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THE MOVEMENTS OF THE AUXILIA FROM AUGUSTUS TO HADRIAN

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Parker devoted a long chapter of his book, "The Roman Legions", to legionary movements, because they threw light on the system of border defences and illustrated the changing importance of different parts of the Empire.¹ The movements of the auxilia are also important for the same reasons, but they are more difficult to trace and they have received less attention from historians than those of the legions.

Our inability to accurately date most inscriptions and the lack of literary evidence prevents us from placing many transfers in their correct historical context with the degree of certainty that is desirable. In fact, it is only possible to identify some of the transfers that seem to have occurred in the pre-Flavian period by relating the formation of certain units to the Illyrican war of 6-9 and the projected German expedition of Gaius.

The *cohortes voluntariorum* can almost certainly be equated with the *magno voluntariorum numero* that Augustus raised for service in Illyricum.² Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that the surviving units were originally stationed in Dalmatia or Pannonia. In a similar manner, the units raised by Gaius were probably in Germany in about 39. In her unpublished Ph.D. thesis Dr. M.Roxan has suggested that a group of five *alae* and three *cohortes* were raised by Gaius in preparation for his German campaign.³ They comprise the *alae* I-II *Hisp. Aravacorum*, I *Hisp. Asturum*, I *Hisp. Vettonum* and I *Hisp. Campagonum* together with *cohortes* I-II *Hisp. Vasconum* and I *Lucensium Hispanorum*. These units form a distinct group because of their double ethnic titles and the absence of any evidence to suggest a date for their formation earlier than Gaius. The *cohortes* I-VII *Dalmatarum* may fall into the same category, because their early inscriptions post-date 40 and record original recruits of low *stipendia*.⁴

This knowledge of possible troop locations under Augustus and Gaius adds greatly to our understanding of pre-Flavian transfers. We can see, for instance, that four *cohortes voluntariorum* and possibly one *alae* had left Illyricum by Claudio/Neronian times:

* I am indebted to Dr. M.Roxan for reading this paper and suggesting some emendations. I am, of course, responsible for any mistakes that may occur.

¹ Parker, H.M.D., *The Roman Legions*, 1928, reprinted 1958.

² Velleius 2,111-113; Dio LV, 31; LVI, 23.

³ Holder, P.A., *The Auxilia from Augustus to Trajan*, BAR 870, 1980, p.113 citing Dr. M.Roxan's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, *The Auxilia of the Roman Army raised in the Iberian Peninsula*, London, 1973.

⁴ VIII 9377 (annorum 27, stip. 10), AE 1921, 31 (annorum 28, stip. 8), VIII 21040 (annorum 27, stip. 11), VIII 9384 (annorum 30). All Dalmatians.

<i>ala Parthorum</i>	Dalmatia (III 8746)	Germania? (XVI 10024,35)
<i>coh. XV Volunt.</i>	Illyricum	Africa (VIII 23252)
<i>coh. XVIII Volunt.</i>	Illyricum	Aquitania (XIII 1159)
<i>coh. XXIII Volunt.</i>	Illyricum	Germania (BRGK 27,1937, no.115)
<i>coh. XXVI Volunt.</i>	Illyricum	Germania (XIII 12491)

It is impossible to determine when the transfers to Germania occurred. *Ala Parthorum* is thought to have left Dalmatia at an early date, possibly in the aftermath of the Varian disaster or to participate in the campaigns of Germanicus, who employed mounted archers.⁵ A similar explanation could account for the transfer of three of the *cohortes voluntariorum*, unless they were transferred by Gaius in 39 or by Claudius in 43 to replace troops needed in Britain. *Cohors XV Voluntariorum*, as Holder suggests,⁶ probably left for Africa in 20/21 with *IX Hispana* as a result of the revolt of Tacfarinas, while *XVIII Voluntariorum* appears to have been moved to become the standing garrison of *Lugdunensis*, with winter quarters at *Lugdunum*.

Pannonia was also at the receiving end of troop movements in this period. Seven *alae* are known to have arrived by the Julio-Claudian period:

	<u>Previous location</u>	<u>Pannonian evidence</u>
<i>ala I Hisp. Aravacorum</i>	Germania c.39	(III 4373)
<i>ala II Hisp. Aravacorum</i>	Germania c.39	(III 3721)
<i>ala I Hispanorum</i>	Germania (XIII 6233/4)	(XIII 10514 etc.)
<i>ala Scubulorum</i>	Moesia (AE 1967,426)	c.49 (AE 1969,198 cf. XVI 20)
<i>ala I Pannoniorum</i>	Dalmatia (III 2016)	(III 4227/8)
<i>ala II Asturum</i>	Germania	(III 14349,8=Treviran recruit)
<i>ala I Hisp. Auriana</i>	Germania	(III 14349,8=Treviran recruit)

The five *alae* from Germania may have arrived in c.45, when *XIII Gemina* was transferred from *Vindonissa* to *Poetovio*. While the transfer of *I Pannoniorum* could have been connected with the separation of Pannonia from Illyricum at an earlier date. The arrival of these units, together with *ala Scubulorum* by c.49, can be interpreted as an attempt to counter the threat posed by mounted barbarian tribes across the Danube. Significantly, mounted troops were already guarding key river crossing, such as *Arrabona*, *Brigetio* and *Aquincum*, under Claudius.⁷

It is inevitable that the Claudian invasion of Britain would have resulted in transfers from the continent in 43, but first-century inscriptions that would enable such movements to be identified are scarce. It is reasonable to assume, however, that auxiliary units that appear in Britain on Trajanic/Hadrianic diplomata but cannot be traced on the continent in the Flavian

⁵ Tacitus, *Annals* II, 16.

⁶ Holder *op.cit.* p.64.

⁷ Wilkes, J.J., *Romans, Dacians and Sarmatians in the first and early second centuries*, in Hartley, B. and Wachter, J., *Rome and Her Northern Provinces*, 1983, pp.264-266.

period, may have arrived in Britain in 43 or possibly in 60, when eight cohorts and two alae were transferred from Germany as a result of the Boudiccan revolt:⁸

	<u>Pre-Flavian Station</u>	<u>British Evidence</u>
<i>ala Gall. Indiana</i>	Germania (XIII 6230)	Claudius/Nero (RIB 121)
<i>ala Agrippiana</i>	Germania (XIII 6235)	122 (XVI 69)
<i>ala I Hisp. Asturum</i>	Germania Raised by	98 (XVI 43)
<i>ala I Hisp. Vettonum</i>	Germania Gaius c.39	Flavian (RIB 159)
<i>ala I Thracum</i>	Germania?	Claudius (RIB 201=Frisian recruit)
<i>coh. I Delmatarum</i>	Germania Raised by	122 (XVI 69)
<i>coh. II Delmatarum</i>	Germania Gaius c.39	105 (XVI 51)
<i>coh. IV Delmatarum</i>	Germania	103 (XVI 48)
<i>coh. I Thracum</i>	Germania (XIII 7803)	Nero (RIB 291)
<i>coh. VI Thracum</i>	Germania (XIII 7052)	Nero (RIB 121)
<i>coh. VII Thracum</i>	Germania (Part of series	122 (XVI 69)
<i>coh. V Raetorum</i>	Germania raised for service	122 (XVI 69)
	service in Germania)	
<i>coh. I Alpinorum</i>	Aquitania (XIII 922)	103 (XVI 48)

It can be seen that Claudius utilized the units that Gaius is thought to have raised for his German expedition and supplemented them with other elements of the German army for the invasion, though some of the latter may have arrived during the Boudiccan revolt. Cohortes I and VI Thracum pose a problem. It is usually assumed that they had returned to Germania by 80. Following this, I Thracum returned to Britain while VI Thracum went to the Danube. A cohort VI Thracum, however, was still stationed in Britain in the third-century.⁹ Rather than assume movements backwards and forwards between Britain and the continent, an alternative solution is possible. Claudius could have raised duplicate cohortes I and VI Thracum from cadres supplied by their homophonous counterparts in Germany. These units would have been transferred to Britain in 43, while their mother units remained behind. A parallel case to this may exist. A series of five cohortes Gallorum was apparently raised for service in Britain, possibly by Claudius in view of the lack of early evidence. An earlier series of five Gallic cohorts was also raised, apparently for service in Germania. Was the British series another group of duplicate cohorts raised from cadres supplied by their German counterparts?

The annexation of Mauretania and the pacification of the province under Claudius resulted in further transfers. Once again it is possible that certain units, which do not appear in Mauretania until Flavian or Trajanic times, arrived at a much earlier date than the evidence suggests if they cannot be traced elsewhere:

⁸ Tacitus, Annals XIV, 38.

⁹ Richmond, I.A., Roman lead sealings from Brough-under-Stainmore, CW2 36 1936, pp.118,121, fig.2b.

	<u>Pre-Flavian station</u>	<u>Mauretanian Evidence</u>
<i>ala Aug.Gallorum C.R.</i>	Spain (II 5792)	88 (XVI 159)
<i>ala III Asturum p.f.</i>	Spain (EE VIII,313)	88 (XVI 159)
<i>ala I Aug.Parthorum</i>	Germania? (XVI 10024,35)	107 (XVI 56)
<i>ala II Thracum Aug. p.f.</i>	East (Part of series raised from Thracians in Herod's army.)	Nero (AE 1975,945)
<i>coh. II Gallorum</i>	Spain (Part of series raised for service in Spain.)	107 (XVI 56)
<i>coh. IV Gallorum</i>	Spain (AE 1961,345)	88 (XVI 159)
<i>coh. II Hisp.Vasconum</i>	Germania (Raised)	109 (XVI 161)
<i>coh. V Delmatarum C.R.</i>	Germania by	88 (XVI 159)
<i>coh. VI Delmatarum</i>	Germania Gaius	Claudius (VIII 9377)
<i>coh. VII Delmatarum</i>	Germania c.39	Claudius (VIII 21040)
<i>coh. Ast. et Call. C.R.</i>	Germania (XIII 7037)	57 (ILM 58)
<i>coh. Surorum sag.</i>	Germania (BRGK 28 1937,113)	Nero (ILS 2568)
<i>coh. I Ituraeorum sag.</i>	Germania (XIII 7040/2)	109 (XVI 161)

There is every indication that the pre-Flavian garrison was drawn from Spain and Germany. Spain was a natural source of troops, because of its close proximity to Mauretania and the annexation would have reduced the need for troops in Spain by cutting off Moorish raids at source. The auxiliaries raised by Gaius, also enabled Claudius to transfer troops from Germany. This implies the connection between *ala Parthorum vet.* of Germany and *ala Aug.Parthorum* of Mauretania, though this is far from certain.

Despite the Parthian war and Jewish revolt that occupied most of the principate of Nero, there is little unequivocal evidence of units moving to the east during this period. Transfers from the Danube certainly occurred, because Tacitus refers to "alaris quoque Pannonius robor equitatus" (Annals XV, 10) among the army of Paetus in 62. One of these units could have been *ala VII Phrygum*. It appears on the Syrian diploma of 88 (RMD 3), which was issued to a Pannonian who would have joined the *alae* in c.58 while it was serving in Pannonia. *Ala II Pannoniorum* could also have been transferred at the same time, though there is no epigraphic evidence of its pre-Flavian station. It was in Syria by 88 (XVI 35), however, and is likely to have been raised for service on the Danube, like its sister formation, *I Pannoniorum*.

The Syrian diploma of 54 (XVI 3) also records three other *alae* that could have been withdrawn from the Danube. An emendation of Nesselhauf's original reading by Dr. M.Roxan enables the *alae* to be identified as *veterana Gallorum, Gall. et Thracum [A]ntiana* and *Gall. et Thracum [Constantium]*.¹⁰ The latter two units were originally Gallic *alae* to

¹⁰ Roxan, M.M., Pre-Severan Auxilia Named in the Notitia Dignitatum, in Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum, BAR 915, 1976, pp.62,70,79, Table IV.

which Thracians were added shortly after 26, when conscription was introduced to Thracia. By implication they could have been on the Danube at that time. In fact, the diploma was found in Moesia and was issued to a Thracian of ala Antiana, who would have returned to the province in which his unit was stationed prior to its transfer to the east. Moreover, ala vet. Gallorum/Gallica can probably be equated with the ala Gallica that was stationed in Moesia under Tiberius.¹¹ The diploma is dated June 54. Consequently, the transfers occurred before the death of Claudius and before the new threat posed by Parthia, which did not become evident until the end of the year. The transfers probably occurred at an earlier date, therefore, possibly in 35 or 51 when the situation in Armenia strained relations with Parthia.

It is uncertain whether ala Bosporanorum, which was moved from Moesia to Syria sometime between Tiberian and Neronian times (AE 1925, 70 cf. AE 1969/70, 649), was transferred on one of these earlier occasions or as a result of Corbulo's campaigns. In a similar manner, the transfer of ala II Gallorum from Spain to Galatia by Flavian times (IX 3610 cf. IGR III, 272) cannot be accurately dated. There is even less evidence of transfers to Judaea during the Jewish revolt. Ala vet. Gaetulorum served in the war and may have been transferred to Judaea from Africa, where one of its veterans is known (V 7007 cf. VIII 8936). The inscription, however, does not prove the presence of the ala. Finally, ala I Thracum Mauretana, which was in Judaea by 86 (XVI 33), had presumably served in Mauretania under Claudius, to judge by its title. A transfer to Judaea under Nero, therefore, is a strong possibility.

Towards the end of Nero's reign two expeditions were planned. The revolt of Vindex in 68 caused both to be abandoned, but not before some transfers had occurred. Ala Siliana, which was stationed in Africa, was about to be mobilized for the Ethiopian expedition, when Nero recalled it to Italy as a result of the revolt of Vindex (Tacitus Hist. I, 70). If cohors XV Voluntariorum, which was also in Africa, was recalled at the same time, it would help to explain its eventual arrival in Germania by Flavian times (VIII 23252 cf. XIII 8826 + VI 32939). The revolt of Vindex could also explain the transfer of ala Tauriana from Spain to Lugdunensis (ILER 6412 cf. Tacitus Hist. I, 59). In 69 it was stationed at Lugdunum with I Italica, which was sent there to deal with the revolt.

The revolt of Vindex was followed by a sequence of events, that culminated in the Civil War of 69 and the Batavian revolt. In 69 Vitellian forces drawn from the Rhineland and opposing forces from the Danubian provinces advanced into Italy. The brief stay of some of the units in Italy has not passed unrecorded:

¹¹ Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 15 1967, p.102.

	<u>Pre-Flavian station</u>	<u>Italian evidence</u>
<i>ala Petriana</i>	Germania (XIII 11605)	Tacitus Hist. I, 70
<i>ala Sebosiana</i>	Germania (XIII 11709)	Tacitus Hist. III, 6
<i>ala Scubulorum</i>	Pannonia (AE 1909,198)	V 907
<i>coh. I Pannoniorum</i>	Germania (XIII 7510-11)	V 885
<i>coh. III Lusitanorum</i>	Germania (BRGK 40 1959,244)	Tacitus Hist. I, 70
<i>coh. I Asturum</i>	Noricum (XVI 6)	VI 3588

The dislocation of troops in 69/70, the need to replace units lost in action and the need to secure the Rhineland after the Batavian revolt, resulted in a number of new arrivals in Germania:

	<u>Pre-Flavian station</u>	<u>German evidence</u>
<i>ala Gall.Indiana</i>	Britannia (RIB 108)	Domitian (XIII 8519)
<i>ala Claudia nova</i>	Dalmatia (III 9727)	74 (XVI 20)
<i>ala I Scubulorum</i>	Pannonia (AE 1909,198)	74 (XVI 29)
<i>ala Sulpicia</i>	Moesia? (XIII 8311/2 = Bessian/Thracian recruits)	78 (XVI 23)
<i>ala Moesica</i>	Moesia? (implied by title)	78 (XVI 23)
<i>ala Afrorum vet.</i>	Moesia? (XIII 8304/5; 6223 = Thracian/Dardanian recruits)	78 (XVI 23)
<i>coh. XV Volunt.</i>	Africa (VIII 23252)	Flavian (VI 32929 cf.XIII 8826)
<i>coh. XXXII Volunt.</i>	Pannonia (III 10584)	Flavian (XIII 7382/3)
<i>coh. Ligurum et Hisp.</i>	Alpes (V 7900)	Domitian (BRGK 58 1977,57)
<i>coh. I Aquitanorum</i>	Aquitania (III 2053)	74 (XVI 20)
<i>coh. II Varcianorum</i>	Moesia? (XIII 7382 = Moesian recruit)	Flavian (XIII 7382)

Not unexpectedly, most of the new arrivals came from the Danubian provinces and probably accompanied Primus in 69. After the defeat of Vitellius at Bedriacum, they must have been incorporated in the army of Cerialis that was sent to suppress the Batavian revolt. Ala Indiana was presumably withdrawn from Britain for one of Nero's projected expeditions or sent to help Vitellius in 69. Coh. I Ligurum et Hispanorum was almost certainly the Ligurian cohort that joined Vitellius during fighting against Othonian forces in Lugdunensis (Tacitus Hist. II, 14). After amalgamation with the remnants of a Spanish cohort, it was apparently sent to Germany by Vespasian. Ala Tauriana torquata victrix C.R. is not recorded in Germany, but it seems to have been decorated by Vespasian for service against the Batavians before its return to Spain, to judge from the *cursus* of its prefect which first records the award of torques (AE 1939, 60 cf. II 2984).

After the suppression of the Batavian revolt, Vespasian initiated a new policy in the Rhineland. In pre-Flavian times local militias and *alae* and *cohortes* that were not fully integrated into the regular auxilia, were employed in Germania. This proved disastrous during the Batavian revolt, when such troops almost invariably sided with the rebels. Consequently, Vespasian organized these formations into regular units and transferred most of them to Britain, thereby removing a dangerous element from the Rhine. Six of these units were in Britain by 84 (Tacitus Agric. 36), but the lack of Flavian evidence means that most of them first appear in the province on Trajanic/Hadrianic diplomas.¹² The men discharged under Trajan, however, would have been recruited under Vespasian and unless the following twenty-four units were transferred at an early date, it is difficult to see how all of the forts in the territories occupied after the campaigns of Agricola could have been garrisoned:

ala: I Tungrorum

cohortes:

<i>I Batavorum</i>	<i>I Cugernorum</i>	<i>I Menapiorum</i>	<i>VI Nerviorum</i>
<i>III Batavorum</i>	<i>I Frisiavonum</i>	<i>I Morinorum</i>	<i>I Sunucorum</i>
<i>IX Batavorum</i>	<i>I Lingonum</i>	<i>I Nerviorum</i>	<i>I Vangionum</i>
<i>Batavorum?</i>	<i>I Tungrorum</i>	<i>II Lingonum</i>	<i>II Nerviorum</i>
<i>II Tungrorum</i>	<i>III Lingonum</i>	<i>III Nerviorum</i>	<i>I Fida Vardullorum</i>
<i>I Baetasiorum</i>	<i>IV Lingonum</i>	<i>IV Nerviorum</i>	

There remains another group of *alae* and *cohortes* that could have arrived in Britain under Vespasian, even though they do not appear in the province until a later date. The lack of evidence of their presence on the continent, however, implies an early transfer, possibly in 71 when Cerialis was dispatched with II *Adiutrix* and, as we have seen, probably before the recall of Agricola, to judge by the number of forts:

	<u>Pre-Flavian station</u>	<u>British evidence</u>
<i>ala Petriana</i>	Germania (XIII 11605)	Domitian (RIB 1172)
<i>ala Sebosiana</i>	Germania (XIII 11709)	103 (XVI 48)
<i>ala II Asturum</i>	Pannonia (III 10323)	122 (XVI 69)
<i>coh. II Vasconum</i>	Germania (Hist. IV, 33)	105 (XVI 51)
<i>coh. nauticorum</i>	Alpes (V 7887/8)	135 (XVI 82)
<i>coh. I Hispanorum</i>	Galatia? (AE 1961, 17)	c. 83 (RIB 2213)

All of these units were probably in Germany before their transfer to Britain. *Ala II Asturum* was probably among the Danubian forces that were sent to suppress the Batavian revolt and *cohors nauticorum* is likely to have joined Vitellius in 69, like *I Ligurum et*

¹² The relevant British diplomas are XVI 43,48,51,69,82. For the Batavian and Tungrian cohorts see Tacitus, Agricola, 36 and Bowman, A.K. and Thomas, J.D., *New Texts from Vindolanda, Britannia* 18 1987, pp.125-142. G.Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior*, Ep. St. 6, 1963, pp.44-47, 86-93 believes that the Batavian cohorts were integrated into the regular army before 69, but this is unlikely since they were still commanded by their own prefects in that year.

Hispanorum which was also stationed in the Alpes and moved to Germany. In contrast, cohorts I Hispanorum could have arrived from the east with Mucianus in 69 and then moved into Germany during the Batavian revolt. The eastern connection is implied by the tombstone at Ardoch of an eastern decurion of twenty-seven years service, who would have been recruited under Nero while his unit, or part of it, was serving in the east.

Other troop movements seem to be related to the general dislocation of troops in this period rather to any deliberate policy:

	<u>Nature of transfer</u>
<i>ala I Hisp. Auriana</i>	Noricum to Pannonia in 69-73 (Hist. III, 5 cf. AE 1969/70,438)
<i>ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i>	Germania to Dalmatia 70-79 (XIII 8558 etc. cf. III 9735)
<i>ala I praet. singularium</i>	Germania to Pannonia by 85 (XIII 8310 cf. XVI 31)
<i>ala Tauriana torq. victrix</i>	Lugdunensis to Spain before 88 (Hist. I, 59; II, 27 cf. II 2984 + XVI 159)
<i>coh. I Gaetulorum</i>	Alpes to Syria by 88 (V 7895 cf. RMD 3)
<i>coh. VII Breucorum</i>	Germania to Pannonia in 65-85 (RMD 79 cf. XVI 31)
<i>coh. V Gallorum</i>	Germania to Pannonia 70-84 (V 875 cf. XVI 30)

The dates of some of these transfers are imprecise, but the lack of evidence for the presence of these units in Germania after 70 is indicative of an early date. The transfer of I Gaetulorum to Syria may appear odd, but it could have accompanied III Gallica and VI Ferrata when they returned in 69. Two other transfers could have occurred at this time. Cohors XVIII Voluntariorum was at Lugdunum in 69, but it cannot be shown to have arrived in Pannonia Superior before 138 (XVI 84). In a similar manner, cohorts I Belgarum, which was in Germania in pre-Flavian times (XIII 7038), does not appear in Dalmatia until Trajanic times (III 8762). In both cases, the lack of evidence in the west implies an early transfer in or shortly after 69/70.

Transfers also occurred between the German provinces:

	<u>Station before 70</u>	<u>Station after 70</u>
<i>ala I Singularium</i>	Germ.Sup. (Hist. V,70)	Germ.Inf. 78 (XVI 23)
<i>ala Noricorum</i>	Germ.Sup. (XIII 7029)	Germ.Inf. 78 (XVI 23)
<i>coh. II Thracum</i>	Germ.Sup. (RMD 79)	Germ.Inf. 80 (XVI 158)
<i>coh. IV Thracum</i>	Germ.Sup. (XIII 7385)	Germ.Inf. 80 (XVI 158)
<i>coh. I Lucensium Hispanorum</i>	Germ.Sup. (XIII 7045)	Germ.Inf.104/1 (XIII 8823)
<i>coh. III Gallorum</i>	Germ.Inf. (AE 1975, 633)	Germ.Sup. 74 (XVI 20)

Significantly, with one exception, all of the transfers were from Germania Superior to Inferior, where there was a need to control the tribes of the lower Rhine and to replace losses sustained in 69/70.

The Raetian diploma of 107 (XVI 55) shows that reinforcements were arriving in this province in the Flavio-Trajanic period.

	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Arrival in Raetia</u>
<i>ala I Fl. Sing. pf.</i>	Germ. Sup. 90 (XVI 36)	107 (XVI 55)
<i>ala II Fl. Gemina = II Fl. p.f. milliaria</i>	Germ. Sup. 82 (XVI 28)	107
<i>ala I Aug. Thracum</i>	Syria Nero (AE 1930, 89/90)	107
<i>coh. III Thracum vet.</i>	Pannonia 84 (XVI 30)	107
<i>coh. III Batavorum</i>	Britain} c.100 (Britannia	107
<i>coh. IX Batavorum</i>	Britain} 18 1987, 133-135)	147 (XVI 94)
<i>coh. V Bracaraugust.</i>	Germania Nero (VI 3539)	107
<i>coh. II Aquitanorum</i>	Germ. Sup. 90 (XVI 36)	125/28 (RMD 32)
<i>coh. II Tungrorum vex.</i>	Britannia 84 (Agricola, 36)	121/125 (RMD 25)

The absence of *coh. V Bracaraugustanorum* from German diplomas implies an early transfer, possibly in 69/70. In a similar manner, the absence of *ala I Aug. Thracum* from the Domitianic diplomas of Syria also implies an early transfer and it appears to have been in the province by 97, since its prefect was decorated in the Suebic war of Nerva (ILS 2720). A Domitianic or Trajanic date fits the other movements, though *IX Batavorum* is unknown in the province before 147. It is not recorded, however, on British diplomas, including that of 122 which virtually lists all of the units in the province, so a Trajanic transfer is likely. These transfers were probably related to the reorganization of the Raetian limes by Vespasian and Domitian. *Ala II Fl. milliaria*, for instance, arrived in or shortly after 89, when it received the epithet *pia fidelis* in common with other units in Germany, to occupy the new fort at Heidenheim, which has been dated to c.90.¹³ *Cohors III Thracum* probably arrived at about the same time to garrison Künzing, which is also dated so c.90.¹⁴

Mauretania also received additional troops in this period. *Ala Tauriana* had been transferred from Spain to Tingitana by 88 (II 2984 cf. XVI 159), possibly as a result of disturbances early in the principate of Domitian.¹⁵ *Ala Gemelliana* had also arrived by 88, probably at the same time and for the same reason. It had been stationed in Raetia or Noricum in 64 (XVI 5) and it seems to have remained there after 70 long enough to supply a cadre from which *ala I Fl. Gemelliana* was formed.¹⁶ Two other units were transferred to

¹³ Fitzinger, P., Cammerer, B. and Planck, D., *Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg*, Stuttgart, 1976, pp.292-297.

¹⁴ Schönberger, H., *Kastell Künzing-Quintana*, Berlin, 1975.

¹⁵ ILS 9200.

¹⁶ On this point see Birley, E., *Alae named after their commanders*, *Ancient Society*, 9 1978, p.271.

Tingitana on a temporary basis. Cohors I Celtiberorum was transferred there by 109 (RMD 84), possibly as a result of more disturbances under Trajan.¹⁷ Its previous station is uncertain, but it probably came from Spain, where it returned sometime between 114/117 and 132 (XVI 165 cf. AE 1972, 282). Cohors IV Vindellicorum was also transferred to Tingitana from Germania Superior sometimes between 90 and 124 (XVI 36 cf. XVI 171), though a date between 117 and 124 is likely if its title has been correctly restored to the German diploma of 117 (XVI 62). By 134 it has returned to Germany (XVI 80). The Mauretanian revolt crushed by Turbo early in Hadrian's reign may explain its transfer.¹⁸

Troops also had to be dispatched to Britain during this period:

	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>British evidence</u>
<i>ala Gall. Picentiana</i>	Germ. Sup. 82 (XVI 28)	122 (XVI 69)
<i>ala Aug. Vocontiorum</i>	Germ. Inf. Domitian (XIII 8655)	122 (XVI 69)
<i>coh. II Asturum p.f.</i>	Germ. Inf. 89-96 (XIII 7705)	105 (XVI 51)
<i>coh. II Thracum</i>	Germ. Inf. 80 (XVI 158)	103 (XVI 48)

The dates of these transfers cannot be determined with great precision, but the two *alae* were absent from British diplomes of 98 to 105, which implies a later date, possibly during the British war of c. 118 or perhaps in about 122, when VI Victrix is thought to have arrived from Germania Inferior. The two cohorts seem to have arrived at an earlier date, possibly as a result of the British war in which the prefect of II Asturum was decorated (AE 1951, 88). Dates between 90 and 115 have been suggested for the war and until more evidence emerges further debate seems pointless.¹⁹

While wars were being fought in Britain and Mauretania, a serious situation was developing on the Danube. The threat posed by Suebic, Sarmatian and Dacian peoples made it necessary to turn the Danube into a fortified line of defence. The need to hold the frontiers is strength and to assemble armies for the years of conflict between 86 and 106, led successive emperors to concentrate an increasing number of troops in the Danubian provinces. The arrival of the following units can be traced in Pannonia and Noricum:

¹⁷ ILS 1352 cf. Roxan, M., *The Auxilia of Mauretania Tingitana*, *Latomus*, 32 1973, p.845n.

¹⁸ S.H.A., Hadrian, V, 8.

¹⁹ On the British war see Birley, E., *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, 1953, pp. 22-24; Frere, S., *Britannia*, 1967, pp.123-124. The date of the war hinges on our ability to date the career of C.Iulius Karus, who became a tribune in III Cyrenaica while it was still in Aegyptus and after commanding II Asturum in a British war (AE 1951, 88). On the transfer of the legion to Arabia, see now Speidel, M.P., *The Roman Army in Arabia*, ANRW II 1977, pp. 691-693.

<u>alae</u>	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Danubian evidence</u>
<i>Siliana</i>	Germ.Inf. 78 (XVI 23)	Pannonia 84 (XVI 30)
<i>Tungrorum Front.</i>	Dalmatia 71-79 (III 9735)	Pannonia 80 (XVI 26)
<i>Cannenefatium</i>	Germ.Sup. 74 (XVI 209)	Pannonia Domitian/Nerva (III 4391)
<i>I Bosporanorum</i>	Syria Nero (III 6707)	Pann.Sup. 113 (RMD 86)
<i>III Aug. Thracum</i>	Syria 91 (RMD 4)	Pann.Sup. Trajan (AE 1937, 78)
<i>I Commagenorum</i>	Aegyptus 83 (XVI 29)	Noricum 106 (XVI 52)
<u>cohortes</u>		
<i>III Lusitanorum p.f.</i>	Germ.Inf. c.90 (XIII 8317)	Pann.Inf. 110 (XVI 164)
<i>I Vindelicorum</i>	Germ.Inf. Flavian (XIII 8320)	Pannonia Domitian (AE 1935, 103)
<i>I Fl. Brittonum</i>	Dalmatia 85 or later (III 2024)	Noricum Trajan (III 5668)

Of the nine transfers listed above, one probably occurred under Vespasian (ala Frontoniana), three are pre-Trajanic (alae Siliana and Cannenefatium, coh. I Vindelicorum) and five would suit a Domitianic or Trajanic date. Three of the latter were transferred from the east,²⁰ though the location of ala Bosporanorum in Flavian times is a mystery. It is unlikely to have been on the Danube without appearing on at least one diploma. Consequently, it could have left Syria after 91 with III Aug. Thracum. It is also evident that III Lusitanorum could not have left Germania before 89 when it was granted the distinction *pia fidelis* and I Fl. Brittonum must have remained in Dalmatia at least until 85 to judge from the stipendia of one of its recruits.

Additions to the army of Pannonia enable what may be called a "knock on effect" to be observed. That is to say troops seem to have been moved to Pannonia to replace troops that were in turn transferred from Pannonia to Moesia. Not all of the transfers to Moesia, however, came from Pannonia, as the following list will demonstrate:

<u>alae</u>	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Moesia evidence</u>
<i>II Aravacorum</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)	Moesia Inf. 99 (XVI 44)
<i>I Praetoria sing.</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)	Moesia Sup. 94 (XVI 39)
<i>Claudia nova cohortes</i>	Germ.Sup. 74 (XVI 20)	Moesia 82 (XVI 28)
<i>I Montanorum C.R.</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)	Moesia Sup. 96 (XVI 39)
<i>VII Breucorum</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)	Moesia Sup. 96 (XVI 39)
<i>VI Thracum</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)	Moesia Sup. 96 (XVI 39)
<i>I Lepidiana C.R.</i>	Pannonia 80 (XVI 26)	Moesia Inf. 99 (XVI 45)
<i>I Hispanorum p.f.</i>	Pannonia c.97 (V 7425)	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>VIII Raetorum</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Vindelicorum</i>	Pannonia Domitian (AE 1935, 103)	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>II Hisp. scutata</i>	Pannonia 80 (XVI 26)	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)

²⁰ I am indebted to Dr. M.Roxan for pointing out that the ostrakon (O.Tait II, 1689,1) that was thought to refer to ala Commagenorum in Aegyptus in 165 has been re-examined and shown to relate to ala Vocontiorum.

<i>I Britannica M. eg.</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Ulp. Brittonum</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>II Brittonum p.f.</i>	Germ. Inf. c.89 (XIII 12425)	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>II Batavorum M.</i>	Pannonia 98 (XVI 42)	Moesia Inf. c.106 (ILS 9107)
<i>I Thracum Germ.</i>	Germ. Inf.? 80 (XVI 158)	Moesia Sup.? 100 (XVI 46)
<i>III Gallorum</i>	Germ. Sup. 74 (XVI 20)	Moesia 82 (XVI 28)
<i>V Hispanorum</i>	Germ. Sup. 74 (XVI 20)	Moesia 82 (XVI 28)
<i>I Alpinorum</i>	Britannia 103 (XVI 48)	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Aug. Bracarum</i>	Maur. Ting. 88 (XVI 159)	Moesia Inf. 134 (XVI 78)
<i>I Bracaraugus.</i>	Dalmatia Nero (III 1773)	Moesia Inf. 99 (XVI 44)

It can be seen that out of twenty-one transfers, twelve came from Pannonia and five from Germania. Some of the Pannonian transfers, however, may be more apparent than real, because Domitian attached the southern sector of the Pannonian frontier to Moesia Superior in about 86. Consequently, perhaps three Pannonian units were left in Upper Moesia as a result of this border change.²¹ Regarding the dates of the transfers, it can be seen that three units arrived in 74 to 82 and four others by 96. The absence of I Lepidiana and II Hispanorum from Pannonian diplomas after 80, implies that they also arrived under Domitian. Two of the cohorts were certainly transferred under Trajan, but a Trajanic or Domitianic date would suit the rest of the movements. Not surprisingly, most of the transfers were to Upper rather than Lower Moesia. The Dacian wars of Domitian and Trajan were launched from Moesia Superior and the army of occupation of the original province of Dacia was drawn almost exclusively from this province, as the following list demonstrates:

<u>Units on Dacian diplomas of 110 (XVI 57 and 163)</u>	<u>Previous stations</u>
<u>alae</u>	
<i>I Aug. Ituraeorum</i>	Pannonia 98 (XVI 42)
<i>I Civium Romanorum</i>	Pannonia 85 (XVI 31)
<i>II Gallorum et Pannoniorum vet.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Claudia nova cohortes</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>I Pannoniorum vet. eq. p.f.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>VIII Raetorum C.R.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Vindelicorum</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>I Thracum C.R.</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>VI Thracum</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>III Campestris C.R.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Montanorum C.R.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Ulpia Brittonum M. eq.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)

²¹ Radnóti, A. and Barkóczi, L., The Distribution of Troops in Pannonia Inferior During the 2nd Century A.D., A.Arch.Hung., I 1951, pp.198,200,201-202.

<i>I Britannica M. eq.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/6 (XVI 54)
<i>II Brtannorum M. eq. C.R. p.f.</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>IV Cypria C.R.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>II Gallorum Macedonica</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>V Gallorum et Pannoniorum</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>I Hispanorum M. p.f.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Fl. Ulp. Hispanorum M. eq.</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>II Hispanorum scutata</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>I Cretum sag.</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)
<i>II Fl. Commagenorum sag.</i>	Moesia Sup. 104/5 (XVI 54)
<i>I Ituraeorum</i>	Syria 88 (XVI 35)
<i>II Gallorum Pannonica</i>	Pannonia? (implied by title)
<i>V Lingonum</i>	Britannia? (part of series raised for service in Britain)

The list enables us to identify the previous stations of twenty-five of the units that formed Dacia's first garrison. With few exceptions, they were drawn from Moesia Superior. Two of the units pose problems. The previous station of V Lingonum is unknown, but it is likely to have arrived from Britain in 103 to 105 with I Alpinorum, since the rest of the series was stationed there. The tile from Sucidava stamped "COHLING" (AE 1966, 329) does not prove the presence of the cohort in Moesia Inferior, since it could have been produced elsewhere and shipped along the Danube. Cohors V Gallorum causes more confusion, because a cohors V Gallorum appears on diplomas of Pannonia and Moesia of exactly the same date (XVI 163 and 164) when there is insufficient evidence that two such cohorts were serving on the Danube. The full title of the cohort, V Gallorum et Pannoniorum, implies a connection between the Moesian/Dacian cohort and the one that was stationed in Pannonia. Its appearance on the diplomas of both provinces is probably explained by the territorial changes that occurred in about 106, when Trajan restored the territory to Pannonia Inferior that Domitian had detached. This would have had the effect of moving the cohorts base from Moesia to Pannonia.²² At that time the cohort or part of it was in Dacia, as the Dacian diploma demonstrates, even though it was nominally part of the Pannonian command. Even its return to Moesia Superior after 110 may be more apparent than real, since it was stationed north of the Danube at Pojejna de Sus in territory that may have been

²² For the movements of V Gallorum see Radnóti-Barkóczy, op.cit. pp.201-202 and Wagner, W., Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus, 1938, pp.140-141. The view adopted here is that there was only one such cohort on the Danube. It was part of a series of at least eleven Gallic cohorts raised for service on the Danube. In 75 (RMD 2) it was in Moesia. By 84 (XVI 30) it was transferred to Pannonia, where it is also recorded in 85 (XVI 31). The border change of 86 left it in Moesia Superior, where it is recorded in 100 (XVI 46).

transferred from Dacia to Upper Moesia by Hadrian.²³ This would also explain how coh. III *Campestris*, which garrisoned Drobeta in the same region, returned to Upper Moesia from Dacia by 159/60.²⁴

In the period following the conquest of Dacia further troop movements occurred, though two of the transfers were really the product of provincial reorganization. As we have seen territory was transferred from Moesia to Pannonia. This probably explains why *ala Praetoria C.R.* and cohorts I *Lusitanorum* appear to move from Moesia Superior to Pannonia Inferior by 110 (XVI 46/54 cf. 164). A different type of provincial reorganization occurred when Hadrian united Pannonia Inferior and Dacia under Marcus Turbo following an attack by the Iazyges in the winter of 118/119. This tactical co-operation seems to have resulted in the transfer of five Pannonian units to Dacia:

	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Dacian evidence</u>
<i>ala I Bosporanorum</i>	Pann. Sup. 116 (XVI 64)	Dacia Sup. Hadrian (III 1197)
<i>ala I Tung. Front.</i>	Pann. Inf. 114 (XVI 61)	Dacia Por. 133 (RMD 35)
<i>ala Siliana C.R.</i>	Pann. Inf. 110 (XVI 164)	Dacia Por. 133 (RMD 35)
<i>coh. I Batavorum M.</i>	Pann. Sup. 113 (RMD 86)	Dacia Por. 133 (RMD 35)
<i>coh. II Aug. Nerv. Pacensis Brittonum M.</i>	Pann. Inf. 114 (XVI 61)	Dacia Por. 133 (RMD 35)

Shortly after this campaign, Hadrian divided Dacia into three provinces. The original province of Dacia was divided into Superior in the south-west and Porolissensis in the north, while Dacia Inferior was created from territory on the north bank of the Danube that Trajan had originally added to Moesia Inferior. The distribution of troops after the creation of the three Dacias reflects these changes. The units recorded on the Dacian diplomas of 110 (XVI 57; 163) usually found themselves in Dacia Superior or Dacia Porolissensis after the division of the original province:

<u>Dacia Porolissensis on diplomas of 123 (RMD 21), 133 (RMD 35) and 154 (RMD 47)</u>	<u>Dacia Superior on diplomas of 144 (XVI 90) and 157 (XVI 107)</u>
<i>ala I Britannica C.R.</i>	coh. I <i>Alpinorum</i>
<i>ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum</i>	coh. II <i>Gallorum Pannonica</i>
<i>coh. II Britannorum M.C.R.p.f.</i>	coh. I <i>Aug. Ituraeorum</i>
<i>coh. I Ulpia Brittonum M.C.R.p.f.</i>	coh. II <i>Flavia Commagenorum</i>
<i>coh. I Britannica M.C.R.</i>	coh. I <i>Vindelicorum M.C.R.p.f.</i>
<i>coh. V Lingonum</i>	coh. VII <i>Raetorum</i>
<i>coh. VI Thracum</i>	
<i>coh. I Fl. Ulp. Hispanorum M.</i>	

²³ Vor V *Gallorum* at Pojejna de Sus see AE 1931, 125. Significantly, another territorial change may have transferred it from Moesia Superior to Dacia Superior later in the century (see RMD 123 of 179 with Roxan's note).

²⁴ For III *Campestris* at Drobeta see III 14216,8 and 14216, 10.

coh. I Hispanorum M.

coh. II Hispanorum scutata

In a similar manner, most of the garrison of Dacia Inferior can be traced back to Moesia Inferior, from which Lower Dacia was detached:

<u>Units on diplomas of 129 (XVI 75) and 149 (RMD 39) for Dacia Inferior:</u>	<u>Evidence of presence in Moesia Inferior</u>
<i>ala I Cl. Gallorum Capitoniana</i>	105 (XVI 50)
<i>ala I Asturum</i>	99 (XVI 45)
<i>ala I Hispanorum</i>	Flavian (III 12361)
<i>coh. II Gallorum</i>	110/113 (XVI 58)
<i>coh. I Bracaraugustanorum</i>	110/113 (XVI 58)
<i>coh. I Hispanorum vet.</i>	105/108 (RMR 63)
<i>coh. II Fl. Bessorum</i>	105 (XVI 50)
<i>coh. III Gallorum</i>	110/113 (XVI 58)
<i>coh. I Tyrriorum sag.</i>	99 (XVI 45)

A small number of transfers do not fit into this pattern. Cohors II Fl. Numidarum, for example, was stationed in Thracia in Flavian times, but it was stationed in Dacia Inferior by 129 (AE 1965, 347 cf. XVI 75). The garrison of Thracia, however, was usually drawn from Moesia Inferior, which suggests that the cohort could have been part of the Lower Moesian command before it moved to Dacia.²⁵ The transfer of I Ubiorum from Moesia Inferior to Dacia Superior between 99 and 144 (XVI 44 cf. 90) also falls outside the pattern of movements, unless its presence in Dacia Inferior under Hadrian has yet to be detected. In a similar manner, the lack of evidence may conceal the presence of coh. I Alpinorum in Dacia under Trajan. It was in Moesia Superior in 104/5 and in Dacia Superior by 144, though contrary to expectations it does not appear on the Dacian diplomas of 110.

Moesia seems to have needed more troops after it lost part of its garrison to Dacia Inferior and the Dobrudja was reoccupied. These factors probably account for the arrival of one ala and three cohorts in the province. The lack of evidence probably conceals the arrival of these units at a much earlier date than the evidence indicates, possibly Trajanic or early Hadrianic:

	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Lower Moesian Evidence</u>
<i>ala I Fl. Gaetulorum</i>	Pann. Inf. 114 (XVI 61)	c. 157 (RMD 49)
<i>coh. II Bracaraugust.</i>	Thracia 114 (RMD 114)	c. 157 (RMD 49)
<i>coh. I Thracum Syriaca</i>	Moesia Sup. 100 (XVI 46)	c. 157 (RMD 49)

There is also evidence of reinforcements arriving on the upper and middle Danube during this period. There seems to be no single explanation for this, though the need to replace troops sent to the lower Danube, the Hadrianic consolidation of the limites and the return of

²⁵ IV Gallorum, II Bracaraugustanorum and II Lucensium are known in Thracia (RMD 14; III 14207, 32) and Moesia Inferior (XVI 50; RMD 49).

units to their original stations helps to account for the movements. Pannonia Inferior which had lost a large part of its garrison during the Dacian wars, received most troops:

	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Pannonian evidence</u>
<i>ala I Fl. Gaetulorum</i>	Moesia Inf. 110/113 (XVI 58)	Pann.Inf. 114 (XVI 61)
<i>ala I Thracum vet.</i>	Pann.Sup. 113 (RMD 86)	Pann.Inf. 139 (XVI 175)
<i>ala I Civium Romanorum</i>	Dacia 110 (XVI 57)	Pann.Inf. 139 (XVI 175)
<i>ala I Aug. Ituraeorum</i>	Dacia 110 (XVI 57/163)	Pann.Inf. 139 (XVI 175)
<i>ala I Aug. Thracum</i>	Raetia 107 (XVI 55)	Noricum 128/138 (XVI 174)
<i>ala I Pann. Tampiana</i>	Britannia 122 (XVI 69)	Noricum 135/138 (RMD 93)
<i>coh. II Alpinorum</i>	Pann.Inf. 110 (XVI 164)	Pann.Sup. 133 (XVI 76)
<i>coh. I Thracum C.R.</i>	Germ.Sup. 117 (XVI 62)	Pann.Sup. 133 (XVI 76)
<i>coh. I Tungrorum vex.?</i>	Britannia 103 (XVI 48)	Noricum 128/138 (XVI 174)
<i>coh. II Batavorum</i>	Moesia Inf. Trajan (ILS 9107)	Noricum 135/138 (RMD 93)
<i>coh. III Batavorum vex.</i>	Raetia 107 (XVI 55)	Pann.Inf. 148 (XVI 179)

One of the transfer requires further discussion. It is uncertain whether a vexillation of cohorts I or II Tungrorum milliaria was serving in Noricum under Hadrian. The first cohort ceases to be described as milliaria in Britain between 103 and 122, which implies that a vexillation had been transferred from the province. It is possible, however, that the Noricum diploma of 128/138 can be restored to read [I]I Tungr{orum} M[illiaria] vex. and the numerical order of the cohorts on the diploma of 135/138 suggests that the second cohort should be restored.²⁶ This could mean that II Tungrorum was transferred in its entirety and divided between Noricum and Raetia, which would at least explain its absence from British diplomas.

In contrast to all of this activity on the Danube, there is relatively little evidence of units leaving the Danubian provinces. As we shall see there was limited movement to the east, but the need to supply adjacent provinces with their standing garrisons accounts for most of this. Thus cohorts IV Gallorum was transferred from Moesia Inferior to Thracia in 105 to 114 (XVI 50 cf. RMD 14) and I Fl. Bessorum from Moesia Superior to Macedonia in 100 to 120 (XVI 46 cf. XVI 67), while IV Cypria seems to have moved to the Bosphorus after serving in Dacia under Trajan (XVI 57 cf. ILS 9161). At about the same time IV Raetorum was transferred from Moesia Superior to Lycia et Pamphylia (XVI 46 cf. AE 1915, 49) and I Lepidiana C.R. was transferred from Moesia Inferior to Asia after 110/113 (XVI 58 cf. ILS 2590). It is usually accepted that cohorts I Cl. Sugambrorum vet. was transferred from Moesia Inferior to Eumenia in Asia in about 126 (AE 1927, 95), but this is not necessarily true. The inscription is dedicated to the welfare of the emperor and to that of the cohort, but the inscription was dedicated by the "praef(ectus) fabrum et praef(ectus) coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) {i.e. I Sugambrorum} qui a Moesia inf(eriore) Montan(ensi) praesidio

²⁶ RMD 93 with Roxan's note.

numerus in Asia(m) perduxit". The prefect had apparently conducted a numerus or vexillation of the cohort to Asia and not the entire unit, which was evidently still stationed at castra Montanensis in Moesia Inferior.²⁷

The period of the Dacian wars also witnessed considerable activity in the east. Arabia required a garrison after its annexation in 106. Its composition is still not fully understood, but it seems likely that the following units, which cannot be traced elsewhere, after 106, were there from the start:

	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Arabian evidence</u>
<i>ala vet. Gaetulorum</i>	Iudaea 86 (XVI 33)	Marcus (SEG 24 1964, 1064)
<i>coh. I Hispanorum</i>	Aegyptus(Iudaea 105 (RMD 9)	106?
<i>coh. I Thebaeorum</i>	Aegyptus/Iudaea 105 (RMD 9)	114 (P.Catt. II, col. 3)
<i>coh. VI Hispanorum</i>	Syria c.100 (AE 1933, 215)	212/213 (ANRW II 1977, p.706)
<i>coh. I Aug. Thracum</i>	Syria 88 (RMD 3)	IInd cent. (IEJ 17 1967, pp.46-55)

The garrison was drawn from the adjacent provinces of Iudaea and Syria, though Aegyptus contributed indirectly. The Egyptian diploma of 105 describes cohortes I Thebaeorum and I Hispanorum as ex translatarum in Iudaeam, which indicates, as H.-G.Pflaum suggests, that they were transferred to Iudaea in 105 to take part in the annexation of Arabia.²⁸

The Parthian war of 114-116 and Arrian's operations against the Alani account for a number of transfers to Cappadocia and Syria, though some of the movements cannot be closely dated:

	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Syrian/Cappadocian evidence</u>
<i>ala I Fl. Britannica</i>	Pann.Inf. 110 (XVI 164)	Cappadocia 114 (XVI 61 cf. AE 1908, 23)
<i>ala I Aug. Syriaca</i>	Aegyptus 105 (RMD 9)	Syria c.162 (III 600)
<i>ala Gem. Colonorum</i>	Syria 75/80 (IGR III 1144)	Galatia Trajan (AE 1907, 57)
<i>coh. VII Gallorum</i>	Moesia Inf. 110/113 (XVI 58)	Syria 134/138 (XVI 103)
<i>coh. IV Raetorum</i>	Lycia Trajan (AE 1915, 49)	Cappadocia c.135 (Arrian Ect.1)
<i>coh. I Ituraeorum</i>	Syria 88 (35)	Cappadocia c.135 (Arrian Ect.1)
<i>coh. I Raetorum</i>	Asia Trajan (IGR IV 728 cf. JRS 18 128, p.188)	Cappadocia c.135 (Arrian Ect.1)

Ala Britannica returned to Pannonia Inferior after the Parthian war (RMD 21) and cohors I Raetorum returned to Asia in c.135 to 148 (RMD 100). It is possible that coh. I Lepidiana

²⁷ Speidel, M.P., Citizen Cohorts in the Roman Imperial Army. New Data on the Cohorts Apula, Campana, and III Campestris, TAPA, 106 1976, pp.345-348. Speidel argues that the terms numerus and cohors could be interchangeable, but in the texts that he cites numerus can be interpreted to mean a detachment from or a group within an ala or a cohors. How else can we explain the phrase n(umerus) alae I Thracum of XIII 8818.

²⁸ Pflaum, H.-G., Un nouveau diplome militaire d'un soldat de l'armée d'Egypte, Syria 44 1967, pp.355-356.

was transferred to Asia (see above, p.170) to release I Raetorum for service in the Parthian war or possibly for service in Cappadocia under Arrian. When I Raetorum returned to Asia, I Lepidiana was probably sent to Cappadocia where it appears in 199 (AE 1908, 22). The location of ala I Augusta Syriaca between 105 and about 162 is a mystery, though the total lack of evidence after 105 in Aegyptus implies that it left the province for the Parthian war of Trajan and never returned.

When the transfers to Iudaea and Aegyptus are considered an interesting pattern emerges, which is reminiscent of the "knock on effect" observed in the western provinces. Syria appears to have transferred troops to Iudaea so that Iudaea could in turn transfer troops to Aegyptus. The following units were in Syria under Domitian (XVI 35; RMD 1,2,3) and in Syria Palaestina by 139 (XVI 87):

<i>ala VII Phrygum</i>	<i>coh. I Thracum M.</i>
<i>ala Constantium</i>	<i>coh. I Sebastena</i>
<i>coh. IV Bracaraugustanorum</i>	<i>coh. I Fl. equitata C.R.</i>

It is tempting to suggest that these transfers occurred as a result of Hadrian's Jewish war, but it is difficult to see how this is possible. Out of seven cohorts that were in Iudaea in Flavian times only one still remained by 139.²⁹ Consequently, if the transfers did not occur until about 135, there would have been insufficient troops to garrison the province. Moreover, Syria could not afford to lose so many units unless they were replaced. The replacements arrived under Trajan, who stationed eight of the new alae and cohortes that he raised in Syria.³⁰ The transfers, therefore, were related to the annexation of Arabia and the Parthian war, which must have involved major troop movements that are not yet fully understood. Syria, Iudaea and Aegyptus, for instance, lost units when Arabia was annexed and, although it is uncertain when III Cyrenaica was transferred to Arabia, there can be no doubt that Egypt supplied legionary cohorts to garrison Arabia from the start.³¹ Moreover, Aegyptus was reduced to a one legion province when XXII Deiotariana was lost in Iudaea. These factors probably underly the transfer of the following units to Aegyptus:

	<u>Previous station</u>	<u>Egyptian evidence</u>
<i>ala vet. Gallica</i>	Syria 91 (RMD 5)	101 (Documenti 55)
<i>ala I Thracum Mauretana</i>	Iudaea 86 (XVI 33)	142 (AE 1948,56) and probably 134 (RMR 64)

²⁹ Six units are listed on the Judaeen diploma of 86 (XVI 33) and I Damascenorum was probably in the province (ILS 2722 cf. Plin. Epist. 7, 22). By 139 (XVI 87) only this unit remained in the province, though it may have been temporarily transferred to Aegyptus according to papyri of 134/135 (BGU I 73, 136).

³⁰ Units raised by Trajan for service in Syria include ala I Ulp. sing. and I Ulp. dromedariorum and cohortes I Ulp. Dacorum, II Ulp. eq., II and III Ulp. Paflagonum, I and V Ulp. Petreorum and I Ulp. sag.

³¹ Speidel, M.P., The Roman Army in Arabia, ANRW II 1977, pp.691-697.

<i>coh. I Aug. Lusitanorum</i>	Iudaea 86 (XVI 33)	105 (RMD 9)
<i>coh. I Thracum eq.</i>	Iudaea 86 (XVI 33)	127 (CPL 159)
<i>coh. II Thracum</i>	Iudaea 86 (XVI 33)	131 (P. Wisconsin I,14)
<i>coh. I Apamenorum</i>	Cappadocia Trajan (AE 1974, 226)	143 (BGU III, 729)

The Jewish revolt of 115-117 was another factor that could explain some of the troop movements. Cohors VII Breucorum was temporarily transferred from Moesia Superior to Cyprus as a result of the revolt (XVI 46 cf. III 215). After the revolt it returned to a new station in Pannonia Inferior (XVI 179/180). The more serious revolt of 132-135 explains another temporary transfer. Cohors I Montanorum, which was in Dacia in 110 (XVI 163), had arrived in Syria Palaestina by 139 (XVI 87). By 159/160 it was returned to Moesia Superior (XVI 111), where it had probably been stationed before it went to Palestine, though the lack of Hadrianic diplomas for Upper Moesia means that there is no evidence of this. It now seems unlikely, however, that three cohorts were transferred from Raetia to Syria Palaestina, as Radnóti once believed.³² At least one of the cohorts concerned, III Bracaraugustanorum, was still in Raetia in 140/144 (RMD 58/95) and it seems possible to treat the cohort of the same name on the Palestinian diploma of 139 as part of a different series raised for service in the east.³³

After the principate of Hadrian the number of recorded transfers decrease as the period progresses, because there was less imperial expansion as the Empire settled down behind defensive frontiers and possibly because composite vexillations were used during periods of crisis in preference to the transfer of full units.

Certain patterns emerge when the transfers described above are examined. Firstly, there is the regional nature of the transfers. That is to say, transfers usually, though not invariably, occurred within regions of the empire rather than between them. Hence, Germany supplied Britain with troops just as Pannonia supplied Moesia, which in turn sent auxiliaries to Dacia.

A second feature of the transfers is their pattern of concentration and dispersal. Gaius concentrated a large number of troops in Germany, which Claudius used in Britain, Mauretania and probably Pannonia. There was another large concentration of troops in Germany after the Batavian revolt. During the Flavian period they were gradually dispersed, with most units going to Britain, Raetia, Pannonia and Moesia. The third concentration of troops was in Moesia. The build up of troops was the work of successive emperors, especially Domitian, but Trajan used them to conquer and hold Dacia. It is interesting to

³² Radnóti, A., *Germania* 39 1961, p.114 33.

³³ The series of units raised for service in the east would include II Bracaraugustanorum of VI 1838, III Bracaraugustanorum of XVI 87 and IV Bracaraugustanorum of XVI 87, RMD 69 and VIII 7079. Dr. M.Roxan, however, has suggested that III Bracaraugustanorum of Palestine could have been the British unit of that name which went there with Iulius Severus.

observe how both Claudius and Trajan inherited large concentrations of troops from their predecessors and used them to further their imperial ambitions.

A final feature of the transfers may be described as their "knock on effect". Troops appear to have been transferred to Pannonia to release Pannonian troops for service in Moesia, just as Judaea seems to have received units from Syria to release units that were needed in Arabia and Aegyptus. Unfortunately, the chronology of most transfers is too imprecise for this process to be demonstrated beyond doubt. Moreover, it did not always occur. Dalmatia, for instance, had its garrison permanently reduced.

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