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ASPECTS OF THE SEVERAN FIELD ARMY

**The Praetorian Guard, Legio II Parthica
and Legionary Vexillations, AD 193-238**



Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

University of Glasgow

Department of Classics

Glasgow 2002

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Abstract

Chapter 1 finds that praetorian service was increased to a minimum of 18 years during the reign of Septimius Severus and that this was often exceeded. It rejects the theory that legionary transfers to the Guard had only to serve the balance of 16 years over their legionary service.

Chapter 2, section 1, examines the use of the *laterculi* or discharge lists to calculate effective cohort strengths. It finds that they are not a reliable source and that literary evidence supplies the best guide to the size of the Guard – 10,000 in ten milliary cohorts. Section 2 considers the numbers of *equites* and *speculatores* in the Guard.

Chapter 3, section 1, proposes that the recruitment for legio II Parthica began in 193. Section 2 considers the appearance of *lanciarii* in the legion and suggests that they were detached from the legion in the reign of Gallienus to form a separate *numerus* of *lanciarii* within the *comitatus*. Section 3 notes the unique presence of the *centurio pilus posterior* in the first cohort. Section 4 suggests that legio II Parthica was a regular sized legion despite having a base half the usual size.

Chapter 4 finds that legionaries and praetorians continued to be armed and fight in essentially the same manner as their later Republican and early Imperial predecessors, despite changes in equipment such as the length of the sword.

Chapter 5 surveys the legions and legionary vexillations involved in Caracalla's Parthian war. The chapter emphasises the role of other units built around the core of the praetorian cohorts and legio II Parthica in the composition of a greater Severan field army.

The Appendix acts a companion to chapter 1, listing post-AD 193 inscriptions recording praetorian *stipendia*. The inscriptions are summarised in a table.

Cover image: tombstone of the praetorian M. Aurelius Lucianus, Capitoline Museum, Rome (*CIL* VI 2602)

CONTENTS

<i>Illustrations</i>	ii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	v
Introduction	1
1. Length of service in the praetorian guard after AD 193	7
2. The size of the praetorian guard	54
3. Legio II Parthica	78
4. Pilum, scutum, gladius: traditional legionary and praetorian equipment in the third century AD	110
5. Legions and legionary vexillations serving in Caracalla's Parthian war	135
Concluding Remarks	156
Appendix: inscriptions recording praetorian stipendia	161
<i>Abbreviations</i>	204
<i>Ancient literary sources</i>	207
<i>Modern sources</i>	209

FIGURES

Between pages 109 & 110

1. Funerary altar of Aurelius Zoilus, *lanciarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 215-218 (source: Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 24, pl. 3)
2. Funerary stele of Septimius Viator, *lanciarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 215-218 (source: Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 25, pl. 4)
3. Funerary cippus of Aurelius Mucianus, *lanciarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 215-218 (source: Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 26, pl. 5)
4. Gravestone of Aurelius Ingenuus, *tesserarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 242-244 (source: Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 44-45, pl. 19)
5. Gravestone of Felsonius Verus, *aquilifer*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 242-244 (source: Stoll 1991, taf. 8.1)
6. Gravestone of Aurelius Eptecentus of legio II Parthica, Albano, early-mid 3rd cent. (source: Forni 1954: 26-29, no. 2, fig. 1)
7. Gravestone of Flavius Trypho, *tesserarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 215-218? (source: Balty 1988, pl. XIII, 3)
8. Oval shield from Dura Europos, Syria, mid 3rd cent (source: Rostovtzeff *et al* 1939: 327, fig. 83)
9. Relief of three soldiers from Croy Hill, mid 2nd cent. (source: L. Keppie, *Scotland's Roman Remains* 1990: 127)
10. Gravestone of Aurelius Avitianus of legio I Adiutrix, Budapest, 3rd century (source: Speidel 1976: 136, fig. 5)
11. Gravestone of Iulius Firminianus of legio I Adiutrix, Byzantium, 3rd cent. (source: Speidel 1976: 133, fig. 4)

12. a Gravestone of Severius Acceptus of legio VIII Augusta, Chalcedon, early 3rd cent.
(source: Speidel 1985: 96, fig. a)
12. b Gravestone of Servandinius Avitus of legio XXX Ulpia, Nicomedia, 3rd cent.
(source: Speidel 1985: 96, fig. b)
13. Gravestone of an unknown soldier, Byzantium, c. AD 214,
(Source Speidel 1976: 129, fig. 3)
14. Gravestone of Petronius Proculus, *beneficiarius tribuni* of legio II Parthica,
Apamea, AD 231-233 (source: Balty 1987, fig. 6)
15. Gravestone of Aurelius Iustinus of legio II Italica, 3rd cent., Cilli
(source: Hofmann 1905, no. 48, fig. 41)
16. Funerary altar of the praetorian Septimius Valerinus, Rome, c. AD 215, Rome
(source: Kleiner 1987, pl. LXVII.3)
17. Gravestone of the praetorian [---]teius Vitalis, c. AD 217, Fiesole
(source: Speidel & Scardigli 1990, taf. 22)
18. Gravestone of the praetorian. Aurelius Lucianus, c. AD 217-238, Rome
(source: Speidel & Scardigli 1990, taf. 24)
19. Gravestone of the praetorian Aurelius Vitalianus, c. AD 250-290, Rome
(source: Kleiner 1987, pl. LXVIII, 3)
20. Relief of an armoured legionary, Alba Iulia, early 3rd cent.
(source: Coulston 1995: 14, fig. 1)
21. Gravestone of the soldier Ares, now in British Museum, early 3rd cent.
(source: Speidel 1992: 133, fig. 1)
22. Painted *scutum* from Dura Europos, mid 3rd cent.
(source: Rostovtzeff *et al* 1936, pl. XXV A)

23. Roman swords from Canterbury, late 2nd or early 3rd cent.
(source: Bennett *et al* 1982: 186, fig. 99)
24. Roman swords of Straubing/Nydam type, 3rd cent. (source: Ulbert 1974, taf. 17)
25. Roman swords of type Lauriacum/Hromowaka type, 3rd cent.
(source: Ulbert 1974, taf. 18)
26. Roman swords from Nydam, 3rd century (source Engelhardt 1863, pl. VI)
27. Roman swords from Nydam, 3rd century (source Engelhardt 1863, pl. VII)
28. Roman swords from Vimose, 3rd century (source Engelhardt 1869, pl. 6)
29. Gravestone of Flavius Surillio, *aquilifer*, legio II Adiutrix, Byzantium, c. AD 214
(source: Speidel 1976: 125, fig. 1)
30. Gravestone of Aurelius Suro, *bucinator* of legio I Adiutrix, Byzantium, c. AD 214
(source: Speidel 1976: 127, fig. 2)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would probably have never reached the stage of submission without the steady guidance and sound advice of my supervisor, Professor Lawrence Keppie. It is to him that I owe my greatest thanks for sticking with me over the wayward course of my research. I must thank my family and friends for their patience, and at times, outright coercion, in helping me get the work done. Thomas McGrory was kind enough to read drafts of the work and made valuable suggestions. Brian Cowan, Colin Cumming, Steven Richardson, Dimos Spatharas, Krista Ubbels, HollyYoung and other unfortunates, valiantly endured my lengthy digressions on the subjects of *laterculi* and equipment studies. Cheers me dears! Mrs Jennifer Murray, secretary of the Department of Classics, modestly claims only to do her job but consistently goes out of her way to help students: thanks in abundance. Dr Simon James never failed to respond to my wild and varied queries regarding military equipment, particularly the Dura finds and Professor Walter Scheidel kindly answered queries concerning mortality rates and statistical method. Many thanks to them both. The research was funded by the grant of a Major Scottish Studentship from the Student Awards Agency for Scotland. The Agency also funded a trip to Rome. I am very grateful to Maria Pia Malvezzi of the British School at Rome who organised a visit to the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican Museums, where I was able to view numerous praetorian *laterculi*, epitaphs and dedications. The comments and criticisms of my examiners, Dr Boris Rankov and Dr Catherine Steel, have made this a better thesis. My thanks to them for taking the time to grapple with it. Dr Rankov was also kind enough to supply me with a copy of M. Clauss' 1973 paper on the *speculatores*.

Special thanks and much love to Mum, Dad, Fi, Rhi and Max for taking the stress.

INTRODUCTION

1. General historical background, AD 192-238¹

The Roman Empire lapsed into civil war following the murder of Commodus on 31 December 192 and the speedy removal of his successor, Pertinax, by resentful praetorians, three months later. The resulting 'auctioning' of the empire to Didius Iulianus triggered the elevations to the purple of C. Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria (early spring), and L. Septimius Severus, governor of Upper Pannonia (April), by the armies of the East and the Rhine-Danube line, respectively. Severus used his proximity to Italy to march on Rome; his rapid approach prompted the Senate to outlaw Iulianus and the praetorians to kill him. Severus avoided war on two fronts by bestowing the rank of Caesar on D. Clodius Albinus, the ambitious governor of Britain, whose legions and auxilia had also presented as a candidate for the purple.

Prior to entering Rome Severus dishonourably discharged the entire Praetorian Guard for its murder of Pertinax (Severus was posing as the avenger of Pertinax). He began its reconstitution immediately from his mainly Pannonian field army.

Severus had already sent forces to Thrace where his generals prevented Niger from taking Perinthus and besieged his forces in Byzantium (which was to hold out for

¹ For the best accounts see Dio, books 72-80 (for the period up to AD 229) and Herodian, books 1-8 (AD 180-238). Both historians are invaluable as contemporary chroniclers of their age and provide numerous details about the activities of the praetorians and legio II Parthica and other units of the field army, usually in the form of eyewitness accounts (their own or collected). Cassius Dio (c.164-after 229) was an *amicus* of the Severan emperors, twice consul, in c. 205 and 229, and governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia Superior (mid-late 220's). Dio saw at first hand the activities of the praetorian guard in Rome, elements of Caracalla's field army at Nicomedia in 215, and witnessed the indiscipline of the Pannonian army (see Millar 1964). As a probable civil servant, Herodian (c. 178-250) was not a witness to the same spectacles or persons as Dio but when able he sought out the most reliable information, i.e. the accounts of the participants themselves. This would explain his accounts of the Roman battle-order at Nisibis or the detail concerning Maximinus' siege of Aquileia in 238 and the feelings of the soldiers involved (see Whittaker, *Herodian*, ix-lxxxii). Miller 1964 and A. Birley 1988 hold Dio as the best source, considering Herodian to be third-rate. This goes too far. Potter 1990 has a balanced view, emphasising that both historians had their biases and limitations, and the folly of dismissing Herodian too easily.

more than two years). Niger was pursued into Asia, defeated in hard fought battles at Cyzicus and Nicaea, and then decisively at Issus (May 194). He was captured attempting to flee to Parthia and executed.

After consolidating his position in the East, Severus personally marched further east to confront the Parthian vassals who had either aided Niger or taken advantage of the civil war and attacked Roman territory (195-6). The kingdom of Osroene was annexed but action against Parthia itself was delayed by the need to deal with Albinus who had invaded Gaul and was threatening the Germanies.

Severus returned to the west late in 196 and finally routed Albinus at Lugdunum (February 197). As at Issus, the Severan cavalry played a crucial role in being deployed as a separate army corps, detached to out-flank the enemy and attack him in the rear. In celebration Severus increased the soldiers' pay and legalised their marriages.

Now undisputed as emperor, Severus returned to his Parthian operations. With a forceful show of Roman power he reduced the Parthian capital of Ctesiphon to rubble (January 198). He failed to take Hatra on two occasions in 198 and 199, but as a result of the war a new province had been created in northern Mesopotamia, garrisoned by two new legions I and III Parthica. Another legion, II Parthica, found itself based in close proximity to Rome at Albanum. Along with the reformed praetorian cohorts and enlarged horse guard, it embodied a field army in a kind of continuous commission.

The years 202-3 found Severus in Africa advancing the frontier to the Sahara. Warfare was resumed in 208 in response to frontier problems in northern Britain. Severus determined to complete the conquest of the island but died at York before attaining this objective (February 211).

He was succeeded by his sons Caracalla (real name Antoninus) and Geta. Caracalla quickly murdered his brother and in 212 enacted the *constitutio Antoniniana*, extending Roman citizenship to the majority of the free inhabitants of the empire, to some extent increasing tax revenue with which to pay the army and altering the distinction between the legions and auxiliary forces. In 213 he met and defeated the new German confederation of the Alamanni and reinforced the Raetian frontier. Heading east Caracalla paused to lead a Dacian expedition, but preparations were

already advanced for an invasion of Parthia. In 216 he advanced beyond the Tigris and sacked Arbela, but was murdered near Carrhae at the start of the next campaigning season on the orders of his praetorian prefect M. Opellius Macrinus (April 217).

Macrinus carried on the Parthian war but the army was demoralised by Caracalla's death. The new emperor met an unexpectedly vigorous Parthian counter invasion and was fought to a standstill at Nisibis (summer 217). Entering into lengthy negotiations he eventually paid a large indemnity to Artabanus V in order to secure the frontier, but this was deeply unpopular as it affected military pay (which Caracalla had raised). Julia Maesa, the sister-in-law of Severus, soon challenged Macrinus' regime. Her wealth secured the defection of a number of legions who elevated her grandson, Varius Avitus, better known as Elagabalus, to the purple (May 218). Macrinus was defeated outside Antioch in June and captured and executed soon after. The Severans had returned, but distaste at Rome for Elagabalus' religious and sexual excesses led Maesa to engineer his death in 222.

Maesa now arranged the succession of her other grandson, Gessius Alexianus Bassianus, necessarily changing his name to M. Aurelius Severus Alexander. Maesa and Alexander's domineering mother, Julia Mamaea, effectively ruled for the teenage emperor. The early years of his reign saw the downfall of the Parthian state to the Persian vassal king Ardashir (c. 224 or 226). Ardashir was an expansionist ruler and he indicated his intentions early by raiding Mesopotamia and trying, but like Severus, failing to take the fortress city of Hatra. Again in 230 Ardashir attacked Mesopotamia, this time with greater force, forcing Alexander to lead a major expedition in person. Alexander's armies attacked in three columns. The northern column linked with Parthian partisans and advanced via Armenia to cause havoc in Media; the central column lead by Alexander reclaimed the province of Mesopotamia, but Ardashir withdrew to attack and seriously defeat the third Roman column advancing south down the Euphrates (231-33). Despite the recovery of Mesopotamia, Alexander's command did not impress the soldiers and the establishment of Roman garrison in Hatra was probably secured through mutual agreement with its ruler than by conquest.

In 233-4 a major Alamannic incursion destabilised the frontiers of Germany, Raetia and Noricum, with raiders perhaps reaching Gaul. At the same time Sarmatians, Carpi and Goths raided across the Danube. The attacks may have been encouraged by the northern frontiers, particularly the German *limes*, being weakened by vexillations withdrawn to fight in the Persian War. Alexander rushed north and mustered a large force at Mogontiacum but was lynched by the troops when he attempted to treat with the Germans. Alexander's *praefectus tironibus*, the giant Moesian C. Iulius Verus Maximinus, used their discontent to secure his elevation (March 235). Maximinus was a warrior emperor, the first to rise from the ranks and the first to fight in battle. He led the army to victory over the Alamanni, whom he pursued and routed in Bohemia (late 235). Prevented from realising his apparent expansionist hopes in Germany by trouble on the Danube, he made his headquarters at Sirmium and campaigned with success against the Sarmatians and Carpi (236-7). Prior to launching a campaign against the Goths, Maximinus was diverted by revolt in Africa and Italy stemming from discontent over strenuous tax collection and the Senate's distaste for the equestrian soldier-emperor (early 238). Maximinus had also increased military pay, but made the mistake of not visiting the Senate in Rome and his reduction of the free distributions secured his unpopularity in the capital. Capellianus, governor of Numidia destroyed the revolt of the Gordians in Africa, but forced into a hasty invasion of Italy Maximinus was murdered by discontented praetorians and soldiers of legio II Parthica during a frustrating siege of Aquileia (spring 238).

Ridding themselves of the brief senatorial emperors Pupienus and Balbinus, the praetorians raised Gordian III as puppet emperor in May 238, heralding in the 'crisis' of the third century.²

² For introductions to the Severan age see *CAH* XII, pp. 1-80 and Birley 1988. For Severan army policy see E. Birley 1969 and Smith 1972.

2. Purpose of the thesis

The praetorian guard and legio II Parthica were central to the events outlined above. The reconstitution of the Guard (a useful general term for the praetorian cohorts) and establishment of legio II Parthica at Albanum were innovations of Septimius Severus, giving him an overtly military guise and placing more forces at his immediate disposal than had been available any previous emperor. This thesis is not a general history of the praetorian guard or legio II Parthica but examines various aspects of their service and organisation. In recent years the study of the Roman army has tended to veer away from close investigation of its organisation, terms of service and bureaucracy. Instead the favoured focus has been on the soldiers' experience of combat and reassessment of the army's effectiveness in war; the morale of its soldiers, their motivation and their particular society (e.g. MacMullen 1984; Goldsworthy 1996; Elton 1996; Goldsworthy & Haynes (eds.) 1999; Sabin 2000). This is a welcome progression but, as I have found in the course of my research, nothing can be taken for granted about our understanding the Roman army. If, for example, we wish to consider the place of the praetorian guard in a Severan expeditionary force or its role in a particular battle, it would be useful to know how big the unit was. For the sake of convenience we turn to the studies of M. Dury (1938) or D. Kennedy (1978) to ascertain the size of the Guard. But were the methods of Dury and Kennedy used to calculate the size of the Guard reliable? We must always return to the original source material and re-evaluate previous conclusions.

Therefore I return to some of the basic questions such as the service expected of praetorians (chp. 1) – what do the lengths of service inscribed on gravestones tell us and what can we realistically conclude from them? Can the inscribed discharge lists of the praetorian guard really provide a sound source for the calculation of the effective strengths of the cohorts (chp. 2), or is their use simply a dangerous manipulation of mutilated evidence? Chapter 3 questions if legio II Parthica was established c. 197. Could we infer an earlier date from a combination of literary and epigraphic evidence? In chapter 4 artefactual and representational evidence are combined with literary and epigraphic sources to determine the continuity of various types of weaponry. Is it correct to view the later second and third centuries as a period of change in the armament of the legionary and praetorian or is it better to see continuity combined with culmination and inevitable evolution? Finally, chapter 5 considers the epigraphic evidence for the legions and legionary vexillations in Caracalla's Parthian war. What units were built around the praetorian guard and legio

II Parthica to form a major expeditionary force? Can we assign an inscription to this war without clear dating criteria such as honorific titles or consular years?

Hence, the title of this thesis “Aspects of the Severan Field Army”. The use of ‘aspects’ is deliberate: only so much can be considered and inevitably there are gaps. Readers are directed to the bibliography and the excellent studies therein to satisfy their queries. The term ‘field army’ is used throughout as an attribute of the Guard and legio II Parthica because I believe that they were conceived and maintained as units whose primary purpose was to wage the offensive wars of the Severan emperors (see also chp. 3, sect. 2 and Concluding Remarks).

This thesis is, in the most part, an epigraphic study using the inscriptions of soldiers and military units as its primary evidence (chps 1, 2, 3, 5; Appendix). The concentration of transcribed inscriptions is fundamental to my study and my method. Epigraphy is the ultimate source of first-hand evidence for the Roman army. Inscriptions are as close to the Roman soldier as we will ever get. The texts of epitaphs and dedications were dictated by soldiers and their families and although the inscriptions might only transmit the barest facts – name, age, rank, unit, length of service, origin, favoured gods – at least we are certain that it is the soldiers speaking directly to us. These inscriptions are an indication of what Roman soldiers believed in, how they wished to be perceived and remembered.

In the introduction to his collected essays the late Professor J.C. Mann recalls that “I was not allowed by my tutor, A.H.M. Jones, to quote secondary sources in writing essays, but to concentrate on a very cautious and exhaustive consideration of the ancient material, disregarding the irrelevant” (Mann 1996: x). The reader will notice that my referencing and quoting of secondary sources is considerable, if only to argue with the opinions of particular scholars! However, Mann reinforces the need to remember what is key to reaching the elusive answers or suggestions: the evidence. Here I use inscriptions as my major evidence, in as a proper and intelligent manner as I can manage. It is easy now to write a study of the Roman army using only books about the Roman army, to pass over the problems of organisation and service and rely on the conclusions of others. To some extent every scholar must do this, but I hope that my conclusions reflect sound interpretation and use of the evidence. I have no excuses to offer because the epigraphic sources for the praetorian guard and legio II Parthica are among the most extensive for any of the units in the Imperial Roman army.

1. LENGTH OF SERVICE IN THE PRAETORIAN GUARD AFTER AD 193

To the spirits of the departed. Publius Aelius Maximinus, soldier of the fifth praetorian cohort, loyal and avenging, formerly of the century of Monnius, lived for 31 years, 8 months, served as a soldier for 12 years; he participated in all the expeditions. Aurelius Sextianus, his fellow soldier and heir, erected this for his comrade.¹

Introduction

Until their dissolution by Constantine in AD 312, the *cohortes praetoriae* constituted the most prestigious unit in the Imperial Roman army (Aur. Victor *Caes.* 40.25; Zosimus 2.17.2). The praetorians guarded the emperor and formed the core of his field armies. As an elite unit they accordingly received better pay and conditions than any other Roman formation, much to the chagrin of their legionary counterparts (cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 1.17). The praetorians were particularly distinguished by their length of service, accepted as 16 years before discharge, compared to the 25 or 26 years performed by the legionaries and auxiliaries. However, in AD 193 Septimius Severus disbanded the praetorian guard and reconstituted it with men drawn from the legions. Did the 16 year service requirement still apply to these men? Did legionary transfers serve only the balance of 16 years over their legionary service or a full term in the Guard? This chapter will determine the length of service expected of both legionary transfers and direct recruits to the praetorian guard in the period following AD 193. To put this in context, length of service before AD 193 is also considered particularly the occurrence of praetorians who received *honesta missio*, honourable discharge, after 16 years.

¹ *CIL* VI 2553 (Rome). First quarter of the third century.

1. Praetorian service from Augustus to the Antonines

In AD 5 Augustus increased length of service in the nine praetorian cohorts from 12 to 16 years, while legionary service was correspondingly increased from 16 to 20 years followed by a probable 5 years 'in reserve' (Dio 55.23.1; Keppie 1997: 91-2). Confirmation of this comes from Tacitus' account of the mutiny of the Rhine and Pannonian legions following the death of Augustus in 14. A major demand of the disaffected legionaries was that their service be reduced to 16 years – the same as the praetorians, and, incidentally, the maximum service under the Republic (Tacitus *Ann.* 1.17; Polybius 6.19.2).² Surprisingly, there is little clear epigraphic evidence for praetorians being discharged after 16 years during the first century. Evidence comes mainly from the gravestones of *evocati*, indicating their length of service before *evocatio*, e.g. *CIL* VI 2440 = *ILS* 2077 (but see section 1 a. below). However, the mass of evidence for 16 years' is recorded on gravestones of first and second century praetorians who died during service.³ Before the reign of Septimius Severus Roman soldiers received *missio* biennially, with discharges occurring on 'even years', e.g. AD 140, 142 etc. This meant some soldiers were liable to serve an extra *stipendium* – a year of paid service - especially if they had enlisted during an 'uneven' year (the Antonine *laterculi*, or discharge lists, clearly indicate two successive years of enlistment, *CIL* VI 32515 – 32522). There is clearer evidence for discharge after 17 years service, with at least three examples from Rome of first to early second century date (*CIL* VI 2426 = *ILS* 2025; *ILS* 2466; *ILS* 2623); but because discharges were made on 'even' years these inscriptions should also suggest a similar number of veterans who had served for 16 years. Still, funerary inscriptions attesting 16 years service are outnumbered by examples of praetorians who died *in* service with 17

² Polybius states that in emergencies legionary service could be extended to 20 years (6.19.1). Keppie (1984: 33-34) believes 16 years to be the second century BC maximum rather than the norm.

³ E.g. *CIL* VI 2585, 2587, 2589, 2660, 2686, 2715, 2766, 32682, 32709; *AE* 1983: 52; *AE* 1925: 19 (cohort XII). Stones that are taken to indicate death during service refer to the deceased as *miles* rather than *veteranus*, and there is no reference to *missio*, wives, or advanced age that might suggest service had been completed sometime before death.

stipendia (or in the course of their seventeenth *stipendium*).⁴ Therefore, the majority of epitaphs would seem to indicate that discharge after 16 or 17 years was an ideal situation in the first and early second centuries.

The gravestones of Augustan and Tiberian praetorians serving at Aquilaea in north-east Italy, record soldiers who died in their seventeenth and eighteenth year of service (*CIL* V 826, 8274 = *ILS* 2069 = *Inscr. Aq.* 2834).⁵ Another praetorian who saw service under both Augustus and Tiberius became a veteran after in AD 29 after 18 years service (*CIL* VI 2489 = *ILS* 2028). Similar service was completed by veterans in the late first to early second centuries (*CIL* VI 2584 = *ILS* 2049; *CIL* II 3180). Other gravestones from Rome show that 18 years was hardly a maximum length of service, indicating death during service with 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 years served.⁶

Evidence for discharge after 16 years is clearer for the mid-second century. In AD 148, a discharge dedication records a praetorian veteran as having enlisted aged 21 and discharged aged 37, therefore indicating 16 years service (*CIL* VI 375 = *ILS* 2104). In the following batch of discharges made in 150, seven praetorians recruited in 133 and 134 made a dedication to the *genius* of their century to celebrate their completion of service after 17 and 16 years (*CIL* VI 209 = *ILS* 2097). However, only a few years before these soldiers had enlisted a similar praetorian veteran's dedication recorded 18 years before *missio* (*CIL* VI 208 = *ILS* 2098, discharged AD 130). Another gravestone, perhaps of mid- or later second century date, might supply evidence for discharge after 16 completed *stipendia*, but, problematically, the deceased is described as *miles* and not as *veteranus* (*CIL* VI 32650; see section 2 conclusion, below).⁷

Although the Antonine *laterculi* illustrate that praetorians recruited in two successive years received *missio* at the same time (cf. *CIL* VI 209 = *ILS* 2097), the above

⁴ *CIL* VI 2538, 2675, 2710, 2743, 2748, 2796; *AE* 1966: 33; 1970: 196; 1984: 60, 61.

⁵ For the substantial praetorian presence at Aquilaea during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, see Keppie 1996: 114-16 and 2000: 319-20. The praetorian cohorts attested at Aquilaea are: coh. II (1 example); VI (3 examples); VII (3); VIII (5); VIII (1).

⁶ 18 years: *CIL* VI 2549, 2733, 2762 (cohort XI), *AE* 1976: 22 (*speculator* probably early Julio-Claudian); 19 years: *CIL* VI 2540, 2541; 20 years: *CIL* VI 2661, 2777, *AE* 1975: 764 (cohort XII); 21 years: *CIL* VI 2664; 22 years: *CIL* VI 37217.

⁷ I am increasingly convinced that the inscription is Severan in date and records death during service.

evidence could suggest that some of these ‘discharge lists’ do not always record men discharged after 16 and 17 years service (*CIL* VI 32515-32522). The dedicatory portions of these inscriptions, which would have indicated the year of discharge, are lost. Hence the dates of the lists have been projected by adding 17 years to the earliest of the two consular dates used to signify the year of the soldiers’ enlistment; thus the lists are normally dated from AD 136-172 (cf. *Eph. Ep.* VI, pp. 317-323; *CIL* VI, p. 3320). It is possible, considering the evidence for 18 years service before discharge highlighted above, that some lists could have recorded veterans with 18 and 19 years service, especially in times of military crisis. *CIL* VI 209 clearly indicates discharge after 16 and 17 years in AD 150, i.e. in the middle of the period of the datable *laterculi*, but fragments of one list from the reign of Marcus Aurelius exceptionally indicate four consecutive years of enlistment, AD 153-6 (*CIL* VI 32522). Rather than suggest a two-year delay in erecting the *laterculus* (*Eph. Ep.* VI, pp. 318-319), the list shows that the escalating Marcomannic war necessitated the retention of some praetorians for an extra two *stipendia*; those enlisted in 153 and 154 almost certainly served 19 and 18 years.⁸

1 a. Evocati

In the first to second centuries AD, praetorians are known to have become *evocati* after 18 and 19 years (*CIL* VI 2530 = *ILS* 2141; *CIL* VI 2448, 2578 = *ILS* 2143), but one gravestone indicates only 15 years served before *evocatio*, *CIL* VI 32687. The inscription dates to the later first century at the earliest (note the presence of a *cognomen* and the use of *dis manibus*). It may be that the soldier was a legionary transferred to the Guard during the civil wars of 68-70, and was not required to serve a full term in the Guard (see below), but no previous service in a legion is mentioned.

During the imperial period (*r*)*evocatio* generally lost its literal meaning of recalling a man to military service (although note *CIL* VI 2649 = *ILS* 2034; *ILS* 2312). *Evocati* were widely employed as technical advisers and training instructors in legions, and commanders of small detachments on policing and building projects (cf. E. Birley 1981: 25-29). Essentially the term *evocatus* was used to designate a pseudo-rank (or a

⁸ It is unfortunate that *CIL* VI 211, a dedication to the *genius* of the century made on discharge in 174, does not record the year of enlistment.

range of pseudo-ranks),⁹ somewhere between *beneficiarius praefecti* and *centurio*. *Evocati* held a somewhat ambiguous military status. No longer *caligati* (ordinary soldiers) but *salarii*,¹⁰ they formed a special corps (presumably attached to the Guard) and bore the special insignia of a baton similar to the centurion's *vitis* – another indication of their considerable rank (Dio 55.24.8). *Evocati* progressed directly from their status as *caligati* to *evocatio*; they did not have to receive *missio* and this may explain why a suitable man could be promoted to *evocatus* before 16 - 18 years of service. The original meaning of the word, a man recalled to service, had become blurred: if a man was thought suitable for a position requiring greater seniority and mobility than senior 'non-commissioned officer'¹¹ rank could offer, he would be made *evocatus* before the completion of a regular term of service. This certainly occurred in the third century (*CIL* VI 2482 after 14 years; VI 2658 before 18 years – see section 3). *Evocatio* was also a device that enabled the imperial army to keep talented men soldiering indefinitely.¹² Therefore, a first century *evocatus* who had served 16 years as a praetorian does not necessarily illustrate he had first completed Augustus' minimum service requirement (*CIL* VI 2440 = *ILS* 2077 - the soldier appears to have died soon after his promotion; see also *AE* 1990: 896). Centurions are often described as the professional backbone of the Roman army; the *evocati* should be considered in a similar light.

⁹ Perhaps 'proto-rank' would be a better term.

¹⁰ That is no longer in 'military boots' and paid a salary rather than a military stipend. Cf. *CIL* VI 2589 = *ILS* 2142; *CIL* VI 3419.

¹¹ Applying the modern term 'non-commissioned officer' to the Roman army is problematical. Should *centurio* always be considered the first commissioned rank? To what modern rank do we equate the *optio*, the centurion's deputy, or *beneficiarius praefecti*?

¹² In fact, one wonders whether soldiers actually had a choice in the matter of promotion to *evocatio*.

1 b. Service length influenced by civil war: the Flavians

The number of praetorian cohorts was increased from nine to twelve by Gaius or Claudius (Keppie 1996: 107-12),¹³ and in 69 Vitellius formed sixteen new milliary cohorts from his own legions and perhaps auxilia (Tacitus *Hist.* 2.93-94).¹⁴ This meant that, as victor of the civil wars of 68-70, Vespasian was faced with the problem of managing a huge number of disparate praetorians. Members of the twelve Othonian praetorian cohorts dismissed by Vitellius (cf. *Hist.* 2.67) clamoured for the restoration of their status as reward for their support of Vespasian, but the defeated Vitellian guardsmen were also stubborn in their determination to retain their exalted status (*Hist.* 4.46). Therefore elements of up to 28 praetorian cohorts had to be dealt with by Vespasian and his generals. Added to this, Flavian legionaries also expected to be rewarded by admission to the Guard. It is worth repeating here the relevant passage from Tacitus, describing how the victorious Flavian general Licinius Mucianus sought to deal with the problem in 70.

...A mutiny nearly flared up among the troops. The praetorians who had rallied to Vespasian after being dismissed by Vitellius were asking to be enrolled in their cohorts,¹⁵ and legionaries selected for the same promotion demanded the lucrative service which they had been promised. Even the Vitellian praetorians could not be got rid of without serious bloodshed. But the cost of maintaining such large numbers of men was likely to be immense. Mucianus entered the praetorian camp to form a more correct estimate of each claimants seniority, and made the victorious Flavians parade in open order bearing their proper decorations and arms. Then the Vitellians whose surrender at Bovillae I have mentioned,¹⁶ and the others who had been rounded up throughout the capital and its suburbs were led to the parade ground in

¹³ Keppie 1996: 107-112, rejects that *AE* 1978: 280 indicates an eleventh praetorian cohort under Augustus or Tiberius. Rather, he suggests that the cohort XI mentioned in the text was cohors XI urbana, the usual preceding post in the normal promotion to a praetorian cohort, here cohort III. *Contra* Letta 1978, 1986; Dobson 1983.

¹⁴ *CIL* VIII 9391 = *ILS* 2046 for a possible auxiliary transfer. *Contra* Durry 1938: 250, advocating a third century date. Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: 57, 244: not evidence of transfer from an auxiliary cohort at all.

¹⁵ Cf. *Hist.* 2.67.

¹⁶ *Hist.* 4.2.

rags. Mucianus ordered these men to be segregated and formed up into separate parties according as they came from Germany, Britain or any other garrisons... Facing them they observed what looked like an enemy battle-line with a formidable display of arms and equipment, while they saw themselves encircled, naked and bedraggled.¹⁷ But when the process of sorting out began, fear gripped all of them, and the troops from Germany were particularly terrified when they imagined that they were being picked out for execution... They appealed in turn to Mucianus, the absent emperor, and finally to heaven and the gods. In the end, Mucianus addressed them all as soldiers of the same allegiance and of the same emperor, and thus met their mistaken fears... When they heard a speech from Domitian a few days later, they had already recovered their nerve. They now refused the offer of land, and pledged for continued service and pay. This was a request – but a request which could not be gainsaid. They were therefore taken on the strength of the praetorian guard. Later those who had reached the age limit and served their time were honourably discharged, while others were got rid of for misconduct. But the men were discharged selectively and as individuals – the safest method of rendering a mass movement relatively harmless (Tacitus Hist. 4.46).¹⁸

As well as emphasising the huge cost of maintaining so many praetorians,¹⁹ the passage makes clear that the immediate discharge of so many men would have resulted in renewed fighting. Flavian policy circumvented that particular probability by gradually reducing the size of the Guard.²⁰ A recently discovered inscription seems to reveal that in the early years of Vespasian's reign at least 19 cohorts were in commission (*AE* 1995: 227), but a diploma indicates that by 76 the number of cohorts had been whittled down to the Augustan establishment of nine (*CIL* XVI 21). These nine cohorts were

¹⁷ Note the similarity to the encircling of the praetorians by Severus' Pannonians in 193 as described by Herodian (2.13.4ff), who may have used Tacitus' account as a model. See Whittaker, *Herodian*, p. 231, n. 1, for the account being entirely characteristic of the historian's love of similes and rhetoric.

¹⁸ Penguin trans. by K. Wellesley.

¹⁹ Their pay was more than three times that of the legionaries, who were still earning 225 denarii per annum at this point. With somewhere between ten and twenty thousand praetorians in existence, their pay could have financed at least six legions.

²⁰ Note Roxan 1996: 247-56 for marines from the Ravennan fleet receiving privileges, *before discharge*, in 70.

surely milliary. It is likely that the surviving Othonian and Vitellian cohorts were well under-strength and had been amalgamated with legionary transfers into full strength milliary formations. Later, it was probably Domitian who raised the number of cohorts to ten in response to his difficult Dacian wars (*CIL* XVI 81).²¹ The Guard was still organised into ten cohorts when it was finally dissolved by Constantine in 312 (confirmed by *RMD* 78 (AD 306)).²²

Returning to the Flavian Guard, it is notable that Vedennius Moderatus, a Vitellian praetorian transferred from legio XVI Gallica and retained by Vespasian, served 8 years in the Guard on top of 10 years in the legion, i.e. a total of 18 years, and receiving *missio* from cohort IX in 76 or 77:²³

CIL VI 2725 = *ILS* 2034 (Rome)

C(aius) Vedennius C(ai) f(ilius) / Qui(rina tribu) Moderatus Antio, / milit(avit) in leg(ione) XVI Gal(lica) a(nnos) X, / tran<s>lat(us) in coh(orte) IX pr(aetoriam), / in qua milit(avit) ann(os) VIII, / missus honesta mission(e), / revoc(atus) ab imp(eratore) fact(us) evoc(atus) Aug(usti), / arc<h>itect(us) armament(arii) imp(eratoris), / evoc(atus) ann(os) XXIII, / donis militarib(us) donat(us) / bis, ab divo Vesp(asiano) et / imp(eratore) Domitiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) / [---].

As we saw above in section 1, after 18 years a direct praetorian recruit could realistically expect discharge. Moderatus was soon recalled and served a further 23 years as *evocatus*. Another Vitellian transfer retained by the Flavians, Manlius

²¹ In fact, the date of *CIL* XVI 81 is uncertain, belonging either to AD 89 or 134. An increase in the size of the Guard by Domitian would compliment his German and especially Dacian wars, though the creation of cohort X could be associated with Trajan in whose reign it is attested (*CIL* XI 7093a = *ILS* 9189 (AD 120); Durry 1938: 80, n. 4).

²² *RMD* 78 refers to cohort X. Previously Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.47 had been taken to show that Diocletian had reduced the number of cohorts to nine (e.g. Durry 1938: 392). More likely, and in line with the recent practice of establishing of new miniature legions from vexillations long detached from their mother units, he transferred a large number of praetorians from Rome to his personal *comitatus*, and perhaps to those of his fellow emperors. Presumably Maxentius subsequently raised the number of the praetorians remaining in Rome.

²³ IX was probably not the number of his original praetorian cohort but that of the reorganised Flavian milliary unit.

Severus from legio XXII Primigenia, served 15 years in the Guard and survived to attain discharge (*CIL* VI 2649 = *ILS* 2035). Severus' legionary service is not recorded but we may presume this was at least two or three years. His praetorian service is notable for being one year less than the minimum Augustan requirement. Some have seen in this a special dispensation caused by his previous service (e.g. Kennedy 1978: 289-90). However, the fact that Severus was retained for almost a full term of praetorian service on top of his legionary service should be considered more exceptional (especially in relation to Tacitus *Hist.* 4.46, above).

2. Severus and the new Guard

In June AD 193 Septimius Severus disbanded the praetorian cohorts in their entirety for the murder of Pertinax and elevation of Didius Iulianus to the throne (Dio 74.1.1-2; Herodian 2.13.1ff; SHA *Sev.* 17.5; Aur. Victor *Caes.* 20.1).²⁴ Severus immediately began the reconstitution of the Guard from the best of his legionaries (Herodian 2.14.5). Dio states that henceforth the Guard was recruited exclusively from provincial legionaries in order to create an elite force, when before only 'civilised' Italians, Macedonians, Noricans and Spaniards had been permitted to enlist (74.2.3-6). Dio adds that Italians were now excluded from service, the youth of Italy consequently being forced into banditry and fighting as gladiators. The historian exaggerated. There was no bar to men from provinces other than Macedonia, Spain and Noricum joining the Guard before 193 as extant *origines* make clear. Provincials from areas such as Thrace (or of Thracian descent), Pannonia and Germany are known since the early first century (Passerini 1939: 156-59).²⁵ However, only a few years before Severus' disbanding of the Guard, a dedicatory list of praetorians - from a single century - is notable that the forty-one surviving *origines* are all Italian, and none of the surviving names reflect imperial *gentilicia* (*AE* 1933: 97; AD 186 or after). This is somewhat at odds with earlier Antonine discharge lists which had shown increasing numbers of provincials.

Dio is surely correct that Severus wished to create a new elite *fighting* force of

²⁴ There remains, however, a suspicion that the disbanding was not quite as total as Dio and Herodian report.

²⁵ More recently see *AE* 1984: 69, Col. Reii Apollinare; *AE* 1984: 68, Siscia, late first century AD.

praetorians based around an experienced core of legionary transferees for his civil war,²⁶ yet direct recruits with no prior military service certainly enlisted during his reign, from perhaps as early as 193/4 (indicated below). What Dio's statement emphasises is that Severus' reconstitution of the Guard relied mostly upon drafts from the legions that had supported him, and indicates that even direct praetorian recruits came from the same sources as the legions, i.e. provincial *canabae*, rural areas and military colonies (for legionary recruitment, see Mann 1983).²⁷ Contrary to Dio's suggestion, and against long held convention, Italians were not excluded from service in the Severan Guard: the massive influx of provincials left few chances for them to gain entry. The enlarged urban cohorts and *vigiles* still recruited predominantly in Italy, and Italians formed a substantial element in legio II Parthica.²⁸

Neither Dio nor Herodian indicates how long Severus' legionary transfers Severus were required to serve in the new Praetorian Guard. One popular theory is that transferees had to serve only the balance of their legionary service from the 16-year praetorian requirement; e.g. if a man had served 10 years as a legionary, he would serve 6 years in the Guard before discharge (Kennedy 1978: 288-96). However, other scholars of the Guard have stressed the difficulties in determining the service expected of praetorians in the third century, particularly those transferred from the legions. Durry and Passerini noted that the minimum service expected of *direct* recruits still appeared to be sixteen years, but was often exceeded (1938: 261-4; 1939: 183-91). As for legionary transferees, Passerini made a survey of 25 such men but was prepared

²⁶ The Guard had not seen active service since 180, or 184/5 at the latest.

²⁷ For the provincial composition of the third century Guard see Passerini 1939: 174 –180. Thracians (174 examples), Pannonians (169) and Moesians (98) predominate, accounting for more than two thirds of Passerini's survey (629 *origines* in total). Sizeable contingents of Africans and Numidians (40) Syrians (37), and Dacians (31) are also notable. The old recruiting areas of Spain, Macedonia and especially Noricum (32) were still represented. I only give Passerini's figures as a rough guide for the makeup of the Guard. New epigraphic finds, especially diplomas and *laterculi* (e.g. Benefiel 2001), increase annually the number and geographical spread of praetorian *origines*, but Thracians and Pannonians still dominate. For Pannonian recruits see Šašel 1972; Feldmann 1980; for Germans (not well represented in Passerini) see now Speidel & Scardigli 1990; Le Roux 1992: 261-264.

²⁸ Italian praetorians: Passerini 1939: 173, n. 2; Italians in the urban cohorts and *vigiles*: *CIL* VI 32525, 32526; Birley 1969: 64-65; legio II Parthica: Forni 1992: 120 & *AE* 1991: 1572 (Tuscia, Etruria); *AE* 1993: 1584 (Perusia).

only to stress the huge variations in their praetorian service (where surviving or indicated) rather than suggest an average length (1939: 184-198).²⁹ It is not stated, but Passerini probably noted that the majority of these 25 soldiers had not clearly received discharge but had died during service. Below I will attempt to determine the service required of both legionary transferees and direct recruits to the Severan Guard.

2 a. Kennedy's service theory

D. Kennedy attempted to calculate, from epitaphs and dedications of the Severan and post-Severan periods, the average service of legionaries transferred to the praetorian guard before discharge was granted (1978: 288-296). Kennedy wished to find a figure that could be employed in Durry's flawed formula for calculating effective cohort strength from the fragmentary Severan laterculi (cf. Durry 1938: 81ff; Kennedy 1978: 275-288):

*Mean number of soldiers discharged x average length of service x six (as in number of centuries in a cohort) = effective cohort strength.*³⁰

Kennedy realised that Durry's calculations were flawed because 16 years had been employed as the length of service – as if the new Severan praetorians were direct recruits. But these men had been transferred from legions and surely their previous legionary service affected the length of their term in the Guard. Looking at inscriptions recording the service of legionaries transferred to the Guard Kennedy made the following conclusions:

- i. that legionary transfers were “required to serve only the balance of 16 years over their service in the legions”
- ii. the average legionary service of transfers was 4 years and consequently average praetorian service was 12 years. This latter figure was applied to the calculation of

²⁹ 1) *CIL* VI 2601; 2) VI 2803; 3) VI 2785; 4) VI 2672; 5) VI 210; 6) X 532; 7) XIII 6823; 8) VIII 21021; 9) VI 2437; 10) VI 37207; 11) XIII 6824; 12) IX 1609; 13) VI 2758; 14) VI 3408; 15) VI 32540, b; 16) VI 37213; 17) VI 2673; 18) VI 2579; 19) VI 2977; 20) VI 2605; 21) VI 2697; 22) VI 2772; 23) VI 37224; 24) VI 32887; 25) VIII 9391.

³⁰ This method does not work. See chp. 2, sect. 1.

cohort strength (1978: 295-6).

However, Kennedy's conclusions were based on a selection of only sixteen inscriptions and three of these texts referred to legionary transfers of AD 69-70.³¹ Of the remaining thirteen texts Kennedy chose only to use the information from ten.³² The manner in which these texts were interpreted is open to question, and therefore the conclusions drawn from them. First, I will reconsidered the eight inscriptions as evidence of legionary transferees having to serve only the balance of 16 years, (and especially Kennedy's assertion that the majority of these record veterans). Secondly, supplementary evidence for legionary service prior transfer will be investigated to see whether Kennedy's average figure of four years legionary service before transfer stands.

1) Inscriptions attesting praetorian service after transfer from a legion

a) *CIL VI 37213 = 2294 = ILS 2044 = Kennedy 1978, no. 5 (Rome)*

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / Aur(elio) Vero mil(iti) c(o)ho(rtis) / VI pr(a)et(oriae) 7 (centuria) Blicisi, stup(endiorum) [sic] XIII, nat(ione) / Pannon(io), pede Sirmese, pago Ma/rtio, vico Budalia, q(ui) vixit an(nis) / XL, m(ensibus) III, d(iebus) XV, mil(i)t(avit) in l(egione) I Adiut/rice [sic] stup(endiorum) III. Aur(elius) Marcellus / et Aur(elius) Iustinus, Aur(elius) Florinus, Val(erius) / Avitianus et omnes com<m>anipuli sui / de re ipsius b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt) ex XL milibus.

The post-193 date of the stone is indicated by Verus' imperial *gentilicium*, probably derived from the *nomina* of Caracalla, his transfer from legio I Adiutrix and *origo* in Pannonia. The lack of *praenomina*, tribal and filiation details are characteristic of the third century. Verus' gravestone was set up by *commanipuli*, literally meaning soldiers of the same maniple but better translated as fellow-soldiers; this strongly suggests he died during service. Verus is recorded as having died aged 40. Kennedy proposed that Verus' age could actually indicate that he had completed his military service and received discharge sometime *before* death (1978: 290). There is no explicit information

³¹ Kennedy nos 1-3: *ILS* 2035, 2036, 2034.

³² Kennedy nos 4: *CIL VI* 2697; 5: *ILS* 2044; 6: *VI* 210; 7: *ILS* 2037; 8: *VI* 2785; 9: *VI* 2673; 10: *ILS* 2038; 11: *VI* 2601; 12: *VI* 32660; 13: *VI* 37207; 14: *VI* 37224; 15: *ILS* 2045; 16: *VI* 2672. The information of nos 4, 7 and 14 was discounted.

in the text to suggest this. Verus is described as *miles* not as *veteranus* and there is no reference to *honesta missio*. Veterans held a privileged position in society, and they, their families and heirs would wish to, and did, advertise the fact. Kennedy states that if Verus had died during service, he had enlisted “comparatively late in life” (1978: 90). Verus’ total service amounted to 17 years; subtracting this from his age at death would mean that he had enlisted in the army aged 22 or 23, a perfectly acceptable age for a legionary or praetorian recruit (see below, inscription ‘c’).³³ The text is notable for stating a very precise *origo*, showing the importance of ties with home and the maintenance of local identity.

b) *CIL* VI 210 = *ILS* 2103 = Kennedy 1978, no. 6 (Rome)

Pro salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum), / Herculem defensorem, / genio centyriae [sic] ex voto posuit / L(ucius) Domitius Valerianus, / domo Kapitolade, stip(endiorum) XVIII / mil(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis) 7 (centuria) Fl(avi) Caralitani. / Lectus in praetorio dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) / ex leg(ione) VI Ferrata f(ideli) c(ostante), missus honesta missione / VII idus Ianuar(ias) dd(ominis) nn(ostris) / Imp(eratoribus) Antonino Pio Aug(usto) III et / Geta nobilissimo Caesar(i) II co(n)s(ulibus).

Valerianus set up this dedication to the Emperors (Severus and Caracalla), Hercules the Defender and the *genius* of the century, on the occasion of his discharge on January 9, AD 208. The text indicates that he completed a total of 18 years service in the Guard and legio VI Ferrata. The legion had defected to Severus from Niger in the aftermath of the battle of Cyzicus (late 193 or early 194) and was awarded the titles *felix constans* (Dio 74.6.4-6; Herodian 3.2.2; see also *CIL* X 532; Ritterling *RE* XII (2) 1593). If Valerianus transferred to the Guard after the Battle of Issus (c. April 194; Dio 74.7; Her. 3.4.2-8) when Severus finally entered the Orient, he would have served just under 14 years as a praetorian when discharged. It may be that he had served an exact 13 years and was formally enlisted in the Guard in January or February 195,³⁴ after 5 years in his legion, into which he was originally recruited in January or February 190. Herodian (2.14.5) tells us that Severus began to recruit his new Guard immediately from the best of his troops in Rome in June 193, so it would seem that

³³ His age at death, the very common 40, might be the result of age rounding.

³⁴ That is when discharges were normally made and new recruits presumably enrolled.

transfers were immediately effective, whatever the time of year. Recruits were probably accepted at any time of the year in all units. There is no reason to accept Kennedy's suggestion that Valerianus' length of service was rounded up and that he actually served fewer than 18 years in total, "so that on the discharge date... he had not completed 16 years service" (1978: 90-1). Why should we doubt the information inscribed on the stone? The rounding of ages certainly did occur on military epitaphs, especially if the age of the deceased was uncertain, but these approximate guesses seem always to have ended in multiples of five (Scheidel 1996: 97ff). However, the rounding up of years of service was highly unlikely because of the extent of military record keeping, and especially as comrades would recognise any exaggeration.³⁵ Valerianus' 18 *stipendia* simply indicate 18 completed years of service, possibly 17 years in total if he had counted inclusively, but in no way was his service less than 16 years. Kennedy's only reason for doubting this is because 13 years praetorian service would be too many and contradicts with his theory of legionaries only having to serve the balance of 16 years over their legionary service.

c) *CIL* VI 2437 = *ILS* 2037 = Kennedy 1978, no. 7 (Rome)

(relief of soldier) *D(is) M(anibus). / C(aio) Maccenio Vib[io], mil(iti) coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Primitivi. Vix(it) ann(os) LV, mil(itavit) in leg(ione) X / Gem(ina) ann(os) VIII, ind(e) tral(atus) in pr(aetorium) mil(itavit) an(nos) / XIII. Ulpia Valentia co(n)iugi / karissimo b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit), cura(m) agente / demandatum fratri ex tes/tamento Maccenio Crispino / evok(ato) Aug(usti) n(ostri).*

The post-193 date is suggested by Vibius' transfer from legio X Gemina. The *nomen* of his wife, Ulpia, was probably derived from origin in a settlement established by Trajan, and indicates a date at least in the second century, but the very mention of a legal wife makes it certain that the stone dates to the reign of Septimius Severus at the earliest when soldier's marriages were recognised (probably from 197; Herodian 3.8.5; Campbell 1978; 1984: 303). That Vibius retains his *praenomen* could suggest an early third century date, and as only a single reigning emperor is recorded in the text (*Aug. n.*), he might be identified as Caracalla, Elagabalus or Severus Alexander (Vibius' service is too long to suggest the sole reign of Septimius). Further, the brief description

³⁵ Military rosters from Egypt and Dura Europos make it clear that part of a soldier's complete formal identification was his year of enlistment. Cf. Fink *RMR* 1-8. However, evidence from the Eastern Empire may not reflect the situation in the west.

of the funerary relief in the *Corpus* (vol. VI, p. 673) follows typical third century iconography. The soldier is dressed in tunic and *sagum* (rather than a *paenula* last depicted on the Arch of Severus and Gate of the Argentarii); he is bare headed, holding a shaft weapon in his right hand (here described as a *lancea* but probably a *pilum*), and a stick or staff in his left (*fustis*). He wears a belt described as a *parazonium* – probably describing a ring-buckled? This agrees with the generic style of third century praetorian funerary reliefs, and would seem to reflect exactly two other examples where the deceased holds a *fustis* (see chp. 4, sect. 2; cf. Speidel & Scardigli 1990, taf. 24; Kleiner 1987, no. 125).

The combination of Vibius' age (55) and total service (23 years) led Kennedy to suggest that he was a former *evocatus* (1978: 291). Kennedy broke down Vibius' service as follows:

Legion:	9 years	(inscr. = 9 years)
<i>Miles praet.</i> :	8/9 years	(inscr. = 14 years)
<i>Evocatus</i> :	4/5 years	(inscr. = no mention of <i>evocatio</i>)

Because of his age, Kennedy concluded that Vibius had received discharge sometime before death and was a veteran for an uncertain number of years.³⁶ Let us consider here the upper age at which a man could enter the Guard.

Vibius' deduced recruitment age of 32 (derived from age at death minus years of service) might be explained by conscription into legio X Gemina on the eve of a major campaign when units were brought up to strength and men outside of the 'usual' recruitment ages were pressed into service. Still, we should not discount the possibility that he was a volunteer. His age would not have been exceptional. Of men who enlisted in the second century Guard, Iulius Augurinus and Sempronius Flavius appear to have been *probat*i at the age of 32 (*CIL* VI 2644, 2473). Aurelius Iulianus and Aurelius Gallus, direct recruits to the third century Guard, both enlisted aged 31 (*CIL* X 1755;

³⁶ As Vibius' age ends in a multiple of five, it may be rounded or an approximate guess. We may presume that his brother was aware of his actual age and accept the figure (though compare the use of *plus minus* on *CIL* VI 2601 (see below), a stone set up by the brother of the deceased).

VI 2525).³⁷ Legionaries are known to have been recruited up to the age of 36 (Forni 1953: 27). From legio II Parthica, whose recruitment sources were the same as the Guard's, one soldier's age at death is stated as 50; the length of service is damaged but was clearly between 16 and 19 years (*CIL* VI 3375, AD 222-35). This would suggest enlistment after the age of 30, but his age may have been rounded to the nearest five.³⁸

³⁷ Iulianus' age at death is recorded as 40 and Gallus' as 45; both ages may be rounded. See Scheidel 1996: 97-99, who shows that the high recurrence of ages 25, 30, 40 and 45 at death, strongly suggests age-rounding was a common practice. However, in the general absence of skeletal remains with which to compare the age information recorded on tombstones the method of subtraction of length of service from age at death to deduce enlistment age is often the only option available to us. (Though see Walker 1985: 55-57 for the second or third century praetorian Valerius Secundus, *ILS* 2025). We are forced to trust that the age is approximately correct. Many soldiers would have died aged 25, 30, 40 etc., and where age rounding has taken place, it may only have been out by a few years rather than by five. Some soldiers may even have died older than the age on their gravestone suggests. Unfortunately we must also be wary of ages not ending in multiples of five; some could still be approximate guesses or simply false. At enlistment recruits may have been given an approximate age if they themselves were uncertain, and this was not necessarily limited to ages ending in multiples of five (compare *P.Oxy.* 1022 = Fink *RMR* 87). On some epitaphs the rather precise supplementary number of months and days (and even hours) lived might have been calculated from date of enlistment, or from the start of the new year, rather than from date of birth. The number of hours lived was presumably reckoned as the number of hours the dying person survived from daybreak until death. One scholar is of the opinion that "ages of death recorded on tombstones are entirely worthless as demographic evidence," see M. Crawford, 'Population, Roman', *OCD* (3), 1223. This is borne out by some inscriptions but not others. For example, one praetorian buried by his wife died aged 35 *plus minus*; this suggests that his wife, and possibly the deceased man himself, was unaware of his exact age (*CIL* VI 37207). On the other hand some epitaphs are extremely precise (*CIL* VI 37242): *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / Clodiae Se/cundae coniug(i) dulcissimae et bene / merenti, quae vixit an(nis) / XXV, men(sibus) X, dieb(us) XIII, in / coniugio mecum fuit si/ne querella an(nis) VII, m(ensibus) III, / dieb(us) XVIII, L(ucius) Caelius Flo/rentinus 7 (centurio) coh(ortis) X / urb(anae) posuit. / Nat(a) Mamertino et Rufo co(n)s(ulibus) pri(die) non(as) / Aug(ustas) [4 Aug. 182], def(uncta) (ante diem) XV kal(endas) Iul(ias) Aspro et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus) [17 Jun. 207]. Note *ILS* 7531 as evidence for noting date of birth. See also Scheidel 2001.*

³⁸ Most recruits to the legion seem to have been aged 18 to 22, with 18 rather than 20 the peak enrollment age, but the results are suspect because of the common occurrence of 40 as the age at death. For example, Albanum: *CIL* VI 3367-3410; 32876-32879; 37261-37264.

A more reliable II Parthica epitaph records that a legionary who died at Cyrrhus in Syria during the Persian expedition of Severus Alexander was aged 54 with 22 years service; simple subtraction of his service from his age means that he enlisted aged 32 (*CIL* III 187 = *IGLS* 1372). Auxiliary recruits older than this are evident. In the first century AD recruits aged 37 and 42 have been identified, possibly the result of emergency levies (*CIL* XIII 7513; XIII 8314, aged 60 at death, referred to as *miles* with 18 *stipendia*; Holder 1980: 123-124). The maximum upper age of recruitment in the Imperial period has been taken as 35 (e.g. Davies 1969: 211), but the source on which this is based indicates only that recruits aged below 35 were preferred, and that men above this age, especially in emergencies, would not be exempt from service.³⁹ Indeed, a praetorian epitaph of third century date suggests one soldier might have enlisted (or had been conscripted) at some point in his early forties (*CIL* VI 2534 = *ILS* 2050).

We should not discount the possibility that Vibius was a volunteer. His age could indicate dissatisfaction with a previous career or lack of employment before enlistment. There may have been deliberate measures by the Imperial army to recruit older men to provide a leavening of maturity amongst the younger recruits (note SHA *Had.* 10.6-7).⁴⁰ Older men may have received more pay than younger recruits (note Dio 78.36.1-2, on Macrinus' military pay policy).

Apamea: *AE* 1991: 1572; 1993: 1571-1588.

³⁹ Dio 56.23.1ff on the situation following the Illyrian revolt and Varian disaster: ...*And when no men of military age showed a willingness to be enrolled, he [Augustus] made them draw lots, depriving of his property and disfranchising every fifth man of those still under thirty-five and every tenth man among those who had passed that age... He chose by lot as many as he could of those who had already completed their term of service* [Loeb trans.]. Livy (22.11) indicates that of troops levied from Rome in 217 BC, those aged under 35 served with the fleet, whilst those over 35 garrisoned the city. Under the Republic all citizens aged 17 to 46 could be called up for field service (Gellius 10.28.1). Polybius states that a citizen was expected to perform ten years as an *eques* or sixteen as an infantryman before the age of 46 (6.19.1). In the 'Servian system' Livy says that in each of the five age-classes, those aged over 46 (*seniores*) were required to defend Rome in the event of war (1.46).

⁴⁰ Vegetius states that adolescents made the best recruits (1.4). Scheidel estimates that a legion of 5000 men would suffer 55 % manpower loss over 25 years (about 40 % mortality and c. 15 % loss through injury etc.), and consequently require 280 recruits a year (Scheidel 1996: 117-124; for his method see chp. 2, sect. 1). Alston estimates 250 recruits a year for a

Since we have established that Vibius *could* have enlisted in his thirties, the inscription offers no other evidence than to suggest that he was a veteran or *evocatus*. He is described only as *miles*; he is not given the rank/status of *evocatus* and there is no reason to cull four or five years from his praetorian service and assign it to *evocatio*. Most *evocati* continued in service until death, meaning that examples of ex-*evocati* are rare. It has been estimated that only 12.5 % of these men actually became centurions, with the majority being retained for years because of their training skills and usefulness in commanding small detachments in Italy and the provinces on policing, construction projects and other duties (E. Birley 1981: 25-29).⁴¹ If Vibius had been an *evocatus* or veteran the stone would have indicated this greater status. His status as *miles* combined with his depiction in full military attire on the grave relief further emphasises that he died during service. Gravestone reliefs of third century praetorian veterans are rare, but surviving examples show them in civilian attire emphasising their successful completion of service and elevated position in society (Kleiner 1987, no. 121 (*CIL* VI 2488); no. 124 (VI 2671), both wear togas; compare Franzoni 1987, no. 45 (*CIL* XI 839); no. 46 (*CIL* XI 837)).⁴²

In his final conclusions Kennedy chose not to employ Vibius' length of service in his calculation of average service, declaring that the stone was probably corrupt, though he does not indicate why (1978: 296).

d) *CIL* VI 2673 = Kennedy 1978, no. 9 (Rome)

[--- T]ertio b(ene)f(iciario) praef(ecti praetorio) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / [---], vix(it) ann(is) XLV, dieb(us) VII, mil(itavit) in leg(ione) / [VII Cl]aud(ia) ann(is) V inde tral(atus) in pr(aetorium) / [mil(itavit)] ann(is) XIII.

legion suffering 60 % manpower loss, but he does not make his method clear (Alston 1995: 45).

⁴¹ *Evocati* were no longer *caligati* but they had not received discharge. A rare example of an *evocatus* who had achieved discharge comes from Ostia. Unfortunately his service is not recorded. *CIL* XIV 219: C. Iul. Maxim[us] / vet. ex evok. / C. Iul. Marcelli/nus et Eusebi/us alum. b. m. fe/cerunt. Note also *AE* 1937: 195: [L]ibero pat(ri) et Libe[rae] Iul. Iulianus vet(eranus) ex [ev]ok(ato) v. s. l. m. See also *CIL* VI 32660 = text 'g', below.

⁴² Veterans could of course be shown with panoply (e.g. Franzoni 1987, no. 3), but the key point here is that the accompanying inscriptions stress that the deceased was a veteran.

Natione Pann(onia) / [inferiore(?)]. Aur(elius) Quintus frater et Aur(elia) / [----]a soror heredes et Iul(ia) Matr(i) / [----]onia co(n)iugi carissimo, b(ene) m(erenti) / [fece]runt.

A post-193 date is indicated by the imperial *gentilicium* Aurelius, Tertius' origin, transfer from a legion and the fact that he was married.

Subtracting Tertius' total service of 19 years from his age would suggest he enlisted in legio VII Claudia aged 26.⁴³ Kennedy considered 26 too old for a realistic enlistment age, stating that most recruits were aged between 18 and 22, so making it probable that Tertius had been a veteran for some time (1978: 292). That is most unlikely. As we have seen, men enlisted well into their thirties and recruits in their mid to late twenties are also evident.⁴⁴ For example, Iulius Salutaris also entered the third century Guard aged 26 (*CIL* VI 2682)⁴⁵ and Aurelius Titus aged about 25 (*AE* 1914: 253); there are many examples of third century praetorians with the deduced enlistment age of 24.⁴⁶ A legionary of II Parthica, whose soldiers came from the same recruiting grounds as the Guard, appears to have enlisted aged 26, and he was hardly the legion's oldest recruit (*CIL* VI 3404, AD 222-35). Scheidel has concluded that the enlistment age of praetorian recruits in the first three centuries AD peaked at age 19 (1996: 111ff). Using Scheidel's figures for the percentage of soldiers whose age at death ends in multiples of five (i.e. are potentially rounded), and those whose age does not end in multiples of five, the combined averages would suggest 80 % of recruits were aged between 17 and 23, whilst recruits aged between 24 and 32 accounted for about 14 %

⁴³ Tertius' gravestone was set up by his wife, brother and sister and presumably his age is correct – note the recording of days as well as years - or at least approximately so rather than a complete guess, despite being the oft-seen 45, with its suspicions of age-rounding. See Scheidel 1996: 99, fig. 3.1.

⁴⁴ Deduced enlistment age 27: *CIL* VI 2735, 2742; age 30: Speidel & Scadigli 1990: 201 = *AE* 1990: 752; *CIL* VI 2461, 2566; *ILS* 9072. I have not yet found any post-193 examples for enlistment ages 28-29.

⁴⁵ Perhaps also *CIL* VI 3424.

⁴⁶ For example, *CIL* VI 2446; 2486; 2730; 32671; 37224; VIII 21021; IX 1424; *AE* 1980: 141.

(based on the figures summarised in table 3.7, p. 113). The remaining 6 % account for recruits aged between 13 and 15, and those older than 32.⁴⁷

Tertius is recorded as *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio*. It is clear from other careers that men of this rank were automatically made *evocati* on completion of their ordinary praetorian service, with many progressing to the centurionate (Breeze 1974: 246-257). This is confirmed by the absence of *beneficarii praefecti* on the *laterculi*. A very rare example of a third century *beneficiarius praefecti* on a *laterculus* of the urban cohorts dating to 204 (*CIL* VI 32523, b, II, 19). This soldier obviously preferred to retire after his 20 or 21 years service rather than continue soldiering indefinitely. Therefore, it is most probable that Tertius died as *beneficiarius*, rather than deny himself a chance at the centurionate and perhaps tribunates beyond. Attaining the penultimate 'NCO' rank in the Guard indicates Tertius' ability and, more importantly, his literacy and education. His occupation before enlistment in the army is debatable (he may have been conscripted), but it should be remembered that for educated men the army was seen as a viable career with good pay and security and the possibility of promotion to high rank. One could cite the example of the future emperor Pertinax, who when dismayed with a teaching career sought a centurion's commission (*SHA Pert.* 1.5).

If Tertius was a veteran the stone would have stated this fact, or at least made reference to his receipt of *honesta missio*. Even if he were described as *ex beneficiario* this would only indicate removal from the unit by death, not that he had died sometime after discharge. Tertius was buried by his family, clearly resident in or near Rome. The absence of reference to *commanipuli* does not further any argument for Tertius being a veteran. Many other serving soldiers were buried by their families (e.g. *CIL* VI 2431, 2453 etc.). Kennedy points out that Tertius' service may have been as little as 17 years, "the 5 and 14 should be regarded as 'in his 5th' and 'in his 14th year'" (1978: 292). Again, why should we doubt the information? I would still read the text as 'he served in the Claudian legion for five years... *in praetorio* for fourteen years', making for 18 to 19 years' service. It is unclear for how much longer Tertius would have had to wait before *evocatio*, but Aelius Emeritus, a direct recruit to the third century

⁴⁷ Holder concluded that 75 % of auxiliary recruits in the first century were aged 18 to 25 (1980: 123-124). For legionaries of the first three centuries AD, Forni found 75 % were aged between 18 and 23 at enlistment (1953: 26-27), generally confirmed by Scheidel (1996: 99ff), with both showing that enlistment peaked at age 20.

Guard, became *evocatus* after 14 years and, incidentally, had enlisted aged 26 or 27 (*CIL* VI 2482). Emeritus is the most rapid example of a third century praetorian made *evocatus*. His case may be exceptional and he survived only three months in the rank (cf. section 1 a., above)

e) *CIL* VIII 21021 = *ILS* 2038 = Kennedy 1978, no. 10 (Caesarea, Mauretania Caesariensis)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / Aurelius Vincentius, / miles coh(ortis) / tertiae praetoria(e), / centuria Maximini. Militavit in legione / undecima Claudia / annis V, / in praetoria annis / XI, vixit annis XL, / civis Trax. Memoria(m) fecerunt / cives de rebus / ipsius bene / merenti (relief of Vincentius in military attire)

On the basis of the stone's provenance in Mauretania, Kennedy suggested that it could show Vincentius' place of settlement after discharge (1978: 292). However, there is no information to indicate that Vincentius had received discharge. Vincentius is not called *veteranus* and there is no reference to *missio*. Praetorian veterans tended either to remain in Rome or Italy (e.g. *CIL* VI 2488, 2579, 2642, 2671), or return to their place of origin (Roxan 1981: 269-273). Originally recruited to legio XI Claudia, we would have expected Vincentius to return to Moesia or Thrace. Almost certainly, he died in Caesarea whilst the Guard was in the region, some advocating connection with Maximian's campaign in 297 (e.g. Durry 1938: 392); Passerini suggested that the stone be linked to Septimius Severus' African operations of 202-3 (1939: 185-6). The text as reproduced in the Corpus and by Dessau does not immediately suggest a late third century date. The stone is clearly third century by Vincentius' *nomen*, *origo* and transfer from the legion, but neither the legion nor the Guard is given honorary titles to aid the dating. The gravestone carries a relief of Vincentius in military attire that would help the dating, but I have not seen it. Perhaps the relief and the style of lettering date the stone to the close of the century. The text is notable for its lack of abbreviations, it does not use numerals for the unit numbers, and there is no *centuria* symbol. But an imperial campaign need not have required a praetorian presence in Mauretania. A number of praetorian detachments performed policing duties in Africa and Numidia during the third century (cf. Le Bohec 1989: 485). We know of praetorian *stationes* near Utica (*CIL* VIII 25438 = *ILS* 9072 = *ILTun.* 1198), and at Rusicade, where one soldier had apparently seen nine years of service when he set up a dedication to Claudius Gothicus (*ILS* 9073 = *ILAlg* II, 8; AD 268-70). The presence of

a detachment of cohort VI is attested at Thysdrus during the reign of Severus Alexander (*AE* 1908: 157). Kennedy makes no reference to the fact, but Vincentius' memorial was set up by the citizens of Caesarea. This need not indicate his place of settlement after discharge, but rather a token of esteem from the local populace for the policing duties he performed; the Roman empire had no regular police forces. Vincentius died during service and therefore cannot illustrate that legionary transfers served only the balance of 16 years over their service in the legions.

f) *CIL* VI 2601 = *ILS* 2055 = Kennedy 1978, no. 11 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elio) Bito, eq(uiti) co(ho)r(tis) VI pr(aetoriae), / natione T(h)rax, civ[i]s Filopo/pulitanus, (vixit) an(nos) p(lus) m(inus) XXXV, qui / mil(itavit) an(nos) XVII sic: in legione I It/alica an(nos) II, in co(ho)r(te) II pr(a)et(oria) / munifex an(nos) XIII, factus / eq(ues) mil(itavit) menses n(umero) X. Fratri / dignissimo Val(erius) Aulusa/nus pr(a)et(orianus) incomparabili.

Bitus' (or Bito's) *nomen*, *origo* and transfer indicate the third century date. When he died, Bitus had not quite served fifteen years in the Guard. As he served only ten months as *eques*, this almost certainly means that he died during service before completing another *stipendium* and therefore stresses the reliability of the service information. Having finally gained a promotion it is unlikely that he was anticipating discharge (cf. Breeze 1974: 246-57). Kennedy states that the inscription does not allow us to determine whether Bitus died in service (1978: 293), but the combination of precise length of service, description as *eques*, not *veteranus*, and without reference to *missio*, clearly shows that he still served at time of death. Note the uncertainty over Bitus' age as indicated by the use of *plus minus*, even though his 'brother', another serving praetorian, set up the stone. The brothers have different *nomina*. This could suggest they were given them on enlistment, but it is also possible that 'frater' is used in the sense of a close comrade.

g) *CIL* VI 32660 = 2772 = Kennedy 1978, no. 12 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / Aur(elio) Mestro / ex evok(ato) qui mil(itavit) in l(egione) / an(nos) VI, in cast(ris) praet(oriis) an(nis) / XXI, nat(us) vico Bilicost(a?) / reg(ione) Pautaliense, / q(ui) v(ixit) ann(is) XXXVI, m(ensibus) II, h(ora) I. / Aur(elius) Vitupaus vet(eranus) fratri / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The third century date is indicated by the imperial *gentilicium* Aurelius, transfer from a legion and *origo* in Pautalia. The legion could have been IV Flavia or VII Claudia in Upper Moesia, though Mestrus' might have served in any of the Danube legions (cf. Forni 1992: 116ff). Mestrus' age on the stone reads XXXVI, but, considering he was *ex evocato*, it should be emended to XXXXVI, rather than alter the length of service.⁴⁸ Kennedy (1978: 293) emends the service to 11-12 years for time as praetorian *miles*, yet still this would make his service before *evocatio* a total of 17 or 18 years, i.e. more than 16 years. Kennedy further proposes that Mestrus served four to five years as *evocatus* before discharge, making for a maximum service of 23 rather than 28 years. But such a breakdown of the service information is not to be found in the text: the use of *militavit... in cast. praet.* clearly means time as both praetorian *miles* and *evocatus*. It is pointless to emend the service length just to indicate time as an ordinary praetorian.⁴⁹ A man might be made *evocatus* after eleven years in the Guard, but the shortest length of service known in the third century before *evocatio* is 14 years (*CIL* VI 2482 - a direct recruit). Unfortunately very few inscriptions indicate service as praetorian and *evocatus* separately, but we know that Aurelius Iulianus served 19-20 years before *evocatio*, serving a further 9 years before death (*CIL* VI 3419). The total service of Valerius Iulianus as praetorian and *evocatus* is recorded as the very precise 17 years, 8 months and 23 days (*CIL* VI 2658); i.e. only slightly longer than the minimum service expected of a first to second century praetorian, but he may not have been *evocatus* for very long.⁵⁰ Other third century *evocati* served not less than a total of 19 years (e.g. *CIL* VI 3411). Mestrus' service is therefore perfectly acceptable for a third century *evocatus* and emphasises that his age is the suspect element in the

⁴⁸ Is it possible that on some epitaphs ages were deliberately reduced to give the impression that the deceased had accomplished much in a short time and advanced further than his peers? I have already indicated that most *stipendia* read on stones should be correct from the existence of military records and the knowledge of comrades, unless the stonecutter made a mistake; but age is another issue. Mestrus' age is quite precise with months and days also indicated. If a further decade were added, his deduced enlistment age would be a very acceptable 18.

⁴⁹ If Mestrus died aged 36, then Kennedy's proposed total service would have him enlisting in the legion aged between 13 and 15. Such young recruits are known but would have accounted for less than 4 % of legionary recruits. Calculated from Forni 1953: 27; Scheidel 1995: 110, table 3.5.

⁵⁰ Note that both Iuliani were direct recruits.

text.

Mestrus was *ex evokato* and his brother a *veteranus*. Kennedy seems to interpret the use of *ex* as meaning Mestrus had completed his military service before death. It need not show this, just that death took him from service.⁵¹ The text cannot be made to show that Mestrus served the balance of 16 years over his legionary service.

h) *CIL VI 37224* = Kennedy 1978, no. 14 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / Val(erius) Pat<e>rnianus⁵² mi/lix [sic] coh(ortis) X prae[t(oriae)] 7 (centuria) Boni, qui / vixit annis XL m(ensibus) III, / dies [sic] X, militavit in le/gione annis XI, in prae/tor[i]am [sic] ann(is) V et m(ensibus) V, / natione Pannonica / pag(i) Traiani. Val(erius) Ve/recundus et Iul(ius) Pris/cianus (h)eredes huius / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).⁵³

The third century date is suggested by the poor quality of the Latin, the lack of *praenomina*, Paternianus' Pannonian *origo* and transfer from a legion. Depending on location of Pagus Traianus in Pannonia, the unspecified legion was one of the following: X Gemina, XIV Gemina, I Adiutrix or II Adiutrix.

Paternianus' age at death is the suspiciously recurrent 40, but is accompanied by a number of months and days that may indicate its accuracy. However, the quality of the Latin is very poor and his rather precise age may simply reflect the time of year he died, perhaps during March; i.e. it was calculated from the start of the year. If we do subtract Paternianus' total service of 16 years and 5 months from his apparent age, he possibly enlisted in the legion aged about 23, i.e. in the most prominent range of enlistment ages of 17 to 23. Again, there is nothing in the text to indicate that Paternianus had completed his service; he is called *miles* and his praetorian service would seem to indicate he died almost half way through another *stipendium* (potentially indicating death sometime in May rather than March as suggested above). Of course, Paternianus' *stipendia* are attractive to Kennedy's theory of the service required of transfers: he argued that Paternianus "because of his age at death and his

⁵¹ Compare *CIL XIV 219* and *AE 1937: 195* describing the deceased as, ...*vet(eranus) ex evok(ato)*.

⁵² The stone reads *Patprnianus*, presumably a stonecutter's error.

⁵³ The text in the Corpus restores the praetorian service to *annu(m) et m(enses) V*.

burial by his heirs rather than *commanipuli*, it is probable that he had already been discharged,” (1978: 294). As we have seen, if correct or approximately so, Paternianus’ age supports death during service. If Paternianus was a veteran, the stone would have indicated this superior status, and the fact that he was buried by heirs rather than *commanipuli* is a poor evidence to suggest he was a veteran. There are many examples of third century praetorians who died during service and were buried by *heredes*.⁵⁴ A most obvious example of praetorians buried by *heredes* rather than *commanipuli* is the gravestone commemorating at least three soldiers who were killed during Maximinus’ siege of Aquileia in 238 (*AE* 1946: 183 = *Inscr. Aq.* 2825; Herodian 8.2.2-5.9). It is not an absolute rule that serving soldiers had to be buried by fellow soldiers, nor is it an absolute rule that fellow soldiers should be described as *commanipuli*.

* * *

Only one of Kennedy’s select inscriptions recording both legionary and praetorian service, inscr. ‘b’ (*CIL* VI 210 = *ILS* 2044), clearly indicates a praetorian who survived to reach discharge. He stresses that none of the inscriptions “strike a discordant note” (1978: 295); yet as we have seen he ignores the information of text ‘c’ (*CIL* VI 2437 = *ILS* 2037), whilst giving no clear reason why (“probably corrupt”). His treatment of each of the eight inscriptions is suspect. Essentially Kennedy attempts to argue from age at death, deduced age at enlistment, place of commemoration and the status of those who erected the gravestones, that a man recorded as *miles* could actually be a veteran. His need to extract certain information from the stones conveniently ignores the fact that Roman soldiers desired to impress rank and status via their dedications and epitaphs: if a man were either a veteran or an *evocatus*, this information would be proudly displayed on the stone. Self-advertisement was a key feature of Roman funerary monuments. In all the volumes of *CIL* VI, from almost five hundred praetorian epitaphs and dedications contained there, I can find only one possible example of a praetorian who was perhaps a veteran but is described as *miles* (*CIL* VI 32650 = 2496).⁵⁵ Not one of the above inscriptions can support Kennedy’s

⁵⁴ A few examples: *AE* 1980: 141; *CIL* VI 2678; VI 2712.

⁵⁵ *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Iulio Senecae mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) III pr(aetoriae) / 7 (centuria) Cassi, stupendorum XVI, Aelia / Iucunda coiugi incomparavili [sic] / [q]ui vixit annis cum eo XXIII et / [Iul(ia)] Verecunda patri piissi[mo / ---]um bene merenti / [---]...* As Seneca

theory that legionary transferees to the Severan Guard had only to serve the balance of sixteen years over their legionary service.

2a. Average length of legionary service before transfer to the Guard

Before investigating evidence for the length of service in the Severan Guard for transfers and direct recruits, let us briefly consider Kennedy's conclusions on length of legionary service before transfer to the Guard. The following five soldiers all clearly died during service but were useful to Kennedy because their legionary service was evident. If taken with inscriptions a-h, above, they could suggest a mean length of legionary service before transfer, which could be subtracted from 16 years to indicate an average term of praetorian service (1978: 293-296):

i) *CIL* VI 2785 = Kennedy 1978, no. 9

Aurelius Tertius	legio I Italica – 4 years
	Guard – 2 years

j) *CIL* VI 2672 = Kennedy 1978, no. 16

Aurelius Saturninus	legio II Italica – 6 years
	Guard – lost

k) *CIL* VI 37207 = Kennedy 1978, no. 13

was married with a daughter, his service length could suggest that he was a pre-193 praetorian who had received discharge, got married and raised a family. His wife's *nomen*, Aelia, specifies a date from the reigns of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. However, Seneca is called *miles*. His centurion Cassius may be identified with Cassius Verus, also centurion of cohort III during the first half of the third century (*CIL* VI 2512). Therefore Seneca may be a Severan praetorian who was married before enlistment and died during service as suggested by his designation as *miles* rather than veteran. His wife may only have been formally recognised when he enlisted with the inscription commemorating their *total* number of years together. *CIL* VI 2534 = *ILS* 2050, another inscription that could possibly suggest a veteran being styled as *miles*, probably records an *evocatus* even though he is styled as *miles*.

Valerius Ursianus legio X Gemina – 5 years
Guard – 4 years

l) *CIL* VI 2795 = *ILS* 2045 = Kennedy 1978, no. 15 (end 3rd – start 4th cent.)

Valerius Tertius *legio Mesiaca* – 5 years
lanciaris – 11 years
Guard – lost

m) *CIL* VI 2697 = Kennedy 1978, no. 4

Aurelius Tertius legion – 10 years
Guard & *evocatio* – 25 years⁵⁶

Taking the information from ten of these thirteen inscriptions (inscrs. a,b,d-g,i-l, above) Kennedy calculated that mean legionary service before transfer was 4.4 years.⁵⁷ Subtracting this from 16 he settled upon 12 years as the average praetorian service length to use in the calculation of praetorian strength (1978: 295-6). Kennedy rejected the information from a number of inscriptions: *CIL* VI 37224 (= ‘h’) indicating 11 years in an unspecified legion was “so much greater [in length than the other examples] that it probably reflects an irregular situation” (1978: 296). However, another praetorian was transferred in 194 after 12 years in a legion (*CIL* VI 32887). The *campidoctor* Aurelius Tertius who had served 10 years in an unnamed legion was also excluded as “a special case” (*CIL* VI 2697 = ‘m’; Kennedy 1978: 295-6); Maccenius Vibius who had served 9 years in legio X Gemina, was excluded as “corrupt” (*CIL* VI 2437 = ‘c’; 1978: 295-6). Kennedy does not indicate why these examples are corrupt or special cases. There are a number of other inscriptions on which the legionary *stipendia* of post AD 193 transferees survives:

n) *CIL* VI 2977 = *ILS* 2173

Aurelius Augustianus *exceptor* – 4 years⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Tertius clearly died during service. He was the *campidoctor* of cohort IX.

⁵⁷ a – 3 years; b – 4; d – 5; e – 5; f – 2; g – 6; i – 4; j – 6; k – 5; l – 5. In total the legionary service amounts to 45; dividing by the 10 examples results in an average of 4.5 years before transfer. Kennedy will have applied 3 years to inscription ‘b’, cf. 1978: 291, making for 4.4 years.

⁵⁸ Perhaps originally a recruit to legio IV Flavia or VII Claudia.

Guard – 5 years
Centurion – 8 years

o) *CIL* IX 1609:

Florus legio XIII Gemina – 5 years
Guard - 13-17 years

p) *CIL* XIII 6824 = *AE* 1940: 117:

Aurelius Germanus legio XIII Gemina – 6 years
Guard – 6 years?

q) *CIL* VI 32887:

Unknown legion – 12 years
Guard - lost

[Addendum: *CIL* VI 32943 = *ILS* 2782 (late 3rd-early 4th century): Martinus: legio I Minervia – 5 years; legio XI Claudia – 4 years; *lanciarus* – 5 years; praetorians or *protectores* – 5 years.]

If we take the legionary service of all seventeen men (a-q) the average length before transfer is exactly 6 years.⁵⁹

However, rather than calculate a ‘mean length’ of legionary service before transfer would it not be simpler to emphasise that the *current* epigraphic evidence indicates that legionaries could be transferred to the Severan or later third century Guard after as little as two years (*CIL* VI 2785 = ‘f’), or half way through service (12 years; *CIL* VI 32887 = ‘q’). Transfer to the Guard would have also occurred near the end of legionary service. Pannonian legionaries, especially of legio I Adiutrix, who had served under Pertinax in the Marcomannic and Sarmatian wars, marched with Severus on

⁵⁹ a – 3 years; b – 4; c- 9; d – 5; e – 5; f – 2; g – 6; h – 11; i – 4; j – 6; k – 5; l – 5; m – 10; n – 4; o – 5; p – 6; q – 12. In total the legionary service amounts to 102; divided by the 17 examples results in an average of 6 years before transfer. It should be remembered that text ‘e’ is possibly late third century and text ‘l’ is definitely late third century, but Kennedy applies the service information to the Severan period.

Rome in 193. With Severus posing as Pertinax's avenger a number of these older soldiers were surely adlected into the new Guard (cf. A. Birley 1988: 66-7).

Conclusion to section 2

We have seen how none of the texts in section 2a show that transfers were required to serve only the balance of 16 years over their legionary service. There is no justification for subtracting a mean length of legionary service from 16 years to gain an average length of praetorian service in the third century. The evidence is limited but indicates that at almost any stage of his legionary career a soldier might either apply for transfer or win it. What is more, because the Severan *laterculi* record the veterans of what was essentially a new unit, their number is disproportionately high in comparison to a long established unit, and using the Dury's erroneous cohort strength formula only produces exaggerated results (see chp. 2, sect. 1).

The only incontrovertible piece of service information to emerge from Kennedy's survey is that one legionary transferred to the Severan Guard, Domitius Valerianus, inscr. 'b', was honourably discharged after 14 years. Valerianus' praetorian service was less than the minimum Augustan requirement of 16 years, but only by two years, and his total service of 18 years reflects the service after which a later Augustan or Tiberian praetorian might realistically have expected discharge (e.g. *CIL* VI 2489 = *ILS* 2028, AD 29).

3. What was the length of Praetorian service in the third century?

Could the 18 years served by Domitius Valerianus be indicative of the service expected of other third century praetorians? There are a small number of epitaphs and dedications dating to the third century that reveal the service of veterans and long-

serving praetorian. They could allow us to propose the minimum length of service imposed by Severus on legionary transferees and direct recruits to the Guard.

The extensive career of Florus suggests two possibilities. He began his career in a legion, was transferred to the Guard and subsequently promoted to various centurionates:

CIL IX 1609 (Beneventum), after AD 240

... f(ilius) Ulp(ia tribu) Florus / [Sarmiz]egethusa, mil(es) fac/[tus in leg(ione) XII]I Gem(ina) [p(ia) f(ideli)], Severo et / [Victorino co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 200)], translatus in / [coh(ortem) ... praetor(iam)] Antonino II co(n)s(ulibus) (205), / [factus prin]cipalis in coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta), / [Pompiano et Avit]o co(n)s(ulibus) (209), promo/[tus tess(erarius in] coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta), Antonino III / [et Balbino co(n)s(ulibus) (213), fac]tus optio in coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta), / [Messalla et Sabi]no co(n)s(ulibus) (214), factus sig/[nifer, Laet]o et Ceriale co(n)s(ulibus) (215), / [factus antistes ab imp(erator)] Antonino aedis sa/[crae, Praesente et Extr]icato co(n)s(ulibus) (217). Factus / [7 (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII Prim(igeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) Mo]contiaci, Ant[oni]no IIII / [Oclatinio Adven]to co(n)s(ulibus) (218); translat/[us in coh(ortem) ... pr(aetoriam), Gord[iano imp(eratore) pio et Pon/]tiano co(n)s(ulibus) (238), factus CCC (trecenarius) in] cohorte III praetor/[ia, Sabino et Ven]u(s)to co(n)s(ulibus) (240), fact/[us centurio in legione ---]

The text is fragmentary and the consular date of Florus' promotion to a centurionate in legio XXII Primigenia has been restored as either AD 218 as above (Domaszewski–Dobson 1967: 251), or 222 (Breeze 1974: 249, n. 11).⁶⁰ If we accept Domaszewski's restoration then Florus' service in the legion and the Guard totalled 18 years. We should recall at this point that the only secure example of a praetorian veteran to emerge from Kennedy's survey was Domitius Valerianus who received his discharge after a total of 18 *stipendia* (*CIL VI 210 = ILS 2103*). If we take 222 as the date of promotion to XXII Primigenia, Florus would have served 17 years in the Guard, i.e.

⁶⁰ The stone actually reads *ANTVNO IIII*. Breeze suggests *Antonino IIII [et August]to cos = AD 222*. The restoration of the consular date as *Antonino IIII et Augusto* seems tenuous but it at least explains the numbering of the consulships accorded to the emperor. See *CIL III 3384 = ILS 4232 = Fitz 1983, no. 170* for *Antonino IIII cos*, but it is unclear if the year referred to is 213 or 222.

the equivalent of the ideal full term in the pre-Severan Guard, on top of the 5 years in XIII Gemina.

Florus and Valerianus were legionary transferees and it is interesting to note that their combined legionary and praetorian service of 18 years is reflected by that of the following direct recruit to the Severan Guard:

CIL VI 2579 (Rome), AD 218-222

[---] *C(ai) f(ilius) Ulpia Poetovio/ne, C(aius) Iulius Iulianus, / vet(eranus) Aug(usti), vix(it) ann(is) / XXXVIII, m(ense) I, d(iebus) III, / milit(avit) ann(os) XVIII in / coh(orte) V pr(aetoria) p(ia) v(indice) 7 (centuria) Gratili/ani. C(aius) Iulius Glaus [sic?], / mil(es) leg(ionis) II Parthic(a)e An/toninian(a)e p(iae) f(idelis) f(elicis) (a)eter/n(a)e, C(aius) Iulius T[...] mil(es) coh(ortis) XII / urb(anae), fratres et C(aius) An/tonius Ripanus vet(e)ra/nus (h)eredes bene mer(enti) / curaverunt.*

As no previous service in a legion or other unit is mentioned, it is clear that Iulianus was a direct recruit to the Guard and his 18 *stipendia* refer to praetorian service alone. His brother served in legio II Parthica, its honorific imperial title *Antoniniana* applicable to either Caracalla or Elagabalus. Fitz argued that the title was not granted to the legion by Caracalla until 216 and that it was subsequently renewed by Elagabalus (1983: 76, 81-3). It is unclear which emperor granted the supplementary titles *pia fides felix aeterna*, though they seem to apply best to the legion's support of Elagabalus against Macrinus.⁶¹ If Fitz was correct in the dating of the grant of *Antoniniana*, it was made whilst the legion was campaigning in the east. Unless Iulius 'Glaus' (= Glaucus or Gaius?) was among the *remansores* left to man the castra Albana, the location of the epitaph should date it to no earlier than mid-late 219 when the City units had returned from the East (cf. *ILS* 2188 ⁶²), and no later than March

⁶¹ Dio 78.34ff. The titles are known from epitaphs from Apamea where II Parthica was in intermittent residence from 215-218/19 (Balty and van Rengen 1993: 23-4 = *AE* 1993: 1572-1573). But because of the dates we are no clearer to which emperor they may refer. One of the stones has been dated to 215 (*AE* 1993: 1572), commemorating a legionary who died en route to Apamea at Aegeae, but he could have been among reinforcements sent for by Macrinus for the Parthian war and arriving in 218. His gravestone was erected at Apamea. See also Ritterling *RE* XII (2), 1479-80.

⁶² 29 September = *CIL VI* 31162 = Speidel 1994, no. 62

222 when Elagabalus was murdered, and Antoniniana titles were abolished. Because of this Iulianus can have enlisted in the Guard no later than 203-4 and presumably enlisted a year or so earlier.⁶³ Iulianus' direct enlistment contradicts Dio's assertion that Severus admitted only legionaries to his Guard (74.26).

The inscription emphasises that Severus, and his successors, expected at least 18 years service for direct praetorian recruits before discharge would be granted. It is notable therefore that the combined legionary and praetorian service of Domitius Valerianus and Florus was also 18 years before discharge or promotion beyond the Guard. Severus increased fleet service from 26 to 28 years, perhaps at some time between November 206 and July 208 (*RMD* 73, *classis praetoria Misenensis*, AD 208).⁶⁴ As service in the praetorian fleets was increased, it is probable that service in the praetorian guard was correspondingly increased from 16 to 18 years, if it had not already occurred (cf. the situation in AD 9, Dio 55.23.1). Neither Dio nor Herodian mentions an increase in service for any troops but Severus may have used the occasion of his victory over Albinus to formalise the service requirements of his legionary transfers, softening the blow with increased pay and recognition of soldiers' marriages (Herodian 8.2.4-5). It is unlikely that any Severan praetorian, whether legionary transfer or direct recruit, could expect release from service after 16 years. I can find no example of a third century praetorian veteran with less than eighteen *stipendia*, except

⁶³ Other men recruited directly under Severus or Caracalla: *CIL* VI 2461, 2640, 37212; Speidel 1990: 201; *AE* 1983: 48 (210 or before); *CIL* VI 2637 (c.214). Because of their deduced maximum lengths of service, the praetorians commemorated on the *laterculi* of Severus' reign are all legionary transferees (see sect. 4 of this chapter).

⁶⁴ The diploma is the earliest example of the extension. *CIL* XVI 122 of AD 166 is unlikely to indicate 28 years (cf. Roxan *RMD* 73 n. 3). It is possible that extension be associated with the pressures on manpower in the 170's; a *laterculus* of 172 illustrates praetorians forced to serve an extra two years, but the list also indicates men who had served the usual 16-17 years (*CIL* VI 32522). However, Severus' wars against Niger, Parthia and his African operations would have demanded extensive and sustained use of the fleets. Cf. *AE* 1992: 136: *D(is) M(anibus). / Dassi<u>s Clemens, / mil(es) cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Mis(enatium), III (trieme) / Clem(entia), v(ixit) a(nnis) L, m(ilitavit) a(nnis) XXVIII; / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. Dassi must have died in his last year of service; compare *ILS* 2849, 2897 for veterans discharged after 26 years. Service could exceed 28 years in the Misene fleet: one Seleucus died during service with 30 *stipendia* (*ILS* 2872, see also *ILS* 2885). For the service increase in the Ravennan fleet, *ILS* 2902, 2904.

for the unusual case of a veteran with only 7 years service – presumably he was legionary transfer (*CIL* VI 2642; see appendix 2 for discussion).

Service in the other ‘City’ units was not altered. Service in the *equites singulares Augusti* remained a minimum 25 years (Speidel 1994, nos 734, 735; *AE* 1954: 79 for 26 years). In the urban cohorts it probably remained at 20-21 years and discharge was still biennial (*CIL* VI 32523 with VI 37184, AD 218; also *CIL* VI 32904).⁶⁵ The *vigiles* served for six years (Rainbird 1986: 150).

It seems also that Severus was the emperor who established annual discharge in the legions with all soldiers serving the full 26 years. *ILS* 2311 records discharge from legio V Macedonica after 25 years in AD 170 but by the reign of Severus the situation had changed. *CIL* III 6580 of AD 194 (legio II Traiana) and *CIL* III 14507 of 195 (legio VII Claudia) are *laterculi* recording discharge after 26 years service. The legionaries of II Parthica were also expected to complete 26 years of service (*AE* 1981: 134, recruited 216, discharged 242; *ILS* 505, recruited 218, discharged 244). The military crises of the third century meant that this limit was exceeded in II Parthica. One soldier recruited to replace men discharged under Gordian III died during the reign of Aurelian with 33 *stipendia* (*AE* 1975: 171).⁶⁶ Another veteran’s tombstone indicates he served 27 years before *missio*; his unit is not specified but the location of the stone at Albanum should suggest II Parthica (*CIL* XIV 2284). Interestingly, one II Parthica veteran is known to have received *honourable discharge* (not *missio causaria*) after only 19 years (*CIL* VI 3373 = XIV 2283).⁶⁷ It is possible that he was transferred from another unit to the formative legion during the reign of Severus. However, in 213 Caracalla ruled that soldiers with 20 or more *stipendia* who were discharged on medical grounds were entitled to the full veteran privileges (*CJ* 5.65.1 = Campbell 1994, no. 332). Perhaps similar privileges were extended to this man.

⁶⁵ *CIL* VI 32904 is most probably a laterculus fragment of the urban cohorts by the inclusion of consular dates to indicate year of enlistment.

⁶⁶ He died whilst still in service.

⁶⁷ *D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius / Dassius / milit/avit in leg(ione) II Part(hica) / Antoninian(a) pi(a) / [f(elici)] / fi(deli), annis XVIII ex civ[itate? Mur]/sa, miss(io) hon(esta) m(issione) ex leg(ione) / s(upra) s(ripta), vix(it) annis L, m(ensibus) III, / d(iebus) XXVI, fec(it?) m[on(???)] m]emori(a)e Aureli[---]us Sever(us) d. d. l. m. s. / heres eius b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

Returning to the Guard, the gravestone of another third century veteran, almost certainly a praetorian, also records a service length of 18 years:

CIL VI 2457 = XI 3845 = Speidel 1994, no. 748 (Saxa Rubra)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aelio Cogitato, veterano Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum), / qui vix(it) ann(is) XXXX, mensib(us) X, dieb(us) VIII, / et militabit ann(is) XVII[I?]. Aurel(ius) Iovin(us), / veteranus, et Lollius Constantin(us) / milix coh(ortis) II praetoriae, et Ulpius / Marcellinus, eques singularis Au[g(ustorum) nn(ostrorum)], / bene m[ere]nti fecerunt.

The text is damaged and the service length might read XVIII, 19 years (Speidel 1994: 405). Cogitatus' unit is not specified but of the men who set up his gravestone, one was a *miles* in the second praetorian cohort, another a veteran from an unspecified unit, and the third an *eques singularis*. It is assumed here from the location of the stone and especially the service length, that Cogitatus was a praetorian veteran (cf. Speidel 1994: 406). It must be emphasised that no other unit granted *missio* so quickly. Cogitatus died during the reign of two Augusti. Ricci prefers a late second to early third century date (meaning Severus and Caracalla? Ricci 1994: 35). On the other hand, Speidel suggests that the letterforms indicate the later third century (Speidel 1994: 406). The emperors could be identified with the two Philips, Valerian and Gallienus or any other ruling pairs during the second half of the century. Neither Cogitatus nor his heirs use their *praenomina* but this practice was not exclusive to the later third century. Dating aside, if Cogitatus is accepted as a praetorian veteran, and whether a direct recruit or transfer, he was discharged after 18 years service like Valerianus, Florus and Iulianus.

This recurrence of 18 *stipendia* could help to date another gravestone to the third century:

CIL XIV 2288 (Albanum)

Pup(ius?) Flaccus ev(o)c(atus) / q(ui) vix(it) an(nis) LV cal(igatus) / XVIII, Ael(ia) Valenti/na coniugi b(e)/n(e) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The *nomen* of Flaccus' wife, Aelia, dates the inscription at the very earliest to the reign of Hadrian, but the location of the stone at Albanum would suggest a connection with

legio II Parthica, and Flaccus' lack of *praenomen* is characteristic of the third century. Further, the stone seems to indicate Flaccus' number of years as *caligatus*, 18 (rather than his age at enlistment) and this would compare well with the service of the praetorian veterans above. *Evocati* served *in calceo* and received *salaria* distinguishing them from the ordinary soldier who served *in caliga* and received *stipendia* (cf. Gilliam 1946: 190). Therefore, it is possible that Flaccus was a praetorian of the late second to early third century who subsequently served with II Parthica in a training or technical role (compare *CIL* VI 37262). Another *evocatus* of the early third century has 19 *stipendia* recorded on his gravestone (*AE* 1993: 166). As *stipendia* this should refer to his service as an ordinary soldier, presumably a praetorian.

The evidence for an 18 year praetorian service requirement in the third century is not extensive. Epitaphs naming third century praetorian *veterani* or *evocati* without indicating years served far outnumber those that do. In *CIL* VI the ratio for probable third century stones is about 4:1 or 5:1 in favour of those that do not record length of service. The ratio is only very approximate because of the ambiguous dating of some of the texts. However, *CIL* VI 2579 = *ILS* 2048 shows that Septimius Severus was the emperor responsible for increasing service from the minimum 16 years established by Augustus. It is notable that the total praetorian service of two Severan legionary transfers also amounted in total to 18 years (*CIL* VI 210 = *ILS* 2103; IX 1609). The remaining two inscriptions (*CIL* VI 2457 & XIV 2288), despite not mentioning the units of the deceased, strongly suggest discharge or *evocatio* in the third century Guard after 18 years. However, 18 years may only have been the minimum length of service in the third century; a number of inscriptions show service lengths in excess of this. As already seen Maccenius Vibius served 14 years in the Guard on top of 9 years in legio X Gemina, a total of 23 years (*CIL* VI 2437 = *ILS* 2037 = inscr. 'c' above). If Vibius had survived another two years he would have served the minimum Augustan term in the Guard as well as his legionary service. Aurelius Tertius also served 14 years on top of 5 years in a legion, a total of 19 years (*CIL* VI 2673 = 'd' above). Both soldiers died in service. If the date of Florus' promotion to the centurionate is restored as 222 (*CIL* IX 1609), he had served 17 years in the Guard and 5 in a legion, a total of 22 years. These examples highlight the problems in trying to generalise the service required of soldiers.

3a. Service in excess of 18 years

Dio and Herodian emphasise the huge cost of military pay and donatives and imperial attempts by to curb the escalating costs. Durry observed that emperors preferred to retain praetorians indefinitely rather than pay their huge discharge bonuses, which might have been equivalent to ten years pay (1938: 263-4).⁶⁸ This might explain why

⁶⁸ Dio 79.36: Macrinus bemoans the costs of the army in a letter to Marius Maximus. Macrinus wished to place all new recruits on Severus' pay scale in an attempt to slowly phase out Caracalla's pay rise. This caused mutiny and his downfall (Dio 78.28); Herodian 6.1.8 & 6.9.4, on the miserliness of Julia Mamaea towards the army. Severus increased military pay (Her. 3.8.4; SHA Sev. 12.2). The level of the rise is unknown but is now generally assumed to be 100 % (contra Duncan-Jones 1978); thus legionary pay increased from the 300 denarii established by Domitian to 600 denarii. Caracalla increased pay by half again following the murder of Geta (Her. 4.4.7). Maximinus apparently doubled pay following his usurpation of Severus Alexander (Her. 6.8.8 – a recognition of inflation as well as a wish to secure the troops' support?). Praetorians received at least double, probably three times, the pay of legionaries and correspondingly increased donatives and discharge bonuses (cf. Dio 53.11.5; Tac. Ann. 1.7). Each praetorian received perhaps 1800 denarii in annual pay from Severus (3 x 600), meaning a basic cost of 18 million denarii for the 10,000 strong Guard as a whole (not including officers, centurions and NCOs' pay). Under Caracalla and Maximinus individual praetorian pay would have been 2700 and 5400 denarii. In the reign of Augustus praetorians received a discharge bonus of 5000 denarii, probably equivalent to about ten years pay (Dio 55.23.1). Severan discharge bonuses (AD 193-238) would have been huge, between 18,000 and 54,000 denarii, roughly equivalent to the annual pay of a senior centurion or tribune. Caracalla's donative to the praetorians following the murder of Geta was 2500 denarii per man; Severus was notably less generous with donatives (Her. 4.4.7; e.g. Dio 76.1.1 = 250 denarii on the occasion of Severus' decennalia). Such gestures meant that the burden on the state was immense. Caracalla's introduction of the Antoninianus, a silver coin with a face value of two denarii but with a weight only equivalent to 1.5, is indicative of the debasement necessary to finance the army. Recourse to debasement of the silver coinage was rife throughout the third century causing massive inflation. The *constitutio Antoniniana*, which conferred Roman citizenship on all free men and women in the Empire, enabled Caracalla to increase the number of tax-payers and thus fund his military expenditure (Dio 77.9). See Durry 1938: 264ff; Campbell 1984: 161ff; Duncan-Jones 1978; M.A. Speidel 1992; Alston 1994. However, it is probable that emperors never paid annual pay in full: 'most of the money due was probably only ever transferred on paper', Coulston 2000: 106, n.

Aurelius Victor was still serving as *miles armatura* when he died with 18 *stipendia*, but as a training instructor/fighting specialist he may have been kept in service indefinitely (*CIL* VI 2699). Aurelius Iulianus only became *evocatus* after 20 years (*CIL* VI 3419). Victor and Iulianus were probably direct recruits. One praetorian may have served thirty years as an ordinary *miles*:

CIL VI 2566 = *ILS* 2048 (Rome), c. AD 224 or 239

*D(is) M(anibus). / Aurel(io) Muciano, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Barbati, milita/re coepit Pompe/iano et Avito co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 209) / ann(os) XV, vixit ann(os) / XLV, natus Trem/ontiae. Cl(audia) Paulina / co(n)iugi karissimo / ex testamento / fecit.*⁶⁹

The indication of Mucianus' date of enlistment is a reflection of military record keeping and that year of enlistment was part of the formal identification of soldiers. A direct recruit to the Guard of Severus in 209, it is unclear from the inscription whether the figure following the consular date indicates Mucianus' age when he enlisted, i.e. he was 15 in 209, or if it means that he had served for 15 years since 209. If it refers to his age at enlistment, he had served 30 years when he died aged 45, and consequently the stone would date to 239. If the figure records Mucianus' length of service, he enlisted aged 30 and died in 224 (cf. Fitz 1983: 150, n.1). As his age at death and possible age at enlistment end in multiples of five they may be rounded. As we saw in section 2 above, recruits aged 30 were relatively few but not exceptional; those aged between 13 and 15, however, accounted for only 4 % of enrollments. Whatever the true meaning of the text, the possibility of 30 years service would not be completely extraordinary. Another third century praetorian served for 28 years and died in service (*CIL* VI 2534 = *ILS* 2050).⁷⁰ In 241 a dedication by Moesian praetorians shows one soldier with 30 years service:

6.

⁶⁹ The centurion Barbatus is also recorded on another tombstone of a soldier of the fifth praetorian cohort, on which the honorific titles *pia vindex* probably indicate the reign of Septimius Severus (*CIL* VI 2565).

⁷⁰ The service is qualified by *iteratus* which could suggest transfer from a previous unit or service in the Guard and *evocatio*, even though the deceased is referred to as *miles*. The text is discussed in the Stipendia appendix at the end of this thesis. *CIL* VI 2428 records 26 years service before *missio*: [--- mis/si]cii ex coh(orte) I [pr(aetoria)] / militavit annis / XXVI,

CIL VI 32549 (Rome), AD 241

Provin[cia] Mysi[a] In[ferior]e reg(ione) Dimesi.

(Images of the Gods)

*Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) Gordian[o] Aug(usto) II [et Pom]peiano /
consu[libus]. / Coh(orte) VI pr(aetoria) Aur(elius) Mai[or? sti]p(endiorum) XXX, /
coh(orte) V Sulp(icius) V[---, s]tip(endiorum) <X?>VIII, / 5) coh(orte) III
Aur(elius) [--- s]tip(endiorum) XVI, / coh(orte) V Aur(elius) P[--- sti]p(endiorum)
XV, / coh(orte) [.. p]r(aetoria) Iul(ius) [---] stip(endiorum) XIII, / coh(orte) [..
p]r(aetoria) Aur(elius) [---], stip(endiorum) XIII, / 10) [coh(orte) .. p]r(aetoria)
Au[r(elius) ---] SPSP stip(endiorum) XII, / co[h .. pr(aetoria) ---], stip(endiorum)
XII, / coh(orte) [.. pr(aetoria) ---] s(ti)p(endiorum) XIII, / coh I[. pr(aetoria) ---]
stip(endiorum) XIII, / coh(orte) III [pr(aetoria)---] stip(endiorum) XIII, / 15)
coh(orte) III [pr(aetoria)---], stip(endiorum) XIII, / coh(orte) IX [pr(aetoria) --- --
]ns stip(endiorum) X[.], / coh(orte) III [pr(aetoria) --- Satu]rninus st[ip(endiorum)
..], / coh(orte) V [pr(aetoria) ---]in[us stip(endiorum) ..]. / Iulio [---]*

The dedication was made in connection with the Persian war of Gordian III. Compare CIL VI 31164 = ILS 2198 = Speidel 1994, no. 63, for an altar dedicated to Jupiter Best and Greatest and Sabazius (or a compound of both) by *equites singulares Augusti*, also from Moesia Inferior, on the 2nd of August 241. The choice of gods suggests that the soldiers were about to head east with Gordian for the Persian war, hoping either to survive or have some kind of afterlife.

The dedication illustrates the extremes of praetorian service in the third century. The men appear to be listed by seniority of length of service (*stipendia*), meaning that men of the same cohort are not grouped together as was the usual practice on such dedications.⁷¹ There are two exceptions to the pattern of ascending seniority, the

vixit ann/is XLVI. Cassius / Longinus fra/[tri ---]. It may be that the stone cutter mistakenly added an extra ten years service; 16 years would suggest an Antonine date. An older reading of the stone suggests that the stone commemorated one Aurelius Iu[lianus?] (CIL VI commentry, p. 677). Compare AE 1975: 171 for 33 years service in legio II Parthica.

⁷¹ A similar reference to *stipendia* occurs on a third century *laterculus* (not a discharge list, however) of the *equites singulares Augusti*: *Aur(elius) Auscus, stip(endiorum) X, natione Noricus* (CIL VI 2408, I, 1 = Speidel 1994, no. 67). The list records 23 names in total and

service of Sulpicius V[---] reading VIII (line 4), and at line 10, the service of another man reads XII where the entry below reads XIII and that above XIII. If the interpretation of order by seniority of service is correct, then the service of Sulpicius could be tentatively amended to XVIII, preceded as it is by one man who had served 16 years, two who had served 15 years and another two for 14 years. The *stipendia* of the soldier at line 10 are probably best left alone. Unlike all the other entries it is preceded by the letters SPSP, the meaning of which may have explained the break in the order to the Roman reader.⁷² Therefore the surviving lengths of service progress neatly from 10 or more years (line 15) to Sulpicius at perhaps 18 years; all these men would have been recruited under Alexander Severus. The length of service then jumps 12 years to Maior's 30 years service. As *stipendia* this should not include any time as *evocatus*, who were paid *salaria*, but could have included legionary service as well. This means Maior was recruited in 211. If the 18 year minimum service requirement is correct, Maior could have been eligible for *missio* in 229, but perhaps the increasing probability of war with the Persians, Alamanni, Sarmatians and Goths meant that Severus Alexander, Maximinus and Gordian III kept him soldiering indefinitely.⁷³

probably records the effective complement of a *turma*. Auscus' name is at the head of the list, above that even of the decurion, Sicundinius Marcellus, and he is the only soldier whose length of service and *origo* is recorded. As such the stone might have formed part of Auscus' funerary monument or have been part of a dedication to celebrate his successful completion of 10 years service (cf. Speidel 1994: 91-92). Another thought is that Auscus was awarded ten years pay by an emperor for some feat in battle.

⁷² As *SP* alone expansion to *speculator* would be agreeable, but the following *SP* is not easily explainable, unless it refers to *speculatores* in the plural, rather like *Augg.* In *CIL* VI vol. 1, the relevant fragment (f = 2391/2), indicates not SPSP but an S, followed by a possible ligature combining P and L, followed by another combining S or G and E, followed by a P. The unrevised abbreviation, if at all correct, might have specified something along the lines of *sp(eculator) (ex) legi(one) p(rima)?!* Line 12 reads *SP* instead of *stip(endiorum)*, possibly specifying service as a *speculator*, but more likely it is *s(ti)p(endiorum)*. Possibly the T and I were combined in a faint ligature on the vertical shaft of the P?

⁷³ The stone illustrates not only a popular recruiting area for the Guard, but also shows the importance of local identity and the maintenance of ties despite dispersion amongst all the cohorts. Compare the dedication made, during service, to Asclepius by a *schola* of praetorians from the territory of Philippopolis in AD 227 (*CIL* VI 32543), or another to Fortuna, Apollo and Victoria by praetorians who were *cives Cotini ex provincia Pannonia Inferiore* (*CIL* VI 32557, AD 249-51). It 241 dedication is notable for not indicating the rank

There could be dangers to retaining soldiers too long in service if they were not adequately looked after. Yet it seems that soldiers such as Maior preferred to stay in the army, even if the opportunity for discharge did present itself. Life as veteran might have certain legal privileges and, in theory at least, be accompanied by a large lump sum pension, but life in the Guard and the army meant regular pay of one sort or another, status and prestige, a sense of purpose, and a home with security and comradeship. Tiberius Claudius Maximus, the famous ‘captor of Decebalus’, proudly states in an inscription set up in his own lifetime that he ‘voluntarily served beyond his time’ (Speidel 1970: 142-3 = *AE* 1969/70: 583). For such men, and we should include *evocati* among them, the army was their life and they were not always prepared to give it up even after considerable service.

Conclusions to sections 1-3

As shown in section 1, discharge from the praetorian guard after 16 years in the first to early second centuries is not widely evidenced. It is probable that 16 years should only be considered as an ideal minimum length of service. From the reigns of Augustus to Hadrian ordinary praetorian *milites* were retained in service beyond 16 years. It may be that discharge after 16 years was only widely realised in the periods immediately before and after the Marcommanic and Sarmatian Wars, when Antoninus Pius and Commodus did not venture out on campaign. Campaigning emperors would generally retain men for years longer, especially in periods of high military activity, as made clear in section 3 for the third century. Severus and Caracalla, whose reigns saw almost continuous warfare, were most likely to retain praetorians beyond 16 years. Severus increased length of service in the praetorian fleets to 28 years (*RMD* 73); he similarly extended service in the praetorian guard. To some degree extending service may have been influenced by the need to delay the payment of discharge bonuses, but

of any soldier - perhaps they were all the same rank? Nor is there any reference to centurions, and the men are not grouped by cohort as was usual with such dedications (e.g. *CIL* VI 32543). It is possible that it was made at time of discharge or by veterans but there is no reference to *missio* (the date would have been more specific) or to veteran status (compare *CIL* VI 32536, b). The last name on the inscription, Iulius, does not seem to be among the dedicatees and he may have been the curator of the monument. If he was a serving soldier this would have suggested that the dedicators were *veterani*, but conversely he could have been a slave or soldier’s servant.

some soldiers volunteered to continue their service, happy as they were with life in the army.

In section 1b we saw how a legionary transfer of AD 69, Vedennius Moderatus, had served 10 years in legio XVI Gallica, was discharged from the Guard after 8 years and subsequently recalled to service (CIL VI 2725 = ILS 2034). Thus like the Severan transfer Domitius Valerianus (CIL VI 210), Moderatus served a total of 18 years before *missio*. This suggested that legionary transfers had to serve only the balance of 18 years over their legionary service. But more than 120 years separate Vespasian and Severus. However, it is striking that praetorian veterans with 18 *stipendia* are evident in the Julio-Claudian, Flavian, Antonine (e.g. CIL VI 32522, early 170's) and Severan epochs, both for direct recruits and legionary transferees with combined total service. In this chapter, 18 years service has been the notable constant; it has suggested itself as the *real* minimum service expected of praetorians throughout the early empire, especially in the third century. It was emphasised in section 3 that no third century praetorian veteran appeared to have received discharge with less than 18 years service. It is the contention of this chapter that Septimius Severus was responsible for extending *minimum* service in the Guard to 18 years, formalising an *unofficial* practice of retaining soldiers beyond their time, that had gone on since the reign of Augustus despite his establishment of a 16 year limit. The extension in praetorian service may date from 197 following Severus' defeat of Albinus and extension of military privileges. Severus applied this length of service both to legionary transfers, who would serve the balance of 18 years over their legionary service, and to direct recruits. However, suitable praetorians could be promoted to the status of *evocati* before the completion of 18 years.

Throughout the early Empire, military exigency and the prevailing financial situations of successive emperors always determined a praetorian's length of service. If he were lucky, a praetorian would receive his discharge and pension after 16 or 17 or 18 years providing that the emperor was not at war and if his treasury was healthy. These were big 'ifs'.

4. Length of service suggested by laterculi and diplomata

A number of *laterculi* (often referred to as discharge or dedication lists) and diplomata

from the reign of Septimius Severus constitute clearly dated records of completion of service and honorable discharge the praetorian guard. Unlike some earlier legionary or auxiliary sources, neither specifies the year a soldier enlisted or gives his length of service, but a potential *maximum length of service* can be estimated by backdating from the date of discharge to AD 193. No Severan praetorian can have enlisted before June 193. Dio and Herodian record how Septimius Severus disbanded the praetorian cohorts in their entirety (Dio 74.1-2, based on an eyewitness account; Herodian 2.12-13). The ethnic and national makeup of the Guard on the Severan *laterculi* does not support any retention of members of Commodus' Guard by Severus. The earliest dated Severan discharge list on which the *origines* of the new veterans survive, shows only men of provincial origin (*CIL* VI 32523 with VI 37184; AD 204).⁷⁴ The surviving portion of a dedicatory list from the reign of Commodus records a praetorian century composed solely of Italians (*AE* 1933: 95, AD 186 or after).

Herodian tells us that Severus immediately began the reformation of the Guard selecting the 'best troops' from his expeditionary force (2.14.5-6). Therefore, transfer to the Guard can be theoretically backdated to June and July 193 for legionaries from the Danubian and western provinces, namely the units that marched with him on Rome, which would have been dominated by the legions of Pannonia.⁷⁵ However, the process of complete reconstitution of the Guard must have taken some time. The strength of the Guard was equivalent to at least two legions; for Severus to reconstitute

⁷⁴ Cf. Passerini 1939: 174-180.

⁷⁵ Severus' legionary coinage issue is not a safe guide to the units that followed him into Italy in 193. The coins commemorate every Rhine and Danube legion except, mysteriously, X Gemina of Pannonia Superior (*BMC* V, pp. 21-23; *RIC* 4.1, Severus nos 1-17). It has been suggested that these denarii and aurei were struck in the response to a mutiny in Severus' army at Saxa Rubra as he was marching to confront Niger (A. Birley 1988: 108, after SHA Sev. 8.10) but neither Dio nor Herodian reports such a mutiny. I think it probable that the force with which Severus invaded Italy was composed predominantly of Pannonian units. It is doubtful whether German troops took part in the march on Rome, though the legions of Noricum and Raetia may have met Severus in northern Italy. Other Pannonian and Moesian troops may have been moving simultaneously into Thrace. The coins commemorated (and rewarded) the units who supported Severus in 193, but does not necessarily indicate that they all marched with him on Rome. Contra Cooper 1968: 239ff, for the denarii indicating legions that supplied vexillations and aurei indicating the legions that accompanied Severus as complete units.

it completely and immediately from his field army would have meant a massive shortfall in manpower on the frontiers, and the build up of the new cohorts was spread over a number of years.⁷⁶

One legionary transferred in 194 had already seen 12 years service, but his name, the identity of his unit, and subsequent length of service in the Guard are lost (*CIL* VI 32887). We know that legionaries were transferred from the eastern armies from 194/5 as reward for defection from Niger in the aftermath of Cyzicus, and presumably throughout the two Parthian wars (cf. *CIL* VI 210 = *ILS* 2103; *CIL* XI 532, both legio VI Ferrata, c. 195). Severus may have considered the new Guard up to strength in 195. The emperor was involved in his first active campaign during the first Parthian war and was presumably accompanied by his Guard (Dio 75.2). Before this, from late 193 to spring 194, Severus had made his headquarters at Perinthus in Thrace (Dio 74.6.3; Graham 1973: 260ff). Here he could have recruited local men, perhaps some without any prior military service, directly into the Guard;⁷⁷ Thrace was the major source of recruits for the Guard. Severus will have received legionary transfers from the the Pannonian force of Fabius Cilo that had successfully defended Perinthus (*ILS* 1142; *AE* 1926: 79) and the Moesian force under Marius Maximus besieging Byzantium (*ILS* 2935; see chp. 3, sect. 1, below). These men had to be rewarded and the new emperor needed veteran troops for his new cohorts.

The first attestation of the Guard in battle is not until 197 when it acted as Severus' reserve at Lugdunum and was caught up in the near disastrous rout when the British legions broke Severus' line (Dio 75.6.6, Herodian 3.7.3). This first major appearance of the new Guard should indicate that the process of reformation was complete.

Transfers of substantial numbers of soldiers from the German legions to the Guard

⁷⁶ Cf. Tacitus *Histories* 2.94. Keppie 1996: 112 for the situation in AD 69.

⁷⁷ Praetorians from Perinthus: *IG* XIV 981. Note also Iulius Mucatra from Perinthus in the century of Munatius Pius of cohors V praetoria on *CIL* VI 32640 (col. I, line 24). Pius is recorded as centurion in a cohort whose number is unknown in 209 (*CIL* VI 32533, b, 27). The list recording Mucatra could date to the reign of Severus, which would make him a legionary transfer; another praetorian on the list has the *origo castris* (*CIL* VI 32640, I, 10). If the lists do date to the reign of Severus, these men must be legionary transfers as they could not have completed 18 years service.

probably did not occur until after the victory at Lugdunum in 197. The Guard had suffered heavy losses in the battle that would need to be made good and the German legions had to be rewarded for staying loyal to Severus and delaying the advance of Albinus (cf. Le Roux 1992: 261-263; Ritterling *RE* XII, 1428). A number of soldiers from legio XXII Primigenia would have received the reward of transfer to the Guard for the successful defence of Trier against Albinus (*ILS* 419).⁷⁸ For this success the legate of the legion, Claudius Gallus, was made commander of the vexillations of the four German legions in the second Parthian war (*AE* 1957: 123). Legio XXII Primigenia was based at Mogunitacum. A praetorian named Tato, indicating Dalmatian or Thracian descent,⁷⁹ with the *origo Mog(untiacum)* appears on a *laterculus* fragment probably dating to the reign of Severus (*CIL* VI 32623, I, 9).⁸⁰ The same list records men of Tungrian and Suebian origin (I, 27, 28), undoubtedly transferred from the German legions.

Laterculi

The praetorian *laterculi* fragments from the reign of Severus show that discharges from the Guard were now made annually, where before they had fallen biennially on 'even' years. This new system was in effect by 201.⁸¹ The practice of indicating date of enlistment by consular year on the *laterculi* was abandoned, though it still appeared on the lists of the urban cohorts. The *urbanici* were still subject to biennial discharge and a minimum twenty years service.⁸² The lack of consular dates on the praetorian lists indicates that men who received *missio* together had not been recruited in the same

⁷⁸ For Suebians in the praetorian Guard and *equites singulares Augusti* see Speidel & Scardigli 1990: 201-207. *AE* 1990: 752 records a Suebian transfer from legio I Minervia who probably postdates 197 (contra Le Roux 1992: 262). For praetorians with German and Belgian *origines* see Passerini 1939: 174.

⁷⁹ See Wilkes 1992: 74ff.

⁸⁰ A centurion recorded on this inscription, Celerinus (II, 12), is also attested on another discharge list dating to 205 or before (*CIL* VI 32625, I, 11).

⁸¹ Annual by AD 201: *CIL* VI 325321, if accepted as part of a discharge or veteran's dedication. VI 32533 clearly indicates discharge in AD 209. Kennedy 1978: 294, n.66: at latest by AD 221. Annual discharge was introduced to the legions by AD 195 (legio VII Claudia: *CIL* III 14507).

⁸² Urban lists: *CIL* VI 37184, b II (AD 204); VI 32525 (AD 208); VI 32526 (218) – the latest

year or even transferred to the Guard at the same time.

The earliest datable Severan praetorian *laterculi* fragments indicate discharges were made in 200 and 201 (*CIL* VI 32524, 32532).⁸³ Only the dedicatory parts of the inscriptions survive, so the possibility of suggesting transfer from particular legions inferred from *origines* and *nomina* cannot be made.⁸⁴ As we know Severus began to recruit immediately so the men originally listed would have served less than 7 and 8 years before were discharged from the Guard if they had been transferred from legions in 193/4. One would assume that these men had at least 10 to 11 years previous legionary service, working on the probability that Severus demanded a minimum total of 18 years service, this would mean they were originally recruited in 182-3. One epitaph attests a praetorian veteran after only 7 years service:

CIL VI 2642 (Rome)

*Dis Manibus. / Culai Erimi v[e]ter(anti) / [e]x coh(orte) pr(aetoria), milit(avit) / an(nos) VII, vix(it annos) XL. / Fecit Comanius Mas/nus amico bene meren(ti).*⁸⁵

The length of service would suggest he had served 11 years in a legion, or had received *missio causaria*.

The next datable evidence, a fairly extensive *laterculus*, records praetorians discharged in 204 (*CIL* VI 32523 with VI 37184). Column 1 (VI 32523, a) and column 2 (VI 37184, c) represent the veterans of *cohors X praetoria*. Only the list of soldiers discharged from one century survives complete (22 men) - that of Vinicius Annianus, probably the sixth centurion of the cohort (VI 37184, c 11-32). The troops in column 3

and most extensive list.

⁸³ The consular date of VI 32524 is uncertain and may be 204. The fragment may possibly belong to VI 32523 & 37184.

⁸⁴ For example *origines* indicating *castris* or locations where legions were based.

⁸⁵ The short length of service must specify a post-193 date unless the stonecutter made an error and the stone should have read 17 years service, which would point to a first to second century date. However, Erimus' *nomen*, apparently 'Culai', probably indicates C. Valerius, which would suggest provincial origin, perhaps in Pannonia, Moesia or Dacia. The name could be Illyrian or Thracian. The lack of filiation, *tribus* and *origo* probably rules out a transfer to the Vitellian or Flavian Guard.

are identified as *urbaniciani*, probably from cohort X, by the presence of consular dates for 183 and 184, referring to their year of enlistment.⁸⁶ These dates are absent on the praetorian portion but should indicate that both sets of troops were discharged in AD 204. Some of these praetorians could then have served, at most, a little over 10 years, i.e. June 193 to January (or February) 204.⁸⁷ A number of the men were from eastern provinces and Egypt and would only have transferred from 194-5 onwards, meaning less than 9 years maximum possible praetorian service.⁸⁸ Using 18 years as the minimum service requirement before discharge suggests these men enlisted in 186 or before.

The *origo* Plautianopolis is inscribed on another laterculus fragment (*CIL* VI 32625, esp. b, I, 7). Presumably it denotes connection with the powerful praetorian prefect Fulvius Plautianus, and thus dates the stone to 205 or before (Dio 76.3ff; cf. *CIL* commentary). Maximum praetorian service lengths of 10 or 11 years are therefore possible if transfer to the Guard is backdated to 193/4 and potential original recruitment to various legions in 187 or before.

On a dedication made in 209 both western and eastern *origines* are evident, suggesting transfer to the Guard during the course of the war against Niger, 193-195. Therefore maximum praetorian *stipendia* of up to 15 and 14 years (from 193/4) are possible and recruitment to legions in 191 or before (*CIL* VI 32533).

Diplomata

Diplomata record praetorians discharged in 202 (or 202-209?), 204, 206, 207 (or 203), 208 and 210.

The earliest possible Severan praetorian diploma might date to 202, but this is not certain and may actually be as late as 209 (*RMD* III 190). If it is a praetorian rather than an urban diploma, discharge in 202 would mean about 8 years maximum service

⁸⁶ Compare *CIL* VI 32525, VI 32526, but absent from all Severan praetorian lists.

⁸⁷ Cf. *RMD* 188, of AD 206 shows discharges were made on 22 of February. From 208 onwards, they occurred only on January 7 (e.g. *CIL* XVI 135).

⁸⁸ Galatia: Ancyra, b 26, Pessinus, c 18; Cilicia: Germanicopolis (2), c, 7, 8; Pamphylia: Side, b 25; Syria: Apamea, b, 27, Berytus c, 9; Egypt: Andropolis, b, 22.

in the Guard. This presumes at least 10 prior years in legion.

The next diploma dates from 204 and is probably praetorian but the recipient is unknown (Weiß 2001: 269-70). The date of discharge suggests up to 10 years in the Guard and 8 years in legion.

On 22 February 206 Iulius Martinus, a citizen of Poetovio, received his honorable discharge and returned to his native province (*RMD* 188). His apparent *origo* means that transfer from one of the Pannonian legions (X Gemina, XIV Gemina, I Adiutrix, II Adiutrix) is possible and even a transfer date of June 193. He could have served 12 full *stipendia* in the Guard, and originally enlisted in 188 or earlier.

Another possible praetorian diploma of unknown recipient dating from 207 (or perhaps 203) could mean up to 13 complete *stipendia* and a 5 years in legion (*AE* 1995: 1337b).

The next definite praetorian diploma commemorates honorable discharge in 208 (*CIL* XVI 135). The name and *origo* of the praetorian do not survive but, the date of discharge and backdating to 194, could mean up to 14 praetorian *stipendia* and original enlistment date in 190 or before (the fragment was found at Mantua but does not necessarily indicate an Italian origin, though compare *CIL* XVI 147, 153).

In 210 Domitius Firmus received *missio* (*RMD* 191). His *origo* in Mazaca (Caesarea), Cappadocia, could point to transfer in 194/5 at the earliest when the eastern legions were defecting to Severus from Niger, perhaps legions XII Fulminata or XV Apollinaris on the basis of local recruitment (Forni 1992: 136). It is possible then, that Firmus served up to 16 years in the Guard and enlisted in a legion in 192 or earlier (making for 18 years total service). Another two praetorians from Mazaca were discharged sometime in the reign of Severus (*CIL* VI 32536, d, II, 9 & 11).

2. THE SIZE OF THE SEVERAN GUARD

*There were ten thousand guardsmen organised in ten cohorts.*¹

1. The Laterculi

On receiving their honourable discharge praetorians, *urbaniciani*, *equites singulares Augusti* and legionaries contributed to dedicatory monuments celebrating the successful completion of their military service. The names and *origines* of all new veterans (or at least all who contributed to the cost of erection) were inscribed on these monuments, which listed the men by cohort and century and *turma*. The lists might indicate full *nomina*, *tribus*, rank (or promotions for *evocati*) and awards for bravery. These lists are variously known as *laterculi*, discharge lists or dedication lists. The practice means that the recruiting sources of the City units and legions at one particular time can be studied in great depth, but the clear listing of men into cohorts and centuries has also encouraged the calculation of effective cohort and units strengths from the surviving entries. The praetorian *laterculi* have been used extensively for this latter purpose.²

¹ Dio 55.24.6.

² Praetorian *laterculi* are classified into three phases by Benefiel (2001: 221-224). Phase 1, *CIL* VI 32515 (AD 136); VI 32516 (142); VI 325171 (144 or 148); *AE* 1930: 37 (152); VI 32518 (154); VI 32519 (158); VI 32520 (160); *AE* 1940: 82 (164); VI 32521 (168); VI 32522 (172). These lists display predominantly Italian *origines* (but see Passerini 1939: 156-159 for provincials); mainly official voting tribes, and diverse non-imperial *gentilicia*. Phase II reflects the reconstitution of the Guard by Septimius Severus: *CIL* VI 32536 (date uncertain); VI 32642 (209); VI 32623 (date uncertain); VI 32642 (date uncertain). These lists indicate legionary transfers, identified by their provincial *origines* (cf. Passerini 1938: 174-180, but see 173, n. 2, for Italians). Diverse *gentilicia* are now mixed with imperial-derived *nomina*, e.g. Septimii and Aurelii, with even a few Helvii appearing. Tribes are often pseudo, derived from the titles of provincial colonies and municipalities, or reflect imperial *gentilicia*. One list, *CIL* VI 32626, is considered a mix of phases II and III. Phase III reflects Caracalla's *constitutio Antoniniana*, the grant of Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants in the empire: *CIL* VI 32523a; VI 32523b & 37184 (204); VI 32624; VI 32625; VI 32628; VI 32639, a & b; VI 32640; new fragment = Benefiel 2001: 225; dates generally uncertain. Origins are provincial, tribes pseudo and *gentilicia* predominantly indicate M. Aurelii (59-85%). However, as all the lists are fragmentary the indication of M.

The Number and Size of the Praetorian Cohorts

The literary and epigraphic sources specify that Augustus had nine praetorian cohorts, though the number may have fluctuated during his reign (Passerini 1939: 44-53; cf. Keppie 1996: 107). Nine cohorts were maintained by Tiberius in AD 23 (*Ann.* 4.5): the number almost certainly reflects the late Augustan situation of the Guard. Dio later speaks of Augustus having ten milliary (i.e. approximately 1000 men strong) cohorts (55.24.6), but he almost certainly imposes the situation of his own lifetime. The number of cohorts was increased to twelve by Gaius or Claudius, each probably of quingenary strength (c. 500 men), the standard strength for the period (Keppie 1996: 107-112). In 69 Vitellius disbanded the twelve cohorts and formed sixteen new praetorian cohorts and four urban cohorts from his own legionaries (Tac.

Aurelii could be somewhat disproportionate. Lists with large numbers of M. Aurelii could also date to the reign of Severus, compare *CIL* III 14507, for soldiers discharged from Legio VII Claudia in 195; recruited in 169, a large number of these men took or were given the *gentilicium* (Marcus) Aurelius. Accordingly, many of the legionaries transferred to Severus' new Guard from 193 would have borne this *gentilicium*, reflecting their recruitment under Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. *CIL* VI 32523 & 37184 with 71% Aurelii, almost certainly dates to 204 and the phase III lists do not necessarily all post-date the *constitutio Antoniniana*. Benefiel does not accept that the enlistment dates of the *urbanici* inscribed on this list, 183 and 184 thus indicating discharge in 204 (there is no indication that Severus increased service in the urban cohorts) 'are concordant with the praetorian statistics' (2001: 223, n. 8). But the consular dates do not apply to the *praetoriani* on the list; the dates only interrupt the columns of *urbanici* (compare *CIL* VI 32525, 32526, 32903). All the list shows is that praetorians and *urbanici* were discharged together in 204. It does not show that all the men were recruited in 183/4. The praetorians on the list would have had variable lengths of legionary service, being transferred to the Guard from 193 onwards. In chapter 1 we saw how these soldiers would have to serve at least 18 years total service in a legion and the Guard before discharge might be granted. Benefiel indicates that she could find no (recent?) discussion of the list. The fragments of the list making up *CIL* VI 32523 are discussed in *Eph. ep.* VI, nos 891 & 893, pp. 321-323. Without the comparative material of *CIL* VI 32526 for the inclusion of consular dates in the *laterculi* of the urban cohorts, *CIL* VI 32523, b, col. II with its predominantly Italian *origines* might have led to the misconception that Severus had retained a number of Commodus' praetorians despite the famous disbanding described by Dio and Herodian!

Hist. 2.67, 2.93; Suet. *Vit.* 10).³ Each cohort was of milliary strength; the fact that Tacitus stresses this shows that the disbanded cohorts were quingenary. By 76 Vespasian had reduced the number of cohorts to nine, probably retaining them at a milliary strength, allowing him to absorb a large number of the disparate (and desperate) praetorians he inherited in 70 (*CIL* XVI 21). By maintaining the cohorts at milliary strength, Vespasian would have doubled the number of troops at his personal disposal in case of further civil strife. Domitian subsequently raised the number of cohorts to ten, probably in connection with his German and Dacian wars, making the Guard equivalent to the strength of two legions (*CIL* XVI 81, probably AD 89). The praetorian guard retained this organisation and strength until its dissolution by Constantine in 312.

That the cohorts were milliary organisations in the later first or second centuries AD is indicated by the text *de munitionibus castrorum*, attributed to Hyginus Gromaticus (most recently, see Gilliver 1993). In the description of a camp for a (probably theoretical) field army it is stated that the tents of the praetorians were allotted twice the space given to those of the legionaries (*de mun. castr.* 6). Rather than that suggest more space accorded to a 'prestigious' unit, it shows the praetorians had larger tents to house twice the usual number of men.

Thus, Tacitus and (Pseudo-) Hyginus provide the best guides for the strength of the praetorian cohorts in the later first and second century, and Dio (by default) for the Severan period (below). The sources either specify or suggest milliary cohorts, but many scholars have found the literary accounts unsatisfactory and have turned to the

³ Keppie, 1996: 112, suggests that Vitellius' army would not have been able to sustain this mass transfer of men: 20,000 new praetorians and *urbanici* would have meant that Vitellius' legions ceased to function as fighting units. Keppie suggests that Vitellius could have simply increased the existing strength of the twelve cohorts from quingenary to milliary, and added a further four new milliary cohorts. But as Vitellius clearly discharged a number of Otho's praetorians, who later fought with the invading Flavian army (*Tac. Hist.* 2.67), he concludes that the sixteen Vitellian cohorts were well under-strength. Vitellius may therefore have awarded large numbers of auxiliaries transfer to the City units. A possible example of such a transfer from cohors II Breucorum is recorded on *CIL* VIII 9391 = *ILS* 2046.

laterculi, trying to calculate the effective strength of the cohorts from the numbers of veterans inscribed on the lists.

The Size of the Praetorian Cohorts: Durry's Method

In his standard work on the praetorian guard M. Durry developed the method for calculating effective cohort strength from the Antonine *laterculi* (1938: 81-89).⁴ These lists survive only in fragments. When originally set up each discharge list would have recorded the veterans from the ten cohorts and the sixty centuries therein, but the most extensive list retains fragments of 29 centuries from cohorts I-VII, and the entries for only 17 of these centuries survive complete (*CIL* VI 32520). Other fragmentary lists have survived with between 3 and 17 centuries, mainly incomplete. However, because the men in each century were recruited in two successive years, each list can supply a larger number of 'complete centuries' by year alone; the combined average from both years supplies the general mean figure of veterans.

Durry proposed that if the mean number of men discharged per century was multiplied by sixteen (as in years of service), and finally multiplied by six (the number of centuries in a cohort),⁵ that an *effective* strength for a cohort could be revealed.⁶ The most extensive Hadrianic and Antonine lists, *CIL* VI 32515 (AD 136), VI 32519 (148) and VI 32520 (160),⁷ suggested respective means of 4.5, 5, and 5.5; the average number of praetorians discharged *annually* per century was therefore five men:

⁴ *CIL* VI 32515 (AD 136); VI 32516 (142); VI 32517 (144 or 148); *AE* 1930: 37 (152); VI 32518 (154); VI 32519 (158); VI 32520 (160); VI 32521 (168); VI 32522 (172).

⁵ The division of cohorts on the *laterculi* indicates six centuries per cohort. See *CIL* VI 32520, 32533, 32536.

⁶ As noted in the introduction, the new *veterani* were listed in order of cohort which were subdivided by the names of the centurions under whom the men had served. As the lists survive only in fragments average numbers of men discharged per century are normally divided into complete centuries and incomplete centuries. It is not clear if Durry derived his means from only complete centuries or the combined average from both complete and incomplete centuries.

⁷ Chosen because they did not represent periods of extensive warfare and therefore not of extraordinary recruiting.

5×16 years of service = 80; $80 \times 6 = 480$ men as effective cohort strength.

Durry was convinced that the Vitellian cohorts of 1000 men were a brief irregularity (Tac. *Hist.* 2.93), and that Vespasian reduced the strength of the cohorts back to 500 men. Therefore his result appeared to prove that the cohorts were still quingenary during the second century. However, his calculation only indicated a 4 % manpower loss over the service period.

He looked next at the Severan *laterculi* (only *CIL* VI 32533, VI 32536, VI 32624), and found an annual average of 11 discharges per century. Employing the figure in the same calculation, $11 \times 6 \times 16 = 1056$, he concluded that the larger number of discharges meant an increase from quingenary to milliary cohort strength, occurring when Severus reformed the Guard. That the result was in excess of 1000 men only indicated fluctuations in recruitment. His results have been widely accepted,⁸ but was method correct?

Re-examination and Revision of Durry's Method: Passerini & Bertinelli Angeli

Durry failed to convince A. Passerini. He preferred to see the cohorts as milliary formations from the start and stated that there was no single good way to use the data from the *laterculi* without producing illusory results. He believed that the data itself was not suited to Durry's manipulation because of the fluctuations in the number of veterans per century even on the same *laterculus*. What is more, Passerini emphasised that Durry's second century quingenary cohorts were untenable because of the apparent 4 % manpower loss. He highlighted the mass of praetorian epitaphs from Rome recording death in every year of service, and which consequently inferred a far higher annual rate of mortality (Passerini 1939: 58ff.).

Later M.G. Bertinelli Angeli recalculated the median numbers of men discharged per century on the *laterculi* and also brought in data derived from the dedicatory lists of serving praetorians. Still using Durry's basic formula, the more extensive Antonine

⁸ E.g. E. Birley 1969: 22-23; Smith 1972: 487-488.

lists suggested effective cohort strengths of between 508 and 730.⁹ These effectives, greater than Durry's results, pointed to cohorts of a milliary organisation that suffered from substantial manpower loss over the service period (Bertinelli Angeli 1974: 3-12).

Kennedy's Approach

In his influential paper on the size of the Guard, D.L. Kennedy contended that Durry's second century cohorts of quingenary strength were suspect, because a 4 % mortality rate over a 16 year service period was highly improbable in an age of such short life expectancy (Kennedy 1978). Arguing that mortality rates within the Guard should reflect those of Rome itself, he suggested that manpower loss over was actually in excess of 50%. Despite better housing (in theory at least), nutrition and medical facilities, the very fact that praetorians lived closely together in tenement-like barracks, and had daily dealings with family and civilians in Rome, made them susceptible to epidemics of as smallpox, typhus, tuberculosis or measles. The location of Rome also meant the factor of malaria (cf. Tac. *Hist* 2.93). Disease was endemic in Rome and the city was particularly vulnerable to imported epidemics. The devastating Antonine plague was brought to the city by Guardsmen returning from the Parthian War of Lucius Verus.¹⁰

⁹ CIL VI 32515 = 5.4 (Durry 4); VI 32519 = 5.3 (Durry 5); VI 32520 = 5.5 (Durry 5.5). Lists of serving soldiers: CIL VI 32638 = 6.4; AE 1964: 120 = 7.7.

¹⁰ Kennedy concedes that the shorter service and better conditions in the praetorian guard should in theory have meant a better chance of surviving to discharge than in the legions or auxilia, who served for longer and were more likely to see active service. Scheidel estimates that manpower loss in the legions was at least 55 %: 40 % mortality over the 26 year service period, and a further 15 % though injury etc. (1996: 117-124). [Hopkins estimate of average life-expectancy from birth in the Roman world of between 20-30 years still stands, dropping in a high density location such as Rome to under 20 years (Hopkins 1966: 264; cf. Scheidel 2001: 25-6).] See Scobie 1986 on the links between poor housing, sanitation and disease in the Roman world. Gilliam 1961 attempts to limit the effects of the Antonine plague (perhaps smallpox) but Duncan-Jones 1996 emphasises its devastating effect on the army under Marcus Aurelius and of subsequent plagues under later emperors. He reinforces that all classes in the Roman world were susceptible to and familiar with deadly disease. Indeed, 'the very familiarity of epidemic tends to blunt the edge of ancient reporting.' On disease see also Scheidel 2001.

Kennedy (who appears to have been unaware of Bertinelli Angeli 1977) suggested that his demographic approach meant revealed Durry's apparent quingenary cohorts to be under-strength milliary organisations (1978: 277-283). In order to prove this, Kennedy recalculated the mean number of discharges from the Antonine *laterculi* and altered Durry's formula by increasing the service period to 17 years, as discharges were made biennially. Settling on *CIL* VI 32520, the most extensive discharge list dating to 160, as containing the most reliable information, the mean number of men discharged per century emerged as 5.295; $5.295 \times 17 \times 6 = 540$ as effective cohort strength (1978: 284-5). Using 1000 as a convenient figure for actual milliary unit strength, this meant a 46 % manpower loss over the 17 year service period (but see Scheidel's interpretation, below).

Kennedy progressed to deal with the Severan *laterculi*. The Severan *laterculi* list greater numbers of veterans and this suggested an enlarged unit (see table 2, below). Kennedy maintained that Durry's treatment of the Severan data was flawed because he had employed 16 years as the service period, as if he was dealing with direct recruits. The new Guard was composed of legionary transfers and their length of service would be shorter than that of direct recruits. Notably, Bertinelli Angeli did not attempt to use the means she derived from the Severan *laterculi* because of the uncertainty over length of service (1974: 8-9). Kennedy reached an average praetorian service of 12 years for legionary transferees (1978: 288-96), which I dismissed in chp. 1, sect. 2 as not proven. Recalculating the mean number of annual discharges per century, he found 12.35 as the *minimum* mean: $12.35 \times 12 \times 6 = 889$. Because of the apparently reduced service period of the Severan praetorian, manpower loss would be reduced to 32.4 % (12/17ths of 46 percent), allowing a cohort strength of 1315 men to be projected. Reminding us that the mean discharge figure of 12.35 was only a minimum, Kennedy proposed that the effective of 1315 pointed to cohorts with an optimum strength of 1500 men (1978: 285-288).

Scheidel's Objections to the Durry-Kennedy Method

In his research into the demography of the Roman army, W. Scheidel has rejected Kennedy's calculations for manpower loss and the annual number of recruits required to keep a cohort up to strength (1996: 126, n. 95):

required to keep a cohort up to strength (1996: 126, n. 95):

'Based on the assumption that the Antonine cohort was 1,000 men strong, he [Kennedy] claims that his estimate of 31.77 veterans per year and cohort [i.e. 5.295×6] shows that 46 percent of all recruits died during the following 17 years of service (p. 285). A closer look at this calculation reveals that Kennedy simply derives this percentage from one seventeenth of 1,000, i.e., 58.82. 58.82 minus 46 percent [27.05] is indeed 31.77. However, 58.82 is not the required annual number of recruits but the number of soldiers at the mean age of service, i.e., during the ninth year of service if service lasts 17 years and decrement proceeds at a steady pace. Had there been 58.82 recruits, the cohort would have had only 770 members instead of 1,000. In actuality, Kennedy should have put the number of recruits at about 81.17 to arrive at a unit of 1000 men. Yet in this case, the amount of loss over time would be 61 percent instead of 46 percent... Kennedy repeats this error when he attempts to determine the rate of loss after 193.'

This requires further explanation. What Scheidel makes clear is that Kennedy's, and ultimately Durry's, method is quite flawed for revealing manpower loss. Essentially both Durry and Kennedy have used the median veteran figures to *project* effective cohort strengths. Scheidel's method differs in that it asks how many recruits were required to keep a unit at x strength if y soldiers were still around to be discharged after z years of service, assuming a steady annual attrition rate (i.e., a constant annual percentage rate rather than a constant annual number of losses).

On the basis of the evidence collected in table 1 (following page), Scheidel states 'there can be no doubt that in the Antonine period the praetorian cohorts must have been milliary units' (1996: 126, n. 95). Because the *laterculi*, in particular *CIL VI 32520*, suggest that the average annual number of veterans per cohort was about 32 (mean of c. 5.3 per century $\times 6$), the cohorts must have exceeded quingenary strength. If the pre-Severan cohorts were quingenary as Durry insisted, the optimum annual number of veterans, assuming zero mortality, would have been about 29.5 (500 divided by 17). Clearly, 32 is greater than 29.5 and the former figure assumes some degree of manpower loss over the service period. Therefore the Antonine lists indicate larger cohorts – milliary cohorts, no intervening size of cohort is known.

Complete centuries				Incomplete centuries		
Reference (CIL VI)	Number of centuries (by year of enlistment)	Number of soldiers	Mean per century	Number of centuries	Number of soldiers	Mean per century
32515	13	46	3.5	3	27	9.0
	10	67	6.7	5	38	7.6
32516	1	5	5.0	1	3	3.0
	2	11	5.5	-	-	-
32518	1	3	3.0	2	6	3.0
	1	5	5.0	3	14	4.7
32519	4	18	4.5	1	2	2.0
	3	13	4.3	2	11	5.5
32520	24	109	4.5	2	4	2.0
	20	124	6.2	6	25	4.2
TOTAL	79	401	5.1	25	130	5.2

Table 1: Numbers of veterans honourably discharged from the praetorian guard, AD 136 – 160 as evidenced by surviving *laterculi* fragments. After Kennedy 1978: 284, fig. 6 & Scheidel 1996: 125, tab. 3.16. *Evocati* are excluded. See chp. 1, sect. 1a for praetorians made *evocati* before the completion of 16/17 years service.

Preferring to view milliary cohorts as 960 men strong (80 x 2 x 6) rather than a literal 1000, Scheidel reduces this figure to 912 - a 95 % effective, which he suggests was usual for Roman military units. The average annual number of veterans per cohort, 32 (5.3 x 6), is used to calculate manpower loss over the 17 year service period and find the annual number of recruits necessary to maintain the cohort at 912. First, it is necessary to find the optimum annual number of veterans, assuming zero mortality over the service period, 912 divided by 17 = 53.64, but the implied/actual number of veterans is only 32. This 32 is divided by 53.64 = 0.596, and this result is multiplied by 100 to supply an initial survival rate between the optimum and actual number of veterans = 59.6 percent. The annual attrition rate of 40.4 percent then needs to be added to the optimum number of veterans to reveal the annual number of recruits necessary to keep the cohort at 95 percent effective:

$$53.64 + 0.5364 \times 40.4 (21.67) = 75.31.$$

If we take the 32 actual veterans over the probable 75 recruits we find that survival to completion of service was only about 42 percent, and loss through death or injury was 58 percent. As Scheidel points out this is a substantial increase on the 45.5-55 percent loss he estimated for a second century legion, c. 4800 men strong with an average of annual 120 veterans, despite the longer service period of 25-6 years

(1996: 126-7). Kennedy derives his 46 percent survival rate by multiplying his chosen mean of $5.295 \times 17 \times 6 = 540.09$; $1000 - 540 = 460$ (of course Scheidel suggests that Kennedy subtracted 31.77 from 58.82). Therefore Kennedy uses Durry's method to *project* an effective cohort strength and derives survival and loss rates by simple subtraction from an assumed optimum strength. What Scheidel emphasises is that this method is wrong. Firstly, it does not account for annual decremental loss to the original number of recruits. Secondly, by multiplying the average number of veterans per century by years served and the number of centuries in a cohort, unwittingly assumes that the number of veterans is equal to the annual number of recruits. That the projected cohort strength will be erroneous is reinforced by the discrepancy between Kennedy's survival rates and those of Scheidel.

Finally, Scheidel suggests that Kennedy should have put the number of recruits at 81.17 to arrive at a unit of 1000 men. However, this figure is slightly erroneous as it would arrive at a cohort 960 strong; 85.6 annual recruits would be necessary to maintain a 1000 strong cohort at 100 percent effective.¹¹ But with only c. 32 veterans from 85.6 recruits means an even greater loss rate of some 62.6 percent over the 17 year service period. However, Scheidel's method does not seek to find what a unit strength was but to find the number of recruits needed to keep a unit at a certain strength depending on annual loss. It is not possible to determine the strength of the praetorian cohorts from the *laterculi*.

The Size of the Severan Praetorian Cohorts

Having dismissed the calculations of Durry and Kennedy, it is odd that Scheidel states that praetorian centuries in the Severan period were triple the regular strength, i.e. 240 men (3×80), and cohorts optimally 1440 men (1996: 126-7). He notes Kennedy as his source of reference. Kennedy suggests – on the basis of his erroneous calculations from the Severan *laterculi* – that such an increase could be backdated to the revolt of Maternus and his plans to assassinate Commodus, c. AD 187 (Kennedy 1978: 297-298). Herodian, 1.10-11, reports that Commodus

¹¹ Again working on the basis of 32 veterans, about 79.76 recruits would be required annually for a literal millary cohort at 95 percent effective, 950 men. This suggests approximately 40 percent loss over 17 years.

strengthened his bodyguard in response to this threat. However, this need not mean an increase in the size of the Guard but merely of the number of soldiers drawn from it to perform guard duties at the palace and to form the emperor’s personal bodyguard (although this duty was primarily that of the *equites singulares Augusti*). What is more, Herodian’s use of the term *δορυφόρος* need not refer exclusively to praetorians.

A. von Domaszewski maintained that the cohorts were each 1000 strong from Augustus to Commodus and increased to 1500 by Severus (1892: 227, cf. Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: 20). He did not indicate his evidence or reasoning for such an increase. It seems reasonable to assume that he was influenced by Herodian who stated that Septimius Severus quadrupled the garrison of Rome (3.13.4). Von Domaszewski would also have noted the greater number of veterans on the Severan *laterculi*, approximately double per century to that of the Antonine *laterculi* (cf. Table 1, above):

Complete centuries				Incomplete centuries		
Reference (CIL VI)	Number of centuries (by year of enlistment)	Number of soldiers	Mean per century	Number of centuries	Number of soldiers	Mean per century
32533	4	40	10.0	2	22	11.0
32536	7	75	10.7	2	27	13.5
32624	4	61	15.3	5	51	10.2
*32625	3	7	2.3	2	11	5.5
32627	2	22	11.0	2	8	4.0
32628	-	-	-	1	16	16.0
32639	-	-	-	4	54	13.5
32640	3	40	13.3	3	35	11.7
TOTAL	23	245	10.7	21	224	10.7
*TOTAL (without 32625)	20	238	11.9	19	213	11.2

Table 2: Numbers of praetorian veterans recorded on post-AD 193 *laterculi* fragments, excluding *evocati*. After Kennedy 1978: 285, fig. 7 & Scheidel 1996: 125, tab. 3.17.

Of course Scheidel is more concerned with mortality rates than in calculating unit strengths, yet like Durry and Kennedy, he apparently fails to remember that the Guard of Septimius Severus was formed from scratch, it was not a formation whose manpower had been increased by adding to an existing complement. Severus

completely discharged the old Commodan cohorts in 193 (Dio 74.1; Herodian 2.12.2ff). He then reconstituted the unit, perhaps within the space of two – four years. As a new formation it would necessarily have had a far greater number of recruits than required by a long established unit, and consequently, for a considerable period of time, the number of troops discharged from the unit would be accordingly high.

The relevant major praetorian discharge lists date to the reign of Severus or Caracalla: *CIL* VI 32523 & 37184 (AD 204); VI 32533 (209); VI 32536 (211 or before);¹² VI 32624 (Severus or Caracalla).¹³ These *laterculi* have approximately double the number veterans recorded on the Antonine lists, but the Antonine veterans had originally entered a unit whose recruiting and discharge patterns had been constant since c. AD 70 or 76. Severus shattered this pattern and consequently the *laterculi* of his praetorians can only suggest an exaggerated unit size.

Recorded on the rosters of cohorts XX Palmyrenorum in AD 201-204 and 214-216, were not to bring the unit up to strength for war fighting duties but to replace disproportionately large numbers of veterans (cf. chp. 5, sect. 1 c). He proposes convincingly that the cohort had been established very soon after the capture of Dura in 164/5 and that it was raised to milliary strength during Marcus Aurelius' expedition to Syria to confront Avidius Cassius (AD 175). Therefore the high number of recruits for 201-204 would not be connected with recruitment for Severus' brief African war but replaced the soldiers who had been recruited to the new milliary unit in the mid 170's. Following this reasoning, the soldiers recruited in 214-216 need not indicate that the cohort was being brought up to strength for combat duties, but replaced the soldiers recruited from 190 who had themselves reinforced the cohort after the original recruits of 164/5 were discharged (Kennedy 1994: 91-96).

¹² A date in the reign of Septimius is suggested by the titles *pia vindex* without an accompanying honorific imperial *cognomen*. The high occurrence of L. Septimii, P. Helvii suggest legionaries who changed their names on entered the Guard in 193-5. Few M. Aurelii are evident.

¹³ One centurion on the list, Didius Saturninus (a, 13), was a praetorian centurion in 204 and *primus pilus* under Caracalla (*CIL* VI 32523,a, 18; *CIL* XI 7264 = *ILS* 9194). The indication of *dona* specifies a date no later than the reign of Caracalla (cf. Maxfield 1981: 248).

The reverse of the Dura recruitment situation is evident on the praetorian *laterculi*. In comparison to the Antonine lists the number of veterans is disproportionately high but that is because the unit had been recruited from scratch; terms of service for legionary transfers were shorter. Furthermore, the unit was probably maintained at optimum effective because of its central role in the extensive campaigning of Severus and Caracalla. That there are more veterans on the Severan lists does not equate to the unit being any bigger than its Antonine predecessor. The 10,000 praetorians and 15,000 *urbaniciani* attributed by Dio to the reign of Augustus are a reflection of his own time, i.e. the Severan period (Dio 55.24.6). Kennedy suggested that the 10,000 praetorians attributed by Dio to Augustus (55.24.6) were not a reflection of the Severan situation of the Guard, but of the Antonine Guard: 'It is more likely that Dio, knowing at first hand of the Severan change, attributed the Antonine situation, well-known to him, to the Augustan period in origin' (1978: 276). But if Severus, as is generally accepted, increased the complement of each urban cohort from c. 1000 to 1500 men (Fries 1967: 38-42), why doesn't Dio state that August had three milliary urban cohorts, i.e. the Antonine situation that Kennedy believes he imposes on the earlier period?

Dio imposed the size of the Severan Guard onto the Augustan period because it was organised exactly as Antonine Guard with which he was familiar, and the historian assumed the it had always been thus organised. Dio is at pains to emphasise that the ethnic and national makeup of the Severan Guard had changed for the worse (74.2), but he never makes any reference to it being different in terms of size. There is no reason to accept that the praetorian guard, except in the period AD 69-70, ever exceeded 10,000 men.

CIL VI 32533 indicates that each cohort was divided into six centuries (another indication of continuity with the Antonine cohorts). The centuries would be double-sized, 160 men, making each cohort 960 men strong – on paper at least. Clearly, Dio interpreted the term *milliaria* in its literal sense.

Herodian's claim that Severus quadrupled the garrison of Rome (3.13.4) is probably the single most influential remark governing the idea that Severus enlarged the Guard (e.g. Durry 1938: 88; E. Birley 1969: 64-65; Kennedy 1978: 299-301). However, whilst Herodian's statement is a recognition of the increase in the size of the Rome garrison, to say that it was quadrupled is simply a gross

exaggeration and cannot be substantiated, especially when he *excludes* legio II Parthica from the garrison - a fact often ignored by scholars. Kennedy's suggestion that Herodian was influenced by the size of Pupienus' field army in 238 is an attractive solution but unlikely (1978: 299-301; Her. 7.8.9; 8.7.7-8; 8.8.2). Herodian was in Rome in 238 and he was aware that the majority of troops present in the city, namely a mass of German auxiliaries and allies, formed Pupienus' hastily levied field army and were not part of the regular garrison.¹⁴

If only the use of the praetorian *laterculi* were as (apparently) simple as those of the *vigiles*. *CIL* VI 1057 and VI 1058 = *ILS* 2156 are dedications made by the members fifth cohort of *vigiles* in AD 210 to celebrate their successful completion of six years service. The lists of dedicants records the name of every man in the unit, indicating that the cohort's strength had been doubled to c.1120 men in AD 205 (see Rainbird 1986: 150). The increase in the numbers of *vigiles* and *urbaniciani* (Fries 1967: 38-42) could presume a corresponding increase in the number of praetorians, but that would over-estimate the role of the praetorians in Rome itself. It ignores the enormous expense of maintaining them, and forgets that the existence legio II Parthica at Albanum negated any need for an increase in the size of the Guard.

2. The Number of Equites and Speculatores in the Praetorian Guard

The praetorian guard contained cavalry as well as infantry, meaning that the cohorts could be considered *cohortes equitatae*, but there is no specific evidence that they were organised as *cohortes equitatae* or for the actual strength of the cavalry element within the cohorts. Until the reign of Vitellius the praetorian cohorts were quingenary and milliary thereafter (cf. Keppie 1996: 107ff). In an auxiliary *cohors equitata quingenaria*, the six centuries of infantry, each 80 men strong, were complimented by four *turmae*, each of 30 troopers. The milliary auxiliary mounted cohort had ten infantry centuries and 240 horsemen, probably divided into eight *turmae* (Ps.-Hyginus, *de mun. castr.* 26-27). Therefore the proportion of infantry to cavalry in *cohortes equitatae* was 4:1 in quingenary units, and a little over 3:1 in milliary units. However, the evidence for the praetorian guard does not suggest a similar proportion of infantry to cavalry or even clearly indicate the existence of

¹⁴ For the historian's visits to Rome see Whittaker, *Herodian*, pp. xxxii f.

turmae within the cohorts. Indeed the prevailing view on the number of cavalry in the Guard has long been that approximately one tenth of its total manpower were *equites*, with an additional 300 *speculatores* - a much lesser proportion of cavalry than in the part-mounted auxiliary cohorts.¹⁵ Below I will re-examine this evidence and consider the number of cavalry in the Guard.

Praetorian *equites* and *speculatores* were enrolled among the infantry centuries and cohorts probably because they could not enlist as specialists but had to train first as ordinary *pedites*:¹⁶

CIL VI 2519 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aio) Umidio C(ai) f(ilio) / Vellina (tribu) Campan(o), / domo Firmo / Piceno, equiti / coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Sulpici, / mili(itavit) ann(os) VIII, / vix(it) ann(os) XXV. T(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit).

Note that Campanus' epitaph makes no reference to a *turma* or cavalry officer such as a decurion. On another gravestone a *speculator* is also given the status of *miles*:

CIL VI 2743 (Rome)

*D(is) M(anibus). / M(arco) Fadio / Nomantino / speculatori / mil(iti) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Proculi, / mil(itavit) ann(os) XVII, / vix(it) ann(os) XXXVII. M(arcus) Fadius Apelles / patrono b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*¹⁷

¹⁵ Domaszewski 1895: 91; Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: 20, 23-24; Durry 1938: 99-100, 108-110; *RE* 22.2: 1616-17; Passerini 1939: 69-73. Passerini accepted an approximate 10% cavalry element but was not satisfied that the *speculatores* numbered only 300. See also Clauss 1973: 46-79, on the *speculatores* who is extensively referred to by Speidel 1994a: 33-35.

¹⁶ Cf. Breeze 1969: 54, n. 19, for legionary recruits being unable to enter a legion as an *eques*. Only after basic training as a *pedes* might promotion to the cavalry be considered and, if successful, the new cavalryman would still remain on the rolls of his century and cohort even though he might no longer billet with his century.

¹⁷ Note that Nomantinus probably died in his final year of service and would have enlisted aged 20.

Epitaphs and dedications emphasise that the first loyalty and official designation of the *eques* or *speculator* was always bound to the century, but the *equites* rode, camped and presumably fought together as a unit (Pseudo-Hyginus, *de mun. castr.* 7, 8, 30; cf. Josephus *BJ* 3.120 for the legionary cavalry). The *equites* rode under their own *vexillum* (or *vexilla*) essentially forming a detachment within the Guard.¹⁸ The *speculatores* originally constituted a separate corps affiliated to the Guard. The unit probably contained infantry as well as cavalry but modern scholarship has fixed on the latter element. Known as the *speculatores Caesaris* or *Augusti* they acted close bodyguards of the emperor, but the appearance of the *equites singulares Augusti* under Domitian or Trajan diminished this role and they were gradually assimilated into the Guard proper (Clauss 1973; Speidel 1994a: 33-35).¹⁹ By the end of the first century both *equites* and *speculatores* (if any among them were still cavalry) were probably under the command of *exercitatores equitum*. Overall command of the cavalry element may have fallen to a Guard tribune, although there is no evidence for this.

Nowhere is the term *turma* attested in the epigraphy of the praetorian horse, but since Tacitus applied *turmae* to the praetorian cavalry involved in Claudius' great spectacle on the Fucine Lake (*Ann.* 12.56), the *turma* has generally been accepted as its basic sub-unit (Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: 20, 23; Durry 1938: 99). Whether Tacitus' use of *turma* actually reflected the subdivisions of the praetorian cavalry is another matter. In the same passage Tacitus refers to the praetorian infantry as maniples and the same term is applied to auxiliaries in the *Agricola* (28). The presence of *prior* and *posterior* centuries in Imperial cohorts effectively meant the existence of maniples, but the term is never seen on Imperial military inscriptions except in a derivative on epitaphs to refer a comrade as *manipularis* or *commanipularis*. Tacitus may only have used *turma* and *maniple* as general terms for bodies of cavalry and infantry; they need not be accurate descriptions of praetorian or auxiliary organisation.²⁰ However, the *turma* was the standard sub-unit of the Roman cavalry, and scholars have detected the existence of the *turma* in

¹⁸ *Vexillarius equitum*, *CIL* VI 37191 = *ILS* 9190; *AE* 1991: 171.

¹⁹ A diploma of AD 76 reveals that *speculatores* were considered a special corps within the Guard (*ILS* 1993 = *CIL* XVI 2). *ILS* 2014 – 2019 traces the assimilation of the *speculatores* into the Guard.

²⁰ See Saddington, 1975: 179-183, & 1991 for Tacitus' use of military terminology.

a dedicatory list of praetorians dating to 179 or 180 (*CIL* VI 32638 with *AE* 1964: 120, a & b = *Figure 1*, see over page).

The fragmentary list is normally interpreted as the roll of a single century, the consular dates referring to year of enlistment, and the latest date, 179, suggesting erection in January or February 180 when the soldiers recruited in 163 and 164 received *missio* and a celebratory dedication was made by the complete century (cf. Henzen & Bormann, *Eph. ep.* IV, pp. 319-20). It is also possible that the dedication was made in connection with the succession of Commodus in 180. The actual dedicatory part of the inscription is lost and the surviving list of dedicants, numbering 77 soldiers, covers the years 168 to 179.²¹ As the list could originally have stretched back to 163 an uncertain number of names are missing.²² At full strength a praetorian century would have numbered 160 men but as units were generally under strength it is unlikely that the lost entries covering only five years recorded 80 men; 35-40 men is an optimal estimate.

Only the sixty names recorded on *CIL* VI 32638 were available to A. von Domaszewski. He noted that seven of the soldiers were *equites* (and three *speculatores*) and that the list could indicate 100 *equites* per cohort (Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: 20, 23).²³ (Additional fragments added the century's *signifer* and *optio* but no further cavalry - *AE* 1964: 120, a & b). Von Domaszewski did not

²¹ *AE* 1964, b = AD 186; a = 170-171; *CIL* VI 32638 = 171-179.

²² It is possible that the list could have stretched back to 161/2, i.e. 16-17 years back from 179: *CIL* VI 32522 indicates that some praetorians were forced to serve an extra two years because of the Marcomannic wars; the Sarmatian wars will have caused a similar retention of troops beyond their usual length of service. Breeze, 1974: 25, believes 168 to be the earliest enlistment date on the list and that it was erected between 179 (the latest enlistment date) and 184, i.e. a full 16 year service term after 168. The first soldier recorded on the stone was an *optio centuriae*; as the centurion's deputy his name might have headed the list (*AE* 1964: 120, b, 1,2). I have not seen a photo of this fragment of the dedication; perhaps it has a border or similar at the top suggesting that the consular date for 168 is the start of the list?

²³ Domaszewski states that the list recorded 68 names, but this must be a misprint; 68 can be reached if the consular dates are counted. The figure is repeated by Passerini, 1939: 70, and Speidel, 1994a: 170, n. 32. Breeze, 1972: 254, reads *CIL* VI 32638 as recording 60 praetorians (77 with *AE* 1964: 120).

b) APRONIANO COS. AD 168
 OPT. C. VALERIVS. C. F. POLLIA
 M. VETTIVS. M. F. CAM. IANUARIUS
 L. ALFINCIDIVS. L. F. CAM. MARCELLVS
 P. FABIVS. P. F. FAB. MAXIMVS
 T. VIBIVS. T. F. CLA. GEMELLVS
 M. VRSIVS. M. F. CLA. SECVNDVS
 . . CALPVRNIVS. C. F. GAL. R. . . .

a) L. FLAVIVS
 CETH (AD 170)
 H. PR. PC. CEN EMO N
 C. AT VS. COMP
 C. VETTIVS. C. f. SOLVA
 H. TR. C. IVLIVS. C. f. VS. STOB
 SIGN. C. IVLIVS RIANVS. STOB
 T. ADIVTORIVS. C. F. CLA. GEMELLVS. CELEIA
 ELIVS. T. F. VIP. NEPOS. BERO
 HERENNIANO COS AD 171.
 MRSINVS. EMON.

a
 M. FVLVIVS. M. F. CLA. MAXIM. THESS.
 L. BOGIONIVS. L. F. FLA. MISSICIVS. SOLVA
 SP. C. AVFVSTIVS. C. F. CLA. TANNIO. CELEI
 C. DOMITIVS. C. F. CLA. MATERNVS. TEVRIN
 5 TVS M. AVRELIVS. M. F. CLA. AVITVS. CELEI
 M. BAEBIVS. M. F. CAL. LVPERCIANVS. COMPS
 M. VALERIVS. M. F. CLA. SABINIANVS. IVLO
 MAXIMO COS A. 172
 SING. PR. PR. C. ROMANIVS. C. F. IVL. ITALICVS. EMON
 10 C. VENNACIVS. C. F. PVB. TERTIVS. VERON
 SEVERO II COS A. 173
 M. AVRELIVS. M. F. CLA. PATERNVS. CEMEN
 M. AVRELIVS. M. F. CLA. SATVRNIN. CELEI
 M. AVRELIVS. M. F. CLA. SPERATVS. CELEI
 15 T. TITIVS. T. F. CRV. PLACIDVS. TVDER
 SP. C. ANNEVS. C. F. SCAT. FIRMVS. VETLO
 M. SOPRIVS. M. F. PAPI. NEPOS. TICINO
 L. VALERIVS. L. F. CAL. TERTIVS. LVNA
 BVCI C. MANILIVS. C. F. MAEC. FAVSTVS. NIAPOL
 20 BQVB M. VALERIVS. M. F. VEL. VALERIANVS. AQVI
 FLACCO COS A. 174
 M. VALERIVS. M. F. CLA. MAXIMVS. CELEI
 M. DOLVTIVS. M. F. PVB. IVSTVS. FERENT
 BQVB C. AVRELIVS. C. F. IVL. PATERNVS. EMON
 25 BQVB C. ADVRIVS. C. F. AEM. LEO. STOB
 C. PACCIVS. C. F. TER. MAXIMVS. CASIN
 C. IVLIVS. C. F. IVL. STATVTIANVS. EMON
 Q. NINNIVS. Q. F. VEL. SEVERVS. MARR
 PISONE. ET. IVLIANO. COS A. 175
 30 TVS C. IVLIVS. C. F. AEM. VALENS. DVRR
 P. AELIVS. P. F. IVL. VICTORINVS. EMON
 TVS P. AELIVS. P. F. VEL. POTENTINVS. AQVIL
 T. MINICIVS. T. F. ANN. PAVLINVS. CREM
 M. FVFIDIVS. M. F. FAL. QVARTINVS. CAPV

b
 BQVB C. VITRASIVS. C. F. PVB. PRIMVS. CALIB
 B. TRIB C. NOVELLIVS. C. F. PAP. VERINVS. TICIN
 L. APRO. II. ET. POLLIONE II COS A. 176
 SP. L. BASSENNIVS. L. F. OFF. FELIX. MEVI
 5 C. ENASTELLIO. C. F. FAB. EXORATVS. LVCA
 COMMODO. ET. QVINTILLO COS A. 177
 COR. C. MEMORIVS. C. F. FLA. MESSOR. SEGVS
 M. AELIVS. M. F. MEC. MESTRIANVS. PEL
 C. IVLIVS. C. F. FAB. SABINVS. HERAC
 10 M. VETILIVS. M. F. POM. PVDENS. ARRET
 BQVB C. LAETILIVS. C. F. MEN. SPLVS. PRAEN
 BQVB M. CANIVS. M. F. VOT. RESTVTVS. PLACE
 ORFITO. ET. IVLIANO. COS A. 178
 L. CASINIVS. L. F. POM. LEGITIMVS. VOLS
 15 Q. VICCIVS. Q. F. POM. PVDENS. VOLSI
 TI. CLAVDIVS. TI. F. OFF. VICTORIN. MEVA
 M. VETTIVS. M. F. VEL. AVFIDIVS. FIR. PIC
 LIM. TB C. VACCELLIVS. C. F. ANN. IVSTIAN. ARIMI
 M. AELIVS. M. F. POM. IVSTVS. ARRET
 20 M. FARRAX. M. F. STE. SATVRNIN. FOR. VI
 M. AEBVTIVS. M. F. POL. VERVS. PARMA
 T. FLAVIVS. T. F. CAM. LICINIANVS. RAVE
 M. POMPON. M. F. NVC. STORIANVS. CONS
 C. SATRIVS. C. F. LEM. MAXIMVS. BON
 25 M. BADVSIVS. M. F. PAL. MARCIAN. SASI
 COMMODO II COS A. 179
 BQVB C. CRISPIVS. C. F. ANI. SECVNDINVS. VER
 L. METELLIVS. L. F. POL. VALERIANVS. LEP. R. EG
 Q. VIBIVS. Q. F. CLA. NEOPTOLEMVVS. GRVM
 30 C. VETVRIVS. C. F. POL. PROFVTVRVS. PARM
 Q. LOLLIVS. Q. F. MEC. CAESIANVS. BRVN
 Q. LVCILIVS. Q. F. CAM. PRESENS. RAVE
 C. VALERIVS. C. F. CLA. MASCVLIN. CAB. L
 L. MAGIACVS. L. F. ANI. SEVERIN. VERC

demonstrate how he arrived at this figure. He believed that the praetorian cohorts were milliary during the second century, so the list fragment would have represented a half-century. Therefore the seven *equites* could be doubled to at least 14 or 15 per century; the number of *equites* in two centuries (or one maniples) would then equate to a *turma* and confirm Tacitus *Ann.* 12.56. With the addition of an *optio equitum* and *vexillarius equitum* as its officers, the *turma* would have numbered at least 32 men. Each cohort would then contain three *turmae* and therefore 30 *turmae* and 960 *equites* (or more) in the Guard as a whole.²⁴ In other words, approximately 10 % of praetorian strength was cavalry. A. Passerini accepted von Domaszewski's figures without hesitation (1939: 69-70). M. Durry initially accepted each century had about 15 troopers and the Guard as a whole 900 (1939: 99), but he later raised the number in each century to 20 and 1200 cavalry in total (*RE* 22.2: 1616 – with no indication of method or evidence).

Von Domaszewski may have been influenced by Pseudo-Hyginus, whose ideal field army contained four praetorian cohorts²⁵ accompanied by 400 troopers, suggesting 100 cavalry per cohort (*De mun. castr.* 30).²⁶ In the same passage the praetorian horse is outnumbered by 450 *equites singulares*, a unit of milliary strength.²⁷ In another passage Pseudo-Hyginus contemplates the presence of 600 *equites singulares* and only 300 praetorian horsemen. He suggests that 150 of the *singulares* camp with the praetorians to use equal space on either side of the *praetorium* (7), and continues to postulate the presence of 800 or 900 *equites singulares*, who because of their number will camp on either side of the *praetorium*. If an uneven number of praetorian cohorts enter the camp (this could

²⁴ The breakdown follows Durry 1938: 99, but I reach 30 with the addition of *optio* and *vexillarius*.

²⁵ Hyginus' cohorts were almost certainly milliary. That the praetorians' tents take up twice the space of those of the legionaries indicates double-sized cohorts rather than more space accorded to a prestigious unit (*de mun. castr.* 6).

²⁶ The date of the *de munitiōibus castrorum*, mistakenly attributed to Hyginus Grammaticus, is disputed, ranging from the reign of Trajan to the early third century. An early second century date seems most plausible. See Lenoir 1979; Frere 1980; E. Birley 1982; Gilliver 1993.

²⁷ After *ILS* 2558 interpreting 1000 Batavi as the *equites singulares Augusti*: Speidel 1991: 277-282; Speidel 1994a: 46.

mean up to nine cohorts), for the sake of symmetry, the praetorian *equites* will camp in place of one cohort (8). The implication could be that the praetorian horse always camped to one side of the *praetorium* because it had fewer troopers than the *equites singulares Augusti*. However, it may be that Ps.-Hyginus did not envisage more than four or five praetorian cohorts in his field army, therefore the number would not exceed 500 and the cavalry would only camp on one side of the *praetorium* (cf. *de mun. castr.* 30).

M.P. Speidel states that when the Guard went on campaign it took a larger proportion of its cavalry than of its infantry. This is implied by Tacitus *Ann.* 1.24 but only in response to the AD 14 mutinies; it need not reflect the norm for later campaigns or suggest that Ps.-Hyginus' 400 horsemen to four cohort was disproportionate. Speidel also rejects *CIL* VI 32638 as an unreliable source. He asserts that '7 horsemen out of 68 praetorians may be too many, for the same list also comprises 3 *tubicines* – far too many for 68 soldiers' (Speidel 1994a: 170, n. 32).²⁸

Speidel makes a good point. In the legions there appear to have been one *tubicen* and *cornicen* per two centuries (i.e. a maniple; *CIL* VIII 2557 = 18050 = *ILS* 2354, legio III Augusta). The occurrence of *tubicines* and *cornicines* in the praetorian guard was similarly one per maniple and one *bucinator* per cohort (Durry 1938: 101-102; Domazsewski-Dobson 1967: 24).²⁹ Even if the Guard required a pair of trumpeters for every double-century the three *tubicines* on *CIL* VI 32638 are exceptional and might imply that the list may not be the roll of a single century.³⁰

²⁸ Note that Speidel does not refer to the list as the roll of one century. Again note the number of names – 68; I count only 60.

²⁹ Durry derived these results from the occurrence of trumpeters on the *laterculi*. The limited occurrence of *bucinatores* would seem to imply a seniority that career inscriptions do not reflect, but trumpeters were probably too specialised and essential to be considered for promotions to other grades.

³⁰ As the list is only divided by consular years indicating the recruitment dates of the soldiers we can discount that the soldiers were members of cohorts. This would not discount the possibility that it lists soldiers from more than century within the *same* cohort. Additional fragments of the list recorded an *optio* 7 (*centuriae*) and a *signifer* 7 (*centuriae*) but this does not necessarily mean that they were from the same century (*AE* 1964: 120, b, 2; a, 7 – the fragments do not indicate any more cavalry). On lists of praetorians or legionaries linked by a similar *origo* or

I would accept *CIL* VI 32638 as the roll of a single century but emphasise that the *equites* and *tubicines* were recruited under the exceptional circumstances of the Marcomannic and Sarmatian wars. The number of cavalry need not have been regular; everything about the list suggests that the numbers are disproportionate and do not necessarily reflect the situation in every century. A similar praetorian single century list from c. 186, records 41 men with only a single *eques* among them (*AE* 1933: 95, 10). Von Domaszewski's suggestion for 1000 praetorian cavalry is attractive but *CIL* VI 32638 is too problematical an inscription from which to draw firm conclusions. Ps.-Hyginus, *de mun. castr.* 30, remains the best indicator for 1000 cavalry in the Guard..

2a. Occurrence of equites and speculatores on the laterculi

If we look at the ranks of praetorians recorded on the discharge lists of the second century, it is immediately noticeable that there are very few *equites*, despite cavalry apparently probably constituting one tenth of the Guard. Indeed the *speculatores*, who are generally supposed to have numbered 300, are always more prevalent on the discharge lists.³¹

professional association the soldiers' particular centuries and cohorts were not always inscribed. Praetorians might be listed by seniority of service without any reference to rank or cohort (*CIL* VI 32549) or simply by name alone (e.g. *CIL* VI 32544). However, these suggestions are tenuous at best.

³¹ Tacitus described how Otho was elevated by 23 *speculatores* in AD 69 (*Hist.* 1.27). Modern scholars, believing that the *speculatores* were a mounted bodyguard, saw the group as a possible *turma* (Domaszewski 1895: 92; Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: IX, 20, 99-101). The two *speculatores* on *CIL* VI 32638, which was interpreted as the roll of a half-century, meant that there would be at least four *speculatores* per century and between 24 and 30 per cohort and compliment the figure in Tacitus. A total of 300 seemed to be confirmed by the apparent existence of a senior centurion called *trecenarius*, 'the commander of 300', and the figure would parallel the size of the bodyguards accompanying Octavian and Antony at Mutina in 43 BC (Appian *BC* 4.2; Dury 1938: 108-9, 138). However, the 300 bodyguards that respectively accompanied Octavian and Antony in the ceremony of their reconciliation were purely symbolic. It is unclear if they were on foot or mounted and their number need not reflect the normal size of a bodyguard. The apparent connection between the *speculatores* and the *trecenarius* is tenuous at best. J.C Mann made the attractive suggestion

If there were 300 *speculatores* in the Guard, in an ideal situation 1/17th would be discharged each year - 17.6 veterans. However, not every man would survive to reach discharge; if we apply 58 % manpower loss over the service period this would reduce the number discharged to about 7.4 veterans (cf. Scheidel 1996: 126-7, for the Antonine cohorts). Applying the 58 % loss to the c.1000 *equites* would result in 24.7 veterans after 17 years: more than three times the number of *speculatores*. The situation should be reversed in favour of the *equites*, but this is not evident on any list. In fact, the most extensive Antonine *laterculus* records no *equites* but lists 20 *speculatores* (*CIL* VI 32520, AD 160 = *Figure 2*).³² This exceeds the optimum 17.6 veterans, and is almost three times the 7.4 veterans after 58 % loss. The *laterculus* could suggest that the total number of *speculatores* in the Guard was nearer 900! The surviving portions of the *laterculus* list the veterans of 29 centuries from cohorts I - VII, but the makeup of only 17 centuries is complete. Therefore only about half the original number of veterans remains and the number of *speculatores* could be doubled again, but this would not necessarily suggest a total complement in excess of 1800 but a higher survival rate amongst the *speculatores*.³³ Interestingly the 20 *speculatores* account for 9.7 % of the 207 entries on the list – virtually the proportion of cavalry in a cohort suggested by Ps. Hyginus (*de mun. castr.* 30). This suggests that the missing *equites* on the other Antonine discharge lists are in fact the men identified as *speculatores*:

a) *CIL* VI 32515 (AD 136): *equites* 3; *speculatores* 8 ³⁴

that *trecenarius* was probably never an office but a status indicating centurions who had passed through the three main Rome centurionates – the *vigiles*, urban cohorts and praetorian cohorts and progressed on to the most senior legionary centurionates (1983: 136-140).

³² a, II, 3, 7, 26, 28, 31, 52, 59; III, 3, 6, 10, 11, 24, 49; IV, 11, 22,; V, 2, 11; b, 26, 39, 45.

³³ The 20 *speculatores* on *CIL* VI 32520 represent 9.7 % of the 206 entries on the list where the margin used to indicate ranks above *miles* has survived (i.e. frag. a, cols II, III, IIII, V, 2-17, 38, 39, 43-58; frag. b). A similar result is evident from *CIL* VI 32522: 7 *speculatores* from 69 entries = 10.14 %. *CIL* VI 32515: 8 *speculatores* from 96 entries = 8.3 %. The results suggest a total number of *speculatores* of between 800 and 1100.

³⁴ *Equites*: a, II, 14; III, 30; e, II 16. *Speculatores*: a, II 26, 35, 36; III 32, 34; e, II, 6, 20, 28.

b) *CIL* VI 32516 (AD 142): *equites* 0; *speculatores* 2 ³⁵

c) *CIL* VI 32518 (AD 154): *equites* 0; *speculatores* 2 ³⁶

d) *CIL* VI 32519 (AD 158): *equites* 0; *speculatores* 3 ³⁷

e) *CIL* VI 32520 (AD 160): *equites* 0; *speculatores* 20 ³⁸

f) *CIL* VI 32522 (AD 172): *equites* 0; *speculatores* 7 ³⁹

The *eques* could sometimes follow a simpler promotion route than the foot soldier in the century. He might progress through the ranks of *optio equitum* or *vexillarius equitum*, to *fisci curator* or *cornicularius tribuni* (Breeze 1974: 250). *Cornicularii* who survived to the completion of service would almost certainly be retained as *evocati*. Therefore a limited number of *fisci curatores* and *evocati* on the lists will have been *equites* earlier in their service, but they cannot account for large numbers of former *equites*. On *CIL* VI 32638, from which the total number of cavalry is normally calculated, all the *equites* were among the more recent recruits of 173-179 (a, 20, 24, 25; b, 1, 11, 12, 27). A gravestone indicates that one soldier served only one year as *miles* before promotion to *eques*, at which rank he remained for two years and nine months until promoted to *tesserarius* (*CIL* XI 6350 = *ILS* 9066). These inscriptions might suggest that only younger men served in the cavalry, but other praetorians clearly died with the rank of *eques* during the middle or towards the end of their service.⁴⁰

The simple solution remains that many *equites* were promoted to *speculator* towards the end of their service, perhaps in their final year, veteran horsemen

³⁵ 18, 19.

³⁶ b, 10, 11.

³⁷ a, II, 10; III, 1, 6

³⁸ a, II, 3, 7, 26, 28, 31, 52, 59; III, 3, 6, 10, 11, 24, 49; IV, 11, 22; V, 2, 11; b, 26, 39, 45.

³⁹ a, II, 2, 15; III 6; b, II, 7, 19, 21, 25.

⁴⁰ For example, 8 years: *CIL* VI 2556, VI 2572; 12 years: VI 2679, VI 275; 13 years: VI 2439, VI 2718, VI 2765. One third century praetorian was only promoted to *eques* after 14 years service in the Guard and 2 years in a legion (*CIL* VI 2601).

channelled into the elite of the praetorian cavalry. Thus *equites* and *speculatores* together numbered about 1000 troopers.

In the Severan period the number of *equites* and *speculatores* presumably reflected that of the Antonine cohorts, both ranks were evident on gravestones and dedications but not to the same extent.⁴¹ Praetorian *equites* under their training officer accompanied Severus to Britain (*CIL* VI 2464 = *ILS* 2089). *Equites* remain outnumbered by *speculatores* on the *laterculi*:

CIL VI 32533 (AD 209): *equites*, 0; *speculatores* 2 ⁴²

CIL VI 32536 (Severus): *equites* 2; *speculatores* 7 ⁴³

CIL VI 32623 (Severus): *equites* 1; *speculatores* 0 ⁴⁴

However, other very extensive lists dating to the reigns of Severus or Caracalla indicate no *equites* or *speculatores* at all.⁴⁵ If Severus doubled the size of the *equites singulares Augusti* to 2000 troopers in 193 as M.P. Speidel suggests (1994a: 57-60), he might have accordingly scaled down the number of praetorian troopers while he was involved in the reconstitution of the Guard. Other mounted *numeri* based at Rome, Mauri and Osrhoeni, could have reduced further the need for large numbers of praetorian cavalry. However, recalling Dio's reference to the praetorians wearing scale armour (78.34.4), praetorian *equites* might be represented

⁴¹ For example, *Equites*: *AE* 1991: 171; *CIL* III 6046; VI 2591; VI 2600; VI 2601 = *ILS* 2055; VI 2672 = *ILS* 2054; VI 2678; VI 2695; VI 2704; VI 2746; VI 2977 = *ILS* 2173; *Speculatores*: *CIL* VI 2453; VI 2528; VI 2558; VI 2561; VI 2586 = *ILS* 2019; VI 32534; VI 32535. This is not a complete list.

⁴² B, I, 19, 20.

⁴³ The date is suggested by the titles *pia vindex* without an accompanying honorific imperial *cognomen*. *Speculatores*: c, I, 5, 29, 36, 42; d, I, 11, 42; c, I, 3, *BP* is might be a mistake for *SP*, but is most probably an abbreviation for *beneficiarius praefecti*. *Equites*: c, II, 25; d, II, 26. The apparent abbreviation *EC* probably refers to a *fiscus curator* (c, II, 19).

⁴⁴ C, 22. One centurion on the list, Didius Saturninus (a, 13) was a praetorian centurion in 204 and *primus pilus* under Caracalla (*CIL* VI 32523,a, 18; *CIL* XI 7264 = *ILS* 9194).

⁴⁵ Few other ranks are indicated, mostly reference to *evocatio* – *CIL* VI 32523 & 37184, 32625-32628, 32639, 32640.

on the Battle of the Milvian Bridge frieze of the Arch of Constantine. The defeated and drowning cavalry of Maxentius wear conspicuous scale armour whilst Constantine's horsemen are unarmoured.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Speidel, 1986: 253-62, with relevant plates, suggests that the armoured cavalry were *equites singulares*.

3. LEGIO II PARTHICA

*Severus [formed] the Parthicae – the First and Third quartered in Mesopotamia, and the Second, quartered in Italy.*¹

Septimius Severus established three new legions, I, II and III Parthica (Dio 55.24.4; cf. *CIL* VI 3492 = *ILS* 2288). This raised the total number of legions in the Empire to thirty-three, the highest number yet in commission. Little is known of legions I and III Parthica but extensive evidence exists for II Parthica.

1. The formation of the legiones Parthicae

Following his march on Rome, Septimius Severus began the enrollment of what was to become legio II Parthica. Herodian states that, as well as beginning the reconstitution of the Praetorian Guard in June-July 193, Severus conducted a levy (*dilectus*) throughout Italy (2.14.5-7).² This levy should be seen as fundamental to the establishment of legio II Parthica and may be connected with the *dilectus* recorded in *CIL* X 1127. No other unit in Severus' empire, except the urban cohorts and vigiles, had such a substantial element of Italian soldiers. One soldier from Fanum Fortunae, who served first in II Parthica and later transferred to Severus' Guard, was arguably an original recruit (*CIL* VI 32540).³

Severus left Rome in July to confront Pescennius Niger and the recruitment process for the new legion continued as he made his headquarters at Perinthus in Thrace (Dio 74.6.3). Severus preferred to prosecute the war against Niger through his generals Claudius Candidus and Cornelius Anullinus; the new emperor remained in Thrace to

¹ Dio 55.24.4, Cary's Loeb translation

² Mann 1963: 486-487 for all three Parthian legions formed in 196-7 exclusively from Italian recruits. Mann asserted that Herodian was mistaken about the date of Severus' Italian levy, and suggested that it did not actually occur until 196/7 in advance of the second Parthian war. i.e. that Severus would have had no time to recruit and train any full legions during the course of the civil war against Niger (cf. Ritterling *RE* XII 1308-9, 1476-77). Formation of the legion in 196: Balty 1988: 99. Formation in 197: Forni 1953: 97.

³ [*Pro salute Imp. Caesaris / M. Aur. Antonini Aug. Imp. Cae]s/aris L. S[eptimi Severi Pii] / Pertinac[is Augusti ---] / fil. pon---*].... [*--- F]ano For. / [mil. leg. II P]ar. trans/[lat. in coh ... pr. ex corni]culario / [--- 7 (centurio) coh. ei]usdem / [---]RA ...* (cf. Mommsen *Eph. Epig.* V, p. 205; Passerini 1939: 173, n. 2; 187; Forni 1953: 187, n. 1.)

distance himself from any setback and perhaps to protect himself from the still uncertain loyalties of his generals (Graham 1973: 260-267).⁴ Severus was based in Thrace until at least January 194 following Claudius Candidus' defeats of Niger at Cyzicus and Nicaea, and is not attested in the east until after Anullinus' final defeat of Niger at Issus in April or May 194.⁵ Whilst in Thrace Severus surely accessed the most abundant resource of recruits in the empire, adding to the levies from Italy, and whatever recruits he had raised on his march from Italy to Thrace. It is also attractive to see the new legion being based around small veteran cadres. Established legions were often reinforced by permanent drafts from other legions (e.g. *ILS* 2314-2320, 2487) and such drafts should be viewed as a means on which to build new legions. The Moesian legionary vexillations, and perhaps the auxiliaries, under the command of Marius Maximus involved in the lengthy siege of Byzantium (*CIL* VI 1450 = *ILS* 2935), would have constituted an obvious source of experienced troops. We can also expect that a number of the Pannonian advance troops who, under the command of Fabius Cilo had narrowly averted the capture of Perinthus by Niger (*CIL* VI 1409 = *ILS* 1142; *AE* 1926: 79), were rewarded with adlection into the new praetorian guard. Other legionaries could have been transferred from their old units to add to the experienced core for the new legion.⁶ Further drafts might then be drawn from Claudius Candidus' main Pannonian army (*CIL* II 4114 = *ILS* 1140).

There is no direct evidence for the transfer of experienced soldiers to the formative II Parthica but *CIL* XIV 2283 records one soldier who was honorably discharged from the legion after 19 years service, sometime in the reign of Caracalla or Elagabalus. His shorter than usual service might be explained by transfer to the new unit in the late second or early third centuries. Spiedel, 1990: 137, also suggests that II Parthica

⁴ Severus' first major campaign had been his march on Italy in 193. He only took the field in Mesopotamia against Parthian vassals once Niger had been defeated in Syria (Dio 75.2). Lugdunum was his first pitched battle (Dio 75.6).

⁵ Severus is attested at Prusias ad Hypium, 60 miles to the east of Nicomedia (Halfmann 1986: 216, 219). For the date of the battle see E. Birley 1988: 113 & 246, n. 13.

⁶ There are no clear examples of legionaries or auxiliaries transferred from other units. *CIL* VIII 9391 = *ILS* 2046 appears to record the transfer of an auxiliary of Norican origin from cohorts II Breucorum to the Guard. Durry advocated a third century date (1938: 250), but other scholars have preferred a date in connection with Vitellius' formation of 16 new praetorian cohorts from his legions and auxilia in 69 (Tac. *Hist.* 2.94; Dessau *ILS* p. 413; Syme 1939: 247). Domaszewski-Dobson, 1967: 57, 244, restores the text to indicate a legionary transferred from legio II Italica who progressed to a centurionate in the cohort.

was originally raised from field army detachments on the basis of the epigraphic formulae employed by the legion. Namely that the soldiers' practice of indicating the number of their cohort and century's (or centurion's) title, i.e. *VIII hastatus prior*, stems directly from field army usage. When legionary troops were operating in vexillations the practice of using the centurion's *nomen* in the genitive to indicate century was not practical; in a composite field army it would not be easily recognised. The identification of the century's title would automatically indicate its tactical role and position in the battle line. Legio II Traiana employed a similar formula (see Speidel 1983: 47), as did the other Parthian legions (*CIL* VIII 2877 = *ILS* 2653 for III Parthica). Speidel suggests the use of the formula shows that II Parthica was originally formed out of field army detachments. Compare *ILS* 2314 – 2320 for transfers between legions in the Severan period. However, there is no obvious epigraphic evidence for transfer of soldiers from other units to II Parthica until the later third century, e.g. Traianus Mucianus transferred from cohorts I Concordia to II Parthica during the mid third century (*IGBulg.* III.2, 1570 = *ILS* 9479). See Christol 1977: 393-408 for Mucianus' promotion to the praetorian guard and the highest military commands beyond.

Legio II Parthica's major sources of recruitment in the Severan period were Thrace, Italy, Pannonia and wider Illyricum.⁷ These areas compliment the sources available to Severus in 193/4 and were they exploited by him to create a new unit loyal only to him, adding to his personal fledgling field army of praetorians and horse guards.

Legions I and III Parthica were probably enrolled exclusively in the east from the massive numbers of conscripts levied by Niger and his generals from the cities of Syria. These *tirones* were without unit or purpose following Niger's defeat at Issus and had the dubious advantage of already being armed and trained to some degree (Herodian 3.2.2; Kennedy 1987: 60). J.C. Mann's suggestion that I and III Parthica were recruited in exclusively in Italy in 196/7 is highly unlikely (1963: 486). The constitution and training of the Parthian legions was complete by the end of the first Parthian war. Iulius Pacatianus, the first procurator of Osrhoene, which had been annexed during the war, is also named as *praefectus legionis Parthicae*:

⁷ Cf. Forni 1992: 120-121; Mann 1983: 49, 157, tab. 31; Balty & Van Rengen 1993 for further *origines*.

CIL XII 1856 = *ILS* 1353 = Pflaum II, no. 229, 2 (Vienne)⁸

C(aio) Iulio Pacatiano [v(iro) e(gregio)], proc(uratori). / Augustorum nostrorum, militiis / equestribus perfuncto, proc(uratori) provin(iae). / O[sr]hoenae, praefecto legionis Parth/icae, pr[o]c(uratori) Alpium Co[t]tiarum, adlecto / inter comit[es] A]uggg(ustorum) nnn(ostrorum (trium)), procurator(i) / pro legato provinc(iae) Mauretaniae Tingi/tanae, col[o]nia Aelia Aug(usta) Italica / p[atr]ono merentissimo.

A milestone from the new province has securely dated Pacatianus' procuratorship to 195 (Wagner 1983: 110; 113-114 = *AE* 1984: 919). Therefore the legionary command was either concurrent with the procuratorship of Osrhoene (perhaps beginning in 194) or later in 195 during the Mesopotamian war (195). Pacatianus' subsequent procuratorship of the Cottian Alps is to be linked with the essential defence of the Alpine passes from Albinus in 196 (cf. Herodian 3.3.10), and thus cannot be considered a demotion.⁹ The Parthian legion may have been part of his defence force. This means that the foundation of one of the legions, and probably of all three, can be securely dated to 194/5 (cf. Kennedy 1987: 59-60; Smith 1972: 486, n.28). The legion might even have taken part in the conquest of Osrhoene: Niger's generals had saved Severus the time of conscripting but not entirely of training. Therefore in 195 one Parthian legion was located in Osrhoene as much for future advance into Mesopotamia as to police the new province (although as noted above it may have fought in the Lugdunum campaign).

Pflaum suggested that Pacatianus' legion, because of its lack of numeral, was I Parthica (Pflaum II, no. 229). Singara was the base of I Parthica in Mesopotamia (Speidel & Reynolds 1985: 31-35; *ILS* 9477 = *AE* 1985: 800 = *SEG* 1985: 1084). The city was the most easterly legionary base in the empire and presumably I Parthica played a central role in the conquest of the surrounding region in 197-9. Rhesaina has often been identified as the base of legio III Parthica, based on copper coinage from the city bearing a vexillum with the legend, *LEG III P S* (Castelin 1946: 6ff). However, the vexillum surely refers to a detachment stationed in the city (e.g. compare the situation at Dura Europos), the 'S' of the legend referring to the title *Severiana*, an honorific title granted by Severus Alexander (AD 222-235).¹⁰ Kennedy asserts that the coins only refer to a veteran colony and prefers to link the legion with

⁸ As Geta is recorded as Augustus this dates the stone to 210/11.

⁹ For this command see also *CIL* VI 1642.

¹⁰ The letter is actually reversed.

Nisibis, capital of Roman Mesopotamia (1987: 60-61). Indeed, the successful defence of the city by Laetus in 197-8 may be explained if it already had a permanent legionary garrison (Dio 75.9).

It has been suggested that legio III Parthica was formed around an experienced cadre of veterans from legio III Augusta and trained in Numidia before marching east to fight in Severus' second Parthian war (Ritterling *RE* XII, 1308; E. Birley 1988: 209-210).¹¹ This theory is attractive – veteran troops forming the core of the new legion – but the suggested source of the cadre is unlikely as the inscriptions on which this suggestion is based give the legion the title *Severiana*:

CIL VIII 2877 = *ILS* 2653 (Lambaesis)

D(is) M(anibus). / T(itus) Fl(avius) Virilis 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), / 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), / 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis), / 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), / 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) Parth(icae) Sever(ianae) / (cohorte) VIIII hast(atus) poster(ior), / vixit annis LXX, / stip(endiorum) XXXXV. Lolliia / Bodicca coniux / et Flavi Victor et / Victorinus fili / heredes ex HS / ICC n(ummis) faciendum curaver(unt).

CIL III 2891 (Lambaesis)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / I. Bassus Sulpici/anus, 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) For(tis), / item 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimi)g(eniae) p(iae) f(idelis), / item 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), / item 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis), / item 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) III Parthicae Severianae, / vix(it) ann(is) LIIII, / milit(avit) ann(is) XXXVII. / Iulia Satur/nina uxor / dulcissimo marito bene / merenti fecit, cu/rant(e) I(ulio) Basso Do/nato procurat(ore).

The title almost certainly refers to Severus Alexander rather than Septimius Severus (Fitz 1983: 90ff; *contra* Speidel 1983a: 118-23, but not convincing). The presence of elements of III Parthica in Africa could have been connected with the mutinous state of the army in Mesopotamia during Alexander's reign when the prefect was murdered (Dio 80.4.2). Perhaps the discontented elements were temporarily transferred to Africa where the single legion III Augusta always had to patrol and garrison huge swathes of desert and steppe terrain. The legionaries of III Parthica would be amply

¹¹ I take the reference from Birley's *Mavors* volume as the original paper (E. Birley 1963/64, see bibliography) was reset for inclusion.

suited to such a task and were placed under the command of long service centurions transferred from III Augusta. Indeed, when Elagabalus appears to have disbanded legio III Gallica for rebelling under its commander Verus in 218/19, some of its men were transferred to legio III Augusta in Numidia (Dio 80.7.1-3; Ritterling *RE* XII, 1525-27).¹² Praetorian activity is also known at Thysdrus in Africa at this time (*AE* 1908: 157).¹³

All three Parthian legions were under the command of equestrian legates, often professional soldiers who risen from the ranks. *CIL* VI 3410 shows that an early *praefectus* of II Parthica had been *primus pilus bis*. The prefect of II Parthica was himself under the command of the praetorian prefect. (See also Dio 78.13.3. and SHA *Cara*. 6.7, for II Parthica; *CIL* III 99 = *ILS* 2771 for I Parthica.) A career inscription indicates that Licinius Hierocletus was *praefecto legionis secundae Parthicae Severianae [Alexandrianae] vice legati* (*ILS* 1358). Therefore the apparent legate of the legion on *AE* 1993: 1586 need only refer to a *praefectus vice legati*.

If I am correct in the assumption that Severus had already begun the recruitment of legio II Parthica in 193, it saw its first action during the first Parthian war – the first real campaign in which Severus actively took part (cf. Dio 75.2). This explains the legion's title but not its numeral.¹⁴ Severus envisaged II Parthica from the start as a 'mobile' legion, which along with the praetorians would form the core of his field armies. Hence the legion was based at Albanum, a little south of Rome, and not left to garrison Mesopotamia. Consequently, the legion fought at Lugdunum in 197 and is probably to be included among the 'guards' (δορυφόροι) whom Severus led to near disaster when the British legionaries of Albinus feigned a retreat and drew Severus' army on to booby-trapped pits (Dio 75.6.3-8).

A. Birley has stated that the legion did not take part in the second Parthian war but was left to garrison Italy (1988: 129). The construction of the legion's fortress at

¹² The disbanding of the legion is presumed from the erasure of its name from *CIL* III 3584 = *ILS* 2657 (Aradus) and *CIL* III 138 & 14385b = *IGLS* 2711-12 (Heliopolis (Baalbek)). Soldiers transferred to III Augusta: *CIL* VIII 2904 = *ILS* 2315; VIII 3049 = *ILS* 2314; VIII 3113; VIII 3157 = *ILS* 2317; VIII 4310 = *ILS* 2316; VIII 23989; *AE* 1898: 13.

¹³ *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). Olus Cosinius For/tis, mil(es) cohort(is) VI / pr(aetoriae) piaevindicis / Severianae, praepo/[situs --- ---]*.

¹⁴ Kennedy, 1987: 66, n. 56, proposes that the three legions might have originally been entitled *Arabica*, *Parthica* and *Adiabonica*.

Albanum seems to have occurred in the first decade of the third century (Tortorici 1975: 91). Severus did not return from the east until 202, but the construction of the fortress could have begun before this date by *remansores* (left in 197 after Lugdunum) and civilian workers. The lack of activity at Albanum until c.200 suggests that legion was employed elsewhere. Considering the legion's central role in the subsequent campaigns of Caracalla, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Maximinus and Gordian III, I see no reason to doubt why elements of it did not take part in the second Parthian war. A gravestone from Albanum records a legionary recruited in 197 (*CIL* VI 3409).¹⁵ The date of enlistment has been taken to mark the approximate foundation date of the legion (e.g. Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1476-77). What it actually tells us is that the casualties of the first Parthian war and the war against Albinus were being made good.¹⁶ Whilst the main body of the legion was on campaign, the essential function of recruiting and training new legionaries continued: *AE* 1981: 34 and *ILS* 505 shows that soldiers were recruited in 216 and 218, i.e. during the course Caracalla's and Macrinus' Parthian war.

2. Lanciarii

Since 1879, and more particularly over the course of the last 36 years, extensive and regular epigraphic finds from Apamea in Syria have revealed much important and unique information about the organisation of legio II Parthica. The legion had its winter quarters at Apamea during the Parthian and Persian wars of Caracalla, Severus Alexander and Gordian III (see Balty 1987; 1988; Balty & Van Rengen 1993; Van Rengen 2000). The long periodic stays of the legion at Apamea left a wealth of epigraphic evidence. After the city was sacked by Shapur I of Persia in the 250's, a

¹⁵ The text is fragmentary and has been variously restored: Th. Mommsen, *CIL* VI, p. 796: [--- / bene] mer(enti) fecit. / [--- L]aterano et Ru/[fino co(n)s(ulibus) [197] in leg(ione) II Parth(ica) coh(orte)] IIII mil(es) fact(us) est, di/[vo Antonino IIII et Balbino co(n)s(ulibus) [213] defun]ctus est, aequ(e) (anno) XI, / [---] optio anni XIII / [--- defu]nctus est (anno) XVII / [equiti, singulari? praefe]cti, optione prim/[ipili leg(ionis) II] Parthicae...

Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: 232: [--- in leg(ione) II Parth(ica) L]aterano et Ru/[fino cos. [197] ann(or)um XV]IIII mil(es) fact(us) est, di/[scens equit(em) (annis) --- fa]ctus est, aequ(e) (anni) XI, / [---] optio anni XIII / [--- defu]nctus est (anno) XVII / [Antonino IIII cos. [213] defun]cti, optione prim/[ipili leg(ionis) II] Parthicae... This restoration seems more acceptable. Compare *CIL* VI 2566 = *ILS* 2048 for recording age and year of recruitment.

¹⁶ Ritterling thus asserted that the legion was formed too late to take part in the second Parthian war.

large number of gravestones commemorating soldiers of II Parthica (and of a few other units) were used to reinforce the city walls, particularly in tower XV, where more than 130 inscriptions have been discovered. As well as attesting the presence of the legion at Apamea at various periods, the inscriptions have revealed a number of new ranks unique to the legion. Primary among them is that of *lanciarus*.

The *lanciarum* of legio II Parthica are named on two gravestones from Apamea dated to the period of Caracalla's Parthian war, 215-218 (Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 25-25, pls. 4-5). The stones, one a stele, the other a cippus, also bear reliefs of the dead, showing them holding bundles of four or five small *lanceae*, the javelins from which they drew their title of 'lancer'. A third stone records a soldier described as *miles* but the relief of the deceased shows him similarly armed with *lanceae*, and the title *Antoniniana* on his epitaph confirms the Caracallan date (Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 24, pl. 3 = *AE* 1993: 1573). The light javelins indicate that the legion's *lanciarum* could act as open-order skirmishers (cf. Herodian 4.15.1) like the ancient *velites*, or drawn up behind the heavy infantry they would supply missile support (cf. Arrian *Ektaxis* 19, 26; Dio 74.7.2).¹⁷

The *lanciarum* of legio II Parthica are the first attested in any legion but are not the earliest examples in the Imperial army. That honour currently goes to troopers of the ala Sebosiana in Britain in the late first century AD. In a letter to the unit's prefect the decurion Docilis gives the names of those *lanciarum* within his *turma* 'who were missing lances' (Tomlin 1998: 55-63 = *Tabulae Luguvalienses* no. 16; Tomlin 1999: 126-138). Docilis' letter has revealed that his mounted *lanciarum* were armed with two types of *lancea*: a single heavy thrusting weapon, a lance or pike as the modern reader would understand it, and two (*lanceae*) *subarmales*, smaller throwing javelins (Tomlin 1999: 133-135).¹⁸ The *lanciarum* of II Parthica were clearly armed with the

¹⁷ *Lanciarum* are generally believed to have been *antesignani*, that is the soldiers who fought before the standards (Speidel 1992a: 14ff.; Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 25), but it is clear that they also supplied missile support from behind the main battle. Frontinus 2.3.17 distinguishes battle lines of *antesignani* and *velites*; the passage would suggest that *antesignani* were simply the main front line troops, not that they were exclusively light troops. Cf. Bell 1965: 417-422. However, Parker saw Caesar's *antesignani* as regular legionaries who were selected to fight as *expediti* before the main battle line and were not dedicated light troops (1928:38-39).

¹⁸ Although the *lancea* is normally associated with light throwing javelins by modern scholars, Roman authors were not consistent and used the term interchangeably with *hasta* and other terms to indicate a large range of shaft weapons. For the *lancea* see *RE* XII: 618-619; *Der Neu*

latter weapon. Josephus says that the javelins carried by the Roman cavalry in first century Judaea were as long as spears (*BJ* 3.96).

Although the *lanciarrii* of II Parthica are the first legionaries to bear the rank, lightly armed troops had always been part of the legion's makeup. A mid-late first century relief sculpture of a lightly equipped legionary armed with three short javelins (c. 3 ft long?) and an oval shield has survived on a column base from the legionary *principia* at Mainz. The other bases show heavily armed legionaries with rectangular *scuta* and *pila* fighting in close order, but the light armed legionary runs forward alone, about to throw one javelin or thrust with a short spear, indicating that he is skirmishing in front of the line of heavy infantry. The pre-AD 43 gravestone of Flavoleius Cordus, *miles* of legio XIV Gemina, shows him armed with a long slender javelin with a throwing thong and a large oval or round shield, which might also identify him as a proto-*lanciarrius*.¹⁹ Also notable is an inscription recording the dedication of a *scutum* and *lancea* by a centurion of legio III Cyrenaica to the god Vihansa (*ILS* 4755). But was the *lancea* a javelin or a spear? Interestingly, the gravestone of an early praetorian veteran is decorated with his panoply, including a round shield and three short javelins (Franzoni 1987, no. 3). Unfortunately the veteran does not specify his rank within the Guard – the equipment could also be that of an *eques*.

There are also literary references to light-armed legionaries. A passage in Tacitus recounting the destruction of a force of Rhoxolani in 69 suggests the use of the *lancea* by both the legionaries and auxiliaries engaged in the successful ambush (*Hist.* 1.79).

²⁰ But as noted above, *lancea* need not refer only to a light javelin, it could mean a

Pauly, vol. 6: 1091. Mounted *lanciarrii* are not attested again until c. 300 (*ILS* 2791, see below).

¹⁹ Speidel 1992: 15-18, figs 5, 6a & b. The light armed Mainz legionary is normally identified as an auxiliary (e.g. Robinson 1975: 79, pl. 199, with caption). Speidel, 1992a: 16-18, suggests that oval shields were the mark of *lanciarrii*-type legionaries, at least in the first century AD. Oval shields would have been lighter and more maneuverable than the rectangular *scutum* but were unlikely to be the preserve of just light troops. Note the combination of *pila* and oval shield on the gravestone of a soldier in legio II Adiutrix (Robinson 1975: 167, pl. 470; late first-early second century). Van Driel-Murray stresses the archaeological evidence for the use of oval shields by the majority of legionaries from c. 130, seeing the *scutum* as a specialist article of equipment (1986: 146; 1988: 58).

²⁰ 'Romanus miles facilis lorica et missili pilo aut lanceis adsultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio inermem Sarmatam...'

spear and there is no good evidence to suggest that all heavy equipped legionaries were armed exclusively with the *pilum*. We should not discount the continuity of *triarii*-type legionaries into the Empire; spearheads are found on the sites of legionary bases. Arrian describes a general division of armament in the Cappadocian legions, XII Fulminata and XV Apollinaris in his battle formation against the Alani: half the legionaries were armed with *pila* or pikes, half with *lanceae* (*Ectaxis* 15-18; cf. Lucian *Alex.* 55). The passage does not necessarily point to 50 % of legionaries always being armed with *lanceae*, only that legionaries were skilled with a variety of shaft weapons and were armed according to a particular tactical situation.

Perhaps most interestingly, Dio describes how in AD 185 an angry ‘delegation’ of 1500 legionaries from Britain was permitted by Commodus to lynch the increasingly powerful praetorian prefect Perennis, whom they believed to be plotting against the emperor. Dio describes the soldiers as *ακοντιστας* – javelin men (72.9.2-3). Their selection for the ‘delegation’ by the legates of Britain suggests that they were the elite troops of their legions, and their number indicates that each legion had at least 500 such troops, equivalent to the strength of a cohort.²¹ Therefore the *lanciarium* of II Parthica were also elite troops - the only legionaries before the very late third century to be *officially* designated with the rank and title of *lanciarium* – and probably numbered around five hundred men. The *lanciarium* were drawn from all the cohorts and centuries of the legion, on whose books they would remain for purposes of official military identity and administration but, like the legionary cavalry they would have formed their own special corps with the legion (cf. Josephus *BJ* 3.120).

Legionary *lanciarium* are not heard of again until AD 300 in the form of a vexillation of *lanciarium* from legio II Traiana and the *lanciarium* of legio III Diocletiana in Egypt (*P. Beatty Panop.* II, 285-7, 301).²² Both groups of *lanciarium* formed units effectively independent of their parent legions (cf. Tomlin 2000: 167). Other *lanciarium* were

²¹ In an attempt to explain the extraordinary episode A. Birley, 1988: 74, suggests that the men formed a vexillation hunting brigands and deserters in Gaul.

²² These *lanciarium* were paid the same as regular legionaries – this does suggest any superiority to other soldiers. Note also Vegetius’ story of two elite legions, each 6000 men strong, called *Mattiobarbuli* after their use of the short lead-weighted javelins, who were transferred from Illyricum to the courts of Diocletian and Maximian to become the Ioviani and Herculiani (*Epit.* 1.17; Hoffman 1969-70: 215-217). More likely these *Mattiobarbuli* were legionaries promoted to a *numerus* attached to the imperial *comitatus* that became known as the Mattiarii and in the fourth century brigaded with the Lanciarium (see Tomlin 2000: 167-169).

promoted to the praetorian guard in the late third and early fourth centuries are recorded on gravestones:

CIL VI 2759 = ILS 2045 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Val(erius) Tertius militi [sic] / co(ho)rti(s) X pr(a)etori(a)e, qui / vixit annis XXXVI, me(n)s(ibus) III, / dies XV, militabit legi/one M(o)esiaca ann<i>s V, in/ter lanciarios annis XI, / in pr(a)etoria ann[is ---] / 7 (centuria) Salbis. Zipe[---] / (h)eres et cete[ri commanu]/culis [sic] pr[(a)etorianus? ---]

CIL VI 32943 = ILS 2782 (Rome)²³

Marcella Martino coiugi bene merenti fecit, qui vi/xit ann(is) XXXVIII, in prima Minerbes [sic] mil(itavit) ann(os) V, in (legione) und(ecima) / ann(os) IIII, in lanciaria ann(os) V, in pr(aetoria) ann(os) V, fecit cum co/[iug]e suo an(nos) IIII, bene mer(erenti), in pace.

Martinus (or his wife) was a Christian - note the use of *in Pace*, therefore the gravestone probably dates before 303 and the persecution instigated by Galerius. Both Tertius and Marinus had entered the *lanciarrii* from a Moesian legion, perhaps from the vexillations of I Italica, IIII Flavia and XI Claudia that were based at Aquileia in the late third to early fourth centuries (see Franzoni 1987, nos 13-21 for a useful survey).²⁴ The *lanciarrii* unit to which the two men were promoted was not a specialist legionary detachment but a new Guards unit created in the second half of the third century:

CIL III 6194 = ILS 2781 (Troesmis)

D(is) M(anibus). / Val(erio) Thiumpo qui militavit in leg(ione) / XI Cl(audia), lectus in sacro comit(atu) lanciarius, / deinde protexit / annis V, missus, / pr(a)ef(ectus) leg(ionis) II Hercul(iae) / [e]git ann(is) II semise, et decessit, vixit ann(is) / XXXXV, m(ensibus) III, d(iebus) XI, Aurel[--- / --- aspi---].

Thiumpus, who also originally served in a Moesian legion, was promoted to the *lanciarrii* of the 'sacred retinue' i.e. the personal field army of the emperor, in this

²³ The restoration in *CIL VI*, p. 3402, has Martinus promoted to the *protectores* rather than the praetorians (after Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.* IV, no. 911).

²⁴ See also Speidel 1990a: 68-72. See now *Inscrs. Aquil.* 2731-2801 for legions at Aquileia.

case probably Diocletian.²⁵ Later Thiumpus was made *protector*,²⁶ and after five years was promoted to prefect of Diocletian's new legion II Herculia (see Ritterling *RE* XII, 1467-68). I would suggest that Tertius and Martinus were promoted to the same elite unit of *lanciarii* as Thiumpus; they were promoted to the *lanciarii*,²⁷ not the *lanciarii* within or derived from a particular legion.²⁸ They also were part of the sacred retinue, allowing them to be promoted to its most senior unit, the praetorian guard. It is attractive to see the origin of this unit in the *lanciarii* of legio II Parthica.

In the early and middle third century legio II Parthica was the personal legion of the emperors; alongside the praetorians it formed the core of their field armies. Based a little outside Rome at Albanum it was effectively another Guards unit. Its recruiting grounds were the same as those of the praetorians and members of the same family served in both units (Ritterling *RE* XII, 1478). Its prefect was a member of the emperor's retinue. The support of the legion was considered essential by Caracalla, Macrinus and Elagabalus to cement or legitimise their regimes in the face of murder and usurpation.²⁹ For the emperor this close relationship was double-edged. The legion might turn on him if he failed in war or could not guarantee the safety of the soldier's families. Thus Maximinus was murdered before Aquileia in 238 (Herodian 8.5.8). It was a mark of the unit's elite status that it was the only early Imperial legion

²⁵ *Comitatus*, of course, means the imperial court, but serves also as a useful term for the substantial forces attached to it. Hence the appearance of the units termed *comitatenses*. Optatus, *Appendix* 1, indicates the use of *comitatus* to describe the emperor's field army before the reign of Diocletian (cf. Jones 1964: 52-3), hence my use of *comitatus* to describe the army of Gallienus below.

²⁶ From the middle of the third century *protector* was an honorary title granted to senior officers close to the emperor, but earlier in the century had identified the elite bodyguards of the praetorian prefects and provincial *legati* (see Speidel 1978: 131-133; 1986). By the 260's or 270's (cf. *ILS* 2775) *protector* was established as a rank of promising soldiers promoted to a corps of officer cadets within the *comitatus*. These men also functioned as a senior imperial bodyguard, cf. Jones 1963: 53-54. The rank of *tector* within the praetorian and urban cohorts and the *equites singulares* may simply have been a diminutive form of *protector* or another grade of imperial bodyguard.

²⁷ Cf. *ILS* 2791 (Rome): *D. M. S. / Val. Maxentio / aeq. ex numero / lanciarorum [sic], / vixit an. XXVI, mil. / an VI, iscola aequitum b. m. f.*

²⁸ E.g. *AE* 1981: 777.

²⁹ *SHA Cara.* 2.7-8; *Dio* 78.34; 79.2.3, 4.7

to have had recognised ranks of *lanciarius* as well as *phalangarius*³⁰ and *sagittarius*³¹ rather than men who simply performed those functions (Balty 1988: 101). The direct recognition of such ranks bore the mark of the emperor, in the case of the *lanciarrii* perhaps Caracalla.

The status and role of the legion began to change with the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (253-259/60). It is possible that along with the praetorians the legion was divided between Valerian and Gallienus when they split the empire into approximate eastern and western commands (though Valerian clearly remained the senior emperor, regularly operating in both east and west).³² With the defeat and capture of Valerian by Shapur at Edessa a detachment of II Parthica could have been destroyed or taken into captivity in Persia.³³ However, Gallienus' silver legionary coinage of 259/60 had no less than three issues with a total of seven types commemorating legio II Parthica, more than for any other legion and suggests that he retained the bulk of the legion (*RIC* V.1, Gallienus, nos 332-338). It is attractive to see the coins as special issues paid to vexillations mustered in northern Italy for operations against the Alamanni and celebrate their loyalty to Gallienus when Postumus, Ingenuus and

³⁰ Whether the *phalangarii* of II Parthica were actual phalangites is another matter. I think it most probable that they were spear men in the classic mould of the *triarii*. The Macedonian and Spartan *pahalanges* of Caracalla and Severus Alexander are reputed to have been equipped as a Hellenistic phalanx with pike and linen cuirass (Dio 77.7.1-2. 77.18.1; Herodian 4.8.2-3, 9.4; SHA *Alex. Sev.* 50.5). Yet the funerary relief of one of Caracalla's Spartans shows the deceased wearing *lorica segmentata* (*ILS* 8878; O. Palagia & W. Coulson (eds.), 1993: *Sculpture from Acradia & Laconia*, 237, fig. 1). This suggests combination with other Roman heavy infantry equipment and consequently the normal function and tactics of the legionary or praetorian. The 'Macedonian Phalanx' should only ever be seen as an honorary collective title for the guards units or a field army operating in the Parthian/Persian theatre, recalling the Alexander the Great fixation of Caracalla and also complimenting the name and heritage of Severus Alexander. If the 'Phalanx' was a separate entity why was the *phalangarius* of II Parthica based as at Apamea with his legion?

³¹ Note also the presence of an *evocatus* archery instructor attached to the legion, *CIL* VI 37262.

³² See Potter, 1990: 49, for this foreshadowing Tetrarchy, with other regional commands going to Gallienus' sons.

³³ The 'Res Gestae Divi Saporis' states that Shapur captured Valerian along with his praetorian prefect in battle somewhere between Carrhae and Edessa. The bulk of the defeated Roman army, apparently 70,000 strong, was deported to Persis (*ŠKZ* lines 19-26 = Dodgeon & Lieu 1991, no. 3.2.6). No Italians are mentioned in the list of the nationalities of the defeated Roman forces.

Macrianus rebelled in close succession (cf. Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1340ff; contra Okamura 1991).³⁴ They spread of the coins might indicate the movements of the legio II Parthica as a single unit but could also suggest that it was operating as vexillations. The breakaway of the Gallic empire under Postumus and the destruction of a major field army under Valerianus led to major manpower shortages and meant that II Parthica could no longer be employed only as a (mainly-) complete unit in large scale offensive campaigns. We first hear of a definite *vexillatio* of II Parthica in the reign of Gallienus, operating in Macedonia with a detachment of legio III Augusta, probably in connection with the Gothic invasions (*AE* 1934: 193 = Saxer 1967, no. 102). However, as the legion retained its headquarters at Albanum (see below), part of legion will have constituted a permanent part of the *comitatus* along with the praetorians.

At this point, c. 260 it is tempting to see the elite *lanciarrii* of II Parthica being formally detached from their parent legion to form part of Gallienus' 'new' mobile field army³⁵ and forming the basis of the Tetrarchic *numerus* of *lanciarrii* (cf. *ILS* 2791).³⁶ Elevated to a status above the legions and just below the praetorian guard in seniority, they would later form the core of the palatine legions of *lanciarrii*, the most

³⁴ Potter 1990: 51 ff.

³⁵ *ILS* 2781 might suggest that the legion also contained mounted *lanciarrii*. Gallienus' 'mobile' field army (mobile in the sense of not concerned with the defence of a particular stretch of frontier) was of course the Rome garrison (praetorians, *equites singulares*, Mauri, Osrhoene) and legio II Parthica with other troops, permanently or semi-permanently, attached to the emperor's central forces. In particular cavalry: legionary (*Promoti*) and 'ethnic' units of *equites Mauri* and *Dalmatae* and *Scutarii* (mounted infantry?). The units represented a field army (or brigades) in permanent commission ready to respond to barbarian incursion or internal revolt, but Gallienus still relied on traditional vexillations drawn from the frontier legions to bolster his forces during campaigns (cf. *CIL* III 3228 = *ILS* 546 = Saxer 1967, no. 101). The cavalry element may have formed a semi-independent command with its headquarters at Milan but this is disputed. In general see Ritterling 1903; Grosse 1920: 1-22; Alföldi 1951; van Berchem 1952: 103-108; Hoffmann 1969: 1-5 *et seq.*; Speidel 1987a.

³⁶ In the mid-fourth century the combined 'brigade' of *Lanciarrii* and *Mattiarrii* (either the paired *seniores* or *iuniores* legions rather than all four palatine units together) numbered 1500 men, i.e. 750 per legion (Ammianus 21.13.16; Tomlin 2000: 169). It was noted above that Dio's account of the fall of Perennis suggested 500 *lanciarrii*-type troops per legion. It is possible the mid-fourth century figure for the *Lanciarrii* reflects the approximate size of the *numerus* attached to the later third century *comitatus*, and perhaps, therefore, the number of *lanciarrii* originally detached from legio II Parthica.

senior in the Late eastern empire (*lanciarrii seniores*: Not. Dig. Or. 5.2 = 42; *lanciarrii iuniores*: Or. 6.7 = 47).³⁷

Legio II Parthica was still based at Albanum during the reign of Aurelian, who also granted the legion the title *Aureliana* (AE 1975: 171).³⁸ *Aureliana* titles are of limited occurrence (see Fitz 1983: 201-202), indicating that the legion was still held in high esteem by the emperor and central to his hold on power. A detachment of ordinary infantry from legio II Parthica should be numbered among the units making up Aurelian's *comitatus* (Dexippus = *FGrH* II.2, no. 100, fr. 6.2).³⁹ A stranded vexillation of the legion formed part of the army of the British usurper Carausius at the close of the third century and it is most unlikely that this detachment survived to be reunited with its parent formation (Casey 1994: 92ff).

Legio II Parthica was increasingly superseded by Diocletian's new elite legions of Ioviani and Herculiani, and may in fact have supplied drafts of troops to the new formations, note Aur. Victor *Caes.* 39.47. It was the fate of the remainder legio II Parthica to be downgraded to the status of a frontier unit and transferred to Mesopotamia at some point in the late third or early fourth century, perhaps by Constantine as punishment for supporting Maxentius. Here it was broken up further into 'micro-legions' and slowly eroded away by the endless Persian wars (Not. Dig. Or. 36.30; Ammianus 20.7; Cooper 1968: 332-333).⁴⁰

³⁷ Hoffmann, 1969: 218-223, for the *Lanciarrii* and *Mattiarrii*.

³⁸ *D(is) M(anibus). Aur(elius) Iulianus mil(es) in / leg(ione) Par(thica) Aur(eliana), / mil(itavit) ann(os) XXXIII, / memorie pi/[---] amantisim[---] / b(ene) m(erenti).*

³⁹ See Millar 1969: 26 for discussion.

⁴⁰ See Hoffmann 1969: 413-15, 418-20; Barnes 1981: 45, for the possible role of Constantine and the legion's situation in Mesopotamia.

1) Funerary altar of Aurelius Zoilus (*Figure 1*):⁴¹

Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 24, pl. 3 = *AE* 1993: 1573

D(is) M(anibus). / Aurel(ius) Zoilus mil(es) leg(ionis) II Parth(icae) / Antoninianae [Piae Fidelis Felicis Aeter]n(ae), / probatus ann(or)um XX, mil(itavit) ann(os) XX, dec(essit) ann(or)um X/XXX. Aure(lii) Dionius et Lon[ginus mil(ites)] / leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) hered(es) b(ene) m(erenti) fecerunt.

Zoilus' epitaph styles him as *miles* but he is portrayed on the funerary relief with a bundle of five short javelins in his right hand – the same as carved on the *lanciarii* reliefs. Balty and Van Rengen consider this enough to identify him as a *lanciarius*, but whilst he certainly performed the function of a *lanciarius* he did not necessarily hold the rank. However, the epitaph makes no mention of membership of a particular cohort or century; we could interpret this as Zoilus belonging to the corps of *lanciarii* within the legion. The inscription gives the legion the honorific titles *Antoniniana pia fidelis felix aeterna*. The *cognomen Antoniniana* was originally granted by Caracalla (perhaps only in 216) and renewed by Elagabalus, who probably awarded the supplementary titles for the legion's support against Macrinus in 218 (cf. Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1479). This is the only clear piece of dating evidence on the three *lanciarii* stones. The stone states that Zoilus enlisted aged 20, the peak age in both the legions and praetorian guard, but ending in a multiple of five figure may simply have been an estimate of his age as a recruit. Zoilus' name indicates Thracian origin, probably in a *vicus* in the provinces of Thrace or Moesia, and his imperial *gentilicium* Aurelius, granted on recruitment in the reign of Severus, would compliment a rural background. His length of service, also 20 years, can be considered entirely reliable: a soldier's year of enlistment was part of his formal identity. If the legion's titles date to 218, Zoilus was recruited in 198 to replace the casualties sustained in Severus' second Parthian war. His age indicates that he would have maintained a peak physical condition to perform his function as a light infantryman, whose need for speed and maneuverability was normally associated with the youngest of soldiers and especially in a period when arthritis was common at an early age. This emphasises why the *lanciarii* were considered such an elite by the later third century.

⁴¹ 0.99 m x 0.63 m.

The relief of Zoilus is of low quality and shows little in the way of equipment detail. His five *lanceae* are held in his right hand indicating the slimness of the shafts and their light weight for distance throwing. The shafts have no butt-spikes and the heads are leaf-shaped. The butts rest on the ground whilst the heads rise to the level of Zoilus' chin, perhaps giving a rough indication of their actual length. He holds his nearly round shield across his body; it extends from his upper arm to the top of his knee. It is one of the larger and better representations of the shield on any of the II Parthica Apamea stones. Zoilus wears the standard long-sleeved tunic.

2) Funerary stele of Septimius Viator (*Figure 2*):⁴²

Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 25, pl. 4 = AE 1993: 1573

D(is) M(anibus). / L(ucius) Sept(imius) Viator / stip(endiorum) XVI lanc(iarius) / leg(ionis) II Part(hicae), natione / Pannonius vixit an/nos XXXV, bene merenti / heres fecit.

Balty and Van Rengen also date Viator's gravestone to 215-218. The reasons are not made clear in the publication. Perhaps the gravestone was found with others clearly dated to 215-18 by the title *Antoniniana*, and built with them into the wall of Tower XV at Apamea when it was hastily reconstructed in the mid third century? Viator's imperial *gentilicium* L. Septimius suggests enlistment during the reign of Septimius Severus, although he could have inherited the name from his father. The retention of the *praenomen* should also indicate an early third century date. The inscription gives the legion no honorific titles. J. Fitz suggests that Caracalla did not grant II Parthica the title of *Antoninina* until 216 (1983: 81-83). Therefore the stone could date to 215/16, Viator's 16 years of service indicating that he enlisted around the year 199. His age at death, 35, suggests enlistment aged 19, but as ever we must recognise that his specified age was approximate rather than exact. Viator is clearly styled *lanc(iarius)*. Like Zoilus, Viator had considerable service, 16 years. It seems, then, that only the most experienced and skilled fighters were admitted into the ranks of the *lanciararii*. This impression is borne out by the epitaph of Aurelius Mucianus (no. 3, below). Viator's *origo* confirms Pannonia as the third most important recruiting ground for the legion after Thrace and Italy (cf. Forni 1992: 120).

⁴² 1.17 m x 0.56 m.

The relief of Viator is not of high quality but reveals several interesting details. Viator is portrayed in the same pose as Zoilus and this helps confirm the Caracallan date. Viator holds a bundle of five *lanceae*, again with leaf-shaped heads, no butt-spikes and of similar length, and like the Zoilus relief their size might be constrained by the frame of the niche into which the relief is carved. Viator carries a flat oval shield (dished or curved shields were probably beyond the abilities of the Apamea stonemasons), which extends from his shoulder to knee and has what may be a broad rim. This 'rim' may actually be part of the shield pattern, a simple cross centred on the very small circular boss. The same shield pattern is displayed on the gravestone of one of the legion's *tesserarii* at Apamea (Balty 1988, pl. XIII, 3). The pattern is notably different from the familiar thunderbolts, wreathes and mythical imagery of Trajan's column and other early imperial monuments. The legionary coinage of Gallienus and Carausius shows that the emblem of the legion was a centaur carry an orb and a club (e.g. *RIC* Gallienus nos 332-38). A short length of scabbard with a disc-shaped chape is visible beneath the shield and hangs to just below the knee. Viator wears no baldric so we must assume that the sword is suspended from the simple belt worn over the hips.

Viator himself is portrayed frontally with a typically oversized head, large eyes glaring out from his crude portrait in a fashion later favoured by the Tetrarchs. He appears to have closely cropped hair after the style worn by Caracalla – another clue to the date. He wears a long-sleeved tunic. The right arm could have a decorative cuff, but the band at the wrist could also represent a bracelet awarded for valour (cf. the possible *armillae* worn by Petronius Proculus, *beneficiarius* of the legion; Balty 1987: 224, fig. 6).

3) Funerary cippus of Aurelius Mucianus (*Figure 3*):⁴³

Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 26, pl. 5 = *AE* 1993: 1575

*D(is) M(anibus) / [A]ur(elii) Muciani quondam dis/centi(s) lanchiari(um)
leg(ionis) II Part(hicae) 7 (centuria) VIIII pil(i) pr(ioris) qui milit[avit] ann(os) X, /
vixit ann(os) XXX. C[ontu]ber(nali) / optimo Septim[ius ---] dupl(icarius) leg(ionis)
s(uper) s(criptae) 7 (centuria) VIII p[il(i) --- b(ene)] m(erenti) f(ecit).*

⁴³ 1.23 m x .60 m.

Mucianus' name was probably a Romanised form of Thracian Moucianos. The inscription carries no clear dating evidence. The name of Mucianus' heir, Septimius, probably stemmed from recruitment under Severus, whilst Mucianus' *gentilicium* reflects that of Caracalla, co-Augustus with Severus from 198.⁴⁴ Again, the lack of any honorific titles for the legion could point to a more specific date of 215/16. Mucianus' 10 years of service suggest enlistment in 205/6. Mucianus' age at death, 30, might only be approximate but it is indicative of experience required and the strict selection procedures of the *lanciarium* that he was admitted as a trainee only after 10 years. Unlike Zoilus and Viator, Mucianus' cohort and century is identified (cohort IX, century of the *pilus prior*). As a member of prior century Mucianus would have trained and fought with heavy *pila* and *hastae* before his promotion to *lanciarium*. The indication of his century might mean that he remained on the books of the century: the styling of Zoilus and Viator as *miles* and *lanciarium* without reference to cohort or century suggested a corps within the legion rather than a number of *lanciarium* attached to each cohort. The information is perhaps indicative of the recent date of his promotion and follows the style after which the heir, Septimius, is identified: as commissioner of the monument Septimius could have specified the text. Septimius refers to Mucianus as *contubernalis*, lit. a soldier in the same squad of 8 men. On the inscription the abbreviation for Septimius' rank *dupl(icarius)* is broken by a line break between the 'p' and the 'l'. Could his rank actually be read as *dup(licarius) l(anciarium)*? I find this idea attractive but unlikely. The use of *contubernalis* should not be read literally but taken in the sense of *commilito* or *commanipularis*.

The representation of Mucianus in the same basic pose as Zoilus and Viator indicates a similar date. His equipment is discussed in the appendix at the end of this chapter.

⁴⁴ The *gentilicium* Spetimius was also borne by a legionary of II Parthica who served in Severus Alexander's Persian war, but his 21 *stipendia* suggest he enlisted in 210-211 and was granted the name after Severus, rather than have inherited it (Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 26 = *AE* 1993: 1582). The *gentilicium* Aurelius seems to have been granted widely to new recruits from 195/6 to emphasise the Severans as the continuators of the Antonine dynasty.

3. The first cohort

Another inscription discovered at Apamea has supplied further important evidence for the organisation of legio II Parthica. It is the only legion known to have had a *pilus posterior* in its first cohort:

Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 44-45, pl. 19 = *AE* 1993: 1588 (Apamea)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(ius) Ingenuis [sic] t/esserarius leg(ionis) II Pa/r(thicae) 7 (centuria cohortis) I pil(i) post(erioris), qui vixit an/nos [sic] XXXV, me(n)sibus, V/II diebus X. Geminius R/est(it?)utus collega et h/eres bene meren/ti fecit.

The inscription gives the legion no honorific titles but the accompanying high quality relief of Ingenuus certainly came from the same workshop as the figured gravestone of Felsonius Verus, *aquilifer* of the legion (*Figures 4 & 5*), whose epitaph records the title *Gordiana*:⁴⁵

AE 1991: 1572

D(is) M(anibus). / Felsonius Verus, / aquilifer leg(ionis) II Par(thicae) / Gordianae (piae) f(idelis) aet/ernae, 7 (centuriae) primopil(i), / qui mil(itavit) ann(is) XI, natus in Thusc<i>ae vix(it) ann(is) XXXI, qui posuit [sic]. Fl(avia) Ma/gna coniunx eius / memoria coniugi / bene merenti.

Whether the Ingenuus' epitaph is evidence for a six-century first cohort unique to II Parthica is another matter. Some scholars have contended that the enlarged first-cohort of the Flavian period was either a brief irregularity or simply a myth (in particular Roth 1994: 361). The plan of the Flavian fortress at Inchtuthil in Scotland and other legionary bases, such as Caerleon, have strongly suggested barrack blocks for a cohort with five double-sized centuries each 160 men strong, accompanied by five centurion's houses (Pitts & St. Jopseph 1985: 164-169). Further, a dedication made by the *optiones* of the *primi ordines* of legio III Augusta indicates only five centurions in the first cohort: *primus pilus*, *princeps*, *hastatus*, *princeps posterior* and *hastatus posterior* (*CIL* VIII 18072 = 2555 = *ILS* 2446). The title of *pilus posterior*

⁴⁵ See Stoll 1991: 535-538, taf. 8.1; Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 42-43, pl. 18. Note that Verus' heir was his wife, suggesting that she accompanied him on campaign – at least en route to the battle-front and in winter-quarters.

never appears in lists of the *primi ordines*: therefore five centurions has equaled five centuries.

However, excavation at the legionary fortress at Nijmegen in Holland has shown that the barracks of the first cohort were rebuilt in c.AD 100 to house a six-century quingenary organisation where originally there had been five- or ten- century milliary organisation (cf. Baatz 2000: 151). It is assumed that the barracks remained those of the first cohort. With the absence of the rank of *pilus posterior*, Nijmegen could indicate that the *primus pilus* commanded two centuries in the quingenary organisation, or that there was a *pilus posterior* in such a six-century formation. Indeed it may have been that of the five centurions of the milliary cohort, each centurion commanded two centuries, maintaining the even manipular organisation of the cohort, i.e. paired *prior* and *posterior* centuries (cf. the milliary auxiliary cohort, Ps.-Hyginus, *de mun. castr.* 28). In the mid and late second century the discharge lists of legions V Macedonica, II Traiana and VII Claudia clearly show that the first cohort discharged double the number of men (*CIL* III 6178; *AE* 1969-70: 633; *CIL* III 14057), and legionary first cohorts were allotted double the space in Pseudo-Hyginus' ideal camp (*De mun. castr.* 3), but neither source indicates the number of centuries in these enlarged cohorts. But the plan of the legionary fortress at Nijmegen suggests that the size of the first cohort could vary from legion to legion.

Instead of stating that the *pilus posterior* was unique to II Parthica we should say that the legion contained the only *pilus posterior* yet known. The question for legio II Parthica is whether its *pilus posterior* commanded a century in a six-century quingenary cohort or a six-century milliary cohort. The ground plan of the Castra Albana offers no help. Septimius Severus raised legio II Parthica at the same time as he reconstituted the Guard; it may be that the organisation of the new praetorian cohorts milliary cohorts of six centuries, had a direct influence on the first cohort of their fellow-unit. If the first cohort was quingenary, legio II Parthica numbered some 4800 men (before officers). If the first cohort was milliary, the total rises to 5280. With the addition of *equites*, *lanciararii* and other specialists, the optimum paper strength of the legion could have been about 6000. This poses problems for the interpretation of the Castra Albana.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ For discussion of the problems posed by the first cohort see Breeze 1969: 49-55; Frere 1980: 51-60; Pitts & St. Joseph 1985: 164-169; Davison 1989: 52-58; Speidel 1992a: 6-13; Roth 1994: 358-361; Baatz 2000: 149-158.

4. The Castra Albana and the size of the Legion

Severus based legio II Parthica in a fortress at Albanum 21 km (13 miles) south of Rome on imperial property close to the villa of Domitian (Dio 55.24.4). It was the only Imperial legion to be stationed in Italy and its soldiers were nicknamed the Albanians or Albanioi (Dio 78.13.4, 32.2; 79.2.3, 4.3; Herodian 8.5.8; *IGR* III 865 = *ILS* 8877). The Castra Albana was built during the first decade of the third century and was fully complete by AD 212 (Tortorici 1975: 91-92; cf. SHA *Cara*. 2.7-8; *Geta* 6.1-2).

The fortress measures only 240/239 x 427/438 m, enclosing an internal area of over 10 ha - more than a third smaller than other legionary fortresses, including the contemporary Severan fortress of legio II Italica at Lauriacum in Noricum which measured 539m x 398 m (Vetters 1977: 355ff). Simply comparing the size of the Castra Albana to an average European legionary fortress at c. 20 ha or an Eastern legionary fortress at c. 17 ha, could, at first sight, suggest that legio II Parthica was only half the size of a regular early Imperial legion. Indeed the Castra Albana has a similar internal area to the Severan fortress at Carpow in Scotland. Often described as a 'vexillation fortress', Carpow might have housed detachments of legio VI Victrix and perhaps II Augusta participating in Severus' British war 208-211 and policing his conquests.⁴⁷ Carpow covered a larger overall area compared to the Castra Albana, at about 12 ha including the rampart and inner and outer ditches, but was only c. 10 ha within the rampart (Dore & Wilkes 1999: 494). Thus considered too small for a complete legion it is assumed to have housed up to 3000 men. To put the size of Carpow in perspective, the fortress at Nijmegen, in its fifth period c. AD 100, covered an area of 16.5 ha, which has been taken to indicate that it housed only part of a legion (perhaps X Gemina; Baatz 2000: 151).

It has been suggested that the comparatively tiny size of Albanum was the result of Severus' recognition of soldiers' marriages that enabled them to live outside the fortress with their families (Herodian 3.8.5; Lander 1984: 113). This does not convince. Archaeological evidence does not suggest that at the start of the third century other legionary fortresses were reduced in size, or that large areas within were abandoned by the departure of married soldiers. What evidence we have pertaining to this period points to married quarters *within* forts for officers (Hassall 1999: 35-40).

Were the bases of the other Parthian legions similarly small? The fortress of legio III Parthica has not been identified but may have been located at Nisibis (see above). Legio I Parthica is securely located at Singara (Speidel & Reynolds 1985: 31-35; *ILS* 9447 with *AE* 1985: 800 = *SEG* 1084). The site of Singara covers about 17 ha, which was about average for an eastern legionary fortress of the principate (cf. Parker 2000: 121-125), but the irregular site might be interpreted best as a fortress city, i.e. the military garrison incorporated into an existing civilian settlement, e.g. Dura Europos (Kennedy and Riley 1990:125-131).

Legio II Parthica itself wintered at Apamea in Syria during the Parthian and Persian wars of Caracalla, Severus Alexander and Gordian III (Dio 78.34.2; Balty 1987, 1988; Balty & Van Rengen 1993). An aerial photograph has revealed a rectangular enclosure on the outskirts of the city, measuring approximately 250 x 4-500 m (Balty 1987: 239-41). The proportions are similar to that of the Castra Albana (240/239 x 427/438 m) and the enclosure has been suggested as the Syrian camp of the legion but whether this was a temporary or more permanent structure is uncertain. However, other field army units were based around the city in 215-18, and the potential camp could belong to one or a number of these detachments (Dio 78.34.5; see chapter 5, sect. 1b). Dio's description of Macrinus' attempts to maintain the loyalty of II Parthica at Apamea in 218 by means of a huge donative and banquet is, I think, more suggestive of the size of the legion (78.34). The account emphasises the concern of Macrinus to maintain the support of a *full-sized* legion in a field army composed mainly of vexillations. [If II Parthica was only half the size of a regular legion, and considering that it had left a number of *remansores* at Albanum and Rome (Dio 79.2.3, 4.6), it would not have been much bigger than a 2000 man strong vexillation.]

The internal plan of the Castra Albana, as we have it, is based not on modern excavation but on antiquarian plans and drawings made before the interior of the fortress was almost completely built over (Tortorici 1975: 13, fig. 4; 18-19, 92-94, stressing the difficulties of a reconstruction). Most prominent in these plans is a large building complex in the *retentura*, taking up approximately one quarter of the internal space of the fortress (Tortorici 1975: 93, fig. 135; see plans over page).⁴⁸ It has been suggested that the buildings were fourteen barrack blocks, each composed of two

⁴⁷ The legions were certainly responsible for aspects of the construction of the fortress gates and roofing tiles.

⁴⁸ The plan is also reproduced in Hassall 1983: 123, fig. 13.

Tortorici's plan of the Castra Albana (1975, fig. 135)

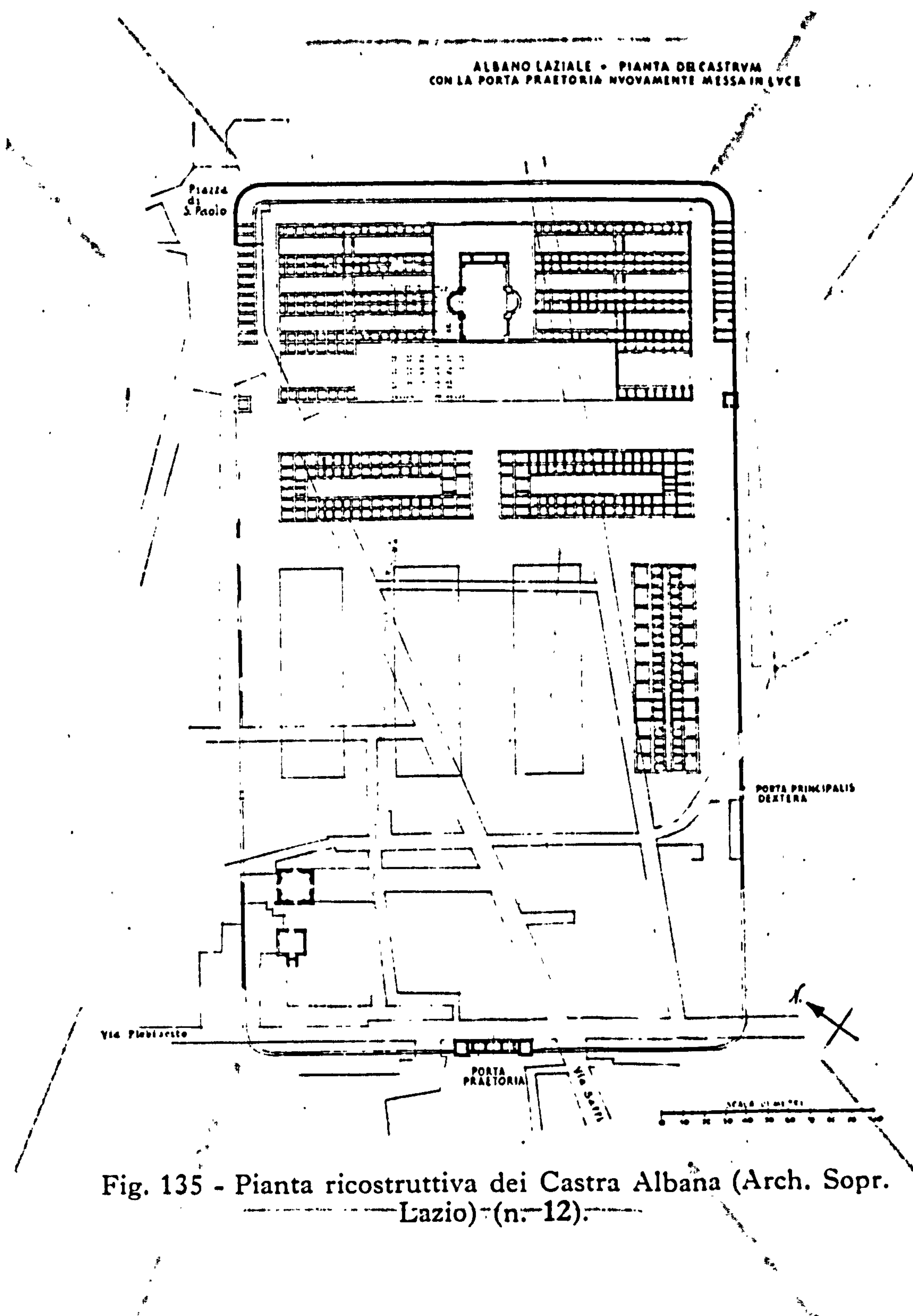


Fig. 135 - Pianta ricostruttiva dei Castra Albana (Arch. Sopr. Lazio) (n. 12).

Antiquarian plan of the Castra Albana (Tortorici 1975, fig. 4)

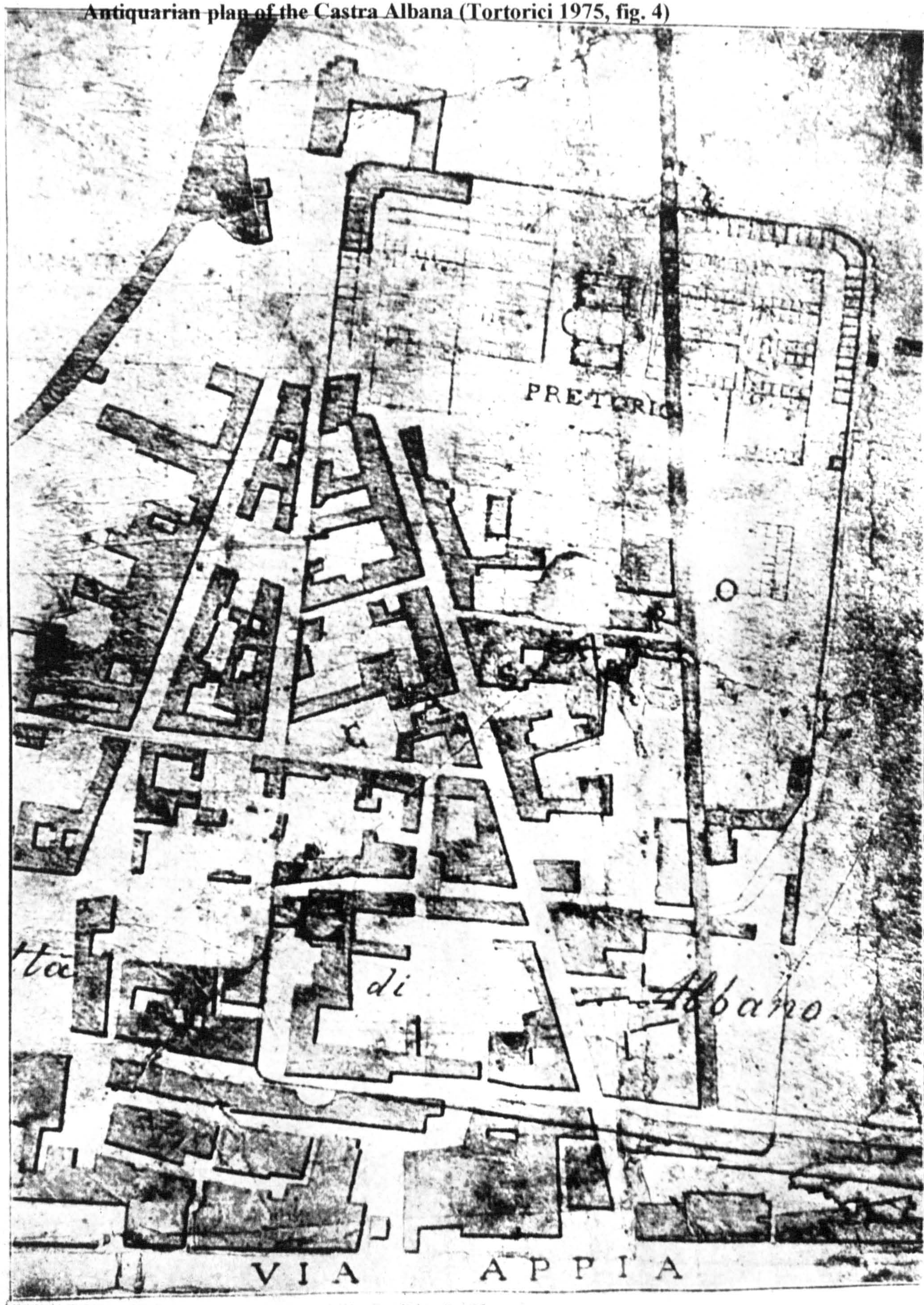


Fig. 4 - Pianta del Rosa.

rows of eight rooms facing each other across a courtyard and interpreted as seven *contubernia* with an officer's apartment (Davison 1989: 59-60 after Hassall 1983: 122).⁴⁹ Davison proposes that the small size of the *contubernia*, each internally 12 sq. m,⁵⁰ suggest that barracks were of a size more suitable to *turmae* than *centuriae*. Therefore the barracks could have accommodated 28 *turmae*: one *turma* per row of seven *contubernia*, but possible stabling is not identified. Davison does not mention it, but this could be seen as a startling confirmation of the number of cavalry in Vegetius' legion (730 troopers; *Epit.* 2.6). However, these buildings were surely administrative, at least originally. In the centre of this complex is a structure with one, probably two, apses: this was surely the *aedes* and the central building as a whole can be identified as the *principia* (cf. Tortorici 1975: 93-94), perhaps combined with the *praetorium*. It is possible that the complex was used as barracks towards the end of the third century and that the buildings interpreted as barracks do not belong to the original plan of the fortress, c. AD 200 (see below).

The plan of the fortress also suggests two blocks of double barracks, each built around an open courtyard, running left to right across the fortress immediately below the *retentura* building complex (probably marking the line of the *via quintana*). Very approximately the buildings appear to have measured 90 x 30 m. On either side of the courtyard was a row of fourteen double rooms, probably *contubernia* and store rooms, with centurions' apartments enclosing each end. The buildings reflect the form of other early imperial legionary barracks, e.g. Vetera and Bonn, and could have accommodated a century on each side with a centurion at either end (cf. Davison 1989: 56). A third building was aligned down the *via sagularis* by the *porta principalis dextra*. Very little survived to be recorded on the antiquarian plans. On either side of a narrow corridor were an uncertain number of small twinned rooms backed by one large room. The plan in Tortorici's monograph proposes a restoration of eleven of the large rooms on either side of the corridor each with an attached pair of smaller rooms. The building has been identified as a hospital (Davison 1989: 59), but it could be another double barrack block. There is perhaps room for another four double-sized barrack blocks of either type above the *via quintana*, two blocks located

⁴⁹ Hassall suggested that the buildings were divided barracks similar to those at Birrens and especially Ain Sinu I - a Severan establishment. For Ain Sinu I see Oates 1968, espec. pp. 82-85 for the barracks.

⁵⁰ Davison must derive the measurement from the scale on the plan in Tortorici's monograph (1975: 93, fig. 135); the figure must be very approximate.

on either side of the *via praetoria*, making for ten blocks. However, the small bath-house and cistern by the left wall in the *praetentura* would have got in the way of a barrack block. As suggested, the *via quintana* blocks could hold two centuries. If the buildings were multi-storeyed, say three storeys high, a full quingenary cohort could be housed in one block. This would suggest that the legion numbered at least 4800 men. There does not appear to be enough room for barracks for a milliary first cohort, unless yet another storey was added to a block, or perhaps we should place some of the centuries of the first cohort in the area of the *retentura* complex. The suggestion of triple-storey blocks is not so radical. Barracks of at least two storeys existed within the *Castra Praetoria*. The barracks were probably higher, for as well as housing the 10,000 praetorians, the four urban cohorts were also quartered in the fortress (Tac. *Ann.* 4.5; Richmond 1927: 12-13; Lissi Caronna 1993: 253-254). Ten such barrack blocks at Albanum would leave little or no room for tribunes' houses. The tribunes and *primus pilus* might have had apartments within the barracks blocks or within the *retentura*.⁵¹ Officer accommodation has not been identified from the plan of the fortress (cf. Petrikovits 1975: 134). The prefect himself might not have lived within the fortress. We know that praetorian prefects normally slept in their own private houses within Rome, not in quarters at the *Castra Praetoria*. This facilitated the assassination of the prefect Aelius Vitalianus in 238 when he left his house before dawn to begin his duties (Herodian 7.6.4-8).

With all these potential barracks little room is left for granaries, workshops or a drill hall, but some additional space was afforded by a row of twelve rooms built into the bottom end of the right wall of the *retentura*. An antiquarian plan shows these built into the parallel wall (Tortorici 1975: 13, fig. 4 = *Figure 12*). It is not clear what function these rooms had. They could have been *contubernia*, offices, stores or even stables. The walls of the *Castra Praetoria* were crammed with several hundred *contubernia* (each about 3.6 m across and 3 m high; Lissi Caronna 1993: 252-253).

The *Castra Albana* was still in use during the reign of Aurelian (*AE* 1975: 171) and may not have been abandoned until 312 when Constantine dissolved or transferred the units that had supported Maxentius (Barnes 1981: 45). Therefore the plan of the

⁵¹ The prefect himself might not have lived within the fortress. We know that praetorian prefects normally slept in their own private houses within Rome, not in quarters at the *Castra Praetoria*. This facilitated the assassination of the prefect Aelius Vitalianus in 238 when he left his house before dawn to begin his duties (Herodian 7.6.4-8).

fortress as we have it probably reflects the later stages of its development; some rebuilding must have occurred over the period of a century. It is notable that the buildings in the *retentura* complex, with their single rows of eight rooms rather than back to back pairs, reflect the arrangement of the barracks of the Tetrarchic legionary fortress of el-Lejjun in Jordan (c. AD 300; Parker 2000: 129).

From the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, II Parthica no longer fought as a complete legion but was employed in vexillations (see above). Part of the legion may have been destroyed or taken into captivity in Persia after Valerian's defeat and capture at Edessa in 260. Further losses to II Parthica's manpower would have occurred with the detachment of the legion's *lanciarii* to form a new Guards unit, perhaps during the reign of Gallienus. Later we know of a vexillation of II Parthica serving in the army of the British usurper Carausius; ultimately such a rebel unit would have been disbanded and its soldiers enrolled into other formations. It is not known if there were other such independent detachments of the legion in the late third century. Diocletian may also have detached men from the parent unit at Albanum to serve in his new units of guards. In each of these cases the legio II Parthica would have lost at least 500 men. It is almost certain that such losses were never replaced: full-sized legions were not required on the battlefield any more and long-detached vexillations were recognised as entirely separate and independent units that merely bore the name of their parent formation. Therefore parts of the fortress at Albanum would have been abandoned, perhaps with accommodation and administration being focused on the *retentura* complex. A similar process was happening at the base of legio II Augusta at Caerleon, and later in the fourth century occurred at the fortress of legio IIII Martia at Lejjun. By the time of its transfer to Mesopotamia in the early fourth century legio II Parthica numbered some 2000 men at most.

A final thought on the size of the fortress concerns its construction material. It was built from locally quarried peperino blocks rather than brick (Tortorici 1975: 91). The expense of building in stone was perhaps a major limiting factor in the size of the fortress, but ultimately it is dangerous to infer the size of any unit from the dimensions of its fortress: a proportion of the unit might have been based permanently or semi-permanently elsewhere, i.e. as *stationarii* (see chp. 5, sect. 1a). Neither Dio nor Herodian indicate that the legion was unique because of its size. They emphasise that the legion was unique because of its proximity to Rome and for its close relationship with the emperors. Despite the small size of its fortress, legio II

Parthica at the time of its formation and until the middle of the third century would have numbered some 5000 men at optimum strength.

Appendix: Equipment of Legio II Parthica

This discussion of the equipment of the soldiers of legio II Parthica centres on the fragmentary funerary relief of Aurelius Eptecentus rather than the better preserved but poorly produced figured gravestones from Apamea (Balty 1987, figs 5-6; Balty 1988, pls. XIII-XV; Balty & Van Rengen 1993, pls. 3-5, 9, 11, 12, 15, 18-19). The information derived from the Apamea stones will be used to supplement the information resulting from the Eptecentus relief and also to reconstruct the missing portion of that relief.

1) Gravestone of Aurelius Eptecentus (*Figure 6*)

Forni 1954: 26-29, no. 2, fig. 1 = *AE* 1955: 26; Tortorici 1974: 168, fig. 314 (Albano)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Eptecentus, mil(es) l(egionis) II P(arthicae) / 7 (centuria cohortis) VIII p(ili) posterior(is), qui / vix(it) ann(os) XL, mil(itavit) ann(os) XIII./ Aur(elius) Bitus mil(es) leg(ionis) II P(arthicae) / 7 (centuria cohortis) I adstatus prior(is) / frater et here[s] / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Eptecentus and Bitus are Thracian names indicating the ethnicity if not geographical *origo* of the probable brothers (Forni 1954: 27-28). If Eptecentus' age at death is correct he enlisted in the legion aged 26.

Only the lower portion of the relief survives, originally a full length portrait of Eptecentus. But just his legs remain. Therefore his portrait, belt and sword fittings, the style of which could help date the piece quite specifically, are lost, but from the findspot at Albano the date is clearly third century. The lettering of the inscription probably points to a date in the first half of the third century (Forni 1954: 29, first quarter of the century). Despite these losses we can confidently surmise that Eptecentus would have worn a ring-buckled belt – the only form of military belt worn by his fellow legionaries at Apamea - and a broad baldric over his right shoulder. The Apamea stones show relatively small ring buckles. The finer and more reliable

sculptures, e.g. of Verinus Marinus *librarius legati* (231-233),⁵² Felsonius Verus, *aquilifer*,⁵³ and Aurelius Ingenuus, *tesserarius* (both 242-244),⁵⁴ display ring buckles a little smaller than contemporary praetorian representations. Perhaps the more senior the unit the larger the buckle, but the quality of the sculpture is probably the limiting factor?⁵⁵ The belts are threaded through the ring from behind, the straps are folded back and secured by studs. Ingenuus' belt is the most decorative example but none of the three has a long strap-end arranged in a loop over the right hip and then down the thigh. A long strap-end split into two strips with ivy-leaf terminals is evident on the earlier gravestone of Aurelius Moucianos (215-218; Balty 1988, pl. XIII, 2 = Balty & Van Rengen 1993, pl. 9).

Eptecentus' cloak, the bottom portion of which survives and falls to the level of his knees, was a presumably *sagum*, the variety of cloak worn by his comrades at Apamea.⁵⁶ Notably, the skirt of his tunic extends only to his mid thigh. The legionaries at Apamea mostly wore tunics that fell to just above the knee, as did their contemporaries in the praetorian guard. Eptecentus' tunic is reminiscent of earlier fashions. Most probably his tunic was long-sleeved (cf. the Apamea stone), but in the summer heat of Albanum a short-sleeved example might have been worn. Compare the short-sleeved tunic worn by the praetorian Aurelius Lucianus, but the skirt is much longer (*Fig.*). Falvius Trypho, *tesserarius* of II Parthica at Apamea, wears a long-sleeved tunic that hangs to the mid-thigh, ending in a (presumably) coloured

⁵² Balty 1988, pl. XIV, 3 = Balty & Van Rengen 1993, pl. 17.

⁵³ Balty 1988, pl. XIV, 4 = Balty & Van Rengen 1993, pl. 18; Stoll 1991, taf. 81.

⁵⁴ Balty & Van Rengen 1993, pl. 19.

⁵⁵ The *equites singulares Augusti* also sported large ring buckles. For example Speidel 1994, nos 529, 531, 532, 534, 535; but note that except no. 532 the examples are all late third to early fourth century date. Large praetorian ring buckles also seem to be of later third century date.

⁵⁶ Cf. the cloak worn by a soldier of II Parthica on an ornate but fragmentary funerary monument from Albano (Picozzi 1979: 167-184, tav. LXIV & LXV; also Tortorici 1975: 163-164, figs 303, 304, 307). Picozzi suggests that the legionary was an *optio* because of the staff he appears to have originally held in his right hand, but the flat rectangular box or package that he holds suspended from a strap with his left hand (Picozzi, tav. LXV; Tortorici fig. 304) could also identify him a *tesserarius*.

border (*Figure 7*).⁵⁷ Eptecentus' legs are bare. On his feet he wears sturdy boots with a thick seam running from the centre of the toes to the ankle.

What remains of the Eptecentus relief does, surprisingly, offer important information about the equipment and fighting style of legio II Parthica.

Resting by Eptecentus' left leg is a large oval or circular shield. The shield is seen from behind and it is clearly deeply concave. The top portion of the shield has broken away but the surviving sculpture (i.e. the curvature) suggests that it extended up to the level of his hip. Therefore it would have protected him from shoulder to thigh in battle, its possible concavity perhaps helping to deflect blows and the depth allowing the soldier, to a certain extent, to 'step into' the shield.⁵⁸ Large, near-round shields of plank construction were discovered at Dura Europos, buried at some point before the final successful Sassanian siege of c. 256/7. They measured between 1.07 –1.18 m high and 0.92-0.97 m across (Rostovtzeff *et al* 1939: 326-331). The shields were slightly concave but only the depth of one shield could be measured (shield IV = *figure 8*); unfortunately this particular information was not published. The concavity would only have been a matter of about 10 cm at the center of the shield, whereas Eptecentus' shield appears to have a much greater depth than this near to the rim – it looks like a hoplite shield, poor perspective distorting the shape, but it might actually have been a curved oval shield. The funerary relief of a second century *urbanicianus* shows what appears to be round and concave shield, again rather like a *hoplon*, seen from behind; it rests on the ground and reaches to the soldier's upper thigh (Franzoni 1987, no. 48, tav. XXII, 3). Other representations of this shield type are limited to mythological scenes on sarcophagi, but the representation of other equipment and clothing on the *urbanicianus* altar is quite reliable (cf. Franzoni 1987: 72). The shields of the legionaries at Apamea were depicted as round or oval and their size is not a reliable guide: all appear small and flat. Contrasting black and white oval shields formed part of the decorative pattern of a mosaic pavement in the bath-house of the Castra Albana (Tortorici 1975: 100-101, figs 146, 147). Because of the broken condition of Eptecentus' stone, and as the shield is seen from behind and turned away somewhat to the left, it cannot be certain that it was not a curved oval *scutum*. The large round shields used by Roman troops on the Arches of Galerius and Constantine

⁵⁷ Balty 1988, pl. XIII, 3. Trypho might also wear a neck torc. For torcs as late Roman military decorations see Speidel 1996: 235-243.

⁵⁸ Cf. Tyrtaeus frag. 11 = Sage 1996, no. 33, for this aspect of the hoplite shield.

were large, round and dished, some rather deeply. It is possible that Eptecentus' shield was a similar type that posed the sculptor difficulties in accurate presentation.⁵⁹ Whatever, the shield certainly wasn't flat!

Of particular note are two shield representations from Apamea which show a St. George's-style cross dividing the face of the shield into four quarters (see Figures 6 & 34).⁶⁰ This is far removed from the heroic and religious motifs familiar from earlier shield representations or the later archaeological examples from Dura. Similar geometric patterns are evident in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, but the legio II Parthica shields may have had specific emblems painted into the quarters. Gallienus' legionary coinage suggests that a centaur carrying a globe and/or a club was the main emblem of the legion (*RIC* V.1, Gallienus nos 332-338).

Just above Eptecentus' left knee there appears to hang a small round scabbard chape. It is uncertain from the published image whether this is a chape or a portion of his cloak. The disc chape was the variety favoured by the legionaries at Apamea, and is the most prominent type on third century military funerary reliefs (cf. Bishop & Coulston 1993: 130), despite a variety of other chapes in use including box, peltate and heart-shaped forms. Normally the round chape is depicted as being much larger. If the relief constitutes an accurate representation of Eptecentus' equipment, the sword would have been short to medium length. Aurelius Mucianus, *discens lanchiarium* at Apamea during Caracalla's Parthian war, seems to carry a short sword; it apparently hung only to the mid thigh. But the sculpture does not make it clear whether the apparent scabbard chape is not actually a large round baldric terminal (*Figure 3*).⁶¹

In Eptecentus' right hand (lost) are two shaft weapons. Their original height is unknown because of the breakage of the gravestone, but having fairly slim shafts and no butt-spikes they should probably be interpreted as javelins. As a member of *posterior* century, it may be that Eptecentus was armed to throw his missiles over the heads of soldiers in a *prior* century,⁶² then join the fight as a swordsman (cf. Arrian

⁵⁹ Arch of Galerius: Laubscher 1975, taf. 31; Tomlin 2000: 162, fig. 13.1b. Arch of Constantine: Kleiner 1992: 448, figs 408 & 409.

⁶⁰ Balty 1988, pl. XIII, 3; Balty & Van Rengen 1993, pl. 4 = *AE* 1993: 1574, c. AD 215-218.

⁶¹ The best image is Balty 1987, fig. 5. The quality of the sculpture is very poor.

⁶² Assuming that the *posteriores* fought behind the *priores*, at least in the initial stages of a battle, rather than side by side.

Ectaxis 18, 25, 26). But Aurelius Moucianos, a member of a *prior* century holds a spindly shaft weapon with a small socketed barbed head and no butt-spike, probably another javelin, perhaps even a socketed *pilum* rather than a *hasta*.⁶³ The *lanciarii* of the legion carried bundles of short *lanceae* with leaf-shaped rather than barbed heads, which might suggest that the *lanciaris* habitually collected his used missiles from the battlefield after action. One gravestone perhaps shows the *lanceae* with heads mounted on thin metal shanks carried in a quiver.⁶⁴ Josephus describes Roman cavalry using such a holder for their javelins hung from their saddles. The javelins, three or more in number, apparently were as big as spears (*BJ* 3.96). The legionaries at Apamea also used heavier weapons: a *beneficiarius tribuni* holds a heavy, weighted *pilum* (*Figure* ; Balty 1987, fig. 4).

Eptecentus' stone does not show a helmet or body armour. Helmets were occasionally positioned at the feet of the deceased on other third-century gravestones and armour was only occasionally depicted, either worn or displayed around the deceased. The Apamea stones do not show helmets or body armour so it is unlikely that on the lost portion of the stone Eptecentus wore a helmet or cuirass. In life he would have employed either a mail or scale coat which would also have protected his upper arms and thighs. Below this he probably wore an arming doublet – sometimes considered protection enough by itself (see above). In the Parthian and Persian campaigns some legionaries could have worn linen corslets (Dio 77.7; 78.3). It is uncertain how the *lanciarii* of the legion were armoured, as their role is not entirely clear (see chp. 3, sect. 2). If they acted only as skirmishers then they may have used lighter body armour so as not to impede movement, perhaps even none; if they functioned as swordsmen once their *lanceae* were exhausted, they would have required heavy protection.

The Apamea stones point to an apparent domination of light missile troops within the legion, but generally the reliefs are of poor quality and show little good equipment detail. The most notable reliefs are of the *lanciarii* - the earliest legionary examples -

⁶³ Balty 1987, fig. 3 = 1988, pl. XIII, 2 = Balty & Van Rengen 1993, pl. 9.

⁶⁴ Only two of the soldiers are identified as *lanciarii* in their epitaphs (*AE* 1993: 1573: *miles*; 1574: *lanciaris*; 1575: *discens lanchiarium*). Balty & Van Rengen 1993, pls. 3-5; 5=Balty 1987, fig. 5, the 'quiver' on which might simply have been the result of the sculptor not bothering to distinguish the shafts of the javelins

but these are of very low quality and it is unfortunate that the finer reliefs of Felsonius Verus and Aurelius Ingenuus give precedence to the insignia of their rank rather than their weaponry. The Apamea reliefs certainly help to reconstruct the 'undress' appearance of Aurelius Eptecentus and give us a basic blazon to add to his problematical shield, but in general we must turn to other sources for his arms and armour. The presence of the *pilum*-armed *beneficiarius* at Apamea shows that the legion maintained the traditionally equipped legionary and performed traditional Roman heavy infantry tactics along side the long-range missile duels of the *lanciararii* and perhaps of Eptecentus.



1. Funerary altar of Aurelius Zoilus, *lanciarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 215-218 (source: Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 24, pl. 3)

2. Funerary stele of Septimius Viator, *lanciarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 215-218 (source: Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 25, pl. 4)

The Funerary Monuments





3. Funerary cippus of Aurelius Mucianus, *lanciarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 215-218 (source: Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 26, pl. 5)



4. Gravestone of Aurelius Ingenuus, *tesserarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 242-244

(source: Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 44-45, pl. 19)



5. Gravestone of Felsonius Verus, *aquilifer*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 242-244

(source: Stoll 1991, taf. 8.1)

6. Gravestone of Aurelius Eptecentus of legio II Parthica, Albano, early-mid 3rd cent.
(source: Forni 1954: 26-29, no. 2, fig. 1)



7. Gravestone of Flavius Trypho, *tesserarius*, legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 215-218?
(source: Balty 1988, pl. XIII, 3)

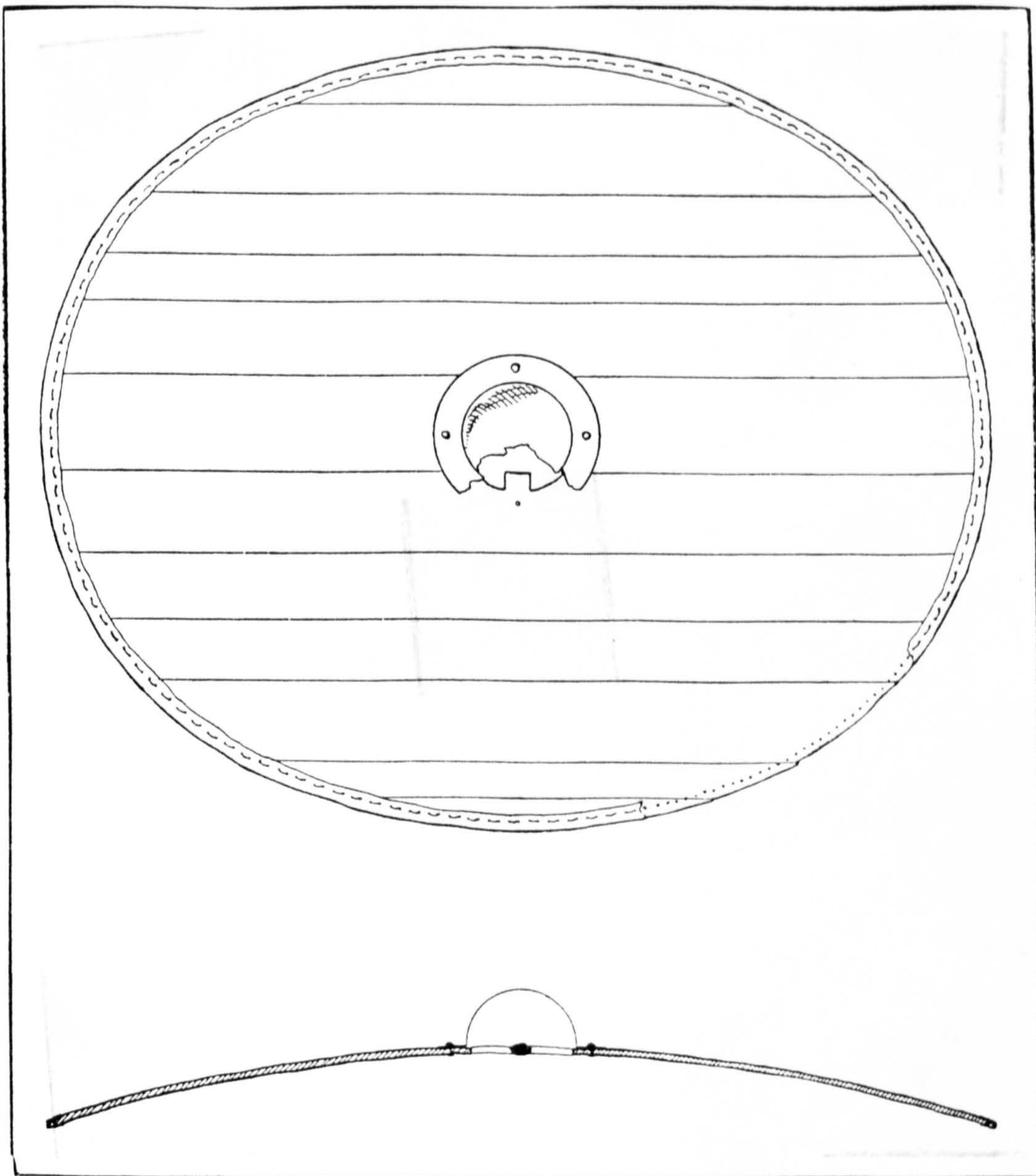


(2) AUR. MOUCIANOS



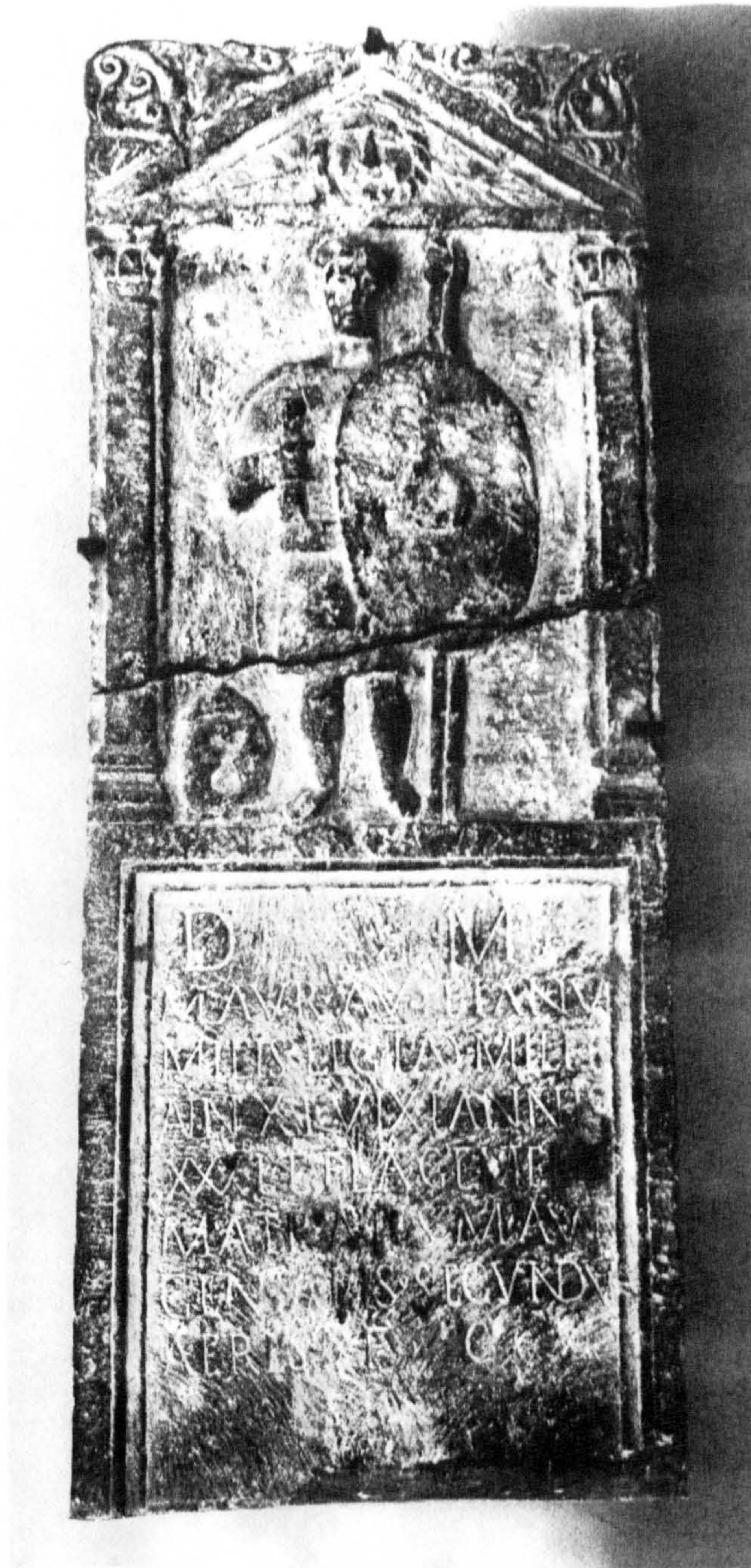
(3) FL. TRYPHO

8. Oval shield from Dura Europos, Syria, mid 3rd cent
(source: Rostovtzeff *et al* 1939: 327, fig. 83)



9. Relief of three soldiers from Croy Hill, mid 2nd cent.
(source: L. Keppie, *Scotland's Roman Remains* 1990: 127)





5 Tombstone of M. Aurelius Avitianus from Brigetio.
Hungarian National Museum Budapest.

10. Gravestone of Aurelius Avitianus of legio I Adiutrix, Budapest, 3rd century
(source: Speidel 1976: 136, fig. 5)

11. Gravestone of Iulius Firminianus of legio I Adiutrix, Byzantium, 3rd cent.
(source: Speidel 1976: 133, fig. 4)

Eagle-Bearer and Trumpeter

133



- 4 Tombstone of Iulius Firminianus from Perinthos.
Parc of Marmara Eriğlizi.

12. a Gravestone of Severius Acceptus of legio VIII Augusta, Chalcedon, early 3rd cent.
(source: Speidel 1985: 96, fig. a)

12. b Gravestone of Servandinius Avitus of legio XXX Ulpia, Nicomedia, 3rd cent.
(source: Speidel 1985: 96, fig. b)



a: Stele aus Kalchedon



b: Stele aus Nikomedeia (Photo S. Şahin)

13. Gravestone of an unknown soldier, Byzantium, c. AD 214,
(Source Speidel 1976: 129, fig. 3)

Eagle-Bearer and Trumpeter

129



- 3 Tombstone of an unknown soldier from Byzantium.
Archeological Museums Istanbul.

14. Gravestone of Petronius Proculus, *beneficiarius tribuni* of legio II Parthica, Apamea, AD 231-233 (source: Balty 1987, fig. 6)



FIG. 6. — Apamée. Stèle de Petronius Proculus, détail.

15. Gravestone of Aurelius Iustinus of legio II Italica, 3rd cent., Cilli
(source: Hofmann 1905, no. 48, fig. 41)



16. Funerary altar of the praetorian Septimius Valerinus, Rome, c. AD 215, Rome
(source: Kleiner 1987, pl. LXVII.3)



17. Gravestone of the praetorian [---]teius Vitalis, c. AD 217, Fiesole
(source: Speidel & Scardigli 1990, taf. 22)



Grabstein des Noykarachwaben [---]teius Vitalis, Fiesole, Museo Arch.



Grabstein des Aurelius Lucianus. Rom, Musei Capitolini.

18. Gravestone of the praetorian. Aurelius Lucianus, c. AD 217-238, Rome
 (source: Speidel & Scardigli 1990, taf. 24)

19. Gravestone of the praetorian Aurelius Vitalianus, c. AD 250-290, Rome
(source: Kleiner 1987, pl. LXVIII, 3)



354 Funerary altar of Marcus Aurelius Vitalis, 230–50. Rome, Museo Capitolino. Photo: Courtesy of the Musei Capitolini, by Barbara Malter

20. Relief of an armoured legionary, Alba Iulia, early 3rd cent.
(source: Coulston 1995: 14, fig. 1)



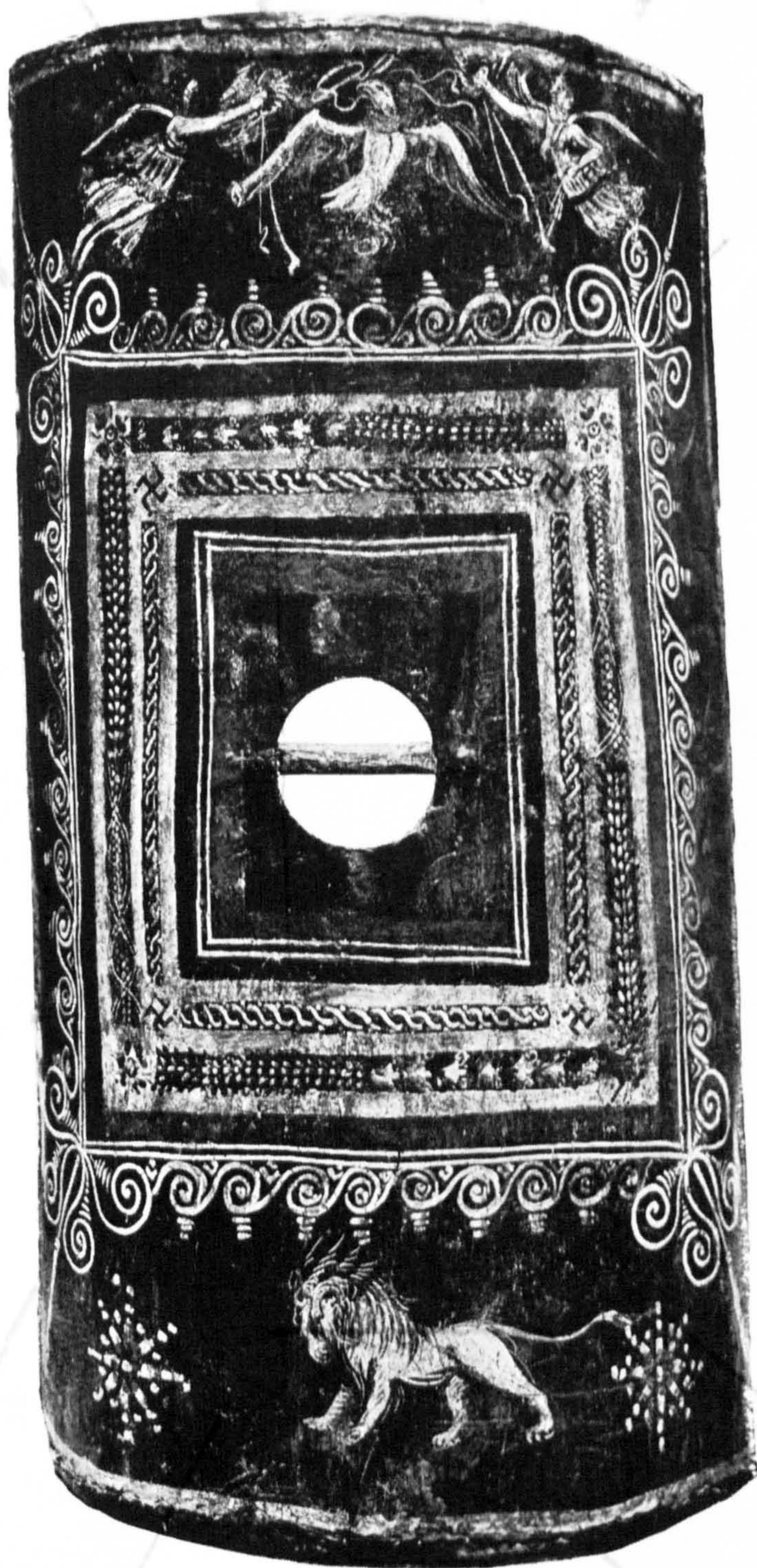
Fig.1 The figure from Alba Iulia (not to scale)

21. Gravestone of the soldier Ares, now in British Museum, early 3rd cent.
(source: Speidel 1992: 133, fig. 1)



Fig. 1. Stele of Ares, dedicating his weapons

22. Painted *scutum* from Dura Europos, mid 3rd cent.
(source: Rostovtzeff *et al* 1936, pl. XXV A)



23. Roman swords from Canterbury, late 2nd or early 3rd cent.

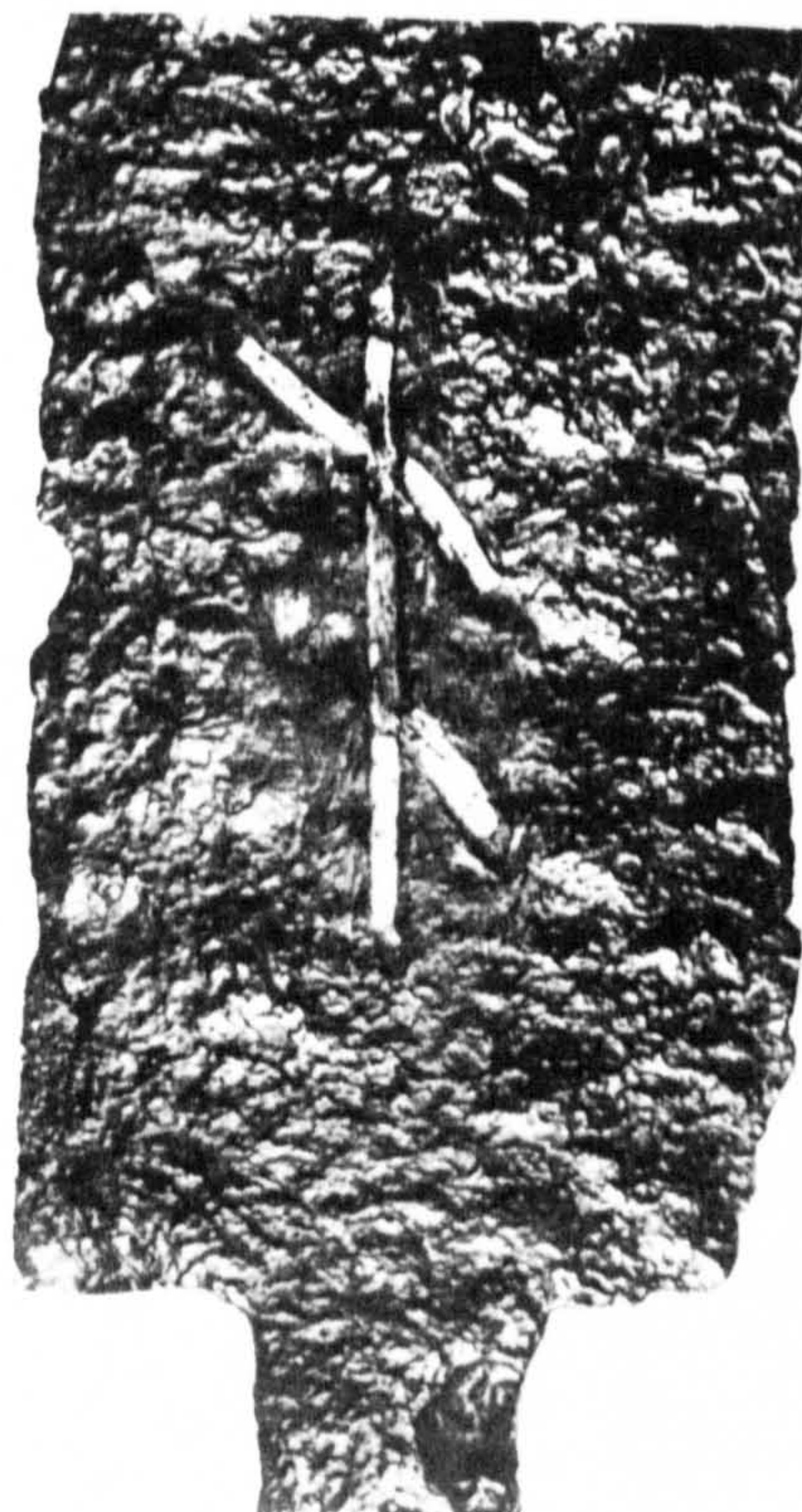
(source: Bennett *et al* 1982: 186, fig. 99)



Fig. 99. The two Roman Swords ($\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$),
(drawn by Margaret Tremayne).



1



1 a

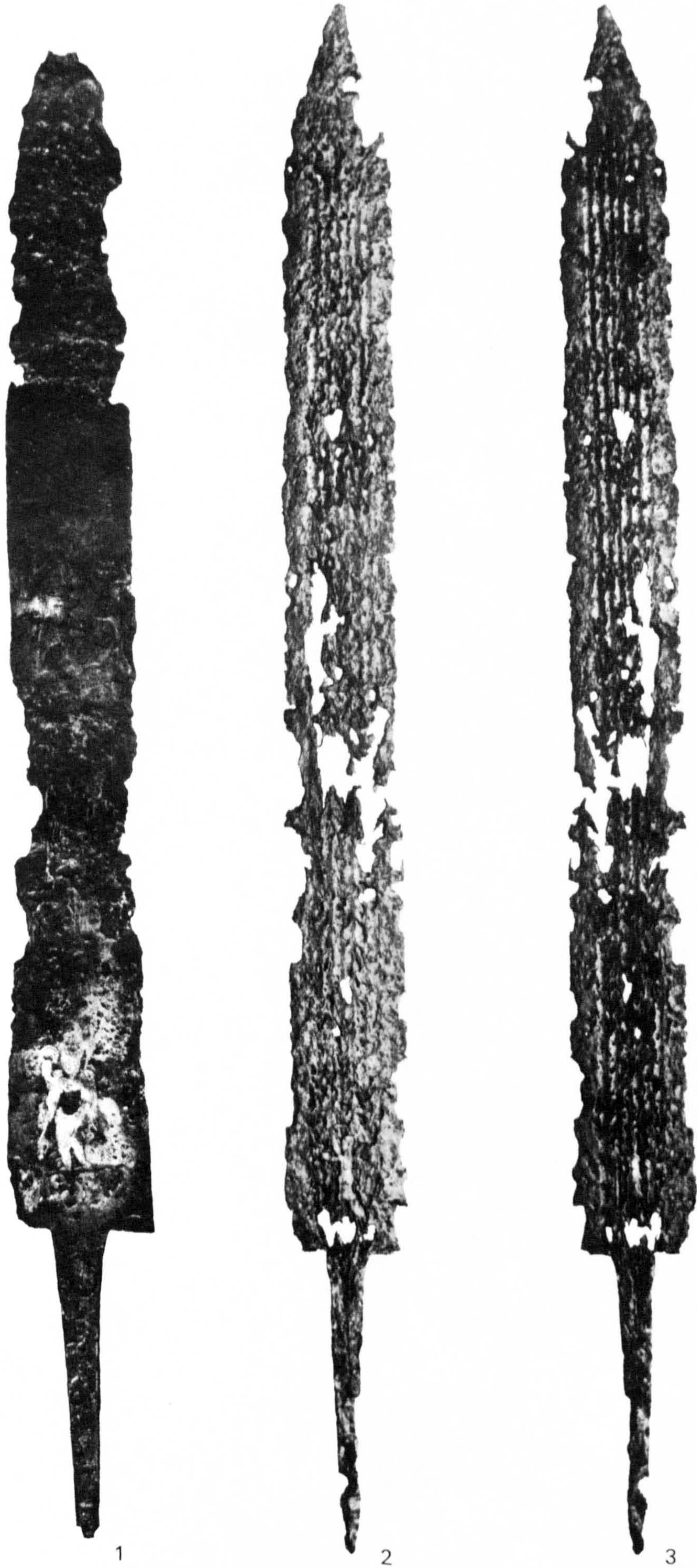


2 a



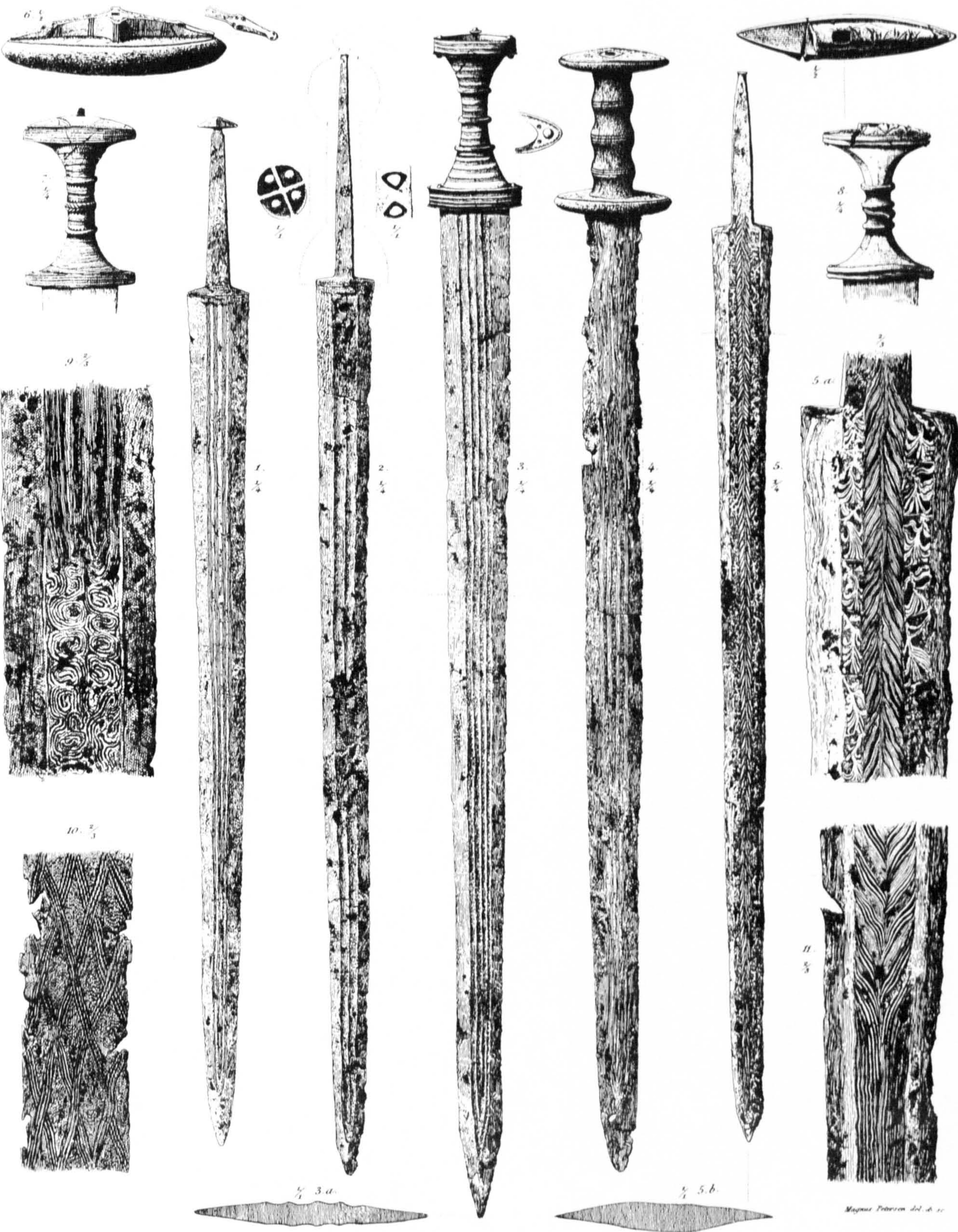
2

Römische Langschwerter mit figürlichen Metalleinlagen. 1 Straubing. 2 Nydam, Dänemark. 1. 2 M. 1 : 4.
 1a. 2a M. 1 : 1.



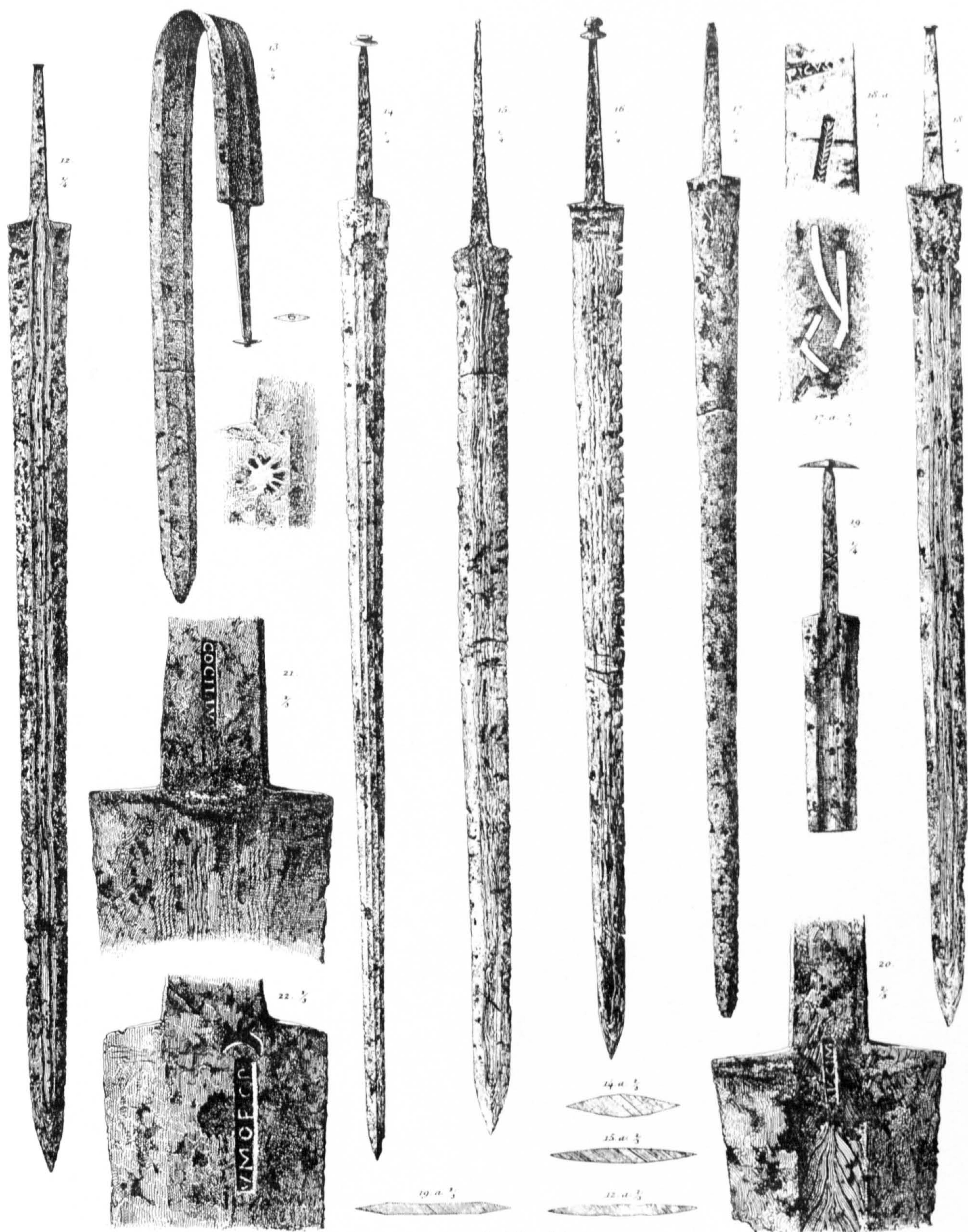
Römische Langschwerter mit figürlichen Metalleinlagen. 1 Øvre Stabu, Norwegen. 2. 3 Lauriacum-Lorch/
Enns, Österreich. M. etwa 1 : 3, 5.

VI. Nydam.



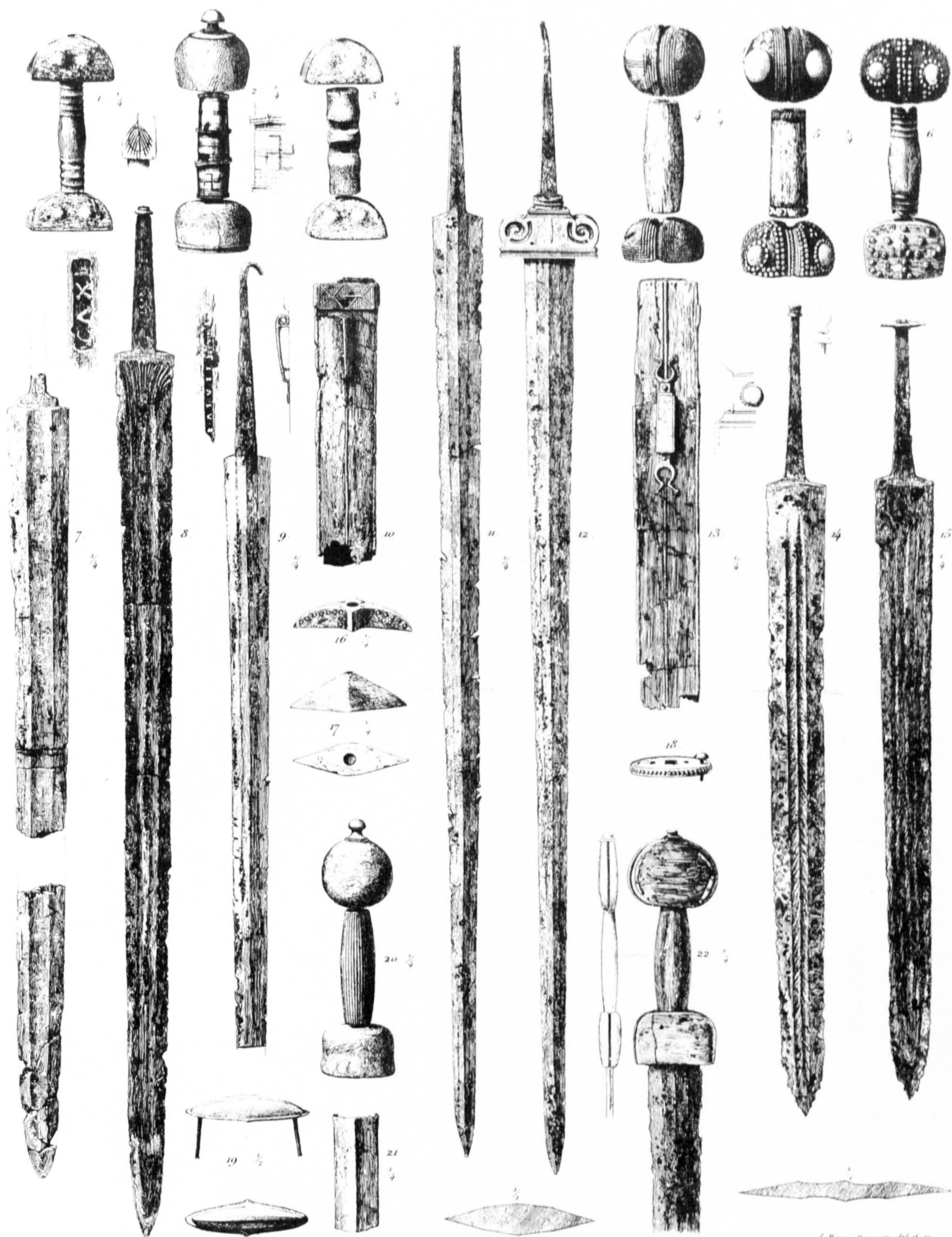
27. Roman swords from Nydam, 3rd century (source Engelhardt 1863, pl. VII)

W.H. Nydam



Magnus Petersen del. 18. 11.

28. Roman swords from Vimose, 3rd century (source Engelhardt 1869, pl. 6)



29. Gravestone of Flavius Surillio, *aquilifer*, legio II Adiutrix, Byzantium, c. AD 214
(source: Speidel 1976: 125, fig. 1)



1 Tombstone of T. Flavius Surillio from Byzantium.
Archeological Museums Istanbul.

30. Gravestone of Aurelius Suro, *bucinator* of legio I Adiutrix, Byzantium, c. AD 214
Eagle-Bearer and Trumpeter
(source: Speidel 1976: 127, fig. 2) 127



2 Tombstone of Aurelius Surus from Byzantion.
Archeological Museums Istanbul.

4. PILUM, SCUTUM, GLADIUS¹

Our ancestors... never lacked wisdom or courage, and they were never too proud to take over a sound institution from another country. They borrowed most of their armour and weapons from the Samnites, and most of their magisterial insignia from the Etruscans. In short, if they thought what an ally or an enemy had was likely to suit them, they enthusiastically adopted it at Rome; for they would rather copy a good thing than be consumed with envy for it.

Caesar's speech to the Senate in the Catilinarian debate, 5 December 63 BC (Sallust *Catilina* 51.37-38, Penguin trans).

Introduction

The arms and armour employed by the Roman soldier in third century AD were part of a long process of continuous evolution in Roman military equipment. Since the earliest times this had been dominated by political, external military and cultural influences, prevailing fashions, available materials, and construction and production techniques. Thus the Roman soldier went through his history in varied guise using native Italic, Etruscan, Hellenic, Iberian, Celtiberian, Gallic, German and Iranian (i.e. Sarmatian and Persian) equipment as he came into contact with those peoples. However, such adoptions were always moulded into distinct Roman forms which the opponents of the Romans might in turn adopt for their own use.² It is interesting, therefore, to consider that Caesar's legions conquered the Gauls using a mix of Gallic and Celtiberian equipment. These processes of adoption, adaptation and evolution did not cease in the third century.

The legionary cohorts of the Empire fought like the maniples and cohorts of the Republic but the basic legionary equipment of *scutum* and *gladius* changed notably in form throughout these periods. Roman infantry tactics, however, were tried and tested and changed little over the centuries. It is the purpose of this chapter to show that variety of javelin/spear, sword and shield forms could be used within these tactics.

¹ 'Gladius' simply means sword. It is not particular to the short sword.

² Consider the use of gladius-style swords in Scandinavia in the first and second centuries AD (cf. Nylén 1963). In the third century the new Roman pattern welded swords and other weaponry were widely imported into Free Germany and beyond. See Todd 1992: 95f.

Specialist troops that had always been present in the legions became formalized in the third century (e.g. the *lanciarii* or *phalangarii* of legio II Parthica),³ but in general Roman tactics were not dependent on specific weapon types. Once they had thrown their javelins Roman infantry always fought in a particular manner – as swordsmen with a cut and thrust technique with left leg leading - but differing sword and shield types did not affect essentials of this method. We should always try to look past the immediate differences and consider the continuity and similarity of all Roman weaponry. Thus the *spiculum* of the fourth century was but another form of *pilum* (cf. Vegetius 2.15).

This chapter questions the assertions of some scholars about the survival and use of the *pilum*, *scutum* and sword in the third century. The famous relief from Croy Hill on the Antonine Wall is an excellent starting point and central focus for our discussion (*Figure 9*).⁴ It neatly straddles the gap between the familiar equipment forms of the first century and allows us to follow the development of equipment into its later second and third century forms.

The relief shows three soldiers standing side by side and facing the viewer, two younger men flanking a mature bearded soldier. It probably survives from a gravestone; an inscription was found attached to the stone but was subsequently chiseled off when the relief was set in the wall of a farmhouse in the early nineteenth century. It seems that no record of the text was made. The find-spot on the Antonine Wall in Scotland indicates a mid-second century date, perhaps during the construction period, c. 142. The three soldiers are dressed in tunics and military cloaks, *paenulae*, and all three may wear some form of body armour. They are armed with *pila* and *scuta* - weaponry normally ascribed to the legions.⁵ Therefore it is probable that the men represent legionaries from legio VI Victrix, whose presence is attested at the site in connection with its construction and/or garrison (*RIB* 2160-2163). The mens' hairstyles, and particularly the beard of the older central figure, reflect the fashion favoured by emperors from Hadrian through to Septimius Severus. Indeed, an inspection of the stone in the nineteenth century led to the suggestion that the three

³ For the presence of a variety of armaments and fighting styles within a single Roman unit see Speidel 1987: 63-64 (*ala*); 1992: 14-22 (legion).

⁴ For a study of the relief in its second century context see Coulston 1988: 1-29.

⁵ Coulston 1988: 10-15 stresses caution over an immediate identification as legionaries, noting that *pila* and *scuta* might have been employed by some auxiliaries.

men represented the emperor Septimius Severus flanked by his sons Caracalla and Geta (Skinner 1827: 455). This would make an attractive identification, the ultimate image of the Emperors (Severus and Caracalla) and Caesar (Geta) as *commilitones*, but a mid-second century date and identification as part of a gravestone is much more likely.

a) Pila

The *pilum* is the defining weapon of the Roman legionary. Unlike the *gladius*, which was a number of distinct and successive sword types, the *pilum* retained its two basic forms for centuries. A heavy javelin with a long iron shank tipped with a barbed head, the *pilum* was a short-range weapon (effective range of 20-30 m), designed to punch through shields, armour and into the man beyond. It was essential to the Roman sword fighting technique because the devastation caused by a volley of pila created the perfect conditions for the legionary to exploit as he charged forward with his cut and thrust sword (e.g. Caesar *BG* 1.25, 52; 2.23; 7.88; *BC* 3.94; Tacitus *Ann.* 14.36-37).

All three soldiers on the Croy relief are armed with tanged *pila*, heavy javelins, identified by the pyramidal extension of the wooden shaft, into which the flat tang of the iron shank was clamped and held firm by rivets and wedges (*Figure 9*).⁶ The wooden shafts of the missiles extend to the height of the men's heads, and are tipped with relatively short and thick shanks with triangular heads. The height of the javelin shanks has been constrained by the frame of the relief; an actual *pilum* would probably have measured about 2 m or c. 7ft, the iron shanks being up to 60 or 70 cm (24-28 in) in total length, including head and tang.

Archaeological examples of pila

Twenty-six *pila* heads, roughly pyramidal, were among the finds made at another Antonine Wall fort, Bar Hill, measuring between 5-7 cm (2-3 in) (Robertson *et al* 1975: 100; fig. 33). *Pila* heads from Newstead in Scotland, of Antonine or early

⁶ Cf. the Oberaden *pila* of first century AD date, where a number of shanks survived still attached to their shafts (Bishop & Coulston 1993: 65-66, fig. 33, after Albrecht 1942, pls 48-49).

Severan date, ranged up to 7 cm (3 in) in length. The excavator at Newstead was unsure of the identification of the pieces, suggesting them either as arrowheads or ballista bolt-heads (Curle 1911: 188-189, pl. XXXVIII, 9, 11). Continuing use of the *pilum* beyond the second century is clear. Fine examples of socketed and round-tang *pila* shanks of short and long lengths were excavated from the fort at Saalburg, dating to about AD 250-70 (Jacobi 1897: 484, fig. 77, nos 1-2; Bishop & Coulston 1993: 123, fig.83, no. 6). Of great interest to this chapter are the similar shanks from one of the battle sites at the fort of Gelduba (modern Krefeld-Gellep) in Germany; these *pila* were used in combat against the Franks in the mid-270's (Reichmann 1995: 131-33, fig. 2). The socketed *pilum* was also evident at third century Richborough (Bushe-Fox: 1949: 152-3; pl. LVIII, 281).

In contrast to the above German examples which maintained the more modest head proportions of earlier periods, the *pila* heads abandoned in the later third century at Caerleon in Wales, base of legio III Augusta, were very large, measuring 7-17 cm (3-7 in) in length. A *pilum* shank was also discovered but does not survive complete enough to identify it as a socketed or round-tang type (Nash-Williams 1932: 70-71, figs 20-21). Other third century *pila* heads from Corbridge could be divided into three approximate groups of 3.75, 5.6 and 10 cm (1½ in, 2¼, 4 in) (Richmond & Birley 1940: 112; pl. XI). This could suggest that the large examples from Newstead are to be associated with the Severan campaigns of the early third century and illustrate the development towards the enlarged Corbridge and Caerleon forms, possibly unique to Britain.

Thus the surviving third century *pila* shanks indicates their use in combat in the late third century and suggest a predominance of the socketed type, something that is reflected in fourth century *pila* developments (cf. Bishop & Coulston 1993: 160-162).

Bishop and Coulston suggest that *pila* "probably ceased to be the priority shafted weapon for legionaries that they were in earlier periods" (1993: 123). Indeed the predominance of the *pilum* as the legionary weapon on Trajan's Column is not repeated on the Aurelian Column or the Arch of Severus; in fact, it is completely absent. Coulston identifies a *pilum* on the Arch of Severus but the weapon appears to be no more than a spear. (Coulston 1988: 10, 20, n. 83, from Brilliant 1967, pl. 62a). But how reliable are these triumphal monuments? They can provide useful some suggestive for military equipment (see below) but they are highly anachronistic and we should not be concerned by the absence of *pila*: spears were easier to carve. The

pila finds listed above, in particular mass of *pila* discovered at Caerleon and associated with the abandonment of the fortress in the later third century, *do* suggest a continuing primacy of the *pilum* as the legionary's heavy javelin.⁷ That is not to deny that the legionaries used spears – I believe a proportion of soldiers, perhaps varying from legion to legion, had done so throughout the early empire, cf. chp. 3, sect. 2 – but traditionally legionaries were mostly armed with *pila* and the combination of artifacts and representational evidence suggests that *pila* (or derivative throwing weapons) continued to be their predominant missile throughout the third century.

Herodian and the invincible Roman spearmen

In a passage contrasting Roman and Parthian fighting techniques Herodian describes the Romans as 'an infantry force which was invincible in close-quarter fighting with spears, while the Parthians had a large cavalry force who were highly skilled in archery' (4.10.3). Stephenson takes this to indicate that the legionary had generally abandoned his *pilum* and relied on a stabbing spear and only used his sword as a secondary weapon (Stephenson 1999: 58-60, 70-75). However, Stephenson fails to highlight the context of the passage. Herodian is presenting apparent negotiations between the emperor Caracalla and the Parthian king Artabanus V (4.10.1-5). Caracalla has proposed an alliance with Parthia based on marriage to Artabanus' daughter and suggests the benefits if the two empires were united: 'If these forces united and all the agencies for successful war co-operated, they would surely have no difficulty in ruling the world under a single crown.' The proposed alliance is of course fraudulent; it is a means for Caracalla to secure a *casus belli* for the invasion of Parthia when Artabanus refuses (cf. Whittaker, *Herodian*, 434, n.1; Dio 78.1 ff.). Caracalla had already formed a 'Macedonian phalanx' and his fixation with Alexander the Great was well known (Herodian 4.8.1-2; 4.8.6-7; 4.9.3-4; Dio 77.7-8; 77.22.1). This and a desire to emulate his father's conquests in the Near East determined an attack on Parthia. Herodian's description of the Romans as invincible spearmen is simply a literary device to equate the Romans with the Classical Greeks and the Macedonians who had first resisted then conquered the Persians with the phalanx, and helps to neatly distinguish the Romans from the Parthians. It is clearly influenced by the ancient tradition of the Greek hoplite versus the Persian cavalry and archers (e.g. Aeschylus, *Persians* 101-108, 140-148, 240; Sage 1996: 81-94). The

⁷ Fifty-five *pila* heads and one complete socketed shank with head were found at Caerleon. The *pila* finds far outnumbered the one spearhead and two javelin heads.

passage cannot be used to show that in the third century Roman infantry relied on the spear.

Other evidence for the Roman soldier as a spearman in the third century is perhaps the supposed Macedonian and Spartan phalanges of Caracalla and Severus Alexander (above). However, the title Macedonian phalanx is simply a euphemism for the praetorian guard and legio II Parthica. See chp. 3, sect. 2. Neither is the phalanx formation adopted by Arrian against the Alani in the second century reliable evidence for the standard tactics, armament and fighting style of the legions (Arrian *Ectaxis contra Alanos*). It was a particular formation designed to counter a particular adversary (Goldsworthy 1996: 135).

Discounting triumphal monuments, if the thrusting spear was the principal weapon of the legionary in the third century, representations are surprisingly rare. A figured gravestone from Brigetio of Aurelius Avitianus, *miles* of legio I Adiutrix, shows him holding two shaft weapons with leaf-shaped heads behind his shield (*Figure 10*; *RIU* 720, pl. LIX; Speidel 1976: 136, fig. 5). We can suppose that at least one was for throwing; neither have butt-spikes. Another possible thrusting spear is held by Iulius Firminianus of legio I Adiutrix: it has a kite-shaped head (*Figure 11*; Speidel 1976: 133, fig. 4). The gravestone of an unknown soldier known as 'Brigetio legionary', shows an armoured figure holding a single heavy spear with a long semi-triangular head (Barkóczi 1944, pl. L, 3). The weapon is not represented with a butt-spike. Other gravestones show legionaries armed heavy spears with large triangular heads, but on these examples the shoulders of the heads are completely horizontal (e.g. *Figure 12 b*).⁸ Would such a head be suitable for a thrusting weapon? The shoulders of the blade could catch and render the spear useless. It could be that the spears with strict triangular heads are supposed to recall the pyramidal heads of *pila*; might we in fact be looking at crude representations of socketed *pila*? Perhaps, but I see no problem with some legionaries carrying a heavy throwing spear instead of a heavy throwing javelin. Such a weapon would not have the penetration of a *pilum* but it would be cheaper to produce and not require the same maintenance.

An interesting figured gravestone from Albano in Italy shows Aurelius Eptecentus of legio II Parthica holding two shafted weapons (*Figure 6*; Forni 1954: 26, fig. 2). The gravestone is broken and the heads of the weapons are lost but because of their slim

⁸ For example Servandinius Avitus of legio XXX Ulpia, *figure 12 b* (Speidel 1985: 96, fig. b).

width it seems fair to conclude that these were javelins. Lastly the broken statue of soldier from Luxor in Egypt retains the lower portion of slim spear shaft. It does not appear to have a butt-spike.⁹ The statue support might be in the shape of a curved rectangular *scutum*. If the depiction of the equipment is accurate, the presence of the *scutum* would suppose that the spear was a throwing weapon, perhaps a lighter javelin for a soldier in a *posterior* century.

Legionaries represented with pila

In the third century clear representations of *pila* are to be found on a number of high quality figured gravestones of legionaries and praetorians.

A socketed *pilum* is certainly the weapon held by an unidentified soldier, probably a legionary, on a funerary relief of early Severan date in Istanbul (see *Figure 13*; Speidel 1976: 128-129). Speidel describes the weapon as ‘a thick *hasta*, [that] ends in a triangular blade on a metal tube which is set off from the wooden shaft’ (1976: 129), but the weapon is intended to represent a heavy socketed *pilum* with a pyramidal head. The location of the gravestone could be associated with forces heading to or returning from Severus’ second Parthian war (197-199/201), or the Parthian War of Caracalla (214-218/19), cf. chp. 5, sect. 1 d.

The figured gravestone of a *beneficiarius tribuni* of legio II Parthica at Apamea can be securely dated to 231-233 by the title Severiana (*Figure 14*). The deceased soldier, Petronius Proculus, is shown holding a heavy weighted *pilum* (Balty 1987, fig. 6; 1988, pl. XIV, 1; *AE* 1991: 1686). It has at least one large round weight; above this ribbons/streamers are tied to the weapon. Above this main weight could be two smaller weights (double-weighted *pila* are shown on praetorian gravestones) but might actually be the extension of the wooden shaft to hold a flat-tanged shank in place. If so this would show the survival of this form of *pilum* seventy or even ninety years after the Croy Hill relief was made. It has been suggested that because the *pilum* was ‘beribboned’ that “it served as a badge of office rather than primarily as a javelin” (Coulston 2000: 97). But this is hardly a *beneficiarius*-lance with an emblematic head: it is a practical weapon with a barbed head and butt-spike. This was no badge of office. A praetorian *eques* is portrayed holding a lance with similar ribbons tied beneath the head; he was not a *beneficiarius* (*CIL* VI 2672 = *ILS* 2054;

⁹ *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue*, 1979: 191, fig. 156 (Cairo).

Coulston 2000: 79, fig. 5.3). These ribbons acted as streamers, the kind of decorative touch beloved of Roman soldiers.

A single-weighted *pilum* is depicted on the gravestone of Aurelius Iustinus, a young legionary of II Italica who was killed in a Dacian war (*CIL* III 5218 = Hofmann 1905, no. 48, fig. 41). Iustinus is portrayed with his *pilum* and oval shield slung across his back (*Figure 15*). It is unclear what type of *pilum* it is as the weight seems to rather further down the shaft than was usual. The date of the stone is clearly third century by the name Aurelius, the *sagum* cloak and long-sleeved tunic; the wearing of the sword on the left and the short soldier-emperor hairstyle. I would prefer to connect the stone with the campaigns fought by Maximinus (an influence on the funerary portrait?) or Philip against Dacii, but it could be linked to any third century Dacian War.

Other images of legionaries armed with *pila* could include those that show the shaft of the weapon tipped with a triangular head, rather than the leaf- or kite-shaped blade associated with thrusting spears (above).

Praetorian pila

Praetorian guardsmen who died during service are consistently portrayed on their funerary monuments holding weighted *pila*. These monuments can be dated from the reigns of Severus and Caracalla to the Tetrarchic period. They constitute the best evidence for the continuing use of the *pilum* by any Roman unit in the third century.

1) Funerary altar of L. Septimius Valerinus, reign of Severus or Caracalla (*Figure 16*; Rome).¹⁰ The date is suggested by his name, the absence of the eagle-hilted sword common to later monuments and only a slight influence of the Caracallan style of portraiture. The shaft of Valerinus' *pilum* appears to be bound with heavy cord; it had at least one weight and a long sharp butt-spike.

2) Gravestone of [---]teius Vitalis, c. AD 217 (*Figure 17*; Speidel & Scardigli 1990: 201-207, taf. 22 = *AE* 1990: 752, Fiesole). Vitalis' portrait is clearly modeled after that of Caracalla with the same scowling features and turn of the head. He wears a relatively short eagle-hilted sword, presumably a gift from the emperor replacing older forms of *dona*. His *pilum* has a single large weight, level with his ear suggesting

¹⁰ NS 1923: 391-2, fig.9; Durry 1938: 210-211, pl. X, b; Rocchetti 196-68: 491-493, fig. 4; Kleiner 1987, no. 122, pl. LXVII.3.

the actual length of the shaft. The shaft is either bound or painted – note the pattern of horizontal lines. The shaft tapers to a point at the butt.

3) Gravestone of Aurelius Lucianus, c. AD 217-238 (*Figure 18*; CIL VI 2602, Rome). The date is suggested by Lucianus' portrait perhaps modeled after that of Caracalla but the influence of Maximinus' (235-238) portraiture seems more likely. Lucianus' pilum is more finely rendered than that of Vitalis. It has a similarly bound or painted shaft with a long, sharp butt-spike secured by pins. The *pilum* has two weights.

4) Gravestone of Antonius Paterio, c. AD 246 (CIL VI 2730, Rome).¹¹ I have not seen this but he holds a *pilum* in his right hand. Paterio's centurion, Artemonis, is also recorded on a dedication dating to 246 (CIL VI 32551).

5) Funerary altar of Aurelius Vitalianus, mid-later third century (*Figure 19*; AE 1990: 62, Rome). The date is suggested by the frontality of Vitalianus' pose, which reflects the style of imperial portraiture at the end of the third century (cf. Cecere *apud* Panciera (ed.) 1987: 58-9). The monument is broken but it is clear from its similarity to other praetorian reliefs that Vitalianus once held a *pilum*.

6) The gravestone of Aurelius Abitus may also be of later third century date judging by the pose and portrait. His *pilum* has a single weight. CIL X 1754 = ILS 2043 (Puteoli); Bieńkowski 1919, col. 267, abb. 117.

7) Gravestone of unknown praetorian, close of the third century now in the Castel San Angelo, Rome (Rochetti 1967-68: 486-498). Only the upper half of the relief remains. The inscription is lost but the praetorian's portrait was clearly influenced by those of the Tetrarchs. He holds his *pilum* with his left hand, the shaft is bound or painted, a large weight is level with the soldier's jaw.

8) Gravestone of Maccenius Vibius, general third century date (CIL VI 2437 = ILS 2037, Rome; see chp. 1 sect. 2). The brief commentary in CIL VI, p. 673 indicates that Vibius holds a *pilum* in his right hand.

¹¹ M.E. Micheli 1984: *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture I/7*, p. 147f. (Roma). See also Ciampoltrini 1993: 39.

The value of these stones has been disputed. The *pila* are described as elaborate, and because of the apparent absence of *pila* in provincial iconography the weapon is considered as symbolic rather than practical and retained for its use in crowd control in Rome (Coulston 2000: 92-3). This is at odds with the artifactual evidence listed above, especially the examples lost in action at Gelduba, c.274/6. The long sharp butt-spikes of these weapons make clear that they were entirely practical to the battlefield and unsuited for crowd control; these were not staves for holding back crowds. The number of weights was not merely for decoration; they reflect a desire to increase the penetrative power of the weapon in battle, even if this was at the cost of range. It emphasises the role of praetorians as classic Roman heavy infantry who would follow the *pila* volley with a sword charge. If the shafts of these weapons were bound, as strongly suggested by no.1, this may have been to reinforce the shaft and stop it from shattering on impact. A notable feature of the praetorian *pila* is that none are represented with heads. This is because the sculptors simply cut the tapering shanks: unlike the Croy Hill relief or legio II Parthica example, they did not reduce them to fit within the frame of the relief.

Later pila developments

The Castel San Angelo praetorian seems to be the latest representation of the traditional heavy *pilum*. In the fourth century Vegetius tells us that the *pilum* was known as the *spiculum* with a head 9 Roman inches long and a shaft of 5.5 Roman feet (*Epit.* 2.15; 3.14). Other weapons such as the (probably) diminutive *plumbatae* also seem to be derivatives of *pila* with short leaded weighted iron shanks with barbed heads (cf. Bishop & Coulston 1993: 160-162). Such weapons are evident on funerary monuments from Aquileia in northern Italy, dating to the late third to early fourth centuries. They show legionaries of XI Claudia armed with pairs of shaft weapons. One legionary holds two heavy spears, but the triangular heads would recall the pyramidal heads of traditional *pila* (Franzoni 1987, no. 12, tav. IV, 3). Another holds two slim weapons with small barbed heads (Franzoni 1987, no. 13, tav. V, 1). These might be identified with light socketed *pila* or *spicula* - the shafts seem too long for *plumbata*. A third legionary probably holds two *lanceae* (Franzoni 1987, no. 14, tav. V, 2). The pedestal base reliefs on the Arch of Constantine in Rome show guardsmen also armed with javelins best identified as light *pila* or *spicula* with barbed heads (see Bieńkowski 1919: 274, taf. 122).¹² Interestingly, a vaguely similar weapon is held by

¹² See Speidel 1987a: 378, for these guardsmen, perhaps derived from praetorians. The

a Severan legionary of II Parthica on a gravestone at Apamea (Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 31, pl. 9 = *AE* 1993: 1579).¹³

However, the Arch of Constantine also shows Romans advancing phalanx-like with spears held over-arm and shields overlapping. Spears are the dominant weapon on the Arch of Galerius and are also carried by soldiers on a probable fragment of the Arch of Diocletian (Coulston 1990: 143, fig. 4). Elton considers the spear the primary weapon of the Roman soldier in the fourth century, but Ammianus indicates the continuing use of *spicula* in battle by legionaries at Strasbourg in 357 (Elton 1996: 109; AM 16.12.46).

b) Scutum

In the early empire the curved rectangular *scutum* seems to have been the predominant shield of the legionary. It was a modified version of the traditional oval *scutum* with its reduced sized and shaped making for easier production and a lighter shield. It distinguishes citizen troops from auxiliaries on Trajan's Column and is represented on a fair number of provincial gravestones.

The Croy Hill relief depicts all three soldiers holding a curved rectangular *scutum*, with a hemispherical boss on a curved rectangular plate (*Figure 9*). These large body shields were the traditional defence of the legionary; they had a horizontal hand grip

reference to praetorians is clear in Zosimus 2.9: they are instrumental in Constantine's elevation in 306.

¹³ The *pilum* is depicted on several funerary reliefs of soldiers of the Urban cohorts and the *equites singulares Augusti*. The Urban cohorts were now perhaps employed on active military service, but the evidence I can find only clearly relates to policing duties, though the presence of cohort XIV is attested at Apamea in 216-18 amongst field army units (Balty 1988: 102). This could point to combat duties, but they may have acted as military police to protect the local population from the ravages of field army troops. Elements of cohort XIV also patrolled the region of Hippo during the second or third centuries (Le Bohec 1989: 485). Particular men did serve in the imperial bodyguard, e.g. *ILS* 2090, but other depictions of the *pilum* may simply copy praetorian style: both units were garrisoned together. See Franzoni 1987, nos. 3, 47 & 48; Kleiner 1987, no. 73. The *pilum* seems a strange weapon for cavalry but it is seen on funerary monuments of the *equites singulares Augusti*, e.g. Speidel 1994, nos 567, 580; the latter is described as a *protector*. For early *protectores* see Speidel 1978: 130-133; 1986: 451-454.

behind the boss (*umbo*) and were held with a straight arm. The left (viewer's left) and central figures rest their shields on the left foot and support it with the left hand; their helmets are suspended over the faces of the shields just above the *umbo*, in a fashion also known from Trajan's Column (scene lxix). The shields come up to the approximate level of the hip. The soldier on the right carries his *scutum* and it extends from just above the shoulder down to his mid thigh, giving an approximate idea of the shield's size in reality. He rests his *pilum* on his right shoulder and his helmet is suspended from his neck; this probably reflects marching order (compare Trajan's column, scene lxxxvi).¹⁴ When originally completed the relief was probably painted, with the shields bearing a dedicated unit pattern/blazon (implied by Tacitus *Hist.* 3.23). Considering the mid-second century date of the Croy Hill relief, the multiple representation of the shield is notable and is probably the last depiction of legionaries equipped with *pila* and *scuta*.

On official triumphal monuments of the later second century the curved rectangular *scutum* is in the distinct minority compared to other shield forms. The size of the Croy shields is roughly comparable to the *scuta* on the Aurelian Column but the only scenes in which the shield predominates are those featuring the *testudo*. Various oval shields are used by all troops on the Aurelian Column, some seemingly flat, others dished or even bowl-like - note in particular the shield held by the legionary on the far right of scene 8 (Brilliant 1967, fig. 81). *Scuta* feature on the Aurelian panels but these have curved sides or are oval in shape. The finely rendered *scutum* on the Captives panel (c. AD 176) has a distinctive shield pattern of intertwined dolphins, curved sides and seems to be reduced in scale with a tiny *umbo* (Hamberg 1945: pl. 15).¹⁵ The shields held by praetorians and other troops on the *adlucutio* panel are strongly reminiscent of oval *scuta* (Hamberg 1945: pl. 12). The rectangular *scutum* makes only makes very occasional appearances on the Arches of Severus in Rome and Leptis Magna, virtually all soldiers are equipped with oval shields, only in *testudo* scenes is the presence of the *scutum* notable (cf. Brilliant 1967, pls. 60a, 60b, 61).

¹⁴ Compare the column-base relief from Mainz *principia* showing a Flavian legionary on the march (Robinson 1975: 76, pl. 198).

¹⁵ It is not known if the pattern was that of an actual unit. The curved sides recall *scuta* employed in the Augustan period and is very similar to those carried by praetorians on the Cancelleria frieze (late Flavian), the Louvre relief (possibly Claudian) and the Antoninus Pius column base (Kleiner 1992: 286, fig. 254; Keppie 1984, pl. 20; Koeppel 1983: 103-109; Robinson 1975: 184, pl. 497).

Large oval and round shields are now the predominant type featured on funerary reliefs of all soldiers (see chp. 3, appendix). However, the *scutum* continues to make notable appearances in late second and third century provincial sculpture, and it is probably the shield used by the majority of praetorians. Further, the only archaeological example of such a shield dates from the middle of the third century.

A high relief sculpture from Alba Iulia in Dacia shows a heavily armoured soldier, probably a legionary (*Figure 20*), wearing *lorica segmentata*, *manica* (articulated arm guard)¹⁶ and scale coif,¹⁷ and holding a curved rectangular *scutum*, which covers him from shoulder to knee (Coulston 1995: 13-17). The shield has a curved rectangular boss like the early Imperial *umbones* discovered at Carnuntum and from the River Tyne (Bishop & Coulston 1993: 83); it appears to be attached to the board by six rivets. The normally hemispherical central section of the boss is in the form of a head, possibly an animal or gorgon - compare the first century funerary reliefs of Valerius Crispus and Castricius Victor (Robinson 1975: 167, pls. 469-70). A sword scabbard protrudes from the bottom of the shield and hangs to the side of the left knee, and confirms a very late second or third century date (see below, sect. c). The peltate chape is similar to a later third century bronze example found at Caerleon (Nash-Williams 1932: 88, fig. 36, 15). This combination of a shield designed for close order fighting and a longer sword is very important because it shows that the medium-length and long swords of the late second and third centuries were used in the same manner as the shorter *gladii*, i.e. to cut and thrust.

Another representation of the rectangular *scutum* is on a fine gravestone now in the British Museum (*Figure 21*). The gravestone shows a soldier named Ares (left figure) offering his sword, helmet and *scutum* to the war god Ares.¹⁸ The date of the stone is suggest by Ares' long-sleeved tunic, a fashion apparently made widespread by the emperor Caracalla during the course of his German War (Dio 78.3). The crew-cuts

¹⁶ For a glowing description of such articulated limb defences see Ammianus 16.10.8, with particular reference to the *catafractarii* in Constantius' triumphal procession through Rome in 357.

¹⁷ I.e. a protective hood, rather like a balaclava.

¹⁸ The similarity between the two figures may suggest that both are supposed to represent the deceased soldier. Note also the soldier's protective leg wraps. The catalogue does not state the provenance of the the stone: Smith 1904: 287, no. 2271, fig. 39. Note also Speidel 1992: 134; 133, fig. 1

and short beards worn by Ares and the god reflect the fashion sported by Alexander Severus and the soldier-emperors of the second quarter of the third century. Ares' unit is not specified, but it is possible that he was a praetorian. In 218 at the battle fought between Macrinus and Elagabalus outside Antioch, Dio describes the how the praetorians were equipped with 'pipe/gutter-like' shields (Dio 78.37.4).¹⁹ The description surely recalls the shape of the curved rectangular *scutum* which praetorians are depicted with on coins and medallions from Severus to Probus (e.g. Gordian III: Toynbee 1986, pl. XLV, 2; Probus: *HCC* Probus no. 183).²⁰

Dio also gives us our best description of the *testudo* formation, which is probably based on exercise he oversaw as governor of Pannonia Superior in the mid-late 220's. He mentions a number of shield types including 'oblong, curved, cylindrical shields' probably identified as curved rectangular *scuta* (49.30).²¹ Finally, the small rectangular shield carried by the third century standard-bearer from Carrawburgh on Hadrian's Wall could be an attempt to depict a reduced curved rectangular *scutum* but standard-bearers seem normally to have carried small shields (Robinson 1976: 32; Coulston & Philips 1988: no. 193).

The latest depiction of a scutum-type shield in a military context may be seen on the lid of the Great Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus, c. 265-70 (Hannestad 1986: 296, fig. 177).²² On the left-hand panel of the lid, a soldier standing at the left of the general's

¹⁹ Translated as 'grooved shields' by Cary in the Loeb edition.

²⁰ Note also the curved rectangular *scuta* scattered amongst round and oval shields on the Barberini 'Nile crossing' mosaic at Palestrina. The mosaic is of uncertain date, late first century BC to third century AD. The scorpion blazons on the shields probably identify the bearers as praetorians; *Scorpio* was the birth sign of the emperor Tiberius and the motto, which is prominent on images of praetorian *signa* and shields, could have been adopted when he concentrated the cohorts in Rome (*ILS* 2662; Domaszewski 1885; Durry 1938: 203-206; Rankov 1994: 19, 24-27; Keppie 1996: 122; 2000: 320). Gallienus' legionary issue of c. 259 also celebrates the cohortes praetoriae, but the emblem struck on these antoniniani was a radiate lion (*RIC* V.1, Gallienus nos 370-372). In the Antonine period the praetorians seem to have used curve sided *scuta*, e.g. the base of the Antonine Column 1975: 184, pl. 497.

²¹ Apparently the description of only one shield type. The *testudo* may have been performed by Dio's army when he was governor of Upper Pannonia (mid-late 220's), or one performed by the field army of Caracalla at Nicomedia in 214/15 (cf. Dio 49.36.4; 80.4.2; 77.18.1 – I interpret the drilling of the 'Macedonian Phalanx' as training of field army units in advance of the Parthian war, or simply a euphemism for the Guard and II Parthica etc.).

²² Gladiators still employed the shield in the fourth century, e.g. Grant 1967, pls 21, 27.

ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος εὐρών | . . ἐν τοῖς τοῦ
 Μακρίνου κιβωτίοις μηδέπω | α
 αὐτὸς ἐκὼν | ἐξέφηεν | . .
 α διαβολὴν | πρὸς τοὺς
 3 στρατιώτας ποιούμενος. οὕτω δὲ ταχέως ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν ἤλασεν ὥστε χαλεπῶς τὸν Μακρίνον ἐν
 κώμῃ τινὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων, ἑκατὸν τε καὶ ὀγδοή-
 κοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου ἀπεχούσῃ,
 4 συμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ. ἐνθα δὲ τῇ μὲν προθυμίᾳ τῇ
 τῶν δορυφόρων ἐκράτησεν (τούς τε γὰρ θώρακας
τούς λεπιδωτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰς σωλη-
νοειδεῖς ἀφελόμενος αὐτῶν κουφοτέρους σφᾶς ἐς
τὰς μάχας ἐπεποιήκει), τῇ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ δειλίᾳ
 ἡττήθη, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ προεδή-
 5 λωσεν. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ἣ τὰ πρῶτα
 αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς γράμματα ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη,
 περιστέρᾳ τις ἐπὶ εἰκόνα Σεουήρου, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐτέθειτο, ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀνακειμένην
 ἐπέπτατο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὅτε τὰ περὶ τοῦ υἱέος
 ἐπεμψεν, οὐτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐθ' ὑπὸ τῶν
 στρατηγῶν συνήλθομεν (οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον παρόντες)
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ
 6 τρόπον τινὰ ἤδη κατελέλυτο. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ
 ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς προοιμίῳ,
 καίτοι καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν
 ὀνομάσας, καὶ τὰ γραφέντα ὡς καὶ παρ' ἀμφο-
 τέρων ἐπισταλέντα προδηλώσας, ἐνέγραψεν· ἐν
 τε τῇ διηγήσει τῶν πεπραγμένων τῆς μὲν τοῦ
 Διαδουμενιανοῦ προσηγορίας ἐπεμνήσθη, τὴν δὲ
 τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, καίπερ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην,
 38 παρέλιπεν.¹ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, καὶ νῦν Δία

because the False Antoninus, having found . in the A.D. 218
 chests of Macrinus not yet
 he himself voluntarily published
 calumny making with reference
 to the soldiers. And he marched so rapidly against
 him that Macrinus could only with difficulty engage
 him at a village of the Antiochians, twenty-four
 miles distant from the city. There, so far as the
zeal of the Pretorians went, he conquered (he had
taken away their breastplates of scale-armour and
their grooved shields and had thus rendered them
lighter for battle); but he was defeated by his
 own cowardice, as indeed Heaven had foreshown to
 him. For on that day when his first letter about
 the imperial office had been read to us a pigeon had
 alighted on an image of Severus (whose name he had
 applied to himself) that stood in the senate-chamber;
 and later, when he sent the communication about
 his son, we had convened, not at the bidding of the
 consuls or the praetors (for they did not happen to
 be present), but of the tribunes,—a practice which
 in the course of time had fallen largely into
 disuse. Furthermore, he had not even written his
 son's name in the preface to the letter, though he
 termed him both Caesar and emperor and made it
 clear at the outset that the contents emanated from
 them both; and in his recital of events he mentioned
 the name Diadumenianus, but left out that of Anto-
 ninus, though the boy had this title, too. So much for
 these matters. And what was more, when he sent

tribunal carries a shield that extends from his shoulder to knee; in appearance it is a cross between an oval *scutum* and the roughly hexagonal shields seen on the Battle of Ebenezer fresco in the Dura Europos synagogue (Kraeling 1956, pls. 54-55). The Ludovisi shield may not be a result of the sculptor's imagination as the sarcophagus presents a mix of fantastic and startlingly realistic military equipment (e.g. ring buckles, scabbard slides, dished shields and possibly the best Roman sculptural representation of mail).

Archaeologically, the only known examples of surviving Imperial *scuta* boards come from Dura Europos, which fell to the Sassanians c. 256/7, though the shields were deliberately buried sometime before the city's fall. One board which survived sufficiently to allow restoration (*Figure 22*), was 1.02 m high and 0.83 m wide along the curve (0.66 m straight across). Constructed of laminated strips of plane wood laid in three alternating layers the board was about 5 mm thick (Rostovtzeff *et al* 1936: 456-466).²³ It would have easily protected a man from shoulder to knee. Unlike earlier Roman shields, the Dura shields, *scuta* and oval boards were edged with rawhide stitched on to the boards rather than iron or bronze. It only had four holes for the attachment of a relatively small boss. Aside from its obvious importance as the only surviving example of an imperial *scutum*, the Dura *scutum* highlights the survival of this shield type at least a century after the Croy Hill relief.

However, as C. van Driel-Murray has highlighted, the evidence from the *fabrica* of legio I Minervia at Bonner Berg, and surviving leather shield-covers from elsewhere, suggests that by c.130 oval shields were used by the majority of legionaries. The *scutum* was by this time being an exceptional and specialised piece of equipment used principally for the *testudo* formation.²⁴ The predominance of the *scutum* on Trajan's Column was probably exaggerated in order to create an impression of unity between

²³ Please note that Bishop & Coulston, 1993: 149, erroneously state that the board was 5 cm (2 in) thick. The mistake is repeated by Stephenson 1999: 19. The weight of a shield this thick would have been unbearable.

²⁴ Cf. the *testudo* on the Aurelian Column (scene 54), the only concentration of *scuta* in the frieze. Driel-Murray, van, 1986: 140; 1988: 58. However, as Dio's description shows, *scuta* were not the only shield with which a *testudo* could be formed (49.30). Ammianus describes Roman units in the second half of the fourth century employing the *testudo* formation, and they were armed with large round and oval shields (4.15; 20.11.8; 24.2.14; 26.8.9; 29.5.48; cf. Elton 1996: 115). The Severan army used the *testudo* at Issus doubtless employing a variety of shield types (AD 195; Dio 74.7.4).

troop types, as well as to simplify the task of the sculptors. The gravestones of Publius Flavoleius of legio XIV Gemina and Castricius Victor of II Adiutrix, and a column base relief from the legionary *principia* at Mainz, indicate that oval shields were used by both light- and heavy-armed legionaries during the first century AD (Keppie 1984: pl. 19, d; Robinson 1975: 167, pl. 470; Speidel 1992: 14-22).

It has been suggested that the passing of the *scutum* could have resulted in changed tactics on the battle field. “The semi-cylindrical *scutum* seems to have been specifically designed to cover both the front and side of the soldier when the gaps [in the battle lines] were opened, and it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the abandoning of the *scutum* in the 3rd century marks the end of this method of changing the lines” (Connolly 1981: 244). Connolly envisages the legion of the first and second centuries fighting in a number of battle lines with interchange of the lines facilitated by the withdrawal of the *posterior* centuries. Did the *scutum* have such an influence on Roman tactics and maneuvers? We lack clear accounts of how lines changed in battle or how reserves were brought up to the front. What is clear, is that most auxilia predominantly used flat oval shields and functioned in battle as close-order heavy infantry whose tactics differed not at all from those of the legions. In AD 61 in the final battle against Boudicca auxiliaries used the same tactics as the legionaries, charging in close order wedge formations, using shield boss and sword thrust to bring down the Britons (Tacitus *Ann.* 14.36 f.; note *Hist.* 2.42). The rout of 3000 legionaries and at least two auxiliary cohorts at Bonn in 69 line is a particularly relevant example. Outnumbered, rebel cohorts of Batavi still neatly deployed into wedge-like formations, charged the legionary line and broke it, causing high casualties in the pursuit (Tacitus *Hist.* 4.20; note also *Hist.* 4.77; *Agricola* 36-7). The *scutum* offered more protection but it did not determine tactics or the functioning of the battle lines.

c) Swords

No swords or daggers are visible on the Croy Hill relief (*Figure 9*). One would have expected the presence of swords at the figures’ right-hand sides; the soldiers’ *paenulae* do not cover this area. There is a slight hint of a pommel under the left pectoral of the central figure – perhaps he was a centurion. The Bridgeness distance slab from the Antonine Wall (c. 142) shows a trooper wearing his sword on the right (Keppie 1979: 10, pl. 1). Metopes from Adamklissi indicate that some auxiliary troops, both infantry and cavalry, wore their swords on the left hip in the early second

century (Robinson 1975: 171, pls. 478-9). This may suggest that the wearing of the sword the right was not as rigid a requirement as is generally thought. *If* the Croy legionaries wore their swords on the left, their shields would hide them. However, the right-hand figure holds his *scutum* up and the lower portion of his tunic at the left is visible but there is no scabbard. The *aquilifer* on the Hutcheson Hill distance slab from the Antonine Wall wears a dagger on his right hip (Keppie 1998, no. 9, pl. V),²⁵ but it was common for *aquiliferi* to wear their sword on the left as a result of their rank (cf. the *stelae* of Cn. Musius and Sertorius Firmus (see Franzoni 1987, no. 30, tav. XVI-XVII). No baldrics or military belts are shown on the Croy Hill relief, and this feature is also evident on the gravestone of a *contarius* who died during Antoninus Pius' Mauretanian War (Benseddik 1982: 28f., 193; Speidel 1987: 63-4, fig. 3). The Aurelian Column and Panels indicate that the sword was still worn on the traditional right. The panels on the Arch of Severus show the sword on the right, but the pedestal reliefs show daggers and very short swords, probably in place of daggers, worn on the right (Brilliant 1967, pls. 49a-59b). Being at ground level, and therefore under the most scrutiny, the pedestal reliefs are the best carvings on the Arch and should reflect contemporary fashion.²⁶ The lack of swords reflects the image of the praetorians who met Severus outside Rome in June 193; they were identified as soldiers only by their military belts and daggers which Severus took from them as he disbanded their unit (Herodian 2.13.10). Private funerary monuments of the later second century show the sword worn on the right (e.g. Franzoni 1987, no.48, tav. XXII, 3, an *urbanicianus*) but by the reign of Caracalla all soldiers wore the sword on the left.

The Roman soldier of the Republic and early Empire is primarily thought of as a swordsman. By the fourth century the spear is considered as his principal weapon (Elton 1996: 136). Yet in all periods it is probable that shaft and blade weapons were considered of equal importance. Javelin volleys facilitating charges with the sword; the sword essential for close combat or if a spear had shattered. From the later second century all Roman troops started to use swords of longer length. This has been taken to suggest that the 'traditional' use of the short sword to thrust had been replaced by a

²⁵ A dagger hilt derived from the traditional Spanish form was found at Bar hill (Robertson *et al* 1975: 99, fig. 32, no. 15). Bishop & Coulston 1993: 112, note that the hilt resembles the form of third century military daggers rather than its first century AD predecessors.

²⁶ The difference between the pedestal reliefs and the panels highlights the problems of employing such state sculpture as a source for military equipment.

slashing and cutting technique (Stephenson 1999: 70-75). The implication is that swords were only used as secondary weapons if spears became broken in close formations; that the traditional charge with swords was a rare tactic. But what is the evidence for this? It is based mainly on inference. As we have seen above, the evidence for the spear as the primary weapon of the legionary is not convincing. Evidence for *pila* and other javelins is ample and heavy spears may have been used as throwing weapons – cheaper to produce and repair than *pila*. Further, because swords were generally longer (short swords are still evident in the third and fourth centuries) why are they automatically designated as slashing weapons? These weapons still have deadly points and within the confines of close formations the sword could only be used in the traditional *cut and thrust* manner.

The traditional image of the legionary armed with a short stabbing sword is a misconception. Connolly has emphasised that the *gladius Hispaniensis* was a medium length cut and thrust weapon, with blade length of between 64 and 69 cm (1997: 49-56; cf. Polybius 2.33, 3.14; Livy 31.34). The succeeding Mainz-type gladius with its shorter blade (c. 40-55 cm long) and long point was a clear development and the manner in which the legionary fought is not presumed to have changed. Even with the introduction of the short Pompeii-type ‘gladius’, a sword quite different to the Spanish and Mainz gladii with its parallel edged and short pointed blade (c. 42-50 cm long), legionaries clearly maintained the same cut and thrust fighting technique (cf. Mainz *principia* column base and Adamklissi metopes: Robinson 1975: 76, pl. 196; 158, pls 446-7). Being the predominant weapon on Trajan’s Column, the Pompeii gladius has stuck in the imagination of many as the defining weapon of the legionary. Yet in terms of longevity it was perhaps the shortest lived of Roman swords, introduced in the mid first century and already going out of use by the second quarter of the second century.

New sword forms and suspension methods were introduced during the second century. Short swords continued in use, with ring-pommel swords emerging in the early-middle second century, superseding the older Pompeii *gladius* (Biborski 1994: 85-97; Bishop & Coulston 1993: 111-12, 130); but longer swords were becoming the norm for all troops. Scabbard slides would completely replace ring suspension by the end of the second century (see Hundt 1959-60: 52-66 for examples), although military daggers, still clearly derived from the ancient Spanish prototype, employed ring suspension (Bishop & Coulston 1993: 135). Note the clear representation of this

method of suspension on a pedestal relief on the Arch of Severus (no. 17 = Brilliant 1967, pl. 57a).²⁷

It is probable that during the first and second century *spathae*, 'long swords', normally identified as cavalry weapons, were also used by infantry (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.35), and that this resulted in the general re-adoption of medium length swords by most infantry during the mid-late second century. Two swords recovered from the grave of two (murdered?) soldiers in Canterbury (*Figure 23*), of later second century date, were substantial pieces and evidence this progression (Bennett *et al* 1982: 185-190). The shorter sword had a blade 65.5 cm long, with roughly parallel edges it was 5.9 cm across. It had a long triangular point indicating that it was as much a thrusting as cutting weapon, and suggesting that the owner might have been an infantry soldier. The blade had a double groove (known as a fuller) following the outline of the sword. This served to break suction on the blade if it was trapped deep in flesh. The other sword was slightly longer at 69 cm, tapering from 5.6 to 5 cm with a short triangular point (very similar to the Lugdunum sword; cf. Wuilleumier 1950: 146). Its blade has been described as proto-pattern-welded (Webster *apud* Bennett 1982: 187). In pattern welding the core of the sword is made up of multiple rods of iron twisted into a screw, then hammered and folded countless times, leaving only the best metal and a strong but flexible core; hard steel cutting edges were welded to the core. The core of the sword retained swirling and intertwined patterns where the core had been twisted

²⁷ Sizeable daggers were maintained throughout the period, third century examples from Künzing and London with blades of 28-30 cm (11-12 in) in length (Bishop & Coulston 1993: 135). Herodian's account of the disarming of the praetorians emphasises the importance of the military dagger (2.13.10). Stephenson, 1999: 78, suggests that the dagger was employed as handy weapon for dispatching unhorsed cavalry troopers or for combat in the close confines of a breach. The Künzing iron horde also contained 14 very short swords, some perhaps broken *spathae* given new points with blades between 231-389 mm (9-15 in), but one triangular blade of 40 cm (16 in) was clearly a dedicated stabbing weapon (Bishop & Coulston 1993: 126-130; unfortunately I have not been able to see the original literature on these weapons). The garrison of Künzing was a *cohors quingenaria equitata* (uncertain in the final phase of occupation but *cohors III Thracum c. r.* during the second century, *AE* 1930: 73; Breeze 1977: 451-455). The weapons might have been used by either infantry or cavalry as secondary bladed weapon; as noted above the soldiers on the pedestals of the Arch of Severus show very short swords worn in the place of daggers. It is possible that they were used as primary thrusting weapons for the infantry component of the unit; the longest blades of 15 - 16 inches are comparable to very short Pompeii-style *gladius* blades of 42 cm (16.5 in) (Bishop & Coulston 1993: 71).

and folded; every sword produced in this manner was unique (cf. Davidson 1962: 23-30). The shorter sword from Canterbury may also have had a twisted core, but formed from only a single bar around which two straight sections of metal were folded and piled. The hilt assemblies and scabbards of both weapons were made from wood. For the shorter sword poplar or willow and maple were employed; for the longer sword, maple. The use of the wooden scabbard indicates a concern to keep blades corrosion-free and sharp. These construction techniques indicate the concern with producing high quality blades – hard, strong yet flexible. They also indicate the continuing status of the sword as the Roman soldier's primary weapon.

The Canterbury swords fit neatly into the two broad groups of third century Roman 'long' swords identified by G. Ulbert on the basis of blade ratios (1974: 199-211). The Straubing/Nydam type, named after the find-spots of prominent examples, categorized longer and narrower swords, mostly with slightly tapering blades, though this is more pronounced on some examples, culminating in short triangular points (*Figure 24*). With blades 65-80 cms (26-31 in.) in length, and 4-5.6 cm (1½-c.2¼ in.) wide, they are recognised by a general blade length to width ratio of 15-17:1.²⁸ Despite their length these swords are still suited to thrusting and some may be infantry as well as cavalry weapons. Indeed some of the swords from Nydam and Vimose have been likened to rapiers, swords designed principally for thrusting (*Figures 26, 28*). The majority of these longer swords seem to date from the mid-later third century, cf. Horbacz & Olędzki 1998: 19.

The second group of swords had shorter and wider blades with parallel edges and substantial triangular points, on some examples the points are fairly long (*Figure 25*). Known as the Lauriacum/Hromowaka type, blade lengths of 55.7-65.5 cm (22-26 in), and widths of 6.2-7.5 cm (2½-3 in), give a ratio of 8-12:1.²⁹ The vicious triangular

²⁸ Breeze & Coulston state that none of these blades exceed 4.4 cm in width (1993: 126). Only ten of the seventeen blades are 4.4 cm or less (excluding the two examples from Ejsbøl Mose for which there are no specific measurements). One of the blades from Nydam with a width of 5.6 cm and length of 78 cm long is exceptional; Ulbert calculates the ratio at 16:1, but this must have been reached by using 5 cm as the width, otherwise the ratio is about 14:1. Another example from Kastell Pfünz was 76 cm long (little or no taper), 5.2 cm wide, just makes the ratio group by being rounded up to 15:1.

²⁹ The problems with broad ratio grouping is evident in that a sword from Osterburken with a blade 81 cm long and 7.5 cm wide has a ratio of 11:1, obviously a true long sword but by blade ratio fitting into a medium length group. A number of swords form a middle group with

points of these weapons emphasise that they were intended for thrusting as well as cutting. The Lauriacum/Hromowaka type swords should be classified as medium-length weapons. They are mainly late second-mid third century in date (cf. Horbacz & Olędzki 1998: 19).

It is notable that Republican *gladii* had blades of considerable length, including examples of over 64-69 cm. As P. Connolly has stated, the Spanish sword of the Republican legionary 'was never a short sword but a medium length cut and thrust weapon' (1998: 38).³⁰ The Alba Iulia legionary (*figure 20*), equipped with *lorica segmentata* and curved rectangular *scutum*, carried a lengthy sword, evidence that the longer sword was perfectly compatible with this equipment. In the later second century the Roman army was re-adopting longer swords with blade lengths similar to the Republican *gladii* that had conquered the Mediterranean. Similarly, the Lauriacum/Hromowaka swords were also practical as cut and thrust swords.

It is most unfortunate that the mass of Roman swords from Illerup Ådal in Denmark, the largest single collection anywhere, has yet to be published.³¹ On the current evidence, the new technique of pattern welding developed in the later second to third centuries, and the appearance of inlaid *orichalcum* figures of gods on blades – Mars, Minerva, Victoria and an eagle motif representing both Jupiter and Rome – indicate a reinvigorated potency attached to the sword.³² A pattern-welded sword represented the peak of the swordsmith's art, and though fairly widespread among the Roman soldierly, such a weapon would be much prized and sought after. Every such sword had its own unique blade pattern caused by the multiple twisting and folding of the iron bars, which formed its core (*Figures 26-28*; cf. Engelhardt 1865, pls VI & VII; 1869, pl. 6; Tylecote 1962: 250-252). The soldier's military identity was bound up

ratios of 13-14:1; 'medium-long'?

³⁰ Cf. Polybius 3.114.

³¹ For the other finds at Illerup including shaft weapons see Ilkjær *et al* (eds), *Illerup Ådal* vols 1-8 (Aarhus 1990-). The volume on the swords is forthcoming. For preliminary notes on the swords see Ilkjær & Lønstrup 1983; Ilkjær 1989: 56: 'Illerup makes up the biggest collection of Roman swords in the world; more Roman swords have been found here than in the entire Roman Empire.' It is probable that these swords and other Roman weaponry were originally imports rather than booty taken from a defeated Roman force. See also the finds from Thorsbjerg, Nydam, Vimose (Engelhardt 1863; 1865; 1869); Ejsbøl (Ørsnes 1962).

³² Figures: Ulbert 1974: 200-204, taf. 17, 19-22; Ilkjær 1989: 56 (Illerup); Bishop & Coulston 1993: 126.

with his sword. The individual character of the blades, the mysteries of its production, and divine imagery, all indicate a closer personal relationship with the sword, perhaps even a form of veneration. Worn on the right the sword was a tool; worn on the left it acquired an aristocratic air. I.P. Stephenson's suggestion that by the third century the sword (in comparison to the spear) had become a secondary weapon is nonsensical in the face of these developments (1999: 70-75).

For the late second and third centuries we might lack literary evidence of the sword in battle – details of combat are rarely noted by Herodian or Dio – but pictorial sources continue to illustrate the sword as a cut and thrust weapon.

The motif of the Roman soldier as a swordsman remained strong. The gravestone of Aelius Septimus, optio of legio I Adiutrix, shows the deceased in combat delivering a chopping blow to a barbarian (late second -early third century; Mócsy 1974, pl. 12b). The image is very similar to the Flavian and Trajanic images of legionary swordsmen at Mainz principia column-base reliefs and Adamklissi metopes (Robinson 1975: 76, pl. 196; 158, pls. 446, 447). The late second or early third century figured gravestone of Severius Acceptus of legio VIII Augusta shows the deceased with his arms and armour arranged around him. His relatively short sword is conspicuous but there is no shaft weapon (*Figure 17 a*; Speidel 1985: 96, fig. a).

The Portonaccio battle sarcophagus (c. AD 180-5) and the Great Ludovisi battle sarcophagus (c. 260-70), notable for its reliable equipment details, place great emphasis on the sword as the key weapon of the battle scenes. Both depict foot soldiers fighting in the classic cut and thrust manner (Kleiner 1992: 302, fig. 269; 388, fig. 358). The Battle of Ebenezer fresco at Dura Europos shows warriors, modeled after contemporary mid-third century Roman soldiers, fighting in the traditional cut and thrust manner. The fighting is open and one soldier runs forward about to deliver a massive over-arm blow, but three other figures stand in the classic stance with left leg leading and right arms drawn back with swords in the thrusting position (Kraeling 1956, pls 54-55). The Alba Iulia legionary (*Figure 20*), shows the combination of curved *scutum* and medium or long sword. This emphasises that even if a longer sword's point of balance was different than a short, specifically thrusting weapon, and lent itself better to slashing, the close confines of formation in which the legionary or praetorian fought for most of the formal battle, determined that it had to be used as cut and thrust weapon. Only in the pursuit, i.e. when there was space could the sword be used to slash without endangering a comrade. This is evident from

Ammianus' description of the battle of Strasbourg in 357. The Roman infantry when in close formation clearly used their *spathae* to thrust into the unprotected sides of the Germans; in the pursuit they hack and slash. AM 16.12.46 – *spicula* volley; 12.49 – close order fighting and swords used to thrust; 12.52-54 – pursuit of the Germans, open order fighting, swords used to slash; the three combine to produce a battle scenario familiar to generations of Republican and Early Imperial legionaries.

Despite the increased length of swords in the third century, these images indicate that Roman soldiers continued to be trained to use the point of the blade, as famously advocated by Vegetius (*Epit.* 1.12). Ammianus' description of Strasbourg shows that sword types very different from the *gladius hispaniensis* were still used in the traditional fashion some four centuries since it had gone out of use (note Polybius 6.23; Livy 31.34). Tactics dominated the use the sword; the form of the sword did not determine tactics.

d) Tactics & Conclusion

If Dio and Herodian fail to supply us with the information about battle and combat that makes Tacitus such a useful source, they do allow us to see that the Severan army used much the same tactics and formations as before, and to infer that legionaries, praetorians and auxiliaries fought in the same manner as their predecessors.

Dio's description of the battle at Issus in 194 has the Severan forces advancing up hill in testudo-formations against the static Nigerian line and missile barrage (74.7). It is clear that the troops are in close formations. Herodian claims that the Severan army managed to break Niger's line at one point (3.4.5). Although the battle is won when the Severan cavalry surprise Niger's forces from the rear, the main fighting on either side fell to the close-order heavy infantry. Similarly, Lugdunum is also a battle defined by the clash of legionary and praetorian infantry, though a similar cavalry assault changed the course of the battle in Severus' favour (Dio 75.6; Herodian 3.7.2-7).

Herodian's description of the battle fought between the Romans and Parthians at Nisibis in 217 is important (4.15.1-5). Herodian states that the Roman infantry were arranged in blocks (i.e. legionary cohorts or vexillations) with light troops in the gaps and Moorish auxiliary troops on the wings. The light troops covered the gaps necessary for the cohesion of the close-order troops who were formed up in depth. It

is implied that the depth of the line was exceptional as the army was able to extend its from numerous times to prevent the Parthians from encircling it. The tactic is the same as employed at Carrhae in 53 BC (Plutarch *Crassus* 25). This is primarily a defensive battle for the Romans but Herodian adds that despite suffering heavy casualties from the Parthian archers and cataphracts the Romans had the better of the hand to hand fighting when the Parthians were lured on to caltrops and spikes.

At the battle fought between Macrinus and Elagabalus near Antioch in 218, Dio focuses on the praetorian guard (78.37.3-4). He relates how Macrinus stripped them of their heavy scale armour and scuta in order to render them lighter for battle. These troops almost won the battle for him. It is clear from the equipment that the praetorians were normally heavy, close-order infantry. Note that Dio does not mention that Macrinus relieved them of their *pila* for lighter weapons; he stripped them of their heavy armour and shields in order to increase their maneuverability, the speed of their charge and to avoid heat exhaustion. Dio implies that they managed to push back or even break Elagabalus' line. They would have done so with in the traditional manner with *pila* and swords, and presumably lighter oval shields

Herodian's description of the defeat of a Roman army by the Persians in 'eastern Parthia' c. 231-3 is delivered in a series of clichés but the general facts are reliable (6.5.6-10). A large Persian army surprises the Roman column; the Romans are rapidly encircled by the mounted Persians and the troops are unable to form into orderly battle lines and are forced into a single tight defensive formation. The total destruction of the Roman force is exaggerated but the situation and the response of the predominantly legion/vexillation based army is clearly similar to that of the army of Crassus at Carrhae 280 years before (Plutarch *Crassus* 25-28). Antony's experiences in 36 BC are informative (Plutarch *Antony* 38-50).

Describing Maximinus' march on Italy in 238, Herodian says that Maximinus arranged his army in a shallow rectangular formation 'rather than in depth' (8.1.2-4). The infantry was to the front and rear, the cavalry, cataphracts and mounted archers formed the wings; the baggage was protected in the centre. Maximinus brought up the rear with the praetorians. Maximinus adopted a formation that could easily form into two or more battle lines, with infantry at the centre and cavalry on the wings with a reserve force of praetorians (for such a change from square to line(s) see Plutarch *Crassus* 24-26). It would be no different to Agricola's classic formation at Mons Graupius in 83/4 (Tacitus *Agricola* 35; cf. *Annals* 2.52). It is implied that the units

would normally have been in deeper formations. Here the formation is shallow to cover as much ground as possible and emphasise the size of the army.

The above evidence illustrates the continuing use of the *pilum*, concludes that the curved rectangular *scutum* was not essential to Roman tactics or the changing of the battle lines, and that swords continued to be used in the traditional cut and thrust manner. When added to the fact that armies continued to be formed mainly from legionary vexillations (cf. chp. 3 sect. 2; chp. 5) means that the battle lines were still formed from cohorts as in Caesar's day. It is also evident that battle tactics remained much the same with close order heavy infantry supported by cavalry and missile troops. The continuity of close-order infantry tactics put limitations on the use of the soldier's offensive equipment and consequently the Roman fighting style remained unchanged. Essentially, set-piece infantry battle was no different in AD 250 (or 350) than it had been in 50 BC.

5. LEGIONS AND LEGIONARY VEXILLATIONS IN CARACALLA'S AND MACRINUS' PARTHIAN WAR, AD 214-218

The disposition of the Roman units was orderly and careful, with cavalry and Mauri soldiers on either flank and the spaces in the centre filled with light-armed troops capable of marauding forays. So they sustained the barbarian onslaught and fought back.¹

Introduction

In 216 Caracalla invaded Adiabene and sacked Arbela. In April 217 whilst waiting for the components of his field army to re-muster, having wintered at various locations across Mesopotamia, he was murdered on the road between Edessa and Carrhae on the orders of the praetorian prefect Opellius Macrinus. Macrinus was elevated to the purple by grudging troops, whose decision was hastened by news of the counter-invasion of Mesopotamia by Artabanus V of Parthia. Macrinus rushed east and met Artabanus at Nisibis where a major but indecisive battle was fought. Realising that the feudal nature of the Parthian army meant that it could only stay in the field for so long, Macrinus sued for peace and entered into lengthy negotiations with Artabanus. By 218 he agreed to pay a large indemnity for the sack of Arbela and Artabanus in turn relinquished his claims on the Roman province of Mesopotamia. Macrinus' diplomacy did not go down well with the troops. Their pay was cut or frozen in order to pay the indemnity to the Parthians. In May 218 Legio III Gallica was enticed to revolt when Iulia Maesa, sister of Iulia Domna, offered the legionaries a large cash bribe to raise her nephew, Varius Avitus, to the purple. The boy, known as Elagabalus after the Sun god of whom he was a fervent priest, was heralded as Caracalla's (illegitimate) son. Legio II Parthica, important as the emperor's own legion, soon defected Elagabalus' cause despite Macrinus' attempt to maintain its loyalty through a donative and feast. In June a battle was fought outside Antioch, probably at Imma. Despite a vigorous assault of Elagabalus' lines by the praetorians, Macrinus apparently took fright and fled the field. His army's morale collapsed and went over to Elagabalus. Attempting to flee to Europe, Macrinus was captured and executed. Support for Elagabalus, however, was not concrete. Later in the year or 219, legio III Gallica and IV Scythica (who had perhaps fought for Elagabalus at

¹ Herodian 4.15.1. Whittaker's Loeb translation. The spaces filled by the light troops must refer to the gaps between the centuries or cohorts of heavy infantry.

Imma) revolted. The former legion appears to have been disbanded and was not reconstituted until the reign of Severus Alexander.²

The following is a survey of the legions that fought in Caracalla's invasion of Adiabene and at Nisibis. It is intended to highlight the other units that made up the Severan field army on a particular campaign. Evidence for auxiliary units is, however, virtually non-existent. The evidence for the praetorians and other Rome garrison troops is considered in section 2, a brief discussion of the size of legionary vexillations.

1. Legions

a) Legio II Parthica

Legio II Parthica went to the Near East as a complete unit in 214/215. This is indicated by the presence of its prefect Deccius Triccianus in Caracalla's retinue in Syria and Mesopotamia (Dio 78.13.4; 79.4.3; SHA *Cara.* 6.7).³ In 215 the legion accompanied Caracalla to Alexandria (Bruun 1995). For the period 215-218, and also 231-233 and 242-244, the legion was based at Apamea in Syria (Dio 78.34.2; Balty 1987, 1988; Balty & Van Rengen 1993; Van Rengen 2000; *AE* 1991: 1572 – *aquilifer* present in 242/4). On the outskirts of Apamea the site of a possible military camp, measuring c.250m x 4-500m, has been identified from aerial photographs (Balty

² In general see Dio 77.12-79.7; Herodian 4.8-5.2; *SHA Cara.* 6-7; *Macr.* 2-15.. Millar 1993: 141-147. I prefer Herodian's account of the battle at Nisibis (4.14-15) over Dio's negative and mutilated account, though he does supply the location (Dio 78.26.5-8; Millar 1964: 165; Whittaker, *Herodian*, 464, n. 1). See J.B. Campbell 1987: 29 for the value of Herodian's account in describing Roman tactics against the Parthians (although he does misinterpret 4.15.1: the Roman soldiers were arranged in alternate blocks of light and heavy infantry with gaps between them, not with the light troops drawn up behind the legions as he suggests). For the Parthian army see Coulston 1987 and Kennedy 1996a: 83-83. Dio's account of the battle outside Antioch between Macrinus and Elagabalus briefly details praetorian equipment and tactics (78.37.3-39.1). Balty, 1988: 100, reports the discovery of a gravestone of a *miles* of legio II Parthica that states he was killed at Imma. See Ritterling *RE* XII, 1525-27 and Eadie 1996: 138-141 for the revolt against Macrinus and disbanding of legio III Gallica.

³ A passage in the *Historia Augusta* states that Triccianus also commanded the *equites extraordinarii* in the field (*Cara.* 6.7). Perhaps these cavalry are to be identified as the Mauri light horse and Osrhoeni horse archers.

1987: 239-241). This approximates fairly well with II Parthica's fortress at Albanum, which measured 240/239m x 427/438m (Tortorici 1975: 92). If the identification as a military encampment is correct, this should support the presence of the full legion. A number of gravestones from Apamea give the legio the epithet *Antoniniana*, granted either by Caracalla or Elagabalus, and attest the presence of cohorts III, VI and IX (Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 23, 26, 31 = *AE* 1993: 1572, 1575, 1579).⁴ Again, the cohort numbers show that the legion was here in strength and not, for example, as a two cohort milliary combat vexillation.⁵ Macrinus' doomed attempt to retain the support of the legion in 218 in the face of Elagabalus' revolt (Dio 78.34ff) was based not only on its importance as a virtual Guards unit but almost certainly on its size – a full legion in a field army composed mainly of vexillations. As was normal practice for units on campaign, II Parthica, like the praetorians, left a number of *remansores* in Italy, to garrison the Castra Albana and carry out policing duties. Elagabalus made certain that he secured the support of these troops before he left the Orient for Rome in 219 (Dio 79.2.3, 4.6; cf. Herodian 7.11.2).⁶

b) Legiones IV Flavia, XIV Gemina XIII Gemina, III Gallica: an Apamea 'Battle Group'?

Dio tells us that other units wintering in the vicinity of Apamea in 217-218 revolted against Macrinus in 218 (78.34.5). Dio does not identify the units but gravestones from Apamea suggest these to be vexillations from the legions XIII Gemina (Dacia), XIV Gemina (Pannonia Superior), IIII Scythica (Syria Coele), and III Gallica (Syria Phoenicia) (Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 27-30 = *AE* 1993: 1576-1578).⁷ These inscriptions have no specific dating clues such as honorific titles or consular dates but similarity of the style of lettering and the funerary reliefs with the legio II Parthica stones confirms the date. A number of the inscriptions require further comment.

⁴ *AE* 1993: 1573, 1574, 1576, 1577 also date to 215-218 but do not specify cohort.

⁵ Though see Tacitus *Hist.* 2.11, 2.57, for legionary vexillations of 2000 men in AD 69.

⁶ II Parthica *stationarii* of early to mid third century date: Aricia: *CIL* VI 3399; Ficulae: *CIL* XIV 4009; Aveia: *ILS* 9087 (AD 244-49). See *AE* 1981: 134 and Holder 1994 for the *reliquitatio* of II Parthica. The term *remansor* was employed by the Horse Guards in the Severan period (cf. Speidel 1994, no. 56).

⁷ Balty 1988: 102. As yet no relevant inscription has been published.

Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 29, no 7 = *AE* 1993: 1577

*D(is) M(anibus). / Ael(ius) Verecundinus 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) IIII Scy(thicae) hastatus <p>rior, natus / in Dacia ad Vatabos, mili(itavit) ann(os) XXI, / primum exactus, librarius, / frum(entarius), speculator, evocatus, 7 (centurio) et 7 (centurio) frum(entarius), / vixit ann(os) XXXVI. Ael(ius) Rufinus lib(ertus) ex bon/is eius fecit.*⁸

Verecundinus is named *hastatus prior* - almost certainly a centurion of the first cohort. As a former *centurio frumentarius* he would outrank the centurions in cohorts II-X and be anticipating promotion to the primipilate (cf. *CIL* VIII 2825, *ILS* 484). With its optimum milliary organisation the first cohort could form a combat vexillation by itself (although Verecundinus' attachment to cohorts I need not indicate that it formed or contributed to a vexillation). However, as Verecundinus was a former *centurio frumentarius*, we might wonder if his gravestone suggests instead a small body of scouts and spies for intelligence purposes rather than a full combat vexillation.⁹

Two gravestones refer to legio IIII Flavia from Moesia Superior. One records the veteran Flavius Diofantus whose status as veteran suggests three options (*AE* 1993: 1578):

D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(avium) Diofan/tum vete/ranum l(e)g(ionis) / IIII Fl(aviae). Fl(avius) Asclepiade(s) / l<i>b(ertus) (h)er(es) heder(?) / fecit patr/ono.

First, it could be that Diofantus was a veteran who had settled in Apamea (perhaps his place of origin) and cannot represent the presence of a detachment for the war. Second, he was part of a vexillation and had become *veteranus* during the course of the war, indicating that older soldiers nearing the completion of service were as likely to put on active service as younger soldiers (cf. *IGLS* 9396; sect. 1.k, below).¹⁰ Third,

⁸ As Verecundinus' age does not end in a multiple of five it may be accurate rather than approximate. Subtraction of his *stipendia* would mean he enlisted aged 15. His *gentilicium*, Aelius, indicates descent from someone (perhaps a soldier) enfranchised by Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. The possible military tradition of his family, his education and perhaps an influential patron secured his early entry into the *officium* of one of the legates of Dacia.

⁹ Rankov points out that *centuriones frumentarii* did not normally command scouts, despite the example of Oclatinus Adventus (Rankov 1987).

¹⁰ *Contra* Tomlin, 2000: 163, who highlights the soldiers of II Parthica recruited in 216 and 218 who remained at base under a *praefectus reliquationis* during the Persian campaign of

he was a soldier who had 20 or more years service or had voluntarily served beyond the required 26 years (cf. *AE* 1969/70: 583). The second or third options may be confirmed by the presence of a *beneficiarius legati* of IV Flavia at Apamea (Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 30; the inscription is unpublished and I am reliant on the authors for the date). If the *beneficiarius* indicates the presence of the legate, then we could suppose the presence of the whole legion, or perhaps that the legate commanded the combined European vexillations.¹¹

Perhaps most interesting of all the epigraphic finds from Apamea for this war is a stone recording a member of cohorts XIV urbana, perhaps acting as military police rather than a fighting unit.¹² Unfortunately the inscription has not yet been published, nor has the evidence concerning the presence of legio XIV Gemina at Apamea during this period (Balty 1988: 102; cf. Dio 79.4.5 for problems with restless troops in Bithynia in 218-19).

I would tentatively suggest that legio II Parthica together with the vexillations from IV Flavia, XIV Gemina, XIII Gemina, III Gallica and perhaps IV Scythica constituted a 'battle group' in which the four or five vexillations approximated the size of the full legion.¹³ Together with auxilia (for whom we have no evidence) the group could have numbered up to 20,000 troops.¹⁴

Gordian III (242-244), probably because they were nearing discharge when the expedition set out. See *AE* 1981: 134 and *CIL* VI 793 = *ILS* 505; Holder 1994: 145-146. Speidel, 1983b: 11, suggests that ordinary *milites* with about 5 years service and *principales* with about 15 years service were the two most prominent 'age classes' selected for field army vexillations.

¹¹ Compare *AE* 1957: 123 = Saxer 1967, no. 84; *CIL* X 5398 = *ILS* 1159 = Saxer 1967, no. 89, for commands over German legionary vexillations in Severus' second Parthian war and Caracalla's German war.

¹² The cohort also garrisoned a *statio* in the region of Hippo in Africa (*ILAlg.* I, 30; 2nd-3rd cent.), perhaps taking over policing and patrolling duties previously performed by legio III Augusta before its disbanding in 238. See Le Bohec 1989: 465, n. 140 on the difficulty of dating the inscription. These examples of the cohort outside Rome, combined with representations of heavily armed *urbanici* and the status of some as *tectores* should suggest that they were not exempt from service on the battle field.

¹³ The term battle group is perhaps inappropriate. The groupings may be purely logistical rather than indicate actual tactical groupings

¹⁴ See Spaul 1994 & 2000 for auxilia.

c) Legiones XVI Flavia, IIII Scythica, III Gallica, III Cyrenaica: a Dura ‘Battle Group’?

During Caracalla’s reign detachments of four legions are recorded at Dura Europos in Syria: legions XVI Flavia Firma and IIII Scythica of Syria Coele; III Gallica from Syria Phoenicia;¹⁵ and a detachment from the Arabian legion III Cyrenaica (*AE* 1934: 276, 277; 1937: 239; 1954: 267).¹⁶ The high occurrence of inscriptions recording legions XVI Flavia and IV Scythica at Dura has been taken to suggest that their vexillations regularly garrisoned the city (M.A. Speidel 1998: 172-175).¹⁷ In 216 a building inscription records the completion of an amphitheatre by troops from IV Scythica and III Cyrenaica. The absence of XVI Flavia could indicate that it had been transferred to Mesopotamia to fight in the Parthian war:

AE 1937: 239 = Saxer 1967, no. 288 = M.A. Speidel 1998, no. 17 (AD 216)

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [M(arco) Aurel(io) An]tonino Pio / Felici Aug(usto) Arab(ico) Adiab(enico) [Part(hico) Max(imo) B]rit(annico) [Max(imo) Ge]rm(anico) / Max(imo) Pon/tifici Max(imo) Patri Patriae et I[ulia]e A[ug(ustae) Matri Augusti) et C]ast(rorum) et Sen(atus) / et Patr(iae) vexill(ationes) legion[um] IIII Sc[yt(hicae) et] III [Cy]r(enaicae) [An]tonin[ian]arum, / anpyteatr[um] [sic] a fun[damen]tis e[xt]ruxeru[nt, a]/gentes sub cur(a) Aur(eli) Mam[---] / Iustiano 7 (centurione) princ(ipe), Cattio Sabi[no II, Corn(elio) Anul]lino [co(n)s(ulibus)].¹⁸

The amphitheatre had seating for 1000 spectators and may reflect the total size of the vexillations, i.e. two quingenary units (Gilliam *apud* Welles 1959: 25).¹⁹ However, it may also have been for the use of cohorts XX Palmyrenorum and reflect the limited space available within the city rather than unit size (see Kennedy & Riley 1990: 111-114). Legio III Gallica is attested with III Cyrenaica and IV Scythica on another stone:

¹⁵ Based on a likely restoration of *Dura*, Rep., V, 1934: 218-19 = *AE* 1934: 276.

¹⁶ A graffito reading *leg(io) Anto(niniana) X* seems to refer the presence of an element of legio X Fretensis at Dura during the reign of Caracalla (*Dura* Rep. V., p. 230, no. 563; Gilliam *apud* Welles 1959: 25).

¹⁷ See also Gilliam *apud* Welles 1959: 23.

¹⁸ For the command of detachments by the *princeps prior* of the first cohort see Speidel 1981: 7-13.

¹⁹ M.A. Speidel suggests that IV Scythica’s regular detachment numbered some 300 men (1998: 172).

AE 1934: 276 = Saxer 1967, no. 287 (c. AD 216)²⁰

[I]mp(eratori) Caesa[ri Marco Aure]lio / [Sev]ero An[tonino Pio] Felici
Aug(usto)..... [vex(illationes) legg(ionum) III Cyr(enaicae) et IIII Scyth(icae)]
Anton(inianarum) [[et III Gall(icae)]].

The three vexillations may simply have formed the garrison of the city along with cohorts XX Palmyrenorum (cf. M.A. Speidel 1998: 174; Saxer 1967: 95-96), but it is tempting to see them as a battle group. At the same time a *vexillatio Antoniniana*, of uncertain identity, is attested at Dura (AE 1934: 275, 278 = Saxer 1967, no. 286). I would presume that this unit was a composite auxiliary detachment. If these were milliary vexillations they would have approximated to the effective fighting strength of a full legion. It is possible that because of its location this 'battle group' did not participate in the battle at Nisibis in 217 (Herodian 4.15; Dio 78.26.5-8). Before the battle Dio scathingly remarks that the units of the field army were scattered around Mesopotamia rather than gathered together in one group (78.11.4-5). The location of the Dura 'group' may suggest that Caracalla was contemplating an invasion of Babylonia (cf. Dio 77.19.1, 21.1).

It is notable that only the legionary detachments at Dura styled themselves as *vexillationes* during this war, otherwise the term *legion* is used but *vexillation* presumed, especially when inscriptions record cohort numbers and the names of the centuries.

In 214 and 216 recruitment to the resident garrison of Dura, cohorts XX Palmyrenorum, appears to have increased dramatically. This is suggested by the number of recruits recorded on its extant rosters (see Fink *RMR* nos 1-4, 6-8):

²⁰ See Fitz 1983: 67, n. 43, for the date.

YEAR	TOTAL	YEAR	TOTAL
192	3) <i>P.Dura</i>	208	11
193	9) 100	209	15
194	4) only	210	13
195	43	211	0
196	21	212	6
197	1	213	0
198	5	214	119
199	33	215	40
200	12	216	120
201	94	217	3
202	27	218	0
203	75	219	5
204	109	220	2) <i>P.Dura</i>
205	45	221	5) 101
206	11	222	10) only
207	27		

From the table it would seem that the cohort was being brought up to strength for combat duties in 214-216, i.e. for Caracalla's Parthian war (Fink *apud* Welles 1959: 34, fig. 5, cf. Gilliam 1965: 75).²¹ However, D. Kennedy argues that the years of high recruitment indicate large-scale discharges in the same or previous year. He proposes convincingly that the cohort had been established very soon after the capture of Dura in 164/5 and that it was raised to milliary strength during Marcus Aurelius' expedition to Syria to confront Avidius Cassius. Therefore the high number of recruits for 201-204 would not be connected with recruitment for Severus' brief African war but replaced the soldiers who had been recruited to the new milliary unit in the mid 170's. Following this reasoning the soldiers recruited in 214-216 need not show that the cohort was being brought up to strength for combat duties, but replaced the soldiers recruited from 190 who had themselves reinforced the cohort after the original recruits of 164/5 were discharged (Kennedy 1994: 91-96). If the large numbers of recruits for 214-216 *were* earmarked for the war, the subsequent numbers of recruits in 217-222 are surprisingly small and would suggest that the unit saw little active service in the war and suffered few casualties.

²¹ The table indicates the numbering of surviving recruits from a particular year rather than the total number.

d) Legiones I & II Adiutrix

A dedication from Pannonia clearly shows that Legio II Adiutrix participated in the Parthian war:

CIL III 3344 (Székesfehérvár), AD 218

I.O.M. / L(ucius) Sep(timius) Veranus, / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) / [p]ro voto su[s/c]epto in e[x/p]editione / [P]arthica, Imp(eratori) Antonino e[st] Oclatinio / cos.].

Ritterling (*RE* XII, 1321) suggested another casualty for the period 216-218 but the stone could date to a different Severan expedition (*CIL* III 10572).²² Further evidence for II Adiutrix's participation in the war is a dedication for the safety and return of Caracalla (or Elagabalus) made by a legionary of II Adiutrix who had been transferred from X Fretensis in Palestine (*CIL* III 3472 = *ILS* 2320, below, sect. i).

Most interesting is the possibility that legio II Adiutrix took the field as a complete unit. Dio states that the eagle standard of a legion did not leave its shrine unless the whole legion went on campaign (40.18). The *aquilifer* of II Adiutrix was buried at Byzantium presumably just before crossing into Asia (*Figure 29*). M.P. Speidel states that the presence of the *aquilifer* supports the presence of the complete legion (1976: 124-26, 132).²³

AE 1976: 641 (Byzantium)

D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Fl(avio) Surillioni aquilifero / leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) p(iae) f(idelis), militavit / annos XVIII, vixit annos XXXX, / posuit Aur(elius) Zanax aquilifer leg(ionis) eiusdem colle/g(a)e bene merenti.

The funerary inscription does not mention the *Antoniniana* epithet but the accompanying high quality relief shows military attire seemingly more applicable to the reign of Caracalla than to Severus, i.e. long-sleeved tunic and *sagum* (*Figure 36*). Caracalla apparently made the long-sleeved tunic and *sagum* widespread in the army after his German war (cf. Dio 78.3.3). The lettering of the stone places it in the late

²² *D(is) M(anibus). Gam[---] / mil(es) leg(ionis) II Adi(tiricis) / est in Pa[r]tia [acie deside]/ratus [--- / co(n)]iugi vi[---]*.

²³ Thus Speidel has dubbed II Adiutrix an 'elite mobile legion' because at this time other legions only fought abroad in vexillations.

second-early third century. Speidel prefers the Caracallan date. However, despite Dio's assertion concerning the *aquila*, it might have accompanied a vexillation if it was based around the first cohort.

The gravestone of a *bucinator* of legio I Adiutrix also discovered at Byzantium was clearly from the same workshop and of the same date (*Figure 30*; Speidel 1976: 126-28). The legion might have formed a paired vexillation with II Adiutrix or have been part of a major Pannonian battle group including X Gemina (see sect. e, below):

AE 1976: 642 (Byzantium)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aurel(io) Suro quo/ndam bucina/tori leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis), / stip(endiorum) XVIII, vixit a/nnis XL, D F Suria, Septimius Vibianus heres et collega eius bene merenti f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Speidel proposes that the letters D F in line 6 might be expanded as *d(omo) F(oenicia) Suria*, rejecting *d(e)f(unctus in) Suria* as improbable. Such memorial stones were normally erected at or near the site of death or back at the unit's base when it returned home from campaign (Speidel 1976:126-28).

Speidel also tentatively suggests that two other legio I Adiutrix gravestones from Perinthus could date to the same campaign (1976: 132-34):

AE 1976: 640 (Perinthus)

D(is) M(anibus) / Iul(ius) Firminianus, mi(les) le(gionis) I Adiutricis / coh(ortis) VI, vixit annos XXX, mi/l(itavit) annos VI, posuerunt bene / merenti heredes Ael(ius) Procu/lus, Aelius Macrinus et Au/rel(ius) Iustus.

CIL III 7396 (Perinthus)

D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Marcellus, mil(es) leg(ionis) I Adiutri(cis) coh(ortis) VI S T, v(ixit) ann(os) XXX, militavit ann(os) VI, Ael(ius) Iustinus et Aur(elius) Taurus et Sep(timius) Sabinianus heredes posuerunt benemerenti. M EX.

The second inscription (*CIL* III 7396) mentions the cohort and perhaps century of the soldier, *coh(ortis) VI (ha)st(ato)*, i.e. cohort VI, century of the *hastatus* (*prior* or *posterior*). Speidel suggests that the *S* is a *centuria* symbol and the *T* the initial of the centurion (1976: 134, n. 28).

The Byzantium and Perinthus stones could point to two separate vexillations of I Adiutrix going east in 214. However not one of the three I Adiutrix inscriptions contains the title *Antoniniana* or a consular year to securely link it to 214-218/19. Also, the style of the relief of the dead soldier on the first Perinthus stone (*AE* 1976: 640) might be later in date than the Byzantium example; it is not simply a matter of sculptural quality as Speidel insists (*Figure 11*).

The presence of I and II Adiutrix together at Byzantium may be connected with a Bithynian inscription recording legions I and II (*IGR* III 1412 = *ILS* 8879, Dessau suggested as I & II 'Parthica'). Ritterling identified the legions as I and II Adiutrix and dated the stone to the reign of Caracalla (*RE* XII 1321; 1399) but more recent scholarship advocates the reign of Severus (Mitchell 1983: 139-40).

Finally, Speidel suggests that a gravestone of a centurion of I or II Adiutrix at Prusa in Bithynia could date to winter 218/19 when European vexillations were camped in Bithynia before returning home (1985a: 92ff; cf. Dio 79.4.5). But the stone could belong to any late second or early third century campaign.

e) Legiones I & II Adiutrix & X Gemina at Zeugma

The legions I Adiutrix, II Adiutrix and X Gemina are attested at Zeugma on the gravestones of three soldiers. Unfortunately the stones cannot be dated precisely; they could belong to either the second Parthian war of Septimius Severus or the Parthian war of Caracalla (Wagner 1976: 132-135, nos 1-3 = *AE* 1977: 819-821; Speidel 1985c: 605-610). For example:

Wagner 1976: 132, no. 1 = *AE* 1977: 819, 822:

D(is) M(anibus). / Sep(timio) Longino / mil(iti) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) / p(iae) f(idelis), stip(endiorum) VIII, / Ae(lius) Casianus / heres eius / ponere cu/ravit, vixit / annos XXVI.

As can be seen from the above inscription, Longinus' combination of *gentilicium*, granted on enlistment in 193 or after, and his eight years service rules out connection with Severus' first Parthian war (195-6). His length of service means that the earliest possible date for his death is 201. The second Parthian war was effectively over by 199 but Severus remained in the east until early 202 and he may have kept the field army together until he returned to the west. However, long inactive foreign service

was a cause of major discontent among Macrinus' and Elagabalus troops in 218-219 (Dio 79.4.5). Therefore it is possible to see Longinus as having been recruited under Severus in 207 and dying at Zeugma in 215 en route to Mesopotamia. However, dating stones in this manner has its risks. Consider the following inscription:

CIL III 196 (Syria, find-spot uncertain) AD 243

D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(io) Valeriano b(ene)f(iciario) trib(uni) / leg(ionis) I Adiutrix, stip(endiorum) XVIII, vixit / ann(os) XXXVIII. Iul(ius) Oratia(nus) b(ene)f(iciarius) trib(uni) leg(ionis) eius/dem secundus heres et collega bene merenti / titulum statuendum curavit Octo/br. Arriano et [P]a[p]o co(n)s(ulibus) [AD 243].

If the consular date was removed the inscription has no other clear dating features (except perhaps the style of the lettering: there are some ligatures). Valerianus' *gentilicium* could have suggested recruitment under Antoninus Pius and that he died in Lucius Verus' Parthian war or any subsequent eastern campaign in the late second or third century.²⁴

f) Raetian and German Legions

Clearly attested at Perinthus in Thrace is legio III Italica, definitely linked to this war by the title *Antoniniana*, but nothing is known of the legion's movements in the once it had crossed into Asia:

CIL III 14207 (6)

D(is) M(anibus). / Equester Paulo / militi leg(ionis) III Italicae / Antoniniana, vixit / anno[s] XXXVI, mil(itavit) an(nos) XVI. / Au[---]rius heres f(ecit) c(uravit).²⁵

The gravestone of a soldier of legio XXII Primigenia at Perinthus can not be dated more precisely than the late second or early third century. The stone carries a relief of the deceased that could suggest a more definite date, but I have not seen it:

²⁴ Valerianus enlisted in 225 aged 20 – the peak age and suspiciously recurrent.

²⁵ The stone carries a relief of Paulus in military attire.

CIL III 14207 (7)

*[D(is)] M(anibus) / e[t] perpetue securitati Luponius / Suebus mil<e>s leg(ionis)
IIXX, militavit an/nis XII duplicarius, vixit annis / triginta quinque, (h)eredes / facer
curaverunt.*²⁶

The evidence is certain for another German unit, legio XXX Ulpia, the title *Antoniniana* securely dating its presence in Prusa, Bithynia to 215 (cf. Dio 77.18.1) or 218/19 (Dio 79.4.5):

AE 1947: 188

*D(is) M(anibus). / Nobilinio / Scriptioni / mil(iti) leg(ionis) XXX / U(lpiae) V(icticis)
p(iae) f(idelis) Ant(onniniana) / vixit an(nos) XXXX, milit(avit) an(nos) XVII, /
Apuleius Aequalis et Rufinius Saturninus civi suo, cui / [---]*

Another legio XXX Ulpia gravestone from Nicomedia could be of similar date:

AE 1977: 188

*D(is) M(anibus). / Servandin[io] / Avito mil[iti] / legionis XXX U(lpiae) V(icticis)
st[ip(endiorum)] / XX, vixit an[n(os) / XX[X--]], / Se[rvandinius] / [---].*

Speidel would link the location of the stone to Dio's report about German troops wintering in Bithynia in 218/19 (79.4.5; Speidel 1985: 90-91). I would also suggest a link with Caracalla's training maneuvers at Nicomedia in 215 (Dio 77.18.1, under the guise of Caracalla's 'Macedonian phalanx'). The lettering of the inscription places it in the first half of the century. The accompanying relief of Avitus shows him wearing a long-sleeved tunic and *sagum* (Figure 12 b). His sword is worn on the left and hangs down below his knee, the scabbard ending in a large round chape. He holds a small round shield and a missile with a large triangular head –may be not a *hasta* but a socketed *pilum*. He wears no body armour or helmet. Avitus' short haircut is reminiscent of that sported by Caracalla but the quality of the relief is too low to suggest any modeling on Caracalla's official portraiture. Most emperors wore short hair in the third century. However, without the title *Antoniniana* or other more specific dating clues, the stone could belong to any imperial campaign in the first half of the third century.

²⁶ For Suebi in the Roman army see Speidel & Scardigli 1990: 201-207.

Legio VIII Augusta was also active in Bithynia in the Severan period:

AE 1934: 125 (Calchedon)

D(is) M(anibus) / Severius Acceptus / miles leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) / stip(endiorum) VI, vixit ann(os) / XXVI, / Dubitatus Attianus / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit) / nummis CCCC.

Clearly of Severan (or later) date by the oval shield and clothing worn by Acceptus on the funerary relief, Speidel would also date this stone specifically to 218/19 from Dio's reference to German legions wintering in Bithynia (1985: 90-91, 96, fig. a). The funerary relief portrays Acceptus with his panoply arranged around him: a crested helmet, full-length greaves, short sword and ring-buckled belt, oval shield and most notably of all, a cuirass (*Figure 12 a*). It has been suggested that it represents a linen cuirass after the style employed by hoplites and phalangites, and apparently worn by Caracalla and the members of his 'Macedonian Phalanx' whilst on campaign in the east (Speidel 1992: 186, cf. Dio 77.7.2; 78.3.2). However, I think the cuirass is actually a representation of a rigid scale or lamellar cuirass with small chest plates (see Robinson 1975: 153-163).

Acceptus' hairstyle recalls that of Septimius Severus but his clothing, long-sleeved tunic and *sagum*, reflect the fashion imposed Caracalla (Dio 78.3.3). The combination of these two features could mean that the stone dates to 215 rather than 218/19. The haircut suggests the influence of Severus and therefore Acceptus was probably recruited during his reign. Caracalla had much shorter hair and normally soldiers would sport the style of the emperor, particularly of popular military leaders like Caracalla. Acceptus' six *stipendia* would then suggest he died in Bithynia in 215, for if he died in 218/19 he would have enlisted in 212/13 during the reign of Caracalla and his hairstyle follow that of the *reigning* emperor as would have been normal. Therefore Acceptus could have enlisted in 209 and died in 215 whilst en route to Syria (cf. Dio 77.18.1 for the army in Bithynia in 215).

Speidel connects these stones with Dio's remarks about restless German (Keltikoi) troops wintering in Bithynia in 218/19 (79.4.5) and postulates the involvement in the war of elements of legions I Minervia and XXII Primigenia (1985: 89-96). The combined detachments of the four German legions certainly operated together in Severus' second Parthian war (*AE* 1957: 123 = Saxer 1967, no. 84). Dio's mention of

Keltikoi might also mean Raetian and Norican legionaries. The participation of legio III Italica has already been noted but there is no evidence for II Italica.

g) Legio VII Claudia; Lower Moesian & Dacian legions

Legio IIII Flavia has already been mentioned in connection with Apamea but the evidence for the presence of the other legion of Moesia Superior, VII Claudia, in the east in 215-18 is less certain. Three stones record the presence of VII Claudia in Galatia and Syria in the late second or early third century but, again, none have specific dating clues such as honorific titles or consular dates. One gravestone of a soldier of VII Claudia at Cyrrhus was set up by a comrade who served in IIII Flavia (note the different *nomina* of the brothers):

CIL III 195 = *IGLS* 150:

D(is) M(anibus) Ulp(io) Victor[i]MM LIINIO ²⁷ *leg(ionis) VII [Cl(audiae)] ex 7 (centuria) II pr(incipis) post(erioris), vixit ann(os) XXXVIII, militavit ann(os) XVI. Aur(elius) Martinus mil(es) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae), frater et secundus heres, frati ex provincia Moes(ia) Super(iore) reg(ione) Vim(i)nac(io) f(ratri) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*

The text might indicate a paired vexillation of VII Claudia and IIII Flavia. The dead soldier served in the second cohort in the century of the *princeps posterior*; another VII Claudia gravestone from Ancyra mentions cohort II, (*centuria*) *hastatus prior* – the two men were almost certainly members of the same vexillation:

CIL III 263

[---]io, optio leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) 7 (centuria) II has(tati) prior(is), stip(endiorum) XXI, vixit annis XXXX, Aur(elius) Maximinu[s], tes(serarius) et Iulius Ingen(uus) optio, herede[s] b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).

Their gravestones serve as reminder of the constant drain on manpower that the army experienced whilst on the march. Lastly an inscription attests a member of VII Claudia at Beroea, i.e. on the road to Mesopotamia (*CIL* III 192 = *IGLS* 179).

²⁷ *MM LIINIO*: *CIL* commentary = *imaginifero*.

As legio III Flavia is attested at Apamea in 215-18 this would suggest that at least one of the above VII Claudia stones is of the same date (for the date, the inscriptions also mention Aurelii). There is no evidence for the participation of legions of Moesia Inferior, I Italica and XI Claudia, so the presence of VII Claudia in Caracalla's war is doubly suspected. There is also no evidence for the remaining European legion, Dacia's V Macedonica. Legio XIII Gemina is attested as Apamea (above) but V Macedonica may have been too fully employed in policing the aftermath of Caracalla's Dacian operations to send a vexillation east (Mócsy 1974: 198f.).

h) Legiones III Augusta & II Traiana

The presence of a vexillation of legio III Augusta of Numidia is presumed from a dedication made by the *duplarii* of the legion in 218 or 219 for the safe return of the emperor (Elagabalus) from the expedition:

CIL VIII 2564 = 18052 = ILS 470 (Lambaesis)

... duplari(i) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis) [[Anto/niniana(e)], devoti numini / maiestatique eorum, / regressi de expeditio/ne felicissima Orientali. (List of duplarii follows)

As can be seen, there is no clear reference to a vexillation of III Augusta taking part in the war but the transfer of soldiers from the disbanded legio III Gallica to III Augusta could indicate that the latter legion had suffered casualties in the Parthian war.²⁸ Conversely, it might simply reflect III Augusta's extensive desert patrolling and garrisoning duties and its consequent need for large numbers of troops experienced in steppe conditions (cf. Ritterling RE XII 1525-27; Saxer 1967: 103-108 for previous transfers from III Gallica during the course of Severus' second Parthian war):

CIL VII 2904 = ILS 2315 (Lambaesis)

Dis Manib(us) sacrum). / [-] Iulius C(ai) f(ili) domo Arethusa Livianus / vet(eranus) ex aquilif(ero) leg(ionis) Severi(an)ae, translat(us) / ex leg(ione) III Gallic(a), se vivo in memor(iam) mortis aeter/nae obventur(a)e cum suis fecit dedicavitque.

²⁸ *CIL VIII 2975 = ILS 2306* records a III Augusta casualty of a Parthian war, perhaps one of those waged by Severus.

Legio VI Ferrata (or VI Victrix) might also have reinforced III Augusta (see below).

The involvement of the Egyptian legion II Traiana is suspected but not certain. The Egyptian legion had fought with distinction in Caracalla's German war winning the honorific title *Germanica* (*CIL* III 12057 = *ILS* 2319, text below; *CIL* III 6592 = *ILS* 2345), but the disturbances in Alexandria in 215 may have necessitated the retention of expeditionary troops within the province (note Fink *RMR* 20 for recruitment to the legion in 217). Is it possible that Caracalla had simply kept his field army together from 213? Indeed the infamous massacre at Alexandria may have been sparked off when unwilling conscripts to the legion rioted and were massacred by Caracalla's veterans, who subsequently went on the rampage (cf. Herodian 4.9.4-8; Dio 77.22-24; see Bruun 1995 for the presence of II Parthica). Legio III Augusta had supplied a draft of troops to II Traiana perhaps in 212 to bring it up to strength for the German war:

CIL III 12057 = *ILS* 2319 (Alexandria)

Q(uintus) Iul(ius) Primus imag(iie)f(er) m(iles) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) / Ger(manicae) Antoninianae, stip(endiorum) XXII, / nat(us/ione?) Afer domo Thevesti, tanslat(us) [e]x leg(ione) III Augusta p(ia) v(indici), vixit an/nis XXXXV. Aurelia Dios/corus marito amantis/simo fecit.

The date of Primus' transfer to II Traiana could have occurred during the reign of Septimius Severus as III Augusta is not given the honorific title *Antoniniana* but only *pia vindex* awarded by Severus (compare *CIL* III 3472 = *ILS* 2320, below). Primus' length of service means that he certainly enlisted in the reign of Severus.

i) Legiones VI Ferrata & X Fretensis

Returning to Syria, the role of the two Palestinian legions, VI Ferrata and X Fretensis, is uncertain. They were normally concerned with policing volatile Palaestina but dedications made by members of the legions in Africa and Pannonia could indicate the transfer of troops to reinforce the depleted legions III Augusta and II Adiutrix.

CIL VIII 11925 = Jarrett 1972: 213-124, no. 129 (Uzappa, Africa)

Iunoni / Aug(ustae) / sacr(um) / L(ucius) Vibius Latinianus / [Va]lens trib(unis) leg(ionis) VI [Ferr(atae) Ant(oniniana) s(ua) p(ecunia)] fecit.

The legion's name could also be restored as Vict(ricis), i.e. VI Victrix of Britian.

CIL III 3472 = ILS 2320 (Aquincum)

*Dis militaribus / et Genio Loci, pro / salute et reditu / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)
M(arci) Aur(eli) / Antonini Pii In/victi Aug(usti), Clod(ius) Marcellinus s(e)c(utor?) /
trib(uni) mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis) Ant(oninianae)
translat(us) / ex leg(ione) X Fr(etensi) Ant(oniniana) nu/mini eius semper /
devotissimus*

j) Legiones I & III Parthica

In Mesopotamia the legions I and III Parthica would have been heavily involved in the war. Little evidence exists but a dedicatory inscription set up c. 229 suggests that legio I Parthica was brought up to strength for fighting duties in 214:²⁹

AE 1926: 87 (Berytus), c. AD 229

*[Pro salute / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aure/li] Severi [Alexandri] / Pii
fel(icis) Invicti Aug(usti) / et Iuliae [Mamaeae] / Aug(ustae), matris Aug(usti) n(ostri)
/ et castr(orum)., mil(ites) leg(ionis) / I P(arthicae) Sever(ianae) [Alexandrian(ae)] /
q(ui) mil(ilitare) coeperunt / Messal. et Sabino /co(n)s(ulibus) [AD 214].*

k) Legio III Cyrenaica

As well as its presence at Dura the legio III Cyrenaica clearly contributed a vexillation to Caracalla's field army mustering in Mesopotamia. One of its soldiers died in Mesopotamia in 215 before the invasion of Adiabene in 216. *IGLS 9396* (Bostra):

Φλ(αύιος) Μάξι-
μος στρ(ατιώτης) *
λεγ(ιώνος) γ' Κ-
4 * υρ(ηναικῆς) στρα-
τευσάμ-
ενος ξ-
τη κγ' ἀπο-
8 * θανών [ε]-
ν Μεσοπ-
* [οταμί]α, [ο]ῦ τὰ δ[σ]-
τὰ ἐν[θ]άδε κ-
12 : [ιτ]ε...
Ἔτι σιέ'.

²⁹ Fitz 1983: 139 suggests that the title *Severiana Alexandriana* was awarded for the suppression of mutinous troops in Mesopotamia. See Dio 80.4.2 for the murder of the *praefectus Mesopotamiae*, Flavius Heracleo, by soldiers probably in 227.

Maximus had served for 23 years when he died and had enlisted in 192. He is another example of the army not excluding its older soldiers from field army service.

2. The size of legions and legionary vexillations in field armies

The size of the legionary vexillations in imperial task forces of the first to third centuries AD generally appears to have been milliary, although Josephus (*BJ* 2.18) and perhaps Tacitus (see Saxer) record detachments of 2000 men in the first century (Saxer 1967: 118-19). *CIL* X 5829 = *ILS* 2726 records a vexillation numbering 1000 men from the three legions VII Gemina, VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia, who fought in Hadrian's British war. *CIL* III 13439 = *ILS* 9122 = Saxer 1967, no. 69, records a vexillation of 855 (surviving) *milites* of legio II Adiutrix wintering at Trenčín in Slovakia in 179-180. Such milliary vexillations seem to have been composed of two cohorts. *AE* 1972: 710 indicates cohorts I and II of legio II Italica (a quingenary first cohort? Severan or mid third century). The interesting *ILS* 4195 records cohorts X and VII (in that order) of legio II Herculia, c. 297-299, but a milliary vexillation in this period is highly unlikely.

Cohorts selected for vexillation duties may have been raised above their nominal paper strength of 480 men as suggested by Dio's specific number of 550 'European' troops at Hatra. The figure could refer to an enlarged single detached cohort with extra administrative and support personnel to turn it into a fully independent unit whilst operating away from the parent legion (Dio 75.12.5, cf. Cooper 1968: 248-50, for single cohort vexillations in the second-third centuries).³⁰

As for the size of complete legions in field armies, here II Parthica and possibly II Adiutrix, I think it is wiser to apply a figure, which takes into account the *remansores* that a legion would leave in its base and home province. Most importantly the *stationarii* who would have policing and garrison duties in the province; *beneficarii consularis* and *frumentarii* would already be detached from the legion. It is clear that attempts were made to bring units up to strength in advance of campaigns (*CIL* III 14507 for extraordinary recruitment to legio VII Claudia in 169; see Mann 1963 for *dilecti*). However, the limited evidence we possess for the effective strength of

³⁰ For Hatra and the problem of the 550 troops see also Platnauer 1918: 171-177; Speidel 1984: 301-309; D. Campbell 1987; Kennedy 1987a.

units could indicate that some units were never brought up to their theoretical paper strengths.³¹

Instead of stating that a full imperial legion on campaign numbered some 5000+ men, I would say that 4000 was a more realistic *maximum* total, one that would take into account the manpower wastage that would inevitably occur on the march before the legion even arrived in the war zone. Josephus' description of legions marching in columns of six men abreast (perhaps only six men per *contubernium* in a row, or only six *contubernia* per century) could suggest that some legions on campaign only contained three quarters of their optimum strength (cf. *BJ* 3.124). The Severan 'vexillation fortress' at Carpow in Scotland, measuring internally c.10 ha. with estimated accommodation for 3000 men, might also reflect the more usual size of a 'full' legion on campaign (see chp. 3, sect. 4).

Therefore the size of the force mustered by Caracalla between 214 and 216 for his invasion of Adiabene, including auxiliaries,³² praetorians³³ and other 'household'

³¹ Namely rosters from Egypt (Fink *RMR* 63), Vindolanda (Bowman & Thomas 1991) and Dura Europos (see above).

³² There is no clear evidence for the auxiliary regiments involved in this war. Comparative evidence is supplied by Balty & Van Rengen 1993: 46-53 (= *AE* 1993: 1589-1596) for the presence of the Pannonian *ala I Ulpia contariorum* (perhaps as a full unit) and *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica* (reliefs show its members were also armed with the *contus*) at Apamea in 252. As lancers they were perhaps 'lighter' cavalry than *cataphracti* but still equipped to counter the Persian horse. For a campaign against the Parthians one imagines that auxiliary vexillations would have concentrated on heavy cavalry, horse archers, foot archers and javelin men.

³³ The presence of both praetorian prefects in the east with Caracalla indicates the Guard was present in force (Dio 78.14.2; Herodian 4.14.1-2). Praetorian strength is further emphasised by the role of the cohorts as the core strength of Macrinus' army in 218 (Dio 78.37.3). Only a small number of *remansores* were left in Rome (Dio 79.2.3). Praetorian tribunes and *evocati* formed part of Caracalla's bodyguard and were implicated in his assassination. A further detachment of praetorians formed the bodyguard of Julia Domna in Antioch, which Macrinus maintained after Caracalla's death (Dio 78.23.2). Other detachments were posted across Asia Minor as *stationarii*, probably charged with ensuring the supply of food and materials to the field army units in Syria and Mesopotamia (e.g. *ILS* 2052 of Severan date, cf. Passerini 1939: 173, n. 2). A third century praetorian who died in the vicinity of Apamea in Phrygia may not belong to this particular expedition, but his gravestone highlights the marching route from Nicomedia through Asia Minor to Antioch (*AE* 1995: 1516). The death of a praetorian is

troops,³⁴ could have numbered some eighty to ninety thousand men. This force was probably divided into two or more invading columns and other troops would have been diverted to fight in Armenia with the Cappadocian army (cf. Dio 77.21; 78.27.4).

recorded as having occurred at Antioch – he might possibly have been killed at the battle between Macrinus and Elagabalus near Antioch at Imma in 218 (*CIL* III 5606; Dio 78.37.3; Balty 1988: 100 for Imma). The presence of praetorians is also recorded at Beroea, either suggesting an attempt to spread the burden of the mass of troops away from Antioch or the movements eastwards of the field army (*CIL* III 6046 = *IGLS* 180). Another praetorian gravestone from Thrace bearing the honorary title Antoniniana evidences the march to Byzantium in 214 or the return of the cohorts to the west with Elagabalus in 219 (*IGR*, I, 700). The praetorians returned to Rome in 219 (*CIL* VI 323 = *ILS* 474, for the safe return of cohort X).

³⁴ *Equites singulares* – see Speidel 1994a: 64-67. The bulk of the *numerus* was present. A *remansor* made a dedication for the safe return of the unit in 219 (*CIL* VI 31162 = *ILS* 2188 = Speidel 1994, no. 62). *Equites extraordinarii* = *equites singulares*? : SHA *Cara*. 6.3. Mauri: Dio 78.32.1f; Herodian 4.15.2 for their role in the battle of Nisibis (217); *ILS* 1356 shows that T. Licinius Hierocletus was *praeposito equitum itemque peditum Maurorum*, probably during this war. The use of *iuniores* suggests a second unit of *seniores*. They were based in Rome, cf. Herodian 1.15.2. Osrhoeni horse archers?: Dio 77.14.1, cf. Herodian 6.7.8, 7.1.9 and *CIL* III 10307 = *ILS* 2540 for their probable place in the emperor's *comitatus*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

*Someone is pitting his arms against your courage. But not the Germans, whom we have defeated on many occasions, nor the Sarmatians who regularly come to beg for peace... but the Carthaginians who have gone mad.*¹

This thesis has focused on various aspects of the Severan field army, a useful collective term for the praetorian guard, legio II Parthica and the *equites singulares Augusti*. The first two units formed the most immediate and substantial forces available the emperor, based as they were at Rome and Albanum, respectively. They had no frontier to defend and existed solely to wage the emperor's wars. They were not the forerunner of the later third century *comitatus* (in the sense of a mobile army attached to the emperor's retinue): they were the *comitatus*.²

Severus recreated the praetorian guard as an elite fighting force, allowing one praetorian to proudly proclaim that 'he served in *all* the expeditions' (*CIL* VI 2553), but Severus did not increase the complement of the praetorian guard as has long been supposed (chp. 2, sect. 1). The unit was reconstituted at its Antonine establishment of 10,000 men but it remained the single largest unit in the Empire. Legio II Parthica was probably a regular sized legion of 5-6000 men, but because of its lack of frontier responsibilities it could also be termed one of the biggest units in the empire. In theory at least, its full complement was always available for war and it was probably the last full legion to fight in battle (chp. 3).

Severus also increased the size of the urban cohorts, the military police force of Rome. To each of the four milliary cohorts an extra 500 troops were added, making for a total strength of 6000 (Dio 54.24.6; Fries 1967: 38-42). It is uncertain how these enlarged units were organised; as yet there is no evidence to suggest that the cohorts were divided into more than six centuries. (Uniquely the cohorts of the *vigiles* each contained seven centuries, cf. *ILS* 2156.) The number of *vigiles*, the militarised fire brigade and night watch, was doubled to 7840 men - optimally 1120 soldiers per

¹ Speech attributed to Maximinus by Herodian (7.8.4-5). The emperor exhorts the field army before marching from Pannonia to Italy in spring AD 238 to counter the senatorial revolt which was triggered by rebellion in Africa and the elevation of the consular Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus.

² M.P. Speidel has concluded that "the field army is, in a sense, as old as the units stationed at Rome" (1987a: 384). This statement is undoubtedly correct.

cohort but it is uncertain if this full complement was realised for long (Rainbird 1986: 150-1). The effect of these increases was that one urban cohort could be released from its policing duties in Rome to become a combat unit, as suggested by the presence of cohort XIV at Apamea in Syria with legio II Parthica in AD 215-218 (chp. 5, sect. 1b).³

It also seems that in AD 193 Severus doubled the number of *equites singulares Augusti*, the imperial cavalry guard regiment, from 1000 to 2000 troopers, effectively creating a second *numerus* which required the building of second fortress in Rome to house it - the *castra nova* (Speidel 1994a: 57-60). At the same time Severus probably found a number of Mauri auxiliaries based in Rome (cf. Herodian 1.15.2 implying their presence in the reign of Marcus Aurelius). To this core he may have added the elite Moorish troops of Pescennius Niger (Her. 3.3.4-5), as had he used Niger's *tirones* (recruits) to form the legions I and III Parthica (chp. 3, sect. 1). By the reign of Caracalla at least two *numeri* of Mauri were based in or around Rome, the *seniores* and *iuniores*, each a mixed infantry and cavalry unit (two units are implied by *ILS* 1356 and *AE* 1966: 596). The *seniores* were perhaps the original unit maintained by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the *iuniores* a new creation by Severus, reflecting his doubling of the *equites singulares*.⁴ Treaties imposed on the Moorish tribes of North Africa ensured a regular flow of recruits to maintain the strength of the units (Dio 72.38.1). Dio and Herodian praise the bravery of the Mauri who maintained a notable presence in the field army throughout the third century (see Speidel 1975: 208-20)

Another *numerus* present in the field army of Caracalla almost certainly had its conception under Severus. The Osrhoeni (all horse?) archers could have existed as a regular Roman unit since the annexation of Osrhoene in AD 195, but Herodian reports that Abgar IX of Osrhoene, whom Severus permitted to maintain a much reduced territory around Edessa, supplied the emperor with a large number of archers for service in the second Parthian war in 197 (Herodian 3.9.2). These men will have formed the basis of the *numerus* reported in the field armies of Caracalla (Dio 77.14.1), Severus Alexander and Maximinus (Herodian 6.7.8, 7.9.1). The unit of Osrhoenian archers recorded in *CIL* XI 3104 = *ILS* 2765 and *ILS* 2540 is identifiable

³ *CIL* VIII 1026 = *ILS* 2127 might place cohorts XIII urbana as a combat unit in the Dacian and German wars of Domitian (cf. Fries 1967: 33-4).

⁴ See Tomlin 1972 for *seniores* and *iuniores* in the Late Roman army.

with the field army unit. It is assumed that the Osrhoeni were based in or near to Rome.⁵

Taken together these various units meant that Severus had the largest close-concentration of troops of anywhere in the Empire at his immediate disposal:⁶

Field Army		Rome police & fire brigade	
Praetorian cohorts:	10,000	Urban cohorts:	4,500–6000
Legio II Parthica:	c. 5000	<i>Vigiles</i> :	7840
<i>Equites singulares</i> :	2000		
(Urban cohort:	1500)	Other	
Mauri	c. 2000	<i>Frumentarii</i>	500-1000?
Osrhoeni	c. 1000		

With a total garrison of around 35,000 men in and around Rome and up to 21,500 available for fighting duties, Severus had an army rivaling that of a province a situation unknown in Italy since the civil wars of AD 69 and the late Republic (note Herodian 3.13.4).⁷ However, 21,500 is still small in comparison to the huge forces mustered for imperial expeditions (see chp. 5, sect. 2). Because of their strength and elite status, the praetorians and legio II Parthica were the foundation units onto which the component legionary and auxiliary vexillations of the expeditionary armies of the third century were built. They were the core and permanent elements of the Severan and later third century field army (chp. 3, sect. 2).

It was in this role at the core of the field army that praetorians saw active service on an unprecedented scale and their length of service was accordingly increased to a minimum of 18 years (chp 1). Service in legio II Parthica did not normally exceed 26 years – the legionaries' term was still generally longer than most praetorians would end up serving (chp 1, sect. 3). It is in legio II Parthica that we see another clear effect of being a principal field army unit. Fighting specialists were recognised first in its

⁵ Elements of the Osrhoeni and Mauri may have been housed in the castra peregrina. Cf. E. Birley 1969: 65; Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: 164.

⁶ The figures are optimum paper strengths. It is presumed that the *numeri* of Mauri and Osrhoeni were milliary, i.e. c. 1000 strong, after the size of the praetorian cohorts and *numeri* of the *equites singulares*. However, it is not impossible that they were quingenary establishments, i.e. c. 500 strong.

⁷ See chp 2, sect 1 conclusion.

ranks and given official status: *lanciarii* (skirmishers/javelin men), *phalangarii* (heavy infantry, but not necessarily armed or organised as Hellenistic phalangites) and archers (chp. 3, sect 2). Troops similar to *lanciarii*, and perhaps archers, had clearly been present in the legions for generations but had never been given formal recognition of their status. It is not until the close of the third century that similar ranks are found in the frontier legions. This is evidence for the innovation within the field army and its elite nature. It also reveals that legio II Parthica was, as the Roman legion is so often described, an army in miniature.

Septimius Severus was concerned with the effectiveness of his forces. Therefore the new praetorian guard was recruits from legionaries, not only to reward the soldiers who had raised Severus to power and fought his opponents, but to re-establish the Guard as an elite fighting unit (cf. Dio 74.2.5). Direct recruits were soon admitted into the new Guard (chp. 1) but it is notable that under Severus we first hear of praetorian *campidoctores* and *doctores* (Domaszewski-Dobson 1967: 26; Durry 1938:117; though note Speidel 1994, no. 14 for their presence in the early Antonine horse guard). Training instructors had always been present in the Guard (e.g. *exercitatores*) but they are much more evident in the Severan period. Instructors were attached to each cohort and century and the emphasis on weapons training went beyond sword and *pilum*: we even know of an archery instructor in the Severan period despite there being no clear attestation of dedicated archers in the praetorian cohorts (*CIL* VI 3595). Severus clearly wished his most senior troops to have knowledge of all weapons.⁸

In Severus' British war, AD 208-211 the praetorian cavalry was accompanied by its training officer, Casennius Senecio.⁹ He was killed in the war (*CIL* VI 2464 = *ILS* 2089). Field army instructors taught by example. The emperor Maximinus, AD 235-238, was a former training officer (Speidel 1994a: 69). Maximinus was prefect of the Pannonian recruits levied for Severus Alexander's German war, AD 234-5, and his subsequent usurpation was helped by his willingness to train with recruits and lead by example in the field (Herodian 6.8.2). Despite being in his early 60's Maximinus was also the first emperor to fight in battle (Her. 7.2.6-9). This set a precedent that could

⁸ Herodian 7.11.8 and 12.2 suggests the use of bows and light javelins by praetorians defending the castra praetoria in AD 238

⁹ His *nomen* is recorded as Casernius on *CIL* VI 1057, identifying Senecio as a centurion of the fifth cohort of vigiles in AD 203.

not be ignored by future emperors and Philip, Decius and perhaps Gordian III were killed in battle. Such was the influence of the field army.

The best description of the field army in operation is recorded by Herodian, concerning Maximinus' invasion of Italy in 238 (8.1.2-3 & ff). The description is based on eyewitness reports gathered by the historian from field army soldiers in Rome immediately after the siege of Aquileia:

*As Maximinus stood on the border he sent scouts on ahead to reconnoitre and see whether there were any hidden ambushes laid in the deep mountain valleys or dense woods. He himself led his army down to the plain and arranged the legions of infantry in a shallow, rectangular formation rather than in depth, so as to extend right across the plain. All the equipment, including the pack animals and carts, were allocated the centre, while he brought up the rear himself with the guards. On the wings rode the squadrons of cataphracts, the Mauretanian and Eastern archers and a large body of allied German cavalry...*¹⁰

Who would have thought that this army, seasoned in the Persian war (note the presence of cataphracts, heavily armoured cavalry), and victorious over the Alamanni, Sarmatians and Carpi,¹¹ would falter before the determined defence of Aquileia by a small garrison of regular soldiers¹² and its citizen defenders?¹³

¹⁰ Whittaker's Loeb translation. Note also Herodian 7.8.9.

¹¹ *ILS* 488-490; the fighting is mentioned briefly by Herodian at 7.8.4.

¹² See Speidel 1990a: 68-9

¹³ Note *ILS* 487 as possible evidence for the existence at this time of legion IV Italica, carrying out road building around Aquileia.

APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS INDICATING PRAETORIAN STIPENDIA AFTER AD 193.

This appendix acts as a companion to chapter 1, particularly sections 2-4, highlighting inscriptions recording length of service in the praetorian guard in the third century. The inscriptions are listed by number of *stipendia* (years of service). Discussion of the inscriptions has been kept to a minimum, with brief indications as to the probable date of the stones (see chp. 1, sect. 2 for method). The age of a soldier at enlistment is deduced by subtracting his length of service from his age at death.

At first sight the list suggests that the great majority of recruits to the Guard were men who enlisted directly (some were probably also conscripted). However, many of the stones could fail to mention service in a previous unit, something that should always be kept in mind if the age of recruitment seems to be advanced. A soldier might have specified in his will what was to be inscribed on his gravestone, but unless he had it made before his death it was down to his heir(s) to see to it, and there may have been the temptation for some to cut costs by limiting the text. The *origines* of these men make it clear that the Guard recruited from the same sources as the legions.

1. CIL VI 2672 = ILS 2054 (Rome)

Aur(elio) Saturnino eq(uiti) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Verissimi, qui militavit in leg(ione) se/cunda Italica, tesserarius ann(os) VI, / qui vixit (annos) XXVIII. Aur(elius) Optianus / eq(ues) fratri bene merenti posuit.

The post-193 date is indicated by the imperial *gentilicium* Aurelius, originally derived from Carcalla, the lack of *praenomen* and transfer from a legion.

The text records Saturninus' legionary service but not his praetorian service. This suggests that he died soon after transfer to the Guard, i.e. before the completion of his first *stipendium*. It appears that to enter the Guard Saturninus had to accept a demotion to from legionary *tesserarius* to praetorian *equus*; perhaps he was waiting for a vacancy in a higher rank. His brother Optianus was also an *equus*, probably transferred from legio II Italica. Presumably their *origo* was in Noricum (Forni 1992: 120). Saturninus' age at death, 28, suggests he enlisted in the army aged 21 or 22.

2. CIL VI 2785 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) / Val(erio) Sarmatio civis Filopopu/letanus militabit in legi/one prima Italica annis / IIII in pr(a)etoria annis / duo(bus) vixit annis XXIIII Sudi/centius frater gentius fecit / mimoriam [sic].

The post-193 date is indicated by *origo*, transfer from a legion and lack of *praenomina*. Sarmatius appears to have enlisted aged 18. Sudicentius might not be a blood brother, simply another Thracian, presumably also serving in the Rome garrison.

3. CIL VI 2758 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Val(erius) Martinus mil(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) / centuria Martialis, qui mil(itavit) / in leg(ione) XIII Gem(ina) in praet(orium) t(ranslatus) / ann(is) III, natione Panno/nius qui vixit annis XXV, / mensibus tribus, d(iebus) XV. / Valerius Ianuarius opt(io) / 7 (centuriae), civi bene meren/ti fecit.

The post-193 date is indicated by *origo*, transfer from a legion and lack of *praenomina*.

Although Martinus' age at death ends in a multiple of five the numbering of months and days lived could suggest accuracy. It is unclear whether Martinus' 3 *stipendia* refer to the Guard alone or to his combined legionary and praetorian service. As total service he would have enlisted aged 22. His heir, Ianuarius, indicates that he was a fellow-citizen. Both men, then, probably served in legio XIV Gemina. Legio XIV Gemina saluted Severus as emperor on 9 April 193 (A. Birley 1988: 97) and it is tempting to see Martinus and Ianuarius as original transfers to the Guard in 193, but alas the stone offers no specific dating evidence.

4. CIL VI 2695 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / M(arco) Aur(elio) Ianuario / equiti coh(ortis) VIIII pr(aetoriae) / 7 (centuria) Faventini, / qui vix(it) ann(os) XX / milit(avit) ann(os) III m(enses) XI. / Aur(elius) Veranus 7 (centurio) / coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae) secun/dus heres b(ene) m(erenti) / posuit.

Late second-early third century century by the *gentilicium* Aurelius.

Despite his youth and short service, Ianuarius had already been promoted to *eques*. It is probably notable, therefore, that his second heir, Aurelius Veranus, was centurion of cohort II. Ianuarius' age at death, 20, may be the result of age rounding, but subtraction of his service length from this age would suggest he enlisted aged 16, young for a praetorian. It is notable that the length of service was not rounded up to 4 years, indicating the accuracy of service information.

5. *CIL* III 5449 = *ILS* 2419 a (Semriach), AD 222-235

M. Aurel(ius) Sa[lvi]anus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II It(alicae) p(iae) f(idelis) / Severiane e[x st]ratore co(n)s(ularis), et Aurel(ia) / Martia con(iunx) [vi]vi fecerunt sibi et M(arco) / Aur(elio) Ursi[ci]no fil(io) [mil(iti) p]raetoriano c(o)h(ortis) IIII p(raetoriae), st(ipendiorum) IIII, θ (obito) an(norum) XX.

Ursicinus' father was a veteran of legio II Italica pia fidelis Severiana, the use of the honorific title suggesting that Ursicinus died in the reign of Severus Alexander (AD 222-235; Fitz 1983: 90ff). Salvianus had held the influential post of the governor's *strator* doubtless influence the direct entry of his son into the Guard.¹ Because the gravestone was set up by Ursicinus' parents his age should be correct. Therefore he entered the Guard aged 16.

6. *CIL* VI 2605 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Victo[r]ino, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae), nati/one Dacisca, regione / Serdic[a], vixit an(nos) XXX, / mil(itavit) in legione an(nos) VI, / in pr(aetorio) an(nos) IIII. Fecit me/moria Valerius Augus/tus, mil(es) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae), fratri / bene merenti fec(it).

The post-193 date is suggested by the *origo*, transfer from a legion and lack of *praenomina*.

Victorinus' age may be rounded but the total service suggests that he enlisted in the army aged 20. Because of the different *gentilicium* Victorinus' 'brother', Valerius Augustus, was perhaps only a comrade. Victorinus' *origo* is problematical. It could specify birth in the later third century in Aurelian's new Dacian provinces on the

¹ For the role of *stratores* as senior NCO's concerned with the supply of remounts to the army see Davies 1969a. They could also act as guards and wereperhaps as the basis of the *stablesiani* of the Late Empire (Speidel 1974; 1978).

south bank of the Danube (cf. Passerini 1939: 188). Alternatively it could indicate Victorinus was of Dacian parentage, but born in the region of Serdica, Thrace. The unidentified legion could be I Italica or VII Claudia, the nearest units to Serdica.

7. CIL VI 2670 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(io) Lucio milit(i) / coh(ortis) VIII praet(oriae), stip(endiorum) IIII, (vixit) ann(os) XXV. Aur(elius) Iovinus / evokatus Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum), nepoti / dulcissimo b(ene) m(erenti).

The post-193 date is suggested by the *gentilicium* Aurelius, absence of *praenomina* and the reference to two emperors, perhaps Severus and Caracalla.

The stone was set up by the evokatus Aurelius Iovinus for his grandson or nephew, Lucius, who appears to have enlisted aged 21. Iovinus was presumably a praetorian *evokatus* suggesting he had a son or brother in the Guard. Lucius could have been born in Rome or Italy.

8. CIL VI 37207 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Val(erius) Ursianus cives Aquiliesis probitus ann(or)um XVIII, / in legione X Gemina ubi mil(itavit) an(nos) V, in pretoria an(nos) IIII, / decessit an(nos) plus minus XXVII. / Iusta coniux bene (me)renti / Vergigio suo [f]ecit Iusta / mil(es) coh(ortis) IIII pr(a)et(oriae).

Ursianus was a rarity – an Italian serving in a legion other than II Parthica, but the combination of *origo* in Aquileia and the possible imperial *gentilicium* Valerius could suggest a late third century date. Aquileia maintained a substantial garrison from the mid or late third century, with vexillations of the Moesian legions I Italica and XI Claudia, and the Pannonian legion II Adiutrix (Speidel 1990a). Ursianus' gravestone could indicate the presence of a detachment of X Gemina, and his *nomen* enlistment under Diocletian. Ursianus is the only Italian recruit known in the legion during the third century (cf. Forni 1992: 132).

The epitaph states that Ursianus enlisted in the army aged 18. He had served a total of nine years in the legion and the Guard, so the use of *plus minus* could indicate that he was almost 27, or suggest that Ursianus himself (and his wife) was probably unaware of his exact age. His age at enlistment may have been a simple estimate for administrative purposes and retained as part of Ursianus' official military identity.

The stone was set up by Ursianus' wife, Iusta, and his comrade, Vergigius who served in cohort IV, perhaps the same as Ursianus whose cohort and century are not indicated.

9. CIL VI 2977 = ILS 2173 (Rome)

*D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Aur(elio) Augustiano / 7 (centurioni) coh(ortis) V
vig(ilae), vix(it) an(nos). XXXIII, / provitus ann(or)um XVII, excep(tor) presidi
provincies / M(oeiae) s(uperioris) ann(os) IIII, lectus in prae(toria), eques sive
tabularius ann(or)um V, factus 7 (centurio) / in Syria, vixit ann(os) VIII [sic], /
Claudia Pacata coniux / piisimo et Ulpus Mar(cellus) nepos b(ene) m(erenti)
fece(runt).*

Of third century date by the imperial *gentilicum* (M.) Aurelius, derived from Caracalla, Danubian *origo* and (probable) transfer from a legion.

Note the replacement of 'b' with 'v' in *probitus*. Obviously an educated and intelligent man, Augustianus enlisted aged 17 perhaps in legio IV Flavia or VII Claudia, serving four years as an *exceptor* on the staff of the governor of Moesia Superior,² where he might have originated, though Thrace or Pannonia are also possible. This administrative position led him to the rank of *eques sive tabularius* in the Guard, another junior staff position with relevance to the praetorian cavalry. After five years (aged 26) Augustianus was promoted to the centurionate, whilst serving in Syria/or his promotion was to a Syria unit.³ This major promotion could suggest a lack of educated praetorians in the third century (cf. Breeze 1974: 253). The third century *laterculi* are notable for displaying proportionally fewer men of NCO rank in comparison to those of the second century. *Evocati* and *cornicularii* were promoted directly to auxiliary commands perhaps from the reign of Caracalla, or more certainly from that of Maximinus,⁴ but the direct promotion from such a junior rank as *tabularius* to centurion is exceptional.

² Compare AE 1993: 1587 for rapid promotion to a senior staff position within legio II Parthica.

³ His apparent age at death of eight years may refer to his service in Syria, and suggest that when he died as a centurion of the *vigiles* he was between 34 and 37 – average service in each of the Rome centurionates was probably three years.

⁴ RIB 966 (*ex evocato palatino*); 988; 989 (*ex corniculario*); 1896 (*ex evocato cohortis I praetoriae Maximianae*); AE 1969/70: 637 (AD 238-44).

10. *CIL* VI 37224: See p. 29.

11. *CIL* VI 2425 (Rome)

Aur(elius) Inge(n)u(s) mil(es) coh(ortis) I / pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Casti, vix(it) an(nos) XXV, mil(itavit) / an(nos) VI, nat(ione) provinc(ia) Dacia / leg(ione) XIII Gem(ina). Aur(elius) Petroni(anus) frat(er) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The *gentilicium* Aurelius and origin indicate the post-193 date.

The reference to legio XIII Gemina could represent Inge(n)uus' *origo in castris* at Apulum, rather than previous service in the legion. His age at death, 25, if correct, would mean that he entered in the Guard aged 19 but it is possible that he had joined XIII Gemina aged 16 or 17 and the text fails to mention his legionary service.

12. *CIL* VI 2486 = Speidel 1994, no. 749 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Iobinus, miles coh(ortis) III / pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Rufini. Vix(it) an(nos) XXX, / mil(itavit) an(nos) VI, nat(ione) Bessus. / Aur(elius) Martinus, eq(ues) singularis, / her(es) et Iulius Marcianus, / secundus her(es) et / contubernales b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

Note the use of 'B' to sound the 'V' in Iobinus, a feature common amongst troops of Danubian origin, e.g. *CIL* VI 2977 = *ILS* 2173. Iobinus' first heir was a horse guardsman, perhaps a relative and indicative of the close bonds between the City units. The date is clearly third century by the *gentilicium* Aurelius and the absence of praenomina, and the Thracian *origo*.

13. *AE* 1980: 141 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Fl(avio) Muciano mil(iti) coh(ortis) V / pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Theoderi. Vix(it) ann(os) / XXX, mil(itavit) ann(os) VI, dom(o) Ni/copoli. Iul(ius) Valerianus / secundus heres co(n)subrin(o) / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The use of *domo* could indicate an earlier third century date, cf *CIL* VI 210 (AD 208). It is used on several Severan *laterculi*, probably reflecting the style of official registers (*CIL* VI 32561; 32563; 32625). The term is much more common on second century epitaphs; *natus* and *natione* were generally used to specify *origo* in the third century, but compare no. 26, below. Mucianus is probably a Romanised form of the Thracian name Moucianus, suggesting a post-193 date. Mucianus' heir Iulius

Valerianus may be the same soldier recorded as heir on another gravestone, dated to the first half of the century (*CIL* VI 2494, below). The centurion, Theodorus, is also recorded on *CIL* VI 2570 below, clearly of third century date.

14. *CIL* VI 2520 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / T(ito) Aelio T(iti) f(ilio) Aemi(lia tribu) / Marcello, Dobi(ro, mil(iti) coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae), / 7 (centuria) Felicis, militavit ann(os) / VI, vix(it) ann(os) XXV. Test(am(ento) poni ius(s)it ara. / T(itus) Flavius Petroni/anus, mil(es) coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Clementis, heres eius muni/cipi suo b(e)n(e) m(erenti) / fecit.

Marcellus' *gentilicium*, derived from the *nomina* of Antoninus Pius, indicates mid-second century date at the earliest, but more probably descent from a legionary or auxiliary enfranchised in that period. T. Aelii only appear on the praetorian *laterculi* of the Severan period (e.g. *CIL* VI 32523, a, 21; AD 204). The use of filiation and official voting tribe is more appropriate to a second century text (e.g. nos 16, 43). However, the indication of filiation and mostly pseudo-voting tribe is seen on a number of third century praetorian epitaphs, see nos 17, 25, 32, 66, 82, 92 and 99, below. Passerini, 1939: 158, assigns the text to the second century.

15. *CIL* VI 2619 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Valerio C(aii) f(ilio) Cla(udia tribu) Cupito / Celeie, mil(iti) coh(ortis) / VI pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Aureli, / mil(itavit) ann(os) VI, vix(it) / ann(os) XXIII. / C. Quartius Secun/dus, mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae) fratri b(ene) m(erenti) / et Numisia Sabi(na?) / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) / t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit) hered(es) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

The use of filiation, official voting tribe and *testamento poni iussit* would normally suggest a second century date. However, the mention of a wife (uncertain if Cupitus' or Secundus') should indicate a post-197 date. Cupitus' centurion, Aurelius, might be identified with Aurelius Marcus who commanded a century in cohort VI some time in the reign of Severus (*CIL* VI 32640, I, 45).⁵ Secundus, because of his different *nomen*

⁵ On the same list, another centurion, Munatius Pius (I, 12), is also known from a discharge list dated to AD 209, and a soldier named M. Aurelius Rufinus (I, 25) is probably the same man who, as *evocatus*, made a dedication to Severus, Caracalla as Augustus, and Geta as Caesar, suggesting at date sometime between 198 and 209 (cf. Durry 1938: 342). Aurelius

a friend rather than an actual brother, may have been serving with the *frumentarii* in Rome.

16. *CIL* VI 2602 (Rome), c. AD217-238

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arco) Aur(elio) Luciano, mil(iti) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Alexandri. Vix(it) ann(os) XXVIII, / mil(itavit) ann(os) VI, horiundus ex / provincia Dacia. C(aius) Virius / Urbicus heres, com<m>anipulo / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

See p. 116 for the date. Lucianus appears to have enlisted aged 23.

17. *CIL* VI 2682 (Rome), start 3rd century.

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aius) Iuli(us) Salutaris / mil(es) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Vetti Valeriani. Mi/lit(avit) ann(os) VI, vix(it) ann(os) / XXXII sine ulla cati/gatione [sic]. Fecit Aure/lia Trophime mat(er) / filio pientissimo / et C(aio) Iulio Secundo / coniugi carissimo.

Salutaris died aged 32 with six years service, enlisting at the age of 26. A late second or early third century date is suggested by the name Aurelia. The date could be narrowed to the start of the third century the centurion Valerianus is identified with the centurion of cohort III, recorded on *CIL* VI 32625 a, II 7 (probably pre-AD 205 by the *origo* Plautianopolis, presumably derived from the name of the disgraced praetorian prefect, Fulvius Plautianus).

18. *CIL* XIII 6824 = *AE* 1940: 117 (Mogontiacum)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) German(us), / mil(es) coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Casti, nat(ione) D[a]/cus. Lectus ex (legione) / XIII (Gemina), factus d(is)/ge(n)s [sic] armorum, st(ipendiorum) / (annos) VI, mil(itavit) ann(os) VI...

The stone is broken where the praetorian service is inscribed, so it might possibly be expanded a by few years. Note the use of the term *lectus* (selected) rather than

Marcus may be the same centruion recorded on *CIL* VI 32561, I, 1, probably also of early Severan date. Praetorians named Aurelius Marcus and Aurelius Aurelius were made *evokati* some time before AD 205, (*CIL* VI 32625, a, I, 10; II, 17; the *origo* at b, I, 7, Plautianopolis, suggests the date).

translatus (transferred). The location makes connection with the German campaigns of Caracalla (AD 213) or Severus Alexander and Maximinus (234-5) attractive.⁶

19. *CIL* VI 2642: see p. 50.

20. *CIL* VI 2431 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Decimus Auguri/nus, mil(es) coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Martini. Vix(it) an(nos) XXX, / mil(itavit) ann(os) VII, nat(us) Af/er. Claudia Nunna / co(n)iux et her(es) b(ene) / m(erenti).

Augurinus' age is the recurrent 30 and so might have been rounded to the nearest five, but subtraction of his seven years service suggests he enlisted aged 23. For the date the centurion Martinus might be linked with a centurion of the same name in cohort II sometime before AD 205 (*CIL* VI 32625, a, I, 8). Another centurion (cohort unknown) named Martinus appears on a *laterculus* of probable Severan date (*CIL* VI 32563, 12, 4).

21. *AE* 1946: 148 (Verona)

D(is) M(anibus). / Germ(anio) Taurino, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae), / 7 (centuria) Marini. V(ixit) a(nnos) XXX, / mil(itavit) an(nos) VIII. Germ(anius) / Super, nat(us) Savaria, / fratri b(ene) m(e)r(en)t(i) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Super's Pannonian *origo* indicates the post-193 date. If Taurinus' age is correct he enlisted aged 22. Although he carries the same *nomen* as Super, Taurinus could actually have been an Italian from Augusta Taurinorum (mod. Turin). The location of the stone at Verona could suggest the presence of a praetorian *statio* monitoring the major junction of roads or even of military operations in Northern Italy in the mid-late third century. Cf. *CIL* VI 2731, below, for a centurion named Marinus of cohort X. Coincidentally, the soldier undier his command was named Taurus. Marinus might be the praetorian evident on a *laterculus* fragment dating to the reign of Severus (*CIL* VI 32626, 3): ... *f(ilius) Fla(via tribu) Marinus Tyrro*. See Passerini 1939: 178 n. 2, for the identification of 'Tyrrhus'.

⁶ See *CIL* XIII 8516 for the presence of praetorians and legio II Parthica together in the area.

22. *CIL* VI 37206 = *NS* 1912: 93, no. 4 = *AE* 1913: 78 (Rome)

[---] / *Claudia* (tribu), *Aqu[i]/linus*, *Savaria*, / *mil(es) coh(ortis) IIII / pr(aetoriae)*,
mil(itavit) ann(os) VIII / vix(it) an[n(os)] ... / [---]

The *origo* in *Savaria* could suggest a post-193 date but the indication of an official voting tribe makes second century date more likely (cf. Passerini 1939: 157).

23. *CIL* III 7136 = *ILS* 2052 (Ephesus) ⁷

T(itus) Valerius T(itii) f(ilius) Secundus, *miles / cohortis VII praetoriae, cen/turiae Severi, domo Liguriae. / Militavit annis VIII, stati/onarius Ephesi vixit / annos XXVI menses VI.*

The use of filiation and the Italian *origo* could suggest either a date in connection with Lucius Verus' Parthian war or the period following Severus' defeat of Pescennius Niger (cf. Passerini 1939: 173, n. 2). A link with the reigns of Gordian III or Philip is possible. A vexillation of one thousand sailors from Ravenna and Misenum commanded by a praetorian tribune (of cohort X) is recorded at Ephesus sometime in the reign of Philip presumably in connection with the Persian war (*AE* 1956: 10 = 1968: 488). *Secundus* is a rare Italian in the Guard, but his *origo* states only *Liguria*, not specific to any town, suggesting a rural background. Consider Syme's comment on Julio-Claudian praetorians from Transpadana: 'Most of the 'Italians' came from Italia Transpadana (a region highly provincial in character), and especially from towns which had native tribes attached to them' (1939: 246). Third century *Liguria* could be seen in a similar fashion.

24. *CIL* VI 2698 (Rome)

(*Dis*) *M(anibus)*. / *Aur(elius) Passar*, *mil(es) coh(ortis) VIIII / pr(aetoriae) 7*
(*centuria*) *Hilariani*. *Vix(it) an(nos) / XXX, mil(itavit) an(nos) VIIII. Domo / Daciae*
regione Scodrihese. Tullius Lupus / et Claudius / Longinus et Aur(elius) / Longinus
commani/puli, b(ene) m(e)r(en)t(i) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)

The *gentilicium* *Aurelius*, absence of *praenomina*, and the Dacian *origo* indicate the third century date. If *Passar*'s age at death is correct, he enlisted aged 21.

⁷ Cf. III 7135 = *ILS* 2051: *Dis Manibus. / T. Valerio T. f. Secundo militis (sic) coh/ortis VII / praetoriae centuriae Severi.*

25. *CIL VI 2678 (Rome)*

Tiberi Cl(audi) Pasto/ris, mil(itis) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) / p(iae) v(indicis) equit(is) qui m(ilitavit) ann(os) / IX, vix(it) ann(os) XXVII, / d(iebus) XXV. B(ene) m(erenti) fecer(unt) / heredes Maturius Pre/nses et Primius / Primigen(ius)

Pastor's age is fairly specific and should probably be considered accurate. The length of service means he enlisted aged 19. The use of the titles *pia vindex* without an imperial *cognomen*, suggests the reign of Septimius Severus who first awarded the titles (cf. Durry 1938: 87, n. 3). Though evident before the close of the second century *Antoniniana* was not a title used by the Guard until Caracalla's sole reign (cf. Fitz 1983: 32 ff.). *Pia vindex* occurs throughout the third century usually with an imperial *cognomen*.

26. *CIL X 1755 (Puteoli)*

Aur(elius) Iulianus mil(es) / coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Quinti/liani. Vix(it) an(nos) XL, / mil(itavit) an(nos) VIIII. Nat(ione) Noricus. Aur(elius) Teutu/merus (miles) coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae) frat(ri) / et Aelia Marcia co/(n)iux b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)c(e)r(unt).

The gentilicum Aurelius and mention of Iulianus' wife emphasises the third century (if his age is correct he ~~could~~ appears to be another late recruit was conscripted?) at 32. The inscription may fail to mention transfer to the Guard from another unit. Note that his brother served in the same cohort. Because Teutomerus has the same *nomen* and is mentioned before Iulianus' wife it seems likely that he was a real brother. The location of the stone might indicate that the men were serving in the Bay of Naples area as *stationarii*. Other praetorians are known at Puteoli in this period: *CIL X 1754*, below, possibly *X 1759*. See Durry 1938: 59, n. 5 for praetorian *stationarii*.

27. *ILS 9073 = ILAlg. II, 8 (Rusicade (Skikda), Numidia)*

Iovi optim[o] / maximo / votum retuli / Genio imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / M(arci) Aureli Claud[i] / invicti pii felic(is) [Aug(usti)], / Aelius Dubitatus / mil(es) coh(ortis) VIIII pra[at(oriae)] / 7 (centuria) Etrii, annis VIIII / [g]essi stationem Ven(eria) / [R]usic(ade), salvis et f[el]ici[b(us)] / [comm]anipulis fac[(iendum) cur(avi)].

The date is clearly 268-70 by the reference to Claudius II. The text is interesting as it possibly specifies Dubitatus' total length of service as *stationarius* at Rusicade and for indicating a notable praetorian presence there. *Stationarius* was not a particular grade or rank but specified soldiers on outpost duty, perhaps acting in a policing role. Compare *CIL* VIII 25438 = *ILS* 9072 (no. 78, below) for praetorian *stationarii* at Utica, perhaps in the same period. Their presence in Africa may have been compelled by the need to secure the corn supply from all areas by the central government and to hinder illicit trade with the Gallic empire, including the not so distant Spanish provinces. See Le Bohec 1989: 485 for *stationarii* from the praetorian and urban cohorts in Africa and Numidia.

28. *CIL* VI 2669 (Rome)

M(arci) Aur(eli) Hermiati / m(ilitis) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) / Apollin(aris). Stipendiorum (annos) X, (vixit) an(nos) XXXI. Contiron(es) / heredes n(umero) XXVIII / bene merenti, / natus patr(ia) M(a)eo/nia

The retention of the *praenomen* with the imperial *gentilicium* Aurelius indicates an earlier third century date. It is probable that Hermias was from the province of Asia, Maeonia being an ancient name for Lydia, part of the province of Asia (cf. *CIL* VI p. 703). The 29 fellow recruits who contributed to the monument were presumably also from Asia and recruited at the same time as Hermias.

29. *CIL* VI 2731 (Rome)

Antonius Taurus, mil(es) / coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Marini, heres / Iuli Potentini fecit / b(ene) m(erenti), vix(it) ann(os) XXX, probat(us) / ann(or)um XX, stupendior(um) X, / coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Aniceti.

The Pannonian *origo* of the deceased and use of *natione* confirms the third century date. Taurus enlisted aged 20 (perhaps just an estimate of his age) and served for 10 years. Cf. *AE* 1946: 148, above, for centurion Marinus of cohort X. The centurion Anicetus is recorded on another tombstone (*CIL* VI 2746).

30. *CIL* VI 2760 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). Val(erius) Victorinus, mil(es) coh(ortis) X / pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Nicomedis. Vix(it) an(nos) / XXXI, mil(itavit) an(nos) XI. Nat(us) / M(o)esia Inferiore domo / (O)escum. Licinia Pupu/la coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Victorinus' *origo* and, to a lesser extent the reference to his wife, indicates a post-193 date. He enlisted aged 20, the peak age for praetorian and legionary recruits.

31. *CIL* VI 2730 (Rome), c. AD 246 (with relief)

D(is) M(anibus). / Antonius Paterio m[il(es)] / coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Artemonis. / Vix(it) an(nos) XXXV, mil(itavit) an(nos) X[I] / nat(ione) Mysia Superiore, / reg(ione) Ratiarese, vico C[i]/nisco. Aurelia Vener[a] / co(n)iux co(n)igi karissimo (h)e/res b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The length of service is broken after the 'X', and might be expanded to XII, but no more; here XI is restored as probable. The date can be placed around AD 246. In that year Firmius Maternianus, a praetorian of the tenth cohort in the century of Artemonis, erected a small aedicula monument to the gods, perhaps for keeping him safe in the Persian war of Gordian III (*CIL* VI 32551; note also VI 32550).

32. *AE* 1991: 171 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Aureli/o Vi[cto]ri e/q(uiti) c[oh(ortis) ---] pr(aetoriae) / qu[i vixit) a(nnos)] XXX / mi[l(itavit) an]n(os) / XI. Iu[liu]s Se/verinus vex(illarius) / et Arruntiu/s Celer b(ene) m(erenti) f(unus) f(ieri) f(ecerunt).

Victor's age is the recurrent 30 with its suspicions of age rounding. However, his length of service indicates enlistment at 19. The *gentilicium* of Aurelius with the accompanying *praenomen* suggests a late second or early third century date.

33. *CIL* VI 2552 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). In hoc sepulcro pos[i]tus est incom/parabilis amicus nomine Ulp(ius) / Tertius, mil(es) coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Ingenu[i], / militavit an(nis) XI, mens(ibus) V, / diebus XVI, vixit an(nis) XXXIII, / mens(ibus) II, natione P(o)etoviensis. / [Aur(elius)] R[e]st[i]tutus spe[c(ulator)] et Iul(ius) / Iulianus commanipuli heredes / sodales incomparabilissimo fecerunt. Ave terti et vale.

The third century date is suggested by the Pannonian *origo*, use of *natione*, the lack of *praenomina* and the *gentilicium* Aurelius. Note how Tertius' length of service is very precise – it is a reflection of military record keeping. Again, despite continuous suspicion about the accuracy of ages, the recording of *stipendia* can be relied upon as accurate. Tertius enlisted aged 21 or 22.

Note also *CIL* VI 2521 for a centurion named Ingenuus in cohort IV. A *vigiles* centurion named Ingenuus is recorded on a dedicatory list of AD 205 (*CIL* VI 1056 = *ILS* 2156). The same man might have become a praetorian centurion in the space of five years.

34. *CIL* VIII 21021 = *ILS* 2038: See p. 26

35. *CIL* X 215 (Grumentum)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aeli Marciani / mil(itis) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) P(iae) V(indicis) / G(ordianae) Maxim(a)e st(i)p(endiorum) / XII huic pecun(ia) / eiusdem Marci/ani Valerius / Valerianus evok(atus) / faciundum / curavit

To be dated to the reign of Gordian III (AD 238-244) by the titles Gordiana Maxima (but not included in Fitz 1983: 150-1).⁸ Marcianus could have served in or around Grumentum in a policing capacity under the command of the *evocatus* Valerianus. See *CIL* X 214 and *CIL* X 216 (below) for third century praetorians at Grumentum, but the regular presence of praetorians is more likely at Puteoli and Salernum.

36. *AE* 1975: 101 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aii) Iuli Severini / militis coh(ortis) VIII / prae[t(oriae) 7 (centuria)] Maximi. / Vixit annis XXX, / militavit annis XII, fecit 7 (centurio) Gaianus / lib(ertus) et heres.

If the age at death is correct, Severinus enlisted aged 18. The final two lines of the inscription are problematical. The centurion symbol, '7', before Gaianus could mean that he was not a freedman but a centurion, with *lib.* being expanded to *libens* and meaning that Gaianus 'made this (the gravestone) freely' But the centurion symbol is not in the correct place. Gaianus may be the same man who commanded a century in cohort II during the reign of Severus Alexander (*CIL* VI 2456; VI 32671 = no. 83). Compare *CIL* VI 2694, below, for a similar attribution.

⁸ It is possible that the 'G' is a centuria symbol and 'Maxime' = Maximi, as the centurion. The titles *pia vindex* alone could suggest an earlier date in the third century.

37. *IGR I, 700* (Bessapara, Thrace), AD 212-222

D(is) M(anibus). / Iu[l(ii)] Iuliani mil(itis) [c]oh(ortis) [III] pr(aetoriae) / Ant(oniniana) p(iae) v(indicis), c(enturia) Felicis, Aur(elius Mu[c/ianu]s fratri / pientissimo.

Αύρ. Μουχιανος πρετωριανος χώ[ρ]της / τρίτης πρετωρίου, χεντ[ο]υρείας / Φήλιχος, 'έστησα στήλην [Ιουλίου] Ιουλια[νοῦ] ἀδελ/φοῦ, τῆς αὐτῆς χεντουρείας πρετωριανοῦ · / 'έζησεν ἔτη τριάχοντα, [έστρα]τεύσατο [δ]υ[ώδεχα?]

The date is indicated by the honorific title *Antoniniana* granted by Caracalla (212-217) and Elagabalus (218-222). The text is corrupt but twelve years service seems the best reading for the length of service. The name of the 'brother' (= comrade not the different *nomina*) Moucianos indicates that he was a Thracian. The find-spot could indicate death en route to, or returning from the Parthian War of Caracalla. Both men served in the same cohort, III, and perhaps the same century, of Felix. He is probably the same centurion of cohort III recorded on *CIL VI 2493* and *2497*. One Felix was centurion of cohort VII in AD 213 (*CIL VI 32538*, 8) which would fit well with the epithet *Antoniniana*, whilst another was present in cohort V, AD 223 (*CIL VI 32542*, 5).

38. *CIL VI 2553* (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / P(ublio) Aelio Maximino, mil(iti) / coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis), ex 7 (centuria) Mo/ni, qui vix(it) ann(os) XXXI, / mensib(us) VIII, militavit / ann(os) XII. Omnibus expe/ditionibus functo. / Aurelius Sextianus com/manipulus et heres eius / contubernali rarissimo / posuit.

The use of *pia vindex* alone may date the stone to the reign of Septimius Severus who introduced the titles. A later third century date is possible, but *omnibus expeditionibus functo* – he took part in all the campaigns would recall the extensive warfare of Severus' reign. Maximinus' age seems reliable, his 12 years service indicating he enlisted aged 19.

39. *CIL VI 2586* (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus?) Purula Diza, m(i)l(es) / coh(ortis) V / pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis), sp(eculator) 7 (centuria) Callistiani q(ui) v(ixit) / a(nnos) XXX, mil(itavit) a(nnos) XII, f(ecit) Aur(elius) Ian/uarius commani(pulus) / [h]eres b(ene) m(erenti).

Diza is yet another praetorian who died aged 30. He might have enlisted at 18. His name indicates Thracian ethnicity, though his provincial background could have been in Thrace, Macedonia or Moesia. An early third century date is suggested by the use of *pia vindex* without imperial *cognomen*. Note also retention of the *praenomen*, a feature more common in the early third century.

40. *CIL* VI 2694 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / Aurelio Bito, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII / pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis), 7 (centuria) Pecuri, stip(endiorum) XII, qui / vix(it) ann(os) XXXII. / H(eredes) Aurelius / Flavius, mil(es) / coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) / et Aur(elius) Mar/cellinus / qui et Diza vet(eranus) / et Aur(elius) Euty/ches qui Alexander / libbb(entes) fece/runt

The *cognomen* Bitus suggests a Thracian origin. At least one of Bitus' heirs, Aurelius Flavius, was still a serving soldier. Aurelius Marcellinus, known as Diza before enlistment, was a veteran. Aurelius Eutyches was presumably another soldier or veteran, his original name Alexander. The use of *pia vindex* alone indicates an early third century date.

41. *CIL* VI 2712 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Iustus Fron/tinus mil(es) coh(ortis) VIII / pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Secundini. Vix(it) an(nos) / XXXIII, mil(itavit) an(nos) XII, nat(ione) / Noricus. Ulpus Maxi/mianus / heres b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Frontinus enlisted aged 22. Passerini places the inscription in his survey of third century praetorians with *origines* (1939: 175), but the Norican origo could be pre-193. A centurion named Secundinus is recorded on a dedication by a legionary transfer to the Guard (date unknown), the cohort number does not survive (*CIL* VI 32578). Another man, Cusonius Secundinus was centurion of the third cohort during the reign of Severus (*CIL* VI 32624, d, 1).

42. *CIL* VI 32668 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Val(erius) Marcellinus / mil(es) coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis), / 7 (centuria) Asclepi, stipendiorum XII, vixit / annis XXXI. / Aur(elius) Aemilianus / commanipulus / et curator corporis / ipsius benemerenti poput [sic].
(Relief of soldier)

The use of *pia vindex* without imperial cognomen is suggestive of the reign of Severus, but used on its own could reflect the middle years of the third century and the quick turnover of emperors. See *AE* 1946: 183 = *Inscr. A.q.* 2825, below, for AD 238. Marcellinus probably enlisted aged 19.

43. *CIL* VI 32692 (Rome), AD 212-222

D(is) M(anibus). / Primi Aeliani / quondam mil[itis] / coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) Anto[n(in)ianae] p(iae) v(indicis), / st(ipendiorum) XII, vix(it) an[nos]...

44. *CIL* VI 37212 (Rome), AD 212-222

[---] quo [mil(iti)] / coh(ortis) V [pr(aetoriae) Anto]/nin(ianae) p(iae) v(indicis), 7 (centuria) [---/---], st(ipendiorum) XII, vix(it) a[nn(os) / ---]. Aurel(ius) M[---]

The title *Antoniniana* indicates the reigns of Caracalla or Elagabalus. The findspots in Rome could suggest a closer date of July 219 to early March 222 when Elagabalus was in Rome.

45. *AE* 1946: 183 = *Inscr. A.q.* 2825 (Aquileia)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Sabinus, / mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) pr(aetoriae) / prim(ae), mil(itavit) ann(os) / XII, cen(turia) Ionysi. / Pos(uit) Amplius / fratri.

The lack of *praenomen* and abbreviation of Aur(elius) suggest the third century date. The inscription could be associated with Maximinus' siege of Aquileia in 238 (Herodian 8.1-6.) Note *CIL* V 8281 = *Inscr. Aq.* 2826, the tombstone of at least three *praetoriani* :

[---]us mil(es) / [coh(ortis) --- pr(aetoriae) pia v]indicis, 7 (centuriae) s(upra) s(criptae) et / [(---u)]s Hercula/[nus mil(es) co]h(ortis) I pr(aetoriae) pia v/[dicis, 7 (centuriae)] Valeriani. / [Posuerunt] titulum / [he]redes.

The number of men on the stone suggests that they were killed in action, making 238 the best explanatory date. On this stone the Guard's only titles are *pia vindex* without an honorary imperial *cognomen*. Presumably it was inscribed after Maximinus' murder and *damnatio memoriae* (Fitz 1983: 141 for *Maximiana*). Several centurions by the name of Valerianus are known,⁹ but the above centurion is perhaps the same Valerianus of cohort I, recorded on a dedication to the gods made during the reign of Gordian III (*CIL* 32550).¹⁰

⁹ A Valerianus was also centurion in the first cohort in AD 265 (*CIL* VI 32565).

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that one of the dedicators, Firmius Maternianus, contributed to another votive offering with a fellow praetorian from Augusta Veromandui in Belgica, a few years later in 246, perhaps on the cohorts' return to Rome following the suspicious death of

46. *CIL* X 216 = *ILS* 2047 (Grumentum)

[---] / *Aur(elius) Asdula, mil(es) / coh(ortis) V pr(a)etori(a)e, / fratri benemerenti) / qui mecu(m) labora(v)it / an(nos) XII et Fruninone / est in Barbarico.*

Clearly of third century by the *gentilicium* Aurelius and the Thracian name Asdula. Asdula's brother or comrade died whilst on campaign in Barbaricum (compare no. 51); unfortunately Fruninona(?) cannot be linked with a specific location. The inscription and its findspot indicates Asdula was based in the Bay of Naples area, perhaps as *stationarius*, whilst his brother (?) was on campaign with the field army. The length of service seems to apply to both men? See also *CIL* X 215, above, for the praetorians at Grumentum under Gordian III. Note also *CIL* X 214.

47. *CIL* V 4371 = *ILS* 2065 (Brixia)

*Iulii / Festi militis coh(ortis) II praetoriae / signiferi [7 (centuria)?] / [--]a[---]vali[---], / militavit an(nos) XII, promotu[s] / VII, cives P(o)e[to]viensi[s]. / Aur(elius) Iusti[nus] / fratri b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).
(in latere) Defunctus / in bello / barbarico.*

Of third century date by the name Aurelius and Pannonian *origo*. Festus died in a war against barbarians. The find spot may suggest the fighting in north Italy during the reigns of Gallienus, Claudius II or Aurelian. Festus was either promoted to *signifer* in the Guard after seven years, or received transfer to the praetorians from another unit after that length of time.

48. *CIL* III 6046 = *IGLS* 180 (Beroea)¹¹

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aio) Iulio Cassio, / eq(uiti) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae), / qui vixit ann(os) / XXXII, milit(avit) ann(os) / XIII. Aur(elius) Aticia/nus 7 (centurio) coh(ortis) [eiusdem] / [he]res fac(tus) cur(avit)

The name Aurelius indicates a third century date; Cassius' retention of his *praenomen* probably suggests the first half of the century, making a connection with the Parthian

Gordian and elevation of Philip in Mesopotamia, and subsequent fighting in Europe against the Carpi and others (*CIL* VI 32551). Thus the first dedication could have been set up before elements of the Guard accompanied Timesitheus (AD 242) for the safe keeping of Maternianus and his comrades, though neither inscription mentions the expedition.

¹¹ The *CIL* text alters the centurion's name to Ati[l]ianus.

and Persian wars of the Severans attractive.¹² Cassius enlisted aged 19. His *gentilicium* might indicate origin in a Caesarian or Julio-Claudian foundation, e.g. Aquileia.

49. *AE* 1964: 121 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) P(iis) S(acrum). / Aur(elio) Ursiano, mil(iti) / coh(ortis) IIII praet(oriae) S (centuria) Primi/ani, obitus ann(or)um XXXV, stip(endiorum) XIII. / Aur(elius) Valerianus / fratri fecit.

Of third century date by the occurrence of Aurelius and the lack of *praenomina*. As Ursianus' age ends in a multiple of five we must suspect it of being rounded to the nearest five. If correct, he enlisted aged 22.

50. *CIL* VI 2494, a (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Iul(io) Nero, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae), / 7 (centuria) Victoris. / Vix(it) an(nos) XXXVI, / mil(itavit) an(nos) XIII, / oriundus in / Pannonia Supe/rior pede / Faustiano. / Aur(elius) Dassius / et Iulius / Valerianus / her(e)d(es) b(ene) m(erenti) / f(e)c(e)r(unt).

The *origo*, lack of *praenomina* and abbreviation of the heirs' *nomina* indicates the third century date. Note the Illyrian name of the first heir, Dassius (cf. Wilkes 1992: 71ff). Nerus enlisted aged 23 and served 13 years before death.

See *CIL* VI 32563, 5, 9, for a centurion named Victor, no cohort number survives. This *laterculus* fragment should date to the early Severan period.

51. *CIL* VI 2637 (Rome), c. AD 227

Aur(elius) Z[e]nobius, mil(es) / coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Quarti, / stipendiorum XIII, heredes bene / merenti posuerunt.

¹² A third century praetorian who died at Antioch might be connected with Macrinus' battle with Elagabalus in the territory of the city in 218 (Dio 78.37.3 ff.). *CIL* III 5606 (Ovilava), lines 7-9: ... *L(ucio) Sap[lio] / Honorato, mil(iti) praetor(iano), f(ilio) o(bito) an(norum) XXI, die[---] / Antiochia Syria* ...

The inscription reads *ZHNOBIVS*, indicating eastern (Syrian?) origin or descent. The centurion Quartus, cohort VII, appears on a dedication dated AD 227 (*CIL* VI 32543, 24 = *ILS* 2094).

52. *CIL* VI 2640 (Rome), AD 212-22

D(is) M(anibus). / Tib(eri) Cl(audi) Candidi, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae) / Ant(oniniana) [p(iae)] v(indicis), st(ipendiorum) XIII. / Rust(ius) Potens / h(eres) f(ecit) c(uravit).

The date is supplied by the title *Antoniniana*. There is no reference to a centurion or *origo* perhaps on the grounds of space.

53. *CIL* VI 2735 (Rome)

Dis) M(anibus). / Aur(elio) Mucco, mil(iti) coh(ortis) / X pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Claudi. Vix(it) an(nos) / XL, mil(itavit) an(nos) XIII, natus / [Panno]nia Infer[iore].

Muccus' imperial *gentilicium*, lack of *praenomen* and *origo* all indicate the third century date. The text is broken and only '...NIA INFER...' survives. This could be restored as Germania or Pannonia Inferior. The latter is much more likely when the high number of Pannonians in the third century Guard is taken into consideration (Passerini 1939: 169-170). Muccus' age at death may be rounded, but it still suggests that he was an older recruit, perhaps aged 27 when he enlisted.

54. *CIL* VI 2742 (Rome)

(RELIEF) *D(is) M(anibus). / Diogenes Gaius, mil(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) / Uranide. Vix(it) an(nos) XL, mil(itavit) an(nos) XIII, nat(ione) / T(h)rax civitate Serd[i]ca. Aur(elius) Erodes, / mil(es) coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) Dubitati, frater / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

Gaius also appears to have enlisted aged 27. Note how his brother served in a different cohort, and has an imperial *gentilicium*.

55. Speidel & Scardigli 1990: 201, no. 1 = *AE* 1990: 752

D(is) M(anibus). / [---]teius Vitalis mil(es) coh(ortis) VII / pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Verini prioris, vix(it) an(nos) XL/III mil(itavit) an(nos) XIII, nat(ione) Suebus Ne/cresis. Lectus a legione / prima Minerve. Menosonia / cara coiux et Vincentius fili/us h(e)r(e)d(e)s b(ene) m(erenti f(aciendum) c(u)r(averunt).

Vitalis' service is stated as 13 years. If this includes his service in both the Guard and legio I Minervia he enlisted aged 30. Most legionary recruits were aged 17-23 but as we have seen, recruits in their thirties were not uncommon (see chp. 1, sect. 2.a). If the Caracallan portrait indicates death during the reign of that emperor (211-217), then Vitalis enlisted in the army no later than 204.¹³ Vitalis served in the century of Verinus. A centurion named Verinus is recorded on a praetorian *laterculus*, perhaps of Severan date (*CIL* VI 32627, 29).¹⁴ On the same list appears another centurion named Agricola, (line 17) who may be the same man recorded as centurion of *cohors III praetoria pia vindex* on another discharge list (*CIL* VI 32536, c, II, 30). The use of *pia vindex* without an imperial cognomen on this list suggests the reign of Septimius Severus, which is made more probable by the presence of L. Septimii¹⁵ and P. Helvii,¹⁶ but lack of M. Aurelii.¹⁷ On the *laterculus* mentioning both Verinus and Agricola one third of the soldiers listed were M. Aurelii indicating a slightly later date (i.e. soldiers recruited after 195/6 and bearing the *gentilicium* of Caracalla), and making it probable that Vitalis' centurion and the Verinus recorded on either stone was the same man.

A notable feature of the inscription is the style of reference to the centurion. It states not only the Verinus' name but perhaps also the century's particular designation, here *prior* (Speidel & Scardigli 1990: 154; cf. Benefiel 2001: 230, n. 40). In chapter 2, sect. 1, we saw how praetorian centuries were twice the usual size; this inscription could to suggest that, because of its size, a double-sized century had *prior* and *posterior* halves. Praetorian centurions with the designation *pr(ioris)* are evident on

¹³ However, it is possible that the relief dates to the reigns of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander; the Caracallan model still influenced portraiture during the reign of Maximius (AD 235-238; Wood 1986: 27-48).

¹⁴ Benefiel, 2001: 231, highlights a *centurion* of *cohors II praetoria* named Aurelius Veranus (*CIL* VI 2695)

¹⁵ C, I, 21, 26, 39, 40, 42; II, 4, 9, 35; d, I, 26, 34, 46, 49; II 42.

¹⁶ C, I, 33; II, 21, 22; d, I, 8.

¹⁷ C, I, 4, 28, 37, 43; II 30; d, I, 12, 38.

third century *laterculi* (CIL VI 32543, 12, *Iuliani pr.*(AD 227);¹⁸ CIL VI 32643, 5, *Primi pr.*). This would recall the century and cohort formula of units such as legio II Parthica that perhaps had its origin in distinguishing the tactical role of vexillations in field armies (e.g. Speidel 1983: 49-50; 1990: 137). However, *prior* might also have been used to distinguish between centurions with the same name (cf. Speidel 1991: 107-110, on *prior* and *sequens* to distinguish between soldiers with the same names on dedicatory lists of legio III Augusta). Finally, *Prior* might also have been a second *cognomen*.

Unfortunately the provenance of the gravestone is not certain, but its current location at Fiesole might suggest that Vitalis died whilst serving as a *stationarius* in the general vicinity. However, it is more probable that the stone was removed from Rome for an antiquarian collection.

56. CIL VI 32680 = Speidel 1994, no. 750 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Dasius, / mil(es) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis) / 7 (centuria) Catullini, nat(ione) / Pann(onius), colon(ia) Siscia. / Vix(it) ann(os) XXXII, mil(itavit) / ann(os) XIII. M(arcus) Aur(elius) / Candidus, eq(ues) sing(ularis) / d(omini) n(ostri), fratri b(ene) m(erenti) / f(ecit).

The imperial *gentilicium* does not agree with origin in the city of Siscia. The use of *natione* before the colony, and the specific use of ‘colonia’ may indicate this is a false, or approximate *origo* (cf. Feldmann 1980). Note the use of *pia vindex* without imperial *cognomen*. Dasius’ brother (note the matching *nomen*) served in the *equites singulares Augusti*, here designated *eq. sing. d. n.* indicating a single emperor, perhaps Severus. Both brothers retain their *praenomina*, more common in the early third century.

57. Panciera (ed.) 1987, I, no. 15 (p. 56) = AE 1990: 62 (Rome)

D(is) [M(anibus)]. / Mar(co) Aur(elio) Vitalia[no], mil(iti) coh(ortis)] / VIII pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Andronic[i. Vix(it) ann(os) ---], mil(itavit) ann(os) XIII, natu[s ---]. / Aur(elius) Primanus, v[et(eranus) ---] / fratri et Iul(ia) At[---] coniux b(ene) m(erenti) f[(ecerunt).

See p. 116 for the date.

¹⁸ See also the accompanying commentary, CIL VI, p. 3345.

58. *CIL* VI 210 = *ILS* 2103 (Rome, AD 208): See p.19. Domitius Valerinus, transferred from legio VI Ferrata, c. 194. Note also another legionary transferred from VI Ferrata to the Guard (*CIL* X 532). This man was buried at Salernum where perhaps he was a *stationarius*.¹⁹ Both men served in the tenth cohort, and were probably transferred to the Guard in the same period. A praetorian from Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) and another from nearby Gadara, were discharged in 209. The date and *origines* make it likely they were also transfers from legio VI Ferrata made in 194, or during the Parthian campaigns (*CIL* VI 32533, b, II, 5; 6, their names are lost). They could have served up to fifteen years in the Guard.

59. *CIL* VI 2482 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Ael(io) Emerito, ev(o)[k(ato)] oriund(o) ex provincia No/rica [sic], qui vixit an(nis) XLI, m(ensibus) V, d(iebus) XXVIII, / mil(itavit) an(nis) XIII in 7 (centuria) (cohortis) III pr(aetoriae), it(em) ev(o)[k(atus)] s(alararius) / m(ensibus) III. Pomp(onia) Marcia con(iunx quae vixit) cum / eo an(nos) XIII et Ael(ia) Saturnina / soror h(e)r(e)d(es) b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

It is difficult to determine if Emeritus actually was an *evocatus* from the abbreviated term used 'EVR' and 'EVR. S'. Possibly the R was actually a form of K, i.e. *ev(o)k(atus)*. The second abbreviation probably reads *evokatus salararius* rather than *evokatus signifer* as restored by the Corpus. Emeritus seems to have remained *evocatus* in the same century he served in as a normal *praetorianus*. He appears to have served as *evocatus* for only three months, probably meaning he died during service, making for a late enlistment aged about 27. From this we might suspect he had been transferred from another unit to the Guard. My restoration differs in two ways from that of the Corpus. Firstly, the *centuria* symbol, 7, in line four, is exactly that, it is not a cohort symbol. The text is a little muddled, the engraver, not having a note of the man's centurion, altered the usual formula to read, 'in a century of the third praetorian (cohort).' Secondly the Corpus restores (line four), EVR. S, as *evockatus signifer (vel centuria)*. This is much too unwieldy and it seems to me, that it would be unintelligible to a fellow soldier. Surely it is best understood as *evocatus salarius*, differentiating between the ordinary praetorian service and that of

¹⁹ For the third century praetorian presence in and/or around Salernum see *CIL* X 534 (AD 222-235, possibly an Italian praetorian?); X 533 (Norican *origo*, uncertain date); X 538, (*evocatus*, prob 3rd cent.).

evocatio.²⁰ It seems that Emeritus married his wife at the very start of his military service.

60. *CIL* VI 2525 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arco) Aur(elio) M(arci) f(ilio) / Ael(ia tribu) Gall(o), / Vi[m]inacio, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) IV pr(aetoriae), / vix(it) ann(os) XLV, / mil(itavit) ann(os) XIII. / Aurelia Nice / marito suo / b(ene) m(erenti) posuit.

The mention of Gallus' wife places the inscription after 197. Gallus' inscription uses filiation and pseudo-tribe (appropriately Aelia), more applicable to the early third century. Another late recruit, Gallus appears to have enlisted aged 31.

61. *CIL* VI 37218 (Rome)

C(aii) Iuli Veri mil(iti) / coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis) 7 (centuria) / Quieti, oriundi / ex civitate Cele/iae, qui milita(vit) an(nis) / XIII, mensibu[s] --]. / C. Reginius P[---/---]s comm[anipul.?]...

Verus' age at death is unknown, but the description of his heir as *commanipularis*(?) suggests he died during service. The retention of the *praenomen* and use of *pia vindex* without imperial cognomen could indicate an early third century date, possibly the reign of Severus. Again, note how the length of service is quite precise with indication of months, as well as years, served.

62. *CIL* X 1755 = *ILS* 2043 (Puteoli)

(Relief of Abitus). *D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Abitus, mil(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) / 7 (centuria) Verani. Vix(it) an(nos) XL, mil(itavit) / an(nos) XIII, nat(ione) Bessus, natus / reg(ione) Serdica vi/co Magari. Aur(elius) Vict/or atfinis et Aur(elius) Ma/ximus ei Aur(elius) Zobin/us et Aur(elius) Zantiala / et Aur(elius) Gaianus / hered(es) b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(u)r(averunt).*²¹

Clearly of third century date by the abundance of Aurelii and Thracian *origo*. Abitus' age at death may be rounded, but his 14 years service would suggest he enlisted aged 26. His very precise indication of *origo* highlights the problems that belie the *origines* stated on the *laterculi*: most are probably approximately correct within wide margins.

²⁰ Compare *CIL* VI 2440: *militavit in caliga ann(os) XVI, / evocatus fuit ann(os) III.*

²¹ Alternatively, *f(e)c(e)r(unt).*

The location of the stone at Puteoli suggests that Abitus and his heirs served in the area as *stationarii*. A mid to later third century date is possible by the style accompanying funerary relief (see chp. 4, sect. a, praetorian pila).

The heir Aurelius Gaianus might be identified with one of the following. A praetorian of that name is known from a *laterculus* fragment, probably of Severan date (*CIL* VI 32563, 1, 12). A centurion called Gaianus appears on two gravestones of *milites* of cohort II, clearly dated by the epithet *Severiana* to 222-235 (*CIL* VI 2456, 32671). Another centurion Gaianus is seen on another two third century tombstones in Rome, their exact dates are unclear (*CIL* VI 2736, cohort X; *AE* 1975: 101, no cohort indicated).

63. *CIL* VI 37213 = 2294 = *ILS* 2044 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / Aur(elio) Vero mil(iti) c(o)ho(rtis) / VI pr(a)et(oriae) 7 (centuria) Blicisi, stup(endiorum) XIII, nat(ione) / Pannon(ius), pede Sirmese, pago Ma/rtio, vico Budalia, q(ui) vixit an(nis) / XL, m(ensibus) III, d(iebus) XV, mil(i)t(avit) in l(egione) I Adiutrice stip(endiorum) III. Aur(elius) Marcellus / et Aur(elius) Iustinus, Aur(elius) Florinus, Val(erius) / Avitianus et omnes comanipuli sui / de re ipsius b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) ex XL milibus.

Verus' age should be accepted as 39 (i.e. his 40th year) or 40 because of the exactness of the months and days. He thus enlisted in I Adiutrix aged 22 or 23. His stone goes to greater lengths than that of Abitus to make clear his precise *origo*. Such countrymen presumably felt the need to assert their local identity away from the city in which their *pagi* and *vici* lay. Still, these stones suggest that the origins on the *laterculi*, nearly all great *coloniae* and *municipia*, are at least approximately correct: useful indicators of a soldier's home but not of his social class.

65. *CIL* VI 2673: See p. 24.

66. *CIL* VI 2437 = *ILS* 2037 (Rome): See p. 20

67. *CIL* VI 2601 = *ILS* 2055 (Rome): See p. 27

68. *CIL* VI 2524 (Rome)

(relief) *D(is) M(anibus). / L(uci) Aureli Cordi, mil(iti) / coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Vibi. / Militavit an(nos) XV, m(enses) X, / d(ies) XII, vixit an(nos) XXXVIII, m(enses) / VIII. Fecerunt heredes / Q. Naevius Verus, 7 (centurio) coh(ortis) / II Vig(illum) et Q. Arcosinius / Super, vet(erano) amico / b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)cerunt). / Sibi et liber(tis) liberta(bus) possu(erunt?) [sic].*

Lucius Aurelius was the name borne by Commodus as Caesar, so the text could be pre-193 (cf. *ILS* 389, 390). There is no mention of a wife as would be expected on a Severan text. Cordus' rather precise length of service may have been derived from the information on his military record. The *vigiles* centurion Q. Naevius Verus could be the son of an *urbanicianus*. One Salvius Naevius Verus, from Fanum Fortunae, was discharged from the twelfth urban cohort in AD 168, with the rank of *beneficiarius tribuni* (*CIL* VI 32521, a, II, 4).

68. *CIL* VI 2544 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Pletorio Primo, fisci / curator coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) / Silvani, oriundus ex pr[o]vincia Panno(nia) Inferiore, / natus Castello Vixillo, qui/ vixit annis XXXV, m(ensibus) IIII, / militavit an(nis) XV, m(ensibus) VII. Veturia/ Digna marito b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Primus' length of service is quite precise; when subtracted from his age it suggests he joined the Guard aged about nineteen. The *origo* is interesting, 'Fort of the Vexillation' and could indicate that he was the son of a legionary. Probably dating to the first half of the third century.

69. *CIL* VI 2566 (Rome), c. AD 239: See p. 42.

70. *CIL* VI 2570 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Vitus, tub(icen) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Taeo/dori. Vix(it) an(nos) XXXVIII, militavit an(nos) XV, / natione Trax, domu Sergica. Asclepias / Elpiodote co(n)iux) / et Aur(elius) Lucius frater / et con natus fuerit / de co(n)iug(e) mea (h)ered(es) / b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)c(e)r(unt).

Vitus' (=Bitus/Bito?) 15 years of service suggest he enlisted aged 23. The centurion Theodorus is also recorded on *AE* 1980: 141, above.

71. *CIL* III 7072 (Asia)

... [co]h(ortis) VIII praet(oriae), mil(i)tavit op(tio) an(nos) XV, vi[xit] ...

Connection with the Parthian and Persian campaigns from the close of the second century onwards is possible.

72. *CIL* VI 32690 = 3894 (Rome)

[D(is)] M(anibus). / Aur(eli) Pii mil(itis) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Vitalis, qui vix(it) ann(os) XXXVI, mil(itavit) / ann(os) XV. Aur(elius) Pompeianus frater, mil(es) leg(ionis) II Parth(icae) et / Val(erius) Valens consobrinus, mil(es) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) et Mamia / Primilla coniux heredes.

Pius enlisted aged 21. His brother served in Legio II Parthica (probably a real brother), whilst another family member (*consobrinus*) served in the same cohort as Pius. Clearly of third century date by the mention of legio II Parthica. For more specific dating, centurions named Vitalis are known from dedications made in AD 223 (*CIL* VI 32524, 8: cohort V), and 239 (*CIL* VI 32546: cohort I). However, the name was common.²²

73. *CIL* VIII 25438 = *ILS* 9072 = *ILTun.* 1198 (reg. of Utica)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / Tufienius Speratus, / mil(es) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) stationa/rius ripae Uticensis. / Vix(it) ann(os) XXXV, militavit / annis XV. (a sin.) o. t. b. q. (a dextra) t. t. l. s.

Speratus died whilst *stationarius ripae Uticensis*. The stone was found about forty kilometers from Utica, direction unknown. A praetorian detachment could have been stationed near Utica when Severus pushed forward the African *limes* in 202-3 (the stone was found 40 km from Utica). But Speratus had served for fifteen years at time of death; no legionary service is indicated. If he died in 202-3 this would mean enlistment to the Guard c. 188 but the cohorts were disbanded in 193.

²² Also note Vitalis, cohort I (*CIL* VI 32663); Bitalis, cohort VIII (*CIL* VI 32571).

74. *CIL* VI 2461 (Rome), c. AD 244-249

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Mucianus, / vixit annis XXXV, / nat(ione) Thrax, milit(avit) / ann(os) XV in coh(orte) II pr(aetoria) / aet(erna), 7 (centuria) Venatoris. / Duplarius Iuli/anus heres fe/cit bene merenti.

The inscription gives the Guard the exceptionally rare honorary title *aeterna*. It is only known from another praetorian inscription, a dedication to Silvanus made sometime in the reign of Philip (*CIL* VI 32555 – probably pre-248 as the younger Philip is still called Caesar), thus suggesting a similar date. Otherwise, the title was unique to legio II Parthica, a reward for its defection to Elagabalus in 218, and was used by the unit at least until the middle of the century (e.g. *ILS* 505). Durry suggested that the inscription was of late third century date (1939: 73, n.4). However, Mucianus retains his praenomen, more characteristic of the earlier third century, though not conclusive for dating purposes. His centurion, Venator, carries a very rare *cognomen*. It is notable that a centurion of that name is known in the *vigiles* in AD 212 (*CIL* VI 1063 = *ILS* 2178, cohort VI). It seems that those progressing through the Rome centurionates would spend around three years in each command, *vigiles*, urban cohorts, praetorians, thus the same Venator could have achieved a Guard centurionate during Elagabalus' reign, and perhaps the title was mistakenly applied to the Guard. However, a M. Lollius Venator, perhaps the same man, is found as centurion of legio II Augusta, commanding a vexillation of legio VI Victrix and the *excercitus Germaniae* in northern Britain probably around AD 217 (cf. E. Birley 1988: 251ff).

75. *CIL* VI 2446 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Septimi[o] Iusto, / dupliciari [sic] / mil(iti) coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis), / qui vixit an(nos) X[L], / milit(avit) ann(os) XVI. / B(ene) m(erenti) / Aurelius Das/ius fra/ter et / commanip(ularis) / f(ecit) c(uravit).

Iustus' *origo* was somewhere in Illyricum, possibly Pannonia; his 'brother' bears the Illyrian name Dasius (probably a comrade rather than a real brother, note the different *nomen*). By the combination of Iustus' relatively rare imperial *gentilicium* of Septimius, the titles *pia vindex*, and length of may suggest a date at the end of the reign of Severus or early in the sole reign of Caracalla (if he was recruited c.193-5). Iustus' age at death appears to be the recurrent 40; if correct he enlisted at 24.

76. *AE* 1983: 48 (uncertain, probably Rome),

Aelius Florus mil(es) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae), 7 (centuria) / Vitalis, op(tio) kark(eris), / natione Pann(onius), vi(xit) ann(os) XXXV, mil(itavit) / ann(os) XVI. Aur(elius) Aulu(zanus), heres, b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

One Vitalis is attested as centurion of cohort V in AD 223 (*CIL* VI 32542, 8), so Florus' death could have occurred sometime in the reign of Severus Alexander. The stone was probably discovered in Rome but the exact spot is unknown. He is one of few *optiones carceris* known. The inscription is further evidence for the *Castra Praetoria* having its own prison. The rank of *optio carceris*, prison warder, seems to have been a low rank. According to the career of Luccius Sabinus, who served in *cohors I urbana* during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, the post ranked below *singularis* and *beneficiarius tribuni* - posts of lesser rank than *tesserarius*, *optio* or *signifer* of the century (*IX* 1617 = *ILS* 2117; cf. Breeze 1974: 257f; 1976: 127ff). As such the *optio carceris* was probably one of a number of jailers, with some administrative tasks, under the command of a more senior officer. See also *AE* 1884: 33; 1914: 253; *ILS* 9069 = Speidel 1994, no. 746 (note that the jailer's father was an *eques singularis*, 2nd- 3rd cent.) Several *optiones carceris* of the urban cohorts are known: *ILS* 2117, 2126, 3739. Presumably the jail was same building as held unruly urban soldiers, and unfortunate civilians.

77. *CIL* VI 32671 (Rome), AD 222-235

D(is) M(anibus). / L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) f(ilius) Flavia (tribu) Sabinus Novi(o)d(unum). Vixit ann(os) X[L], / militavit ann(os) XVI in coh(orte) II pr(aetoria) Sev(eriana) p(ia) v(indici), 7 (centuria) Gaiani. / L(ucius) Valerius Victorinus mil(es) coh(ortis) s(upra) s(cripti) 7 (centuria) eadem / frater piissimus et heres b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The title *Severiana* supplies the date of 222-235. The centurion Gaianus is known from the gravestone of another *miles* of cohort II, Aurelius Dubitatus, also dating to the reign of Severus Alexander (*CIL* VI 2456). Sabinus also died aged 40. Recruitment at 24 can only be considered very approximate.

78. *CIL* VI 32650 (Rome): See p.31, n. 55.

79. *CIL* X 1424 (Aequum Tuticum)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / M(arci) Aureli Muciani, / militis cohor(tis) praeto/ries 7 (centuria) Aquile(s?), stupen/d(i)orum XVI, (vixit) anno(s) XXXX, / nationem Trhacem [sic]. / Frater Aurelius Silv[a]/nus evok(atus), Claudius Lib(ens) evok(atus) faciendum / curavit.

Mucianus also died aged 40. The location of the stone might indicate the presence of a praetorian *statio* but Mucianus could have died on the march (compare *AE* 1993: 1572). Alternately, the location could have been the home/posting of his probable brother, the *evokatus* Silvanus.

80. *CIL* VI 2658 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / C(aius) Val(erius) Iulianus, / evokatus Aug(usti), vix(it) / ann(is) XXXVI, m(ensibus) X, d(iebus) XVII, / militavit ann(is) XVII, / m(ensibus) VIII, d(iebus) XXIII, ex iuss(o) / test(amenti) lib(ertus) et heres C(aius) / Val(erius) Alexander pat/rono b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit), proc(urante) L(ucio) Sept(imio) / Maximo, campi / doc(tore) coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae), secun/dus heres b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Iulianus' precise length of service probably includes his time as *evocatus*. An early third century date is suggested by the name and rank of his second heir, L. Septimius Maximus, *campidoctor* of cohort VII. *Campidoctores* appear in the Guard in the early third century (Durry 1938: 118), but may have been present earlier as an inscription of the *equites singulares Augusti* suggests (*CIL* VI 31150 = Speidel 1994: no. 14 (AD 142)).

81. *CIL* VI 2676 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Claud(io) Caro, / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII / pr(aetoriae), stip(endiorum) XVII, / vixit annis / XXXVII. / Heredes et contirones / bene merent(i) / fecerunt.

A general third century date is suggested by the lack of *praenomen*, and shortening of the *nomen*. Note the use of *contirones*, fellow-recruits, to describe the men who contributed to the erection of the gravestone and indicates the close bonds maintained by groups of soldiers recruited together. Carus appears to have enlisted aged 20.

82. *CIL* VI 2696 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Domitianu/s, mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) VIII pr(ae)t(oriae) 7 (centuria) Fe(s)/ti. Vix(it) an(nos) XXXX, mil(itavit) an(nos) / XVII, nat(ione) Dacus. Maxi/mus Marianus / et Iulia Sisi dole(n)s / b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)cerunt).

The *nomen* Aurelius and Dacian *origo* indicate the post-193 date. Again he apparently died aged 40. He might have enlisted aged 23.

83. *CIL* VI 32662, b (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elio) Iuliano [mil(iti)] / c(o)ho(rtis) I pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Aur[eli] / Paterni, def(uncto) sti(pendiorum) XVII, sanc[t]i(ssimo) / Aur(elia) V[ic]/tori(na) con(iugi) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The use of *defuncto* is rare and suggests that Iulianus died on active service with his gravestone was set up later at Rome (compare *AE* 1993: 1572). The date may be early third century as both the *nomen* and *cognomen* of the centurion are given (cf. *CIL* VI 32523 & 37184 (AD 204); VI 32533 (AD 209); VI 32624, VI 32636, VI 32640 (all probably AD 211 or before). A centurion of cohort I seen on a laterculus dating before AD 205 might be restored as *[Pater]ni* (*CIL* VI 32625, a, I, 2). It is unfortunate that Iulianus' age at death is not stated.

84. *CIL* VI 32714 (Rome), AD 222-35

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / [---]i f(ilius) Ulp(ia tribu) / [---, S]erdic(a), / [---] mil(iti) [coh(ortis) .. pr]aet(oriae) / p(iae) v(ndicis) Se[veria]nae / 7 (centuria) Ulpi[---] [---]ini, / mili[tavit ann(os)] XVII, / vix(it) a[nnis]], mens(ibus) / VI, dieb(us) [---]ruilli/o et Se[---] [---]t(o) fratri / b(ene) me[er]nti pos]uer(unt).

The date is clearly AD 222-235 by the title Severiana. Note the use of filiation and pseudo-tribe, probably indicating a true *origo* within Serdica or its immediate territory.

85. *CIL* IX 1609, after AD 240: See p. 35.

86. *CIL* VI 2457 = Speidel 1994, no. 748: See p.39.

87. *CIL* VI 2579, AD 218-222: See p. 36.

88. *CIL* VI 2699 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elio) Victori, mi[l(iti)] / armatur(ae) coh(ortis) / VIII pr(aetoriae), natione / Bes(s)us, [q(ui)] vixi(t) an(nos) / XXXV, milita(vit) an(nos) XVIII. (The remainder of lines six and seven are not easily understood.²³)

Armaturae were perhaps specialist fighting troops or a kind of weapons training instructors. Vegetius calls advanced weapons training *armatura* (*Epit.* 1.13; Watson 1969: 57). They had their own training officer/commander, *exercitator armaturae*, and *schola* (*CIL* VI 31122; see Durry 1938: 116f). Victor might have been anticipating discharge when he completed his eighteenth *stipendium* (see chp. 1). The date is third century by his *gentilicium* and Thracian origin (and rank).

89. *CIL* VI 3411 (Rome)

Albius Mode/ratus evok(atus), / nat(ione) Pannonius, / qui vixit ann(os) / XL, s(alararius) stup(endiorum) XVIII./ Flavia Ursa / soror fratri / bene mer(enti) fecit.

His non-imperial *gentilicium* is notable in an age dominated by Aurelii, and one might have expected a more specific, town-based *origo* (indicating the third century date). Cf. Feldmann 1980. Note the mention of his 'sister' but she has the *nomen* Flavia.

90. *CIL* X 538 (Salernum)

Valerius Rufinus, / evocatus co(ho)rtis / terti(a)e pr(a)etori(a)e, / militavit annos XX.

The location of the stone could suggest that Rufinus was commanding a work party or a group of praetorian *stationarii* on policing duties (cf. chp. 1, sect. 1a). Probably of third century date by the lack of *praenomen*. Compare no. 50.

91. *CIL* VI 3419 (Rome)

D(is) (relief) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Iulianus, evok(atus) ex b(e)n(e)f(iciario), / salarior(um?) VIII c(o)ho(rtis) III (praetoriae). Vix(it) / ann(os) XXXXVIII, mil(itavit) XXVIII, / nat(us) Dacia. Iulia Ursa / patri b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Iulianus became *evocatus* after having served as *beneficiarius*. His 29 years as a soldier is presumed to include the nine years as *evocatus*. He probably died during

²³ *RNONOSIRM/ARITVET. KABEN M. KA.*

service having been recruited aged about 19. One Iulianus from Sarmizegethusa, possibly of the third cohort, is seen on a discharge list dating to the reign of Severus, but the man's *nomen*, or his rank, does not survive (*CIL* VI 32624, a 12).

92. *CIL* VI 32660 = 2772 (Rome): See p.28.

93. *CIL* VI 32694 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / P(ublio) Aelio Cris(po), / mil(iti) coh(ortis) / VII 7 (centuria) Attici, is/tipen(diorum) [sic] XXI, v(ixit) an(nos) XL, / mem(oria) ex here(dio) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Sallu(s) / her(es) cont(ernalis) ben(e) / mer(enti) posuit.

Crispus' length of service is notable. It is a clear indication that soldiers could not expect certain honourable discharge after 18 years in the third century. The retention of *praenomina* suggests a date in the first quarter or second quarter of the third century.

94. *CIL* III 446 = *ILS* 2140 (Tralles, nr. Smyrna)

C(aius) Reius C(ai) f(ilius) Aniensis (tribu) / Priscus, domo Cartagin(ensi), / evocatus Aug(usti) ex praetor(io). / Vixit annos XXXXV, milita/vit annos XXII.

Priscus died as *evocatus*, not as a veteran who had settled at Smyrna. It is possible that he was involved in the reconstruction of the city following the devastating earthquakes of 178 and 180, perhaps commanding a work party or in a specialist technical role (e.g. *ensor evocatus*, see Durry 1939: 223, 225; *CIL* VI 3445, 32882). See Birley 1988: 328, for the activities of *evocati* on duty in the East. A praetorian detachment was stationed at Ephesus sometime in the later second or more probably third century (see chp. 5, sect. 2), to which Priscus might be connected. Priscus' tombstone states filiation and official voting tribe, features still occasionally evident in the third century, but mainly on discharge lists. Passerini lists Priscus among third century praetorians with *origines* (1939: 179).

95. *CIL* XIII 6823 (Mogontiacum)

D(is) M(anibus) / et bon(a)e memoriae. / Quid stas est (five lines missing) / ... [---] (1Off) situs / mil(itavit) ann(os) XXIII, probi/tus hic in leg(ione) VII C[l(audia)], / lectus in praetor[io], / factus eq(ues) promot[us] 7 (centurio)] / ex b(ene)f(iciario) praefectorum, / natus provincia M[oe]/sia superiore re[gio]/ne

Scupi[ni] a. Da[r]dan[ia] / me genuit , tenuit [Germa]/nia colonum. C(aius) O....²⁴ / Sergia (tribu) Valens primus [he]/res et consobrinus / [f(ecit) c(uravit)].

Our soldier began his service in legio VII Claudia, then was selected for service in the Guard (note the use of *lectus* not *translatus*, cf. *CIL* XIII 6824). After some duty as *miles*, he was promoted to *eques*, then made the leap to *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* without holding any of the usual intervening posts in the century (cf. Breeze 1974: 246ff). That he was promoted directly to the rank of legionary centurion from this post, without time as *evocatus*, suggests a soldier of great talent. His service length probably indicates he served as *beneficiarius* for a considerable period. Transfer from a legion and the *origo* suggest an earlier third century date. For praetorians with the same *origo* see *CIL* VI 32559 (*milites ex Dardania*; AD 249-251); VI 32605 (*milites ex Dardania ex vico Perdica, et ex vico Titis*).

96. *CIL* VI 2697 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Eliaseir coh(ortis) / camppidactor coh(orte) / VIII praet(oria) 7 (centuria) Mar/ci, natio(ne) Pan(nonius), qui / vix(it) an(nis) LX e(t) mili/tavit in legione / ann(is) X et in praet(orio) / ann(is) XXV.

The *campidoctor* was a higher rank of training officer than the *doctor* (cf. *CIL* VI 533 = *ILS* 2088). *Campidoctores* were *evocati* and their promotion to the rank was indicated on the *laterculi* as *CAMD*, rather than *EVO(K)* (*CIL* VI 32536, d, I, 27). Eliaseir died during service, and being aged sixty would not be at all extraordinary. He enlisted aged 25, rather late for a legionary recruit. For dating centurions named Marcus are recorded on *laterculi* of probable Severan date: *CIL* VI 32623, II, 7, cohort unknown; *CIL* VI 32640, 45, Aurelius Marcus, centurion, cohort VI.²⁵

²⁴ Mommsen proposed the following reconstruction for lines 17-20: *re[gio]ne Scupi n[at(ione)] Da[r]dan[us; rus] me genuit, tenuit G[erma]nia, colonum co[ndit]*.

²⁵ He may be the same Aurelius Marcus made *evocatus* before AD 205 (*CIL* VI 32625, a, I, 10).

97. *CIL* VI 2534 = ILS 2050 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). C(aius) Cornel(ius) Memor, / d(omo) Celeia, q(uondam) mil(es) / coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae) 7 (centuria) Patroili, mil(itavit) ann(os) XXVIII ite/ratus, vixit ann(os) LXXX. / Auur. [sic] Ingenuilis, opt(io) / et heres eius b(ene) m(erenti) / posuit.

Passerini dates the stone to the third century (1939: 174); note the *nomen* of the heir, Aurelius. Memor apparently died aged 80 whilst still in service as an ordinary *miles*!²⁶ His age is certainly suspect but the length of service is acceptable for the crisis period of the third century (cf. chp. 1, sect. 3 a).

98. *CIL* VI 3421 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). / [Au]relia Nicalao evok(ato), qui / [vix]it annis LVII, m(ensibus) IIII, dieb(us) XV, / [mili]tav(i)t annis XXXXIII. Aurelia / [---]ne

The service length of 43 years is notable and indicates that he enlisted at a very young 14. Perhaps by his age, the stone dates to the mid-third century.

99. *CIL* VI 3424 (Rome)

D(is) M(anibus). / Septimia Septimiana, / Faustio Statiano evok(ato), / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti), qui vix(it) / ann(os) LXXVII, / militavit ann(os) LI.

The third century date is indicated by the *nomen* Septimia derived from the emperor Septimius Severus. Statianus shows how *evokati* could continue soldiering well into old age. Compare E. Birley 1988: 219-20 for long service centurions.

A Statianus is recorded on a *laterculus* dating to the reign of Severus (*CIL* VI 32624, c, 34). The list is broken, any rank is lost and only the *cognomen* survives, but this Statianus served in the century of Ulpian Viator, probably in *cohors III*. Another centurion on the list (a 13), is almost certainly the same Didius Saturninus recorded on a *laterculus* dating to AD 204 (*CIL* VI 32523, a 18). The *laterculus* recording Statianus gives the Guard the titles *pia vindex* without an imperial *cognomen* (d 22), probably indicating a date before the sole reign of Caracalla when *Antoniniana* became an honorary title for all units.

²⁶ Note Iulius Secundinus who served as an *evocatus* for 27 years and died aged 85; his service as *miles* is not recorded (*CIL* VI 2578).

Summary of texts

No.	Name & Rank	Ref. /Location	Length of Service (total)	Age at death (enlistment)	Died in Service?	Origo	Date
1	Aur. Saturninus, eques	CIL VI 2672 = ILS 2054 (Rome)	Guard: 1? Leg. II Italica: 6 (tesserarius) (7)	28 (21)	yes	Noricum	Early 3 rd cent.
2	Val. Sarmaticus miles	CIL VI 2785 (Rome)	Guard: 2 Leg I Ital: 4 (6)	24 (18)	yes	cives Filopopulet -anus	3 rd cent.
3	Val. Martinus, miles	CIL VI 2758 (Rome)	Leg XIV Gem: N/S Guard: 3	25	Yes	nat. Pannonius	Late 2 nd - 3 rd cent.
4	M. Aur. Ianuarius, eques	CIL VI 2695 (Rome)	Guard: 3 yrs, 11 months	20 (16)	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.
5	M. Aur. Ursicinus, miles	CIL III 5449 = ILS 2419a (Semriach))	Guard: 4	20 (16)	Yes	Lauriacum, or Ovilava? Noricum	AD 222-35 (possibly later)
6	Aur. Victorinus, miles	CIL VI 2605 (Rome)	Leg. (N/S): 6 Guard: 4 (10)	30 (20)	Yes	natione Dacisa, regione Serdica	Early 3 rd cent.
7	Aur. Lucius, miles	CIL VI 2670 (Rome)	Guard: 4	25 (21)	Yes	?	3 rd cent.
8	Val. Ursianus, miles	CIL VI 37207 (Rome)	Leg X Gem: 5 Guard: 4 (9)	28 (19)	Yes	cives Aquileiesis	Late 2 nd - 3 rd cent.
9	M. Aur. Augustianus, centurio	CIL VI 2977 = ILS 2173 (Rome)	exceptor: 4 Guard: 5 Centurio (Vigiles): 8 (17)	33 (16)	Yes	Moesia Superior?	3 rd cent.
10	Val. Paternianus, miles	CIL VI 37224 (Rome)	Leg (N/S): 11 Guard: 5 yrs, 5 ms (16)	40 (24)	Yes	natione Pannonica pag. Traiani	Late 2 nd - early 3 rd cent.
11	Aur. Ingenus, miles	CIL VI 2425 (Rome)	Guard: 6	25 (19)	Yes	nat. provinc. Dacia. Leg XIII Gem.	3 rd cent.
12	Aur. Iobinus, miles	CIL VI 2486 = Speidel 1994, no. 749 (Rome)	Guard: 6	30 (24)	Yes	nat. Bessus	3 rd cent.
13	Flavius Mucianus, miles	AE 1980: 141 (Rome)	Guard: 6	30 (24)	Yes	Nicopolis, Moesia Inf.	3 rd cent.
14	T. Aelius Marcellus, miles	CIL VI 2520 (Rome)	Guard: 6	25 (19)	Yes	Doberus	2nd-3 rd cent.
15	C. Valerius Capitus, miles	CIL VI 2619 (Rome)	Guard: 6	24 (18)	Yes	Celeia, Noricum	Late 2 nd to early 3 rd cent.

No.	Name & Rank	Ref. /Location	Length of Service (total)	Age at death (enlistment)	Died in Service?	Origo	Date
16	M. Aurelius Lucianus, miles	CIL VI 2602 (Rome)	Guard: 6	29 (23)	Yes	horiundus ex provincia Dacia	c. AD 211-38
17	C. Iulius Salutar, miles	CIL VI 2682 (Rome)	Guard: 6	32 (26)	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.?
18	Aur. Germanus, discens armorum	CIL XIII 6824 = AE 1940: 117 (Mogo-ntiacum)	Leg XIII Gem: 6 Guard: 6? (12)	?	Yes	nat. D(a)cus	3 rd cent.
19	C. Valerius Erimus (?), veteranus	CIL VI 2642 (Rome)	Guard: 7	40	No	?	3 rd cent.
20	Decimius Augurinus, miles	CIL VI 2431 (Rome)	Guard: 8	30 (22)	Yes	nat. Afer	3 rd cent.
21	Germ. Taurinus, miles	AE 1946: 146 (Rome)	Guard: 8	30 (22)	Yes	nat. Savaria	3 rd cent
22	Aquilinus, miles	CIL VI 37206 (Rome)	Guard: 8	lost	Yes	Savaria, Pannonia	3 rd cent.
23	T. Valerius Secundus, miles	CIL III 7136 = ILS 2052 (Ephesus)	Guard: 8	26 (18)	Yes	Liguria	c. AD 244?
24	Aur. Passar, miles	CIL VI 2698 (Rome)	Guard: 9	30 (21)	Yes	Scodrihese, Dacia	3 rd cent.
25	Ti. Claudius Pastor, eques	CIL VI 2678 (Rome)	Guard: 9	27 (18)	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.
26	Aur. Iulianus, miles	CIL X 1755 (Puteoli)	Guard: 9	40 (31)	Yes	Noricum	Early 3 rd cent.
27	Aelius Dubitatus, miles	ILS 9073 = ILAlg. II, 8 (Rusicade)	Guard: 9 +	?	Uncert.	?	AD 268-70
28	M. Aurelius Hermiatus, miles	CIL VI 2669 (Rome)	Guard: 10	31 (21)	Yes	Asia	First half 3 rd cent.
29	Iulius Potentinus, miles	CIL VI 2731 (Rome)	Guard: 10	30 (20)	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.
30	Val. Victorinus, miles	CIL VI 2760 (Rome)	Guard: 11	31 (20)	Yes	Oescus, Moesia Inferior	3 rd cent.
31	Antonius Paterio, miles	CIL VI 2730 (Rome)	Guard: 11?	35 (24)	Yes	Ratiaria, Moesia Superior	c. 246
32	M. Aurelius Victor, eques	AE 1991: 171 (Rome)	Guard: 11	30 (19)	Yes	?	Late 2 nd – early 3 rd cent.
33	Ulpus Tertius, miles	CIL VI 2552 (Rome)	Guard: 11	33 (22)	Yes	natione Petoviensis	3 rd cent.
34	Aurelius Vincentius, miles	CIL VIII 21021 = ILS 2038 (Caesarea, Mauretania)	Leg XI Claud: 5 Guard: 11	40 (24)	Yes	Moesia or Thrace	3 rd cent.

No.	Name & Rank	Ref. /Location	Length of Service (total)	Age at death (enlistment)	Died in Service?	Origo	Date
35	Aelius Marcianus, miles	CIL X 215 (Grumentum)	Guard: 12	?	Yes	?	3 rd cent.
36	C. Iulius Severinus, miles	AE 1975: 101 (Rome)	Guard: 12	30 (18)	Yes	?	c. AD 222-35
37	Iulius Iulianus, miles	IGR I 700 (Bessapara)	Guard: 12	30 (18)	Yes	Thracian	3 rd cent.
38	P. Aelius Maximinus, miles	CIL VI 2553 (Rome)	Guard: 12 Transferred from previous unspec. unit?	31 (19)	Uncert.	?	Early 3 rd cent: reign of Severus?
39	M. Purula Diza, speculator	CIL VI 2586 = ILS 2019 (Rome)	Guard: 12	30 (18)	Yes	Thracian	Early 3 rd cent.
40	Aurelius Bitus, miles	CIL VI 2694 (Rome)	Guard: 12	32 (20)	Yes	Thracian	Early 3 rd cent.
41	Iustius Frontinus, miles	CIL VI 2712 (Rome)	Guard: 12	34 (22)	Yes	nat. Noricus	3 rd cent.
42	Val. Marcellinus, miles	CIL VI 32668 (Rome)	Guard: 12	31 (19)	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.
43	Primus Aelianus, miles	CIL VI 32692 (Rome)	Guard: 12	?	Uncert.	?	AD 212-222
44	Unknown, miles	CIL VI 37212 (Rome)	Guard: 12	31 (19)	Yes	?	AD. 212-222
45	Aur. Sabinus, miles	Inscr. Aq. 2825 = AE 1946: 183 (Aquileia)	Guard: 12	?	Yes	?	AD 238
46	Aur. Adsula, miles	CIL X 216 = ILS 2047 (Grumentum)	Guard: 12	?	Yes	Thracian	3 rd cent.
47	Iulius Festus, signifer	CIL V 4371 = ILS 2065 (Brixia)	Guard: 12 (promoted to sig. after 7 yrs?)	?	Yes	cives Pe[to]viens i[s]	3 rd cent.
48	C. Iulius Cassius, eques	CIL III 6046 =IGLS 180 (Beroea)	Guard: 13	32 (19)	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.
49	Aur. Ursianus, miles	AE 1964: 121 (Rome)	Guard: 13	35 (22)	Yes	?	3 rd cent.
50	Iul. Nero, miles	CIL VI 2494 (Rome)	Guard: 13	36 (23)	Yes	oriundus in Pannonia Superiore	Early-mid 3 rd cent.
51	Aur. Zenobius, miles	CIL VI 2637 (Rome)	Guard: 13	?	Yes	Syrian?	c. AD 227

No.	Name & Rank	Ref. /Location	Length of Service (total)	Age at death (enlistment)	Died in Service?	Origo	Date
52	Ti. Claudius Candidus, miles	CIL VI 2640 (Rome)	Guard: 13	?	Yes	Uncert.	c. AD 212-222
53	Aur. Muccus/o?, miles	CIL VI 2735 (Rome)	Guard: 13	40 (27)	Yes	Pannonia Inferior	3 rd cent.
54	Diogenes Gaius, miles	CIL VI 2742 (Rome)	Guard: 13	40 (27)	Yes	Serdica, Thrace	3 rd cent.
55	[---]teius Vitalis, miles	Speidel & Scardigli 1990: 201 = AE 1990: 752 (Fiesole)	Guard: 13	43 (30)	Yes	Suebian	c. AD 217
56	M. Aur. Dasius, miles	CIL VI 32680 = Speidel 1994, no. 750 (Rome)	Guard: 13	32 (19)	Yes	nat. Pann., colon. Siscia	Early 3 rd cent.
57	M. Aurelius Vitalianus, miles	AE 1990: 62 = Panciera (ed.) 1987: 56 (Rome)	Guard: 13	?	Yes	?	mid-later 3 rd cent.
58	L. Domitius Valerianus, veteranus	CIL VI 210 = ILS 2103 (Rome)	Legio VI Ferr: 5 Guard: 13 (18)	N/A	No	domo Kapitolade	9 Jan AD 208
59	Aelius Emeritus, evocatus	CIL VI 2482 (Rome)	Guard: 14 Evocatus: 3 months?	41 (c.27)	Yes	oriund(o) ex provincia Norica	Early 3 rd cent.
60	M. Aurelius Gallus, miles	CIL VI 2525 (Rome)	Guard: 14	45 (31)	Yes	Viminacium, Moesia Superior	Early 3 rd cent?
61	C. Iulius Verus, miles	CIL VI 37218 (Rome)	Guard: 14	?	Yes	oriundus Celeia, Noricum	Early 3 rd cent.
62	Aur. Abitus, miles	CIL X 1754 = ILS 2043 (Puteoli)	Guard: 14	40 (24)	Yes	nat. Bessus, natus reg. Serdica vico Magari	Mid-late 3 rd cent.
63	Aur. Verus, miles	CIL VI 37213 = 2294 = ILS 2044 (Rome)	Leg I Adiut: 3 Guard: 14 (17)	40 yrs, 3 m, 15 days (32/3)	Yes	nat. Pannon., pede Sirmese, pago Marito, vico Budalia	Early-mid 3 rd cent.?
64	(Aur. T)ertius, benef. praef.	CIL VI 2673 (Rome)	Leg. VII Claud: 5 Guard: 14 (19)	45 (26)	Yes	natione Pann.	3 rd cent.
65	C. Maccenius Vibius, miles	CIL VI 2437 = ILS 2037 (Rome)	Leg X Gem: 9 Guard: 14 (23)	55 (32)	Yes	Pannonia	3 rd cent.

No.	Name & Rank	Ref. /Location	Length of Service (total)	Age at death (enlistment)	Died in Service?	Origo	Date
66	Aur. Bitus, eques	CIL VI 2601 = ILS 2055 (Rome)	Legio II Italica: 2 Guard: Miles: 14 yrs Eques: 10 months	plus minus 35 (c.18)	Yes	natione Trax, cives Filopopulitanus	Early 3 rd cent.
67	L. Aureli(us) Cordus, miles	CIL VI 2524 (Rome)	Guard: 15 yrs, 10 months, 12 days	38 (c.32)	Yes	?	Later 2 nd -early 3 rd cents.
68	Pletorius Primus, fisci curator	CIL VI 2544 (Rome)	Guard: 15 yrs, 8 months	35 (c.19)	Yes	ex provincia Panno. Inferiore, natus Castello Vixillo	Early-mid 3 rd cent.
69	Aurelius Mucianus, miles	CIL VI 2566 (Rome)	Guard: 15	45 (30)	Yes	natus Tremontiae	c. AD 239
70	Aur. Vitus, tubicen	CIL VI 2570 = ILS 2048 (Rome)	Guard: 15	38 (23)	Yes	natione Trax, domu Sergica	3 rd cent.
71	Unknown, optio	CIL III 7072 (Barium, Asia)	Guard: 15	lost	Yes	Uncert.	2 nd - 3 rd cents.
72	Aur. Pius, miles	CIL VI 32690 = 3894 (Rome)	Guard: 15	36 (21)	Yes	?	Early-mid 3 rd cent.
73	Tufienus Speratus, miles	CIL VIII 25438 = ILS 9072 (LOCATION!)	Guard: 15	35 (20)	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.?
74	M. Aurelius Mucianus, miles	CIL VI 2461 (Rome)	Guard: 15	35 (20)	Yes	Thracian	AD 218-222
75	Septimius Iustus, duplicarius	CIL VI 2446 (Rome)	Guard: 16	40 (24)	Yes	Pannonia /Illyria	ca. AD 211
76	Aelius Florus, optio carceris	AE 1983: 48 (uncert.)	Guard: 16	35 (19)	Yes	Pannonia	ca. AD 223
77	L. Valerius Sabinus, miles	CIL VI 32671 (Rome)	Guard: 16	40 (24)	Yes	Noviodunum, Moesia	AD 222-35
78	C. Iulius Seneca, miles	CIL VI 32650 (Rome)	Guard: 16	?	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.
79	M. Aurelius Mucianus, miles	CIL IX 1424 (Aequum Tuticum)	Guard: 16	40 (24)	Yes	Thrace	3 rd cent.
80	C. Valerius Iulianus, evocatus	CIL VI 2658 (Rome)	Guard & evocatio: 17 years, 8 months, 23 days	36 (c.18)	Yes	?	Early 3 rd cent.

No.	Name & Rank	Ref. /Location	Length of Service (total)	Age at death (enlistment)	Died in Service?	Origo	Date
81	Claudius Carus, miles	CIL VI 2676 (Rome)	Guard: 17	37 (20)	Yes	?	3 rd cent.
82	Aurelius Domitianus, miles	CIL VI 2696 (Rome)	Guard: 17	40 (23)	Yes	nat. Dacus	3 rd cent.
83	Aurelius Iulianus, miles	CIL VI 32662 (Rome)	Guard: 17	?	Yes	?	3 rd cent.
84	Unknown, miles	CIL VI 32714 (Rome)	Guard: 17	?	Yes	Serdica	AD 222-35
85	[---] Florus, trecenarius	CIL IX 1609 (Bene-ventum)	Legio XIII Gem: 5 (AD 200-5) Guard: 13-17 (AD 205-18/22) Centurio: 18+	?	Yes	Sarmizegi- thusa, Dacia	After AD 240
86	Aelius Cogitatus, veteranus Augusti	CIL VI 2457 = Speidel 1994, no. 748 (Rome)	Guard: 18	40	No	?	Mid-late 3 rd cent.
87	C. Iulius Iulianus, veteranus Augusti	CIL VI 2579 (Rome)	Guard: 18	38	No	Poetovio	AD 218-22
88	Aur. Victor, miles armatura	CIL VI 2699 (Rome)	Guard: 18	35 (17)	Yes	natione Besus	3 rd cent.
89	Albius Moderatus, evocatus	CIL VI 3411 (Rome)	Guard & evocatio: 19	40 (21)	Yes	nat. Pannonius	3 rd cent.
90	Valerius Rufinus, evocatus	CIL X 538 (Salernum)	Guard & evocatio: 20	?	Yes	?	2 nd -3 rd cent.
91	Aurelius Iulianus, evocatus	CIL VI 3419 (Rome)	Guard: 19-20 Evocatio: 9 (28/9)	48 (19/20)	Yes	nat. Dacia	Early 3 rd cent.?
92	Aur. Mestrus, ex evokato	CIL VI 32660 = 2772 (Rome)	Leg (N/S): 6 Guard & evocatio: 21 (27)	46 (19)	No	natus vicobiialco st regione Pautalense	Early 3 rd cent.
93	P. Aelius Crispus, miles	CIL VI 32694 (Rome)	Guard: 21	40 (19)	Yes	?	3 rd cent.
94	C. Reius Priscus, evocatus	CIL III 446 = ILS 2140 (Smyrna)	Guard & evocatio: 22	45 (23)	Yes	Carthage, Africa	Late 2 nd -3 rd cent.
95	Unknown, centurio, legio XXII Primigenia	CIL XIII 6823 (Mogontiac-um)	Total service in legions and Guard: 24	?	Uncert.	Natus provincia Moesia superiore, regione Scupini a. Dardania	3 rd cent.

96	Aurelius Eliaseir, campidoctor	CIL VI 2697 (Rome)	Leg. (N/S):10 Guard & evocatio: 25 (35)	60 (25)	Yes	natio. Pan.	3 rd cent.
97	C. Cornelius Memor miles (= evocatus?)	CIL VI 2534 = ILS 2050 (Rome)	Guard: 28	80?	Uncert.	Celeia, Noricum	Early 3 rd cent.
98	Aurelius Nicalaos, evocatus	CIL VI 3421 (Rome)	Guard & evocatio: 43	63 (20)	Yes	?	3 rd cent.
99	Faustius Statianus, evocatus	CIL VI 3424 (Rome)	Guard & evocatio: 51	77 (26)	Yes	Savaria?	Early - mid 3 rd cent.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> (Paris, 1893-)
<i>AM</i>	Ammianus Marcellinus
<i>ANRW</i>	H. Temporini (ed.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (Berlin, 1972-)
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BMC</i>	H. Mattingly <i>et al.</i> (eds), <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> (London, 1923-84)
<i>Caes. BC</i>	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> (Gallic War)
<i>Caes. BG</i>	Caesar, <i>Bellum Civile</i> (Civil War)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CIL.</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1862-)
<i>CJ</i>	P. Krueger (ed.), <i>Codex Iustinianus; Corpus Iuris Civilis</i> vol. II (Berlin, 1877)
<i>Dio</i>	Cassius Dio
<i>Fink, RMR</i>	R.O. Fink, <i>The Roman Military Records on Papyrus</i> (Cleveland, 1971)
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin & Leiden 1923-)
<i>HCC</i>	Anne S. Robertson, <i>Roman imperial coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet : University of Glasgow</i> , 5 vols (Glasgow & Oxford, 1962-1982)

<i>Her.</i>	Herodian
<i>IGBulg</i>	<i>G. Mihailov (ed.), Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae (Sofia, 1956-70)</i>
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>L. Jalabert.& R. Mouterde (eds), Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie (Paris 1929-)</i>
<i>IGR</i>	<i>R. Cagnat et al. (eds), Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes (Paris 1906-27)</i>
<i>ILAlg</i>	<i>S. Gsell et al. (eds), Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie (Alger, 1922-76)</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>H. Dessau (ed.), Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (Berlin, 1892-1916)</i>
<i>ILTun</i>	<i>R. Cagnat, A Merlin & L Chatelain (eds), Inscriptions latines des Tunisie (Tripoli, Tunisie, Maroc) (Paris, 1923)</i>
<i>Inscr. Aq.</i>	<i>J.B. Brusin (ed.), Inscriptiones Aquileiae (Udine, 1992)</i>
<i>Jos. BJ</i>	<i>Josephus, Bellum Judaicum (Jewish War)</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRMES</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>Not. Dig.</i>	<i>Notitia Dignitatum Utriusque Imperii, ed. O. Seeck (Leipzig, 1876)</i>
<i>NS</i>	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità (Roma, 1876-)</i>
<i>P. Beatty Panop.</i>	<i>T.C. Skeat (ed.), Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Dublin, 1964)</i>

<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
Pflaum	H.-G. Pflaum, <i>Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain</i> , 4 vols & <i>Supplément</i> (Paris, 1960-1982)
<i>PSAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
<i>RE</i>	A. Fr. Von Pauly, G. Wissowa & W. Kroll (eds), <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1893-)
<i>RIB</i>	R.G. Collingwood & R.P. Wright (eds), <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, I. Inscriptions on Stone</i> (Oxford, 1965)
<i>RIC</i>	H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham <i>et al.</i> <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (London 1923-)
Rom. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
<i>SHA</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
Tac. Agric.	Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i>
Tac. Ann.	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i>
Tac. Hist.	Tacitus, <i>Histories</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Veg. Epit.	Vegetius, <i>Epitoma rei militaris</i>
Whittaker, Herodian	<i>Herodian</i> , Roman History, trans C.R. Whittaker, (Loeb. London, 1969-70)
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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