

THE
SETTLEMENT OF VETERANS
IN THE
ROMAN EMPIRE

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Ph.D.

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SUMMARY

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During the late republic, it was not recognized that the legionary, however long his service, had any right to a gratuity. But discharged legionaries, many of whom must have been of rural origin and hence desired to settle on the land, began to seek land-grants from the time of Marius. These continued intermittently during the late republic, and under Caesar and Augustus a large number of veteran colonies were established.

During the principate most veterans probably received gratuities in cash. Some were settled by the government in colonies, both in Italy and the provinces, but when left to themselves most veterans preferred to end their days in the vicinity of the fortresses in which they had served. Indeed men who had been officially settled away from the military areas even returned there with this object. Partly for this reason veteran colonies ceased to be founded in Hadrian's reign.

The poor conditions of service resulted in a decline in the number of Italians in the legions. They were replaced, in the western provinces, largely by men from the veteran colonies, communities which seem to have long retained the tradition of military service. In the east men were drawn from the non-Roman communities. But in both east and west these sources were insufficient, and the legions came to rely to a great extent on the recruitment of the sons of their own serving and veteran members. An increasing proportion of

such men were now born and raised in the frontier zones, and probably few had the desire or the opportunity to adopt any other livelihood.

Thus was established that voluntary hereditary service which in the difficult days of the third century was made compulsory. From early in that century, veteran gratuities took the form of a land-grant, made conditionally on their sons serving in the army after them, but by the fourth century the sons' service was being demanded automatically without any reference to a grant of land.

	2
<u>CONTENTS.</u>	Page
INTRODUCTION	4
Bibliographical Note	6
List of Abbreviations	8
CHAPTER ONE: Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in the Late Republic	12
CHAPTER TWO: The Evidence for Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in the Principate	47
Africa (Tables 1-6)	50
Spain (Tables 7-9)	102
Britain (Tables 9-10)	114
Germania Inferior (Tables 11-12)	128
Germania Superior (Tables 13-14)	147
Note on recruitment in Germany	165
Upper Illyricum (later Dalmatia), (Tables 15-16)	166
Lower Illyricum (later Pannonia), (Tables 17-18)	178
Noricum and Raetia (Tables 19-20)	214
Moesia (Tables 21-22)	220
Dacia (Tables 23-24)	246
Note on recruitment to vexillations serving on the Danube	255
Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia (Tables 25-26)	257
Cappadocia (Tables 27-28)	278
Egypt (Tables 29-30)	284
Addendum on recruitment in Egypt	298
II Parthica (Tables 31-32)	301

(cont.)

CONTENTS (Cont.)

CHAPTER THREE: The Development of Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in the Principate	307
I Recruitment in the Julio-Claudian Period	307
II Recruitment under the Flavians and Trajan	323
III Veteran Settlement to the end of Trajan's reign	329
IV Recruitment and Veteran Settlement from Hadrian to Diocletian	349
APPENDIX: The Dating of the Lambaesis Dedication-lists	372

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the settlement of legionary veterans during the principate. Its aim is to discover why legionary veterans were settled in colonies, why such settlements ceased to be made in the reign of Hadrian, and where the men preferred to settle when the choice was left to them. The relationship between veteran settlement and recruitment is also discussed, with particular reference to the growth of hereditary service.

The evidence for legionary veterans is of greater interest and usefulness than that for veterans from other bodies of citizen troops, in that it allows much more to be deduced regarding official policies and the preferences of the men themselves. Veterans from the City units were rarely officially settled outside Italy, nor did many of them voluntarily choose to do so, unless they were returning to their homes. Space has forbidden discussion of the evidence for the auxiliaries and the fleets. Veterans from these formations were only very rarely settled in colonies: otherwise their settlements were closely similar to those of legionary veterans. The evidence regarding them would complement rather than modify that for legionary veteran settlement.

Veteran settlement and recruitment in the late republic are first discussed. This chapter is complementary to the work of E. Gabba on this period, Ricerche sull'esercito professionale romano da Mario ad Augusto (in *Athenaeum* XXIX 1951 pp. 171ff: cf. also his work on the pre-Marian period in *Athenaeum* XXVII 1949 pp. 173ff). Chapter Two discusses the evidence for legionary settlement and recruitment area by area.

Here G. Forni's Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano (Milan-Rome 1953) is of the first importance. Chapter Three discusses the same evidence chronologically, with some short reference to the developments of the fourth century, when the legions had ceased to exist in the form in which they are known in the principate.

Throughout, the dependence of this study on Ritterling's article Legio (in P-W XII 1-2) will be evident. This work, with the others just mentioned, clearly forms the essential basis for any research in this field. Other relevant works are mentioned in the bibliographical note (see next page).

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List of Abbreviations.

- AAcR Analele Academiei Romane, Bucarest.
- AE L'année épigraphique, published in Revue archéologique, Paris (The abbreviation AE is omitted in the tables, reference to individual inscriptions being by year and number only).
- AEM Archaeologisch-epigraphischen Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn, Vienna.
- AJP American Journal of Philology, Baltimore.
- Arch. Ert. Archaeologiai Ertesitő, Budapest.
- BACTH Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Paris.
- BAT Boletín Arqueológico (of Tarragona), Tarragona.
- BCAR Bollettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma, Rome.
- Betz A. Betz, Die römischen Militärschriften in Oesterreich, JOAI 29, 1935 BB 287ff.
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- BGU Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, Berlin.
- BJ Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn.
- BMIR Bollettino del museo dell'impero romano, published in BCAR, Rome.
- BRGK Berichte der römisch-germanische kommission, Frankfurt am Main-Berlin.

- BSAAlex Bulletin de la société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie,
Alexandria.
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- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (The abbreviation CIL is usually omitted).
- CME Leon Catálogo monumental de España, Provincia de León, Madrid 1925.
- Cohen² H. Cohen, Les médailles impériales, 2nd. edition, Leipzig 1930
- CRAI Comptes-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris.
- EE Ephemeris Epigraphica, Berlin 1872-1913.
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- IGR R. Cagnat, Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, Paris 1901-1921.
- IIt Inscriptiones Italiae, Rome.
- ILAfr R. Cagnat, A.Merlin, L.Chatelain, Inscriptions latines d'Afrique, Paris 1923.
- ILAlg S. Gsell, Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, Paris 1922.
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- ILT A. Merlin, Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie, Paris 1944.
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Berlin 1848-52.
- LC *Liber coloniarum* (edited in Lachmann).
- MAMA *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua*, Manchester 1928-39.
- MER *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école français
de Rome*, Paris.
- MMA *Memorias de los museos arqueologicos provinciales*, Madrid.
- OIK G.P. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφὰὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας*, I, Athens 1915.
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- PIR¹⁻² *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 1st. and 2nd editions,
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- P. Mich. *Michigan Papyri*, Ann Arbor.
- P. Oxy. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London.
- Pr. *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University
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Vol III, Leyden 1921.
- Prentice W.K. Prentice, *The American Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*,
London 1903.
- PSI *Papiri greci e latini della società italiana per la ricerca*

- dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, Florence.
- P. Tebt. The Tebtunis Papyri, London.
- P-W Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Berlin.
- Rend.Linc. Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome.
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- SBRPAM W. Ramsay, The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor, Aberdeen 1941.
- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Leyden.
- SS Srpska Kraljevska Akademija Spomenik, Belgrade.
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CHAPTER ONE

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in the
Late Republic.

According to Velleius, from the time of Marius's sixth consulship only veteran colonies were founded by Rome. After referring to the colonies of the second century BC, he says:- neque facile memoriae mandaverim quae nisi militaris post hoc tempus deducta est.¹ There is no evidence to suggest that either the coloniae civium Romanorum or the Latin colonies founded down to the middle of the second century BC, or the colonies founded in Italy or overseas later in the same century were veteran colonies of the later type. Nor is this perhaps surprising, since the pre-Marian army was still, in theory at least, a national army, and such a person as a veteran, in the later sense, did not theoretically exist.

In some cases, it is true, provision was made for the resettlement of men after service. Land in Sannium and Apulia was granted to certain men who had served overseas in the Second Punic war.² But there is no evidence for any other settlements in Italy in the second century, in spite of the fact that men were kept under arms for longer and longer periods. Only in Spain do we hear of arrangements being made for ex-servicemen, and here it was not a question of providing land for them, or of settling them in new communities, but rather of organizing them in the settlements which they had already made.³ The best-attested case is that of Carteia, where legionaries settled down of their own volition, with Spanish wives. Their sons sought for recognition from the Senate, and were allowed to form a Latin colony.⁴

But while official settlements were rare, no doubt individual legionaries did sometimes prefer to remain in the provinces in which they had served, rather than return home. In many such cases they will have formed alliances with peregrine women, and the children of such alliances will naturally have been peregrini. No nuclei of Roman citizens will normally have been created as a result. Nor in most cases will the issue of such alliances have been highly Romanized. In other cases, men no doubt settled alongside emigrant Italian traders and financiers, and the men and their descendants will have been merged in conventus civium Romanorum. Probably however most men preferred to return to Italy after serving.

The problem of the discharged soldier first really appeared under Marius. Then for the first time they were able to make a concerted demand for recompense after service, and this took the form of demands for the assignment of land. As has been shown by E. Gabba,⁵ the men recruited after as well as before the time of Marius were probably largely of rural origin. Increasing demands for recruits in the second century had been met by the lowering of the census for the lowest class that could be recruited, and Marius's recruitment of the capite censi was merely a logical development of this.⁶ Marius, whatever his faults as a politician, was a soldier of the first order. It is quite certain that he would choose the best recruits he could find, for the difficult and dangerous campaigns he had to undertake.⁷ The ancient world generally

regarded the countryman as better material for military purposes than the townsman,⁸ and it seems that Marius subscribed to this view. This is implied by Appian,⁹ who describes how Appuleius, seeking supporters,

sent messengers τοῖς οὖσιν ἀνὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, οἷς δὲ καὶ . Probably many of
 μάλιστα ἐθάρρουν ὑπεστρατευμένοις Μαρτίῳ.

Marius's recruits were the sons of peasants, living near Rome for the most part, who were disqualified from enlisting under the old system. Others may have been dispossessed peasants. This seems to provide the most reasonable explanation of the fact that Marius's troops after demobilisation sought land, on which to settle, rather than merely monetary rewards. Marian settlements are attested as taking place in Sardinia¹⁰ and Africa¹¹. These were far from Italy and it may be that this was the best that Marius could obtain for them, but it is more probable that the men themselves had realised the quality of the land which they had fought over, in Africa at least, and sought to settle there as a result.¹² It seems unlikely that the proposal to settle them so far from their homes could have been made to secure their support, unless they were prepared to make the move of their own free will.

During the later republic, veterans generally sought for land rather than money grants from their generals, and the latter were generally prepared to make the effort to obtain land for them, when they wished to retain their support. The character of the men who composed the armies of the late republic is frequently described in the lowest terms, no doubt with some justification in many cases, where men were attracted to the colours mainly by the hope of booty and the promises of the rival commanders. In these cases, there can have been little serious desire to settle on a farm after service. No doubt many of them regarded the land allotted to them merely as a form of capital which could be easily realised.¹³ And of course in the demand for land, from the time of Marius onwards, there was a ready-made model deriving from the Gracchan period, the lex agraria.¹⁴ But not all legionaries were necessarily of

that type. Like Marius's men, a good proportion of later recruits must have been prepared to settle down as farmers after discharge, otherwise the practice of granting land would soon have ceased; instead it came to be regarded as the normal procedure.

There seems to be no good reason why some kind of provision could not have been made by the Senate itself for the men who served in the army. Long service under arms was essential for the control of the expanding empire. But there was little opportunity for learning any trade or skill during service. Many men must have had to leave the army with few or no resources with which to start again in civilian life. The grant of some gratuity would have been no extraordinary reward for their service. But the Senate made no such regular grant, with the inevitable result that men gave their support to those who would obtain something for them - or would promise to do so. This failure on the part of the Senate must have been an important cause of the eventual fall of the Republic. The settlements of veterans actually carried out in the late republic have been discussed by Gabba,¹⁵ but he does not make this important point. Although he claims that the senatorial oligarchy did not oppose the assignment of land to veterans in principle,¹⁶ it is nevertheless clear that none of the settlements known was made on the Senate's initiative.

Those of Marius's veterans who were settled in Africa received generous allotments of land, but they did not form colonies. A few inscriptions show that the connection with Marius was long remembered.¹⁷ Descendants of these settlers were to describe themselves seventy years later as clientes C. Marii when, having been forced to serve

under Scipio, they deserted to join forces with Caesar (Bell. Afr. 35.4).

Gabba has shown the comparatively slight effect of the Sullan settlements on the communities on which they were imposed.¹⁸ There is little evidence for overseas settlements in the succeeding period, except in Spain, where Pompey may have settled some of his veterans, in 73 BC at Valentia, and in 55 BC at Corduba.¹⁹ A passage in Dio (36.50) seems to imply a similar veteran settlement in Asia Minor in 66 BC: Pompey founded Nicopolis, τοῖς τραυματίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀφιλικεστέροις τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Pompey apparently assigned the city to the kingdom of Deiotarus, along with other inland districts of Pontus.²⁰ In Strabo's day it lay in the kingdom of Armenia Minor²¹ and probably did not fall within a Roman province until 17 AD. Pompey would be unlikely to deal thus with a colony formed of Roman citizens. But in fact Dio calls Nicopolis a city and not a colony, and it is very probable that the men settled here were not legionary veterans, but men from the local auxiliary forces who had served with Pompey. Westerners generally would have little desire to settle in the heart of Asia Minor at this period.²² But veterans did of course settle in more attractive parts of the east: they are known in Crete and Macedonia.²³

Most, no doubt, preferred to return to Italy. Some of Pompey's veterans were settled in 59 BC, by the influence of Caesar, at Capua, and perhaps at Calatia and Casilinum.²⁴ This was presumably the kind of area that veterans preferred. Appian makes Brutus accuse Caesar, like Sulla, of settling men in quasi-military communities on confiscated land, in order to maintain control of Italy.²⁵ This was probably a main object of these settlements. The veterans settled

in Campania were to prove useful to Octavian in 44 BC,²⁶ and Caesar likewise probably found such centres of support valuable. In general, the military dynasts of the first century either found their veterans an embarrassment, for whom they had to try to make some provision, or regarded them as a means of assuring the continuance of their own power; they evolved no constructive policy of veteran settlement.

The problem of the disposal of discharged fighting men became even more pressing during the civil wars which ushered in the principate. During the period of Caesar's sole rule, he was faced with a progressively increasing number of men who demanded to be discharged, and to receive the rewards promised to them.²⁷ The first to make the demand with any force were the Tenth legion in 46 BC.²⁸ Caesar persuaded them to wait until after the African campaign, but eventually he had to face the task of disposing of a large body of men.

A similar task which Caesar had to face was the over-population of Rome. His main answer to this was to settle members of the urban lower classes in colonies overseas. These colonies included among their original settlers a number of freedmen, and the presence of the latter enables some colonies of this type to be identified.²⁹ It is unlikely that any policy of Romanisation underlay the foundation of these colonies. The freedman class must have included many of Greek and other non-Roman origin. Caesar would hardly have chosen this class if he had envisaged any scheme of Romanisation. These colonies were simply a practical answer to a pressing problem.

The same was probably true of both his and Augustus's veteran settlements. To begin with, the men who served under them were not

all Roman citizens. Before Caesar's time the legions had been of course entirely composed of citizens, the vast bulk of them from Italy. If it was necessary to resort to recruitment outside Italy, it was on Roman citizens settled in the provinces that the first call was made. Caesar in Gaul had reinforced his legions with citizens from the Roman communities in Cisalpine Gaul,³⁰ and from Narbo, Tolosa and Carcaso in Gallia Narbonensis.³¹ Cicero in Cilicia drew recruits from among the citizens resident in his province.³² Citizens were also recruited in Africa during the African war,³³ and in Spain by the Pompeians.³⁴ Veterans settled in Crete and Macedonia were recalled to the colours by Pompey.³⁵

But these sources were not to suffice in the turbulent twenty-five years which ended with the battle of Actium. Caesar raised a legion among the Transalpine Gauls, the well known legio alaudae, whose members did not receive the citizenship until several years after its first formation.³⁶ Later the Pompeians raised two legiones vernaculae in Spain.³⁷ Their members were clearly not Roman citizens.³⁸ The same was probably true of two legions raised in Asia,³⁹ and of the legio pontica raised ex tumultuaribus militibus - presumably from the native forces of Pontus.⁴⁰ Other legions were reinforced with men from Thessaly, Boeotia, Achaia and Epirus.⁴¹ The Pompeians had to fall back on these sources, since Italy was closed to them as a recruiting ground. Labienus in Africa was in the same plight: legiones conscriptae ex cujusquemodi generis amplius XII milibus.⁴²

Later, during the struggles from 44 BC to Actium, the parties denied access to Italy similarly had to rely on sources which

would not normally have been employed. The two legions which Brutus raised in Macedonia were probably composed of peregrini.⁴³ It is true that in 35 BC, Sextus Pompeius was able to find a few citizens for Antony at Lampsacus,⁴⁴ but many peregrini must have been recruited by the latter, since he had thirty legions under his control in 30 BC. There were of course men of western origin in his legions, but there is little ground for the suggestion that they formed the majority of his troops.⁴⁵ And in any case Antony, like any other competent commander of the period, was probably more interested in the fighting qualities of his recruits than in their precise origin or status. Generally, citizens would be preferred to peregrini, since they would fit more easily into legionary pattern. It can never have been easy to train peregrini for legionary service, especially since few of them may have known Latin.⁴⁶ But once trained of course there was no reason why they should not, as legionaries under a good leader, reach as high a standard as the Roman citizen.

Thus both Caesar in 46-44 BC and Augustus after Actium had to provide for a large number of men of diverse origins. Most of the non-Romans among them it is true were men who had served in their opponents' armies. Augustus made grants to some of Antony's men who came over to his side after Actium,⁴⁷ and according to one source these men and others who had served under Lepidus were given land in Italy or the provinces.⁴⁸

Caesar granted land in Numidia (forming the colony of Cirta) to the Nucerian P. Sittius and his mixed band of Italian and Spanish mercenaries.⁴⁹ A large number of P. Sittii appear among the later citizens of Cirta.

The number is so large as to warrant the conclusion that a considerable portion of the mercenaries who were settled there were peregrini who adopted their leader's nomen on receiving the citizenship.⁵⁰ It is not known what provision Caesar made for the other peregrini who served under him, for example in the legio alaudae. But clearly many of the men settled in colonies by Caesar and Augustus may not have been Roman citizens by birth.

However, the men who were settled in Italy itself were probably Italians or at least citizens by birth. The following table gives the evidence for settlement in Italy under Caesar, the triumvirs and Augustus. 51

Abellinum:	X 1117 with LC 229
Acerrae:	LC 229 (Aug)
Aequi:	IX 4123 (Legio IIII)
Ameria:	LC 224 (Aug)
Aquileia:	V 890 (probably originally settled at Ateste) (Aug)
Aquinum:	LC 229 (IIIvirs)
Atella:	LC 230 (Aug)
Ateste:	V 2495-2520 (ILS 2236, 2243, 2336). Legions V Urbana, VI, XI, XIII, XIIX. (Aug)
Atina:	X 5059 Legio XX.
Augusta Praetoria:	Dio 53.25. Strabo 4.6.7 p.206. Presumably Praetorian. (25 BC)
Augusta Taurinorum:	V 7495 = ILS 2337. Legio XX. (Aug)
Beneventum:	LC 231. IX 1502, 1601-1629, 2091, 2099, 2114-5, 2165. (ILS 2235, 6488, 8155). Legions VI and XXX. (Triumvirs and Aug.)

- Bovianum
Vetus: LC 231, IX 2770 = ILS 2234. Legio XXXIII. (Aug).
- Brixia: V 4987. Legio X. (Aug).
- Cales: EE VIII 530 $\bar{\tau}$ ILS 2321. IX Hispana. (Aug).
- Capua: X 3887, 3890. (cf. X 3832 = ILS 6309). Legio X. (Aug).
- Caudium: IX 2167. Legio XXX. (Attributed to Beneventum,
LC 232) (Aug).
- Cremona: V 4191 = ILS 2241. Brobus, Commentary on Eclogues 9,
28 (p. 6 Keil). Legio X Veneria. (Triumvirs and
Augustus).
- Fanum
Fortunae: XI 6351. Legio VIII Veterana. (Aug).
- Firmum: LC 226. IX 5527, cf. 5420. (Triumvirs).
- Florentia: LC 213.
- Fundi: LC 234.
- Hispellum: XI 5275. Legio XIII. (Aug).
- (Histria): V 397 = ILS 2240. Legio VIII Triumphantis. (Aug).
- Ligures
Baebiani: IX 1460. V Alaudae. (Aug. He had probably served with
Antony).
- Liternum: LC 235. (Aug).
- Locri: X 18 = ILS 2232. Legio XXX. (Aug).
- Luca: VI 1460 = ILS 2264. Legions XXVI and XXVII. (Aug).
- Luceria: IX 794, 797-8. Legio VI. (Aug).
- Nuceria: LC 236. (Aug).
- Patavium: V 2839 (Probably originally settled at Ateste). (Aug).
- Pola: V 50. Legio XXIX. (Aug).
- Puteoli: LC 236. (Aug).

Sora: LC 237 (cf. 244). X 5713 = ILS 2226. Legio IIII Sorana (Aug).
 Teanum
 Sidicinum: LC 238. X 4786 = ILS 2239. Legio VIII Mutinensis (Aug).
 Telesia: LC 238. IX 2217. Legio XXX. (Triumvirs).
 Tuder: XI 4650 = ILS 2230, XI 4654 = ILS 2231. Legio XXXXI (Aug).
 Veii: LC 221. (Aug).
 Venafrum: X 4876 = ILS 2227. Legio II Sabina (Aug).
 Venusia: IX 435. Legio XII. (Aug).

Settlement may also have taken place at Cumae (LC 232), Fulginiae (XI 5218, Legio XIX. Aug), Perugia (XI 1933. Legio XIII Aug), Pisa (XI 1524. Legio XIX. Aug), and Volturnum (LC 239. Caesar).

This evidence is clearly very uneven. The inscriptions are few in number, and those which have survived seem to refer mainly to men settled after Actium. They give nothing like a complete picture, but this evidence, together with that which indicates the great extent of overseas settlement shows how great was the problem which faced both Caesar and Augustus.

Caesar is said not to have confiscated land in Italy for veteran settlement.⁵² The triumvirs, however, did not hesitate to confiscate land. At the time of the proscriptions, the land of eighteen Italian cities was destined to be divided among veterans: Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo are mentioned by Appian.⁵³ How far settlement at these places was carried out is not clear, but settlement is attested at Cremona in 41 BC.⁵⁴ In some cases compensation was made - or promised. After the victory over Sextus Pompeius

in 36 BC, Augustus settled some of his veterans on Capuan land and in return assigned to the Capuans the rent from the aqua Julia and from certain lands in Crete.⁵⁵ In 30 BC, immediately after Actium, the victorious troops mutinied, demanding to be discharged. Augustus was forced to confiscate land in Italy for assignment to them. The former owners were assigned land at Dyrrhachium, Philippi and elsewhere, or received promises of monetary compensation.⁵⁶ Neither the triumvirs nor even Augustus immediately after Actium can have been in a strong enough position to ignore completely the demands of their troops. The natural desire of most Italians to settle in Italy will have had to be reckoned with. Augustus claimed to have founded twenty-eight colonies in Italy alone.⁵⁷ The number founded in the provinces was much higher; the grants made to the men settled there must have been sufficiently generous to reconcile the Italians among them to a retirement in exile.

The large number of these colonies may be explained by this factor, and by reference to their probable size. Some may have been fairly large: according to Strabo,⁵⁸ 3,000 men were settled at Augusta Praetoria by Augustus, probably in 25 BC.⁵⁹ The walls of the Augustan colony at Aosta enclose about 100 acres.⁶⁰ Thus each veteran will have had as a maximum an area of $\frac{1}{30}$ of an acre for his town house. Since a considerable area must have been reserved for public buildings and roads, the urban plot assigned to each veteran will have measured rather less than this. Another colony, Augusta Taurinorum, was somewhat larger, measuring 127 acres.⁶¹ Of later colonies, Colchester reached 108 acres,⁶² but Emona only 55,⁶³ Gloucester about 45 acres,⁶⁴ Lincoln probably not

more than 42 acres,⁶⁵ and Thamugadi a mere 30.⁶⁶ Legionaries will not have received larger plots of urban land for their houses than Praetorians; they may have received less, but probably not very much less, than $\frac{1}{30}$ of an acre. Haverfield estimated that about 400 veterans took part in the original settlement of Thamugadi, but this seems an underestimate. A comparison with Augusta Praetoria suggests that the number was near 1,000.⁶⁷ But even so it is clear that each colony would absorb only a comparatively small number of men. Augustus disposed of 300,000 veterans in the period between Actium and 5 AD,⁶⁸ although not all of these were settled in colonies. Caesar probably had a somewhat smaller number to provide for. In all, the large number of their colonies is not perhaps surprising.

As has been said, a high proportion of the men settled overseas must have been recruited outside Italy. Thus Narbo received a number of veteran settlers in 45 BC;⁶⁹ they came from the Tenth legion, as is shown by Pliny⁷⁰ and the inscriptions.⁷¹ The Tenth legion had served with Caesar in Gaul, and was presumably one of those which received recruits from Narbonensis (including Narbo itself) during that period.⁷² Some of these veterans were thus probably resettled in their native town. Similarly perhaps with men of the Sixth legion settled at Arelate in the same year.⁷³ This legion also served with Caesar in Gaul,⁷⁴ and returned from the east to be discharged in 46 BC.⁷⁵ Further, as was seen above, peregrini were apparently settled at Cirta by Caesar. There is no direct evidence that peregrini were settled at any of the other colonies of this period, but the possibility remains.

The presence of peregrini would not necessarily be incompatible with the objects aimed at in the foundation of these colonies. For there is little reason for believing that the aim of the overseas settlement of veterans was a planned Romanisation of the provinces. Veterans were not the type of men who would be chosen for any deliberate scheme of Romanisation, any more than the members of the urban lower classes who were settled overseas by Caesar. The effect of the settlements of Caesar and Augustus was certainly to forward the Romanisation of the areas affected. But it does not follow that this was the object of those settlements. The most effective instruments for any deliberate policy of Romanisation would have been civilians from the cities of Italy itself. It was only in the areas where settlements from such sources were made that Romanisation can really be said to have been effective, and that a Latin culture really developed. But there is no evidence that civilians from the Italian cities took part in any of the colonial foundations of this period.

In one case it has been suggested that an Augustan colony was a civilian settlement.⁷⁶ This is Brixia, which had the title colonia Civica Augusta Brixia.⁷⁷ The title Civica has been claimed to indicate a civilian colony in an age when colonies were normally formed with veterans. But in fact the title is an immediate reminder of the highest Roman military award, the corona Civica, and it is difficult to believe that Brixia's title was not in some way connected with this award. The legionary M. Helvius Rufus who received this decoration in 20 AD⁷⁸ assumed Civica as an additional cognomen, XIV 3472 = ILS 2637:-
M. Helvius M. f. Cam. Rufus Civica prim. pil., etc. Augustus received

the corona Civica in 27 BC.⁷⁹ Brixia's title may well derive from this award. Or it may refer to an award of the Civica crown to a native of Brixia or to a person closely connected with the colony or its foundation. There is thus no reason for thinking that Brixia was a civilian colony.

Since there is no other evidence for civilian settlement, it probably follows that in the period of Augustus's sole rule all those colonies which actually received settlers from elsewhere were settled with veterans. This is almost certainly true also of the triumviral period, with the one or two exceptions of colonies founded shortly after Caesar's death, and in accordance with his plans, which included members of the urban lower classes. This may have been the case at Carthage, resettled in 30 BC,⁸⁰ although even here it seems very doubtful.

It is similarly doubtful whether many of the colonies which first appear in Augustus's reign were merely native communities which had received the titular rank of colony. Numerous grants of such a kind would not accord well with his generally conservative policy.

It seems clear that the real reason for the large number of the colonies was the large number of men who had to be discharged from the army, and the necessity to find the resources with which to reward them. From the evidence for colonial settlement which is given below, it is clear that most of Augustus's colonies were founded in the early part of his reign. This also emerges from the Res Gestae, where Augustus claims that he paid for the land which he distributed to veterans in 30 BC and 14 BC.⁸¹ Later, he only mentions the money which he paid out

directly to veterans, specifically in 7-6 BC and 4-2 BC.⁸² The distribution of land to veterans as a general method of rewarding them seems by then to have been held in abeyance. It had not ceased altogether towards the end of his reign, as the complaints of the veterans in 14 AD make clear, but the quality of such land as was by then still available was obviously very low.⁸³ Yet many of the colonies which Augustus (and Caesar) had founded were on good land and became flourishing communities. Thus while both Caesar and Augustus (in the early part of his reign) were able to obtain good land for their veteran colonies, this was not apparently so in the later part of Augustus's reign, for Augustus would certainly have mentioned any further purchases of land in the Res Gestae (since he made such a point of mentioning his purchases in 30 BC and 14 BC), and one would expect some evidence to survive of the foundation of colonies in this period. Further, there was no great expansion of the empire in the later part of Augustus's reign. Such expansion would have provided further public land which could have been assigned to veterans. It is significant that most of the colonies founded after the death of Augustus were founded on land which only came into the possession of the empire under his successors.

It was clearly because land was available, and available cheaply, that so many colonies were founded under Caesar and Augustus. Direct money grants to all their veterans would have been a great strain on their financial resources. The total sum that Augustus spent on land in 30 BC and 14 BC amounted to little more than double that which he paid out directly to veterans in 7-2 BC.⁸⁴ Yet the numbers discharged

must have been vastly greater in 30 and 14 BC than in 7-2 BC. Since it is reasonable to assume that the real value of a land grant made to a veteran was roughly equal to what he would have received, had he received money instead of land, Augustus must have obtained some land in 30 and 14 BC very cheaply, and probably for a good deal he did not have to pay at all.

No doubt some of the land was provided by confiscation from his opponents and their supporters. This had happened under Caesar: he punished Buthrotum by confiscating part of its territory and planting a colony there.⁸⁵ Possibly the same thing happened under Augustus, although there is no direct evidence of this. But not only large tracts such as city territories would be involved here. Detached plots or small areas in existing communities - for example in the existing colonies of Narbonensis - may well have provided allotments for the veterans who were settled there.

But further land had also been acquired from the enemies of Rome. Advances against the Spanish hill tribes, and in Illyricum, for example, brought in fresh public land on which colonies could be founded. In addition, land might be ceded to Rome. Thus the territory of Galatia became available from 25 BC. Such newly acquired provincial land would presumably cease to be available for veteran settlement, only if and when it was assigned to recognised provincial communities by a lex provinciae or similar enactment.⁸⁶ Otherwise it remained public, and at the disposal of the government, for military or other purposes. Most land in

the military zones of the frontier provinces must often have long remained in this condition, hence its use for veteran settlement in later periods.

The use of confiscated and newly acquired public land for veteran settlement would clearly represent a great economy, but it would also mean that the siting of many colonies was more or less fortuitous, tempered only in newly occupied territories by strategic considerations. Here precise sites were no doubt usually chosen as suitable points at which reserve garrisons could be stationed not merely as propugnacula imperii Romani,⁸⁷ but also as centres of support for their founders. For in the periods when most of the colonies were founded - by Caesar between 46 and 44 BC and by Augustus after Actium - neither was in a position to relax his control of the provinces. By generous grants to the colonists, they could ensure assistance in any case of revolt against their supreme authority.

For the veteran colonies had a very military character. Tacitus describes the para-military organisation with which they were endowed:- universae legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et sui cujusque ordinis militibus;⁸⁸ a phrase echoed by the author of the de limitibus constituendis:- (legiones) cum signis et aquila et primis ordinibus ac tribunis deducebantur.⁸⁹ In their physical appearance they closely resembled legionary fortresses. The original plan of a veteran colony can be discerned in the case of

Thamugadi, founded by Trajan in 100 AD. The small insulae are arranged in regular, barrack-like formation.⁹⁰ Originally there was no room for public buildings, except the forum in the centre. The colony as planned had few embellishments, except for a triumphal arch over the west gateway. The colonnades along the main streets seem to have been later additions. The theatre, library, market and baths were all also later additions, and insulae had to be enlarged or thrown together to accommodate them, while room for other public buildings had to be found outside the walls. The early houses even seem to have had no private latrines, although the colony's drainage system was extensive and well-developed. Civic life must have had a strongly military flavour, and that civic activities might be conducted on a quasi-military basis is suggested by certain inscriptions from Ateste. These imply that the veteran colonists were organized into regular squads for the construction of the colony's drainage system.⁹¹

Their military origin was long remembered by some colonies. At the end of the third century, the Mauretanian colonies still retained the name legio VII in their official titles.⁹² The citizens of Lugdunum described themselves in 69 AD as coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus.⁹³ This is presumably a reference to the fact that Lugdunum was originally a veteran settlement. The function of the colonies is epitomised by Tacitus: colonia Camulodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum.⁹⁴ Such colonies must clearly have formed valuable reinforcements for the provincial garrisons.

The founding of the Caesarian and Augustan colonies is thus to be attributed to the practical necessities of the period, and to strategic considerations, rather than to abstract social ideas. A review of these foundations may serve to illustrate this. The provincial foundations of Caesar, the triumvirs and Augustus at which veteran settlement is certain or probable are these:-

Sicily.

A settlement of veterans is probable at Himera, where a dedication is known by a legio XX to a military tribune (X 7349). The Augustan date is given by X 7345. Due mainly perhaps to the lack of inscriptions from Sicily itself, there is no evidence for veteran settlement at any of the other Sicilian colonies. Dio⁹⁵ mentions that Syracuse and certain other unnamed Sicilian cities became colonies in 21 BC, but does not refer to any veteran participation. However, since Augustus himself claimed that he founded military colonies in Sicily,⁹⁶ then Catania, Panormus and Tyndaris which he also founded, may well have been veteran colonies.⁹⁷

Spain.

Urso was clearly one of Caesar's urban colonies,⁹⁸ but veterans may have been settled there by Augustus: a centurion of a legio XXX served as a duumvir of the colony (II 1404 = ILS 2233). Veterans may be attested at the Caesarian colony at Corduba,⁹⁹ and more certainly at Emerita, founded in 25 BC,¹⁰⁰ where coins record legions V and X.¹⁰¹ Inscriptions also record veterans of legio XX here (II 22 *and 662), but there seems to be no good reason for regarding them as of triumviral date,

as claimed by Ritterling.¹⁰² These men had probably settled at Emerita while XX was stationed in Spain in the years following Actium, and before it moved to Illyricum. Coins from Acci indicate that veterans were settled there from legions I and II.¹⁰³ At Barcino a veteran of a legio II is recorded (II 6152), who probably took part in the Augustan settlement there.¹⁰⁴ Veterans of three legions, IV, VI and X, were settled at Caesaraugusta, probably founded in 19 BC.¹⁰⁵ These three legions were stationed in Spain at that time, and probably all took part in the original settlement.¹⁰⁶

Veteran settlement is not attested elsewhere in Spain, but this is probably merely a result of the comparative lack of inscriptions from Spain itself. The colonies mentioned above (except Urso), with Calagurris, Norba, Olisipo and Scallabis, all lay on the fringe of the long settled area of Baetica, and were probably all veteran colonies founded on land newly won from the Spanish tribes, in positions which enabled them to assist in the pacification of the latter.

Gaul.

In addition to the Caesarian colonies at Narbo Martius and Arelate, mentioned above, veterans are attested at the triumviral colonies at Baeterrae (Baeterrae Septumanorum, Pliny HN 3. 36; XII 4227), Arausio (Arausio Secundanorum, Pliny HN 3.36; XII 3203; AE 1952 44) and Forum Julii (Forum Julii Octavanorum colonia quae Pacensis appellatur et Classica, Pliny HN 3.35, cf. XII 259, 260 and 266).¹⁰⁷

These were established communities. Veterans were presumably settled

there on confiscated or purchased land.

A colony was founded at Lugdunum in 43 BC. Dio ¹⁰⁸ says that this was merely a grant of colonial status to certain men whom the Allobroges had driven out of Vienna, and who had settled at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône (the site of Lugdunum). But Tacitus makes the inhabitants of Lugdunum describe themselves in 69 AD as coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus. ¹⁰⁹ This seems a clear reference to a veteran settlement, although this may have been imposed on the existing community after 43 BC. The geographical position of Noviodunum ¹¹⁰ and Raurica suggests that they were veteran colonies. For the other colonies in Narbonensis - Aquae Sextiae, Apollinares Reiorum, Nemausus, Valentia and Vienna, there is no direct evidence for ¹¹¹ veteran settlement.

The Danube lands.

Salonae and Iader, founded in the triumviral period, were probably ¹¹² veteran colonies, although there is no direct evidence of this. Emona has usually been assigned to the triumviral period also, but there ¹¹³ is good reason for thinking that it was founded by Tiberius. All these colonies lay closely in support of the legions moving towards the Danube.

In Macedonia, Philippi received Praetorian veterans, probably ¹¹⁴ shortly after 27 BC. Both here and at Dyrrhachium there had previously been settlements of Italians deprived of their lands to make way for veterans settled in Italy in 30 BC. ¹¹⁵ There may also ¹¹⁶ have been a legionary settlement under Antony. Dium and Cassandrea

were apparently founded by Brutus, and Pella by Antony, but it seems difficult to believe that either can have been able to spare
117
veterans for this purpose.

Greece.

Patrae was certainly a veteran colony, founded by Augustus in
118
16 BC. Inscriptions refer to veterans of a legio X, probably
X Fretensis (III 503), and of XII Fulminata (III 504, 507 = 7261 and 509).
119
These legions are also attested by the coins of the colony. Veterans
of a legio XI may also have taken part. 120 Possibly land was available
cheaply here through depopulation.

Asia Minor.

A veteran of a legio XVI at Alexandria Troas probably took part
121
in the Augustan settlement there. Evidence for the settlement
of veterans of a legio II and a legio VII has been claimed for Parium
122
on the strength of coins.

Veteran settlement is certain at Antioch in Pisidia under
Augustus, where men of a legio V Gallica (III 6824 = ILS 2237;
III 6825 = ILS 2238; III 6828; JRS VI p. 90) and of a legio VII
(III 6826-7) are attested. This colony and Lystra were probably
123
founded very shortly after the annexation of Galatia in 25 BC.
The main function of these colonies, and of the somewhat later Pisidian col-
124
onies, Comama, Cremna, Olbasa and Parlais, must have been to assist
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in the pacification of the hill tribes of the area.

Syria.

Veterans of two legions, V and VIII, are known at Berytus

126
 from its coins. The latter legion is called VIII Gallica on an
 inscription (III 14165⁶), which is held to imply that this settle-
 ment had taken place before 27 BC (On the assumption that the legion
 will have taken the title Augusta then). But the only settlement
 actually known at Berytus was that made by Agrippa in 14 BC.¹²⁷
 Coins of Philip commemorate V Macedonica and VIII Augusta at
 Heliopolis.¹²⁸ These probably refer to the original settlement
 at Berytus, to which Heliopolis was attributed down to the reign
 of Severus.¹²⁹ The titles of the legions on the coins suggest
 that the original settlement had in fact taken place in 14 BC.
 The use of the title Gallica in III 14165⁶ was not official, and does
 not necessarily prove that the man had settled before 27 BC. But
 if a triumviral colony were founded, it did not apparently survive, and
 so far as the colony was concerned the important settlement was probably
 that of 14 BC.¹³⁰ The land utilised was presumably part of that for
 which Augustus claimed that he paid in that year.¹³¹ As Jones has
 suggested, the probable object of the colony was to overawe the
 Ituraeans, whose sanctuary, Heliopolis, the colony had incorporated.¹³²
North Africa.

Caesar settled veterans in Africa after the African war.¹³³ The
 only place mentioned in the sources as receiving veterans is Carthage.¹³⁴
 But a veteran who settled at Thuburnica may have served in V Alaudae
 with Caesar in Africa.¹³⁵

Caesarian settlements of members of the urban lower classes
 are attested at Carthage, Clupea and Curubis.¹³⁶ Other colonies may

have been of this type, for example Carpis and Hippo Diarrhytus,¹³⁷ near Carthage, and Neapolis, near Curubis. But veterans may also have been settled here alongside these people, just as they were at Carthage.

In Numidia, annexed by Caesar in 46 BC,¹³⁸ the territory of the former Numidian capital, Cirta, was granted to P. Sittius and his Italian and Spanish followers.¹³⁹ There is no further record of Caesarian settlement in Numidia. After Actium, Augustus returned Numidia to Juba II, of the Numidian royal house,¹⁴⁰ and proceeded with a plan to make Mauretania a province. To consolidate his control, he established a series of military colonies. Veterans of a legio VII were settled at Rusazu, Saldae and Tuposuctu.¹⁴¹ Pliny mentions other Augustan colonies in Eastern Mauretania, Cartenna - a settlement of a legio II - Igilgili, Rusguniae and Zuccabar, with a Praetorian settlement at Gunugu.¹⁴² In Tingitana, colonies were established at Babba, Banasa and Zilis and probably at Tingi.¹⁴³¹⁴⁴

In 25 BC, however, Augustus moved Juba from Numidia to Mauretania, and reattached Numidia to the provinces¹⁴⁵ of Africa. The Mauretanian colonies were thus clearly established between 30 and 25 BC, and the veterans settled there will have come from the legions disbanded after Actium. The title immunis which appears in the official names of the three colonies known to have been settled with men from legio VII presumably indicates that when Mauretania again became a kingdom in 25 BC, these colonies, being now isolated from the Roman Province of Africa, were freed from subjection to the king of Mauretania. Zilis and probably the other colonies in Tingitana were attached for

administrative purposes to Baetica;¹⁴⁶ those in Eastern Mauretania were probably similarly attached to Africa.

Augustus founded no colonies in Numidia after 25 BC. By then he had presumably disposed of all the men discharged after Actium. Probably then the main settlement of veterans in Africa will also have taken place between Actium and 25 BC. It is however difficult to separate Caesarian and Augustan foundations in Africa since most, if not all, of the colonies of the latter while sharing the title Julia with those of Caesar, were founded too early to receive the title Augusta. In some cases Caesar's settlements were reinforced by those of Augustus - as at Carthage.¹⁴⁷ But either may have been responsible for founding colonia VIII Thub (urbo), at Thuburbo Minus, and colonia Julia XIII Uthina.¹⁴⁸ These three are the only colonies at which veteran settlement is directly attested. In a highly Romanised area like northern Africa Proconsularis, in which so much Italian settlement had taken place, it is possible that certain of the colonies may have been simply communities, already strongly Romanised, which were now elevated in rank. But colonies on the fringe of the more densely settled area (that is, which were probably founded on land which was still public) such as Thabraca, Simitthu, Sicca, Assuras and Thysdrus were almost certainly veteran colonies. Further, since veterans are known to have been settled well within the more Romanised area - as at Thuburbo Minus and Uthina - then it is all the more probable that most of the African colonies received veteran settlers. Indeed in certain areas there is a possibility that Augustus settled veterans without forming them into colonies, for example at Sutunurca¹⁴⁹ and

150
Medeli.

The necessity of using land wherever it was available no doubt explains why Augustan veterans might be settled far from the area in which they had served. Thus the legio VII whose veterans were settled in Mauretania is not known to have served in Africa. When these colonies were founded it was probably stationed in Macedonia.¹⁵¹ Veterans of XII Fulminata settled at Patrae in Achaea had probably served in Syria or Egypt.¹⁵² Later in the principate veterans were usually settled in or very near the provinces in which they had served, no doubt mainly for reasons of administrative convenience and economy. Under Augustus these considerations were overridden, even if it meant that veterans had to be transported long distances, by the need to use land wherever it was available.

Notes to Chapter One.

1. Velleius 1.15.5. Curiously this ignores Caesar's settlements of men drawn from the urban lower classes.
2. Cf. E. Gabba, Ricerche sull'esercito professionale romano da Mario ad Augusto, Athenaeum XXIX 1951 pp.215-8.
3. Gabba, loc. cit. p.219 note 2.
4. Livy 43.3.
5. Gabba, Le origini dell' esercito professionale in Roma: i proletari e la riforma di Mario, Athenaeum XXVII 1949 p.204; cf. ricerche p.178.
6. Gabba, origini p. 198ff.
7. Cf. Sallust. Jug. 84.2: in preparing to go to Numidia, Marius called for ... ex Latiis sociisque fortissimum quemque ...
8. Vegetius 1.3.
9. Appian BC 1.29; cf. also Sallust. Jug. 73.6
10. Pliny HN 3.80.
11. See note 17 below.
12. This is supported by the words of the de viris illustribus, 73:-
L.Appuleius Saturninus ... ut gratiam Marianorum militum pararet,
legem tulit ut veteranis centena agri jugera in Africa dividerentur.
13. Cf. Gabba, ricerche p.181.
14. Gabba, ricerche p.212.
15. Gabba, ricerche p. 211ff.
16. Gabba, ricerche pp.222ff.
17. Colonia Mariana Augusta Alexandriana Uchi Majus, VIII 15450, 26270,
26275; municipium Marianum Thibaritanorum, VIII 26181. A new

inscription from Thuburnica reads:- C.Mario C.f. conditori coloniae (CRAI 1950 pp.332ff = AE 1951 81), but as the editor, P. Quoniam, shows, it is unlikely that a colony was founded there at that time.

18. Gabba, ricerche pp.229ff.
19. Gabba, ricerche p.227 note 2.
20. K. Wellesley, Rhein. Mus. 1953 pp. 293ff.
21. Strabo 12.3.9 p.544.
22. It is possible that the men settled at Nicopolis were peregrini of eastern origin who had served in Pompey's legions, although such recruits to the legions are not known at this date.
23. Caesar BC 3.4.1. These do not seem to have been official settlements.
24. Dio 38.1; Appian BC 3.40. Vespasian's grandfather was a Pompeian veteran settled at Reate, Suetonius Vespasian 1.
25. Appian BC 2.140.
26. Cicero ad Att. 16.8.1-2; 16.11.6; 16.15.3; Nicol. Damasc. vit. Caes. 31.12f; Appian BC 3.40. Cf. X 388b = ILS 2225 and Siculus Flaccus, Lachmann p.162; Dio 55.24.
27. Hyginus, de limitibus constituendis, Lachman p.177.
28. Appian BC 2.92-4; Suetonius Caesar 70.
29. Corinth:- Strabo 8.6.23 p.381; Carthage, Curubis and Clupea:- X 6104 = ILS 1945, VIII 977 = ILS 5320; Urso:- lex coloniae Genetivae Juliae 105 (freedmen allowed to stand for election to the decurionate).
30. Caesar BGall 1.24; 2.2; 5.24; 6.1.

31. Caesar BGall 3.20 (56 BC). The words nominatim evocati suggest conscription based on the citizen-rolls of these communities. Evocati here can hardly refer to recalled veterans.
32. Cicero ad Att. 5.18 (51 BC):- delectus habetur civium Romanorum.
33. Bell. Afr. 35.4
34. Bell. Hisp. 7.4. The legion facta ex coloniis was presumably recruited from the Latin colonies of Carteia and Italica, and from Valentia, apparently a citizen colony (CIL 1² 752).
35. Caesar BC 3.4
36. Suet. Caes. 24.
37. Caesar BC 2.20; Bell. Hisp. 7.4.
38. Cf. Mommsen Hermes XIX 1884 p.13 note 1 (= Ges. Schr. VI p.31 note 3).
39. Caesar BC 3.4.
40. Bell. Alex 34.5.
41. Caesar BC 3.4.
42. Bell. Afr. 19.5.
43. Appian BC 3.79.
44. Appian BC 5.137.
45. Made by Tarn, Class. Quart. 26 1932 pp.75-81.
46. A mere smattering of Latin would be sufficient to enable a recruit to understand commands. But more would be needed before he could fully play the part of a legionary, or attain any rank. (Cf. Vegetius 2.19).
47. Dio 51. 3-4.
48. Hyginus de limitibus constituendis, Lachmann p.177:- divus Augustus ... exercitus qui aut sub Antonio aut Lepido militaverunt pariter et suarum

legionum milites colonos fecit, alios in Italia alios in provinciis.

Cf. Pliny HN 33. 82-3 for a veteran of Antony apparently settled at Bononia.

49. Appian BC 4.54.; Pliny HN 5.3.
50. Presumably Sittius obtained the citizenship for those of his followers who did not already possess it. They would naturally adopt the nomen of their patron; this was a common practice, cf. Cicero II Verr. 2.20; 3.37; Caesar BG 1.47.
51. LC = Liber coloniarum. The numbers following LC refer to the pages of Lachmann's edition of the Gromatici Veteres.
52. Suet. Caes. 38.
53. Appian BC 4.10.
54. Probus on Eclogues 9.28 (Probus p.6 Keil).
55. Dio 49.14. Cf. also Pliny HN 18.114.
56. Dio 51.4.
57. Res Gestae 28.
58. Strabo 4.6.7 p. 205-6. Praetorian settlement is indicated by the name and by Dio 53.25.
59. Cf. Kornemann in P-W IV.1 536.
60. A plan and references are given by Haverfield, Ancient Town-Planning, pp. 89ff.
61. Haverfield, op. cit. p.86.
62. Collingwood, Oxford History of England, 1² p.197.
63. Haverfield, op. cit. pp.115f.
64. C. Green JRS 1942 p.51.
65. G. Webster JRS 1949 p.70.
66. Haverfield, op. cit. p.109.

67. At 30 men per acre, on the model of Augusta Praetoria.
68. Res. Gestae 3.
69. Kornemann P-W IV. 1 528.
70. Pliny HN 3.32 - Decumanorum colonia.
71. XII 4344 - Decumani Narbonenses.
72. Caesar BG 3.20.
73. VI 1006 - Sextani Arelatenses; Pliny HN 3.36 - Arelate Sextanorum.
74. Caesar BG 8.4.
75. Bell. Alex. 69.1; 77.2. Cf. Ritterling 1587-8.
76. Cf. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, p.173.
77. V 4212.
78. Tacitus Ann. 3.21.
79. Dio 53.16; Res Gestae 34.
80. Appian, Punica 136, states that 3,000 men were settled at Carthage by Augustus, following Caesar's plans.
81. Res Gestae 16.
82. Res Gestae 16.
83. Tacitus Ann. 1.17.
84. Res Gestae 16.
85. Cicero ad Att. 16.16. Cf. A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City, p.62.
86. Cf. A.H.M. Jones JRS 1936 pp.229-30.
87. Cicero de leg. agr. 2.27.73. Cf. pro Fonteio 1.3.
88. Tacitus Ann. 14.27.
89. Lachmann p.176.
90. Plans are given conveniently by Haverfield, Ancient Town-Planning, pp.109-110.
91. AE 1916 60; 1916 61=V 2603; Barnabei, Not. d. Scavi., 1915(12) pp.137ff.

92. Cf. note 141 below.
93. Tacitus Hist. 1.65.
94. Tacitus Ann. 12.32.
95. Dio 54.7.
96. Res Gestae 28.
97. Kornemann P-W IV. 1 539-40.
98. Lex coloniae Genetivae Juliae; Pliny HN 3.12.
99. Cohen² I p.150 no.605, a coin said to read COL PATRI IE V X, but the piece is very doubtful, cf. M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas, p.220.
- 100 Dio 53.26.
- 101 Cohen² I p.149 nos. 594-5.
- 102 Ritterling 1769-70.
- 103 Cohen² I p. 152 nos 632-4.
- 104 Kornemann P-W IV. 1 541. II Augusta remained in Spain during most of the reign of Augustus.
- 105 M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas, p.217
- 106 G.F. Hill, Numismatic Notes and Monographs 50 1931, Plates XV.1 and XVII.2.
- 107 For the Caesarian and Triumviral colonies in Narbonensis, cf. J. Kromayer, Hermes XXXI 1896 pp.1-18.
- 108 Dio 46.50. For the date cf. X 6087.
- 109 Tacitus Hist. 1.65.
- 110 Kornemann P-W IV.1 529.
- 111 Kornemann P-W IV. 1 542-3
- 112 Kornemann P-W IV. 1 529-30.
- 113 Cf. p. 197 below.

114. British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Macedonia p.98 np.23,
cf. M. Grant, op. cit. p.275.
115. Dio 50.4.
116. AE 1924 55 - a veteran from a legio XXVIII. Cf. Ritterling 1821 and
Grant, op. cit. pp.275-7.
117. M. Grant, op. cit. pp 272-3 and 281.
118. Kornemann P-W IV. 1. 549.
119. British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Peloponnesus p.25 nos.
21-2, cf. Plate V.14.
120. III 503
121. AE 1914 204. Kornemann P-W IV. 1 550.
122. Cf. M. Grant, op. cit. pp.244ff.
123. For Lystra, cf. M. Grant, op. cit. pp.249-50.
124. Probably founded c.6 BC, after the war against the Homonadeis,
cf. R. Syme Klio XXVII 1934 pp. 135ff.
125. Cf. A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City p.61.
126. British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Phoenicia, p.60 nos.58-61.
127. Eusebius Chron., under 14 BC; Strabo 16.2.19 p.576.
128. Cohen² V p.127 no.333.
129. The evidence is collected by A.H.M. Jones in Cities of the Eastern
Roman Provinces, p.465 note 85.
130. Cf. R. Syme JRS¹⁹³³ p.30 note 116.
131. Res Gestae 16.
132. A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City, p.82.
133. Dio 43.14.
134. Plutarch Caesar 57; Strabo 17.3.15 p.832.
135. VIII 14697 = ILS 2249. If he did serve in V Alaudae, he had

- presumably been transferred from another legion when V Alaudae was formed, since he was not a Transalpine Gaul, but came from Faventia.
136. VIII 977=12451=ILS 5320; X 6104=ILS 7495.
137. VIII 968=ILS 6785; VIII 1206=25417=ILS 6782.
138. Bell. Afr. 97; Dio 43.9; Appian BC 2. 100.
139. Appian BC 4.54; Pliny HN 5.24.
140. Dio 51.15.
141. Rusazu - AE 1921 16; Saldae - VIII 8931 and VIII 20683 (=ILS 649);
Tupusuctu - VIII 8837=ILS 6103 and AE 1934 39.
142. Pliny HN 5.20-1.
143. Pliny HN 5.2 and 5.5. For Banasa, cf. AE 1954 259.
144. Pliny (HN 5.1) is mistaken in referring the foundation of a colony at Tingi to Claudius. The name Traducta Julia belongs to a town in Baetica, cf. Strabo 3.1.8 p.140; CIL II p.241. VIII 10985 from Tingi which mentions a colonia V(ictrix?) Julia combined with Dio 48.45 suggests that Tingi was colonised by Augustus.
145. Dio 53.26; Tacitus Ann 4.5; Strabo 17.3.25 p.840.
146. Pliny HN 5.1:- colonia Augusta Julia Constantia Zilis, regum ditioni exempta et jura Baeticam petere jussa.
147. Appian Punica 136.
148. AE 1915 37=IL Afr 414 - not Thuburho Majus, as stated by Ritterling 1240 and 1644. Its full title was something like "c(olonia) V(ictrix?) J(ulia) F(elix?) VIII (Thuburbitanorum)" - cf. AE 1915 79.
For Uthina, VIII 24011.
149. IL Afr 301=AE 1909 158.
150. VIII 885=12387=ILS 6803.
151. Ritterling 1614f.
152. Ritterling 1706

CHAPTER TWO

The Evidence for Legionary Recruitment and Veteran
Settlement in the Principate.

It is clearly impossible to discuss veteran settlement in the principate without discussing also the origins of the men concerned. The sources from which came the recruits who progressively replaced the Italians varied from area to area, and similarly the process of veteran settlement varied also. The evidence, being mainly epigraphic, is inevitably unwieldy and also very uneven in geographical distribution. The best approach seems to be to take each area in turn and to discuss recruitment and settlement in each, while the evidence itself is most manageable if presented in the form of tables.

The tables of recruitment do not show the composition of the legions at any one time. This is done reasonably well by Forni (his Table C), although there are a considerable number of corrections and additions to be made to his lists. The tables set out here are intended to show the normal sources drawn upon by the legions stationed in the province or area concerned, in each of four main periods:- down to 69AD; 69 to 117AD; 117 to 193AD; 193 to c.300 AD. So far as possible men not recruited under normal circumstances have been excluded.

Similarly with the tables showing veteran settlement. They do not show simply the veterans settled in each province or area. Each table shows where the veterans discharged from the legions stationed in the province or area concerned settled after discharge - whether they returned to their homes, if these lay outside the province, or settled in the province in which they had served, or in the vicinity

of their stations, or whether they settled elsewhere.

Note:-

- 1) Lugdunum is for convenience assigned to Gallia Narbonensis. Since it lay exactly on the border of the latter and was a very early foundation, it has much more in common with the latter than with Gallia Comata.
- 2) Numidia is normally included in the term Africa.
- 3) Frumentarii are specifically noted as such. It is clear that in discussing normal legionary recruitment the evidence of the frumentarii must be left out of account. The frumentarius might serve either in Rome or in a province - but usually not in the province in which was stationed the legion in which he was officially enrolled. Nor was he usually recruited from the province in which that legion was stationed, or from the province in which he himself served. Frumentarii have been allowed to remain in the tables of recruitment in order to illustrate this, but are excluded from the totals. They are annotated (FRUM). (See also below p.256).
- 4) Only veterans settled after 14 AD are normally included, but recruits of the later period of Augustus's reign do appear.
- 5) The abbreviations CIL and AE are omitted. Inscriptions in the former are referred to by volume and number only, in the second by year and number only.
- 6) In the tables showing veteran settlement, the first column lists men who returned home after service: it is thus not necessary to give their origins. But in the last three columns the origin,

where known, is given in brackets immediately after the reference. This must be done here, even when the veteran returned to his home, since not all origins of veterans are known.

7) Only those inscriptions whose readings are certain are included in the tables. For this reason several of the inscriptions admitted by Forni have been left out. In other cases his datings have not been adopted. Not all of these have been discussed individually in the text.

Africa. Recruitment. (to 69 AD). Table 1 (1)

	Italy Narbonensis	PreHadrianic Colonies	Africa Other Sources	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
III Aug to 69 AD	Aquae Statiellae VIII 23294 For. Livii IIAfr 156 Iguvium VIII 23296 Ostra VIII 23295 Pisaurum VIII 25741 Tergeste VIII 17334 Tibur XIV 3472 Falerna VIII 23254 Velina VIII 23297 Lugdunum 3 VIII 23253 IIAfr 151 ILT 467	Carthage ILT 468 Cirta ILT 1078 Arvensis 3 VIII 7082 VIII 11680 VIII 14603	Leptis Minus VIII 22899 Thunusida ILT 466 Utica VIII 23256 African VIII 12417		
69 to 117 AD:-					
	12	5	4	-	-
III Aug 69 to 117 AD	Ariminum VIII 2812 Carales VIII 3185 Reii Apollinares IIAfr 51	Sicca VIII 1642 Uthina 2 VIII 3067	Thibica VIII 23119 Utica ILT 1241		
Vexill VII Gem Trajan		Cirta 1911 91 Sicca 1928 196	Africans 2 II 4145 II 4179		
III Aug c 116-7 (VIII 18084)	Lugdunum	Carthage 6 Cirta 2 Hadrumetum Hippo Diarrh. 2.		Theveste Castris 2	

(Cont.)

Africa.	Recruitment. (70 to 117 AD. cont).			Table 1 (2)	
	Italy Narbonensis	PreHadrianic Colonies	Africa Other Sources	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
III Aug transferred to other Legg:-					
Dacian War cl01-6		Ammaedara III 13372 (II Adj)	Tacapes ILS 9085 (I Adj)	Camp of III Aug (Theveste) III 6706 (I Adj)	
Parth War cl14-7			Utica III 151 (II Traj)		
	4	16	6	4	-

A veteran of X Fretensis who after his release from the legion held equestrian appointments in Mauretania and was finally buried at Thuburnica (IL Afr 473) may have been a native of that colony who first served in III Augusta. The style of the inscription suggests that he was recruited before rather than after Hadrian's reign (as claimed by Forni, p.44 note 3).

Africa. Recruitment, 117 to 238 AD: Dedication-lists Table 2 (1)

Italy Narbonensis	PreHadrianic Colonies	Africa	Other Sources	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
III Aug c 118-9 VIII 18085	Carthage Hadrumetum Leptis Magna Thelepte Thysdrus	5 3	Naraggara	Theveste	
Mid 2nd century VIII 18087	Ammaedara Carthage Cirta Hadrumetum Leptis Mag Madaura Maxulla Thysdrus	6 37 7 2	Oea 2 Vaga 2	Thamugadi Theveste Castris Manliana	4 2
140-1 VIII 18067	Ammaedara Assuras Carthage Cirta Hadrumetum Maxulla Sicca Thysdrus	2 6 2 2	Utica	Thamugadi Castris	10
173 AD VIII 18068 with VIII 2566	Ammaedara Carthage Cirta Cuicul Hadrumetum Hippo Diar Simitthu Thysdrus	3 8 23 2 3	Bulla Reg Calama Cillium Oea Tipasa	Bagai Diana Thamugadi Theveste Lambaesis Castris	2 5 5 28
c 175-200 VIII 2567	Carthage Cirta Cuicul Maxulla Milev Sicca Simitthu Thuburbo Thysdrus	5 5 2 6 4	Oea Sufes Tipasa Utica	Thamugadi Theveste Castris	4 2 23
c 170 - 186 VIII 2618	Carthage Cirta Hadrumetum Thysdrus	2	Thubursic (Numidar)	Thamugadi Castris	5

(cont.)

Africa Recruitment. 117 to 238 AD: Dedication-lists (Cont.) Table 2 (2)

Italy Narbonensis	PreHadrianic Colonies	Africa Other Sources	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
c 185 - 200 AE1918 57	Carthage	2	Lambaesis Verecunda 2 Castris	
Late 2nd century VIII 2565	Carthage Hadrumetum Sicca Thelepte	4	Castris	7
Late 2nd century AE 1918 29	Carthage Cirta Hadrumetum	2 2	Thamugadi Theveste Castris	2
c 195 -205 VIII 2586	Ammaedara Assuras Carthage Cirta Cuicul Hadrumetum Milev Rusicade Thelepte	6 4	Bisica Sufetula Utica 2 Vaga	Macula Thamugadi 5 Theveste 3 Lambaesis 6 Castris 5
c 200 -210 VIII 18086	Cirta	2	Calama Utica	3 Castris 15
c 200 -210 VIII 2568	Ammaedara Carthage Cirta Cuicul Hadrumetum Simitthu Thabraca Thelepte Thuburbo Thysdrus	2 10 2 2 2 2	Cillium Sabratha Thaenae Tigiba Tipasa Vaga	Bagai Macula Thamugadi 3 Theveste Castris 42
early 3rd century VIII 2569	Carthage Cirta Sicca Thelepte Thysdrus	5 3	Capsa 2 Cillium Sufes Tacapes 2	Bagai Macula Theveste 2 Castris 21

(cont.)

Africa. Recruitment, 117 to 238 AD: Dedication-lists (Cont.). Table 2 (3)

	Italy Narbonensis	PreHadrianic Colonies	Africa Other Sources	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
early 3rd Ct:					
PD 31			Capsa		
PD 32			Abthugni Cillium 2	Macula Thamugadi Castris 3	
PD 37			Mactar	Castris	
AE 1906 124		Carthage Uthina	Cillium 6	Castris 5	
PD 20		Thelepte Thysdrus		Thamugadi Castris 2	
PD 22		Carthage Sicca	Naraggara	Diana Thamugadi Zab Lambaesis Castris	
PD 4		Carthage 2		Thamugadi 2 Castris 3	
uncertain date:					
1899 90		Carthage 2			
1899 91		Carthage 2 Hadrumetum 2		Castris 6	
1899 92		Cirta		Bagai Theveste Lambaesis Castris	
BACTH 1905 pp 239-41		Assuras Carthage Cirta Cuicul Thuburbo	Furnos Tipasa	Theveste 5 Castris 8	
		243	55	265	

Africa. Recruitment, 117 to 238 AD: Other evidence.

Table 3 (1)

	Italy Narbonensis	PreHadrianic Colonies	Africa Other Sources	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
III Aug 117 - 238	Opitergium VIII 2983 n. Italicus VIII 3026	Ammaedara 4 VIII 2975 (3) VIII 2911 Carthage 3 VI 232 VIII 2947 VIII 18595 Cirta 2 VIII 2890 VIII 18234 Hadrumetum 3 VIII 3020 VIII 3062 VIII 18293 Leptis Magna CRAI 1905 p. 532 Madaura 3 VIII 3043 = 18163 ILAlg 2070 ILAlg 2202 Milev VIII 3266 Thelpte VIII 3106 Thysdrus VIII 3177	Althiburos VIII 16333 Bulla Reg VIII 3274 Thaenae VIII 2991 Thagora 2 VIII 4642 with 4656 ILAlg 1045	Bagai VIII 2278 Lambiridi 1919 67 Lamiggiga 2 VIII 4376 VIII 4381 Thamugadi 2 VIII 2603 MER 1898 p 475 Theveste 2 VIII 3251 VIII 3209 Verecunda 3 VIII 4240 VIII 4245 (2) Mina VIII 21538 Canabae of III Aug 49 VIII 2739 2755 2784 2815 (2) 2822 (2) 2824 2844 2858 2870 2879 2883 2884 2901 2926 2928 2932 2934 2948 with 3203 2963 2966 2973 with 2772 2979 3014 3022 3032 3033 3068 3082 with 3083 3090 3098 3161 3178 3186 3212 with 3440 3222 with (Cont.) 3980	

Africa. Recruitment, 117 to 238 AD: Other evidence (Cont.). Table 3 (2)

	Italy Narbonensis	PreHadrianic Colonies	Africa Other Sources	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
III Aug 117 - 238 (cont.)				Canabae of III Aug (cont.) VIII 3224 3230 3250 3260 3261 4058 with MER 1898 p.477,47 (2) VIII 18320 ← VIII 18308 MER1898 ← MER 1898 p. 469,40 p.466,31	
				municipium Lambaesis 2 VIII 2949 VIII 4306	
				Castris 3 VIII 2994 VIII 3151 VIII 3247	
				sons of members of III Aug 15 VIII 2528 2811 2833 2836 2897 with 2898 2961 2985 2989 3000 with 3275 3011 with 3012 3120 3136 3155 3159 with 18303	
				son of a veteran VIII 16548	
	2	19	5	82 81	-

Africa. Recruitment, 117 to 238 AD: Recruits to III Aug,
transferred to other legions.

Table 4

Italy Narbonensis	Africa PreHadrianic Colonies	Africa Other Sources	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
Parth War 162-6	Ammaedara IL Afr 167 (XV Apol) Carthage 1904 69 (III Cyr) Cirta VIII 5678 (III Cyr)	Thizika ILS 9492 (III Gall) Thuburbo Majus VIII 23989 (III Gall)		
Marco- mannic Wars c 165 -180	Cirta VIII 19694 (I Adj) Rusicade VIII 7981 (IV Flav) Sicca 2 VIII 15874 (X Gem) VIII 27512 (II Adj) Simitthu VIII 14605 (II Adj) Thuburnica VIII 25740 (II Adj)	Sufetula III 3680 (II Adj) Thignica VIII 25894 (II Adj) Thubursic. Numidar. 2 ILAlg 566 (II Adj) ILAlg 1339 (XIII Gem) African VIII 3066 (II Adj)	Lamiggiga 1938 44 (II Adj) Theveste 3 III 10515 (II Adj) VIII 16553 (II Adj) ILAlg 3548 (I Adj)	
Parth War? (? of Severus)			Theveste III 12057 (II Traj)	
British War? (? of Severus)		Zattara ILAlg 539 (VI Vict)	Thamugadi VIII 2401 (VI Vict) Theveste ILAlg 3748 (XX VV)	
German War? (? of Caracalla)		Chusira VIII 12128 (German legion)		
	- 9	9	7	-

Africa. Veteran Settlement: Inscriptions naming the
veteran's legion.

Table 5 (1)

To 70 AD.

	Returned to homes out- side Africa	Settled in Africa PreHadrianic Colonies	Other towns	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
III Aug		Thuburnica VIII 25741 (Pisaurum)	Thizika VIII 25437	Ammaedara VIII 32356 (Utica) Thala VIII 504	

70 to 117 AD.

III Aug		Sitifis 1949 45	Avitta Bibba VIII 12241 Mactar VIII 628	Thamugadi 1934 36 (Clunia)	
Vexill VII Gem Trajan					

117 to 238 AD.

III Aug		Ammaedara 2 VIII 470 ILT 463 Cirta 2 VIII 6310 VIII 6358 Madaura ILAlg 2095 Simitthu 4 VIII 14602 VIII 14606 VIII 14607 VIII 25645	Thagora VIII 4642 with 4656 (Thagora) Thubursic. Numidarum VIII 4880	Lambaesis 50 (list below) Casae 6 VIII 4306 (Lambaesis) VIII 4308 VIII 4310 (Syrian) VIII 4329, 4332,4333 Lamiggiga 3 VIII 4374 4376, 18558 Thamugadi 5 VIII 2699 1936 33-4 with VIII 2568= 18055 (Ammaedara) 1949 32 BACTH 1911 p. 124 (2) Theveste 3 VIII 16544 VIII 27853 ILAlg 2944	
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(Cont.)

Africa. Veteran Settlement: Inscriptions naming the
veteran's legion.

Table 5 (2)

117 to 238 AD (Cont.)

	Returned to homes out- side Africa	Settled in Africa PreHadrianic Colonies	Settled in Africa Other towns	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
III Aug				Verecunda VIII 4245 Zarai VIII 4522 Aures Mts. VIII 3000 Ad Majores VIII 17973	
Totals:- 117 - 238	-	9	2	71	-

The 50 men settled in the canabae at Lambaesis are known from these inscriptions:-

VIII 2528, 2683 with 2684, 2728 (an ex-praetorian evocatus),
2789 with 18214 (Antioch), 2804, 2811, 2829, 2833, 2836, 2840,
2868, 2885 (2), 2892, 2902, 2904 (Arethusa, ex-III Gall), 2948 with
3203 (Lambaesis), 2949 (Lambaesis), 2982, 2985, 2990, 3015 with
3032 (Lambaesis), 3016, 3021 (Napoca), 3027, 3055, 3060, 3079
(Dyrrhachium), 3102, 3120, 3128, 3135 = 18304, 3153, 3157 (ex-III
Gall), 3159 (Adana), 3169 = 18307 with 3170, 3175 (Beroea), 3193,
3225, 3229, 3233, 3269, 3276, 3278 (Berytus), 18094 = 2596, 18234,
(Cirta), 18595 with 18596 (Carthage), MER 1898 p. 467, ILS 9102b,
AE 1916 22.

(The veterans of III Augusta who set up VIII 2618 had very probably all settled at Lambaesis. There were at least 19 of them, discharged between 195 and 212 AD).

Africa. Veteran Settlement: Inscriptions not naming
the veteran's unit.

Table 6 (1)

Pre-Hadrianic Colonies		Other towns		Canabae of III Aug, and frontier zone
<u>To 69 AD.</u>				
Thuburnica	3			
VIII 14699				
VIII 14720				
IL Afr 474				
<u>69 to 117 AD.</u>				
Carthage	2			Theveste
VIII 12591				ILAlg 3128
VIII 12878				
<u>117 to 238 AD.</u>				
Carthage	4	Bulla Regia		Lambaesis 92
VIII 24632		VIII 25529		(list below)
VIII 24639				
VIII 24685		Calama		Casae 7
IL Afr 381		ILAlg 475		VIII 4328, 4330, 4331, 4334,
Cirta	4	Giufi		4355, 18533, ILS 2996
VIII 5935		VIII 12378		Diana 3
VIII 6043		Hippo Regius		VIII 4594, 4605, 4606
VIII 6050		VIII 17413		Lamasba 4
VIII 6201		Mactar 3		VIII 4440 = 18587 (4)
Cuicul		VIII 12111		Lambiridi
AE 1923 21		VIII 23417		VIII 4417
Madaura	8	VIII 23418		Lamiggiga 2
ILAlg 2198,		Nattabutes		VIII 4377, 4379
2199, 2200,		VIII 15392 4827		Mascula
2201, 2204,		Numjuli 2		VIII 2229
2205, 2855,		VIII 15392		Thamugadi
2860		(Numjuli)		VIII 2372 with AE 1941 66
Sicca		VIII 15393		and AE 1945 65-6
VIII 27724		Sabratha		Theveste and vicinity 11
Simitthu		IRT 108		VIII 2198, 16523, 16548,
VIII 14601		Sufes		16751, 17590, 23176, 27857,
Thelepte		VIII 11427		27928, IL Afr 190,
VIII 184		(Sufes)		ILAlg 3105, 3845
Uthina		Thagora 4		Verecunda 10
VIII 24038		VIII 4655		VIII 4196 with 4197 (2),
		ILAlg 1044		4238, 4239, 4241, 4243,
		ILAlg 1045		4244, 4247, 4248 = 2999,
		(Thagora)		18513
		ILAlg 1047		Zarai 7
		Thugga		VIII 4519, 4523, 4524,
		VIII 26587		4525, 4528, 4529, 4566
		Thullium		Aures Mts.
		VIII 5209		AE 1942/3 94 (Cont.)

Africa, Veteran Settlement: Inscriptions not naming the veteran's unit (cont.) Table 6 (2)

Pre-Hadrianic Colonies	Other towns	Canabae of III Aug and frontier zone
<u>117 to 238 AD (cont.)</u>		
	Thubursicum Numidarum VIII 4881 VIII 4882 VIII 16912 VIII 16913 Vallis VIII 14779 VIII 25830	Calceus Herculis VIII 18010 with 18011 Tripolitanian frontier IL Afr 3
	4	
	2	
Totals 117 to 238:-	21	24
		143

The 92 men settled in the canabae at Lambaesis are known from these inscriptions:-

VIII 2531, 2597, 2800, 2961 (2 men, father and son), 2978, 2989, 3011, 3013, 3023, 3024, 3030, 3034, 3035, 3040 = 18285, 3042 = 18162, 3048, 3051, 3058, 3061, 3063, 3070, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3086, 3091, 3094, 3104, 3105, 3109, 3110, 3112, 3119, 3121, 3123, 3124, 3129, 3132, 3136, 3142, 3144, 3149, 3152, 3160, 3162, 3168, 3173, 3176, 3179, 3183, 3184, 3187, 3189, 3190, 3192, 3194, 3196, 3204 (cf. 2949), 3210 = 18313, 3212 with 34⁴0 (Lambaesis), 3215, 3228, 3231, 3234, 3239, 3248 = 18298, 3252, 3253, 3257, 3263, 3265, 3267, 3273, 3277, 3281, 3287, 3600, 3919, 4291, 4293, 18294, 18297, 18299 = 3647, 18306, 18308 (Lambaesis), 18309, 18310, 18324, 18325, 18521, MER 1898 p.475 no. 42 (Thamugadi).

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in Africa.To 70 AD.

Africa was garrisoned continuously by III Augusta from at least 15 AD (AE 1905 77), except for the period 238-253 AD. This continuity and the quantity of evidence from Africa are very valuable for present purposes.

The headquarters of the legion were very probably at Ammaedara during the Julio-Claudian period. VIII 23264, from Ammaedara, is the tombstone of a slave of the proconsul Cornelius Cethegus, who was consul in 24 AD, and who was presumably proconsul shortly after 30 AD, but before 37 AD, after which date the proconsuls of Africa ceased to control III Augusta.¹ From that time also Ammaedara, so long as it was occupied by the legion, will have ceased to fall within the area controlled by the proconsuls. The death of Tacfarinas in 24 AD (Tac. Ann. 4.25) by no means put an end to native resistance, and military operations continued with little interruption. The proconsuls were no doubt mainly occupied with military affairs down to 37 AD, and their headquarters will usually have been with that of the legion. Thus VIII 23264 probably indicates the main station of III Augusta in this period. That Ammaedara was its headquarters is also suggested by the considerable number of inscriptions found there which refer to members of the legion who lack cognomina.² But detachments of the legion also served elsewhere. The measures adopted by Junius Blaesus (infiltration from several directions) had proved successful in breaking the main strength of Tacfarinas in 21 AD (Tac. Ann. 4.74). These methods were adopted on the strategic level. We know that a detachment of 500 vexillarii

held the post at Thala in 20 AD,³ and inscriptions of early date have been found there.⁴ Another praesidium is recorded to have been garrisoned by III Augusta in the saltus Philomusianus near Simitthu, in c 52-7 AD, (VIII 14603 = ILS 2305). Another inscription, VIII 14608 = ILS 2370, found at Simitthu itself, reads L. Silicius Optatus vix. an. L interceptus in itinere. huic veterani morantes Simittu de suo fecerunt. It is just possible that these veterani were men settled at Simitthu, which was an Augustan colony, but the wording suggests more strongly that they were vexillarii serving in the praesidium nearby.⁵ An early recruit from Utica was buried at Hr. Douemis, not far from Simitthu (ILT 1241). He also very probably served in this praesidium. There seems to have been another early praesidium at Cirta (VIII 7082), and possibly one near Thabraca (VIII 17334).⁶

During the pre-Flavian period, as Table 1 shows, Italians predominated among recruits. Three men from Lugdunum are also known. But already it is clear that the legion had begun to draw on local sources, mainly on men born in the veteran colonies and other communities in the Romanised northern part of the proconsular province. During this disturbed period many recruits must have been needed to replace battle-casualties, and there is evidence for at least one dilectus in the province - by the proconsul Junius Silanus between 33 and 37 AD.⁷

The inscriptions which mention individual veterans in this period are very few. A man from Utica settled in the canabae of the legion at Ammaedara (VIII 23256). Other veterans settled near the praesidia in which they had served. One is attested at

Thala (VIII 504). Another (origo Pisaurum) who settled at Thurnica (VIII 25741) had very probably served in the praesidium near Sinitthu. The same is probably true of three other veterans of early date at Thurnica whose unit is not given (Table 6).

The evidence of inscriptions from Italy itself shows that considerable numbers of Italians who served in provinces other than Africa returned to their homes in Italy after service, particularly of course in the Julio-Claudian period when legionaries were still largely Italian.⁸ But not a single inscription indicates a legionary caligatus who returned to Italy after service in III Augusta. While this does not of course prove that no veteran of III Augusta ever did return to Italy, it does suggest that the number must have been very small. The return from Africa, unlike that from the Rhine and Danube provinces, involved a sea crossing, which may have been too expensive for the ordinary veteran to undertake - from the Rhine or Danube he could at worst return on foot. However, a few inscriptions show that veterans who had served in the east often managed to make the journey home to Italy or other western provinces, and this involved a much longer voyage. Further a considerable number of those Africans who, having served in III Augusta and formed part of a vexillation of that legion which fought in Marcus's Marcomannic war, were later transferred to legions stationed on the Danube, nevertheless were able to make their way back to Africa after discharge.⁹ It may be suggested that in fact Italians who served in Africa generally chose of their own free will to remain there as settlers. The province presumably offered opportunities and attractions greater than those which could be

expected in Italy.

There is no evidence that any colonies were founded in Africa in the Julio-Claudian period. This is in contrast with Mauretania where three colonies were founded by Claudius, in Caesariensis at Caesarea¹⁰ and Oppidum Novum,¹¹ and in Tingitana at Lixos.¹² There is no evidence to show whether veterans were settled at Caesarea or Lixos. The elevation of Caesarea may have been a merely titular grant to the ancient capital of Juba, and future capital of the province. Lixos is uncertain, but Oppidum Novum was explicitly a veteran colony - Pliny adds the words deductis veteranis. The veterans were presumably from III Augusta, in spite of the fact that there seems, in general, to have been remarkably little liaison between the Mauretania and the African command. Very few Mauretania are known in III Augusta,¹³ and there is only one known inscription referring to a veteran of the legion who settled in Mauretania (at Sitifis¹⁴). Oppidum Novum clearly can only have absorbed a few of the veterans discharged from III Augusta.¹⁵ Since no colonies were founded in Africa and since there is little reason to think that many veterans returned to Italy, the bulk of the men discharged in the Julio-Claudian period must have settled at places of their own choosing in Africa. The very slight evidence referred to above suggests that most of them preferred to settle near the stations where they had served.

69 to 117 AD.

Under Vespasian at the latest the headquarters of III Augusta were moved from Armaedara to Theveste.¹⁶ The legion left Theveste not later than 98 AD, by which time at latest its station was Lambaesis.¹⁷

Inscriptions from Theveste show that the personnel of III Augusta in the Flavian period included a number of men from Gallia Comata and Germany.¹⁸ It is not necessary to assume from this that in this period the African legion had to fall back on these sources because of a shortage of recruits from Italy or Africa. The explanation given by Syme¹⁹ is certainly correct, that these were men recruited (most of them during the crisis years of 68 and 69 AD) to the Rhine legions disbanded by Vespasian, whose members were distributed among legions stationed elsewhere.²⁰

A vexillation of III Augusta which served in Trajan's Parthian war acquired a considerable number of replacements from the eastern provinces, men who moved to Africa with the returning vexillation after 117 AD.²¹ These are the men who appear in VIII 18084.²² Of the four recruits born castris listed there, one, C. Luceius Hermianus was almost certainly the son of a legionary of eastern origin; his origo, and that of another of the four, was written kastris, which suggests that they were of eastern origin, unlike the other two, whose origo was spelt castris and who were probably the sons of members of III Augusta. Thus only two men can be confidently listed in Table 1. VIII 18084 also lists a number of African recruits, and a man from Lugdunum. They must also have been recruited in the later years

of Trajan's reign. Three other inscriptions suggest that earlier in his reign a vexillation of III Augusta had served in Dacia, in c 101-6 AD. These are III 6706, a man from Theveste serving in I Adjutrix who was buried at Cyrrhus in Syria; III 1336⁷2, a man from Armaedara, serving in II Adjutrix²³ and buried at Aquincum; ILS 9085, a recruit from Tacapes who after serving in I Adjutrix settled at Poetovio. These men were probably transferred to these legions from a vexillation of III Augusta which did not return to Africa. The first man travelled with I Adjutrix to the east, where the legion served as a body in the Parthian war of 114-7.²⁴ These three men were probably all recruited to III Augusta under normal circumstances, and hence are included in Table 1. Further, an African who is known in II Trajana (III 151)²⁵ had almost certainly been transferred from the vexillation of III Augusta which served in the Parthian war. Finally, several Africans are known who joined a vexillation of VII Gemina which served in Africa in Trajan's reign. Of the four, two give origines Cirta (AE 1911 91) and Sicca (AE 1928 196).²⁶ This completes the evidence for legionary recruitment for the period 69-117 AD; this may also serve as an example of the method by which these tables of recruitment and veteran settlement have been built up, since there is not room to describe each separately and in detail.

The number of recruits from Italy has dropped, and only two men from Narbonensis are known. But the number from Africa has increased considerably. The colonies of Africa are already the most important single source, but men have also begun to appear from the legionary canabae.²⁷

When the legion moved away from Ammaedara a colony was founded there which was certainly composed of veterans, as its title shows.²⁸ Inscriptions from Ammaedara are not numerous and there are none which refer to veterans who settled there at the time of the foundation of the colony. But it is very probable that the colony did not form the first settlement of veterans at this point. One veteran has already been mentioned who had settled there previously (VIII 23256).

Another Flavian colony was founded at Madaura. The period of its foundation is indicated by ILAlg 2152, colonia Flavia Augusta veter[anorum Madaurensium].²⁹ The presence of veterans is confirmed by Apuleius. Here again there is no epigraphic trace of the original settlers, but they can only have come from III Augusta. The same was probably the case at Sitifis, founded by Nerva;³⁰ here AE 1949 45 probably refers to an original settler from III Augusta. The colony at Cuicul was probably also founded by Nerva, as has been argued by Cagnat.³¹

After the legion left Theveste (by 98 AD at the latest) a colony was founded there also. It was registered in tribe Papiria,³² and was thus founded by Nerva or, more probably, Trajan. An early veteran appears in ILAlg 2128. Other Trajanic colonies were at Leptis Magna,³³ and very probably at Thelepte.³⁴ The colony at Hadrumetum was refounded in this reign.³⁵ These were all probably veteran settlements, as was certainly Thamugadi, founded in 100 AD.³⁶ However even at Thamugadi there is, surprisingly, no epigraphic evidence of the first veteran colonists. The only early settlers known there are a veteran of VII Gemina and a legionary centurion.

The latter had been recruited as an ordinary miles of III Augusta and had then served as a duplicarius and decurion in the ala I Pannoniorum (stationed in Africa), before being promoted to the centurionate in III Augusta and later XXX Ulpia.³⁷ Since XXX Ulpia was formed at the beginning of Trajan's reign it is just possible, but rather unlikely, that this man was discharged in time to be deducted to Thamugadi in 100 AD. More probably he settled there later. The veteran of VII Gemina (origo Clunia, AE 1934 36) had presumably served with the vexillation of that legion which is known in Africa under Trajan, and chose to settle in Africa rather than return to his home in Spain. He also must have come to Thamugadi after the original settlement.

There is in fact very little evidence to show what happened to individual veterans in this period. One man discharged in 86 AD chose to settle in the proconsular province, near the civitas of Avitta Bibba. A veteran who settled at Mactar (VIII 628) had possibly merely returned to his home. The new colonies must have absorbed a good proportion of the men discharged between 70 and 117 AD, especially since further veterans may occasionally have been deducted to a colony after the first settlement to take up allotments left vacant by veterans who died childless or moved away from the colony. But the evidence of both the preceding and the succeeding periods suggests that many men must have settled near their station, knowledge of whom is now lost.

117 to 238 AD.

With the establishment of III Augusta at Lambaesis evidence for

both recruitment and veteran settlement becomes much more abundant. A large number of inscriptions have been preserved in the area of Lambaesis and the nearby frontier zone. Also, what is more important for the study of legionary recruitment, Lambaesis has produced a number of dedications, made collectively by groups of veterans at the time of discharge and before they had dispersed into civilian life. In most cases these dedications are accompanied by lists of the veterans who had contributed towards their erection, and these lists usually give the veterans' origines. In addition certain groups of serving legionaries might make dedications on particular occasions, in which lists of their names give their origines. Thus the main part of the officium of the legate of Numidia in 216 AD is listed in the dedication VIII 2586 = ILS 2381 and the origines of nearly all the men concerned are given.

Individual inscriptions mentioning only one or two legionaries or veterans each are also plentiful. They of course are also very useful for present purposes, since they give an indication of where some at least of the recruits to the legion concerned came from, or where some of its veterans settled. But since these inscriptions do not survive in equal proportions for all periods or areas, and since in some areas people were more inclined to use stone inscriptions than in others, this evidence is necessarily less accurate. The dedication-lists on the other hand each give a partial cross-section of the composition of the legion at one particular point of time. There is no reason to think that any particular man or group of men would refuse or be unable to take part in such dedications. Thus the most accurate method of discussing the recruitment of the African legion is to discuss the

evidence of these lists, after they have been arranged as far as possible in chronological order. The accuracy of the evidence afforded by the other inscriptions can then be tested against these lists.

The evidence of the dedication-lists is given in Table 2. For some of these the exact year of recruitment is known - thus the men listed in VIII 18067 were recruited in 140 and 141 AD, and those in VIII 18068 in 173 AD. None of the other lists records a precise date for either the setting up of the stone or the recruitment of the men concerned,³⁸ but by a study of the voluminous material available for the history of III Augusta it is possible to date the erection of most of these lists to within a few years. The evidence for this dating is given separately in an appendix (p.372 below).

One of these lists, VIII 18084, falls within the previous period, and its evidence has been used above. The earliest list in the present period is VIII 18085. This list includes a number of men from the Danube provinces, one each from Emona, Savaria and Solva, and no less than 19 from Napoca in Dacia. Many of the recruits have the name P. Aelius, and it is clear that these men were not recruited to the African legion under normal circumstances; as Ritterling pointed out³⁹ they must have been recruited to a vexillation of III Augusta serving on the Danube in the early years of Hadrian's reign. The list also includes 21 men born in castris. Of these at least one was recruited on the Danube - he has the cognomen Dassius; at least 10 have Egyptian or Greek cognomina, and were almost certainly recruited to the same vexillation or another of III Augusta serving at the same period in Egypt.⁴⁰ Of the remaining 10 (whose names are now lost) some at least must have been the sons of African

legionaries. There remain 14 men of definitely African origin. Of these all but one came from Julian or Trajanic colonies.

The men listed in VIII 18037, recruited about the middle of the second century, were all from Africa. Of the 68 men whose origo is clear, 56 came from Julian, Flavian and Trajanic colonies in the pro-consular provinces and 5 from such colonies in the frontier zone. One man came from Manliana on the Mauretanian frontier, and two were born castris. Only four came from African towns which were not colonies.

Of 23 men recruited in 140 and 141 AD - all of them again from Africa - 17 came from colonies (including one from Thamugadi in the frontier zone) and one from a municipium (Utica). None at all came from other African towns. 10 were the sons of serving troops.

The predominance of the colonies as suppliers of recruits continues in the later lists. Out of 92 men listed in VIII 18063 and VIII 2566 (recruits of 173 AD ⁴¹), 52 came from this source (10 of them from colonies in the frontier zone) and five from Roman municipia (one of these also in the frontier zone - Diana). Only four came from other African towns. Three came from the frontier zone (Lambaesis and Bagai) and 23 were born castris.

In the later lists which can be dated the numbers are these:-

(P.T.O.)

	Pre- Hadrianic colonies	Other towns	Frontier zone	Castris	Totals
2567	26	4	6	23	59
2618	5	1	1	5	13
1918 57	2	-	3	1	6
2565	7	-	-	7	14
1918 29	5	2	3	1	11
2586	20	5	15	5	42
18086	2	4	-	15	21
2568	26	6	6	42	79
2569	11	5	4	21	42

The rather fragmentary inscriptions from Dimmidi (given by Picard) and from Msad (AE 1906 124) are all of early third century date and list men recruited under the Severi; they may be taken together:-

7	12	9	15	43
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Reference has already been made to the military atmosphere which must have prevailed in the veteran colonies founded in the early empire. It seems probable that military traditions long remained strong in these communities, and they would no doubt be perpetuated by the fact that centurions and equestrian officers were largely drawn from such sources. It is not perhaps surprising that, as the number of Italians who were prepared to offer themselves for legionary service dwindled, the veteran colonies established in Africa should have been called upon first. For clearly the sons and descendants of veterans would be likely to provide as good material as was to be

found anywhere for legionary recruitment. However, not all of the men recruited from the pre-Hadrianic colonies can have been descended from the original veteran settlers. For example, of the 22 recruits from the Caesarian colony of Cirta listed in VIII 18068 with 2566 (recruits of 173 AD), six were C. Julii, one an M. Julius, one Ti. Claudius, one M. Flavius and one a C. Aelius. It is clear that these men can have been descended from the original veterans settled at Cirta, if at all, only on the female side. Similarly with C. Julius Impetratus and M. Ulpus Saturninus from Carthage in the same inscription and with T. Flavius Victor, also from Carthage, in VIII 18067. There are many more examples of men with imperial nomina being recruited from these colonies. They must have been descended from African peregrini who had received the citizenship, probably in most cases at the time of the foundation of the colony.⁴² The military traditions of the colonies will go a long way to explain their recruitment, when men of the same origin living in other communities were not recruited in anything like the same numbers.

One or two of these lists seem to suggest that some of the men had been conscripted. Of the 52 men from colonies listed in VIII 18068, 23 came from Cirta; no other colony has more than eight (Carthage). Of the 61 men from colonies in VIII 18087, 37 came from Carthage; no other colony has more than seven (Hadrumetum). The high proportions from these two places on these two occasions could have been due to particular instances of conscription. However, in view of the fact that both Carthage and Cirta always did supply a large number of recruits to III Augusta, this interpretation may well be misleading. The number of men recruited from the towns of Africa, other than the pre-Hadrianic colonies,

never became very high. But if conscription had been regularly employed in Africa in the second and third centuries, it would surely have brought in a larger number of men from these towns, or at least from those which did achieve the status of colony or municipium. For it does not seem likely that conscription will have been applied to the veteran colonies only and not equally to all Roman communities. Even in the early third century, as VIII 2568 and 2569 especially show, the bulk of the recruits who came from outside the frontier zone still came from the veteran colonies. The high numbers from Carthage and Cirta on these two occasions may more probably have resulted from other causes; they may have been the result of intensive campaigns for recruiting volunteers, or they may merely reflect periods of economic distress in the places concerned.

Equally striking with the continuing importance of the veteran colonies is the increase in the proportion of men from the frontier zone and particularly of men born castris. The frontier zone includes not only the canabae at Lambaesis but also the colonies of Thamugadi and Theveste, the municipium of Diana and the small towns and villages in the same area such as Bagai, Casae and Mascula. The evidence listed in Table 3 gives useful information on this point. This table lists the evidence for recruitment given by individual inscriptions, mostly tombstones and private dedications, both from the frontier zone and from the rest of Africa. The disproportionate survival of inscriptions in different parts of Africa, and in particular the fact that a higher proportion of inscriptions has survived in Lambaesis and the adjacent frontier areas than in most other parts of Africa makes

the picture of legionary recruitment given by Table 3 somewhat less accurate than that given by the dedication-lists. For the inscriptions from the frontier zone are mainly tombstones, and on few of these is the origo of the legionary actually stated on the stone itself. In most cases the origo is shown by the fact that legionary's father or mother or grandfather or grandmother or sister is mentioned also, and thus shown to have been in the area at the time of the erection of the stone. In the overwhelming majority of cases this is a safe indication that the legionary originated in the place where the stone was found. Such tombstones have been found in large numbers in the region of Lambaesis but only in small numbers elsewhere. But this does not prove that such stones did not once exist in large numbers elsewhere. It could be argued that they have merely not survived.

The unbalanced nature of the evidence afforded by Table 3 can be seen by considering the actual numbers of legionaries recorded. In the dedication-lists, 298 men are listed as coming from outside the frontier zone in the period 117 to 238 AD. This is somewhat higher than the number from the frontier zone (including men born castris) - 265. But in the inscriptions listed in Table 3, the figures are 26 and 82, a proportion of about 1 to 3. Since there is good reason for believing that the dedication-lists give an accurate picture of the origins of recruits to III Augusta, it is clear that the other inscriptions exaggerate the numbers who came from the frontier zone - where most of the inscriptions were found.

Nevertheless, the information contained in Table 3 is valuable in several ways. The table lists 19 men from the pre-Hadrianic colonies

against 5 from other African towns, a proportion which illustrates the preponderance of the former, already attested by the dedication-lists. Further, the table confirms that in the frontier zone itself men were recruited not only from Lambaesis, but also from the other towns of the region. Men from Lambiridi, Lamiggiga and Zarai appear, and also a man from Mina on the Mauretanian frontier. The dedication-lists mention men from Bagai, Diana, Mascula, Thamugadi, Theveste and Verecunda, and from Manliana on the Mauretanian frontier. The importance of this total picture will appear when the evidence for veteran settlement is discussed.⁴³

Finally, the absence of Italians is evident. None at all appear in the dedication-lists. Only two are known from other inscriptions, although it is not impossible that both of these had in fact been recruited before Hadrian's reign (VIII 2983, 3026). A date can be assigned to these inscriptions only by their style and form, which in neither case is really decisive. The complete absence of Italians from the dedication-lists as a good indication that III Augusta was in no way dependent on them in this period.

The evidence for veteran settlement in the period 117 to 238 AD is set forth in Tables 5 and 6. The first lists men specifically named as veterans of III Augusta. Table 6 lists men described simply as veterans. In the latter group, the great majority of inscriptions mentioning veterans at Lambaesis must refer to veterans of III Augusta. Only a few inscriptions of any kind found at Lambaesis are concerned with other units.⁴⁴ Where the unit is not mentioned, III Augusta is almost certainly implied. This is not however necessarily true

elsewhere. At Zarai a veteran of III Augusta is known (VIII 4522). But this was the station of a cohort in the second century,⁴⁵ and possibly of an ala in the third.⁴⁶ Thus of the seven other veterans known at Zarai, some may have come from these auxiliary units. Auxiliary units were also stationed for shorter or longer periods at Mascula⁴⁷ and near Thveste.⁴⁸ Veterans mentioned there were not necessarily former members of III Augusta. Outside the frontier zone the situation is further complicated by the fact that an Urban cohort was stationed at Carthage. From the early second century this was the cohors I Flavia Urbana.⁴⁹ Once established in Africa, although it continued to receive some recruits from Italy and elsewhere,⁵⁰ it drew an increasing proportion of its recruits from African sources. Men are known from Ammaedara (AE 1916 3), Cirta (VIII 2890 - one of his brothers was a centurion of III Augusta and another served in III Augusta, becoming a speculator in the officium of the legate of Numidia) and Althiburos (VIII 16333 - his brother served in III Augusta). Other recruits may have come from Sicca (VIII 15875), Madaura (ILAlg 2130) and Bulla Regia (AE 1916 80). Other recruits had cognomina which suggest an African origin, Fortunatus (VIII 24681) for example.⁵¹ A veteran of the unit is known at Carthage (VIII 1024 = ILS 2121) and two at Madaura (VIII 4677; ILAlg 2130 - the latter had probably returned home). Since the recruits of African origin came from similar sources to those of III Augusta, those who returned home after service may easily be confused with returning veterans of III Augusta, where the unit is not specifically mentioned.

In the case of auxiliary units, the earliest known recruits are naturally those who came from the province or area whose name the unit bears. Thus two men with Pannonian names⁵² appear in the ala I Pannoniorum⁵³ and a man with a Thracian name appears in a Thracian cohort.⁵⁴ But later recruits were Africans, and what is more, the auxiliary units stationed in Africa were entirely recruited, from the early second century at latest, from Roman citizens. All their known members in the second and third centuries have Roman names, and many have distinctively African cognomina.⁵⁵ Precise origins are indicated in a few cases:- Theveste (VIII 10654), Zarai (VIII 45~~52~~²⁶), and possibly Lambaesis (VIII 3147=2887) - all in the frontier zone. Auxiliary veterans are attested at Carthage (VIII 25364), two at Cuicul (AE 1915 69 and Rev. Étud. Anc. 1915 p.35), one each at Madaura (ILAlg 2197), Simitthu (VIII 25646 = ILS 9139) and Thuburbo Majus (VIII 12370) - all except the last pre-Hadrianic colonies, and at Thamugadi (two, AE 1954 144 and MER 1953 p.131), Theveste (VIII 2094), Lambaesis (two, VIII 2923 and AE 1914 40) and in the Aures mountains (AE 1951 222) - all in the frontier zone.

Thus it appears that cohors I Flavia Urbana, III Augusta and the auxiliary units in the second and third centuries all drew their recruits from similar sources, and their veterans settled in similar areas. Hence the fact that many inscriptions which refer to veterans do not mention the veteran's unit is less of an obstacle than might at first appear. For since the pattern of legionary veteran settlement forms part of a larger pattern with the same general characteristics, consideration of that larger pattern should give a reasonably accurate picture of

legionary veteran settlement. Thus the evidence of Tables 5 and 6 can be taken together in discussing the settlement of veterans of III Augusta.

However, just as in dealing with recruitment it was seen that consideration of the evidence of individual tombstones and dedications gave an unbalanced picture of legionary recruitment, when that picture was compared with the accurate evidence of the dedication-lists, so also with the evidence for veteran settlement and for the same reason - the disproportionately large number of inscriptions which has survived at Lambaesis and in the frontier zone. The evidence in Tables 5 and 6 probably exaggerates the proportion of veterans who settled in those areas.

The evidence for settlement outside the frontier zone suggests that more men settled in the pre-Hadrianic colonies than in other towns. The latter group includes colonies founded in and after Hadrian's reign. There is no evidence that any of these later colonies were composed of veterans. They were merely native towns which, having reached a certain standard of Romanisation, were raised in status, sometimes after an indeterminate period as municipia. Those established outside the frontier zone will presumably have had no military connections, which resulted in their supplying very few recruits. Such men as did settle in these communities do not seem to have made much impact on civic life. Certainly very few are attested as holding public office. Since there were few recruits then clearly few men can have returned there after service. Nor is there much reason to think that veterans originating elsewhere would voluntarily choose these places

in which to end their days. Although veterans had certain valuable financial and (in the third century at least) judicial privileges, they were not possessors of great wealth, and probably found few opportunities for economic advancement in these communities in the long-settled areas, communities with which they had no previous connections or family ties. It is probable that of the few veterans who are attested in such towns, most were men who had originated there and who had returned to their own homes.⁵⁷

Most of the veterans known in the pre-Hadrianic colonies were also probably men who had returned home. For such colonies also, and more especially those away from the military areas, must soon have become settled communities with little to offer a veteran who was not a native. Only men who had close ties with those colonies are likely to have settled there, and even so veterans are not often mentioned in public life.⁵⁸

Thus when, from the beginning of Hadrian's reign, veterans ceased to be deducted to colonies, the veteran who had originally come from outside the frontier zone had really only two courses to choose from, either to return to his home or to settle near his place of service, in the area which had become in many ways his real home. His choice will have depended largely on personal considerations. If he came of rural farming stock (as many probably did, although the fact is obscured by the bare statement of the name of the town which appears as their origo) then he may while serving have inherited all or part of his father's farm. In other cases he may have been willing to return to take up his father's tenancy, or his gratuity may have

sufficed to enable him to buy land in the vicinity of his home. Similarly a townsman may have been willing to return if he were certain of employment in a family business, in which his gratuity could be invested. But the length of legionary service was a strong factor working against the easy assimilation of returning veterans into the pattern of settled civilian life. Much could happen in 25 years to alter conditions so radically that there was no niche to which the veteran could return. In addition, it is clear that during such a length of time closer ties than with his original home could easily be built up with the area in which his period of service had been spent. The large number of inscriptions from Lambaesis which mention the women with whom legionaries formed unions, and their children, shows that in effect the decision to settle where they had served had often been taken long before discharge. And of course for the increasing number of men who were themselves born in the frontier zone there was little inducement to settle anywhere else.

Even if Tables 5 and 6 exaggerate the proportion of veterans who settled in the frontier zone, the exaggeration is probably not very great. For Africa as a whole is fairly rich in inscriptions and it is difficult to believe that other large concentrations of veterans have escaped discovery. The concentration of military families in the frontier zone was certainly great enough to have one important effect - on recruitment. The considerable quantity of evidence from Lambaesis enables us to see, more clearly than in any other area, how far military service became a hereditary occupation in the second and third centuries. Table 2 shows the growth in the number of recruits

born castris. Table 3 shows that they were mainly the sons of legionaries or of legionary veterans. A few may have been the sons of members of auxiliary units, although there is no evidence for this in Africa.

With such humble people it is not often possible to build up family trees of any size or interest. The inscriptions rarely give evidence for more than two generations, and usually little more can be said about a recruit of local origin than that his father was a legionary, or that his family had had its home in Lambaesis for one or two generations.

In a few cases however more evidence is available for family histories. Such is the case with Julius Longinianus, a centurion of III Augusta in the early third century. His father, C. Julius Saturninus, reached the rank of decurion of an ala before being discharged sometime after the middle of the second century (VIII 2923). He had very probably been promoted to this post from the ranks of the legion - this is especially probable since he chose to settle at Lambaesis. He was an African as his cognomen shows. When he died his wife, Flavia Flaccilla, (The mother of Longinianus, VIII 2905) married again. Her second husband was C. Pomponius Maximus, who had risen to the rank of cornicularius (VIII 2962 - he is probably the man attested as bf. cos. in VIII 18025). After discharge he settled first at Thamugadi where he served as decurion of the colony under Commodus (VIII 2699).⁵⁹ The same inscription shows that he was responsible, wholly or in part, for the erection of the "arch of Commodus" at Lambaesis. Since he was buried by Longinianus at Lambaesis, it

appears that he decided to move from Thamugadi to Lambaesis, probably at the time of his marriage to Flavia Flaccilla. That he held public office at Lambaesis is shown by a fragmentary dedication (VIII 18225).⁶⁰ Longinianus first joined the ranks of III Augusta. He is listed as an optio in c 200 AD (VIII 2554) and later as a centurion in VIII 18072. He married a Roman citizen, Processa, also a native of Lambaesis where her mother, Bonitta, was buried (VIII 2906). Nothing further is known of the centurion's later career.⁶¹

A veteran of III Augusta, Paconius Emeritus, is attested at Verecunda (VIII 4245). The inscription also mentions his brother, Justus, who is not described as a veteran or as having any connection with III Augusta. The name Emeritus, however, suggests that they were themselves the sons of a veteran. Of the sons of Emeritus one at least, C. Paconius Bassus, served in III Augusta and settled as a veteran at Verecunda, where he was buried by his sons (VIII 4244). Justus had two sons, one of whom, Saturninus, served in the Praetorian guard. He also settled at Verecunda as a veteran. If, as seems probable, he is the [C. P]acon. C.f. Aur. Saturninus Lambes. listed in a dedication set up by members of the Praetorian guard in Rome in 209 AD (VI 32640), then presumably Justus lived at Lambaesis. Saturninus was probably transferred from III Augusta to the Praetorian guard by
62
Septimius Severus.

The origo of the veteran C. Mustius C.f. Fortunatus is given as Aurelia Lambaesis (VIII 2949). (It is possible that he acquired this by settling in the municipium after discharge). He married the daughter of another veteran settled in the neighbourhood (VIII 3204). This is

but one example of what was naturally a fairly common occurrence. Several more cases are recorded in which legionaries, before or after discharge, formed unions with the daughters of other legionaries or veterans.⁶³ Others married women who are not attested as belonging to military families. Most of these were no doubt also of local origin.⁶⁴ But there is some evidence that both men and women were attracted to Lambaesis from other parts of Africa. A woman from Thugga appears as the wife of a resident of Lambaesis (not apparently a veteran),⁶⁵ and one from Hadrumetum as the wife of a centurion.⁶⁶ But more commonly it is the parents of serving legionaries who are commemorated at Lambaesis. In most cases they must have moved to Lambaesis to be near their sons. Thus the C. Aemilius Demetrianus from Thaenae who appears as a discens signiferum in VIII 2568 is probably the C. Aemilius Demetrianus, aquilifer, who was buried at Lambaesis by his father (VIII 2396). Q. Cornelius Florus, from Theveste, who appears in VIII 2568 as a tesserarius is probably the Q. Cornelius Florus, tesserarius, who buried his mother at Lambaesis (VIII 2853). Three brothers from Ammaedara all served in the ranks of III Augusta; their mother was buried by them at Lambaesis, where she apparently settled (VIII 2975-6). Parents from Carthage (VIII 2947) and Hadrumetum (VIII 2668, the father of a centurion) are similarly recorded.

In spite of the fact that detailed family histories are not available, a comparison of the tables for recruitment with those showing veteran settlement, shows that the areas to which veterans returned after service, or in which they chose to settle, were precisely those

which supplied the bulk of the recruits to the legion. In particular the families which legionaries founded in the canabae and the frontier zone were, by the early third century, the most important single source of recruits. By that time about 50% of all recruits were men born castris. Of the other 50%, the great majority came from either the early veteran colonies or from the small towns and villages of the frontier zone. Some of these communities originated as the canabae of auxiliary units, for example Zarai and probably Mascula. Others would probably not have existed but for the settlement of veterans: it is significant that Diana is described in the Antonine Itinerary as Diana Veteranorum.⁶⁷ Lambaesis itself seems to have owed its status and importance entirely to the presence of the legion, and to the fact that it was the seat of the legate of Numidia. Certainly in the fourth century, when the legion ceased to be stationed there,⁶⁸ the town declined and was finally abandoned.⁶⁹ Thamugadi was apparently the only one of these towns to thrive in the late empire, probably because of its good economic position. It was a seat of the vicar of Africa⁷⁰ in the fourth century, and survived to the end of the Vandal period.

But in spite of the numbers settled in the frontier zone, veterans, whatever the unit in which they served, have left little evidence that they played any important role in the public life of communities to which they belonged. Lambaesis attained the status of municipium by at latest the reign of Commodus,⁷¹ and became a colony in the third century.⁷² But only one veteran is attested as a duumvir.⁷³ Another, C. Pomponius Maximus, mentioned above, who also served as a

decurion of Thamugadi, held some public office at Lambaesis.⁷⁴ Four other veterans of III Augusta, and a former decurion of the ala Flavia, appear as flamines perpetui.⁷⁵

In contrast, known duoviri of Lambaesis include four men of equestrian rank,⁷⁶ and four others who give no indication of military service.⁷⁷ Three other civilians appear as aediles,⁷⁸ and two others as decurions.⁷⁹ Six others served as flamines perpetui.⁸⁰ It is just possible that some of these apparent civilians were in fact veterans, and that mention of the fact has been omitted from these inscriptions, but this is very unlikely in a military community such as Lambaesis. No doubt some of these civilians were the sons or descendants of veterans settled there, but this fact of itself cannot have been of great value to them, considering the position of the veterans themselves. Their advancement will have depended rather on their own ability or on the patronage they could secure than on their descent from veterans.

The same picture of the lowly position of the ordinary veteran is given by a consideration of the large number of dedications which have survived at Lambaesis. By far the largest number, as would be expected, were erected by the legates, and by the equestrian officers and centurions of the legion; those erected by individual veterans are few - a mere half-dozen or so - and they are comparatively small and insignificant.⁸¹

But this is only a general picture. The fortunes of individual veterans varied greatly, and while most of them remained quite humble people, a few were able to rise above the level of their fellows.

The two mentioned above (the duumvir of Lambaesis and C. Pomponius

Maximus) are cases in point. The two sons of the former attained equestrian rank. The latter was affluent enough to indulge in public building. The decurion of the ala Flavia, also mentioned above (he was probably a promoted legionary), is shown to have expended at least 27,000 HS (probably much more) on public works and distributions. 82

Nevertheless these were exceptions. The veteran generally did not achieve any great economic or social standing.

From the middle of the third century the dispositions of the African frontier changed. The legion was disbanded in 238 AD. The gap thus caused in the defences of the frontier was made good partly by bringing in such formations as the vexillatio militum Maurorum Caesar-iensium.⁸³ But a more far-reaching reorganisation was also carried out. The Notitia Dignitatum shows that in the late empire the frontier line was divided into zones, each called a limes, and each under a praepositus limitis.⁸⁴ A recent inscription from Tripolitania shows that this organisation was in existence in the reign of Philip,⁸⁵ and it is not unreasonable to assume that it was introduced after the disbandment of III Augusta. The earlier garrison of the frontier zone was of the normal type, and included auxiliary units and numeri. But many of the outposts and forts had been garrisoned by vexillations of III Augusta, and it was possibly the fact such vexillations were no longer available that was responsible for the new organisation. However III Augusta was re-formed by 253 AD, and its headquarters were re-established at Lambaesis.⁸⁶ Detachments were again posted on the frontier.⁸⁷

Of recruitment and veteran settlement between the reigns of Valerian and Diocletian little is directly known.⁸⁸ When the legion finally left Lambaesis, to form part of the field army, and when the latter was separated from the frontier forces, the stage was set for those developments of the frontier garrison which are at present most clearly indicated on the Tripolitanian frontier.⁸⁹ Eventually this frontier came to be garrisoned mainly by military colonists who seem to have been both farmers and soldiers, and hardly in any sense Roman.⁹⁰ But the granting of land in return for military service by the recipients is not attested for the regular army until after the fourth century at the earliest. It is significant that as late as 409 AD veterans could still be settled in the frontier zone of Africa, alongside the gentiles, the irregular barbarian militia.⁹¹

There is thus no reason to think that III Augusta ever degenerated into a mere frontier militia. In the period down to its incorporation into the field army (which probably took place in the early fourth century), it retained its former status, recruited locally no doubt, but still an independent military unit. The settlement on the late frontiers were entirely different from such settlements of veterans as those of III Augusta around Lambaesis.⁹²

Notes to Chapter Two: Africa.

1. Dio 59.20 Cf. Tacitus Hist. 4.48.
2. ILAfr 150; ILT 466-8.
3. Tacitus Ann. 3.21.
4. VIII 502 = 23294; 503 = 23297; 504; 11680; 23295-6. One of these inscriptions (VIII 23295) reads:- L. Marcius L.f. Pol. domo Ostra v. a. LX mil. a. XXX bello cecidit L. Marcius Dius posuit.
This may well record one of the men killed in the action described by Tacitus, Ann. 3.21. Since he had served 30 years he was probably enrolled in a vexillum veteranorum such as held Thala in 20 AD.
5. For this military use of moror, indicating "operating (in the area of)", cf. VIII 2444-6 and 4322.
6. The inscription from Phua (VIII 6311) is unlikely to refer to a recruit from Phua, contra Forni p.176. More probably he served in the garrison of the post there, as suggested by Ritterling 1496.
7. VIII 14603 = ILS 2370.
8. Cf. the table given by Forni on p.145, to which however many more could be added. Cf. also p.335 below.
9. Men returning from the east:- VIII 23989; IX 275; XI 1543; XII 2230; ILAfr 167. Possibly also IX 7; 6156-7.
From the Danube:- VIII 3066; 14605; 15874; 19694; 25740; 25894; 27512; ILAlg 566; 3548; AE 1938 44. In contrast only three of these men are attested as preferring to remain on the Danube:- III 3630; 10419; 10515.
10. Pliny HN 5.20; VIII 9400-1.
11. Pliny HN 5.20.

12. Pliny HN 5.5.
13. Forni p.208 lists four, but of these the man ascribed to Rusucurru is not very certain. The inscription, VIII 20713, is fragmentary; the man's brother seems to be described as a Syrian.
14. AE 1949 45. Cf. p.68 below.
15. But it is possible that veterans of the Spanish legions which took part in the conquest of Mauretania were settled at Lixos.
16. An inscription, VIII 23263 = ILS 7395, said to have come from Ammaedara suggests that the legate of III Augusta still had his headquarters there in c. 73 AD. This is the tombstone of a slave of the legate Domitius Tullus, whose term of office is to be dated then. (Cf. XI 5211 = ILS 991; PIR² D. no. 167). The stone however was actually seen at Theveste, and it is possible that it was found there. If so then the legion was already at Theveste at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. It was certainly there very shortly afterwards, for a tombstone was found there, of a beneficiarius of two successive legates, Tettius Julianus and Javolenus Priscus, (VIII 27854). The former was legate in 81 AD and the latter in 83. (Cf. III 2864; VIII 23165, PIR¹ O. no. 40.). In 87 AD, the legate Suellius Flaccus along with a second person, probably the primus pilus, erected a dedication at Theveste which confirms the presence of the legion in that year. (VIII 1839 = 16499. For the date cf. AE 1940 70).

17. AE 1918 28. The legion may have been stationed for a short time at some intermediate point, such as Mascula or Thamugadi, since Hadrian implies in his speech of 128 AD that the legion had recently moved its station twice. (VIII 2532 Ab). Cf. Ritterling 1497; R. Syme, *Rev. Étud. Anc.* 38, 1936 pp. 182-4. The Flavian camp at Lambaesis was probably the station of a vexillation, and not the legion's headquarters (AE 1954 137; L. Leschi, *Libyca I* 1953 pp. 189ff.).
18. For the list cf. p. 165 below.
19. *Rev. Étud. Anc.* 38, 1936 pp. 184ff.
20. That most of these were men recruited, not from normal sources, but from elsewhere in a time of emergency is shown by a comparison with the tables listing normal recruits to the German legions in this period, (Tables 11 and 13 below). None of the men recruited in normal circumstances came from Gallia Comata or the German civitates. But these sources were drawn upon during the civil wars, cf. Tacitus Hist. 2.57 and 4.19.
21. They may have been directly recruited to the vexillation or they may have been transferred from one or more eastern legions. Cf. Ritterling 1499.
22. They are listed in Table 25A below along with other men of eastern origin mentioned in other African inscriptions who were probably similarly recruited at this time.
23. Not I Adj, cf. Ritterling 1449-50.

24. Cf. Ritterling 1392. This man had served 17 years when he died at the age of 37, presumably between 114 and 117 AD. That is, he was recruited between 97 and 100 AD. His tribe and origo, Pollia Theveste, agree with this dating. He was clearly born at Theveste while III Augusta was still stationed there, and before the foundation of the colony, otherwise his tribe would presumably have been Papiria. But he was not apparently the son of a legionary, for in that case his origo would have been given as castris.
25. This inscription is discussed by Ritterling in Rhein. Mus. 58 1903 pp. 476ff. The recruit began to serve in 96 AD, and hence clearly served in some other legion before joining II Trajana, which was formed after 93 AD.
26. Other Africans are Gargilius Rufus (II 4145 and 4179) and L. Aufidius Felix (II 4145).
27. It is probable that in this period sufficient recruits were available in Africa to allow men to be supplied from Africa to the Egyptian legions. Cf. pp. 284-5 below.
28. colonia Flavia Augusta Emerita Ammaedara, VIII 308=ILS 6786.
29. Apol. 24:- "Veteranorum militum novo conditu splendidissima colonia sumus."
30. Its full title was colonia Nerviana Augusta Martialis veteranorum Sitifensium (VIII 8473 = ILS 557).
31. CRAI 1916 pp. 593ff; the dedication at Sitifis to Mars Augustus, genius coloniae (VIII 8438) is exactly paralleled by

- dedications at Cuicul, AE 1912 26; 1915 69, cf. VIII 8311 and 20150.
32. Cf. VIII 1842; 1886; 1996.
 33. VIII 10; AE 1950 206.
 34. Tribe Papiria, VIII 2565, 3106.
 35. VI 1687.
 36. VI 1803B; VIII 17841-3.
 37. VIII 2354 = ILS 305.
 38. Except VIII 2618, which records the various dates of discharge of a number of veterans.
 39. Ritterling 1500.
 40. Cf. p.369 note 44 below.
 41. VIII 2566 must be of similar date to VIII 18068, since the names listed in the right hand column of 2566 reappear in exactly the same order in the left hand column of 18068, lines 20-26.
 42. The same is true of many of the centurions who give as their origo a Roman colony or municipium, cf. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 104-124.
 43. A final table, 4, lists men transferred from III Augusta to other legions, but no attempt has been made to use this evidence statistically, since it is necessarily incomplete; for example, men born castris in Africa and transferred elsewhere cannot be distinguished. For further Africans, see also Table 29 and p. 300.
 44. The inscriptions mentioning men of VII Gemina refer to members of the vexillation of that legion which served at Lambaesis under Trajan (VIII 3075; 3182; 3226; 3245; 3268). The veteran

- of II Adjutrix (VIII 3066) had undoubtedly been transferred from III Augusta, and had returned to settled at his first station. Most, if not all of the auxiliary decurions and centurions who appear at Lambaesis must have been promoted legionaries. This was certainly true in the case of P. Aelius Securus of Napoca, decurion in the cohors II Hispanorum (VIII 2787). He was one of the men recruited to the vexillation of III Augusta which served in Dacia under Marcius Turbo (p. 51 above). Other auxiliary decurions and centurions who were probably similarly promoted appear in VIII 2844; 2923; 2690 with 18110; AE 1914 40.
45. VIII 2532 Db = 18042 Cb (128 AD); VIII 4503 = 18643; 4526-7.
46. This is suggested by VIII 4510 and AE 1937 36, and by AE 1937 37 = AE¹⁹³⁹ 159. A praetorium, whose third century date is implied by the imperial titles P. F. Aug., is referred to in VIII 4517. This was probably a military building.
47. VIII 2251 = ILS 2578.
48. At Bir um Ali; VIII 17587-9 show that the cohors VI Chalcidenorum was stationed there in the mid-second century, and VIII 2094 = ILS 2518 is the tombstone of a veteran of an ala. The veterans of III Augusta mentioned in VIII 17590; 23176; ILAfr 190 and ILAlg 3845 (listed in Table 6 under Theveste) had actually settled at Bir um Ali - which is very near Theveste, and probably on its territory.
49. During the Flavian period cohors XIII Urbana was stationed at

Carthage. Recruits from Mediolanum (VIII 1025), Philippi (VIII 1026 = ILS 2127, a centurion) and Arelate (VIII 24684) are known.

50. The man from Vienna (VIII 1024) probably joined the unit while it was stationed at Lugdunum. But the men from Luna (AE 1914 229) and Emerita (VIII 24629, possibly recruited as late as 185 AD, cf. VIII 24617) joined the unit at Carthage. Another member of the unit settled at Ariminum after service (XI 389); he had probably returned home from Africa: he named his son Africanus.
51. The fragmentary military list found at Carthage (VIII 24619) which lists nine men from Spain and two from Italy more probably refers to the Trajanic vexillation of VII Gemina than to the Urban cohort. (For these men cf. p. 113 note 4 below). Two tombstones of members of VII Gemina of this date are known at Carthage (VIII 12590 and 24682).
52. AE 1915 69, Bre^ucus (for the name cf. XVI 49 and 69); AE 1930 132, Iora (for the name cf. XVI 2).
53. Spaniards are attested also in this unit, by VIII 6308 (for the name Boutius cf. III 9834 = ILS 2563) and VIII 6309 (a Lusitanian), and two Thracians (AE 1930 133). Cf. K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung*, pp. 25-35 and 54-6, on the practice in the early principate of reinforcing auxiliary cavalry units with men from the Celtic provinces and from Thrace.
54. VIII 2251.
55. E.g. VIII 2466; 17980; AE 1911 100; 1946 63; MER 1894 p.547.
The fact that auxiliary personnel in Africa were all Roman

citizens from at latest the early second century may explain why no auxiliary diplomata have so far been found which refer to the African command. For, as will be argued elsewhere, it is probable that auxiliary diplomata were not issued to men who were born as Roman citizens.

56. Five veterans are attested as holding the (comparatively unimportant) office of flamen perpetuus of the imperial cult - VIII 25830, Vallis (early third century); VIII 4882, Thubursicum Numidarum (third century: his son obtained equestrian rank); ILAlg 1045 = AE 1915 66, Thagora; ILAlg 37, correcting VIII 5209, Thullium; and VIII 4827, in the civitas Nattabutum. The son of a veteran appears as quaestor and aedile of Giufi, VIII 12378 (probably third century). In all these cases the unit from which the veteran was discharged is unknown. A veteran of the cohors X Urbana became decurion, aedile and praefectus i. d. of Thubursicum Numidarum (VIII 4874). He probably originated there, and returned home after service (in Rome). Apparently the qualities which had secured him a post in Rome stood him in good stead when he returned to civil life.
57. There is clear evidence for this in the case of Thagora (two men:- VIII 4642 with 4656; ILAlg 1045) and Numjuli (VIII 15392).
58. A veteran of early date at Thuburnica who became a duumvir (VIII 14697 = ILS 2249) was probably an original member of the colony. A later veteran, discharged from X Fretensis but possibly originally recruited to III Augusta, was twice duumvir (IL Afr 473 = AE 1921 21). However he was exceptional in that he held

equestrian appointments after his legionary service. A decurion of the ala I Pannoniorum who settled at Cuicul, very probably did so before the foundation of the colony there by Nerva (or Trajan). He became flamen perpetuus of the imperial cult (AE 1915 69). Another veteran, who probably settled there in the same way, became flamen perpetuus, quaestor and duumvir (Rev. Étud. Anc. 1915 p.36). The two veterans of the cohors I Flavia Urbana who are known at Madaura both held public office, one as flamen perpetuus and decurion (VIII 4679), the second as flamen perpetuus, decurion and duumvir (ILAlg 2130). The latter held the office of flamen perpetuus while still serving, and hence was probably a native of Madaura. Another native of Madaura held the office of decurion of the colony while serving in III Augusta (ILAlg 2070); the inscription in which he is recorded is a dedication to Nerva, so that he may well have been the son of one of the original settlers. The son of a veteran of III Augusta who settled at Madaura in the early third century became an aedile (ILAlg 2095). Another veteran whose unit is not known served as flamen perpetuus there (ILAlg 2201).

59. The inscription is to be restored ex c/orniculario], not ex c/enturione], cf. next note.
60. This is also, apparently, structurally connected with the "arch of Commodus". It was set up by an ex cor]niculario, quite certainly Pomponius Maximus. Line 3 reads:-

[omnibus honoribus L]ambaesitanor. func[to ...].

61. The four relevant tombstones, all set up by Longinianus, (VIII 2905; 2906; 2923; 2962) were found standing side by side in the northern cemetery of Lambaesis. They all have the same distinctive style.
62. The same was probably true of a Praetorian veteran who later settled in the Aures mountains (VIII 2844) and of a Praetorian known at Bagai (VIII 2278). The brother of the latter remained in III Augusta, cf. Table 3.
63. VIII 2800 with 3157; 2885; 2902; 3015; 4330 with 4332; 18513.
64. E.g. VIII 2920; 3036; 3143.
65. VIII 4023.
66. VIII 2805.
67. Wessely 35.4, Cuntz Itineraria Romana, p.5.
68. III Augusta is last known at Lambaesis under Diocletian, (VIII 2577). It appears later as a legio comitatensis, Not. Dig., Occ. V 254; VII 157.
69. A revival was attempted under Gratian, VIII 18328, but seems to have failed. Lambaesis has produced no Christian inscriptions, nor are any bishops mentioned in the late ecclesiastical documents.
70. Cf. the ordo salutationis of Julian's reign (VIII 17396 with CRAI 1942 pp. 316ff), and Cod. Theod. VI. 22.2 (338 AD). Its patrons in the same period included ten senators, one of them Julian's uncle, Vulcacius Rufinus (VIII 2403). Thamugadi (but not Lambaesis) is mentioned by Procopius,

Vandal War 2.13.

71. VIII 18247. But municipal status may be implied as early as c. 147-50 AD, when curiae are attested (VIII 18214 = ILS 6847; VIII 18234).
72. The colony is attested in about 250 AD by Cyprian Epist. 59.10. That the municipium still existed in the reign of Philip is suggested by VIII 2611, but the question is complicated by AE 1920 12, which seems to record a col I[.....] under Severus. The reading of the latter inscription is however very doubtful.
73. VIII 18595/6 = 4436/7. He came from Carthage, and his two sons attained equestrian rank.
74. VIII 2699; 18225.
75. VIII 2789 with 18214; 18234; 18094; AE 1916 22; 1914 40.
76. Three brothers in VIII 2757, two of whom had performed the III militiae; VIII 2776.
77. VIII 2620; 2677; 3301; 18241.
78. VIII 2631 (two men); 3300.
79. VIII 2711; 3306.
80. VIII 2714 (four men); 3296; 18227.
81. VIII 2596; 2597; 2683/4; 2699 with 18225; 18214; 18234; AE 1914 40.
82. AE 1914 40.
83. Attested at Lambaesis under Gordian III, VIII 2716.
84. Not. Dig., Occ. XXV. (And in Mauretania Caesariensis, Occ. XXX.)
85. JRS 1949 p. 91. For a praepositus limitis in west Numidia

in 303 AD, cf. AE 1942/3 81. Cf. also VIII 9025.

86. VIII 2634 = ILS 2296.
87. VIII 17976 = 2482 = ILS 531; cf. AE 1946 39.
88. VIII 2626, described as an album veteranorum, was set up in Aurelian's reign. But these veterans had not necessarily settled at Lambaesis; this stone may merely have been set up by them at the time of discharge.
89. Cf. R.G. Goodchild and J.B. Ward Perkins in JRS 1949 pp. 81-95.
90. Cf. R.G. Goodchild, JRS 1950 pp. 30-38.
91. Cod. Theod. VII 15.1.
92. Cf. pp. 362-3 below.

Spain. Recruitment (to 69 AD).

Table 7 (1)

	Italy	Narbonensis	Spain	Military zone	Elsewhere
IX Hisp to c. 19 BC			Osca IIS 2321		
II Aug to c. 9 AD		Car ^c aso XIII 7234	Norba XIII 5975 Spain II 2480		
IV Mac to 43 AD	Augusta Taurin 2 V 7005 XIII 6870 Mediolanum V 5826 Sabinus V 4903	Baeterrae IX 799 For. Julii XII 4368	Auso XIII 6858 Corduba XIII 6869 Nertobriga 4 XIII 6853 6854 6865 7506 Tucci XIII 6856		
VI Vict to 69 AD	Ateste MMAP IX p.22, 19 Bononia II 2983 Camunus V 4952 Mediolanum V 5610 Tridentum 1904 187	Aq. Sextiae III 2035		Bracara Augusta II 2465	
X Gem to 69 AD	Augusta Taurin. XIII 8734 Bononia III 14358/13a Cremona II 2631 Florentia III 4463a Hasta 1904 160 Narnia CME Leon p.18,7	Alba 1929 190 Apta 1929 186 Aq. Sext. 2 1929 191 1929 192 Baeterrae 1928 163 For. Julii 2 III 14358/18a Betz 373 Narbo XII 4364 Reii Apoll. 1929 185	Arsa 1928 179 Astigi XIII 8283 Calagurris 2 XIII 8732 (2) Emerita 1929 187 Hispalis II 2545 Italica V 932 Olisipo 1953 268 Tucci 1929 189 Ugia 1928 180		

Spain, Recruitment (to 69 AD, cont.).

Table 7(2)

	Italy	Narbonensis	Spain	Military zone	Elsewhere
X Gem to 69 AD (cont.)		Tolosa 3 XIII 8736 1929 188 MER 1940 p.361,2 Vienna CME Leon p.19,8	Ulia Betz 92 Valentia III 4486		
Legion unknown (?XGem)	Pollentia II 2629 Aniensis II 2630				
	15	17	22	1	-
<u>69 to 117 AD:-</u>					
VII Gem 69 to 117 AD	Albinti- miliam II 4171	Narbo 1897 132 Nemausus II 4173 Lugdunum II 2912	Emerita 2 II 5212 BCAR 1915 p.61 Pax Julia II 2425 Scallabis VIII 3182 Spaniards 3 Flavus II 3587 Flavinus II 2852 Reburinus II 2853	Asturica EE VIII p.399, 111 Clunia 2 II 5265 1934 36 Juliobriga VIII 3245 Lucus Augusti 2 VIII 32216 VIII 3268 Segisama Brasaca II 4157	
	1	3	7	7	-
VIII 24619 (cf. p. 113 n.4 below)	Fanum Fortunae Neapolis		Ebora 3 Emerita 4 Norba Olisipo		
	2	-	9	-	-

(Cont.)

Spain, Recruitment (117 to 193 AD).

Table 7 (3)

	Italy	Narbonensis	Spain	Military zone	Elsewhere
VII Gem 117 to 193 AD		Narbo II 4161	Caesar- augusta 1946 200 Tarraco II 4175 VI 3349 (FRUM) Toletum II 4164 Spaniards 2	Aquae Flaviae 1919 24 Zoela II 5684	Agrippina VI 3348 (FRUM)
			Reburus (2) II 4143 II 4169		

(excluding Frumentarii) - 1 5 2 -

193 to c.300 AD:-

VII Gem 193 to c.300 AD			Tarraco II 6088 (FRUM)	Legio II 2669 Asturica II 4144 Bracara Augusta BAT 1952 p.54	[Thr]ax 1928 173
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(excluding Frumentarii) - - - 3 1

The man with the Punic name Aris who appears in II 2582 is assigned an African origin by Forni, p.209. But Punic names may have survived in Spain and he may have been a Spaniard.

AE 1928 173 is usually restored to read [natione S]ax (o). A better restoration would be [nat. Thr]ax. Thracians appear in the western legions in the third century, including those of Germany. It is clear that there will have been no Germans available for service elsewhere in that period. (Cf. below pp.144 and 161).

Spain. Veteran Settlement (to 69 AD).

Table 8 (1)

	Returned to homes outside Spain	Settled in Spain	Settled in military zone	Settled elsewhere
IV Mac to 43 AD	Augusta Taurinorum V 7005 Mediolanum V 5826 Sabinus V 4903 Narbo XII 4368 (Forum Julii)			
VI Vict to 69 AD	Mediolanum V 5610 Tridentum 1904 187			Ausci, in Aquitania XIII 443
Legion unknown		Asturica II 2630 (Aniensis) Augustobriga EE VIII p.419, 149		

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69 to 117 AD:-

VII Gem 69 to 117 AD	Augustobriga 2 II 2852 (Flavinus) II 2853 (Reburrus) Dianium II 3587 (Flavus) Emerita II 5212 (Emerita) Tarraco II 4163 II 4173 (Nemausus)		Bracara Augusta EE VIII p.399, 111	
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(Cont.)

Spain. Veteran Settlement (117 to 193 AD). Table 8 (2)

	Returned to homes outside Spain	Settled in Spain	Settled in military zone	Settled elsewhere
VII Gem 117 to 193 AD		Emerita II 489 1911 91 (Cirta) 1946 195 1946 200 (Caesar- augusta) Tarraco II 4148 II 4161 (Narbo) II 4169 (Reburus) 1928 196 (Sicca)	4 4	Legio CME Leon p.35
	-	8	1	-

193 to c.300 AD:-

VII Gem 193 to c.300 AD				Asturica 2 II 2640 1928 166 Lucus Augusti II 2582 Tritium Magallum II 2888
	-	-	4	-

A veteran of II Augusta is attested near Pompaelo (AE 1951 283).

The stone is fragmentary, and it is not clear whether this man served with the legion in Spain in Augustus's reign, and settled near his station, or was recruited to II Augusta in Germany or Britain, returning home after service.

Two veterans are known at Tarraco (II 4177; 6090), but their unit is not known.

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in Spain.

Table 7 shows the evidence for the origins of recruits to the Spanish legions. The total volume of inscriptions is small. Comparatively few inscriptions of any date have been found in Spain, and much of our information on recruitment, at least in the first and early second centuries, is derived from inscriptions found elsewhere. This is possible because in that period legions moved to and from Spain, carrying their evidence with them. Thus the Spaniards found in IV Macedonica and X Gemina in Germany had clearly joined those units before they left Spain.¹ The inscriptions of X Gemina found at Carnuntum, where the legion was stationed c. 63-8 AD, refer to men recruited shortly before 63 AD, that is while the legion was still in Spain. Since the Spanish legions in that period still received a number of recruits from outside Spain, evidence from the areas from which they came helps to make good the deficiency of evidence from Spain itself.

From the very earliest years of the principate, recruits from Italy were reinforced by men from Narbonensis and, increasingly, from Spain itself. Since recruits had to be found for three legions down to 43 AD, and for two legions from then on to 70 AD, it is not perhaps surprising that recruits should be early sought in Spain. What is remarkable is that under the Flavians and Trajan, when Spain (as later) had only one legion, men from Narbonensis should still appear in that legion, while Spaniards were sent to the legions in Britain and Germany. This point will be discussed later.²

Recruitment of citizens was possible in Spain because of the proximity of citizen communities, an advantage denied to certain

other provinces, such as those in the east. The most highly Romanised part of Spain was Baetica, and this area, with the Caesarian and Augustan colonies, founded mainly near the borders of Baetica in southern Lusitania and in southern and eastern Tarraconensis, supplied most of the Spanish recruits in the period down to 69 AD. Arsa, Astigi, Hispalis, Italica, Nertobriga, Tucci, Ugia and Ullia were all in Baetica; Valentia was an old Roman community; Calagurris, Corduba, Emerita, Norba and Olisipo were all Caesarian or Augustan colonies. More localised recruitment at this date is attested only by one man from Bracara Augusta in VI Victrix; the legion was probably stationed near this town.³

When Galba formed a new legion in 68 AD, he was naturally unable to recruit men from Italy or even at first from Narbonensis; he was thus forced to recruit men from Spain. This is confirmed by Tacitus (Hist. 3.25), who mentions a member of VII^X (Galbiana) recruited ex Hispania, and by an inscription from Aquileia (V 920). The find-spot and the man's age (20 years) show that he died during the civil wars (cf. V 926). When Galba obtained control of Narbonensis, he recruited there also for his new legion, as is shown by another inscription from Aquileia (V 926). But this was clearly not normal recruitment, and hence these men are not listed in Table 7.

Under the Flavians and Trajan, fourteen of the eighteen known recruits were born in Spain. Men from Baetica are no longer attested. The colonies of Emerita, Pax Julia and Scallabis

supplied four of the fourteen men, and communities in the north-west of the peninsula seven more. The precise origin of the three men with Spanish names is uncertain. The province of Tarraconensis, since it had no land frontier with the non-Roman world, had no frontier zone such as figures so prominently in the military affairs of most of the provinces in which military forces were stationed. The nearest approach to a frontier zone was the comparatively unsettled area of Asturia and Callaecia, which was the last to be subdued. It was here and in Lusitania that the military forces, both legionary and auxiliary, were stationed. Already, before Hadrian's reign, this area had begun to supply about half of the total number of the recruits known to VII Gemina.⁴

The Caesarian and Augustan colonies in Spain, apart from Urso, were probably all veteran colonies; as has been seen, many provided recruits to the Spanish legions. However there is no evidence that any veteran colonies were established later in Spain. Presumably veterans were thus able to choose for themselves where they would settle. Unfortunately, the evidence for veteran settlement is slight. Table 8 lists six men who returned to their homes in Italy or Narbonensis in the Julio-Claudian period. In the same period only two veterans are known who settled in Spain; one of them was an Italian. But it does not follow from this that most men in this period preferred to return home rather than remain in Spain. Most of the Italians known originated in, and returned to, the Cisalpine area, which is comparatively rich in

inscriptions. Spain is not. The proportion of men from Italy and Narbonensis who chose to remain in Spain was thus probably much higher than is suggested by this uneven evidence.

The evidence for veteran settlement under the Flavians and Trajan is also slight, but more definite. Seven veterans of VII Gemina are attested as having settled in Spain. None is attested elsewhere. Of the seven known in Spain, the two Spaniards who settled at Augustobriga may have originated there. The Spaniard who settled at Dianium, in south-eastern Tarraconensis, had probably served in the vexillation of VII Gemina stationed there (cf. II 3588). The two veterans at Tarraco had probably served in the governor's officium at that place. The man from Emerita, who settled there after service, may actually have served most or all of his time at Emerita, in the officium of the legate of Lusitania (cf. Ritterling 1634). Finally a man from Astyrica settled at Bracara Augusta; both places are in the military zone of the north-west. This evidence, although slight, suggests that probably more men settled in the vicinity of the stations where they had served than returned to their homes, whether the latter were in Spain or elsewhere.⁵

From Hadrian's reign, only one recruit is known from outside Spain. For the remainder of the principate, the evidence, meagre as it is, shows that normal recruitment was almost entirely from men born in Spain. The evidence is slight merely because of the general lack of inscriptions in Spain itself. There are now no relevant inscriptions from other parts of the empire. Such

vexillations of VII Gemina as may have served elsewhere have left no such useful traces in this period as did that which served in Africa under Trajan. The evidence that is available suggests that, while the early veteran colonies are still represented, most normal recruits originated in the vicinity of the stations in which they served. *Aquae Flaviae*, *Asturica*, *Bracarangusta* and *Zoela* were all in the military zone, and not far from *Legio*. Very few inscriptions have been found at *Legio* itself, and as a result only one man originating there is known. But it is very probable that legionary recruitment took the same course in Spain as in other provinces, and that in the third century a high proportion of recruits did in fact come from *Legio* and its vicinity, and from the surrounding military zone.

The great majority of veterans in the second and third centuries clearly settled in this area or, if outside this area, then near the points at which they had served. Four veterans are attested at *Emerita* in the second century; two of these at least did not originate there. One came from the colony of *Caesaraugusta*, and the other from *Sicca* in Africa - he had been recruited to the Trajanic vexillation of VII Gemina, and was transferred with it to Spain. He must have been discharged during or very shortly after Hadrian's reign. These four men had probably all served in the officium of the governor of Lusitania. The four men known at *Tarraco*, two of whom at least originated elsewhere, must similarly have served in the officium of the legate of *Tarraconensis* - two are known to have been beneficiarii consularis (II 4148 and AE 1928 196).

Most of the remaining known veterans settled in the military area - at Asturica, Lucus Augusti and one at Legio.⁶ The man known at Tritium Magallum had probably served with the vexillation stationed there (cf. Ritterling 1634). Traces of military families are slight - one member of VII Gemina is known who married the daughter of a resident of Legio (II 2668) - again because of the lack of inscriptions in this area.

Notes to Chapter Two: Spain.

1. Contra Forni, pp. 223 and 228.
2. Cf. pp. 313 and 324 below.
3. Cf. Ritterling 1600.
4. A military list from Carthage, VIII 24619, lists two men from Italy and nine from Spain, mainly from Caesarian or Augustan colonies: the list is given in Table 7. As Cagnat suggested (MER XI 1891 p.320), these men probably did not belong to the Urban cohort stationed at Carthage, but to the Trajanic vexillation of VII Gemina. The origins of these men, considering the small total number, agree reasonably well with the view that they were recruited to VII Gemina in the Flavian period or early in the reign of Trajan. Members of this vexillation are otherwise known at Carthage (VIII 12590 and 24682).
5. A man from Clunia who served with the Trajanic vexillation of VII Gemina at Lambaesis preferred to settle at Thamugadi rather than return to Spain (AE 1934 36, cf. Table 5 above).
6. Cf. Forni p. 147. It is doubtful whether the cognomen Felix really proves that he was of African origin, as Forni (p. 211) claims.

Britain. Recruitment (43 to 69 AD). Table 9 (1)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Britain	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XIV Gem 43 to 68 AD	Pollentia XIII 6898 Verona XIII 6905	Vienna XIII 6912			
II Aug 43 to 69 AD		Ucetia XII 2929			
IX Hisp 43 to 69 AD	Pisaurum VII 188 Novaria VII 244 Verona IX 4685	Forum Julii VI 3639 Clunia VII 184 with EE IX p.556.			
Legion unknown			Camulodunum III 11233		
	5	4	1	-	-

69 to 117 AD:-

II Adj 71 to c. 86 AD	Dertona III 4057	Forum Julii VII 48 Lugdunum VII 186			Agrippina III 3642
II Aug 69 to 117 AD		Dinia VII 122			
IX Hisp 69 to 117 AD		Vienna VII 243			
XX VV 69 to 117 AD	Bononia XI 6734 Brixia EE VII 899 Cremona EE IX 1066	Arelate EE IX 1062 Lugdunum EE IX 1059 Vienna 2 VII 794 EE IX 1078 Emerita 2 EE IX 1063 EE IX 1064			Celeia 3 EE VII 900 EE IX 1060 EE IX 1068 Noviodunum VII 50 Nicopolis in Epirus VII 51

(Cont.)

Britain. Recruitment (69 to 117 AD. cont.)

Table 9 (2)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Britain	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
(II Adj or XK VV)	Augusta Taurinor. EE IX 1077 Brixia EE IX 1088	Forum Julii EE VII 892 Corduba EE IX 1075 Lucius Augusti EE VII 897			Virunum EE IX 1083
	6	13	-	-	7
<u>117 to 193 AD:-</u>					
II Aug 117 to 193 AD		Lugdunum VII 125			Cemenelum VI 3339 (FRUM) Trajana 1947 98
VI Vict c. 122 to 193 AD.		Emerita 2 II 490 II 491	Glevum VI 3346 (FRUM)		Solva V 3362 (FRUM) Mogontiacum VI 3343 (FRUM)
XX VV 117 to 193 AD		Arelate XII 679 Emerita EE IX 1058	Briton (or Gaul) Ecimius EE VII 893		Teurnia EE VII 891 Trajana EE IX 1093
(excluding Frumentarii) -		5	1	-	3
<u>193 to c. 300 AD:-</u>					
II Aug 193 to c. 300 AD		Arelate XII 677		Isca (=Caerleon) VII 126	

(Cont.)

Britain. Recruitment (193 to c. 300 AD. cont.)

Table 9 (3)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Britain	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
VI Vict 193 to c. 300 AD					Gaul Aunus XIII 3258 German Vagionius VI 3635 (FRUM) Sarmizege- thusa III 1474 (FRUM)
XX VV 193 to c. 300 AD		Arelate XII 678 Nemausus XII 3182	Belga VII 49		Cemenelum VI 3916 (FRUM) Bessus EE VII 890
(excluding Frumentarii) -		3	1	1	2

Britain. Veteran Settlement (43 to 69 AD).

Table 10 (1)

	Returned to homes outside Britain	Settled in Britain	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
XIV Gem 43 to 68 AD			Lindum VII 187	
<u>69 to 117 AD:-</u>				
II Adj 71 to c. 86 AD			Deva EE IX 1051	
IX Hisp 69 to 117 AD				Reate 2 IX 4685 (Verona) IX 4689
XX VV 69 to 117 AD	Ravenna XI 6734 (Bononia)		Deva EE IX 1062 (Arelate)	

Totals (43 to 117)	1	-	3	2
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117 to 193 AD:-

II Aug 117 to 193 AD			Isca 2 VII 122 (Dinia) VII 125 (Lugdunum)	
VI Vict c. 122 to 193 AD	Emerita 2 II 490 II 491	Lindum VII 182 (Lugdunum)	Eboracum VII 259a with EE III 79 Castlecary 1950 129	Lugdunum XIII 1899
XX VV 117 to 193 AD	Arelate XII 679	Aquae Sulis VII 51 (Nicopolis)	Deva EE VII 893 (Briton or Gaul) EE VII 901	
	3	2	6	1

(Cont.)

<u>Britain. Veteran Settlement (193 to c. 300 AD).</u>		Table 10(2)		
	Returned to homes outside Britain	Settled in Britain	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
II Aug 193 to c. 300	Arelate XII 677	Dondinium EE VII 816	Isca 3 VII 120 VII 123 EE IX 1019	
VI Vict 193 to c. 300 AD	Zattara ILAlg 539 (Transferred from III Aug)			Rome VI 3635 (German: FRUM) Remi XIII 3258 (Gaul)
XX VV 193 to c. 300 AD			Deva 2 EE IX 1073 EE IX 1079	
(excluding Frumentarii)	2	1	5	1

The missicius buried at Deva (Chester) may have been a legionary veteran of the first century AD (EE VII 907).

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in Britain.

Like Spain, Britain has not produced a large number of inscriptions, much less dedication-lists such as those found in Africa. And whereas both Spain and Africa had received considerable numbers of Italian immigrants even before the beginning of the principate, and colonies of veterans had been settled there by Caesar and Augustus, so that they supplied recruits to the legions from the beginning of the principate, Britain probably never received many Italians or other Romanised settlers, (apart from veterans), and hence was slow to provide legionary recruits. Further, from the Flavian period there were always at least three legions in the island, so that from then the number of recruits required was at least three times that in Spain or Africa. Recruitment from local sources was thus even slower to develop than would otherwise have been the case.

Recruits from Italy continue to appear down to the end of Trajan's reign (Table 9). They were supplemented by men from Narbonensis, Spain¹ and Roman communities in Noricum and Germany. One man appears from a British colony - from Camulodunum; he may well have been the son of one of the original veteran settlers.² An early veteran of XIV Gemina settled in the canabee of IX Hispana at Lindum. Otherwise the only evidence we have on veteran settlement in the pre-Flavian period is that the colony at Camulodunum was founded by Claudius in 50 AD, (Tacitus Ann. 12.32). It may well have been founded on a site formerly occupied by a legion. It was destroyed by Boadicea (Tacitus Ann. 14.31-2), but was refounded, presumably by Nero (there is no evidence that it had the dynastic

title Claudia).

A Flavian colony was founded at Lindum³. This had been the station of IX Hispana (c. 50 to c. 71 AD) and II Adjutrix (for a few years from c. 71 AD). The colony must have been founded after the departure of II Adjutrix, since it occupied the site of the legionary fortress,⁴ but probably after the end of Agricola's term as governor.⁵ The veteran of XIV Gemina mentioned above had however settled there earlier. Another colony was founded under Nerva at Glevum, after the transfer of II Augusta from thence to Isca a few years earlier.⁶ At none of these colonies have any inscriptions been found which refer to their original settlers.

There is rather more evidence for settlement elsewhere. Two veterans of IX Hispana are among those known to have been settled by Vespasian in his home town of Reate. Another man returned to Italy of his own accord. Originating from Bononia, he returned to settle at Ravenna (which is very near Bononia). More striking is the fact that veterans began to settle at legionary stations almost as soon as they were established. A veteran of II Adjutrix settled at Deva before about 86 AD - within fifteen years of the first arrival of a legion there.⁷ Not long after XX VV succeeded II Adjutrix at Deva, one of its veterans (origo Arelate) also settled there.

From the beginning of Hadrian's reign, Italians cease to appear among the normal recruits to the British legions. Inscriptions mention men from Narbonensis, Spain (from the Augustan colony of Emerita), Germany (the Trajanic colony of Trajana) and Noricum, which

which seems to have been settled from Italy in such strength that, from the point of view of legionary recruitment, it is almost to be considered as a northward extension of Italy. The cives Italici et Norici serving in VI Victrix, who appear in a second century inscription from Castlecary on the Antonine Wall, probably did not, however, reach that legion by the normal process of recruitment.⁸ By the second century, the only legion in which Italians and Noricans would normally be found together in any numbers was II Italica, (formed in 165 AD⁹), and then only between 165 and 190 AD.¹⁰ The men who appear in this inscription were most probably transferred to VI Victrix from a vexillation of II Italica sent to Britain in the later second century, perhaps early in the reign of Commodus (when they could be spared from the Danube following the conclusion of treaties with the Danube tribes, cf, Dio 72.2) in preparation for operations in Scotland. It seems that the reduction in the numbers of Italians in the British legions was a result of official policy, which will be discussed further below.¹¹

The evidence for men from Britain is slight. A man from Glevum served (in Rome) as a frumentarius of VI Victrix. His name, M. Ulpus Quintus, shows that he was not descended from an original veteran settler; he was probably of British ancestry. L. Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis, who served in XX VV, had a Celtic name; he may have been a Briton.

Two of the men from Emerita, and one from Arelate, returned to their homes after service.¹² Another veteran is attested at Lugdunum (XIII 1899); he had probably also returned home. Other

men who originated outside the province settled in Britain, at Lindum and Aquae Sulis (Bath). But half the total number of veterans known in the second century settled in the area in which they had served, all but one of the six in the canabae of their legions. The sixth man settled at Castlecary, where he may well have served with the vexillation of his legion attested there, (VI 1093).¹³ Of the men known to have been recruited from outside Britain, about half (on the known evidence) chose to remain in Britain. But this is probably an under-estimate, a result of the lack of inscriptions from Britain itself.

For the same reason, the evidence for both recruitment and veteran settlement in the third century is very unsatisfactory. Three recruits from Narbonensis are known. However, they may not have been recruited in the normal way. They may have been transferred to the British army by Severus after his defeat of Albinus in 197 AD, to make good the losses it must have sustained during the fighting. Similarly with Aurelius Aunus, a Gaul who settled among the Remi in Gaul.¹⁴

Only three of the inscriptions which refer to recruitment in this period were found in Britain. One refers to a Thracian, the other two to Britons. One of these was a Belga, (from the area of Winchester), the second was born in the canabae of his legion, II Augusta.¹⁵ It is interesting that, of these three inscriptions, two should record recruits from Britain.

There is little reason to doubt that, if more inscriptions were available from Britain itself, it would be found that most of

the men joining the British legions in the normal process of recruitment came from Britain.

Similarly with veteran settlement; four of the ten relevant inscriptions came from outside Britain. One of the recruits from Arelate returned there after service.¹⁶ A man from Zattara in Africa Proconsularis returned there after discharge. Two other men from Africa are known in British legions in the third century, one from Thamugadi (VIII 2401; VI Victrix) and one from Theveste (ILAlg 3748 = VIII 2080: XX VV). It is most likely that they were not direct recruits, but men who had served in a vexillation of III Augusta in Britain, or possibly on the continent nearby (for example, in Germany), and had been drafted into the British army instead of returning to Lambaesis.¹⁷

Six veterans are known to have settled in Britain in the third century. One, discharged from II Augusta, appears in London, where he had probably served in the officium of the governor of Britannia Superior.¹⁸ Three men of II Augusta settled in the canabae at Isca, and two of XX VV at their station at Deva. Thus just as the majority of normal recruits no doubt came from Britain, so most of them chose to settle as veterans where they had served. It was probably only men who had reached the legions by unusual channels from elsewhere who chose to settle outside the province.

The fourth colony known in Britain was at Eboracum. The earliest reference to this colony is contained in a dedication dated to 237 AD (JRS 1921 p. 102ff.). The fact that Eboracum was a legionary station throughout the third century shows that this cannot have been a veteran colony of the earlier type.¹⁹ Colonial

status in this case was merely a titular grant made to the community which grew up beside the legionary fortress. Not only did Eboracum become the capital of Britannia Inferior,²⁰ but it was here that Severus established his headquarters for the campaigns of 208-11 AD.²¹ It was probably by him at this time that the title of colony was granted.

The existence of two inscriptions which give Deva as an origo, (XIII 6221 = ILS 4573; AE 1916 28 = 1915 70), suggests that the community which grew up there may have received the status of a municipium or colony.²² But Deva is not described as either in the itineraries, and it must be noted that Mogontiacum, which did not apparently receive the status of a civitas before the late third century,²³ nevertheless seems to appear as an origo before then, for example in VI 3343.

Notes to Chapter Two: Britain.

1. From the colonies of Corduba and Emerita, and also from the military zone of the north-west - Clunia and Lucus Augusti.
2. No other recruit from Britain is known before the second century. The suppression of Boadicea's rebellion involved the legions, especially IX Hispana, in heavy losses. To help make these good, a draft of 2,000 legionaries was summoned from Germany (Tacitus Ann. 14.38). The man from Camulodunum may have been one of several recruited in Britain at the same time, as an emergency measure.
3. XIII 6679 shows that the colony was registered in tribe Quirina.
4. Cf. G. Webster, JRS 1949 pp. 57ff.
5. The use of the plural in Agricola 32 (senum coloniae), might seem to suggest that Lindum had been founded before the battle of Mons Graupius. But if Agricola had been responsible for the foundation, Tacitus would have ensured that the fact was made known. But these words cannot be pressed literally, since they appear in the speech put into the mouth of the British leader before that battle. In any case, Lindum may well have housed a legion to 86 AD or later.
6. That Nerva was responsible is shown by VI 3346 = ILS 2365. For the stationing of II Augusta at Glevum, cf. C. Green. JRS 1942 pp. 39ff.
7. He must then have first served in a fleet or in another legion before joining II Adjutrix at the time of its formation during

the civil wars.

8. VII 1095, which commemorates the dedication of a temple. This suggests that these men were stationed at Castlecary, and were not merely members of a building-party engaged on the construction of the wall.
9. VI 1377, cf. Ritterling 1300-1.
10. Its first members were Italians, who would all have been discharged by 190 AD. Its later recruits were all Noricans, cf. below p. 216.
11. Cf. pp. 313 and 324 below. It is possible that some of the men from Spain listed in Table 9 (117-193 AD) had been transferred from the vexillation of VII Gemina which served in Britain under Hadrian (X 5829 = ILS 2726), probably c. 130 AD, cf. E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, p.29.
12. II 719, recording a veteran of XX VV near Norba in Lusitania, is possibly of considerably later date than that assigned to it by Ritterling 1770 (the early part of Augustus's reign). It could well refer to a man who had returned home after service in Britain. Similarly perhaps with AE 1951 283, cf. the note in Table 8 (2)above.
13. JRS 1949 p. 112, 1 = AE 1950 129. The reading n(atione) Mat(ti-
acus) (cf. Forni p. 191 note 1) is very doubtful. The inscription has not been included in the Table listing recruits.
14. He is listed under the third century in Tables 9 and 10. But it possible that he was recruited by Albinus in Gaul, when he was preparing to face Severus.
15. This man died in a German expedition (VII 126), probably that of

- Caracalla (Ritterling 1318; 1463).
16. Another man (not described as a veteran) who served in XX VV was buried at Arelate at the age of 50 (XII 678). This must have been his home, and at that age he may well have been a veteran.
 17. A dedication at Winchester reads matrib. Italis Germanis Gal(licis) Brit(tis) Antonius Cretianus bf.cos. rest(ituit), VII 5 = ILS 4786. Another at York was set up mat(ribus) Af(ris) Ita(lis) Ga(llicis) by a member of VI Victrix, VII 238 = ILS 4787. Probably both inscriptions date to the late second or early third century, and both presumably indicate that men from these sources served in the British legions. The men from Germany, Gaul and Britain referred to were no doubt normal recruits, but this can hardly be the case with the men from Italy and Africa. These men had more probably been transferred from other provinces (cf. the evidence of VII 1095, p. 121 above and also Table 4).
 18. EE VII 816. That the words factus Arausione show that his origo was Arausio (Forni p. 189) is very doubtful, as is Mommsen's view (in a note ad EE VII 816) that he was discharged at Arausio; cf. Haverfield's cautious note in EE VII.
 19. Cf. below pp. 343-6.
 20. As the station of VI Victrix, and hence of the legate, cf. XIII 3162.
 21. SHA Severus 19.1; Eutropius 8.19.
 22. Cf. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 64-8.
 23. Cf. below pp. 159.

Germania Inferior. Recruitment (to 69 AD).

Table 11 (1)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XX 9 to 43 AD	Mutina XIII 8737 Patavium XIII 8553 Pollentia 2 VII 156 XIII 8554 Tarvisium 1954 160				
XXI Rap 9 to 43 AD	Fanum Fortunae XIII 8651 Sabinus V 4902 Pollia V 7157 Romilia XIII 8556	Baeterrae XIII 6949 Nemausus XIII 8649 Voltina XIII 8650			
I to 69 AD	Bononia XIII 8276 Genua 1939 130 Hasta XIII 8057 Ticinum XIII 8058	Alba 2 XIII 8055 XIII 8056 Cularo XII 2234 Lucus Augusti 2 XIII 8059 XIII 8060 Voltina XIII 7776			
V Alaud to 69 AD	Mediolanum XIII 8644	Lucus Augusti SS 98 p.224,441.			
XVPrim 45 to 69 AD	Augusta Taurinor XIII 8080 Mediolanum XIII 8079	Allobroges XII 2480 Antipolis XIII 8647 Forum Julii XIII 8284 Ucetia XII 2928 Spaniard Reburus 1954 252			

Germania Inferior. Recruitment (to 69 AD cont.)

Table 11 (2)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Spain	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XVI 43 to 69 AD	Antium VI 2725 Mediolanum V 5830				
Legion unknown		Vienna XIII 8086			
	18	16	-	-	-

The following men were probably recruited to V Alaudae shortly before 69 AD, III 14214 = ILS 9107 (cf. Ritterling, Germania IX 1925 pp. 141-5).

Dertona	Forum Julii Vienna	Agrippina 3	Cemenelum Celeia Iuvavum
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The man from Rome in this list was probably recruited when the Vitellian legions were stationed at Rome itself. Suetonius Vitellius 15 mentions dilectus in urbe at that time, cf. Ritterling, loc.cit., p.144.

69 to 117 AD:-

XXI Rap 69 to 83 AD	Bononia XIII 6951	Lugdunum XIII 6951b with XIII.4 p.108		Virunum III 4840
XXII Pr 69 to 92 AD	Augusta Taurinor V 7004			Virunum XIII 6963
X Gem 69 to c.100 AD	Brixia XIII 8733	Forum Julii 2 III 10517 III 14405d	Trajana 1929 223	Iuvavum 1928 57 Cambodunum III 15162 Emona XIII 8735
VI Vict 69 to c.122 AD	Verona XIII 8590	Lugdunum VII 182		Augusta Vindelicu EE IX 1375

(Cont.)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
I Min 83 to 117 AD	Aquileia Pais 187	Baeterrae XII 985			Solva III 5333
	5	5	-	1	7

117 to 193 AD:-

I Min 117 to 193 AD			Veliocassis IGR III 80 Gaul Aetonis.f XIII 7923	Agrippina 2 XIII 8002 XIII 8091 Trajana XIII 8090 son of <u>mil</u> I Min VI 3335 (FRUM)	
XXX VV c.122 to 193 AD	nat. Italic. VIII 21053		Gaul Aspadius XIII 8654	Agrippina 2 VI 3360 (FRUM) XIII 8292	Aequum XIII 6952

(excluding Frumentarii) 1 - 3 4 1

193 to c.300 AD:-

I Min 193 to c.300 AD			Lugdunum XIII 1832 XIII 1846 Remus XIII 1844 Gaul Adnamatius 1930 31	Agrippina 2 X 3896 XIII 1844 Frisavus XIII 8040 (FRUM) Novaesium XIII 8566 son of <u>mil</u> I Min XIII 8278 Germans 2 Betto VI 3333 (FRUM) Halda- vonius XIII 8068	Thracians 5 Philippo- polis XIII 1856 Prov. Thrac XIII 1843 nat. Thrax XIII 8067 Turesum XIII 8066 Bitus XIII 1843
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(Cont.)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XXX VV 193 to c.300 AD			Treveri 4 XIII 1196 XIII 1883 XIII 2614 XIII 8634 Gauls 2 Ammausius 1901 72 Vithannus XIII 1858	Batavus XIII 1847 Frisian XIII 8633 Germans 4 Dosso XIII 7732 Lellavo XIII 7789 Panno XIII 7789 Ulfus XIII 1839	Thracians 6 Philippo- polis XIII 1891 Deospor XIII 8607 Mucatra(3) XIII 8607 Muc... XIII 8582

(excluding Frumentarii) - - 10 11 11

Men with nomina, formed from cognomina, in -ius (mainly from northern Gaul, cf. Forni p. ~~86~~ 86, and references there cited):-

I Min (20 men): XIII 1047; 1849; 1861; 1862; 1885; 1895; 7939; 7950;
8003a; 8053 (6 men); 8239; AE 1930 26; 1930 33 (2 men); 1931 17
XXX VV (3 men): III 6764; XIII 7997; 8053.

Men with nomina, formed from cognomina, in -inius (mainly from frontier zone):-

I Min (10 men): VI 3333; XII 687; 1576; XIII 1797; 1906; 8053; 8070;
11991; AE 1930 33 (2 men).
XXX VV (12 men): XIII 1876; 1884; 1888; 1901; 7567; 8293; 8601; 8607;
8619; 8625; 8719; AE 1947 188.

These men were recruited in the late second and third centuries, mainly the latter.

Germania Inferior. Veteran Settlement (to 69 AD).

Table 12 (1)

	Returned to homes outside Gaul and Germany	Settled in Gaul	Settled in frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
XX VV 9 to 43 AD			Ara Ubiorum 2 XIII 8286 (Veleia) XIII 8288 (Fabia) Noviomagus XIII 8737 (Mutina) Vetera XIII 8651 (Fanum Fortunae) Novaesium XIII 8556 (Romilia)	
XXI Rap 9 to 43 AD	Liguria V 7157 Sabinus V 4902			
I 9 to 69 AD			Ara Ubiorum XIII 8276 (Bononia) Bonna 3 XIII 7776 (Vultinia) XIII 8058 (Ticinum) 1932 39	
V Alaud to 69 AD			Burginatium XIII 8711	

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69 to 117 AD:-

XXI Rap 69 to 83 AD	Glanum 1954 103		Germany XIII 8849 (Vercellae)	
XXII Pr 69 to 92 AD			Vetera XIII 8652	
X Gem 69 to c.100 AD			Noviomagus XIII 8735 (Emona)	

(Cont.)

Germania Inferior. - Veteran Settlement
69 to 117 AD cont.

Table 12 (2)

	Returned to homes outside Gaul and Germany	Settled in Gaul	Settled in frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
X Gem 69 to c.100 AD (cont.)			Col Agrippina XIII 8283 (Astigi) Aquae (= Aachen) XIII 12006	
VI Vict 69 to c.122 AD	Bracara Augusta II 2465		Novaesium XIII 8549 Asciburgium XIII 8590 (Verona)	
Legion unknown			Col Agrippina XIII 8301	

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117 to 193 AD:-

I Min 117 to 193 AD			Bonna 2 XIII 8002 (Col Agrippina) 1930 32 Col Agrippina 2 XIII 8267 XIII 8277	
XXX VV 117 to 193 AD	Ateste V 2391 Brixia V 5010		Beurtina XIII 8609 Asciburgium XIII 8591	

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193 to c.300 AD:-

I Min 193 to c.300 AD	Augustodunum 2 XIII 2639 XIII 2666		Bonna 2 XIII 8066 (Turesum) 1931 15	Arelate XII 687 (Gaul) Valentia, Narb XII 1749
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Germania Inferior. Veteran Settlement

(193 to c.300 AD cont.).

	Returned to homes outside Gaul and Germany	Settled in Gaul	Settled in frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
I Min 193 to c.300 AD (cont.)		Mediolanum Santonum XIII 1047 Lugdunum 11 XIII 1844 (Col Agrippina) XIII 1844 (Remus) XIII 1849 XIII 1856 (Philippo- polis) XIII 1861 1862 1880 1885 1887 (2) 1906	Colonia Agrippina 4 XIII 8222 XIII 8278 (Greek name) XIII 8279 XIII 8280 Augusta Rauracorum XIII 5270	
XXX VV 193 to c.300 AD		Cavillonum XIII 2614 (Treveri) Lugdunum 16 XIII 1828 XIII 1831 XIII 1841 (Greek name) XIII 1842 XIII 1858 (Gaul) XIII 1858 1873 1876 1879 XIII 1883 (Treveri) XIII 1884 XIII 1888 XIII 1891 (Philippo- polis) XIII 1901 XIII 1904 ILS 9493	Col Trajana 2 XIII 8622 XIII 8636 XIII 8638 Colonia Agrippina 2 XIII 8293 XIII 8294 Burginatum XIII 8666 Novaesium XIII 8567	

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in

Germania Inferior.

Recruitment to the legions of Germania Inferior in the pre-Flavian period was entirely from Italy, Narbonensis and, to a much lesser extent, Spain. The evidence listed in Table 11 is sufficient in quantity and consistency to show this clearly. For if men from elsewhere (e.g. Gallia Comata) had served in any numbers, at least some trace would have been left. For although the average Gaul in this period might make little use of stone for epitaphs or dedications, yet one who had served in a legion, and hence in what may be called a stone-using environment, would soon adopt the habit of using stone, as Gallic auxiliaries certainly did in the first century, and as later Gallic legionaries did in the second and third centuries. Thus the 34 men listed for the pre-Flavian period in Table 11 will give a fairly accurate picture of recruitment for that period.

Similarly with veteran settlement. Table 12 shows that most veterans are attested as settling in the frontier zone in this period. If many had settled elsewhere some at least would have continued to use stone inscriptions, and some trace of these would certainly have survived (as it did in the later periods). In the frontier zone, most men settled in the immediate vicinity of their legion's station. Two of the veterans of XX VV settled at its first station, Ara Ubiorum, and the third not far from its second station, Novaesium. Both those of XXI Rapax settled at or near its station at Vetera. All of those known for legio I settled at its successive stations, Ara Ubiorum and Bonna. The fact that ten men are known who

settled in the frontier zone against no more than two who returned to their homes in Italy does not of course prove that five times as many men chose to settle in the frontier zone as chose to return home. The Rhineland is probably somewhat richer than Italy in military inscriptions. But it still seems reasonable to think that at least about half of the men concerned will have preferred to settle where they had served.

A veteran colony was founded at Ara Ubiorum by Claudius in 50 AD, (Tacitus Ann.12.27). Down to c. 35 AD, this had been the station of two legions, I and XX.¹ The last-named left Germany in 43 AD, as part of the army which invaded Britain. Two of its veterans were buried at Ara Ubiorum. They must then have settled there while it was still a legionary station; they cannot have taken part in the settlement of the colony in 50 AD. The veteran of legio I also probably settled there before his legion moved from thence to Bonna in c. 35 AD. Hence he also was not one of the veterans settled by Claudius. For the latter there is in fact no certain epigraphic evidence. That veterans were settled there is, however, explicitly stated by Tacitus. The exact site of the legionary fortress at Ara Ubiorum is not known, nor consequently is its relation with that of the colony. But the colonial settlers were clearly not the first veterans in the area.

Under the Flavians and Trajan, recruits from Italy and Narbonensis (five from each are known) began to be replaced by men from the area north of the Alps - two men are known from Raetia, four from Noricum and one from the colony (a former legionary station) at Emona.

Recruitment from these areas had in fact begun very shortly before the end of the Julio-Claudian period, if, as seems very probable, the legionaries listed in III 14214 = ILS 9107 were men killed when V Alaudae was annihilated on the lower Danube in 86 AD.² The men who were recruited shortly before it left Germany at the beginning of Vespasian's reign were very probably those listed in Table 11 (2) above. Against one man from Italy and two from Narbonensis appear three men from the Rhineland - all from Colonia Agrippina - and three from the area north of the Alps.³ By the beginning of Hadrian's reign Italy and Narbonensis have disappeared almost entirely from the lists.

The evidence again suggests that most men settled in the frontier zone. One man from Bracara Augusta in Spain, who joined VI Victrix shortly before it left Spain in 70 AD (Tacitus Hist 4.68), and travelled with the unit to Germany, returned to Bracara Augusta after service.⁴ No other inscription indicates that a veteran left Germany, but a few may well nevertheless have returned to their homes. Seven veterans are attested in Germania Inferior, one at Aachen, the rest on the frontier line, at Colonia Agrippina or in the vicinity of legionary or auxiliary forts. The tombstone of a veteran of XXII Primigenia who settled near his unit reads:-
dis manibus M. Vetti Saturnini vet. leg. XXII PPF civi Trajanensi,
 (etc.)_x, (XIII 8652). He died after 89 AD, as the titles of his legion show. But he probably settled at Vetera before the legion left the province in 92 AD, that is at least six years before Colonia Trajana was founded. He must then have originated elsewhere. He presumably settled in the vicinity of the fortress, and later became

a citizen of Colonia Trajana at the time of its foundation. Civis Trajanensis in this inscription refers to his membership of the new colony and not to his origo.⁵

This was the only veteran colony founded in Germania Inferior, apart from Colonia Agrippina. The foundation must have taken place at the very beginning of Trajan's reign, since one of its citizens was recruited to X Gemina, quite certainly before it left the province c. 100 AD.⁶ The sequence of events seems to have been this.

The fortress known to us from Tacitus⁷ as Vetera is to be identified with that which has been found on the Fürstenberg.⁸ About one mile to the north-west of this fortress lies the modern Xanten. Here grew up a considerable town, which owed its origin not merely to supplying the various demands of the legions stationed nearby, but also to its naturally advantageous position. It was probably to this town that the words of Tacitus (Ann 4.22) refer:—haud procul castris in modum municipii exstructa, rather than to the small collection of buildings which has been found just south-east of the camp on the Fürstenberg.⁹ The latter probably formed the canabae, properly speaking, of the early fortress, and did not survive the events of 70 AD. For after its destruction by Civilis the Fürstenberg site was abandoned, and XXII Primigenia, which formed the garrison from 70 AD, must have occupied a different site, which is not, however precisely known.¹⁰ When this legion moved to Mogontiacum in 92 AD, it was not replaced. Instead, within a short time, plans were made for the foundation of the colony, on the site

at Xanten. Whether the town which had grown up there before 70 AD, and which had been levelled to prevent its being of use to the Germans, had recovered in the intervening years is not known, but this was the site chosen for the colony, shortly after 98 AD. The name Vetera was dropped, the colony being known simply as colonia Ulpia Trajana. The history of the area so far was similar to that known elsewhere, when, after the departure of a legion, a veteran colony was formed, as e.g. at Ammaedara, Theveste, Lindum and Colonia Agrippina. But alterations in the dispositions of the legions changed the normal sequence in this case. X Gemina left Noviomagus for Pannonia in c. 100 AD, and this meant that there was now no legion on the Rhine below Novaesium (VI Victrix). The other legion (I Minervia) was at Bonna. Accordingly, to close the gap, VI Victrix was moved downstream to a site near Colonia Trajana. Presumably this was considered the best strategic position, being approximately half way between Novaesium and Noviomagus. VI Victrix remained here to c. 122 AD, when it was replaced by XXX VV. The latter was described later as being stationed at Vetera (Ptolemy 2.9.8; Ant. Itin. Wessely 255.5, Cuntz Itineraria Romana p. 36), but this was strictly speaking inaccurate; the site of the fortress of XXX VV (and before it of VI Victrix) was actually about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles to the south-east of Colonia Trajana, and hence south-east also of the early Vetera on the Fürstenberg. It was probably near the modern Birten (Beurtina),¹¹ where a number of inscriptions mentioning serving members of XXX VV, and one veteran, have been found.¹²

This site thus acquired its own canabae, quite distinct from the colony.

Thus the foundation of Colonia Trajana was not as at first

appears, an exception to what may be stated as a general rule, that veteran colonies were not established in the near vicinity of active legionary stations. But a colony might be founded on or very near such a site after the legion had left, and it had ceased to be an active military station. At Trajana it was (exceptionally) a legion which was moved to a site near an existing colony.

After Hadrian's reign, apart from one man from Italy and another from the Claudian colony of Aequum in Dalmatia (both before the late second century), the known recruits came from Gaul or Germany, supplemented by Thracians in the third century. Narbonensis had ceased to supply recruits. Many of those from Gaul and Germany can be identified by their Celtic or Germanic cognomina, or by the fact that their nomina were of a type common only in northern Gaul. These are nomina formed from cognomina, either directly, e.g. Albanus, Felicius, Honoratius, Simplicius, or by the addition of - inius to the stem, Candidinius, Paulinius, Secundinius, Verecundinius. Of course, many of the men with such names may have come from the frontier areas, and not from Gaul itself, and generally, although the evidence of such names confirms the fact of the localisation of recruitment in the second and third centuries, for more precise information on the origins of recruits it is necessary to rely on other evidence. For Germania Inferior this is slight in volume, but the evidence that is available suggests that rather more men came from the frontier zone than from the hinterland of Gaul. Two men are known who served in their fathers' legion, one of them becoming a frumentarius. The two third-century

recruits to I Minervia from Lugdunum may well have been recruited directly to the vexillation of that legion stationed in Lugdunum. Vexillations of all four German legions were stationed in Lugdunum in the third century, replacing as the permanent garrison there cohors XIII Urbana, disbanded by Severus.¹³ Just as this cohort had previously supplied officiales to the legate of Lugdunensis, and to the procurator who was also stationed in Lugdunum,¹⁴ so these men were in the third century supplied by the legionary vexillations stationed in Lugdunum.¹⁵ The two recruits originating in Lugdunum may well have gone straight into one or other of the Lugdunum officia at the time of enlistment.¹⁶

The men from Gaul and Germany were reinforced in the third century by Thracians. Some of these may possibly have been men who began their service in the legions of Moesia or Dacia, (legions which are known to have supplied men to the expeditionary force with which Severus crushed his opponents;¹⁷) who were drafted into the German legions after the defeat of Albinus. But the numbers known suggest that the recruitment of Thracians was part of a regular process in the third century - they appear in considerable numbers in other legions.¹⁸

A number of men originating outside the areas mentioned are known in the legions of Germania Inferior in this period. Certain dedications set up to matres, in which the matres are defined geographically,¹⁹ indicate the origo of the dedicants; the dedications to matres Treverae (XIII 8634) and matres Frisavae paternae (XIII 8633) must have been made by a Treveran and a Frisian respectively. But a dedication at Lugdunum to the

Matres Pannoniorum et Delmatarum made by a tribune of I Minervia and dateable to 197 or 198 AD (XIII 1766 = ILS 4794),²⁰ clearly cannot apply to himself, having only one mother, nor is it likely to refer to I Minervia, in which men from Pannonia and Dalmatia are not known (or probable) at this period. In all probability the reference is to the origins of the men composing the army of Severus, which had just relieved the hard-pressed Rhine legions by defeating Albinus at Lugdunum; the Pannonian legions provided the main part of Severus's force for this as for his earlier campaigns.²¹ This inscription cannot then be taken to prove that men from Pannonia or Dalmatia were regularly recruited for the German legions. It is however possible that men were drafted from Severus's expeditionary force to fill gaps in the Rhine legions. This seems the most likely explanation of the appearance of a dedication to the matres Noricae by a member of I Minervia, XIII 8813. There is no reason to think that Noricans were regularly recruited to Germania Inferior in the third century. Even Germania Superior in the same period drew men from no further east than Raetia (excluding the Thracians; cf. Table 13).

Two dedications were made by members of XXX VV to the matres Brittae (XIII 8631-2). The dedicants were probably members of the defeated army of Albinus, drafted into the Rhine army, the object being to forestall any further conspiracy in Britain against Severus. The British legions were then presumably brought up to strength by recruiting men on the continent (as suggested above, p. 122). It is impossible to believe that men from Britain were regularly recruited to the German legions; Britain, with three legions of its own to supply, is unlikely to have had any such surplus.²²

Two members of XXX VV who settled in Italy were undoubtedly original members of the legion who returned to their homes in Hadrian's reign. The largest number of veterans known settled in Lugdunum. Many of them must have served in the Lugdunum officia: three are specifically described as former officiales of the procurator (XIII 1856; 1880; ILS 9493). But the large number of inscriptions which has survived at Lugdunum undoubtedly exaggerates the proportion of veterans who actually settled there. Most men who had served on the frontier-line probably settled in the same area after discharge (for example, one man who settled at Colonia Agrippina had certainly served there, as a bf. cos., in the legate's officium: XIII 8293).

A few men are known to have settled outside the frontier zone and Lugdunum. A Treveran who settled at Cavillonum, and two other veterans at Augustodunum had probably served at Lugdunum. A veteran of I Minervia who was buried at Valentia in Narbonensis is described as ex optione proc(uratoris) ducenar(ii) (XII 1749). Having served in Narbonensis (or perhaps on the Lugdunensis-Narbonensis border) under the procurator of that province (for whom cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung p. 147), he decided to remain there after service. Two other veterans, both with nomina which show that they originated in northern Gaul or Germany, settled at Arelate in Narbonensis and at Mediolanum Santonum in Aquitania. Very probably they had served as officiales in those provinces.²³ The main factor in determining where veterans would settle was clearly their place of service, not only in the frontier zone, but wherever their duties took them.

This withdrawal of men for service elsewhere may have slightly reduced the number of military families established in the military areas, which may in turn have slightly reduced the number of recruits available in that area. But this was not necessarily the only reason why the supply of recruits from the frontier zone proved inadequate in the third century, and why it was necessary to supplement them with men from Thrace. One reason seems to have been that, in spite of the concessions made by the Severi, military service became less attractive even to the sons of legionaries, with the result that measures were taken to encourage, and later to enforce, the recruitment of such men.²⁴

Notes to Chapter Two: Germania Inferior.

1. Cf. Ritterling 1378; 1772.
2. Ritterling 1569, and in Germania IX 1925 pp. 141-5.
3. Possibly the man from Aequum also, cf. Table 21 below.
4. Other Spaniards who appear in X Gemina, and served on the Rhine, had similarly joined the legion before it left Spain. They were not recruited from Spain to Germany.
5. As claimed by Forni p. 182. Cf. XIII 8283:- M. Val. Celerinus Papiria Astigi cives Agrippine (sic) veter. leg. X GPF, etc.
This man joined X Gemina in Spain, travelled with the legion to Germany and after service settled at Colonia Agrippina.
6. AE 1929 223. For the date, cf. Ritterling 1682-3.
7. Tacitus Ann. 1.45; Hist. 4.18.
8. What follows is largely based on Bohn, Germania X 1926 pp. 25-36, esp. pp. 34-6.
9. Lehner BJ 119 1910 p.257.
10. It may well have been that later occupied by VI Victrix and XX VV, cf. next page.
11. Bohn Germania X 1926 p. 35.
12. XIII 8616; 8625; 8634; 8639; the veteran, XIII 8609.
13. Ritterling 1914, Cf. ILS 9493.
14. XII 2602 = ILS 2118 (actually refers to the predecessor of cohors XIII Urbana, cohors I Flavia Urbana); AE 1935 16.
15. XII 1749; XIII 1832; 1850 (= ILS 2405); 1856; 1860; 1868; 1880.
16. They would still be officially enrolled in a military unit.
For such direct recruitment to an officium, cf. VI 2977 = ILS 2173.
17. VI 1450; VIII 5349; 7978. Cf. Ritterling 1311.

18. See further pp. 357ff.
19. Such dedications seem to have been confined to Germania Inferior and Britain.
20. For the date, cf. Ritterling 1428.
21. II 4114. Cf. Ritterling 1311.
22. The men with Greek names who appear in XIII 8278 (I Min) and XIII 1841 (XXX VV) had probably joined vexillations of those legions serving in the east. For a vexillation of XXX VV in the east under Severus Alexander, cf. III 6764; IGR III 1441; Ritterling 1826-7.
23. Cf. the beneficiarii of I Minervia known at Vienna (XII 1874) and Dea Augusta (Vocontiorum), (XII 1576, two men, one with the nomen Valentinius) and the men of XXX VV at Arelate (XII 683), and at Avaricum Biturigum in Aquitania (XIII 1196; his Treveran origin is shown by the substitution of patres for parentes, cf. note ad XIII 1196). Men from the German legions apparently served under the governors of these two provinces also.
24. The subject is more fully discussed below, pp. 360ff.

Germania Superior. Recruitment (to 69 AD).

Table 13 (1)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XXI Rap to 9 AD	Benacenses ,2 V 4858 (2) Sabinus V 4892 Tridentum V 5033 Trumplini 2 V 4927 (2)				
II Aug 9 to 43 AD	Alba Pompeia XIII 5977 Albinti- miliun XIII 1122 Bononia XIII 11628 Luca XIII 5978 Mediolanum XIII 5976 Urvinum XIII 11629 Camilia XI 6223 Falerna XIII 12075				
XIII Gm to c.45 AD	Altinum V 2158 Concordia V 1882 For.Fulvi XIII 6884 Hasta 2 V 7558 1952 152 Mediolanum III 4061 Verona OIK 57	Vianna XIII 5239			
XIV Gem to 43 AD	Acelum XIII 7236 Aquae Statiellae XIII 6903 Aquileia XIII 6916	For.Julii 2 XII 265 XIII 1121 Rei Apollinar. XIII 6913 Tolosa XIII 6904			

(Cont.)

Germania Superior. Recruitment (to 69 AD cont.)

Table 13 (2)

	Italy		Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XIV Gem to 43 AD (cont.)	Ateste	2	Vienna	2		
	1940 113 (2)		XIII 6909			
	Augusta		XIII 6918			
	Praetoria		Voltinia			
	1951 135		XIII 7499			
	Augusta		with			
	Taurin.	3	XIII.4			
	XIII 6887		p.127			
	XIII 6899					
	XIII 6902					
	Brixia					
	XIII 6907					
	Cremona	3				
	XIII 1123					
	XIII 1383					
	XIII 6886					
	Eporedia					
	XIII 6914					
	Faventia					
	VII 154					
	with EE					
	IX p.534					
	Forum Vibii	2				
	XIII 6900					
	XIII 7288					
	Hasta					
	XIII 6890					
	Histonium	2				
	XIII 6893 (2)					
	Mediolanum					
	V 5825					
	Mutina					
	XIII 7255					
	Placentia	2				
	XIII 6885					
XIII 7575						
Pollentia						
XIII 6908						
Vardagate	2					
XIII 6906 (2)						
Veleia						
XIII 6901						
Vercellae						
XIII 6889						
Verona	3					
V 3360 (2)						
XIII 6910						
Vicetia						
VII 155						

(Cont.)

Germania Superior. Recruitment (to 69 AD cont.)

Table 13 (3)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XVI to 43 AD	Brixia 2 VI 3560 (2) HisPELLum XIII 6943 Mediolanum 3 V 5747 V 5748 XIII 11858 Pistoriae XIII 6942 Placentia 2 XIII 6936 XIII 6946 Vereellae XIII 6939 Oufentina XIII 6937	Caballio XIII 6945 Vienna 3 XIII 6944 XIII 11859 XVII BRGK p.69,210 Voltinia 3 XIII 6241 XIII 6938 XIII 6940 Lugdunum XIII 6941			Heraclea XIII 8552
(Totals to 43 AD:-	65	16	-	-	1)
IV Mac 43 to 69 AD	Alba Pompeia XIII 6855 Hasta XIII 6875 Ticinum XIII 6859 Valentia 2 XIII 6877 XIII 7235 Romilia VI 2558	Baeterrae 2 XIII 6857 XIII 11848 For. Julii 2 XIII 6866 XIII 6868 Narbo 2 XIII 6863 XIII 6874 Tolosa XIII 6867 Vienna 3 XIII 6871 6872 6873 Lugdunum XIII 6876			Teurnia XIII 11849 Virunum 2 XIII 6860 XIII 6864
XXI Rap 43 to 69 AD	Augusta Bagienn. XIII 8081 Bononia XIII 6950 Vercellae XIII 8849	Glanum 1954 103 Segobriga II 3988 Spaniard Tacit. <u>Hist.</u> 3.25			

(Cont.)

Germania Superior, Recruitment (to 69 AD cont.). Table 13 (4)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere	
XXII Pr	Alba	Apta			Virunum	2
43 to	Pompeia	XIII 11860			XIII 6984	
69 AD	VI 2649	Aquae			XIII 8289	
	Albin-	Sextiae				
	gaunum	XIII 6959				
	XIII 6966	Decias				
	Ateste	XIII 6974				
	XIII 7244	Forum				
	Augusta	Augusti				
	Praetoria	(Voltinia)				
	V 6896	XIII 6958				
	Bononia	Lucus				
	XIII 6964	Augusti				
	Brixia	XIII 6978				
	V 4988	Narbo 2				
	Cremona 3	XIII 6976				
	V 4164 (2)	XIII 6986				
	V 4195	Vienna 2				
	Dertona	XIII 6969				
	XIII 6960	XIII 6972				
	Eporedia					
	XIII 6981					
	Faesulae					
	XIII 6957					
	Faventia					
	XIII 6961					
	Laus					
	Pompeia					
	XIII 6979					
	Mantua					
	XIII 6973					
	Mediolanum 3					
	XIII 6967					
	6975 6982					
	Vercellae					
	XIII 6953					
	Sabatina					
	XIII 6971					
(Totals						
43 to						
69 AD:-	29	23	-	-	5)
Legion	Bononia	Aquae				
unknown	XIII 11865	Sextiae				
to	Brixia	XIII 7014				
69 AD	XIII 7578	Forum				
	Cremona 2	Julii				
	XIII 7232	XIII 7583				
	XIII 11864					

(Cont.)

Germania Superior. Recruitment (to 69 AD cont.). Table 13 (5)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
Legion unknown, to 69 AD (cont.)	Florentia 1940 112 Hatria XIII 7010 Parma XIII 11863 Pomptina XIII 11866 Publilia XIII 7017	Lucus Augusti XIII 7013			
	103	42	-	-	6
<u>69 to 117 AD:-</u>					
I Adj 70 to 86 AD	Cremona V 4123 Verona XIII 6834a				
XIV Gem 70 to 92 AD	Comum V 5270 Firmum Picenum 2 XIII 6896 XIII 6920 Iguvium III 2066 Ticinum III 11209	Lucus Augusti III 11223 Vienna XIII 6891 Anticaria III 1196 Clunia III 1158		Agrippina 4 XIII 6304 6894 6895 6917	Virunum 2 XIII 6892 (2)
XI Cl 70 to c.100 AD	Ateste 2 1924 9 (2) Bergomum XIII 5210 Bohonia XIII 5213 Brixia XIII 5241 Cremona XIII 5216 Forum Cornelii XIII 5215 Mediolanum XXVII BRGK p.68,63	Lucus Augusti XIII 5207 Vienna XIII 5214 Calagurris III 11239			Forum Claudii XIII 5217

(Cont.)

Germania Superior. Recruitment (69 to 117 AD cont.). Table 13 (6)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XI Cl 70 to 101 AD (Cont.)	Placentia XXVII BRGK p. 67,61 Pollentia XIII 5240 Ticinum Betz 119 Verona XIII 5211 Etruscan Masterna XIII 5197 with 11501				
VIII Ag 70 to 117 AD	Mediolanum XIII 5979	Arelate XIII 5613 Lucus Augusti XIII 6882			
XXII Pr 92 to 117 AD BB					Cemenelum V 7872
	21	9	-	4	4
<u>117 to 193 AD:-</u>					
VIII Ag 117 to 193 AD		Vienna Betz (D) 228		German Mellonius VI 3354 (FRUM)	Augusta Vindelicum VI 3353 (FRUM)
XXII Pr 117 to 193 AD		Genava XII 2604		Batavus XIII 7577	Augusta Vindelicum XIII 6558
(excluding Frumentarii)	-	2	-	1	1

(Cont.)

Germania Superior. Recruitment (193 to c.300 AD).

Table 13 (7)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Gaul	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
VIII Ag 193 to c.300 AD			Gaul Artillus XIII 1860	Sumelo- cenna XIII 2506	Eburodunum 1939 218 Thracian Mucianus 1939 238
XXII Pr 193 to c.300 AD			Gauls 9 Attillus(3) XIII 7291 Carantus XIII 7248 Coblunius XXVII BRGK p.89, 124 Devillius XIII 6710 Magissius XIII 6078 Matucenus XII 3035 Urogenus XIII 1907	Mogonti- acum 2 XIII 7077 XIII 11862 Agrippina XIII 6968 Sumelo- cenna 2 XIII 6669(2) Taunensis XIII 6985 Germania superior XIII 1868 Germans 5 Mellonius VI 3351 (FRUM) Nanno XIII 6704 Peppo XIII 6683 Suebus III 14207/7 Vocco XIII 6362 son of Praetorian veteran XIII 7335 sons of vet. XXII Pr 2 XXVII BRGK p.89, 124 (2)	Augusta Vindelicum XIII 4630 with 6741 Raetian Vindelicius 1923 36 Thracians 9 Anchealus(3) XIII 11941 civ. Thrax(2) XIII 6955 1941 107 Aulutra XIII 6955 Bytytralis XIII 7213 Mucatralis (2) XIII 6716 XIII 6740
Legion unknown				Taunensis XIII 11810 (FRUM)	
(excluding Frumentarii) -	-	-	10	15	(Cont.) 13

Germania Superior. Recruitment (Cont.).

Table 13 (8)

Men with nomina, formed cognomina, in -ius (mainly from northern Gaul):-

VIII Aug (7 men): VI 3350; XIII 1850; 2944; 6440; 6637; 11647;

AE 1934 125.

XXII Pr (25 men): VI 32873; XII 164; XIII 1830; 1838; 1877;

6442; 6458; 6623; 6661 with 6714; 6677; 6681 (5 men);

6670; 6686; 6769; ^{6999; 7273;} 7273; 7570b; 7692; 11862; XXVII

BRGK no. 233.

Men with nomina, formed from cognomina, in -inius (mainly from the frontier zone):-

VIII Aug (5 men): VI 32873; XIII 1897; 6076; 7731; 11608 with

11609

XXII Pr (7 men): III 6765; XIII 1882; 1902; 5878; 6623; 670⁴b; 6983.

These men were recruited in the late second and third centuries, mainly the latter.

Germania Superior, Veteran Settlement (to 69 AD).

Table 14 (1)

	Returned to homes outside Gaul and Germany	Settled in Gaul	Settled in frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
II Aug 9 to 43 AD	Fanum Fortunae XI 6223 (Camilia)		Argentorate XIII 5975 (Norba) Asciburgium XIII 12075 (Falerna)	
XIII Gm to c.45 AD	Hasta V 7558		Vindonissa XIII 5239 (Vienna)	
XIV Gem to 43 AD	Mediolanum V 5825 Verona 2 V 3360 (2)		Mogontiacum XIII 6885 (Placentia) Aquae Mattiaca XIII 7575 (Placentia)	
XVI to 43 AD			Mogontiacum V 5747 (Mediolanum)	Rome 2 VI 3560 (2) (Brixia) Nemausus XII 3179
IV Mac 43 to 69 AD				Luceria IX 799 (Baeterrae)
XXI Rap 43 to 69 AD			Mogontiacum XIII 6951a	
	5	-	7	4

69 to 117 AD:-

XIV Gem 70 to 92 AD			Mogontiacum. 2 XIII 6912 (Vienna) XIII 6915	
XI Cl 70 to c.100 AD			Vindonissa 4 XIII 5193 5198 11506 11507	Reate IX 4687 (Cont.)

Germania Superior. Veteran Settlement (69 to 117 AD, cont.) Table 14 (2)

	Returned to homes outside Gaul and Germany	Settled in Gaul	Settled in frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
VIII Ag 70 to 117 AD	Comum 2 V 5713 (2)	Mirebeau XIII 5613 (Arelate)		Reate IX 4684 (Philippi)
Legion unknown 69 to 117 AD			Aquae Mattiaca XIII 7583 (For. Julii)	
	2	1	7	2
<u>117 to 193 AD:-</u>				
XXII Pr 117 to 193 AD			Mogontiacum XIII 6677 Aquae Mattiaca XIII 7577 (Batavus)	Arelate XII 682
Legion unknown			Mogontiacum XIII 7056	
	-	-	3	1
<u>193 to c. 300 AD:-</u>				
VIII Ag 193 to c.300 AD	Philippopolis 1939 238	Agedincum 2 XIII 2944 XIII 2947 Ambarri XIII 2506 (Sumelocenna) Lugdunum 5 XIII 1860 (Gaul) XIII 1889 1896 1897 1903 Treveri XIII 3983	Argentorate XIII 11608 Mogontiacum XIII 6881 Lauterburg XIII 6076 Osterburken XIII 6571	Beroea III 191 Dalmatia III 12749

(Cont.)

Germania Superior. Veteran Settlement (193 to
c.300 AD, cont.).

Table 14 (3)

	Returned to homes outside Gaul and Germany	Settled in Gaul	Settled in frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
XXII Pr 193 to c.300 AD		Agedincum XIII 2946 Dijon XIII 5486 Lugdunum 9 XIII 1830 1837 1838 1851 1863 XIII 1868 (Germania Superior) XIII 1877 XIII 1902 XIII 1907 (Gaul) Mediomatrici 2 XIII 4329 XIII 4331	Mogontiacum 8 XIII 6667 XIII 6740 (Thracian) XIII 6769 XIII 6985 (Taunensis) XIII 7213 (Thracian) XIII 7217 XIII 7218 1911 225 Castellum Mattiacorum 5 XIII 7261 7273 7290 XIII 7291 (2) (Gauls) Aquae Mattiacae XIII 7570b Bingium 2 1920 50 XXVII BRGK p.89, 124 Andernach XIII 7725 Benningen XIII 6458	Nemausus XII 3035
Legion unknown 193 to c.300 AD		Lugdunum XIII 1868 Treveri XIII 11350	Argentorate XIII 5983 Mogontiacum 2 XIII 7005 XIII 7055 Castellum Mattiacorum XIII 7269	
	1	24	26	3

The third century veteran recorded at Mogontiacum in AE 1941

110 was probably a legionary veteran. The Veterans of XXII Pr

who set up the dedication XIII 6732 had not necessarily settled at Mogontiacum; it may be a dedication of the Lambaesis type.

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in

Germania Superior

The evidence for the legions of Germania Superior for both recruitment and veteran settlement is generally very similar to that for Germania Inferior. The evidence for recruitment down to 69 AD (Table 13) is greater in bulk, and confirms that for Germania Inferior: the two main sources of recruits were again Italy and Narbonensis, the number from the latter increasing as the number from Italy dropped.¹ Spain and the Claudian municipia of Noricum supplied a few men towards the end of the Julio-Claudian period. In the Flavian period and under Trajan men from Italy and Narbonensis still form the main element, but the proportion from Spain and Noricum is somewhat higher, and men first appear from Germany, - four men, all from the veteran colony, Colonia Agrippina.

In the Julio-Claudian period, five men are known who returned to Italy. A veteran discharged by Tiberius who settled at Nemausus (XII 3179 = ILS 2267) may well have been a native of that place: he was certainly highly honoured by the colony. A veteran of IV Macedonica (origo Baeterrae) buried at Luceria may have taken part in a settlement there under Claudius or Nero.² The two veterans of legio XVI (origo Brixia) who were buried in Rome had probably been discharged there from the vexillation of the legion brought to the capital by Vitellius.³

Against these men must be placed the seven veterans who settled in the frontier zone, six of them in the near vicinity of their own stations. A considerable community soon grew up at Mogontiacum,

which had a good position on an important route into free Germany, a fact which had of course determined its choice as a legionary station. In this community the commercial element was important from the beginning, and the effective members were Roman citizens: a dedication to Claudius in 43 AD was set up by the cives Romani manticulari negotiatores (XIII 6797 = ILS 7076). To a rather earlier period dates the tombstone of a veteran of legio XVI, who is described as curator civium Romanorum Mogontiaci.⁴ This informal association of Roman citizens seems not to have received promotion to a higher status before the late third century. The cives Romani Mogontiaci are mentioned in inscriptions dated to 198 AD,⁵ to the reign of Severus Alexander⁶ and to 276 AD.⁷ The first appearance of a civitas is under Diocletian, (XIII 6727). The community consisted of a group of vici,⁸ and was governed by its own officers, including curatores,⁹ quaestores¹⁰ and actores,¹¹ in descending order of importance. The inhabitants of the vici described themselves collectively as vicani.¹²

But this community seems to have been quite separate from that which grew up in the immediate vicinity of the legionary camp itself. A column was dedicated to Jupiter in Nero's reign by the canabari, (XIII 11806 - 7 = ILS 9235). This column was set up not near the camp, but to the north-west of Mogontiacum, near the harbour.¹³ Bohn suggested¹⁴ that the canabari here were the inhabitants of the harbour area, mainly shippers and tradesmen. If this were so, then these canabari must have been distinct from another group, also calling themselves canabari, who are attested in the vicinity of the legionary camp to the south-west of Mogontiacum. Here (in the Zahlbach area) have

been found inscriptions referring to the canabae,¹⁵ and to canabari.¹⁶

These are military inscriptions, and there is little doubt that they refer to a community which grew up under the walls of the fortress, and which was quite distinct from the town of Mogontiacum. But this community seems to have remained quite small and unimportant. Although two veterans are known here in the Flavian period (XIII 6912; 6915), Mogontiacum, since it lay so near, probably attracted most of those who wished to settle in this region: one veteran has already been noted who rose to the dignity of curator. Mogontiacum did not then grow out of the legionary canabae. But by drawing camp-followers and veterans away from the immediate vicinity of the camp, it prevented the canabae from reaching any great development.

Under the Flavians and Trajan, fewer men settled outside the frontier zone. Two brothers are known who returned to Comum after service (V 5713). A veteran of VIII Augusta (origo Philippi) was one of those chosen by Vespasian to be deducted to his native town, Reate, as also probably was a veteran of XI Claudia attested there. Another veteran is known at Mirebeau, near Dijon, where vexillations of the legions of the province were stationed in the first century.¹⁷ This man may have served there.

The foundation of a colony by Vespasian at Aventicum was possibly accompanied by a settlement of veterans, since the colony bore the title Emerita, although there is no epigraphic trace of such settlement.¹⁸ No other colony was founded in Germania Superior, and thus veterans were free to settle where they chose. Seven men are known in the frontier zone, six of them in the canabae of their units, at Mogontiacum and

Vindonissa, the seventh at Aquae Mattiacae, at no great distance from Mogontiacum.¹⁹ An inscription of 79 AD (XIII 5195) mentions the vicani Vindonissenses: they were the inhabitants of the nearby town, not of the legionary canabae.²⁰ The latter is not mentioned in inscriptions, and no doubt disappeared, or was merged in the community of Vindonissa after legions ceased to be stationed there c. 100 AD.

After Trajan's reign Italians ceased to be recruited, and only two men from Narbonensis are known, both in the second century. The bulk of the recruits now came from Gaul and Raetia and, most numerous of all, the frontier zone of Germania Superior itself. In the third century the known recruits to XXII Primigenia include the son of a Praetorian veteran who had settled in the civitas Taunensium (XIII 7335 = ILS 7096. This Praetorian had probably first served in a German legion before being transferred to the Guard by Severus), and two sons of a member of the legion who settled at Bingium. Three recruits are known from Sumelocenna, a civitas just behind the frontier line which had developed from an imperial saltus.²¹ Men from these local sources, as in Germania Inferior, were reinforced in the third century by Thracians, and probably for the same reason, that with the advancing civilisation of the frontier region fewer men were prepared to undertake the disagreeable work of military service.

The largest number of veterans for whom evidence is available settled in the frontier zone, many at Argentorate and Mogontiacum. Others who settled on or near the frontier line had probably served there on detachment. Outside the frontier zone, veterans are again attested

at Lugdunum and in the near vicinity, at Agedincum and Ambarri. Most of these must have served at Lugdunum, or on detachment in Lugdunensis. The veterans mentioned in XIII 1860 and 1868 had served in the officia of the legate and procurator respectively. Similarly two veterans mentioned at Treveri had served in the officia of the governor and procurator respectively (of Belgica), (XIII 11350 and 3983). One Thracian is known who returned to Philippopolis after service.

There is some evidence to suggest that attempts were made to encourage veteran settlement in the frontier zone of this province, probably with the object of securing the veterans' sons as recruits. This evidence derives from an imaginary legal case discussed by Paulus in the Digest (21.2.11). The case concerns a man who bought land in Germania trans Renum and then found his property, partim distractas, partim veteranis in praemia adsignatas. Although the case as quoted by Paulus has an imaginary form (as is shown by the reference to the purchaser as Lucius Titius), the fact that the land was described as being disposed of in two different ways - hardly necessary for the mere purpose of illustration - suggests that he was using a recent or known case as his model. In any case the circumstances described must have been recognisable as possible and realistic. Thus it is clear that such requisition of land in a frontier zone for distribution to veterans must have been a reasonably common phenomenon in the early third century. Such requisition implies a definite policy whose further development will be discussed below.²² It was clearly not confined to Germania Superior.

Notes to Chapter Two: Germania Superior.

1. The only man known from any other source before 43 AD came from the early colony of Heraclea in Macedonia. He has been listed as a normal recruit, but it is not clear how he did in fact come to be recruited to legio XVI. He may have been transferred from another legion.
2. As suggested by Ritterling 1553.
2. Ritterling 1763, Cf. Tacitus Hist. 2.69 for Vitellius's promiscae missiones at this time: these men had served only 22 years each.
4. V 5747 = ILS 2465. This man was buried at Mediolanum, which was also his origo (his brother and father are known from V 5748). After serving as curator at Mogontiacum he seems to have returned to Mediolanum to end his days with his family. But it is also possible that he died at Mogontiacum, and that only then were his remains brought back to Mediolanum by or for his family.
5. XIII 7222 = ILS 7077, a q(uaestor), c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) M(ogontiaci), neg(otiator) Mog(ontiacensis), c(ivis) T(aunensis).
6. XIII 6769 = ILS 7078, a veteran allectus in ordinem c. R. Al(exandrianorum) Mog(ontiaci).
7. XIII 6733, a d(ecurio) c.R. Mog(ontiaci). (No doubt from the time of the constitutio Antoniniana at latest Mogontiacum was regarded as an autonomous community, hence the appearance of a decurion.).
8. XIII 6676 = ILS 2469, reading corrected in a note ad ILS 7081; XIII 6688 - 9 = ILS 7083 - 4; XIII 6723 = ILS 7082.

XIII 6776 = ILS 7087; XIII 11827 - 8; AE 1929 132.

9. V 5747 = ILS 2465; XIII 6676 = ILS 2469; XIII 7222 = ILS 7077.
10. XIII 6676 = ILS 2469; XIII 6775; XIII 7222 = ILS 7077.
11. XIII 6676 = ILS 2469; XIII 6775.
12. XIII 6722 = ILS 7081; probably also XIII 6786; 11828.
13. For a good plan cf. Mainzer Zeitschrift, 48/49 1953/4 p.73.
14. Germania X 1926 p.28.
15. XIII 6780. Cf. Ritterling 1339-40 for Domaszewski's reading.
The inscription dates to 255 AD, when Mogontiacum could hardly have been described as canabae (cf. note 7 above).
16. XIII 6730 = ILS 4615, a dedication for a primus pilus of XXII Primigenia.
17. Ritterling 1277, cf. JOAI VII 1904 BB 23ff.
18. The full title was colonia pia Flavia constans emerita Helvetiorum foederata (XIII 5089; 5093). Foederata is a relic of its earlier condition (cf. the independence of the military units of the Helvetii, Tacitus Hist. 1.67) and this may be true of some of its other titles: their number suggests an accumulation. Vespasian may have merely refounded an earlier veteran colony which already had the title emerita.
19. XIII 7583 (origo Forum Julii). His son died as a centuion of an auxiliary cohort, to which post he had probably been promoted from the ranks of a legion.
20. Cf. Bohn Germania X 1926 p.27.
21. Saltus in XIII 6365 = ILS 7100, cf. ILS 8855; civitas in XIII 6358 = ILS 7099; XIII 6384 = ILS 4608.
22. Cf. below pp. 360ff.

Note on Recruitment in Germany

Tables 11 and 13 are intended to list the sources of recruits which were drawn upon in normal circumstances, and the attempt has been made to exclude men transferred from other areas or recruited in emergencies or in abnormal conditions. Of the latter, one important group must be mentioned. These are listed here:-

Men known in III Augusta, from :- Andematunnum (VIII 16554); Augustodunum 2 (VIII 16550; 27850); Augustonemetum (VIII 16549); Autricum 2 (VIII 1876; 27852); Burdigala (VIII 2103); Gauls 3, Epillus (VIII 12241), Canteius (VIII 16546), Manduccus (VIII 16547).

A man known in IV Flavia, from Augustonemetum (III 15002).

A man known in XI Claudia, from Augustonemetum (XIII 5209).

When the origins of these men are compared with those of men recruited in normal circumstances in the same period (the mid-first century), no parallels can be found. Men from these sources are not known otherwise for at least a century. The most reasonable explanation is that they were recruited on such occasions during the civil wars as that recorded by Tacitus Hist. 2.57 (festinatis per Gallias dilectibus - when Vitellius was preparing to advance on Italy). With the redeployment of his forces by Vespasian they were transferred to the legions in which we know them. (For the men transferred to III Augusta, cf. R. Syme REA 38 1936 pp. 184ff).

Upper Illyricum (later Dalmatia). Recruitment
(to 69 AD).

Table 15 (1)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces Dalmatia	Military zone Castris	Elsewhere
XX to 9 AD	Brixia V 4365 Luca III 2911 Patavium V 2838 Ticinum XIII 8287 Trumplini 2 III 7452 V 4923 Veleia XIII 8286 Vercellae V 939 Fabia XIII 8288 Lemonia XIII 8288 Pollia 2 III 2030 V 948				
VII (Cl) 9 to c.56 AD	Aesis III 9742 Arretium 2 III 2071 III 8764 Augusta Praetoria Forni p.162 Augusta Taurinor. V 7161 Beneventum III 14932 Bononia III 14244/1 Brixia III 14946 Florentia 4 III 1814 8723 8732 9712 Forum Cornelii 2 III 2716 III 13931	Vienna III 14992	Dyrrhachium III 9741 Heraclea III 9734 Philippi 2 III 2717 III 14933 Salonae III 8760		Augusta Troas 2 III 2019 Betz (D) 81 Antioch by Daphne III 6120

(Cont.)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces Dalmatia	Military zone Castris	Elsewhere
VII(C1) 9 to c.56 AD (cont.)	Placentia III 8763 Pisaurum III 2014 Ticinum III 2913 Verona 3 III 2040 with 2041 and p. 1509 III 9939 III 13976 with p. 2328/154 Aniensis III 2733 Scaptia 2 III 8200 1904 172				
XI (C1) to 69 AD	Aq.Sta- tiellae 2 III 2833 III 14321/3 Arretium 2 III 2840 III 6418 Ateste 2 III 2835 (2) Augusta Praetoria III 2062 with 8747 Brixellum III 15000 Brixia III 14997/2 Comum III 14998 Cremona 4 III 6416 14997/1 15001 Betz (D) 144 Eporedia III 6413 Feltria III 15005	Forum Julii III 2839 Lucus Augusti III 13251 Vienna III 8740 Caesar- augusta III 6417 Seg (obriga?) III 9897	Heraclea III 14999 Pelagonia III 2017 Philippi III 2031 Macedonian XIII.2 p.6", 1020* Iuvavum III 14994 Aequum III 15004		Amasia 2 III 13263 (2) Laranda III 2818

(Cont.)

Upper Illyricum (later Dalmatia). Recruitment
 (to 69 AD cont.).

Table 15 (3)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces Dalmatia	Military zone Castris	Elsewhere
XI(C1) to 69 AD (cont.)	Florentia 6 III 1915 with p.2328/121 III 2837 14321/6 14991 XI 1598 Betz (D) 118 Histria V 314 Novaria III 14321/4 Parentium V 8197 Parma 1920 63 Patavium III 9892 Placentia III 14997 Pollentia 1925 131 Ravenna 1903 376 Regium Lepidi III 9885 Tarvisium III 9903 Verona 2 III 15005/1 V 3375 Falerna III 9710 Stellatina III 8758 Velina III 9709				
Legion unknown to 69 AD	Ateste III 8766 Bononia 2 III 14239/5 Betz (D) 171 Cremona III 8434	Italica III 8436	Heraclea III 12903		

(Cont.)

<u>Upper Illyricum (later Dalmatia). Recruitment to 69 AD cont.)</u>		Table 15 (4)			
Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces Dalmatia	Military zone Castris	Elsewhere	
Legion unknown to 69 AD (cont.)	Patavium III 8439 Camilia III 13977				
	78	7	12	-	
<u>70 to 86 AD:-</u>					
IV Fl 70 to 86 AD	Brixia 1908 220 Pola IIIt X.1 75 Tergeste IIIt X.2 253 Ticinum III 4593	Vienna III 4245 Lugdunum III 14995	Salonae III 2021 with p.2135		
	4	2	1	-	

Some of the men listed under IV Flavia may have joined the legion at the time of its formation, before it reached Dalmatia.

V 2164 is a bad copy of III 2062 (Table 15 (2) above, XI (C1) under Augusta Praetoria) wrongly attributed to Altinum.

Upper Illyricum (later Dalmatia). Veteran Settlement Table 16 (1)
to 69 AD).

	Returned to homes outside Dalmatia	Settled in Dalmatia	Settled in military zone	Settled elsewhere
XX to 9 AD	Brixia V 4365 Patavium V 2838 Trumplinus V 4923	Salonae III 2030 (Pollia) Iader III 2911 (Luca)		
VII (C1) 9 to c.56 AD	Augusta Taurinorum V 7161 Iconium 2 IGR III 1476 (2)	Aequum 3 III 2733 (Aniensis) III 9761 III 14946 (Brixia) Asseria III 9939 (Verona) Iader III 2913 (Ticinum) Salonae 12 III 2014 (Pisaurum) III 2019 (Aug.Troas) III 2022 III 2033 III 2041 (Verona) III 2048 (Sebaste) III 8732 (Florentia) III 8764 (Arretium) III 14244/1 (Bononia) Forni p.150 (Phazemon) P-W XII 1618 lines 23-4 (2) Tragurium III 9712 (Florentia)	Delminium III 2710 (Pessinus) Narona 8 III 1813 III 1814 (Florentia) III 1818 (2) (Pessinus) III 8487 (Mylias) III 8488 (Mylias) Betz (D) 68 (Pessinus) Betz (D) 59 (Alorus)	

(Cont.)

Upper Illyricum (later Dalmatia). Veteran Settlement. Table 16 (2)
(to 69 AD cont.)

	Returned to homes outside Dalmatia	Settled in Dalmatia	Settled in military zone	Settled elsewhere
XI(C1) to 69 AD	Florentia XI 1598 Histria V 314 Verona V 3375	Iader III 2918 Novae 2 III 1914 III 1915 (Florentia) Salonae 4 III 2017 III 2056 (Pelagonia) III 8578 (Stellatina) III 8579 Scardona 2 III 2818 (Laranda) III 9885 (Reg. Lepidi) Tragurium 2 III 9709 (Velina) III 9710 (Falerna)	Burnum 3 III 2839 (For. Julii) III 2840 (Arretium) III 6418 (Arretium) Narona III 1811 Poetovio 1920 63 (Parma)	
Legion unknown to 69 AD		Salonae 4 III 2060 III 8766 (Ateste) III 8772 III 12903 (Heraclea)	Delminium III 13977 (Camilia) Narona III 1815	
	9	35	16	-
<u>70 to 86 AD:-</u>				
IV F1 70 to 86 AD		Salonae III 2004		
	-	1	-	-

Two veterans known at Iader (III 2912; 2915) may have served in a Dalmation legion.

(Cont.)

Table 16 (2a).

XI21 is a bad copy of III 1424¹ (Table 16, VII Cl. Salonae)
incorrectly attributed to Ravenna.

~~(Cont.)~~

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in

Upper Illyricum, later Dalmatia.

The area which became the province of Dalmatia lost its legionary garrison before the end of the Flavian period. It is thus interesting in showing to what extent in the first century veterans preferred to remain in the provinces in which they had served, and, particularly, near their stations.

The bulk of the recruits came from Italy, with a few from Narbonensis and Spain, but in a much smaller proportion from the latter areas than in the legions of the western provinces in the same period. The main sources drawn upon when the number of Italians began to decrease were nearer to hand. Men are known from Macedonia (more particularly the colonies of the province) and from the nearer Roman communities of Iuvavum, Aequm^u and Salonae.¹

A few veterans are known who returned to Italy,² but a larger number are attested in Dalmatia. However, some of the men listed as veterans in Table 16 may have been not true veterans but men who, having served their full term, had been retained to serve sub vexillo. This is suggested in some cases when the length of service is compared with the age at death. Thus the inscription Betz (D) 68 is concerned with a man with 29 years' service in 50 years; III 2014, 33 years service in 53; III 2017, 25 years in 45; III 2710, 25 years in 44. A missicius buried Salonae, III 2037 = 8579 = ILS 2260, died at 35. Unless these men had been recruited at an abnormally^{early} age, they must have been still serving when they died. However, these inscriptions were found at places where veteran settlement is otherwise attested, so that the

inclusion of these men in the table will not be grossly misleading.

The largest number of veterans is attested at Salonae, or in the near vicinity - an area rich in inscriptions. Some of these men must have served in the officium of the governor, but many others were probably men originating elsewhere who were attracted to Salonae after serving in the various garrison stations in the province. None is known to have been a native of Salonae who returned home. Asseria, Iader, Scardona and Tragurium also attracted veterans, but they may have been mainly men who served with legionary detachments at those places.³ Such a detachment (probably a vexillum veteranorum⁴) was stationed at Naronia during the reign of Augustus. A recently-found inscription confirms Ritterling's suggestion that the colony of Naronia was founded by Tiberius.⁵ The inscription (AE 1950 44) reads:- divo Augusto et Ti. Caesari Aug.f.Aug. sacrum veterani pagi Scunastic. quibus colonia Naronit. agros dedit. It must have been erected early in the reign of Tiberius, since he is not described as divi.Aug.f. Apparently what happened here was that veterans who had settled near their station at Naronia formed a community which was known as the pagus Scunasticus (or possibly Scunasticorum). Later the area fell within the territory assigned to the new colony; the latter was presumably founded after the post ceased to be garrisoned. The colony then granted lands to the veterans already settled on its territory. They may have been granted new allotments, or they may merely have been confirmed in their title to the land they already occupied.

According to Pliny, Claudius settled veterans at a place in Dalmatia

called Siculi.⁶ This was situated near both Salonae and Tragurium, and it is probably to be identified with the modern Biač, which lies between the two. Inscriptions found here mention veterans, some of whom may have taken part in this settlement.⁷ A dedication from Salonae to a centurion who rose to be primus pilus and later praefectus castrorum of V Macedonica was set up by certain veterans who had served under him and who were discharged under Caligula or early in the reign of Claudius.⁸ It is unlikely that these men had themselves served in V Macedonica. Most probably they had served under him in a Dalmatian legion when he was an ordinary centurion, at an earlier stage in his career. These veterans may also have taken part in the settlement recorded by Pliny.

A colony was founded by Claudius at Aequum.⁹ But an inscription (III 2733) suggests that this was not the first settlement of veterans which had taken place there. This reads:- Sex. Ju/lius -.f.]
Ani. Silva/nus.....] summus c/urator] suffragio [veteranorum]
leg. VIII CPF Aed/ilis ...?ab]ordine primus/[?factus ...] IIIIvir
ID Pont [...etc. Apparently a number of veterans from legio VII stationed at nearby Delminium, had settled here over the years and had grouped themselves into an informal organisation in which this man was the last (or one of the last) to hold the office of summus curator (a title typical for a community ranking below a city or civitas). The legion left Delminium very soon after 42 AD.¹⁰ Shortly afterwards the colony of Aequum was founded, and Julius Silvanus was the first holder of one of its magistracies (apparently the aedilate). Two other veterans known here may have taken part in the foundation of the colony

(III 9761; 14946).

A few men are attested in the immediate vicinity of the headquarters stations of the two legions, three at Burnum and at least one at Delminium. One veteran settled at the headquarters of VIII Augusta, Poetovio in Pannonia: he may well have served there at some time, on detachment. But the legionary stations seem to have been less attractive than the nearby communities of Aequum and Salonae, and Burnum and Delminium soon sank in importance after the legions had left.

It seems clear that in Dalmatia settlement took place largely on the initiative of the veterans themselves. They apparently settled in sufficient numbers at Naronae and Aequum to induce the imperial government to found colonies at those places, while Claudius's official settlement at Siculi seems to have been merely an attempt to regulate the settlements taking place in the region of Salonae. For the men settled at Siculi were probably granted land there; earlier veterans had no doubt mainly drifted into Salonae itself. The evidence from Dalmatia generally does not support any view that veteran settlement was employed as an instrument of a planned Romanisation of the province.

Notes to Chapter Two: Upper Illyricum (later Dalmatia).

1. In the early part of Augustus's reign legio VII was stationed in Macedonia and recruited a considerable number of men from Asia Minor (cf Table 21 below) who appear in inscriptions found in Dalmatia: they had travelled with the legion from Macedonia to Dalmatia in (probably) c. 9 AD (cf. Ritterling 1236). There is no evidence that the legions in Dalmatia normally relied on obtaining recruits from this source, as was postulated by Mommsen (Hermes XIX p.7 = Ges. Schr. VI p.26), cf. Ritterling 1615-6 and Forni p.80. The few men from Asia Minor listed in Table 15 were probably recruited in an emergency, cf. further p.320 below.
2. An inscription from Uconium (IGR III 1476 = AE 1903 74) records two early veterans of legio VII. One of these is claimed as a Thracian by Forni (p.200) on the basis of his name, P. Mestrius P.f. This is unnecessary, and Forni's date is certainly too late. This man and his companion M. Lollius M.f. probably originated in Uconium and were recruited to legio VII when it was stationed in Macedonia. They then moved with the legion to Dalmatia and returned home after service. M. Lollius may well have derived his name from M. Lollius the consul of 21 BC who operated in Thrace in 16 BC (Dio 54.20) probably with legio VII as part of his force, cf. Ritterling 1229-30. (Two M. Lollii from Ancyra served in Egyptian legions in this period, III 6627 = ILS 2483).
3. Cf. Ritterling 1618-9

4. In addition to Betz (D) 68, III 8487 records a man with 33 years' service who was probably still serving when he died.
5. Ritterling 1243-4. His view was based on the absence of Augusta from the titles of the colony in AE 1912 45.
6. Pliny HN 3.141:- Siculi in quem locum divus Claudius veteranos misit.
7. III 9709; 9710; 9712.
8. III 2028 = 8753.
9. Colonia Claudia Aequum, III 1323; 9895 = 6415; 15004.
10. Of the inscriptions of the legion found there, only one gives the legion the titles Claudia pia fidelis which it received in 42 AD (III 2715).

Lower Illyricum (later Pannonia). Recruitment (to 69 AD).

Table 17(1)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces Pannonia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XIII Gm to c9AD	Ariminum III 8438				
IX Hisp c 19 BC to 43 AD	Aug Taur V 7495 Berua V 947 Bononia Pais 180 Comum V 5218 For Fulvii2 V 7443 Forni p. 160 Mediolanum V 5818 Parentium IIIt. X2 252 Verona V 911	Vienna Calderini p. 195, n.4	Heraclea VII 183		
VIII Ag to 45 AD	Altinum 1948 23 Aquileia Calderini p. 194, n.4 Bergomum Pais 1164-5 Cremona 2 III 10878 III 10879 Fanum Fortunae 1919 79 Mediolanum V 5827 Mutina Calderini p. 218, note Sabinus V 4894 Verona 2 III 4188 III 5220 Aniensis V 902 Camilia Calderini p.218, note		Pelagonia III 7325		

(Cont.)

Lower Illyricum (later Pannonia). Recruitment
 (to 69 AD cont.)

Table 17(2)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces Pannonia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
VIII Ag to 45 AD (cont.)	Pollia 2 III 4858 (2) Votunia 2 V 936/7(2)				
XV Apol to 62 AD	Aequiculi III 14358/14 Ateste V 2476 Augusta Bagienn. 2 III 13484 Pais 977 Cremona 3 III 11229 13485 14358/15a Faventia 2 III 11214 1929 204 Hasta III 4455 Mediolanum 2 V 5817 Arch.Ert. 1943 p.80, 3 Mutina Pais 1161 Patavium Betz 267 Tarquinii III 3845 Tarvisium V 2115 Tergeste 3 V 522 V 540 Betz 308 Verona 4 V 3357 V 3373 1929 200 Betz 266 Vicetia 2 1907 177 Betz 313	Arelate 2 III 4464 14358/14 Narbo III 3847 Vienna V 486	Philippi 2 III 5636 Betz 315 Thessalo- nica III 13483 Iuvavum III 4461 Lauriacum III 5680		

(cont.)

Lower Illyricum (later Pannonia). Recruitment
(to 69 AD cont.).

Table 17(4)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces Pannonia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XIII Gm 45 to 69 AD (cont.)	Regium Lepidii III 14355/2 Tergeste V 540				
	83	5	10	-	-
<u>Pannonia. 69 to 117 AD:-</u>					
XIII Gm 69 to c100 AD	Carsulae III 7797	Vienna 1929 195			Gaul Mogetius 1929 194
XV Apol 71 to c 114 AD	Bononia 1954 119 Opitergium 2 1929 203 Betz 297 Patavium III 11220 Oufentina III 11123 Publilia III 4477a	Dinia III 13481 Vienna 1929 213 Lugdunum 1929 202	Aprus 1929 211 Iader Betz 375 Virunum 2 III 4484 1929 222 Savaria 4 III 4473 129 212 Betz 292 Betz 299 Sirmium 3 III 4491 14358/21a Betz 274	Carnuntum 1934 266 Castris III 11218	Agrippina 4 III 4456 III 4475 III 4479 1929 210
I Adj c 86 to c 100 AD			Nicopolis in Epirus 1914 101		
II Adj c 86 to 117 Ad	Aquileia V 915 Arretium III 14349/1 Comum 1933 31 Praeneste 1937 181		Celeia 1936 163 Emona III 3569		

(Cont.)

Pannonia. Recruitment (69 to 117 AD cont.).

Table 17 (5)

	Italy	Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces Pannonia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
II Adj c 86 to 117 AD (cont.)	Vercellae 3 III 3567 14349/9 VI 37283 Vicetia III 3549 nat. Italus III 14349				
XIV Gem 92 to 117 AD	Brixia Betz 206 Camunnus Betz 189 Firmum Picenum 1929 197 Hasta V 7561 Mediolanum 1934 270 Verona Betz 212	Alba 1929 198 Avennio Betz 197 Lucus Augusti 1929 196 Tolosa Betz 207			Elusa in Aquitania Betz 192
	22	8	14	2	6

Pannonia Superior. Recruitment (117 to 193 AD).

Table 17(6)

	Italy Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces	Pannonia Superior	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
X Gem 117 to 193 AD		Solva 2 III 5486 III 5510 Illyrian Pusinnio III 8656	Siscia VIII 9761 with p.2046 nat.Pann. 1941 166		Lindum VIII 21669
XIV Gem 117 to 193 AD		Salonae III 2015 Solva III 5497	Savaria 2 III 10936 III 14066 Siscia III 11029		
I Adj 117 to c 215 AD			Savaria XIII 6646 nation.Pan. VIII 9376	Arrabona 2 III 4375(2) Mogetiana III 15188/4	
Legion unknown			Poetovio VIII 9765		

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193 to c.300 AD:-

X Gem 193 to c 300 AD	Aquileia VI 37207		Municipium Latobic- orum 2 III 10792 1938 153 Poetovio III 4114	Vindobona III 4571 Carnuntum VI 3625	Thracian Dolens III 8745
XIV Gem 193 to c300 AD		Nicopolis III 4458	Savaria 2 III 4181 III 4184 Pannonius VI 2758	Carnuntum 4 III 4480(2) 1934 265 JOAI 1948 BB 257,11 Norican frontier 1938 88	Thracian Zenas 1934 78

(Cont.)

Pannonia Superior. Recruitment (193 to c. 300 AD cont.) Table 17(7)

	Italy Narbonensis Spain	Danube provinces	Pannonia Superior	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XIV Gem 193 to c 300 AD (cont.)				son of <u>mil</u> XIV Gem III 4459 son of a veteran III 4184	
	1	1	6	9	2

Pannonia Inferior. Recruitment (117 to 193 AD).

Table 17(8)

	Italy Narbonens Spain	Danube provinces	Pannonia Inferior & Superior	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
II Adj 117 to 193 AD	Luceria III 3544	Pelagonia III 3530 Porolissum III 3556 Solva III 5430 Thessalo- nica 2 III 3528 III 10500 Illyrian Atta III 4472	Savaria 2 III 3570 VI 3336 (FRUM)	Aquincum 1953 5 Nursa 2 III 3560 III 13374 Sirmium 3 III 3241 (FRUM) III 3320 III 3563 sons of <u>mil</u> II Adj 2 III 3398 III 3543	

(excluding
Frumentarii) 1 6 1 7 -

Certain legionary veterans (probably of II Adjutrix) discharged in 156 AD erected a dedication at Aquincum (AE 1904 95) in which they describe themselves as cives B[oii] (R. Egger's reading, improving on the earlier reading cives I[asii], cf. AE 1952 9). Both Boii and Iasii were peoples of Pannonia Superior.

In AE 1953 5 (= III 10572, Aquincum) read, lines 3-4, - t(itulum)
f(ecit) G. Anius Speratus f(ilio) su[o] s(ibi) vivo, etc.

Pannonia Inferior. Recruitment (193 to c.300 AD).

Table 17(9)

	Italy Narbonens Spain	Danube provinces	Pannonia Inferior & Superior	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
II Adj 193 to c300AD)		Bigeste III 12799 Solva III 5417 Illyrians 7 Atta (2) 1910 127 Arch.Ert. 1929 p.51 Bato III 3558 Dasianus III 3540 Dasius III 10511 Fusinnio III 3489 Tatulo III 3553	n.Pann. X 1775	Aquincum 11 III 3349 3395 10507 10521 10536 10569 (2) 1941 10(2) 1947 134 Arch.Ert. 1928 p.214 Bassiana III 3336 Intercisa 2 III 3334 1910 131 Mursa 1937 215 Sopiana III 3308 sons of <u>mil</u> II Adj 2 III 3538 1947 29 sons of <u>mil</u> I Adj 3 III 4311(2) III 10317 sons of auxiliaries 3 III 3393 III 10315 1910 138	Thracians 11 Aulupor III 10504 Bitus (2) III 15159 with 15160 Arch.Ert. 1929 p.51 Dipsala Arch.Ert. 1929 p.51 Droles III 10469 Eptacentus III 10411 Mucaris III 3558 Mucianus (3) III 15171 VI 3562 Arch.Ert. 1929 p.51 Sita III 3435
I Adj c 215 to c 300 AD		Salonae III 8752	Scarbantia III 4231 Pannonia 1909 47 Pannonia Inferior V 892	Brigetio 4 III 10965 III 11026 III 11037 III 11039 Sirmium VI 37213 sons of <u>mil</u> I Adj 2 III 3660 III 11021	

(Cont.)

Pannonia Inferior. Recruitment (193 to c. 300 AD cont.). Table 17(10)

	Italy Narbonens Spain	Danube provinces	Pannonia Inferior & Superior	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
I Adj c215 to c300 AD (cont.)				sons of auxiliaries 4 III 4278 III 10299 III 10316(2)	
	-	10	4	35	11

Lower Illyricum (later Pannonia). Veteran Settlement (to 69 AD).

Table 18(1)

	Returned to homes outside Pannonia	Settled in Pannonia	Settled in frontier zone and canabae	Settled elsewhere	
IX Hisp c 19 BC to 43 AD	Comum V 5218 Forum Fulvii V 7443 Mediolanum V 5818			Aquileia Calderini p.195, n.4 (Vienna)	
VIII Ag to 45 AD	Altinum 1948 23 Mediolanum V 5827	Celeia III 5220 (Verona) Emona III 3845	Poetovio III 10878 (Cremona)	Aquileia V 902 (Aniensis) V 936/7 (2) (Voturia) Pais 1164-5 (Bergomum) ILS 2254 Altinum V 2162 (Voltinia) Curictae in Dalmatia III 3127	5
XV Apol to 62 AD	Ateste V 2476 Mediolanum V 5817 Verona V 3357	Scarbantia 6 III 4229 (Pupinia) III 4235 (Lemonia) III 4247 (Aniensis) 1914 5-7 (3) (all Pollia) Savaria 5 III 4171 III 4188 (Verona) III 10921 Arch.Ert. 1943 p.80,3 (Mediolanum) Arch.Ert. 1943 p.80,4	Emona 3 III 3845 (Tarquini) III 3847 (Narbo) III 3848 Carnuntum 5 III 4455 (Hasta) III 11094 (Publilia) III 11214 (Faventia) III 11229 (Cremona) 1929 221 (Lemonia)	Aquileia 6 V 891 (Publilia) V 917 (Fabia) Pais 182 (Camilia) Pais 1161 (Mutina) AEM 1885 p.248,1 (Pollia) Calderini p.201, n.3 Capodistria V 486 (Vienna)	6

(Cont.)

Lower Illyricum (later Pannonia). Veteran Settlement (to 69 AD cont.).

Table 18(2)

	Returned to homes outside Pannonia	Settled in Pannonia	Settled in frontier zone and canabae	Settled elsewhere
XV Apol to 62 AD (cont.)			Carnuntum, originally deducted to Savaria 6 III 4461 (Iuvavum) 1929 199 1929 200 (Verona) 1929 204 (Faventia) 1934 269 Betz 348	
XIII Gm 45 to 69 Ad	Altinum V 2158 Hasta 1952 152			Aquileia V 850 Macedonia OIK 57 (Verona)
	10	13	15	17
<u>Pannonia 69 to 117 AD:</u>				
XIII Gm 69 to c 100 AD	Mediolanum V 5586		Poetovio III 10877 (Industria)	
XV Apol 71 to c 114 AD	Heliopolis ILS 9200		Carnuntum III 4475 (Agrippina) III 4485 III 11123 (Oufentina) III 11210 III 11220 (Patavium) III 14358/21 1929 209 (Cyrrihus) 1929 219 1929 222 (Virunum) Betz 346	10 Aquileia 1952 153 (Lemonia)

(Cont.)

Pannonia. Veteran Settlement (69 to 117 AD cont.)

Table 18(3)

	Returned to homes outside Pannonia	Settled in Pannonia	Settled in frontier zone and canabae	Settled elsewhere
I Adj c 86 to c 100 AD	Cremona V 4123			Aquileia V 888
II Adj c 86 to 117 AD		Poetovio III 4057 (Dertona)	Ulcisia Castra III 3642 (Agrippina)	Ravenna XI 23 (Aequum)
XIV Gem 92 to 117 AD	Comum V 5270		Carnuntum III 11209 (Ticinum) III 11223 (Lucus Augusti)	2 Salonae III 2066 (Iguvium) Tuscanae XI 2956
X Gem c 104 to 117 AD			Aquincum III 15162 (Cambodunum)	
XXX VV c 100 to c 122 AD				Salonae III 2064
	4	1	15	6

Pannonia Superior. Veteran Settlement (117 to 193 AD). Table 18(4)

	Returned to homes outside Pannonia	Settled in Pannonia	Settled in frontier zone and canabae	Settled elsewhere
X Gem 117 to 193 AD	Sicca VIII 15874 (ex III Aug)		Carnuntum 1929 223 (Trajana)	Salonae 1906 135 Tragurium III 2677
XIV Gem 117 to 193 AD	Hasta V 7561	Savaria III 4187 Scarbantia Betz 219	Carnuntum Betz 225	
I Adj 117 to c 215 AD	Cirta VIII 19694 Theveste ILAlg 3548 (both ex III Aug)	Savaria 2 III 4148 III 4191 Praetorium Latobicorum III 3902	Brigetio 5 III 4297 III 4352 III 10960 with 1953 2 III 11030 (Iconium) 1944 111 Carnuntum 2 III 4489 III 11222	
Legion unknown			Arrabona III 14355/6	

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193 to c.300 AD:-

X Gem 193 to c 300 AD		Savaria III 10920 (Antioch) Scarbantia 2 III 4232 III 4553	Vindobona 4 III 4574 III 6485a III 11305 III 14360 Carnuntum 1951 65	
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(Cont.)

Pannonia Superior. Veteran Settlement (193 to c.300 AD cont.)

Table 18(5)

	Returned to homes outside Pannonia	Settled in Pannonia	Settled in frontier zone and canabae	Settled elsewhere
XIV Gem 193 to c 300 AD		Savaria III 4173 Scarbantia III 4550 Siscia III 3970	Carnuntum III 89 III 4441 4449 4450 III 4458 (Nicopolis) III 11135 14076 14087 14358/13. 15191 1907 176	11 Hierapolis in Phrygia IGR IV 837
	-	6	16	1

Pannonia Inferior. Veteran Settlement (117 to 193 AD). Table 18(6)

	Returned to homes outside Pannonia	Settled in Pannonia	Settled in frontier zone and canabae	Settled elsewhere
II Adj 117 to 193 AD	Cyrene SEG IX 235		Aquincum III 3398 3543 3554 3559 III 3560 (Mursa) III 3569 (Emona) III 10500 (Thessalonica) III 10522 III 15165 Intercisa 1906 108 (Apamea) Lussonium III 3320 (Sirmium) Ulcisia Castr 1939 8	9
Africans trans- ferred from III Aug to II Adj Danube Wars c 165- 180 AD	Lamiggiga 1938 44 Sicca VIII 27512 Simitthu VIII 14605 Thignica VIII 25894 Thuburnica VIII 25740 Thubursicum Numidarum ILAlg 566 Lambaesis VIII 3066 (African)		Aquincum III 3680 (Sufetula) III 10515 (Theveste)	2
	8 (7 Africans)	-	14 (2 Africans)	-

Pannonia Inferior. Veteran Settlement (193 to c. 300 AD). Table 18(7)

	Returned to homes outside Pannonia	Settled in Pannonia	Settled in frontier zone and canabae	Settled elsewhere
II Adj 193 to c 300 AD			Aquincum 29 (list below)	
			Intercisa 4 III 10320 1910 144 (2) 1910 150 Lussonium III 3321	
			Mursa 2 III 3283 III 10270	
			Sopiana 2 III 3301 (Emesa) III 3314	
			Ulcisia Castra 5 III 10580 III 10594 III 11076 (Hierapolis) III 14354/1 1947 29	
I Adj c 215 to c 300 AD	Salonae III 8752	Scarbantia III 4231 (Scarbantia)	Brigetio 14 (list below)	Aquileia V 894 (late 3rd)
			Intercisa III 10317	
	1	1	58	1

A veteran of either I or II Adjutrix of uncertain date is known at Prusa in Bithynia (III 343).

Pannonia Inferior. Veteran Settlement (193 to c.300 AD cont.). Table 18(8)

The 29 men of II Adjutrix settled at Aquincum in the third century are known from these inscriptions:-

III 3344; 3349 (Aquincum); 3376; 3435 (Thracian); 3453; 3462; 3474;
 3484; 3526; 3527;^{3529;} 3533; 3538; 3540 (Illyrian); 3679; 10419 (African);
 10420; 10427; 10474; 10504 (Thracian); 10511 (Illyrian); 10569; 13369;
 13373; 14348; 14350; 15161; AE 1939 11; 1952 2.

These 7 veterans known at Aquincum had probably also served in II adjutrix:-

III 3509; 3536; 3551; 3564; 14349/10; 15164; AE 1937 206.

The 14 men of I Adjutrix settled at Brigetio in the third century are known from these inscriptions:-

III 4275; 4298; 4311; 4312 with p.1757; 4313; 4318; 11002; 11010;
 11021; 11024; 11027; 11035; 14355/23; AE 1947 33.

These 2 veterans known at Brigetio had probably also served in I Adjutrix:-

III 10982; 10985.

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in Pannonia.

As with Dalmatia, so with Pannonia, when the number of Italian recruits decreased the main source of replacements was the Danube provinces, particularly, in the pre-Flavian period, the colonies of Macedonia and, towards the end of that period, the municipia of Noricum.¹

A considerable number of Italians returned to their homes after service. Of the total number of inscriptions found in Italy which refer to legionary veterans who had returned from the various provinces, more refer to the legions of Pannonia than to those of any other province.² The most probable reason for this is the proximity of the Pannonian stations to Italy, which made the journey home comparatively easy - much easier than from, for example, Germany or Moesia. But even so, not all veterans preferred to return home, however short the distance. A considerable number are attested at the important commercial centre of Aquileia. It is probable that for a period under Augustus certain legions or legionary detachments were stationed in the immediate vicinity of Aquileia: Ritterling suggested that vexilla veteranorum of VIII Augusta and of XV Apollinaris, and the whole of IX Hispana, were stationed there.³ This would explain the presence of veterans of these legions in Aquileia. They would be either men who were still serving in the vexilla, or men who had settled at the station where they had served. But although some of the men referred to in the inscriptions may have been still serving,⁴ this was not necessarily true of all, especially since later veterans of the Pannonian legions

are attested at Aquileia, after it ceased to have a legionary garrison.⁵ Some of the veterans must have been men who had served in Pannonia itself (VIII Augusta was followed by XIII Gemina at Poetovio; XV Apollinaris was stationed first at Emona,⁶ and then from about the beginning of Tiberius's reign at Carnuntum; IX Hispana was probably stationed at Siscia before leaving for Britain in 43 AD⁷). None of the veterans known at Aquileia in the pre-Flavian period is attested as a native of that place.⁸ Many are known to have originated in other parts of Italy, some coming from quite close to Aquileia, but they preferred to stay in Aquileia. Possibly they were attracted by its vigorous industrial and commercial life.

However most veterans of the total known settled in Pannonia itself. One veteran of VIII Augusta is attested at the legion's station, Poetovio, one at Emona and one at Celeia. The latter had probably served with the vexillum veteranorum of VIII Augusta known to have been stationed at Virunum (III.4858=ILS 2466). The three veterans of XV Apollinaris (and the one of VIII Augusta just mentioned) known at Emona may have taken part in the foundation of the colony there in Tiberius's reign.⁹ Six veterans of XV Apollinaris appear at Scarbantia, where Ritterling suggested they had been settled by Tiberius.¹⁰ But it is possible that this was a post garrisoned by a detachment of the legion, and that the men known there had settled where they had served.^{10a}

As soon as XV Apollinaris reached Carnuntum veterans began to settle there in some strength. Six of the veterans known there appear with tribe Claudia. The origines of three of these men

are known: Iuvavum, III 4461; Verona, AE 1929 200; Faventia, AE 1929 204. The tribe is not compatible with the last two of these origines, while the man from Iuvavum is described as a ded [ucticius]. There is no evidence (or probability) that a deduction of veterans took place at Carnuntum. As has been shown by A. Alföldi, Jnr.,¹¹ what happened was that these men were first deducted to the Claudian colony of Savaria, where they acquired the tribe Claudia, but later decided to return to their legion's station. A number of similar inscriptions from Savaria also show men enrolled in that tribe (III 4188, origo Verona; *Archaeologiai Ertesitö* IV 1943 p.80 no.4) or described as deducticii (III 4189=10921; *Archaeologiai Ertesitö*, ibid, no.3, origo Mediolanum). There is no evidence that Savaria was ever a legionary station, or that any settlement of veterans had previously taken place there. This may perhaps explain why some of the veterans sent there did not find it congenial, and returned to the more familiar military surroundings of Carnuntum. Alföldi points to the apposite parallel of Tacitus's reference to veterans settled in Italy in the same period who drifted back to the provinces in which they had served.¹²

Under the Flavians and Trajan, while Italy with Narbonensis still supplied most of the recruits, there was an increase in the proportion coming from the Roman communities of the Danube provinces, in particular of men from Pannonia itself. The colonies of Emona,¹³ Sirmium and Savaria are represented, and two men came from Carnuntum, one of them the son of a legionary (III 11218=ILS 2359).¹⁴

Two Flavian colonies were founded in Pannonia, at Siscia^{14a} and Sirmium.¹⁵ The first had probably been the station of IX Hispana; it was certainly garrisoned in the early principate.¹⁶ There is no clear evidence of legionary veteran settlement there. An inscription of Flavian date (III 3971) mentions a veteran from the Ravenna fleet, and it is possible that Siscia received some of the veterans of that fleet who, as is known from a diploma (XVI 14=ILS 1991), were settled in Pannonia in 71 AD.¹⁷ But legionary settlement is not excluded. Sirmium was also garrisoned under Augustus (Dio 55.29), but evidence for legionary veteran settlement is similarly lacking.¹⁸

The Trajanic colony at Poetovio was certainly settled with legionary veterans. The history of the site after the removal of XIII Gemina from thence to Vindobona, probably under Domitian, is uncertain. It may have been garrisoned by I Adjutrix for a time, before the latter's departure to take part in Trajan's Dacian wars;¹⁹ it ceased to be garrisoned then, and the colony was founded shortly afterwards.^{19a} Veterans of II Adjutrix took part, as is shown by III 4057=ILS 2462:-
C.Cornelius C.f.Pom. Dert(ona) Verus vet.leg.II Adj. deduct(us) c(oloniam)
U(lpian) T(rajanam) P(oetovionem) mission(e) agr(aria) II milit(avit)
bf.cos. annor. L h.s.e., etc. The words mission. agr. II have been taken to mean missione agraria secunda, which would imply that this man took part, not in the first settlement of the colony, but in a later reinforcement.

However, this is uncertain. Since he was discharged as a bf.cos., and hence ranked as a duplarius, he may have received double the praemia of the ordinary caligatus.²⁰ The abbreviation may thus represent missione agraria duplicate. What is at least clear is that this man received an allotment of land. Further inscriptions from Poetovio of about the same period refer to two veterans of I Adjutrix who received a missio nummaria (AE 1934 226; ILS 9085). They are unlikely to have taken part in the original settlement, since all the veterans settled then probably received land. Further they are not described as deducticii. They were more probably men discharged while the legion was in Dacia, c.107-114 AD (cf. Ritterling 1390f) who, having received their praemia in cash, decided of their own accord to settle at Poetovio. Their choice of Poetovio will be explained if, as was suggested above, I Adjutrix was stationed there immediately before the founding of the colony.²¹

Settlement continued at Carnuntum, where a considerable community had grown up near the legionary station. Many more veterans settled here than anywhere else. Only three men are known who returned to Italy in the Flavian and Trajanic periods, and two who settled at Aquileia. Of the latter one may possibly have been a returned native.²² The other was a former Praetorian, probably from Bononia (tribe Lemonia) who had served with XV Apollinaris as an armidoctor (AE 1952 153). A man from Heliopolis who was recruited to XV Apollinaris while it served in the Parthian and Jewish wars of 62 to 70 AD,²³ and who travelled with the legion to Pannonia, finally retired with the rank of aquilifer to his home (ILS 9200). A veteran of II Adjutrix who

settled at Ravenna had probably served in the fleet stationed there before joining that legion, which will explain his choice. Two men known at Salonae had probably served there in the officium of the governor of Dalmatia which, after Dalmatia ceased to have a legionary garrison, was drawn from the legions of Pannonia.²⁴ Most of the men who had served in Pannonia, however, seem to have settled there after discharge. In addition to the group of 12 known at Carnuntum, a veteran of XIII Gemina settled at Poetovio before the legion left for Vindobona, and others are known at the military stations of Ulcisia Castra (II Adjutrix) and Aquincum (X Gemina).²⁵

Pannonia was divided in the early years of the second century, and from the same period recruitment to the legions of the province became more and more localised. No more recruits came from either Italy or Narbonensis. In Pannonia Superior the main sources in the second century were the colonies of the province, Savaria, Siscia and Poetovio (with a few men from the Roman Communities of the nearby provinces), and the frontier zone. Of these sources the frontier zone became the most important in the third century. The two men known from municipium Latobicorum were probably recruited locally to serve in the statio established at that place.²⁶ Two men are known from Thrace.²⁷

In Pannonia Inferior, with fewer veteran colonies, recruitment from outside the province continued rather longer.²⁸ Most of the recruits from Pannonia itself, in both the second and the third centuries, came from the frontier zone. Recruits to II Adjutrix

came mainly from the vicinity of its station, Aquincum, and from the military stations along the Danube to the south, and included a high proportion of men whose fathers had served in the legions and auxiliary units of the province. In the third century I Adjutrix formed part of the garrison of Pannonia Inferior, and most of its recruits came from the vicinity of its station, Brigetio, similarly including a number of men whose fathers had served in the province. A large number of Thracians appear in II Adjutrix (but not apparently I Adjutrix) in the third century.

Veterans from the legions of Pannonia Superior settled mainly in the province, but no further veteran colonies were founded. Several men are attested in the vicinity of Scarbantia, which was just on the edge of the frontier zone, and in the region of Savaria. One of the veterans at Savaria is known to us from a dedication, III 4173. He also erected a dedication there while still serving (as an equus), III 4172. He was thus either a native of Savaria, or, more probably, was stationed there during part of his service, as a member of a legionary statio. This was probably also the case with a former bf.cos. of I Adjutrix attested at Savaria (III 4191, cf. Ritterling 1395). Men discharged with the same rank who are known at Siscia (III 3970) and municipium Latobicorum (III 3902) had certainly served in stationes at those places.²⁹ Veterans of X Gemina known at Salonae and Tragurium had probably served with the officium of the governor of Dalmatia, and veterans of I Adjutrix and X Gemina at Carnuntum with that of the legate of Pannonia Superior. The remaining veterans known practically all settled in the neighbourhood

of their legionary headquarters, the precise area from which came so many of the legionary recruits. This pattern was repeated on a small scale wherever detachments were stationed.

Veterans from XIV Gemina particularly must have been the main factor responsible for the growth of a considerable town to the west of the legionary fortress at Carnuntum. Other factors must have been its situation on an important route across the frontier, and the fact that this was the seat of the governor. Its growth was such that it became a municipium under Hadrian,³⁰ and a colony under Severus.³¹ There seems to have been much less development at Vindobona, the station of X Gemina. The community here became a municipium, but did not apparently rise higher (III 4557, cf. 4567).

In Pannonia Inferior, another veteran colony may have been founded in addition to Sirmium. This was at Mursa, founded by Hadrian.³² II Adjutrix was probably^b stationed in this area in the late first and early second centuries,³³ and possibly at Mursa, before moving on to Aquincum. The legion was concerned in the building of the colony (III 3279-80), which took place early in the reign.³⁴ Some of its veterans may well have been officially settled there. In that case this would be one of the last veteran colonies known.³⁵

Most veterans of the legions of Pannonia Inferior settled in the frontier zone, mainly in the vicinity of the legionary headquarters. 58 are listed in Table 18 in the third century alone. In the second century the only considerable element which is found outside the province

was the Africans who had been transferred from III Augusta during the Marcomannic wars. Most of these seem to have returned to Africa, all but one of those known to their own homes.³⁶ The third century veteran known at Salonae was apparently a native of the colony.³⁷ He was discharged as a cornicularius consularis: he had probably served in the officium of the legate of Dalmatia, and thus may well have spent the whole of his service life in Salonae, at no distance from his home. The veteran of I Adjutrix settled at Aquileia must have served with the vexillation of that legion stationed there in the late third century (Ritterling 1400).

Important communities arose near the legionary stations at both Aquincum and Brigetio. That at Aquincum became a municipium under Hadrian,³⁸ and a colony under Severus, probably in 194 AD.³⁹ As at Carnuntum, the settlement of veterans was no doubt important in promoting this growth. But this community was not the only one at Aquincum.⁴⁰ It lay at a distance of several kilometres from the fortress, and a few inscriptions suggest that a small community existed in the immediate vicinity of the latter, and presumably on the territorium legionis. This is specifically mentioned on an inscription of third century date, III 10489:- Imp. Caesar M. Aur. Severus Alexander P. F. Aug. balneum a solo territorio leg. II Ad. P. F. S (everianae) fecit curante Fl. Marciano Cos. A later inscription (III 3525=10492=AE 1944 85, dated to 268 AD) records the rebuilding of these baths, which it specifically describes as the baths of the legionary garrison, thermas majores leg. II Adj. Claudianae. The area immediately surrounding the fortress was thus in the mid-third

century still under the direct control of the legionary commander. Nevertheless some traces of communal organization on this territory do appear. A dedication was set up by the canabenses in the early years of Antoninus Pius, that is, when the municipium was already in existence (III 10336=ILS 1062).⁴¹ This rudimentary organization can thus hardly be regarded as that of a community from which the municipium developed. It had no official status, for a later dedication was erected by the vet(erani) et c(ives) R(omani) co(n)s(istentes) ad leg. II Adj., which must have been substantially the same body (III 3505=ILS 2473). Here they appear under two magistri. In AE 1937 173, two magistri are mentioned in connection with a dedication made ex decr. ordin. k. Alföldi⁴² is certainly correct in reading this ex decr(eto) ordin(is) k(anabae), or k(anabensium). A further inscription probably mentions this small community. This is III 10429=ILS 2410, dated to 210 AD. The relevant lines read: M. Ulp. Emeritus e t Tib. Cl. Exuperatus b. cos. leg. II Adj. agentes curam leg. et colonia Aq., etc. Clearly these two men were not "in charge" of either the whole legion or the whole of the colony. Their joint dedication suggests that they had similar duties, and since in the case of the colony these are likely to have been concerned with administrative or police affairs, this was probably true in both cases. The leg. mentioned was thus presumably the community which had grown up near the fortress. The men were probably concerned with the exaction of customs or market tariffs, as were certain bff. cos. at Lambaesis.⁴³

A town which grew up near the fortress at Brigetio had become

a municipium by the early third century⁴⁴ and a colony somewhat later, perhaps not before the fourth century.⁴⁵ Here again there is some evidence to suggest that another community existed close under the walls of the fortress. A veteran of I Adjutrix describes himself on a dedication as dec(urio) Bri(getionis) qui magistrat, III 4298. The most probable explanation of this phrase is that the man served not only as a decurion of the municipium, but also as one of the magistri of the unofficial organization of the canabae.⁴⁶

The three great frontier communities of Pannonia which became in turn municipia and colonies no doubt owed much of their growth to veteran settlement. But the two which first reached the rank of municipium were the capitals of the two provinces. Other towns growing up near legionary stations which also became provincial capitals enjoyed a similar swift advancement, for example Viminacium, Apulum, Lambaesis and Eboracum. Otherwise advancement was slower, except where trade across the frontier provided a stimulus, as apparently happened at Brigetio.

Trade with the tribes across the Danube was probably by no means economically vital to Rome, but it was closely controlled, no doubt mainly for reasons of security. In the peace treaty which Marcus made with the defeated Marcomanni in 175 AD, provision was specifically made for trading across the demilitarized zone, with fixed days and places for markets.⁴⁷ Similar provisions were made by Commodus in 180 AD.⁴⁸ In the fourth century the same interest in this trade applied, for a fort (burgus) was built by Valentinian in 371 AD, just across the

Danube from both Aquincum and Brigetio, - cui nomen Commercium, qua causa et factus est.⁴⁹ The legionary stations on the frontier had probably been chosen in the first place because they lay on good natural routes across the tribal land to the north, and hence it would be a natural move to confine regulated trade to those routes, where it could be conducted under the eye of the legions. This would be another factor making for the development of communities at these points.

It thus appears that veteran settlement was a comparatively minor factor in the development of Aquincum, Brigetio and Carnuntum. And indeed in both commercial activities and civic affairs veterans do not appear as playing any important role. The municipal amphitheatre at Carnuntum was built by one C. Domitius Zmaragdus, domo Antiochia, a decurion of the municipium and presumably a prosperous merchant, but not a veteran; if he were, in this region he would certainly have let it be known.⁵⁰ No veteran is known as a magistrate of Carnuntum.⁵¹ At Brigetio, one veteran appears as a decurion (III 4298, mentioned above), but most seem to have been civilians:⁵² two Syrians among them were clearly merchants.⁵³ At Aquincum again no veteran is known as a decurion.⁵⁴

There is little evidence for the occupation followed by veterans in the Pannonias.⁵⁵ Few of their sons seem to have inherited more than the opportunity (or the necessity) of serving in a legion in their turn.

Notes to Chapter Two: Pannonia.

1. The recruits to XV Apollinaris assigned to Iuvavum (III 4461) and Lauriacum (III 5680) were both Barbii. The father of the second was a member of tribe Velina. They were thus both very probably members of Aquileian families which had but recently settled in Noricum. (For Barbii at Aquileia, cf. Domaszewski Westd. Zeitschr. XXI 1902 p. 159 and Calderini, Aquileia Romana, p.467).
2. For a fuller discussion, cf. below pp.335-6.
3. Ritterling 1645-6; 1665; 1748.
4. E.g., very probably the man with 33 years' service in Pais 182 (XV Apol).
5. V 850 (XIII Gemina) and V 888 (I Adj). The latter may however have been a native of Aquileia.
6. B. Saria in Laureae Aquincenses I 1938 pp.245-55.
7. Ritterling 1665.
8. Hence it is impossible to class any of them certainly as men who returned to their homes, or even as men who returned to their province of origin, as is done by Forni, p. 145.
9. Cf. note 6 above.
10. Ritterling 1243, on the basis of Pliny HN 3. 146, oppidum Scarbantia Julia. It only became a municipium under the Flavians (III 4192).
- 10a. A very early missicius of XIV Gemina is attested at Scarbantia (III 14355/14; he died at 35). This may support the view of R. Syme (JRS 1933 p. 29 note 112) that this legion was stationed in Illyricum during most of Augustus's reign.

Presumably a vexillum veteranorum of the legion was then stationed at Scarbantia.

11. Archaeologiai Ertesitő IV 1943 pp. 80ff.

12. Tac. Ann. 14.27.

13. Possibly another man from Emona in XV Apollinaris (AE 1934 268), but the reading is doubtful.

14. The four men from Colonia Agrippina in XV Apollinaris may well have been, not direct recruits, but, as Ritterling (1752) suggested, men from the Rhine legions defeated at Cremona by the Flavians who were distributed among the Illyrican legions (cf. Tacitus Hist.3.35).

This may also be true of certain men from Narbonensis (including a man from Dinace, possibly in Narbonensis, listed in Table 17(4) as a Gaul, AE 1929 194) and also possibly Italy, who appear in XIII Gemina and XV Apollinaris after 69 AD. Further, certain recruits to XIV Gemina assigned to the period 92-117 AD in Table 17(5) -

more particular men from Narbonensis, and the one man from ^Blusa in Aquitania - may in fact have joined XIV Gemina in Germany, if the legion was stationed at Carnuntum before Trajan's Dacian wars, as suggested by R.Syme, Laureae Aquincenses I 1938 p.220 note 10.

In all these cases the origines would better fit the other evidence for recruitment, if these adjustments could be proved.

14a. Pliny HN 3. 148. For the Flavian date, III 11029.

15. For the Flavian date, III 7429=ILS 1465; VI 3184; VI 31140=ILS 2185;
VI 31146.

16. Dio 55.33 (8 AD).

17. The diploma reads: et sunt deducti Pannoniam.

18. This foundation also may have been made with men from the Ravenna fleet. It is possible, but unlikely, that the discovery of a Praetorian diploma (XVI 18, probably issued in 73 AD) at Sirmium indicates Praetorian settlement there. Praetorian veterans are not known to have been settled outside Italy after the early part of Augustus's reign.
19. For tiles of I Adjutrix here, cf. JOAI XVII 1914 BB 114-9.
- 19a. Hyginus de condicionibus agrorum (Lachmann p. 121) refers to distribution of land in Pannonia to veterans under Trajan:- nuper ecce quidam evocatus Augusti ; ; cum in Pannonia agros veteranis ex voluntate et liberalitate imperatoris Trajani Augusti Germanici adsignaret. This presumably refers to the deduction of veterans to Poetovio, the only Trajanic colony known in Pannonia. If so, and if Trajan's titles are here accurately recorded, then Poetovio must have been founded before the end of the Dacian wars, since Dacicus is missing.
20. For a duplarius receiving double praemia, cf. V 5832=ILS 2338.
21. These men are listed in Table 24, since they were not discharged in Pannonia, but in Dacia.
22. As suggested by Forni p.178 note 1. Similarly perhaps with the man known at Tuscana (XI 2956).
23. For the full list of such recruits to XV Apollinaris (who do not concern recruitment in Pannonia) cf. Table 25.
24. One of these men was a member of XXX VV. Since this legion was not raised before 98 AD, and was moved to Germany in about 122 AD, this man probably returned to Salonae after spending a year or two in Germany.

25. A veteran of XIV Gemina buried at Carnuntum (III 11223) had previously served as a d(ecurio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) S(avariae). As with the Claudian veterans mentioned previously, he apparently found life less congenial at Savaria than near his old legion at Carnuntum.
26. For this statio, cf. III 3899ff; AE 1934 73; 1944 134-8.
27. A man from Aquileia (VI 37207) must have been recruited locally to the vexillation of X Gemina stationed there in the late third century (Ritterling 1686; VI 37207= AE 1912 89).
- The manner in which a man from Lindum (VIII 21669) reached X Gemina in the second century is not clear. Possibly he was transferred from a British legion.
28. Two men from Ancyra were recruited to II Adjutrix while the legion served in the Parthian war of 162-6 AD, cf. Ritterling 1449, and Table 25A below.
29. For the statio at Siscia, cf. III 15180; 15181/1; Ritterling 1685; 1740. For that at municipium Latobicorum, cf. note 26 above.
30. III 14359/2=ILS 7121; XI 6358=ILS 6654. The municipium probably incorporated the civitas Boiorum known earlier in this area (AE 1951 64).
31. III 14359/3=ILS 7122; AE 1929 218.
32. III 3560.
33. Ritterling 1443-4.
34. Cf. Fluss in P-W XVI.1 670ff.
35. Cf. below p.354.
36. Even the man known at Lambaesis may have originated there, but the fact that he had served there was probably more important in

determining his choice.

37. He had the nomen Salonius, which seems to be derived from the name of the colony: he may have been descended from a slave of the community.
38. III 3347. The title Aelia survived its promotion to colonial status, VI 1058=ILS 2157.
39. III 10495=ILS 7124a. It was a colony in 198 AD (III 14347), and since quinquennales are known for 214 AD (III 10439) and 259 AD (III 10440), the foundation probably dates to 194 AD.
40. The civitas Eraviscorum probably continued to exist, attributed to the municipium, cf. A.Alföldi, *Archaeologiai Ertesit8* LIII 1940 pp. 214ff.
41. For the find-spot of this inscription, cf. A.Alföldi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 220ff.
42. *Loc. cit.*, p.227.
43. JRS 1914 p. 143=AE 1914 234. In a further inscription from Aquincum (AE 1944 88), a.c.leg II Ad PF should more probably be read a(rmorum) c(ustos) than a(gens) c(uram).
44. III 11007; AE 1944 104.
45. III 4335.
46. On a third century inscription from Rome, an equus singularis is described as natus in Pa(n)nonia Inferiore domo Briget(i)one at legione Prima At(j)utri(ce), (VI 32783). The reference to the legion here is probably not a mere definition of the geographical position of Brigetio. It probably indicates that the man was born in the small military community near the fortress, which had now

been incorporated in the municipium (perhaps from the time of the constitutio Antoniniana, cf. A.H.M. Jones in JRS 1936 pp 228-9).

In the origines of men from the Danube provinces in the third century, the province, (sometimes a regio), the city (or pagus) and the vicus are frequently given, and in that order, cf. VI 2736; 2819; 3297; 3300; 37213=ILS 2044; X 1754=ILS 2043. The military community at Brigetio had thus probably become a vicus of the municipium.

47. Dio 72(71). 15.

48. Dio 73(72).2.

49. III 3653.

50. III 14359/2=ILS 7121

51. Equestrian decurions appear in III 4495; III 4567; III 14359/3=ILS 7122; other civilians in XI 6358=ILS 6654; AE 1929 218.

52. III 4294; 4334; 4336; 4355.

53. They came from Zeugma (AE 1923 58) and Doliche (AE 1944 125). M.Aur. Antiochianus (AE 1944 197) was probably also of eastern origin.

54. Men who give no indication that they were veterans appear in III 10439; 10440; 10475; 10481 with 10570; JOAI II 1899 BB 57 no. 19.

55. Three veterans at Aquincum were members of a collegium fabrorum et centonariorum, III 3554; III 3569=10519; AE 1939 8.

Table 19

Noricum and Raetia. Recruitment (c.170 to 193 AD).

Italy	Danube provinces	Noricum	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
II Ital c170 to 193 AD		Bedaium III 5567		
II Ital 193 to c300 AD		Solva III 5435 III 5448 Virunum III 4830 with p1813 III 4837 4841 4857 11553 11642 nat.Noric. III 8730	2 son of <u>mil</u> II Ital III 11814 6 sons of veterans III 5218 III 5631	2
		<u>Raetia</u>		
III It 193 to c300 AD	Sopiana III 3309	Augusta Vindelicum 3 III 5812 5814 5816 Reticus III 11968	Castra Regina III 5955 III 11964	2
-	1	14	5	-

Table 20

Noricum and Raetia, Veteran Settlement (c.190 to c.300 AD).

	Returned to homes outside Noricum	Settled in Noricum	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
II Ital c190 to c300 AD		Celeia III 5106 Solva 2 III 5409 III 5449 Ovilava III 5624 Virunum 2 III 4853 III 4860	Lauriacum III 11814 III 11816 Betz 53 Betz 54	4 Tarvisium 1954 159 Salonae III 8730 (Noricus)
		<u>Settled in Raetia</u>		
III It c190 to c300 AD		Augusta Vindelicum 2 III 5815 III 5818	Castra Regina 6 III 5948 III 5955 (Castra Regina) III 5956 III 5957 III 11968 (Reticus) III 14370/9	
	-	8	10	2

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in

Noricum and Raetia.

These two provinces acquired a permanent legionary garrison only after the restoration of the northern frontier by Marcus Aurelius. The legions were the two new ones raised by Marcus in Italy in 165 AD (cf. Ritterling 1300-1), and some of their original Italian members are known from inscriptions.¹ But once they were finally established at permanent stations in Noricum and Raetia,² (and indeed probably as soon as they began to operate outside Italy), they ceased to draw recruits from Italy. All the later recruits to II Italica came from Noricum, and all except one of those to III Italica from Raetia, the exception being a man from Pannonia Inferior. For II Italica, those known came from the Roman communities of the province (which had no veteran colonies), or were the sons of serving troops or veterans. Recruits to III Italica came from Augusta Vindelicum (raised to the status of a municipium by Hadrian,³) which was the chief Roman community of the province and also the seat of the governor (Ritterling 1534), and from the community which arose near the legionary station, Castra Regina. No doubt some of the latter were the sons of members of the legion.

Veteran settlement shows a close parallel. Many veterans of II Italica settled in the municipia of Noricum, the homes of so many of its recruits. But some of these men may have served in stationes established in these towns.⁴ The former bf.cos. who settled at Virunum (III 4860) had very probably served there in the governor's officium. Four men are known who settled in the vicinity of the fortress at

Lauriacum (an area not particularly rich in inscriptions: the proportion of men who actually settled there was probably higher than appears from present evidence). Two veterans of III Italica are known at Augusta Vindelicum. One at least of these, a bf.cos. (III 5815), had probably served there. Six men are known at Castra Regina. One at least of these was born there (III 5955).

Communities grew up at both legionary stations, although little is known of them. At Lauriacum the town became a municipium under Caracalla.⁵ There is no evidence for a similar promotion of the town which arose at Castra Regina. An inscription from there reads:- Volk.sacr.Aur.Artissius aedil.territor.contr.et.k.R. de suo fecit v.s.l.l.m. posit. A.X.K.S. Orfito cos. (III 14370/10=ILS 7111). The date is uncertain. Orfiti were consuls in 149, 165, 172, 178 and 270 AD. Since the inscription presumably dates after the establishment of III Italica at Castra Regina, 178 AD is possible but 270 AD perhaps more probable, especially in view of the style of the inscription. There seems at first sight to be a reference to two territoria here, but it is more probable that the reading was intended to be territor(ii) contr(ibuti) [a]t k(astram) R(eginan), referring presumably to the territorium legionis. Thus this man was probably a military rather than a quasi-municipal official.⁶ There is no other evidence for the community at Castra Regina. As at some other legionary stations which did not become provincial capitals, there seems to have been little civic development (cf. Caerleon, Argentorate and Durostorum), at least before a late date.

The evidence of these two legions, since it is confined to the late second and third centuries, gives a good direct picture of what seems to have been the normal pattern of recruitment and veteran settlement in the last century of the principate. Recruitment was practically confined to the areas in military occupation, and relied mainly on the military traditions of that area, not least on the hereditary service of father and son.

Notes to Chapter Two: Noricum and Raetia.

1. Men from Neapolis (in Histria, V 375) and Terventum (IX 2593) are known in II Italica. (The man buried by his brother at Ocriculum may not have originated there, cf. Ritterling 1474. The brother seems to have derived his cognomen, Lauricius, from the name of the station of the legion).

A man from Comum appears in AE 1907 248 as a member of III Italica. Since these men were recruited before the legions reached Noricum and Raetia, they have no place in Table 19.

2. Probably not much before the end of Marcus's reign, cf. Ritterling 1469 for the stations of II Italica, and 1533-4 for III Italica.
3. III 5800=ILS 7108
4. For the officium at Virunum and these stationes, cf. Ritterling 1471
5. A. Betz JOAI 1952 p.133ff.
6. Cf. the aedilis castrorum of VI 231=ILS 2215, and a man aedilis factus a vexillatione (VI 1063=ILS 2178) who apparently presented games.

Table 21(1)

Moesia. Recruitment (to 69 AD).

	Italy Narbonensis	Asia Minor	Danube provinces Moesia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
VII to c9 AD		Amblada III 9737 Conana 3 III 9733 Betz(D) 63 Betz(D) 80 Iconium 2 IGR III 1476 (2) Isinda Betz(D) 20 Laranda III 2709 Mylia 2 III 8487 III 8488 Ninica Betz(D) 28 Pessinus 4 III 1818(2) III 2710 Betz(D) 68 Phazemon Betz(D) 44 Sebaste III 2048 Sebastopolis III 8493 Sinope Betz(D) 58		Alorus Betz(D) 59	
IV Scy to 54 AD	Mediolanum 3 V 5595(2) V 5828 Pollia V 8185 Vienna IIS 9090				
V Mac to 62 AD	Ariminum XI 390-1 Brixia III 12348 Luca III 14415	Amasia III 14155/11 Augusta Troas 1912 188		Edessa III 14992 Stobera IX 6155 Stobi 1910 173	(Cont.)

Table 21(2)

Moesia. Recruitment (to 69 AD cont.).

	Italy Narbonensis	Asia Minor	Danube provinces Moesia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
VIII Ag 45 to 69 AD	Comum 2 V 5713 (2)		Philippi IX 4684		
VII C1 6 56 to 69 AD	Placentia SS 71 p.203,534 Scaptia III 8199	Ponticus 1910 174	Salonae SS 71 p.243,650		Berytus SS 71 p.210,560

12

22

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69 to 117 AD:-

Probably V Alaud III 14214		Caesarea Isinda Nicaea	2	Aequum Heraclea	
I Ital 70 to 117 AD	Arimin ⁿ III 12352 Augusta Bagienn. V 7667 Lucus Augusti III 8198			Virunum 1939 121 Heraclea III 7441 Stobi III 12409 Nicopolis in Epirus III 6144	
V Mac 71 to 117 AD	Tarquini XI 3369 Marbo III 14417	Ancyra III 6184 III 6188	2	Moesicus III 6178 Moesicus III 6178	son of <u>mil</u> V Mac III 6188
VII C1 69 to 117 AD	Fola V 48	Pessinus III 12498		Heraclea 1934 206	
IV F1 86 to 117 AD					Viminacium III 10250 son of <u>mil</u> VII C1 V 48

(Cont.)

Table 21(3)

Moesia. Recruitment (69 to 117 AD cont.).

	Italy Narbonensis	Asia Minor	Danube provinces Moesia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XI C1 c106 to 1947 78 117 AD	Brixellum	Amastris (or Amasia) III 971	Dyrrhachium 1937 101 Pelagonia 1935 78		
	7	8	10	3	-

Legio VII is listed as stationed in Moesia to c.9 AD for convenience. It was probably in Macedonia at that time, as is suggested by the fact that it bore for a time the cognomen Macedonica (cf. III 7386; X 1711; X 4723; AE 1903 323; Ritterling 1615-6). Some of the Italians listed in Table 15 as recruited to this legion while it was in Dalmatia after c.9 AD may actually have been recruited while the legion was in Macedonia; they cannot now be distinguished.

Moesia Superior. Recruitment (117 to 193 AD).

Italy Narbonens	Asia Minor	Danube provinces Moesia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
IV Fl 117 to 193 AD		Sirmium 1934 178 Stobi 2 1948 147(2) Illyrian Dasius X 6670		
VII Cl 117 to 193 AD		Heraclea 1910 88 Scupi III 8201 (FRUM)	Viminacium 4 III 8119 III 13807 1905 163 JOAI 1910 BB 151,6	
VII Cl Recruits of 169 AD III 14507	Nicomedia Pergamum	Salonae 3 Mursa 2 Sirmium 6 Heraclea Philippi Thessalo- nica Pautalia 3 Trimontium 4 Thracian (Rescupor) Sarmizege- thusa 3 Romula Nicopolis 4 Scupi 31	Ratiaria 65 Castris 7	
(excluding Frumentarii)	-	2	66	76

193 to c.300 AD:-

IV Fl 193 to c300 AD		Salonae III 6300 Remesiana III 1690	Viminacium 3 III 195 III 1649 with p1021 III 8120 Singidurum III 8166 son of <u>mil</u> VII Cl III 1651 with p1021	Thracians 2 Philippo- polis X 4874 Mestrianus SS 98 p.220,435 (Cont.)
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Table 21(5)

Moesia Superior. Recruitment (193 to c.300 AD cont.)

Italy Narbonens	Asia Minor	Danube provinces Moesia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere	
VII C1 193 to c 300 AD		Virunum III 8124 with p2328/99 Andetrium 1940 177 Nicopolis (Moes. Inf,) III 12416 Scupi XIII 6823	Viminacium 2 III 195 III 8117 sons of <u>mil</u> VII C13 III 12658 III 12666 JOAI 1910 BB 155,18 son of auxiliary 1934 185	Thracians Aulutrax III 8118 Dizzo JOAI 1910 BB 157,21 Dudis III 7421 Gerula 1912 53 Mestrius III 8195	5
-	-	6	11	7	

Table 21(6)

Moesia Inferior. Recruitment (117 to 193 AD).

Italy Narbonens	Asia Minor	Danube provinces Moesia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
V Mac 117 to c161 AD	Amasia 1914 135 Amastria 3 III 7501 III 7502(2) Ancyra 1920 54 Ephesus 1912 189 Nicomedia 1935 70 Pontus 2 III 7502(2)		Oescus 2 III 6190 VI 3342 (FRUM) Troesmis III 6189 Castris III 7505 son of <u>mil</u> V Mac 1912 189	
I Ital 117 to 193 AD	Ancyra 1932 52 Aspendus III 14491	Scupi SS 71 p.241,642	Oescus 1932 51	
XI Cl 117 to 193 AD		nat.Macedo 1939 158		
(excluding Frumentarii) -	11	2	5	-
<u>193 to c.300 AD:-</u>				
I Ital 193 to c300 AD			Durostorum AAcR 1915-6 p668,45	Thracians 8 Philippo- polis (2) VI 2601 VI 2785 Pr.Tracie XIV 3631 Eptezenus 1933 126 Mucatra III 2009 Mucianus III 12408 Sabasianus III 2009 Thracian VI 32578

(Cont.)

Table 21(7)

Moesia Inferior. Recruitment (193 to c.300 AD cont.).

Italy Narbonens	Asia Minor	Danube provinces Moesia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere	
XI Cl 193 to c300 AD	Thyateira III 404	Kider in Dalmatia III 12815a	Abritanus V 942 Axiopolis III 14439 Tropaeum Trajani III 14214/6 son of auxiliary 1919 15	Thracians Perinthus 1927 85 civis Trax VIII 21021 Aulucentius V 940 Dizo V 893 Sudicentius V 900	5
Legion unknown		Nicopolis 3 III 12346 III 12402(2) (1 FRUM) Tomi III 14214/28		Thracian Mucianus III 12392	
(excluding Frumentarii)	-	1	4	5	14

A member of a vexillation of XI Claudia stationed at Olbia in south Russia buried his mother there (AE 1909 167). Presumably he originated there.

AE 1939 97 (= Dacia V-VI 1935-6 p.423,1) is a copy of III 14439; the stone comes from Axiopolis.

Table 22(1)

Moesia. Veteran Settlement (to 69 AD)

	Returned to homes outside Moesia	Settled in Moesia	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
IV Scy to 54 AD	Mediolanum V 5595 V 5828	2		Histria (Italy) V 8185 (Pollia) Tarentum BMIR 1934 p45 Dium III 592 Stobi 1934 128 Claudiopolis 1954 233
V Mac to 62 AD			Oescus 1912 188 (Augusta Troas)	Tarentum IX 6155 (Stobera)
VIII Ag 45 to 69 AD	Stobi III 7325 (Pelagonia)			Tarentum 1946 212
	3	-	1	7

69 to 117 AD:-

V Alaud 70 to 86 AD		Scupi SS 98 p:224,441 (Lucus Aug.)		
I Ital 70 to 117 AD		Nicopolis III 6144 (Nicopolis in Epirus) III 12409 (Stobi) Scupi III 8198 (Lucus Augusti)	2 Novae 1939 121 (Virunum) Oescus III 12352 (Ariminum)	Aquileia Pais 188
V Mac 71 to 117 AD	Tarquini XI 3369	Scupi 1910 173 (Stobi)	Oescus III 12348 (Brixia) III 14415 (Luca) III 14417 (Narbo)	3 (Cont.)

Table 22(2)

Moesia. Veteran Settlement (69 to 117 AD cont.).

	Returned to homes outside Moesia	Settled in Moesia		Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
VII C1 69 to 117 AD	Pola V 48 Heraclea Lyncestis 1934 206	Scupi III 8194 III 8197 III 8199 (Scaptia) III 8200 (Scaptia) 1910 174 (Ponticus) SS 71 p.203,534 (Placentia) p.210,560 (Berytus) p.243,650 (Salonae)	8	Viminacium III 8100	Aquileia V 908 Philippopolis III 6120 (Antioch by Daphne)
IV F1 86 to 117 AD	Brixia 1908 220			Oescus III 7425 Viminacium III 8123	Heraclea Lyncestis 1934 180 Scarbantia III 4245 (Vienna)
	4	13		8	5

Table 22(3)

Moesia Superior. Veteran Settlement (117 to 193 AD).

Returned to homes outside Moesia	Settled in Moesia	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
IV F1 117 to 193 AD		Singidunum 2 III 12663 1934 78	Poetovio III 4056 Sirmium 1910 72
VII C1 117 to 193 AD	Timacum Minus III 14577	Viminacium 4 III 8115 8121 8125 1910 88 (Heraclea) Ratiaria 1938 95	
<hr/>			
	1	7	2
<u>193 to c 300 AD:-</u>			
IV F1 193 to c300 AD	Scupi SS 98 p.220,435 (Thracian)	Singidunum III 1665	Apamea, Phrygia III 13663 Ancyra JOAI 1937 BB 41,45 Aquileia V 899 (late 3rd)
VII C1 193 to c 300 AD	Horreum Margi III 12666 Naissus III 14565 Scupi III 8195	Viminacium 8 III 1651 with p1021 III 8124 with p2328/99 III 12658 III 12659 III 14217/4 III 14510 ILS 9091 JOAI 1910 BB 155,18 Ratiaria 3 III 7421 III 12649 with p2328/98 1938 94	Edessa 1903 323 Tymandus MAMA IV 237 Novaria V 6511 (late 3rd)
Legion unknown		Viminacium III 13808	
	4	13	6

Table 22(5)

Moesia Inferior. Veteran Settlement (193 to c.300 AD).

Returned to homes outside Moesia	Settled in Moesia	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
I Ital 193 to c300 AD	Nicopolis III 12408 (Thracian) Tomi III 7555	Novae III 756 III 14422	2
XI Cl 193 to c300 AD	Razgrad 1919 78 Tomi III 7554		
Legion unknown	Tomi III 14218/28		
-	5	2	-

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in

Moesia.

While legio VII was stationed in Macedonia before about 9 AD, it drew on Asia Minor for many of its recruits. But, as noted above (Table 21(3)), it may also have received recruits from Italy and possibly Narbonensis. For these were still the main sources for the legions stationed in Moesia down to 69 AD. Some recruits came from Asia Minor, and a few from nearby provinces - Macedonia and Dalmatia are represented.¹

A colony was founded by Claudius at Aprus in Thrace.² The participation of veterans is not attested, but is very probable, since it was necessary to consolidate control of the province. Its annexation involved military operations, in which the Moesian legions took part.³ It was probably veterans from those legions who were settled at Aprus. Other men who had served in Moesia took part in the settlement at Tarentum under Nero which is mentioned by Tacitus (Ann. 14.27). One of these men was a native of Stobera in Macedonia (IX 6155); in part then, the drift back to the provinces to which Tacitus refers may have involved men who, being natives of the provinces, preferred to return there rather than stay in Italy.

The evidence for veteran settlement is otherwise slight, and insufficient to indicate certainly what choice the majority of men made. Two men are known to have returned to Mediolanum after service. The man settled in Histria may also have been a returned native. Three veterans are known in Macedonia (one at least of whom was a returned Macedonian). A man from Augusta Troas who had served in

V Macedonica settled near its camp at Oescus.

Under the Flavians and Trajan, the number of Italian recruits declined, the number being now roughly the same as from Asia Minor. But more men are known for this period from the provinces near Moesia, particularly Macedonia, and three men appear from Moesia itself, two of them the sons of legionaries serving in the province.

In this period, two colonies were founded nearby. The first was at Deultum in Thrace, which was apparently founded before 79 AD, since Pliny refers to veteran settlement there.⁴ Some of the veterans settled there had served in VIII Augusta, as appears from a tabula patrocinii found in Rome (VI 3828=31692=ILS 6105). In this, the citizens of Deultum concerned state:- cum militaverimus in leg.VIII Aug. et emer[itis XXV stipendiis] a sacratissimo Imp. in coloniam Deultum [deducti simus]. Although the document dates to 82 AD, the emperor referred to was presumably Vespasian.⁵ However, VIII Augusta left Moesia in 69 AD, (Tacitus Hist.3.10) and did not return, being sent to Germany after the civil wars (Tacitus Hist. 4.68). Presumably the colony had been planned before 69 AD, and possibly men from VIII Augusta took part in the building of it. They may well have been prevented from completing the settlement by the intervention of the civil wars (which no doubt also delayed their discharge: the figure XXV restored in the document above was probably purely formal), and eventually had to be brought back from Germany. Clearly men would not otherwise be moved such a distance for the purpose of assignment to a colony.

The precise site for the colony was probably chosen because

the land was unoccupied. Pliny particularly mentions the stagnum, which is a reminder of the complaints of the Pannonian legionaries in 14 AD, that after service they were liable to be offered per nomina agro~~rum~~orum, uligines paludum (Tacitus Ann. 1.13). Such lands were not necessarily infertile, and if properly drained might provide good arable land, suited to Mediterranean agricultural methods.⁶ The veterans were apparently expected to drain the land, presumably as a joint enterprise.⁷ But such land would hardly have been chosen had land been available which was both cheap and ready for cultivation. No doubt the main object of this colony was to assist in the pacification of the but-recently annexed province, but apparently this was the only stretch of public land still available.

The second Flavian colony was at Scupi.⁸ It was probably founded, not by Vespasian (Pliny does not mention it) but by Domitian. An inscription from Scupi gives its title as col.F.F.D. This probably reads col(onia) F(lavia) F(irma?) D(omitiana).⁹ Several other inscriptions mention deducticii, III 8197; 8199=ILS 2461; 8200; AE 1910 174. Three other probable original members are known.¹⁰ All these were veterans of VII Claudia. Only three veterans of other legions seem to be known, who can have been deducticii, one each from I Italica, V Alaudae and V Macedonica.¹¹ Possibly, as suggested by Fluss,¹² VII Claudia was stationed at Scupi before moving on to Viminacium, the site it had vacated being then taken over for the colony.¹³

Although a few veterans returned to their homes in Italy and Macedonia,¹⁴ most of those who were free to choose seem to have preferred to stay in Moesia, and mainly in the vicinity of the legionary

stations at Novae, Oescus and Vimiⁿacium. After the transfer of V Macedonica from Oescus to Troesmis, probably soon after Trajan's Dacian wars (cf. Ritterling 1576), a colony was founded at Oescus.¹⁵ Some of the men listed under Oescus in Table 22 for this period may have taken part in the foundation, but probably not all. The veterans of V Macedonica from Brixia (III 12348) and Luca (III 14415) probably settled at Oescus while it was still the station of that legion. Veterans who had settled in this way were presumably incorporated in the colony when it came to be founded.

Another colony was founded by Trajan, at Ratiaria.¹⁶ This also had probably been a legionary station at the end of the first century, perhaps of IV Flavia.¹⁷ It must have been founded with veterans, although no known inscription refers to an original settler.

In the second and third centuries, recruitment became progressively more localised. For Moesia Superior we are fortunate in possessing a dedication-list, the only one to survive outside Egypt and Africa which gives the origins of the men concerned, (III 14507, with corrections in JOAI IV 1901 BB 95).¹⁸ The dedication was set up at Viminacium by men of VII Claudia who were recruited in 169 AD and discharged in 195 AD. The most striking feature is the large number of men from the two veteran colonies of Moesia Superior, Ratiaria and Scupi. Of the total of 135 men to whom an origo can be assigned with certainty, 65 came from Ratiaria and 31 from Scupi.¹⁹ Of the remaining 39, at least 17 came from colonies established in the neighbouring

provinces, three from Dalmatia, eight from Pannonia, three from Macedonia and three from Dacia. But not all of the recruits from these colonies can have been descended from the original veteran settlers. Many have imperial nomina: six M.Ulpia, five P.Aelia and 15 Aurelia are listed from Ratiaria, and 16 Aurelia from Scupi. The presence of C.Julia and Ti.Claudia from Scupi, and of these and T.Flavia from Ratiaria suggests also that not all of the original settlers in these colonies were of Italian stock. Further the six M.Ulpia from Ratiaria were probably descended from natives of local origin who were enfranchised when the colony was founded. The only thing that these recruits had in common was citizenship of colonies originally settled with veterans, colonies in which military traditions are likely to have remained strong. It is unlikely that the large numbers from these two places can be attributed to conscription, since it would be reasonable to expect that conscription would also have brought in men from the municipia of this region, including Viminacium. The latter is not represented at all. The seven recruits born castris were clearly not citizens of Viminacium. The absence of men from the municipium of Viminacium suggests that, as with the municipia which grew up at Carnuntum and Aquincum, the veteran element in their composition was not of the first importance. The evidence as a whole suggests that the strong military traditions created by veteran settlement were the most important factor in producing volunteer recruits for the legions.

The remaining evidence for recruitment in Moesia Superior in the second century is not large in quantity. Most of the men listed (Table 21(4)) were from Moesia or the nearby provinces, but the

predominance of the veteran colonies is not brought out. (The four men listed under Viminacium are not described on the inscriptions as citizens of the municipium. The inscriptions merely indicate that they came of families living in the area).

For the third century, while it seems to have been necessary as before to draw a few recruits from outside Moesia, the largest group of recruits was that from the frontier zone, several of them being the sons of troops who had served in the province.²⁰

The largest numbers of veterans are known in precisely the areas from which most of the recruits came. 13 veterans are known who settled in the area of the station of VII Claudia at Viminacium, and three at Singidunum, the station of IV Flavia. Most of the rest also settled in Moesia (Table 22(3)). Many of these had probably returned to their homes, and similarly no doubt with the men settled at Poetovio, Sirmium and Edessa, and in Asia Minor. The men known at Aquileia and Novaria had probably served with late third century vexillations in northern Italy.²¹

Communities arose at both Viminacium and Singidunum. That at Viminacium became a municipium under Hadrian,²² and a colony before the middle of the third century.²³ It was the seat of the legate of Moesia Superior, which no doubt forwarded its growth. Although one veteran is known as a decurion of the municipium (III 12659=ILS 7173), veterans generally do not seem to have played a great part in civic life.²⁴ But this community was quite distinct from, and did not grow out of, the legionary canabae. The canabae still existed in the early third century: Septimus Severus and Caracalla ...cana[bas refec]erunt leg.VII [Cl.A]nt. PF(III 14509).²⁵ Presumably the canabae consisted merely of a few

buildings in the immediate vicinity of the fortress, and probably under the control of the military authorities. The community which grew up at Singidunum seems to have progressed more slowly. It had become a municipium by the early third century,²⁶ and a colony before 287 AD.²⁷ However, little is known of its civic life.²⁸

Recruits to the legions of Moesia Inferior in the second century included a considerable number of men from Asia Minor, mainly from those parts of Asia Minor which lay nearest to Moesia. The only other important source was Moesia Inferior itself, particularly the veteran colony of Oescus and the small towns of the frontier zone. In the third century recruits from the frontier zone were reinforced by men from other parts of the province, and by Thracians.²⁹ Veterans seem to have settled almost entirely in Moesia, and mainly in the frontier zone. Exceptions known to us include a man from Amasia who returned to his home, and a veteran of XI Claudia who settled at the station of XIII Gemina, Apulum in Dacia. Most of those known to us in Moesia settled near the stations at which they had served. The evidence is best for V Macedonica, stationed at Troesmis until the beginning of the Parthian war of 162-6 AD. Thirteen of its veterans are known at Troesmis. These include five men born in Asia Minor, one man from Oescus and one who was born castris at Troesmis itself.³⁰ The canabae at Troesmis had acquired an unofficial organization before the end of Hadrian's reign. A dedication set up to him refers to two mag(istri) canabe(nsium), one of them a veteran of V Macedonica, and an aedile, and describes the organization simply as vet(erani) et c.R. cons(istentes) ad canab(as) leg.V.M. (III 6166= ILS 2474). Two magistri, one a veteran of V Macedonica, and an

ædile appear in another dedication set up under Antoninus Pius (III 6162). The interpretation of a third dedication, also set up under Antoninus Pius, is less certain (III 6167). In this the dedicants seem to be described as c.R.Tr[oesmi cons(istentes)]; presumably this was the same body with a slightly different title. That it was not a fully independent community is suggested by line 7, which reads [...per]miss[u...], probably [...per]miss[u legati legionis]...] If this reading is correct, then the organization must have been that of a community established on the territorium legionis.

Two other inscriptions, one set up under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius (III 6195), the other shortly after the departure of the legion (III 6183), mention an ordo Troesmensium. This seems to have been the self-adopted title of the unofficial body established on the territorium legionis, for inscriptions dating to the reigns of Severus (III 6177) and Philip (III 6172) refer to an ordo mun(icipii) Troes(mensium). That is, the municipium was apparently founded after the departure of the legion.³¹ This is in marked contrast with the procedure which obtained down to the early years of Hadrian's reign, when the evacuation of a legionary site was frequently followed by the foundation of a veteran colony.

Four veterans of I Italica of second or third century date are known at or near Novae, the station of that legion, but nothing is known of any community which may have grown up there. At Durostorum, although evidence is so slight that we know of no veterans settled there, we do know that the canabae received the title Aeliae, and had in the

second century an unofficial communal organization.³² By the third Century a municipium had been founded there:³³ this may well have been merely the canabae with an enhanced status.

A considerable number of veterans settled at Tomi, the provincial capital. Many of these had no doubt served in the governor's officium.³⁴ Inscriptions from Histria which mention beneficiarii consularis suggest that there was a statio there in which the two veterans of V Macedonica known there had probably served.³⁵ Further inscriptions from Histria suggest that veterans settled there in some numbers. These are dedications set up by vet(erani) et c.R. et Bessi consistentes vico Quintionis, in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.³⁶ The organization was governed by two magistri and a quaestor. There is no indication that these were legionary veterans, but at least it is clear that this was not an official settlement.

Notes to Chapter Two: Moesia.

1. Possibly some of the men from Macedonia listed in Table 15 joined legio VII before it left that province.
2. Pliny HN 4.47-8; Ptolemy 3.117; III 386=ILS 2718.
3. Tacitus Ann. 12.63. For the participation of vexillations of the Moesian legions, cf. II 3272; PIR² C no. 1471.
4. Pliny HN 4 45:- Develton cum stagno, quod nunc Deultum vocatur, veteranorum. The actual title of the colony was colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium (VI 3828=31692=ILS 6105; Head Hist. Numm.² p.287).
5. Pliny does not state that there was a colony at Deultum, but it is unlikely that his words refer to an unofficial settlement (such as those which took place at legionary stations) which was later formed into a colony. It is unlikely that veterans had begun to settle at Deultum of their own accord: the nearest legionary station (Novae) was well over 100 miles away, and in a different province.
6. Cf. I.A. Richmond Archaeol. Jour. 103 1946 p.66.
7. As at Ateste, cf.p.30 above.
8. For the Flavian date cf., e.g., VI 3205.
9. AE 1910 173. This reading was also suggested by Vulić in JOAI XIII 1910 BB 216-8.
10. Known from three inscriptions in Srpska Spomenik 71, 1931. Their style suggests this date: they can hardly be later.
11. III 8198, Srpska Spomenik 98 1941-8 p.224,441 and AE 1910 173. The latter inscription must have been erected under Domitian since the title Domitiana appears.
12. P-W II A.1 910.

13. There is no real evidence that veterans were settled at Philippopolis, as claimed by Ritterling (1274) on the strength of III 6120. More probably this was a Flavian municipium.
14. The men settled at Aquileia were probably not returned natives. They, like the Pannonian veterans mentioned previously, had probably chosen this commercial city for the opportunities it offered.
15. A man who settled at Pola had clearly originated in that area (V 48): he gave his son (who also served in a Moesian legion) the cognomen Hister.
15. For the Trajanic date, III 753=ILS 1465.
16. For the Trajanic date, III 753=ILS 1465; III 14217.
17. Cf. R.Syme JRS 1928 p.49.
18. The corrected text published in JOAI shows that four men, not five, came from Nicopolis - the other man came from Nicomedia.
19. The abbreviation R was tentatively assigned to Remesiana by the original editors, and this reading has been retained by later commentators, including Forni, p.196. But the number of origines represented by R is 34, higher than the number designated RAT(iaria), and higher than the number of men from Scupi. It is unlikely that a small place like Remesiana will have supplied more recruits than either of these two colonies, especially since it lay so far outside the frontier zone - it lay to the south-east of Naissus. Further only one other legionary recruit from Remesiana is known (III 1690). But in fact the attribution to Remesiana is unnecessary. An examination of the stone shows that the stonecutter,

as he worked through the list, cohort by cohort, noting the large number of men from Katiaria, decided to reduce the abbreviation RAT first (on two occasions, when pressed for room) to the ligatured form RT (Front, column b lines 20-21), and finally to the simple R (from Front, column b line 40). Only twice later does the form RAT return, when short names allowed it (Right side, column a lines 9-10). The stonecutter could only do this if there was no possibility of confusion with any other place, and thus it is fairly certain that no man from Remesiana was listed on this stone. Similar reductions of an origo to one letter, after a first appearance in a fuller form sufficient to indicate the origo clearly, are attested in two of the Lambaesis lists, VIII 2567 and 18067. In both of these Carthage, after appearing once as KAR, was thereafter reduced to a simple K.

Of the 142 origines which survive on this inscription, seven appear in an abbreviated form whose significance cannot now be established with certainty. These are AM twice (possibly Ampelum, Amasia or Anastris); CAP (possibly Capidava, in the frontier zone of Moesia Inferior); EUR; IA (perhaps Iader in Dalmatia); SA (Salonae or Sarmizegethusa); Z (possibly Zerna). These have been excluded from Table 21. (The Thracian Rescupor is given origo IER, possibly (H)ieropolis. He is listed simply as a Thracian in Table 21).

20. On the Thracians, cf. below pp.357 ff.
21. Cf. Ritterling 1546 for IV Flavia.
22. III 8102=ILS 7172; III 8127; 8128.

23. Head Hist. Numm.² p.273.
24. The other decurions known all seem to have been civilians, III 8127; 8128; 8129; 14217/2.
25. The inscription was actually erected later, after the death of Geta, as the title Antoniniana shows.
26. III 10495=ILS 7124a records a man who was dec.col.Sept.Aq. item dec.n.Sing.
27. III 8151=1660.
28. Here again the known decurions all seem to have been civilians, III 10495=ILS 7124a; AE 1934 213.
29. For the Thracians, cf. pp.357 ff.
30. The latter (III 7505=ILS 2311), recruited in 145 AD, took part in operations in Cappadocia and Dacia with his legion and was discharged in 170 AD, at about the time that his legion was finally established at Potaissa in Dacia. He preferred to return to Troesmis, where he had been born and where he had spent the greater part of his legionary service.
31. A fragmentary dedication (AE 1920 54) which mentions a territorium was erected c. 162 AD (cf. III 12514), that is presumably after the departure of the legion. The dedicant seems to describe himself as a magistrate of the territorium Troesmensis. This may well have been the former territorium legionis which was later incorporated in the territory of the municipium. This inscription presumably refers to an intermediate stage. It is doubtful whether the last line contained a reference to the legion or its canabae, as suggested by Weiss (JOAI XVI 1913 BB 209) and Parvan (AAER 35 1913 p.493, cf. pp. 502 and 542).

32. III 7474=ILS 2475, c.R. et consisstantibus (!) in canabis Aelis
leg.XI Cl.
33. AAcR 38 1916 pp.669 and 728.
34. This was certainly true of the vet.ex a(uaestionario) of III
14214/28, whose son served in turn as mil(es) off(icii) pre[sid(is)](!)
35. AE 1927 59; AAcR 38 1916 pp.669 and 728.
36. AE 1919 13; 1924 142-6; and probably 1927 58.

Table 23

Dacia. Recruitment (c. 101 to c. 275 AD).

Italy Narbonens	Danube provinces	Dacia	Canabae	Elsewhere
XIII Gm c101 to 193 AD	Virunum 1933 22 Illyrian Dasumius III 1476	Ampelum III 1318 Sarmizege- thusa III 7979		
V Mac 193 to c275 AD				Thracians 2 Dolens III 6255 Mucianus III 7688
XIII Gm 193 to c275 AD	Iader III 1200 Moesia Superior III 3844	Ampelum III 1317 Napoca III 6246 Sarmizege- thusa 2 III 1479 IX 1609 nat.Dacus 1940 117 Dacia III 1606	Apulum 2 III 1194 III 1204 son of <u>mil</u> XIII Gem 1933 22 sons of veterans 2 III 1471 III 8034	Galatian Deiotarus III 1629,5 Thracian Mucianus III 1070
Legion unknown 193 to c 275 AD			sons of <u>mil</u> XIII Gem 2 1933 248(2) (1 FRUM)	
(excluding Frumentarii)	-	4	8	6
				4

Table 24(1)

Dacia. Veteran Settlement (c.101 to c.275 AD).

Returned to homes outside Dacia	Settled in Dacia	Settled in canabae	Settled elsewhere
Vexill. XIV Gem c101-6 AD		Apulum III 1158 (Clunia) III 1196 (Anticaria)	2
Vexill. XV Apol c101-6 AD	Sarmizege- thusa III 1478		
I Adj c101 to c114 AD		Apulum III 1004 III 1008	2 Poetovio 1934 226 ILS 9085 (Tacapes) 2
XIII Gm c101 to 193 AD	Sarmizege- thusa III 1476 (Illyrian) III 1485	2 Apulum III 1037 1093 1155 7796 III p.940 Tablet VII 1933 22 (Virunum)	6
Legion unknown to 193 AD		Apulum III 1091 III p.959 Tablet XXV	2
V Mac c167 to c275 AD	Drobeta III 1584 III 14216/5 III 14216/6 1944 99 Napoca III 7657	4 Potaissa III 7692 III 7694 Apulum III 987 III 7798	2 Celeia III 5130 Salonae 2 III 13907 Ancyra III 6762 Concordia V 1881 (late 3rd)
XIII Gm 193 to c275 AD	Thubursicum Numidarum ILAlg 1339 (ex III Aug)	Ampelum III 1320 Sarmizege- thusa III 7742 1933 248 Dacia III 1569 III 1606	7 Emona III 3844 (Moesia Sup.) Tomi 2 III 7545 III 12497

(Cont.)

Table 24(2)

Dacia. Veteran Settlement (c.101 to c.275 AD cont.).

	Returned to homes outside Dacia	Settled in Dacia	Settled in canabae	Settled elsewhere
Legion unknown 193 to c 275 AD			Apulum III 7736 1930 5 Potaissa III 7680	2
	1	13	26	9

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in

Dacia.

The legionary garrison of Dacia obtained a few recruits from the nearby Danube provinces, but the main bulk came from Dacia itself.

The most important groups were men from the colony of Sarmizegethusa and from the legionary canabae, and the sons of soldiers.

Two colonies were founded by Trajan in Dacia, Zerna and Sarmizegethusa (Digest 50. 15. 1. 8-9). Of the first little further is known, but there is evidence to suggest that the second was settled with veterans. It was probably founded in 110 AD (cf. III 1443). A veteran of XV Apollinaris was buried there after serving as decurion of the colony (III 1478). Since this legion was transferred to the east before the end of Trajan's reign (Ritterling 1754), this man must have settled at Sarmizegethusa at the time of its foundation, or very little later. He was probably a member of a vexillation of the legion which served in Trajan's Dacian war. Similarly no doubt with two veterans of XIV Gemina. One of these (III 1196) served as a decurion of Sarmizegethusa, but later settled at Apulum, where he was buried by his son. The other (III 1158=ILS 2477) also settled at Apulum, where he held a religious office in the canabae of XIII Gemina.¹ Both of these men probably served with a vexillation of XIV Gemina in Dacia during Trajan's campaigns.² The fact that the veteran of this legion mentioned in III 1196 finally settled at Apulum suggests not only that this was the station of the vexillation, but also that he had been deducted to Sarmizegethusa but preferred to end his days in the more familiar surroundings of Apulum.

I Adjutrix took part in the Dacian wars, and remained in Dacia until the beginning of the Parthian war. It also was probably stationed at Apulum, where two of its veterans are known. The inscription which records one of them must be dated, on internal grounds, to before 114 AD (III 1004). The other (III 1008=ILS 2476) is a dedication to Fortune and the genius canabensium by L.Silius Maximus v[et.] leg. I Ad PF magistra(n)s primus in can(abis). It is evident that veterans began to settled in the canabae of I Adjutrix at Apulum from the very beginning, and lost no time in forming an association for their own government. But the camp of I Adjutrix was not the only legionary camp at Apulum. For the dedication erected in this same period by the veteran of XIV Gemina mentioned above (III 1158=ILS 2477) shows that he held the post of aedis custos c.R.leg.XIII. This must surely mean "aedis custos of the Roman citizens settled in the canabae of XIII Gemina". This suggests that, before the Parthian war, not only were there two legionary camps at Apulum, but that each had already acquired its own canabae in which veterans had begun to settle and to form their own associations.³

The veterans of the legions which formed the permanent garrison of Dacia (XIII Gemina, and, from c. 167 AD, V Macedonica) settled mainly in Dacia itself. Those who settled at Salonae, Celeia and Ancyra,⁴ had probably returned to their homes. The man known at Thubursicum Numidarum had probably originated there, and been transferred to XIII Gemina from the vexillation of III Augusta which served in the Marcomannic campaigns of Marcus Aurelius. A veteran who was buried at Concordia had probably served in the late third century vexillation of V Macedonica

which is known in northern Italy (V 7368, cf. Ritterling 1581).

Several veterans are attested at Sarmizegethusa. The two early veterans of XIV Gemina and XV Apollinaris already mentioned both served as decurions of the colony. Veterans of XIII Gemina later served in similar fashion as decurions (III 1485; 7742) or duoviri (AE 1933 248, under Severus Alexander: two of his sons served as decurions before or during service in the army). Veterans of other types of unit are also known as decurions (III 7980) or duoviri (III 1472; 12587). A second century recruit to XIII Gemina from Sarmizegethusa was the son of a duumvir (III 7979). This evidence suggests that the military families of Sarmizegethusa played an important part in the civic life of the colony.

No further veteran colonies were founded in Dacia, and most veterans seem to have preferred to remain in the vicinity of their legionary stations, Apulum and Potaissa. At Apulum, the community which had formed in the canabae of XIII Gemina continued to flourish. The inhabitants are described indifferently as canabenses (III 1093=ILS 7140) or canabari (III 1214=ILS 7154), or as conscripti (!) et c.R. consist. kan.leg.XIII Gem. (AE 1910 84=ILS 9106). They were governed by magistrates with the title decurio canabensium.⁵ The canabae of XIII Gemina are mentioned in documents of 142 and 160 AD.⁶ The canabae of I Adjutrix are not mentioned after the departure of that legion, but it is interesting that two separate communities continued to exist at Apulum. Two inscriptions show a colony and a municipium existing side-by-side - III 975 and III 14468. The second of these inscriptions dates to the reigns of Severus or later, since on it Porolissum is described

as a municipium, and Porolissum became a municipium under Severus (AE 1944 52-4). This municipium at Apulum must then be the municipium Septimium Apulum attested in 205 AD (III 1051); it also appears in III 976, 985 and 1082-3. The colony is presumably the colonia Aurelia Apulum of III 7773. But other inscriptions refer to a municipium Aurelium Apulum. These are III 986=ILS 3848; III 1132=ILS 7142; and AE 1944 30. The first of these inscriptions is dated 180 AD. Thus this community was either raised to colonial status by Commodus or refounded under Severus. Perhaps the former is more likely.⁷ A municipium still existed in Gordian's reign, (ILS 7129) but by 250 AD either it also had become a colony or it had been united with the existing colonia Aurelia, for in that year an inscription refers to the col(onia) nova Apulens. (III 1176=ILS 514). The most probable course of events seems to be this:- The progress of legionary canabae to municipal status was usually slow, and that at Apulum probably did not become a municipium before the reign of Severus. But another community at Apulum (which may possibly have originated in the canabae which had begun to form under the walls of the (later-abandoned) camp of I Adjutrix) grew much more quickly, becoming first a municipium and then a colony before the end of the second century. Most probably this community lay at some distance from the camp of XIII Gemina, but its growth may be partly explained if this was where the consular governor of Dacia had his headquarters.

But whatever the precise history of the civic developments which took place at Apulum, it seems that the role played by veterans soon decreased in importance with the increase in formal autonomy. In

addition to the early veterans mentioned above as holding office in the canabae, a veteran of XIII Gemina is attested as a decurio canabensium (III 1093=ILS 7140), and an auxiliary veteran held the same position (III 1100=ILS 7141). But there is no reference to a veteran holding such a position in the municipium or in the colony.

The evidence for Potaissa is confusing. A municipium Septimium Potaissa is mentioned in three inscriptions,⁸ which suggests that the legionary canabae was granted a municipal organization by Severus. However, Ulpian states that a vicus here obtained colonial status from Severus,⁹ and one inscription records a dec(urio) c(oloniae) [P]ot(aissae), (III 1030). Probably this community was quite separate from the legionary canabae, and its rapid growth in size and status may well have been due to the fact that it was free from military control. While veterans are attested in the region of Potaissa there is no evidence that they played a great part in civic life.

Notes to Chapter Two: Dacia.

1. There is no indication that he had originally been deducted to Sarmizegethusa, as claimed by Ritterling (1287).
2. In fact, as Ritterling suggested (1741), the whole legion may have served in Dacia.
3. The vexillation of XIV Gemina was presumably brigaded with XIII Gemina, hence the appearance of a veteran of XIV Gemina in the canabae of XIII Gemina.
4. The man from Ancyra, C.Aurelius Callisthenes (III 266=6762=IGR III 213), was probably recruited to V Macedonica while the legion was serving in the east in 162-6 AD.
5. III 1093=ILS 7140; III 1100=ILS 7141; III 1214=ILS 7154.
6. The wax tablets published in CIL III, pp. 940 (Tablet VII) and 959 (Tablet XXV) respectively.
7. While an inscription (III 1132=ILS 7142) records a man as primus IIIIvir of the municipium Aurelium, another (III 1083) records a IIIIvir primus annualis of the municipium Septimium. This suggests two different communities rather than that the office of IIIIvir was reorganized under Severus.
8. III 7689; AE 1934 17; AE 1950 14.
9. Digest 50. 15. 1. 9:- Patavissensium vicus, qui a divo Severo jus coloniae impetravit.

Note on Recruitment to Vexillations serving on the Danube.

The abundant evidence for recruitment to III Augusta, the African legion, from its station at Lambaesis shows that many of the men who served in that legion in the second and third centuries were not Africans. Since it is clear that in this period Africa was capable of supplying all the normal recruits needed by III Augusta, these men must have reached the legion in some way other than as normal recruits. Most must have been recruited to vexillations of III Augusta which served outside Africa.

The men from the Danube provinces who appear in III Augusta in the first half of the second century had probably joined a vexillation which served in Dacia under Marcius Turbo in 119 AD (Ritterling 1500). VIII 18085 lists at least 23 men from the Danube, including men from Solva in Noricum, from Emona and Savaria in Pannonia and at least one man born castris who, as his cognomen Dassius shows, must have been born in Illyricum. These were the normal sources from which recruits for the Danube legions were drawn in this period.¹ But this inscription also lists 19 men from Napoca, many of them peregrini who received the citizenship on enlistment.² Clearly these were emergency recruits. Men from such a source do not appear among normal recruits before the third century.

In the early third century men appear in III Augusta from Sarmizegethusa (VIII 2586), Sirmium (PD 32), Siscia (VIII 2586) and Augusta ~~in~~ Trajana in Thrace (VIII 18312). Another (VIII 17622) gave his origo simply as Dacia. These men may well have similarly joined a vexillation of III Augusta serving on the Danube. The sources from which they came were all normal for the Danube in the third century.³

Notes.

1. Men known from Dyrrhachium (VIII 3079), Thrace (2 men, VIII 2794) and Sardis (2 men, VIII 3017) had probably been recruited in the same way.
2. To these may be added the men from Napoca mentioned in VIII 2787 and 3021 (the first later promoted to decurion of a cohort).
3. Men from Ratiaria and Scupi are also known in III Augusta (GRAI 1905 p.532), but at what date is uncertain.

The early third century members of III Augusta who give as origines Sarmizegethusa, Siscia and Dacia were all beneficarii consularis of the legate of Numidia. AE 1918 57 shows that the officium of the legate of Numidia included a number of ex frumentariis. (Five are listed in that inscription, one of them apparently an Egyptian, since he had the cognomen Nilammon.) Since frumentarii were frequently recruited outside the province in which they served, the three beneficarii mentioned above may well have been recruited for service as frumentarii in Africa, and later promoted within the officium. Nilammon had probably been recruited in a similar way, and similarly perhaps M. Aurelius Hermias from Alexandria who appears as a bf.cos. in AE 1918 57, L. Cornelius Serapio, a bf.tribuni laticlavi in 198 AD (VIII 2551), and a man from Tarsus, a bf.cos., in VIII 2586. (For a bf.cos. ex fru(mentario), cf. Srpska Spomenik 71, 1931, p.90, no 209.)

Syria. Recruitment (to 69 AD).

Table 25(1)

	Italy Marbonensis Spain	Asia Minor Greece	Syria	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XII Ful to 69 AD	Brixia V 4377 Florentia III 414				
XV Apol 62 to 71 AD		Antioch in Pisidia III 14358/20	Antioch 2 1929 205 1937 147 Berytus 2 1929 208 1934 267 Chalcis 1929 207 Cyrrhus 3 1929 206 1929 209 Betz 309 Heliopolis ILS 9200 Hierapolis 1929 220		
	2	1	10	-	-

Syria, Judaea, Arabia, 69 to 117 AD:-

			Syria Judaea <u>Arabia</u>		
III Gal 69 to 117 AD	Cularo XII 2230				
VI Ferr 69 to 117 AD			Philadelphia 1909 132		
X Fret 69 to 117 AD		Ancyra VI 3614 Fessinus VI 3627	Gadara III 6697		
	1	2	2	-	-

(Cont.)

Syria, Palestine, Arabia. Recruitment (117 to 193 AD). Table 25(2)

	Italy Narbonensis Spain	Asia Minor Greece	Syria Palestine Arabia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XVI Fl 117 to 193 AD		Athens IGR III 917			
III Gal 117 to 193 AD			Apamea 1939 57		
VI Ferr 117 to 193 AD		Miletus IGR IV 825	Capitolias 2 VI 210 X 532		
III Cyr c125 to 193 AD			Hierapolis 1908 258 Arabian Ἀουεῖδος IGR III 1282		
	-	2	5	-	-

Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia. 193 to c. 300 AD:-

			Mesopotamia Syria Palestine <u>Arabia</u>	
I Parth c 197 to c 300 AD		Balbura in Lycia IGR III 479	Antioch ad Hippum Syria XXVII p.247,7	
III Par c 197 to c 300 AD		Nicomedia VI 36775		
III Gal 193 to c300 AD			Arethusa VIII 2904 Trachonitis IGR III 1148 nat.Surus VIII 4310	
VI Ferr 193 to c300 AD	Italica II 4154 (FRUM)			(Cont.)

Table 25(3)

Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia. Recruitment,(193 to c.300 AD cont.)

Italy Narbonens Spain	Asia Minor Greece	Mesopotamia Syria Palestine Arabia	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
III Cyr 193 to c300 AD		Trachonitis Pr 795/6 Arabians 5 IGR III 1300 1301 1330 1933 163 Pr 349	Palmyra IGR III 1035 Nabataeus IGR III 1257 son of centurion of III Cyr 1921 97	nat. Bessus III 104
I Illyr c273 to c300 AD	Tralles ILS 8875			
Syrian or Arabian legion		Trachonitis IGR III 1131 Trachonitis IGR III IGR III	Auranitis 1933 173	
(excluding Frumentarii) -	3	11	4	-

The five men listed as Arabians in III Cyrenaica either themselves had Semitic names or were the sons of men with Semitic names:- IGR III 1300, son of Μολέμος; 1301, son of Αὔραθάνης; 1330, Οὐαράνης (possibly of Persian ancestry); AE 1933¹⁶³, son of Θαιμός; Pr 349, Χάμος.

Table 25A(1)

Recruitment to legions or vexillations temporarily
stationed in the East (69 to 117 AD).

	Asia Minor	Egypt Cyrenaica	Syria Palestine	Castris	Elsewhere
I Adj 114 to 117 AD	Iconium III 11030 nat.Cilix III 11221				
Vexill II Adj 114 to 117 AD	Ephesus III 10319	Cyrene SEG IX 235	Apamea 1906 108		
Vexill III Aug 116 to 117 AD VIII 18084	Aegae Claudiopolis Nicomedia 11 Nicaea 6 Prusias 4	Paraetonium Ptolemais 5 Cyrene	Anthedon Antioch 2 Apamea 4 Aradus Caesarea Capitolias Damascus 2 Epiphaneia Gabala Gaza Heliopolis 2 Laodicea 2 Larissa Ptolemais 2 Scythopolis Sidonia 10 Tripolis Tyre 2 Zeugma	Castris 2	Marciano- polis
Vexill III Aug 114 to 117 AD	Adana VIII 3159 Tarsus VIII 2886		Antioch 2 VIII 2898 VIII 18214 Beroea VIII 3175 Berytus VIII 3278 Syrus VIII 3207		
Other inscrip- tions					
	28	8	43	2	1

(Cont.)

Table 25A(2)

Récrutment to legions or vexillations temporarily
stationed in the East (117 to 193 AD).

	Asia Minor	Egypt Cyrenaica	Syria Palestine	Castris	Elsewhere
Jewish war 132 to 135 AD:-					
Vexill I Ital			Scythopolis 1937 97		
Vexill I Min			Hierapolis Riese 599		
Vexill V Mac			Emesa III 7500		
IX Hisp	nat.Cilix X 1769				
Parthian war 162 to 166 AD:-					
II Adj	Ancyra 2 III 10497 III 10499				
V Mac	Ancyra III 6762				
	4	-	3	-	-

Parthian wars of Severus, Caracalla and Alexander:-

Vexill X Gem			Antioch III 10920		
Vexill III Aug		Egyptians2 Ammon CRAI 1921 p.238 Sarapion VIII 2565	Emesa VIII 2568		
Vexill II Adj		Egyptian P.Tebt. II 583	Emesa III 3301 Hierapolis III 11076		

(Cont.)

Table 25A(3)

Recruitment to legions or vexillations temporarily
stationed in the East (third century cont.).

Asia Minor	Egypt Cyrenaica	Syria Palestine	Castris	Elsewhere
II Part	Egyptian Serrapio VI 37263	Syrian Iamianus XIV 2268		
-	4	5	-	-

A member of I Minervia with the cognomen Aristaenetus (XIII 8278) and a member of XXX VV with the cognomen Demosthenes (XIII 1841) may well have been recruited to vexillations of those legions serving against the Parthians under Severus Alexander. (For the participation of XXX VV, cf. III 6764; IGR III 1441; Ritterling 1826-7).

Four men from Tarsus (AE 1899 90) and three from Antioch (CRAI 1905 p.532) are known in III Augusta. They may have been recruited to a vexillation of that legion serving in the East. The date of these inscriptions is uncertain.

Table 26(1)

Syria. Veteran Settlement (to 69 AD).

	Returned to homes outside Syria	Settled in Syria	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
III Gal to 69 AD				Sardis 1933 257
VI Ferr to 69 AD				Tarentum IX 6157
XII Ful to 69 AD				Tarentum IX 6156 Callipolis, near Tarentum IX 7
IV Scyt 54 to 69 AD				Isauria IGR III 271
	-	-	-	5

Syria, Judea, Arabia. 69 to 117 AD:-

	Returned to homes outside these provinces	Settled in these provinces	
III Gal 69 to 117 AD			Antipolis in Narbonensis 1945 79
X Fret 69 to 117 AD	Arsinoite XVI App.12		
	1	-	1

Table 26(2)

Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia.
Veteran Settlement. (2nd and 3rd centuries).

	Returned to homes outside these provinces	Settled in these provinces	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
<u>Mid-2nd century:-</u>				
III Gal	Cularo XII 2230 Thuburbo Majus VIII 23989 (ex III Aug)			
X Fret	Alexandria 22 XVI App.13 (ex Misene fleet)			
III Cyr	Arsinoite 1909 98			Acmonia, Phrygia NAMA VI 283
<u>Late 2nd and 3rd centuries:-</u>				
III Gal		Heliopolis 1939 57 (Apamea) Aerita IGR III 1183		
VI Ferr		Apheca IGR III 1110		
III Cyr		Trachonitis 3 IGR III 1135 IGR III 1173 1936 149 Zorava III 125	Bostra 2 IGR III 1300 IGR III 1301 Auranitis 2 IGR III 1265 1922 134 Hamara 1933 169 Saccaea 2 IGR III 1193 1933 163	
I Parth		Antioch ad Hippum Syria XXVII p.247,7 (Antioch ad Hippum)		
(late 2nd and 3rd)	-	8	7	-

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in
Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia.

Table 25 gives the evidence for recruitment to the legions permanently stationed in these eastern provinces (Cappadocia and Egypt are dealt with separately in succeeding sections). This evidence is not large in volume, but it shows clearly, as has long been known, that these provinces soon ceased to be dependent on Italy and the western provinces for their legionary recruits. That this was true as early as the Julio-Claudian period is suggested by the evidence for XV Apollinaris, which, while stationed in the east between 62 and 71 AD, naturally drew on the same sources as the other legions stationed in the same area. Evidence for these other legions is slight because of the lack of inscriptions for this period from Syria and the eastern provinces generally. The evidence for XV Apollinaris comes from tombstones set up after its return to Carnuntum. Ten recruits from Syria and one from Asia Minor are known for XV Apollinaris in 62 to 71 AD. However, since this was a period of more or less continuous warfare in the east, and since for a part of the time at least (while the Vespasianic party was preparing to advance on Rome) provinces other than those of the east were debarred as recruiting grounds, this evidence for XV Apollinaris does not give all the normal sources of recruits for the Julio-Claudian period. The two recruits from Brixia and Florentia to XII Fulminata show that Italy was still normally drawn upon to some extent. Recruits also continued to come from Asia Minor in later years. Nevertheless it is clear that suitable recruits were already being found in Syria itself, and later

recruits to the legion in this area were increasingly of local origin.

Veteran colonies do not predominate among the sources of recruits, partly because they were few in the east. The only Augustan foundation east of Pisidia was at Berytus, to which Heliopolis was attributed,¹ but recruits from there were not very numerous. Claudius founded a colony at Ptolemais. This was certainly a veteran foundation, as its title shows.² Its settlers were drawn from the four legions then stationed in Syria, their standards appearing on its coins.³ Another colony was founded at Caesarea by Vespasian, and although there is no evidence on the point, this was probably a veteran colony also.⁴ For Vespasian, after the experience of the Jewish war, evidently intended to maintain a firm control of the Jews. To this end he stationed a legion in the province of Judaea, and this was presumably also the reason for the settlement of 800 veterans on land at Emmaus, just northwest of Jerusalem.⁵ Confiscated land was no doubt available for distribution here. This, and the proximity to Jerusalem must have decided the site, but no colony was founded. This is explicitly stated by Josephus.

The reason for this is not clear. If, as is probable, most of the veterans were of eastern origin, that is they normally spoke Greek and were but little Romanised, it could be argued that they were regarded as unsuitable material for a Roman colony. If this were the case, it could be further claimed either that the colony of Caesarea, in contrast, must have been settled with veterans of western origin, or that veterans were not settled there at all. But in fact there is little reason for thinking that any serious attempt was made in the

eastern provinces to found communities with a permanently Roman character. The title of the colony was freely granted to communities of purely Greek or native origin, and it is very unlikely that the veterans whom we know to have been settled at Ptolemais were all Latin speaking. If the main function of the settlements at Caesarea and Emmaus was to assist in controlling the Jews, the origins and language of the settlers will have been of small importance. Thus the settlers at Caesarea may well have included many men of eastern origin. At Emmaus, possibly no colony was founded merely because the area of settlement was too widespread to have any one effective focus.

The second Jewish war was occasioned by Hadrian's attempt to re-found Jerusalem.⁶ Whether he originally intended it to be a colony is not clear, but with the war finished Hadrian proceeded to found there the colonia Aelia Capitolina. There is no evidence that this was a veteran colony, but veterans may have been included among the non-Jewish settlers whom Hadrian brought in to repopulate the desolated area. The camp of X Fretensis lay immediately against the west wall of Jerusalem,⁷ and no doubt some kind of community had begun to form in its vicinity in the period after 70 AD. This community will presumably have been absorbed by the new colony,⁸ which had a large territory.⁹ No doubt many of the legion's veterans later settled in Jerusalem, or on its territory, but there is no direct evidence of this.

In addition to these official settlements in Syria and Palestine, a few inscriptions from Tarentum suggest that veterans of VI Ferrata and XII Fulminata took part in the settlement made there by Nero. Otherwise there is but little evidence to show where veterans chose to settle before

about the middle of the second century. Two men are known in Asia Minor, at Sardis and in Isauria, in the Julio-Claudian period. Probably they had returned to their homes. In the late first and early second centuries, we similarly know of men settled outside Syria, most if not all of whom must have returned to their homes. A veteran of X Fretensis who was discharged in 93 AD and settled at Philadelphia in the Arsinoite (XVI App. 12=ILS 9059) was most probably an Egyptian who had been recruited during the emergency of the civil wars (rather than transferred from an Egyptian legion).¹⁰ Another Egyptian who joined III Cyrenaica in Egypt (1909 98) early in Hadrian's reign travelled with the legion to Arabia but returned to Egypt after being discharged in about 150 AD. Twenty-two men from Alexandria who were transferred from the Misene fleet to X Fretensis by Hadrian (XVI App.13=P. S. I. IX 1026), (probably an emergency measure occasioned by casualties during the Jewish war), similarly returned to Egypt.

But all this evidence comes from outside the provinces in which these legions were stationed, and the lack of inscriptions from Syria, Palestine and Arabia themselves seriously distorts the picture of veteran settlement given by Table 26. It is very probable that, if these inscriptions were available, they would show that many veterans did in fact settle in these provinces, where a high proportion of them had in any case originated.

This was certainly the case from about the middle of the second century onwards. Recruits now, apart from a few men from Asia Minor, were mainly drawn from local sources. The evidence for most of the legions concerned is so slight as to be of little value. This is due, again, mainly to the lack of inscriptions from the legionary stations

themselves. (Indeed, the precise location of the fortress of IV Scythica is unknown).

Something can be done to fill this gap by considering the evidence which is available for recruitment to those legions or legionary vexillations which were temporarily stationed in the east during particular campaigns. This evidence has been collected in Table 25A. Some of the attributions there made are necessarily somewhat tentative, but it is unlikely that the resulting picture is grossly misleading. Many legionary vexillations must have served in various parts of the empire of which all trace is now lost. The table confirms the importance of the eastern provinces as recruiting grounds for their own legions. Nevertheless this evidence does not necessarily exactly reflect the process of normal peacetime recruitment. These formations will usually have had to replace considerable battle-casualties, and the sources indicated will have been, not the normal sources, but rather those which it was necessary to fall back upon in time of emergency. Thus Egypt was called upon to supply recruits to some of these vexillations, but it is very unlikely that men from Egypt were normally recruited for legionary service outside Egypt. Nevertheless this evidence does suggest that under normal conditions Syria, Palestine and Arabia could supply their own legionary recruits.¹¹

Fortunately the evidence for one of the legions stationed permanently in the east enables us to learn a little more of the process of normal peacetime recruitment. This is III Cyrenaica, stationed at Bostra in Arabia. Inscriptions are fairly plentiful in this area. Most of these are in Greek, but many of the men mentioned have Semitic names. Of the inscriptions which mention or imply an origo, several refer to men from

the rural areas of Arabia and southern Syria, areas which were less fully Hellenized than the cities. That is, by the third century at latest, III Cyrenaica drew a substantial proportion of its recruits from the less-Hellenized and largely Semitic-speaking populations of Auranitis, Trachonitis and the area around Bostra itself. These areas, as Table 26 shows, are those in which most of its veterans are known. Table 26 lists only those inscriptions which indicate the legions to which the veterans had belonged. Other inscriptions mention veterans without indicating their units, at least seventeen in and around Bostra, and a further twenty or more in Auranitis, Trachonitis and nearby regions.¹² Many of these must refer to former members of III Cyrenaica.¹³ Many of the recruits drawn from this area must have been the sons or relatives of veterans settled there.

In these small towns and villages, veterans and their families seem to have held a distinguished place. Members of veterans' families were styled *δουετρανικοί*, and apparently were regarded as the social equals of the families of men who had served on the councils of the cities on whose territories the villages stood.¹⁴ One veteran served as an *ἐπίσκοπος*,¹⁵ another as the *ἱεροταμίας* of a village cult.¹⁶ A *δουετρανικός* is mentioned as *προνοήτης* of a village temple,¹⁷ and a veteran as the patron of a tribe, the *φυλή Μοσαιεδυνων*, possibly one of the tribes which constituted the citizen body of Bostra.¹⁸ Most of the veterans settled in these villages must have been farmers, mainly no doubt herdsmen rather than cultivators of the soil.

Bostra itself, on whose territory most of the known veterans are attested, was raised to city status when it became a legionary station and the capital of Arabia under Trajan.¹⁹ It became a colony under

Severus Alexander.²⁰ This development was no doubt mainly due to the fact that Bostra was the provincial capital. Civic development alongside legions which were not stationed in cities seems to have been slower. At Raphanea, a legionary station from the early principate,²¹ a city was founded by Caracalla,²² at Caparcotha, the station of VI Ferrata, not before the time of Diocletian.²³

It seems at first sight that the colonies founded at Tyre by Septimius Severus,²⁴ and at Sidon by Elagabalus²⁵ were settled with veterans. On the coins of Tyre appear the legend leg III Gal and the insignia of that legion, a bull,²⁶ and on the coins of Sidon the legend leg III Gal and military standards.²⁷ In the early empire such types would normally indicate a veteran colony (as at Ptolemais above). But it is unlikely that this was the case in the third century. There is no indication that, in any other part of the empire, veterans were settled in colonies after the time of Hadrian. Further, certain other evidence suggests that the appearance of legionary names and insignia on coins does not necessarily imply veteran settlement.

The legend leg III Gal appears on coins of Damascus issued under Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus.²⁸ This is clearly a reference to the fact that III Gallica was then stationed at Danava, near Damascus,²⁹ whither it had moved, probably under Severus Alexander, from Raphanea (Ritterling 1528). Coins of Alexandria issued under Carinus and Numerianus bear the legend ΛΕΓ Β ΤΡΑΙ, a similar reference to a legion stationed in the vicinity.³⁰ Coins of the third century colony of Viminacium in Moesia Superior, of 239 to 257 AD, were struck with the numerals IIII and VII, the numbers of the two legions stationed in the

province, IV Flavia and VII Claudia.³¹ Coins of 246 and 257 AD with the legend provincia Dacia carry representations of the standards of V Macedonica and XIII Gemina, the two legions then garrisoning Dacia.³² There is no evidence for veteran colonies being founded at Viminacium or in Dacia in the third century. Thus at this date the appearance of legionary standards on coins may imply only that those legions were stationed in the vicinity of the issuing authority.

In other cases, genuine veteran colonies founded in the early principate produced in the third century coins which commemorate the legions whose veterans took part in the original settlement. Thus coins issued under Gallienus commemorate the settlement of veterans of a legio II and a legio VII at Parium, a settlement probably made shortly after Actium.³³ In some cases however such coins seem to commemorate fictional settlements. Coins of Philip's reign issued by Heliopolis carry the numbers V and VIII, the numbers of the two legions whose veterans were settled at Berytus in Augustus's reign.³⁴ Heliopolis was attributed to the colony of Berytus from that time until it was erected into a separate colony by Septimus Severus,³⁵ and made the capital of Syria Phoenice.³⁶ This was presumably a means of punishing Berytus, which had supported Pescennius Niger, and the new colony not only assumed the titles of Berytus,³⁷ but also assumed a fictional origin from the veteran settlement which had actually taken place at Berytus. On coins of Damascus dating to the reigns of Philip appears a vexillum with the legend leg VI F [...]³⁸. Damascus became a colony in this reign,³⁹ but there is no reason to think that veterans of VI Ferrata were settled there. At this period VI Ferrata was no longer in the same province

as Damascus, and a vexillation is unlikely to have been stationed in the vicinity of the latter. But VI Ferrata had been in Syria in the early principate, and may at some period have been stationed near Damascus.⁴⁰ At any rate the latter now attributed to itself a connection with that legion, perhaps a fictitious settlement of its veterans.

Thus it is unlikely that veterans of III Gallica were settled at either Tyre or Sidon in the third century. The legends on their coins may refer to stationes or to vexillations of the legion there or nearby (III Gallica was the sole legion of the province in which the colonies were situated, Syria Phoenice), or they may merely reflect the colonies' attempts to arrogate to themselves the status of classical veteran colonies.

Nor is there any real evidence that any of the third century Mesopotamian colonies were settled with veterans. The coins of one of these, Rhesaina, bear the legend L III P after the name of the colony,⁴¹ but this most probably indicates merely that III Parthica was stationed at Rhesaina.⁴² No coins of the other colonies are known which bear legionary legends.

Notes to Chapter Two: Syria, Palestine, Arabia
and Mesopotamia.

1. A.H.M.Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p.289 and p.465 note 85.
2. Col(onia) Ptol(enais) Veter(anorum), AE 1948 142.
3. Head² pp.793-4; Cohen I² p.309, nos.431-2.
4. Its title, colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea (III 12082= ILS 7206; PSI IX 1026=CIL XVI App.13), possibly indicates that this was the first colony founded by Vespasian.
5. Josephus Bell. 7.6.6.
6. Dio 69.12.
7. Josephus Bell. 7.1.1.
8. As suggested by A.H.M.Jones, *Greek City*, p.64.
9. A.H.M.Jones JRS 1931 p.83 and Plate VII; *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p.279.
10. 2,000 legionaries were thus transferred from Egypt to Judaea in 69 AD, Josephus Bell. 5.1.6., but these were probably seasoned troops.
11. A word must be said on the inclusion of IX Hispana in Table 25A(2). The inscription X 1769 is the tombstone of a member of this legion with the name Aelius Asclepiades. He is described apparently as nati(one) Cil(ix). It is difficult to see how this man of eastern origin could have reached IX Hispana, unless the legion had been moved from Britain to the east, or how a man with the nomen Aelius could have been recruited to it, unless it had survived for a few years at least into the reign of Hadrian. (This point seems only to have been noted by Forni, p.88 note 3). This of course strongly supports Birley's view that IX Hispana was not destroyed in

Britain in the last years of Trajan or the early years of Hadrian (Roman Britain and the Roman Army pp.25-8) and suggests that his view (p.28) is correct, that IX Hispana was moved to the east in c. 132 AD for employment against the Jews. It may have been destroyed then or on a later occasion.

12. In or near Bostra:- III 108; IGR III 1294; 1298; 1299; 1302; 1305; 1309; 1310; 1312; 1313 (2 men); 1316 (2 or 3 men); AE 1915 106; 1933 186; 188; 190; Rev. Bibl. 42 1933 p.252 no.230.
In areas to the north and west of Bostra:- IGR III 1170; 1179; 1187; 1188; 1202; 1213 (3 men); 1216; 1218; 1233; 1234; 1246; 1266; 1267=AE 1933 174; 1271; 1336; 1340; AE 1933 168.
Other veterans for whom no unit is known appear at Damascus (IGR III 1091) Heliopolis (III 14384/2) and Tyre (IGR III 1104), and near Emesa (IGR III 1022).
13. Or possibly of other legions stationed in the nearby provinces. III Gallica seems to have drawn some of its recruits from this region, and so some of its veterans may have settled there.
14. Cf. A.H.M. Jones Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces p.288.
15. IGR III 1316. These may have been officials appointed by the cities (in this case Bostra) in the villages on their territories, as suggested by Jones (op.cit. p.467 note 90), but not necessarily sent out from the cities. They may have been drawn from the inhabitants of the villages.
16. IGR III 1299.
17. IGR III 1187.
18. IGR III 1298. For the tribes of Bostra, cf. IGR III 1276-7; AE 1915 106.

19. Head² p.812; IGR III 1319.
20. Head² p.812.
21. III 14165/13; Josephus Bell. 7.1.3; cf. Ritterling 1589.
22. Head² p.782.
23. M.Avi-Yonah, Map of Roman Palestine, p.31.
24. Head² p.801.
25. Head² p.798.
26. Cat. Gr. Coins. Br. Mus., Phoenicia p.269 nos.367-8 and p.270 no.371. Coins of Gallienus show that the colony was founded in 201 AD.
27. Cat. Gr. Coins. Br. Mus., Phoenicia pp.cxi-cxii.
28. Cohen² V p.257 no.174 and p.284 no.177.
29. III 755; Not.Dig. Or. 32.31.
30. Cat. Gr. Coins Br. Mus., Alexandria p.318 no.2459 and p.320 nos. 2470-1.
31. Cat. Gr. Coins Br. Mus., Thrace etc., p.16 no.14 and no.19.
32. Ibid., p.14 no.2.
33. Cf. p.34 above.
34. Cf. pp.34-5 above.
35. Cf. note 1 to this section.
36. That it was the capital is shown by inscriptions mentioning speculatores of III Gallica, III 138 with p.970; III 14385b, and equites singulares of the governor, III 14387f. Cf. also AE 1939 57.
37. Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Heliopolis, III 202; 6665. Cf. colonia Julia Augusta Felix Be[rytus], III 165=14388.
38. Cat. Gr. Coins Br. Mus., Syria etc, p.286 no.25.
39. Head² p.784.

40. It was probably at Raphanea in the earliest years of the principate, III 14165/13; Ritterling 1589. It remained in Syria during the rest of the first century, but its station is unknown.
41. Cat. Gr. Coins Br. Mus., Mesopotamia pp.126ff., esp. p.131 no.35.
42. As suggested by Hasebroek, *Untersuch. Gesch. Sept. Sev.*, p. 111. On the coins the legionary monogram is always given in Latin, and is apparently distinct from the title of the colony.

Table 27

Cappadocia. Recruitment (70 to 117 AD).

	Italy Narbonensis	Syria	Asia Minor	Frontier zone Castris	Elsewhere
XII Ful 70 to 117 AD	Privernum III 353 Arelate XII 685	Antioch VI 3644			
	2	1	-	-	-
<u>117 to c.300 AD:-</u>					
XII Ful 117 to c 300 AD				Neoclaudio- polis Stud.Pont. III p.91,70	
XV Apol 117 to c 300 AD				Neoclaudio- polis Stud.Pont. III p.48,34	
Legion unknown				Lystra 3 III 6787(3)	
	-	-	5	-	-

Other legionaries originating in Asia Minor who may have served in Cappadocia are listed in SBRPAM p.194 no 196 (Lystra) and SBRPAM p.223 no.224 (Isauria).

Men from these places may also have been legionaries, and have served in Cappadocia;- Amasia, Stud.Pont. III p.132 no.108; Hierapolis in Phrygia, IGR IV 836; Laodicea Combusta, MAMA I 206; Nicomedia, Stud. Pont. III p.90 no.69; Olbasa, III 6890.

If the Tib.Cl.Demetrius of VI 36853, a frumentarius of XV Apollinaris, is identical with the man of the same name who appears as a procurator in V 7870=ILS 6762, then he came from Nicomedia, as the latter inscription shows.

Table 28

Cannadocia. Veteran Settlement (70 to 117 AD).

	Returned to homes outside Asia Minor	Settled in Asia Minor	Settled in canabae and frontier zone	Settled elsewhere
XII Ful 70 to 117 AD				Rome VI 3644 (Antioch)
<u>117 to c. 300 AD:-</u>				
XII Ful 117 to c 300 AD	Arsinoite BGUI 272	Neoclaudiopolis Stud.Pont.III p.91,70 (Neoclaudiopolis) Lystra III 6800		Capua X 3895
XV Apol 117 to c 300 AD	Annaedara IL Afr 167 (ex III Aug)	Neoclaudiopolis Stud.Pont.III p.48,34 (Neoclaudiopolis) Isauria IGR III 281		
Legion unknown		Lystra III 6787(2) Isauria IGR III 275	2	
(from 117 AD)	2	7	-	1

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in
Cappadocia.

Cappadocia had a legionary garrison from the beginning of Vespasian's reign, but the evidence for it is slight. This is mainly because very few relevant inscriptions have been found in Cappadocia itself. Such evidence as there is, if considered alone, would give the same distorted picture as would, for example, the present slight evidence for the British legions in the third century.

All that the restricted evidence for recruitment can show is that the Cappadocian legions, like those of the other eastern provinces, soon ceased to be dependent on Italy or the western provinces for their recruits, and that in the second and third centuries Asia Minor was an important source. It is very probable that Cappadocia, and especially its frontier areas, supplied a high proportion of the total. This seems a legitimate conclusion from the evidence of other provinces.

Similarly with veteran settlement. As Table 28 shows, all the evidence available comes from outside Cappadocia, and naturally can show nothing of settlement inside the province. Most of the inscriptions refer to men who settled in Asia Minor, and particularly within the Roman province of Galatia.¹ A considerable number of the inscriptions which mention veterans without giving their units are similarly concentrated in Galatia,² but some of these must refer to veterans of auxiliary units,³ and some also to men returned from service in Moesia and in the other eastern legions. There seems little doubt that, if evidence were available, it would be seen that considerable settlement took place in Cappadocia

itself, and that, as in most other frontier provinces, this was concentrated in the frontier zone, and provided an important source of recruits for the legions of the province.

Apparently no veteran colonies were founded in this region after those established by Augustus in Pisidia. There is no evidence that Archelais, which became a colony under Claudius,⁴ (that is before Cappadocia received a legionary garrison) was settled with veterans. Colonia, which lay near Nicopolis, is only likely to have been a veteran colony⁵ if it were founded not later than Hadrian's reign. It is not mentioned before the fourth century.

According to Procopius, Melitene was raised to city status by Trajan.⁶ This was probably the village near which the legionary camp had been established, and which had grown as a result. There is no evidence that it ever became a colony.⁷ The community which grew up at Satala, the fortress of XV Apollinaris, may have later received colonial status, although the evidence is very doubtful.⁸ Veteran settlement no doubt took place at both these legionary stations, on the initiative of the men themselves, but, on the analogy of other provinces, neither can have been a veteran colony of the classical type.⁹

Notes to Chapter Two: Cappadocia.

1. Of those who settled elsewhere, a man at Ammaedara had probably originated there, and been transferred to XV Apollinaris from the vexillation of III Augusta which served in the Parthian war of 162-6 AD. The veteran of XII Fulminata known in the Arsinoite was discharged in or before 139 AD. He was probably an Egyptian who had been recruited directly to XII Fulminata during the urgent preparations for the Parthian war of 114-7 AD, and who returned to Egypt after service.

The two veterans known at Neoclaudiopolis are described as having served ἐν παρανβολῇ Μελετινῶν and ἐν Σατάλοις. That these expressions mean that they had served in XII Fulminata and XV Apollinaris respectively is confirmed by a comparison with IGR III 1035, from Palmyra, referring to a member of III Cyrenaica. The Greek text of this inscription describes him as a member of III Cyrenaica, the Palmyrene text as "having served at Bostra".

2. Galatia (11):- III 6798; 6890; IGR III 268; 269; 270; 282; 283; 334; 1477; MAMA I 206; SBRPAM p.226 no.235.

Gilicia (7):- IGR III 816; 824; 843; 907(2); MAMA III 105; 366.

Pontus and Bithynia (5):- IGR III 9; 140; 142; 1437(=99=219); Stud.Pont. III p.90 no.69.

Western Asia Minor (8):- III 389; IGR IV 589; 633; 738; 833; 1070; 1154; AE 1929 33. (The man mentioned in IGR IV 738 may well have served in XII Fulminata: his "wife" was called Melitine).

3. Not only of the auxiliary units of Cappadocia, but of those in the other provinces of Asia Minor, - Galatia (JRS 1928 pp. 184ff), Asia (IGR IV 723ff; MAMA IV 328; AE 1927 95) and Lycia-Pamphylia

(XVI 128).

4. Pliny HN 6.8.
5. As suggested by A.H.M.Jones, *The Greek City* p.63.
6. Procopius Aed. 3.4.17.
7. As suggested by A.H.M.Jones, *The Greek City* p.63.
8. III 13629 reads gen col/le fecit/... This may read gen(io)
col(oniae) le(gio) fecit, but gen(io) colle(gii) is also possible.
In both cases the abbreviations are unusual.
9. CIL III 6 suggests that men of XV Apollinaris, which was transferred to the east c. 114 AD (cf. Ritterling 1754), may have been among the 3,000 legionary veterans sent to Cyrenaica by Trajan, after the Jewish Revolt of c. 115 AD. (cf. p.287 below, and JRS 1950 pp.84; 87-8).

Table 29(1)

Egypt. Recruitment (to 69 AD).

	Italy Narbonensis	Asia Minor Syria	Egypt Cyrenaica	Castris	Elsewhere	
III Cyr and XXII Dt (Augustus)	Vercellae Lugdunum 2	Ancyra Etenna Gangra Isinda Nicaea Paphos Pompeio- polis Sebasto- polis Tavium	10 4	Alexandria 6 Paraetonium Cyrene	Castris 2	
III 6627		Berytus Sidon				
III Cyr or XXII Dt (Augustus)	Altinum Cremona	Ancyra 3 Apamea Chrysopolis Pessinus 2 Philomelium			Hadrumetum Utica	
BGU IV 1083		Laodicea 2				
III Cyr to 69 AD	Scaptia X 5368	Amasia III 6607 Gangra III 6607 Tavium III 14138/3				
XXII Dt to 69 AD		Ancyra 2 III 6606(2) Galata III 14132/1		Oxyrhynchus P.Oxy.2349		
III Cyr or XXII Dt	Faesulae 2 XI 1543(2) Fupinia III 12058					
	9	39	9	2	2	

(Cont.)

Table 29(2)
Egypt. Recruitment (69 to 117 AD).

Italy Narbonensis	Asia Minor Syria	Egypt Cyrenaica	Castris	Elsewhere
III Cyr 69 to 117 AD	Damascus III 6603 Ptolemais III 6599			
XXII Dt 69 to 117 AD				Utica III 6602
III Cyr or XXII Dt P.Gen. Lat.1	Damascus Tyre		Castris 2	
III Cyr or XXII Dt		Egyptian P.Baden 72		
-	4	1	2	1
<u>117 to 193 AD:-</u>				
Vexill III Aug c 118 AD		Alexandria 2 VIII 2782 VIII 3101 Egyptian Serapio VIII 2789	Castris 10 VIII 18085	
III Cyr 117 to c 125 AD		Egyptian 1909 98		
II Traj c 120 to 193 AD		Egyptians 2 Sarapammon PSI VIII 928 Ammonius BGU I 240		nat.Afer X 1772 African III 12056
II Traj recruits of 168 AD III 6580	Nicomedia Antioch Caesarea 2 Hierapolis Phil- adelphia Samosata	Alexandria 4 Paraetonium 2 Tanis Thebes	Castris 24	Carthage Hadrumetum
-)	7	14	34	4 (Cont.)

Table 29(3)

Egypt. Recruitment (193 to c.300 AD).

Italy Narbonens	Asia Minor Syria	Egypt Cyrenaica	Castris	Elsewhere
II Traj 193 to c 300 AD	Cilix 1925 63 Berytus 1940 84 (FRUM) Surus III 6596	Egyptian P.Oxy 1666	canabae of II Traj BSAAlex 1929 p.72,7	Carnuntum III 6593 Macedonian III 6592 Thracian Nucianus III 14132
(excluding Frumentarii) -	2	1	1	3

The revised readings of P.Gen.Lat. 1 given by Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte* pp.205-6, have been adopted here. The evidence of III 6580 is as corrected by R.P.Wright in *JRS* 1942 pp. 33ff.

Table 30

Egypt. Veteran Settlement (to 69 AD).

	Returned to homes outside Egypt	Settled in Egypt	Settled in canabae	Settled elsewhere
III Cyr to 69 AD			Alexandria III 6607 (Amasia)	Attaleia in Pamphylia 1915 47
legion unknown	Faesulae XI 1543 (2)	2		
<u>69 to 117 AD:-</u>				
legion unknown		Aphroditopolis P.Fay.91 and 110-123 Karanis P.Mich.VIII 467-481		
<u>117 to c.300 AD:-</u>				
II Traj c 120 to c 300 AD		Heracleopolis PSI VIII 928 (Egyptian)		Caelia in Apulia IX 275 Futeoli X 1772 (African)
II Tr(?)		Tebtunis P.Tabt.II 583		

2

4

1

3

No attempt has been made to list all the many veterans mentioned in papyri without designation of unit. Such a list would merely illustrate the fact that more papyri have been found in certain parts of Egypt than in others.

Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement in
Egypt.

The evidence for recruitment to the legions of Egypt is of a better order than that for the other eastern legions, since we possess two dedication-lists and also part of a nominal roll on papyrus which give partial cross-sections of the legions for two periods, the reign of Augustus and the mid-second century. The Coptos inscription (III 6627=ILS 2483)¹ and the papyrus (BGU IV 1083) give the origins of 50 men recruited to the Egyptian legions in the early years of the principate. The western provinces, including Africa, supplied only seven of these. The greatest number came from Asia Minor (29). Syria supplied four, but as many as seven came from Egypt itself, while two more who were born castris were probably the sons of legionaries serving in Egypt. The evidence from other inscriptions for the Julio-Claudian period adds further recruits from Italy and Asia Minor, but none from Syria. A papyrus adds a man from Egypt. Without the Coptos inscription we should have a very distorted picture of recruitment in this period. With its aid we can see that local recruitment soon became necessary in Egypt, and that the sons of serving legionaries were recruited there from the very beginning of the principate.

Service in Egypt probably had few attractions for citizens of Italy and the western provinces. Men from Asia Minor were available in some numbers, but such long-range recruitment was probably never very satisfactory. The inevitable gaps in the legions' ranks could not be filled by the few recruits possible from Syria (the four legions of Syria would have first call on them), nor by recruits from nearby

colonies (which did not exist in Egypt) or from other groups of Roman citizens (who must have been few in Egypt at this period). Cyrenaica and even apparently Africa were drawn upon, but this also did not suffice. The local source first drawn upon was the Greek cities of the province, no doubt because their citizens formed the only class in Egypt who could easily be given Roman citizenship,² but also because Egyptians were (officially, at any rate) debarred from serving in the legions.³ In practice this prohibition was ignored, but its mere existence probably reduced the number of Egyptians who would otherwise have been recruited. The sons of serving legionaries, even though they must mainly have had Greek or Egyptian mothers, and hence were neither Roman citizens nor probably in any great degree Romanised, must nevertheless in most cases have had some knowledge of the Roman army and of the Latin language (since most of them must have grown up in the vicinity of a legionary camp), and must thus have formed material for legionary service as good as any to be found in Egypt.

Men born castris became increasingly important among recruits to the Egyptian legions. The evidence for the Flavian and Trajanic periods is too small in total volume to be of great value in showing this development, but nevertheless two men born castris are known then.⁴ Ten men born castris in Egypt were recruited to a vexillation of III Augusta at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

For the mid-second century a firm basis is provided by a dedication from the legionary camp near Alexandria,⁵ on which are preserved the origins of 41 men recruited to II Trajana in 168 AD. Of these only one came from Asia Minor. Syria supplied six, and Egypt itself eight.⁶ The number of men born castris was no less than 24, over half the total.

There is no reason for thinking that these were men recruited in an emergency: so far as we know II Trajana did not take part in the Parthian war of 162-6 AD. The high proportion of men born castris was presumably a normal feature of recruitment in Egypt in this period.⁷

The evidence for the third century is too small in quantity to show how high the proportion may have risen then. In Africa the proportion of men born castris reached about 50% in the early third century. In Egypt this proportion had apparently already been reached in the middle of the second century, and probably rose higher in the third.

Most of the women with whom serving members of II Trajana cohabited must have lived, during their partners' service, in the vicinity of the legionary fortress at Alexandria. No doubt some legionaries continued to live there as veterans, and their children will have regarded this as their home. But inscriptions from the legionary camp itself are few, and only one legionary veteran is in fact known there (III 6607). Altogether the evidence for legionary veteran settlement in Egypt is disappointingly small in quantity. For while veterans are commonly mentioned on papyri and some inscriptions, the names of the units in which they had served are rarely given. Thus the evidence listed in Table 30 would be of little value by itself. However, the fact that in Egypt, in the second and third centuries, the title veteranus was recognised as an important distinction, without regard to the type of unit from which the individual veteran had been discharged, suggests that legionary, auxiliary and fleet veterans enjoyed much the same status and privileges in civilian society. Further, a study of the names of the members of these different classes of units shows that progressively during the

second and third centuries they came to be recruited more and more from the same sources, - mainly from among Egyptians, or from among the sons of serving troops, the proportion of Egyptian blood in whom must have increased with each generation.⁸ Thus those inscriptions and papyri which mention veterans without specifying a unit should help to supplement the evidence contained in Table 30, in a discussion of the areas in which Egyptian legionaries chose to settle after service.

Unfortunately, here again the evidence is not well balanced. It derives mainly from papyri, which have been found in great quantities in the Arsinoite, and at certain other places such as Oxyrhynchus, but in comparatively small quantities elsewhere. Hence a considerable number of veterans are known who settled in the Arsinoite nome, but the fact that few are known elsewhere does not prove that they did not settle there. Egypt had no lateral frontier zone, such as attracted veteran settlement in most frontier provinces, and within the province itself there is nothing to suggest that one area proved more attractive than any other. In fact the men attested in the nomes of Egypt must have been mainly men who had returned to their homes, or in the case of men born castris, to their fathers' homes. For the origo castris does not necessarily indicate that the recruit's father had permanently settled in the canabae in which his son had been born. In those provinces in which veterans mainly settled in the canabae of their units, or in the nearby frontier zone, the origo castris will in most cases indicate membership of a military family whose home was in those areas. But in Egypt the origo castris will quite frequently indicate a member of a family living in one of the nomes. Such a recruit may have been

born in the legionary canabae, and have followed his father into the legion. But the evidence for the distribution of veterans suggests that usually his father will have returned to the village or metropolis in which his family originated, and that his son in turn will have done the same.

There is no direct evidence that in Egypt veterans were officially settled on land provided for them by the state.⁹ A papyrus which seems to show this is not necessarily to be interpreted in this way. This is a petition by a veteran, Julius Valerius (Chrest.I 2 461) part of which reads ἐπεὶ [ἐκ τῆς τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτ]οκρατο-
 ῶρων εὐεργησίας ἧς ἐχαρί[σακτο τοῖς ἀπολυθεῖ]σι στρατιώταις
 ἔσχον καὶ γῆν [..... It does not follow from this that the land
 had been granted to Julius Valerius as praemia militiae. He may merely
 have received a cash gratuity which he invested in land. There are
 frequent references to veterans who owned land, and while this was no
 doubt in many cases purchased, it was also often inherited.¹⁰

There are frequent references in papyri to κολωνία. These were apparently groups of veterans with a corporate organization. A papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. 653=Chrest.II 2 90) refers to a veteran who had borrowed money from a κολωνία, and this document and possibly another (BGU II 587) mention a γραμματεὺς who seems to have been an official of the organization. The name κολωνία seems out of place in Egypt. There were of course no true colonies in the province, nor is it likely that the κολωνία were official settlements, in which land was given to the members as in the settlement of a true colony, since one case is known in which a veteran became a member after purchasing land (P.Oxy. 1508).

Κολωνία was probably merely an unofficial name adopted by the veterans themselves, when a group resident in any particular area chose to associate themselves together for the purpose of protecting their interests and privileges. In some areas at least they probably formed the only considerable section of the population which possessed the citizenship, and as such they enjoyed a higher status than even the members of the gymnasia of the metropoleis. Further they had the economic advantage, since they were citizens, of paying no poll-tax, and, since they were veterans, of enjoying certain immunities in regard to liturgies¹¹ and perhaps in connection with certain forms of taxation also.¹² The intrusion in some strength of such a highly privileged class into the rigidly-defined Egyptian bureaucratic regime was bound to cause trouble. They did not fall within any of the clearly-marked juridical classes forming the mass of the inhabitants of the nomes, and to the officials of the bureaucracy they must have seemed a continual nuisance, with their claims of privileges and immunities. We hear of a complaint by a στρατηγός of the Coptite nome of the behaviour of the Roman citizens, Alexandrians and veterans living in his area (BGU III 747=Chrest. I 2 35), but they were probably doing nothing more than insisting on their legal rights. The methods which veterans were forced to adopt when called upon to prove their status at an ἐπίκρισις¹³ suggest that much documentary evidence was necessary if they were to protect their position in everyday life.¹⁴ A veteran would have a greater chance of safeguarding his interests if he were a member of a body whose other members had the same privileges, and the same desire to maintain them. This was presumably the function of the κολωνία .

Agriculture is the only occupation of veterans mentioned in the papyri, and their fortunes naturally varied with the individual. The property of some might remain quite small,¹⁵ but others became quite prosperous. Lucius Bellenus Gemellus, a legionary veteran of the late first century who lived at Aphroditopolis, owned land there and in several parts of the Arsinoite nome which he worked with his sons and a considerable number of employees.¹⁶ Clearly much would depend on the individual veteran. Generally speaking, however, the evidence does not suggest that veterans played any markedly outstanding role in the civic life of the communities in which they lived.

Notes to Chapter Two: Egypt.

1. The exact date of the recruitment of the men listed on the Coptos inscription has been much discussed, but it cannot have been in the triumviral period, as claimed by Cuntz in JOAI XXV 1929 pp.70ff (cf. the full discussion by Forni, pp.61-4), nor is it likely to have been in the early years of Augustus's sole rule, when Egypt had three legions (cf. Strabo 17.1.12 p.797).
Only two legions are mentioned on the Coptos inscription. But since none of the men listed had a cognomen, their recruitment can hardly date after Augustus's reign.
2. Cf. A.H.M.Jones JRS 1936 pp.231-2.
3. Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 55.
4. A recently discovered inscription (AE 1951 88) shows that dilectus were held in Cyrenaica to supply recruits to the Egyptian legions. This instance dates to the reign of Trajan, (for the date cf. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp.23-4), but no doubt this was not the only occasion. (Cf. Tacitus Ann. 14.18 for dilectus in Cyrenaica under Nero: a man from Cyrene appears in the Coptos inscription). But men born castris were not necessarily a second-best, recruited when the supply from such sources as this failed. Militarily they must have been of no less value than men from local civilian sources.
5. III 6580, with the improved readings of R.P.Wright in JRS 1942 pp.33ff.
6. This number included two men, from Tanis and Thebes, who were clearly Egyptians of the lowest juridical class. The fact that they could be openly designated as such by the army authorities (for these dedication-lists clearly give the origines recognized

in official records) suggests that the prohibition contained in Gnomon 55 was merely ignored.

7. It is possible that the Africans known in the Egyptian legions at various periods (cf. Table 29(1) and (2)) may have been transferred from vexillations of III Augusta serving at different times in the east. But this seems unlikely, especially for the Africans recruited in the early principate (BGU IV 1083) and in 168 AD (III 6580). It seems probable that Africa was usually expected to provide some recruits for the Egyptian legions.
8. As suggested by Lesquier, pp.328ff.
9. Veterans owning land are mentioned in, e.g., P.Fay. 91 and 110ff; BGU 18 with 180; 300; 326.
BGU II 448 refers to a veteran whose father owned land at Karanis; BGU II 462 to a serving auxiliaryman who recovered land which had been confiscated from his father and brother.
10. Cf. the evidence for auxiliary recruitment in the late second century contained in P.Berlin 6866 (published by Marichal in *L'occupation romaine de la basse Égypte*) and P.Mich. 162 (Michigan Papyri, Vol.III). These together preserve the origins of 29 auxiliaries. Of these, 16 were born castris and 13 came from the Egyptian nomes.
11. This is clear from BGU I 18 with 180, where a veteran complains that, in spite of the five-years immunity granted to veterans, he had been appointed to a liturgy.
12. Cf. the immunity from vectigalia and portoria granted to certain veterans (of X Fretensis only?) in 88 or 89 AD (XVI App.12=ILS 9059). It is not certain whether this was a regular grant.

13. Cf. Hermes 81 1953 pp.496-500.
14. Apparently even this was not always effective, as in the case of the veteran mentioned in note 11, who was appointed to a liturgy from which he was legally exempt, or of another who was ordered to be flogged by a $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\eta\sigma$ (Aegyptus XII 1932 pp.129-130); presumably he had not had a legal trial.
15. BGU I 326 refers to a veteran of the Misene fleet who owned little more than 6 arouras of land.
16. P.Fay. 91 and 110-123.

Addendum on Recruitment in Egypt.

A recently published dedication from the legionary camp at Alexandria¹ gives the origins of 130 men recruited to II Trajana in 132 and 133 AD. Of these 88 came from Africa (57 of these from pre-Hadrianic colonies), 14 from Italy, one from Dalmatia, eight from Asia Minor and 19 from Syria and Palestine. Men from Egypt do not appear on the list, nor do men born castris. This is in marked contrast with what might have been expected at this period, when, as Table 29 shows, a considerable proportion of normal recruits came from Egypt, or were the sons of legionaries serving in the province.

The date of recruitment suggests the reason for this. In 132 and 133 AD, recruits were probably needed in larger numbers than usual to replace the casualties of the Jewish war, in which II Trajana must have been heavily involved. The editor of the inscription suggests that men from Egypt were not recruited then because it had become official policy to exclude them.² This seems unlikely. We know that at some time between 125 and 138 AD Hadrian transferred a number of Egyptians from the Misene fleet to X Fretensis, stationed in Palestine itself (XVI App. 13). Almost certainly this transfer was made just after the Jewish war, with the object of making good the casualties sustained by X Fretensis at that time.

Similarly no doubt with II Trajana. It is probable that the casualties resulting from the Jewish war were so great that Egypt itself could not supply all the recruits needed, with the result that it was necessary to seek men elsewhere to fill the immediate gaps. The emergency character of the recruitment is shown by the sources drawn

upon. None of the Italians came from the Transpadane area, which supplied by far the greatest proportion of the recruits from Italy when Italy was still a normal source of recruits to the legions (cf. Forni pp.159-163; 169-172; 177-179). Three men came from Rome itself - a feature unparalleled even in the first century AD. (The only other legionary recruit from Rome known in the principate is the man listed in III 14214, who was probably recruited in Rome itself by Vitellius, cf. Table 11(2) above). The remainder came mainly from Latium, Campania and Etruria, a fact which suggests that they were recruited by an officer with a special commission such as that held by Voconius Saxa a few years later - ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδοῦ Θύαλειας Τ[ε]βουρτείνης καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις στρατολογήσαντα.³ Such legionary recruitment in Italy at this period will only have taken place in time of emergency.⁴

Of the recruits from Africa, two-thirds came from pre-Hadrianic colonies, a normal feature for this period (cf. Table 2(1) above, especially VIII 18085 and 18087). But more striking is the high proportion coming from Carthage and its vicinity, 34 from Carthage itself, 15 from Utica⁵ and another six from Uthina, Acholla, Maxulla and Thuburbo Minus - all colonies within a short distance of Carthage. This strongly suggests an intensive recruiting campaign based on the capital of the Proconsular province.

Asia Minor and Syria were normal sources for Egypt, which were now called upon to supply extra recruits. The lack of men from Egypt suggests merely that that source had already been exhausted. It does not necessarily imply a reversal of the previous policy of local recruitment, which was certainly in operation a few years later,

as III 6580 shows.

The sources listed in this inscription are these:-

<u>Italy</u>	<u>Africa</u>	<u>Asia Minor</u>	<u>Syria & Palestine</u>
Abella	Acholla	Ameria	Antioch 2
Blera	Ammaedara 2	Amisus	Apamea
Brixellum	Assuras	Anazarbus	Aradus
Iguvium	Bararus	Nicomedia	Ascalon
Neapolis 2	Carthage 34	Perge	Berytus 2
Nuceria	Cirta	Prusias	Caesarea 3
Perusia	Cuicul	Sebaste (or	Cyrrhus 2
Pisa	Hadrumentum 3	Sebastopolis)	Epiphaneia 2
Rome	3 Lepeis (Magn) 4	Tavium	Gabala
Sora	Leptis (Min) 8		Gadara
Sutrium	Maxulla		Laodicea
	Melzitanum		Larissa
	Oea		Ptolemais
	Theanae		
<u>Dalmatia</u>	Thamb (?) 2		
Varvarinus	Theveste		
	Thuburbo (Min)		
	Thuburbo Majus		
	Thysdrus 5		
	Uthina 3		
	Utica 15		

The origo BAS is uncertain, and has been excluded from this list.

Notes.

1. Mus. d'Alex. Inv. No. 25771. Published by Abdullatif Ahmed Aly in Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University, III 1955 pp. 113-146. This publication was brought to my attention by Prof. A.H.M. Jones.
2. P. 129 of the publication.
3. IGR III 763=ILS 8828, cf. PIR¹ III p.471 no.212. He held this office in c.139-140 AD.
4. Of the three men from Rome, one was a Ti.Claudius, the other two T.Flavii. The latter had the cognomina Diadumenus and Antiochus. They may well have been descended from Imperial freedmen.
5. The evocatus ballistarum from Utica is not included in this total. He was probably a former Praetorian, attached for service with II Trajana.

Table 31

II Parthica. Recruitment (c.197 to c.300 AD).

	Italy	Danube provinces	Thrace	Castris	Elsewhere
II Part	Mediolanum V 5824 Verona XIV 2281	Poetovio VI 2579 III 6700 Savaria XIV 2272 Prentice p.145,134 nat.Dacus VI 3277 Illyrians Dassius XIV 2283 Dasimius XIV 2255 Dasumius VI 3403 Varzo Rend.Linc. 1916 p.403,2	2 nat.Thrax X 5652 Thracians 18 2 Auluzanus XIV 2279 Bitus(3) XIV 2280 XIV 4214 Forni 4 p.199 n2 Diso XIV 2273 Diza (2) VI 37261 1954 9 Dizapor XIV 2284 Dizza XIII 6231 Eptecentus Forni p.199 n2 Mestrianus IGR I 678 Mestrius 1919 72 Mucapor 1908 272 Mucatra ILS 9087 Mucianus (2) III 14393 1908 272 Faibes 1919 72 Zypyr 1919 72		
	2	9	19	-	-

Table 32

II Parthica. Veteran Settlement (c.220 to c.300 AD).

Returned to homes	Settled in Italy	Settled in Canabae	Settled elsewhere
II Part	Ligures Baebiani IX 1459	camp of II Parthica XIV 2270 2271 2276 XIV 2283 (Illyrian) XIV 2284 (Thracian) XIV 2285 2292 2295	Philippi 8 1938 56 Olba in Cilicia ILS 8877
-	1	8	2

An inscription found near Hasta in Liguria (V 7591) may refer to a veteran of II Parthica buried there, but the reading is very doubtful.

Recruitment and Veteran Settlement: II Parthica.

Since it was normally stationed in Italy, and near Rome itself, and since it frequently acted in a role comparable with that of the Praetorian guard and the equites singulares (it often accompanied the emperor on campaign, cf. Ritterling 1479) II Parthica presents certain differences from the other legions in recruitment and veteran settlement. Whereas developments in the provinces allowed the legions stationed there to draw a considerable proportion of their recruits from local sources, including the sons of their own members, this was clearly not possible for a legion newly stationed in Italy, not least because of the reluctance of Italians to undertake legionary service.¹ Consequently II Parthica, like the Praetorian guard and the equites singulares, drew largely on the Illyrian area and Thrace, partly no doubt because these areas were reasonably near to Italy, but also because these areas seem to have been the only ones in the third century which had a surplus of manpower willing to serve in the army.²

The evidence for veteran settlement is small in quantity. Eight inscriptions mention men who settled near the legion's station on the mons Albanus. Only one is known which mentions a veteran settled in the area from which most of the recruits were drawn. This was at Philippi in Macedonia (AE 1938 56): this man had probably returned to his home. But the evidence for men from this area who served in the Praetorian guard suggest that a considerable proportion did in fact return to their homes. A few inscriptions mention Praetorian veterans who settled in the Illyrian area and Thrace - in Pannonia Superior (III 4146 - a Pannonian); Pannonia Inferior (III 3365=AE 1939 156;

III 3395=10378 - he was the son of an auxiliaryman serving in Pannonia Inferior; III 10286); Macedonia (AE 1952 230). But the best evidence which shows that such veterans had returned to their homes is contained in the diplomata. Two men from Philippopolis in Thrace returned there after service (XVI 139: AE 1939 124; perhaps a third in XVI 149), and one returned to Nicopolis in Moesia Inferior (XVI 143). Probably the men known at Taurunum (XVI 148) and Aquincum (XVI 136) had similarly returned to their homes. Another man known at Aquincum originated from Poetovio (XVI 142): perhaps he first served in II Adjutrix at Aquincum before being transferred to the guard. In contrast, three men who came from this area chose to settle in Italy (XVI 151; 155; 156).

Since diplomata are not available for II Parthica, and the evidence is confined to inscriptions, it is probable that the latter give the same inadequate picture as is given by the inscriptions alone for the Praetorian guard, and that in fact a high proportion of veterans of II Parthica returned to their homes in these provinces.³

The absence of men born castris among recruits to II Parthica suggests that few of them came from military families established in those provinces. Rather they seem to have come from the humblest provincial classes. Many have Illyrian or Thracian cognomina, and few can have been highly Romanised. Diplomata and inscriptions referring to Praetorians are frequently found, not in the cities, but in the rural areas,⁴ and the origo of men from these regions often mentions no community, but merely names the province.⁵ Or frequently, when a city is mentioned, it is clear that the man came from a village on

its territory.⁶ Most of these recruits must have been of rural peasant origin, with no previous connection with the army.

Notes to Chapter Two: II Parthica.

1. Most of the Italians who served in II Parthica were probably original members. On the raising of the legion, cf. below p.350.
2. Cf. below pp.357ff.
3. Thracian veterans returned home also from VIII Augusta (AE 1939 238) and from the equites singulares (III 6122 with p.1336). A dedication was erected in 233 AD by the veterani consistentes Augusta Trajana (AE 1933 90). Of these men some no doubt had served in Rome, some perhaps on the Danube or elsewhere, but there is no suggestion that this was an official settlement. These were probably men who had returned to their homes.
4. III 3365=AE 1939 156; III 7414; III 12336; XVI 138; 148; 149; IGR I 1499; AE 1939 124.
5. E.g. civis Thrax or natione Thrax, in X 5652 (II Parthica); XIII 6955,8067= AE 1941 107 (German legions); VI 3195, 3201 (equites singulares); VI 2461, IX 1424 (Praetorians).
6. E.g. X 1754=ILS 2043:- nat. Bessus, natus reg. Serdica vico Magari (Praetorian); VI 37213=ILS 2044:- nat. Pannon., pede Sirmese, pago Martio, vico Budalia (I Adjutrix, transferred to Praetorian cohort). Cf. also VI 2730, 2736, 2807=32582=ILS 4068 (Praetorians); VI 2772, 37224 (Danube legions transferred to the Praetorian guard); VI 3297, 3300 (Equites singulares);

C H A P T E R T H R E E .

The Development of Legionary Recruitment and Veteran

Settlement in the Principate.

I. Recruitment in the Julio-Claudian Period.

As Forni has shown (pp.28-31), Augustus, after reducing the army to a reasonable size after Actium, apparently expected that in future volunteers would supply all the recruits needed for the legions. Whether he expected that Italy would supply the total number required is more doubtful. The evidence for the eastern provinces shows that there the legions soon in fact ceased to receive any significant number of Italian recruits, or of men from the western provinces, and it seems unlikely that any attempt was ever made to maintain the legions of the eastern provinces as an Italian force, or even as one of Roman citizens. Instead, as had been done during the pressing days of the civil wars, peregrini were drawn from the east itself, particularly at first from Asia Minor, but also very soon from Egypt and Syria as well. Most of these peregrini were no doubt volunteers. In the western provinces, although the recruits were almost all born Roman citizens in the Julio-Claudian period, they were not all Italians. Men were also drawn from the Roman communities of Narbonensis, Spain and Africa.

Progressively during the Julio-Claudian period, legionary service became less and less attractive to the citizens of Italy. There is little doubt of the reason. The conditions of service and the rewards to be expected were at fault. Service was long, pay became more and more insufficient, and the meagre grants made to veterans were no re-

compense for these sacrifices. These conditions did not apply to the city troops, in which service was shorter, and pay and veterans' grants on a more liberal scale. Furthermore service was entirely in Italy. Consequently there was never any shortage of Italians willing to volunteer for service in these units, at least before the third century.

In Augustus's reign the shortage of Italian volunteers for the western legions only became evident during the crisis years of 6 and 9 AD. On both these occasions, Augustus attempted to recruit men in Italy, but each time they were not forthcoming, and he finally had to descend to enrolling freedmen.¹ Any comprehensive system of conscription could easily have supplied many more men than were actually needed for the legions.² It is clear then that on these two occasions, Augustus made no attempt to apply compulsion.

In each case the attempted recruitment is described in the sources as a dilectus. Referring to the events of 6 AD, Velleius (2.111) says habiti itaque dilectus, revocati undique et omnes veterani; viri feminaeque ex censu libertinum coactae dare militem. Similarly in 9 AD: Tacitus (Ann. 1.31) refers to the leaders of the mutineers in the German legions in 14 AD as vernacula multitudo nuper acto in Urbe dilectu lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans. Dio (57.5) is more specific: he states that most of the mutineers were ἐκ τοῦ ἀστικοῦ ὄχλου, οὓς ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐάρου συμφορὰν πρᾶσκατέλεξεν.³ Since freedmen had to be called upon on both occasions, then clearly dilectus as used by Tacitus and Velleius did not imply universal military service.

The meaning of dilectus in the principate requires further investigation. Dilectus is used by Tacitus (Hist: 2.93-4) to describe the process by which Vitellius chose men for his 16 Praetorian and four Urban cohorts. It is clear from Tacitus' words that the men were

not forced to make the transfer, but volunteered. A little later, when the people of Rome clamoured to be armed against Vespasian, Tacitus (Hist. 3.58) again refers to their enrolment as dilectus:- superfluenta multitudine curam dilectus in consules partitur. In neither case does dilectus imply compulsion. Similarly, Tacitus (Ann. 13.7) describes a recruitment in the eastern provinces in 54 AD in these words:- Nero juventutem proximas per provincias quaesitam supplendis Orientis legionibus collocari jubet. Quaesitam here suggests voluntary rather than compulsory recruitment, yet the process involved was probably little different from that, described as dilectus, which took place in the same area in 58 AD (Ann. 13.35):- habiti per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus.

On the other hand, in certain cases dilectus may imply compulsory service. Tiberius proposed to make a journey to the provinces in 23 AD (Tacitus Ann. 4.4): multitudinem veteranorum praetexebat imperator et dilectibus supplendos exercitus; nam voluntarium militem deesse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtutem ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant. The multitudinem veteranorum here were clearly men awaiting discharge~~ment~~, who could not be discharged until their units had been brought up to strength by new recruits. The shortage of volunteers presumably applied mainly to Italy. Apparently there was no intention to make this good by conscription in Italy, although it is implied that conscription would be applied in the provinces.

In 59 AD, Pedius Blaesus was expelled from the Senate because of irregularities during his governorship of Cyrenaica:- dilectum militarem pretio et ambitione corruptum (Tacitus Ann. 14. 18). The words

suggest conscription rather than voluntary recruitment. But conscription was also something to be feared in Italy: Velleius (2.111) remarks on Tiberius, quanta cum quiete hominum, rem perpetui praecipuique timoris, supplementum sine trepidatione dilectus providet. Suetonius (Aug. 24) mentions a knight who had his sons' thumbs cut off, in order that they might evade military service. The same writer refers to Italians who fled to ergastula for similar reasons (Suet. Tiberius 8, referring to Augustus's reign), and criticises Caligula with the words dilectibus ubique acerbissime actis (Suet. Caligula 43). In describing the recruitment of freedmen in 9 AD, Velleius says (2.111) viri feminaeque ex censu libertinum coactae dare militem. Similarly Suetonius (Aug. 25): servos adhuc viris feminisque pecuniosioribus indictos, ac sine mora manumissos. Pliny (HN 7. 149) refers to this as servitorum dilectus.

Probably throughout the principate citizens were legally liable to perform military service. This is implied by Menander's reference to a munus militiae (Digest 49. 16. 4. 10): his further remark plerumque voluntario milite numeri suppleuntur shows that, as late as the early third century, not all recruits were volunteers. If for the most part the needs of the army were in practice supplied by volunteers, there would be little need for compulsion. Nevertheless, compulsion must have been necessary on occasions, and it was probably the fact that normally only a few conscripts were needed at any one particular time that made recruitment a res perpetui praecipuique timoris, and give rise to opportunities for corruption. The choice of the few men on whom the burden was to fall could easily become the source of abuses. In all, the

process may often have been little better than the operations of a press-gang, and much more uneven and unfair than would have been the case if universal service had been fully enforced. Apparently however, for the most part, there seems to have been an unwillingness to inflict compulsion on Italy, except in times of urgent crisis, or when new legions were being raised.⁴ Conscription may have been more frequently applied in the provinces. For legionary service both citizens and peregrini may have been conscripted.^{4a}

Nevertheless, the highest proportion of recruits at all periods seem to have been volunteers, and recruitment can generally be discussed on that basis, since it is probable that dilectus were normally held in those areas which did in fact supply most volunteers. For probably dilectus, when sufficient volunteers could be expected, merely took the form of a recruiting campaign, and provided the occasions on which volunteers joined the colours. Only when volunteers were insufficient on any occasion would the authorities be forced to resort to compulsion.

Thus most of the recruits born in the provinces were probably volunteers. In the Julio-Claudian period citizens from Narbonensis and Spain served in most of the areas in which Italians served - on the Rhine, in Illyricum and in Spain itself; towards the end of the period they were similarly recruited to the legions newly established in Britain. The number of men from these sources in proportion to the number of Italians rose progressively during this period. But there was also an increasing tendency towards localisation in recruitment. In the western provinces this development took place first in those legions which had Romanised communities in their neighbourhood or in the hinterland. As the number of Italians declined, the African

legion, although it received a few recruits from Narbonensis, but none at all (so far as our evidence tells) from Spain, drew mainly on the Roman communities in Africa itself. The Spanish legions relied more on Narbonensis than did the African legion: this is not perhaps surprising since there were three legions in Spain down to 43 AD, and two from then to 70 AD. But no men from Africa are known in the Spanish legions. Spain itself soon became the main source of recruits. As more and more of the Roman citizens of Africa and Spain were required for their own respective garrisons, so fewer and fewer were available for service elsewhere. Men from Africa are indeed unknown in the legions of any other western province, although they were probably recruited directly for service in Egypt. Only a few Spaniards were recruited for service outside Spain. They are known in the legions stationed in Germany, Illyricum and Britain.

For the legions stationed in Germany and Britain, Narbonensis and to a lesser extent Spain provided the first reinforcements for the Italians. The legions in Illyricum drew also to some extent on the colonies of Macedonia. These three areas had few colonies or municipia close at hand on which to draw, and it was only gradually that the legions stationed there were able to recruit from less distant sources. Only towards the end of the Julio-Claudian period do men from Noricum begin to appear in the legions of Germania Superior, and men from Illyricum and Noricum in the legions stationed in Illyricum. Further afield the process had not begun to develop before the end of the period. The legions of Germania Inferior were then still dependent on recruits from Italy and Narbonensis, as were those of Britain on these sources and

Spain.

Thus the kind of sources drawn upon by the legions stationed in any one area depended on the availability or otherwise of recruits from nearby Roman communities. The "central" sources continued to be called upon to supply legions which had few or no Roman communities in their neighbourhood. But in general the rapid increase in more localised recruitment in certain areas, especially Africa and Spain, suggests that the authorities in the various areas responsible for recruitment (presumably these were the governors of the provinces in which the legions were stationed) found recruitment from suitable nearby sources more convenient than recruitment from more distant areas, and adjusted their recruitment policy accordingly. But control of policy does not seem to have been left entirely to the individual army commanders. Italians were still being recruited to the legions of Spain when Spanish recruits were being sent to join the legions of Germany, Britain and Illyricum. Possibly this merely reflects the choice made by individual Spanish recruits - some may have chosen to serve outside Spain. But this does not seem very likely. More probably a deliberate policy was involved. It may be that a central controlling authority insisted on each province receiving a proportion of Italians among its legionary recruits, in order to maintain something of the legions' original character. The surplus Spanish recruits resulting from this policy would thus be made available to augment the supply to the legions of Britain, Germany and Illyricum. (African recruits surplus to Africa's requirements seem to have been similarly made available for service in Egypt). Some such reasoning as this is necessary to explain this cross-posting to and from Spain, for such cross-posting was clearly

kept to a minimum: men from Africa were not sent to Spain, nor men from Spain to Africa. Their surplus recruits were sent to the nearest areas in which they were most needed. Men from Narbonensis were similarly distributed according to the needs of the receiving areas. In the Flavian and Trajanic periods, men from Narbonensis and Spain outnumbered Italians in the province which lay furthest from Italy, Britain. In Germania Inferior their numbers were about equal. But men from Narbonensis and Spain were fewer in Germania Superior and Illyricum, which lay nearest to Italy and also had begun to draw on more local sources.

In the eastern provinces the picture is quite different. In the legions of Egypt and Syria very few westerners are known at all, and, since Roman communities were few in the east, they could not be supplemented by Roman citizens from nearer sources, as was possible in the west. Just as, in the late republic, Asia Minor had been an important source of fighting men - mainly then (in normal circumstances) in the form of the forces of allied kings, such as Deiotarus - so in the early principate the legions of the eastern provinces received a high proportion of their recruits from the same area. This is known for the Macedonian command (later Moesia) and for the legions of Egypt, throughout the Julio-Claudian period. No doubt the same was true of the Syrian legions, for which at present insufficient epigraphic evidence is available. However, the vexillum tironum in Syriam euntium which Piso intercepted in 19 AD (Tacitus Ann. 2.78) were probably legionary recruits, and, since Piso was at that time in Cilicia or north Syria, they must have come from Asia Minor.

One particular legion, XXII Deiotariana, was in fact one of the legions which Deiotarus had armed in the Roman fashion, and which

had been bequeathed to Rome, apparently as a complete unit , in 25 BC. (cf. Ritterling 1791-2). But there is no good reason for thinking that other legions in which men from Asia Minor and particularly Galatia are known in the early principate had similar origins.⁵

But Asia Minor was of itself insufficient, or at any rate inconveniently distant, to form the only source of recruits, and more local sources were soon drawn upon. These were of necessity peregrine sources, and it was the Greek cities of the garrisoned provinces which provided the bulk of the men required.

The legions of Macedonia, which later became the garrison of Moesia, held a position intermediate between those of east and west. A high proportion of their early recruits came from Asia Minor, and this source continued to be drawn upon, by the legions of Moesia Superior into the second century, by those of Moesia Inferior apparently into the third. But men from Italy and even Narbonensis were recruited in the first century, increasingly supplemented by men from the colonies established in the provinces near Moesia, particularly Macedonia.

This review has so far dealt with the normal sources of recruitment in the various parts of the empire. But the sources which were able to maintain a regular supply in normal circumstances were not always sufficient in times of crisis, for example when reinforcements were needed for a campaign, when replacements were needed for the casualties of a long war or when a normal source of supply was cut off by civil war or other cause. Normally a temporary need for more recruits will first have increased the demand on the normal sources already being drawn upon. This was probably the case during the eastern wars of Corbulo. In 54 AD, extra recruits for the Syrian legions were sought

proximas per provincias, that is, from the provinces near Syria (Tacitus Ann. 13.7; cf. Forni p.54 notes 1 and 2 on proximas). The dilectus held in Cyrenaica, for his conduct in which Pedius Blaesus was expelled from the Senate in 59 AD (Tacitus Ann. 14. 18), may well have been part of this operation in 54 AD. In 58 AD, Corbulo ordered dilectus in Galatia and Cappadocia to bring the Syrian legions under his command up to strength (Tac. Ann. 13.35).

A crisis might in other cases draw heavily upon sources which were as yet still secondary sources, and indicate in advance sources which would later become important. Thus XV Apollinaris, while serving in the east between 62 and 71 AD, obtained new recruits to fill the gaps caused by casualties in the Armenian campaign and the Jewish war. Of those known to us all but one came from Syria itself (cf. Table 25 above).⁶ Syria probably did not at this period supply so high a proportion of the recruits enrolled in normal circumstances, but it was to do so later. It may be that in many cases the performances of men thus hastily recruited showed that they were suitable material for legionary service, and encouraged later recruitment from these sources in more normal conditions. The first task of Vespasian's party at Berytus, after his proclamation, is described by Tacitus (Hist. 2.82):- prima belli cura agere dilectus, revocare veteranos. This must surely refer to dilectus primarily in the area which he then controlled, and particularly Syria. The salutation of the Sun by III Gallica at Bedriacum (Tacitus Hist. 3.24) may merely indicate that its members had become devotees during their stay in Syria; it is more likely however that the men involved were those hastily levied earlier in the same year in Syria. If so, then Vespasian can have had little cause for complaint with their

performance, and the recruitment of Syrians may well have been extended in consequence.

When Galba in Spain raised a new legion (later VII Gemina), he was forced, since Italy was closed to him as a recruiting ground, to draw all its first recruits from Spain itself.⁷ A few men were later recruited from Narbonensis, when it came under his control.⁸ At this time the Spanish legions still depended to a large extent on Italy for their normal supply of recruits. Similarly I Macriana, which had a short-lived existence in Africa, was no doubt entirely recruited from Africans, at a time when the African legion still drew a considerable proportion of its normal recruits from Italy and Narbonensis, for clearly no other part of the empire can have been available to Macer (Tacitus Hist. 2.97).

After the proclamation of Vitellius, the reinforcements which were needed for his march on Rome naturally could not be obtained from Italy, nor at first from Narbonensis. He was forced to fall back on men from Gaul and Germany:- pauci veterum militum in hibernis relictis, festinatis per Gallias dilectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur (Tac. Hist. 2.57: cf. Hist. 4.19:- subito dilectu suppletæ legiones). Some of these men may have been later discharged by Petilius Cerealis and returned to their homes.⁹ There seems to be no trace of them in the German legions, but a few seem to have been retained, and transferred to other legions (cf. p.165 above). Most of these men were probably of peregrine origin, and this may supply some basis for the taunt of the Othonian party at Placentia, who described Vitellius's men as militem peregrinum et externum (Tac. Hist. 2.21).

In emergencies, altogether new sources might be drawn upon, sources

which were never employed, even in later times, under normal circumstances. Thus men were recruited in Egypt to replace casualties sustained by X Fretensis in the Jewish wars of 66 to 70 AD. A document found in the Arsinoite (XVI app.12=ILS 9059) concerns men of X Fretensis recruited in 68 and 69 AD, and discharged in 93 AD. The veteran who prepared the document, M.Valerius Quadratus, made copies of two imperial constitutions in Alexandria, and the document as a whole was witnessed by nine more veterans, probably men from the same legion and all friends of Quadratus. These men must all clearly have settled in Egypt. It is thus highly unlikely that they originated elsewhere, for only Egyptians are likely to have wished to settle in Egypt after service. Further, their names and the tribe Pollia which is given in six cases (including Quadratus's) show that they were peregrini by origin, or even of lower original status if, as the find-spot suggests, they were ordinary inhabitants of the nomes. There is no reason to think that they had previously served in any other unit, as suggested by Forni, (p.105). Egyptians are not known to have been recruited to the legions of other provinces in normal circumstances at any period. Their recruitment in this case was thus quite exceptional.

The two legiones adjutrices were also formed in exceptional circumstances. I Adjutrix began as an irregular legion, formed by Nero from members of one or both of the Italian fleets (Tac. Hist. 1.6:- ... ea, quam e classe Nero conscripserat.), presumably as a reinforcement for his eastern expeditionary force. It was formed into a justa legio by Galba, soon after his entry into Rome, in an unsuccessful attempt to gain its support (cf. Ritterling 1381-3; H. Nesselhauf ad XVI 7).

II Adjutrix was formed from members of the Ravenna fleet who flocked to join the Flavian party in 69 AD. It became a justa legio in 70 AD. Vitellius raised a further legion from one of the Italian fleets, probably the Misene (Tacitus Hist. 3.55), but this did not survive the civil wars.

Where it is possible to distinguish recruits enrolled under abnormal conditions, they must be left out of consideration in any attempt to discern the policies pursued in normal peacetime conditions. But this will not necessarily be the case with men already serving in a legion in one area who were reformed into a vexillation and transferred bodily to a legion serving in another area. The weakness of IX Hispana after the revolt of Boadicea was partly made good by the transference to it of 2,000 men already serving in the German legions (Tac. Ann. 14.38).¹⁰ Most of the men transferred in this way must have been originally recruited under normal conditions.

On some occasions, normal sources of recruitment might fail without obvious reason. In 65 AD, Tacitus (Ann. 16.13) notes that dilectus were held in Narbonensis, Africa and Asia to supply recruits for the legions of Illyricum. There had been no recent campaign which could have resulted in heavy casualties, and Tacitus merely says, ex quibus (the Illyrican legions) aetate aut valetudine fessi sacramento solvebantur. It seems that while the number of Italians willing to serve in this area had declined, the local sources which had so far emerged could not supply all the additional recruits needed. The legions stationed here had no such highly Romanised areas as Narbonensis, Baetica or Africa Proconsularis in their hinterland on which they could draw. The only colonies of long standing in the area were Salonae,

Narona and Emona. A few men came from Macedonia, which however also supplied Moesia. These sources were to be supplemented later by the Claudian and later foundations, but could not as yet supply the numbers needed. Narbonensis had been regularly drawn upon to some extent for the Illyrican as also for the Moesian legions, but the recruitment of men from Africa and Asia must have been a temporary measure. No African recruits are otherwise known from inscriptions. No Asians are known in Lower Illyricum (Pannonia). A few do appear in Upper Illyricum (Dalmatia), but, as the number of stipendia and legionary titles show (Table 15) all these must have been recruited well before 65 AD. There may thus have been previous emergency recruitments of Asians for the Dalmatian legions. But the number of men so recruited can never have been high, if the inscriptions (which show a much larger number of men from other sources, particularly Italy, in the Dalmatian legions) are any guide. In any case, the dispatch of men from Asia to Dalmatia can hardly have been a regular process, when at the same time men were being moved from as far west as Narbonensis to Moesia and even to Egypt, albeit in small numbers. Such overlapping can hardly have been necessary, nor would it have been convenient. It is more probable that the choice of the provinces to be drawn upon in 65 AD was decided by the immediate availability of recruits there. All three areas were currently supplying recruits to other legions - Asia to the eastern provinces and Moesia, Narbonensis to all the western provinces and to the Danube, Africa to its own legion, III Augusta. These three areas were thus obvious choices for emergency dilectus. The whole process indicates a central controlling authority, presumably under the direct control of the

emperor.

Dilectus are mentioned elsewhere in this period. That which is attested in Africa between 33 and 37 AD (VIII 14603=ILS 2305) was no doubt merely part of the regular process by which the African legion was kept up to strength from Africa itself. Our sources mention dilectus in Italy only during the civil wars of 68-9 AD. Men were recruited by Vitellius in Rome itself for the struggle against Vespasian (Tac. Hist. 3.58, cf. p.309 above). A little later, Agricola, soon after joining the Flavian party, was entrusted by Mucianus with holding a dilectus, presumably in Italy (Tac. Agr.7).

In the latter case, Agricola may actually have been recruiting men for the two new legions raised by Vespasian (as suggested by Ritterling 1267-8). For there is reason to think that new legions, if needed, were normally raised in Italy. They may thus, at first, have contained a higher proportion of Italians than was to be found in the existing legions alongside which they first served.

Three new legions were raised in the Julio-Claudian period, XV and XXII Primigeniae and I Italica. The three Italians known in XV Primigenia, two from Mediolanum (XIII 11853 and 11855) and one from Eporedia (XIII 11854), all died at Wiesenau after serving only one year each. Since this was the legion's first station, at which it remained for a year or two at most, these men had clearly joined it on its first formation (cf. Ritterling 1758-9).¹¹ Some of the Italians listed in XXII Primigenia in Table 13 (4) may also have been original members.¹² Of I Italica, Suetonius (Nero 19) says:- (Nero) parabat et ad Caspiae portas expeditionem, conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tironibus nova

legione, ... It does not seem to have been merely a personal foible of Nero's to raise a new legion in Italy. Evidence suggests that it was still normal practice in the early third century.

Both the practice of raising new legions in Italy, and the recruitment of men from unusual sources in times of emergency, have been taken into account (so far as possible) in this review of recruitment policy in the Julio-Claudian period. The same conditions apply in the succeeding periods.

II. Recruitment under the Flavians and Trajan.

Under the Flavians and Trajan, the numbers of Italians willing to serve in the legions steadily declined, in spite of the increase in pay under Domitian and the increase in the praemia awarded to veterans which no doubt accompanied it. That Vespasian did not deliberately exclude Italians has been sufficiently proved by Forni (cf. esp. pp.65-75).¹³ Of the more Romanised provinces of the west, Africa normally supplied men to the African legion only (apart from a few men to Egypt), and Spain now only to those of Spain and Britain, with a very few to Germany. Narbonensis, with no legionary garrison of its own to supply, still supplied men to almost every part of the empire, although the number began to decline in this period. In fact only in Britain and ~~Spain~~ Spain did their numbers exceed those of the Italians. The conditions which deterred Italians from legionary service apparently had the same effect in Narbonensis.

The distribution of recruits was still apparently centrally controlled, and the evidence, although often limited, offers some suggestions as to the controlling factors. In all of the western and Danube provinces, Italians still appear. In Africa and Spain, the number of Italians was small, since a large number of recruits could be obtained in Africa and Spain respectively: they mainly came from the areas in which intensive settlement from Italy had taken place, and from the veteran colonies in and near those settled areas. But the other provinces had no such abundant local sources on which to draw, and hence had the greatest claim on the "central" sources. Men from Narbonensis, and such men from Spain as were surplus to the requirements of the

Spanish legion, accounted for about half of the recruits to the British legions, where they outnumbered the Italians. In Germania Inferior, men from Italy and Narbonensis were about equal in number. But Italians considerably outnumbered men from Narbonensis in the legions of Germania Superior and of the Danube provinces, while Spaniards there were very few. Clearly, men from the "central" sources were distributed, to some extent, on a geographical basis, presumably in order to obviate unnecessary travelling: Narbonensis and Spain were nearer than Italy to Britain, and to Germania Inferior, but Italy was nearer to the Danube provinces. Further, since the total number of recruits available from Narbonensis must have been smaller than the total available from Italy, and since men from Narbonensis were primarily needed for Britain and Germania Inferior, Italians predominate in Germania Superior, even though it is near Narbonensis.

All the western and Danube provinces, except Britain, began to receive legionary recruits from more local sources in this period. Little Roman settlement had taken place in Britain itself, and the only important source on which its legions drew, in addition to those mentioned above, was Noricum. This province supplied men to Germany also, but here local recruits - from Colonia Agrippina and later Colonia Trajana - were just beginning to appear. Pannonia also had begun to receive men from the Roman communities in the neighbouring provinces, and increasingly from the colonies of Pannonia itself. Men from the frontier zone begin to appear. Moesia had as yet only one colony, at Scupi (supplemented by Oescus and Ratiaria under Trajan), but here men from the neighbouring provinces (Macedonia the most important) could be supplemented by men from Asia Minor, and from the frontier zone of Moesia itself.

A few westerners still joined the eastern legions, but here the main development was the decline in the number of recruits from Asia Minor in the Egyptian and Syrian legions. They ceased altogether to be recruited to Egypt, and the number going to Syria probably declined also. The evidence for regular recruitment to the Syrian legions is of itself inadequate to illustrate this point, but the manner in which recruitment was developing there is suggested by the fact that vexillations of western legions serving in Trajan's Parthian campaigns (which probably had their permanent bases in Syria during those campaigns) drew more recruits from Syria than from Asia Minor, and certainly the Syrian legions later drew most of their regular recruits from Syria. Moesia and particularly Cappadocia must have had first call on men from Asia Minor. In the eastern provinces generally recruitment was becoming more localised, and more quickly than in most of the western provinces.

As in the Julio-Claudian period, the sources drawn upon in emergencies were not always those which normally supplied recruits. A dilectus is mentioned in Numidia, very early in Vespasian's reign, which provided recruits not only for III Augusta, but also apparently VI Ferrata and another legion (ILS 9195). VI Ferrata must have suffered heavy casualties in the Jewish war (when it lost even its commander, Josephus Bell. 2.19.7) and on the Danube in 69 AD (Tac. Hist. 3.46), and presumably needed more recruits than could be immediately obtained from normal sources. The other legion may have suffered similarly during the civil wars or it may have been one of the Egyptian legions, which seem to have drawn recruits regularly from Africa. Africa could no doubt supply recruits, since neither the province nor its legion had suffered damage from the civil wars. Certain of the Danube legions

were apparently reinforced by drafts from a vexillation of III Augusta which served in Trajan's Dacian war (cf. Table 1 and p.67 above). The recruitment of men from the eastern provinces to I Adjutrix, and to vexillations of II Adjutrix and III Augusta, all of which served under Trajan during the Parthian war, has been discussed above (cf. Table 25A and p.215). The appearance of a recruit from Utica in II Trajana is interesting (III 151, cf. Table 1). As Ritterling showed,¹⁴ he was recruited in 96 AD, before the formation of II Trajana. He must then have been transferred from another legion: his origo suggests III Augusta. Probably then, at the beginning of Trajan's Parthian war, some of the members of the vexillation of III Augusta (probably all seasoned troops: this man had served about 18 years) were transferred as reinforcements to II Trajana, while the vexillation replaced them, and its later battle casualties, by recruiting men in the east. An Egyptian who was discharged from XII Fulminata in or before 139 AD (BGU I 272) was probably recruited in the emergency preparations for the Parthian war.

Of the new legions formed by the Flavian emperors and Trajan, there is no evidence for the origins of the first members of XVI Flavia. The evidence for IV Flavia from Dalmatia, where it served from 70 to about 86 AD, is inconclusive, since some of the inscriptions must refer to men recruited after the legion's first formation. Men from Italy, Narbonensis and Dalmatia appear (Table 15(4)) but it cannot be proved that the Italians were all original members and the others all later recruits. As already noted however, it is possible that the dilectus organized by Agricola, probably in Italy (Tac. Agr. 7), was concerned

with the raising of IV Flavia, and XVI Flavia. The evidence for I Minervia (Table 11) is similarly inconclusive, except that a man from Mediolanum (XIII 8071=ILS 2279) must have been recruited in 83 AD at the latest (the probable date of the raising of the legion, cf. Ritterling 1420), since he had served 13 years and the inscription cannot date after 96 AD, since the title Domitiana appears. (He is therefore omitted from Table 11). In II Trajana, the only Trajanic recruit known was an Italian (III 6611). He was clearly a very early recruit (he has no cognomen), and was almost certainly an original member (hence he is omitted from the tables above). For XXX VV, it is very probable that the three men mentioned in V 2391, 3105 and 5010 were all Italians,¹⁵ and all original members. The evidence, though slight, suggests that new legions continued to be raised in Italy.

Altogether it appears that under the Flavians and Trajan, as before, 1) new legions were raised in Italy, and at first contained a disproportionately high number of Italians at a time when Italy was fast ceasing to be a normal source of recruits for existing legions; 2) in times of crisis or in preparation for a particular campaign, men might be transferred from one legion to another, or recruited more intensively from the normal sources, or from sources not normally drawn upon. Allowance must be made for these factors since they must have cut across normal recruitment policies. Clearly the responsible authorities could hardly plan ahead for the sudden demands for recruits which arose in unexpected emergencies, but at least it would be expected that they would plan to meet the legions' normal requirements, especially since it seems evident that for Italy and Narbonensis at least, some control was exercised over the distribution of such recruits as were obtained from these

sources.

It seems pertinent to ask whether the foundation of veteran colonies had any direct connection with recruitment. For wherever veteran colonies were founded they became important sources of recruits: in some areas, notably Africa, they soon became the most important source of all. It might then seem reasonable to suggest that a main object of their foundation was to form organized communities of recruitable Roman citizens in the provinces. However, further examination shows that this can hardly have been so. Even before the end of Trajan's reign, not only was it necessary to fall back on other, and frequently non-Roman sources, in emergencies, but this was true also in normal times. This applied not only in the eastern provinces, where indeed no attempt was ever made to form nuclei of Roman citizens from which recruits might be drawn, but also in such a well-settled and highly Romanised area as Africa. Here, in spite of the considerable number of veteran colonies, men born castris appear among recruits as early as Trajan's reign, and increase in the succeeding century. Yet, while men were allowed to return to their homes in Italy or elsewhere, or to settle in the quasi-Roman communities which grew up in the vicinity of the legionary fortresses or in the adjoining frontier areas, at the same time certain other areas saw little or no organized veteran settlement. Only three veteran colonies were founded in Britain, two in Germania Inferior and only one in Germania Superior - the last (Aventicum) well away from the frontier zone; no colonies were founded at all in those frontier areas of Germania Superior which saw so much later veteran settlement. So far as veteran colonies are concerned, the factors which brought about their foundation must be sought elsewhere.

III. Veteran Settlement to the end of Trajan's reign.

Veterans were settled in some numbers in Italy in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods. The liber coloniarum¹⁶ mentions settlements at Anagnia (230.15),¹⁷ Cereatae Marianae (233.8) and Tifernum (224.2) under Tiberius, and at Cumae (232.12), Teanum Sidicinum (238.7)¹⁸ and Velitrae (238.20) under Claudius. Nero settled men at Antium and Tarentum:- (Tac. Ann. 14.27) veterani Tarentum et Antium adscripti non tamen infrequentiae locorum subvenere, dilapsis pluribus in provincias in quibus stipendia expleverant: neque conjugii suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti orbas sine posteris domos relinquebant. The reference to the provinces shows that it was legionary veterans (and not, for example, Praetorian veterans) who were the subject of Tacitus's remarks. Inscriptions from Tarentum confirm that legionary veterans were settled there: men are known who had served in IV Scythica, V Macedonica and VIII Augusta, the three legions which formed the garrison of Moesia from c.45 AD to c.56 AD (cf. Table 22(1)), and in VI Ferrata and XII Fulminata, both stationed in Syria (Table 26(1)). The reason, if any, for the choice of men who had served in these areas is not clear. However, further evidence might well show that men from other areas were also settled here. Suetonius mentions Praetorian veterans at Antium:- (Nero) Antium coloniam deduxit ascriptis veteranis e praetorio additisque per domicilii translationem ditissimis primipilariis (Nero 9). X 6671 is the tombstone of a Praetorian veteran who probably took part in the settlement, and X6672=ILS 2574 that of a veteran of cohors I classica who is described as deduct. Anti. Another veteran, who also may have been deducted to Antium, is mentioned in X 6674. He had probably

served in a city unit. Legionary veterans are not mentioned on inscriptions, but may be inferred from the words of Tacitus. Veterans were added to the existing colonies of Capua and Nuceria by Nero (Tac. Ann. 13.31), and probably to the colony of Luceria by Nero or Claudius (Ritterling 1263 and 1553 on IX 799; p.120 above). Further Neronian settlements were at Castrimoenium (lib.col.233.5) and perhaps at Beneventum (231.5-7). That at Saepinum (237. 14-16) was not accompanied by promotion to colonial status: it was still a municipium under Antonius Pius (IX 2457).

Tacitus (Ann. 14.27) comments on the veteran settlements made in Italy by Nero:- non enim, ut olim, universae legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et sui cuiusque ordinis militibus ut consensu et caritate rem publicam efficerent, sed ignoti inter se, diversis manipulis, sine rectoribus, sine adfectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in unum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia. The criticism sine rectoribus seems hardly to have been strictly true. The primipilares transferred to Antium were members of the class who became the natural leaders in the veteran colonies. It was the tribunes and centurions who took the leading part in the colonies founded by Caesar and Augustus.¹⁹ As Ritterling suggested, at least one tribune of VI Ferrata seems to have been deducted to Tarentum with veterans of his legion (Columella, IX 235; Ritterling 1264). Further, it was inevitable that colonies should now be founded with veterans from various legions. It was no longer possible for universae legiones to be deducted to one colony, for whole legions were no longer discharged all at one time - as they had been, for example, after Actium. It was apparently the early settlements of Augustus that Tacitus had in mind.

The only criticism of Nero's settlements that seems valid is one that Tacitus does not make - that the attempt was made to settle legionary veterans in Italy at a time when they generally seem to have preferred to remain in the provinces. For Nero is not known to have founded veteran colonies in the provinces. But in any case, as will be seen, the number of legionary veterans settled in Italy may not have been very large.

Vespasian deducted veterans to his home town, Reate, both former Praetorians (IX 4682-3) and also men from the legions of Germania Superior (VIII Augusta, IX 4684, and probably XI Claudia, IX 4687) and Britain (IX Hispana, IX 4685, 4689). Men from the Misene fleet were settled at Paestum in 71 AD (XVI 12-13, 15-16), and other veterans in Samnium, according to Hyginus (Lachmann 131.17), hoc comperi in Samnio, ut agri, quos divus Vespasianus veteranis adsignaverat, eos ab ipsis quibus assignati erant, iam aliter possideri. The same emperor settled men at Panormus (lib.col. 211. 13-14), Abella (230.18-20) and Nola (236.3-6: this confirms Ritterling's view, 1286-7, that X 1263, the tombstone of a veteran of cohors XI Urbana found there, should be read deducto a divo V[espas.], and not a divo N[erva]). Titus is credited with a veteran settlement at Neapolis by the liber coloniarum (235. 15-19). Trajan may have settled veterans on land between Rome and the mouth of the Tiber, if that is the correct interpretation of lib.col.223.2-4:- postea variis locis deficientibus veteranis iussu imp. Caesaris Traiani agri terminis lapideis sunt adsignati. Deficientibus is presumably to be taken with variis locis, not with veteranis: if so, then the reference is again, as in Tacitus Ann.14.27. to the settlement of depopulated areas.

These settlements were not always accompanied by a grant of colonial status. Saepinum has been already mentioned. Reate remained a municipium,²⁰ and there is no evidence that colonies were founded in Samnium: Ritterling (1273-4) has shown that Hyginus's words, quoted above, do not refer to the founding of a colony at Bovianum Undecimanorum. The colony there was probably of Triumviral or Augustan date. Other places settled were already colonies, e.g. Capua and Nuceria. Further, where the foundation of a colony is mentioned in this period, it does not follow that it was accompanied by a veteran settlement. On Puteoli, Tacitus (Ann. 14.27) remarks:- vetus oppidum Puteoli jus coloniae et cognomentim a Nerone apiscuntur. The words vetus oppidum presumably indicate the old Greek city Dicaearchia (Strabo 5.4.6.p.245), a separate community from the Roman colony founded in 194 BC (Livy 32.29, 34.45). The latter was apparently the community which received veterans under Augustus (lib.col.236.13). Tacitus's distinction between Puteoli and the veteran colonies of Antium and Tarentum (the reference to which immediately follows), and his choice of the words jus coloniae et cognomentum, make clear that Puteoli was not settled with veterans. The liber coloniarum claims that Caligula founded a colony at Minturnae (235. 12-14), but makes no mention of veterans. There are references to the settlement of imperial coloni and members of the imperial familia on several occasions:- at Cereatae Marianae under Tiberius (233. 7-9), at Ostia by Vespasian, Trajan and Hadrian (236.7±10), at Nola under Vespasian (236.6) and at Lanuvium under Hadrian (235.4-8). Thus it does not follow that veterans were settled in all the new colonies founded in Italy. Further, when veterans are mentioned, they were not necessarily legionary veterans,

as is clear from the foregoing discussion. The number of legionary veterans settled in Italy was probably not very high.

The reason for most of these settlements seems to be clearly given by Tacitus, when he claims that the veterans settled at Antium and Tarentum non tamen infrequentiae locorum subvenere. The veterans were intended to repopulate areas of Italy which had become deserted. The settlements of imperial coloni and members of the imperial familia must have had the same object. Apparently however the veterans were free to move, and were not prevented from selling their holdings. Hyginus (Lachmann 131.21-132.2) mentions veterans settled in Samnium by Vespasian vendentes ex acceptis suis aut.....adicientes.....ad acceptas suas. An attempt had been made by Caesar to hold veterans to their allotments: according to Appian (BC 3.7) he forbade them to sell them for 20 years. If any such regulation existed in the first century AD, it had little effect. Some men merely moved to other parts of Italy. The diploma of a Syrian from the Misene fleet deducted to Paestum in 71 AD was found at Pompeii (XVI 15), and that of another Misene veteran similarly deducted was found in his tomb on Corsica (XVI 16). Others moved to the provinces, not only to those in which they had served, as Tacitus notes, but also, in the case of men originating outside Italy, to those provinces from which they came. Of two further veterans of the Misene fleet deducted to Paestum, one, a member of the Sapaecian tribe, settled at Neapolis in Macedonia, just on the border of the tribal territory (XVI 12), the other returned to his home in Moesia (XVI 13). One veteran of the Misene fleet is known at Paestum, and he may well have been one of

those officially settled there in 71 AD (X 469 with X 3608=ILS 2903).

If so, then he is the only one known to us who stayed there.

In the provinces also, settlement in an area with which the veterans were unacquainted was often unpopular. Several veterans of XV Apollin-aris are known who, although settled at Savaria by Claudius, preferred to return to Carnuntum, where they had served (cf. pp.197-8 above). Men of provincial origin occasionally may have preferred to return to their homes rather than remain in colonies in a different province, like the member of the Maezaean tribe of Dalmatia who, although deducted to Pannonia in 71 AD after discharge from the Ravenna fleet, chose to return to Dalmatia (XVI 14).

The Pannonian legionaries complained in 14 AD that after service they were liable to be settled diversas in terras (Tac. Ann. 1.17). This did not mean that they were averse to settlement outside Italy. It meant primarily that they did not like being sent away from the areas in which they had served. There is plenty of evidence that this was where most of those who had no wish to return to their former homes preferred to settle. It is quite possible that some of the veterans whom we know to have finally settled in the provinces had been originally officially settled in Italy. The evidence for the desertion of settlements in Italy is most clear in the case of men of the Misene Fleet discharged in 71 AD, but only by the chance that diplomata happen to survive which show where they had been deducted. No such information is available for legionary veterans deducted to Italy. In their case, the only epigraphic information we have is necessarily confined to the men who did not desert their holdings. The picture which Tacitus gives

is probably not much exaggerated. It is not perhaps surprising that the settlement of legionary veterans in Italy was abandoned in Trajan's reign.

Some Italian legionaries returned voluntarily to Italy, almost entirely to their own homes, not to other parts of Italy. The number of inscriptions which mention returned veterans is not very large, but large enough to allow of further examination. The numbers listed in the tables above, as having returned in the period down to the end of Trajan's reign, are these:-

Province or area from which veterans returned	Number of veterans known
Africa	0
Spain	5
Britain	1
Germania Inferior	2
Germania Superior	7
Dalmatia	7
Pannonia	13
Moesia	5
Eastern Provinces	2

Pannonia, with three, later two, legions, about 75% of whose members were Italians, is represented by 13 veterans. For Dalmatia garrisoned by two legions (again about 75% Italian) but only for a little over half the period, there are seven veterans. But Germania Superior, with four legions, reduced to two only towards the very end of the period (with a similar proportion of Italians), is only represented by seven veterans, a proportionately much smaller number, as is that of two veterans for the four, later two, legions of Germania Inferior, even

allowing for the smaller proportion of Italians serving there (about 40%). The numbers become proportionately smaller, the further from Italy the province, and it seems clear that, the nearer to Italy a man served, the more likely he was to make the effort to return there. But even with the provinces nearest to Italy, the proportion who voluntarily returned to Italy does not seem to have been very high. It is interesting to note the considerable number from various parts of Italy who, after serving in Illyricum, chose to settle at Aquileia, even though in many cases their original homes were easily accessible from there (cf. pp.196-7 and Table 18 above).

It remains to discuss the veterans who settled in the provinces, whether voluntarily or as colonists. An attempt can be made to estimate the proportion who were officially settled in colonies. The number of legions from the time of the Varian disaster was always at least 25, rising to 30 under Trajan. The number of men in a legion was, to take a round number, 6,000. Each man served 25 years. If every recruit had survived to complete 25 years' service, each legion would have released 240 veterans each year. But in fact a considerable proportion of legionaries must have died before completing their 25 years, both from natural causes and as battle-casualties. The epigraphic evidence suggests that the proportion who survived was rather less than half.

A dedication set up at Viminacium (III 8110=ILS 2302) records the number of men recruited to VII Claudia in 134 and 135 AD who survived to be discharged, probably in 160 AD. The number given is 239, and it is reasonable to assume that this was the total number discharged on this one occasion. Since this number includes recruits of two successive

years, the number of men who became eligible for release in each year must have been about 120.

No other inscription gives a precise number of veterans in this way. But from certain other dedications, similarly made by veterans at the time of discharge, it is possible to estimate an approximate figure. A dedication made at Troesmis (III 6178) gives the names of some of the men of V Macedonica discharged in one year, probably 134 AD. Since in this period, discharges were made in alternate years only, they must have been recruited in two successive years, probably 108 and 109 AD. The stone is fragmentary, and only 125 names remain decipherable, wholly or in part. But from a study of the surviving portion of the stone it is possible - by filling the gaps, and by allowing for the three cohorts whose members do not appear at all on the surviving faces - to estimate that there were originally just over 200 names altogether. That is, in this case, just over 100 men from each year-group survived to become veterans.

Certain veterans of II Trajana, recruits of 168 AD, erected a dedication to Septimⁱ Severus when they were discharged in 194 AD (III 6580, revised in JRS 1942 pp.33ff). An examination of this stone shows that, while only 49 names now survive in whole or in part, there must have been about 120 names in all. These were the recruits of one year only.

The evidence of certain other of these veteran dedications is not so clear. III 14507 (=JOAI IV 1901 BB 82ff) was set up at Viminacium by veterans of VII Claudia recruited in one year only, 169 AD, and discharged in 195 AD. Yet it can be calculated that there must have been originally at least 230 names on the stone, a number which seems much

too high, when compared with the inscriptions referred to above. The editors in JOAI believe that the answer is to be found in the extra recruitment which must have taken place from about 166 AD onwards, as a result of the ravages of the plague brought to the west by Verus's troops. This may be true, but it is rather surprising that II Trajana in Egypt does not seem to have suffered correspondingly. The large number recruited to VII Claudia in 169 AD may reflect the reinforcements needed to replace battle-casualties during the Marcomannic wars.

The case of VIII 18068 is also obscure. This lists men recruited to III Augusta in 173 and discharged in 198 AD. 34 names survive for cohors VII and at least 32 for cohors X. If a similar number were discharged from each of the other cohorts there must have been originally over 300 names on the stone. But it is difficult to see why the African legion should need such an extra large intake in 173 AD, unless indeed these men were needed to fill the gaps caused by the dispatch of a vexillation of III Augusta to take part in the Marcomannic campaigns.²¹

All told, it is unlikely that the number of veterans discharged from a single legion in any one year will have much exceeded 100, on the average. 25 to 30 legions will thus have produced approximately 3,000 veterans each year. The largest colonies might receive 3,000 colonists, but most were clearly much smaller than this, and the average figure was probably nearer 1,000 (cf. pp.23-4 above). At this rate, about 300 colonies would have been needed to accommodate all the veterans discharged down to the end of Trajan's reign, without allowing for veterans from the Praetorian and Urban cohorts. The number of veteran colonies founded in the same period was less than 50. Clearly they can have provided for

only a small proportion of legionary veterans. There was no attempt at a systematic scheme of colonial foundations to provide for the men as they were discharged.

Augustus, in the early part of his reign, had been able to find considerable quantities of land for his veterans, either by confiscation or purchase. Even in 14 BC this had still been possible to some extent. Later in his reign he was apparently unable to buy land cheaply, and was forced to resort to monetary payments. This was apparently very costly. In an attempt to ease the situation, he extended the length of service, and to provide the necessary money he set up the aerarium militare in 6 AD. But the revenue from this source was insufficient. From the words of the Pannonian legionaries in 14 AD, it is clear that, when it could, the government resorted to the granting of poor quality land instead of money. After his reign, the annexation of new territory provided land for distribution, instead of money, but even so full advantage was not taken of this.

Under Tiberius, the advancing of XV Apollinaris from Emona to Carnuntum was followed by the establishment of a colony at the first-named place. Veterans may have been officially settled at Scarbantia, also in Pannonia, without forming a colony, but this may in fact represent only spontaneous settlement in what was then still a frontier area. Under Tiberius also, a vexillum veteranorum was withdrawn from Narona in Dalmatia, to be succeeded by a colony. Cappadocia was annexed in 17 AD, and since the royal lands must have become public,²² it seems at first sight that the land should have been available for veteran settlement. But in fact Cappadocia was, like Egypt, a source of con-

siderable revenue to Rome (Tac. Ann. 2.42), and this no doubt depended on the rents derived from the bureaucratically controlled public land. This system would presumably have been impaired if large areas had been granted away in full title for colonial settlement. There were thus probably no veteran colonies in Cappadocia.

Claudius's conquests and annexations provided land for further settlement. Colonies were founded at Aprus in Thrace, at Oppidum Novum and probably Lixos in Mauretania, and at Camulodunum in Britain. The moving up of the frontier to the Danube under Tiberius now allowed a colonial foundation at Savaria. Elsewhere, land became available for colonial settlements by the transfer of legions I and XX from the civitas Ubiorum, where colonia Agrippina was founded in 50 AD, and by the transfer of VII Claudia from Delminium, a colony being founded at nearby Aequum. The veteran colony at Salonae was probably ^{re-}inforced by Claudius. Another veteran colony was founded by him at Ptolemais, but the manner in which the opportunity of settling veterans there arose is not clear. It is unlikely that Caesarea in ^MMauretania and Archelais in Cappadocia were veteran colonies.

Under the Flavian emperors, further land in Thrace was taken for the colony of Deultum, and the advance into Numidia provided land for a colony at Madaura. The movement of III Augusta from Ammaedara was followed by the establishment of a colony there, while a colony was founded at Lindum after the departure of II Adjutrix. The colonies at Siscia, Sirmium and Scupi were probably also founded after the departure of their garrisons, whether legionary or auxiliary. The suppression of the Jews in 70 AD no doubt provided confiscated land

for the settlers at Caesarea and Emmaus. The only veteran colony of the Flavian period which was not founded on recently annexed territory or on the site of a previous military station, was at Aventicum. It is uncertain whether Icosium, in the newly formed province of Mauretania Caesariensis, was a veteran colony.

Under Nerva, a colony was founded at Glevum, from whence II Augusta had moved to Isca in about 75 AD.²³ He also founded colonies at Sitifis and Cuicul (unless the latter were Trajanic). At Cuicul auxiliary veterans had apparently already settled - possibly it had been an auxiliary station. The site at Sitifis probably also became available with the advance of the frontier towards the south and the consequent departure thence of an auxiliary unit.

Trajan founded one veteran colony in his new province of Dacia, at Sarmizegethusa, and another in the newly annexed part of Numidia, at Thamugadi. Colonies were also founded at Poetovio, following the departure thence of XIII Gemina (or perhaps I Adjutrix), at Oescus after the transfer of V Macedonica to Troesmis, at Theveste after III Augusta moved from there to Lambaesis, and at Colonia Trajana after XXII Primi-genia moved from there to Mogontiacum. Probably Ratiaria was similarly founded on the site of a legionary fortress, perhaps that of IV Flavia. Thelepte was very probably a military station before the foundation of the colony there. Two of Trajan's colonies were not founded in recently annexed areas, or on former military sites - those at Hadrumetum (which was a refoundation of the Julian colony) and Leptis Magna (if the latter were in fact a veteran colony).

Thus most of the veteran colonies established after Augustus's death were founded either in areas which were only conquered or

pacified after the end of his reign, or else on sites which had but recently been vacated by their garrisons. This seems to confirm the view that there had developed towards the end of Augustus's reign a shortage of good land which was cheap enough to be bought for distribution to veterans: the shortage was only relieved by the annexation of new territory in the succeeding reigns.

This is not to say that the process of colonial settlement was always conditioned only by the availability of good land. In certain cases settlements seem to have been made primarily with a view to providing a second line of reinforcement for the troops holding down a recently subdued area. Thus very probably the main object of the settlement of 800 men at Emmaus, and of a colony at Caesarea, was to assist in the control of the Jews, and Tacitus (Ann. 12.32) describes Camulôdunum as subsidiium adversus rebelles et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum. However it was obviously mainly in newly conquered areas that such assistance would be needed, and there land could be easily appropriated.

But even in the newly conquered areas, full advantage was not taken of the land which was made available. Only one veteran colony was founded in Dacia, and only one in south-western Numidia. None at all were founded in eastern Moesia Inferior, in north-eastern Pannonia or in Germany across the Rhine. Yet in all these areas considerable veteran settlement took place, and in most of them flourishing municipia and colonies later arose. Land in such newly conquered areas would have cost the government nothing: Tacitus (Ann. 12.32) refers to Camulodunum as being founded in agros captivos, and it seems clear from the history of Boadicea's revolt that the land for the colony was not paid for.

Political difficulties arising out of direct expropriation may well provide one of the reasons for the small number of colonies founded in this period. For payment in full for the land required probably involved greater expense than would have been the case if a direct money payment were made to each veteran.

The expense would be less where the site chosen for a new colony was that which had previously housed a legionary or other garrison. This of course provided only the urban site itself. No doubt the former territorium legionis (or the equivalent territory attached to auxiliary stations) became part of the territory of the new colony. But it is doubtful whether this could normally supply enough land for all the necessary allotments, and it must often have been necessary to buy more land for this purpose. However, the total cost involved must have been much less than it would have been if all the land required had had to be bought, and it is notable how many of the colonies of this period were founded in this way.

But probably the main reason for the small number of veteran colonies, and for the fact that they ceased to be founded at all in Hadrian's reign, was the same factor that caused the final abandonment of veteran settlement in Italy - that the men themselves most frequently preferred to remain in the area in which they had served. For not only did this cause men to return from their allotments in Italy to the provinces, but even within a garrisoned province they might return from a colony to their legionary station, as did men of XV Apollinaris from Savaria to Carnuntum under Claudius.²⁴ There would be little point in founding colonies, at some expense, if they were to lose many of their members in this manner. The complaints of the veterans in 14 AD, trahi adhuc diversas in terras

ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant

(Tacitus Ann. 1.17), make it clear that at that period they had little say as to whether or not they were to be assigned to take part in the deduction of a colony. Possibly the smaller number of colonies founded after that date on new sites (that is, excluding those founded on evacuated military sites) may possibly indicate that from that time such colonies were being founded to accommodate only the small number of men who were then willing to volunteer to settle away from the area in which they had served. But even if this were true, it is clear from such evidence as that for Savaria that many of these men also changed their minds. For even men who voluntarily chose to settle away from the area in which they had served (without being deducted) changed their minds and returned to their stations. An early second century veteran of XIV Gemina, who apparently first settled at Savaria, since he served as a decurion there (III 11223, Table 18(3) above), was finally buried at Carnuntum, the station of his legion. C. Pomponius Maximus, discharged from III Augusta towards the end of the second century, after serving as a decurion of Thamugadi, married into a Lambaesian family, and was buried at Lambaesis by his step-son (cf. pp. 83-4 above).

That a high proportion of veterans did in fact prefer to settle where they had served is sufficiently clear, and one result of this was that many of the colonies of this period arose on the sites of former legionary fortresses, where legionary veterans had already begun to settle. The clearest evidence is that for the Dalmatian colonies of Narona and Aequum. Veterans who had settled in the vicinity of the legionary detachment post near Narona were incorporated in the new colony founded there by Tiberius. Veterans of VII Claudia, stationed

at Delminium, who had settled at nearby Aequum were organized as a colony by Claudius, after the legion had left. A veteran of III Augusta who settled in the canabae of his legion at Ammaedara (VIII 23256) probably lived long enough to take part in the foundation of the Flavian colony. Although three veterans who settled in the canabae of their legions at Ara Ubiorum (XIII 8276, 8286, 8288) may all have died before the Claudian colony was founded there, a veteran of XXII Primigenia who settled near his unit, in the late Flavian period, later became a citizen of Colonia Trajana when it was founded (XIII 8652). The veteran of XIII Gemina who settled at its station in the Flavian period, Poetovio, may not have survived to become a citizen of the Trajanic colony there (III 10877), but of the veterans of V Macedonica who are known at its station, Oescus, those mentioned in III 12348 and 14415 had probably settled in the canabae, being later incorporated in the Trajanic colony. At Cuicul, the colony apparently incorporated auxiliary veterans who had previously settled there, probably in or near the canabae of their unit.²⁵

In these cases, it can hardly be said that the initiative in founding the colonies was the government's. After a legion had been stationed on a particular site for even a short period, it attracted a greater or smaller extra-mural settlement of both civilians and veterans. In some cases, the main settlement might be in the immediate vicinity of the fortress itself, as at Glevum,²⁶ in others where the legion had been established near a native village or town, settlement might be attracted to the latter, as apparently happened at Vetera and Aequum. These settlements were mainly Roman in character, for not only were the veterans Roman citizens but so also must have been many of the civilians: few

peregrine women are commemorated as the partners of legionaries, for example. In some cases these communities had attained to some size, and had begun to form unofficial associations for their own government. Certain of the legionary veterans settled near the post at Narona formed a pagus, and those at Aequum elected curatores. It was obviously necessary that these communities should be properly organized, when the legions which had occasioned their development moved away and were not replaced. In view of the presence of veterans the obvious course must have seemed the foundation of a colony, at least where the circumstances suggested that the community was likely to flourish independently of the legion.²⁷ The initiative thus really lay with the veterans themselves, and all that the government did was to give official recognition and organization to their settlements. In most cases no doubt, further veterans were officially settled there in the process.

Where legionary fortresses remained in military occupation, veterans continued to settle in the vicinity. In fact, the process began as soon as a legion reached a new site. A veteran of II adjutrix is known to have settled at Deva within 15 years of its first occupation by a legion (EE IX 1051). Veterans of I Adjutrix and XIV Gemina had settled at Apulum within about 10 years of its occupation (III 1004, 1008, 1158), and had already organized some form of self-government. Elsewhere the main settlement might be, not in the immediate vicinity of the fortress, but in a nearby native town which was thus enlarged and in which the Roman citizens, including veterans, formed themselves into bodies similar to conventus c.R. A veteran of XVI (which was stationed at Mogontiacum to 43 AD) settled in that town and served as curator civium Romanorum (V 5747-ILS 2465).

In two cases under Trajan, the native town near which a legion was stationed was promoted to city status. Bostra was the station of a legion from 105 AD, and became at the same time a city.²⁸ In this case the promotion was probably due to its becoming also the capital of the province. The other case was that of Melitene, near which XII Fulminata was established in 70 AD (Josephus Bell.7.1.3). It was then apparently little more than a village, but became a city under Trajan (Procopius Aed. 3.4.17). This was presumably a result of the development which had followed from the proximity of the legion, including probably the settlement there of some of the legion's veterans. Other communities near which legions were stationed similarly flourished, and were later to receive similar promotions in status.

The main reason why veterans chose to remain where they had served were the length of service involved, and the fact that many of them had set up households in the neighbourhood before they were discharged. Many of them began to cohabit with local women soon after their service began, and by the time they were discharged had grown-up children. Such unions were not, of course, sanctioned. The children were either illegitimate or peregrini, depending on the status of the mother. Nor was their status altered when their father was discharged. Only children born after a legionary's discharge would be legitimate Roman citizens, and then only if the mother were a Roman. They would be peregrini if the mother were a peregrina. For there is no evidence that legionary veterans received the jus conubii with peregrine women, unlike auxiliary veterans. But in spite of these disabilities, and of the difficulties

which must have supervened when a legion was moved to a new site or to a new province, or even when a vexillation was detached for service elsewhere, these households continued to be set up, and to flourish. Normally however the majority of legionaries will have served most or all of their time at one station, and after discharge will have had little desire to pull up their roots and move from the familiar surroundings. This factor must also have prompted the recruitment of many of their sons to the same units. The earliest evidence that we have for such recruitment on any scale comes from Egypt. Here most legionaries must have taken Egyptian "wives" - there can have been few eligible Roman women in Egypt. Their sons will thus have ranked as Egyptians, and no doubt preferred legionary service to remaining in that condition. The legions in Egypt were the more ready to accept such recruits in that there were few other sources on which to draw. But the recruitment of legionaries' sons is known elsewhere in this period - in Africa (VIII 18084), Pannonia (III 11218) and Moesia (III 6188; V 48). This phenomenon was to become of great importance in the second and third centuries, when the frontiers became more stabilised and legions ceased to be moved from station to station.

IV. Recruitment and Veteran Settlement from Hadrian to Diocletian.

An important feature of legionary recruitment in this period is that in their normal year-by-year recruitment, under peace-time conditions, the legions virtually ceased to draw upon Italy. But at the same time the theory seems to have survived, well into the third century, that the legions were composed of Italian citizens. For new legions continued as before to be raised in Italy

During the Parthian war of 162-6 AD, a threatened invasion of the Danube frontier was averted by diplomacy (SHA Marcus 12.13). But this was not the only measure taken. Preparations were made for an offensive across the frontier. In 165 AD, two new legions were raised in Italy, known at first as II Pia and III Concora.²⁹ They were thus raised some time before the mounting of that offensive (it probably took place in 167 AD³⁰). The defeat of the offensive resulted in the invasion of Italy. That is, the legions were not hurriedly raised in the emergency of 167-9 AD, the circumstances of which might be thought to account for the recruitment of Italians. The raising of a legion and its moulding into a fighting force took some considerable time, and would have been impossible in Italy while fighting was going on there. New legions were never raised in defensive circumstances. They were always raised with some particular offensive campaign in view, although not necessarily always to take part in the campaign themselves: sometimes they might replace other legions which would take part in the fighting.³¹

These two legions being thus raised in preparation for the Danube campaign, their recruitment followed what was regarded as the normal pattern. Their original members were Italians, and this no doubt accounted for the cognomen which they soon acquired, Italica. Italians

were extremely rare among legionary caligati at this date so that it was natural to refer to legions composed entirely of Italian as the "Italian" legions.

The legions I, II and III Parthica, as the cognomen indicates, were raised in preparation for a Parthian campaign, in fact for the second campaign of Severus, which began in 197 AD.³² At least three Italians are known in these legions, one of whom, a man from Fanum Fortunae (VI 32540) certainly served under Severus, and was probably an original recruit.³³ The dates of recruitment of the two known in II Parthica are uncertain (V 5824; XIV 2281).³⁴ Inscriptions from the camp of II Parthica mention many men from the Danube provinces (cf. Table 31 above), but since the inscriptions known there, where they can be dated, were all set up after the return of the legion from the East in 219 AD, they must refer to later recruits and not to original members. Such of the latter as can be identified at present were Italians.

Recruitment of legionaries from Italy in 196-7 AD may seem in contradiction with Severus's replacement of the predominantly Italian members of the Praetorian guard by men from the Danube provinces in 193 AD. But the contradiction is more apparent than real. In 193 Severus posed as the avenger of Pertinax, who had been murdered by the Praetorians. The replacement of the latter was merely a punishment for that murder. No principle was established that Italians should be excluded from the guard, for they reappear within a short time.³⁵ By 196 Severus had changed his policy. He had proclaimed himself the brother of Commodus and the son of Marcus, and in general associated himself with the Antonine house.³⁶ The retention of the traditional method of raising new legions was quite in keeping with this.

A further legion was probably raised in Italy by Severus Alexander. In preparation for his Parthian war, Herodian states that he recruited men in Italy (Herodian 6.3.1). An inscription refers to a dilectus in Transpadana during his reign (X 3856=ILS 1173). The Historia Augusta records that Alexander raised a legio IV:- (SHA Maximinus 5.5) statim denique illum (sc. Maximinus) tribunum legionis Quartae, quam ex tironibus ipse (sc. Alexander) composuerat, dedit. This legion was almost certainly IV Italica,³⁷ its cognomen again emphasising the origin of its first recruits.

After this date the evidence concerning the raising of new legions becomes so vague and slight, that it is uncertain how long the practice of raising new legions in Italy may have continued. However, the appearance of such names as I Noricum^{or} and I Illyricorum in the later third century suggests that new legions soon began to be raised elsewhere.

Normal recruitment to the existing legions shows quite different characteristics. The epigraphic evidence shows how far in fact they had become non-Italian in composition. The list of Italian recruits given by Forni for the period Hadrian to Diocletian (pp. 187-8), seventeen out of a total of nearly 1900, shows this clearly. But not all of the seventeen were normal recruits. Six were original members of new legions (including one who must be assigned to the reign of Trajan - III 6611, II Trajana). Of the remaining eleven, the men from Ariminum (VIII 2812, III Augusta) and Aquileia (V 915, II Adjutrix) and the Sabinus (VIII Augusta, V 4894) were all certainly pre-Hadrianic recruits. A man from Novaria in XX VV (V 6632) was not a legionary caligatus, but a Praetorian detached for service as magister balistariorum. Three further men were recruited for service in Italy itself - those from

Verona (XIV 2281, II Parthica), Mediolanum (V 5824, II Parthica, although he may have been an original member of the legion) and Aquileia (VI 37207, a man recruited to a vexillation of X Gemina stationed in the vicinity of Aquileia in the late third century, cf. Ritterling 1686). But these three were really local recruits, and cannot be classed with Italians recruited for service in the provinces. Of these there seem to be only four known to us for the whole of the period from Hadrian to Diocletian, the men from Opitergium (VIII 2983, III Augusta) and Luceria (III 3544, II Adjutrix), and those designated merely as natione Italicus in III Augusta (VIII 3026) and XXX VV (VIII 21053).

The number of recruits from the other central sources also declined. In the second century, one man from Narbonensis is known who served in Spain, two in Germania Superior and five in Britain. Three men from Spain are known who served outside the peninsula in the same period, all of them in Britain. By the third century Narbonensis had probably ceased to supply recruits in the normal way, while Spain supplied recruits only to its own legion.

The manner in which, in the various parts of the empire, men from these central sources had begun to be replaced, in the period down to the end of Trajan's reign, has already been indicated. The same factors operated in the succeeding period. The veteran colonies of Africa provided the bulk of the recruits to the African legion in the second century, and were still the most important source in the early third, after the frontier zone. Gaul and Germany, on the other hand, had few veteran colonies, and the legions of Germany in the second century still had to obtain recruits from as far away as Narbonensis and Raetia, and had to draw on peregrini from Gaul and Germany to supplement them. By the third century most recruits came from the frontier zone of Germany

itself. The situation in Britain was probably very similar. In Spain, conditions more nearly approached those in Africa. With a considerable area that had been early Romanized, and with several veteran colonies, Spain was able to dispense with outside sources early in the second century, and to rely on its own colonies and increasingly on the area immediately surrounding the legionary station. In the Danube provinces that were garrisoned by legions in the second century, the Pannonias, the Moesias and Dacia, there were ten veteran colonies. But with ten legions in these provinces in the same period, it is not surprising that some recruits had still to be drawn from further afield, from Noricum, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Thrace, and also, in the case of the Moesias, from Asia Minor. This even continued, to some extent, in the third century, although by then the bulk of the recruits came from the frontier zone. In the eastern provinces, a lack of Roman communities, particularly veteran colonies, was combined with the fact that few men from the central sources of the west were willing to serve there. For a time, Asia Minor had acted as a central source for all the eastern provinces, but it had soon been necessary to resort to local sources. In the east, the second stage through which recruitment in most of the other provinces passed, that of drawing on nearby Roman communities, particularly veteran colonies, is largely missing.

The importance of the veteran colonies in the development of recruitment is clear. It must have been mainly their military traditions which resulted in their supplying so many recruits. But just as the number of recruits from the central sources declined in the second century, so also apparently did the number from the veteran colonies,

in the late second and early third, although not so markedly. The military traditions of these colonies, especially those outside the garrisoned areas, no doubt became weaker as time passed. Furthermore, new veteran colonies, which might have kept alive such traditions, soon ceased to be founded.

A few veteran colonies may have been founded in Hadrian's reign. The colony of Mursa, in southern Pannonia Inferior, may have been founded on or near the site of a legionary fortress, possibly that of II Adjutrix, which was stationed in this area before moving on to Aquincum. The legion apparently took part in the building of the colony. The position of Mursa, on the edge of the Roman world, accords more with a veteran colony than with a promoted native town. But if a legion had been previously stationed there, the foundation of the colony, as elsewhere, will have merely regulated existing veteran settlements.³⁸ The Hadrianic colony of Aelia Capitolina may have been a veteran colony, although evidence is lacking.³⁹ The 3,000 legionary veterans despatched by Trajan to Cyrenaica after the Jewish revolt of 115 AD⁴⁰ seem to have been finally settled there by Hadrian. Apollonia became a colony during his reign, and veterans may also have been settled at Cyrene, Teucheira and Hadrianopolis.⁴¹ There is no good evidence that any veteran colonies were founded after this date.

After Hadrian's reign the legions rarely changed their stations. Hence no more colonies could be founded on or near the sites of evacuated legionary fortresses. The only legion which did change its station between the end of Hadrian's reign and the mid-third century was V Macedonica, which moved from Troesmis to Potaissa early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but no colony was thereafter founded at Troesmis, even though

veterans had settled there in some numbers.

Further, little new territory was acquired in the second century on which colonies could be founded with little expense. But these were probably not the main reasons for the suspension of the settlement of veterans in colonies. It was no doubt by this time more economical to pay monetary praemia to veterans than to settle them in colonies, which would have involved the purchase of land, especially since veterans generally showed little desire to settle away from the areas in which they had served. Further, it must have been evident by Hadrian's time that the families of veterans settled near their stations had begun to provide an important source of recruits to the legions. As the number of recruits from Italy and the other central sources, and later from the early veteran colonies, declined, the deficiencies were made good by an increasing reliance on men living in the near vicinity of the legionary stations, a high proportion of them the sons or descendants or relatives of legionary and auxiliary veterans settled in those areas.

In the case of such men, their families' military traditions must often have prompted their enlistment. Sometimes it may have been enforced by necessity. Many legionaries' sons must have found no other employment open to them, as the military areas became more densely populated and their communities more highly organized. Also, legionary service was probably the only way by which a legionary's son could hope to attain his father's status. For since most legionaries appear to have "married" at a normal age (there is rarely any great disparity between the age of a legionary and that of his "wife"), most of their children must have been born while they themselves were still serving,

and hence could not be legitimate Roman citizens.

The rule prohibiting a serving soldier from contracting a marriage valid in Roman law had no doubt been originally instituted for sound disciplinary reasons. An army can hardly operate efficiently if encumbered by non-combatants. A further reason may have been that, if legionaries had been allowed to marry legally, the authorities would have been obliged to make financial provision for their dependents. This they were apparently unwilling to do.⁴² But the situation was recognised to some extent. An edict of Hadrian's survives which provided that the sons of legionaries, although not legitimate heirs, should be allowed to inherit by will from their fathers.⁴³ But in general little consideration seems to have been given to the ordinary legionary.

Yet, in spite of the disabilities which attached to legionary service, a large number of legionaries' sons did enlist, and they came to form an important element in the composition of the legions - apparently by the early third century the most important element among normal recruits.

Of course in times of crisis it might be necessary to draw on other sources. In Hadrian's reign, a vexillation of III Augusta which apparently served in Egypt received reinforcements there, presumably to replace casualties. Most of these recruits were men born castris - an indication of the importance which that source had already assumed in Egypt (cf. Table 29). But while operating in Dacia this same vexillation (or another of III Augusta) was forced to fall back on peregrini from an area which had only recently been brought within the empire.⁴⁴ At some time during Hadrian's reign, probably at the time of the Jewish rebellion of 132-5 AD, the numbers of X Fretensis had to be made up

by a draft of men from the Misene fleet, some of whom were Egyptians.⁴⁵
 Under the same emperor, dilectus had to be held in Italy to find men
 for the legions.⁴⁶ But it is clear that this kind of thing only
 happened in times of emergency. Under normal conditions sufficient
 volunteers came forward to supply most if not all of the legions' re-
 quirements. That this was still true in the early third century appears
 from a statement of Menander's (Digest 49.16.4.10):- ...mutato statu
militiae...plerumque voluntario milite numeri supplentur.

The changed conditions of service referred to here were probably
 those brought about by the reforms of Severus. The higher pay (it was
 raised again by Caracalla) must have done something to ease the legion-
 ary's financial burden.⁴⁷ Both serving troops and veterans now enjoyed
 other privileges. They ranked as honestiores, an important concession.⁴⁸
 They were allowed, during service, to live with their wives outside the
 camps, although it is unlikely that they were yet allowed to contract
 a valid marriage while still serving.⁴⁹ Further, promotion to respons-
 ible posts was easier than it had been previously.

However the sufficiency of volunteers at least from local sources
 was not to last long into the third century. No doubt conditions were
 aggravated by the increasing demands for recruits occasioned both by
 the civil wars and by the barbarian invasions of that period. One of
 the measures taken to relieve this situation was to increase the recruit-
 ment of men from Illyricum and Thrace. Such recruits appear not only
 in the legions of the Danube provinces but also in Germany and, in small
 numbers, as far away as Britain and Arabia.⁵⁰ Further they appear in
 considerable numbers in the units stationed in Italy, not only in

II Parthica but also in the Praetorian guard⁵¹ and in the equites singulares.⁵² In the case of the small numbers known in the legions of Africa, Spain, Britain, Arabia and Egypt, it is perhaps possible to claim that they had been transferred to those legions from legions stationed on the Danube. But for the large numbers known on the Rhine and for those who served in Italy this is hardly possible. Least of all does it seem likely that the Thracians known in the German legions can be regarded merely as men recruited to vexillations passing through the Balkans on their way to or from the Parthian campaigns of Caracalla.⁵³ Even if this were true, the choice of Thracians as recruits would still be significant, since the same vexillations apparently received very few recruits from the eastern provinces in which they had operated and in which they must have spent most of their time while away from their home stations (cf. Table 25A).⁵⁴ Forni (p.100 note 1) is no doubt correct in discarding Baehr's view⁵⁵ that Severus Alexander was responsible for this increased recruitment of Thracians and Illyrians. But Baehr's view that the increase in the recruitment of such men was part of a deliberate policy seems to be correct. The responsibility must surely rest with Septim^lus Severus, who reconstituted the Praetorian guard with men drawn from the legionary vexillations which composed his expeditionary force - vexillations mainly drawn from the legions which had first supported him on the Danube, and which naturally included a high proportion of Illyrians and Thracians (II 4114; VI 1450; cf. Ritterling 1311). Thereafter there is little doubt that it was because of their fighting qualities,⁵⁶ and because they were available in some numbers, that these peoples continued to be drawn upon, both for the legions and the city troops. They appear also in the auxiliary

forces.⁵⁷

The fact that Thracians were available in some numbers at this period may be explained by the developments that had taken place in that area in the preceding century. Most of the Thracian recruits of the third century seem to have come from the former tribal areas of the province. These areas, although probably more or less pacified soon after the annexation of the province, only began to be organized on a higher level under Trajan and Hadrian. But there was no great civic development, and the former tribal areas were probably little affected, even a century later. The peaceful conditions however had probably produced a surplus of population which found an outlet in military service. The same was probably true in Illyricum. Herodian (6.8) records that Severus Alexander recruited Pannonians for service on the Rhine - no doubt in the legions - and both Pannonians and "barbarian" Thracians are mentioned in the army with which Maximinus invaded Italy in 238 AD.⁵⁸ Two of the new legions raised in the third century bore the names I Noricorum and I Illyricorum, and just as Maximinus was a Thracian who had risen from the ranks, so many of the later emperors of the third century were Illyrians who had similarly served in the army.⁵⁹ In times of crisis - in the third century almost a permanent state - men were necessarily recruited wherever possible, not only in the provinces but also in Italy. The Senatorial party in 238 AD recruited Italians for the struggle against Maximinus.⁶⁰ An inscription (VI 3836) mentions a dilectus in Aemilia at this time or a little later. Towards the end of the third century, legionary vexillations stationed in the vicinity of Aquileia drew recruits from the neighbourhood,⁶¹ where also some of their veterans settled.⁶²

A further measure taken by the authorities in the third century was to introduce compulsion in the recruitment of legionaries' sons. This was done by making the praemia granted to veterans conditional on the veterans' sons serving in the army in their turn, the praemia taking the form of land allotments in the frontier zones.

There is no evidence to show that veteran settlement in these areas had been deliberately arranged with this end in view, before this period. But at least the practice was not discouraged. In the second century, all that was necessary, apparently, was to allow the veterans to make their own choice. It is possible that the authorities tried to maintain the rural character of the areas in which veterans settled, with the object of producing recruits raised in a rural as well as a military atmosphere. The fact that the development of autonomous status among communities in the frontier zones was slow may have been the result of a deliberate policy aimed at maintaining life there on a level no higher than that of the village or the country market-town. But of course such development could not be delayed indefinitely. Many legionary canabae received municipal and even colonial status in the late second and third centuries.

But whether or not the system had been deliberately planned, the recruiting authorities had no doubt got used to the idea of soldiers following their fathers' profession, and this had come to be regarded as the normal practice. When conditions became difficult, that which had been voluntary was made compulsory - a common enough phenomenon in other spheres in the third century. A passage in the Digest, to be dated to the reign of Severus Alexander at the latest, shows that it was normal then for land in the frontier zones to be requisitioned

for assignment to veterans.⁶³ The Historia Augusta shows that these lands were held on specific conditions, and claims that Severus Alexander was responsible for their first imposition (SHA Sev.Alex.58.4):- sola quae de hostibus capta sunt limitaneis ducibus et militibus donavit, ita ut eorum essent, si heredes eorum militarent, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent, dicens attentius eos militaturos si etiam sua rura defenderent.

The meaning of this passage is clarified by a comparison with another in the life of Probus (SHA Probus 16.5):- veteranisloca privata donavit, addens ut eorum filii ab anno octavodecimo, mares dumtaxat, ad militiam mitterentur. It is clear from this that the lands mentioned in the life of Alexander were not granted to serving soldiers, as appears at first sight, but to veterans, and only on the condition that their sons served in the army. In view of the nature of the source, it would be unwise to insist that it was in fact Severus Alexander who instituted the system, but it seems reasonable to conclude that it was in operation in the early third century.

This system presumably applied to auxiliaries as well as to legionaries, and no doubt continued in operation throughout the third century. In the chaotic conditions of that period it is clear that this method alone could not supply anything like the large number of recruits that must have been required, and there must have been considerable ad hoc conscription among civilians, especially in the areas immediately affected by civil war or invasion. By the fourth century this had hardened into a regular system of conscription, landowners being grouped together to supply recruits in turn.⁶⁴

The recruitment of the sons of men serving in the army also continued,

and clearly remained compulsory. A constitution issued during the joint reign of Constantine and Licinius states that the sons of veterans who cut off their thumbs to avoid military service shall be assigned to curial duties.⁶⁵ Clearly it was held to be a fixed duty that these men should serve in the army. Furthermore, although there is no evidence that grants of land to veterans continued to depend on their sons serving in the army, it is clear that the judicial and other privileges that they received as veterans were so dependent. A later constitution⁶⁶ states;- veteranorum filios, propter privilegia parentibus eorum indulta, vacare non patimur; the sons must serve either in the army or as curiales in return for the privileges granted to their fathers. The term normally used in the codes is fili veteranorum, not fili militum. This suggests that in the fourth century a soldier's sons were normally recruited at the time of his discharge, and not earlier. Presumably they ranked as adcrecentes⁶⁷ while waiting to be thus recruited in their turn.

Land might still be granted to veterans in the fourth and fifth centuries, but not apparently as a regular procedure, and it seems to have been mainly derelict or waste land. They might be given oxen and seed, to enable them to set up as farmers,⁶⁸ and they received certain privileges in regard to taxation.⁶⁹ They also received certain concessions if they engaged in commerce.⁷⁰ There is no evidence that regular citizen troops were allowed to cultivate land while still serving, even among the limitanei, as Mazarino has pointed out.⁷¹ It may often have happened of course that a man serving in the army inherited land from his father, and he will then have had to make some provision for its cultivation. In the case of a limitaneus, the land may often

have lain near his station, and where discipline was slack he may have been able to spend much of his time as a farmer rather than as a soldier.⁷² But the official position is made clear by a law of 409 AD, addressed to the vicar of Africa.⁷³ This shows that for some time before that date, (barbarian) gentiles had been allowed to occupy certain lands in the frontier zone. In return they performed military duties in the limes area. The law provided that when these lands fell vacant they were to be assigned to other gentiles or, failing them, to veterans. The latter were clearly not gentiles. They must have been veterans of the regular frontier forces, and presumably did not already hold any land. Certainly the frontier forces received annonae in the same way as other troops.⁷⁴ Probably the only troops who held land while actually serving were the gentiles themselves, at least before the fifth century.

But even if he were no mere peasant militiaman, the fourth century successor of the legionary of the principate was nevertheless bound by compulsory hereditary service, and the decisive factors that led to this state of affairs were the voluntary settlement of veterans in the frontier zones and the voluntary enlistment of their sons after them.

Notes to Chapter Three.

1. Dio 55.31 (6 AD); 56.23 (9 AD).
2. As is shown by Forni, pp. 29-30.
3. These were not necessarily all members of legio I, as Ritterling (1377) claimed, whether or not that legion was first raised at that time. Other legions were clearly involved. According to Tacitus (Ann. 1.31) the first to rebel were V Alaudae and XXI Rapax. Dio's words probably apply primarily to these legions.
4. Cf. below pp. 321, 326-7 and 349-50.
- 4a. Conscription of peregrini is indicated by SS 71 1931 p.241, 642.
5. There is no support for Sanders' view that III Cyrenaica was originally a Galatian legion like XXII Deiotariana (AJP 62 1941 pp. 81ff).
6. Of the 11 men listed in Table 25, one man, Sex.Trebonius Q. (f.) Fab. Proculus from Berytus (AE 1934 267) was certainly a citizen by birth, but of the others most seem to have been peregrini who received the citizenship on enlistment.
7. Suet. Galba 10:- e plebe quidem provinciae (i.e. Tarraconensis) legiones et auxilia conscripsit. "Legiones" here means legionaries, not that Galba raised more than one new legion. Spaniards who were original members of VII Gemina are attested by Tacitus Hist. 3.25 and by V 920.
8. Cf. Tacitus Hist. 1.65 for legionary recruits raised by Vienna for Galba:- conscriptas nuper legiones in praesidium Galbae. An early recruit to VII Gemina from Narbonensis appears in V 926.
9. The words of Tacitus Hist. 4.71 seem to refer to auxiliaries (or more particularly to the irregular troops raised by Vitellius, cf. Hist. 4.14; 15; 20):- (Petilius Cerealis) dilectus per Galliam

habitos in civitates remittit ac nuntiare jubet sufficere imperio legiones: socii ad munia pacis redirent securi velut confecto bello, quod Romanae manus excepissent. But socii may also refer to peregrini recruited as legionaries.

10. It is possible that one or other of the men from Noavaria, Pisaurum and Verona, listed in Table 9 under IX Hispana, had been thus transferred.
11. Consequently these three men are omitted from Table 11. Whether the two men buried at Bonna (XIII 8079, 8080) were original members cannot now be determined.
12. If this could be proved they also would have no place in that table. This would slightly reduce the proportion of Italians then being recruited to the existing legions of Germania Superior, but would not invalidate the general picture given by the table as it stands. The original members of I and II Adjutrix have of course been omitted altogether, since they were not recruited originally as legionaries. Lists of original members are given by Forni, pp. 215 and 217.
13. SHA Marcus 11.7 may imply that Trajan made some such move, but the evidence is very doubtful, cf. Forni p.55 note 6.
14. Rhein.Mus. 58 1903 pp.476ff.
15. The first and the last were veterans, who must have returned to their homes, in the areas of Hadria and Tridentum respectively, during Hadrian's reign. That the last was named M.Ulpus Bellicus suggests that he was a member of a community in the Alps, attributed perhaps to Tridentum, but whose members were still peregrini (cf. the Anauni a little earlier, V 5050=ILS 206), and that he received the citizenship on enlistment. The name of the second man, A.Considius M.f.Q.n. Capito, strongly suggests that he was an Italian.

The dedication was made at Vicetia during his service, hardly a probable action unless he originated there.

16. The references are by page and line to Lachmann's edition of the Gromatici Veteres.
17. The similar reference to an unknown Calagna (231.16-18) is apparently a corrupt repetition of the reference to Anagnia, cf. Mommsen, Grom. Vet. II p.186.
18. As Mommsen, Grom.Vet. II p.187, shows, the foundation was due to Claudius, not Augustus. Cf. X 4781; 4799.
19. Cf. II 5438; III 6687; V 50; IX 2648; IX 4122=ILS 2644; X 4868 =ILS 2688; X 4876=ILS 2227; X 5713=ILS 2225; XI 623=ILS 2672; XIV 3472=ILS 2637; Not. Scavi. 1893 p.58; ILS 2674; AE 1938 110.
20. Mommsen CIL IX p.438; Weiss P-W IA. 1 346.
21. The other African dedication-lists in which men are listed by cohorts (VIII 2567-9) may not have been lists of veterans, and hence are omitted from this discussion.
22. A.H.M.Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces, p.431 n.16.
23. C.Green JRS 1942 pp.39ff.
24. Cf. p. 198 above. The veteran of XIV Gemina who, after serving as a decurion of Sarmizegethusa, to which he had apparently been deducted on its foundation, was finally buried at Apulum by his son, had probably been stationed at Apulum and had returned to end his days there (III 1196).
25. Inscriptions refer to certain veterans settled here as acceptarii. Accepta was the term used by the surveyors to indicate individual allotments (cf. Lachmann Grom.Vet. pp.132; 204). One of the veterans had certainly served in an auxiliary unit: T. Flavius Quir.

Breucus veteranus acceptarius militavit in ala I Pann., etc (AE 1915 69). He was clearly a Pannonian peregrinus enfranchised on discharge during the Flavian period, and it is unlikely that he came to Cuicul as an original settler. Original members of new colonies were usually referred to as deducticii (cf., e.g., III 8199=ILS 2461). A probable explanation of the use of acceptarius here is that Breucus, after serving with the ala I Pannoniorum at nearby Phua (it is attested there in the first century, VIII 6308; 6309=ILS 2513; AE 1930 132-3), was discharged during the Flavian period and settled of his own accord at Cuicul. Then when the colony was founded there, which would incur a completely new survey of the area, he was granted one of the newly-defined allotments to replace the land which he had presumably owned previously. The same probably happened in the case of two further acceptarii attested at Cuicul, C. Julius C.f. Papiria Crescens (Rev. Ét. Anc. 1915 p.36), whose unit is now unknown, and another man whose name is now lost but who certainly served in the ala I Pannoniorum (ibid.p.35). There is no evidence that auxiliary veterans were deducted to veteran colonies (although veterans from the citizen cohorts might be, cf. X 6672=ILS 2574).

26. C.Green JRS 1942 pp.39ff.

27. In some cases these settlements reached no great development.

Novaesium, Noviomagus and Vindonissa all remained comparatively unimportant after the departure of their legionary garrisons.

28. A.H.M.Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces, p. 293.

29. III 1980=8570. For the date cf. Ritterling 1300-1. There is no reason for thinking that the dilectus in Italy referred to in VI 1377=ILS 1098 was meant to supply troops for the Parthian war, as Forni claims (p.22 note 3). Cf. Ritterling 1301.

30. Cf. J.R.Morris in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XV 1952 p.35. The extra legions implied in Pannonia Inferior in 167 AD (XVI 123) may have included one or both of the new legions.
31. Thus XV and XXII Primigenia were raised either for Caligula's German campaign or for Claudius's British campaign; I Italica for Nero's eastern expedition; I Minervia for Domitian's campaign against the Chatti; II Trajana and XXX VV for Trajan's Dacian wars; IV and XVI Flavia were rather replacements of IV Macedonica and legio XVI than new legions (cf. E.Birley *JRS* 1928 pp.56ff). Of the legions raised during the civil wars, VII Gemina and I Macriana were clearly raised by Galba and Macer for the prospective campaigns against their opponents. They were not hurriedly raised in the face of actual attack. On the other hand, I and II Adjutrix were so raised, and significantly did not become justae legiones until after the emergencies had passed.
32. Ritterling 1308-9.
33. Which of the three legions he served in is not clear. The fact that he set up a dedication in Rome does not prove that he served in II Parthica, for he had been transferred to the Praetorian guard.
34. Whether V 7591, IX 1459 and XI 5746 refer to Italian recruits is doubtful.
35. Passerini, *le coorti pretorie*, p.173 note 2.
36. For these developments, cf. *CAH* XII pp.1-16.
37. Ritterling 1329-30. V 7989 and 7990 may also refer to recruitment for this legion.
38. See above pp. 339-346.
39. See above p.267.
40. *Türk Tarih Belli* XI 1947 pp. 101-4 no. 19 (reprinted in *JRS* 1950

p.84 note 37). It is not clear from which legions the veterans came, but presumably they were legions stationed in the east.

XV Apollinaris may have been among them, cf. III 6.

41. Cf. P.M.Fraser JRS 1950 p.84; S.Applebaum. JRS 1950 pp.87-8.
42. Cf. Forni p.34 on the inadequacy of legionary pay.
43. BGU I 140 (=Chrest. II ii 373). The fact that Hadrian asked that the provisions of this edict should be brought to the attention of veterans as well as legionaries indicates that the condition of a legionary's children was not altered by his discharge.
44. That it was the same vexillation was suggested by Ritterling 1500. It replaced its casualties in the Parthian war by men recruited in the east, mainly in Syria. Some of these men appear in VIII 18084; they must have been recruited in 116-7 AD. It then seems to have been transferred to Egypt, no doubt to assist in restoring peace after the Jewish rebellion, and obtained further recruits there (118 AD), and then to the Danube, to take part in the campaigns of Marcius Turbo, receiving more recruits in that area (119 AD). The fact that at this period legionaries were discharged at two-year intervals will explain why men from Egypt and the Danube appear side by side (VIII 18085), but not on the same inscription as the men from Syria (VIII 18084). VIII 18084 presumably lists men recruited in 116 and 117, discharged in 142 AD, VIII 18085 men recruited in 118 and 119, discharged in 144 AD.
45. XVI App. 13=PSI IX 1026.
46. Cf. VIII 7036=ILS 1068, and the new inscription from Alexandria discussed above pp.298-300.
47. For these increases cf. P.A.Brunt in Pap. Br. Sch. Rome, XVIII

1950 pp.56-9.

48. Cf. Digest 49.18.3.
49. The arguments of Mommsen against such a grant (in CIL III pp. 2011-2) seem to be still valid.
50. Forni p.100 note 1 is incorrect in claiming that they are not known in Britain or Spain. EE VII 890 is the tombstone of a Thracian who undoubtedly served in XX VV in the third century, and the origo of the member of VII Gemina who appears in AE 1928 173 (also of third century date) is to be restored (nat. Thr)ax rather than (natione S)ax(o).
51. Cf. VI 32536; 32542-3; 32567; 32624; Passerini, *le coorti pretorie*, p.176.
52. Cf., for example, VI 3195-6, 3201, 3215-7, 3243, 3247, XIV 3623, XVI 146 (Thracians); VI 3180, 3204, 3241, 3257, 3264-6, 3270, 3286-7, 3293, 3297, 32680, 32783, 32793, 32808 (Pannonians).
53. As suggested by Forni p.100 note 1.
54. There is no evidence that vexillations of the German legions served on the Danube itself in this period.
55. W.Baehr, *De centurionibus legionariis quaestiones epigraphicae* (Diss.Berlin 1900), pp.49ff.
56. Cf. Ammianus's reference to the bellatrices Thraciae gentes (26.7.5), and the words of the Expositio totius mundi, 50, (provincia Thracia) maximos habens viros et fortes in bello, propter quod et frequentes inde milites tolluntur.
57. Cf. K.Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, p.57.
58. Herodian 8.6.1.
59. Other third century legionaries from Pannonia and Thrace appear

in VI 2605, 2673, 2697, 2772 and 37224. The legion is in these cases unknown.

60. Herodian 7.12.1; XIII 6763=ILS 1188.
61. VI 37207 (X Gemina).
62. V 894 (I Adjutrix) and V 899 (IV Flavia) at Aquileia; V 1881 (V Macedonica) at Concordia; V 6511 (VII Claudia) at Novaria.
63. Digest 21.2.11, discussed above p.162.
64. Cf. Mazzarino, aspetti sociali del quarto secolo, pp.271-305.
65. C.Th. VII.22.1 (313 AD, cf. Seeck Regesten p.55).
66. C.Th. VII.22.2 (318 AD, Regesten p.65).
67. C.Th. VII.1.11 (372 AD).
68. C.Th. VII.20.3 (325 AD, cf. Regesten p.82); VII.20 8 (364 AD).
69. C.Th. VII.20.11 (368 AD, Regesten p.36).
70. C.Th. VII.20.3. (325 AD, Regesten p.82); XIII.1.7 (369 AD); XIII.1.14 (385 AD).
71. Mazzarino, aspetti sociali, pp.330ff.
72. Cf. the conditions on the Scythian frontier in the early years of Valens's reign (Themistius Or.10, p.136A-C). The forts were in disrepair, the men had neither arms nor tunics. The commanders had given themselves up to trade, the men to farming and even to banditry.
73. C.Th. VII.15.1.
74. Cf. Saumagne, Karthago I 1950 pp.105ff.

APPENDIX.The dating of the Lambaesis dedication-lists.

- (For VIII 18084, probably recording recruits of 116-7 AD, cf. pp.66-7).
- VIII 18085 Set up probably in 144 AD, recruits of 118-9 AD, see pp. 71-2 above.
- VIII 18087 The small number of men born castris (2 out of 86) suggests that they were recruited not long after III Augusta reached Lambaesis. The presence of an M. Aelius suggests a date under Antoninus Pius, when M. Aelius Aurelius Verus was Caesar (cf. VIII 18067).
- VIII 18067 Set up 166 AD, recruits of 140-1 AD. Dates on stone.
- VIII 18068 Set up 198 AD, recruits of 173 AD. Dates on stone.
- VIII 2566 Set up c. 198 AD, recruits of 173 AD. The right hand column of VIII 2566 reappears as lines 20-26 of VIII 18068.
- ILS 9100 (=VIII 2560 with AE 1898 108-9). Set up just before 200 AD. C.Julius Crescentianus, listed here as exactus, (Tabularium legionis) reappears, promoted to armorum custos, in 200 AD (ILS 9097).
- ILS 9097 (=AE 1902 147). Set up in 200 AD, date on stone. (Armorum custodes)
- VIII 2567 Set up c.200 AD, recruits of c.175-200 AD. C. Aponius Vitalis, exactus, reappears as exactus in ILS 9100. Ti.Claudius Secundus, armorum custos, reappears with the same rank in ILS 9097.
- VIII 2618 Set up 211/212 AD, refers to men recruited at various dates between 170 and 186 AD. (Veteran collegium)

- AE 1918 57 Set up c.200/210 AD. M.Acutius Ingenuus, speculator
(Officium here, reappears as ex 7 leg.h.m.m. in VIII 2618 (dis-
of the charged in or before 212 AD). C.Caecilius Felix, bf.
governor) here, reappears as speculator in VIII 2586 (c.216 AD).
C.Julius Donatus, first quaestonarius here, has same
position in VIII 2586. The men were probably recruited
c.185-200 AD.
- VIII 2565) (Style and content suggest men recruited in the late
) (second century. The second inscription is given in
) (full in BACTH 1917 p.274,7.
AE 1918 29) (
- VIII 2586 (-ILS 2381). Set up c.216 AD. L.Considius Paulus,
(Officium cornicularius here, reappears as cornicularius of
of the M.Valerius Senecio, legate of Numidia c.214-6 AD
governor) (VIII 2750, cf. E.Birley JRS 1950 p.63). Men thus pro-
bably recruited c.195-205 AD.
- VIII 18086 Set up a few years before 220 AD. C.Julius Quintianus
(probably d(i)s(cens) buc(inator) here, reappears as buc(inator)
not a (and duplarius) in VIII 2564, dated to c.218-220 AD.
veteran list) Men recruited c.200-210 AD, probably.
- VIII 2564 Set up shortly after the beginning of Elagabalus's reign,
(duplarii) cf. Ritterling 1501.
- VIII 2568 Set up c.220 AD. P.Sittius Rogatus, duplarius here,
(probably has same rank in VIII 2564. P.Baebius Fortunatianus,
not a bf.sexm. in AE 1918 57, reappears here as bf. (probably
veteran bf.cos. or bf.leg.)
list)
- VIII 2569 Very similar in style to VIII 2568, and probably of
(Probably similar date.
not a
veteran list)

PD 31)	(Set up in the early third century,)	
)	()	
32)	(when Dimmidi was occupied (Severus)	
)	()	
37)	(to Gordian, cf. Picard, Castellum)	
)	()	
)	(Dimmidi.))	recruited in
AE 1906 124			Set up 225 AD.)	the early
PD 20			Set up 226 AD.)	third
)	century.
22			Set up under Severus Alexander)	
)	
4			Set up 236/8 AD.)	

(Of these inscriptions probably only the following were dedications made jointly by veterans at the moment of discharge:- VIII 2565, 2566, 18067, 2567, 18084, 18085, 18087, AE 1918 20).