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EXERCITUS PIUS FIDELIS: THE ARMY OF GERMANIA INFERIOR IN AD 89

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The recently published diploma of AD 127 for Germania Inferior has the highly unusual phrase *equitib(us) et peditib(us) exerc(itus) p(ii) f(idelis) qui militaver(unt)* . . . instead of the expected *equitib(us) et peditib(us) qui militaver(unt)* . . .² This phrase vividly demonstrates that Domitian when he bestowed the titles *pia fidelis Domitiana* after the suppression of L. Antonius Saturninus in AD 89 did so to the army of Lower Germany as an entity as well as to the legions, auxiliary units, and the *classis Germanica* which were its constituent parts.³ It also reveals that these titles were important to this provincial army and that it wished to remember them nearly forty years after the award. Individually units likewise retained the titles. It is thus possible to try to identify the *alae* and cohorts which were stationed in Germania Inferior at the time of the revolt of Saturninus.

If the titles *pia fidelis* could be bestowed on individual units of a provincial army as well as to that army as an entity the question needs to be considered whether such an award was in any way special and therefore whether it was infrequently bestowed. The words are very similar in meaning as *pia* means loyal and *fidelis* faithful. Combined the emphasis is therefore very much on loyalty which must be to the emperor as commander of the army.

A survey of the occasions on which the titles were bestowed to legions shows the significance and importance of this honour:

Legio VII and legio XI. The first occasion for the bestowal of the titles was in AD 42 when the attempted revolt by L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, failed because the two legions in the province did not support him. As a result *legio VII* and *legio XI* were given the titles *Claudia pia fidelis* by Claudius.⁴

Legio II Adiutrix. This legion is first recorded with the titles on diplomas of 7th March AD 70 (XVI 10, 11). This honour was bestowed by Vespasian because the legion supported his cause when it was being raised in AD 69 during the Civil Wars.⁵

¹ I should like to thank Prof. Tony Birley, Prof. Werner Eck and Dr. Margaret Roxan for commenting on earlier versions of this paper. I should also like to thank Prof. Jan Kees Haalebos for allowing me to see the manuscript of his edition, with commentary, of the diploma of AD 98 for Germania Inferior prior to publication and for permission to mention a few of the units which it records. The following abbreviations are used:

Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* = G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior*, Düsseldorf 1968.

PME = H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militarium equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, I–III, Louvain 1976–80; IV, Suppl. 1, Louvain 1987; V, Suppl. 2, Louvain 1993.

Ritterling, *Aufstand* = E. Ritterling, *Der Aufstand des Antonius Saturninus*, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 12, 1898.

Ritterling, *Legio* = E. Ritterling, *Legio*, *RE* XII, 1924–25.

² W. Eck – E. Paunov, *Ein neues Militärdiplom für die Auxiliärtruppen von Germania inferior aus dem Jahr 127*, *Chiron* 27, 1997, 335–354. This diploma and the others for Lower Germany of AD 78 (XVI 23); AD 80 (XVI 158) and AD 158 (RMD I 52) will hereafter be referred to only by date.

³ For the epigraphic evidence for the legions with these titles see note 6. Auxiliary units are discussed below. The *classis Germanica* is recorded with the titles *p(ia) f(idelis) D(omitiana)* on two inscriptions (XIII 7681, Andernach; XIII 7723, Brohltal). The erased part of an altar found in the Altbachtal temple district has been restored to show the fleet was called *[[Domitianaef]]* (AE 1928, 183; H. Finke, *Neue Inschriften*, BRGK 17, 1929, nr. 41). The altar is, however, later in date and the erased name would have belonged to a third century Emperor (E. Gose, *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk im Altbachtal zu Trier*, Mainz 1972, 21 and Abb. 114).

⁴ Ritterling, *Legio* col. 1249.

⁵ Ritterling, *Legio* col. 1438–1439.

Legio I Minervia, legio VI Victrix, legio X Gemina, legio XXII Primigenia. The four legions of Lower Germany were awarded the titles *pia fidelis Domitiana* in AD 89 for loyalty to Domitian during the revolt of L. Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany.⁶

Legio I Adiutrix. An altar set up at Apulum in Dacia between AD 107 and AD 114 (III 1004) is the first dateable record of the legion with the epithet. Ritterling knew of no evidence which suggested a date before the reign of Trajan for the award.⁷ Since he wrote more evidence has accrued and it is now often suggested that the bestowal of the titles on the legion was as a result of the Suebian War in AD 97 during the reign of Nerva.⁸

However, none of the evidence used to pinpoint the occasion for the award to this legion can be so closely dated. The career of Q. Attius Priscus shows he was decorated in the Suebian War by Nerva as tribune of *legio I Adiutrix*.⁹ However, the legion is not recorded with the titles even though the inscription was set up some years after the War.¹⁰ Similarly the inscription honouring M. Gavius Bassus at Ephesus when he was prefect of the Pontic Shore does not record *legio I Adiutrix* as having the titles although *cohors VI Brittonum* does.¹¹ He was tribune in the legion prior to a Dacian War when he was decorated by Trajan as prefect of an ala. Even if the lack of epithet for the legion reflects its status at the time he was a tribune this cannot be used to date this post. There is also the case of the centurion Q. Geminius Sabinus who was decorated by Trajan in the German War as centurion of *legio I Adiutrix*. Again the legion lacks the titles and it is clear he was dead by the end of AD 102.¹² An altar at Sirmium set up by a soldier of the legion without the titles mentions a centurion Egnatius Paetus. The same man is recorded as centurion of *legio X Gemina* at Mursa c.AD 102/7.¹³

There are two tombstones at Poetovio of veterans of *legio I Adiutrix pf* which have been dated to the founding of the colony early in the reign of Trajan (AIJ 374, 375). But it has been pointed out that rather than having been given land they received cash and so it is most unlikely they were among the first colonists.¹⁴ On stylistic grounds the tombstones cannot be more closely dated than early second century.¹⁵

It is thus a matter of opinion whether the Suebian War of AD 97 provided the occasion for the loyalty emphasized by the titles *pia fidelis*. The Suebi confronted the Roman Empire along the Danube roughly between Vindobona and Brigetio. The latter is where this legion is presumed to have been based in AD 97. If the war was important enough for these titles to have been bestowed for loyalty then it seems strange no other legion in the vicinity like *legio XV Apollinaris* at Carnuntum was so honoured. It has been suggested that *cohors I Batavorum milliaria* also received the titles in this war.¹⁶ Again it

⁶ Ritterling, *Aufstand 203–206*. There he refers to the following inscriptions of the legions which record the titles: *legio I Minervia pfD* (XIII 8071, Bonn); *legio VI Victrix pfD* (XIII 8533, ?Xanten); *legio X Gemina pfD* (XIII 7717, Brohltal); *legio XXII Primigenia pfD* (XIII 6357, Roethenberg; XIII 7725, Andernach/Brohltal).

⁷ Ritterling, *Legio* col. 1390.

⁸ K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians*, Bonn 1989, 132–133 and note 41.

⁹ ILS 2720 = PME I,IV,V, A 187.

¹⁰ The career inscription of T. Iulius Maximus Ma[...] Brocchus Servilianus A. Quadron[us ?Verus] L. Servilius Vatia Cassius Cam[ars?] is damaged where the epithet may have been carved and so cannot be used as evidence. He commanded *legio I Adiutrix* a little before Trajan's Dacian War (ILS 1016).

¹¹ IK Ephesos III, 680 = PME I,IV,V, G 8.

¹² B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, Köln 1978, nr. 103.

¹³ M. Mirković, *The Inscriptions from Sirmium and its Territory, Sirmium I*, 1971, 62–63 nr. 12 and AE 1928, 157.

¹⁴ J. C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate*, London 1983, 32–33.

¹⁵ A. Schober, *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien*, Wien 1923, 41 nr. 85.

¹⁶ K. Strobel, *Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Batavikohorten in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, ZPE 70, 1987, 271–292, esp. 276 and note 35.

seems strange that no other auxiliary unit which was in the area at the time are known to have gained the honour. For example *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria* is attested at Vindobona at this time.¹⁷

On the other hand it is known that an auxiliary unit, *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria* was awarded the titles *pia fidelis* for service in the Second Dacian War (XVI 160). The confusing events at the beginning of this war whereby Decebalus attacked Roman forts without warning and captured Pompeius Longinus could well be a time for a legion or part of it with a few auxiliary units to exhibit the necessary loyalty to the emperor.

Legio XV Apollinaris. As a result of its loyalty to Marcus Aurelius during the revolt of Avidius Cassius, governor of Syria, in AD 175 *legio XV Apollinaris* which was stationed in Cappadocia received the titles *pia fidelis*.¹⁸ At the same time the other legion in that province, *legio XII Fulminata*, was honoured with the titles *certa constans* (dependable and steadfast).¹⁹

Legio VIII Augusta. The career inscription of C. Vesnius Vindex records that while he was serving as tribune of *legio VIII Augusta* in Germania Superior the legion was awarded the titles *pia fidelis constans Commoda* (XI 6053). The occasion was the rebellion of Maternus in AD 185–186 in the aftermath of the downfall of Perennis.²⁰

Legio XXX Ulpia victrix. After the civil war between Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus in AD 197 this legion based in Lower Germany received the titles for remaining loyal to the former.²¹

Legio XVI Flavia firma. A building dedication dating AD 209/211 found at Dura Europus shows that this legion had been awarded the titles *pia fidelis* (AE 1940, 220). This confirms the reading of the only other inscription which records the legion with this honour (VI 1332). After being tribune of the legion, T. Aelius Naevius Antonius Severus eventually became consul probably under Decius.²² A possible occasion for the bestowal of the titles would have been in the civil war between Severus and Niger if the legion was not committed to the latter's cause just as *legio VI Ferrata* was awarded the titles *fidelis constans* (faithful and steadfast).²³

Legio II Parthica. The occasion for the bestowal of the titles *pia fidelis felix aeterna* (loyal faithful fortunate eternal) on the legion has been thought to be AD 218 when it helped Elagabalus gain the throne.²⁴ However, these titles are recorded on a tombstone found at Apamea in Syria which can be dated to AD 215 (AE 1993, 1572). Perhaps the aftermath of the assassination of Geta by Caracalla would have been more suitable for this unusual collection of honorific titles to have been awarded.

Later awards. In the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus the titles *pia fidelis* became a debased honour as they could be awarded to a legion more than once.²⁵ Thus *legio V Macedonica* is recorded in AD 253 as *III piae fid[elis]* (III 875). This might explain why the legion is called *p(ia) f(idelis)* on an altar from Potaissa (AE 1984, 739) rather than the more usual *pia constans* (loyal and steadfast) which honour it was awarded about AD 180.²⁶

Legio XIII Gemina. Whether this legion was honoured with the titles is not absolutely clear. Three inscriptions have been put forward as evidence that it did:

¹⁷ III 4575, III 4576, III 15197.

¹⁸ Ritterling, Legio col. 1754–1755.

¹⁹ Ritterling, Legio col. 1708.

²⁰ G. Alföldy, Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmeen, Köln 1967, 45 note 232.

²¹ Ritterling, Legio col. 1825–1826. Other awards at this time were *pia vindex* (loyal and avenging) to *legio III Augusta* (Ritterling, Legio col. 1500) and *pia* to *legio VII Gemina felix* (Ritterling, Legio col. 1637). By AD 206 the praetorian cohorts and the urban cohorts were called *pia vindex* (RMD III 188).

²² PIR² N 5.

²³ Ritterling, Legio col. 1592–1593.

²⁴ Ritterling, Legio col. 1479–1480.

²⁵ Ritterling, Legio col. 1371–1372.

²⁶ Ritterling, Legio col. 1580.

On an inscription from Aeso in Tarraconensis which sets out the career of the centurion C. Julius Lepidus his first centurionate has been restored as *centur leg X[III]/ Gem pf* because he was recorded as *7 leg X G pf* later on (II 4463).²⁷ However, there is no apparent damage to the stone at this point and earlier editors read *centur leg X/ Gem pf*. Thus the supplement to CIL II retracts the restoration as XIII Gemina admitting the possibility of promotion within a legion (II 4463 add.).

The career inscription of M. Staius Priscus set up at Rome records him as *leg Aug prov Daciae leg leg XIII G pf* (VI 1523). However, on an altar set up at Apulum in AD 158 while he was in command of the legion the epithet is lacking (III 1061). Indeed the titles are not recorded on any altar set up at Apulum by this legion between AD 160 and AD 211/221.²⁸ This suggests that the titles were added in error on the inscription at Rome perhaps through confusion with Priscus' tribunates of *legio I Adiutrix pf* and *legio X Gemina pf*.

Finally there is an altar from near Augustopolis in Phrygia set up by Tib. Cl(audius) Vibianus *7 leg XIII Gem pi fi fru* (III 7041). The expansion of the epithet seems clear, but the date is hard to fix. It is possible that their use reflects an award of the titles to this legion at the same time as its partner in Dacia, *legio V Macedonica*, was honoured with *pia constans*. But it is strange that this would then be the only record of such an award.

The evidence for the bestowal of *pia fidelis* on legions shows that they were given for loyalty to the emperor and not very often in the early years of the principate. Therefore, when he recovered from the shock of the revolt of Saturninus, Domitian decided that the part played by the army of Lower Germany in its suppression deserved recognition by awarding the titles *pia fidelis Domitiana* to each unit. When the original study of their bestowal was written by Emil Ritterling one hundred years ago he could identify two auxiliary cohorts with the full title²⁹:

Cohors II Asturum pFD. This cohort is so named on an altar set up in the Brohltal (XIII 7705). It is also recorded on the diplomas of AD 80 and AD 127.

Cohors II cR pFD. This unit bears the titles on an altar also set up in the Brohltal (XIII 7722). It is now recorded on the diplomas for Germania Inferior of AD 80 and AD 127.

In addition he argued that there was sufficient evidence to add three alae and four cohorts to the list. These were:

Ala Indiana pf. This is recorded in Lower Germany in the Flavio-Trajanic period (XIII 8519) and it had received the titles *pia fidelis* by the reign of Trajan when it was commanded by C. Hediis Verus.³⁰ By AD 134 the ala had been moved to Germania Superior (XVI 80).³¹ The most recent diploma evidence shows that it had arrived in the latter province by AD 129/130 (RMD II 90).

Ala I singularium cR pf. Its presence in Lower Germany in the reign of Vespasian was adduced from the career of C. Minicius Italus.³² On 27th October AD 90 the ala is attested on a diploma for Germania Superior but without the titles (XVI 36). But on the one for AD 117 for the same province it does (XVI 62). Ritterling argued the absence was because full official titles were not regularly put on diplomas

²⁷ B. Dobson (n. 12), nr. 255 accepts this restoration.

²⁸ III 1078, 1074/76, 1063, 1070, 1071.

²⁹ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 206–207. In what follows his references have been modernised and extra ones have been added where relevant.

³⁰ XI 6123 = PME I,IV,V, H 2. It is now known that Hediis Verus commanded the ala a little later as he is recorded as prefect of *cohors II Lingonum* on a diploma for Britain of AD 127 (J. Nollé, *Militärdiplom für einen in Britannien entlassenen Daker*, ZPE 117, 1997, 269–276).

³¹ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 211.

³² ILS 1374 = PME II,IV,V, M 60.

before the reign of Trajan.³³ Since he wrote its presence in Lower Germany has been confirmed by its mention on the diploma of AD 78.³⁴

Ala II Flavia milliaria pf. This ala is recorded with the titles on the diploma for Raetia of AD 107 (XVI 55). It is recorded on the diplomas for Upper Germany of AD 74 (XVI 20) and AD 82 (XVI 28) as *ala II Flavia gemina*, but is not on that of AD 90 (XVI 36). Thus Ritterling suggested that it was probably in Germania Inferior in AD 89.³⁵

Cohors I cR equitata pf. This cohort is attested with the titles on an altar found at Grosskrotzenburg in Upper Germany which dates to AD 191 or AD 211 (XIII 7411). Ritterling suggested that the titles could be supplemented on the diploma for Germania Superior of AD 117 (XVI 62) where the text is broken after *I civiu[.]*. This would be expected as *cohors III Delmatarum* and *cohors II Hispanorum* both have the titles. It is not on the diplomas of AD 74 (XVI 20), AD 82 (XVI 28), and AD 90 (XVI 36) for Germania Superior which should suggest its presence in Lower Germany.³⁶ This is now confirmed by an altar from the Brohltal (XIII 7706).

Cohors III Delmatarum pf. On the diploma for Upper Germany of AD 117 (XVI 62) this unit has the titles but does not on that of AD 90 (XVI 36) which is its first appearance in the province. The reason that Ritterling gave was the same as for *ala I singularium*.³⁷ Its presence in Lower Germany has now been confirmed by the discovery of a Flavian tombstone in Cologne (XIII 8271).

Ritterling also equated the cohort with *cohors III Delmatarum milliaria eq cR pf* attested at Mehadia in Dacia Superior in the reign of Gallienus (IDR III,1 77). This identification is not now usually accepted because it has been thought the cohort in Upper Germany was based at Rückingen until the end of the Limes.³⁸ At Mehadia *cohors III Delmatarum milliaria cR pf* is now attested on an altar dating to the reign of Severus Alexander (IDR III,1 76). A *cohors III Dalmatarum* is listed on a diploma for Dacia Superior of AD 179 (RMD II 123). The lack of honorific titles attached to this cohort is not a problem because none of the other units on the diploma which are known to have had titles are recorded with them. The cohort on this diploma could therefore be the one which is known to have been in Upper Germany. The only evidence from Rückingen of its presence are stamped tiles (XIII 12435) and a fragmentary inscription (XIII 7421) which cannot be closely dated. A transfer to the Danube during the reign of Marcus Aurelius would have been in keeping with the military needs of the time.

Cohors II Hispanorum (equitata) pf. It is recorded with the titles on the diploma for Germania Superior of AD 117 (XVI 62). However, it is not listed on those of AD 74 (XVI 20), AD 82 (XVI 28) and AD 90 (XVI 36). Thus Ritterling suggested it was probably in Lower Germany in the Flavian period.³⁹ Its presence there is almost certainly confirmed by the discovery of a fragment of a tile stamp reading [*coh II H]isp e(q)* found at Maurik (AE 1975, 639g).

³³ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 211–213.

³⁴ This ala is only called Flavia on the intus of the diploma for Raetia of AD 166 (XVI 121) out of nine complete appearances on diplomas for that province. (The extrinsecus of AD 166 is incomplete). This would suggest a scribal error. The nine diplomas where the name survives complete are AD 107 (XVI 55); AD 116 (RMD III 155, AE 1995, 1185); AD 138/40 (RMD II 94); AD 153/7 (XVI 117); AD 157 (RMD III 170); AD 156/7 (RMD II 51/104); AD 154/61 (RMD III 175); AD 166 (XVI 121). The name is partially preserved on those of AD 147 (XVI 94); AD 156/7 (XVI 183); AD 161/3 (RMD III 112/178); AD 167/8 (RMD I 68).

³⁵ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 213.

³⁶ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 214.

³⁷ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 215.

³⁸ E. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat*, Wien 1932, 185–186; W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in dem Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Berlin 1938, 132–133.

³⁹ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 215–216.

Cohors I Lucensium pf. The cohort is recorded with the titles on a building dedication of AD 104/111 found at Roomburg in Lower Germany (XIII 8823).⁴⁰ This unit should be equated with *cohors I Lucensium Hispanorum* in Upper Germany in the pre-Flavian period.

He also noted that a further one ala and five cohorts bore the titles⁴¹:

Ala II Thracum Augusta pf. This ala is recorded with the titles on the diploma of AD 107 for Mauretania Caesariensis (XVI 56).

Cohors I Batavorum milliaria pf. This cohort is recorded with the titles on the diploma of AD 98 for Pannonia (XVI 42).

Cohors I Hispanorum pf. The diploma of AD 110 for Dacia (XVI 57) records this unit with the titles.⁴²

Cohors II Augusta Dacorum milliaria pf equitata. An altar from Teutoburgium reveals the unit bore the titles (III 6450 = III 10255). It is now known that the unit name on the inscription is **cohors II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria pf eqq.**⁴³

Cohors VII campestris pf. This is recorded as *coh VII caimp/ Gordiana pf* on a dedication of the reign of Gordian from Hatna in Syria (III 132). In fact the unit is **cohors VII Gallorum pf** (III 14160/3) as Ritterling himself later concluded.⁴⁴ It is attested in Syria in AD 157 (XVI 106) and should be restored on a building dedication of AD 138 also at Hatna (III 131). In the reign of Trajan it is attested in Moesia Inferior on diplomas of AD 99 (XVI 45) and AD 110/113 (XVI 58).

Cohors I Flavia Hispanorum equitata pf. The career of L. Paconius Proculus records this cohort with the epithet.⁴⁵ It is now attested in Germania Inferior on the diplomas of AD 78, AD 80, and AD 127.

Géza Alföldy in his study of the auxiliary units of Lower Germany was able to identify additional units which had received these honorific titles from Domitian.⁴⁶ These were:

Cohors I classica pfD. The titles are recorded on tilestamps of the cohort found at de Meern (AE 1962, 196).⁴⁷ It is attested on the diplomas of AD 80, AD 127, and AD 158.

Cohors II Brittonum milliaria equitata cR pf. The first record of this unit with the epithet is on the diploma for Moesia Superior of AD 100 (XVI 46). Tilestamps found at Vetera (XIII 12424) and Fectio (XIII 12425) show its presence in Lower Germany.⁴⁸

Cohors III Lusitanorum pf. The diploma for Pannonia Inferior of AD 110 (XVI 164) is the first record of the unit with the titles. There is a tombstone of AD 80/100 (XIII 8317) in Lower Germany. Alföldy suggested it probably left the province with *legio X Gemina* to participate in Trajan's Dacian Wars.⁴⁹

Cohors I Raetorum equitata cR pf. A fragmentary inscription from Katwijk in Lower Germany (XIII 8827) shows the cohort gained the epithet. There are also tilestamps which have been assigned a Flavio-Trajanic date from Rigomagus (XIII 12452).⁵⁰ It is listed on the diploma of AD 127.

⁴⁰ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 216.

⁴¹ Ritterling, *Aufstand* 217 note 31.

⁴² Ritterling, *Aufstand* 216 note 29.

⁴³ J. E. Bogaers, *Auxiliaria*. In *Limes. Akten des XI. Internationalen Limeskongresses*, Szekesfehervar, 1976. Herausgegeben von J. Fitz, Budapest 1977, 601–632, esp. 610–611.

⁴⁴ E. Ritterling in *JÖAI* 3, 1900, 29 note 7.

⁴⁵ ILS 2723 = PME II, IV, V, P 5.

⁴⁶ G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior*, Düsseldorf 1968. Hereafter this is referred to as Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*. Where necessary his references have been brought up to date and new ones have been added.

⁴⁷ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 56.

⁴⁸ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 49.

⁴⁹ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 66.

⁵⁰ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 69.

Cohors III Thracum equitata pf. The cohort is recorded with the titles on the diploma of AD 158. It is also recorded in Germania Inferior in AD 80 and AD 127.⁵¹

Cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria cR pf. This unit bears this epithet on the diploma for Dacia of AD 110 (XVI 163) but not on that for Moesia Superior of AD 100 (XVI 46). Its presence in Lower Germany is confirmed by a tombstone of Flavian date found at Cologne (XIII 8320).⁵² It is now attested in Dacia with the titles on a diploma for Dacia of AD 109 (RMD III 148).

Cohors XV voluntariorum cR pf. A building inscription of AD 201 found at Roomburg (XIII 8826) shows that the unit gained the titles. Earlier evidence of its presence in Lower Germany is from stamped tiles found at Woerden and sites nearby which are presumed to be Flavio-Trajanic in date (AE 1977, 538).⁵³

There were other units recorded with the titles *pia fidelis* which he considered did not receive them in Lower Germany⁵⁴:

Ala III Asturum cR pf. The ala is first recorded with the titles on a diploma for Mauretania Tingitana of AD 109 (XVI 161).

Ala II Flavia gemina milliaria pf. The first diploma mention of this unit with the titles is that of AD 107 for Raetia (XVI 55).

Ala II Thracum Augusta pf. The diploma of AD 107 for Mauretania Caesariensis has the first record of the epithet for the ala (XVI 56).

Cohors III Asturum pf. The only record of the titles for this cohort is the diplomas of AD 156/7 for Mauretania Tingitana (XVI 181,182).

Cohors I Batavorum milliaria pf. This unit is first recorded with the titles on a diploma of AD 98 for Pannonia (XVI 42).

Cohors I Hispanorum pf. The diploma for Dacia of AD 110 (XVI 57) is the first time the cohort is recorded with the epithet.

Cohors I Pannoniorum veterana pf. This cohort is also recorded with the titles for the first time on a diploma for Dacia of AD 110 (XVI 163).

Cohors I Thracum cR pf. Also on a diploma issued in AD 110 is the first mention of this unit with the epithet but it was for auxiliary units in Pannonia Inferior (XVI 164).

Since then further epigraphic finds have increased the number of units attested with the titles *pia fidelis*:

Ala I Batavorum milliaria cR pf. This ala is recorded with the titles on a diploma of AD 112 for Pannonia Superior.⁵⁵

Ala I Hispanorum pf. An altar found at Slaveni in Dacia Inferior, but since lost, apparently records this unit with the titles (AE 1966, 314). The text exists only as a manuscript copy and was poorly preserved. The ala is not recorded with the titles on the diplomas for AD 129 (XVI 75) and AD 140 (RMD I 39) for that province.

Ala Moesica felix pf. Stamped tiles found at Echzell in Upper Germany reveal the ala had been awarded the titles (AE 1969–70, 437). Its presence in that province is dated to about AD 185/6 from the find of a shield boss at Butzbach (AE 1969–70, 438). The ala is recorded on the Lower German diploma of AD 78 and a trooper is commemorated on a tombstone dated to AD 80/100 (XIII 8592).

Cohors II Batavorum milliaria cR pf. It is recorded on the diploma of AD 112 for Pannonia Superior with the titles.⁵⁶ But it is not recorded with them on the diploma for Pannonia of AD 98 (XVI 42) while

⁵¹ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 71.

⁵² Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 75.

⁵³ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 76.

⁵⁴ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 8 note 39.

⁵⁵ M. M. Roxan, *The earliest extant diploma of Pannonia Superior: issued 3rd May 112, Electrum 1, 1997, 161–173.*

⁵⁶ M. M. Roxan (n. 55).

the first cohort is. The diplomas for Noricum on which it appears are not complete enough to show if it continued recording the honour.

Cohors II Augusta Nerv. Brittonum milliaria pf. A partially complete dedication of the reign of Caracalla records the unit as *coh II Nerv Britt [(milliaria) Anto]/niniana pf* (AE 1960, 361). This was found at Buciumi in Dacia Porolissensis.

Cohors VI Brittonum equitata pf. It is attested with the epithet on the career inscription of M. Gavius Bassus found at Ephesus.⁵⁷ His command of the unit dates to c.AD 96. The cohort is attested on the diploma of AD 127 for Lower Germany.

Cohors II Hispanorum peditata pf. Stamped tiles of the unit found at Utrecht show that it gained the titles (AE 1936, 89,92).⁵⁸ These have been dated to the Flavio-Trajanic period. It is attested on the Lower German diploma of AD 127.

Cohors II Thracum pf. The epithet is recorded on an altar of the cohort found at Zeiselmauer in Noricum. This dates to AD 164 (AE 1977, 603).

Cohors II Varcianorum equitata cR pf. The second line of a partially complete stamped tile found at Gelduba reads *...]rc cR pf[...* which when combined with another partially complete example from the same place shows that the cohort received the titles.⁵⁹ These tilestamps have been assigned to the Flavio-Trajanic period, but they may be later in date. The cohort is attested, without the epithet, on altars found in the Brohltal (XIII 7707, 7721) and at Cologne (XIII 8188) which are of the Flavio-Trajanic period. It is also listed on the diploma of AD 127.

In addition there is the example of an auxiliary unit which was awarded a range of awards and titles for loyalty and bravery in Trajan's Second Dacian War:

Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria equitata cR pf. This is recorded on a diploma of AD 106, issued in AD 110 (XVI 160), as *cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata pf civ Rom.* But on the diplomas for Dacia of AD 109 (RMD III 148) and AD 110 (XVI 163) the epithet *pia fidelis* is lacking. The only other record of this epithet is on an altar found at Porolissum where the unit is called *coh I Brittonum (milliaria) eq pf cR*.⁶⁰

It is also worthwhile to list those auxiliary units which Géza Alföldy believed were stationed in Lower Germany in the Flavian period and into the second century but which are not recorded as *pia fidelis*:

Ala Afrorum veterana. This ala is recorded on diplomas of AD 78, AD 107/114 (XVI 59), AD 127, and AD 158 for the province. There are three tombstones of cavalrymen which have a funerary banquet (XIII 8303, XIII 8304, XIII 8305). Alföldy considered that this type of tombstone was produced by a Cologne workshop whose period of activity was between AD 80 and AD 100.⁶¹

Ala I Noricorum cR. It is attested on diplomas of AD 78, AD 127, AD 158, and AD 160/7 (RMD II 120). Tombstones from the Cologne workshop record troopers of the unit (XIII 8308, 8309).⁶²

Ala Sulpicia cR. Similarly this ala is recorded on tombstones from the Cologne workshop (XIII 8311, 8312). It is also attested on the diplomas of AD 78 and AD 127.⁶³

Ala Augusta Vocontiorum cR. There are no diploma attestations of its stay in Lower Germany; it first appears on a diploma in Britain in AD 122 (XVI 69). However, there is a tombstone of the Cologne

⁵⁷ IK Ephesos III, 680 = PME I,IV,V, G 8.

⁵⁸ J. E. Bogaers, *Troupes auxiliares thraces dans la partie néerlandaise de Germania Inferior*. In *Actes du IXe Congrès International d'Etudes sur les Frontières Romaines*, Mamaia, 1972. Edités par D. M. Pippidi, Bucuresti 1974, 445–463 esp. 450–452.

⁵⁹ J. E. Bogaers (n. 43) 605.

⁶⁰ AE 1971, 388 = PME I,V, C 209.

⁶¹ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 10–13.

⁶² Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 25–28.

⁶³ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 34–36.

workshop type (XIII 8655) as well as a pre-Flavian tombstone (XIII 8671) and a Flavio-Trajanic one (XIII 8672) found at Burginatum.⁶⁴

Cohors VI Asturum. This cohort is recorded in the career of Pompeius Faventinus.⁶⁵ All his commands were in Lower Germany in the reign of Vespasian. It is restored in eleventh place on the diploma of AD 80 and it is assumed to have been stationed in the province after this but there is no extant record of it.⁶⁶

Cohors VI ingenuorum cR. It is attested on two tombstones from the Cologne workshop (XIII 8314, 8315). The unit is equated with *cohors VI cR* commanded by Tib. Claudius Subatianus Proculus and Tib. Claudius Serenus in the Severan period.⁶⁷ They were both tribunes.⁶⁸ More recently a stamped tile has been found at Xanten which is considered to be of Flavio-Trajanic date (AE 1981, 689). There is no evidence that it was a milliary unit rather than just a standard citizen cohort as was suggested by Alföldy.

Cohors I Latobiorum et Varcianorum. Diplomas of AD 80, AD 127, and AD 158 list the cohort. There is a tombstone from Cologne of Vespasianic date (XIII 8316).⁶⁹ The epithet *pf* could have been recorded on the diploma of AD 158 but the text is lost immediately after *et Varc*.

Cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum equitata cR. It is recorded on the diplomas of AD 127 and AD 158 and the latter had been issued to a soldier of the cohort. However, its full name does not survive on the diploma so the epithet *pf* could have been included among its titles. T. Pontius Sabinus commanded it as a prefect c.AD 110 but the epithet is not included in the titles of the unit.⁷⁰

Cohors I Thracum. It is attested on the diploma of AD 80 and it is recorded on a tombstone of the Cologne workshop type (XIII 8318). Alföldy considered that it was transferred to Britain c.AD 83.⁷¹

Cohors II Thracum equitata. The cohort is listed on the diploma of AD 80 and the prefect, Q. Etuvius Capreolus probably commanded it early in the Flavian period.⁷² It is thought to be identical with the cohort on the diploma for Britain of AD 103 (XVI 48) and Alföldy thought it probably moved there c.AD 83.⁷³ There is now evidence for its stay at Maurik at some time in the Flavio-Trajanic period on a stamped tile (AE 1975, 639f) and a punched inscription on a bronze bucket (AE 1975, 623).

Cohors VI Thracum equitata. Like the other Thracian cohorts it is attested on the diploma of AD 80. However, it had moved to Pannonia by AD 84 (XVI 30).⁷⁴

To these may now be added three cohorts listed on the diploma of AD 127 for Germania Inferior:

Cohors III Breucorum.

Cohors VI Breucorum.

Cohors VI Raetorum.

It is highly probable that these cohorts were in the province at least from the Flavian period because they are not attested elsewhere. Indeed it is feasible that either *cohors VI Breucorum* or *cohors VI Raetorum* should be restored as the eleventh cohort on the diploma of AD 80 rather than *cohors VI Asturum*.

⁶⁴ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 40–42.

⁶⁵ II 2637 = PME II,IV,V, P 57.

⁶⁶ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 44–45.

⁶⁷ Proculus, ILS 9488 = PME I,IV,V, C 187; Serenus, IK Ephesos III, 647 = PME I,IV, C 184.

⁶⁸ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 62–63.

⁶⁹ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 63–65.

⁷⁰ ILS 2726 = PME II,IV,V, P 89. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 66–68.

⁷¹ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 70–71.

⁷² ILS 9090 = PME I,IV,V, E 14.

⁷³ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 71.

⁷⁴ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 72.

The evidence for the above units is best summarised in tabular form:

RECORDED IN GERMANIA INFERIOR	RECORDED WITH PIA FIDELIS ELSEWHERE
Alae	Alae
Afrorum veterana	III Asturum cR pf
Indiana Gallorum pf	I Batavorum milliaria cR pf
Moesica felix pf	II Flavia milliaria pf
I Noricorum cR	I Hispanorum pf
I singularium cR pf	II Thracum Augusta pf
Sulpicia cR	
Augusta Vocontiorum cR	
Cohortes	Cohortes
II Asturum eq pf	III Asturum cR pf
VI Asturum	I Batavorum milliaria cR pf
III Breucorum	II Batavorum milliaria cR pf
VI Breucorum	I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria torquata eq cR pf
II Brittonum milliaria eq cR pf	II Nerv. Brittonum milliaria Antoniniana pf
VI Brittonum eq pf	II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria eq pf
I cR eq pf	VII Gallorum Gordiana pf
II cR eq pf	I Hispanorum pf
I classica pf	II Hispanorum eq pf
III Delmatarum eq pf	I Pannoniorum veterana pf
I Flavia Hispanorum eq pf	I Thracum cR pf
II Hispanorum ped pf	II Thracum pf
VI ingenuorum cR	
I Latobicorum et Varcianorum	
I Lucensium Hispanorum pf	
III Lusitanorum pf	
I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum eq cR	
I Raetorum eq cR pf	
VI Raetorum	
I Thracum	
II Thracum eq	
III Thracum eq pf	
VI Thracum eq	
II Varcianorum eq cR pf	
I Vindellicorum milliaria cR pf	
XV voluntariorum cR pf	

This table shows that a *cohors I Thracum* and a *cohors II Thracum* are attested in Lower Germany and that two cohorts with the same name and number but with the epithet are attested elsewhere. But there is no reason why they are not the same. The ones in Germania Inferior are only securely attested there in the Flavian period on the diploma of AD 80.⁷⁵ On the other hand the other two are attested as *pia fidelis* only in the second century and cannot be satisfactorily located in any province before then. This would mean that the Thracian cohorts in Britain with which those in Lower Germany have previously been

⁷⁵ The unpublished diploma of AD 98 for the province includes *cohors II Thracum* among the cohorts. Information from Prof. J. K. Haalebos.

identified belonged to another series which would simplify their histories as a *cohors I Thracum* is attested in Britain at Wroxeter on a pre-Flavian tombstone (RIB 291).⁷⁶

Since there is evidence for *cohors II Hispanorum peditata pf* in Lower Germany it has been argued that *cohors II Hispanorum equitata pf* was in that province in AD 89 and received its titles at that time otherwise there would have been no need for the distinguishing epithets *peditata* and *equitata*.⁷⁷ This pairing has been confirmed by their appearance on an unpublished diploma of AD 98 for Germania Inferior.⁷⁸ Also among the units listed on this diploma are *ala I Batavorum*, *cohors I Hispanorum* and *cohors I Pannoniorum*.⁷⁹ Again it would therefore seem best to accept that these units received the epithet from Domitian in AD 89.

The fact that *ala I Batavorum* was stationed in Lower Germany in AD 98, and quite probably AD 89, means there is no compelling reason why *cohors I Batavorum milliaria cR pf* could not have been in that province in the latter year to gain its titles before moving to Pannonia by AD 98. It should also be remembered that Ritterling proposed that *ala II Flavia milliaria pf* was stationed in Lower Germany in AD 89 and gained the titles then. Since he wrote no evidence has accrued to prove it was elsewhere. While it is now accepted that Norbanus, the procurator of Raetia in AD 89, helped in the suppression of Saturninus no units of the probable garrison of Raetia at that time are recorded with these honorific titles. If this *ala* was in Raetia in AD 89 then perhaps Norbanus used only this elite unit to help suppress the revolt and so it alone had the titles bestowed by Domitian. Otherwise it should be assigned to Lower Germany in that year.

Cohors II Batavorum milliaria was awarded a block grant of citizenship and the titles between AD 98 and AD 112 and the occasion might have been the one when *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria* won its honours in Trajan's Second Dacian War. There are further awards of these titles which must post-date AD 89 but which are attested only once. This makes it virtually impossible to date the bestowal of the titles to *ala I Hispanorum*, if the inscription is correctly restored, *cohors II Nerv. Brittonum milliaria* and *cohors VII Gallorum*. The award to *cohors II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria* should have been after it was raised by Marcus Aurelius, if that is the significance of its honourific name Aurelia. As for *cohors III Asturum pf cR* there is only one record of the cohort with the titles. This is on a fragmentary diploma of AD 156/157 for Mauretania Tingitana (XVI 182). However, on another diploma of those dates it does not have the titles (XVI 181) nor does it in any of its five other complete diploma appearances.⁸⁰ This would suggest a scribal error as *ala III Asturum cR pf* was also stationed in the province.⁸¹

It only remains to be determined when *ala III Asturum cR pf* was awarded the titles as well as the occasion for their bestowal on *ala II Thracum Augusta pf* stationed in the adjacent province of Mauretania Caesariensis. The former had gained them by AD 109 (XVI 161) and the latter by AD 107 (XVI 56). On the diploma of 9th January AD 88 for Mauretania Tingitana (XVI 159) *ala III Asturum* is listed with none of its honours. *Ala Tauriana* too lacks its honorific titles although it is recorded in Spain in the reign of Vespasian as *ala Tau(riana) tor(quata) vic(trix) cR* (II 2984). It is therefore feasible that the award to *ala III Asturum* was made prior to AD 89. But it is possible to suggest why this *ala* and even *ala II Thracum Augusta* was in Germania Inferior in January AD 89 to gain the award. AD 88 was a crucial year on the Danube where Domitian amassed a large force of troops to attempt to crush the Dacians. This campaign resulted in the battle of Tapae. Thus units were possibly transferred from

⁷⁶ It is also now known that *cohors II Asturum pf* did not move to Britain but is different from the one in that province. This is because each is recorded on a diploma for their province issued on the same day in AD 127 (W. Eck and E. Paunov (n. 2); J. Nollé (n. 30)). This would explain why there is no trace of the titles *pia fidelis* attached to the cohort in Britain.

⁷⁷ J. E. Bogaers (n. 58) 450–452.

⁷⁸ Information from Prof. J. K. Haalebos.

⁷⁹ Information from Prof. J. K. Haalebos.

⁸⁰ AD 109 (XVI 162); AD 114/7 (XVI 165); AD 122 (XVI 169/73); AD 129/30 (XVI 173); AD 131 (RMD II 157).

⁸¹ M. M. Roxan, *The auxilia of Mauretania Tingitana*, *Latomus* 32, 1973, 838–855 esp. 847.

Germania Inferior to the Danube among which might have been *ala I Afrorum veterana*, *ala I Noricorum cR*, *ala Sulpicia cR*, and *ala Augusta Vocontiorum cR*. This would explain why they are not recorded as *pia fidelis* on any surviving inscriptions. To replace these units the two *alae* were transferred to Lower Germany during AD 88 to bolster the garrison and so happened to be there early in AD 89.

There are hints in the surviving diplomas for Germania Inferior which may add substance to this suggestion. When the full official titles of units were being regularised those in Lower Germany which had received the award of *pia fidelis* from Domitian incorporated these titles. This is demonstrated by the way in which the *alae* and cohorts are named on the diploma of AD 127. In the unit list none are recorded with the epithet because of the phrase *exerc(itus) pf*. However, the recipient's cohort is called *pia fidelis* because the full titles of a unit were recorded on the legal part of the constitution. Conversely, in the list on the diploma of AD 158 individual units bear the titles because it would appear the phrase for the army was not used. Thus it might be expected that all the units which were in the province in AD 89 would have the epithet. However, of those units whose names survive complete, *ala Noricorum* and *ala Afrorum veterana* do not. This might therefore indicate that they had not been in Lower Germany in AD 89.

To summarise, it can be argued that the auxiliary units listed in the following table were in the garrison of Germania Inferior in AD 89 and that they were awarded the titles *pia fidelis Domitiana* by Domitian⁸²:

UNIT	ATTESTED IN GERMANIA INFERIOR	FIRST RECORD OF PIA FIDELIS
Ala		
III Asturum cR pf		MT 109 but not MT 88
I Batavorum pf	98	PS 112 but not GI 98
II Flavia milliaria pf		R 107
Indiana Gallorum pf	80/100	GS 129/30
Moesica felix pf	78	GS 185/6
I singularium cR pf	78	R 107 but not GS 90
II Thracum Augusta pf		MC 107
Cohors		
II Asturum pf(D)	80, 89/96	GI 89/96
I Batavorum milliaria cR pf		P 98
II Brittonum milliaria cR pf	Flav	MS 100
VI Brittonum pf	127	GI c.96
I cR pf	Flav/Traj, 100/6	GS 191 or 211
II cR pf(D)	80, 89/96	GI 89/96
I classica pf(D)	80, 89/96, 127, 158	GI 89/96
III Delmatarum pf	80	GS 117 but not GS 90
I Hispanorum pf	98	D 110
I Flavia Hispanorum pf	78, 80, 127, 158	GI c.105
II Hispanorum peditata pf	98, 127	GI 89/117
II Hispanorum equitata pf	98	GS 117
I Lucensium Hispanorum pf	104/111, 127	GI 104/111

⁸² In the final column the following abbreviations are used for provincial names: D = Dacia; GI = Germania Inferior; GS = Germania Superior; MC = Mauretania Caesariensis; MS = Moesia Superior; MT = Mauretania Tingitana; N = Noricum; P = Pannonia; PI = Pannonia Inferior; PS = Pannonia Superior; R = Raetia.

III Lusitanorum pf	80/100	PI 110
I Pannoniorum (veterana) pf	98	D 110 but not D 109
I Raetorum cR pf	Flav/Traj, 127	GI 212/222
I Thracum cR pf	80, 80/100	PI 110
II Thracum pf	80, 98	N 164
III Thracum pf	80, 127, 158	GI 127
II Varcianorum cR pf	Flav/Traj, 127	GI 89/117
I Vindellicorum milliaria cR pf	80/92	D 109 but not MS 100
XV voluntariorum cR pf	196/8, 201	GI 201

Of the other units with the titles *pia fidelis* it can be suggested, but not proven, that *cohors II Augusta Nerv. Brittonum milliaria*, *cohors II Batavorum milliaria cR*, *cohors VII Gallorum*, and *ala I Hispanorum* were awarded the epithet on the same occasion as was *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria cR* in the Second Dacian War of Trajan. This event might also be linked to when *legio I Adiutrix* was awarded the titles. Alternatively, all of these units apart from *cohors II Batavorum milliaria cR* could have won the honour later. The only auxiliary unit to be accounted for would then be *cohors II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria pf*. An occasion for the award is hard to specify even by comparison with when legions were so honoured. If it received the title Aurelia as a battle honour from Marcus Aurelius then the epithet might have been awarded prior to his reign.

The suggested list of units honoured with *pia fidelis Domitiana* in AD 89 in the above table reveals a possible garrison in Germania Inferior of 7 alae, one of which was milliary, and 22 cohorts of which 3 were milliary. But it is known that a further six cohorts were in the province in the later Flavian period. For *cohors III Breucorum*, *cohors VI Breucorum*, *cohors VI ingenuorum cR*, and *cohors VI Raetorum* there is too little evidence to know if they were in Lower Germany in AD 89 and therefore to know if they were awarded the titles. There is more information concerning *cohors I Latobicorum et Varcianorum* and *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum cR* but some of it is fragmentary especially their records on the diploma of AD 158 so it is unclear whether they received the epithet. There are also a further four alae which were normally part of the garrison of the province. In this instance it has been suggested that *ala Afrorum veterana*, *ala I Noricorum cR*, *ala Sulpicia cR*, and *ala Augusta Vocontiorum cR* were absent from Germania Inferior in AD 89 and so did not receive the award.

The garrison suggested by Alföldy comprised 6 alae and 20 cohorts of which 3 were milliary.⁸³ His figures were largely derived from the diplomas of AD 78 and AD 80 which record 6 alae and 11 cohorts. Among his alae he included three which here it is proposed were not in Lower Germany in AD 89. *Cohors VI Asturum* was included in his list of cohorts and *cohors VI ingenuorum cR* was accepted as milliary. Neither suggestion is accepted in this new list. Thus the size of the garrison suggested in this new survey may seem too large in comparison with that put forward by Alföldy.

However, the number of units listed on the soon to be published diploma of AD 98 for Germania Inferior is very similar to that proposed here probably comprising 6 alae and 25 cohorts.⁸⁴ These figures confirm that the auxiliary garrison was larger than had previously been thought. The number of alae on the diploma is similar but their identities are not the same. *Ala III Asturum cR pf* and *ala II Thracum Augusta pf* would have returned to their provinces as would *ala Afrorum veterana*, *ala I Noricorum cR*,

⁸³ Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 151. The alae he named were: *Afrorum veterana*, *Indiana Gallorum*, *Moesica felix*, *I Noricorum cR*, *I singularium cR*, and *Sulpicia cR*. He suggested that *ala Augusta Vocontiorum cR* was there between AD 89/92 and AD 100. He listed the following cohorts: *II Asturum*, *VI Asturum*, *II Brittonum milliaria eq cR*, *VI Brittonum*, *I cR eq*, *II cR eq*, *I classica*, *III Dalmatarum*, *I Flavia Hispanorum eq*, *VI ingenuorum (milliaria) cR*, *I Latobicorum et Varcianorum*, *I Lucensium Hispanorum*, *III Lusitanorum*, *I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum cR*, *I Raetorum cR*, *II Thracum*, *IV Thracum*, *II Varcianorum eq cR*, *I Vindellicorum milliaria eq cR*, and *XV voluntariorum cR*.

⁸⁴ W. Eck and E. Paunov (n. 2) 341 note 29, and information from Prof. J. K. Haalebos.

ala Sulpicia cR, and *ala Augusta Vocontiorum cR* to Lower Germany although the latter may also have left again. In addition, on 27th October AD 90 *ala I singularium cR pf* is recorded in Germania Superior but without the epithet. Possibly soon after the revolt but certainly by AD 107 *ala II Flavia milliaria pf* would have been transferred to Raetia. For the most part the identification of the cohorts on this diploma can be suggested from the units known to have been in the province in Domitian's reign. The 22 cohorts in the table above apparently received the titles *pia fidelis* from that Emperor. At present there is insufficient evidence to determine if *cohors III Breucorum*, *cohors VI Breucorum*, *cohors VI ingenuorum cR*, *cohors I Latobicorum et Varcianorum*, *cohors I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum cR*, and *cohors VI Raetorum* were awarded this epithet. Of this potential 28 cohorts the two citizen cohorts, *VI ingenuorum cR* and *XV voluntariorum cR*, would not have been recorded on the diploma. Also *cohors III Dalmatarum pf* is attested in Germania Superior in AD 90 and *cohors I Batavorum milliaria pf* had moved to Pannonia by February AD 98 probably in connection with the trouble on the Danube in AD 92. Thus there are 24 cohorts identifiable whereas the total on the list was probably 25.

There were further withdrawals from Lower Germany after AD 89 which seemingly must have occurred after AD 98. *Cohors I cR pf* and *cohors II Hispanorum equitata pf* were transferred to Upper Germany by AD 117 when they are attested on a diploma. It is known that the latter cohort was still in Germania Inferior in AD 98 and it seems reasonable to believe that the former was as well. *Ala Indiana Gallorum pf* had been moved to Germania Superior by AD 129/30 and *ala Moesica felix pf* is attested there c.AD 185. Neither unit is listed on the diploma of AD 127 for Germania Inferior and so they may have left before then. There seems little doubt that *ala I Batavorum pf*, *cohors II Brittonum milliaria cR pf*, *cohors I Hispanorum pf*, *cohors III Lusitanorum pf*, *cohors I Pannoniorum veterana pf*, *cohors I Thracum cR pf*, *cohors II Thracum pf* and *cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria cR pf* were withdrawn for Trajan's First Dacian War never to return to Lower Germany. These withdrawals amount to 3 *alae*, 2 *cohortes milliariae* and 7 cohorts of which all but 2 *alae* and 2 cohorts had been transferred to the Danube. This is a useful demonstration that the balance of power had shifted to the latter area.

The diploma of AD 127 records 5 *alae* and 15 cohorts of which three of the former and all of the latter were known in Lower Germany prior to this date. The shortfall in *alae* brought about by transfers out of the province had been made good by the transfer of *ala I Thracum* and *ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana cR* from Britain. The former is last recorded there in AD 124 (XVI 70), the latter in AD 122 (XVI 69).

By comparison with the occasions when legions gained the titles *pia fidelis* for loyalty it is clear that the opportunities for auxiliary units to acquire them were limited. The evidence from the diploma of AD 127 for Germania Inferior shows the importance of the award by Domitian in AD 89. His desire to show his gratitude to the garrison for its loyalty to him ensured it was not just the four legions but also all the auxiliary units in the province and the German fleet which received the honour. Domitian is thus the only emperor to have rewarded an entire army in such a way. This gesture succeeded because the units in the province at the time incorporated the titles into their official names when this was done apparently in Trajan's reign. At present the evidence suggests that Trajan too may have bestowed the honour on a number of auxiliary units, possibly at the same time. From the evidence of the other awards which he gave freely to the *auxilia* he too saw the benefits of rewarding whole regiments for loyalty and bravery because they would support him when he was alive and they would have reason to think well of him after his death.