The Creation, Composition, Service and Settlement of Roman Auxiliary

Units Raised on the Iberian Peninsula

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
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2012

ABSTRACT

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Abstract

This dissertation is an epigraphic study of the Roman auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula based on a corpus of over 750 inscriptions. It presents the literary and epigraphic evidence for late Republican allied and auxiliary forces and for the structure of imperial auxiliary units. It then examines the recruiting practices of the *auxilia*, the settlement of veterans, and the evidence for the personal relationships of the soldiers enlisted in these units as they are recorded in the epigraphic record, including inscriptions on stone and military diplomas.

The evidence presented here reveals that recruitment from the units' home territories persisted throughout the Julio-Claudian period and coexisted with local, provincial and regional recruitment into the Flavian period. The findspots of inscriptions and diplomas related to veterans of these units indicate that only about half of these veterans remained within military communities after their discharge, while many retired to civilian communities, some of which were also the soldiers' places of birth. Finally, the evidence for personal relationships of men enrolled in these units demonstrates the relative importance of relationships between soldiers in the first century and the decline of recorded inter-soldier relationships in the second and third centuries, while evidence for relationships between soldiers and civilians is more frequent after the first century. These arguments lead to the conclusion that, throughout their service, individual soldiers were influenced by members of their home communities, fellow soldiers, and the native populations among which they served in varying degrees and that these soldiers had corresponding influence upon those communities.

Dedication

To my grandparents, Chris, Ginger, Jack and Jeanne
for their encouragement, inspiration and support.

Bene Merentibus

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Abbreviations

References to classical texts throughout this work adhere to the standards of the Oxford Classical Dictionary, tenth edition. The following abbreviations refer to corpora of inscriptions and papyri and to geographical aids. Whenever possible they adhere to the standards of the fourth edition of the *Guide de l'épigraphiste* and the *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (<http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>).

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
Barrington Atlas	Talbert, R. J. A., and R. S. Bagnall. <i>Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world</i> . Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.
ChLA	Bruckner, A., and R. M., eds. <i>Chartae Latinae antiquiores</i> . Olten and Lausanne: U. Graf, 1954.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i>
EDH	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg. http://www.epigraphische-datenbank-heidelberg.de
ERPLeon	Rabanal Alonso, M. A., and S.M. García Martínez. <i>Epigrafía romana de la provincia de León: revisión y actualización</i> . León, historia y sociedad. Vol. 8. León: Universidad de Leon, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2001.
FE	d'Encarnação, J., ed. <i>Ficheiro epigráfico: suplemento de Conimbriga</i> . Vol. 36. Coimbra, Portugal: Universidade de Coimbra. Instituto de Arqueologia, 1982.
IAM II	Euzennat, M., J. Marion, and J. Gascoü. <i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc</i> . Vol. 2. Paris, 1982.
IAM Supp.	Labory, N. <i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc</i> . Vol. 2 Supplément. Paris, 2003.
IBR	Vollmer, F. <i>Inscriptiones Baivarum Romanarum sive Inscriptiones Prov. Raetiae adiectis aliquot Noricis Italicisque</i> . Monaci: Curis G. Franz, 1915.
ILBulg	Gerov, B. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> . Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Kliment Okhridski", 1989.
ILER	Vives, J. <i>Inscripciones latinas de la España romana</i> . 2 vols. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Publicaciones de los Departamentos de Filología Latina, 1971-1972.

ILJug II	Šašel, A., and J. Šašel. <i>Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX er MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> . Situla. Vol. 19. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej, 1978.
ILJug III	Šašel, A., and J. Šašel. <i>Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII er MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> . Situla. Vol. 25. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej, 1986.
ILLPRON	Hainzmann, M., and P. Schubert, eds. <i>Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> . Berlin, 1987-1988.
ILS	Dessau, H. <i>Inscriptiones latinae selectae</i> . Vol. 3. Berolini: apud Weidmannos, 1893-1916.
InscrAqui	Brusin, G. <i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae</i> . 3 vols. Udine: Deputazione di storia patria per il Friuli, 1991-1993.
IRG II	Vázquez Saco, F., and M. Vázquez Seijas. <i>Inscripciones romanas de Galicia</i> . Vol. 2. Santiago: CSIC, 1954.
IScM I	Pippidi, D. M. <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> . Inscriptiile antice din Dacia și Scythia Minor. 2 nd ser., vol. 1. București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1983.
IScM II	Stoian, I. <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> . Inscriptiile antice din Dacia și Scythia Minor. 2 nd ser., vol. 2. București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1987.
IScM III	Avram, A. <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> . Inscriptiile antice din Dacia și Scythia Minor. 2 nd ser., vol. 3. București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1999.
IScM V	Doruțiu-Boilă, E. <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> . Inscriptiile antice din Dacia și Scythia Minor. 2 nd ser., vol. 5. București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1980.
Nesselhauf-Lieb	Nesselhauf, H., and H. Lieb. "Dritter Nachtrag zu CIL XIII. Inschriften aus den germanischen Provinzen und dem Treverergebiet." <i>BRGK</i> 40 (1959): 120-299.
P.Brookl.	Shelton, J. C., ed. <i>Greek and Latin papyri, ostraca, and wooden tablets in the collection of The Brooklyn Museum</i> . Firenze: Gonnelli, 1992.
Pais	Pais, H. <i>Supplementa Italica Fasc. I: Additamenta ad vol. V Galliae Cisalpinae</i> . Roma, 1888.
RGZM	Pferdehirt, B. <i>Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> . Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2004.

RHP	Lörincz, B. <i>Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit</i> . Vienna, 2001.
RIB I	Collingwood, R. G. <i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain</i> . Ed. R. P. Wright. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
RMD I	Roxan, M. M. <i>Roman military diplomas 1954-1977</i> . Occasional publication - Institute of Archaeology, University of London. London: Institute of Archaeology, 1978.
RMD II	Roxan, M. M. <i>Roman military diplomas 1978 to 1984</i> . Occasional publication / University of London, Institute of Archaeology. London: Institute of Archaeology, 1985.
RMD III	Roxan, M. M. <i>Roman military diplomas 1985-1993</i> . Occasional publication / Institute of Archaeology,. London: Institute of Archaeology, 1994.
RMD IV	Roxan, M. M., and P. A. Holder. <i>Roman military diplomas IV</i> . Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement. London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2003.
RMD V	Holder, P. A. <i>Roman military diplomas. V</i> . Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement. London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2006.
RMR	Fink, R. O. <i>Roman military records on papyrus</i> . Philological monographs of the American Philological Association. Vol. 26. Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1971.
Tab. Vindol. II	Bowman, A. K., J. N. Adams, and J. D. Thomas. <i>The Vindolanda writing-tablets: (tabulae Vindolandenses II)</i> . London: British Museum Press, 1994.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Previous Scholarship and the Scope of this Dissertation

This study of the soldiers of the Roman *auxilia* turns to a long history of scholarship as I seek to ask new questions and make new contributions. As with so many aspects of Roman studies, T. Mommsen laid the groundwork for the examination of the *auxilia* in his fundamental work, *Die Römischen Provinzialmilizen*, published in 1887. Subsequently his work has been expanded. C. Cichorius (1893 and 1900) and G. L. Cheesman (1914) undertook early, detailed studies of the *auxilia*, and their seminal works have since been built upon in countless broad examinations including those of P. Holder (1980) and J. E. H. Spaul (1994, 2000 and 2002). However, the *auxilia* have played a secondary role in general works concerned with the Roman army as a whole by scholars such as Y. Le Bohec (1994), P. Southern (2006), G. R. Watson (1969) and G. Webster (1969).

Overall, studies of the Roman *auxilia* have been dominated by more specific regional studies and histories of specific units. These regional studies are of great value. Many scholars such as G. Alföldy (1962 and 1968), N. Benseddik (1979), P. Holder (1982), M. M. Roxan (1973) and M. P. Speidel (1983), to name only a few, have sought to catalog the *alae* and cohorts of individual provinces and to trace their movements and activities.¹ The more recent of these studies were fueled largely by the publication of the Roman military diplomas, first in CIL XVI (1936) and its supplement (1955), then in the five volumes of *Roman Military Diplomas* (RMD, 1978-2006). These studies, in turn, have been augmented by countless more specialized examinations of auxiliary units that

¹ See also Cagnat 1913; García y Bellido 1961; Jarrett 1994; Lesquier 1918; Lörincz 2001; Rebuffat 1998; Roxan and Weiss 1998.

focus on archaeology, literature and epigraphy, as they examine particular aspects of the Roman *auxilia*, such as recruitment and discharge.²

Even a brief survey of the names of these works reveals that they are concerned, almost exclusively, with the units stationed in a particular province or region. These limitations are undoubtedly a result of the sheer quantity of epigraphic evidence pertaining to the *auxilia*, its lacunose nature, and the difficulty of dating much of it. Indeed there is so much evidence that even in the early twentieth century one could not hope to examine it all. J. E. H. Spaul has sought to catalog all the epigraphical evidence for the *alae* and cohorts and to provide a brief history of each unit.³ However, even this recent work is rapidly going out of date as the number of available inscriptions continues to grow at a remarkable rate.⁴ Consequently, it is no easy task to identify common practices and phenomena throughout the *auxilia* of the entire empire. While regional studies have revealed overarching trends in the development of the *auxilia*, such as the shift from recruitment in the units' homelands to recruitment from the local populations near the units' stations,⁵ they have also highlighted variation in recruiting practices and veteran settlement between provinces and regions. Furthermore, these studies invariably include a number of exceptions to the provincial and regional trends they identify. For example, Alföldy was obliged to admit that there were some local recruits serving in the Dalmatian *auxilia* in the Julio-Claudian period, even while he argued that local

² E.g. Brunt 1974; Curchin 1995; Holder 2006; Kraft 1951; Roxan 1989; Sebesta 1972; Watson 1982.

³ Spaul 1994; 2002; 2000. These works were intended to serve as second editions to Cichorius 1893; 1900.

⁴ The index of *L'Année Épigraphique* 2007 includes fifty-eight inscriptions that name one or more auxiliary units specifically. A significant number of further inscriptions must also be associated with auxiliary soldiers whose units are not named.

⁵ See page 87, below.

recruitment did not begin there until the Flavian dynasty.⁶ While the reasons for these exceptional recruiting practices are sometimes obscure, it is clear that some were the result of special treatment of specific tribes and peoples due to their “national” character, peculiar fighting techniques, or political circumstances. For example, the Batavians of the lower Rhine had a treaty with Rome that ensured Batavian soldiers would serve in their own units and would be commanded by their countrymen.⁷ Similarly, it is often argued that members of cohorts of oriental archers were drawn from their original recruiting grounds throughout the first three centuries AD.⁸

Alongside studies of the units associated with specific provinces, some scholars have chosen to concern themselves with units raised in certain areas and the soldiers recruited from particular regions.⁹ The first of these approaches, as exemplified by the work of A. Balil (1966), has the potential to illuminate special or peculiar treatment of particular populations but more often serves to highlight further commonalities among garrisons throughout the empire. Likewise, examinations of specific native peoples serving in the Roman army, such as that of soldiers recruited from northwestern Spain conducted by E. Pitillas Salañer (2006), sometimes illuminate exceptional treatment of populations but more often serve to reinforce generally accepted trends and refine regional variations.

⁶ Alföldy 1962, 276.

⁷ On the treaty between the Romans and Batavians and the homogeneity of Batavian auxiliary units see Roymans 2004, 55. Cf. Tac. *Germ.* 29 and *Hist.* 4.12. For further investigations of the recruitment of auxiliary soldiers from various Germanic tribes see: Bang 1906; Derks and Roymans 2006; Kraft 1951, 114-15; Roymans 2004; Vanvinckenroye 1998.

⁸ Cheesman 1914, 82-4; Holder 1980, 115; Southern and Dixon 1996, 6.

⁹ Balil 1966; Bang 1906; Benés 1970; Dobson and Mann 1973; García y Bellido 1963; Roldán Hervás 1972; Roymans 2004; Santos Yanguas 2007a; 1981a; 1981b; 2003; Sayas Abengochea 1989; Solana Sáinz 1999; Zahariade 1976.

Taken as a whole such regional studies have provided sure footing for further examination of the *auxilia* and its soldiers. They have established generally accepted patterns in recruitment, deployment of units, and settlement of veterans, and they have identified exceptional practices. This has naturally led to more specific studies focused on particular units or series of units.¹⁰ Some units and series of units have been chosen for examination because of their original recruiting grounds; others have been selected due to the location of one or more of their stations. However they were selected, the resulting works provide detailed histories of the units, including the circumstances of their creation, their deployment, movement, campaigns and peacetime activities, and their original and ongoing recruitment practices, as much as such information can be determined from the limited evidence available.

While more detailed studies sometimes include discussion of the identities and origins of enlisted soldiers and officers, they rarely include any substantive investigation of the social and cultural influences that may have affected individual soldiers. The current study is intended to further refine our understanding of the *auxilia* to include substantive examination of the effects of cultural and social factors on these soldiers from the time of their enlistment to their deaths, including their service and retirement, as they are indicated by the soldiers' movements and social relationships. By doing so, I hope to approach questions of identity and the effects of military service upon soldiers, their families and their communities. Thereby, this dissertation will add to ongoing scholarly attempts to deconstruct perceptions of the Roman army as a monolithic institution and advance this line of research to the examination of individual soldiers.

¹⁰ Breeze 1997; Crespo Ortiz de Zárate 1977; Davies 1977; Diego Santos 1957; Gudea 1997; 1975; Jiménez Furundarena 2002; Santos Yanguas 2007b; 2006; 1971; 2004b; 2007c; 1979b; 1980a; 1979f; Velkov 1989.

1.1.1 The Scope of this Dissertation

As noted above, the number of inscriptions related to the Roman *auxilia* is simply too large to allow a study of every soldier who served in an *ala* or a cohort of the Roman army. In 1914 Cheesman listed over four hundred auxiliary units in all; of these some are attested by dozens of inscriptions.¹¹ For this reason I have selected for this study only those units that were originally recruited from the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula.¹²

This sample of the *auxilia* includes no naval units; furthermore none of the units raised on the peninsula was composed originally of Roman citizens. Thus the *alae* and cohorts considered within this study were formed in the manner of standard auxiliary units and no special consideration needs to be made for differences in status or prestige. This would not be the case, however, if one were to include the fleet, the Praetorian Guard, the *equites singulares*, the *vigiles* or the urban cohorts. Each of these types of units had its own peculiarities and has been or should be treated on its own.¹³

The units raised on the Iberian Peninsula do, however, comprise a substantial portion of the *auxilia* as a whole. Over seventy units were raised on the peninsula at various times between the reign of Augustus and the end of the first century AD.¹⁴ Soon after their creation, these units were deployed individually throughout the empire, from

¹¹ Cheesman 1914 includes lists of the auxiliary units known to him. Spaul 1994; 2002; 2000 augmented these list with units identified subsequently.

¹² For the most part these units are identified by the tribal or geographical appellation applied to the unit. These appellations are indicative of the original recruiting pool from which the unit was raised. Cheesman 1914, 46; Holder 1982, 20; Kraft 1951, 13; Mommsen 1884, 61.

¹³ For the Roman fleets see: Carroll 2001; Konen 2003; Oliver 2000b; Saddington 1990; Starr 1993; Steinby 2007. For the Praetorian Guard see: Bingham 1998; Keppie 1996; Powell 1968; Šašel 1972. For the *equites singulares* see: Grosso 1966; Speidel 1965; 1978. For the urban cohorts see: Freis 1967; Mench 1968. For the *vigiles*: see Reynolds 1926; Sablayrolles 1995; 1996; Speidel 1995; Watson 1971.

¹⁴ See Cheesman 1914, 183-86. Cf. the contents of Spaul 1994; 2000 for some additions.

Egypt to Britain. As a result they can provide a reasonable representation of the distribution and varied geographical circumstances of the *auxilia* as a whole. The epigraphic record of these units - comprising over 750 inscriptions – documents standard practices as well as exceptional cases. While examination of a larger sample or, ideally, every inscription related to auxiliary soldiers would certainly yield additional extraordinary and fascinating evidence for the movements of individuals and their relationships, it is hoped that this sample will provide a sense of the varied experiences of individual soldiers, and that a broader study would only serve to reinforce the diversity identified here.

My study is also primarily concerned with the evidence for soldiers below the ranks of *praefectus* and *legatus*; the commanders of auxiliary units are excluded except when they appear in conjunction with men of lower rank. While equestrian officers are interesting in and of themselves, they have been treated in great detail by H. Devijver.¹⁵ In contrast, my examination is intended to advance the study of the *auxilia* towards an understanding of the movement and relationships of common soldiers. The equestrian status of auxiliary commanders places them in the realm of the Roman aristocracy, which is much better documented by the epigraphical record and has attracted much more scholarly interest.

Furthermore, it ought to be noted that, while this study is concerned with the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, it is by no means limited to the study of soldiers whose origins lay on the peninsula. In fact, the vast majority of individuals discussed in these pages were born, lived their lives and died without setting foot on the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed relatively few of these men had any ancestral tie to that area.

¹⁵ Devijver 1989-1992; 1999; 1976-80.

Rather, the soldiers who served in these units comprise a representative sample of auxiliary soldiers as a whole. That is to say that their origins and, therefore, the composition of their units conform generally to the trends identified in other studies of the recruitment of the *auxilia*.¹⁶ Soldiers whose tribal and geographical backgrounds match that of their unit are common in the first half of the first century and/or during the first twenty-five to thirty years of a unit's existence. In general, such soldiers, who represent the initial recruits to the units upon their formation, are gradually replaced with recruits from the province or region in which the units are stationed. These trends are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Thus progressively fewer of the soldiers serving in these units were natives of the Iberian Peninsula; by the Hadrianic period virtually all were recruited from elsewhere. As a result the soldiers discussed in this dissertation represent a broad cross-section of the *auxilia*. They include soldiers from almost every province of the western empire and a few from the east. Some soldiers of my study traveled a great distance in the course of their service; others completed their military service without leaving the immediate vicinity of their place of birth. The diversity of these soldiers' backgrounds highlights the variety of their experiences and ultimately allows this study to illuminate the affects of military service on a wide range of soldiers and the empire.

Finally, it ought to be noted that while some Greek inscriptions and papyri are discussed, the vast majority of the evidence for these units is in Latin, so that this study is based on exhaustive analysis of the epigraphic sources in Latin. This is a result of the infrequency with which the units currently under scrutiny were sent to the east, the predominance of Latin as the language of the Roman army and, perhaps, the relative

¹⁶ E.g. Alföldy 1962; 1968a; Dobson and Mann 1973; Kraft 1951; Mann 1983a; Sebesta 1972.

inaccessibility of the Greek sources to modern scholars. Furthermore, the administration of the Roman army in the east and therefore its effects on the soldiers who served there varied significantly from those of the west and ought to be treated separately.¹⁷ Such parameters provide some structure for the current study. However, the treatment and interpretation of this material is as important as its definition and collection and, therefore, should be discussed in detail.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 The Epigraphic Record

As stated above, this study is primarily concerned with individual soldiers who served in the Roman auxiliary units originally raised on the Iberian Peninsula. These men are rarely represented in classical literature, and coins and archaeology provide only general information. Epigraphy yields more detailed information about the rank and file than is available from literature, numismatics, or archaeology.

However, epigraphy is far from perfect as a historical source. This becomes particularly clear in a study such as this, in which one seeks to examine the movements and personal interactions of individuals from as broad a range of backgrounds as possible. Public and official inscriptions, including building inscriptions, votives erected on behalf of entire military units and bronze military diplomas, record the names of individuals as a matter of course and without the need for the men named to be actively involved in the decision to create the inscription itself.¹⁸ On the other hand, the erection

¹⁷ For examinations of the Roman army in the east see, e.g., Isaac 1990; Kennedy 1996.

¹⁸ The distinction between public and private inscriptions is highlighted within the classifications proposed in Sandys and Campbell 1927, 59-188, esp. 59-60. Although military diplomas may be included among official inscriptions, they record personal relationships and may indicate the movements of their recipients

of personal stone inscriptions, such as tombstones and private votives, required a conscious decision by an individual or group to commission the stone; furthermore relatively few people chose, or had the means, to pay honor to the gods, commemorate themselves or commemorate their relations in this way.¹⁹ This decision was the product of cultural influences and geographic variables, and ongoing research attempts to discern the pervasiveness, depth, and chronology of the “epigraphic habit” in the Roman world.²⁰

Furthermore the survival, recovery, and publication of these inscriptions are dependent on unpredictable factors. In order to interpret the inscriptions that document the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and the soldiers who served in them, one must first attempt to understand how and why such inscriptions came to be erected. This information is vital because the circumstances of inscriptions’ creation and recovery ultimately affect both the information available to modern scholars, and the interpretation of that information.

R. MacMullen and many others have noted that the practice of inscribing texts on stone was a characteristic of Roman culture, though not exclusive to the Romans, and that the practice of epigraphy by peoples of the Roman Empire with no previous epigraphic tradition can be used as a metric of “Romanization.”²¹ While the term “Romanization”

after the conclusion of their service. Evidence from diplomas is, therefore, an important element of this dissertation and will be discussed in detail.

¹⁹ For the cost of various types of epigraphic monuments see Duncan-Jones 1982, 79-80 and 127-30. For funerary monuments see also Oliver 2000a, 161.

²⁰ A term coined by MacMullen 1982. Cf. Beltrán Lloris 1995; Cherry 1995; Corbier 1987; Gordon and Reynolds 1997; Mann 1985; Meyer 1990; Prag 2002; Witschel 2006; Woolf 1996.

²¹ MacMullen 1982, 238: “A. Mócsy (sic) in his 1966 study of inscriptions was right to take them as a sign of Romanization - right, that is, to see the publishing of statements on stone as a characteristic activity within the Roman (of course, not only the Roman) way of life. In northern Italy, most of north Africa, much of the Danube lands, and throughout Spain and northwestern Europe, it was a characteristic not native but acquired from the conquerors.” Cf. Meyer 1990, 74; Mócsy 1966, 407 and 18-19; Woolf 1996.

has fallen from favor,²² MacMullen's general point remains fundamentally valid. The use of epigraphic means of communication was often an adoption of a Roman custom. Hence, in order to understand the significance of individual inscriptions one must try to establish whether the author was, by erecting an inscribed stone, continuing a tradition with which he or she was raised, or was using a novel Roman medium. This can be determined only by looking at the individual's origins and the history of epigraphy in that area. This knowledge must then be compared to what is known of his or her life and the epigraphic tradition in the areas where he or she is known to have lived or served.²³ This type of examination suggests the extent to which an individual's choice to commission an inscription reflected one aspect of his or her interaction with the culture of the Roman world. For example, if a soldier recruited from an area with no epigraphic tradition of its own is commemorated by an epitaph or erected a tombstone for himself, one may suggest that the choice to erect this epitaph was a result of his exposure to the Roman epigraphic habit.²⁴ Similar assumptions could be made about soldiers who chose to erect tombstones for others. No such argument could be made, however, in cases in which soldiers were recruited from areas with their own epigraphic tradition, regardless of whether this was an autochthonous phenomenon or a result of earlier contact with Rome or Greece.

Recognition that the epigraphic habit was adopted in much of the west subsequent to contact with Rome has important consequences in the study of the empire's integration

²² For criticism of the term and concept of Romanization see Barrett 1997; Hingley 2005; 1996. On Romanization more generally see Blagg and Millett 1990; Freeman 1997; 1993; Hanson 1994; 1997; Haynes 1993; James 2001; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Mattingly 1997; 2006; 2002; Metzler et al. 1995; Millett 1990a; 1990b; Queiroga and Wood 1992; Roymans 1995; Webster 2001; Webster and Cooper 1996; Woolf 1997; 1992.

²³ Regional studies of pre- and proto-Greco-Roman epigraphy are numerous. For example, Beltrán Lloris 1995 and Rose 2003 examine the emergence of epigraphy on the Iberian Peninsula.

²⁴ MacMullen 1982, 238; Meyer 1990, 74.

of non-Romans (i.e. newly conquered and originally culturally distinct peoples). While epigraphy may serve as evidence for the adoption of Roman customs and institutions, it may not be adduced as evidence for the abandonment of other traditions. Epigraphic monuments such as inscribed altars were a time-honored part of the worship of some Roman deities and might be employed by non-Roman peoples who took up their worship: inscribed altars to Jupiter Optimus Maximus erected by non-Roman peoples indicate adoption of his worship. On the other hand, the absence of inscribed altars to deities traditionally worshipped anepigraphically does not imply the abandonment of that religion. Religious activity persisted at the pre-Roman cave sanctuaries in Spain at Cova de Font Major de l'Espluga de Francolí and Cova de les Meravelles de Gandarria into late antiquity.²⁵ Once an area fell into Roman control, there is no reason to think that Roman means of worship were necessarily applied to native religion, although they sometimes were.²⁶ Worshippers who had been exposed to, or had adopted, Roman religious practices and the epigraphy that often accompanied it, may have continued their traditional, non-epigraphic religious practices as well. Likewise, epigraphic evidence of Roman secular institutions does not preclude the survival of native practices for which there was no epigraphic tradition and of which no epigraphic evidence survives. For example, Caesar reported that Druidic tradition expressly forbade the commitment of their teachings to writing and thus may have precluded expression of that religion in epigraphy.²⁷

²⁵ Keay 1988, 161.

²⁶ Haynes 1997; 1993; Webster 1999; 1997.

²⁷ Caes. *B Gall.* 6.14.

The use of the Greek and Latin languages was also an integral part of the Greco-Roman epigraphic tradition. Rather than employing their native languages when inscribing text on a stele, for instance, newcomers to the epigraphic habit almost universally adopted Greek or Latin. This was not, however, indicative of a complete abandonment of traditional languages.²⁸ The use of an established alphabet and the language associated with it may have been necessary for peoples that had no tradition of writing.²⁹ In the absence of a widely accepted literary system for their own language, the wholesale adoption of either the Greek or the Latin language and their alphabets may have been preferable to the establishment of new conventions. Furthermore, the use of Greek or Latin may have provided the author of the inscription with the widest possible audience for his message, a consideration that remains a fundamental motivator for anyone choosing to erect an inscription.³⁰

Scholars have long recognized the apparent geographical variation of the epigraphic habit.³¹ This may often be explained by pre-Roman epigraphic traditions, regional levels of acculturation as affected by a native people's proximity to Rome, the length of their exposure to Roman culture, and immigration of individuals from various cultural backgrounds such as colonists, merchants, soldiers, and veterans. Nevertheless, one must recognize the influence of less abstract factors such as the availability of suitable media (i.e. stone) to receive and preserve epigraphic texts. The absence of

²⁸ Tacitus records the diverse languages still used by soldiers in the Roman army in AD 69 (Tac. *Hist.* 2.37).

²⁹ See Caes. *B Gall.* 6.14 records that the Celts used the Greek alphabet for their language.

³⁰ In this regard one might think of what MacMullen calls a "sense of audience". MacMullen 1982, 245-46 discusses of this aspect of the epigraphic habit is concerned with the survival of inscriptions and their accessibility in the *longue durée*, but the concept is equally applicable to a more immediate audience. Cf. Susini 1973, 52-6.

³¹ For discussions of inscription densities by provinces and regions see, for example: Bodel 2001, 8; Harris 1989, 266-68; Woolf 1998, 82, fig. 4.1; 1996, 36.

suitable stone might cause either an abandonment of epigraphy all together or, perhaps more likely, the transfer of the epigraphic habit from stone to more readily available, perishable materials, such as bronze or wood, that might be lost over time through decay or reuse.³²

Finally, one must consider the extent to which the ancient remains of an area have been investigated, recorded, and published. Lack of funding for excavations and publications leads naturally to neglect or even loss of ancient remains. Some regions have expressed a great concern for their ancient Greek and Roman heritage, while others emphasize their association with other ancient, medieval and/or modern cultures. These considerations guide funding and research in equal measure, leading to inconsistent amounts of information from different parts of the empire. This is further complicated by the development of urban areas that has led at times to the discovery and preservation of ancient material and at other times to its destruction or dispersal. For example, recent excavations related to the construction of a mass transit system in Athens have yielded invaluable archaeological material.³³ Nevertheless, urban and rural land use often obscures ancient remains and hinders their investigation. Likewise, unscientific recovery of artifacts including inscriptions and, especially, bronze diplomas, and the movement of those artifacts without provenance through the antiquities markets, both licit and illicit, further deprives scholars of useful information. All these factors, and more, contribute to the limitations of the epigraphic record available to modern scholars. Nevertheless, epigraphy provides the clearest available window into the movements and personal interactions of individuals by preserving the messages that their individual authors

³² See Mann 1985, attributing the relative scarcity of Roman epigraphy in Britain to the lack of suitable stone. See also Eck 1998 for a discussion of inscriptions on wood.

³³ Parlama and Stampolidis 2001.

intended to convey in the manner in which they intended to convey them. Furthermore, inscriptions may be associated with the specific locations where they were erected and thereby shed light on the movement of individuals and their communication with people elsewhere.

1.2.2 My Corpus of Inscriptions

This study is based on a body of approximately 750 inscriptions gathered from the standard epigraphical corpora and modern scholarship specific to the units under examination.³⁴ Each of these inscriptions explicitly names one or more cohorts or *alae* raised on the Iberian Peninsula. This corpus is, of course, subject to all the limitations associated with the epigraphic record. The most fundamental of these is that the epigraphic evidence preserves information only about those individuals who wished to erect stones and were able to do so. This implies a certain level of acculturation, as discussed above.³⁵ In the cases of soldiers this influence could have been exerted on them either in their homelands or in the areas in which they served. However, it is most important from the outset to understand that epigraphic evidence available for this study represents three groups: soldiers who chose to participate in the epigraphic habit, soldiers who were commemorated by someone who had done so, and those whose personal information is recorded on a military diploma issued by Rome. Thus this body of information may not be strictly representative of all the soldiery of the auxiliary units

³⁴ Electronic resources such as the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (<http://www.manfredclauss.de>), the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (<http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index.html>), and the Hispania Epigraphica online database (<http://eda-bea.es>) have been particularly helpful in this process. The printed catalogs of P. Holder (1980), J. M. Roldán Hervás (1974) and M. M. Roxan (1973) have also been invaluable.

³⁵ See page 9, above.

raised in the Iberian Peninsula. Only those individuals who adopted or had need for at least this one Roman practice left any epigraphic evidence of themselves or those they commemorated.

That said, the epigraphic evidence is decidedly top-heavy. Of the total number who can be assumed to have served in these units over time, a much higher percentage of *praefecti* and *tribuni* are attested in the epigraphic record than *centuriones* and *decuriones*, and the percentages decrease in successively lower ranks.³⁶ Of the c. 750 inscriptions in my corpus pertaining to the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, 195 mention *praefecti* and another twenty mention *tribuni*.³⁷ While some of these inscriptions, in particular diplomas, also mention men of lower rank, it is remarkable that a total of 215 of the c. 750 inscriptions referring to these units mention their commanding officer. This may be contrasted with 53 inscriptions mentioning *milites*, 11 mentioning *gregales*, 8 naming *pedites*, and 51 mentioning *equites*. This total of 123 is less than 60 percent of the number of inscriptions that name commanders.³⁸

One might object to this quantification by arguing that the military diplomas skew these results since they represent official rather than personal epigraphy. Diplomas were primarily proof of the citizenship awarded to auxiliary soldiers upon completion of twenty-five years of service and, therefore, had a legal purpose that recommended them to veterans, regardless of the veteran's own commitment to the epigraphic habit.³⁹

³⁶ For discussion of these ranks see Chapter 2.

³⁷ This number approximates the number of *praefecti* attested, although some individuals are mentioned on more than one inscription.

³⁸ There are also approximately 100 inscriptions that name lower-ranking officers, including *centuriones*, *decuriones*, *principales* and *immunes*. The remaining inscriptions, c. 350, name only the unit and individuals, but provide no clear or direct relationship between the two.

³⁹ Same early diplomas were awarded to soldiers before their discharge. Most scholars agree that military diplomas and the grants associated with them were available to all auxiliary veterans. See: Alföldy 1968b;

Furthermore, it is unclear whether all soldiers received a diploma *gratis*, or were required to pay for one if they wished to receive it. Despite such uncertainties, removal of the military diplomas from these totals hardly alters the results at all. On diplomas we find all 12 references to *gregales*, 5 of the 51 references to *equites*, and 8 instances of *pedites*. Thus 25 references to common soldiers (21 percent of the total of such references) are found on military diplomas. Meanwhile 29 of the 215 references to commanding officers appear on diplomas. These 29 references represent 13 percent of the total of such inscriptions; a significantly smaller proportion than the *milites*, *gregales*, *pedites* and *equites*. Thus, while it must be acknowledged that the diplomas are a result of the Roman public administration's epigraphic habits, rather than that of their recipients or commanders, one must also recognize the differences in the broader epigraphic practices of commanders, their subordinate officers and enlisted men.

When diplomas are removed from consideration, 186 references to commanders and 94 references to the lowest ranks remain. Although one might argue that tombstones were erected by survivors rather than the deceased himself,⁴⁰ I consider them to be representative of the deceased's wish to be commemorated epigraphically. I thus include them in my examination. However, these two corpora may be further refined by eliminating inscriptions erected at public expense or by institutions, because these types

Cheesman 1914; Mann 1972; Maxfield 1986; Nesselhauf 1936; Roxan 1981. However, Domaszewski 1967, 75n2 and Dušanić 1982a; 1982b; 1984a; 1980; 1986; 1985; 1984b have argued that the rights associated with diplomas were available only to those who received a special award *ob virtutem*. This latter argument, however, has not gained popular scholarly support and is not discussed in detail here. For further discussion of diplomas see page 81, below.

⁴⁰ One may not, however, make this argument for stone that were erected by a living person for him/herself, with or without others. Cases such as this are usually signaled by some formula such as *sibi vivus fecit*.

of inscriptions may not represent the soldier's or officer's personal participation in the epigraphic habit.

Let it suffice to say that commanding officers are attested epigraphically roughly twice as often as common soldiers. This is particularly significant when considered within the context of auxiliary units as a whole. Each unit contained, nominally, 500 or 1,000 soldiers, serving under a *praefectus*, or *tribunus*, and a handful of *centuriones* or *decuriones* who were assisted in turn by *optiones*, *signiferi*, *tesserarii* and other low-ranking officers.⁴¹ At any one time there were at least several hundred enlisted soldiers serving under each commander. The brief period of service of the commanders, perhaps three years,⁴² compared to the twenty-five years of service required of auxiliary soldiers, may reduce the ratio of soldiers to commanders to something like a hundred to one, but even this would mean that commanders are about two hundred times more likely to be epigraphically visible than common soldiers.

Similar statistics can, of course, be adduced for *centuriones*, *decuriones* and other lower-ranking officers. There are 11 clear references to *centuriones* appearing in my epigraphic corpus (not including Greek inscriptions, tile stamps, building inscriptions, diplomas and references to centuries themselves).⁴³ Meanwhile, 33 inscriptions attest 37 *decuriones* from auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁴ The total of 44

⁴¹ Le Bohec 1994, 26-7; Webster 1969, 148-49. These offices will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

⁴² *HA Maximinus V*, 1. Cf. Le Bohec 1994, 41.

⁴³ AE 1911, 17; AE 1960, 120; AE 1967, 335; AE 1972, 353; CIL III 5330a; CIL III 5539; CIL VIII 3005; CIL VIII 853=12370; CIL VIII 17631; *InscrAqu II*, 2857; RIB I 2213. Greek inscriptions SB 8518, 4591 and 4608 have been omitted. AE 2004, 1899 and RIB I 1568 are building inscriptions and refer only to centuries identified by their *centuriones*.

⁴⁴ AE 1903, 68; AE 1929, 169; AE 1961, 17; AE 1963, 27; AE 1966, 188; AE 1988, 974; AE 1997, 893; AE 1998, 1603; AE 2000, 1179; CIL II 2552; CIL II 2555; CIL III 3271 (x2); CIL III 4373; CIL III 5629; CIL III 6218; CIL III 6743; CIL III 6760 (x4); CIL III 7871; CIL III 843; CIL III 10258; CIL III 10513;

inscriptions referring to *centuriones* and *decuriones* is approximately one third the number referring to the men they commanded, although the ratio of *centuriones/decuriones* to common soldiers was likely about 1:40.⁴⁵

The discrepancy between the number of men holding any particular rank and the number of epigraphic attestations of these men may be explained by a number of factors, including social status and wealth. *Praefecti* and *tribuni* were of Roman equestrian rank and therefore of very high social status within Roman society. The designation as equestrian also carries with it the implication that the men who held it were from areas that had been subjected to Roman rule for a significant period of time; they had been able to acquire the wealth and recognition required to be adlected to the *ordo equester*. Thereby, it is presumed that they and their families were well integrated into Roman culture and had largely assumed its habits and customs, including the use of epigraphy in worship and commemoration.⁴⁶ The non-citizen, or “peregrine,” status of many auxiliary soldiers in the first and second centuries, by contrast, reveals their provincial origins and hints at their background in the lower echelons of Roman society.⁴⁷ This may, in turn, suggest unfamiliarity with epigraphic communication and account in part for their lack of participation in the habit.

CIL III 15205,3; CIL VIII 2787; CIL VIII 17619; CIL XI 393; CIL XIII 8837; IAM Supp. 830; IBR 264; IScM I 278; IScM I 297; RIB I 266; RIB I 586; RIB I 1480.

⁴⁵ This ratio is difficult to establish. *Centuriones* commanded about 80 men and *decuriones* commanded between 25 and 30, but their career must have been slightly shorter since they entered the ranks as common soldiers and were later promoted.

⁴⁶ Devijver 1989=Devijver 1989-1992, vol. 2, 109-28. Cf. Talbert 1996, 342.

⁴⁷ Le Bohec 1994, 97-9; cf. Kraft 1951, 80-1. The number of auxiliaries holding Roman citizenship rose steadily in the second century.

Such abstract factors may also be augmented by, or subordinated to, more practical economic considerations. In the Imperial period, one had to meet a minimum property requirement of four hundred thousand *sestertii* in order to qualify as an equestrian and therefore be eligible for service as an auxiliary commander.⁴⁸ Auxiliary infantrymen, by contrast, were paid between 750 and 900 *sestertii* per year from the reign of Augustus to that of Domitian, and between 1,000 and 1,200 *sestertii* from the time of Domitian's pay increase to that of Septimius Severus.⁴⁹ The fact that equestrians were required to possess about four hundred times the annual income of a common auxiliary soldier makes it clear that equestrian officers were able to shoulder the cost of erecting inscriptions far more easily than were their subordinates. Although it is not clear how expensive epigraphic memorials and votives were, one may say with confidence that every equestrian could afford to erect votives or funerary inscriptions for himself and his loved ones if he so chose.⁵⁰ The same may not be said, however, of men holding the lower military ranks.⁵¹ Although they are likely to have been able to save some money throughout the course of their careers, epigraphic commemoration may have stretched their resources and therefore required extraordinary determination to complete.⁵² Such

⁴⁸ Demougin 1988, 76-82; Nicolet 1966-1974, vol. 1, 47-68. Cf. Mart. 5.38, Plin. *NH* 33.32-33; Suet. *Caes.* 33; Mart. IV 67; V 23.7; 23.1; Plin. *Ep.* I.19.2; Juv. 1.105; 5.132; 14.326.

⁴⁹ These figures reflect the arguments put forth by R. Alston, M. P. Speidel and others. The debate about military pay began with Domaszewski 1900. Speidel 1992a took up the work of Speidel 1973 to argue that auxiliary soldiers received five-sixth of the pay awarded to legionary soldiers. Alston 1994 proposed that auxiliary pay was, in fact, equal to legionary pay. This argument has not, however, found wide acceptance. Further arguments may be found in Breeze 1971; Brunt 1950; Dobson 1972; Jahn 1983; 1984; Johnson 1936; Marichal 1945; Watson 1956; 1971; 1969. For additional bibliography see Alston 1994, 114n2.

⁵⁰ Duncan-Jones 1982, 79-80 and 127-30; Oliver 2000a.

⁵¹ Duncan-Jones 1982, 99-101 records funerary expenditures at Lambaesis between 96 and 80,000 sesterces. Even this lower figure represents close to one month's pay for a common soldier. Furthermore, most records from Lambaesis give funeral expenses running in the hundreds or thousands of sesterces.

⁵² For discussion of the profitability of military careers among the lowest ranks see Alston 1994.

fundamental economic considerations may account, at least in part, for the discrepancy in rates of epigraphic expression between commanders and common soldiers.

Economic considerations cannot, however, explain the geographic distribution of the epigraphic sources under consideration here. The corpus of inscriptions related to the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula are heavily concentrated in Britain and the provinces of the Rhine and Danube frontiers.⁵³ This distribution is primarily a reflection of the areas in which soldiers of all ranks were recruited, served and spent their retirement. Nevertheless, local epigraphic traditions and the availability of suitable materials certainly influenced the behavior of individuals in antiquity, as modern economic, political and cultural factors have affected the recovery of ancient monuments and artifacts. These variables are so complex that it is impractical to discuss them in any systematic or comprehensive manner. Instead, it may suffice to give a brief overview of the geographic distribution of the epigraphic sources for the *alae* and cohorts raised on the Iberian Peninsula. Such a summary will display the results rather than the causes of the various factors that affect our understanding of the epigraphic record, and recognition of the state of our sources will facilitate analysis of them.

At the outset, one must recall that not all types of epigraphy are personally motivated. For example, tile and brick stamps were created to record the work of specific units and sub-units but communicate no personal information. For this reason they have been omitted from this discussion. Likewise some media have peculiar traits that lead to their loss or preservation. This is particularly true of papyri and of writing tablets such as those found at Vindolanda. Environmental factors have preserved these fragile media at only a small percentage of the sites on which they could be found in antiquity.

⁵³ For further details regarding the geographical distribution of these inscriptions see page 241, below.

Conversely, the bronze upon which military diplomas were inscribed and, perhaps, their portability have led to their frequent discovery by modern metal detectors. Although many must have been melted down for reuse, along with other metal artifacts from antiquity, about one thousand have found their way into the archaeological record. However, their relatively small size (c. 15 x 10cm) has probably contributed to their commoditization and the “discovery” of many diplomas on the antiquities market.⁵⁴ Thus, diplomas seem to be overrepresented in the sources of the current study. Their find locations are rarely known or often reported only vaguely and unreliably. This, together with the institutional, rather than personal, impetus for their creation, means that they must be examined through a slightly different lens than inscriptions on stone. Nevertheless, diplomas provide valuable information about their recipients’ movements and personal relationships. Therefore, they will be discussed in detail throughout this dissertation.

1.2.3 The Findspots of Inscriptions

One might make several general observations about stone inscriptions. First, the inscriptions that mention auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula are concentrated very heavily in the frontier provinces of Britain, the Rhine and the Danube. This should come as no surprise since auxiliary units were generally posted to the edges of the empire until the third century AD. It is more remarkable that Britannia yields 58 inscriptions relevant to these units, more than any other province. However, even the evidence from Britannia shows a distinct bias toward the frontier zones of the north and west, where

⁵⁴ Diplomas’ appearances on the art market often pass without comment in the volumes of Roman Military Diplomas. However, even a cursory examination of initial publications reveals the frequency with which they do so (e.g. Roxan and Eck 1997). Cf. Roxan 1997b, 484.

troop concentrations were high. Conspicuous concentrations of inscriptions are also visible in the Rhine provinces of Germania Inferior and Superior, from which 46 relevant inscriptions have been recovered. The Danube provinces of Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia and Thrace have provided a total of 72 inscriptions clearly associated with the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. The Iberian provinces provide the next greatest concentration, with a total of 35 inscriptions; Rome itself has produced 18.

While the concentration in frontier provinces of epigraphic evidence relevant to auxiliary units can be explained by the simple fact that these units served most often in these provinces, the concentrations in the Iberian provinces and in Rome require further explanation. One might logically seek to explain the large number of inscriptions found in modern Spain and Portugal by claiming that this represents evidence of soldiers returning home after service. However, the evidence is not so clear. Of the 23 inscriptions from Hispania Citerior that mention auxiliary units raised on the peninsula, 4 can be associated with cohorts I Celtiberorum. Three of these 4 are votive altars raised to Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the health of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (CIL II 2552, 2553 and 2555), from near Villalís, Spain, and one is a *hospitium* inscription (AE 1973, 295), from Aquae Flaviae (modern Castromao, Spain). Nine more inscriptions, also from the northwest, may be associated with *ala* II Flavia Hispanorum. Both of these units were stationed within Hispania Citerior, probably to provide security for the mines of the northwest.⁵⁵ Therefore, the epigraphy associated with them appears to be a result of their deployment rather than their origin. Indeed, one of these inscriptions is a votive that records the African origin of the *praefectus* who erected it (AE 1963, 16, recovered from Petavonium, near modern Rosinos de Vidriales, Spain; Figure 1):

⁵⁵ Roldán Hervás 1974, 212-14 and 21-23; Roxan 1973, 148 and 73-74.

Herculi sacr(u)m / M(arcus) Sellius L(uci) f(ilius)
 Arn(ensi) / Honoratus do/mo Choba ex pr/ovincia
 Maur[e]/tania Caes(ariensi) pra[e]/f(ectus) l(miliariae)
 a(lae) II F(laviae) H(ispanorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) /
 votorum compo/s templa Alcidi / deo a fundame/ntis
 exstruxit.⁵⁶

Examples such as this one highlight the fact that most epigraphic evidence is recovered from the areas in which the soldiers and units that erected the stones served, rather than their place of origin. We will see this point repeatedly in the following study.

The 18 inscriptions from Rome, however, represent a special case. Fifteen of these 18 inscriptions relate to commanders of auxiliary units on the Iberian Peninsula, while only 3 refer to soldiers of the lower ranks. Furthermore, only 1 of these 3 suggests the presence of an Iberian unit in or around Rome (CIL VI 3588).⁵⁷ The presence of the other 2 (CIL VI 3228 and 3238) may be explained by the presumable circumstances surrounding the inscriptions. The first of these two texts commemorates a member of the *equites singulares* named Titus Aurelius Tertius (CIL VI 3228; Figure 2):

D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Aur(elio) Tertio e[q(uiti)] /
 sing(ulari) Aug(usti) tur(ma) A[ur(eli)] / Genealis nat(ione)
 Rae[tus] / vix(it) ann(os) XXX mil(itavit) ann(os) [...] /
 h(eres) eius T(itus) Aur(elius) Jucundu[s et] / secund(us)
 h(eres) Victor mil[es] / c(o)ho[rtis] III Bracasu[m] / amico
 karissimo [f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)].⁵⁸

There can be no doubt about Tertius' Raetian origin, since it is preserved in the text. This also explains his association with cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum, since that unit was

⁵⁶ "An offering to Hercules. Marcus Sellius Honoratus, son of Lucius, of the tribe Arnensis, from Choba in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis, *praefectus* of the thousand-strong ala II Flavia Hispanorum of Roman citizens erected the temple of the divine Alcides from its foundations, with his vows having been fulfilled."

⁵⁷ For further discussion of this inscription see page 131, below.

⁵⁸ "To the immortal shades. For Titus Aurelius Tertius *eques singularis* of Augustus from the *turma* of Aurelius Genialis, a Raetian by birth, who lived thirty years and served... His heir Titus Aurelius Jucundus and his second heir Victor, soldiers of cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum (took care that this be made) for their dearest friend."

stationed in Raetia during the period from AD 107 to c. 167-168 at the very least.⁵⁹ One may infer from this that Tertius befriended Victor while serving in cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum prior to his transfer to the *equites singulares*, where he met Jucundus. These circumstances, in turn, explain why Jucundus and Victor were named as Tertius' heirs and, consequently, erected the tombstone on which they are named. The tombstone itself is evidence of the presence in Rome of the *equites singulares* rather than cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum. In this way it does not contradict the general tendency of inscriptions naming auxiliary soldiers to be clustered close to their place of service.⁶⁰

Nor do the inscriptions found in Rome naming commanders of units raised on the Iberian Peninsula necessarily place those commanders' origins in Rome or its environs. One of these records a *praefectus* born in Hispania Citerior whose military career took him to North Africa, Cappadocia and Raetia before he assumed the position of *praefectus fabrum* and died, presumably, in Rome (CIL VI 3654):⁶¹

P(ublio) Valerio P(ubli) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Prisco Urc[i]tano
ex Hisp(ania) cit(eriore) / praef(ecto) fabr(um) praef(ecto)
coh(ortis) I Asturum et Callaec(or)um in Maur(etania) /
praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Apamen(or)um sa(gittariorum) in
Cappad(ocia) / trib(un) coh(ortis) I Ital(icae) / (milliariae)
volunt(ariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) in Cappad(ocia) /
praef(ecto) alae I Flaviae Numidic(ae) in Africa /
praef(ecto) alae I Hispan(or)um Aurianae in Raetia / vixit
annis LXV.⁶²

⁵⁹ Roxan further argues that the unit may have arrived in Raetia in the Flavian period and remained there throughout the second century. She dates this inscription specifically to either AD 169-76 or 180-93, citing the two Aurelii as evidence of an Antonine date and the appearance of a singular Augustus: Roxan 1973, 439-42; cf. Radnóti 1961, 112; Speidel 1994, 128-29; 1965, 99.

⁶⁰ For further discussion of this inscription see page 259, below.

⁶¹ This inscription is also interesting because Valerius Priscus commanded at least two units with Spanish appellations. The significance of his career will be discussed further elsewhere. Cf. Birley 1966.

⁶² "To Publius Valerius Priscus from Urçi, son of Publius, of the tribe Galeria, from Hispania Citerior, prefect of engineers, prefect of cohorts I Asturum et Calaeorum in Mauretania, prefect of cohorts I Apamenorum of archers in Cappadocia, tribune of cohorts I Italica of volunteer Roman citizens, one

In order to be eligible for service as a *praefectus* or *tribunus* Priscus and his colleagues had to be of equestrian status. The wealth required to attain that status allowed men of ambition to relocate to Rome and some certainly did. Thus the origins of commanders cannot be determined by the location of their tombstones or any other epigraphic evidence whether in Rome or the provinces.

This makes it particularly difficult to deal with inscriptions found at any distance from the frontiers. In these cases one is forced to search for possible circumstances that brought the soldiers to these locations. However, in the absence of explicit evidence to explain their presence, one must resort to conjecture. This leads often to the assumption that soldiers returned home after service, or that they had been part of a *vexillatio* or detachment far from their unit when they erected a stone away from the frontier. These are certainly the most logical conclusions to draw and this line of reasoning will be explored further in later chapters. Nevertheless, these assumptions ought not to be taken as more than reasoned speculation unless they are supported by clear evidence.

1.2.4 Decoration and Iconography

Many of the stones discussed in the course of this study are adorned with architectural and/or pictorial relief decorations. I have not, however, made any attempt to complete a systematic or exhaustive examination of these decorations. This is due, in part, to the complexity of interpreting mythological, religious and symbolic imagery, but also to the possibility that gravestones were decorated *en masse* and only later

thousand strong, in Cappadocia, prefect of ala I Flavia Numidica in Africa and prefect of ala I Hispanorum Auriana in Raetia. He lived sixty-five years.”

personalized for the deceased.⁶³ While this would still allow for some choice of form, decoration and iconography, it suggests also that the particular imagery on any given stone may not have been intended to convey a specific, personalized message. Furthermore, proper reading of the visual language used in these decorations would demand more attention than could be afforded it here.

One might also attempt to adduce the social status of the recipients of these tombstones from the size and decoration of their monuments. However, V. Hope (2000) and others have shown convincingly that the portrayal of soldiers on tombstones and the expense of these monuments represent a conscious projection of desired status that does not, necessarily, correspond to the lived reality of the honorees or their commemorators.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, I have commented upon the decoration of individual stones when it is particularly remarkable in its own right or when it is useful as a criterion for dating. For example, one cannot ignore the elaborate Orphic scene adorning CIL III 5292 (Figure 3) Similarly, the “Totenmahl” scene on IScM II 172 (Figure 4) is characteristic of Flavian tombstones in the area in which it was found. I have included photographs or drawings of as many of the stones discussed in these pages as possible in order to facilitate reference to these decorations, to provide some check on the transcriptions recorded within my text, and to aid future examination of their adornment.

1.2.5 Onomastics

In cases such as that of Valerius Priscus (CIL VI 3654; page 23, above), the origins of individuals recorded on inscriptions are illuminated by the text itself. This may

⁶³ Carroll 2006, 109-18; Hope 2000, 165; Keppie 2001, 12; Susini 1973, 18 and 34-8.

⁶⁴ Cf. Hodder 1982; Oliver 2000a, 178-81.

be accomplished in several ways including the use of *domo*, *ex*, *natus*, *natione* and other similarly clear means. There are, however, more ambiguous cases in which no explicit indication of an individual's origin is given. In these cases one may resort to onomastic means to illuminate aspects of individuals' personal histories. The frequency and geographic distribution of non-Roman names is the most basic method by which onomastics can be used as a helpful indicator of an individual's origin. This study relies on B. Lörincz's *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum* (OPEL) and several other regional studies in order to establish the geographic distribution of names.⁶⁵ By consulting lists of instances of individual names provided by Lörincz, and the geographical distribution of these names, one may determine where a particular name is attested most commonly and is, therefore, most likely to have been native.

Of course this type of statistical analysis is not entirely satisfactory. One must take into account those instances in which an individual's origin is expressed in the text of an inscription but that origin differs from the area in which the stone was found. For example, CIL VI 3588 (see page 23, above) was found in Rome, but the text of the inscription explicitly identifies its recipient, Lucius Cuspius Lautus, as a Norican.⁶⁶ Fortunately, instances such as this, in which the *origo* of an individual differs explicitly from the findspot of the inscription that names him or her, are noted in Lörincz's catalog and help to ensure the accuracy of the information gleaned from it. Undoubtedly some names are recorded in foreign lands without reference to the individual's true origin, but these may be assumed to represent displaced persons when a clear plurality of instances of the name may be found elsewhere. Indeed this quantitative approach, once explicit

⁶⁵ Crespo Ortiz de Zárate 2006; González and Santos 1999; Lörincz 1994.

⁶⁶ For further discussion of this inscription see page 131, below.

exceptions are taken into account, is the most reliable means to determine the origins of an individual based on onomastics alone.⁶⁷

This fundamental statistical approach may, however, be further augmented by the type of linguistic analysis that is often conducted in regional studies. This study attempts to take such linguistic arguments into account when they are relevant to the wider discussion. However, when statistical data and linguistic evidence contradict each other it is necessary to choose between them. When this is the case one must remember that the quantitative analysis of the locations of these names is subject to all the vicissitudes of the epigraphic record as a whole and that linguistic evidence may provide a valuable check to the deficiency of our sources. However, cases in which our epigraphic and linguistic evidence are contradictory have been resolved individually throughout this study rather than privileging one type of evidence over another as a matter of course.

1.2.6 Dating Inscriptions

The dating of inscriptions is notoriously difficult. With the exception of a small minority of epigraphic texts that have consular dates or that preserve imperial titulature in whole or in part, the dates of inscriptions are determined in general by the formulae and abbreviations used, the type and style of its decoration and lettering, and external archaeological and historical evidence. Such factors are complicated by local and regional variations that make it impossible to generalize dating criteria over the entire corpus of inscriptions considered in this study.

Military diplomas provide the simplest and most useful dating information available for epigraphic study. Complete diplomas contain the formal titulature of the

⁶⁷ For other approaches to this problem see Noy 2000, *passim* and Ricci 2006, *passim*.

reigning emperor, and the names of the consuls and of the governor of the province in which the diploma was awarded. Any one of these pieces of information would be sufficient to identify the year of the diploma. However, the combination of the chronological information provided by diplomas and the lists of auxiliary units serving in the province at the time the diploma was awarded allows one to determine when and in which province these units served. This information can then be used to establish chronological parameters in which to place inscriptions based on the unit or units named, and on the location where the inscription was recovered. While the precision of these deductions varies widely they are generally reliable. However, auxiliary diplomas are limited to the period between AD 54 and 205.⁶⁸ Thus one must depend on other means of dating both for the first half of the first century and for more precise dating than is available based on the diplomas alone.

In the absence of explicit chronological information such as imperial titulature and the names of magistrates, formulae and abbreviations are the most obvious means by which inscriptions are usually dated. While these criteria vary from province to province some general rules, such as those defined by P. Holder, for dating auxiliary tombstones may be applied to assist in dating.⁶⁹ The most general of these rules include:

- 1) “Dis Manibus” appears first under Nero, became popular in the Flavian period and is generally abbreviated “D.M.” in the second century.⁷⁰
- 2) “Hic situs est” is not found on the Rhine after the Flavian period but is found on the Danube into the second century.
- 3) “Mil. ex coh.” is a pre-Flavian abbreviation.

⁶⁸ The earliest known auxiliary diploma is CIL XVI 2. The latest is a new diploma published in Eck 2011. There is, however, one earlier fleet diploma dating to AD 52 (CIL XVI 1) and many later fleet and praetorian diplomas. Cf. RMD V pp.681-698.

⁶⁹ Holder 1980, 144-66. Cf. Kraft 1951, 18-9; Saddington 1973.

⁷⁰ For a Neronian example of *Dis Manibus* see RIB I 12.

- 4) Unit titles are generally in the ablative before the Flavian period, and in the genitive thereafter.
- 5) Placement of the unit number before the unit name is a pre-Flavian practice.
- 6) On inscriptions that do not include D.M., the name of the deceased in the nominative is an indication of a first-century date. Its appearance in the dative is, however, common beginning in the Flavian period.
- 7) If a soldier with citizenship has an imperial gentilicium in his name, that name provides a *terminus post quem* for the inscription.
- 8) Although there are a few later examples of soldiers lacking *cognomina*, the absence of a cognomen is generally an indication of a pre-Claudian date.

These criteria and many more have been used by various scholars to date the inscriptions included in this study. In general, I have accepted dates proposed by other scholars provided they are in accordance with the overarching trends in Latin epigraphy or are supported by specific argumentation. In my commentary I have also attempted to indicate how these inscriptions have been dated when explicit explanations have been provided and to note when dates have been given without any indication of how that conclusion was reached.

One must, however, use some caution in accepting others' dates. Conflicting analyses of specific inscriptions are common, especially when no clear criteria are available. For example, AE 1961, 338 is dated variously to the pre-Flavian period based on textual criteria, or to the mid-second century based on circumstantial evidence.⁷¹ Furthermore, many scholars are quick to apply specific dates to inscriptions based on abbreviations and formulae, as if these were used only for discrete periods or were adopted or discarded throughout the empire at specific times. In the absence of explicit dating information and historical contexts, one ought not to overestimate the precision of abbreviations and formulae as dating criteria.

⁷¹ See page 270n157, below.

In general, without the aid of explicit dating information one may feel fortunate to date an inscription to a period as precise as a quarter of a century. This has not, however, stopped some scholars from suggesting more precise dates, often using the reigns of emperors to define epochs.⁷² In these cases, I have accepted dates that may be explained by historical circumstances or ones that have been subjected to well-defined criteria. But I have tried to remain conservative when using chronological data to construct arguments.⁷³

The limited number of inscriptions applicable to this study, and the difficulty in attributing specific dates to them, conspire to make it impossible to construct compelling arguments about specific changes in policies and practices in the two centuries currently under examination. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify trends within the available information that may, in turn, be compared to examinations of policies and practices in other studies based on epigraphic material selected according to other geographic, chronological and demographic criteria.

1.3 Chapters and Subjects

As stated above, the purpose of the current work is to further refine the study of the *auxilia* to include substantive examination of the social and cultural influences expressed in the epigraphy of individual soldiers from their enlistment to their deaths, including their service and retirement. That being said, I owe a great deal to those who have studied this material before me. These scholars include the authors who have

⁷² Holder 1980, for example, is often quite precise about the dates of inscriptions.

⁷³ I have, however, stretched this evidence to its limit in my analysis of the recruitment of units from the northwestern corner of the peninsula.

conducted general and regional studies, and those who have investigated more specific portions of the *auxilia*. However, this dissertation is particularly reliant upon the work conducted to illuminate the history of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. Specifically, I owe a debt to the surveys conducted by J. M. Roldán Hervás and M. Roxan in 1974 and 1973, respectively. These two scholars carefully compiled the epigraphic evidence for these units and reconstructed their formation and movements throughout the first two centuries AD. Furthermore, in the almost forty years since their publication, these works have been augmented, but not supplanted, by more detailed studies of individual units.⁷⁴ Most of these more recent studies have documented the movements of specific units as precisely as possible. Consequently they are often cited in what follows. When contradictions appear among these sources, or when my own assessment differs from theirs, I have tried to explain the reasons for the difference of opinion and the rationale for my own conclusion. Nevertheless, the current study would have been far more difficult without the achievements of previous scholars.

In order to understand the significance of Roman auxiliary soldiers' movements and relationships it is necessary to become familiar with the *auxilia* as an institution. For that reason Chapter 2 of this dissertation describes the history and form of the *auxilia*. First it discusses the late Republican antecedents of the Imperial *auxilia*. It highlights the similarities between the composition of the *auxilia* and the terminology used to describe it in the late Republic and in the Imperial period. However, it also stresses the

⁷⁴ Breeze 1997; Dobson and Mann 1973; Gudea 1997; 1975; Gudea and Zahariade 1980; Lörincz 2001; 1997; Lörincz and Gabrieli 2001; Santos Yanguas 2007b; 2006; 2004a; 1979a; 1971; 2004b; 2008; 2007c; 2005; 1979b; 1980a; 1979c; 1979d; 1979e; 1980b; 1979f; 1985; 1980c; 1981b; Velkov 1989 are among the most useful of these studies.

irregularity of auxiliary units in the late Republic and the different use of terms during the late Republic that are familiar to scholars of the Imperial *auxilia*.

Chapter 2 goes on to detail the form of the Imperial *auxilia*, the ranks of its soldiers, the size of its units and the terms of service under which its soldiers served. The structure of the *alae* and cohorts is of particular importance because it played an enormous role in the lives of the individuals that comprise the subject of this study. As will become apparent, relationships between soldiers were enduring and important but also existed in parallel to relationships between soldiers and civilians. Furthermore, the strict regimentation of Roman military life imposed a framework upon the soldiers who served in the *auxilia* and required that other aspects of their lives be built around it. For example, the requirement of twenty-five years of service, often far from home, undoubtedly complicated soldiers' relationships with members of their native communities. Likewise, the ban on marriage for soldiers, evidently in effect from the time of Augustus until AD 197, and the ban's legal implications may have required that *de facto* connubial relationships be subordinated to other legally recognized and binding relationships in the context of legal heirship.⁷⁵

Chapter 3 investigates patterns of recruitment in the *auxilia* through the lens of the units of the northwestern Iberian Peninsula in the first century AD. Since recruitment has been one of the primary concerns of scholarship since Mommsen,⁷⁶ a complete review of this evidence is hardly necessary. It is well established that recruitment began in the original homelands of the individual units upon their creation, and changed to

⁷⁵ This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

⁷⁶ Mommsen 1884, 1-79 and 210-34 .

almost completely “local” recruitment by the Hadrianic period;⁷⁷ as mentioned above, we see this same pattern in the material I discuss. However, the transition is not well understood, nor are the terms used to define recruitment always clear. I will therefore discuss this issue in some detail and attempt a more precise analysis in Chapter 3. K. Kraft argued that auxiliary units stationed on the Rhine and Danube were supplemented with local recruits almost immediately upon their deployment, while Alföldy maintained that there is little evidence for local recruitment in Dalmatia before the Flavian period.⁷⁸ Chapter 3 demonstrates that auxiliary units from the northwestern corner of the Iberian Peninsula did, in fact, receive recruits from outside their original recruiting grounds in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods and that this practice appears earlier and more commonly in the *alae* than in the cohorts. Finally, this chapter introduces some of the themes of travel and interpersonal relationships that will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Chapter 4 expands upon my examination of recruiting by looking to the end of soldiers’ careers and their movements after their discharge. Specifically, it examines the epigraphic evidence for veterans of the auxiliary units originally raised on the Iberian Peninsula. This study includes all the known epigraphic evidence for these men from the first to early third centuries AD, seeking to reconstruct the physical movement of individual soldiers from their birth, through their service and up until their deaths. In so doing, this chapter further illuminates the recruitment practices discussed in Chapter 4, but broadens the chronological scope of the evidence and increases the number of units

⁷⁷ Alföldy 1962; Kraft 1951.

⁷⁸ Alföldy 1962, 276; Kraft 1951, 48.

included in it. However, Chapter 4's concentration on veterans means that it is still not an exhaustive study of recruitment; only those records related to veterans are discussed.

The primary intention of Chapter 4 is to illuminate the effects of military service on the veterans discussed by determining where they settled after their service and by comparing that information to their origins and places of service. The results suggest that most veterans left the immediate vicinity of their former units. Nevertheless, the majority of them settled within 50 miles of their former post, while one third of the recorded veterans traveled over 100 miles after their service. These data contrast previous arguments, which stress the tendency of veterans to settle at their place of service,⁷⁹ and nuance preliminary studies that have begun to reveal the mobility of auxiliary veterans.⁸⁰ Furthermore, my examination highlights the broad distribution of auxiliary veterans and seeks to quantify and explain their movement beyond the military zone/hinterland dichotomy that is often cited.⁸¹ The mobility of auxiliary veterans suggests that many of them preserved ties to their home communities throughout their service and, therefore, that their identities were not entirely predicated upon their military service, although such soldiers may well have acted as a powerful force to integrate the communities in which they settled into the broader Roman world.

The movement of auxiliary soldiers has important implications about the effects of military service on long-serving soldiers. If the locations of tombstones erected for or by a veteran are accepted as an indication of the commemorated individual's final residence it seems as though the majority of veterans chose to leave their units. While

⁷⁹ Bridger 2006; Mann 1983a.

⁸⁰ Mann 2002; Roxan 1997b; 2000.

⁸¹ See especially Roxan 1997b; 2000.

the fact that some of them chose to settle near other military installations suggests the existence of a military community that spread beyond the ranks of a single unit, soldiers' separation from their former units may indicate that their identities were not strictly defined by their service in that particular unit. Rather, additional social and economic factors outside the bounds of military service seems to have had a large influence on these soldiers during and after their service.

Chapters 5 and 6 explore these themes further by examining the epigraphic evidence for interpersonal relationships among soldiers, and between soldiers and civilians, respectively. By necessity these chapters both include discussion of the practical and legal limitation of the evidence available, and draw upon comparable material from outside the immediate scope of this study. They also discuss the maintenance of soldiers' personal relationships and the impact of communication and travel upon soldiers. These chapters touch once again upon auxiliary recruitment and veteran settlement but include records of serving soldiers for all the units raised on the Iberian Peninsula from the first to early third centuries. Thus they are intended to advance the study of the soldiers from quantitative analyses of locations to a more nuanced understanding of individual soldiers' personal interactions with fellow soldiers, their families and others.

Chapter 5 discusses relationships between soldiers. The evidence included in this chapter is limited to soldiers below the rank of *praefectus* or *tribunus* since relationships between soldiers and their commanders were of a largely professional nature and rarely appear in the epigraphic record of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. The evidence presented in this chapter indicates that inter-soldier relationships appear more commonly in the epigraphic record in the first century than in the second and third

centuries. Furthermore, it shows that these relationships could extend outside of single units and endure over long distances.

Chapter 6 explores relationships between soldiers, their families, slaves, freedpeople and friends. The evidence for these relationships shows the importance of conjugal relationships throughout the first two centuries AD, despite the official ban on the marriage of soldiers that was not lifted until at least AD 197.⁸² It also suggests that soldiers' conjugal relationships were not dependent upon shared *origines* with their wives. Additionally, the records of soldiers' relationships with their parents indicate that such familial relationships could persist throughout the soldiers' careers and over great distances. Chapter 6 then surveys the evidence for servile relationships, and concludes with an examination of the few documents that may be indicative of friendships outside the spheres of military and family life.

Finally, Chapter 7 contains some closing remarks about the results of this study as a whole and its place within current scholarship. Furthermore, it proposes potential courses of future study, including further investigation of some of the topics discussed within these pages and some that are outside the scope of this dissertation. These are intended to highlight the work that still needs to be done in regards to the Roman *auxilia*, its individual soldiers, and civilian communities in the Roman world.

⁸² Phang 2001.

2. The *Auxilia* in the Late Republic and the Creation of the Formalized Imperial *Auxilia*

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the late Republican antecedents of formalized Imperial auxiliary units and establish the structure of the *auxilia* in the Principate. The existence of *auxilia* and allied troops throughout the Republican period and their prominence in the first century BC make it clear that the Imperial *auxilia* evolved from Republican predecessors. However, the moment at which the *auxilia* became an integrated, professional element of the Roman military with recognized status and standardized terms of service is far from clear. This chapter will review the evidence for the *auxilia* in the late Republic and outline its structure subsequent to the reforms of Augustus.

As is common with some seemingly simple questions about antiquity, the uncertainty surrounding the *auxilia* of the late Republic is due to the relative paucity of our sources and to ancient authors' assumptions that their audience would be either acquainted with these matters or unconcerned with such minutiae. When investigating the development of the *auxilia*, the historian's task is further complicated by the fact that no contemporary catalog of systematic military reforms in the late Republic or Julio-Claudian period has survived to the modern day. It is clear, however, that the process of formalizing the *auxilia* began in earnest under Augustus.¹ In order to understand the developments of the Julio-Claudian period and the emergence of fully codified *auxilia* under the Flavians one must first examine earlier non-citizen, provincial, and even foreign participation in the Roman army. In the first half of this chapter I will attempt to

¹ Gilliver 2007, 184; Saddington 1975, 186. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 49.

descry, from the limited sources available, the conditions under which these units served and the relationship between their terms of service and those of the Imperial *auxilia*.

The defining characteristic of the early Imperial *auxilia* in general is that they were composed of provincial non-citizens.² I begin my analysis by showing the broad range of non-slave peoples, provincial and foreign, that were included in the *auxilia* of the late Republic.³ We shall see that these people were included in units other than the *cohortes* and *alae* normally associated with the codified Imperial *auxilia*. This wide diversity contrasts the relatively limited scope of Imperial recruitment established, in all likelihood, as part of Augustus's military reforms. I then examine other aspects of the late Republican *auxilia* as they relate to their fully formalized Imperial counterparts as recorded in the military diplomas of the first century AD. In this section I discuss the evidence for late Republican use of the formulaic and persistent nomenclature applied to auxiliary units during the Imperial period. The use of these standardized names in the empire suggests a systematization of the *auxilia* and gives clear evidence for the permanence of individual units.⁴ I go on to examine the terms of service under which the *auxilia* served. While Imperial *auxilia* evidently received regular pay and were subject to 25 years of service before being eligible for discharge, at which time they could expect Roman citizenship, late Republican evidence shows no such standardization, although

² For citizen cohorts see Kraft 1951, 82-105.

³ Recruitment of slaves and freedmen is a distinct issue in and of itself and will not be discussed here. They were, however, admitted into the army in times of crisis such as the Hannibalic War (App. *B Civ.* 7.27, Liv. XXII.57, XXIII.35; Macrob. *Sat.* I.11, cf. Liv. XXIV.11 (214 BCE), in which two legions of volunteer slaves and slaves conscripted into the navy are mentioned, the Cimbrian War (according to Plut. *Mar.* 9, although Sallust *BJ* 86.2 does not mention recruitment of slaves. Cf. Passerini 1934), the civil wars of the first century BC (App. *B Civ.* 1.24, 1.75, 12.88; *B Alex.* 2; Caes. *B Afr.* 19, 23, 36, 88; *B Hisp.* 24) and under Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 25).

⁴ For example, ala II Aravacorum can be traced from the late Julio-Claudian period to the first half of the third century AD.

some elements of these rewards are visible in Republican sources.⁵ Finally, I will discuss the extent to which Republican *auxilia* served outside their home regions. Imperial auxiliary units almost always served beyond the borders of the province in which they were initially raised. In fact, such service is an element of their professionalization since it shows a movement away from *ad hoc* units of *socii* and toward a standing auxiliary army.

In the first half of this chapter I address the extent to which each of these aspects of Imperial auxiliary service is visible in our sources regarding their late Republican antecedents from the siege of Asculum in 89 BC to the battle of Actium in 31 BC. While several scholars have undertaken broad studies of the army in the Roman Republic,⁶ they concentrate mainly on the development of the Roman legions and give short shrift to *auxilia*. Only D. B. Saddington has endeavored to trace the evolution of *auxilia* from their Republican roots.⁷ Although Saddington's work is admirable and very useful, within the Republican period, he is primarily concerned with recording the number and location of auxiliary units and indulges in only the briefest analysis of this information in regard to their recruitment and terms of service.

Information may be gleaned from Cicero, the commentaries of Caesar and his continuators, the epitomes of Livy, Plutarch, Suetonius and Appian. However, when referring to military matters at the end of the Republic, Plutarch and Suetonius were far removed from their subject matter and, in any case, discuss military affairs only rarely. The deficiencies of these sources make a diachronic analysis of the late Republican *auxilia* impossible. In fact, even Appian, who wrote of events two centuries before his

⁵ For details regarding the terms of service in the imperial *auxilia* see page 81, below.

⁶ Dobson 2008; Gabba 1976; Keppie 1984.

⁷ Saddington 1975; 1982.

own time, noted that his sources “τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀναγράφουσιν ὡς ἄλλότρια καὶ ὀλίγην ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς προσθήκην χώραν ἔχοντα” (*B Civ.* 2.70.289).⁸ The sources, of which Appian despaired, were certainly better than those available to modern scholars. I will, therefore, discuss this subject synchronically, favoring contemporary sources whenever possible.

I will endeavor to expand on Saddington’s work regarding the evolution of the *auxilia*. In doing so, I show that the seeds of Julio-Claudian and Flavian codification of the *auxilia* were sown before Augustus assumed his position as *princeps* of the Roman Empire. Thus I lay the scene for further discussion of the establishment of the auxiliary system as it is known in its fully expressed form under the Flavians. This, in turn, will facilitate discussion of the role of the army in the integration of provincial populations.

The second half of this chapter is dedicated to the Imperial *auxilia*. In it I outline the structure and size of Imperial auxiliary cohorts and *alae* as they may be reconstructed from documentary sources. I then provide a brief examination of the origins and duties of the equestrian officers who commanded these units through most of their history. While these men fall outside the scope of this study, it is important to understand the ways in which they differed from their subordinates in order to get some sense of how these two groups affected each other. This discussion is followed by examinations of the origins and duties of centurions and decurions, who led infantry centuries and cavalry *turmae*, respectively, and lower-ranking officers. Finally, I summarize the terms of service under which all these soldiers served, including the length of their service,

⁸ “Do not pay much attention to the allied forces or record them exactly, thinking them foreigners and as contributing little to the result.” All texts from and references to Appian’s *Bellum Civile* follow Mendelsson’s and Viereck’s 1905 Teubner edition, reprinted in 1986. All translations are my own.

privileges granted to long-serving soldiers and military pay. In this last section I look specifically at the information preserved on military diplomas and documentary sources.

This chapter is intended to lay groundwork for the studies of recruiting, veteran settlement and personal relationships that follow it. The significance of the later chapters is only clear if one has a clear image of the history of the *auxilia* and its structure in the Imperial period. While this chapter is by no means exhaustive and many of the issues raised here deserve more attention than could be given to them here, the information provided in these pages should be sufficient to provide context for the analyses contained in Chapters 3 through 6.

2.2 The Roman Auxilia in the Late Republic: 89 – 31 BC

Ancient authors, in general, distinguished between legions composed of Roman citizens and other non-legionary elements of the army. The term *auxilia* is commonly used to denote the latter as a corporate body; Caesar, the author of *Bellum Hispaniense*, and the epitomator of Livy often use the adjectival and substantive form *auxiliaris* as well.⁹ However, to say that *auxilia* are non-legionary or even non-citizen soldiers is not the same as defining what, in fact, they were. Indeed, no absolute distinction in terms of personnel or tactics can be made between legions and *auxilia* in the last years of the Republic. If, however, we use the early Imperial *auxilia*, that is a force of free, non-citizen soldiers arrayed into *cohortes* and *alae*, as a basis for discussion, we may see that a broader variety of auxiliary units existed at the end of the Republic. Within this diversity are elements that look very much like the Imperial *auxilia*, but we can also

⁹ For a detailed discussion of terminology see Saddington 1982, 22.

discern more irregular forces, such as *legiones vernaculae*, that either evolved or disappeared before the emergence of the standardized *auxilia* of the Imperial period.

As the names of units imply and as the epigraphic record confirms, auxiliary units in the Imperial period were raised from provincial populations.¹⁰ Their Republican predecessors, on the other hand, were a much more diverse group. Many provincials were indeed included among their number, especially as cavalry. For example, Caesar records that 30 cohorts were raised in Hispania Ulterior (*B Civ.* 2.18.1, cf. 1.39.1),¹¹ and Brutus is said to have had 4,000 Gallic and Lusitanian cavalry under his command at Philippi (App. *B Civ.* 4.88.373). To these we might also add a broad array of Germans, Noricans, Illyrians, Moesians, Africans and Greeks serving on both sides in the civil wars.¹² However, the *auxilia* of the mid first century BC also included contingents of Arabs, Armenians, Ituraeans, Jews, Medes and Syrians, supplied by various client kings.¹³ The means by which these troops came to serve in the Roman army is not always clear. For example, the mounted Parthian bowmen that joined Cassius in Asia in 43 BC are said to have been attracted by his reputation, implying that Cassius played only a passive role in their participation (App. *B Civ.* 4.59.257). However, Appian tells us that Cassius then actively recruited more foreign soldiers by sending these Parthian troops home along with ambassadors to request that the king send additional recruits (4.63.271).¹⁴ The diversity of the foreign soldiers recorded in the Roman military provides insight into the situation Augustus faced when he sought to reform the military

¹⁰ e.g. Holder 1982, 20; Roldán Hervás 1983, 135.

¹¹ References to Caesar's *Bellum Civile* follow Klotz's 1969 Teubner edition.

¹² Saddington 1982, 6-14.

¹³ Saddington 1982, 8 and 24.

¹⁴ Buchheim 1960 provides a detailed examination of the role of eastern troops in the civil wars.

at the end of the civil wars. He was confronted with an army composed not only of people from all over the empire but even of foreigners wrapped in a tangled web of mixed allegiances to independent powers, client kings and individual generals.

In addition to the utilization of manpower from a wider catchment than was used for Imperial auxiliary recruitment, the late Republic provides many examples of irregular legionary formations raised from the provincial and non-citizen ranks from which the Imperial *auxilia* would later be drawn. The extent of this corruption of the legions is most evident in a description of the army led by Pompey at Munda in 45 BC provided by the pro-Caesarian author of the *Bellum Hispaniense* (7.4-5):

Aquilas et signa habuit XIII legionum; sed ex quibus aliquid firmamenti se existimabat habere duae fuerunt vernacula e<t secunda> quae a Trebonio transfugerant, una facta ex coloniis quae fuerunt in his regionibus, quarta fuit Afraniana, ex Africa quam secum adduxerat. Reliquae ex fugitivis auxiliariisque consistebant. Nam de levi armatura et equitatu longe et virtute et numero nostri erant superiores.¹⁵

Besides suggesting scorn for non-citizen military units, this passage highlights several irregularities in legionary composition. Pompey's high estimation of the legio Afraniana seems to suggest that it was a regular and probably experienced unit. The legion *facta ex coloniis* was also almost certainly a regular legion of Roman citizens.¹⁶ However, the vernacular legions are of greater interest here. Caesar mentions another of this type

¹⁵ "He had the eagles and standards of thirteen legions, but of these from which he thought he had any strength, two were home-born (i.e. native) and had deserted from Trebonius, one was composed from the colonies in the area, the fourth was the Afranian legion which he had brought with him from Africa, the rest consisted of fugitives and auxiliaries. And with respect to light armed troops and cavalry ours were superior by far in both strength and number." This text is that of A. Klotz's 1926 Teubner edition.

¹⁶ Saddington 1982, 13. Pascucci (*ad loc.*) prefers to read *ex colonis qui* since there was only one colony in Spain at this time. It is, nevertheless, tempting to assume from this passage that none of Pompey's thirteen legions was comprised of citizens. However, Roman casualties are reported on Varro's side of the subsequent battle and one must assume that this reference is to Roman soldiers (*BHisp.* 31). The legio Afraniana also seems to have been composed of citizens although it is impossible to be certain.

under the command of Varro in Spain (*B Civ.* 2.20.4). Although there is some ambiguity in the name of these units, A. T. Fear has shown that these legions were comprised of native Iberians without Roman citizenship.¹⁷ The presence of these men in a legion shows dramatically how the line between *auxilia* and *legiones* became blurred in the late Republic.

The final line of the description of Pompey's army gives some idea of how this confusion came about. The sentence *reliquae ex fugitivis auxiliaribusque consistebant* implies that the author of the *Bellum Hispaniense* recognized that a legion could be made up of auxiliaries. This suggests, in turn, that a legion was defined more by its equipment and tactics, than by its inclusion of citizen soldiers. Moreover, the composition of this unit suggests that the meaning of the term *legio* in the late Republic cannot be assumed to be identical to that used in the Imperial period. This highlights the irregularity of military organization in the mid-first century.

This assessment of the ambiguous relationship between legions and auxiliaries in the late Republic is confirmed by a passage from Suetonius that recounts the existence of another irregular legion raised by Julius Caesar in 56 BC (*Iul.* 24.2):

Qua fiducia ad legiones, quas a re publica acceperat, alias privato sumptu addidit, unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico -Alauda enim appellabatur-, quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam postea universam civitate donavit.¹⁸

¹⁷ Fear 1999, 813-20.

¹⁸ "With this assurance, he added, to the legions he accepted from the state, others at his own cost, and even one conscripted from Transalpine Gaul and indeed called by the Gallic name *Alauda* and trained with Roman discipline and in the Roman fashion and to which he later granted Roman citizenship." This text follows M. Ihm's 1927 Teubner edition. Cf. *B Gall.* 8.24.2 and 26 for legions raised in 51 BC. See also Drumann and Groebe 1899-1929, iii, 708; Holmes 1911, 802-4. Butler and Cary 1962, 73 also note "such enrolments of *peregrini* in the legions are not previously recorded, though they become common from the time of the second triumvirate to the reorganization by Augustus."

Here, the categorization of this unit as a legion seems to be associated with its organization or the eventual grant of citizenship to its members, rather than with its personnel. The soldiers were manifestly not Roman citizens, although they would later gain that distinction. It is also interesting to note that Caesar recruited this legion, not in the years of civil war during which shortages of manpower might be more likely to force innovation, but for his Gallic campaigns.

To the irregular legions of the late Republic already named we may also add two legions raised by Deiotarus, king of Galatia, and Caesar's *legio Pontica, quae ex tumultuariis militibus in Ponto confecta erat* prior to 47 BC (*B Alex.* 34.5),¹⁹ Labienus' *legiones <III> conscriptas ex cuiusquemodi generis amplius XII milibus* by 46 BC (*B Afr.* 19.3),²⁰ a legion of Ligurian tribesmen under Publius Bagienus in 43 BC (*Cic. Fam.* 10.33.4),²¹ and two legions of Macedonians raised by Brutus in 42 BC (*App. B Civ.* 3.79.324).²²

The establishment of irregularly recruited legions, rather than auxiliary units, suggests that late Republican generals saw a tactical advantage to be won by using legionary formations and equipment rather than those of more traditional auxiliaries. Furthermore, the combination of citizen and non-citizen soldiers in legions suggests that the label *legio* was at least partially divorced from its social cachet in the late Republic.

¹⁹ "A Pontic legion that was put together from soldiers involved in disorders in the Pontus." The text provided for the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, *Bellum Africum* and *Bellum Hispaniense* follow A. Klotz's 1926 Teubner edition. It is interesting to note that these three legions are immediately juxtaposed to *auxilia* in Cilicia. This highlights the differentiation between the two.

²⁰ "Legions enrolled of whatever type of men numbering more than twelve thousand."

²¹ Brunt 1971, 481 confirms Bagienus' Ligurian origin and that of his legion.

²² This passage is particularly interesting because it claims that Gaius Antonius elevated Macedonians into two legions because he approved of their valor. This may imply promotion and, hence, the superiority of legionary status.

This was not the case, however, after the reforms of Augustus, when legions were once again composed entirely of citizens.²³

The composition of military units in the late Republic displays remarkable diversity. Foreigners as well as provincial non-citizens appear in auxiliary units while provincials, sometimes only recently conquered, are used to form legions. This variation creates a confusing image of a military system in apparent disarray. It was only long after the chaos of the civil wars that eligibility for military service was again restricted and that the composition of *auxilia* and legions was clearly defined.

The terms by which later, more traditional auxiliary units are referred (e.g. *cohors* and *ala*) and the appellations applied to them (e.g. *Hispanorum* and *Celtiberorum*) are of interest because their regularity in the Imperial period implies the uniformity of an established institution. With the addition of numbers that allowed similar units to be differentiated, Roman military commanders and administrators could easily identify specific units. Furthermore, this type of organization suggests a centralized authority with a defined policy regarding the creation of new units that was designed to avoid confusion.²⁴ Due largely to our lack of epigraphic evidence from the late Republic it is extremely difficult to reconstruct how Republican *auxilia* were referred to or how individuals within them referred to themselves. There are, however, a few isolated pieces of evidence that suggest that some units did have unique titles.

Concerning the terminology for auxiliary units in the Republic a few general observations must be made. *Ala* was only erratically used for auxiliary cavalry. *Equites*

²³ Brunt 1971, 699.

²⁴ Birley 1978, 272.

and *turma* are by far the most common descriptors of cavalry.²⁵ There is, however, an important distinction between the two. *Equites* was normally used to denote large numbers of cavalry; the term was often paired with *auxilia* to highlight that both cavalry and infantry were present. *Turma*, on the other hand, seems to indicate a smaller, more tactical unit comparable to the *ala* of Imperial times.²⁶

It is hardly surprising that *cohors* is widely used to indicate infantry units in the late Republic. By the social war the cohort, usually understood as a military unit of four to five hundred men, was both the tactical and administrative unit of the legions.²⁷ It was also, however, the preferred designation of auxiliary infantry. In order to differentiate legionary cohorts from auxiliary, ancient authors almost always qualified the latter with an adjective. Often these modifiers (in the feminine singular) indicated the equipment with which the soldiers fought, such as *caetrata*, *scutata*, and *funditor*, or the number of soldiers included in the unit, as in the case of *sescenaria* and *quadringenaria*. In fact adjectives denoting the equipment and size of auxiliary units in the Imperial period are usually added to the ethnic appellations that were the primary means by which Imperial units were identified.

The few examples of *cohortes* and other auxiliary units referred to by specific ethnic adjectives suggest more continuity between Republican and Imperial practices in this realm. Most notably, Caesar mentions a *cohors Illurgavonensis* that deserted Pompey to join his own forces at Ilerda in 49 BCE (*B Civ.* 1.60.4). This specification by Caesar may be more than an effort to differentiate local peoples. The ethnic appellation contrasts the *caetrati auxiliaresque* who, Caesar notes, transferred their allegiance to

²⁵ Saddington 1982, 22.

²⁶ Saddington 1982, 23.

²⁷ Dobson 2008, 59-62 notes that the last literary attestation of a maniples is in 109 BC (*Sall. Iug.* 49.6).

Caesar soon afterwards (1.78.1-2). Furthermore, the tribal appellation *Illurgavonensis* seems to be a more concrete identifier of a specific unit than a reference to the manner in which it was armed would be.

The use of ethnic adjectives to identify specific units of auxiliaries in the Republic is also clearly visible in one of the few pieces of epigraphical evidence that can be brought to bear on the Republican *auxilia*. A bronze tablet found in Rome and dating to November 17, 89 BC records the rewards granted to *equites Hispani* by Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo in the wake of the taking of Asculum at the end of the Social War. It is of particular interest to the current study because of its concern with Spaniards. The tablet names a *turma* Salluitana and its thirty members (ILS 8888):²⁸

[G]n(aeus) Pompeius Sex(ti) [f(ilius) imperator] virtutis
caussa / equites Hispanos ceives [Romanos fecit in castr]eis
apud Asculum a(nte) d(iem) XIV K(alendas) Dec(embres) /
ex lege Iulia. In consilio [fuerunt]:

[List of witnesses]

Turma Salluitana:

Sanibelser Adingibas f(ilius) / Illurtibas Bilustibas f(ilius) /
Estopeles Ordennas f(ilius) / T<o>rsinno Austinco f(ilius) /
Bagarensis / Cacususin Chadar f(ilius) / [---]licenses / [---]
Sosimilus f(ilius) / [---]irsecel f(ilius) / [---]elgaun f(ilius) /
[---]nespaiser f(ilius)

Ilerdenses / <Q>(uintus) Otacilius Suisetarten f(ilius) /
Gn(aeus) Cornelius Nesille f(ilius) / P(ublius) <F>abius
Enasagin f(ilius) / Begensis / Turtumelis Atanscer f(ilius) /
Segienses / Sosinadem Sosinasae f(ilius) / Sosimilus
Sosinasae f(ilius) / Urgidar Luspanar f(ilius) / Gurtarno
Biurno f(ilius) / Elandus Enneges f(ilius)

Agirnes Bennabels f(ilius) / Nalbeaden Agerdo f(ilius) /
Arranes Arbiscar f(ilius) / Umargibas Luspang<i>b(as)

²⁸ The capture of Asculum is briefly recorded by both the epitomator of Livy (*Ep.* 74) and Appian (*B Civ.* 1.47.204-48.210). This inscription is also relevant to grants of citizenship to *auxilia* in the late Republic and will be discussed further below. For an exhaustive examination of this inscription see Criniti 1970.

f(ilius) / Ennegens<e>s / Beles Umarbeles f(ilius) /
 Turinnus Adimels f(ilius) / Ordumeles Burdo f(ilius) /
 Libenses / Bastugitas Adime<i>s f(ilius) / Umarillun
 Ta<r>bantu f(ilius) / Suconsenses / Belennes Albennes
 f(ilius) / Atullo Tautindals f(ilius) / Illuersensis / Balciadin
 Balcibil(os?) f(ilius)

Gn(aeus) Pompeius Sex(ti) f(ilius) imperator / virtutis
 caussa turmam / Salluitanam donavit in / castris apud
 Asculum / cornuculo, patella, torque, / armilla, p(h)alereis;
 et f<r>umen<t>um / duplex.²⁹

The appellation Salluitana is derived from Salduba, later renamed Colonia Caesaraugusta (modern Zaragoza, Spain) (Pliny *HN* 3.3.24). Furthermore, the list of individuals from the unit confirms that the *turma* Salluitana, as its name suggests, was composed of soldiers from the area surrounding Caesaraugusta. The honorees of this inscription are listed according to their place of origin, and each grouping ends with a geographic descriptor: *Bagarensis*, ...*cilicenses*, *Ilerdenses*, *Begensis*, *Segienses*, *Ennegensis*, *Libenses*, *Suconsenses*, and *Illuersensis*. Of the nine cities indicated on the tablet, Ilerda, Ilursa, Libienses and Segia appear in Pliny's list of the peoples inhabiting the area of Caesaraugusta (*HN* 3.3.24).

Although this inscription is also of particular importance in relation to grants of citizenship to *auxilia*, I will now concentrate on the unit's title.³⁰ Of interest in this regard is the reference to both *equites Hispani* (ln. 2) and the *turma* Salluitana (ln. 14). It is apparent that the former is a generic term which readily applies to the soldiers named.

²⁹ "On the seventeenth of November, in accordance with the *lex Iulia*, the *imperator* Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Sextus in the camps at Asculum made the Spanish cavalry Roman citizens on account of their excellence. There were in the *consilium*... [the lists of members of the *consilium* and of the honorees] ... In the camp at Asculum, the *imperator* Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Sextus, awarded the *turma* Salluitana a *cornuculum*, *patella*, *torque*, *armilla*, *phalerae* and double grain ration." The Latin text is based on that in ILS with editorial notes added.

³⁰ See page 54, below, for further discussion of this inscription in relation to grants of citizenship.

The latter, however, is the specific appellation of a single unit. Although it differs from Imperial auxiliary nomenclature by the use of *turma* rather than *ala*, and by the use of an adjectival form of the tribal name rather than a genitive plural noun, the similarities are striking and seem to show an affinity to later military customs.

As noted above, the limitations of our sources for the late Republic make a diachronic examination of auxiliary nomenclature impossible. Nevertheless, a few later Republican parallels to the titlature of the *turma* Salluitana may be offered. The first is a reference to a *turma* Hispanorum from the pseudo-Caesarian *Bellum Africanum* (39.2). This is not sufficient evidence to prove that there was a broad change in auxiliary naming practices, but it is, perhaps, significant that a genitive plural noun is used here to describe, or name, this unit. There does remain, however, the possibility that Hispanorum was intended only to note the nationality of the horsemen. Nevertheless, the substitution of adjectival ethnic appellations with a genitive noun may show development toward the norm of the Imperial period.

Further inferences may be made based on a reference to an award of three thousand denarii to a *turma* Cassiana (*B Hisp.* 26.1). The name of this unit seems to have derived from that of its commander.³¹ In 1978 E. Birley argued convincingly that Imperial *alae* and *cohortes* named after their commanders can be found in two distinct categories: those with the commander's name in the genitive and those with his name modified into an adjective. Birley showed that those with the commander's name in the genitive referred to a serving officer, while those employing an adjective referred to a past commander.³² If this is true also of late Republican units it may indicate that this

³¹ Saddington 1982, 23.

³² Birley 1978, 262-63; Saddington 1982, 23.

unit preserved its corporate identity after the loss of a commander. One may then suggest that the *turma* Cassiana existed on a semi-permanent basis, accepting new recruits to replace those lost in battle or discharged from service. This would be a significant development from the *ad hoc* units normally attributed to the late Republican *auxilia*.³³

Another striking characteristic of the Imperial *auxilia* is the use of discrete numbers to identify them. Although no evidence survives of numbered units from the Republic, as mentioned above, there is some indication that later imperial auxiliary nomenclature derived from practices established by the late Republic. Once again, the imprecision of Republican naming practices, in as much as they can be reconstructed from our limited sources, highlights the confused state of the *auxilia* before the reforms of Augustus. It seems, however, that the *turma* Cassiana, at least, may represent a step towards Augustan practice. Birley also noted that in the late Republic there was “a period in which none of [the *alae*] had a permanent name, and when they were regularly known by the names of their commanders... There is evidence, indeed, to suggest that there was a period when the same was the case with auxiliary cohorts.”³⁴ The addition of these numbers in the early Julio-Claudian period is significant. The codification of names applied to specific auxiliary units implies the expectations that these units would persist for some time, and a consistent naming practice indicates a desire to avoid confusion about the identity of specific units.

Our knowledge of the manner in which auxiliaries were rewarded for their service is also imperfect. One must assume that auxiliaries as well as allied troops and legionaries were maintained either by the state or by the generals that recruited them.

³³ Cheesman 1914, 11; Saddington 1982, 2.

³⁴ Birley 1978, 264.

They also, presumably, shared in booty and the spoils of victory. Nevertheless, few references in the ancient sources shed much light on the material compensation received by auxiliaries in the late Republic, and even these fail to provide enough information to reconstruct any coherent policy or even common practice in this period. In some cases it is clear the generals reached agreements about pay with their troops before setting out on campaign (App. *B Civ.* 3.86.353, cf. 90.370).³⁵ In other instances our sources record payments made to soldiers upon their dismissal (App. *B Civ.* 3.97.403). However, our sources' concentration on legionary affairs often makes it unclear to whom the payments were made.

In addition to cash payments *auxilia* may have received rewards of land after service. According to Cicero, Antony attempted to obtain land grants for his cavalry during negotiations before the battle of Mutina in 43 BC (*Phil.* 8.8.25):

'Utramque provinciam', inquit 'remitto, exercitum depono, privatus esse non recuso.' Haec sunt enim verba. Redire ad se videtur. 'Omnia obliviscor, in gratiam redeo.' Sed quid adiungit? 'si legionibus meis sex, si equitibus, si cohorti praetoriae praemia agrumque dederitis.'³⁶

The inclusion of the cavalry and the praetorian cohort in Antony's demands is significant. Land and money were usual compensation for legionary service but Antony's demand that the cavalry and praetorians receive these rewards suggests that he and these soldiers had come to an agreement and that he hoped to fulfill his obligation to them. The

³⁵ Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὀργὴν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ, ὥς συνεχῶς ὕβριζόμενος, ἀνεκίνει καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατείαν πεμπομένων, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς πεντακίς χιλιάς δραχμὰς, ὅσας αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν. "Octavius excited the army to anger against the Senate on account of its repeated indignities toward himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first."

³⁶ "I return both provinces' he says 'I put aside my army, I do not refuse to be a private citizen.' These are his very words. He seems to be returning to himself. 'I forget everything, I am reconciled.' But what does he add? 'If you will have given rewards and land to my six legions, to my cavalry, and to the praetorian cohort.'" The Latin text provided follows C. A. Ker's 1926 Loeb edition.

possibility exists that the cavalry to which Antony referred were Italian citizens. However, given the overwhelming preference for provincial cavalry by the middle of the first century this seems unlikely.³⁷ It may also be that Cicero fabricated this demand for oratorical purposes but, if his accusations are accurate, it suggests that auxiliary soldiers entered service with fixed rewards agreed upon. This, in turn, would represent a nascent stage in the development of fixed terms of service as recorded in the diplomas.

Beyond the promise of steady pay, the ultimate reward available to the *auxilia* in the Imperial period was, of course, Roman citizenship. Cheesman assumed that grants of citizenship to auxiliary soldiers after a fixed term of service were among Augustus's innovations.³⁸ In 1936, H. Nesselhauf questioned this contention and suggested that it was, in fact, Claudius who introduced citizenship as a standard reward for service.³⁹ He noted that Suetonius makes no mention of this benefit among the reforms of Augustus and that no surviving diplomas, the principal function of which was to document grants of citizenship conferred upon auxiliary veterans, date to any time before AD 52.⁴⁰ Nesselhauf's argument is almost certainly correct. Nevertheless, some development in this direction may be seen in the last eighty years of the Republic.⁴¹

Although it predates the scope of this discussion I cannot fail to mention a grant of citizenship by Marius to two cohorts of men from Camerinum in Umbria in 101 BC (Plut. *Mar.* 28.3, cf. Cic. *Balb.* 50).⁴² This grant is exceptional for several reasons, not

³⁷ See page 43, above.

³⁸ Cheesman 1914, 36.

³⁹ Nesselhauf 1936.

⁴⁰ Alföldy 1968b, 215. See also Birley 1938.

⁴¹ It is worth noting that a soldier retired in AD 52 would have been recruited under Tiberius, but it is unclear if the terms of service had been defined when these soldiers enlisted.

⁴² καίτοι λέγεται Καμερίνων ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ κιλίου διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνισα, ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δωρηζάμενος πολιτείᾳ, δοκοῦντος εἶναι τοῦτου παρανόμου καὶ τινων ἐγκαλούντων, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦ νόμου διὰ τὸν τῶν

the least of which is its supposed illegality. However, it provides precedent for the earliest and most dramatic documentary evidence for a wholesale grant of citizenship to an auxiliary unit, from the time period now under discussion. If we return to the bronze tablet recording the rewards granted to *equites Hispani* by Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo (ILS 8888), we may see that this document records a grant of citizenship *virtutis causa*, much like Marius'.⁴³ The fact that Strabo's grant of citizenship was given in response to a specific act of valor differentiates it from later, statutory grants of citizenship in exchange for fixed terms of service as recorded on Imperial military diplomas. However, the laws that facilitated it indicate that citizenship was considered an appropriate reward for exceptional military service as early as the end of the Social War. The *lex Iulia* referred to in the inscription evidently gave Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, and perhaps other Roman commanders, the authority to grant citizenship to provincials.⁴⁴ Although the exact stipulations of the *lex Iulia* are lost, a later *lex Gellia Cornelia* made a similar concession to Pompey the Great, subject to the approval of his *consilium* (Cic. *Balb.* 19):

Nascitur, iudices, causa Corneli ex ea lege quam L. Gellius Gn. Cornelius ex senatus sententia tulerunt. Qua lege videmus satis esse sanctum, ut cives Romani sint ii quos Gn. Pompeius de consili sententia singillatim civitate donaverit. Donatum esse L. Corneli praeiens Pompeius dicit, indicant publicae tabulae, accusator fatetur, sed negat

ὅπλων ψόφον οὐ κατακούσειεν. “And yet it is said that when he had granted citizenship to as many as a thousand Camerinian men who had fought with distinction in the war, with some people thinking this was illegal and others condemned it, he said that he could not hear the law, because of the sound of arms.” This Greek text follows Lindskog's and Kiegl's 1971 Teubner edition.

⁴³ For text of this inscription see page 49, above.

⁴⁴ Criniti 1970, 43-4. Cf. ILS 8888n6.

ex foederato populo quemquam potuisse, nisi is populus
fundus factus esset, in hanc civitatem venire.⁴⁵

The evidence for the origins of the *turma* Salluitana in the neighborhood of Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) and the name of the unit indicate that the soldiers receiving this award were members of the *auxilia*.⁴⁶ As *auxilia* they enjoyed a similar status to the soldiers from Camerinum before the Social War. However, the extension of citizenship grants to soldiers from outside Italy only a few years later is a significant step toward the formal incorporation of provincial soldiers into the Roman army, by offering the possibility of enfranchisement.

We may also recall Suetonius' account of the establishment of the *legio Alaudae* in which a legion *ex Transalpinis conscripta* is said later to have received citizenship as a single unit.⁴⁷ The *legio Alaudae* was clearly, at least in its early days, an irregular legion. Unfortunately, we have no further record of the citizenship grant itself. Nevertheless, Suetonius places the creation of the unit subsequent to the meeting of the Triumvirate at Luca in 56 BC, over thirty years after Pompeius Strabo's grant to the *turma* Salluitana. This suggests that the practice of rewarding soldiers with citizenship persisted throughout the first century BC and led ultimately to the establishment of citizenship as a statutory reward in the early empire.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ "Cornelius' case, judges, arises from that law that Lucius Gellius and Gnaeus Cornelius passed from the consensus of the senate; in which law we see that those men, to whom Gnaeus Pompeius awards citizenship one by one with the agreement of his *consilium*, are citizens. When present here Pompeius said Lucius Cornelius was awarded citizenship; the public records confirm it. The prosecutor admits it, but denies that anyone from an allied population was able to enter into this citizenship, unless his people confirmed it." This Latin text follows T. Maslowski's 2007 Teubner edition.

⁴⁶ For discussion see page 50, above.

⁴⁷ See page 45, above, for text of this passage.

⁴⁸ Saddington and others have invoked an inscription (AE 1954, 102) recording a grant of citizenship to C. Julius Macrus as evidence of another late Republican grant of citizenship to an auxiliary soldier. However, it has recently been convincingly argued that this inscription dates to the late second century AD rather than the end of the Republic: Le Bohec 1999, *passim*.

The legio Alaudae is also one of the few military units raised from non-citizens that can be tracked into the Imperial period.⁴⁹ Our ability to trace this unit is largely a result of its position in the confusing middle ground between legions and *auxilia* in the late Republic and of its codification as legio V Alaudae sometime after Caesar's grant of citizenship to its members. The duration of the existence of almost all the more traditional *auxilia* of the late Republic can only be inferred from a few passages in the literary sources that record their extensive travels around the empire. Reference has already been made to the possibility that the *turma* Cassiana evolved into a permanent or semi-permanent unit.⁵⁰ However, our literary sources for the Republic fail to provide information about auxiliaries that is sufficient to allow us to track most units beyond a single series of engagements.

Nevertheless, a brief survey of some notable instances in which *auxilia* are found serving far from where they were raised gives a sense of their persistence and, therefore, their inclination toward professionalism. Of units from the west alone I note especially: a garrison of Spanish and Gallic cavalry at Thurii on the Gulf of Tarentum in 48 BC (Caes. *B Civ.* 3.22.3), the "Gabinian" Gauls who followed Gabinus to Alexandria in 55 BC and appear again in support of Caesar at Pharsalis in 48 BC (Caes. *B Civ.* 3.4.4),⁵¹ the Gallic and German cavalry who participated in the Alexandrine War later in 48 and into 47 (*B Alex.* 17.3, 29.4) and the Spanish and Gallic cavalry that followed Antony to Armenia (Plut. *Ant.* 37.3, 41.5). Countless other examples of distant service performed by soldiers

⁴⁹ Saddington 1982, 179.

⁵⁰ See discussion on page 51, above.

⁵¹ This passage lists many other units and notes that Antony: praeterea magnum numerum ex Thessalia Boeotia Achaia Epiroque supplementi nomine in legiones distribuerat; his Antonianos milites admiscuerat. "Furthermore, he distributed a great number from Thessaly, Boeotia, Achaia and Epirus with the name reinforcements; he mixed his own troops together with them." (3.4.1-2).

of the east and west are recorded in the ancient sources. Although only the “Gabinians” supply concrete proof of their existence as a corporate body over an extended period, all these examples suggest that these units were more than *ad hoc* levies to supplement legions for short periods. While the type of service documented for these units is a far cry from the codified *auxilia* of the Imperial period, they do seem to be more than local conscripts and allies utilized for short-term service.

Ultimately, the limited and inconsistent nature of our evidence fails to satisfy any desire for the order and uniformity expected of the Roman war “machine”. Through years of civil war especially, generals were required by necessity to compromise the ideology of established military practices in order to compete against the growing armies of their opponents. In the process, generals levied new legions of citizens and *auxilia* from the provincial populations. However, they also relied heavily on foreign soldiers raised from client kingdoms and independent powers through coercion, treaties, or free will. These foreign soldiers, in turn, owed allegiance not necessarily to the Republic itself but to individual generals or even to the kings who dispatched them to fight in Roman territory. Roman generals also went so far as to create additional legions out of non-citizens, challenging the Republic’s traditional military order.

The disorder produced by the growth of the Roman military and the expansion of the role provincials played in it combines with the inadequacy of our sources to make it very difficult to discern any systemization of the *auxilia* between the Social War and Actium. This difficulty is largely due to our lack of epigraphic evidence and the very broad terms in which the literary sources discuss *auxilia*. However, in a few instances evidence of the naming practices associated with individual units suggests that they did occasionally bear unique titles, or at least titles by which they could be distinguished

from most other units, based on their origins or on the name of a commander. This is especially significant because it resembles some of the standardized practices seen in the developed *auxilia* of the Imperial period, and may represent early efforts to standardize units.

The means by which late Republican *auxilia* were compensated for their service may also anticipate later Imperial practices. In addition to *virtutis causa* rewards to soldiers and units, there is some suggestion of pre-ordained compensation offered to soldiers upon their enlistment, including discharge payments. Likewise, there is evidence that both cash and citizenship were given as rewards to soldiers in the late Republic as well as in the empire.

Finally, there is some indication that late Republican auxiliary units were held together as entities for extended periods of time. The use of past commanders' names to identify units suggests that the units survived beyond a single campaign. Likewise, the breadth of some units' travel suggests that both individual men and the units themselves were in prolonged service. This is a contrast to the *ad hoc* units that were readily levied and disbanded prior to the first century BC.⁵² In this regard, service in the *auxilia* of the late Republic seems to anticipate its Imperial counterpart.

Nevertheless, the overwhelming impression left by sources regarding the late Republican *auxilia* is one of inconsistency and, perhaps, chaos. However, it is out of the diversity and discontinuity of the late Republican army that the reforms of Augustus and the other Julio-Claudian emperors created the codified Roman Imperial army. In fact, it was probably the lack of consistency in the late Republican army coupled with the dangers of an army with mixed loyalties that necessitated the codification of a military

⁵² For the formation and dissolution of Republican auxiliary units see Sage 2008, 206.

system. With the confused state of the late Republican *auxilia* established as well as our sources allow, it is worthwhile to consider the form, size and terms of service of the *auxilia* after their codification in the Julio-Claudian period.

2.3 The Structure, Size, and Hierarchy of Roman Imperial Auxiliary Units

The transition from the rather haphazard Republican *auxilia* to the more uniform Imperial *auxilia* is not well understood. However, this transformation is usually credited to Augustus. In his *Divus Augustus* Suetonius records (*Aug.* 49.2):

Quidquid autem ubique militum esset, ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam adstrinxit definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis missionum, ne aut aetate aut inopia post missionem sollicitari ad res novas possent. Utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequendosque suppeteret, aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis constituit.⁵³

In this passage Suetonius suggests that Augustus was responsible for the standardized lengths of service, pay and discharge of soldiers that is characteristic of the Imperial *auxilia*. However, there is little evidence to illuminate the evolution of *auxilia* from Augustus' reforms to the Claudian period, when the earliest military diplomas attest the terms of service in *alae* and cohorts.

This section examines the organization of the Roman camps by surveying the structure and size of the units in the Imperial *auxilia*, the roles and responsibilities of their officers, and the terms of service for common soldiers. I will pay special attention to the literary and documentary sources that have led to our current understanding of these

⁵³ “Moreover, he bound all the soldiers everywhere to a set rule regarding service and compensation, with the length of their service and the conditions of their discharge having been defined according to each man's rank, lest either due to age or poverty they be able to be roused to rebellion after their discharge. He also established the military treasury with new revenues in order that it would provide the expenses for the support of the soldiers and those who would follow in perpetuity and without difficulty.” This text follows M. Ihm's Teubner edition (1923).

units. This will, in turn, facilitate my investigation of the individual soldiers who served in the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula by contextualizing their positions within the Roman military.

Our perception of the hierarchy of the Roman *auxilia* and the size of individual units is particularly important when discussing individuals because these factors had a direct impact on their lives. One's rank within that hierarchy directly influenced his status not only in terms of wealth and social standing but also with respect to social pressures and the influences that motivated behavior. One might expect, for example, that commanding officers felt more need or desire to conform with their superiors in order to secure promotion than they felt to conform with their subordinates. On the other hand common soldiers might be more influenced by direct social pressure from their comrades and local community than from the Roman elite.

The structure of the Imperial *auxilia* was first subjected to systematic examination in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In the subsequent century, the works of C. Cichorius (1893 and 1900), A. von Domaszewski (1967) and G. L. Cheesman (1914) have been refined by countless authors. Although these scholars have not been seriously contradicted on any major point, further examination of the literary and epigraphic sources and the publication of new documents and inscriptions have led to an improved understanding of the structure of auxiliary units and the roles of individuals in them.

This dissertation is primarily concerned with two basic types of military units: cohorts (infantry units), and *alae* (cavalry units). The former may, however, be further divided into *cohortes peditatae* that consisted entirely of infantry and *cohortes equitatae*, which included a significant cavalry component. Although the *cohortes peditatae* and

equitatae are similar in many respects they must often be treated separately in order to highlight their differences. I will first briefly examine the structure and size of these units before investigating their command structure.

2.3.1 The Structure and Size of Auxiliary Units

In contrast to the haphazard structure of the *auxilia* in the late Republic, as discussed in the first half of this chapter, the Imperial *auxilia* display a far more uniform structure. Nevertheless, some variation is still apparent in the documentary sources during the Principate, indicating the flexibility of military organization. Current understanding of the size of Roman auxiliary units is based largely on information from *de munitionibus castrorum*, composed in the second century AD and once mistakenly attributed to Hyginus. Documentary and epigraphic evidence indicates that the author's portrayal of the Roman army's structure, though useful as a template, belies a more varied and complex reality.⁵⁴ It will be most convenient for the present examination to proceed from the simplest to the largest and most complicated of the auxiliary units. Thus I will begin with quingenary (nominally 500 strong) and milliary (nominally 1000 strong) cohorts before moving on to *alae* and part-mounted (*equitatae*) cohorts.

The only explicit information Pseudo-Hyginus provides about quingenary *cohortes peditatae* (infantry cohorts) is that they contained six centuries and that each century was led by a centurion.⁵⁵ The century was the primary tactical unit of *cohortes peditatae* and the centurions who commanded them reported directly to their unit's

⁵⁴ For dating of this tract see Birley 1966, 57; 1982; 1953; 1981. Contra Frere 1980 who prefers a first century date. For a brief summary of the *auxilia* as described by Pseudo-Hyginus see Hassall 1983. For a summary of the evidence in Pseudo-Hyginus and the documentary evidence for unit size refer to Table 1.

⁵⁵ *De mun. castr.* 28: Item peditata quingenaria habet centurias VI, reliqua ut supra. "Likewise a quingenary infantry cohort has six centuries, the rest is as above."

commander (*praefectus*).⁵⁶ The name of these units, quingenary, suggests that they contained 500 men. The documentary evidence seems to indicate that their actual strength was not far off that ideal.⁵⁷

Pseudo-Hyginus also records that milliary infantry cohorts contained ten centuries, suggesting that they were less than twice the size of their quingenary counterparts.⁵⁸ If one extrapolates from Pseudo-Hyginus and the evidence provided by CIL III 6627 (Figure 6),⁵⁹ it would seem that milliary cohorts must have consisted of about 800 men. A writing tablet recovered from Vindolanda, just south of Hadrian's Wall in Britannia (*Tab. Vindol.* II 154; Figure 7)⁶⁰ records the status of cohors I Tungrorum in the final decade of the first century AD when it seems to have been milliary in size, but quingenary in structure.⁶¹ The tablet includes the total strength of the unit, 752, and the number of centurions in it, 6. The difference between Pseudo-Hyginus' specification of 10 centurions and the 6 recorded on this tablet highlights the flexibility

⁵⁶ Centurions were assisted by various lower ranking officers whose roles will be discussed below. See page 77, below.

⁵⁷ The earliest evidence for the actual size of centuries comes from Mons Claudianus in Egypt (CIL III 6627; Figure 6), dating to the late Augustan period. According to the text 788 men and 10 centurions, participated in a building project. If one assumes that each of these centurions commanded an entire century, it would seem that the centuries included an average of 79 men. This suggests that the total complement of quingenary cohorts was about 480. However, Frere and Wilkes 1989, 118 argue that there is no proof that centuries were intended to consist of 80 men.

⁵⁸ *De mun. castr.* 28: Cohors peditata miliaria habet centurias X, tendit papilionibus C, ex eis centuriones singulis. "A milliary infantry cohort has ten centuries, it lays out one hundred tents, and each one has a centurion."

⁵⁹ See note 57.

⁶⁰ See also Stauner 2004, 88-90.

⁶¹ Il. 3-5. One must also note, however, that the single centurion remaining at Vindolanda has 296 men under his command. Presumably this was because members of other centuries were left at Vindolanda under his care or that of an officer subordinate to the centurion. But the practicalities of this situation are unclear. This total complement is reasonably close to that which could be surmised for milliary cohorts based on Pseudo-Hyginus and the Mons Claudianus inscription. However, the presence of only six centurions is puzzling. The most reasonable explanation for this discrepancy is that cohors I Tungrorum was in the midst of conversion from quingenary to milliary at the time the Vindolanda tablet was written (Birley 2002, 61; Birley 1993, 6-7).

and variation that persisted in the *auxilia* even after its codification. While the structure of the Imperial *auxilia* was relatively consistent, variations like this are reminiscent of the *ad hoc* arrangements that characterized the *auxilia* of the late Republic. However, the total size of this unit, 752, agrees relatively well with Pseudo-Hyginus' outline for milliary cohorts.

De munitionibus castrorum also provides information about both quingenary and milliary *alae* (cavalry units). According to Pseudo-Hyginus, quingenary *alae* were divided into 16 *turmae*, while their milliary counterparts contained 24 *turmae*.⁶² Furthermore, this passage stipulates that each *turma* had a decurion (analogous to the centurions who led centuries), and two subordinate officers, a *duplicarius* (one receiving double pay) and a *sesquiplicarius* (one receiving one and a half times pay). However, Arrian records that quingenary *alae* constituted 514 men (*Tact.* 18). When Arrian's statement is combined with Pseudo-Hyginus' contention that quingenary *alae* included 16 *turmae* it seems clear that each *turma* in these units should have contained 32 men. The scant and inconsistent documentary evidence indicates that *turmae* in *alae* ranged in size at least from 30 to 36 men.⁶³ Although no documentary evidence has survived for milliary *alae*, one may suppose that Pseudo-Hyginus was not far off the mark and that they contained 20 to 24 *turmae* of about the same size.

⁶² *De mun. cast.* 16: Nunc, ut suo referam loco, ad alam miliariam. Turmas habet XXIV, in eis decuriones, duplicarii, sesquipilarii, iidem qui et numerus turmarum, stabunt... Ala quingenaria turmas habet XVI, decuriones et reliqua prout numerum turmarum... "Now, so that I may relate it in its proper place, I will write of the *ala milliaria*. It had 24 *turmae* and in them are decurions, *duplicarii*, and *sesquipilarii* one each in each *turma*... A quingenary ala has 16 *turmae* and decurions and other officers according to the number of *turmae*..."

⁶³ An inscription from Egypt (CIL III 6581), dating to AD 199, records the names of 32 decurions serving in two quingenary *alae*. This suggests that each *ala* contained 16 *turmae*, as prescribed by Pseudo-Hyginus. However, the fragmentary Claudian *pridianum* of an unnamed unit (ChLA XI n501) records just 12 decurions in what was presumably a quingenary *ala*. It may, however, have been the case that some of the decurions were simply absent from the fort (Holder 1980, 9). Furthermore the total number of *equites* ascribed to this unit, 434, suggests that each *turma* included 36 horsemen. Meanwhile a papyrus preserving a receipt for hay (RMR 80) lists 30 members of the *turma* of Donacianus in ala Veterana Gallica.

De munitionibus castrorum reports that quingenary *cohortes equitatae* included 6 centuries while *cohortes equitatae milliariae* had 10 centuries.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the number of *turmae* in these units has been lost from the text. However, quingenary and milliary *cohortes equitatae* probably had 4 and 8 *turmae*, respectively.⁶⁵ The documentary evidence confirms that *cohortes equitatae quingenariae* contained between 450 and 550 men, including 6 centuries of 56 to 71 men and just 4 *turmae* of 25 to 30 men.⁶⁶ Two of the three units attested in the documentary sources (RMR 64 and P.Brookl. 24) contained somewhat fewer horsemen than Pseudo-Hyginus suggests. However, their general structure seems to confirm Pseudo-Hyginus' outline. Nevertheless, the discrepancies between these units suggest that there was some variation in the size of theoretically identical auxiliary units throughout the first three centuries AD. The total number of soldiers recorded in RMR 63 (546) and P.Brookl. 24 (457) differ by almost one hundred (ca. 20%). While one may suggest that these differences are the result of the varied circumstances that surrounded these units or that they represent the contraction of unit size over time, it is clear that Imperial auxiliary units were not entirely uniform.

⁶⁴ *De mun. cast.* 27: Cohors equitata quingenaria in dimidio eandem rationem continet quam cohors [miliaria]. Habet itaque cohors equitata miliaria centurias X peditum, equites CCXL, turmas ..., omnes tendunt papilionibus CXXXVI, ex eis centuriones et decuriones singulis papilionibus utuntur. Cohors equitata quingenaria habet centurias VI, reliqua pro parte dimidia. "A quingenary part-mounted unit includes half the measure as a milliary cohort. Thus a milliary part-mounted cohort has 10 centuries of infantry, 240 cavalrymen and ... *turmae* and they stretch out 145 tents and each centurion and decurion enjoys his own tent. A quingenary part-mounted unit has 6 centuries but the rest according to half measure."

⁶⁵ Davies 1989, 141; Holder 1980, 8. Domaszewski 1887, 50, however, favored 5 and 10 *turmae*, respectively.

⁶⁶ A *pridianum* of cohors I Hispanorum Veterana from AD 105-8 (RMR 63) (for dating see Hassall 1983, 100. Cf. Rădulescu and Bărbulescu 1981) records that the unit included 6 centuries averaging 71 members each and 4 *turmae* of 30 men. A *pridianum* of cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata dating to AD 156 (RMR 64) includes evidence for 6 centuries of about 60 men each and 4 *turmae* of 28 men each. A *pridianum* of an unnamed unit from the Brooklyn Museum dating to sometime between AD 213 and 215 (P. Brookl. 24) notes 6 centuries of 56 men each and 4 *turmae* of 25 men each.

This variation is also clear in the documentary evidence for *cohortes equitatae milliariae*. A daily strength report for cohorts XX Palmyrenorum (RMR 47), dating between AD 223 and 235, records 9 centurions and 5 decurions, suggesting the existence of 9 centuries and 5 *turmae* in a unit of 923 men. While the total complement of this unit is indicative of a milliary *cohortes equitata*, it was one century and three *turmae* short of Pseudo-Hyginus' specifications for a unit of that type.

Furthermore, RMR 1, dating to AD 219, indicates that cohorts XX Palmyrenorum had just six centuries and five *turmae*.⁶⁷ However, this document includes complete reports for three of the unit's six centuries, and each of these comprised between 140 and 150 soldiers, implying a total complement of as many as 1,200 soldiers. These totals are reminiscent of those recorded for cohorts I Tungrorum milliaria at Vindolanda, which also may have had only six centuries, although they included slightly fewer men than those of cohorts XX Palmyrenorum.⁶⁸

The departure of this unit from Pseudo-Hyginus' description is also reflected in its *turmae*, although the evidence is less clear. While this same document records *turma* sizes ranging from 60 to 68.⁶⁹ These *turmae* are at least double the usual size. However, the presence of only five *turmae* is, like the six centuries, characteristic of a quingenary unit, but the total number of cavalrymen, perhaps 350, is more in keeping with a milliary part-mounted cohort. This suggests that the unit stationed at Dura, like that at

⁶⁷ This papyrus is one of a series of working rosters from Dura that record the strength of cohorts XX Palmyrenorum between AD 219 and 256 (RMR 1-4). Cf. Kennedy 1980a; Mazzarino 1971.

⁶⁸ See page 63, above.

⁶⁹ One ought also to note that the totals of 122-140 are given at the end of the *turma* lists on this document. The meaning of these numbers remains unclear. For a summary of this information see Fink 1971, 16-7; Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959, 32-3. If one accepts the totals as they appear on the papyrus these *turmae* are approximately four to five times the size indicated by Pseudo-Hyginus. It is therefore preferable to accept the lists of individuals as a reflection of the true state of the unit.

Vindolanda, maintained the structure of a quingenary unit while increasing its numbers to equal the size of a milliary unit.

At least two viable explanations for this diversion from the structure outlined by Pseudo-Hyginus have been offered. Mazzarino suggested that the unit was being reinforced in the face of imminent hostilities.⁷⁰ Davies proposes that a detachment left the unit and their loss was compensated for by reinforcements, although the centuries and *turmae* that had been lost were never formally replaced.⁷¹ Mazzarino's argument is the more attractive of the two and further suggests that cohorts XX Palmyrenorum was in a similar state to cohorts I Tungrorum when this *pridianum* was written.

Comparison of the documentary sources and the template laid out by Pseudo-Hyginus (both summarized in Table 1) raises several important points. First among these is that there is no substantial cause to question the general outline of Pseudo-Hyginus' description of the structure and size of auxiliary units. Five of our six documentary sources regarding cohorts record the existence of 6 centuries in their respective units. In the case of quingenary part-mounted cohorts (RMR 63 and 64 and P.Brookl. 24) this agrees perfectly with Pseudo-Hyginus. Furthermore, the Vindolanda strength report (*Tab. Vindol.* II 154) and the roster of cohorts XX Palmyrenorum (RMR 1) confirm Pseudo-Hyginus' description of the structure of standard quingenary cohorts, if one accepts the argument that when these documents were written both units were in the process of being upgraded from quingenary to milliary and still maintained the structure of standard quingenary cohorts.

⁷⁰ Mazzarino 1971, 62n21.

⁷¹ Davies 1967, 109n17.

However, the available evidence indicates that centuries were often, and perhaps chronically, under the 80-man ideal proposed by Pseudo-Hyginus. According to the documentary sources, centuries actually included only about 60-70 soldiers. This suggests also that cohorts of any size were somewhat smaller than their name and Pseudo-Hyginus suggest. The three records of quingenary part-mounted units, which also contained 6 centuries, imply that standard cohorts included only 330-430 men.

Likewise, the sizes of the *turmae* recorded in the documentary sources (RMR 1, 47, 63 and 64 and P.Brookl. 24) differ from the size that may be inferred from Pseudo-Hyginus. These five documents record *turmae* containing between 25 and 70 men. Even if one excludes the extreme example of cohors XX Palmyrenorum, which may be discounted for the reasons stated above, the size of the *turmae* in RMR 1 and 47 are much larger than the 30-man *turmae* prescribed by Pseudo-Hyginus for *cohortes equitatae*. It is clear that there was significant flexibility in *turma* sizes and that they could be either larger or smaller than Pseudo-Hyginus suggests. Nevertheless, the documentary sources agree, generally, with Pseudo-Hyginus' portrayal of the structure of the *auxilia*, at least in regard to the size of *turmae*. The overall accuracy of Pseudo-Hyginus in regards to units about which we have additional information allows one to accept the outline he put forth. Thus it is clear that Imperial auxiliary units conformed to a standard plan, although with some variation in their size and structure.

2.3.2 Commanders

As noted in Chapter 1, auxiliary commanders fall outside the scope of this study. It will, however, be useful to provide a brief summary of the backgrounds and careers of these men in order to flesh out the composition of auxiliary units. In the earliest years of

the formalized *auxilia* under Augustus, cohorts and *alae* were often commanded by native leaders who shared the geographical background of their soldiers.⁷² Augustus and Tiberius began to place *alae* under the command of senators while legionary *primipilares* (chief centurions), centurions and decurions were also sometimes entrusted with entire auxiliary units until the end of the Julio-Claudian period.⁷³ However, in the Claudian period and afterwards the cohorts and *alae* of the *auxilia* were normally commanded by men of equestrian status.⁷⁴ As mentioned above, equestrian status had a minimum property qualification of four hundred thousand *sestertii*, which placed its possessors among the Roman elite.⁷⁵ These men held the rank of *praefectus* while in command of quingenary infantry cohorts, both quingenary and milliary part-mounted cohorts, or *alae* of any size. However, they were called *tribuni* when placed in charge of milliary infantry cohorts.⁷⁶

Furthermore, the men to whom these units were entrusted were usually in the early stages of an equestrian career.⁷⁷ The first attempt to regularize this *cursus* seems to have been undertaken by Claudius. Suetonius reports that “*Equestris militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret*” (Claud. 25).⁷⁸

⁷²Cheesman 1914, 16; Dixon and Southern 1992, 24. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.56; 2.11.

⁷³ For command of units by senators see Le Bohec 1994, 41. For legionaries leading *auxilia* see Holder 1980, 72.

⁷⁴ Dixon and Southern 1992, 24-5.

⁷⁵ See page 19, above.

⁷⁶ Cheesman 1914, 36.

⁷⁷ Although there was no fixed *cursus* through which equestrian military officers advanced in the Augustan period, most commanders of cohorts and *alae* at that time had held a military tribunate (post subordinate to the senatorial *legati legionis* and *tribuni laticlavi*) in a legion before leading their own regiment. Some equestrians served a term as *praefectus fabrum*. For the nature of this post and its role in the equestrian *cursus* see Dobson 1966, Jarrett 1963 and Pflaum 1950.

⁷⁸ “Thus he set the equestrian posts in order, so that he gave an *ala* after a cohort, and the tribunate of a legion after an *ala*.” The existence of this *cursus* is confirmed by at least three inscriptions (CIL V 4058, XIV 2960; AE 1966, 124). Cf. Devijver 1972; 1970. This final career is somewhat problematic but has

Many equestrians assumed the position of *praefectus cohortis* with no previous military experience and at least one individual seems to have led an *ala* before serving in any other military capacity.⁷⁹ In the reign of Nero the normal equestrian *cursus* seems to have involved serving consecutively as *praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus militum* in a legion, and *praefectus alae*. However, in the Flavian period it was still possible to omit the prefecture of a cohort and proceed directly to the military tribunate. It was not until the reign of Trajan that the *cursus* appears to have been codified, although variation was always possible.⁸⁰

While the equestrian military *cursus* remained inconsistent in its details, the *tres militiae* of *praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus legionis* and *praefectus alae* persisted as the primary elements of an equestrian military career.⁸¹ The variation in the order in which these posts were assumed suggests that officers were awarded positions as their qualifications allowed and circumstance demanded.⁸²

While some *praefecti cohortis* were quite young (CIL XI 1437, 19; CIL XIV 162, 21; CIL III 7131) the majority of these men were evidently mature and, presumably,

been explained in Devijver 1972, 183-68 and 9-91). Even so it was still common in the Claudian period for equestrians to serve as *tribunus militum* before commanding an *ala*. Claudius' reforms do not seem to have taken root (Holder 1980, 76).

⁷⁹ Holder 1980, 75. Cf. Tac. *Agr.* 28.

⁸⁰ Birley 1988, 151; Holder 1980, 76-7; Le Bohec 1994, 41. Cf. Saller 1980, 46 who notes the same was true of the hierarchy of procuratorships following the *militia* in the equestrian *cursus*.

⁸¹ Le Bohec 1994, 42 notes that a fourth equestrian *militia* was introduced by AD 166 at the latest and possibly as early as Hadrian while command of infantry cohorts became "optional".

⁸² In fact, the precise means by which men of equestrian rank were selected for military service is not entirely clear. Early scholars of the Roman military, in general, assumed that equestrian officers were the beneficiaries of imperial favor and had no previous experience or specific qualifications preparing them for military command and that they did not remain in service long enough to gain any (Cheesman 1914, 94; Domaszewski 1967). This assumption was, however, challenged by E. Birley who argued that equestrian service in the army was often a career in itself rather than a stepping stone to political office (Birley 1988).

experienced. In fact, the promotion of former municipal and administrative officials to command regiments seems to have been the norm.⁸³ However, the means by which individuals gained admission into the equestrian ranks of the Imperial military service and secured their advancement remains unclear.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, documentary and literary evidence suggest that able men benefited from the patronage of influential acquaintances.⁸⁵

One ought also to note the general pattern of the geographical origins of equestrian military officers. Research on this subject has culminated in the work of Devijver, which has shown that the percentage of Italians serving in equestrian military posts decreased steadily from the first to the third centuries.⁸⁶ The majority of equestrian *militiae*, and hence the commands of auxiliary units, were held by Italians in the first century. However, provincials were able to acquire these posts in ever-increasing

⁸³ Birley 1988, 152-53 showed that the average age of equestrian officers serving as commanders of quingenary cohorts was 38 years. Furthermore, the ages of the only two *praefecti equitum* which have survived are thirty-nine and sixty-five (ILS 2746 and CIL VI 3654 *add.*). This led Birley to argue that the bulk of equestrian officers had already served as municipal *duoviri* or *iudices selecti* or as *praefecti fabrum* before coming to the attention of a senator and being given a command. These experienced administrators may be contrasted both with young appointees who benefited from a childhood spent in and around military service and with older men who had worked their way through the ranks.

⁸⁴ Brunt (1975) and Saller (1980) have stressed the importance of patronage in the advancement of equestrian procuratorial careers. Devijver (1999) and Pflaum (1950) have emphasized the increasing rigidity and formalization of the equestrian procuratorial cursus over time, and the resulting seniority-based promotion process. However, it was vitally important that the army be led by experienced and capable commanders (Pflaum 1950; Saller 1980). To this end it would have made little sense to promote officers blindly on the basis of seniority alone. Rather, only the assessment of superiors, together with advocacy of important acquaintances, explains the continuing service of capable men. It was undoubtedly the skills and talents of these more able officers that led to the “military” cursus identified by Pflaum and refined by Saller (Pflaum 1950, 237 and 52; Saller 1980, 52-5).

⁸⁵ In *Ep.* 2.3 Pliny tried to arrange a commission as *tribunus angusticlavii* for Romanus through a senator named Priscus.⁸⁵ Similar appeals for senatorial patronage are also evident in Pliny’s efforts on behalf of Suetonius (3.8), Varisidius Nepos (4.4) and Cornelius Minicianus (7.22) (For discussion of Nepos’ status also see Sherwin-White 1966, 269). Likewise, a letter from Flavius Cerialis, commander of cohorts VIII Batavorum at Vindolanda (AD 97-102) may refer to a more immediate and, perhaps, humble means of support (*Tab. Vindol.* II 225, Figure 5) (Birley 1991, 95-100).

⁸⁶ Devijver 1989, 121, reproduced in Table 2.

numbers throughout the next two centuries AD, demonstrating the integration of the provincial elite into the Roman military.

Little direct evidence of the daily duties performed by these regimental commanders has survived from antiquity. The *Digest* preserves Aemilius Macer's summary of military commanders' responsibilities from the early third century. Macer writes (*Dig.* 49.16.12.2):

Officium tribunorum est vel eorum, qui exercitui praesunt, milites in castris continere, ad exercitationem producere, claves portarum suscipere, vigiliis interdum circumire, frumentationibus commilitonum interesse, frumentum probare, mensuram fraudem coercere, delicta secundum suae auctoritatis modum castigare, principiis frequenter interesse, querellas commilitonum audire, valetudinarios inspicere.⁸⁷

It is, perhaps, no surprise that Macer, an expert jurist, concentrates heavily on the supervisory and disciplinary aspects of the commanders' duties. It is noteworthy that the only military operations noted by Macer are the exercises to which the commanders were supposed to lead out their men. Although he gives no indication that the commanders were meant to take an active role in the training of the troops, it is clear from Vegetius (c. AD 400) that commanders were held personally responsible for their unit's performance in battle.

One may be certain that auxiliary commanders also had a number of administrative duties in addition to those detailed by Macer.⁸⁸ In many cases they were

⁸⁷ "The duty of tribunes or those who lead an army is to keep the troops in the camp, to lead them out for exercise, to accept the keys to the gates, to inspect the guards periodically, to be present at the corn distributions for their fellow-soldiers, to test the grain, to punish the fraud of the quarter-masters, to correct faults in accordance with the proper measure of this authority, to be in the headquarters building often, to hear the complaints of their fellow-soldiers, and to inspect the hospital." This text follows A. Watson's 1985 edition of T. Mommsen's text.

⁸⁸ Birley 1988, 155-56; Stauner 2004.

heavily involved in provincial and municipal administration.⁸⁹ In fact, it was probably this type of responsibility that most qualified equestrian officers to advance from the *tres militiae* to the procuratorships that normally followed them on the equestrian *cursus*. Indeed, while some equestrian officers were well-suited for the military and followed almost exclusively military careers, most proceeded into civil administration. After having served three to four years in each of the three standard *militiae* (*praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus angusticlavius* and *praefectus equitum*) equestrian officers would have developed a reasonable familiarity with the workings of the army and with many aspects of civil administration.⁹⁰

2.3.3 *Centurions and Decurions*

While the commanders of auxiliary units had an undoubted influence on the soldiers they commanded, my concentration throughout this dissertation is upon the soldiers who served beneath them. Centurions and decurions are the highest ranking of these. They commanded centuries and *turmae* that comprised the largest tactical units of auxiliary cohorts and *alae*, respectively.⁹¹ As leaders of these squadrons, the centurions and decurions had a great deal of responsibility and authority. Although no clear evidence for the pay of these men is available, the relative frequency with which centurions appear in the epigraphic record suggests that they were much better paid than their subordinates and, therefore, more able to afford monumental funerary monuments.⁹²

⁸⁹ Birley 1988, 156-57.

⁹⁰ Birley 1988, 150.

⁹¹ For the number and size of these see page 62, above.

⁹² Breeze 1974, 282; Speidel 1992a suggest that *centuriones cohortis* received five times the basic pay of an auxiliary soldier. *Decuriones* would presumably then have received five times the pay of common *equites*, who were paid more than *milites*.

The daily duties of centurions and decurions are largely unclear due to a lack of literary evidence. However, the military records that have survived show the importance and breadth of their duties. The *pridianum* (annual inventory of personnel) of cohorts I Hispanorum veterana, dating to the early second century, records a decurion serving in the guard of the legate Fabius Justus (RMR 63 II 25) and a centurion leading a scouting party (II 32). The strength report of cohorts I Tungrorum from Vindolanda (*Tab. Vindol.* II 154), dating to between AD 92 and 97, indicates that five of the unit's six centurions were absent from the fort. Two of these were at Coria (modern Corbridge) with 335 other soldiers, and one was in Londinium (modern London).⁹³ These documents make it clear that centurions were entrusted with a great deal of responsibility and freedom.

Holder argued that a significant proportion of centurions were promoted from the legions.⁹⁴ However, he was able to document just 4 cases of such promotions. His argument is based largely on the assumption that other centurions with citizenship were likely to have served in the legions at one time. Nevertheless, 13 of the 20 pre-Flavian centurions he discussed held Roman citizenship while 7 were *peregrini*. While the citizen centurions in this period may have come from the legions, service in which required Roman citizenship, some may have received their citizenship while in service or upon their discharge. Furthermore, 6 of the 7 *peregrini* served in units whose ethnic appellations matched the origins of the centurion. This suggests that these centurions were promoted from within their unit.⁹⁵

⁹³ The locations of the remaining two are uncertain. However, the tablet states clearly that only one centurion was present at Vindolanda (ln. 20).

⁹⁴ Holder 1980, 86-8.

⁹⁵ Holder 1980, 87.

It seems, however, that citizens comprised a growing proportion of the centurionate in the Flavian period and beyond.⁹⁶ This may have been a result of the spread of Roman citizenship, increasing recruitment of citizens into the auxilia or the decreasing need for knowledge of native languages in order to communicate with soldiers as familiarity with Latin spread. In fact, two of the three Flavio-Trajanic centurions who were identified by Holder and who held peregrine status served in cohorts I Frisiavonum, which was not raised until after the revolt of Civilis.⁹⁷ This may support the argument for the importance of language skills in the selection of centurions as well as the persistence of internal promotion.

Later papyrological and epigraphical evidence also reveals that centurions were occasionally appointed directly from civilian life. The pridianum of cohorts I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum records a nameless centurion who was “*factus ex pagano*” by the prefect of Egypt in AD 156.⁹⁸ Likewise the appointment of a centurion named Hierax is recorded in the same year as his enlistment (AD 230), suggesting that he was recruited directly into the centurionate.⁹⁹ The circumstances that led to these direct appointments are unclear, but the men who received them may well have been sons of veterans or from prominent municipal families.¹⁰⁰ Since some centurions seem to have come from backgrounds significantly different from those of their subordinates, some caution must be exercised when discussing their origins and movements. However, the presence of centurions who rose through the ranks requires that they be included within this study.

⁹⁶ Holder 1980, 87-8.

⁹⁷ Holder 1980, 88 and 101.

⁹⁸ RMR 64 I, 20-25 (A.D. 156); Gilliam 1952, 75-8 argues convincingly for this interpretation of the phrase *factus ex pagano*. Contra Fink 1942, 65. Cf. Mommsen 1913, 556.

⁹⁹ RMR 20, 19-20. Cf. Gilliam 1957, 164.

¹⁰⁰ Gilliam 1957, 166-68.

Like centurions, decurions were promoted from the legions, received commission directly from civilian life, and were elevated through the ranks (CIL III 11213).¹⁰¹ Several of the legionaries known to have been promoted to be decurions can be shown to have served previously in an *ala* (AE 1969-70, 583). This was not, however, a requirement, as is made apparent by the career of C. Vibius Quartus. Quartus served as a *miles* in legio V Macedonica before being promoted to decurion of *ala Scubulorum* (CIL III 647) in the Julio-Claudian period.

While there is no absolute epigraphical evidence of appointments to the decurionate upon enlistment, the death of decurions aged twenty-three and twenty-six are evidence either of direct appointments or of very quick promotions (CIL VIII 9389, and 8746).¹⁰² Likewise, decurions known to have served municipal decurionates may well have received direct commissions due to their elevated social status (CIL III 15205.3, CIL V 5006).¹⁰³

As has been noted in regards to centurions, the majority of the peregrine decurions served in units whose ethnic title matched their own origins.¹⁰⁴ Although these men seem to have been promoted through the ranks, this does not preclude their service in other units as well. For example, one of the *pridiana* of cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata records that a decurion was “*reiectus ab alae I Thrac(um) Mauretaniae ad vircam [sic] c(o)hortis*” in AD 156.¹⁰⁵ The removal of promoted soldiers

¹⁰¹ Holder 1980, 88 suggests the centurion of CIL III 11213 may also have served in a legion before he was an *eques* in cohors I Alpinorum.

¹⁰² Holder 1980, 89.

¹⁰³ Gilliam 1957, 166; Holder 1980, 89. CIL III 5205.3 is discussed in detail below. See p. 100.

¹⁰⁴ Holder 1980, 90.

¹⁰⁵ RMR 64 I, 25-7. “Sent back from *ala I Thracorum* of Mauretania to the staff of the cohort.” For note regarding *virca* see RMR 64 I, n25. Read *virgam* for *vircam*.

from their units at least temporarily may, in fact, have been a means by which to isolate new officers from their men and thereby increase their authority.

Be this as it may, the number of decurions holding citizenship increased in the late first century, just as it did with centurions.¹⁰⁶ There is, however, evidence of peregrine decurions in the Flavian period and beyond. According to Holder about half of the peregrine decurions recorded in the Flavio-Trajanic period served in units raised in their home provinces. The others served in units that had been stationed near their homes when they enlisted or were transferred into the unit in which they served as decurion.¹⁰⁷

As a whole, the composition of the centurial and decurial ranks in the *auxilia* shows a great deal of diversity. While the proportion of citizen centurions and decurions rose steadily in the first three centuries AD, the same can be said of citizen soldiers in general. Thus it seems that centurions and decurions were subject to the same processes of integration that affected their subordinates.

2.3.4 Low-Ranking Officers

There were a number of official posts in the Roman army above the common soldiers but subordinate to centurions and decurions. In his study of these posts Domaszewski identified two principal groups: *immunes* and *principales*.¹⁰⁸ Although there was no formal distinction between these two groups until the second century, and membership of both groups seems to have varied between branches of the Roman army

¹⁰⁶ Holder 1980, 90.

¹⁰⁷ Holder 1980, 90.

¹⁰⁸ Domaszewski 1967, 1-6. Cf. Breeze 1974, 245.

over time, the two groups provide a helpful framework for general discussion.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, a brief description of these offices will help to contextualize the inscriptions that mention men who held them in subsequent chapters.

The *immunes* included *actuarii* (sometimes written *actarii*), *beneficiarii*, *curatores*, *custodes armorum*, *librarii*, *statores*, *stratores* and several posts associated with playing musical instruments such as *cornicen*, *tubicen* and *bucinator*.¹¹⁰ The term “*immunes*” suggests that these soldiers were exempt from heavy fatigues and the administrative nature of the duties associated with these positions likely demanded much of the soldiers’ time and effort, making such manual duties impractical. The posts do not seem, however, to have come with higher pay or significantly more authority than service as a common *miles*, *eques* or *gregalis*.¹¹¹

The *principales*, on the other hand, received higher pay than common soldiers, at least from the time of Hadrian, and exercised more authority.¹¹² They included *cornicularii*, *imaginiferi*, *vexillarii*, *optiones*, *signiferi* and *tesserarii* (password officers).¹¹³ In general one may suppose that the duties of the *immunes* were preferable to those of a *miles* or *eques* and that promotion to the *principales* with their increased pay was, to many, still more desirable. These later positions also seem to have increased one’s chances of reaching the centurionate or decurionate, although no clear, linear

¹⁰⁹ Watson 1969, 75-9.

¹¹⁰ Cheesman 1914, 43; Dixon and Southern 1992, 25. Cf. Breeze 1970. Cheesman included *cornicularii* on this list but RMR 1 indicates that *cornicularii* received double pay, suggesting that they were *principales* rather than *immunes* (see below). See Dig. 5.6.10 for the list of *immunes* given by Tarruntenus Paternus.

¹¹¹ Breeze 1971, 133.

¹¹² On increased authority see Breeze 1971, 134n50, among others.

¹¹³ Cheesman 1914, 41-3; Dixon and Southern 1992, 25

pattern of promotion is discernible in the ancient sources pertaining to the *auxilia*.¹¹⁴ The posts among the *principales* may, however, be usefully examined in terms of their duties and pay to give some idea of their relative importance and the hierarchy in which they operated.¹¹⁵

A few positions among the *immunes* and *principales* can be associated with the administration of entire cohorts and *alae* as part of their general staff. At the head of this staff was a *cornicularius*, who acted as an assistant to the commanding officer.¹¹⁶ The *actuarii* (or *actarii*) and *librarii* supervised the unit's accounts, including pay and the food supply,¹¹⁷ *statores* enforced military discipline and justice, and *stratores* and *beneficiarii* performed various administrative functions.¹¹⁸ The relative ranks and pay of these men is difficult to establish. However, the appearance of one *cornicularius* receiving double the pay of an *eques* and the frequent association of *cornicularii* with commanders indicates that they were the highest ranking administrators in this group.¹¹⁹ It has been argued that the elevated pay and association of *cornicularii* with commanders reveals the superiority of *cornicularii* to *actuarii*, since an *actuarius* in this same unit received double the pay of a common *miles*.¹²⁰ Thus the *cornicularius* was paid significantly more than the *actuarius*. While this argument relies on the restoration of a

¹¹⁴ Breeze 1974, 278-86.

¹¹⁵ See Stauner 2004 for additional details about clerical positions.

¹¹⁶ Epigraphical evidence invariably associates *cornicularii* from the *auxiliae* with either a commanding officer or the unit as a whole. In particular see CIL XIII 7743. This inscription shows not only that the *cornicularius* served the *tribunus militum* directly but also that he was assigned to a century as well.

¹¹⁷ For duties see Seeck 1894; CIL XVI 2255 (legionary); cf. CIL II 2663. For the association of this post with entire units rather than centuries or *turmae* see e.g. CIL VII 458; CIL III 3392; AE 1997, 1296; RIB I 1101.

¹¹⁸ Le Bohec 1994, 51-6.

¹¹⁹ For the pay of this *cornicularius* see Fink 1971, 17. Cf. RMR 1, xxxi, 24; 26; xxxii, 16; 21; 29; xxxiii, 20.

¹²⁰ Breeze 1971, 133. Cf. RMR 1, xvii, 3; 101; xxii; 13.

problematic piece of the text, it gains currency from comparable information relating to the structure of the legions.¹²¹

In addition to these administrative posts each cohort and *ala* had a *vexillarius* and an *imaginifer*. These men seem to have received double pay and were responsible for carrying their unit's standard and an image of the emperor, respectively. Like the administrative officers, these men were enrolled in a century or *turma*, but served independently of it.¹²²

Within centuries and *turmae* alike, the second-in-command was a *duplicarius* (literally, one receiving double pay) and often referred to by this title alone. However, *duplicarius* refers to a pay scale rather than a proper rank. These soldiers seem also to have been known as *optiones*, at least in the centuries, but there are relatively few epigraphic attestations of this latter title and the documentary sources are of little use. The third-in-command of a century or *turma* was a *sesquiplicarius* (one receiving one and a half times pay) who may have held the additional title of *tesserarius* (password officer) in the infantry.¹²³ Each century also contained a *signifer*, who Breeze argued was the most senior of the *principales* although not the highest ranking. This may also have been true of the *turmae*, though no clear evidence is available.

In his examination of the career paths of low-ranking officers in the Roman army, Breeze concluded that no discernible pattern for promotion in the *auxilia* can be determined, due largely to lack of information. One may, however, use the evidence for pay scales to reconstruct at least the general outline of the structure of auxiliary units.

¹²¹ ILS 9107.

¹²² Holder 1980, 94.

¹²³ Breeze 1970. Cf. Holder 1980, 95.

The remainder of the soldiers in the cohorts and *alae* consisted of common soldiers and horsemen. The infantrymen were referred to variously as *milites*, *pedites* or *gregales*, while the horsemen were known simply as *equites*. The daily activities of these men were diverse and are well worth examination, but fall outside the scope of my study. Nevertheless, the next section will discuss the terms under which these soldiers and the officers who commanded them served. Understanding of the required length of auxiliary service, the regular pay received by soldiers, and the rewards granted them upon completion of their required service is essential in order to discuss the effects of service on these men and their interactions with their home communities and native communities in the areas in which they served, and their movements after their discharge.

2.4 Diplomas and the Terms of Service for the Imperial Auxilia

In contrast to the *ad hoc* manner in which auxiliary and allied troops were recruited and paid in the late Republic, the terms of service for the Imperial *auxilia* were well defined and consistent. Military diplomas contain details about the length of auxiliary service and grants of citizenship and *conubium* (legal marriage, whereby citizenship could be passed on to legitimate children) to long-serving soldiers, while documentary and literary evidence combine to give at least an outline of soldiers' regular pay.

Roman military diplomas are bronze tablets ranging in size from about 15-20cm in height, 10-16cm in width and 1-2mm in thickness. Each diploma is a personalized record of a mass grant of citizenship and *conubium* by the emperor to soldiers who had

served twenty-five years or more in the *auxilia*.¹²⁴ It is clear from these documents that citizenship and *conubium* were the primary rewards for service in the *auxilia*. However, the terms of these awards were not entirely consistent over time.

Throughout the period during which military diplomas were given to the *auxilia* (AD 54 to 205)¹²⁵ there were changes to the conditions under which they were awarded and the precise nature of the privileges they awarded to their recipients. Diplomas issued under Claudius and Nero were awarded to serving soldiers after twenty-five years of service with no indication that they had been discharged from service. This seems to indicate that citizenship and *conubium* were regularly granted to soldiers after twenty-five years of service even if no standard length of service had been set.¹²⁶

In the Flavian period a new type of diploma was issued to auxiliary soldiers. These diplomas were awarded to both serving soldiers and honorably discharged veterans (*dimissis honesta missione*) after twenty-five years of service.¹²⁷ Thus it seems that auxiliary soldiers were eligible for discharge after twenty-five years of service by AD 80.¹²⁸ In fact, there is no diploma issued later than c. AD 105 that was awarded to a serving soldier. However, some soldiers certainly continued in service for more than twenty-five years. Thus it seems that these grants of citizenship and *conubium* were limited to discharged veterans after about AD 105.

Early diplomas also bestowed citizenship to their recipients' children and descendants (*ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit*). However, this clause was

¹²⁴ For a detailed discussion of *conubium* see Phang 2001, 9 and 59-60.

¹²⁵ See page 29n68, above.

¹²⁶ Mann 1972, 233-34.

¹²⁷ Mann 1972, 234.

¹²⁸ Cf. CIL XVI 26.

removed from diplomas c. AD 140.¹²⁹ The reason for this change is unclear. However, it is commonly argued that it was intended to encourage sons of soldiers to enter military service in order to win citizenship for themselves.¹³⁰

It is also clear that auxiliary soldiers received regular pay while in service. However, our documentary and literary sources are insufficient to establish the exact amount they received at any time.¹³¹ As has been noted above, auxiliary infantrymen were paid between 750 and 900 *sestertii* per year from the reign of Augustus to that of Domitian, and between 1,000 and 1,200 *sestertii* from the time of Domitian's pay increase to that of Septimius Severus.¹³² Although the difference in pay between infantrymen and horsemen is unclear, *equites* in both *alae* and *cohortes equitatae* were certainly paid significantly more than their infantry counterparts; perhaps more than 50 percent more.¹³³

Furthermore, centurions, decurions and junior officers received significantly more pay than their subordinates. *Sesquiplicarii* received one and a half times the pay of the common soldiers in their units, while *duplicarii* received double pay. It has also been suggested that centurions and decurions received five times the pay of common, enlisted soldiers.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ For discussion of the reasons for this change see M. M. Roxan 1986, *passim*

¹³⁰ Smith 1972, 490-91. Cf. Salmon 1958, 54; Sander 1958, 152 and 92; Watson 1969, 134-35.

¹³¹ The documentary sources that may be brought to bear on this issue are: a tablet from Vindonissa dating to AD 38; P.Yadin 772 dating to AD 72 or 75; RMR 68 dating to AD 83; RMR 69 dating to the late first century AD; RMR 70, dating to AD 192; ChLA x.446 and ChLA xi.495, both of the third century; and P.Panop. Beatty 2, dating to AD 300.

¹³² See page 19n49, above.

¹³³ Alston 1994, 115 and 21. Cf. ILS 2487.

¹³⁴ See page 73n92, above.

Military diplomas and documentary evidence combine to give a reasonably complete picture of the terms of service for auxiliary soldiers. They were required to serve for twenty-five years in order to receive citizenship and *conubium*. Also, until at least AD 140 this grant of citizenship extended to their existing children and their descendants. Furthermore, the completion of twenty-five years of service entitled auxiliary soldiers to discharge from at least AD 80, though many soldiers continued serving after they completed their required term. Finally, soldiers received regular pay during their service, although the precise amount of their salaries remains in question.

2.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have provided an overview of the development of the Roman *auxilia* from its chaotic Republican roots to its codified Imperial form. Most importantly, the second half of this chapter outlined the structure of auxiliary units, the ranks of their soldiers, and the terms under which they served. With this information in mind, I will devote the following four chapters to an examination of the early recruiting practices of the *auxilia* as they appear in the auxiliary units in the northwestern Iberian Peninsula in the first century CE, the movement and settlement of veterans from all the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, and the personal relationships of the soldiers who served in those units. Throughout these chapters I will focus on the composition of these cohorts and *alae*, the movement of individuals, and the formation and maintenance of personal relationships. These issues will combine to show the complex network of influences that affected soldiers during and after their military service.

3. The Roman Auxiliary Units Raised in the Northwestern Iberian Peninsula: The Evidence from the First Century AD

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is focused on the soldiers known to have served in the first century in the *alae* and cohorts raised in northwestern corner of the Iberian Peninsula. Specifically, this entails the area north of the river Douro and west of the river Cares, corresponding roughly to modern Asturias, Cantabria, and Galicia, as well as parts of Burgos, León and Palencia in Spain, and to the districts of Braga, Bragança, Porto, Viana do Castelo and Vila Real in Portugal. However, I have set the bounds of this area not in accordance with the administrative system used by the modern Spanish and Portuguese governments, but to include the area inhabited by the ancient tribes of the Astures, Callaeci, and Cantabri. These tribal regions were later within the Roman administrative *conventus* of Asturica Augusta, Bracara Augusta and Lucus Augusti as well as parts of the *conventus* of Clunia.¹ Furthermore, I have selected the units raised in this region for analysis as a discrete unit, separately from the rest of Tarraconensis (the province into which it was eventually incorporated), because this area was a late addition to this province and the final portion of the Iberian Peninsula to be subjected to Roman rule.² Thus, this region would seem to have been the least affected by interaction with Rome before it became a recruiting ground for the Roman army, and before auxiliary units bearing the names of its peoples and regions were formed from its inhabitants. In this regard the units of the

¹ Alföldy 1996, 462 notes, “While the *conventus* of Asturica Augusta, Lucus Augusti and Bracara Augusta corresponded to the tribal organization of the Astures and Callaeci (the latter were divided into two *conventus*), in other parts of Spain the tribes did not retain their own organizations.”

² The lands of the *Astures* and *Callaeci* were ceded to Tarraconensis from Lusitania between 9 and 2 BC (Albertini 1923, 25-41; Syme 1934, 300). They appeared on Agrippa’s map of the world, completed after his death in 12 BC, as part of Lusitania (Plin. *HN* 4.118). The Northwest as a whole was conquered in a series of campaigns starting in 61 BC and concluding in 19 BC.

Northwest are an ideal place to start looking at the role of the *auxilia* in the integration of provincial populations into the empire, as well as at the effects of military service on the lives of the soldiers, their families and their home communities.

Such an examination must, of course, begin with an acknowledgement of the varying methods of Roman auxiliary recruitment. Auxiliary recruitment has been the focus of several important studies since the middle of the twentieth century. The most influential of these is K. Kraft's 1951 study of the *auxilia* on the Rhine and Danube frontiers. In subsequent years Kraft's work has been examined and expanded by many other scholars.³ In 1994 Y. Le Bohec summarized the results of these studies for the first to third centuries CE, writing:

The sum of all this research has brought scholars to almost total agreement on two conclusions. The first rule is – that there is no rule, at least no firm rule, with individual regions and armies evolving in their own ways. However, the second point of consensus is that there is a general tendency which runs counter to what was observed in the case of the legions. Whereas legions were enlisting young men from progressively humbler backgrounds, the auxiliary corps were generally enlisting more and more Roman citizens. As a result there is a gradual convergence of the two types of unit.⁴

The first of these two points is of particular interest when examining the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. Le Bohec's statement is a reaction to the distinctions that are commonly made between "local," "regional" and "foreign" recruitment. Although these terms are ubiquitous in the scholarship, they are often poorly defined and have led to a great deal of confusion. Le Bohec, for example, is careful to state that he equates "regional" with "provincial" (i.e. recruitment from the province in which the unit was

³ E.g. Alföldy 1962; 1968a; Holder 1980.

⁴ Le Bohec 1994, 93. This process culminated with the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212 after which all freeborn inhabitants of the empire held citizenship.

serving), considers “local” recruitment to be only that from the town that grew up around a unit’s camp, and defines “foreign” recruitment to be from any source outside the province in which the unit was serving.⁵ This terminology was sufficient for Le Bohec’s rather brief examination of recruitment.

For the purposes of the current study, however, I use the following distinctions: “local” recruitment, that is recruitment from within ten miles of a unit’s military camp, “provincial” recruitment, meaning recruitment from elsewhere in the province in which a unit was stationed, “regional” recruitment from the adjacent provinces, and “foreign” recruitment from non-contiguous provinces. In addition, I will treat recruitment from the original catchment area of a unit after its initial formation as a subset of these categories, based on the relationship between a unit’s location and the area from which it was raised.

Our understanding of auxiliary recruitment has long been influenced by the belief that there was, beginning in the late first century, an increasing dependence on local, or at least provincial, recruitment. More recently, however, this view has come under attack as an over-generalization of a more complex situation.⁶ Fundamentally, it has been shown that recruitment practices varied from province to province and were adapted as the political circumstances demanded. For example, young men from recently rebellious provinces might be sent to serve elsewhere, while foreign recruits were used to fill the units garrisoning their province.

Evidence from Britain dramatically contradicts this supposed shift toward local recruitment. In 1984 it was found that of the approximately eighty known auxiliary soldiers from Britain only two are demonstrably of British origin, and not a single veteran

⁵ Le Bohec 1994, 69.

⁶ Birley 2008; Haynes 2000, 63-73; Saddington 2009; Saller and Shaw 1984, 142-45.

of British origin is attested in his home province.⁷ This case is not, however, entirely unique. Indeed, R. Saller and B. Shaw saw “a similar military pattern, even more pronounced, among the soldiers of the Rhine legions and auxiliary units. There too the empirical evidence of the recruitment and placement, meager though it is, points to the deliberate movement of local recruits out of the region, especially after AD 69-70, west to Britain and east to the Danubian frontier.”⁸

Conclusions such as these, depending on regional studies like those of G. Alföldy and of B. Dobson and J. C. Mann, have contributed greatly to a more nuanced understanding of auxiliary recruiting practices. This chapter does not seek to alter significantly this complex image of Roman auxiliary recruitment. It will, however, investigate the recruitment of soldiers into a set of auxiliary units defined by their place of origin, rather than their place of deployment. By doing so, I will demonstrate that homeland, local, provincial and foreign recruitment occurred simultaneously in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods. I will also demonstrate that these recruitment practices, coupled with the mobility of individual units in this period, resulted in units composed of soldiers from diverse geographical and tribal origins. It would be impractical, if not impossible, to discuss the evidence for recruitment into each of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula here; there were over seventy such units in existence. Instead, I will focus exclusively on those units raised in the Iberian Northwest as a representative sample of the variety of recruitment practices visible in the *auxilia* as a whole.

The limitations of the ancient sources pertaining to the Roman *auxilia* are, of course, well documented. We are forced to rely on a small number of literary references

⁷ Saller and Shaw 1984, 142.

⁸ Saller and Shaw 1984, 143. Cf. Alföldy 1968a, 100-1; Dobson and Mann 1973, 201 and 4-5; Kraft 1951, 44-5

and a wider, but still limited, array of epigraphic sources. These consist largely of epitaphs, dedicatory inscriptions and military diplomas, although a few papyri and assorted other inscriptions may also be brought to bear. The information available for this subject in even a single province is enough to expose the great complexity of the issues pertaining to recruitment.⁹ However, the information available for individual units is insufficient for the reconstruction of a complete narrative of the evolution of recruitment practices within any single unit. This is as much the case for the units of the Northwest as for any others. Nevertheless, examination of the individuals known from these units in the first century reveals the breadth of experience possible for auxiliary soldiers of the first century AD. While exposing the complexity of first-century auxiliary recruitment, this chapter will introduce the ways in which the epigraphic record may be exploited to explore the effects of military service on soldiers, their families, their home communities and the areas in which they served.

In the course of this chapter I will discuss the evidence for first-century recruitment into *alae* and cohorts separately. This approach exposes the difference between the recruiting practices of these types of units. Within my discussion of the *alae* I present the evidence for well documented units in chronological order. However, the evidence pertaining to the cohorts raised in the Northwest is more disparate and does not lend itself to this type of presentation. Therefore, it has been divided into evidence for Iberian and non-Iberian recruits and the evidence for each group is presented in chronological order. In this way I facilitate comparison of the evidence for homeland recruitment and enlistment of soldiers from elsewhere in the empire.

⁹ E.g. Kraft 1951, 43-68.

3.2 The Alae of the Northwest in the First Century AD

The epigraphic record preserves references to ten soldiers from ala I Asturum, five of whom served in the first century AD and present discernible evidence of their geographic or cultural background.¹⁰ Interestingly, there is evidence of only one of these soldiers having roots in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. The remaining four soldiers of the first century were recruited from provinces on or near the Rhine and Danube frontier. Although this group of inscriptions is a very limited sample from which to establish wider patterns of recruitment in the first century, it provides a baseline to which other evidence of cavalry recruitment in the first century may be compared. The evidence from ala I Asturum suggests that the auxiliary units of the Iberian Northwest began incorporating soldiers from tribes and regions outside the territory in which they were raised in the Julio-Claudian period. It seems, however, that these soldiers were not recruited from the areas immediately surrounding their camps. Rather, they were drawn from frontier populations and sent to serve in other foreign provinces. Furthermore, the soldiers incorporated into these regiments, with one exception, seem not to have maintained close ties to their native lands. These conclusions contrast with the commonly held assumption that the Roman army practiced “local” recruitment once it ceased taking in recruits from the eponymous tribes and areas of the units.¹¹ Furthermore, the extent to which these soldiers maintained or abandoned ties to homelands is a direct indication of the integrating effect of the army and, perhaps, the empire as a whole.

¹⁰ The last of these qualifications has caused the omission of CIL XI 393 from this discussion. Though Gaius Valerius Saturninus may have served in ala I Asturum in the first century, neither his name nor any other information on the inscription he erected for his former commander betrays his *origo*. The same is true of AE 1951, 41.

¹¹ Holder 1980, 118; Kraft 1951, 43-68.

The earliest datable inscription pertaining to ala I Asturum is the tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Saturninus, a veteran *duplicarius* of ala Asturum, recovered from Tomis (modern Constanța, Romania) in Moesia Inferior (IScM II 172; Figure 4):¹²

Ti(berius) Claudius Arrenti f(ilius) Quir(ina) Saturninus
duplic(arius) vet(eranus) ala Astur(um) vixit an(nos) LXIII
mil(itavit) an(nos) XXXII uxor et liberi f(aciendum)
c(uraverunt) h(ic) s(itus) est.¹³

This tombstone is decorated with a “Totenmahl” sculpture that dates it to the reign of Vespasian.¹⁴ This dating then suggests that Saturninus was recruited into this unit under Tiberius and was deployed to Moesia as a member of ala I Asturum before his retirement under Nero.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the *tria nomina* by which Saturninus was known after he received Roman citizenship from Nero, presumably at the conclusion of his military service, have erased much of the onomastic evidence that may have betrayed Saturninus’ origins. Nevertheless, Saturninus’ father’s name, Arrentius, is of some use. This name is attested on only one other inscription, which was discovered at Moral de Sayago in Zamara in the territory of the Astures.¹⁶ Furthermore, there are no fewer than seven recorded instances of the name Arrenus from Spain.¹⁷ These may be compared to one example from Dalmatia and two from Italy. One might also note at least three examples

¹² This inscription may be identified with ala I Asturum based on the location of discovery. There is no other ala Asturum known to have been stationed in Moesia Inferior. While Moesia was not divided into two provinces until the reign of Domitian, I have made the distinction between the two later provinces whenever possible in order to clarify the geographical distribution of the inscriptions discussed.

¹³ “Tiberius Claudius Saturninus, son of Arrentius, of the tribe Quirina, veteran duplicarius of the ala Asturum, lived sixty-four years and served thirty-two. His wife and his children took care that this be erected. He lies here.”

¹⁴ Holder 1980, 157 and 265. Conrad 2004, 159-60 no. 29 assigns this stone to the Flavian period.

¹⁵ If Saturninus was recruited when he was twenty years old, he retired, after thirty-two years of service, when he was fifty two and lived another twelve years in retirement. Therefore, if he died under Vespasian he must have retired in AD 57 at the earliest.

¹⁶ Albertos Firmat 1985, 267. Albertos cites only the appearance of this name on an inscription and provides no information about its publication.

¹⁷ OPEL I², 76.

of the closely related name Arreinus from Spain and none from any other province of the Latin west.¹⁸ J. M. Roldán Hervás has also argued that the name Saturninus is indicative of Spanish or Gallic origin.¹⁹ Thus it seems that Saturninus is likely to have been a native Asturian.²⁰

If Saturninus was, in fact, of Asturian origin, his presence in this unit in the mid-first century is significant. M. Roxan and N. Santos Yanguas have argued that his unit was raised in the Augustan or early Tiberian period.²¹ If this is true, Saturninus is unlikely to have been among the first recruits and must represent a later reinforcement.²² This suggests that ala I Asturum was still drawing recruits from its homeland ten, or even thirty, years after it was raised. Nevertheless, it is impossible to determine whether this was, in fact, the case. Saturninus' origin is far from clear. While it is possible that he was born in Asturian territory, it is equally possible that he was the son of an Asturian cavalryman in this unit and enlisted when he was of age, with no experience of the Northwest. Nevertheless, one may conclude from this inscription that ala I Asturum was in Moesia before about AD 60.

This conclusion has an immediate effect upon our understanding of the recruiting practices of ala I Asturum. Most directly this inscription gives us further insight into the circumstances surrounding the recruitment of Primus, son of Marcus, of the Ubii. Primus

¹⁸ OPEL I², 76.

¹⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 103.

²⁰ OPEL I², 76 reports seven instances of Arrenus in Spain, one in Dalmatia and two in Italia, as well as three instances of Arreinus in Spain. Arruntius was also a very common name in the western empire (OPEL I², 77). But if one takes Arrentius as a scribal error for Arruntius, the name becomes all but useless.

²¹ Roxan 1973, 312; Santos Yanguas 2007b, 404.

²² If Saturninus received citizenship from Nero (i.e. no earlier than AD 54) and had served twenty-five years in the army at that time, he cannot have been recruited before AD 29. If he received his citizenship at the time of his discharge, he still cannot have been recruited before AD 22.

received a diploma dated Aug 14, AD 99 at the conclusion of his service in Moesia Inferior (RGZM 8):²³

...alae I Asturum cui prae(e)st / Ti(berius) Iulius Ti(beri)
f(ilius) Pup(inia) Agricola / gregali / Primo Marci f(ilio)
Ubio...²⁴

The date of the diploma suggests that Primus was recruited in AD 74 or shortly before, at least five years after the conclusion of Saturninus' service in this same unit. Ala I Asturum seems to have already been stationed in Moesia when Saturninus was discharged. If the relative chronology of these two inscriptions is correct—although one may question the precise dating of Saturninus' tombstone, there is no reason to doubt that it predates Primus' diploma—one must assume Primus was, in fact, recruited from Germania Inferior into an *ala* raised in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula and garrisoned in Moesia. Furthermore, Primus is identified on his diploma as a *gregalis*, a common cavalryman. It was uncommon for a *gregalis* to be transferred from one unit to another. One must assume that Primus served his entire career in ala I Asturum and was not recruited to a unit on the Rhine and subsequently deployed to the Danube.

A very similar situation is apparent in the case of Urbanus, son of Ateio, who was awarded a diploma on May 13, AD 105 after completing his military service in ala I Asturum in Moesia Inferior (RGZM 11):

...alae I Asturum cui prae(e)st / L(ucius) Seius L(uci)
f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Avitus / gregali / Urbano Ateionis
f(ilio) Trevir(o) / et Crispinae Eptacenti fil(iae) uxori eius /

²³ Rather than reproduce the entire text of military diplomas, I have included only the most relevant pieces of the text. Complete transcriptions are, of course, available in their original publications.

²⁴ "...to Primus the Ubian, son of Marcus, common cavalryman of ala I Asturum, of which Tiberius Julius Agricola, the son of Tiberius, of the tribe Pupinia, is commander..."

et Attoni f(ilio) eius / et Iulio f(ilio) eius / et Crispino f(ilio)
eius/ et Praetiosae fil(iae) eius...²⁵

Urbanus' origin among the Treveri of Gallia Belgica is given explicitly.²⁶ Based on the date of the diploma, Urbanus must have been recruited in AD 80 or shortly before, assuming he served the required twenty-five years before his discharge. This is of particular note because there is evidence that ala I Asturum was stationed in Moesia during the reign of Vespasian (IScM II 172). This suggests that Urbanus, like Primus, was recruited from outside the province in which the unit was serving.

Due to the similarity of these two cases, it is tempting to posit that ala I Asturum received all its new recruits from the Rhine provinces in the latter half of the first century AD as the result of a deliberate policy. However, one must also include within this discussion Meticus, son of Sola, of the Bessi who was discharged from ala I Asturum in Moesia Inferior and received a diploma at the same time as Primus received his, August 14, AD 99 (CIL XVI 45):

...alae I Asturum cui prae(e)st Ti(berius) Iulius Ti(beri)
f(ilius) Pup(inia) Agricola / gregali / Metico Solae f(ilio)
Besso...²⁷

Like Primus, he must have been recruited in AD 74, or earlier. Meticus, however, did not originate from the Rhine provinces. The homelands of the Bessi ranged from southern Thrace to the border of Moesia.²⁸ Indeed, the fact that this diploma was discovered in Philippopolis (modern Plovdiv, Bulgaria) in the Thracian territory of the Bessi provides

²⁵ "...to the common cavalryman Urbanus, son of Ateio, a Trever of ala I Asturum the commander of which is Lucius Seius Avitus, the son of Lucius, from the tribe Tromentina, and to Crispina, the daughter of Eptacentus, his wife, and to his sons Atto, Julius and Crispinus and to his daughter Praetiosa..."

²⁶ For discussion of Urbanus' family see page 96, below.

²⁷ "... to Meticus the Bessan, son of Sola, common cavalryman of ala I Asturum of which Tiberius Julius Agricola, son of Tiberius, from the tribe Pupinia is commander..."

²⁸ Hdt 7.111.1; Plin. *HN* 4.14 and 18; Strab. 7.5.

further confirmation of his origin. The proximity of Meticus' homeland and the location of his diploma's find spot set him apart from Primus and Urbanus. However, all three men seem to have been recruited from outside the province in which they served.

Thus the difference between the recruitment of Meticus and the other two is merely one of degrees, and the same general pattern applies to all three. Nevertheless, it is significant that Meticus seems to have maintained ties to his homeland throughout his service and to have returned there upon his retirement. This is hardly surprising given the proximity of Philippopolis to Moesia Inferior. Saturninus, Primus and Urbanus served much farther from their homelands and it may be this simple fact that precluded them from maintaining visible ties to their native communities. Urbanus and Primus were also near contemporaries serving in ala I Asturum but they were from quite different backgrounds. This strongly suggests that the unit had a diverse soldiery, at least in the last quarter of the first century.

The only evidence that survives about the life of the presumably Iberian Saturninus after his military career comes from his tombstone and the location of his grave (IScM II 172; Figure 4). Although one can say nothing about his family, the fact that he died in Tomis clearly indicates that he did not return home after his service. Rather, he stayed in Moesia, perhaps close to the location where his unit was garrisoned. There is no evidence that Saturninus remained attached to his putative *origo* at the conclusion of his thirty-two years of service. This is, of course, understandable. Saturninus spent more time in ala I Asturum than he did in his birthplace. Moreover, his tombstone records that he had a wife and children who, presumably, lived with him in Tomis, and his wife and offspring are referenced in the Totenmahl that decorates his stele. Although Primus's tombstone provides no additional information about his family,

the names of Urbanus' wife and children give some indication of the role of families in the transplantation of soldiers.

Urbanus' diploma records the names of his wife and four children. Of these the names of the wife, Crispina, daughter of Eptacentus, and one of the sons, Atto, are the most instructive. While Crispina is a common and widespread name in the Roman world, the name of her father, Eptacentus, and close variants of it, appear in only seven inscriptions and all but one of these can be traced back to Thrace or Moesia.²⁹ Furthermore, one of these inscriptions is a diploma presented to Clagissa, son of Clagissa, of the Bessi and lists among his sons one named Eptacentus (CIL XVI 83). This suggests that Urbanus married either a native Moesian woman or, perhaps, the daughter of a fellow soldier who had been recruited from the Bessi in Thrace. Either way Urbanus' ties to his local community in Moesia are clear. The juxtaposition of Urbanus' birthplace and his newfound home is also highlighted in the name of his son Atto. Eleven of the twenty-two other examples of this name come from the German provinces.³⁰ Thus it seems that while Urbanus embraced the community surrounding his garrison he also maintained some of his native practices by giving one of his sons, perhaps the eldest, a traditional German appellation.

The mixed origins of the soldiers serving in ala I Asturum at the end of the first century may, in turn, be compared to the evidence available for soldiers of ala II Asturum. Records of three soldiers from this unit in the first century AD survive. Only one of these, Tiberius Claudius Pintamus, was a native of the Northwest. His tombstone

²⁹OPEL II, 121. The seventh is an altar from Aquincum (modern Budapest, Hungary) in Pannonia Inferior. This stone was dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by a *strator* of legio II Adiutrix from the late second or third century (CIL III 10411).

³⁰ OPEL I², 91.

was recovered from Intercisa (near modern Dunaújváros, Hungary) in Pannonia, and records that he served as a *sesquiplicarius* in ala II Asturum, probably under Claudius and Nero (AE 1992, 1458; Figure 8):³¹

[Ti(berius)] Claudius / [...]onis f(ilius) Pint/[am]us
(sesquiplicarius) natione / [Zoel]a eques alae / [Astur(um)]
[I] ann(or)um LIII stip(endiorum) / ...³²

Pintamus' *origo* has been restored as Zoela, based on the survival of the last letter, the very limited space available on the stone, the fact that Zoela was within the territory of the Astures, and the location of other occurrences of the name Pintamus.³³

If this restoration is correct, Pintamus was recruited from his unit's homeland. Pintamus' *nomen* indicates that he received his citizenship from Claudius or Nero, suggesting that he was recruited under either Tiberius or Claudius and probably died in the late Neronian or early Flavian period.³⁴ Unfortunately, little can be determined with any certainty about the last years of Pintamus' life. It seems clear that he died while still in Pannonia, since his tombstone was erected there. He had also received citizenship, indicating that he had completed his twenty-five years of service. However, he is not identified as a *veteranus* on the stone.³⁵ This suggests that, although Pintamus had received citizenship, he had not yet left military service. Moreover, his tombstone preserves no record of his family. These factors make it impossible to determine whether

³¹ Intercisa was part of Pannonia Inferior after the province was divided in AD 106. The dating of this inscription is based on the *nomen* Claudius, and the placement of the unit's number after its appellation. Cf. Holder 1980, 266 and Pitillas Salañer 2004, 27, which agree that Pintamus was discharged in the last years of Nero's reign.

³² "Tiberius Claudius Pintamus, son of ...o, sesquiplicarius, horseman of ala II Asturum, from the tribe of Zoela, having lived fifty-three years and served..."

³³ Lörincz 1992, 118-9; Pitillas Salañer 2006, 127-30.

³⁴ Holder 1980, 266 no. 134; Lörincz 1992, 119.

³⁵ It is also relatively uncommon for auxiliary veterans to record their years of service on their tombstones. There are, however, enough cases in which they did so to prohibit any generalizations about the inclusion of years of service on epitaphs and veteran status.

Pintamus had settled in Pannonia after his service or continued his career after he was granted citizenship. Nevertheless, whether he had retired or continued to serve, it is clear that Pintamus had no compelling need to return to his homeland.

If Pintamus was recruited at age twenty, as was usual for soldiers, he should have received his citizenship at about forty-five years old, leaving as many as eight years in which he could have traveled to Zoela before his death.³⁶ Instead, he remained in Pannonia. This decision may have been the result of either compulsion or personal choice. One might, for example, suggest that Pintamus had yet to be discharged or was forced to remain in or near the camp by lack of the means to finance his passage to Hispania or by ill health due to disease or injury. On the other hand, he may have chosen to stay because of social ties to his unit or members of its surrounding community. Whatever the cause, Pintamus remained in Pannonia for the duration of his life and did not return to his homeland after he fulfilled his obligation to the Roman army. In this way he seems to fit into the pattern emerging throughout the epigraphic record pertaining to *alae* from the Northwest.

The presence of soldiers from the homeland of a unit together with foreign recruits at an early date is most clearly visible in a beautifully decorated tombstone from Aquincum (modern Budapest, Hungary) that includes references to the military service of two brothers from the Treveri (CIL III 14349.8; Figure 9):

Reginus Trouce/tissae f(ilius) domo Tr/ever anno(rum)
XXX se/squipliarius) alae Aur(ianae) I / stipendio(rum) V
h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Receptus sesquip(licarius) / alae
Asturu(m) II fra/ter ide(m) heres / pos(u)it.³⁷

³⁶ Scheidel 1992 established that the average age of military recruits was twenty years.

³⁷ “Reginus son of Troucetissa by birth a Trever, thirty years old, a sesquiplarius of ala I Auriana with five years of service is buried here. Receptus his brother, a sesquiplarius of ala II Asturum and his heir set this up.”

Although Reginus's *origo* alone is recorded on the inscription, one must assume that his brother Receptus was also born among the Treveri, unless *frater* is used here as a term of endearment for a fellow soldier.³⁸ However, there is no reason to suggest that the two were not related by blood. In fact, it seems unlikely that soldiers serving in separate units would have had the opportunity to develop a friendship close enough to merit the use of *frater* to describe their relationship.³⁹ This seems even less likely since Reginus had served only five years in the army when he passed away. Such a short term of service, combined with the separation inherent in assignment to different units, is unlikely to produce such a close relationship. Therefore it seems that both the ala II Asturum and ala I Hispanorum Auriana were recruiting horsemen from outside their eponymous regions, specifically the Treveri, by the reign of Claudius at the latest.⁴⁰

This date is of particular note because it places Receptus' career in close chronological proximity to that of Pintamus. If Pintamus died at fifty-three years old sometime around AD 75, and Receptus was approximately 30 years old late in the reign of Claudius, both would have been born in about AD 20. This suggests that they served together. At that time, then, ala II Asturum was a mixed body of Asturian and foreign soldiers. It is even possible that new recruits were taken from the Astures even after foreign recruits had been accepted. This hypothesis is, however, complicated by the fact that both Pintamus and Receptus were *sesquiplicarii*. As such, it is possible, though unlikely, that one or both of them had been transferred into ala II Asturum after their

³⁸ In fact, OPEL IV, 24 explicitly records this Receptus' origin as "domo Trever". However, the distribution of appearances of the name does little to confirm his origins. OPEL records no example of the name from an inscription found in the German provinces. For further discussion of "*fratres*" see page 282, below.

³⁹ Képartová 1986.

⁴⁰ For dating see Holder 1980, 280 no. 551; Wagner 1938, 11.

promotion. Nevertheless, this is by no means certain and one must assume that both men were recruited directly into this *ala*.

Any statement regarding Receptus' connection to his homeland would be entirely speculative. Since the tombstone that records his name is not his own and the recipient, Reginus, died while still in service, we have no indication of whether he returned to the Treveri after his service or even intended to. It is, however, worth noting that Receptus and Reginus seem to have maintained their fraternal relationship after their enlistment, despite having been assigned to different units.⁴¹ Furthermore, the posting of these brothers to separate units in Pannonia both reinforces the pattern of service outside one's native province and suggests a conscious decision to post Treveran soldiers to Pannonia.⁴²

A situation very similar to that of Receptus (CIL III, 14349.8) is presented in a fragmentary tombstone recovered from Celeia (modern Celje, Slovenia) in Noricum and also pertaining to ala II Asturum (CIL III 15205.3; Figure 10):

T(itus) Julius Bellicus dec(urio) / alae Asturum II /
dec(urio) municipi(i) Cla(udiae) Celeiae / t(estamento)
f(ieri) i(ussit) / Ti(berius) Julius Frontonis f(ilius) Civis /
frater et heres fecit.⁴³

The *municipium Claudium Celeia* was not established until the reign of Claudius and therefore provides a *terminus post quem* of AD 41 for this inscription.⁴⁴ As in the case of Reginus' tombstone, the placement of the unit number after its ethnic denominator

⁴¹ This relationship may be compared to that demonstrated in CIL III 4227. See page 109, below.

⁴² Cf. RGZM 11 on page 93, above, in which a Trever is recorded in Moesia, also on the Danube Frontier.

⁴³ "Titus Julius Bellicus, decurion of ala II Asturum, and of the *municipium* of Claudia Celeia ordered this to be done in his will. Tiberius Julius Civis son of Fronto, his brother and heir built this."

⁴⁴ Alföldy 1974, 80-1 points out that there is no evidence to prove this *municipium* was established in AD 45. He proposes AD 48 as a possible date for the establishment of the *municipium*.

suggests that this inscription is pre-Flavian.⁴⁵ Thus it seems that Bellicus served with ala II Asturum while the unit was stationed in Pannonia, probably at Intercisa or Aquincum.⁴⁶

Although some scholars have suggested that ala II Asturum served in Noricum for a short time, based on the discovery of Bellicus' tombstone, there is no evidence for this supposition beyond this one inscription.⁴⁷ In fact, Bellicus' career in municipal politics may have followed his discharge from auxiliary service and, therefore, need not have any relation to the location of his military service. Bellicus may have been a native of the area around Celeia who enlisted into the Roman army and returned home after his discharge to take up a position in local administration.⁴⁸ This suggests that he, like Meticus from ala I Asturum (CIL XVI 45; page 94), maintained ties to his home community throughout his military service. It is perhaps no coincidence that both of these men seem to have been deployed much nearer their homelands than the other soldiers of these units, a circumstance that would have facilitated the preservation of social and emotional ties.

The service of the non-Iberian soldiers Receptus and Bellicus, in ala II Asturum during the reign of Claudius suggests not only that recruitment from outside the unit's home area was relatively common but also that this recruitment did not come from the

⁴⁵ The placement of the unit number after the title of the unit is typical of pre-Flavian inscriptions, as is the appearance of the name of the deceased in the nominative. Cf. Holder 1980, 144-66; Pavan 1956, 64.

⁴⁶ The location of ala II Asturum's station in Pannonia is unclear. Lörincz 2001, 15; Pavan 1956, 64; 1955, 384; Wagner 1938, 11 and Wagner 1938, 11 have argued that ala II Asturum was stationed at Aquincum prior to being sent to Intercisa in c. AD 70. However, this seems to be based upon CIL III 14349-8 which is not the tombstone of a member of this unit but of his brother who served in ala I Auriana. Nevertheless, one may not discount the possibility that ala II Asturum was posted to Aquincum during some of Bellicus' service.

⁴⁷ Pavan 1956, 64; Roxan 1973, 336; Santos Yanguas 2006, 91.

⁴⁸ Gilliam 1957, 166; Santos Yanguas 2006, 91. One might even go so far as to suggest that he was an early (i.e. Claudian) decurion due to his military background.

immediate vicinity of the *ala*'s station, or even from inside the same province. The homeland of the Treveri was in Gallia Belgica, and Celeia lay within the borders of Noricum. Ala II Asturum, however, was stationed in Pannonia in the early decades of the first century, probably in the neighborhood of Aquincum.⁴⁹ Thus it seems that these soldiers were enrolled in levies and then distributed to units along the frontier without regard to their origin.⁵⁰ Alternatively, it may be that these men were promoted out of their original units and into the ala II Asturum; Receptus was a *sesquiplicarius* and Bellicus was a decurion.⁵¹

Useful information can also be gained by the examination of four more *equites* of other alae Asturum. The first of these problematic inscriptions is the tombstone of Elaeus, son of Coelo, discovered in Saguntum (modern Sagunto, Spain) in Hispania Citerior (CIL II(14) 348; Figure 11):

Elaesus Coelo/nis f(ilius), eques / ala Asturum / III, turma
Naso/nis, stipendio/rum V, annor/(um)...⁵²

The name Elaeus is attested five times in the area of southern Asturia and nowhere else, providing ample evidence for this soldier's roots in Asturia and origin in the original recruiting grounds of his unit, whether as a founding member or a later addition.⁵³ Elaeus' origins in the Northwest are further attested in the name of his father, which

⁴⁹ See note 46. Note also that ala II Asturum can be securely placed in Pannonia (although referred to by the outdated name Illyricum) by AD 61, at the latest (RMD IV 202).

⁵⁰ For information regarding levies see Brunt 1974 and Watson 1982.

⁵¹ This latter suggestion also brings into question the relationship between Reginus and Receptus. They could have been promoted out of the same unit, but this seems unlikely since Reginus had only served 5 years when he died.

⁵² "Elaesus son of Coelo, horseman of ala III Asturum, from the turma of Naso, (died) having served five years and lived..."

⁵³ For Elaeus' *origo* see Albertos Firmat 1966, 283; Santos Yanguas 2004a, 62.

shows a clear affinity with the *Coelerni* of the Callaeci Bracarense.⁵⁴ The placement of the unit number after the name of ala III Asturum and the use of *stipendiorum* and *annorum* unabbreviated and in the genitive indicate that this inscription is from the first half of the first century AD.⁵⁵ Ala III Asturum was raised some time before AD 36 and was deployed to North Africa before AD 88, perhaps for the Claudian annexation of Mauretania (AD 43).⁵⁶ There is, however, no compelling reason to assume that ala III Asturum was stationed in Saguntum, as has often been assumed.

Roxan recognized the difficulty in explaining the presence of ala III Asturum in Saguntum, especially since no military installation is known there in the early Julio-Claudian period. However, Santos notes simply that the presence of this unit may be explained by the hypothesis that its members were trained in this area before being deployed to North Africa.⁵⁷ This argument is difficult to reconcile with late-Augustan or early-Tiberian date normally attributed to the formation of this series of *alae*.⁵⁸ If one is to assume from the appearance of this tombstone that ala III Asturum was stationed at Saguntum one must assume either that the unit was in training under one of the legions for at least five years, since Elaesus served five years before his death, or that it was stationed in its home province. Neither of these explanations is satisfactory. However, no more attractive solution is apparent.

⁵⁴ Plin. *HN* 3.28; Ptol. *Geog.* 2.6.41; ILS 254 and 5616. Cf. Santos Yanguas 2004a, 62.

⁵⁵ Roxan 1973, 342 attributes it to the “early part” of the Julio-Claudian period on these grounds.

⁵⁶ This argument is based on RMD IV 202, issued in Illyricum in AD 61. This diploma records ala II Asturum, from which the contemporary existence of ala III may be inferred since there was only one series of *alae* Asturum, although there may have been two *alae* I Asturum.

⁵⁷ Santos Yanguas 2004a, 62: “Tal vez una explicación adecuada ala presencia de este militar en territorio levantino se relacione con el hecho de que, en una primera fase de su historia, la unidad militar a la que pertenecía tendría su acuartelamiento en la misma provincia hispana en la que había sido reclutada, siendo trasladada solamente algunos años después a territorio norteafricano (desde los tiempos de Claudio), donde al parecer estaría estacionada de manera definitiva durante toda su existencia.”

⁵⁸ Roxan 1973, 312 and 34; Santos Yanguas 2004a, 60.

The alluring supposition that Elaesus served in Mauretania and retired to Saguntum to be closer to his birthplace is precluded by the fact that he served only five years in the army. With no more compelling alternative available, one must, for the time being, accept Santos' hypothesis that ala III Asturum had yet to be fully deployed at the time of Elaesus' death or even that it was in the process of deployment, since the tombstone was not found near a military installation. If this is correct, Elaesus must represent one of the initial recruits to ala III Asturum; from that regard he has no profound effect on our understanding of cavalry recruitment in the first century.

Marcus Sentius Victor, on the other hand, was certainly a member of the garrison in Mauretania Tingitana. His tombstone was found near Thamusida (modern Sidi Ali, Algeria) (IAM II 253; Figure 12).

M(arcus) Sen[tius] / Victo[r eq(ues) al(ae)] / Asturum
P(iae) F(idelis) / Faventia [an(norum)...] / stip(endiorum)
XVI h(ic) s(itus) [e(st) Iul(ius)?] / Latiurus [f(aciendum)
c(uravit)].⁵⁹

Although the unit in which Victor served is not clear, ala III Asturum was in Mauretania from the middle of the first century and is most likely the unit referred to here.⁶⁰ Despite this ambiguity it is clear that Victor served in an Asturian unit. Furthermore, his *origo*, recorded here simply as Faventia, must refer to Colonia Iulia Augusta Paterna Faventia Barcino (modern Barcelona, Spain). While Victor's Iberian background may seem to fit with the ethnic title of this unit, Barcino was, while in the same province, far from the homeland of the Astures and Callaeci. Victor's presence in an Asturian unit and his Spanish background seem, in a way, coincidental. It may, in fact, be more significant

⁵⁹ "Marcus Sentius Victor, horseman of the ala Asturum Pia Fidelis from Faventia... having served for sixteen years lies here. [Julius?] Latiurus took care that it be built."

⁶⁰ Cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum and Cohors III Asturum are, however, also possible. For a detailed discussion of this issue see Rebuffat 1998, 193-202.

that Tarraconensis was one of the nearest provinces to Mauretania, and therefore a logical source of recruits for units stationed there.

This inscription has been dated to the late first or early second century.⁶¹ If one discounts the possibility that recruits were taken from the entire province of Tarraconensis as the unit's home territory—an argument for which little support could be produced—Victor's situation is reminiscent of Receptus, who was recruited from Noricum to serve in ala II Asturum in Pannonia. In this case, as in Receptus', the recruit seems to have been taken from a nearby province and then distributed to an auxiliary unit without regard for the unit's or the recruit's ethnic origin. Thus, although this unit and soldier originated from the same province, this is another example of regional recruitment and once again supports the general pattern of recruitment into the *alae* from the Northwest.

The final inscription related to the *alae* Asturum in the first century is a problematic one from Cavillonum (modern Chalon-sur-Saone, France) in Gallia Lugdunensis that marked the grave of another native of the Ubii who served in an *ala* Asturum (CIL XIII 2613; Figure 13):⁶²

Albanus Excingi f(ilius) eques / ala Asturum natione Ubius
/ stip(endiorum) XII an(norum) XXXV h(ic) s(itus) es<t>
Rufus frater et Alba.⁶³

The absence of a unit number on this stone has led several scholars to associate it with ala I Asturum. However, the identity of the unit in question is not particularly important for the purposes of this argument. It is more significant that the use of the ablative for the

⁶¹ Rebuffat 1998, 200; Santos Yanguas 2004a, 64.

⁶² See RGZM 8, the diploma awarded to Primus, on page 93, above.

⁶³ “Albanus, son of Excingus, horseman of the *ala* of Astures, by birth an Ubian, with twelve years of service and having lived thirty-five years, lies here. His brother Rufus and Alba (erected the stone).”

unit's name, the abbreviation *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, and the relief of a mounted soldier adorning it suggest that it is pre-Claudian.⁶⁴

D. Saddington argued that this inscription was probably erected before the “legions and *auxilia* of the Gauls were moved to the Rhine” and that “the unit must have been in the Gallo-German area for some time, for the *eques* concerned was not an Asturian or a Spaniard, but an Ubian (from the area of Cologne) and therefore not a member of the original draft into the regiment.”⁶⁵ He is undoubtedly correct that this unit was created before Albanus enlisted, but there is no reason that a great deal of time must have passed between the raising of the unit and its incorporation of a recruit from the Ubii. As we have seen in the cases of Pintamus (AE 1992, 1458) and Receptus (CIL III, 14349.8), natives of the Northwest and foreign recruits served together. Albanus’ career might be more easily explained by assuming he was recruited into an *ala* that was serving in or near the territory of Cavillonum temporarily and that he died and was buried during their stay there. As we have seen with other foreign recruits of the first century, Albanus’ *ala* need not have been serving near his home in order to receive him as a recruit. In fact, if such were the case, he would be the only example of a local recruit to the *alae* of the Iberian Northwest in the first century. Although there is no evidence for an *ala* Asturum in Gallia Lugdunensis other than this inscription, there is none from the Rhine provinces.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, any pretense toward asserting that the *ala* was stationed at Cavillonum would be ill advised. This inscription is ultimately only useful as evidence

⁶⁴ For dating see also Holder 1980, 149; Roxan 1973, 595; Santos Yanguas 2007b, 405.

⁶⁵ Saddington 1994, 74.

⁶⁶ One might propose the very fragmentary diploma (AE 2004, 1912) as possible evidence but comparison with the text of RMD V 333 suggests that the former refers to a cohort, rather than an *ala*.

for recruiting. Its significance regarding the deployment of the *alae* Asturum must remain obscure for the time being.

This examination of the soldiers known to have served in the *alae* Asturum has illuminated several interesting points. One may note that only three of the ten recruits known to have served in the *alae* of the Northwest in the first century were, in fact, from the Iberian Northwest. This suggests that common military practice was to recruit from outside the home province of the unit after its initial levy. In fact, the near contemporary careers of Meticus, Pintamus and Receptus in *ala* II Asturum confirm that these units were composed of soldiers from mixed backgrounds even in the Julio-Claudian period.⁶⁷ One may also note that, despite the varied backgrounds of these soldiers, the only soldier for whom there is any evidence that he served in his home province is Elaesus, and there is no other trace of his unit in Hispania Citerior at that time. The remainder of the soldiers served in foreign provinces and most at a significant distance from their homes. The nearest to “local” recruits that can be found are Meticus and Victor who served in provinces neighboring their own – though Victor was also separated from his home by the Straits of Gibraltar. It is probably no coincidence that these are two of the only three soldiers, along with Bellicus, whose presence can be found in their home province after their recruitment. Moreover, though Victor died in Hispania Citerior, he was probably quite far from his homeland.

All these factors approach, but do not directly address, the question of identity within the *alae* of the first century and the extent to which individual or even corporate identity was associated with geographical and cultural origins. A few points are worth mentioning here in this regard. The first is that, with the possible exception of Elaesus,

⁶⁷ Cf. Kraft 1951, 43-69.

who may have served only in the very first years after his unit's formation, none of these soldiers is likely to have served in a culturally or geographically homogenous unit. The pre-Claudian date of Albanus' inscription makes it clear that integration of these units began early in their existence. The heterogeneity of these units is, in turn, likely to have both highlighted each cultural-geographic group's qualities, but also to have forced integration of them.

The diversity of these units is visible in the ways their soldiers identify themselves and are identified by others. Except in the cases of Bellicus, Elaesus and Saturninus, the origin of each of these soldiers is noted by means of *natione* or *domo* with a place name in the ablative, by a geographic name alone in the ablative or by an ethnic cognomen.⁶⁸ Not coincidentally, Bellicus is the one soldier we can be relatively sure returned to his home (where no elaboration of his origins would be necessary), and Elaesus was also in his home province when he died. Saturninus, on the other hand, died far from his place of birth and is identifiable as a native of the Northwest only by his filiation. The absence of any overt reference to his origins may, however, be a result of his long separation from the Iberian Northwest and his attachment to his local community. Saturninus was sixty-four years old when he died and had most likely been absent from the Iberian Peninsula for the majority of his life. Furthermore he had settled in Moesia and started a family. It seems probable that the land of his birth was simply no longer paramount to him or, rather, to those responsible for erecting his memorial. Saturninus may, however, serve to contrast Pintamus whose affiliation with Zoela was

⁶⁸ It must, of course, be noted that these inscriptions are in some regards self-selecting as it is the *origo* information that qualifies them for this list.

noted on his tombstone, although he died while fifty-three years old and after as many as thirty-five years of service.

Ultimately, this small sampling of the Roman army is unable to answer broad questions of identity. Rather, it raises questions and introduces themes for further study. These will be investigated further as this analysis is extended to include the infantry of the Northwest. However, before the scope of this analysis is expanded, it is worth noting that the cultural-geographic integration of *alae* in the first century was not a one-way street. While members of the Bessi, Treveri, Ubii and other peoples were being recruited into units of the Northwest, natives of northwestern Iberia were joining other foreign regiments.

For example, there is evidence of natives of the Iberian Northwest serving in *alae* Pannoniorum in the first century.⁶⁹ The names of these men are preserved in two inscriptions. The first was found in Gyaloka, Hungary (north of Csepreg) in Pannonia Superior and names three soldiers of an unspecified Pannonian *ala* (CIL III 4227; Figure 14):

Abilus Tur/anci f(ilius) dom(o) / Lucocadiacus / eques
ala(e) / Pannoniorum / ann(or)um XLIII / stip(endiorum)
XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex tes(tamento) her(edes) /
posuerunt / Bovegius Vem/ini f(ilius) Lancie(n)sis / Pentius
Dovi/deri f(ilius) Aliga/ntie(n)sis.⁷⁰

Each of these names (Abilus, Turancus, Bovegius, Veminus, Pentius and Doviderus), in turn, can be traced back to the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. Although Lucocadia is not otherwise directly attested in literature or epigraphy, appearances of the name

⁶⁹Lörincz 2001, 22.

⁷⁰ “Abilus, son of Turancus, a Lucocadian by birth, horseman of the *ala* of Pannonians, forty-three years of age with twenty-three years of service, lies here. In accordance with his will, his heirs Bovegius, son of Veminus, of Lancia and Pentius, son of Doviderus, of Aligantia set this up.”

Apilus (with a “p”) and its variants are concentrated in the valley of the Durus (the modern Douro River), and south of Asturica. One must look to the northwestern Iberian Peninsula (perhaps the territory of the Luggoni, southwest of Asturica, modern Astorga) for the location of Abilus’s home, Lucocadia. The name of Abilus’ father, Turancus, is otherwise unattested, but a single record of a Turancicus has come to light from Lara de los Infantes, Spain and supports the association of Abilus with the northwest (CIL II 2866). Bovegius’ *origo* in Lancia (west of modern León) is supported by the frequency of Bovegius as a name among the Cantabri, not far away.⁷¹ The exact location of Aligantia, however, is unclear and one is forced to rely on onomastic evidence in order to track Pentius’ origins. Fortunately, occurrences of the name Pentius are restricted almost entirely to the territory of the Cantabri and Vettones, making it quite likely that Aligantia lay in the Northwest. His father’s name, Doviderus, also is attested only in the northwest, with the exception of this stone.⁷²

Pitillas dates this inscription to the first half of the first century AD and Lörincz specifies a date early in the reign of Tiberius.⁷³ The service of soldiers from the Iberian Northwest in a Pannonian unit located in Pannonia itself has broad implications. Clearly, even early in its existence, this *ala* did not draw its recruits exclusively from Pannonia. The *origines* of these three horsemen are clear. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that they were officers transferred to this unit after a promotion. Thus the *ala* in which these soldiers served was raised some time after the creation of the province of Pannonia in 9 BC and was recruiting foreign soldiers by the middle of the following

⁷¹ OPEL I², 127.

⁷² CIL II 5714 from Legio (modern Leon), CIL II 5738 from near Oviedo, Spain, and AE 2005, 850 from Valmartino.

⁷³ Lörincz 2001, 203 no. 151; Pitillas Salañer 2006, 26.

century, only fifty years later. These foreign soldiers were drawn from Hispania, not from the area in which the *ala* served, which may also have been its homeland.⁷⁴ This suggests that the assignment of these soldiers to a unit not raised in the Northwest of the peninsula was a conscious decision by those managing their recruitment.

Although it is impossible to reconstruct the geographic origins of this *ala* Pannoniorum as a whole, the fact that three natives of the Northwest are named on this inscription implies that the recruitment of soldiers from abroad was not unusual. One may further deduce from the fact that Bovegius and Pentius erected Abilus' tombstone that these three enjoyed a close relationship, and that this relationship was based upon, or at least strengthened by, their common geographical background. Whether they were drawn together by culture, language, race, some other quality or a combination of several factors, these three men seem to have made a decision to stick together amongst what was probably a diverse body of soldiers. This suggests that there was some sense of unity and common identity among soldiers from the Northwest. Nevertheless, the characteristics that defined the bond between these men are impossible to identify. They may have been drawn together by any number of shared attributes. All that is clear is that they were drawn together and seem to have identified themselves closely with those who shared their geographical background.

It seems also that their presence in an *ala* Pannoniorum in the first century was not unique. A tombstone recovered from Salona (modern Solin, Croatia), northeast of Split in Dalmatia, commemorates Cloutius, son of Clutamus, a *duplicarius* of a Pannonian *ala* (CIL III 8577):

⁷⁴ The exact history of Abilus' unit cannot be traced since no unit number is included in the inscription.

Cloutius Clutami f(ilius) / duplicarius alae / Pannonior(um)
Susarru / domo Curunniace / an(norum) XXXV
stipend(iorum) XI[...] / [h(ic)] s(itus) est pos(u)it CA⁷⁵

According to the inscription Cloutius was from Curunda, in the territory of the Susarri. Although the precise location of Curunda is unknown, both it and the Susarri can be securely assigned to southern Asturia, northeast of the territory of the Gigurri.⁷⁶ Furthermore, P. Le Roux argues that this soldier served in the same unit as the horsemen named in the Abilus inscription (CIL III 4227).⁷⁷ Although it is impossible to determine if Cloutius served with the other three men, the presence of his tombstone in Split dates it to the years soon after AD 15, during which period ala I Pannoniorum was stationed there. On the other hand, the Abilus inscription must have been erected during one of the unit's two tours in Pannonia, before and after its time in Split and before it was moved to Moesia in the Claudian or Neronian period.⁷⁸ Thus it is quite possible that all four of these men served in the ala Pannoniorum together.⁷⁹

These two inscriptions (CIL III 4227 and 8577) make it clear that there was a significant contingent of soldiers from the Iberian Northwest in the ala Pannoniorum in the early years of the Principate. It is not clear, however, how these inscriptions fit within the overall chronology of this unit. Although the establishment of the province of Pannonia in AD 9 might lead one to believe that the ala Pannoniorum cannot have been

⁷⁵ “Cloutius, son of Clutamus, duplicarius of the Pannonian ala, a Susarrian, with his home at Curunniacis(?), who lived thirty-five and served XI... years, lies here. CA... set up (the tomb).”

⁷⁶ Alföldy 2000, 187-89; Arias Vilas, Le Roux and Tranoy 1979, 77; Correa 2002, 257.

⁷⁶ Alföldy 2000, 187.

⁷⁷ Le Roux 1982, 190 no. 71. While Le Roux states that these inscriptions are roughly contemporary, Pitillas Salañer 2006, 24 argues only for a possible first century date.

⁷⁸ Alföldy 1962, 262.

⁷⁹ See also CIL VIII 6309 which may record a Lusitanian in this ala. It is unclear, however, if this was the same unit and if so, when it was moved to Numidia. Spaul 1994, 169.

established before that date, Pannonia did not come into common use as the name of the province until the latter half of the first century AD.⁸⁰ Thus it seems that the name of this *ala* referred to the peoples inhabiting the area between the Dravus (the modern Drava) and *Savus* (the modern Sava) rivers rather than the province as a whole.⁸¹ This allows the possibility that the *ala* Pannoniorum was created as early as 9 BC, when Tiberius completed the conquest of the area between the Dravus and Savus.⁸² Keeping the uncertainty of the date when this *ala* was formed in mind, Cloutius was enlisted in this unit in the first generation of its existence or soon thereafter. It is reasonable to assume that the first officers would have been chosen from soldiers experienced in Roman discipline. Failing suitable candidates from a newly conquered people, they would have been chosen from extant units, without regard for the potential officer's origin. Thus Cloutius' status as a *duplicarius* may explain his presence in the *ala* Pannoniorum early in its existence.

The assignment of experienced officers to a newly formed unit may explain the circumstances that led Cloutius to the *ala* Pannoniorum, but it fails to account for Abilus, Bovegius and Pentius. There is no reason to believe that any of these men were promoted above the ranks. Thus it seems they were probably recruited directly from their homelands into the *ala* Pannoniorum. There would have been an ample supply of Iberian units in the vicinity of Pannonia from which to draw Iberian troops in late Augustan and

⁸⁰ Wilkes 1996, 554 and Šašel Kos 2010, 125 date the division of Illyricum into Dalmatia (formally Illyricum Superius) and Pannonia (formally Illyricum Inferius) to AD 9. Barkóczi 1980, 89 cites AD 8 but there is no reason to believe the province was formally and completely divided before the reign of Vespasian (Šašel Kos 2010, 18-30).

⁸¹ Barkóczi 1980, 89 notes that only the inhabitants of this area were referred to as Pannonians at the time of the Pannonian revolt, AD 6-9. Cf. Strab. 7.5.3, App. *Ill.* 14.22, Dio Cass. 49.37, Flor. 2.24, Solin. 13.70.

⁸² Dio Cass. 54.20.2, 24.3, 28.1.

Tiberian times. On the other hand, there is unlikely to have been a shortage of potential Pannonian recruits that would explain the need to remove these Iberian troops from their units in the immediate aftermath of the conquest of Pannonia.⁸³ Nevertheless, it is possible that Iberian troops were inserted into the *ala* either to replenish the unit after significant losses, or in order to ensure its loyalty.⁸⁴ The *ala Pannoniorum* may have suffered heavy losses in M. Vinicius' campaign east of the Danube bend, or, perhaps, in the aborted Marcomannic campaign of AD 6. But it seems more likely that their loyalty was questioned during the Pannonian rebellion of AD 6-9 or the mutiny of AD 14, and adding trustworthy soldiers was considered advisable. However, such speculation hinges on the assumptions that this unit was recruited very early and that our three Spaniards were among its earliest recruits. Ultimately such a hypothesis has little to support it. It seems more probable that Cloutius, Abilus, Bovegius and Pentius were recruited from Iberia and deployed to an *ala Pannoniorum* immediately after their enlistment and during or soon after the unit's service in Split.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Abilus, Bovegius and Pentius, if not Cloutius as well, maintained special relationships with those who shared their geographic or, perhaps, linguistic background. It is also significant that the *origines* of all four of these men are preserved in the inscriptions. This shows that they maintained some connection to their homeland. This may have been due to nostalgia or a sense that their heritage provided them with some identity by differentiating them from the soldiers around them. Nevertheless, to suggest that their origin isolated these four men from contemporary soldiers would be excessive. As was the case with the soldiers of the *alae Asturum*, the

⁸³ Kraft 1951 suggests that there was a large concentration of Spanish troops in general in Illyricum and on the Danube in the early Principate.

⁸⁴ Alföldy 1962, 263 and 76; Wagner 1938, 56.

alae Pannoniorum comprised a diverse body of soldiers and these four were undoubtedly not the only non-Pannonians in their units at any time.

Ultimately, the available information for the composition of the *alae* of Northwestern Iberia fails to illuminate any single policy that governed recruitment into these units or the deployment of natives from this area.

3.3 The Cohorts of the Northwest in the First Century AD

As with the *alae*, the epigraphic sources for the cohorts of the Northwest in the first century are limited. In all, the epigraphic record preserves the names of 20 soldiers who served in the cohorts of the Northwest in the first century. Of these, 12 were from the Northwest, while 8 of their comrades can be traced to other parts of the empire or are of unknown origin. This is by no means an extensive corpus from which to draw conclusions about the recruitment in these units as whole. Nevertheless, close examination of the available material indicates some similarities and contrasts to the information gleaned from the evidence pertaining to *alae*. The epigraphic evidence for the cohorts of the Northwest confirms that these units were initially raised from natives of this region between the reigns of Augustus and Vespasian. However, evidence from the most well documented of these cohorts also seems to indicate that this native recruitment continued well after the initial deployment of these units to foreign provinces. Meanwhile integration of non-Iberian recruits into these units began early and intensified in the Flavian period.⁸⁵ The persistence of native recruitment and the simultaneous integration of non-Iberian recruits into these units mirror the practices evident for the *alae* raised in the Northwest.

⁸⁵ Alföldy 1968a.

Due to the exiguous nature of the epigraphic evidence for the first century, it is extremely difficult to produce a coherent image of the state of individual Iberian cohorts during this period. In order to make sense of this material it may be helpful first to discuss, in roughly chronological order, the disparate pieces of evidence for recruitment of native Iberians, including those pertaining to the most well attested cohorts of the Northwest, *cohors I Lucensium* and *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*. Once this is complete I will introduce evidence for recruits from outside the peninsula. Finally, I will summarize the overall impression gained from this evidence.

Perhaps the earliest piece of epigraphic evidence related to the cohorts of the Northwest is the tombstone of Reburus, son of Corotures, discovered in Mogontiacum (modern Mainz, Germany) in *Germania Superior* (CIL XIII 7045; Figure 15):

Reburus Co/roturetis f(ilius) mil(es) / c(o)ho(rtis) I
Lucensiu(m) / Hispanorum / an(norum) LIII sti(pendiorum)
XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) ex t(estamento)
f(aciendum) c(uravit).⁸⁶

Pitillas argued that this inscription is Augustan in date.⁸⁷ If Reburus died in or before AD 14, his twenty-four years of service would require one to put his recruitment in 10 BC at the latest. Roxan argues that the name of the unit indicates it was not raised until after Augustus' reorganization of the Spanish provinces (16-13 BC).⁸⁸ If Pitillas and Roxan are correct, one must assign Reburus to the initial levy of *cohors I Lucensium*

⁸⁶ Reburus, son of Corotures, soldier of *cohors I Lucensium Hispanorum*, having lived fifty-three years and served twenty-four, lies here. His heir, in accordance with his will, took care that this be set up.

⁸⁷ Pitillas Salañer 2006, 32.

⁸⁸ It is unclear whether Roxan means the division of *Ulpia* into two provinces (16-13 BC) or the transfer of the land north of the Douro to *Tarraconensis* (9-2 BC). I assume the former is the case. Roxan also notes the similarities between this inscription, CIL III 8492 and CIL III 8486 from Bigeste in Dalmatia, and CIL III 9834 from Promona, also in Dalmatia, suggesting that all four must be roughly contemporary (see pages 121 and 123, below): Roxan 1973, 469.

Hispanorum.⁸⁹ However, Holder argues that the decoration is indicative of a Neronian date, placing Reburus' enlistment under Gaius or Claudius.⁹⁰ These arguments combine to produce a dating range between AD 8 and 68 for the erection of the inscription, and one between 16 BC and AD 44 for Reburus' recruitment. Thus Reburus may well have served within the first, second or even third 'generation' of soldiers in this unit.

If Pitillas' dating is correct, the onomastic evidence for Reburus' name is easily explained. The name Reburus is most often attested south of the Minus, but at least three other examples of this name and two closely related variants have been recovered from *Lucus Augusti*.⁹¹ These latter examples constitute sufficient evidence to suggest that Reburus, son of Corotures, originated in this region.⁹² However, if Holder's Neronian date for Reburus' gravestone is correct, the inscription provides evidence for continued recruitment from home territories well after the initial levy of the unit.⁹³

This inscription's discovery at Mogontiacum does little to illuminate the circumstances of Reburus' service. It represents the earliest available evidence for the existence of this unit. Although we may be certain that *cohors I Lucensium Hispanorum* stayed in Germania at least into the middle of the second century, there is no convincing evidence by which to date its arrival. One may, however, suspect that Germania Superior was its first station and that it arrived in the Augustan or early Tiberian period, perhaps after the Varine disaster in AD 9 or in response to the mutinies of AD 14. Nevertheless,

⁸⁹ This unit ought to be carefully distinguished from *cohors I Lucensium equitata* discussed later.

⁹⁰ Holder 1980, 80 no. 1771 and 148.

⁹¹ OPEL IV, 24. Cf. Albertos Firmat 1985; Pitillas Salañer 2002.

⁹² The name Corotures is known only from this inscription and is therefore not helpful in this discussion: see OPEL II, 79.

⁹³ In fact there is no reason to attribute so restrictive a geographic limitation to the initial recruitment of this unit that natives of the area south of the Minus must be considered 'foreign' recruits in the initial or continued recruitment of this unit.

the location of the unit's station remains unclear. While the findspot of Reburus' tombstone gives some indication that he may have been stationed nearby, there is no other evidence of this unit at Mogontiacum. Indeed one must allow also for the possibility that Reburus was no longer in active service. Although his tombstone records only twenty-four years of service, he was fifty-three years old at the time of his death; he could have been cashiered due to age or injury, after which he retired to Mogontiacum. To judge simply from the numbers recorded on the stone, Reburus was nine years older than the average recruit when he enlisted and almost as much past the normal age of retirement of an auxiliary soldier when he died.⁹⁴ Furthermore, if one stretches Holder's dating only slightly to include the period of civil strife in AD 69 and 70, one could suggest that Reburus was one of the soldiers who had participated in the siege of Mogontiacum, although there is no indication that he died in battle.⁹⁵ Ultimately, the only certain conclusion that may be drawn from this inscription is that this cohort Lucensium Hispanorum was accepting recruits from the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula at some time in the late first century BC or first half of the first century AD.

Ogrigenus, son of Pintilus, whose tombstone was also recovered from Mogontiacum, may be connected to the homeland of cohort I Asturum et Callaecorum through his filiation (CIL 13 7037; Figure 16):

Ogrigenus / Pintili f(ilius) ex / cohorte / Aestureru(m) / et
Callaec/oru(m) an(norum) / XXIX stip(endiorum) IX heres
/ p(osuit).⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Since Reburus was fifty-three when he died and had served twenty-four years, if he was in active service at the time of his death he must have been recruited when he was twenty-nine. By contrast the average age of those eligible for retirement would have been about forty-five. If most soldiers accepted discharge as soon as they were eligible, one must assume Reburus was quite old for an auxiliary soldier.

⁹⁵ Tac. *Hist.* 4.15, 24, 34, 37.

⁹⁶ "Ogrigenus, son of Pintilus, from the cohort Asturum et Callaecorum, having lived twenty-nine years and served nine. His heir set this up."

I have been able to find no other attestation of the name Ogrigenus in Latin epigraphy. However, there is one example of a Pentilius from Zoela, as well as many attestations of related names in the Northwest.⁹⁷ The name Pentilus is also attested in Caesarobriga (modern Talavera, Spain) and in the province of Cuenca significantly further south.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, in the absence of compelling evidence to contradict the implication of Ogrigenus' service in cohorts I Asturum et Callaecorum, it is reasonable to suppose he hailed from the land of the Zoelae or elsewhere within the initial recruiting area of his unit.

Based on the use of *ex cohorte* and *heres posuit* on this stone, as well as on the simplicity of its decoration, Ogrigenus' tombstone may be dated to the early Julio-Claudian period, probably before AD 43.⁹⁹ This places Ogrigenus' enlistment some time before AD 24. Since this inscription represents the earliest evidence of a cohorts Asturum et Callaecorum it seems logical to suggest that Ogrigenus was one of the initial recruits of this unit. Thus the inscription does little to illuminate subsequent recruiting practices. It does, however, establish a foundation from which to evaluate other evidence. Namely, one may say with some authority that a cohorts I Asturum et Callaecorum had been established by AD 24 at the latest and that individuals serving in the *cohortes* Asturum et Callaecorum after AD 50 are very likely to have been later recruits. Unfortunately, there seems to be no record of any other recruits to these units in the first century.

⁹⁷ OPEL IV, 132.

⁹⁸ Albertos Firmat 1985, 290.

⁹⁹ Holder 1980, 146; CSIR-D 2.5.163 p. 267. Stylistic and formulaic criteria aside, this inscription must date to the period before the first evidence of a cohort of this name in Mauretania Tingitana (AD 57) or in Illyricum/Pannonia (AD 60) (CIL XVI, 4). Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine if two cohortes Astrurum et Callaecorum existed simultaneously during this period. The date of AD 43 is provided by the departure of legio IV Macedonica from Mogontiacum. Boppert in CSIR suggests that legio IV Macedonica's departure provides a *terminus ante quem* for Ogrigenus' tombstone.

The tombstone of the *signifer* Pintaius, son of Pedilicus, recovered from Bonna (modern Bonn, Germany) in Germania Inferior records that he was an Asturus Transmontanus from Intercatia (CIL XIII 8098; Figure 17):

Pintaius Pedilici / f(ilius) Astur Trans/montanus castel(l)o /
Intercatia signifer / c(o)ho(rtis) V Asturum / anno(rum)
XXX stip(endiorum) VI[I] / h(eres) ex t(estamento)
f(aciendum) c(uravit) / ave.¹⁰⁰

Although the exact location of Intercatia is obscure, Ptolemy lists it within the lands of the Astures (Geog. 2.5.31).¹⁰¹ Therefore Pintaius' presence in cohors V Asturum presents another example of recruitment from the unit's home territory. However, the significance of this relationship in regard to recruitment practice is unclear. This inscription can be dated to the period between AD 40 and 70, based on stylistic criteria.¹⁰² This, combined with Pintaius' *origo* among the Astures, led Roxan to argue that cohors V Asturum was raised under Claudius.¹⁰³ However, since this argument was based on the assumption that recruitment from home territories did not persist beyond the initial levy, it is circular. Alföldy, on the other hand, suggests that this unit was raised in the early Principate and transferred to the Rhine some time after the Varian disaster (AD 9).¹⁰⁴ If this is correct, even the earliest estimation of the date of this tombstone (i.e. AD 40) would place Pintaius' recruitment well into the second or third generation of recruits

¹⁰⁰ "Pintaius, son of Pedilicus, of the Astures Transmontani, from the citadel Intercatia, signifer of cohors V Asturum, having lived thirty years and served seven(?). In accordance with his will, his heir took care that this be made. Hail." The reading of this inscription is clear except for the years of service. While the CIL reads seven, Perea Yébenes 1996, 255 reads six. There is, however, room to restore the final digit for VII.

¹⁰¹ The *Barrington Atlas* places Intercatia on a tributary north of the Durus, between modern Medina de Ríoseco and Villarramiel. Keay 1988, 38 places Intercatia at modern Villalpando, slighter further east.

¹⁰² Alföldy 1968a, 194 no. 91; Holder 1980, 145; Roxan 1973, 386.

¹⁰³ Roxan 1973, 386. Cf. Perea Yébenes 1996, 267n3.

¹⁰⁴ Alföldy 1968a, 44. Cf. Cichorius 1900, 247; Ritterling 1893, 237-38; Stein and Ritterling 1932, 165. Cohors II Asturum can be shown to have existed by AD 55 (CIL XVI 158).

(i.e. AD 33 or 34), indicating that recruitment from Spain persisted after the initial recruitment of the unit.

Nevertheless, this hypothesis is by no means certain. The evidence for this entire series of Asturian *cohortes* is problematic as there is no positive proof of its existence before AD 54 (AE 2004, 922 and RGZM 3). This permits the argument that this series was formed under Claudius, perhaps to strengthen the army before or during the annexation of Mauretania Tingitana and the invasion of Britannia. If, in turn, one assigns an early date to Pintaius' tombstone, Pintaius may be assumed to have been one of the initial recruits of his unit. Although I see no reason to favor this argument, the issue must remain unresolved without further information.¹⁰⁵

The isolation of the inscriptions thus far discussed makes them difficult to place within the broader context of first-century recruiting practices. Cohors I Lucensium, on the other hand, provides a more robust, if still problematic, body of information from which to draw conclusions. This unit may be traced back to at least AD 35 by a diploma of AD 60 that names cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium, a unit of the same series and therefore contemporary (CIL XVI 4). Roxan used this diploma to suggest that the series of cohortes Lucensium was "a pre-Claudian, and therefore probably Augustan, foundation."¹⁰⁶

The earliest of the inscriptions that may be associated with cohors I Lucensium is on the funerary stele of Rufus, son of Angetus, found near Bigeste (modern Ljubuški, Bosnia and Herzegovina) in Dalmatia (CIL III 8492; Figure 18):

¹⁰⁵ Among the complicating factors associated with this argument is InscrAqu I 123 which has been assigned a Tiberian date. In order to discount this information one must assume that there were two series of *cohortes* Asturum. There is little to support this argument.

¹⁰⁶ Roxan 1973, 468n3.

Rufus Angeti f(ilius) coh(ortis) I Luc(ensium) annorum
XXX st(ipendiorum) XI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres)
p(osuit).¹⁰⁷

The decorative scheme of this inscription which included a Medusa head at the top above the titulus and columnettes on either side of the inscribed text, associates it closely with a pre-Claudian tombstone commemorating a veteran of legio VII (ILJug III 1921).¹⁰⁸ Rufus, in turn, can be traced back to the territory of the Lucenses based on the name of his father, Angetus. The only other record of this name comes from the Northwest and confirms that Rufus was a homeland recruit.¹⁰⁹ It is impossible, however, to say with certainty whether Rufus was a founding member of his unit or a later recruit. His presence in this unit before the accession of Claudius does, however, provide a baseline from which to conduct further analysis.

The information gleaned about Rufus may be contrasted to that provided by the Claudian tombstone of Andamionius, also recovered from Bigeste (CIL III 8486; Figure 19):¹¹⁰

Andamionius Andami f(ilius) eq(ues) coh(ortis) I
Lucens(ium) ann(or)um XXXV st(ipendiorum) XV h(ic)
s(itus) e(st) Gav[i]llius frater [eiu]s posit.¹¹¹

Unfortunately, the names preserved on this stele provide no clear indication of the origin of the soldier. Alföldy maintained that since the names are not Illyrian, Andamionius

¹⁰⁷ “Rufus, son of Angetus, of cohorts I Lucensium, having lived thirty years and served eleven lies here. His heir set this up.”

¹⁰⁸ The pre-Claudian date is provided by the removal of this legion from Dalmatia: Holder 1980, 152. The Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg suggests a date between AD 31 and 70 but provides no justification for its dating. These two assessments are, however, compatible and a date between 31 and 41 is likely.

¹⁰⁹ OPEL I², 54.

¹¹⁰ The inclusion of an equestrian relief on Andamionius’ stele suggests that it is somewhat later in date than that of Rufus, probably Claudian. Holder 1980, 152-53.

¹¹¹ “Andamionius, son of Andamus, horseman of cohorts I Lucensium, having lived thirty-five years and served fifteen, lies here. Gavillius, his brother, set this up.”

was most likely Iberian.¹¹² This argument *ex silentio* is, admittedly, weak evidence to support any substantive argument. It is, however, supported by the fact that the only other instances of the name Andamus are recorded in the Spanish provinces (FE 164 and ILER 6358).¹¹³ Therefore, speculation about the relationship between CIL III 8492 and 8486 is productive, especially when combined with a third.

This third stele, from Promona (modern Teplju, Croatia), also in Dalmatia, marked the burial place of Flavos, son of Boutus (CIL III 9834; Figure 20):

Flavos Bouti f(ilius) mil(es) coh(ortis) I Luce(nsium)
ann(orum) XXXI stip(endiorum) X dom(o) Luco Aug(usti)
h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit) h(ic) s(itus) e(st).¹¹⁴

Flavos' origin within the territory of the *Lucenses* is stated explicitly in the inscription. Based on the text and decoration, the stelae commemorating Andamionius and Flavos may be dated generally to the Claudio-Neronian period.¹¹⁵ Even if one discounts Alföldy's argument that Andamionius was an Iberian, one must still reconcile the appearance of Spaniards in this unit over a significant period. Rufus and Flavos served eleven and ten years of service respectively. Thus if one assumes even a conservative estimate of ten years separating their deaths, keeping in mind that the former is pre-Claudian and the latter Claudian or Neronian, it is clear that cohorts I Lucensium continued native recruitment for at least a decade. In fact, the interval separating the two men's service, and hence the period of native recruitment, may have been much longer.

¹¹² Alföldy 1962, 294n58.

¹¹³ OPEL I², 52.

¹¹⁴ "Flavos, son of Boutus, a soldier of cohorts I Lucensium, having lived thirty-one years and served ten, hailing from Lucus Augusti lies here. His heir took care that this be made." See also dating criteria in Holder 1980, 315.

¹¹⁵ Holder 1980, 152. CIL 16, 26 places the unit in Pannonia in 80 and provides a *terminus ante quem* for these inscriptions, but a scribal error makes this attribution slightly uncertain. The presence of the cohorts I Lucensium equitata in Syria in AD 88 provides a definite *terminus ante quem* for the inscription (AE 2005, 1730).

The persistence of native recruitment within this unit is further supported by the argument that it was brought to Dalmatia in order to combat the Pannonian revolt of AD 6-9 or immediately in the wake of its suppression.¹¹⁶ This argument makes sense historically and aligns with the concentration of troops in Illyricum in this period.¹¹⁷ Indeed, Velleius Paterculus noted that seventy cohorts, as well as ten legions and fourteen *alae*, were in Illyricum in AD 9 (2.113.1). The argument that cohors I Lucensium was transferred to Illyricum in this period also accounts nicely for the pre-Claudian date of Rufus' tombstone and therefore of his service (CIL III 8492). If one maintains that Rufus, who was evidently of Iberian origin, was one of the initial recruits of this unit in the first decade of the first century AD, one may date his tombstone to sometime in the second decade (i.e. AD 10-20).¹¹⁸ Although the absolute chronology of these three stelae is unclear, they combine to suggest that a significant period of time passed between the erection of the first (CIL III 8492) and of the other two (CIL III 8486 and 9834). The Claudian dates assigned to the later two stelae demand that at least twenty years passed between the death of Rufus and those of Andamionius and Flavos. Furthermore, since Andamionius and Flavos served only fifteen and ten years respectively, their service did not even overlap with Rufus'. This suggests that native recruitment of this unit continued for at least one generation after the formation of the unit.

It is tempting to try to explain away the difficulty in the interpretation of this chronology by claiming that Andamionius and Flavos were the sons of early, native recruits to the unit. This cannot be disproved in the case of Andamionius, nor indeed can

¹¹⁶ Alföldy 1962, 287; Roxan 1973, 464. Cf. Cheesman 1914, 71; Santos Yanguas 1980b, 111.

¹¹⁷ Knight 1991, 89-90. Illyricum was divided into Pannonia and Dalmatia in the wake of the Pannonian revolt. See page 113n80, above.

¹¹⁸ This date is based on Rufus' eleven years of service.

his Iberian roots be confirmed. However, Flavos' inscription declares that his home was Lucus Augusti.¹¹⁹ It is clear that he was, in fact, born and raised there. The dating of this stele to the mid-first century AD, combined with the Augustan origins proposed for cohorts I Lucensium equitata, in which he served, makes it probable that Flavos was recruited long after the initial levy of his unit, but from its homeland. It may even be the case that he was not recruited until well into the reign of Claudius and that he lived into the Neronian period.¹²⁰

In addition to evidence pertaining to cohorts I Lucensium, Dalmatian Bigeste has produced three first-century funerary stelae of soldiers from cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum. This series shows close similarities to that of cohorts I Lucensium and indicates that the persistence of homeland recruitment in cohorts I Lucensium was not an isolated incident. A stele decorated with a gorgon head, bust, horse, and two images of Attis, and small columns flanking its titulus, commemorates Veranus, son of Caturo (AE 2000, 1179; Figure 21):

Veranus Caturonis / f(ilius) eq(ues) coh(ortis) I
Bracaraug(ustanorum) / turma Tironis ann(or)um /
XXXIIX stipendiorum / XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / h(eredes) p(osuerunt) / Tiro
dec(urio) et Crispus / Caturonis.¹²¹

Although the overall decorative scheme is more elaborate, the inclusion of a gorgon head centrally located atop the stone, the image of the horse and the columns recall the stele of Andamionius (CIL III 8486) and may indicate that the two are nearly contemporary.

¹¹⁹ *dom(o) Luco Aug(usti)*.

¹²⁰ Holder suggest that Flavos was recruited under Tiberius or Claudius and died under Claudius or Nero: Holder 1980, 315 no. 1763.

¹²¹ “Veranus, son of Caturo, horseman of cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum from the turma of Tiro, having lived thirty-eight years and served eighteen lies here. In his will he ordered that this be done. His heirs Tiro, the decurion, and Crispus, son of Caturo, set this up.”

Furthermore, the use of the formula *t.f.i.h.p.* suggests a pre-Claudian date.¹²² It is no surprise, therefore, that Veranus' origin may be traced back to northwestern Iberia. Although the name Veranus is found most often on the Iberian Peninsula, it is relatively common elsewhere as well.¹²³ Caturo, on the other hand, is demonstrably Iberian and provides an irrefutable link between Veranus and the native land of his unit.¹²⁴ Furthermore, Veranus' eighteen years of service, combined with the early date of the stele, allow one to place his recruitment in the earliest years of Tiberius' reign at the latest. In fact, he probably served under Augustus and may well have been one of the initial recruits to this unit. It is logical to assume that Crispus, son of Caturo, who erected the stone along with the decurion Tiro, was Veranus' brother, and that participation in the initial levy of the unit ensured their service together. Although the name Caturo appears many times in Spain, it is unlikely that we have here sons of unrelated but homonymous men.¹²⁵

This stele may, in turn, be compared to that of Tures, son of Alburus, also discovered at Bigeste (AE 2000, 1178; Figure 22):

Tures Alburi / f(ilius) eq(ues) coh(ortis) I /
 Bracaraugus(tanorum) / ann(or)um XXV stip(endiorum)
 VII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) p(osuit).¹²⁶

Although Tures is otherwise unattested as a name in the western provinces, Tureus, Turaius and Turius are each rare but clearly Iberian names. This alone may be sufficient

¹²² Holder 1980, 151.

¹²³ OPEL IV, 156 records 28 examples of this name, 6 of which were found on the Iberian Peninsula. Several more belonged to soldiers with visible connections to the peninsula.

¹²⁴ OPEL II, 45 cites 28 examples of Caturo and Caturus, 26 of which come from the Iberian Peninsula. One of the others is the tombstone of Meduttus discussed below. Of the 26 Iberian examples, at least 12 are from the Northwest: Albertos Firmat 1985, 277 and 309.

¹²⁵ For discussion of these relationships between these men see page 240, below.

¹²⁶ "Tures, son of Alburus, horseman of cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum, having lived twenty-five years and served seven, lies here. His heir set this up."

to establish Tures' homeland but when combined with the equally broad use of the name Alburus on the peninsula, the evidence is overwhelming.¹²⁷ Tures was certainly a native Iberian. As on the stele of Veranus, the decoration of this stone has a close parallel among those from cohorts I Lucensium. In this case the rosette set within a pediment is reminiscent of the stele of Flavos and, when combined with the absence of the formula *t.f.i.* indicates a Claudian date for the stone. This is most significant because if this stone is later than the stele erected for Veranus, Tures must have been recruited at least eleven years after Veranus. Furthermore, if Veranus was recruited in the Augustan age, the enlistment of these two soldiers could have been separated by thirty or more years. Yet they were both recruited in the Iberian Peninsula and served in cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum in Dalmatia.

Likewise, Meduttus, son of Caturus, a soldier of cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum whose tombstone was also recovered from Bigeste, was almost certainly recruited from the territory of the Callaeci Bracari (ILJug III, 1928; Figure 23):¹²⁸

Meduttus / Caturonis / f(ilius) miles coh(ortis) I /
 Bracaraug/ustanoru[m] / ann(or)um XXX
 s[tip(endiorum)]...¹²⁹

There are ten examples of the name Meduttus from the territory of the Callaeci Bracari and another two from just south of the Durius.¹³⁰ These comprise the majority of known instances of this name and indicate that Meduttus was recruited from the home territory of his unit. As in the case of Tures, this inscription, dated to the mid-first century and

¹²⁷ Albertos Firmat 1985, 299; OPEL I², 40 and IV, 133-4.

¹²⁸ It is remarkable that Meduttus, like Veranus and Crispus, was the son of a man named Caturus. However, the dating of these inscriptions precludes the possibility that all three of these men were brothers.

¹²⁹ "Meduttus, son of Caturus, soldier of cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum, having lived thirty years and served..."

¹³⁰ Albertos Firmat 1985, 277. Cf. Pitillas Salañer 2006, 28.

erected in Bigeste, indicates that Iberian recruitment persisted in this unit long after it was originally raised and removed from the peninsula.¹³¹

While cohorts I Lucensium and cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum seem to have followed very similar paths throughout the Julio-Claudian period, this pattern may not apply to all the units of the Northwest. A dramatic divergence from this trajectory has been proposed for cohorts III Lucensium because of an inscription recovered from Lucus Augusti that records the name of at least one soldier of this unit (CIL II 2584; Figure 24):

Vecius Cl/utami <f>(ilius) Coi/ ||| DIELVIBRI /
Vero<bli>u/s Veci f(ilius) mil(es) / co(ho)rtis tert/iae
Luce(n)s(ium) mil/itavit ASINI/ [...] [right side]
MAETARIV[...]¹³²

It is tempting to say this Vecius, like Veroblius, was a soldier but there is no proof of this.¹³³ The fact that this inscription was discovered at Lucus Augusti has led some scholars to argue that it was erected during the training of the unit and before its first deployment to an unknown location elsewhere in the empire.¹³⁴ This would imply that Veroblius was a native of the area around Lucus Augusti, since the first generation of soldiers in auxiliary units were undoubtedly members of the unit's eponymous tribe or region. The rarity of the names Vecius, Clutamus and Veroblius make it impossible to confirm or deny this claim. Two or perhaps three other Vecii are attested in Lucus

¹³¹ Holder 1980, 301 no. 1201 dates this inscription to the late Claudian or Neronian period. Roxan 1973, 223 assigns it a Claudian date at the earliest. Pitillas Salañer 2006, 28 dates it to the mid-first century AD. Roxan argues against the Augustan levy proposed by Alföldy, Wagner and Wilkes, noting that there is no positive proof to support this claim. Alföldy 1962, 269; Roxan 1973, 224-42; Wagner 1938, 98; Wilkes 1969, 140.

¹³² "Vecius Co[...], son of Clutamus, Veroblius, son of Vecius, a soldier of cohorts III Lucensium having served [...] [right side] MAETARIU..." This transcription is based on the readings of Pitillas Salañer 2006 and IRG II, 82. This stone is now lost and survives only in copies of the original reproduction by Risco.

¹³³ The singular verb *militavit* suggest that only Verolius was a soldier.

¹³⁴ Roxan 1973, 477. In addition to this inscription Cohors III Lucensium is attested only in the Notitia Dignitatum and, possibly, a tombstone from Tarraco (CIL II 4132). For a possibly similar situation see CIL II(14) 348 on page 102, above.

Augusti (CIL II 2584 and 2585) but the only other example of the name Clutamus in the Northwest is associated with Zoela, in the territory of the Astures and the conventus of Asturica Augusta (CIL II 2633). Neither of these inscriptions is conclusive, nor even compelling, evidence for Vecius' or Veroblius' origin.

Furthermore, the evidence for the two cohortes I Lucensium has been used to suggest that the cohors III Lucensium may have been raised as early as the Augustan period.¹³⁵ Although the unit may not have been formed until later in the Julio-Claudian period, CIL II 2584 does not lend itself to precise dating and it is impossible to say more than that it is Julio-Claudian.¹³⁶ Therefore we cannot know whether the soldier named on this stone was part of the initial levy or was a later recruit.

Since the only other attestation of cohors III Lucensium is from the early fifth-century *Notitia Dignitatum* (Occ. 42.29), which locates it in Callaecia, it is even possible that the unit never left the peninsula or even the Northwest. A domestic assignment of this kind and for such a long period would be highly unusual but cannot be entirely discounted. Nevertheless, the limited evidence available suggests that Veroblius, son of Vecius, was recruited from the area around Lucus Augusti or at least the Northwest and, therefore, represents recruitment from his cohort's home region, loosely defined. Furthermore, he was probably, though not certainly, part of the initial levy that resulted in the creation of cohors III Lucensium.

While these ten inscriptions may seem to present a disjointed and confusing body of information, a few common traits bind them together. First, with the problematic exception of the stone naming Veroblius (CIL II 2584), all these stones were found near

¹³⁵ Roxan 1973, 465.

¹³⁶ Pitillas Salañer 2006. Even this may be an inference from the inscription's location.

the Rhine and Danube frontiers, far from the areas in which the units named in them were raised. Secondly, despite the varied motifs of their decoration, not one of these stones displays a characteristic that is identifiably “Iberian.” Finally, and most significantly for the current discussion, all these stones can be dated to the Julio-Claudian period.¹³⁷ This is particularly interesting since one might expect to find an increase in epigraphic evidence to illuminate the history of these units in the latter half of the first century.¹³⁸ Of course, one might also expect to see radical changes in military administration enacted in the early years of a new dynasty, especially one led by two men as experienced in the military as Vespasian and Titus. Nevertheless, one must examine the evidence for foreign recruitment into these units before reaching any conclusions about the evolution of recruiting practice in the first century. The evidence for recruitment into *alae* of the Northwest has already shown that continued native recruitment does not necessarily preclude foreign recruitment.

There are eight first-century examples of non-Iberian recruitment into the cohorts of the Northwest in the epigraphic record. Of these, two provide no information by which the *origines* of the soldiers can be determined. The tombstone of Claudius Julius Maximus (AE 1925, 66), for example, found near Razgrad, Bulgaria in Moesia Inferior, dates to before AD 136, at which time cohors II Lucensium was stationed in Thrace (RMD IV 260/V 385). However, this name is so entirely Roman that no useful information can be derived from it. Likewise, the stone itself provides no clear indication of its date, due to its fragmentary condition. It may indeed date to the early second century.

¹³⁷ I have introduced the possibility that Reburus’ tombstone (CIL XIII 7045) is very early Flavian, but I consider this unlikely.

¹³⁸ Bodel 2001, 1; MacMullen 1982, 243; Mrozek 1973; 1988.

The tombstone attributed to a man named Crispua (in one edition of the text) is likely of the first century, based on the use of the nominative for the name of its recipient (ILJug II, 463).¹³⁹

...] / Crispua d[.] / dom(o) Ina/quiese(!) vix/si(t!) an(n)i(s)
 XXX / merui(t) an(n)i(s) / VI m(i)l(es) coh(ortis) / I
 Cantabr/orum he/res fa(ciendum) c(uravit).¹⁴⁰

This tombstone was discovered in Prahovo, Serbia, in Moesia Superior, and identifies the recipient as a soldier of cohorts I Cantabrorum. However, the reading of the name and *origo* of the soldier is so unclear that any further discussion of this case is largely academic.¹⁴¹

On the other hand, the remaining six inscriptions that record non-Iberians in the cohorts of the Northwest in the first century provide more compelling—though not irrefutable—evidence of the *origines* of their subjects. In fact, none of these cases provides enough evidence to allow definitive differentiation between regional and local recruitment. Nevertheless, it will be instructive to look at each of them individually to examine the evidence they do provide, so we can attempt to draw conclusions from them.

The first of these examples is Lucius Cuspius Lautus who seems to have been recruited from Noricum and may even have served there. Lautus' tombstone, discovered near the Porta Pinciana in Rome, records both his *origo* and his position in cohorts I Asturum (CIL VI 3588, Figure 25):

L(ucius) Cuspius / L(uci) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Iuva(v)i /
 Lautus Norico / mil(es) coh(ortis) I Asturum / (centuria)

¹³⁹ This reading follows ILJug II, 463. For the first-century date and an alternative reading see Holder 1980, 304 no. 1291.

¹⁴⁰ “Crispua d... from Inaquiese, lived thirty years and served six as a soldier of cohorts I Cantabrorum. His heir took care that this be set up.”

¹⁴¹ *Inaquiese* is otherwise unattested and the reading is disputed by Holder.

Macriniana / militavit ann(os) XV / vix(it) ann(os)
XXXV.¹⁴²

While the presence of a cohorts I Asturum in Noricum is attested to by several inscriptions, including two diplomas dating to AD 79 (AE 2004, 1259 and 1922) and one from AD 106 (CIL XVI 52), there is also extensive contemporary evidence of a cohorts I Asturum in Germania Superior, including diplomas of AD 74 (CIL XVI 20=ILS 1992) and of AD 89 (CIL XVI 36=ILS 1998). These groups of inscriptions make it clear that there were two cohortes I Asturum, an inference further supported by evidence for two cohortes II Asturum.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, Lautus' tombstone gives no explicit indication of which of the two cohortes I Asturum he served in or where it was posted. Nevertheless, one may make some inferences about the date of the inscription, and historical circumstances may help to illuminate the events that led to the erection of Lautus' tombstone in Rome.

As in the case of Celeia (CIL III 15205.3), Iuvavum (modern Salzburg, Austria) was in Noricum and was granted municipal status by Claudius, providing a *terminus post quem* for this inscription, though not necessarily for Lautus' recruitment.¹⁴⁴ In fact, the decision to highlight Iuvavum's status on this stone may indicate Lautus' pride in his community's recent elevation. Indeed, it seems most likely that this inscription was erected in AD 69 or 70, twenty to thirty years after the *municipium* was officially

¹⁴² "Lucius Crispus Lautus son of Lucius, member of the tribe Claudia of Iuvavum, from Noricum, soldier of cohorts I Asturum in the Macrinian century served fifteen years and lived thirty-five years."

¹⁴³ Diplomas of August 20, AD 127 record cohorts II Asturum in both Germania Superior (RMD IV 239 and RGZM 24) and Britain (RMD IV 240). Due to this conflict one must assume either that there were two units with this name, that a scribal error was made on one or both of these diplomas, or that detachments of this unit were in Britannia and Germania Inferior at the same time. Given the preponderance of evidence, one must believe there were, in fact, two units with this name. Cf. Birley 2005, 94; Jarrett 1994, 53; Roxan 1976, 63-4.

¹⁴⁴ Alföldy 1974, 80-1. Cf. Plin. *HN* 3.146. Although there is no clear evidence for the date of this grant, Alföldy suggested AD 48 as a possibility. Claudius' censorship in that year would have provided a suitable opportunity to make such adjustments in municipal status.

created.¹⁴⁵ This date fits nicely into this historical context but is based entirely on circumstantial evidence.

CIL VI 3588 also records that Lautus had served only fifteen years in the army and was thirty-five years old at the time of his death. Thus he was recruited when about 20 years old, i.e. at about the average age for a recruit.¹⁴⁶ One must assume, therefore, that he was on active duty when he passed away. Fifteen years of service was not enough to earn discharge in and of itself.¹⁴⁷ If this was the case, one must wonder how it was that he found himself in Rome.

This can most easily be explained within the context of the unsettled period of AD 68-69, during which there was ample opportunity for cohorts I Asturum to be taken to Rome. Nero had gathered an army from Germania, Britannia and Illyricum in preparation for a campaign against the Albani on the Caspian Sea, only to recall them to Rome to defend the city against Vindex.¹⁴⁸ Otho then used this army in his own defense of Italy.¹⁴⁹ Vitellius was also responsible for the advent of thirty-four additional auxiliary cohorts that comprised part of his army.¹⁵⁰ It is possible that Lautus' cohorts I Asturum was brought to Rome during either of these events. Furthermore, Noricum's support of

¹⁴⁵ Holder 1980, 299 no. 1111 suggests this date but provides no explanation of his reasoning.

¹⁴⁶ Scheidel 1992, *passim*. Scheidel argues that recruits were normally between eighteen and twenty years old, although some were as old as thirty-five. For an example of recruitment of older soldiers see the case of Reburus (CIL XIII 7045) on page 116, above.

¹⁴⁷ The possibility remains that Lautus was discharged due to injury. If this was the case, that injury must have been very recent at the time of his death unless he had been enrolled at an abnormally young age. If he was recruited when he was eighteen years old and was discharged due to injury, it must have occurred less than two years before his death. This seems unlikely, especially since Lautus is not referred to as *veteranus* or *missicius*.

¹⁴⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 1.6, 9, 31.

¹⁴⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 1.87; 2.11.

¹⁵⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 2.89.

Otho and Vespasian may have led to further troop transfers from that province at any time. These troops could easily have ended up in Rome.¹⁵¹

Although it is tempting to connect the presence of a cohors I Asturum in Noricum to Lautus' origin within that province, the location of Lautus' unit before it was taken to Rome is very unclear. No securely datable evidence places a cohors I Asturum in Noricum before AD 79. Nevertheless, it may well have served in that province before being called to Rome, and then have returned to its original garrison after peace was established. It is, however, conceivable that Lautus went to Rome with the German cohors I Asturum, although this requires what seems like an unnecessarily complicated string of events.

Even if Lautus did serve in Noricum, he seems not to have been recruited from the immediate vicinity of the unit's station. Cohors I Asturum was most likely garrisoned on the Danube, possibly at Asturis (modern Zeiselmauer, Austria), north of Vindobona (modern Vienna, Austria).¹⁵² This is a considerable distance from Iuvavum where Lautus was born and, presumably, recruited. In fact it is very near the border with Pannonia. Thus it seems that even if Lautus was enrolled into the army of Noricum, he was posted as far from his home as possible without removing him from the province. It must be remembered, however, that Lautus' tombstone was erected in Rome. This indicates that he did not serve his entire career in Noricum. It also allows the argument that he was removed directly from that province, either to the cohors I Asturum serving in Germania

¹⁵¹ Greenhalgh 1975, 69, 84 and 135; Wellesley 2000, 42 and 133.

¹⁵² Alföldy 1974, 167-68; Pavan 1956, 67; Wagner 1938, 88.

Superior or to join the Norican cohorts I Asturum as it left the province. Again, there is no evidence linking this unit to Noricum until AD 79.¹⁵³

The bottom half of a Thracian rider statue from Malka Brestnica, Bulgaria in Thrace is adorned with a dedication to *Hiro Sanctus* by one Flavius Mestrius Justus. This inscription provides another potential piece of evidence for regional recruitment (CIL III 14424, Figure 26):¹⁵⁴

Hirone [sic] San(c?)to Fl(avius) Mestrius Jus[tus mil(es?)] /
coh(o)r(tis) II Lucensium votu(m) posu[it].¹⁵⁵

The iconography of this stone with its horse, rider, dog and boar places it squarely within the tradition of Thracian rider reliefs.¹⁵⁶ The *nomen* Mestrius as well as the dedicator's use of this type of sculpture suggest that this soldier was a Thracian.¹⁵⁷ Although it is difficult to assess the significance of this possibility since the date of the stone's creation is very unclear, Roxan has proposed a late first-century date.¹⁵⁸ If this late first century date is correct, Mestrius may represent another example of a regional recruit.

Cohors II Lucensium was in Moesia during the period from AD 78 to AD 127 at the very least.¹⁵⁹ It was then transferred to Thrace sometime between AD 127 and 138 (RMD IV 260/V 385). Thus, if Mestrius was a Thracian he cannot have been a local or provincial recruit since he was removed from his home province. Furthermore, serious

¹⁵³ Alföldy 1974, 123 and 322 n. 139 argues that forty-three Noricans can be found serving in the auxilia of Noricum between Claudius and the Marcomannic Wars. This may be contrasted to five in Dalmatia, three in Germany, two in Pannonia and one in Dacia.

¹⁵⁴ Ruscu 2005, 128 records that this inscription was recovered from nearby Goliama Brestnica and states unequivocally that it was in Thrace. Cf. Gerov 1979, 219-20.

¹⁵⁵ "To the hero Sanctus, Flavius Metrius Justus, soldier of cohorts II Lucensium set up this offering."

¹⁵⁶ For a recent discussion of these depictions see Dimitrova 2002; Werner 1999.

¹⁵⁷ Alföldy 1944, 25; Roxan 1973, 473.

¹⁵⁸ Roxan 1973, 473.

¹⁵⁹ For evidence from AD 78 see CIL XVI 22 (cf. RMD IV 208). For evidence from AD 127 see RMD IV 241 (cf. RMD V, p. 701).

doubts have been raised about Mestrius' origin. L. Ruscu argued that the name Mestrius appears most often in Italy and ought to be understood as Italic.¹⁶⁰ Likewise, Mestrius' choice of this traditionally Thracian form of votive is noteworthy but may be qualified by reports that the inscription was found "*ubi vestigia sanctuarii apparent*" indicating that it need not represent a conscious preservation of a Thracian tradition as much as participation in a local practice.¹⁶¹ Indeed, "Thracian rider" reliefs are not uncommon in Moesia. Finally, Ruscu also noted that Mestrius' use of Latin is a departure from Thracian custom, which favored the use of Greek.¹⁶² This led Ruscu to argue that Mestrius was not, in fact, Thracian but rather Italian: "for all these reasons, it is less than likely that Flavius Mestrius be (sic) a Thracian, nor is the date of his dedication (given variously as Flavic-Trajanic (sic) or mid-2nd century) in any way ascertained. Thus, he cannot be used as an argument for local recruitment into this unit."¹⁶³

The tombstone of Freioverus, son of Veransatus, a Tungrian, was recovered from Mogontiacum (modern Mainz, Germany) in 1908 (CIL XIII 7036; Figure 27):

Freioverus / Veransati f(ilius) / cives Tung(er) eq(ues) ex /
coh(orte) I Astur(um) an(norum) / XL stip(endiorum) XXII
h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) h(eres)
f(aciendum) c(uravit).¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Ruscu 2005, 128-29. Cf. OPEL III, 79; Schulze 1933, 193 and 230.

¹⁶¹ ILBulg 210.

¹⁶² Ruscu 2005, 129.

¹⁶³ Ruscu 2005, 129. Ruscu, in turn, cites Kraft 1951, 179 no. 1571 and Velkov 1989, 254 no. 10. Ruscu also believes that this inscription was found in Thrace, though this remains unclear. In any case it was very near the border of Thrace and Moesia Inferior.

¹⁶⁴ "Freioverus, son of Veransatus, a Tungrian citizen, horseman from cohors I Asturum, having lived forty years and served twenty-two, lies here. In his will he ordered that this be done. His heir took care that this be done."

Based on the remaining decoration, namely the hexagonal shield, hip and foot of a fallen soldier, this tombstone has been dated to the Neronian or Flavian period.¹⁶⁵ According to Holder's assessment, the formula *h.s.e.t.f.i.h.f.c.* is likely to indicate a Flavian date, but the use of *eques ex cohorte*, like *miles ex cohorte*, may indicate that the inscription was made slightly earlier.¹⁶⁶ Freioverus' origin among the Tungri is given in no uncertain terms. This has led some scholars to suggest that the cohors I Asturum was stationed in Germania Inferior before being transferred to Germania Superior.¹⁶⁷ This argument is based on Freioverus' *origo* and a votive inscription erected by a man who served as *curator pro praefecto* of cohors I Asturum and probably *subpraefectus* of cohors III Lusitanorum (AE 1895, 36).¹⁶⁸ The fact that cohors III Lusitanorum is known to have been stationed at Novaesium (modern Neuss, Germany) in Germania Inferior has been used as evidence for cohors I Asturum's presence in the same province. This argument is based on the supposition that the dedicator of the inscription would have taken a temporary post such as *curator pro praefecto* only in the province in which he was already stationed.¹⁶⁹ However, it has been argued that the dedication to Belinus dates not to the reign of Tiberius but to the second century when the cohors III Lusitanorum was in Pannonia.¹⁷⁰ This would divorce the dedication to Belinus from Germania Inferior entirely and leave Freioverus' Tungrian ancestry as the only evidence of this unit's time

¹⁶⁵ CSIR II.5, 151-2 no. 45.

¹⁶⁶ Holder 1980, 144-46.

¹⁶⁷ CSIR II.5 no. 145; Roxan 1973, 365; Santos Yanguas 1979a, 401.

¹⁶⁸ See Maier 1997, 33-4. For discussion of cohors III Lusitanorum and this inscription see Alföldy 1968a, 65-6 and 208. *Subpraefecti* were apparently subordinate to *praefecti*. However, there are few recorded epigraphically and they appear to be pre-Flavian in date (Cheesman 1914, 36-7; Gerov 1967, 97; Holder 1980, 81).

¹⁶⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 78-80.

¹⁷⁰ Belinus is more commonly known as Belenus. See Maier 1997, 33-4. For this date see IscrAqu 123.

in Germania Inferior. Santos Yanguas has further noted that dedications to Belenus/Belinus are much more common in Noricum than in Germania Inferior, and that the cult was especially popular in Aquileia, where this inscription was found.¹⁷¹ This evidence, combined with the third- and fourth-century dates normally assigned to the Belenus inscriptions from Aquileia, suggests that the dedicator of this stone commanded the Norican cohorts I Asturum rather than the homonymous unit that was transferred from Germania Superior to Britannia by the late second or early third century.¹⁷² Ultimately, the dedicator's choice to honor Belinus was probably influenced more by that deity's popularity in Aquileia than in the province of his military service.¹⁷³

In fact, there is little evidence at all of Tungrians serving in Germania Inferior. In his 1969 list of known auxiliary soldiers from Germania Inferior, Alföldy listed only one Tungrian, and he was recruited in Flavian times at the earliest.¹⁷⁴ Thus, there is very little reason to believe that Tungrians were recruited for local service in the Julio-Claudian period.

Within the context of first-century recruitment the tombstone of Celsus Marius provides an intriguing set of problems. This tombstone, discovered in Šipka, Bulgaria in Thrace, includes a bilingual inscription as well as a Thracian rider and a Totenmahl relief (AE 1965, 347; see Figure 28):

Ce[lsus Marius eques coh(ortis) II Bra]caug[us]tarom (sic)
/ [tur(mae) Petroni XXIV stipendi]orum ex testam(ento) /

¹⁷¹ While no inscriptions to Belenus/Belinus from Germania Superior appear in the Clauss-Slaby database, at least 5 have been recovered from Noricum and 44 from Aquileia.

¹⁷² Santos Yanguas 1979a, 404.

¹⁷³ Maier 1997, 34.

¹⁷⁴ Alföldy 1968a, 99-101.

[M.] Traid[aci f(ilius) eques coh(ortis) II Numid(arum)]
tur(mae) Festi [he]r(es) posuit.¹⁷⁵

Κέλσος Μάριος ἵππευς χώρτης δευτέρας Βρακατῶν (sic) /
Αύγοῦστι τούρμης Πετρωνίου στοπενδίων (sic) κδ' /
[ἐ]τῶν νέ. Κατὰ διαθήκην Μάρκος Τραιδακου ἵππευς /
χώρτης δευτέρας Νουμιδῶν τύρμης (sic) Φήστου
ἀνέθηκεν.¹⁷⁶

This stone has been dated variously from the Flavian period to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁷⁷ Of these dates the earliest is probably the most likely on stylistic and formulaic grounds. On the other hand, this causes certain problems. Foremost, cohorts II Bracaraugustanorum is recorded in Moesia Inferior in AD 92 (AE 2003, 1548; AE 2005, 1706) and in Thrace in AD 114 (RMD IV 227). In order to account for this inscription's appearance in Thrace in the Flavian period, one must either assume that cohorts II Bracaraugustanorum served in Thrace before being transferred to Moesia Inferior, that it was transferred to Thrace soon after the diplomas of AD 92 were issued, that Celsus was away from his unit when he died, or that he did not, in fact, die at Šipka. No one of these hypotheses is particularly attractive.

The question of cohorts II Bracaraugustanorum's location at the time this stone was erected is unanswerable. Furthermore, the association of Celsus with a Thracian rider relief is insufficient to suggest that he himself was Thracian, and his name provides

¹⁷⁵ "Celsus Marius, horseman of cohorts II Bracaraugustanorum, of the turma of Petronius, having served twenty-four years. In accordance with his will, Marcus, son of Traidacus, horseman of cohorts II Numidarum, of the turma of Festus, his heir, set this up."

¹⁷⁶ "Celsus Marius, horseman of cohorts II Bracaraugustanorum, of the turma of Petronius, having served twenty-four years. In accordance with his will, Marcus, son of Traidacus, horseman of cohorts II Numidarum, of the turma of Festus set this up." The Greek text matches the Latin except that Marcus is not expressly identified as Marius' heir in the Greek.

¹⁷⁷ Holder 1980, 158 unequivocally advocates a Flavian date. Roxan 1973, 430 favors a date between AD 70 and 114. IGBulg 1741*bis* suggests that this inscription was erected under Marcus Aurelius.

no further indication of his origin.¹⁷⁸ However, Traidacus, the father of Celsus' heir, is in all likelihood Thracian. Thus we may possibly infer that Marcus, Celsus' heir, was also Thracian. If both men mentioned on this stone were Thracians, further questions must be answered. Did these two men know each other before they were recruited? Did they serve together? Where did they serve? It is abundantly clear from the inscription itself that Celsus and Marcus served in two separate units. However, only the two diplomas of AD 92 from Moesia Inferior locate either of these units in the Flavian period and neither of the diplomas mentions *cohors II Numidarum*. In fact, other than this inscription, *cohors II Numidarum* is attested only in Dacia on diplomas dating to AD 129 to 146 (e.g. CIL XVI 75; RMD IV 269 and 270), in Thyratira, Asia (modern Akhisar, Turkey) on an early third century inscription honoring one of its former commanders (IGR IV 1213), and in Aquincum (modern Budapest, Hungary) in Pannonia on the tombstone of a veteran (RHP 404).¹⁷⁹ Of these only the diplomas give a good indication of the units' whereabouts.¹⁸⁰

All this information suggests at least three possible scenarios that would explain all the facts at our disposal. The first is that Celsus and Marcus were native Thracians and knew each other before enlisting in the Roman army and that Marcus erected the monument for his friend in their home town. The second is that the two became friends while serving in separate units of the army outside Thrace, perhaps in Moesia Inferior. The third is that both men served in Thrace, whether born there or not, and Celsus erected the stone after the death of his friend in the vicinity of where they had served. There is

¹⁷⁸ Gočeva et al. 1979-1984, 17-23 provides statistics for the origins of recipients of tombstones decorated with Thracian rider reliefs. However, no statistics are available for examples in Thrace.

¹⁷⁹ Spaul 2000 refers to RHP 404 as AE 1948, 86. This is, however, erroneous.

¹⁸⁰ Petolescu 1993 suggests that Arignorus of IGR IV 1213 command *cohors II Numidiorum* at Feldiora, Romania in Dacia.

little to recommend any one of these theories over the others. Though I may favor the first and third, more information is required in order to determine whether Celsus and Marcus were regional or local recruits to their respective units. Furthermore, one may speculate about the role their apparent Thracian backgrounds played in their relationship. The evidence of this common bond is too slim to facilitate meaningful discussion.

A number of first-century round tiles that record a soldier of cohorts I Asturum named Peregrinus have been recovered from Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (modern Cologne, Germany) in Germania Inferior. However, the name Peregrinus does little to illuminate his origo (CIL XIII 12530.13):¹⁸¹

Tra(n)s R(h)eno feci(t) Peregrin(us) / mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) II
Ast(urum.)¹⁸²

It is tempting to interpret “*trans Rheno*” on these tiles as a reference to his place of birth but it undoubtedly refers instead to the location of the tilery. Alföldy argued that Peregrinus was probably a Gaul.¹⁸³ Thus Peregrinus would likely represent another example of regional recruitment. However, one must not overestimate the strength of Alföldy’s argument.

Finally, a tombstone from Kutac, Bosnia and Herzegovina in Dalmatia may preserve some evidence of local recruitment into cohorts I Lucensium in the first century (CIL III 8494):

¹⁸¹ Cohors I Asturum was transferred to Britain before AD 105. Therefore, this tile must predate AD 105. Similar tiles that name soldiers of *legio X* have also been found at Cologne (CIL XIII 12530.11 and 12).

¹⁸² Peregrinus, soldier of cohorts II Asturum made this across the Rhine.

¹⁸³ Alföldy 1968a, 193.

...]i eq(uitis) coh(ortis) I / [...]ur Valeri/[...nat(ione)]
 Delm(ata) an[n(orum)] / [...stip.]XXV [Va]ler(ius) / [...]
 f(ilius) Valeria m(ater) / [... f]amilia inge[...]¹⁸⁴

Although neither the name of the soldier nor the name of his unit is preserved on the stone, his status as an *eques* is clear and the location of the stone suggests he may have served in cohorts I Lucensium. Also, his *origo* in Dalmatia is explicitly stated, as is his twenty-five year tenure in the Roman army. Thus it seems that this case presents a native Dalmatian who served his entire military career in Dalmatia, perhaps in cohorts I Lucensium. If this is the case, the tombstone must have been erected some time before AD 88, when cohorts I Lucensium is known to have been stationed in Syria.¹⁸⁵

One must, however, recognize the possibility that this soldier has been assigned to the wrong unit. He could, for instance have been retired, following his twenty-five years of service, and died after returning to his native land. Nevertheless, this remains one of the most compelling cases of possible local recruitment into the cohorts of the Iberian Northwest in the first century.

3.4 Discussion and Analysis

The eight inscriptions that pertain to non-Iberian recruits serving in the cohorts of the Iberian Northwest in the first century comprise a limited information set from which to draw conclusions. However, a few themes are worth pointing out. Primarily, one must note the general ambiguity of this information. Not only are these inscriptions often difficult to date but the *origines* of only three of these eight soldiers are clear, and one

¹⁸⁴ "...horseman of cohorts I...Valerius... a Dalmatian... years old... 25 years of service... Valerius his son... Valeria his mother... his family..."

¹⁸⁵ CIL XVI, 35. This date may be pushed back to AD 80 if one includes cohorts I Lucensium in CIL XVI 26. However, the appearance of cohorts I Lucensium on this diploma seems to be a scribal error for cohorts II Lucensium.

inscription lacks the name of the soldier as well as the portion of the text that would have named his unit (CIL III 8494). Moreover, one of the inscriptions (AE 1965, 347) very possibly dates to the second century and might not, therefore, be relevant to the current examination.

Nevertheless, some interesting trends are visible in the limited body of evidence pertaining to recruitment of non-Iberians into the cohorts of the Northwest. First, the dates of these inscriptions heavily favor the latter half of the century, especially the Flavian period. Coherent arguments for a Julio-Claudian date can be made for only four of these inscriptions (ILJug III, 463; CIL III 8494; CIL VI 3588; and CIL XIII 7036) and these arguments are largely speculative. None of these inscriptions may be said with any authority to be Julio-Claudian, although Freioverus' tombstone (CIL XIII 7036) is by far the most likely to have been created during that period. Second, all these inscriptions come from the provinces of the Rhine and Danube. While Iberian units are known to have served in North Africa and Britain at the very least, they have left behind no evidence of local or regional recruitment in these areas in the first century.

Finally, although none of these cases is without its complications, the evidence seems to indicate just about equal numbers of recruits drawn from inside the provinces in which they served (CIL III 8494 and 14424, and perhaps CIL VI 3588), and soldiers from provinces neighboring those in which they served (CIL XIII 7036 and 12530). As a corollary, one may also note that there is no evidence of soldiers drawn from distant provinces other than those of Iberia. This indicates that local and regional recruitment become more common in the Flavian period but does not negate the persistence of recruitment from units' home territory. This diversity in recruitment practices would have resulted in heterogeneous units drawn from various parts of the empire. I will

discuss the importance of this diversity in the context of veteran settlement and personal relationships in the next three chapters.

Comparison between the impressions given by the inscriptions pertaining to non-Iberians and those provided by the Iberian recruits to the cohorts of the Northwest during the same period reveals further patterns in first-century recruitment. Primarily, it is immediately apparent that the inscriptions naming Iberian soldiers are, generally, earlier than those naming non-Iberians. All ten inscriptions in the former group can be identified with the Julio-Claudian period and three of them are likely to be pre-Claudian. This implies an evolution from exploitation of the homelands of the units in the Julio-Claudian period to recruitment from the regions, if not the provinces, in which the units were stationed in the Flavian period. However, as noted above, recruitment from units' home territory also continues into the Flavian period.

One might also note the irregular distribution of the evidence available for both Iberians and non-Iberians in the cohorts of the Northwest. In particular, the records of the cohorts of the Northwest are weighted heavily toward Dalmatia in general and Bigeste in particular. Likewise, the large urban areas of Bonna, Cologne, Mogontiacum and Rome are, perhaps, overrepresented. This is not surprising since centers of ancient population were likely to produce larger quantities of epigraphic monuments and such monuments are more likely to have been recovered from modern population centers such as these. Nevertheless, one must recognize such apparent anomalies and their influence on our understanding of the material available for study.

From the combination of this information it seems that the cohorts of the Northwest were manned largely by Iberians into the Flavian period, at which time recruitment was transferred to the provinces in which the units served and to nearby

provinces and areas. Conversely, evidence of local and regional recruitment in these cohorts appears no earlier than the reign of Claudius and seems to intensify in the Flavian period.

The cohorts of Northwestern Iberia were concentrated along the Rhine and Danube frontiers. Nine of the 18 inscriptions discussed in this chapter were found in frontier provinces. The exceptions are 1 found in Rome (CIL VI 3588), 1 found at Lucus Augusti in Northwestern Iberia, and 7 found along the Adriatic coast of Dalmatia. The first two have been discussed in some detail, but the Dalmatian inscriptions merit further examination. Although these 7 inscriptions honor soldiers from only 2 cohorts, they comprise nearly half of the first-century inscriptions mentioning soldiers of the cohorts of Northwestern Iberia and provide some of the clearest evidence for continued recruitment from the cohorts' home territory.

One might also note that 11 cohorts of Northwestern Iberia are named in these 18 inscriptions. Cohors I Lucensium is named on 3 and restored in a fourth, cohors I Bracaraugustanorum is named on 3 inscriptions, and cohors I Asturum and cohors II Lucensium each appear on 2. While this provides a reasonably diverse body of information it neither seems completely random nor does it provide detailed enough information to completely illuminate the development of the recruitment practices of any individual unit.

Nevertheless, the general impression that recruitment in the cohorts of Northwestern Iberia evolved from ongoing enlistment of Iberians to enrolment of regional and local men in the Flavian period persists. This conclusion stands in contrast to the evidence for recruitment into the *alae* of the Northwest. The first epigraphically visible non-Iberian recruit in the *alae* of the Iberian Northwest seems to have served in

the Augustan or Tiberian period (ILS 2509) and another followed in the Claudian period (CIL III 14349.8). The presence of these two soldiers at such early dates implies a difference in recruitment practice, if not policy, between the cohorts and *alae*. While the cohorts seem to have preserved their homogeneity throughout the Julio-Claudian period, the *alae* began integrating non-Iberian soldiers soon after they were created.

The differing recruitment practices of the cohorts and *alae* are also highlighted by the appearance of four natives of Northwestern Iberia in an ala Pannoniorum in the first half of the first century (CIL III 4227 and ILS 2530). While these soldiers were stationed in the same general region (i.e. in Pannonia and Dalmatia) as some Iberian *alae*, they were enrolled in foreign units after being brought hundreds of miles to complete their service. This suggests that there was either a policy dictating the diversification of *alae* during this time, or at least a disregard for the cultural and geographic homogeneity of the soldiery in these units.¹⁸⁶

The diversification of the ranks in *alae* seems to have come earlier than in the cohorts, and to have taken a slightly different form than that of the cohorts in the Flavian period. While roughly half of the non-Iberian soldiers in the cohorts of the Northwest served in their home province, only one of the six non-Iberians recorded in the *alae* of the Northwest in the first century is likely to have served in his home province (CIL III 15205.3). The epigraphic record itself provides no indication of why this might be so. However, two possible explanations present themselves. The first is that military policy dictated that horsemen not serve in the provinces from which they were recruited. Such a policy would have obvious benefits if one were concerned that the soldiers' loyalties

¹⁸⁶ Knight 1991 argues that troop movements from Augustus to Hadrian were dictated entirely by practical concerns but does little to address the question of ongoing recruitment.

might be divided between Rome and their home communities. However, since the inscription recording the service of Abilus, Bovegius and Pentius in an *ala Pannoniorum* (CIL III 4227) was found in Pannonia, the existence of such a policy seems unlikely.

The second possible explanation for the apparent lack of local recruitment into these *alae* is that able horsemen were in such demand that they were often transferred beyond the borders of their home province in order to fill vacancies in units unable to recruit locally. The desirability of horsemen from certain tribes and communities supports this hypothesis.¹⁸⁷ In fact this seems like a much more likely and more reasonable policy than to ban local service in the *alae* while permitting it in the cohorts.

This hypothetical difference in policy may also explain why in the first century we have record of natives of the Northwest serving in *alae* raised elsewhere but not in cohorts raised anywhere except in the Northwest. This evidence for recruitment of Iberians into non-Iberian units could, of course, be an anomaly in the epigraphic record. The two inscriptions pertaining to the *ala Pannoniorum* are the only first-century record of natives of Northwest Iberia serving in *alae* raised outside their home region. Nevertheless, the possibility of such a policy ought to be recognized when examining recruitment practices in other parts of the peninsula and of the empire.

Ultimately, this examination of the contribution made to the Roman military by natives of the Iberian Northwest reveals that significant concentrations of Iberians persisted into the Flavian period in the cohorts originally raised in this region. Meanwhile, cavalry units accepted recruits from other areas much earlier and, in the Julio-Claudian period, cavalrymen from the Northwest began to be assigned to *alae* raised elsewhere in the empire. This is significant because it sets the stage for study of

¹⁸⁷ Dixon and Southern 1992, 78-9; Dobson and Mann 1973, 194; Southern 2006, 143.

the manner in which these soldiers, removed from their home territory, interacted with the Roman world at large. Once enrolled in the military, these men would have come into close contact both with the native cultures which surrounded their garrisons, and with the aspects of Roman culture which had permeated those areas and the military in general. As long as the cohorts from the Northwest remained relatively homogenous and populated mainly, if not exclusively, by natives of the Northwest, one might expect some significant preservation of their regional customs. However, as the *alae* and cohorts became more heterogeneous and soldiers recruited from the Northwest were dispersed among units not dominated by men sharing their background, the persistence of regional (i.e. Iberian or even Northwestern Iberian) customs and identity is likely to have diminished.

Nevertheless, the relationships between Abilus, Bovegius and Pentius (CIL III 4227), all of whom served in a Pannonian *ala*, give some indication that common descent did serve as the basis for a bond between Iberian soldiers serving in non-Iberian units. Furthermore, the recruiting practices identified in this examination confirm that one cannot expect to find units composed entirely of soldiers associated with the homelands of the units after the Julio-Claudian period. The rise of regional and local recruitment suggests that other tribes and regions may have contributed significant portions of the soldiers of individual units, but that common backgrounds may still have had a significant effect on the lives of these soldiers through their professional and personal relationships.¹⁸⁸

As a whole, this examination of the soldiers serving in the auxiliary units in the first century provides an excellent case study of the complexities of auxiliary recruitment

¹⁸⁸ See chapters 5 and 6 below.

in the first century. It has shown that these units accepted soldiers from their home territory even after their initial levy and while concurrently accepting recruits from elsewhere. It has also demonstrated the relative scarcity of local and provincial recruits in this period, and attempted to explain some of the circumstances that may have led to this pattern. Finally, it has introduced questions about the lives of these soldiers and the extent to which they preserved the customs, habits and relationships to which they were born, and even the extent to which they continued to identify with their places of birth. It will be the goal of the subsequent chapters to elaborate upon these points and discern the extent to which the themes introduced here may be applied to the other units raised on the Iberian Peninsula in the first century and into all these units in the second and into the third century.

4. Veteran Settlement and the Effects of Military Service on Local Communities

Veteran settlement is an important indicator of the cultural and economic influences exerted upon individual soldiers during and after their military service. During the twenty-five years of his service an auxiliary soldier was subject to multiple influences, including his native culture, Roman military society, and the native people in the area in which he served. These three forces were not, however, equal for every Roman soldier. Some soldiers were recruited from newly conquered territories and had had little exposure to the Latin language or Roman social, religious and cultural practices before their enlistment. Others were drawn from areas that had been incorporated into the empire for centuries. Some may even have entered the ranks after being raised inside the military community itself.¹ Likewise military service in more remote parts of the empire such as Britain, the lower Rhine, and Dacia would have brought soldiers into contact with local cultures much less like that of Rome itself, as compared to service in urban areas and in the established provinces of the empire.

At the beginning of his service, each auxiliary soldier had been affected by his individual circumstances, including the language, religion and social customs of the people among whom he had been raised. After his enlistment, however, each soldier was influenced by the common experience of Roman military service.² The army forced him to learn at least basic Latin or Greek, demanded that he submit to Roman discipline, and

¹ Take for example soldiers whose *origines* are given as *castris*. E.g. CIL XVI 91; 128; RMD I 64; III 157; 180.

² Haynes 1999; James 1999.

required him to participate in official religious ceremonies.³ Furthermore, he would have been in close contact with soldiers and officers from elsewhere in the empire, and his commander, who would have held equestrian rank, exposed him to Roman elite culture.

Soldiers also developed close personal friendships with their comrades. Although these could be entirely independent of Roman military culture (i.e. the language, discipline and formal practices of the army) such friendships, built over the course of twenty-five years or more of service, sometimes influenced veterans' behavior by binding them to the military community at large.⁴ Not only did extra-mural settlements grow up around established military institutions but epigraphic, documentary and archaeological evidence also indicates that soldiers came into close contact with local populations during their service. Soldiers also developed close personal ties with members of the civilian communities that surrounded their camps and some even had families by the time they were discharged, despite formal prohibition of marriage for soldiers before AD 197.⁵ Furthermore, soldiers regularly left their bases to travel widely alone or in small groups as part of their duties and/or when on leave.⁶

By the end of an auxiliary soldier's career the influence of his upbringing would have had time to fade while the military community and the local community within which he served would have had ample time to affect his behavior and perspective on the

³ Le Bohec 1994, 231 notes that orders, at the very least, must have been issued in Latin. Haynes Forthcoming 2012 stresses the multilingualism of many soldiers but also the wide use of Latin and Greek among the auxilia. Cf. Adams 2003, 599-600. Helgeland 1978, 1470-505 argues that the *feriale Duranum* represents the required religious activity of the Roman auxilia. Cf. Gilliam 1954, 183; Nock 1952, 203 and 41.

⁴ For further discussion of inter-soldier relationships see 239, below.

⁵ Phang 2001, 361 and 5. For further discussion of the marriage ban see page 292, below.

⁶ *Tab. Vindol.* II 154 includes references to soldiers from Vindolanda who have traveled to Coria and Londinium, approximately 15 and 300 miles from Vindolanda, respectively. The correspondence from Vindolanda also implies social and commercial relationships extending over much of Britain and onto the continent. RMR 63 records a detachment of soldiers sent from Macedonia to Gaul to collect clothing.

world. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct soldiers' attitudes towards the communities in which they had been born, towards the military, and towards natives who lived in the areas in which they served. Nevertheless, the movements of veterans after their discharge as evidenced by inscriptions on stone and by auxiliary diplomas, as poorly documented as these movements may be, can shed some light on the influence of each of these three factors.

This chapter will compare the findspots of inscriptions and diplomas related to veterans with the known stations of their recipients' former units in order to establish individual veterans' movements after their discharge. This evidence suggests that only about one quarter of the veterans of the units currently under examination settled at their former posts, while over a third moved more than one hundred miles after their discharge. Furthermore, about half of all these veterans settled in civilian communities, but few of those who traveled long distances seem to have returned to their homelands. The diversity of this information reveals the complexity of the social and cultural forces at work in the lives of individual soldiers.

4.1 Inscriptions

The epigraphic record has preserved record of twenty-nine veterans of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. Although this sample is smaller than one might hope, within it one can see the result of all three of the cultural influences described above. The evidence shows that veterans of these units tended to settle within the province in which they served but not in the immediate vicinity of their unit. This suggests that the influence of civilian and military populations near soldiers' garrisons was profound and had the ability to draw veterans away from their former comrades and

from their native lands. Ultimately, this analysis reveals that the auxiliary veterans included in this study had a pronounced tendency to remain within the province of their service after their retirement, regardless of their origins, but to leave their former garrison. Furthermore, it seems that soldiers who served outside the province of their recruitment were more likely to stay in the province of their service than to return home. This suggests that soldiers serving outside their home provinces had more cultural influence on their areas of service than on their home provinces. Moreover, it seems that civilian culture, or at least social factors outside their military unit, had enough influence on these men to draw them away from their units and attract them to other civilian and military communities. Nevertheless, a careful examination of these inscriptions and their find spots reveals that each of these three cultural influences had a marked effect upon certain individuals. The details of the stones, few as they may be, provide insight into the lives and aspirations of the men responsible for Rome's safekeeping.

In order to lend structure to what is a diverse and inconsistent body of information I will present the evidence for veteran settlement as it is preserved on stone inscriptions before examining the evidence provided by military diplomas. Furthermore, I will introduce inscriptions associated with individual auxiliary units together and in chronological order to highlight the diversity of settlement practices within these units diachronically. I will begin with the most well documented units before proceeding to those for which only one piece of evidence survives.

Ala II Aravacorum is the most widely documented unit relevant to this study. Records of eight veterans from ala II Aravacorum have been preserved. These show the complexity of settlement patterns that may be visible in a single, relatively well attested, unit. Among these inscriptions is evidence of foreign recruits settling within the province

of their service, both near and at a considerable distance from their former garrison. There is also evidence of soldiers recruited from within their province of service who retired at a distance from their former unit.

The movements of ala II Aravacorum are reasonably well documented. It was stationed in Pannonia during the Julio-Claudian period (RMD IV 202),⁷ remained there until at least AD 85 (CIL XVI 31),⁸ and was transferred to Moesia by AD 99, at which time it appears on a military diploma (CIL XVI 44). It then remained in Moesia Inferior into the third century.⁹

The names of two of the earliest veterans of this unit for whom evidence survives have been lost, but together they reveal some of the complexity of this body of information. The first of these is a fragmentary epitaph that was recovered from Teutoburgium (modern Dalj, Croatia) in Pannonia Inferior,¹⁰ where ala II Aravacorum was stationed in the first century (CIL III 10258=3273):¹¹

...de]/curio mis(s)icius / alae II Arava[corum] / annorum
[...] / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / testam[ento] fie[r]i / iussit sibi et
C[... Cle]/menti fratri [e]t / Com[...] Antoni(ae?) s[o]rori /
[...]¹²

⁷ This diploma dates to AD 61 and names ala II Aravacorum among the units whose veterans received copies of it. However, the diploma purports to have been awarded to units stationed in Illyricum, which was no longer an official province. It seems logical to assume that Pannonia and Illyricum were used interchangeably at this time. This diploma is also discussed in detail in the section of this chapter dedicated to diplomas. See page 195, below

⁸ This diploma is also discussed in detail in connection with cohors I Lusitanorum later in this chapter. See page 197, below.

⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 90-1 and 102-3; Roxan 1997a, 291-92.

¹⁰ Note, however, that Pannonia was not divided into two provinces until between AD 103 and 106.

¹¹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 91; Roxan 1973, 94.

¹² “...a veteran decurion of ala II Aravacorum, having lived ... years, lies here. He ordered this to be done in his will for himself and for his brother Clemens and for his sister Com... Antonia...”

Although there is no indication of the name or origin of this veteran, the discovery of the stone at Teutoburgium indicates that he had not left the immediate vicinity of his unit after his retirement in the late Julio-Claudian period.¹³

By contrast, the tombstone of another *missicius* of this unit was discovered at Sopianae (modern Pécs, Hungary) in Pannonia Inferior (CIL III 14039; Figure 29):

...] / missicius alae / II Aravac(orum) ann(orum) LX /
Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Coslicin/[us...¹⁴

Unfortunately, the name of the deceased is lost. However, his commemorator, Tiberius Claudius Coslicinus, seems to have received citizenship from Tiberius (before AD 4), Claudius or Nero and may have served with the deceased while ala II Aravacorum was stationed at Teutoburgium, about 70 miles southeast of Sopianae.¹⁵ This indicates that Coslicinus and his (dead) friend stayed within the province of their service but were not attached to their former camp itself. One may also infer that this was not a temporary decision since the deceased had likely been retired for at least ten years when he died. The relationship between the location of his death and that of his birth is, however, unclear since nothing can be learned of the deceased. His *origo* is not preserved on the stone and this is the only attestation of the name Coslicinus recorded in OPEL.¹⁶

At roughly the same period Tiberius Claudius Victor was commemorated by a tombstone recovered from the vicinity of Utus (near modern Milkovitsa, Bulgaria) in Moesia Inferior, near modern Corabia, Romania (CIL III 12359; now lost):¹⁷

¹³ Holder 1980, 279 no. 533.

¹⁴ "... *missicius* of ala II Aravacorum, having lived sixty years. Tiberius Claudius Coslicinus..." The EDH restores this soldier's cognomen as "Coslicim..." and J. M. Roldán reads "Cossic..." but these readings are no more informative than Coslicinus.

¹⁵ Lörincz 2001, 21 no.14; Roldán Hervás 1974, 90-1.

¹⁶ OPEL II, 79.

¹⁷ Moesia was divided into two provinces c. AD 85.

Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Vic/tor vet(eranus) / alae II
 Ara[va]/cor(um) mil(itavit) an(nos) / XXIX vix(it) an(nos)
 LX / et [C]l(audia) Procula vix(it) / [an(nos) ... h(ic)] s(iti)
 s(unt) [...] / [...Re]sti[t]u[t]us / [...] sec(un)[dum]
 testamen(tum) f(aciendum)] c(uravit).¹⁸

The discovery of this stone in the territory of Moesia Inferior could be most easily explained if one accepts that it was erected sometime after the last record of ala II Aravacorum in Pannonia (AD 85). The name Tiberius Claudius suggests a grant of citizenship by Tiberius (before AD 4), Claudius or Nero, and the length of Victor's career (29 years) might then extend his service into the early Flavian period, but it can hardly have gone later. This led M. M. Roxan to assume that Victor was a native Moesian and that he returned home after his service.¹⁹ A. von Domaszewski and W. Wagner have, however, preferred to date the inscription to the end of the first century and to surmise that ala II Aravacorum was stationed at Oescus (modern Gigen, Bulgaria), about 12 miles west of Utus.²⁰ Unfortunately, neither the name Procula nor Restitutus provide much evidence to support speculation about Victor's origins and circumstances.²¹ Although there is no clear chronological evidence to decide this question definitively, it seems that ala II Aravacorum was most likely already in Moesia when Victor retired. One must, therefore, be satisfied to conclude that Victor settled close to his unit's post but did not remain within its camp. Unfortunately, this stone is now lost and one must evaluate the arguments for its dating in light of general trends and the available readings.

¹⁸ "Tiberius Claudius Victor, veteran of ala II Aravacorum, having served twenty-nine years and lived sixty, and Claudia Procula, who lived ... years, lie here. Restitutus took care that this be built in accordance with their will."

¹⁹ Roxan 1973, 95.

²⁰ Domaszewski 1967, 56; Wagner 1938, 48. Conrad 2004, 240 no. 427; Kraft 1951, 151 no. 374 also suggest a date in the second half of the first century.

²¹ For the distribution of epigraphic references to the names Proculus and Procula see OPEL III, 166. The name Restitutus is concentrated in Cisalpine Gaul and the Spanish province, but Restitutus' relationship to Victor is unclear (OPEL IV, 27-28).

It is interesting, however, that this stone was recovered from the same area as that of Sulpicius Massa (CIL III 12361).²² The proximity of these two epitaphs suggests that Utus was a common settling place for discharged soldiers and may provide further support for the argument that ala I Hispanorum was transferred to Moesia at an early date.

In contrast to the chronological difficulties associated with Victor's memorial, the tombstone of the veteran Gaius Valerius Herculanus may easily be associated with ala II Aravacorum's time in Moesia (CIL III 14214.22; Figure 30):

D(is) M(anibus) / G(aius) Val(erius) Her[c]ulanus,
vet(eranus) ex stator[e] / praefecti alae II Aravacor(um),
[vix(it)] / ann(is) LXX; natus vico Rami[...], / militav(it)
ann(is) XXVI. G(aia) Valeria C[asta?], / co[n]iux, vix(it)
a[nn]is LX, nata loco e[odem], / qu[em h]abeo in conubio
[ann(is) ...] / G(aius) Val(erius) [...] et G(aius) Val(erius)
Valentin[us...] / qu[...]²³

This inscription has been restored from two fragments. The first was discovered at Cius (modern Hissarlik, Romania), north of Carsium (modern Hârşova, Romania), where ala II Aravacorum was stationed in the second and third centuries AD.²⁴ The second was found at Troesmis (near modern Carcaliu, Romania), about 40 miles further north. This stone was probably erected in the late second or early third century AD, well after the dislocation of ala II Aravacorum to Moesia (AD 85-99).²⁵

²² See page 168, below, for detailed discussion of this inscription.

²³ “To the Immortal Shades. Gaius Valerius Herculanus, veteran, former stator of the prefect of ala II Aravacorum, having lived seventy years, born at the village of Rami..., Having served twenty-six years (lies here). Gaia Valeria C[asta?] his wife, having lived sixty years, born in that same place, whom I held in legal marriage for ... years... Gaius Valerius... and Gaius Valerius Valentinus...”

²⁴ For the unit's station at Carsium see Cagnat's comments in AE 1919, 17; Roldán Hervás 1974, 102; Roxan 1973, 96; Spaul 1994, 35; Wagner 1938, 48.

²⁵ IScM V 117; Conrad 2004, 230.

However, Herculanus' origin is not so clear. G. Florescu, who read line 4 of this inscription to include "vico Ramid...", restored Herculanus' *origo* as Ramidava, which Ptolemy placed in Dacia (*Geog.* 3.8.4).²⁶ This argument has, however, been refuted by E. Doruțiu-Boilă, who was unable to see traces of Florescu's final 'd'. Doruțiu-Boilă looked to the popularity of the name Ramus in Scythia Minor (eastern Moesia Inferior) as an indication that a *vicus* named Ramii, Raminiani, Roaminii or Raminiani might have been located there. She further proposed that this was the home of Herculanus.²⁷

Although the exact location of Herculanus' birth cannot be precisely identified by the surviving fragments of this toponym, records of the name Herculanus are concentrated heavily in the provinces of Moesia, suggesting that our Herculanus was likely from this area.²⁸ When this onomastic information is combined with Florescu's and Doruțiu-Boilă's arguments it seems clear that Herculanus remained in or near his home province to perform his military service.

Nevertheless, the relationship between his birthplace, his service and the location of his death is unclear. The discovery of the two fragments of Herculanus' tombstone forty miles apart makes it impossible to be sure whether he chose to stay near his unit, as the fragment from Cius would suggest, or elected to retire to a more urban area, as indicated by the fragment from Troesmis.

While this question must remain unresolved, it is clear that Herculanus did not abandon his ties to his home town upon entering the army. Herculanus' wife is said to have been *nata loco eodem* (ln. 6). Unfortunately, the length of Herculanus' and his

²⁶ Florescu 1951, 129. Pârvan 1926, 253 located Ramidava more precisely in SW Moldova.

²⁷ Doruțiu-Boilă 1977, 180-85.

²⁸ OPEL II, 178 lists 13 examples of Herculanus in Moesia Inferior, and 19 in Moesia Superior. The next most common provinces in which this name is recorded are Dacia, with 7 examples, and Pannonia, with 5.

wife's legal marriage (*conubium*) has been lost. However, Valentinus and whoever was named before him on the stone (the name has been lost) were probably the children of Herculanus and his wife. Herculanus' wife's origin suggests that he remained in contact with the community into which he was born throughout his service.²⁹

Unfortunately, the votive erected by Aelius Longinus and recovered from Capidava (near modern Crucea, Romania) in Moesia Inferior provides little information of any significance about the man who erected it (IScM V 23; Figure 31):

[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) [et] / [Iun]oni Reg(inae) e[t] /
pro salut(i!) Imp/era{nt}tor{ero}(is) Aug(usti) / Antonini et
Luci / Viri(!) p{e}osuit Aeli(us) / Longinus vet/(e)ranus
ala(e) II Aravac(or)um / pro SEN VSV LIBES.³⁰

The reference to Augustus Antoninus, presumably in place of M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, and Lucius Verus dates this stone to the period between AD 161 and 169. Wagner used this information to suggest that a detachment of ala II Aravacorum was stationed at Capidava in the mid-second century.³¹ This hypothesis is, however, based solely upon this inscription. It is more reasonable to assume that Longinus had retired to Capidava after his discharge from the army while all of ala II Aravacorum remained at Carsium, about 20 miles north.³² The significance of this supposed move is not entirely clear. There is no information in the inscription itself to place Aelius Longinus' origins. While the name Longinus appears 14 times in Moesia Inferior and 8 times in Dacia, 5 of these 22 references indicate that the individuals named originated elsewhere. Furthermore, there are at least 20 instances of the name Longinus in the epigraphy of the

²⁹ For further discussion on conjugal relationships see page 292, below.

³⁰ "To Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina and for the welfare of the emperors Augustus Antoninus and Lucius Verus. Aelius Longinus, veteran of ala II Aravacorum, set this up PRO SEN VSV LIBES."

³¹ Wagner 1938, 47-9.

³² In refutation of Wagner's argument see Roldán Hervás 1974, 102.

Iberian Peninsula and many more elsewhere.³³ While it appears that Longinus retired away from his unit, it is impossible to determine if he was returning to his birthplace, the home of his wife, or simply a location to which he was attracted for some other reason.

The tombstone of Aurelius Firmus, discovered in the city walls of Histria (near modern Istria, Romania), is also problematic and ultimately of only limited utility here (IScM I 297; Figure 32):

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Firmus, / veteranus ex /
dec(urione) al(ae) II Araba/corum, vixit an/nis L, Aur(elia)
Vettia / co(n)iux et Aur(elia) Firmi/na filia bene me/renti
marito / et patri posue/runt. Ave viato[r] et vale.³⁴

This inscription probably dates to the late second or early third century AD.³⁵ Since ala II Aravacorum is known to have been stationed at Carsium at this time, it seems that Firmus left his unit and settled in Histria about 40 miles further east, on the Black Sea. There is, however, little from which to speculate upon Firmus' origins. Firmus is an extremely common name and is found in abundance in Italy and all along the Danube.³⁶ Vettia, on the other hand, is too rare to be of use. She may have been related to the former *decurio alae* Marcus Vettius Felix whose tombstone has also been discovered at Histria, but the relationship is unclear (IScM I 278; Figure 33):

[D(is) M(anibus)] / M(arcus) Vettius Felix / ex dec(urione)
alae, vixit / ann(is) LX, et Aureliae / Faustine, coniugi eius,
/ Ulp(ius) Felix, strator / co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XI

³³ OPEL III, 31.

³⁴ "To the immortal shades. Aurelius Firmus, veteran, former decurion of ala II Aravacorum, who lived fifty years. Aurelia Vettia, his wife, and Aurelia Firmina, his daughter, set this up for a well-deserving husband and father. Hail, traveler, and be well."

³⁵ For dating see IScM I 297; Roxan 1973, 97. Regarding the formula *ave viator et vale*, Carroll 2006, 53 writes, "The repeated visual contact with funerary monuments explains the provision of some tombs with epitaphs that speak to the passer-by, particularly to the stranger (*hospes*) or traveler (*viator*). Such inscriptions appear in Rome from the late second century BC, and by the first century AD they can be found in many regions of western Europe."

³⁶ OPEL II, 142-3.

Cl(audiae), filius, / [pat]ri et matri bene / [meren]ti, pos(t)
 obit[um] / [eor]um posuit. / [Sit] tibi ter[ra] / leves. / [Ave]
 viator et v[ale].³⁷

There are obvious similarities in the texts of these two inscriptions and the appearance of the names Vettius and Aurelia on both stones may be more than coincidence. Although Vettius' *ala* is not named specifically it seems likely that he served in *ala* II Aravacorum and that his daughter likely grew up in or near the camp and married one of his fellow decurions.³⁸ Nevertheless, neither stone satisfactorily explains their appearance in Histria. Legio XI Claudia, in which Vettius' son served, was stationed at Durostorum (modern Silistra, Bulgaria) in Moesia Inferior during the second and early third centuries but this is too far from Histria to be particularly significant.³⁹ It seems, therefore, that Firmus, and probably Vettius, retired to the relatively large city of Histria after their service without any documentable pre-existing tie to it. It is intriguing, however, that Vettius' son Ulpus Felix chose to erect a memorial for his parents in Histria. This seems to indicate that he maintained ties to the city even while serving in Legio XI at Durostorum.

The tombstone of Aurelius Coto presents a similar case (ILBulg II 81, now lost):

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio Coto / vet(eranus) al(a)e I[I]
 Arab(acorum!) / vixit annis / XXXXVII Aur(elius) /
 Helpideforus / et Papias et Ju(lia) Juliana co/niunx patro/no
 ...⁴⁰

³⁷ "To the immortal shades. M. Vettius Felix, former decurion of the *ala*, who lived sixty years, and Aurelia Faustina, his wife. Ulpus Felix, *strator consularis* of legion XI Claudia, their son, set this up for his well-deserving father and mother, after their death. May the earth lie lightly on you. Hail, traveler, and be well."

³⁸ For the association of this inscription with *ala* II Aravacorum see IScM I 278 and Roxan 1973, 97.

³⁹ Fellmann 2000, 130. Cf. Ritterling 1924-5, 1690 and 8.

⁴⁰ "To the immortal shades. For Aurelius Coto veteran of *ala* II Aravacorum, who lived forty-seven years. Aurelius Helpideforus and Papias and Julia Juliana his wife to their patron..."

The appearance of two Aurelii on this stone recommends a date in the second half of the second century at earliest, as is the case with Aurelius Firmus.⁴¹ This stone was, however, discovered at Sexaginta Prista (modern Ruse, Bulgaria) in Moesia Inferior. This is about 100 miles up the Danube from Carsium. None of the names on this inscription help to identify the origins of their owners. Nevertheless, it appears that Cotus moved his entire household a significant distance in the few years after his discharge. Given that Cotus died at the age of forty-seven, he can hardly have been discharged for more than a few years.

One final inscription may be brought to bear on the veterans of ala II Aravacorum. However, it depends entirely on the restoration of the text (CIL III 14214.29; Figure 34):

[vixit anno]s LXXX / ... fi(?)l]io vixit / an(nos) ... a]e
mat/[ri et (?) Secu]ndini/[ae sorori(?)] Lupus / [vet(eranus)
(?) alae] II Ara/[vacorum] et Thi/[... frat(?)]er eius /
[pientiss]imus / [posue]runt.⁴²

This second-century inscription was discovered in Tomis (modern Constanța, Romania) fifty miles southeast of Carsium. Its significance, however, is obscured by the state of the text itself. One may surmise from the terminal “...runt” that the stone was erected by more than one person. Lupus must have been one of these; this is the only clear nominative available. The name of another commemorator probably began with “Thi...” but the remainder is lost. It seems reasonable to assume that he was Lupus’ brother, if

⁴¹ Helpideforus and Papias appear to have been slaves or freedmen of Aurelius Cotus. Therefore, their names have little significance in regard to Cotus’ origins or his settlement. OPEL II, 176 records only one instance of Helpideforus, CIL II 451. While this is intriguing since it comes from Spain, it is too little information from which to draw and inference. Similarly Papias is attested in two other inscriptions, Pais 295 and RIB I 955. The latter expressly identifies its Papias as a *civis Graecus* but there is no indication of the origins of the former. While the names Helpideforus and Papias are obviously Greek in origin, their use by slaves or freedmen need not reflect their true origins or reflect at all upon that of their patron.

⁴² “... lived eighty years... son of...(and) ... daughter of... who lived... years, their mother and Secundina, their sister. Lupus, veteran of ala II Aravacorum and Thi... his most faithful brother, set this up.”

the ‘er’ (ln. 7) is not part of a name. These two men seem then to have erected a stone for their parents, based on the assumption that “mat” (ln. 3) should be restored as “matri”. This interpretation gains further credence from the apparently advanced age of one of the deceased: 80 years. The age of the deceased permits one to suggest that Lupus was about 50 years old and thereby allows the restoration of Lupus’ status as a *veteranus* despite the loss of the original text.

If the restoration is correct, this inscription, once again, evidences a tendency of veterans to leave the immediate location of their unit after their discharge. While it cannot be proven that Lupus lived in Tomis with his aged father, mother and brother, this seems the most likely situation that would have led to the erection of this stone. Nevertheless, the origins of the individuals named on this stone are unclear. Although Lupus is most common in the Spanish provinces (46 instances), it also appears frequently in Dalmatia (27) and Pannonia (16).⁴³ Nevertheless, OPEL records only one other instance in Moesia Inferior. The names Secundinia and Secundinus are also widespread but rare in Moesia Inferior.⁴⁴ While this may suggest Lupus and Secundinia were from some other part of the empire, there is no way to prove it. This argument would also fail to explain the presence of the deceased at Tomis. It is difficult to believe that Lupus’ father had followed him during his service and moved once again when Lupus was discharged. It is more reasonable to assume that Lupus was born in and recruited from Tomis or its environs. Although this stone does not prove incontrovertibly that Lupus returned to his place of birth after his service, this is the simplest and most likely explanation available.

⁴³ OPEL III, 39.

⁴⁴ OPEL IV, 58-9.

Three inscriptions that preserve information about veterans of ala I Hispanorum provide further indication of the complexity and variety of evidence related to veteran settlement. The first of these is the tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Severus, which indicates that he was a native of the Vangiones, lived sixty years, and had been discharged from ala I Hispanorum (RHP 124; Figure 35):

[T]i(berius) Claudius Severus / Icepni f(ilius) / Vangio
missicius / eques ala Hisp(anorum) pri(ma) / ann(or)um LX
/ h(ic) s(itus) est / Albanus frater / t(itulum) m(emoriae)
p(osuit).⁴⁵

The veteran commemorated on this stone is referred to as a *missicius* rather than a *veteranus* but there appears to be no clear distinction between the two.⁴⁶ All the stylistic indicators of this inscription, the name of the deceased in the nominative with *hic situs est*, the use of the ablative for the unit's title, and the unit number being placed after the ethnic descriptor of the *ala*, indicate that this inscription is Julio-Claudian. This analysis is confirmed by the veteran's *tria nomina* that may refer to Tiberius (before AD 4) or Claudius or Nero. However, the recovery of this inscription from Aquincum, where ala I Hispanorum was garrisoned from some time in the reign of Claudius, places it in the Claudian period at earliest, and may suggest a Neronian grant of citizenship.⁴⁷ If Severus was discharged promptly after twenty-five years of service he may have survived

⁴⁵ "Tiberius Claudius Severus, son of Icepnus, from the Vangiones, a discharged horseman from ala I Hispanorum, aged sixty years, lies here. Albanus, his brother, set up the inscription to his memory."

⁴⁶ A search of the Clauss-Slaby database produces 60 instances of this term in epigraphy. The ages of deceased soldiers identified as *missicius* range from 24 (AE 1990, 457) to 85 (AIJ 379). While the former may suggest that the soldier was dismissed before the completion of his service due to injury or illness (cf. AE 2006, 1833=AE 2007, 99 of AD 70 in which legionary *causarii* are granted *honesta missio* and the same benefits as other auxiliary veterans), AE 1974, 475 commemorates a *missicius* who served 28 years, indicating that this need not have been the case. There are also cases in which individuals are identified both as *missicius* and *veteranus* (AIJ 379; CIL II, 3327; ILS 2321). These examples indicate that the two statuses are not mutually exclusive, but there may be some technical difference between the two. Cf. Bridger 2006, 141 in which *veterani*, *missicii* and *missi* are clearly equated to one another.

⁴⁷ Holder 1980, 278 no. 499; Roxan 1973, 130. Contra Roldán Hervás 1974, 92, who suggests a date soon after AD 50. Lörincz 2001, 132 and 97 no. 24 dates this inscription to about 50 and the mid-first century, respectively.

approximately fifteen years after the end of his military service.⁴⁸ This would have allowed him more than sufficient time to return to the homeland of the Vangiones, near Mogontiacum (modern Mainz, Germany). However, Severus' death at Aquincum (over 500 miles from Mogontiacum) indicates that he remained very near his unit for a number of years after his *mission*, until his death.

The recovery of four Julio-Claudian inscriptions related to ala I Hispanorum from Mogontiacum and Borbetomagus (modern Worms, Germany),⁴⁹ and of one from Burnum (modern Ivoševci, Croatia), suggests that this unit was stationed in Germania Superior and Dalmatia prior to its transfer to Pannonia between AD 45 and 50.⁵⁰ Consequently, it seems that Severus was recruited locally while the *ala* was stationed at Mogontiacum but that he chose not to return to his tribe's native land at the conclusion of his service.

It is impossible to determine how much of Severus' service was performed in Pannonia or why he chose to remain there after his discharge. However, the presence of his *frater*, Albanus, is intriguing. It is by no means certain that Albanus was Severus' biological brother.⁵¹ The name Albanus is, however, most frequently attested in Germania and another stone from Pannonia records an Albanus who, like Severus, originated among the Vangiones.⁵² If Severus and Albanus were brothers, it may be that Severus' entire family had moved along with him to Dalmatia and then to Pannonia, or

⁴⁸ For discussion of longer service in the *auxilia* in the Julio-Claudian period see Alföldy 1968b, 226.

⁴⁹ CIL XIII 6233; 6234; 7026; and 7027.

⁵⁰ Bogaers 1966; Roldán Hervás 1974, 92; Roxan 1973, 129. The presence of this unit in Dalmatia is based on ILJug II 843, the tombstone of a Batavian named Imerix: Imerix Servofr/edi f(ilius) Batavos / eq(ues) ala / Hispano/[rum I] / [a]nnor(um) XXVIII / stip(endiorum) VIII / [h(ic)] s(itus) e(st). The tombstone records that Imerix served only eight years in the army. This short term of service suggests that the *ala* went to Dalmatia before Pannonia since Imerix was, in all probability, recruited while ala I Hispanorum was stationed in Germania. This would leave very little time for an intervening post in Pannonia. The formulae of the stone are also consistent with an early date.

⁵¹ For a useful discussion of the use of *frater* in epigraphy see Képartová 1986. See also page 282, below.

⁵² Németh 1999, 16 no. 21. Cf. CIL III 4368.

that the two brothers were recruited together and made a life for themselves in the military community. Such a move would explain Severus' reluctance to return to Germania.

If Severus and Albanus were not biological brothers and *frater* is used here as a term of endearment, one might suggest that the close social ties between these men were at least partially responsible for Severus' continued presence at Aquincum. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the two may well have shared a common tribal background.⁵³ The fact that Albanus is not identified as a soldier also allows speculation about possible ties between Severus and the civilian population at Aquincum, whether that included members of his biological family or otherwise. It is clear, however, that Severus had ample time to return to the place of his birth if he had wished to. Nevertheless, he chose to stay in Aquincum near the location of his former station. Severus' possible ties to the local community may even have been strong enough to keep him in Aquincum after his unit departed. Although the exact date of this death cannot be determined, ala I Hispanorum may have left Aquincum for Moesia in c. AD 68.⁵⁴ Severus may well have still been alive at this time.

A very similar scenario is visible in the tombstone of Nertus, son of Dumnotalus (CIL III 10514, Figure 36):

Nertus Dumnotali f(ilius) veteranus ala Hisp(anorum) I
sesquip(licarius) Lingauster ann(or)um LX stip(endiorum)
XXXVI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Valens frater h(eres) t(itulum)
m(emoriae) p(osuit).⁵⁵

⁵³ Social ties will be discussed in greater depth in Chapters 5 and 6.

⁵⁴ See discussion of CIL III 12361 on page 168, below. Cf. Roldán Hervás 1974, 92.

⁵⁵ "Nertus, son of Dumnotalus, veteran *sesquiplicarius* of ala I Hispanorum, a Lingauster, sixty years of age, having served thirty-six years, lies here. Valens his brother set up this inscription to his memory."

This inscription was also found at Aquincum, the site of ala I Hispanorum's camp in the mid-first century.⁵⁶ Based on the fact that Nertus was sixty years old when he died, it seems that he had been retired for several years before his death. The use of *hic situs est* and the unit's name in the ablative also indicate a first-century date. However, one may suppose that Nertus' lack of *tria nomina* indicates that he was discharged before grants of citizenship to twenty-five-year veterans were institutionalized late in Claudius' reign.⁵⁷ Thus this inscription seems to be slightly earlier in date than the tombstone of Severus (RHP 124); Nertus probably received his *missio* in the late forties or early fifties and died under Nero.

This timeline indicates that Nertus, like Severus, was recruited while cohorts I Hispanorum was stationed on the Rhine. Although onomastic evidence is of little help in this instance,⁵⁸ scholars have often argued that the ethnic descriptor *Lingaster* refers to the *Lingones* who occupied part of Germania Superior.⁵⁹ This has the advantage of allowing one to assume that Nertus was a local recruit to the unit in the early Julio-Claudian period. However, Le Bohec has argued that there is neither a linguistic connection between the two names nor any epigraphic reference to the *Lingaustris* in the

⁵⁶ Roldán Hervás 1974, 92.

⁵⁷ Roxan 1973, 131: "One of the Aquincum stones records a veteran, Nertus, who was still peregrine after having served 36 years, even though he had reached the rank of *sesquiplicarius*... Nertus would have had to obtain his discharge within seven years of the move [from Germania to Dalmatia and Pannonia], before the Claudian ruling became operative." For the date of Claudius' military reforms see Alföldy 1968b, 226; Holder 1980, 141-42.

⁵⁸ The onomastic evidence for the names Nertus, Nertius and Dumnotalus is remarkably thin. OPEL III, 99 records only 7 appearances of the name Nertus, and 2 of Nertius. Dumnotalus is only found in this one inscription (OPEL II, 111). OPEL II, 111 also records two instances of the name Dumnomotus, both from Aquitania, and one Dumnedoric from Germania Superior. While these two names may indicate a Gallic or Germanic origin of the root "Dumno," no clear conclusions can be drawn from them. Valens is, as one might expect, so broadly attested as to be of no practical use as an indicator of geographical origin (OPEL IV, 139-140).

⁵⁹ Drioux 1934; 1940-46; Roxan 1973, 131.

territory of the *Lingones* or in Gaul.⁶⁰ While Le Bohec's arguments are valid, he has proposed no alternative homeland for the *Lingaustris*. In fact, other than Nertus' tombstone only one secure reference to this tribe existed and that is from Mogontiacum (CIL XIII 7038), near the homeland of Severus' tribe, the *Vangiones*, and where ala I Hispanorum may have been stationed before moving to Pannonia. This suggests that Nertus, like Severus, was recruited locally to cohorts I Hispanorum while it was stationed in Germania and was transplanted along with his unit to Pannonia. However, there is no further evidence to support this argument and one must depend on these two data alone.

As a motivator for Nertus' choice to settle in Aquincum one might, as in the case of Severus, look to the reference to his *frater* on his tombstone, although the same caveats and uncertainties that applied to Severus' and Albanus' relationship certainly apply to Nertus' and Valens'. Furthermore, Valens' name provides no indication of his origin.

The tombstone of Sulpicius Massa preserves a third possible source of evidence for veteran settlement within ala I Hispanorum. Like Nertus and Valens, Sulpicius Massa, for whom this stone was erected, seems to have been a local recruit who moved far from his homeland along with his unit, was discharged, and settled near his military camp (CIL III 12361; Figure 37):

Sulpicius / Massa ve/ter(anus) alae / Hispan(orum)
n/at(ione) Tung(er) vix(it) / ann(os) LX me/r(uit) an(nos)
XXXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) coni/ux Pieris f(aciendum) /
c(uravit).⁶¹

⁶⁰ Le Bohec 2003, 243-44. For the territory of the Lingones see Strab. 4.1.11, 3.4.

⁶¹ "Sulpicius Massa, veteran of the ala Hispanorum, by birth a Tungrian, who lived sixty years and served thirty-five, lies here. His wife Pieris took care that this be done."

This stone displays dating criteria consistent with a Julio-Claudian or early Flavian date and Sulpicius Massa's name indicates that he received citizenship from Galba in AD 68-9.⁶² This date, combined with the epitaph's record that Massa served thirty-five years in the army, implies that he was recruited no earlier than AD 33. This inscription was not, however, found at Aquincum or even in Pannonia, but at Utus (near modern Milkovitsa, Bulgaria) in what would later become Moesia Inferior. If Massa, a Tungrian, was recruited into this unit while it was stationed in Germania, and retired to Utus in order to remain near the camp of *alae* I Hispanorum, the *alae* must have moved from Germania to Dalmatia,⁶³ on to Pannonia, and then to Moesia within the thirty-five years of Massa's service. Thus it seems that Massa was recruited in Germania and transferred to Dalmatia, to Pannonia, and ultimately to Moesia before his retirement.

However, Massa's tombstone and another very fragmentary epitaph from Alfatar, Bulgaria naming a veteran of uncertain origin are the only two pieces of evidence linking *ala* I Hispanorum to Moesia in the Flavian period.⁶⁴ This second tombstone is too fragmentary to provide any information about its recipient or the location of *ala* I Hispanorum in Moesia Inferior. However, it lends further support to the suggestion that this *ala* was in Moesia in the late first century (CIL III 12378):

[Val]er[ius / Eu]odu[s vet(eranus) / al(a) I H]ispan(orum)
[ex stat]ore hi[c situs est].⁶⁵

⁶² Holder 1980, 278-79 no. 505 dates this stone to the reign of Vespasian. Conrad 2004, 240 no. 425 assigns it to the mid-first century.

⁶³ See page 165n50, above.

⁶⁴ One may be sure, however, that *ala* I Hispanorum was in Moesia Superior by AD 92, when it is mentioned on a military diploma of that province (AE 2005, 1706).

⁶⁵ "Valerius Euodus, veteran of *ala* I Hispanorum, former *stator*, lies here." The text of this inscription is so fragmentary that I have not pursued the possible implications of the names restored by various editors. The origin of this soldier must remain a mystery.

If one were to discount the transfer of ala I Hispanorum to Moesia, one would have to explain the presence of these two veterans in some other way. This could only be accomplished by suggesting that they had moved away from their unit either as part of a vexillation or upon their retirement and traveled eastward, down the Danube to settle in Moesia. While there is evidence of vexillations being sent far from their unit, these seem to be exceptional cases.⁶⁶

The assertion that Massa was stationed in Moesia upon his discharge in AD 68-69 makes it impossible to be sure that ala I Hispanorum was still stationed at Aquincum when Severus died. The early date ascribed to Nertus' discharge (c. AD 45-50, see page 167, above) suggests that he may have died by about AD 50-60, well before this transfer took place. However, if Severus was recruited in the *ala*'s final years in Germany, c. AD 40, he would still have been discharged c. AD 65 and lived until c. AD 80, ten years after ala I Hispanorum was moved to Moesia.⁶⁷ This timeline raises the possibility that Severus chose to remain in Aquincum when the unit from which the two men had retired was transferred to another province. Severus' choice to settle in Aquincum implies that the determining factor leading to this soldier's choice of settlement location subsequent to his service was a bond to the local community, through family, social ties, religious devotion or economic obligations, rather than to his unit *per se*.

All three of the veterans of ala I Hispanorum whose origins may be determined with any assurance seem to have settled near the location of their unit's post at the time of their discharge. Despite their roots in Germania, Tiberius Claudius Severus and Nertus remained at Aquincum, and Sempronius Massa settled in Moesia. Although all

⁶⁶ One might, for example note the vexillation of cohors II Tungrorum that served in Raetia in the mid-second century: Birley 1935, 57-8; Nouwen 1997, 462-63; Spaul 2000, 229.

⁶⁷ Roldán Hervás 1974, 92 and 106; Roxan 1973, 132.

three of these inscriptions date to the first century, their chronology and our knowledge of the unit's movements in general do not allow one to make any definitive statement about the relationship between the location of veterans and the movement of their units after their discharge. It is possible, however, that Severus remained in Aquincum after ala I Hispanorum moved to Moesia.

The epigraphic evidence for veterans of ala II Aravacorum and ala I Hispanorum comprises just one-third of all the available epigraphic evidence for veterans from the units currently under examination. However, this information alone suggests a pattern. Analysis of these inscriptions has shown that at least 8 of these 12 soldiers settled in communities within about 50 miles of where their unit was stationed at the time of their discharge. Furthermore, 3 (RHP 124, CIL III 10514 and CIL III 10258) seem to indicate that the veterans they document remained in the immediate area of their unit. Two of these may, however, represent a special case in that Aquincum was the largest settlement nearby and therefore a logical place to settle, regardless of the location of the garrison. In sum, this evidence suggests that veterans of the *auxilia*, from the mid-first to the early third century, had a tendency to retire to a nearby urban area upon their discharge regardless of their place of birth.

One must, however, be cautious about drawing conclusions from such a small sample and one that includes evidence from only two units and two provinces. Even so, examination of the epigraphical evidence pertaining to veterans of the other cohorts and *alae* raised on the Iberian Peninsula confirms the general tendencies already identified here.

For example, there are three records of veterans from ala I Asturum and two of these three veterans seem to have retired to a nearby urban community after their service,

while the third returned to his home province. The earliest of these is the tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Saturninus, who served in ala I Asturum in the Julio-Claudian period (IScM II 172).⁶⁸ While the precise location of ala I Asturum's post in the Julio-Claudian period is unclear, it seems that it was stationed in Moesia.⁶⁹ The discovery of IScM II 172 in Tomis highlights the tendency toward local and regional settlement of veterans since Saturninus was, in all likelihood, a Spaniard who survived about ten years after the conclusion of his military service and yet did not return to Spain.

It is possible, however, that Saturninus was the son of another soldier and had grown up far from his father's homeland in Spain. This would imply, however, that Saturninus' father, Arrentius, had remained abroad after his own service. If Saturninus was born while Arrentius was still in service, Saturninus and his mother must have been with Arrentius at his post, making it doubtful that he would ever have returned to Spain. If, however, Saturninus was born after Arrentius' hypothetical military service and Arrentius had returned to Spain, Saturninus was, in effect, no different than any other Spanish recruit. The ultimate result of this speculation is that this inscription represents the settlement of a Spanish veteran in the general vicinity of his unit but far from his homeland. The only question is whether this veteran was Saturninus or Arrentius. In the absence of other information, however, I suggest the former requires less qualification and is the more likely explanation.

The second of the veterans from ala I Asturum is recorded on a tombstone discovered at Novae (near modern Svishtov, Bulgaria) in Moesia Inferior (ILBulg 305; Figure 38):

⁶⁸ See page 91, above, for a transcription and previous discussion of IScM II 172.

⁶⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 103.

D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berio) Basso dec(urioni) / veterano /
alaes(!) primae / Ast(urum) maer[ul]i(t!) an(nos) XXV
vix(it) an(nos) LXXX Fla(via) / Longina pa/tri bene
merent(i) h(ic) s(itus) e(st).⁷⁰

This inscription dates to the late first or early second century.⁷¹ Unfortunately, the location of ala I Asturum's post at the time of Bassus' death is unclear. It may still have occupied a fort in Moesia or it may have moved to Dacia in association with Trajan's campaigns there.⁷² This makes it impossible to judge the relationship between the location of Bassus' service and that of his settlement. Furthermore, the name Bassus is too widespread to provide a clear indication of his place of birth.⁷³ Nevertheless, the history of Novae may give some indication of why Bassus settled there. Novae was the headquarters of legio VIII Augusta from AD 46 to 69 and housed legio III Augusta from AD 69 onward. Thus it grew to be an important military and commercial center. This would have made it attractive to civilians and veterans. Furthermore, the nature of the settlement at Novae indicates that Bassus did not leave the military community entirely upon his discharge, although he may have moved far from his former unit.

The third record of a veteran from ala I Asturum is a tombstone from Serdica (modern Sofia, Bulgaria) in Thrace that marked the grave of Marcus Aurelius Teres (IDRE II 353):

⁷⁰ "To the immortal shades and to Tiberius Bassus, veteran decurion of ala I Asturum, who served twenty-five years and lived eighty. Flavia Longina (set this up) for her well-deserving father, who lies here."

⁷¹ Conrad 2004, 231 no. 389.

⁷² Ala I Asturum certainly participated in the Dacian wars. The tombstone of one of its commanders, Publius Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris, records that he was decorated in these campaigns while commanding the *ala* (CIL IX 4753).

⁷³ OPEL I, 114 records 36 instances of this name in northern Italy, 23 in the Spanish provinces, 19 in Pannonia, 12 in Noricum, and 11 in Moesia Inferior, as well as a number of inscriptions in other provinces.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius Te/res veteranus / ex ala prima
 As/t<u>rum natio/ne Bessus mili/[tavit an]nis XXVIII /
 [...] ⁷⁴

When this monument was erected in the latter half of the second century, to judge from the name Aurelius, ala I Asturum was stationed in Dacia, between Apulum and Germisara.⁷⁵ The Bessi, however, were a Thracian tribe. So it appears that Teres may have been returning to the place of his birth when he retired to Serdica. The damaged text of this inscription makes further deductions impossible. However, Serdica was a significant community by the second century and would have attracted all types of people. The community at Serdica and the common association of the Bessi with lands extending further south bring into question whether Teres was actually born in Serdica, but it is clear that he abandoned his unit in favor of returning at least to the province of his birth.

There are also three inscriptions pertaining to veterans of cohorts I Lusitanorum. The tombstone of Quintus Allidius Celer is an interesting case that returns to the pattern of regional settlement that seems, thus far, to be emerging from the material available for this study (IScM II 196; Figure 39):

Q(uintus) Allidius Celer / veter(anus) coh(ortis) I /
 Lusitanor(um) mi/litavit annis / XXVI vixit ann(is) L /
 Q(uintus) Allidius Poti/tus patrono be/ne merito posuit. ⁷⁶

This stone was discovered at Tomis on the Black Sea coast of Moesia Inferior. Celer must have been associated with the cohorts I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica, which appears on a diploma from Moesia Inferior dated to AD 99 (CIL XVI 45). This unit seems to have

⁷⁴ “To the immortal shades. Aurelius Teres, veteran from ala I Asturum, from the tribe of the Bessi, served twenty-eight years...”

⁷⁵ Roldán Hervás 1974, 104.

⁷⁶ “Quintus Allidius Celer, veteran of cohorts I Lusitanorum, served twenty-six years and lived fifty. Quintus Allidius Potitus set this up for his well-deserving patron.”

been moved from Cyrenaica in connection with Domitian's Dacian wars.⁷⁷ Based on the use of the nominative to name the deceased, the scarcity of abbreviations and the absence of *dis manibus*, this stone was probably erected soon after this transfer took place. This chronology and Celer's identification simply as *veteranus*, with no indication of an elevated rank, suggest that he was not a native of Moesia Inferior or its surrounds, but rather that he had come with the cohort from North Africa.⁷⁸ Yet Celer and, apparently, his freedman settled in Tomis after his discharge.

Although the location of cohorts I Lusitanorum's station is unknown, two other tombstones attest to the presence of veterans of this unit in eastern Moesia Inferior near the turn of the second century. The earlier of the two commemorates Gaius Artorius Saturninus, a veteran and former decurion of cohorts I Lusitanorum (CIL III 14214.9; Figure 40):

D(is) [M(anibus) / G(aius)?] Arto(rius) [Sa/tur(ninus)
Sisc(ia) / ex d(uplicario) vet(eranus) / c(o)ho(rtis) I
Lus(itanorum) / vix(it) an(nis) XL / mil(itavit) an(nis) XX, /
h(ic) s(itus) e(st), G(aius) Arto(rius) / et Roscia /
Satur(nina) et Art(orius) Satur(ninus) / filii p(atri)
p(ientissimo) posuer(unt).⁷⁹

While the current state of the stone clearly shows that it was reused as a drain cover or similar device, it is unlikely to have traveled far and its recovery near Civitas Tropaensium (modern Adamclisi, Romania) suggests that its recipient, Artorius

⁷⁷ Roxan 1973, 522. Roldán Hervás 1974, 122 also allows the possibility that this unit was transferred to Moesia by Vespasian after the Jewish revolt. It seems unlikely, however, that it would have been added to the garrison of Moesia without an imminent need for it. Cf. Knight 1991.

⁷⁸ OPEL II, 47 records over 100 instances of the name Celer in the epigraphy of the western provinces. These inscriptions are spread throughout the west, with concentrations in northern Italy and the Spanish provinces. However, OPEL does not include epigraphy for North Africa and is, therefore, of little use here.

⁷⁹ "To the immortal shades. Gaius Artorius Saturninus from Siscia, former decurion and veteran of cohorts I Lusitanorum, who lived forty-five years and served twenty-five, lies here. Gaius Artorius and Roscia Saturnina and Artorius Saturninus, his children, set this up for their most faithful father."

Saturninus, had served in Trajan's Dacian wars.⁸⁰ The use of *hic situs est* recommends a date in the early years of the second century at the latest. There is also evidence from the stone that Saturninus was from Siscia (modern Sisak, Croatia) in Pannonia. Thus he was most likely transferred from another cohort, *ala* or even legion to cohorts I Lusitanorum upon his promotion to *decurio*.⁸¹ One may surmise from Saturninus' age at his death and his years of service that he died soon after his discharge, probably within two or three years. It is also clear that he had a family upon his discharge. While it is tempting to suggest that Saturninus' decision to settle at Civitas Tropaensium was related to the formal veteran settlement there, no proof is available to support this claim. However, it seems clear that ala I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica was stationed in this area in the early second century and that Saturninus, while not remaining with his unit, did not travel far to find a new home.⁸²

Finally, one may add Marcus Ulpius Domitius to the roll of veterans known from cohorts I Lusitanorum. His tombstone was found at Cius (modern Hissarlik, Romania) in Scythia Minor, not far from the others associated with cohorts I Lusitanorum (CIL III 12480; Figure 41):

Dis Man(ibus) / M(arco) Ulp(io) Domi/tio Anthio /
vet(erano) coh(ortis) Lusit(anorum) / ex p(edite) mil(itavit)
annis / XXVIII vix[it] an(nos) LXXXI[I]II / Iulia coniunx /
po[sui]t mar[ito...] ⁸³

⁸⁰ Conrad 2004, 197 no. 264 provides no more precise date than mid-second century.

⁸¹ See page 74, above, for the transfer of *decuriones* upon promotion. It is also tempting to try to associate Saturninus' citizenship with Marcus Artorius Priscillus Vicasius Sabidianus who commanded ala I Pannoniorum in Moesia Inferior, but such an association is pure speculation.

⁸² For the most useful discussion of the location of this *ala* see Roldán Hervás 1974, 122. Cf. Santos Yanguas 1979f.

⁸³ "To the immortal shades. For Marcus Ulpius Domitius from Anthium(?), veteran and former infantryman of the cohorts Lusitanorum, who served twenty-eight years and lived eighty-four. Julia, his wife, set this up for her husband."

The name Marcus Ulpius is indicative of a grant of citizenship under Trajan. However, if we are to believe the details of this inscription, the stone itself must have been erected almost forty years after this grant (c. AD 135-160). There is nothing in the text or on the stone to dispute this claim. This is significant because the great length of time between Domitius' discharge and death highlights his deep connection to his newfound home. Meanwhile the reference to Anthium might reveal an enduring allegiance to his birthplace even after over sixty years away. K. Kraft and Wagner argued explicitly that Anthium must refer to Domitius' homeland.⁸⁴ Kraft further suggests that Anthium may have been in Greece.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, it is impossible to be certain what drew Domitius to Cius. The name of Domitius' wife gives no indication of her origins, and the exact location of cohorts I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica is unknown. Wagner proposed that the unit was stationed at Cius but there is little reason to favor this location over others, except the presence of this stone. Furthermore, the unit's presence at Candidiana (near modern Malāk Preslavec, Bulgaria) further southwest, is attested in the third century (AE 1964, 180).⁸⁶ Thus, while it seems that Domitius moved away from his unit during the forty years between his discharge and death, there is no indication of how his origins relate to the location of his memorial.

Veterans of cohorts III Lusitanorum are recorded on three inscriptions. The earliest of these is a tombstone erected for a veteran in Novaesium (modern Neuss, Germany) in Germania Inferior (CIL XIII 8560; Figure 44):

⁸⁴ Wagner 1938, 163.

⁸⁵ Kraft 1951, 180 no. 1592.

⁸⁶ Wagner 1938, 163.

[Tiber(ius) J]ulius Ad[ali f. F]uscus v[et(eranus) ex
coho]rte [Lusitanor]u[m...]⁸⁷

Fuscus evidently served under Tiberius. The early date of this inscription and the frequency of the name Fuscus on the Iberian Peninsula make it all but certain that Fuscus was a native Iberian.⁸⁸ Furthermore, Fuscus seems to have remained with his unit after his discharge. This inscription and one other (Nesselhauf-Lieb 40) place this unit, later called cohorts III Lusitanorum, at Novaesium in the Julio-Claudian period.⁸⁹ Regrettably, Fuscus' tombstone does not record his years of service or his age at the time of his death. It is therefore impossible to determine how long he remained at Novaesium after his military career.

Tiberius Claudius Sanecius, who erected a votive in modern Freixo de Numão, Portugal to the gods and goddesses of Conimbriga, was also associated with this unit (CIL II 432):⁹⁰

Ti(berius) Claudius / Sanecius eq(ues) / c(o)hor(tis) III
Lus/itanorum / dis deabusq(ue) / Coniumbric(ensibus) /
[v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).⁹¹

Although this inscription does not explicitly identify Sanecius as a veteran, his *tria nomina* indicate that he received citizenship from Claudius or Nero.⁹² Thus it seems that he had been discharged and retired to his home in Lusitania. He almost certainly did not serve his entire career in Lusitania before the unit was relocated to Germania Inferior.

⁸⁷ "Tiberius Julius Fuscus, son of Adalus, veteran from the cohorts Lusitanorum..."

⁸⁸ Roldán Hervás 1974, 79. OPEL II, 156 lists 72 instances of Fuscus in the Iberian provinces. This is more than twice the total for any other province.

⁸⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 78.

⁹⁰ Alföldy 1968a, 66 excludes this inscription from his discussion of this unit without explanation.

⁹¹ "Tiberius Claudius Sanecius, eques of cohorts III Lusitanorum (dedicated this) to the gods and goddesses of Coniumbriga. He willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow."

⁹² Roldán Hervás 1974, 79-80.

Nor is it likely that he received citizenship and returned home to Lusitania before the end of his career. Therefore, this stone stands as an exception to the general pattern of local/regional settlement of veterans. Of course, this may well have to do with the early date of Sanecius' service. The German frontier was still quite unsettled under Tiberius and may not have been an inviting place to retire.⁹³ The religious nature of this stone may, however, give some indication that Sanecius returned to his homeland due to sentiment or religious devotion. One might even suggest that this votive was erected as thanks for his return after a long absence.

The third veteran of cohorts III Lusitanorum is recorded on ILLPRON 664, from Virunum (modern Meiselberg, Austria) in Noricum:

[A]tuconi [mil(iti)] / [c]oh(ortis) III Lusita[nor(um)] /
 misso et Tertio [mil(iti)] / [c]oh(ortis) I Astur(um)
 No[nna?] / [so]ror fratribu[s et] / [F]uscae Montan[i
 f(iliae)] / [sor]ori v(iva) f(ecit) et sibi.⁹⁴

This inscription dates to the first half of the second century and was erected by the sister of a veteran (*missus*) from cohorts III Lusitanorum.⁹⁵ The fact that the name Atuco is not attested outside Noricum and this stone's discovery in Virunum suggest that Atuco had returned to his place of birth at the conclusion of his service at Asturis, over two hundred miles away, though still within the borders of Noricum.⁹⁶ Virunum had held municipal status since about AD 50 and was the seat of the governor of Noricum. However, it had

⁹³ It is tempting also to suppose that Sanecius received an early discharge and citizenship in compensation for exceptional service or perhaps injury in combat. Of course there is no evidence to support this claim, nor am I aware of a documented instance of such a discharge.

⁹⁴ "For Atuco, a discharged soldier of cohorts III Lusitanorum and for Tertius, a soldier of cohorts I Asturum. Nonna (?), their sister, made this for herself, for her brothers and for her sister Fusca, daughter of Montanus."

⁹⁵ For dating see Alföldy 1969, 18 no. 26; Roxan 1973, 359. The sibling relationships recorded on this stone will be discussed in detail on page 256, below.

⁹⁶ OPEL I 91 records two other examples of Atuca (CIL III 11559 and ILLPRON 737), both from Noricum.

no military garrison until the Marcomannic Wars of Marcus Aurelius (AD 166-80).⁹⁷ Therefore, this stone seems to represent an example of a veteran return a long distance to his homeland and leaving the military community entirely.

There are also two records of veterans associated with *ala I Aravacorum*. The tombstone of Titus Aelius Veranus, for example, was discovered near the auxiliary fort at Ad Flexum (modern Levél, Hungary), in Pannonia Superior (AE 2001, 1644; Figure 42):

[T(ito) A]el(io) Verano / [v]e[t(erano)] al(a)e p(rimae)
Arav/[ac]orum an(norum) LX / e[t] Ael(iae) Vinillae /
[du]l(cissimae) coniugi / [an(norum) ...] / [.]us h(ic) s(iti)
[s(unt)] / T(itus) Ael(ius) Avitus / parenti(bus)
piis(s)im[is].⁹⁸

With the exception of a short stint in North Africa between July 5, AD 149 and 1 August, AD 150, *ala I Aravacorum* spent its entire existence in Pannonia.⁹⁹ Before moving to North Africa the *ala* was stationed on the Danube between Arrabona and Brigetio, 20 and 40 miles downriver of Ad Flexum, respectively. Its location afterwards, however, is unclear. This makes it difficult to understand the significance of Veranus' tombstone. Furthermore, the name Veranus is of little use when attempting to identify this soldier's origins.¹⁰⁰ Veranus received his citizenship from Antoninus Pius but it is unclear whether this grant was received while his *ala* was stationed between Arrabona and Brigetio, while it was in Africa, or after its return to Pannonia. Statistically, however, one must assume that it occurred in the period between AD 138 and 149. This, in turn, suggests that

⁹⁷ Stillwell, MacDonald and McAllister 1976, 985-86. Cf. Vettters 1961.

⁹⁸ "For Titus Aelius Veranus, veteran of *ala I Aravacorum*, who lived sixty years, and for Aelia Vinilla his sweetest wife, who lived... who lie here. Titus Aelius Avitus (erected this) for his most pious parents."

⁹⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 88-90.

¹⁰⁰ OPEL IV, 156 records 30 instances of the name Veranus spread throughout 11 provinces. While this name was most common in the Spanish provinces, the Pannonian provinces and Noricum, no one of the provinces has enough instances to recommend it as this Veranus' *origo*.

Veranus chose to retire at a respectful distance from his former unit, though still in the neighborhood of Arrabona.

This may, however, be contrasted to the votive to Apollo Augustus erected in Ovilava, Noricum (modern Wels, Austria) by Marcus Modestius Repentinus in memory of his son (CIL III 5629; Figure 43). This stone was erected in the second century, after Repentinus had been discharged from ala I Aravacorum, the same unit in which Veranus had served:

Apollini / Aug(usto) / in memoriam / M(arci) Modesti
M(arci) f(ili) / Repentini / M(arcus) Modestius /
Repentinus / pater vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) / al(ae) I
Aravacorum.¹⁰¹

It is tempting to associate Repentinus' choice to settle at Ovilava with the establishment of Hadrian's *municipium* there, or to assume that Repentinus was born there.¹⁰² However, there is not sufficient evidence to support such a claim. The frequencies of the names Repentinus and Modestius seem to suggest possible Gallic origins for the elder Modestius but if one expands the search to include "Modestus" as well, Italy and the Spanish provinces seem even more likely. The lack of precise chronological indicators within the text of this inscription makes it impossible to draw convincing conclusions about the elder Repentinus' origins.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, it is significant that Repentinus retired from ala I Aravacorum. Again, this unit served almost its entire history in Pannonia. This lends significance to this inscription within the current discussion because the elder Repentinus seems to have left both his unit and its province after his

¹⁰¹ "To Apollo Augustus in memory of Marcus Modestius Repentinus, son of Marcus. Marcus Modestius Repentinus, his father, a veteran and former decurion of ala I Aravacorum (made this)."

¹⁰² For evidence of the Hadrianic grant of municipal status see Alföldy 1974, 82. Cf. CIL III 5630.

¹⁰³ Roldán Hervás 1974, 90 argues for a second century date but provides no explanation for his assertion.

discharge. Furthermore, it is clear that he raised his son in this community, although it is impossible to say how old the younger Repentinus was when he died.

The remainder of the evidence for veteran settlement that is preserved on stone inscriptions comes from isolated instances from diverse units. These are best discussed in chronological order, as nearly as it may be determined. The earliest of the remaining inscriptions is, perhaps, the intriguing memorial of Marcus Fannius Vitalis, which is the lone record from Africa Proconsularis of a veteran from an auxiliary unit originally raised on the Iberian Peninsula (CIL VIII 853=12370, Figure 45):

M(arco) Fannio M(arci) f(ilio) / Papiria Vitali |(centurioni)
coh(ortis) / IIII Sygambror(um) coh(ortis) / I Hisp(anorum)
misso honesta / missione a divo Ha(driano) praef(ecto) iuris
/ dic(undo) flam(ini) HS X m(ilia) n(ummum) / rei
p(ublicae) intulit et ampli(us) ludorum scae(nicor(um) diem
et epu(lum) dedit cui cum / ordo statuam decrevisset titulo
contentus / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).¹⁰⁴

The fact that Hadrian had been deified before the erection of this stone dates it to the reign of Antoninus Pius at the earliest. Based on its discovery in Thuburbo Maius (modern El Fahs, Tunisia) one may associate Vitalis' service with cohorts I Flavia Hispanorum that is known to have served in Mauretania Caesariensis along with cohorts IIII Sygambrorum in which Vitalis also served.¹⁰⁵ While Vitalis' name is of little assistance in placing his origins one might suppose that he chose to return home after his service. This supposition is, however, made problematic by Thuburbo Maius' origins as a veteran colony and its elevation to municipal status in AD 128. The combined force of

¹⁰⁴ "To Marcus Fannius Vitalis, son of Marcus, of the tribe Papiria, centurion of cohorts III Sygambrorum (and) of cohorts I Hispanorum, discharged with honorable discharge by the deified Hadrian, prefect for administering justice (and) *flamen*. He contributed ten thousand sesterces to the city and he also gave a day of theatrical games and a banquet. When the council had decreed a statue for him, he was content with the inscription. By decree of the decurions."

¹⁰⁵ Roxan 1973, 230. Spaul 2000 does not include this inscription under any cohorts I Hispanorum. The reason for this omission is unclear.

these two factors may have made it an attractive destination for retired veterans from throughout North Africa. Whatever Vitalis' origins, it is clear that he had a significant effect on the city. His participation in the municipal administration and his obvious financial success would have made him a notable public figure.¹⁰⁶ This would be particularly interesting if it could be proved that he was a native son of Thuburbo Maius. But Vitalis' origin is obscure. As a result, all we can be sure of is that Vitalis traveled a great distance from his garrison in Mauretania Caesariensis to Thuburbo Maius at the conclusion of his service.

The only veteran of the Spanish units documented in Mauretania Tingitana is Volsienus, a former decurion of an ala Asturum. His tombstone was discovered at Ain Schkor, Morocco, just north of ancient Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana (IAM Supp. 830; now lost):

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Vols(ienus?) / vet(eranus) ex
de/c(urione) al(ae) As(turum) vix(it) / an(n)o(s) XL
p(osuerunt?) d(ecuriones?) al(ae?) o(ptionesque?).¹⁰⁷

Volsienus undoubtedly served in ala III Asturum, for which there is abundant evidence in this area and which was probably stationed in Volubilis when this inscription was erected in the second century. However, there is no evidence to indicate Volsienus' origins. Thus Volsienus seems to have retired locally after serving in ala III Asturum and may have remained in the area for five years or more after his discharge.

There is an epigraphic record of a single veteran of the ala I Hispanorum Auriana from Raetia that may date to the second century (IBR 264; Figure 46):

¹⁰⁶ One may recall the case of Titus Julius Bellicus who served as military decurion of ala II Asturum and was also a civil decurion of Celeia in Noricum (CIL III 15205.3). This inscription does not clearly identify Bellicus as a veteran, but it further highlights the potential impact of auxiliary soldiers on civilian communities. For further discussion of this inscription see page 100, above.

¹⁰⁷ "An offering to the immortal shades. Volsienus, veteran and former decurion of the ala Asturum, lived sixty years. The decuriones and options of the *ala* set this up." This reading follows Euzennat 1962.

Prim(ius) Saturninus / ex dec(urione) al(ae) Auri(anae)
 m(issus) h(onesta) m(issione) / Jul(iae) Victorinae uxo(ri)
 Prim(iae) Saturninae / [filiae et sibi vivus f(ecit).]¹⁰⁸

This stone was discovered at Celeusum (modern Pförring, Germany) about fifty miles east of ala I Hispanorum Auriana's station at Weissenburg.¹⁰⁹ It is difficult to assign *origines* to the individuals named on this stone or to date it, though a second century date seems likely. Nevertheless, it is notable that the stone was found so far from the unit's headquarters. It is unfortunate that no trace of the bottom line survives. This inscription is particularly interesting if we accept the restoration of *vivus fecit* because this phrase would clearly indicate that Saturninus and his family had settled permanently in Celeusum. However, one must keep in mind that this portion of the text is entirely restored and, while one might assume that this was the case, there is no tangible evidence to support it.

There is also one veteran of an ala II Asturum recorded in an inscription from Lindum (modern Lincoln, England) which dates to the second or third century (RIB I 266; Figure 47):

... ex / [d]ec(urione) alae II / Astor(um) vixit / [a]nnis
 LXX[.]¹¹⁰

This ala II Asturum is known to have been stationed at Bremetennacum (modern Ribchester) and Cilurnum (modern Chesters) on Hadrian's Wall but there is not enough information to date this stone precisely and, thereby, to associate it with either phase of ala II Asturum's history. Neither of these, however, is less than 100 miles from Lindum. This suggests once again that this soldier, whose name has been lost, retired some

¹⁰⁸ "Primius Saturninus, former decurion of the ala Auriana, honorably discharged, built this while he was alive for himself, his wife, Victorina and his daughter, Primia Saturnina."

¹⁰⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 85.

¹¹⁰ "...former decurion of ala II Asturum, who lived (over) seventy years."

distance away from his unit. His decision to settle in Lindum may have been influenced by the presence of a veteran colony there. This colony was established near the end of the first century but continued to attract legionary veterans for generations.¹¹¹ The military nature of this community may have made it attractive to auxiliary veterans as well.

The tombstone of Aurelius Kalendinus was recovered from Šmartno, Slovenia, near Celeia (modern Celje, Slovenia) (CIL III 5292=11708; Figure 3):

... Aurelio / [K]alandino(!) an(norum) L / [ve]t(erano)
co(ho)r(tis) I Asturum / ... tus libertus / [facien]dum
curavit.¹¹²

The name Aurelius suggests that this stone is from the late second or early third century, a period during which cohorts I Asturum is known to have been stationed at Asturis, on the Danube.¹¹³ Asturis and Celeia are almost 200 miles apart and it must have been a conscious decision on Kalendinus' part to retire there. The names Kalendinus and Calendinus are much more common in Noricum than in any other province, but it is unclear whether our Kalendinus was born in Celeia.¹¹⁴ In any case, it is remarkable that Kalendinus retired so far from the military zone of the frontier. Other attestations of this unit make it clear that its members traveled widely in the Norican interior (CIL III 4839, 5330 and 5530) and Kalendinus may well have passed through Celeia in the course of his duties. But there was no permanent garrison at Celeia after the Claudian period. Furthermore, the intricate decoration of this stone, which includes a relief of Orpheus

¹¹¹ Mattingly 2006, 192.

¹¹² "For Aurelius Kalendinus, veteran of cohorts I Asturum, who lived fifty years. ...tus, his freedman, took care that this be made."

¹¹³ Roldán Hervás 1974, 87.

¹¹⁴ OPEL III, 22 records 17 instances of Kalendinus or Calendinus in Noricum and just 7 in the rest of the western provinces.

beguiling numerous animals, may suggest that Kalendinus' household, represented here by the freedman who erected his tombstone, had achieved some financial success. The means by which this success was achieved is a matter for speculation, but there does seem to have been a significant veteran population at Celeia. Kalendinus may have chosen to settle there specifically to join that community and exploit his social ties in commerce.

Finally, the tombstone of Marcus Cassius Verecundus, formerly of cohorts I Hispanorum may shed further light on veteran settlement (CIL XIII 11982; Figure 48):

M(arco) Cassio Verecu/ndo veter(ano) ex coh(orte) I
His/pano(rum) sibi et Anniae / Avitae uxori et Cassio /
Verecundino Firmo / fil(io) suo vivos(!) fecit.¹¹⁵

This stone was discovered at Rigomagus (modern Remagen, Germany) in Germania Inferior and probably dates to the third century AD. It departs from the pattern generally established in Moesia and Noricum in that Verecundus seems to have stayed with his unit after his retirement.

Cohors I Hispanorum was transferred from Xanten to Rigomagus in the second century and remained there throughout the third century.¹¹⁶ No fewer than ten inscriptions for this site name cohorts I Hispanorum, and most are votives of an official or semi-official nature that attest to the presence of the unit as a whole. Alföldy has argued that Verecundus was a native of Germania Inferior or a neighboring area, but no more specific information is forthcoming.¹¹⁷ Verecundus' local origin is not surprising in the

¹¹⁵ "For Marcus Cassius Verecundus, veteran from cohorts I Hispanorum himself, and for his wife, Annia Avita, and his son, Cassius Verecundinus Firmus, he built this while he was alive."

¹¹⁶ Roldán Hervás 1974, 76 argues that this transfer took place after the formation of the Colonia Ulpia Traiana at Xanten in AD 158. Alföldy 1968a, 61 also places this transfer in the second century but provides no more specific information.

¹¹⁷ Alföldy 1968a, 61. Cf. Alföldy 1967, 16-9.

second century. It does, however, raise questions about the effect of service on his life. While it is possible that he was born in Rigomagus and spent his entire life on the site, it is more likely that he was recruited from elsewhere in Germania Inferior and sent to serve in cohorts I Hispanorum. Why, then, did he not return home after his service?

Verecundus' wife Annia Avita provides one possible explanation. The name Avita as well as the name Annius and its derivatives are both quite common in the Spanish provinces and Gallia Narbonensis.¹¹⁸ Although their appearance in this inscription is by no means unique to the region, their frequency elsewhere may indicate that Annia Avita was not a native of Germania Inferior. The differing backgrounds of the spouses may then have affected their choice of home upon Verecundus' retirement. Perhaps, they decided to remain in the only community they had known together, rather than returning to the homeland of either.

This is a diverse and complicated body of information to work with. These 29 inscriptions were found in 11 provinces and were erected over the course of two hundred years. Veterans of 12 distinct auxiliary units are included in this group. Furthermore, these inscriptions represent only a very small fraction of the veterans who were discharged from the cohorts and *alae* raised on the Iberian Peninsula. They also record the behavior of veterans from one-seventh of the units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. Nevertheless, examination of these inscriptions based on various criteria can be instructive, especially when combined with comparison to other studies of auxiliary veterans.

¹¹⁸ OPEL I², 97-8 records 166 inscriptions including the name Avitus and its variants on the Iberian Peninsula and no more than 40 in any other region. OPEL I², 56-7 lists 113 inscriptions including the name Annius or one of its related names in the Spanish provinces. It also lists 75 from northern Italy and 46 from Narbonensis, but no more than 22 in any other area.

One of the most striking features of this collection of inscriptions is its geographical distribution. 13 of these 29 stones were discovered in Moesia Inferior, 5 were found in Pannonia, 3 were recovered from Noricum, 2 were found in Germania Inferior, and Britannia, Lusitania, Mauretania Tingitana, Raetia and Thrace each produced a single inscription in this list. Further examination of the 13 inscriptions recovered from Moesia Inferior reveals that all of the soldiers recorded in these inscriptions are likely to have served in Moesia and chose to remain in the province after their discharge. This is almost certainly the case for 8 of these soldiers. Valerius Euodus (CIL III 12378) and Sulpicius Massa (CIL III 12361) may have retired to Moesia from Pannonia but their unit, ala I Hispanorum, which was certainly in Pannonia in the Julio-Claudian period, was in Moesia by AD 97 (RMD V 338).¹¹⁹ Thus it seems more likely that they too settled near their unit. Indeed, the disturbances of AD 63-4 in Moesia provide a likely time for the unit's transfer to Moesia.¹²⁰

Likewise, cohorts I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica was probably stationed in Moesia when Gaius Artorius Saturninus retired from it. This unit may have taken an active role in Trajan's Dacian wars but there is no evidence of it having participated in the occupation of the new province. This leaves the troublesome case of Tiberius Claudius Victor, for which I can reach no satisfactory conclusion (CIL III 12359). While the use of the nominative and *hic situs est* seem to point toward an early date, the presence of ala II Aravacorum in the vicinity of his tomb at the end of the first century seems more than coincidental and suggests a late first-century date for Victor's discharge. Thus it seems

¹¹⁹ Cf. AE 2005, 1704 also of AD 97, upon which Eck and Pangerl 2005 restores an ala Hispanorum, and AE 2005, 01706 of AD 92, upon which Weiss 2005 restores an ala Hispanorum.

¹²⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 1.79; 3.46; Joseph *BJ* 7.4.3; cf. Roldán Hervás 1974, 106.

that most, if not all, the veterans of auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula who are recorded on inscriptions from Moesia also served there.

The origins of these soldiers are, however, another matter. 4 of these 13 inscriptions explicitly record the origins of the soldiers commemorated on them and another may be inferred from its historical context. In at least 3 cases the soldier in question is neither from Moesia nor from the Iberian Peninsula where his unit was originally raised. The earliest of these men is Sulpicius Massa, who was born among the Tungrians of Germania Inferior and served in ala I Hispanorum in the late Julio-Claudian and early Flavian periods, receiving citizenship from Galba (CIL III 12361). C. Artorius Saturninus was recruited from Siscia in Pannonia to serve in cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica (CIL III 14214.9) under Trajan and/or Hadrian. M. Ulpius Domitius was also recruited into this unit from Anthium, which is probably in Greece, in the late first or early second century (CIL III 12480). Finally, Gaius Valerius Herculanus was born in the enigmatic *vicus* of Ramidava (?) the location of which is unknown.

In addition to these cases one may also be reasonably confident that Q. Allidius Celer (IScM II 196) came to Moesia before the end of the first century with cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica from North Africa where he was, in all likelihood, born. It is noteworthy that in every case where the *origo* may be determined with any certainty for a veteran in Moesia from a Spanish unit stationed in Moesia these individuals appear to be from outside Moesia. This may be due to a tendency of soldiers not to record their origins if they had not traveled far, but much more research would be required to establish this hypothesis with any confidence.

The relatively early dates of most of these inscriptions (CIL III 14214.22 may date to the early third century) may also support the common argument that auxiliary

recruits were increasingly drawn from local and regional populations in the second century. This is, however, difficult to confirm with the onomastic evidence available, since most of the names attested in the body of inscriptions under scrutiny here cannot be identified with any particular area, tribe or people. It is interesting, however, that in each case where a veteran's origin is clear it bears little relation to the location where he settled after his service.

Regardless of their origins the veterans recorded in Moesia stayed in the same province in which they served. This is also true of the two German veterans, Tiberius Claudius Severus and Nertus, son of Dumnotalus, who settled at Aquincum after their discharge from *ala* I Hispanorum in the mid-first century. There are, however, 4 exceptions among the veterans of the Spanish *alae* and cohorts. In the first century Tiberius Claudius Sanecius, a native of the Iberian Peninsula or, possibly the son of a Lusitanian, erected a votive at Freixo de Numão, Portugal after serving in Cohors III Lusitanorum in Germania Inferior (CIL II 432). In the mid-second century, Marcus Fannius Vitalis traveled from Mauretania Caesariensis to settle in Africa Proconsularis. Likewise, Aurelius Teres, a member of the Bessi, returned to the territory of the Bessi in Thrace after his service in *ala* I Asturum (IDRE II 353) in the late second century. Finally, the tombstone of M. Modestius Repentus (CIL III 5629) was recovered from Noricum, while Repentus had been stationed in Pannonia. Among the four inscriptions that record veterans outside the province in which they served the votive of Tiberius Claudius Sanecius is the most interesting in some respects (CIL II 432). It suggests that soldiers had the ability to travel great distances after their service, if they chose to. However, the distance that Sanecius traveled is exceptional.

The geographical relationship between veterans' former place of service and the location of the epigraphic evidence that records their presence after their service can be determined for 22 of the 29 inscriptions discussed here. The findspots of 6 of these inscriptions indicate that the veteran they mentioned remained at his place of service or within a few miles (CIL III 10258; CIL XIII 8560; RHP 124; CIL III 10514; CIL XIII 11982; and IAM Supp. 830). 3 were discovered within about 25 miles of their recipient's former station (CIL III 12359; IScM V 23; and AE 2001, 1644).¹²¹ A further 4 were found within about 50 miles of the garrison of the unit with which they may be associated (CIL III 14214,22; CIL III 14214.29; IScM I 297; and IBR 264) while one acephalous tombstone was discovered about 70 miles from its recipient's former garrison (CIL III 14039). Finally, 8 inscriptions suggest that the veteran named on them traveled 100 or more miles from their former posting (CIL II 432; CIL III 5629; CIL III 5292=11708; CIL VIII 853=12370I; DRE II 353; ILBulg II 81; ILLPRON 664; and RIB I 226). Thus about two-thirds of these veterans appear to have stayed within 50 miles of their former garrison, while all but one of the remainder traveled 100 or more miles after their discharge. Furthermore, all but 4 of these 22 soldiers remained within the province in which they served (CIL VIII 853=12370; CIL II 432; CIL III 5629; and IDRE II 353).

Of the 4 soldiers who appear to have left the province in which they served, two can be shown to have returned a great distance to the areas from which they were recruited (CIL II 432 and IDRE II 353). However, these may be contrasted to at least three examples of soldiers who settled at their former post after being recruited from

¹²¹ The precise location of ala I Aravacorum's garrison is unknown but it evidently served between Arrabona and Brigetio. These sites are 20-40 miles from Ad Flexum, where the tombstone was discovered. For simplicity, I have assumed here that the *ala*'s station was near Arrabona, and thereby included it in this category.

another province (CIL III 8560; CIL III 10514; and RHP 124).¹²² It is remarkable that each of these three veterans seems to have been recruited within his home province and transferred along with his unit to the province in which he settled. One might also add three cases in which it is clear that a soldier recruited from outside the province in which he served settled in that province, although the exact relationship between the location of his garrison and the findspot of his tombstone cannot be determined (IScM II 172, CIL III 12480, CIL III 12361 and CIL III 14214.9). This analysis indicates that, while some soldiers serving abroad did return to their place of origin, more, perhaps twice as many, remained either with their unit or at least in their province of service after the conclusion of their military career.

The precise locations to which these soldiers seem to have retired are also of interest. Only one of these inscriptions was recovered from a location that may be considered rural (CIL II 432, from Friexo de Numão). The remainder are almost evenly divided between military and civilian sites, and several combined aspects of both. Those discovered in military contexts, of course, include all 6 inscriptions found at the forts in which the veteran named had served. However, they also include 5 examples of soldiers who had moved between 10 and 50 miles from their former garrison to settle near other military installations (IBR 264; AE 2001, 1644; IScM V 23; CIL III 12359; and CIL III 14214.22). Meanwhile those that were recovered from civilian settlements are between 20 and about 200 miles removed from the veteran's former post. This division may indicate that large civilian settlements had a particular attraction to veterans and were capable of drawing them from long distances. In particular, one may speculate that soldiers were drawn to civilian communities with which they had come into contact in the

¹²² One might also add to this number CIL 13, 11982, although its recipient's origin is not expressly stated.

course of their duties with their unit as a whole, as part of a vexillation, or on other detached duties.

4.2 Military Diplomas

Roman military diplomas may also be usefully employed to supplement and generally confirm the information drawn from inscriptions on stone regarding the settlement of auxiliary veterans. Normally, the diplomas recorded grants of citizenship given to auxiliary soldiers after they had completed a minimum of twenty-five years of military service and had received an honorable discharge, although some early diplomas were awarded to soldiers before the conclusion of their service.¹²³ With the exception of those awarded to serving soldiers, these diplomas belonged to individual veterans who were named in the text, along with their unit and other units serving in the same province. The small size of these tablets made them easy to transport and the value of their bronze as scrap metal has further contributed to their movement.¹²⁴

The importance of these documents as proof of citizenship and the ease of transporting them suggest that they provide an indication of the movement of veterans, who would be likely to keep them close to the end of their lives. However, their importance to the descendants of the recipients, whose own citizenship depended upon the grants awarded for their ancestors' military service, and their value as scrap metal complicate modern interpretation of their significance as indications of veteran settlement. Nevertheless, modern scholars have generally assumed that in most cases the

¹²³ Serving soldiers are recorded on diplomas of the Alföldy-Mann types I and II. These appear only until AD 105 and 110, respectively. See Mann 1972, 235-37. For a more detailed introduction to military diplomas see page 81, above.

¹²⁴ Roxan 1989, 130-31.

location where a diploma was found is indicative of where its recipient lived at the end of his life.¹²⁵ However, they have also taken archaeological contexts and the condition of individual diplomas into account. For example, some diplomas have been found in contexts that suggest their treatment as scrap metal (RMD III 159) and others have been cut down and reused as lids or for decoration (RMD I 64, I 66, and II 128).¹²⁶

As a result, one must exercise some discretion when utilizing diplomas as evidence for veteran settlement; we must account for the location, circumstances of recovery, and condition of each diploma individually. One may rely more heavily on diplomas discovered in the course of archaeological excavations, while largely discounting those that appear on the art market without provenance. Likewise, one may take complete or near-complete diplomas as stronger indications of the settlement of the veteran who received them than small fragments, since smaller fragments are more likely to have been transported as scrap metal.¹²⁷ Furthermore, the possibility remains that diplomas were kept as heirlooms for several generations and may have moved with families over many years.

Despite these problems in dealing with diplomas, scholarly consensus maintains that the evidence gleaned from them indicates that about 75% of those receiving diplomas remained in the province in which they had served.¹²⁸ This number is bolstered by the inclusion of soldiers who had been recruited from the same province in which they served. There is also, however, evidence for a minority of soldiers who left the province of their service, sometimes to return to their home, as identified explicitly on the diploma

¹²⁵ Birley 1938; 1982/3; Kellner 1986; Raepsaet-Charlier 1978; Roxan 1981; 1989.

¹²⁶ Roxan 1989, 131.

¹²⁷ Roxan 1989, 130-31.

¹²⁸ Roxan 1989, 127.

or through onomastics. Some of these had entered service while their unit served in their home province and had been transferred away with that unit, but a few seem to have been enlisted directly into units serving in other provinces and returned to their home territory after their discharge.

The veterans of cohorts and *alae* raised on the Iberian Peninsula who are recorded on diplomas fit loosely into this general outline. There are examples of local/provincial recruits who remained in a single province before, during and after their service. There is also some evidence for veterans who were recruited in one province, concluded their service in another and remained there after their discharge. There is, however, only one clear record among these diplomas of a soldier who completed his service in a foreign province and returned to his home province after his discharge (CIL XVI 45).

It is worthwhile to examine these diplomas individually in order to illuminate specific examples of each of these patterns of service. However, it is also necessary to compare the evidence provided by diplomas with that of inscriptions on stone to create a more complete picture of the settlement of veterans from the *auxilia* in general, the units under investigation here as a whole, and these units as individual cohorts and *alae*. Furthermore, close examination of the diplomas reveals that the data are more nuanced than these three general categories would imply. In order to facilitate the examination of this material it is most useful to examine the diplomas in chronological order, looking for patterns that emerge from these diplomas as a whole and from individual units and geographical territories.

The earliest diploma relevant to this study records the grant of citizenship given to a decurion of ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum (RMD IV 202; also discussed above in relation to ala II Asturum). This diploma dates to AD 61 and was discovered at

Cornacum (near modern Vukovar, Croatia), in Illyricum (later Pannonia Inferior). Its recipient, Dasius, son of Carmaus, was a member of the Breuci and was evidently a very early Pannonian recruit to this unit, having enlisted before AD 36. Ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum was stationed about ten miles north of Cornacum, at Teutoburgium (modern Dalj, Croatia), which has also produced two mid-first-century tombstones of decurions (CIL III 3217 and CIL III 10258). The deposition and subsequent recovery of this diploma at Cornacum suggests that Dasius retired subsequent to the issue of this diploma and chose to remain near his unit after his discharge.¹²⁹ However, his *origo* among the Breuci has led to the argument that Cornacum lay within the territory of the Breuci, rather than that of the Cornacates.¹³⁰ If this was the case, Dasius would seem to have been a local recruit and to have remained both near his unit and in his homeland after his service. Of course, there remains the possibility that Dasius was transferred into the unit upon his promotion from the ranks.¹³¹ This would not alter substantially our understanding of the geographical pattern of his service.

The next diploma to have survived from an auxiliary unit raised on the Iberian Peninsula dates to AD 83 and was awarded to a centurion of cohors I Hispanorum (CIL XVI 29). This cohort was stationed at Talmis (modern Kalabsha, Egypt), almost two hundred miles south of Coptus, where the diploma was discovered.¹³² Although this diploma does not explicitly record Saturninus' discharge, it is hard to believe he was still in active service when the diploma was deposited in Coptus. Thus Saturninus, the recipient of the diploma, traveled a great distance from his unit. This is particularly

¹²⁹ This diploma is of the Alföldy-Mann type I, awarded to active soldiers. See RMD IV 202n8.

¹³⁰ Dušanić 1998.

¹³¹ RMD IV 202n6.

¹³² Roldán Hervás 1974, 148.

interesting because Saturninus was, according to the text of the diploma, from Chios. It may be that Saturninus intended to return to his native island, although there is no way to know this for certain. It is clear, however, that he was not married and had no children at retirement. This, in and of itself, may indicate that he had not forged any lasting ties to the community in which he served.

CIL XVI 31 was presented to Fronto, the son of Scenus, of the Iasi in AD 85 and was recovered from Somogyvár, Hungary, south of Lacus Pelso (modern Balaton Lake, in Hungary). Fronto's unit, cohorts I Lusitanorum, is well attested in diplomas of Pannonia and Pannonia Superior from AD 84 (CIL XVI 30) to AD 167 (CIL XVI 123), with intermittent appearances in Moesia Superior. The Iasi inhabited Pannonia Superior south of the Dravus,¹³³ suggesting that Fronto was a provincial, if not a local recruit.¹³⁴ However, the discovery of the diploma south of Lacus Pelso indicates that he did not return to his tribal homeland after his service. The precise location of cohorts I Lusitanorum's station is unclear but it has been widely argued that this cohort occupied the fort at Altinum (modern Kölked, Hungary), about 80 miles southeast of Somogyvár, but this is based largely on the assumption that Fronto was recruited locally.¹³⁵ Even if this was the case it is clear that Fronto chose not to return to his tribal homeland after his service, even though that homeland was relatively near. In fact, if Fronto died at Somogyvár, it seems that he moved far enough to have reached the lands of the Iasi but chose instead to move much farther north.

¹³³ Schejbal 2004, 102-4.

¹³⁴ Mayer 1935, 69. Cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 2.13.2, Plin. *HN* 3.147. OPEL IV, 55 records three other attestations of the name Scenus. One is also from Pannonia, one is from Dalmatia and one records a soldier of cohorts I Pannoniorum serving in Germania Superior. The third is from the first century (based on the appearance of formulae *ex cohorte* and *h.s.e.*) and may well record one of the initial Pannonian recruits to this unit. This onomastic evidence confirms that Fronto never served outside his home province.

¹³⁵ Barkóczi and Radnóti 1951, 214; Roldán Hervás 1974, 100; Roxan 1973, 519-20.

Bonio, who received a diploma in AD 99, seems to have remained close to the Roman military after he received his grant of citizenship (RMD I 7). Bonio's diploma was found at Apulum (modern Alba Iulia, Romania) in Dacia. The text of the diploma indicates that Bonio continued to serve in the army after he received his diploma, but the length of his additional service is unknowable. Cohors II Hispanorum, in which he served, is documented in diplomas of Moesia Superior through AD 100 (CIL XVI 46) before being transferred to Vršac, Serbia in Dacia.¹³⁶ It seems that Bonio remained in service during this period of transition. However, Vršac is 150 miles southeast of Apulum, where the diploma was found. Although it is clear that Bonio was not recruited from Dacia, since that province had yet to be conquered when he enlisted in c. AD 74, there are too few examples of Bonio in the epigraphic record to allow any clear conclusions about this soldier's origins.¹³⁷ However, it may be significant that legio XIII Gemina was stationed at Apulum in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars. This implies that Bonio chose ultimately to retire to the legionary *canabae* rather than to the *vicus* outside his unit's station at Vršac.¹³⁸

In this same year (AD 99) a diploma was also awarded to Meticus, of the Bessi, for his service in ala I Asturum in Moesia Inferior (CIL XVI 45).¹³⁹ This is the only case in which the evidence from a diploma seems to indicate that a soldier from an auxiliary

¹³⁶ Roldán Hervás 1974, 116.

¹³⁷ However, what little evidence there is suggests the he was from Pannonia or Noricum (RMD I 7n4. The most informative inscription is CIL III 3679 which names a Bonio and records his *origo* as Andautonia in Pannonia.). On the other hand, Bonio's father's name, Veranius, seems to have its roots in Germania, where it is most often attested. This may indicate that Bonio was himself the son of a soldier who had been transplanted to Pannonia. However such a hypothesis would not withstand close scrutiny without further support.

¹³⁸ *Canabae* and *vici* are the extramural settlements of legionary and auxiliary forts, respectively. For a convenient introduction to *canabae* and *vici* see Hanel 2011.

¹³⁹ For further discussion of this diploma in the context of first-century recruitment see page 94, above.

unit raised on the Iberian Peninsula served in a province other than that of his birth and returned to his birthplace at the conclusion of his service. This diploma was recovered from Philippopolis/Trimontium (modern Plovdiv, Bulgaria) in Thrace, near if not in the homeland of the Bessi. Although one could propose many other ways in which this diploma could have made its way to Philippopolis/Trimontium, it is most reasonable to assume that Meticus himself brought this document with him when returning to his homeland after service. In this regard this diploma stands out from the others discussed in this study.

RMD III 143 was issued in Moesia Superior in AD 101 to Marcus Antonius Esumnus, son of Marcus.¹⁴⁰ The name Esumnus suggests that this soldier was of Celtic descent.¹⁴¹ However, his filiation may indicate that he was the son of a citizen. This suggests that he was, possibly, the son of another soldier: Esumnus may well have been recruited far from his father's homeland and his cognomen may be a relic of his father's, not his own, place of birth. Whatever Esumnus' origins, it is clear that he performed his military service in Moesia Superior. However, his behavior subsequent to receiving his diploma is unclear. The text of the diploma indicates that Esumnus was still serving when he accepted his diploma, probably at Cuppae (modern Golubac, Serbia) in Moesia Superior, before his unit, cohors I Flavia Hispanorum, was sent to Dacia for Trajan's campaigns.¹⁴² Although it has been suggested that this diploma was discovered at Ranovac, Serbia, 20 miles south of Viminacium, this is based on its resemblance to another diploma (RMD III 148), the equally vague circumstances of the discovery of both

¹⁴⁰ The province of issue of this diploma is restored based on the inclusion of cohors I Flavia Hispanorum. This unit is included in diplomas of Moesia Superior from AD 93, 69 and 100 (CIL XVI 39; RMD I 6; CIL XVI 46).

¹⁴¹ Eck 1991, 194-95.

¹⁴² Roldán Hervás 1974, 111-12.

of these diplomas, and their appearance on the Munich art market.¹⁴³ If, however, one accepts the suggestion that this diploma was found at Ranovac, it appears that Esumnus did not settle far from his former post.

AE 2004, 1256 was awarded to Atrectus, son of Capito, a member of the Nemetes in AD 105. This diploma is supposed to have come from Sexaginta Prista (modern Ruse, Bulgaria) in Moesia Inferior.¹⁴⁴ The name Atrectus is found almost exclusively in the German Provinces and Gallia Belgica.¹⁴⁵ This aligns with Atrectus' association with the Nemetes, a tribe that inhabited the left bank of the Rhine and had its tribal capital in Noviomagus Nemetum (modern Speyer, Germany). However, Atrectus' unit, ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum, was stationed in Pannonia in the first century before being transferred to Moesia Inferior in time to be included on a diploma of AD 99 (CIL XVI 44). After, perhaps, a brief stay in Gaureva/Diocletianopolis (modern Hisarya, Bulgaria), ala II Hispanorum occupied the fort at Carsium, founded in AD 103, throughout the second century.¹⁴⁶ These circumstances do not lend themselves to easy explanation. If ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum had already established itself in Carsium when Atrectus left service, he spent only a small portion of his military career there.¹⁴⁷ In this case it might make sense that he moved closer to his former place of service after his discharge. If this *ala* had not yet moved to Carsium, Atrectus may have remained close to the unit

¹⁴³ RMD III 143n1.

¹⁴⁴ Petrovsky 2004.

¹⁴⁵ OPEL I², 87 lists 7 instances of Atrectus in the German provinces and Belgica, 1 from Aquitania and one from Moesia in reference to an individual from Rome. Inscriptions recording the name Atrectus are also focused on the German provinces and Belgica. There are 5 examples of this name from the German provinces and Belgica, 1 from Cisalpine Gaul and 1 from Dalmatia.

¹⁴⁶ Roldán Hervás 1974, 101-2; Wagner 1938, 48; RMD IV 222n4. This unit is recorded on milestones of AD 200 near Carsium (CIL 3, 7603 and 7604).

¹⁴⁷ The exact length of period is uncertain. It appears that Atrectus continued in service after receiving his diploma.

while it was at an intermediary post, although the site of that post is unclear. This latter explanation would, however, suppose that Atrectus died soon after he received his diploma or remained near a temporary camp after his unit had moved on. The former explanation is preferable.

It is also significant that Atrectus seems to have been recruited from Germania but to have served in Moesia and, perhaps, Pannonia.¹⁴⁸ While it may be that Atrectus was recruited directly into ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum it is also possible that he transferred into the unit in order to make up for losses incurred by that unit in Domitian's war with Decabalus (AD 87-8) or in Trajan's first Dacian war (AD 101-2). Regardless of these uncertainties, it is clear that Atrectus did not return to his native land at the conclusion of his service.

While the *origo* of Clemens, the recipient of CIL XVI 52, is unknown, it is clear that he retired a considerable distance from his military station after he concluded his service. Clemens was discharged from cohors I Asturum in AD 106 and his diploma was recovered from Ovilava (modern Wels, Austria) in Noricum. Ovilava is about 120 miles from Asturis (modern Klosterneuburg, Austria), where the Norican cohors I Asturum (not to be confused with the homonymous unit stationed in Germania Superior) was stationed throughout the second and third centuries.¹⁴⁹ Clemens must have had good reason to undertake such a journey. While Clemens' own origins are unknown, the concentration of instances of his wife's name, Seccia, and its variants in Noricum and Dalmatia suggest

¹⁴⁸ Ala II Hispanorum was transferred from Pannonia to Moesia at some point between AD 85 (CIL 16, 31) and AD 105 (the date of this diploma) but no more precise information is available. Roldán Hervás 1974 quite reasonably hypothesizes that this transfer took place during Domitian's war with Decabalus (AD 87-8).

¹⁴⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 87.

that she may have been from the area around Ovilava or Asturis.¹⁵⁰ However, if one assumes that Clemens' diploma was deposited where he died (i.e. in Ovilava), he appears not to have remained at his unit's station after his discharge.

Two years later, in AD 107 a diploma was awarded to Mogetissa, son of Comatullus, of the Boii (CIL XVI 55). The Boii inhabited the area on the border between Noricum and Pannonia, near Carnuntum. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that Mogetissa was a provincial, if not local, recruit to ala I Hispanorum Auriana during its stay in Noricum (Tac. *Hist.* 3.5).¹⁵¹ However, after his enlistment Mogetissa was transferred with his unit to Raetia where he received his diploma. This diploma was discovered at Biriciana (modern Weissenburg, Germany) on the Raetian Limes, where, to judge from the number of inscriptions naming this unit, ala I Hispanorum was posted in the second century.¹⁵² Unless one assumes that Mogetissa lost or disposed of his diploma it seems that he remained with his unit after his discharge.¹⁵³

Another diploma records the discharge from ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum of a horseman named Taurinus, son of Verecundus, who originated among the Sequani of the Arar (modern Saône) valley in Gaul (RMD IV 222). Unfortunately, this diploma first appeared in an auction catalog and its provenance is unknown. However, the circumstances of Taurinus' service seem to mirror those of Atrectus' (AE 2004, 1256, above). This diploma was issued in AD 111, indicating that he enlisted no earlier than AD 86. Like Atrectus, Taurinus seems to have been recruited before ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum was transferred from Pannonia to Moesia, but one cannot be certain that he

¹⁵⁰ OPEL IV, 56. Roxan 1973, 358 notes simply that Seccia is a Celtic name.

¹⁵¹ Wagner 1938, 16. Cf. Roldán Hervás 1974, 85.

¹⁵² Roldán Hervás 1974, 85.

¹⁵³ Mogetissa is listed as an *ex gregalis* on the diploma which also stipulates that its recipient received *honesta missio*.

served his entire tour in that unit. He may well have been transferred into the unit during or after Domitian's war with Decabalus or either of Trajan's Dacian campaigns. It is clear, however, that he was not a local recruit to this unit and concluded his service far from his homeland. It is impossible, however, to determine what he did after his discharge.

CIL XVI 105 is also worthy of mention, although its fragmentary condition makes it problematic in this discussion. This diploma appears to have been awarded to a veteran *gregalis* of ala I Hispanorum Auriana sometime between AD 122 and 140. It was recovered from Pappenheim, Germany in Raetia, less than 10 miles from ala I Hispanorum Auriana's post at Biriciana (modern Weissenburg, Germany).¹⁵⁴ The recipient of this diploma was, evidently, a Frisian from the Lower Rhine, who had married a Batavian woman. The circumstances by which a Frisian came to serve in Raetia are unclear. However, it seems that he and his wife chose to settle near the post of ala I Hispanorum Auriana after the conclusion of his military service.¹⁵⁵

RMD III 159 is a diploma of AD 132-133 that was recovered from Civitas Alisinensium (modern Bad Wimpfen, Germany in Germania Superior; it was awarded to a soldier of cohors II Hispanorum pia fidelis. Unfortunately the name of the soldier has not survived, so his origins cannot be determined. The discovery of a tile stamp (CIL XIII 12444) at Civitas Alisinensium naming cohors II Hispanorum suggests that this unit was stationed there in the early second century. However, it was almost certainly stationed at Stockstadt am Main, also in Germania Superior, when this diploma was

¹⁵⁴ For ala I Hispanorum's deployment to Weissenburg see Roldán Hervás 1974, 85; Spaul 1994, 59.

¹⁵⁵ For the implications of this marriage see page 306, below.

issued.¹⁵⁶ This has led to speculation that the recipient of this diploma returned to the area of his recruitment after the completion of his military service.¹⁵⁷ This claim is, however, somewhat speculative since the diploma was discovered in a late second- or early third-century archaeological context that may be associated with the smelting of scrap metal.¹⁵⁸ It is, perhaps, more likely that the diploma's recipient or his descendents remained with the unit after his discharge and moved to Stockstadt with cohorts II Hispanorum pia fidelis when it was transferred.

RMD I 58/II 95 seems to preserve another case in which a veteran remained with his unit after his retirement. This diploma was awarded to a soldier of cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum between AD 140 and 144 and was recovered from Iciniacum (modern Theilenhofen, Germany) on the Raetian limes. Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum is attested in Raetian diplomas from AD 107 (CIL XVI 55) to 166 (CIL XVI 121) and was most likely stationed at Losodica (modern Munzingen, Germany) also in Raetia, before being relocated to Iciniacum late in the reign of Hadrian or early in the reign of Antoninus Pius.¹⁵⁹ This seems to indicate that the man who received it remained in the camp after receiving it. Since the text of the document explicitly states that its recipient must have received *honesta missio* prior to being awarded a diploma, it is clear that this veteran, and possibly his family, remained with cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum after his discharge. However, the name of the soldier who received this diploma has been lost.

¹⁵⁶ Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 327-30.

¹⁵⁷ RMD III 159, 279n7.

¹⁵⁸ RMD III 159; IV 278; and 279n7.

¹⁵⁹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 80-1 and 146-47 makes this argument based on the presence of this diploma and tiles naming cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum. Cf. CIL III 13546. Roldán Hervás also argued that this unit was transferred to Judaea during the Bar Kokhba revolt. It seems, more likely, however, that it was the homonymous unit from Britain that went to Judaea (Spaul 2000, 92-3).

Therefore, it is impossible to reconstruct the relationship between his place of birth and service.

RMD V 396 has the same limitations. This diploma dates to AD 142 and was discovered “between the Ogosta and Iskar river in Bulgaria” in Moesia Inferior, about 50 miles west of Utus.¹⁶⁰ The surviving fragments of the diploma include neither the name of its recipient nor the entire name of the unit in which he served. However, the extant portion of the unit’s name, *coh(ortis) I H[...]*, allows only four possible reconstructions. While either cohorts I Hispanorum, attested in Britain between AD 127 and 145/6, or cohorts I Hamiorum sagittaria, also in Britain between AD 135 and 158, could possibly be the unit referenced in this diploma, it seems more likely that it pertains to another unit. Given the discovery of this diploma in Bulgaria, the relevant unit is probably either the cohorts I Hispanorum that was in Dacia Porolissensis between AD 133 and 164 (RMD I 35 and RMD I 64), or cohorts I Hispanorum veterana which was stationed in Dacia Inferior from AD 140 to 146 at least (RMD I 39 and RMD IV 269).¹⁶¹ The first of these units was stationed at Porolissum and later Largiana (modern Românași, Romania) six miles further south. The second occupied a fort at Angustia (modern Brețcu, Romania). Regardless which unit the recipient of this inscription served in, it is clear that he left his province of service to settle on the right bank of the Danube some distance away.

To this example we may add evidence of the four natives of the Azali who completed their military service near the elbow of the Danube in Pannonia Superior in the mid-second century. The Azali occupied the right bank of the Danube in this area. CIL XVI 178 was discovered in the village of Csabdi, Hungary, about 20 miles west of

¹⁶⁰ See discussion of RMD V 396 on page 808 of that volume.

¹⁶¹ RMD V 396n3.

Aquincum on the border between Pannonia Inferior and Superior.¹⁶² This diploma was awarded to an *ex gregalis* named Viator, son of Romanus, of the Azali in AD 146.¹⁶³ Since the Azali were located in the area immediately surrounding Aquincum, Viator was probably a native of this area and, perhaps of Csabdi itself. This is reinforced by the appearance of the cognomen Viator more often in Pannonia than any other area of the empire.¹⁶⁴ The location of ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum's post in Pannonia is, however, unclear. This unit seems to have served very near the border between Pannonia Inferior and Superior, perhaps at Celamantia (modern Iža, Slovakia), in the mid-second century.¹⁶⁵ Thus, while Viator may technically have been born in Pannonia Inferior he appears to have been recruited from very near his unit's fort and to have remained in the area after his service.

CIL XVI 97, dating to AD 149, was discovered in Brigetio (modern Komárom-Szöny, Hungary) in Pannonia Superior. It was awarded to Dasmenus, son of Festus, also of the Azali. From the mid-first century Cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium, in which Dasmenus served, was posted in Crumerum (modern Nyergesújfalu, Hungary) 20 miles east of Brigetio and within the territory of the Azali, with a brief departure to Moesia Inferior in AD 160-170, after the conclusion of Dasmenus' service.¹⁶⁶ The fact that Brigetio and Crumerum are within the territory of Azali indicates that Dasmenus was a local recruit and may well have returned to his home in Brigetio after completing his

¹⁶² This area may well have been part of Pannonia Inferior. However, the border was probably not well defined and had little practical impact on daily life. For the line of the boundary before and after its modification in AD 214 see Mócsy 1974, 198.

¹⁶³ The actual text of this inscription reads *Asalo* but must refer to the Azali. CIL XVI 179, p. 234n6.

¹⁶⁴ OPEL IV, 164-165 records 17 examples from Pannonia, 13 from Cisalpine Gaul, and fewer than ten from any other province.

¹⁶⁵ Lörincz 2001, 20.

¹⁶⁶ Lörincz 1990, 78; Mócsy 1962, 622; Roldán Hervás 1974, 101; Roxan 1973, 482-83; Wagner 1938, 114.

service.¹⁶⁷ However, Brigetio was the camp of legio I Adiutrix and had a significant civilian settlement.¹⁶⁸ As such, it may well have attracted veterans and may, in fact, have drawn Dasmenus away from his birthplace in favor of a larger military community.

CIL XVI 99, also from Brigetio was awarded to another veteran of ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum, Victor, son of Liccaius, in AD 150.¹⁶⁹ Like Viator and Dasmenus, Victor is identified as a member of the Azali and seems to have remained within his native territory throughout his service and into his retirement, with the exception, perhaps, of a brief tour in Mauretania between July 7, AD 149 (CIL XVI 97) and August 1, AD 150, when this diploma was issued. The discovery of this diploma at Brigetio, however, strengthens the argument that Brigetio had a special attraction to auxiliary veterans.

Each of these three soldiers seems to have been recruited from very near the station of his unit, to have served in that area, and to have retired nearby. However, just one year after Victor received his diploma (CIL XVI 99, of AD 150), Octavius, son of Cuso, received his diploma (RGZM 32) for service in the same unit, ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum.¹⁷⁰ Octavius' diploma also explicitly records his *origo* among the Azali.¹⁷¹ The exact location of the discovery of this tablet is not recorded but it is said to have been found near Lacus Pelso (modern Lake Balaton) about 55 miles south of Celamantia.

¹⁶⁷ In fact, all the instances of the name Dasmenus that are recorded in OPEL II, 93 may be traced back to Pannonia.

¹⁶⁸ Lörincz 2000, 154-58.

¹⁶⁹ Mócsy 1974, 198 notes that Brigetio was in Pannonia Superior until the reorganization of the provinces by Caracalla in AD 214, at which time it and the other towns of Pannonia Superior east of Arrabona were transferred to Pannonia Inferior. CIL XVI 178 (above) was awarded to another soldier of ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum.

¹⁷⁰ The only example of the name Cuso in OPEL also comes from Pannonia (OPEL II, 89; CIL III 11883).

¹⁷¹ As in the case of Viator (CIL XVI 178) this document substitutes Asalus for the more usual Azalus. The name Cuso is only recorded in one other inscription in OPEL (CIL III 11883). While this is insufficient evidence to merit conclusions on its own, it does seem to support Octavius' Pannonian origins.

While this is not terribly reliable information, it seems to indicate that Octavius, like Viator and Victor, was a local recruit to ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum and that he remained in his homeland after service. However, the distance he traveled within his tribe's territory during and after his service was much greater.

M. Mirković argued that the Azali were especially attached to their homeland due to unspecified special privileges accorded them and limitations on soldiers' acquisition of land during service.¹⁷² However, no such special circumstances are needed to explain the settlement pattern seen here. It seems, rather, that the Azali, like other soldiers, tended to settle in their province of service, which included their homeland.

RMD IV 278 was awarded to a veteran of cohorts V Bracaraugustanorum who remained after his discharge in the province of his service but retired to the territory of his tribe, which lay at a considerable distance from his unit. This diploma was issued in AD 160 and was discovered at Quintana (modern Künzing, Germany), where cohorts V Bracaraugustanorum was stationed from the time of Antoninus Pius onward. Its recipient, Victor, is identified as a native of the Runicates. Ptolemy places the Runicates in the northern reaches of Vindelicia, near Quintana.¹⁷³ However, Victor's wife, Prima, is identified on the diploma as a member of the Catenates, who inhabited the area just south of the Runicates and immediately surrounding Quintana. Thus it seems that Victor was recruited from a tribe near his post and retired to the *vicus* outside his former station after marrying a local woman.¹⁷⁴

On the other hand, CIL XVI 130 seems to indicate that its recipient, a soldier of cohorts I fida Vardullorum, did not remain with his unit or return to his homeland after the

¹⁷² Mirković 2007, 329-30.

¹⁷³ Ptol. *Geog.* 2.13.1. Cf. Plin. *NH* 3.24.

¹⁷⁴ For further discussion of conjugal relationships see page 292, below.

conclusion of his service in AD 160/161.¹⁷⁵ This diploma was discovered at the Union Grounds near Colchester. However, the origin of its recipient is given as Glevum (modern Gloucester, England), and cohorts I fida Vardullorum occupied forts at Castlecary on the Antonine Wall and Longovicium, (modern Lanchester, England) in the second century.¹⁷⁶ Glevum, Castlecary and Longovicium are far from Colchester. The distances between Glevum, Castlecary and Longovicium suggest that the recipient of this diploma neither stayed with his unit nor returned home after his service. It is impossible, however, to determine what drew him to Colchester, although the colony there would have had numerous attractive qualities in the mid-second century.

These diplomas and their findspots display a broad variety of settlement patterns of veterans. Three of these diplomas were discovered at the station of their recipient's unit (CIL XVI 55; RMD I 58/ II 95; and RMD IV 278), 6 more were found within about 25 miles of their recipient's former garrison (RMD IV 202; RMD III 143; CIL XVI 105; 178; 97; and 99), 3 additional diplomas were recovered within 100 miles of the location where they were likely awarded (CIL XVI 31; RMD III 159; and RGZM 32), and the remainder were found between about 100 and 280 miles from where their recipient served (CIL XVI 29; RMD I 7; CIL XVI 45; AE 2004, 1256; CIL XVI 52; RMD V 396; and CIL XVI 130).¹⁷⁷ Therefore nearly half (9/20) of all the diplomas awarded to members of auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula for which reasonable record of their provenance exist were found within 25 miles of the location of the unit in which the recipient served. This would seem to imply that about half of those receiving diplomas

¹⁷⁵ Birley 2005, 150-51 proposes AD 160 as the most likely date of this diploma.

¹⁷⁶ Roldán Hervás 1974, 143-45. Birley 2005, 151 notes that cohorts I Vardullorum is also recorded at Castlecary on the Antonine Wall while under the command of Trebius Verus, who is likely the commander recorded here. Thus Saturninus is likely to have served much of his tour even further north.

¹⁷⁷ RMD IV 222 has been omitted from this list since its findspot is unknown.

remained in the general vicinity of their units after their service. However, further examination of the *origines* of the soldiers who settled within 25 miles of their former posts reveals that at least 4 of these 9 soldiers were recruited, served and settled within their tribal homeland (RMD IV 202; CIL XVI 178; 97; and 99). This may also have been the case for Victor of the Runicates, whose diploma was discovered on the site of Quintana where his unit was stationed (RMD IV 278). Two of the 4 remaining diplomas of this category preserve insufficient evidence from which to draw conclusions regarding the origins of their recipient. Only the diplomas of Mogetissa of the Boii (CIL XVI 55) and of a Frisian whose name is lost (CIL XVI 105) may serve as evidence of a foreign soldier settling near the location of his former garrison.

Given the generally accepted tendency toward increasing local recruitment by the *auxilia* in the late first and second centuries, these results may not seem exceptional. All of the 9 diplomas found within 25 miles of their recipients' former post, except RMD IV 202, date to the second century and therefore may reflect local recruitment. In fact, even Dasus, the recipient of RMD IV 202, who was recruited about AD 36, was a local recruit. It is interesting to note, however, that, if one accepts the diplomas as being representative of the location in which their recipient settled, it appears that only 3 of the 9 soldiers remained at the actual fort where they had served. Among these 9 are 2 whose origins cannot be determined (RMD I 58/II 95 and 143), 2 who moved with his unit from another province (CIL XVI 55; and CIL XVI 105), 1 who seems to have been recruited directly into a unit serving in a foreign province (CIL XVI 105), and 5 who were recruited from a local tribe (RMD IV 202; CIL XVI 178; 97; 99; and RMD IV 278).

Not all veterans, however, remained near their former station after their discharge. Furthermore, it is difficult within the corpus under examination here to identify a clear

pattern for their settlement. The earliest of the 3 diplomas that seem to suggest veteran settlement between 25 and 100 miles from the soldier's place of service is CIL XVI 31. Its recipient, Fronto, was a native Iasus. He was recruited from and served in Pannonia, and upon his retirement moved north, toward Lacus Pelso. This would have taken Fronto well north of the territory of the Iasi, although the distance of his journey would have been sufficient to return him to his "homeland". This clearly demonstrates that origins alone did not dictate his movements after the conclusion of his service.

Likewise Octavius, the Azalus, recipient of RGZM 32, seems to have traveled about 55 miles south of his station after his service. While the borders of Azali territory cannot be determined precisely, it seems that after his discharge Octavius likely traveled to the very edges of his native territory if not beyond its borders. Thus he, like Fronto, may not have been bound to his homeland at the conclusion of his service.

Not surprisingly, the same is true of veterans who traveled longer distances after their service. Among the 7 diplomas whose findspots suggest their recipient traveled 100 miles or more, the 2 earliest and best documented examples indicate that their recipients traveled long distances from their former garrison but that these distances were insufficient to return them to their homeland. Saturninus' diploma (CIL XVI 29) was found 200 miles down the Nile from his post at Talmis but he was originally from the island of Chios. Likewise, Atrectus traveled over 100 miles down the Danube but would have had to travel almost 1000 miles in the other direction to reach the territory of the Nemetes on the Rhine (AE 2004, 1256). While it might be supposed that Saturninus was on his way back to Chios when he died or lost his diploma at Coptus, it is clear that Atrectus was not actively pursuing a journey home. The conclusions drawn from these two diplomas must, however, be tempered by the knowledge that neither soldier had been

discharged at the time he was awarded his diploma. Thus they may have still been in active service when they died.

On the other hand, it is clear that the recipient of CIL XVI 130, also named Saturninus, had been discharged at the time he was awarded his diploma. However, the findspot of his diploma gives no indication that he attempted to return home after his service. While Saturninus traveled far enough after his service to return home, he seems instead to have settled in Camulodunum, 150 miles from his birthplace. Likewise, the recipient of RMD I 7 seems not to have intended to return home after his service. Indeed, only Meticus, the recipient of CIL XVI 45, seems to have taken his diploma back to his homeland and he probably traveled over 100 miles to get there.

Based on this analysis it seems that veterans were not limited to their home territory or the vicinity of their former posts when settling after their service. Furthermore, it appears that even those who undertook long journeys subsequent to their military service did not necessarily have as their object a return to the place or even the area of their birth. One must, therefore, look further in order to find additional factors that may have influenced veteran settlement.

Among these factors one must consider the nature of the locations from which these diplomas have been recovered. The nature of the findspot of 13 of 20 diplomas currently under examination can be determined with some confidence. Ten of these diplomas were discovered in military sites or in their surrounding *vici* or *canabae*, 4 were found in civilian towns or cities, and 6 were found in contexts that do not permit easy definition but may have been rural or the sites of small communities. It may come as no surprise that the 10 diplomas discovered on military sites include 7 of the 9 diplomas that were discovered within 25 miles of their recipient's station or former station. Only CIL

XVI 178, which was found at Csabdi, Hungary, 20-25 miles from Celamantia, and CIL XVI 105, which was found in Pappenheim, 7 miles south of Biriciana, are not included in this group. There seems, however, to be a tendency among these veterans to move to larger military settlements than those in which they served. The 2 Azali recorded in CIL XVI 97 and 99, for example, left Crumerum and Celamantia, respectively, and settled at Brigetio in the *canabae* associated with legio I Adiutrix from AD 119.¹⁷⁸ This was not a great change from Celamantia, which housed a detachment of legio I Adiutrix, but it does represent a significant move from Crumerum. Likewise Sexaginta Prista seems to have been a much larger community than Carsium (AE 2004, 1256). It housed two cohorts, cohorts II Flavia Brittonum equitata and cohorts II Mattiacorum, and was referred to as a *polis* by Ptolemy in the second century (3.10.10). Although Bad Wimpfen was only an auxiliary camp when RMD III 159 was issued (AD 132/3), its later prominence as the “chief town of the Upper German civitas Alisinensium” suggests its importance earlier as well.¹⁷⁹ Finally and most remarkably, Gaius Julius Saturninus, the recipient of CIL XVI 29, seems to have moved about 200 miles to settle at Coptos, which occupied an important place on the eastern trade route and housed at least part of legio III Cyrenaica.

One might seek a chronological evolution in settlement patterns of veterans. However, none is apparent in the diplomas relevant to this study. This may be due, in part, to the limited chronological scope of these diplomas themselves. The earliest of these diplomas was awarded in AD 61 and the latest dates to AD 160/1, allowing only one hundred years in which to track these patterns. Furthermore the limited sample size

¹⁷⁸ Mócsy 1974, 99; Stillwell, MacDonald and McAllister 1976, 167-68.

¹⁷⁹ Birley 1997, 209.

makes any statistical arguments problematic.¹⁸⁰ In fact, the distribution of the diplomas currently under examination is remarkably uniform. The diplomas that suggest veteran settlement 100 miles or more from their recipients' former stations date to AD 83, 99, 105, 106, 142 and 160/1. While these include no example from the Julio-Claudian or early Flavian period, this cannot be taken as evidence for the lack of long-distance travel by veterans at that time. Indeed, this study includes only one diploma earlier than that of AD 83, RMD IV 202 of AD 61.

There were, of course, personal and economic factors that may have influenced veterans and their choice of residence after their service. For example, Victor, the recipient of RMD IV 278, may have chosen to remain in Quintana because it was the home of his wife, Prima. Personal relationships will be explored in greater detail in the next two chapters. The expense of travel in the ancient world may also have prohibited veterans from moving freely after their discharge. Nevertheless, the examples described above in which soldiers moved a hundred miles or more after their service seem to indicate that poverty and the hardships of the road were not insurmountable obstacles for those who wished to move great distances.

¹⁸⁰ A chronological study of all military diplomas might yield more convincing evidence but I am aware of no such study.

4.3 Conclusion

The examinations of the inscriptions and the diplomas for which the relationship between the veteran's former post and place of settlement can be reconstructed show marked similarities in their number, in their geographic distribution relative to the posts of the veterans they record, and in the nature of the sites from which they were discovered. These include 22 inscriptions and 19 diplomas.¹⁸¹ Of these 41, 9 (6 inscriptions/3 diplomas) were discovered at the site of their associated veteran's service, 9 more were found within 25 miles (3/6), 8 more within 100 miles (5/3), and 15 more than 100 miles away (8/7). Likewise, 22 (11/11) of the 41 records discussed in this analysis whose findspots can be categorized indicate settlement on a military site and 19 (11/8) were recovered from civilian or rural sites.¹⁸²

The settlement practices of these veterans are a significant indication of the effects of service on them, their native communities and the communities in which they served and settled. Veterans' decisions to settle in a particular location after the conclusion of their military service must have been related to their experience before enlistment and during their service. Men like Sanecius, and Teres who returned to their native lands after their discharge must have felt a strong connection to their home, even after twenty-five or more years in the army.

¹⁸¹ I have excluded from this number 7 inscriptions (CIL III 12361; 14214.9; 12378; 12480; ILBulg 305; IScM II 172; 196) and 1 diploma (RMD IV 222) pertaining to veterans of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. In each of these cases the location of the veteran's former garrison, or the findspot of the diploma, or inscription, or both are not known with enough precision to include them here. However, the veterans documented on each of the 7 inscriptions are likely to have stayed in the province in which they concluded their service. No such claim can be made regarding the recipient of the diploma.

¹⁸² The findspots of RMD IV 222 and RMD V 396 are unknown. Therefore they are not included in this total. It is also difficult to determine whether Aquincum (RHP 124 and CIL III 10514) or Utus (CIL III 12359; 12361; 12480) ought to be considered military or civilian sites.

Communication between soldiers and their homeland was certainly possible.¹⁸³ However, it seems that few of the soldiers from the *auxilia* raised on the Iberian Peninsula returned long distances to their homes after their service. Their absence would have had an effect on the communities from which these soldiers were recruited, but it would not have been one of Romanization or acculturation from the perspective of these communities.¹⁸⁴ If youths were enlisted in the army and never returned, their native communities would be deprived of their presence. Whatever aspects of Roman and native culture these men adopted while in service would not have been transferred back to their homelands.¹⁸⁵

On the other hand, the settlement of large numbers of auxiliary veterans in the provinces in which they served could have had a profound effect on the communities in which they chose to live. This is most evident in the two tombstones of German auxiliaries found at Aquincum (RHP 124 and CIL III 10514). Both of these stones commemorate a dead veteran of ala I Hispanorum and were erected by someone referring to himself as the veteran's *frater*. Although the precise nature of their relationship is not clear, these stones seem to indicate that there was an active community of veterans at Aquincum. There are several possible interpretations of these inscriptions in this respect.¹⁸⁶ The first is that Severus and Nertus were commemorated by their biological

¹⁸³ Cicero and Pliny communicated over long distances (not to each other). Derks and Roymans 2006, 128-31 argues that seal-boxes recovered from sites in Batavian territory are "indicative of correspondence between Batavian soldiers in distant parts of the empire and their families back home." Also BGU II, 423 evidences correspondence between a naval recruit in Misenum and his father in Egypt. The Vindolanda letters, however, do not preserve correspondence outside of Britain. Cf. Noy 2000, 166-67.

¹⁸⁴ Driel-Murray 2003.

¹⁸⁵ While one might suspect that soldiers sent money to their families, Noy 2000, 54 notes: "Migration in the ancient world was not a way for one family member to subsidize directly those who remained at home, since the facilities for transferring funds from one to another without making a personal visit were only available to the very rich."

¹⁸⁶ Képartová 1986.

brothers. If this is the case one ought probably to assume that the brothers were in Aquincum either as soldiers or civilians and that four, rather than two, young men left their home communities. It would also be reasonable to assume that these “*fratres*” settled in Aquincum, doubling the effect on that community as well. While these are isolated cases the potential enlistment of brothers suggests that the Roman army’s drain on the populations of native communities was larger than the epigraphic record may indicate.¹⁸⁷

Furthermore, it is not clear from these inscriptions that the “*fratres*” who erected these tombstones were themselves enlisted in the army. Although it seems unlikely that these men were civilians, it is possible. If this was the case, it implies that Severus and Nertus brought their families with them when they entered the Roman army. This would suggest an even broader and more profound effect on the community at Aquincum.

However, it is more likely that the men referred to as “*fratres*” were simply close friends and comrades of the men whom they commemorated. This has important implications as well because it highlights the strength of the military community. If this was the case the two men not only remained at Aquincum at the end of their service but also chose as their heirs individuals to whom they were not related by blood. In effect, the military community served as a substitute for their own families and home communities and these men chose to remain with their unit upon their discharge rather than return home. In this scenario one may see a complicated web of social and cultural influences in which a newly enlisted soldier was affected by Roman military society and the native communities that surrounded his post. He, in turn, would influence those

¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, Haynes 2000 has argued convincingly that the impact of recruitment varied widely from region to region in the empire.

institutions. The effect on the soldier's home community (i.e. the community in which he was born) would be minimal. These soldiers, in essence, substituted their home communities with the military community and, upon their discharge, the local community.

Nertus and Severus seem to have settled in the very same communities in which they concluded their military service and in which their unit remained. As this examination of the evidence from units raised on the Iberian Peninsula has shown, this was not uncommon. In fact, about half of the soldiers whose final place of settlement can be determined seem to have remained within a military community, either with their own unit or near the garrison of another. This model of cultural interaction is, however, further complicated when soldiers seem to have settled in other communities but not to have returned to the place of their birth. This seems to have been the case for Quintus Allidius Celer, who served in cohorts I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica in Moesia and settled in Tomis (IScM II 196). If we are correct in attributing Celer's origins to North Africa, it seems that he chose to settle in a civilian community, Tomis, which had no military presence, rather than with his unit or in his homeland.

Active auxiliary soldiers traveled widely in the course of their duties and one may suspect that Celer had visited Tomis during his service. Tomis was a relatively large city and would have attracted soldiers on leave and veterans with the promise of entertainments and, perhaps, commercial opportunities. For this reason it is not surprising that Celer chose to settle there. Nevertheless, the effect of this decision from the perspective of cultural interaction is significant. Ultimately, Celer's service in Moesia would have had little influence on his home in North Africa. There is no reason to believe that they would even have been aware of the ways in which Celer was

influenced by his exposure to a different society. Celer, however, was willing to forgo a return to his ancestral home in order to settle in Moesia. In this case it is clear also that Celer did not simply substitute his ties with his family and place of birth with bonds to his fellow soldiers and the military community. Rather, he seems to have joined the broader Moesian society. This scenario draws attention to the influence of local rather than military society on soldiers. In fact, at least 16 of the 41 veterans whose final place of settlement can be categorized as civilian or military seem to have settled in purely civilian communities.

Finally, among the total of 26 veterans whose *origines* may be determined with any confidence, 16 seem to have completed their military service in a province other than that in which they originated. Of these 16 only 4 seem to have returned to their homeland after discharge (CIL II 432; CIL XVI 45; IDRE II 353; and ILLPRON 664), while 7 settled in civilian communities (CIL II 432; CIL III 12361; CIL XVI 45; IDRE II 353; IScM II 172; II 196; and ILLPRON 664). This suggests the strength of the connection between these soldiers, the areas in which they served, and the army in general. Only the recipients of CIL II 432, CIL XVI 45, IDRE II 353, and ILLPRON 664 returned home and settled in an area with no clear military connection. Thus it seems that connections made with the military community, with the people among whom these soldiers served, and with their adopted homes were significant forces in the lives of the veterans of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula.

Overall, however, the features that dominate this study are the wide geographical dispersal of veterans, the fact that at least a quarter of these veterans had served outside their home province but that few returned home, and the concentration of auxiliary veterans in military sites. While about half the soldiers whose final military post and

location of settlement are known seem to have remained within 25 miles of their unit, over one-third traveled more than 100 miles before finding a new home. This highlights the potential cultural influence of veterans on communities in direct contact neither with the units in which these soldiers served nor with the Roman military in general. However, the lack of evidence of veterans returning to their home communities and their concentration in communities with preexisting military connections seems to indicate that this influence was not as strong or at least as direct as has often been supposed.

5. The Formation and Maintenance of Personal Relationships: Inter-soldier Relationships

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have sought to illuminate general trends in the recruitment of soldiers to the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and the movement of veterans after their discharge, while highlighting the diversity of the evidence. These chapters were intended to provide a sense of the backgrounds from which soldiers entered service, and to suggest the ultimate result, at least in geographical terms, of the influences that affected them during their service. These influences included aspects of Roman military culture, such as discipline, religion and language, that have been explored by other scholars. However, discussion of these influences is usually conducted on a largely theoretical level and in broad strokes. In contrast, the evidence in my study allows us a more individual investigation. In the following two chapters we look at the personal relationships of soldiers from the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula as they are intimated in the epigraphic record, including suggestions as to how they came about and were maintained. The frequency and chronological distribution of this kind of evidence can illuminate the development of the *auxilia*, and the interaction between individual soldiers, their comrades, and civilian communities. Inscriptions' vocabulary—specific and unspecific alike—and recorded groupings suggest the types of relationships that Roman auxiliary soldiers enjoyed during and after their service. Examination of the evidence related to serving soldiers and veterans may also provide useful information concerning the social environment in which soldiers served. Furthermore, chronological analysis of this information reveals evidence for the changing social environment of the military in the first, second and early third centuries.

These two chapters present the evidence for relationships recorded on inscriptions related to the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, compare the trends that emerge with those identified in other studies of similar material, and attempt a nuanced analysis of the significance of these relationships. We will see that, in the first century, inter-soldier relationships occupied a prominent position in the commemorative inscriptions of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, but that they comprise a smaller proportion of the evidence for personal relationships in the second and third centuries. In contrast, familial relationships are evidenced more frequently in the second and third centuries. The origins of soldiers and their wives show the diversity of soldiers' conjugal relationships. Finally, the evidence highlights the importance of servile relationships within the army; we will see what little evidence survives for other types of relationships. Ultimately, examination of all the social relationships recorded within the epigraphic record of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula will show the diversity of social and cultural influences that affected soldiers during and after their service.

Previous scholarship related to the personal relationships of soldiers has been focused largely on the role of family in the military. In the course of their very important study of the nature of the Roman family, R. Saller and B. Shaw (1984) examined a large portion of the epigraphic evidence related to the legions and *auxilia* of the Roman army. However, their intent was to establish the primacy of the nuclear family in the Roman world and not to understand the ways in which auxiliary soldiers created and maintained relationships.¹ They, therefore, included soldiers of all ranks and from all branches of service in their study, and did not make a strong distinction between legionaries and

¹ Saller and Shaw 1984, 124.

auxiliaries. They also largely neglected extra-familial relationships in order to concentrate on their thesis about the form of the Roman family. In fact, Saller and Shaw included all non-familial, non-servile relationships in a single category, *amici*, and undertook very little discussion of the nature of these relationships, although non-familial relationships factored heavily in their argument that a lack of evidence for familial relationships is indicative of non-local recruitment.² Furthermore, they were unconcerned with chronological matters and made no attempt to differentiate widely diverse evidence, being satisfied instead to assume that the majority of their information came from the mid-second to early-third centuries.³ Thus their results provide little information about possible changes in the types of relationships displayed in the epigraphic record over time.

In his response to Saller and Shaw's article, D. B. Martin recognized methodological flaws in their work and argued that these flaws influenced their results and render their data problematic for further analysis.⁴ Martin's criticism focused on the manner in which Saller and Shaw counted relationships. According to their own explanation of their work, Saller and Shaw counted individual relationships on stones while disregarding duplicates of the same type of relationship.⁵ Thus one stone could contribute more than one entry to their tables, but this total might still not represent the total number of relationships if, for instance, a father and his two sons appeared on a stone. Such a stone would be recorded as a single "father-to-son" relationship. Conversely, if a stone was erected by a man for his brother, sister, mother and father, it

² Saller and Shaw 1984, 131-32 and 40-45.

³ Saller and Shaw 1984, 130-31.

⁴ Martin 1996, 41.

⁵ Saller and Shaw 1984, 131.

would contribute four entries to Saller and Shaw's tables. This skewed their results in respect to the form of the Roman family, which was their primary focus. Nevertheless, the broad scope of Saller and Shaw's work provides some useful baseline information for the current study, and their seminal article will be referenced repeatedly with proper qualifications.

Several other examinations of soldiers' relationships have been focused on the presence of women in the military community and the laws surrounding the marriage of soldiers.⁶ The legal and practical aspects of marriage within the legions and *auxilia* have been examined most recently by S. Phang (2001). Phang showed that while soldiers in the Roman army were officially forbidden to marry from the reign of Augustus to that of Septimius Severus,⁷ *de facto* marriages, or "unofficial unions," as Phang terms them, involving soldiers existed in the first century and grew more common in the second century, before being legalized in AD 197.⁸ This trend had previously been identified by G. Alföldy and explored in more detail by M. M. Roxan.⁹ Phang found that no more than 15 percent of soldiers serving in the first century in any of her geographical samples were commemorated by their "wife."¹⁰ Like Saller and Shaw, Phang attributes this to the wide displacement of soldiers during this period.¹¹ She argues that this would have made it difficult for soldiers to find suitable partners. She notes, however, that commemoration of soldiers by their "nuclear" family is more common in the second century. Among

⁶ Alföldy 1987; Campbell 1978; Cherry 1989; Gardner 1991; Mirković 1986; Phang 2004; 2001; Roxan 1991; Varon 1994; 1997; Vicente 2000; Wells 1997.

⁷ Phang 2001, 2-3.

⁸ Phang 2001, 3 and 152-59.

⁹ Alföldy 1987, 33n27; Roxan 1991, 262-67.

¹⁰ Phang 2001, 154.

¹¹ Phang 2001, 155-56. This phenomenon is discussed in further detail in Chapter 3, above.

“nuclear” families, Phang includes both birth families and conjugal families (i.e. a family based on mother, father and children, in which the soldiers could be father, child, sibling or spouse to his commemorator). Phang also notes that rank seems to have played a role in commemoration; legionaries were the most likely to be commemorated by wives, but auxiliary soldiers of elevated rank (*immunes* and *principales*) were less likely to be commemorated by wives, and still fewer auxiliary soldiers of the lowest ranks (*gregalis*, *miles* or *eques*) were commemorated by wives.¹² Finally, Phang argues that most soldiers were in their thirties when they entered unions with *de facto* wives.¹³

Phang’s conclusions are compelling, but she chose to examine only epitaphs that were erected for soldiers, while neglecting those erected by soldiers.¹⁴ Furthermore, Phang was concerned only with the marriage of soldiers. As a result she largely disregards evidence for other types of relationships, such as those between soldiers and between soldiers and their parents. She mentions memorials erected for soldiers by their comrades, and the survival of relationships with parents and siblings. However, she does not explore the significance of these relationships. Like Saller and Shaw, she recognizes the geographical considerations that may have contributed to the maintenance or neglect of relationships. But she does not discuss these factors fully in regards to marriage or at all in regards to non-conjugal relationships.¹⁵

Phang’s preoccupation with marriage among Roman soldiers is not unique. A great deal of scholarship has explored this issue.¹⁶ However, relatively little has been

¹² Phang 2001, 159. Cf. Saller and Shaw 1984, 140. For the *immunes* and *principales* see page 77, above.

¹³ Phang 2001, 167-69.

¹⁴ Phang 2004, 151-52.

¹⁵ Phang 2001, 155; Saller and Shaw 1984, 143.

¹⁶ See page 224n6, above.

done to investigate other types of relationships in and around the Roman *auxilia* and to exploit the evidence for these relationships as much as possible. Furthermore, Phang's analysis, like Saller and Shaw's, Martin's and others', is largely quantitative, dealing with a great number of inscriptions in very broad terms. This type of productive investigation establishes general trends that can guide further study but neglects the diversity of the evidence. In this chapter and the following chapter, I turn to a more detailed analysis of individual inscriptions to highlight the diversity of the evidence.

5.2 Evidence and Methodology

Before beginning analysis of the disparate and often lacunose evidence that may be brought to bear on this subject, one must first consider the nature, biases, potential and limitation of the available evidence. For this study I have collected all the inscriptions that explicitly name a soldier serving below the rank of *praefectus* or *tribunus* in any of the Roman auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, and another individual.¹⁷ I have also included inscriptions that clearly refer to one of those soldiers, but from which the name of the soldier has been lost. Finally, I have collected those few inscriptions in which an entire unit or a portion of a unit commemorated an individual. This has yielded a corpus of ninety-four inscriptions on stone.¹⁸

This corpus is dominated by tombstones. Saller and Shaw estimated that tombstones account for between 70 and 75 percent of all Latin inscriptions.¹⁹

¹⁷ I have also omitted one stone that refers to a *subpraefectus* (ILS 2703). The recipient of this stone was, like a *praefectus*, of equestrian rank and, therefore, outside the scope of the current study.

¹⁸ This chapter will also discuss the evidence of ten diplomas that name soldiers' wives. These must, however, be discussed separately due to the nature of these documents.

¹⁹ Saller and Shaw 1984, 124n1. Cf. Meyer 1990, 75n4.

Furthermore, over 80 percent of all Latin tombstones include the name of the deceased and the name of at least one commemorator, who was responsible for erecting the stone.²⁰ Indeed, according to E. Meyer's calculations (based on Saller and Shaw's data), 83.3 percent of military tombstones mention a commemorator.²¹ While these figures ought not to be accepted without qualification, since there are methodological problems with both Saller and Shaw's data and Meyer's calculations, this may be taken as a decent approximation of the true frequency of these inscriptions.²²

Meyer's contention that 83.3 percent of military tombstones included reference to a commemorator also approximates the results obtained from the epigraphic record of the Roman auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. Within the corpus of inscriptions collected for the current examination are ninety-two tombstones that mention a commemorator by name or simply as *heres* or *heredes*.²³ This may be compared with eleven tombstones from the entire corpus of epigraphy associated with auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula that did not include a commemorator. Thus about 90% of the tombstones associated with these units included some mention of a commemorator who was not also the person for whom the stone was erected.²⁴

²⁰ Shaw 1984, 463n16. Cf. Meyer 1990, 75.

²¹ Meyer 1990, 75.

²² As we have seen the "total relationships" noted by Saller and Shaw does not represent an accurate count of the tombstones they consulted. Instead it is a total of the number of relationships recorded on those stones. Meyer took the average of the percentages of Saller and Shaw's "totals" represented by "no commemorator" stones in order to make her calculations. Since these totals are of different sizes but counted equally in Meyer's calculations, the results are further skewed.

²³ These include stones erected by an individual for him/herself and others. Saller and Shaw and, by extension, Meyer included these stones several times in their calculations (one entry for each type of relationship). Thus they factor more heavily in their calculations than they do in mine and may account for some of the disparity between their results and mine.

²⁴ I have not included those stones that were erected by an individual for himself alone.

This disparity between Meyer's calculations and my own may be a result of methodological differences, since I am counting inscriptions while Meyer's results are derived from Saller and Shaw's method of counting relationships. However, it seems clear that commemorators are mentioned on over three-quarters of the known Latin tombstones. The inclusion of such information within the texts of these inscriptions provides a wealth of information about personal relationships.

The identification of personal relationships through the epigraphic record is relatively simple. Tombstones and votives, in particular, often name more than one individual, allowing us to infer that the individuals named on these stones had a personal relationship of some kind. The nature of these relationships is also often stated explicitly. For example, a son might erect a tombstone for his *parentibus piissimis*.²⁵ In these cases the nature of the relationships recorded is clear. However, the importance of these relationships to the individuals involved is more difficult to determine, especially when they are recorded on tombstones. Commemoration patterns were subject to social and legal influences.

Analysis of the evidence presented on tombstones must take into account the circumstances that surrounded their erection, and what is known of the motivations that led to their erection. Saller and Shaw recognized the important distinction between post-mortem and ante-mortem monuments.²⁶ As they noted, individuals commemorated by post-mortem monuments depended on someone else, the commemorator or commemorators, to honor them after their death because of kinship, heirship or friendship. Thus the individual or individuals honored with the inscription did not have

²⁵ AE 2001, 1644.

²⁶ Saller and Shaw 1984, 125-26.

ultimate control over who erected the stone or the text of the inscription. In this way they may represent the will, sentiments and circumstances of the survivors more than those of the deceased.

Ante-mortem monuments, on the other hand, provide a more direct reflection of their authors' personal relationships. While the recipients of post-mortem memorials were limited to the deceased, and the authors were necessarily those individuals alive and available to erect the stone, ante-mortem commemorations allowed the author the freedom to include whomever he or she chose. The criteria by which authors of ante-mortem memorials chose others to be named on their stones are obscure, but there is no reason to believe their selections were limited in any way. One might suppose that the authors of ante-mortem monuments sought the permission of those they intended to name before including them in the text, but, beyond that, these authors had a free hand.

The freedom available to authors of ante-mortem commemorations is particularly significant in light of arguments surrounding the erection of post-mortem memorials. Primarily one must consider the nature of the relationship between commemorator and commemorated and the criteria by which the commemorator was chosen. It has often been noted that commemoration and heirship were closely linked in Roman society.²⁷ Heirs were required to incur the expenses of burial and commemoration of the person whose property they inherited if no other individual was charged with this responsibility in the will of the deceased.²⁸ However, if heirs, or individuals willing to accept responsibility for the deceased's estate, were not available, responsibility for

²⁷ Meyer 1990, 74-9; Saller and Shaw 1984, 126.

²⁸ *Dig.* 11.7.3-4, 11.7.14.2, 6-7. Cf. Meyer 1990, 76-8.

commemoration fell first to sons²⁹ and then to other relatives.³⁰ These legal conditions led Saller and Shaw to argue that “the statements of the *Digest* suggest that where the deceased is associated with a named commemorator (and by no means all Romans were commemorated), the latter is very likely to be the heir or, failing that, the family member thought to be tied by the strongest bond of duty.”³¹

Saller and Shaw’s contention that individual commemorators were not necessarily legal heirs and that commemoration may represent family bonds permits one to consider the relationship between commemorator and commemorated in an extra-legal context. That is to say that the law alone did not dictate who became the commemorator of record for any deceased individual. Rather, Saller and Shaw suggest that commemoration sometimes depended on social ties and that anyone who wished to could commemorate an individual. Meyer reacted to these claims writing, “heirship, not family, is the primary basis of commemoration. This is not to say that every tombstone was put up by the heir but that the habit of epitaphs grew out of this relationship, and that it should be presumed unless there is reason to exclude it.”³² However, she goes on to maintain that when heirship was not the motive for erecting a tombstone, familial bonds may be presumed to have replaced it.³³

Both Saller and Shaw’s and Meyer’s assessments of the role of heirship in commemoration leave room for the possibility that some commemorations were independent of heirship, and that in some cases commemoration relied on personal

²⁹ *Dig.* 11.7.4.

³⁰ *Dig.* 11.7.12.4.

³¹ Saller and Shaw 1984, 126.

³² Meyer 1990, 78.

³³ Meyer 1990, 78.

relationships. They were certainly correct to do so in the case of auxiliary soldiers. Indeed, D. Cherry has argued that “the pattern of commemoration seems to have been shaped mainly by sentiment and family affection” rather than by legal relationships.³⁴ It is difficult to believe that the legal wrangling of scholars like Cicero and Ulpian had much practical effect on the commemoration or, indeed, the inheritance practices of low-ranking military personnel, especially on the frontiers of the empire. This argument is all the more valid if we consider the peregrine (i.e. non-Roman) citizenship status of many auxiliary soldiers.

Nevertheless, 35 inscriptions connected to one or more soldiers of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula were erected by someone referred to as the deceased’s heir, including 5 of the 35 inscriptions that report to have been erected by a civilian family member. The quantity of these inscriptions, which are as numerous as all explicit family relationships mentioned in the epigraphy of these units, suggests that heirship was an important factor in commemoration.³⁵ In fact, 17 of these inscriptions record only that they were erected by an heir or heirs and provide no further information about a relationship to the deceased. However, an examination of the chronological distribution of these stones reveals that 28 of the stones that name *heredes* are securely datable to the first century, while 2 date to sometime around the turn of the first and second centuries, and just 5 date to the second or third centuries. That is to say at least 80 percent of these stones date to the first century. This is at odds with the general trends in growth and decline of the epigraphic habit that suggest that more inscriptions were

³⁴ Cherry 1995, 150-56.

³⁵ Cf. Meyer 1990, 74-8; Varon 1997, *passim*.

erected in the second century than in the third.³⁶ It also differs from the chronological distribution of the epigraphic evidence for the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, which displays similar patterns to those identified for the epigraphic habit as a whole. Thus stones recording an unnamed heir comprise a much higher proportion of the epigraphic record of the first century than they do of the second or third. Not only are they more frequent in the first century, but the absolute number of other stones from the first century is smaller than that of other stones in the second or third centuries.

This chronological distribution may be an indication of soldiers' acute concern about the legality of the relationships recorded on their tombstones in the first century. This is supported by the fact that all the heirs who are named on these stones are male. Furthermore, every one of the soldiers commemorated on these stones was in active service. While several had served beyond twenty-five years, none is identified as a veteran, and only five appear to have held citizenship.³⁷ However, the vague nature of these inscriptions prohibits further analysis. Even if we are to believe that soldiers adhered to the letter of the law as it has come down to us, any number of relationships, including *de facto* marriages, could hide behind the title of heir when no further information about that heir is provided.³⁸

Roman law gave soldiers relatively wide discretion in matters of inheritance. This diversity of heirship was facilitated by stipulations in Roman law that allowed

³⁶ MacMullen 1982.

³⁷ Two of these men (CIL V 7896 and 7900) served in cohorts I Ligurum et Hispanorum civium Romanorum and may have received their citizenship upon enlistment. Likewise, the ala Sulpicia in which the honoree of CIL XIII 8311 served may have been composed of Roman citizens, although evidence of this unit is scant. Furthermore, the soldier named on CIL III 15205.3 may well have been a veteran. He appears to have returned to his home in Celeia and was commemorated by his brother.

³⁸ The variety of relationships between deceased soldiers and their heirs is aptly demonstrated in Varon 1997, *passim*.

soldiers to name *peregrini* or *Latini* as their heirs.³⁹ Hadrian also explicitly allowed all active soldiers, who were not permitted legal marriage, to name their children, who were technically illegitimate, as heirs.⁴⁰ Furthermore, a letter from Hadrian to Pompeius Flaco states that the property of a soldier who died intestate could be claimed by his relatives or, if he had no relatives, by his fellow soldiers.⁴¹ This implies that the bonds between soldiers were accepted as nearly as important as those between family members. In fact, fathers of soldiers were not permitted to inherit from their sons until the reign of Diocletian and mothers were severely limited in their rights of succession from sons until the sixth century.⁴²

In 1997 P. Varon showed that serving soldiers in the first to fourth centuries had a tendency to name fellow soldiers as their heirs.⁴³ He noted also, however, that heirship tended to shift toward wives, children, civilian brothers, freedmen and freedwomen, after soldiers were discharged. These general tendencies are confirmed by the current study, although the large number of unspecified *heredes* may obscure more diverse heir relationships in the first century, especially since all the soldiers commemorated by anonymous heirs in the first century were in active service.

Furthermore, one of the relationships that appear in the epigraphic record consistently is that of *fratres*. As has been noted above, this designation can be problematic.⁴⁴ While one may accept literally most relationships recorded on

³⁹ Gai. *Inst.* II.110. This passage refers to a *lex Junia*, which may be the *lex Junia Vellaea* of 28 AD, but this is unclear. Nevertheless, the law cited here must have dated to the mid-second century at the very latest. Cf. Stein 1987.

⁴⁰ BGU 140. Cf. Oliver and Clinton 1989, 167-70 no. 70.

⁴¹ *Dig.* 28.3.6.7.

⁴² Varon 1997, 566. Cf. *Cod. Iust.* 2.52.2; *Cod. Theod.* 5.1 and 5.2; *Inst. Iust.* 3.3.

⁴³ Varon 1997, 565-66. Note that Varon makes no attempt to differentiate his data diachronically.

⁴⁴ See page 282, below, for further discussion of this issue.

inscriptions, epigraphically recorded *fratres* were not necessarily biological brothers. In some cases *frater* and *consobrinus* are used as terms of endearment.⁴⁵ In fact, non-biological “fraternal” relationships could be so strong that they took on a legal aspect. The *Digest* records that one who was not a brother, if cared for with fraternal affection, could be named an heir with his own name, under the title of brother.⁴⁶ This suggests that close friendships between males were widely recognized, even by the Imperial administration. While the frequency of these quasi-fraternal relationships is unclear, one may be relatively certain that individuals identified as brothers and having a common *nomen* were biological brothers.⁴⁷ Likewise, individuals with the same filiation were almost certainly true brothers. Furthermore, phrases like *fratres genetivi* occasionally provide explicit reference to biological relationships.⁴⁸ However, one must be more cautious in cases where no confirmation of a biological relationship is available. In these cases it may be expedient to use the term soldier-brother⁴⁹ to denote fellow soldiers who identify themselves as brothers.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, it is most important in the current context to recognize that soldiers had wide discretion in the naming of their heirs and that there is no evidence to suggest that any official restrictions were put upon commemoration. Therefore, heirs could come

⁴⁵ Bannon 1997, 3-4, 136-37 and 40; Képartová 1986, *passim*; MacMullen 1984, 442-44.

⁴⁶ *Dig.* 28.5.59(58).1 (Paul): Qui frater non est, si fraterna caritate diligitur, recte cum nomine suo sub appellatione fratris heres instituitur.

⁴⁷ Phang 2001, 162. Képartová 1986, 13, however, notes that the *nomen* Aurelius is so common after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* that it renders that particular *nomen* useless for identifying brothers. For an example of brothers with the same *nomen* see CIL III 15205.3 (page 100, above). For an example of reported brothers with the *nomen* Aurelius see CIL VIII 4416 (page 272, below).

⁴⁸ For example, AE 2004, 1257. See page 272, below.

⁴⁹ This term is also used in Saller and Shaw 1984. Cf. Képartová 1986.

⁵⁰ In the section on familial relationships, I will demonstrate that most “fraternal” relationships were probably between soldiers, regardless of the biological veracity of the *fratres*’ relationship. See page 282, below.

from a wide range of sources and, most significantly, one did not have to be a legal heir in order to commemorate a soldier or anyone else. This is most clearly visible in inscriptions erected by parents for their children. In some cases the children were too young to have any reasonable estate to leave to anyone and, in the case of grown children, parents seem not to have been able to act as heirs.⁵¹ Thus we must consider commemoration as a social practice as much as a legal practice.

There are also numerous difficulties in determining the relative importance of types of relationships from tombstones. One may assume that the individual or individuals who commemorated a fallen man or woman were those most closely tied to him or her by social and/or legal bonds.⁵² However, financial and other practical considerations may have prevented the closest relatives of the deceased—for example a widowed common-law wife—from erecting a memorial. This may, in turn, have resulted in commemoration by a more distant relation that omitted mention of other kin. Likewise, tombstones erected by several individuals or a corporate body may be assumed to represent personal relationships, although it would be difficult to give precedence to one commemorator over any other.

Many military diplomas also record personal relationships. In addition to the 94 inscriptions on stone collected for this examination, there are ten diplomas that record relationships between soldiers of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and their wives or children. These must be treated separately from tombstones and votives due to the nature of these documents. Diplomas name the soldier who received them and granted him *conubium* (legal marriage) with his *de facto* wife, if he chose to name one,

⁵¹ Varon 1997, 566.

⁵² As we saw above, Meyer 1990, 74-8 argues that legal heirship drove most, but not all, commemoration.

and citizenship to him, his wife and his children, if he had them, though citizenship was no longer granted to veterans' children after AD 140.⁵³ This provides useful demographic information, because the names and tribal affiliations of soldiers and their wives can illuminate soldiers' ties to native communities. However, the formulaic nature of diplomas and the legal conditions that underlie them dictated that only the recipient's wife and children could be named.⁵⁴ The soldiers themselves were not given the option to name other relatives or friends. Rather, the diplomas and the information provided on them are limited to the soldiers, their wives and their children. For this reason, these documents will be discussed separately.⁵⁵

Finally, votives have the potential to illuminate close relationships. However, these are much less common in my database and in Latin epigraphy as a whole than tombstones, and they represent only a small portion of the inscriptions that can be brought to bear in an examination of personal relationships. Nevertheless, votives, such as those erected for the health of the emperor, are also prone to name more than one individual. For example, CIL II 2552, a votive to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus discovered in Villalís, Spain, records a decurion of cohorts I Celtiberorum along with a legionary centurion, imperial freedman *procurator*, a *beneficiarius procuratoris*, and a legionary *signifer*:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [p]ro salute M(arci) Aureli
An[t]onini et L(uci) Aureli Veri / [A]ugustor(um) ob
natale(m) Aqu[i]lae vexillatio leg(ionis) VII G(eminae)
F(elicis) / sub cura Licini Patern[i] / (centurionis) leg(ionis)
eiusd(em) et Hermetis / Augustor(um) lib(erti)
proc(uratoris) et Lucreti Paterni dec(urionis) coh(ortis) / I
Celt(iberorum) et Fabi Marcian[i] / b(ene)f(iciarii)

⁵³ M. Roxan 1986, 268 and 71. For a general discussion of diplomas see page 81, above.

⁵⁴ For important exceptions to this rule see Eck 2003; Eck and Pangerl 2008.

⁵⁵ For discussion of conjugal relationships recorded in diplomas see page 295, below.

proc(uratoris) Augustor(um) et / Iuli Iuliani sign(iferi)
leg(ionis) / eiusd(em) IIII Id(us) Iunias / Laeliano et Pastore
co(n)s(ulibus).⁵⁶

While one might suggest that the individuals named on inscriptions like this one shared a close personal bond, these inscriptions, like diplomas, are of an official or at least quasi-official nature. They are symbols of loyalty to the emperor and are erected by soldiers alone, seemingly to the exclusion of relatives and civilians. Therefore, they reflect only professional relationships and do little to clarify the social ties spontaneously undertaken by the soldiers they name. Consequently, these inscriptions also have been omitted from this examination of social relationships, although they indicate one important means by which social bonds were forged during military service, by the undertaking of communal tasks, often centered on the emperor.

Nevertheless, one cannot discount the importance of such professional relationships in the lives of auxiliary soldiers. Certainly interactions among soldiers had profound effects on the lives and behavior of these men. One cannot have served and lived among hundreds of other soldiers and not been influenced by them or had an influence upon them. These day-to-day interactions are, however, virtually invisible in the epigraphic and archaeological record.

To be sure, the inscriptions that survive constitute only a partial representation of the social landscape that evolved in and around service in the Roman *auxilia*. For every relationship attested on a tombstone erected for a soldier or by a soldier there must have been scores of unrecorded social ties. One cannot assume that the author of the

⁵⁶ “To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, for the health of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and of Lucius Aurelius Verus, the Augusti, for the birth of the eagle, the vexillation of legio VII Gemina Felix, under the care of Licinius Paternus, centurion of the that same legion, and of the *procurator* Hermes, freedman of the Augusti, and of Lucretius Paternus, decurion of cohorts I Celtiberorum, and of Fabius Marcianus, *beneficiarius* of the *procurator* of the Augusti, and of Julius Julianus, *signifer* of that same legion, four days before the ides of June (June 10) when Laelianus and Pastor were consuls” (AD 163).

inscription on a tombstone was the deceased's only friend or relation. Nevertheless, the relative frequency with which fellow soldiers, wives, parents, siblings, slaves and freedpersons are recorded on tombstones, either as the commemorator or the deceased, must give some indication of the importance of these relationships. Furthermore, the chronological and geographical distribution of these inscriptions indicates changes in the social landscape of the *auxilia* over time.

In order to analyze social relationships, I have identified those inscriptions in which one or more personal relationships are perceptible. These relationships have then been categorized as inter-soldier (i.e. between soldiers), familial, servile (i.e. freedman/slave-patron/master), and those that do not fit any of the other categories, such as when an individual is named, but no relationship to the soldier is provided or discernible, or when there is an unnamed *amicus*. These categories are roughly analogous to those used by Saller and Shaw but are intended to facilitate a broader examination of soldiers' personal relationships.⁵⁷ These data reveal that over the three centuries included in my study personal relationships not associated with the military are more commonly recorded than those that resulted directly from military service (i.e. those between soldiers, active or retired). This, in turn, suggests that soldiers' lives were not dominated by their military service, but rather that their relationships with civilians, and family in particular, were a primary focus of their social interactions. Furthermore, close scrutiny of the chronological distribution of various types of inscriptions indicates that

⁵⁷ Saller and Shaw 1984, 131-32 divided their data first into nuclear family relationships and all others. Subsequently they divided the latter category into extended family, heirs, friends (including fellow-soldiers) and servile relationships, leaving to "residual" categories of "no commemorator known" and "sibi-se vivo." These categories necessarily reflect Saller and Shaw's interest in the role of the nuclear family.

records of inter-soldier relationships decline in frequency from the first to the second century, while records of familial relationships become more common.

5.3 Relationships among Soldiers

Among the 94 inscriptions on stone that record personal relations involving soldiers of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, there are 26 that record a social relationship between two or more soldiers below the rank of prefect. Of these, 8 record more than one soldier from a single unit, and 10 preserve information about one or more soldiers from different units. In the remaining 8 inscriptions it is not clear whether the men mentioned in the text were members of the same or different units.⁵⁸ However each of these inscriptions mentions more than one soldier. Not only does the quantity of these inscriptions allow us to gauge the frequency of inter-soldier relationships compared to family connections and other social ties, but also the inscriptions themselves provide a window into the social factors surrounding inter-soldier relations. In particular one might examine the ethnic and geographic origins of the soldiers named on these stones in order to judge the importance of a shared origin in the formation of the relationships that resulted in the erection of these stones. It is also worthwhile to consider the number of inscriptions that betray relationships between soldiers who seem to be related by blood. Finally, one might note the frequency with which soldiers commemorate and are commemorated by soldiers of equal, superior, or inferior rank, in order to assess the strength of the military hierarchy in the development of friendships and the naming of heirs. In order to approach these themes I will present

⁵⁸ In one of these cases, AE 2004, 1257, the deceased's service in the military is inferred from the text's phrase *in pugna* which suggests he died in battle and, hence, was a soldier.

separately the inscriptions that record personal relationships between soldiers of the same units, between soldiers of different units, and between soldiers whose units are unclear. I will, however, present the members of each group in chronological order, to the extent that that order may be determined, and discuss these themes as they arise.

At least 5, and perhaps as many as 7, of the 8 inscriptions that record personal relationships between soldiers of the same unit date to the first century AD. This suggests that this type of relationship was most important in the early history of these units and became less significant, legally or socially, in the second century. The earliest of the inscriptions that record relationships between soldiers of the same unit date to the first half of the first century. AE 2000, 1179 is a first-century, perhaps pre-Claudian,⁵⁹ inscription from Bigeste, Dalmatia (Figure 21). This inscription was erected for Veranus, the son of Caturio, an eques of cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum by his decurion, Tiro, and his brother, Crispus.⁶⁰

Veranus Caturionis / f(ilius) eq(ues) coh(ortis) I
Bracaraug(ustanorum) / turma Tironis ann(or)um /
XXXIIX stipendiorum / XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / h(eredes) p(osuerunt) Tiro
decurio et Crispus / Caturionis.⁶¹

The fact that Veranus and Crispus are both described as sons of Caturio clearly indicates that they were biological brothers and suggests that they originated in Spain. The name Caturio is recorded on only one other inscription from outside of the Iberian Peninsula

⁵⁹ The dating of this stone is largely dependent of the abbreviation *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)* which Holder 1980, 151 ascribes to the period before AD 42 when not accompanied by *h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. Cf. Alföldy 1969, 27-30.

⁶⁰ This inscription is also discussed on page 125, above.

⁶¹ “Veranus, son of Caturio, horseman of cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum from the *turma* of Tiro, having lived thirty-eight years and served eighteen lies here. In his will he ordered that this be done. His heirs Tiro, the decurion, and Crispus, son of Caturio, set this up.”

(CIL V 7224), while it appears at least twenty-three times on the Iberian Peninsula.⁶² Furthermore, it is clear that Veranus and Tiro served in the same unit. Although it is not stated explicitly, it seems logical to suppose that Crispus was a soldier. The fact that Tiro and Crispus were named as joint heirs and erected this monument together may indicate that even at this early date family relationships and the relationships that arose between fellow soldiers shared an important position in the lives of soldiers.

AE 1961, 17, dating from second quarter of the first century and discovered in Olbasa, Pisidia, also stresses the importance of inter-soldier relationships. It differs from the other tombstones of this type, however, because it seems to have been erected by several soldiers:⁶³

[...] qui [et C]ratero dec(urio) cohor(tis) Hisp(anorum) I /
M(arcus) Justus Rusticus qui et / Tales eques cohor(tis)
Hispanorum tur(mae) / Baebi et Ammia Papu ex
te[stamen]/to et manumiserunt servom / Irotem uti praestus
sit eo sep[ul]chro.⁶⁴

Although the name of the recipient of this memorial is lost, the fact that Cratero and Rusticus were soldiers suggests that the deceased was probably also a member of cohorts I Hispanorum. Even if this were not the case, the appearance of these soldiers as commemorators on a single stone suggests the importance of the military in their social relationships. While the exact location of cohorts I Hispanorum's garrison in Pisidia is unknown, this inscription was probably erected near cohorts I Hispanorum's fort. Onomastic evidence suggests that Cratero, Rusticus, and Ammia may have been from the

⁶² OPEL II, 45.

⁶³ For dating see Holder 1980, 310 no. 1571. Holder's conclusion is presumably based on the phrasing of cohorts Hispanorum I which places it in the Julio-Claudian period. However, the reason for his assignation of this stone to the reign of Claudius is less clear.

⁶⁴ "...also known as Cratero, decurion of cohorts I Hispanorum, Marcus Justus Rusticus, who is also known as Tales, of the cohorts Hispanorum and of the *turma* of Baebus, and Ammia Papu. In accordance with his will they also manumitted his slave Irotem so that he could attend the grave."

Spanish provinces and one may suppose the same was true of the deceased. While this is the only instance of the name Cratero in Latin epigraphy, the name Craterus appears on an inscription from Spain and nowhere else (CIL II 131).⁶⁵ About 40 percent of the instances of the name Rusticus are from the Spanish provinces (61/153).⁶⁶ Tales is otherwise unattested in Latin epigraphy but the root “Tal” seems to be far more common on the Iberian Peninsula than elsewhere.⁶⁷ Also, while the instances of the name Ammia are evenly distributed throughout northern Italy, the provinces of the Iberian Peninsula, the Rhine and the Danube, Ammius is found predominantly on the Iberian Peninsula (12/19).

It is regrettable that there is no indication of the nature of the deceased’s relationship to Ammia Papu. It seems reasonable to suppose, however, that Ammia was the deceased’s *de facto* wife and further that she came from the Iberian Peninsula or was the daughter of a soldier who had done so. Phang has established that soldiers formed *de facto* unions in the first century.⁶⁸ The nature of this relationship must, however, remain the subject of speculation. If Ammia was a slave or freedwoman, her master may have assigned her a name without regard to her true origins. This scenario seems unlikely, however, since a slave and his status are mentioned elsewhere on the stone. It is remarkable in its own right that the recipient of this tombstone had a slave, whom his commemorators freed. However, the chronological distribution of servile relationships will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ OPEL II, 82.

⁶⁶ OPEL IV, 37.

⁶⁷ OPEL IV, 106.

⁶⁸ See page 224n8, above.

⁶⁹ See page 319, below.

The grave marker of Laccaius, a *sesquiplicarius*, and of Acutus, a *duplicarius*, both of ala II Aravacorum, dates to the Julio-Claudian period and attests to the importance of inter-soldier relationships (AE 1990, 386):⁷⁰

Loc(us) m(onument) / Laccai |(sesquiplicarii) / et Acuti
|(duplicarii) / equit(um) ala(e) / Aravac(or)um II / in
front(e) p(edes) XVI / in agr(o) p(edes) XXXII.⁷¹

The names Laccaius and Acutus may both be indicative of origins in Cisalpine Gaul or even in Aquileia, where the stone was discovered.⁷² There is no evidence to suggest that these soldiers were related by blood. However, the fact that there is no mention of a commemorator suggests that Laccaus and Acutus erected their grave marker during their own lives. In light of these circumstances, it is remarkable that only the two soldiers are mentioned on the stone. There are no stipulations for wives, parents, children, slaves or freedmen. Thus it seems that Laccaius and Acutus had no relationships closer than the one they shared together and one may suppose that this inter-soldier relationship formed the core of their social lives. Even if legal heirship was a factor in commemoration practices, there is no reason that Laccaius and Acutus should have omitted *de facto* wives or children from this inscription if they had them. Therefore, it appears that these two men had no other relationships that approached the importance of their friendship. This is also interesting because the two men were of unequal rank. However, there was probably little practical difference between *sesquiplicarii* and *duplicarii* in terms of absolute authority. Both ranks are elevated above the common soldiers but neither

⁷⁰ The dating of this inscription is based on the position of the unit number after the unit's name.

⁷¹ "The location of the monument of Laccaius, *sesquiplicarius*, and of Acutus, *duplicarius* of the horsemen of ala II Aravacorum. In front, sixteen feet; into the field thirty-two feet (in depth)."

⁷² Aquileia lay within the administrative territory of Venetia et Histria after the reorganization of Italy under Augustus. For a detailed discussion of the Roman administration of Aquileia see Cassola 1971, 27-33.

soldier is likely to have had direct authority over the other. Rather, both would have been subject to the authority of a decurion or, perhaps, reported directly to the commander of the *ala*.

Another tombstone of the mid-first century records a relationship between two *equites* (CIL III 4244):⁷³

Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Vanamiu[s] eq(ues) al(ae) I
H(ispanorum) Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Aplo eq(ues) al(ae)
eiusd(em) p(osuit).⁷⁴

This tombstone was discovered in Mattersburg, Austria in Pannonia (later Pannonia Superior), about ten miles from ancient Scarbantia (modern Sopron, Hungary). Lörincz argued that these two soldiers were both recruited in Dalmatia in the first half of the first century, but there is no reason to assume that they were related by blood.⁷⁵

Among the eight inscriptions that provide direct evidence for the social ties between individual soldiers from single auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula, AE 1963, 27, which dates to the Julio-Claudian or Flavian period and may therefore be slightly later in date than those already discussed,⁷⁶ provides the most provocative evidence for geographical and tribal ties among soldiers:

Icascaen / Tamaconum / dec(urio) al(ae) I Gig(urrorum) /
com(m)ili[t](ones) Ic/[asc]aenis gentis / Iovi O(ptimo)
M(aximo) v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).⁷⁷

⁷³ Lörincz 2001, 195 no. 23; 1996, 74 dates this inscription to the mid-first century. Holder 1980, 506 suggests some time in the reign of Nero or Vespasian. Both of these suggestions are based upon the fact that both soldiers are identified as Tiberius Claudius.

⁷⁴ Tiberius Claudius Vanamius, horseman of ala I Hispanorum. Tiberius Claudius Aplo, horseman of that same ala, set this up.

⁷⁵ Lörincz 1996, 74.

⁷⁶ For dating see García y Bellido 1961, 139-42. His dating is based on the argument that the dedicator was recruited from the Gigurri and must, therefore, have been recruited in the Julio-Claudian period. Cf. Roxan 1973, 349-51.

⁷⁷ “Icascaen of the Tamacones, decurion of ala I Gigurrorum (and his) fellow soldiers of the tribe of Icascaen, willingly and deservedly fulfilled their vow to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.”

This inscription was recovered from modern Castrelo del Valle, Spain. It appears to be a votive to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by Icascaen, a decurion of ala I Gigurrorum, and his fellow soldiers of the Tamacones (or perhaps the Tamagones). The Tamacones ought, in turn, to be associated with the Tamagani listed on an inscription from Aquae Flaviae (CIL II 2477=5616) and assigned to territory north of Aquae Flaviae and about fifty miles west-southwest of Asturica.⁷⁸ While AE 1963, 27 does not record a personal relationship between individuals, it documents Icascaen's relationship with his fellow tribesmen. Furthermore, the emphasis placed on the common origins of these soldiers by the phrase *commilitones Icascaenis gentis* betrays an identity contrast by which Icascaen and his fellow Tamacones differentiated themselves from another, unidentified group. That was, presumably, the remainder of ala I Gigurrorum, which was composed of men from another tribe or other tribes. The tribal self-identification of Icascaen and his *commilitones* indicates the importance of geographical/tribal backgrounds in the social interaction of soldiers.

Furthermore, the self-identification of this group of Tamacones is particularly remarkable because this inscription was found in the territory ascribed to the Gigurri by García y Bellido.⁷⁹ This is not far from the homeland of the Tamagani.⁸⁰ The location of this inscription in the homeland of the Gigurri has led to supposition that, in spite of its ligatures and abbreviations, this inscription dates to the first half of the first century, before the unit was removed from the Iberian Peninsula.⁸¹ But no further information about this unit has come to light. This inscription also indicates the importance of

⁷⁸ *Barrington Atlas*, map 24, D2.

⁷⁹ García y Bellido 1961, 139-42.

⁸⁰ *Barrington Atlas*, map 24, D2.

⁸¹ García y Bellido 1963, 139-42 argues for a first-century date. Roxan 1973, 349-51 prefers a later date.

tribal/ethnic ties in the lives of auxiliary soldiers from the earliest history of their units. However, it seems likely that this inscription was erected in response to a specific event other than a death (such as the completion of a campaign or journey) or to mark a holiday that is not specified. In this regard this votive inscription differs from the tombstones that make up the bulk of the twenty-six inscriptions recording personal relationships between soldiers. However, it resembles AE 1990, 386 in that both inscriptions were erected during the lives of the men named and therefore give some indication of their relationships outside of a funerary context.⁸²

While considering the first-century evidence for relationships between soldiers serving in the same unit one ought also to mention CIL III 12257 and CIL XIII 6538. CIL III 12257, which was erected in the late first or early second century in Stratonicea (modern Eskihisar, Muğla Province, Turkey) in Caria,⁸³ is also associated with both an individual and a corporate body.⁸⁴ In this case, however, the corporate body was an entire unit (*numerus*) that took responsibility for the erection of a tombstone for one of its members, Flavius Severus:⁸⁵

D(is) M(anibus) / Flavio S[e]v(e)ro / militi c[o]hortis /
Lusitanorum vixit / annis XX[.]X militavit / stipendia XIII
memo/ria(m) num[er]i[us] posuit.⁸⁶

⁸² See page 243, above.

⁸³ Cichorius 1900, 314 notes that this inscription may date as early as the last third of the first century. Roldán Hervás 1974, 156-57 suggests that it may date to the first century, citing the origin of the recipient of CIL XVI 31 as proof of this cohort's presence in Caria in the second half of the first century. However, this argument is problematic. It seems more likely that the recipient of CIL XVI 31 originated among the Iasii of Pannonia than that he was from Iasos in Caria. Thus the date of this stone is unclear.

⁸⁴ Cf. AE 1963, 27 on page 244, above.

⁸⁵ Speidel 1976, 346-47 notes that the *numerus* and *cohors* in this inscription are synonymous. In other contexts, however, *numerus* may refer to an irregular unit of native troops. See Southern 1989 for the most exhaustive general investigation of the *numeri* to date.

⁸⁶ "To the immortal shades and to Flavius Severus, soldier of the cohorts Lusitanorum, who lived XX.X years and served thirteen. The unit set up this memorial."

From this inscription one may surmise the close social tie between Flavius and his fellow soldiers. In fact it would seem that Flavius' closest bond was with his unit, since it was the *numerus* that commemorated his death. While the exact number of soldiers who actively participated in the commemoration of Flavius is unclear, it is apparent that they constitute Flavius' closest survivors.

In some ways this is surprising. Flavius was at least in his late twenties, or perhaps forty years old, when he died, and he had been in service for fourteen years.⁸⁷ He was old enough to have started a family; he had been in service long enough and had probably been at a single station long enough to have developed ties, romantic or otherwise, with the civilian population. Nevertheless, it was his fellow soldiers who chose to erect his tombstone and who, presumably, acted as his heirs.⁸⁸ The difficulty of dating this inscription precisely serves as a reminder that we cannot hope to identify definite moments at which policies or behaviors changed. Rather, this inscription and others suggest that close bonds within auxiliary units continued into the late first century and may have persisted into the second.

CIL XIII 6538, from Mainhardt, Germany, provides unequivocal evidence of a geographic bond between the soldiers named in its text but is also difficult to date:

D(is) M(anibus) / Maximo Dasan/tis mensori coh(ortis) I /
Asturum (centuria) Co[...]/uni Quin[t]ini s[ti]/pendiorum
XVIII / an(n)orum XXXVIII / c(ivis) Dalmata ex
m/unicipio Magn[o] / et Batoni Beusantis / optioni
coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) (centuria) [ea]/dem

⁸⁷ Flavius' age must be partially reconstructed from the fifth line of this inscription in which at least one letter has been lost between the second and third X. This allows for the possibility that Flavius was 28 (XXIIX), 29 (XXIX) or forty (XXXX) years old.

⁸⁸ See page 233, above.

stip(endiorum) XVIII ann[o]/rum XL ex munici/pio Salvio
A[...]E[...] / [...]ionis [...]⁸⁹

The text of this inscription clearly states that Maximus and Bato were Dalmatian. Maximus is described as a *civis Dalmata* and Bato was from Salvium, also in Dalmatia. The similarity of these men's origins hints at the existence of an ethnic community within cohorts I Asturum, but the loss of the name of the commemorator or commemorators makes it impossible to conjecture further. The significance of this stone is also somewhat obscured by dating problems. CIL XIII 6538 has been dated variously to the last quarter of the first century or the second half of the second century.⁹⁰ The majority view that this inscription dates to the latter half of the second century, combined with the explicit *origines* of the two soldiers, seems to indicate that shared origins remained an important factor in the formation of social relationships within the *auxilia* even at this late date. But the general lack of evidence for inter-soldier relationships within units in the second century is curious.

Indeed, only one further inscription attests a relationship between soldiers in the same unit after the first century. CIL III 6743, from Dascusa (modern Ağın Elaziğ, Turkey) in Cappadocia, names two soldiers who served in the same unit in the late second century or third century:⁹¹

...]rius de[c(urio)] / al(ae) II Ulp(iae) [...] / Aur(ianae)
stip(endiorum) / XXII vix(it) an[n(os)] / XLV Jul(ius)

⁸⁹ "To the immortal shades, for Maximus, son of Dasans, *ensor* of cohorts I Asturum, from the century of Co...unus Quintinus, having served eighteen years and lived thirty-eight, a Dalmatian citizen from the municipium of Magnus and for Bato, son of Beusans, *optio* of the cohort written above, from that same century, having served eighteen years and lived forty, from the municipium of Salvium."

⁹⁰ Cichorius 1900, col. 245 suggests the earlier period, assuming that these two men had been recruited in Dalmatia before this unit was transferred to Germania Superior in AD 74. Alföldy 1962, 260-61; Kraft 1951, 168; Santos Yanguas 2008, 244-45 favor a date in the second half of the second century.

⁹¹ For dating see Roxan 1973, 112.

Phil[ip]/pus dup(licarius) al(ae) eiu[s]/dem frater [p(osuit)].⁹²

In this case the commemorator is said to be the brother of the deceased. As always, however, one may doubt whether the two were related by blood.⁹³ If *frater* is used as a term of endearment here rather than an indication of a true familial relationship, we are left with no irrefutable evidence for brothers serving together in any of the auxiliary units originally raised on the Iberian Peninsula. Only AE 2000, 1179 preserves clear evidence of biological brothers and it is not clear that both of the brothers were soldiers. It may be that brothers rarely served together in auxiliary units, that they rarely commemorated each other, or that they rarely noted their relationships on funerary monuments. However, there are no definitive answers available from the corpus currently under scrutiny.⁹⁴

Before moving on to discuss the inscriptions that record relationships between soldiers in separate units, it is worth reviewing the information presented here in regards to chronology, the origins of the soldiers, their potential biological relationships and their ranks. First we may note that at least five of these inscriptions date to the first century, and a sixth dates to sometime around the turn of the second century. By contrast, only CIL III 6743 certainly dates to the second century, although CIL XIII 6538 is likely to date to this period as well. This weighting toward the first century is significant,

⁹² "...rius, decurion of ala II Ulpia ... Auriana, having served twenty-two years and lived forty-five. Julius Philippus, duplicarius of this same ala, his brother, built this." Cf. CIL III 3271, discussed on page 269, below, in which two brothers may also be recorded in the same unit.

⁹³ See page 233, above.

⁹⁴ We return to "fraternal" relationships on page 282, below.

especially in light of MacMullen's observation that the epigraphic habit grew in popularity in the second century.⁹⁵

While AE 1963, 27 and CIL XIII 6538 provide relatively clear evidence for a geographical/tribal community in an auxiliary unit, the names listed on 4 of the other 6 inscriptions pertaining to multiple soldiers of a single unit also indicate that the soldiers shared a geographical or tribal background. In 3 of these cases (AE 1961, 17; AE 1990, 386; and CIL III 4244) one is forced to depend on onomastic evidence to prove this connection.⁹⁶ This evidence ranges greatly in quality from Cratero and Rusticus of AE 1961, 17, for whose Spanish origins there is ample proof,⁹⁷ to the slightly more speculative link between Laccaius and Acutus in AE 1990, 386,⁹⁸ who may well have both come from Cisalpine Gaul or Aquileia where the stone was discovered,⁹⁹ and further to the tenuous case of Aplo and Vanamius presented in CIL III 4244, a stone recovered from Mattersburg, Austria in Pannonia Superior.¹⁰⁰ In this final case, Lörincz argued that the soldiers shared a Dalmatian origin.¹⁰¹ There is ample onomastic evidence to suggest that Aplo, who erected this inscription, was Dalmatian. Lörincz, in turn, used this and the early date of this inscription to suggest also that Vanamius was Dalmatian, but he was able to cite little evidence to support his hypothesis.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ MacMullen 1982, esp. 244-46

⁹⁶ AE 2000, 1179 has been omitted from this list because the two brothers named on this inscription necessarily shared an *origo* and because the *origo* of Tiro, the deceased's decurion, is not clear.

⁹⁷ See page 241, above.

⁹⁸ For transcription and translation see page 243, above.

⁹⁹ Aquileia lay within the administrative territory of Venetia et Histria after the reorganization of Italy under Augustus. For a detailed discussion of the Roman administration of Aquileia see Cassola 1971, 27-33.

¹⁰⁰ For transcription and translation see page 244, above.

¹⁰¹ Lörincz 1996, 74.

¹⁰² Lörincz 1996, 74.

It is tempting to conclude that the auxiliary units from Spain remained relatively homogenous during the first century and that the inclusion of more than one soldier of the same geographical background on a single inscription reflects this homogeneity. However, one might also see in these inscriptions the early division of units based on the differing backgrounds of the soldiers. This is particularly clear in AE 1963, 27, which seems to indicate that ala I Gigurrorum was divided into at least two social groups based on the origin of their members.¹⁰³ If this interpretation of the material is correct it would seem that, from a very early date, men of shared origin tended to associate with each other and form close social ties, even when the origins of the other members of their units may have appeared very similar to their own in the eyes of outsiders.

CIL XIII 6538 also highlights the importance of ethnic and geographic ties in the later evolution of auxiliary units.¹⁰⁴ This inscription, probably dating to the latter half of the second century, names Dalmatians who served in cohorts I Asturum, which had been in Germania Superior at least since the Flavian period (CIL XVI 20). These soldiers were likely recruited into a unit that consisted largely of Germans.¹⁰⁵ In this regard one may see the importance of bonds based on soldiers' origins continuing after the first years of a unit's existence.

Finally, it appears from this selection of inscriptions that rank did not play a determining role in patterns of commemoration. Even within these eight inscriptions soldiers are seen commemorating men of equal rank (CIL III 4344), subordinates (AE 2000, 1179) and superiors (CIL III 6743). In one case two men of slightly different rank were even commemorated together (AE 1990, 386).

¹⁰³ See discussion on page 244, above.

¹⁰⁴ See page 247, above.

¹⁰⁵ See CIL XIII 7036.

In addition to the four inscriptions that clearly record personal relationships of apparently unrelated soldiers with relatively equal rank (noted above), we must also look at more complex evidence from the remaining inscriptions. The relationships recorded in CIL III 12257 and AE 1963, 27 are vague due to the wording of the inscriptions, in which a *numerus* and some *commilitones* erected tombstones for a decurion and a *miles*, respectively. It is unclear in both of these cases whether the commemorators included men of lesser and higher rank than the deceased, or only their equals. It may, however, be surmised from AE 1961, 17 that men of varying ranks pooled together to raise memorials for their fallen comrade. In this inscription a decurion, an *eques*, a freedman and a woman, perhaps the dead soldier's wife, are named on the memorial. While the deceased's rank is not reported, it is clear that he could not have been of equal rank to all the soldiers named on the stone, since their ranks varied. These themes can also be tracked among the inscriptions that record relationships between soldiers serving in separate units.

Ten inscriptions record relationships between soldiers of different units, at least one of whom served in a unit that was originally raised on the Iberian Peninsula. These inscriptions form a much different chronological pattern and also preserve very different types of relationships, including many more familial relations. Furthermore, among these inscriptions only CIL III 4839 provides unambiguous evidence of a shared origin between unrelated soldiers.

The earliest of these inscriptions is AE 1992, 1276 (Figure 49). This stone was erected in the first half of the first century by a *vexillarius* of ala I Hispanorum (here perhaps recorded as ala I Hispana) for a soldier of unknown rank in the ala Moesica:¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ For dating see Speidel 1992b, 165.

... / [alae] Moes[icae] / [torqu]atae [h(ic) s(itus) e(st)] /
 [...]us vex[illa]/[rius a]lae His[pa]/[nae fac(iendum)
 c]uravi[t].¹⁰⁷

While the names of these two soldiers have been lost, along with any direct evidence of their origins, Speidel has shown that ala I Hispanorum was stationed at Augusta Raurica (modern Kaiseraugst, Switzerland), where this stone was discovered, while the ala Moesica also served in Germania in this period.¹⁰⁸ It also seems likely that these two units served near each other or even shared a camp.¹⁰⁹ This, in turn, provides an opportunity for these two soldiers to have formed a close friendship, assuming they were not related by blood and did not share a common origin.

CIL III 14349.8, however, provides direct evidence for the persistence of “fraternal” relationships during a separation caused by service:

Reginus Trouce/tissae f(ilius) domo Tr/ever anno(rum)
 XXX se/squiplic(arius) alae Aur(ianae) I / stipendio(rum)
 V h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Receptus sesquip(licarius) / alae
 Asturu(m) II fra/ter ide(m) heres / pos(u)it.¹¹⁰

This tombstone was erected at Aquincum in the early or mid-first century by Receptus, a *sesquiplicarius* of ala II Asturum for his “*frater*” Reginus, a *sesquiplicarius* in ala I Auriana.¹¹¹ The lack of filiation for Receptus and the use of *frater* suggest that these two men were biological brothers, although the evidence is not unequivocal.¹¹²

Unfortunately, this inscription is the earliest record of these units. This prohibits further

¹⁰⁷ “... of the ala Moesica torquata, lies here. ...us, *vexillarius* of ala Hispana, took care that this be built.”

¹⁰⁸ Speidel 1992b, 165-71. Bechert 1989; 1976 has placed the ala Moesica at Asciburgium (modern Moers-Asburg, Germany) at some time between 12 BC and AD 84. Cf. Bridger 2006, 143.

¹⁰⁹ Speidel 1992b, 170.

¹¹⁰ “Reginus, son of Troucetissa, a Trever and a *sesquiplicarius* of ala I Auriana, having lived thirty years and served five, lies here. His brother and heir, Receptus, a *sesquiplicarius* of ala II Asturum, built this.” For further discussion of this inscription see page 98, above.

¹¹¹ For dating of this stone see Holder 1980, 265 no. 131 and 280 no. 551; Wagner 1938, 11.

¹¹² Kepartová 1986, 11. Kraft 1951, 151-52; Roldán Hervás 1974, 84; Wagner 1938, 15 all assume that these two men are biological brothers but provide no support.

discussion of their stations and the significance of those stations to the development of Receptus' and Reginus' relationship. One must assume from this inscription, however, that both units had been transferred from Germania to Illyricum in the first half of the first century and thus that Reginus and Receptus served hundreds of miles from their homeland.¹¹³ Unfortunately, no earlier evidence of these units is available to confirm or disprove this hypothesis. Nor is it possible to locate the exact posts of these two units in order to establish the geographical separation of these two brothers.¹¹⁴ One might, however, recall AE 2000, 1179 in which Crispus commemorated his biological brother Veranus. While it is unclear whether Crispus was a soldier, and if so in what unit he served, this inscription also points to the importance of fraternal relationships in the first century.

The interaction of soldiers from different units is also evident in AE 1965, 347. This inscription is a bilingual tombstone erected in Šipka, Bulgaria in Thrace in the late first century or very early second century, by Marcus, the son of Traidacus, a horseman of cohorts II Numidarum, for Celsus Marius, a horseman of cohorts II Bracaraugustanorum (Figure 28):¹¹⁵

Ce[lsus Marius eques coh(ortis) II Bra]caug[us]torum (*sic*)
/ [tur(mae) Petroni XXIV stipendi]orum ex testam(ento) /
[M.] Traid[aci f(ilius) eques coh(ortis) II Numid(arum)]
tur(mae) Festi [he]r(es) posuit.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Aquincum was later in the territory of Pannonia Inferior but Pannonia was not established as an independent province until at least the Flavian period (Šašel Kos 2010, 127-30).

¹¹⁴ Kraft 1951, 151-52; Lörincz 1997, 15 and 21; Roldán Hervás 1974, 84 and 93; Wagner 1938, 15.

¹¹⁵ For dating see Holder 1980, 301 no. 1211; Roxan 1973, 429. For transcription and further discussion see page 138, above.

¹¹⁶ "Celsus Marius, horseman of cohorts II Bracaraugustanorum, of the turma of Petronius, having served twenty-four years. In accordance with his will, Marcus, son of Traidacus, horseman of cohorts II Numidarum, of the turma of Festus, his heir, set this up."

Κέλσος Μάριος ἰππεὺς χώρτης δευτέρας Βρακατῶν (*sic*) /
 Αὐγοῦστι τούρμης Πετρωνίου στοπενδίων (*sic*) κδ' /
 [ἐ]τῶν νέ. Κατὰ διαθήκην Μᾶρκος Τραιδακου ἰππεὺς /
 χώρτης δευτέρας Νουμιδῶν τύρμης (*sic*) Φήστου
 ἀνέθηκεν.¹¹⁷

While these two units are too poorly attested to reconstruct their movements or stations with any precision, both of these soldiers can be connected to Thrace. Cohors II Bracaraugustanorum, in which Celsus Marius served, is attested in Thrace by this inscription and a diploma of AD 114 (RMD I 14). Although cohors II Numidarum is attested almost entirely in Dacia, the name of Marcus' father, Traidacus, indicates that he was Thracian.¹¹⁸ Traidacus' origins may suggest that Marcus was also from Thrace and that cohors II Numidarum was stationed there at one time. However, it is equally possible that cohors II Bracaraugustanorum was in Dacia for Domitian's or Trajan's Dacian campaigns before being posted to Thrace and that Marcus and Celsus met there.¹¹⁹

Whatever the reality of the situation, Marcus and Celsus clearly came into close enough contact that they could develop a friendship, despite serving in different units. While the possibility that these two were related by blood cannot be entirely dismissed,¹²⁰ we can say only that both men were likely of Thracian origin and may have known each other before their service. Furthermore, it is likely that these two units were stationed together either in Dacia or in Thrace. However this may have been, Celsus Marius was

¹¹⁷ "Celsus Marius, horseman of cohors II Bracaraugustanorum, of the turma of Petronius, having served twenty-four years. In accordance with his will, Marcus, son of Traidacus, horseman of cohors II Numidarum, of the turma of Festus, set this up." (The Greek text matches the Latin except that Marcus is not expressly identified as Marius' heir in the Greek.)

¹¹⁸ Gočeva et al. 1979-1984, 17-23.

¹¹⁹ This unit was, however, in Thrace by AD 114 (RMD I 14). Furthermore, Holder 1980, 301 no. 1211 and Roxan 1973, 429-30 propose dates in the late first or early second century for this inscription based on the later evidence for these units and Marcus' likely Thracian origin.

¹²⁰ Spaul 2000, 91n2 recognizes the possibility that the two were related.

likely a local recruit and Marcus' father's name places his origins in Thrace, although he may have grown up in the military community. Moreover, the decision to erect a bilingual inscription is characteristic of Thrace, a largely Greek speaking province.¹²¹ While Marius' and Marcus' origins must remain unproven, it is clear that these two men, who served in different units and have no clear familial relationship, preserved or, perhaps, developed a close friendship despite serving in different units and possibly in different provinces. Furthermore, if one is correct to place Marcus' service in Dacia it is also apparent that he maintained ties with his home province while serving abroad, since his tombstone was erected in Thrace.

ILLPRON 664, from Virunum (modern Meiselberg, Austria) in Noricum, clearly commemorates two biological brothers who served in separate units and were included on a memorial erected by their sister in the first half of the second century.¹²² This stone is particularly remarkable because it is the first clear instance we have seen thus far of a soldier being commemorated by a civilian, although this may also have been the case in AE 2000 1179.¹²³ It is unclear whether the brothers named in ILLPRON 664 remained in contact during their service. However, their sister, who was responsible for this inscription, seems to have still felt a connection to them and one may suppose that she remained in contact with them throughout their service.

The persistence of this relationship is highlighted by the fact that one of the brothers, Atuco, had been discharged when this inscription was erected. This implies that he had served twenty-five years in the *auxilia*. Yet, his sister named him on this memorial. One may conjecture that Atuco returned home from Asturis, the primary

¹²¹ Dimitrova 2002, 223-24; Hoddinott 1981, 158.

¹²² For transcription and initial discussion of this inscription see page 179, above.

¹²³ See page 240, above.

station of cohorts I Asturum, which lay over two hundred miles from Virunum, after his service and resumed his relationship with his sister. But Tertius seems to have still been in active service when this stone was erected. His unit, cohorts III Lusitanorum, was stationed at Ad Latus (near modern Várdomb, Hungary) in Pannonia Inferior, close to two hundred miles away.¹²⁴ This suggests that communication was possible over long distances and, further, that at least a few soldiers remained in contact with their families and home communities throughout long terms of service and in spite of significant geographical separation.

CIL III 6218 (=IScM IV 253) was erected a few years later, in the mid-second century, in Arubium, Moesia Inferior (modern Carcaliu, Romania) by two sons of the deceased, each of whom served in a different military unit:¹²⁵

...] / [vi]xit an[n(os) ---] / G(aius) Julius Pr[---] / dec(urio)
 alae II A[rav(acorū)] / et G(aius) Julius Prim[us] /
 b(ene)f(iciarius) proc(uratoris) patri b[e]/ne merenti
 po/suerunt.¹²⁶

Like ILLPRON 664, this inscription provides evidence of continued contact between soldiers and distant family. One of the deceased's sons served as a decurion in ala II Aravacorum while another served as a *beneficiarius procuratoris* attached to an Imperial official.¹²⁷ It is clear that these two men maintained ties with their father while in service, despite the fact that their father seems to have lived at Arubium while ala II Aravacorum was stationed at Carsium, about fifty miles from Arubium, and the *beneficarii*

¹²⁴ Lörincz 2001, 38; Roldán Hervás 1974, 100.

¹²⁵ This dating is based on the presence of this unit in Moesia Inferior during this period and is confirmed, without explanation, by the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg.

¹²⁶ "... lived ... years. Gaius Julius Pr..., decurion of ala II Aravacorum and Gaius Julius Primus, *beneficiarius procuratoris*, set this up for their well-deserving father."

¹²⁷ For the function and responsibilities of the *beneficarii consulares* see Dise 1997a; 1996; 1995; 1997b. For their attachment to governors in particular see Dise 1996, 287.

procuratoris were likely either to be posted to a remote location or to be at the provincial capital in Tomis, about one hundred miles from Arubium.

This inscription differs from ILLPRON 664, however, in that it suggests ongoing contact between the brothers while they were in service. It seems, based on the text, that the two brothers cooperated on the erection of the tombstone. This implies both that they were able to communicate with each other and that they could make arrangements in Arubium. Of course it is possible that one or both of the commemorators returned to Arubium in order to oversee the commemoration of their father and, presumably, the settlement of his estate. However, even this suggests relatively easy travel and communication between Arubium, Carsium and wherever Primus, the *beneficiarius*, was posted.

Contact between parents and sons, who were in the midst of military service, is also visible in an inscription from the second half of the second century. This inscription, IScM I 278, is a tombstone erected in Histria by Ulpus Felix, a *strator consularis*¹²⁸ (perhaps a member of the governor's staff in charge of transportation) from legio XI Claudia, for his mother and his father, who was a former decurion of ala II Aravacorum:¹²⁹

[D(is) M(anibus) / M. Vettius Felix / ex dec(urione) alae,
vixit / ann(is) LX, et Aureliae / Faustinae, co(n)iugi eius, /
Ulp(ius) Felix, strator / co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XI
Claudia(e), filius, / [pat]ri et matri bene / [meren]ti, pos(t)

¹²⁸ The role of the *strator consularis* is not well understood. Rostovtzeff 1957, 705n40 suggested that *stratores consulares* were responsible for the governor's horses. Davies 1969, 453 argued that the *stratores consulares* were responsible for inspecting horses for the cavalry. Speidel 1974, 543-44 proposed that they were the governor's grooms as well as guards. Cf. Dixon and Southern 1992, 157.

¹²⁹ Although ala II Aravacorum is not named explicitly in this inscription, both the editors of IScM and Roxan 1973, 97 make this association, based on the proximity of the unit's garrison and the number of veterans of this unit recorded in Histria. For further discussion see page 160, above.

obit[um] / [eor]um posuit. / [Sit] tibi ter[ra] / leves. / [Ave]
viator et v[ale].¹³⁰

In this case it is clear both that the relationship between the two men predated the son's military service, and also that Felix maintained contact with his family while serving in legio XI Claudia, which was posted in Durostorum, almost one hundred miles away, at this time. However, one may be equally sure that the familial relationship was the primary motivation for the erection of the monument.

This inscription is also notable because Vettius Felix's age and Ulpius Felix's position as *strator* suggest that the latter was born while the former was still in service. If Vettius' age as recorded on the stone (sixty) is any indication of his true age—and one assumes that Ulpius must have been in service for at least five years before being promoted to *strator* and, therefore, was at least nearing twenty-five years old—Vettius must have been in his thirties at the most when his son was born. This would place him several years short of retirement. Vettius was hardly alone in starting a family while in service, as Phang and others have shown. Marriage and children will be discussed further in the section on family relationships.¹³¹

Kinship does not, however, account for all the relationships between soldiers for which there is epigraphic evidence from the latter half of the second century. CIL VI 3228 and CIL III 4839 (both from the second half of the second century) preserve evidence of inter-soldier relationships involving an individual from an auxiliary unit raised on the Iberian Peninsula and another soldier with whom he had no obvious biological connections. The first of these (CIL VI 3228) is a tombstone erected in Rome

¹³⁰ “To the immortal shades. M. Vettius Felix, former decurion of the *ala*, who lived sixty years, and Aurelia Faustina, his wife. Ulpius Felix, *strator consularis* of legion XI Claudia, their son, set this up for his well-deserving father and mother, after their death. May the earth lie lightly on you. Hail, traveler, and be well.”

¹³¹ See page 279, below.

by Titus Aurelius Jucundus and Victor, a soldier of cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum, for Titus Aurelius Tertius, an *eques singularis Augusti* from Raetia, during, or soon after, the reign of Antoninus Pius:¹³²

D(is) M(anibus). / T(ito) Aur(elio) Tertio, e[q(uiti)] /
sing(ulari) Aug(usti), tur(ma) A[.] / Genealis, nat(ione)
Rae[tus], / vix(it) ann(os) XXX, mil(itavit) ann(os) [- - -]. /
H(eres) eius T. Aur(elius) Jucundu[s et] / secund(us)
h(eres) Victor, mil[es] / c(o)ho[rtis] III Bracaru[m], / amico
karissimo [f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)].¹³³

The description of Tertius as *amicus karissimus* clearly indicates that these men were friends and unlikely to have been related by blood. However, Victor's association with cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum and Tertius' origins among the Raeti suggest that the two served together before the latter served among the *equites singulares* in Rome.¹³⁴ Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum is attested in diplomas from Raetia between AD 86 (ZPE 1962, 250) and at least AD 168 (RMD I 68), with a brief hiatus in Syria Palaestina, where it is recorded in a diploma of AD 139 (CIL XVI 87). The names Titus Aurelius Tertius and Titus Aurelius Jucundus suggest that they both received citizenship under Antoninus Pius.¹³⁵ Thus it seems likely that Tertius was a local or provincial recruit to cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum, where he met Victor before being transferred to the *equites singulares*.

¹³² For dating see Speidel 1994, 128-29. Speidel's dating is based on the *nomen* Aurelius, which places the inscription after 138. His assessment may be further refined by the *praenomen* Titus, which suggests a grant of citizenship by Antoninus Pius. For further discussion see page 23, above.

¹³³ "To the immortal shades and to Titus Aurelius Tertius, *eques singularis Augusti*, from the *turma* of A... Genealis, by birth a Raetus, who lived thirty years and served ... years. His heir Titus Aurelius Jucundus, and his second heir Victor, soldier of cohorts III Bracarum, took care that this be built for their dearest friend."

¹³⁴ For discussion of the careers of *equites singulares* prior to their enlistment among the imperial bodyguard see Speidel 1965, 1-9. In particular Speidel notes that soldiers were required to serve at least four years in the *auxilia* before being promoted to the *equites singulares* (4-5).

¹³⁵ Kienast 1996, 134.

Little can be said with certainty about Titus Aurelius Jucundus. He seems to have received citizenship from Antoninus Pius but he is not explicitly recorded as a soldier. Nevertheless, his position as heir to Titus Aurelius Tertius suggests that he served with Tertius in Rome, though no information is available about his life before then.¹³⁶ This inscription shows, however, that social ties could persist between soldiers of a single unit who later found themselves separated, and that these relationships could coexist with newer, proximate friendships. It is also remarkable that Victor, who was apparently serving in Raetia at the time of Tertius' death, was able to participate in his friend's commemoration. Saller and Shaw noted that commemoration of soldiers by soldiers was particularly common among the *equites singulares*.¹³⁷ However, they also cite geographical separation from family as a prime factor in the establishment of this pattern. Meanwhile, this inscription indicates that geographical separation did not prohibit participation in commemoration between soldiers. Furthermore, long-distance communication—as noted in the previous discussion of ILLPRON 664, CIL III 6218 and IScM I 278—suggests that geographical separation from members of one's family would not have prohibited commemoration.

The other inscription dating to the latter half of the second century is on a tombstone from Virunum (modern Meiselberg, Austria) in Noricum erected by Bellicius

¹³⁶ OPEL II, 199 includes 159 records of the name Jucundus. Of these, 48 come from Cisalpine Gaul, 27 from the Spanish provinces, 15 from the German provinces, 21 from Narbonensis, 17 from Dalmatia and 12 from Pannonia. This distribution is such that no assumption can be made about the Jucundus named on this inscription.

¹³⁷ Saller and Shaw 1984, 134 and 42.

Statutus, a decurion of ala I Augusta Thracum, for Tiberius Claudius Ingenuus, a soldier of cohors I Asturum (CIL III 4839).¹³⁸

Ti(berio) Claudio In/genuo / militi / coh(ortis) I Ast(urum)
Belli/cius Statutus de[c(urio)] (?) alae I Thrac(um).¹³⁹

The frequency of the names Bellicius, Ingenuus and Statutus in Noricum, where OPEL records them more often than in any other province, suggests that these two men were both of Norican origin.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, both of these units are attested in Noricum. Thus it is reasonable to assume that these two soldiers met while both of their units were serving in that province.¹⁴¹ However, the significance of their shared origin is somewhat diminished by the fact that these two were likely local recruits. Local recruitment was common in the second half of the second century. Thus members of the units serving in Noricum were probably largely of Norican origin. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the place of commemoration was in Virunum. Virunum was far from the posts of the commemorator, Statutus, a decurion of ala I Thracum, which was stationed at Augustiana/Trigisamum (modern Traismauer, Austria), and of the commemorated, Ingenuus, a soldier of cohors I Asturum, which was posted very nearby at Asturis. There is no reason to believe the two men were related by blood. Nor is it any more than supposition to suggest that Bellicius had been promoted out of cohors I Asturum.

¹³⁸ Roxan 1973, 357 places this inscription soon after the first years of Antoninus Pius. Alföldy 1974, 258 dates it to the second half of the second century or the third century. However, the association of this inscription with ala I Thracum's time in Noricum favors Roxan's argument.

¹³⁹ "For Tiberius Claudius Ingenuus, a soldier of cohors I Asturum. Bellicus Statutus, decurion of ala I Thracum (set this up)."

¹⁴⁰ OPEL I², 117; II, 194; and IV, 94.

¹⁴¹ Ala I Augusta Thracum is attested in Noricum from the reign of Antoninus Pius to the end of the second century (Alföldy 1974, 257-58; Spaul 1994, 229). Cohors I Asturum was probably in Noricum by AD 69 and remained there throughout the second century (Roldán Hervás 1974, 86-7).

Brief mention ought also to be made of two inscriptions that, strictly speaking, seem to fall outside the scope of this study. CIL III 10507 is a family tombstone that was erected in Aquincum (Figure 50):

D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Titus qui vix(it) / an(nos) LXX et coniug(i) eius / Aur(eliae) Mate[rn(a)]e qu(a)e vix(it) / an(nos) L item filiorum / eorum M(arco) Aur(elio) / Titiano qui milit(avit) / in coh(orte) I Ast<u>r(um) qui vix(it) / an(nos) XXX item Aur(eliae) Sur(a)e qui / vix(it) an(nos) XX item Aur(elio) Valenti / qui vix(it) an(nos) XII pos(uerunt) tit(u)l(um) / parent(ibus) suis M(arcus) Aur(elius) Clem(ens) [(centurio) leg(ionis) VI Ferrat[ae] / qui est prob(atus) in leg(ione) II A[d(iutrice)] / a Cornel(io) Plotiano leg(ato).¹⁴²

This is a remarkable stone and provides an abundance of information about this family. However, its utility in this context is limited. Not only does it appear to have been erected after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*,¹⁴³ but it could have been erected as many as twenty years after the death of the former soldier of cohorts I Asturum, based on his father's age and his own. However, it does suggest that Marcus Aurelius Titianus remained in touch with his family after his enlistment, although he served almost 150 miles away at Asturis in Noricum.

Finally, CIL VI 3238, from Rome and now in Florence, was erected in the third century by Aurelius Severus, a *protector praefecti praetorii*, to commemorate Aurelius

¹⁴² "To the immortal shades. For Marcus Aurelius Titus who lived seventy years and for his wife Aurelia Materna who lived fifty years and of their children for Marcus Aurelius Titianus, who served in cohorts I Asturum and lived thirty years, and for Aurelia Sura, who lived twenty years, and for Aurelius Valens who lived twelve years, Marcus Aurelius Clemens, a centurion of legio VI Ferrata, who was enlisted in legio II Adiutrix by the legate Cornelius Plotianus, set up this inscription for his parents."

¹⁴³ Roxan 1973, 362. PIR II² 1359 suggests a date in the late second century but the abbreviations and the ubiquity of the name Marcus Aurelius on this stone recommend a date in the third century.

Vitalis, a *beneficiarius tribuni* of the *equites singulares*, who had previously served in ala I Hispanorum Campagonum:¹⁴⁴

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(io) Vital(i) t(ribuni)
b(ene)f(iciario) equ(iti) / sing(ulari) turm(a) Lupionis /
nat(ione) Dacus ala Cam/pa<g>on(um) vix(it) ann(os)
XXX / me(n)s(es) II die(s) V mil(itavit) ann(os) / XII
Aurel(ius) Severus / protect(or) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio)
b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).¹⁴⁵

While this inscription also dates to the third century, it provides some insight into the maintenance of relationships in the military.¹⁴⁶ It is unclear exactly how these two men came into contact with one another. However, it must be assumed that they met in the course of their service in Rome itself. Neither of the men's names provides any indication of their origins, nor is the survivor's previous career outlined on the stone. Nevertheless, this relationship seems to have trumped any pre-existing relationships the deceased may have had when it came time for his memorial to be constructed. In this way, one may see that at least some soldiers did not maintain their social ties with their previous units once they had been transferred. It ought also to be noted, however, that at least at the time of Vitalis' death, the two men were not serving in the same unit.

The inscriptions that record relationships between soldiers of different units are similar in number to those that record relationships between soldiers of the same unit, but contrast them in their chronological spread, their dependence on familial relationships, and the geographical distance that separated some of the participants. Chronologically,

¹⁴⁴ Speidel 1994, 318 no. 579; 1965, 31n147 propose a date in the latter half of the third century, based on the appearance of the position *beneficiarius tribuni*.

¹⁴⁵ "To the immortal shades and to Aurelius Vitalis *beneficiarius tribuni* of the *equites singulares* from the *turma* of Lupio, a Dacian by birth, from the ala Campagonum, lived thirty years, two months and five days, and served twelve years. Aurelius Severus, guard of the praetorian prefect, set this up for one well-deserving (it)."

¹⁴⁶ Aurelius Vitalis may also be the same soldier named as heir to a *protector equitum singularium* in CIL VI 3261, but this is unclear. Cf. Speidel 1994, 298 no. 543 and 318-19 no. 580.

the inscriptions recording relationships between soldiers of different units are concentrated much more in the second century. At least 5 of the 8 inscriptions preserving intra-unit relationships are securely datable to the first century, and 2 more may have been erected during this time. Meanwhile only 2 or, perhaps, 3 of the 10 records of inter-unit relationships come from the first century. These patterns are not easily explicable. However, one might attribute this difference to the predominance of homeland recruitment in the first century and the rise of local and regional recruitment in the second, or the relative mobility of auxiliary units in the first century. Homeland recruitment and unit mobility would have combined to isolate soldiers from their families and native populations around their garrisons, thereby promoting relationships within the units.

This isolation and the resulting dependence on close comrades is in some ways highlighted by the exceptional case of AE 1961, 17, in which a soldier was commemorated by two fellow soldiers of his unit and a woman who may have been his *de facto* wife. This inscription seems to privilege inter-soldier relationships over potentially conjugal relationships. While this may reflect a legal or financial reality that is obscure to us, this inscription suggests that the friendships forged in military service were of the utmost significance. Similarly, AE 2000, 1179, in which an *eques* of cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum was commemorated by his decurion and his biological brother, implies that the former, military relationship was particularly strong. These two inscriptions are, however, the only two that record simultaneously intra-unit relationships between soldiers and a familial relationship.

Meanwhile the inscriptions that record soldiers of different units are more focused on familial relationships. Four of the seven inscriptions from the second and third

centuries that record these relationships are, in essence, family monuments. They are commemorations of parents, children and siblings, and the military careers of their participants are subordinate to their positions within the family. However, the significance of this apparent change in focus cannot be determined without a detailed examination of the chronological spread of evidence for relationships between soldiers and family alone. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.¹⁴⁷

The evidence for inter-unit relationships also differs from that of intra-unit relationships in terms of their geographical contexts. One may note two primary ways in which geography plays a role in the interpretation of these inscriptions. First, there are a number of inscriptions which record soldiers serving far from their homelands. These are primarily associated with the first century and, consequently, more numerous among the inscriptions recording intra-unit relationships. Secondly, there are a number of inscriptions that provide evidence for relationships maintained over long distances. These are, necessarily, associated with the relationships between the soldiers of separate units: soldiers serving in the same unit were, of course, stationed together and thereby their relationships were all local. However, this is only true because there are no instances in this sample of veterans who commemorate or are commemorated by other soldiers from their former unit. Furthermore, the only clear example of soldiers serving in different units remaining in contact over a considerable distance after their service together appears to be CIL VI 3228, in which a *miles* of cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum was partially responsible for erecting the tombstone of a member of the *equites singulares* who had, presumably, served in his unit before being transferred to Rome. All the other long-distance relationships recorded among the inscriptions so far discussed

¹⁴⁷ See page 279, below.

involved family relationships and appear to have been mediated by a member of the family who was not in military service (ILLPRON 664; CIL III 6218; and CIL II 10507). The persistence of relationships between soldiers and civilian family members, and the maintenance of long-distance relationships, will be discussed in Chapter 6. However, it is worth noting that all three of the inscriptions that refer clearly to civilian family members date to the second or third century.

However, eight inscriptions that record a soldier from an auxiliary unit raised on the Iberian Peninsula and at least one other soldier serving in an unidentified unit remain to be discussed. It is tempting in each of these cases to assume that all the soldiers named on a single inscription served within the same unit. However, as the evidence discussed above has shown, those cases in which units are identified are split equally between instances in which the soldiers served in the same unit, and instances in which they served in different units. Consequently, each case must be evaluated on its own merits, although, as a general rule, it is still reasonable to suppose that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, all the soldiers named in a single inscription are likely to have served in the same unit. In a few cases, however, the foundations of these relationships are clearly based on more than casual friendships.

The earliest of these inscriptions is CIL III 10513, from Aquincum. This inscription records the Batavian origin of the man whom the stone commemorated in the mid-first century:¹⁴⁸

[...] maloger [...] domo Betav(ia) [du]p[licarius] ala
Hisp(anorum) [...] h(ic) s(itus) e(st) [...] dec(urio) et No[...
he]redes p(osuerunt).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ For dating see Holder 1980, 278 no. 504; Lörincz 2001, 196 no. 27.

¹⁴⁹ "... maloger... whose home is in Batavia, duplicarius of the ala Hispanorum... lies here... a decurion, and No... his heirs built this."

However, the name of the deceased and the names of his commemorators are lost. Furthermore, the origins of the commemorators are not preserved. Thus it is impossible to determine if these individuals shared a common geographical background or family ties. Furthermore, it is not absolutely certain that the third individual named was a soldier. However, it is clear that at least two soldiers were named on this stone and that the deceased was serving far from his home. This fits neatly into the general trend of soldiers in the first century serving outside their homelands and suggests that the soldiers who were named on this stone served together in ala I Hispanorum.

The tombstone of Crispus, an *equus* of ala I Aravacorum, discovered at Arrabona in what would later become Pannonia Superior and erected in the second half of the first century by Januarius, a decurion, also seems to suggest that the two soldiers mentioned in the text served in the same unit (CIL III 4373, now lost).¹⁵⁰

Crispus Mac[...] / Siscianus eq(ues) / alae I Aravac(orum) /
an(norum) XXXV sti(pendiorum) XV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) /
Januarius dec(urio) / h(eres) p(osuit).¹⁵¹

Ala I Aravacorum was stationed at Arrabona in the Flavian period, when this inscription was created; that and the absence of any indication that Januarius served elsewhere lead one to assume that these two men served together. Crispus is said explicitly to have come from Siscia in Pannonia Superior, almost two hundred miles south of Arrabona.¹⁵² While this is a considerable distance to travel, Crispus appears to have been a provincial recruit. It is interesting, therefore, that he is commemorated by a fellow soldier rather than a member of his family. The fact that Januarius is explicitly named as heir may

¹⁵⁰ For dating see Holder 1980, 279 no. 51; Lörincz 2001, 197 no. 30.

¹⁵¹ “Crispus Mac(...), a Siscian, horseman of ala I Aravacorum, having lived thirty-five years and served fifteen, lies here. Januarius, a decurion and his heir, erected this.”

¹⁵² Barkóczi and Radnóti 1951, 418; Lörincz 2001, 20; 1990, 73; Roldán Hervás 1974, 88-90; Roxan 1973, 83.

imply that Crispus had no family, but his fifteen years of service suggest that he could have, if he wished. Be this as it may, Crispus' and Januarius' relationship seems to have been formed in service. Unfortunately, no information is available about Januarius, except his rank. Thus we can make no inferences from his *origo*. However, a cynical observer might suggest that the inequality of their ranks and hopes of favorable treatment led Crispus to choose his superior, Januarius, as his heir. But this must remain conjecture as there is no evidence even that Crispus served in Januarius' *turma*.

CIL III 3271, erected at Teutoburgium in the Julio-Claudian period for Tiberius Claudius Valerius, a decurion of ala II Aravacorum, presents similar problems while providing more useful information:¹⁵³

Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Britti / filio / Valerio decurioni / alae II
Aravacorum / domo Hispano annor(um) L / stipendiorum
XXX et / Cl(audiae) Januariae coniugi eius / et Cl(audiae)
Hispanillae filiae vivis / ex testamento Flaccus dec(urio) /
frater / et Hispanilla filia heredes / faciundum
curaverunt.¹⁵⁴

Valerius' origin in Hispania is explicit. The origin of the other soldier, a decurion, could also be inferred if he was, in fact, Valerius' "brother." It appears that this was the case. Flaccus is named as co-heir with Valerius' daughter Claudia Hispanilla and it is doubtful that such a misleading term of endearment would be used in an inscription which is otherwise concerned with family relationships. Thus, this inscription is hardly an argument for a relationship based on a shared geographical or tribal background. Rather it hints at the importance of family relationships in the lives of soldiers, even in the first

¹⁵³ For dating see Holder 1980, 279 no. 532. This dating is presumably based upon the name Tiberius Claudius, which implies a Neronian grant of citizenship at the latest.

¹⁵⁴ "For Tiberius Claudius Valerius, son of Brittus, decurion of ala II Aravacorum, whose home is in Hispania, having lived fifty years and served thirty and for Claudia Januaria, his wife, and for Claudia Hispanilla his daughter, who were still alive, his heirs Flaccus, a decurion, his brother and Hispanilla, his daughter, took care that this be built."

century. In this regard, this inscription seems to have most in common with the inscriptions that record inter-unit relationships. We will return, however, to familial relationships in the next chapter.¹⁵⁵

AE 1961, 338 (Figure 51) from Asturica (modern Astorga, Spain) includes the only clear evidence of tribal and geographical ties from the inscriptions referring to two or more soldiers, at least one of whom served in an unidentified unit:

Do]mitio / [...]O eq(uiti) alae / Fla[vi]ae II c(ivium)
 R(omanorum) / domo Tabala/ca an(norum) XXXVII
 aer(orum) / XVII G(aius) Corne/lius Screnus / eq(ues) alae
 eiusd(em) / municipi(i) heres / exs(!) voluntate /
 f(aciendum) c(uravit).¹⁵⁶

This stone was for a horseman of ala II Flavia Hispanorum by another cavalryman, Gaius Cornelius Screnus, probably in the late first century.¹⁵⁷ This, in and of itself, is not particularly remarkable. The text would lead one to believe that the two soldiers served in the same unit, although this is not stated explicitly. However, the inscription records that the two men came from the same town, Thabraca (modern Tabarka, Tunisia), in North Africa. The shared background of these two men was clearly important to them. It was no coincidence or mistake that their *origines* were included on the stone or that they shared a common homeland. It seems even that Screnus' *origo* took priority over the

¹⁵⁵ See page 279, below.

¹⁵⁶ "To Domitius ... a horseman of ala II Flavia civium Romanorum, from Tabalaca, 37 years of age, having served 17 years. Gaius Cornelius Screnus, a horseman of the *ala*, of that same *municipium*, his heir, of his own accord took care that this was erected." The cognomen of the dedicator is somewhat unclear and is sometimes read Serenus.

¹⁵⁷ The appearance of the unit number after the name of their *ala* has led most scholars to accept a first-century date for this inscription. E.g. Holder 1980, 279 no. 511; Le Roux 1982, 145-47; ErpLeon 152. However, ala II Flavia Hispanorum is attested in Spain at the end of the first century (CIL II 2600), in Mauretania Caesariensis in the mid-second century (CIL VIII 21050), and back in Spain at the end of the second century (CIL II 2554 and ILS 9131). The *ala*'s presence in Africa and return to Spain recommends a date in the mid-second century for AE 1961, 338. This date would allow one to assume that the two men were recruited locally in Africa and were transferred with their unit to the Iberian Peninsula (Roldán Hervás 1974, 213).

name of his unit since the latter is not mentioned in the inscription, which is mostly complete.

CIL VIII 2787, from Lambaesis in Numidia, is a Hadrianic tombstone in which Publius Aelius Securus, a decurion of cohorts II Hispanorum, from Napoca (modern Cluj, Romania) in Dacia, was commemorated by Publius Aelius Arimanus, a *custos armorum*.¹⁵⁸

D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublio) Aelio Se/curo Nap(oca) /
dec(urioni) coh(ortis) II Hisp(anorum) / vix(it) an(nos)
XXXV / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Arima/nus armorum (custos) /
b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit) / HS CC n(ummum).¹⁵⁹

Like Domitius and Srenus in AE 1961, 338, Securus and Arimanus may have been drawn together by their shared background, although here only Securus' origin is stated plainly. Napoca was one of the largest settlements in Dacia and gained municipal status under Hadrian. Arimanus' origins, however, are obscure. Arimanus is attested as a name twice in Noricum (CIL III 11502 and 11661), once in Mauretania Caesariensis (CIL VIII 8637), and in this inscription.¹⁶⁰ This is little evidence from which to draw conclusions about an individual's origins.¹⁶¹ Therefore it is impossible to prove or disprove that these two men shared a common background. There is also little information from which to speculate about Arimanus' unit. One may assume that these two soldiers served together in cohorts II Hispanorum, but there is no tangible evidence to support this claim.

¹⁵⁸ The dating of this tombstone is based on the names Publius Aelius, which attest to a Hadrianic grant of citizenship.

¹⁵⁹ "To the immortal shades and to Publius Aelius Securus, from Napoca, decurion of cohorts II Hispanorum, who lived 35 years. Publius Aelius Arimanus, *custos armorum*, for the well deserving, at a cost of 200 sesterces."

¹⁶⁰ OPEL I², 74. One might also note, however, several instances from around the empire of the god Arimanus in Aquincum (CIL III 3414, 3415) and Rome (CIL VI 47) or Arimanes in Eburacum (modern York) (RIB I 641).

¹⁶¹ A search for Arimani and its variants produces no results in the *Barrington Atlas*.

CIL VIII 4416 was erected in Lambiridi (modern Kherbet Ouled Arif, Algeria) in Numidia in the mid-second century by Aurelius Suruclio, a *duplicarius*, for his *frater* Aurelius Marcus, a decurion of cohorts V Hispanorum who had died in battle:¹⁶²

Aurelio / Marco dec(urioni) / (!) V Hisp(anorum)
pro|vinciae Mo(esiae sup(erioris) / desiderato / in acie
Aur(elius) Su(ruclio) d(uplicarius) fr[a]/tri bene mere(nte).¹⁶³

Aurelius's origins in Moesia Superior are recorded on the stone and one may infer similar origins for his brother. However, no onomastic evidence is available to support this claim. Nor is it certain that the two were biological brothers. It is clear, however, that Marcus, and probably Suruclio, had been transferred with cohorts V Hispanorum from Moesia Superior, where they had been local recruits, to Numidia, perhaps in connection with the disturbances in Mauretania between AD 145 and 152.¹⁶⁴ Thus they shared ethnic ties with much of their unit. The transfer of this unit and the origins of its soldiers may, in turn, have led to isolation similar to that suggested more broadly in the first century. But one cannot discount the possibility that Marcus and Suruclius were actually brothers and that this formed the basis of their relationship.

The importance of family relationships is once again visible in AE 2004, 1257, recovered from Ivanovo, near Sexaginta Prista in Moesia Inferior (now lost):

...ILS... [occisus] in pug(na) vix(it) / [an]nis trigint[a]
L(ucius) Muc(ianus?) mil(es) c(ohortis) L(usitanorum) /
[po]su(i)t titulum [fra]t(ri) genitivo.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Roldán Hervás 1974, 119 suggests this date based on the absence of cohorts V Hispanorum from the diplomas of Moesia between AD 100 and 160, and the reports of trouble in North Africa under Antoninus Pius. The appearance of the name Aurelius may, however, suggest a later date.

¹⁶³ "To Aurelius Marcus, decurion of cohorts V Hispanorum of the province of Moesia Superior, lost in battle, Aurelius Suruclio, a *duplicarius*, for his well-deserving brother."

¹⁶⁴ Roldán Hervás 1974, 119.

¹⁶⁵ "... died in battle, lived thirty years. Lucius Mucianus, a soldier of the cohorts Lusitanorum erected this inscription for his biological brother."

In this third-century inscription a soldier of a *cohors Lusitanorum* commemorated his brother, who had fallen in battle.¹⁶⁶ This case is particularly important because the men are said to be biological brothers (*fratres genetivi*).¹⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the unit in which the deceased brother served has not been preserved. Nevertheless, the proximity of this stone's discovery to the locations of other records of *cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica* suggests that both brothers served in that unit. It is clear that this fraternal bond remained important at least to the surviving brother.

Finally, RIB I 1480, preserves the commemoration of Aventinus, a *curator* of *ala II Asturum*, by a decurion named Gemellus:

D(is) M(anibus) / Aventino / curator*i* alae / II Astur(um)
 stip(endiorum) XV / Ael(ius) Gemellus dec(urio)/ h(eres)
 f(aciendum) c(uravit).¹⁶⁸

Unfortunately, this inscription provides very little useful information. The stone may be dated to the third century, based on the history of *ala II Asturum* and the fort at Chesters, in England, where it was found.¹⁶⁹ However, the instances of the names Aventinus and Gemellus are too evenly distributed to indicate the origins of these soldiers.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that Aventinus and Gemellus were related. Rather they seem to have been soldiers of relatively equal rank whose relationship likely developed during their service.

The evidence from the inscriptions recording relationships between soldiers of unidentified units is extremely difficult to interpret. While one might attempt to identify

¹⁶⁶ For dating see Conrad 2004, 225 no. 367.

¹⁶⁷ For further discussion of “fraternal” relationships see page 233, above, and 282, below.

¹⁶⁸ “To the immortal shades and for Aventinus, *curator* of *ala II Asturum*, who served fifteen years. His heir, Gemellus, a decurion, took care that this be done.”

¹⁶⁹ Santos Yanguas 2006, 95-100.

¹⁷⁰ OPEL I², 93-94 and II, 163.

individual cases in which the soldiers named served together or, indeed, assume that the soldiers in all these inscriptions served in the same units, there are no tangible grounds to make such assessments or such an assumption. Therefore, we are left to analyze the information that is available and to compare that information to the evidence from other inscriptions regarding family bonds, and geographical factors.

Two of these inscriptions, CIL III 3271 and AE 2004, 1257, clearly refer to family relationships. In the first case a soldiers' brother and daughter erected a tombstone for him, his wife and that same daughter. In the second a soldier was commemorated by his biological brother (*frater genetivus*). One may add to these two cases CIL VIII 4416, in which the commemorator refers to the deceased as his *frater*. However, it is impossible in this case to determine if this was a biological relationship or if *frater* is used only as a term of endearment.

This sample is far too small to be of any statistical significance, but it is worth noting that CIL III 3271, which records the most extensive family bonds, dates to the first century, a time when, in light of the other inscriptions discussed thus far, one would not expect to see much evidence of family relationships between soldiers and civilians. The other two inscriptions, CIL VIII 4416 and AE 2004, 1257, date to the second and third centuries respectively. In that context their preservation of family relationships is less surprising. However, neither of these two inscriptions includes any civilians. They record direct relationships between brothers (or perhaps soldier-brothers in the case of CIL VIII 4416) without evidence of a civilian family member providing a link between them (cf. CIL III 10507 in which a brother serving in legio VI Ferrata commemorated his parents, sister and brother, who had died while enrolled in cohors I Asturum). In this

way they are reminiscent of AE 2000, 1179. However, in this last case the two brothers clearly served in the same unit.

The evidence for the geographical origins of the soldiers named on the inscriptions recording relationships between soldiers from auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and soldiers of unnamed units suggest that these soldiers were isolated from their civilian relations. CIL III 10513 records a Batavian who was serving in Pannonia, AE 1961, 338 records two North Africans serving in Hispania Citerior, CIL VIII 2787 and CIL VIII 4416 record, respectively, a Dacian and a Moesian serving in Numidia, and RIB I 1480 records a soldier serving in Britain, where foreign recruitment may have continued well after the practice had given way elsewhere to local recruitment.¹⁷¹ In each of these cases service far from the soldier's homeland would have caused inter-soldier relationships to take on increased significance. Furthermore, the last two inscriptions state explicitly that the deceased died in battle. Certainly, civilian families would have been kept out of harm's way during hostilities and inter-soldier relationships would have provided the closest remaining social bonds for the soldiers involved.

Rank seems to have been of little importance within these relationships. Three of the eight inscriptions naming a soldier of an auxiliary unit raised on the Iberian Peninsula and a soldier from an unidentified unit were erected by a decurion for a soldier of lesser rank (CIL III 10513; CIL III 4373; and RIB I 1480). On the other hand, the two

¹⁷¹ Saller and Shaw 1984, 142-43. Contra Birley 1980, 95-6 and 104-5; Dobson and Mann 1973, 201 and 4-5; Mann 1985, 205-6. The issue of recruitment practices in Britannia is problematic due to the lack of epigraphical sources available to illuminate it. Saller and Shaw argue that the lack of evidence for Britons serving in the legions and auxiliary units of the province is indicative of foreign recruitment. Mann, in particular, suggests that lack of evidence does not prove lack of local recruitment and that there is no reason to believe that recruitment practices in Britannia would have differed substantially from those of other provinces.

decurions named on the lone inscription recording a decurion commemorating another decurion—that is a man of equal rank—seem to have been brothers (CIL III 3271). In two cases a decurion is commemorated by a man of lesser rank, a *custos armorum* (CIL VIII 2787) and a *duplicarius* (CIL VIII 4416). Finally, there is a single example of an *eques* commemorating a man of equal rank (AE 1961, 338). The apparent disregard for rank in the formation of personal relationships within these inscriptions mirrors the evidence for the interaction of men serving in the same unit, suggesting that this behavior was commonplace throughout the *auxilia*.¹⁷²

5.4 Conclusion

Analysis of all twenty-six inscriptions that refer to an individual soldier of an auxiliary unit raised on the Iberian Peninsula and another soldier reveals that soldiers were equally likely to be commemorated by or with a soldier from a different unit as they were to be commemorated by or with a soldier from their own unit (10:8). Even if one excludes inscriptions that explicitly record a familial relationship between the two soldiers, one is left with 6 instances in which a soldier was commemorated by or with another soldier of his own unit, and 5 examples of soldiers commemorating soldiers from different units. This suggests that proximity and service in the same unit were not prerequisites to close bonds between soldiers. Rather, soldiers interacted frequently with men from other units and sometimes communicated over great distances.

Similarly, rank seems not to have played a deciding factor in patterns of commemoration among these soldiers. This is significant because it is at odds with the traditional view of the Roman military as a highly stratified institution. Including those

¹⁷² For the ranks of multiple soldiers of the same unit mentioned in inscriptions see page 251, above.

instances in which it is unclear whether the soldiers named served in the same or different units, there are 3 clear examples of an inferior commemorating a superior, and 4 of a superior commemorating an inferior. Furthermore, there are 3 examples of *equites* being commemorated by a soldier of the same rank.¹⁷³ This suggests a significant amount of social freedom among the soldiers outside of the military hierarchy. However, it is remarkable that *milites* seem only to have been responsible for the erection of tombstones in cooperation with at least one other person.¹⁷⁴ This may suggest that financial concerns made such acts of remembrance difficult for men of low rank,¹⁷⁵ although one ought not to make such a broad proclamation based on this small amount of evidence.

Geographical and ethnic origins also seem to play only a small role in the formation of social relationships between soldiers. Only 5 of 26 inscriptions recording multiple soldiers below the rank of *praefectus* betray a clear shared origin between the soldiers named (AE 1963, 27; CIL XIII 6538; CIL III 4416; AE 1961, 17; AE 1961, 338). Each of these inscriptions pertains to a single unit (although this is not stated explicitly in AE 1961, 338 or CIL VIII 4416), and 4 of the 5 pertain to soldiers serving outside their province of origin. Remarkably, the only exception to this, AE 1963, 27, is also the only example in which a specific tribe is named. This was probably a result of the relative homogeneity of this unit in the first century, when the inscription was erected. Indeed familial relationships played a role in as many as 10 of these 26 inscriptions (including 3 records of possible soldier-brothers: CIL III 14349.8; CIL VIII 4416; CIL III 6743). This

¹⁷³ CIL XIII 6538, in which a *mentor* is commemorated by an *optio*, CIL VI 3228 which was erected by a *miles* for an *eques singularis*, and CIL VI 3238 in which a *protector praefecti praetorii* honored a *beneficiarius tribuni equitum singularium* have been omitted from these numbers since the relationship between their ranks cannot be easily distinguished.

¹⁷⁴ CIL III 12257 and CIL VI 3228.

¹⁷⁵ Duncan-Jones 1982, 79-80 and 127-30; Oliver 2000a. Contra Saller and Shaw 1984, 128.

makes it clear that familial bonds also had an important social influence on soldiers, even within a military context. However, the exact position of family within the social sphere of auxiliary soldiers can only be determined by analyzing the chronological and geographical distribution of the evidence for these relationships, the subject of the next chapter.

6. The Formation and Maintenance of Personal Relationships: Family, Servants and Others

The chronological spread of epigraphic evidence for inter-soldier relationships involving men from the units raised on the Iberian Peninsula leads to the intriguing conclusion that they played a larger role in the lives of soldiers in the first century than in the second or third centuries. However, the quantity of inscriptions associated with a specific time period cannot, on its own, provide any indication of the importance of these relationships. This type of analysis must also take into account other types of relationships and contextualize the data by establishing what proportion of the total number of recorded associations belong to different categories. To that end, this chapter will address the evidence for three additional types of personal relationships preserved in the epigraphic record: those between family members, those involving servants or former servants, and other, less easily identifiable and less frequent relationships, including records of unnamed heirs and *amici*.¹

6.1 *Family Relationships*

The importance of these inter-soldier relationships can be determined only by comparing their number, chronological distribution and social circumstances to the inscriptions that record other types of relationships. Specifically, one may look to inscriptions that name family members. By looking at these family relationships one may establish the relative frequency with which soldiers commemorated or were commemorated by members of their families and whether their contact with family was

¹ For the introduction of these categories and their relationship to Saller and Shaw 1984, see page 238, above.

limited to the communities in which they lived and served or extended to their places of origin. The results of these investigations, in turn, reflect the extent to which military service isolated soldiers from the communities in which they were raised, giving some indication of their ability to preserve the social ties with which they entered into service. A chronological analysis of this material reveals the changing social conditions of auxiliary soldiers from the first to third centuries.

In order to contextualize the evidence for family relationships and compare them to inter-soldier relationships one must first, of course, recall the 10 inscriptions that record familial relationships between soldiers. However, while 4 of these 10 inscriptions indicate a “fraternal” bond that may refer to a close friendship rather than a genetic link and will receive special attention, 3 others record explicitly biological fraternal relationships. In AE 2000, 1179 Veranus and one of his heirs/commemorators are both said to be sons of Caturo; the deceased soldier memorialized in AE 2004, 1257 is the *frater genetivus* of the inscription’s author; and the author of CIL III 10507 honored his parents and his siblings, one of whom was a soldier.

Furthermore, 5 of these 10 inscriptions also record non-fraternal familial relationships. IScM I 278 is a tombstone erected by Ulpus Felix for his father, a former military decurion, and for his mother.² In CIL III 3271 a decurion, Tiberius Claudius, and his wife are remembered by their daughter, Claudia Hispanilla, and by the decurion Flaccus, a *frater* of Tiberius Claudius. Similarly, CIL III 6218 was erected for a father by his two sons, both of whom were soldiers, and ILLPRON 664 was erected by a woman for her siblings, one of whom was a veteran and one of whom was serving in cohorts I Asturum. Finally, CIL III 10507 was erected by a legionary centurion for his parents,

² For transcription and further discussion of IScM I 278 see page 269, above.

sister and two brothers, one of whom was also serving in *cohors I Asturum*. It is clear from IScM I 278 and this last inscription that close bonds between soldiers could coexist with familial relationships.

In total, 36 inscriptions associated with the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula record ostensible familial relationships between soldiers and individuals that are not explicitly identified as members of the military. These include 6 stones that record both a relationship between soldiers, and between one or more of those soldiers and at least one non-military member of his family.³ The number of these inscriptions alone suggests the importance of familial relationships; there are, in fact, more records of familial relationships than of inter-soldier relationships, even if one excludes inscriptions that record both types of relationships from the total number that include familial relationships. However, the quantity of these inscriptions alone is not indicative of the relative importance of the relationships they record. Analysis of the chronological distribution of familial relationships and comparison of this data with the inter-soldier and other types of relationships may give some sense of the continuity and change in auxiliary life in the first three centuries AD.

Fourteen of the 36 inscriptions that record apparently civilian familial relationships may be securely dated to the first century (Appendix 2). This may be contrasted to 8 that record explicitly inter-soldier relationships during the same period. However, the large number of fraternal relationships recorded among the ostensibly civilian relationships and the circumstances surrounding the erection of their stones,

³ This list includes IScM I 278, CIL III 3271, CIL III 6218, ILLPRON 664, AE 2000 1179 and CIL III 10507 discussed above. Each of these inscriptions names at least two soldiers who were related to each other and another relative that did not serve in the army. However, 4 inscriptions that record nominally fraternal relationships of which no confirmation is possible have been omitted since one cannot be sure that the inscriptions record any true familial relationship (AE 2004, 1257; CIL VIII 4416; CIL III 14249.8; and CIL III 6743).

suggests that a significant number of the fraternal relationships recorded in this sample may also be inter-soldier relationships and, consequently, that inter-soldier relationships played a larger role in the lives of auxiliary soldiers in the first century than is obvious at first glance.

Seven of the 13 first-century stones recording ostensibly civilian familial relationships include mention of a *frater* with no indication that he served in the military. The problematic nature of the descriptor *frater* has already been mentioned and it is clear that *frater* is not always indicative of a biological relationship. Nevertheless, J. Képartová argues that instances in which an individual is named with filiation and another is referred to as *frater* without filiation may be accepted as true fraternal relationships.⁴ This is the case in 6 of the 7 inscriptions naming brothers in this group. Only AE 2000, 1179 records a fraternal relationship that is clearly biological and, interestingly, this inscription uses filiation rather than the word *frater* to make this connection clear.⁵ If the relationships recorded on the remaining stones are true fraternal relationships and one of the brothers on each of these stones was a civilian, these inscriptions would suggest that the auxiliary soldiers of the first century frequently remained in contact with their families while in service; furthermore, their brothers were most often their closest social relations and/or legal heirs.

However the locations of these stones' discovery and the origins of the soldiers named on them suggest that these "brothers," whether biological or notional, were, in fact, fellow soldiers. Five of the 7 soldiers commemorated on these stones were from

⁴ Képartová 1986, 11.

⁵ See page 240, above, for transcription, translation and further discussion.

outside the province in which they served, including 2 Spaniards and 3 Germans.⁶ These men traveled hundreds of miles from their homes in the course of their military service and were likely separated by as much distance from their brothers, unless their brothers followed them into service or traveled with them. How, then, did these brothers erect these stones for their fallen siblings? Were they able to arrange the erection of these stones from hundreds of miles away by post or courier? Were these brothers also in military service? Were they not biological brothers, but rather unrelated individuals who used *frater* as a term of endearment?

It is unlikely that these stones were erected by biological brothers who had remained in the homeland they shared with their siblings who entered the army. Not only was such long-distance communication and finance difficult even for the most well-connected Romans, but it would have been even more so for native, civilian populations in Germany and Spain in the first century. The frequency of these epigraphic monuments also suggests a close familiarity with epigraphic practice. It is unlikely that the family of a native soldier in the first century would have been aware of this habit or anxious to participate in it.⁷ Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the duty of commemoration would so often have fallen on a remote brother, rather than parents, and there is no case in this sample that records parents erecting a tombstone for their soldier-son at the place of his service.⁸ Thus it seems more likely that these commemorators were near their deceased *fratres* when the latter died.

⁶ The name of the recipient of CIL III 10258=3273 has been lost and no determination can be made about his origins.

⁷ For a detailed discussion of the spread and growth of the epigraphic habit among native peoples see, for example, Woolf 1998, 77-98.

⁸ For further discussion of the relationship between soldiers and their parents see page 309, below.

This leaves the questions of whether the *fratres* recorded on these stones were biological brothers or close friends of the men they commemorated, and whether these “brothers” were also soldiers. The first of these questions is unanswerable. While Képartová would seem to believe that these inscriptions do record biological relationships, it is unlikely that civilian brothers of soldiers would have traveled with their siblings during their service.⁹ Thus the men recorded on these stones must have been either biological brothers who had entered service together, or soldier-brothers who had adopted the appellation *frater* as a symbol of their affection.

The social and physical contexts in which these inscriptions were erected also have important implications regarding the nature of these relationships. Specifically, one ought to consider the service status of these soldiers and veterans, and the locations where the stones were erected. The soldiers recorded in the 7 first-century *frater* inscriptions that do not identify both brothers as soldiers are evenly divided between serving soldiers (CIL III 8486; CIL XIII 2613; and AE 2000, 1179) and veterans (CIL III 10514; 10258; 15205.3; and RHP 124).¹⁰ Each of the 3 inscriptions referring to serving soldiers was discovered at the garrison of the soldier’s unit. Likewise, RHP 124 and CIL III 10514, which record veterans, were found at ala I Hispanorum’s post at Aquincum, and CIL III 10258 was found at ala II Aravacorum’s station at Teutoburgium.¹¹ However, CIL III 15205.3 was found at Celeia, which lies about 200 miles from the

⁹ Képartová 1986, 11. This is still, I believe, the most detailed discussion of to the vexing problem of distinguishing between biological and notional brothers. However, it provides no definitive solution.

¹⁰ The status of Titus Julius Bellicus must be inferred from his position as *decurio municipii*. It is impossible to imagine that he could have held this position before or during his military service, especially since ala II Asturum was stationed in Pannonia, probably at or near Intercisa (CIL 14249.8; CIL III 10323; AE 1992, 1458; and RMD IV 202). See Roldán Hervás 1974, 93-4; Santos Yanguas 2006, 91-2 for arguments against a temporary post of this unit to Noricum.

¹¹ For further discussion of RHP 124 see page 164, above.

Danube frontier and ala II Asturum's post at Intercisa. The location of these stones suggest that the *fratres* recorded in 6 of these inscriptions are likely to have been fellow soldiers or former comrades, while Fronto (CIL III 15205.3) is more likely to have been a civilian, biological brother of the Bellicus commemorated.¹² Thus it seems that 6 of these 7 inscriptions record relationships within the military community and therefore ought to be added, with qualification, to the total number of stones recording inter-soldier relationships.

A similar line of reasoning may be applied to CIL III 10262, also dating to the first century. In this inscription the commemorators refer to themselves as *consobrini* (i.e. cousins) of the deceased. Again, it is impossible to confirm or deny the biological veracity of these relationships, but Niger's origin among the Suetrii (spelled Sueltri on the stone) identifies him as a native of the coastal region of Gallia Narbonensis. As in the cases above, this makes it unlikely that he would have remained in contact with his biological cousins during his service in Pannonia, unless they too had enlisted. As a result, I suggest that Marcellus and Publius served with Niger in ala I Aravacorum at Mursa, where this stone was found. The question of their kinship must, however, remain open. *Consobrinus*, like *frater*, could be used as a term of endearment.¹³

This analysis increases the number of inter-soldier relationships recorded within the first-century epigraphic record of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula from 13-15 to 20-22,¹⁴ leaving just 8 inscriptions that clearly record relationships between soldiers of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and civilian family

¹² *Soror* in CIL III 10258 may also be used as a term of endearment. Tab. Vindol. II 291. 293 and 310 contain reference to sisters that appear not to be biologically related to the individuals using that term.

¹³ See page 234n45, above.

¹⁴ The imprecision of these numbers is due to the problematic dating of CIL III 12257 and CIL XIII 6538.

members in the first century.¹⁵ Three of these have already been discussed in regards to “fraternal” relationships but are relevant to civilian relationships as well. The honorary inscription for Nertus (CIL III 10514) records the relationship between a veteran and his civilian brother in their home town.¹⁶ Meanwhile, CIL XIII 2613 records a “fraternal” relationship (which may have been between two soldiers) and a relationship between a securely identified soldier, Albanus, and a civilian, Alba.¹⁷ Alba is clearly female and, therefore, civilian. The similarity of the names Albanus and Alba also suggests that these two were father and daughter or, perhaps, siblings, although husband and *de facto* wife cannot be ruled out. It is also clear from the discovery of this stone at Cabilonnum (modern Chalon-sur-Saone, France) in Gallia Lugdunensis and the short tenure of Albinus’ service (twelve years) that Alba must have been a part of the community surrounding the ala Asturum in which Albinus served. Likewise, the decurion Tiberius Claudius Valerius and his wife were commemorated by their daughter and another decurion named Flaccus, who is described as *frater* (CIL III 3271).¹⁸

Four of the 8 first-century inscriptions that record relationships between soldiers and civilian family members (CIL III 3271; IScM II 172; CIL III 12361; and CIL III 12359) clearly refer to conjugal and descending parental relationships (i.e. parental relationships in which the soldier was the parent). Two of these inscriptions, CIL III 12361 and CIL III 12359, name a veteran and his wife but no children, while CIL III 3271 and IScM II 172 name a wife and credit the soldier’s child or children with the erection

¹⁵ This includes non-fraternal relationships recorded along with fraternal relationships on CIL XIII 2613 and CIL III 3217. CIL III 10258 has been excluded from this list because it is not clear that the woman named on the inscription is the recipient’s biological sister.

¹⁶ See discussion above, page 284.

¹⁷ For transcription and further discussion of CIL XIII 2613 see page 105, above.

¹⁸ For transcription and further discussion of CIL III 3271 see page 269, above.

of his tombstone.¹⁹ The small number of these inscriptions suggests that marriages, even *de facto* marriages, were not widespread among these auxiliary units in the first century or, at least, that these relationships were not often recorded epigraphically. Furthermore, each of the soldiers named on these stones was either a veteran or a superannuated soldier who had, apparently, received citizenship and, therefore, *conubium*.

In her study of the marriage of Roman soldiers S. Phang noted that no more than 15 percent of soldiers in any one of her samples were married. She proposed three possible explanations for this: shortage of women, external recruitment, and the desire of the army to facilitate redeployment of soldiers by preventing them from forming ties with local communities.²⁰ Phang, however, rejects the idea that the absence of women in the epigraphy of the *auxilia* in the first century is the result of legal strictures either on marriage or on funerary practice.²¹ I believe she is correct to do so. While 4 of the 4 soldiers named with their wives are explicitly identified as *veterani*, the fourth soldier, Tiberius Claudius Valerius (CIL III 3271) had reportedly served thirty years in the army.²² He was thereby eligible for discharge and the right of *conubium* which he presumably received with the citizenship that is indicated by his *tria nomina*. This might cause one to suppose that *conubium*, was a deciding factor in the naming of wives on tombstones. However, there are an almost equal number of veterans and superannuated soldiers who were commemorated by their *fratres* (CIL III 15205.3; RHP 124; and CIL

¹⁹ For transcription and further discussion of CIL III 12361 see page 168, above. For CIL III 12359 see page 155, above. For IScM II 172 see page 91, above.

²⁰ 2001, 154-56.

²¹ Phang 2001, 144. Cf. Wilkes 2000, 330-31.

²² For transcription and further discussion see page 269, above.

III 10514). The fact that these “fraternal” relationships continued to be common among soldiers who held *conubium* indicates that they did not mask *de facto* marriages by serving soldiers. Rather, it seems that soldiers did not enter into *de facto* marriages until later in or after their military careers.

Indeed, the first-century evidence from the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula reveals the predominance of foreign service among those soldiers whose social relationships are recorded epigraphically. Service in a foreign province would naturally have isolated soldiers from the populations that surrounded them as a result of cultural and linguistic differences. This isolation would fade over time as *vici* grew around military camps, and the population of the forts and surrounding communities grew comfortable with one another. This growing familiarity would, in turn, facilitate marriages between soldiers and local women.

Finally, two soldiers of auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula seem to have been honored by members of their family in their home towns in the first century. Candidianus, an *eques* of ala I Hispanorum Auriana, is recorded on a family tombstone erected by the soldier’s father for himself, his wife and his son in modern Semriach, Austria, in Noricum (CIL III 11749; Figure 53).²³ The second is a very fragmentary Julio-Claudian epitaph that appears to have been erected in Kutac, Bosnia-Herzegovina for an *eques* of Dalmatian origin, serving in cohors I Lucensium equitata, by an unidentifiable relative (or perhaps his decurion), his mother and his *familia inge[nua?]* (CIL III 8494).²⁴ These stones are important because they remind us that not all auxiliary soldiers in the first century were isolated from family: some maintained social

²³ See page 311, below.

²⁴ See pages 141, above, and 310, below.

connections in their home communities once they enlisted. However, while CIL III 11749 serves as evidence that Candidianus' father learned of his son's death and honored him, presumably in their home town, it does not indicate that soldiers were able to communicate easily with distant relatives. The ala I Hispanorum Auriana, in which Candidianus served, is known to have been in Noricum in AD 69, and since Candidianus died, reportedly at the age of 20 and thus within just two or three years of his enlistment, one may presume that he was a local recruit to the unit and had not traveled far before his death. Likewise, cohors I Lucensium was likely stationed in Dalmatia when the soldier recorded on CIL III 8494 enlisted and may still have been there when he died. Thus these inscriptions may be considered exceptions to the general tendency toward foreign service in the first century and representative of a service pattern more often seen in the second and third centuries.

The paucity of evidence for civilian family relationships in the first century (just 8 inscriptions) may be contrasted to the 22 inscriptions securely datable to the second and third centuries that record civilian family relationships (Appendix 3). Although this number is significantly larger than that of the inscriptions recording familial relationships in the first century, one ought not to take this alone as definitive proof that familial relationships were much more common in the second and third centuries than they were in the first. R. MacMullen and others have shown convincingly that the number of inscriptions erected in the Roman world was relatively small in the first century, grew in the second century, and declined rapidly in the third century.²⁵ Thus, the quantity of the inscriptions included in this sample may represent a general rise in the epigraphic habit rather than a rise in the proportion of recorded familial relationships among all recorded

²⁵ MacMullen 1982, 244-46.

relationships from the second and third centuries, to say nothing of the total number of actual relationships.

Nevertheless, the epigraphy of the second and third centuries shows marked differences from those of the first century. If one includes the ambiguous “fraternal” relationships and the one record of *consobrini* among inter-soldier relationships, 19 of the 27 securely datable first-century inscriptions discussed thus far appear to record inter-soldier relationships. On the other hand, only 13 of the 35 second- and third-century inscriptions do so.

Furthermore, 7 of the 13 inscriptions from the second and third centuries that record inter-soldier relationships also record familial bonds, and in 5 of these cases the fact that the two men are soldiers is incidental to the personal, family relationship they shared. In IScM I 278 a son, Ulpus Felix, who was serving in legio XI Claudia, commemorated his mother and his father, who was a veteran of ala II Aravacorum.²⁶ Clearly, it was the bond between parents and child, rather than that between soldiers, that precipitated this commemoration. Similarly, Marcus Aurelius Clemens, a centurion of legio VI Ferrata, erected a tombstone for his father, mother, sister and two brothers, one of whom had served in cohorts I Asturum (CIL III 10507).²⁷ The familial nature of this stone makes it clear that the family, not the military, was at the heart of the relationship between these two soldiers. This is equally true in CIL III 6218, for which two brothers, one serving in ala II Aravacorum and one serving as a *beneficiarius procuratoris*, came together to honor their father.²⁸ ILLPRON 664 presents a slightly different but equally family-oriented pattern of commemoration. This inscription was erected by a woman for

²⁶ For a transcript and translation of this stone, as well as additional details, see page 258, above.

²⁷ See page 263, above.

²⁸ See page 257, above.

her sister and two brothers, one of whom was a veteran of cohorts III Lusitanorum, while the other served in cohorts I Asturum. In this case the two brothers/soldiers were linked together by their relationship with their sister.²⁹

Furthermore, AE 2004, 1257 occupies an awkward middle ground between family and military bonds.³⁰ This tombstone was erected for a soldier who had died in battle by his *frater genetivus*, or biological brother, and it is impossible to say whether their bond as soldiers or as brothers was more important. However, the fact that the surviving brother included reference to their biological relationship seems to suggest that this relationship was of particular importance to him.

There are, however, two inscriptions from the late second or third century that record “fraternal” relationships of questionable biological veracity between soldiers. CIL III 6743 was erected for a serving *duplicarius* of ala II Ulpia Auriana by his supposed *frater* who served in the same unit.³¹ Likewise a *duplicarius* commemorated a fallen decurion of cohorts V Hispanorum in CIL VIII 4416 and referred to him as his *frater*.³² There is no way to tell whether these were biological relationships or merely affectionate ones. Therefore, they must stand as a reminder that some soldiers were not able to stay in touch with their families or, indeed, had no biological family, and the members of the military community could fulfill the social and legal roles that those family members might otherwise perform.

The explication of these inscriptions leaves just 8 inscriptions (including CIL III 6743 and CIL VIII 4416, which refer to the soldiers as *fratres*) that may record inter-

²⁹ See page 256, above.

³⁰ See page 272, above.

³¹ See page 248, above.

³² See page 272, above.

soldier relationships between unrelated soldiers in the second and third centuries. This is just about one third the number of inscriptions (22) that record familial relationships that are not related to military service. The first century evidence, on the other hand, revealed just 8 civilian relationships and 20-22 inter-soldier relationships, almost the inverse of the second and third century evidence.

Furthermore, the five inscriptions that name relatives and note, incidentally, that they were soldiers, also indicate that the soldiers and/or their relatives maintained at least a notional relationship with their relative-soldiers while they were in service. ILLPRON 664 even suggests that these relationships could be maintained throughout twenty-five years of service, since one of the brothers mentioned on the stone is identified as a *missus* (veteran). It is also remarkable that only CIL III 6743 names two soldiers who may have been related by blood and who served in the same unit in the second or third century. This may simply be an aberration brought on by the small sample under examination here, but it is worth further investigation. Such an examination, however, lies outside the scope of this study.

The declining proportion of purely inter-soldier relationships recorded in the second- and third-century epigraphic record of the Roman auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula contrasts an increase in the number and proportion of conjugal relationships and descending and ascending parental relationships that are recorded in the second and third centuries.

6.1.1 Conjugal Relationships

Eleven of the 22 second- and third-century inscriptions that record one or more familial relationships enjoyed by a soldier of one of the auxiliary units raised on the

Iberian Peninsula include reference to that soldier's wife. Thus, one third of the total number of second- and third- century inscriptions that mention inter-soldier relationships or family relationships refer to a soldier's wife or *de facto* wife, and half of the inscriptions that record familial relationships between soldiers of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and civilians in the second and third centuries include mention of the soldier's wife. This may be compared to four inscriptions of the first century that mention wives. Furthermore, these four first-century inscriptions comprise only one fifth of the total number of inscriptions that mention fellow soldiers or civilian family members, but wives still appear on half of the inscriptions that mention civilian family. While this is a small sample from which to draw conclusions, this data suggests that it was the increase in commemoration of and by soldier's families, rather than an absolute increase in the marriage rate of soldiers, that caused this change. If a higher percentage of soldiers had married in the second century, one would expect to see their wives appearing in a higher proportion of the inscriptions that mention familial relationships. Instead, the data associated with the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula display an increase in the percentage of stones concerned with familial relationships, and a corresponding increase in the number of stones that refer to wives. Thus it seems that commemorative practice, which may reflect the social environment of the soldiers, from the first to second centuries moved away from inter-soldier relationships and commemoration, and towards family.

However, the inscriptions that refer to wives in the second and third centuries include three cases in which the soldier whose wife is mentioned appears to be in active service. This may appear to indicate that marriage among serving soldiers had become more common in the second century, but the evidence is far from conclusive. Only one

of the inscriptions from the second and third centuries attests to the soldier's years of service. This stone was found at Virunum in Noricum and records that its recipient served for twenty-two years (CIL III 4842=11508, Figure 52):

[...] Julio Aprili b(ene)f(iciario) / c(o)hort(is) I Asturum /
stip(endiorum) XXII Cauru / Blendonis f(ilia)
con(tubernalis) v(iva) f(ecit) et sibi.³³

The length of Julius Aprilis' service, as it appears on this stone, confirms that he was still in active service; he had not reached the twenty-five years of service that would have qualified him for discharge.

Aelius Tato, the centurion named in CIL III 843 from Rescolum in Dacia, also appears to have been on active service when he died and was commemorated by his wife and father-in-law (*socer*). This supposition is, however, predicated upon the restoration of his age in the text of the inscription:

D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(io) Tatoni / dec(urioni) coh(ortis) II
His(panorum) / vix(it) an(nos) X[L] Ael(ius) / Julianus
so(cer) et her(es) / Ae[l(lia)] Silvana con(iunx) / be(ne)
m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).³⁴

If the editors of CIL are correct to restore his age as 40, we may assume Aelius Tato had served for about twenty years when he died and thus had not been discharged or granted *conubium*.

Finally, AE 1967, 335 from Stockstadt am Main, Germany, was erected by Attius Tertius, a centurion of cohorts II Hispanorum, for his own health and that of his wife and children. This stone gives no indication of Attius Tertius' age and the only evidence for the length of his service derives from his position as a centurion, which suggests that he

³³ "... For Julius Aprilis, beneficiarius of cohorts I Asturum, having served twenty-two years, Cauru, daughter of Blendo, his mate, erected this while still alive, for him and for herself."

³⁴ "To the immortal shades and to Aelius Tato, decurion of cohorts II Hispanorum, who lived forty years. Aelius Julianus, his father-in-law and his heir Aelia Silvana, his wife, took care that this be made for him, well-deserving."

served for at least a few years in order to achieve this rank before the stone was erected.³⁵ However, the discovery of this stone in Stockstadt, where cohorts II Hispanorum was stationed in the period after AD 121-122, gives further indication that Attius Tertius was still in active service when this stone was erected in the mid-second century.³⁶

The appearance of *de facto* wives of married soldiers contradicts the legal evidence that held that soldiers were not permitted to marry before AD 197. In fact, the evidence provided in military diplomas and from the epigraphic record as a whole suggests that this was a legal distinction with little practical effect on the lives of soldiers (Appendix 4). Only 1 of the 9 military diplomas awarded in the first century to members of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula preserves the name of a wife (CIL XVI 2). However, another (RMD IV 202) names the soldier's children and, therefore, implies some type of *de facto* marriage.³⁷ Furthermore, 8 of the 21 second-century diplomas related to veterans of these units record wives and/or children, and 9 of the inscriptions that fail to do so were issued after AD 140 when children were no longer granted citizenship on diplomas and were, therefore, no longer named on them. This change in the terms of auxiliary discharge also made it less important to name wives, since the grant of *conubium* applied to a soldier with his current wife or, if he was single, a wife he would take in the future (*ded(it)... conub(ium) cum uxorib(us) quas / tunc*

³⁵ This promotion could, however, come very rapidly. For discussion of the appointment of centurions see Gilliam 1957.

³⁶ Roldán Hervás 1974, 69.

³⁷ For further discussion see page 195, above.

*habuiss(ent) cum est civit(as) (e)is dat(a) / aut eum (e)is quas postea duxiss(ent) dum/tax(at) singulis).*³⁸

If we accept the evidence of the military diplomas at face value it seems that the rate of marriage among soldiers receiving discharge within these units rose only slightly from the first to second century (from 2/9 in the first century, to 8/21 in the second). If, however, one discounts the diplomas awarded after AD 140, there appears to be a dramatic increase in the marriage rate between these two centuries, from 2/9 to 6/9. M. Roxan noted a very similar increase in comparison of diplomas before AD 117 and those dating from AD 117 to AD 140.³⁹ However, 8 of the 9 diplomas that were awarded in the second century to soldiers serving in the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and that name wives or children come from the first fifteen years of the century. Therefore the soldiers who received them also served in the first century; indeed, many of them passed most of their service in the first century. As a result, these diplomas cannot be used to make a clear distinction between first- and second-century marriage practices. Nevertheless, they do indicate the rising frequency of *de facto* marriages between auxiliary soldiers and women over time. Furthermore, the inclusion of diplomas in a discussion of the relative frequency of evidence for different types of relationships would skew the data since, with the exception of a very few inscriptions that name parents and siblings, the grants of citizenship recorded on diplomas are legally

³⁸ “[the emperor] gave ... the right of legal marriage with their wives whom they had had at that time when citizenship was granted to them or with those whom they married afterward, once each.” This is standard text appearing on all diplomas but is taken from RMD I 55.

³⁹ Roxan 1991, 464.

limited to wives and children.⁴⁰ Therefore, wives and children would be over-represented.

Ultimately the evidence for conjugal relationships within the epigraphic record of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula suggest that these relationships account for a larger proportion of the relationships recorded in association with the soldiers of these units in the second century than they do in the first. This conclusion is generally in agreement with the results of broader examinations conducted by Phang and Roxan.⁴¹ The growing prominence of wives may, in turn, indicate that soldiers in the second century were increasingly turning their attention outward from the confines of the fort, and interacting more with local populations.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether women of local origins who married Roman soldiers were connected with the military community before their marriages. The instigation of local and provincial recruitment in the latter half of the first century and the growth of this recruiting practice in the second would have resulted in increasing numbers of women related to local recruits inhabiting the *vici* that surrounded auxiliary forts.⁴² However, a close comparison of the tribal and geographical origins of soldiers and their wives, as recorded on inscriptions and diplomas, suggests that these soldiers took wives from the mixed communities that surrounded their posts with little regard for their prospective wives' tribal or geographical background. This, in turn, implies the creation of a highly integrated military community. However, the extent to

⁴⁰ For discussion of these exceptions see Eck 2003; Eck and Pangerl 2008.

⁴¹ Phang 2001; Roxan 1991.

⁴² Webster 1994, 220 notes the increasing prominence of *vici* from the early second century onward. Cf. Southern 2006, 144.

which native, purely civilian, women were brought into the military community through marriage is impossible to determine with epigraphy alone.

The evidence available from inscriptions on stone that can shed light on this issue is quite sparse. Inscriptions only infrequently note the origins of the people named in them and onomastic evidence is rarely persuasive. This is increasingly true in the second and third centuries, when identifiably ethnic names seem to fade away, and citizenship, gained through military service, municipal service, and other means, spread rapidly throughout the empire and the *auxilia*. Nevertheless, what little evidence does survive seems to support the more robust evidence from military diplomas that suggests that soldiers sought and took wives, legal or *de facto*, from the military community and the surrounding native populations. However, there is also evidence within this sample to suggest that “spouses” with similar origins were common into the second century and throughout the period for which marriages are attested by diplomas associated with the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula.

Stone epitaphs provide very little evidence for the geographical and tribal origins of husbands and wives or *de facto* wives. However, it is worth looking at the 2 inscriptions from the first century and the 10 from the second and third centuries that may be of use. CIL III 12361 was erected at Utus in Moesia Inferior for Sulpicius Massa, a veteran of ala I Hispanorum, by his wife, Pieris, in the Flavian period.⁴³ Sulpicius Massa is identified on the stone as a Tungrian, but his wife’s origin is not specified. Nevertheless, onomastic evidence suggests that Pieris was not a native of Moesia. This tombstone includes the only record of the name Pieris in Moesia. However, it occurs 5

⁴³ For further information about this stone and Sulpicius Massa’s movements during his service see page 168, above.

times in Cisalpine Gaul, 4 times in Dalmatia and 3 times in the German provinces.⁴⁴ Since Sulpicius Massa served in Germany, Dalmatia and Pannonia before retiring in Moesia, Pieris likely originated in Germany or Dalmatia. Furthermore, the frequency with which ala I Hispanorum relocated during this period makes it unlikely that Pieris was simply a local woman living near the unit's fort. It is more reasonable to assume that she was the daughter of a soldier recruited into ala I Hispanorum during its stay in one of those other provinces. Thus she was probably a member of the broader military community before being married to Sulpicius Massa.

CIL III 12359 presents an equally frustrating case.⁴⁵ This tombstone was erected for Victor, a veteran of ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum, and his wife Procula by Restitutus, whose relationship to them is unclear. The names Victor and Procula are too common to reveal their tribal or geographic origins with much confidence, and neither one's *origo* is stated explicitly. However, both names are relatively rare in Moesia Inferior.⁴⁶ This suggests that neither husband nor wife were of native Moesian extraction. This may then indicate that Procula was the daughter of another soldier and that her relationship with Victor developed within the military community. But one may hardly be sure that this was the case.

The second-century inscriptions that record conjugal relationships are more numerous but equally frustrating. Ten inscriptions on stone record some evidence of soldiers' wives during this period. Nevertheless, the origins of soldiers and wives alike are difficult to determine, although they seem to suggest that wives were often drawn from near the garrisons of the soldiers they married. However, this was increasingly true

⁴⁴ OPEL III, 141.

⁴⁵ For transcription and further discussion see page 155, above.

⁴⁶ OPEL III, 166-167; and IV 167-168.

of the soldiers themselves in the second century as local and provincial recruitment increased. Thus it is often difficult to determine whether wives were drawn from the communities surrounding the auxiliary forts or from the soldiers' homelands, which were often nearby.

The earliest of these inscriptions is CIL III 4842. This stone was erected in Virunum, Noricum in the mid-second century, for a soldier of cohorts I Asturum by his wife, Cauru.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the name of the soldier has been lost and this is the only instance of Cauru listed in OPEL.⁴⁸ However, Cauru's father's name, Blendo, is attested in three other inscriptions, all of which also come from Noricum.⁴⁹ Thus it seems that Cauru was probably a native of Noricum, although there is no way to connect her to the military prior to her "marriage." One may be relatively certain, however, that Cauru's husband, who was evidently still in service when he died, "married" a woman from the area near Virunum, where the stone was erected and cohorts I Asturum was posted.

AE 1967, 335 is a votive inscription erected by a living centurion of cohorts II Hispanorum for his own health and that of his wife Cisso and their children.⁵⁰ As is too often the case, it is difficult to associate the names that appear on this stone with tribes, areas or provinces. Attius and Tertius are both quite common. Attius appears most often in Gallia Narbonensis (100 times), but is also common in Cisalpine Gaul (68) and the Iberian provinces (42).⁵¹ Tertius is also quite common and appears 195 times in

⁴⁷ For transcription and further discussion see page 294, above.

⁴⁸ OPEL II, 46 refers only to CIL III 11508.

⁴⁹ OPEL I², 123.

⁵⁰ For transcription see page 294, above.

⁵¹ OPEL I², 90-91.

Cisalpine Gaul, 69 times in Gallia Narbonensis and 62 times in Noricum.⁵² These statistics provide no conclusive evidence of Attius Tertius' origins. However, Gallia Narbonensis and Transpadane Gaul seem like the most likely candidates for Attius Tertius' homeland. Cisso, on the other hand, appears only twice, including this inscription, and both of these appearances are in the German provinces.⁵³ This gives some indication that our Cisso was a native of the area around Stockstadt, where this inscription was found and where cohorts II Hispanorum was stationed in the second quarter of the second century.⁵⁴ There is, however, no evidence to connect her directly to the military community in Stockstadt before her marriage to Attius Tertius.

The tombstone of Titus Aelius Veranus, veteran of ala I Aravacorum, and his wife Vinilla (AE 2001, 1644), provides little evidence from which to reconstruct the couple's origins.⁵⁵ This unit spent almost its entire existence in Pannonia, where this stone was erected.⁵⁶ This and the 5 other attestations of the name Veranus in Pannonia, which match in number those found in any other area (6 in the Iberian provinces and 5 in Noricum), suggest that Veranus was Pannonian.⁵⁷ But Vinilla is attested only in one inscription from OPEL and that comes from Germania Superior.⁵⁸ Therefore, this inscription is of little use. Similarly, CIL III 12480, from Cius in Moesia Inferior, also

⁵² OPEL IV, 114-115.

⁵³ OPEL II, 58.

⁵⁴ Roldán Hervás 1974, 69.

⁵⁵ For transcription and further discussion see page 180, above.

⁵⁶ This inscription was recovered from Levél, Hungary in Pannonia Superior, very near ancient Ad Flexum.

⁵⁷ OPEL IV, 156.

⁵⁸ OPEL IV, 172.

names a husband and wife but the wife's name is recorded simply as Julia. Her origins are, therefore, obscure.⁵⁹ This renders the inscription useless for the current analysis.

IBR 264 provides slightly more information.⁶⁰ This stone was erected by Primus Saturninus, a former decurion of ala I Hispanorum Auriana, which was stationed at Biriciana (modern Weissenburg, Germany) in Raetia. Saturninus erected this stone for himself, his wife and his daughter, prior to his own death. However, neither the name Saturninus nor Victorina provide convincing evidence of their possessors' origins. It is, in fact, more notable that Saturninus and his wife appear to have settled at Celeusum, fifty miles from Biriciana. This may indicate a local connection that is not visible in the onomastic evidence. However, this connection need not be related to Victorina's origins.

CIL III 843, the tombstone of Aelius Tato, decurion of cohors II Hispanorum, which was erected in Rescolum (near modern Sebes-Varallya, Romania) in Dacia in the second half of the second century, is equally problematic.⁶¹ Tato is only attested in a handful of inscriptions and those are spread evenly between the German provinces, Dalmatia, Pannonia and Dacia.⁶² Likewise, Tato's wife's name, Silvana, is ubiquitous, though instances of it are concentrated somewhat in the Iberian provinces and Pannonia.⁶³

Although the origins of Herculanius and his wife, Valeria, who are named on CIL III 14214.22 of the late-second or early-third century, are unclear, this inscription clearly

⁵⁹ For transcription and further discussion see page 176, above.

⁶⁰ For transcription and further discussion see page 183, above.

⁶¹ For transcription see page 294, above.

⁶² OPEL IV, 109.

⁶³ OPEL IV, 82.

states that the couple were from the same place (*eodem loco*).⁶⁴ However, it is unclear whether this unnamed location was near Herculanus' post. Fragments of this stone were discovered at Cius and Troesmis in Moesia Inferior and onomastic evidence suggests that Herculanus and, by extension, his wife were natives of this area. However, it has also been argued that the fragmentary name of their home, Rami[...], refers to a community in Dacia. Thus, while Herculanus' and Valeria's origins may not be determined with certainty, it is clear that this inscription records a couple with shared origins.

Like CIL III 12480, ILBulg II 81 does not provide sufficient information from which to reconstruct the origins of the couple named on it.⁶⁵ This inscription was erected by the freedmen and wife of a veteran of ala II Aravacorum Hispanorum at Sexaginta Prista in Moesia Inferior in the early third century. However, the soldier's name, Cotus, is sparsely attested and appears no more than once in any province. Also, his wife's name, Julia Juliana is too generic to provide any useful information about her origins. The backgrounds of the husbands and wives in IScM I 297 and CIL XIII 11982 are equally obscure, for similar reasons.⁶⁶

The inscriptions on stone that record the origins of husbands and wives related to the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula are too few to provide definitive patterns or trends in the geographical origins of soldiers and their "wives." However, they do suggest that legal and *de facto* wives of soldiers were often drawn from the military and native communities that surrounded auxiliary garrisons rather than from soldiers' homelands. Fortunately, further information can be found in the text of the military diplomas. The names of soldiers' wives were often recorded on diplomas with

⁶⁴ For transcription and further discussion of this inscription see page 157, above.

⁶⁵ For transcription and further discussion see page 161, above.

⁶⁶ For IScM I 297 see page 160, above. For CIL XIII 11982 see page 186, above.

or without explicit information about their origins.⁶⁷ This onomastic evidence and the *origines* of these wives provide much needed information to augment the evidence from inscriptions on stone.

Only one first-century diploma issued to a soldier from an auxiliary unit raised on the Iberian Peninsula records the name of a veteran's wife. CIL XVI 2 was awarded to Dasens, the son of Dasmenus, between AD 50 and 54 for his service in cohorts II Hispanorum in Illyricum (later Pannonia Superior).⁶⁸ Dasens is identified explicitly as a member of the Cornacates who occupied part of Pannonia. His wife's origin is not stated explicitly but her name, Iora, and her father's, Prosostus, appear on only one other inscription each, and these come from Aquincum and Carnuntum, respectively.⁶⁹ This evidence suggests that Iora was Pannonian, but does not connect her to the Cornacates.

The diplomas of the second century are more numerous and more informative. RGZM 11 was awarded to Urbanus, son of Ateio, in Moesia Inferior, in AD 105. Urbanus is identified as a Trever, from Gallia Belgica.⁷⁰ His wife's origin is not provided but her father's name, Eptacentus, indicates that she was Moesian or Thracian. Thus it seems that Urbanus took a "local" wife or perhaps married a daughter or sister of one of his comrades while ala I Asturum was stationed in Moesia. This hypothetical soldier may have been a Moesian or a Thracian. CIL XVI 45, for example, was awarded to Metticus, son of Sola, of the Bessi, a Thracian tribe, in AD 99.

⁶⁷ Military diplomas granted Roman citizenship to soldiers who did not already hold it, and *conubium*, or legal marriage, with their *de facto* wives or, if they did not yet have a wife, a woman they married subsequent to the issue of the diploma. These grants of citizenship also extended to soldiers' children until AD 140. Phang 2001, 57-8. For general discussion about diplomas see pages 81 and 295, above.

⁶⁸ The findspot of this diploma is unknown according to Lörincz (RHP 1).

⁶⁹ OPEL II, 196 also notes one example of "[I] Iora" which comes from Gallia Narbonensis, but this may well be a different name entirely. For Prosostus see OPEL III, 168.

⁷⁰ Also see page 93, above, for a brief discussion of this diploma. Its findspot is unknown.

CIL XVI 52, which was awarded in AD 106 to a veteran named Clemens, who had served in cohorts I Asturum in Noricum, names Clemens' wife, Seccia. This name suggests that Seccia was of local Norican origins.⁷¹ However, Clemens' background cannot be determined. Cohors I Asturum was probably stationed at Asturis by this time. The discovery of this diploma at Ovilava, over fifty miles from Asturis, may indicate that Clemens was a local or provincial recruit. However, there is no direct evidence to support this claim.⁷²

CIL XVI 55 was awarded to Mogetissa, son of Comatullus, of the Boii, in AD 107. The Boii inhabited land on the border between Noricum and Pannonia. At the time of Mogetissa's discharge, his unit, ala I Hispania Auriana, was stationed at Biriciana (modern Weissenburg, Germany) on the Raetian Limes, where this diploma was found. However, Mogetissa's wife, Verecunda, was a member of the Sequani of Germania Superior. These circumstances suggest that Seccia was the daughter or, perhaps, sister of a soldier serving with or near Mogetissa and ala I Hispania Auriana.⁷³

The wife of Dasens, son of Liccaius, may also have been a relative of a serving soldier (RMD IV 223, of AD 112). However, her origins among the Azali make it equally possible that she was simply a local woman living in the vicinity of her husband's garrison, since ala I Aravacorum Hispanorum, in which Dasens served, was stationed in Pannonia Superior, between Brigetio and Arrabona until at least AD 120. This was in the territory of the Azali, and three members of that tribe are attested as soldiers in this unit in the middle of the second century.⁷⁴ Thus, it is quite likely that Matena, Dasens' wife,

⁷¹ OPEL IV, 56.

⁷² For further discussion of this diploma see page 201, above.

⁷³ For further discussion of this diploma see page 202, above.

⁷⁴ CIL XVI 99; CIL XVI 178; and RGZM 32.

was a member of the military community through a biological relationship with a soldier, or lived in the civilian community adjacent to ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum's fort. Dasens' Pannonian origins, which are recorded on the diploma, indicate that he originated among the Pannonian tribes south of the Drava River and, furthermore, that he was a provincial recruit to this unit. This suggests that he and Matena met while Dasens was serving within the territory of the Azali. Unfortunately, no information about Dasens' and Matena's movements after the issue of this diploma is available, since its place of discovery is unknown.

A very fragmentary diploma discovered in Pappenheim, Germany, in Roman Raetia, preserves the origins of the soldier of ala I Hispanorum Auriana to whom it was issued sometime between AD 122 and 140, as well as the origins of his wife (CIL XVI 105).⁷⁵ The soldier, whose name is not preserved, is identified as a Frisian, while his wife is said to be Batavian. Thus both husband and wife were from Germanic tribes of Germania Inferior. It is clear that the wife named on this diploma was not a local woman, though she could well have been the daughter or sister of a soldier serving in this unit. Interestingly, Pappenheim, where this diploma was discovered, is just seven miles south of Biriciana, where ala I Hispanorum Auriana was stationed. While one cannot be certain how long the veteran who received this diploma survived after his service, he and his wife seem not to have returned to Germania Inferior. Rather, they remained in the area in which they presumably had met and near the military community they knew.

RGZM 38 stands out from this sample as the only diploma that records a husband and wife with identical backgrounds. This diploma of unknown provenance was issued in AD 157 to Disaphus, son of Dinicentus, a Thracian veteran of ala I Hispanorum

⁷⁵ This diploma has already been discussed in the context of veteran settlement. See page 203, above.

Auriana, who had completed his service in Raetia. His wife Andra, daughter of Eptecentus, is also named on the inscription and explicitly identified as a Thracian as well. There is no clear explanation for the enlistment of a Thracian in this unit, since ala I Hispanorum Auriana had been stationed in Raetia since at least AD 107 (CIL XVI 55) and there is no indication that the unit had ever been in Thrace. Therefore, Andra must either have been the sister or daughter of another soldier or, perhaps, have followed Disaphus into service.

Finally, RMD IV 278 records the discharge of Victor, son of Senduso (?), of the Runicates, and his right of *conubium* with his wife, Prima (?), the daughter of Masus, of the Catenates, in AD 160.⁷⁶ This diploma was discovered at Quintana (modern Künzing, Germany), where Victor's unit, cohors V Bracaraugustanorum, was stationed. The origins of both Victor and his wife indicate that they were from local tribes. In particular Prima's tribe, the Catenates, lived in the area surrounding Quintana. Therefore it seems likely that Prima was a native woman and/or the sister or daughter of a soldier in cohors V Bracaraugustanorum.

The tendency of diplomas to record the origins of the men and women named on them is very helpful. However, this information remains difficult to interpret. This small sample suggests that soldiers tended to choose wives from backgrounds similar to their own. While the husbands and wives do not necessarily come from the same tribes, five of the couples named on these diplomas come from the same area or neighboring tribes (CIL XVI 2; RMD IV 223; CIL XVI 105; RGZM 38; and RMD IV 278). But these relationships do not indicate that the soldiers involved in them sought wives from outside the military community. Each of these woman may have been the sister or, more likely,

⁷⁶ For further discussion of this diploma see page 208, above.

daughter of a soldier serving in the same unit as her future husband. Therefore my evidence suggests that soldiers did not look to their home communities for wives. In fact, only RGZM 38 provides explicit evidence for marriages between members of the same tribe in this sample. Rather, soldiers tended to form unions with women of the communities surrounding their garrisons, whether or not these women were attached to the military.

Even this elusive evidence shows that some soldiers, though a minority, formed unions with women of very different backgrounds from their own. This was likely so in CIL III 12361 and AE 1967, 335 and was certainly the case in RGZM 11 and CIL XVI 55.⁷⁷ However, in each of these cases the soldier seems to have been serving in a foreign province and married a woman who was, likely, living locally. There is little evidence from my sample to suggest that soldiers were bringing women from their home communities to join them during their service. In this regard, this evidence suggests that auxiliary soldiers had little concern for geographic or tribal origins when entering into conjugal relationships.⁷⁸

The relative frequency of marriages between men and women from vastly different geographical areas may be a function of the composition of individual units at various times. However, our sources for the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula are too incomplete to allow a definitive examination of this issue. For now, it must suffice to say that about half of the inscriptions and diplomas from which information about the origins of couples can be drawn indicate similarities in the couples' backgrounds. These similarities may, however, reflect the composition of the military

⁷⁷ For CIL III 12361 see page 298, above. For AE 1967, 335 see page 300, above. For RGZM 11 see page 304, above. For CIL XVI 55 see page 305, above.

⁷⁸ Wells 1997. This conclusion is being challenged in Greene 2012 [forthcoming].

community and circumstances of service rather than conscious maintenance of tribal and geographical bonds.

6.1.2 Soldiers and Home: Parents and Siblings

The evidence for the tribal and geographical origins of soldiers and their wives hints at the interaction of soldiers with the communities that surrounded their posts during and after their service. In contrast, analysis of the evidence for spouses' origins provides little evidence for continued interaction between serving soldiers and their homelands. Nevertheless, examination of the epigraphic record associated with veterans of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula has shown that discharged soldiers tended to stay within the province of their service regardless of their place of origin.⁷⁹ This suggests that soldiers who served outside their home province developed ties with their unit and with the communities that surrounded their garrison. They do not, however, allow us to gauge the extent to which soldiers remained in contact with members of their families in their birthplaces. One may get some feeling for this aspect of auxiliary soldiers' lives by looking at the inscriptions that record the continuation of relationships between soldiers, their parents and their civilian siblings.

The problematic nature of "fraternal" relationships has already been discussed in detail in this chapter. It has been shown that most *fratres* recorded in the epigraphic record of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula were fellow soldiers. Thus, regardless of whether these men were biological brothers, their relationships do not indicate continued contact with either brother's birth family or home community. Epigraphic records of relationships between soldiers, their parents and civilian siblings,

⁷⁹ See Chapter 4, above.

however, indicate that some soldiers did remain in contact with their families in their home communities.

There are nine inscriptions of this type within the epigraphic record of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula.⁸⁰ These inscriptions range chronologically from the first to the third century. This suggests that relationships of this type were maintained from the earliest days of the *auxilia*. Furthermore, the geographical circumstances of the erection of the stones and the service of the soldiers involved reveal examples of these relationships being maintained over distances up to about 150 miles.

The earliest of these inscriptions is a Julio-Claudian tombstone erected at Kutac, Bosnia-Herzegovina (CIL III 8494):⁸¹

...]i eq(uitis) coh(ortis) I / [Luc(ensium) eq(uitata) t]ur(ma)
Valeri / [...nat(ione)] Delm(ata) an[n(orum)] /
[...stip(endiarum)] XXV, [Va]ler(ius) / ...f(ilius), Valeria
m(ater) / [... et f]amilia inge[nua]⁸²

This tombstones marked the death of a soldier from cohorts I Lucensium which was stationed about thirty miles south of Kutac at Bigeste (modern Humac, Bosnia-Herzegovina). Although fragmentary, it seems to have been erected by a mother and an individual of unknown relation, for her son, a serving soldier. The stone also mentions a *[f]amilia inge[nua]* which may refer to the household of the soldier himself or, more likely, of his father, including biological relatives and slaves.⁸³ This stone is significant because it indicates that the soldier's mother and family were in touch with the soldier, or

⁸⁰ These 9 inscriptions include 2 CIL VIII 3101 and IScM I 278, which are problematic but still worthy of inclusion here.

⁸¹ See also page 141, above. Wilkes 2000, 339 no. 45 prefers to assign this inscription to cohorts I Belgarum equitata in the second or third century, but is in the minority in this opinion.

⁸² ...of ... horseman of cohorts I Lucensium equitata, from the turma of Valerius, a Dalmatian, having lived ... years and served twenty-five, Valerius, son of ..., Valeria, his mother, and his native family (set this up).

⁸³ See Saller 1984 for discussion of the meaning of *familia*.

at least his unit, learned of his death, and still felt compelled to commemorate him, even twenty-five years after he had entered military service. Given that this soldier served just thirty miles from his home community, if we may assume that his mother and family erected this stone at the place of his birth, it is not altogether remarkable that this was the case. This distance could be traveled in two days on foot and in a single day by carriage.⁸⁴

CIL III 11749, dating to the second half of the first century, also preserves a record of a parent. In this inscription a father included a son who was serving in the army on his tombstone (Figure 53):

Candidus / Vibeni f(ilius) v(ivus) f(ecit) / sib(i) et Mentiae /
Amoeni f(iliae) / con(iugi) opt(imae) et / Candidiano f(ilio)
/ mil(iti) al(ae) aur(ianae) a(nnorum) XX.⁸⁵

We may be certain that the son had not been in service long (he was only twenty years old when he, presumably, died and this stone was erected) but it is not clear how far he was removed from his family. This soldier, Candidianus, served in ala I Hispanorum Auriana which was in Noricum, as was Semriach, where this stone was discovered. M. Pavan has surmised, logically, that ala I Hispanorum Auriana must have been stationed on the border with Raetia in AD 69, in order to defend the province against the Vitellians.⁸⁶ This would place the unit about fifty miles from Semriach. However, we cannot be sure either that this tombstone dates to that year or that this was where ala I Hispanorum was posted between AD 69 and its transfer to Raetia some time before AD 107 (CIL XVI 55).

⁸⁴ Casson 1994, 189.

⁸⁵ “Candidus, son of Vibenus, built this while still alive, for himself and for Mentia, daughter of Amoenus, his excellent wife and for Candidianus, his son, a soldier of the ala Auriana, who lived twenty years.”

⁸⁶ For ala I Hispanorum Auriana in Noricum see Tac. *Hist.* 3.5 and Pavan 1955, 66.

CIL III 14214.29 was erected in the second century by a veteran of ala II Aravacorum and his brother for their parents and sister in Tomis (modern Constanța, Romania) (Figure 34):⁸⁷

[vixit anno]s LXXX / ... fi (?)llo vixit / an(nos) ... a]e
mat/[ri et (?) Secu]ndini/[ae sorori (?)] Lupus / [vet(eranus)
(?) alae] II Ara/[vacorum] et Thi/[... frat (?)]er eius /
[pientiss]imus / [posue]runt.⁸⁸

The text of this inscription is very fragmentary, but has been persuasively reconstructed as attesting that Lupus, a veteran of ala II Aravacorum and his brother commemorated their parents and sister. It is unclear from this inscription where Lupus was living at the time of his parents' death. His father's age, eighty, suggests that Lupus may well have been a veteran and therefore may have returned to Tomis at the conclusion of his service.⁸⁹ Regardless of whether Lupus was still in active service or had been discharged from ala II Aravacorum in Carsium, fifty miles to the northwest, Lupus must have remained in contact with his family during his service. The distance between Carsium and Tomis is significant and this continued contact demonstrates a significant commitment to the maintenance of these relationships.

CIL III 6218, which was erected in Arubium in the mid-second century, has already been discussed in detail.⁹⁰ However, it is also applicable to this discussion. This stone was erected for their father by two brothers, who, respectively, served in ala II Aravacorum and as a *beneficiarius procuratoris*. Like CIL III 14214.29, it shows that some serving soldiers maintained contact with their parents despite significant

⁸⁷ For further discussion of this inscriptions see page 162, above.

⁸⁸ "... lived eighty years... son of...(and) ... daughter of... who lived... years, their mother and Secundina, their sister. Lupus, veteran of ala II Aravacorum and Thi... his most faithful brother, set this up."

⁸⁹ For further discussion see page 162, above.

⁹⁰ For transcription and further discussion see page 257, above.

geographical separation. In this case the distance between Arubium, where the stone was erected and Carsium, where ala II Aravacorum was stationed, is also about fifty miles.

CIL III 5330a presents a similar situation from the second half of the second century (Figure 54). However, this stone was erected by the mother of a horseman from ala I Asturum for herself, her sons and her husband:

M(arco) Ann[io ...] / an(norum) LX An[nia ...] / Marc[ella
fecit sibi] / et M(arco) Annio Marc[ello] / filio an(norum)
XXV / et M(arco) Annio Marcelliano / (centurioni)
coh(ortis) I A[sturum(?)] / an(norum) XXX.⁹¹

The soldier named on the stone died at the age of thirty, approximately ten years into his service; he was probably stationed at Asturis, almost 150 miles north of Solva, Noricum, where the stone was erected. It seems, however, that Marcellianus remained in contact with his parents through approximately ten years of service. And, most significantly, he was still included within his mother's conception of the family, despite his absence.

CIL VIII 3101 and IScM I 278 also date to the second half of the second century and are relevant to this discussion. However, they present some unique challenges to interpretation. In CIL VIII 3101 a sister commemorated her brother who died while in service:⁹²

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / D(ecimo) Domitio / Sardónico /
Polia Ale{c}xan/dria vixit an/nis LXX fecer/unt Domitiae /
patri piissimo / d(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Q(uinto)
Domitio / Polia castris / Sardónico / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VII /

⁹¹ “To Marcus Annius... who lived sixty years, Annia Marcella made this for herself and for Marcus Annius Marcellus their son, who lived twenty-five years, and for Marcus Annius Macellianus, centurion of cohorts I Asturum, who lived thirty years.”

⁹² Roxan 1973, 544. Roxan's dating is dependent upon the contention that a serving soldier in possession of citizenship is likely to have served in the second half of the second century. Furthermore, Roxan argues that the inclusion of an *origo* in the inscription makes a third-century date unlikely.

Lusitano/rum vixit / annis XVIII / fecerunt / Domitiae /
fra[tri de]sid/[erant]iss[i]mo.⁹³

However, the younger Sardonius' age (eighteen), and the fact that his unit was not stationed far from Lambaesis, where the inscription was erected temper the significance of this stone. His young age suggests that he was a recent recruit. Therefore, there is little indication of the longevity of his relationship with his sister once he enlisted.

Similarly, in IScM I 278, which dates to the second half of the second century,⁹⁴ the son of a veteran of an ala Aravacorum, who was himself serving in legio XI Claudia in Durostorum, erected a tombstone for his parents in Histria, over one hundred miles away. While this gives no indication that Marcus Vettius Felix, the veteran and father of the legionary, remained in contact with his family while in service, it is clear that his son did so, although he served far from his father.

CIL III 10507, which was erected in Aquincum in the third century, has also already been introduced, since it records a relationship between two soldiers as well as their relationships with other members of their family.⁹⁵ In essence this stone records continuing familial ties between its author, Marcus Aurelius Clemens, a soldier of legio VI Ferrata, his parents and his siblings. One of these siblings had been a soldier of cohors I Asturum, which was stationed one hundred and fifty miles west of Aquincum, at Asturis. Furthermore, legio VI Ferrata was posted to Judea.⁹⁶ Thus the significance of the relationships recorded on this stone persisted over tremendous distances.

⁹³ "To the immortal shades and to Decimus Domitius Sardonius, of the voting tribe Pollia, from Alexandria, who lived seventy years, Domitia set this up for her most pious father. A dedication to the immortal shades and for Quintus Domitius Sardonius, of the voting tribe Pollia, born in the camp, a soldier of cohors VII Lusitanorum, who lived eighteen years, Domitia set this up for her most longed-for brother."

⁹⁴ For transcription and discussion see page 258, above.

⁹⁵ For transcription and discussion see page 263, above.

⁹⁶ Cotton 2000; Kennedy 1980b; Piso 2000.

Finally, two sons were also responsible for a stone that commemorated their father in Histria in the early third century (AE 1919, 17; Figure 55):

--- / [...vixi]t an(nis) / [...]X. Titinius / Severinus,
ses/cuplicarius / ales II Araba/corum, et Titini/us Jamuaris,
fili, tituli memo/riae caus(a)e po / suerunt. Ave vi / ator et
vale.⁹⁷

One of these sons also appears to have been an active soldier in ala II Aravacorum, which was probably stationed about forty miles away at Carsium.

These nine inscriptions indicate that relationships between the soldiers in the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and their families in their home communities continued after their enlistment in the military. These inscriptions account for one-fifth of the total number of inscriptions that record soldiers' personal relationships. Moreover, they represent the perception, at least in the authors' mind, of a close relationship, and the understanding that the dedicator is the appropriate person to erect such a monument. That is to say that the author of each inscription thought he or she shared the closest, or one of the closest, relationships with the deceased, although we most often cannot distinguish whether that relationship was legal or social.

The small number of these inscriptions may be the result of external circumstances. For example, it is difficult to tell how many soldiers would have had surviving parents at the time when they enlisted in the military and, therefore, how many soldiers could be called upon to commemorate their parents. Likewise, the scarcity of soldiers' commemoration by their parents may simply reflect soldiers' marriages and production of children. Wives and children may have seemed to be more appropriate commemorators of deceased soldiers. Furthermore, legal and social concerns may have

⁹⁷ "... lived sixty years. Titinius Severinus, *sesquiplicarius* of ala II Aravacorum, and Titinius Jamuaris, his sons, set this up for his memory. Hail, traveler, and farewell."

recommended that these soldiers not be commemorated by their parents.⁹⁸ One might also suppose that soldiers were unlikely to record their own service on tombstones erected for others, especially outside the military community. Finally, one must recall that epigraphic commemoration was a conscious choice and was not broadly practiced by large segments of the population of the empire. It may also not have been considered an appropriate form of commemoration by individuals who, themselves, were not accustomed to epigraphic commemoration, including members of remote provincial populations.

Indeed there is reason to believe that soldiers' contact with their home communities was more common than the epigraphic record of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula seems to indicate. Derks and Roymans, for example, have argued that the ubiquity of seal boxes in rural Batavian settlements on the lower Rhine are indicative of ongoing, if intermittent, contact between native populations and their relatives in the Roman military.⁹⁹ Alston has also shown the breadth of auxiliary soldiers' correspondence preserved in Egyptian papyrus archives, including letters to and from distant family, friends and business associates.¹⁰⁰

Ostensibly familial relationships appear on approximately one third of the inscriptions on stone that record personal relationships in which a soldier of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula participated. These records of ostensibly familial relationships are also approximately equal in number to the number of inter-soldier relationships preserved in the epigraphic record of these units. However, close

⁹⁸ See page 233, above.

⁹⁹ Derks and Roymans 2006, 129-32.

¹⁰⁰ Alston 1999, 178-79 and 85-89. Cf. Mitthof 2000, 384.

examination of evidence for “fraternal” relationships in the first century suggests that most of the “fraternal” relationships from that period involved two soldiers. This, in turn, suggests that familial relationships in the first century were not as common as they appear at first glance. Consequently, it appears that familial relationships are recorded in a larger percentage of second- and third-century inscriptions than of first-century inscriptions. This may well be the result of changing service patterns within the *auxilia* over time. While soldiers of the *auxilia* in the first century usually served in provinces other than that in which they were recruited, and their units were often transferred from post to post and province to province, the soldiers of the second century were more frequently local or provincial recruits, and their units were rarely transferred.¹⁰¹ This allowed the soldiers to maintain closer ties with their families during their service and to develop closer ties with local communities. These conditions may account for the increasing proportion of familial relationships visible in the epigraphic record of the second and third centuries. Significantly, this suggests that in the second and third centuries the civilian communities surrounding the auxiliary forts in which these men served played a more important role in the lives of soldiers.

This point is highlighted by examination and comparison of the origins of soldiers and their wives. As we have seen, the limited evidence provided by inscriptions on stone and the more robust information preserved in military diplomas suggest that soldiers usually married women who were either of local origin or had some connection to the unit in which the soldier served. While there is little evidence from the first century to facilitate a diachronic analysis of the origins of soldiers and their wives, the more frequent appearance of wives in the epigraphy of the second and third centuries and their

¹⁰¹ Cheesman 1914, 114; Holder 1980, 2; Knight 1991, 207.

origins within local communities indicate that soldiers in the second and third centuries were more integrated socially with the communities that surrounded them, and less dependent on their fellow soldiers for commemoration.

Nevertheless, the epigraphic record of these units preserves nine cases in which soldiers seem to have remained in contact with civilian members of their families during, and sometimes after, their service. This is significant because it indicates that soldiers were not necessarily entirely cut off from their families during their service. Rather, soldiers' birth families (as opposed to their conjugal families) remained an important part of their lives. Inscriptions that attest to these relationships are scarce, but this scarcity may be explained by the peculiar conditions of survival, death and marriage that would have led to soldiers commemorating and being commemorated by their parents and siblings.

Ultimately, the evidence for inter-soldier and familial relationships indicates that inter-soldier relationships account for the majority of commemorative relationships in the first century, but that family members appear more commonly as commemorators in the second and third centuries. However, both of these types of relationship appear in the epigraphic record from the first century to the third. This suggests that inter-soldier relationships were particularly important in the first century, when auxiliary soldiers more frequently served far from their homelands. Furthermore, it appears that, as commemorators of soldiers in the first century, fellow soldiers, rather than *de facto* wives, replaced biological family, from whom soldiers had been isolated. This dependence on fellow soldiers for commemoration suggests that members of auxiliary units were somewhat isolated from local populations in the first century. By contrast, the increasing evidence for commemoration by wives of local origin in the second century

indicates that soldiers during this period were much more closely attached to the communities that surrounded their posts.

However, inter-soldier and familial relationships do not account for all the social relationships recorded in the epigraphy of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. One must also examine the evidence of freedman-patron and of undefined relationships in order to obtain as complete an image as possible of the scope of soldiers' social relationships.

6.2 Freedman-Patron Relationships

Freedman-patron relationships also comprise a significant portion of the relationships recorded in the epigraphy of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. M. P. Speidel has demonstrated that every auxiliary cavalryman in the Roman army must have had at least one servant to tend his horse, baggage and personal needs. He has also shown that many infantry soldiers also had slaves.¹⁰² While the dynamics of slave-master and freedman-patron relationships are hard to reconstruct, especially for the military, the epigraphy of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula preserves five clear examples of freedmen commemorating their former masters (CIL III 5292; CIL X 7884; RHP 125; AE 1983, 942; and AE 1983, 940). Two more inscriptions imply this relationship, although they must be inferred from the dedicators' reference to their *patronus* (ILBulg II 81 and IScM II 196).¹⁰³ Finally, two inscriptions (CIL III 5539 and RIB I 1064) were erected by soldiers for freedpeople. These inscriptions clearly show

¹⁰² Speidel 1989.

¹⁰³ Two other inscriptions, CIL III 14705 and CIL III 14214.22, may refer to freedpeople but their text is too fragmentary to be certain. Similarly, CIL III 7318 may be applicable to this study but the unit in which the soldier served is too unclear to justify its inclusion.

the importance of this type of relationship. The freedmen could have left their former masters uncommemorated after their death but a social connection or legal obligation caused them to erect these stones. Likewise patrons had little obligation to commemorate their freedpeople. Thus commemorations of freedpeople by patrons suggest particularly close relationships. This section discusses these inscriptions briefly in chronological order and shows that, while epigraphic evidence for these relationships is scarce, it nonetheless betrays the longevity and intimacy of relationships between soldiers and their servants.

The earliest of these inscriptions are, in some respects, the most interesting. In CIL X 7884, the freedman partially responsible for erecting the stone in Austis on Sardinia in the first half of the first century is also named as one of the deceased's heirs:¹⁰⁴

Ubasus Chi/lonis f(ilius) Nicli/nus tubic[e]n ex coho(rte)
Lusi/tan(or)um an(norum) L / stip(endiorum) XXXI h(ic)
s(itus) / est posuer(unt) (h)erede[s] / Faustus Aedi(li) / et
l(ibertus) Optatus.¹⁰⁵

This is particularly interesting because the deceased soldier, Niclinus, was under no clear obligation to name his freedman as one of his heirs. Thus the relationship between the two men was likely also an affectionate one. Speidel argued that soldiers' slaves and servants were "very often" from the same area or tribe and that soldiers often entered service with their servants.¹⁰⁶ Optatus' position as his former master's heir may indicate that, as Speidel's general statement suggests, he and Niclinus were life-long companions.

¹⁰⁴ For dating see Holder 1980, 316 no. 1801.

¹⁰⁵ "Ubasus Niclinus, son of Chilo, *tubicen* of the cohorts Lusitanorum, having lived fifty years and served thirty-one, lies here. His heirs, Faustus (son of?) Aedilus and his freedman Optatus, built this."

¹⁰⁶ Speidel 1989, 246.

This may also be true of the men mentioned in RHP 125, which was erected at Aquincum in the middle of the first century,¹⁰⁷ although it is somewhat unclear whether the freedman named was a former slave of the deceased or of another man, since the name of the deceased is lost:

..., eques] / ala Hispan(orum) pri(ma), / Lucius, ann(orum)
XL, / stip(endiorum) XXII, h(is) s(itus) e(st). / Tranco Ioa
/ l(ibertus) et M. Apisius he(redes) pos(uerunt).¹⁰⁸

In this case, Tranco may not have been the freedman of the deceased soldier. He may, indeed, have been the freedman of the soldier's wife or, perhaps, have had no relationship to his *familia*. Nevertheless, Tranco's role as heir indicates that he enjoyed a close relationship with Lucius despite the inequality of their social status.

Unfortunately, little information can be drawn from AE 1983, 942, which also dates to the Julio-Claudian period:

T(itus) Pompei/us Ligyrus / Autric(o) / ann(orum) XL /
eques [e]x / cohorte / Hispanor(um) / aer(um) XX / h[i]c
situs / Cleme(n)s pa/t[r]ono.¹⁰⁹

Ligyrus originated in Autricum (modern Chartres, France) in Gallia Lugdunensis and served in cohorts I Hispanorum Cyrenaica. Clemens' origins are, however, unclear. Nevertheless, if he was Ligyrus' freedman, he must have served within the military sphere. Furthermore, he, like the other freedmen who erected monuments to their patrons, played a significant role in his former master's commemoration and presumably in his life.

¹⁰⁷ For dating see Holder 1980, 278 no. 502; Lörincz 2001, 195 no. 25.

¹⁰⁸ "... horseman of ala I Hispanorum, Lucius, having lived forty years and served twenty-two, lies here. Tranco, freedman of Ioa, and Marcus Apisius, his heirs, set this up." One ought to note also that OPEL II, 196 reads Iora for Ioa. Cf. page 304, above.

¹⁰⁹ "Titus Pompeius Ligyrus, from Autricum, having lived forty years, horseman of the cohorts Hispanorum, having served twenty years, lies here. Clemens (erected this) for his patron."

The date of AE 1983, 940 is unclear, but scholarly consensus assigns it to the late first century or the early second century (Figure 56):¹¹⁰

G(aio) Sempronio G(ai) f(ilio) / Longo duplicar(io) /
c(o)hortis Hispanor(um) // Venusta lib(erta).¹¹¹

This inscription was erected in Ptolemais (modern Tulmaythah, Libya) in Cyrenaica; in our sample it is the first to be erected by a freedwoman, rather than a freedman. It is clear that many Roman soldiers married freedwomen. It may be the case that Venusta was both Longus' freedwoman and his *de facto* wife, or even that he had bought her freedom in order to "marry" her.¹¹²

IScM II 196 is probably slightly later in date (first half of the second century). This inscription was erected by Quintus Allidius Potitus for his patron, Quintus Allidius Celer, in Tomis in Moesia Inferior (Figure 39):¹¹³

Q(uintus) Allidius Celer / veter(anus) coh(ortis) I /
Lusitanor(um) mi/litavit annis / XXVI vixit ann(is) L /
Q(uintus) Allidius Poti/tus patrono be/ne merito posuit.¹¹⁴

Like many of my inscriptions, this provides little detail about the relationship between these two men. However, if we accept that Potitus was Celer's freedman, although this is not stated explicitly, he almost certainly served Celer during his military service. Celer's age and the length of his service suggest that he had been discharged just a few years before his death. This suggests also that Celer and Potitus were transferred together from

¹¹⁰ The arguments surrounding the date of this inscription are neatly summarized in this entry in AE.

¹¹¹ "To Gaius Sempronius Longus, son of Gaius, *duplicarius* of the cohorts Hispanorum. Venusta, (his?) freedwoman, (set this up)."

¹¹² On the frequency of "marriage" between soldiers and freedwomen see Phang 2004, 207; 2001, 193-95 and 231-44; Varon 1994; 1997, 568. On the purchase of slaves for the purposes of marriage see Varon 1994, *passim*.

¹¹³ For further discussion see page 174, above.

¹¹⁴ "Quintus Allidius Celer, veteran of cohorts I Lusitanorum, served twenty-six years and lived fifty. Quintus Allidius Potitus set this up for his well-deserving patron."

North Africa at the end of the first century along with their cohort. While neither man would have had control of their movements while in military service, their transfer may well have contributed to the closeness of their relationship. It may also have recommended Potitus as Celer's commemorator, since they had been removed from the area and people with whom they would have grown familiar before moving to Moesia.

CIL III 5292 (=11708) was erected in the second half of the second century at Celeia for a veteran by his freedman:¹¹⁵

... Aurelio / [K]alandino(!) an(norum) L / [ve]t(erano)
co(ho)r(tis) I Asturum / ... tus libertus / [facien]dum
curavit.¹¹⁶

As in the case of Celer, above, Kalendinus' age at the time of his death suggests that he did not survive long after the conclusion of his military service. Also, like Potitus, the freedman named in this inscription likely accompanied his patron in his military service. Furthermore, he traveled a great distance with him after his service; Celeia was about 200 miles from their former post at Asturis. Indeed, it is reasonable to suppose that Kalendinus and his servant returned to his, or their, homeland after his discharge. Nevertheless, Kalendinus was commemorated by his freedman, rather than by a member of his family. This may suggest that Kalendinus had no surviving family when he returned home. However, it is equally probable that after years of service, Kalendinus considered his former slave to be his closest relation and named him as heir or awarded him a legacy, resulting in his freedman's erection of this stone.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ For further discussion of this inscription see page 185, above.

¹¹⁶ "For Aurelius Kalendinus, veteran of cohorts I Asturum, who lived fifty years. ...tus his freedman took care that this be made."

¹¹⁷ Varon 1997, 566 demonstrated that there is a close correlation between the use of the phrase *faciendum curavit* and heirship. This strengthens the supposition that Kalendinus' freedman also served as his heir.

ILBulg II 81 further stresses the significant position of freedmen within the lives of soldiers and veterans. This inscription was erected in Sexaginta Prista (modern Ruse, Bulgaria) in the third century:¹¹⁸

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio Coto / vet(eranus) al(a)e I[I]
Arab(acorum!) / vixit annis / XXXXVII Aur(elius) /
Helpideforus / et Papias et Ju/lia Juliana co/niunx patro/no
...¹¹⁹

This inscription seems to have been erected by the wife and two freedmen of Aurelius Cotus.¹²⁰ The cooperation of the freedmen and Cotus' wife suggests that their relationships to the deceased were roughly equal in significance. Furthermore, Cotus' age may indicate that all three of these relationships predate Cotus' discharge from the army. This is especially significant because this inscription was found approximately 100 miles from ala II Aravacorum's fort at Carsium. Unfortunately, none of the names on this stone can be used to place the origins of their owners with any precision. However, it is clear that these four individuals remained close to each other at the conclusion of Cotus' service.

The strength of the freedman-patron relationship is further accentuated by survival of two inscriptions that were erected to commemorate freedpeople. CIL III 5539 was erected in Iuvavum, Noricum in the second or third century by a centurion of cohorts I Asturum for two freedwomen of Gaius, whose relationship to the centurion is unclear, and one freedwoman of his own or of his father:¹²¹

¹¹⁸ For discussion of this inscription and the conjugal relationship recorded in it see page 303, above. Also see page 161, above. Conrad 2004, 224-25 no. 365 suggests that this stone dates to the first half of the third century, but after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212.

¹¹⁹ "To the immortal shades. For Aurelius Cotus veteran of ala II Aravacorum, who lived forty-seven years. Aurelius Helpideforus and Papias and Julia Juliana, his wife, to their patron..."

¹²⁰ While it is possible that Julia Juliana was also also Cotus' freedwoman, Juliana's name suggests that this is not the case. If she had been freed by Cotus, one would expect her name to have been Aurelia.

¹²¹ Alföldy 1974, 258; Wagner 1938, 89.

L(ucius) Naevius L(uci) f(ilius) Pro[c]/ulus |(centurio)
 c(o)h(ortis) Asturu(m) / ann(or)um XXV stip(endiorum) V
 / Pacciae G(ai) l(ibertae) Placid(ae) / et Pacciae G(ai)
 l(ibertae) Ansirae / et Naeviae L(uci) l(ibertae) / Clementi
 v(ivus) f(ecit).¹²²

This inscription suggests that the deceased, Lucius Naevius Proculus, enjoyed a close relationship with these women and, therefore, felt compelled to erect a monument in their honor. This is especially true because the text of the stone indicates that Proculus and, presumably, the freedwomen, were still living when Proculus erected the stone. Furthermore, Proculus was certainly in active service at that time. Thus this inscription proclaimed their relationship in front of their local community during their lives. One might suggest that there was more to these relationships than is recorded on the stone—such as a *de facto* marriage—but there is no evidence to prove this.¹²³ Proculus may, for example, have taken one of these women as his wife.¹²⁴ Regardless of the obscure specifics of these interactions it is clear that these four had an important personal relationship.¹²⁵

Similarly, Numerianus, a horseman of ala I Asturum, erected a finely decorated stone for his freedman, Victor, at Arbeia (modern South Shields, England) in Britannia in the second century (RIB I 1064; Figure 57):¹²⁶

¹²² “Lucius Naevius Proculus, son of Lucius, centurion of the cohorts Asturum, having lived twenty-five years and served five, while alive erected this for Paccia Placida, freedwoman of Gaius, and for Paccia Ansira, freedwoman of Gaius, and for Naevia Clemens, freedwoman of Lucius.”

¹²³ Phang 2004, 207 argues that soldiers often “married” slaves and freedwomen.

¹²⁴ Phang 2004, 207; 2001, 193-95 and 221-23; Varon 1994.

¹²⁵ Phang 2004, 227-31 highlights the legal inequality of this type of relationship. Although this inequality certainly extended to the auxilia, Phang’s study was limited to the legions, fleets and garrison of Rome. The inequality would certainly have been less pronounced in cases in which soldiers were not yet Roman citizens.

¹²⁶ For dating see Santos Yanguas 1979b, 658.

D(is) M(anibus) Victoris natione Maurum / [a]nnorum XX
libertus Numeriani / [e]q(u)itis ala(e) I Asturum qui /
piantissime(!) pr[ose]qutus(!) est.¹²⁷

This inscription provides little detail about their relationship. However, it does include Victor's age at his death, twenty, and his *origo*, Maurus. These details and the fine decoration of the stone imply a significant regard for the deceased and his individuality. Indeed, the stone records all the details one might expect of a memorial to a soldier and suggests that Numerianus held Victor in high esteem, perhaps almost as an equal.

These inscriptions are particularly significant in light of Speidel's suggestion that all cavalrymen and many infantrymen in the *auxilia* had slaves.¹²⁸ However, it is remarkable that slaves, as opposed to freedmen, are almost entirely absent from the epigraphical record of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, there is only a single mention of a slave within the epigraphic record of these units and that is within the context of the slave's manumission upon his master's death in the first century (AE 1961, 17).¹²⁹ This inscription may, however, explain the absence of slaves from the epigraphic record.

All three of the soldiers commemorated by their freedmen in the first century were, apparently, in active service. Therefore it is unlikely that they had manumitted their slaves before their deaths (CIL X 7884; RHP 125; and AE 1983, 942). It is more logical to suppose that they, like the soldier commemorated by AE 1961, 17, stipulated that their slaves should be manumitted upon their death. This would have been just

¹²⁷ "To the immortal shades of Victor, by birth a Maurus, having lived twenty years, freedman of Numerianus, horseman of ala I Asturum, who honored him most piously." I have reproduced "Maurum" here, following RIB. However, Santos Yanguas 1979b, 408 proposes "Maurus" without comment. Santos' suggestion would resolve an apparent scribal error here. Nevertheless, the drawing provided in RIB clearly shows that "Maurum" appears on the stone.

¹²⁸ Speidel 1989.

¹²⁹ See page 241, above.

reward for servants who, if we take Speidel's suggestion, had entered service with their masters and survived through 21, 22 and 20 years of service, respectively.

The conditions under which the freedmen named on CIL III 5292 (=11708) and ILBulg II 81 were manumitted are less clear. One may assume that that they were freed upon their patron's discharge from the army, but such an assumption would be speculative. It is more significant, however, that these men remained in contact with their former masters after their service and, to judge from the locations where these stones were recovered, traveled long distances with their patrons to settle in areas far from their former posts. While these movements may have predated the manumission of the freedmen or have been dictated by their patrons, this continued contact and proximity suggests ongoing and important relationships that are indicated by the freedmen's commemoration of their patrons.

Ultimately, the cultural and social effects of slave/master and freedman/patron relationships on these soldiers are impossible to determine. The origins of many of these soldiers and of all the former slaves are obscure. However, the number of inscriptions erected for and by freedmen and freedwomen indicates that relationships between soldiers and slaves/freedpeople played a significant role in soldiers' lives. Furthermore, the roles of freedpeople as heirs and as wives of soldiers and veterans reinforce the intimacy of these relationships.

6.3 Other Relationships

Among the records of soldiers' personal relationships are two references to *amici* (CIL VI 3228 and AE 1937, 56). In the first of these, which we have already discussed, Titus Aurelius Tertius was commemorated by his first and second heirs, Titus Aurelius

Jucundus and Victor.¹³⁰ While Victor was a soldier and may have served with Tertius in cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum in the latter half of the second century, there is no further information to connect Tertius and Jucundus, although one may suggest that Jucundus also served with Tertius, either in cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum or in the *equites singulares Augusti*. Meanwhile, there is no further information available about the relationship between Aelius Aelianus, the deceased in AE 1937, 56 from the Antonine period, and his friend Annius Dativus:¹³¹

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Aelius Aelianus / cornicularius /
coh(ortis) (Hi)spanorum / vixit annis LI / militavit ann(is)
XXVI / [An]nius Dativus amico.¹³²

Again, one might conjecture that they served together near Sitifis in Mauretania, where this stone was found, but there is no concrete evidence to support this claim.

This leaves nine cases in which the name of the commemorator is recorded on a stone without a clear indication of his relationship to the deceased. Eight of these identify the commemorator merely as an *heres* of the deceased, and one provides only a name. AE 1971, 276, dating to the early Julio-Claudian period, includes the deceased's origins at Tancia Norbana, presumably in Hispania Citerior, near Norba and Tongabriga:

Caeno [...] / f(ilius) c(enturio) coh(ortis) His[pa]nor(um) /
domo Tancia / Norbana ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum)
XVIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Cundigus Boeli f(ilius) / h(eres)
p(osuit).¹³³

¹³⁰ For transcription and translation see page 259, above.

¹³¹ For dating see Roldán Hervás 1974, 132.

¹³² “A dedication to the immortal shades. Aelius Aelianus, *cornicularius* of the cohorts Hispanorum lived fifty-one years and served twenty-six. Annius Dativus erected this for his friend.”

¹³³ “Caeno, son of... centurion of the cohorts Hispanorum, whose home was Tancia Norbana, and who lived forty years and served nineteen, lies here. Cundigus, son of Boelus, his heir, erected this.” For Tancia Norbana cf. *Barrington Atlas*, map 26, D2.

In the absence of explicit information regarding the relationship between the two men recorded on this stone one might attempt to identify geographical or tribal bonds between them, based on the surviving onomastic evidence and, where available, explicit *origines*. However, the names of his heir, Cundigus, and of the heir's father, Boelus, are otherwise unattested in the west. Similarly, one might compare the name of the *tubicen* Ubasus Niclinus, son of Chilo, who was commemorated in CIL X 7884, also of the Julio-Claudian period, with that of his co-heir Faustus, son of Aedilus.¹³⁴ However, the name Ubasus is attested in only one other inscription and that is from the Iberian Peninsula (CIL II 5863) and Niclinus is not recorded at all in OPEL. The name Chilo is relatively rare and too evenly distributed among various provinces to be of much use, although it may be indicate of origins in Cisalpine Gaul or the Spanish provinces.¹³⁵

The remaining inscriptions of this category are equally uninformative. For example CIL XIII 6234, dating to the first half of the first century,¹³⁶ from Borbetomagus (modern Worms, Germany) in Germania Superior, commemorates the death of Licinus, son of Closus, a Helvetian, while his heir's name Tiberius Julius Capito is too generic to be of any use in determining his origins.¹³⁷

Licinus Closi f(ilius) Helvetius ann(or)um XLVII eques ala
Hisp(anorum) stip(endiorum) XXVI h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
Tib(erius) Jul(ius) Capito h(eres) p(osuit).¹³⁸

The recipient of CIL XIII 6233, also found at Borbetomagus and dating to the first half of the first century,¹³⁹ Quintus Carminius Ingenuus, is also impossible to place

¹³⁴ Niclinus' second heir was a freedman named Optatus, whose origin is not clear. For a transcription and translation see page 320, above.

¹³⁵ For Ubasus see OPEL IV, 149. For Chilo see OPEL II, 53.

¹³⁶ For dating see Holder 1980, 277 no. 493.

¹³⁷ Helvetius in this inscription may, in fact, be a cognomen without geographic implications.

¹³⁸ "Lucius, son of Closus, a Helvetian, having lived forty-eight years and served twenty-six, a horseman of the ala Hispanorum, lies here. Tiberius Julius Capito, his heir, set this up."

based solely on his name, although the name of his heir, Sacer Julius, suggests that he originated in Germania:¹⁴⁰

Q(uinto) Carminio In/ge[n]uo [eq]uit[i ala I(?)] /
Hispanorum a[nn(or)um] ...] / stip(endiorum) XXV
signifero / Sacer Iulius h(eres) e(x) t(estamento).¹⁴¹

RHP 125, erected in Sitifis in the Julio-Claudian period, is just as frustrating. While the name of the deceased's heir, Marcus Apisius, may suggest origins in Cisalpine Gaul, only the deceased's *praenomen*, Lucius, survived damage to the stone.¹⁴² Finally, the heir and deceased mentioned on ILJug III 1953, from Tilurium, Dalmatia, from the late first or early second century, have names that are too generic and poorly attested, respectively, to be of use: Titus ... Felix and Mebdius Corvinus:

Mebdius / Corvin[us] / mil(es) co[h(ortis)] X / pr[aet(oriae)]
Bracar]aug/us[ta]ann[orum] / XXV[II stip(endiorum)] /
VII[I] h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / T(itus) [...] / F[eli]x he[r]es.¹⁴³

Thus one is left to speculate about the nature of these relationships. There is no substantial evidence to suggest that any of the heirs named on these stones were related by blood to the men they commemorated. Nor is there any indication that they served together in the military. However, the preponderance of evidence, quantifiable and circumstantial, suggests that either of these could have been the case in at least some of

¹³⁹ For dating see Holder 1980, 277 no. 495.

¹⁴⁰ OPEL IV 41-42 records 18 of the total of 37 records of this name in Germany and Belgica.

¹⁴¹ "For Quintus Carminius Ingenius, horseman and signifer of ala I(?) Hispanorum, having lived ... years and served twenty-five. Sacer Julius, his heir set this up in accordance with his will."

¹⁴² For a transcription and translation of this stone see page 321. For the origins of Apisius see OPEL I 65. OPEL records 7 instances of this name in Cisalpine Gaul, 1 in Narbonese Gaul and this inscription in Pannonia.

¹⁴³ "Mebdius Corvinus, soldier of cohorts X praetorian Bracaraugustanorum, having lived twenty-seven years and served eight, lies here. Titus ... Felix, his heir, set this up."

these instances. None of the soldiers named on these stones appears to have been a veteran, and in each case where the findspot of the stone can be coupled with a known garrison of the soldier's unit, the two are identical or close enough to suggest that the soldier remained within the military community. Indeed, these details suggest that the heirs were likely fellow soldiers.

6.4 Conclusion

The relationships recorded in the evidence presented in Chapters 5 and 6 have been categorized into four primary groups: inter-soldier, familial, servile (i.e. freedman/freedwoman-patron), and other. These categories correspond roughly to those identified by Saller and Shaw where inter-soldier and servile relationships appeared as subsets of "outside relations."¹⁴⁴ However, many of the inscriptions associated with soldiers of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula defy these categories. This is especially true of inscriptions raised by unnamed heirs and individuals identified as *amici*. Nevertheless, if one discounts the relationships that cannot be attributed to these categories, family relationships were instrumental in more than half of the inscriptions that record personal relationships. While 26 inscriptions record relationships between soldiers, 36 document presumably familial relationships. However, 8 of the inter-soldier relationships also appear to have been between members of a family and 6 of the ostensibly civilian "fraternal" relationships (i.e. those between a soldier and a *frater* who is not identified as a soldier) may, in fact record relationships between soldiers. If one makes adjustments for these conditions, there appear to be 24 records of purely inter-soldier relationships (39 percent) and 38 records of familial relationships (61 percent).

¹⁴⁴ Saller and Shaw 1984, 131-32.

This stands in stark contrast to the results reached by Saller and Shaw for the northwestern provinces (29 percent nuclear family relationships) but agrees generally with their results for Pannonia and Spain (over 70 percent).¹⁴⁵ If one then adds those stones erected for or by freedmen (9) and by friends (2), it appears that family relationships still account for about 50 percent of my inscriptions.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the addition of these inscriptions reduces the percentage of inter-soldier soldier relationships to 31 percent and increases the percentage of civilian relationships to 69 percent.

Differences in methodology prohibit direct comparison of the results of this study to those of Saller and Shaw,¹⁴⁷ but direct comparison of these two studies is unnecessary due to the differing focuses of the two. Saller and Shaw sought primarily to refute P. Veyne's contention that the nuclear family became the "basic social unit" of Roman society in both the civilian and military spheres.¹⁴⁸ I, on the other hand, am concerned with social relationships of all types in the military, and specifically in the *auxilia*. The evidence brought to bear on this issue reveals that family occupied a very important position in the lives of auxiliary soldiers. Family relationships lie behind half of the inscriptions related to the soldiers of the units being examined here. Furthermore, patron-freedman relationships are nearly as prominent as ties of friendship, whether between two soldiers or between a soldier and a civilian.

These results are significant in a broad consideration of the effects of military service on soldiers and civilian communities. First, these inscriptions show that there

¹⁴⁵ Saller and Shaw 1984, 139.

¹⁴⁶ One ought also to note one inscription (ILBulg II 81) which was erected for a soldier by his wife and freedmen and is included here in the evidence for family relationships.

¹⁴⁷ In particular, Saller and Shaw counted the number of relationships noted, including multiple relationships appearing on a single stone (1984, 131-32 and page 222, above).

¹⁴⁸ Saller and Shaw 1984, 134-39. Cf. Veyne 1978.

was significant interaction between soldiers of different units. Some of these relationships undoubtedly began while the soldiers served in the same unit or units stationed together, but some of these relationships survived over significant distances. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that the lives of serving soldiers were not focused exclusively on the military camp itself, especially in the second and third centuries. Rather soldiers, both active and retired, maintained close relationships with family members both in the immediate vicinity of their camps and at a significant distance. While inter-soldier relationships were commonly recorded in the first century, familial relationships are much more visible in the epigraphic record of the second and third centuries.

Both of these points accentuate the role of military service in the dissemination of Roman culture—in this case, the use of funerary commemorations on stone—and the preservation of provincial and native communities. While service within a diverse population of soldiers and slaves would have influenced the behavior of soldiers and through them their families and other relations, the continuing interaction between soldiers and their families could have preserved traditional practices, at least in a modified way. At the same time, relationships between soldiers of differing backgrounds and among families of mixed heritage in the context of military service would have created a hybridized social and cultural environment. The complex nature of this hybridized social and cultural environment is visible particularly in the diversity of soldiers' wives, who were drawn from local populations, the military community and soldiers' homelands, and in the ongoing contact between soldiers and their families in distant communities. While the practical results of these interactions can only be illuminated by further investigation of archaeological evidence and other documentary

sources, this examination has established the diversity of influences that would have affected not only the soldiers who served in the *auxilia* but also their families, friends and dependents.

7. Conclusion

The traditional approach to Roman military studies has been to focus on large-scale, quantitative analyses in order to identify broad trends in the evolution of military policies and practices. Although such an approach has been premised on the collection and analysis of myriad inscriptions, as well as the scanty literary and documentary evidence whenever possible, the end result has often been the presentation of the Roman army as a monolithic entity without appreciation for regional variation and the individual experiences of soldiers and small groups within the military. This fundamental work, however, allows scholars now to refine their aims and to examine the evidence for diversity within the military. This dissertation contributes to that further goal, specifically within the context of the Roman Imperial *auxilia*. As we have seen in the preceding six chapters, the soldiers who served in the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula were a varied body, affected by their movements as individuals and units, and by the swiftly changing social environment those movements caused.

During the late Republic *ad hoc* units, gathered from the peoples throughout the Roman world, served for limited terms under varying conditions. Nevertheless, even in this period aspects of the fully formed Imperial *auxilia* are visible, including pay and occasional grants of citizenship. It was not, however, until the reign of Augustus that the position of the *auxilia* was codified. Epigraphy was also more widely employed as a means of commemoration and communications in the first century AD and allows us to examine more closely the effects of military service on individuals.

By investigating a discrete sample of the *auxilia* and evaluating individual inscriptions, this dissertation has revealed the potential of detailed studies to illuminate the variety of soldiers' experiences in the Roman army. It thus contributes to Roman

social history and to Roman military studies. Even within topics that have been extensively studied, such as recruitment and veteran settlement, this detailed analysis produces new and interesting results. The recruitment patterns in the *auxilia* raised in the northwest corner of the Iberian Peninsula reveal that the cohorts of the Northwest began enlisting soldiers from outside their original recruiting grounds by the Flavian period.¹ The epigraphic evidence also demonstrates that the *alae* from this area included soldiers from diverse geographical and cultural backgrounds even in the Julio-Claudian period. Consequently, the soldiers serving in these units comprised a geographically diverse body within decades of their formation, despite their “ethnic” appellations that recall the units’ original recruitment ground on the Iberian Peninsula.

The evidence for recruitment into the Iberian units contradicts previous scholarship that tends to privilege signs of uniformity over those of diversity. For instance, enlistment from the original recruitment grounds of these units continued after the inception of so-called “local” and “regional” recruitment. These results are significant because they show the varied backgrounds of soldiers serving in a considerable portion of the *auxilia*, while refining K. Kraft’s (1951) and G. Alföldy’s (1962) conclusions about local and regional recruitment.

The effects of military service on soldiers are also visible in their settlement patterns after discharge. A detailed analysis of veteran settlement as it is recorded in the extant epigraphic record and by military diplomas related to the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula reveals that almost half of the veterans known from these units seem to have settled within 25 miles of their former posts.² Meanwhile, 35 percent of the

¹ See Chapter 3, above.

² See Chapter 4, above.

41 veterans for whom sufficient information survives settled more than 100 miles from their former units. These results nuance the findings of J. C. Mann, who argued that legionary veterans settled in the areas in which they served, rather than returning to their homelands.³ Although one might argue that there was a difference in settlement patterns between auxiliaries, who served 25 years, and legionaries, who served only 20, the divergence is still worth noting. The evidence for the Iberian units, as presented in Chapter 4, also contradicts Mann's observation that there is a discrepancy between the geographical distribution of evidence for veteran settlement derived from stone inscriptions and diplomas.⁴ In fact, the distribution of evidence for veterans of auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula is remarkably uniform among stone inscriptions and diplomas. This contrast underscores the need for further regional and local studies of veteran settlement.

Furthermore, the results of this investigation depart from the conclusions drawn by M. M. Roxan regarding the number of veterans who remained within the military community after their discharge. Roxan concluded that roughly two-thirds of auxiliary veterans in the Pannonian provinces chose to remain in or near military sites.⁵ My results, in contrast, suggest that this number is closer to one half among the veterans of the units under examination.⁶ This is significant because it suggests that soldiers' ties to

³ Mann 1983b, 25.

⁴ Mann 2002 examined the evidence for stone inscriptions and diplomas related to veterans in Britain. He suggests, however, that the evidence for stone inscriptions in Britain may be incomplete, due to reuse of stones and the lack of suitable stone for inscriptions in the south. The current sample suggests that he may correct to assume that the evidence from Britain is flawed.

⁵ Roxan 1989; 1997b, 484-6. Cf. Roxan 2000, 308.

⁶ Roxan 1989; 1997b, 484-6. Cf. Roxan 2000, 308. This difference may be even higher due to methodological difference. For example, Roxan includes cases in which veterans settled as close as 10km. from military sites in her calculations of civilian and rural settlement. Roxan's analysis of the evidence from Britain resulted in numbers markedly different from those of the Pannonian provinces but she

individuals and communities beyond their own unit and to the communities that surrounded their forts were stronger than has been previously supposed. Furthermore, my results suggest that soldiers' ties to individuals and places outside the military sphere were stronger throughout their twenty-five years of military service than earlier studies have implied.

This dissertation's evidence for soldiers' personal relationships also provides productive material for a more nuanced understanding of Roman military life. These inscriptions and diplomas are an under-exploited source of information for familial relationships, despite the work of R. Saller and B. Shaw, S. Phang, and others. Records of inter-soldier relationships were most common, numerically and proportionately, in the first century but declined in frequency in the second and third centuries. Conversely, evidence for familial relationships and other ties to civilians grew in frequency from the first to third centuries. My examination of personal relationships also illuminates the frequency of inter-soldier relationships between individuals of different auxiliary units, some of which seem to have persisted despite significant geographical separation of the individuals involved. Likewise, the evidence for familial relationships demonstrates that this type of relationships survived equally vast geographical separation, often throughout auxiliary soldiers' twenty-five years of service. Finally, the records from my sample suggest that soldiers' choice of wives was not significantly affected by their own *origines* or that of their wives. Rather, soldiers tended to take wives from the military and civilian

discounted them due to the peculiarities of the epigraphic record in Britain. For an even more radical contrast to my conclusions see Kellner 1986.

communities in which they served, without regard for their backgrounds, although soldiers and their wives sometimes did share similar or identical *origines*.⁷

My conclusions about the frequency of data recording inter-soldier and familial relationships expand and elaborate upon the short but important work of P. Varon.⁸ While Varon argued that serving soldiers tended to name other soldiers as their heirs, my evidence shows that soldiers were commemorated less often by other soldiers in the second and third centuries than they were in the first century. Furthermore, my close examination of the epigraphic evidence for all personal relationships between soldiers and civilians within this sample has significantly expanded upon the broader conclusions made by Saller and Shaw, Phang, and others by investigating the chronological distribution and geographical significance of evidence for relationships between soldiers and civilians.⁹ I have shown that familial relationships and other civilian relationship are attested epigraphically more often over time as the frequency of records of inter-soldier relationships decline.

Ultimately, this dissertation illuminates the social and cultural factors that affected soldiers in the Roman *auxilia* through a detailed analysis of epigraphic evidence related to the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula. It is clear that these units began to incorporate soldiers from diverse tribes and geographical areas outside the Iberian Peninsula in the Julio-Claudian period. While the evidence suggest that this integration occurred earlier in *alae* than in cohorts, it is clear that by the Flavian period soldiers of many different backgrounds could be found in individual units. Military service alone, the heterogeneity of these units, and service outside the province in which

⁷ Cf. Wells 1997.

⁸ Varon 1997.

⁹ Martin 1996; Mirković 1986; Phang 2001; Renard 1962; Roxan 1991; Saller and Shaw 1984; Wells 1997.

many of these men were born exposed these soldiers to new social and cultural influences. However, these new influences did not necessarily eliminate individuals' bonds to the communities in which they were raised, or tie them exclusively to a military community rather than a civilian one.

Social and familial bonds are discernible also in the evidence for veteran settlement. The location of stone inscriptions and diplomas suggests that many soldiers were profoundly affected by their service and the communities with which they came into contact, ultimately choosing to settle near their places of service. Others, however, chose to leave their units to settle at other military sites. Still others travelled long distances after their service. A small minority even returned hundreds of miles to their birthplaces. The variety of decisions made by soldiers in this regard reveals the diverse effects of military service and civilian communities on individual soldiers. Furthermore, the range of settlement patterns evident in even this small sample indicates that no single rule can describe adequately the behavior of veterans or the results of social forces upon them.

The evidence for enduring personal relationships has also shown the more immediate consequences of various types of social connections. In this evidence we may once again see varied forces at work in the lives of soldiers. The epigraphic record reveals the importance of inter-soldier relationships. But it also demonstrates the increasing influence of conjugal relationships in the second and third centuries, and the persistence of soldiers' social ties to their home communities especially through their parents and siblings in the first to third centuries.

7.1 Further Study

By its detailed examination of a relatively small body of evidence, 123 inscriptions and diplomas attesting some 140 auxiliary troops, this dissertation has contributed to the social history, or rather histories, of soldiers in the first three centuries of the Roman empire. Nevertheless, it recommends several avenues for future study. Most fundamentally, our understanding of the social and cultural forces that affect auxiliary soldiers would benefit from similar examinations of other portions of the *auxilia*. The military units under examination here represent only about 20 percent of those known to have existed in the Roman army. Similar analyses of other units might reveal further diversity in recruiting practices, veteran settlement and social interactions. Ultimately, however, the current study was designed to depart from the tendency to conduct large-scale, quantitative analyses of epigraphic evidence, in order to allow close examination of individual pieces of evidence. This approach facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the material and, thereby, a better appreciation of the varied experiences of Roman soldiers. Therefore, I would not suggest studies focused on samples much larger than this one. Instead I would encourage parallel studies that could provide comparable information, which could be combined with this dissertation in order to produce a more complete understanding of the issues examined here.

The question of what drew soldiers to settle in particular communities and rural locations could also benefit from detailed examination of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from specific sites. This might include analysis of the history of these communities, their demography, and their administration. J. C. Mann was able to

perform some of this analysis in his discussion of veteran settlement in Britain, but much more could be done on this subject.¹⁰

Veteran settlement and the persistence of relationships between soldiers and their home communities also raise issues about travel and communication that could be very productive fields for future study. General works on travel in antiquity can provide some indication of the hardships and expense involved in the movements of these veterans.¹¹ However, it is unclear whether auxiliary soldiers had access to the *cursus publicus* or if they were left entirely to their own devices if they wished to leave their former posts after their discharge.¹² Furthermore, papyri and writing tablets contain fascinating evidence of soldiers' communications that could be further exploited to illuminate the means by which soldiers maintained relationships with distant friends and relatives.¹³

Finally, this dissertation has laid the foundation for a much more detailed examination of identity in the Roman *auxilia*. The soldiers who have been discussed in this study were subject to a wide range of influences before, during and after their service in the *auxilia*. Many of them spent more than half their lives in the army. Throughout their service these soldiers' identities would have been shaped by their origins, their interactions with soldiers of different backgrounds, the culture of the Roman military, and the communities surrounding their posts.

The evidence presented here provides tantalizing glimpses into the wide range of recruitment practices that brought soldiers into contact with people from other parts of the empire, as well as the personal relationships soldiers formed and maintained

¹⁰ Mann 2002.

¹¹ E.g. Casson 1974.

¹² For the *cursus publicus* see Kolb 1997; 2001; 2000; Mitchell 1976.

¹³ E.g. BGU 11.423; *Tab. Vindol.* 38 and 310.

throughout their service, and their settlement practices after their discharge. Through these aspects of soldiers' lives one can see some of the factors that may have contributed to soldiers' identities. Likewise, soldiers' movements reveal some of the affects of personal relationships. However, identity formation is an extremely complex process. In order to reconstruct this process and its results one would have to take more factors into account.

For example, several of the stones examined throughout this dissertation have sculptural decoration in addition to the inscriptions that have been the focus of my work. The artwork on these stones has the potential to add to the information that can be gleaned from the inscriptions alone. Although one must take into account the operation of local and regional workshops and the prefabrication of sculptural decoration, images such as the orphic scene on CIL III 5292 (=11708; Figure 3) and the Thracian rider on CIL III 14424 (Figure 26) may convey aspects of identity that I have not been able to address. Likewise, detailed research into military religious practices and the preservation of local cults would provide valuable further insight into identity formation among auxiliary soldiers.¹⁴

Nevertheless, this dissertation has contributed significantly to our understanding of the Roman *auxilia*. By concentrating on the evidence for individuals I have moved beyond large-scale, quantitative analyses of recruitment and settlement patterns to underscore the diversity of the evidence, deconstructing some of the monolithic policies often ascribed to the Roman army. I have also introduced the importance of soldiers' personal relationships, expanding their examination from concerns about marriage alone to include connections between soldiers and ongoing interaction between soldiers and

¹⁴ Haynes 1997; 1993; Irby-Massie 1999.

their birth families, slaves, freedmen and others. In the process I have shown the geographical breadth of soldiers' interactions and some of the effects of military service upon individuals.

Appendix 1: Tables

Table 1: The Size of Auxiliary Units

Summary of the evidence from Pseudo-Hyginus

	centuries	infantrymen per century	total infantrymen	turmae	cavalrymen per turma	total cavalrymen	camel- riders	total complement
quingenary cohort	6	(80)	(480)	-	-	-	0	(480)
milliary cohort	10	(80)	(800)	-	-	-	0	(800)
quingenary <i>ala</i>	-	-	-	16	(30)	(480)	0	480
milliary <i>ala</i>	-	-	-	24	(30)	(720)	0	720
Quingenary part- mounted cohort	6	(80)	(480)	(4)	(30)	120	0	600
milliary part-mounted cohort	10	(80)	(800)	(8)	(30)	240	0	1040

Summary of evidence from documentary sources

CIL III 6581	-	-	-	16	(30)	(480)	0	(480)
ChLA XI n501 (qa)	-	-	-	12	36	434	0	434
Tab. Vindol. II 154 (cm)	6	125	752	-	-	-	0	752
RMR 1 (cem)	6	140-150	840-900	5	~70*	~350	0	~1200
RMR 63 (ceq)	6	71	427	4	30	119	0	546
RMR 64 (ceq)	6	60.5	363	4**	28.5	114	19	505
P.Brookl. 24 (ceq)	6	55.7	334	4	25	100	13	457
RMR 47 (cem)	9		700	5	45	223	34	923

*The totals given on this document are roughly double this number but they do not agree with the lists of actual names. I have favored the latter information here.

**This assumes that the decurion listed among the accessions raised the total to 4 (col i, ln. 25-7).

Table 2: Origins of Equestrian Officers

	Total	Italian	% Italian	West	% from West	East	% from East
Augustus-Nero	95	277	70%	71	18%	47	12%
Flavians	12	51	46%	43	38%	18	16%
1st century	9	41	69.5%	12	20.5%	6	10%
Total: 1st century	66	369	65%	126	22%	71	13%

Trajan-Ant. Pius	87	107	37%	114	40%	66	23%
Marc. Aur.-Sept. Sev.	39	45	32%	64	46%	30	22%
2nd century	23	55	44%	49	40%	19	16%
Total: 2nd century	49	207	38%	227	41%	115	21%

Caracalla-Gallienus	16	26	22%	60	52%	30	26%
3rd century	1	15	18%	50	62%	16	20%
Total: 3rd century	97	41	21%	110	5%	46	23%

Appendix 2: First-Century Family Relationships

First-century inscriptions on stone that record relationships between soldiers of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and members of their families who are not identified as soldiers. Findspots are provided in parentheses.

1) AE 2000 1179 – Julio-Claudian (Bigeste, Dalmatia)

Veranus Caturonis / f(ilius) eq(ues) coh(ortis) I
Bracaraugustanorum / turma Tironis ann(or)um / XXXIIX
stipendiorum / XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) /
h(eredes) p(osuerunt) Tiro dec(urio) et Crispus / Caturonis.

Veranus, son of Caturo, horseman of cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum from the *turma* of Tiro, having lived thirty-eight years and served eighteen lies here. In his will he ordered that this be done. His heirs Tiro, the decurion, and Crispus, son of Caturo, set this up.

2) CIL III 3271 – Julio-Claudian (Teutoburgium, Pannonia Inferior)

Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Britti / filio / Valerio decurioni / alae II
Aravacorum / domo Hispano annor(um) L / stipendiorum XXX et /
Cl(audiae) Januariae coniugi eius / et Cl(audiae) Hispanillae filiae
vivi / ex testamento Flaccus dec(urio) / frater / et Hispanilla filia
heredes / faciundum curaverunt.

For Tiberius Claudius Valerius, son of Brittus, decurion of ala II Aravacorum, whose home is in Hispania, having lived fifty years and served thirty and for Claudia Januaria, his wife, and for Claudia Hispanilla his daughter, who were still alive, his heirs Flaccus, a decurion, his brother and Hispanilla, his daughter, took care that this be built.

3) CIL III 8486 – Julio-Claudian (Bigeste, Dalmatia)

Andamionius Andami f(ilius) eq(ues) coh(ortis) I Lucens(ium)
ann(or)um XXXV st(ipendiorum) XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Gav[i]llius
frater [eiu]s posit.

Andamionius, son of Andamus, horseman of cohorts I Lucensium, having lived thirty-five years and served fifteen, lies here. Gavillius, his brother, set this up.

4) CIL III 8494 – Julio-Claudian (Kutac, Bosnia-Herzegovina)

...i eq(uitis) coh(ortis) I / [Luc(ensium) eq(uitata) t]ur(ma) Valeri /
[...nat(ione)] Delm(ata) an[n(or)um] / [...stip(endiarum)] XXV
[Va]ller(ius) / ...f(ilius), Valeria m(ater) / [... et f]amilia inge[nua]

...of ... horseman of cohorts I Lucensium equitata, from the *turma* of Valerius, a Dalmatian, having lived ... years and served XXV, Valerius, son of ..., Valeria, his mother, and his native family (set this up).

5) CIL III 10258 – Julio-Claudian (Teutoburgium, Pannonia Inferior)

...de]/curio mis(s)icius / alae II Arava[corum] / annorum [...] /
h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / testam[ento] fie[r]i / iussit sibi et C[...]
Cle]/menti fratri [e]t / Com[...] Antoni(ae?) s[o]rori / [...]

...a veteran decurion of ala II Aravacorum, having lived ... years,
lies here. He ordered this to be done in his will for himself and for
his brother Clemens and for his sister Com... Antonia...

6) CIL III 10262 - Julio-Claudian (Mursa, Pannonia Inferior)

Niger / Batario/nis f(ilius) Sve/(l)trius / eques / ala I Ara/vacorum /
ann(orum) XXXVII / stipendio/rum XVII / h(ic) s(itus) est /
Marcellus et / Publius consob/rini idem here/des pos<u>erunt.

Niger, son of Batario, of the Sueltri, horseman of ala I Aravacorum,
having served seventeen years, lies here. Marcellus and Publius,
his cousins and heirs, set this up.

7) CIL III 10514 – Julio-Claudian (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior)

Nertus Dumnotali f(ilius) veteranus ala Hisp(anorum) I
sesquip(licarius) Lingauster ann(orum) LX stip(endiorum) XXXVI
h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Valens frater h(eres) t(itulum) m(emoriae)
p(osuit).

Nertus, son of Dumnotalus, veteran of ala I Hispanorum, a
sesquiplicarius, of the Lingaustri, having lived sixty years and
served thirty-six, lies here. Valens, his brother and heir set up this
inscription for his memory.

8) CIL III 15205.3 – Julio-Claudian (Celeia, Noricum)

T(itus) Julius Bellicus dec(urio) / alae Asturum II / dec(urio)
municipi(i) Cla(udiae) Celeiae / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) /
Ti(berius) Julius Frontonis f(ilius) Civis / frater et heres fecit.

Titus Julius Bellicus, decurion of ala II Asturum, decurion of the
municipium of Claudia Celeia, ordered this to be made in his will.
Tiberius Julius Civis, the son of Fronto, his brother and heir had it
made.

9) CIL XIII 2613 – Julio-Claudian (Cabilonnum, Gallia Lugdunensis)

Albanus Excingi f(ilius) eques / ala Asturum natione Ubicus /
stip(endiorum) XII an(norum) XXXV h(ic) s(itus) est Rufus frater
et Alba.

Albanus, son of Excingus, horseman of the ala Asturum, a native
Ubian, having served twelve years and lived thirty-five, lies here.
Rufus, his brother, and Alba (set this up).

10) RHP 124 – Julio-Claudian (Aquincum, Illyricum, later Pannonia Inferior)

[T]i(berius) Claudius Severus / Icepni f(ilius) / Vangio missicius / eques ala Hisp(anorum) pri(ma) / ann(or)um LX / h(ic) s(itus) est / Albanus frater / t(itulum) m(emoriae) p(osuit).

Tiberius Claudius Severus, son of Icepnus, of the Vangiones, a discharged horseman of ala I Hispanorum, having lived sixty years, lies here. Albanus, his brother, set up this inscription for his memory.

11) CIL III 12359 – First century (Utus, Moesia Inferior)

Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Vic(tor) vet(eranus) / alae II[I] Ara[va]/cor(um) mil(itavit) an(nos) / XXIX vix(it) an(nos) LX / et [C]l(audia) Procula vix(it) / [an(nos) ... h(ic)] s(iti) s(unt) [...] / [...Re]sti[t]u[t]us / [...] sec(u)n/[dum] testamen(tum) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Tiberius Claudius Victor, veteran of ala II Aravacorum, having served twenty-nine years and lived sixty, and Claudia Procula, who lived ... years, lie here. Restitutus took care that this be built in accordance with his/her will.

12) CIL III 12361 – First century (Utus, Moesia Inferior)

Sulpicius / Massa ve(ter)anus) alae / Hispan(or)um n(at)ione) Tung(er) vix(it) / ann(os) LX me(r)uit an(nos) XXXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) coni(ux) Pieris f(aciendum) / c(uravit).

Sulpicius Massa, veteran of the ala Hispanorum, by birth a Tungrian, who lived sixty years and served thirty-five, lies here. His wife Pieris took care that this be done.

13) IScM II 172 – First century (Tomis, Moesia Inferior)

Ti(berius) Claudius Arrenti f(ilius) Quir(ina) Saturninus duplic(arius) vet(eranus) ala Astur(um) vixit an(nos) LXIII mil(itavit) an(nos) XXXII uxor et liberi f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) h(ic) s(itus) est.

Tiberius Claudius Saturninus, son of Arrentius, of the tribe Quirina, veteran *duplicarius* of the ala Asturum, lived sixty-four years and served thirty-two. His wife and his children took care that this be erected. He lies here.

14) CIL III 11749 – Second half of the first century (Samriach, Noricum)

Candidus / Vibeni f(ilius) v(ivus) f(ecit) / sib(i) et Mentiae / Amoeni f(iliae) / con(iugi) opt(imae) et / Candidiano f(ilio) / mil(iti) al(ae) aur(ianae) a(nnorum) XX.

Candidus, son of Vibenus, built this while still alive, for himself and for Mentia, daughter of Amoenus, his excellent wife and for Candidianus, his son, a soldier of the ala Auriana, who lived twenty years.

Appendix 3: Second- and Third-Century Family Relationships

Second- and third-century inscriptions of stone that record relationships between soldiers of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and members of their families who are not identified as soldiers. Findspots are provided in parentheses.

1) CIL VIII 3005 – Trajanic (Lambaesis, Numidia)

.../ (centurio) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis), (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(itricis), / (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), (centurio) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) / (centurio) coh(ortis) III Bra(caraugustanorum) vix(it) an(nis) LXII / ec HS VIII (milibus) CC n(ummum) M(arcus) Tuccius / Urbanicus et M(arcus) Tuccius / [Pro]culus fili pient[issimi] / ...

...centurion of legio I Adiutrix, centurion of legio XX Valeria Victrix, centurion of legio XI Claudia, centurion of legio I Italica, centurion of cohorts III Bracaraugustanorum, who lived sixty-two years. At the expense of 9,200 sesterces, Marcus Tuccius Urbanicus and Marcus Tuccius Proculus, his most pious sons (set this up).

2) IGBulg 305 – First quarter of the second century (Novae, Moesia Inferior)

D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berio) Basso dec(urioni) / veterano / alaes(!) primae / Ast(urum) maer[u]i(t!) an(nos) XXV vix(it) an(nos) LXXX Fla(via) / Longina pa/tri bene merent(i) h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

To the immortal shades and to Tiberius Bassus, veteran decurion of ala I Asturum, who served twenty-five years and lived eighty. Flavia Longina (set this up) for her well-deserving father, who lies here.

3) ILLPRON 664 – First half of the second century (Virunum, Noricum)

[A]tuconi [mil(iti)] / [c]oh(ortis) III Lusita[nor(um)] / misso et Tertio [mil(iti)] / [c]oh(ortis) I Astur(um) No[nna?] / [so]ror fratribu[s et] / [F]uscae Montan[i f(iliae)] / [sor]ori v(iva) f(ecit) et sibi.

For Atuco, a discharged soldier of cohorts III Lusitanorum and for Tertius, a soldier of cohorts I Asturum. Nonna, their sister, made this for herself, for her brothers and for her sister Fusca, daughter of Montanus.

4) CIL III 4842 – Hadrianic or early Antonine (Virunum, Noricum)

[...] Julio Aprili b(ene)f(iciario) / c(o)hort(is) I Asturum / stip(endiorum) XXII Cauru / Blendonis f(ilia) con(tubernalis) v(iva) f(ecit) et sibi.

... For Julius Aprilis, beneficiarius of cohorts I Asturum, having served twenty-two years. Cauru, daughter of Blendo, his partner, erected this while still alive, for him and for herself.

5) AE 1967, 335 – Second quarter of the second century (Stockstadt, Germany)

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) / I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Attius Terti/[u]s (centurio) coh(ortis) II His/[pa]norum p/[ro] salute sua / [et] Cissonis / coniugis su/ae et filior/um suoru/m v(otum) s(usceptum) p(osuit) / l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

In honor of the divine house, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Attius Tertius, centurion of cohorts II Hispanorum, for his health and that of Cisso, his wife, and of his children, set up this votive, as promised, freely, gladly and for good reason.

6) AE 2001, 1644 – Antonine (Ad Flexum, Pannonia Superior)

[T(ito) A]el(io) Verano / [v]e[t(erano)] al(a)e p(rimae) Arav/[ac]orum an(norum) LX / e[t] Ael(iae) Vinillae / [du]l(cissimae) coniugi / [an(norum) ...] / .us h(ic) s(iti) [s(unt)] / T(itus) Ael(ius) Avitus / parenti(bus) piis(s)im[is].

For Titus Aelius Veranus, veteran of ala I Aravacorum, who lived sixty years, and for Aelia Vinilla his sweetest wife, who lived... who lie here. Titus Aelius Avitus (erected this) for his most pious parents.

7) CIL III 5629 – Second century (Ovilava, Noricum)

Apollini / Aug(usto) / in memoriam / M(arci) Modesti M(arci) f(ili) / Repentini / M(arcus) Modestius / Repentinus / pater vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) / al(ae) I Aravacorum.

To Apollo Augustus in memory of Marcus Modestius Repentinus, son of Marcus. Marcus Modestius Repentinus, his father, a veteran and former decurion of ala I Aravacorum (made this).

8) CIL III 12480 – Second century (Cius, Moesia Inferior)

Dis Man(ibus) / M(arco) Ulp(io) Domi/tio Anthio / vet(erano)
coh(ortis) Lusit(anorum) / ex p(edite) mil(itavit) annis / XXVIII
vix[it] an(nos) LXXXI[I]II / Julia coniunx / po[sui]t mar[ito...]

To the immortal shades. For Marcus Ulpius Domitius from Anthium(?), veteran and former infantryman of the cohors Lusitanorum, who served twenty-eight years and lived eighty-four. Julia, his wife, set this up for her husband.

9) CIL III 14214.9 – Second century (Tropaeum Traiani, Moesia Inferior)

D(is) [M(anibus) / G(aius)?] Arto(rius) [Sa/tur(ninus) Sisc(ia) / ex
d(uplicario) vet(eranus) / c(o)ho(rtis) I Lus(itanorum) / vix(it)
an(nis) XL / mil(itavit) an(nis) XX, / h(ic) s(itus) e(st), G(aius)
Arto(rius) / et Roscia / Satur(nina) et Art(orius) Satur(ninus) / filii
p(atri) p(ientissimo) posuer(unt).

To the immortal shades. Gaius Artorius Saturninus from Siscia, former decurion and veteran of cohors I Lusitanorum, who lived forty-five years and served twenty-five, lies here. Gaius Artorius and Roscia Saturnina and Artorius Saturninus, his children, set this up for their most faithful father.

10) CIL III 14214.29 – Second century (Tomis, Moesia Inferior)

[vixit anno]s LXXX / ... fi (?)]lio vixit / an(nos) ... a]e mat[ri et (?)
Secu]ndini/[ae sorori (?)] Lupus / [vet(eranus) (?) alae] II
Ara/[vacorum] et Thi/[... frat (?)]er eius / [pientiss]imus /
[posue]runt.

... lived eighty years... son of...(and) ... daughter of... who lived... years, their mother and Secundina, their sister. Lupus, veteran of ala II Aravacorum and Thi... his most faithful brother, set this up.

11) IBR 264 – Second century (Celeusum, Raetia)

Prim(ius) Saturninus / ex dec(urione) al(ae) Auri(anae) m(issus)
h(onesta) m(issione) / Iul(iae) Victorinae uxo(ri) Prim(iae)
Saturninae / [filiae et sibi vivus f(ecit).]

Primus Saturninus, former decurion of the ala Auriana, honorably discharged, built this while he was alive for himself, his wife, Victorina and his daughter, Primia Saturnina.

12) CIL III 6218 – Mid-second century (Arubium, Moesia Inferior)

...] / [vi]xit an[n(os) ---] / G(aius) Julius Pr[---] / dec(urio) alae II
A[rav(acorum)] / et G(aius) Julius Prim[us] / b(ene)f(iciarius)
proc(uratoris) patri b[e]/ne merenti po/suerunt.

... lived ... years. Gaius Julius Pr..., decurion of ala II Aravacorum and Gaius Julius Primus, beneficiarius procuratoris, set this up for their well-deserving father.

13) CIL III 843 – Second half of the second century (Resculum, Dacia)

D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(io) Taton(i) / dec(urioni) coh(ortis) II His(panorum) / vix(it) an(nos) X[L] Ael(ius) / Julianus so/cer et her(es) / Ae[l(ia)] Silvana con(iunx) / be(ne) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

To the immortal shades and to Aelius Tato, decurion of cohorts II Hispanorum, who lived forty years. Aelius Julianus, his father-in-law and his heir Aelia Silvana, his wife, took care that this be made for him, well-deserving.

14) CIL III 5330a – Second half of the second century (Solva, Noricum)

M(arco) Ann[io ...] / an(norum) LX An[nia ...] / Marc[ella fecit sibi] / et M(arco) Annio Marc[ello] / filio an(norum) XXV / et M(arco) Annio Marcelliano / (centurioni) coh(ortis) I A[sturum(?)] / an(norum) XXX.

To Marcus Annius... who lived sixty years, Annia Marcella made this for herself and for Marcus Annius Marcellus their son, who lived twenty-five years, and for Marcus Annius Marcellianus, centurion of cohorts I Asturum, who lived thirty years.

15) CIL VIII 3101 – Second half of the second century (Lambaesis, Numidia)

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / D(ecimo) Domitio / Sardónico / Polia Ale{c}xan/dria vixit an/nis LXX fecerunt Domitiae / patri piissimo / d(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Q(uinto) Domitio / Polia castris / Sardónico / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VII / Lusitano/rum vixit / annis XVIII / fecerunt / Domitiae / fra[tri de]sid[erant]iss[i]mo.

To the immortal shades and to Decimus Domitius Sardonicus, of the voting tribe Pollia, from Alexandria, who lived seventy years, Domitia set this up for her most pious father. A dedication to the immortal shades and for Quintus Domitius Sardonicus, of the voting tribe Pollia, born in the camp, a soldier of cohorts VII Lusitanorum, who lived eighteen years, Domitia set this up for her most longed for brother.

16) IScM I 278 – Second half of the second century (Histria, Moesia Inferior)

[D(is) M(anibus)] / M. Vettius Felix / ex dec(urione) alae, vixit / ann(is) LX, et Aureliae / Faustine, co(n)iugi eius, / Ulp(ius) Felix, strator / co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), filius, / [pat]ri et matri bene / [meren]ti, pos(t) obit[um] / [eor]um posuit. / [Sit] tibi ter[ra] / leves. / [Ave] viator et v[ale].

To the immortal shades. M. Vettius Felix, former decurion of the *ala*, who lived sixty years, and Aurelia Faustina, his wife. Ulpus Felix, *strator consularis* of legion XI Claudia, their son, set this up for his well-deserving father and mother, after their death. May the earth lie lightly on you. Hail, traveler, and be well.

17) ILBulg II 81 – Late second or early third century (Sexaginta Prista, Moesia Inferior)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio Coto / vet(eranus) al(a)e I[I]
Arab(acorum!) / vixit annis / XXXXVII Aur(elius) / Helpideforus /
et Papias et Ju/lia Juliana co/niunx patro/no...

To the immortal shades. For Aurelius Cotos veteran of *ala* II Aravacorum, who lived forty-seven years. Aurelius Helpideforus and Papias and Julia Juliana his wife to their patron...

18) AE 1919, 17 – Third century (Olbasa, Pisidia)

--- / [...vixi]t an(nis) / [...]X. Titinius / Severinus, ses/cuplicarius /
ales II Araba/corum, et Titini/us Jamuaris, fili, tituli memo/riae
cause po / suerunt. Ave vi / ator et vale.

... lived sixty years. Titinius Severinus, *sesquiplicarius* of *ala* II Aravacorum, and Titinius Jamuaris, his sons, set this up for his memory. Hail, traveler, and farewell.

19) CIL III 10507 – Third century (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior)

D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Titus qui vix(it) / an(nos)
LXX et coniug(i) eius / Aur(eliae) Mate[rn(a)]e qu(a)e vix(it) /
an(nos) L item filiorum / eorum M(arco) Aur(elio) / Titiano qui
milit(avit) / in coh(orte) I Ast<u>r(um) qui vix(it) / an(nos) XXX
item Aur(eliae) Sur(a)e qui / vix(it) an(nos) XX item Aur(elio)
Valenti / qui vix(it) an(nos) XII pos(uerunt) tit(u)l(um) /
parent(ibus) suis M(arcus) Aur(elius) Clem/ens |(centurio)
leg(ionis) VI Ferrat[ae] / qui est prob(atus) in leg(ione) II
A[d(iutrice)] / a Cornel(io) Plotiano leg(ato).

To the immortal shades. For Marcus Aurelius Titus who lived seventy years and for his wife Aurelia Materna who lived fifty years and of their children for Marcus Aurelius Titianus, who served in *cohors* I Asturum and lived thirty years, and for Aurelia Sura, who lived twenty years, and for Aurelius Valens who lived twelve years, Marcus Aurelius Clemens, a centurion of *legio* VI Ferrata, who was enlisted in *legio* II Adiutrix by the legate Cornelius Plotianus, set up this inscription for his parents.

20) CIL XIII 11982 – Third century (Rigomagus, Germania Inferior)

M(arco) Cassio Verecu/ndo veter(ano) ex coh(orte) I
His/pano(rum) sibi et Anniae / Avitae uxori et Cassio /
Verecundino Firmo / fil(io) suo vivos(!) fecit.

For Marcus Cassius Verecundus, veteran from cohorts I Hispanorum himself, and for his wife, Annia Avita, and his son Cassius Verecundinus Firmus, he built this while he was alive.

21) CIL III 14214.22 – Third century (Cius, Moesia Inferior)

D(is) M(anibus) / G(aius) Val(erius) Her[c]ulanus, vet(eranus) ex stator[e] / praefecti alae II Aravacor(um), [vix(it)] / ann(is) LXX; natus vico Rami[...], / militav(it) ann(is) XXVI. G(aia) Valeria C[asta?], / co[n]iux, vix(it) a[nn]n(is) LX, nata loco e[odem], / qu[em] h[ab]eo in conubio [ann(is) ...] / G(aius) Val(erius) [...] et G(aius) Val(erius) Valentin[us...] / qu[od].....].

To the Immortal Shades. Gaius Valerius Herculanus, veteran, former stator of the prefect of ala II Aravacorum, having lived seventy years, born at the village of Rami..., Having served twenty-six years (lies here). Gaia Valeria C[asta?] his wife, having lived sixty years, born in that same place, whom I held in legal marriage for __ years... Gaius Valerius... and Gaius Valerius Valentinus...

22) IScM I 297 – Third century (Histria, Moesia Inferior)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Firmus, / veteranus ex / dec(urione) al(ae) II Araba/corum, vixit an/nis L, Aur(elia) Vettia / co(n)iux et Aur(elia) Firmi/na filia bene me/renti marito / et patri posue/runt. Ave viato[r] et vale.

To the immortal shades. Aurelius Firmus, veteran, former decurion of ala II Aravacorum, who lived fifty years. Aurelia Vettia, his wife, and Aurelia Firmina, his daughter, set this up for a well-deserving husband and father. Hail, traveler, and be well.

Appendix 4: Diplomas that Name Wives or Children

Military diplomas that were awarded to members of the auxiliary units raised on the Iberian Peninsula and name the soldiers' wives or children.

1) CIL XVI 2 – AD 50-54 (Unknown)

...cohort(is) II Hispanorum cui prae(e)st / C(aius) Cavarius Priscus / equiti / Dasenti Dasmeni f(ilio) Cornac(ati) / et Iorae(?) Prososii filiae uxori eius / et Emerito f(ilio) eius / et Turunae filiae eius / et Emeritae filiae eius...

2) RMD IV 202 – July 2, AD 61 (Cornacum, Pannonia Inferior)

...alae II Hisp(anorum) et Aravacor(um) cui praeest Sex(tus) / Gavius Gallus decurioni Dasio Carmai f(ilio) Breuco / et Proculo f(ilio) eius et Priscillae f(iliae) eius et Proculae f(iliae) eius / et Procellae f(iliae) eius...

3) RGZM 11 – May 13, AD 105 (Unknown)

...alae I Asturum cui prae(e)st / L(ucius) Seius L(uci) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Avitus / gregali / Urbano Ateionis f(ilio) Trevir(o) / et Crispinae Eptacenti fil(iae) uxori eius / et Attoni f(ilio) eius / et Julio f(ilio) eius / et Crispino f(ilio) eius / et Praetiosae fil(iae) eius...

4) CIL XVI 52 – AD 106 (Ovilava, Noricum)

...cohort(is) I Astu[rum cui praeest] / Valerius [...] / ex [...] / Clementi A[...] f(ilio) / et Secciae Sabini [f(iliae) uxori eius] / et Saturnino f(ilio) ei[us et ...

5) CIL XVI 55 – June 30, AD 107 (Biriciana, Raetia)

... alae I Hispanorum Aurianae cui prae(e)st / M(arcus) Insteius M(arci) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Coelenus / ex gregale / Mogetissae Comatulli f(ilio) Boio / et Verecundae Casati fil(iae) uxori eius Sequan(ae) / et Matrullae filiae eius...

6) AE 2004, 1898 – July 27, AD 108 (Unknown)

...[coh(ortis)] V Hispanor(um) cui prae(e)st [Ti(berius?) C]laudius Verax ex pedite [...]no Dolarri f(ilio) Sequan(o) [...]rrio f(ilio) eius et Nanni fil(iae) eius...

7) RMD IV 223 – May 3, AD 112 (Unknown)

...alae Aravacor(um) et Hispanor(um) cui prae(e)st / Ti(berius)
Claudius Numidicus / ex gregale / Dasenti Liccai f(ilio) Pannon(io)
/ et Matenae Etdeidatis fil(iae) uxori eius Azal(ae) / et Attoni f(ilio)
eius et Rumaе fil(iae) eius / et Sibullae fil(iae) eius et Ianuariae
fil(iae) eius...

8) CIL XVI 105 – AD 122-140 (Pappenheim, Raetia)

[alae I Hispanor(um) Au]r(ianae) cui prae(e)st / [...] Bassus Roma /
[ex gr]egale / [...]uli f(ilio) Frisio / [et ...]ini fil(iae) uxor(i) eius
Bat(avae) / [...]ellinae fil(iae) eius

9) RGZM 38 – September 28, AD 157 (Unknown)

...alae I Hispanor(um) Aur<i>ana<e> cui prae(e)st / Sex(tus)
Graesius Severus Picen(o) / ex gregale / Disapho Dinicenti f(ilio)
Thrac(i) et An/drae Eptece<n>ti fil(iae) uxor(i) eius Thra<i>(ssae)

10) RMD IV 278 – December 18, 160 (Quintana, Raetia)

... [coh(ortis) V Br]acaraug(ustanorum) cui prae(e)st / [Iuliu]s
Celerinus / ex pedite / [Victori] Sendusis f(ilio) Runic(ati) / [et
Prima]e Masi fil(iae) ux(ori) eius Caten(ati)...

Appendix 5: Images

Figure 1: AE 1963, 16
(© Epigrafik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby)

Figure 2: CIL VI 3228
(Photo from Roldán Hervás 1974; Speidel 1994, 128, no. 09)

Figure 3: CIL III 5292=11708
 (© O. and F. Harl, photo O. Harl)

Figure 4: IScM II 172
 (Photo from IScM II)

Figure 5: Tab. Vindol. II 225
 (© Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents)

Figure 6: CIL III 6627
 (© Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum)

Figure 7: Tab. Vindol. II 154
 (© Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents)

Figure 8: AE 1992, 1458
 (Photo from Fitz 1991)

Figure 9: CIL III 14349.8
(© Aquincumi Múzeum Budapest, photo O. Harl 1998)

Figure 10: CIL III 15205.3
(© Pokrajnski Muzej Maribor, photo O. Harl 1994)

Figure 11: CIL II(14) 348
 (© Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg)

Figure 12: IAM II 253
 (Photo from Rebuffat 1998)

Figure 13: CIL XIII 2613
(Photo from Holder 1980)

Figure 14: CIL III 4227
(© Liszt Ferenc Múzeum Sopron, photo O. Harl 2005)

Figure 15: CIL XIII 7045
(© Alte Geschichte Osnabrück)

Figure 16: CIL 13 7037
(© CSIR Deutschland II 5)

Figure 17: CIL XIII 8098
(© Alte Geschichte Osnabrück)

in aetoma :
Medusae caput

	RVFVS • ANGETI • F	
	MIL • COH • I LVCE	
columna	ANNORVM • XXX	columna
	STIPEN • XI	
5	H • S • E	
	H • P	

Figure 18: CIL III 8492
(Image from CIL III)

in aeterna:
 Medusae caput

 columna eques sin. scutum columna
 gerens; dextra deest
 ANDAMIONIVS · AN
 DAMI · F · EQ · COH · I · sic
 LVCENS · ANN · XXXV
 ST · XV · H · S · E
 5 GAV · ELIVS · F · ER
 S · POSIT

Figure 19: CIL III 8486
 (Image from CIL III)

_____ flos
 FLAVOS · BO
 sic VTI · F · MIL ·
 COH · I · LVCE
 ANN · XXXI ·
 5 STIP · X · DOM
 LVCO · AVG · H · F · C
 H · S · E ·

Figure 20: CIL III 9834
 (Image from CIL III)

Figure 21: AE 2000, 1179
(Images from Dodig 1985)

Figure 22: AE 2000, 1178
(Images from Dodig 1985)

Figure 23: ILJug III 1928
(Image from ILJug III)

VE CIVSCL	M A E T A R I V
VTAMIP · COI	
///DIELVIBRI	
VEROPOMV	
5 SVECIPMIL	
CORTIO TERT	
IALVCESMIL	
ITAVITASINI	

Figure 24: CIL II 2584
(Image from CIL II)

CORONA
 L · CVSPIVS
 L · F · CLA · IVVAI
 LAVTVS · NORICO
 MIL·COH·I·ASTVRWM
 5 E · MACRINIANA
 MILITAVIT · ANN · XV
 VIX · ANN · XXXV

Figure 25: CIL VI 3588
 (Image from CIL VI)

Figure 26: CIL III 14424
 (Photo from ILBulg)

Figure 27: CIL XIII 7036
(© Alte Geschichte Osnabrück)

Figure 28: AE 1965, 347
(Photo from ILBulg)

Figure 29: CIL III 14039
 (© Dommuseum Pécs, photo O. Harl 2006)

Figure 30: CIL III 14214.22
 (Image from IScM V)

Figure 31: IScM V 23
(Image from IScM V)

Figure 32: IScM I 297
(Image from IScM I)

Figure 33: IScM I 278
(Image from IScM I)

Figure 34: CIL III 14214.29
(Image from IScM II)

Figure 35: RHP 124

(© Aquincumi Múzeum Budapest, photo O. Harl 2006)

Figure 36: CIL III 10514

(© Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Budapest, photo O. Harl 2008)

Figure 37: CIL III 12361
(Image from ILBulg)

Figure 38: ILBulg 305
(Image from Conrad 2004)

Figure 39: IScM II 196
(Image from IScM II)

Figure 40: CIL III 14214.9
(© Muzeul Adamclisi, photo O. Harl 2009)

Figure 41: CIL III 12480
(Image from IScM V)

Figure 42: AE 2001, 1644
(© Hanság Múzeum Mosonmagyaróvár, photo O. Harl 1998)

Figure 43: CIL III 5629

(© SRI Projekt – Universität Salzburg, photo C. Hemmers / St. Traxler)

Figure 44: CIL XIII 8560

(© Alte Geschichte Osnabrück)

Figure 45: CIL VIII 853=12370
 (© Epigrafik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby)

Figure 46: IBR 264
 (© O. and F. Harl, photo O. Harl 2006)

Figure 47: RIB I 266
(Image from RIB, drawn by R.G. Colingwood)

Figure 48: CIL XIII 11982
(© Alte Geschichte Osnabrück)

Figure 49: AE 1992, 1276
(© Römermuseum Augst, photo O. Harl 2005)

Figure 50: CIL III 10507
(© Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Budapest, photo O. Harl 2000)

Figure 53: CIL III 11749
 (© O. und F. Harl, photo O. Harl 2009)

Figure 54: CIL III 5330a
 (© O. and F. Harl, photo O. Harl 2009)

Figure 55: AE 1919, 17
 (© Muzeul Istria, photo O. Harl 2009)

Figure 56: AE 1983, 940
(Image from Reynolds 1980-1981)

1064

Figure 57: RIB I 1064
(Image from RIB)

Appendix 6: Maps

The following maps are based on templates created by the Ancient World Mapping Center at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill (<http://www.unc.edu/awmc/>). They record specific locations discussed throughout the text of this dissertation and a few other significant sites.

Map 1: The Rhine and Danube Frontiers

Map 2: Dalmatia and Pannonia

Map 3: The Balkans, the Rhine and the Danube

Map 4: Asia Minor

Map 5: The Iberian Peninsula

Map 6: North Africa, Sardinia, Italy, Greece

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