia	10	1	2	1	14
4	4	2			10	Pontus/Cappadocia	4	4	2		10
2			10	10	12	Cilicia/Cyprus	2			11	13
5	3	49	35	35	92	Syria/Palaestina	5	3	51	54	113
9		7	44	44	60	Egypt	9		11	45	65
6	4	21	781	781	812	Africa/Numidia	6	4	24	879	913
	8	17	28	28	53	Noricum		9	21	29	59
	4	4	16	16	24	Dalmatia	3	6	5	19	33
		4	2	2	6	Alps		2	4	2	8
			4	4	4	Mauretania				5	5
		18	20	20	38	Germ. Inf..			27	21	48
		2	15	15	17	Germ. Sup.			2	15	17
		2	12	12	14	Raetia			2	12	14
		4	48	48	52	Pann. Inf.			4	54	58
		9	41	41	50	Pann. Sup.			12	44	56
		1	20	20	21	Moes. Inf.			1	22	23
		1	128	128	129	Moes. Sup.			1	128	129
		2	99	99	101	Thrace			2	106	108
	1		4	4	5	Britain				4	4
			50	50	50	Dacia				51	51
334	234	330	1427	2325			345	251	370	1598	2564

The material presented above can in no way be regarded as representative of the contribution made to the legions by any individual city. The evidence upon which this and similar tables for other provinces is based, has, for its staple source, the information on epitaphs and in papyri. The single most important source, however, for names and origins is the handful of lengthy documents such as the dedications made by all of the newly discharged soldiers of a specific legion, or the evidence of military rosters on papyri. While few in number, such documents can radically alter the overall picture at a stroke. The second table below shows the changed picture resulting from the new evidence available to Forni in 1974, and especially the changes stemming from a single new document - the register of 136 legionaries of II Traiana, the origines for 133 of whom are preserved. This single document has more than trebled the total number of ^{new} origins available to Forni for the period from Hadrian to Diocletian (Gilliam, 1956, 359-75). Such documents are liable to turn up from time to time and again alter the overall picture. The value of Table II (and of Forni's tables in general) is in the trends revealed, and in presenting, at a glance, the existing information on recruits from specific cities during the periods in question.

The number of inscriptions to have survived from the Empire before Constantine is constant over the four sub-divisions on Table II.

It is clear from the figures as a whole that there was a greatly increased tendency to recruit residents of oriental provinces into the legions by the end of the first century. It comes as no surprise either, in the early periods, that the recruits from the East came from the great coastal ports (Laodicea, Sidon), the Augustan colony of Berytus or the great cities of the interior (Damascus, Apamea). A curious feature of the table, which requires an explanation, is the legions in which these eastern soldiers served: /

TABLE III

Legions in which Oriental Soldiers served (Augustus to 3rd cent.).

I Italica	1				1
I Minervia					1
I Parthica			1		1
II Adiutrix			3		3
II Parthica			1		1
II Traiana			26		26
III Augusta		38	11		49
III Cyrenaica	2½	1½	1		6
III Gallia			3		3
V Macedonica		1			1
VI Ferrata			3		3
VII Claudia		1			1
X Gemina			1		1
X Fretensis		1			2
XI Claudia			1		1
XII Fulminata			1		1
XV Apollinaris		10			10
XXII Deiotariana	2½	1½			4
	5	53	3	54	115

It is not difficult to explain eastern soldiers enrolled in 'European' legions: I Italica, VII Claudia and XI Claudia from the lower Danube regularly sent vexillations to participate in eastern wars; likewise II Adiutrix and X Gemina, and the same may be true with I Minervia; V Macedonica is already attested in Palestine in a number of inscriptions - presumably for Jewish expeditions; II Parthica was in Syria for a considerable period under Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus. I Parthica is a much later creation, and in any case, we know very little about the army in Mesopotamia. The outstanding feature of the distribution is not so much the very high figure for Africa - for which we have an enormous number of origins - but the very low figure for legions stationed in the oriental provinces themselves. We find oriental soldiers in Egyptian and Cappadocian legions, as one could have predicted for provinces with a small eligible body from which to recruit legionaries; on the other hand, we have only 3 known eastern recruits in III Gallica, none for XVI Flavia firma or IV Scythica, and only 3 for VI Ferrata (all dating to after its moves to Arabia and then Iudaea). How should one explain this peculiarity? First, there is the simple fact that soldiers tend not to record their origo when they are local to the base or even province in which they are stationed. Thus, we have a soldier of IV Scythica with the pure Semitic name, Beliabus (IGLS, I,68). Second, we do not have evidence for large numbers of non-orientals in these legions; indeed, the evidence is slight in the extreme for soldiers in these eastern legions. Taking this in conjunction with the allusions in the literature to the poor quality of Syrian legionaries, the implied debility resulting from local recruitment, and with specific references to eastern recruits in the local legions, we must surely conclude that the legions of all the eastern provinces kept their numbers up by local recruitment. Indeed, the numbers going into legions in Cappadocia, Egypt and Africa in particular, might suggest that there was in fact a surplus of recruits to be had in Syria. Since we cannot possibly postulate a citizen body in Syria large enough to sustain these demands, we are left with little alternative but to assume that here, too, non-citizens who were otherwise suitable were regularly enrolled and simultaneously enfranchised. To a considerable extent this is an argument from silence and we must certainly await further evidence. However, just as we can identify at least one Syrian in IV Scythica from the nature of his name, so, too, a study of the names of known legionaries in the oriental legions would probably reveal a wealth of orientals. Some work has already been done on this very point in a recent doctoral thesis (H.I MacAdam in his chapter on veterans in Arabia).

TABLE IV

Origins of Auxiliaries from the Evidence of Diplomas

Province	I	II	III	IV	Total
Africa				1	1
Asia		1			1
Bithynia				1	1
Britannia			2	2	4
Cappodocia				1	1
Castris				2	2
Cilicia			1		1
Dalmatia			2		2
Dacia				1	1
Egypt			1		1
Galatia			1	1	2
Germania			3	6	9
Hispania		1	3	2	6
Mauretania				1	1
Moesia (+Bosporos)			1	3	4
Noricum			1		1
Palaestina				1	1
Pannonia		1	7	14	22
Raetia		1		1	2
Sardinia/Corsica			1		1
Syria			5	8	13
Thrace		1	9	6	16
	-	4	38	51	93

Appendix 2: Dynastic Titles

Two categories of such titles¹ may be readily distinguished:

(a) Permanent titles - Augusta, Claudia, Flavia, Vespasiana, Domitiana, Nervia/Nerviana, Ulpia, Traiana, Aelia, Aurelia, Antonina and Septimia - usually placed to follow ala/cohors and before the ethnic (or equivalent); e.g. cohors I Flavia Canathenorum. Of those attested, 6 are formed from the nomina of reigning emperors, 6 from the cognomina.

(b) Variable titles - Commodiana, Severiana, Antoniniana, Maximiniana, Gordiana etc. - usually placed after the ethnic (or equivalent) as a suffix and changing with each change of rulers e.g. cohors I Aelia Dacorum Antoniniana/Gordiana/Postumiana etc. In every known case, this suffix is formed from the cognomen of the reigning emperor.

Before looking at these titles in greater detail, it is worth noting that a few more examples of such titles may be found amongst the legions: II, III and VIII Augustae; and VII and XI Claudiae; VII Galbiana (later Gemina); IV and XVI Flaviae; II Traiana; and XXX Ulpia.

It is now well-established that Augusta was, in a number of cases, awarded to units by later emperors². The best-known such cases relate to units honoured by Domitian. Thus, for example, of the regiments awarded Domitiana for fidelity at the time of the rebellion of Saturninus ala I Flavia Domitiana Britannica p.f.c.R. milliaria dropped the second title after Domitian's damnatio memoriae and substituted Augusta³. Amongst the other cases, it has been proposed - attractively - that ala I Flavia milliaria, known in Syria and cohors I Augusta in the same province, are the ala I Augusta Nerviana fidelis milliaria and cohors I Augusta Nerviana Velox⁴, both on the Mauretania Caesariensis diploma of 107 (CIL, XVI, 56). In other words, Augusta may in such cases be the colourless substitute adopted by a unit to replace an honour which was no longer politically acceptable. In relation to a much later period, Jones observed that none of the dynastic titles preserved of the later Roman army in the Notitia Dignitatum commemorates a failed usurper/tyrant, even where we know some of such men to have raised new regiments⁵. This is an important point to bear in mind when examining first and second century emperors, too.

After eliminating units which were awarded the title Augusta at a later date for special reasons, we are then left with a group which clearly received its title from Augustus himself⁶. With Claudius, we find the title Claudia awarded to 2 existing units and borne by four new formations, thus underlining the important point that a permanent dynastic title does not always imply formation by the emperor named. Neither Tiberius nor Gaius can be shown to have awarded any such title and, indeed, the trend (as opposed to the Augustan model) probably only began with Claudius. Nero is never named in a dynastic title; nevertheless, a number of regiments can be shown to have been formed by him, some of which - especially Syrian units (App. 6) - were later awarded the title Flavia. Vespasian, Titus and Domitian would all normally have been expected to give a new unit the title Flavia; Hadrian and Antoninus would have used Aelia; Marcus and Commodus, Aurelia. The fact that only two units called Septimia are known⁷ and the subsequent disappearance of the practice, may well be due in both cases to the early reverse adoption of the Antonine dynasty carried out by Septimius Severus so that he and the rest of the Severan dynasty became Aurelii too⁸. As I have noted Vespasiana, Domitiana, Nervia/Nerviana, and Traiana and Antonina were all derived from the reigning emperor's cognomen. The ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum (CIL, XVI, 45) is the sole example of that particular title; only five bear Nervia/Nerviana, four also having Augusta; Domitiana is attested for a number of units⁹; the cohors I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum^{9a} is a unique example of Traiana (CIL, XVI, 69); and the cohors I Aurelia Antonina Hemesenorum milliaria is the sole example of Antonina. Vespasiana and Domitiana seem to have been awarded in a very personal way which made the units concerned "Vespasian's Own" or "Domitian's Own", rather than the more formal and more widely current "Flavian". In the cases of Nervia/Nerviana, Traiana, Antonina, and once in the case of Domitiana, the name forms part of a double dynastic title. Double dynastic titles are rare and would have been a particular distinction. The explanation in these cases may be no more than the need for variation. The cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum presented no trouble when Trajan awarded it the honorary title "Ulpian" (CIL, XVI, 110); the Cugerni and Hemeseni, on the other hand, as well as the ala I Britannica, already have titles derived from the nomen of the reigning emperor. Unless they were to become Flavia bis, Ulpia bis or Aurelia bis an alternative name had to be found - in these cases, derived from the cognomen. I can see no easy solution to the Nervia units through this explanation, and am inclined to see it as a personal award - "Nerva's Own" for reasons as yet unknown to us.

The earliest variable title was once thought to be Antoniniana, introduced by Caracalla. It is now clear that Severiana was employed by Septimius and the trend can be taken back to Commodus by reference to the cohors II Ulpia Equitata Com(modiana)¹⁰. In view of Commodus' reported intended or actual renaming of Rome, the Roman populace, the legions, the Alexandrian grain fleet, the Senate and the Palace as Commodiana¹¹, one may easily ascribe the initiation of such variable titles to him and their rarity on inscriptions to his damnatio memoriae. As stated above, Septimius Severus may well have revived the practice and established the principle of giving all units such titles, because of his reverse adoption of Marcus Aurelius which made his dynasty, too, Aurelii. However, so few examples exist that I am inclined to believe that he employed it only for new units, and that it was Caracalla who initiated the practice of giving all units such a title as a suffix.

Some general points may be made in conclusion:

- (a) Permanent dynastic titles usually indicate the emperor under whom the unit was formed, but may have been awarded to existing units. This is especially true of Flavia which seems to have been accorded to a number of existing regiments.
- (b) Variable titles probably began with Commodus, were used by Septimius, but only under Caracalla did their use become widespread.
- (c) The opportunity to name a regiment for oneself would have been attractive to most emperors and, from the Flavian period at the latest, few regiments were not given such a title. The introduction of variable titles saw the end of the continuous practice of awarding permanent titles, but even under Marcus Aurelius we find a regiment such as cohors XX Palmyrenorum, raised by Marcus but never in any of its numerous attestations called Aurelia. It may of course be a flaw in the surviving evidence: few of the numerous attestations of the cohors I Aurelia Hemesenorum give it its title (above, 120). Cheesman's App. II is incomplete, out of date and in some respects inaccurate; its information may nevertheless be tabulated to bring out an important point concerning the absence of titles:

Table App.2.1

<u>pre-Flavian</u>		<u>post-Flavian</u>	
<u>Alae</u>	<u>Cohortes</u>	<u>Alae</u>	<u>Cohortes</u>
71 (10 titled)	233 (9 titled)	11 (6 titled)	68 (51 titled)

Of the 19 pre-Flavian titled units, 16 are Augustae; many of those without titles in the post-Flavian period may not be given titles in our registers because of the nature or scarcity of the evidence or because they should in fact belong in the earlier group. In short, the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of an untitled regiment being a Julio-Claudian formation. Amongst these, since most emperor^s added only a handful of units to the army (note the total for "post-Flavian" above), the probability is heavily in favour of an untitled regiment going back to Augustus and Tiberius at least¹².

1. General discussion may be found in Cheesman, 46f; Fitz, 1976; Holder, 1980, 14-21.
2. Holder, 1980, 14f. The contention was first put forward by Cheesman, 46f. who observed that since it was borne by units of Britons and Dacians it must have been awarded much later. The reasoning is faulty. First, the Dacian unit in question is Aurelia, not Augusta (Bogaers, 1977, 611). Second, the notion that Britons and Dacians could only be recruited after the annexation of Britain and Dacia is untenable. Cheesman himself noted (Cheesman, 1913, 26) the cohors Bos [p(oranorum)] on a text of c.25/19 B.C. (AE (1914) 216) when Bosphorus was still a client-state. Moreover, we find units of Parthians in the Roman army in the time of Augustus and Tiberius (Kennedy, Limes XI), and there was every reason for Augustus to have formed regiments of Britons and Dacians. Augustus inherited Caesar's military plans as well as obligations. Thus he was the nominal suzerain of the Britons, ought to have revenged Crassus's defeat by the Parthians, and should have fulfilled Caesar's intended conquests of Parthia and Dacia. The opportunity was there to enrol Dacians - Dacian prisoners fought in the arena at Rome in 29 B.C. (Dio li. 22.6); Augustus' generals, Lentulus and Catus, conducted campaigns across the Danube from 13 B.C. onwards and settled 50,000 Getae on the Roman side of the Danube; likewise, when Gaius travelled to Gaul for his German campaign we are told that a British prince, Adminius, deserted to the Romans with a small force (Suetonius, Gaius, 44). Augustus never carried out any of the Roman threats to annex Britain or Dacia or to humble the Parthians, but his propaganda against Britain and Parthia at least is evident in the literature (Syme, 1939, 302).
3. Kennedy, 1977, 251; Holder, 1980, 14 et. seq.
4. E. Birley, 1966, 56, n.4; Holder, 1980, 15.
5. Jones, LRE, App. II.
6. Holder, 1980, 14 et.seq. and App. III, passim for the register of units.
7. E. Birley, 1969, 67f.
8. In practice, Septimus himself remained L. Septimius Severus.
9. Ritterling, 1893; Holder, 1980, 14 et seq.; 37f. In most cases, Domitiana is in fact placed at the end of the full name - p.f.D. - only the ala Britannica places it before the ethnic (or equivalent). Holder, 1980, nos. 181 and 184 and there, the unit is not recorded as p.f. In most cases, therefore, the title is, as Fitz contended (Fitz, 1976, 215) a forerunner of the variable titles of the third century, although there is no reason to believe that Domitian intended it to be anything other than permanent.
- 9a. Davies, 1977, 385 et.seq.
10. See also the legio VIII Augusta Commodiana - CIL, XI, 6053; XII, 2587; XIII, 6582; 6646; 11757; AE (1957) 50; 52. Fitz, 1976, 215; Speidel, 1977b, 708.
11. SHA, Com. XIV et. seq., Dio, lxxiii, 15.2

12. Holder, 1980, 110 (together with 217) allows only three cohorts of Britons to be pre-Flavian; two others with the title Flavia he attributes to Vespasian, an ala and six cohorts Brittonum are linked to the pacification of southern Scotland by Agricola, and the last two are Domitianic but renamed by Nerva. One of the six cohortes Brittonum - none of which have a dynastic title - is on the diploma of Pannonia for 85 (CIL, XVI, 31) but not on those for 80 and 84; it may be the I Brittonum on the Upper Moesian diploma of 104/5 (CIL, XVI, 54) and is almost certainly the I Ulpia Brittonum on the Dacian diploma of 110 (CIL, XVI, 163). Holder certainly suggests that its appearance on the diploma of 85 is because of the discharge of some of the 'cadre around which the regiment was formed' (124,n.2). I can see no reason for overlooking the more obvious explanation that the regiment was formed c. 59/60 (the campaigns of Suetonius Paulinus in the West of Britain), was moved to Pannonia c. 84/5 in time for its first major discharge and has its second slighter discharge in 110. Such an explanation would accord too, with the absence of Flavia. It would follow that all the cohortes Brittonum in this series of 6 were formed c. 59/60.

APPENDIX 3: MESOPOTAMIAN SOLDIERS IN THE ROMAN ARMY

In 56 B.C., Publius Crassus is said to have been accompanied at the battle of Carrhae by two young Greeks from that city¹. It is not improbable that Roman armies, especially those on campaign, made use of the services of soldiers from Mesopotamia in the succeeding two centuries. Trajan's brief annexation of northern Mesopotamia is one obvious occasion; the annexations of L. Verus and the posting of Roman garrisons along the Wadi Khabur, probably saw the enlistment of yet more Mesopotamian soldiers². A generation later, Pescennius Niger was supported by Osrhōeni^{ans}, Adiabeni and 'Arabs'³. Septimius seems to have annexed northern Mesopotamia east of the Wadi Khabur in 198, and Caracalla's deposition of the last king of Osrhōene stretched the new province west to the bend of the Euphrates⁴. During Septimius' First Parthian War, says Herodian, the king of Osrhōene 'brought a large number of archers to be auxiliary forces for Severus'⁵. Osrhōene seems, briefly, to have been annexed in the course of the Second Parthian War and we may surmise that its archers were again employed in that campaign.

The first clear evidence for the employment of Mesopotamian troops outside of their own area is in 213 when they fought in Caracalla's German War⁶. Since annexation of Osrhōene only comes in 213/4⁷, it seems likely that these men were an established part of the Roman forces, possibly brought to the West by Septimius, or requested from their king by Caracalla in anticipation of his campaign. A decade later, Alexander Severus, at the conclusion of his Parthian War, returned to the West and "brought with him very many Moroccans and a huge force of archers from the East; the latter came from Osrhōene, though some were Parthian deserters and mercenaries that had enlisted to serve the emperor". The probability is that the Osrhōene has been recruited for the impending Rhine campaign or for the recently concluded Parthian War⁸. However, the naming of the Moroccans in the same passage should alert us to the possibility that some at least of this force were an established part of the field army or of the eastern garrison.

In the ensuing German campaign of Alexander Severus, the Osrhōenian archers made a signal contribution⁹, and an indication both of their numbers and confidence may be gauged from their attempt after Alexander's assassination to establish their own imperial nominee (Quartinus), through the efforts of their leader Macedo¹⁰. The latter's name, "the Macedonian", is significant in connection with forces

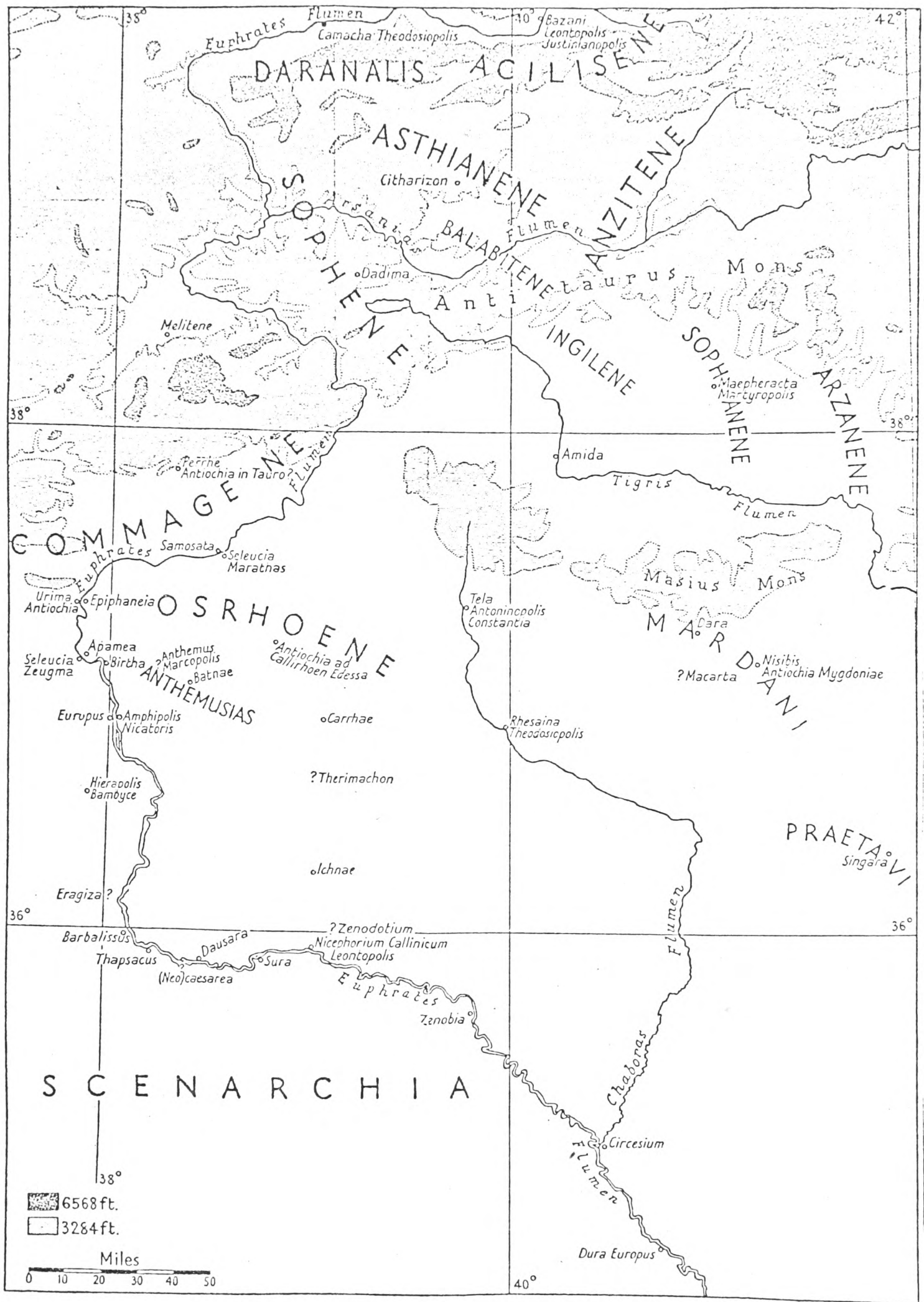


Fig. 13 Mesopotamia (CERP², 214).

colonies: were these troops of Osrhoënian archers placed under the command of Mesopotamian Greeks, in the first instance at least? Despite the failure of their revolt, Osrhoënian archers are still prominent in the army of Maximinus¹¹, are attested epigraphically in the third and fourth century, while a unit appears in the Notitia, at 'Rasin' in Osrhoëne¹². On the other hand, punishment for their rebellion, which we would have expected, has been seen in the apparent erasure of their name from inscriptions¹³. It has been suggested that some at least were disbanded after 235. However, in a time of such pressing need for soldiers, we may suppose, that, like the men of III Augusta a few years later, they were distributed around other units.

Epigraphic evidence reveals that Mesopotamians were recruited too as cataphracts in the third century at latest¹⁴. The men belong to a regiment which is variously described as:

<u>ala firma katafraktaria</u>	(ILS 2540)	Pann. inf.
<u>ala firma catafract^u(aria)</u>	(ILS 9148)	Germ. sup.
<u>n. ala firm(a) catafr(actaria)</u>	(AE (1931) 68)	Germ. sup.
<u>ala nova firma ∞</u>		
<u>catafractaria Philippiana</u>	(ILS 2771)	Arabia

A simple emendation to a reference in the Notitia to an ala nona miliaria may permit the inclusion of a fifth reference:

<u>ala nc{v}a miliaria, Avatha</u>	(Not. Dig.Or, XXXVII.25)	Arabia
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It is now well-established that only one regiment is concerned¹⁵. Nevertheless, I am inclined to be more cautious. C^uichorius long ago¹⁶ observed that the "nova" implied "einer ältern a. catafr!" and although he had no unit to hand which may have served for the ala "veterana", it is worth remembering that Herodian referred to Maximinus entering Italy in 238 with regiments (ἰλαρ) of cataphracts¹⁷. The possible explanations therefore are that the ala nova is distinct from the ala firma in Germany some years before, or that it is the same regiment either here given its full name or renamed as a result of reformation.

Gössler suggested¹⁸ that nova meant here renova as in the case of legio III Augusta reformed by Valerian which appears once as Renovata and once as Restituta on the inscriptions, although neither seems to form a permanent part of the name¹⁹. In view of the strong possibility that in the moment of revolt in 235, Mesopotamian cataphracts would have allied themselves with Mesopotamian archers, Gössler's suggestion that the regiment of cataphracts was suppressed and later restored is worth serious consideration. Nevertheless, objections remain and either of the other explanations is possible.

Finally, the archaeological evidence. The Roman camp at Ain Sinu has been interpreted as a barracks built for new recruits because of the absence of any internal administrative blocks and the presence of an adjoining fort²⁰. The camp consisted of rows of barracks, in pairs of one set of small rooms facing a set of large rooms across a long courtyard. The space would accommodate about 1000 soldiers, with their mounts in the rooms opposite. The dating evidence suggests brief occupation in the early third century, most coins being of Alexander Severus. Two similar camps, at Tell Bati and Tell Brak on the Khabur, were apparently for the same purposes²¹. It is tempting to speculate that these camps were constructed to allow the recruitment and training of some at least of the troops discussed above.

1. Plutarch, Cras. XXV. 11
2. See for example Kennedy, 1979.
3. Dio 75.1.1ff.
4. Dio 78, 1^a .1²
5. Herodian, III.9.2
6. Dio 78.14.1
7. Dio 78, 12, Jones CERP², 221. Bellinger and Welles, 1935, 131f.
8. Herodian, VI. 7.8; cf. VI. 6.4 for Alexander mobilizing reinforcements in the East.
9. Herodian VI. 7.8; SHA, Alex LXI, 8; Max. XI.7
10. Herodian VII.1.9-11
11. Herodian VII. 2.1
12. AE (1932) 81(?); AE (1911) 36(?); ILS 2765; CIL, VIII, 9829; AE(1908) 259; Not. Dig. Or. xxxv. 23
13. CIL, XIII, 6677 (a); Rh. Mus. LVIII, 543. Toth, 1973, for the destruction of Dolichena at the same time.
14. ILS, 9148 a decurion ex provinciae Moesopotamiae (sic) domo Rac [.....; cf. ILS 2540 (above, 13^c) (= 12.25)
15. See most recently for example, Speidel, 1978, 704f; MacAdam, 1979, 148f., Eadie, 1967, 168; Hofmann, 1905 265ff.
16. R-E, 1236.
17. Herodian, VIII, 1.3. P.Oxy 2951 of 267 recording cataphracts in Egypt who have Semitic names (e.g. Barsimes); cf. Speidel 1975, 229.
18. Gössler, 1931, 8-15; esp. 13f.
19. ILS 513 and 2296
20. D & J. Oates, 1959, 207-42 and D. Oates, 1968, 81-92.
21. Poidebard, 1934, 144 and pl.122 and 1928, 219; 1934, 150 and pl.139.

Appendix 4: Warfare in Mauretania under Domitian and the Career of

C. Velius Rufus

Domitian's wars on Rhine and Danube are badly documented in the literary sources¹ - far worse, for example, than the campaigns carried on in his behalf in Britain by his governor Agricola. Outside of these European military theatres, the only military activity recorded in the surviving literary evidence is a campaign in North Africa against the tribes in the south of Numidia, culminating in the extermination of the entire tribe of the Nasamones c. 85/6². For another campaign in North Africa in this period, we have, until now, been entirely dependent on the evidence of a cursus honorum. This inscription, preserving the career of C. Velius Rufus of Heliopolis in Syria, records amongst his posts that of: dux exercitus Africi et Mauretanicus ad nationes quae sunt in Mauretania comprimendas. Whatever else may be inferred from the text concerning this post or the career as a whole, it is clear that the force involved - drawn from both Mauretania and from Africa - must have been sizeable, and that the area of activity was Mauretania rather than Africa.

The dating of the war in Mauretania is dependent on the dating of the other posts in Velius' career. The career has been much discussed over a long period of time from Ritterling (1904) and Domaszewski (1907) right up until today³. Two publications of 1978 accord it detailed treatment⁴: that of Dobson presents what may be regarded as the orthodox view building in the main on the analyses of Ritterling and Pflaum. Visy, however, argues for important new dating at crucial points of the career. Although the latter is concerned in his paper with the genesis of Domitian's Danubian Wars to which events in Africa are only incidental, it must be borne in mind that the dating of any one post cannot be taken in total isolation but will in the final analysis be dependent on simultaneously making sense of the others. Let us turn to the text itself⁵:

C. Velio Salvi f. Rufo, p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) XII
fulm(inatae), praef(ecto) vexillariorum leg(ionum)
VIII: I adiut(ricis), II adiut(ricis), II Aug(ustae),
VIII Aug(ustae), VIII Hisp(anae), XIII gem(inae),
XX vic(tricis), XXI rapac(is), trib(unus) coh(ortis)
XIII urb(anae), duci exercitus Africi et Mauretanicus
ad nationes quae sunt in Mauretania comprimendas,
donis donato ab imp(eratore) Vespasiano et imp(eratore)
Tito bello Iudaico corona vallar(i), torquibus,
fa[le]ris, armillis, item donis donato corona murali,
hastis duabus, vexillis duobus et bello Marcommannorum
Quadorum Sarmatarum adversus quos expeditionem fecit
per regnum Decebali regis Dacorum corona murali, hastis

duabus, vexillis duobus; proc(uratore) imp(eratoris)
Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici provinciae Pannoniae
et Dalmatiae, item proc(uratori) provinciae Raetiae
ius gladi. Hic missus in Parthiam Epiphanem et Callinicum,
regis Antiochi filios, ad imp(eratorem) Vespasianum
cum ampla manu tributariorum reduxit. M. Alfius M.f.
Fab(ia) Olympiacus aquilifer vet(eranus) leg(ionis)
XV Apollinar(is).

ILS 9200

Retaining the order of the text, its components can be tabulated as follows:

TABLE App. 4.1

(early military posts not itemised)

p(rimus) p(ilus) leg. XII Fulminatae

praef. vex. leg. VIII

trib. coh. XIII urbanae

dux exerc. Afr. et Maur.

don. don. Vesp. et Tito b. Iud. cor. val., tor., fal., arm.

don. don. cor. mur. hastae (2), vexilla (2)

(don. don.) b. Marc. cor. mur., hastae (2), vexilla (2)

proc. (Domit.) Pann. et. Dalm.

proc. prov. Raet. ius glad.

missus in Parthiam (et) ^{reduxit} ad Vesp.

Pflaum observed that the posts fall into easily identifiable categories. As Visy notes, however, he was wrong to suggest that each of the following groups was not also ordered chronologically internally: 1. military posts; 2. decorations; 3. civil procuratorships; 4. 'exploit'. It would be unproductive to summarize the various views expressed on this cursus and these are in any case presented in full by Visy⁶. I shall instead work from the picture presented by Dobson. It should be noted that neither Dobson nor Visy made use of or seemed aware of the other's work at the time of their publication:

The obvious dating points can be swiftly enumerated: (a) decoration in the Jewish War of Vespasian and Titus gives a bracket of 66-72 and we may legitimately suppose that he was serving with an eastern legion (we know the legions involved to have been the V Mac., X Fret., XII Fulm., and XV Apol.⁷), (b) literary evidence enables us to assign his embassy

into Parthia to c. 72, (below, 313f) (c) at the other end of his career, one at least of the procuratorial posts must have begun before the death of Domitian in 96. Probably both did, hence the item. All of the remaining items of the cursus must therefore fall between these two dates.

The key features for providing closer dating analysed by most scholars have been the prefecture of vexillations and the expedition across Dacia. For the former, Domaszewski suggested 77/8 but it is the Ritterling proposal of 83-5 which has found widespread acceptance. On this point Visy is in agreement with Ritterling. The second item is much more difficult. Pflaum referred the expedition to 92 but the commonly quoted occasion is 89⁸. This latter year saw the success of Domitian's armies on the upper Danube; it was also the year in which the establishment of peace with Dacia and the transfer of power from Duris to Decebalus⁹, allowed the passage of a Roman army - presumably from Moesia superior - northwards against the flank of the enemy on the borders of Pannonia. It remained, then, to fit in the Mauretanian war between the command on the Rhine in 83 and the expedition through Dacia: the dates of c. 84-6 were suggested and accepted by many subsequent writers¹⁰. Thus Dobson's interpretation:

at least 69-71 7 in an eastern legion in the Jewish War
72 7; embassy into Parthia
72-82 7 in an eastern legion
82 pp. XII Fulminata
83- praef. vex. legion^{um} VIII in the Chattan War
after 83 and before 86 trib. coh. XIII urb. at Carthage
dux exerc. Afr. et. Maur.
86 conducts cohort to Europe
88/89 expedition across Dacia as trib. coh. XIII urb.
88/9-92 on the Danube
c. 92- procuratorships in succession

TABLE App. 4.2

CIL, XVI, 159
(88)

CIL, XVI, 161; 162;
Arheologija, 24(1979)
41-4 (109)

CIL, XVI, 169;170
(122)

alae

I Augusta	[I] Aug. c.R.	Augusta c.R.	[.....]
I Hamiorum	I Hamiorum sag.	I Ham. Syr. sag.	I Hamior. Syror.
III Asturum	III Asturum p.f.c.R.	III Astur. c.R. p.f.	[III As] tur.
Gemelliana	Gemel[liana...]	Gemelliana [...]	Gemelliana c.R.
Tauriana	[Gall. Taurian]a torquata victrix.	Gall. Taur. torq.vict.c.R.	Taurian[.....]

cohortes

II mil. sag.	[II milliaria sagi]ttarior.c.R.	II mil. sag.	[II] Syror. sagit. ∞
V Delmatarum	V Delmatarum	[V Delmatarum c.R.]	V Delm c.R.
I Lemavorum	I Lemavorum	[I Lemavorum c.R.]	I Lemav. c.R.
I Bracarorum			
IIII Gallorum	IIII Gallorum c.R.	IIII [Gall. c.R.]	IIII Gallor. c.R.
	I Itur. c.R.	I Itur. c.R.	I Itur ^{accf.} c.R.
	II Hisp. c.R.	[II Hisp. c.R.]	II [Hisp] anor. c.R.
	II Hispana c.R.	II Hispana c.R.	II Hispana[na c.R.]
	I Astur. et Callaec.	[I Astur. et. Ca]llaec.	I Astur. et Call[...]
	I Celt. c.R.	I Celt. [c.R.]	
	III Astur. c.R.	[III]Astur. c.R.	III Ast. c.R.

It is my contention that the date for the Mauretanian war is several years too early. My reasons are discussed below under two headings: First, the evidence of the diplomas of Mauretania^{Tingitana} and, second, a re-examination and re-dating of the components of Velius Rufus' career.

In the first volume of CIL, XVI there were no diplomas for Mauretania Tingitana and their evidence was, consequently, not yet available to most early commentators such as Ritterling and Syme. Today, we have no less than 29 whole or fragmentary diplomas for Tingitana¹¹. The earliest - and amongst the best-preserved - are those for 88, 109 (three) and 114/7¹². The diploma for 88 records ten regiments, none of which bear any honorary epithet. The evidence from this and the diplomas of Trajan's reign is laid out in Table 2: By the close of Trajan's reign 3, probably^{4 alae and 7, probably} 9 cohorts in Tingitana carry the title civium Romanorum. Furthermore, one is additionally torquata victrix¹³. Most of these titles have appeared on the diplomas as early as 109; putting it another way, 80% of the units on the diploma for 88 are certainly c.R. by 114/7, and probably at least as early as 109. Again, five new units appear on the diplomas of Tingitana in 109 for the first time, all designated c.R. and all probably recently arrived¹⁴.

It must be said at once that there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that any unit from Tingitana - much less eleven - fought in Domitian's or Trajan's wars in Europe where these titles could have been won. On the other hand, it cannot be categorically stated that the diploma of 88 is not simply failing to give regiments their full styles - in short, 88 may not be a secure terminus post quem. For example, the ala Gallorum Tauriana was certainly already torquata victrix c.R. under Vespasian and before it moved to Mauretania¹⁵. Again, the ala I Hamiorum is not given its descriptive epithet sag(ittaria)¹⁶. However, no other unit can be shown to have been c.R. before 88 and, while this may be due to the scarcity of evidence from Tingitana, the balance of probabilities is that most, if not all of the other units which become c.R. - including those which seem to have arrived as a reinforcement in the same period - won their block enfranchisement between 88 and 109. Indeed, one might suppose that the absence of c.R. from all of the units on the diploma of 88 was because only one bore the title and that was of some

antiquity already; it is ^{less} probable that the c.R. would have been omitted if almost all of them had recently been so signally honoured.

Even if we assume that the forces involved in the war to which these honours refer were no larger than the combined strength of the units rewarded, (i.e., all of them but the ala Tauriana) we still have a very large force of 1500 cavalry and 5000 infantry. Furthermore, such extensive honours imply considerable success. The focus of the campaign seems, too, to have been Tingitana - the auxilia for Africa and Mauretania Caesariensis show no such pattern of rewards and, if employed at all, must have been used either on a minor scale or in support¹⁷. With regard to these two provinces, it must be borne in mind that we have only one relevant diploma - for Caesariensis - and that new discoveries may yet reveal units from either or both playing a much larger part¹⁸.

Finally, there is the probability (above, 155-8) that the cohors I Ituraeorum c.R. on the diploma for 109 is the cohors I Ituraeorum attested in Syria on the diploma of 88 but not thereafter¹⁹. The inference from this, too, is both that Tingitana received a reinforcement and that it comes after 88. The Syrian diploma is dated 7 November so that the unit could not have reached Tingitana until at least mid-89.

The implications of this evidence from the diplomas is that there is a substantial and successful war in Mauretania, probably Tingitana, at some date between 88 and 109 for which at least 12 units, including 5 or 6 which were brought in as reinforcements, were signally honoured.

Do we in fact have two wars - one in c. 84-6, another sometime between 88 and 109? One in which Velius Rufus had command and the second for which we have as yet no indication of commander? Warfare with the tribes on the desert's edge was not uncommon in North Africa²⁰, but we must at least consider the possibility that it is simply a single war the evidence for which has been misdated in one case. The date to be inferred from the diplomas I have now discussed; it remains to re-examine the cursus of Velius Rufus.

We may begin with some general observations concerning the inscription. The text is a long one and would clearly have been expensive. For that reason and because it is complex, we may be certain that the lapicide worked from a carefully drafted document supplied, presumably by the dedicant, the eagle-bearer of legio XV Apollinaris. Next, the career is recorded very fully: not only is his prefecture of vexillations mentioned (not merely defined as ex Germ. sup/ex Brit.etc.), but the vexillations themselves are named individually; his commands are explained, not just mentioned; his special mission laid out in full; his decorations itemised. Third, there are comparatively few abbreviations; most are the stock abbreviations as in praenomina and filiation, imp., leg. etc. Even the abbreviated words could have been shortened still further - Ad. for Adiutrix, for example. Finally, the most obvious interpretation of the sequence of the items recorded is in the clear and intelligible groups shown in Table 1 above. The text could have been laid out in an overall chronological fashion, without regard to categories of items: clearly such a scheme was rejected for the draft.

Turning now to the items:

1. As I have noted, Velius Rufus must have been serving with one of the four legions involved in the Jewish War. For obvious reasons, the favourite candidate is XII Fulminata, with XV Apollinaris as a probable alternative; the scale of Velius' decorations leave no doubt that he was a centurion at the time²¹.

2. A large part of the inscription is devoted to recounting Velius' special commission: sent into Parthia to conduct back to Vespasian, Epiphanes and Callinicus, the sons of Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Commagene. Fortunately, something of the episode and the background to it is recorded by Josephus²². The latter tells us that "in the fourth year of Vespasian's reign", Caesennius Paetus, the legate of Syria reported to the emperor that Antiochus was planning treachery and preparing to allow the Parthians who were his neighbours to cross the river. Vespasian authorised a pre-emptive move and Paetus carried out a lightning invasion of Commagene. Although Antiochus refused to resist and went into voluntary exile in Cilicia, his sons put up a successful fight until, deserted by the royal troops, they fled to Parthia and were warmly welcomed at the court of Vologaeses. Meantime, Vespasian, learning that Paetus was sending Antiochus in chains to Rome, gave orders for his release and settled him instead in honour and comfort at Sparta, "for the present". Josephus goes on:

When news of this reached Epiphanes and his brother, who had hitherto been extremely anxious about Antiochus, it was a very great load off their minds. They had hoped that Caesar would be reconciled to them as Vologaeses had intervened on their behalf; for though they were living in comfort they were most unwilling to live outside the Roman Empire. Caesar graciously promised them safe conduct, and they travelled to Rome where their father at once joined them from Sparta. They were treated with all honour and settled in the City.

Vespasian's fourth year was 1 July, 72 - 30 June, 73. However we interpret what followed, the distances involved in the transmission of messages, the action taken and finally the return of the exiles from Ctesiphon to Rome (not via Greece, it would seem; so probably by sea from the East or the Aegean coast), would take up a great deal of time. I cannot see that the return from Parthia could have begun earlier than spring 73; it may even have been ^{rather} later. Be that as it may, our inscription clearly reveals that the Roman envoys sent to Parthia who then conducted the princes to Rome were headed by Velius Rufus. Why Rufus? In view of the hazardous and delicate nature of the commission, one may feel that care was exercised in choosing the appropriate man from the c.200 centurions under Paetus' command. Indeed, why was not a tribune chosen?²³ We are never likely to know, but it is worth bearing in mind that Velius had fought in the Jewish War and been sufficiently outstanding to receive decorations - Epiphanes too, as we have seen (above, ¶ 90) had made a gallant and distinguished mark on the conduct of the seige of Jerusalem. Velius would undoubtedly have known the prince. Was the Syrian-born centurion chosen for the mission to Parthia not just because of his proven courage and initiative (?) in war, but because he was known personally to Epiphanes and could supplement the emperor's letters with his own oral report and assurances?

After conducting the princes to Rome, we may calculate that he could not have rejoined his legion in the East until 74 at the earliest. The question of an appropriate reward for the successful conduct of a unique, lengthy and important (Vespasian would hardly have welcomed able and hostile pretenders to the Commagenian throne at the Parthian court) mission, will be discussed below.

3. Dobson has shown that Velius Rufus was not primus pilus at the time of the above mission²⁴. That rank was held for a single year only, after which the individual could expect to embark on tribunes in the garrison at Rome before, if he lived long enough, a full equestrian career in the procuratorial posts. In short, in the years after his mission, Velius Rufus must have proceeded slowly to the primipilate, presumably in XII Fulminata, which lay at Melitene in Cappadocia from the early years of Vespasian.

4. praef. vexillarium leg. VIII: As long ago as 1884, Th. Mommsen discussed the group of tile stamps from Mirebeau-Sur-Bèze, 22 kms to the north-east of Dijon in the territory of the Lingones²⁵. The spot is just across the divide of Gallia Lugdunensis into the territory of Germania Superior. The stamps on some tiles have needed to be restored but the legionary vexillations named are not seriously in doubt: I and II Adiutrices, II and VIII Augustae, IX Hispana, XI Claudia, XIV Gemina, XX Valeria Victrix, XXI Rapax. All of these except XI Claudia are recorded in Velius' vexillationary command. Moreover, Velius' text reads leg. VIII but only 8 legions are named; it was an obvious step to propose either that the Velius text contained an error or should have read VIII {I} or, more popularly, that the name of XI Claudia had been omitted. For many years, therefore, scholars have accepted that in Domitian's Chattan War of 83, a large vexillationary force drawn from 8 or 9 legions from Britain and the Rhine was operating under the command of Velius Rufus. The matter will be discussed more fully below; for the moment, it is sufficient to ask why the primus pilus of a Cappadocian legion was placed in command on the Rhine and why such a force was brought together - vexillations from the British army are understandable, but for a local campaign why did the German army contribute vexillations rather than an entire legion or part of a legion? What, moreover, was the force doing (building?) at a site in Germania Superior which could scarcely have been more distant from the actual scene of supposed operations?²⁶

5. Whether the cohors XIII urbana was already based at Carthage at the beginning of Domitian's reign or was still in Italy, is not relevant here²⁷. We know, however, that it, or some of it, took part in Domitian's wars in Europe: a centurion of the cohort was decorated a Domitiano in a Dacian War, a German War, and, again, a Dacian War²⁸. The fact that Velius commands the army in Mauretania in succession to the tribunate of the cohors XIII most probably implies either that he was in Africa commanding the cohort when the appointment was made, or that he was sent to take command of the cohort and the field army or that he conducted the cohort back to Carthage where he was to take command of the field force. Again the coincidence of his command of the cohort and his subsequent field command suggest strongly that the event must be placed either before the cohort was sent to Europe for Domitian's wars or after its return from them: if Visy is correct, then it would have to be afterwards. Moreover, is it mere coincidence that a primus pilus with such a distinguished background and the recent experience of a large legionary command should have been chosen to command the urban cohort at Carthage rather than one of the cohorts at Rome as we might expect? Dobson maintains that the men who commanded the cohorts at Lugdunum and Carthage were excused from the regular promotion cursus via the Rome cohorts or primus pilus iterum. The evidence cited is slight and there is an alternative explanation in this case at least. My own belief is that with war looming, or begun, in North Africa, Velius, an able and proven field-officer, was given charge of the cohors XIII urbana to conduct to its base in Africa and there himself to take command of a field force from the African provinces in the Mauretanian war. The implications for dating - in the light of what we have seen of the participation of cohors XIII in Domitian's Rhine and Dacian Wars - are best dealt with below.

Third, there is his activity in Dacia: décorated in bello Marcomannorum Quadorum Sarmatorum adversus quos expeditionem fecit per regnum Deceballi regis Dacorum. There can be little doubt that this could only have occurred after peace and terms had been agreed with the Dacians²⁹. Equally, this expedition of which Velius has command must have been a substantial one³⁰. What force is it? Why is the composition of so important a command omitted? Why is his primipilate named, his tribunate of the urban cohort and his command of the exercitus Africi et Mauretanici, detailed, but not his command through the Dacian kingdom, here baldly cited as expedito? The orthodox answer is that he is still tribune of the XIII urban cohort³¹.

Surely this cannot be the case. First, this presupposes a very lengthy tenure of command of this cohort - on some counts, as much as seven years³²! Second, it cannot be seriously entertained either that a man who had held such important commands already should have been placed now, in the midst of an extensive war, in command of no more than a single cohort, or that that cohort would have been anything other than laughable for the enterprise envisaged³³. Once more, we must ask what force (he did) command in this expedition and why it is not recorded? The simple answer in my opinion is that it is named: praef(ectus) vexillariorum leg(ionum) VIII.

There is something inherently wrong with assigning the command of the 9 vexillations to the Chattan War of 83. We might plausibly speculate that for his Chattan War Domitian wished to place a considerable body of legionaries - perhaps as many as 9000³⁴ - equivalent to almost two legions - under an experienced soldier rather than detailing one of his senatorial legates on the spot to the command of one or more legions. However, the primus pilus of a Cappadocian legion was by no means an obvious choice: why not use a man nearer at hand - the primus pilus of one of the German legions from which vexillations were being taken, or even a praetorian prefect? On the other hand, a force composed of vexillations, including detachments from Britain and both German provinces, makes more sense if it is to be used somewhere other than the Rhine³⁵. Hence, too, vexillations rather than entire legions are detailed to the task force. The expeditionary force in Dacia was in a very real sense to be a field army and not simply the mobilized garrisons of one or more provinces operating just across their frontiers. The expedition was a bold stroke, relying on the good faith of an erstwhile enemy and placing a large body of men deep into hostile territory where, remote from assistance, they might easily have been destroyed by the current enemy or even the Dacians. Such a force would, therefore, have to be constructed so as to leave the garrisons of the lower Danube largely untouched i.e. it would have to be vexillations drawn wholly or largely from armies other than those of Moesia.

What of its merits as a force operating out of Moesia? First, a technical problem. As noted, the text reads leg. VIII but only 8 names follow. As we have seen, the suggestion which has found most favour is that the upper German legion XI Claudia has been omitted in

error³⁶; a less popular suggestion is that the numeral should have been VIII³⁷. Neither is necessary; the ninth vexillation is from XII Fulminata, the nearest eastern legion, brought to join the force by its primus pilus himself who is to take overall command³⁸. The vexillations from the British legions had already been on the continent for some years, participating^(c. 315) according to the most likely dating of the above tile stamps - in Domitian's German wars³⁹. It is important to remember that if the occasion of Velius's vexillationary command be made later, then some of these 'British' and 'German' legions had already moved south to the Danube: I and II Adiutrix, XIV Gemina and XXI Rapax were all transferred to the Danube during Domitian's reign. Velius' force probably consisted, therefore, of detachments from Britain, Rhine, Danube and Cappadocia⁴⁰. It follows from the above that if Velius Rufus' vexillationary command is on the lower Danube rather than upper Rhine and if the year for this Dacian command is - as seems undeniable - c.88/9, then the command in Africa is later still.

Visy coincidentally concluded that the Mauretanian War fell in 92/3 but he arrives at that conclusion for negative reasons. He concludes that the vexillationary command is to be dated to 83-5, the command of the urban cohort "on the Danube" he assigns (on the basis of his earlier arguments) to 97/8-92 and then, since one at least of the procuratorships has to be fitted in before Domitian's death, and the Danubian wars were believed to have dragged on until 92, he can fit the Mauretanian command into the gap, hence 92/3. In view of what I have to say below about the war of 92, it will be seen that there was in any case no need to take the cohort command so late or, as a consequence, the ducate. The commands, the wars and the decorations - even the 'exploit' - all tie up. The text does not explicitly name his unit at the time of his decorations in the Jewish War because it has already been named above: XII Fulminata; likewise this would have been his unit at the time of his mission to Parthia. His command in Africa is explicitly named. This only leaves his decorations: the text explains the award of his first set of decorations and the reason for his third - in both cases, the commands are not mentioned because each has already appeared above in the appropriate relative positions in the first group of items. What of the second set of decorations? In the traditional interpretation of the text the second decorations are for the Mauretanian War and the third set are for the Dacian expedition - in both cases the decorations are appropriate to his rank of tribune of an urban cohort. The difficulty with this interpretation

- even leaving aside the case I have argued above for the Mauretanian War succeeding ^{the} Dacian expedition - is that it requires us to accept that the text is not drafted as carefully as it would seem. As explained to me by Dr. Dobson⁴¹, the orthodox interpretation of the text up to the recording of the procuratorships must be as follows: The military posts are recorded in sequence - pp; praef. vexillariorum VIII; trib. coh. XIII urb.; dux exerc. Afr. et Maur. - at that point, because it is wished to mention the decorations from the Mauretanian War in their proper position, the earlier dona militaria from Vespasian and Titus are recorded, then the dona for the Mauretanian War, then the dona for the Dacian campaign which, appropriately, is also the next military post in the resumed sequence: The need to accept a hiccup in the drafted text with a back reference and an aside concerning decorations weakens Dobson's argument. In an otherwise carefully drafted text such a break in the logical flow of posts could easily have been avoided. Is it really reasonable to suppose that Olympiacus (?), having meticulously drafted the individual items of the text and having imposed a considerable degree of order on the whole layout, overlooked or ignored the aberration in the middle which destroyed the logical flow and the symmetry of the account? Surely, at least in the case of this very high quality inscription, one must assume that the text is the outcome of a careful draft in which everything links up. Second, it begs three questions: (a) why was Velius Rufus, based far away in Cappadocia, given command of a large vexillationary force, (b) why is the employment of that force not mentioned, (c) why is an important expedition recorded but not the force involved? (I dismiss the cohors XIII urbana as, at best, a small part of the whole force).

What then of the implications of my re-dating and revised sequence? Tabulated, it now appears thus:

TABLE App. 4.3

(early military posts)	(1.) dona militaria bel. Iud.
mission to Parthia) XII Fulm.	
p.p.)	
praef. vex. leg. VIII	(3) dona militaria bel. Marc.
trib. coh. XIII urb.	
dux exerc. Af. et Maur.	

The objection is with the decorations. The first award is appropriate to Velius' rank at the time; likewise, the award for the expedition through Dacia is on a scale which is certainly appropriate to a man of the rank of tribune of a Rome cohort and possibly (though as yet unattested) for a primus pilus⁴². That leaves one more set - the second - identical in scale to the third, but which must be linked to something which happened before the vexillationary command. Drs. Dobson and Maxfield do not believe that the principles upon which dona militaria were awarded allow such high decorations to be given to a centurion, possibly not even to a primus pilus. Put bluntly, they assert that a vexillum could not be given to a centurion⁴³: Velius receives two. In short, the decorations cannot have been awarded in connection with the Jewish War. That only leaves the mission into Parthia and for that he must still only have been a centurion - at best we might suppose he was a centurion in the primi ordines⁴⁴. Is it possible that a centurion below the rank of primus pilus was decorated so highly for executing this unique mission? Decorated on a scale which a tribune of an urban or praetorian cohort might expect or a praefectus castrorum in the legions? One may easily suppose that even if Velius Rufus was little more than a random choice for the task and was no more than competent in performance, by the time he reached Rome after several weeks journey, he will have been well-enough known to the princes, with at least one of whom he will have had much in common. Royal munificence might well have required the princes to recommend the head of their escort to the emperor's generosity; while relief and gratitude for the successful outcome (and a troubled conscience for his treatment of a family which had served Rome and himself so well?) might well have led Vespasian to reward his officer with lavish generosity. Besides, what scale of decoration was appropriate for a unique service? In Britain, Vespasian had rewarded a legionary tribune (senatorial) who had swung the legion II Augusta to his cause in 69, with decorations on the scale normally given to the legate-3 crowns, 3 hastae, 3 vexilla⁴⁵. A few years later, Domitian (?) had given no less than 3 crowns and a hasta pura to C. Julius Karus, prefect of a quingenary cohort - i.e. at the bottom of the equestrian militia - decorations widely accepted as lavish⁴⁶. Again under Domitian, L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer, tribunus laticlavus of IX Hispana was decorated for his command of a vexillation of that legion in Domitian's German War with 2 crowns, 2 hastae purae and 2 vexilla - one crown more than Velius Rufus⁴⁷. In Domitian's Dacian War another tribunus laticlavus received 2 crowns, (2?) hastae and a vexillum⁴⁸.

Finally, in the time of Marcus and Verus, the prefect of an ala milliaria was decorated in the German War with 2 crowns, 2 hastae and 2 vexilla⁴⁹. None of these are, of course, a parallel for Velius' case; however, they exemplify an important feature alluded to by Dr. Maxfield in her thesis on dona militaria, namely, the flexibility of the system⁵⁰. These are only a few of the anomalous awards known, awards in which the individual is being decorated more lavishly than our understanding of the decoration system would have led us to expect. However, as Dr. Maxfield wrote, the scales we know of were minimum awards; there may not have been a maximum. "A flexible system allowed considerations other than rank to determine the award made..." The mission of Velius Rufus is surely a prime example of the sort of considerations which led to a lavish award; nor would such an award set a precedent since the service itself was unrepeatable.⁵¹

Finally, on this question of decorations, there is a further consequence of my scheme, namely, that Velius went undecorated for his activities in Africa. This need not detain us. First, there is some possibility that decorations were usually only given when the emperor was in the field himself as commander-in-chief⁵². In any event, more decorations for this command would have been mere gilding on the cake. Domitian gave Velius that which was a good deal more valuable to him: a ducenarian procuratorship and the prospects that opened up for himself and his descendants (his grandson became consul a generation later⁵³).

The difficulties of dating the events of Domitian's German and Danubian Wars are daunting; indeed, the events themselves, whatever the chronology, are extremely vague. My principal concern, however, is with the dating of the war in Mauretania. The conclusion that emerges from the above discussion of the diplomas and of the cursus is that each indicates an extensive war in Mauretania - probably Tingitana - between 88 and 109 in one case, and in the latter years of Domitian in the other. The field force appears in Velius's cursus chronologically after his command in Dacia and we have to allow, too, for at least one of his procuratorships to be fitted in before 96. In essence, we have a terminus ante quem of c. 93/5 and a terminus post quem of 88 or the campaign through Dacia, whichever is the later. The consensus favours 89 as the year in which peace was concluded with Decebalus and an advance through Dacia became possible under the terms of an

in the period c.90-93/5.

A final problem which will suggest a more precise date for the war must be discussed: did Domitian take an imperial acclamation for the successful outcome of the war in Mauretania and, if so, which one is it amongst the 22 he is known to have accepted? Imp. XXI appears on the coins for the first time in 89⁵⁵, and the final acclamation, imp. XXII appears in 92, probably in the summer and, in any case 'not too much before 14 September'⁵⁶. There is good precedent for believing that an acclamation would have been accepted for the success of the war in Mauretania and the natural conclusion to have drawn - given the termini argued above - would be to date the war, or at least its outcome, to 92. The objection is that this acclamation has already been attributed to a renewed resurgence of warfare on the upper Danube⁵⁷. This proposed war on the Danube is not explicitly cited in any source but has emerged from, on the one hand, the possibility in the confused literary sources that the war on the upper Danube was in two phases⁵⁸ and, on the other, epigraphic references to what has been taken to be a campaign different to that against the Marcommani, Quadi and Sarmatae (Ia^zzyges):

ILS 1017 expedit. Suebic. et Sarm.

ILS 2719 bello Suebico it[em Sar]matico

CIL, XI, 5992 bellum Germ. et Sarmatic.

None is dated but all are probably to be placed in the late 80's or the 90's. The literary evidence cited in support of the war in 92 on the Danube is too vague or general to be dated at all closely⁵⁹. The probability, in fact, is that with an acclamation in 92 to be accounted for, various pieces of loose evidence were assigned to it and a war emerged. As I have suggested above, I believe that the acclamation of 92 refers to the war in Mauretania fought by Velius. The epigraphic evidence listed above may be little more than a synonym for the Marcommani and Quadi - both of whom were German tribes, the former, in fact, a division of the Suebi. On the other hand, we should note the clear references to war on the upper Danube under Nerva - war which can be dated (97) and which was successful: Nerva, we are told, received news of a victory from Pannonia⁶⁰ and ILS 2720 refers to a man decorated ab imp. Nerva Caesare Aug. Germ. bello Suebic!

To summarise. The combined evidence of the diplomas for Mauretania Tingitana and ^are-interpretation of the chronology of the cursus of C. Velius Rufus, point to a date of after 88 for the Mauretanian war fought during Domitian's reign. A closer date of c.89/90 - c.93/94 is implied by the career of Velius and would accord with the absence of the cohors I Ituraeorum from the Syrian diplomas of 91 and later. The proposed war on the upper Danube in 92 does not stand close scrutiny especially if the support of the imperial acclamation of 92 is removed. In fact, the evidence for the Mauretanian War spans this very period and the acclamation is best attributed to the successful outcome of Velius' campaign. The components of the cursus of Velius Rufus may therefore be tabulated as follows:

66/8 - 71	<u>centurio leg. (XII Fulminata?)</u> - decorated
72	<u>centurio leg. (XII Fulminata? in Cappadocia?)</u>
<u>c.72/3</u>	sent on embassy into Parthia - decorated
73 - <u>c.88</u>	<u>centurio leg. (XII Fulminata?)</u>
<u>c.88</u>	<u>p(rimus) p(ilus)</u>
<u>c. 88/9</u>	<u>praef. vex. legion^{um} VIII... in expeditione per regnum Decebali</u> - decorated
<u>c.91</u>	<u>trib. coh. XIII urbanae</u> to be conducted (back) to Carthage where he is to take up his appointment as
91 - 2	<u>dux exercitus Africi et Mauretanici</u>
<u>c.93-</u>	<u>proc. (Domit.) Pann. et. Dalm.</u>
-96/7	<u>proc. (Domit. and ? Nerva) prov. Raet. ius gladii.</u>

1. We are principally dependent on the epitomes and extracts from Dio, and on Eutropius, Tacitus, Jerome and Statius.
2. Dio, lxxvii 4.6. (Zonaras, xi. 19).
3. ^{Domaszewski, 1907, 164-70;} Ritterling, 1904, Bbl. 23. Major treatments are to be found in Pflaum, CP no.50 and p.966; R. Hanslik, R.-E, VIII. 1., 629-31; Saxer, 1967, 22f.
4. Dobson, 1978, 216f., no. 94; Visy, 1978, 37-60, esp. 50-5.
5. The career is discussed to some extent by Syme, CAH, XI, 149, 163, 176; Jarrett and Mann, 1970, 180; Garzetti, 1974, 290; Mócsy, 1974, 84; Rachet, 1970, 156; Roxan, 1973, 845, no.6; Smith, 1979, 273; plus see the works cited by Visy, 1978, 51, n.82.
6. Visy, 1978, 56f.
7. Parker, 1958, 138.
8. E.g. Syme, CAH, XI, 176; Garzetti, 1974, 290; Mócsy, 1974, 84.
9. Dio, lxxvii.5.7. and Exc. Val.- Loeb edition of Dio, p. 328f.
10. For references see the works cited above in notes 3 and 5.
11. Roxan, 1978, pp. 19-23.
12. CIL, XVI, 159;161;162; Ljubenova, 1979, 41-4; CIL, XVI, 165.
13. The p.f. attributed to the ala III Asturum cannot, as Holder (1980, 39) has suggested, be anything to do with the revolt of Saturninus (The point was made to me in a letter by Mrs. Roxan). In any case, p.f. is a loyalty award, not a battle decoration.
14. Roxan, 1973, 845, n.61 and cf.n. 60; 847, n.76.
15. Holder, 1980, 32, 36, 39.
16. I am grateful to Mrs. Roxan for observations and discussion of some of the titles here.
17. As noted above, the ala I Hamiorum may have been sent to Tingitana from Syria between 83/4 and 88 (above, 106). E. Birley (1966, 56, n.4) and Holder (1980, 15) have proposed to see the ala and cohors Nervianae in Caesariensis on the diploma of 107 (CIL, XVI, 56) as the ala Flavia milliaria and the cohors I Augusta previously known in Syria. The similar naming in Mauretania suggests that they may have arrived simultaneously: the terminus post quem for one of them in Syria is AE (1925) 121 for 76 (cf. above, App.2).
18. We may note, too, the cohors Musulamiorum in Syria in 88 (CIL, XVI, 35) and a cohors I Flavia Musulamiorum in Caesariensis in 107 (CIL, XVI, 56; cf. CIL, VIII, 4878 from Numidia and naming the prefect of cohors I Musulamiorum, and dated early second century; also, AE (1913) 157 has it nearby in 119 - Devijer, C 235 and Jarrett, 1972, 174, no.49). Holder (1980, 233) differentiates between them, but they could easily be the same regiment.
19. Three units on that Syrian diploma (CIL, XVI, 35) are described as c.R.- the Ituraean cohort is not.

20. See e.g. Syme, CAH, XI, 148f. and Rachtel, 1970, 156f.
21. Maxfield, 1972, I,6, 15-22; II, 154f.
22. Josephus, BJ, vii,7.2. (243).
23. Tacitus, Ann, xiii. 9.3. records that in 54 Ummidius Quadratus, governor of Syria sent a centurion, Insteius Capito (above, ~~152f~~) to Vologaeses while governor and king were at war with one another. Three years later, Capito is said to be praefectus castrorum (Ann., xiii.39.2).
24. Dobson, 1978, 217; Pflaum, CP, add.p.966 is persuaded by Dobson's (then unpublished) doctoral thesis to modify his statement in no.50 to the effect that Velius was already p.p. at the time of his mission to Parthia.
25. Mommsen, 1884, 437-41; ILS 2285; Saxer, 1967, 22f., no.40.
26. A point made by McElderry, 1925, 75; he also makes the same observation concerning 'the improbability that an outsider should be called in to command a mixed force which included drafts from the four legions of Upper Germany within their own province where they had their own staff'.
27. Visy, 1978, 49f.
28. ILS 2127 and see now Visy, 1978, 49f.
29. Syme, CAH, XI, 176 - "before, or just after, the termination of the war in Dacia".
30. Ibid.- Syme describes it as a "column - detached from the
31. army of occupation (of Dacia)" Most writers evade the question of his force entirely. Pflaum proposed that he returned from Africa with cohors XIII, fought in the Dacian War of 86 (using ILS 2127 as proof) and then took part in the expedition against the Marcommani, Quadi and Sarmatians in 92. Visy and Dobson both regard his command in this war as the cohors XIII urbana.
32. Cf. Maxfield, 1972, II, 155.
33. The difficulty is alluded to by Maxfield (1972, II, 155) who attributes the point in the relevant footnote to Dobson!
34. The vexillations are unlikely to have been less than quingary^{en}, i.e. 4500 in total.
35. If the command is on the Danube in 89 or soon after, the effects of the recent suppression of Saturninus' revolt (and that of Lucullus in Britain?) would help explain why the primus pilus of the untainted Cappadocian legion was placed in command. The senior centurions of the Upper Rhine (and British?) legions are likely to have been recent appointments.
36. E.g. Syme, CAH, XI, 163, n.5 Cf. Dobson, 1978, 217.
37. Visy, 1978, 50f, 54 - without explanation.
38. XII Fulminata probably participated in Marcus' wars on the Danube - Garzetti, 1974, 493f.; cf. n.35 above for the possible explanation for his choice.

39. ILS 1025 records the career of a senator who, as trib. latic. IX Hisp.^{leg.} had been decorated while commanding a vexillation of that legion in expeditio Germanica . . . ab imp. Aug. As McElderry, (1925,75) has pointed out, Velius is not likely to have been placed in command of vexillations, one of which had a senatorial tribune in command.
40. CAH,^{XI,} 171f., n.4. The discovery of IRT 545 reveals now the presence of a vexillation at least of another Rhine legion - I Minervia - on the Danube for the Marcommanic War.
41. Private communication.
42. Maxfield, 1972, II, 155.
43. Private communication. I am grateful both to Drs. Dobson and Maxfield for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft of this Appendix. Neither are responsible for the views presented.
44. Cf. above, n.23.
45. AE (1925) 126; he was also adlected into the Senate with the rank of an ex-praetor - Davies, 1976, 118.
46. AE (1951) 88 (= Maxfield, 1972, M83); Davies, 1976, 115 et seq.
47. ILS 1025 (= Maxfield, M36)
48. ILS 1016 (≅ Maxfield, M24)
49. ILS 1107 (=Maxfield, M86)
50. Maxfield, 1972, I,68.
51. One further argument may be invoked in a supportive role, namely the vocabulary:
d.d.ab imp. V. et imp. T. bello Iud. cor. all., torq., fal., arm
item d.d. cor. mur., hastae (2), vex.(2)
et bello Marc.cor. mur., hastae (2), vex.(2)
Is it possible to infer from item together with the absence of an emperor from whom the decorations were received that the second set are to be understood as 'likewise decorated (by the emperors Vespasian and Titus) with a mural crown ...'? Cf. the use of item to link the procuratorships only the first of which is attributed to a specific emperor.
52. Ritterling, 1904, 28ff.; Maxfield, 1972, 33-6 discusses the question, citing examples of decorations awarded in the absence of the emperor.
53. Hanslik, R.E., VIII.1., 631; cf. Dobson, 1974 for the prospects for a centurion rising to such heights.
54. Syme, CAH XI, 175f; cf. however, n.29 above; Garzetti, 1974, 290.
55. RIC, Dom., 142
56. RIC, Dom., 172 associated with tr.p.XII - i.e. 14 Sept., 92 - 13 Sept., 93. I am very grateful to Mr. F. Lepper for a letter discussing this acclamation and the 'war of 92'.
57. CAH, XI, 177; Garzetti, 1974, 29f.

58. E.g. Dio LXVII. 6.1 et. seq.; Eutropius, Brev., VII. xxiii. 4 speaks of four wars under Domitian: one against the Chatti, one against the Sarmatians and two against the Dacians. Mr. Lepper has kindly drawn my attention to the possible implications in this context of Statius, Silvae, III.3.168ff. published between 92 and 95 and Martial, who suggests Domitian's absence from Rome for much of 92.
59. CAH, XI, 177, n.4 cites three ancient sources none of which give the least support for belief in a second war on the upper Danube under Domitian.
60. Pliny, Paneg. VIII.2-3; cf. CAH, XI, 197.

APPENDIX 5: THE SPECIAL COMMAND OF M. VALERIUS LOLLIANUS

For the purposes of this study, the career of M. Valerius Lollianus is important because it refers to several regiments of oriental origin and because it reveals the participation of all but one of these in a great expeditionary force in Mesopotamia. The text also has a much wider application for all students of Roman military history in that, until recently, in the absence of precise and detailed knowledge of the composition of the garrison of Syria prior to the Notitia, the 'Lollianus list' was felt to be ^{cl}substantial if partial register of the auxiliary regiments in Syria at one specific time. The discovery of the important Syrian diploma for 156/7 (CIL,XVI,106) and the comparison of its register of regiments with that on the Lollianus cursus led E. Bormann (1900,11-32) to conclude that the command was to be associated with the Parthian War of Lucius Verus rather than, as previously held, with that of Trajan (e.g. ILS, 2724,n.3; Cheesman, 160f). This attribution of Lollianus' command to the war of 163-6 has been widely accepted since (e.g. Dessau- ILS 2724 ad; P-W, VIII A1, col.52, s.v. Valerius, no.221 (1955); R. Saxer, 1967, 34; Devijver,V.17). It is no longer necessary to be quite so dependent on the evidence of the Lollianus list for the garrison of Syria; we now have a total of five diplomas for Syria (a possible sixth - CIL, XVI, 103 - is discussed below) to say nothing of a substantial increase in our knowledge of other provincial garrisons which is of bearing on our discussion of the Lollianus text. In view of this great increase in the available evidence it is appropriate to re-examine the question of the date of Lollianus's command, if only to place its attribution to the early 160's beyond dispute.

My purpose in the discussion which follows is to seek answers to three particular questions:

- (a) the date of Lollianus's command
- (b) the province(s) from which his force was drawn
- (c) the uses to which the information may be put in a wider context.

First, the text itself. Here we are faced with an immediate difficulty in that the stone is lost and that all published texts are based on the readings of two 19th cent. travellers. My own version of the text, based upon these readings and subsequent interpretations, is as follows. Justification can be found in Note 1 at the end of this Appendix.

From Byllis, Macedonia, CIL, III, 600; ILS 2724 ad.

M. Valerius M.f. Quir. Lollianus prae/fectus cohort.
I Apamenorum sa[gittariorum]/ equit., trib. milit. leg.
VII Gem. fel., praef. eq. alae Fl. prae.,/ praepositus
in Mesopotamia vexillationibus equitum electorum alarum/
praetoriae, Augustae Syriacae, Agrippianae, Herculianae,
/singularium, item cohortium I Lucensium, II Ulpiae
equi [t. / c.] R., I Fl. c.R., II Thracum, III Ulpiae
Paflagonum, II equitum, I /Ascalonitanorum, I Fl.
Chalcidenorum, V Petreorum, IIII / Lucensium, I Ulpiae
Petreorum, II Ulpiae Paflagonum, I Ulpiae /sagittariorum,
III Dacorum, I Sygambrum, / viam pub[licam] quae a col.
Byllid. per Astacias ducit angustam fragosam [pe]riculosamq.
/ita munit, ut vehiculis commeetur, item [pon]tes in
Argyra flumine et rivis d.s. [f.] / et inscr [ip]sit, d.d.

An obvious terminus post quem of 106 is provided by the reference to regiments of Petraei, that being the year in which the Nabataean kingdom was annexed. Nesselhauf (CIL, XVI, 106 note) suggested a later terminus of 138 since two of the units on Lollian^{us}' list are still in Moesia inferior at this date (CIL, XVI, 83; cf. 78). This cannot stand. The two regiments in question are the cohortes I Fl. Chalcidenorum and the I Claudia Sygambr(orum). I have argued above (above, 134²) that the Moesian Chalcideni are the cohors II not I. On the other hand, there is a I Claudia Sygambrum (-brorum) in Moesia as early as 27 (Tac., Ann. IV. 47) and through to 134. However, there is ample evidence to show that the regiment bore the epithet veterana (CIL, XVI, 44; JRS, XVI (1926) 74-8) usually indicative of two regiments of the same name in a situation in which there might be confusion. (Cheesman, 47f). Indeed, this conclusion is supported by the existence of a cohors I Sugambrorum tironum in undivided Moesia in 78 (CIL, XVI, 22) and a cohors I veterana there in 75 (Roxan, no.2)². In short, the presence of a cohort of Sugambri in Moesia in 134, in Syria in 156/7 and on the Lollianus list need not be significant in the present context since they may be different regiments. Nor can the suggestion of Atkinson (JRS, XVI (1926), 77f) that the text from Eumeneia in Asia shows the regiment transferred from Moesia, if not on its way to Syria in the reign of Hadrian, be allowed to stand - it now appears on a diploma of c.157 for Moesia inferior (Roxan, no.50). The question of the origin of the units in Lollianus' force need not detain us. There is ample evidence to show that it was customary when putting together the vexillations for an expeditionary force to place under unified command only those detachments from the same province (Kennedy, 1980a, 304 and n.61).

The probability, therefore, is that Lollianus's detachments came from the alae and cohortes equitatae of Syria alone.

Table I lays out the evidence for the garrison of Syria, as shown by the diplomas for the purpose of comparison with the Lollianus list. It can be readily seen that the Lollianus register has many duplications with the latest diploma and relatively few with those for the reign of Domitian - twelve and six respectively. The attractiveness of dating Lollianus closer to 156/7 than to Domitian is still strong; perhaps stronger than in Bormann's time since the list of 156/7 - itself missing one regiment at the beginning and probably not a complete list of the auxilia in the province - is capable of further duplication; those for 88 almost certainly give us the names of the entire garrison. This method of attempting to date the Lollianus inscription is, however, unacceptable. In the first place, Lollianus's great command cannot be earlier than 106 which places it at least 15 years later than the latest Domitianic diploma. At the other end of the scale the date of the command may be as late as one likes in the second century; even the third century cannot be ruled out. Consequently, while one may be struck by the parallels between Lollianus's list and the 156/7 diploma and find L. Verus's Parthian War attractive, it is improper to rule out Trajan's Parthian War since even there the comparison is with a diploma of at least a generation earlier. Second, to follow on from this point, not only is there a considerable lapse in time between 91 and Trajan's Parthian War, but they are years of widespread upheaval, not least in the East. Before we can even begin to make a fair comparison at this lower end of the scale we need a fairly comprehensive diploma which is close in time to Trajan's Parthian War: in other words, we need a list of regiments in Syria in the latter part of Trajan's reign. We do not as yet have such a diploma and may never have one; the period was one of intensive warfare and preparations for war and it is unlikely that many soldiers would have been discharged from the Syrian army. Nevertheless, a register of a part at least of the Syrian garrison can be constructed.

We must first consider those changes in the garrison of Syria in the late Domitianic and Trajanic period. The extent of the warfare on the Danube at the end of Domitian's reign and the disasters which struck two Roman armies undoubtedly led to a withdrawal - if only as a temporary measure - of surplus soldiers from other provinces.

Notes to Table 1

1. CIL, XVI, 35 (7 Nov.); Roxan, no. 3. (7 Nov.).
2. Roxan, nos. 4 and 5 (both 12th May).
3. CIL, XVI, 103 - for Syria or Syria Palaestina (see discussion below).
4. CIL, XVI, 106.
5. Proposed identifications. In the case of the Dacian regiments it should be noted that the Lollian inscription is the sole reference to a cohors III Dacorum.
6. Roxan, 1972, 246f. has suggested that the reading should be CALL rather than GALL - see further below.
7. Roxan, 1972, 247.

Tacitus conveniently records for us the contribution required from Britain which brought an effective end to Agricola's campaign. On a slighter scale than an entire legion, we might legitimately assume detachments at least from other provinces; the East had been quiescent for some years and under Domitian there were at least 14,500 auxilia in Syria alone³. On the lower Danube, the threat in the late first century from the armoured horsemen of the Dacians and Roxolani will have led to cavalry regiments assuming an increasing importance. Some evidence is available for troop movements from Syria at this period. Among the alae in Syria under Domitian are the ala II Pannoniorum and the ala III Augusta Thracum⁴ (diplomas for 88 (II Pann. only) and 91). Neither are preserved on the very fragmentary diploma for 134 nor do they appear among the nineteen regiments on the lengthy diploma for 156/7. We can, however, trace both regiments elsewhere. The diplomas for Moesia superior for 94, 100, 103/7 (CIL, XVI, 38 ad. n. 39; 46; 54) all record an ala II Pannoniorum (which is not listed among the alae in the undivided Moesia of the diploma of 78 - CIL XVI, 22) and it then appears - with the additional epithet 'veterana' - in the undivided Dacia of 110 (CIL, XVI, 163) and in Porolissensis in 123 (Roxan, no. 21). The ala III Augusta Thracum is in Pannonia superior by 133 (CIL, XVI, 76; 77; 84; 97; 104; 178; Roxan no. 62); it is probably to be restored to the diploma for 116 (CIL, XVI, 64). In addition to these two regiments there is a specific reference to a vexillatio equitum ex Syria on a diploma of Pannonia inferior for 110 (CIL, XVI, 164). Next, the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom in 106 undoubtedly led to troop movements in the region. Two aspects of this can be isolated. First, one regiment (cohors I Augusta Thracum ^{Thracum} equitata) and possibly a second (cohors I Thracum milliaria) on the Syrian diplomas of Domitian's time are found in Arabia in the second century. A third (cohors VI Hispanorum) is also a probability (Speidel, 1977, 709, 719). In parallel, the Egyptian diploma for 105 (Roxan, no. 9), records two regiments extranlatarum in Iudaeam; since both are subsequently found in Arabia they were presumably transferred for the annexation). Very little is known in detail of the military complement in Arabia at any given time, in the absence of diplomas; it is safe to assume that the early garrison may well have included further auxiliary regiments from Syria⁵.

Second, there are the new regiments raised among the Petraeans which now became available for service in neighbouring provinces. Associated too with this new group of units is the question of new Trajanic regiments in general. Trajan required a good many additional soldiers and numerous regiments entitled Ulpia are known in the second century: for example, no less than 8 of the 19 regiments on the Syrian diploma for 156/7, 40 years after Trajan's death, bear his name. Most of Trajan's new regiments were raised in the East. In conformity with the then current practice they would have been immediately transferred from the province of their origin, in most cases, to a neighbouring province; this being an acceptable compromise between placing a check on any tendency towards disloyalty and not moving so far from their own locality as to breed discontent. Perhaps the process would involve a simple exchange with neighbouring provinces (cf. Speidel, 1977, 719f).

The wars of Trajan in the East undoubtedly produced considerable troop movements, and, in the sequel, Syrian regiments, scattered in forts in the new provinces, will have borne much of the brunt of the Parthian riposte. The subsequent external and internal wars may also have taken their toll of the small and vulnerable auxiliary regiments (above, §4~~4~~). Finally, there is the Jewish Revolt at the end of the Hadrian's reign. The diploma for Syria Palaestina for 139 bears the names of 3 alae and 4 cohorts which were also on the diploma of 88 for Syria; by 139, the Revolt was 4 years in the past and the likelihood is that they were permanent transfers. Certainly, at least two of these seven are readable on the new diploma for Syria Palaestina for 186 (Roxan, no.69).

Table 2 purports to provide a partial list of the auxiliary regiments in Syria in the year '110': the year is chosen partly as being one for which we can reconstruct a substantial part of the Syrian garrison and partly because it is close in time to the Parthian War in which the garrison of Syria would have formed the nucleus of Trajan's auxiliary forces.

The evidence of the Lollianus list and of the diploma of 156/7 can now be compared with the Trajanic garrison on a fairer basis. I have re-ordered the evidence in such a way that the regiments on either or both of the Lollianus inscription and the diploma of 156/7 are compared directly with the incomplete evidence for my '110' register. It would be wrong

Table App. 5.2

I '110'	II Lollianus	III 156/7
<u>Alae</u>		
1. Phrygum ¹	singularium	I Ulpia sing.
2. I Ulpia singularium ²	Herculiana	[Thr. H]erc.
3.	praetoria	
4.	Augusta Syriaca	
5.	Agrippiana	
6.		
<u>Cohortes</u>		
7. I Ascalonitanorum ³	I Ascalonitanorum	I Ascalonit. sag.
8. IIII Callaecorum Lu ^c ensium ³	IIII Lu ^c ensium	IV Call.
9. III Augusta Thracum equitata ²		III Aug. Thrac.
10. III Thracum Syriaca equitata ³	II Thracum	II Thrac. Suric.
11. II Thracum Syriaca ³	I Ulpia Petraeorum	I Ulp. Petreor.
12. I Ulpia Petraeorum ²		
13. I Flavia civium Romanorum ⁴	I Fl. c.R.	
14. I Lu ^c ensium ⁴	I Lu ^c ensium	
15.	I Flavia Chalcidenorum	I Flav. C[ha]lciden.
16.	II Ulpia equi [t. c.]R.	II Ulp. equit.
17.	II Ulpia Paflagonum	II Ulp. Paphlag.
18.	III Ulpia Paflagonum	III Ulp. Paphlag.
19.	V Petreorum	V Ulp. Petreor.
20.	I Sygambrium	I Cl [au]d. Sugambr.
21.	II equitum	
22.	I Ulpia sagittarium	
23.	III (?) Dacorum	I Ulpia Dacor.

Notes to Table 2

1. This regiment is well-attested but regrettably few of the texts can be dated and fewer still allow us to determine its station. It is well-known in Syria in the pre-Trajanic period (Roxan, no.3; ILS 2711); by 139 it is in Syria Palaestina (CIL,XVI,87) and it is on the diploma for 134/54 (CIL, XVI,103 for Syria or Palestine). There are other datable texts: AE (1925) 44 (Trajan), AE (1933) 270 (1st cent.) IGRR, III, 670-2 (post-67) IGRR, III 487 (Trajanic - post-102), ILS 2727 (c.117). My own belief is that it was transferred from Syria to Palestine in 132.

2. AE (1911) 161 provides the career of an equestrian officer and that of his son. The former commands all of the regiments with which this note is concerned and a date is provided by decorations from Trajan and a command as prefect of the corn-supply in Trajan's Parthian War along the Euphrates.
ala I Ulpia singularium : Palmyra in the second century (1953, 146 and notes).
coh. III Aug. Thrac.eq. : Syrian diplomas for 88 and 156/7; P. Dura 26 for 227.
coh. III Thrac. Syriaca eq. Syrian diploma for 88; it is also named on an undated and unpublished tombstone in the Aleppo Museum, Syria, and on the tombstone of Agrippa Themi f.(26.02).
coh. I Ulpia Petraeorum : diploma for Syria in 156/7.
The very reasonable assumption has been made that this officer's military career lay almost if not entirely in Syria.

3. All three regiments are included because they are attested in Syria under Domitian and again in 156/7; the assumption is made that they remained in Syria in the intervening years.

4. Both regiments are in Syria under Domitian although not in 156/7. Since they are part of Lollianus' force I have tentatively included them in '110'.

to assume significance for the absence of regiments in '110' which are present in Lollianus's list and on the 156/7 diploma. I have also omitted from the table those regiments which are known to have been peditae and ^{would} not, therefore, have figured in the list of Lollianus' cavalry force.

Interpretation

A comparison of the regiments in lines 1-12 reveals that while there are seven duplications with the 156/7 diploma, there are no less than five with the register of '110'. If we include the regiments in lines 13-14, then Lollianus's register has as much in common with the Trajanic garrison of Syria. The close similarity between the Lollianus list and the register of 156/7 in lines 15-23 is striking; but is it significant? It may be, but for a number of reasons we are not entitled to conclude anything from it:

- (a) The list for '110' is far from complete and, with the appearance of new evidence the picture for lines 15-23 under Col. I may change decisively in the future.
- (b) Seven of the ten regiments in Col. II, lines 15-23 are Trajanic creations. It has already been noted (above, 23) that initial recruits to a new formation are less inclined to be commemorated on stone than are subsequent replacements, thus minimizing the likelihood of private evidence for them being available c. '110'.
- (c) One or more of the regiments under II may not have arrived in Syria until after Trajan's death. (See above for discussion of occasions when regiments may have been transferred).

Taking for the moment only lines 1-14 certain features can be noted:

- (a) Three regiments present in '110' including a regiment of cavalry do not appear on Lollianus's list.
- (b) Six regiments on Lollianus's list do not figure on the diploma of 156/7.
- (c) One regiment on the diploma of 156/7 is not among the regiments commanded by Lollianus.

There are numerous possible explanations for these differences: e.g.

- (i) the diploma for 156/7 may not give us a complete list of the cavalry and part-mounted regiments in Syria in that year.
- (ii) regiments present in Col. I but not II may simply have been transferred in the meantime.
- (iii) we do not know how Lollianus's brigade was put together - each

cohors I Sebast.(m.)	cohors I Sebast.m.	cohors I Sebast.m.
cohors I Flavia c.R.	cohors I Flavia c.R.	
cohors IV Bracaraug.	cohors IV Bracaraug.	cohors IV Bracaraug.

One of these regiments - cohors I Flavia c.R. is enumerated in the Lollian register; none appear on the Syrian diploma for 156/7⁷.

The most obvious interpretation is that a number of Syrian auxiliary regiments were transferred south during the Second Jewish Revolt (132-5) and the force included some, if not all, of those above. Since the date of the diploma is long after the end of the revolt, it is reasonable to assume that they had by then been assigned as a part of the permanent garrison of Syria Palaestina. Some confirmation is provided by the appearance of all but two of these regiments among the nine units discharging men in 186 in Palestine. Since some Syrian regiments re-appear in Palestine in 139 and in 186 and since none are on the diploma of 156/7 it is a justifiable assumption that all were transferred permanently.

In view of this conclusion, the appearance of I Flavia c.R. among Lollian's brigade suggests that his command may have been prior to the transfer to Palestine in c.132. Cohors I Flavia c.R. cannot be placed in either Syria or Palestine after 149/61 (Roxan, no.60). It is absent from the extensive diploma for Syria in 156/7 and from the mutilated and shorter list for Palestine in 186. If Lollian's command is later than 149/61, why does it contain a regiment apparently part of the Palestine garrison until at least 149/61 and possibly later? If Lollian is prior to 149/61 the inclusion of this regiment makes sense. (The Sebasteni and Bracaraugusti are peditata). The alae may be absent from Lollian's list because they formed a separate brigade or even because they had been transferred out of Syria long before the Second Jewish Revolt. In the latter case, the wars of c.114-18 would be one of the best occasions prior to 132.

The fragmentary diploma for 134/54 which may be for either Syria or Syria Palaestina needs to be reconciled to the above interpretation. The restorations have produced three names: ... VI]I Phr[ygum; IIII Call (aeorum)[Luc (ensium)] and ..VII]Gal^(lorum). For the first two, IIII Callaecorum Lu^censium is attested in Syria in 88, is one of the regiments contributing to Lollian's great command and it has recently been suggested that IIII Call. is a preferable reading to IIII Gall. on the Syrian diploma of 156/7. As we have just seen,

reach a conclusion about the province of this fragmentary diploma of 134/54? The evidence for the cohort being in Syria in the late 150's/early 160's cannot be regarded as secure. The only firm evidence is VII Phrygum which we have seen in Syria Palaestina in 139. It is unlikely that it would have been transferred to Palestine only for the period 134-139. The absence of evidence for it elsewhere after 139 would tend to suggest that we should regard the fragmentary diploma as being for Syria Palaestina and datable to 139 or later. Even if IIII Call. is the correct reading on the diploma for 156/7 there is no reason why this regiment - indeed a group of regiments - should not have been transferred to Palestine for the duration only of the Second Jewish Revolt⁸.

(b) I am puzzled by Lollianus' command 'in Mesopotamia'. Why not, as one would have expected, 'in bello Parthico....?'; 'in expeditione Parthico'? The evidence of ILS 1102 - 'legatus su[per]vexillationes in Cappa[do]cia' - referring to the war of Lucius Verus cannot be regarded as adequate proof for the use of this sort of formula in wartime; Cappadocia was only a flanking frontier requiring support in 162, it was not the very seat of the war as was Mesopotamia in both Trajan's and Lucius Verus' Parthian Wars.

As I read it, the evidence suggests a date before 132 for Lollianus' command. Trajan's Parthian War is possible but I am inclined to believe that we are dealing with a command held as part of Hadrian's counter to the Parthian scare of c.123 (cf. the command of Ti. Claudius Quartinus, despatched from Spain by Hadrian to take control of II Traiana and III Cyrenaica at this very time and certainly for the same reason - G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispaniensis, 79-81). Hence the changes in the list since '110', hence the notable absence of decorations for Lollianus himself for a war that was settled without recourse to arms .

Notes

1. The later of the two readings - that by Gaultier de Claubry - (1858) -^{is} the fuller and more reliable; the text of Pouqueville (1820) can be regarded principally as supporting evidence. The most widely used version of the composite reading is that in Dessau as emended by his addendum (Saxer inexplicably used the uncorrected text as layed out under ILS 2724). Dessau regards Augusta and Syriaca as two distinct alae; I follow Cheesman in reading only one: ala Augusta Syriaca. Lollianus's third equestrian command - not read by Pouqueville - is preserved by Gaultier as PRAEFEQALAEFLAGE. Dessau expanded it as first Fla(viae) Gae(tulorum) then, in his addendum, as Fl(aviae) Agrip(pianae). While the former has the merit that it does not necessitate any change in the recorded abbreviation the latter is attractive in that Lollianus - one would reasonably expect - would probably have been given his command because of competence and special experience. In other words, he probably received his appointment while commanding a cavalry regiment in the East, and that regiment would form part of his cavalry force. The initial letters of Gaultier's reading indicate an ala Flavia either ala(Flavia) praetoria (singularium) or ala (II)Flavia Agrippiana. Once the need for an emendation of Gaultier's reading is accepted there is little to choose between these two units. My own preference is for the former: in a list in which there seems no rational order, the ala praetoria holds pride of place. (A possible explanation for the order of the regiments on Lollianus's list may simply be the sequence in which they were recalled by whoever supplied the data. On the other hand, if recourse was had to a current army list for the information and this was the order in which the cavalry and part-mounted regiments appeared, then it may reflect the distribution of regiments in Syria on the parallel of the interpretation placed on the Pannonian diploma of 110. (Radnoti and Barkóczy, 1951).
2. Roxan, 1978, No.50, n.2 makes the same point.
3. Cohors I Sebastena on the diploma for Syria in 88 is known from a later diploma (CIL, XVI, 87) to have been milliary. The figure is simply the total for the complementary diplomas of 88.
4. The ala praetoria singularium c.R. in the Balkans (from at least 85 through to 156/7 is distinct from the ala Flavia praetoria singularium of Syria.
5. There is a discussion by H. Seyrig (1967, '339-62). For a more recent discussion and fuller treatment see now M.P. Speidel, (1977, and cf. the same author in 1974, 934-9.
6. In 88, the total garrison revealed by the complementary diplomas comes to 4,000 cavalry, 2,500 part-mounted and 8000 infantry (=14,500); in 156/7 the figures are 2000 cavalry, 6000 part-mounted and 2,500 infantry. On a frontier which had been moved out into the desert it would not be surprising if the later garrison had far larger numbers of mounted men and fewer infantry. This is the picture we have; 1500 additional mounted men and 4000 less infantry. Even if the later list is incomplete it seems most unlikely that the 3 alae and 5 cohortes equitatae on Lollianus's list, but absent from the diploma, were actually in Syria. They would swell the mounted force to over 10,000 and about 6,500 infantry. Not only is the total figure higher than that for the Domitianic period but it is surely far too high for its mounted element.

7. The new Palestine diploma for 149/61 (Roxan, no.60) also records I Flavia c.R.
8. Roxan, 1978, no.3, p.5 suggests that the ala Phrygum in Syria is distinct from ala VII Phrygum in Palestine and that it may have the numeral I. This conclusion is necessitated by her assigning of CIL, XVI, 103 to Syria rather than Palestine. It is preferable to have only one ala(VII)Phrygum and to assign the diploma to Palestine instead.

APPENDIX 6: MILLIARY COHORTS AND JOSEPHUS BJ III 67

The question of when milliary cohorts were first formed has been discussed recently by Holder.¹ He notes (following E. Birley) that the earliest epigraphic evidence is the Pannonian diploma for 85 (CIL, XVI, 31) recording two cohortes milliariae. While this is in harmony with a literary reference from the Younger Pliny revealing an ala Flavia milliaria in Syria in about 81², it is at variance with the testimony of Josephus. The latter provides the earliest apparent reference to milliary units in his account of the forces of Vespasian in 67.

Vespasian's army, he says, included 23 cohorts, ten of which were 1000 infantry strong. Holder is reluctant to accept this text, pointing out that cohortes milliariae peditatae are rare anywhere (especially anomalous here where part-mounted units would have been more valuable) and that Josephus is prone to exaggerate numbers³. He went on tentatively to suggest that Josephus had 'ascribed types of unit in existence in the Flavian period to the Jewish War'. He admits that certainty is impossible but concludes that milliary units appear to be a Vespasianic creation.

One may make a number of objections:

(a) One should be hesitant about rejecting the explicit testimony of a literary source.

(b) Tacitus speaks of Vespasian having 20 cohorts⁴ so that Josephus' figure of 23 may indeed be somewhat exaggerated. However, to invent a group of milliary units is exaggeration of quite a different order, and much less acceptable as a reason for rejecting his evidence.

(c) The implication of the Pannonian diploma of 85 is that the two units in question had time-expired soldiers who had enlisted c.25/6 years before: that would bring us to c.59/60 and the campaigns of Suetonius Paulinus (above, App.2,n.5).

(d) It is adopting too-rigid an approach to insist that we look only for cohortes peditatae: if we interpret the passage more loosely, the milliary cohorts can be found:

(i) cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria (22)

cohors I Flavia Damascenorum milliaria (28) - inferred existence by c.64/5.

Both could have been pre-Flavian formations, honoured by Vespasian.

(ii) cohors II Syrorum milliaria (47) - discharged a soldier in 88 who must have been recruited c. 62/3.

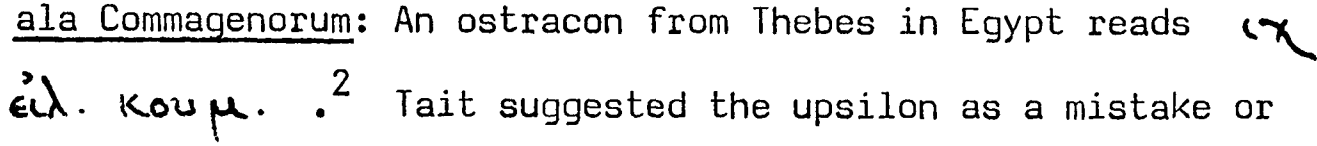
- (iii) cohors I Sebastena milliaria - appears as milliaria on the Judaean diploma of 139 (CIL, XVI, 87); there is no necessity to assume (as Holder does) that I Sebastena unqualified by milliaria, on the Syrian diploma of 91 (Roxan, no.4). meant that it was still quingenary at that date.
- cohors I milliaria - on the Syrian diploma for 88 (CIL, XVI, 35) implying, too, formation by c. 62/3.
- cohors I Thracum milliaria - on the Syrian diploma of 91 (Roxan, no.4), again implying formation c.25/6 years before - c.65/6.
- (iv) cohors I Italica milliaria - certainly milliaria by the time of Trajan (02.02) by which time it was in Cappadocia. Had it been in Syria in the mid-first century?
- (v) cohors II Italica (milliaria?) - an inscription records a trib.coh. mil. Italic. volunt. quae. est in Syria.⁵ The traditional explanation that the commander holds his rank of tribune because it is a unit of Roman citizens and that trib.coh.mil. is a mistake for trib.mil.coh. may well be correct⁶. It is on the Syrian diplomas of 88, 91 and 156/7 (CIL, XVI, 35; Roxan, no.4. and CIL, XVI, 106) in none of these is it described as milliaria. It is probably the σπειρης Ἰταλικῆς of the Bible (Acts 10) referring to A.D. 40 and it certainly received a Syrian recruit c.62/3 (57.01).
- cohors I Ituraeorum milliaria? (18)

Not all of the above are secure and only 9 possible units are available. The case remains unproven, but, I would contend that the balance of probabilities rests firmly on the side of milliary units being a Julio-Claudian creation as Josephus implies. No one can dispute the innovations and reforms of Vespasian in the military field but the tendency to ascribe otherwise unassignable "mid-first century" innovations and changes to him for that reason alone must be treated with caution. However unsuitable Nero was as emperor, he was blessed with a number of able and imaginative generals. In the case of cohortes Flaviae milliariae above, the award of a dynastic title as an honour by Vespasian to an existing unit is probable; is it, indeed, only a coincidence that all of the other possibilities lack a dynastic title with all that that normally implies about creation date?

Notes

1. Holder, 1980, 5f; cf. E. Birley, 1966, 54.
2. Pliny, Ep., VII.31 2-4 and cf. ILS 1418= Devijver, C170.
3. Cf. Saddington, 1970, 117ff. on the character and quality of Josephus' testimony on military matters in the great Jewish War.
4. Tacitus, Hist., V.1.2.
5. CIL, XI, 6117; cf. Holder, 1980, 66.
6. It may even be simply a lapicidal error: dittography from mil. exactly above in the previous line.

REGIMENTS AND TEXTS NOT DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4.

1. ala I Antiochensium: a text from Hissar-ardi, Galatia (Antioch ad Pisidiam) has been restored ALAE ANTI[och(ensium)].¹ Eric Birley has suggested that we should rather restore ANTI[ANA] (Devijver, Incertus, 65).
2. cohors I Apamenorum: since this unit is only attested in Cappadocia and Egypt, the three suggested references to it in Pannonia should all be restored as Alpinorum, a unit well-known in the province.^{2a}
3. ala Commagenorum: An ostrakon from Thebes in Egypt reads  ² Tait suggested the epsilon as a mistake or misreading for mu and restored Comm(agenorum). The ala Commagenorum moved to Noricum between 85 and 106 where it remained in garrison. Consequently, this ostrakon, bearing the date 10 April, 165, cannot be restored in this fashion.

A very badly damaged text from Faimingen in Raetia reads AF CO. The editors of CIL proposed a(la) F(lavia) Co(mmagenorum).³ However the ala Commagenorum is almost certainly not Flavia, nor is it otherwise known in Raetia. Fink, in fact, read COH I B[....]⁴

A recently published text from Gerulata, Pannonia superior reading [p]raef. al. Co. has been tentatively restored to give this unit.⁵ Preferable is the ala contariorum attested about 30 miles to the south-east at Arrabona in the second century.

4. cohors III Commagenorum: The text⁶ from near Heviz in Dacia which was thought to refer to this unit has now been restored as

III Gal., a unit in garrison nearby.

5. cohors I Damascenorum: A. Fabio A[....] / Proculo / praef. coh. I Da[....], may be restored as Da[mascenorum]; equally, it might be completed as Da[lmatarum] or Da[corum].⁷
6. ala I Hamiorum: ala / [....]mi natione [R]utenus⁸ has been restored [I Ha]mi.⁹ As Roxan has noted, this is somewhat implausible.¹⁰ The Ruteni are mentioned in Caesar as skilled archers.¹¹
7. cohors I Hamiorum milliaria: Pflaum interpreted a text from Trèves to give this unit which he equated with the cohors I Hamiorum c.R.¹² The text in question is badly recorded and appears in CIL as (i) Fl. Rufino ex hortis / Rhamae milliarte in Syria.... and (ii) Fl. Gordio / Rufino 3L1 (sic) h/ortis Rhamae / miliariae in Syria....¹³ The proposal of CIL that the true reading may be [C]or. Rufino 7 ex [co]hort[e p(rima)] Ha[m(iorum)] is tenuous and requires us to accept the existence of an otherwise unknown unit.
8. cohortes IV, V, VI and VII Ituraeorum¹⁴: It seems to me highly unlikely that these units ever existed or, if one or more of them did exist, that the evidence is available to us. The basis for extending the series beyond the cohors III is an inscription on the statue of Memnon at Thebes: (20.11)¹⁵ C. Cornelius / UCRPETIANUS (sic) / pr. coh. VII Itur. / audi hor(a) [....]. Despite the clarity of the numeral as shown on the squeeze,¹⁶ it seems clear that it is in error; indeed, the V is distinctive by virtue of being cut thus: ∇VII. The most likely explanation is that the numeral is III in which the initial vertical was badly damaged either by the inscriber or subsequently. Consequently, I have included the text as evidence for the cohors III Ituraeorum in Egypt (above, p.168-72).
If the cohors VII is eliminated the 'evidence' for the remaining

three cohorts is exposed as laughably insubstantial. The cohors V was restored at the end of the broken diploma for 157/61 on the grounds of the need for a cohort with a numeral equal to or greater than III.¹⁷ Apart from the obvious possibilities that the unit in question might have been either a III again or without a numeral at all, it is rather an act of desperation to complete the break with the name of a unit otherwise totally unattested anywhere and whose existence is merely 'supposed' in any case because there was thought to be a cohors VII in the series.

Cohors IV is neither attested nor restored anywhere.

Cohors VI is not explicitly attested but has been suggested as the unit named on a tile stamp from northern Iraq.¹⁸ The tile itself reads: COH VI I and Prof. Oates suggested I(turæorum). The date of such a tile would have to be second century at the earliest, probably post-194. It would pre-suppose too, that the unit had been unattested for a hundred years or more; if accepted, a natural line of thought would be to look back at Arrian's references to Ituraeans in his expeditionary force under Hadrian.¹⁹ Without more and better evidence it would be unwise to place too much weight of this tile stamp, especially since there is no good reason to suppose that the series extended beyond a cohors III.

I have been unable to learn more about this tile but one solution which might be put forward is that it should be restored to read: COH VII[II((Maurorum))], a unit attested at Hatra under Gordian III.²⁰

9. Numerus Surorum sagittariorum: since the text in question²¹ is dated to the reign of Philip the Arab, two generations after this numerus was transferred to Mauretania, the per N.S.S. is best expanded as n(umerus) s(upra) s(cripta)²² - the legion VII Claudia is mentioned a few lines earlier.

1. AE(1926)82.
2. O.Tait., II, 1689.
- 2a. CIL,III,10269 (=Devijver, Incertus, 56); 10967; 13386.
3. CIL,III,11901.
4. Alternative reading in CIL.
5. AE(1972)448; cf. CIL,XVI,76
6. CIL,III,7721 (=955); Russu, 1972, 70; Beneš, 87/50.
7. CIL,XIV,2618; Devijver, F 13 proposes Dacorum.
8. AE(1909)71 =ILM 10.
9. Holder, 1980, no.481.
10. Roxan, 1973, 843.
11. Caesar, BC,i.51.
12. Pflaum, 1955, 139.
13. CIL,XIII,3684.
14. Cichorius, 306; Cheesman, 182; Brennan, 1977, 198.
15. Bernand, 1960, no.26; Devijver, C 239 restores the prefect's name as [L]ucr(p)etianus.
16. Ibid., pl.LX.
17. H. A. Sanders, P.Mich. VII, p.47 proposed to restore the termination as et III et V[et VII Ituraeor.]. CIL more realistically proposed et II Itu[raeor. et....]. Cf. Schürer², 571, n.53, no.7. Pflaum, 1967, 359 declines to speculate on which unit should follow apart from noting the probable need for a cohors III or higher.
18. D. and J. Oates, 1959, 221, n. 24; Oates, 1968, 77 et seq.
19. Arrian, Ektaxis, 18.
20. Oates, 1955, 39-43.
21. AE(1939) 28
22. Speidel, 1973.

The Non-Literary Sources

- 01.00 Cohors I Antiochensium sagittariorum
- 01.01 Roxan,no.2 (Diploma for Moesia of 28 April,75)
- 01.02 CIL,XVI,39 (Diploma for Moesia superior of 16 Sept.,94)
- 01.03 CIL,XVI,46 (Diploma for Moesia superior of 8 May,100)
cohort(is) I Antiochensium,cui praest M.Calpurnius Sabinus,pediti
Sapiae Sarmosi f.,Anazarb(o).
Devijver,C60
- 01.04 AE(1959)309 (Building inscription from Drobeta,Moesia superior)
[imp.] Caesar di[vi Ner/vae f.] Nerva Tra[ianus / Aug. Ger]m.
Dacic p[ont. / max. trib.] potest. cos. [p.p. / per co]h. I
Antio[chen/sium]
- 01.05 ILS 9506 (From Albintimilium,Italy)
[M.Aemiliu] M.f. Fal. / Bassus / [prae]f. coh. pr. Antioch. /
[trib.] coh. pr. Brittonu[m / pra]ef. alae Moesic. / [pro]c.
imp. Caes. Trai/[ani] Hadriani Aug. ad / XXXX Gall. item ad /
censum agend. Ponto / Bithyniae epistra/teg. Pelusio item /
Thebaidis proc. / provinciae Iudae/ae t.p.i.
CP,no.103 = Devijver,A75
- 01.06 CIL,XVI,111 (Diploma for Moesia superior of 159/160)
- 01.07 Roxan,no.55 (Diploma for Moesia superior of 8 Feb.,161)
- 01.08 ILS 1359 (From Carales,Sardinia)
M.Cosconio M.f. Poll. Frontoni / praef. fabr. a cos. adlecto
praef. coh. I / [An]ti.,trib. mil. leg.I Ital.,proc. August. /
ad vectig. XX her. p[er] Pontum et Bithy/niam et Pontum mediterr-
aneum et / Paphlagoniam,proc. Augg. item ad / vectig. XX her.
per A[s]iam Lyciam / Phrygiam Galati[am] insulas Cy/clades,
subpraef. a[n]nonae urbis,/ proc. Augg. ad vectig. ferr. Gallic.,/
proc. Augg. et praef. [pr]ov. Sard. / optimo et sanctissimo
praeposito,/ Lucretius [A]ugg. / tabul. prov. Sard.
CP,no.264 = Devijver,C253
- 01.09 CIL,X,7583 (From Carales ,Sardinia)
(Similar to 01.08)
- 02.00 Cohors I Apamenorum sagittariorum equitata
- 02.01 ILS 2724 (From Gradista,Macedonia)
M.Valerius M.f. Quir. Lollianus prae/fectus cohort.I Apamenorum
sa[gittariorum] / equit. ,trib. milit. leg. VII Gem. fel.,praef.

eq. alae Fla[vi]ae, / praepositus in Mesopotamia vexillationibus equitum electorum alarum / praetoriae, Augustae, Syriacae, Agrippiana, Herculianae, / singularium, item cohortium I Lucensium, II Ulpiae equi[t./c.]R., I Fl. [c.]R., I Thracum, III Ulpiae Paflagonum, II equitum, I / Ascalonitarum, I Fl. Chalcidenorum, V Petreorum, IIII Lucensium, I Ulpiae Petreorum, II Ulpiae paflagonum, I Ulpiae / sagittariorum, I Ul[p.] Dacorum, I Sygambrum, / viam pub[licam] quae a col. Byllid. per Astacias ducit angustam fragosam [pe]riculosamq. / ita munit, ut vehiculis commeetur, item [pon]tes in Argyra flumine et rivis d.s.[f.] / et inscr[ip]sit, d.d.

Devijver, V17

- 02.02 AE(1974)226 = CIL, VI, 3654+ (From Rome)

P. Valerio P. f. Gal. Prisco Urc[it]ano ex Hisp. citer. / praef. fabr., praef. coh. I Asturum et Callaec. in Maur., / praef. coh. I Apamen. sag. in Cappad. / trib. coh. I Ital. (milliaria) volunt. c.R. in Cappad., / praef. alae I Flaviae Numidic. in Africa, / praef. alae I Hispan. Aurianae in Raetia. / Vixit annis [L]XV.

Devijver, V28

- 02.03 P. Fay. 105 (Marginal note on a pay record from Egypt of c.120/50)

C A

Fink, no. 73

- 02.04 BGU, III, 729 (Papyrus from Alexandria of 144)

(Text names C. Julius Apolinarios, soldier of this unit in the century of Julianus.)

- 02.05 P. Lond. 138 (Divorce contract and return of dowry from Egypt of 145)

(Text names the ex-husband as Julius Apolinarius, soldier of this unit.)

- 02.06 BGU, II, 462 (Papyrus from Egypt of 150/6)

(Text names Julius Apollinarios, soldier of this unit in the century of Heraclides)

- 02.07 ILS 2741 (From Ostia)

C. Nasennio C. f. Marcello seniori / praef. coh. I Apamenae, trib. coh. I Italicae civium Romanorum voluntariorum, praef. alae Phrgum, praef. fabrum aedili, quaestori, duumvi/ro quinquennali IIII curatorum operum publicorum et aquarum / perpetuo praetori et pontifici Laurentium Lavinatum p.c. Ostensium / Nassenia Helpis fecit patrono indulgentissimo et C. Nassenio Saturnino coniugi carissimo sibi liberis libertabus posterisque eorum

Devijver, N6 = SH 86.

- 02.08 CIL, XIV, 4457 (From Ostia)

(Similar to 02.07)

- 02.09 CIL, XVI, 184 (Diploma for Egypt of 156/61)

- 02.10 BGU, III, 888 (Letter of notification to the strategus from the Fayuum of 159/60)

(Text names Heraclides, centurion of this unit)

- 02.11 AE(1952)237 (Debris of a tablet from Egypt of the late second century)

.....]/ mil. coh. I Apamenorum / 7 Octavi per II nuntios / ad testamentium suum / [.....

- 02.12 JRS, 67(1977)50-61 (A pridianum of the cohors I Lusitanorum(?) from Egypt of 213/6, probably 215)

(Text records the transfer of a centurion, 2 soldiers(?) and a cavalryman from this unit to the Lusitani(?))

- 02.13 BGU, II, 423 (Papyrus from the Fayuum of second century)

(The letter is from the sailor Apion, now Antonius Maximus, to his father Epimachus, and bears instructions that it is to be delivered 'at the camp of the first cohort of the Apameni to Julianus, librarius to be forwarded to his father' The address is Philadelphia.)

SP, no. 112

- 02.14 AE(1965)143 (Papyrus from Egypt of c. 200/25)

(A letter from the prefect of this unit to the prefect of the legio II Traiana fortis)

- 02.15 P.Oxy. XII, 1511 (Papyrus of the first half of the third century)

(The fragment mentions):pr]aef. coh. Apame[norum]

Fink, no. 102

- 02.16 P.Mich. IX, 542 (A declaration of property from Karanis of the third century)

(Text names Tyrus, son of Serenus, soldier of the cohors I Apamenorum in the century of Taurinus)

- 02.17 P.Beatty Panop. 1, 46ff. (A letter from Panopolis of 12 Sept., 298)

(The letter from the procurator of the Lower Thebaid, acknowledges the supply registers received from Theodorus, accountant of the cohors I Apamenorum)

- 02.18 Not. Dig. Or., XXXI.60

Sub dispositione ducis Thebaidis , cohors prima Apamenorum, Silili

- 03.00 Ala Commagenorum

- 03.01 ChLA XI, 501 (Papyrus from Egypt of 28 May, 48/52)

(A strength report of this unit):alae Co[mmagenorum] / cui] prae est Ti. Claudius Honoratus praef. /
.....

- 03.02 IGLS, I, 137 (From Europos, Commagene)

L. Aelio L.f. / Serg. Aet(e)rn[o] / tr. mil. l[e]g. It. / pr. eq. alae Com.

Devijver, A20

- 03.03 CIL,XVI.29 (Diploma from Egypt of 9 June,83)
- 03.04 IGRR.I.1336 (Proscynema from Talmis,Egypt)
[Ἐ]λης Κομμαγηγ[ῶν] ' | τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ κυρίου | Μανδο[ύ]λεος ἐποή-
σαμ[ε]ν ἐν | Τάλμι Βάσσος δεκουρίων | καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες.
(Followed by the names of the 10 soldiers)
- 03.05 SB 4575 (From Talmis)
(Text names this unit and the turma of Caius)
- 03.06 SB 4617 (From Talmis)
(Mutilated text names this ala)
- 03.07 CIL,XVI,52 (Diploma of Noricum of 106)
- 03.08 CIL,III,5224 (Epitaph from Celeia in Noricum)
.....]/ et C.Iunia Nicandr (sic) / fil. ann. xxxviii / Matt.
P.f. Verinae / ann. XXIIII / et C.Iunio Isaeo vet. / ex dec.
alae I Com. an. LX / [et ...] P.A[f]rodisiae an. XXV m.I
- 03.09 CIL,XVI,174 Diploma for Noricum for 128/38)
- 03.10 CIL,III,14368 (Epitaph from Murtal-bei-Bruck,Noricum)
C.Florentinius Censorinus V / et Eli Brenturia co(n)iux vivi /
f. sibi et Flore Floro filio car. / equiti al. Comag. tur. SIN.
stup. XX / an. XL et C. A. C. et Florentinia / Florentina an. LXX
- 03.11 JAÖI,29(1935),no.397 (From Peilach bei Melk,Noricum)
Aur. Quartinus mil. al. p.Co. o. an. L
- 03.14 CIL,III,5650 (Found near Tulln,Noricum)
D.i.m. Verus pro salute / Comacie et Com. v.s.l.m.
- 03.13 CIL,III,5091 (Epitaph from Wolfsberg,Noricum)
Lol. Secun/do Fab. et Att. Secundinae / ux. f. et Attio / Accepto
mil. ale Co/[.....]V ann. XXV
- 03.14 AE(1973)381 (Epitaph from Kircheiselfing,Raetia)
D.m.Terentinus / Taurianis / f. e(ques) a(alae) C(ommagenorum ?)
o(bitus) a. XXX / et Ver. Cosinia / mater o(bit)a a. LXV / Aur.
Taurio / coniug(i) et fil(io) / et Flaccina fil(ia) / eius viv(i)
fec.
- 03.15 Not. Dig. Occ. XXXIV.36
(Names a site called Commagena in Pannonia Prima)
- 04.00 Cohors VI Commagenorum equitata
- 04.01 ILS 9134 (Speech of Hadrian to troops at Lambaesis in 128)
eq. coh. VI Commagenorum. Difficile est cohortales equites etiam
se placere,difficilius post alarem exercitationem non displicere :
alia spatia campi,alius iaculantium numerus,frequens dextrator,
Cantabricus densus,equorum forma armorum cultus pro stipendi modo.

Verum vos fastidium calore vitastis, strenue faciendo quae fieri debebant; addidistis ut et lapides fundis mitteretis et missilibus confligeretis; saluistis ubique expedite. Catullini leg. mei c.v. [insignis cura] apparet, quod tales vos sub i[ll]o v.....

- 04.02 CIL, VIII, 21567 (A dedication from Géryville, Mauretania Caesariensis of 174)

(A dedication to the emperor naming Popilius E[xoratus ?] dec. coh. VI C[omm.])

- 04.03 CIL, VIII, 2488 (Building inscription from el-Uthaiia, Numidia)

Imp. Caesares M. Aurelius Antoninus et / L. Aurelius Commodus Aug. Germanici / Sarmatici fortissimi Amphitheatrum /
vetustate corruptum a solo resti/tuerunt per coh. VI Commag. / a Iulio Pompilio Pisone Laevillo leg. / Aug. pr. pr. curante Aelio Sereno praef.

Devijver, A61

- 04.04 ILS 2761 (Epitaph from Batna, Numidia)

D.m. / Q. Aelio Q.f. / Quir. Rufino / Poliano praef. / coh. Nuritanor. /
tr. mil. leg. III Aug. / T. Atilius P.f. Quir. / Iuvenalis / praef.
coh. VI / Comm. amico / et municipi fraternae / adfectionis /
dilecto

Devijver, A177

- 04.05 AE(1969/70)706 (Dedication from Lambaesis)

[[Q. Cornelio / [valenti] / CV[.IO] Honesti/ano Iuniano / [leg.
Augg.] pr. pr. / c.v. praesidi / [rari]ssimo / C. Aelius [.]V/
[.ia]nus [p]ra/[ef:] coh]] / VI Comma/genorum

Devijver, A17

- 04.06 CIL, VIII, 4526 (Epitaph from Zarai in Numidia)

D.m.s. / Iulio Musico dulcissimo / filio militi coh. VI Commagen. /
vixit annis XXI [Ge]mini[a] / Lac[e]na mater piissima / merenti
fecit et dedicavit

- 04.07 CIL, VIII, 4543 (Epitaph from Zarai, Numidia)

D.m.s. / Gemina Lacena / vixit annis LXXV / CAIVIVETUS Firm/us
us coniugi / dulcissimae/[b.] m.

- 05.00 AE(1938)6 (From Constanza, Romania)

M. Iulio / Tertullo / vet. coh. I / Commag. / Mitridates / mil.
coh. eiusdem / et Barales / b.m.f.c.

- 05.02 CIL, XVI, 50 (Diploma for Moesia inferior of 13 May, 105)

- 05.03 AE(1950)72d (Tile-stamp from Drajna-de-Sus, Wallachia)

COH. COM.

- 05.04 AE(1950)72e (Tile-stamp from Drajna-de-Sus, Wallachia)

COH. I COM.

- 05.05 CIL,IX,1132 (Epitaph from Aeclanum,Italy)
[C.] Betitiò C.f[il.] / [C]or. Pietat[i] / [p]raef. coh. pr[im.] /
[Fl]aviae Comm[age/n]orum q. IIIIvir quinq[ue]n[us] / [B]etitius Pius
fil[ius] / [p]atri optimo e[t] / [N]eratia proci[lla] / viro
optimo fecer[unt]
Devijver,B22
- 05.06 CIL,VI,3504 (Epitaph from Rome)
D.m. / M.Antoni Modiani praef. / coh. I Commagenor.,trib. leg. /
XX Val. victr. M.M. M.Antonii / Carpophorus lib. et Modia/mus et
Carpophorus alumni (sic) / heredes arbitrato ipsius de HS / XII
n. et sibi lib. libertab. post q. eor. / h.m.d.m.a.
Devijver,A138
- 05.07 AE(1933)229 (Tile-stamp from Romula,Dacia)
COHIFCOM
- 05.08 AE(1896)64 (Tile-stamp from the fort of Slaveni,Dacia)
COHIFLCOM
- 05.09 CIL,III,8074.14 (Tile-stamps from the fort at Acidava,Dacia)
(a) COH II FL CO[M]
(b) [COH] II FL COM
(c) COH II COM
(d) COH II COM
- 05.10 Roxan,no. 39 (Diploma for Dacia inferior of 13 Dec.,140)
- 06.00 Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittariorum
- 06.01 Roxan,no.6 (Diploma for Moesia superior of 12 July,96)
- 06.02 CIL,XVI,46 (Diploma for Moesia superior of 8 May,100)
- 06.03 CIL,XVI,54 (Diploma for Moesia superior of 103/7)
- 06.04 CIL,XVI,163 (Diploma for Dacia of 2 July,110)
- 06.05 CIL,III,1371 (Building inscription from Veczel,Dacia of 128/38)
Imp. Caes. divi / Trai. Parth. fil. / divi Ner. nep. / Trai.
Hadriano / Aug. p.p. cos.III / coh. II Fl. Com.
- 06.06 P.Oxy.XII,1472 (Application concerning deposits of 136)
(Text refers to Aelianus,a former prefect of this unit)
Devijver,A267 = SH no.1
- 06.07 CIL,XVI,107 (Diploma for Dacia superior of 13 Dec.,157(?))
- 06.08 CIL,III,1372 (Building inscription from near Veczel,Dacia of 164)
Imp. Caes. divi Antonini f. / divi Had. nep. divi [Tra]/ian. Part.
pronep. [divi] / Nervae ab nep. M.Aur[el.] / Antonino Aug. Ar/meniaco

- trib. pot. XVIII / cos. III coh. II Fl[.....]/ Commag.
- 06.09 CIL,III,1373 (Building inscription from near Veczel,Dacia of 164)
Imp. Caes. divi An/ton. f. divi Had. nep. div. / Trai Part. pronep.
div. / Nervae ab nep. L.Aurel. / Nero (sic) Aug. Armenia/co trib.
pot. IIII co/s. II procos. coh. / II F.Commag.
- 06.10 AE(1920)45 (Dedication from Thuburbo Maius,Africa)
C.Vettio C.fil. Volt. Sabi/niano Iulio Hospiti,cos. ,sodali /
Titio,leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciar. III Dacia/rum et Delmatiae
curatori aedium sacrar. / item r.p. Puteolanorum praeposito
vexillatio/nibus ex Illyrico missis ab imp. divo M. An[to]/nino
ad tutelam urbis donis donato a[b] / eodem imp. ob expeditionem
Germ. et Sarm. / corona murali vallari itemq. aurea hastis / puris
duab. vexillis totidem leg. Aug. pr. pr. / Pannoniae inferioris,
praef. aerari Satur/ni,leg. leg. XIIII Gem. cum iurisdictione Panno/
niae superioris,leg. Aug. rationibus pu/tandis trium Galliarum,leg.
leg. III Ita/liae (sic) concordis iuridico per tractus / Etruriae
Aemiliae Liguriae,leg. Aug. ad ordinandos status insularum /
Cycladum,legato provinciae Asiae,/praetori,trib. pleb.,quaestori,
trans/lato in amplissimum ordinem ab imp. / divo T.Antonino,trib.
mil. leg. I Italiae(sic),/ praef. cohortis II Commagenorum . /
Col. Aurelia Commoda Thuburbo / [M]aius patrono d.d.p.p.
.....
CP ,no.104 = Devijver,V80
- 06.11 CIL,III,7845 (Altar from Freck,Dacia)
Mar[ti Gra. divo] / coh. II Fl. Co[m] / cui preest [...] (sic) /e.
Vettius / Sabinianus praef.
CP,no.104 = Devijver,V80
- 06.12 CIL,III,1374 (Building inscription from near Veczel,Dacia of 193)
Imp. Caes. L.Septimius Severus / Pertinax Aug.,cos.,balne/as coh.
II Fl. Commag. ve/tustate dilabsas (sic) resti/tuit [s]ub Polo
Terentia/no cos.,III Daciar. curante / Sex. Baebio Scribon. Casto /
praef. coh.
Devijver,B26
- 06.13 AE(1903)67 (Altar from Veczel,Dacia of c.193)
Fortunae / Aug. sacrum / Scribonius / Castu[s praef.] / coh.
I[I Fl. Com.] /m[agenorum]
Devijver,B26
- 06.14 CIL,III,1343 (Altar from Veczel,Dacia)
(a) I.o.m. / pro [s]alu[te] / ddnm /[/////] et Anton/[//////////] /
ICVIL [////] DEP /[//]O BAS AL CM /sub cur Iul. Teretn. (sic) pref/ec.
SS coh. I Vind.
(b) coh. II Fl. Com/m. coh. II Alp[...]/ n.m. tit. [...] /.....
Devijver,I132
- 06.15 AE(1903)66 (Building inscription from Veczel,Dacia of 222/35)
Imp. Cae[s. M.Aur. Antoninis Severus]/Alexan[der Pius Felix
Augustus] / balne[as coh. II Fl. Commagenor:] / Severia[nae vetustate
dilapsos res]/tituit s[ub cos.]/ Dac. III c[urante]/
diano [praef. coh. II Fl. Commag. Severi]/anae

- 06.16 CIL,III,1379 (Building inscription from near Veczel,Dacia of 245)
M.Caes. M. Iul. / Philippo Pio f. / Invicto Aug. / pontifici maxom[o]/
trib. potest. I[I] / [p]ater patriae / [c]os. procos coh. / II Fl. Com.
Philip/[p]iana devota n[u]/mini maiestatiq. / [eiu]s ex quaestura
- 06.17 CIL,III,7848 (Altar from Deva,Dacia)
I.o.m. / coh. II F[l.]/ Com. cu[i]/ praeest / C.Pompo/nius Cas/
sianus / praefect / v.s.l.m.
Devijver,P74
- 06.18 CIL,III,7849 (Altar from Deva,Dacia)
I.o.m. / coh. [II Fl.] / C[om. cui / praeest / C.Pom]po[n/iu]s
Cassi[a,nu]s praef. / v.s.l.m.
Devijver,P74
- 06.19 CIL,III,7855 (From Deva,Dacia)
(a) Mercur[i]/o sacr[o]/ Iulius / Arcan/us pra[ef]/ coh. II Fl./
Commac.(sic) / v.s.l.l.m.
(b) Mercurio / sacr[o / Iul]ius / [A]r[can]us / pra[ef.] c[oh.]/
II Fl. Com/magenor. / v.s.l.l.m.
Devijver, I24
- 06.20 Speidel,1973,210 for revised version of CIL,III,6267 (Epitaph from
Veczel,Dacia)
D.m. / Aur. Maturus vet/eranus chor. / Commagenoru (sic) / vix. an.
L,Aur. Prima/nus vix. an. XVIIIII,Aur. / Surus milis (sic) n(umerus)
M(aurorum) / M(iciensium) vix. an. XX,Aur. Eus/tina (sic) vix. an.
BS XVII,Aurel,ia Surilla mater p.p.f./b.m.
- 06.21 CIL,III,7847 (Altar from near Micia,Dacia)
Geni. pag. / Mic. T.Aur. / Prim[a]nus / m[a]g. pag. eiu/sd. ex suo /
fecit l.m.
- 06.22 ILS 9273 (Altar from Deva,Dacia)
[I]ovi Tur/mazgadi / coh. II Fl. / [Co]mmag. eq. s[ag./cui] pr.
M. Arru[nt/iu]s Agrippinu[s] / v.s.l.m.
Devijver, A165
- 06.23 JÖAI,V(1902),Bbl.,132,no.5 (From Micia,Dacia)
.....]/[ala] I His[panorum / coh. II Fl. Comma]genor[um /...
- 06.24 CIL,III,1355 (Altar from near Veczel,Dacia)
Libero / [p]atri sac. / L.Sossiu[s] / dec. coh. II / Fl.Comm. /
ex voto / lib. p.
- 06.25 AE(1971)399 (Altar from Micia,Dacia)
Minervae / Aug. et geni/o coh. II Fl. / Comagen. / Ianuarius /
actar. / v.l.m.
- 06.26 AE(1911)35 (Altar from Micia,Dacia)
I.o.m. / Dolicheno / ara Micia / M. [////////// / //] pra /

- coh. II Fl. / Commag(e)/norum / bene m. / posuit
- 06.27 CIL,III,7873 (From Micia,Dacia)
.....]AR/[.....]an. VII / [.....]TZIA / [.....] C.Iul./[Aetern]/alis
7 / [coh. II Fl. Co]mm. / [.....coni]ugi et / [.....]BIP
- 06.28 CIL,III,7850 (Altar from near Veozel,Dacia)
I.o.m. / Crisp. / Luci 7 / coh. II Co[m.] / v.s.
- 06.29 AE(1975)731 (Tile-stamps from Veczel,Dacia)
(a) COH II COM
(b) COH II FL COM
- 06.30 CIL,III,8074 (Tile-stamps from near Veczel,Dacia)
COH II FL CO[M]
[COH] II FL COW (sic)
COH II COW (sic)
[C]OH II COM
- 06.31 JÖAI,V(1902),Bbl.,p.122,no.4 (Altar from Deva,Dacia)
Libero / Patri / [R]ufus / [pr]aef. / [v.s.l.] /m.
- 06.32 JÖAI,V(1902),Bbl.,p.121,no.2 (Altar from Deva,Dacia)
Herculi / [.....]/nus vet. / v.l.s.
- 06.33 CIL,III,7832 (Altar from Ampelum,Dacia)
.....] deo [.../.....]N[...]omm./[.....]ac. dulc.
- 06.34 CIL,III,7835 (Altar from Ampelum,Dacia)
I.o.m.d. et / deo Com/maceno (sic) / Aurel. Marinus / [et] Adde /
Barseme/i et Ocea/nus So/cratis sa/cerdotes / v.l.p.
- 06.35 CIL,III,7834 (Altar from Ampelum,Dacia)
I.o.m. / Comma/genorum [Ae]/terno Ma/rinus Ma/rian. Bas. / sacerdos
I. /o.m.d. pro s.s./ suorum q.o/mnium vot.
- 06.36 CIL,III,1346 (Altar from Deva,Dacia)
I.o.m. / M.Coc[c]e/ius / Themo / v.s.l.m.
- 06.37 CIL,III,12565 (Altar from Micia,Dacia)
Hercul. / et Silva/no vex/ilatio / l. XIII G. N. / I. Aur. Ari/mo
v.m.p. / immuni
- 06.38 Klio,10(1910)p.503,no.2 (Altar from Ampelum,Dacia)
I.o.m. / Opelus / Surus / v.s.l.m.
- 07.00 Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittariorum
- 07.01 ILS 9164 (Epitaph from Tilurnium,Dalmatia)
M. Pytha Segni f. / mil. chor. II Chyrres. (sic) / dom. Berea (sic)
ann. LX,stip. / XXXV t.f.i. sibi felici l./[.....

- 07.02 AE(1961)303 (Epitaph in the museum at Iader,Dalmatia)
Stieu Barn/ainu f. domo / Berea (sic) annor. / XXX miles / coh.
II C(yr)r(h)est/ar(um) stipen[di]o/[rum] h.s.e.
- 07.03 Diadora,5(1970)105,no.7 (Epitaph from Burnum,Dalmatia)
Heras Ennomai f. mil. cor. II Cyrr. do. Cyro an. L sti. XXII
h.s.e. [.....]raeus Abemmi f. er. pos.
- 07.04 AE(1925)132 (Epitaph from Tilurnium,Dalmatia)
Dacnas / Apsaei f. / mil. goh. (sic) II / Cyrrhestaru(m) / domo
Berea (sic) / ann. L stip. XXIV / h.s.e.
- 07.05 CIL,III,8734 (Epitaph from Salona,Dalmatia)
Beres sagit(tarius) h.s.e.
- 08.00 Ala I Hamiorum Surorum sagittariorum
- 08.01 AE(1957)62 (Epitaph from Tocolosida south of Meknes,Morocco)
Annius Afrinus / Abdatis is al(a)e Ha. / ann. XLV hic s. est /
Iulia Cessia uxor / viro suo benemerito / et Niger Monimus /
veteranus s. imp. / f.c.s.t.t.l.
- 08.02 CIL,XVI,159 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 9 Ja.,88)
- 08.03 CIL,XVI,161 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 14 Oct.,109)
alae I Hamiorum sagittarior.,cui praest C. Maesius C.f. Pal. Tertius,
ex gregale Bargati Zaei f. Hamio,et Juliae Juli fil., Deisatae ux.
eius,Surae
Devijver,M8
- 08.04 CIL,XVI,165 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 114/7)
- 08.05 CIL,XVI,169 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 18 Nov.,122)
- 08.06 CIL,XVI,170 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 18 Nov.?,122)
- 08.07 CIL,XVI,181 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 156/7)
- 08.08 CIL,XVI,182 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 156/7)
- 08.09 Roxan,no.53 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 159)
- 08.10 Roxan,no. 54 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 159)
[alae I Hamiorum Surorum or cohortis II Syrorum milliaria] sag.
cui praest [.....]
- 08.11 ILM 8 (Epitaph from Tingis,Morocco)
D.m.s. / [.....]vellico mil. n. Germ. / [.....]VF alam Hammior. /
[.....]dem item signifero / [alae eius]dem sub signariis / [vix.
an]nis XXXV / [.....]tio principalis / [in sacro c]omitatu agens fra/
[ter t.] f.c.
- 08.12 ILM 40 + AE(1964)45 (Epitaph from Ksar el-Kebir,Morocco)
Valerius Ab/das imaginif. / alae Hamior. / Calcidenus / ann. XXXV/

- 09.00 Cohors I Hamiorum sagittariorum
- 09.01 CIL,XVI,69 (Diploma for Britannia of 17 July,122)
- 09.02 CIL,XVI,70 (Diploma for Britannia of 15 Sept.,124)
- 09.03 CIL,XVI,82 (Diploma for Britannia of 14 April,135)
- 09.04 RIB 1778 (Altar from Carvoran,Britain of 136/8)
Fortunae Aug. / pro salute L.Aeli / Caesaris ex visu / T. Fla.
Secundus / praef. coh. I Hamiorum sagittar. / v.s.l.m.
Devijver,F69
- 09.05 RIB 1792 (Altar from Carvoran,Britain of c.163/6)
Deae Suri/ae sub Calp/urnio Ag[r]/ico[la] leg. Au[g.] / pr. pr.
Lic[in]ius / [C]lem[ens praef. / co]h. I Ha[mior.]
Devijver,L9
- 09.06 RIB 1810 (From Carvoran,Britain)
[.....]ius Agripp[a /coh. I] Hamioru[m
- 09.07 RIB 1818 (Building inscription from Carvoran,Britain)
7 Primi[.....] / v[alla]vit / p. CX[II] / sub Fl. Secundo
Devijver,F69
- 09.08 RIB 1820 (Building inscription from Carvoran,Britain)
7 Silvani / vallavit / p. CXII sub / Fla. Secundo / [pr]aef.
Devijver,F69
- 09.09 RIB 1816 (Building inscription from Carvoran,Britain)
7 Iul. Ca[.....] / valla[vit] / p.C
- 09.10 RIB 1809 (Building inscription from Carvoran,Britain of c.163/6)
[.... sub Calpur/ni]o Agri/cola cos. / Licinius Cl[e]/mens
p[raefectus]
Devijver,L9
- 09.11 RIB 1783 (Altar from Carvoran,Britain),
I.o.m. / Helio/polit. / Iul. Po/lilio [.....
- 09.12 RIB 1790 (Altar from Carvoran,Britain)
De(a)e Ha/mmi / Sabi. / f.
- 09.13 RIB 1782 (Altar from Carvoran,Britain)
I.o.m.d. / h.
- 09.14 RIB 1830 (Epitaph from Carvoran,Britain)
D.m. / Lifana B[.....]/ci filia v[ix]/it ann. [...] / L.Seno[fi]/lus
av[un]/culus [fe]/cit
- 09.15 RIB 1791 (Metrical dedication from Carvoran,Britain)
Imminet leoni virgo caeles/ti situ spicifera iusti in/ventrix

urbium conditrix / ex quis muneribus nosse con/tigit deos: ergo
eadem mater divum / pax virtus Ceres dea Syria / lance vitam et iura
pensitans. in caelo visum Syria sidus edi/dit Libyae colendum : inde /
cuncti didicimus / ita intellexit numine inductus / tuo Marcus
Caecilius Do/natianus militans tribunus / in praefecto dono principis
Devijver,C13

09.16 RIB 2167 (Altar from Bar Hill, Antonine Wall)

[D]eo Silv[ano / C]aristan[ius / I]ustian[s] / praef. / [c]oh. I
Ham[ior] / v.s.l.l.m.

Devijver,C83

09.17 RIB 2165 (Altar from Bar Hill, Antonine Wall)

[Apoll]i/n[i....]co[...]/ E[.....]/ C[...../ v.]s.[l.l.m.]

09.18 RIB 2172 (Épitaph from Bar Hill, Antonine Wall)

D.m. / C.Iuli / Marcellini / praef. / coh. I Hamior.

Devijver,I80

09.19 RIB 2182 (Epitaph from Auchendavy, near Bar Hill, Antonine Wall)

D.m. / Salmanes / vixit an. XV / Salmanes / posuit

10.00 Cohors I Hamiorum civium Romanorum

10.01 AE(1956)124(Career inscription from Diana Veteranorum, Numidia)

M.Valerio Maximiano M.Valeri Maximiani quinq. s[ac.] / f. pont.
col. Poetovionens. equop. praef. coh. T (sic) Thrac., trib. coh. I
Am. / civium R. ,praep. orae gentium(he went on to
have an extensive and distinguished equestrian then senatorial
career under first Antoninus Pius, then Marcus and finally Commodus)

Devijver,V23 = CP,no.181**bis** and add.

11.00 Cohors II Hamiorum

11.01 IRT 868 (Altar from Ain Wifon the Lepcis to Turris road, Africa)

[I.] o.m.d. / [pr]o salute et victoria [dom]/inor. nostror. impp.
L. Sep[timi] Severi Pii Pert. Aug. et M,Aurel[i] / Antonin. Aug. Aug.
n. fil. et P. / [Septimi Getae Caes.] Aug. Aug. / n. fil. Aug. n.
frater et Iuliae / Aug. m[ater] c[astr]. M.Caninius / Adiutor Faustianus
praef. / coh. II H(a)m. praep. vex. [leg. / III] Aug. p.v. aram
pos[u]/it et dedicavit

Devijver,C76

11.02 ILAlg. I,3765 (Epitaph from Henschir bu-Sea'a in the Ager Thevestinus, Africa)

Iuliae Maiori matri karissimae v.a.LXX Iul. Vale[rius] mil. coh. II
Amiorum p.m.b.

- 12.00 Cohors I miliaria Antonina Aurelia Hemesenorum sagittariorum equitata civium Romanorum
- 12.01 AE(1964)104 (Building inscription from Intercisa, Pannonia inferior)
Imp. Caes. [M. Aur. Commodo] / Antonino A[ug. Sarm. Germ.] / coh. I (miliaria) Ant. [Hemesenorum] / s.s. Sept. Flacco [leg. Aug. pr. pr.] curante Iul.
- 12.02 Intercisa, I, no. 308 (From Intercisa)
.....]V Pius Sarm. Germ.[.....] / I Aur. Antonina (miliaria) H[em. ...
- 12.03 ILS 9155 (Altar from Intercisa of 199/202)
Deo / [So]li Aelagabalo pro / [s]alute imp. L. Sep. Severi / [Pi]i et M. Aur. Antoni Pii e/[t] Sep. Garae (sic) Caes. Augg. c/oh. (miliaria) Anto. Hemes. c.R.s. / [cu]i sub Baebio Caeciliano / [leg. Au]gg. pr(a)eest Q. Mod. Q. f. Quirina Rufinus Trib. / [te]mplum a solo extruxit.
Devijver, M65
- 12.04 Alba Regia, 11(1970), no. 457 (Dedication from Intercisa)
Imp. Caes. M. / Aur. Severo / Antonino Pio / Felici Aug. Part. Brit. / Max. Pont. Max. Ger. / Max. coh. I (miliaria) Hemes. / Aurel. Antoniniana sag. / eq. c.R. devo/tissima numini eius
- 12.05 Intercisa, I, p. 48 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. OIumnus Val/ens vet. cho[rt. A]nt. (miliaria) He[mes/...../...../...../cho. p]rimae nov. / (miliaria) Severiane (sic) Surorum / sagittariorum/ sagittariorum / et Gaius Maximus / vet. Secundus / heres bene mer/enti p.
- 12.06 CIL, XVI, 131 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 178/90)
[cohort. I Hem]esenor., cui praees(t)[.....]us Severus, [ex p]edite [.....]i f. Sigillio, [.....]a ex Syr(ia)
Devijver, S99
- 12.07 CIL, XVI, 132 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 11 Aug., 178/90)
- 12.08 Intercisa, I, no. 134 (Epitaph from Intercisa of 192/4)
[D.] m. / [A]ur. Bazas vet. ex [coh. (miliaria)] / H]emes. domo Cl[audia] Apamea / mi]ssus honesta m[iss. / ...] Val. Pudente c(ui) (sic) v. a[nn. .../.....vi]vus sibi facien[du]m [...../.....]ctantibus [.....]
- 12.09 Intercisa, I, no. 311 (Dedication from Intercisa)
Imp. Caes. M. / Ant. Gordiano / p.f. Invicto Aug. / Pontif. Max. / trib. pot. III / patri patriae / cos. procos. / coh. I (miliaria) Hem. / Gordiano / sagitt. eq. c.R. / numini eius / devotissima
- 12.10 Alba Regia, 11(1970), no. 459 (Dedication from Intercisa)
[Sanctissimo] / ac super om/nes principes / clementissimo / imp. Caes. C. Vibio / Treboniano / Gallo P.F. Invic/to Aug. Pontif. / Max. trib. po[t. III] / cos. II p.p. [pro] / cos. coh. [I (miliaria)] / Hemes. ma[ies] / tati eorum / devotissi[ma]

12.11 ILS 1398 (Dedication from Capua,Italy)

M.Campanio / M.fil. M.nep. Fal. / Marcello / proc. A[ug]ustor. / ad
me[rc]urium / Alexandr. proc. / provinc. Cypri / praef. eq. alae
Parth./trib. coh. pr. Hemesen. / praef. coh. III Breucor. / [.....
...]ncia Cypro

Devijver,C71

12.12 Intercisa,I,no. 324 (Dedication from Intercisa)

[Num]ini Dianae T[i]fatinae / [pro s]alute imp[er]i. Sep. Severi et /
[M.Aurel. A]nt. Augg. et [Getae Caes.] Pii F[e]licis / [devotissi]mi
principes agente Bae[b]io Caecilliano / [leg. Aug. C.M]odio Rufino
trib. coh. (milliaria) He[mes. in me]mor. Cam/[pani Marc]elli tunc
trib. n. co[h. impendis sui]s templum / [a so]lo exstruxeru[nt]

Devijver,C71

12.13 AE(1971)495 (Dedication from Caesarea Palaestinae)

L.Valerio Valeriano [proc. provin.] / Syr. Palaest provinc[.....] /
praeposito summe [ration. priv.] / Mesopotamenae ad [HS C or CC mil.
num.] / praepos. vexil. felicis[simae exped.] / urbis itemq. Asiana[e
adversus] / hostes publicos p. r.[et cohortium] / peregrinarum
ad u[rbem defend. or morant.] / proc. Cypri praef. a[lae I Hispan.] /
Campagonum in Dac[ia trib. coh. I] / miliariae Hemesen[orum c.R. in] /
Pannoniae (sic) praef. cho. [V Callaecor. / Lucen. in] Pannonia [.... /
M .] Mevius Romanus 7 [leg. VI Ferratae] f.c. Antoniniana [ex
[corni/cula]r. eius viro [egregio pat/rono incompara]bili [ob merita]

Devijver,V43

12.14 AE(1965)10 (Altar from Szabadegyhaza,near Intercisa)

[I.o.m. Iunoni / Reginae Mi/nervae Sera/pi]di Isid[i ce/t]eris di[is] /
deabus qu[e] / M.Porciu[s] / Verus tri[b.] / coh. (milliaria) Hemes. /
eq. c.R.

Devijver,P98

12.15 Intercisa,I,no.331 (Altar from Intercisa)

Sacrae [memoriae] / M. Minic[ii ...] / in hon[orem] / I.o.m. /
mi[.....] / digni II[.....]

12.16 Intercisa,I,no.37 (Epitaph from Intercisa)

D.m. / Lissinia / Galla vixit / annis XXI / Calpurnius / Irenaeus /
tribunus / coniugi / carissim(a)e / t.m.p.

Devijver,C56

12.17 AE(1903)302 (From Viminacium,Pannonia inferior)

F.Valer[ianus tri]/bunus [sagittario ?]/rum Hem[esenorum] / fabrica[m] ,
ordina

Devijver,F80

12.18 Intercisa,I,no.130 (Epitaph from Intercisa)

Marcus Aurelius Deisa[n]. domo / Hemesa vet. exs(tra)tor(e) trib.

- coh. (milliaria) Hpm. (sic) / vivus sibi (v)ivv(e)m /tibus Aurelis
(sic) / Monimo strat. / et Regiliano lidr(ario) (sic) / lig. (sic)
leg. II Adi. fili(is) / posuit / et Aur. Abigenaeo q.v. ann. XVII m.
XXVII (?) / et Aur. Prisciano m(i)r(iti) leg. II Ad. nepot. q.v.a. /
[.....]
- 12.19 Intercisa, I, no. 129 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / M. Aurel. Silvano ex b.f. tribun. / domo Hemesa vixit annis
LX Aurelia / Hilara coniux s(ua) et Aureli / Salvianus et Silvanus
et / et (sic) Silvina fili(i) carissimi / et conheredes be/nemerenti
et digno / posuerun[t]
- 12.20 Intercisa, I, no. 133 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D. [m.] / M. Aur. Sallumas vet. / ex tessr. coh. (milliaria) Hemes.
domo / Hemesa annorum LXXXII vivo / sibi et Aureliae mat[ri ...]T[...]/
quondam coni[...../.....]NU[.....]
- 12.21 Intercisa, I, no. 132 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / M. Aurel. Monimo vet. / ex dec. coh. (milliaria) Hemes. /
domo Hemesa qui / vixit LXI et co/[n]iugi Iuliae Ticim/[ae e]t /
Aurel. Iulian[ae / ...]s filius
- 12.22 Alba Regia, 11(1970), no. 452 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
.....]ON[...]/ Decimus M[... domo He]/mes. eq. qu[i vix. ann. ...
pa]/rentibus [.....] / s(uis) et [s(i)bi pos(uit)]
- 12.23 Intercisa, I, no. 23 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / M. Aur. Ce[r]don. vet. ex cur. / coh. (milliaria) Hem. dom.
Arethu[s]a / sibi et Aureleia Iuliae suae et / M. Aur. Silvano fil.
q.v. an. XVI / et Aur. Heliodorae q.v. an. XXVII / et Aur. Immedaru
q.v. an. XXIIII / fili[i]s et M. Aur. Vincentio q.v. an. VIII / et
M. Aur. Heliodoro nepotiis (sic) c.m.m.
- 12.24 Alba Regia, 11(1970), no. 446 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / Aurel. Salla/mati vet. ex tu/(bi)cen. c(oh. I He.(?) Aedes /
qui vix. annis LXX / in his militavit / ann. XL Aur. Pus/intulus
gener. / [.....]
- 12.25 ILS 2540 (Altar from Intercisa)
I.o.m. / Barsemis Abbei / dec. ala. firma. / katafractaria. / ex
numero Hos/roruorum mag. (sic) / coh. (milliaria) Hemes. / n.d.
Carris et / Aur. Iulia coniux / eius v.s.l.m. / Aurelia Thicimim /
et Aurelia Asalia et/filias Barsimia tit. / de. c.s.scr.
- 12.26 ILS 9169 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / Ael. Munatio / caps(ario) coh. (milliaria) Hem. / stup. XXVIII
dom. / Sam. Aur. Cansa/una con. Ant. / Basso vex. s.f.c. her./
sanctiss. coni(ugi) q. con. s.f. natib(us) q(ue) s(uis) / fecit /m.m.
- 12.27 Intercisa, I, no. 16 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / Aurel. Monimo b.f. / trib. coh. (milliaria) H/emes. stip. XXIIII/

- vixit an. XLV / C.Bassus lib. / b.m.p. ex ipsi/us praecepto
- 12.28 Alba Regia, 11(1970)no.464 (Altar from Intercisa)
Deo Soli Au/r. Bars/amsus o/pt. coh. ex / voto pate/rno cum / [suis / v.s.l.m.]
- 12.29 Intercisa, I, no. 340 (Altar from Intercisa)
I.o.m. / Aurel. Damas. veter. / Hemesen.
- 12.30 Intercisa, I, no. 39
Aureliae Nardanosae / cives Armen(iaca) vix. ann. / XLIII Aur.
Mania ve(teranus) mar(itus) et / Aurel. Tata Pusintolus / fil.
m(emoriae) posu(erunt)
- 12.31 Intercisa, I, no. 17 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
M.Aur. Malc[h]ia[s mil.] / leg. II Adi. strat. off. [cos.] / Mocer
signifer c[oh. (milliaria)] / Hemes. q.v. ann. LV [Aur.?] / Pulchra
uxo[r] ip[sius] / fuentissim[a posuit]
- 12.32 Alba Regia, 11(1970).no. 467 (Altar from Intercisa)
Sil. Con/servatori p/ro sal. Iuli / Barsimi vet. Sev. Celsus / et
Aur. Atella/nus v.s.
- 12.33 Intercisa, I, no. 136 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
Claudiae Monimosae / Monimi q(uondam) Aglvi vet. fil. quae / vix.
an. L Ael. Ingenuitus / vet. leg. II ad coniugi
- 12.34 Intercisa, I, no. 21 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / Marin/o Silvani / mil. coh. (milliaria) / Hemes. a.L/II
stip. XX/VIII Mar/cus Aure/l. mil. co/h. s.s.he/res / b.m.p.
- 12.35 Intercisa, I, no. 338 (Altar from Intercisa of 213)
I.o.m. / pro s. imp. M.Aur. Ant. / P. Aug. et genio / coh. (milliaria)
Hem. Ant[o]/ninianae T.Cl. / Procus b.f. cos. legionis II Ad./ pi.
fid. Antonin. / imp. Antonino IIII et Cael. Balb. it. co[s]
- 12.36 Intercisa, I, no. 326 (Dedication from Intercisa of 23 Aug., 214)
Pro salute et victoria / Germ. imp. Caes. M.Aur. Severi / Antonini
Pi. Felicis Aug. / Parth. M(a)x. Pontif. Max. p.p. trib. pot./ cos.
IIII deo patrio soli Ela/gabalo mil. coh. (milliaria) Hem. Anton./
dedicatum opus X kal. Sept. / Messala et Sabino cos.
- 12.37 Intercisa, I, no. 317 (Milestone from near Intercisa)
....]aximis coh. (milliaria) [Hem.] / Maximiniana / ab Aq(uinco) /
m.p. XLVII
- 12.38 AE(1975)701 (Milestone from Intercisa of 237)
Imp. Caes. / C.Iul. Vero Maximino / Pio Fel. Invicto Aug. Ponti. /
Max trib. pot. III / imp. V cos. procos. p.p. / imp. et C.Iul. Vero
Maximo Aug. / nobilissimo Caes. principi iuventutis / Aug. n. filio
Germanicis / Dacicis Sarmaticis / Maximis c. H. c.R. Maximiniana / ab
Aq(uinco) m(ilia) p(assum) / L

- 12.39 AE(1965)223 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
P.Ael. Proculino [v.e. signif. 7] / primo in coh. (milliaria) [Hemes. trans.]/lato in leg. II Ad[iut. p.f. exer]/cit. eq. leg. s.[s. 7 coh. .. urb. 7]/ coh. VII praet. p.v. [Phil. bello] / Dacico deside[rato ad ca]/stell. Carporum [milit. ann.] / XXVI P.Ael.Procu[lus vet. coh. ei]/usdem et Aure[lia]/ a parentes fil[io suo ca]/rissimo et sib[i vivis] / et infeli[cissimo] / filio posue[runt].
- 12.40 Intercisa,I,no.116 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / M.Aur. Heraclitus vet. ex 7 cohortis (milliaria) Hem. / an. LXX vi(v)us fecit sibi et Aurelis Heraclito et / Sereno vivis fili(i)s suis et Serenae h.m.h.n.s.
- 12.41 Intercisa,I,no.119 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
[D.] m. / [.....] vixit ann. LIX et Aureli/[u]s s.c. coh. (milliaria) Heme. filius / q. posuit
- 12.42 Intercisa,I,no.113 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.M. / Aur. Isnir. Verecundus s. vet. coh. (milliaria) / Hem. ex dec. vixit ann. LXX Aur. Isari/cia Scribonia coni(ux) et Isnircius Verec/undus et Isnircius Marcus et Aur. v/erecunda fili(i) et co(n)-heredes vivi sibi et pat/ri pientissimo posuerunt
- 12.43 Intercisa,I,no.114 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D. m. / M.Aur. Primianus vet. e[x] / dec. / coh. (milliaria) Hemes-(e)norum a[nn.] L / et Sept. Gratae ux[o]ri pientis[si]/mae ann. XXXVI et Aur. Ianuariae / filia[e a]nn. XX M.Aur. Primianus s[ibi] / et sui[s vi]vos f[a]ciendum curavi[t]
- 12.44 Intercisa,I,no.358 (Altar from Intercisa)
Iul. Sa[l]/ustia/nus vet. ex / dec. coh. / (milliaria) Hem./v.s.l.m.
- 12.45 Intercisa,I,no.131 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m. / Iuliae Silvinae matri / dulcissim(a)e q.v. ann. LXVI et / Ael. Valentiano vet. coh. (milliaria) / Hemes. ex dupl. vivo patri / dulcissimo Ael. Vitalis / b.f. cos. faciendum curavit
- 12.46 AE(1959)16 (Altar from Intercisa)
[I. o. m.]/ culminari / Aur. Hercu/lanus / eq. coh. (milliaria) / Hem.
- 12.47 Intercisa,I,no.115 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
L.Aur. Antonin[o mil. coh. (milliaria)] / Hem. et Aurelia[eq.v.] / ann. XVIII Aurel[ia] / marito et filia[e suae] / et sibi viva et I[.....]/ Recundinus dec. [.....]
- 12.48 Intercisa,I,no.118 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D.m./ Aur. Maxim/iano mil./coh. (milliaria) He/mes. st(i)p. II / q.v. an. XVI / m.VII et Aur. / Prisco frat/ri ipsius q.v.a. / XI Aur. Bassus / mil. coh. s.s. / her(e)s ex tes. / eorum pos/uit
- 12.49 AE(1910)131 (Epitaph from near Intercisa)
Aur. Rufinus m(i)l. / cho. (milliaria) Himise.(sic) / an. XX consobriano / et Aur. Iezena / aviae an.LXXX Aur. /Proculinus / pequ-arius leg.

- 12.50 Intercisa, I, no. 117 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
M. Aur. Alexandro vet. leg. II Adi. q.v. ann. LXX et M. / Aureiae
Rufinae (coniugi ?) eius q.v. ann. LX et M. Aur. / Valeriano mil.
coh. (milliaria) Hem. q.v. ann. XXV fil. et M. / Aureliae Valerinae
q.v. ann. XVIII fil. eor(um) / M. Aur. Aurelianus vet. leg. s.s.
exstrat(ore) co(n)s(ule) / cognatis dignissimis
- 12.51 Intercisa, I, no. 19 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D. m. / Aureliae Baracha [v]ixit / ann. XXXV et Aurel. Ger/ma[n]ilae
vixit ann. IIII et altera/filia Aurelia Ger/manilla vi[xit] ann. / II
et Immostae matri su(a)/e vixit ann. LX German/ius Valens mil. coh.
(milliaria) Hem/es. uxori et matri et fi/liis posuit et sibi vvius(sic)
fe/cit
- 12.52 Intercisa, I, no. 20 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D. m. / M. Aur. Mar/co mil. Coh. / (milliaria) / Hem. q.v. ann. / XXX
(et) Theodori / et M. Aur. Marianus / patri et sibi et m/atri karissim./
vividus m.p.
- 12.53 Intercisa, I, no. 22 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
D. m. / Domitio Lon/gino vet. coh. / (milliaria) Heme. (e)t Domit/ae
Avitae parent(i)/bus pos. Domiti/as Revocata et / Amatalias vivae
in/stant(i)bus A(u)r. Firmo / vet. et Aur. Aunio/gaeris
- 12.54 Intercisa, I, no. 15 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
M. Aur. Prim[us vi]/x. an. L et T[....] / M. vix. an. XXXV[....] / mm(a)e
soro[ri] / vix. an. X et [...]/ae Flor(a)e q.[vix.] / an. parum M.
[Aur.] / Primianu[s mil.?] / cho. (milliaria) H. pa[tri] / bene
mere[nti]
- 12.55 AE(1973)437 (Dedication from Gorsium, Pannonia inferior, of 198/9)
[Deo So]li Elagab/alo sacr. pro salu/[te domin]orum nn. / [L. Septimi]
Severi Pii / [pertinacis] et M. Aur. Anto/[nini Augg. [[et L. Sept.
Getae /Caes.]] mil]ites cohorti/[s I (milliariae) Anton.] Hemesenorum /
[ex singular]ibus V T. Cla/[dian]i pr(a)oesidis / [Pann. inf. i]ussu
eius tem/[plum a funda]mentis inpe/[nsis suis fec]erunt
- 12.56 AE(1909)148c (From Pannonia inferior - tile-stamp)
COH X HE
- 12.57 AE(1969/70)516 (From Intercisa)
[Deus Sol. Aelag]abalu[sc]oh. [(milliaria) Hemes.?)
- 12.58 Intercisa, I, no. 349 (Altar from Intercisa)
[Di]anae Aug. / [p]ro salute d.n. / [i]mp. Alexan/[dr]i Aug. vett.(sic)/
[co]h. (milliaria) Heme[se]norum / [v] s.l.m.
- 12.59 Intercisa, I, no. 310 (Building inscription from Intercisa)
Imp. Caes. [M. Aur. Commodus Aug. P. Sarm. Germ.] / Max. Brit. coq.
IIII [.... coh. pri] / mae Hem. fecit [.....]
- 12.60 Alba Regia, 11(1970, no. 463 (Altar from the canabae at Intercisa)
I.o.m. / Culmin(ari) / Aur. Mammi/anus vet. c/um suis / omnibu/s
v.s.l.m.

- 12.61 Alba Regia, 11(1970), no. 465 (Altar from Intercisa)
 Libero patri / Aurel. / Mu[...]nus / vet. et Aur. / [.....] / v.s.l.m.
- 12.62 AE(1975)705 (Altar from Intercisa)
 I.o.m. Iunoni Reginae Libero Telluri / Aur. Barsamsus / strat. cos.
 sacr.
- 12.63 AE(1975)704 (Altar from Intercisa)
 Deo Soli / Elaga/balo
- 13.00 Numerus Hemesenorum
- 13.01 AE(1937)47 (Dedication from el-Kantara, Numidia)
 [Pro] salute ddd. nnn. A[uggg.] / templum Dei Sol[is Invicti ?] /
 Iulius Draco 7 l[eg. III Aug.] / praepositus n.Hem[esenorum] /
 delapsum restitu[it dedicavitq.? / et] sigillum renov[avit]
- 13.02 AE(1933)45 (Dedication from el-Kantara, Numidia)
 Herculi sanc[to] / pro s[al]ute [d]o/mi[ni nostri] / im[p] Caes. M. /
 Au[reli] An[tonini Pii Fel. Aug. et] / Iu[liae Aug. m]a/tr[is Aug.
 et c]a(storum) / et [Senatus C.Iul. Ael]ur[io / 7 leg. III A]ug. /
 praep. n. Heme/senorum
- 13.03 AE(1933)46 (Dedication from el-Kantara, Numidia)
 Deo Soli / ortum con/stitutum per / C.Iulio Aelu/rione 7 leg. /
 [II]I Aug. Anton/inane (sic) pr(a)ep. / n. Hemesen.
- 13.04 AE(1926)145 (Dedication from el-Kantara, Numidia)
 [Pro salute et vict]or[ia / imp. Ca]es. M.Aureli Severi A[n]tonini /
 Aug. et] Iuliae Aug. matris A[ug. n. et / castror. M.] Ulpus Optatus
 [prae/posit]us n. Hemesenoru[m] (sic) / I]unioru. filosimi [et
- 13.05 ILS 2636 (Building inscription from Loth-Bordj, 10 miles south of
 el-Kantara, Numidia of 212/8)
 Bis posuit Caletamera in te(m)pore suo. Imp. Caes. M.Aurelio /
 Severo Antonino Aug. bur/gum speculatorum Anto. / M.Val. Senecio
 leg. eius pr. / pr. c.v. fieri iussit c.a.c. Iulio Ae/lurione [7
 leg. III] Aug. Anto. prae. n. H. Ant.

- 13.06 AE(1933)48 (Epitaph from el-Kantara, Numidia)
 D.m.s. / Iuliae Secun/dae qui et Catel/[lae vixit ann]is / XXXVI[III
 fe]ci / cum marito suo / annos XIII P. / Claudius cor/nicul. n. Heme/
 senorum con/iugi rarissime
- 13.07 P.Mich. VII 454 (Rapyrus from Egypt)
 (Text records transfers of soldiers including): sagit[tarii] ex
 n. Emesenor.
 Fink, no. 30
- 13a.00 Numerus Regi. Emes(enorum) Iudeoru(m)

- 13a.01 CIL,V,8764 (From Concordia,Italy)
Flavia Optata mili. de / num. Regi. Emes. Iudeo/ru. si quis pos.
ovitu. / me arc. volu. ap. in fi. / RVI Aur. lib. una.
- 14.00 Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum
- 14.01 CIL,XVI,42 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 20 Feb.,98)
- 14.02 CIL,III,11083 (Epitaph from Arrabona,Pannonia superior)
.....]Ana[mi f. (?)/ eq. al.] Aug. Itura[e .../.. tur[m. Nigri an./
....st]VIII h.s.e. / [.....A]nami f. et Ana/mus ...]IDI f. et Catus
Moci f. / [.....] i.m.p.
- 14.03 CIL,III,4367 (Epitaph from Arrabona)
Acrabanis / Ababunis f. ala / Augusta Ituraior/um an. XLV stip. XII
h.s.e. / Hanicus frater / heres poit (sic)
- 14.04 ILS 2511 (Epitaph from Arrabona)
Bargathes / Regebali f. / eq. alae Aug. / Ityraeorum do/mo Ityraeus
an. / XXV stip. V h.s.e. / Zanis dec. et Bar/amna Beliabi f. /
Bricbelus frater / heredes posierunt (sic)
- 14.05 CIL,III,4368 (Epitaph from near Arrabona)
Albanus Balvi f. / dec. ala Augusta Ituraeo/rum domo Betavos an/nor.
XLII stipendiorum / XX hic situs est titulum / memoriae posuerunt /
Tib. Iulius Reitugeunus et / Lucanus dec. ala Aug. / Ituraeorum
- 14.06 Intercisa,I,no.2 Epitaph from Intercisa,Pannonia inferior)
Iantumalius Bla[c]co/nis f. eq. alae I It[u]r. an. / XXX[.....
- 14.07 CIL,XVI,57 (Diploma for Dacia of 17 Feb.,110)
alae I Aug. Ituraeor.,cui praest C.Vettius Priscus,ex gregale Thaemo
Horati f. Ituraeo
Devijver,V78
- 14.08 CIL,XVI,163 (Diploma for Dacia of 2 July,110)
- 14.09 CIL,III,1382 (Epitaph from near Veczel,Dacia)
D.m. / memoriae / C.Licini / coll. Caes. / Pontici vet. alae I Aug. /
It[ur]eo. vix. /an. L[...] / Licin[iu]s Eup/[r]epes [...] p.f.
- 14.10 CIL,XVI,175 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 139)
- 14.11 CIL,XVI,179 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 9 Oct.,148)
- 14.12 CIL,XVI,180 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 148)
- 14.13 ILS 2546 (Altar from Rome)
I.o.m. / Heliopolita/no vexillatio / alae Iture/orum praebe/ntibus
Cla. Rufino et Ur/sione decurio/nes posuerunt

- 14.14 AE(1955)131 (Epitaph from Tipasa, Mauretania Caesariensis)
D.m. / Iulius Galianus eq. / alae I Aug. Itur. vix. a. / XXXXV
mil. an. XXIII / C. Beliabo heres et / M. Intaeius Secus / her.
exer. Panon. inferior
- 14.15 CIL, XVI, 99 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 1 Aug., 150)
- 14.16 CIL, XVI, 112 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 27 Dec., 159)
- 14.17 CIL, XVI, 113 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 27 Dec., 159)
- 14.18 CIL, XVI, 123 (Diploma for Pannonia inferior of 5 May, 167)
- 14.19 CIL, III, 3677 (Epitaph from Budapest Museum)
D. [m.] / Ael. Victorino / ann. XXX stip. XIII / dupl. ale (sic)
Itu. / et Ael. Licinia/no an. XII filis / pien[..] Ael. Flavi/na
infelic. / mat. et sibi / v.p.
- 14.20 CIL, III, 10222 (Epitaph from Sirmium, Pannonia inferior)
[D.] m. / [.....] H AE / [.....] ANCE / [vixit a] nn. XXVI / Iovius Tus/culanus
prae/fect. equit. / alae Ityr. / uxori optim. / castissim. /
[obs]equentissi/[ma] f. piissim.
Devijver, I2
- 14.21 JÖAI, 6(1903), Bbl. 59, no. 97 (Epitaph from Bacevac, near Guberevci on
the Dalmatia-Moesia frontier)
D.m. / Iul. Ascius vix./ ann. C et Iul. Pro/culina vix. ann. XL /
Licinia Bonosa / coniugi et fil[i]e (sic) / cariss. et Iul. Iuli/ano
gener. vetra. / alae Itureor. qui vix. / ann. LX et sibi viva p(osuit)
- 14.22 CIL, III, 3446 (Altar from Aquincum, Pannonia inferior)
I.o.m. / L. Septimi/us Liste/r ve. al(a)e / Etureo/rum (sic) ex i(mmini ?)
c(onsularis ?) / v.s.l.m.
III,
- 14.23 CIL, 15171 (Altar from Ulcisia Castra, Pannonia inferior of 222/35)
[I.] o.m. Iunoni Re(ginae) / Aur. Mucia/nus m(i)l. / a(lae) p(rimae)
E(turaeorum) Seve/[r]iane (sic) pro s/e suis ONNB / v.s.l.m.
- 15.00 Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum
- 15.01 CIL, XVI, 26 (Diploma for Pannonia of 13 June, 80)
- 15.02 CIL, XVI, 42 (Diploma for Pannonia of 20 Feb., 98)
cohort. I August Ituraeorum, cui praest L. Callidius L.f. Ste.
Camidienis, dimisso honesta missione ex pedite P. Insteio Agrippae f.
Cyrroh(o)
Devijver, C50
- 15.03 CIL, XVI, 42 (Diploma for Pannonia of 19 Nov., 102)
- 15.04 CIL, XVI, 57 (Diploma for Dacia for 17 Feb., 110)

- 15.05 CIL,XVI,90 (Diploma for Dacia superior of 23 Feb. 144)
- 15.06 CIL,XVI,107 (Diploma for Dacia superior of 13 Dec.,157)
- 15.07 CIL,XVI,108 (Diploma for Dacia superior of 8 July,158)
- 15.08 Chirila,1972,p.117f. (Building inscription from Buciumi,Dacia Por.)
.....]Aug[...../.....]III in[...../....]pro[...../....]HI[.....
- 15.09 Chirila,1972,117 (Brick-stamp from Buciumi,Dacia Por.)
COH I AVG
- 15.10 CIL,XII,6817 (Epitaph from Mainz,Germania superior)
D.m. / Tito Statilio Tauro / praef. fabrorum / praef. coh. I Aug.
Iture/eo. et VI Thracum trib. / mil. leg. XXII Pr. p.f. vixit / an.
XXXVI. Statilius Fortunatus lib. f.
Devijver,S70
- 15.11 Dacia,1(1924),251
.....]A[...A]elius D[ex Pal]myr[a] ori[iens?] praef. coh. I
Aug. t[rib.]
Devijver,A30
- 16.00 Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittariorum (equitata?)
- 16.01 ILS 2562 (Epitaph from Mainz,Germania superior)
Monimus / Ierombali f. / mil. chor. I / Ituraeor. / ann. L stip.
XXI / h.s.est
- 16.02 CIL,XIII,7040 (Epitaph from Mainz)
Caeus Han/eli f. mhiles (sic) / ex coh. I Itu/raiorum / annorum / L
stipendio/rum XIX / h.s.e. / Iamlicus /frater f.
- 16.03 CIL,XIII,7042 (Epitaph from Mainz)
Sibbaeus Eron/is f. tubicen ex / cohorte I /Ituraeorum / miles ann./
XXIV / stipendiorum / VIII h.s.e.
- 16.04 CIL,XIII,6278 (Epitaph from Buconica near Mainz)
.....]orius III?[...../....I]turaioru[m/..ann]o(rum) XXX
sti[p. .../.....] h.s.e.
- 16.05 CIL,XIII,7044 (Epitaph from Mainz)
.....coh. I I]/tureo[r. ann. ...]/ stip. II h.i.c.
- 16.06 CIL,XIII,7043 (Epitaph from Mainz)
Ca. Vinicar. L / f. coh. I Ytu/raior. (sic) annor. / XXXVII stip.
III / L.Vinicar. / fra. fa. cu.
- 16.07 AE(1929)131 (Altar from Mainz)
D.i.m. / pro salute /[.....]r. equi[tum / coh. I I]tu[raeorum /...
...../...../ v.s.l.m.

- 16.08 CIL,XIII,12451 (Tile-stamp from Rheinzabern,Germania superior)
...]ITVR SAG[....
- 17.00 Cohors I Ituraeorum civium Romanorum
- 17.01 CIL,XVI,35 (Diploma for Syria of 7 Nov.,88)
- 17.02 CIL,XVI,161 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 14 Oct.,109)
- 17.03 CIL,XVI,165 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 114/7)
- 17.04 CIL,XVI,169 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 18 Nov.,122)
- 17.05 CIL,XVI,170 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 18 Nov.,122?)
- 17.06 CIL,XVI,173 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 18 Aug.,129/32)
- 17.07 CIL,XVI,181 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 156/7)
- 17.08 CIL,XVI,182 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 156/7)
- 17.09 Roxan,no.53 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 159)
- 17.10 CIL,VIII,11176 (From Segermes,Byzacena)
[....Fl]avio Felici flamin. perp. IIvir. qq. / [.....] Quadratus
Laet[ianus ?/ pr]aefectus coh. I[t]u[rae]or. / provinciae Ting.
[.....] Caeli[.....]r. Secun[.....]
Devijver,F64
- 17.11 Not. Dig. Occ.,XXVI.16
Sub dispositione comis Tingitaniae (sic)cohortis primae
[I]turaeorum,Castrabariensi
- 18.00 Cohors I Ituraeorum milliaria ?
- 18.01 IGRR,III,1139 (From Eitha Syria)
[Μνήμα Πρ]ηξιλάου, τοῦ εἰς Μοισιάζην πεμφοθέντος καὶ ἀρξάντος | σπαίρης |
'I]τουραίων' καὶ στρατη[γῆσαντος]...
- 18.02 AE(1907)50 (From Bulgaria)
..... ἐπιτροπεύοντος[..... | .. Σε]κούνδος Κορνο[στος].....|... χώρτης μ]ει-
λιάριας 'I]τουραίων... ' | κρινκουεν]ἄλις' κατ' εὐχὴν [χρησμούς || τούτους
καταγεγ]ραμμένους ἐκ πιν[άκων].....|.....]! ἀνέθηκεν.
Devijver,p.723 proposes that the individual named,Secundus Cornutus
may more probably be a veteran than a prefect/tribune.
- 18.03 CIL,XVI,57 (Diploma for Dacia of 17 Feb.,110)
- 18.50 IGRR,III,230 (From Pessinus,Galatia)
[Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον] ...ου υι[[δον] Κυρεῖνα Ἡρᾶν, δέκατον μετὰ | [τ]δν |

ἀρχιερέα, πέμπτον δὲ Γα|λατῶν διὰ βίου ιερέα¹ Μητρὸς || θεῶν μεγάλης τῆς ἐν
Πεσ|σιν<ν>οσντι καὶ [Μ]ειδαείω², τῶν | τε Σεβαστῶν ἐξάκις, ἀρχιερέ|α τοῦ
κοινοῦ Σεβαστηγῶν Γα|λατῶν³ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην, σεβασ|τοφάντην τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ
ἐν Πεσ|σινοσντι ιερασάμενον πρῶτο[ν], | γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ ἐπιδ[έ]||σεις
δόντα, ἔπαρχον σπείρης | Ἰτουραίων, δις χειλιάρχον λε[γε]||ώνων δύο, δωδεκάτης
Κεραυν[ο]||φόρου καὶ τρίτης Κυρηναϊκῆς⁴, ὑ[πὸ] | τῶν Σεβαστῶν τετειμημέν[ον] |
δόρατι καθαρῶ καὶ στεφάνω τε[ι]||χικῶ⁵, Ἀτταβοκαοί⁶ οἱ τῶν τῆ[ς] || Θεοῦ
μυστηρίων μύστ[αι ἐτεί]||μησαν τὸν [ἐαυτῶν φίλον καὶ εὐεργέτην....

19.00 Cohors II Ituraeorum equitata

19.01 SB 8622 (From the Wadi Hammamat, Upper Egypt)

Τὸ προσκύνημα Γαβινίου Θαίμου, στρατιώτου, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πάντω(ν), σπείρης
Φακούνδου, κεντυρ(ι)ας Καπ(ι)τωνος.

19.02 SB 7959 (From Pselcis, Upper Egypt of A.D. 14)

Τρύφων Τρύφωνος, στρατιώτης (sic) σπείρης Φακόνδ[ου, ἑκατοναρχίας] οὐ
ἦλθον καὶ προσεκύνησα τὸν μέγιστον Ἐρμῆν [- - -]οφαλου καὶ τῶν τέκνων Τρύφων
καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ [- - -]ου καὶ Τειμόθου καὶ Ἀλεξούτος καὶ Ἀλεξάδρας. Ἔτους
ἀΐ Καίσαρος Τεβερίου Σεβαστοῦ.

19.03 SB 10173a (From Wadi Semnah, Upper Egypt of A.D. 11)

(a) Ἔτους μ' Καίσαρος, Παῦνι ἀΐ ἀγαθῆι τύχηι ἔπει Ποπλίου Ἰουεντίου Ῥούφου
χιλιάρχου τῆς τερτιανῆς λεγεῶν(ος) καὶ ἐπάρχου Βερενίκης καὶ ἀρχιμεταλλάρχου τῆς
ζμαράγδου καὶ βαζίου καὶ μαργαρίτου καὶ πάντων τῶν μετάλλων τῆς Αἰγύπτου,
ἀνέθηκε ἐν τῷ Ὀφιάτῃ ἱερὸν Πανὶ θεῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ αὐτῷ Ποπλίῳ Ἰουεντίῳ[ι]
Ἀγαθόποδι ἀπελευθέρ[ωι] [αὐ]τοῦ καὶ ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ προνοητοῦ (sic) καὶ εὐεργέτη
πάντων τῶν μετάλλων τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Τὸ προσκύνημα Θεολεμαίου κουράτορος
σπίρης Φλώρου κεντυρίας Βάσσου ὁ καὶ ἐπιστήσας.

(b) Τὸ [προσ]κύν[ημ]α Μέ[ρσι] καὶ [Σω]τῆ[ρος], ἀμφ[ο]τέρ[ων] ἀρχι[τε]κτόν[ων] οἱ
καὶ [ἐπι]στήσ[αν]τες τὸ ἔργον.

19.04 SB 52 (From the Wadi Hammamat, Upper Egypt)

Λούκειος Καυκέλλιος Σωκοάτης σπείρης Μάρκου Φρώρου κεντυρεΐα
Μομμίου

19.05 SB 8580 (From the Wadi Hammamat, Upper Egypt of A.D. 18)

(a) Ἐπὶ Τεβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Ποπλίου Ἰουεντίου Ῥούφου, μεταλάρχη
ζμαράκτου καὶ βαζίου καὶ μαργαρίτου καὶ λατόμων πάντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Ποπλίου
Ἰουεντίου Ἀγαθόπους, ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοητῆς πάντων, ἔτους ε΄
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Φαωφὶ ἐ.

(b) Τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀρνώθης Φατρήους, γραμμα(τεύς).

(c) Μέρσις, ἀρχιτέκτων.

(d) Τὸ προσκύνημα Μαιμόγαις Βαταίου, στρατιώτη σπείρης Νίγρου ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ
Ἰουεντίου.

(e) Μέρσις, ἀρχιτέκτων.

19.06 O.Tait P245 (From Apollinis Hydreuma, Upper Egypt of A.D. 15/8)

Γάιος Ἰούλιος Λονγείνου στρατιώ(της) σπείρη(ς) Νίγρου Καμερησιανῆς Φιλοστράτω
Πανῆτος δι(α) Κάστορος Ἐπωνύχου χσ(ίρειν). Ἔχω παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐν Ἀ.π.όλλω(νος)
Ἐδρεῦμ(ατι) πυρο[ῦ] δημοσίου γόμον ἓνα (γίνεται) γ(όμος) ἀΐ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)ς λόγου
Μεσορῆι ἀπὸ γόμων τριάκοντα πέντε ἡμισσοῦ τρίτου. (Ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαγομένων β.

19.07 IGRR, I, 1299 (From Philae, Egypt)

[Ἰ]ούνιος ἔθθα Σαβίνος ἔχων Ἰτυραιίδα [π]έρπαν |
 ἴκτο Συηναίας ἐσὸν ἄγων στρατιᾶς', |
 [ἐν]θα πανο[π]τεύουσιν ἐοῖς ἐγάνωσεν ἰάκχοις |
 Εἶσιν [ἐκσ]ώζ[ειν] κόσμον ἐπισταμέναν · ||
 [καὶ γὰρ ἄμυενεν φ]ύλα μ[ε]μήν[ο]τα Ρω[μ]υλίδαις |
 τῶν Θράσος ἐκδικάσας ἔχεν ἔχων ἀγέ[λ]ας |
 [σωθεῖς δὲ κατὰ μ]ῶλον, εἰς τότε καὶ [π]άρος ἀνήρ |
 [αὐτ' ἀπέδωκε γάριν κ]αὶ στέφος ἀρμόσατο.

Devijver, p. 501

19.08 IGRR, I, 1370 (From Hierakonpolis, Egypt)

Ἀπολλινάριο[ς..... στρατιώτης] | σπέρης β' Ἰτ[ουραίων καὶ..... στρα-
 τιώτης] | σπέρης α' Φλα[ουίας Κυλίχων ἱππικῆς]' | προσεκυρή[σαμεν τὸν θεὸν
 μέγιστον ἐν Ἱερᾷ [Συκαμίνω Σάραπιν καὶ τήν] | μυριώνυμον [Εἶσιν καὶ
 τὸ] | προσκύνη[μα ἐποίησαμεν] |²..... | ἄρχου κλάσσ[ης]³ |
 καὶ τῆς συνβί[ου αὐτοῦ] | καὶ τοῦ [ἀδελφοῦ? καὶ τοῦ ἀναγινώσ]κοντος
 [σ]ήμερον.

19.09 CIL, III, 14147.7 (Epitaph from Pselcis, Egypt)

C. Iulius Suavis / Q. f. dec. coh. II Itur. / ann. XXXXII Λ Γ

19.10 ILS 8899 (Dedication from Syene, Egypt of 28 April, 39)

C. Caesari Aug. Germanico divi Aug. / pronepoti Ti. Caesaris Aug. n.
 Germanici Caesaris f. / cos. II trib. potest. Pontif. Maximo imp.
 patri patriae / per C. Vitrasium Pollionem praef. Aegyp. cohors
 Ituraeor. / cui praest L. Eienus L. f. Fal. Saturninus anno III
 Caesaris Augusti / Germanici IIII kal. Maias. N. d. II III

Devijver, SH 51

19.11 Bernand, Memnon, p. 39, no. 5 (Grafitto from Statue of Memnon at Thebes of 75/6)

(Mutilated text preserves part of what may be the name of Ti. Claudius Heras, prefect of an Ituraean cohort = 18.50) :]os Klaudios Her[.....

Devijver, SH 38

19.12 Bernand, Memnon, no. 63 (Grafitto on the Statue of Memnon at Thebes of 9 March, 83 ?)

.....] Fuscus[...../.....]ebius I[...../.....c]oh. II I[tur. eq./
 ...M]emnoni[s...../.....]NACV[...../.....]O[.....

19.13 CIL, XVI, 29 (Diploma from Egypt of 9 June, 83)

19.14 ILS 8907 (Dedication from Syene, Upper Egypt of 1 Jan., 98 - 18 Sept., 98)

Imp. Caesar[i] / Nervae Traiano Aug. / Germ. Pont. Max. tribunic. /
 potest. cos. II p. p. per C. Pompeium / Plantam praef. Aeg. et L.
 Genucium Priscum / praef. castror. coh. tres. I Hispanor. eq. cui
 praeest Q. Claudius / Africanus et II Itur. eq. cui praeest Ti. Claudius
 Berenicianus / et I Theb. eq. cui praeest P. Claudius Iustus curam
 agente P. Claudio / Iusto praef. coh. I Theb. eq. et curatore coh. I

Theb. eq. et curatore coh. I Hispanor. eq. et / coh. II Ituraeor. equit.

Devijver, SH 33; 35; 39.

- 19.15 Roxan, no. 9 (Diploma for Egypt of 24 Sept., 105)
cohort. II Ituraeorum, cui praest L. Aquilius Oculatius ex pedite
M. Spedio M. f. Corbuloni Hippo
Devijver, SH 9

- 19.16 IGRR, I, 1363 (From Pselcis, Upper Egypt of 14 Jan., 136)

Δουμίτιος Ἀρριανός | στρατι(ώτης) σπειρή(ς) β' Ἰτουραίων¹ | ἑκατονταρχίας
Φήλικος καὶ Δουμιτιαν[ός] | ὁ υἱός μου σὺν τῷ παν[τί] || οἴκῳ προσεκυνή-
σα[μεν] | Θεὸν μέγιστον Ἐρμῆ[ν] ἔτους κ' Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος | τοῦ κυρίου
Τῆξι ιη'².

- 19.17 SB 4616 (Proscynema from Talmis, Upper Egypt of 143/4)

(Text names Sabinus, centurion of this unit; the name of the soldier is lost)

- 19.18 SB 4603 (Proscynema from Talmis of 143/4)

(Text names Pt]olemaios a soldier of the B' Eituraion hippikēs)

- 19.19 IGRR, I, 1348 (Proscynema from Talmis, Upper Egypt of 146/7)

Τὸ προσκύνημα Γαίου | [Ἀν]θιστίου Καπιτωλείνου στρατιώτου | σπειρῆς
β' Ἰτουραίων¹ καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντων παρὰ θεῶ μεγίστου | Μανδούλι
καὶ | τοῦ ἀναγεινώσ[χοντος], ὧδε σή[μερον] | ἔτους ι' Ἀντωνίνου | Καίσαρος τοῦ
κυρίου².

- 19.20 CIL, XVI, 184 (Diploma for Egypt of 10 Dec., 156/7 March, 161)

- 19.21 SP 315 (Epikrasis from Karanis, Egypt of 188)

¹Ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων οὐ παρεπιγραφῆ· ἐπικρίσεις ²Λογγαίου ³Ρούφου γενομένου ἡγεμόνος διὰ ⁴Ἀλλίου ⁵Ερμολάου χειλιάρχου λεγιῶνος β' Τραϊανῆς ⁶Ἰσχυρᾶς ⁷ἀπὸ Ἐπειφικῆ ἕως Θῶθ κθ τοῦ κζ (ἔτους) ⁸Λύρηλιου ⁹Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. ¹⁰μετ' ἄλλα, σελίδ(ων) ᾱ. Οὐαλέριος Κλήμης βουλό-¹¹μενος παρεπιδημεῖν πρὸς καιρὸν <ἐν> νομῷ Ἀρ-¹²σινοείτη ἔτων . ὁ προγεγραμμένος οὐετρανός ¹³δηλώσας ἑαυτὸν ἐστρατεῦσθαι ἐν σπειρῇ β' ¹⁴Ἰτουραίων ἐπέδειξεν Πακτουμηίου Μάγνου ¹⁵τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος ἐπιστολὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν δι' ἧς ¹⁶ἐδηλοῦτο στρατευσάμενον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ προγεγραμ-¹⁷μένη σπειρῇ νομίμη ἀπολεύσει ἀπολεῦσθαι ἀ-¹⁸πὸ τῆς πρὸ ᾱ Καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων Ἀύρηλιῳ ¹⁹Κομμόδῳ Ἀντωνόνῳ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ ²⁰καὶ Κουιντίλλῳ ὑπάτοις. ἔδωκεν καὶ γνωστῆρας ²¹Μάρκον Ἀύρηλιον Πετεσοῦχον, Σερῆνον Πετρώ-²²μιον, Ἰούλιον Γέμελλον, τοὺς γ' οὐετρανοὺς, συν-²³χειρογραφοῦντας αὐτ[ῶ] μηδενὶ ἀλλοτρίῳ κεχρη-²⁴σθαι. καὶ τῆς Ἀλλίου Ἐρμολάου χειλιάρχου λεγιῶνος ²⁵β' Τραϊανῆς Ἰσχυρᾶς σημιώσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου ὀνόματος ²⁶Οὐαλερίου Κλήμεντος πεντήκοντα δύο οὐλή ²⁷ὑπὲρ ἀστράγαλον ποδὸς δεξιοῦ. (2nd hand) ²⁸Λούιος Καλλίμαχος β' βλιοφύλαξ· ὑ-²⁹πάρχει. (ἔτους) κη Ἀύρηλιου Κομμόδου ³⁰Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ³¹Παῦνι ιζ.

Verso: ³²ἐπικρίσις Οὐαλερίου Κλήμεντος ἐπεσ-³³κεμμένη.

- 19.22 BGU,XI,2024 (Papyrus from Arsinoë,Egypt of 204)
(Text alludes to ...]anus Faustus,prefect of this unit)
- 19.23 Not.Dig.Or.,XXVIII.44
Sub dispositione comes limitis Aegypti:cohors secunda
It[u]raeorum,A(1)yi
- 19.24 SB 4570 (Proscynema from Talmis)
(Badly mutilated text refers to Gaius Sa[.....],a soldier of this unit)
- 19.25 CIL,XI,3101 (From Falerii,Italy)
(a) M.Pont[.....]/trib. milit. leg. III C[.....]/praef. cohort. II It[...
...]/ Scrib. aed. cur. Ho[.....]/fecit.
(b)]tius/[.....]aetor equitatae/[.....]r. praef. fabr. bis/[...
...s]crib. libr. aed. cur. II/[.....s]uis
Devijver,SH 95
- 19.26 P.Mich. VII,435 and 440 (From Egypt of the early second century)
(Fragment of a receipt to soldiers may be restorable as): coh.
[....]tur.
Fink,no.77
- 19.27 Fink,p.311 et seq.(Ostraca from Pselcis,Egypt)
(All of the ostraca are receipts by soldiers for supplies received
by them. No unit is named and they are of various dates. The unit in
question may be equitata and,since the II Ituraeorum was part-
mounted and may have had its headquarters at Pselcis,some at least of
the men named may have been soldiers in this unit)
- 20.00 Cohors III Ituraeorum equitata
- 20.01 IGRR,I,1339 (Proscynema from Talmis,Egypt)
Τὸ προσχύνημ[α] | Γαίου Ἰουλείου Ἀμεινναίου¹ καὶ | Λουκίου Λουγίνου Φιλώ-
τας στρατιωτῶν σπείρης γ' Ἰτουραιώ[ρ]ουμ² κεντουρίας Ἰουλείου καὶ Διοδότου |
καὶ Ἀγαθοκλήτου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου | καὶ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἰουλείου καὶ Οὐάλεν|τος
καὶ Τιμαίου καὶ Λουγίνου καὶ | Γαίου Νικίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Γα[ί]ου
καὶ Γερμανοῦ καὶ Κυρίνου καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰουλείου καὶ τοῦ γράψαντος καὶ
τοῦ | ἀναγινώσκοντος παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Μανδού|λει σήμερον.
- 20.02 IGRR,I,1340 (Proscynema from Talmis,Egypt)
'Επ' ἀγαθῶ | τὸ προσχύνημ[α] | Γαίου Ἰουλείου | Ἀμεινναίου στρατιώτου σπέ-
ρης | τρίτης Εἰτουραε[ί]ρου(μ) κεντουρίας Ἰουλείου καὶ τῶν <πλ> αὐτοῦ πάν|των
παρὰ τῷ Μανδού|λει σήμερον.
- 20.03 CIL,XVI,29 (Diploma for Egypt of 9 June,83)
- 20.04 P.Mich.IX,568-9 (Papyrus from Karanis,Egypt of 90?)
(Text records a loan of money made by Marcus Anthestius Gemellus,
soldier of this unit,in the century of Titius,'about 35 years old
with a scar on the left side of his chin')

- 20.05 SP 421 (Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, Egypt of 24 Feb., 103)
[C.] Minucius Italu[s C]elsiano suo sal[u]tem. Tirones sexs probatos
a me in coh. cui praees in numeros referri iubi ex xi kalendas Martias:
nomina eorum et icon[i]smos huic epistulae subieci. Vale frater
karissim[e].
C.Veturium Gemellum annor. xxi sine i., C.Longinum Priscum annor. xxii
i. supercil. sinistr., C.Iulium Maximum ann. xxv sine i., [.] Lucium
Secundum annor. xx sine i., C.Iulium Saturninum annor. xxiii i. manu
sinistr., Marcum Antonium Valentem ann. xxii i. frontis parte dextr.
Accepta vi k. Martias ann. vi imp. Traiani n. per Priscum singul. Avidiu
Arrianus cornicular. coh. III Ituraeorum scripsi authenticam epistulam
in tabulario cohortis esse.
Devijver, C273
- 20.06 Roxan, no.9 (Diploma for Egypt of 24 Sept., 105)
- 20.07 CIL, XVI, 184 (Diploma for Egypt of 10 Dec., 156/7 March, 161)
- 20.08 P.Mich. III, 164 (From Egypt of April, 243/4)
(List of decurions and their dates of promotion):
COH. III ITURAE[O]RUM[..
ORDD
PET]ENEFOTES HIERAX[...
Ag]ricola et Clementino cos. factus dec. ex [...
a Ianuari]o tunc praef. Aeg. iiii kal. Sept. Agricola et C[lementino] cos
A]URELIUS A[R]POCRA[T]ION[...
.....]s Agricola et Clementino c[os] factus ord. e[x] eq[...
an[.....pr]aef. Aeg. n[on]is ...
- 20.09 ILS 2611 (Carved on the rocks at the quarries at Ptolemais, c.80 miles
downstream from Coptos)
Omnibus / commilitonibus / qui hic fuerunt ad / custodias felic. /
coh. scut. c.R. / feliciter / coh. III Itur. felicit.
- 20.10 ILS 5502 (From Beneventum, Italy)
C.Oclatio C.f. / Pal. Modesto / augur IIvir. i.d. quaest. II /
praef. fabr. Romae praef. / coh. II Pannonior. praef. / coh. III
Ityraeor. trib. mil. / leg. IIII Scythic. curat. rei/p.Aecanor. item
honora/to ad curam kalendarum / rei p. Canusinor. a divo Traiano
Parthico et ab imp. Ha[d]riano Aug.
Devijver, 03
- 20.11 CIL, III, 59 (Grafitto on the Statue of Memnon at Thebes, Egypt)
C.Cornelius / [L]ucr[et]ianus / pr. coh. III Ityr. / audi hor.
Devijver, SH 49
- 20.12 ILS 2751 (Dedication from Timgad, Africa)
Sertio / Optantius / M.Plotio Fausto / eq. R. praef. coh. / III
Ityraeorum / trib. coh. I Fl. Cana/thenorum prae[f] / al. I Fl. Gallorum
Taurianae fl. pp. / sacerdoti urbis / M.Pompeius Quin/tianus eq. R. fl.
pp. / parenti caris/simo
Devijver, P47
- 20.13 CIL, VIII, 2344 (Dedication from Timgad)
(Similar to 20.12)

- 20.14 CIL, VIII, 2395 (Dedication from Timgad)
(Similar to 20.12)
- 20.15 J. Baillet, IGL, I, 1806 (Grafitto on one of the Tombs of the Kings at Cairo of the second or third century)
Ἀυρήλιος μαθηματικὸς ἑπαρχὸς χωρὶ Γ̄/ιδ[ών] ιστορήσα: |
Devijver, SH 15
- 20.50 CIL, XI, 2113 (From Clusium, Italy)
...../.....Ituraeorum/[.]sagittarior./[.]qui in bello /[.]
cecedit
Devijver, Incertus 194
- 21.00 Cohors I Augusta Canathenorum (?)
- 21.01 CIL, III, 14379 (From Imtan, Arabia)
....]mil. et / equ[i]tes / coh. I Aug. / CANNHEN (sic) / et
[.]ACHIOT / fece
- 22.00 Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittariorum
- 22.01 Roxan, no. 32 (Diploma for Raetia of 125/8)
- 22.02 CIL, XVI, 94 (Diploma for Raetia of 147)
- 22.03 Roxan, no. 46 (Diploma for Raetia of 153 - restored)
- 22.04 CIL, XVI, 183 (Diploma for Raetia of 156/7)
- 22.05 Roxan, no. 59 (Diploma for Raetia of 149/61 - restored)
- 22.06 CIL, XVI, 118 (Diploma for Raetia of 162)^
cohort. I Fl. Canat[henorum (milliaria), cui praest] Aelius[.....,
.....] Asvodane R[.....] f. [.....
Devijver, A16
- 22.07 Roxan, no. 68 (Diploma for Raetia of 167/8 - restored)
- 22.08 CIL, III, 6001 (Tile-stamp from Biburg near Pföding in Raetia)
CIFC
- 22.09 ILS 2751 (From Timgad, Africa)
(= 20.12; .13; 14)
- 22.10 CIL, XVI, 121 (Diploma for Raetia of March/April, 166)
- 22.11 CIL, XVI, 117 (Diploma for Raetia of 153/7)
- 22.12 Roxan, no. 51 (Diploma for Raetia of 153/7)

- 22.13 CIL, III, 5973 (Altar from Straubing, Raetia of 163)
(a) [Iovi o.m. / Do]lichen / [pr]o salute / [im]p. n. vete / [...] I
Gana[.....]
(b)] / III idus Apr[i] / les Laeli / no cos. qui / bus pra[e]e[st] /
.....]
- 23.00 Ala celerum sagittariorum
- 23.01 Syria, VII(1926)328 (Philippopolis, Arabia)
{ 'A Chohba, l'ancienne Philippopolis, j'ai relevé une dédicace,
probablement inédite, en l'honneur de Marinus, le père de l'empereur
Philippe, par les cavaliers de l'Ala celerum Philippiana }
- 23.02 ILS 2528 (Epitaph from Virunum, Noricum)
Aggaeo / hexarcho / alae celerum / viro sagittandi / peritissimo vi /
militum interem/to Monna / marito amantissimo
- 24.00 Cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata
- 24.01 ILS 2729 (From Rome)
Tito Staberio / T.f. Secundo / praef. coh. Chalciden. / in Africa
tribuno / militum leg. VII / Geminae felicis / in Germania praef. /
equit. alae Moesicae / felicis torquatae / Staberia mater inpena /
sua
Devijver, S59
- 24.02 AE(1950)58 (From Gemellae, Numidia of 125/6)
Imp. Caes. divi Traiani / Parthici f. divi Nervae / nep. Traiano
Hadri/ano Aug. Pont. Max. / trib. pot. X cos. III / coh. I Chalcid.,
eq. / devotissima ipsi / statuum de suo posuit / Sex. Iulio Maiore /
leg. Aug. pr. pr.
- 24.03 ILAlg. I, 3842 (From Bir Umm-Ali, Numidia of 163/4)
...../...../...../imp.IIII (?) / cos. II / coh. I
Chalcid. eq. / C. Maesio Picatiano / leg. Augustor pr. pr.
- 24.04 ILAlg. I, 3841 (From Bir Umm-Ali, Numidia of 164)
Imp. Caesari / M. Aurelio Anton[i] / no Aug. divi Anto/nini fil. divi
Hadri/ani nep. divi Traia/ni Parthici pronep. / divi Nervae apnep. (sic
imp. II Pont. Max. tr. / pot XVIII c[os III] / coh. I Chalcid. [eq.] /
C. Maesio Picat[iano] / le[g.] Augus[torum] / pr. pr.
- 24.05 CIL, II, 2103 (Dedication from Urgavo, Baetica)
C. Venaecius P.f. Voconianus / flamen divorum Augg. / praef. coh. I
Chalcedonen. (sic) / trib. leg. III Gall[i]cae felicis / pr[ae]f. alae
I Lema[v]orum // Fortunae signum aureum [p.v.] it[em] / mercurio p.v.
pateram p.lib. / ex voto / et bases II arg. p.v.l.s.
Devijver, V65

- 24.06 ILAlg.I,3483 (Epitaph from Bir Umm-Ali,Numidia)
D.m. / [P]apiriae / C.f. Irenae / uxori sanc/tissimae / C.Suetoni/us
Ianuar. / praefectus / coh. I Chal.
Devijver,S83
- 24.07 ILAlg. I,3840 (From Bir Umm-Ali,Numidia)
...../...../..]nc ibi / quam vo/vi / posui / bone Iup/p[i]ter aram /
praef. coh. / nomine / Galloni/us
- 24.08 AE(1937)156 (From Tatilti,Mauretania Caesariensis)
Ant]oninus / [p]ropagatores / [..]na coh. IIII (?) / [...Chalc]iden/
.....]M
- 24.50 Chiron,5(1975)365-92 (From near Tekirdag,Thrace)
[...../praef. coh.]e]q[uit. praef. coh. I or II Chalci]denor[ur
praef. alae] / I Panno[n]io[rum praef.] / vehiculorum [imp. Cae]/saris
Vespasian[i Aug.] / e[t] aedili castren[sium?]/ proc. provinc. Lusita/
[n]iae proc. provinciae / [T]hraciae censori eius/[de]m provinciae
patrono / [colo]niae pub. d.d.
Devijver,Incertus 75
- 25.00 Cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum
- 25.01 CIL,XVI,45 (Diploma for Moesia inferior of 14 Aug.,99)
- 25.02 CIL,XVI,78 (Diploma for Moesia inferior of 2 April,134)
- 25.03 CIL,XVI,83 (Diploma for Moesia inferior of 28 Feb.,138)
- 25.04 Roxan,no.50 (Diploma for Moesia inferior of c.157)
- 26.00 Cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum equitata sagittariorum
- 26.01 ILS 2724 (From Gradista,Macedonia)
(=02.01)
- 26.02 ILS 9173 (Epitaph from el-Kantara,Numidia)
D.m.s. / Agrippa Themi / [f]il. Palmyra q(ui) f(uit) / [7] coh. III
Thra/[c]um Syri.item / [t]ranslatus / [i]n coh. I Ch(a)lci/[d]enor.
iusso / [i]mp. curam / [e]git Palmyr. / [s]ag. an. X / militavit
ann. / [.]XIII vix. an. LV / [f]ec. lib. et pro.
- 26.03 CIL,XVI,106 (Diploma for Syria of 156/7)
- 26.04 CIL,III,6658 (Building inscription from Dumeir,Syria of 162)
Imp. Caesari divi / Antonini fil. divi / Hadriani nep. divi / Traiani
Parth. pronep. / divi Nervae abnep. / L.Aurelio Vero Au[g.] / Pontif.
Max. trib. p[ot]. [I]I / cos. II p.p. coh. I Fl. Cha[l.] / eq. sag.
sub Attidio / Corneliano leg. Au[g.] / pr. pr. per Aelium / Herculanium
prae[f.]
Devijver,A36

- 26.05 AE(1969/70)610 (Building inscription from Palmyra of 206/7)
Imp. Cae[s.] L.[Sept. Se]/vero Pio Pert[i]/naci Aug. Arab. A/diab.
Part. Max. / Pont. Max. trib. pot. / XV cos. III p.p. imp. XI /coh.
I Fl. Chalc. eq. / s[ag. s]ub Dom. [Leone / Pro]cilliano [leg.] /
Aug. pr. pr. [cu]ram a[g/en. ...]dian[ro /]pr[ae]f[...../.....]
Devijver, Incertus 72
- 26.06 AE(1969/70)611 (Building inscription from Palmyra)
[Imp. Cae]sari M.Aurelio /[.....]/ Invict[o]A/[.....]
...../.....]VE[...tribuni/ci]ae pot[...../co]s. p.p.[coh.]/ I Fl.
Chalc. e[q. /sa]g. nune[...../.....]VE[...../.....]
- 26.07 AE(1933)216 (Dedication from Palmyra)
M.Otaciliae / Severae Aug. / matri Philippi / Caes. et / castrorum /
coh. I Fl. Chalc. / d.n.mq. eius
- 26.08 Syria, XLVII(1970), 319, no.4 (Altar from Palmyra)
I.o.m. votum Amathallat f. Sabbiti [^{c. 10}.....] optieq[.....].
(Then again in Greek but even more mutilated)
- 27.00 Cohors I Damascenorum
- 27.01 P.Oxy. III, 477 (Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus of 132/3)
(A letter to Marcus Claudius Serenus, former prefect of this unit)
Devijver, SH 45
- 27.02 BGU I, 136 (Papyrus from Egypt of 24 March, 135)
(Text names Claudius Philoxenus, former prefect of this unit)
Devijver, SH 42
- 27.03 BGU I, 73 (From the Fayuum of 20 June, 135)
(Text names Claudius Philoxenus, former prefect of this unit)
Devijver, SH 42
- 27.04 CIL, XVI, 87 (Diploma for Syria Palaestina of 22 Nov., 139)
- 27.05 ILS 2722 (From Bergamus, Italy)
C.Cornelio / C.f. Vot. / Miniciano / praef. coh. prim. / Damasc.
trib. mil. / legionis III August. / praef. fabr. curator / reip.
Otesinorum / IIII viro i.d. pontifici / flamini divi Claudii / Bergomi
patrono / flamini divi Traiani / Mediolani / plebs urban.
Devijver, C240
- 27.06 Roxan, no.69 (Diploma for Syria Palaestina of 24/27 Nov., 186)
- 28.00 Cohors I Flavia Damascenorum milliaria equitata sagittariorum
- 28.01 CIL, XIII, 7345 (From Heddernheim, Germania superior)
I.o.[m.] / Doli[che]/no Tib. Cl. 7 co. / I Dam. [v.s.l.m.]

- 28.02 ILS 2585 (Altar from Friedberg, Germania superior)
Marti et vict/riae / Soemus Severus / cornicul. coh. T. (sic) Fl. /
Damas. (milliaria) eq. sa[g.] / v.s.l.l.m.
- 28.03 CIL, XVI, 36 (Diploma for Germania superior of 27 Oct., 90)
- 28.04 CIL, XVI, 63 (Diploma for Germania superior of 8 Sept., 117)
- 28.05 CIL, XVI, 62 (Diploma for Germania superior of 8 Sept., 117)
- 28.06 CIL, XVI, 80 (Diploma for Germania superior of 16 Oct., 134)
- 28.07 Germania, 51(1973), 146-51 (Altar from Heddernheim, Germania superior of 227)
I.o.m. / Sextius Ur/sus vetera/nus ex dec. / cho. I Damas/cenorum
in / suo ex voto / posuit Albi/no et Maxim[o] cos.
- 28.08 CIL, XIII, 6270 (Epitaph from Alsheim, Germania superior)
Faustinio Faustino Sennauci Florionis fil. mil. / coh. I F. D.
ped. sing. cos. Gemellina Faustina Mat. / et Faustina Potentina
sor. her. secundum volunt.(sic) / testamenti pos. vixit an[.....]V
decidit in flore iuvente / f.c.
- 28.09 CIL, XIII, 6350 (From Rotweil, Germania superior)
.....]LMETT[.../..]I Flav[.../...]CV[.../...]ius[.....]
- 28.10 AE(1903)93 (Tile-stamps from the castellum at Arnsburg, Germania superior)
CFD
- 29.00 Ala prima Damascena (=27.00)
- 29.01 Not. Dig. Or. XXXII.33
Sub dispositione ducis Foenicis:ala prima Damascena, monte Iovis
- 30.00 Ala I Ulpia dromedariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria
- 30.01 AE1947)171 (Dedication from Palmyra of the 150s)
[Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Φι.....]
ἐπαρχον σπείρης πρώτης Αὐγούσ-
της Θρακῶν ἰππέων καὶ χειλῆαρχον
λεγεῶνος ἑκκαιδεκάτης Φλαουίας
Φίρμης καὶ ἐπαρχον εἵλης πρώτης
[Οὐλπίας] δρομαδάρων Παλμυρη-
[νῶν καὶ πολείτη]ν τῆς Παλμυρη-
[νῶν πό[λ]εως Μᾶρκος Οὐλπίος
Αἰρανοῦ υἱὸς Σεργία Ιαρχίος τὸν
ἑαυτοῦ φίλον.....
- Devi jver, C165
- 30.02 CIL, XVI, 106 (Diploma for Syria of 156/7)

- 31.00 Numerus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum Tibiscensium
- 31.01 Roxan, no. 28 (Diploma for Dacia superior of 31 Jan., or 12 Feb., 126)
[.....Palmyreniis s]ag[itta]riis
[.....Per]hev f.
- 31.02 Roxan, no. 27 (diploma for Dacia superior of 31 Jan. or 12 Feb., 126)
Palmyreniis sagitaris
Perhev Athenaton f.
- 31.03 AE(1967)393 (Altar from Tibiscum, Dacia)
....M]alach[belo.... / pro sal. d.n. Au]g. P.A[el /]vet.
ex op[t....
- 31.04 CIL, III, 7999 (Epitaph from Tibiscum, Dacia)
D.m.m. / [A]el. Guras Iidei [./ .op]tio ex n. Palmur[./ vi]xit ann.
XXXII mil. / an]n. XXI Ael. Habibis / [po]tif. et h.b.m.p
(Followed by some Semitic characters)
- 31.05 CIL, III, 14216 (Epitaph from Tibiscum)
Ae. Boraes Za/bdiboli mil. [e]x / n.Pal. vix. a[nn.... / et] Leriae[... /
.....]
- 31.06 AE(1914)102 (Epitaph from Apulum, Dacia)
D.m. / Mucatra / Brasi miles / n. Palmyren. / Tibiscensium / vixit
annis XXXVIII / Mucapor Mucatral / heres contubern. / carissimo
posuit
- 31.07 AE(1967)394 (Epitaph from Tibiscum)
[.....] / Bana G.M[.....]N / opt(i)o p. et f.b.m.
- 31.08 AE(1972)466 (Dedication from Sarmizegetusa, Dacia) *
M.Papirio M.f.Corn.[... / praef. al., trib. leg.]praef. coh.
I Pann. praef. [nume] / ri Pal[m. Tibisc[ensium pro] / curatori Aug.
[provinciae] / Ponti [item pro/v]in[c.] Moesia[e a.v.p. col.]Ulpia
Traia[na Aug. Dacic.] / Sar[miz.] / patr.
Devijver, P12
- 31.09 AMN, 7(1970)135-49 (Tile-stamp from Tibiscum)
NPT
- 32.00 Numerus Palmyrenorum Optatianensium sagittariorum
- 32.01 AE(1950)217 (Epitaph from Suceava, Dacia)
D.[m.] / Iul. C / n.P.O. m[il.] / vixit ann. / vivus fe[cit]
- 32.02 CIL, III, 1471 (From Sarmizegetusa)
[P. A]el. Sept. Audeo qui et Maxi/[mus] vet. ex 7 n.P.O. vixit ann.
LX / [A]el. Sept. Romanus mil. leg. XIII G. / [Ad]iut. offic. cornicul.
et Septimia / [Se]ptimina quae et Revocata fil. et / [C]ornelia Antonia
uxor heredes / [p]onendum curaverunt cura agent. / [S]eptimio Asclepiade
Aug. col. / liberto eius

- 33.00 Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium sagittariorum civium Romanorum eq.
- 33.01 Roxan, no. 17 (Diploma for Dacia superior of 29 June, 120)
Palmyrenis sagittariis ex Syri.
Bari[c]i Male f. Palmyr.
- 33.02 CIL, XVI, 68 ad. (Diploma for Dacia superior of 29 June, 120)
[Palmyrenis sagittariis ex] Sy[ri.]
Hamasaes Alapatha f. Palmyr.
- 33.03 Roxan, Frg. no. 2 (Diploma for Dacia superior of 120?)
[Palmyrenis sagi]tariis e[x Syri.]
[.....]
- 33.04 CIL, III, 8075.25 (Tile-stamp from Porolissum)
PPN
- 33.05 Stein, Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien, 1944, p. 63 (From Porolissum)
Pro Salut[e i]mp. M. Aur[eli] Antonini Aug. Pii Fel. deo patrio /
belo n. Pal. sagit. templum vi ignis consumptum pecunia sua /
[re]stituer dedicant[e ///////////////] cos. III Daci[arum] U[1]pio
Victore / proc. Aug. prov[inc Por]ol. cura agente T. Fl. Saturn[ino]
7 le]g. / V Mac. p. c.
CP, no. 257
- 33.06 CIL, III, 837 (Epitaph from Porolissum)
[.....] / an. X / f. vix. an. V[////] / Salmas Rami / ex n. P.
co(n)iu[g]i / et filio b. m.
- 33.07 AE(1940)50 (From Dacia)
De. Suri/ae Aur. / Gaianus / de. m. P. / sace(r)do
- 33.08 AE(1971)389 (From Porolissum)
D. m. / [.....]us vet. ex [dec. vix. a]n. LXXXV mil. / [an. ... Aur.
P]asser sig. / [n. P. P. ? vix.] an. XXXIII Ael. / [..... vix. a]n. XVII
Aur. / [.....]miles n. P. P. vix. / [an. Au]r. Sabina et Au / [rel.
.....]us actarius / [.....]
- 33.09 AE(1960)219 (From Porolissum)
Sil. Do[m.] / Mucianu/s optio Pal. / v. 'po. l. m.
- 33.10 CIL, III, 803 (From Also-Ilosvae, Dacia)
D. m. / Aurel. Iustin[...]/ eques n. P. P. [...]/ vix. ann. XL[...]/ Aurel.
Maxi[...]/us frater[...]/ et heres f. c.
- 33.11 AMN, 5(1968)453 (From Porolissum)
Silvano / Domestc. / sacrum / Val. Them. / vet. dec. municip. / s. l. m.

33.12 Dacia, VII-VIII(1937-40)328 et seq. (From Sarmizegetusa)

[Herenniae Etrusc/cilae sanctissimae / Augustae coniugi d.n. / Traiani
Deci et Quin/ti Augg.] et castro/rum senatus ac / patriae n.Pal.
Porol. sag. c.R. / Decianus dica/tissimus numi/ni eorum

33.13 AE(1947)169 (From Palmyra)

[Μ]ᾶρχον Οὔλπιον Ἀδύγαρον ἑπαρχον
Παλμυρενῶ[ν το]ξοτῶν καὶ γερ-
.....
[Μᾶρ]χοι Οὔλπιοι Ο.....
.....ων ἑκατοντ[άρχης]
.....οὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τε[ιμῆς]
[χάριν ἔτ]ους ὄνω' Αὔδυνχίο[υ].

Devijver, U3

33.14 AE(1947)170 (From Palmyra)

Τ. Αἴλιο[ν...ἑπαρχον τῶν
ἐν Παρολί[σσω τῆς ἀνωτέ]-
ρας Δακίας [κα]τε[ι]λεγμένων
τοξότων οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτο[υ]
αὐτοῦ οὐηξί[λλ]ου τειμῆς
[χάριν].

Devijver, A18

33.15 CIL, III, 907 (From near Potaissa in Dacia)

D.m. / Aelria (sic) [//] M s. Palmura / vix. ann. VIII [S]urillio/
vix. an. XXV Rufina vix. / an. XX Ael. Bolhas Ba/naei vet. ex n.
Palmur./ et Ael. Domestica co/ni[u]x aeius (sic) posuerant / filiae
pientissimae et ca/lcme et liberto et PN / esteris [.....]

33.50 QDAP, 12(1946)94, no.10 (Epitaph from Emaus, Palestine)

Βελλεῖ
Θαίμου
Παλμυρη
νός

34.00 Numerus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum (Numidia)

34.01 CIL, VIII, 2515 + CIS, II.3, 3908 (Epitaph from el-Kantara, Numidia)

D.m.s. Surecus Rubatis Pal. sag. 7 Maximi (vixit) an. XLV mi(li)tavit
an. XIII
(Parallel text in Palmyrene script)

34.02 CRAI, 1932, 265-9 (From el-Kantara)

Ierhobo/les Iedd/ei mil. Pal. / vix. an. XLV
(Palmyrene version repeats this text and provides the full text of
the associated lines for his dead daughter Astarga)

34.03 ILS 2625 (Dedication from el-Kantara)

Mercurio Aug. sac. / pro salute imp. Caesaris M.Aure/li Antonini
Aug. Pii M.Annius Valens 7 leg. III Aug. praepositus / n. Palm[yre]-

norum pro salute / sua et suorum v.s.l.a.

- 34.04 ILS 9173 (From el-Kantara)
(=26.02)
- 34.05 CILVIII,2505 (From el-Kantara)
Maximo Zabdiboli Hadrino Palm. ve[ter.]/ ex ordin. n.Pal. vix. an.
LXXV Valeria Dulc[is]/ uxor et heres eius praeter qum qot
te[s]/tamento eautum est adiecta pecunia [de li]/beralitate sua
marito rarissimo f[ecit]
- 34.06 CIL,VIII,18008 (From el-Kantara)
Neptuno / Aug. sacr. / Q.Vettius / Iustus 7 / leg. III Aug. /praepo.
n. Pal.
- 34.07 (Deleted)
- 34.08 CIL,VIII,2502 (From el-Kantara)
Impe[.....]/ Sarm[.....]/ Palm[.....]
- 34.09 CIL,VIII,2509 (From el-Kantara)
Iulia / Palm/yra vix. / annis / XXXV
- 34.10 CIL,III,2497 (From el-Kantara)
N.Herculis / Malagbelo / Aug. sancto sacr. / T. Fl. Monsue/ta 7
leg. III Aug. / v.s.l.l.m.
... ..
- 34.11 AE(1926)144 (from el-Kantara)
[Imp. Caes. L. Septimio Seve]ro Pertinaci Aug. Pon]t. Max./ tr. pot.
...cos. ... imp]II[pro]cos. p.p. [et Clodio Albino Caes./
p]er n. Pal. cura a[gen]/te Iulio :::::::::::ino 7 leg. III Aug. [p.v.]
... ..
- 34.12 AE(1955)134 (From el-Kantara)
M. Luceio Torqua. /pondera examinata et posita pe/[rpraef. or
praep.] n. Palmyr.
- 34.13 AE(1933)44 D.m. / Heranus Hera/ni Palmyreni / vixit annis / LV
militav. / annis XVIII / Malchus me/dicus ami[co] / merenti
- 34.14 AE(1933)36 (From el-Kantara)
Ob mememo[r]iae (sic) / Nurbelo S.f. idio patri / M.Herennius
urbanus dec. / fecit
- 34.15 AE(1933)37 (From el-Kantara)
D.m. / Pot. Silu/s Thema/rsae v./[a.] XLVIII / mil. X[...]/VI
- 34.16 Bull. Arch. Alg.,1966-7,224,fig.3 (From Lambaesis)
Iuliu/s Tem/arsa / vet./ sacer/dos ma/ior[.]M./ Aure/.....
... ..
- 34.17 AE(1933)41 (From el-Kantara)
.....v]ix.[an. ...]/Nabuzabatus filio [et] / Nepticlo fpcit (sic)

- 34.18 AE(1933)40 (From el-Kantara)
D.m.s. / Maxi/montane / vix. an. LV / Mocimus l / Sam[.....]/
me[.....]
- 34.19 AE(1933)39 (From el-Kantara)
D.m. / Iereh/ei Iere/hei v. / an. XLV
- 34.20 AE(1933)38 (From el-Kantara)
Iacu/bus / Mo/cim/uli / vix./ann. / XLVI / par/en. c/arisis/[simo]
- 34.21 AE(1933)43 (From el-Kantara)
Deo sanc./ Malagb. / Mucianus / Malcus / et Lisin/us Muci/anus /
magg. / v.s.
- 34.22 AE(1933)42 (From el-Kantara)
Deo Malachel[o]/ pro salute d.n. imp[p.] / AIVI[////////]I[//]eg.
Augg. pr.p[r.]/ T.Cl[////////]I[////////]us leg. III Aug.
- 34.23 CIS,II.3,3909 (From Lambaesis for 149/50)
(Text in Palmyrene script): Monumentum hoc est tou (sic) Mokimu
filii Simon,Heu ! Anno CCCCLXI
- 34.24 ILS 4340 (From Castellum Dimmidi,Numidia)
(a)Side [.....]onorati / [...]ct[.....] amicus / [...]ul. Donatus fil./
[...]ran. Messor /[...]tron. Rogatian./T. Annius Victor / Q.Gran. Donatus
C.Iulius Tertull[us]/[.....]
(b)Front Deo num. Mag. / pro salute d.n. / imp. Caes. M.Aurel. /
Severi Alexan/dri Invicti Pii Fel./ Aug. divi M[agni]
(c) Side [M:?] n:P. / Sev. 7 Galtoniani / C.Modius 7 \$ / L.Rubrius
Felix / C.Iulius Maximus / C.Cannius Malcus / L.Host. Florentin. / C.
Iulius Tonneus / C.Iulius T[...../.....]
- 34.25 AE(1940)150 (From Castellum Dimmidi)
[...../.....] D.deo num[ini Malagbelo]/ n.Pal. Sev[riana ?]/
morante[s castello Dimmidi/]
- 34.26 AE(1948)219 (From Castellum Dimmidi)
[.....] / ma[tri Augusti] / n. et castr. to[tius q.d.d.] /
vexil. n.Pal. morant. / cast. Dimm[idi fec. sub cu?/...]ra[...]
- 34.27 AE(1940)147 (From Castellum Dimmidi)
[.....]N/.....V] non/[as MaiasM]axi/[mo II
et]io Urbano cos. / [milites n.Pa]lmyr. fecer/[.....]Fausto
tes. legg. s.s./[.....]mil. leg. s.s. scrib/[.....]et sculps[it....]
- 34.28 CIL,VIII,18026 (From Castellum Dimmidi)
[.....]AE/[.....]TON[...]/Gordian / Pio Felix / August / numerus
Palmir[...../.....]TAR[...]/E[.....]votu[.../.....]

35.00 Ala equitorum numeri Palmyrenorum Porolissensium

35.01 ILS 9472 (From Thessalonica, Thrace)

κατὰ τὸ δόξαν τῆ | κρατιστῆ βουλῆ καὶ | τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ
δήμῳ· | Γ. Μέστρ(ιον) Σερουιλια|νὸν τὸν ἀξιολογώ|τατον ἰππῆ Ῥω-
μαῖ, | χειλλαρχον σπειρης | πρώτης Μουσουλामῶν | ἰππικῆς¹, ἐπ-
αρχον | εἰλης ἰππέων ἀριθμοῦ | Παλμυρηνῶν² Πορολυσ|σηνῶν³,
Ἄντῳ. Πούβλιο[s]⁴ | τὸν πατρῶον.

Devijver, M49

36.00 Cohors I Palmyrenorum Porolissensium

36.01 CIL, III, 908 (From Potaiissa, Dacia)

D.m. / Aur. Celsus / vixit an. LX / Aur. Bassus / vix. an. L Aur. /
Celsinianus / mil. ch. I P.P. / pat. et Av(u)nc/ulo pient. / ob
merita /p.

37.00 Ala Palmyrenorum

37.01 AE(1974)565b (Brick-stamps from the fort at Borosneul Mare in the
Buzau Gorge, Transylvania, Dacia)

AL PALM

38.00 Hadriani Palmyreni Antoniniani sagittarii = Ala VIII Palmyrenorum

38.01 IGRR, I, 1169 (From Coptos, Egypt of July, 216)

Ἐτους χδ' | τοῦ κυρίου | ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορο[ς] | Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου || Εὐσε-
βοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς | Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπειρ' κ' | θεῶ μεγίστῳ Ἱεράβ|λω² Μ. Αὐρήλιος |
Βηλάκας Ἱεραβ[ίωλου]³ || οὐτξιλλάριος | Ἀδριανῶν Παλμυ|ρηνῶν Ἀντωνια-
νῶν⁴ | τοξοτῶν.

38.02 Not. Dig. Or., XXXI.49

Sub dispositione ducis Thebaidis: ala octava Palmyrenorum, Foen-
icionis

39.00 Cuneus equitum secundorum clibanariorum Palmirenorum

39.01 Not. Dig. Or. VII.37

(Under comitatenses): cuneus equitum secundorum clibanariorum
Palmirenorum

40.00 [Numerus Palmyrenorum (Britannia)]

40.01 RIB 1171 (From Corbridge)

[D.]m./[.....]rathes Pal/noreus (sic) / vexila / vixit anos LXVIII

40.02 RIB 1065 (From South Shields)

D.M. Regina liberta et coniuge / Barates Palmyrenus natione /
Catuallauna an. XXX

41.00 Cohors XX Palmyrenorum milliaria sagittariorum equitata

41.01 AE(1948)124 (From Dura Europos)

Ἰούλιον [Τε]-
ρέντιον χει-
λίχρον σπείρ. κ' Παλμ.
τὸν Ὀρασὺν ἐν στρατιαῖς
στεναρὸν πολέμοισι θανόντα
μνήμης ἄξιον ἄνδρα Αὐρηλία
Ἄρρῖα θάψε πόσιν φίλιον, ἐν ψυ-
χαὶ δέξασθαι θεαί, ἐλαφρά
καλύψαι τε γαῖα.

Devijver, I131

41.02 AE(1940)240 (From Dura Europos)

Mili [.....]/ liberali[tat]e e[.....]/ coh. XX Pa[1]my[renorum sag.]

41.03 AE(1923)23 (From Dura Europos)

[Imp. Caes. M.Aurel]io Severo [Alexandro / Pio Felici Aug]usto divi
Severi Pii / [nep. divi Antonini] Magni filio Ponti/[fici Max. trib.
pote]statis VIIII [cos. III] p.p. / [et Iuliae Avitae Mameae Augustae
matri Aug. n. et c]astrorum sena/[tus patriaeq: mili]tes coh. XX
Palmy/[renorum sagittar. Severianae Alexan/drianae devoti] numini ac
maieas/tati eorum]

41.04 AE(1940)219 (From Dura Europos of 170/1)

ΘΕΟΥ ΜΙΘΡΑΝ ΕΠΟΗΓΕΝ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΣ Ο ΚΑΙ ΕΙΑΕΙΒΑΕ ΙΑΡΙΒΩΛΕΟΥΣ
ΣΙΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΤΟΞΟΤΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ Π Υ

Z H	I A P I	B A P N A
N O	B Ω Λ Η C	A Δ A Θ
B I		
O C		

41.05 AE(1927)163 (From Dura Europos of 19 May)

Aurelius Marinus / Aurelius Istarne[nes ?]/ Aurelius Tiatume[nus?]/
Aurelius Eliudurus / feceru. a purta (sic) sagitariuru. (sic) /
XIII caladas (sic) Iunias
(Grafitti on a tower)

41.06 AE(1940)218 (From Dura Europos)

(Palmyrene inscription from the Mithraeum above a bas relief of
Mithra : indique que le monument a été élevé par Ethpeni le stratège
, fils de Zabdeta, commandant des archers qui sont a Doura, en 168 ap.J.C.

42.00 Cohors Silauciensiu(m)

42.01 CIL, XIII, 8593 (From Asciburgium, Germania inferior)

Erpirodi / Tib. Iul. Car/etis f. Sdeb/das domo / Turo missi/cius
ex coh. Silauciens/iu. h.s.e. Tib. Iul. / Antus f.c. / et Primigenia /
lib. eius anno / III h.s.e.

43.00 Ala II Syrorum civium Romanorum

43.01 AE(1931)36 (From Chellah, Mauretania Tingitana)

M.Sulpicio M.f. / Felici domo Roma trib. / quir. lib. et patr. praef.
coh. I / Germanor. trib. mil. leg. XVI / F.f.f. trib. mil. coh. III
Ulp. (milliaria) / Petraeor. electo et retento / ad cens excipiend.
in partem / provinc. Arm. item Capp. / praef. eq. al. II Syr. c.R. /
amici ob adfect. munic. sal. / et innocentium d.d. / decretumq. ordinis
subiecerunt

Devijver, S86

43.02 AE(1942-3)25 (From Ain-Chkour, Mauretania Tingitana)

Volo[.....]/ vet. ex de/c. ala S. vix./ ano (sic) XL p.d. al. 𐤃

44.00 Ala II Septimia Surorum milliaria

44.01 AE(1968)422 (From Carnuntum Pannonia superior of 23 Aug., 219)

Pro sal. imp. [[Caes. M.Aur./ Antonini P.F. Augusti]]/ [.]lf. M.f.
Faustinianus / [d]ec. c.c.a.s. et c.s.a.k. eq. / [p]ub[il.]
sacerdotalis / p.P.s. trib. mil. leg. / XIII G.Ant. tri. / coh. II
Mattiacor. / (milliaria) eq. praef. alae / [I]I Sept. Suror. (milliaria) ,
[c]oll. fabr. Karn.d.d.
Ded. imp. [[Antonino Aug.]]/ II et sacerdote cos. / ad X kal. Sept./
agente praef. T.Ael. Constant. / mag. coll. / Ael. Herculano et
Ulp. Marc[el]lino

Devijver, F105

45.00 Cohors Surorum

45.01 AE(1938)120 (From Mainz, Germania superior)

Paulla Ti./ Iuli Selvani (sic) / ex chor. Sur. / anno XXIIIX /
h.s.e. / o spes si vacuum / est tumuli cog/noscere cassus / perlege
nam mo/rtis [//////] caussa (sic) / dolenda fuit (sic) / dic.
rogo nu(n)c iuvene/niis sit tibi terra / levis

46.00 Cohors I Surorum sagittariorum

46.01 ILS 2568 (From Caesarea Mauretaniae)

C.Iulius Dapnus chorte (sic) / Surorum annorum L militav/it annis
XXX mis(s)ione ac(c)epit pro / meritiis suis fecit Iulia Vartinigig
(sic) viro suo ob meritis h.s.e.

46.02 AE(1962)304 (From Ain el-Avenia, Djebel Nefusa, Tripolitania)

Soli Hieroboli pro sa[lute] / dominorum nnn. Augg[g. Se]/veri et
Antonini e[t Getae]/ e[t] Iuliae totiusq. do[mus] / divinae per
vexilla[tio]/nem leg. III A[u]g. et mil. / coh[ort]is S]yro[r]um
sagit/[ta]riorum a solo [.....]

- 46.03 AE(1892)13 (From Lambaesis)
[M]emoria patronis et dominis meis Q.Bullati Sabini patris / [.....
..]VI et qq. Bullati Sabini et Donati filiis eius et / [Bull]atiis
Sabino honoratae nepotibus eius / [.....Bu]llatius Sabinus trib. coh-
or. I Syrorum
Devijver,B32
- 46.04 AE(1924)35 (From Chella in Mauretania Tingitana)
I.o.m. / [Iu]noni Reginae / Minervae [V]ictor[iae] / genioq. Ca[.....]/
IIAelius[...../..]itari[...../..]BVA[.....]/ eq. coh. Su[rorum ?
.....]/ ca sag.[...]SII[...]O[...]vo/verat statuit I[.....
- 46.05 ILER 6379 (From Idhana,Lusitania)
L.Marci[o]/ Fusci f. Quir. Avit[o] / praef. fabr. / praef. coh. I
S[u]ror. sagitta[r.]/ trib. mil. leg. X Freten[s.]/ praef. eq. alae
I sing[u]lar. c.R. donis dona[to] / Marcius Maternus e[qu]/es
alae eiusdem praefe[cto]/ optumo (sic) ob mem.
Devijver,M26
- 47.00 Cohors II Syrorum sagittariorum milliaria civium Romanorum equitata
- 47.01 CIL,XVI,159 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 9 Jan.,88)
cohort. II milliariae sagittar. cui praest Ti. Claudius Pedito, equiti
Domitio Domiti f.,Philad.
Devijver,C164
- 47.02 Arheologija,21(1979),41-4 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 15
Oct.,109)
- 47.03 CIL,XVI,165 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 114/7)
- 47.04 CIL,XVI,169 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 122)
- 47.05 CIL,XVI,170 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 18 Nov.?,122)
- 47.06 Roxan,no.53 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 159 -restored)
- 47.07 CIL,XVI,181 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 156/7]
- 47.08 CIL,XVI,182 (Diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of 156/7 - restored)
- 47.09 AE(1924)35 (From Chella ,Mauretania Tingitana)
(=46.04)
- 48.00 Cohors I milliaria nova Syrorum Severiana sagittariorum
- 48.01 CIL,III,13386 (Altar from Ulcisia Castra,Pannonia inferior)
[I.] o.m. / dis deab/usque Sep./Bauleus eq. / caps v.s.l.m.

- 48.02 AE(1947)31 (Sarcophagus from Aquincum)
Memoria Q.[Ael. Apoll]oni mil. coh. (milliaria) nove (sic) Suror.
stip. III / vix. ann. XX Aelia Marcia mater filio dulcissimo et Aelia/
Apollonia soror eius faciendum curaverunt.
(Poem follows)
- 48.03 Intercisa, I, p.48 (Epitaph from Intercisa)
(=12.05)
- 48.04 CIL, III, 3640 (Altar from Ulcisia Castra)
[.....] m. / pro salu/te / (I)ul. Vales (sic) / v. coh. (milliaria)
n. / l.S. S. et suis / v.s.l.m.
- 48.05 CIL, III, 3639 (From Ulcisia Castra)
Iuliae / Mameae / Aug. matri / d.n. Invicti / imp. Severi / Alexandri
.....
P.F. Augusti / et castrorum / coh. I (milliaria) n.S.S.s. / devota
nu/mini eorum
- 48.06 CIL, III, 3638 (From Ulcisia Castra of 230)
.....] Aug. Pont. / Max. trib. / potestatis / VIII cos.
III p.p. / coh. I (milliaria) n.S.S.s. / devota nu/mini eius
.....
- 48.07 CIL, III, 10581 (From Cirpi, Pannonia inferior)
I.o.m. / M.Aur. Priscus sig. coh. / I (milliaria) nova / Severiana /
Surorum sag. / v.s.l.m.
- 49.00 Numerus Surorum sagittariorum (Malvensium milliaria) (=Suri sagittarii)
- 49.01 AE(1891)47 (From Bivoloric, Dacia of 134/5)
Imp. Caes. divi Traiani Part. / fil. divi Nervae nep. Traiano /
Hadriano Aug. P.M. tr.pot. / XVII cos. III p.p. Suri sag. / sub. T.
Cl. [...] OS[...] vice proc. Aug.
Devijver, C186 ?
- 49.02 AE(1894)106 (From the fort at Radacinești, Dacia of 133 ?)
Imp. Caes[ari divi] / Traiani Par[thici f. divi] / Nervae ne[poti
Traia]/no Had[riano Aug. p.]/p. Pon[t. Max. tr. pot. XVII / co]s
III [Suri sagittari]
- 49.03 AE(1914)120 (Altar from Romula, Dacia Malvensis) (Revised: Speidel, 1973, 170)
Soli Invic/to Mithrae / libr. cum / Anton. Z[o]i/to act(a)r.n.S.[.]
- 49.04 ILS 2763 add. (From Caesarea Mauretaniae) (Revised : Speidel, 1973, 172)
D.m.s. Sex. Iul. Iulianus / ex Germania superiore(n) / tribunus
n. Syrorum M(a)l/vensium hic sepultus est / dum deducit iuniores Bessos/
(mille) in Tingitana(m) provinci(a)m / qui vixit annis XXXV cui /
monimentum fecit / Iul. Ingenuus frater / et heres curante / Sacimatho /
liberto eiusdem / defuncti
Devijver, I73

- 49.05 ILS 1403 (From Seville, Spain of 160/7)
Sex. Iulio Sex. f. Quir. Possessori / praef. coh. III Gallor. praeposito
nume/ri Syror. sagittarior. item alae primae Hispa/nor. curator
civitatis Romulensium Mar/vensium (trib.) mi[l.leg.] XII Fulminat[ae] /
curatori coloniae Arcensium adlecto / in decurias ab optimis maximisque
imp. Antonino et Vero Augg. adiu/tori Ulpii Saturnini praef. annon./
ad oleum Afrum et Hispanum recen/sendum item solamina transfe/renda
item vecturas navicula/riis exsolvendas proc. Augg. ad/ripam Baetis
scapharii Hispalen/ses ob innocentiam iustitiam/que eius singularem
Devijver, I99
- 49.06 CIL, III, 8032 (From near Karakal, Dacia)
D.m. / Claudia am/ba vix. vix. an/nos XX fe/cit in Dacia/an. V
Cl. Mon/tanus imm. / ex n. Sur. sag. / pat. eius fecit
- 49.07 Tudor, OR², 103 (Tile-stamps from Romula, Dacia)
N S
- 49.08 AE(1896)64 (Tile-stamps from Slaveni, Dacia)
N S
- 49.09 CIL, III, 7493 (From Piva Pietrei opposite Carsium, Moesia inferior)
Genio cent. / Fl. Ianuari / Fl. Avitianus / sig. n. Suro/rum S.
eius / voto libye (sic) posuit
- 49.10 CIL, VIII, 21017 (Epitaph from Caesarea Mauretaniae)
D.m.s. / Antonio Avito / militi ex n. Sur/orum vixit an./ XXI
militavit / an. VI Antonius Karus duplicar/ius classis fra/tri bene
meren/ti fecit pio
- 49.11 CIL, VIII, 21015 (From Caesarea Mauretaniae)
D.m. / ACRIOV / mil. n. Su/ro milita. / annis XVIIIIII / vix. an.
XXXVIIIIII / ab [.]E[.....] / Silva fecit
- 49.12 CIL, VIII, 9964 (From Numerus Syrorum, Mauretania Tingitana of 272)
D.m.s. / Aur. Massa/mari op. n. Su/rorum qui vixit an/nis p.m.
XXXϚ Possi/dia Manlia mari/to suo dulcissimo / qui interfectus est /
die X ka. Apriles una / cum parentibus suis / titulum posueru/nt an.
p.p. CCCLXXXIII
- 49.13 CIL, VIII, 9962 (From Numerus Syrorum, Mauretania)
C[leme]n[tiae ?] sacrum. Aram posui tam ex promissione et voto
Lentini Prisciani (?) prae[p. ?] n. Surorum quam
Devijver, L4
- 49.14 Bull. Arch. Alg., 2(1966-7)183 et seq.
(Milestones of the third century recording the distance from Numerus
Surorum)
- 49.50 AE(1925) (From Caesarea)
Quadrati Suri / sagittari

50.00 Cohors I Tyrriorum sagittariorum

50.01 ILS 2685 (From Perugia, Italy)

C. Atilius A. f. Glabrio / IIIIvir quinq. praef. fabr[um] / delat.
a cos. praef. cohor[tis] / Tyrriorum sagittar. / Titia A. f. minore
natus

Devijver, A176

50.02 AE(1926)80 (From Antioch ad Pisidiam)

.....prae]/fec. coh. I Tyr. / trib. mil. leg. IV / Scytic. praef. /
equit. praef. rip. Danuvii / d. d.

Devijver, Incertus 64

50.03 CIL, XVI, 45 (Diploma for Moesia inferior of 14 Aug., 99)

50.04 CIL, III, 8716 (From Salona, Dalmatia)

D. [m.] / L. Valerio [.....] / proc. Aug. p[.....] / praef. classis [.....] /
Moesicae trib. [.....] / praef. coh. I Tyr[.....] / Gal. Niger pro[...
...] / consobr[.....]

Devijver, V3

50.05 Roxan, no. 39 (Diploma for Dacia inferior of 13 Dec., 140)

51.00 Cohors I sagittariorum

51.01 ILS 2570 (Epitaph from Beigen, Germania superior)

Hyperanor Hyperano/ris f. Cretico Lappa mil. cho. / I sag. ann. LX
stip. XVIII / h. s. e.

51.02 CIL, XIII, 7512 (Epitaph from Bingen)

Biddu[.....]astor. / f. Tripo[li Sur]us ch. / I sag. a[nn.] XXVII SI
(sic) / XV h. s. est / Asipa[.....]

51.03 CIL, XIII, 11962(a) (Epitaph from Bingen)

.....] / natione Sur/us miles exs(sic) co. / I sagittarior/um an. L
stip. / XI h. [s. e.] /

51.04 ILS 2571 (Epitaph from Bingen)

Tib. Iul. Abdes Pantera / Sidonia ann. LXII / stipen. XXXX miles
exs (sic) / coh. I sagittariorum / h. s. e.

51.05 CIL, XIII, 7515 (Epitaph from Bingen)

C. Iulius H/astaius / chor. sagi. / misicius / Amoen/a l. h. s. s.

52.00 Cohors III sagittariorum

52.01 MZ, 69(1974)248 = AE(1974)497b (From Mainz-Weisenau) ?

Molaecus / Samuti f. / an. L ex co III(?) / Iturcius / stip. XIII/h. s. e.

- 52.02 JÖAI,28(1933),Bbl.,108,no.88 (From Apamea in Pontus et Bithynia)
[.....]tilio P.f. Clu. Lol[...o] / [t]rib. mil. leg. IIII Scythic. /
beneficio divi Claudi / praef. coh. III sagittar. / adlecto inter
praetor. / [a]b imp. Vespasiano Aug. / [l]e[g.] propr. provinciae
Asia / [c]ol. Iul. Conc. Apamea / patrono suo
Devijver,L49
- 52.03 ILS 2740 (From Nomentum,Italy)
Cn. Munatius M.f.Pal. / Aurelius Bassus / proc. Aug. / praef. fabr.
praef. coh. III / sagittariorum praef. coh. iterum II / Asturum
censitor civium/Romanorum coloniae Victri/censis quae est in Brittannia
(sic) / Camaloduni curator / viae Nomentanae patronus eiusdem /
municipi flamen perpetus / duum virali potestate / aedilis dictator
IIII
Devijver,M72
- 53.00 Cohors I sagittariorum milliaria equitata
- 53.01 AE(1897)85d (From Turnu-Severinu ,Dacia)
I SAG A[.....]
- 53.02 AE(1936)8 (Tile-stamp from Drobeta,Dacia)
[CO]H I SAG
- 53.03 AE(1939)19 (From Drobeta)
Aurelius Me/rcurius milis(sic) c(ohor)/tis p. sagitt. in / figlinis
magis/ter super mi/lites LX scripsit / Aurelius Iulianus / milis
(sic) co(ho)rtis prima(e)
- 53.04 AE(1960)350 (Dedication from Drobeta)
[Imp.] Caes. [M.Ant. Gor/diano A]ug. Pontif. / Maximo trib. pot.
cos. p.p. proc[os] / coh. I sag[Go]rdiana) milliaria) / equitata
devo/ta numini ma/iestatiqu[e] eius.....
- 53.05 ILS 3154 ((altar from Drobeta)
Mar[ti] Gra[d]/ivo sacr/um coh. / I sagitt. (milliaria) /Gordiana
- 53.06 ILS 7247 (Epitaph from Drobeta)
D.m./ Iul. Herculanus / dec. scol. fab. [e]t imag./ vix. ann. LXXX
Iul. Viv/enia coniux Iul. / Marcianus fili im/ag. scol. fab. vix./
ann. XXVI Aur. Iuli/us mil. chor. I sag. im/mag. vix. ann. XXXX
Iul. / Marcellinus fil./ vexil. scol. fab. vix. / ann. XXV Iul. Ma/rcia
fil. vix. ann. XIIII Iul. Er/aclia fil. vix. ann. VIIII Iul. /
Marcellina nep. / vix ann. IIII Vive/nia mater se viva f.
- 53.07 AE(1973)76 (From Rome)
.....proc.] monetae subpraef. ann[onae] proc. ad olea conparand(a)
[per re]gionem Tripolit. proc. al[imento]rum per reg. Umbriam atq.
Picen. praef. alae Aprianae tr. coh. eq. sagitt.
Devijver,Incertus 106

54.00 Cohors I Ulpia sagittariorum equitata

54.01 ILS 2724add. (From Gradista, Macedonia)
(=02.01)

54.02 Not. Dig. Or. XXVIII.40

Sub dispositione comes limitis Aegypti: cohors prima sagittariorum

55.00 Cohors II Ulpia equitata civium Romanorum sagittariorum

55.01 ILS 2724add. (From Gradista, Macedonia)
(=02.01)

55.02 CIL, XVI, 106 (Diploma for Syria of 156/7)

55.03 AE(1928)86 (From Dura Europos , of 189)

Pro salu/te Com. Aug. Pii F. / et Victo/ria d.n. / imp. Pac. / Nigreinu
T/romen.et / Ael. Tittia/nus dec. coh. / II Ulp. eq. Com. /geniō Dura/
vota sē. ex V / XV k̄. iul̄is / Prisco et Claro /cos.

55.04 AE(1934)280 (From Dura Europos of 194)

I.o.m. / Conservatori [cete]/risque dis inmor[tali]/bus (sic) pro
salutem et vic/tori d.n. imp. L.Sep. Severi / [P]ert. Aug. II D.Cl.
Alb. [Caes.] II / [Min]ervae sanct. sacrum feci[t /.....]eus Mocimi
actuar n.per Tre[b]/ium Maximum trib. coh. II Ulp. eq. / [vo]tum
solvit libens l[aetus]/ meruit

Devijver, T37

55.05 AE(1931)113 (From Dura Europos)

[7 leg. II] IIScy. [pra]epos[itus / nu]merorum campo ad / ampliato
templum ex/truxit cum statua pe[r] / coh. II Ulp. eq. civium Roma/n-
orum sagittariorum

55.06 ILS 8852add. (From Marseille)

*T. Πορζίω Πορζίου Αἰλιανοῦ ἐξοχωτάτου ἀνδρός¹ | καὶ
προσηήτου² υἱῶ, Κυρτίνα, | Κορνηλιανῶ ἱερεῖ Λευκοθέας, | χειλιόρχω
λεγ. ιε Ἀπολλί[ν]αρο. | χειλ. κοροτ. θ Βατασ[ύ]ων³, | πραιφεκτ.
σπειρ. β. Οὐλπ. υρια.⁴, | πραιφεκτ. σπειρ. δ' Γάλλων⁵, | πραιφεκτ.
σπειρ. Δαρδάνων, | πραιφεκτ. ἔξιπλωρ.⁶ Γερμανίας, | ἐπιτρόπῳ προ[μ-
β]άτις διὰ | Φλαμινίας Αἰμιλ. Αἰγυρίας, | ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ ἡγεμ[όν]ι |
τῶν παραθαλασσί[ων] Ἀλπειῶν | ...)*

Devijver, P95

55.07 AE(1954)266 (From Dura Europos)

Διὰ μεγίστῳ
καὶ θεῶ Δολιχέῳ
στρα. σπέρης β'
ἰππικῆς Γαλλικῆς
Οὐλοσιανῆς
ἐπὶ Ἰου. Ἰουλιανο.
κρατίστου δου-
κὸς διὰ Λύρη.

Λουκίου πρίκι.
σπ. τῆς αὐτῆς
καὶ Βάσσου ὀπ-
τίων. τοῦ πρίκιπο.
καὶ πάντων τῶν
μουναρχίῳ.

- 56.00 Cohors I Aelia Caes. milliaria sagittariorum equitata
- 56.01 CIL,XVI,76 (Diploma for Pannonia superior of 2 July,133)
- 56.02 CIL,XVI,77 (Diploma for Pannonia superior of 2 July,? 133)
- 56.03 CIL,XVI,178 (Diploma for Pannonia superior of 19 July,146)
- 56.04 CIL,XVI,96 (Diploma for Pannonia superior of 9 Oct.,148)
- 56.05 CIL,XVI,97 (Diploma for Pannonia superior of 5 July,149)
- 56.06 Roxan,no.62 (Diploma for Pannonia superior of Sept./Dec.,163 -restored)
- 56.07 CIL,III,11373 (From Vindobona,Pannonia superior)
Front : CORS
Back : IES
- 56.08 CIL,III,11371 (ad.n.4664) (Tile-stamp from Carnuntum)
COPEL SAG[...]
- 56.09 CIL,III,11857b (Tile-stamp from Öhling,Noricum)
COHR IEL SAG
- 56.10 CIL,III,5646 (Altar from Klosterneuburg,Pannonia superior)
[////////////////////] /pro sal. Aug. / Q.Attius Co/nerti filius /
Tertinus tes/serar. coh. I Ael. sag. / v.s.l.m.
- 56.11 M[arti]/c[ohors]/ I Ael[ia sag.]/ (milliaria) eq.[cui p.]/ Ael.
He[rculius] /trib. [v.s.l.m.]
Devijver,A37
- 56.12 CIL,III,11857a (Tile-stamp from Klosterneuburg,Pannonia superior)
COH IA SAG SE
- 56.13 CIL,III,5647 (From Klosterneuburg,Pannonia superior of 230)
Coh. I Ael. Seve/riana eq. c.p. est / C.Aurelius / Cresces trib. /
Agric. et Clem. cos
- 56.14 AE(1950)119 (Tile-stamp from St.Margarethen,Burgenland,Noricum)
COH I AEL SAG
- 57.00 Miscellaneous
- 57.01 ILS 9168 (Epitaph from Carnuntum,Pannonia superior)
Proculus / Rabili f. Col. / Philadel. mil. / optio coh. II / Italic.
c.R. 7F[aus]/tini ex vexil. sa/git. exer. Syriaci / stip. VII vixit
an. XXVI / Apuleius fra. / f.c.

57.02 IRT 109 (From Sabratha, Cyrenaica)

Ulpiano V[.....]/ sagitt nati[ene...]/nus ann. p.m. [.....]/ directo
anni[...../.....cu]r. Fl. P[...]

57.03 AE(1903)298 Tile-stamp from Viminacium)

ΜΕΜΙΟΠΙΑΙΙΘΕΤΟΑΖΩΕ

57.04 AE(1912)44 (From Salona, Dalmatia)

Fl. Valerianus d.n. sagittario/rum centinarius in hoc isepel/tum (sic)
volveret super hoc co/rpus aliquis volvere alium / ponere davit in
heclesia(sic) aur/i p.III

57.05 P.Beatty Panop. 2.165ff. (Papyrus of 8 Feb., 300)

(Text records instructions to a local official to make a payment to
the mounted archers under the command of the praepositus Valerius,
stationed in the fort of Potecoptus.....)

57.06 AE(1900)29 (From the museum at Ghizeh, Egypt)

ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΤΥΧΗ·ΟΙ·ΘΙ·
ΩΝ ΑΝΓΕΛΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕ
ΝΕΩΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΟΜΗΘΗ
ΠΙΟΥΙΚΤΩΡΙΝΟΥ ΠΠ ΛΕΓ:ώνων γ'
ΓΑΛΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ Α ΙΑΛΥΡΙΚ
ΣΙ ΣΑΓΙΤΤΑΡΙΩΝ ΤΗ ΠΡΟ
ΣΑΡΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΥ
ΩΣ ΛΕΓ Γ ΓΑΛΛ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΤΑΝΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΛΕΓ
Α ΙΑΛΥΡΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΖΙΖΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΕΝ Υ
ΠΑΤΙΑΛΙ ΚΙΣΙΝΙΟΥΣΕΒ ΤΟ Σ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΚΙΝΙΟΥ
ΕΠΙΦ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡ Μ ΗΝΟΣ ΛΩΟΥ Α
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΝΙ ΑΙΙΙΝΧΧ·ΚΑΙ

58.00 Numerus Orientalium

58.01 P.Flor. II, 278 (Papyrus for 203)

(Text alludes to a): ari]thmou anatolikōn

58.02 P.Mich. VII, 454

(Text records transfer of soldiers including): t(urma) Rufi /
Suaemus (sic) Taesii / [i]tem ex n. Or(i)entalium
(Cf. 13.07)

Fink, no. 30

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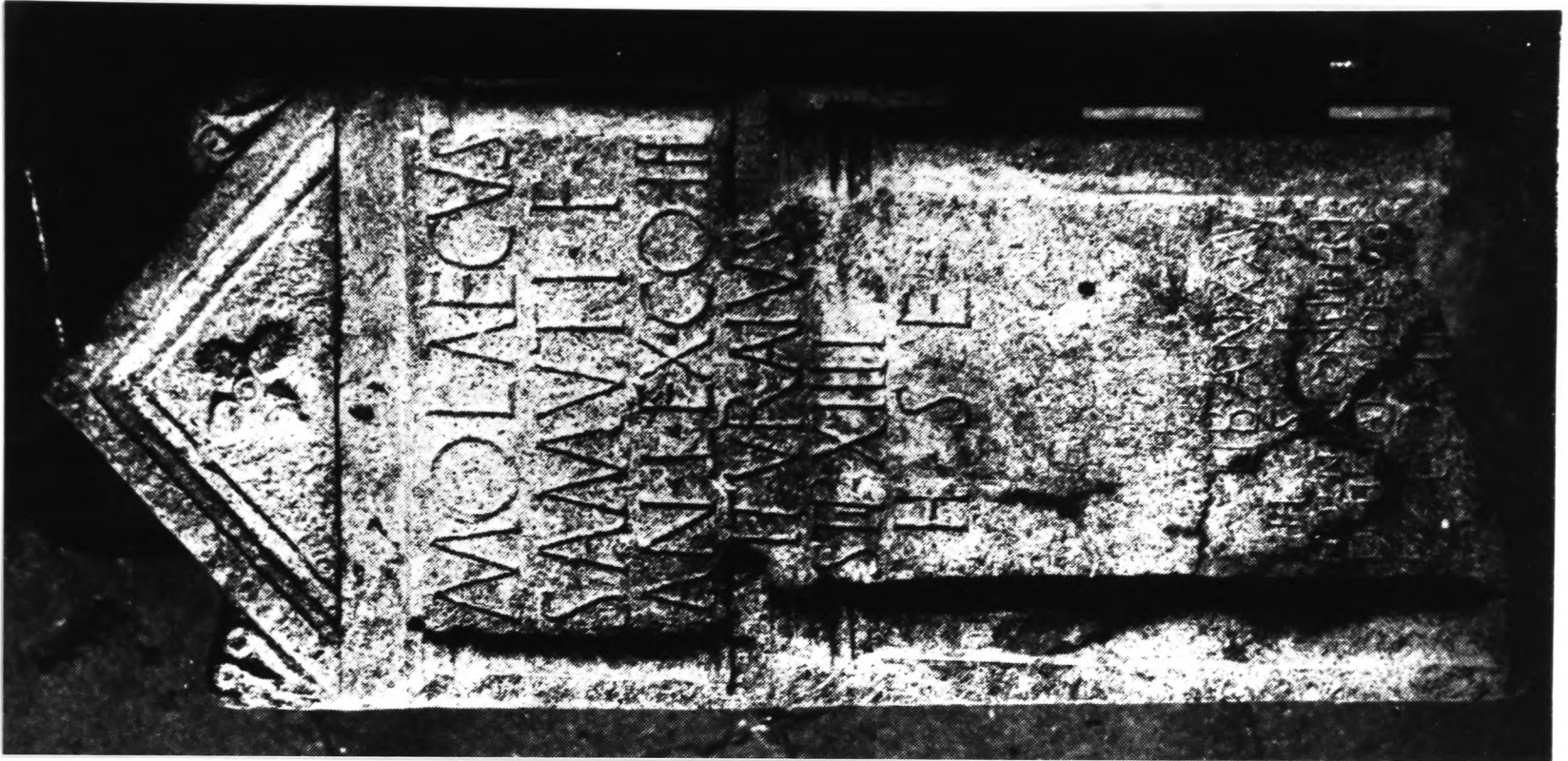
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I Tombstone of an archer from Housesteads.



II Julius Terentius fresco from Dura Europos.



III Tombstone of Molaecus Samuti f. from Mainz (52.01).



IV Tombstone of M. Situs from Aleppo Museum.



V Tombstone of Julius Galianus from Tipasa (14.14)
(photograph by S. S. Frere).



VI Oriental archer on Trajan's Column.



VII Archers on Trajan's Column.



VIII Altar of Sextius Ursus from Heddernheim (28.07).

