

**Ad Fines Imperii:
The Roman Army in Dacia and Arabia
(106-275 CE)**

by

Emanuela Bocancea

A Dissertation

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To Filip & Cosmin

And to the many adventures that lie ahead.



The *Via Nova Traiana* from the air (edited from a photo by Stafford Smith, APAAME_20091019_SES-0158).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid* (I.278-279), Jupiter famously describes the trajectory and glorious destiny of the Roman state, from Aeneas to Augustus. He claims to have set for the Romans no limits in space or time (*his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono*), having granted them *imperium sine fine* – “an empire without end”. Truly, the sheer rapidity and extent of Roman expansion by the Augustan age, when Virgil wrote those lines, had made the Romans appear unstoppable. But after Augustus it seems the ever-expanding Roman imperial machine ground to a halt. Aside from Roman Britain, no substantial territorial addition to the Roman empire in the west was made until Trajan's conquest of Dacia.¹ Under Trajan (98-117) the empire reached its greatest territorial extent, with the creation of five new provinces: Dacia, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Of these, only the first two (both conquered in 106) were retained by Hadrian (Figure 1.1). Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria (all conquered from 114-117) were abandoned at the beginning of Hadrian's reign (in 118), before they could become the provinces that Trajan had intended.²

It is therefore the case that Dacia and Arabia were the last provinces fully incorporated into the Roman empire, and as such they together mark the empire's greatest territorial extent, representing the effective end or ‘limits’ (*fines*) of Roman imperialism in

¹ Whittaker 2000, 301: “The rest is put down to retrenchment, adjustment and administrative organization.”

² Throughout the dissertation all dates are CE unless otherwise specified.

both time and space. Less than two centuries later (271/275), Aurelian withdrew the Roman army and administration from Dacia, giving it the distinction of also being the first abandoned province. Around the same time (in 270), Queen Zenobia of *Palmyra* invaded and briefly conquered Arabia. Her defeat in 272 ushered in a wave of major military, administrative and territorial changes in the Roman east, including Arabia, that were begun under Aurelian and which culminated in the widespread reforms of Diocletian at the end of the third century. Roman Arabia was territorially divided and emerged as a completely different entity under the Tetrarchy at the turn of the fourth century.

Thus, both the provinces conquered by Trajan in 106 effectively endured until Aurelian (270-275), at which point one was abandoned, and the other was seized by foreign invaders, re-conquered, and then completely transformed. This fact presents an interesting opportunity to compare the nature of Roman rule in two virtually contemporaneous frontier provinces during a crucial period in Roman history. The second century has traditionally been studied as the ‘heyday’ of the Roman empire (often called the ‘High Empire’), whereas the third century was a time of crisis, marked by widespread political, economic, and military instability, compounded by the outbreak of a major pandemic.³ Towards the end of the third century, a new historical period emerged – usually dubbed ‘late antiquity’ or ‘late Roman’ by modern scholars.

This dissertation focuses on these last two Roman conquests – Dacia and Arabia – in order to examine their incorporation and subsequent development as provinces in the empire from 106 to 275 (or broadly, the second and third centuries). More specifically, this study focuses on the Roman army, the *sine qua non* of Roman imperial expansion, in order to

³ See Harper 2015 for the major plague outbreak in the mid-third century.

explore several interrelated questions: Why and how were the Dacian and Nabataean kingdoms transformed into Roman provinces? What was the nature and role of the Roman army in the conquest of these kingdoms, in their physical and administrative organization as frontier provinces, and in their historical development over the second and third centuries? What was the provincial garrison and military organization of Dacia and Arabia, and what changes (if any) can be observed over time in the army's activities and troop deployment within each province? What type of frontier was developed in each province? And based on all of this, what can be deduced about the nature of Roman territorial expansion, the organization of Roman frontiers, and the role of the army in provincial society during this time period? What kind of *ad hoc* and local adaptations, solutions, and developments are evident? Was there some kind of Roman 'grand strategy'? And finally, can any direct connections between these two provinces be traced in ancient times?

The choice to focus on the Roman army is not accidental or random. It was, after all, the Roman army that conquered both territories and then transformed the landscapes through the building of roads, forts, and other infrastructure in order to tie them into the wider imperial network. The supply, transportation, and economic networks that created the very coherence of Roman imperial territory were, first and foremost, military in nature. As frontier provinces, both Dacia and Arabia contained large permanent garrisons. Military installations dotted the provincial landscapes (in both rural and urban contexts) and soldiers were ubiquitous in provincial politics, administration, and society. The Roman army was the institution that established and maintained Roman control in the imperial borderlands. As I hope this dissertation will make abundantly clear, the army is one of the most important

forces that must be considered in any attempt to understand the nature of these two Roman provinces. As an imperial institution the army thus constitutes an obvious and fundamentally important common denominator for the development of these provinces, making it the perfect focus on which to base a comparative analysis.

By focusing on the role the army, however, I am cognizant of the fact that I am focusing on the ‘colonizers’. My investigation is focused on the perspective of the Roman administration. Non-military provincial populations (the ‘colonized’) – including indigenous Dacians and Nabataeans, as well as other citizen, non-citizen, freeborn, enslaved, and manumitted civilians (of all social classes) are not the focus of this study and are addressed only indirectly. Their relationships to and attitudes toward the soldiers in their midst, and their reactions to the imposition of Roman rule evoke important research questions that deserve to be addressed in their own studies and which will not, therefore, be addressed by this dissertation (although I do touch upon them briefly). Scholars should (and hopefully will!) taken on these important research questions for Dacia and Arabia in the future, and I hope that the results of the present study can provide a useful backdrop against which to examine the non-military contingents of provincial society in future research.

Despite over a century of research on Dacia and Arabia individually, these two provinces have never been examined side by side. This might seem unsurprising considering the fact that they are in very different parts of the world geographically, and differ topographically, environmentally, culturally, linguistically, historically, and geopolitically – as much today as in antiquity. Indeed, after acknowledging their contemporaneous existence within the empire, a modern scholar may be inclined to consider that the points of contact

between the two provinces in antiquity end there – that attempting to put these provinces into a dialogue would be like comparing apples to oranges. So why do a comparison? Why not just focus on one province? As a proponent of comparative historical studies, Walter Scheidel has recently remarked, “Comparison defamiliarizes the deceptively familiar. By observing alternatives the characteristics of one’s ‘own’ case becomes less self-evident, and appreciation of what is possible decreases accordingly.”⁴ He goes on to say:

“...if the purpose of comparative history is to explain difference (why is A not like B): at a more basic level, it may turn out to be the best means of explaining the properties of each case (why is A like A). The underlying objective is causal explanation of features and developments of any one case, which may be more difficult or perhaps even impossible in the absence of a comparative approach. Comparative history contributes to the understanding of any given case. This is true in a fundamental way: how can we move from description to explanation except by contrast? [...] Heuristically, comparative history helps us identify problems and questions that would not be clear without comparison.”⁵

Thus, it is only by taking a comparative approach that this study can explore the local vs. imperial, contingent vs. universal, strategic vs. *ad hoc*, and micro vs. macro processes that defined Roman expansion, province-creation, frontier-formation, military organization, and troop deployment. Observable differences and similarities can shed far more light on the outlined research questions than the study of just one province in isolation. The narrow synchronic time frame allows for control over temporal variables that would otherwise make such a comparison difficult.

Dacia and Nabataea were both Roman client kingdoms by the first century CE – politically independent but allied buffer territories on the edge of the empire, that had a history of contentious interactions with the Roman state. Indeed, Augustus had considered conquering both kingdoms, but clearly decided that it was not worth the effort at that point

⁴ Scheidel 2013, 2

⁵ Scheidel 2013, 2-3

in time.⁶ Both territories comprised different forms of extreme geography and environmental conditions. The heartland of Dacia (in both pre-Roman and Roman times) comprised the center of the Transylvanian plateau within the Carpathian basin – a territory that is surrounded by steep and heavily forested mountain ranges, and which is cold and snowy in the winter, and difficult to access, especially from the south (where it connected to the rest of the empire) (Figures 1.2; 1.4; 2.22; 2.25; 2.30; 2.31; 2.32). Most of the Nabataean kingdom and subsequent province of Arabia, on the other hand, contained vast swathes of desert in which, to this day, it is difficult to travel and survive without a local guide (Figures 1.3; 3.3; 3.27; 3.28; 3.29; 3.41; 3.45; 3.49). In the Roman imagination both constituted half-mythical lands at the end of earth – wild, remote, and filled with strange and hostile peoples.⁷ Thus, even beyond their obvious differences, there are broad similarities in the place held by these territories within the Roman imagination and sense of the world.

How was the same Roman army and administration, with the same basic needs and goals, able to absorb these diverse territories, to impose Roman rule and to maintain it within such differently challenging contexts? For well over a century scholars have grappled with attempts to come up with broad definitions of Roman imperialism, military strategy, frontiers, the army's function and goals, and provincial organization and administration,

⁶ Mattern 1999, 89. Augustus sent a failed campaign into southern Arabia (Arabia Felix) (discussed in the chapter on *Arabia Adquista*), and there was talk of invading Dacia (App. *Ill.* 22-23).

⁷ See Mattern 1999, 209: "Dacia was a land beyond the Danube, a might river, which divided the Romans from the barbarians the way it had divided the king of Persia from the ferocious Scythians, in a half-mythical tale of conquest centuries ago. It was inhabited by a fierce, savage, warlike, barbarous people. In its icy and inhospitable climate it approached the earth's farthest, uninhabitable regions; it bordered on the frigid, sluggish ocean of the north. It was one of the remote corners of the earth – like Arabia, or India – still not subject to Roman domination. Such was the image that was most likely in Trajan's mind when he invaded it, proudly subjecting this wild and remote territory to land surveys, taxes, roads, a Roman colony. Trajan, like Darius, bridged the Danube." See also Mattern 1999, 44-46 on the Roman image of the world. For relevant ancient sources, see e.g., Pliny *Paneg.* 12.3; Ptolemy *Geog.* 3.8.1-4; Jordanes *Get.* 74; Strabo *Geog.* 2.5.12, 7.3.11-13, 16.4.22-24; Pliny *HN* 2.168-169, 5.65, 6.160-162, 6.143-144, 12.53-84; Dio 53.29.3-8; Arrian *Ind* 43.11-12 (etc.).

often focusing on the second century ‘heyday’ of the Roman empire as the most representative period. But to what extent have such efforts glossed over the many intricacies, contingencies and divergent experiences that in fact characterized the nature, impact, and results of military organization in different parts of the Roman world, even during the same period? After all, “imperial hegemony never begot imperial homogeneity.”⁸ This dissertation is one attempt to grapple with these big questions.

The Modern Fragmentation of the Past: Dacia & Arabia in Roman Scholarship

On the one hand, Dacia is today encompassed almost entirely by a single modern nation state – Romania – with a small piece of its westernmost territory stretching into Serbia and Hungary (Figure 1.2). On the other hand, Arabia is encompassed by parts of five modern countries – Jordan, Syria, Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia (Figure 1.3). It spans the Transjordan, southern Syria, the Sinai, and the northwestern Arabian peninsula. It is somewhat paradoxical that despite their historical significance as the last fully incorporated Roman provinces, which represent the apogee of a process of expansion and conquest that had been several centuries in the making, Dacia and Arabia are two of the least-known provinces outside their small specialist circles. Indeed, both provinces are largely absent within broader synthetic and comparative studies of the Roman empire and of the Roman army. This is entirely due to modern geopolitical and historical circumstances rather than a reflection of any ancient reality. As one scholar recently observed,

One of the ironies of modern politics and economics is that, while the eastern frontier from Vienna to the Nile Valley steadily absorbed an increasing proportion of Roman resources and military manpower as the period [of the ‘High Empire,’ from 70-192 CE]

⁸ Haynes 2008, 265

progressed, the Balkans and the Middle East have been the least accessible regions to modern research.⁹

Because the contemporary regions in which they are found suffered political, economic, and military turmoil during the violent twentieth century (and continue to do so), Dacia and Arabia have been alienated in modern scholarship, and moreover, are products of very different scholarly traditions.

For instance, most of ancient Dacia falls within the modern territory of Romania. The political, social and economic center of the ancient province was in central Transylvania, a region which until 1918 was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and which continues to be contested between different modern ethnic groups (especially Hungarians, Saxons, and Romanians). Dacia has been studied almost exclusively by Romanians, within a hyper-nationalistic scholarly tradition. In particular, from 1947-1989, the Romanian Communist government exercised absolute control over archaeological investigation, historical research, and all interpretations of the past, forcing nearly half a century of Dacian scholarship into predetermined (Marxist and nationalist) ideological molds that have served to isolate Romanian scholarship and to significantly distort narratives about the Daco-Roman past – a situation that has left problematic legacies into the present.¹⁰ One could argue that ancient Dacia has been studied by scholars whose personal (and collective) identity is wrapped up in Daco-Roman antiquity, and who consider themselves (in different ways, and to varying degrees) direct descendants of the Dacians and Romans on the territory of modern-day Romania. It is partly due to this ideological reason, and heavily influenced by modern political constraints and linguistic barriers, that very few non-Romanian scholars (i.e., those

⁹ Whittaker 2000, 319

¹⁰ See Culic 2005; Boia 2001; Papcostea 1996; Verdery 1991

considered ‘outsiders’) have been able to study Dacia on the one hand, and that Romanian scholars have not shown any particular interest in any other part of the Roman empire on the other. Buried behind the Iron Curtain until December 1989, scholarship on Dacia developed in theoretical and methodological isolation from the wider world of Roman studies. This has been slowly changing since 1990, but after almost half a century of state-controlled scholarship, ideological indoctrination, and isolation from the rest of the (Western) world, it has understandably been taking some time for Dacia to be fully incorporated into the wider study of the Roman empire, and *vice versa*. The majority of existing publications are in Romanian, published in local presses with very limited print runs, and in myriad small regional/specialist Romanian journals, making such scholarship largely inaccessible (linguistically and physically) for non-Romanian scholars. As Ian Haynes characterized Dacia just eight years ago (in an admittedly gendered way):

“If the Britannia of scholarship might once have been deemed an ‘aged, cosseted old lady, sitting in an airless room’ (Cunliffe, *Antiquity* 58 (1984), 178), then Roman Dacia might best be characterized as a wall flower at a dance, awaiting the moment when she too will have her moment to shine. Dacia has her own tireless admirers, but their collective efforts have yet to bring her the attention she so richly deserves. Higher level archaeological syntheses and histories of the region have yet to appear before a truly international readership and impact upon the wider study of the Roman empire.”¹¹

Now a new generation of scholars is slowly emerging, born at the end of or after the Ceaușescu regime, with increasing access to research beyond Romania (especially since Romania joined the European Union in 2007), and an eagerness to publish in more widely read scholarly languages (English, French, German). There are now two main general monographs on Dacia in English that were written by scholars who work and were trained

¹¹ Haynes 2008, 264-265

outside of Romania.¹² The rise of social media (even for academics), and the increasing digitization of scholarly material pertaining to Romania's cultural heritage, is finally allowing for a broader dissemination of new research to non-Romanian audiences.¹³ Unfortunately most of these studies continue to be focused entirely on Dacia alone, most on very narrow topics, with very little attempt at broader comparative or regional approaches. This dissertation also contributes to the broader goal of breaking Dacia out of this (Romanian) scholarly bubble.

Ancient Nabataea/Arabia encompasses one of the most politically and militarily contested regions of the world today, marked by an instability that continues to affect modern research on this province. Unlike Dacia, Arabia has been studied, until recently, almost exclusively by (Western) foreigners. Here the relationship between modern populations living in the area and the ancient Nabataeans and Romans is more complicated.¹⁴ Jordanians, Saudi Arabians, and Syrians, seeing themselves as descendants of the Islamic caliphates which ruled the region after the disintegration of the Roman and Byzantine empires, have only quite recently begun to celebrate 'their' Nabataean (i.e., 'early Arab') past, with the Romans still being regarded as a Western, colonial power, which, to some degree, came and went. Modern inhabitants of the Sinai peninsula and southern Israel, on the other hand, have a different set of feelings about their relationship to the Nabataean

¹² Hanson and Haynes 2004 (which also includes contributions by Romanian scholars); Oltean 2007 (based on a dissertation from the University of Glasgow; Oltean 2004)

¹³ Social media for academics is best represented by academia.edu, through which Romanian scholars (in particular the younger generation) have been increasingly disseminating their research online. CIMEC is the Romanian Institute for Cultural Memory (Institutul Național al Patrimoniului) and it maintains the national databases on cultural heritage, including the National Archaeological Record database, and works toward the digitization of resources pertaining to cultural heritage, including fieldwork reports and other publications (www.cimec.ro).

¹⁴ cf. Beshara 2011; Boynter *et al.* 2010; Maffi 2004; Massad 2001

and Roman inhabitants of the Negev, for example. It was the Swiss explorer Johann Ludwig Burckhardt's 're-discovery' of Petra in 1812 (published in 1822) which ushered in an era of Western exploration and historical research in the Levant. Through the work of more scholarly travelers including de Laborde (1830), Wetzstein (1860), Waddington (1870) and Doughty (1888), among many others, a corpus of monuments, sites, and inscriptions pertaining to Nabataea and Roman Arabia was steadily collected throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁵ This all culminated in the three-volume publication of *Die Provincia Arabia* (1904-1909) based on the systematic explorations of Transjordan by the orientalist R.E. Brünnow and classical (military) historian A. von Domaszewski.

These works form the foundation for the scholarly trajectory that eventually resulted in the publication of G.W. Bowersock's *Roman Arabia* (1983), published only some thirty-three years ago. Although in many ways now out of date, Bowersock's work is the only attempt at a comprehensive study of the province of Arabia. This domination of foreigners in the scholarship on this province and adjacent areas was very much associated with European colonial interests in the Middle East, as the British and French Mandates controlled the region throughout the first half of the twentieth century, eventually leading to the creation of independent modern nation-states defined by borders arbitrarily drawn by European officials – a colonial legacy that is still felt and which continues to pose problems for the region into the present. Archaeological research (excavations and survey) on sites throughout the territory of Roman Arabia lags far behind other parts of the Roman empire (including Dacia). Most sites have not been excavated or even mapped, and the majority of excavation and survey has only been done since the 1980s. This relative dearth of information and slow

¹⁵ See Bowersock 1983, 3-5.

growth of data about the province has made it somewhat of a ‘dark spot’ in Roman studies until very recently. Over the past twenty years, however, an ever-growing body of fieldwork has made significant contributions – new sites and inscriptions are being found almost every year, and old sites are finally being mapped, studied, and published. Unfortunately, the escalating wars being fought in the Middle East over the past two decades, but especially the currently ongoing conflict, have severely hampered travel and research in the territory of ancient Arabia, with many important sites that are now in southern Syria facing the threat of serious destruction or even annihilation. The Sinai has been inaccessible to scholars and remains largely unstudied. This dissertation provides an important synthetic analysis of all the currently available evidence for the Roman army in Arabia during the second and third centuries – something currently lacking – and moreover brings it into dialogue with the wider Roman world.

Both of these characterizations of the modern historical and political circumstances surrounding the scholarly trajectories on Dacia and Arabia are overly simplified, but they are provided to give a sense of the basic state of the field. For many of the reasons just outlined, Dacia and Arabia have both been studied as provinces or territories either on their own, or only within their immediate geographical and cultural context – that is, in relation to their neighboring provinces. When not studied entirely in isolation (the vast majority of work done on the province), Dacia has in a few studies been examined alongside Moesia Superior and Inferior, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, and Dalmatia, and most of this more ‘regional’ work is very recent.¹⁶ As mentioned above, Arabia has also been studied exclusively within its

¹⁶ e.g., Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2004; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2006

immediate geographical context, especially alongside the neighbouring provinces of Syria and Judaea/Palaestina.¹⁷

These differences in the historiographies of Dacia and Arabia offer an important reminder about the ways in which particular modern historical-political circumstances and national or ethnic identities have, in diverse ways, fundamentally shaped the greater study of the Roman empire. The fact that Dacia and Arabia have never been considered together is partly a result of this modern fragmentation of the Roman past, which has had the (negative) effect of obscuring ancient connections, perceptions and realities. This comparative approach aims to reveal the potential fruitfulness of thinking beyond purely modern geopolitical, nationalist, and historical *finis* when examining the ancient past. By putting these territories side by side in my study, this project also makes a first step in breaking both Dacia and Arabia out of their respective geographical and scholarly bubbles and bringing broader scholarly perspectives to bear on them, in order to give these well-deserving provinces a more prominent role in the wider discussions surrounding the army, frontiers, and imperialism of ancient Rome.

The Study of the Roman Army in Dacia & Arabia

There is a substantial body of scholarly work focused on various aspects of the Roman army in Dacia, the majority of it written in Romanian by Romanians, but to date there has been only one attempt at a synthetic study of the topic, Vasile Christescu's *Istoria Militară a Daciei Romane* ("The Military History of Roman Dacia") (1937), which is now woefully out of date. Mihail Macrea was planning to write an updated study of Dacia's

¹⁷ e.g., Gracey 1981; Sartre 1991; Sartre 2005b; Segal 1997

military history, but this plan was cut short by his untimely demise in 1967 (at the age of fifty-nine).¹⁸ Indeed, in a foreword to a recent book on the Roman army in Moesia Inferior, the Romanian scholar C.C. Petolescu praised the work while lamenting the lack of an equivalent study for Dacia.¹⁹

Several important Romanian studies emerged in the mid-1980s focusing on specific legions in Dacia, including D. Benea's work on the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*,²⁰ V. Moga's work on the *legio XIII Gemina*,²¹ and M. Bărbulescu's work on the *legio V Macedonica*,²² all of which are also in need of updating due to further archaeological and epigraphic research.²³ Several studies have examined the army in specific parts of the province,²⁴ a few other studies have focused on the *auxilia* in Dacia,²⁵ and one recent study examines the professional military ranks in the province.²⁶ Other important scholars have touched on aspects of Dacia's army within the context of broader historical narratives about the province, and several more synthetic studies have focused on Dacia's frontier.²⁷ But the majority of scholarship on the

¹⁸ Bogdan Cătănciu 1981, 1

¹⁹ In the foreword to Matei-Popescu (2010, 10) Petolescu wrote "...[this work] compels us to leave aside other concerns and proceed with the draft of a Roman army history from Dacia" (*sic*, in English).

²⁰ Benea 1983, in a study that also examines the *legio VII Claudia* in Moesia Superior.

²¹ Moga 1985

²² Bărbulescu 1987

²³ Piso 2000 provides a very brief overview of the legions in Dacia which serves to update a few things from those earlier studies, but because of its scope and length, his chapter is not comprehensive and provides merely short histories of individual legions.

²⁴ Vlădescu 1983 for Dacia Inferior; Németh 2005 for southwestern Dacia; Grec 2010 for the *auxilia* of Dacia Porolissensis

²⁵ Petolescu 2002, which now replaces the older and out-of-date Beneš 1978 which looked at both Moesia and Dacia; Grec 2010 on the *auxilia* in Dacia Porolissensis

²⁶ Cupcea 2014

²⁷ Broader historical narratives about the province that also discuss the army: Macrea 1969; Petolescu 1995; Petolescu 2010; Strobel 1984. For studies on Dacia's frontier: Gudea 1977; Gudea 1979b; Bogdan Cătănciu 1981 (the first monographic synthesis of the Dacian frontier). For western/southwestern Dacia: Benea 2008b; Benea 2012; Opreanu 2013; Németh *et al.* 2011a; Németh *et al.* 2011b. For northern/northwestern Dacia: Gudea 1999b and Gudea 2000 (both are basically bibliographies); Matei and Gindele 2006. For eastern/southeastern Dacia: Bogdan Cătănciu 1974; Bogdan Cătănciu 1997; Bogdan Cătănciu 2009; Matei-

Roman army in Dacia, including new discoveries and ongoing research, is dispersed within countless journal articles and chapters in edited volumes, spanning over a century. To these are added a growing body of publications on the excavations at specific *castra*.²⁸ A flurry of publications specifically about Dacia Porolissensis (northern Dacia) occurred in 1997, on the occasion of the *XVIIth Limes Congress* held in Zalău, Romania (near *Porolissum*, on Dacia's northern frontier).²⁹ A gazetteer of all of Dacia's forts was published, accompanied by a series of small monographs dedicated to individual *castra* of Dacia Porolissensis.³⁰ More recently, a broad survey of the Roman Danube included a short catalogue of the most important Roman sites in Dacia.³¹ Aerial archaeology and satellite remote sensing are now revealing new military sites and installations in the landscape, while shedding new light on old sites.³²

Despite the mass of this scholarly data set, within the majority of these studies the focus on a particular site, on a specific frontier sector, on a particular administrative region (i.e., Dacia Porolissensis), or on a particular military unit has obscured the unity and overall nature of the *exercitus Dacicus* within the province as a whole. The current picture of the Roman military within this province is frustratingly fragmented. New military diplomas (and even new constitutions) that were issued for the troops of Dacia are constantly being found,

Popescu 2014; Teodor 2013; Teodor and Ștefan 2014. For the frontier of Dacia Apulensis specifically, see Benea 1999.

²⁸ e.g., Bologa/*Resculum*: Gudea 1997b; Buciumi: Chirilă *et al.* 1972, Gudea 1997c, Găzdac and Pripon 2012; Pomet-Moigrad (*Porolissum* I): Gudea 1997d; Românași/*Largiana*: Tamba 1997; Romita/*Certiae*: Matei and Bajusz 1997; Gilău: Isac 1997; Turda/*Potaissa*: Bărbulescu 1994, Bărbulescu 1997; Răcari: Bondoc and Gudea 2009; Mehadia/*Praetorium*: Macrea *et al.* 1993; Cașeu/*Samum*: Isac 2003, Găzdac and Isac 2007.

²⁹ The Congress proceedings were published/edited by Gudea 1999a.

³⁰ For the gazetteer, see Gudea 1997a. For the monographs of the forts in Dacia Porolissensis published for the congress: Gudea 1997b; 1997c; 1997d; 1997e; Tamba 1997; Matei and Bajusz 1997; Isac 1997; Bărbulescu 1997.

³¹ Wilkes 2005b (especially 218-225 for the catalogue) but based only on accessible (German, English, French) publications, so missing a lot of bibliography and some of the debates (i.e., about the date/nature of the *limes Alutanus* and *Transalutanus*, since that debate is mostly in Romanian).

³² Oltean and Hanson 2001; Hanson and Oltean 2012; Oltean and Hanson 2015; Oltean *et al.* 2005; Țentea and Oltean 2009

but these too are dispersed. For instance, in recent publications dealing with the Roman army in Dacia, it is clear that even the specialist scholars are unaware of exactly how many diplomas and constitutions are currently extant – a problem that this dissertation has tried to remedy (Table 1).³³ This dissertation aims to provide a first step towards filling these *lacunae*, by bringing together this substantial data set into a synthetic overview of the *exercitus Dacicus*, across all three administrative territories of Dacia, including all the legions and the auxiliary units that were in garrison from 106 to 271/275. In so doing, the goal is to begin to understand how the Roman army as a whole was organized across Dacia, and how the different units, their places of garrison, and their activities operated together within a broader comprehensive provincial military network, and how that changed across time.

If the problem in Dacia is an over-abundance of dispersed data, in Arabia it is the relative dearth of evidence. Just over a century ago, in his landmark study of Rome's auxiliary forces, George Cheesman wrote for Arabia, "Auxilia as yet unknown."³⁴ Our knowledge of Roman Arabia's army has come a long way since then, but that progress has been relatively slow. Almost forty years ago, Michael Speidel was the first to survey the then-existing historical and epigraphic evidence for the army of Arabia from the second to fifth centuries.³⁵ Three years after that, M.H. Gracey examined the army of Arabia alongside the armies of Judaea and Syria in an unpublished dissertation.³⁶ Writing as recently as 1989, Benjamin Isaac noted that there is almost no concrete evidence of a military presence in the southern

³³ e.g., Matei-Popescu 2015, 407 n.2, who gets the numbers wrong (too low), even based on the articles that he cites as evidence. Table 1 in this dissertation compiles all the available published evidence for the diplomas and constitutions for the three *Daciae*.

³⁴ Cheesman 1914, 163; cf. Vailhé 1898

³⁵ Speidel 1977. Throughout the chapter all dates are CE unless otherwise specified.

³⁶ Gracey 1981

part of Arabia during the second and third centuries.³⁷ In 1986, J. Lander actually wondered if Hadrian had abandoned Arabia, due to the absence of evidence for military presence along the *Via Nova Traiana* after its construction and throughout the second century.³⁸ Fortunately our data set has increased significantly since then. Most of the evidence about the Roman army in Arabia during the second and third centuries has come to light only in the last twenty to thirty years (and continues to emerge with ongoing fieldwork).

Since then, a growth in archaeological and historical investigations focused on Roman Arabia has made various important contributions to our understanding of the army in this province. Very important is the recent discovery and publication of the first two military diplomas for Arabia, from 142 and 145.³⁹ These diplomas have confirmed the presence of several units in Arabia's second century garrison that had previously only been hypothesized, and they have proven the existence of several new units (two of which could be correlated with an inscription on the ground). To these are added the identification and excavation of the first Trajanic fort at *Havarra* (Humayma, Jordan),⁴⁰ excavations in the provincial capital and legionary base at *Bostra* (Bosra, Syria),⁴¹ and excavations in *Hegra* (Mada'in Salih, Saudi Arabia), the southernmost military outpost and town of Nabataea and Roman Arabia.⁴² Recently a Hadrianic military inscription of *legio VI Ferrata* (stationed in

³⁷ Isaac 1989b, 244-245

³⁸ Lander 1986

³⁹ Weiß and Speidel 2004, which strictly speaking comprises the first edition for only one of the two diplomas (the one from 142), but it makes references to (and indicates the content of) the second diploma (from 145), which still remains unpublished. The two appear to differ by only one cohort in the list of troops.

⁴⁰ Oleson 1990; Oleson 1992; Oleson 1995; Oleson 1997; Oleson 1999; Oleson 2001; Oleson 2004; Oleson 2008; Oleson 2009; Oleson 2010; Oleson *et al.* 1995; Oleson *et al.* 2002; Oleson *et al.* 2003; Reeves 2009

⁴¹ Lenoir 1998; Leblanc and Lenoir 1999; Kermorvant *et al.* 2000; Dentzer 1986; Dentzer *et al.* 1993; Dentzer *et al.* 2002; Lenoir 2002; Lenoir 2007; Dentzer-Feydy *et al.* 2007

⁴² Nehmé *et al.* 2010a; Nehmé *et al.* 2010b; Nehmé 2013; Nehmé 2014; al-Talhi and al-Daire 2005

Arabia at the time) was found on the remote Farasan Island in the southern Red Sea.⁴³ Several important road-stations, forts, and caravanserais in the Negev were excavated in the 1980s, and are now finally starting to be published.⁴⁴ On the occasion of the *XVIIIth Limes Congress* held in Amman, Jordan in 2000, David Kennedy published a highly useful gazeteer compiling and summarizing the evidence for the Roman army in modern Jordan specifically.⁴⁵ But discoveries and new evidence from Israel, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, as well as material found since 2003 (including the first military diplomas) are not included, and remain scattered throughout a whole range of publications. The *Aerial Photographic Archive of Archaeology in the Middle East* (APAAME) project has also been providing a growing and very useful database of high-quality aerial photographs of sites in the region (most of them in Jordan, taken since 1997), including many military sites.⁴⁶

But unlike Dacia, where all the Roman forts and military installations necessarily date to the second and third centuries (the only period during which Dacia was part of the empire), in Arabia most of the well-known archaeological evidence for forts and military installations dates to the Tetrarchic era and later. Numerous inscriptions and the highly useful *Notitia Dignitatum* have provided a good picture of the army in Arabia during the fourth and fifth centuries.⁴⁷ Scholarly attention has naturally followed the preponderance of data, and has consequently tended to focus on the late Roman army and post-Diocletianic

⁴³ Villeneuve 2007; Speidel 2007

⁴⁴ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013

⁴⁵ Published originally in 2000, but revised and corrected for the second edition: Kennedy 2004 (this is the version cited throughout the dissertation).

⁴⁶ APAAME is run by David Kennedy and contains more than 91,000 photos (most of them taken as part of the Aerial Archaeology in Jordan project) and several hundred maps: www.humanities.uwa.edu.au/research/cah/aerial-archaeology. These include both historical aerial photographs (i.e. taken by the Royal Air Force from the 1920s to the end of the second World War), and recently taken photographs (these are mostly in Jordan).

⁴⁷ In the chapter on the *dux Arabiae* (Or. 37). Cited in Speidel 1977, 701-702.

frontier in Arabia.⁴⁸ Indeed, even within these studies on late Roman Arabia, the emphasis has been on the organization and defense of the province's late Roman desert frontier, the so-called '*limes Arabicus*', rather than on the disposition and function of the provincial army across Arabia's whole territory. Despite the emergence of fresh evidence, the second and third centuries in Arabia have become overshadowed by the later centuries and have remained underrepresented in the military history of both this province and the empire as a whole. A synthesis and analysis of the current state of knowledge regarding the Roman army in Arabia during the first two centuries of Roman rule is therefore both warranted and timely. This is the first study to gather and synthesize the currently available evidence for the *exercitus Arabicus* from the establishment of the province in 106, up to (but not including) the Diocletianic administrative and military transformations that took place at the end of the third century.

As already indicated, in both Dacia and Arabia the scholarship on the army has focused predominantly on the frontier and on the role of the army as a war machine, tasked with conquering new territory and then with protecting it from external threats. This is true of all the scholarship on Dacia, and of the majority of the scholarship on Arabia – most notably Tom Parker's extensive work on the (Late Roman) '*limes Arabicus*'.⁴⁹ Parker has consistently maintained the primacy of an external nomadic threat as the underlying factor for the organization of the Roman army in Arabia, although he focused almost exclusively on the Tetrarchic forts along the central portion of the Arabian frontier forts (on the eastern side of *Via Nova Traiana* on the Kerak Plateau east of the Dead Sea). But an important

⁴⁸ As exemplified by Tom Parker's *Limes Arabicus* project. See Parker 1986a; Parker 1986b; Parker 1991a; Parker 1991b; Parker 2000a; Parker 2006a.

⁴⁹ See previous note.

counterpoint has been provided by Benjamin Isaac who has repeatedly argued in favor of an inwardly-focused function for the army in Arabia. Isaac stressed that internal security needs (countering brigandage and the maintenance of law and order) were the primary concerns of the Roman army in Arabia.⁵⁰ Much of Isaac's argument is based on analogy with the neighboring province of Judaea/Palaestina, for which numerous ancient written sources indicate problems with internal unrest and brigandage. Isaac has discounted the idea that there was a significant external nomadic threat facing Roman rule in Arabia. But much of the debate has focused on the Tetrarchic period, since that constituted the bulk of available evidence when this discussion first emerged (in the 1980s and early 1990s).

The research on the army as an internal police force within the Roman empire in general is small and has not received widespread attention within Roman army studies, especially for the vast majority of the empire where the types of written sources found in Egypt and Judaea/Palaestina are unavailable (*papyri*, *ostraka*, and many historical, literary, and religious texts).⁵¹ But a recent book is finally starting to fill this lacuna. Christopher Fuhrmann's *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration, and Public Order* (2011) examines the ways in which the Roman state maintained law and order, especially through the use of its army, during the first to third centuries CE. He argues that the practice of using Roman soldiers as police markedly increased during the second and third centuries, and draws on literary and historical sources to show the ways in which soldiers were used to maintain law and order, the types of activities involved in these efforts, and the attitudes towards and perceptions of military police. This important contribution incites a much-

⁵⁰ Isaac 1980; Isaac 1984; Isaac 1986; Isaac 1989b; Isaac 1990; Isaac 1993

⁵¹ Bagnall 1977 on Egypt; Isaac 1984 and Isaac 1991 for Judaea; Nippel 1984 for Rome; Sperber 1970 for Roman Palestine; Shaw 1984 and Shaw 2000 who briefly mentions the army's role as a police force.

needed scholarly discussion about the security problems and maintenance of public order in the Roman world, providing a broad and comprehensive picture of the myriad and complex ways in which Roman policing was conducted and perceived. Since Fuhrmann drew only on historical and literary sources, and because of the scholarship and data problems discussed previously, it is perhaps not surprising that Dacia and Arabia appear not even once in this entire work.⁵² It is however surprising that even B. Isaac's contributions on Judaea and Arabia are not discussed.⁵³ Indeed, although Fuhrmann discusses the roles and different activities of military police within the provinces in a broad way, much of his discussion focuses on the city of Rome, and the overall aim is to get a general picture of 'Roman policing' writ large, rather than of specific patterns seen in different parts of the empire. Fuhrmann's study, therefore, provides an interesting and useful general background against which the findings from this dissertation can be evaluated.

In light of these scholarly trends, and within the context of the outlined research questions, this dissertation also aims to contribute to this emerging discussion on the function of the army and its organization within Rome's provinces. Through a comprehensive examination of all available evidence for the army and its activities in Dacia and Arabia during the second and third centuries, this study argues that the army's role was far more inwardly-focused than existing scholarship has suggested. Of course the army could and did defend these provinces from external threats (to different degrees on these two frontiers), but the overall distribution of troops, and the evidence from inscriptions reveals

⁵² Neither word exists in the index, and I confirmed this by doing a word search in an e-book version.

⁵³ Only Isaac 1990 (in the second Ed, 1992) is cited, in 2-3 footnotes without any comment. There is, curiously, no mention anywhere in the book about Isaac's broader discussions about the role of the army in Judaea and Arabia with respect to maintaining internal security, and no citations of Isaac's other publications on the topic.

that soldiers posted in these provinces primarily served as military police, customs officers, administrators, and builders. This constitutes a dramatic shift in our understanding of the army's role in provincial society by highlighting internal needs and peacetime activities in addition to the well-established and over-emphasized warmongering, offensive/defensive, and combative function of the Roman armed forces.

Throughout the dissertation, I deliberately avoid using the term *limes* to describe the Roman frontier. This is to avoid the thorny issue of what *limes* as a term actually meant in the second and third centuries, and whether it is an appropriate label for the various frontiers found across the empire. Indeed, Benjamin Isaac's conclusions in a seminal study on the topic, although frequently cited, are often ignored or misunderstood, and the term's widespread use continues to persist in scholarship. He concluded,

“From the late first century till the third century it is used to indicate a demarcated land border of the empire. As such it does not refer to military structures or frontier organization, nor was it used to indicate a river boundary. In this sense the term is not in fact often encountered before the fourth century. [...] The *limes* is always mentioned as distinct from the frontier of the empire. In no single case is a *limes* described as something made or constructed, although the term is now used frequently. [...] More important, there is in Latin no term to indicate what modern frontier studies describe as a *limes*, a defended border. It must then be asked whether in many instances the military organization, as represented by the physical remains, should be explained along different lines. In other words, there can be no justification for calling any chain of forts in a frontier area a *limes*.”⁵⁴

The term *limes*, then, does not appear to be an appropriate description for the frontiers of Roman Dacia and Arabia. I have chosen to use the word ‘frontier’ instead because it does not carry the historical and technical specificity and linguistic restrictions of *limes*. Frontier also has the added benefit of being both specific and broad enough to denote an idea of these Roman boundaries as fluid, porous, and hard to pinpoint on the ground. The term ‘frontier’

⁵⁴ Isaac 1988, 146; see also Isaac 1998, 380-387 for a *postscript* on this article a decade later.

is relational, and thus can refer both to the actual territorial limit (or outer boundary) of each province (i.e., “the eastern frontier of Arabia”), and to the province as a whole (i.e., “Dacia constituted the frontier of the Roman empire”). It is this ambiguity that I think is most appropriate for defining the place held by these provinces within the Roman empire. In a recent book about the borderlands of the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman empires, the editors wrote,

“Borderlands are places of interaction. They are regions intersected by frontiers that separate states [...]. Most often, borderlands are geographically or culturally distant from the seat of power, and states expend great energy trying to subsume and integrate them. Borderlands are therefore also constructs of the political imaginary and products of ideological fantasies.”⁵⁵

In this sense, Dacia and Arabia were borderlands – buffer zones, and areas of movement, interaction, and exchange on the peripheries of the Roman empire.⁵⁶

Overview & Structure of the Dissertation

To keep things clear, I have organized the synthesis of data into parallel chapters for Dacia and Arabia, with a final conclusion that brings everything together within a general comparative discussion. Naturally, for this study I availed myself of any and all available evidence – inscriptions, archaeological remains, coins, art historical sources, and literary texts – in an attempt to be as comprehensive as possible. The first set of chapters are *Dacia Capta* and *Arabia Adquista*. Here I provide overviews of the history of Roman relations with the peoples inhabiting these territories up to the time of Trajan. I then discuss the motivations behind Trajan’s decision to conquer these client kingdoms in the early second century,

⁵⁵ Bartov and Weitz 2013, 1

⁵⁶ On borderlands in general, see Parker 2006; Rösler and Wendl 1999; Parker and Rodseth 2005; Alvarez 1995; Pavlakovich-Kochi *et al.* 2004; Bartov and Weitz 2013

followed by an overview of the process and nature of the Roman takeover, and an assessment of the Roman reactions to and propaganda surrounding the creation of these two provinces. I examine the territorial, administrative, and military organization of both territories as Roman provinces within the context of a broad historical overview covering the second and third centuries. Finally, both chapters end with an analysis of the nature and organization of each province's frontier and military network.

The next section of the dissertation contains parallel chapters on the armies of Dacia and Arabia – entitled, respectively, *Exercitus Dacicus* and *Exercitus Arabicus*. The goal is to bring together and examine all the evidence for the presence of individual military units within each province. I start with the legions, and then turn to the *auxilia*. Within the *auxilia*, I deal with the *alae* first, then the *cohortes*, distinguishing between units that are *milliariae* (double-strength) and *quingenariae* (regular strength), and between cohorts that are *peditatae* (all infantry) and *equitatae* (part-mounted infantry). I then turn to the irregular units, including tribal units (*numeri* and others) and the guards of the provincial governors (*equites* and *pedites singulares*). For each unit the aim is to determine its origin, the date and circumstances of its transfer, its place of garrison and its attestations on the ground in the province, as well as its general chronology and any other information about the activities of the soldiers and officers enrolled in it. In the case of Dacia, the information for the auxiliary garrisons is organized territorially (under Dacia Superior, Dacia Inferior, and Dacia Porolissensis).

In discussing the auxiliary units of Dacia and Arabia during the second and third centuries, I will only be including those units that belonged to the provincial garrison during

that time. Thus, I will not discuss units which are epigraphically attested in these provinces but which were evidently passing through. The most important such units that will *not* be discussed in the dissertation are the *ala Celerum (Philippiana)* and the *ala nova Firma cataphracteria Philippiana*, both of which appear in Arabia. The former is attested in *Philippopolis* (Shahba, Syria) during the reign of Philip the Arab (244-249), where the horsemen of the unit dedicated an inscription to the emperor's deified father (*divus Marinus*).⁵⁷ The evidence indicates that the *ala Celerum* was raised by Philip the Arab as a special personal retinue that was in Arabia only briefly, while it accompanied him on a visit to his hometown (*Philippopolis*).⁵⁸ The *ala nova Firma cataphracteria Philippiana* appears to have been part of a growing imperial field army in the third century, and it may have come to the east with Gordian III's Persian campaign. The *ala* is attested in *Bostra* during the reign of Philip the Arab, either because it had retreated there, or because it too was accompanying the emperor on a visit to his home province (along with the *ala Celerum*) before it returned with him to Rome.⁵⁹

It is important to note that dating with any precision the duration of garrison for many military units during the second and third centuries is often difficult. This is especially

⁵⁷ AE 1928.153b=AE 1992.1694. The inscription was initially not fully published, then it was lost until its rediscovery and full publication in Amer and Gawlikowski 1985, 12.

⁵⁸ For this unit, see Körner 2002, 50, 219; Speidel 1992a; Speidel 1994b, 69-71; Speidel 1977, 702-703. The *ala*'s unusual name (*Celeres*) seems to recall the cavalry during the time of the Kings of Rome in the distant past, so perhaps this lofty historical name was granted by Philip the Arab to this new unit to reflect the millenary celebrations of Rome during his reign. Epigraphic evidence indicates that the unit was eventually moved to the western empire (CIL 3.4832=CIL 3.11506=ILS 2528), and the *ala* is also mentioned at *Andematunnum* (Langres, in Germania Superior) (CIL 13.5684b=AE 1992.1278). For *Philippopolis* (Shahba/Chahba, Syria), Philip the Arab's hometown, see Hatoum 2000, and especially Darrous and Rohmer 2004.

⁵⁹ CIL 3.99=ILS 2271, erected by the commander of the *ala*. For this unit, see Eadie 1967, 168-169; Speidel 1977, 704-705; and for the importance and nature of the late Roman mailed cavalry (the *catafractarii* and *clibanarii*) see Speidel 1984b. The *ala* is recorded in Germany in 234-238 and in Pannonia during the reign of Maximinus Thrax.

true of Arabia, for which we have just two military diplomas from constitutions that are only three years apart. For Dacia our latest extant diploma dates from 179 (for Dacia Superior/Apulensis), and after that the nature of the provincial garrison becomes far less clear. Thus, in many cases the dates provided constitute plausible suggestions based on the available evidence. For Arabia especially, given the fragmentary nature of the evidence and the dearth of military diplomas, only broad outlines of the provincial garrison at any particular time period are possible.

Finally, the dissertation ends with a chapter that examines comparatively the data presented in the previous chapters, assessing the differences, similarities, and broad patterns and processes that are discernable in the Roman conquest, military organization, and role of the army in these two provinces, both spatially and temporally. I conclude with a brief discussion of potential directions for future research.

Lastly, a few notes about the conventions that are used throughout the dissertation. Ancient site and town names are italicized to distinguish them from modern names, and I have tried to indicate both at least once. Transliterations of modern Arabic or Hebrew names into Latin characters are notoriously protean, so in each case I have used the most commonly employed spelling or the one most used by the scholar(s) whom I am citing. I have also indicated the modern nation-states in which various sites are found whenever I mention them for the first time. All dates are CE unless otherwise specified. Ancient sources, where appropriate, are cited in both original and translation. Translations from Greek and Latin are my own unless otherwise indicated. I have had to rely on published translations from Nabataean or Safaitic and Thamudic. Abbreviations used in citations are listed at the

beginning of the bibliography. Tables and figures are included in an appendix at the end, and are referenced throughout the dissertation where appropriate.

CHAPTER 2

DACIA CAPTA: THE CREATION OF PROVINCIA DACIA

Roman Relations with the Dacians before Trajan

*Dacos autem et Moesos, ac Thraces, in tantum bellicosos semper fuisse manifestum est, ut ipsum Martem fabulae apud eos natum esse confirment.*⁶⁰

(“It is clear, moreover, that the Dacians, Moesians, and Thracians have always been so warlike that fables assert that Mars himself was born among them.”)

During the late Republic the Romans started clashing with the so-called ‘Geto-Dacian’ tribes inhabiting the territory north of the lower Danube, in what is today modern Romania.⁶¹ Roman expansion into the Balkans during this period included the establishment of Macedonia as a province in 146 BCE, which edged the Roman frontier ever closer to the

⁶⁰ Vegetius, *Institutorum rei militaris* I.28

⁶¹ This modern terminology is highly variable and problematic, and is partly based on scattered and biased Greek and Roman accounts of the ‘barbarian’ peoples inhabiting the broad territory north of the lower Danube. When referring to these early periods some scholars make a distinction between the ‘Dacians’ who were concentrated in the Transylvanian plateau, within the Carpathian mountain arc, and the ‘Getae’ who inhabited the southeastern low-lying territories between the Carpathians and the Black Sea, on both sides of the lower Danube. This is based on a description from Strabo (*Geographia* 7.3.12-13), and also references in Seneca (*Phedra* 165-170) and Statius (*Silvae* I.1.7 and III.3.169). Other scholars just use the term ‘Geto-Dacian’ to refer to all the peoples on the territory of modern-day Romania. But while making this territorial distinction, both Strabo (*Geographia* 7.3.13) and Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 4.12.80) assert that they spoke the same language, thus seemingly indicating at least some degree of ethnic/cultural similarity – something that would make sense considering they were successfully unified under one ruler at least twice during the late Republic and early empire. Some distinguish between the *Dacii* who are known from (later) Roman accounts and *Getai/Getae* who are known from (earlier) Greek accounts. But the various written sources about these peoples also indicate that they seem to have belonged to the broad ‘Thracian’ category (at least linguistically), and they appear to have shared many characteristics with Thracians, Celts, and Scythians. This complex problem is far outside the scope of this study, so for my purposes I have chosen to use the most generic, all-encompassing ‘Geto-Dacian’ label, while acknowledging that this is a purely modern term used out of convenience to refer to a heterogeneous population consisting of different tribes who inhabited the geographically and topographically diverse territory north of the lower Danube during the last several centuries BCE, who were unified under a single ruler at least two times (first under Burebista, then later again under Decebalus), and which eventually came to be called ‘Dacia’ by the Romans (part of which was conquered and turned into *provincia Dacia*). When discussing the so-called ‘Dacian’ state during the first two centuries CE, I will refer to them as ‘Dacians’, since that is what all scholars call them at this point and how the Romans themselves identified them. For a concise summary of the problem of identifying these tribes and their territories and for some of the most relevant sources in the debate, see Lica 2000 and Oltean 2007, 44-50.

Danube and to the peoples inhabiting the area. Already during the second century BCE, the governors of Macedonia were constantly dealing with “plundering expeditions of the neighboring peoples,” including the various Geto-Dacian tribes (among others).⁶² Dacians are mentioned among other groups in a series of military confrontations with Rome – in 109 BCE, Minucius Rufus claimed victory over the Scordisci and Dacians.⁶³ Not too long afterwards, C. Scribonius Curio (76/75 to 72/72 BCE), M. Terentius Varo Lucullus (in 73/72 to 71 BCE),⁶⁴ and C. Antonius Hybrida (in 52 to 61 BCE)⁶⁵ campaigned against them. All of these military interventions seem to have been motivated by efforts to secure and protect Roman territory from frequent ‘barbarian’ attacks (i.e., random raiding parties), or to prevent these peoples from providing mercenary troops to more powerful Roman enemies (i.e., during the Mithridatic Wars).⁶⁶ Roman foreign policy at this point was to subdue these populations militarily in order to generate peace treaties that could transform them into client states (legally described by the Romans as *socii*) so that they might become loyal buffer states (and lucrative trade partners) along the Roman frontier.⁶⁷

Sometime during the middle of the first century BCE, while Rome was embroiled in civil wars, a king named Burebista (ca. 82 to 44 BCE) managed to unite the various tribes inhabiting a large swath of territory that spanned from the middle Danube (Slovakia) to the northern Carpathians, the Dniester River, the Black Sea, and the Balkan Mountains.⁶⁸ From various mentions in ancient sources it seems quite clear that Burebista became powerful

⁶² Lica 2000, 38-42; Oltean 2007, 42

⁶³ Frontinus, *Strat.* 2.4.3

⁶⁴ Florus *Epit.* 1.39.6; Eutropius 6.2.2; Rufius Festus *Brev.* 7; Eusebius-Hieronymus *Helm* 152-23

⁶⁵ Livy *Pers.* 103; Cassius Dio 38.0.1-3

⁶⁶ Oltean 2007, 43

⁶⁷ Lica 2000, 42-60

⁶⁸ Lica 2000, 65-67; Oltean 2007, 43; Crişan 1978

enough to play an important role in Roman political and military affairs during this volatile period⁶⁹ – he became an eleventh-hour ally of Pompey just before the battle of *Pharsalus*,⁷⁰ and Caesar made plans to personally defeat him.⁷¹ Thus, for the first time, the previously fragmented peoples inhabiting this territory became organized into unified political entity that posed a serious military and political threat. An inscription from 48 BCE erected by the people of *Dionysopolis* (Balchik, Bulgaria) in honor of Akornion, Burebista’s ambassador to Pompey, calls Burebista “the first and greatest king of kings in Thrace” (τοῦ βασιλέως Βυρεβίστα πρώτου καὶ μ[ε]γίστου γεγ[ο]νονότος τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης βασιλέων) – epigraphic formulae and titles (‘king of kings’, ‘first and greatest’) that are reminiscent of those commonly used by Hellenistic monarchs (both in the Balkans and the Near East), perhaps indicating the degree of political sophistication and power achieved by Burebista.⁷² On the other hand, some scholars have argued that Burebista did not in fact have a clear political program or an administratively sophisticated and organized state, and that the key to his power and success (and the basis for his foreign relations with Rome and the Greek city states on the Black Sea) was simply the sheer might of the military force and manpower under his command (estimated at some 200,000 men).⁷³ In other words, Burebista was merely the ‘king’ over an exceptionally large (and therefore powerful) tribal alliance. In the end, Burebista’s kingdom did not outlast his death in 44 BCE (possibly due to an assassination), at which point the territory was once again fragmented politically and

⁶⁹ Strabo V.1.6; VII.3.11-13; mentions in Caesar, Pompeius Trogus (*Prol.* 33), Appian (*Rom. Hist. Iliria* 13.36), Cassius Dio (51.22.6), and in inscriptions from the Greek cities on the Black Sea. For Burebista and the Roman civil war (49-45 BCE) see Ota 2011.

⁷⁰ Lica 2000, 62-92

⁷¹ Lica 2000, 71-92; Oltean 2007, 43

⁷² SIG II.762=IGB I².13; SEG 48.967; Suceveanu 1998; 2000-2001; Lica 2000, 82, n.96.

⁷³ Ruscu 2002, 295-307; Oltean 2007, 48

militarily into numerous tribes – perhaps into four or five regions under different *reguli* (based on Strabo).⁷⁴

Very little can be gleaned historically about the political situation of the peoples north of the Danube during this volatile period (first century BCE to first century CE). From the end of the first century BCE, ancient sources make mention of several Geto-Dacian rulers, including Koson(?), Cotiso, Dicoes, Rholes, Dapyx, and Zyraxes.⁷⁵ During the early first century CE other kings appear, including Comosicus, Scorylo (or Coryllus in Jordanes' *Getica*). These are followed by Duras, Diurpaneus, and Decebalus in the latter part of the first century CE.⁷⁶ The fact that there was some kind of Dacian kingdom with its heart in the Orăștie Mountains, which lasted from the time of Burebista to Decebalus, is indicated by the list of dynasts that has survived, although it does appear to be incomplete and poses many historical questions due to the limited nature of the evidence. Moreover, the political configuration of the various fragmented territories following the dissolution of Burebista's state is unclear, and there is little more than guesswork involved in figuring out where to place these different rulers geographically and chronologically, how long different regions existed under different rulers, which tribes were involved and in what kinds of alliances, and at exactly which point many (or all?) of them were reunified under a sole ruler.

⁷⁴ Strabo 7.3.11; Oltean 2007, 48; For the death of Burebista and its aftermath see Trynkowski 1974.

⁷⁵ Lica 200, 100; Oltean 2007, 49. Koson is problematic, and is linked to the mysterious gold staters found in Transylvania in great quantities bearing the inscription ΚΟΣΩΝ, but which some scholars have attributed to Brutus, although others believe that these are a reference to a king Cotiso. Horace (*Carm.* 3.8.17-18), Florus (2.28.18-19) and Suetonius (*Aug.* 21.1) all mention a Cotiso, but this may have been another ruler from a period later than Koson. Koson offered Brutus troops, and they were probably paid with the gold ΚΟΣΩΝ coins (Lica 2000, 104-105). Plutarch (*Ant.* 63.3-4) tells us about Dicoes, king of the Getae, who promised to come to Antonius' aid with a large force (so he must have lived around 31 BCE). Cassius Dio is our source for the kings Rholes, Dapyx, and Zyraxes, all of whom seem to date within the period from 31 to 27 BCE (Lica 2000, 93-120).

⁷⁶ Lica 2000, 128, 188; Oltean 2007, 49

What is clear, however, is that near the end of the first century CE, Decebalus suddenly appears as the king over all of Dacia (seemingly once again a large unified state). Most of the information about him relates, unsurprisingly, to his various military conflicts with the Romans.⁷⁷ Unfortunately we do not know, from the written sources, the precise territorial extent of this kingdom, but based on archaeological data (primarily the distribution of late Iron Age fortified hillforts dated to this time period), it is generally accepted that Decebalus' kingdom of Dacia roughly encompassed the territory of modern Romania, except for Dobrogea (which was already part of Roman Moesia Inferior), with the kingdom's administrative, political and religious core in the heart of the Orăștie Mountains (in Transylvania) (Figure 2.1).⁷⁸ In contrast to the large tribal alliance under Burebista, it seems that Decebalus ruled over a much more centralized, better organized, and apparently ethnically more homogenous state, which included a stratified social system that distinguished between the *pileati* (the warrior elite), the *tarabostes* (the administrative and economic elite), and the *comati* (lower-class free men).⁷⁹ It is possible that it was during Decebalus' reign (or perhaps shortly before) that the long-standing system of loose tribal alliances was dissolved in favor of a new administrative organization.⁸⁰

From the first century BCE to the end of the first century CE, especially during the period between Burebista and Decebalus, the Geto-Dacians (or Getae and Dacians, and others in that area) continued to make frequent appearances within a large range of classical sources, revealing that these populations (and the territory that they inhabited) continuously

⁷⁷ He is mentioned in Tacitus (who mentions Diurpaneus), Jordanes, Cassius Dio, Martial, and Crito.

⁷⁸ Oltean 2007, 50

⁷⁹ Crito *Get* 5.2 *Suidas*; Frontinus, *Strat.* 1.10.4

⁸⁰ Oltean, 2007, 50

loomed large in both Roman imagination and foreign policy.⁸¹ It is clear that from the Roman perspective the Geto-Dacians posed a serious and constant threat to Roman territories and interests in the area of the lower Danube. Rome's relationship with these peoples grew increasingly fraught as Rome struggled with both internal political unrest and continued colonial expansion.

Antonius argued in front of the Roman senate about a 'Getic danger' (which may well have been deliberately exaggerated), and he was successfully granted a military command that he then used to engage in the civil war.⁸² Octavian had plans to conquer the Dacians in 35 to 33 BCE,⁸³ and just a few years later M. Licinius Crassus, the famous *triumvir's* grandson and governor of Moesia, defeated the Geto-Dacian ruler Cotiso and added Dobrogea to the Roman empire (27 BCE, by adding it to Moesia).⁸⁴ At the same time, the Geto-Dacians also served as allies to the Romans at various points in time. Burebista became *amicus et socius populi Romani* when he allied with Pompey just before the battle of *Pharsalus*,⁸⁵ the Getae under king Dikomes supported Antonius at *Actium*,⁸⁶ and the Dacians under king Cotiso supported Augustus, who apparently had plans to marry his daughter Julia to Cotiso in order to strengthen the alliance, indicating that Cotiso was probably also *amicus et socius* of the Roman people or of Octavian himself.⁸⁷ There was evidently a volatile relationship between the Geto-Dacians and the Romans during the period between the

⁸¹ For a list of some of the major sources for this period (first century BCE to first century CE), see Oltean, 2007, 43. For a catalogue of all the ancient literary sources referring to the Dacians see Iliescu *et al.* 1964, with Dana and Ruscu 2000 for an *addenda* of omitted texts.

⁸² Lica 2000, 97

⁸³ Strabo 7.5.2; Appian *Illyr.* 22-23

⁸⁴ Cassius Dio 51.23-27; Livy *Per.* 134; Florus 2.26.13-16

⁸⁵ Lica 2000, 98

⁸⁶ Cassius Dio 50.6; Plutarch *Ant.* 62.3-4

⁸⁷ Suetonius *Aug.* 63.4.6 and *Ant.* 7

Burebista and Decebalus – alternating between open hostilities and peace/alliance treaties, which shifted with different local rulers and varied with the different political figures prominent at Rome.

Archaeologically it is clear that there was an important economic relationship between the peoples living north of the lower Danube and the Romans. In addition to the archaeological evidence for an active exchange of Roman goods and technology transfers, especially within Orăştie Mountains (the core of the Dacian kingdom), written sources indicate that various individuals from the Roman empire were also present in Dacia during this period, including merchants, craftsmen, and fugitives (both slaves and free men).⁸⁸ Perhaps most intriguingly, copious amounts of Roman Republican *denarii* (both originals and locally minted imitations) have been found at late Iron Age Dacian sites.⁸⁹ These may indicate that the Dacians were not just consumers of Roman goods, but that they were also supplying the Romans with commodities in exchange for cash. This could have been natural resources, or may have been slaves.⁹⁰

Over time, the relations between the Geto-Dacians and the Romans grew increasingly strained – from the end of the first century BCE to the time of the Dacian Wars they repeatedly attacked Roman territory. The Dacians attacked Pannonia in 10 BCE, and then they attacked Roman territory south of the Danube in 6 CE.⁹¹ In response to these attacks Sextus Aelius Catus initiated a campaign against them, which resulted in the removal

⁸⁸ Glodariu 1976; Florea 1998, 31; Oltean 2007, 52

⁸⁹ On the Republican *denarii* in Iron Age Dacia, see Chiţescu 1981; Lockyear 1996; 2004, 2007; On Roman imports into Dacia and the trade between Dacia and Rome see Bărbulescu 2010; Glodariu 1976.

⁹⁰ On the slave theory, see Crawford 1977.

⁹¹ Cassius Dio 54.36.2; 55.30.4

of 50,000 Getae south of the Danube.⁹² Toward the end of Augustus' reign there was another attack (perhaps in the year 12),⁹³ and then two more attacks under Tiberius (in the year 15⁹⁴ and again near the end of his reign⁹⁵). In the wake of these attacks, the governor of Moesia between 57 and 67 (T. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus) moved more than 100,000 'Transdanubians' (including men, women, children, and local rulers) to the other side of the river as tribute.⁹⁶ Tacitus tells us of more troubles from barbarians in the area, including Getae and Dacians, during the winter of the year 70.⁹⁷

The situation reached a critical point during Domitian's reign, when an alliance of barbarians, including Dacians, Bastarnae, Roxolani, and Iazyges, mounted a significant attack on Roman territory south of the Danube during the winter of 86. The ensuing military confrontation killed the governor C. Oppius Sabinus and damaged multiple Roman forts along the Danube. Domitian planned a swift reprisal – he went to *Naissus* in Moesia where he set up his campaign headquarters, and from there sent Cornelius Fuscus (a *praefectus praetorio*) north of the Danube to confront the unified Dacians under their new king Decebalus.⁹⁸ This was a disaster – Fuscus was killed, and the Romans lost not just the battle but a whole legion (*legio V Alaudae*). Tettius Iulianus eventually managed to subdue the Dacians in 88.⁹⁹ A peace treaty that was signed between Domitian's generals and Decebalus (through Diegis, the king's ambassador and brother) in 89 proved very favorable for the Dacians, providing them with significant Roman financial and technological

⁹² Strabo 7.3.10; Oltean 2007, 51

⁹³ Orosius 6.22

⁹⁴ Ovid *Ex ponto* 4.9.76-80

⁹⁵ Suetonius *Tib.* 41.1

⁹⁶ CIL 14.3608=ILS 986

⁹⁷ Tacitus *Hist.* 4.54.1

⁹⁸ On Domitian's campaigns against the Dacians from 84-89, see most recently Stefan 2005, 399-424.

⁹⁹ Cassius Dio 67.6.1-6; 7.1-4; 10.1-3

assistance.¹⁰⁰ It was probably the disastrous defeat that spurred Domitian to reach a diplomatic resolution at all costs, even if it meant a less-than-ideal compromise from the Roman perspective. Indeed, after Domitian's death, the cost and terms of this treaty with the Dacians was heavily criticized for the sheer amount of money and technology (including Roman weapons and equipment) that it provided to Decebalus against his enemies in *barbaricum*, thus effectively arming and strengthening an unpredictable and historically hostile foreign power bordering the empire.¹⁰¹ Tacitus famously called the Dacians totally untrustworthy (*Dacorum gens nunquam fida*), a statement that surely reflected the dominant Roman attitude toward these people when Trajan came to power in 98, and which was based on several centuries of unpleasant experiences in dealing with them.¹⁰²

The Conquest of Dacia: Motivations & Preparations

The study of Trajan's Dacian Wars has been the focus of a large body of scholarship.¹⁰³ The extant evidence primarily consists of the account in Cassius Dio (although portions of his text in the section dealing with Domitian's and Trajan's Dacian campaigns are lost), various inscriptions, and the visual representations on both Trajan's column in Rome and on the *Tropaeum Traiani* monument in Adamclisi, Romania (near the ancient town of *Tropaeum Traiani*, Moesia Inferior). Unfortunately there is only scant archaeological evidence that can shed light on the course and nature of the Dacian Wars.

¹⁰⁰ Martial *Epigrammata* 5.3.1-6; Cassius Dio 67.7.1-4; Oltean 2007, 52; See Stefan 2005, 425-437 for the details of this treaty.

¹⁰¹ Oltean 2007, 54; Martial *Epigrammata* 5.3.1-6; Cassius Dio 67.7.1-4

¹⁰² Tacitus *Hist.* 3.46.3

¹⁰³ On the Dacian Wars the most important are Strobel 1984; Strobel 2006; and Stefan 2005. See also Petolescu 2010, 123-159, Wheeler 2010; Wheeler 2011. On the army in Trajan's Dacian Wars, see Gostar 1979.

Perhaps even more unfortunate is the fact that Trajan's own lengthy account of the wars, as well as the account written by Statilius Crito, the chief military doctor who accompanied him, are now both lost.¹⁰⁴

Dealing with individual tribes, sporadic attacks, or occasional tribal alliances along the borders of the empire was troublesome but mostly manageable for the Romans. The unification of a large swathe of *barbaricum*, however, posed a different type of threat altogether. The earlier unification under Burebista of some 200,000 warriors had created a formidable power.¹⁰⁵ Fortunately for the Romans, this kingdom did not outlast its ruler, and the Romans were successfully able to ward off attacks from individual tribes or smaller kingdoms north of the Danube after the dissolution of Burebista's state. But with the (re)unification of a large piece of territory under Decebalus and the apparent emergence of an administratively more complex, centralized and better organized state which had proven capable of destroying an entire Roman legion, and which had, moreover, been further strengthened with Roman weapons and technology through Domitian's treaty, the situation had reached a critical level.

The motivations behind Trajan's campaign against Decebalus have traditionally been understood to be the emperor's indignation with the audacious Dacians and with the insulting treaty signed by Domitian, a desire for revenge, and a recognition of the growing Dacian menace.¹⁰⁶ More cynical views have placed the blame on Trajan's own weaknesses and his desire for personal glory rather than on any real or perceived growing Dacian

¹⁰⁴ A sole fragment (just one sentence) of Trajan's *Dacica* is preserved in the writings of the sixth century grammarian Priscianus, and only a few fragments of Crito's Γετικά are preserved in several later sources.

¹⁰⁵ Oltean 2007, 53

¹⁰⁶ Bennett 1997, 87; Petolescu 2010, 125; Pliny the Younger *Paneg.* 16.5; Cassius Dio 68.6.1

threat.¹⁰⁷ Trajan's ultimate goal (pertaining to both Dacia and Parthia), according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was quite clear: "so that I may thus see Dacia subdued into the appearance of a province, that I may thus conquer the Ister and Euphrates with bridges" (*sic in provinciarum speciem redactam videam Daciam, sic pontibus Istrum et Euphratem superem*).¹⁰⁸ Indeed, the economic potential of the precious metal-bearing mountains, Dacia's mineral deposits (especially salt), agriculturally fertile lands, vast forests, and extensive pastures, the chance for the accumulation of both war booty (gold and slaves) and everlasting fame, as well as the militarily strategic move of breaking up a dangerous part of *barbaricum* and preventing any future substantial coalitions of barbarians north of the lower Danube, must all have contributed to Trajan's decision to crush the Dacians and seize their territory. It is significant that Trajan decided to personally undertake the conquest of Dacia, rather than rely on commanders (as his predecessors had frequently done in the case of major campaigns).¹⁰⁹ This was noteworthy enough for Cassius Dio to explicitly point out (here in reference to the second Dacian War): "and once again Trajan *himself* waged war against him [=Decebalus], not through other commanders" (καὶ ὁ Τραιανὸς δι'ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐθις, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐτέρων στρατηγῶν, τὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον ἐποιήσατο).¹¹⁰

Preparations for the invasion of Dacia started the year that Trajan ascended to the throne.¹¹¹ From 98-101 troops were concentrated in the lower Danubian provinces around

¹⁰⁷ Lepper and Frere 1988, 38-39

¹⁰⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus 24.3.9

¹⁰⁹ Mattern 1995, 12

¹¹⁰ Cassius Dio, 68.10.4.

¹¹¹ For more on the preparations for the Dacian campaigns from 98-101 see Strobel 1984, 144-161; Petolescu 2010, 134

Dacia: in Pannonia, Moesia Superior, and Moesia Inferior.¹¹² The Roman invasion force assembled by Trajan included the four Pannonian legions (*I Adiutrix*, *II Adiutrix*, *XIII Gemina*, and *XIV Gemina*), the two legions of Moesia Superior (*IV Flavia* and *VII Claudia*), the three legions of Moesia Inferior (*I Italica*, *V Macedonica*, and *XI Claudia*), as well as several other legions (including vexillations) transferred from the Rhine, Britannia, and the Roman east.¹¹³ Overall, fourteen legions are recorded as having participated in the two Dacian Wars. These comprised some 84,000 legionaries – about 40% of all the Roman legionary forces at the time.¹¹⁴ Supporting the legions was a substantial concentration of auxiliary troops on the lower Danube, including twenty-nine *alae* (including five *alae milliariae* and three *alae sagittariae*),¹¹⁵ seventy-eight *cohortes* (including twenty-nine *cohortes quingenariae*, six *cohortes milliariae*, twenty-seven *cohortes equitatae*, seven *cohortes milliariae equitatae*, six *cohortes sagittariae*, one *cohors sagittaria equitata*, and two *cohortes milliariae sagittariae equitatae*),¹¹⁶ and numerous irregular tribal units.¹¹⁷ Of these, twenty-five *alae* and sixty-eight *cohortes* are definitely attested as participating in the campaigns across the Danube. In addition to these various cavalry and infantry troops there was also the Danubian naval fleet – the *classis Flavia Moesica*.¹¹⁸ Although estimates have varied, the total number of

¹¹² For the Roman army involved in the Dacian Wars, see Strobel 1984; Gostar 1979; Benea 2006; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006; Le Roux 1985

¹¹³ For the locations and movements of the Danubian legions on the eve of the first Dacian War, see Strobel 1984, 155-161; Wilkes 2000, 104.

¹¹⁴ Strobel 1984, 153

¹¹⁵ Around 17,000 cavalrymen (Strobel 1984, 154)

¹¹⁶ Around 46,500 infantry soldiers (Strobel 1984, 154)

¹¹⁷ Strobel 1984, 103-153

¹¹⁸ On the *classis Flavia Moesica*, see Bounegru and Zahariade 1996; Matei-Popescu 2010, 245-255; on its participation in the Dacian Wars see Strobel 1984, 105-106

troops that Trajan concentrated in the lower Danube for his invasion of Dacia may well have consisted of over 175,000 men.¹¹⁹

To facilitate the movement of such a large force in preparation for the invasion a road was cut into the stone cliff of the Cazane (Iron Gates) gorge on the south bank of the Danube (near modern Ogradina, Serbia), which was completed in 100. Its remains can still be seen today, including an inscription carved *in situ* within a *tabula ansata* in the cliff face, stating that Trajan “with the mountains having been cut, made a road with raised ledges” (*montibus excisi[s] anco[ni]bus sublati[s] via[m] f[ecit]*) (Figure 2.2).¹²⁰ Furthermore, to ease the navigability of the Danube in the area of the Iron Gates cataracts, a canal was built along the south bank of the Danube, between the modern Serbian towns of Šip and Carataš.¹²¹ This feat was commemorated by an inscription dated to 101, which records that Trajan “made the navigation of the Danube safe with a diverted stream [=canal], because of the danger of the cataracts” (*ob periculum cataractarum derivato flumine tutam Danuvi navigationem fecit*).¹²²

¹¹⁹ Strobel 1984, 154, who then estimates a total of 200,000 if one includes members of the Roman fleets, irregular tribal units, and various Roman allies that may have participated. Petolescu 2010, 135 estimates it as up to 150,000, while Gostar 1979 calculated the total at 85,750 men, but based a much smaller data set available to him at the time (since many more military diplomas, inscriptions, etc. have been found since 1979). Strobel 1984 provides the best estimate based on his comprehensive study of the evidence.

¹²⁰ CIL 3.8267=CIL 3.1699=ILS 5863=AE 1978.474. Trajan’s titles (including his tribunician power and consulship) give us the date. In modern times the inscription is known as the ‘*Tabula Traiana*’.

¹²¹ Petolescu 2010, 135

¹²² AE 1973.475 (from Gvozdena Vrata, Moesia Superior)

*Expeditio Dacica Prima: The First Dacian War (101-102)*¹²³

Trajan left Rome on March 25, 101, and headed to Moesia Superior where he established the headquarters for his Dacian campaign.¹²⁴ The Romans began their invasion of Dacia by crossing the Danube on a bridge made of ships, probably at *Viminacium* (Kostolac), as illustrated on Trajan's column (scenes III-V).¹²⁵ Trajan himself appears to have led this arm of the invading army (as illustrated on Trajan's column), which continued onwards to cross the region of modern Banat (southeastern Romania) towards *Tibiscum* (Jupa) – a route which is preserved in the only extant fragment from Trajan's own account of the Dacian wars: "...inde Berzobim, deinde Aizi processimus..." ("from here we advanced to Berzobis, and then to Aizis").¹²⁶ A second column of the invading Roman army probably entered Dacia by crossing the Danube at *Dierna* (Orşova), advancing through the Cernea and Timiş valleys, and meeting up with the forces led by Trajan at *Tibiscum*.¹²⁷ Perhaps a third invading force crossed at *Drobeta* (a large earthen camp was discovered nearby, at

¹²³ The name of the first campaign as *expeditio Dacica prima* is attested in IDRE 1.172. See also Rosenberger 1992, 92-93. On the first Dacian War, see also Diaconescu 1997, 13-25.

¹²⁴ The date is known from CIL 6.2074=CIL 6.32371=ILS 5035=IDRE 1.4, which records the date on which the *vota* were made by the Arval brothers "for the health and return and victory" of Trajan (*pro salute et reditu et victoria Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Nervae Traiani Aug(usti) Germ(anici)*). See Strobel 1984, 162; Petolescu 2010, 134, n.267. See Dušanić 2003, 90-92 for the religious significance of this date, which marked the crucial point (the *Hilaria*) of the March festival of *Cybele-Magna Mater-Bellona*, which he argues was deliberately chosen by Trajan as a starting point for his expedition.

¹²⁵ See Petolescu 2010, 137 for discussion of this scene. Citations of scenes from Trajan's column follow the scene numbers from Cichorius 1896-1900.

¹²⁶ Preserved for us by the sixth century grammarian Priscianus, *Institutio de arte grammatica* VI.13, who cites it in the context of examining the double construction of *inde-deinde*. The site of *Berzobis* (modern Berzovia, Romania) has been identified and excavated. From the time of the Dacian Wars and until the end of Trajan's reign it was the site of the *legio IV Flavia Felix's* legionary fortress (it is discussed in the later chapter on the *exercitus Dacicus*). The site of *Aizis* has been identified a few kilometres directly east of *Berzobis* (modern Fârliug, Romania).

¹²⁷ Petolescu 2010, 137

Schela Cladovei, which might perhaps be identified with this episode),¹²⁸ and from there advanced through Cătune, Vârțu, and Bumbești (a route that is also marked by earthen camps), and then crossed the mountains through the Vâlcan pass towards the Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Figure 2.3 and 2.43).¹²⁹ As it advanced into Dacian territory the Roman army built infrastructure, including roads, bridges, and camps/forts (as illustrated on Trajan's column, scenes XI-XXIII) (Figure 2.4). In northern Oltenia a series of earth-walled forts were built along the *Drobeta*-Bumbești road which have been identified with the Roman advance in the first Dacian War.¹³⁰ These structures marked Roman control over acquired territory, and the infrastructure provided the basic framework for what would become the physical and defensive organization of the new Roman province after 106.

Trajan's forces eventually met the Dacians in battle at *Tapae* (Trajan's column, scene XXIV), perhaps located near the Iron Gates of Transylvania, and, based on the name, apparently the site of the earlier Domitianic battle in which the Romans under the command of Tettius Iulianus had defeated the Dacians (in 88).¹³¹ Cassius Dio's version of events (as summarized by Xiphilinus) tells us that after a bloody battle, with many wounded on both sides, and in which Trajan himself supposedly got his hands dirty tending to the wounded using strips of cloth cut from his own clothing, the Dacians apparently retreated to their stone forts in the mountains.¹³² Trajan ordered an altar built on the site in commemoration

¹²⁸ But it could also be identified with the Domitianic campaign against the Dacians (in 87) – see Petolescu 2010, 103.

¹²⁹ Petolescu 2010, 137

¹³⁰ Petolescu and Matei-Popescu 2008, 358; Petolescu 1980

¹³¹ Petolescu 2010, 138; Cassius Dio 68.8.1

¹³² Cassius Dio 68.8.2; Vulpe 1964

of the fallen.¹³³ After various other battles, the capture of several Dacian fortresses, and the taking of hostages (as illustrated on the column and as related by Dio through Xiphilinus),¹³⁴ the Romans successfully fended off an attack by a coalition of Dacians, Sarmatian Roxolani, and perhaps Germanic Burii on Roman forts across the Danube in Moesia Inferior, in the winter of 101-102. After this victory Trajan was made *imperator* for the third time, celebrated by an *aureus* on which he is shown stepping on a fallen barbarian, with a victory trophy depicted above his head.¹³⁵ But the fighting continued in the mountains, and the Romans conquered numerous hillforts where they found Roman weapons that the Dacians had previously seized, as well as the standard taken from Fuscus.¹³⁶ They continued to advance toward the Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, laying siege to forts along the way (Figures 2.5; 2.43). In the end, Decebalus was “ready to accept any conditions imposed on him, not because he planned to adhere to them, but so that he might regain power after the losses he had suffered.”¹³⁷

After the victory in 102, Trajan was acclaimed *imperator* for the fourth time. He became *Dacicus* for the first time,¹³⁸ as seen on bronze coins which show a kneeling Dacian offering his shield to Trajan,¹³⁹ or a personified *Dacia* pleading before personified *Roma*, who stands on a cuirass and holds out her hand in the presence of Trajan.¹⁴⁰

¹³³ Based on this detail, some have suggested that the battle of *Tapae* took place in Dobrogea, near the site of the future *Tropaeum Traiani*, the site of a large Trajanic altar – see Vulpe 1964.

¹³⁴ Petolescu 2010, 139-140

¹³⁵ RIC II.70-71

¹³⁶ Cassius Dio 68.9.3

¹³⁷ Cassius Dio 68.9.4

¹³⁸ For Trajan's title *Dacicus* and its earliest attestations in papyri, see Sijpesteijn 1983.

¹³⁹ RIC 447; Strack 1931, 348 (Plate V)

¹⁴⁰ RIC 448; Strack 1931, 301 (Anhang IV, no.55)

*Between the Dacian Wars (102-105)*¹⁴¹

The end of the first Dacian War was concluded with a peace treaty that was officially ratified by the Roman senate. This is illustrated by a recently published ‘new’ sestertertius type, which shows Trajan in military dress (on the left) presenting a kneeling Dacian (with outstretched arms) to a seated Roma (on the right) who wears a helmet with a short sword on her left side, holds a statuette of Victory in her right hand, and is seated on armor (struck in 102) (Figure 2.6).¹⁴² The same event is depicted on *aurei* showing Trajan (on the left) presenting a kneeling Dacian to a senator (on the right), struck in 103/104 (Figure 2.7).¹⁴³ The episode is even recounted by Cassius Dio.¹⁴⁴ This Dacian embassy was probably a tactical move on the part of Trajan to ostentatiously demonstrate his respect for the Roman senate – to make it feel involved in his decision-making, although in practice, from the beginning of the Principate, the prerogative about making war or peace had been ceded to the emperor.¹⁴⁵ The Dacian embassy presumably accompanied Trajan from Dacia back to Rome, and was undoubtedly orchestrated by Trajan in order to be propagandistically celebrated as a major political event. Thus, in terms of imperial ideology and propaganda,

By emphasizing the fact that the Dacian ambassadors had asked for peace in Rome in AD 102, Trajan’s government also legitimated *ex post* the vast amount of resources (both human and financial) and the efforts that the Dacian War had demanded. After Trajan had repressed the enemy’s *superbia* and avenged *iniuriae* with violence, the ratification of

¹⁴¹ For the period between the two Dacian Wars, see Diaconescu 1997, 25-30.

¹⁴² Williams and Woytek 2012

¹⁴³ BMC 3, p.65 (no.244)

¹⁴⁴ Cassius Dio 68.9.7-10.1: καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔπεμψεν (sc. ὁ Δεκέβαλος) ὅπως καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιώσῃται (9.7). (...) καὶ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσῆχθησαν, τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέντες συνῆσαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αἰχμαλώτων σχήματι καὶ εἰπόν τέ τινα καὶ ἱκέτευσαν, καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε εἰρήνην ἐσπέισαντο καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπέλαβον (10.1). (“He (sc. Decebalus) also sent envoys in the matter to the senate, in order that he might secure the ratification of the peace by that body” (9.7). “The envoys from Decebalus, upon being brought into the senate, laid down their arms, clasped their hands in the attitude of captives, and spoke some words of supplication; thus they obtained peace and received back their arms” (10.1). (translation E. Cary, Loeb).

¹⁴⁵ Talbert 1984, 428

peace by the senate was a consequent step to re-establish and maintain the *decus* of the empire on which the security of each citizen depended.¹⁴⁶

In Rome, Trajan who was now *Dacicus*, celebrated a triumph,¹⁴⁷ and organized various public festivities, including gladiatorial combats and pantomime shows.¹⁴⁸ It seems that at this point Trajan decided not to seize Dacia and turn it into a Roman province. This may have been because he feared facing anti-Roman resistance to such a move – resistance that his weakened army may not have been able face in the immediate aftermath of the war. He may also have faced opposition in the senate and was perhaps unwilling to rock the boat in Rome. Or perhaps it was because he believed the Dacian threat had been nullified and it was easier (and certainly cheaper) to keep Dacia as a client kingdom under Roman control, with harsh treaty conditions imposed on the defeated Dacians.

Whatever Trajan's motives in not annexing Dacia as a province in 102, it seems the peace treaty demanded of Decebalus to return all the weapons and war machines that he had been granted under Domitian's treaty, and to hand over all the Roman deserters and craftsmen.¹⁴⁹ A scene on Trajan's column shows Dacians taking apart a wall attached to a rockface (scene LXXVI). Indeed, archaeological remains have shown evidence of dismantling at the Dacian hilltop fortresses of Piatra Roşie, Blidaru, and *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (followed by evidence of rebuilding, during the second Dacian War).¹⁵⁰ The Dacians were also ordered to "retreat from conquered territory," probably referring to territory occupied by the Romans

¹⁴⁶ Williams and Woytek 2012, 56

¹⁴⁷ See Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 7.4,2; IDRE 1.94. He also issued coins showing him in a triumph (in a *quadriga*) – RIC II.48 and 72

¹⁴⁸ Petolescu 2010, 146

¹⁴⁹ Petolescu 2010, 144; Dacian use of Roman war machines is illustrated on Trajan's column (scene LXVI) where two Dacian (*comati*) are shown manning a catapult.

¹⁵⁰ Petolescu 2010, 144

during the course of the campaign. Decebalus was told to count Roman allies and enemies as his own – in other words, to stay loyal to the Roman state in matters of foreign affairs.

Although Dacia did not become a province at this time, it is clear that large pieces of Dacian territory were left by Trajan under direct Roman military control during the period between the Dacian Wars (102-105). After securing the treaty with Decebalus, Cassius Dio (68.9.7) recounts that Trajan “left a camp (στρατόπεδον) at *Sarmizegetusa*, and having stationed garrisons (φρουραῖς) throughout the rest of the territory, returned to Italy.”¹⁵¹ These φρουραῖ must refer to the camps built as part of the initial advancement of the army during the first Dacian War, and which were now left garrisoned as a military occupation force controlling the Dacian territories in Banat, Țara Hațegului, south and southeastern Transylvania, the sub-Carpathian zone of Oltenia and Muntenia, and southern Moldova.¹⁵² This constituted a considerable military force occupying a significant area. Excavations have revealed a Roman fort at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Grădiștea Muncelului, the military and religious center of Decebalus’ kingdom), which some scholars have identified with the στρατόπεδον left by Trajan in 102 (as mentioned by Dio).¹⁵³ Inscriptions in the walls of this fort indicate the presence and building activities of *legio II Adiutrix pia fidelis*, *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, and a vexillation of the *legio VI Ferrata* – a substantial legionary force stationed right in

¹⁵¹ Cassius Dio (68.9.7): ταῦτα συνθέμενος καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν Ζερμιζεγεθούσῃ καταλιπὼν, τὴν τε ἄλλην χώραν φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνεκομίσθη.

¹⁵² Petolescu 2002, 22

¹⁵³ Others prefer to associate the location of Cassius Dio’s στρατόπεδον ἐν Ζερμιζεγεθούσῃ with the site of the future *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (founded after 106), located forty-two kilometres to the west of the Iron Age Dacian *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, and which was the only ‘*Sarmizegetusa*’ still inhabited at the time that Cassius Dio was writing (see Daicoviciu 1974b). For the discussion of the evidence and the debate see Diaconescu 1997, 25-30. But regardless of which ‘*Sarmizegetusa*’ was intended by Dio, archaeological remains have confirmed the presence of a Roman fort garrisoned by multiple Roman legionary units at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* at the end of the first Dacian War, as well as a possible camp from this time period at the future site of the Roman colony. So perhaps both were left garrisoned at this time.

the heart of the Dacian kingdom (Figures 2.8; 2.9).¹⁵⁴ At this time, a bridge-head fort was built at *Drobeta* (Turnu Severin, Romania) by the *cohors I Antiochensium*,¹⁵⁵ and Trajan had his architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, design the famous bridge over the Danube (connecting *Drobeta* and *Pontes*) that established a permanent link between the Roman empire and the Dacian territories now under Roman control (Figure 2.10).¹⁵⁶ The senate even struck a bronze coin depicting the bridge, and a coin with the god *Danuvius* on it may also have been commissioned on this occasion.¹⁵⁷ The construction of this bridge has been taken by many scholars as an indicator of Trajan's intentions to eventually annex Dacia and turn it into a province.¹⁵⁸ On another level, the act of crossing the Danube and conquering territory beyond it marked a significant act in Roman ideology and mythology, since the river had served as a longstanding natural boundary between the 'civilized, Roman' world, and that of *barbaricum* beyond.¹⁵⁹

The papyrus commonly known as Hunt's *Pridianum* contains the campaign journal of the *cohors I Hispanorum veterana quingenaria*, a cohort that belonged to Moesia Inferior.¹⁶⁰ It tells us that detachments of this cohort were "in an expedition across the Danube" (*trans Danuvium in expeditionem* – language that is used in the context of war), and specifically that its soldiers were stationed at *Piroboridava* (Poiana, Galați county in Romania) in the

¹⁵⁴ IDR III.3.268-271; Opreanu 1999-2000 on this fort and its inscriptions. It seems the Romans extensively used building materials from destroyed Dacian sanctuaries in enlarging the hillfort enclosure at this site (Diaconescu 2007, 25-26).

¹⁵⁵ IDR II.14

¹⁵⁶ Cassius Dio 68.13.1-6 for a description of the bridge.

¹⁵⁷ RIC II.569 (Pl. X/188); RIC II.100 (Pl. VIII/142)

¹⁵⁸ For Trajan's bridge across the Danube, see Tudor 1971, 53-153 (French version: 1974, 47-134); 1978, 56-68; Crăciun and Sion 2006; Karović *et al.* 2007

¹⁵⁹ Carbó García and Hidalgo de la Vega 2008, 75

¹⁶⁰ For Hunt's *pridianum* (British Museum Papyrus 2851), see Hunt 1925; Fink 1958; Syme 1959; For the military unit, see Cavenaile 1975. See also Daicoviciu 1995, 218-219.

Siret valley, and *Buridava* (Ocnița or Stolniceni, Vâlcea county in Romania) where the Olt river flows out of the mountains. This event is dated to the end of 105, so since these places are identified as being *intra provinciam* in Moesia Inferior, it tells us that southern Moldova, eastern Oltenia (including the plain of Muntenia), and likely also the southeastern corner of Transylvania had been conquered by Trajan during the first Dacian War and had been annexed to Moesia Inferior at this time. Indeed, excavations at Stolniceni have revealed bricks and tiles with stamps of a vexillation of the *legio I Italica*, *legio V Macedonica*, and *legio XI Claudia*, of *cohors milliaria Brittonum* and of a unit of *pedites singulares*, all of which belonged to the army of Moesia Inferior.¹⁶¹ Numerous forts have been identified (some also excavated) in Muntenia, located at entry-points into the passes crossing the southern Carpathians (at Voinești, Rucăr, Târgușorul Vechi, Mălăești, and Drajna-de-Sus).¹⁶² Forts were also found guarding entrances into Transylvania from the eastern Carpathians.¹⁶³ These forts were built and garrisoned by units from Moesia Inferior.

A region in western Dacia (eastern Banat, part or all of western Oltenia, and Țara Hațegului) also remained under Roman military control, but not as part of Moesia Inferior.¹⁶⁴ It seems the Roman military occupation force in this area, consisting of several legionary detachments (if not entire legions) and numerous auxiliary units was left under the command of General Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, a former consul (*consularis*) who had been governor of Moesia Superior (93-95) and Pannonia (96-98).¹⁶⁵ Thus, it would seem that the Dacian kingdom of Decebalus had been significantly reduced

¹⁶¹ Bichir 1985; IDR II.556-560

¹⁶² Petolescu and Matei-Popescu 2008, 359

¹⁶³ Petolescu and Matei-Popescu 2008, 360

¹⁶⁴ Daicoviciu 1995, 221

¹⁶⁵ Petolescu 2002, 22

in size after the first Dacian War, encompassing only territories north of the middle Mureş River and north of the Transylvanian course of the Olt River, and that Decebalus' capital was now at Piatra Craivii.¹⁶⁶

According to Cassius Dio (68.10.3) the second Dacian War began because Decebalus did not respect the conditions of the peace treaty, and started building up arms, receiving fugitives, rebuilding fortifications and rallying allies. The senate decided that Decebalus had once again become an enemy of Rome, and Trajan set off to wage war against him once more.¹⁶⁷ A bronze coin struck at this time shows a furious personified *Danuvius* (or *Tiber*?) throwing a personified *Dacia* to the ground.¹⁶⁸

*Expediatio Dacica Secunda: The Second Dacian War (105-106)*¹⁶⁹

Trajan set off for Dacia once more on June 4, 105, stopping at *Brundisium*.¹⁷⁰ A desperate Decebalus tried, unsuccessfully, to rally anti-Roman allies among neighboring barbarians.¹⁷¹ Decebalus then convened a face-to-face meeting with General Longinus and used the opportunity to take him hostage. He sent an envoy to Trajan asking that “he might get back the land up to the Danube,” (the territory that had been occupied by the Romans

¹⁶⁶ Opreanu 1998, 40; Petolescu 2010, 146

¹⁶⁷ Cassius Dio 68.10.4

¹⁶⁸ RIC II.556 (Pl. X/180). For the identification of the river god as *Danuvius* rather than *Tiber* (as identified in RIC), see Houghtalin 1993, 215, who argues that after Trajan built the bridge over the Danube, the river became a friend and ally of Rome in the conflict against the Dacians.

¹⁶⁹ The name of the second campaign as *expeditio Dacica secunda* is attested in IDRE 1.170; 2.367. See also Rosenberger 1992, 92-93. For the second Dacian War, see Diaconescu 1997, 30-39.

¹⁷⁰ The date is recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses* – IDRE I.95; Sirago 2000; See Dušanić 2003, 92-93 for the religious significance of this date, which was the *dies festus of Hercules Magnus Custos*.

¹⁷¹ Cassius Dio 68.11.1

since the end of the first Dacian War), as well as money in exchange for Longinus.¹⁷² But Longinus ended up committing suicide (through poison) to prevent any such deal from taking place. Thus, war broke out once more.

Trajan's column shows the Dacians attacking first, before Trajan crossed the Danube (Trajan's column, scenes XCIII-XCV). It is probably at this time that some of the Dacian fortifications were hastily rebuilt. At *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Figure 2.43), Blidaru, Piatra Roşie, and Costeşti, excavations have indicated that walls and fortifications were rebuilt using blocks from previously destroyed forts.¹⁷³ The Roman attack was probably waged from multiple directions: from the west through Banat and the Mureş valley, from the south via *Drobeta* and through the Vâlcan pass, and probably also through the Olt valley. By the winter of 105, the Roman army probably surrounded the core of the Oraştie mountains where the Dacians were holding out.¹⁷⁴ In 106, after a siege, the Dacian fortresses were finally conquered by the Roman army. At Costeşti, archaeological research has indicated a second destruction event, which has been associated with the second war. Scenes on Trajan's column show the Romans besieging and destroying Dacian forts, while the Dacians are shown desperately fighting back.¹⁷⁵ Dacians are even shown burning their own forts before the Romans could seize them (scene CXIX) (Figure 2.11).

After capturing the Dacian capital, the Romans had to hunt down Decebalus who had escaped. The Dacian king famously committed suicide just before his capture, as

¹⁷² Cassius Dio 68.12.2: καὶ πρέσβιν τινὰ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἡξίου τήν τε χώραν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστρου κομίσασθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδεδαπανήκει, ἀπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Λογγίνον οἱ ἀποδοῦναι. Longinus ended up committing suicide with poison before this deal could come to fruition.

¹⁷³ Petolescu 2010, 150

¹⁷⁴ Petolescu 2010, 151

¹⁷⁵ e.g., scenes CXII, CXVI, CXVII, CXX, CXIX, CXXII-CXXXIII, CXXXIV, CXXXV

illustrated on the column, recounted by Dio, and mentioned by Pliny the Younger.¹⁷⁶ But the most important evidence for this episode is the funerary *stela* of Ti. Claudius Maximus found at Grammeni, a village near ancient *Philippi*, in the Roman province of Macedonia (Figure 2.12).¹⁷⁷ The Latin inscription recounts the life and career of Maximus – a funerary monument that he commissioned for himself while still alive (*[s(e)] v(ivo) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*), which is perhaps why it is so detailed in outlining his promotions and accomplishments. It tells us that he was awarded the *dona militaria* during Domitian’s Dacian War (in 89) (*item bello Daco ob virtute(m) donis donates ab imp(eratore) Domitiano*), that he had been an *eques* in the *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*, a *qu(a)estor equit(um)* (treasurer of the legionary cavalry – a uniquely attested position), a *singularis legati legionis eiusdem* (a guard of the same legion’s commander – also a position attested here for the first time), a *vexillarius equitum* (the function of which is unclear), and that he was promoted to *duplicarius* (double pay grade) by the divine Trajan (*factus dupli(carius) a divo Troiano* (sic!)) in the *ala II Pannoniorum*,¹⁷⁸ “by whom he was also made a scout in the Dacian war” (*a quo et fa(c)tus explorator in bello Dacico*), indicating that he was probably put in charge of a reconnoitering party. He was given the *dona militaria* by Trajan twice for the Dacian and Parthian wars (*ob virtute(m) bis donis donatus bello Dacico et Parthico*), and he was then promoted to *decurio* of the same *ala* “because he had captured Decebalus and brought his head back to him [i.e., Trajan] at *Ranisstorum*” (*quod cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput eius*

¹⁷⁶ Shown on Trajan’s column (CXLV); Cassius Dio (Xiphilinus) 68.14.3; Pliny the Younger *Epistulae* 8.4.2

¹⁷⁷ Speidel 1970; AE 1969-1970.583=AE 1974.589=AE 1985.721=IDRE 2.363

¹⁷⁸ This is the *ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum torquata* which stayed in Dacia after the Dacian Wars, then fought in the Parthian War, whence it returned to Dacia Porolissensis (at Gherla) under Hadrian and stayed there into the third century.

pertulisset ei Ranisstoru).¹⁷⁹ From this we can glean that Maximus was the commander of the detachment of *exploratores* that captured Decebalus, since he was the one who brought the king's head back to the emperor. Above the text a relief shows the decorations that Maximus received (two torques and two *armillae*), and above that a mounted Maximus is depicted bearing down on Decebalus with his sword, about to cut off the head of the king who has just committed suicide. The king's head was displayed before the army in a scene on Trajan's column (scene CXLVII).

The precise end of the second Dacian War is not known, but it must have been in the summer of 106. Certainly it had to be before August 11, 106, the constitution date in the diplomas issued in 110 that awarded citizenship to the soldiers of the *cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p(ia) f(idelis) c(ivium) R(omanorum)* before their discharge (*ante emerita stipendia*), as a reward for their bravery during the second Dacian War.¹⁸⁰ Trajan remained in the new province until spring of 107, and then returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph, leaving behind a substantial military force under the command of Iulius Sabinus, a man of consular rank who is known from the military diploma dated to October 14, 109 found at Ranovac, Serbia (Moesia Superior).¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ The site of *Ranisstorum* is not attested elsewhere and has not been identified on the ground. See Speidel 1970, 150 on the name/place.

¹⁸⁰ Two separate diplomas from this constitution have been found, one from *Porolissum* and one unprovenanced (see Table 1): from *Porolissum*: CIL 16.160=IDR 1.1=AE 1944.57=AE 1946.131=AE 1947.31; unprovenanced: RMD 5.343=ILD 11=CER 21/24.967=AE 2002.1741. They were issued in 110, but their constitution is dated August 11, 106.

¹⁸¹ RMD 3.148=IDRE 2.307=ILD 10=CER 9.523=AE 1987.854=AE 1990.860 (see Table 1)

Universa Dacia Devicta est: Celebrating Trajan's Victory

With the death of Decebalus, Dacia was finally conquered. The Roman army razed the Dacian fortresses they had captured to the ground, including all the Dacian sanctuaries (Figure 2.13).¹⁸² Dacians were captured and enslaved, and their wealth was seized.¹⁸³ Decebalus' head was taken back to Rome, where it was thrown down the Gemonian stairs.¹⁸⁴ In Rome, Trajan held a total of 123 days of festivals and celebrations, during the course of which some 11,000 wild and domesticated animals were slaughtered, and 10,000 gladiators fought in the arena.¹⁸⁵ Expanding on the precedents set by Vespasian and Augustus, both of whom had built large imperial *fora* in Rome using war booty, Trajan built the largest one of all – the impressive *Forum Traiani*.¹⁸⁶ It consisted of an actual forum, a large *Basilica Ulpia*, and two libraries (one in Greek, one in Latin). It provided public spaces for businesses and imperial law courts, while simultaneously celebrating and commemorating Trajan's victory over Dacia, the spoils of which had paid for the construction (Figure 2.14). The forum was, rather appropriately, laid out like a military camp, encompassing a sculptural programme that included colossal statues of Dacian prisoners along the colonnades, and gilded horses and military trophies on the roofs. Half a dozen major sculpted representations of Trajan himself emphasized his role as a military victor. The entrance to the forum was monumentalized by a large three-bayed arch with a statue of Trajan in a six-horse chariot (celebrating his triumphs), and in the center of the open area in front of the *Basilica Ulpia*

¹⁸² For the destruction of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* see Florea and Pupeză 2008. See Trajan's column scene CLIII which shows Roman soldiers setting fire to a fort.

¹⁸³ Cassius Dio (Xiphilinus) 68.14.4-5; Petolescu 2010, 152-153

¹⁸⁴ Cassius Dio (Xiphilinus) 68.14.3; Recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses* for the year 106: [*caput D]ecibali [regis in sca]llis Gemon[is expositum or iacuit]* – see IDRE I.96.

¹⁸⁵ Cassius Dio 68.15, but the days were not continuous.

¹⁸⁶ On Trajan's forum, see Miller 2013, 202-203; Anderson 1984, 141-177; Packer 2001

stood a large equestrian statue of the emperor. An inscription on the colonnade declared that it was built “out of plunder” (*ex manubiis*) – a reference to the war booty acquired during the Dacian Wars.¹⁸⁷ In the center of the forum the senate decreed the erection of a tall column, with the emperor’s statue at the top and with a continuous spiraling frieze depicting the two Dacian Wars (known today as Trajan’s column) (Figure 2.14).¹⁸⁸ It was inaugurated on May 12, 113, and coins were also issued depicting the column.¹⁸⁹ After Trajan’s death, Hadrian had his predecessor’s ashes placed in a golden urn in the base of the column.¹⁹⁰ At Adamclisi (Romania) in Moesia Inferior, Trajan built a complex of three monuments: a large trophy (*Tropaeum Traiani*) dedicated to *Mars Ultor* which was built in 109 and which contained panels of reliefs depicting the Dacian Wars around its base (also called the Adamclisi monument) (Figure 2.15), a stone altar east of the trophy, and a mausoleum north of the trophy.¹⁹¹

Numerous coins were issued, in gold, silver, and bronze.¹⁹² There are many types, including one showing Trajan on a horse trampling and aiming his spear at a fallen Dacian, which may have been struck during the course of the second war (Figure 2.16),¹⁹³ and another coin on which Trajan is standing with his foot on the head of a Dacian.¹⁹⁴ There are

¹⁸⁷ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 13.25.1; On representations of Trajan’s war booty, see Mattern 1999, 150-151,

¹⁸⁸ Trajan’s Column: Cichorius 1896-1900; Miclea and Florescu 1971; Rossi 1971; Gauer 1977; Vulpe 1988; Lepper and Frere 1988; Vulpe 2002; Antonescu 2009; Coarelli 2000; Petolescu 2010, 128-130 (see n.235 for other bibliography in Romanian).

¹⁸⁹ RIC II.475

¹⁹⁰ Cassius Dio 69.2.3; Eutropius 8.5

¹⁹¹ Tocilescu *et al.* 1895; Sâmpetru 1984; Florescu 1961; Barbu 1965; Rădulescu 1988; Richmond 1967; Petolescu 2010, 130-134

¹⁹² For coins of Trajan related to Dacia, see Belloni 1974 and Matveev 2012. For the circulation of coins in Dacia after 106, see Pişlaru 2007. For representations of Dacia on coins throughout the second and third centuries, see LIMC III/1 s.v. *Dacia* (p.310-312) and LIMC III/2 (p.235-236) for accompanying imagery.

¹⁹³ RIC II.208-209, 534-545; RIC II, p.239 Belloni 1974, 1096-1097

¹⁹⁴ RIC II.210

coins showing Trajan in a triumph (in a *quadriga*),¹⁹⁵ or being crowned by the goddess *Victoria*.¹⁹⁶ The most noteworthy regarding the conquest of Dacia are the coins bearing the legend *DAC(ia) CAP(ta)*. One of these shows just a shield inscribed *DACIA CAPTA*, another one shows a Dacian or a personified *Dacia* with hands bound behind the back, sitting on a pile of weapons (Figure 2.17).¹⁹⁷ A Dacian or personified *Dacia* is shown standing with bound hands on another example, or kneeling, or kneeling and presenting a shield to Trajan, or seated with a trophy, or supporting a trophy over the head.¹⁹⁸ Another coin shows *Dacia* seated on a shield, holding her face in her hand in sign of mourning, with a Dacian *falx* (characteristically Dacian sword) on the ground next to her (Figure 2.18).¹⁹⁹ Several coins show the goddess *Victoria*, holding a *stylus*, hanging a shield on a tree trunk, and on the shield she has just inscribed *VIC(toria) DAC(ica)* (Figure 2.19).²⁰⁰ At the same time, coins were struck which celebrated peace – showing the goddess *Pax* using a torch to set fire to a pile of arms while holding *cornucopiae* in the other hand (Figure 2.20),²⁰¹ or *Pax* (rather ironically) setting foot on a Dacian.²⁰²

The Dacian Wars and Trajan's ultimate victory were the cause for celebration across the empire. Just a year before Trajan's final confrontation with Decebalus (in 104), in *Sebaste* (Phrygia), an imperial slave named Euphrastos dedicated a white marble altar inscribed with a prayer (in Greek) for Trajan's victory.²⁰³ Vessels of Samian ware found at Blain, La

¹⁹⁵ RIC II.532-533

¹⁹⁶ RIC II.549-551

¹⁹⁷ RIC II.96

¹⁹⁸ RIC II, p.238-239

¹⁹⁹ RIC II.216-219

²⁰⁰ RIC II.527-531

²⁰¹ RIC II.507

²⁰² RIC II, p.239

²⁰³ SEG 31.1124

Graufesenque, Strasbourg, and Kaiseraugst (*Augusta Raurica*) in Gallia, and at *Puteoli* in Italia, were decorated with depictions of Decebalus' suicide and were even labeled with his name (Figure 2.21).²⁰⁴ Not far from the ceramic production center at La Graufesenque, at *Axima*, an honorific inscription was found dated to 108, dedicated to Trajan by the citizens of the *Forum Claudii* (*Foroclaud(ienses)*), to celebrate "the conquered Dacians" (*devictis Dacis*).²⁰⁵ In *Cyrene* on July 30, 106, a priestess of *Artemis* named Antonia Mego held a feast for the maidens of the city and its territory in honor of Trajan, probably to celebrate the fall of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (or some other event associated with the end of the second Dacian War) – an occasion so significant that the feast was commemorated on a stone inscription.²⁰⁶ Another inscription from *Cyrene*, dedicated to *Apollo* and *Artemis*, mentions a priest of *Apollo*, C. Postumius Optatus, whose priesthood was dated by the event: he was priest in the year "in which Trajan captured Decebalus".²⁰⁷

Several inscriptions throughout the empire were set up by individuals who were proud to declare their own personal participation in the Dacian Wars. Thus, a *stela* with a triangular pediment was found at *Aquae Flavianae* in Numidia within a thermal pool.²⁰⁸ It is inscribed with a curious Latin epigram in five lines, which lists the desires that an anonymous centurion had fulfilled during his life. It reads:

[O]ptavi Dacos tenere caesos tenui;
 [opt]avi in sella pacis residere sedi;
 optavi claros sequi triumphos, factum;
 optavi primi commoda plena pili, hab[ui];
 optavi nudas videre Nymphas, vidi.

²⁰⁴ Labrousse 1981; Bourgeois 1995, 107; Rusu-Bolindeț 2008; IDRE I.190; IDRE I.191; IDRE I.192

²⁰⁵ CIL 13.105=ILS 289=IDRE I.180

²⁰⁶ Reynolds 1976=SEG 26.1826-1827

²⁰⁷ SEG 9.101=IDRE 2.421=AE 1929.8 (and for the date see SEG 18.744); See also Reynolds 1976, 17.

²⁰⁸ AE 1928.37=IDRE 2.456; Balland 1976; Nemeti 2006

“I wished to grasp the cut-down Dacians – I grasped (them);
I wished to remain in the seat of peace – I stayed;²⁰⁹
I wished to attend brilliant triumphs – it happened;
I wished for the full rewards of (being) first centurion – I got it;
I wished to see the nude Nymphs – I saw (them).”

An honorific inscription from the agora in *Corinth* recounts the career of another officer who participated in the Dacian Wars.²¹⁰ It was set up by his friend L. Gellius Menander and lists the accomplishments of C. Caelius Martialis, who had been prefect of the *cohors I Raetorum* in Raetia, then tribune of the *legio XIII Gemina* in Dacia.²¹¹ During that tribuneship Martialis received military honors from Trajan, “in the second campaign through which all of Dacia was conquered” (*secunda expedition[e] qua universa Dacia devicta est*) – clearly a reference to the second Dacian War. Throughout the empire, countless inscriptions were dedicated to Trajan as *Dacicus*.

In Rome, such widespread publicity of Trajan’s victory was probably aimed at impressing the urban *plebs* and the senate, but throughout the wider empire this widespread propaganda campaign celebrating Trajan’s military conquest through both images and inscriptions (and especially through coins) was probably aimed primarily at the army. Not only were soldiers paid with such coins, but ancient sources indicate there was a strong correlation between the loyalty of the army and the reputation of an emperor as martial and victorious. Indeed, emperors who were considered unwarlike were harshly criticized in extant

²⁰⁹ This is a very literal translation, but since this line follows the one in which he tells us he helped defeat the Dacians, it may well be that this refers to some kind of official position/function held by someone after the close of a military conflict – see Balland 1976.

²¹⁰ AE 1934.2=IDRE 2.367; Broneer 1933, 567-568

²¹¹ PIR² C.136

literary sources, whereas a military background was considered to indicate good qualification for the job.²¹²

²¹² Mattern 1999, 197-198 (and n.120-121): Germanicus tried to win back mutinous troops by recounting Tiberius' victories (Tacitus, *Annales* 1.34), Tacitus wrote that Suetonius Paulinus was perhaps nominated by soldiers because of his military reputation (*Histories* 2.37), and Marcus' speech (in Cassius Dio, 71[72].25.3) portrays the military reputation of Cassius ("his deeds against the Parthians") as his main attraction for the troops. Both Suetonius (*Ner.* 39.2) and Cassius Dio (63.8) critiqued Nero harshly for being unwarlike. Dio also critiqued Domitian for sending others to conduct his war in Dacia while he stayed behind living decadently (67.6.3), and Herodian argued that Commodus should be proving himself fighting barbarians rather than gladiators (1.15.7). Vespasian was considered qualified to be emperor because of his military experience (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.1-2; Cassius Dio 65.8.3).

Provincia Dacia: The Organization & Historical Overview of Roman Dacia

Dacia under Trajan

When Trajan returned to Rome in 107, he left a substantial military force in Dacia, under the command of Iulius Sabinus, a man of consular rank who is known from the military diploma from October 14, 109 found at Ranovac (Moesia Superior).²¹³ It was probably under his legateship that the new province was first organized.²¹⁴ In 108-109 Sabinus was replaced by Decimus Terentius Scaurianus,²¹⁵ and at this time *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa* was founded as the provincial capital (Figure 2.22).²¹⁶ Under Trajan the province of Dacia was governed by an imperial legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) of consular rank, with two *legati legionis* as his subordinates who commanded the two legions (the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* and the *legio XIII Gemina*). At this time, the governor's seat was most likely at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, the first *colonia deducta* founded in the new province, which lay at the intersection of two of Dacia's most important roads (connecting the central part of the province with the Danube and the empire beyond), and which was located roughly halfway between the two legionary bases (at *Berzobis* and *Apulum*). A financial *procurator* of ducenary rank oversaw the provincial *fiscus*, including taxation and payments to the army.²¹⁷

²¹³ RMD 3.148=IDRE 2.307=ILD 10=CER 9.523=AE 1987.854=AE 1990.860 (see Table 1)

²¹⁴ Petolescu 2002, 25

²¹⁵ Piso 1993, 13-18. Scaurianus' governorship of Dacia is attested by the military diplomas from 109 and 110 (see Table 1) as well as by the foundation inscription for *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (see next note).

²¹⁶ CIL 3.1443=IDR III/2.1=CER 21/24.1012=ILD 238=AE 1972.465=AE 1976.570=AE 2004.1182=AE 2006.1140; Piso 2001a

²¹⁷ Piso 1993, 8-9; See also Piso 2013c.

The conquered territory was divided into two regions (Figure 2.23). The southeastern area between the Danube and the Carpathian arc was added to Moesia Inferior (including southeastern Transylvania, Muntenia, and eastern Oltenia),²¹⁸ and the remaining area (the bulk of the conquered territory) became the new province of Dacia. The diploma from 109, the three diplomas from a February 17, 110 constitution,²¹⁹ and the diploma from May 2/3, 114²²⁰ provide a snapshot of the initial military garrison of the new province, which was largely made up of units from Moesia Superior. The new province contained two legions – the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* (from Moesia Superior) based at *Berzobis* and the *legio XIII Gemina* (from Pannonia) at *Apulum*.²²¹ These 10,000 legionaries were assisted by some 19,000 auxiliary soldiers, including 3000 cavalry (in six *alae quingenariae*), 10,000 part-mounted infantry (in six *cohortes equitatae milliariae* and eight *cohortes equitatae quingenariae*), and 6000 infantry (in one *cohors peditata milliaria*, nine *cohortes peditatae quingenariae*, and one irregular unit).²²² That constitutes a total of around 29,000 soldiers comprising the Trajanic *exercitus Dacicus*, which is approximately 7% of the entire imperial Roman army in the early second century.²²³ Most of these units had participated in the Dacian Wars and stayed in the province after 106. A few years later, some of these units were sent east with Trajan to fight the Parthians.²²⁴

²¹⁸ Petolecu and Matei-Popescu 2008, 365-366

²¹⁹ One from *Savaria*, Pannonia Superior (Hungary): CIL 16.57=IDR I.2=ILS 2004; And two unprovenanced: RMD 4.220 and Eck and Pangerl 2011a, 221-225 (no.1)

²²⁰ RMD 4.226 = RGZM 16=ILD 12=CER 21/24.969 (see Table 1)

²²¹ Previously there has been debate about whether the *legio I Adiutrix* was also left in Dacia in 106, but the most recent scholarship has rejected this idea - see also Piso 1993, 7-8 for this view, and Urloiu 2013, 31-32.

²²² Discussed in more detail in the section on the *Exercitus Dacicus*.

²²³ Cupcea and Marcu 2006, 191 – based on their estimate of a total imperial Roman army of 415,000.

²²⁴ Matei-Popescu 2015, 410 (Table III); Eck and Pangerl 2005; Eck and Pangerl 2008c, 363-370 (No.10)

Also under Trajan, numerous ethnic Dacians were recruited into the Roman auxiliary forces and sent elsewhere throughout the empire. Dacians were recipients of military diplomas upon discharge from auxiliary units (both *cohortes* and *alae*) stationed in Britannia, Germania Inferior and Superior, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, Moesia Superior, Syria, Africa, Mauretania Caesariensis, and Mauretania Tingitana.²²⁵ Moreover, Trajan created several new auxiliary units comprised of ethnic Dacians, including four *cohortes (Ulpiae) Dacorum* (*cohors I Ulpia Dacorum* stationed in Syria,²²⁶ *cohors II Dacorum* attested in Moesia Superior, and the probable *cohors I Dacorum* whose existence is implied by the *cohors II Dacorum*), and one *ala Ulpia Dacorum* (*ala I Ulpia Dacorum* stationed in Cappadocia).²²⁷ Trajan may also have created an irregular *numerus Dacorum* that was later converted into a cohort by Hadrian (*cohors I Aelia Dacorum milliaria*).²²⁸

The troops in Dacia immediately got busy transforming the new provincial landscape (Figures 2.24; 2.25; 2.26). This involved expanding the infrastructure that they had begun to build during the Dacian Wars. Trajan's column shows Roman soldiers (mostly legionaries) building roads in eleven different scenes – they are shown cutting trees and clearing forests, quarrying stone, building bridges over rivers, and laying down roads connected to forts (see Figure 2.4).²²⁹ Three road segments were built during the Dacian Wars as part of the Roman military advance into Dacian territory: *Lederata - Tibiscum*, *Drobeta – Putinei – Bumbești -*

²²⁵ Dana and Matei-Popescu 2006; Matei-Popescu 2009; For Dacian ethnic identity within the Roman army, see Oltean 2009.

²²⁶ Petolescu 2002, 148 (no.82)

²²⁷ Dana and Matei-Popescu 2006, 11-12

²²⁸ Holder 1998, 255-257; Petolescu 2002, 148-151 (no. 83)

²²⁹ Christescu 1937, 76; Fodorean 2006b, 138-139: Trajan's column, scenes XII, XIV, XV, XXIII, LVI, LVIII, LXIX, CXXIV-CXXVI, CXXXI.

Vâlcan Pass - *Sarmizegetusa*, and the road along the Olt River.²³⁰ All three of these road segments connected Dacian territory with the Danube. After 106 these roads were extended to create a transportation system that not only connected the different parts of the province, but also connected the province with the rest of the empire.²³¹ These were true *viae militares* – strategic roads built by the army right after conquest.²³² With dozens of military forts and some 30,000 soldiers, Dacia needed an efficient transportation system to facilitate not just the movement of troops but also of goods and supplies, especially given the topographic challenges presented by the Carpathian Mountains which separated the administrative and military core of the province from the rest of the empire. Such *viae militares* formed the backbone of the provincial transportation system and were therefore a top priority for the army during the initial organization of the province. Indeed, road-building is the first activity of the army in Dacia after 106 for which we have direct datable evidence, and it indicates the rapidity with which it took place.

A milestone found at Aiton (approximately fifteen kilometres southeast of Cluj-Napoca) in 1758 (now lost), contained an inscription that tells us that the *milliarium* was placed on the *Potaissa-Napoca* road stretch at a distance of 10,000 steps from *Potaissa* (*a Potaissa Napocae m(ilia) p(assuum) X*) (Figure 2.27).²³³ The inscription names Trajan as the one who “made” (*fecit*) the road, “through (the agency of)” (*per*) the *cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria civium Romanorum equitata*. This double-strength part-mounted cohort fought in the Dacian Wars and then stayed in Dacia where it was garrisoned at

²³⁰ Fodorean 2006b, 139; Fodorean 2013, 15-21

²³¹ For Dacia’s roads, see most recently Fodorean 2013, especially Chapters 2 and 3.

²³² Fodorean 2006b, 135-137

²³³ CIL 3.1637=ILD 536=CER 3.216; Ardevan 1998, 431 (no.448); Fodorean 2005, 367-373; Fodorea 2013, 34

Orheiul Bistriței on the northeastern boundary of the province (in what later became Dacia Porolissensis). The *Potaissa-Napoca* road segment ran a length of twenty-four Roman miles (thirty-six kilometres) and has been extensively mapped on the ground.²³⁴ Based on Trajan's titulature the milestone is dated to 108, telling us that just two years after Roman conquest the main Roman road into northern Dacia, which connected *Porolissum*, the northernmost fort on the frontier, with the Danube, was already (at least almost) complete. This road, which is mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*,²³⁵ constituted the central north-south axis within Dacia's road system, and ran for some 500 kilometres.²³⁶ It started at the Danube at *Lederata*, passed through the legionary base at *Berzobis* to *Tibiscum*, then went through the administrative capital at *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, then on to the other legionary base at *Apulum*, then it went through *Salinae* (the main salt mines) to *Potaissa* then *Napoca*, ending at *Porolissum*, the most important fort on the northern frontier. Along this road there were both legionary bases, *stationes*, and numerous auxiliary forts built under Trajan, including Banatska Palanka, Vărădia, Surducul Mare, *Tibiscum*, and Zăvoi (Figure 2.26).²³⁷ Another road started from *Tibiscum* and ran south towards *Dierna* on the Danube, passing through Mehadia (*Praetorium*), Teregova (*Ad Pannonios*), and Jupa. The second major road built under Trajan was the one that ran for approximately 160 kilometres from *Drobeta* on the Danube north through the Vâlcan Pass towards *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, the administrative capital of the new province and its only *colonia deducta*. This constituted the shortest path between the trans-Carpathian provincial core and the bridge over the Danube

²³⁴ Fodorean *et al.* 2013, 54-55

²³⁵ Fodorean 2005, 335-351

²³⁶ Fodorean 2006b, 144

²³⁷ Németh 2005, 35-41

(hence its strategic importance), but it was also the most difficult route.²³⁸ Another road ran east from the central axis along the Mureș River, from *Germisara* through *Micia* and probably all the way to *Partiscum* on the Tisa River – the military activity at the sites of Bulci, Aradul Nou, Sânnicolau Mare, and Cenad point to the existence of such a road, although it no longer appears to be extant. From *Partiscum* (Szeged, Hungary) the road left Dacia, crossed *barbaricum*, and ran towards Pannonia.

Another important area of road-building was the provincial boundary – the so-called ‘*limes*’ in scholarship. Along Dacia’s northwestern boundary a road led from the fort at Bologa (*Resculum*) through the forts at Buciumi (Figure 2.28), Românași, and Romita, before ending at *Porolissum* where it met up with the northernmost end of the central road.²³⁹ The military complex at *Porolissum* blocked the entrance in front of the so-called ‘Gates of the Meseș’ Pass, and is considered the keystone in the defensive system of Dacia Porolissensis (Figures 2.29; 2.30; 2.31).²⁴⁰ From *Porolissum* the road continued east towards Tihău, and from there eastwards connecting the forts of Cășeu, Ilișua, Livezile, and Orheiul Bistriței, and from there running southeast towards Inlăceni. All of these forts have Trajanic phases.²⁴¹ Finally, an important road marked the southeastern boundary of the province and ran through the Olt Valley (cut by the Olt River through the Carpathians). It was also dotted with auxiliary forts – modern scholarship calls this the *limes Alutanus* (Figure 2.32). Overall, Dacia’s transportation system comprised approximately 5000 kilometres of road.²⁴²

²³⁸ Fodorean 2006b, 145

²³⁹ Fodorean 2006b, 146; Gudea 1997b, 18; Gudea 1997c, 24-25; Gudea 1997d, 27; Tamba 1997, 18-19; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 28-29

²⁴⁰ Gudea 1989

²⁴¹ Bogdan Cătănicu 1989-1993, 51

²⁴² Fodorean 2006b, 137

Some forts built during the Dacian Wars were now abandoned (since they were no longer of strategic value), and others were expanded. New forts were now built at strategic places within the province and along its boundaries. Most of the forts were made of wood with an earthwork *vallum*, and the most important structures within the fort (i.e., the *principia*) were replaced by stone structures over time. Thus, for example, we know from inscriptions that the *principia* of the fort at Gherla was built in stone in 143,²⁴³ and the one at *Tibiscum* was built in stone in 165 (Figure 2.33).²⁴⁴ It was only later, towards the end of the second century and beginning of the third century (under the Severans) that there was a general province-wide overhaul of fortifications in Dacia, many of them being rebuilt in stone at that time. As already indicated, most of the forts were situated on the main transportation/communication arteries of the province – along roads, rivers, and mountain passes. Forts were thus placed to exert control over the routes of access into and out of the province (by land and river), both those leading into *barbaricum*, and those leading to neighboring provinces (i.e., on the Mureş valley leading to Pannonia, and through the Breţcu pass and southern Moldova leading towards Moesia Inferior).²⁴⁵ But the distribution of forts also ensured military control over the transportation routes and important economic zones within the province – especially the areas around precious metal (gold, silver, iron, copper) and salt mines.

Indeed, in addition to fort- and road-building, the Roman army was undoubtedly also involved in the establishment, functioning, and protection of large-scale mining operations that were initiated after 106. The most important were the imperial gold mines at

²⁴³ AE 1906.112

²⁴⁴ IDR III/1.130

²⁴⁵ Petolescu 2002, 53

Alburnus Maior (Roșia Montană) (Figures 2.47; 2.48; 2.49; 2.50), but gold and silver were also exploited in the wider area, including around Băiță (on the upper valley of the Crișul Alb river), the Ruda-Brad area, Bucium-Corabia (north of *Ampelum*), Baia de Arieș, and Pianu de Sus. Copper was also extracted west of Deva, and iron was exploited around Hunedoara (Teliucu Inferior, Ghelari, Plotca, and Hunedorara) in the Poiana Ruscă mountains.²⁴⁶ Salt mining was concentrated in the mid-Mureș valley at *Salinae* (Ocna Mureș), but there was also salt exploitation near *Potaissa* (Turda), Ocna Sibiului, Sânpaul (in Harghita county), and perhaps at Deva.²⁴⁷

Interestingly, several years after the organization of Dacia as a Roman province, Trajan minted coins that showed a personified *Dacia* in a very different guise from the defeated barbarian depicted in his earlier coinage. From 112-114, coins depicting personified *Dacia* seated on rocks, perhaps meant to represent the province's precious metal mines or its mountains (the two concepts are related, after all), and she is accompanied by two children – one holds a bunch of grapes and the other holds stalks of grain (Figure 2.34).²⁴⁸ The imagery evokes the fertility of the provincial land, and she holds a legionary standard, indicating the presence and significance of the provincial army. She is now no longer *Dacia Capta*, but rather *Dacia August(i) Provincia*. In six short years, Dacia was transformed from a vanquished barbarian into a prosperous Roman, and the army was evidently an important part of the province's imperial image and identity.

²⁴⁶ Haynes and Hanson 2004, 13; Oltean 2007, 39; Wollmann 1996, 149, 232-234. There is also some proof of pre-Roman Dacian exploitation of iron in the Șureanu Mountains, such as Bătrâna, which was the source of iron ores found near the reduction kilns at *Sarmizegetusa Regia*.

²⁴⁷ Oltean 2007, 39; Wollmann 1996, 240-249; For the *salinae* at Sânpaul (at Fântâna Sărată), see RAN code 85047.03 (in ran.cimec.ro); Kavruc, Valerii, "Repertoriul Arheologic al Județului Harghita" (2000), 137.

²⁴⁸ RIC II.621-623; Houghtalin 1993, 216

Dacia under Hadrian & Antoninus Pius

At the end of Trajan's reign Dacia was apparently attacked by the Sarmatian Roxolani.²⁴⁹ After abandoning Trajan's conquests in Mesopotamia, according to Eutropius, Hadrian considered abandoning Dacia too but was stopped by his friends for fear that the act would leave too many Roman citizens abandoned to the barbarians.²⁵⁰ Although we cannot assess how true this story is, it does appear that Hadrian took action to face the barbarian threat. The *Historia Augusta* tells us that Hadrian, "having then heard about the uprising of the Sarmatians and Roxolani (and) having sent the armies out ahead, made for Moesia."²⁵¹ He left Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus, a man of equestrian rank with a distinguished military career in Pannonia Inferior and Dacia, in charge of the operations.²⁵² Peace was eventually established with the Roxolani, who lived to the east of Dacia, by consenting to an increase in subsidies.²⁵³ Hadrian then returned to Rome in the summer of 118,²⁵⁴ and Turbo returned with him as the new *praefectus praetorio* (commander of the praetorian guard).²⁵⁵

At this point Hadrian made important administrative and military changes to Trajan's province (Figure 2.23). The *legio IIII Flavia Felix* was permanently transferred to Moesia Superior (*Singidunum*/Belgrade), and the monolithic consular province of Dacia was divided into two administrative sub-units: Dacia Superior (in the north) and Dacia Inferior

²⁴⁹ See Russu 1973 for the events and sources on this.

²⁵⁰ Eutropius 8.6.1-2

²⁵¹ SHA *Hadr.* 6.6 (*audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxalanorum praemisis exercitibus Moesiam petit*)

²⁵² SHA *Hadr.* 6.7

²⁵³ SHA *Hadr.* 6.8

²⁵⁴ SHA *Hadr.* 7.3

²⁵⁵ Petolescu 2002, 27

(in the south).²⁵⁶ The two *Daciae* were named with reference to the course of the Danube (just like the two *Moesiae* and the two *Pannoniae*). Dacia Inferior comprised the southeastern part of Transylvania and the eastern part of Oltenia, which had been under the control of Moesia Inferior since 106. An important piece of evidence for this change is the military diploma dated to December 13, 140, found in Moesia Superior (Palamartsa, Bulgaria).²⁵⁷ It attests to the discharge of soldiers from the troops of Dacia Inferior under the command of the *procurator* Aquila Fidus, including a *numerus*, three *alae*, and nine *cohortes*. Of these, the three *alae* and seven of the *cohortes* had previously belonged to the army of Moesia Inferior.²⁵⁸ Tile- and brick-stamps found at their forts tell us that these units were stationed in the southeastern corner of Transylvania, at *Angustia* (Brețcu) (Figure 2.35),²⁵⁹ and in several places on the Transylvanian portion of the Olt River. Thus, it seems clear that before the creation of Dacia Inferior under Hadrian, southeastern Transylvania and eastern Oltenia (to the east of the Jiu River) had belonged to Moesia Inferior and not to Trajan's Dacia. Parts of the territory that had been annexed to Moesia Inferior under Trajan were now abandoned, including Muntenia and southern Moldova.²⁶⁰ Probably around the same

²⁵⁶ Dacia Superior is first attested in a fragment of a military diploma from November 12, 119 (Eck et al. 2001; Eck et al. 2002-2003=RMD 5.351; Eck and Pangerl 2004-2005) and then soon after in three diplomas from a June 29, 120 constitution: from *Porolissum* (CIL 16.68=IDR 1.6b=AE 1925.76=AE 1935.3=AE 1936.7), Cășeu (RMD 1.17=IDR 1.5=AE 1958.30=AE 1959.31=AE 1960.336), and Românași (RMD 5.355=IDR 1.4=RMD 1.78b=CER 1.2=AE 1975.716). The earliest explicit mention of Dacia Inferior is in a military diploma dated to July 17, 122 (RGZM 20=RMD 5.361), but the existence of this administrative region is already implied by the earliest attestation of Dacia Superior from the November 12, 119 constitution. For more on the administrative reorganization at the beginning of Hadrian's reign see Piso 1973 and Petolescu 1985, 50-55.

²⁵⁷ RMD 1.39=IDR 1.13= AE 1962.264=AE 2012.78; See Table 1.

²⁵⁸ We do not know where the other two cohorts originated, and the sole *numerus* mentioned in the diploma had only recently been formed (Daicoviciu 1995, 221).

²⁵⁹ Popa 2015

²⁶⁰ Petolescu and Matei-Popescu 2008, 365-366

time,²⁶¹ Hadrian created the third administrative unit of Dacia Porolissensis in the northernmost portion of Dacia (separated from Dacia Superior along the Arieș River and upper Mureș River).²⁶² At this point, Dacia was left with only one legion – the *legio XIII Gemina* based at *Apulum* in Dacia Superior – and consequently the senatorial legate was now reduced to praetorian rank (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*). He ruled from *Apulum* in Dacia Superior where he commanded the province's sole legion, and below him was an equestrian ducenary *procurator Augusti* (based at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*), who was responsible for the province's finances.²⁶³ Dacia Inferior and Dacia Porolissensis, which were garrisoned only by auxiliary troops, were commanded by praesidial *procuratores Augusti* of ducenary rank who were *cum iure gladii* (located in *Napoca*, Dacia Porolissensis, and in *Romula*, Dacia Inferior).²⁶⁴

Despite these administrative subdivisions, militarily Dacia should still be considered one unit overall, with the praetorian governor of Dacia Superior as the highest-ranking official in Dacia, who led the province's only legion from the center of the provincial territory. The auxiliary garrisons of Dacia Inferior and Dacia Porolissensis were there to support the legion (flanking it on the north and southeast) and all three regions were inextricably integrated within one military, defensive, and economic system. Although the

²⁶¹ Or perhaps a few years later – definitely sometime between November 12, 119 and April 14, 123.

²⁶² For the earliest attestation of Dacia Porolissensis there is the recently discovered diploma from April 14, 123 Urfa, Turkey (see Onofrei 2006; 2013; RGZM 22), which predates the ones from Gherla and Čovdin that date to August 10, 123 (IDR I.7=AE 1973.459=RMD 21; IDR I.7a=RMD 22). See also Piso 1985 on the creation of Dacia Porolissensis. For the generally accepted argument that Dacia Porolissensis was probably created in 118/119 along with Dacia Superior/Inferior, see Piso 1985, 471-481 and Petolescu 2002, 27 (including fn.8 for earlier bibliography), and for the most recent discussion of the topic see Onofrei 2013 who concludes that Dacia Porolissensis must have been founded between November 12, 119 and April 14, 123 based on extant diplomas.

²⁶³ Only a single *procurator Augusti* for Dacia Superior is known epigraphically – T. Desticius Severus (IDRE 1.149-151). See also Piso 2013c.

²⁶⁴ Urloiu 2013, 24; Piso 1993, 30-41; Piso 2013c

three territories controlled their own military garrisons (like provinces, they issued their own military diplomas to their *auxilia*),²⁶⁵ the evidence reveals that Dacia's army as a whole was indeed viewed as one unified (provincial) unit. For example, among the various coins celebrating Dacia issued during his reign, Hadrian also issued a series of *EXERC(itus) DACICVS* coins in the wake of his visit to the province in the spring of 134, in which the emperor (either standing or on horseback), in various versions of the *adlocutio* scene, is shown addressing Dacia's army, which is celebrated as one unified provincial army (Figure 2.36).²⁶⁶ Moreover, archaeological and epigraphic evidence reveals that the *legio XIII Gemina* continued to be militarily active in both Dacia Porolissensis and Dacia Inferior during the period in which it was Dacia's only legion (from Hadrian to Marcus Aurelius), despite being stationed within (and thus administratively belonging to) Dacia Superior.²⁶⁷

Under Hadrian another auxiliary unit of ethnic Dacians also appears – the *cohors I Aelia Dacorum milliaria* – a double-strength infantry unit stationed in Britannia, where it is first attested by a diploma from August 20, 127.²⁶⁸ The date of this constitution implies that the discharged soldiers were recruited in 102 or a little earlier, suggesting that perhaps they were recruited as a *numerus Dacorum* under Trajan at the end of the first Dacian War, and that Hadrian transformed this irregular unit into a cohort.²⁶⁹ By the third century it was in garrison at the fort of Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall, where it stayed into the fifth century

²⁶⁵ The separate 'armies' of the three regions are attested epigraphically in military diplomas (i.e., diplomas which specify Dacia Inferior, Dacia Superior, or Dacia Porolissensis as the province from which the auxiliary soldiers are discharged), but of the three, only Dacia Porolissensis' garrison is epigraphically attested as an *exercitus*. The *ex(ercitus) D(acicus) P(orolissensis)* is well attested at several sites in northern Dacia, from 123 at the earliest – see Bărbulescu 1987, 37-38; Eck and Pangerl 2011b. See also Eck and Pangerl 2011a on the most recent discussion of Dacia's military diplomas. See Table 1 for the military diplomas of Dacia.

²⁶⁶ RIC II.331-333, 458-459 (nos. 915-919a); DRC, 365 (*s.v.* *EXERC. DACICUS. S.C.*); Birley 1997, 279

²⁶⁷ This evidence is discussed in the section on the legions.

²⁶⁸ Petolescu 2002, 149-151 (no. 83)

²⁶⁹ Holder 1998, 255-257

(as indicated by the *Notitia Dignitatum Occ.* 40.44). A *cohors II Augusta Dacorum* that is known from an inscription found at *Teutoburgium* in Pannonia Inferior, which lacks an imperial epithet and whose origin is therefore unknown, might also have been created under Hadrian (especially since the *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* is also attested with the epithet *Augusta*).²⁷⁰

Under Hadrian the image of Roman Dacia presented on Trajan's coins from 112 continues, with bronze coins issued by the senate showing a personified *Dacia* standing on a rock (again, signifying the precious metal mines or the mountains) holding the *vexillum* of the *legio XIII Gemina* in the right hand and a curved sword in the left.²⁷¹ The absence of Hadrianic *adventus* or *restitutor* coin types for Dacia might be an indication that Dacia was not part of his imperial grand tour itinerary, although this is not certain.²⁷²

In the first years of Antoninus Pius' reign, it appears Dacia may have been attacked again from the southeast, possibly by the Sarmatian Roxolani once more.²⁷³ An inscription from *Caesarea* (Mauritania) tells us that the emperor sent T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Quintus Marcius Turbo to Dacia with a special mandate as *[pro] leg(at)us et praef(ect)us Daciae Inferioris*, possibly in 138-139.²⁷⁴ This title indicates that he had at his disposal detachments of legions created specifically to deal with this situation, in addition to the auxiliary troops of Dacia Inferior. It is perhaps in the wake of this threat that some Dacian forts were rebuilt in stone at this time.²⁷⁵ Some scholars have hypothesized that it was at this

²⁷⁰ Petolescu 2002, 152 (no. 85)

²⁷¹ RIC III.510-511, 1735-1746 (pl.94, 12-13)

²⁷² Toynbee 1934, 78

²⁷³ On the sources and evidence for these events, see Petolescu 1993.

²⁷⁴ IDRE 2.461=AE 1931.35=AE 1941.111=AE 1946.113=AE 1949.12=AE 1952.97=AE 1983.789

²⁷⁵ Bogdan Cătănciu 1981, 42 (369)

time, in the context of this conflict on Dacia's southeastern boundary, that part of Muntenia was re-annexed (after having been abandoned by Hadrian), but numismatic evidence indicates that this probably only happened in the early third century (the so-called *limes Transalutanus*, discussed below).²⁷⁶

Dacia from Marcus Aurelius to Aurelian

The final significant administrative and military changes occurred under Marcus Aurelius (Figure 2.23).²⁷⁷ In response to the outbreak of the Marcomannic Wars, the emperor permanently transferred a second legion to Dacia. By 168, the *legio V Macedonica* was sent from its base in *Troesmis*, Moesia Inferior to *Potaissa* in Dacia Porolissensis. Furthermore, two of Dacia's administrative regions were renamed: Dacia Superior became Dacia Apulensis (named after its capital *Apulum*),²⁷⁸ although it could still be called Dacia Superior even after this time,²⁷⁹ and Dacia Inferior became Dacia Malvensis (named after its capital *Malva*, which was probably another name for *Romula*, in modern Reșca, Romania).²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Petolescu 2002, 28

²⁷⁷ Piso 1993, 82-93

²⁷⁸ The name Dacia Apulensis even appears in an inscription at Rome within the career of M. Claudius Fronto, the *leg(atus) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) Moesiae Super(ioris) [et] Daciae Apulensis simul* (CIL 6.1377=3160; ILS 1098=IDRE I.10). Fronto was the first to hold this new governorship over the unified *Daciae*, and he died heroically while defending Dacia (see also CIL 3.1457=IDR III/2.90). This inscription is also evidence of the fact in 168 Dacia was briefly unified militarily with Moesia Superior (under Fronto's command), undoubtedly as part of the Roman offensive/defensive against the Marcomanni. The name of Dacia Apulensis also appears in association with the financial procurators.

²⁷⁹ Interestingly, the name Dacia Superior reappears in a diploma from *Drobeta* dated to April 1, 179, so perhaps the old name could still be used interchangeably with the new one – see Petolescu 2002, 29. To prevent confusion, I will continue to use the name Dacia Superior throughout the dissertation to refer to this territory from its creation under Hadrian to the end of Roman Dacia under Aurelian.

²⁸⁰ Grant 1994, 20 argues that this administrative change occurred under Antoninus Pius after a revolt in northern Dacia around 158-159, but all the evidence points to these new names appearing only during the time of Marcus Aurelius. To prevent confusion, I will continue to use the name Dacia Inferior throughout the dissertation to refer to this territory from its creation under Hadrian to the end of Roman Dacia under Aurelian.

Dacia Porolissensis (already named after its capital at *Porolissum*) kept its original name. Now Dacia as a whole was once again a two-legion province, while it continued to be divided into three zones. But although these regions continued to exist, they were no longer separated as before. Marcus Aurelius officially unified the three provinces militarily and legally under the sole command of one governor – a consular legate of the ‘three Dacias’ (*legatus Augusti pro praetore Daciarum trium*), sometimes also called *consularis III (trium) Daciarum*,²⁸¹ who ruled from *Apulum* in Dacia Apulensis. Two senatorial *legati legionis* were his subordinates, and they commanded the province’s two legions (one at *Apulum* and one at *Potaissa*). The province was now called *Dacia* or *III (Tres) Daciae* (or even collectively *provinciae Daciarum*), and evidence of troop deployment (especially in relation to the two legions) indicates that although each legion had its main sphere of operations, its troops could be dispatched throughout the province wherever they were needed by the provincial governor, regardless of administrative region (as discussed in this chapter). The three regions now primarily indicated the districts of financial procurators (two centenary-ranked procurators in Dacia Porolissensis and Dacia Malvensis, who were subordinate to the higher-ranked procurator of Dacia Apulensis who presided over the entire province),²⁸² and military diplomas continued to be issued under the names of these three provinces, although now this was probably more for practical purposes than as a reflection of three independently-administered garrisons.²⁸³ Marcus Aurelius’ reorganization was permanent and lasted until

²⁸¹ Piso 1993, 82

²⁸² e.g., M. Aurelius Cassianus who is *praeses provinciae Daciae Malvensis*. See Piso 1993, 84-85.

²⁸³ As Piso (1993, 83) points out, it would not have been feasible to list over sixty auxiliary units on one diploma, so it seems that three separate diplomas were issued for one Dacian-wide constitution (i.e., at the same time), under the names of Dacia Porolissensis, Dacia Apulensis, and Dacia Malvensis, although this no longer reflected separately administered regional garrisons.

Dacia was abandoned by the Roman army and administration during the reign of Aurelian (271/275).²⁸⁴

The arrival of Dacia's second legion in 168 (*legio V Macedonica*) marked the beginning of over a century of constant military crises within Dacia, caused mostly by invading groups from beyond the frontier, but also compounded by constant internal unrest and repeated civil wars within the empire itself. Upon its arrival in 168, the *legio V Macedonica* was immediately embroiled in the Marcommanic Wars, which were finally quelled only in the summer of 180, after the death of Marcus Aurelius.²⁸⁵ Indeed, it was undoubtedly these conflicts which spurred Marcus Aurelius to dispatch a legion permanently to northern Dacia. During this time, it appears that a substantial barbarian coalition attacked the northern frontier of the empire.²⁸⁶ Dacia was hit hard from 167-170 onwards, probably by the Sarmatians, Lacringes, Iazyges, and Buri, all of whom neighbored the province.²⁸⁷ The gold mining district was certainly affected – mining operations seem to have been disrupted and many of the wax tablets were hidden in caches within the mining galleries at *Alburnus Maior* during this period (Figure 2.37; 2.47; 2.48; 2.49; 2.50). The invaders appear to have reached as far as the provincial capital of *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (Figure 2.22).²⁸⁸ Considering the legion's arrival during this crucial time, it is likely that only a detachment or two were initially left at *Potaissa* to begin building the new fortress, while the remainder of the legion was dispatched to fight the invaders (Figure 2.38). Marcus Aurelius created

²⁸⁴ The last consular legate of the *Tres Daciae* that is known is from the time of Gordian III (Piso 1993, 203-207 (no. 46)), but it is generally assumed that the administrative situation created by Marcus Aurelius continued until the abandonment under Aurelian (Petolescu 2002, 30)

²⁸⁵ See the career of M. Valerius Maximianus, the commander of the *V Macedonica* legion in 180, the year in which the Romans finally prevailed and ended the Marcomannic Wars: Mócsy 1974, 191; Piso 2000, 215

²⁸⁶ See SHA, *Vita Marci* 22.1

²⁸⁷ Bărbulescu 1987, 24

²⁸⁸ Diaconescu 2010, 125

another two *cohortes Dacorum* – a *cohors II Aurelia Dacorum* known from a single inscription found at Poetovio in Pannonia Superior (on a bone *tessera*), which implies the existence of a *cohors I Aurelia Dacorum* (but which has not yet been attested anywhere).²⁸⁹

According to Cassius Dio, during the reign of Commodus there were several other wars waged against barbarians who attacked from beyond the frontiers of Dacia, in which the future emperors P. Pescennius Niger and D. Clodius Albinus distinguished themselves.²⁹⁰ Niger was most likely governor of Dacia,²⁹¹ and Albinus was probably the commander (*legatus Augusti*) of *legio V Macedonica*,²⁹² from 182-183/184 (or perhaps 185-186), so the legion would certainly have been involved in repelling these attacks. Furthermore, also under Commodus, “...in Germania and in Dacia the provincials were rejecting his rule; (but) all of these things were suppressed by his commanders” (“...in Germania et in Dacia imperium eius recusantibus provincialibus; quae omnia ista per duces sedata sunt”).²⁹³ The role of the army in the suppression of some kind of popular revolt against the emperor in Dacia cannot be ascertained with any clarity, but it might be the occasion for which the *legio V Macedonica* received the epithets *p(ia) c(onstans)*.²⁹⁴ Other epithets that it carried at this time are *p(ia)* and *p(ia) fi(delis)*.²⁹⁵ These epithets frequently appear epigraphically alongside the legion’s name from this time onwards (in both stone inscriptions and in brick and tile stamps).

²⁸⁹ Petolescu 2002, 152 (no. 84)

²⁹⁰ Bărbulescu 1987, 26; Cassius Dio 72.8.1: 'Εγένετο δὲ καὶ πόλεμοί τινες αὐτῷ πρὸς ὑπὲρ τὴν Δακίαν βαρβάρους, ἐν οἷς ὁ τε Ἀλβῖνος καὶ ὁ Νίγρος οἱ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Σεουήρῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀντιπολεμήσαντες εὐδοκίμησαν... (“He also had some wars against barbarians beyond Dacia, in which Albinus and Niger, who afterwards fought against the emperor Severus, distinguished themselves...”)

²⁹¹ Piso 1993, 137-141

²⁹² Piso 1993, 267-269

²⁹³ *Historia Augusta - Vita Commodi* 13.5-6

²⁹⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1580; Bărbulescu 1987, 26

²⁹⁵ Piso 2000, 215

Under Septimius Severus the Dacian legions fought for the emperor during the civil wars. Vexillations of the Dacian legions, consisting of both *V Macedonica* and *XIII Gemina*, accompanied Septimius Severus to Italy to fight against Didius Iulianus.²⁹⁶ Then in 193, the Dacian vexillations, led by Ti. Manilius Fuscus (the former commander of the *legio XIII Gemina*), fought against Pescennius Niger.²⁹⁷ In 196, Ti. Claudius Claudianus led the vexillations against C. Clodius Albinus.²⁹⁸ These vexillations may have consisted of 4000 legionary soldiers (2000 from each legion), and they returned to Dacia after the battle of *Lugdunum* in 197.²⁹⁹ During his reign Caracalla apparently paid Dacia a visit (in 213/214), and at this time he too may have waged war against barbarians along the Dacian frontier, but no specific information exists about the participation of Dacian troops in these conflicts. It was at this time that the *legio V Macedonica* received the epithet *Antoniniana*, which it continued to display in inscriptions from this time onwards.³⁰⁰ During the reign of Severus Alexander it was also called *Severiana*.³⁰¹ Under the Severan emperors many forts all over Dacia were rebuilt, marking an important period in the strengthening of the provincial military network.³⁰² A network of fortlets and watchtowers along the northern frontier (in the sector between the forts at Bologa and Orheiul Bistriței) was completed under Caracalla.³⁰³

²⁹⁶ Bărbulescu 1987, 26

²⁹⁷ Piso 1993, 244-248

²⁹⁸ Piso 1993, 270-276

²⁹⁹ Bărbulescu 1987, 27

³⁰⁰ Bărbulescu 1987, 27; cf. CIL 3.902 from *Potaissa* which apparently dates from the time of Elagabalus, on which *Antoniniana* was deliberately erased from the stone.

³⁰¹ As seen inscriptions from the auxiliary fort at Cașeiu (*Samum*) - Bărbulescu 1987, 28

³⁰² Bogdan Cătăniciu 1981, 48-52

³⁰³ Bogdan Cătăniciu 1981, 48

During his reign, Maximinus Thrax also waged war against so-called 'Free Dacians' and Sarmatians around Dacia and Pannonia (from 236-237), eventually receiving the epithets *Dacicus Maximus* and *Sarmaticus Maximus* for his victories.³⁰⁴ Legions from Pannonia, Noricum, and Dacia participated in these conflicts, including the two Dacian legions.³⁰⁵ During the time of Gordian III (238-244) the *legio V Macedonica* also carried the epithet *Gordiana*.³⁰⁶ A big attack on the province by the neighboring Carpi took place during the reign of Philip the Arab. From 245-248 numerous coin hoards indicate a security crisis within the province.³⁰⁷ At *Apulum* C. Valerius Sarapio dedicated an altar to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* in gratitude for having escaped safely from captivity at the hands of the Carpi (*a Carpis liberatus*).³⁰⁸ At *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* the proconsuls of the council of the three Daciae (*proconsuli concilium trium provinciarum Daciarum*) dedicated an altar to the emperor Philip the Arab, probably to celebrate his decisive victory over the Carpi in the fall of 247.³⁰⁹ The two legions and various auxiliary units fought the Carpi during this crisis.³¹⁰ There is even archaeological evidence from the legionary base at *Potaissa* that the fortress may have either suffered an attack or faced a serious threat.³¹¹ Dacia continued to rebuild and recover

³⁰⁴ For the literary evidence of Maximinus Thrax's campaigns: *Historia Augusta – Vita Maximini* 13.3; Herodian 7.2.9; 7.8.2; For the epigraphic evidence of soldiers who died during the campaigns against the Dacians at this time: CIL 3.4857=IDRE 2.247; CIL 3.5218=IDRE 2.256; CIL 3.4375; CIL 3.3660=IDRE 2.274; See also A. Szabó 2013 on Maximinus Thrax's Sarmatian war and his title *Dacicus Maximus*.

³⁰⁵ It is unclear if the various inscriptions which mention soldiers of the *legio XIII Gemina* and *legio V Macedonica* found at *Emona*, *Aquileia* and *Dertona* refer to these military campaigns: CIL 3.3844=CIL 3.13398=ILS 2434=AE 1994.657; CIL 3.14354,10; CIL 5.808=IDRE 1.143; CIL 5.897; CIL 5.951; CIL 5.7366=IDRE 1.138=ILS 2406

³⁰⁶ Bărbulescu 1987, 29 – the epithet shows up in an inscription from *Potaissa* and one from *Cașeu* (*Samum*)

³⁰⁷ Bărbulescu 1987, 29

³⁰⁸ CIL 3.1054=IDR III/5.1.171: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / G(aius) Val(erius) / Sarapio / a Carpis / liberatus / pro salute / sua et sulorum / v(oto) l(ibens) p(osuit)*

³⁰⁹ IDR III/2.81=AE 1914.113

³¹⁰ Macrea 1969, 439-440

³¹¹ Bărbulescu 1987, 29-30 for a summary of all the archaeological evidence which indicates rebuilding and reinforcement of the fortifications at various points around the fortress (some of it appearing to be rather

from the war with the Carpi during the reign of Decius, and the emperor is named *restitutor Daciarum* by the *Colonia Nova Apulensis* in an inscription from *Apulum*.³¹²

During the reign of Gallienus, the *legio V Macedonica* received even more epithets, including *VI p(ia) VI f(idelis)* and even *VII p(ia) VII f(idelis)*, apparently to recognize the legion's loyalty to him in the face of his various adversaries, and possibly also to recognize its role in his victory against foreign invaders in Dacia.³¹³ A *vexillatio* comprised of detachments from both Dacian legions was led into Pannonia Superior by Flavius Aper, the *praepositus Leg. V. Mac. et XIII Gem. Galli(enarum)*, where the vexillation's members are attested at *Poetovio* in five inscriptions to *Mithras*, including the *tesserarii*, *custodes armorum*, *actarii*, and *librarii*, among others.³¹⁴ Undoubtedly the Dacian vexillation was sent there to support Gallienus' campaigns against the barbarian invaders from the north.

Several milestones from Dacia attest to the rebuilding of Trajan's original road system in the late second and into the third centuries.³¹⁵ In Dacia Porolissensis there are milestones from Mera (dated to around 165 under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, with renovations under Caracalla)³¹⁶ and Almaşu Mare (dated 236 under Maximinus Thrax),³¹⁷ in Dacia Superior (Apulensis) there are milestones from *Micia* (dated 251-253 under Trebonius

haphazard, indicating a rushed job during a moment of crisis), including the blocking of the *porta decumana* by a wall to (temporarily) block off the road leading into the fort. The burial of a coin hoard at this time not far from the fort further points to a danger faced by *Potaissa* at this time.

³¹² CIL 3.1176=IDR III/5.2.431=ILS 514: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) / Mess(io) Quinto / Traiano / Decio [Pio F(elici) Aug(usto)] / p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) [pot(estate)] / II co(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriciae) / restituto/ri Daciarum / col(onia) nova Apul[en]s(is)*

³¹³ Bărbulescu 1987, 31

³¹⁴ IDRE 2.266=AE 1936.53; IDRE 2.267=AE 1936.53; IDRE 2.270=AE 1936.55; IDRE 2.269=AE 1936.56; IDRE 2.268=AE 1936.57

³¹⁵ Fodorean 2005, 365-410

³¹⁶ CIL 3.1627

³¹⁷ Daicoviciu 1928-1932, 48-53

Gallus and Volusianus)³¹⁸ and Lăpușnicel (dated to Trebonianus Gallus/Volusianus or Gallienus/Valerian),³¹⁹ and in Dacia Inferior (Malvensis) there are three milestones along the Olt river (the so-called *limes Alutanus*), from Băbiciu de Sus (dated to Septimius Severus),³²⁰ Gostavățu (dated to Septimius Severus),³²¹ and *Praetorium* (Copăceni-Racovița) (dated to Maximinus Thrax).³²² For the most part the road system established under Trajan stayed the same throughout the history of Dacia, but these milestones indicate some roadwork in northern Dacia under Marcus Aurelius (on the *Napoca-Porolissum* road) which was later renovated under Caracalla, more roadwork along the southeastern frontier during the reign of Septimius Severus, and other roadwork in Dacia under the emperors Maximinus Thrax (in the northwest on the Bologa-Sutoru road, and on the *limes Alutanus*), Trebonianus Gallus/Volusianus (on the *Apulum-Micia-Partiscum* road in the west), and perhaps Gallienus/Valerian in the third century. The fact that this roadwork occurred along the frontiers probably reflects attempts to fortify and maintain the military lines of supply during an increasingly unstable and dangerous period.

Some scholars have hypothesized that the re-annexation of part of Muntenia along Dacia's southeastern frontier occurred under Antoninus Pius, during the attacks on the province in that area, but numismatic evidence indicates that this likely happened in the early third century.³²³ At the eastern limit of the strip of re-annexed territory a large earthen *vallum* was constructed which was fortified with *castra* and watchtowers (Figure 2.39). This

³¹⁸ CIL 3.8060

³¹⁹ CIL 3.8061=IDR III/3.50

³²⁰ Bozu 1979, 199-200 (Plate 10)

³²¹ CIL 3.13802=IDR 2.493

³²² CIL 3.14216,18=IDR 2.494; One more milestone was found near *Sucidava* (Celei), but it dates to the reign of Constantine in the fourth century and was therefore not included here – CIL 3.14216,19=IDR 2.589).

³²³ Petolescu 2002, 28; Gudea 1997a, 9

defensive line started from the Danube and ran north/northeast up to the mountains, running to the east of and roughly parallel to the Olt River (which scholars call the *limes Alutanus*), at a distance from it that varies from ten to fifty kilometres. Scholars call this the *limes Transalutanus*, and it added a strip of land to the southeastern portion of Dacia.³²⁴ The nature of this rather odd-looking frontier zone has been the subject of much debate.

In the mid-third century Philip the Arab granted Dacia the right to strike its own coinage for the first time.³²⁵ One of these *Provincia Dacia* coins shows a standing *Dacia* holding a sword and the standards (*vexilla*) of the two provincial legions – an eagle marked with a *V* (*legio V Macedonica*) and a lion marked with *XIII* (*legio XIII Gemina*) (from 247-248, the second year of minting) (Figure 2.40). Another one shows *Dacia* seated holding an ear of grain and a poppy in her right hand, a sheaf in her left hand, and she is flanked by the same two legionary *vexilla* (Figure 2.41).³²⁶ It is revealing that *Dacia's* identity, as minted by the province itself, emphasizes the presence of the two legions, thus continuing the theme of *Dacia's* military identity that had been started under Trajan.

³²⁴ See Teodor and Ștefan 2014; Teodor 2013; Petolescu 2002, 55-60. The debate is further discussed below.

³²⁵ Alföldy-Găzdac and Găzdac 2005

³²⁶ LIMC s.v. *Dacia* (figs. 16a-b)

The Frontier & Military Network in Roman Dacia: An Overview

After the conquest of Dacia, the empire had to develop a land frontier north of the Danube for the first time.³²⁷ The northern frontier of the Roman empire had long been protected by a relatively easily-defensible natural linear barrier created by the Rhine and Danube rivers. Britain and Germany were the first provinces in Europe for which the Romans had to build linear frontiers. But the Dacian frontier was extremely long by comparison to these earlier examples – the province was surrounded by *barbaricum* on three sides (north, east, west), creating a boundary running a total length of approximately 1480 kilometres.³²⁸ The heart of the province corresponded to the heart of the Iron Age Dacian kingdom, and thus Dacia's military organization was determined by the physical geography of the Transylvanian Plateau which is almost entirely surrounded by mountains, creating a natural fortress (see Figure 2.25). Three ranges make up these natural barriers: the eastern Carpathians (moderate altitudes, parallel summits, various depressions where routes converge, and broad valleys), the southern Carpathians (few depressions or breaks with few passes or gorges), and the western Carpathians (containing major breaks and passes that run north-south, moderate altitudes, and many depressions).³²⁹

Natural routes crossing the mountains were those formed by various rivers: the Olt (running south to the Danube), the Mureș (running west to the Tisa), and the Meseș and Someș (which run through a broad gap in the northwestern section of the mountains). Thus, most of the frontier installations were built in the areas that were not naturally protected by

³²⁷ For an overview of the Dacian frontier in comparative perspective, see Hodgson 1993, 385-390.

³²⁸ Gudea 1979b, 65. This figure is based on the boundary line agreed on by most scholars, and it appears to match the ancient reports (Eutropius 8.2.2 and Rufus Festus 8.2) that tell us Dacia had a perimeter of "a thousand miles."

³²⁹ Gudea 1979b, 65

the mountains. A ring of forts lay behind the Carpathians, placed strategically so as to guard the various natural mountain passes. On the western side of the province, these key points were guarded by the major forts of *Tibiscum* (Figure 2.33) and *Micia* (Figure 2.42), both of which held multiple units (of different types) in garrison simultaneously. In the northwestern area, the forts of Bologa (*Resculum*), Buciumi (Figure 2.28), Românași (*Largiana*), *Porolissum*, Romita (*Certia*), Tihău and Căței (*Samum*) guarded the broad gap through the mountains cut by the Meseș and Someș rivers.³³⁰ The military complex of *Porolissum* has been called the ‘keystone’ of Dacia Porolissensis’ defensive system (Figures 2.29; 2.30; 2.31).³³¹ Here, two forts (on the hills of Citera and Pomat) were complemented by two lines of defense (*clausurae*) consisting of an earthwork *vallum* and a stone wall (in some portions) guarded by earthen fortlets and watchtowers. The system of barrier walls and towers was built in advance of the two forts and the town, and extended for a continuous stretch of about four kilometres, with some sections containing double lines (with a stone tower on each line).³³² This whole complex guarded the so-called ‘Gates of the Meseș’ – a large pass cut through the Meseș mountains cut by the river of the same name. The barrier linked a set of watchtowers in the Meseș hills (on the west) with the towers on the northern side of the Someș valley (to the east). In the interior of Dacia Porolissensis (behind the outermost frontier forts) were cavalry forts – at Gilău, Sutoru (*Optatiana*), and Gherla. On the eastern side, a string of forts guarded the passes through the eastern Carpathians, from Ilișua in the north, down to Hoghiz (Figure 2.44).

³³⁰ Gudea 1971; 1986; 1997b; 1997c; 1997d; Ferenczi 1999

³³¹ Gudea 1989

³³² Wilkes 2005b, 158

Under Trajan the outer boundaries of Dacia ran as follows (Figures 2.25; 2.26).³³³ On the western side, the frontier was probably marked by the Tisa River, from its confluence with the Danube in the southwest, up to its confluence with the Mureş River.³³⁴ It has generally been assumed that the Tisa marked the provincial boundary since it constitutes a natural barriers on the west and provides a convenient boundary line on maps. But there is almost no archaeological evidence for military sites in the area located west of the *Viminacium* – *Berzobis* – *Tibiscum* road and south of the Mureş river. Thus, it seems more plausible to think of this southwestern portion of Dacia as an open frontier buffer zone rather than a fortified boundary. At the confluence of the Tisa and Mureş rivers lay *Particum* (Szeged, Hungary), and from there the frontier ran east-west along the Mureş up to *Micia* (Veşel), whence it turned northwards. It is possible that the provincial frontier in this area was marked by an earthen *vallum* with a defensive ditch located towards the west, which enclosed Depresiunea Zărandului. In the Apuseni Mountains the frontier cannot be traced very precisely, but clearly the western limit of the province encompassed the gold mining region around *Alburnus Maior* and *Ampelum*. Evidence of the frontier is picked up again at Bologa (*Resculum*), where a *castrum* enclosed the valley of the Crişul Repede River. From here, the frontier climbed northwards along the peak of the Meseş and reached *Porolissum*, then turned eastwards and ran north of Tihău and Ilişua. From there it turned towards the southeast and ran along the base of the Volcanic Mountains (Munţii Vulcanici) reaching Olteni and *Angustia* (Breţcu) (Figure 2.35).³³⁵ It turned westward up to the fort of *Cumidava*

³³³ Daicoviciu 1995, 219

³³⁴ For Dacia's western frontier, see Opreanu 2013; Németh *et al.* 2005; Németh *et al.* 2011a; Németh *et al.* 2011b.

³³⁵ Popa 2015

(Râșnov). Turning southwards it emerged from the mountains through the Bran Pass and arrived at Rucăr. From there it cut diagonally across the eastern part of the plain of Muntenia, running southwards, and reached the Danube at Flămânda. The southern border of the province was the Danube.

Under Hadrian the frontier was modified along a small portion.³³⁶ The strip of land in southeastern Transylvania, from *Angustia* (Brețcu) to *Caput Stenarum* (Boița), and the territories of eastern Oltenia, southeastern Transylvania, and western Muntenia, all of which had been conquered by Trajan and added to Moesia Inferior, were now added to Dacia. The eastern part of Muntenia and southern Moldova (which had also belonged to Moesia Inferior), were now abandoned by the Romans and once again became part of *barbaricum*. Dacia's eastern-southeastern frontier now ran along the Olt River up to its confluence with the Danube. The Oituz pass was guarded by the castrum at Brețcu (*Angustia*) (Figure 2.35), and other forts continued along the Transylvanian Olt on its right side – at Olteni, Hoghiz (Figure 2.44), Feldioara, Cincșor, and Boița (*Caput Stenarum*). Within the Carpathians, the forts along the Olt on its right side were at Căineni (*Pons Vetus?*), Răcovița, Copăcenii, Calimănești-Bivolari (*Arutela*) (Figure 2.32), and Jiblea. Parallel to the last four forts, to the east of the Cozia Massif were the castra at Titești, Rădăcinești, and Sâmbotin (*Castra Traiana*). After the point where the Olt flows out of the mountains and before its confluence with the Danube, the forts on its right side were at Stolniceni (*Buridava*), Ionești Govorii (*Pons Aluti*), Momotești (*Rusidava*), Enosești (*Acidava*), Reșca (*Romula*), Slăveni, Tia Mare,

³³⁶ Daicoviciu 1995, 219-221

and Islaz.³³⁷ Thus Hadrian established and organized what modern scholars have dubbed the *limes Alutanus*.

The only change to the outer frontier made after Hadrian involved the creation of the so-called *limes Transalutanus* (Figure 2.39).³³⁸ East of *limes Alutanus* (on the Olt River), a 235 kilometre-long earthen *vallum* (with no ditch) was built.³³⁹ Stretching from the Danube north to the Bran pass, it ran parallel to the Olt (*limes Alutanus*) with a distance from it that varied between ten to fifty kilometres. Behind the rampart (to the west) was a row of earthen forts,³⁴⁰ and at several places on the rampart there were watchtowers.³⁴¹ The *castra* were connected by a road, and from the Danube moving northwards, they were (in order): Flămânda,³⁴² Putinei, Băneasa, Roșiori-de-Vede (Troianul), Gresia, Crâmpoia, Urluieni (two forts), Fâlfani, Săpata-de-Jos (two forts), Albota, Purcăreni, and Jidava (Câmpulung) (Figure 2.45).³⁴³ It acted as a barrier between sub-Carpathian Dacia Inferior and the open plains of eastern Wallachia. Bogdan Cătănciu has consistently maintained that the construction of this defensive line should be dated to the reign of Hadrian,³⁴⁴ while others have dated it to the reign of Antoninus Pius,³⁴⁵ but the majority of scholars now date it to the time of

³³⁷ Petolescu 2002, 55

³³⁸ On the *limes Transalutanus*, see Teodor 2013.

³³⁹ Excavations have shown that there was no ditch on the eastern side of the *vallum* – Petolescu 2002, 57

³⁴⁰ Gudea 1997a (no.47-66)

³⁴¹ Numerous mounds were found in the early twentieth century behind the *vallum*, at a distance between ten to fifty metres, with diameters of fifteen to twenty metres, which G. Tocilescu originally identified as signal- and watchtowers. But because they were not mapped, many were destroyed since then by agricultural activity. One such mound was excavated in 1974 and was identified as a wooden tower – see Petolescu 2002, 57.

³⁴² Recent evidence from aerial photography (in 2010) has revealed two new forts at Flămânda – see Oltean and Hanson 2015, 892-893.

³⁴³ Petolescu 2002, 55-56

³⁴⁴ Bogdan Cătănciu 1981, 31-37; 1984, 131-133; 1997, 100

³⁴⁵ Kornemann 1907, 105

Septimius Severus, in the early third century, based primarily on numismatic evidence.³⁴⁶ Unfortunately no datable inscriptions have come to light from any of the forts,³⁴⁷ and no chronologically diagnostic archaeological material.³⁴⁸ We do not know most of the units that built and garrisoned the forts along this frontier. The only exceptions are the *cohors I Hispanorum veterana* (a part-mounted cohort that was in Dacia Inferior since the reign of Hadrian) at Comolău, the *cohors VI nova Cumidavensium* (an infantry cohort, first attested in the late second and third centuries) at *Cumidava* (after which it is named), and the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum* (a part-mounted infantry unit that was in Dacia since the reign of Trajan) at Câmpulung (Jidava) (Figure 2.45). Based on the numismatic evidence it seems the forts were in use for only a short period of time – they were apparently abandoned under Gordian III or Philip the Arab (around 242-247), perhaps as a result of attacks by the Carpi on Dacia's eastern side.³⁴⁹ Indeed, the construction of the forts also indicates a short occupation phase, with no later reconstructions, and many appear to have reached their end in a violent fire, which some have linked to the invasion of the Carpi.³⁵⁰ Thus, there may have been a retreat back to the *limes Alutanus* in the mid-third century. The frontiers then persisted as such until the retreat of Roman forces from Dacia under Aurelian.

³⁴⁶ Tudor 1978, 153, 253; Vlădescu 1983, 130; Daicoviciu 1995, 220; Gudea 1997a, 9; Petolescu 2002, 28, 58-59. But this too continues to be challenged by Bogdan Cătănicu (2009, 199-200), who continues to assert that it is Hadrianic. See also Bogdan Cătănicu 1973, 56-57. Most of the coins recovered from the sites start with the Severans and run through to Gordian III (Petolescu 2002, 59).

³⁴⁷ The only inscription found to date is a small altar from the castrum at Săpata-de-Jos which was dedicated to the Thracian rider, but which cannot be dated (IDR II.632-633).

³⁴⁸ No chronologically sensitive pottery was recovered (its date range is too broad), and the lamps and *fibulae* are inconclusive in date – Petolescu 2002, 59.

³⁴⁹ Tudor 1978, 37, 253-257; Gudea 1997a, 9. The last coins found at the forts date to Gordian III (Petolescu 2002, 59).

³⁵⁰ Petolescu 2002, 59

The reasons for the creation of the *limes Transalutanius*, its precise nature, and its relationship to the *limes Alutanius* has been the focus of much debate.³⁵¹ Some scholars have argued that the two parallel lines of defense (*limes Alutanius* and *Transalutanius*) both functioned together as a kind of ‘double frontier’,³⁵² but this has been disputed based on the fact that only the fort of Slăveni (at the southern end of the *limes Alutanius*) has provided any evidence that the *limes Alutanius* functioned contemporaneously with the *limes Transalutanius* during the first half of the third century.³⁵³ Furthermore, arguments based on analogies of other Roman ‘double frontiers’ have failed to prove anything since those contexts are so different.³⁵⁴ The most recent suggestion, based on ongoing fieldwork along the *limes Transalutanius*, is that this frontier line was not created to improve the defense of Dacia Malvensis (Dacia Inferior), but rather as a way of shortening the lines of communication on Dacia’s eastern side.³⁵⁵ The fort of Brețcu (*Angustia*) (Figure 2.35) was arguably the most important fort on Dacia’s eastern frontier, but its remote location at a significant distance from Dacia’s main south-north road (*Drobeta-Apulum-Porolissum*) posed a problem.³⁵⁶ At first the Romans would have likely used a route from the south (via Pietroasele-Drajna-Tabla Buții-Boroșneu) or the east (from Barboși via *Piroboridava*-Trotuș Valley-Oituz Pass) to supply the fort. But the southern route was abandoned at the beginning of Hadrian’s reign

³⁵¹ Teodor 2014; Teodor and Ștefan 2014, 32; Petolescu 2002, 55-60; Petolescu 2010, 182-186

³⁵² Vulpe 1961, 385; Tudor 1978, 212; Tudor 1974, 245; Tudor 1978, 256; Napoli 1997, 333 (for a complete list of references and criticisms).

³⁵³ Teodor and Ștefan 2014, 32 (fn.1)

³⁵⁴ In Britain, Hadrian’s Wall was abandoned when the Antonine Wall was built, and the latter was then abandoned after the former was repaired and needed to be repopulated with troops (Breeze 2004, 7-8). On the Germanic and Raetian frontiers some of the forts along the old frontier continued to be garrisoned as back-up troops for the new frontier (Schönberger 1969, 168-169). Thus, original theories that dated the *Transalutanius* to the reign of Antoninus Pius because the *limes Alutanius* dated to Hadrian, by analogy with Hadrian’s Wall and the Antonine Wall, are now seen as invalid.

³⁵⁵ Teodor 2014; Teodor and Ștefan 2014, 32 (for a brief outline of the argument)

³⁵⁶ For the most recent fieldwork at the fort of Brețcu, see Popa 2015.

(by 118) after his territorial reorganization of Trajan's province, with the withdrawal of all Roman troops from the lower Olt and lower Siret. The eastern route, which crossed *barbaricum*, continued to be in use until about 180-190, based on the end of monetary circulation at *Piroboridava* at that point (a major communication and transportation hub).

Thus, the argument goes, the last remaining route that could supply the fort at Brețcu (*Angustia*) at the end of the second century was the road along the Olt river – the *limes Alutanus*. But this was a rather lengthy route (426 kilometres from the mouth of the Olt river to the fort at Cămlău). Since the route along the *limes Transalutanus* is only 312 kilometres in length (73% shorter than the *limes Alutanus*), it would have required five less days of travel for heavy supply convoys, making it a far more efficient transportation and communication artery for connecting the fort at Brețcu with the rest of the empire. The two theories are not mutually exclusive, however, since there is also the possibility that the *limes Transalutanus* served both a superior defensive function and offered a more efficient transportation route (especially since transportation efficiency and defensive capability are closely related). At the same time, this new theory is important because it shifts emphasis away from a purely defensive perspective on the nature of Dacia's military organization (a view that has been over-emphasized by all scholars on the topic), and points to the importance of practical and logistical factors related to internal security, economic networks, and intra- and inter-provincial communications underlying the distribution of military troops and forts within Dacia (as elsewhere in the Roman empire). In other words, one cannot expect to decipher the logic behind Roman provincial military organization by

focusing exclusively on potential external threats from *barbaricum* – one necessarily has to focus as much on internal factors.

Overall, the Dacian frontier can be traced by the presence of forts and other military installations, such as earthen ramparts, but the *castra* themselves do not constitute the linear frontier line. Archaeological investigation has shown that in front of these *castra*, at some distance, were watchtowers, so the Dacian frontier was more of a buffer or supervision zone rather than a clear territorial ‘line in the sand’. The military organization of Dacia, as originally outlined by Gudea,³⁵⁷ comprised three basic elements: the large legionary forces (which also contained highly mobile units) at the center of the province (*Apulum*, then later also *Potaissa*), with forts manned by cavalry units (including Dacia’s only *ala milliaria*, the *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum*), located along roads and rivers, acting as intermediaries between the legions and the external ring of frontier forts that were mostly garrisoned by infantry. An earlier scholar evocatively described Dacia’s defensive system as an immense fan with strong forts at *Apulum* (Figure 2.46) and *Potaissa* (Figure 2.38) in the center and ribs radiating from there outwards to the borders.³⁵⁸

The perimeter frontier forts were located at important passes on the interior of the mountain ring. At the top of the mountains in front of these forts, at distances varying from one and a half to fifteen kilometres beyond the forts, long systems of watchtowers have been traced.³⁵⁹ Over sixty towers are known just from the Meseş pass in the northwestern portion of Dacia, of varying dimensions, both square and circular, some clearly containing multiple

³⁵⁷ Gudea 1977; 1979b

³⁵⁸ Macrea cited by Gudea 1979b, 66

³⁵⁹ Gudea 1979b, 74-77

phases.³⁶⁰ In front of the forts at *Porolissum* (Figures 2.29; 2.30), at the point of the so-called Meseş Gate in the mountains, an earthen bank with a ditch (in places the bank is replaced by a stone wall) and a string of stone towers and fortlets runs for some four kilometres.³⁶¹ Some of the smaller valleys were also guarded by fortlets or *burgi* and shorter stretches of earthen ramparts.³⁶² Over fifty towers and fortlets have also been identified north of the forts of Tihău, Căşieu, and Ilişua, on the northern frontier.³⁶³ Attempts have been made to show the complex relationship and inter-visibility between these watchtowers and forts in order to demonstrate how they functioned as advance warning systems,³⁶⁴ but others have pointed out that this simply formed a kind of closed artificial linear barrier like the ones in Germania Superior, Britannia, and Raetia, albeit in short discontinuous stretches with significant interruptions made by the realities of local topography.³⁶⁵ There are questions about the role of peoples living just beyond the frontier (i.e., beyond the line of forts, in *'barbaricum'*) in the creation and maintenance of this system. Were local groups recruited to help man the system (especially all of those towers)? Were local settlements supplying the Roman troops? The discovery of increasing quantities of Roman material culture at sites located beyond this frontier do indicate a close economic relationship between the inhabitants of these settlements and the soldiers and civilians within Dacia.³⁶⁶

It was probably due to the extremely lengthy nature of the Dacian frontier, the large distances and topographical barriers to communication that existed within the province, as

³⁶⁰ Gudea 1997e

³⁶¹ Bogdan Cătănciu 1981, 48-49; Wilkes 2005b, 158

³⁶² Hodgson 1993, 388; Bogdan Cătănciu 1981, 49

³⁶³ Gudea 1979b, 74; Bogdan Cătănciu 1981, 49-50; Ferenczi 1972; 1974

³⁶⁴ Gudea 1971 (fig. 1); 1979b (fig.7); 1997e

³⁶⁵ Macrea 1969, 231; Ferenczi 1967 (fig. 4); Bogdan Cătănciu 1981, 101 (n.438); Hodgson 1993, 388-389

³⁶⁶ Dumitraşcu and Bader 1967; Opreanu 1994b; Opreanu 1997; Opreanu 1998; Opreanu 2011b; Fábíán 2006; Wilkes 2005b, 158; Popa 2009

well as the substantial number of troops distributed throughout Dacia, that Hadrian decided to divide the province into three separate administrative areas. This ensured that no single province (Dacia Inferior, Superior, or Porolissensis) contained an army that was too large for the command of one governor, and it divided up the responsibilities for both frontier defense and internal security among three regions, each with its own local capital (a local ‘command center’ for that portion of Dacia) and local mini-government. Since the goal was to make the defense and internal security of the province most efficient, this necessarily also meant that the interior boundaries between the three provinces were not stark borders, and that military units, especially the legion (*legio XIII Gemina*), continued to be active across these administrative divisions as needed. Indeed, this reality was formalized under Marcus Aurelius who once again ‘united’ Dacia again under a sole governor while still maintaining some administrative distinction between the three zones (something also reflected by the collective provincial name *Tres Daciae*). Indeed, after the addition of a second legion (*legio V Macedonica*), there continues to be evidence that both legions also operated beyond their respective administrative regions.

The strategy in Dacia of building large multi-unit forts at vulnerable points and important passes is notably different from the regularly-spaced single-unit forts on the frontiers of Britannia and Germania in the second century.³⁶⁷ In these latter cases the Romans constructed a fortified linear frontier across a topographically homogenous area, rather than ‘plugging holes’ in a natural frontier like in Dacia. Thus, Dacia shows us an adaptation of a broader Roman strategy to local circumstances – one which maximized efficiency and effectiveness while minimizing labor and cost. After all, building a Hadrian’s

³⁶⁷ Hodgson 1993, 386-387

Wall around Dacia would have been totally inefficient and ineffective, if not virtually impossible. In Dacia, the Romans faced unprecedented circumstances and topographical challenges in the development of a secure frontier, and the solution was therefore unsurprisingly unique in many aspects. What needs to be emphasized first and foremost is the practical nature of such a military network, and that fundamentally it represents a broad defensive buffer zone – a borderland rather than a line-in-the-sand, that was under military control and supervision and which broadly served to distinguish between ‘Roman’ territory and ‘*barbaricum*’, but which cannot therefore be easily traced on a modern map with a simple line. Undoubtedly this zone also fluctuated in different areas at different times, but this is difficult to trace with great detail in most areas (the *limes Alutanus/Transalutanus* being the main exception).

Scholarship has exclusively focused on the Dacian frontier as defensive, on the premise that its sole purpose was to keep people out. Indeed, it must have had that capability, especially in view of the various attacks from outside faced by Dacia at different points in time. But it is equally true, given the economic relationship between peoples on either side of the fortified zone, and especially during times of peace, that the Roman frontier zone’s primary role was to monitor and control movements into the province. In other words, it acted more like a modern nation-state boundary, which is porous in the sense that people are permitted to cross it in both directions at dedicated customs points under the overall supervision of border guards. This role of ‘policing’ the entry points into and out of Dacia, rather than of simply blocking them, would have allowed the Roman state to impose and collect taxes on traffic moving across this porous boundary. This in turn would have

generated revenue for provincial and imperial coffers, and would have contributed to the supply and maintenance of the provincial army (especially the frontier troops).

Too much attention has been focused on the outer perimeter boundary of the province, with relatively little focus on the internal organization of the provincial army – of the provincial military system as a whole. Ultimately it is important to remember that even the forts distributed throughout the borderland regions of the province were focused inwards as much as they were focused outwards, and that the duties of their troops were divided between keeping an eye on peoples in *barbaricum* on the one hand, while ensuring internal security (law and order) and maintaining proper functioning of economic networks (i.e., the gold and salt mining operations, trade and supply networks, etc.) on the other hand. Indeed, although there were periodic times of conflict with peoples beyond the frontier during the second and especially during third centuries, the troops of Roman Dacia also operated within peacetime throughout the 170 years that it remained a province. During peacetime, the military was undoubtedly mostly focused on its role as a provincial police and labor force – securing roads and convoys, building and repairing structures and infrastructure, overseeing mining operations, and aiding in the provincial administration.

CHAPTER 3

ARABIA ADQUISTA: THE CREATION OF PROVINCIA ARABIA

Roman Relations with Nabataea before Trajan

Most of our information about the Nabataeans prior to the first century BCE comes from Diodorus Siculus.³⁶⁸ It seems that by the end of the fourth century BCE, this nomadic people had established a permanent base at *Petra* (Figure 3.1). From there the power, wealth, and territory of the Nabataeans grew enormously over the next few centuries due to their strategic location which allowed them to control several important trade routes – especially the Incense Road coming up from southern Arabia. In 312 BCE Antigonos the One-Eyed, a former general of Alexander the Great, tried to conquer “the land of the Arabs who are called Nabataeans” in order to add to his conquests of Syria and Phoenicia.³⁶⁹ This campaign resulted in a disastrous failure, despite being led by the legendary Demetrius Poliorcetes (‘the Besieger’). This episode also indicates that the Nabataeans were already in Transjordan by the fourth century. By the third century BCE the Nabataean kingdom can be traced north all the way to the Hauran,³⁷⁰ and by the second century BCE the Nabataeans had spread westwards into the Negev desert.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Diodorus talks about the Nabataeans extensively in 2.48-49 and 19.94-100

³⁶⁹ Diodorus 19.94.1: ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀράβων τῶν καλουμένων Ναβαταίων; Bowersock 1983, 13-14.

³⁷⁰ Bowersock 1983, 17-18. Papyri in the archive of Zeno provide proof of Nabataean presence in the north by 259 BCE.

³⁷¹ The earliest Nabataean inscription comes from *Elusa* in the Negev, and it reads “This is the place Nuthairu made for the life of Aretas, king of the Nabataeans.” Based on the very early letter forms it is dated by most scholars to the first half of the second century BCE. Cantineau 1932, 44; Negev 1977, 545-546; Bowersock 1983, 18

By the first century BCE, the Nabataeans had become sedentary,³⁷² and their kingdom emerged as a key player in the power struggles plaguing the Near East (Figure 3.2).³⁷³ It is at this point that Nabataean kings started flexing their muscles, looking to expand their territory further and to gain prestige both at home and abroad. Nabataean monarchs had exceptionally long reigns – there were only five between 58-57 BCE and 106 CE.³⁷⁴ Ancient authors have consistently described them as unwarlike and militarily incompetent.³⁷⁵ The historian Joesphus (who was, admittedly, biased against them since the Nabataeans were constantly warring with their Judaeans neighbors), said they “were not well fitted for warfare,”³⁷⁶ described “terror-struck” Aretas withdrawing his forces,³⁷⁷ and also generally characterized the Nabataean army as disorganized and afraid of combat during a battle against Herod the Great in which the Nabataeans suffered some 5000 casualties in a crushing defeat.³⁷⁸ And yet, despite these (biased) depictions, in reality the Nabataeans showed themselves to be militarily very successful and rather formidable from the first century BCE until their annexation by Rome. In 87 BCE, under King Obodas I, the Nabataeans beat the invading Seleucid army at the Battle of *Cana*, in which Antiochus XII himself was killed, and Obodas died soon after (perhaps as a result of the battle).³⁷⁹ Nabataea

³⁷² In describing the Nabataeans in the late fourth century BCE, Diodorus (using the ‘eyewitness history’ of Hieronymus of Cardia as his source) calls them nomadic (19.94-100). Writing only a few decades later, but about the Nabataeans during the first century BCE, Strabo describes the Nabataeans as completely sedentary (*Geographia* 16.4.21-6). Most scholars have taken this, in addition to growing archaeological material from excavations in the *Petra* city center (especially the existence of permanent houses from the second century BCE onwards), as evidence that the Nabataeans became increasingly sedentary from the fourth to first centuries BCE.

³⁷³ For the best overview of this period and the evidence, see Bowersock 1983, 13-27

³⁷⁴ Kennedy 1996c, 732

³⁷⁵ Joesphus *AJ* 14.31; Diodorus 2.54.3; Strabo 16.4.23; Graf 1994, 265-266

³⁷⁶ Joesphus *AJ* 14.31

³⁷⁷ Josephus *BJ* 1.6.3 [128-130]

³⁷⁸ Josephus *AJ* 15.5.4 [150]; *BJ* 1.19.5 [381-382]

³⁷⁹ Ball 2000, 62

was subsequently able to expand territorially quite significantly at the expense of the Seleucids. Obodas' successor, Aretas III (86-62 BCE), seized *Damascus* in response to an appeal from the citizens of the city who were being threatened by the Ituraeans.³⁸⁰ The Nabataeans ruled *Damascus* for about fifteen years, during which time Aretas III minted Seleucid-style coins with his image on the back, inscribed in Greek (rather than Nabataean) in which he bears the epithet 'Philhellene', indicating that he wanted to portray himself as a successor of the Seleucids and a supporter of Greek traditions.³⁸¹ In 72 BCE *Damascus* was seized by Tigranes the Great (aka. Tigranes II) of Armenia, but when his forces withdrew just two years later, the city was left in the midst of a power vacuum and political chaos following the dissolution of the Seleucid dynasty – a situation that lasted until Roman intervention under Pompey.³⁸²

The Nabataean kings had been repeatedly in conflict with the Hasmoneans of Judaea, including Alexander Jannaeus and his successors.³⁸³ Aretas III had launched a campaign against the latter in 82 BCE and defeated him, allowing him to set the terms of peace. After Alexander's death (76 BCE), Aretas III played his competing successors (first Alexandra, then Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus) against one another to his advantage.³⁸⁴ In 65 BCE, the year in which Aretas sent a military expedition to Jerusalem on behalf of Hyrcanus to displace the latter's brother Aristobulus, Pompey the Great sent his legates Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos and L. Lollius to Syria in the guise of 'liberators' to bring peace and political

³⁸⁰ Bowersock 1983, 25

³⁸¹ Bowersock 1983, 25-26. The coins read βασιλέως Ἀρέτου φιλέλληνας – see Meshorer 1975, 86-87 (no.5-8).

³⁸² Bowersock 1983, 26

³⁸³ Bowersock 1983, 22-25

³⁸⁴ Bowersock 1983, 25

stability to the reigning chaos after the demise of the Seleucids.³⁸⁵ In reality, the Romans took advantage of the power vacuum to seize *Damascus*, then M. Aemilius Scaurus (also one of Pompey's officers) moved on Judaea, bringing the Romans and Nabataeans into direct conflict when Scaurus sided with Aristobulus.³⁸⁶ Aretas was ordered to withdraw the Nabataean forces lest he risk direct military confrontation with the Roman army, and he obliged. Aristobulus, whose position was now secured through Roman support, sent his army after them and defeated the Nabataeans in a major battle at *Papyron*.³⁸⁷

With Pompey's arrival on the scene, Syria was officially turned into a Roman province in 64 BCE, establishing Roman control on the northern boundary of the Nabataean kingdom and thereby preventing further Nabataean expansion into Syria. As part of the Roman political and administrative reorganization of the area, Pompey also recognized the autonomy of a group of Greek ('Hellenized') cities of the interior known collectively as the Decapolis.³⁸⁸ According to Josephus, Pompey planned an expedition against the Nabataeans in order to secure the new Roman territories in the east, but he became distracted by events taking place further north, and then was forced to return to Rome in 62 BCE, without having had a chance to deal with the Nabataean problem. He left Scaurus in command of Syria, and the latter invaded Nabataea that same year.³⁸⁹ He only made it as far as *Pella* before circumstances forced him to retreat, but only after reaching a peace agreement with Aretas that secured the Romans a tribute of 300 talents. Scaurus returned to Rome and minted a coin commemorating his 'victory' over the Nabataeans – it shows the Nabataean

³⁸⁵ Bowersock 1983, 28

³⁸⁶ Bowersock 1983, 29

³⁸⁷ Bowersock 1983, 29; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14.32-33; *Jewish War* 1.128-130

³⁸⁸ Bowersock 1983, 30

³⁸⁹ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14.80-82; Kennedy 2004, 36.

king kneeling at the feet of a camel, and he is labeled *REX ARETAS*.³⁹⁰ Another inconclusive campaign was led by Gabinius against “the city of the Nabataeans” in 55 BCE.³⁹¹ After these events, it seems Nabataea was made a Roman client kingdom.³⁹²

In 30 BCE Malichus I (58-30 BCE) was succeeded by Obodas III (30-9 BCE). Although he was revered by his people and deified after death, Obodas III has been characterized as a weak incompetent ruler who allowed himself to be controlled by a minister named Syllaeus.³⁹³ This view is based on the existing account of a failed Roman expedition to southern Arabia that took place during his reign, recounted for us by Strabo.³⁹⁴ In 26 BCE, Augustus dispatched his Prefect of Egypt, Aelius Gallus (a close personal friend of Strabo), on an expedition down the eastern shore of the Red Sea to the kingdom of the Sebaeans.³⁹⁵ It appears the goal of this campaign was to establish Roman control over the incense-producing territory called *Arabia Felix* (“prosperous” or “fortunate” Arabia), located in modern Yemen. Gallus reportedly built eighty warships and 130 transport ships to convey an army of 10,000 soldiers from *Cleopatris* (Clysma) at the northern end of the Gulf of Suez, to the port of *Leuke Kome* in Nabataea.³⁹⁶ In addition to Roman soldiers, this expeditionary force included 500 Jews (sent by King Herod from Judaea) and 1000 Nabataeans (sent by King Obodas III), thus implying some sort of official diplomatic alliance between Rome and Nabataea.³⁹⁷ This campaign must have put the Nabataeans, who had become wealthy by acting as the

³⁹⁰ Negev 1977, 541

³⁹¹ Ball 2000, 62; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14.80-81, 14.103; *Jewish War* 1.178

³⁹² Ball 2000, 62

³⁹³ Dolinka 2003, 6

³⁹⁴ Strabo, *Geog.* 16.4.22-24

³⁹⁵ In addition to Strabo (the main source, see previous note), see also Pliny *HN* 6.160-161; Josephus *AJ* 15.317; Dio 53.29.3-8; Augustus *Res Gestae* 5.26. See also Sidebotham 1986, 120-130 for an overview of the expedition.

³⁹⁶ Sidebotham 1986, 120

³⁹⁷ Ball 2000, 62

middle-men between south Arabia and the Roman empire, in a difficult position, as expressed by Taylor, "...succeed, and you lose much of your trade and the wealth it brings; fail, and you lose the friendship of the most powerful man in the world."³⁹⁸ The Nabataean minister Syllaeus served as advisor and guide for the expedition, and according to Strabo, he sabotaged the effort by leading the Romans along unsafe, lengthy, and treacherous routes in order to ensure the failure of the expedition.³⁹⁹ Whether Syllaeus deliberately undermined the expedition or not will never be known, but there is reason to suspect that Strabo used him as a convenient scapegoat due to Syllaeus' later attempt to seize the Nabataean throne after Obodas III's death which left him with a reputation as an unscrupulous, ambitious traitor (who was eventually beheaded on the orders of Augustus himself).⁴⁰⁰ Despite many hardships, Gallus' expedition reportedly managed to conquer several cities along the way, eventually reaching the city of *Marsiaba*.⁴⁰¹ Gallus' troops set up garrison at *Athloulā*, where a bilingual Greek/Latin tombstone was found which reads [*P(ublius)*] *Corne[lius]... / eques n[... / ΠΟΥΒΛΙΣ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΣ...* ("Publius Cornelius, cavalryman...") – the earliest evidence of Roman presence in southern Arabia, which scholars have identified with this historical episode.⁴⁰² From there they lay siege to *Marsiaba*, but were forced to abandon the siege and return home when they ran out of water.⁴⁰³

The failure of the expedition was blamed on the alleged duplicity of Syllaeus and the incompetence of King Obodas III, as well as on Nabataean military inefficiency. Strabo

³⁹⁸ Taylor 2002, 60

³⁹⁹ Strabo 16.4.23

⁴⁰⁰ Strabo 16.4.24; Joesphus *AJ* 10.8-9, 16.9.1-4, 16.224, 17.54-55; Sidebotham 1986, 126-127; Bowersock 1983, 47-48; Dolinka 2003, 6-7; for the coins that Syllaeus minted to promote himself as king see Meshorer 1975, 36-40.

⁴⁰¹ Strabo 16.4.24

⁴⁰² Bowersock 1983, 148-153; Sidebotham 1986, 126

⁴⁰³ Strabo 16.4.24

explained, “This came to pass because Obodas, the King, did not care much about public affairs, and particularly military affairs (this is a trait common to all the Arabian kings), and because he put everything in the power of Syllaeus.”⁴⁰⁴ He also noted, “for the Arabians are not very good warriors even on land, rather than being hucksters and merchants, to say nothing of fighting at sea”.⁴⁰⁵ Although these comments are part of the literary tradition that characterized the Nabataeans as unwarlike and militarily incompetent, other evidence has shown this to be untrue, as already indicated. Indeed, the same literary record also depicts the Nabataean army successfully defeating and warding off other, often superior, military forces.⁴⁰⁶ After this disastrous expedition, it seems the Romans were content to keep Nabataea as a client kingdom, having gained control over several key ports such as *Leuke Kome* on Arabia’s Red Sea coast. Although Strabo presented the expedition as a failure, a view which most scholars have accepted, there were several important positive outcomes of the effort: only few men were lost in battle, a number of cities were easily taken, and although the campaign did not lead to Roman occupation or the establishment of any new client kingdoms, it certainly must have left a strong impression on the locals. In essence Gallus’ expedition demonstrated that the Romans could invade Arabia Felix whenever they felt like it, and moreover that the Roman empire had replaced the Nabataeans and Ptolemies as the major power in the northern Red Sea.⁴⁰⁷ Indeed, Augustus presented the expedition as a success, probably in military and diplomatic terms (rather than military).⁴⁰⁸ Syllaeus subsequently made his unsuccessful attempt to seize the Nabataean throne at the death of

⁴⁰⁴ Strabo 16.4.24 [781]; cf. Josephus *AJ* 16.7.6 [220]: Obodas “was inactive and sluggish by nature”; Graf 1994, 266

⁴⁰⁵ Strabo 16.4.23 [780]; cf. Diodorus 2.54.3; Graf 1994, 266

⁴⁰⁶ For the whole argument and discussion see Graf 1994.

⁴⁰⁷ Sidebotham 1986, 127

⁴⁰⁸ Augustus *Res Gestae* 5.26

Obodas III, but was thwarted and eventually executed on the orders of Augustus.⁴⁰⁹ Aretas IV (9 BCE – 40 CE) ascended to the throne and was officially recognized by Augustus.⁴¹⁰

An obscure *expeditio Arabica* of Gaius Caesar took place in 1 CE which brought him down to the top of the Gulf of ‘Aqaba.⁴¹¹ It is at this time that the Nabataeans established a presence at *Hegra*, deep in the Hedjaz, about 500 kilometres south(east) of their capital at *Petra*⁴¹² – a move which may have been a response to this Roman incursion (Figure 3.3).⁴¹³ During the first century CE, there is increasing development on Nabataean territories. Settlements in the Negev, including *Mampsis* along the *Petra-Gaza* road, at *Bostra* in the north, and at the capital of *Petra* all grew significantly.⁴¹⁴ Monumental ornate tombs were erected, in addition to other large monuments, at *Bostra* and *Petra*. All of this suggests growing economic activity and wealth. In addition to controlling the trade routes passing through the kingdom, the Nabataeans also developed an industry of fine ceramics, they extracted copper from mines in the Wadi Araba, the Sinai,⁴¹⁵ and south of *Petra*, and continued to mine bitumen from the Dead Sea (which they had been doing since the fourth century).⁴¹⁶ They even acquired silver somewhere, since both silver and bronze Nabataean coins were minted in the two centuries prior to 106,⁴¹⁷ and Scaurus reportedly extorted an

⁴⁰⁹ Strabo, 16.4.24

⁴¹⁰ Josephus *AJ* 16.355

⁴¹¹ Pliny *HN* 2.168; 6.141, 160; 12.55; 32.10; Kennedy 1996c, 711; Sidebotham 1986, 130ff. Bowersock 1983, 54-46 proposed that because there was a lack of dated coins of Aretas IV from 3-1 BCE, that this is evidence that Nabataea was briefly annexed by Rome during these years. But there are many other explanations for a gap in the Nabataean annual coin record, and theorizing such a brief Roman takeover does not make much sense, especially in the absence of any other evidence and in light of the real takeover a century later.

⁴¹² A foundation coin naming *Hegra* dates to somewhere between 9 BCE – 18 CE (Meshorer 1975, 53), and the earliest dated inscriptions from the site are from 1 CE, the same year as the expedition of Gaius Caesar.

⁴¹³ Kennedy 1996c, 733

⁴¹⁴ Kennedy 1996c, 733

⁴¹⁵ A common element in Nabataean names from the Sinai is ‘Smith’ – Negev 1986, 10.

⁴¹⁶ Kennedy 1996c, 735

⁴¹⁷ Meshorer 1975

indemnity in silver from the Nabataeans in 62 BCE, after his attempted invasion of the kingdom (as mentioned previously).⁴¹⁸

Aretas IV married one of his daughters to Herod Antipas, the ruler of Galilee and Peraea (northern Israel and Jordan) in order to secure an alliance with the Herodian dynasty of Judaea. But when Antipas divorced his daughter, Aretas IV invaded Peraea (in 36 CE) and defeated Antipas – an action taken without Rome’s consent.⁴¹⁹ Tiberius sent Vitellius and his Syrian legions on a punitive campaign against the Nabataeans the following year, but the Romans withdrew when the Roman emperor died.⁴²⁰ During his almost-half-a-century-long reign, Aretas IV initiated a substantial building program throughout his kingdom – most of the celebrated monuments at *Petra* were built by him (Figure 3.1),⁴²¹ as well as the outpost at *Hegra* (Mada’in Saleh in Saudi Arabia) (Figure 3.3). He founded a major town at modern el-Mekharet in the Sinai, and he developed and expanded the five caravanserai cities along the *Petra-Gaza* route in the Negev: *Oboda*, *Elusa*, *Nessana*, *Mamphis* (Figure 3.4), and *S’baita*.⁴²²

In addition to an ongoing trade relationship, as a client kingdom Nabataea was occasionally also called upon by Rome to supply military troops. Under Malichus II (who succeeded Aretas IV), the Nabataeans sent 1000 cavalry and 500 infantry (archers) to help Vespasian suppress the First Jewish Revolt in 67 CE.⁴²³ He was succeeded by the last Nabataean king, Rabbel II (70-106 CE), who initially co-ruled with Shaqilat (his mother

⁴¹⁸ Josephus *AJ* 15.81; *BJ* 1.159

⁴¹⁹ Josephus *AJ* 18.109-114

⁴²⁰ Josephus *AJ* 18.120-124

⁴²¹ McKenzie 1990

⁴²² Dolinka 2003, 7

⁴²³ Josephus, *BJ* 3.68

and the wife of Malichus II) until he was old enough to rule alone.⁴²⁴ At the beginning of his reign he suppressed a major revolt in the southern part of the kingdom, led by Damasi of *Hegra* in 71 CE.⁴²⁵ Under Rabbel II the northern Nabataean city of *Bostra* came to prominence, even apparently replacing *Petra* as the kingdom's capital, and the king was granted the title "he who brought life and deliverance to his people."⁴²⁶ The growing importance of *Bostra* may have been founded on the growing agricultural development of the Hauran.⁴²⁷ Although some scholars have suggested that by this time Nabataea was starting to suffer economically due to a decline in the overland trade routes through *Petra*,⁴²⁸ this view has been rejected by more recent scholarship, especially based on archaeological excavations from the Wadi Araba and the Negev which do not support a decline, and in fact, on the contrary, indicate that the Nabataean kingdom was thriving on the eve of its absorption by the Roman empire.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁴ Negev 1977, 637

⁴²⁵ Winnett 1973

⁴²⁶ Cantineau 1932, 9

⁴²⁷ Sartre 2000, 660; Sartre 1985, 49-62

⁴²⁸ Bowersock, 1983, 156; Fiema 1987a, 29

⁴²⁹ Dolinka 2003, 8; Dolinka *et al.* 2002; Erickson-Gini 2010

The Annexation of Nabataea: Motivations & Preparations

The annexation of the Nabataean kingdom and its transformation into *Provincia Arabia* was undoubtedly a beneficial move for the Romans – indeed, it was the only territory in the Roman east acquired under Trajan that was not abandoned by Hadrian. Obviously the advantages of keeping Arabia in the empire were seen to outweigh the financial, administrative, and military costs of Roman rule. But very little is known about why and how the annexation occurred in the first place, which is probably why it has proven such fertile ground for vigorous scholarly debate.⁴³⁰ Scholars have been divided on the issue of whether there was deliberate Roman planning and strategy in the act of invading the kingdom,⁴³¹ or whether the annexation was simply an opportunistic action dictated by circumstances.⁴³² Based on the apparent transfer of two cohorts from Egypt to Judaea in 105,⁴³³ which subsequently show up in Arabia's garrison after the annexation, and the military invasion from two fronts (Syria and Egypt), it certainly appears that there was Roman military planning and arrangements in the year leading up to the takeover (if not over a longer period).

As with all Roman conquests, there are a number of motivating factors that can be seen to underlie the emperor's decision to take over Nabataea. The desire to gain greater control over the luxury trade routes that ran through the Nabataean kingdom (including greater access to and control over the Red Sea) (Figure 3.5),⁴³⁴ the potential threat of

⁴³⁰ For works specifically focused on the annexation, see Parker 2009a; Al-Otaibi 2011; Bowersock 1970; Kennedy 1980a; Fiema 1987a; Freeman 1996.

⁴³¹ Bowersock 1970; Eadie 1985

⁴³² As exemplified by Freeman 1996

⁴³³ The cohorts I Thebaeorum and the cohorts I Hispanorum (Cyrenaica).

⁴³⁴ Parker 1986a, 123

nomadic tribes,⁴³⁵ and even concern about internal brigandage and piracy⁴³⁶ have all been proposed by scholars. Perhaps it was the gradual expansion of the Nabataean kingdom, including its earlier successes in military conflicts against Judaea, that may have been perceived by the Romans as a threat to stability and Roman hegemony in the east, especially as Rabbel II was extending his influence by moving his capital to *Bostra*, right on Rome's doorstep.⁴³⁷ On the other hand, by the reign of Trajan, nomadic Safaitic and Thamudic tribes were established in Transjordan and the Sinai, and there is debate about whether they were hostile to Roman rule or not. One theory is that the Nabataeans started having trouble containing and controlling these nomads who moved throughout their territory, and who may have even started raiding towns in the Negev.⁴³⁸ The Romans might have felt the need to intervene in order to ensure the security of this important commercial zone.

Indeed, it is true that Nabataea was the last client state on Rome's southeastern frontier, and its absorption into the empire filled in the missing piece of territory that connected Rome's most important eastern provinces, Egypt and Syria.⁴³⁹ In the words of Bowersock,

The importance of Roman Arabia for an imperial power in the Mediterranean cannot be overestimated. This often inhospitable region controls access to the Mediterranean... from the interior of the peninsula as well as from the Gulf of 'Aqaba. Furthermore, it is essential for communications across the Jordan Valley between the urban centers in Judea and those of Transjordan, which, in turn, furnish links with the nomadic culture beyond.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁵ Parker 1986a, 123; Graf 1978, 5-6

⁴³⁶ Isaac 1984, 181-187

⁴³⁷ Ball 2000, 63

⁴³⁸ Parker 1986a, 124

⁴³⁹ Parker 1986a, 123

⁴⁴⁰ Bowersock 1983, 2

Trajan may have also wanted to “safeguard his rear” before embarking on his campaign to conquer Parthia.⁴⁴¹ On the other hand, maybe it was the very *lack* of any perceived threat or anticipated difficulties that made Nabataea an easy target for the Romans⁴⁴² – a quick territorial gain that provided important strategic and economic advantages (in terms of access to the Red Sea, control over lucrative trade routes, and a strategic extension to Rome’s frontier buffer zone in the east). Indeed, the income generated by the annexation of such a wealthy kingdom would have been especially handy for funding Trajan’s ambitious eastern campaigns.

The economic factor was undoubtedly a major one, and was likely the reason why Hadrian decided to keep the province in the empire. It was not just the overland trade caravans from the Hedjaz to Syria and *Gaza* that were lucrative. There were also copper mines in the Wadi Faynan and the Sinai, as well as salt, bitumen, and sulphur exploitation in the Dead Sea.⁴⁴³ Closely related to these factors is Trajan’s apparent desire to have better access to the Red Sea – indeed, the *Via Nova Traiana* which was built from one end of Arabia to the other did not just serve a military function, it also guarded and facilitated the transport of imported goods from the Red Sea port of *Aila* (‘Aqaba) (Figure 3.6). This is an important point since the annexation of Arabia must have undoubtedly been related to Trajan’s creation of a Roman Red Sea fleet (*classis Maris Rubri*). Several later sources attest to the creation of this fleet by Trajan.⁴⁴⁴ Eutropius specifically ties the two events together: “He afterwards reduced Arabia into the form of a province. He installed a fleet in the Red Sea, so

⁴⁴¹ Ball 2000, 16

⁴⁴² Ball 2000, 63-64

⁴⁴³ Parker 1986a, 123; for Nabataean exploitation of copper in Wadi Faynan, see Friedman 2008, 33-34.

⁴⁴⁴ Eutropius, *Breviarum* 8.3; Festus, *Rerum gestarum populi romani* 20; Jordanes, *Romana* 267-268

that with it he might lay waste to the coasts of India” (*Arabiam postea in provinciae formam redegit. In mari Rubro classem instituit, ut per eam Indiae fines vastaret*).⁴⁴⁵

τὴν Ἀραβίαν...Ρωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐποιήσατο: The Roman Takeover

Perhaps the Romans had anticipated that the aging Rabbel II (who had reigned for thirty-six years) was on death’s doorstep, and they prepared to take advantage of the situation. Or maybe there was already a scheme underway to conquer the kingdom, when the Nabataean king suddenly died, providing a convenient opportunity for the planned Roman invasion. Either way, it is now clear from the documents in the so-called Babatha Archive that Rabbel II had an heir – a son named Obodas.⁴⁴⁶ Thus, we cannot argue that there was a break in the Nabataean royal line, a succession crisis, or a power vacuum at the death of Rabbel II which might have been exploited by the Romans. Although there is very sparse evidence on how the annexation was accomplished, it is clear that the Romans anticipated and likely faced some degree of military resistance, considering the noteworthy size of the military forces that were sent to occupy Nabataea. Indeed, whereas the takeover of Nabataea was accomplished under the command of Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria, as Bowersock has pointed out, the peaceful annexation of other kingdoms during the early empire normally did not involve the agency of an outside governor – another indication that the annexation was more difficult than has been assumed.⁴⁴⁷

Very little is extant in historical sources about the Roman takeover of Nabataea, which has been the focus of intense debate. Cassius Dio (via Xiphilinus), left us only one

⁴⁴⁵ Eutropius, *Breviarum* 8.3; Nappo 2015 for a discussion of the evidence for Trajan’s Red Sea fleet.

⁴⁴⁶ Bowersock 1983, 80; Yadin 1962, 239-240

⁴⁴⁷ Bowersock, 1983, 80

sentence about the conquest of Nabataea. He wrote (68.14.5), “About the same time [=106 CE], Palma, the governor of Syria, subdued the (region of) Arabia around *Petra* and made it subject to the Romans” (Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐποίησατο). Writing in the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus (14.8.13) characterized the annexation as follows: “It [=Nabataea] was given the name of a province, assigned a governor, and compelled to obey our laws by the emperor Trajan, who, by frequent victories crushed the arrogance of its inhabitants” (*Hanc provinciae imposito nomine, rectoreque adtributo, obtemperare legibus nostris Traianus compulit imperator, incolarum tumore saepe contunso*).⁴⁴⁸ In both cases, it has been noted that the language used implies a military conflict - ἐχειρώσατο implies the imposition of military force, and defeat or humiliation on the part of the Nabataeans,⁴⁴⁹ and the verb *compulit* as well as the phrase *incolarum tumore saepe contunso* seem to constitute a clear assertion of military victory.

In 106, it seems the governor of Syria, Cornelius Palma, invaded Nabataea from the north with the *legio VI Ferrata*. This is based on Dio’s statement about Palma, from which scholars have naturally assumed that the core of the Roman annexation force (under Palma’s command) would have been drawn from Syrian troops, and in particular from Syria’s legions. Epigraphic evidence has placed the *legio VI Ferrata* in the province after annexation. Documentary evidence (papyri from *Karanis*, Egypt) has also proven that the *legio III Cyrenaica* from Egypt was involved in the annexation. In addition to these legions, a double-strength unit of camel-riders (*ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria*), a part-

⁴⁴⁸ As translated by Rolfe 1985.

⁴⁴⁹ Bowersock 1983, 79

mounted infantry cohort (*cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata*), and a regular infantry cohort (*cohors VI Hispanorum*) were sent from Syria, another cavalry unit (*ala Gaetulorum veterana*) may have been sent from Judaea, and two other infantry units (*cohors I Thebaeorum* and *cohors I Hispanorum (Cyrenaica)*) were apparently transferred from Egypt to Judaea on the eve of the invasion (they show up in a diploma from Judaea in 105, then show up in Arabia after 106). This has been interpreted as evidence that the Romans made arrangements in advance of their attack by moving some units from Egypt into neighboring Judaea so that they could invade Nabataea from multiple fronts.

In total then, it seems Palma invaded Nabataea in 106 with a total of about 13,500 soldiers (10,000 legionaries and about 3,500 auxiliaries). Pulling all of this evidence together, we can say that the Roman attack on Nabataea in 106 involved a three-pronged invasion under the command of Cornelius Palma – the *legio VI Ferrata* moved in from the north (from Syria) and likely secured *Bostra*, the *legio III Cyrenaica* moved in from the southwest (from Egypt) and probably took *Hegra*, *Aila*, and *Petra*, and at least two cohorts and maybe an *ala* also came in from the west (from Judaea). It is not clear if these two legions participated in their entirety or just in vexillations. We know that (at least) a *vexillatio* of the *legio VI Ferrata* had just been involved in the Dacian campaigns, where it participated in the first Dacian War (101-102) and then formed part of the occupying force left by Trajan at the Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* between the wars (102-105). Intriguingly, in the Al-Jafr Depression on the north side of the Wadi Abu Safat, about seventy kilometres due east of *Petra* in the desert, the remains of a Roman temporary camp dubbed Khirbet Abu

Safat were recently identified in aerial photographs and later ground-truthed (Figure 3.7).⁴⁵⁰ The few sherds that were collected from the surface were tentatively dated to the early second century. It is tempting to imagine that this camp represents the movements of the Roman army during the annexation, or during the period immediately after 106 when it was consolidating Roman control and organizing the military network of the new province.

Unfortunately, that is all we can say with relative certainty about the military events in which the Romans took over the Nabataean kingdom. For years scholars assumed that the annexation must have been relatively peaceful and quiet, encountering no Nabataean military resistance or difficulties.⁴⁵¹ This assumption was partly based on the paucity of historical or epigraphic evidence that would indicate a military conflict, including the lack of Roman propaganda for the celebration of a victory. Trajan never became *Arabicus*, and the province was presented as *Arabia Adquista* (“Annexed/Acquired Arabia”) rather than *Arabia Capta* on coins after 106. But both of these observations may be more reflective of the fact that Trajan *himself* was not involved in the conquest of this territory, unlike Dacia, where Dio made a point of emphasizing that the emperor himself led the military campaigns rather than relying on commanders.⁴⁵² Indeed, Palma was granted the *ornamenta triumphalia* by Trajan (in 107) for his role in the annexation – a reward only bestowed on generals who

⁴⁵⁰ First identified by David Kennedy from an old aerial photograph (Kennedy 2004, 174; Fig. 16.10) as a probable Roman camp. It was ground-truthed by Chris Tuttle in 2008 and was visited again by Chris Tuttle, Clive Vella, and the author in July 2012. The site is undoubtedly a Roman temporary/marching camp, and contains a *titulus* in front of a break in one side. The pottery collected from the site (a few sherds) was examined and dated by Tali Erickson-Gini. It is the first confirmed Roman temporary camp in all of Jordan. David Kennedy flew over it in 2008 and produced updated aerial photographs.

⁴⁵¹ Bowersock 1983, 81

⁴⁵² Discussed in the chapter on *Dacia Capta*.

distinguished themselves and were victorious in battle.⁴⁵³ The military tribune of the *legio III Cyrenaica* was also promoted around this time, perhaps as a reward for this achievement.⁴⁵⁴

More recently, partly fueled by new archaeological evidence, some scholars have argued that the Romans faced real military resistance during the takeover, based on a destruction layer dating to the turn of the second century that was noted at numerous Nabataean sites in the central and southern portions of the kingdom, including *Petra*, *Hegra*, and at sites in the Negev and Wadi Araba.⁴⁵⁵ At the capital of *Petra*, where one might reasonably assume that there might have been resistance to Roman incursion, there is evidence of destruction in the Temple of the Winged Lions,⁴⁵⁶ and the Swiss excavations at Ez-Zantur documented the destruction of two houses, on upper and lower terraces (based on associated coins, Nabataean painted fineware, and eastern *sigillata*).⁴⁵⁷ The so-called ‘Great Temple’,⁴⁵⁸ located across from the Temple of the Winged Lions and below Ez-Zantur, appears to have been hastily fortified and a destruction level from the early second century was identified within which excavators recovered 423 ballista balls, 162 arrowheads, and two bronze cheek pieces (Figure 3.8).⁴⁵⁹ At the Nabataean religious site of Khirbet edh-Dharih, located north of *Petra* (along the line of the future *Via Nova Traiana*), the olive oil factory may have been destroyed at this time.⁴⁶⁰ East of the Dead Sea, further north on the line of

⁴⁵³ As attested in the inscription for an honorific statue of him in Rome (CIL 6.1386=ILS 1023; Dio Cassius 68.16.2 for a statue erected to Palma).

⁴⁵⁴ Syme 1965, 353

⁴⁵⁵ See Parker 2009a for discussion and survey of the evidence.

⁴⁵⁶ Parker 2009a, 1587

⁴⁵⁷ Bignasca *et al.* 1996; Parker 2009a, 1588

⁴⁵⁸ Put in quotations because there is significant controversy about whether this structure was in fact a ‘temple’ or some other kind of monumental civic building (the latter now seems most likely, but all published materials on the building and its excavations refer to it as the Great Temple, so it is hard to avoid using the name).

⁴⁵⁹ Joukowsky 2003, 396; Joukowsky 2005, 153-154; Joukowsky 2006, 356; Parker 2009b, 144

⁴⁶⁰ Villeneuve 1990; al-Muheisen and Villeneuve 2005, 490

the future Trajanic road, at the site of Dhiban there may also have been an early second century destruction or abandonment phase.⁴⁶¹ In the Negev, especially along the *Petra-Gaza* road (Figures 3.9; 3.10), numerous sites have revealed evidence of a destruction event at the turn of the second century: the towns of *Oboda* and *Mampsis* (Figure 3.4), and the smaller sites of En Rahel, En Ziq, Horvat Hazaza, and Me'ad Mahmal. The fort at Moyat 'Awad and the caravanserai at Sha'ar Ramon were apparently cleaned out and reconstructed around this same time.⁴⁶²

South of the Wadi Araba, there was apparent rebuilding and the construction of a new fort in the early second century at the Nabataean caravanserai at Dafit.⁴⁶³ At *Aila* ('Aqaba, Jordan), the ancient port on the Red Sea, widespread discontinuity in occupation was documented in several dispersed areas of the city, which were reoccupied later in the second century.⁴⁶⁴ Further south in the Hedjaz, at the southernmost extent of the Nabataean kingdom, recent excavations at the important town of *Hegra* have also revealed a destructive event dating to the turn of the second century (with a later phase of rebuilding), which the excavators theorized might have been related to the annexation.⁴⁶⁵ Furthermore, two Safaitic inscriptions (cairn graffiti from the Hauran) seem to reference a conflict with the Romans, but they are not securely dated. One of these records "the year of the Nabataean war", but this is vague and may not even refer to the Romans, while another one records "the year the

⁴⁶¹ Schmid 1997, 417; Tushingham 1972, 50

⁴⁶² Parker 2009a, 1588

⁴⁶³ Parker 2009a, 1588

⁴⁶⁴ Parker 2000b, 375-377; Parker 2002a, 411; Parker 2003, 223

⁴⁶⁵ Nehmé 2014, 227

Nabataeans revolted against the people of Rome”, which would appear to indicate military conflict but cannot be securely dated to this historical episode.⁴⁶⁶

In the end, none of this evidence conclusively proves a military conflict in 106 – in fact, some scholars think the destruction layers are evidence of a heretofore unidentified early second century earthquake in the area.⁴⁶⁷ Indeed, some of the physical evidence from these sites may suggest a catastrophic earthquake, but it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between destruction caused by human agency or seismic activity in most of these contexts. Certainly the ballista balls and arrowheads in *Petra*’s city center cannot be explained by an earthquake and rather explicitly point to a military altercation (or at least to preparations for one), and the site of *Hegra* is quite far from the other areas in central Nabataea that show disruptions (perhaps too far to have been affected by an earthquake around *Petra*?). In the end, as Tom Parker has most recently argued, it is reasonable to propose, based on the available evidence, that both factors may have contributed to the disruption across the region at the turn of the second century.⁴⁶⁸ Why assume the two explanations are mutually exclusive? The Roman invaders in all likelihood did encounter some military resistance in certain areas, especially in the kingdom’s capital at *Petra* and at

⁴⁶⁶ MacDonald 1993, 144, 331; Schmid 1997; Schmid 2001, 401; Eadie 1985, 410; Bowersock 1983, 79, 228-229; Sartre 1982, 131-132; Al-Otaibi 2011, 68-69

⁴⁶⁷ Parker 2009a, 1590; Almost no documentary evidence for an early second century earthquake exists – the earthquake catalogue for the region lists a possible earthquake in 113/114 under the heading “Earthquake Reports of Doubtful Authenticity” because of the inconclusive nature of the archaeological evidence and an absence of documentary evidence (Amiran *et al.* 1994, 289). There was a famous earthquake in *Antioch* in 115 (Dio 68.24-25) but it occurred too far north to have affected this region. Russell (1985, 39-41) has argued in favor of an earthquake around 113/114 based on the archaeological evidence as well as references to a second century earthquake mentioned in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (writing in the third to fourth century, preserved in a Latin translation by St. Jerome and in an Armenian version) which damaged *Caesarea* and *Nicopolis* in 125-128, which is apparently also recorded by Elias of Nisibis (writing in the eleventh century) but dated to 126/127. If the earthquake mentioned by Eusebius and Elias of Nisibis did occur, its epicenter is not clear and we have no way of knowing whether it could have even caused such widespread destruction at sites in southern Nabataea (and as far as *Hegra*).

⁴⁶⁸ Parker 2009a, 1591

the important militarized commercial center of *Hegra*, and maybe at some other sites. Perhaps around the same time an earthquake struck in the south/southwestern portion of Nabataea. The fact that Trajan never took the title *Arabicus*, and the fact that the province was represented as *Arabia Adquista* rather than *Arabia Capta* after 106 may be more of a reflection of the fact that Trajan himself was not actively engaged in this particular conquest (he was busy conquering Dacia at this time), rather than an indication that there was no military conflict or resistance whatsoever involved in the Roman takeover of Nabataea. That being said, we can be safe in assuming that the Roman conquest of Nabataea was significantly easier than the conquest of Dacia, and any Nabataean resistance must have been quashed relatively quickly.

The territory encompassed by the new province of Arabia basically coincided with the territory of the former Nabataean kingdom. This included the Hauran in the north (in modern southern Syria), all of Transjordan (east of the Dead Sea) down to *Aila* on the Red Sea (in modern Jordan), the Negev desert (in modern southern Israel), the Sinai peninsula (in modern eastern Egypt), and the Hedjaz all the way down to *Hegra* (modern southern Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia) (Figure 3.11). Towards the east, the province incorporated the Wadi Sirhan all the way down to *Dumata* (Al-Jawf) (Figure 3.12).⁴⁶⁹ The presence of *legio VI Ferrata* on Farasan Island in the southern Red Sea was most likely related

⁴⁶⁹ Speidel 1987a; Bowersock 1983, 154-159; Speidel 2007, 296-297. Military inscriptions from *Hegra* indicate that the *provincia Arabia* did indeed stretch that far south. This is further indicated by the presence of auxiliary troops posted in the area, despite the fact that it is located almost 900 kilometres south of *Bostra*, and at a considerable distance from the southern end of the *Via Nova Traiana* at *Aila*. Thus, despite the earlier views of some scholars that Roman Arabia was significantly smaller than the Nabataean kingdom, Bowersock was right when he originally proposed that the new province encompassed the entirety of Nabataea. Now we know that with the annexation the Romans laid claim to *Hegra* and the Hedjaz too, as well as *Dumata* and the Wadi Sirhan.

to Trajan's creation of a Red Sea fleet (*classis Maris Rubri*), which extended Roman military and economic control all the way down to the southern end of the Red Sea.

The Roman annexation also caused other restructuring of the region. Most importantly, the Decapolis cities that had been granted autonomy since Pompey were now incorporated into the Roman empire. Some of the cities stayed attached to the province of Syria, but the southern group – *Adraha* (Der'a, Jordan), *Dion* (not identified with certainty, but perhaps Tell al-Ash'ari in southern Syria),⁴⁷⁰ *Gerasa* (Jerash, Jordan), and *Philadelphia* (Amman, Jordan) now became part of Roman Arabia.⁴⁷¹ Despite its apparent bizarre shape on a modern map, the geography of the province created a coherent zone. The coherence was created by the desert which swept across the Sinai and Negev up into Syria, and by the north-south link between Syria and the Gulf of 'Aqaba.⁴⁷² The region that was encompassed by the province of Arabia linked west to east and north to south, thus constituting an important puzzle piece in the completion of Rome's domination of the eastern Mediterranean.

Arabia Adquista: Representations of the Roman Province of Arabia

The new province was called *Arabia*. Rather confusingly, there were numerous different regions called 'Arabia' in Roman sources.⁴⁷³ Within the empire there was an Arabia in the eastern delta of Egypt, another one in northern Mesopotamia, and the one dealt with here – also called *Nabataea* or *Arabia Petraea*. But outside the empire there was also an

⁴⁷⁰ The location of the Decapolis city of *Dion* (sometimes called *Dium*) has long eluded scholars. Recently, a case has been made for its identification with Tell al-Ash'ari in southern Syria (Kropp 2006).

⁴⁷¹ Kennedy 2004, 39

⁴⁷² Bowersock 1983, 10-11

⁴⁷³ Ball 2000, 32

Arabia Deserta (central Saudi Arabia) and *Arabia Felix* (southern Saudi Arabia or Yemen).⁴⁷⁴

Basically Arabia was a term used variously to refer to any area between the Euphrates and present day south Yemen. It was on *Arabia Petraea* – the name sometimes used by the Romans to refer to the Nabataean kingdom – that the new provincial name was based.

As already mentioned, scholars have used numismatic evidence as an indication that Nabataea was conquered quietly and easily, without any military conflict. This is based on the coins struck in Rome and locally in Arabia (probably at the mint in *Bostra*) throughout Trajan's reign after Nabataea became a province (from 106-117). They show *Arabia* personified, standing and holding a branch in her right hand and a bundle of stick-like objects tied together in her left hand. Behind her is an Arabian dromedary (one-humped camel). The legend variously reads *ARAB(ia) ADQ(uista)*, *ARAB ADQVIS(ta)*, *ARAB ADQVISIT(a)*, or (the incorrect) *ARAB DAQ* (sic!) (Figures 3.13).⁴⁷⁵ These coins were circulated widely within Arabia, especially along the Incense Road and among the army (who were paid in coin) – most recently one was found at the fort of Moyat 'Awad in the Negev on the *Petra-Gaza* road,⁴⁷⁶ and one was found at the southern outpost of *Hegra*.⁴⁷⁷

The tied bundle of sticks has been interpreted as either sticks of cinnamon bark,⁴⁷⁸ *calami odorati* (sweet cane or sweet flag – a kind of scented reed grown also in Arabia but

⁴⁷⁴ Sidebotham 1986, 40 (and n.78); Diodorus (1.15.6) thought Arabia Felix was near Egypt. The identification of 'Arabs' is also problematic: Diodorus (3.46.1) considered the Sabaeans as 'Arabs', but others distinguished between the two (Bowersock 1983, 1). On the location of Arabia see Strabo 16.1.28. Strabo mistakenly thought that the Nabataeans and Sabaeans lived in Arabia Felix (16.4.21).

⁴⁷⁵ For Trajanic coins of *Araba Adquista*, see *LIMC* III/1 s.v. *Arabia* (p.468-470) and *LIMC* III/2 (p.355) for accompanying imagery; RIC II, 239, 250 (no.94), 253 (nos. 142-143); Naster 1983; Blanchet 1944; Houghtalin 1993, 90-91; Belloni 1974, 1112-1113

⁴⁷⁶ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013 (Fig.9) – Found in Area B of the fort at Moyat 'Awad.

⁴⁷⁷ Rohmer 2010, 127-128 – Found near the base of wall 22052 in the area west of the western wall 22006, in Area 2, Trench C, Loci 22000, in the residential area, helping to date Phase 4 to the second century.

⁴⁷⁸ RIC II, 253 (no.142), 278 (note 465)

which mostly came from India),⁴⁷⁹ or frankincense rolled up in palm mats.⁴⁸⁰ The theory of frankincense perhaps makes the most sense because, of the three possible interpretations, this was the only one that the Romans associated exclusively with the territory of Arabia. Pliny the Elder reported that only Arabia grew frankincense, describing its harvest in length, which is how we know that it was sometimes gathered in palm mats.⁴⁸¹ The branch that *Arabia* holds in her right hand has been interpreted as an olive branch (to signify a peaceful annexation), or, more likely, as another symbol of the spice trade (perhaps a branch from a frankincense or myrrh tree).⁴⁸² Thus the representations of Arabia on these coins portrays the province holding a symbol of the lucrative spice trade in each hand, standing together with a camel, the agent of the spice trade. Interestingly, an issue of Trajanic silver drachmas found throughout Roman Arabia, struck from 114 to 117, bear just a depiction of a two-humped Bactrian camel rather than an Arabian dromedary – but this may be the result of ignorance or error on the part of coin-makers at Rome who may not have been familiar with the local camel type in Arabia (Figure 3.14).⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁹ Pliny *NH* 12.104-106; Houghtalin 1993, 87-88; *LIMC* II/1, 469; Toynbee 1934, 48

⁴⁸⁰ Houghtalin 1993, 87; Blanchet 1944, 233-234

⁴⁸¹ Pliny *NH* 12.51-65 (especially 51 and 58); Houghtalin 1993, 88. Pliny was wrong in his assertion that frankincense only grew in Arabia but that is beside the point because his views reveal broader Roman knowledge that is relevant to their perceptions of Arabia.

⁴⁸² Houghtalin 1993, 88; See Naster 1983, 160-161 for summary of how scholars have interpreted the branch. For the branch as frankincense, see Toynbee 1934, 48-49, for the branch as myrrh see Blanchet 1944, 234.

⁴⁸³ Butcher 1995-1996. The Bactrian camel (which was known from regions further east and north – in the modern territories of Afghanistan and Iran) has proven problematic for scholars, because one would have expected to see an Arabian dromedary (one-humped camel) on these coins. In the end, we cannot be sure that all of the *Araba adquista* coins exclusively show a one-humped Arabian dromedary either (as has been assumed), since the camel is usually at least partly obscured by the figure of Arabia. Furthermore, it now seems that these Bactrian camel coins may have been struck in Rome for circulation in Arabia, and it may just be the result of confusion or error on the part of coin-makers who were unfamiliar with the precise geographical distribution of different camel types (especially since it seems Bactrian camels were more familiar in Europe than dromedaries). cf. Metcalf 1975, 96 for the traditional view that these were locally minted and that the Bactrian camel was deliberate and meant to symbolize that Roman Arabia was a secure link between the near and far east.

The representation is not of a conquered, humiliated enemy or prisoner of war (as *Dacia capta* was represented after 106), but rather it seems to show a peaceful province, standing tall and proud, sharing her wealth with the empire. Also during the reign of Hadrian, the mint at *Bostra* struck coins that are presumably meant to represent the *exercitus Arabicus*, and especially the provincial legion (*legio III Cyrenaica*) – they depict an *aquila* between two *signa* (Figure 3.15).⁴⁸⁴ Under Hadrian, almost the same representation of Arabia from the *Arabia adquista* coins is used, with a few changes in the details to make it conform to the broader Hadrianic *adventus* and *restitutor* coin series. In the *ADVENTI AVG ARABIAE* coin type (struck from 134-138 at Rome), personified *Arabia* stands holding a *patera*(?) in her right hand over an altar and the same bundle of sticks (frankincense in palm leaves?) in her left arm. Facing her, on the other side of the altar stands Hadrian, holding his right hand out towards her (Figure 3.16)⁴⁸⁵. In the *RESTITVTORI ARABIAE* coin type (struck from 134-138 at Rome), a standing Hadrian is helping a kneeling *Arabia* get up. She holds the same bundle in her left arm, and a small camel is standing behind/beside her (Figure 3.17).⁴⁸⁶ Another Hadrianic coin type showing *Arabia* was produced in an Arabian mint (probably at *Bostra*), which shows the upper portion of a figure (probably *Arabia*) holding two smaller figures (probably children). This depiction seems to be related to a local *Tyche* type, but here it is clearly labeled (in Greek): *APABIA* (Figure 3.18).⁴⁸⁷

Perhaps the greatest monument of Trajan in Roman Arabia is the triumphal arch built in his honor at *Petra*, which was completed in 114. Although most of the arch is no

⁴⁸⁴ Metcalf 1975, 102 (and pl. XIII)

⁴⁸⁵ LIMC III/1, 469 (no. 4) and LIMC III/2, 355 (no.4) for the image

⁴⁸⁶ LIMC III/1, 469 (no. 5) and LIMC III/2, 355 (no.5) for the image

⁴⁸⁷ Houghtalin 1993, 88-89; Kindler 1983, 56

longer standing, the inscription that once adorned it reveals that he bestowed on *Petra* the honorific title of *metropolis Arabiae* (ἡ τῆς Ἀραβίας μητρόπολις Πέτρα) (Figure 3.19).⁴⁸⁸ A new north gate was also built at *Gerasa* in honor of Trajan in 115, with an inscription in which the emperor is called the city's "savior and founder", perhaps reflecting a rebuilding of the Decapolis city after the annexation (Figure 3.23).⁴⁸⁹ Although not explicitly commemorating a military victory, the nature of such monuments would have undoubtedly also signified, architecturally and visually, the imposition of Roman rule (and thus the power of the emperor) in the heart of Nabataea's old capital (at *Petra*), and in the old Decapolis city that became one of *provincia Arabia*'s most important administrative centers. Thus, albeit indirectly, both of these monuments commemorate and celebrate the Roman victory over the Nabataeans and the creation of *provincia Arabia*.

⁴⁸⁸ Bowersock 1983, 84-85; Bowersock 1982, 198; Tracy 1999, 51; Kanellopoulos 2002, 295-297. The inscription reads: [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσα]ρι Θεοῦ [Νέρουα υἱῶ] Νέρουα Τρ[αϊανῶ] / [Ἀρίστῳ Σεβαστῶ Γερμανικῶ Δακικῶ] ἄρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ δ[ημαρ]χικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ [ι]ῆ αὐτοκράτορι τὸ ζ' ὑπ[άτ]ω τὸ ζ' / [---] ἡ τῆς Ἀραβίας μητρόπολις Πέτρα ἐπὶ Γαίου Κλ[αυδίου] Σεουήρου πρεσβευ[τ]οῦ ἀντιστρατήγου [---]. Translation: "[Dedicated] to Emperor Caesar Trajan, son of the divine Nerva, the most noble Augustus, *Germanicus*, *Dacicus*, *Pontifex Maximus*, in his eighteenth Tribunician Power, sixth Consulship [---] in *Petra Metropolis* of Arabia, by Gaius Claudius Severus, honored Governor." The last line, including the title of the city, was reconstructed based on a similar phrase in a document from the year 124 in the Babatha Archive, which was issued "in *Petra* the *metropolis* of Arabia" (ἐν Πέτρα μητροπόλει τῆς Ἀραβίας) (Bowersock 1983, 85-96).

⁴⁸⁹ Kraeling 1938, 47-48; Welles 1938, 401 (nos. 56 and 57)

Redacta in Formam Provinciae: The Organization & Historical Overview of Roman Arabia

Arabia under Trajan

On March 22, 106, the ‘era of the Roman province of Arabia’ officially began. From this point onwards, both official and unofficial documents in the province were dated by counting years from this starting point, “in the era of the province of Arabia” (τῆς ἐπαρχείας Ἀραβίας).⁴⁹⁰ C. Claudius Severus became the first governor of the new province.⁴⁹¹ Because Arabia only had one legion, its governor was a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of praetorian rank, who was also commander of the legion.⁴⁹² This position is already documented from the first year of the new province. In a letter written home (to *Karanis*) to his parents in 107, C. Julius Apollinarius, an officer in the *legio III Cyrenaica* stationed in the new province of Arabia, calls Severus ὑπατικὸς τῆς λεγεῶνος (= *consularis legionis*).⁴⁹³ *Consularis* was the unofficial popular name for *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, whether he had already been consul or whether he was expecting to be nominated to that honor while still serving in a praetorian province (as seems to be the case here). The phrase ὑπατικὸς τῆς λεγεῶνος combines the two positions (commander of the legion and governor of the province).⁴⁹⁴

The governor ruled from *Bostra* – the new provincial capital and legionary base (Figures 3.20; 3.21). The provincial procurator was based in the former Decapolis city of

⁴⁹⁰ Cotton 1997, 204. This formula and variations thereof, are found both in Greek and Nabataean documents. cf. Fiema 1989 on the mistaken scholarly use of the ‘era of Bostra’.

⁴⁹¹ Sartre 1982, 78-80 (no.1)

⁴⁹² For the attested governors of Arabia, see Pflaum 1957; Sartre 1976; Sartre 1982, 77-120; Abbadi and Zayadine 1996; Gatier 1996a; Augusta-Boularot *et al.* 1998

⁴⁹³ P.Mich.466

⁴⁹⁴ Speidel 1977, 689; Stein 1944, 54; cf. *consularis exercitus provinciae* and evidence of *consularis* used as early as the time of Trajan - Speidel 1970, 152 (*contra* Syme 1958, 4-6).

Gerasa (Figures 3.22; 3.23).⁴⁹⁵ *Bostra* had already become prominent under the last Nabataean king, Rabbel II, who had moved his residence there and who may have even been in the process of moving the kingdom's capital from *Petra* to *Bostra*.⁴⁹⁶ But, as the legal documents in the so-called Babatha Archive have revealed, the governors of Arabia (at least initially) made frequent trips to *Petra*, where they conducted official provincial administrative business and served as judges on legal matters.⁴⁹⁷ Indeed, the importance of *Petra* to the Roman administration is also indicated by the impressive Nabataean-style tomb, bearing a Latin inscription, in which T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus, the governor of Arabia around 127 was buried (Figure 3.24).⁴⁹⁸ As already mentioned, Ammianus Marcellinus wrote in the fourth century (14.8.13) about Trajan's conquest of Arabia, "*obtemperare legibus nostris Traianus compulit imperator*" ("the emperor Trajan forced [Arabia] to submit to our laws"). In this characterization, Trajan's annexation was seen literally as a submission to the Roman legal system. Indeed, the legal documents in the Babatha Archive, which span from the last years of Rabbel II up to the reign of Hadrian, contain complex litigation that reveals the thoroughly Roman nature of the law administered in the province of Arabia, already instituted from the first years after annexation.⁴⁹⁹ One of the Greek papyri in the Babatha Archive tells us that Babatha had to register her property for the census at *Rabbathmoab/Areopolis* (Er-Rabba, Jordan) (on the *Via Nova Traiana* east of the Dead Sea), where she presented herself before the governor's representative, a *praefectus equitum* named

⁴⁹⁵ Wesch-Klein 2008, 295; Haensch 1997, 238-242, 244, 366, 371, 753; Sartre 2005b, 134

⁴⁹⁶ Sartre 1985, 73; Sartre 2005b, 134

⁴⁹⁷ Bowersock 1983, 86; Sartre 1985, 74-75; *DPA* I, p.382

⁴⁹⁸ Bowersock 1983, 86 (and Appendix III); Sartre 2005b, 134; The governor is known from Babatha's Archive, since he conducted a census in Arabia in 127 (*P. Yadin* I.16 – Dec. 2 and 4, 127 CE).

⁴⁹⁹ Bowersock 1983, 76-79; Isaac 1992b; Isaac 1994; Lewis 1989; Lewis 1994; Cotton 1993; Cotton and Eck 2005

Priscus (who signed and confirmed the receipt of the document), indicating that an *ala* must have been garrisoned in the city, and that military officers were used as administrators within the province.⁵⁰⁰ Another papyrus from a different archive found in the same cave also confirms the presence of this officer in *Rabbathmoab/Areopolis*.⁵⁰¹

The Roman forces involved in the annexation of Arabia, and the legion(s) which formed part of its initial garrison under Trajan, have been the topic of significant scholarly debate.⁵⁰² Despite important evidence for the presence of *legio III Cyrenaica* in Arabia immediately after the Roman annexation (as detailed in the next chapter), there has been controversy about when the legion was officially permanently transferred to Arabia, and whether it was in fact fully present and part of the provincial garrison before the end of Hadrian's reign (by which time it was already based at *Bostra* and definitely part of the *exercitus Arabicus*). During the first year after the Roman annexation (on March 26, 107), C. Julius Apollinarius, an officer in the *legio III Cyrenaica*, wrote a letter home to his father in *Karanis* (Egypt) informing him that he was in a cohort at *Petra* that was bound for *Bostra*.⁵⁰³ He sent another letter to his mother on February 20, 108, probably from *Bostra*.⁵⁰⁴ In the letter from 107 Apollinarius reports that the military situation is such that furloughs are not yet being granted.⁵⁰⁵ Freeman has argued that this detail, as well as the enigmatic five year

⁵⁰⁰ P.Yadin 16 (December 4, 127). Priscus the prefect of cavalry (ἑπαρχος ἱππέων) is also attested in another papyrus from the same cave (in a different archive). Kennedy 2004, 152-153.

⁵⁰¹ Kennedy 2004, 153

⁵⁰² For the debate on the early legionary garrison of Arabia, see: Bowersock 1970; 1971, 232-233; Sartre 1974; Kennedy 1980; Gracey 1981, 265-268; Zayadine and Fiema 1986; Fiema 1987; Strobel 1988; Freeman 1996; Gatier 2000; Cotton 2000; Oleson *et al.* 2002, 112; Urloiu 2011

⁵⁰³ P.Mich.466

⁵⁰⁴ P.Mich.465

⁵⁰⁵ P.Mich.466: ἐργασίαν δὲ δώσω εὐθέως ἐὰν ἄρξῃται ὁ ἡγεμὼν διδόναι κομμεᾶτον εὐθέως ἐλθῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("I shall take pains, as soon as the praefect [of the province?] begins to grant furloughs, to come to you right away")

gap between the annexation of the province and the earliest dated milestones of the *Via Nova Traiana* (in 111) suggest that Arabia was not effectively organized as a province until internal security problems were resolved (hence the reason why Apollinarius says the military situation has not yet allowed for furloughs).⁵⁰⁶ But this cannot be true, since Apollinarius mentions the governor C. Claudius Severus in his letter, indicating that the newly conquered territory had in fact already been organized into a province by 107 (and was not left under the authority of the Syrian governor as Freeman contended), and this is proven by the immediate change in the dating system referring to the ‘provincial era’ (which started in 106).⁵⁰⁷

It is not clear from Apollinarius’ letters whether the entire legion was with him in Arabia from 107-108, or just a detachment (of at least two cohorts). There are several reasons why scholars have doubted that the *legio III Cyrenaica* formed part of the initial garrison. First, Cassius Dio tells us that it was “Palma, the governor of Syria, [who] subdued the part of Arabia around Petra and made it subject to the Romans,”⁵⁰⁸ from which scholars have naturally assumed that the core of the Roman annexation force (led by Palma) would have been drawn from Syrian troops, and especially from one or more Syrian legions.⁵⁰⁹ Indeed, one Syrian legion, the *legio VI Ferrata*, is attested in Arabia during the first generation after annexation. Until the publication of the *Karanis* papyri,⁵¹⁰ it had been widely assumed that *legio VI Ferrata* had been the new province’s only legion for its first twenty

⁵⁰⁶ Freeman 1996

⁵⁰⁷ Parker 2015, 316; Gatier 2000, 343-344; Sartre 2005b, 133-134

⁵⁰⁸ Cassius Dio (via Xiphilinos) 68.14.5 (as discussed previously).

⁵⁰⁹ Kennedy 2004, 46

⁵¹⁰ Préaux 1950-1951, 123-125 was the first to bring the two *Karanis* letters into the discussion.

years or so, before being eventually replaced by *legio III Cyrenaica*.⁵¹¹ The evidence from the Egyptian papyri, however, has revealed that the Egyptian legion was there from the very beginning – but in what capacity? Soldiers of the *legio III Cyrenaica* were still operating in Egypt around 117-119, and in 119 the winter-quarters of the legion (shared with the *legio XXII Deioteriana*) were still being named.⁵¹² And since Arabia was from the beginning organized as a one-legion province, with a praetorian legate who was also commander of the legion, it is clearly not the case that both legions (in their entirety) belonged to the provincial garrison.

Various solutions have been proposed to this problem. Kennedy has suggested that *legio III Cyrenaica* was stationed in Arabia from 106-116, then was sent to crush the Jewish revolts in Egypt and Cyrenaica, before returning to *Alexandria*. While the *legio III Cyrenaica* was away, detachments of the *legio VI Ferrata* from Syria were in garrison at *Bostra*. Then by 127 the *legio III Cyrenaica* returned to Arabia (having been replaced in Egypt by the *legio II Traiana*), and the *legio VI Ferrata* was sent to Judaea.⁵¹³ All of this did not necessarily take place simultaneously, but it all could have occurred anytime between 119-127.⁵¹⁴ This solution has for the most part been adopted by Strobel and Cotton.⁵¹⁵ Thomasson tried to propose another possibility: that Apollinarius from the *Karanis* letters was in the *legio III Cyrenaica* in 107, at which point the legion was in Arabia, but shortly afterwards he was transferred to *legio VI Ferrata* and stayed in Arabia while the *legio III Cyrenaica* returned to

⁵¹¹ Ritterling 1925, 1501, 1591; Bowersock 1970, 37-47; Bowersock 1971, 233; Sartre 1974, 85-89; Sartre 1982, 78-80

⁵¹² Gracey 1981, 265

⁵¹³ Kennedy 1980

⁵¹⁴ Kennedy 2004, 46.

⁵¹⁵ Strobel 1988a; Cotton 2000, 353

Egypt. Then before 119 he was transferred back to *legio III Cyrenaica* in *Alexandria*. This seems the most far-fetched solution and therefore the least convincing.⁵¹⁶

In the end, the most likely scenario is that both the *legio III Cyrenaica* from Egypt and at least a detachment of the *legio VI Ferrata* (along with other Syrian auxiliary units) participated in the military takeover of the Nabataean kingdom in 106. At least a detachment of the *legio VI Ferrata* was at this time also posted in Dacia, certainly until the beginning of the second Dacian War (in 105). After the annexation of Nabataea, the *legio III Cyrenaica* transferred from Egypt to Arabia (in 106), while the *legio VI Ferrata* continued to belong to Syria's garrison but perhaps had at least a detachment that was active in Arabia. The *legio VI Ferrata* (or detachments thereof) were then sent eastwards during Trajan's Parthian campaigns (it is attested in Armenia in 114/115).⁵¹⁷ By the beginning of Hadrian's reign, the *legio VI Ferrata* was in Arabia, where it likely replaced the *legio III Cyrenaica* that was sent to Parthia. While it was in Arabia, a detachment may have been sent to *Alexandria* to crush the Jewish Revolt. Then, sometime between 119-127 the *legio III Cyrenaica* was back in Arabia as the official provincial legion, at which point the *legio VI Ferrata* was permanently transferred to Judaea. Evidence cited to support the presence of the *legio VI Ferrata* in Arabia includes a fragmentary inscription from *Gerasa* (Jerash, Jordan) dating to the reign of Hadrian,⁵¹⁸ an epitaph for T. Flavius Marcianus from *Bostra* (Bosra, Syria),⁵¹⁹ a

⁵¹⁶ Thomasson 1973, 64

⁵¹⁷ Urloiu 2013, 113; CIL 10.5829=ILS 2726; AE 1911.161=ILS 9471; AE 1950.66=AE 1951.27=AE 1952.94; Ritterling 1925, 1591; Farnum 2005, 20

⁵¹⁸ AE 1983.937; Bowersock 1970, 43 dated it to 123; Jones 1928, 146-147 (no.3) dated it to 121 or 131, Welles 1938, 435 (no.171) dated it to 130, Pflaum 1982, 35-36 dated it to 121, while Kennedy 1980, 297-299 and Cotton 2000, 354-356 both dated it to 118/119.

⁵¹⁹ IGLS 13.1.9179=AE 1909.132=AE 1974.659; Sartre 1974; Sartre 1982, 78-80

fragmentary inscription from the fort at *Havarra* (Humayma, Jordan),⁵²⁰ and two inscriptions from the Farasan Islands in the southern Red Sea.⁵²¹

Although we lack the military diplomas for Arabia that we have for Dacia, which would allow us to have a detailed picture of the *exercitus Arabicus* under Trajan, existing evidence allows us to conclude that the units which apparently participated in the invasion and annexation of Nabataea stayed on as the new provincial garrison.⁵²² In addition to the *legio VI Ferrata* (from Syria) and the *legio III Cyrenaica* (from Egypt) that formed the legionary core of the annexation force, a double-strength unit of camel-riders (*ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria*), a part-mounted infantry cohort (*cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata*), and a regular infantry cohort (*cohors VI Hispanorum*) were sent from Syria, another cavalry unit (*ala Gaetulorum veterana*) may have been sent from Judaea, and two other infantry units (*cohors I Thebaeorum* and *cohors I Hispanorum (Cyrenaica)*) were apparently transferred from Egypt to Judaea on the eve of the invasion (in 105). In total then, it seems Palma invaded Nabataea in 106 with a total of about 13,500 soldiers (10,000 legionaries and around 3,500 auxiliaries). All of these, except for the *legio VI Ferrata* (which was in Arabia only briefly, as it traded places with *legio III Cyrenaica*) stayed on as part of the Trajanic garrison of the new province. The large percentage of cavalry, most of which were camel-mounted, is noteworthy and reveals Roman strategy and adaptability to local circumstances. Trajan created an entire *ala milliaria* of camel-riders (*ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria*) perhaps for the sole purpose of taking over

⁵²⁰ Oleson *et al.* 2002, 110-112; Kennedy 2004, 197 (no.3); see PIR² B 161, 164

⁵²¹ AE 2005.1638=AE 2010.1761; Villeneuve *et al.* 2004; with corrections by Villeneuve 2004, 419-429; Villeneuve 2007. All of these inscriptions are discussed in detail in the section on the *legio VI Ferrata* in the chapter on the *Exercitus Arabicus*.

⁵²² These are all discussed in detail in the chapter on the *Exercitus Arabicus*.

Nabataea, since they remain in the new province after 106 and are the only such unit attested in the Roman army.

Trajan also recruited Nabataeans into the Roman auxiliary forces through the creation of at least six new *cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum*, which were sent to other provinces on the eastern frontier (Cappadocia, Syria, and Palestine, and perhaps elsewhere). Three of them were probably double-strength (*milliariae*) and most of them were part-mounted (*cohortes equitatae*).⁵²³

After the annexation, the Roman army immediately started construction work. In both the letters to his parents (from 107 and 108), Apollinarius describes how his fellow soldiers are preoccupied with “cutting building stones all day long”, and he thanks *Sarapis* for being exempt from hard labor because he is an officer.⁵²⁴ The explicit references to stone-cutting at *Petra* (in 107) and at *Bostra* (in 108) undoubtedly refer to military constructions – probably roads (in particular the *Via Nova Traiana*) and other military installations. At *Petra* this may have included the construction of a city wall on the city’s North Ridge, which was built around this time, and which may have been part of the Roman army’s effort to fortify itself in the city in order to secure the newly annexed territory.⁵²⁵ At *Gerasa*, the city wall was also built at the beginning of the second century.⁵²⁶ The legionary base at *Bostra* was built at this time (Figure 3.20), as well as the fort at *Havarra* (Humayma) south of *Petra* (Figure

⁵²³ Speidel 1977, 719-720; Graf 1994, 296-304.

⁵²⁴ P.Mich.465: ἐνχαρισ[τῷ δὲ] τῷ Ζαράπιδι καὶ [Ἀγαθῇ] Τύχῃ ὅτι πάν[των κο]πιόντων ὅλην [τὴν ἡμ]έραν κοπτόντων λίθους ἐγὼ ὡς πριγκ[ι]πᾶλις διακινῶ μηθὲν ποιῶν (“I give thanks to Sarapis and Good Fortune that while all are laboring the whole day through at cutting stones I as an officer move about doing nothing.”); P.Mich.466: γίνετα[ι δὲ καλῶς μοι. μετὰ τὸ τὸν Σάραπιν εὐτυχῶ[ς ἐνθάδε με εὐδῶσαι ἄ]λλων ἀλ[λ.]...[...][ν [ὅ]λης τῆς [ἡμέρ]ας λίθους κοπ[τ]όντων καὶ [ἄλλα π]οιούντων, ἐγὼ μέχρι σή[μερον] οὐθὲν τούτων ἔπαθον (“Things are [going well for me. After] Sarapis [brought me here] in safety,...while others...all day long were cutting building stones and doing other things, until today I endured none of these hardships...”)

⁵²⁵ Parker 2015

⁵²⁶ Kehrberg and Manley 2001

3.25). The army engaged in the construction of roads and forts not just to secure the new territory, but also to connect the province to the wider imperial transportation network by binding it to neighboring provinces. Forts and road-stations were built, and existing Nabataean forts and caravanserais were modified to accommodate the needs of the Roman army.

Under the first governor C. Claudius Severus,⁵²⁷ numerous milestones attest to the construction of a long paved Roman road completed between 111-114 which ran the length of the province - from the capital and legionary base of *Bostra* in the north down to the Red Sea port of *Aila* ('Aqaba) in the south, a distance of some 350 kilometres (Figure 3.26). It is called the *Via Nova Traiana*, a modern name derived from the inscription found on milestones which reads, "with Arabia having been reduced into the form of a province, [Trajan] built and paved a new road from the boundaries of Syria all the way up to the Red Sea" (*redacta in formam provinciae Arabia, via nova a finibus Syriae usque ad Mare Rubrum aperuit et stravit*).⁵²⁸ For at least part of its length it likely followed the ancient pre-Roman (unpaved) 'King's Highway', or some other existing caravan route(s).⁵²⁹ It started at *Bostra* near the border with Syria, and from there ran south through the steppe east of the Decapolis, linking onto the ancient 'King's Highway' at *Philadelphia*, from there ran south across the great Wadi el-Mujib (Figure 3.27), Wadi el-Hasa (Figure 3.28), and Wadi al-Walah (Figure 3.29), past *Petra* and then down over the Shera'a escarpment to cross the Hisma desert en route to *Aila* ('Aqaba) on the Red Sea (Figure 3.6).⁵³⁰ Its initial completion,

⁵²⁷ For the milestones that mention Claudius Severus by name, see PIR² C.1023.

⁵²⁸ On the *Via Nova Traiana* see Graf 1993; Graf 1995; Graf 1997; Kennedy 1995; Borstad 2008

⁵²⁹ Borstad 2008; Bowersock 1983, 91; Freeman 1996, 109

⁵³⁰ Kennedy 2004, 39-40

as indicated by Trajanic milestones, was from 111 to 114, and numerous other milestones attest to repairs, reconstructions, and additions in subsequent centuries (through to the fourth century).⁵³¹ The earliest milestones (from 111-112) are concentrated at major wadi crossings, at the deep gorges of Wadi el-Hasa (Figure 3.28), Wadi el-Mujib (Figure 3.27) and Wadi al-Walah (Figure 3.29). Remains of bridges are still extant across the streams inside the Wadi el-Mujib and Wadi el-Hasa.⁵³² It seems these wadi crossings on the western side of the plateau were the first sections of road that were built and opened.⁵³³

Thus, the *Via Nova Traiana* significantly improved (in terms of speed, efficiency, and accessibility) the transportation network within the new province. The road marked, cleared, and smoothed the way toward these wadis, which constituted steep and rugged terrain that was passable at only a few points, and lowered the gradient of the path, thereby significantly improving travel conditions.⁵³⁴ In the second phase, the road was built (in 114) southwest of *Bostra*, where the road marked the best route for travellers in a hard-to-navigate diverse landscape, reducing uncertainty and lost travel time. From this main road, other roads fanned out connecting this central super-highway to towns and cities further afield. In particular, the existing road network between the Decapolis cities was plugged into the new provincial network. Roman roads lay north of *Philadelphia* along which milestones from 112 reveal not the construction of a *via nova* (“new road”), but rather that Trajan *refecit*

⁵³¹ For all the known milestones, see Thomsen 1917 (original catalogue), with subsequent additions found by Graf (1993) in the portion from *Petra* to *Aila*. See also Borstad 2008 for discussion of the Trajanic milestones and route of the original road. Milestones attest to repairs under Marcus Aurelius, Pertinax, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Maximinus, Aurelian, Diocletian, Galerius, Constantine, and Julian.

⁵³² Parker 2006b, 531

⁵³³ Borstad 2008, 66

⁵³⁴ Borstad 2008, 66

(“rebuilt”) them, indicating a renovation of the existing older roads in this region.⁵³⁵ Roman roads also connected *Gerasa* (the seat of the provincial procurator) to *Philadelphia*, *Pella*, and *Adraha*.⁵³⁶ Undoubtedly there were roads that ran west from the *Via Nova Traiana*, crossing the Sinai and connecting to Egypt, but due to a dearth of archaeological research we have no information on the roads in this part of the province.⁵³⁷

Trajan’s ‘new road’ connected *Bostra*, *Gerasa*, *Philadelphia*, *Rabbathmoab/Areopolis*, and *Petra* directly for the first time – all important administrative centers in the new province. The important and impressive *Via Nova Traiana* was a *sine qua non* for the establishment of Roman control in Arabia. Not only did it connect the province to the rest of the empire, but it ensured a secure and efficient road for the mobilization and supply of troops, as well as the movements of administrators between important provincial centers, and the traffic of camel caravans. Thus, it also formed the core of the provincial military network, a zone from which the *exercitus Arabicus* could police the traffic within the province, while simultaneously supervising (and thus controlling) the movements of outsiders and nomads crossing into provincial territory. In fact, this is likely why the *Via Nova Traiana* traced its route on the edge of the pre-desert, which marked the eastern limit of sedentary occupation and prime agricultural land within the province, rather than running through the Wadi ‘Araba to the west.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ Borstad 2008, 67

⁵³⁶ Seigne and Agusta-Boularot 1998; Seigne *et al.* 1997; Rasson-Seigne and Seigne 1995; Mittmann 1964; Mittmann 1966

⁵³⁷ cf. Isaac 1990, 121 – No milestones have been published from the eastern desert in Egypt, although roads there were constructed in the first and second centuries.

⁵³⁸ Bennett 1997, 177-178

Arabia under Hadrian & Antoninus Pius

Under Hadrian (in 127), a census was finally held in the province of Arabia, marked by the addition of νέα to the provincial dating formula (ἡ νέα ἐπαρχία Ἀραβία: “the *new* province of Arabia”).⁵³⁹ From 129-130 Hadrian traveled through Syria and Palestine, and in the process made a point of honoring the new province of Arabia. *Petra* was granted the epithet *Hadriane* (just as *Bostra* had been named *Nea Traiana Bostra* under his predecessor).⁵⁴⁰ Hadrian probably visited *Bostra* (it was most likely on his way), and definitely visited *Gerasa* before heading to Palestine and *Jerusalem*. At *Gerasa* the event was commemorated by the construction of a large triumphal arch with a monumental inscription (Figure 3.22).⁵⁴¹ Hadrian held audience and sat in judgment at *Gerasa* and several statues of the emperor were commissioned for his visit. An inscription also indicates that his horseguards spent the winter there: the *equites singulares Augusti* “who were wintered” (*qui hibernati sunt*) in *Gerasa* dedicated an altar to *Deania* (*sic*, likely meant to be *Diana*) for the emperor’s welfare.⁵⁴² Their leader (probably the commander of the *ad hoc* escort) was M. Calventius Viator, a centurion of the *legio V Macedonica*, who had probably been accompanying Hadrian at least since his visit to Africa in 128.⁵⁴³ Interestingly, this is the same M. Calventius Viator who had previously been attested at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* under Trajan, when he was a centurion of the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* (garrisoned in Dacia at

⁵³⁹ Cotton 1997; *contra* Sartre 2005b, 135 who argues that this cannot have been the first census.

⁵⁴⁰ Coins attest to the epithets of *Bostra* and *Petra* – Spijkerman 1978, 68-77 (*Bostra*) and 220-234 (*Petra*); Bowersock 1983, 110

⁵⁴¹ Khouri 1986, 47; Browning 1982, 105

⁵⁴² Kraeling 1938, no.30=AE 1915.42=AE 2004.105

⁵⁴³ Birley 1997, 231; Speidel 1994b, 47-49.

the time) and the trainer (*exercitator*) of the Dacian governor's *equites singulares*.⁵⁴⁴ Under Hadrian, a road linking *Gerasa*, *Adraha*, and *Bostra* was completed (by 120), *Gerasa* was linked by road to *Philadelphia*, and construction was done on the *Via Nova Traiana* north of *Philadelphia*.⁵⁴⁵

Militarily, it was under Hadrian that the *legio VI Ferrata* was transferred from Arabia to Judaea, while the *legio III Cyrenaica* finally became the sole official legion of the province. He also created the *cohors I Aelia classica*, known from the two Arabian diplomas issued under his successor Antoninus Pius (in 142 and 145).⁵⁴⁶ Based on its name, it seems this infantry unit was created using soldiers from a provincial fleet, probably in response to the Jewish revolt that broke out in Judaea in 132 (known as the Bar Kokhba revolt). This war in Judaea (from 132-136) also affected the neighboring provinces, and Arabia's governor at the time, T. Haterius Nepos, was honored with the *ornamenta triumphalis* by Hadrian after the revolt was suppressed, indicating that detachments of the *exercitus Arabicus* played an important role in the conflict.⁵⁴⁷ Indeed, the governor Nepos also appears in a Safaitic inscription from Wadi al-Hashad (in northeastern Arabia), which seems to indicate a three-year-long revolt against him (calling him a 'tyrant') by Hlst, son of M'n of the tribe of Sa'd (Figure 3.30).⁵⁴⁸ Thus, it is possible that the unrest in Judaea spilled over into Arabia at this time, and the *exercitus Arabicus* was forced to deal with revolts both at home and in the neighboring province. Because soldiers from a provincial fleet were recruited to create this new unit, an urgent *ad hoc* need is implied, and it may well be that the cohort was created to

⁵⁴⁴ CIL 3.7904=ILS 2417=IDR III/2.205=AE 2004.105=Glodariu 1966, 430=Speidel 1978, 88 (no.31)

⁵⁴⁵ Parker 1986a, 128; Mittmann 1964, 113-136; Isaac and Roll 1979, 61; Thomsen 1917 (nos. 110, 211a)

⁵⁴⁶ Weiß and Speidel 2004 – discussed in the *Exercitus Arabicus* chapter in detail.

⁵⁴⁷ Holder 1998, 261; Sartre 1982, 82 (no.6)

⁵⁴⁸ Abbadi and Zayadine 1996

fill a gap in Arabia's provincial garrison after this period of war.⁵⁴⁹ It was probably raised from either the *classis Alexandrina* or the *classis Syriaca*, as indicated by the Numidian recipient of the Arabian diploma from 145, who had been recruited into a fleet in 120 probably in the western Mediterranean (where the fleet consisted of contingents from both the Syrian and Alexandrian fleets).⁵⁵⁰ Or it may be the case that the *cohors I Aelia classica* was created as a relief or reserve for the Arabian garrison while several of its troops were sent to fight in Judaea. After the Bar Kokhba revolt, Hadrian merged the province of Judaea with Syria and called the combined territories Syria Palestina.

It is noteworthy that Antoninus Pius created two more *cohortes classicae* in Arabia – the *cohors I Aurelia classica* and the *cohors II Aurelia classica* – both attested in the two Arabian diplomas issued during his reign. These are two of only four *cohortes Aureliae* known anywhere in the entire Roman empire. Since we know they were created by Hadrian's successor, the *terminus post quem* for their creation is 138, two years after the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt. Perhaps Antoninus Pius continued the precedent set by his predecessor in order to strengthen Arabia's garrison, maybe as part of a general military restructuring of the broader region after the war. Soldiers from either one or both of the *cohortes Aureliae classicae* dedicated an altar to an unknown emperor or two co-emperors at *Petra* together with the *legio III Cyrenaica* sometime during the second century.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁹ We know that during the Bar Kokhba revolt gaps in the *legio X Fretensis* in Judaea were filled using large numbers of recruits from the *classis Misenensis*, and then gaps in the *classis Misenensis* were in turn filled with new recruits from Thrace (Holder 1998, 261; Eck 1999, 79).

⁵⁵⁰ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 262

⁵⁵¹ Discussed in detail in the chapter on the *Exercitus Arabicus*.

Arabia under Marcus Aurelius

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, neither Lucius Verus' Parthian War nor the revolt of Avidius Cassius in Syria seem to have affected Roman Arabia. There is no evidence that Arabian troops were involved in these events.⁵⁵² Significant repair was conducted on the roads under Marcus Aurelius, which was probably connected with the Parthian War – at least eighteen milestones have been found in Arabia dating from 161-164.⁵⁵³ The routes that were the subject of repairs were the *Via Nova Traiana* between *Philadelphia* and *Bostra*, and the key routes that linked the legionary bases of *Paleaestina* with northern Arabia.⁵⁵⁴ This was probably done to facilitate the mobilization of Palestinian troops to Syria.

Two important inscriptions have provided some information about the activities of the Roman army in Arabia during the time of Marcus Aurelius. At *Hegra*, in the far south of the province, an inscription dedicated to Marcus Aurelius between 175-177 celebrates the reconstruction of the town's rampart (*vallum*) at the community's own expense (*suis impediis*), under the authority of the provincial governor, Iulius Firmanus. The construction was arranged by a centurion of the *legio III Cyrenaica* and his colleague (probably also a centurion), and was supervised by the "first man" of the local community (*civitas Hegrenorum*).⁵⁵⁵ At Umm el-Jimal (Jordan), in the north of the province, an inscription dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus between 177-180 celebrates the completion of

⁵⁵² Bowersock 1983, 112

⁵⁵³ Parker 1986a, 128; Thomsen 1917, 89-90; Isaac 1978, 49-50

⁵⁵⁴ Parker 1986a, 128; Thomsen 1917 (nos. 221, 222, 225, 226); Isaac and Roll 1982, 92 (they date all the milestones to 162)

⁵⁵⁵ AE 2004.1620=AE 2007.1639; al-Talhi and al-Daire 2005; Speidel 2007, 296-297. The inscription is discussed in detail in the chapter on the *Exercitus Arabicus*.

an *opus valli*, which must be a reference to the wall of the Roman town (Figure 3.31).⁵⁵⁶ This rampart was also built under the authority of the provincial governor. The gate in front of which the inscription was found may originally been the west gate of an older fort, which then became the gate of the city when the fort's walls were demolished and the fortifications were extended to encompass the whole settlement. Thus, the inscription may have originally belonged to a now-vanished second century fort, and was later reused.⁵⁵⁷ Thus it seems there were at least two military construction projects, at both ends of the province, which marked important points on the Roman frontier under Marcus Aurelius.

A group of very interesting inscriptions from the reign of Marcus Aurelius were found in Rawaffa (Saudi Arabia), a site located in the Hedjaz, about 200 kilometres southeast of *Aila* ('Aqaba) and some 200 kilometres northwest of *Hegra*. The bilingual Greek-Nabataean inscriptions from the late 160s record the construction of a temple to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus by "the *ethnos* of the Thamoudenoi" (τὸ τῶν Θαμουδηνῶν ἔθνος) in Greek, but more precisely identified in Nabataean as a "confederation (of the) Thamud" (*šrkt tmwdu*) (Figure 3.32).⁵⁵⁸ The temple of the imperial cult was built as a rallying point for the confederation and was erected in gratitude to the provincial governor, Q. Antistius Adventus, who had intervened in a dispute between tribes of the confederacy and had made peace among them. The temple was dedicated during Adventus' apparent successor, the governor L. Claudius Modestus (who is also

⁵⁵⁶ Villeneuve 2014, 28; cf. CIL 3.6027/6028=CIL 3.14149.02=PES III.A.8, 131-132 (no.232)=IJ 5.1.124

⁵⁵⁷ Kennedy and Riley 1990, 183

⁵⁵⁸ This lintel inscription was re-discovered at the site in 2014 (after being lost for half a century), and a new edition and photograph were published by Macdonald *et al.* 2015 (see next note).

mentioned).⁵⁵⁹ This important document is further proof of direct Roman control (and cultural influence) over the northern Hedjaz, and over the nomadic tribes that existed in the area. The fact that the provincial governor would intervene as arbiter in disputes between tribes in the far-flung deserts of the Hedjaz indicates the long arm of the Roman administration's power and its effectiveness in policing all corners of the province, no matter how remote. Indeed, Rawaffa must have belonged to the territory of Roman Arabia, based on the direct rule of the Roman governors over the peoples here. In fact, it may well have been a Roman strategy to encourage the creation of federations among the nomadic tribes in the first place, in order to better negotiate with them and thus maintain control over such remote territories.⁵⁶⁰ At the same time, the existence of an Arab confederation within the territory of the Roman empire is noteworthy.

Arabia from the Severans to Aurelian

After defeating his rival Pescennius Niger (the governor of Syria), Septimius Severus sought to break up the province of Syria in order to diminish the military and financial power concentrated in the hands of the sole Syrian governor. He divided Syria into Syria Coele (in the north) and Syria Phoenice (in the south), and in so doing enlarged the northern portion of Arabia by adding to it a large piece of former Syrian territory. This included the Jebel Druz and either all or part of the Leja' plateau, which were separated from

⁵⁵⁹ AE 1977.834; Bowersock 1975; Kennedy 2004, 221; Bowersock 1983, 96-98; Graf 1978, 9-10; Graf 1988; Macdonald *et al.* 2015, 44-58.

⁵⁶⁰ Sartre 2005a, 516-517; Bowersock 1983, 97. A Greek-Nabataean bilingual inscription is the dedication lintel stone which rested over the main entrance to the temple, and two other Greek inscriptions were from pilaster capitals that supported the two ends of the lintel, while another Nabataean inscription was from the vicinity of the temple.

Syria Phoenice and added to northern Arabia (Figure 3.33).⁵⁶¹ This territorial shift, which occurred before 225, and perhaps even before 214, brought all of Trachonitis, northern Batanea, and Auranitis - a coherent administrative unit that had originally been annexed in 92-93 and which was culturally united – into the administration of *provincia Arabia*.⁵⁶²

Furthermore, under the Severans in the early third century there was a significant augmentation of Arabia's military system, marked by numerous construction projects, especially within the northeastern portion of the province (notably around the Azraq Oasis). New forts were built or enlarged in the region, including Qasr el-Hallabat (Figure 3.34), Qasr el-Azraq (Figure 3.35), and Qasr el-Uweinid (Figure 3.36). New roads were built that ran south from Syria to the Azraq Oasis (indicated by extant road sections and milestones) (Figure 3.37). Indeed, the Severan period has produced the largest number of milestones in Arabia.⁵⁶³ Work was conducted along the entire length of the *Via Nova Traiana*, and the *Pella-Gerasa-Philadelphia*, *Gerasa-Bostra*, and *Jericho-Esbus* roads were also repaired.⁵⁶⁴ This roadwork may have been made, at least in part, to facilitate the mobilization of troops northward and eastward for the Mesopotamian campaigns.⁵⁶⁵ Roman control was also consolidated along the Wadi Sirhan on the eastern edge of provincial territory (Figure 3.12).⁵⁶⁶ This activity paralleled what the Romans were doing in Tripolitania during the same period, where forts were built deep in the steppe in order to establish control over desert oases.⁵⁶⁷ Since the basalt desert region in northeastern Arabia is known for an

⁵⁶¹ Bowersock 1983, 113-114

⁵⁶² Sartre 2005b, 135-136

⁵⁶³ Parker 1986a, 130

⁵⁶⁴ Parker 1986a, 130-131

⁵⁶⁵ Parker 1986a, 131

⁵⁶⁶ Kennedy 2004, 51; Kennedy 1995; Kissel 2001

⁵⁶⁷ Kennedy 1980b

abundance of archeological sites, in contrast to the chert desert further south, this increasing militarization may be related to a need to protect a densely populated area, to control the nomadic peoples who were more numerous here, and to secure the important caravan route through the Wadi Sirhan.⁵⁶⁸ Indeed, there are indications that in the late second and early third centuries north Arabian tribes started causing serious trouble along Rome's eastern frontier. In 191 Arab tribes attacked settlements in the Sinai Peninsula on the western side of Arabia, and apparently even managed to defeat the troops of Syria's governor, Pescennius Niger in a battle.⁵⁶⁹ At Dhiban, on the *Via Nova Traiana*, the town which had been abandoned after the annexation was resettled by a military colony during the reign of Septimius Severus.⁵⁷⁰

The fort at Qasr el-Hallabat (Figure 3.34) guarded the route between the Azraq Oasis and the *Via Nova Traiana*, and perhaps watched over a nearby Nabataean settlement.⁵⁷¹ The quadrupling of the fort, probably in the (early) third century, may reflect the arrival of a cavalry detachment as a replacement for, or supplement to, an infantry (or much smaller mounted) unit stationed there previously. Mounted patrols would have been necessary to reach outposts as far as Azraq. An important inscription found at Qasr el-Hallabat has also revealed the presence of multiple Roman auxiliary cohorts in this northern region of the province during the Severan period. The site is located on a small outcrop sixteen kilometres from the closest point of the *Via Nova Traiana*, twenty-seven kilometres south of Umm el-Jimal, and fifty-five kilometres northwest of the Azraq Oasis (Figure 3.37).

⁵⁶⁸ Kennedy 2004, 51

⁵⁶⁹ Graf 1978, 12; Euting 1891, no.463; SHA *Pes.Nig.* 7.8

⁵⁷⁰ Graf 1978, 13; Tushingham 1972, 57; Winnett and Reed 1964, 63

⁵⁷¹ Kennedy 1982, 51

It is possible that the site originally consisted of a small Nabataean watchtower, which was expanded by the Roman army after annexation to create a fortlet in the second century.⁵⁷² This fortlet underwent a phase of major expansion and rebuilding, possibly in the early third century (if it can be linked to the Severan building inscription), which quadrupled the size of the structure to create a single-story *castellum* that incorporated the original fortlet within its western corner.⁵⁷³ Eventually (in the later Byzantine and early Islamic periods), the fort was further modified (probably in more than one phase), with the addition of a second story, projecting corner towers, and further interior room divisions. But there has been significant debate about the phases and chronology of Qasr el-Hallabat.⁵⁷⁴

Many inscriptions were found at the site, including a Nabataean epitaph (that maybe dates to the earliest Nabataean phase),⁵⁷⁵ and a Greek epitaph dated to February 178 (perhaps from the second century fortlet phase).⁵⁷⁶ A basalt lintel block bearing a Latin building inscription was found just outside Room 10 (along the northwestern side).⁵⁷⁷ After its initial discovery by the Princeton Expedition the inscription was lost,⁵⁷⁸ but it has recently been rediscovered at the Royal Jordanian Air Force base at Marka, leading to an updated (and slightly corrected) reading.⁵⁷⁹ The inscription is dedicated to Caracalla by the soldiers of

⁵⁷² Kennedy 1982, 51 - this is indicated by the presence of a Nabataean epitaph found built into the wall of the fort (possibly from an earlier phase), and some Nabataean pottery found at the site.

⁵⁷³ Kennedy 1982, 50-53

⁵⁷⁴ For a detailed discussion about the debate surrounding the fort's phases and chronology, see Kennedy 1982, 17-53; Kennedy 2000, 29-31; Kennedy 2004, 96-102;

⁵⁷⁵ Kennedy 1982, 37 (No.1; Pl. XII; Fig. 8)

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 39 (No.2; Pl. XII, Fig. 8). The epitaph is not explicitly military in nature – it names Avaras, son of Ialados, who died in his 20s on February 24(?), 178.

⁵⁷⁷ Kennedy 1982, 39-40 (No.3); Kennedy 2000, 29-31; Kennedy 2004, 99-100 (No.1, Fig.10.6); Zahariade 2009, 202

⁵⁷⁸ PES III.A.2, 21-42 (especially 21-22)

⁵⁷⁹ Kennedy 2000, 28-31 (Fig.1). It seems the inscription was originally removed from the site around 1930 by Group Captain L.W.B. Rees and installed into the wall above the fireplace of the Officers' Mess of 14(B) Squadron, Royal Air Force, in Amman. There it was first noticed and copied by Sir Aurel Stein in 1939. After

the cohorts *VI Hispanorum*, *I Thracum*, *V Afrorum Severiana*, and a fourth one which may be *III Thracum* (?), which together built the new *castellum* through the agency of the governor Sex. Furnius Julianus.⁵⁸⁰ Based on his governorship, the inscription has been dated to 213/214.⁵⁸¹

It is in fact quite difficult to securely link any of the Qasr el-Hallabat inscriptions with specific phases, and there is a chance that the inscriptions found at the site, including this Latin building inscription, were found here reused in a secondary context, especially since the site lies on a marked road (leading from Umm el-Jimal to Qasr el-Hallabat, then continuing west past Khirbet Khaw to link up with the *Via Nova Traiana* at Zerqa) and an ancient migratory route leading northwest from the Azraq Oasis past Qasr el-Hallabat to the southern Hauran.⁵⁸² Just as we have to question if the inscriptions from Qasr el-Uweinid originated in Azraq, we have to consider the possibility that the 213/214 Latin building inscription was brought to Qasr el-Hallabat from Umm el-Jimal, or perhaps from the closer sites of Khirbet es-Samra or Khirbet Khaw, both of which contain forts built of basalt and

the R.A.F. left Jordan in 1956, their base at Marka became the Amman Airport and the base of the Royal Jordanian Air Force (R.J.A.F.). The original R.A.F. Officer's Mess building has since become part of the Prince Feisal Technical School, where David Kennedy (after years of inquiry and searching) finally relocated the Latin inscription (along with part of a Greek inscription and parts of three Roman milestones). It seems the selection of inscriptions taken to Marka was not random: both the Latin building inscription and the first milestone very prominently display the word *Britannici* (sic) which is likely why they had attracted the attention of British servicemen. Both of these texts coincidentally date to 213/214 and both contain a common (but technically erroneous) spelling of *Britannici* (see Kennedy 2000, 34).

⁵⁸⁰ Kennedy (2000, 29) has provided the most recent reading based on his autopsy after relocating the inscription, but he does note that the last line is largely obscured by the mortar that was used to install the inscription into the wall. It reads: *Pro salute domini imp(eratoris) / Aug(usti) n(ostri) M(arci) Aureli Antonini Pii / Felicis Arabici Adiab(enici) Parthici / Britannici Maximi castellum nov(um) aedificaverunt mil(ites) c(o)h(ortium) VI Hisp(anorum), I Thrac(um), / V Afr(orum) Sev(er)ianae, IIII RR, per Phurnium Iulianum leg(atum) / Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*. In earlier readings, the final unit has been tentatively read as *III T(h)r(acum)*, but Kennedy proposed that it should perhaps read *IIII R R* which may be a reference back to the soldiers of the three units preceding it (this is discussed below).

⁵⁸¹ The inscription was initially dated to 212/213, but this has been corrected based on the available evidence for Furnius Julianus' governorship. See Speidel 1984a, 410, note to p.248; cf. Pflaum 1957, 137-138.

⁵⁸² Kennedy 2004, 95

which have not yet produced a single military inscription.⁵⁸³ Indeed, the presence of so many units (a total of some 2000 men if they were all present in full force)⁵⁸⁴ would imply the construction of a much larger military structure than the fort at Qasr el-Hallabat. Certainly a fort the size of the one at Umm el-Jimal (approximately 100 by 100 metres) would seem to be a more appropriate size.⁵⁸⁵ At the same time, we cannot know how many soldiers from each of these units are actually represented in the inscription – perhaps these represent just small detachments. Whether this inscription refers to Qasr el-Hallabat or some other larger *castellum* nearby, it does reveal the presence of multiple Roman auxiliary cohorts in this northeastern region of the province during the Severan period, a concentration which coincides with major road-building, military construction, and legionary deployment in this area. At Qasr el-Uweinid, perhaps also built in the Severan period, a *praesidium Severianum* (military police station on a road) was established, manned by a vexillation of the *legio III Cyrenaica*.⁵⁸⁶ Arabia's only attested irregular tribal unit in the pre-Diocletianic period also appears in this area in the early third century – the *Gothi gentiles* stationed in the southern Hauran at *Motha* (modern Imtan) in 208, on the *Via Severiana* that ran down to the Azraq Oasis.⁵⁸⁷

Under Caracalla, a detachment of the *legio III Cyrenaica* fought against the Parthians, and together with a *vexillatio* of the *legio IV Scythica* it built an amphitheater in *Dura-Europos* in 216.⁵⁸⁸ In 244 a native of Arabia became Roman emperor. Philip the Arab (emperor from

⁵⁸³ Kennedy 2004, 101-102 (for Khirbet Khaw, see p.102, section D; for Khirbet es-Samra, see p.103-104, section F)

⁵⁸⁴ Zahariade 2009, 202

⁵⁸⁵ Gregory 1997, 274-275

⁵⁸⁶ AE 2001.1978=Kennedy 1982, 125=Lander 1984, 136=Kennedy 2004, 63-64

⁵⁸⁷ PES III.A.2, 123-124 (no.223)=AE 1911.244=Speidel 1977, 712

⁵⁸⁸ Speidel 1977, 721 n.139

244-249) was originally from the city of *Shahba* (which he later renamed *Philippopolis*), on the edge of the Leja' near the western slopes of the Jebel Druz – in the northernmost area of Roman Arabia (which had been added to the province by Septimius Severus).⁵⁸⁹ During the mid-third century, more military structures were built in the northern portion of the province. A fort was built under the governor Aurelius Theo (253-259) at Qal'at al-Zerqa (approximately ten kilometres northeast of *Philadelphia*) on the *Via Nova Traiana*, and fortifications were built at *Adraha* (forty kilometres west of *Bostra*) between 259-275 (including gates, *valla*, and towers).⁵⁹⁰ This is probably in response to repeated Sassanid incursions into Roman eastern territories in the mid 250s, which ended with the Battle of *Edessa* in 259/260 when Shapur I famously captured the Roman emperor Valerian. The rise of *Palmyra's* King Odaenathus, who helped the Romans drive back the Sassanians and thus became vice-regent in the area, followed by the ascent of Queen Zenobia, may also have been seen as potentially threatening.⁵⁹¹ A confederation of tribes known as the Tanukh emerged in northern Arabia at this time, under a ruler named Jadhima.⁵⁹² They apparently constituted a confederation of many tribes from the area of Al-Qatif (*Hira*) in the northeastern part of the Arabian peninsula (southern Mesopotamia), who were driven northwards to the Hauran (in northern Arabia) in order to escape Sassanid rule in their homeland.⁵⁹³ Jadhima was in direct conflict with the Palmyrenes, and his downfall may have been engineered by the Palmyrene

⁵⁸⁹ Bowersock 1983, 122; Aurelius Victor 28.1; On everything related to Philip the Arab, see Körner 2002.

⁵⁹⁰ Graf 1978, 13; Pflaum 1952; Gracey 1981, 260

⁵⁹¹ Bowersock 1983, 130-131

⁵⁹² Bowersock 1983, 132-133. A bilingual inscription from Umm el-Jimal (*PES* IV.A, no.41), in Nabataean and Greek, commemorates one of Jadhima's teachers, and calls Jadhima "king of the Tanukh" (*gdymt mlk tnwh* in Nabataean; Γαδιμάθου βασιλεὺς Θανουηνῶν in Greek).

⁵⁹³ Bowersock 1983, 132-133

queen Zenobia, the wife of King Odaenathus who took the throne after her husband's death in 267.

The animosity between the Palmyrenes and local Arab tribal coalitions, as well as Zenobia's desire to expand her own power, exploded when Zenobia's forces invaded the Roman empire in 270.⁵⁹⁴ The Palmyrenes swept south across Arabia, through Palestine, and into Egypt. According to later Byzantine sources, in Arabia the Roman military commander was killed and his forces suffered a disastrous defeat.⁵⁹⁵ After capturing the capital *Bostra*, the Palmyrenes destroyed the temple of *Zeus Hammon*, the patron god of the city and of the *legio III Cyrenaica* based there.⁵⁹⁶ A lintel inscription over the entrance to the temple tells us that it had been destroyed by "Palmyrene enemies" (*a Pa[l]myrenis hostibu[s] dirutum...*) and had to be rebuilt (Figure 3.51).⁵⁹⁷ At *Petra*, excavations in the temple known as the Qasr al-Bint have indicated substantial damage during this period, which has also been linked to the invasion.⁵⁹⁸ The Roman fort at *Havarra* may also have suffered damage during this historical episode.⁵⁹⁹ Interestingly, milestones of Vaballathus (the son of Zenobia and Odaenathus) appear along the *Via Nova Traiana* from 270-271 in the north.⁶⁰⁰ By 272, Zenobia was defeated and there was a total retreat to *Palmyra*. Roman sources credit Aurelian with eventually stopping the Palmyrenes, but Arabic sources credit 'Amr ibn 'Adi, Jadhima's nephew and successor (and founder of the Lakhmid dynasty) with destroying Zenobia and

⁵⁹⁴ For a discussion of Zenobia's revolt, see Graf 1989a.

⁵⁹⁵ Malalas *Chronogr.* 12.299.4-9 Speidel 1977, 723 (who cites the Greek); Graf 1989a, 144

⁵⁹⁶ Zosimus 1.50-59; Festus 24; Eutropius 9.13.2; SHA *Aurel.* 22-34

⁵⁹⁷ Speidel 1977, 723; IGLS 13.1.9107=AE 1947.165; Denzter-Feydy *et al.* 2007, 30

⁵⁹⁸ Graf 1989a, 144; Zayadine 1985

⁵⁹⁹ Oleson 2010, 59

⁶⁰⁰ Parker 1986a, 132; Thomsen 1917, 92

conquering *Palmyra*.⁶⁰¹ It was likely a coalition of Roman and Lakhmid forces (and perhaps others) that together defeated the Palmyrenes. The *legio III Cyrenaica* undoubtedly participated in this effort, and according to the *Vita Aureliani*, the legion's standard-bearers and hornblowers destroyed the sun temple at *Palmyra*, perhaps in revenge for the destruction of their own temple at *Bostra*.⁶⁰²

After the defeat of Zenobia, important military and administrative changes began to take place in the Roman east, including in Arabia. This process started under Aurelian and culminated in the widespread reforms introduced by Diocletian at the end of the third century, which completely changed the territory, garrison, and broader military and administrative organization (Figure 3.38). The province was split: the name Arabia was retained only for the northern half while the territory south of the Wadi el-Hasa became Palaestina Tertia, and each of these units was governed by a *Dux* with his own army. Major reforms in the Roman imperial army meant that the large traditional Roman legions were broken up into many smaller units, there was an introduction of new cavalry regiments, and a progressive downgrading of existing *alae* and *cohortes*.⁶⁰³ A whole new fortification system was established, including a string of new or reconstructed forts around the year 300. These dramatic changes affected not only Arabia, but the empire as a whole, and are reflective of a major watershed in Roman imperial history.

⁶⁰¹ Bowersock 1983, 134; Graf 1989a, 150; The Arabic source is Tabari, *Ta'rikh* 1.621-627.

⁶⁰² SHA *Aurel.* 31; Speidel 1977, 723

⁶⁰³ Kennedy 2004, 51-52

The Frontier & Military Network in Roman Arabia: An Overview

Tracing Arabia's defensive system during the second and third centuries is very difficult. This is mostly because there are very few known military sites that can be dated to this period with certainty. This paucity can be explained by a combination of factors. The vast majority of known Roman military sites in Arabia lie unexcavated, and thus lack a proper chronology of occupation. Rather ironically, the province has a wealth of well-preserved military structures – Qasr Bshir is arguably the best preserved Roman fort in the Middle East, and its impressive ruins still bear a dated building inscription *in situ* above the main gate.⁶⁰⁴ But all of these famous, well-preserved forts in Arabia date to the Diocletianic period, and it is quite possible that earlier second to third century phases are now buried or obscured by the late fourth century (re)building phase, and without excavation this is impossible to prove. Only two forts are known to have been built during the Trajanic period in Arabia – the legionary fortress at *Bostra*, and the fort of *Havarra* (Humayma, in southern Jordan, on the *Via Nova Traiana* between *Petra* and *Aila*) which was excavated (and identified as Trajanic) very recently (Figure 3.25).⁶⁰⁵ Indeed, many earlier forts may well have been totally dismantled in order to reuse the building stones for the construction of the late third century forts when the entire Arabian frontier was completely rebuilt in the Tetrarchic period. After all, these forts are located in the desert where building materials were not easy to acquire - wood was unavailable (and would have had to be imported from afar),⁶⁰⁶ and

⁶⁰⁴ Kennedy 2004, 148-151

⁶⁰⁵ Oleson 1990; Oleson 1992; Oleson 1995; Oleson 1997; Oleson 1999; Oleson 2001; Oleson 2004; Oleson 2008; Oleson 2009; Oleson 2010; Oleson *et al.* 1995; Oleson *et al.* 2002; Oleson *et al.* 2003; Reeves 2009

⁶⁰⁶ Indeed, the Kerak plateau had already been mostly deforested by the Roman period, so there were no nearby sources for wood (Parker 2006b, 519).

appropriate stone had to be quarried (and sometimes transported a considerable distance). Given this situation, it would make good economic and practical sense for the army to dismantle a fort (or some other military installation) that had become obsolete in order to build a bigger/better (or just different) one on the same spot or nearby. Civilian settlements in later periods also frequently plundered masonry from archaeological sites for the same reasons just mentioned. At the same time, we cannot simply assume the existence of an earlier second or third century fort underneath every Diocletianic military structure without archaeological proof.

Two examples can illustrate these problems. The first is the Diocletianic fortress of Udhruh (ancient *Adrou/Adroa*), located about fifteen kilometres due east of *Petra*, on the western edge of a small fertile area that is watered by springs, east of the *Via Nova Traiana* (Figure 3.39).⁶⁰⁷ It is one of the two largest military structures in Jordan – matched in size and style only by the Diocletianic fortress of El-Lejjun (ancient *Betthorus/Betthorum?*), which has been excavated more extensively and is convincingly dated to around 300.⁶⁰⁸ The style and size of the Udhruh fort and surface pottery all point to a Diocletianic date, something that was proven by the discovery of a new building inscription from the fort published recently (in 2008), which tells us that Udhruh was the legionary fort of the *legio VI Ferrata* during the first tetrarchy (293-305).⁶⁰⁹ Thus far Udhruh has only seen limited excavations (in the 1980s) on the southwest corner tower and on an internal building that may have been the *principia*, but this research remains mostly unpublished.⁶¹⁰ The fortress in its current

⁶⁰⁷ Kennedy 2004, 178-180; Gregory 1996, 383-389; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 131-134

⁶⁰⁸ Kennedy 2004, 154-159

⁶⁰⁹ Kennedy and Falahat 2008; Davenport 2010

⁶¹⁰ Only some preliminary reports have been published: Killick 1983; Killick 1986

phase is indeed late third century, but in the few preliminary reports that were published the excavator suggested a Trajanic foundation for the fort based on pottery found in the lower layers⁶¹¹ – something that would need more systematic excavation at the site for confirmation, but which would make good sense given Udhruh's supremely strategic location, guarding a desert oasis and important water source (including a line of springs that run southeast towards modern Ma'an), only fifteen kilometres east of *Petra* (which it likely served to protect).⁶¹² Indeed, *Adroul/Adroa* is mentioned in numerous ancient documents as an important town, and it is noteworthy that the ancient name has persisted almost unchanged into the present (*Adroul/Adroa* = Udhruh) – clearly it was an important place for a long time.⁶¹³ A new Dutch-Jordanian archaeological project has recently been started at Udhruh, and although thus far its focus has been on surveying the region around Udhruh, there are hopes for renewed excavations within the fort in the future, which may clarify its chronology.⁶¹⁴

The second example is provided by Umm el-Jimal, the largest of the ancient deserted towns of the Southern Hauran, in the northeastern portion of the province (Figure 3.31).⁶¹⁵ The extensive standing ruins of the town were first noted by Europeans in the early nineteenth century and were simply dubbed 'Roman'. A long-term excavation project at Umm el-Jimal has revealed that the site actually started as a small Nabataean/Early Roman town (the existence of this town was only discovered through excavation in the mid-1980s),

⁶¹¹ Killick 1983, 125; Killick 1986, 431-446

⁶¹² Gregory 1996, 383-389; Kennedy 2004, 178; Parker 2009b, 148

⁶¹³ Kennedy 2004, 179. Today it is a small village.

⁶¹⁴ Fawzi Abudanah started the regional survey (Abudanah 2004), and then was recently joined by Mark Driessen, together launching the new Udhruh Archaeological Project in 2011 (Driessen and Abudanah 2013; Driessen and Abudanah 2015).

⁶¹⁵ Kennedy 2004, 86-91; de Vries 1986; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 183-185; Gregory 1995-1997, 266-273; de Vries 1998

which was later succeeded by a Late Roman-Byzantine/Early Islamic town nearby (the visible standing ruins) – a settlement shift that may have occurred due to the construction of a fort and water supply just northwest of the earlier town. Although there was most likely some kind of Nabataean and earlier second century military presence at the site, the earliest attested military activity dates to the late second century, based on a Latin inscription excavated in the ruins of the town's north-west gate. The inscription, dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (from 177-180), records the completion of an *opus valli* (rampart) under the authority of the provincial governor, which must have referred to the wall of the earlier Roman town.⁶¹⁶ The gate in front of which the inscription was found may originally been the west gate of an older (earlier second century) fort, which then became the gate of the city when the fort's walls were demolished and the fortifications were extended to encompass the whole settlement. Thus, the inscription may have originally belonged to a now-vanished second century fort, and was later reused.⁶¹⁷ Indeed, the first and second centuries CE of settlement and military activity at Umm el-Jimal are almost unknown because the structures from this earlier period were completely dismantled and the construction materials were reused to build the fortifications of the still-standing late third and early fourth century city and Tetrarchic fort.⁶¹⁸

Thus, the only forts or military installations that can securely be dated to the second or third centuries which are known are those that were neither rebuilt/dismantled in the Tetrarchic period nor were quarried for stone in later periods, either because they were still useful and sufficient as they were, or because they were too far from any new building project

⁶¹⁶ Villeneuve 2014, 28; cf. CIL 3.6027/6028=CIL 3.14149.02=PES III.A.8, 131-132 (no.232)=IJ 5.1.124

⁶¹⁷ Kennedy and Riley 1990, 183

⁶¹⁸ De Vries 1986

for the materials to be dismantled for reuse. Furthermore, it is important to consider the fact that in Arabia the army was most likely also billeted within existing urban centers (especially at the beginning) – a regular characteristic of the Roman army in the eastern provinces. It is also logical and reasonable to assume that the Roman army took over existing Nabataean military structures (forts, road stations) after 106, especially along important trade routes, and may have used these for a long time with little or no modification.⁶¹⁹ Indeed, the pre-Roman Nabataean military network probably did provide the framework on which the Romans organized their frontier, since similar security and economic concerns were surely faced by both Romans and Nabataeans in Arabia, and in this region settlement and travel routes are often dictated by existing water sources.⁶²⁰ But often when a structure is identified as “Nabataean” in origin (i.e., pre-annexation), subsequent Roman reuse is rarely obvious (and sometimes not even considered), especially if the dating is based on the presence of local Nabataean ceramics, many of which continued well into the post-annexation period. For example, the caravanserais that have been excavated in the Negev along the *Petra-Gaza* road all appear to have been constructed during the first century CE, but most were still occupied after the Roman annexation (Figure 3.9 and 3.10).⁶²¹ There is still much archaeological work to be done in Roman Arabia, but if the sheer number of new discoveries from the last three decades are any indication, there is potential for significant growth in our data set and understanding of the Roman army in these two centuries with future fieldwork. Nevertheless, with these caveats aside, there is a growing body of evidence that allows us to

⁶¹⁹ Kennedy 2004, 51

⁶²⁰ Parker 1986a, 125

⁶²¹ Dolinka 2006, 201 (citing personal communication with T. Erickson-Gini)

reconstruct a broad overview of the Roman military organization and frontier in Arabia from the second to third centuries (see Figure 3.11).

The first thing to note about the Arabian frontier, is that it straddled the transitional zone between a fertile agricultural zone (to the west, within the province) and a dry desert steppe (to the east, beyond the province).⁶²² The desert to the east is marked by an abrupt change in climate and vegetation, and thus by a drop in settlement – much of it looks and feels like a lunar landscape. Running the length of this zone, from north to south, was the great *Via Nova Traiana* - perhaps the most visible and enduring trace of Rome's Arabian frontier, built in the first decade of Roman rule (it was completed between 111-114). The paved road ran from *Bostra* down to *Aila* on the Gulf of 'Aqaba. Undoubtedly the road functioned as a true *via militaris* – a road built by the army, for the army, to facilitate the supply and mobilization of troops. But, of course, as with any other road, it was not restricted to military traffic. Indeed, the *Via Nova Traiana* also facilitated the transport of civilians, administrators, and economic goods. Most of the known Roman fortifications in Transjordan are located either directly beside/along the *Via Nova Traiana*, or within twenty to thirty kilometres east of it (in the desert). Thus, the road was the rear boundary of a broad fortified zone, at least in the northern and central parts of the frontier (Figure 3.26).⁶²³

In the north, the most important (and obvious) site is the legionary base in the provincial capital of *Bostra*, located near provincial border with Syria (Figure 3.20 and 3.21). Several sites in the northeastern portion of the province have provided direct evidence of

⁶²² Parker 2006b, 517

⁶²³ Parker 1986a, 126

military presence in this period: *Motha* (Imtan),⁶²⁴ Umm-el Jimal (Figure 3.31),⁶²⁵ Umm el-Quttein,⁶²⁶ Qasr el-Hallabat (Figure 3.34),⁶²⁷ Qasr el-Azraq (Figure 3.35),⁶²⁸ and Qasr el-Uweinid (Figure 3.36),⁶²⁹ most of which seem to date to the late second and early third century, when there was significant military build-up in this area, but it is likely that the Romans installed some garrison(s) here from the beginning. From here, epigraphic evidence indicates that the Romans extended their control towards the southeast down through the Wadi Sirhan all the way to Al-Jawf (*Dumata*) (Figure 3.12).⁶³⁰ West of the *Via Nova Traiana* in the northern portion of the province, there was a garrison in the city of *Gerasa* (the seat of the provincial procurator), and there were probable road stations guarded by soldiers along the road connecting *Gerasa* to the *Via Nova Traiana* – at Al-Madwar and Rihab.⁶³¹ Another military structure was apparently built in the second century at Umm er-Rumman, between *Gerasa* and *Philadelphia*, near the western boundary with Judaea, based on an inscription.⁶³² Other military sites in this northern portion of Arabia that had an occupation during these two centuries include Deir el-Kahf (first to eighth centuries)⁶³³ (Figure 3.40), and Deir el-Qinn (first to fourth centuries based on pottery)⁶³⁴ in the basalt desert, Qasr el-Aseikhim

⁶²⁴ Kennedy 2004, 219-220; Speidel 1977, 718-719; Kissel 2001

⁶²⁵ Kennedy 2004, 86-91; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 183-185; Gregory 1995-1997, 266-273; de Vries 1986

⁶²⁶ Kennedy 2004, 81-86; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 141-143; Gregory 1995-1997, 274-275

⁶²⁷ Kennedy 2004, 96-102; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 199-202; Kennedy 1982 (Chapter 3); Parker 1986a, 30-32; Gregory 1995-1997, 289-297

⁶²⁸ Kennedy 2004, 57-62; Gregory 1995-1997, 300-307; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 179-181; Kennedy 1982, 72-96

⁶²⁹ Kennedy 2004, 62-66; Kennedy 1982, 113-118; Parker 1986a, 17-19; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 159-161; Gregory 1995-1997, 316-322

⁶³⁰ Bauzou 1996; Speidel 1987

⁶³¹ Kennedy 2004, 108; Mittmann 1970, 120-121, 187-194

⁶³² Kennedy 2004, 117-118; IGLS 21.29

⁶³³ Kennedy 2004, 72-78; Parker 1986a, 21-24, 178; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 178-179; Gregory 1995-1997, 276-281

⁶³⁴ Kennedy 2004, 78-79; Kennedy 1982, 299; Speidel 1977, 717; Macdonald 1993, 349-350

(probably Severan) in the Azraq Oasis (Figure 3.41),⁶³⁵ Tel Faysal (probably Severan)⁶³⁶ just south of *Gerasa*, Khirbet Ain (first or second to third centuries based on pottery) (Figure 3.42),⁶³⁷ Khirbet es-Samra (second or third centuries),⁶³⁸ Khirbet Khaw (a fort and caravanserai, second to third centuries based on pottery) (Figure 3.43),⁶³⁹ and Qal'at Zerqa (mid-third century based on an inscription)⁶⁴⁰ in the northern steppe southwest of Umm el-Jimal.⁶⁴¹ A Roman garrison was also present at *Philadelphia*.⁶⁴²

Further south, in the central portion of the frontier, there is not a lot of evidence that can be securely dated to the second and third centuries, largely because this area was intensively (re)fortified under Diocletian. There may have been a garrison in the city of *Madaba* (based on an inscription), and a large tower located about eleven kilometres northeast of *Madaba* and approximately seven kilometres southwest of *Philadelphia*, Umm Quseir, may also have been built in Nabataean times and reused by the Romans.⁶⁴³ In Moab (east of the Dead Sea), the two small forts of Muhattet el-Hajj guarded the *Via Nova Traiana's* crossing of the Wadi el-Mujib (Figure 3.27). One fort (the lower) stood near the bottom while the other (the upper) stood on the rim of the wadi, and although they remain unexcavated, surface sherds indicate a Nabataean foundation followed by a long Roman occupation over several centuries (including the second and third centuries). The standing forts appear to be Late Roman in design (probably due to a later reconstruction) (Figure

⁶³⁵ Kennedey 2004, 66-68; Kennedy 1982, 107-113; Parker 1986a, 16-17, 178; Gregory 1995-1997, 313-315

⁶³⁶ Kennedy 2004, 117

⁶³⁷ Kennedy 2004, 108-109; Kennedy 2001a

⁶³⁸ Kennedy 2004, 103-104; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 198-200; Gregory 1995-1997, 284-288

⁶³⁹ Kennedy 2004, 102; Kennedy 2001b

⁶⁴⁰ Kennedy 2004, 104-105

⁶⁴¹ Kennedy 2000b, 441-442; Kennedy 2001a

⁶⁴² Kennedy 2004, 118-121; IGLS 21.36-64; MacAdam 1992, 38; discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁴³ Kennedy 2004, 131

3.52).⁶⁴⁴ Indeed, Eusebius (writing at the end of the third century) described the Wadi el-Mujib as “a very treacherous place with ravines...in which garrisons of soldiers keep guard everywhere due to the terrifying nature of the place” (τόπος φαραγγώδης σφόδρα χαλεπός...ἐν ᾧ φρούρια πανταχόθεν φυλάττει στρατιωτικὰ διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν τοῦ τόπου).⁶⁴⁵ These φρούρια undoubtedly refers to forts like the ones at Muhattet el-Hajj, and they were likely built to provide security at this difficult (and dangerous) crossing which may have been frequented by bandits. On the southern bank of the Wadi el-Hasa, a number of sites (a military camp, five forts, and six towers) were identified through survey that may be Nabataean or Roman in origin, but which were certainly used during the Roman period.⁶⁴⁶ These were interpreted as a kind of “monitoring zone”, but it may well have been used for the taxation of nomadic pastoralists based on the interpretation of another tower system near *Havarra* further south (discussed below).

East of the road in the central portion of the province the only sites that appear to have had a Roman occupation in the second or third centuries are some Iron Age/Nabataean watchtowers, including Er-Rama and Qasr Saliya,⁶⁴⁷ (and probably others too – this is all based on survey data).⁶⁴⁸ About four and a half kilometres southwest of Umm el-Walid, on a route crossing the fertile plain between Dhiban and Umm er-Resas lie the two towers of Zafaran (dubbed Zafaran A and B), about one kilometer apart.⁶⁴⁹ Both Zafaran A and B seem to have been built over earlier (probably Nabataean) structures, but Zafaran A was reused during the second to fourth centuries (while Zafaran B is probably Tetrarchic) (Figure

⁶⁴⁴ Parker 1986a, 57-58, 127; Kennedy 2004, 145-146; Gregory 1995-1997, 333-335

⁶⁴⁵ Kennedy 2004, 142-143; Eusebius, *Onom.* 10.15-24; 11.13-23

⁶⁴⁶ MacDonald 1984a; MacDonald 1984b; MacDonald 1988

⁶⁴⁷ Kennedy 2004, 140; Parker 1986a, 48-50

⁶⁴⁸ Parker 1986a, 127

⁶⁴⁹ Kennedy 2004, 132-133; Parker 1986a, 44-45

3.44). The Roman army probably also (re)used the Hellenistic fort at *Esbu* (Hesban).⁶⁵⁰ At Dhiban, a town on the *Via Nova Traiana* about twenty kilometres north of *Rabbathmoab/Areopolis*, a military colony may have been established in the Severan period,⁶⁵¹ and in the mid-third century (245-246), a tower was built at the site by order of the provincial governor.⁶⁵² Neither of these inscriptions from Dhiban explicitly mentions the Roman army, however, so a military presence here is only inferred based on the building of defensive structures. But it would have made sense for there to have been a garrison in the town or at a road station on the *Via Nova* in this area.⁶⁵³

One of the Greek papyri in Babatha Archive tells us that Babatha had to register her property for the census at *Rabbathmoab/Areopolis* (Er-Rabba), where she presented herself before the governor's representative, a *praefectus equitum* named Priscus (who signed and confirmed the receipt of the document), indicating that an *ala* must have been garrisoned in the city.⁶⁵⁴ We can also assume that a military garrison would have also been present in *Characmoab*, another important administrative center of the province, but no evidence exists to prove it at this point.⁶⁵⁵ Further south, a small unexcavated fort buried in alluvial deposit (but visible in aerial and satellite imagery) at Jurf ed-Darawish (at the Wadi Jurf crossing) appears to date to the third century based on surface pottery.⁶⁵⁶ Further southeast, in the Al-

⁶⁵⁰ Mitchel 1980, 119-146

⁶⁵¹ Gatier 1986, 196-197 (=IGLS 21.179). An inscription from around 198-209 seems to suggest the building of something defensive.

⁶⁵² Gracey 1981, 260; Gatier 1986, 197-198 (=IGLS 21.179); Kennedy 2004, 136

⁶⁵³ Parker 2006b, 533; Kennedy 2004, 135-136

⁶⁵⁴ P.Yadin 16 (December 4, 127). Priscus the prefect of cavalry (*eparchos hippeon*) is also attested in another papyrus from the same cave (in a different archive). Kennedy 2004, 152-153.

⁶⁵⁵ Bowersock 1983, 88 concluded that *Petra*, *Characmoab*, *Rabbathmoab/Areopolis*, and *Bostra* were the four main centers of the Trajanic province, to which we can also add *Gerasa*. A military presence can be expected in all of these, and indeed has been confirmed by evidence in all but *Characmoab* thus far.

⁶⁵⁶ Kennedy 2004, 168; Parker 1986a, 91

Jafr Depression, on the north side of the Wadi Abu Safat are the remains of a Roman temporary camp dubbed Khirbet Abu Safat (Figure 3.7).⁶⁵⁷ The site remains unexcavated and contains very little surface material, but a few extant sherds point to the early second century, so perhaps this camp is a trace of the Roman army's movements during or right after the annexation. Evidence is now emerging of a military structure in *Petra*, and we know from inscriptions that both a legionary and auxiliary force was in garrison here.⁶⁵⁸

A string of forts running in a parallel line, approximately fifteen to twenty kilometres east of the *Via Nova Traiana* were built in the Tetrarchic period, especially in the sector stretching from Ziza (near *Philadelphia*) in the north, to Udhruh (east of *Petra*) in the south. The major forts include Qasr Bshir, El-Lejjun, Jurf al-Durawish, and Da'janiyeh – designated as the central sector (or 'outer *limes*') of what is called by scholars the '*limes Arabicus*'.⁶⁵⁹ Although all of these forts appear to be Tetrarchic in origin, it is highly probable that there were earlier Roman forts and road stations along this central stretch of the provincial highway (although these may not have coincided exactly with the location of these later forts).⁶⁶⁰ Indeed, as mentioned earlier, excavation has indicated a possible earlier Trajanic phase for the fort of Udhruh.

In the southern sector of the *Via Nova Traiana*, between *Petra* and *Aila*, the remains of several small road stations were noted along the stretch of road between the Trajanic fort at *Havarra* (Humayma) and the fort at Quweira.⁶⁶¹ A small test excavation at Quweira

⁶⁵⁷ Discussed earlier in the chapter.

⁶⁵⁸ Parker 2015 for the new military structure.

⁶⁵⁹ Graf 1997, 271; *DPA* II.1-103 ("äussere Limes von el-Ma'an bis el-Kastal"); Parker 1986b, 39

⁶⁶⁰ NB: Because these forts contain no evidence for second to third century phases (at least based on present knowledge), I have not included them on the map of sites for Arabia. Only Udhruh is included on the map.

⁶⁶¹ Graf 1993

indicated an initial Nabataean occupation, but the fort is mostly Roman (Figure 3.45).⁶⁶² The fort and caravanserai at Khirbet el-Khalde (probably ancient *Praesidium*) were both also built in the Nabataean period, but were reused by the Romans (Figure 3.46).⁶⁶³ The small fort of Qasr el-Kithara may have originally been built in the Nabataean period but the current fort, which stands at the intersection of two major wadis and a small spring, seems to date to the second century based on test excavations in 2002.⁶⁶⁴ Ramm was an important site in the Nabataean and Roman periods, located at a place with abundant springs on a major route leading south into the Hedjaz. Although no military structure has yet been identified, a dedication in Greek was found at a spring, commemorating Annianus a *duplicarius*, “the overseer of the work”, thus indicating a military presence at the site (which is to be expected).⁶⁶⁵

The most important military site for this period is undoubtedly the Roman fort of *Havarra*, located in the Hisma desert about halfway between *Petra* and *Aila*, which has been extensively excavated over the past fifteen years (Figure 3.25). Inscriptions have revealed that it was built right after the annexation and that it accommodated a *vexillatio* of the *legio III Cyrenaica*. The presence of such a large fort for a substantial legionary force (around 500 men) in such a remote area (the nearby Nabataean/Roman town’s population was only approximately 800) implies a great military need. Parker has suggested that the only plausible explanation is a perceived threat from nomadic Arab tribes in this area.⁶⁶⁶ Indeed, if there was

⁶⁶² Graf 1995, 23; Kennedy 2004, 198-199

⁶⁶³ Kennedy 2004, 199-202

⁶⁶⁴ Parker 2003, 330; Parker 2009b, 145; Kennedy 2004, 202-204

⁶⁶⁵ IGLS 21.4.139; Kennedy 2004, 204. Μνησθῆ Ἀννιανὸς δοφλικάρης ὁ ἐπισταθὶς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ εὐεῖλατο(ν) ἔχοι τὴν θεάν (“Let Annianus, *duplicarius*, the overseer of the work, be remembered, and may the goddess be merciful to him”).

⁶⁶⁶ Parker 2009b, 145

such a threat, it would have been a priority for the Roman authorities to ensure the security of the road and territory between the important commercial (and military) Red Sea port of *Aila* and the administrative (and cultural) center of *Petra*, especially since economic goods passed from *Aila* through *Petra* before continuing on to the Mediterranean port of *Gaza* or north towards *Damascus* in Syria. But we cannot assume a purely defensive function for military structures along the *Via Nova Traiana*, especially in the southern sector of the province. A survey in the region around *Havarra* has revealed a system of watchtowers along the al-Shera' escarpment (just north of *Havarra*), which were revealed through excavation to have been built in the late first or early second centuries, and continued in use into the fourth century.⁶⁶⁷ Several of the towers were built on remote hilltops because of the views of the surrounding landscape afforded by their location, but at least one is located beside the *Via Nova Traiana* on a small bluff above a spring (in a place that would have directly supervised all passing traffic along the road). All the towers have intervisibility with at least two other towers.⁶⁶⁸ It was suggested that the system of towers was designed not only to watch over the road, but also to ensure that all traffic through the area followed the *Via Nova* where it ascended the escarpment, perhaps for the purposes of taxation – especially of transhumant pastoralists during their seasonal migration.⁶⁶⁹

The Roman administration was evidently concerned with the taxation of such pastoralist nomads, as indicated also by a fragmentary inscription from *Zarai* in Numidia (Ain Oulmene, Algeria), dated to 202, which provides a revealing comparative example.⁶⁷⁰ It

⁶⁶⁷ Cook 2004

⁶⁶⁸ Cook 2004, 156

⁶⁶⁹ Cook 2004, 157, 161-167

⁶⁷⁰ CIL 8.4508=CIL 8.18643=AE 1966.547=AE 2003.1895=AE 2012.1797

records tax impositions on goods moving through a mountain pass from the Gaetulian semi-desert towards Roman markets. Many of the products listed in the inscription came from pastoralists, and Roman soldiers apparently acted as the primary tax collectors in this context.⁶⁷¹ This example also points to the porous nature of the Roman frontier, where goods and people were not blocked from crossing into or out of Roman territory – rather, they were channeled through secured check-points (akin to modern customs or border crossings) where they could be counted, supervised, and most importantly taxed. In this context soldiers were posted here not to defend Roman territory from invaders, but rather to act as border guards and tax collectors.

At *Aila* on the Gulf of ‘Aqaba, which is still a busy port city today (‘Aqaba, Jordan), most of the ancient site has been obscured by later human occupation (Figure 3.6). The Roman army (and administration) must have had a presence here, considering it was an important Roman port on the Red Sea, but unfortunately no traces of it remain. Indeed, we know from later historical documents (the *Notitia Dignitatum* and Eusebius) that the *legio X Fretensis* was stationed here from the end of the third century onwards until at least the turn of the fifth century, but excavations have not found any evidence of it yet.⁶⁷² It is therefore not unreasonable to suspect that the absence of evidence for a second and third century garrison does not, in this case, imply evidence of absence either. Indeed, as Kennedy put it, “It is hard to believe a place deemed significant enough to require the force the size of a Late Roman legion – perhaps as many as 1000 to 1500 men – had not previously been a garrison

⁶⁷¹ Cherry 1998, 55, 66; Shaw 1982, 42-43; Pollard 2000, 48 also points to the importance of pastoralism for the army and civilian populations in Syria. For more on tax collection by the Roman army see MacMullen 1963, 58, 60-62; Isaac 1990, 104, 409; Pollard 2000, 100-104.

⁶⁷² Parker 2009b, 149; Eusebius, *Onom.* 6.17-21; *Notitia Dignitatum* 34.30

place for at least an auxiliary regiment.”⁶⁷³ Beyond *Aila* (to the south and west), we have no direct evidence of Roman military activity until one reaches the furthest outposts of *Hegra* (Figure 3.3) and *Dedan* in the Hedjaz (Saudi Arabia). The absence of a heavily fortified zone in the southern/southeastern portion of the province may be due to Rome’s close relationship with (and apparent control over) the Thamudic tribal confederations, as indicated by the Rawaffa inscriptions (Figure 3.32).⁶⁷⁴ All that was needed in this remote area were a few military outposts at strategic points along the Incense Road – most notably at *Hegra* and *Dedan*, where a military presence (both legionaries and auxiliaries) is amply attested epigraphically throughout the second and third centuries. Most recently, ongoing excavations are revealing evidence of a potential Roman cavalry camp at *Hegra*, which is not surprising given the attested presence of a mounted garrison.⁶⁷⁵ We also know that a *vallum* (rampart) was built by the Roman army for the town of *Hegra* during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.⁶⁷⁶

To the west of the *Via Nova Traiana*, in the Wadi ‘Araba and in the Negev, a number of sites are known which have occupation phases in the second and third centuries, most of them along the *Petra-Gaza* road (Figures 3.9; 3.10). Originally built under the Nabataeans, along this road precious commodities (especially aromatic substances such as incense and perfumed oils) were transported from the Arabian interior via *Petra* to the Mediterranean port of *Gaza*. The trade along this road reached its apex during the second

⁶⁷³ Kennedy 2004, 207

⁶⁷⁴ Graf 1978, 20

⁶⁷⁵ Villeneuve 2014, 24, 53 (Fig.7); Nehmé 2014, 227

⁶⁷⁶ AE 2004.1620=AE 2007.1639; al-Talhi and al-Daire 2005; Speidel 2007, 296-297

century under Roman rule, but then saw a marked decline during the third century.⁶⁷⁷ The Nabataean Incense Road became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2005. There were many sites along the road including caravanserais and road stations or watch towers, garrisoned by small detachments of the Roman army. In the central Wadi ‘Araba, the first such fort and caravanserai west of *Petra* along the road to *Gaza* is Bir Madhkur, a Nabataean military post which was probably reused in the second and third centuries (and definitely in the fourth century) (Figure 3.47).⁶⁷⁸ About eight kilometres south of Bir Madkhur, there is a small road station/fort at Qasr Wadi et-Tayyiba, which may also have been a Nabataean-turned-Roman fort.⁶⁷⁹ Together, these two sites may have guarded the road leading into and out of *Petra* and across the Wadi ‘Araba, although this has been disputed based on a different interpretation of the precise course of the road through the ‘Araba.⁶⁸⁰

Northwest of *Petra* the terrain was very difficult – it descended down to the bottom of the Wadi ‘Araba south of the Dead Sea, at one of the lowest points on earth, and from there it climbed up to the Negev Highlands which stand at 800 metres above sea level. The sites in the Negev have been excavated and their chronology is much clearer than the sites in Transjordan.⁶⁸¹ Along the road west of the Wadi ‘Araba lies the site of Moyat ‘Awad, which was excavated in 1981 and contains a caravanserai and a fort on a neighboring hill.⁶⁸² An unusual concentration of camel and horse bones were excavated at the site, which may be evidence of mounted military units stationed here. Excavations at Moyat ‘Awad have also

⁶⁷⁷ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013

⁶⁷⁸ Parker 2009b, 145; Smith 2005; Kennedy 2004, 213

⁶⁷⁹ Parker 2009b, 145; Dolinka 2006; Kennedy 2004, 211-213

⁶⁸⁰ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 50

⁶⁸¹ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 29-32; Rudolph Cohen excavated seven of the sites along the Incense Road in the Negev, including Moyat ‘Awad, Qasra, Har Masa, Neqarot, Sha’ar Ramon, and Mahmal, but he died before he could publish the results. Tali Erickson-Gini is currently preparing Cohen’s material for publication.

⁶⁸² Cohen 1982, 242-243

revealed the surprising fact that the soldiers stationed in the fort were engaged in the production of perfumed oils – probably ‘knock-offs’ of the expensive oils produced at *Petra*, which they likely made in order to take advantage of such a lucrative industry being traded along the very road that they were guarding.⁶⁸³ The fort at Moyat ‘Awad was abandoned sometime after 222, as were many sites in the Negev during the mid third century. On the steep ascent towards the Negev Highlands, the road passed through Horvat Qasra, a second to third century tower and small road station.⁶⁸⁴ Next was the fort at Nahal Neqarot – initially a Nabataean road station, which was replaced by a large Roman tower in the second century.⁶⁸⁵ At Neqarot, a horned altar was found in the bottom of the cistern which appears to have the name of a Roman soldier inscribed on it, and a Latin inscription was found on the plaster surface of one of the inner walls.⁶⁸⁶

Further on, the road reached the Ramon Crater (Makhtesh Ramon) – a very large erosion cirque (forty kilometres in length), with a northern wall that rises 400-500 metres within five kilometres, through which the Nabataeans made a road by cutting a pass along its northwest face, called the Mahmal Pass.⁶⁸⁷ On the southeastern edge of Ramon Crater lies the important Nabataean-Roman caravanserai of Sha’ar Ramon, located near an important spring (Ein Saharonim) (Figure 3.48).⁶⁸⁸ The site was used throughout the second and early third centuries, and contained a military garrison. A relief of *Athena* with a bilingual dedication was made here by a soldier of the *cohors VI Hispanorum*, and a bronze sword glide

⁶⁸³ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 48-49

⁶⁸⁴ Cohen 1982, 243

⁶⁸⁵ Cohen 1982, 244

⁶⁸⁶ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 42

⁶⁸⁷ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 25

⁶⁸⁸ Cohen 1982, 244

was found in front of the caravanserai's gate in an ashy midden.⁶⁸⁹ The road crossed the Ramon Crater and climbed up through the Mahmal Pass. On the edge of the crater overlooking the pass was a small Roman fort from the second to third centuries (Figure 3.49). From there the road continued to *Oboda* (Avdat). *Oboda* was probably the most important city along the *Petra-Gaza* road, and it contained a Nabataean caravanserai that was in use throughout the second and third centuries.⁶⁹⁰ A fort was later built outside the town at the end of the third century, but there must have been a military presence at *Oboda* throughout the second and third centuries based on its importance within the Roman Negev along this commercial road.⁶⁹¹

Roman milestones and sections of Roman road (lined with stones) were found between Sha'ar Ramon and *Oboda*, between *Oboda* and *Elusa*, and between *Oboda* and *Mampsis*.⁶⁹² The road between *Oboda* and *Mampsis* was guarded by the small second to third century Roman fort at Horvat Haluqim (Figure 3.50).⁶⁹³ Further, at the important city of *Mampsis*, an epitaph for a centurion of the *legio III Cyrenaica*⁶⁹⁴ and another one for a horseman of the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata*⁶⁹⁵ were discovered in a small military cemetery that was spatially removed from the civilian cemetery.⁶⁹⁶ Thus, we can say with certainty that a substantial garrison was stationed permanently at *Mampsis* throughout the second and third centuries (Figure 3.4).

⁶⁸⁹ SEG 42.1455=AE 1993.1652=SEG 51.2030; Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 41

⁶⁹⁰ Cohen 1982, 244-245

⁶⁹¹ Erickson-Gini 2001

⁶⁹² Meshel and Tsafirir 1974; Ben David 2012, 19-21

⁶⁹³ Cohen 1976

⁶⁹⁴ Negev 1971, 124 (and n.63). This inscription has never been published (and now appears to be lost).

⁶⁹⁵ AE 1967.530=AE 1969-1970. 632; Negev 1967, 52; Negev 1971, 124.

⁶⁹⁶ Negev 1969, 8-9

In addition to protecting the traffic in the Negev, the Roman army was also involved in the extensive mining operations in the Wadi ‘Araba and the Sinai peninsula. In the Wadi ‘Araba there is clear evidence of copper mining in the Wadi Faynan (ancient *Phaeno*) during the second and third centuries.⁶⁹⁷ New technology was introduced by the Romans when they reopened and intensified mining operations in the second century that lasted through to the fifth century. The extent of the operations was impressive in scale – some 40,000 tons of slag were reported just south of Faynan which may have served as the central smelter for all the mines in the area.⁶⁹⁸ Pottery from slag heaps and from the mines dates to the second and third centuries.⁶⁹⁹ The Wadi Faynan mining district encompassed more than 250 mines over a radius of more than fifteen kilometres, some dating back to the Bronze Age.⁷⁰⁰ Eusebius refers to the terrible mines at *Phaeno* where Christians were sent and martyred.⁷⁰¹ Thus, although no explicit evidence for a military presence at the mines or in the settlement has yet been found (no inscriptions or obvious military structures), from the implications in these later texts and from analogies with other mining areas we can infer that there must have been a local garrison in Wadi Faynan during the second and third centuries.

Roman mining and copper smelting are also known from sites further south in the Wadi ‘Amram, and based on the slag and furnaces at Be’er Ora, it was suggested that the site “was the central Roman copper smelting site of the western ‘Arabah, operated by the Third Legion Cyrenaica.”⁷⁰² A late second to early third century tower and adjoining courtyard was built next to a Nabataean caravanserai at Horvat Dafit, in the western Wadi ‘Araba

⁶⁹⁷ Hauptmann and Weisgerber 1987; Hauptmann and Weisgerber 1992

⁶⁹⁸ Parker 2006b, 533

⁶⁹⁹ Hauptmann 1986

⁷⁰⁰ Kennedy 2004, 213

⁷⁰¹ Eusebius, *HE* 8.13.5; *Martyrs* 7.4; 13.1-2; *Onom.* 115.3; 169.8-11

⁷⁰² Rothenberg 1993, 1485-1486

(approximately twenty kilometres north of *Aila*), which perhaps served as a military observation post.⁷⁰³ Even further south and west, in the Sinai peninsula, there is significant evidence of turquoise and copper mining (in both the northern and southern Sinai) during the Nabataean period, which continued after the annexation, as indicated by clusters of Nabataean, Greek, and Latin graffiti near the mines which date to the second and third centuries (and later).⁷⁰⁴ In Wadi Tuweiba (on the west side of the northern Gulf of ‘Aqaba), among a group of inscriptions there is a Latin epitaph for a soldier of the *legio III Cyrenaica* (who “worked and died” there).⁷⁰⁵ Nearby in Wadi umm Sideira another Latin inscription also suggests a military presence.

The nature of the Arabian frontier – often called the *limes Arabicus* in modern scholarship – has been the subject of intense debate since the late 1980s. It revolves around this basic question: “was the primary threat to Roman rule in provincial Arabia (and thus the main mission of the Roman army garrisoned there) internal or external?”⁷⁰⁶ Tom Parker has been the most vocal proponent of an external threat, posed by nomadic Arab tribes from the desert, as the primary security concern for the Romans in Arabia – a view he maintains into the present.⁷⁰⁷ This has been disputed, most vocally by Benjamin Isaac, who has repeatedly argued that internal security needs (i.e., brigandage, law and order) were the chief concerns and function of the Roman army in Arabia.⁷⁰⁸ The argument is largely based on different interpretations of the function of Roman fortifications and military activities, especially

⁷⁰³ Cohen 1984; Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 42; Erickson-Gini 2007, 6. The Horvat Dafit materials excavated by Cohen are being prepared for publication by B. Dolinka.

⁷⁰⁴ Rothenberg 1970; Sartre 1982, 37-39; Bowersock 1983, 94-95

⁷⁰⁵ AE 1936.131=AE 1972.671; Alt 1935, 61-64 (no.2) for the original publication.

⁷⁰⁶ Parker 2006c, 525

⁷⁰⁷ Parker 1986a; Parker 2002b; Parker 2006a; Parker 2009b; cf. Graf 1978

⁷⁰⁸ Isaac 1984; Isaac 1989b; Isaac 1990; Isaac 1993; cf. Graf 1989b who changed his earlier views (Graf 1978).

along the *Via Nova Traiana*. Isaac put it simply, “The road did not serve to keep out nomads. A road is not a barrier.”⁷⁰⁹ Parker argued that the road was not meant to keep out nomads, but rather “the frontier was designed to monitor and regulate their movements in accordance with seasonal patterns of transhumance.”⁷¹⁰ Parker also pointed out that the Romans patrolled not only the road itself, but also other areas to the east and west – since the *alae* (of both horse- and camel-riders) were obviously not just kept in their forts. Much of the debate focuses on late Roman/Byzantine evidence, from the Diocletianic period onwards (after the military reorganization of the region), when there is some evidence about the emergence of nomadic Saracens as a potential threat to Roman security. Many of these arguments about the late Roman period are retroactively imposed on the second and third centuries, for which there continues to be much less evidence than for subsequent centuries in terms of Roman-nomad relations (and this was especially the case twenty years ago when the debate first emerged).

Evidence of nomads in the second and third centuries consists of the so-called Safaitic inscriptions (graffiti) found in the basalt desert of southern Syria and northeastern Transjordan (although texts have also been found in the Negev and further in Lebanon, western Iraq, and Saudi Arabia), and the Thamudic inscriptions which are mostly found in the south, in the eastern desert of southern Transjordan, Wadi Sirhan, the Hisma, the Hedjaz, and the Negev (although these have also been found in northern Transjordan).⁷¹¹ These texts tend to be found in concentrations within a restricted geographical area (i.e., of the some 18,000 identified Safaitic inscriptions, only a few hundred have been found outside

⁷⁰⁹ Isaac 1984, 185

⁷¹⁰ Parker 1986a, 129

⁷¹¹ Parker 2006b, 535-536

the basalt desert of southern Syria and northeastern Transjordan and in northwestern Saudi Arabia).⁷¹² They provide little historical information, but they portray these people as pastoral nomads who raised sheep, goats, camels and horses. The extent to which they posed a threat to Roman territory in this area during the second and third centuries is unclear.⁷¹³ But Parker has consistently argued that the substantial military garrison of Roman Arabia during these two centuries strongly suggests some perceived external threat. Since Parthia was too far away, he argues the only conceivable threat to provincial security was the nomadic tribes of the eastern desert.⁷¹⁴ But the type of diplomacy exemplified by the late second century Rawaffa inscription, which was backed by the potential force of the provincial army, might indicate a strategy that the Romans employed during this period to maintain peace along this frontier, and it certainly seems to have been successful.

The Arabian ‘frontier’ was therefore no more than a fortified road – the *Via Nova Traiana*. It was studded with fortified posts, running from *Bostra* to *Aila* on the Gulf of ‘Aqaba, following the path of the old ‘King’s Road’ which had been built by the Nabataeans to control the trade routes coming in from the south. This ‘super highway’ was the backbone of the provincial military network. It was the province’s main *via militaris*, and it was supplemented by smaller roads and caravan routes fanning out in different directions from the central spine. Long-distance outposts in the Hedjaz (*Hegra*) and the Wadi Sirhan supported Roman mounted patrols which could oversee the movements of nomads across the desert, and which escorted caravans. Caravanserais, road stations, forts, and watch-towers dotted the provincial landscape, following the paths of the most important routes, especially

⁷¹² MacDonald 1993, 304

⁷¹³ Parker 2006b, 535

⁷¹⁴ Parker 2006b, 135

the *Via Nova Traiana* and the *Petra-Gaza* road. Military outposts were also stationed near mines, undoubtedly to supervise the labor force and to protect Rome's economic resources. In this sense, the frontier of Arabia has been called a true '*limes*' – a road for movement rather than a defensive blocking system.⁷¹⁵ It was primarily a line of communication and supply, which formed a base from which the Romans could extend their sphere of control and could exercise defensive military action when necessary, but which lacked clear demarcated boundaries.

The frontier of Arabia was not exclusively a defensive zone, although it could and did serve a defensive purpose when necessary. Indeed, it is worth noting that Parthian attacks on Rome's eastern provinces over the course of three centuries were only half the number of the attacks initiated by Rome against Parthia.⁷¹⁶ The primary threat from beyond the province could only have been nomadic Arab tribes (until the incursion of Zenobia in the late third century), but it is a fallacy to assume that all the nomads in the Arabian deserts had the social structures, organization, aggressive ideology, and sheer numbers that would have made them the kind of grave threat to Roman rule that some scholars have suggested.⁷¹⁷ Some raids must surely have happened throughout these centuries – from both nomads and sedentary peoples, from both within and beyond the immediate Roman sphere of control – but the large looming 'nomadic threat' cannot be the main underlying principal behind Roman military organization in Arabia during these two centuries. Considering the fact that all life in the

⁷¹⁵ Whittaker 2000, 311; cf. Isaac 1988 for the definition of *limes* in the second and third centuries, who argues for a different definition, saying the term was barely used during this period, and when used it meant only the border of the province, not a 'defended border' or 'defended frontier line'. In this sense both Whittaker and Isaac agree that the *Via Nova Traiana* was not a 'defended frontier', but Isaac would probably still not call it a *limes*.

⁷¹⁶ Whittaker 2000, 311

⁷¹⁷ As pointed out by Isaac 1993, 412.

desert (sedentary and nomadic) is necessarily determined by the location of available water sources, it seems clear that the Roman army (either on patrol or at a station), trade caravans, nomadic pastoralists, and sedentary agriculturalists would all have converged at water-places in the desert. Indeed, it seems impossible to imagine the Roman ability to ensure the continued safety of caravans along the Incense Road crossing the Hedjaz and Hisma deserts without some degree of cooperation from local peoples, including nomads.

For the most part, it seems the Roman army in Arabia was focused on protecting and advancing Rome's economic interests, which included supervision and taxation along important trade routes, supervision of important copper mines, and general policing and administrative duties across the province, but especially within the northern sector (in the Hauran) where the population density was highest. The legion was distributed throughout the province and was probably never *in toto* at its base in *Bostra*. Various auxiliary troops assisted with these duties, including a significant concentration of mounted troops specialized for this unique environment: the double-strength *ala* of camel-riders that are found from *Hegra* all the way to *Bostra*. Thus, it would seem the army was primarily 'inward-looking' in terms of its primary duties within the province during the second and third centuries, which is not to say that it could not (and did not) defend the province from outside forces if necessary. On the whole, the Arabian frontier was a porous, heavily guarded borderland zone of Roman control, rather than a strictly delineated provincial boundary.

CHAPTER 4

THE *EXERCITUS DACICUS*

THE LEGIONS

LEGIO IIII FLAVIA FELIX

(Figure 4.1)

The *legio IIII Flavia Felix* was created by Vespasian in 70 after his victory in the civil war as part of his widespread military re-organization.⁷¹⁸ Shortly after its creation the legion was sent to *Burnum* in Dalmatia to replace *legio XI Claudia*, which had been transferred to the Rhine.⁷¹⁹ The *legio IIII Flavia Felix* is documented throughout Dalmatia by a large number of brick and tile stamps at various sites.⁷²⁰ It seems the legion was granted its epithet *Felix* from the time of its creation, since all of the epigraphic attestations of the legion's name include the epithet. With the reorganization of Moesia under Domitian in light of the conflict with the Dacians, the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* was transferred to Moesia Superior in 86, perhaps in order to replace the *legio V Alaudae* which was reportedly destroyed by the Dacians at the Battle of Tapae in that same year.⁷²¹ From 86-89 (during the time of Domitian's Dacian wars) the legion was probably based at *Viminacium*, with vexillations sent to defend the Danubian frontier. From 89 until the time of Trajan, its location is unknown, leading to a variety of different hypotheses and speculations. These include suggestions that it was based at *Ratiaria*, *Margum*, *Durostorum*, *Cuppae*, or *Aquincum* (the latter being the

⁷¹⁸ Ritterling 1925, 1540-1549

⁷¹⁹ Benea 1983, 141

⁷²⁰ Benea 1983, 144-146

⁷²¹ Benea 1983, 143

most popular of these theories).⁷²² From 93-100 the legion was part of Moesia Superior's army, and a few ceramic fragments with the legion's name scratched into them were found in a layer dating to the end of the first century at the fort of Boljetin (in Serbia).⁷²³ At the end of the first century the legion may have been based at *Singidunum* or *Viminacium* (both of which have produced stamps from this period). After Trajan became emperor, the *legio III Flavia Felix* certainly participated in the military preparations undertaken along the Danubian frontier in anticipation of the first Dacian War, including the re-building of the strategic *Viminacium-Ratiaria* road running along the south side of the Danube.⁷²⁴ With the start of the first Dacian War the *legio III Flavia Felix* moved into Dacia as part of the Roman offensive, and stayed there until the time of Hadrian.⁷²⁵

Sarmizegetusa Regia & Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa

The legion's name (*LEG III FF*) was inscribed on three stone blocks in the outer wall of the rebuilt Dacian fortress at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Grădiște Muncelului, Romania),⁷²⁶ revealing that a detachment of the *legio III Flavia* was left to guard the Iron Age Dacian capital during the period between the two wars (102-105), alongside other legionary vexillations (from the *legio II Adiutrix pia fidelis*,⁷²⁷ and the *legio VI Ferrata*,⁷²⁸). The

⁷²² See Benea 1983, 144-145 for a discussion of the different theories and their proponents.

⁷²³ Benea 1983, 146-147

⁷²⁴ Benea 1983, 150

⁷²⁵ Strobel 1984, 88-90

⁷²⁶ IDR III/3.269 a-c=AE 2001.1716; Glodariu 1966, 430; Protase 1967, 53-56

⁷²⁷ IDR III/3.268=AE 1983.824

⁷²⁸ IDR III/3.270=AE 1983.825; Two blocks bearing Capricorns with the letters *P* and *N* were originally interpreted as proof that this indicated also a detachment of the *legio I Adiutrix* (Glodariu 1965, 130; Glodariu 1989-1993, 23-24; Piso 2000, 212); IDR III/3.271. This has since been disproven by Opreanu who showed that there was no connection between this imagery and the symbol of that legion (Opreanu 2000, 159-164; Opreanu 2006, 55-56). See also Urloiu 2013, 109-110.

legionary forces apparently rebuilt and modified the outer wall of the Dacian fortress (which had been largely destroyed during the first Dacian War) effectively transforming it into a small Roman *castrum* (about three hectares), inscribing the names of the legions on the stone blocks (Figure 2.8).⁷²⁹ This occupation force might well have been what Cassius Dio was referencing when he mentioned that Trajan left a Roman military presence at *Sarmizegetusa* in 102.⁷³⁰ There is some debate, however, about whether the legion was in fact stationed near the Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, or whether it was left on the site of what would later be the Roman *colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, where excavations in the Roman forum did recover several tile stamps of the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, leading some researchers (especially Ion Piso) to propose that the so-called *forum vetus* of the *colonia* was originally the *principia* of the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*'s fortress during the interwar period.⁷³¹ Stamps of the legion were also found in the ruins of the mithraeum and the amphitheater (Figure 4.2).⁷³² I do not see that these two interpretations are mutually exclusive – in fact the legion could very well have been present at both *Sarmizegetusae* simultaneously. Certainly given the small size of the fort at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (and its remote location), it could have held only a legionary *vexillatio* (not an entire legion), so it is possible that the remainder of the legion was based at the future site of the *colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* at this time.

⁷²⁹ Opreanu 1999-2000; Piso 2000, 211-212

⁷³⁰ Cassius Dio 68.9.7

⁷³¹ For the excavations in the *forum vetus* see Piso *et al.* 2006, 315-320, no. 1-5. For the tile stamps of *Legio IIII Flavia* from *Sarmizegetusa* see Piso 1996, 154-157 and IDR III/2.540. On the debate see Piso 2000, 208-210; Petolescu 2010, 195.

⁷³² IDR III/2.540

Berzobis (Berzovia, Romania)

It is now clear that the legion remained in the new province after 106, and stayed there until the administrative reorganization of Dacia at the beginning of Hadrian's reign (118-119).⁷³³ Shortly after 106 the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* moved its detachments from *Sarmizegetusa Regia* and from its fort on the site of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* to *Berzobis* (modern Berzovia, Romania),⁷³⁴ where it built itself a new base around 108.⁷³⁵ Located on the left bank of the Bîrzava River, the fort encompassed around nineteen hectares and was built of wood with an earthen *vallum* containing a single defensive ditch (*fossa*). Large numbers of tile stamps were found bearing the legion's name.⁷³⁶ The *principia* was originally built of wood (in two phases) but then rebuilt in stone, and traces of other stone-built structures were found within the fort.⁷³⁷

The site is mentioned in the only extant fragment of Trajan's now-lost treatise on the Dacian Wars (*De Bello Dacico*), preserved by the Byzantine grammarian Priscianus (in the sixth century). Trajan is quoted when he refers to the Roman army's advance into Dacian territory (through the area of modern Banat) during the first Dacian War, stating “...*inde Berzobim, deinde Aizi processimus*” (“...from here we advanced to *Berzobis*, then to *Aizis*”).⁷³⁸

⁷³³ *Contra* the earlier opinion of Ritterling 1925, 1544; Macrea 1969, 155

⁷³⁴ The ancient name is also given in the specialty literature variably as *Bersobis* or *Berzovia* (cf. Protase 2010 and Zahariade 2011 who call it *Berzovia*, and Flutur 1999-2000; 2001a; 2001b; 2002-2003 (etc.) who calls it *Bersobis*, although they both worked at the site, and although Flutur was the PhD student of Protase). For consistency I have chosen to use the name *Berzobis* (cf. Flutur 2006; 2008), especially because it matches the name as it was preserved in the fragment from Trajan's *De Bello Dacico*.

⁷³⁵ Protase 2010, 42. It is possible that there was an earlier temporary fort here from the Dacian Wars that had been inhabited by auxiliaries before the arrival of the legion and the creation of a legionary fortress in 108. But this is still hypothetical given its strategic location since no actual evidence for this occupation has been identified.

⁷³⁶ Flutur 2001b; 2002-2003

⁷³⁷ Flutur 2011

⁷³⁸ Priscianus, *Institutio de arte grammatica* VI.13, who cites it in the context of examining the double construction of *inde-deinde*. The site of *Aizis* (modern Fârliug, Romania) has been identified a few kilometres

Berzobis, apparently constituting a Dacian toponym, seems to have been one of the first sites incorporated into the nascent road system built by the Romans as they advanced into Dacia during first Dacian War. After the conquest of Dacia and the completion of the provincial road system, *Berzobis* lay on the road from *Lederata* (just south of the Danube in Moesia Superior) to *Tibiscum* (modern Jupa, Romania, located some forty kilometres east of *Berzobis*). Although the site was known since the nineteenth century, the first systematic archaeological investigations at *Berzobis* were conducted in the 1960s, most of which remained unpublished until 2010.⁷³⁹ Further excavations were conducted in the 1970s,⁷⁴⁰ and from 1998 onwards new excavations have been undertaken.⁷⁴¹ Overall, it should be noted that the various excavators have disagreed vehemently with one another about several important aspects of the site based on their individual findings across time, chief among them being the question of whether there is material evidence to indicate that the fort continued in use (garrisoned by a hypothesized auxiliary unit) after the departure of *legio IIII Flavia* from Dacia in 118-119, or whether it was permanently abandoned by the Roman army when the legion left.⁷⁴² Based on the lack of any definitive evidence for any military occupation after 118/119 (and the fact that the fort was never reconstructed in stone like most of the other forts of Dacia), I am most convinced by the view that the site ceased to function as a fort with the departure of the legion at the beginning of Hadrian's reign. Furthermore, a burnt layer was discerned in the *principia* and in other parts of the fort which

directly east of *Berzobis*, roughly halfway between the legionary base of *Berzobis* and the auxiliary fort of *Tibiscum*.

⁷³⁹ On the history of research at *Berzobis*, see Gudea 1997a, 30; Medeleț and Flutur 2002; Protase 2010, 33-34.

⁷⁴⁰ Moga 1971; Medeleț and Petrovsky 1974

⁷⁴¹ Flutur 1999-2000; 2001a; 2006; 2008; 2011

⁷⁴² See Protase 2010, 33-35; Zahariade 2011, who posits abandonment of the fort around 120.

points to a destruction event in its final phase.⁷⁴³ This destruction layer may have been the result of the well-known attack by the Sarmatian Iazyges in the southwestern portion of Dacia in 117/118.⁷⁴⁴ After successfully repelling the attack, the legion left *Berzobis*. The site was seemingly taken over by a civilian settlement after its departure.⁷⁴⁵

Throughout Dacia

During its relatively brief stay at *Berzobis* (108-118/119), the legion controlled and patrolled the western and southwestern parts of the province (mostly the area of modern Banat), leaving the remainder of the province to the supervision of *Legio XIII Gemina*. Stamped roof and brick tiles bearing the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*'s name have been found throughout modern Banat and southeastern Transylvania.⁷⁴⁶ In addition to *Berzobis* (and excluding the stamps and inscriptions found at the two *Sarmizegetusae* discussed above), tile and brick stamps of the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* were also found at Aradul Nou, Banatska Palanka, Băile Herculane, Bocșa Română, Denta, *Praetorium* (Mehadia), *Tibiscum*, Kovin, Pancevo, Patăș, Pojejena, Surducu Mare, *Drobeta*, *Arcidava*, Eftimie Murgu, and Vrșac.⁷⁴⁷ Of these sites, several have been identified as auxiliary forts: Aradul Nou, Banatska Palanka, *Praetorium* (Mehadia), *Tibiscum* (Figure 2.33), Pojejena, Surducu Mare, *Arcidava*, *Drobeta*, and Vrșac.⁷⁴⁸ Outside of this core zone, stamps were also found in the northeast at Reea, and

⁷⁴³ Protase 2010, 42

⁷⁴⁴ Benea 1983, 158

⁷⁴⁵ Matei 2012, 115-116

⁷⁴⁶ Glodariu 1966, 429-435; Protase 1967, 47-72

⁷⁴⁷ Glodariu 1966, 431-432; Protase 1967, 48, 51-53, 57-61; Benea 1983, 153-156; Opreanu 2006, 53; for Vrșac see Gudea 1997a, 28 no.10; for Mehadia (*Praetorium*) see Macrea *et al.* 1993, 52-53

⁷⁴⁸ Opreanu 2006, 53; Gudea 1997a nos. 2 (Aradul Nou), 6 (Banatska Palanka), 15 (Mehadia); 17 (*Tibiscum*), 11 (Surducu Mare), 9 (*Arcidava*), 10 (Vrșac). For the fort at Pojejena, see Gudea and Uzum 1973; Gudea 1975a; Gudea and Bozu 1979.

in the southeast at Sucidava on the Danube. At many of these sites, the presence of legionary tile and brick stamps probably indicate that legionary *vexillationes* helped in the construction of these auxiliary forts. Although the presence of just one or two stamped tile/brick fragments at a site in certain cases does not necessarily indicate the presence of a legionary detachment, it would still point to a legionary supply of building materials, which were probably produced at the legionary base (*Berzobis*) and then shipped to sites within the legion's sphere of control. Based on the distribution of stamps, it seems the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* was intensively involved in the construction of military fortifications in southwestern Dacia, especially along the *Lederata – Berzobis – Tibiscum* road, which served as one of the main transportation and communication arteries connecting the interior (and north) of the province with the rest of the Roman empire south of the Danube.

Several of the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*'s members also left stone inscriptions. At *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, M. Calventius Viator fulfilled a vow by dedicating an altar to the *Eponae* and *Campestres* (Gallic deities particularly associated with the Roman cavalry and worshipped by the emperor's horse guard in Rome), in which he is identified as a centurion of the legion and also as the *exerc(itor) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) C(ai) Avidi Nigrini, leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* ("the trainer of the imperial horse guard of the propraetorian legate C. Avidius Nigrinus").⁷⁴⁹ Based on the governorship of Nigrinus the inscription can be dated to 110/112-?115.⁷⁵⁰ Viator may well have initially served with the *equites singulares Augusti* in Rome, perhaps as a decurion (which is the rank from which one would have risen to

⁷⁴⁹ CIL 3.7904=ILS 2417=IDR III/2.205=AE 2004.105=Glodariu 1966, 430=Speidel 1978, 88 (no.31). *Eponab(us) et / Campestrib(us) / sacr(um) / M(arcus) Calventius / Viator (centurio) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis) / exerc(itor) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) / C(ai) Avidi Nigrini / leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

⁷⁵⁰ Piso 1993, 19-23

legionary centurion), and his experience with the emperor's horse guard would have made him an ideal candidate for an appointment as a training officer in a governor's horse guard.⁷⁵¹ Interestingly, it seems that after this stint in Dacia, M. Calventius Viator was transferred (back?) to the emperor's horse-guard: he appears on an inscription from *Gerasa* (Arabia) as a centurion of the *legio V Macedonica* and commander of the *equites singulares Augusti*, who were accompanying Hadrian on his tour of the Roman east (and were wintered in *Gerasa*).⁷⁵²

The location of this inscription has provided further evidence that during the Trajanic period the provincial governor was actually based at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* rather than at *Apulum* (where the governor of Dacia Superior would be stationed after Hadrian's reorganization in 118/119). The reasoning is that if the governor were already stationed at *Apulum*, where the *legio XIII Gemina* was based, he would have probably been more likely to draw on that legion's trainers for his personal guard. Having the provincial governor's seat at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* during the Trajanic period also makes sense considering the fact that he commanded two legions in the new province during this period, and *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* is conveniently located on the road roughly halfway between the two legionary bases (at *Apulum* and *Berzobis* respectively). Unsurprisingly it seems the governor drew on both legions for his needs, including the training of his personal guard. Eventually the *equites* and *pedites singulares* (organized into a *numerus singularium*) would be based at *Apulum* where they shared the fortress with the *legio XIII Gemina* (from 118-271/275). This inscription does provide an interesting example of the relationship

⁷⁵¹ Speidel 1994b, 48

⁷⁵² Kraeling 1938, no.30=AE 1915.42=AE 2004.105; Speidel 1994b, 47-49

between the legions, the governor, and his personal auxiliary retinue in Dacia during the Trajanic period.

Several other members of the legion are recorded at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. The centurion Sextus Pilonius Modestus, originally from *Beneventum* in Italy, died at age thirty-seven and was commemorated by a tombstone.⁷⁵³ It seems that he died shortly after the conquest of the province and may well have been one of the original veterans who founded the *colonia deducta Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*.⁷⁵⁴ Another veteran became a *decurio* of the city.⁷⁵⁵

From *Micia* we have an altar bearing an ex-voto dedication to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus* set up by Q. Licinius Macrinus, a centurion of the *Legio IIII Flavia Felix*.⁷⁵⁶ Benea has suggested that the presence of a centurion at this site was perhaps related to a legionary vexillation which was there for a construction project, and was probably also more broadly related to the legion's supervision of the lower Mureş valley.⁷⁵⁷ The proximity of *Micia* to the base of the *Legio XIII Gemina* at *Apulum* is interesting, and points to the fact that despite having separate spheres of influence broadly speaking within the new province, both legions were involved in securing the provincial interior (the gold mining district around *Alburnus Maior*), and they worked together to patrol the important Mureş valley. Another inscription found at *Apulum* further indicates this connection between the two legions. It was set up for Marcus Ulpius Caius, who was the *praefectus legionum* (prefect of

⁷⁵³ CIL 3.1480=ILS 2654=IDR III/2.437

⁷⁵⁴ Benea 1983, 156

⁷⁵⁵ IDR III/2.111

⁷⁵⁶ CIL 3.1353=IDR III/3.95

⁷⁵⁷ Benea 1983, 155

both legions), *IIII Flavia*[e] and *XIII Gem(inae)* – it is unclear if he held these titles simultaneously or consecutively (although the latter seems more likely).⁷⁵⁸

Also at *Apulum*, Lucius Iulius Bassinus, a *tribunus leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae)* erected an ex-voto dedication to *Aesculapius* and *Hygia* for the health of his wife.⁷⁵⁹ In addition to his role as tribune, he was also a *decurio* of *colonia Apulensis*, a *duumvir* of *colonia Napocensis*, a *flamen* of *colonia Drobetensis*, a *flamen* of *municipium Diernensis*, and a *decurio* of both *municipium Apulensis* and of *municipium Porolissensis* – a noteworthy career! The *legio IIII Flavia* remained in Dacia until 118, at which point it was transferred to *Singidunum* (Belgrade, Serbia) in Moesia Superior where it stayed until the fourth century.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁸ CIL 3.1201=IDR III/5.2.448

⁷⁵⁹ CIL 3.14468=IDR III/5.1.14=ILS 7149=AE 1901.28

⁷⁶⁰ Piso 2000, 211; on the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* in *Singidunum* and Moesia Superior after this time, see Benea 1983, 159-179

LEGIO XIII GEMINA

(Figure 4.3)

The precise origins of *legio XIII Gemina* remain obscure. The legion was probably created by Caesar in 57 BCE for his campaign against the Belgae, and it actively participated in his Gallic war.⁷⁶¹ It famously crossed the Rubicon with Caesar in 49 BCE, subsequently fighting in the civil war, after which its soldiers were retired and given land in the new colony of *Hispellum* (modern Spello) in Italy,⁷⁶² and possibly also at *Uthina* in Africa.⁷⁶³ A few years later, in 41 BCE, Octavian either revived the legion or recruited a new one bearing the same number in order to help him fight Sextus Pompey in Sicily.⁷⁶⁴ Its name *Gemina* (“twin”) is first attested in the Augustan period and probably indicates that it was merged with another legion, possibly after the Battle of Actium.⁷⁶⁵

In the first years of the empire the legion was probably stationed in Transpadana⁷⁶⁶ or in Illyricum,⁷⁶⁷ and it assisted in Tiberius’ campaign to conquer the Alps in 15 BCE.⁷⁶⁸ It may have been based at *Augusta Vindelicorum* in Raetia afterwards,⁷⁶⁹ but certainly by 6 CE it had been transferred to *Emona* in Illyricum (modern Ljubljana, Slovenia).⁷⁷⁰ It was recruited

⁷⁶¹ Urloiu 2013, 168; Pollard and Berry 2012, 201; Farnum 2005, 22

⁷⁶² Keppie 1984, 210; CIL 11.5275= ILS 6619a

⁷⁶³ Brunt 1971, 594, no. 44; CIL 6.3754=CIL 6.31302=CIL 6.36917=ILS 6784

⁷⁶⁴ Keppie 1984, 133, 210; Farnum 2005, 22; Pollard and Berry 2012, 201; The Thirteenth Legion even rescued Octavian from a shipwreck off the coast of Calabria, according to Appian, *Civil War* 5.87.

⁷⁶⁵ Pollard and Berry 2012, 202; Keppie 1984, 135, 143, 210; Keppie 2000b, 77, 79; Strobel 2002, 58; all *contra* Moga 1985, 14–15 who alone argued that the *legio XIII Gemina* resulted from a fusion of two legions numbered *XIII* belonging to Caesar and Pompey. For other instances where merged legions were given the name *Gemella*, generally considered to be equivalent to *Gemina*, see Keppie 2000b, 77, n.31. For the title *Gemina*, see Birley 1928 [1929].

⁷⁶⁶ Wilkes 2000, 111

⁷⁶⁷ Farnum 2005, 22, 34, 60, who argues that legion was stationed at *Burnum* (Kistanje, Croatia) between ca. 30 to 15/14 BCE.

⁷⁶⁸ Pollard and Berry 2012, 202, at which time it constructed the first wooden fort at *Vindonissa*.

⁷⁶⁹ Wilkes 2000, 111

⁷⁷⁰ Moga 1985, 16; Farnum 2005, 5 n.26, 22, 34, 60.

in 6 CE by Tiberius for his campaign against the Marcomanni, but ended up fighting to suppress the Pannonian revolt instead (6-9 CE).⁷⁷¹ After the Varian disaster in 9 CE the legion was transferred to the Rhine frontier in Germania Superior,⁷⁷² and from 16/17 to 43/45 it was based at *Vindonissa*.⁷⁷³ From there it was transferred to *Poetovio* in Pannonia, where it left a rich epigraphic record (including tile-stamps), especially during the reigns of Claudius and Nero.⁷⁷⁴ The legion was sent to defend the empire against the Dacian incursion of 86, and may have helped defeat the Dacians at *Tapae* in 88.⁷⁷⁵ From 92-93 it fought in Domitian's campaign against the Suebi and Sarmatae,⁷⁷⁶ after which the legion was transferred to *Vindobona* (Vienna) in Pannonia, where it is documented by a large number of tile stamps.⁷⁷⁷ The legion stayed there until it was sent into Dacia by Trajan at the beginning of the first Dacian War in 101.⁷⁷⁸ The legion fought in both of Trajan's Dacian campaigns, and was left in Dacia as part of the occupying force in between the two wars.

In 106, after the final conquest of Dacia, the *legio XIII Gemina* was permanently left in the new province at its new base in *Apulum*, where it was stationed until Roman withdrawal from Dacia under Aurelian (Figure 2.46). During Trajan's reign, it was one of two legions stationed in Dacia (with *IIII Flavia Felix* stationed at *Berzobis*). After the

⁷⁷¹ Ritterling 1925, 1712; Keppie 1984, 163

⁷⁷² There is debate about whether it was initially stationed at *Moguntiacum* (Mainz) or not – see Moga 1985, 16 for an overview of the debate, which hinges on a single funerary stela erected for a *speculator* of the legion (ILS 2261).

⁷⁷³ Moga 1985, 17

⁷⁷⁴ Moga 1985, 17-18

⁷⁷⁵ Pollard and Berry 2012, 202

⁷⁷⁶ Urloiu 2013, 173; Moga 1985, 19; Syme 1971, 109. Strobel 1989, 96, 103, 128-130

⁷⁷⁷ Moga 1985, 19-20; for the tile stamps see Neumann 1973. There is considerable debate and uncertainty about the exact date of the legion's transfer from *Vindobona* to *Poetovio* (it could have been in the 80's, or in the 90's, possibly as late as 97/98). See Urloiu 2013, 173-175 for overview of the debate and the relevant evidence and arguments.

⁷⁷⁸ For more on the history of the legion prior to its participation in Trajan's Dacian Wars, see especially Ritterling 1925, 1710-1727; Moga 1985, 14-20; Wolf 2000b; Pollard and Berry 2012, 201-203; Urloiu 2013, 168-175

departure of *legio IIII Flavia Felix* in 118, and until the arrival of *legio V Macedonica* in 168, *XIII Gemina* was the only legion in Dacia. Because it was in the province from the conquest of Dacia until its abandonment, and because its commander was also simultaneously the provincial governor (and supreme military commander) of Dacia, the *legio XIII Gemina* is more closely tied to the history and development of Roman Dacia than any other single legion.⁷⁷⁹ Under Trajan, while Dacia was a consular province, the *legio XIII Gemina* was commanded by a *legatus Augusti* of praetorian rank.⁷⁸⁰ After Hadrian's administrative reforms and the division of Dacia into Superior and Inferior, the governor of Dacia Superior, who was also the commander of *legio XIII Gemina*, stayed at *Apulum*. After further administrative reforms in 168 under Marcus Aurelius (including the addition of *legio V Macedonica* to Dacia's garrison), *Apulum* became the seat of the *legatus Augusti pro praetore Daciae* (now the governor of the three *Daciae*). The *praetorium consularis* was identified east of the fortress, which periodically served as the base of these governors throughout the second and third centuries.⁷⁸¹

Apulum (Alba Iulia, Romania)

Today the remains of *Legio XIII's Gemina's* legionary fortress have been largely destroyed and obscured by a large Austro-Hungarian fort built on the site in the eighteenth century (and by various medieval structures built before that) (Figure 2.46). The Roman fortress originally covered around twenty-one and a half hectares, and was located near the

⁷⁷⁹ As noted already by Ritterling 1925, 1716

⁷⁸⁰ On the consular rank of Dacia's governor see Ritterling 1925, 1283, 1391-1392; Stein 1944, 9-10; Piso 1993, 8-9.

⁷⁸¹ Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2011; Alexandrescu 2013a

Mureş river on the Cetate hill.⁷⁸² The discovery of its *porta principalis dextra* on the southern side revealed that the fortress was oriented towards the east.⁷⁸³ Recent excavations have focused on the remains of the *principia*.⁷⁸⁴ Several small-scale archaeological excavations have revealed two main building phases. In the first phase, dating to the period right after 106, the fortress was built of wood and earthworks (early versions of the *XIII Gemina* tile-stamps were recovered from this phase). At a later date, the whole fortress was rebuilt in stone, and then continuously repaired and renovated in various parts throughout the second to third centuries. From this later stone phase, tile and brick stamps were found of the *XIII Gemina*, as well as of the *pedites* and *equites singulares* and the *numerus singulariorum*.⁷⁸⁵ The presence here of the auxiliary units that served as the personal guard of the provincial governor is to be expected, since the site was also the seat of the provincial governor, at least from the reign of Hadrian onwards.

The location of the legionary base at *Apulum* is significant. The site is located in the heart of the province, at the center of Dacia's military network (connected by roads and rivers). From *Apulum* there were roads leading in all directions connecting the legionary base to auxiliary forts and to the outer frontier, to various important civilian centers, and to neighboring provinces. Perhaps most importantly, the legionary base was deliberately placed close to the gold mining district in the Apuseni Mountains (the area around *Ampelum* and *Alburnus Maior*). The *legio XIII Gemina* defended and policed the mining district, and there is evidence that members of the legion were directly involved in the administration of the

⁷⁸² For an overview of the history of research at the legionary base of Apulum see Moga 1985, 34-40.

⁷⁸³ Moga 1999; Piso 2000, 221

⁷⁸⁴ Gudea *et al.* 2015

⁷⁸⁵ On the fortress, see Moga 1985, 34-40; Moga 1987; Moga 1999; Gudea 1997a, 107-109 no.103.

mines (as discussed in detail below). Indeed, there is also a smaller Roman gold and silver mine just south of *Apulum* at Pianu de Sus, which the legion undoubtedly oversaw.

The *canabae legionis XIII Geminae*⁷⁸⁶ which grew around the legionary fortress were first granted *municipium* status under Septimius Severus (becoming *municipium Septimium Apulense*),⁷⁸⁷ thus becoming the second city at *Apulum*, after *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, located on the right side of the Mureş River (at Partoş) which had been granted this rank under Commodus.⁷⁸⁸ This *municipium Septimium Apulense* was in 250 promoted to *colonia Nova Apulensis* under the emperor Trajan Decius, *restitutor Daciarum*.⁷⁸⁹ Epigraphic evidence, especially from the tile and brick stamps found at *Apulum*, have revealed that the *canabae* were directly involved in the production of the legionary ceramics (especially bricks and tiles) which have been found all over the province (Figure 4.5).⁷⁹⁰ It seems local *magistri figlinarum* from the *canabae* ran individual production workshops that were directly dependent upon (and contracted by) the legion to produce these materials for the army's needs, and it is these individuals whose names sometimes appear next to the legion's name on tiles and stamps from Dacia. The names of about seventy-nine such individuals are known from these stamps.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁶ Mentioned in multiple inscriptions: CIL 3.1008=IDR III/5.1.74=ILS 2476; CIL 3.1093=IDR III/5.1.240=ILS 7140; CIL 3.1100=IDR III/5.1.253; CIL 3.1214=IDR III/5.2.527=D 7154=AE 2010.1377; IDR III/5.2.438=ILS 9106=AE 1910.84=AE 1910.140. On the limited archaeological evidence for the *canabae* see Piso 1991, 170-172; Oltean 2007, 170, 190-191; Ota 2009; Timofan 2010. For the only synthetic study on the topic see Ota 2012.

⁷⁸⁷ CIL 3.976=IDR III/5.1.7; CIL 3.985=IDR III/5.1.19; CIL 3.1051=IDR III/5.1.164=ILS 7144=AE 2010.1106; CIL 3.1082=IDR III/5.1.203; CIL 3.1083=IDR III/5.1.204=ILS 7143=AE 2007.1205

⁷⁸⁸ Moga 1985, 40, 98. The granting of this *municipium* status is attributed to the Dacian legions' unwavering loyalty to and support for Septimius Severus, as recognition for the fact that they sided with him against his rivals – see Piso 2000, 223.

⁷⁸⁹ CIL 3.1176=IDR III/5.2.431=ILS 514; Alexandrescu 2013a

⁷⁹⁰ Benea 2010

⁷⁹¹ Benea 2010, 205

Members of the legion left a rich record of epigraphic material recording their activities at *Apulum*. Unsurprisingly, there is evidence for a variety of building projects covering a broad spectrum, from infrastructure, to military installations, to temples and fountains. There is an inscription on a statue base from 158 attesting to the discovery of a water source for the fort (likely from the springs on Mamut hill, which were harnessed through an aqueduct).⁷⁹² This inscription probably represents the completion, during the time of Antoninus Pius, of a large system of water management designed to supply the fort and its surrounding civilian settlement with water, which was built by the *legio XIII Gemina*.⁷⁹³ A building inscription from 161 commemorates the construction of an unknown but significant structure by the legion.⁷⁹⁴ During the early third century, there is increased evidence of intense building activity at *Apulum*. Around 205 the *praetorium* and the walls of the fort were rebuilt.⁷⁹⁵ Around this same time, the officers of the legion built themselves a *schola speculatorum* inside the fort.⁷⁹⁶

There is also evidence of many monuments and statues erected with the communal or personal efforts (and private funds) of legionary soldiers and officers. In 127 the veterans of the legion who had just retired and who had been recruited (*militēs facti*) in 102 and 103, dedicated an altar to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*.⁷⁹⁷ Similarly, on the *Ides* of December, 135, another group of retiring veterans dedicated an altar to the Capitoline triad (*I.O.M. Iunoni Reg(inae) Minervae*).⁷⁹⁸ Around 183-185 a monument dedicated to *Sol Invictus* mentions the

⁷⁹² CIL 3.1061=IDR III/5.1.185=ILS 4006; Moga 1985, 41

⁷⁹³ See Ota and Băeștean 2010 for the water distribution and drainage system at *Apulum*.

⁷⁹⁴ CIL 3.1171=IDR III/5.2.422

⁷⁹⁵ Moga 1985, 42; Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2011

⁷⁹⁶ CIL 3.7741=CIL 3.14479=AE 1901.27=AE 1901.154

⁷⁹⁷ CIL 3.7754=IDR III/5.174=ILS 2300

⁷⁹⁸ CIL 3.1078=IDR III/5.1.198=ILS 2301

rebuilding (*restituit*) of an *aedes* by the commander of the legion (the *legatus Augusti*).⁷⁹⁹ A limestone tablet (possibly from the early third century) dedicated to *Iovis Optimus Maximus Aeternus* reveals the rebuilding of a *tabularium* by a *centurio* of the legion with his personal funds.⁸⁰⁰ In 193, a *templum horologiarum* was built in the legionary fort by Marcus Ulpianus Mucianus, a *miles* of the legion, with his personal funds, as commemorated in an *ex voto* inscription dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Juno Regina*.⁸⁰¹ Another example is provided by Ulpianus Proculus, a *speculator leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Gordianae*, who, during the reign of Gordian III, through his personal funds and on the orders of the god Apollo (*ex iussu dei Apollinis*), rebuilt a *fontem Aeterni* (probably a public fountain) on the territory of the *colonia Aurelia Apulensis* close to the fort.⁸⁰² Altars were also dedicated to the legion's *genius* (*Genio legionis XIII Geminae*) by a commander of the legion (*legatus legionis*)⁸⁰³ and by a *tribunus laticlavus*.⁸⁰⁴ During the reign of Severus Alexander another legionary commander dedicated an altar to the *genius* of the fort's *praetorium* (*Genio praetorii huius*).⁸⁰⁵ At an unknown date, an *optio* of the legion dedicated an altar to *Genio centuriae*.⁸⁰⁶ Titus Aurelius Marcus, a veteran of the legion, dedicated a tauroctony and an altar to *Deus Invictus Mithras*, most likely for a *mithraeum* at *Apulum*.⁸⁰⁷ An interesting dedication was made to the three *Daciae* (*Daciis tribus*) and to the *genius* of the legion by Marcus Caelius Iulianus, a *tribunus*

⁷⁹⁹ CIL 3.1111=IDR III/5.1.354

⁸⁰⁰ IDR III/5.1.205

⁸⁰¹ CIL 3.1070=IDR III/5.1.193=ILS 5625=AE 2004.1182=AE 2007.1188

⁸⁰² CIL 3.990=IDR III/5.1.31=AE 2010.1376. The inscription is dated to the reign of Gordian III based on the epithet *Gordiana*.

⁸⁰³ CIL 3.1012=IDR III/5.1.82

⁸⁰⁴ CIL 3.995=IDR III/5.1.43=ILS 3920

⁸⁰⁵ CIL 3.1019=IDR III/5.1.84

⁸⁰⁶ CIL 3.1015=IDR III/5.1.79

⁸⁰⁷ The tauroctony: IDR III/5.1.271=AE 1934.114=AE 1938.148; the altar: IDR III/5.1.270=AE 1934.115. For the cult of Mithras at *Apulum*, see Schäfer 2007; Szabó 2012a; Szabó 2012b; C. Szabó 2013.

laticlavus.⁸⁰⁸ In addition to these, soldiers, officers, and veterans of the legion made numerous other dedications to deities (including the *genius legionis*) at *Apulum* during the second and third centuries.⁸⁰⁹

From inscriptions we know the names of fifteen commanders of *legio XIII Gemina* (*legati Augusti legionis*).⁸¹⁰ Many soldiers, officers, and veterans of the legion (and their families and dependents) were also commemorated on tombstones at *Apulum*.⁸¹¹ In addition to the plethora of inscriptions from the area of the *castrum*, various other individuals associated with the *legio XIII Gemina* are mentioned in inscriptions from the two civilian towns near the fort, illustrating the extent to which the population of legionary soldiers, officers, and administrators played a key role in the social life, administration, and urban development of these two settlements whose very existence and history was dependent upon the legionary base.⁸¹²

In the wider region around *Apulum* (constituting the central part of Dacia, in modern central Transylvania), legionary tile and brick stamps have been discovered at a number of smaller rural sites. These include the Roman sites identified at Gîrbova, Păuca,

⁸⁰⁸ CIL 3.995=IDR III/5.1.43=ILS 3920

⁸⁰⁹ Including: IDR III/5.1.140; IDR III/5.1.299; IDR III/5.1.166; IDR III/5.1.224; IDR III/5.1.377; IDR III/5.1.11; IDR III/5.1.30; IDR III/5.1.41; IDR III/5.1.57; IDR III/5.1.77; IDR III/5.1.82; IDR III/5.1.353; IDR III/5.1.81; IDR III/5.1.213; IDR III/5.1.112; IDR III/5.1.124; IDR III/5.1.133; IDR III/5.1.134; IDR III/5.1.143; IDR III/5.1.145; IDR III/5.1.148; IDR III/5.1.152; IDR III/5.1.165; IDR III/5.1.173; IDR III/5.1.177; IDR III/5.1.185; IDR III/5.1.182; IDR III/5.1.184, etc. See also the section “X. *Res militaris*” in the *indices* of IDR III/5.2, p.564-566.

⁸¹⁰ All are from the period after 168 (after the administrative reorganization of Marcus Aurelius): Piso 1993, 218-266.

⁸¹¹ Including: IDR III/5.2.487; IDR III/5.2.497; IDR III/5.2.500; IDR III/5.2.513; IDR III/5.2.529; IDR III/5.2.530; IDR III/5.2.550; IDR III/5.2.556; IDR III/5.2.561; IDR III/5.2.574; IDR III/5.2.581; IDR III/5.2.591; IDR III/5.2.601; IDR III/5.2.605; IDR III/5.2.609; IDR III/5.2.613; IDR III/5.2.617; IDR III/5.2.622; IDR III/5.2.624; IDR III/5.2.717, etc. See also the section “X. *Res militaris*” in the *indices* of IDR III/5.2, p.564-566.

⁸¹² Moga 1985, 43; Tudor 1964. For other inscriptions from *Apulum* that specifically mention members of the *Legio XIII Gemina*, see section “X. *Res militaris*” in the *indices* of IDR III/5.2, p.564-566.

Boz, Daia, Română, Lancrăm, Dumbrava, and Berghin.⁸¹³ At Apoldu de Sus (part of Miercurea Sibiului), a fragmentary epitaph was found which commemorates the death (at age seventy) of an unknown legionary veteran who had been a *beneficiarius legionis XIII Geminae*.⁸¹⁴ Another fragmentary epitaph from the same site appears to mention another veteran, who may or may not have also belonged to the legion.⁸¹⁵ All of these sites are considered to have belonged to the *territorium* of *Apulum*.

The legionary base at *Apulum* was strategically located at the heart of Dacia. From here various roads led in all directions, connecting the base to the most important centers of province, including other *castra* and fortifications that formed part of Dacia's military network (Figure 2.26). From *Apulum* detachments of the legion were sent throughout the province for building projects (especially the construction of military installations and auxiliary forts), to maintain internal security (especially at strategic points along important transportation arteries such as roads and rivers), and to secure the gold mining district around *Ampelum* and *Alburnus Maior*. Most of the evidence for the legion's distribution and activities comes from the discovery of countless brick and tile stamps found throughout the province. More than 120 different stamp types for the legion have been identified, which have been placed into a broad chronology.⁸¹⁶ Other indications of the legion's presence and activities away from its base also include stone inscriptions, and even some wax tablets. What follows is a synthesis of the available evidence for the presence of *legio XIII Gemina*

⁸¹³ Moga 1985, 71. Other tile and brick stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina* are found in local museums throughout the area (including the Muzeul Municipal "Ioan Raica" Sebeș and the Muzeul "Valea Hârtibaciului" in Agnita), most without exact provenance, but which we can safely say constitute stray finds from local sites within this area (e.g., the stamp found at the museum in Agnita was supposedly a stray find from nearby Cincu).

⁸¹⁴ CIL 3.969b=IDR III/4.13

⁸¹⁵ CIL 3.969a=IDR III/4.12

⁸¹⁶ Piso 2000, 223; Benea 2010

throughout Dacia during the second and third centuries, with the aim of identifying its sphere of control, its overall distribution, and the activities in which it engaged (Figure 4.3).

The Gold Mining District

It is clear that one of the most important (if not *the* most important) task for the *legio XIII Gemina* in Dacia was to secure the imperial gold mining district in the Apuseni Mountains, to ensure the gold was safely extracted on site and transported away from the mines, and to defend the area from both internal and external threats. The main area of gold mining were the imperial gold mines at *Alburnus Maior* located northwest of *Apulum*, but there were also smaller gold and silver extraction sites throughout the area at Ruda-Brad, Băița, Baia de Arieș, Bucium-Corabia, and Pianu de Sus (Figures 2.47; 2.48; 2.49; 2.50).⁸¹⁷ The center of the mining operations, at *Alburnus Maior*, was connected to the legionary base by a road which ran through the Ampoi Valley from *Apulum*, through *Ampelum* (the administrative center of the mines), to *Alburnus Maior* (the mines themselves). Along this road, tiles and bricks bearing the stamp of *legio XIII Gemina* have been found.⁸¹⁸ At Micești the tile stamps (*LEG XIII G*) were found along the route of an ancient aqueduct.⁸¹⁹ At Șard there is a small Roman site that has produced several inscriptions, coins, building remains, and a necropolis. Here the legionary tile stamps also included the names of several *magistri figlinarum* from the production centers at *Apulum*.⁸²⁰ At Ampoița portions of the ancient road are visible and there is an ancient stone quarry. A tile of the type *LEG XIII GE / AV*

⁸¹⁷ Haynes and Hanson 2004, 13; Oltean 2007, 39; Wollmann 1996, 149

⁸¹⁸ Moga 1972, 152; CIL 3 s.v. *Tegulae legionis XIII Geminae*, p.256-258, 1427-1432

⁸¹⁹ CIL 3.1629, 1, d. e; Moga 1985, 55

⁸²⁰ CIL 3.1629, 20=CIL 3.8065, 25; CIL 3.8065, 7; CIL 3.8065, 20; CIL 3.8065, 34; Moga 1985, 55

CALLISTRI was recovered from the site.⁸²¹ These traces reveal the density of the Roman occupation in this area, and in particular they indicate the presence of road stations (*stationes*), probably garrisoned by the legion, which secured the road leading to and from the mines.

Ampelum (Zlatna, Romania)

Ampelum was the administrative center of the Roman mining operations in the Apuseni Mountains, which included the imperial gold mines at *Alburnus Maior* (the center of gold mining in Dacia), roughly thirty-five kilometres to the northwest. The gold mining region in the Apuseni Mountains constituted an imperial mining district (a *metallum*) that belonged to the emperor's *fiscus*.⁸²² As such, the entire district was ruled from *Ampelum* by an imperial freedman who was appointed as the *procurator aurariarum* by the emperor.⁸²³ From the time of Marcus Aurelius, equestrian elites also began to be appointed to this position.⁸²⁴ Considering the relatively high number of *procuratores aurariarum* known from the imperial gold mines in Dacia, it has been suggested that there may have been different procurators who were in charge of operating separate mines within the district (something that may have

⁸²¹ CIL 3.8065, 13; Moga 1985, 55-56

⁸²² See CIL 3.1306a=IDR III/3.281=AE 1960.238 from *Ampelum*.

⁸²³ Mrozek 1968, 308-310; Mrozek 1977, 97-98; Ciongradi 2009, 10; The first *procurator aurariarum* was M. Ulpius Hermias, appointed to that position during the reign of Trajan: CIL 3.1312=IDR III/3.366=ILS 1593 is his tombstone, erected by his wife and his own freedman at *Ampelum*, in which it is specified that upon his death Hermias' remains were transported back to Rome, thanks to the emperor. Three other *Augusti liberti* are known to have held this position in Dacia: Romanus (CIL 3.1622=IDR III/3.347), Avianus (CIL 3.1088=IDR III/5.1.228), and (perhaps) Neptunalis (CIL 3.1313=IDR III/3.367), although the latter is not actually specified as *procurator aurariarum*, just as an *Augusti libertus*, so this identification is not certain.

⁸²⁴ Mrozek 1968, 309 for the inscriptions attesting to the equestrian procurators, a total of which nine individuals are known.

certainly been the case after the introduction of equestrian procurators who would have co-existed with the imperial freedmen).⁸²⁵

The town of *Ampelum* was an important commercial center, and it most likely held a customs office.⁸²⁶ Given the economic significance of the site for the imperial treasury, and its presence near the eastern boundary of the province (and thus its proximity to a particularly hostile part of *barbaricum*), a permanent legionary garrison at *Ampelum* would have been necessary. Indeed, the danger faced by the mining operations in this area became abundantly clear during the period of the Marcomannic Wars, when it seems the entire area was ravaged by foreign invaders, the mines were forced to close, and at least twenty-five wax tablets were hidden in the mining galleries at *Alburnus Maior*. With Commodus' eventual victory over the northern tribes in 180, there are inscriptions that indicate the return of peace and the restoration of mining and commercial activities in the Apuseni Mountains.⁸²⁷

Unfortunately, almost everything that we know about Roman *Ampelum* comes exclusively from inscriptions. Tragically, from 1985-1986, the remains of the ancient town were destroyed by the erection of a chemical plant on the direct orders of Elena Ceaușescu (the dictator's wife), without proper archaeological investigation. Some hastily conducted 'rescue excavations' during these two years, however, did manage to recover a plethora of

⁸²⁵ Nine equestrian procurators and three to four imperial freedmen are attested epigraphically (a total of twelve to thirteen), covering a relatively short period of only about 160 years (the time during which the mines were operating). As Mrozek 1968, 309; 1977, 97-98 points out, this is an unusually high number for such a short period of time, considering the fact that other imperial gold mines which operated for much longer have left us with evidence of far fewer procurators (e.g., only six procurators are known from all the mines in Spain, and only seven procurators for the mines of Gaul). Then again, this pattern could be related to differences in epigraphic habit (especially in different periods), or to the preservation of inscriptions. For more on the administration of the gold mines, see Timoc 2008.

⁸²⁶ Timoc 2008, 101; Wollmann 1996, 63

⁸²⁷ On the Marcomannic Wars and the gold mining area see Timoc 2007. Commodus is honored as *restitutor commerciorum* in an inscription from *Porolissum* (ILD 677=CER 8.507=AE 1988.977), and an inscription from *Ampelum* was dedicated to *Victoria Commodi* (CIL 3.1333=CIL 3.7842=IDR III/3.334=AE 2007.1182).

inscriptions - a number so substantial that it is almost equal to the number found at *Apulum*.⁸²⁸

Although we have no direct archaeological evidence, there is important epigraphic evidence from *Ampelum* attesting to the presence of *legio XIII Gemina* in the area. First there are the tile and brick stamps, which indicate the legion was involved in the construction of buildings within the town.⁸²⁹ Various members of the legion also show up in stone inscriptions. At least two veterans of the legion were commemorated in epitaphs.⁸³⁰ The names of several other individuals belonging to the *legio XIII Gemina* appear in inscriptions at *Ampelum* without further information,⁸³¹ and just the name of the legion appears on three other inscriptions.⁸³² Several soldiers of the legion also held administrative posts at *Ampelum*, and were probably serving in the *officium* of the *procurator aurariarum*. An epitaph commemorates M. Aurelius Antoninus, a *miles* of the legion who had been serving as a *librarius* when he died prematurely at age twenty-two.⁸³³ A similar epitaph commemorates another *librarius*, P. Helvius Primanus, who was also a *miles* of the legion.⁸³⁴ A commander of the legion and governor of the province (the *legatus Augusti pro praetore*) dedicated an inscription to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* for the health of the emperor Antoninus Pius.⁸³⁵ Aurelius Gallus, a *beneficiarius consularis* dedicated, *ex voto*, a small altar to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus* during the time of Gordian III.⁸³⁶ Other inscriptions from *Ampelum*

⁸²⁸ Popa *et al.* 1986 (the only published report on the rescue excavations at *Ampelum*); Diaconescu 2004, 87

⁸²⁹ Moga 1972, 152; Moga 1985, 57

⁸³⁰ CIL 3.1319=IDR III/3.360; CIL 3.1320=IDR III/3.369;

⁸³¹ AE 1911.37; IDR III/3.376.2=AE 1888.94; IDR III/6.120d

⁸³² AE 1988, 961c; IDR III/3.376.1; CER 12.592

⁸³³ CIL 3.1317=IDR III/3.344=AE 2004.1182

⁸³⁴ CIL 3.1318=IDR III/3.354

⁸³⁵ CIL 3.1299=IDR III/3.306

⁸³⁶ Popa *et al.* 1968, 401-402, no.1; Moga 1985, 56

indicate that the *legio XIII Gemina* was assisted in the task of protecting the mining district by an irregular auxiliary unit, the *numerus Maurorum Hispanorum*, which is discussed later in the section on *auxilia*.

Alburnus Maior (Roșia Montană, Romania)

Located about thirty-five kilometres northwest of *Ampelum*, the town of *Alburnus Maior* was the location of the Roman imperial gold mines. The town's name is known from wax tablets that were recovered from the mines.⁸³⁷ Near the ancient town, important remains of a complex network of Roman gold mining galleries have been discovered and documented, as well as mining equipment and infrastructure, including a water wheel and a water-lifting device (Figures 2.47; 2.48; 2.49; 2.50)⁸³⁸ Twenty-five wax tablets (encompassing the period from 131-167, mostly in Latin, but also a few in Greek) were found within the mines, which have provided invaluable insights on the mines' administration and on the commercial activities and legal agreements between locals during this time. The documents include sale and purchase contracts (for goods and property, including slaves), wage labor contracts, loan contracts/receipts, and even a shopping list.⁸³⁹ These documents were probably deliberately hidden in the mines during the Marcomannic Wars, when mining activities were disrupted for a period of time.⁸⁴⁰ Seven necropoleis have been identified (some with complex funerary architecture) in association with small

⁸³⁷ The name *Alburnus Maior* is mentioned in IDR I.31=ILS 7215a; IDR I.39; IDR I.43.

⁸³⁸ Timoc 2008; Ciongradi 2009; Damian 2003

⁸³⁹ On the labor contracts see Mrozek 1969; Polay 1982

⁸⁴⁰ Daicoviciu and Piso 1975, 159; Benea and Moga 1978, 137; Gudea 1994, 73

settlements inhabited by individual tribes of Dalmatian colonists who were initially settled here under Trajan to work the mines.⁸⁴¹

Stamped tiles of the legion were found at the site, and there is potential evidence of some fortifications in the area, including a small fortlet at Abrud.⁸⁴² Located on the Cetățeaua plateau, the fifty by forty metre building may have been a small fort or a *statio* which supervised the mining operations.⁸⁴³ In another location, two buildings with hypocaust systems were excavated containing roof tiles stamped by the legion that date the buildings (based on the stamp chronology) to the early second century, which has been taken to indicate that at least one detachment of the legion was in the *Alburnus Maior* area from the beginning of the province, where it built several buildings on the area of Carpeni Hill.⁸⁴⁴ These buildings almost certainly served military (and probably administrative) functions, as indicated by the military equipment found within them.⁸⁴⁵ Interestingly, a comparative mineralogical-geological analysis of contemporaneous stamped tiles from *Apulum* and *Alburnus Maior* revealed that although composed of the same raw source material (clay and temper from the area around *Apulum*), the tiles from *Alburnus Maior* were fired at a noticeably lower temperature than those found at *Apulum*.⁸⁴⁶ Thus, it seems the raw material was being brought from *Apulum* to *Alburnus Maior*, where a local ceramic production center produced the legionary tiles. This makes sense considering the *Apulum – Ampelum – Alburnus Maior* road was very difficult, especially along its final stretch, making the

⁸⁴¹ Cauuet 2013; Simion *et al.* 2005; Damian 2008. Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011 on the Dalmatian colonists and other immigrants to Dacia (including *Alburnus Maior*).

⁸⁴² Țentea 2003, 254; Wollmann 1996, 74; Gudea 1997a, no.20; Țentea 2009, 370

⁸⁴³ Moga 1985, 57

⁸⁴⁴ Țentea 2003, 254-255

⁸⁴⁵ Țentea 2003, 258

⁸⁴⁶ Ionescu *et al.* 2006

transportation of heavy and awkward fired tiles and bricks from *Apulum* impractical.⁸⁴⁷ This example also forces one to consider the possibility that stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina* found elsewhere within the province may also have been produced locally rather than exported from *Apulum*.

Soldiers from the *legio XIII Gemina* are mentioned in two of the Latin wax tablets found in the nineteenth century in the St. Katherine (Sf. Ecaterina) mine galleries close to modern Roșia Montană.⁸⁴⁸ The first (TabCerD VII) is a complete triptych discovered in 1854.⁸⁴⁹ The text contains a purchase contract for a Greek slave boy named Apalaustus, who was sold for 600 *denarii* to a peregrine Dalmatian miner named Dassius (son of Breucus) by another peregrine, Bellicus (son of Alexander) (Figure 2.37). The transaction took place in the *canabae* of the *legio XIII Geminae* at *Apulum* (*Act(um) kanab(is) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae)*) on May 16, 142. Among the six witnesses who signed their names at the end of the document, the first is Appius Proclus a *veteranus legionis XIII Gemina*. The other five witnesses are also Roman citizens, and based on their names (and their roles as witnesses in this context) it is possible that they also belonged to the legion or were associated with it in some way.⁸⁵⁰

The second wax tablet was found in 1855 (along with other wax tablets and artifacts), and it too contains a slave purchase contract.⁸⁵¹ Claudius Iulianus, a soldier (*miles*) of the *legio XIII Gemina* from the *centuria* of Claudius Mar(i)us, bought a slave girl of Cretan birth named Theudote for 420 *denarii* from Claudius Philetus. Among the six witnesses who

⁸⁴⁷ Wollmann 1996, 70-71; Fodorean 2006, 252-254

⁸⁴⁸ Moga 1985, 57; Wollmann 1996, 74-75

⁸⁴⁹ CIL 3.940,07=IDR I.37 (TabCerD VII)

⁸⁵⁰ IDR I, p.223

⁸⁵¹ CIL 3.959,25=IDR I.37 (TabCerD VIII)

signed the end of the document, the first is Valerius Valens, a soldier (or centurion?) of the *legio XIII Gemina* and the third is Aelius Dionysius who is specified as a veteran of the same legion. It is possible that some of the other witnesses are also associated with the legion, but their positions are either not specified or are now lost because some of the letters are illegible. The transaction took place in the *canabae* of the *legio XIII Gemina* at *Apulum*, on October 4, 160. It is possible that Claudius Philetus, the seller, was a slave trader at *Alburnus Maior*.⁸⁵² These interesting documents provide concrete evidence of the fact that legionary soldiers owned their own slaves and were actively engaged in the slave trade. The fact that both contracts were signed in the *canabae* of the legion at *Apulum* with members of the legion as witnesses (*testes*) for the transaction, but were later found cached in the mines at *Alburnus Maior*, speaks both to the close commercial and administrative relationship between the legionary base and the mining district, and to the important role played by the legion's members in the administrative and economic transactions between civilians within the province, especially within the territory of the legionary base (the *canabae*) and in the gold mining district.

Between Apulum & Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa

Stamped tiles were found at Vințu de Jos, but it is unclear if these represent an actual legionary detachment, or just the supply of legionary construction materials for a military structure.⁸⁵³ The same question remains about the tiles bearing the stamp of the *legio XIII Gemina* found at the auxiliary fort of *Germisara*, where the *pedites singulares Britannici*

⁸⁵² IDR I, p.226

⁸⁵³ Moga 1985, 58

(later organized into a *numerus*) was garrisoned (Figure 4.7).⁸⁵⁴ In addition to the auxiliary fort, *Germisara* was also the site of well-known natural hot springs. Individuals from across the province came here for spa treatment, including two governors of Dacia Superior (*legati Augusti pro praetores*), who were thus also legionary commanders – M. Staius Priscus who dedicated an inscription to the Nymphs (156/157-158),⁸⁵⁵ and P. Furius Saturninus who dedicated to *Aesculapius* and *Hygia* (159-161/162).⁸⁵⁶

It is more likely the case that a legionary detachment was actually present in the fort at Orăștioara de Sus, near the Iron Age Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia*.⁸⁵⁷ The auxiliary fort was the base of the *numerus Germanicianorum*. In addition to several legionary tile stamps found at the site,⁸⁵⁸ there is also a fragmentary funerary inscription found near the fort (in Beriu) which was erected by Geminianus, a veteran or soldier of *legio XIII Gemina*, for his wife and *liberta* upon her death.⁸⁵⁹ This latter inscription provides yet another clue about the slaves owned by soldiers – in this case it seems Geminianus freed his slave woman upon his retirement in order to marry her. It seems that the fort was initially built as part of an effort to secure the area around the capital of the conquered Dacian kingdom (*Sarmizegetusa Regia*). Its first phase was probably built of timber. Later, a legionary *vexillatio* was involved in re-building the fort in stone, as indicated by a building inscription found on a limestone block from the outside wall of the tower at the fort's northwestern corner. It reads *p(----) c(ohortis) III(tertia)*, where the first word might have been *p(edatura)* (“work

⁸⁵⁴ Moga 1985, 58-59

⁸⁵⁵ CIL 3.7882=IDR III/3.240; Piso 1993, 66-73

⁸⁵⁶ IDR III/3.232=AE 1944.59; Piso 1993, 73-75

⁸⁵⁷ Moga 1985, 59

⁸⁵⁸ CIL 3.12604g; CIL 3.12610a; CIL 3.12614c; CIL 3.8065, 22g

⁸⁵⁹ IDR III/3.259

lot”) or *p(rincipes)* (“men of the *centuria* of a *princeps*”).⁸⁶⁰ Since numbered cohorts that lack names are usually legionary, and since the *legio XIII Gemina* is attested at the site, it makes the most sense to propose that a construction team from the legion’s third cohort was tasked with rebuilding the fort in stone, especially since auxiliary units typically lacked the skilled architects and craftsmen that each legion contained and which were needed for such construction projects.⁸⁶¹ A legionary detachment perhaps stayed here alongside the *numerus*, at least during Trajanic period of the province, but it may also have just been sent here for the fort building or reconstruction.⁸⁶²

At *Aquae* (Călan, Romania), a dedication to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta was made by C. Valerius Ingenus, a *signifer* of the legion.⁸⁶³ Dating between 209-211, Ingenus probably commanded a legionary *vexillatio* stationed at *Aquae*, as further indicated by the presence of legionary stamps found in the area.⁸⁶⁴ This *vexillatio* may have been stationed here to oversee the nearby iron mining site at Hunedoara.

Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa, Romania)

There is some debate about whether *legio XIII Gemina* was left at a camp here from 102-105, during the period in between the two Dacian Wars, on the site which would become the location of the new *colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa* shortly

⁸⁶⁰ IDR III/3.260=ILD 316=CER 7.415=AE 1972.488. See Speidel 1987b for this reading and interpretation of the inscription.

⁸⁶¹ Speidel 1987b, 144

⁸⁶² Moga 1985, 59-60

⁸⁶³ IDR III/3.15

⁸⁶⁴ Moga 1985, 60

after 106 (Figure 2.22).⁸⁶⁵ The debate has hinged on whether or not brick-stamps of the legion were found at the site, and although a few early stamps seem to have been confirmed as originating at the site more recently, their exact context and interpretation is unclear, although it is safe to conclude that they came from some buildings in the city.⁸⁶⁶ An inscription from the reign of Hadrian (131-132) commemorates the completion of an aqueduct supplying the city with water, which was most likely built by members of the *legio XIII Gemina* considering the fact that it was the only legion in the province at that time and considering the proximity of the city to the legionary base at *Apulum* (where the legion had been building its own water supply).⁸⁶⁷

Several legionary soldiers are also attested in the provincial administration here.⁸⁶⁸ An interesting inscription contains a dedication to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Mars Augustus* for the health of the propraetorian legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*), commissioned by those *translat(i) in leg(ionem) XIII G(eminam)*⁸⁶⁹ – a rare example of the phenomenon in which a legion was strengthened with the addition of soldiers from another unit.⁸⁷⁰ Considering this was the financial center of the province (it was the seat of the financial procurator), it is not surprising that many of Dacia's legates (and the legionary commanders of *legio XIII Gemina*) are mentioned in inscriptions from the city, as are legionary tribunes

⁸⁶⁵ Piso 2000, 220-221; Opreanu 2012; Strobel 1984, 95-96, 201-202

⁸⁶⁶ IDR III/2.541 was located as having come from *Sarmizegetusa* by I.I. Russu, but this has been disputed more recently on the basis that those tiles were actually from the site of *Micia* (some seventy kilometres to the north) – see especially Piso 1996, 157-158; Piso 2000, 220-221; Bădău-Wittemberger 1987-1988. Most recently, however, a few stamps of the legion have been found at the site, but their context and interpretation is unclear – see Băeștean 2012; Băeștean 2008-2009.

⁸⁶⁷ CIL 3.1446=IDR III/2.8

⁸⁶⁸ Wilkes 2000, 111

⁸⁶⁹ IDR III/2.245=AE 1934.11=AE 1939.5

⁸⁷⁰ Petolescu 2010, 201

and centurions.⁸⁷¹ Overall, *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* has provided the second number of inscriptions pertaining to the *legio XIII Gemina* in Dacia after *Apulum*. All of the epigraphic data from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* point to the fact that the city likely had a permanent legionary garrison to protect the financial procurator, and to serve in his *officium*.

The Lower Mureş Valley

There is very good evidence of legionary detachments from sites along the Mureş valley. Crossing Dacia from east to west, the Mureş (*Marisus*) river was one of the most important transportation and communication arteries in the province. The river itself served as a water highway, flowing westwards from the eastern Carpathians across the Transylvanian plateau until it converged with the major Tisa (*Tisia*) river along the western boundary of the province (the Tisa then flowed south to meet the Danube). An important Roman road ran parallel to the river, connecting *Apulum* to *Partiscum* (Szeged, Hungary), the westernmost fort in the Dacian frontier. From here the road crossed *barbaricum* before reaching Pannonia. Thus, this important artery also connected Dacia to the network of the wider Roman empire to the west, and it would have undoubtedly been busy with traffic (via road and river), especially since it was the only such transportation artery in all of western Dacia. Given its importance to the province's defensive, communication, and economic system, and considering the fact that western Dacia was throughout the second and third centuries particularly vulnerable to attacks by outsiders (especially Sarmatian Iazyges and groups of so-called 'free Dacians'), the protection of this important artery was a clear priority for the

⁸⁷¹ See Moga 1985, 60-61 for a list.

exercitus Dacicus, and especially the *legio XIII Gemina*. There were *castra* and road stations all along the road between *Apulum* and *Partiscum*, spaced regularly along the southern bank of the Mureş river.⁸⁷² Moving westward from *Apulum*, there are *castra* and road stations at *Germisara* (discussed above), then *Micia* (Veţel, Romania), Bulci, Aradul Nou, Sânnicolau Mare, Cenad, and finally *Partiscum* (Szeged, Hungary).

Micia is the site of an important and well-studied fort (360 by 180 metres) located on a plateau south of the river (Figure 2.42).⁸⁷³ From the second to third centuries, the fort garrisoned (temporarily and permanently) a variety of different auxiliary troops and detachments (discussed in the section on *auxilia*), as attested in a rich epigraphic record.⁸⁷⁴ The fort was located in a very strategic location on the Mureş River on the western frontier of Dacia. To its north was the gold mining district, and the Ruda-Brad and Băiţă gold and silver mines were very close by (immediately north of the fort), as were the copper mines at Deva and the iron mines at Hunedoara (just south of the fort). L. Licinius Messalinus and C. Iulius Iulinus, both centurions of the *legio XIII Gemina*, dedicated an altar to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus* here.⁸⁷⁵ *Micia* has also provided a significant amount of brick and tile stamps of the legion, of different types covering the second to third centuries.⁸⁷⁶ These stamps were found in the fort, and especially in the remains of its *thermae*. A stone channel for draining water from a basin was also found, which was paved with bricks stamped by the legion. Found near the fort on Bejan hill, at the site of a Roman quarry for red andesite which provided building materials for the fort at *Micia*, we have an inscription which

⁸⁷² Mărghită 1978

⁸⁷³ Gudea 1997a, 37-39 no.19; for the *vicus* of *Micia* see Oltean *et al.* 2005

⁸⁷⁴ Moga 1985, 63

⁸⁷⁵ CIL 3.7858=IDR III/3.115

⁸⁷⁶ Moga 1985, 64; Benea 2012a, 89

specifically mentions a legionary *vexillatio*.⁸⁷⁷ An *immunis* member of a *vexillatio* of the *legio XIII Gemina*, Titus Aurelius Arimo, dedicated an *ex voto* altar to *Hercules* and *Silvanus* here.⁸⁷⁸ Taken together, all of this evidence indicates that a *vexillatio* (or, rather, different *vexillationes*) of the *legio XIII Gemina* were involved in the initial construction of the fort at *Micia*, and also in its renovations during the Severan period. Perhaps such a detachment was even stationed here permanently. The two centurions who dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus* were probably charged with leading these *vexillationes*.

At Bulci there was probably also an auxiliary fort, or at least some kind of *statio* and a small settlement.⁸⁷⁹ Limited archaeological investigations have recovered architectural remains, ceramics, and other Roman-period artifacts, including seven bricks bearing stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina* (including one with the name of a brick-maker from *Apulum*), which typologically date to the earlier second century.⁸⁸⁰ Seventy-one kilometres west of Bulci is Aradul Nou, the site of another probable auxiliary fort or *statio*.⁸⁸¹ Although the site has not seen any archaeological excavations, brick stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina* and of the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* were recovered from the site, which indicate legionary construction here, again, probably during the earlier second century (certainly the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* stamps date to the Trajanic period).⁸⁸² Another *statio* (or maybe a small auxiliary fort) was located at Sânnicolau Mare, but this is based entirely on the discovery of several tile stamps

⁸⁷⁷ Moga 1985, 64; Moga 1972, 157-158

⁸⁷⁸ CIL 3.12565=IDR III/3.39=ILS 3470=CER 5.337=AE 1890.102

⁸⁷⁹ Gudea 1997a, 23 no.1

⁸⁸⁰ Moga 1985, 63

⁸⁸¹ Gudea 1997a, 23-24 no.2

⁸⁸² Gudea 1997a, 24; although Benea 2012a, 91 apparently disputes that the *legio XIII Gemina* stamps were originally from this site, claiming that they came from *Apulum* instead.

of the *legio XIII Gemina* from the site (along with some other Roman small finds) since there has been no archaeological excavation here.⁸⁸³

About seventy-one kilometres west of Aradul Nou is the site of Cenad which was also a road station (*statio*) or small auxiliary outpost. The number and types of tile stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina* recovered from the site (which has not been excavated) indicate a legionary presence from the early second century into the third century, and may have been the result of a *vexillatio* stationed here.⁸⁸⁴ About sixty-three kilometres west of Cenad, at the site of Skripski Krstur (Serbia), a single brick stamp of the *legio XIII Gemina* was found recently.⁸⁸⁵ That site is not far from the confluence of the Mureş (*Marisus*) and Tisa (*Tisia*) rivers, a place marked by the site of *Partiscum* (Szeged, Hungary), the westernmost Roman fort in Dacia, marking the western frontier of the province.⁸⁸⁶ Unfortunately the ancient site has been destroyed and obscured by the medieval and modern town of Szeged, and it has therefore not been explored archaeologically (since apparently little, if anything of the original site is left). Undoubtedly this was an important site, both economically and militarily for Dacia given its location. *Partiscum* not only guarded the westernmost boundary of the province, but it must have served as an important customs station overseeing both the road and river traffic (along both the Mureş and Tisa rivers) entering and exiting the province at this point. Although no specific evidence that can be tied to the *legio XIII Gemina* has been recovered from the site (which has produced only haphazard finds of Roman artifacts over the years), it is quite reasonable to suspect that a legionary detachment would have been sent here to build

⁸⁸³ Gudea 1997a, 24 no.3; Moga 1985, 63; Benea 2012a, 92. The tiles also include names of brick/tile-makers from *Apulum*: IDR III/1, p.243-245.

⁸⁸⁴ Gudea 1997a, 24, no.4; Moga 1985, 62-63; Moga 1972, 156-157; Benea 2012a, 91-92

⁸⁸⁵ Benea 2012a, 93

⁸⁸⁶ Gudea 1997a, 25 no.5; Benea 2012a, 93 who calls it *Parthiscum* (another variation on the ancient place name).

and garrison the *statio*, perhaps alongside an auxiliary unit, given the location as well as the military and economic importance of the site.

From Apulum to Porolissum

On the road connecting *Apulum* to *Porolissum* (on Dacia's northern frontier), there is also evidence of *legio XIII Gemina's* activities, although these mostly date to the early to mid-second century. In 168, *legio V Macedonica* joined Dacia's garrison and built a new base for itself at *Potaissa* (Turda, Romania) along this road. From this point onwards, it was this latter legion which was responsible for the northern portion of Dacia (Dacia Porolissensis).

Just north of *Apulum* along the first portion of the road there are multiple small Roman rural sites, all of which have produced legionary tile and brick stamps, including the sites at Ighiu, Bucerdea Vînoasă, Benic, Galda de Sus, Tibru, Oiejdea, and Stremț.⁸⁸⁷ Of these, it is possible that a legionary detachment was stationed at Ighiu, which comprises a small Roman fort (fifty by forty-one metres) on a hill, which was probably used by the Roman army during their initial advance into the gold mining region. There is also a limestone quarry here, which produced the material for the vast majority of the monuments in *Apulum*. Thus, it seems plausible to suggest that a permanent legionary force may have been stationed here.⁸⁸⁸

In the area of the salt mining center at *Salinae* (Ocna Mureșului, Romania), there is also some evidence of legionary activity. *LEG XIII G* and *LEG XIII GEM* tile stamps have

⁸⁸⁷ Moga 1985, 65; For the stamp from Stremț, see photo from the local museum published in the public domain through Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LegioXIII_Brick.JPG.

⁸⁸⁸ Moga 1985, 65

been found a little further at Șpălnaca and Războieni-Cetate.⁸⁸⁹ At Războieni-Cetate there was an auxiliary fort garrisoned by the *ala I Batavorum milliaria* and detachments of the *legio XIII Gemina*.⁸⁹⁰ A legionary detachment at this fort would have certainly been related to the exploitation of salt at *Salinae* and its transportation along the road. At *Potaissa*, before the creation of *legio V Macedonica*'s base in 168, there is evidence of auxiliary detachments, and numerous brick stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina*.⁸⁹¹ Legionary detachments may have been stationed here temporarily in order to guard the road to the Apuseni Mountains until the arrival of *legio V Macedonica*, although, as discussed later, it is clear that even after the arrival of the latter legion at *Potaissa* there was considerable overlap in the territories patrolled by the two legions. There is also evidence of Roman salt exploitation near *Potaissa*, which might have provided another reason for a military station here from the time of Trajan.⁸⁹²

Porolissum (Moigrad, Romania) was the keystone of Dacia's northwestern frontier and was undoubtedly the most important military center in Dacia Porolissensis (Figures 2.29; 2.30; 2.31). Two Roman forts were built on neighboring hills (Pomet and Citera), straddling the important pass through the Meseș Mountains. These mountains form an almost impenetrable eighty-kilometre-long wall separating the Transylvanian plateau (the heart of Dacia) from the Tisa plain, and the only easy crossing is provided by the so-called Meseș Gate – a pass cut through the mountains right where the ancient site of *Porolissum* was built. The site developed into an important town, containing a forum, multiple temples, and an amphitheater, and it has seen a long (and still ongoing) history of archaeological

⁸⁸⁹ Christescu 1937, 172

⁸⁹⁰ Crișan 1965, 63-75; Moga 1985, 65-66; Bota *et al.* 2004; Popovici and Varga 2010

⁸⁹¹ Russu and Milea 1964, 23-25 for the legionary brick stamps.

⁸⁹² Oltean 2007, 39; Wollmann 1996, 240-249

research.⁸⁹³ A number of different auxiliary units were stationed here either temporarily or permanently over the course of the second and third centuries. Among the military stamps of a large variety of military units are also those of the *legio XIII Gemina*, which was probably involved in the initial building of this important military site after 106, as part of the establishment of the Roman frontier system for the province. Its stamps were predominantly found at the fort on Pomet hill, and they date to the early second century, when it probably assisted in the initial building of this fort.⁸⁹⁴

Along the Northern Frontier

Moving east from *Porolissum* along Dacia's northern frontier, there are the auxiliary forts of Tihău, *Samum* (Cășeu), *Arcobadara* (Ilișua), Livezile, and Orheiul Bistriței. Epigraphic evidence of *legio XIII Gemina* detachments can be found at three of them. At *Arcobadara*, brick-stamps of the legion were found, and it is possible that the legion was responsible for building the first phase of the fort.⁸⁹⁵ Stone inscriptions were found at Tihău and *Samum*.

Tihău is an auxiliary fort built on the northern bank of the Someș river, on the Grădiște (Cetate) plateau. Measuring 144 by 129 metres, the fort was built of stone and is surrounded by a 4.5 m-wide ditch.⁸⁹⁶ Abundant archaeological material was recovered from the site, including a stone inscription found near the northwestern gate. Set within a *tabula*

⁸⁹³ Gudea 1986; Gudea 1989; Gudea 1997d; Gudea and Tamba 2001; Opreanu *et al.* 2013; Opreanu and Lăzărescu 2015

⁸⁹⁴ Moga 1985, 66-67

⁸⁹⁵ Protase *et al.* 1996-1997, 67 (Pl. LXXXV,5); Nemeti and Bărbulescu 2010, 451

⁸⁹⁶ Wollmann and Bot 1974

ansata, the text reads simply *vexillat(io) / leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae)*.⁸⁹⁷ Thus, we have explicit confirmation of the presence of a legionary detachment here, which was probably responsible for erecting and garrisoning the fort until the creation of Dacia Porolissensis, at which point it was permanently replaced by an auxiliary unit, *cohors I Cannanefatium*, known from brick and tile stamps at the site and attested in military diplomas for Dacia Porolissensis from 127, 130-131, and 164 (Table 1).

The auxiliary fort at *Samum* (Cășeu, Romania) is located 300 metres from the northern bank of the Someș river, and was built first in timber after the Roman conquest, and then rebuilt in stone in the early third century.⁸⁹⁸ Two part-mounted milliary (double-strength) infantry units (*cohortes equitatae milliariae*) are attested here: the *cohors II Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata pia fidelis c.R.* probably built the fort under Trajan, and then from Hadrian onwards it was garrisoned by the *cohors I Britannorum milliaria c.R.* Several inscriptions attest to the presence of legionaries (in particular a number of *beneficarii consularis legionis*) from both *legio XIII Gemina* and *legio V Macedonica* at the fort.⁸⁹⁹ Valerius Vibius Valerianus, a *beneficiarius consularis legionis XIII Geminae* fulfilled his vow through a dedication to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* and all the gods and goddesses (*et dis deabus omnibus*).⁹⁰⁰ Marcus Valerius Valentinus, also a *beneficiarius consularis* and *miles legionis XIII Geminae Gordianae* fulfilled his vow through an inscription to *Dea Nemesis Regina* dated to 239.⁹⁰¹ Aurelius Rufinus, also a *beneficiarius consularis legionis XIII Geminae Severianae*

⁸⁹⁷ AE 1994.1484=ILD 760; Piso 2000, 221

⁸⁹⁸ Isac 2003; Găzdac and Isac 2007

⁸⁹⁹ The inscriptions for *legio V Macedonica* will be discussed in the next section. For *beneficarii consularis* on Dacia's northern frontier, see Opreanu 1994a.

⁹⁰⁰ CIL 3.823=Isac 1994, 212 (no.4)

⁹⁰¹ CIL 3.827=CIL 3.7633=Isac 1994, 212 (no.1)=Daicoviciu 1966, 164-165

fulfilled his vow with a dedication to the same goddess (*Dea Nemesis*).⁹⁰² Several other inscriptions mention *beneficarii consularis* or other soldiers without specifying the legion, and it is possible that some of them are also from the *legio XIII Gemina*, although they could just as easily be from *legio V Macedonica* (of whom there are numerous *beneficarii consularis* attested epigraphically at this site, as discussed later).

These inscriptions, dated by the legionary epithets to the second half of the third century (during the reigns of Severus Alexander and Gordian III) indicate the need for increased military presence along the northern frontier during this time, which included bringing in detachments from both the *legio XIII Gemina* and the *legio V Macedonica* to garrison a *statio* near this fort (possibly within *barbaricum*).⁹⁰³ Indeed, this provides proof that after 168, although there were two legions in Dacia located in administratively distinct areas (*legio XIII Gemina* in Dacia Apulensis and *legio V Macedonica* in Dacia Porolissensis), the two legions overlapped significantly in terms of the territories in which each was militarily active. Thus, despite the tripartite administrative division of Dacia, the province militarily functioned as one territory, served by one *exercitus Dacicus* (which from 168 onwards included two legions). This concentration of legionary forces along the northern frontier during the last years of Roman Dacia certainly reveals the military vulnerability and instability of this territory, and it foreshadows its abandonment by Roman forces within a few short years.

⁹⁰² ILD 774=Isac 1994, 212 (no.5)

⁹⁰³ Moga 1985, 68; Daicoviciu 1966, 164-170; Opreanu 1994a

Along the Eastern Frontier

At several auxiliary forts along the eastern frontier inscriptions and brick/tile stamps indicate the temporary presence of legionary detachments that were probably involved in the initial construction of these forts during the first half of the second century, or their later reconstruction in stone. Moving from north to south in the northeastern sector, the first evidence is from the fort at Călugăreni (163 by 140 metres), which guarded the pass to *barbaricum* cut by the Niraj river.⁹⁰⁴ Its permanent garrison was the *cohors I Alpinorum*, but “*LEG XIII G*” tile stamps were discovered at the site, possibly related to the reconstruction of the fort in stone.⁹⁰⁵ At Inlăceni, several auxiliary units are epigraphically attested (*cohors VIII Raetorum c.R. torquata*, *cohors IIII Hispanorum*, *cohors I Alpinorum*, and perhaps *cohors II Gallorum Pannonica*).⁹⁰⁶ The stamp type “*LEG XIII GEN*” (with the N reversed), which dates to the first half of the second century, was found on both tiles and brick in the fort, indicating that the legion was probably involved in the construction of the fort, and a legionary vexillation may well have been stationed here before the arrival of the *cohors VIII Raetorum* (which was eventually replaced by the *cohors IIII Hispanorum*).⁹⁰⁷

The southern portion of the southeastern frontier includes a militarily strategic area that guarded several important south-north passes through the Carpathian Mountains. From *Angustia* (Brețcu, Romania), the easternmost fort in Dacia (Figure 2.35), a line of forts extends towards the southeast, and then turns southwards through the mountain passes. Two

⁹⁰⁴ Protase 1965; Gudea 1997a, 57-58; Man and Cioată 2012

⁹⁰⁵ CIL 3.8064, 1, w, x; Moga 1985, 68

⁹⁰⁶ Gudea 1979a; Gudea 1997a, 59-60. The *cohors VIII Raetorum* and the *cohors IIII Hispanorum* were certainly in garrison at Inlăceni for some time, but the evidence for the presence of the *cohors I Alpinorum* consists of just several stamped tiles, so the unit was likely garrisoned elsewhere (perhaps nearby at Sărățeni, where more of its stamps were found).

⁹⁰⁷ IDR III/4.298; Moga 1985, 68-69

parallel lines constitute this southeastern frontier – the so-called *limes Alutanus* which runs along the Olt (*Alutus*) river, and the later *limes Transalutanus* running parallel to its east. In this sector, there are numerous auxiliary forts along both lines. Both lines constituted major roads that crossed the Carpathian Mountains (via two of the only passes through which the mountains can easily be crossed), and served as the main roads connecting the northern and southern halves of the province (roughly corresponding to the division between Dacia Superior and Dacia Inferior).

Evidence of *legio XIII Gemina* comes from only a few of these forts. Moving north to south, the first site is Hoghiz, which straddles the Olt river. The fort (220 by 165 metres) is the largest in southeastern Transylvania, and has a double enclosure wall (Figure 2.44).⁹⁰⁸ The auxiliary troops attested here include the *ala I Asturum* (which built the initial earth and timber fort here), the *numerus equitum Illyricorum*, and the *cohors III Gallorum* (from the late second century onwards). A large stone inscription found at the site was erected in honor of Hadrian by *vexil(latio) XIII G(eminae)*, led by the *centurio legionis* Tiberius Claudius Valerianus.⁹⁰⁹ This is clear evidence of a legionary detachment at Hoghiz, possibly working to reconstruct the fort in stone.⁹¹⁰ From Hoghiz, a legionary *vexillatio* would have been able to police the Roman salt mines at Sânpaul.

The fort at *Caput Stenarum* (Boița, Romania) is southwest of Hoghiz, located further downstream on the Olt river along the *limes Alutanus*.⁹¹¹ The fort was built of stone and was

⁹⁰⁸ Gudea 1997a, 66-67.

⁹⁰⁹ CIL 3.953=IDR III/4.230=ILD 431=AE 1944.42. T. Claudius Valerianus also shows up in another inscription from *Apulum* (CIL 3.981=IDR III/5.1.11) in which he is also designated as a *centurio legionis*, but of both *legionis XIII Gemina* and *legio I Adiutrix* (he was presumably in the latter before being transferred to the former).

⁹¹⁰ Pollard and Berry 2012, 203; Piso 2000, 222

⁹¹¹ Vlădescu 1983, 114-115 (no.21); Gudea 1997a, 69-70; Schuster 2013; Schuster 2014.

initially inhabited by an unknown auxiliary unit (perhaps a *cohors I* of some kind, based on the *COH I* tile stamp).⁹¹² It seems to have been garrisoned by a permanent *vexillatio* of the *legio XIII Gemina* from the time of Marcus Aurelius onwards (based on the number of *LEG XIII G* brick stamps found in context with coins of that emperor).⁹¹³ This *vexillatio* not only guarded the important the pass through the Carpathians, but from *Caput Stenarum* troops could also police the salt mines at Ocna Sibiului to the northwest.

Located far south of *Caput Stenarum*, near the southern end of the *limes Alutanus* (right before the road reaches the Danube across from *Oescus*, Moesia Inferior) lies the auxiliary fort of Slăveni.⁹¹⁴ Fragments of stamped tiles of an unusual type – *LEG XIII* (without *Gemina*) – were discovered in the fort, to the north of the *praetorium* and among the ruins of the military baths.⁹¹⁵ Vlădescu dated this type of tile stamp to the second century, and argued that it represents a rare instance of a legionary detachment here in the post-Hadrianic period (after the reorganization of the province into Dacia Superior and Inferior).⁹¹⁶ But, as already indicated, the administrative reorganization of Dacia did not mean that the *legio XIII Gemina* was no longer active in Dacia Inferior. At Slăveni it seems the legionary soldiers built the baths and perhaps assisted with other fort construction work. Tiles bearing the legion's stamps were also found reused in the fort walls dating to a renovation phase from 205.⁹¹⁷

⁹¹² Moga 1985, 70

⁹¹³ Vlădescu 1983, 32; Schuster 2014

⁹¹⁴ Gudea 1997a, 83-85.

⁹¹⁵ Vlădescu 1983, 32; Tudor 1965, 359 no.4, fig. 1/1; IDR II.524

⁹¹⁶ Vlădescu 1983, 32. Brick stamps without the name "*Gemina*" have also been found in other places, including near *Apulum* (CIL 3.12608ha), in Pannonia Superior (CIL 3.4660, 01,a,b; CIL 3.4660, 02), and also in numerous stone inscriptions (from *Apulum*: CIL 3.1000; CIL 3.1158; CIL 3.1163; from Noricum: CIL 3.5336; from Dalmatia: CIL 3.8438).

⁹¹⁷ Vlădescu 1983, 32

In Southwestern Dacia

A single stamp of *LEG XIII GEM* was discovered by chance at Caransebeș, which scholars initially took as evidence of a legionary detachment in garrison at the nearby fort of *Tibiscum* (Jupa, Romania) (Figure 2.33).⁹¹⁸ Further scholarship since then has shown that the fort was garrisoned exclusively by auxiliary units (which have left a large number of inscriptions and stamps), and there is now debate about whether the *legio XIII Gemina* is actually attested here or not, especially since one single stamp can prove very little.⁹¹⁹

Băile Herculane was an important Roman mountain spa town built around a natural hot spring. Here, M. Aurelius Veteranus, the *prae(fectus) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Gall(i)eniana(e)* fulfilled his vow by dedicating an inscription to *Aesculapius* and *Hygia*.⁹²⁰ In this context, the monument was surely erected by Veteranus at the end of a seemingly successful trip to the mountain spa that had presumably been undertaken for personal health reasons (and not necessarily as part of a military mission). The epithet *Gallieniana* has been used to date the inscription to the years after the military reforms of Gallienus, dating the monument to only a few years before the abandonment of Dacia under Aurelian. Given this context, this inscription does not necessarily prove a legionary detachment here – just a personal spa holiday.

Just a few kilometres away from Băile Herculane lies the Roman auxiliary fort of *Praetorium* (Mehadia) and the nearby town of *Ad Mediam* (Mehadia, Romania).⁹²¹ Here, T. Aurelius Geminianus, a *ve(teranus) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Antoninianae* dedicated an

⁹¹⁸ IDR III/1.127b

⁹¹⁹ Benea and Moga 1978; Moga 1985, 71; Gudea 1997a, 32-34 no.17.

⁹²⁰ CIL 3.1560=IDR III/1.54=ILS 3845=CER 1.66; Piso 2000, 224

⁹²¹ Macrea *et al.* 1993; Gudea 1997a, 31-32.

inscription *ex voto* to *Hercules Invictus*.⁹²² The fort of *Praetorium* guarded an important mountain pass and Roman road leading south to *Dierna* on the Danube which connected Dacia to Moesia Superior.⁹²³ Given the nature of the inscription, the god to which it is dedicated, and its proximity to the spa at Băile Herculane (whose patron deity was *Hercules*), it is possible that this dedication was also commissioned on the occasion of a successful visit to the spa not far from the fort.⁹²⁴ At the local museum there is a brick stamped simply with the number '*XIII*', perhaps referring to the legion, which seemingly came from Băile Herculane or *Ad Mediam* and dates to the reign of Gallienus (although this cannot be confirmed based on this evidence alone).⁹²⁵ At the fort of *Praetorium* we have evidence of at least two auxiliary units: *cohors VIII Raetorum* until the mid second century, and *cohors III Delmatarum milliaria* from the mid-late second century onwards, the latter of which was permanently garrisoned there. Archaeological excavations in the fort have also recovered tiles and bricks stamped with two different stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina*: *LEG XIII GEM* and *LEG XIII G*.⁹²⁶ The former has been dated to the early second century, while the other has been dated to the second half of the third century, so during the last decades of the Roman province, or even its abandonment.⁹²⁷ Dating to this same late period, there is a brick with the stamp *LEGG V M / ET XIII GM*,⁹²⁸ which has no parallels elsewhere.⁹²⁹ This unique

⁹²² CIL 3.1569=IDR III/1.61

⁹²³ Gudea 1997a, 31-32 no.15

⁹²⁴ Moga 1985, 71, who actually presents the inscription as originating from Băile Herculane, although its find spot was *Ad Mediam*.

⁹²⁵ IDR III/1, p.98; Moga 1985, 72

⁹²⁶ CIL 3.1629, n; CIL 3.8074, 12,1,n; IDR III/1, p.119 (after no.110); see Macrea *et al.* 1993, 51-52

⁹²⁷ IDR III/1, p.120; Moga 1985, 72

⁹²⁸ IDR III/1, p.98-99, no.70

⁹²⁹ IDR III.1.102a. Although this particular stamp has not been found elsewhere, there are other examples of stamps naming multiple units, such as the stamps from *Buridava* (IDR II.556 and IDR II.557a both list *legio I Italica et legio XI Claudia et legio V Macedonica*, but in different orders; IDR II.559 lists *legiones I Italica et V Macedonica*; ILD.161b lists *legio I Italica et legio V Macedonica*), and a stamp from *Tyras* (AE 1925.78).

brick stamp, which mentions both of Dacia's legions (*legio V Macedonica* and *legio XIII Gemina*) dates to the second half of the third century and indicates that detachments of both legions were located in the southwestern portion of the province. It may date to the last few years before the province's abandonment, or perhaps to the post-abandonment period when the fort was partially rebuilt in late antiquity. But, aside from these stamps types, so far the only evidence for this post-abandonment phase are roof tiles found within the same archaeological context as coins and other artifacts dating to the fourth century.⁹³⁰ The joint stamp for the *legio XIII Gemina* and the *legio V Macedonica* has been connected to the *VEXILLATIO DACIARUM* stamp that was also found at *Praetorium* (Mehadia) and which is dated to this late period,⁹³¹ and may perhaps be associated with post-abandonment period when both legions were garrisoned very close to each other on the Danube (in the late third to early fourth century), or when they were in a position to send out joint *vexillationes*.⁹³² If this is correct, then this was likely part of the broader imperial strategy at this time of concentrating legionary forces along the empire's northern frontier, and is a further clue about military restructuring and movements within the last few years before the abandonment of the province and in the post-abandonment period. At the same time, however, the *vexillatio Daciarum* stamp could also refer to some other *vexillatio* comprised of troops from the *Tres Daciae* which was formed in the late second or in the earlier third century for a now-unknown military purpose.⁹³³

⁹³⁰ Macrea *et al.* 1993, 52

⁹³¹ CIL 3.8074, 30=CIL 3.1633,19=IDR III/1.73

⁹³² Macrea *et al.* 1993, 52

⁹³³ cf. CIL 3.1193=IDR III/5.2.542=ILS 2746=AE 1967.664, the base of a funerary statue from *Apulum* for C. Iulius Corinthianus, the prefect *cob(ortis) VII Gall(orum)* and the tribune *cob(ortis) I Britt(annicae) item vexil(lationis) Dacor(um) Parthic(ae)*. The *vexillatio Dacorum Parthicae* probably participated in Septimius Severus' Parthian campaign (198-199) (see Chritescu 1937, 205; IDR III/5.2, p. 413).

South of *Praetorium* (Mehadia) and Băile Herculane the Roman road reaches *Dierna* (Orșova, Romania), on the northern bank of the Danube river, a major economic center and customs port, with obvious military importance.⁹³⁴ Numerous military units are attested at the site based on brick stamps, including a brick bearing a *LEG XIII GEM* stamp (with the number *XIII* rendered identically to the stamps from Băile Herculane).⁹³⁵ This sole stamp may or may not have originated at Băile Herculane, and thus cannot prove a legionary presence here. Two other stamps of the legion – *LEG XIII R*, and *LEG XIII G RAT* – probably date to the period after Aurelian’s abandonment of Dacia (in 271/275), when *legio XIII Gemina* was permanently transferred from *Apulum* to *Ratiaria* in the new province of Dacia Aureliana (formerly in Moesia Superior). It seems that even after the abandonment of Dacia, a bridge across the Danube was maintained by the Romans in this area, with a detachment of the *legio XIII Gemina* sent from *Ratiaria* to garrison a newly built *castellum* (of the late Roman *quadriburgium* type) at *Dierna* in order to watch over the northern end of the bridge. It seems this late third century fort at *Dierna* was under the administration of the newly created late Roman province of Dacia Ripensis.⁹³⁶ This was part of a broader defensive system established in late antiquity in this area, which saw the creation of a string of military forts on both banks of the Danube river (as described in the *Notitia Dignitatum* and which has been corroborated archaeologically).

⁹³⁴ Gudea 1997a, 31.

⁹³⁵ Moga 1985, 73; IDR III.1 p.74

⁹³⁶ Moga 1985, 73. After the Aurelian withdrawal there are a few other tile and brick stamps attesting to *legio XIII Gemina* (now at *Ratiaria*) and *legio V Macedonica* (now at *Oescus*) on the former territory of Dacia. See Moga 1985, 73-75 on these and other bits of evidence about Roman military activities in the territory of Dacia after its abandonment (spanning the end of the third century to the sixth century).

LEGIO V MACEDONICA

(Figure 4.6)

The *legio V Macedonica*'s early history and origin are uncertain.⁹³⁷ According to one hypothesis it was originally created by Brutus (as the *legio IIII Macedonica*), and it may have participated in the battle of *Mutina* and the battle of *Philippi*.⁹³⁸ It served in Macedonia from 30 BCE to 6 CE, whence it received its name *Macedonica* ("Macedonian"), but it may also have been known as *legio V Scythica* after M. Licinius Crassus defeated the 'Scythians' and Bastarnae (29-27 BCE).⁹³⁹ Augustus was probably the one who stationed it in Moesia, and it was likely one of the two legions that Tacitus places in that province (*Annales* IV.5.3). As indicated by an inscription from Boljetin, Serbia dating to the reign of Tiberius, the *legio V Macedonica* worked together with the *legio VI Scythica* in Moesia to build the important Roman road running along the south side of the Danube.⁹⁴⁰ Certainly by the time of Claudius (and perhaps earlier) the *legio V Macedonica* was based at *Oescus* (Gigen, Bulgaria) in Moesia.⁹⁴¹ It may have also helped in the military operations during the reign of Claudius that led to the creation of Roman Thrace.⁹⁴²

In 62 CE the legion was sent to Cappadocia, where it took part in Caesennius Paetus' disastrous retreat from Armenia (alongside the legions *IIII Scythica* and *XII Fulminata*). It stayed in the east and helped suppress the First Jewish Revolt. It joined Vespasian and his army at *Ptolemais* in the winter of 66-67 CE and campaigned in the

⁹³⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1572-1585

⁹³⁸ Bărbulescu 1987, 16; Petolescu 2010, 195; Pollard and Berry 2012, 200

⁹³⁹ Pollard and Berry 2012, 200

⁹⁴⁰ CIL 3.1698=CIL 3.13813b=ILS 2281

⁹⁴¹ Petolescu 2010, 196

⁹⁴² Bărbulescu 1987, 16

Galilee.⁹⁴³ In 68 CE it was garrisoned at *Emmaus*, where it stayed until 70 CE.⁹⁴⁴ According to Josephus, the legion played an important role in the siege of Jerusalem, especially by capturing the Antonia tower and thus allowing the Romans to capture the fortress.⁹⁴⁵ Two centurions of the legion received *dona militaria* from Vespasian after this campaign.⁹⁴⁶ The legion is also attested in Judaea by a funerary inscription from Abu Ghosh near Jerusalem, and several examples of coins bearing the counter-mark *LVS*, which was recently interpreted as *L(egio) V S(cythica)* – perhaps another name for the legion (as mentioned above).⁹⁴⁷ After the fall of Jerusalem the legion went to Alexandria with Titus, and from there back to *Oescus* in Moesia (by 71).⁹⁴⁸ After the division of Moesia in 86, the *legio V Macedonica* found itself in Moesia Inferior. It must have participated in Domitian's Dacian campaigns, as indicated by the *dona militaria* bestowed upon one of its centurions.⁹⁴⁹

Before becoming emperor, a young Hadrian served as a military tribune in the legion (in 96),⁹⁵⁰ and then became its legate by the start of Trajan's first Dacian War (101).⁹⁵¹ The legion was one of the thirteen or fourteen legions that Trajan assembled to conquer the Dacians. Its commander, Q. Roscius Coelius Pompeius Falco, apparently received the *dona militaria* for his role in the Dacian Wars.⁹⁵² During the Dacian Wars the *legio V Macedonica* worked together with detachments of other units from Moesia Inferior (including the legions

⁹⁴³ Pollard and Berry 2012, 200; Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* III.64-65

⁹⁴⁴ CIL 3.6647; CIL 3.14155,11; CIL 3.14155,12

⁹⁴⁵ Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* V.11 and VI.1.7

⁹⁴⁶ From Rome: CIL 6.3580, a-b=ILS 2641; From Rimini/*Ariminum*: CIL 11.390=AE 1964.202; Maxfield 1981, 189-190

⁹⁴⁷ Pollard and Berry 2012, 200

⁹⁴⁸ Petolescu 2010, 196; Bărbulescu 1987, 16

⁹⁴⁹ CIL 3.12411=ILS 2666b=IDRE 2.328; Maxfield 1981, 186, 191-193

⁹⁵⁰ CIL 3.550=ILS 308=IDRE 2.365 (from Athens).

⁹⁵¹ Pollard and Berry 2012, 201

⁹⁵² Bărbulescu 1987, 18; Ritterling 1925, 1575; CIL 3.12117=ILS 1036; CIL 10.6321=ILS 1035=IDRE 1.101=AE 1980.202

I Italica and *XI Claudia* and the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum*) to build the fort at Drajna de Sus (Romania).⁹⁵³ The legion also appears on tile/brick stamps at *Buridava* (Stolniceni, Romania), *Arutela* (Figure 2.32), and Mălăiești during this period.⁹⁵⁴ After the Dacian Wars it was moved from *Oescus* to *Troesmis* (Igliț, Romania), Moesia Inferior, where it is mentioned by Ptolemy and attested by numerous inscriptions.⁹⁵⁵

A *vexillatio* of the legion may have participated in Trajan's Parthian War, but it is certain that a *vexillatio* consisting of soldiers from legions *V Macedonica* and *XI Claudia* (and maybe also *I Italica*?) took part in suppressing the Bar Kokhba revolt in Judaea (132-135), as documented by an inscription from Bethther/Betthar in Judaea which mentions a centurion of this *vexillatio*.⁹⁵⁶ The legion (or its detachments) also fought for Lucius Verus against the Parthians (161-166).⁹⁵⁷ Then, by 168, the *legio V Macedonica* was permanently transferred by Marcus Aurelius to *Potaissa* in Dacia Porolissensis (Figure 2.38).⁹⁵⁸ This was undoubtedly in response to the Marcomannic Wars (166-180), during which Dacia was attacked from the west by Sarmatian Iazyges (who ravaged northwestern Dacia, disrupting the operations in the

⁹⁵³ Bărbulescu 1987, 18; IDR II.600-603; ILD 167c=AE 1997.1323.c

⁹⁵⁴ Piso 2000, 213; IDR II.579=AE 1969/1970.550; At *Buridava*: IDR II.556-557a, where it appears on the stamps together with the legions *I Italica* and *XI Claudia* – on the tile military units that appear on the tile stamps at *Buridava* see Strobel 1987.

⁹⁵⁵ Bărbulescu 1987, 18-22; Ptolemy *Geographia* III.10.5.

⁹⁵⁶ Bărbulescu 1987, 20; Piso 2000, 214; Ritterling 1925, 1578; CIL 3.13586=CIL 3.14155,2=AE 1896.53

⁹⁵⁷ Piso 2000, 214; Petolescu 2010, 197; Based on an inscription from *Troesmis* which commemorates a soldier of the *legio V Macedonica* named Valerius Valens who was “killed in the Parthian expedition” (CIL 3.6189: *defu(n)ct(o) in expeditiōe Part(hica)*). See also CIL 3.7505=ILS 2311=IDRE 2.340.

⁹⁵⁸ There has been considerable debate about the exact date of this transfer. For a discussion of the issue see Bărbulescu 1987, 22-23; Piso 2000, 214-215; Grec 2006, 12-15. For the evidence that it took place in 168 (which appears to be the most widely accepted date, and the one that I find most convincing), see Bărbulescu 1987, 23 and Petolescu 2010, 197. The argument is largely based on the very interesting epitaph from *Troesmis* (CIL 3.7505=ILS 2311=IDRE 2.340), and hinges on both the nature and date of Sextus Calpurnius Agricola's command over the legion (was Agricola governor of Moesia Inferior after the legion's return to *Troesmis* from the east, or was Agricola the first consular governor of Dacia, from 166-168?), and on the date of Marcus Claudius Fronto's consular governorship of Dacia (from 168-170). It seems clear, however, that 168 is either the date of the transfer or a *terminus ante quem* for it – by 168 the legion was certainly at *Potaissa* under the governorship of Fronto. At the earliest, the move could have happened immediately upon its return from the Parthian War in 166, although the arguments in favor of 168 are the most convincing.

gold mining district, and burning down the fort at *Micia*), and perhaps from the north by the Quadii and from the east by the Costoboci.⁹⁵⁹ The *legio V Macedonica* was permanently transferred to northern Dacia to consolidate Roman military power in this highly vulnerable projection of Roman territory – Dacia as a whole clearly could no longer be adequately served by a single legion.

Potaissa (Turda, Romania)

The site of *Potaissa* had been a Roman *vicus* since the time of Trajan, since it appears on the famous milestone from Aiton dated to 108, indicating that the site was named and located along one of the first roads built in the new province (Figures 2.27; 2.38).⁹⁶⁰ The *legio V Macedonica* started building a large stone legionary fortress (23.4 hectares) here in 168-170. This was Dacia's largest legionary fortress (bigger than the ones at *Berzobis* and *Apulum*), and is by far the best preserved, studied, and understood. Because the site was fortuitously not destroyed by later medieval and modern settlement it has seen systematic archaeological research since 1971.⁹⁶¹ The remains of the surrounding ancient town lie largely under parts of modern Turda and are spread over an area of several square

⁹⁵⁹ Petolescu 2010, 197

⁹⁶⁰ Fodorean *et al.* 2013, 54-55; The Aiton milestone (CIL 3.1627=ILD 536=CER 3.216), which is now unfortunately lost, marked the road built from *Potaissa* to *Napoca*, a length of twenty-four Roman miles (thirty-six kilometres), which has been extensively identified and mapped on the ground. The milestone tells us that the road was built by the *cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria civium Romanorum equitata*, one of the auxiliary units known to have fought in the Dacian Wars, after which we know it was garrisoned at Orheiul Bistriței on the northeastern frontier of Dacia.

⁹⁶¹ Over thirty field seasons of excavation have been undertaken at the site over the course decades. On the fortress, see especially M. Bărbulescu 1987, 84-188; 1991; 1994; 1997; C. Bărbulescu 2004; Pîslaru 2009; Gudea 1997a, 109-111.

kilometres.⁹⁶² Under Septimius Severus the town became a *municipium*, but since there may also be a *colonia* attested at the site under the same emperor it is currently unclear if there was a *colonia* that became a *municipium*, or if there were two separate towns (as was the case at *Apulum*, for example).⁹⁶³ It seems *Potaissa* and its legion were thus honored by the emperor as a sign of gratitude for *legio V Macedonica*'s loyalty towards Septimius Severus against his rivals.

On the plateau called Dealul Cetății the legion built its stone fortress, undoubtedly located here because of its proximity to a quarry (at Săndulești)⁹⁶⁴ and a nearby water source.⁹⁶⁵ Because of its strategic location on the gently sloping plateau, from the fort one could see Aiton to the north, and the entire Arieș river valley to the south (almost to its point of confluence with the Mureș).⁹⁶⁶ Excavations have uncovered the *porta decumana*, portions of the outer fortifications, a very large *principia*, a *basilica*, granaries, and baths.⁹⁶⁷ Pottery and stonemason workshops were found on Dealul Zânelor, and a *cella vinaria* (including installations for the production and storage of wine) was excavated on Dealul Șuia.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶² On the civilian settlement at *Potaissa* in general (both epigraphy and archaeology), see Bărbulescu 1994, 49-91; Pîslaru 2009, 23-28

⁹⁶³ On this issue see Bărbulescu 1994, 40-48. Domitian Ulpian, writing during the reign of Caracalla (as preserved in the Byzantine *Digesta* 50.15.1) records a *Patavissensium vicus, qui a divo Severo ius coloniae impetravit* ("Patavissensium vicus, which received the right of being a *colonia* from the divine Severus"). This has been taken as evidence that the *vicus* at *Potaissa* became a *colonia* under Septimius Severus. But, epigraphically a *municipium Septimium Potaissense* is attested at *Potaissa* (in multiple inscriptions), hence the confusion about whether there were two separate towns here (like at *Apulum*), or whether there was just one, which first became a *colonia* and then a *municipium* during the reign of Septimius Severus (it is also possible that Ulpian or the Byzantine *Digesta* citing him are wrong). One suggestion is that the Roman *vicus* became a *colonia* and that the *canabae* of the legion became the *municipium*.

⁹⁶⁴ See Bărbulescu 1994, 105-106

⁹⁶⁵ Fodorean *et al.* 2013, 54.

⁹⁶⁶ Fodorean *et al.* 2013, 54, based on digital view shed analyses.

⁹⁶⁷ See Bărbulescu 1994, 93-103 for an overview; C. Bărbulescu 2004, 32-39 on the *principia*; Bărbulescu *et al.* 1999 on the baths

⁹⁶⁸ Alexandrescu 2013b; Bărbulescu 1994, 110-115.

Evidence of a military *fabrica* was discovered inside the fort.⁹⁶⁹ Near *Potaissa* there is also evidence of Roman salt mining, further indicating the fortress' strategic location.⁹⁷⁰

In addition to the archaeological evidence, several inscriptions also shed light on the construction of the fort. An unknown structure was given as a gift (*donum dedit*) to the legion by Septimius Severus in 195, under the care of its commander Tiberius Claudius Claudianus (the *legatus Augusti*).⁹⁷¹ The inscription specifies that the emperor's own brother, Publius Septimius Geta (who was the propraetorian governor of Dacia at the time)⁹⁷² was present at the dedication. Another inscription was dedicated to the *Genius scholae* by the legionary *beneficarii* in 200-201.⁹⁷³ In what were probably the *armamentaria* of the fort, an altar was found, which was dedicated to the *Genius armamentarii* by Aelius Vitalis, a *custos armorum* ("weapons caretaker").⁹⁷⁴ During the reign of Gordian III (238-244) a *basilica legionis* was either built or restored.⁹⁷⁵ In the time of Gallienus and Valerian (253-259), Donatus the *praefectus* of the legion completed a temple to *deus Azizus bonus puer conservator*.⁹⁷⁶

In one of the barracks on the fort's *latus praetorii sinistrum* an altar dedicated to both *legio V Macedonica p(ia) c(onstans)* and *legio VII Gemina* was discovered.⁹⁷⁷ The dedication was probably made to mark the occasion of the arrival of a *vexillatio* of *legio VII Gemina* in

⁹⁶⁹ Bărbulescu 1987, 144-146; Bărbulescu 1994, 107-109; see also Benea 2008a, 379-380

⁹⁷⁰ Oltean 2007, 39; Wollmann 1996, 240-249

⁹⁷¹ CIL 3.905; Bărbulescu 1987, 24

⁹⁷² Piso 1993, 150-156

⁹⁷³ CIL 3.876

⁹⁷⁴ ILD 503=AE 2004.1195; Bărbulescu 1994, 101

⁹⁷⁵ ILD 462=AE 1971.364

⁹⁷⁶ CIL 3.875=ILS 4345

⁹⁷⁷ Bărbulescu and Milea 1975, 571-576

Dacia at the end of the second, or more likely in the early third century.⁹⁷⁸ Stamps of the *legio VII Gemina* were found at *Porolissum*, and this was probably where the detachment was sent during its stay in the province.⁹⁷⁹ The stamps indicate that the detachment was involved in the construction of the stone fort on Pomet hill. But why was this *vexillatio* sent here from Spain? Nicolae Gudea's theory to explain the presence of a legionary detachment from Spain in northern Dacia in the early third century is that it accompanied Caracalla on his visit to Dacia Porolissensis and then continued on with him to his eastern campaigns, but this is pure speculation.⁹⁸⁰

Over 200 inscriptions are known from *Potaissa*, including the fortress and its surrounding settlement, and unsurprisingly, many of these epitaphs, honorific inscriptions, and sacred (including *ex voto*) dedications name individuals associated with the legion.⁹⁸¹ It is remarkable to note that over 95% of the bricks found at *Potaissa* are stamped (Figure 4.4). The various stamps, which bear the legion's different epithets over time, indicate the extent to which parts of the fortress were added, modified, or rebuilt during the century that the legion was in garrison at the site.⁹⁸² The *legio V Macedonica* stayed in *Potaissa* until the Roman withdrawal from Dacia under Aurelian, at which point it returned to its old base in

⁹⁷⁸ Grec 2006, 19; see the longer discussion in Bărbulescu 1987, 27-28, and especially (most recently) in Gudea 2011. The stratigraphic context in which the stamps were found at *Porolissum* appears to date to the early third century.

⁹⁷⁹ Bărbulescu 1994, 97; cf. ILD 733=AE 1977.664=AE 1979.501b

⁹⁸⁰ Gudea 1984, 227-229, but he seems to waffle on this theory later (Gudea 2011, 161), admitting that there is no way to know.

⁹⁸¹ All the inscriptions of *Potaissa* are currently in the process of being prepared for publication along with all the Roman inscriptions of Dacia Porolissensis in a forthcoming volume of IDR (IDR IV, 1-3 - see Piso 2013b, 39 n.1). Currently they are scattered throughout various publications – see for example the EDCS search for *Potaissa*.

⁹⁸² See Grec 2006 for the study of the legion's stamps.

Oescus where it remained until at least the fifth century (as indicated by the *Notitia Dignitatum*).⁹⁸³

In Dacia Porolissensis

During its century in Dacia, the *legio V Macedonica* served as the legion of Dacia Porolissensis. Prior to its arrival in 168, the *Exercitus Daciae Porolissensis* had consisted only of auxiliary units, but as already mentioned, with the administrative changes made by Marcus Aurelius it seems that Dacia's three regions no longer had control over semi-separate garrisons. Tile and brick stamps found at several military sites along the northern frontier (as discussed earlier) indicate that prior to the arrival of the *legio V Macedonica*, the *legio XIII Gemina* provided assistance (in terms of construction and military support) when needed within Dacia's northernmost sector. Given its location within Dacia Porolissensis, the *legio V Macedonica* was primarily responsible for the defense of the long northern frontier of the province, which was exposed to *barbaricum* on three sides, during the most militarily active and vulnerable period of Roman Dacia's history. The legion's century in Dacia, from the time of Marcus Aurelius to the abandonment of the province by Aurelian, is marked by repeated attacks on the province, especially along its northern frontier, which were compounded by internal unrest (and major emperor turnover) within the Roman empire.

Unlike the case of the *legio XIII Gemina*, there are no stone inscriptions attesting to the presence of vexillations of the *legio V Macedonica* in auxiliary camps.⁹⁸⁴ Thus, we are entirely reliant upon the discovery of legionary tile and brick stamps for an indication of the

⁹⁸³ Pollard and Berry 2012, 201; For the legion after 271, see Bărbulescu 1987, 32-33

⁹⁸⁴ Bărbulescu 1987, 49

legion's presence and distribution within Dacia Porolissensis. Stamps of the *legio V Macedonica* appear at sites along the main road that crossed through the center of Dacia Porolissensis, on which *Potaissa* was located. South of the legionary base these include the sites of Aiud and Unirea⁹⁸⁵ (located between *Potaissa* and *Apulum*), and on the road north of the base (leading to *Porolissum*) at Copăceni,⁹⁸⁶ Ceanu Mic, Aiton, and *Napoca*.⁹⁸⁷ Right around the legionary base at *Potaissa*, to the west of the main road segment between *Apulum* and *Napoca*, stamps were found at Mihai Viteazu⁹⁸⁸ and Moldovenești⁹⁸⁹ (southwest of *Potaissa*), and at Săndulești,⁹⁹⁰ Micești, Vâlcele, and Reditu. In the plain to the east of the *Potaissa* – *Napoca* main road segment, slightly further afield, stamps were found at Aruncuta and Sopor de Câmpie.⁹⁹¹ More stamps are found along the road which ran east-west along the Mureș river after it branches off from the *Apulum-Potaissa* road segment at *Salinae*,⁹⁹² including the sites of Războieni-Cetate, Lunca Mureșului, Gligorești, Bogata,⁹⁹³ and further on at Cristești,⁹⁹⁴ and Corund.⁹⁹⁵ At Lunca Mureșului an altar dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* by Cassius Severinus, a centurion of the *legio V Macedonica*, was also discovered, although it was found as *spolia* in a church, so we cannot know for sure that it originated at this site.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁸⁵ CIL 3.1630h

⁹⁸⁶ CIL 3.8066k

⁹⁸⁷ Bărbulescu 1987, 49-50

⁹⁸⁸ CIL 3.8066g

⁹⁸⁹ CIL 3.1630f-g

⁹⁹⁰ CIL 3.8066h-i

⁹⁹¹ Bărbulescu 1987, 50

⁹⁹² Bărbulescu 1987, 50

⁹⁹³ CIL 3.8066d

⁹⁹⁴ IDR III/4.150.1

⁹⁹⁵ IDR III/4.304

⁹⁹⁶ IDR III/4.83a=ILD 473=AE 1971.366

Overall, the territory encompassing the sites at which legionary tile and brick stamps were found is mostly contained within a perimeter that runs between Vâlcele, Moldovenеști, and Soporu de Câmpie – approximately 600 kilometres squared in area. This zone could reasonably have contained within it the *territorium* or *prata legionis* (the territory around the legionary base which was owned and administered by the legion for its own needs).⁹⁹⁷ Unfortunately, the exact archaeological context in which most of these stamps were found at these sites is unknown, and there remains the possibility that some of these bricks/tiles were brought from elsewhere (especially *Potaissa*). At the same time, however, one would expect to find evidence of legionary construction within the wider region around the fortress, and the fact that these sites are predominantly found along the major Roman roads leading away from the base in all directions is unsurprising. After all, one of the legion's primary jobs would have been to secure and patrol these communication and transportation arteries, which would have seen civilian, commercial, and military traffic and which linked the legionary base to the northern provincial frontier. Indeed, a legionary presence around the salt mining district at *Salinae* makes perfect sense, especially since we know that there is earlier evidence for the *legio XIII Gemina* in the area. It is likely that there was at least a *statio* near the salt mines, and probably other *stationes* along the roads within this sector.

The auxiliary forts that are closest to *Potaissa* are at Gilău (to the northwest), Gherla (to the north), Războieni-Cetate (to the south), and Cristești (to the southeast). All of these *castra* had cavalry units in garrison (*alae*), which makes sense since these would have been highly mobile units located along major transportation arteries which were strategically

⁹⁹⁷ See MacMullen 1963, 7-9; Bărbulescu 1987, 51-52; Mason 1988; Southern 2006, 113 on the *territorium* or *prata legionis*. On *Potaissa* specifically see also Nemeti *et al.* 2003.

located between the legionary fortress and the auxiliary *castra* on the outermost provincial frontier. Thus, a close relationship between these units/forts and the legion makes good military sense. Of these four, legionary tile/brick stamps have thus far only been found at Războieni-Cetate and Cristești, which may perhaps point to the presence of legionary detachments at the site, or the existence of *stationes* manned by auxiliary or legionary troops on the road that ran along the Mureș river in this sector.⁹⁹⁸

Several attestations of the *legio V Macedonica* appear at forts on Dacia's northernmost frontier. At *Porolissum* an inscription was found in a temple near the fort on Pomăt hill, dedicated to the emperor and to the ancestral god Bel (*deo patrio Belo*) by the *numerus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum* during the reign of Caracalla.⁹⁹⁹ It records the unit's reconstruction with its own funds (*pecunia sua*) of a temple that had been destroyed by a fire (*templum vi ignis consumptum*). The reconstruction was carried out under the care of T. Flavius Saturninus, a *centurio* of the *legio V Macedonica Pia Constans*, with C. Iulius Septimius Castinus the governor of the Three Dacias (*co(n)s(ularis) III Dac[iarum]*) and Ulpus Victor the procurator of Dacia Porolissensis (*proc(uratore) Aug(usti) provi[nc(iae) Por]ol(issensis)*) as dedicants. A stamp of the legion was also found at *Porolissum*.¹⁰⁰⁰ Thus, there is evidence of *legio V Macedonica's* presence at *Porolissum* (perhaps indicating a detachment), which makes sense considering this was the largest and most important military complex on the northern frontier. Furthermore, the legion's presence here during the time of Caracalla would make sense since it is possible that there was a foreign incursion

⁹⁹⁸ Bărbulescu 1987, 53

⁹⁹⁹ ILD 663=AE 1980.755; see also Benea 2002, 187. For the Temple of Bel at *Porolissum* see Gudea 2003, 217-225

¹⁰⁰⁰ ILD 734=CER 11.563

into Dacian territory at that time, and it furthermore seems that Caracalla himself visited the province (possibly even *Porolissum*).¹⁰⁰¹ The fact that a centurion of the *legio V Macedonica*, the governor of the Three Dacias, and the procurator of Dacia Porolissensis all participated (in some fashion) in the (re)dedication of a rebuilt temple for an ancestral god of a tribal unit of Palmyrene archers in a fort on Dacia's northern frontier is in itself quite interesting.

As indicated earlier in the discussion of the *beneficiarii consularis* of the *legio XIII Gemina* that were attested epigraphically at auxiliary fort of *Samum* (Cășeu) in the center of Dacia's northern frontier, numerous inscriptions also attest to the presence of various *beneficiarii consularis* of the *legio V Macedonica* at this fort during the early to mid-third century. All of them are dedications to gods. During the reign of Severus Alexander (apparently around 224), Scantius Lucius dedicated three separate inscriptions at the fort in his capacity as *beneficiarius consularis legionis V Macedonicae Severianae Alexandrianae*. Two are dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*, and in one of them he specifies his function in the capacity of *beneficiarius consularis* as the officer in charge of a *statio* (*agens curam stationis*), dated to 224.¹⁰⁰² In the third inscription (probably also from 224), dedicated to *Nemesis*, he is once again specified as *agens curam stationis*.¹⁰⁰³ In 230, Octatius Florentinus made a dedication to *Nemesis Regina* and specified that he was "once again" in charge of the *statio* (*iterato agens statione*).¹⁰⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰¹ Bodor 1974; Macrea 1957; Opreanu 2015; Szabó 2003

¹⁰⁰² ILD 772=CER 21/24.1069=Isac 1994, 212 (no.14); the one in which he is *agens curam stationis*: ILD 771=Isac 1994, 212 (no.12)=AE 1957.327=AE 2004.1183; Daicoviciu 1966, 165

¹⁰⁰³ ILD 773=Isac 1994, 212 (no.7)=AE 1957.328; Daicoviciu 1966, 165

¹⁰⁰⁴ ILD 775=Isac 1994, 212 (no.11)=AE 1957.329; Daicoviciu 1966, 166

During the reign of Gordian III, Publius Aelius Proculus dedicated an inscription to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*.¹⁰⁰⁵ Under the same emperor, two other *beneficarii consularis* of the *legio V Macedonica* made dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in which they specified their mission: Marcus Aurelius Moenenus was *agens sub signis reg(ione) Ans(amensium)*,¹⁰⁰⁶ and in 243 Publius Aelius Marcellinus was *agens Samum cum r(e)g(ione) Ans(amensium) sub sig(nis)*.¹⁰⁰⁷ These are comparable to the dedication by a *beneficiarius consularis* of the *legio XIII Gemina* made at this fort in 239 who specified that he was *agens sig(nis) Samum cum reg(ione) Ans(amensium)*.¹⁰⁰⁸ The expression *agens sub signis* has been interpreted as describing the command (*cura*) of a militia comprised of locals who had been called to arms in the town of *Samum* (near the fort) from the region belonging to the tribe of the *Ansamenses* (perhaps a Dacian tribe?), which is here specified as part of the provincial territory (*regio Ans.*) that was not politically included in one of the provincial urban communities (*civitates*).¹⁰⁰⁹

Publius Aelius Sextilianus dedicated to an unknown deity.¹⁰¹⁰ In another inscription he dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* “and to the other gods” (*ceterisque dis*).¹⁰¹¹ Gaius Iulius Maximus made a dedication to *Nemesis*.¹⁰¹² One other inscription was dedicated to *Nemesis* by Cassius Erotianus to record the fact that he had (all by himself) rebuilt the

¹⁰⁰⁵ ILD 769=Isac 1994, 212 (no.13)=AE 2006.1124. His legion is specified as the *legio V Macedonica Gordiana*.

¹⁰⁰⁶ CIL 3.822=Isac 1994, 212 (no.2); Daicoviciu 1966, 166

¹⁰⁰⁷ ILD 765=Isac 1994, 212 (no.8)=AE 1957.326; Daicoviciu 1966, 165

¹⁰⁰⁸ Discussed above under *legio XIII Gemina*: CIL 3.827=CIL 3.7633=Isac 1994, 212 (no.1); Daicoviciu 1966, 164-165

¹⁰⁰⁹ Daicoviciu 1966, 164-165; cf. the *R[esc]ul(o) vico An[artorum]* from a milestone found near the fort of Bologa along Dacia’s western frontier, which would have originally been erected along the road between Bologa and *Optatiana*, and which appears to describe a similar scenario (CIL 3.8060=AE 2004.1050=AE 2011.1076); Deac 2013, 264; Vătavu 2011, 230

¹⁰¹⁰ ILD 780=Isac 1994, 212 (no.10)

¹⁰¹¹ CIL 3.824=CIL 3.7632=Isac 1994, 212 (no.9)

¹⁰¹² CIL 3.826=Isac 1994, 212 (no.3)

goddess' temple which had been destroyed by old age (*sacrarium vetustate dilapsum a solo restituit*).¹⁰¹³ Erotianus was a *beneficiarius consularis* who was also an *agens in munere stationis*, but whose legion is not specified (so it could have been either of the two Dacian legions).

In an analysis of these inscriptions, C. Daicoviciu observed that the ones which explicitly mention a *statio* (*agens curam stationis*; *iterato agens statione*; *agens in munere stationis*) are all dated to the reign of Alexander Severus, while the inscriptions from the time of Gordian III specify the function of the *beneficiarii consularis* as *agens sub signis Samum* (or *Samo*) *cum regione Ansamensium* or *agens sub signis regione Ansamensium* (as discussed above).¹⁰¹⁴ In his view, this indicates that during the reign of Severus Alexander these legionaries were in charge of picket guards in a *statio* located just north of the fort in *barbaricum* (or very close to the fort somewhere). This *statio* was located in the territory of the tribe of the *Ansamenses*,¹⁰¹⁵ perhaps where there was a *vicus Ansamensium*. He proposed that by the reign of Gordian III this strip of territory was annexed to the province and was organized as a *regio Ansamensium* with *Samum* as its administrative center, and thus the function of the *beneficiarii consularis* changed to encompass a command over this new region, since the original *statio* was no longer needed.¹⁰¹⁶ I. Bogdan Cătănciu, on the other hand, has suggested that this change in the function of the *beneficiarii* and the appearance of a *regio Ansamensium* during the reign of Gordian III does not indicate a late annexation of territory. Rather, she argues that it represents a civilian settlement created within the militarily-supervised borderland/frontier zone for soldiers and their families, which was

¹⁰¹³ CIL 3.825=ILD 776=Isac 1994, 212 (no.6); Daicoviciu 1966, 166

¹⁰¹⁴ Daicoviciu 1966, 166-167

¹⁰¹⁵ Which Daicoviciu specifies as a Dacian tribe, but based on no evidence. This is another product of the Romanian scholarly bias towards finding (and assuming the existence) of the so-called 'free Dacians' around the boundaries of the province.

¹⁰¹⁶ Daicoviciu 1966, 167-168

under military leadership (the *beneficarii consularis*) and thus was to some extent outside the normal administrative organization of the wider province.¹⁰¹⁷

Interestingly, north of the frontier between the forts of *Samum* and Ilişua, at Negrileşti (five kilometres from the fort at Ilişua), in the hypothesized *regio Ansamensium*, the remains of a guard station (*burgus speculatorius*) was discovered which yielded an altar inscribed to *Diana* and *Silvanus* by Publius Aelius Atilianus, a *decurio ex singularibus consularis*, who likely would have been a military magistrate in charge of this region or who oversaw a security point north of the provincial boundary.¹⁰¹⁸ A row of watch- and signal-towers was also discovered in the area immediately north of the frontier forts.¹⁰¹⁹

*In Dacia Superior*¹⁰²⁰

Although *legio V Macedonica* was stationed in Dacia Porolissensis, there is epigraphic evidence for the presence of the legion's centurions at two auxiliary forts within Dacia Superior, south of *Apulum*, further indicating that Dacia's tripartite administrative divisions were not military boundaries, especially after 168. In 176-177, at Orăştioara de Sus, an *ex voto* dedication was made to *Diana* for the health of the propraetorian legate by M. Verius Superstes, a centurion of the *legio V Macedonica* who was also *praepositus numeri Germanicianorum*, an irregular unit that we know was in garrison at this fort.¹⁰²¹ At *Germisara* during the reign of Gordian III, Ulpius Maximinus, a centurion of the *legio V*

¹⁰¹⁷ Bogdan Cătănciu 1994

¹⁰¹⁸ ILD 795=AE 1913.54=AE 1914.18; Daicoviciu 1966, 169

¹⁰¹⁹ Ferenczi 1972; 1974

¹⁰²⁰ Now also called Dacia Apulensis (although Dacia Superior is still officially used as well). I will continue to use the name Dacia Superior to keep things clear in the discussion.

¹⁰²¹ CIL 3.12574=IDR III/3.262=AE 1890.101=AE 1912.304=AE 1971.386=AE 1972.487

Macedonica Gordiana and *praepositus numeri singularium peditum Britannicianorum* fulfilled his vow in a dedication to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*.¹⁰²² It was common for *numeri* to be commanded by legionary centurions, usually with the title of *praepositus*.¹⁰²³ The presence of two legionary centurions from the *legio V Macedonica* acting as *praepositi* to auxiliary units garrisoned within Dacia Superior provides further proof about the dissolution of military-administrative boundaries between the three Dacias after the reforms of Marcus Aurelius and that Dacia's military forces functioned as one coherent *exercitus* across the entirety of the territory of *III Daciae*.¹⁰²⁴ Indeed, as indicated above, legionary tile/brick stamps from both legions were found at sites along the border between Dacia Porolissensis and Dacia Apulensis, such as at Aiud and Războieni-Cetate.

¹⁰²² IDR III/3.237

¹⁰²³ Southern 2006, 124

¹⁰²⁴ Bărbulescu 1987, 53

THE AUXILIA

(see Figures 4.8-4.15, and Tables 1-2)

DACIA SUPERIOR

ALAE MILLIARIAE

*Ala I Batavorum milliaria*¹⁰²⁵

Until the recent discovery of the *ala Ulpia Contariorum milliaria*, this was thought to be the only *ala milliaria* in Dacia. But since the *ala Ulpia Contariorum milliaria* was in Dacia only briefly (it had left by 126), the *ala I Batavorum milliaria* was the only *ala milliaria* in the province from 126-271/275. In 112 the unit is attested in Pannonia Inferior, whence it was transferred during the reign of Hadrian to Dacia Superior where it appears in diplomas from 136/138, 142, 144, 156, 158, and 179. In Dacia it was stationed at Războieni-Cetate, just north of the legionary base at *Apulum*, where it is attested by tile stamps.¹⁰²⁶ A relief of the goddess Epona was dedicated at this site by Aurelius Ocon Quinctianus, and it has been suggested based on the Celtic name *Ocon* that the dedicant may have belonged to this *ala*, but this is quite speculative.¹⁰²⁷ From its base at Războieni-Cetate the *ala* could supervise the nearby salt mines at *Salinae*. It could also reach the gold mining area and the western boundary of the province quickly via a road on the Arieș Valley, and could reach the eastern frontier quickly through the upper Mureș valley.¹⁰²⁸ When the *legio V Macedonica* was transferred to Dacia during the Marcomannic Wars, its base at *Potaissa* was

¹⁰²⁵ Christescu 1937, 178; Wagner 1938, 16-17; Beneš 1978, 6 (no.4); Spaul 1994, 62-64; Petolescu 2002, no.4

¹⁰²⁶ IDR III/4.78: *al(a) [I] Ba[t](avorum) ∞*; IDR III/4.79: *APBN (=a(la) p(rima) B(atavorum) Ant(oniana)*; there are also IDR III/4.80 (*AIB*) and IDR III/4.82 (*ALIB*), which cannot securely be identified as this unit. See Popovici and Varga 2010 for this site.

¹⁰²⁷ Petolescu 2002, 64

¹⁰²⁸ Țentea 2009, 372; Bota *et al.* 2004, 291-300; Oltean 2007, 159, fig. 5.30

located just north of Războieni-Cetate, indicating the supreme strategic importance of this location for defending both the gold and salt mining areas, and the northern portion of the province more broadly. Such a highly strategic location makes perfect sense for an *ala milliaria*, since its approximately 1000 mounted troops could easily be dispatched from the location of their base wherever they were needed, especially within the northern portion of the province which was the most vulnerable to attacks from *barbaricum* and which protected Dacia's most important economic assets (gold and salt).

One of the *ala's* prefects, Titus Attius Tutor, is attested in an inscription from *Flavia Solva* (Seggauberg) in Noricum, his hometown to which he retired.¹⁰²⁹ Two soldiers of the *ala* were commemorated by epitaphs at *Apulum*: Dasas (son of) (S)cenobarbus (an Illyrian based on the name) who was an *eques alae Batavorum ex n(umero) sing(ularium)*,¹⁰³⁰ and Aelius Dubitatus, a *missicius* (veteran) *alae Bat(avorum) ex a(la) n(umeri) Il(l)yr(icorum)*.¹⁰³¹ The *ala Ba[t(avorum)]* also appears alongside several other auxiliary units on an altar dedicated to *I.O.M. (Jupiter Optimus Maximus)* for the well-being of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta at *Micia*.¹⁰³² The reason why all of these forces (which may have been

¹⁰²⁹ CIL 3.5331=ILS 2734=IDRE 2.248, which lists his military career.

¹⁰³⁰ CIL 3.7800=IDR III/5.2.522=Speidel 1978, 89-90 (no.36). The inscription is discussed further in the section on the *numerus singularium*.

¹⁰³¹ IDR III/5.2.475=CER 7.416=AE 1987.829; Băluță 1987. The fact that he was a *missicius* indicates that he was discharged before completing twenty-five years of service (the point at which he would have been eligible for citizenship), presumably because he was already a citizen when he was recruited (see Holder 1998, 257-258, who dates the inscription to the latter part of the second century). This is confirmed by the fact that he was already a veteran when he died at age thirty, and that he had a *coniunx* (legally recognized wife) who could set up an epitaph for him.

¹⁰³² CIL 3.1343=IDR III/3.77=AE 1972.487=AE 1977.705=AE 1978.705. For some reason Petolescu (2002, 73) reconstructed the text in the seventh line as *bas(ilica) al(ae) Cam(pagonum)*, rather than as *a[l]ae Ba[t(avorum mil.)] al(ae) Cam(pagonum)*. The latter (which comes from IDR III/3.77) makes much more sense not only because it takes into account the *a[l]ae* at the beginning of the line, but also because it fits with the list of units found in the inscription. Unfortunately the inscription (which was evidently rather illegible in parts) is now lost, so neither possibility can be evaluated by autopsy.

just vexillations) were all present together at *Micia* in the early third century is unclear (especially since the bottom of the inscription is missing).¹⁰³³

*Ala Ulpia Contariorum milliaria*¹⁰³⁴

The presence of this *ala* in Dacia Superior was only recently discovered, and it is only the second *ala milliaria* known from Roman Dacia. It shows up in two of the four fragmentary diplomas that are extant for the constitution of April 5, 121 in Dacia Superior, both of which were first published in 2008.¹⁰³⁵ This constitution was previously attested for Dacia Superior by fragments of two other diplomas published earlier, but the name of this unit was in the lacuna of both.¹⁰³⁶ Outside of these diplomas, the unit is well attested as belonging to Pannonia Superior (in diplomas there from 112, 116, 126, 133, 134, and 138, with further evidence of its presence there until the time of Gordian III).¹⁰³⁷ Thus, it seems that between 116 and 126 it was briefly stationed in Dacia. It may have been transferred at the very end of Trajan's reign, as part of the consolidation of the new territory, or perhaps it was transferred early under Hadrian as part of the military reorganization. Either way, it is clear that it was only part of Dacia Superior's army very briefly before being sent back to Pannonia Superior. Its place of garrison in Dacia Superior is unknown. Two noteworthy aspects of the Dacia Superior diplomas for the April 5, 121 constitution are 1) the fact that they granted citizenship before discharge (*ante emerita stipendia*), and 2) that citizenship was

¹⁰³³ IDR III/3, p.94

¹⁰³⁴ Eck and Pangerl 2008a; Eck and Pangerl 2008b

¹⁰³⁵ See previous note for the publications of the two diplomas.

¹⁰³⁶ RMD 1.19; RMD 5.357=Eck and Pangerl 2003

¹⁰³⁷ Eck and Pangerl 2008b, 278; CIL 16.64; 76; 84; 178; 96; 104; RMD 3.174; RMD 4.223; 236; 250; 273; 279=RMD 3.176; RMD 6.416; 422; 423; 424; 430; 431

granted not only to the soldiers who had served in the *ala Ulpia contariorum milliaria*, but also to their parents, brothers, and sisters (*civitatem Romanam dedit cum parentibus et fratribus et sororibus*). Clearly citizenship was granted to these horsemen early as a reward (something not uncommon), although we do not know the occasion, but the granting of citizenship to their immediate family members is unprecedented. Also of note are the recipients' identifications which are partly preserved in two of the diplomas: *Daco* in one,¹⁰³⁸ and *Ul[pio...B]esso* in the other¹⁰³⁹ – both names that indicate an origin in Dacia (or the surrounding Balkan territories).

¹⁰³⁸ RMD V.357= Eck and Pangerl 2003

¹⁰³⁹ Eck and Pangerl 2008b

ALAE QUINGENARIAE

*Ala I Bosporanorum*¹⁰⁴⁰

This quingenary¹⁰⁴¹ *ala* is believed to have fought in the Dacian Wars,¹⁰⁴² after which it was found in Pannonia Superior based on diplomas from 112, 113, and 116.¹⁰⁴³ It was then transferred to Dacia Superior where it is attested at *Micia* by two inscriptions: a dedication to *I.O.M.* made by its prefect Gaius Valerius Gracilis,¹⁰⁴⁴ and a dedication to Mars by its prefect Claudius Sosius.¹⁰⁴⁵ At *Germisara* a *dec(urio) alae Bosporanor(um)* was mentioned in an inscription.¹⁰⁴⁶ Petolescu argues that the *ala I Bosporanorum* is probably identical to the *ala I Gallorum et Bosporanum* found in the diplomas from 136/138, 142 (presumed in the lacuna), 144, 156, and 158, although it curiously also shows up in the later diploma from *Drobeta* (from 179) simply as *I Bosporanorum*. We know that it was garrisoned at Cristești, based on the discovery at this site of numerous tile stamps¹⁰⁴⁷ and even of a military diploma from 158 issued to a horseman of this *ala* (*ex gregale Heptapori Isi f(ilio) Besso*). A *praef(ectus) [al(ae)]*, who was presumably associated with this unit, named Quintus Caec[ili]us Cae[ci]lian[us] also made a dedication to *Mars Augustus* at the site.¹⁰⁴⁸ In *Apulum* an epitaph commemorated Tutor Silvani, an *eq[ue]s alae Bos[p(or)anorum]* who was

¹⁰⁴⁰ Christescu 1937, 178; Wagner 1938, 36-37; Beneš 1978, 6-7; Strobel 1984, 107; Spaul 1994, 65-67, Petolescu 2002, no.5

¹⁰⁴¹ Although some authors have assumed it was *milliaria*, there is no evidence at all to suggest this – see Petolescu 2002, 66.

¹⁰⁴² Strobel 1984, 107

¹⁰⁴³ Petolescu 2002, 65

¹⁰⁴⁴ CIL 3.1344=IDR III/3.76

¹⁰⁴⁵ IDR III/3.107

¹⁰⁴⁶ CIL 3.7888=IDR III/3.246

¹⁰⁴⁷ CIL 3.12630=IDR III/4.152-157

¹⁰⁴⁸ IDR III/4.135=AE 1967.402

originally *ex n(umero) Illyr(icorum)*, and who had served for twenty-three years when he died at the age of forty-three.¹⁰⁴⁹

*Ala I Hispanorum Campagonum*¹⁰⁵⁰

Another quingenary *ala*, the *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum*, was in Moesia Superior in 112,¹⁰⁵¹ and then in Pannonia Inferior from 114-119,¹⁰⁵² after which it appears on diplomas for Dacia Superior from 119, 136/138, 142 (in the lacuna), 144, 156, and 158. As indicated by numerous inscriptions and tile stamps,¹⁰⁵³ the *ala* was based at *Micia*. Around the year 200, the horsemen of the *ala*, through the consular governor Mevius Surus,¹⁰⁵⁴ made a dedication to Caracalla.¹⁰⁵⁵ A fragment of an honorific altar preserves part of another inscription probably also dedicated to Caracalla (*optimo maxim[oque] principi*) by the *ala I Hisp(anorum) Campag(onum) Antoniniana* (note the epithet) in gratitude for having been “strengthened through his goodwill and enriched through his generosity” (*indulgentia eius aucta liberalit[at]ibusque ditata*), probably in response to Caracalla’s increase of the military *stipendium*.¹⁰⁵⁶ The *ala Cam(pagonum)* also appears alongside multiple other auxiliary units in the inscription dedicated to *I.O.M.* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta

¹⁰⁴⁹ CIL 3.1197=IDR III/5.2.585

¹⁰⁵⁰ Wagner 1938, 49-50; Beneš 1978, 10-11 (no.23); Spaul 1994, 74-76; Petolescu 2002, no.11; Lörincz 2008, 373

¹⁰⁵¹ Matei-Popescu 2010, 188; Eck and Pangerl 2008c, 355-360 (no.8)

¹⁰⁵² Matei-Popescu 2015, 142 (and Table VI)

¹⁰⁵³ For one of the tile stamps: IDR III/3.38a, 196=AE 1975.730=AE 1978.688

¹⁰⁵⁴ Piso 1993, 156-159, who posits that the tentative date of (?P) Mevius Surus’ governorship based on existing evidence is ?198-?199. IDR III/3, p.73-74 dates it to 205.

¹⁰⁵⁵ CIL 3.1377=IDR III/3.56

¹⁰⁵⁶ CIL 3.1378=IDR III/3.57

from *Micia*, mentioned previously.¹⁰⁵⁷ The unit, named *Al(a) I Hisp(anorum) Camp(agonum) Philipp(iani)* (note the epithet) also dedicated an honorific altar to the son of Philip the Arab.¹⁰⁵⁸ An *ex voto* dedication was made to a now-unknown goddess (*Deae S[---] Reg[inae---]*) by the unit through the care of one of its prefects.¹⁰⁵⁹ A fragmentary inscription (probably also an honorific altar) records the name of the *ala* together with the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*, which was also in garrison at *Micia*.¹⁰⁶⁰ Finally, Censorinus, an *imaginifer* of the *ala* who served for twenty years,¹⁰⁶¹ and Quintus, also an *imaginifer alae*,¹⁰⁶² were both commemorated in death by different epitaphs at *Micia*. From its fort at *Micia* the *ala* ensured the security of the mid-Mureş valley along Dacia's western frontier, and its horsemen helped police the southwestern portion of the gold mining district north of the fort, especially the gold and silver mines at Ruda-Brad and Băiţă, as well as the copper mines at Deva and the iron mines at Hunedoara, both of which were south of the fort.

¹⁰⁵⁷ CIL 3.1343=IDR III/3.77=AE 1972.487=AE 1977.705=AE 1978.705. The inscription is first mentioned and fully discussed under *Ala I Batavorum milliaria*.

¹⁰⁵⁸ CIL 3.1380=IDR III/3.59

¹⁰⁵⁹ CIL 3.1342=IDR III/3.75

¹⁰⁶⁰ IDR III/3.60

¹⁰⁶¹ CIL 3.7870=IDR III/3.172=AE 2004.1208

¹⁰⁶² IDR III/3.183

COHORTES MILLIARIAE EQUITATAE

*Cohors I sagittariorum milliaria*¹⁰⁶³

The *cob(ors) I sag(ittariorum)* is attested at *Tibiscum* in an honorific inscription for Marcus Aurelius from 165,¹⁰⁶⁴ and by *COH I S* and *C I S* stamps found at the fort of *Tibiscum*¹⁰⁶⁵ and in the nearby fort at Zăvoi.¹⁰⁶⁶ We know the unit was *milliaria* because of a dedication to *Mars Gradivus* made by the *cob(ors) I sagitt(ariorum) (milliaria) Gordiana* (at *Drobeta*),¹⁰⁶⁷ and we know it was also part-mounted from an altar dedicated to Philip the Arab by the *cob(ors) I sagitt(ariorum) [[Philippiana]] (milliaria) equitata* (also at *Drobeta*).¹⁰⁶⁸

At *Drobeta*, a dedication to *I.O.M. [D(olicheno)?]* was erected for the health of the emperors (probably around 200) and the *c(o)hortis pri(mae) sag(ittariorum)* by two *sacer(dotes) c(o)ho(rtis) s(upra) s(criptae)* in fulfillment of their vow.¹⁰⁶⁹ The unit is also attested here by the stamps *C I SAG* and *COH I SAG ANT* (this latter one showing the epithet *Antoniniana* is the earliest datable evidence for this cohort at *Drobeta*).¹⁰⁷⁰ From the first half of the third century there is a square brick that was excavated *in situ* in the *frigidarium* of the baths, which bears a graffito that had been incised into the wet clay before firing. It reads, “Aurelius Mercurius, soldier of the *cohors I Sagittariorum*, master over sixty [or nine] soldiers in the ceramic workshops. Aurelius Iulianus, soldier of the first cohort

¹⁰⁶³ Petolescu 2002, no.55

¹⁰⁶⁴ IDR III/1.130

¹⁰⁶⁵ IDR III/1.251-252

¹⁰⁶⁶ IDR III/1, p.234

¹⁰⁶⁷ CIL 3.6279=IDR II.23

¹⁰⁶⁸ IDR II.10=AE 1944.101=AE 1959.311=AE 1960.350. Both the emperor's name and the unit's epithet *Philippiana* suffered *damnatio memoriae*.

¹⁰⁶⁹ ILD 53=CER 21/24.1001=AE 2004.1222=AE 2006.1125

¹⁰⁷⁰ IDR II.106(a-c)=CER 1.19; cf. ILD 71; AE 1897.85d

wrote it.”¹⁰⁷¹ Also from *Drobeta* comes a very interesting tombstone that commemorates multiple deceased members of a family, of which the men held military posts and were associated with the *schola fabrum* (one who was an *imaginifer* and a *decurio* of the *schola*, another who was *imaginifer* of the workshop, and a third who was *vexillarius* of the workshop).¹⁰⁷² Among them is Aurelius Iulius, a *mil(es) c(o)hor(tis) I Sag(ittariorum)* and *im{m}ag(inifer)* (presumably of the same unit, and perhaps also of the workshop) who died at age thirty. It is possible that the other military men in the family also belonged to this cohort, but their units are not specified. This inscription provides an interesting example of a family of military *fabri*, and attests to the presence of a military workshop at *Drobeta*.¹⁰⁷³ Finally, there is the dedication to *I.O.M.* and *Juno Regina* made by *[I]ul(ius) Val(erius) Emeri(tus)*, *[prae]fect(us) co[h]ortis*, which may be a reference to this unit.¹⁰⁷⁴ This cohort may also be the *cohors s(a)g(ittariorum)* which appears alongside multiple other auxiliary units in the inscription dedicated to *I.O.M.* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta from *Micia*, mentioned previously.¹⁰⁷⁵

¹⁰⁷¹ IDR II.107=AE 1939.19; Macrea 1948, 279-280. The text reads: *Aurelius Me/rcurius, milis (sic!) c(ohor)/tis I Sagitt(ariorum) in / figlinis magis/ter super millites LX. Scripsit / Aurelius Iulianus, / milis (sic!) co(ho)rtis prima(e)*. There has been some debate about the reading of the numeral – it could be *LX* (60) or *IX* (9).

¹⁰⁷² CIL 3.1583=CIL 3.8018=IDR II.135=ILS 7247=ILD 80=CER 21/24.935=AE 2001.1722. It reads: *D(is) M(anibus). / Iul(ius) Herculanus / dec(urio) s(h)col(ae) fab(rum) i(tem) imag(inifer) / vix(it) ann(os) LXXX, Iul(ia) Viv/enia coniux. Iul(ius) / Marcianus fil(ius) im/{m}ag(inifer) s(h)col(ae) fab(rum) vix(it) / ann(os) XXVII. Aur(elius) Iuli/us mil(es) c(o)hor(tis) I Sag(ittariorum) im/{m}ag(inifer) vix(it) ann(os) XXX. Iul(ius) / Marcellinus fil(ius) / vexil(larius) s(h)col(ae) fab(rum) vix(it) / ann(os) XXV. Iul(ia) Ma/rcia fil(ia) vix(it) / ann(os) VIII. Iul(ia) / Marcel(l)ina nep(tis) / vix(it) ann(os) IIII. Viv/enia mater se viva f(ecit).*

¹⁰⁷³ Benea 2008a, 385

¹⁰⁷⁴ CIL 3.14216,02=IDR II.18

¹⁰⁷⁵ CIL 3.1343=IDR III/3.77=AE 1972.487=AE 1977.705=AE 1978.705. The inscription is first mentioned and fully discussed under *Ala I Batavorum milliaria*.

*Cohors I Vindellicorum milliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis*¹⁰⁷⁶

First known from Pannonia,¹⁰⁷⁷ this cohort was in Moesia Superior by 100 with the full title *cohors I Vindellicorum (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*.¹⁰⁷⁸ It participated in the Dacian Wars and then stayed in Dacia after 106.¹⁰⁷⁹ The cohort appears in the Dacian diploma from October 14, 109 as *I Vindellicor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis)*, and in the one from July 2, 110 as *I Vindellicor(um) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis)*. Based on a bronze plate with an inscription punched into it which reads *Coh(ortis) I Vindellicor(um) Iuli Martialis, (centuria) Clemen(tis)* found at *Arcidava* (Vărădia, Romania) in Banat, it is thought the cohort may have been originally garrisoned here.¹⁰⁸⁰ It may have participated in suppressing the Bar Kokhba revolt in Judaea (132-135), during which it may have picked up some eastern recruits.¹⁰⁸¹

The cohort then appears in the diplomas from 136/138, 142 (in the lacuna), 144, 156, and 179 in Dacia Superior. It was garrisoned at *Tibiscum* where it is attested by *CIV*¹⁰⁸² and *CIVN*¹⁰⁸³ stamps (Figure 2.33). A fragmentary altar was recovered from the fort's *principia* which was dedicated to *Minerva Augg(ustorum) nostrorum* by Aurelius Candidianus, *actar(ius) [coh(ortis)] I Vin[d(elicorum) (milliaria) eq(uitatae) c(ivium) R(omanorum)]*

¹⁰⁷⁶ Christescu 1937, 191; Wagner 1938, 196-199; Beneš 1978, 55-56 (no.135/98); Spaul 2000, 288-289; Petolescu 2002, no.62

¹⁰⁷⁷ CIL 3.3562; AE 1935.103

¹⁰⁷⁸ CIL 16.46=ILS 9054=AE 1912.128

¹⁰⁷⁹ Strobel 1984, 145

¹⁰⁸⁰ IDR III/1.110a=ILD 176a=CER 18.762=AE 1935.109

¹⁰⁸¹ Petolescu 2002, 125-126, who cites *Barsimsus Callistenis f(ilius)* who was originally from *Caesarea* (Palestina) and who received the diploma from 156 found at *Tibiscum* in Dacia, meaning he would have been recruited around 132/133 (CIL 16.107=IDR I.15), as well as the now-unknown soldier from *Chalcis* (Syria) who was the recipient of the post-144 diploma fragment also from *Tibiscum* (RMD 122=ILD 37=CER 2.121=CER 6.366).

¹⁰⁸² CIL 3.8074,25a,b,e=IDR III/1.254a-d=ILD 230a-d

¹⁰⁸³ IDR III/1.253=ILD 228=CER 1.72=CER 3.217=AE 1980.784 – which stands for *C(ohors) I V(indellicorum) Ant(oniniana)*, since the *N* is a ligature of *ANT*.

[[*Philippianae*]] in fulfillment of his vow, also revealing that the cohort was part-mounted.¹⁰⁸⁴

A tribune of the cohort, Septi[mius] Diomedes, restored a sanctuary (?) at *Tibiscum* which had fallen into ruin (*t[emplum?] vetustate con[lapsum]*) in a dedication to *Apollo* for the health of Septimius Severus and his sons and the consular governor of the *III Daciae*.¹⁰⁸⁵ Another tribune who dedicated to *Apollo Conservator* for the legate of the *III Daciae* at *Tibiscum* in 214 was probably also commander of this cohort.¹⁰⁸⁶ Several soldiers of the cohort are also attested in inscriptions from *Tibiscum*, including Aurelius Laecanius Paulinus, *vet(eranus) ex c(ustode) a(rmorum)* of the cohort and *dec(urio) col(oniae) Sarmiz(egetusae)*, who made a dedication to *Deus Sol Ierhabol* for Caracalla and Geta,¹⁰⁸⁷ and a dedication to *I.O.M.*¹⁰⁸⁸

A few other fragmentary inscriptions from *Tibiscum* might be associated with this unit, including three fragments of a dedication to *I.O.M.* possibly made by the cohort during the time of Maximinus Thrax,¹⁰⁸⁹ a fragmentary altar from the fort's *principia* dedicated to Gordian III,¹⁰⁹⁰ and an epitaph for Brisanus Aulusani, *miles coh(ortis)*.¹⁰⁹¹ Finally, the cohort also appears alongside multiple other auxiliary units in the inscription dedicated to *I.O.M.* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta from *Micia*, mentioned previously.¹⁰⁹²

¹⁰⁸⁴ IDR III/1.184=ILD 198=CER 3.227=CER 14/15.674=CER 17.736=AE 1997.1296 – There has been significant debate about the reconstruction and dating of this inscription, especially regarding the *damnatio memoriae* of the unit's epithet and whether it should be *Antoniniana* or *Philippiana*, and regarding which two emperors should be understood in *Augg(ustorum)*. Petolescu 2002, 127 n.1 makes a convincing argument in favor of Philip the Arab and his son (rather than Geta and Caracalla or Elagabalus and Severus Alexander).

¹⁰⁸⁵ ILD 199=CER 5.328=CER 6.367=AE 1987.848

¹⁰⁸⁶ IDR III/1.128=ILD 200=CER 2.123=CER 5.329=AE 1987.849=AE 2000.1233

¹⁰⁸⁷ IDR III/1.137=AE 1977.697

¹⁰⁸⁸ IDR III/1.138

¹⁰⁸⁹ IDR III/1.182=IDR III/1.245=ILD 197=CER 19/20.844=AE 1999.1297

¹⁰⁹⁰ ILD 214=CER 14-15.673=AE 1997.1295 – the name of the dedicant(s) is lost.

¹⁰⁹¹ IDR III/1.163=ILD 217=CER 1.70

¹⁰⁹² CIL 3.1343=IDR III/3.77=AE 1972.487=AE 1977.705=AE 1978.705. The inscription is first mentioned and fully discussed under *Ala I Batavorum milliaria*.

*Cohors III Delmatarum milliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis*¹⁰⁹³

This cohort's origins have been debated,¹⁰⁹⁴ but a unit with this name is known from Germania (Superior).¹⁰⁹⁵ It first appears in Dacia Superior in the April 1, 179 diploma from *Drobeta*. Epigraphic evidence tells us that it was garrisoned in the fort at *Praetorium* (Mehadia).¹⁰⁹⁶ A dedication to Antoninus Pius from 160 may have been made by this unit, but this is not certain.¹⁰⁹⁷ In 226-235, the *cob(ors) III Delmatarum Alexandriana (milliaria) eq(uitata) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis)* erected an honorific altar to Severus Alexander and his mother Iulia Mamaea at the fort.¹⁰⁹⁸ A few years later, between 257-260, the *cob(ors) III Delmatarum Valerian(a) Gallienae (milliaria) eqq(uitata) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis)* dedicated an inscription to the emperor Gallienus (while acknowledging the supreme authority and majesty of both Valerian and Gallienus – *devota numini maiestatique eor(um)*).¹⁰⁹⁹ These inscriptions confirm that the unit was part-mounted and consisted of 1000 men, and reveals several honorific and imperial epithets. The fact that it was *equitata* is further confirmed by the presence of a tribune of the cohort in an inscription from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*.¹¹⁰⁰

From *Praetorium* (Mehadia) there is also a small fragment of an inscription which mentions the unit's name,¹¹⁰¹ and an epitaph commemorating Aelius Sur[us?], (a *miles*?)

¹⁰⁹³ Christescu 1937, 186; Wagner 1938, 132-133; Beneš 1978, 31 (no.81/44); Spaul 2000, 305-306; Petolescu 2002, no.35

¹⁰⁹⁴ Petolescu 2002, 102

¹⁰⁹⁵ Petolescu 2002, 102 n.11 for the diplomas.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Macrea *et al.* 1993, 48-51

¹⁰⁹⁷ CIL 3.1576=IDR III/1.75

¹⁰⁹⁸ IDR III/1.76=AE 1912.5

¹⁰⁹⁹ CIL 3.1577=CIL 3.8010=IDR III/1.77

¹¹⁰⁰ CIL 3.1474=IDR III/2.379

¹¹⁰¹ IDR III/1.81=AE 1973.461

coh(ortis) III Del(matarum) who died at age forty.¹¹⁰² Another epitaph was found at *Praetorium* for a veteran whose unit is not specified but which scholars have consistently assumed must have been this cohort.¹¹⁰³ Finally, a third epitaph from nearby Petnic records the death of Antestius Valentinus, a *m(iles) coh(ortis) III D(elmatarum)*.¹¹⁰⁴

¹¹⁰² IDR III//1.87=AE 1973.463=ILD 191=CER 1.68

¹¹⁰³ IDR III/1.84=AE 1973.462; cf. Petolescu 2002, 103 who just presents him as a veteran of this unit without indicating that this connection is just conjecture.

¹¹⁰⁴ IDR III/1.103=AE 1972.494

COHORTES QUINGENARIAE EQUITATAE

*Cohors I Alpinorum*¹¹⁰⁵

There were two *cohortes* named *I Alpinorum*, one was *equitata* (part-mounted) and the other *peditata* (just infantry). Both of them (without being distinguished) were found in diplomas for Pannonia (and Pannonia Inferior) from the late first century and early second century.¹¹⁰⁶ A diploma from Moesia Inferior (from 103/107) mentions a *cohors I Alpinorum*.¹¹⁰⁷ This is probably the *equitata* one, which was commanded by the prefect M. Vettius Latro (*prae(fectus) coh(ortis) I Alpinor(um) equit(atae)*), who was decorated by Trajan for his service in the Dacian Wars, as attested by several inscriptions from *Thuburbo Maius* in Africa Proconsularis (in modern Tunisia).¹¹⁰⁸

Given its participation in the Dacian Wars, it is most likely that this was the *cohors I Alpinorum* found in the diplomas of Dacia Superior in 119, 136/138, 142, 144, and 179. Indeed, an epitaph from *Apulum* commemorates Aelius Niger, a veteran *c(o)hor(tis) I Alp(inorum) eq(uitatae)* who died at age seventy.¹¹⁰⁹ Many examples of the cohort's stamp were discovered in the forts at Sărățeni,¹¹¹⁰ Călugăreni,¹¹¹¹ and Inlăceni.¹¹¹² A fragmentary inscription from Sărățeni which mentions a *cohors* with the reconstructed epithet *[Anto]n[in]iana* may perhaps be identified with this unit based on the presence of the

¹¹⁰⁵ Christescu 1937, 182-183; Beneš 1978, 15 (no.39/2); Strobel 1984, 119-120; Spaul 2000, 259-261; Petolescu 2002, no.17

¹¹⁰⁶ See Petolescu 2002, 81

¹¹⁰⁷ CIL 16.54

¹¹⁰⁸ IDRE 2.424-425=AE 1939.81; IDRE 2.426=AE 1951.52; Strobel 1984, 120 (no. 8)

¹¹⁰⁹ CIL 3.1183=IDR III/5.480

¹¹¹⁰ IDR III/4.212-213

¹¹¹¹ IDR III/4.220

¹¹¹² IDR III/4.299

cohort's stamps at this fort.¹¹¹³ The unit might have been garrisoned in the fort at Sărățeni (since more of its stamps were found here than at the other two sites). The cohort also appears alongside multiple other auxiliary units in the inscription from *Micia* dedicated to *I.O.M.* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, mentioned previously.¹¹¹⁴

*Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum*¹¹¹⁵

The cohort is attested by military diplomas in Moesia Superior at the very end of the first century and very beginning of the second century (96, 100, and 103/107),¹¹¹⁶ and it probably took part in the Dacian Wars.¹¹¹⁷ Under Trajan it is located in Dacia (in diplomas from October 14, 109 and July 2, 110), and then it is found in Dacia Superior (in diplomas from 136/138, 142, 144, 145-146 (in the lacuna), 156 (maybe?), and 179). The cohort was based at *Micia* (modern Vețel) where its presence is documented by tile/brick stamps¹¹¹⁸ and numerous inscriptions starting from the reign of Hadrian. Based on inscriptions, diplomas, and a papyrus we know that this cohort was part-mounted (*equitata*) and contained archers (*sagittariorum*). The *coh(ors) II Fl(avia) [Co]mmag(enorum) equ(itata) s[agittariorum]* dedicated an *ex voto* inscription to *Jupiter Turmazgadis (Iovi Turmazgadi)* at *Micia*,¹¹¹⁹ and the unit is named *sagittaria* in the diploma from 109 and *sagittarior(um)* in the diploma from 110. Furthermore, a *dec(urio) coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Comm(agenorum)* (a cavalry officer in

¹¹¹³ CIL 3.7713=CIL 3.6256=CIL 3.12553=CIL 3.12549=IDR III/4.206

¹¹¹⁴ CIL 3.1343=IDR III/3.77=AE 1972.487=AE 1977.705=AE 1978.705. The inscription is first mentioned and fully discussed under *Ala I Batavorum milliaria*.

¹¹¹⁵ Christescu 1937, 185; Wagner 1938, 124-126; Beneš 1978, 27 (no.73/36); Spaul 2000, 404-405; Petolescu 2002, no.31

¹¹¹⁶ Petolescu 2002, 97

¹¹¹⁷ Strobel 1984, 128

¹¹¹⁸ Petolescu and Mărghită 1974, 255-256 (nos. 32-35); Gudea 1976, 517-518 (no. 1); IDR III/3.197a-c=CER 5.341a-c; ILD 312=CER 3.233=AE 1983.848

¹¹¹⁹ IDR III/3.138=AE 1903.65=ILS 9273

charge of a *turma* of horsemen) named Lucius Sossius fulfilled his vow with a dedication to *Liber Pater* at *Micia*.¹¹²⁰ Finally, a papyrus from 130 also mentions an ἑπ[α]ρχος σπείρης δευτ(έρας) Κομμαγενῶν ἱπικῆς (“prefect of the *cohors II Commagenorum equitata*”), providing further evidence that the cohort also contained horsemen.¹¹²¹

The earliest dated inscription at *Micia* was dedicated to Hadrian by the cohort (Figure 2.42).¹¹²² Another inscription tells us that the cohort’s baths (*balneas co(hortis)*), which had fallen into ruin, were restored by Septimius Severus around 192-194/195.¹¹²³ These baths were restored again during the reign of Severus Alexander, as indicated by another inscription which names the cohort *Severiana*.¹¹²⁴ The cohort probably also appears alongside multiple other auxiliary units in the inscription dedicated to *I.O.M.* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, mentioned previously.¹¹²⁵ Its name also appears in a fragmentary inscription (probably an honorific altar) together with the *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum*, which was also in garrison at *Micia*.¹¹²⁶ In a later inscription erected by the unit in honor of Philip the Arab, the unit has the epithet *Philippiana*.¹¹²⁷

¹¹²⁰ CIL 3.1355=IDR III/3.105

¹¹²¹ Petolescu 2002, 98 (P. IFAO III.18)

¹¹²² CIL 3.1371=IDR III/3.51

¹¹²³ CIL 3.1374=IDR III/3.45. The date is based on the governorship of Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus over the *III Daciae*, who is mentioned in the inscription – see Piso 1993, 145-146.

¹¹²⁴ IDR III/3.46=AE 1903.66

¹¹²⁵ CIL 3.1343=IDR III/3.77=AE 1972.487=AE 1977.705=AE 1978.705. In the inscription its name is mostly reconstructed because it is at the bottom of the text where the stone breaks off: *co(hortis) I[I Fl(aviae)] [Comma]g(enorum) /---*. But because we know the unit was stationed at this fort, this reading makes good sense. The inscription is first mentioned and fully discussed under *Ala I Batavorum milliaria*.

¹¹²⁶ IDR III/3.60

¹¹²⁷ CIL 3.1379=IDR III/3.58

In addition to those already mentioned, numerous other inscriptions at *Micia* were dedicated by members of the cohort, including its prefects¹¹²⁸ and an *actarius*,¹¹²⁹ and two of its veterans are commemorated on tombstones.¹¹³⁰ It is noteworthy that among the sacred dedications made by these auxiliaries at *Micia*, oriental (especially Syrian) deities are apparent, including *I.O.M. Dolichenus* and *Iupiter Turmazgadis*, which undoubtedly reflect the eastern origin of this cohort. Other dedications to eastern deities at *Micia* were made for *I.O.M. Dolichenus Commagenorum*¹¹³¹ and *Dea Syria*,¹¹³² but in these inscriptions the dedicants did not specify a military unit and thus they cannot be securely tied to this particular cohort (although a dedication to *I.O.M. Dolichenus Commagenorum* would make the most sense for a soldier from this unit).¹¹³³ Indeed, based on the fact that this cohort was originally recruited among Commagene natives (and thus to some extent bore a ‘Commagene’ identity), it has been proposed that a number of inscriptions from *Ampelum*, dedicated *Deo [Aeter]n(o) [C]ommag(enorum) Dul(i)c[heno]* (sic),¹¹³⁴ *I.O.M. Commagenorum [Ae]terno*,¹¹³⁵ and *I.O.M. D(olicheno) et Deo Commagenor(um)*¹¹³⁶ may perhaps indicate that a detachment of the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* was stationed in the gold mining district, although none of these inscriptions explicitly mention this unit.¹¹³⁷ But its presence at

¹¹²⁸ IDR III/3.67=AE 1911.35; IDR III/3.68=AE 1903.67; CIL 3.7855=IDR III/3.109; CIL 3.7848-7849=IDR III/3.78-79=CER 21/24.965=AE 2004.1183; IDR III/3.63=AE 1977.706; CIL 3.1619=CIL 3.7854=IDR III/3.108; CIL 3.1347=CIL 3.7850=IDR III/3.88=AE 2004.1208

¹¹²⁹ IDR III/3.111=AE 1971.399

¹¹³⁰ CIL 3.12569=IDR III/3.175; CIL 3.6267=IDR III/3.166=AE 2004.1208 which also commemorates a *miles n(umeri) M(aurorum) M(iciensium)*, an irregular auxiliary unit that was also in garrison at *Micia* (discussed below).

¹¹³¹ IDR III/3.66

¹¹³² CIL 3.7864=IDR III/3.136=AE 2004.1208

¹¹³³ On eastern cults at *Micia* more generally, see Mărghită and Petolescu 1978.

¹¹³⁴ CIL 3.7832=IDR III/3.296

¹¹³⁵ CIL 3.1301a=CIL 7834=IDR III/3.298=ILS 4298

¹¹³⁶ CIL 3.1301b=7835=IDR III/3.299=ILS 4299

¹¹³⁷ Petolescu 2002, 99 n.15. In fact, these inscriptions do not reference any particular military unit.

Ampelum (the administrative center for the gold mining district) would not be surprising since one of the cohort's roles was undoubtedly the policing of the gold mining area. From its fort at *Micia* the cohort ensured the security of the mid-Mureș valley along Dacia's western frontier, and its soldiers helped police the southwestern portion of the gold mining district north of the fort, especially the gold and silver mines at Ruda-Brad and Băiță, as well as the copper mines at Deva and the iron mines at Hunedoara, both of which were south of the fort.

*Cohors II Gallorum Pannonica*¹¹³⁸

The *cohors II Gallorum Pannonica* is found within the diplomas from October 14, 109 and July 2, 110 (which pertain to all of Dacia), and then it is listed among the troops of Dacia Superior in the diplomas dated to November 24, 124, 136/138, 142 (in the lacuna), February 23, 144, December 13, 156 (perhaps?), and April 1, 179. We know it was part-mounted (*equitata*) based on the diploma from Nova Zagora (Bulgaria) from February 23, 144, which was granted to Auleno Her[---] when he was discharged as a horseman (*ex equit[e]*) from this very cohort. Its place of garrison in Dacia is unknown, but it may perhaps have been stationed (at least at some point) at the auxiliary fort of Inlăceni where a tile with the stamp *COH(ors) II GALL(orum)* may refer to this unit, although this is still quite speculative.¹¹³⁹ Given its epithet *Pannonica*, it probably came to Dacia from Pannonia.

¹¹³⁸ Christescu 1937, 213; Wagner 1938, 137; Beneš 1978, 32 (no.86/49); Spaul 2000, 159; Petolescu 2002, no.40

¹¹³⁹ IDR III/4.300. The stamp could also refer to *cohors II Gallorum Macedonica equitata* which appears in a diploma for Dacia from 110.

*Cohors IIII Hispanorum*¹¹⁴⁰

This cohort first appears in Dacia Superior in diplomas from 142, 144, 156 (maybe?), 158, and 179. Numerous stone inscriptions and tile/brick stamps (*C(ohors) IIII HISP(anorum)*)¹¹⁴¹ from the fort at Inlăceni prove that this unit was garrisoned here for a long time. Upon its arrival at Inlăceni it may have replaced the *cohors VIII Raetorum equitata* (discussed below). The cohort was part-mounted because several of these inscriptions specify that it was *equitata*,¹¹⁴² and a cavalry officer, [---] Ael(ius) Fuscus, *dec(urio) coh(ortis) IIII Hispan(orum)*, appears in a dedication to *Liber Pater*.¹¹⁴³ The numerous inscriptions set up by the cohort at its fort (Inlăceni) include multiple dedications to emperors (and their families).¹¹⁴⁴ The cohort's prefects set up dedications to various deities, including *Diana Augusta*,¹¹⁴⁵ *Diana Regina*,¹¹⁴⁶ *I.O.M.*,¹¹⁴⁷ *Liber Pater*,¹¹⁴⁸ and *Mars*.¹¹⁴⁹ Several of these prefects specify in their dedications that they originated from Rome (*domo Roma*). It is noteworthy that the cohort appears epigraphically with the epithets *Antoniniana*,¹¹⁵⁰ *Severiana Alexandriana*,¹¹⁵¹ *Gordiana*,¹¹⁵² and *Philippiana*,¹¹⁵³ attesting to its long stay at the fort.

¹¹⁴⁰ Christescu 1937, 188-189; Wagner 1938, 155; Beneš 1978, 40-41 (no.98/61); Spaul 2000, 133-134; Petolescu 2002, no.47

¹¹⁴¹ IDR III/4.301-302=AE 1912.71

¹¹⁴² IDR III/4.277=AE 1978.698; CIL 3.6257=IDR III/4.278; CIL 3.946=IDR III/4.280; IDR III/4.281=AE 1958.310

¹¹⁴³ IDR III/4.283=AE 1958.311=AE 1988.974

¹¹⁴⁴ IDR III/4.265=AE 1988.970=ILD 439=CER 8.497; IDR III/4.267=AE 1988.971; IDR III/4.269=AE 1988.973;

¹¹⁴⁵ IDR III/4.271=AE 1975.721; IDR III/4.272=AE 1967.417; CIL 3.945=IDR III/4.273;

¹¹⁴⁶ IDR III/4.274=AE 1967.416

¹¹⁴⁷ IDR III/4.275=1958.309; IDR III/4.277=AE 1978.698; CIL 3.6257=IDR III/4.278 (made collectively by the cohort through its prefect); CIL 3.946=IDR III/4.280; IDR III/4.281=AE 1958.310; CIL 3.947=IDR III/4.282=AE 1897.64 (the *IIII Hispanorum* is reconstructed in the lacuna)

¹¹⁴⁸ IDR III/4.284=AE 1975.722

¹¹⁴⁹ CIL 3.948=CIL 3.7718=IDR III/4.285=AE 1936.71

¹¹⁵⁰ IDR III/4.267=AE 1988.971 (but reconstructed in the lacuna); see also next footnote

¹¹⁵¹ IDR III/4.265=AE 1988.970=ILD 439=CER 8.497, where the epithet *Antoniniana* is read in most editions in the section damaged by *damnatio memoriae*, but Petolescu 2002, 115 n.2 argues that it should be *Severiana*

*Cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum torquata*¹¹⁵⁴

This part-mounted cohort was in Pannonia from 80-102¹¹⁵⁵ and then in Moesia Superior in 103/107,¹¹⁵⁶ based on military diplomas. The unit probably participated in the Dacian Wars,¹¹⁵⁷ and appears to have stayed on in Dacia after Roman conquest. It appears in the Dacian diplomas from October 14, 109, February 17, 110, and July 2, 110. In the diplomas from 110 it carries the epithet *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*. It is subsequently attested in Dacia Superior, based on diplomas from 119, 124 (Nov. 24), 142, 144, and 179. In 129, the *cob(ors) VIII Raetorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitata) tor(quata)* dedicated an honorific altar to Hadrian in the auxiliary fort of Inlăceni (the altar was excavated *in situ* where it served as the cornerstone of the eastern bastion of the *porta principalis sinistra*).¹¹⁵⁸ Based on this it is generally assumed that the unit was in garrison at Inlăceni until it was replaced there by the *cohors IIII Hispanorum equitata* (discussed above). From Inlăceni it seems the unit was transferred to the area of modern Banat (southwestern Dacia), where its stamps are found at the forts of *Praetorium* (Mehadia) and Teregoava.¹¹⁵⁹ An epitaph from Cristești, for M. Fabius [...], a *vet(eranus) coh(ortis) V[-3-]*, may perhaps refer to a member of this unit.¹¹⁶⁰

Alexandriana because Caracalla did not endure a *damnatio memoriae* so the inscription makes more sense for Severus Alexander.

¹¹⁵² IDR III/4.277=AE 1978.698

¹¹⁵³ IDR III/4.269=AE 1988.973, reconstructed in a section damaged by *damnatio memoriae*

¹¹⁵⁴ Christescu 1937, 190; Wagner 1938, 181-182; Beneš 1978, 49-50 (no.121/84); Petolescu 2002, no.54

¹¹⁵⁵ CIL 16.26; CIL 16.30, CIL 16.31; CIL 16.47

¹¹⁵⁶ CIL 16.54

¹¹⁵⁷ Strobel 1984, 141-142

¹¹⁵⁸ IDR III/4.263=AE 1960.375

¹¹⁵⁹ IDR III/1.102b; IDR III/1.114; Macrea *et al.* 1993, 51 (for *Praetorium*)

¹¹⁶⁰ IDR III/4.138=AE 1967.406

COHORTES MILLIARIAE PEDITATAE

*Cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria*¹¹⁶¹

The existence of this milliary infantry cohort is documented only by one inscription. It records the renovation of the fort at Bumbești-Jiu in 201, under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, when the earthwork fort was rebuilt in stone.¹¹⁶² The inscription tells us that the emperors reconstructed the fort's turf ramparts, which had been ruined by old age, with stone, through Ocavius Iulianus, their proprætorian legate (...*muros cesp[it(ici)s] castro[ru]m coh(ortis) I A[u]reliae Brittonum (milliariae) Antoniniana(e) vetust(ate) dil[apsos] lapide eos restitue[r]unt per Octavium Iulianum, leg(atum) ipso[rum] pro(o) pr(aetore)*). Note that the cohort carries the epithet *Antoniniana*. Based on this inscription, we can say that this cohort was in garrison at Bumbești-Jiu certainly from the beginning of the third century. It appears to have replaced the *cohors IIII Cypria civium Romanorum* which initially built the fort at Bumbești-Jiu under Trajan, but which by 160 at the latest (probably already at the beginning of Hadrian's reign) had been transferred back to Moesia Superior.¹¹⁶³ The fact that the *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum* was rebuilding the fort that had been ruined by old age also would indicate that the fort had been abandoned for some time and was now being re-occupied.

¹¹⁶¹ Wagner 1938, 108-109; Vlădescu 1983, 34 (no.3); Spaul 2000, 195; Petolescu 2002, no.27

¹¹⁶² CIL 3.14485a=IDR II.174=ILS 9179=ILD 92=CER 7.414=AE 1901.46=AE 1987.839

¹¹⁶³ IDR II, p.95; cf. Petolescu 2002, 102; On the *cohors IIII Cypria civium Romanorum* see Petolescu 2002, no.34; Matei-Popescu and Țentea 2006, 130; For its stamps at Bumbești-Jiu (in the fort and the *thermae*): CIL 3.14216,27=IDR II.179a-d=AE 1896.67

*Cohors III Campestris civium Romanorum milliaria*¹¹⁶⁴

The cohort was in Moesia Superior in 103/107,¹¹⁶⁵ and it may have participated in the conquest of Dacia.¹¹⁶⁶ After 106, it appears in diplomas for Dacia from 109 and 110, then in Dacia Superior in 124 (in a diploma issued to one of its members), and then shows up again in Moesia Superior in 155/159,¹¹⁶⁷ 156/157,¹¹⁶⁸ 158/159,¹¹⁶⁹ 160,¹¹⁷⁰ and 161.¹¹⁷¹ Thus, it would seem the cohort was transferred back to Moesia Superior sometime between 124 and 155/159.¹¹⁷² But, rather strangely, the cohort reappears in Dacia Superior under Marcus Aurelius, in the diploma from *Drobeta* dated to April 1, 179. Various theories have been proposed to explain this,¹¹⁷³ but what remains clear based on epigraphic evidence is that during the reign of Trajan the cohort garrisoned the two forts that were located on either end of Trajan's bridge across the Danube – at *Drobeta* (on the northern bank), and *Transdrobeta* (on the southern bank). Thus, rather than assuming the cohort was transferred to another fort and then back to *Drobeta*, Petolescu suggests that perhaps this bridge was not entirely destroyed by Hadrian, as has been assumed based on the passage in Cassios Dio,¹¹⁷⁴ but rather that it was dismantled a lot later, perhaps during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Because the two sides of the bridge fell within both Dacia and Moesia Superior, it was probably the case that the area fell under the command of either the Dacian or the Moesian

¹¹⁶⁴ Christescu 1937, 184; Wagner 1938, 116; Beneš 1978, 23 (no.64/27); Vlădescu 1983, 37; Spaul 2000, 30-31; Petolescu 2002, no.28

¹¹⁶⁵ CIL 16.54=AE 2008.75

¹¹⁶⁶ Strobel 1984, 126 n.92

¹¹⁶⁷ RMD 418= AE 1998.1617

¹¹⁶⁸ Petolescu 2002, 92 n.10

¹¹⁶⁹ RMD 419=AE 1999.1315

¹¹⁷⁰ CIL 16.111=AE 1935.69

¹¹⁷¹ RMD 55=AE 1972.657

¹¹⁷² Speidel 1976, 343-344, who says it must have transferred back to Moesia Superior by 160.

¹¹⁷³ cf. Piso and Benea 1984

¹¹⁷⁴ Cassios Dio LXVIII.13.6

governor at different times or as circumstances demanded. Thus, one interpretation is that the *cohors III Campestris* at *Drobeta* was merely transferred from the authority of the governor of Moesia Superior to the authority of the legate of the *III Daciae* under Marcus Aurelius (perhaps when the bridge was finally dismantled), which is why it ‘reappears’ in Dacia Superior in the 179 diploma.¹¹⁷⁵

Two epitaphs from *Drobeta* attest to this unit’s presence at the site. One was erected by P. Aelius Papirianus, a (*centurio*) *coh(ortis) III Camp(estris)* to commemorate his deceased wife (dated to the reign of Hadrian),¹¹⁷⁶ and the other commemorates Liccaius Vinentis, a *mil(es) coh(ortis) III Camp(estris)* and *b(ene)f(iciarius) trib(uni)* (dated to the mid second century).¹¹⁷⁷ The 179 diploma which mentions the unit was found at *Drobeta* and belonged to a foot-soldier of this cohort (*ex peditibus*) named Ulpus Herculanus, who was originally from *Stobi* in Macedonia.¹¹⁷⁸ Around the end of the second to beginning of the third century it seems the cohort left *Drobeta*, and it was replaced there by the *cohors I sagittariorum milliaria* (as discussed later).

The *cohors III Campestris* appears to have been transferred at this point to northern Dacia. At *Napoca*, T. Scruis (or S[ervius]) Vitalis, a *trib(unus) coh(ortis) III Camp(estris)* fulfilled his vow through an inscription to *I.O.M. Conservator*.¹¹⁷⁹ At *Porolissum*, an altar dedicated to *I.O.M. Dolichenus* records the construction of an open-air temple and *tabernae* (*[t]emp[l(um) cum] tabernis (a)ere*) built for the health and safety of the emperor Gordian III and the *cohors III Campestris* by a *IIIvir* and two decurions of the *municipium Septimius*

¹¹⁷⁵ Petolescu 2002, 93-94; Matei-Popescu 2015, 410; Piso and Benea 1984, 288-291

¹¹⁷⁶ CIL 3.14216, 10=IDR II.44

¹¹⁷⁷ CIL 3.14216, 8=IDR II.45

¹¹⁷⁸ Petolescu 2002, 94

¹¹⁷⁹ ILD 543=AE 1934.14=AE 1977.700

Porolissensis, and by two *sacerdotes dei et coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae)* (so referring to the *III Campestris*), who collectively constructed it with their own funds (*suo feceru[nt]*).¹¹⁸⁰ Petolescu suggests that this inscription may allude to the departure of Gordian III for his Parthian campaign and that the *cohors III Campestris* (or a detachment thereof) may have accompanied him.¹¹⁸¹ A very fragmentary inscription from the camp on Pomet hill at *Porolissum* also mentions the *cohors III Campestris*.¹¹⁸² Although this cannot be confirmed, we can say based on these inscription and on *CH III* stamps that the cohort was stationed in the camp on Pomet hill at *Porolissum* at this point in the third century.¹¹⁸³

In the first three diplomas (103/107, 109, and 110) the cohort bears the epithet *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, an honor that was bestowed on it at some point as a reward for its service. The unit is considered to have been *milliaria* based on epigraphic evidence that it was commanded by a tribune.¹¹⁸⁴ As mentioned above, an epitaph from *Drobeta* mentions a *b(ene)f(iciarius) trib(uni)*, an inscription from *Napoca* mentions another tribune of the cohort, and third tribune, Avonius Saturninus is attested in the diploma from *Drobeta*.

¹¹⁸⁰ ILD 683=CER 21/24.1066=AE 2001.1707=AE 2006.1124-1125. See also Piso 2001b, 473-478 for a discussion of this inscription (including emendations) and of the *cohors III Campestris* at *Porolissum*. For the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus at *Porolissum*, see Gudea and Tamba 2001.

¹¹⁸¹ Petolescu 2002, 94; See Benea 2004-2005 on the participation of detachments from Dacia's army in Gordian III's eastern campaign.

¹¹⁸² Piso *et al.* 2015, 217-218 (no.2)

¹¹⁸³ Piso 2001b, 478 (with bibliography) who argues that the *COH III* stamp should be identified with this unit now, rather than with the *legio III Gallica* or the *legio VII Gemina* with which it was identified by earlier scholarship.

¹¹⁸⁴ Speidel 1976, 345; Piso and Benea 1984, 288; Petolescu 2002, 95

COHORTES QUINGENARIAE PEDITATAE

*Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum*¹¹⁸⁵

This cohort of archers was in Pannonia at the end of the first century,¹¹⁸⁶ and it participated in the Dacian Wars.¹¹⁸⁷ It is listed in the diploma from February 17, 110 in Dacia, so it apparently stayed in the province after 106. Under Trajan the cohort is attested at Buciumi (by a stamp and an inscription fragment)¹¹⁸⁸ and at *Porolissum*,¹¹⁸⁹ where it was eventually replaced by the *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*. It is subsequently listed among the troops of Dacia Superior in diplomas from 124 (Nov. 24), 136/138, 142, 144, 156, 158, and 179. At *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* a badly damaged inscription may perhaps name one of the cohort's prefects, but the reading of the unit's name is not certain.¹¹⁹⁰ Another one of its prefects, T. Statilius Taurus, who was commemorated in a funerary inscription from *Mogontiacum* (Mainz) in Germania Superior, subsequently also served as prefect of the *cohors VI Thracum equitata* in Dacia Porolissensis.¹¹⁹¹ Its place of garrison in Dacia Superior is unknown.

¹¹⁸⁵ Christescu 1937, 189; Wagner 1938, 158-158; Beneš 1978, 41-42 (no.100/63); Spaul 2000, 440; Petolescu 2002, no.49

¹¹⁸⁶ CIL 16.26 (from 80), CIL 16.42 (from 98), CIL 16.47 (from 102)

¹¹⁸⁷ Strobel 1984, 136

¹¹⁸⁸ Chirilă *et al.* 1972, 117 (and pl.139)

¹¹⁸⁹ AE 1979.501d; AE 1978.691; Gudea 1986, 56

¹¹⁹⁰ IDR III/2.348: *praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) T*, where the *T* could perhaps be reconstructed as *[I]T[uraeorum]*, but could just as easily be reconstructed as *T[hracum?]*, so the reading is far from certain.

¹¹⁹¹ CIL 13.6817=IDRE 1.194

*Cohors I Gallorum Dacica*¹¹⁹²

The *cohors I Gallorum Dacica* is listed in the diplomas dating to 136/138, 142, 144, 145-146, and 156 among the troops of Dacia Superior. Unfortunately this infantry unit's place of garrison is unknown.

*Cohors V Gallorum*¹¹⁹³

During the time of Vespasian the unit was in Moesia,¹¹⁹⁴ and subsequently (in 84 and 85) it appears in Pannonia,¹¹⁹⁵ and then in 93 and 100 it was once again in Moesia Superior.¹¹⁹⁶ The cohort fought in the Dacian Wars¹¹⁹⁷ and then stayed in the new province as indicated by the diplomas from October 14, 109 and July 2, 110. What is a bit confusing is the fact that another cohort with the exact same name shows up in Pannonia Inferior in a diploma found at Tokod which also dates to July 2, 110.¹¹⁹⁸ Some have suggested that this indicates that only part of the cohort was in Pannonia,¹¹⁹⁹ but the more convincing argument is that we are dealing with two cohorts of the same name.¹²⁰⁰ Based on the presence of a *cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum* in multiple diplomas from Moesia Superior (from 156/157 to 161),¹²⁰¹ the stamps of a *coh(ors) V Gallo(rum)* from *Transdierna* (modern

¹¹⁹² Christescu 1937, 186-187; Wagner 1938, 135; Beneš 1978, 31-32 (no.83/46); Petolescu 2002, no.37

¹¹⁹³ Wagner 1938, 140-141; Beneš 1978, 34 (no.89/52); Spaul 2000, 170; Petolescu 2002, no.42

¹¹⁹⁴ Based on the diploma from April 28, 75 (RMD 2).

¹¹⁹⁵ CIL 16.30-31. But Beneš 1978, 35 thinks that the unit in Pannonia is an identically named but separate unit from the one in Dacia.

¹¹⁹⁶ CIL 16.39 and CIL 16.46

¹¹⁹⁷ Strobel 1984, 131

¹¹⁹⁸ CIL 16.164. Even more confusingly, three other units in this diploma (*ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica c.R.*, *cohors I Thracum c.R.p.f.*, and *cohors I Montanorum*) are also attested in the diploma from *Porolissum* which bears the exact same date (CIL 16.163=IDR I.3).

¹¹⁹⁹ Strobel 1984, 131

¹²⁰⁰ Beneš 1978, 35

¹²⁰¹ Diplomas from 156/157, 155/159, 158/159, 160, and 161 – see Petolescu 2002, 108

Tekija),¹²⁰² and both a bronze vessel inscribed with the cohort's name¹²⁰³ and a statue base bearing an *ex voto* inscription by Aurelius Gaianus, *c(enturio) coh(ortis) V Gall(orum) Anto(niniana)*¹²⁰⁴ from the site of *Diana* (modern Carataş), Petolescu and Matei-Popescu have convincingly argued that this probably indicates another unit named *cohors V Gallorum* which was in Pannonia Inferior in 110 (where it received new recruits and an extension to its name: *cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum*).¹²⁰⁵ This Pannonian unit was later transferred to Moesia Superior, where it is attested by the multiple sources of evidence just cited. Indeed, this theory was proven by three recently published diplomas from Dacia Superior: one from Nov. 24, 124 which specifies it as the *cohors V Gallorum Dacicae*, one from Jan.31/Feb.12, 126 which calls it the *cohors V Gallorum Dacica*, and one from Dec.10, 145-Dec.9, 146 in which it is also called *V Gallorum Dacica*.

After Hadrian's reorganization, the *cohors V Gallorum* from Dacia was garrisoned at Pojejena on the Danube, where it is attested by tile stamps¹²⁰⁶ and multiple stone inscriptions. A *praef(ectus) coh(ortis)* (presumed to be of this cohort) named Q. Vibius Donatus dedicated an altar to *Diana Augusta*,¹²⁰⁷ and Q. Petronius Novatus [*praef(ectus)*] *coh(ortis) V Gal[l(orum)]* dedicated an altar to *IOM Dolichenus*.¹²⁰⁸ This latter prefect of the cohort is also attested in an honorific inscription from Tubusuctu, Algeria, where in addition to this position he is also identified as having held the posts of *trib(unus) leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*, *eq(uitum) I Hisp(anorum)*, and *praef(ectus) eq(uitum) I Campagon(um)* – all units

¹²⁰² AE 1977.740

¹²⁰³ AE 1981.738

¹²⁰⁴ AE 1994.1511

¹²⁰⁵ Petolescu 2002, 108; Matei-Popescu 2015, 412-413

¹²⁰⁶ CIL 3.12632=IDR III/1.23

¹²⁰⁷ IDR III/1.10=AE 1963.165

¹²⁰⁸ IDR III/1.11=AE 1931.125=AE 1972.490

which are attested in Dacia.¹²⁰⁹ P. Aelius Diophantus, a veteran of the cohort who died at the age of eighty-six, was buried in *Drobeta* (modern Drobeta-Turnu Severin, on the Danube), where he was commemorated by an epitaph erected by his two heirs (his daughter and his freedwoman).¹²¹⁰

*Cohors I Thracum sagittariorum*¹²¹¹

This cohort of archer's origin is unknown, but it appears in the Dacia Superior diplomas from 136/138, 142, February 23, 144, December 13, 156, July 8, 158, and April 1, 179. It might be identical to the *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* which participated in the Dacian Wars and which is attested in military diplomas for Dacia during the reign of Trajan (from 109 and 110), although this latter unit may have been a distinct unit attested in Pannonia Superior in 110.¹²¹² Its place of garrison in Dacia is also unknown.

*Cohors I Ubiorum*¹²¹³

At the end of the first century, the *cohors I Ubiorum* is attested in Moesia (in a diploma from 78) and then in Moesia Inferior (in diplomas from 92, 97, and 99, and 105).¹²¹⁴ The unit probably participated in the Dacian Wars,¹²¹⁵ and it first appears among the troops of Dacia Inferior in a diploma fragment from 119-129. It appears to have been

¹²⁰⁹ IDRE 2.465=AE 1967.644

¹²¹⁰ CIL 3.14216,04=IDR II.46

¹²¹¹ Christescu 1937, 191; Wagner 1938, 190-191; Beneš 1978, 52 (no. 129/92); Spaul 2000, 363; Petolescu 2002, no.58

¹²¹² See Petolescu 2002, 122 (no.57)

¹²¹³ Christescu 1937, 191; Wagner 1938, 195-196; Beneš 1978, 54 (no.133/96); Spaul 2000, 252-253; Petolescu 2002, no.61; Matei-Popescu 2010, 235-236 (No.42)

¹²¹⁴ Petolescu 2002, 124; Petolescu and Matei-Popescu 2008, 365

¹²¹⁵ Strobel 1984, 145

transferred to Dacia Superior soon after, based on the diplomas from 136/138, 142 (in the lacuna), February 23, 144, December 13, 156, and April 1, 179. Stamps of the *C(ohors) I VB(iorum)* were found at Odorheiu Secuiesc,¹²¹⁶ Ozd,¹²¹⁷ and perhaps also at Târnăveni (although the *CIV* found there is not securely identified as this unit).¹²¹⁸ These sites are all in within a small zone in east-central Dacia Superior, and it is possible that the cohort was stationed somewhere in this area – probably at the fort at Odorheiu Secuiesc.¹²¹⁹ It is also possible given the location of the area where it was attested that the cohort was not physically moved, but rather that the border between Dacia Superior and Dacia Inferior was slightly shifted between 120-136 and the unit and its fort was thus transferred from the authority of one province to another.¹²²⁰ L. Pompeius Celer, a prefect of the cohort, fulfilled his vow by dedicating an altar to *Hercules Invictus* at the spa station of Băile Herculane.¹²²¹ The cohort may have been stationed in this region to protect and oversee the salt mines at Sânpaul near Dacia's western frontier.

¹²¹⁶ CIL 3.8074,25=IDR III/4.262

¹²¹⁷ IDR III/4.132

¹²¹⁸ IDR III/4.130

¹²¹⁹ Piso and Benea 1984, 285

¹²²⁰ Matei-Popescu 2015, 142; Eck *et al.* 2001, 40; Matei-Popescu 2010, 235-236 (No.42)

¹²²¹ CIL 3.1571=IDR III/1.63

IRREGULAR UNITS

*Numerus Germanicianorum*¹²²²

Romanian scholars have consistently identified this irregular unit of auxiliaries from the province of Germania as *numerus Germanicianorum exploratores*.¹²²³ The designation *exploratores* has been based almost entirely on the suggestion of Gostar and the reading of the *NGE* stamp type from the unit's fort at Orăștioara de Sus as *N(umerus) G(ermanicianorum) E(xploratorum)*.¹²²⁴ At the same time, however, in known units of "scouts" the title *exploratores* always precedes rather than follows the unit's name (*Germaniciani*, here).¹²²⁵ Thus, this stamp would be more accurately read as *N(umerus) GE(rmanicianorum)*. Indeed, this is proven further by the fact that the unit's other stamp type reads *N(umerus) GER(manicianorum)*.¹²²⁶ Furthermore, all the other inscriptions mentioning the unit make no mention of the designation *exploratores*.

In 176-177, an *ex voto* dedication was made at Orăștioara de Sus to *Diana* for the health of the propraetorian legate by M. Verius Superstes, a centurion of the *legio V Macedonica* who was serving as *p(raepositus) n(umeri) G(ermanicianorum)*.¹²²⁷ At *Apulum* an epitaph recorded the death of Zeno Tarasis, a *miles n(umeri) Germ(anicianorum)* who died at

¹²²² Wagner 1938, 206; Beneš 1978, 58 (no.143/7); Petolescu 2002, no.66; Németh 1997, 105-106 (no.4)

¹²²³ e.g., Petolescu 2002, no.66, and more recently Fábíán 2012 and Matei-Popescu 2015, 415, all of whom call it *numerus Germanicianorum exploratorum* (Matei-Popescu calls it *numerus exploratorum Germanicianorum*) without any indication that there is uncertainty about this name.

¹²²⁴ Gostar 1972, 243; CIL 3.8074,29a=IDR III/3.266=AE 1967.412e=AE 1972.487=AE 1974.548

¹²²⁵ Speidel 1983; Speidel 1987b, 143; Southern 1989

¹²²⁶ CIL 3.8074,29b=IDR III/1.28c (from Moldova Nouă)

¹²²⁷ CIL 3.12574=IDR III/3.262=AE 1890.101=AE 1912.304=AE 1971.386=AE 1972.487. It is not entirely clear why this inscription was reconstructed to read *Germanorum* while all the other inscriptions for this unit are read as *Germanicianorum*. The latter seems to be correct since it denotes the province from which this unit came rather than an ethnic origin, which seems to be the case with this unit consisting of soldiers recruited from Germania (who may even have been Roman citizens, considering the unit never appears in Dacian diplomas). I have therefore chosen to correct the reading to *Germanicianorum* for this inscription. This inscription was first mentioned and discussed in the section on the *legio V Macedonica*.

the age of thirty-three.¹²²⁸ The *numerus [G]erm(anicianorum)* also appears alongside multiple other auxiliary units in the inscription dedicated to *I.O.M.* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta from *Micia*, mentioned previously.¹²²⁹ Its location at Orăștioara de Sus, near the pre-Roman Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, may suggest that the unit was brought to Dacia either during or immediately after the Dacian wars. On the other hand, its location also put the *numerus Germanicianorum* in a good position to assist the *numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum / pedites singulares Britanniciani* (who were stationed at *Germisara*) in guarding an older pre-Roman route to the gold mines, and in policing the mining district in general, especially the iron mines at Hunedoara, the copper mines at Deva, and the gold mines at Pianu de Sus.¹²³⁰ Its strategic placement would indicate that the unit was probably in Dacia from the time of Trajan, but we have no concrete evidence to prove this, and the earliest extant datable evidence for the *numerus* is only from the late second century.

The only inscription that explicitly mentions a ‘scout’ from Orăștioara de Sus is the epitaph of Iulius Secundus, *expl(orator) domo Agrip(pinensi)* (he was from *Colonia Agrippina* in Germania Inferior and died at age fifty-five after thirty-two years of military service), which has been dated to the first half of the second century (Trajan/Hadrian).¹²³¹ But his unit is unfortunately not specified. Even if we can assume that he belonged to the *numerus*

¹²²⁸ IDR III/5.2.615=AE 1910.152=AE 1972.487

¹²²⁹ CIL 3.1343=IDR III/3.77=AE 1972.487=AE 1977.705=AE 1978.705. The inscription is first mentioned and fully discussed under *Ala I Batavorum milliaria*.

¹²³⁰ Tentea 2009; Matei-Popescu 2015, 415; Haynes and Hanson 2004, 13; Oltean 2007, 39; Wollmann 1996, 149, 232-234

¹²³¹ IDR III/3.263=AE 1972.486=AE 1974.543=AE 1974.546; Gostar 1972, 242-243. Interestingly, the epitaph, which is missing its bottom section, was found reused (as *spolia*) in the wall of the fort at Orăștioara de Sus (near the northwestern tower) where it was probably incorporated during a rebuilding/renovation of the fort, perhaps in the later second or in the third century (further pointing to an earlier second century origin for the inscription).

Germanicianorum based on his provincial origin and the fact that he was buried at this fort, this does not prove that the entire unit consisted of *exploratores*, but rather that it contained at least one individual who had the special duty of being a scout (if *EXPL* is read correctly, that is). To explain the consistent lack of ‘*exploratores*’ in the epigraphic attestations of the unit’s name, Gostar argued that the unit dropped the name *exploratores* at some point when it was no longer being used for reconnaissance duties.¹²³² But the lack of secure evidence for a *numerus exploratores Germanicianorum* from Dacia at any point in time means that it is likely that the unit was never actually comprised of ‘scouts’.¹²³³ Thus, I refer to the unit simply as *numerus Germanicianorum* throughout the dissertation.

*Numerus Illyricorum*¹²³⁴

A diploma fragment from 136/138 for Dacia Superior records the presence of a cavalry unit comprised of ethnic Illyrians (either *vexil(latione)* or *numer(o) Illyr(icorum)*). The unit was garrisoned in the fort at Brâncovenești, on the upper course of the Mureș river, where it is attested by the stamp *ALNILYR (al(a) n(umeri) Il(l)yr(icorum))*.¹²³⁵ The designation *ala numerus* is probably meant to indicate that this irregular unit consisted of cavalry. In an epitaph from the fort the deceased commemorated is Aurel(ius) Vale(n)s, who was *sisq(uipticarius) alae Inlyri(corum)* (sic!), who died at forty-five.¹²³⁶ Another epitaph from Brâncovenești set up by Ulpius Dassius who had been a decurion (and perhaps a veteran?)

¹²³² Gostar 1972, 245

¹²³³ Southern 1989, 111

¹²³⁴ Petolescu 2002, no.68

¹²³⁵ CIL 3.8074,7=CER 12.607=AE 1992.1474 - in a *tabula ansata* with an A+L ligature.

¹²³⁶ Protase and Zrínyi 1994, 36-38, no.1 (pl.40); ILD 440=CER 12.602=AE 1992.1472=AE 1994.1488

for his wife, may also be evidence for this unit, but this conjecture is just based on his Illyrian cognomen.¹²³⁷

Two horsemen of this unit are also attested at *Apulum*, after they were transferred from the *numerus Illyricorum* to other auxiliary units. Aelius Dubitatus who was *ex al(a) n(umeri) Il(l)yr(icorum)* had become *missicus alae Bat(avorum)* by the time he died at age thirty,¹²³⁸ and Tutor Silvani, also *ex n(umero) Illyr(icorum)* had become *eq[ue]s alae Bos[p(or)anorum]* when he died at age forty-three after serving for twenty-three years.¹²³⁹ The *ala I Batavorum milliaria* was stationed at Războieni-Cetate near *Apulum*, and the *ala I Bosporanorum* was stationed at Cristești (both were discussed previously). Another *eq(ues) al(a)e [Illyri]co(rum)* is attested in a fragmentary epitaph from *Apulum*.¹²⁴⁰ An epitaph from Rome commemorates Aurelius Victor, an *eq(ues) sing(ularis)* (presumably *Augusti*) who was *nat(ione) Dacus* and who had been “selected from the *ala I Illyricorum*” (*allect(us) ex ala I Illyricor(um)*), which probably refers to this unit.¹²⁴¹

*Numerus Maurorum Hispanorum*¹²⁴²

Four inscriptions from *Ampelum* attest to the presence of this unit at the administrative center of the gold mining district. A dedication to *Silvanus Domesticus* was made for the health of Titus Flavius Crescens, *praef(ecti) n(umeri) M(aurorum) Hisp(anorum)*

¹²³⁷ Protase and Zrínyi 1994, 39-40, no.5 (pl.43); ILD 444=CER 12.606=AE 1992.1473=AE 1994.1488

¹²³⁸ IDR III/5.2.475=CER 7.416=AE 1987.829

¹²³⁹ CIL 3.1197=IDR III/5.2.585

¹²⁴⁰ IDR III/5.2.631=AE 1988.947. The fragmentary inscription has an *ex* followed by three illegible letters after *[Illyri]co(rum)*, which may refer to another unit from which he had been transferred.

¹²⁴¹ CIL 6.3234b=IDRE 1.54; Dana and Zăgreanu 2013, 156

¹²⁴² Beneš 1978, 59 (no.147/11); Petolescu 2002, no.74

by Titus Flavius Felicianus, who had been raised in the prefect's home.¹²⁴³ Another prefect of this *numerus*, Aurelius Redux, dedicated an altar to *Fortuna Redux* and to the *Genio n(umeri)*.¹²⁴⁴ Marcus Aurelius Alexander, a *mil(es) n(umeri) Maur(orum) Hisp(anorum) Antoniniani*, made a dedication to *I.O.M.* on the orders of the god (*ex iussu dei*).¹²⁴⁵ The *numerus'* epithet *Antoninianus* dates this inscription to the time of Caracalla. Finally, a fragmentary epitaph commemorates Ael[ius...?] *miles [num(eri) M(aurorum) Hisp(anorum)]*.¹²⁴⁶ Based on these inscriptions we can say that this irregular auxiliary unit was garrisoned at *Ampelum* and must have been there to assist the *legio XIII Gemina* in the task of policing the gold mining district in the Apuseni Mountains.

*Numerus Maurorum Miciensium*¹²⁴⁷

This irregular tribal unit of *Mauri* was garrisoned at *Micia*, as indicated in its name and as attested by several inscriptions from the fort (Figure 2.42). In 204/205, the *Mauri Micienses* together with their commander, the prefect Iulius Euangelianus, rebuilt the temple of their ancestral gods which had fallen into ruin from old age (*templum deorum patriorum vetustate conlapsum*) with their own funds and labor – an act dedicated to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and other members of their family.¹²⁴⁸ A funerary monument which commemorates several deceased members of a family includes, among others, Aurelius Maurus, *veteranus c(o)hor(tis) Com(m)agenoru(m)* (who lived to the age of fifty), and Aurelius

¹²⁴³ CIL 3.1149=IDR III/3.325=ILS 3558

¹²⁴⁴ IDR III/3.302=AE 1971.383. His name is particularly appropriate for a dedication to *Fortuna Redux*.

¹²⁴⁵ CIL 3.1294=IDR III/3.312

¹²⁴⁶ CIL 3.1316=IDR III/3.339

¹²⁴⁷ Christescu 1937, 198; Wagner 1938, 208; Beneš 1978, 59-60 (no.148/12); Petolescu 2002, no.72

¹²⁴⁸ IDR III/3.47=AE 1944.74

Surus, *milis* (sic!) *n(umeri) M(aurorum) M(iciensium)* (who lived to age twenty).¹²⁴⁹ The inscription shows that *Mauri* at *Micia* were also recruited into other auxiliary units (here the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittariorum*, which was also in garrison at *Micia*), and it shows that the tribal unit had been organized into a *numerus*. A fragment of another epitaph from *Micia* records an individual named [...]is Dassi, *[mil(es)?] n(umeri) M(aurorum) M(iciensium)*.¹²⁵⁰ Finally, a fragmentary inscription from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* was dedicated by a now-unknown decurion of the colony who was also *equo [p(ublico)]* and *[pr]aef(ectus) n(umeri) Maur(orum) [Mic(iensium)? S]everiani*, for his father.¹²⁵¹ Its association with this particular unit is not entirely certain, but the inscription can be dated to the reign of Severus Alexander based on the epithet. From its fort at *Micia* the *numerus* ensured the security of the mid-Mureş valley along Dacia's western frontier, and its horsemen helped police the southwestern portion of the gold mining district north of the fort, especially the gold and silver mines at Ruda-Brad and Băiţă, as well as the copper mines at Deva and the iron mines at Hunedoara, both of which were south of the fort.

*Numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium*¹²⁵²

Based on its name, and its attestation in inscriptions from the site, we know that this unit was based at *Tibiscum* (Figure 2.33). A funerary monument from the site commemorates the members of a family, including Aelius Sebl[---]er *ex n(umero)*

¹²⁴⁹ CIL 3.6267=IDR III/3.166=AE 2004.1208

¹²⁵⁰ CIL 3.7872=IDR III/3.176

¹²⁵¹ IDR III/2.133=AE 1933.250=AE 1934.111

¹²⁵² Christescu 1937, 198; Wagner 1938, 209-210; Petolescu 2002, no.71

Maur(orum) Tib(iscensium) who died at age forty-five.¹²⁵³ The *numerus* also appears alongside multiple other auxiliary units in the inscription dedicated to *I.O.M.* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta from *Micia*, mentioned previously.¹²⁵⁴ A fragmentary dedication to *I.O.M. Dolichenus* from *Apulum* was made by Iulius Gracilis for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta (dated to 198-211). If it is reconstructed correctly, it would seem that Gracilis was a *[dec(urio) n(umeri) M(aurorum) Tib(iscensium) ex sing(ulari) [co(n)s(ularis?)]*.¹²⁵⁵ Based on this reading, it seems that Gracilis was promoted from the provincial governor's horse guard (*equites singulares consularis*) to become an officer (either *decurion*, or a *centurion*) of an irregular unit (here a *numerus*), providing interesting evidence of the fact that the guards of provincial governors (like the guards of the emperor) also served as schools for officers.¹²⁵⁶ Finally, an inscription from *Caesarea* (Mauretania Caesariensis) records a prefect of this unit (*praef(ectus) [n(umeri)] Mauret[anorum] Tibiscensium*) named Marius Domesticus.¹²⁵⁷

*Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*¹²⁵⁸

The *Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria qui sunt in Dacia Superiore sub Iulio Severo* ("the Palmyrene archers from Syria who are in Dacia Superior under Iulius Severus") are attested in several early second century diplomas from Dacia: one from 120 found at Cășeiu, granted

¹²⁵³ IDR III/1.156=CER 21/24.927

¹²⁵⁴ CIL 3.1343=IDR III/3.77=AE 1972.487=AE 1977.705=AE 1978.705. The inscription is first mentioned and fully discussed under *Ala I Batavorum milliaria*.

¹²⁵⁵ IDR III/5.1.219=CER 14/15.679=AE 1978.662=AE 1994.1490; For a discussion of possible readings, see also Speidel 1978, 90 no.38; Piso 1994; Speidel 1994a.

¹²⁵⁶ Speidel 1994a, 216

¹²⁵⁷ CIL 8.9368=CIL 8.20944=IDRE 2.462; Spaul 1994, 252

¹²⁵⁸ Christescu 1937, 198; Wagner 1938, 213; Beneš 1978, 61 (no.159/19); Benea 1980; Petolescu 2002, no.75

to *Bari[c]i Male filio) Palmyreno* (in the Dative),¹²⁵⁹ one also from 120 found at *Porolisum* which had been granted to *Hamaseo Alapatha Palmyr(a)* (in the Dative),¹²⁶⁰ and two diplomas from 126 found at *Tibiscum*, which were granted to *Perheu Athenatan filio*¹²⁶¹ and to *Perheu [---] filio* (both in the Dative).¹²⁶² Furthermore, at *Tibiscum* a fragmentary inscription dedicated to *Liber Pater* for the health of Antoninus Pius records the construction of a building (probably a temple, perhaps for *Liber Pater*?) by a “detachment of Palmyrenes” (*[per vex]illation[em Pal]myren[or(um)]*).¹²⁶³ Seemingly by the time of Antoninus Pius, the Palmyrenes in Dacia were organized into three *numeri*, one of which was garrisoned at *Tibiscum* (Figure 2.33). The *n(umerus) Palm(yrenorum)* and *n(umerus) Palm(yrenorum) Tibiscensium* are known from multiple stone inscriptions from *Tibiscum*, as well as a tile/brick stamp with the letters *NPT* (in ligature).¹²⁶⁴ Many of the names in these inscriptions (including patronymics) are Palmyrene, but several are also more standard Roman (Latin) names.¹²⁶⁵ In both cases (with either Roman or Palmyrene *cognomina*) the *gentilicium* Aelius (sometimes preceded by the *praenomen* Publius) is common, which was likely acquired from Hadrian.¹²⁶⁶

A noteworthy epitaph was found at *Apulum*: a free-standing stone column engraved with an inscription that commemorates Mucatra Brasi, *miles n(umeri) Palmyren(orum)*

¹²⁵⁹ RMD 1.17=IDR I.5=AE 1958.30=AE 1959.31=AE 1960.336

¹²⁶⁰ CIL 16.68=IDR I.6b=AE 1925.76=AE 1935.3=AE 1936.7

¹²⁶¹ RMD 1.27=IDR I.8=AE 1967.395

¹²⁶² RMD 1.28=IDR I.9=AE 1977.696

¹²⁶³ IDR III/1.181=ILD 202=CER 19/20.842=AE 1999.1295=AE 2007.1188. The full inscription (made up of several fragments) was finally published by Piso and Benea 1999, 91-96 (no.1, fig. 1). See also Benea 2002, 186.

¹²⁶⁴ For the brick-stamp: IDR III/1.256a; for the other inscriptions from this unit at *Tibiscum*: IDR III/1.134, 135, 136, 142+149, 143, 147, 152 (another fragment added to it later: CER 2.125), 153, 154 (bilingual), 155, 160, 162 (maybe based on name), 164, 165, 166 (maybe based on name), 167 (bilingual), 170, 176, 178 (bilingual), 181

¹²⁶⁵ See also Benea 2002 on the cultural integration of Palmyrenes in Dacia.

¹²⁶⁶ Petolescu 2002, 140

Tibiscensium, who died at the age of thirty-nine (Figure 4.16).¹²⁶⁷ The inscription was made by Mucapor Mucatral(is) for his “dearest tent-mate” (*contubern(ali) carissimo*). Both their names appear to be Thraco-Dacian, thus providing us with an interesting example of local recruitment into this *numerus* during its stay in Dacia.¹²⁶⁸

***Numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum
(pedites singulares Britanniciani)***¹²⁶⁹

First appearing in a diploma from Moesia Superior (103/107) as *pedites singulares Britanniciani*,¹²⁷⁰ this irregular unit consisting of provincials from Britannia¹²⁷¹ was most likely sent to the lower Danube area as reinforcement during Trajan’s preparations for the Dacian Wars. Afterwards it stayed in Dacia, where it appears in both the February 17 and the July 2 diplomas from 110 (Feb. 17), then in Dacia Superior in the diplomas from 142, 145-146, 156, and 179 (in the latter it is attested as a *vexillatio peditum singularium Brittanicianorum*). Sometime between the 179 constitution and 186 (see inscription discussed below), the unit was organized into a *numerus*, and tile/brick stamps (*NB*, *NSB*, *NPS*, *SPB*)¹²⁷² and stone inscriptions found at the fort of *Germisara* (Cigmău, Romania) have revealed its place of garrison (Figure 4.7).

In 186, P. Aelius Marcellinus, a standard-bearer and quaestor of the unit (*signifer et quaestor n(umeri) Brit(annicianorum)*) dedicated a votive altar to the *Nymphae sanctissimae* at

¹²⁶⁷ IDR III/5.2.559=AE 1914.102

¹²⁶⁸ Petolescu 2002, 141

¹²⁶⁹ Christescu 1937, 145; Wagner 1938, 204-205; Beneš 1978, 57 (no.138/2); Petolescu 2002, no.64; Speidel 1978, 65-66

¹²⁷⁰ CIL 16.54=AE 2008.75

¹²⁷¹ The term *Britannicianorum* here denotes the provincial origin rather than ethnic origin of the unit – see Speidel 1978, 65.

¹²⁷² CIL 3.1633,14; CIL 3.8075,32; IDR III/3.227; AE 1967.412

Germisara in gratitude for having been saved from mortal peril (*mortis periculo liber(atus)*).¹²⁷³ T. Fabius Aquileiensis, a *trib(unus) n(umeri) s(ingularium) B(ritannicianorum)* also made a dedication to the nymphs at the fort.¹²⁷⁴ This same individual also shows up in a fragmentary inscription from the reign Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta that mentions the reconstruction of an unknown structure.¹²⁷⁵ It was common for *numeri* to be commanded by legionary centurions in the role of *praepositi*, and two of these are attested epigraphically at *Germisara*. A dedication to *I.O.M* was made by [U]lpus Max[i]minus, a (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) V M[ac(edocinae)] Gord(ianae)* who was *p(raepositus) n(umeri) s(ingularium) p(editum) B(ritannicianorum)*.¹²⁷⁶ Marcus Aurelius Calpurnianus, (*centurio*) *n(umeri) s(ingularium) B(ritannicianorum)* who dedicated an altar to the Ancestral Gods (*Dibus Patronis*), was probably also a legionary *praepositus* of the unit (although we cannot know whether he was from the *legio V Macedonica* like the other commander, or if he was from the *legio XIII Gemina*).¹²⁷⁷ During the reign of Philip the Arab (in 245) the *numerus* dedicated an altar to the emperor in which the unit carries the epithet *Philippiani devoti n[umini maiestatique eius]*.¹²⁷⁸ A very fragmentary epitaph *Germisara* also commemorates an individual (probably a soldier?) from the *numerus*.¹²⁷⁹

¹²⁷³ CIL 3.1396=IDR III/3.243=ILS 2630. The inscription can be dated precisely because it mentions Commodus as the ruling emperor and specifies two consuls and the number of years that they had held that position.

¹²⁷⁴ ILD 329=CER 12.590=AE 1992.1487=AE 2010.1356=AE 2010.1377

¹²⁷⁵ IDR III/3.213=AE 1971.385=AE 1982.833=AE 2010.1377. Right at the end of Aquileiensis' name the inscription breaks off. It was originally reconstructed as *T(ito) Fab(io) Aquileiens[i praep(osito) n(umeri) p(editum) s(ingularium) B(ritannicianorum)]*, but based on the other inscription his rank is probably best reconstructed as *trib(unus)* rather than *praep(osito)* (see Petolescu 2002, 130).

¹²⁷⁶ IDR III/3.237=AE 1967.410=AE 1971.386. This inscription is first discussed in the section on the *legio V Macedonica*.

¹²⁷⁷ IDR III/3.219

¹²⁷⁸ CIL 3.12573=IDR III/3.214=AE 1891.78=AE 1967.411

¹²⁷⁹ IDR III/3.255

Germisara was located just southwest of the legionary base at *Apulum*, close to important hot springs, and was situated on a natural plateau on the right bank of the Mureş River in a strategic position that was undoubtedly related to guarding this important thoroughfare (Figure 4.7).¹²⁸⁰ The auxiliary unit's fort stood at an important cross-roads where the *Partiscum-Apulum* (east-west) road running along the Mureş intersected with the road running south from *Apulum* towards the Danube (which itself split into two) – thus it oversaw one of the vital connections between southern-southwestern Dacia and northern Dacia. Furthermore, from the fort of *Germisara* troops could oversee multiple important Roman mines: the gold mines at Pianu de Sus, the iron mines at Hunedoara, and the copper mines at Deva. The existence of this irregular auxiliary unit which originated as the governor of Britannia's provincial infantry guard is interesting. It provides one of only a handful of known examples of a provincial governor's *equites/pedites singulares* sent abroad to a frontier province when they were needed as reinforcements, and where they then remained as an independent auxiliary unit.¹²⁸¹ But unlike other such parallels, which were eventually converted into regular *cohortes* or *alae*, this *numerus* curiously never became a regular unit. Its original recruits in Britannia would have themselves come from regular *cohortes* and they retained their privileges as such after becoming *singulares* (as specified in the dipomas) - privileges which continued to be granted to the *numerus*' recruits in Dacia (as seen in the 156 diploma, for example).¹²⁸²

¹²⁸⁰ Moga 1985, 58

¹²⁸¹ For other examples and a discussion of this phenomenon see Speidel 1978, 54 (and further).

¹²⁸² Speidel 1978, 66

EQUITES & PEDITES SINGULARES

*Numerus Singularium (Equites and Pedites Singulares)*¹²⁸³

The *equites* and *pedites singulares* constituted the personal horse and foot guards of the provincial governor. Dating to the reign of Trajan (110/112-?115)¹²⁸⁴ we have the inscription from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* dedicated to the *Eponae* and *Campestres* by M. Calventius Viator, (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) fe(licis)* who was the “trainer of the horse guard” (*exerc(itator) eq(uitum) sing(ularium)*) of the provincial governor C. Avidius Nigrinus (previously discussed).¹²⁸⁵ The majority of epigraphic evidence for the *singulares* comes from *Apulum*, where the unit was based – at the heart of the province, in the same camp as the longest-standing provincial legion (*legio XIII Gemina*), where the seat of the provincial governor was located. Numerous tile/brick stamps from the legionary camp at *Apulum* have been recovered, including *SINGVL(ares)*, *EQVIT(es)*, *SIN(gulares)*, *N(umerus)* *SING(unlarium)*, *P(edites) S(ingulares)*, *P(edites) SIN(gulares)*, *PED(ites) SIN(gulares)*, *P(edites) S(in)G(ulares)*, *P(edites) S(ingulares) c(onsularis)*, and *P(edites) S(in)G(ulares) CO(n)S(ularis)*.¹²⁸⁶ The last two date from the period after Dacia’s administrative reorganization in 168, when the governor of the *III Daciae* was once again of consular rank. The stamp for the *N(umerus) SING(ularium)* indicates that the provincial horse and infantry guards were at some point organized into a *numerus*.

¹²⁸³ Petolescu 2002, no.79; Speidel 1978, 88-92

¹²⁸⁴ Piso 1993, 19-23, based on the governorship of C. Avidius Nigrinus.

¹²⁸⁵ CIL 3.7904=IDR III/2.205=ILS 2417=AE 2004.105=Glodariu 1966, 430=Speidel 1978, 88 (no.31). The inscription is discussed and cited in full in the section on the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*.

¹²⁸⁶ Petolescu 2002, 146; AE 1891.77c-d; CIL 3.12633c-h; IDR III/6.269-284; Moga 1985, 51; Speidel 1978, 90 (no.39). See Berciu and Băluță 1981, 268-270 for a catalogue of these stamps, and Băluță 1980 for brief overview of the *pedites* and *equites singulares* in Dacia. Over 130 stamps have been recovered from *Apulum* belonging to the *pedites* and *equites singulares*.

Various inscriptions from *Apulum* mention individuals belonging to or associated with the *singulares*. P. Aelius Crescens a *du(plicarius?) s(ummus) c(urator) eq(uitum) sin(gularium)* built a temple,¹²⁸⁷ and Marcus Aurelius Sila(nus?) an *actar(ius) eq(uitum) sing(ularium)* dedicated a (now lost) statue of the sun god *Sol*.¹²⁸⁸ In a previously discussed inscription, Iulius Gracilis, a possible decurion of the *numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium* who had been promoted to this position from the *singulares*, made a dedication to *I.O.M. Dolichenus(?)* for the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta (around 198-211), providing an example of the way in which the superior training and experience gathered in the *singulares* could lead to a military promotion and command over other units (thus the *singulares* functioned like an officer training school).¹²⁸⁹ A possible decurion of the horse guards is attested in a fragmentary *ex voto* inscription.¹²⁹⁰

An interesting epitaph was recorded for Dasas (son of) (S)cenobarbus, a horseman of the *ala Batavorum* who had been recruited from the *numerus singularium*, and who died at age thirty-one after five years of service.¹²⁹¹ The epitaph was set up by his heir Bers(ius) [I]ngenu(u)s, who was a decurion from the *numerus singularium* (or who had perhaps been promoted from *singularis* to decurion elsewhere).¹²⁹² Dasas (and his father Scenobarbus) have Illyrian names and appear to have been non-citizens (thus dating the inscription to the second century). Another epitaph was set up for Mucasenus (son of) Censorinus, *aeques es*

¹²⁸⁷ CIL 3.1160=IDR III/5.1.375=Speidel 1978, 88 (no.32) (the latter for the reading *s(ummus) c(urator)*)

¹²⁸⁸ AE 1962.208=IDR III/5.1.358=Speidel 1978, 90 (no.37) (the latter for the reading *Sila(nus?)*)

¹²⁸⁹ IDR III/5.1.219=CER 14/15.679=AE 1978.662=AE 1994.1490; For a discussion of possible readings, see also Speidel 1978, 90 no.38; Piso 1994; Speidel 1994a. The inscription is discussed in full in the section on the *numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium*.

¹²⁹⁰ CIL 3.7787=IDR III/5.1.405

¹²⁹¹ CIL 3.7800=IDR III/5.2.522=Speidel 1978, 89-90 (no.36)

¹²⁹² The inscription is now lost and its manuscript tradition includes many doubtful readings.

singul(aribus?) co(n)s(ularis) who died at age twenty, by his wife Rescuturme Soi(a)e.¹²⁹³

Although his father bears a Roman name, Mucasenus and his wife have Thracian names and were probably non-citizens. The use of the legal term *co(n)iux* to describe his “wife” is interesting since Mucasenus (as an active soldier and as a non-citizen, during the second century) would not have had the right to legally marry. Finally, an epitaph commemorates Aelius Genialis a *vexillarius(?)* who was *ex singul(aris)* and who died at age thirty-two.¹²⁹⁴ Valerius, a *librarius* who was his first heir (*pri(mus) heres*) and Atticus his second heir (*sec(undus) he(res)*) set up the inscription.

In an inscription from Negrilești (approximately 170 kilometres north of *Apulum*), the site of a watchtower north of the fort at Ilișua (on the northeast corner of the Dacian frontier), comes a dedication to *Diana* and *Silvanus* made by Publius Aelius Atilius, a decurion *ex sing(ularibus) co(n)s(ularis)*.¹²⁹⁵ His presence on the northern frontier of Dacia Porolissensis indicates that he was perhaps there as part of the entourage of the governor of the *III Daciae* (so sometime after 168). Speidel has also suggested based on the gods to whom Atilius dedicated that he may have been there on a hunting expedition.¹²⁹⁶

¹²⁹³ CIL 3.1195=IDR III/5.2.558=Speidel 1978, 89 (no.33)

¹²⁹⁴ CIL 3.7799 =IDR III/5.2.477=AE 2006.17=Speidel 1978, 89 (no.35). The position of the term *vexillarius* is odd, since it would be expected next to the deceased's name rather than immediately before the name Valerius (and it certainly cannot be the latter's *nomen*).

¹²⁹⁵ AE 1913.54=AE 1914.9=ILD 795

¹²⁹⁶ Speidel 1978, 91

DACIA INFERIOR

ALAE QUINGENARIAE

*Ala I Asturum*¹²⁹⁷

Before being sent to the lower Danube, epigraphic evidence indicates that the quingenary *ala I Asturum* was stationed on the Rhine frontier.¹²⁹⁸ It was in Moesia Inferior from the reign of Vespasian until its participation in the Dacian Wars.¹²⁹⁹ One of its prefects, P. Priferius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris was decorated by Trajan for his service in the first Dacian War.¹³⁰⁰ It probably stayed in Dacia after 106, or was transferred there officially under Hadrian, since it appears in the diplomas from 129/130, 140, and 146 for Dacia Inferior. Here it was garrisoned at Hoghiz in southeastern Transylvania (Figure 2.44), as indicated by the stamps *AL(a) AS(turum)*¹³⁰¹ and *A(la) I A(sturum)*.¹³⁰² From its base at Hoghiz the horsemen of the *ala* probably helped police the nearby salt mines at Sânpaul.

In an inscription from *Ariminum* (Italia), C. Nonius Caepianus, who had held (among other positions) the titles of *praefectus alae I Asturum* and *praepositus numeri equitum electo[rum] ex Illyrico*,¹³⁰³ was honored by C. Valerius Saturninus, himself a decurion of the *ala I Asturum*.¹³⁰⁴ Two other prefects of this *ala* are attested epigraphically – one in an

¹²⁹⁷ Christescu 1937, 178; Wagner 1938, 10-11; Beneš 1978, 6 (no.2); Vlădescu 1983, no.1; Strobel 1984, 106; Spaul 1994, 37-38; Petolescu 2002, no.3; Petolescu and Matei-Popescu 2008, 362-363

¹²⁹⁸ Petolescu 2002, 62 for inscriptions.

¹²⁹⁹ Strobel 1984, 106

¹³⁰⁰ Maxfield 1981, 171

¹³⁰¹ CIL 3.1633, 11=CIL 3.8074, 1a=IDR III/4.241

¹³⁰² CIL 3.8074, 1b=IDR III/4.242

¹³⁰³ Referring to the *numerus equitum Illyricorum*, discussed below, which was stationed near the *ala I Asturum* in southeastern Transylvania.

¹³⁰⁴ CIL 11.393=ILS 2739=IDRE 1.132

inscription from *Ephesus* (probably from the time of Septimius Severus),¹³⁰⁵ and another in an inscription from *Germisara* (dating to around 200).¹³⁰⁶ A veteran of this *ala*, M. Aurelius Teres, is commemorated in an epitaph from *Serdica* (Thracia) (also dating to around 200).¹³⁰⁷

*Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*¹³⁰⁸

This *ala*, which was originally raised in Gaul, appears to have acquired its epithet *Capitoniana* from its first or from its most famous commander – C. Herennius Capito who had been its prefect (before going on to eventually become procurator of Iulia Augusta, Augustus' widow).¹³⁰⁹ In 97 (perhaps?)¹³¹⁰ and in 105¹³¹¹ it appears in diplomas for Moesia Inferior as *ala I Claudia Gallorum*, and is attested in two funerary inscriptions from that province.¹³¹² It probably participated in the Dacian Wars and stayed in Dacia after its conquest. Dating to the early second century, stamps of *A(la) CL(audia)* were recovered in the fort at Slăveni (just north of the Danube).¹³¹³ It was stationed in Dacia Inferior based on the diplomas from 129/130, 140, and 146, and in the fragment dated to between 130-138. It was garrisoned in the fort at Boroșneul Mare, as indicated by the discovery of its stamps (2

¹³⁰⁵ CIL 3.6075=ILS 1366=IDRE 2.378

¹³⁰⁶ CIL 3.1393=IDR III/3.233

¹³⁰⁷ IDRE 2.353

¹³⁰⁸ Beneš 1978, 8-9 (no.16); Vlădescu 1983, 39 (no.3); Spaul 1994, 80-81; Petolescu 2002, no.8; Speidel 1974

¹³⁰⁹ Attested in AE 1941.105=AE 1945.24=AE 1947.39 (from Chiati, Italia), found inscribed on a silver bust of Tiberius. See Speidel 1974, 375 for the argument that this was the commander after whom the *ala* was named.

¹³¹⁰ CIL 16.41-AE 1913.179=AE 2006.1182; Weiß 1997, 233-238 (no.4)

¹³¹¹ CIL 16.50

¹³¹² AE 1912.187=AE 1920.108=AE 1942/1943.56; AE 1967.425. Speidel 1974, 376-377

¹³¹³ Speidel 1974, 377 is uncertain about whether they belong to this unit.

types) at the site (and a stamp from the nearby site of Reci).¹³¹⁴ It appears that sometime after 146 (its last datable attestation in Dacia Inferior) and 233-235 (the date of the following inscription), either the whole *ala* or a portion thereof was sent to Mauretania Caesariensis, based on the inscription from *Sertei* (Kherbet Gidra) which mentions Helvius Crescens, who in his capacity as *dec(urio) al(ae) I Cl(audiae) Kapit(onianae)* supervised the construction of fortification walls for the *pagus* (community) of *Sertei*.¹³¹⁵ It may have been transferred during the reign of Septimius Severus.¹³¹⁶

*Ala I Hispanorum*¹³¹⁷

During the first century CE this *ala* was in Germania, then in Pannonia (*Aquincum*), before ending up in Moesia Inferior (by 92).¹³¹⁸ After the conquest of Dacia it shows up in Dacia Superior in the diploma from November 12, 119,¹³¹⁹ but was shortly afterwards transferred to Dacia Inferior, since it appears there in the diplomas from 129, 129/130, 140, and 146. It was stationed at Slăveni based on tile stamps reading *AH* found at the fort.¹³²⁰ Under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus the unit is mentioned in an inscription from *Hispalis*, Baetica (modern Sevilla)¹³²¹ and *Mactaris*, Africa Proconsularis¹³²² when a Sex. Iulius Possessor was its *praepositus*. A shattered inscription (reconstructed from some 260 pieces)

¹³¹⁴ IDR III/4.326=AE 1967.419; IDR III/4.327=AE 1974.565a. The stamp from nearby Reci: IDR III/4.315.

¹³¹⁵ CIL 8.8828=CIL 8.20630=ILS 6889=AE 1971.533=AE 1973.651. See Speidel 1974, 378-379.

¹³¹⁶ See Speidel 1973.

¹³¹⁷ Christescu 1937, 179; Wagner 1938, 43-45; Beneš 1978, 10 (no.21); Spaul 1994, 144-146; Petolescu 2002, no.10

¹³¹⁸ Petolescu 2002, 71

¹³¹⁹ See also Petolescu and Matei-Popescu 2008, 365

¹³²⁰ On the fort at Slăveni see Tudor 1978, 301-307; on the tile stamps: IDR 2.526=AE 1966.317

¹³²¹ CIL 2.1180=ILS 1403=AE 1965.237=AE 1971.171=AE 1991.993=CER 18.179=IDRE 1.179

¹³²² AE 1983.976=AE 1987.1026=IDRE 2.435

tells us that the *ala I Hispanorum* built the stone fort at Slăveni in 205,¹³²³ the same year in which another inscription records the construction of a *basilica*.¹³²⁴ In the latter inscription (as well as on another fragment)¹³²⁵ the *ala I Hispanorum* bears the epithet *Antoniniana* from Caracalla. A fragmentary altar recovered from the fort's *principia* was dedicated to Philip the Arab and his son, most likely by the *ala I Hispanorum* (based on the most probable reading).¹³²⁶ The unit is furthermore mentioned on an altar dedicated to *Sol* (with the epithet *pia fidelis*).¹³²⁷ Several other epigraphic fragments, one mentioning a *collegium dupl[ari]or(um)*,¹³²⁸ and two others mentioning *sesquiplicarii*¹³²⁹ have also been attributed to this *ala* based on their discovery within the fort.

¹³²³ CIL 3.13800=AE 1896.62=AE 1998.40=IDR 2.496

¹³²⁴ IDR 2.499=ILD 130=CER 21/24.1007

¹³²⁵ CIL 3.14216,17=AE 1986.64=IDR 2.498

¹³²⁶ IDR 2.500

¹³²⁷ IDR 2.510=AE 1966.314

¹³²⁸ IDR 2.505=AE 1963.125=AE 1964.186a

¹³²⁹ IDR 2.506=AE 1966.315; IDR 2.507

COHORTES QUINGENARIAE EQUITATAE

*Cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*¹³³⁰

Originally recruited in Hispania under Augustus, this cohort was first deployed in Dalmatia, then was transferred to Moesia under Vespasian (based on a diploma there from 75).¹³³¹ It became part of Moesia Inferior after Domitian's administrative reforms (based on diplomas from 92, 99, and perhaps one dated *terminus ante quem* 113).¹³³² The cohort probably participated in the Dacian Wars¹³³³ and under Hadrian became part of Dacia Inferior where it stayed until at least the time of Marcus Aurelius, based on the diplomas from 129/130, 140, and 146, and a fragment from 167/168. We know the unit was stationed at the fort in Brețcu (ancient *Angustia*) based on tile stamps (*COH I BRAC*) (Figure 2.35).¹³³⁴ Until recently this unit was often confused with the *cohors I Bracarorum civium Romanorum*, but these have now been shown to be distinct units.¹³³⁵ An inscription from *Caesarea* (Mauretania Caesariensis) tells us that around 168-170 the prefect of the *cohors I Augusta Bracarum* (identified as the *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*) was also the *praepositus* of the *numerus Illyricorum* (stationed at Hoghiz, Dacia Inferior).¹³³⁶

¹³³⁰ Christescu 1937, 183; Wagner 1938, 97-100; Beneš 1978, 18-19 (no.52/15); Spaul 2000, 88-90; Petolescu 2002, no.21; Matei-Popescu 2005

¹³³¹ Matei-Popescu 2005, 314

¹³³² Petolescu 2002, 85; Matei-Popescu 2005. For the Moesia Inferior diploma from June 15, 92 (from Cataloi) see Petolescu and Popescu 2004. For the diploma from August 14, 99 see CIL 16.44=ILS 2000=AE 1888.10; for the fragment dated *ante* 113 see CIL 16.58.

¹³³³ Matei-Popescu 2004, 127

¹³³⁴ IDR III/4.336-338=ILD 435b; Popa 2015

¹³³⁵ See Matei-Popescu 2005.

¹³³⁶ CIL 8.9358=ILS 2738=IDRE 2.464=CER 7.403=AE 1987.827

*Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum*¹³³⁷

Based on diplomas we know that this cohort was stationed in Moesia Inferior between 92-105. It participated in the Dacian Wars,¹³³⁸ and it was likely during this time that it left its mark through tile stamps in northern Muntenia at Draşna de Sus (where it built the fort together with detachments from the legions *I Italica*, *V Macedonica*, and *XI Claudia*),¹³³⁹ at Târgşor,¹³⁴⁰ and at Voineşti¹³⁴¹ (in both places it was there alongside a detachment of *legio XI Claudia*).¹³⁴² The cohort probably stayed in Muntenia during Trajan's reign, when this territory was annexed to Moesia Inferior. After the abandonment of this territory by Hadrian and the subsequent reorganization of Dacia, the *cohort I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum* was transferred to Dacia Inferior, where it is mentioned in the diploma from 129-130, one of the fragments dated between 130 and 138, and in the diplomas from 140 and 146.

The cohort was stationed on the lower Olt river, based on tile stamps found at the forts of *Romula*, Slăveni, and *Acidava* (Enoseşti).¹³⁴³ On the upper Olt river, at Săcădate, an altar dedicated to *I.O.M. Dolichenus Commageno[r]um* may perhaps be linked to this unit and might point to its temporary presence or of a detachment in this region.¹³⁴⁴ More recently brick stamps and arrowheads recovered from the fort at Jidava (Câmpulung) attest

¹³³⁷ Christescu 1937, 185; Wagner 1938, 123-124; Beneš 1978, 26-27 (no.72/35); Spaul 2000, 405; Petolescu 2002, no.30

¹³³⁸ Strobel 1984, 127

¹³³⁹ CIL 3.12530a-c=IDR 2.603a-c. See also Zahariade and Dvorski 1997 for the Trajanic fort at Draşna de Sus and its stamps and military units.

¹³⁴⁰ Based on unpublished stamps, cited through personal communication (D. Lichiardopol, Muzeul judeţean de istorie şi arheologie Prahova, Ploieşti) by Petolescu 2002, 96 (n.5).

¹³⁴¹ ILD 166=CER 2.116=AE 2000.1265

¹³⁴² See also Schuster 2013 for the tile stamps of *cohort I Flavia Commagenorum* at these different sites.

¹³⁴³ For *Romula*: CIL 3.8074,14c=IDR 2.382; for Slăveni: IDR 2.528; CIL 2.8074,14d; for *Acidava*: IDR 2.551. See Petolescu 2002, 96.

¹³⁴⁴ IDR III/4.86=AE 1988.962

to the presence of this cohort at the fort in the third century (based on the stratigraphic contexts in which they were found) (Figure 2.45).¹³⁴⁵ The arrowheads with triangular cross-section provide further proof that the part-mounted cohort comprised archers (and thus was *sagittariorum*) – something that was previously assumed to be the case based on its ‘sister’ cohort from *Micia* (Dacia Superior) – the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum*.¹³⁴⁶

*Cohors I Hispanorum veterana*¹³⁴⁷

This unit was in Moesia Inferior at the end of the first century (in the diplomas from 97 and 99). The Hunt Papyrus tells us that it participated in the Second Dacian War,¹³⁴⁸ and that several of its detachments were “in expedition across the Danube” (*trans Danuvium in expeditionem*),¹³⁴⁹ including one detachment in garrison at *Piroboridavae* (*Piroboridavae in praesidio*) which is probably at Barboși,¹³⁵⁰ and another was at *Buridava* (*Buridavae in vexillatione*) which is at Stolniceni.¹³⁵¹ Because the papyrus mentions a *de[curio]* and several contingents of riders, we know that the cohort was part-mounted (*equitata*).¹³⁵² This is further indicated by two silver tablets recovered from the fort at *Arutela* (Bivolari, on the Olt river – Figure 2.32), one of which was dedicated by a Valerius Valerianus, *eq(ues) libr(arius) c(o)hor(tis) I His(panorum) ex [v]oto* (probably dated to the mid second century),¹³⁵³ and the

¹³⁴⁵ Petolescu 1995b, 249; Marcu 2005, 701

¹³⁴⁶ Petolescu 2002, 41-42

¹³⁴⁷ Christescu 1937, 188; Wagner 1938, 148-150; Beneš 1978, 37-38 (no.95/58); Spaul 2000, 109-111; Petolescu 2002, no.43

¹³⁴⁸ Hunt 1925; see also Petolescu 2002, 109.

¹³⁴⁹ Column II, line 29 of the papyrus.

¹³⁵⁰ Column II, line 27 of the papyrus. *Piroboridava* is also mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geogr.* III.10.8).

¹³⁵¹ Column II, line 28 of the papyrus.

¹³⁵² Column II, lines 10, 23, 29, 30, 32 of the papyrus.

¹³⁵³ CIL 3.12602=IDR 2.582=AE 1891.48

other belonged to a *dec(urio)* named Terentius.¹³⁵⁴ It must have been transferred permanently to Dacia Inferior under Hadrian, since it appears there in the diplomas from 129, 129-130, 140, and 146, as well as on a fragment dated to around 118-140. The cohort's stamps were found during excavations at the fort *Castra Traiana* (Sâmbotin), probably from the period of the Dacian Wars, and at the sites of Brețcu (*Angustia*)¹³⁵⁵ (Figure 2.35) and Comolău¹³⁵⁶ (both probably dating from subsequent periods).

*Cohors II Flavia Numidarum*¹³⁵⁷

A bilingual Greek-Latin epitaph from Šipka (Thracia), set up by Marcus Traidaci, horseman of the *cohors II Numidarum*, for a deceased horseman of the *cohors II Bracaraugustanorum* indicates that the unit was *equitata* and that it was probably initially stationed in Moesia or Thracia after its creation under the Flavii.¹³⁵⁸ It may have participated in the Dacian Wars, but it was definitely in Dacia Inferior by 129, when it shows up in that year's military diploma (as well as in the subsequent diplomas from 129-130, 140, and 146). There it was garrisoned at Feldioara on the Olt river, where it was identified by various stamp types (*CN*, *COH NVMID*, *COH NVM ANT*).¹³⁵⁹

¹³⁵⁴ CIL 3.12603=IDR 2.581; Vlădescu 1983, 36.

¹³⁵⁵ CIL 3.8074,17=IDR III/4.339=ILD 435a; Popa 2015

¹³⁵⁶ IDR III/4.314

¹³⁵⁷ Christescu 1937, 190; Wagner 1938, 173; Beneš 1978, 47 (no.113/76); Spaul 2000, 474; Petolescu 2002, no.52

¹³⁵⁸ AE 1965.347=IDRE 2.350. The *cohors II Bracaraugustanorum* was in 114 in Thracia (RMD 14), but by 157 it was in Moesia Inferior (RMD 50).

¹³⁵⁹ IDR III/4.175-177=AE 1974.563=AE 1977.712=AE 1991.1333e

COHORTES MILLIARIAE PEDITATAE

*Cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*¹³⁶⁰

This milliary cohort is known only from the diplomas of Dacia Inferior from 119-129, 140, and 146. It has been (tentatively) identified by different scholars with a stamp from the fort at *Buridava* (Stolniceni) which was read as *CO(ho)RS M(illiaria) B(rittonum)*,¹³⁶¹ as well as with a *CIB* stamp from the fort and baths at Slăveni,¹³⁶² with the *cohors I F. M. Bryttonum Malvensis* mentioned in an inscription from Thessaloniki,¹³⁶³ and with the *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria* known from Bumbești-Jiu in Dacia Superior (discussed previously). It is clear now that the latter is a separate unit stationed in Dacia Superior, but it is plausible that the inscriptions from *Buridava* (Stolniceni) and Thessaloniki are indeed references to this unit.¹³⁶⁴ In the current absence of any evidence that it was part-mounted, it can be assumed that this unit was *peditata*.

¹³⁶⁰ Beneš 1978, 22 (no.61/24); Vlădescu 1983, 34-35 (no.2); Petolescu 2002, no.25

¹³⁶¹ CIL 3.14216,25=IDR 2.560

¹³⁶² IDR 2.527; Tudor 1965, 359 no.3

¹³⁶³ CIL 3.13704=ILS 9009=IDRE 2.357=AE 1894.112; Tudor 1978, 333

¹³⁶⁴ Petolescu 2002, 90

COHORTES QUINGENARIAE PEDITATAE

*Cohors I Tyrionum sagittariorum*¹³⁶⁵

In 99 this cohort was in Moesia Inferior.¹³⁶⁶ It probably participated in the Dacian Wars,¹³⁶⁷ and it subsequently appears in the diploma of Dacia Inferior from 129/130, the fragment from around 130-138, and the diplomas from 140 and 146. Unfortunately, its place of garrison remains unknown.

*Cohors II Flavia Bessorum*¹³⁶⁸

The unit was part of Moesia Inferior's army (it appears there in the diplomas from 92, 97, and 105)¹³⁶⁹ and moved into Dacia to fight during Trajan's wars.¹³⁷⁰ During the Dacian Wars it left its stamps in the *thermae* at *Buridava* (Stolniceni) (*COH II FL BES*)¹³⁷¹ and nearby at Bârsești.¹³⁷² Its stamps (*COH II FL B*) were also found in the fort at Rucăr, dated to the reign of Trajan.¹³⁷³ After Hadrian's reorganization of the Trajanic province, the *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* became part of Dacia Inferior's army and it shows up there in the diplomas from 129, 129/130, the fragment from around 130-138, and the diplomas from 140 and 146. Perhaps it was at this time that it was stationed on the upper Olt river at

¹³⁶⁵ Wagner 1938, 195; Beneš 1978, 53-54 (no.132/95); Spaul 2000, 454; Petolescu 2002, no.60

¹³⁶⁶ Based on a diploma dated to August 14, 99: CIL XVI.45

¹³⁶⁷ Strobel 1984, 145

¹³⁶⁸ Christescu 1937, 183; Wagner 1938, 97; Beneš 1978, 18 (no.50/13); Spaul 2000, 342; Petolescu 2002, no.20

¹³⁶⁹ Petolescu 2002, 85

¹³⁷⁰ Strobel 1984, pp??

¹³⁷¹ IDR 2.561=ILD 150b=AE 1964.229a; IDR 2.562=ILD 150c=AE 1969/1970.554

¹³⁷² IDR 2.571=AE 1964.229a

¹³⁷³ IDR 2.607=AE 1959.324

Cinçsor. This is known from the stamps (*C II F B*)¹³⁷⁴ and an epitaph erected by L. Carvilius Rusticinus, the prefect of the *cohors II Flavia Bessorum*, to commemorate his brother.¹³⁷⁵ From a lengthy inscription found at *Thyatira* in Lydia we also know that during the time of Marcus Aurelius, the prefect of the *cohors II Flavia Numidarum* (discussed below), which was stationed not far from Cinçsor at Feldioara, whose name was T. Ant. Cl. Alfenus Arignotus, also became the *praepositus* in charge of the *cohors II Flavia Bessorum*.¹³⁷⁶

*Cohors II Gallorum*¹³⁷⁷

The cohort belonged to Moesia Inferior's army based on its attestation in the diplomas there from 92, 99, 105, and 112.¹³⁷⁸ It participated in the Dacian Wars and then was transferred to Dacia Inferior where it appears in the diplomas from 129/130, 140 and 146. The unit may perhaps be the one referenced in an inscription from *Laminium* (Hispania Tarraconensis) dedicated to P. Licinius Maximus, who was *praefectus cohortis II Gallorum equitatae in Dacia*. If this identification is correct it would indicate that the cohort was part-mounted (*equitata*). However, it is also possible that this inscription refers to one of the other two *cohortes II Gallorum* known from Dacia: the *cohors II Gallorum Macedonica* known from Trajanic Dacian diplomas and *cohors II Gallorum Pannonica* from Dacia Superior, the latter of which was almost certainly *equitata*. Its place of garrison in Dacia is not known.

¹³⁷⁴ CIL 3.8074,12c=IDR III/4.181=ILD 424=ILD 425=CER 8.496=AE 1994.1501

¹³⁷⁵ IDR III/4.179=AE 1971.379

¹³⁷⁶ ILS 8853=IDRE 2.383

¹³⁷⁷ Wagner 1938, 135-136; Beneš 1978, 32 (no.84/47); Spaul 2000, 159; Petolescu 2002, no.38

¹³⁷⁸ Petolescu 2002, 104-105

*Cohors III Gallorum*¹³⁷⁹

In 74 this cohort was in Germania, and from there it was transferred under Vespasian to Moesia (it is in the Moesian diplomas from 75, 78, and 82), and then it found itself as part of Moesia Inferior after Domitian's reorganization (based on diplomas from 92, 99, 105, and 112).¹³⁸⁰ The *cohors III Gallorum* took part in the Dacian Wars,¹³⁸¹ and then under Hadrian became part of Dacia Inferior (based on diplomas from 129, 129/130, 140, and 146). Its stamp, *COH III G[al]* was recovered at Ionești Govorei on the Olt river, where it seems the cohort was based perhaps until the time of Marcus Aurelius. Its place here is further indicated by the career of Sex. Iulius Possessor who was its prefect and who also acquired the position of *praepositus* over the *ala I Hispanorum* (at Slăveni) and the *numerus Syrorum sagittariorum* (at Romula), and who furthermore served as *curator civitatis Romulensium Malvensium*.¹³⁸² Certainly by the time of Marcus Aurelius (but perhaps earlier) the cohort was moved north along the Olt to southeastern Transylvania, based on inscriptions from Hoghiz (Figure 2.44). There the *cohors III Gallorum* made a dedication to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus,¹³⁸³ and an epitaph commemorates Honoratus, *praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III G[allorum]*.¹³⁸⁴ The unit's stamp (*COH III G[al]*) was also found at Boroșneul Mare.¹³⁸⁵ From its base at Hoghiz the unit may have been charged with supervising the salt mining operations at Sânpaul.

¹³⁷⁹ Christescu 1937, 187; Wagner 1938, 138; Beneš 1978, 33 (no.87/50); Spaul 2000, 161-162; Petolescu 2002, no.41

¹³⁸⁰ Petolescu 2002, 106

¹³⁸¹ Strobel 1984, 130

¹³⁸² This is based on an inscription from Seville (CIL 2.1180=ILS 1403=AE 1965.237=IDRE 1.179) and another one from *Mactaris* (Africa Proconsularis) (AE 1983.976=IDRE 2.435); Petolescu 2002, 107.

¹³⁸³ IDR III/4.231=AE 1944.42

¹³⁸⁴ CIL 3.955=CIL 3.7721=IDR III/4.235=AE 1944.42

¹³⁸⁵ IDR III/4.330=AE 1974.565c

*Cohors VI nova Cumidavensium*¹³⁸⁶

Everything that is known about this cohort comes from a fragmentary honorific inscription found at Râșnov in southeastern Transylvania. It was dedicated to Iulia Mamaea, the mother of Severus Alexander, by the *coh(ors) VI no[va C]umidavensi[um] [[Ale]]x[[an]]dr[[ia]]nae* (sic), naming the the *legatus Augusti III Daciarum*, Iasdius Domitianus, as a dedicant (who is also known from other dedications to Severus Alexander and his mother in Dacia).¹³⁸⁷ The inscription therefore dates to sometime between 222-235, and it suffered heavily from *damnatio memoriae* under Alexander Severus' successor (Maximinus Thrax). The cohort's name is reminiscent of Κομίδαυα listed by Ptolemy as a place in Dacia.¹³⁸⁸ The assumption has been that based on this inscriptions Ptolemy's town (*Cumidava*) can now be placed on the ground at Râșnov. Petolescu has proposed that this enigmatic cohort was created by Caracalla when he visited Dacia in 214, perhaps from locals recruited in southeastern Transylvania, an area which was reannexed to the province at this time (it had been annexed under Trajan and abandoned by Hadrian). This was in the context of Caracalla's extension of the so-called *limes Transalutanus* in western Muntenia.¹³⁸⁹

¹³⁸⁶ Petolescu 2002, no.33

¹³⁸⁷ IDR III/4.221=AE 1950.16=AE 1950.39=AE 1969/1970.546=AE 1978.683. There have been different readings of this inscription, especially regarding the name of the unit mentioned. *Coh(ors) Vind(elicorum) [c.R. C]umidavensi[s A]lexandriana* was favored by A. Alföldi and I.I. Russu, but now we know that the *cohors I Vindellicorum* was stationed at *Tibiscum* somewhat later, during the time of Philip the Arab. I. Piso thought it could be *cohors II* or *III Vindellicorum*. The reading followed here, with *cohors VI nova Cumidavensium*, was originally proposed by M. Macrea and has now been accepted by most scholars. For the discussion and citations on these readings see Petolescu 2002, 101. On the legate Iasdius Domitianus see Piso 1993, 192-196 (no. 42).

¹³⁸⁸ Ptolemy III.8.4

¹³⁸⁹ Petolescu 2002, 101

IRREGULAR UNITS

*Numerus Surorum sagittariorum*¹³⁹⁰

Syrian archers (*Suri sagittarii*) built the fort at *Arutela* (Bivolari) on the Olt river in 138, under the command of T. Flavius Constans, based on two identical building inscriptions dedicated to Hadrian found in the fort (Figure 2.32).¹³⁹¹ Two almost identical but fragmentary inscriptions were also found nearby at Rădăcinești, and they probably date to the same year and indicate that the same archers built something there as well.¹³⁹² Subsequently it appears the archers were organized into a *numerus* that was based at *Romula*. In addition to *N(umerus) S(urorum)* stamps found in the so-called “wall of Philip the Arab” at *Romula*,¹³⁹³ two inscriptions from the site indicate that the Syrian archers were in garrison here: a dedication to *Sol Invictus Mithras* made by the *librarii* and Antonius Zoilus, the *actarius praepositus n(umeri) S(urorum) s(agittariorum)*,¹³⁹⁴ and an epitaph set up by Claudius Montanus, an *immunis* of this same *numerus*, for his daughter Claudia Amba (who died at the age of twenty, and who had spent five of those years in Dacia, as the inscription interestingly specifies).¹³⁹⁵ A dedication to *Placida Regina* by *equites* from *Romula* may also have been made members of this unit, and would indicate that it was probably a mounted (or at last part-mounted unit).¹³⁹⁶ Its stamps (*NS* and *N*) were also found at Slăveni.¹³⁹⁷

¹³⁹⁰ Christescu 1937, 199; Wagner 1938, 211; Beneš 1978, 61 (no.153/17); Petolescu 2002, no.78

¹³⁹¹ CIL 3.12601a=CIL 3.13793=IDR 2.575=AE 1891.47; CIL 3.12601b=CIL 3.13794=IDR 2.576

¹³⁹² CIL 3.12604=IDR 2.584; CIL 3.12605=IDR 2.585

¹³⁹³ CIL 3.1633,20=CIL 3.8074,28=IDR 2.383; Petolescu 2002, 144

¹³⁹⁴ IDR 2.341=AE 1914.120

¹³⁹⁵ CIL 3.8032=CIL 3.1593=IDR 2.350

¹³⁹⁶ CIL 3.8029=CIL 3.1590a=IDR 2.338

¹³⁹⁷ CIL 3.14216,30=IDR 2.529; CIL 3.14216,31=IDR 2.530

The *numerus* is also mentioned in two inscriptions dating to the time of Marcus Aurelius, one from Seville (Baetica) and the other from *Mactaris* (Africa Proconsularis), which detail the career of Sex. Iulius Possessor who was the prefect of the *cohors III Gallorum* (also in Dacia Inferior) and who also acquired the position of *praepositus* over the *ala I Hispanorum* (at Slăveni) and over the *numerus Syrorum sagittariorum* (at *Romula*), and who furthermore served as *curator civitatis Romulensium Malvensium*.¹³⁹⁸ In an epitaph from *Caesarea* (Mauretania), the deceased, Sex. Iulius Iulianus who was *ex Germania Superiorem* (sic), had been *tribunus n(umeri) Syrorum Malvensium*.¹³⁹⁹ The specification of *Malvensium* is further proof that *Romula* can be identified with *Malva*.

*Numerus equitum Illyricorum*¹⁴⁰⁰

The unit appears as a *vexillatio equitum Illyricorum* in the diplomas for Dacia Inferior from 129 and 129-130, and then as a *numerus equitum Illyricorum* in the diplomas from 140 and 146 (it may also appear in the diploma fragment dated between 130-138).¹⁴⁰¹ In an inscription from *Ariminum* (Italia) discussed previously, C. Nonius Caepianus is attested as having held (among other positions) the titles of *praefectus alae I Asturum* and *praepositus numeri equitum electo[rum] ex Illyrico*, the latter undoubtedly being a reference to the *numerus equitum Illyricorum*.¹⁴⁰² The *ala I Asturum* (discussed previously) was contemporaneously stationed in Dacia Inferior, in southeastern Transylvania (at Hoghiz),

¹³⁹⁸ The inscription from Seville: CIL 2.1180=ILS 1403=AE 1965.237=IDRE 1.179; the inscription from *Mactaris*: AE 1983.976=IDRE 2.435

¹³⁹⁹ CIL 8.9381=CIL 8.20945=ILS 2763=IDRE 2.463=AE 1977.864

¹⁴⁰⁰ Christescu 1937, 200-201; Wagner 1938, 51; Beneš 1978, 58-59 (no.144/8); Spaul 1994, 150-151; Petolescu 2002, no.67

¹⁴⁰¹ cf. *numerus Illyricorum* from Dacia Superior, discussed earlier.

¹⁴⁰² CIL 11.393=ILS 2739=IDRE 1.132

and appears on the same diplomas as this *numerus*. P. Aelius Marcianus, the prefect of the *cohors I Augusta Bracarum* (= *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*), stationed near Hoghiz at Brețcu (discussed previously), also temporarily became the *praepositus n(umeri) Illyricorum* during the time of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁴⁰³ The Illyrian horsemen, therefore, must have also been based in this area within southeastern Transylvania, perhaps also at Hoghiz, where a tile stamp was attributed to this unit, although the identification is not certain (Figure 2.44).¹⁴⁰⁴

*Numerus burgariorum et veredariorum*¹⁴⁰⁵

As its name indicates, this irregular unit comprised “defenders of the *burgi*” (*burgarii*) who guarded the *limes Alutanus* in the Carpathian region (on the road running along the Olt river, on the eastern frontier of the province), and “couriers” (*veredarii*), who provided a postal service (and thus the *numerus* must have been at least part-mounted). Based on the extant inscriptions it is clear that their base was *Praetorium I* (Copăceni), which seems to have also been the seat of the procurator-governor of Dacia Inferior.¹⁴⁰⁶ This was a fitting location for such a unit, since it was located at an important topographic point – where the Olt river emerges from the Carpathians, thus marking a critical control point for traffic along the eastern frontier of Dacia. In 138, the *n(umerus) burg(ariorum) et veredario(rum) Daciae Inf(erioris)*, under the command of Flavius Constans the *procurator Augusti*, completed a

¹⁴⁰³ CIL 8.9358=ILS 2738=IDRE 2.464=CER 7.403=AE 1987.827

¹⁴⁰⁴ IDR III/4.243=AE 1974.561=AE 1977.711

¹⁴⁰⁵ Christescu 1937, 131; Wagner 1938, 204-205; Beneš 1978, 57 (no.139/3); Petolescu 2002, no.63

¹⁴⁰⁶ Due to the existence of at least three forts called *Praetorium* in Dacia, modern scholars have distinguished between them by calling the one in Mehadia in Dacia Superior *Praetorium*, and naming the two on the *limes Alutanus* in Dacia Inferior *Praetorium I* (at Copăceni) and *Praetorium II* (at Racovița).

military construction project at *Praetorium I* (probably the wall around the fort).¹⁴⁰⁷ The fact that the *numerus* is described as “of Dacia Inferior” indicates that it was conceived of as providing a service for the whole province (presumably the *veredarii* in particular). This would explain why it was so closely tied to, and appears to have been under the direct command of the imperial procurator who administered Dacia Inferior. Another inscription from *Praetorium I* tells us that two years later (in 140) the *numerus* enlarged the fort (*duplicato pede valli et inpositis turribus ampliavit*) under the command of Aquila Fidus, another *procurator Augusti*.¹⁴⁰⁸ At the same fort excavators also recovered a brick fragment with an inscribed graffito (scratched into the wet clay before firing) which mentions *Aur(elius) Ponticu[s] numerum veradiar[iorum]*.¹⁴⁰⁹

Based on this information, it seems quite possible that *Praetorium I* served as the seat of the imperial procurator-governor of Dacia Inferior, a fact that would also explain the fort’s name. Indeed, a bronze button bearing the inscription *PAC b(ene)ff(iciarius)* found at the site also points to the presence of *beneficiarii* who would have been there in the service of the procurator.¹⁴¹⁰ The *burgi* implied by the title *burgarii* most likely refers to small towers or fortlets that functioned as *stationes* along the road. A term that became more common in late antiquity, a *burgus* was described as a “*castellum parvulum*” by Vegetius (4.10) or as a “*habitaculum*” along the frontier (Isidore, *Or.* 9.4) where such outposts provided surveillance

¹⁴⁰⁷ CIL 3.13795=ILS 8909=IDR 2.587=AE 1895.64

¹⁴⁰⁸ CIL 3.13796=ILS 9180=IDR 2.588

¹⁴⁰⁹ CIL 3.14216,40=IDR 2.590

¹⁴¹⁰ CIL 3.13797=IDR 2.591

and ensured security on the stretches of road between larger forts (*praesidia*) in the region of the imperial borderland.¹⁴¹¹

¹⁴¹¹ Bagnall 1977, 71-72

ALAE QUINGENARIAE

*Ala I Brittonum (Britannica) civium Romanorum*¹⁴¹²

The *ala* was based in Dacia Porolissensis by August 10, 123, based on the diplomas from Čovdin and Gherla, the latter of which actually belonged to a veteran of this unit who had originally been discharged in 118 under Q. Marcius Turbo.¹⁴¹³ I. Russu had identified it with the *ala I Britannica civium Romanorum* also found in military diplomas, but it seems the latter was in fact a distinct unit which had originated in Pannonia, participated in the Dacian Wars, then appeared in the Dacian diplomas from 109 and 110, before being sent back to Pannonia Inferior under Hadrian (according to the Dacian diploma from 123 that tells us this).¹⁴¹⁴

*Ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum torquata*¹⁴¹⁵

The *ala* was in Syria in 88, before being transferred to Moesia Superior (where it shows up in the diplomas from 93, 94, 100, 101, 103/107). It participated in the Dacian Wars, as indicated by the funerary stela from *Philippi* (Macedonia) of Ti. Claudius Maximus, Decebalus' famous captor, who was made a *duplicarius* and *explorator in bello Dacico* by Trajan himself in the *ala secu(n)d(a) Pannoniorum* (meaning he served as second in

¹⁴¹² Wagner 1938, 21-24; Beneš 1978, 7 (no.6); Russu 1973, 67-70; Petolescu 2002, no.7

¹⁴¹³ See also Onofrei 2013.

¹⁴¹⁴ Russu 1973, 67-70; Petolescu 2002, 66-68; Lörincz 2008, 369-373

¹⁴¹⁵ Christescu 1937, 181; Wagner 1938, 60-62; Beneš 1978, 12 (no.30); Stobel 1984, 114-115; Spaul 1994, 173-175; Petolescu 2002, no.13

command over a group of scouts recruited from this *ala* during the Dacian Wars), and later was promoted to the decurionate in the same *ala* (Figure 2.12).¹⁴¹⁶ It was subsequently left in Dacia, as indicated by the diplomas from October 14, 109 and July 2, 110 in which it is named *II Pannonior(um) veterana*. Perhaps it was around this time that M. Verpidius Silvanus, an *eques* of the *ala*, was commemorated on a tombstone at Ostrov (near *Sarmizegetusa*).¹⁴¹⁷ The *ala* then participated in the Parthian War,¹⁴¹⁸ eventually coming back to settle in Dacia Porolissensis where it is known from several diplomas: the ones dated to August 10, 123 from Gherla and Čovdin, the diploma from 128 (in which the unit is *torquata*), the unprovenanced one dated between December 10, 130 and December 9, 131, the one from summer 142 or autumn 144 (in which it is again called *II Pannoniorum et Gallorum*),¹⁴¹⁹ the one from September 27, 154 (with the name *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum*), and the ones from July 21, 164 (as *II Gallorum et Pannoniorum*).

It was based at Gherla where it left numerous stamps,¹⁴²⁰ and where it built the camp's *praetorium* in 143.¹⁴²¹ Several of its commanders are known from inscriptions.¹⁴²² At *Apulum* T. Flavius Longinus, a *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) al(ae) II Pann(oniorum)*, who was also *dec(urio) col(oniae) Dac(icae)*, *dec(urio) mun(icipii) Nap(ocae)*, and *dec(urio) kanab(arum) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)*, dedicated an inscription to *M(ater) D(eum) M(agna)* for the health

¹⁴¹⁶ AE 1969-1970.583=AE 1974.589=AE 1985.721=IDRE 2.363; Speidel 1970

¹⁴¹⁷ CIL 3.1483=IDR III/2.460=AE 2006.17

¹⁴¹⁸ Strobel 1984, 115; Speidel 1970

¹⁴¹⁹ Weiß 2012, 191

¹⁴²⁰ CIL 3.8074,5a; Ardeleanu and Zăgreanu 2010

¹⁴²¹ AE 1906.112

¹⁴²² AE 1960.221; CIL 3.12540=AE 1960.222; CIL 3.832; CIL 14.4459; CIL 3.5211=ILS 1362=IDRE 2.249; CIL 3.5212=ILS 1362a=IDRE 2.250; CIL 3.5215=ILS 1362b=IDR 2.253; CIL 3.15205=IDRE 2.254; AE 1987.795; AE 1995.1204

of an emperor.¹⁴²³ C. Antonius Crispinus, a veteran and ex-decurion of the *ala* is mentioned in a dedication to Septimius Severus and his sons from *Micia*.¹⁴²⁴ Two other decurions are known from a fragmentary inscription found at Gherla,¹⁴²⁵ a *stator* of the *ala* dedicated to *Hercules Margusanus*,¹⁴²⁶ and other soldiers dedicated to *I.O.M.*,¹⁴²⁷ *Hercules Sanctus*,¹⁴²⁸ and *Mithra*.¹⁴²⁹ Several other inscriptions document soldiers from this *ala* at Gherla.¹⁴³⁰

*Ala Siliana civium Romanorum torquata armillata*¹⁴³¹

The *ala Siliana* was in Africa Proconsularis during the reign of Nero, then briefly in Egypt, and then partook in the civil war in Italy (from 68-69).¹⁴³² From there it went to Germania (based on a diploma from 78),¹⁴³³ then Pannonia (in the diplomas from 84 and 85).¹⁴³⁴ In the Pannonian diplomas from 98 and 102 it carries the epithet *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*.¹⁴³⁵ It is unclear whether it participated in the Dacian Wars and, if so, whether it received the epithets *torquata armillata* in relation to Trajan's campaigns.¹⁴³⁶ By July 110

¹⁴²³ CIL 3.1100=IDR III/5.253

¹⁴²⁴ CIL 3.1375=IDR III/3.54

¹⁴²⁵ CIL 3.12542

¹⁴²⁶ AE 1977.704

¹⁴²⁷ AE 1960.221-222

¹⁴²⁸ CIL 3.832

¹⁴²⁹ CIL 3.12540

¹⁴³⁰ AE 1967.389=AE 1975.732; CER 13.626=AE 1993.1329; CER 16.708; CIL 3.853; Zăgreanu 2014 for a study of the funerary *stelae* from Gherla.

¹⁴³¹ Christescu 1937, 181; Wagner 1938, 67-69; Beneš 1978, 12-13 (no.34); Spaul 1994, 200-203; Petolescu 2002, no.14; Lörincz 2008, 374

¹⁴³² Saddington 1982, 119

¹⁴³³ CIL 16.23=CIL 13.11967=ILS 9052=AE 1906.99

¹⁴³⁴ CIL 16.30=ILS 1997; CIL 16.31

¹⁴³⁵ CIL 16.42; CIL 16.47

¹⁴³⁶ The epithet appears on inscriptions outlining the careers of two equestrian officers: Cl. Paternus Clementianus in inscriptions from Raetia (CIL 3.5775=IDRE 2.242; CIL 3.5776=IDRE 2.243=ILS 1369); M. Vettius Latro, who was decorated by Trajan (*donis donato... bello Dac(ico)*) during the Dacian campaign while he was prefect of the *cohors I Alpinorum*, but he eventually became a prefect *alae Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum) torquata armillatae*, as mentioned in inscriptions from *Thuburbo Maius*, Africa Proconsularis (AE 1939.81=IDRE 2.424-425; AE 1951.52=IDRE 2.426).

the *ala Siliana* belonged to Pannonia Inferior,¹⁴³⁷ and in 128 it appears in the diploma for Dacia Porolissensis. It subsequently shows up in the Dacia Porolissensis diplomas from 128, 133, 118-120 or 126-128, 142/144, 151, 154, and 164. An inscription dedicated to Hadrian by the *[ala Silian]a c.R. torq(ata) et [armil(lata)]* was discovered at the fort of Gilău, indicating that the unit was in garrison here from the beginning of its time in Dacia.¹⁴³⁸

In addition to the 164 diploma found at Gilău, which was given to an *ex gregale* of this *ala* who had been born in the fort's *cannabae* (as indicated by *castr(is)* after his name), the *ala Siliana*'s presence at this fort is also attested by numerous inscriptions and tile-stamps dating throughout the rest of the second and into the third centuries.¹⁴³⁹ Two altars excavated in the fort were each dedicated by two different officers of this *ala* (*praefecti equitum*), one to *Dea Virgin Diana Stabilis Venatrix Examinatrix* ("Virgin Goddess Diana the steadfast huntress examiner") and the other to *I.O.M. Conservator*.¹⁴⁴⁰ Three fragments of an inscription were excavated in the *principia* of Gilău, probably dedicated to Iulia Augusta (Iulia Domna), in which the *ala* carries the epithet *An[to]niniana*.¹⁴⁴¹ Based on its stratigraphic context, the inscription dates to the stone phase (the third phase) of the fort, and it has been suggested that this inscription (along with several other inscriptions from forts in Dacia dedicated to Iulia Domna and Caracalla) was commissioned to mark the occasion of Caracalla's visit to the province in 214.¹⁴⁴² Apro, a horseman of the *ala* dedicated

¹⁴³⁷ Based on the diploma CIL 16.164.

¹⁴³⁸ AE 1983.859=ILD 596

¹⁴³⁹ For the "AS" tile stamps from Gilău and environs: Russu 1972, 67; Isac 1979, 55-56

¹⁴⁴⁰ ILD 598=CER 11.564=CER 12.579= AE 1991.1350; ILD 599=CER 11. 565=CER 12.579=AE 1991.1351

¹⁴⁴¹ Isac 1993; ILD 597=CER 13.625=AE 1993.1331

¹⁴⁴² Isac 1993, 192

an altar to *Hercules* in fulfillment of his vow.¹⁴⁴³ Numerous epitaphs for soldiers (of different ranks, including veterans) from this unit were also found at Gilău.¹⁴⁴⁴

Interestingly, two inscriptions indicate that two officers of this *ala* (who held their posts while the unit was in Dacia) were later transferred to units in Arabia. The first was found in *Gerasa* (Jerash, Jordan). It was made sometime between 180 and 200 for L. Valerius Firmus, who had been tribune of the *coh(ors) XXVI vol(untariorum)*, tribune of the *leg(io) X p(iae) f(idelis)*, and *praef(ectus) alae Silianae bis torq(uatae) bis armillatae*.¹⁴⁴⁵ The inscription breaks off (except for one small fragment) after listing his position as *proc(urator)*, and the most plausible reconstruction would be *proc(urator) [Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Ara]bi[ae...]*.¹⁴⁴⁶ This makes sense given its discovery at *Gerasa*, which was the seat of the provincial procurator of Arabia, and would explain how Firmus ended up there (i.e., through a promotion and transfer). The inscription also specifies that the *ala Siliana* had been granted the epithet *torquata armillata* twice (*bis*), but as with the first granting of the honorific, we have no idea the occasion on which it was granted.

The second inscription was found reused as a step in the Byzantine (fifth to sixth centuries) Ridge Church at *Petra* (Jordan).¹⁴⁴⁷ It constitutes an honorific inscription for M. Ulpius Andromachus, who had been [*praef(ectus) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum)*] *bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi)*, and then *praef(ectus) alae II Ulp(iae) Aurianae in Cappadocia*. The inscription was commissioned by the *decuriones* of the latter *ala* through the

¹⁴⁴³ CER 25.1121=AE 2005.1292; Piso 2013a, 174-175 (no.8)

¹⁴⁴⁴ CIL 3.849; CIL 3.7801; CIL 3.847; CIL 3.847a=CIL 3.7651; CIL 3.848; CIL 3.846=CIL 3.7650

¹⁴⁴⁵ AE 1930.92=IDRE 2.416

¹⁴⁴⁶ As provided by IDRE 2.416

¹⁴⁴⁷ Bikai 1996, 483-484

care of one of its standard-bearers.¹⁴⁴⁸ Both of these individuals indicate the potential of high-ranking military officers (*praefecti* in particular) to move vast distances across the empire in the service of the imperial administration and army, and provide two small examples of direct connections between the provinces of Dacia and Arabia.

*Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*¹⁴⁴⁹

Initially created under Augustus from Germanic *Tungri*, it probably acquired the name *Frontoniana* from one of its commanders (maybe L. Iulius Fronto).¹⁴⁵⁰ It was stationed in Germania Inferior, and then was moved to Dalmatia (around 70-71) after the Batavian revolt.¹⁴⁵¹ The *ala* then appears in Pannonia (in diplomas from 80, 84, 85, and 110),¹⁴⁵² and after the division it became part of Pannonia Inferior where it is mentioned in a diploma from 114.¹⁴⁵³ Under Hadrian it was moved to Dacia.

It may have initially been based in Dacia Superior based on an epitaph from Vârșeț set up by a standard-bearer of the *ala* for his deceased wife.¹⁴⁵⁴ Perhaps it was garrisoned at Pojejena, where excavations in the fort have yielded a bronze tablet bearing the inscription *a(la) Frontonian(a) (turma?) Valeri Firmi*.¹⁴⁵⁵ What is certain, however, is that by 128 (based on that diploma) it belonged to the army of Dacia Porolissensis. It subsequently also appears there in the diplomas from 142/144, 143-153, 154(?), and (July 21) 164. Its base was Ilișua

¹⁴⁴⁸ AE 1996.1630=AE 2010.1739=IDRE 2.417

¹⁴⁴⁹ Wagner 1938, 76-79; Spaul 1994, 121-123; Petolescu 2002, no.15

¹⁴⁵⁰ Petolescu 2002, 78; for L. Iulius Fronto: CIL 12.2393=ILS 7003

¹⁴⁵¹ CIL 3.9735

¹⁴⁵² CIL 16.26; CIL 16.30; CIL 16.31; CIL 16.164

¹⁴⁵³ CIL 16.61; RMD 87=AE 1982.771; RMD 152=AE 1994.1480

¹⁴⁵⁴ CIL 3.6274=IDR III/1.107a

¹⁴⁵⁵ ILD 179=CER 3.221

(*Arcobadara*), based on stamps reading *AL(a)E FRONT(onianae)* and *AL(a) F(rontoniana)* found at the fort.¹⁴⁵⁶

Members of the unit made numerous dedications to emperors during its stay at *Arcobadara*, including inscriptions for Hadrian,¹⁴⁵⁷ Caracalla (in which the unit also has the epithet *Antoniniana*),¹⁴⁵⁸ Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea (in both of these inscriptions it also carries the epithet *Alexandriana*),¹⁴⁵⁹ and to Philip the Arab (with the epithet *Philippiana*).¹⁴⁶⁰ The dedication to Severus Alexander was erected by the *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* together with the provincial governor Iasdius Domitianus. A small fragment of an imperial statue base may indicate that the unit erected a statue of Caracalla (based on the possible reading of the adjective *devota*), but based on the rendering of the letters it has also been suggested to have a mid third century date – either way it is impossible to say anything with certainty based on such a small fragment.¹⁴⁶¹ A number of prefects and various members of other ranks are known from epitaphs and honorific inscriptions.¹⁴⁶² The *ala* together with its prefects made dedications to *Mars*,¹⁴⁶³ *Epona*,¹⁴⁶⁴ *Fortuna Redux*,¹⁴⁶⁵ *Aesculapius et Hygia*,¹⁴⁶⁶ and a veteran dedicated to *Apollo*.¹⁴⁶⁷ The dedication to *Fortuna*

¹⁴⁵⁶ CIL 3.8074a-b; For the fort at *Arcobadara* Ilişua, see Protase *et al.* 1996-1997; Nemeti and Bărbulescu 2010.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Petolescu 2002, 79

¹⁴⁵⁸ CIL 3.795; CIL 3.796

¹⁴⁵⁹ Severus Alexander: CIL 3.797; Iulia Mamaea: CIL 3.798=ILS 2494

¹⁴⁶⁰ Piso 2013b, 49-50 (no.13)

¹⁴⁶¹ Piso 2013b, 50-51 (no.14)

¹⁴⁶² Prefects: CIL 3.789; CIL 3.5331=ILS 2734=IDRE 2.248; CIL 6.39440=ILS 9002=IDRE 1.16=AE 1907.152; CIL 3.788; CIL 3.786; CIL 11.4748=IDRE 1.127; AE 1998.282=AE 2000.243; CIL 3.793=ILS 2495; Other members, including *decuriones* (CIL 3.802; CIL 3.805; CIL 3.808; CIL 3.811), a *sesquiplicarius* (CIL 3.791); a *duplicarius decuriae* (CIL 3.811), a *librarius* (CIL 3.804=ILS 2522), and various horsemen (CIL 3.800; CIL 3.801; CIL 3.806; CIL 3.7629; CIL 3.7627; CIL 3.807; CIL 3.799; CIL 3.787; CIL 3.809)

¹⁴⁶³ CIL 3.793=ILS 2495

¹⁴⁶⁴ CIL 3.788

¹⁴⁶⁵ CIL 3.789 (and CIL 3.790 dedicated to same deity by anonymous dedicant)

¹⁴⁶⁶ CIL 3.786

Redux, by the prefect Aelius Celer, was done to mark the occasion of having rebuilt the fort's baths (*ob restitutionem balnei*), and the dedication to *Aesculapius et Hygia* also commemorated the rebuilding of something (*ob resti[tut...]*). Excavations at the fort in 2009 recovered a small ceramic jug in an early second century layer (Trajan to Hadrian), which has *PRISCI DVPL(icarii)* scratched into the shoulder of the vessel.¹⁴⁶⁸ The two genitives tell us that this jug belonged to Priscus, a *duplicarius* in the *ala*.

¹⁴⁶⁷ CIL 3.787

¹⁴⁶⁸ Dana *et al.* 2012

COHORTES MILLIARIAE EQUITATAE

*Cohors I Batavorum milliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis*¹⁴⁶⁹

The cohort came from Britannia together with *legio II Adiutrix* to Pannonia in 86 (it shows up there in the diploma from February 20, 98 and in a diploma fragment from 100/102).¹⁴⁷⁰ It may have received citizenship (the epithet *civium Romanorum*) as a reward for fighting in the Dacian Wars (the epithet is seen in the diplomas from 112 and 113, while it was part of Pannonia Superior's army).¹⁴⁷¹ It then shows up as *[I BATA]VOR(um) ∞ ((milliaria)) C(ivium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis)* in the Dacia Porolissensis diploma from 130-131, and without the 'C R P F' in the diplomas from 123, 133, 142, 143-153 (maybe?), 154(?), 161(?), and 164. The cohort may have been part-mounted (*equitata*) based on an epitaph from the unit's base at Romita (*Certia*), commissioned for a deceased centurion of the *cob(ors) I Bat(avorum) ((milliaria))* by his uncle who was a *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione)*, likely of this same cohort.¹⁴⁷²

*Cohors I Britannorum milliaria civium Romanorum*¹⁴⁷³

The cohort is first attested in Pannonia (in diplomas from 80, 84, and 85), then in Moesia Superior (in 105 and 103/107). It probably participated in the Dacian Wars and received citizenship (as indicated by *civium Romanorum*) as a reward for its performance

¹⁴⁶⁹ Christescu 1937, 183; Wagner 1938, 92-93; Spaul 2000, 211; Petolescu 2002, no.19

¹⁴⁷⁰ Petolescu 2002, 83

¹⁴⁷¹ Strobel 1983, 121 (n.23)

¹⁴⁷² CIL 3.839=ILS 2598. The uncle's unit is not specified, but that may well have been because it was implied in the context of the inscription that he belonged to the same unit as his deceased nephew (since soldiers usually specify the units they belonged to, especially when they note their position/rank as he did here).

¹⁴⁷³ Christescu 1937, 183; Wagner 1938, 104-105; Beneš 1978, 20 (no.56/19); Spaul 2000, 193-194; Petolescu 2002, no.22

during the first Dacian War.¹⁴⁷⁴ It stayed in Dacia after Trajan's victory, as indicated by the diplomas from 110 (February 17 and July 2). After Hadrian's reorganization it initially became part of Dacia Superior (in the diploma from 119), and then was shortly thereafter transferred to Dacia Porolissensis where it remained (it shows up in the diplomas from 123, 124/128, 128, 133, 154, 161(?), and 164). In the diplomas from 164 it is also specified as *equitata*. Its base was at Cășeu (*Samum*) based on tile stamps (*C I B*)¹⁴⁷⁵ and several inscriptions, including one from the reign of Caracalla (in which it carries the epithet *Antoniniana*).¹⁴⁷⁶ Sepenestus son of Rivus, the recipient of the July 2, 133 diploma from Gherla, had been an *expedite* (sic) of the *cohors I Britannorum milliaria*. Two of its members are attested by epitaphs at *Apulum*: a veteran centurion, P. Aelius Tertius who was from *Claudium Virunum* (Noricum) and who died at the age of sixty,¹⁴⁷⁷ and L. Iulius Corinthianus, originally from *Thevestis* (Numidia), who had been a tribune of the cohort.¹⁴⁷⁸

*Cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum*¹⁴⁷⁹

The *cohors I Brittonum milliaria* was in Pannonia (in 85), then Moesia Superior (in 103/107). It received multiple honors for its participation in the Dacian Wars as indicated by its many epithets (*Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum*) all of which appear on the Dacian diplomas from 106, 109, and 110. After Hadrian's reorganization it was first found

¹⁴⁷⁴ Strobel 1984, 123-124

¹⁴⁷⁵ Szilagyi 1946, 14-15, 55

¹⁴⁷⁶ CIL 3.821 (dedicated for the health of two emperors whose names suffered *damnatio memoriae*); CIL 3.829 (fragmentary); CIL 3.7634; ILD 782=CER 2.196=AE 1983.862; for the inscription from the time of Caracalla see Petolescu 2002, 87 n.2

¹⁴⁷⁷ IDR III/5.484=AE 1944.34=AE 1980.751=AE 2004.1181

¹⁴⁷⁸ CIL 3.1193=IDR III/5.542=ILS 2746=AE 1967.664

¹⁴⁷⁹ Christescu 1937, 184; Wagner 1938, 106-107; Beneš 1978, 20-21 (no.57/20); Spaul 2000, 195-197; Petolescu 2002, no.23

in Dacia Superior (in 119), and then in Dacia Porolissensis (in 128, 133, 135, 142/144, 143-153, 154, 161(?), and 164). An *ex viso* dedication to *Apollo* made by the unit at *Porolissum* specifies that it was *equitata*.¹⁴⁸⁰ Aelius Firmus, a centurion of the cohort buried his ten-year-old daughter at *Porolissum*.¹⁴⁸¹ It is quite possible that the unit was therefore in garrison at *Porolissum*, although its brick stamps are attested not far from *Porolissum*, in the fort at Bologa (*Resculum*) (*COH I BRITTON*),¹⁴⁸² and its name appears on a bronze button from the fort at Buciumi.¹⁴⁸³

*Cohors II Brittonum milliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis equitata*¹⁴⁸⁴

In 89 the *cohors II Brittonum milliaria* helped quell the Revolt of Saturninus in Germania Superior, for which it was honored with the epithet *pia fidelis*.¹⁴⁸⁵ By 100 it was in Moesia Superior, it probably participated in the Dacian Wars,¹⁴⁸⁶ and then stayed on in Dacia after 106 (since it is listed in the Dacian diplomas for 109 and 110). Already from this time period it was posted on Dacia's northern frontier as indicated by its stamps found at the forts of Ilișua (*Arcobadara*)¹⁴⁸⁷ and Cășeu (*Samum*),¹⁴⁸⁸ and it is possible that the cohort originally built these forts in the first place.¹⁴⁸⁹ It then became part of Dacia Porolissensis after Hadrian's reorganization, where it appears in the diplomas from 133, 143-153 (maybe?), 154(?), 161(?), and 164. During this period it was based at Romita where it is

¹⁴⁸⁰ ILD 685=AE 1947.32=AE 1971.388

¹⁴⁸¹ ILD 697

¹⁴⁸² Gudea 1972, 421 (fig.14/5)

¹⁴⁸³ Petolescu 2002, 88

¹⁴⁸⁴ Wagner 1938, 110; Beneš 1978, 21 (no.59/22); Spaul 2000, 198; Petolescu 2002, no.24

¹⁴⁸⁵ Petolescu 2002, 88

¹⁴⁸⁶ Strobel 1984, 125

¹⁴⁸⁷ CIL 3.8074,11b

¹⁴⁸⁸ CER 7.445; Szilagyí 1946, 14 (and further), (pl. XVIII/267); 256

¹⁴⁸⁹ Isac 1987

attested by *COH II BRITANN* tile stamps.¹⁴⁹⁰ From a stamp we know it was part-mounted (*equitata*).¹⁴⁹¹

*Cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria civium Romanorum*¹⁴⁹²

The *cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria* was in Moesia Superior from 93-101, and participated in the Dacian Wars before remaining in the newly conquered province after 106.¹⁴⁹³ It is named on the famous milestone from Aiton dated to 108 (as the *coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Ulp(ia) Hisp(anorum) mil(liaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitata)*), indicating that it built the road from *Potaissa* to *Napoca* in northern Dacia (Figure 2.27).¹⁴⁹⁴ It is listed among Dacia's troops in the diplomas from 110 (February 17 and July 2), and then was listed among the troops of Dacia Porolissensis in 123, 128, 142/144, 154, and 164. At the forts of Buciumi and *Porolissum* several bronze tablets in the shape of *tabulae ansatae* were discovered which contain the names of centurions belonging to this cohort.¹⁴⁹⁵ The cohort was in garrison at the fort of Orheiul Bistriței, where numerous tile and brick stamps (*CIH*∞) identified with this unit were discovered, especially among the ruins of the *praetorium* and the *principia*.¹⁴⁹⁶

From the time of Antoninus Pius there are two inscriptions found outside Dacia dedicated to C. Vibius Celer Papirius Rufus, who had at one time served as tribune of the *cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliariae equitatae*. The first is an honorific inscription erected

¹⁴⁹⁰ CIL 3.8074,11a - with ligatures between the I and T, and the A and N; Petolescu 2002, 89.

¹⁴⁹¹ Petolescu 2002, 89

¹⁴⁹² Christescu 1937, 187; Wagner 1938, 151-152; Beneš 1978, 38-39 (no.96/59); Petolescu 2002, no.45

¹⁴⁹³ Petolescu 2002, 111-112

¹⁴⁹⁴ CIL 3.1637 (p.1426)=ILD 536=CER 3.216; Ardevan 1998, 431 (no.448); Fodorean *et al.* 2013, 54-55; Fodorean 2006b, 140-141

¹⁴⁹⁵ AE 1983.851-852=CER 2.179-185, 194-195=ILD 640-646,729-730

¹⁴⁹⁶ Protase 2007, 108-109; Gudea 1975b, 382-383 (figs 1/3, 2/1-3)

with public funds in *Circeii* (Italia) because he was patron of the city.¹⁴⁹⁷ The second is from *Gerasa* (Jerash) in Arabia, and it is an honorific inscription made for him while he was serving as the procurator of the province of Arabia, later in his career and near the end of Antoninus Pius' reign.¹⁴⁹⁸

A final very interesting discovery is a bronze votive hand dedicated *I.O.M. Dolichenus* by Gaius, *optio c(o)h(ortis) I Hisp(anorum) (milliaria)* in fulfillment of his vow, which was found at Myszków near the bank of the Siret river in eastern Galicia (in modern western Ukraine).¹⁴⁹⁹ It was found by a farmer in the nineteenth century while he was digging a lime kiln, and therefore lacks a documented archaeological context. It is quite interesting that this votive artifact, which has direct ties to a Roman military unit posted on Dacia's northeastern frontier, was found deep in *barbaricum* at a significant distance away from the Roman frontier (some 200 kilometres east of the fort at Orheiul Bistriței, as the crow flies). Romanian scholars have hypothesized that it was deposited there as a result of a military conflict between the Romans and the so-called Costobocii. The latter were a people located by Ptolemy (3.5.9) in *barbaricum* northeast of Dacia, on both sides of the Carpathians, with a territory stretching as far as Podalia and Galicia. They have been identified by scholars as one of several groups of so-called 'free Dacians' (ethnic Dacians who lived beyond the borders of the empire). Several attacks on Roman Dacia throughout its history were initiated by free Dacians, and the Costobocii were part of the anti-Roman coalition during the Marcommanic Wars.¹⁵⁰⁰ If this bronze hand was indeed buried at Myszków in ancient times,

¹⁴⁹⁷ CIL 10.6426=IDRE 1.89

¹⁴⁹⁸ AE 1996.1603

¹⁴⁹⁹ ILS 9171=AE 1905.16=AE 1998.113; Demettrykiewicz and Zingerle 1904

¹⁵⁰⁰ On the 'free Dacians' and the Costobocii, see: Bichir 1996; Macrea 1968; Opreanu 1994b; 1997; 2011b

it is tantalizing to imagine that it constituted booty taken during a raid on Dacia's northeastern frontier, maybe during the Marcomannic Wars (perhaps even from the fort at Orheiul Bistriței), but this can unfortunately never be proven. If it was buried there in antiquity, whatever the circumstances, it would provide evidence of some type of interaction between the soldiers posted on Dacia's frontier and the peoples who lived far beyond the empire.

COHORTES QUINGENARIAE EQUITATAE

*Cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica*¹⁵⁰¹

The *cohors II Hispanorum* was in Illyricum (in diplomas from 54 and 60), then in Pannonia (in diplomas from 80, 84, and 85), then Moesia Superior (in diploma from 100).¹⁵⁰² It participated in the Dacian Wars,¹⁵⁰³ and helped build Trajan's bridge across the Danube, based on stamps found at *Drobeta* (Figure 2.10).¹⁵⁰⁴ Its stamps were also found at Banatska Palanka on the Danube, probably from this same period.¹⁵⁰⁵ An inscription from Vârșeț (in Banat) dated to 108 was dedicated to *Mars V(ictor?)* for the health of Trajan by the *coh(ors) II His(panorum)*, perhaps in the context of a conflict with the Iazyges.¹⁵⁰⁶ It is attested in the early years of the province by the diplomas from October 14, 109 and July 2, 110. It was then seemingly sent east against the Parthians, and then helped suppress the revolt in Cyrenaica. Three funerary inscriptions from Cyrenaica seem to indicate its presence there during this time, and after it returned to Dacia Porolissensis it appeared in the diploma from 128, 143-153, 154 (with the epithets *scutata Cyrenaica*), and 164. The cohort was based at the fort in Bologa based on the discovery of numerous stamped bricks.¹⁵⁰⁷ We know it was *equitata* (part-mounted) from the epitaph of Aelius Tato, a cavalry officer in this cohort (*dec(urio) coh(ortis) II His(panorum)*).¹⁵⁰⁸ The fact that it also received the epithets

¹⁵⁰¹ Christescu 1937, 188; Wagner 1938, 152-154; Beneš 1978, 39-40 (no.97/60); Spaul 2000, 129-130; Petolescu 2002, no.46

¹⁵⁰² Petolescu 2002, 113

¹⁵⁰³ Strobel 1984, 135

¹⁵⁰⁴ CIL 3.170,1=IDR 2.104

¹⁵⁰⁵ CIL 3.8074,20=IDR III/1.7

¹⁵⁰⁶ CIL 3.6273=IDR III/1.106; Russu 1973, 102-109

¹⁵⁰⁷ CIL 3.8074,19; Gudea 1972, 419-420 (figs. 7-11)

¹⁵⁰⁸ CIL 3.843=ILD 627=AE 1972.481

*[Anto]n[i]n[i]a[na]*¹⁵⁰⁹ and *[G]ordiana*¹⁵¹⁰ indicates that it stayed in Dacia into the mid-third century at least.

*Cohors VI Thracum*¹⁵¹¹

The *cohors VI Thracum* was in Germania (in 80), then in Pannonia (in 84 and 85), and then in Moesia Superior (in 96 and 100), based on military diplomas.¹⁵¹² An epitaph from *Mogontiacum* (Mainz) in Germania from the mid-first century commemorates Petronius Disacetus who had been an *eq(ues) turma Longini ex c(o)ho(rte) VI Thra(cum)*, thus indicating that the cohort was part-mounted (*equitata*).¹⁵¹³ It participated in the Dacian Wars¹⁵¹⁴ and then stayed in Dacia where it appears on the *Porolissum* diploma from July 2, 110. It became part of Dacia Porolissensis after the Hadrianic reorganization, where it appears on the diplomas from 130-131, 142, 154, 161(?), and 164. Its stamped bricks (*CO(hors) VI T(hracum)*; *COH(ors) VI THRACV(m)*), were found at *Porolissum*, Românași, and Romita.¹⁵¹⁵ One of its prefects, T. Statilius Taurus, had previously also been prefect of the *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum* in Dacia Superior.¹⁵¹⁶

¹⁵⁰⁹ AE 1972.470=Gudea 1972, 414 (no.2); cf. AE 1972.479=Gudea 1972, 417 (no.15) for a small fragment that has been read as *[Antoninia]nae [e]qui[tatae...]*.

¹⁵¹⁰ AE 1972.472

¹⁵¹¹ Christescu 1937, 191; Wagner 1938, 194-195; Beneš 1978, 53 (no.131/44); Spaul 2000, 380; Petolescu 2002, no.59

¹⁵¹² Petolescu 2002, 123

¹⁵¹³ CIL 13.7052

¹⁵¹⁴ Strobel 1984, 144-145

¹⁵¹⁵ *Porolissum*: Gudea 1986, 56; Românași: Tamba 1997, 25; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 68-71

¹⁵¹⁶ CIL 13.6817=IDRE 1.194

COHORTES MILLIARIAE PEDITATAE

*Cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria*¹⁵¹⁷

Originally raised by Hadrian (as indicated by its name), it first appears in Dacia Porolissensis in the diplomas from August 10, 123 and July 2, 133, and in the latter as *I AELIA GAESAT* ∞, indicating that it was double-strength (*milliaria*). There is some confusion since a unit of identical name appears in Pannonia Superior in 126, but this probably indicates a distinct unit.¹⁵¹⁸ It subsequently also appears in the diplomas of Dacia Porolissensis from 142, 151, 154(?), 161(?), and 164. It was based at Bologa based on ‘*GES*’ (in reverse) and ‘*C(o)H(ors) I AE(lia) G(aesatorum)*’ stamps discovered there.¹⁵¹⁹ The cohort received the epithet *Gordiana*, indicating its stay there into the mid-third century.¹⁵²⁰ One of its prefects is also known from an inscription.¹⁵²¹ A cohort bearing the same name appears in diplomas from 126, 133, and 161 in Pannonia Superior, but it seems the two are different units because the Pannonian one comprised archers (it was *sagittaria*).¹⁵²²

*Cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*¹⁵²³

The cohort appears in Pannonia Inferior in 114, then in Dacia Porolissensis in the diplomas from 123, 118-120 or 126-128, 130-131, 134-135 (which was granted to a member of this cohort), 135, the fragment from 133-140, and the diplomas from 142,

¹⁵¹⁷ Christescu 1937, 186-187; Wagner 1938, 134-135; Beneš 1978, 31 (no.82/45); Spaul 2000, 479; Petolescu 2002, no.36

¹⁵¹⁸ Matei-Popescu 2015, 415

¹⁵¹⁹ *GES*: Gudea 1972, 421 (figs.9/6, 14/6); *CH I AE G*: CIL 3.8074,16

¹⁵²⁰ AE 1972, 474-475=Gudea 1972, 415-416 (no.6-7)

¹⁵²¹ CIL 3.7648=ILD 628=AE 1939.4

¹⁵²² Petolescu 2002, 104

¹⁵²³ Wagner 1938, 111-112; Beneš 1978, 22 (no.62/25); Spaul 2000, 201; Petolescu 2002, no.26

154(?), 161(?), and 164. Its stamps were found at Buciumi (Figure 2.28), and it seems the cohort was in garrison here, having replaced the *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum* which was stationed there under Trajan, but which was transferred to Dacia Superior under Hadrian.¹⁵²⁴ At Buciumi the cohort erected a statue of Caracalla, the base of which has an inscription in which its name appears as *[coh(ors)] II Nerv(iana) Britt(onum) [∞ Anto]niniana p(ia) f(idelis)*,¹⁵²⁵ and another fragmentary inscription was dedicated to the same emperor.¹⁵²⁶

¹⁵²⁴ ILD 637=AE 1977.709

¹⁵²⁵ ILD 634=AE 1960.361

¹⁵²⁶ ILD 633=AE 1977.708=AE 1978.690

COHORTES QUINGENARIAE PEDITATAE

*Cohors I Cannanefatium*¹⁵²⁷

Originally recruited from the Germanic tribe of the *Cannanefatii* (on the lower Rhine), the cohort is attested in Dacia Porolissensis by the unprovenanced diplomas dated to 128, (December 10) 130 to (December 9) 131, and (July 21) 164 (found at Cășeiu, Gilău, Palatovo, and Buciumi, as well as in an unprovenanced fragment from the same constitution).¹⁵²⁸ Based on ‘*CICFI*’ stamps found at the fort in Tihău, it appears to have been in garrison there.¹⁵²⁹

*Cohors V Lingonum*¹⁵³⁰

This cohort probably took part in the Dacian Wars and was left in the province after conquest, appearing in the diploma from *Porolissum* dated to July 2, 110. It stayed in Dacia Porolissensis after Hadrian’s reorganization (appearing in the diplomas from 130-131, 142, 154, 161-162, and 164). It was in garrison at *Porolissum* based on stamps found there,¹⁵³¹ as well as inscriptions in which it bears the epithets *Antoniniana* (dated to 217-218 based on the governorship of C. Iulius Castinus)¹⁵³² and *Philippiana*,¹⁵³³ thus indicating that it stayed

¹⁵²⁷ Wagner 1938, 116-117; Beneš 1978, 23-24 (no.65/28); Spaul 2000, 238; Petolescu 2002, no.29

¹⁵²⁸ For the unprovenanced fragment see AE 1999.1103

¹⁵²⁹ CIL 3.8074,13; AE 1994.1485

¹⁵³⁰ Christescu 1937, 189; Wagner 1938, 160; Beneš 1978, 42-43 (no.104/67); Spaul 2000, 182; Petolescu 2002, no.50

¹⁵³¹ AE 1979.501f; Gudea 1986, 55-56

¹⁵³² CIL 3.7638

¹⁵³³ AE 1944.55 (the epithet suffered *damnatio memoriae*)

there at least into the mid-third century. Another inscription from the time of Antoninus Pius (from Italy) records the career of one of its prefects.¹⁵³⁴

¹⁵³⁴ IDRE 1.153=AE 1890.151; cf. CIL 5.8659=ILS 1412=IDRE 1.152

IRREGULAR UNITS

*Numerus M(aurorum?) O(ptatianensium?)*¹⁵³⁵

Little is known about this irregular unit. It is attested only by the acronym *NMO* from the fort at Sutoru, which has been identified as ancient *Optatiana* from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (8.3), hence the proposed reading of *N(umerus) M(aurorum?) O(ptatianensium?)*.¹⁵³⁶ The acronym is attested on ‘*NMO*’ stamps at the fort,¹⁵³⁷ and on an epitaph erected by Aurel(ius) Bassus, a *sign(ifer) n(umeri) M(aurorum?) O(ptatianensium?)*, for his wife Aurelia Prisosta (who died at age thirty-three), his daughter Aurelia Bassina (who died at age seven), and his deceased son/daughter Aurel(ius/a?) Denzi (whose age at death was apparently eighty?).¹⁵³⁸ Given the appearance of other *numeri Maurorum* (and other *numeri* in general) within Dacia in the late second century, probably as part of the changes under Marcus Aurelius, it is likely that this unit too appeared at that time, especially given the names Aurelius and Aurelia in the inscription.

*Numerus Palmyrenorum O(ptatianensium?)*¹⁵³⁹

Only two inscriptions attest to the existence of this unit. The first is a funerary inscription, now sadly lost, which was originally found at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*.¹⁵⁴⁰

The deceased, *[A]elius Sept(imius) Audeo qui et Maximus* was a veteran of this *numerus*

¹⁵³⁵ Christescu 1937; 198; Beneš 1978, 60 (no.150/14); Petolescu 2002, no.73

¹⁵³⁶ Petolescu 2002, 137 – see also the *Numerus Palmyrenorum Optatianensium* from the same fort.

¹⁵³⁷ CIL 3.1633,6=CIL 3.8074,27

¹⁵³⁸ AE 1932.81=ILD 757. The readings of the second child’s name have been both male and female, so it is unclear which is meant. The age at death of the second child (*LXXX*) might be explained either as an error, or if (s)he outlived the father who originally commissioned the tombstone (and the age at death was therefore added later).

¹⁵³⁹ Christescu 1937, 199; Wagner 1938, 211; Beneš 1978, 61 (no.153/17); Petolescu 2002, no.77

¹⁵⁴⁰ CIL 3.1471=IDR III/2.366

(*vet(eranus) ex (centurione) n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) O(ptatianensium)*) who died at age sixty. The monument was commissioned by his son (*Aelius Sept(imius) Romanus*), who was a soldier (*miles*) in the *legio XIII G(emina)* and assistant in the service of *cornicularii* (*[a]diut(or) offic(ii) cornicul(ariorum)*), his daughter (*Septimia Septimina quae et Revocata*), and his wife (*[C]ornelia Antonia*). His heirs (children and wife) erected the monument through the agency of his freedman *[S]eptimius Asclepias* who was also an *aug(ustalis) col(oniae)*. This epitaph reveals an interesting snapshot of a military family in Dacia, and of the possibilities for social advancement through service in the *auxilia*. Aelius Septimius Audeo (whose cognomen is eastern in origin) presumably received his citizenship after serving in this irregular tribal auxiliary unit (or he received it after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* – we cannot know for sure because we do not have a precise date). He married a citizen, and his children became citizens, and his son (who aptly received the cognomen *Romanus*) was able to join the ranks of citizen soldiers and became a legionary in the *legio XIII Gemina*. At some point Audeo freed one of his slaves who gained prestige as a freedman in his own right, becoming an *augustalis* of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. The second inscription comes from a now unknown location in Transylvania, and constitutes a fragment of a funerary monument for a *Iul(ius) C[...]* *n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) O(ptatianensium)*.¹⁵⁴¹ By analogy with the *n(umerus) M(aurorum?) O(ptatianensium?)* discussed above, it is thought that this *numerus* was also based at *Optatiana* (Sutoru).¹⁵⁴²

¹⁵⁴¹ IDR III/2.416=ILD 758=AE 1956.217

¹⁵⁴² Petolescu 2002, 143

*Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium sagittariorum*¹⁵⁴³

Three datable inscriptions from *Porolissum* tell us about this irregular unit of Palmyrene archers. The first is an inscription found in a temple near the fort on Pomăt hill, dedicated to the emperor and to the ancestral god Bel (*deo patrio Belo*) by the *n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum) sagit(tariorum)* during the reign of Caracalla.¹⁵⁴⁴ It records the unit's reconstruction with its own funds (*pecunia sua*) of a temple that had been destroyed by a fire (*templum vi ignis consumptum*). The reconstruction was carried out under the care of T. Flavius Saturninus, a *centurio* of the *legio V Macedonica Pia Constans*, with C. Iulius Septimius Castinus the governor of the Three Dacias (*co(n)s(ularis) III Dac[ia(rum)]*) and Ulpius Victor the procurator of Dacia Porolissensis (*proc(uratore) Aug(usti) provi[nc(iae) Por]ol(issensis)*) as dedicants. It is noteworthy that a legionary centurion, the governor of the Three Dacias and the procurator of Dacia Porolissensis all participated in the (re)dedication of a rebuilt temple for the ancestral god of an auxiliary tribal unit. This may be related to the increasing prestige associated with irregular ethnic units during the third century, which came to hold the status of elite or specialist units.

The second datable inscription from *Porolissum* is a dedication to *Silvanus Domesticus* made by Valerius Them(o?), a *vet(eranus)* of an unknown unit, but it has been hypothesized that he was from the *numerus Palmyrenorum* based on his Syrian-Palmyrene cognomen. Them(o?) was also a *dec(urio) municip(ii)*, which helps us date the inscription to the first decades of the third century, since it must refer to the *municipium Septimium Porolissensium*

¹⁵⁴³ Christescu 1937, 199; Wagner 1938, 212; Beneš 1978, 61 (no.154/18); Petolescu 2002, no.76

¹⁵⁴⁴ ILD 663=AE 1980.755; see also Benea 2002, 187. For the Temple of Bel at *Porolissum* see Gudea 2003, 217-225. This inscription was also discussed earlier in the section on the *legio V Macedonica*.

(located somewhere near the fort).¹⁵⁴⁵ The third datable inscription is an altar dedicated to the empress Herennia Etruscilla (wife of emperor Decius, and mother of emperors Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian) by the *n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum) Porol(issensium) sag(ittariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, dated to 250.¹⁵⁴⁶ There are also two undated inscriptions from *Porolissum*, including an epitaph commissioned by Salmas Rami *ex n(umero) P(almyrenorum)* for his wife and son,¹⁵⁴⁷ and a dedication to *Silvanus Domesticus* by Mucianus, *optio Pal(myrenorum)*.¹⁵⁴⁸ In addition to these inscriptions and the name of the unit itself, the presence of *NPP* stamps at *Porolissum* confirms its garrison there.¹⁵⁴⁹

Two inscriptions tell us that the unit included riders. An epitaph from the fort at Ilişua (*Arcobadara*) commemorates Aurelius Iustinus, an *eques n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium)* who died at age forty.¹⁵⁵⁰ A Greek inscription from Thessaloniki mentions C. Mestrius Servilianus, who was prefect of the *ala numeri Palmyrenorum Porolissensium* (ἑπαρκος ἑλης ἱππέων ἀριθμοῦ Παλμυρηνῶν Πορολίσσηνῶν), thus indicating not only that the unit contained riders, but also that it was eventually split into an *ala* and *cohors*, perhaps after 250 (the date of the dedication to Herennia Etruscilla, when it was still one *numerus*).¹⁵⁵¹ Indeed, an epitaph from *Potaissa* was commissioned by Aurelius Celsinianus, a *mil(es) c(o)h(ortis) I P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium)* for his deceased father and uncle.¹⁵⁵² Finally, an inscription from *Palmyra* dating to the time of Antoninus Pius was made in

¹⁵⁴⁵ The *municipium Septimium Porolissensium* is known from an inscription (CIL 3.828=ILD 770=AE 1982.835), but it has not yet been definitively identified on the ground. See Gudea 1986; Opreanu and Lăzărescu 2015, 905-906 (for the latest update on the excavations and efforts to locate it).

¹⁵⁴⁶ ILD 672=AE 1944.56

¹⁵⁴⁷ CIL 3.837

¹⁵⁴⁸ ILD 690=AE 1960.219

¹⁵⁴⁹ CIL 3.8075,25

¹⁵⁵⁰ CIL 3.803

¹⁵⁵¹ IG 10/2,1.146=IDRE 2.356=ILS 9472; Petolescu 2002, 142

¹⁵⁵² CIL 3.908; Petolescu 2002, 143

honor of T. Aelius, “prefect of the archers enlisted in *Porolissum*...Dacia” (ἑπαρχον τῶν] ἐν Παρολί[σσω τῆς ...]ρας Δακίας [κα]τε<ι>λεγμένων τοξοτῶν), by “the soldiers of his first standard (*vexillum*)” (οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτο[υ] αὐτοῦ οὐξί[λλ]ου τειμῆς [χάριν]).¹⁵⁵³

¹⁵⁵³ IDRE 2.414=AE 1947.170

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

(See Figures 4.1; 4.3; 4.6; 4.8-4.15, and Tables 1; 2)

Summary

The initial garrison of Trajan's new province mostly consisted of military units from the neighboring province of Moesia Superior, with several from Pannonia, and a few from Moesia Inferior (in addition to a couple from elsewhere or with unknown origins). Almost all of these units had participated in the Dacian Wars and then stayed in the new province of Dacia after 106. The *exercitus Dacicus* during the reign of Trajan encompassed the following:

Legions: (ca. 10,000 legionaries)

legio IIII Flavia Felix (from Moesia Superior)

legio XIII Gemina (from Pannonia)

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 3000 cavalry)

ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum torquata (from Moesia Superior)

ala I Augusta Ituraeorum (from Pannonia)

ala I Britannica/Brittonum c.R. (from Pannonia)

ala I c.R. (from Pannonia)

ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana (from Moesia Inferior)

ala I Pannoniorum (from Moesia Inferior)

Cohortes milliariae equitatae: (ca. 6000 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Britannorum milliaria c.R. (from Moesia Superior)

cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p.f. c.R. (from Moesia Superior)

cohors II Brittonum milliaria c.R. p.f. (from Moesia Superior)

cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria c.R. (from Moesia Superior)

cohors I Ituraeorum milliaria (from Cappadocia – where it returned under Hadrian)

cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria c.R. p.f. (from Moesia Superior)

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 4000 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Pannoniorum veterana p.f. (from Moesia Superior)

cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum (from Moesia Superior)

cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica (from Moesia Superior)
cohors VI Thracum (from Moesia Superior)
cohors VIII Raetorum c.R. torquata (from Moesia Superior)
cohors II Gallorum Pannonica (from Pannonia)
cohors I Alpinorum (from Moesia Inferior)
cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum (from Moesia Inferior)

Cohortes milliariae peditatae: (ca. 1000 infantry)

cohors III Campestris c.R. milliaria (from Moesia Superior)

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 4500 infantry)

cohors I Cretum sagittariorum (from Moesia Superior)
cohors I Hispanorum p.f. (from Moesia Superior)
cohors I Thracum c.R. (from Moesia Superior)
cohors II Gallorum Macedonica (from Moesia Superior)
cohors III Cypria c.R. (from Moesia Superior)
cohors V Gallorum (from Pannonia)
cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum (from Pannonia)
cohors I Montanorum (from Pannonia)
cohors V Lingonum (origin unknown)

Irregular Units: (ca. 500 infantry – of the *pedites singulares Britannici*?)

pedites singulares Britannici (from Moesia Superior)
equites et pedites singulares (composed of rotating soldiers from the *exercitus Dacicus*)

That constitutes a total of approximately 29,000 soldiers comprising the *exercitus Dacicus* as a whole during the reign of Trajan.¹⁵⁵⁴ This comes to 7% of the entire Roman imperial army in the early second century.¹⁵⁵⁵ These include approximately 10,000 legionaries and 19,000 auxiliaries. The auxiliaries include a total of approximately 3000 cavalry, 10,000 part-mounted infantry, and 6000 infantry.

¹⁵⁵⁴ The *pedites et equites singulares* are not included in this total since they comprised rotating soldiers selected from the existing provincial garrison. Only the 500 *pedites singulares Britannici* were included in the calculations, since these were a separate auxiliary unit.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Cupcea and Marcu 2006, 191 – based on their estimated total size of the Roman imperial army at 415,000.

- 50% (5000) of the legionaries and 63% (12,000) of the auxiliaries were transferred from Moesia Superior
- 50% (5000) of the legionaries and 18% (3500) of the auxiliaries were transferred from Pannonia
- 11% (2000) of the auxiliaries came from Moesia Inferior
- 8% (1500) of the auxiliaries came from elsewhere/unknown (1000 part-mounted from Cappadocia and 500 infantry from an unknown origin)

It is noteworthy that Pannonia provided three times the number of cavalry (*alae*) as Moesia Superior, although the latter provided a significantly larger number of troops overall (a larger percentage of them being infantry). Moesia Superior provided the largest number of part-mounted infantry troops. Moesia Inferior provided only horsemen and part-mounted infantry. Thus, it seems in addition to a second legion, which was transferred from Pannonia, it was primarily mounted troops (*alae* and *cohortes equitatae*) that were drawn from provinces other than Moesia Superior. Indeed, of the 19,000 auxiliaries in the *exercitus Dacicus* under Trajan 13,000 (68%) men belonged to *alae* or *cohortes equitatae* (mounted and part-mounted troops) and 6000 (32%) were infantry. If we consider that a part-mounted cohort (*cohors equitata*) contained approximately 25% riders, then of the 19,000 auxiliaries in Trajan's Dacia 29% were horsemen (5500) and 71% were foot soldiers (13,500).

At the beginning of his reign, Hadrian inherited a war in Dacia that probably broke out in the last year of Trajan's life, when the Sarmatians, Iazyges and Roxolani attacked Dacia from the west (117-118).¹⁵⁵⁶ During this conflict the armies of Moesia Superior and

¹⁵⁵⁶ Petolescu 1985, 50-51; Matei-Popescu 2015, 414

the two Pannonias¹⁵⁵⁷ assisted the *exercitus Dacicus* in thwarting the barbarians. It may well have been in the context of this war that Hadrian sent Palmyrene archers to Dacia.¹⁵⁵⁸ In the wake of these conflicts, Hadrian decided to strengthen and reorganize Trajan's province, which led to the division of Dacia into Dacia Superior (comprising the core of Trajan's province), Dacia Inferior (comprising the southeastern part of Trajan's province), and Dacia Porolissensis (in the northwestern part of Trajan's province). Hadrian removed the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, leaving all three Dacian provinces under the responsibility of just the *legio XIII Gemina* at *Apulum* in Dacia Superior (in the center of the three Dacian territories). Most of the auxiliary units that were in Dacia from the time of Trajan stayed in position and now belonged to one of the three new administrative regions, but Hadrian also added a number of auxiliary units.

In **DACIA SUPERIOR** most of the military units already in that territory from the time of Trajan remained after 118. A few were sent away (including the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*), while Hadrian also added extra auxiliary units. Thus, the garrison of Dacia Superior during the reign of Hadrian included (blue were added by Hadrian, black remained from the time of Trajan):

Legion: (ca. 5000 legionaries)

legio XIII Gemina (*Apulum*/Alba Iulia)

Alae milliariae: (ca. 2000 cavalry)

ala Ulpia Contariorum milliaria (from Pannonia Superior; at unknown location - by 126 sent back to Pannonia Superior)

ala I Batavorum milliaria (from Pannonia Inferior; at Războieni-Cetate)

¹⁵⁵⁷ Pannonia was split into Pannonia Superior and Inferior by Trajan in 103.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Tentea 2011

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 1000 cavalry)

ala I Bosporanorum (from Pannonia Superior; at Cristești)

ala I Hispanorum Campagonum (from Pannonia Inferior; at Micia)

Cohortes milliariae equitatae: (ca. 1000 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria c.R. p.f. (at Arcidava/Vărădia)

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 2000 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Alpinorum (at Sărățeni or Călugăreni/Inlăceni)

cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum (at Micia)

cohors II Gallorum Pannonica (at Inlăceni?)

cohors VIII Raetorum c.R. torquata (at Inlăceni until mid-second century, replaced there by
cohors IIII Hispanorum equitata, and moved to *Praetorium*/Mehadia and Teregova)

Cohortes milliariae peditatae: (ca. 1000 infantry)

cohors III Campestris c.R. milliaria (at Drobeta/Transdrobeta until end of second century, then
moved to *Porolissum*)

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 2500 infantry)

cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum (at Buciumi or *Porolissum* under Trajan, then ??)

cohors V Gallorum (at Pojejena)

cohors I Gallorum Dacica (unknown origin; unknown base)

cohors I Thracum sagittariorum (unknown origin; unknown base)

cohors I Ubiorum (from Moesia Inferior; 136-138 transferred to Dacia Superior from Dacia
Inferior; in east-central Dacia Superior around Odorheiu Secuiesc/Ozd/ Târnăveni)

Irregular Units: (ca. 1000 mounted troops (Illyrians & Palmyrenes) + ca. 500 infantry
(*pedites Britannici*))

equites et pedites singulares (at *Apulum*/Alba Iulia)

pedites singulares Britannici (at *Germisara*)

numerus Illyricorum (mounted) (origin unknown; at Brâncovenesti)

Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria (mounted) (from Syria; unknown base)

Thus, under Hadrian Dacia Superior's army included 5000 legionaries (one legion) and 11,000 auxiliary soldiers – a total army of 16,000 men. The auxilia comprised 4000 cavalry, 3000 part-mounted, and 4000 infantry soldiers. It is significant that all 4000 horsemen were

added by Hadrian: 3000 in *alae* (two *alae milliariae*, two *alae quingenariae*), and 1000 in irregular tribal units (*numeri* of Illyrians and of Palmyrene archers, which were also mounted). Of the 11,000 auxiliaries, 64% were mounted and part-mounted (4000 horsemen + 3000 part-mounted), and 36% comprised infantry. Again, if we consider that part-mounted troops contained approximately 25% riders, then the *auxilia* of Dacia Superior after Hadrian's reforms included 43% (4750) horsemen and 57% (6250) foot soldiers – a significant increase in the percentage of riders from the army under Trajan (which had only 29% horsemen).

It is noteworthy that Hadrian added two *alae milliariae* (double-strength mounted units), representing a significant concentration of horsemen. Two of the *alae* were added from Pannonia Superior and two from Pannonia Inferior. Of the two milliary *alae*, the *ala Ulpia Contariorum milliaria* was only in Dacia briefly (having returned to Pannonia Superior by 126) and its base is unknown. But the *ala I Batavorum milliaria* stayed in Dacia into the third century and was the only *ala milliaria* in the province from 126 until 271/275. It was garrisoned in a supremely strategic location at Războieni-Cetate in the center of Dacia's northern territory, right beside the salt mines at *Salinae*, just north of the legionary base at *Apulum*, with easy access to the gold mining district to the west, and to the northern and eastern frontier. Hadrian's introduction of mounted Palmyrene archers (from Syria) and Illyrian riders (the unit's origin is unknown) is also noteworthy. The Palmyrenes were eventually divided into three *numeri*, part of a general increase in the number of *numeri* (irregular tribal units) that appear in Dacia over time.

The army of DACIA INFERIOR was almost entirely made up of units from Moesia Inferior that had been placed there by Trajan when this portion of the newly conquered territory was left under the administration of Moesia Inferior. The army of Dacia Inferior under Hadrian included (blue were added under Hadrian):

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 1500 cavalry)

ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana (from Moesia Inferior; at Boroşneul Mare)

ala I Asturum (from Moesia Inferior; at Hoghiz)

ala I Hispanorum (from Moesia Inferior; moved from Dacia Superior to Dacia Inferior 119-129; at Slăveni)

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 2000 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum (from Moesia Inferior; on lower Olt, at Romula, Slăveni or Acidava/Enoseşti)

cohors I Bracaraugustanorum (from Moesia Inferior; at Angustia/Breţcu)

cohors II Flavia Numidarum (origin unknown; at Feldioara)

cohors I Hispanorum veterana (from Moesia Inferior; at Angustia/Breţcu and Comolău)

Cohortes milliariae peditatae: (ca. 1000 infantry)

cohors I Augusta Pacensis Brittonum milliaria (origin unknown; unknown base)

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 2000 infantry)

cohors I Tyrionum sagittariorum (from Moesia Inferior; unknown base)

cohors II Flavia Bessorum (from Moesia Inferior; on upper Olt at Cincşor)

cohors II Gallorum (from Moesia Inferior; unknown base)

cohors III Gallorum (from Moesia Inferior; at Ioneşti Govorei, then under M. Aurelius at Hoghiz)

Irregular Units: (ca. 1500 mounted troops)

numerus Surorum sagittariorum (mounted) (origin unknown; at Romula/Malva)

numerus equitum Illyricorum (mounted) (origin unknown; at Hoghiz?)

numerus burgariorum et veredariorum (mounted) (origin unknown; at Praetorium I/Copăcenii)

Almost the entire army of Dacia Inferior was transferred from Moesia Inferior under Hadrian. Many, if not most, of these units were already in place from the time of Trajan

when this territory was left under the administration of Moesia Inferior, but they officially became part of the *exercitus Dacicus* as a result of Hadrian's administrative reorganization. Dacia Inferior contained only auxiliary units. In total these amounted to 8000 men, including 3000 mounted troops, 2000 part-mounted troops, and 3000 infantry troops. The mounted troops comprised 1500 men in three *alae quingenariae* and 1500 mounted irregular units (*numeri*), including Syrian archers, Illyrian riders, and a unit of couriers and frontier guards (*numerus burgariorum et veredariorum*). In total, 63% (5000) mounted and part-mounted troops and 37% (2000) infantry troops made up the army of Dacia Inferior. Since part-mounted units contained approximately 25% riders, the total number of horsemen in Dacia Inferior was 44% (3500) and foot soldiers made up 56% (4500). Interestingly, these proportions are almost identical to those seen in Dacia Superior (which had 43% riders and 57% foot soldiers).

It is noteworthy that Dacia Inferior contained no *alae milliariae* and no *cohortes equitatae milliariae*. Instead there was a greater number of smaller (quingenary) units, which makes sense since these were distributed along a long string of small auxiliary forts that ran in a line along the eastern frontier of Dacia (the so-called *limes Alutanus*). These smaller units were charged with guarding the eastern frontier and patrolling the main roads that ran North-South in this sector, which connected Dacia with Moesia Inferior. Thus, the army of Dacia Inferior effectively served as an eastern buffer zone for the provincial core (the interior of Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis), and it maintained the important lines of supply and communication for the eastern half of the province. The soldiers of Dacia Inferior patrolled and supervised the important pass cut by the Olt River through the Carpathians -

the only easy crossing of the mountains on Dacia's eastern side. Although it contained no legion, the army of Dacia Inferior supported and was supported by the *legio XIII Gemina* of Dacia Superior, and if needed it could also draw on the three legions in Moesia Inferior (stationed at *Novae*, *Durostorum*, and *Troesmis*).

In **DACIA POROLISSENSIS** most of the auxiliary units were already there from the time of Trajan. Hadrian added a number of units, especially from Pannonia Inferior. The army of Dacia Porolissensis comprised the following units during Hadrian's reign (blue were added by Hadrian):

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 2000 horsemen)

ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum torquata (at Gherla)
ala I Brittonum (Britannica) c.R. (origin unknown; unknown base)
ala Siliana c.R. torquata armillata (from Pannonia Inferior; at Gilău)
ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana (from Pannonia Inferior; at Ilișua)

Cohortes milliariae equitatae: (ca. 5000 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Britannorum milliaria c.R. (moved from Dacia Superior 119-123; at Cașeu/Samum)
cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p.f. c.R. (moved from Dacia Superior 119-133; at Porolissum or Bologa/Resculum)
cohors II Brittonum milliaria c.R. p.f. (at Certia/Romita)
cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria c.R. (at Orheiul Bistriței)
cohors I Batavorum milliaria c.R. p.f. (from Pannonia Superior; at Certia/Romita)

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 1000 part-mounted infantry)

cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica (at Bologa/Resculum)
cohors VI Thracum (Porolissum or Romănași or at Romita/Certia)

Cohortes milliariae peditatae: (ca. 2000 infantry)

cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria (newly raised; at Bologa/Resculum)
cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria (from Pannonia Inferior; at Buciumi)

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 1000 infantry)

cohors V Lingonum (at *Porolissum*)

cohors I Cannanefatium (origin unknown; at Tihău)

Like Dacia Inferior, Dacia Porolissensis contained only auxiliary units, until the arrival of *legio V Macedonica* under Marcus Aurelius. Its total garrison during the reign of Hadrian was 11,000 men (the same as Dacia Superior), consisting of 2000 cavalry, 6000 part-mounted troops, and 3000 infantry troops. That comes to 73% mounted/part-mounted (8000) and 27% infantry (3000). This further breaks down to a total of 32% (3500) riders and 68% (7500) foot soldiers in the army of Dacia Porolissensis. It is noteworthy that this constitutes a smaller proportion of cavalry to infantry than Dacia Superior and Inferior, which respectively had 43-44% cavalry and 56-57% infantry within their *auxilia*.

Hadrian added 75% of Dacia Porolissensis' cavalry (three of four *alae*) and 83% of its infantry (2500 of 3000 infantry troops). Although the armies of Dacia Porolissensis and Dacia Superior are equivalent in the total number of soldiers (11,000), Dacia Porolissensis had double the part-mounted troops and only half the mounted troops of Dacia Superior. Indeed, Dacia Porolissensis had a significantly higher ratio of infantry to cavalry than Dacia Superior or Dacia Inferior. Overall the highest concentration of infantry is found in Dacia Porolissensis, which makes sense since the province needed a large army of stationary soldiers to man the forts and towers along the northern frontier. These soldiers did not need to go anywhere – it was the cavalry stationed in the center of Dacia Porolissensis, in Dacia Superior and along the eastern frontier of Dacia Inferior that needed to be more mobile. These cavalry could quickly mobilize towards any of the peripheral zones when needed to

support the infantry posted on the frontier. The cavalry were able to act as liaisons between the stationary infantry on Dacia's northern frontier (Dacia Porolissensis) and the rest of the province (and empire beyond).

Many of these units may well have stayed in Dacia into the third century, but because we have no more military diplomas after 179, the picture becomes far less clear from the late second century onwards (Table 1).¹⁵⁵⁹ Datable inscriptions have provided evidence for the continued presence of some units, but we lack positive datable evidence to prove the continuity of others. As always, absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence, and it is very possible that the third century garrison is larger than we can currently prove. Indeed, certain specialized units, such as the *numerus burgariorum et veredariorum* (which is currently only attested in the second century with certainty) quite plausibly continued into the third century since it provided an essential service as couriers. There is also evidence for new units in the later second and in the third centuries (one legion, two *cohortes milliariae equitatae*, one *cohors quingenaria equitata*, one *cohors milliaria peditata*, one *cohors quingenaria peditata*, and seven *numeri*).

Nevertheless, all the extant evidence points to an overall reduction in the number of auxiliary troops in Dacia over time (especially from the first half of the second century onwards). Military diplomas from the late second century include a smaller number of auxiliary units (about half) of the units mentioned in early second century diplomas. Although there are problems with their dating, the excavated forts also indicate a decline over

¹⁵⁵⁹ The last diploma for Roman Dacia dates from April 1, 179 and is for the troops of Dacia Superior (found at *Drobeta*, Dacia Superior). The last diploma for Dacia Inferior is from 167-168 (unknown provenance), and the last diploma for Dacia Porolissensis is from July 21, 164 (10 different diplomas are known from this constitution, and one more diploma is also potentially dated to 164). See Table 1.

time, with a greater number of forts being active during the first half of the second century, and a decreasing number continuing to be active during the later second century and into the third century.¹⁵⁶⁰ The overall picture, however, is still inconclusive and tentative, since many of the excavated forts lack any precise chronology of occupation (many being dated simply to ‘sometime in the second to third centuries’), and in some of the forts that were shown to have been occupied in the early second century excavators could not exclude the possibility that occupation continued on into the third century.¹⁵⁶¹

Here is the army of Dacia after Hadrian (black units are those only known in the second century, blue units are definitely known from the second and third centuries, and red units appeared for the first time after Hadrian, in the later second or in the third centuries – the troop numbers in brackets include only the blue and red units to reflect garrison estimation for the end of the second and into the third centuries):

Dacia Superior¹⁵⁶²

Legions: (ca. 5000 legionaries in late second to third centuries)

leg XIII Gemina (*Apulum*/Alba Iulia)

Alae milliariae: (ca. 1000 cavalry in late second to third centuries)

ala I Batavorum milliaria (from Pannonia Inferior; at Războieni-Cetate, between *Apulum* and *Potaissa*, helped with mining district across Dacia Superior/Porolissensis border)

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 500 cavalry in late second to third centuries)

ala I Bosporanorum (at Cristești)

ala I Hispanorum Campagonum (at Micia)

¹⁵⁶⁰ Oltean 2004, 69

¹⁵⁶¹ Oltean 2004, 69-70

¹⁵⁶² Now called Dacia Apulensis, but I will continue to call it Dacia Superior to keep the discussion from becoming confusing.

Cohortes milliariae equitatae: (ca. 3000 part-mounted in late second to third centuries)

cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria c.R. p.f. (at *Arcidava*/Vărădia under Trajan, at *Tibiscum* after Hadrian)

cohors I sagittariorum milliaria (unknown origin; appears late second century; at *Tibiscum* and *Drobeta*)

cohors III Delmatarum milliaria c.R. p.f. (unknown origin; appears late second century; at *Praetorium*/Mehadia)

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 3000 part-mounted in late second to third centuries)

cohors II Gallorum Pannonica (at Inlăceni?)

cohors VIII Raetorum c.R. torquata (at Inlăceni until mid-second century, then replaced there by *cohors IIII Hispanorum equitata*, and moved to *Praetorium*/Mehadia and Teregova)

cohors I Alpinorum equitata (at Sărățeni or Călugăreni/Inlăceni)

cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum (at *Micia*)

cohors IIII Hispanorum (unknown origin; appears 144; at Inlăceni)

Cohortes milliariae peditatae: (ca. 2000 infantry in late second to third centuries)

cohors III Campestris c.R. milliaria (at *Drobeta*/*Transdrobeta* until end of second century, then at *Porolissum*)

cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria (origin unknown; appears early third century; at Bumbești-Jiu)

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae:

cohors V Gallorum (at Pojejena)

cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum (at Buciumi or *Porolissum* under Trajan, later base unknown)

cohors I Gallorum Dacica (unknown base)

cohors I Thracum sagittariorum (unknown base)

cohors I Ubiorum (in the area around Odorheiu Secuiesc, Ozd, and Târnăveni)

Irregular Units: (ca. 1000 infantry and 2000 cavalry in late second to third centuries)

numerus Illyricorum (at Brâncoveniști)

equites et pedites singulares (numerus singularium) (at *Apulum*/Alba Iulia)

pedites singulares Britannici (numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum) (at *Germisara*)

numerus Germanicianorum (unknown origin; appears late second century; at Orăștioara de Sus)

numerus Maurorum Hispanorum (unknown origin; appears late second century; at *Ampelum*)

numerus Maurorum Miciensium (unknown origin; appears late second century; at *Micia*)

numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium (unknown origin; appears late second century; at *Tibiscum*)

numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium (probably from the Palmyrene archers from Dacia Superior in Hadrianic times; appears late second century; at *Tibiscum*)

Of the three Dacian territories in the late second and into the third centuries, Dacia Superior saw by far the largest increase in new auxiliary troops (two *cohortes milliariae equitatae*, one *cohors quingenaria equitata*, one *cohors milliaria peditata*, and five *numeri*) – a total of some 6000 men. Several of its early second century troops are also attested into the third century. Overall the late second to third century garrison of Dacia Superior included one legion (5000 men) and 11,000 auxiliaries – in total approximately 16,000 men. These totals are identical to Dacia Superior under Hadrian, but the composition of the 11,000 auxiliary troops has changed. In particular, there is a significant increase in the number of part-mounted and infantry troops in the later period. And since part-mounted troops consist mostly of infantry (with only about 25% riders), the overall ratio of foot soldiers to horsemen saw a slight increase in Dacia Superior in the late second to third centuries (foot soldiers were 54% under Hadrian, and 58% by the end of the second and into the third century). Also noteworthy is the significant increase in irregular tribal units organized in *numeri*, constituting a total of 27% of the total auxiliary force of Dacia Superior in the later period.

Dacia Inferior¹⁵⁶³

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 1000 cavalry in late second to third centuries)

ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana (at Boroşneul Mare)

ala I Asturum (at Hoghiz)

ala I Hispanorum (at Slăveni)

¹⁵⁶³ Now also called Dacia Malvensis, but I will continue to call it Dacia Inferior to prevent confusion in the discussion.

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 500 part-mounted in late second to third centuries)

cohors I Bracaraugustanorum (at *Angustia*/Brețcu)

cohors II Flavia Numidarum (at Feldioara)

cohors I Hispanorum veterana (at *Angustia*/Brețcu and Comolău)

cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum (on lower Olt – at *Romula*, Slăveni, or
Acidava/Enosești)

Cohortes milliariae peditatae:

cohors I Augusta Pacensis Brittonum milliaria (unknown base)

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 1000 infantry in late second to third centuries)

cohors I Tyrionum sagittariorum (unknown base)

cohors II Flavia Bessorum (on upper Olt – at Cincșor)

cohors II Gallorum (unknown base)

cohors III Gallorum (Ionești Govorei, then under M. Aurelius at Hoghiz)

cohors VI nova Cumidavensium (unknown origin; appears third century; at Râșnov)

Irregular Units: (ca. 500 cavalry in late second to third centuries)

numerus equitum Illyricorum (mounted) (at Hoghiz?)

numerus burgariorum et veredariorum (mounted) (at *Praetorium I*/Copăceni)

numerus Surorum sagittariorum (mounted) (at *Romula*/*Malva*)

Only one new unit appears in Dacia Inferior in the third century – a *cohors quingenaria peditata* (approximately 500 foot soldiers) – and only a few of the early second century units are positively attested into the third century. Thus, Dacia Inferior saw the largest decrease in the size of its garrison, from 8000 auxiliaries in the early second century to just 3000 auxiliaries attested by late second to third centuries (a decrease from fifteen to just six auxiliary units). In the later period its army comprised 1500 cavalry (of which 500 are *numeri*), 500 part-mounted, and 1000 infantry. This calculates as 54% horsemen and 46% foot soldiers – a significant increase in the proportion of horsemen to foot soldiers since the time of Hadrian (when Dacia Inferior had only 44% horsemen and 56% foot soldiers). It is possible that there were more units than this, but these are the only ones that are attested

with any certainty. If this picture is accurate, then there was a significant de-militarization (in terms of manpower) in the southeastern portion of Dacia (along the *limes Alutanus* and *Transalutanus*) from the time of Marcus Aurelius onwards. It is interesting that it is in this later period (early third century) that the *limes Transalutanus* was probably built. The change in the proportion of troops, with a greater percentage of horsemen, might indicate a change in the primary role of the army along this eastern frontier, which now comprised a smaller but more mobile army than before. Fewer, smaller, more mobile units may have been required to man the more efficient supply line along the *limes Transalutanus*.

Dacia Porolissensis

Legions: (ca. 5000 legionaries in late second to third centuries)

legio V Macedonica (from Moesia Inferior; transferred in 168; at *Potaissa*)

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 1500 cavalry in late second to third centuries)

ala I Brittonum (Britannica) c.R. (unknown base)

ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum torquata (at Gherla)

ala Siliana c.R. torquata armillata (at Gilău)

ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana (at Ilișua)

Cohortes milliariae equitatae: (ca. 1000 part-mounted in late second to third centuries)

cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p.f. c.R. (at *Porolissum* or *Bologa/Rescolum*)

cohors II Brittonum milliaria c.R. p.f. (at *Certia*/Romita)

cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria c.R. (at Orheiul Bistriței)

cohors I Batavorum milliaria c.R. p.f. (at *Certia*/Romita)

cohors I Britannorum milliaria c.R. (at *Cașeiu/Samum*)

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 500 part-mounted in late second to third centuries)

cohors VI Thracum (at *Porolissum*, *Romănași*, or *Romita/Certia*)

cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica (at *Bologa/Rescolum*)

Cohortes milliariae peditatae: (ca. 1000 infantry in late second to third centuries)

cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria (at Bologa/Resculum)

cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria (at Buciumi)

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 500 infantry in late second to third centuries)

cohors I Cannanefatium (origin unknown; at Tihău)

cohors V Lingonum (at Porolissum)

Irregular Units: (ca. 1500 cavalry in late second to third centuries)

numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium sagittariorum (probably from the Palmyrene archers from Dacia Superior; appears late second century; at Porolissum)

numerus Palmyrenorum Optatianensium? (probably from the Palmyrene archers from Dacia Superior; appears late second century; at Optatiana/Sutoru)

numerus M(aurorum?) Optatianensium? (origin unknown; appears late second century; at Optatiana/Sutoru)

The army in Dacia Porolissensis saw some significant changes in the later period. With the transfer of the *legio V Macedonica* in 168 it gained a legion (approximately 5000 legionaries), but its auxiliary troops were reduced from 11,000 under Hadrian to just 5500. Thus, the overall number of soldiers stayed the same (11,000 under Hadrian, 11,000 in the third century), but the types of units were quite different. Within the *auxilia* there is a noteworthy increase in cavalry (approximately 2000 under Hadrian and approximately 3000 in the third century), and a decrease in the infantry and part-mounted units (approximately 6000 part-mounted and 3000 infantry under Hadrian, reduced to approximately 1500 part-mounted and 1500 infantry by the third century). Put in percentages, under Hadrian the *auxilia* of Dacia Porolissensis contained 32% riders (3500) and 68% foot soldiers (7500), but by the third century its *auxilia* contained 56% riders (3375) and 44% (2625) foot soldiers. But if we consider that each legion contained about 100 horsemen, then the total military force of Dacia Porolissensis after the addition of the *legio V Macedonica* included 32% riders (3475)

and 68% foot soldiers (7525). Thus, it would seem that despite the addition of the legion and the decrease of the *auxilia*, the total overall number of men (11,000) and the proportion of horsemen to foot soldiers remained virtually the same after Marcus Aurelius' reforms. The main differences lie in the fact that now 45% of Dacia Porolissensis' army comprised legionaries (rather than 100% auxiliaries, like before), and 25% (1500) of the *auxilia* was now composed of irregular tribal units (*numeri*) that appeared on Dacia's northern frontier for the first time in the late second century.

Conclusions

There are some broad trends that can be observed about the *exercitus Dacicus* over time based on the evidence presented in this chapter. Under Trajan, Dacia contained two legions, which were based in the interior of the province and were responsible for the building of numerous military sites (especially forts and *stationes*) along the major roads of the new province. From the conquest of Dacia by Trajan in 106 until the division of the province into Dacia Inferior, Superior, and Porolissensis under Hadrian, the *legio XIII Gemina* shared the duties of organizing and policing the province with the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* and numerous auxiliary units. The *legio XIII Gemina* was active throughout the province, but primarily within its northern half, with some activity in the southeast, while the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* was concentrated in its efforts within the southwestern sector (Figures 4.1; 4.3). At the beginning of Hadrian's reign, the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* was transferred out of Dacia, leaving the *legio XIII Gemina* as the sole provincial legion until the arrival of the *legio V Macedonica* in 168. The majority of the evidence pointing to the *legio XIII Gemina's* activities outside of *Apulum* comprises brick and tile stamps bearing the

legion's name, which have been found at a large number of sites (almost entirely military sites such as forts). After Hadrian divided Dacia into three separate administrative units, the *legio XIII Gemina* continued to be dispatched in smaller units throughout the three *Daciae* to build and strengthen auxiliary fortifications and other necessary infrastructure.¹⁵⁶⁴ Evidence from Hoghiz (Figure 2.44), *Caput Stenarum*, and Slăveni provides proof that although the *legio XIII Gemina* was stationed in the administrative unit of Dacia Superior after Hadrian's reorganization, the legion continued to be active, albeit to a lesser extent, in Dacia Inferior as well (Figure 4.3).

Although he left Dacia with only one legion, Hadrian increased Dacia's auxiliary forces by 58% (from 19,000 auxiliaries under Trajan to 30,000 auxiliaries). From 118-168, the *legio XIII Gemina's* activities were mostly concentrated within Dacia Superior although there is still evidence that the legion continued to participate in some construction work along the eastern frontier in Dacia Inferior during this period (Figure. 4.3). The legion controlled the Mureş Valley, an important artery which served as the strategic axis and main communication and supply route running east-west through the interior of the province. The road that ran along the length of this valley was also important for connecting Dacia from its western side to the rest of the empire, since the road running along the Mureş crossed the Tisa River at *Partiscum* (on Dacia's western boundary), and crossed the steppe of *barbaricum* in order to reach Pannonia.¹⁵⁶⁵ The legion's zone of action was concentrated within Transylvania, but also extended beyond, into Dacia Inferior. It seems that vexillations of the legion were involved in the construction of auxiliary forts and strategic roads. The

¹⁵⁶⁴ Vlădescu 1983, 32

¹⁵⁶⁵ Gudea 1997, 23 (and further)

legion was also active within Dacia Porolissensis to the north, where it assisted the auxiliary troops that comprised the *Exercitus Daciae Porolissensis*. Unsurprisingly, it seems that the legion was most widespread throughout Dacia and had the greatest number of detachments mobilized away from the base at *Apulum* during the half a century when it was the only legion within the province. Given the extent of the territory for which it was responsible and the range of activities in which its soldiers were engaged, it is quite possible that the legion was never present *in toto* at its base in *Apulum*. At this time its detachments were primarily concentrated in the militarily most important (and vulnerable) areas: the northern sector, the eastern and central area, the mining district, and the Mureş valley.

The garrison for the three Dacian territories by the end of Hadrian's reign comprised 5000 legionaries (one legion) and 30,000 auxiliaries – a total of 35,000 soldiers. This marks a significant increase, especially in the number of auxiliaries, over the garrison in Trajan's time, which comprised 10,000 legionaries (two legions) and only 19,000 auxiliaries. Put another way, Hadrian increased Dacia's auxiliary forces by 58% and decreased the legionary forces by 50%. Thus, overall, from Trajan to Hadrian there was a significant increase in Dacia's army, despite the loss of a legion.

The distribution of troops within the territory of Dacia under Hadrian is also meaningful (Figures 4.8-4.11). Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis both contained auxiliary forces totaling approximately 11,000 men, while Dacia Inferior only had 8000 auxiliaries. But Dacia Superior had double the cavalry troops of Dacia Porolissensis, which had a significantly larger infantry force. In particular, there was a large concentration of *cohortes equitatae* in Dacia Porolissensis – units which were mostly infantry, but which

contained approximately 20-25% cavalry. This makes sense since although Dacia Porolissensis was the smallest of the three territories it contained the longest and most vulnerable portion of the Dacian frontier – jutting out like a peninsula to the north. Its *raison d'être* was to act as a protective buffer zone around the imperial gold mines in the Apuseni Mountains and the salt mines at *Salinae*, Ocna Sibiului, near *Potaissa* and at Sânpaul. Thus, Dacia Porolissensis needed a lot of men to man the forts and many watchtowers along this frontier. These were predominantly infantry troops because they did not need to go anywhere. As part-mounted units, they had small cavalry contingents that could be mobilized quickly when needed. These units were supported by large mobile cavalry troops (*alae*) from the interior (most of which belonged to Dacia Superior), which could mobilize outwards in a radiating pattern towards any of the frontier zones when needed, and which otherwise patrolled the roads and waterways both within the interior of the province and along the routes which connected Dacia to the rest of the Roman empire.

Dacia Inferior had the smallest army (only 8000 auxiliaries), with a similar ratio of mounted to part-mounted to infantry troops as Dacia Superior. Although the territory covered by these troops is geographically larger than that of Dacia Porolissensis, the territory was not as vulnerable nor as important for the Romans. The eastern frontier ran along the Olt river (the so-called *limes Alutanus*), which cuts a narrow gorge through the mountains that constitutes the only easy pass through the Carpathians in this entire area. A Roman road ran along it, from the northeastern frontier in Dacia Porolissensis south all the way to the Danube crossing at *Oescus* (Moesia Inferior). Thus, the function of Dacia Inferior's army was to man the forts that dotted this important pass, to patrol the road, and to maintain this very

important supply chain that connected the northeastern troops with the rest of the empire. Essentially Dacia Inferior was an eastern buffer zone meant to protect the provincial interior, to control both the access into and out of the province from the east/southeast and the access across the mountains into the Transylvanian plateau – the heart of Dacia, where its biggest population centers and economic resources were located. This region was not as exposed as the frontier of Dacia Porolissensis and therefore required less troops. More of these troops were cavalry than in Dacia Porolissensis because this was a different kind of frontier zone – one that required more mobile units since they patrolled an important thoroughfare that crossed through the province and which connected the province to the wider empire. Furthermore, given its proximity to Moesia Inferior, Dacia Inferior could also draw on the large army of Moesia Inferior (including three legions) if necessary.

At the end of the second century, the army of Dacia experienced more important changes. Under Marcus Aurelius, due to the Marcommanic Wars in which Dacia was also involved, another legion was permanently added to the garrison – the *legio V Macedonia* at *Potaissa* (Turda), in the center of Dacia's northern protrusion of Dacia Porolissensis (Figure 4.6). The placement of this second legion makes Roman priorities in Dacia quite clear: the protection of important economic resources, which included the imperial gold mining district around *Alburnus Maior* (also including gold and silver mines around Băiță, Ruda-Brad, Bucium-Corabia, Baia de Arieș, and Pianu de Sus), and the salt mines in northern Dacia (especially at *Salinae*, but also near *Potaissa*, at Ocna Sibiului, and at Sânpaul). Dacia's legions were located less than seventy kilometres from one another, and between them was Dacia's only *ala milliaria* (a double-strength cavalry unit). This substantial concentration of

military manpower ensured the security of these economic resources in the face of a growing threat posed by the peoples beyond the frontier in this portion of the empire.

With the arrival of *legio V Macedonica* in 168, the latter legion took over the legionary defensive positions within Dacia Porolissensis, and *legio XIII Gemina* became more concentrated than ever within the central portion of the province, focusing its efforts further on some of the most important economic areas and principal communication routes of Roman Dacia: the mining district, and the east- and west-central transportation arteries (the Mureş valley and the northern portion of the eastern frontier, at *Caput Stenarum*). The mid-third century legionary stamps that appear in the far south of the province at Drobeta, Răcari, and Slăveni are probably related to military shuffling that was occurring within the last few decades before the Roman abandonment of the province, and had to do with the reinforcement of the Danubian frontier at this time. As discussed earlier, there is plenty of evidence to indicate the presence of several detachments of *legio XIII Gemina* along the northern frontier (e.g., Tihău), but there is no evidence to indicate that these units were replaced by ones from the *legio V Macedonica* after 168. Furthermore, centurions of the *legio V Macedonica* appear as *praepositi* at the head of auxiliary units at *Germisara* and *Orăştioara de Sus*, both south of *Apulum*, and certainly within Dacia Superior/Apulensis, which would fall within the territory of *legio XIII Gemina*. This, combined with the contemporaneous presence of *beneficarii consularis* from both legions at *Samum* on the northern frontier in the third century, constitute strong evidence to indicate that although the legions were located within administratively distinct portions of the province (Dacia Porolissensis and Dacia Superior/Apulensis), these administrative divisions did not necessarily reflect strictly the

broader military territory in which the legions were active – especially after these divisions were formally dissolved by the consolidation of the territories as *III (Tres) Daciae* under Marcus Aurelius. Indeed, although each legion had its main sphere of influence and operation, it is clear that there was some overlap in the region within which the legion's members were active, especially within the heart of the province where both legionary bases were placed quite close to each other, and where the administrative capital (*Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*) and the imperial gold mines were located. Thus, although Dacia was administratively divided, militarily the province functioned as a single unit.

With the addition of the legion, Dacia Porolissensis' *auxilia* was significantly decreased, so that the overall military manpower stayed the same (from 11,000 auxiliaries under Hadrian, to 5000 legionaries + 6000 auxiliaries = 11,000 under Marcus Aurelius). Within the auxiliaries there is a significant increase in mounted troops (including several *numeri*) and a decrease in the proportion of infantry and part-mounted troops. So the *auxilia* of Dacia Porolissensis becomes more mobile in the later period – but this may have been to off-set the significant number of foot-soldiers that were brought in as part of the *legio V Macedonica*. Dacia Superior also maintained its overall number of soldiers (5000 legionaries + 11,000 auxiliaries, both under Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius), but here too the nature of the *auxilia* changes. In Dacia Superior the largest number of new troops appear in the late second and in the third centuries, and in the composition of *auxilia* there is an increase in the proportion of part-mounted and infantry units to cavalry. Dacia Inferior, on the other hand, saw a significant decrease in its troops – from 8000 auxiliaries under Hadrian to just 3000 by the third century (a 63% decrease). If this picture is accurate, then it would

seem that this area of Dacia was de-militarized to a significant degree. The threat from the north was probably deemed greater than any potential threat from the southeast, especially given the attacks during the Marcommanic Wars that came from the north and northwest. The north was also more vulnerable geographically and topographically from attacks, since the southeastern portion of the province was much harder to penetrate due to the mountains which left only a few passes open that could more easily be guarded by a smaller number of units. Thus, it makes sense that the troops became more concentrated in the north and central portions of Dacia – especially since that is where the gold and salt mines were located (Figures 4.12-4.15). At the same time, in the early third century Dacia's southeastern frontier (in Dacia Inferior) was shifted east a bit through the creation of the *limes Transalutanus* (Figure 2.39). This new route provided a much shorter connection between Dacia's easternmost fort at Brețcu and the empire south of the Danube. Thus, a smaller but more mobile auxiliary force was all that was needed to patrol and maintain this shortened supply line – hence the overall decrease of Dacia Inferior's army (but an increase in the proportion of its mounted troops).

A final noteworthy aspect of the *exercitus Dacicus* is the appearance of various irregular auxiliary units, most of which appear towards the end of the second century in the form of *numeri*.¹⁵⁶⁶ The 'ethnic' units included Syrian and Palmyrene archers and Mauri and Illyrian horsemen, and these were led by their own native commanders or by Roman officers (it was common for *numeri* to be commanded by legionary centurions as *praepositi*, as is attested in Dacia).¹⁵⁶⁷ Several of these units may have participated in the Dacian Wars and

¹⁵⁶⁶ See also Strobel 1984, 146-152

¹⁵⁶⁷ Discussed in the section on the *legio V Macedonica*.

stayed in Dacia after 106, but the extant datable evidence for the appearance of the Palmyrene archers (the first to show up) starts with the reign of Hadrian (Figures 4.11; 4.15). The military diplomas for Dacia Superior from 120 and 126 indicate the presence of *Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria qui sunt in Dacia Superiore* (“the Palmyrene archers from Syria who are in Dacia Superior”).¹⁵⁶⁸ This constitutes the earliest attestation of Palmyrenes in the Roman army. They may have been brought to Dacia by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign to help quell the war that had broken out in western Dacia.¹⁵⁶⁹ The Palmyrene archers appear to have eventually been organized into three *numeri*:¹⁵⁷⁰ one is attested at *Tibiscum* (Dacia Superior), and two in Dacia Porolissensis (one each at *Porolissum* and *Optatiana*).¹⁵⁷¹

The diplomas from 145-146 and 158 also attest to the presence of *vexil(larii) Afric(ae) et Mau[r]et(aniae) Caes(ariensis) qui sunt cum Mauris gentilib(us) in Dacia Super(iore)* (“the oldest veterans of Africa and Mauretania Caesariensis who are in Dacia Superior together with the *Mauri* tribesmen”).¹⁵⁷² It seems these diplomas only granted citizenship to the *vexillarii* – the oldest class of veterans from various auxiliary units from these two provinces (Africa Proconsularis and Mauretania Caesariensis).¹⁵⁷³ The mention of *Mauri gentiles* is significant since it constitutes one of only three known examples of irregular units of *Gentiles* as part of the Roman army during the second and third centuries. One of the other such units are the *Gothi Gentiles* attested in Arabia in the early third century (in 208). In the late second century, the *Mauri* in Dacia were also organized into *numeri* (Figure

¹⁵⁶⁸ See Table 1.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Tentea 2011

¹⁵⁷⁰ Petolescu 2002, 41, fn.1; Németh 1997, 102-103 (no.1); On the Palmyrene archers in these two diplomas (and in Dacia more broadly) see the discussion by Tentea 2011.

¹⁵⁷¹ See Tentea 2012 on the Syrian units in Dacia.

¹⁵⁷² Németh 1997, 103-105 (no.2); Eck and Pangerl 2014, 271-272

¹⁵⁷³ Matei-Popescu 2015, 414

4.15). There was a *numerus Maurorum Hispanorum* at *Ampelum*, where its function must have been to secure the mining district. The other *numeri* (Palmyrene archers, Mauri, and a unit of *Germanicianorum*) were also stationed at strategic locations within the provincial network: *Tibiscum*, Orăștioara de Sus, and *Micia* within the interior along one of Dacia's most important roads, and at *Porolissum* and *Optatiana* (Sutoru) on the most important sector of the northern frontier.

CHAPTER 5

THE *EXERCITUS ARABICUS*

THE LEGIONS

Legio VI Ferrata

(Figure 5.1)

The *legio VI* was probably created in the winter of 53 BCE or the spring of 52 BCE in Gallia Cisalpina, during the revolt of Vercingetorix.¹⁵⁷⁴ The legion is first attested historically in Caesar's *De bello Gallico* (7.90.7; 8.4.3), alongside *legio XIII Gemina* in the winter of 52 BCE, when the two legions were stationed at *Matisco* and *Cabillonum* (in the territory of the Aedui). It participated in Caesar's campaign in Hispania and took part in the battle at *Ilerda*.¹⁵⁷⁵ Later it is mentioned at *Dyrrachium* where it withstood an attack against four legions under the command of Pompey,¹⁵⁷⁶ and after that it participated in the battle of *Pharsalus*.¹⁵⁷⁷ Later it was the only legion to accompany Caesar to Syria, and partook in the battle at *Zela* in which Caesar defeated the Pharnaces.¹⁵⁷⁸ Caesar then sent the significantly decimated legion (down to some 1000 soldiers after battle losses) back to Italia, "so they would receive prizes and honors" (*ad praemia atque honores accipiendos*).¹⁵⁷⁹ The discharge of its veterans may have been delayed so that the legion could participate in the war against

¹⁵⁷⁴ Urloi 2013, 103-104; Cotton 2000; Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 6.1; Ritterling 1925, 1587; Keppie 1984, 88, 97, 100; Strobel 2002, 58; Farnum 2005, 19

¹⁵⁷⁵ Keppie 1984, 207; Farnum 2005, 20

¹⁵⁷⁶ Suetonius, *Caesar* 68.3

¹⁵⁷⁷ Keppie 1984a, 105; Farnum 2005, 20; Urloi 2013, 104

¹⁵⁷⁸ Caesar(?), *De bello Alexandrino* 33.3; 69.1; 76.1; Farnum 2005, 20

¹⁵⁷⁹ Caesar(?), *De bello Alexandrino* 77.2; Ritterling 1925, 1588

Pompey's sons, but afterwards the legion was apparently disbanded and its veterans were given land to found a *colonia* at *Arelate* (Arles) in Gallia Narbonensis, which ultimately became *Colonia Iulia Paterna Arelatensium Sextanorum*.¹⁵⁸⁰

The legion was reconstituted in 44 BCE by M. Aemilius Lepidus (who was governor of Gallia Narbonensis after the death of Caesar), along with the *legio X* (later known as *legio X Fretensis*).¹⁵⁸¹ It was then transferred to the command of M. Antony and fought at *Philippi* (where it may have received the epithet *Macedonica*) before heading east with him.¹⁵⁸² Its name *Ferrata*, which may have been conferred on it by Caesar or after the victory at *Philippi*, is attested for the first time in an inscription from *Beneventum* from 41 BCE.¹⁵⁸³ Its symbol was the *lupa* (she-wolf) with Romulus and Remus.¹⁵⁸⁴ The legion fought in M. Antony's Parthian war in 36 BCE, then at *Actium*, after which it became part of Octavian's army.¹⁵⁸⁵

It was then transferred to Syria, but its base during the reign of Augustus is not known.¹⁵⁸⁶ According to Tacitus, in the year 18 the legion was in garrison somewhere near *Laodicea ad mare* (Latakia, Syria).¹⁵⁸⁷ It might have been at *Apamea* or at *Raphanaea*.¹⁵⁸⁸ The veterans of the *legio VI Ferrata* are later attested in *Colonia Claudia Ptolemais* created by Claudius in 52-54.¹⁵⁸⁹ Under Nero the *legio VI Ferrata* was sent with Cn. Domitius Corbulo to Armenia, where it participated in the siege of *Volandum*, and in the offensive against

¹⁵⁸⁰ Strabo, *Geographia* 4.1.6; Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 3.36; Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* 2.68; Caesar, *De bello Hispaniensi* 12.5; Keppie 1984, 111-112; Farnum 2005, 20; Urloiu 2013, 104; ILS 8862 (from *Ephesus*)

¹⁵⁸¹ Brunt 1971, 477; Keppie 1984, 118, 133; Strobel 2002, 58; Farnum 2005, 20; Urloiu 2013, 105

¹⁵⁸² Appian, *Bella civilia* 5.3; Ritterling 1925, 1588; Keppie 1984, 121, 133, 207; ILS 8862

¹⁵⁸³ CIL 9.1613; Keppie 1984, 121, 138, 207

¹⁵⁸⁴ Keppie 1984, 140

¹⁵⁸⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1588; Keppie 1984, 134, 157

¹⁵⁸⁶ Urloiu 2013, 105

¹⁵⁸⁷ Tacitus, *Annales* 2.79, 81; Keppie 1984, 193; Farnum 2005, 20, 81; Urloiu 2013, 106

¹⁵⁸⁸ Parker 1928, 128; Keppie 1984, 193; Wheeler 1996, 230

¹⁵⁸⁹ Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 5.75; Keppie 1986, 415

Artaxata and *Tigranocerta*.¹⁵⁹⁰ It fought in Armenia from 55-63. After that it participated in the first Jewish War.¹⁵⁹¹ The legion was then part of the substantial military force taken by C. Licinius Mucianus on his expedition to Italy against Vitellius.¹⁵⁹² When it arrived in Moesia, the *legio VI Ferrata* fought off a Dacian attack on the province, and then eventually reached Rome with Mucianus in December of 69.¹⁵⁹³ The legion returned to Syria shortly after the end of the civil war.¹⁵⁹⁴ Under the Flavians, and until Trajan's Parthian War, the *legio VI Ferrata* was most likely in garrison at *Raphanaea*. It participated in the annexation of *Commagene* in 72.¹⁵⁹⁵

Under Trajan, a *vexillatio* of the legion was sent across the Danube to fight in the first Dacian War (101-102). It was stationed at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Grădiștea Muncelului, Romania) in the period between the wars (102-105) as part of the Roman occupying force. The names of three legions were inscribed on limestone blocks in the outer wall of the rebuilt Dacian fortress at *Sarmizegetusa Regia*: the *legio III Flavia*,¹⁵⁹⁶ the *legio II Adiutrix pia fidelis*,¹⁵⁹⁷ and the *legio VI Ferrata*.¹⁵⁹⁸ These legionary forces rebuilt and modified the outer wall of the Dacian fortress (which had been largely destroyed during the first Dacian War), and thus transformed it into a small Roman *castrum* (Figure 2.9).¹⁵⁹⁹ Strobel and Speidel have argued that the *legio VI Ferrata* participated in its entirety in the Dacian Wars, but

¹⁵⁹⁰ Urloiu 2013, 106-107; Tacitus, *Annales* 13.8.1-2, 38-41; 14.23-25

¹⁵⁹¹ Flavius Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 2.18.9; 2.19.4, 7; Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 4.5; Urloiu 2013, 108

¹⁵⁹² Tacitus, *Historiae* 2.83.1; Farnum 2005, 20

¹⁵⁹³ Tacitus, *Historiae* 3.46.2; 4.11.1

¹⁵⁹⁴ Urloiu 2013, 108

¹⁵⁹⁵ IGLS 4.1400=CIL 3.14165; Ritterling 1925, 1590; Wheeler 1996, 256; Farnum 2005, 20, 81; Urloiu 2013, 109; Flavius Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 7.7.1

¹⁵⁹⁶ IDR III/3.269 a-c=AE 2001.1716; Glodariu 1966, 430; Protase 1967, 53-56

¹⁵⁹⁷ IDR III/3.268=AE 1983.824

¹⁵⁹⁸ IDR III/3.270=AE 1983.825: *vex(illatio) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae)*

¹⁵⁹⁹ Opreanu 1999-2000; Piso 2000, 211-212

others maintain that it must have been just a *vexillatio*.¹⁶⁰⁰ Indeed, by 106 the legion was active again in the east, where it formed one of the two legions responsible for the takeover of the Nabataean kingdom.

The *legio VI Ferrata*'s role in the annexation of Arabia and its presence in the new province during the first decades after 106 has been heavily debated by scholars, as discussed in the previous chapter. We know from Cassius Dio (68.14) that it was "...Palma, the governor of Syria, [who] subdued the (region of) Arabia around *Petra* and made it subject to the Romans," from which scholars have naturally assumed that the core of the Roman annexation force (led by Palma) would have been drawn from Syrian troops, and especially from one or more Syrian legions.¹⁶⁰¹ Indeed, the Syrian *legio VI Ferrata* is attested in Arabia during the first generation after annexation. But documentary evidence (papyri from *Karanis*) proves that the *legio III Cyrenaica* from Egypt was present and active in the newly annexed territory already in 107. A heated scholarly debate has revolved around the date of the transfer of the *legio III Cyrenaica* from Egypt to Arabia, and around the question of whether the *legio VI Ferrata* was actually part of Arabia's garrison during the first two decades of Roman rule.

Gerasa (Jerash, Jordan)

By the beginning of Hadrian's reign, it seems the *legio VI Ferrata* was in Arabia. The primary evidence is a fragmentary inscription from *Gerasa*, most recently (re)dated to the

¹⁶⁰⁰ Strobel 1988, 251-253; Strobel 2010, 278, 364; Speidel 2009a, 150=Strobel 2002, pp??; Dąbrowa 1998, 89 (n. 889); Wheeler 2010, 1202 (n.33); Urloiu 2013, 110

¹⁶⁰¹ Kennedy 2004, 46

beginning of Hadrian's reign (118/119).¹⁶⁰² It has been the subject of much debate with regard to its date and the correct reconstruction of the original text.¹⁶⁰³ In 1980, David Kennedy proposed the following reading:¹⁶⁰⁴

...U]lpiae *fideli*...
Provinciae ?] *Arabiae*
Vexill(ationis)] leg. VI Ferr(atae)
imp(eratore) Caes(are) T]raiano Hadriano
Aug(usto) trib. pote]st. III cos [III]
 ...]runt ex *Alex[andria]*

Kennedy, later supported by Hannah Cotton, convincingly argued against prior readings and dates attributed to this inscription. Cotton accepted much of Kennedy's reading with some important edits. She proposed the more likely reading *piae fideli[s]* instead of *U]lpiae fideli[---]*.¹⁶⁰⁵ *Pia fidelis*, if correct, is a legionary epithet known to have been conferred on eight different legions.¹⁶⁰⁶ She also completed some of the *lacunae* differently based on the hypothesis that this inscription might have been a senatorial *cursus honorem*, dedicated to the governor of Arabia who was therefore also *legatus legionis*. She suggests that this would have been M. Paccius Silvanus Quintus Corredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus,¹⁶⁰⁷ the second governor of Arabia (i.e., the successor of C. Claudius Severus). Antiquus was named suffect consul in 119, which would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the inscription.¹⁶⁰⁸ Cotton supported Kennedy's reading of *cos. [III]* in the fifth line, which would date the

¹⁶⁰² AE 1983.937; Jones 1928, 146-147 (no.3) dated it to 121 or 131, Welles 1938, 435 (no.171) dated it to 130, Bowersock 1970, 43 dated it to 123; Pflaum 1982, 35-36 dated it to 121, while Kennedy 1980a, 297-299 and Cotton 2000, 354-356 both dated it to 118/119.

¹⁶⁰³ See Urloiu 2011 for a lengthy discussion of the problem, including all the different readings.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Kennedy 1980a, 297-299

¹⁶⁰⁵ Cotton 2000, 354-357

¹⁶⁰⁶ *I Adiutrix, I Minervia, II Adiutrix, VII Claudia, XI Claudia, XIII Gemina, and XXII Primigenia*

¹⁶⁰⁷ AE 1971.551=IGLS 13.1, 9063

¹⁶⁰⁸ AE 1979.62. See Dąbrowa 1995, 100 for his career.

inscription to sometime between December 10, 118 and December 9, 119. Cotton's reading is as follows:

[Q. Coredio Q. F. Quir.]
 [Gallo Gargilio Antiquo]
 [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]
 [. legato leg.]
 [. a]e piae fidei[s. legato Aug.]
 [pr. pr. provinciae] Arabiae, [cos. designat.]
 [milites] leg. VI Ferr[at[(ae)]
 [qui Imp. Caesar T]raiano Hadriano [Aug.]
 [tribunic. pote]st. III cos. [III]
 [feliciter redie]runt ex Alex[andria] [ob merita]

Cotton's reading and date for the inscription are the most convincing of the ones proposed thus far. By itself this inscription does not definitively prove *legio VI Ferrata's* presence in Arabia, but it certainly makes it likely that the legion was part of Arabia's garrison at the very beginning of Hadrian's reign. Cotton argues that this reading would indicate that the *legio VI Ferrata* was sent to *Alexandria* to quell the Jewish revolt and then was transferred to Arabia (not before 119).¹⁶⁰⁹ The *legio VI Ferrata* would have replaced the *legio III Cyrenaica*, at least part of which had been sent to fight the Parthians.¹⁶¹⁰ This transfer must have happened at the very end of Trajan's reign at the earliest, since we know the *legio VI Ferrata* was fighting in Armenia in 114-115.¹⁶¹¹

¹⁶⁰⁹ Cotton 2000, 355

¹⁶¹⁰ Urloiu 2011, 211-212

¹⁶¹¹ Urloiu 2013, 113; CIL 10.5829=ILS 2726; AE 1911.161=ILS 9471; AE 1950.66=AE 1951.27=AE 1952.94; Ritterling 1925, 1591; Farnum 2005, 20; Strobel 2010, 367

Bostra (Bosra, Syria) and Umm er-Rumman (Jordan)

In addition to the *Gerasa* inscription, there are a few other inscriptions that attest to the presence of *legio VI Ferrata* in Arabia. An epitaph from *Bostra*, the capital of the province and the location of *legio III Cyrenaica*'s legionary base, commemorates T. Flavius Marcianus, who was originally from Philadelphia (*domo Philad(elphia)*), and who was serving as an *op(tio) hast(ati) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae)* when he died.¹⁶¹² The epitaph was erected by his mother (Flavia Luculla) and sister (Flavia Ialla), who were his heirs. The fact that Marcianus died at *Bostra* while serving in the *legio VI Ferrata*, that his mother and sister were seemingly living there too, and that he was originally from *Philadelphia* (a city in Arabia) all suggest that the *legio VI Ferrata* was stationed in Arabia (and locally recruiting there) while Marcianus was in its service. Although it cannot be independently dated, the epitaph must date to this same period at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, when it seems the legion was stationed in the province. Another undated inscription was found at Umm er-Rumman, located approximately thirteen kilometres south of *Gerasa*, which reads simply *Leg(io) VI F[errata]*, probably indicating building activity of the legion during its stay in Arabia.¹⁶¹³

Havarra (Humayma, Jordan)

During recent excavations in the Trajanic fort at *Havarra* (Humayma, Jordan) in southern Arabia (originally built by a *vexillatio* of the *legio III Cyrenaica*), a statue base was discovered in the *principia* bearing a few legible letters which read

¹⁶¹² IGLS 13.1.9179=AE 1909.132=AE 1974.659=PES 541; Sartre 1974; Sartre 1982, 78-80; Kennedy 2004, ; Speidel 1977, 698

¹⁶¹³ IGLS 21.29; Kennedy 2004, 119 (no.11); Urloiu 2011, 214-215

“...]*PRAESENTEMPLLEGAT*[...” or “...]*PRAESENTEMERAT*[...”¹⁶¹⁴ The text has been taken as potential evidence for the presence of at least part of the *legio VI Ferrata* in Arabia at the end of Trajan’s reign, since C. Bruttius Praesens L. Fulvius Rusticus was known to have been its commander (*legatus legionis*) in the period around 114-116. If this reading and dating is correct, then this would add further evidence to the theory that the *legio VI Ferrata* or a detachment thereof was transferred from *Artaxata* in Armenia to Arabia while the *legio III Cyrenaica* (or a portion thereof) was sent to the Parthian front,¹⁶¹⁵ and that it manned the fort at *Havarra* during this brief period.

Farasan Island (Saudi Arabia)

The most recent inscription was found very far south beyond Roman Arabia, on the main island of the Farasan Archipelago, located off the Saudi Arabian coast in the southern Red Sea just 500 kilometres north of the straits of Bab el-Mandeb.¹⁶¹⁶ The archipelago consists of some 200 islands, of which two are significantly larger than the rest. The closest part of the Roman empire was Egypt’s southern border, about 1000 kilometres to the north.¹⁶¹⁷ On this very distant outpost, two recently discovered inscriptions have indicated the presence of the Roman army on these islands. The first inscription, which is very legible and intact, was found in the present-day cemetery serving Farasan town. It was dedicated to

¹⁶¹⁴ Oleson *et al.* 2002, 110-112; Kennedy 2004, 197 (no.3); see PIR² B 161, 164

¹⁶¹⁵ For evidence of the *legio III Cyrenaica* on the Parthian front: Urloiu 2011, 215, 218; The soldiers of the *legio III Cyrenaica* dedicated a triumphal arch to Trajan in *Dura-Europos* to celebrate a victory over the Parthians (AE 1982.182, 904; Bowersock 1983, 84-85; Gould 1933, 56-65; Gould 1936, 480-482), and in Syria a coin hoard was found which included three coins bearing the stamp of the *legio III Cyrenaica* (Kindler 1983, 41).

¹⁶¹⁶ Villeneuve 2007; Speidel 2007

¹⁶¹⁷ Villeneuve *et al.* 2004, 143-149 and Villeneuve 2007, 18, 20-21 for the geographical context of the Farasan archipelago.

Antoninus Pius between 143-144 by a *vexill(atio) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) Fortis et auxili(ia) eius castrensesque* (“vexillation of the *legio II Traiana Fortis* and its auxiliary troops and *castrenses*”), under the *praef(ectus) Ferresani portus et Ponti(i?) Herculis*.¹⁶¹⁸ Villeneuve has suggested that in this context *castrenses* refers to a unit of local recruits affiliated with the legion who are distinct from the normal Roman auxiliaries and legionaries, or perhaps a term to refer to the local civilian population.¹⁶¹⁹ The names *Ferresani portus* (*portus* of *Ferresan* or *Ferresanum*?) and *Pontus Herculis* (the Sea of *Hercules*?) are attested here for the first time. The *legio II Traiana Fortis* was sent to Egypt by 128 to replace the *legio III Cyrenaica* at the *Nikopolis* base of *Alexandria* since the latter legion had been transferred to Arabia.

The second inscription, found a few years later, consists of the bottom right corner of a block that bore a monumental inscription within a *tabula ansata* – originally it must have been installed on a large structure, probably at a significant height. Its findspot was within the ruins of Al-Qusar, which in ancient times had been a significant town and in modern times is a recently abandoned village.¹⁶²⁰ The site is a two-hour walk from the findspot of the other inscription, indicating that they possibly came from different structures or sites. The few letters that are extant read: “...JVFERR / ...JPRPR”.¹⁶²¹ Although there are several ways to fill the *lacunae* and interpret these letters, the most plausible reconstruction is provided by Villeneuve:

¹⁶¹⁸ AE 2005.1638=AE 2010.1761; Villeneuve *et al.* 2004; with corrections by Villeneuve 2004, 419-429; Villeneuve 2007, 20-22; Nappo 2015, 66. N.B. In the word *portus* only the *P* and the top of the *O* are very legible.

¹⁶¹⁹ Villeneuve 2007, 22

¹⁶²⁰ Villeneuve 2007, 23

¹⁶²¹ Villeneuve 2007, 22-25

.....

 [.....*vexill(atio) leg(ionis)*] *VI Ferr(atae)*
 [*sub*..... *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*
[Ce monument....?]
[a été érigé....?]¹⁶²²

If reconstructed correctly this inscription would indicate that a detachment of the *legio VI Ferrata* was stationed on Farasan, where it built and dedicated some type of structure or monument on the authority of a provincial governor. It is noteworthy, in light of the first inscription that contained an Egyptian legion, that this second inscription indicates the authority of a governor of a province other than Egypt (since the governor of the latter was a *praefectus*).¹⁶²³ Given the presence of the *legio VI Ferrata* and the location of the Farasan archipelago, this was most likely the governor of Arabia.

Thus, it would seem that during its stay in Arabia at the very beginning of Hadrian's reign, a detachment of the legion was sent far south, over 1000 kilometres beyond what has normally been considered to be the southernmost boundary of Roman Arabia, seemingly to build and garrison a military outpost in the southern Red Sea. We can hypothesize that it was stationed there until the legion was transferred from Arabia to Judaea (seemingly before the Bar Kokhba Revolt), at which point (or maybe after the Bar Kokhba Revolt) it was replaced on Farasan by a detachment from the Egyptian legion attested in the first inscription (*legio II Traiana Fortis*). Since Nabataean painted fineware (as well as Roman and Byzantine pottery) has been documented at Gharrain¹⁶²⁴ and two Nabataean coins were

¹⁶²² Villeneuve 2007, 24

¹⁶²³ Villeneuve 2007, 24

¹⁶²⁴ Cooper and Zazzaro 2014, 155. Nabataean sherds have also been recently excavated at *Adulis* (Eritrea), the port of the ancient Kingdom of Aksum which lies just southwest of the Farasan archipelago on the western

found at Disan on Farasan Island,¹⁶²⁵ it is possible that this area was at least an outpost under Nabataean control, which was then taken over by the Romans after the annexation.¹⁶²⁶ As Speidel has argued, the presence of a military base here, manned by legionaries and auxiliaries under the command of a provincial governor, would in itself indicate that this island technically belonged to the territory of the Roman empire (first to *provincia Arabia*, before being transferred to the jurisdiction of the *praefectus Aegypti*).¹⁶²⁷ In that sense, it was not really ‘outside the empire’, especially if it was connected to Arabia and Egypt through the military network of the Red Sea fleet. In this sense, the Farasan archipelago was simply a southern extension of the Roman empire, which appears to have finally gained control of the Red Sea at this time.

The presence of Roman troops on the Farasan islands during the first half of the second century would support the existence of a Roman Red Sea fleet (*classis Maris Rubri*), which would have been necessary to securely connect the soldiers at this southern outpost with the rest of the empire, most likely through the southernmost Egyptian Red Sea port of *Berenike*.¹⁶²⁸ The dating also makes good sense, since all of our current evidence for a *classis Maris Rubri* indicates that it was created by Trajan.¹⁶²⁹ Thus, the annexation of Nabataea would have undoubtedly been part of a larger strategy to gain control over the southeastern trade routes (the Incense Road on land, and the Red Sea shipping routes to India). Indeed, we know from Pliny the Elder that prior to Trajan the Roman commercial vessels in the Red

coast of the Red Sea (Zazzaro *et al.* 2014, 544-546). Thus, new information is starting to shed light on Nabataean activities and trade contacts in this region.

¹⁶²⁵ Villeneuve 2007, 20 (fn.19)

¹⁶²⁶ Speidel 2007, 305

¹⁶²⁷ Speidel 2007

¹⁶²⁸ Nappo 2015, 66-67; On *Berenike* and its location see Sidebotham 2002; Sidebotham 2011.

¹⁶²⁹ Nappo 2015

Sea, which annually moved between Egyptian ports and India, were accompanied by cohorts of archers (*cohortibus sagittariorum*) to protect them from pirates that were all over these islands.¹⁶³⁰

Based on the evidence just discussed, it seems the *legio VI Ferrata* participated in the annexation of Arabia, alongside the *legio III Cyrenaica* from Egypt. Afterwards the entire legion or a detachment thereof was sent to Armenia (where it is attested 114-115), then as early as 116 it may have been transferred to Arabia (where a detachment was in garrison at *Havarra*), where it replaced the *legio III Cyrenaica* that had been sent to the Parthian front. While in Arabia, the whole legion (or more likely a detachment) may have been sent to *Alexandria* to quell the Jewish revolt. It stayed in Arabia until sometime in the beginning of Hadrian's reign (as early as 119, but certainly before 127), when the *legio VI Ferrata* was permanently transferred from Arabia to Judaea, leaving the *legio III Cyrenaica* as the only legion in Arabia until the end of the third century. During its time in Arabia the *legio VI Ferrata* is attested at *Gerasa*, *Bostra*, near *Philadelphia*, at *Havarra*, and on the Farasan archipelago in the southern Red Sea (Figure 5.1).

¹⁶³⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 6.101; Villeneuve 2007, 16

Legio III Cyrenaica

(Figure 5.2)

The origin of the *legio III Cyrenaica* still eludes us. All that can be deduced is that it was created sometime at the end of the Roman Republic, but the exact circumstances and date of its creation are unknown.¹⁶³¹ Epigraphic evidence proves the legion was already stationed in Egypt by 11.¹⁶³² Its home base was the *Nikopolis* fortress at *Alexandria*, which it shared with the *legio XXII Deiotariana*.

The earliest evidence for the presence of the *legio III Cyrenaica* in Arabia dates to the first year after the Roman annexation. On March 26, 107, C. Julius Apollinarius wrote a letter to his father (C. Julius Sabinus), which was found among the papyri of a house in *Karanis* (Egypt).¹⁶³³ In the letter it is clear that Apollinarius is serving in a legion, and he informs his father that he is enrolled “in the cohort going to *Bostra*. It lies eight days’ journey from *Petra*...”¹⁶³⁴ Although the legion is not mentioned by name in this letter, evidence provided by other papyri from *Karanis* suggests that Apollinarius must have belonged to the *III Cyrenaica*. First, a receipt found in the same house (dated to 96-98) reveals that Gaius Iulius Sabinus (the father) had himself been στρατιώτης λεγεῶνος τρίτης Κυρηναϊκῆς (“a

¹⁶³¹ Ritterling 1925, 1506-1517; Devijver 1974, 455-456; Pollard and Berry 2012, 156; Urloiu 2014, 68-70. For the most up-to-date discussion about the legion in the first century (with associated bibliography) see Wolff 2000a, 339-340. We possess no more information regarding the legion’s origin today than what was available to Ritterling nearly a century ago, but numerous papyri and inscriptions since then have provided a more complete prosopography of the legion in Egypt during the first century.

¹⁶³² AE 1910.207, mentioning a tribune of the third legion who was a prefect of *Mons Berenike* in Egypt’s Eastern Desert. The name Cyrenaica was first used a little later in an inscription for a military tribune (Ehrenberg and Jones 1955, 368). It was undoubtedly one of the three legions that Strabo places in Egypt under Augustus (Pollard and Berry 2012, 156).

¹⁶³³ P.Mich.466

¹⁶³⁴ “...ἐστράτευσάν <με> ἰς χῶ[ρ]την εἰς Βόστραν. κάθηται [π]ρὸ ἡ ἡμερῶν Πέτρας...”

soldier of the *legio III Cyrenaica*).¹⁶³⁵ The fact that his son followed him into service within the same legion (a common pattern in the Roman empire) is furthermore indicated by the long list of κοντουβερνάριοι (*contubernales*) who send Sabinus their greetings through Apollinarius' letter from 107. A contract from 119 provides the final proof: it records that some grain land and olive groves in *Karanis* were leased out by Gaius Julius Apollinarius, who is στρατιώτης λεγεῶνος γ Κυρηναϊκῆς ("a soldier of the *legio III Cyrenaica*") and φρουμεντάριος Ῥώμης ("a *frumentarius* of Rome").¹⁶³⁶ Because this letter dates to the period when the *legio III Cyrenaica* was stationed in Arabia, it tells us that Apollinarius was acting as a *frumentarius* in Arabia. *Frumentarii* acted as special police, conducting executions, arrests, and domestic espionage – they were a type of 'secret service' or 'secret police'.¹⁶³⁷ At the provincial level they were usually part of the governor's *officium*, although they could also function semi-independently along with military requisition officials or civilian tax collectors.¹⁶³⁸ *Frumentarii* mingled with soldiers and civilians and gathered information for the governor or emperor, among other tasks.¹⁶³⁹

Apollinarius' letter provides valuable information on the presence and activities of the Roman army immediately after the annexation of Nabataea. First, it provides proof that the *legio III Cyrenaica*, which was to become the permanent legion of Roman Arabia, was present from the very beginning of the province's creation, and therefore likely participated

¹⁶³⁵ P.Mich.571

¹⁶³⁶ P.Mich.562; for a brief overview of the papyri documenting the activities, contracts and private correspondence of C. Iulius Apollinarius and his family (including his father C. Iulius Sabinus), see Husselman 1971, 5-8. As a final point, despite their Latin names, it is clear that both Apollinarius and Sabinus are Egyptian (as indicated by the characteristically Egyptian names of Apollinarius' mother/Sabinus' wife and Apollinarius' sisters), and since few Egyptians are found serving in legions outside of Egypt, one can infer from that alone that they likely served in a legion from Egypt (see Speidel 1977, 692).

¹⁶³⁷ Fuhrmann 2011, 151-157

¹⁶³⁸ Fuhrmann 2011, 153. We mostly know about them from civilian complaints about excessive exactions.

¹⁶³⁹ Fuhrmann 2011, 154

in the actual annexation. Whether the whole legion was present at this early date or just a detachment is unclear – Apollinarius indicates that he is enrolled “in the cohort going to *Bostra*”, from which we can infer that there were at least two cohorts of the legion present in Arabia at this time (his cohort, and another one). When he wrote the letter to his father, however, he appears to be at *Petra* (since he is about to go to *Bostra*, which he says “lies eight days’ journey from *Petra*”). Finally, in both this letter to his father (March 26, 107) and in a letter to his mother (February 20, 108),¹⁶⁴⁰ Apollinarius describes how his fellow soldiers are preoccupied with “cutting building stones all day long”, and he expresses gratitude to *Sarapis* that, as an officer, he does not have to participate in such hard labor.¹⁶⁴¹ These explicit references to stone-cutting at *Petra* (in 107) and (likely) at *Bostra* (in 108, if his cohort had already moved there by then, as suggested by the 107 letter) imply building work – probably roads (in particular the *Via Nova Traiana*) and other military installations. At *Petra* this may have included the construction of a city wall on the North Ridge, which was built around this time, and which may have been part of the Roman army’s effort to fortify itself in the city in order to secure the newly annexed territory.¹⁶⁴²

¹⁶⁴⁰ P.Mich.465, addressed to his mother Tasoucharion, also found in that same house at *Karanis*.

¹⁶⁴¹ P.Mich.465: ἐνχαρισ[τῷ δὲ] τῷ Ζαράπιδι καὶ [Ἀγαθῇ] Τύχῃ ὅτι πάν[των κο]πιώντων ὅλην [τὴν ἡμ]έραν κοπτόντων λίθους ἐγὼ ὡς πριγκ[ι]πᾶλις διακινῶ μηθὲν ποιῶν (“I give thanks to Sarapis and Good Fortune that while all are laboring the whole day through at cutting stones I as an officer move about doing nothing.”); P.Mich.466: γίνετα[ι δὲ καλῶς μοι. μετὰ τὸ τὸν Σάραπιν εὐτυχῶ[ς ἐνθάδε με εὐδῶσαι ἄ]λλων ἀλ[λ.]...[...][ν [ὅ]λης τῆς [ἡμέρ]ας λίθους κοπτ[ό]ντων καὶ [ἄλλα π]οιούντων, ἐγὼ μέχρι σή[μερον] οὐθὲν τούτων ἔπαθον (“Things are [going well for me. After] Sarapis [brought me here] in safety,...while others...all day long were cutting building stones and doing other things, until today I endured none of these hardships...”) In terms of his position within the legion, he reveals in the letter to his father (P.Mich.466) that he asked the *consularis* (τὸν ὑπατικόν) to become a secretary on his staff (λιβράριον ἑαυτοῦ), but because there were no openings at that time he was instead promoted to be secretary of the legion with hopes of advancement (ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ λιβράριόν σε λεγεῶνος ποιήσω ἐφ’ ἐλπίδων), thus becoming *cornicularius* of the legion (τὸν κορνικουλάριον).

¹⁶⁴² Parker 2015

Although there is debate about the precise date when the *legio III Cyrenaica* became the permanent legionary garrison of Arabia, what is clear is that at least a detachment of the legion was present and active in the province for at least part (and likely most) of the first two decades of Roman rule.¹⁶⁴³ It was probably part of the Roman annexation force and stayed in the province afterwards. Indeed, probably as early as 106 the *legio XV Apollinaris* had been transferred from *Carnuntum*, Pannonia to Alexandria, likely as a replacement for the *legio III Cyrenaica* that was now at *Bostra*.¹⁶⁴⁴ It appears at least a detachment of the *legio III Cyrenaica* was sent to fight the Parthians at the end of Trajan's reign (after 114/115). The soldiers of the legion dedicated a triumphal arch to Trajan in *Dura-Europos* to celebrate a victory over the Parthians,¹⁶⁴⁵ and in Syria a coin hoard was found which included three coins bearing the stamp of the *legio III Cyrenaica*.¹⁶⁴⁶

At this time the legion appears to have been temporarily replaced in Arabia by the *legio VI Ferrata*.¹⁶⁴⁷ In 116 or 117 a vexillation of the *legio III Cyrenaica* was in *Jerusalem*, where its soldiers dedicated an inscription to *I.O.M. Sarapis* for the victory and well-being of Trajan.¹⁶⁴⁸ This has been taken as evidence that a vexillation was sent there to deal with the Jewish revolt, and then probably sent to Egypt to deal with the Jewish revolt there. The *legio III Cyrenaica*, together with the *legio XXII Deiotariana*, are attested in 119 at the double *Nikopolis* fort of *Alexandria* (in Egypt), and other evidence indicates that it was probably

¹⁶⁴³ For the debate, see: Bowersock 1970; 1971, 232-233; Sartre 1974; Kennedy 1980a; Gracey 1981, 265-268; Zayadine and Fiema 1986, 199-202; Fiema 1987a; Strobel 1988; Freeman 1996; Gatier 2000; Cotton 2000; Oleson *et al.* 2002, 112; Urloiu 2011; Urloiu 2013, 110-122

¹⁶⁴⁴ Wheeler 2000, 282-295; Wheeler 2007, 250

¹⁶⁴⁵ AE 1982.182, 904; Urloiu 2011, 218; Bowersock 1983, 84-85; Gould 1933, 56-65; Gould 1936, 480-482

¹⁶⁴⁶ Kindler 1983, 41

¹⁶⁴⁷ Urloiu 2011, 211-212; Cotton 2000, 354-356

¹⁶⁴⁸ CIL 3.13587=ILS 4393=AE 1895.24=AE 1895.76=AE 1895.94=AE 1895.160

there from 117.¹⁶⁴⁹ But by the end of Hadrian's reign the legion had definitely been transferred (back?) from *Alexandria* to its new base in *Bostra* (today Bosra, in southern Syria), and was the official legionary garrison of *provincia Arabia*. It was replaced in Egypt by the *legio II Traiana Fortis*, which is first attested there in 127-128.¹⁶⁵⁰ By around 140-144, *Bostra* began to mint coins with the legend *LEG III CYR*, which bear a depiction of the god *Jupiter Ammon*, the legion's patron deity.¹⁶⁵¹ The geographer Ptolemy, writing during the second century, recorded *Bostra* as a legionary base (Βόστρα Λεγίων).¹⁶⁵²

Bostra (Bosra, Syria)

The legion was stationed in *Bostra* (*Colonia Nova Traiana Bostra*), the capital of Arabia, throughout the second and third centuries. Prior to Roman annexation, *Bostra* had become an important city in the Nabataean kingdom, especially under its last king, Rabbel II (70-106).¹⁶⁵³ The location and tentative outline of the legionary fortress at *Bostra* were first published only in 1976, showing that it was located just north of the ancient town.¹⁶⁵⁴ Five years later it was identified in an old aerial photograph that had been taken by the Royal Air Force,¹⁶⁵⁵ and a limited amount of fieldwork since then¹⁶⁵⁶ has recorded a few stretches of wall, parts of the southern and northern gates, legionary stamped bricks and tiles (Figure

¹⁶⁴⁹ Strobel 1988, 266; Urloiu 2011, 220-223

¹⁶⁵⁰ Ritterling 1925, 1486 – thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the transfer of the *legio III Cyrenaica* to Arabia.

¹⁶⁵¹ On the coins: Kindler 1975, 144-147; Spijkerman 1978, 68-69 (no.5); Kindler 1983, 40, 41, 92-95, 105; Hollard 2004; On the *III Cyrenaica*'s patron deity: Stoll 2001; Stoll 2007.

¹⁶⁵² Ptolemy, *Geography* 5.16

¹⁶⁵³ Sartre 1985, 45-62

¹⁶⁵⁴ Moughdad 1976, 73, 77 (and Fig. 1)

¹⁶⁵⁵ Kennedy and Riley 1990, 125 (and Fig. 17)

¹⁶⁵⁶ For research (including some very limited excavation) in the legionary fort see: Lenoir 1998; Leblanc and Lenoir 1999; Kermorvant *et al.* 2000; Dentzer *et al.* 2002, 134-140; Lenoir 2002; Lenoir 2007

5.3),¹⁶⁵⁷ a nearby amphitheatre,¹⁶⁵⁸ a theatre (reused as a mediaeval fortress), two large reservoirs, a perennial spring, and parts of the Nabataean/Roman town.¹⁶⁵⁹ Research has been hampered by significant rebuilding and reuse of the land on which the fortress stood, from the middle ages into the present. The city was the start of the *Via Nova Traiana*, Arabia's great military road built between 106-111, which linked Syria (via northern Arabia) with the port of *Aila* ('Aqaba, Jordan) on the Red Sea.

Unsurprisingly, the soldiers and officers of the legion erected more monuments and inscriptions at the legionary base than in any other part of the province. Mostly in Latin, sometimes in Greek, soldiers, officers, and veterans of the *III Cyrenaica*, as individuals or in groups, alone or with their family members, appear in dedications to gods,¹⁶⁶⁰ in honorific inscriptions to emperors (and imperial families),¹⁶⁶¹ in inscriptions honoring provincial governors (and their families),¹⁶⁶² in other honorific inscriptions,¹⁶⁶³ in epitaphs and funerary inscriptions,¹⁶⁶⁴ and in numerous other fragments and miscellaneous inscriptions.¹⁶⁶⁵ Many other monuments likely also refer to individuals from this legion (based on their office, names, etc.), but the legion's name is not explicitly mentioned or is no longer extant.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Brulet 1984

¹⁶⁵⁸ Al-Mougdad *et al.* 1990

¹⁶⁵⁹ Sartre 1985, 96-97; Parker 2000a, 124; Dentzer 1986; Dentzer *et al.* 1993; Dentzer *et al.* 2002; For the first synthetic treatment of *Bostra* across time (from the prehistoric period up to contemporary times), see Dentzer-Feydy *et al.* 2007 (pages 25-56 for the Roman period).

¹⁶⁶⁰ In Greek: IGLS 13.1.9002; In Latin: IGLS 13.1.9014; 9035

¹⁶⁶¹ Both in Latin: IGLS 13.1.9050; 9051

¹⁶⁶² All in Latin: IGLS 13.1.9064; 9065; 9067; 9070; 9072; 9076; 9079

¹⁶⁶³ In Greek: IGLS 13.1.9088; 9089; In Latin: IGLS 13.1.9085; 9086; 9087; 9095; 9096; 9098

¹⁶⁶⁴ In Greek: IGLS 13.1.9337; 9358; 9396; In Latin: IGLS.13.1.9170; 9172; 9175; 9176; 9178; 9180; 9181; 9183; 9186; 9187; 9188; 9191; 9198; 9203; 9204; Bilingual (same epitaph in both Greek and Latin on the same stone): IGLS 13.1.9182

¹⁶⁶⁵ In Greek: IGLS 13.1.9034; In Latin: IGLS 13.1.9033; 9036; 9449; 9450; 9451; 9452; 9453

In addition to this concentration at the legionary base, inscriptions attesting to the presence and widespread activities of *legio III Cyrenaica* are found in almost every corner of the province (Figure 5.2). It is reasonable to infer that detachments of the legion were always stationed throughout the province because the legionary fortress at *Bostra* is, in surface area, one of the smallest legionary fortresses attested in the empire.¹⁶⁶⁶ As we shall see throughout the rest of this section, this is a further indication of the fact that the legion was widely distributed (perhaps more than was common) in detachments across the vast provincial territory, and was rarely (if ever) found *in toto* at its base.¹⁶⁶⁷

Nemara (Syria)

The enigmatic site of *Nemara* is situated around eighty-five kilometres northeast of *Bostra* in the steppe on Roman Arabia's northern border with Syria. The site, located on the summit of a volcanic hill in the bed of Wadi esh-Sham, contains an enclosure with a tower in it, which in their current state appear to represent a later rebuilding of an original second to third century structure.¹⁶⁶⁸ Epigraphic evidence indicates that Roman soldiers were posted here during the second to third centuries. Several graffiti, found on the north doorway and on rocks in the area attest to the presence of legionary soldiers.¹⁶⁶⁹ One graffito reads *Leg(io)*

¹⁶⁶⁶ Dentzer *et al.* 2002, 136. The maximum estimated area of the camp is barely above seventeen hectares, which is small for legionary camps, since the general average is approximately twenty hectares (and some can be as large as twenty-five or twenty-seven hectares, such as *Novaesium*, *Deva*, and Bonn). Although it was at one point hypothesized that an earlier camp extended further towards the east (with a total area of twenty-one hectares), a geophysical survey could not prove it.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Kennedy 2004, 48; Lenoir 2007, 40

¹⁶⁶⁸ Gregory 1996, 237-238

¹⁶⁶⁹ Kennedy 2004, 219; Gregory 1996, 237-238 claims the graffiti date between 161-222, but it is unclear how he arrived at such a precise date.

III Cyr(enaica) feliciter invicta,¹⁶⁷⁰ which appears to be an informal epithet, a variation of which (*Felicitis*) is also attested at *Havarra* in southern Jordan (discussed below). Another graffito was written in Greek by Mesamaros, an ethnic Nabataean, who was a horseman of the legion.¹⁶⁷¹ This is one of only two inscriptions from Arabia which explicitly mention a horseman of the *III Cyrenaica*.¹⁶⁷² Given the remoteness and difficult terrain of *Nemara*, cavalry dispatched to this area would make good sense. Based on the famous tombstone discovered here, of Imru' al-Qais, “king of all the Arabs” who died in 328 CE, it has been inferred that this site had long been a seasonal gathering place for (allied) nomadic Arab tribes and served as a point of contact between them and Rome.¹⁶⁷³ This would explain the presence of legionary soldiers. The territory may have been officially transferred to Arabia during the boundary change at the beginning of the third century (Figure 3.33).

Gerasa (Jerash, Jordan)

Over sixty kilometres (as the crow flies) east-southeast of *Bostra* lies *Gerasa* (modern Jerash), the best-preserved Decapolis city in Jordan. Epigraphic evidence points to a temporary Roman military presence in the city during (and immediately after) the First Jewish War,¹⁶⁷⁴ and an unexplained fortification wall on a hill south of the later city walls may indicate an encampment.¹⁶⁷⁵ Two inscriptions record just the name of the legion,

¹⁶⁷⁰ Gregory 1997, pl. E19.1 (drawing of the graffito); Gatier 1998, 349 also asserts that this is an informal epithet.

¹⁶⁷¹ IGLS 1.2271: Μεσαμαρος, ἱππεὺς Κυρ(ηναϊκῆς), γένο[ς] Νάβας.

¹⁶⁷² The other one is from *Petra* (IJ 4.52), discussed below.

¹⁶⁷³ For more on this enigmatic inscription, see Sartre 2005a, 519-520.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Gracey 1981, 270

¹⁶⁷⁵ Kennedy 1998, 56 (Plate 2)

attesting to its presence in the city.¹⁶⁷⁶ A Latin epitaph commemorates the death of C. Iulius Zenophilus, a soldier of the *III Cyrenaica*.¹⁶⁷⁷ At the Propylaea of Temple of Artemis, a Latin altar was dedicated to Diana by Flavius Apollinaris, also a *mi(les) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae)*.¹⁶⁷⁸ Another soldier (or group of soldiers) from the legion made another dedication “to the Ancestral God”.¹⁶⁷⁹ Another inscription was found reused in a Byzantine church in Jerash (just outside the ancient city walls), bearing a dedication to Vibia Domna, the wife of Iulius(?) Domninus the provincial procurator, made by Marcus Ulpius Felicius, a *frum(entarius) leg(ionis) III Cyrenai[cae] [V]alerianae*.¹⁶⁸⁰ The epithet *Valeriana* for the legion is also attested at *Bostra*, where it is followed by *Galliana*,¹⁶⁸¹ thus dating the inscription to 253-260 (during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus). It is not likely that M. Ulpius Felicius was a *frumentarius* of the procurator, since this position technically belonged to the *officium* of the governor.¹⁶⁸² But since the *frumentarii* were (among other things) frequently used as a kind of ‘secret police’, a close relationship to the provincial procurator would be appropriate. *Frumentarii* performed many special policing tasks, including execution, arrest,

¹⁶⁷⁶ AE 1939.258=Welles 1938, no. 212, which appears to be a tombstone fragment, curiously reads *Leg(ionis?) I Cyr(enaicae)*, so obviously the carver got the number wrong (since there is no known *Legio I Cyrenaica*). Welles 1938, no. 213 is a hexagonal column base bearing *Leg(io) III Cyr(enaica)*.

¹⁶⁷⁷ CIL 3.13603=CIL 3.14156=Welles 1938, no. 211, found north of the city, it reads: *D(is) M(anibus). C(aio) Iul(io) Zenophilo, militi Leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae)*.

¹⁶⁷⁸ AE 1930.91=Welles 1938, no. 31, found standing on top of the staircase of the Propylaea, in which the goddess’ name is spelled *Deanae* rather than *Dianae*. A fragmentary inscription which originally formed part of the east face of the corner pedestal at the south end of the podium in the *cavea* of the Festival Theater contains a dedication to a maiden deity (possibly also Artemis) by someone from a legion, perhaps also the *III Cyrenaica* (Welles 1938, no. 197).

¹⁶⁷⁹ Welles 1938, no. 23. The inscription is on one face of a molded block forming the capstone of a pedestal or pier, which was found on the north side of the Cathedral staircase where it was obviously being reused. The spelling of *Cyrenaica* is strange (and some of the letters are faint making them hard to read) – the published transcription reads: [Λεγ]ίων Τρίτη ΚυρΝΛΑΙΚΙ θεῶ πατρώῳ. It is dated to the first half of the third century.

¹⁶⁸⁰ AE 1996.1604=Gatier 1996a, 55-56, no.7 (and Fig.7); the reading of the procurator’s *praenomen* is not certain, and a Domninus of this rank is not known from other inscriptions. Gatier (p.56) suggests that the final line might perhaps read [*honoris*] *ca[usa]*, but this also not certain.

¹⁶⁸¹ IGLS 13.1.9079; There is no possibility that *Galliana* followed *Valeriana* in the *Gerasa* dedication, based on the visible traces of the last line according to Gatier 1996a, 56.

¹⁶⁸² Gatier 1996a, 56; cf. von Domaszewski 1908, 34-35 (no.7: *frumentarius*); Fuhrman 2011, 151-157

and domestic espionage – they were “the closest thing to a military quick-reaction force in the service of the emperor; they have even been called the ‘the Roman Secret Service.’”¹⁶⁸³ If they were not working for the provincial governor, *frumentarii* could also function semi-independently along with military requisition officials or civilian tax collectors, or as in this case, with the provincial procurator. *Frumentarii* mingled with soldiers and civilians, gathering information for the governor or emperor (among other tasks).¹⁶⁸⁴

Numerous other inscriptions make references to soldiers, centurions, and other officers in the city during the second and third centuries, many of them also likely part of the *III Cyrenaica*, but the unit is not explicitly identified by name.¹⁶⁸⁵ The *III Cyrenaica* must have had a detachment permanently garrisoned at *Gerasa* in order to support the office of the provincial procurator, who had his seat there throughout the second and third centuries, and to provide road security.¹⁶⁸⁶ After all, *Gerasa* functioned as an important crossroads west of the *Via Nova Traiana*:¹⁶⁸⁷ it was directly connected by road to *Philadelphia* (Amman) to the

¹⁶⁸³ Fuhrmann 2011, 152.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Fuhrmann 2011, 151-157 for Roman *frumentarii*.

¹⁶⁸⁵ e.g. Welles 1938, no. 183 names a centurion (second half of second century); Welles 1938, no. 208 mentions a *cornicularius* (second century). Welles 1938, no. 62 is carved into the east side of the torus of the northernmost column of the portico of the Artemis Propylaea, in which Flavius Munatius, a horseman, the son of Flavius Munatius the centurion, made a dedication to Artemis (mid-third century). Apparently this dedicant also paved the floor of the *pronaemum* with a mosaic and, in addition to becoming a horseman, he attained the highest civic offices in *Gerasa* (as a στρατηγός, which apparently could also be a civic office). Welles 1938, no. 219 is a fragmentary epitaph for Germanus, carved into the architrave blocks above the entrance to his tomb at Birketein (two kilometres north of *Gerasa*) in the late second century. It describes Germanus as a *klemophorus* (κλημόφορος), the Greek equivalent of *vitifer* (which means centurion), and it says something about him being “in campaigns” (or “in armies”). It is possible that this is the same individual as Aelius Germanus the *primipilaris* in Welles 1938, no. 102. Welles 1938, no. 221 is an epitaph on a sarcophagus found on the first mile northwest of *Gerasa* on the road to Pella, and it records that the deceased (whose name is lost) lived for 21 years, of which he spent two years in military campaigns (or in ‘soldiering’) (second century).

¹⁶⁸⁶ As demonstrated by Gatier (1996a) in a survey of the epigraphic evidence for governors and procurators in *Gerasa*. An onomastic study of the inscriptions of *Gerasa* by Gatier (1996b) has shown the surprisingly high percentage of Latin inscriptions for this Decapolis city and the many non-local Latin names, which he attributes to two categories of officials present in the city during the second and third centuries: the provincial procurator and his staff, and detachments of Roman troops (with their soldiers and officers).

¹⁶⁸⁷ See Graf 1999, 232

south, Pella to the northwest,¹⁶⁸⁸ Adraha (Der'a) to the north,¹⁶⁸⁹ and Mafraq to the northeast.¹⁶⁹⁰ The high level of traffic along these roads would have warranted a military presence for security and supervision.

Al-Madwar and Rihab (Jordan)

Both Al-Madwar and Rihab are located east of *Gerasa* in the steppe along the Roman road connecting *Gerasa* to *Bostra*. The inferred line of that road ran from *Bostra* through El-Fedein, crossing the steppe, and then entering the hilly region east of *Gerasa*.¹⁶⁹¹ Near Rihab, a very large square building that may have been a fort was identified on a ridge at the eastern side of the town.¹⁶⁹² Several inscriptions at both sites attest to the presence of legionary soldiers have been found in both places. In Al-Madwar, a fragmentary Greek inscription was found recording a soldier of *legio III Cyrenaica*.¹⁶⁹³ At Rihab, two military inscriptions were found. A Greek epitaph commemorates Julius Palmas, soldier of *legio III Cyrenaica* who died at age twenty-four.¹⁶⁹⁴ A horned altar was inscribed with a Latin dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Helipolitanus made by Lucius Porcius Dexter, a *beneficiarius consularis*

¹⁶⁸⁸ Mittmann 1970, 152-159; Smith and McNicoll 1992, 122-124 ("The Milestones of Mugharat al-Halas (Area VI)")

¹⁶⁸⁹ Mittmann 1970, 133-139; Agusta-Boularot *et al.* 1998

¹⁶⁹⁰ Kennedy and al-Husan 1996, nos. 2-5

¹⁶⁹¹ Kennedy 2004, 108. Rihab is the modern regional center in this area.

¹⁶⁹² Kennedy 2000b, 430

¹⁶⁹³ Mittmann 1970, 186, no.22; Kennedy 2004, 108, no.9. Kennedy categorizes it as an epitaph, but based on the extant text, this is by no means certain. It reads: [...μα...]ιος, στρατι[ώτ]ης λεγ(εῶνος) γ'...

¹⁶⁹⁴ Gatier 1998, no. 103; Kennedy 2004, 108, no.11. Two peculiarities of the inscription are a) that instead of the normal Greek adjective for "third", τρίτη, the abbreviation τερ, for τερ(τία) was used, in a Greek imitation of the Latin *tertia* (a linguistic phenomenon not uncommon in Greek military inscriptions for unit numbers) and b) that the abbreviation for *Cyrenaica* is Κυρι (rather than just Κυρ), which reveals a (less common) variant spelling (with ι instead of the more common η, to produce Κυρι(ναικῆς)).

(i.e., belonging to the governor), who perhaps also came from the *III Cyrenaica*.¹⁶⁹⁵ These inscriptions collectively may indicate the presence of one (or more) official road stations, possibly of the public postal service,¹⁶⁹⁶ along this important stretch of road which connected the seat of the governor (in *Bostra*) with the seat of the provincial procurator (in *Gerasa*).

Philadelphia (Amman, Jordan)

A single Latin epitaph is the only inscription explicitly attesting to the presence of *legio III Cyrenaica* at *Philadelphia*, but because modern Amman has destroyed and obscured most of this Decapolis city, there are, to begin with, relatively few extant inscriptions from this site. We have some evidence to indicate that the Nabataeans had a fortress (*phourion*) somewhere near the city,¹⁶⁹⁷ so clearly there was some pre-Roman military presence already in the area. The epitaph commemorates Tiberius Claudius Antoninus, a soldier of the *III Cyrenaica*, who was originally from Hierapolis and who served for seventeen years.¹⁶⁹⁸ Another inscription from the city contains an *ex voto* dedication to Aesculapius by Terentius Heraclitus, *beneficiarius* of the governor (dated to 245 based on the governor's name), and although his unit is not explicitly mentioned, it is possible that he too was from *III Cyrenaica*.¹⁶⁹⁹ These inscriptions cannot prove a legionary garrison in *Philadelphia*, but given its size and importance as a Decapolis city and its central location within the province, a

¹⁶⁹⁵ Gatier 1998, no. 84; Kennedy 2004, 108, no.10. Dated to the first or second half of the third century (likely no later than the Severan period). Governors of Arabia were frequently given the title *consul* while they were in office, so a *beneficiarius consularis* refers to a soldier of that rank attached to the governor's staff. There is one other (Greek) epitaph from Rihab for "Faustinos Ianos, soldier, age twenty-seven", but his unit is not mentioned and we cannot be sure that he was a legionary (Gatier 1998, no.108).

¹⁶⁹⁶ Kennedy 2004, 108

¹⁶⁹⁷ Kennedy 2004, 119; Josephus, AJ 15.5.3 [148-150]; BJ 1.19.5[380]

¹⁶⁹⁸ IJ 2.34=AE 1905.214=AE 1908.258=Kennedy 2004, 119, no.14. He probably came from the Hierapolis in northern Syria (Bambyce/Membidj), just west of the river.

¹⁶⁹⁹ IJ 2.12=AE 1905.211=Kennedy 2004, 119, no.15.

small detachment may well have been present. Furthermore, ancient *Philadelphia* may have also been a centre for horse breeding (just as modern Amman is today), and the city might have contained either a major horse market, a hippodrome, or cavalry barracks, any one of which would have brought soldiers into the city.¹⁷⁰⁰

Madaba (Jordan)

Madaba was an important center in the Nabataean kingdom, and we have evidence for a Nabataean military presence at the site before the Roman annexation.¹⁷⁰¹ As such, this site certainly would have been a primary target for the Roman invaders in 106. At some point the city erected a Greek inscription in honor of Gaius Domitius Alexandros, a centurion of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, “for his benevolence and uprightness” (εὐνοίας καὶ ἀγνείας χάριν).¹⁷⁰² Such an inscription provides a glimpse at the important relationships that could develop between city administration and officers of the provincial legion. A Latin-inscribed altar, found more recently, contains a dedication to both Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Neptune by Lucius Velinna Firmus, another centurion of the *III Cyrenaica* who “pursued (this) work”.¹⁷⁰³ Although we can no longer know what “work” he had

¹⁷⁰⁰ Graf 1994, 267; Kennedy 2004, 121; The hint comes from the account of the martyrdom of Saint Zeno and Saint Zenas at *Philadelphia* in the early fourth century, which took place in a location called the *hippikon*, a word which has been translated as either a horse market, a hippodrome (MacAdam 1992, 38), or cavalry barracks (Milik 1960, 162, note 33). Zeno was a soldier and he told the governor (before whom he was being tried) that he was from the fort of Ziz(i)a (see Kennedy 2004, 130-131 for this site and the martyrdom of Zeno).

¹⁷⁰¹ CITE- Nabataean forces in *Madaba*

¹⁷⁰² IGLS 21.117; Kennedy 2004, 134: Γ(άϊον) Δομίτιον / Ἀλεξάνδρον / (ἐκατόνταρχον) λεγ(ιῶνος) γ' Κυρ(ηναϊκῆς) / ἡ πόλις / εὐνοίας καὶ / ἀγνείας / χάριν.

¹⁷⁰³ Gatier 1987=AE 1987.969. It reads: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Neptuno / sacrum / L(ucius) Velinna Firmus / (centurio) Leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) qui / operi institit.

pursued, it is possible that it involved some kind of building project. These two inscriptions suggest that there may have been a permanent military garrison at *Madaba* as well.¹⁷⁰⁴

Umm el-Jimal (Jordan)

About twenty-five kilometres south of *Bostra* lies Umm el-Jimal, the largest of the ancient towns in the southern Hauran (Figure 3.31). The site has been continuously excavated and mapped since 1972, revealing a small Nabataean/Early Roman town, which was succeeded by a Late Roman/Early Islamic town in an adjacent area.¹⁷⁰⁵ It has been hypothesized that this shift was caused by the construction of a fort and its water supply to the northwest of the original town, which shifted settlement to that area. This growing settlement eventually took over the subsequently abandoned fort.¹⁷⁰⁶ The fort may have been originally built in the late second century.

Found amongst the rubble north of the western gate of the late Roman city, outside House 53, a stele bears a Greek epitaph for “Neon, son of Chamios” who was a soldier of the *III Cyrenaica* and died at age thirty.¹⁷⁰⁷ There may well have been a detachment of legionary soldiers at the site, especially given the existence of a late Roman fort. An inscription was found in the so-called “Gate of Commodus” of the western city wall, dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, which celebrates the completion of an *opus valli*, dated to 177-

¹⁷⁰⁴ Gatier 1987, 367.

¹⁷⁰⁵ de Vries 1986

¹⁷⁰⁶ Kennedy 2004, 86

¹⁷⁰⁷ IJ 5.1.390=PES III.A.349; de Vries 2009, 179 (Fig. 1); An interesting point about this inscription is the spelling of the legion’s name: Κυρνακέ rather than the usual Κυρηναϊκή.

180.¹⁷⁰⁸ The wall in which it was found may have been initially been built as the western gate of the original Roman fort at the site, which became the gate of the city when the walls of the fort were demolished and the fortifications were extended to include the whole settlement. Thus, this inscription may have belonged to a now-vanished (late?) second century fort.¹⁷⁰⁹ Another substantial fort has been identified and partially excavated against the east wall of the city, but its chronology is unclear (and the excavations have not yet been published), although the excavators believe it to be Tetrarchic.¹⁷¹⁰ The 'Commodus gate' inscription states that the *opus valli* in question was built under Severus, the provincial governor.¹⁷¹¹ It is quite possible that this construction was undertaken by soldiers, possibly of the *III Cyrenaica*. This is the case in a comparable inscription from *Hegra*, in the far south of the province, also from the time of Marcus Aurelius, which records that two centurions of this legion arranged for the rebuilding of the city's rampart (*vallum*), a task which surely involved soldiers and military engineers.¹⁷¹²

Umm el-Quttein (Jebel Qu'eis) (Jordan)

Umm el-Quttein is located within the southern Hauran about halfway between the so-called *Via Severiana* and the *Via Nova Traiana*, approximately twenty-one kilometres

¹⁷⁰⁸ CIL 3.6027/6028=CIL 3.14149.02=PES III.A.3, 131-132 (no.232)=IJ 5.1.124. The inscription is in two pieces. The two fragments were erroneously categorized as separate inscriptions when they were first found, but it has since been proven that they belong together.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Kennedy and Riley 1990, 183

¹⁷¹⁰ De Vries 1986; Several inscriptions from the fourth and fifth centuries indicate an active military presence at the site starting in the Tetrarchic period (see Kennedy 2004, 88-91). Excavations have revealed that the town thrived well into the Umayyad period (in the seventh century), and an inscription points to a military role for the city in the sixth century.

¹⁷¹¹ This governor is not attested elsewhere, so he can be placed, based on this inscription, as *legate* (in the very least) during the period 177-180 (the date of this inscription). Alföldy (1977, 199, 244) has suggested that he might be M. Atilius Severus, consul in 183, but there is no way to confirm this (see IJ 5.1.390, p.102-103).

¹⁷¹² AE 2004.1620=AE 2007.1639. This inscription is discussed in detail below, under '*Hegra*'.

west-north-west of Deir el-Kahf (Figure 3.40).¹⁷¹³ The Princeton Expedition in 1904 recorded multiple structures and inscriptions at the site,¹⁷¹⁴ but most of these have since been destroyed by the modern Bedouin village and many of the inscriptions are now lost. More recent fieldwork and analysis of archival aerial photographs have revealed the footprint of a fort that had previously only been indicated by an inscription.¹⁷¹⁵ The site appears to have comprised a large settlement with a substantial fort, two big reservoirs, multiple cisterns, and houses. Chronologically, it appears to have started as a small Nabataean settlement and military post, which was then expanded to become the base of the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* after annexation, before eventually being overtaken by the expanding town in the late Roman period (with no definitive evidence of military activity continuing into the fourth century).¹⁷¹⁶ The site was at the junction of a road network which developed from the third century onwards (if not earlier). The main road which ran through the town started at *Bostra* (approximately twenty-six kilometres northwest of Umm el-Quttein), and then continued past the site across the lava desert to connect with the *Via Severiana* about five kilometres north of Azraq to the south.¹⁷¹⁷

Part of a Latin building inscription was found among the ruins of a structure perched on the crest of Jebel Qu'eis, a volcanic peak rising above the horizon about four and a half kilometres to the southwest of Umm el-Quttein. Only the top part of the black basalt slab is extant, and it records a vexillation of the *legio III Cyrenaica* doing something (presumably building) through the agency (*per*) of someone whose name and rank are now lost

¹⁷¹³ Kennedy 2004, 81

¹⁷¹⁴ PES II.A.2, 137-142; PES III.A.2, 116-121

¹⁷¹⁵ Kennedy and Riley 1990, 141-143, Fig. 86 (for original aerial photo from 1953)

¹⁷¹⁶ Kennedy 2004, 83-84

¹⁷¹⁷ Kennedy 2004, 84

(presumably a centurion or the provincial governor).¹⁷¹⁸ The slab was either brought here from Umm el-Quttein to be reused as building material for the structure on Jebel Qu'eis, or it belongs with the structure on the peak, which might have been some kind of watch-post.¹⁷¹⁹ Indeed, the site affords a very good view in all directions (all the way up into southern Syria), and it would have overlooked the *Bostra-Azraq* road running through Umm el-Quttein. As will be seen in more inscriptions discussed below, there is significant epigraphic evidence explicitly recording the presence of vexillations of the *legio III Cyrenaica* posted to various parts of the province where they were involved in building activities.

Qasr el-Azraq (Jordan)

Azraq is the second-largest oasis in the Syrian Desert after *Palmyra*, which, until recently, contained two large perennial pools that have attracted human settlement since early prehistoric times (Figure 3.37). Serving as an important water source in a very arid region (with less than 100 millimetres of rain per year), Azraq was an important meeting point along transhumance and trade routes in the area, especially along the Wadi Sirhan, a broad shallow trough which starts just southeast of the Azraq Oasis and runs southeastwards for 300 kilometres (Figure 3.12). Beyond it, about 100 kilometres to the east, lies the great Arabian oasis of Dumat al-Jandal and routes leading to the Persian Gulf.¹⁷²⁰ Roman presence

¹⁷¹⁸ Kennedy and MacAdam 1986, 232-233, no.B1 (and Tafel XI.b) = IJ 5.1.747. It reads: [---] *vexillatio / leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) per* / [-4-5-] *CMLXV* (?). Reproduced in Kennedy 2004, 84, no.4. The *per* in such inscriptions is usually followed by the name of the provincial governor who commissioned the work, but Kennedy and MacAdam (1986, 233) suggest that there may be traces of a centurial sign and possibly a sequence of numbers at the end of the third line, so the inscription may have contained the name of a century and a mileage distance. But they admit that this is a highly tentative reading.

¹⁷¹⁹ Kennedy 2004, 86. Pottery from the first to third centuries was found on Jebel Ku'eis, but the majority of the surface pottery from the site was from the fourth to ninth centuries.

¹⁷²⁰ Kennedy 2004, 56

in the Azraq Basin was probably motivated by a desire to control both this important water supply and the people who frequented it, in order to police the traffic along the routes passing through the oasis. Coming north through the Wadi Sirhan into the province, these routes continued north through Deir el-Kahf and Imtan into Syria, east and northeast to Qasr Burqu, west to the steppe and agricultural highlands of Ajlun and Belqa, and northwest to *Bostra*.¹⁷²¹ Although no excavation has yet been done within the Azraq basin, multiple Roman military sites and roads have been documented from surface remains, and inscriptions have produced dating for some of the structures. The earliest epigraphic date, based on two building inscriptions and several milestones, is Severan, as confirmed by surface pottery concentrations from the third century.¹⁷²²

A third century Roman fort (Qasr el-Azraq), expanded in the Tetrarchic period and then further remodeled in the medieval Islamic period, was built within the remains of what appears to have been an earlier Roman camp (possibly from the second century?) (Figure 3.35).¹⁷²³ An inscription was found at the fort which explicitly mentions the soldiers of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, along with legionaries from the legions *XI Claudia*, *VII Claudia*, *I Italica*, *III Flavia*, and *I Illyricorum*, but the precise nature of the operation or activities commemorated on the stone is unclear.¹⁷²⁴ Originally dated to the Tetrarchic period,¹⁷²⁵ it

¹⁷²¹ Kennedy 2004, 57.

¹⁷²² Kennedy and Riley 1990, 190 (and Fig. 56); Kennedy 2004, 58; Parker 1986, 178. Several Severan milestone fragments brought into the fort from a nearby Roman road contain dates of 208/210.

¹⁷²³ The camp was first identified by Crawford (1929, 507), but he did not take any aerial photographs at the time. The modern village had destroyed its remains by the 1970s, and today it only exists in archival aerial photographs (taken by the Royal Air force around 1927). See Kennedy and Riley 1990, Fig. 56, and also Kennedy 1982, 72-77 (plates XVIIb and XVIIIb), 87-88.

¹⁷²⁴ AE 1987.964=AE 1994.1797=AE 1996.1623=AE 2001.1976; Kennedy and MacAdam 1985, 100-104 (no.3); Bauzou 1996; Christol and Lenoir 2001; Kennedy 2004, 60, no.2. This very important but problematic text has seen many attempts at transcription and interpretation, the most recent (and best) re-interpretation coming from Christol and Lenoir (2001). The black basalt block was first seen in 1939 but was later lost and only rediscovered in 1983.

now seems the inscription is earlier, from the reign of Aurelian, and probably dates to his reconquest of *Palmyra* and Arabia after the defeat of Zenobia (around 273). The five Danubian legions mentioned alongside the *III Cyrenaica* were probably in the area restoring imperial authority and reasserting Roman control in the Wadi Sirhan (between the oases of Azraq and Dumat al-Jandal), which might explain the itinerary-like list of place-names and distances mentioned at the end of the inscription.¹⁷²⁶

Qasr el-Uweinid (Jordan)

The small fort of Qasr el-Uweinid lies on the perimeter of the Azraq basin, just fifteen kilometres southwest of the Azraq Oasis and has provided the two earliest building inscriptions found to date in Roman Arabia (from the Severan period) (Figure 3.36).¹⁷²⁷ Surface pottery concentrations point to a chronological range from the mid-second to fourth centuries, with the third century predominating.¹⁷²⁸ One inscription was found by Sir Aurel Stein in front of the doorway of one of the two towers, but which has since been lost. It records a military fort and its police station, *castellum et suum praesidium Severianum*, and then goes on to state that a *vexillatio* of the *legio III Cyrenaica* erected a *balneum* in the consulships of (M. Nonius Arrius) Mucianus and (L. Annius) Fabianus, which dates to 201.¹⁷²⁹ The second inscription was found lying in front of the same tower and is dated to

¹⁷²⁵ Speidel 1987, 215-219 proposes a Diocletianic date.

¹⁷²⁶ Christol and Lenoir 2001, 170-174.

¹⁷²⁷ Kennedy 1982, 113-128; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 159-162; Gregory 1996, 317-222 (and Gregory 1997, pl. F13.1-3); Kennedy 2004, 58, 62-66

¹⁷²⁸ Parker 1986, 17; Gregory and Kennedy 1985, 422; Gregory 1996, 322

¹⁷²⁹ AE 2001.1978=Kennedy 1982, 125=Lander 1984, 136=Kennedy 2004, 63-64. Mucianus and Fabianus were *consules ordinarii* in 201 and almost always appear in the abbreviated form *Muciano et Fabiano cos* (see Kennedy 1982, 125).

200-202.¹⁷³⁰ It is dedicated to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, and indicates that a *castellum novum Severianum* was built (?) through the agency of the governor, Lucius Marius Perpetuus. Although the bottom of the stone is missing, it has been hypothesized that this construction was also done by a vexillation of the *III Cyrenaica*.¹⁷³¹

These two inscriptions have raised numerous questions about whether they originated in this small fort or not. Architecturally, it is likely that the small fort of Qasr el-Uweinid was first built in the Severan period, but because there are different construction styles incorporated within it, different phases are likely represented. Gregory has suggested that the masonry might indicate early Islamic remodeling and expansion of a site on which a single Roman tower might have originally stood, or it might indicate a fourth century phase.¹⁷³² Kennedy has suggested the most plausible scenario based on all the evidence (and one which parallels the chronology of Qasr el-Azraq): a small Severan tower that was developed into a Tetrarchic fort, with a thickening of the walls and a second tower added during the Islamic period.¹⁷³³ Furthermore, the presence of two significant and impressive Latin building inscriptions at such a small and modest site seems out of place, especially since one of them records the construction of a bath-building which most commentators have found impossible to believe. There is very little water at the site and no evidence whatsoever of anything resembling such a structure. It has therefore been hypothesized that the Severan *castellum* and *balneum* referenced in the inscriptions would have been located at one of the two large pools in the Azraq Oasis. This means the possibility that both inscriptions came to

¹⁷³⁰ AE 1978.827=AE 1989.746=AE 2001.1977=Kennedy 1982, 124-125=Kennedy 2004, 63.

¹⁷³¹ The missing end of the inscriptions has been tentatively reconstructed by Kennedy (1982, 124; 2004, 63) as having read *a[[edificarunt? vex(illationis) leg(ionis) III Cyr?]]*.

¹⁷³² Gregory 1996, 320-322

¹⁷³³ Kennedy 2004, 66

Qasr el-Uweinid from nearby Azraq (or another location) to be reused as building material, and are therefore out of context in their findspot. Either way, the inscriptions indicate more evidence for the presence and building activities of *legio III Cyrenaica* in the Azraq basin during the third century, and the use of the term *praesidium* (indicating a military police station on a road)¹⁷³⁴ reinforces the point that legionary detachments throughout the province were involved in the security and supervision of gathering points and routes within (and on the edges of) Roman territory.

Dumata (Saudi Arabia)

From Azraq the brought trough of the Wadi Sirhan stretches for some 300 kilometres into Saudi Arabia, and about 100 kilometres east of its southern end lies *Dumata* (modern Al-Jawf, approximately 370 kilometres southeast of the Azraq Oasis). There was certainly a Roman road that ran from *Bostra* to Azraq to *Dumata*, with multiple oases or water points along the way (although little is known of these sites, most of which lie in Saudi Arabia). Although there are no major physical remains at the site, *Dumata* has (surprisingly) produced several inscriptions which affirm that Roman interest and military presence extended this far into the desert. A Latin inscription on a horned altar was found in the Jawf Oasis, which was dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Hammo and Sacred Sulmus (*Sancto Sulmo*) for the well-being of the emperors (*domm. nn. Augg.*) by Flavius Dionysius, a centurion of the *legio III Cyrenaica* who had fulfilled his vow.¹⁷³⁵ The imperial formula most likely points

¹⁷³⁴ Isaac 1992, 174

¹⁷³⁵ AE 2001.1979=Kennedy 2004, 220 (no.10); Speidel 1977, 694; Speidel 1987, 213-214

to Septimius Severus and Caracalla (so from 197-211).¹⁷³⁶ Jupiter Hammo is a variant of Jupiter/J Zeus Ammon, the patron god of the *III Cyrenaica* legion, and the recipient of numerous dedications by legionary soldiers, especially in the Hauran (and in particular at *Bostra*).¹⁷³⁷ The presence of a centurion from the *III Cyrenaica* at this remote outpost indicates that the town of *Dumata* was within the Roman military sphere of control, a fact likely motivated by a desire to secure the routes to the Persian Gulf. In essence, legionary presence in both *Dumata* and *Azraq* demonstrate Roman control over the Wadi Sirhan as early as the beginning of the third century.

Petra (Jordan)

Unsurprisingly, inscriptions reveal that members of the legion were also present in *Petra* (Figure 3.1). In addition to the letter of Julius Apollinarius discussed previously, which provides clear evidence that at least a detachment was already stationed in *Petra* in 107, several inscriptions point to a permanent garrison of legionary soldiers in the city within the second and third centuries. A graffito carved into the southern cliff of the Siq reads Γ KYP – the Greek initials of the *legio III Cyrenaica* (Figure 5.6).¹⁷³⁸ This interpretation of the graffito

¹⁷³⁶ Speidel 1987, 214, who marshalls the evidence to prove that it cannot date earlier than Septimius Severus (because the title *Dominus noster Augustus* was not used before then) and that it could not date much later than his reign because the abbreviation *d.n.* had become standard by the mid-third century. So since two emperors are invoked, it is most likely Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Kennedy (2004, 220) suggests two further possibilities in addition the Severan one: Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-165) or Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (177-180), but without providing an argument for any one of these. I am more convinced by Speidel's argument, and, furthermore, I would argue a Severan date makes good sense in this particular context, since most of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence from the *Azraq* area dates to this period.

¹⁷³⁷ See Sourdél 1952, 89-92; Kindler 1983, 61-62, 91-92

¹⁷³⁸ IJ 4.19; PAE MP.742; Zayadine and Fiema 1986, 199-200 (Fig.1). The abbreviation should be expanded as follows: (τρίτη) Κυρ(ηναική). The graffito, now quite faint but still legible, is located on the rock face near the hemispheric baetyl of Adra'a, approximately 400 metres from al Khazneh (see Figure 5.6).

is confirmed by the attestation of this abbreviation in *Bostra*.¹⁷³⁹ C. Antonius Valens, an *eques legionis III Cyrenaicae* died in *Petra* at age twenty-four (after five years of service) and was buried there sometime during the second or third century.¹⁷⁴⁰ His age at death indicates that Valens was still an active soldier when he met his premature end, and his burial here probably indicates that he was stationed at *Petra*. A Greek epitaph records the death of a twelve-year-old child of a soldier of the *III Cyrenaica*, indicating that legionaries stationed at *Petra* were there long enough to have families living with them.¹⁷⁴¹ Sometime during the second century (possibly in the latter half), the soldiers of the legion (*milites leg(ionis) III (C)yr(enaicae)*) as a group, together with the soldiers of an auxiliary *cohors Aurelia* (either *cohors I* or *II Aurelia classica*), dedicated an altar to the emperor(s).¹⁷⁴² A final inscription from *Petra* hints at the presence of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, although the legion is not specifically mentioned by name: a fragmentary Latin inscription from the *temenos* of the Qasr al-Bint appears to be a dedication by the *optiones legionis*, which most likely points to the *legio III Cyrenaica* since we know it was garrisoned here and because it was the only legion of Arabia.¹⁷⁴³

¹⁷³⁹ IGLS 13.1.9452 (Γ KYP); 9396 (Γ KYP); and several other variations: IGLS 13.1.9182 ([Λ]ΕΓ ΙΙΙ KYP); 9089 (ΛΕΓ KYP); 9002 (ΛΕΓ KY[P])

¹⁷⁴⁰ IJ 4.52; Bennet and Kennedy 1978, 163-165 initially dated the inscription to the early second century, but Sartre (in IJ 4.52) thought it belonged to the third century based on the writing style. Kennedy 2004, 176-177 (No.2) more cautiously dates it to second/third century. Legionary horsemen are rarely attested in Arabia, with only one other example known from *Nemara* (IGLS 1.2271, discussed above).

¹⁷⁴¹ IJ 4.61: [---]λεγεωνος] ΙΙΙΙ Κυρ[ηναικης [---]ζησεν [Ξ]τη ιβ'.

¹⁷⁴² IJ 4.44; Sartre (IJ 4, p.72) claims it is possible to read *IMPP A...* in the first line rather than the singular, which might date it to the time of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, but this is by no means certain. The *cohors Aurelia* is likely a reference to either the *cohors I Aurelia classica* or the *cohors II Aurelia classica*, both of which were part of Arabia's auxiliary garrison in the 140s (based on the two extant military diplomas), and will be discussed further below.

¹⁷⁴³ IJ 4.47; AE 1968.529; Starcky and Bennett 1969, 59-60 (no.XII and Pl.X,3), who argue that it likely refers to *legio III Cyrenaica* (and that this may even be partly legible on the stone).

As the capital of the former Nabataean kingdom, securing the city militarily must have been a primary goal of the Roman invasion in 106, and maintaining a military presence in *Petra* during the next two centuries would have been necessary in order to protect, oversee, and tax the caravans and merchandise that passed through the city along the Incense Road. Although it was not the provincial capital (and thus not the official seat of the governor), it is nevertheless clear that the city continued to hold an important place in the administration of the Roman province (second only to *Bostra*),¹⁷⁴⁴ and numerous inscriptions point to the presence and activities of several governors in *Petra*,¹⁷⁴⁵ one of whom (T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus) was even buried in the city in 130 (Figure 3.24).¹⁷⁴⁶ Indeed, records from the Babatha archive reveal that various important administrative and legal decisions were made in *Petra* in the decades following Roman annexation, and in 125 a papyrus records that Babatha summoned a guardian to be judged by the governor of the province of Arabia, Julius Julianus, at *Petra*.¹⁷⁴⁷ On a more basic level, since the governor of Arabia was also the commander of *legio III Cyrenaica*, it would make sense for there to be legionary personnel wherever the governor was staying. This is especially true of the governor's staff, of whom the *stratores* (legionary guards) were drawn from the *III Cyrenaica* and they would have accompanied the governor wherever he went.¹⁷⁴⁸ The frequent presence of the provincial

¹⁷⁴⁴ Fiema 2003

¹⁷⁴⁵ IJ 4.37: G. Claudius Severus, the first governor of Arabia, from 107-115; IJ 4.1-8: Quintus Aiacus Modestus, legate ca. 204-208 dedicated eight altars (to a variety of gods) in the Qasr al-Bint at *Petra pro salute Imp(eratoris)*.

¹⁷⁴⁶ T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus was governor from 126-130 (and seems to have died in that latter year). He was buried in a lavish Nabataean(-style) tomb within *Petra's* city center in Wadi an-Nasara (DPA 1, p.382, no.763), with a Latin epitaph engraved high above the entrance (IJ 4.51) (see Figure 3.24).

¹⁷⁴⁷ Bowersock 1984, 85-86; Yadin 1963, 238; Isaac 1992; Julius Julianus is a reference to Tiberius Julius Julianus Alexander, known from an inscription honoring him at *Gerasa*/Jerash (Sartre 1976).

¹⁷⁴⁸ Speidel 1977, 695 (and further)

governor in the city and its importance as an administrative, legal, and commercial hub, certainly justify a permanent legionary garrison at *Petra*.

Based on a suggestion that the North Ridge sector of *Petra* served as a Roman military compound after 106, the Petra North Ridge Project started excavations there in 2012. Among other goals, the project aimed to investigate a sector of *Petra*'s city wall that had been mapped from the surface decades earlier but which had never been dated. Excavations down to the foundation of the wall have revealed a *terminus post quem* for its construction in the early second century, indicating that it was built around the time of the Roman annexation.¹⁷⁴⁹ Parker has suggested that the wall was built by the Roman army right after the annexation in order to fortify a section of the city to protect the new garrison, especially if the annexation had met with some initial resistance.¹⁷⁵⁰ He further proposed that the reference to 'cutting stones all day' in the letter of Julius Apollinarius (cited previously) might have referred to such a construction. The North Ridge is probably the most likely site in *Petra* for a military base since it is easily defensible and offers commanding views over the city center. Indeed, based on this fact and on several later Roman military inscriptions that were found reused in Byzantine churches built on this ridge, at least two scholars have suggested that the North Ridge served as the Roman military headquarters within *Petra* during the second and third centuries.¹⁷⁵¹ It is possible that immediately after the annexation there was a more significant military presence a *Petra* that was subsequently

¹⁷⁴⁹ Parker 2015, 315

¹⁷⁵⁰ Parker 2015, 316

¹⁷⁵¹ Parker 2015, 316-317, who cites Patricia Bikai (oral communication).

diminished to just a small garrison once the province had been pacified and fully integrated into the empire.¹⁷⁵²

Mamphis (Mamshit, Israel)

From *Petra*, the Nabataean Incense Road crossed the Wadi Araba and stretched towards the northwest, crossing Israel's Negev desert and continuing until it reached the port of *Gaza* on the Mediterranean Sea. Built by the Nabataeans during the first century to facilitate the lucrative spice and luxury good trade under their control, and taken over by the Romans after the annexation in 106, the road passed through some sixty-five stations (caravanserais) between southern Arabia and *Gaza*, according to Pliny the Elder.¹⁷⁵³ Most of the best studied caravanserais along this route come from the Negev desert (from the stretch between *Petra* and *Gaza*), which has provided plenty of archaeological evidence (and a limited amount of epigraphic evidence) for the presence of Roman military units posted there during the second and third centuries.¹⁷⁵⁴ At present, only one inscription specifically cites the *legio III Cyrenaica*, but no transcription has ever been published. The inscription in question is an epitaph found in the military cemetery at *Mamphis*, excavated by Avraham Negev, who claimed it contained an epitaph for a centurion of the *legio III Cyrenaica*.¹⁷⁵⁵ It

¹⁷⁵² Parker 2015, 317

¹⁷⁵³ Pliny the Elder, *HN* 12.32.63-65

¹⁷⁵⁴ The most recent and comprehensive archaeological survey on the *Petra-Gaza* road and the remains in the Negev is provided by Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, which does not focus on (admittedly fairly scant) epigraphic evidence.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Negev 1971, 124 (and n.63). Negev very curiously never published the legionary epitaph (and no photo has ever come to light), although he did publish the second inscription (see next note). But he specifically stated that it contained an epitaph for a centurion of the *legio III Cyrenaica*. However, in one article (1967, 52) he merely states that this second inscription was also in Latin, and that it is illegible from weathering. Currently the whereabouts of this inscription are unknown (it may still be on site, or, more likely, it is in storage at the Israeli Antiquities Authority with other material from *Mamphis* excavated by Negev). There is no indication that

was found along with another Latin epitaph, for an *eques* of the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* (discussed further below), which has been published (and can thus be confirmed).¹⁷⁵⁶

It is clear the Roman army was present along the Incense Road during the second and third centuries, and a detachment was certainly in garrison at *Mampsis*, where several soldiers were buried in a small military cemetery that was spatially removed from the civilian one. Because the inscription was never properly published it is impossible to say with full certainty that *legio III Cyrenaica* was represented here, but it certainly seems plausible, if not likely, that this would have been the case, especially since *Mampsis* was one of the largest and most important second century towns in the Negev, near the *Petra-Gaza* road (Figure 3.4). The city thrived on the basis of its proximity to this route, and a military detachment (including several legionary soldiers or officers) would have found this town to be a strategic place from which to police the central portion of this road.

Havarra (Humayma, Jordan)

The small town of *Havarra* (modern Humayma) lies in the Hisma desert of southern Jordan, about fifty kilometres southeast of *Petra* and eighty kilometres north of the Red Sea port of *Aila* ('Aqaba) (Figure 3.25). Because it served as a strategic halfway point between these two important centers along the *Via Nova Traiana*, the Roman army built a fort near the Nabataean town right after the annexation of the province.¹⁷⁵⁷ This is the earliest and best

any subsequent scholar has seen, read or confirmed the contents of this inscription, since everyone just cites Negev's word on this.

¹⁷⁵⁶ AE 1967.530=AE 1969-1970. 632; Negev 1967, 52; Negev 1971, 124.

¹⁷⁵⁷ The site has been excavated since 1987, first under the directorship of John Oleson (1987-2005), and then under the directorship of M. Barbara Reeves (2008-2012). Oleson 1990; Oleson 1992; Oleson 1995; Oleson

studied fort of Roman Arabia. Ongoing excavations in the fort and its *vicus* have produced a number of important inscriptions, several of them religious dedications. In 2000, during excavations in the fort's *vicus*, a large altar was found *in situ* inside a shrine (Room H) located within a mudbrick complex built in the late second to early third century that may have been either a large house or a multi-unit *insula*.¹⁷⁵⁸ The altar bears a Latin dedication to Jupiter Ammon for the safety of the emperors, dedicated as a gift by a vexillation of the *legio III Cyrenaica* (possibly followed by the epithet *Fel(icis)?*) together with Iulius Priscus.¹⁷⁵⁹ Based on the archaeological context and the contents of the inscription, it has been dated to no later than the first half of the third century (and possibly earlier), during one of the joint reigns of co-emperors.¹⁷⁶⁰ The altar and inscription share similarities with the inscribed altar from *Dumata* (discussed above), and the dedication to Jupiter Ammon, the patron deity of the legion, is typical. The epithet *Fel(icis)* is probably an informal one, which appears in a slightly different form on a graffito from *Nemara* (discussed earlier).¹⁷⁶¹ Several of the other inscriptions from *Havarra* (most of them in Greek) were quite possibly also erected by a soldiers of the *legio III Cyrenaica* based on Egyptian names and deities, but since the military unit is not specified in these other cases, we cannot be certain.¹⁷⁶² The evidence from *Havarra*

1997; Oleson 1999; Oleson 2001; Oleson 2004; Oleson 2008; Oleson 2009; Oleson 2010; Oleson *et al.* 1995; Oleson *et al.* 2002; Oleson *et al.* 2003; Reeves 2009.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Oleson 1999, 421-426

¹⁷⁵⁹ Oleson *et al.* 2002, 112-116 (no.4)=AE 2002.1572.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Oleson *et al.* 2002, 114 – possible pairs are M. Aurelius and L. Verus, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Philip I and II, and Valerian and Gallienus (all of whom were involved in campaigns in the east). The date might be narrowed down based on pinpointing the identity and date of Julius Priscus.

¹⁷⁶¹ Gatier 1998, 349 on this as an informal epithet. Official imperial cognomina for the *legio III Cyrenaica* appear only in the third century, including *Antoniniana* (CIL 3.121), *Severiana Alexandrina* (CIL 3.94) and *Valeriana Galliena* (ILS 1193). The nickname *Felix* was given to several legions by Vespasian (in 70) and Elagabalus (in 218) (see Oleson *et al.* 2002, note 60).

¹⁷⁶² Oleson *et al.* 2002, 117-119 (no.5), on a column dedicated to Zeus Serapis.

shows once again that vexillations of the provincial legion were stationed throughout Arabia, in strategic locations that ensured internal security.

Wadi Tuweiba (Egypt)

Not much is known about the Nabataean and Roman history of the Sinai, but epigraphic evidence and a limited amount of survey work has provided some clues. Clusters of Nabataean graffiti (and some pottery) have been identified in the northern Sinai (in the area east of the Suez Canal and southwest of the Gulf of 'Aqaba) and in the mountainous area of the southern Sinai. Although only one permanent Nabataean town is known from the southern Sinai (Tell el-Mekharet, in the Wadi Feiran), there is significant evidence of turquoise and copper mining in both the northern and southern Sinai, and road network which connected the mines with the rest of the Nabataean kingdom has been identified.¹⁷⁶³ Thus, it is clear that the Sinai peninsula was indeed an integral part of the Nabataean kingdom.¹⁷⁶⁴ After annexation it would have made sense for the Romans to secure the northern Sinai, since it encompasses the connection between the provinces of Egypt and Arabia. But is clear that the Romans took over the Nabataean copper mining operations in the southern Sinai as well, as indicated by Nabataean, Greek, and Latin graffiti clustered together near mines, which date to the second and third centuries (and later). In Wadi Tuweiba, on a rock face that ran alongside the ancient road to the Red Sea, a group of inscriptions was discovered by Fritz Frank (south of Taba, almost exactly opposite Jezirat

¹⁷⁶³ Rothenberg 1970; Sartre 1982, 37-39; Bowersock 1983, 94-95

¹⁷⁶⁴ Negev 1982

Fara'un island), which were first published by A. Alt.¹⁷⁶⁵ One is a Latin inscription, bounded by an engraved *tabula ansata*, which reads “Stay wayfarer, here worked and died Titus Atilius Turbon of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, of the *centuria* of Antonius Valens.”¹⁷⁶⁶ A couple of slightly different readings have been proposed for this inscription. One of the main points of debate has been the last word, and whether it should read *Vale(n)tis* (as a cognomen), or if it is simply *Valetis!* (which, it is argued, would make sense given the opening of the inscription that addresses the passerby).¹⁷⁶⁷ An argument that has been made in favor of the former is the existence of another inscription, *ANT VALENS*, found carved into a rockface south of ‘Ein Khudrah, on the main road from *Aila* to Wadi Feiran.¹⁷⁶⁸ Rothenberg argued that this must be the same centurion mentioned in the Wadi Tuweiba epitaph, since Wadi Tuweiba lies right at the beginning of this *Aila*-Wadi Feiran road.¹⁷⁶⁹

Either way, the Wadi Tuweiba epitaph is important because it provides the only concrete evidence for the presence of the *legio III Cyrenaica* in the southern Sinai, and given its location it must date between 106 and the end of the third century, when *Legio X Fretensis*

¹⁷⁶⁵ Frank 1934, 247; Alt 1935, 61-64

¹⁷⁶⁶ AE 1936.131=AE 1972.671; Alt 1935, 61-64 (no.2) for the original publication.

¹⁷⁶⁷ There is also some debate about the exact verb in the first line. The inscription was revisited by Rothenberg (1971, 221), and he revised Alt's original edition to read: *Immora te fiator, (h)ic operabat, ex anim(a) iit T(itus) Atilius Turbon leg(ione) III Cyr(enaica) (centuria) Ant(onii) Vale(n)tis*. This version is the one cited by Speidel (1977, 694-695). Kollmann (1972) has instead proposed *Immen(e)te, Fiatōr(es)! (H)ic operabat, ex anim(a) iit T(itus) Atilius Turbon, leg(ione) III Cyr(enaica) (centuria) Ant(onii). Valetis!* Kollmann (1972, 145) concedes that it could also just be “*Immene te, Fiatōr...*” but argues for the plural because of *Valetis* at the end, although I personally have no trouble accepting a dissonance in number between these two lines, since the inscription has a variety of peculiarities to begin with: the use of a Greek letter and an incorrect first consonant in *Fiatōr* (for *viator*), a bizarre first verb (that has been read in various ways) which might be a hybrid of ἐμμένετε and *immanete* (Kollmann 1972, 145, note 3), and, if the last word is indeed *valetis*, then we have an indicative where one would expect an imperative. But, unfortunately the best photo published so far is the one in Kollmann (1972, plate 17B), which is still of very poor quality and thus prohibits one from making an adequately informed opinion about which interpretation seems most accurate.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Rothenberg 1971, 223 (note 52)

¹⁷⁶⁹ One could also point to the inscription of C. Antonius Valens, *eques* of the same legion who died and was buried at *Petra* at the age of twenty-four after five years of service (discussed earlier in the *Petra* section). It is unlikely that this is the same individual who shows up as a centurion in Wadi Tuweiba, but it merely indicates that the name was not so uncommon.

was transferred to the nearby port of *Aila*.¹⁷⁷⁰ Because the epitaph was found near a Roman-Byzantine copper mine on the southern end of Darb el-Ghaza, and near an important route that led to other copper mines exploited during the second and third centuries, it provides proof that the Romans stationed a legionary detachment here (perhaps at least a *centuria*), in order to supervise and control the mining operations in the southern Sinai. Indeed, another Latin inscription was found in nearby Wadi Umm Sideira which reads *Victoria Augg(ustorum)*, a formula usually associated with military inscriptions.¹⁷⁷¹ Some type of work related to the local mining operations is likely the activity implied by the phrase *hic operabat* in the case of Titus Atilius Turbon.

Hegra (Mada'in Salih, Saudi Arabia)

Located approximately 800 kilometres south of *Bostra*, *Hegra* was the second-most important Nabataean city after *Petra* (Figure 3.3). Located in the desert of Saudi Arabia's Hedjaz region, this remote site been known since the nineteenth century known for its monumental Nabataean tombs bearing spectacular inscriptions,¹⁷⁷² but it has only very

¹⁷⁷⁰ Rothenberg 1971, 221

¹⁷⁷¹ Speidel 1977, 695 based on Lifshitz 1971, 151 (no.3), *contra* Rothenberg 1971, 221 (and Fig. 109) who reads it (less convincingly) as *Victoria Aug(usti) C(aesaris)*.

¹⁷⁷² This is especially noteworthy, because although *Petra* boasts a larger number of monumental tombs (many of which are much larger and more spectacular than the ones from *Hegra*), the vast majority are anepigraphic (the main exception being the so-called Turkmaniya tomb). At *Hegra*, almost a third of the tombs bear Nabataean epitaphs inscribed above the tomb entrance (seventy-nine in total). These inscriptions have important legal parameters, and they typically list the name of the tomb owner(s), the name of the individuals who had the right to be buried within the burial chamber, and any prohibitions. Fifteen epitaphs include the name of the sculptors below the inscription, which have allowed scholars to reconstruct families or schools of stonecutters (see Fiema 1987b). Some of the most common texts refer to selling, pledging or renting the tomb, and some even include curses against grave robbers. They typically date the tomb by the year of the Nabataean king's reign. For brief overview see Nehmé *et al.* 2010b, 291-296; for the tomb inscriptions, see Healey 1993; Al-Fassi 1997.

recently begun to be excavated.¹⁷⁷³ *Hegra* was an important station along the caravan route that linked southwest Arabia with *Petra* (and the Mediterranean beyond). Graffiti and tomb inscriptions have revealed the presence of numerous Nabataean officers and military personnel (and perhaps even an administrator), attesting to the importance of the town for the Nabataean kingdom's economic and military interests in this area which received a boost during the first century (after the reign of Aretas IV, from 9 BCE to 40 CE).¹⁷⁷⁴ Its remote southern location has prompted many scholars to doubt that it was encompassed within the official boundaries of the Roman province after 106. But a clearly demarcated frontier in this southern (and eastern) part of Roman Arabia (especially during the second and third centuries) did not exist. What new epigraphic evidence and excavations are making abundantly clear is that the Roman administration did maintain an interest and a significant military presence at the site (and in the area around it) during the second and third centuries, something which is consistent with the Roman takeover of the Nabataean incense route that ran through *Hegra*.

Several inscriptions have been found at *Hegra* which specifically refer to the *legio III Cyrenaica*. A Greek *stele* was found by accident in an ancient well during the 1960s which was dedicated to the “Fortune of *Bostra*” by Hadrian, “a painter with the *legio III Cyrenaica*.”¹⁷⁷⁵ As the “σὺν” makes clear, this Hadrian was not technically a member of the legion, and indeed, “painter” (ζωγράφος) is not included in the list of posts attested for

¹⁷⁷³ Since the nineteenth and early twentieth century explorers, the first systematic research at the site was undertaken in 2001. First it was by a French archaeological mission (2001-2006), and since 2008 by a joint Franco-Saudi mission. See Nehmé *et al.* 2010b, 287-288; Nehmé (ed) 2014

¹⁷⁷⁴ Nehmé *et al.* 2010b, 303

¹⁷⁷⁵ AE 1977.835=SEG 36.1379=SEG 40.1523; Barger 1969; Bowersock 1971, 230 (pl. XIV,1); Haensch 1997, 557 (and note 30); The transcription reads: Τύχη / Βόσ/τρων, / Ἀδρια/νὸς / ζωγράφος σὺν / λεγ(ιῶνι) III / Κυ(ρηναϊκῇ).

legionary soldiers.¹⁷⁷⁶ But, the inscription does indicate that a detachment of the legion was present at *Hegra* (probably in the early second century, the proposed date of this inscription), and they had a painter traveling (and presumably working) with them.

A second inscription was found during the 2003 excavations in the ancient town of *Hegra*.¹⁷⁷⁷ Dedicated to Marcus Aurelius sometime between 175-177 (based on the emperor's titles), it celebrates the restoration of a structure that had fallen into ruin by the "community of the Hegreni" (*civitas Hegrenorum*). The inscription goes on to say that this was done at the community's own expense (*suis impendiis*), under Iulius Firmanus the provincial governor, that the work was arranged by Pomponius Victor, *centurio* of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, and his colleague Numisius Clemens (presumably also a centurion), and that construction was supervised by Amrus, son of Haian, the first (man) of their community.¹⁷⁷⁸ The word that identifies the structure in question runs across two lines; the first part (at the end of line 3) is badly eroded, but it appears to end with *LUM* (at the start of line 4). It has therefore been suggested that it should be read as *[val]lum*, "rampart". This reading was also recently confirmed by a close re-examination of the stone in the al-Ula Museum laboratory, which revealed the upper tips of the two branches of a *V*, the top of an *A*, and a dot which could be the lower angle of an *L*.¹⁷⁷⁹ The fact that two centurions of the *III Cyrenaica* were in charge of the work means they probably enlisted legionary (and possibly also auxiliary) soldiers (and legionary engineers) for this task, and it further implies that this must have involved some kind of military structure, such as a city wall. Indeed, a rampart with at least five gates

¹⁷⁷⁶ Speidel 1977, 694 (note 18)

¹⁷⁷⁷ AE 2004.1620=AE 2007.1639; al-Talhi and al-Daire 2005; Speidel 2007, 296-297

¹⁷⁷⁸ al-Talhi and al-Daire 2005, 208

¹⁷⁷⁹ Villeneuve 2010, 159-160 (Fig.1)

flanked by towers has been identified surrounding the residential quarter at *Hegra*, which appears to have been originally built in the Nabataean period (in the first century CE) and then was later rebuilt/renovated during the Roman period – something that matches the information from the inscription.¹⁷⁸⁰ A rectangular military camp has also been identified along the southern part of the rampart, which may have held cavalry troops.¹⁷⁸¹ The inscription was found inside the ancient town, more than 200 metres away from nearest point of the rampart (where it was clearly in a secondary context), so it could have originally been placed at a town gate in the wall.¹⁷⁸²

Several other inscriptions have come to light very recently during ongoing excavations at one of the gates in *Hegra*'s rampart (gate G2). They are all reused in walls of the gate, and are thus in secondary contexts (presumably dating to a later rebuilding or renovation). Many are barely legible but of the few that can be deciphered one may have been dedicated to the *Genius* of the *legio III Cyrenaica* ([*Genio?? Leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) felicit[er]*). It was set up under the responsibility (*sub cura*) of Valerius Ma[---], who must have been the most senior officer. It goes on to say that P. Iafidus Faustus the centurion *princeps prior* of the ninth cohort, C. Repostus the centurion *pilus posterior* of the eighth cohort, and the “soldiers on duty at the gate” (*stationari[i] ad porta(m)*), all together give

¹⁷⁸⁰ Villeneuve 2014, 28; cf. CIL 3.6027/6028=CIL 3.14149.02=PES III.A.8, 131-132 (no.232)=IJ 5.1.124, from Umm el-Jimal (northern Jordan), discussed above (under “Umm el-Jimal”), which is contemporaneous (dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus). It celebrates the completion of an *opus valli*, which must have referred to the wall of the Roman settlement in 177-180 (although the gate in front of which the inscription was found may have originally been the west gate of an older fort, which became the gate of the city when the walls of the fort were demolished and the fortifications were extended to include the whole settlement). That *vallum* was also built under the provincial governor of Arabia, and, presumably, also involved the Roman army.

¹⁷⁸¹ Villeneuve 2014, 24, 53 (Fig.7); Nehmé 2014, 227 reported that there were plans to excavate the military camp under the direction of Z.T. Fiema in 2015.

¹⁷⁸² Like the contemporaneous Umm el-Jimal inscription noted above.

thanks (*gratias agimus*), “with?” the camel-riders (*eq(uites) dro(medarii)*).¹⁷⁸³ The excavators proposed this reading in terms of dealing with the *equites dromedarii* appended at the end (they supplied a “with” before *equites*), but the way it is written leaves open the possibility that the *equites dromedarii* are meant to be equated with the *stationarii ad portam*. The term *stationarii* used to refer to the soldiers posted at *Hegra* would indicate that there was a *statio* here – a military outpost or road station. Documents from the Egypt’s Eastern Desert dating to the second century tell us that *stationarii* were charged with controlling the traffic through the desert, so this is most likely the same situation here.¹⁷⁸⁴ The inscription confirms that there were at least two cohorts of the *legio III Cyrenaica* at *Hegra*, and that these were stationed here along with camel-riders who probably belonged to the *ala I Ulpia dromedariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria*.

Another partial inscription, badly worn and barely legible has been reconstructed as saying “To *I.O.M. Hammon*, the *legio III Cyrenaica*...”¹⁷⁸⁵ Two more inscriptions were written on two faces of a corner stone reused in the gate. Its corner edge, between the two inscriptions, is decorated with a crude relief of an eagle holding the draped bust of a male figure on its outstretched wings. One side reads, “To our happy god *Hammon* [or: To our god *Hammon*, happily], Titus Antonius Proclus, first centurion of the legion ((*centurio*) *pr(imus pilus)*) and Ulpus Bassus, centurion *tit(ularius?) eius* (“his assistant?” “secretary?”),

¹⁷⁸³ Villeneuve 2014, 37-38 (Latin inscription 35004_i06 (Figs. 32/22 and 34): [*Genio?? Leg(ionis)*] / *III Cyr(enaicae) felicit[er]!* / *Su(b) cura Valeri(i) Ma[---]* / (*centurio*) *IX Pr(inceps) Pri(or) P(ublius) Iafidus Faustus* / (*centurio*) *VIII Pil(us) Pos(terior) C(aius) Repostus et* / *stationari[i] ad porta[m]* / *gratias agimus eq(uites) dro(medarii)*).

¹⁷⁸⁴ Villeneuve 2014, 38

¹⁷⁸⁵ Villeneuve 2014, 38-39 (Latin inscription 35004_i05 (Figs. 32/21 and 35): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(ammoni) Leg(io) III [C]y[r](enaica) [---*

we escaped well (or: “we reached the end of our road well”) and we give thanks.”¹⁷⁸⁶ The name Ulpus would imply a Trajanic or immediately post-Trajanic date, but Bassus is also frequent in the early third century. On the other face of the block is a short, heavily abbreviated and ligatured inscription that is difficult to read. The following tentative reading has been proposed: “To *I.O.M. Hammon*, [missing name?], warrant officer of the centurion (*op(tio) (centurionis?)*) of the first cohort of the Ca[---?] in the *legio III Cyrenaica*.”¹⁷⁸⁷

Finally, on the walls of gate G2 numerous graffiti have been documented, among them names that probably belonged to soldiers. These include Chasetos Baris, whose first name is a Hellenised form of the a Semitic name commonly found in Greek inscriptions from the Hauran in the north of Arabia, and whose last name (or father’s name?) is a Hellenised version of the Latin name *Varius*.¹⁷⁸⁸ Komodos probably wrote his name during the reign of Commodus (177-192), since the emperor’s name was no longer popular after the *damnatio memoriae* following his death.¹⁷⁸⁹ Maximos Zedilos (“whoever he may be”) may have had a *praenomen* that can no longer be deciphered, although it is possible that Maximos (= Latin *Maximus*, a common name among soldiers) and Zedilos (= theophoric Semitic name *Zayd’el*) were his father and grandfather.¹⁷⁹⁰ The most overtly Roman name is

¹⁷⁸⁶ Villeneuve 2014, 37 (Latin inscription 35003-i02 (Fig. 37): *Ham(m)o(ni) Nostro felici(ter)* (or: *Felici*) / *T(itus) Anto(nius) Proclus (centurio) pri(mus pilus) (et) / Ulp(ius) Bassus (centurio) tit(ularius?) eius / bene exivimus, graltias agimus*.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Villeneuve 2014, 40 (Latin inscription 35009_i01 (Fig. 38): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(ammoni) L(...)* *N(...)* *I(...)* / *Co(hortis) (primae) Ca(...)* *op(tio) (centurionis?) Leg(ionis) (tertia) Cyr(enaicae)*.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Villeneuve 2014, 41 (Inscription 35002_i01 (Fig. 32/14 and Fig. 39): *MNHCΘH / XACETOC BAPIC*

¹⁷⁸⁹ Villeneuve 2014, 41 (Inscription 35004_i01 (Fig. 32/15 and Fig. 40): *MNHCΘH / KOMOΔOC*

¹⁷⁹⁰ Villeneuve 2014, 41 (Inscription 35004_i01 (Fig. 32/19 and Fig. 41): *MNHCΘH .A.HC / MAΞIMOC ZEAI/AOC OΠOY AN HI*. The Greek formula at the end (“whoever he may be”) is not uncommon in graffiti starting with *MNHCΘH*, as seen in the graffiti not far from *Hegra* left by members of the *ala Gaetulorum veterana* (discussed later) southeast of the Jebel Ithlib, and it is seen in other graffiti found on gate G2 at *Hegra*.

Sep(timo?)s Foskianos (= Septimus Fuscianus).¹⁷⁹¹ The name is immediately reminiscent of Fuscianus Severus, the *eques dis(pensator?)* of the *ala Gaetulorum veterana* who left his name in a graffito not far from *Hegra*, southeast of Jebel Ithlib. The name was probably taken from one of two governors of Arabia, C. Allius Fuscianus or M. Caecilius Fuscianus, which would date the inscription to either the late second or early third century.¹⁷⁹²

The dedications to the patron deity of the *legio III Cyrenaica* and the reuse of these blocks in gate G2 of *Hegra*'s rampart indicate that there was an earlier Roman phase of the gate than the architecture that is currently visible. Excavations at the gate indicate a construction phase in the early second century (probably right after the annexation, when the army secured the area), followed by another phase in the later second century (probably around 175-177, under Marcus Aurelius, based on the dated inscription indicating the rebuilding of the rampart). Together, all of these inscriptions make it abundantly clear that Roman *Hegra* had an important military presence, including detachments from the *legio III Cyrenaica* and the *ala I Ulpia Dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria*. Undoubtedly this had to do with ensuring the security of luxury trade goods that entered Arabia on the Incense Road via *Hegra*, on their way to the port of Gaza.

¹⁷⁹¹ Villeneuve 2014, 41-42 (Inscription 35003-i01 (Fig. 32/3 and Fig. 42): *MNHCΘH / CEIIC . ΦO/CKIAANOC*. The first name is hard to read, and it has been taken as *SEPS*, an abbreviation for Septimus.

¹⁷⁹² Speidel (1984a, 410, note to p.247, no.3), in talking about Fuscianus Severus, argued that the horseman must have gotten his unusual name from one of the two Arabian governors: C. Allius Fuscianus or M. Caecilius Fuscianus. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in the Roman army (see Syme 1968, 101 and Speidel 1984a, 206-207 for an example of this from Syria).

THE AUXILIA

(see Figures 5.4-5.5 and Table 3)

ALAE MILLIARIAE

Ala I Ulpia Dromedariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria

This is the earliest known Roman auxiliary unit of *dromedarii* (camel riders).¹⁷⁹³ The unit appears in both Arabian military diplomas – with its full name in the 142 diploma, as *ala I Ulpia droma(dariorum) Palmyr(enorum) (milliaria)*,¹⁷⁹⁴ and without *Palmyrenorum* in the 145 diploma.¹⁷⁹⁵ So we know the unit was part of Arabia’s garrison in the early 140s. Camel riders and horsemen of this unit were evidently active in the far south of the province, where a number of them left graffiti on rocks along the Incense Road between *Hegra* and *Dedan* (modern Al-Ula) in the Hedjaz (Saudi Arabia).¹⁷⁹⁶ These short inscriptions are concentrated about twelve kilometres north of Al-Ula, in a place where the desert track and the Hedjaz railway pass through a narrow space between two massive boulders (Qubur al-Jundi on the east, and Maq‘ad al Jundi, on the west).¹⁷⁹⁷ On the eastern face of Qubur al-Jundi (“Tomb of the Soldier”), there are inscriptions in Nabataean, Greek and Latin,¹⁷⁹⁸ and high up on the eastern face of the boulder named Maq‘ad al Jundi (“Station of the Soldier”), there are more Nabataean inscriptions.¹⁷⁹⁹ These short graffiti mostly contain names, but

¹⁷⁹³ Dąbrowa 1991, 364

¹⁷⁹⁴ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 255

¹⁷⁹⁵ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 257

¹⁷⁹⁶ Speidel 1977, 703-704; Graf 1988, 192-196 (nos. 1-7); Jaussen and Savignac 1914, 644=AS 3.163-167; Seyrig 1941, 219-220 (nos.5-20)

¹⁷⁹⁷ Graf 1988, 192. Graf was the first to revisit the site, photograph the inscriptions and offer updated readings of them since the original early twentieth century publications.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Graf 1988, 192-199, nos.1-15 (plates 8-11)

¹⁷⁹⁹ Graf 1988, 199-202, nos.16-24 (plate 12)

some also list titles and the name of the unit. Graffiti in Greek contain Kassis, a camel rider (δρομεδάρης) in the *turma* (τόρμα) *Marini*,¹⁸⁰⁰ Magnus, possibly from the *turma* of Kassis,¹⁸⁰¹ Severus, a camel rider and a *beneficiarius* of the *ala dromedariorum*,¹⁸⁰² Ulpi(u)s and Magnus, horsemen of the *ala dromedariorum*,¹⁸⁰³ Demetris Zannion the camel-rider,¹⁸⁰⁴ and Ulpianus the horseman.¹⁸⁰⁵ Other Greek inscriptions clustered among these contain just the names of what were also undoubtedly soldiers, including Antoninos (and an Antoneinos)¹⁸⁰⁶ and Wahaballat,¹⁸⁰⁷ and a Latin inscription records Titus.¹⁸⁰⁸ The three graffiti written in Nabataean refer to ‘Usem, a horseman, Sabru the son of Awsu from Salkhad, and an unnamed son of Ashadu and his companions who are horsemen of the guard.¹⁸⁰⁹ The use of the Nabataean language, the Nabataean names and the reference to Salkhad (in the Hauran) reveal that at least several of the riders in this *ala* were native Nabataeans/Arabians.¹⁸¹⁰ It is noteworthy that the Greek graffiti contain several Latin names, of which Ulpi(u)s might

¹⁸⁰⁰ Seyrig 1941, 219 (no.5); Speidel 1977, 704 (no.1); Graf 1988, 194-195 (no.6): μνησθῆ Κάσσις δρομεδάρης / τόρμα Μαρίνι. (“May Kassis, camel-rider (in) the turma Marini, be remembered.”)

¹⁸⁰¹ μνησθῆ Μάγνος Τ (=turma?) Κάσσις[.

¹⁸⁰² μνησθῆ Σεουήρος εἴλης δρομεδάριος β(ενε)φ(ικιάριος).

¹⁸⁰³ Seyrig 1941, 219 (no.8)=Jaussen and Savignac 1914, no.10)=Graf 1988, 194 (no.5): Μνησθῆ / Οὐλπις (καὶ) Μάγνος, ἱππαῖς εἴλης δρομε/δάρι(ων).

¹⁸⁰⁴ μνησθῆ (sic) Δημήτρις Ζαννίων δρομ(εδάριος) Πιτ(ε)ρᾶς.

¹⁸⁰⁵ μνησ[θῆ] Οὐλπιανὸς ἱπεύς.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Graf 1988, 192 (no.1)=Jaussen and Savignac 1914, no.5 (plate 9): μν(η)σθῆ Ἀντωνίνος (“May Antoninos be remembered.”) In Jaussen and Savignac 1914, no.9 (located nearby) an Ἀντωνεῖνος is remembered.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Graf 1988, 194 (no.4)=Jaussen and Savignac 1914, no.8 (plate 9): Μνησθῆ Οὐαβαλλάς (“May Wahaballat be remembered.”) The Hellenized spelling of the Semitic name is comparable to Aramaic *whb-’lhw* (“Allat has given”) which appears in a Nabataean inscription nearby (Jaussen and Savignac 1914, no.225) and is not uncommonly found throughout the Nabataean kingdom. Apparently the name is also found in two other Greek inscriptions in Arabia (see Graf 1998, 194).

¹⁸⁰⁸ Seyrig 1941, 220 (no.20) and Speidel 1977, 704 (no.10) both read it as *BENEFIT / TITUS / λME*, in which the first word is taken as an abbreviation for *beneficiarius*, although that is a very rare form of an abbreviation for that title (assuming the Γ is meant to be an F). Graf 1988, 195-196 (no.7) re-evaluated the inscription and proposed a much better reading: *BENE SIT / TITUS / AME*. (“May Titus be well. *AME*.”), although *Titus* should technically appear in the Dative form (*Titō*) for it to be grammatically correct. Graf very tentatively hypothesized that *AME*, which has defied convincing interpretation, may perhaps be *a(la) m(illiaria) e(xploratorum)*, but this is pure speculation.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Cited in English by Speidel 1977, 704 (nos. 7-9)

¹⁸¹⁰ Seyrig 1940, 167 (AS??)

perhaps be indicative of a second century date (whereas Antoninus could be second or third centuries).

Not too far from Qubur al-Jundi and Maq'ad al Jundi is the site of *Hegra* (Mada'in Saleh, Saudi Arabia). As already discussed in the section on the *legio III Cyrenaica*, several inscriptions from the site have proven the presence of a Roman legionary detachment at the site, in association with a rampart built around the town. One of the inscriptions was apparently dedicated to the *Genius* of the *legio III Cyrenaica* ([*Genio?? Leg(ionis)*] *III Cyr(enaicae) felicit[er]*). It was set up under the responsibility (*sub cura*) of Valerius Ma[---]. It states that P. Iafidus Faustus the centurion *princeps prior* of the ninth cohort, C. Repostus the centurion *pilus posterior* of the eighth cohort, and the “soldiers on duty at the gate” (*stationari[i] ad porta(m)*), all together give thanks (*gratias agimus*), “with?” the camel-riders (*eq(uites) dro(medarii)*).¹⁸¹¹ The excavators proposed this reading in terms of dealing with the *equites dromedarii* appended at the end (they supplied a “with” before *equites*), but the way it is written leaves open the possibility that the *equites dromedarii* are meant to be equated with the *stationarii ad portam*. The term *stationarii* to refer to the soldiers posted at *Hegra* would indicate that there was a *statio* here – a small military outpost. Documents from the Egypt's Eastern Desert dating to the second century tell us that *stationarii* were charged with controlling the traffic through the desert, so this is most likely the same situation here.¹⁸¹² The inscription confirms that there were at least two cohorts of the *legio III Cyrenaica* at

¹⁸¹¹ Villeneuve 2014, 37-38 (Latin inscription 35004_i06 (Figs. 32/22 and 34): [*Genio?? Leg(ionis)*] / *III Cyr(enaicae) felicit[er]!* / *Su(b) cura Valeri(i) Ma[---]* / (*centurio*) *IX Pr(inceps) Pri(or) P(ublius) Iafidus Faustus* / (*centurio*) *VIII Pil(us) Pos(terior) C(aius) Repostus et* / *stationari[i] ad porta[m]* / *gratias agimus eq(uites) dro(medarii)*).

¹⁸¹² Villeneuve 2014, 38

Hegra, and that these were stationed here along with camel-riders who most likely belonged to the *ala I Ulpia dromadariosum Palmyrenorum milliaria*.

The unit is mentioned in an honorary inscription at *Palmyra* for the Palmyrene horseman *Ti. Claudius P[...]* from the 150s, prefect of the *ala* (ἑπαρχὸν ἑλῆς πρώτης [Οὐλί]ας δρομαδαρίων Παλμυρη[---]),¹⁸¹³ who had previously been prefect of the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* (also stationed in Arabia).¹⁸¹⁴ It is likely that this inscription was set up in this officer's hometown to honor him, and not as an indication that he was stationed in *Palmyra* with these troops, both of which are attested as part of the *exercitus Arabicus* in the 140s. At the same time, however, an *ala I Ulpia dromadariosum milliaria* is listed among the troops of Syria in two military diplomas from 153¹⁸¹⁵ and 157.¹⁸¹⁶ This must be the same military unit, since it seems unlikely that there were separate *alae* bearing identical names and located in neighboring provinces, especially since *alae milliariae* are very rare¹⁸¹⁷ (and the *Palmyrenorum* is evidently optional as seen in the Arabian diploma from 145).¹⁸¹⁸ So, it would seem that sometime between 145 (when it is in Arabia) and 153 (when it is in Syria), the whole *ala* or a part thereof, temporarily or permanently, was added to the *exercitus Syriacus*. Perhaps this transfer was related to tensions between Rome and Parthia,

¹⁸¹³ Its full name in the military diplomas proves that the *ala dromadariosum* (from the Hedjaz graffiti) and the *ala I dromadariosum Palmyrenorum* (from the honorific inscription in *Palmyra*) must refer to the same unit. Prior to the discovery of the diplomas, Speidel (1977, 704) treated them as separate units (considering *ala I Ulpia dromedariosum* to be in Syria, and the *ala dromadariosum* to be in Arabia).

¹⁸¹⁴ AE 1947.171=CIL 16.106=ILS 9057; Gebhardt 2002, 289, n.3 argues, based on this inscription, that the reference to *Palmyra* is not part of the unit's name, but a reference to the place. This view has been disproven by the discovery of the military diploma which leaves no doubt that the unit was in fact *Palmyrenorum*. The *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* was also part of *exercitus Arabicus*, and it is discussed below.

¹⁸¹⁵ Unpublished, but mentioned in Weiß and Speidel 2004, 247

¹⁸¹⁶ CIL 16.106=ILS 9057; The *ala* shows up at the end of the list of Syria's *alae*, despite being a *milliaria*.

¹⁸¹⁷ Birley 1966 [1988]

¹⁸¹⁸ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 257-258

but we really have no way of knowing.¹⁸¹⁹ Or perhaps the unit was based somewhere in northern Arabia near the border with Syria and the administrative border between the two provinces was altered, thus *de iure* transferring the *ala* to the command of the Syrian governor. Because the *Hegra* graffiti is difficult to date with any precision, it is not possible to know whether they represent the *ala* in Arabia before it was sent to Syria, or after its return, or both. Or perhaps it represents a detachment of the *ala* which stayed in Arabia.

One final piece of evidence is an inscription from the southern El-Leja, which was part of the province of Arabia in the third century. It records Iulius Candidus, a *veteranus ex duplicarius*, possibly of the same unit: *ala drum(edariorum)*.¹⁸²⁰ Unfortunately this inscription cannot be precisely dated on its own, and the location in which it was found belonged to the province of Syria in the second century, before being transferred to Arabia in the third century. So it still cannot help us answer questions about where the *ala dromedariorum* was stationed after 157.

As its name implies, the *ala* was created by Trajan in the early second century, possibly in order to conquer the Nabataean kingdom,¹⁸²¹ or as part of his Parthian campaigns.¹⁸²² The *ala* may well have been part of the initial Roman annexation force in Arabia, brought from Syria under Cornelius Palma. It was stationed in Arabia during at least part of the second century (and possibly longer), and it appears at least some of its members (both horsemen and camel riders) were deployed to the southernmost part of the province

¹⁸¹⁹ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 258.

¹⁸²⁰ CIL 3.123=ILS 2541=AS 3.178; The inscription reads: *Iulius Candidus / vet(e)ranus ex dupl(l)icarius) V al(ae) drum(edariorum)*. The 'V' is problematic.

¹⁸²¹ Holder 1980, 18; Coulston 1985, 295; Dąbrowa 1991, 364

¹⁸²² Weiß and Speidel 2004, 258

where they likely guarded a road station on the Incense Route between *Hegra* and *Dedan*.¹⁸²³ Initially raised among the Palmyrenes (as its name implies), the *ala I Ulpia dromadariorum* followed the normal pattern of local recruitment after its transfer. It would have been brought into Arabia initially as a unit of (Palmyrene) foreigners, but as the graffiti from *Hegra* show, Nabataeans quickly joined its ranks. Nabataeans would have been especially well-suited for service in such a unit, since they had long tradition of using camels in this particular environment.

¹⁸²³ The presence of at least one official with the title of *beneficiarius* among the individuals represented in the graffiti could be taken to imply the presence of an imperial toll station on this portion of the road (between *Dedan* and *Hegra*); see Graf 1988, 172.

ALAE QUINGENARIAE

Ala Gaetulorum veterana

This cavalry unit appears as *ala Gaetulorum veterana* in the Arabian diploma from 142, and as *ala veterana Gaetulorum* in the Arabian diploma from 145,¹⁸²⁴ so it too was part of the *exercitus Arabicus* in the early 140s. Originally created in Africa, the unit fought in 68 in the Judaic War under Vespasian, and then remained in Judaea (where it appears in diplomas from 86, 87 and 90), possibly until the annexation of Arabia in 106. It likely transferred to Arabia after the annexation, and stayed there throughout the second (and maybe third?) century. Its only attestation on the ground in Arabia is in the Hedjaz, just south of *Hegra*. Four lines of Greek graffiti were found inscribed on a rock face in the plain of *Hegra*, to the southeast of Jebel Ithlib.¹⁸²⁵ On the rock are remembered an unnamed ἔκκυης ἄλα Γετουρῶ[v] (sic),¹⁸²⁶ Urbanus (Οὐρβανός)¹⁸²⁷, Germanus (Γερμανός),¹⁸²⁸ and Fuscianus Severus, *eques dis(pensator?)* of the *ala*. The last soldier's unusual name was probably taken from one of two governors of Arabia, C. Allius Fuscianus or M. Caecilius Fuscianus, which would date the inscription to either the late second or early third century.

¹⁸²⁹ The name is reminiscent of Sep(timo?)s Foskianos (=Septimus Fuscianus), most likely also a soldier, who left his name in a graffito on gate G2 in the rampart that encircled the

¹⁸²⁴ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 257. Thus, it seems this unusually named unit lacked a numeral.

¹⁸²⁵ Jaussen and Savignac 1914, 647; Seyrig 1941, 219 (nos.1-4); Speidel 1977, 247

¹⁸²⁶ Seyrig 1941, 219 (nos.1)=Speidel 1977, 247 (no.1): μνησθῆ [ὁ δ.] ἔκκυης ἄλα Γετουρῶ[v], μνησθῆ ὁ τόπος.

¹⁸²⁷ Seyrig 1941, 219 (nos.2)=Speidel 1977, 247 (no.2): μνησθῆ Οὐρβανός καὶ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων, ὅπου ἂν ᾤ.

¹⁸²⁸ Seyrig 1941, 219 (nos.4)=Speidel 1977, 247 (no.4): μνησθῆ Γερμανός.

¹⁸²⁹ Φουσκιανὸς Σεουερος ἔκκυης δις(πενσάτωρ?) ἄλε Γετουλῶν. Seyrig 1941, 219 (nos.3) and Speidel 1977, 247 (no.3) both read the name as Φολσκιανός, but this was corrected later by Speidel (1984a, 410, note to p.247, no.3), who argued that the horseman must have gotten his unusual name from one of two Arabian governors: C. Allius Fuscianus or M. Caecilius Fuscianus. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in the Roman army (see Syme 1968, 101 and Speidel 1984a, 206-207 for an example of this from Syria).

town of *Hegra*, not far from Jebel Ithlib.¹⁸³⁰ The various Latinisms in these graffiti show the extent to which Latin dominated as the official language of the Roman military, even in the furthest eastern outposts of the empire.

One other inscription, from Moesia Inferior, attests to the presence of this *ala* in Arabia in the late second century. Perhaps during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Sedatios Apollonius, a prefect of the *ala Gaetulorum*, dedicated an altar to Good Fortune and to the Thracian deity *Heros Manibazos* (sic) in *Tomis* (Constanța, Romania) on the Black Sea.¹⁸³¹ The inscription mentions that the *ala Gaetulorum* is “in Arabia” (εἰλης Γαιτούλων τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ). This specification in the inscription was probably meant to distinguish this Arabian *ala* from the *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* which was stationed in Moesia Inferior at that time.¹⁸³² The *Tomis* altar clearly does not indicate that the Arabian unit was present on the lower Danube in the late second century.¹⁸³³ Rather, it seems Sedatios Apollonius was in *Tomis* when he was appointed as a new prefect of the Arabian *ala*, and he made a dedication celebrating his new appointment before leaving to take over the post in Arabia.¹⁸³⁴

Like the *ala I Ulpia dromadariorum* discussed above, the horsemen of *ala Gaetulorum veterana* were probably guarding a toll station just outside *Hegra* on the stretch of the Incense Road leading north from *Dedan*. Given the attested presence of both cavalry units within

¹⁸³⁰ Villeneuve 2014, 41-42 (Inscription 35003-i01 (Fig. 32/3 and Fig. 42): *MNHCΘH / CEΠIC . ΦO/CKIAANOC*. The first name is hard to read, and it has been taken as *SEPS*, an abbreviation for Septimus.

¹⁸³¹ Rădulescu 1964, 155-158 (no.10, fig. 10); Matei-Popescu 2011, 307-308: Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι / Ἡρωὶ Μανιβάζῳ Σηδάτιος / [Α]πολλώνιος ἑ/παρχος ἱπτέων (sic) / εἰλης Γαιτούλων / τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ / εὐχήν. This is the only inscription that spells the Thracian deity's name as Ἡρῶς Μανίβαζος instead of the usual Ἡρῶς Μανίμαζος.

¹⁸³² c.f. Piso 1976

¹⁸³³ *Contra* Rădulescu (1964, 156) who believed that this was proof that the unit moved from Arabia to Moesia Inferior at this time.

¹⁸³⁴ Speidel 1977, 706. This is not entirely uncommon – there are many epigraphic examples showing new appointments being mentioned in the place of former service. The same Sedatios Apollonius erected another altar to Good Fortune and to his Ancestral Gods, probably also in *Tomis* (it was recently found in the National Museum of Antiquities Museum in Bucharest without known provenance) – see Matei-Popescu 2011.

twenty kilometres of each other, it would appear that throughout the second century (and quite possibly later), Roman auxiliary cavalry units played an important role in patrolling the southernmost reaches of Roman Arabia, where there could well have been several road stations along the Incense Road.

COHORTES QUINGENARIAE EQUITATAE

Cohors I Aelia classica

This unit is only known in the two Arabia diplomas (from 142 and 145), although it lacks the name *Aelia* in the later diploma.¹⁸³⁵ One problem with identifying this unit is the existence of an identically named unit from diplomas in Britain also dated to 145/146.¹⁸³⁶ Given its presence on contemporaneous diplomas from two opposite ends of the empire, could they possibly be referring to the same unit? Weiß and Speidel contend that it is unlikely the Arabian unit was immediately sent off to Britain in 145, since it seems impractical and there appears to be no logical reason for such a dramatic transfer.¹⁸³⁷ Based on its name and the date of the diplomas, it seems the unit was created by Hadrian using soldiers from a provincial fleet, probably in response to the Bar Kokhba revolt in Judaea (which ended in 136). We know that Hadrian initially sent Cn. Minucius Faustinus Sex. Iulius Severus from Britain to Judaea in order to deal with the uprising. He was successful and celebrated a major triumph, receiving decorations from the emperor. Since the army was significantly strengthened in the area of the conflict through vexillations, one theory is that a vexillation of the British *cohors I Aelia classica* was sent (along with other detachments) from Britain to Judaea together with Sex. Iulius Severus. Then, after the Bar Kokhba revolt was suppressed, the cohort was strengthened to become a full unit and remained there.¹⁸³⁸ But, to date there is still no evidence for a transfer of troops from far-flung (and just recently re-

¹⁸³⁵ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 259 – clearly the 145 diploma must refer to the same unit, since this is the unit of the diploma's recipient (a Numidian).

¹⁸³⁶ Holder 1998, 254-255. It appears to have been *equitata*. For the diploma of 145/146 see RIB 2401.10.

¹⁸³⁷ Holder 1998, 259-262 for a discussion about this problem.

¹⁸³⁸ Holder 1998, 260

pacified) Britannia to Judaea, or to the neighboring provinces of Syria or Arabia. Furthermore, in 142 the unit was already in Arabia under the command of the Arabian governor, not in Judaea, and not under the command of Sex. Iulius Severus. The British *cohors I Aelia classica*, moreover, reappears in Britain in a diploma of 158 issued to a cavalryman of that cohort (which was therefore *equitata*).¹⁸³⁹

The problem is not resolved, but Weiß and Speidel rightly insist that the creation of this Arabian unit must have had something to do with the Bar Kokhba revolt, since we know the conflict also affected Judaea's neighboring provinces. After all, Arabia's legate at the time, T. Haterius Nepos, was honored with the *ornamenta triumphalis* by Hadrian at the end of the war, alongside the Judaeian and Syrian legates, which in itself implies that the *exercitus Arabicus* played a significant role in the suppression of the revolt.¹⁸⁴⁰ Since soldiers from provincial fleets were recruited to create these new auxiliary units, an urgent *ad hoc* need is implied.¹⁸⁴¹ In fact, it is known that during the Bar Kochba revolt gaps in the *legio X Fretensis* in Judaea were filled using large numbers of recruits from the *classis Misenensis*.¹⁸⁴² Thus, it seems likely that *cohors I Aelia classica* was raised during the Bar Kokhba revolt from either the *classis Alexandrina* or the *classis Syriaca*, as indicated by the recipient of the 145 Arabian diploma. He was a Numidian who was recruited into a fleet in 120, and thus probably served in the western Mediterranean, where the fleet, composed of contingents of the Syrian and Alexandrian fleets, was based in Caesarea (in Mauretania Caesariensis).¹⁸⁴³ Perhaps this

¹⁸³⁹ Holder 1998, 255

¹⁸⁴⁰ Holder 1998, 261

¹⁸⁴¹ In times of crisis entire legions could be raised using soldiers from fleets: Nero thus recruited *Legio I Adiutrix*, and Vespasian the *Legio II Adiutrix*.

¹⁸⁴² Holder 1998, 261; Eck 1999, 79. The gaps in the *classis Misenensis* were then filled with new recruits, especially from Thrace.

¹⁸⁴³ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 262

cohors classica was created for Arabia as a relief or a reserve for the Arabian troops sent off to fight in Judaea (such as the *legio III Cyrenaica*). Unfortunately we have no evidence on the ground to indicate where this cohort was active in Arabia, and for how long it continued to be garrisoned there.

Cohors I Augusta Canathenorum

The unit is only known from a fragment of a Latin inscription found at *Motha* (modern Imtan, southern Syria), south of Jebel al-‘Arab.¹⁸⁴⁴ The remains of the dedication just mentions “the soldiers and horsemen of the *cohors I Canathenorum* and....made (it)”.¹⁸⁴⁵ Some editors have suggested adding [*Flavia*] in the unit’s name (*cohors I [Flavia?] Canathenorum*) so that it can be identified with the *cohors I Flavia Canathenorum* from Raetia, which would mean that the cohort left Arabia for Raetia by 125, but this identification is not certain since it could well be a distinct unit.¹⁸⁴⁶ If this chronology is correct, it would imply that the cohort was in Arabia early on, and thus might have been part of the annexation force, but at this point this is pure speculation. The presence of *equites* within its ranks indicates that the unit was *equitata* (part-mounted). Perhaps the dedicants that are now missing from the fragmentary inscription were soldiers of the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* which is also attested at the site on two separate inscriptions and which was certainly in Arabia during the second century (discussed below). The site of *Motha*, along with the adjacent site of Inat, were both located on the *Via Severiana* which ran down to the

¹⁸⁴⁴ Its ancient name appears in various ancient sources as both *Motha* and *Mothona* (and variations thereof) – I have chosen to use *Motha* for simplicity’s sake (on this see Sartre 2002, 226-227, and n.92).

¹⁸⁴⁵ CIL 3.14379=Kennedy 2004, 219, no.3=Speidel 1977, 709. It is probably a dedication, and it reads: [---] *mil(ites) et equ(i)tes coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) Canathen(or)um et . ACHI . T fec(er)unt*.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Kellner 1971, 206-215; Speidel 1977, 709

Azraq Oasis in Jordan.¹⁸⁴⁷ Although no significant physical remains were found, both sites were clearly of military significance, as attested by a large number of military inscriptions spanning several centuries.

Cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata

The *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* appears in both Arabian military diplomas, so we can confirm that it was definitely part of Arabia's garrison in 142 and 145. Prior to that, we know that it was in Syria in 88 based on another military diploma.¹⁸⁴⁸ It has therefore been proposed that the cohort formed part of the annexation force brought into Arabia from Syria under Cornelius Palma, and that it subsequently stayed on as part of the new province's garrison. The discovery of the Arabian diplomas has allowed us confirm that there were in fact two different *cohortes I Thracum* in the *exercitus Arabicus*: the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* and the *cohors I Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)* (discussed below), thus settling earlier debates. It seems *Augusta* is the key to distinguishing between the two units (since *equitata* and *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* are not always included epigraphically). Further confusion has also been caused the existence of a *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata c(ivium) R(omanorum)* attested in Pannonia Inferior in 167, but the consensus now seems to be that the Pannonian cohort is a separate unit from the two attested in Arabia (and indeed, its name is a combination of the two rather than a direct equivalent to either one).¹⁸⁴⁹

¹⁸⁴⁷ Kissel 2001

¹⁸⁴⁸ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 259

¹⁸⁴⁹ CIL 16.123; for this debate, see Speidel 1977, 711 (and n.86) and AE 1967.530 (p.171). For the *cohors I Augusta Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)* and problems with its deployment and identification see Zahariade 2009, 137-139.

On the ground in Arabia, the cohort is epigraphically attested at three sites: at *Motha* and Umm el-Quttein in the southern Hauran (in the north of the province), and at *Mamphis* in the Negev (in the southwest of the province). At Umm el-Quttein a Latin inscription was found on a large limestone block in the ruins of the fort located north of the town, where it must have originated.¹⁸⁵⁰ It simply records the name of the unit: *COH I / AUGTHR / EQ*.¹⁸⁵¹ The large fort where the inscription was found was built during the second century, and it is certainly large enough to accommodate an entire part-mounted cohort such as this one.¹⁸⁵² Only some twenty-five kilometres to the northeast of Umm el-Quttein, at *Motha*, two other large blocks were found which both bear identical inscriptions of the unit's name.¹⁸⁵³ Finally, a tombstone was found in the military cemetery at *Mamphis* in the Negev (Kurnub/Mamshit, Israel), which commemorates Diogenes, son of Alexander, *equus* of the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata*.¹⁸⁵⁴ It is noteworthy that at both Umm el-Quttein and at *Mamphis*, there is also epigraphic evidence for soldiers of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, so it seems this cohort was active, at least to some extent, directly alongside the legion.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Umm el-Quttein is discussed in more detail above (p.??). The block is far too large to have been brought here from elsewhere as building material. For the fort at Umm el-Quttein, see Kennedy 2004, 81-82; Kennedy and Riley 1990, 141-143; Gregory 1996, 274-275

¹⁸⁵¹ CIL 3.109=IJ 5.742=AE 1928.154=Zahariade 2009, 202=Kennedy and MacAdam 1986, 234-236, no.3 (with a drawing of the stone)=Kennedy 2004, 82-83, no.2 (and Fig. 9.3 for photo). Because the stone is damaged in the part where the numeral was inscribed, Kennedy (2004) and Kennedy and MacAdam (1986) (and Zahariade 2009 based on their transcription) suggested the reading: *Coh(ors) I[II] Aug(usta) Thr(acum) Equitata*, since the Arabian diploma had not yet confirmed the presence of a *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* in Arabia. Now the original reading made by Dunand (1926, 328), who just saw *I* and who immediately identified it with the cohort in the inscriptions from *Motha* (Imtan), seems more likely.

¹⁸⁵² The fort is approximately 156 by 120 metres (1.87 hectares) in size. A quingenary part-mounted cohort would have consisted of around 380 infantrymen and 120 horsemen (Zahariade 2009, 203).

¹⁸⁵³ CIL 3.109 and 110=AE 1947.171=Zahariade 2009, 2003=Kennedy 2004, 219, no.4. Both inscriptions read: *COH I AUG / THR EQ*, although Kennedy (2004, 219) for some unclear reason has the numeral as *II* (a typo perhaps?).

¹⁸⁵⁴ AE 1967.530=AE 1969-1970. 632; Negev 1967, 52 (and plate 9C); Negev 1971, 124; Mann 1969, 211-214. The text reproduced in AE is faulty. The correct reading (from Speidel 1977, 710) is: *Dis M(anibus) Diogenes Alexandri (filius), eques c(o)hortis I Augusta(e) T(h)racum*.

One final indirect piece of evidence for the cohort is found in the inscribed *cursus honorum* of *Ti. Claudius P[---]* from *Palmyra* dated to the 150s, which indicates that he had been prefect of the cohort (ἑπαρχον σπείρης πρώτης Αὐγούστης Θρακῶν ἵππέων).¹⁸⁵⁵ This must have been in Arabia, where he was subsequently the prefect of the *ala I Ulpia dromedariorum Palmyrenorum* (discussed earlier). Thus, we can say that riders of this part-mounted cohort were definitely active in Arabia within the second century (and perhaps longer) in the southern Hauran, where the unit may have been garrisoned at Umm el-Quttein, and at *Mamphis* in the Negev along the Incense Road.

¹⁸⁵⁵ AE 1947.171=CIL 16.106=ILS 9057

COHORTES QUINGENARIAE PEDITATAE

Cohors I Aurelia classica

Like the *cohors I Aelia classica* discussed above (and the *cohors II Aurelia classica* discussed below), the *cohors I Aurelia classica* is an auxiliary unit raised using fleet soldiers. The cohort is attested only in the 145 diploma from Arabia. Both this cohort and the *cohors II Aurelia classica* (below) were raised under Antoninus Pius,¹⁸⁵⁶ which provides a *terminus post quem* at 138 for their creation. Because their origin dates to at least two years after the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt, it cannot be attributed to that conflict directly, but perhaps they were raised as part of a military restructuring or strengthening of the whole region after the war.¹⁸⁵⁷

I suggest that it was most likely the soldiers of the *cohors I Aurelia classica* or the *cohors II Aurelia classica* (below), or perhaps both *cohortes classicae*, who, together with the soldiers of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, dedicated an altar to the emperor(s) at *Petra*.¹⁸⁵⁸ This identification is based on the fact that these are the only two *cohortes Aureliae* known in Arabia, and moreover, two of only four *cohortes Aureliae* known anywhere in the entire Roman empire.¹⁸⁵⁹ This would mean that soldiers from at least one (or maybe both) of these

¹⁸⁵⁶ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 262 – even after Antoninus was adopted by Hadrian, his pre-adoptive name *Aurelius* continued to be used officially.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 263

¹⁸⁵⁸ IJ 4.44. Sartre (IJ, 4, p.72) says the end of the first line may read *IMPP A...*, which would make it a dedication to co-emperors, but this is not certain. In its currently published form it reads: [*Pro*] *sal(ute) Imp(e)ra[toris] / milites leg(ionis) III (C)yr(enaicae) // coh(ortis) Au(reliae) / M(arcus) Valen[---] / f(aciendum) c(uravit) // M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Λ[---] / C(aius) Iul(ius) [-]O[---]*. I suggest that the *COH AU* should read either *coh(ortis) I Au(reliae) (classicae)* or *coh(ortis) II Au(reliae) (classicae)*, or even *coh(ortes) Aur(eliae) (classicae)*.

¹⁸⁵⁹ The only other two attested *cohortes Aureliae* are the *cohortes I and II Aureliae Dardanorum* on the middle Danube (Mócsy 1974, 195-196). When the inscription was published by Sartre in 1993 (in IJ), the two *cohortes Aureliae classicae* were not known in Arabia because the military diplomas had not yet been discovered. When Weiß and Speidel (2004) published the first Arabian diploma (from 142, and discussed the contents of the still unpublished one from 145), they were clearly not aware of the *Petra* inscription, and they concluded that there

cohorts were in *Petra* sometime during the second century, possibly as part of the city's permanent military garrison, where they worked alongside a detachment of the *legio III Cyrenaica* stationed there.

Cohors II Aurelia (classica)

Unlike the *cohors I Aurelia classica* just discussed, the *cohors II Aelia classica* only appears in the 142 diploma. In the diploma the unit appears only as *cohors II Aurelia*, but Weiß and Speidel have deduced *classica* because of the existence of the *cohors I Aurelia classica* in the later diploma.¹⁸⁶⁰ The fact that the three *cohortes classicae* do not all show up together on the 142 and 145 diplomas is probably indicative of the fact that these were units cobbled together using soldiers with different entry-years, and from which there would not have been a standardized mass discharge (just individual *ad hoc* discharges as they occurred).¹⁸⁶¹ Soldiers from this unit or from the *cohors I Aurelia classica* dedicated an altar to the emperor(s) along with soldiers from the *legio III Cyrenaica* in *Petra* sometime during the second century.¹⁸⁶²

Cohors I Thebaeorum

The *cohors I Thebaeorum* is attested in a Judaeian diploma from 105, but it does not appear in any subsequent diplomas there.¹⁸⁶³ It has been proposed that the cohort was transferred in that year to Judaea, along with *cohors I Hispanorum (Cyrenaica)* (below), in

is no attestation of these *cohortes Aureliae* outside of the two diplomas. They furthermore asserted that the Arabian *cohortes Aureliae* are the only *cohortes Aureliae* known in the Roman empire, although there are in fact two from the middle Danube.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 261

¹⁸⁶¹ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 263

¹⁸⁶² See *cohors I Aurelia classica*

¹⁸⁶³ CIL 16.87

preparation for the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom.¹⁸⁶⁴ This is suggested by a reference in the Cattaoui papyrus, in which a veteran of the cohort recorded that he had “served under Severus” in 114.¹⁸⁶⁵ This Severus has been identified with Claudius Severus, who was governor of Arabia from 107-115.¹⁸⁶⁶ Thus it seems the *cohors I Thebaeorum* was part of the Egyptian troops that invaded the Nabataean kingdom (along with *legio III Cyrenaica* and *cohors I Hispanorum*). Its presence in Judaea in the year prior to the annexation perhaps reveals Roman planning and preparation that anticipated the invasion of the Nabataean kingdom before the death of its last king Rabbel II. Although it seems to have been part of the early second century garrison of the new province, it does not appear in either of the two Arabian diplomas (from 142 and 145), so the cohort may have been disbanded or transferred elsewhere by that time (although it is also possible that the soldiers of the cohort simply did not come up for discharge and citizenship between 142-145).

Cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum

The *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* appears on both Arabian military diplomas, but it only carries the honorific (*civium Romanorum*) in the 142 diploma.¹⁸⁶⁷ Since this honorific was not subsequently bestowed upon the unit, we can comfortably equate it with the *cohors I Thracum* listed as one of the units credited with building the *castellum novum* at Qasr el-Hallabat in 213/214. The cohort is mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*

¹⁸⁶⁴ Kennedy 2004, 49; Speidel 1977, 709-710

¹⁸⁶⁵ P.Catt. II. col. 3, 11-22=Mitteis and Wilcken 1912, 421 (no.372, col. III, 11-22): ἐστρα[τεῦσθαι ἐν] σπείρη πρώτῃ Θηβαίων ὑπὸ Σεουή[ρου].

¹⁸⁶⁶ PIR² C.1023

¹⁸⁶⁷ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 259. See discussion above under *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* regarding the distinction between these two units, and between them and the Pannonian *cohors I Augusta Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)*.

(at *Asabaia*), so it seems that the unit stayed as part of Arabia's garrison from the second to fourth centuries.¹⁸⁶⁸

Cohors III T(h)r(acum)?

There is mostly just speculation for the existence of this unit in Arabia. The only potential piece of evidence is the building inscription from Qasr el-Hallabat from 213/214 (discussed above). There, after the three legible cohorts (*cohortes VI Hispanorum, I Thracum, and V Afrorum Severiana*), the fourth and final cohort is designated by only a few letters, some in ligature, which appear to include a *III* overlain by the final cross bars of a *T* or an *H*, and then seemingly followed by *RR*.¹⁸⁶⁹ The Princeton Expedition originally proposed a reading of either *III T(H)R<R>(ACUM)* or *II IT(U)R(AEORUM)*, and although Kennedy has stated that the traces might favor the former of the two, he also proposes that it perhaps should be read as “*IIII R R*” as a reference back to the soldiers of the three cohorts preceding it.¹⁸⁷⁰ If there was indeed a *cohors III Thracum* in Arabia, then perhaps a papyrus from 127 may be referring to the province with the reference to a prefect of this unit.¹⁸⁷¹ But since the cohort does not appear in the 142 and 145 diplomas for Arabia, this papyrus (if it is in fact a valid reference to this unit in the province) cannot be used as proof that the unit was in Arabia from the early second century to the early third century (unless it left and returned).

¹⁸⁶⁸ Speidel 1977, 711; Weiß and Speidel 2004, 259

¹⁸⁶⁹ The inscription was rediscovered and reexamined by Kennedy (2000, 29-30), see discussion above.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Kennedy 2000a, 30 (with Fig. 1, but the photo is of too poor quality to assess properly).

¹⁸⁷¹ Speidel 1977, 712, who cites the P.Primi 25, V, 12 from 127: ἑπαρχος σπεϊρης γ' καὶ α' Θρακῶν (“praefect of the *cohortes III* and *I Thracum*”).

Cohors I Hispanorum Cyrenaica

The *cohors I Hispanorum* had long been known from inscriptions in Egypt since 88, and from there it was transferred to Judaea in 105 where it appears in a military diploma together with the *cohors I Thebaeorum*. It was proposed that they were both transferred to Judaea in preparation for the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom, and the fact that neither shows up in subsequent Judaeian diplomas has been taken as evidence that both units participated in the annexation in 106 and then subsequently became part of the new provincial garrison of Arabia. A papyrus reference seems to support this scenario for *cohors I Thebaeorum* (discussed above), but of these two Egyptian units only the *cohors I Hispanorum Cyrenaica* appears in the two Arabian diplomas from 142 and 145, proving that it did in fact become part of Arabia's garrison.¹⁸⁷² The diplomas also revealed its name *Cyrenaica* for the first time, indicating the cohort's earlier garrison in Cyrene, making it analogous to the *legio III Cyrenaica* with which it served in Arabia.

Cohors VI Hispanorum

Before it came to Arabia, the *cohors VI Hispanorum* was either in Cilicia or in Syria. A first century tombstone (from El-Basiri, Syria) attests that it was stationed halfway between *Damascus* and *Palmyra* on the Syrian frontier,¹⁸⁷³ and another tombstone was found in Cilicia.¹⁸⁷⁴ The cohort is also listed in a first century *cursus honorem* from *Eumeneia* in Asia, although this does not imply that it was ever stationed there.¹⁸⁷⁵ Thus, it may perhaps have

¹⁸⁷² Weiß and Speidel 2004, 259

¹⁸⁷³ AE 1933.215

¹⁸⁷⁴ Dagron *et al.* 1987, no.103

¹⁸⁷⁵ IGR IV.728

been part of the initial annexation force which entered the Nabataean kingdom with the Syrian forces under Cornelius Palma in 106. It appears in both Arabian diplomas from 142 and 145, indicating that it had become part of the provincial garrison by then.¹⁸⁷⁶

On the ground in Arabia it is attested epigraphically in two places. At Sha'ar Ramon on the east edge of the Ramon Crater in the Negev (Israel), a relief sculpture of Athena was found which bears a bilingual (Latin and Greek) dedication to τῇ κυρίᾳ Ἀθηνᾶ by Gaius Marcus An[---], soldier of the *cohors VI Hispanorum*.¹⁸⁷⁷ The site of Sha'ar Ramon has been excavated but the final report has never been published.¹⁸⁷⁸ It was built as a caravanserai during the Nabataean period, and it continued to be used into the Roman period (the second to third centuries). It was located close to an important spring ('Ein Saharonim) along the *Petra-Gaza* stretch of the Incense Road, which would have undoubtedly held a small military detachment. Indeed, a bronze sword glide was also found in the ashy midden in front of the gate of the caravanserai, pointing to the presence of soldiers.¹⁸⁷⁹

The other attestation for the *cohors VI Hispanorum* comes from the Severan building inscription at Qasr el-Hallabat. Of the three (or four) cohorts credited with building the *castellum novum*, the *cohors VI Hispanorum* is mentioned first. Since the units are not listed

¹⁸⁷⁶ Weiß and Speidel 2004, 263

¹⁸⁷⁷ SEG 42.1455=AE 1993.1652=SEG 51.2030, the latter of which includes additional information and *corrigenda*. The reading is not certain in parts due to unclear abbreviations, but it reads: Τῇ κυρίᾳ Ἀθηνᾶ / ἐπόησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Γάϊος Μ(ᾱρκος) Α/ΝΤΟ΄' *mil(es) coh(ortis) VI Hisp(anorum)* / Α. SEG 51.2030 (and Figueras 1992, 177) suggests that the dedicant's *cognomen* could perhaps be *Antonius*, *Annius*, or *Aurelius*. Figueras (2000, 275, n.9) suggests the final Α could stand for λ(ιθοουργός), perhaps referring to the sculptor or stonecutter.

Figueras 1992, 177 and Figueras 2000, 275 (with drawing of the monument on p.277) consist of two lengthy discussions of the monument. In both articles Figueras argues that this is the 'syncretistic' Roman/Greek-Nabataean deity *Athena-Allat*.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Figueras 1992, 178. Only a short note on the excavation was published in Hebrew by Rudolph Cohen (in 1982), but it does not reference this inscription. Apparently the inscription was found in a Bedouin cemetery near the site. See Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 39-41 for a summary of the archaeological remains of Sha'ar Ramon.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 41

alphabetically or numerically perhaps this pride of place is meaningful and signifies that this was the 'parent unit' in garrison at Qasr el-Hallabat (if this is where it originated). But only a detachment of this cohort would have been able to garrison comfortably in the rather small *castellum* at Qasr el-Hallabat (even in its two-storey phase).¹⁸⁸⁰ It is generally agreed that this cohort was later converted to cavalry to become the *ala VI Hispanorum* in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (in *Gomoha*), which is cited as evidence that the unit stayed in Arabia into the fourth century (albeit in a new guise).¹⁸⁸¹

Cohors V Afrorum Severiana

The *cohors V Afrorum Severiana* is named as one of the units credited with the construction of the *castellum novum* in the Latin inscription from Qasr el-Hallabat (213/214).¹⁸⁸² This is the only evidence for the existence of this unit anywhere. Its imperial epithet (*Severiana*) shows that variable honorific military imperial names were already in use under Septimius Severus, not just under Caracalla (to whom this phenomenon is usually ascribed).¹⁸⁸³

¹⁸⁸⁰ Kennedy 1982, 53

¹⁸⁸¹ Speidel 1977, 706-707. There is some debate about whether this change in status reflects the increasing importance of cavalry in the Later Roman empire, or whether it is a purely honorific raise in status and pay that did not change its function or equipment (for which there are precedents). The promotion of whole units to higher classes is apparently a feature of the late third to fourth century Roman army.

¹⁸⁸² Discussed previously.

¹⁸⁸³ Speidel 1977, 708

IRREGULAR UNITS

Gothi Gentiles

About five kilometres southwest of *Motha* (Imtan, Syria) in the southern Hauran, a very important tombstone was discovered. Written in Greek, it commemorates Guththa, the son of Erminarius the “commander of the tribal troops (πραιποσίτου γεντιλίων) stationed among the Mothani,” who died at age fourteen on February 28, 208.¹⁸⁸⁴ Based on the personal names and the ‘tribal troops’ mentioned in the epitaph, the unit has been identified as the *Gothi Gentiles*, an irregular tribal unit made up of Goths.¹⁸⁸⁵ Because of the precise date provided by the inscription, we can say that this is the earliest documentary evidence for Goths anywhere, and provides a very early attestation for the tribal name ‘Guta’. Indeed, the importance of Goths in the Roman army in the first half of the third century is confirmed by Shapur I’s description of Gordian III’s army (which he conquered in 244), where he claims the emperor “raised an army from the entire Roman empire, and from the lands of the Goths and of the Germans and marched to Assyria...”¹⁸⁸⁶ Speidel suggested that the *Gothi Gentiles* stationed at *Motha* may have been recruited from Goths defeated by one of the emperors who fought them in the late second or early third century (Marcus Aurelius? Caracalla?

¹⁸⁸⁴ PES III.A.2, 123-124 (no.223)=AE 1911.244=Speidel 1977, 712. It reads: Μνημεῖον Γούθθα, υἱοῦ Ἑρμιναρίου πραιποσίτου γεντιλίων ἐν Μοθανοῖς ἀναφερομένων, ἀπογεν(ομέν)ου ἐτῶν ιδ'. Ἔτι ρβ' Περίτιου κα'. (“Monument of Guththa, son of Erminarius the commander of the tribal troops stationed among the Mothani. He died at the age of fourteen. In the year 102, Peritius the twenty-first.” (=February 28, 208)).

¹⁸⁸⁵ Speidel 1977, 712-713. This phrase is known from an inscription of 338-340 from Carcaliu, Romania (CIL 3.12483=ILS 724=AE 1891.148=Popescu 1976, 250-252, no.238), where it appears as *gentilium Gotho[ru]m*.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Speidel 1977, 713-714 (and n.108), who cites the passage in Greek. The inscription, from the so-called *Res Gestae* of Shapur I, was written on the Kaaba i Zerdusht at Persepolis, and the spelling of ‘Goths’ (Γούθθων, in the Genitive plural) matches the *Motha* inscription.

Septimius Severus?).¹⁸⁸⁷ They were then sent to a far-flung frontier in keeping with typical Roman practice. In Arabia, the *Gothi Gentiles* were perhaps guarding a military outpost just south of *Motha*, at Inat. It is possible that they were stationed at *Motha* as a replacement for the *cohors I Augusta Canathenorum* or the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* attested there epigraphically in the second century. It is noteworthy that this is the only irregular tribal unit attested in Roman Arabia during the second and third centuries.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Speidel 1977, 714-715

EQUITES & PEDITES SINGULARES

Equites and Pedites Singulares (and Dromadarii Singulares)

As the personal guard of the provincial governor, one would expect to find evidence of the *equites* and *pedites singulares* in the provincial capital. Thus, at *Bostra* a dedication was made to Marcus Caecilius Fuscianus Crepereianus Floranus, the legate of Arabia, and to his son Marcus Caecilius Rufinus, by the “cavalry guards of the *exercitus Arabicus*, together with the camel-mounted guards (*item drom(adarii singulares)*”, sometime before 198.¹⁸⁸⁸ Since we know that the *ala I Ulpia dromadriorum* was stationed in Arabia during the second century, this inscription seems to indicate that certain riders were selected from this unit to serve alongside the *equites singulares* in the governor’s retinue.¹⁸⁸⁹ This is why Speidel suggested that the unit in the inscription be read as *dromadarii singulares*, by analogy with the *equites singulares* to whom they were clearly attached.¹⁸⁹⁰ Although camel-mounted *singulares* are not attested anywhere else in the empire, such a contingent makes good sense in the particular environment of Arabia, where Trajan felt it necessary to create a double-strength *ala dromadriorum* right from the beginning of the province. This inscription is also unique since nowhere else in the empire are the *singulares* designated as “of the [province’s] army” rather than “of the governor”, so perhaps in this case the guards were not particular to each

¹⁸⁸⁸ CIL III.93=IGLS 13.1.9071=Speidel 1978, 116 (no.68). The inscription reads: *M(arco) Caecilio Fusciano Crep[e]reiano F[l]orano, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) p[r(aetore)] et M(arco) Caecilio Rufino filio eius, e[q(uites)] sing(ulares) exerc(itus) Arab(ici) item drom(adarii singulares)*.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Speidel 1978, 116.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Speidel 1977, 716. He also suggests that the fact that they were attached to the *equites* rather than the *pedites* suggests that the *dromadarii* were combat troops. In the Roman army, *dromadarii* being used for transport of heavy loads were attached to infantry centuries, while *dromadarii* for battle were attached to *turmae* or formed their own *alae*. This is why it is most likely that the *dromadarii singulares* in Arabia were drawn from the *ala I Ulpia dromadriorum* rather than from any *dromedarii* attached to an infantry cohort.

individual governor (i.e., they were not picked by him personally), but rather served whoever was in office.¹⁸⁹¹

The *equites* and *pedites singulares* would have assisted the *stratores* (drawn from the legion) in accompanying and guarding the governor wherever he went. In a nice Greek graffito found at Jathum in the basalt desert (northern Jordan), Diomedes the singer and Abchoros the barber point out that “Life is nothing!” while on a trip into the desert with the “commander of the cavalry” (=the governor).¹⁸⁹² Certainly the *equites singulares*, and probably the *dromadarii singulares* would have accompanied the governor on a trip to such a remote area, and the presence of a singer and a barber reveals the size and composition of such parties.¹⁸⁹³ The frequent presence of governors at *Petra* (especially during the early second century) would also indirectly indicate the presence of the *equites/pedites singulares* in that city.

¹⁸⁹¹ Speidel 1977, 716

¹⁸⁹² AE 1956.183=Speidel 1977, 717; SEG 16.819 provides the best reading: Ὁ βίος οὐδὲν ἐστίν. Διομήδης κιθαρωδὸς καὶ Ἀβχορος κο[υρ]εὺς ἐξῆλθαν οἱ δύο εἰς τὸν ἔρημον μετὰ στρατηγοῦ ὀπλειτῶν κὲ ἔστακαν ἐγγὺς τόπῳ λεγομ[έ]νῳ σιο[υ] Ἀβγάρ[ου]. MacDonald (1993, 349-350) was the one to emend the penultimate word from πό[λις] based on a photo, arguing that the Safaitic *swy* (‘tomb’ or ‘cairn’) makes better sense than ‘city’ in this area, especially since the graffito is reported to have been engraved beside some kind of ruin (described as a desert fortification or tomb, or perhaps a grave-tower). Indeed, the sentiment of the graffito is also epitaphic. See also SEG 35.1576; Kennedy 2004, 79; Macdonald 1993, 349-350.

¹⁸⁹³ Speidel 1977, 717

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

(See Figures 5.1; 5.2; 5.4; 5.5, and Table 3)

Summary

Although we lack the military diplomas that would give us a detailed picture of the first provincial garrison of Arabia after 106, from the extant evidence it is possible to conclude that the first units which constituted the new provincial army comprised troops that had been part of the annexation force. These came from the neighboring provinces of Egypt and Syria, with one perhaps from Judaea. It seems the Egyptian cohorts were moved to Judaea by 105 and from there entered Arabia – perhaps an indication of Roman preparation that anticipated the death of Rabbel II and the military takeover of the Nabataean kingdom. The units which probably formed the annexation force were:

Legions: (ca. 10,000 legionaries)

legio III Cyrenaica (from [Egypt](#))

legio VI Ferrata (from [Syria](#))

Alae milliariae: (ca. 1000 camel-riders)

ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria (from [Syria](#))

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 500 cavalry)

ala Gaetulorum veterana (from [Judaea?](#))

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 500 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata (from [Syria](#))

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 1500 infantry)

cohors I Thebaorum (from [Egypt](#), via [Judaea](#))

cohors I Hispanorum (Cyrenaica) (from [Egypt](#), via [Judaea](#))

cohors VI Hispanorum (from [Syria](#))

In total, this constitutes 10,000 legionaries and 3500 auxiliaries – an annexation force of around 13,500 soldiers. Of these, all except the *legio VI Ferrata* stayed in Arabia and became part of its official garrison in 106, and these constitute the Trajanic *exercitus Arabicus*. Thus, until the end of Trajan's reign, the army of Arabia comprised some 5000 legionaries and 3500 auxiliaries – a total of 8500 men. The *ala milliaria*, the part-mounted cohort, and one of the infantry cohorts were transferred from Syria (2000 men), while the legion and two of the infantry cohorts came from Egypt (the cohorts came via Judaea), and the *ala quingenaria* was probably from Judaea. The *ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria* was created by Trajan, perhaps for the purpose of conquering the Nabataean kingdom, which would also imply Roman planning in advance of the annexation. This significant concentration of camel-riders (specialized cavalry) comprising the majority of the province's mounted troops reflects the environmental realities of the province, which consisted mostly of large swathes of desert.

At the end of the Trajan's reign or at the beginning of Hadrian's reign the *legio VI Ferrata* was briefly part of Arabia's garrison, but this would not have affected the overall number of the provincial garrison since it appears to have been there as a replacement for the *legio III Cyrenaica* which was sent to the Parthian front. Early in Hadrian's reign the *legio VI Ferrata* was sent to Judaea and the *legio III Cyrenaica* returned to Arabia. Thus, throughout the second and into the late third century Arabia consistently only had one legion in garrison at any given time.

Throughout the second century, other units also appear within Arabia's garrison, in addition to the ones attested under Trajan. Several units were added under Hadrian and

Antoninus Pius. Thus, during the second century as a whole, the following units are attested in Arabia (blue ones were added by Hadrian or Antoninus Pius):

Legions: (ca. 5000 legionaries)

legio III Cyrenaica
(*legio VI Ferrata* – only briefly under Hadrian)

Alae milliariae: (ca. 1000 camel-riders)

ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 500 cavalry)

ala Gaetulorum veterana

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 1500 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata
cohors I Canathenorum
cohors I Aelia classica

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 3000 infantry)

cohors I Thebaorum?
cohors I Hispanorum Cyrenaica
cohors VI Hispanorum
cohors I Aurelia classica
cohors II Aurelia (classica)
cohors I Thracum c.R.

Irregular Units

equites et pedites singulares (et dromadarii singulares)

After Trajan, several units were added during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, including a part-mounted cohort, and three infantry cohorts – a total of 2000 men. Another part-mounted cohort is attested in the second century (*cohors I Canathenorum*) but we do

not know when it was added. Although we cannot know for sure if all of these units were in Arabia's garrison at the same time throughout the second century, there does seem to be an overall growth in the number of units within Arabia's garrison after the end of Trajan's reign. This was likely due to Hadrian's reorganization of the empire's frontiers, and in the case of Arabia also reflects a replenishment and reinforcement of its troops in the wake of the Bar Kokhba revolt (this is probably when the *cohors I Aelia classica* was formed). The fact that Antoninus Pius created two more *cohortes classicae* and sent them to Arabia is further indication of the fact that there was some urgent need to procure new troops quickly to fortify Arabia's garrison.

The two military diplomas from the reign of Antoninus Pius provide us with the best snapshot of Arabia's garrison at a particular moment in time. The 142 diploma lists two *alae* and six *cohortes*. Because the *cohors II Aurelia* is listed only in the 145 diploma, we can assume it was present in 142 as well, especially since there was a *cohors I Aurelia* three years earlier. Thus, we can say that during the reign of Antoninus Pius (in the 140s) Arabia's garrison consisted of one legion and (at least) two *alae* and seven *cohortes* (blue ones were added by Hadrian or Antoninus Pius):¹⁸⁹⁴

Legions: (ca. 5000 legionaries)

legio III Cyrenaica

Alae milliariae: (ca. 1000 camel-riders)

ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria

¹⁸⁹⁴ Since these two diplomas are so close in date (3 years apart), there remains the possibility that there were more auxiliary units in the province which simply did not come up for citizenship during this short window. If this is the case, the number of additional units is likely to be small.

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 500 cavalry)

ala Gaetulorum veterana

Cohortes quingenariae equitatae: (ca. 1000 part-mounted infantry)

cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata

cohors I Aelia classica

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 2500 infantry)

cohors I Hispanorum Cyrenaica

cohors VI Hispanorum

cohors I Aurelia classica

cohors II Aurelia (classica)

cohors I Thracum c.R.

Irregular Units

equites et pedites singulares (et dromadarii singulares)

Thus, the total auxiliary force of Arabia in the 140s comes to some 5000 men.¹⁸⁹⁵ This means the total auxiliary force matched the estimated total strength of the provincial legion (*legio III Cyrenaica*), bringing the total *exercitus Arabicus* to 10,000 men.¹⁸⁹⁶ The *auxilia* consisted of 50% infantry units, 30% mounted units (20% on camel and 10% on horse), and 20% part-mounted units.

Aside from the snapshot provided by the military diplomas, one cannot assume that all the units known after 145 were part of the *exercitus Arabicus* at the same time, or that they served throughout the entire period in which they are included (i.e., the entire second century). On the other hand, several of the second century units may well have remained in

¹⁸⁹⁵ See also Weiß and Speidel 2004, 264.

¹⁸⁹⁶ A number initially hypothesized by Speidel (1977, 700) long before the military diplomas were known. He proposed this number for the initial garrison of the province based on the proportion of having an auxiliary force that is equivalent to the legion in numbers. The diplomas now show that this proportion seems to be accurate, at least up to the 140s.

Arabia into the third century, such as the *ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria*, which I would argue is highly likely given its specialization for this environment, its important role within the provincial military organization (as a desert patrol and caravan police), and the fact that as an *ala milliaria* it constituted the majority of the provincial army's mounted forces. But current data, however, cannot prove this. The inscription from the southern El-Leja is inconclusive on this matter since it cannot be dated, and that region was part of Syria in the second century and part of Arabia in the third century.

The chronology is necessarily broad, because the evidence is so fragmentary. Of the troops known in the second century, we can say for sure that five stayed on into the third century (this includes the governor's guards), and to these are added three more units that appear in Arabia's garrison for the first time in the third century. Thus, the units that are attested with certainty in the third century include (red units appear for the first time in the third century):

Legions: (ca. 5000 legionaries)

legio III Cyrenaica

Alae quingenariae: (ca. 500 cavalry)

ala Gaetulorum veterana

Cohortes quingenariae peditatae: (ca. 2000 infantry)

cohors VI Hispanorum

cohors I Thracum c.R.

cohors III T(h)r(acum)?

cohors V Afrorum Severiana

Irregular Units (ca. 500? *Gothi gentiles*)

equites et pedites singulares (et dromadarii singulares)

Gothi Gentiles

The units that are attested with certainty in the third century are very few, relative to Arabia's army in the second century. Indeed, it is almost certainly the case that Arabia's auxiliary garrison was larger than what is currently attested for this period, since at the moment only about 3000 auxiliary soldiers are attested in the third century, and this includes only one *ala quingenaria*. There must have been more mounted troops (most likely the *ala I Ulpia dromadriorum Palmyrenorum milliaria*, in the very least). Nevertheless, our current data does seem to indicate an overall decrease in the strength of Arabia's army in the third century.

Conclusions

Unfortunately the military diplomas cannot help us understand the geographical distribution of the troops, something for which we are entirely reliant upon epigraphic (and archaeological) data. There are several units of the *exercitus Arabicus* which have not yet been located on the ground anywhere in Arabia (*cohors I Aelia classica*, *cohors I Thebaeorum*, and *cohors I Hispanorum Cyrenaica*). The rest have all been identified somewhere in the province, although it can be hard to say at times whether an inscription indicates a place of garrison or some kind of temporary activity/presence in that area, and whether this involved the whole unit or just a detachment, especially in the absence of forts with well-identified garrisons (a problem plaguing the Roman army in the east more generally).

Nevertheless, there some general observations that can be drawn from the data surveyed in this chapter. First, there are some noteworthy observations about the types of units in Arabia's garrison. As documented in the two Arabian diplomas, by 142-145 there were no less than three *cohortes classicae* (*I Aelia*, *I Aurelia*, *II Aurelia*) in Arabia. This concentration is particularly striking, since prior to Hadrian only two *cohortes classicae* are known from the entire Roman empire, and during Hadrian's reign only one other appears anywhere else (the *cohors I Aelia classica* in Britain).¹⁸⁹⁷ Since soldiers from provincial fleets were recruited to create these new auxiliary units, an urgent *ad hoc* need is implied.¹⁸⁹⁸ Thus, it would seem that Arabia's garrison suffered significant losses and was deemed to need significant reinforcement during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius – perhaps a result of the Bar Kokhba revolt, or due to some other perceived threat.

Also interesting is the fact that only one irregular tribal unit is attested in Arabia's garrison – the *Gothi Gentiles* in the early third century who are attested along the northeastern boundary of the province. *Gentiles* refers to tribesmen either from within the boundaries of the empire, or from client kingdoms and free peoples beyond the Roman frontier, and the manpower could have been contributed either voluntarily, as mercenaries, or as part of a Roman peace treaty. *Gentiles* units are common in the fourth century, but thus far only two other examples in addition to this one have been attested in documentary sources from the second and third centuries: the *Mauri Gentiles* in Dacia Superior (158)¹⁸⁹⁹

¹⁸⁹⁷ Holder 1998, 261. The only pre-Hadrianic ones are *I classica* (*p.f.*) in Germania Inferior and the *II classica* (*sagittaria*) in Syria.

¹⁸⁹⁸ In times of crisis entire legions could be raised using soldiers from fleets: Nero thus recruited *legio I Adiutrix*, and Vespasian the *legio II Adiutrix*.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Discussed in the previous chapter.

and the *Brittones Gentiles* (232).¹⁹⁰⁰ In Arabia, the *Gothi Gentiles* were apparently guarding a military outpost at Inat, near *Motha*. It is possible that they were stationed at *Motha* as a replacement for the *cohors I Augusta Canathenorum* or the *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata* attested there epigraphically in the second century.

It is clear that the *legio III Cyrenaica* was active in *vexillationes* across the entirety of the provincial territory. From the northern outpost of *Nemara* on the border with Syria, to the big cities of *Gerasa*, *Philadelphia*, *Madaba*, and *Petra*, all the way to *Hegra* in the deep south, *Dumata* in the far east, *Mamphis* in the Negev, and Wadi Tuweiba in the southern Sinai – the *legio III Cyrenaica* was active in every corner of the province. It does indeed seem that the legion was probably never *in toto* at its base in *Bostra*, thus justifying the relatively small size of its fortress there. Centurions of the legion were directly involved in supervising construction projects in different parts of the province, under the authority of the provincial governor. The *auxilia* were distributed throughout the province, in places where the legion is also attested (Umm el-Quttein, *Petra*, *Mamphis*, *Hegra/Dedan*), as well as in other places (Sha'ar Ramon, *Motha/Inat*, Quasr el-Hallabat). The inscriptions at Qasr el-Uweinid indicate important evidence for the presence and building activities of *legio III Cyrenaica* in the Azraq basin during the third century, and the use of the term *praesidium* (indicating a military police station on a road) reinforces the point that legionary detachments throughout the province were involved in the security and supervision of gathering points and routes within (and on the edges of) Roman territory.

Generally speaking, it seems the *exercitus Arabicus* was primarily involved in policing roads within Arabia, as well as access and migratory routes into and out of the province.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Speidel 1977, 715

Military distribution is especially associated with the protection and supervision of Roman economic interests, in particular the Incense Road (from *Hegra* to *Petra* to *Gaza*), and copper mining in the southern Sinai and the Wadi Araba'. This is probably why the *exercitus Arabicus* contained a unique *ala milliaria* of camel-riders. Such a large (1000-man-strong) unit of specialized camel-mounted troops made good sense in the vast provincial territory of Arabia, most of which constitutes desert. Such riders would have been ideally suited for patrolling and guarding the eastern and southern provincial borderlands and for protecting the camel caravans traveling along the Incense Road. Indeed, Dąbrowa's survey of the evidence for *dromedarii* in the Roman army revealed that the main tasks of such units included escorting convoys, patrolling important communication routes, ensuring the safety of economically important areas, scouting in desert regions, keeping open communication lines between garrisons and government couriers, and, generally, policing the empire's frontier and Roman interests in areas otherwise difficult to control.¹⁹⁰¹ It is therefore noteworthy that the two *alae* known in the garrison of Roman Arabia are both documented at *Hegra*, at the far southern boundary of the province, where the caravans on the Incense Road would have entered the Roman empire. Clearly mounted units (of both horsemen and camel-riders) would have been necessary at such a remote outpost in order to connect this region with the rest of the province, and to police the roads. The presence of a detachment of *legio VI Ferrata* on Farasan Island in the southern Red Sea sometime during the first decade or so after the annexation of Nabataea indicates just how far afield the Roman state extended its economic interests and direct military presence after the conquest of Arabia.

¹⁹⁰¹ Dąbrowa 1991, 365-366

A concentration of military activity appears in the Severan period within the southern Hauran, around the Azraq Oasis (especially between Azraq and *Bostra*). This may be related to a reorganization of the provincial frontier in that sector, especially in the face of a potential threat increase from both tribal nomads and the Parthian empire. On the whole, the distribution of Roman troops in Arabia reveals a mobile network spread out across the entire provincial territory, which connects the province with its neighbors to the north (Syria) and west (Judaea, Egypt), albeit with a much stronger military concentration in the northern sector of the province where the population and settlement density was highest.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

Dacia Capta vs. Arabia Adquista: Roman Conquest & Imperial Expansion

In 106, both Dacia and Arabia became Roman provinces. The history of relations between these kingdoms and the Roman state prior to that moment, and the Roman perception of these peoples and their territories, share many similarities. Limited geographical knowledge of both pre-Roman Dacia and Nabataea led to a Roman perception of both territories as remote, almost mythical lands at the fringes of the civilized world. As independent kingdoms on Rome's doorstep from the first century BCE onwards, they naturally loomed large in Roman foreign relations during the next two centuries.

The Dacians constituted a group of tribes that was united at various points under a sole ruler (Figures 2.1; 2.43). They sided with different prominent Roman politicians, playing them off each other during the civil wars at the end of the Republic, and they repeatedly attacked and raided Roman territory south of the Danube throughout the first century BCE and first century CE. The Romans came to perceive them as untrustworthy and dangerous warmongers. On the other hand, the Nabataeans constituted nomadic tribes that had gained a monopoly as middlemen in the Arabian luxury goods trade routes, leading them to become increasingly sedentary and to build a lavish capital at *Petra* (Figures 3.1-3.2). As their wealth and power grew, the Nabataean kings started flexing their muscles and expanding their territory, coming into direct conflict with neighboring Roman client kingdoms and the Roman state itself. The Nabataeans too played the Romans and their allies

off each other. Nabataea and Dacia became client kingdoms, certainly by the reign of Augustus. Despite occasional Roman desires to conquer these territories (Caesar planned to conquer Dacia on his way to Parthia, and Augustus considered conquering both Dacia and Nabataea), they remained independent until the reign of Trajan.

Military interventions in both territories consistently failed, which is probably why the Roman state decided it was more strategic to keep them as client kingdoms rather than risk an attempted takeover. But these initial diplomatic and hostile encounters and short military expeditions during the first century BCE and first century CE did provide the Roman state with valuable information about these lands and peoples. Augustus' attack on the Dacians (in 6 CE), for example, produced reports about the way their country was divided (into five parts, apparently) and that they had an army of 40,000.¹⁹⁰² The consequences of a lack of such vital intelligence are perhaps most evident in Aelius Gallus' failed expedition into Arabia Felix (in 26 BCE), when the Romans had to rely on the bad guidance of a Nabataean official. But this expedition did provide valuable ethnographic, military, and economic information about this unknown territory, including a list of towns, and information about tribal customs, local weapons, and the goods produced and traded by various peoples.¹⁹⁰³ Undoubtedly the information gathered during these earlier military engagements proved useful when the Romans eventually did decide to extend their rule into these lands at the beginning of the second century.

Under Trajan, Roman foreign policy became expansionist again. In the case of Dacia, it is significant that Trajan led the invasion himself. He was evidently motivated by a

¹⁹⁰² Strabo 7.3.11-12; Mattern 1995, 29

¹⁹⁰³ Strabo 16.4.24; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 6.160-161; Mattern 1995, 29, 38

desire for personal glory and for revenge after the humiliating Roman defeat endured under Domitian and the insulting treaty that resulted from it. There were, of course, also important economic considerations in the conquest of Dacia, including the financial potential of precious metals (especially gold), other resources such as salt, and of course war booty. Geopolitical considerations included the perceived threat of a growing Dacian menace and the chance to militarily break up and divide a dangerous part of *barbaricum* so as to discourage future tribal coalitions north of the lower Danube. Unlike Dacia, however, Arabia was not conquered by Trajan directly. Personal glory for the emperor and revenge were seemingly not driving factors in the annexation of Nabataea. Instead, it appears the motivations were largely economic and strategic. Nabataea was wealthy and controlled the lucrative luxury trade routes from the Arabian peninsula. It also significantly extended Roman access to and control over the Red Sea, allowing for the establishment of a Red Sea fleet, which in turn secured and expanded Rome's long-distance trade routes to India. It is unclear if perceived security threats (either from the Nabataeans, or from nomadic tribes moving through their territory) were also a factor in the Roman takeover.

Primarily economic, geopolitical, and military factors lay behind the decision to extend direct Roman rule into both kingdoms, but in the case of Dacia there was also an important element of ideology and personal aggrandizement for the emperor. On the one hand, Dacia involved a lengthy, somewhat awkward extension beyond the long-held linear frontier of the Danube – it was not a 'natural' progression of Roman expansion to fill any obvious territorial gap. Nabataea, on the other hand, was a culmination of the advance of Roman rule on the empire's southeastern frontier – its conquest provided a missing 'puzzle

piece' within Rome's control of the eastern Mediterranean by filling in a crucial space between Syria and Egypt (Rome's most important eastern provinces) and providing a buffer for Judaea.

Extensive military planning was key to Trajan's strategy in the conquest of Dacia. Already from the beginning of his reign Roman military manpower started to be built up in the lower Danubian provinces (Pannonia, Moesia Superior, and Moesia Inferior). It took two separate campaigns (101-102, 105-106) and some 175,000 soldiers (including 84,000 legionaries, or about 40% of Rome's total legionary forces) to conquer Dacia. Roman planning was evident in the takeover of Nabataea as well, although we have far less evidence about how it occurred. As in Dacia, troops were mobilized in the neighboring provinces (Syria, Judaea, and Egypt), but the number of troops involved in the annexation of Nabataea was significantly smaller than that of Dacia (only some 13,500 soldiers, of which most were legionaries, but our evidence is not nearly as good as for Dacia). Unlike in Arabia, in Dacia the military manpower needed was so substantial that some units had to be summoned from further afield, since the neighboring provinces did not contain the needed manpower. Thus, *legio VI Ferrata* (or at least a vexillation thereof) was summoned from Syria to the Danube, and was left as part of the occupying force in Dacia between the two wars. Interestingly, the *legio VI Ferrata* was also one of the two legions responsible for the conquest of Arabia (either the whole legion, or a portion of it). The *legio VI Ferrata* invaded the Nabataean kingdom from the north, under Cornelius Palma, who was the governor of Syria and the commander of the Roman invasion of Nabataea.

In both cases the preparations in the area prior to 106 indicate premeditated plans for a Roman invasion, implying some measure of long-term strategy rather than a knee-jerk military reaction. Dacia's conquest was clearly bloody, long, and hard-fought. Traditionally the conquest of Nabataea was seen as peaceful and easy. Recent archaeological evidence, however, is indicating that perhaps there was some local resistance and military confrontation involved in the takeover – something that would be expected (indeed a completely peaceful takeover should seem strange) – but the military engagement and effort required to seize Dacia far exceeded that of Arabia. In both cases there was a three-pronged invasion, from multiple fronts, involving units (both legions and *auxilia*) that belonged to the armies of neighboring provinces. It was from these invasion forces that the initial military garrison of both new provinces was then created.

An important difference is that Trajan *himself* took on the conquest of Dacia. The conquest of Arabia, meanwhile, was entrusted to the governor of Syria. This is probably the main reason why Trajan became *Dacicus* but not *Arabicus*, and why so much emphasis was placed on celebrating Trajan's victory in Dacia, with almost no celebration for Arabia. It is indeed noteworthy that Trajan did not become *Arabicus*, especially since he was the first emperor to hold multiple victory titles (*Dacicus*, *Germanicus*, *Parthicus*), so it certainly seems that he would have taken the title *Arabicus* if he had considered it to be a military victory like the others.¹⁹⁰⁴ He probably did not think it appropriate to become *Arabicus* because this was not his personal accomplishment or a military victory in the traditional sense of crushing 'barbarians'. Whereas the publicity of military victories was crucial for propagating a martial

¹⁹⁰⁴ Mattern 1999, 196. Trajan set the precedent for this, and after him, inflation of such titles became the norm, especially with the addition of *Maximus* which after Severus became the standard part of any victory title (*Parthicus Maximus*, *Carpicus Maximus*, etc.). See Kneissl 1969 and Rosenberger 1992, 168-170.

and victorious reputation for the emperor in order to secure the loyalty of the army, it is also clear that the celebration of undeserved triumphs or honors was reviled by the Roman aristocracy, as reflected in the disdain of our written sources for such acts.¹⁹⁰⁵ Trajan was undoubtedly sensitive to these aspects of his image and reputation, which he so carefully (and quite successfully) crafted throughout his reign.

The conquest of Dacia was celebrated throughout the whole empire, and a substantial building programme was initiated in Rome with the war booty acquired during the Dacian Wars to commemorate Trajan's accomplishment (Figure 2.14). No monuments directly celebrated the conquest of Arabia. The coinage issued in the years after the annexation is equally revealing. Dacia is presented as a captured, conquered barbarian – *Dacia Capta* – whereas Arabia stands proud and tall as a new Roman province – she is *Arabia Adquista* (Figures 2.16-2.19; 3.13). The language and imagery makes a clear distinction in the perception of the nature of Rome's acquisition of both territories. It took several years before Dacia was finally depicted in a guise similar to Arabia – as a standing 'Romanized' personified province with her own attributes (in Trajan's *Dacia Augusti Provincia* coin series). As Roman provinces, both Dacia and Arabia were personified on coins with depictions of two small children (Figures 2.34; 3.18). It is noteworthy that from these first representations of Dacia as a Roman province (rather than as a conquered barbarian), the army is emphasized by the presence of a legionary standard as one of her attributes – something that is lacking from all representations of Arabia. Dacia always evoked a

¹⁹⁰⁵ Mattern 1999, 198 (and n.122) – This is especially evident in the case of Domitian, since his celebration of triumphs was considered particularly offensive (Cassius Dio 67.7.3-4; Tacitus *Germ.* 37.6). See also criticisms of Gaius and Claudius for undeserved acclamations of *imperator* without real victories (Cassius Dio 60.21.4-5; 60.8.6-7).

militarized image for the Romans – from its defeat, to its creation as a province with a substantial garrison (Figures 2.16-2.19; 2.40-2.41; 2.34). Arabia's image was not militarized, although coins with legionary standards were minted at the provincial capital (and legionary base) of *Bostra*, but these were not disseminated throughout the empire and did not necessarily represent 'Arabia' as a whole, but rather just the local legion (Figure 3.15).

Coins are important because they were a form of propaganda that specifically targeted the army, since soldiers were the most important consumers and major agents in the distribution of coinage.¹⁹⁰⁶ Soldiers were paid in coin, and in the Roman west the army played a key role in facilitating the distribution of coin-based exchange amongst civilians, thereby accelerating the incorporation of coins within provincial society more broadly, especially in new territories. In the Roman east there was a pre-existing tradition of local minting and coin use, so the army's impact on coin circulation was probably not as significant as in the west. This may explain why there are so many Dacia coins and relatively few Arabia coins – the former were minted in much larger numbers for distribution in the western provinces where there was limited local minting, especially in Dacia where there were no official local mints until the mid-third century, while the Arabia coins were likely minted in much smaller quantities since they were primarily being disseminated in the east where there was already a much larger supply of local coins.¹⁹⁰⁷

And yet, it is worth noting that on a map of the Roman world, Dacia is geographically located in the eastern half of the empire (Figure 1.1). The fact that Dacia is considered part of the Roman 'west' is the result of modern scholarly categories that are in

¹⁹⁰⁶ Haynes 2013, 161; Pollard 2000, 179-211; Duncan-Jones 1990, 38, 44

¹⁹⁰⁷ Haynes 2013, 162

part based on the types of indigenous cultures encountered by the Romans in the territories they conquered. Because the Dacians constituted an 'Iron Age' culture that shared certain similarities with the indigenous peoples throughout western Europe (i.e., the construction of hill forts, no cities, tribal organization, etc.), they are considered to belong to the 'western' Roman tradition. And yet, as indicated in the chapter on *Dacia Capta*, there are important ways in which the Dacians shared in the cultural milieu of the Hellenistic pre-Roman (and subsequent 'Hellenized' Roman) near east, so Dacia constitutes a revealing anomaly since it does not fit comfortably in either one of these two categories – it is neither wholly 'east' nor 'west' culturally speaking. As with all such binaries, the idea of a neat east/west divide in the Roman world is far too simplistic and requires interrogation.¹⁹⁰⁸

¹⁹⁰⁸ cf. Kennedy 1996b, 9-11 for problems with the category and boundaries of the Roman east.

Redactae in Formas Provinciarum: Provincial Organization & Administration

The territory conquered by the Romans and incorporated into the empire roughly corresponded with the territory of the pre-Roman kingdoms. The heart of Iron Age Dacia became the heart of the Roman province, but the region east and southeast of the Carpathians, in the region of modern Romanian known as Muntenia, was not initially added to Dacia, but rather was annexed to Moesia Inferior after 106 (Figure 2.23). This was probably done for practical reasons, since it was closer to this already-existing Roman territory than it was to the heart of the new province (in terms of accessibility) due to the presence of a mountain range between the two, so it could more easily be organized as an extension to an existing province. This provides an important reminder of the fact that not all newly conquered territories were necessarily always organized as new independent administrative units. Sometimes it made more sense to add the new land as an extension to an existing administrative region. The fact that Hadrian abandoned the majority of Trajan's extension to Moesia Inferior is indicative of effort, manpower, and costs to maintain full-time Roman presence here. Hadrian focused Roman resources on the most populated and economically advantageous territories, especially when he reduced Dacia from two legions to just one. Arabia, on the other hand, encompassed the full extent of the Nabataean kingdom, a territory whose boundaries are hard to define because they extended into open desert towards the east and south (Figure 3.11). In the case of Arabia an important piece of territory that had not been part of the Nabataean kingdom – a portion of the *Decapolis* – was at this point was also annexed and made part of the new province. As in the case of Muntenia in Dacia, it made no geopolitical sense to organize the *Decapolis* into a new and

distinct administrative region (i.e., its own province), so the newly annexed territory was divided up between neighboring provinces, with part of it going to newly created Arabia. These existing cities, especially *Gerasa*, retained their importance within the new imperial administration.

And here is an important difference between Dacia and Arabia. In order to create the administrative, economic, and military structure that was needed for a Roman province, urban centers were key. The provincial road network connected cities, which served as nodes in the military, economic, and social networks of the province. In Arabia, the Romans inherited populated ‘Hellenized’ cities – *Petra*, *Bostra*, *Aila*, and the Decapolis cities – with complex infrastructure and institutions already in place that could be adopted and adapted to suit the needs of a new Roman administration, which is precisely what the Romans did. Thus, although Roman rule came in the form of a completely new administrative and legal system (as indicated by the Babatha Archive), this new set of rules was imposed within the existing urban framework of the Nabataean kingdom, providing at least one level of continuity.

In Dacia, on the other hand, the pre-Roman population centers were Iron Age hillforts up in the mountains, which were not appropriate or convenient as Roman urban or administrative centers. All of these forts were, moreover, destroyed during the course of the Dacian Wars, and after 106 these sites were forever abandoned. Here the Romans had to establish their own urban network from scratch. A new *colonia* was founded to settle veterans and to act as an administrative center for the new province – *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (Figure 2.22). This site was located on the Transylvanian plateau, near fertile

fields, at the base of the mountains. But the new Roman city was located close to the pre-Roman capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (up in the mountains), and was given its name (Figure 2.43). Thus, even when a new capital city had to be founded in the conquered territory, there was an attempt to tie it directly (both in name and space) to the pre-Roman capital. The legionary bases were also built on new sites, at *Apulum* and *Berszobis* – both names that also appear to have a Dacian origin. The latter was quickly abandoned (under Hadrian), but the former grew from a legionary fortress into Dacia's most important urban center after *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (Figure 2.46). Other important urban centers also grew up around forts that were initially established after conquest, including *Napoca*, *Porolissum* (Figures 2.29-2.30), and *Romula/Malva*. It is fascinating that despite the obvious discontinuity in the administrative organization and population centers of Dacia, there was a consistent attempt to present at least a veneer of continuity with the pre-Roman Dacian state (even one as artificial as a name).

In each province the Roman administrative system relied on two (or three) key cities, rather than on a single capital. Arabia had *Bostra* and *Petra* as the seats of the governor and the former as the base of the legion, and *Gerasa* as the seat of the financial procurator. Dacia under Trajan had *Apulum* and *Berszobis* as legionary bases and *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* as the administrative and financial capital. After Hadrian's divisions, Dacia Superior, much like Arabia, had *Apulum* as the seat of the governor and legionary base, and *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* as the seat of the financial procurator. Dacia Porolissensis had *Porolissum* as the main military center and *Napoca* as its administrative center, while Dacia Inferior had *Buridava* as its military headquarters and *Romula* as its financial and administrative

center.¹⁹⁰⁹ In both provinces, administrative duties were divided between these centers, including military, financial, and judicial powers. Although ultimately they were all concentrated in the authority of the provincial governor, these powers were spatially divided between two or three centers and the governor rotated between them. He was supported in these cities by senior officials including procurators and military officers such as *beneficiarii consularis*, who could be dispatched on construction projects and supervisory roles (such as overseeing a *statio*) wherever they might be needed. Indeed, there is widespread evidence of *beneficiarii consularis* in both provinces.

Under Trajan the legions and *auxilia* that are found in both provinces after 106 (in the new provincial garrisons) were ones that had helped initially conquer the territories (Tables 2 and 3). In Dacia, two legions stayed behind after conquest – the *legio XIII Gemina* and the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*. In Arabia two legions also are attested – the *legio III Cyrenaica* and the *legio VI Ferrata* – but it does not seem that both were in garrison in the province in their entirety at any given time (the latter may have replaced the former for a couple of years, or a vexillation of the latter was in the province alongside the former). This military force was required for the first ten to fifteen years of Roman rule in both provinces presumably to organize and fortify the conquered landscapes – to ‘reduce them into the form of provinces,’ and to secure Roman rule.¹⁹¹⁰ Furthermore, in both Dacia and Arabia, conquered indigenous Dacians and Nabataeans were recruited into new Roman auxiliary units and sent to other provinces.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Piso 1993, 39-41

¹⁹¹⁰ cf. “*redacta in formam provinciae Arabia*” referring to the new province of Arabia in milestone inscriptions along the *Via Nova Traiana*, and “*in provinciarum speciem redactam videam Daciam*” as Trajan says about Dacia in Ammianus Marcellinus (24.3.9), both discussed previously.

In newly conquered areas the process of consolidating the new territory and converting it into a Roman province required immense efforts, and it needed to be done fairly quickly to be successful. The Roman army was the key agent in this process, and we can see that the flurry of activity after 106 in both Dacia and Arabia involved the construction of roads and forts. Road-building was especially important, particularly the construction of a main central axis road for each province (the main *via militaris*), which connected the various parts of the province with one another (establishing the extent of provincial territory), and connected the province with the rest of the imperial network. This road system is perhaps the most important monument to the imposition of Roman rule in both Dacia and Arabia, and it served as the lifeblood of provincial society. The roads were a *sine qua non* for the establishment of a military network within each province (since troops needed to be mobilized and supplied readily), and allowed the army to control traffic (the movement of goods and peoples) throughout and into and out of the province (Figures 2.24; 2.31; 4.7; 3.11; 3.26).

Under Trajan, Dacia had two legions. Thus, it was led by a governor of consular rank, who was simultaneously also the commander of the provincial garrison. Below him were two *legati legionis* who commanded the individual legions. After Hadrian's administrative changes, Dacia was left with only one legion, in Dacia Superior. Now the provincial governor was only of praetorian rank, and he was also the *legati legionis* of the sole legion. Administratively, Arabia was organized in the same way as Dacia Superior, since it too was a one-legion province. Already in the first year after annexation, the commander of the legion there is called ὑπατικὸς τῆς λεγεῶνος, the Greek equivalent of *consularis*

legionis.¹⁹¹¹ *Consularis* was the unofficial popular designation for senatorial governors, whether they had already served as consuls or whether they were expecting to attain that honor while still serving in a praetorian province.¹⁹¹² The title ὑπατικὸς τῆς λεγεῶνος combines the two positions of governor and commander of the legion.

¹⁹¹¹ P.Mich. 466

¹⁹¹² Speidel 1977, 689; Speidel 1970, 152 n.116 (for *consularis* in use during Trajan's reign) *contra* Syme 1958, 4-9; cf. Stein 1944, 54

Horizons of Change from 106-275 CE

Hadrian

When Hadrian came to power, he decided to keep both Dacia and Arabia. During his reign, Hadrian dealt with significant military conflicts in both regions. At the beginning of his reign he faced an attack on Dacia, and near the end of his reign there was a substantial revolt in Judaea which may have been accompanied by internal unrest in Arabia. The *exercitus Arabicus* participated in the re-establishment of peace in the region. In Dacia, after quelling the external attack on the province that had begun after Trajan's death, Hadrian abandoned most of the territory east and southeast of the Carpathians that had been annexed to Moesia Inferior. A small strip of this territory was retained and added to Dacia. All of Dacia was administratively divided into three units – Dacia Porolissensis (in the north), Dacia Superior (the central portion), and Dacia Inferior (the eastern strip that was kept from Moesia Inferior's trans-Danubian Trajanic territory) (Figure 2.23). Hadrian also transferred the *legio IIII Flavia Felix* out of Dacia, leaving the province with only one legion – the *legio XIII Gemina* in the center of the province at *Apulum* in Dacia Superior. In Arabia there were no widespread administrative or territorial changes, but significant road-building in the northern section of the province, which linked the major cities of *Gerasa* and *Adraha* to the capital and legionary base at *Bostra*, does indicate that Hadrian paid attention to the strengthening of the transportation network (and thus military supply chains) in the most populated (and militarized) portion of Arabia. It was also under Hadrian that the *legio VI Ferrata*, which had been active in Arabia during Trajan's reign, was permanently transferred to neighboring Judaea, and that the *legio III Cyrenaica* was definitively transferred

permanently to Arabia. Hadrian left both provinces with one legion each, but he also added auxiliary units to each garrison.

Hadrian consolidated military power in both provinces. In Arabia, there is evidence of at least one new cohort – the *cohors I Aelia classica* – which was raised from fleet soldiers. Two more *cohortes classicae* were added by his successor Antoninus Pius. This is an unusual form of recruitment and implies some kind of urgent *ad hoc* need. Perhaps Arabia's garrison needed to be reinforced after losses incurred during the Bar Kokhba revolt at the end of Hadrian's reign. Although he decreased Dacia's legionary forces by 50% (by removing a legion), Hadrian increased the *auxilia* by 58% from the time of Trajan. This included a substantial increase in cavalry, and a substantial increase in the troops stationed in the northern projection of the province (in Dacia Porolissensis). Hadrian's additions included two *alae milliariae*, one of which (*ala I Batavorum milliaria*) stayed in Dacia until the late third century. It was based at Războieni-Cetate in a supremely strategic location – it was right beside the salt mines at *Salinae*, and the gold mines at *Alburnus Maior*, at an important crossroad in Dacia's military and road network. Clearly the efficient mobilization of such a large cavalry force was the key to its placement.

Dacia's army was substantially larger than that of Arabia. Partly this is a result of the evidence, which is so much richer and more detailed for Dacia (in terms of inscriptions, military diplomas, and excavated forts), but it is also a reflection of historical reality. Indeed, if we compare the garrison of the two provinces during the period when we have diplomas for both (in the early 140s), Dacia (across its three territories) had a garrison of some 35,000 soldiers (5000 legionaries, and 30,000 auxiliaries), while Arabia had a total garrison of some

10,000 soldiers (equal parts legionaries and auxiliaries). Dacia evidently required a much larger auxiliary force to patrol such a mountainous landscape that included difficult passes and numerous forts and systems of watchtowers along a complex network of roads in all directions. Furthermore, at the heart of Dacia were the very valuable imperial gold mines around *Alburnus Maior* (Figures 2.47; 2.48; 2.49; 2.50). And since we have documented evidence of various attacks on the province during its history, it seems clear that a larger military presence was deemed necessary in light of an existing external threat.

Arabia, on the other hand, also had important copper mines to protect in the Wadi ‘Arabah and the Sinai, but the province’s primary economic asset was its control over the lucrative long-distance spice and incense trade that moved through its territory. In order to safeguard and supervise the thousands of kilometres of caravan routes that crossed through the province, a unique military unit was created by Trajan just for Arabia: the *ala I Ulpia Dromadariosum Palmyrenorum milliaria*, a double-strength unit of camel-riders who were ideally suited to patrol the vast deserts encompassed within Arabia’s territory. Indeed, even the governor of Arabia’s personal horse-guard included a unique contingent of camel riders (*dromadarii singulares*) to help him get around. In this context it is also noteworthy that the *singulares* (governor’s guards) in Arabia are uniquely attested as belonging to the province – they are described as being “the guards of Arabia’s army” (*singulares exercitus Arabici*) rather than “the guards of the provincial governor” (*singulares consularis*), as they are known elsewhere in the empire (including in Dacia). In this example of a local adaptation to a widespread Roman military institution, it seems that in Arabia the governor’s guards were not

hand-picked by him directly but served whoever was in office, and that they included a uniquely specialized mounted contingent (camel-riders).

Marcus Aurelius

Under Marcus Aurelius Dacia was embroiled in the Marcomannic Wars, which led to the addition of a second legion to Dacia's garrison. The *legio V Macedonica* was added to Dacia Porolissensis in 168, and located at *Potaissa* in the center of Dacia's northern projection. This represents a significant build-up of manpower in what was evidently the most important area of the province for the Romans – the gold and salt mining regions. With the addition of a second legion the governor of Dacia had consular rank again, with two *legati legionis* in command of each legion. Dacia Superior was renamed Dacia Apulensis and Dacia Inferior was renamed Dacia Malvensis, and the three Dacias were officially 'reunited' administratively as *Tres Daciae* (Figure 2.23). On the other hand, it does not seem that Arabia was directly affected by or involved in Lucius Verus' Parthian War or the revolt in Syria, which also took place under Marcus Aurelius. But during his reign significant roadwork was conducted in the northern portion of the province, aimed at repairing the *Via Nova Traiana* between the two most important provincial centers, *Philadelphia* and *Bostra*, and along important roads that linked northern Arabia with the legionary bases of Palaestina. These activities aimed to facilitate troop movement and to secure supply chains between legionary bases. Also under Marcus Aurelius, important military structures (ramparts) were built in at least two important military sites, at Umm el-Jimal in the north and at *Hegra* in the far south – reflecting some kind of defensive construction program in frontier zones. An interesting glimpse into Roman foreign policy in Arabia at this time is provided by the

Rawaffa inscriptions which tell us about Roman control over a Thamudic tribal confederation in the Hedjaz desert (Figure 3.32).

The Severans & the Third Century

Although the evidence for troops becomes quite patchy for both Dacia and Arabia at the turn of the third century, the existing data points to an overall decrease in the garrison of both provinces over time, starting at the end of the second century and continuing until Aurelian. In Arabia the picture of the third century garrison is very fragmentary and almost certainly incomplete (Table 3). Aside from a general decrease in the auxiliary garrison, two new cohorts appear for the first time, both on the building inscription associated with the *castellum novum* at Qasr el-Hallabat in 213/214 (Figure 3.34). An irregular tribal unit also appears in Arabia's garrison for the first time at the turn of the third century – the *Gothi Gentiles*.

Despite the doubling of legionary forces in Dacia in 168, there is a decrease in auxiliary units (Table 2). Late second century diplomas include only about half of the number of auxiliary units attested in early second century diplomas, and archaeologically there appears to be a decrease in the number of forts being used or built. But this overall reduction was not manifested everywhere equally. The largest number of new auxiliary troops that appeared in this later period was in Dacia Superior/Apulensis, including an increase in part-mounted and infantry cohorts, and an increase in *numeri*. In Dacia Porolissensis the overall number of auxiliary units decreased but the proportion of cavalry increased – in other words, the *auxilia* were fewer but more skilled and mobile. But to some extent these changes in the *auxilia* were done to offset the significant influx of legionary

infantry that was brought in by the *legio V Macedonica* - so the overall proportions of cavalry to infantry actually stayed the same if one considers the legionary manpower alongside the *auxilia*. The army of Dacia Porolissensis now comprised 45% legionaries, and 25% of the *auxilia* consisted of *numeri*. Dacia Inferior/Malvensis, on the other hand, experienced the largest decrease in troops. This may have been related to the establishment of the *limes Transalutanius* along Dacia's eastern frontier, which was likely built to shorten the military supply and communication lines to Dacia's easternmost fort at Brețcu (Figure 2.39). Thus the change in the proportion of troops, with a greater percentage of cavalry, comprising a smaller but more mobile army than before, is likely a reflection of this shortened supply line. Arabia's auxiliary garrison also indicates an overall decrease during this period.

The Severan period marked an important period of intense military construction and frontier consolidation in both Dacia and Arabia. In Arabia, a concentration of military activity took place within the southern Hauran, especially around the Azraq Oasis and in the area between Azraq and *Bostra*. New forts and roads were built, while older roads were repaved. The frontier in the north was extended after the reorganization of Syria (Figure 3.33). Military buildup in northeastern Arabia, and new roads extending down towards the Azraq Oasis to supply the new troops stationed there, probably indicates a desire to increase Roman control over this important water source in order to supervise desert traffic (trade caravans from the Persian Gulf and pastoral nomads) entering the province through the Wadi Sirhan and the Azraq Oasis (Figures 3.12; 3.37). Because this was a densely populated portion of the province, this might also reflect a heightened security need. In Roman North Africa similar steps were taken during this period to extend direct military presence deep into

the steppe, especially at desert oases, so this may also have been part of a broader imperial policy of frontier consolidation in the early third century. In Dacia there was substantial roadwork as well, aimed at rebuilding Trajan's original road system along the outer frontiers of the province. This was accompanied by the creation of the so-called *limes Transalutanus* on the southeastern frontier, which involved a re-annexation of a strip of Muntenia east of the Olt River (Figure 2.39). This extension to the frontier was probably meant to shorten the military supply lines connecting Dacia's northeastern forts with the Danube. Under the Severans there was also a general province-wide overhaul of fortifications in Dacia, and many forts were rebuilt in stone. A network of fortlets and watchtowers was also completed along the northern frontier under Caracalla. The latter emperor visited Dacia and left an important mark on the archaeological and epigraphic record – numerous inscriptions and statues were erected for him by the *exercitus Dacicus*, especially in Dacia Porolissensis.

Also remarkable is the increase in ethnic tribal units over time in both provinces. Hadrian first introduced Palmyrene and Syrian archers and Illyrian riders into Dacia, which were eventually organized into *numeri*. By the late second to third centuries, no less than nine *numeri* appear in Dacia (of *Germaniciani*, *Mauri*, *Palmyreni*, and *Suri*) (Figure 4.15). In Arabia, at the turn of the third century the province's first attested irregular tribal unit, the *Gothi Gentiles*, makes its epigraphic appearance (in 208) (Figure 5.5). *Gentiles* refers to tribesmen either from within the boundaries of the empire, or from client kingdoms and free peoples beyond the frontier, and the manpower could have been contributed either voluntarily, as mercenaries, or as part of a Roman peace treaty. *Gentiles* units are common in the fourth century, but thus far only two other examples (in addition to the *Gothi Gentiles*)

have been attested in documentary sources from the second and third centuries: the *Mauri Gentiles* in Dacia Superior (in 158) and the *Brittones Gentiles* in Germania Superior (in 232).¹⁹¹³ In Arabia, the *Gothi Gentiles* were perhaps guarding a military outpost near *Motha* (at Inat). It is noteworthy that this is the only irregular tribal unit attested in Roman Arabia during the second and third centuries. In the third century, Romans increasingly used troops of particular ethnic units which remained outside the normal organization of the *auxilia*. In some cases, it seems, these units came to hold the status of elite or specialist units that eclipsed the regular *auxilia* in prestige.¹⁹¹⁴ Perhaps it is due to the prestige and importance associated with such units in the third century that a centurion of the *legio V Macedonia*, the governor of the Three Daciae, and the procurator of Dacia Porolissensis all contributed to the (re)dedication of a rebuilt temple for the Palmyrene ancestral god Bel alongside the *numerus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum* at *Porolissum* during the reign of Caracalla.

¹⁹¹³ Speidel 1977, 715; for the Brittones Gentiles at Walldürn in Germania Superior, see CIL 13.6592=ILS 9184=AE 1987.118=AE 1983.729

¹⁹¹⁴ Campbell 2005, 112-113

Direct Connections between Dacia & Arabia

As mentioned in the preceding chapters, a few examples of direct connections between these two provinces in ancient times have emerged. Epigraphic evidence revealed the movement and promotion of a number of military men from Dacia to Arabia. *Gerasa* and *Petra* have both yielded inscriptions naming prefects of the *ala Siliana c.R. torquata armillata*, which was stationed at Gilău in Dacia Porolissensis from the time of Hadrian into the third century. These two prefects of a cavalry unit in northern Dacia ended up becoming provincial procurators of Arabia – one probably earlier in the second century, and the other at the end of the second century (around 180-200). Another inscription from *Gerasa* indicates that a tribune of the *cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria c.R. equitata*, stationed at Orheiul Bistriței in Dacia Porolissensis throughout the second century, also ended up becoming procurator of Arabia at the end of Antoninus Pius' reign. These examples suggest a pattern for the promotion of high-ranking military officers of important auxiliary units on Dacia's northern frontier to the position of Arabian procurator.

The career of M. Calventius Viator also took him from Dacia to Arabia. Under Trajan he was posted in Dacia as a centurion of the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, where he served as the trainer of the governor's horse-guards. He was later transferred as a centurion to the *legio V Macedonica*, and promoted to be a commander of a contingent of the *equites singulares Augusti* who were accompanying Hadrian on his tour of the empire. He shows up in an inscription in *Gerasa* where Hadrian's horse-guard entourage was wintered during the emperor's visit to Arabia.

Another direct connection comes from a non-military inscription, which was therefore not previously discussed, but which is worth mentioning here. An epitaph was found in *Bostra* commemorating “Ocibocus, son of Lucius Ocibocus, who lived twelve years.”¹⁹¹⁵ The tombstone was set up by his mother, Flavia Fuscia. The strange names of the deceased and his father are most likely Dacian ethnonyms based on analogy with other names, and this theory is further suggested by the rare abbreviation of *fl* for *filius* in the inscription, an unusual usage and ligature that is attested on the wax tablets from Dacia’s gold mines at *Alburnus Maior* in the late second century.¹⁹¹⁶ Based on the letters, this epitaph too is dated to the second or third centuries. We cannot know how Lucius Ocibocus the Dacian ended up in Arabia, but it may well have been in the context of the army, especially as Danubian troops were frequently sent to the east on campaigns. Ocibocus may have been a soldier (or a veteran), but this is just speculation.

Finally, it is noteworthy that at least a detachment of the *legio VI Ferrata*, stationed in Syria, was sent to fight in the Dacian Wars, and was even left at the pre-Roman Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* between the two wars. The legion then participated in the annexation of Nabataea, and was one of the two legions active in Arabia until the reign of Hadrian. During its time in Arabia a detachment was sent as far south as Farasan Island in the southern Red Sea. It is remarkable that in a span of some twenty years this legion (and its detachments) served in places as remote and distant from one another as the Carpathian

¹⁹¹⁵ AE 1947.139=Mouterde 1942-1943, 54-56. It reads: *D(iis) M(anibus). / Ociboco / Luc(ii) Oc(i)b(oci) / f(i)l(io), <q>ui v(ixit) / anni(s) XII. / Fl(avia) Fuscia / pia mate(r) / dulc(issimo) fil(io)*. Mouterde originally read the father’s name as *Ocbocus*, but it makes more sense that both father and son had the same name, especially since the father’s name is abbreviated in the inscription.

¹⁹¹⁶ Mouterde 1942-1943, 55-56

Mountains of Dacia, the deserts of Arabia, and the islands at the far end of the Red Sea (over a thousand kilometres beyond the territorial limits of the Roman empire).

Policing the Borderlands: The Role of the Army in Dacia & Arabia

The survey of data for the presence and activities of the Roman army in Dacia and Arabia has revealed a busy military network in each province, with legions and *auxilia* distributed throughout the provincial interior, not just along an external frontier. In Dacia, the legionary bases were located in the center of provincial territory, in the heart of the Transylvanian plateau. From there legionaries were dispatched to all corners of the province to build and maintain forts, roads, and other infrastructure, to man *stationes* and watchtowers within the provincial interior and along the frontier, and to command auxiliary units (Figures 4.1; 4.3; 4.6; 4.8-4.15). It is not a coincidence that the heart of the Roman province contained the most important economic resources: gold and salt. Dacia's largest, most powerful, and most mobile military units were stationed in the area around the gold and salt mines: the *legio XIII Gemina*, and later also the *legio V Macedonica*, as well as the only *ala milliaria* (*ala I Batavorum*), and several other *alae* were all concentrated in this area (Figures 4.8; 4.12). In Arabia the legionary base was located in the far north of the province, which was, not coincidentally, also the most populated part of Arabia. From here, the *legio III Cyrenaica* was distributed far and wide throughout every corner of the province, manning *stationes* as far as *Hegra* in the Hedjaz desert, to *Dumata* in the east at the far end of the Wadi Sirhan, to *Mampsis* in the Negev (Figure 5.2). Its soldiers built and maintained roads, important crossings, forts, *stationes*, and supervised copper mining in the Wadi 'Arabah. The legion was assisted by various auxiliary units, including a specialized double-strength cavalry unit of camel-riders, who are attested in the far south (at *Hegra*) and far north (southern El-Leja) (Figures 5.4; 5.5).

The overall picture of the Roman army in these provinces is of an internal police force. As Brent Shaw pointed out in passing, more than a quarter of a century ago:

“The whole *role* of the army as an internal police force in the empire remains one of the most neglected of subjects in works devoted to the institution. Even a cursory examination of the day-to-day activities of soldiers stationed in the multitude of garrisons *not* on the frontiers but in the interior of provinces is more than sufficient to demonstrate this critical *police function*. Wherever and whenever adequate documentation is available relevant to this internal role of the army in contact with the vast majority of the inhabitants of the empire (for example, the papyri of Egypt, the Christian martyr acts) we find soldiers everywhere functioning as investigators, enforcers, torturers, policemen, executioners and jailers.”¹⁹¹⁷

In a similar vein, Benjamin Isaac wrote,

“A proper understanding of the organization of the Roman army will have to take into account the realities of an army in peacetime. These include numerous tasks, including suppression of local unrest, police-duties, periodical action beyond the provincial boundary in order to keep ‘the barbarians’ quiet, the maintenance of logistics and food-supplies, taxing the civilian population, and preparing for the next war.”¹⁹¹⁸

As indicated in the introduction, the overwhelming majority of scholarship on the Roman army focuses on its role as a war machine, both offensively in conquest, and defensively in the guarding of frontiers from outside invaders. Thus the army is usually relegated to the discussion of military history. Certainly these are important aspects of the Roman armed forces. But the study of the Roman army’s role in the maintenance of law and order *within* the boundaries of the empire is very much in its infancy. And yet, in this examination of all the extant evidence for the army’s distribution and activities within Dacia and Arabia, the Roman army seems just as, if not more so, focused on matters of internal security, administration, stability, and control than on conquest and external threats. Fuhrmann’s important recent monograph provides a useful historical and literary background for the role

¹⁹¹⁷ Shaw 1984, 18 (emphasis in original)

¹⁹¹⁸ Isaac 1990, 418

and nature of military policing within the empire that can shed light on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence found in Dacia and Arabia. It is worth highlighting some of the relevant features of his arguments, since they nicely augment the data discussed in this dissertation.

Fuhrmann argues that there was an increase in the use of the military as police in the Roman empire during the second and third centuries, reaching its high-point in the mid-third century.¹⁹¹⁹ Soldiers had a range of skills that were needed for the empire to function properly, “So outside of combat (which most men never saw), soldiers contributed their skill as engineers and their talent as administrators and also their vigilance as guards.”¹⁹²⁰ Soldiers carried out arrest orders and edicts of persecution, they regulated traffic and secured roads, served as governors’ secretaries, carried messages, hunted down enemies of the state and runaway slaves, processed prisoners, received complaints from victims of crime, and guarded countless places. Military policing posts were a key component of these efforts. Watchtowers (*burgi* or *skopeloi*) became important starting in the late first century CE, when they were increasingly built not just on frontiers, but also near cities and in the rural regions of internal provinces (even on some private estates).¹⁹²¹ These were manned by soldiers, or even by drafts of impressed civilians who were supervised and organized by centurions.¹⁹²²

Pliny (the Younger) asked Trajan to post a centurion at *Julipolis* to assist with the town’s heavy traffic load created by its location.¹⁹²³ Although Trajan declined this particular

¹⁹¹⁹ Fuhrmann 2011, 244-245

¹⁹²⁰ Fuhrmann 2011, 240

¹⁹²¹ Fuhrmann 2011, 224; Isaac 1990, 136, 178-186; MacMullen 1963, 37-42

¹⁹²² Fuhrmann 2011, 224-225 (based on evidence from Egyptian *ostraka* and papyri, and some epigraphic evidence from Bulgaria)

¹⁹²³ Pliny, *Ep.* 10.77-78

request, it reveals that an outposted centurion was considered to be an appropriate solution to a bad traffic problem. Throughout his letters to the emperor, Pliny often asked Trajan for permission to use soldiers in various police tasks, including as prison guards (*Ep.* 10.19), as escorts for an equestrian official (*Ep.* 10.21) and for a freedman procurator's mission to acquire grain from Paphlagonia (*Ep.* 10.27). The fact that Trajan denied all of these requests except for one (*Ep.* 10.28, which was limited and temporary) because of a fear that it would establish precedents that might weaken the manpower of the larger military units might be reflective of the emperor's expansionist military ambitions in the east, especially his Parthian campaigns, for which there were preparations under way while Pliny was governor of Bithynia-Pontus. Despite the emperor's objections, Pliny's repeated entreaties indicate the security needs faced by a provincial governor, and the extent to which soldiers were seen to provide the best solution. As Fuhrmann has aptly pointed out, "the real irony here is that just at the time when we have the most explicit imperial opposition to specific expansions of military policing from Trajan, the broader documentary record precisely shows that military policing was manifestly expanding."¹⁹²⁴ This correspondence between Trajan and Pliny also shows us that the emperor paid close attention to the distribution of even small numbers of troops for relatively minor local problems in distant provinces.¹⁹²⁵

Although we do not have the kind of written sources for Dacia and Arabia that can show us soldiers performing many of these tasks, a lot of these activities can be inferred from the available data based on analogy with the sources and duties outlined by Fuhrmann that are attested elsewhere in the empire. The presence of numerous small forts and road stations

¹⁹²⁴ Fuhrmann 2011, 162-163; See also Fink 1971.

¹⁹²⁵ Fuhrmann 2011, 1957 (Pliny *Ep.* 10.19-22, 27-28, 77-78)

at important points throughout the road networks in both Dacia and Arabia reflects the military control and regulation of traffic – into and out of and within the province. This is especially pertinent in Arabia where the most important economic assets were borne by caravans via long-distance trade routes that crossed through the province. Traffic and imported goods were also supervised and taxed at important riverine and sea ports, such as *Aila* on the Red Sea in Arabia, and the ports of *Dierna*, *Drobeta*, and *Partiscum* in Dacia.

In addition to the numerous *stationes* that can be identified based on archaeological remains, *stationarii* are explicitly mentioned in an inscription from *Hegra*, in the far south of Arabia, in conjunction with the *ala I Ulpia dromadariorum Palmyrenorum* and two cohorts of the *legio III Cyrenaica*. A *praesidium* (a military police station) was built in the Severan period by a detachment of the *legio III Cyrenaica* at Qasr el-Uweinid in northeastern Arabia (Figure 3.36). Watchtowers along the *Via Nova Traiana* in southern Arabia were built not merely to supervise traffic along the road, but also to force traffic onto the road and thereby compel pastoral nomads to pass through military checkpoints potentially for taxation purposes. Systems of watchtowers along Dacia's northern frontiers supervised and controlled traffic into and out of the province at important natural passes through the mountains – perhaps also to facilitate taxation for the purposes of supplying the troops. A *numerus burgariorum et veredariorum* in Dacia Inferior, working under the command of the *procurator Augusti*, implies the unit's role in manning *burgi* (fortlets or towers that functioned as road-stations), and its connection to the chief financial administrator of the province speaks to its potential role in tax collection.

In the early second century *frumentarii* are first attested as special police (although they were probably created by Domitian). Outposted soldiers with clear police duties (*milites stationarii*) are firmly attested for the first time, and appointments of *beneficiarii consularis*, either in the *officium* of provincial governors or in other administrative positions were on the rise.¹⁹²⁶ Aurelius Victor said that *frumentarii* were “instituted to search out and report on whatever disturbances were emerging in the provinces,” condemning them for abusing that power by inventing false charges, instilling fear, and plundering civilians.¹⁹²⁷ Julius Apollinarius, an officer of the *legio III Cyrenaica* posted in Arabia right after 106, was specified as a “*frumentarius* of Rome” (φρουμεντάριος Ῥώμης) in a contract from 119 found in *Karanis* (Egypt), indicating that he was serving as a member of the imperial ‘secret police’ in Arabia. In *Gerasa*, M. Ulpius Felicius is also specified as a *frumentarius legionis III Cyrenaica Valeriana* during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (253-260) in a dedication to the provincial procurator. He probably belonged to the *officium* of the governor but was working closely with the procurator, which makes sense since *frumentarii* could also be charged with tax collection.

In both Dacia and Arabia legionary *beneficiarii consularis* serving in the provincial governor’s *officium* were a key component of provincial administration. The administrative stations manned by the *beneficiarii consularis* spread during the second and third centuries, with the emergence of *stationes* throughout the empire under their command.¹⁹²⁸ Their functions varied depending on region and local need, and could include regulating road traffic, serving as customs officers, or even serving as officials in charge of grain provisions

¹⁹²⁶ Fuhrmann 2011, 163

¹⁹²⁷ Aurelius Victor, *de Caes.* 39.45 (cited in Fuhrmann 2011, 154)

¹⁹²⁸ Fuhrmann 2011, 157, 202, 204-207

(*annona*) and tax collection.¹⁹²⁹ When they were tasked with commanding a *statio* this did not always refer to a physical structure, but could just indicate the authority of the *beneficiarius* in question at his post, with whom travelers and merchants were required to check in. At *Samum* on Dacia's northern frontier, a number of *beneficarii consularis* (from both of Dacia's legions) are specified as officers in command of a *statio* (*agens curam stationis; agens in munere stationis; iterato agens statione*) in the third century.

One of the earliest and best-illustrated functions of *milites stationarii* (outposted soldiers) is of capturing runaway slaves.¹⁹³⁰ In this context, the role of legionaries in the wax tablets from *Alburnus Maior* in Dacia is revealing (Figure 2.37). Although these documents do not provide direct evidence of slave-catching, they do show legionaries acting as witnesses, guarantors, and even sellers in legal contracts. The fact that these are slave-sale contracts indicates the direct legal and administrative role played by soldiers in the context of the slave trade. This function is in addition to the roles of police, guards, administrators, and engineers performed by these soldiers in general at the imperial gold mines of *Alburnus Maior* (Figures 2.47-2.50). Soldier-police were certainly used to protect mining operations, especially those belonging to the imperial *fiscus* such as gold mines.¹⁹³¹ Soldiers also protected

¹⁹²⁹ For *beneficarii consularis* in the Roman empire, see Dise 2007; Schallmayer 1991.

¹⁹³⁰ Fuhrmann 2011, 213, but especially 21-43 (Chapter 2). Ulpian (*Dig.* 11.4.1.2) cited a letter from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (in the late second century) which declared that *milites stationarii* were to help masters capture runaway slaves and that they were to punish whoever was found to be hiding the fugitives (*Dig.* 11.4 is discussed in detail by Fuhrmann 2011, 31-36). Paulus (*Dig.* 11.4.4 = *Sententiae* 1.6.3) said that "harbor masters (*limenarchae*) and *milites stationarii* should hold arrested fugitive slaves (*fugitivi*) in custody" (see Fuhrman 2011, 34). An inscription from *Saepinum* in southern Italy dated ca. 170 (CIL 9.2438 (III), cited by Fuhrman 2011, 40) contains a subordinate's letter to a high-ranking imperial official, complaining that outposted soldiers (*stationarii*) were constantly harassing and detaining transhumant shepherds in rural Italy on the suspicion that the shepherds were runaway slaves (and that the animals were stolen). Other sources tell us about the army's involvement in processing recaptured runaway slaves (Arrius Menander, *Dig.* 49.16.4.15; *P.Oxy.* 51.3616 (third century?); Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.74), including on the frontiers where soldiers captured and detained fugitive slaves that had escaped the empire's boundaries (*Ostraca de Bu Nijem* 71 from the mid-third century).

¹⁹³¹ Fuhrmann 2011, 212

the copper mining operations in the Wadi ‘Arabah in Arabia, and the iron, copper, and salt mines in Dacia.

What has emerged from this data are two very different provincial landscapes that were both equally dominated by a dense military network of roads, forts, and *stationes*. One could not travel any significant distance within either Dacia or Arabia without passing under the watchful eye of Roman soldiers. The provincial road system, which was so carefully maintained over these two centuries, functioned first and foremost as a military supply network that connected urban centers and militarized regions within the province, and linked them to the wider imperial network beyond. In both provinces the areas with the largest concentration of soldiers were also the most densely settled by civilians. This brings up a chicken-or-egg question: was the population and settlement density so great in these areas *as a result* of the concentrated military presence, or was there an increased military presence there *because* these areas were so populated?

The answer is different for each province. In Arabia the pre-existing urban network and settlement density was largely determined by the environmental constraints of living on the edge of the desert, so the fertile Hauran in the north of the province was already densely populated when the Romans took over. It made sense to build up a significant military presence in the most densely populated area in order to assert Roman control over the existing population. This also made good practical sense for the purposes of taxation, for the billeting of soldiers in existing cities and towns, and to prevent potential internal unrest and uprisings (especially given the history of such problems in the neighboring province of Judaea). In Dacia, on the other hand, the Romans completely resettled and reorganized the

landscape that they conquered. Here the main concentration of soldiers was located in the most strategic position to ensure the protection of metal and salt mining operations. It was around these major military sites (legionary bases, large auxiliary forts) that large civilian settlements rapidly grew. Dacia's only *colonia deducta* was, obviously, settled by veterans, and as such was itself military in origin.

In both provinces, civilians and soldiers needed each other, and naturally a symbiotic relationship formed between military and local communities that only grew over time as each became more dependent on the other and as the two spheres became increasingly socially and economically enmeshed. This idea runs rather contrary to Brent Shaw's controversial notion that the Roman army in the provinces operated as a 'total institution' – an inwardly focused entity with a separate identity that remained socially and culturally isolated from the surrounding civilian population, on which they could turn violently when ordered to do so.¹⁹³² While it is certainly true that the members of the Roman army shared a distinct 'institutional identity', and that they formed an 'occupational community', most scholars have found Brent's model to be too rigid and not reflective of the dynamic relationships that developed between military and civilian populations throughout the empire.¹⁹³³ After all, extensive networks (social, economic, religious, cultural, administrative) linked soldiers and civilians across different occupational and institutional identities.¹⁹³⁴ But the co-dependence and close ties that often developed between the army and provincial communities should not

¹⁹³² Shaw 1983, 144-148 (in a critique of Fentress' work on the army in Numidia); cf., MacMullen 1984

¹⁹³³ For 'institutional identity' see Pollard 1996; Pollard 2000 (especially 7-8); for 'occupational community' and the Roman army as a community (or communities) see Haynes 2013, 10-20; see also Haynes 1999 and Stoll 2001 for critiques of the 'total institution' model and alternative approaches to relations between the army and civilians.

¹⁹³⁴ Most fully demonstrated by Alston's study of the Roman army in Egypt (Alston 1995).

imply that the relationship between soldiers and civilians was not also contentious and at times violent.

Indeed, extant sources from elsewhere in the empire during the second and third centuries indicate widespread fear, distrust, and constant complaints about the abuse of power, corruption, theft, and violence characteristic of Roman soldiers, especially in their capacity as military police.¹⁹³⁵ A passage from the third-century *midrash* on Deuteronomy 32:13-14 reveals how some Jews (in Judaea) felt about Roman rule, and in particular about the perceived impact of soldiers on provincial civilians:

*“And he ate the produce of my field: these are four kingdoms; and he made him suck honey out of the rock and oil out of the flinty rock: these are the oppressors who have taken hold of the land of Israel and it is as hard to receive a farthing from them as from a rock, but tomorrow Israel inherits their property and they shall enjoy it as oil and honey. Curds from the herd: these are their consulars and governors; fat of lambs: these are their tribunes; and rams: these are their centurions; herds of Bashan: these are beneficiarii who take away (food) from between the teeth (of those who eat); and goats: these are their senators; with the finest of wheat: these are their matronae.”*¹⁹³⁶

In this ancient commentary centurions, tribunes, and *beneficiarii consularis* are specifically mentioned as oppressive and abusive instruments of the Roman administration. From his survey of the evidence pertaining to the social impact of outposted soldiers acting as military police, Fuhrmann concludes,

“In any dealing with soldiers, it seems that all civilians feared getting robbed, cheated, or beaten. [...] Considering the many problems that soldiers caused civilians, what is most surprising is the fact that the Roman state kept turning to them for policing needs, sometimes at the explicit request of civilians. The several roles they played in provincial security and administration are a testament at least to

¹⁹³⁵ e.g., Thefts and abuse of power in the guise of slave-catching on the part of soldiers is documented in the late second century *Saepinum* inscription mentioned previously (CIL 9.2438, see Fuhrmann 2011, 40-41). Lewis (1989, 41) detected a centurion abusing a Jewish civilian through usury in a document from the Babatha Archive (*P.Yadin* 11, dated to 124). For other examples and a survey of the evidence see Fuhrmann 2011, 228-237.

¹⁹³⁶ Translation from Isaac 1990, 115, but with the italicization of original words from Deuteronomy 32:13-14, like Fuhrmann 2011, 232-233. Based on Sifre Deut. 318, ed. Finkelstein, p. 359-360, dated ca. third century.

their importance and usefulness to the state, if not always their uprightness and effectiveness.”¹⁹³⁷

Clearly the Roman army was not an exemplary instrument of law enforcement, and consequently the relationship between soldiers and civilians was often fraught.

¹⁹³⁷ Fuhrmann 2011, 234, 238

The Nature of the Frontiers: Grand Strategy or Local Solutions?

“While borders separate and block, they also often serve as sites of contact and transition. Moving past the stern officials at the border crossing points is a constant flow of humanity and its products. The firm yet transitory nature of such lines drawn on the ground, and their predilection to both block and channel through, indicates a certain ambiguity that is all the more visible in borderland regions.”¹⁹³⁸

As discussed in the previous section, the evidence gathered through this dissertation points to the significance of the army’s role in the policing of the provincial *interiors*, a neglected topic that is just as important as its role as a defensive and offensive military force along the imperial boundary. And yet, the primary reason why there was such a substantial military garrison in both Dacia and Arabia was precisely because these were frontier provinces, marking the furthest extent of the Roman empire. It is therefore only natural that scholars have gravitated towards this aspect of military organization. Thus any discussion of the army’s activities, distribution, and organization within these provinces necessarily also includes some implied understanding about the nature of these Roman frontiers. And this in turn, brings up the question of Roman ‘grand strategy’ or lack thereof.

The traditional idea of a protective ‘ring of steel’ with an unbroken chain of garrisons in distant provinces is reflected in the second century description of Aelius Aristides in an oration to Rome:

“For beyond the outermost circle of the inhabited world, indeed like the second line of defence in the fortification of a city, you have drawn another circle, which is more flexible and more easily guarded, and here you have put up your defensive walls and have built border cities, filling each in a different place with inhabitants, and supplying them with useful crafts and providing them with other adornments.”¹⁹³⁹

¹⁹³⁸ Bartov and Weitz 2013, 7

¹⁹³⁹ Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 81, trans. Behr 1981, 90-91, as cited by Wilkes 2005a, 252.

This picture of the Roman frontier is best exemplified by the Rhine and Danube rivers, which comprised forts on one bank garrisoned by almost half of the entire Roman army (twelve legions and over a hundred auxiliary units), with little to no forward deployment (except for a couple of bridgehead forts on the opposite banks) and nothing stationed in the rear.¹⁹⁴⁰ But a very different system existed in the extensions to Augustus' 'natural' frontiers – Britannia (conquered under Claudius), and Dacia (conquered under Trajan).¹⁹⁴¹ In Dacia the legions were stationed at the center of the province, at the heart of the road network that linked auxiliary forts. An inner ring of cavalry units stood between the legions and the outer ring of predominantly infantry (*cohortes* and *cohortes equitatae*) units which were responsible for guarding the passes into and out of the Carpathians. Outside of the mountains the main frontier on the eastern side was the *limes Alutanus*, along the Olt river, which was then advanced to the *limes Transalutanus*. On the west, south of the Carpathians, the provincial boundary was open, with forts found only along the interior roads, and along the Mureş River. Thus, the frontier in Dacia was not an uninterrupted boundary line, nor was it uniform all around the province.

In the Roman east, it has long been pointed out that there was no heavily defended linear frontier akin to the Danubian or Rhine frontiers. A network of roads connecting important cities was the key to military distribution here, and military construction consisted primarily of traditional legionary or auxiliary forts in remote areas, far from main settlement centers, and the construction of rows of inter-visible small forts along the roads between the

¹⁹⁴⁰ Wilkes 2005a, 252

¹⁹⁴¹ Wilkes 2005a, 253

main cities.¹⁹⁴² In Arabia the north-south running *Via Nova Traiana* followed the westernmost of two parallel roads that met at *Philadelphia*. The road started in the north at *Bostra*, the legionary base and provincial capital, and ran south towards *Aila* on the Red Sea, but there is no evidence of any kind of system of regularly spaced Roman forts along this road. From this main road, smaller roads ran out in various directions, especially within the densely populated Hauran in the north of the province, and to the west from *Petra* towards the port of *Gaza* on the Mediterranean. Various caravan tracks also extended outwards from this core – from *Aila* down to *Hegra*, and from the Azraq Oasis southeast along the Wadi Sirhan towards *Dumata*.

Thus, both the Dacian and Arabian frontiers were unique within the empire. They differed markedly from each other and from Roman frontier organization elsewhere because of different topographical and geographical challenges and requirements. In Dacia there were no regularly-spaced, uniform single-unit forts forming some kind of linear perimeter (like in Britannia or Germania during the second centuries) – here the Romans ‘plugged holes’ in a naturally fortified mountain zone, in order to provide a broad protective buffer around the gold and salt mining areas. In Arabia, on the other hand, the *Via Nova Traiana* was basically the frontier. This central road was patrolled and secured by troops, and from it Roman control was extended into the desert in various directions via different roads and routes punctuated by way-stations and patrolled by mounted (camel- and horse-riding) troops. This too was a unique adaptation to a local environment and to the protection of a unique economic asset – the long-distance luxury caravan routes (especially the Incense Road). Via the Red Sea, Roman control was extended even further, all the way to the Indian Ocean.

¹⁹⁴² Wilkes 2005a, 254

It is also important to recognize that at important check-points and entry/exit points (mountain passes, water ports, wadis, and oases), we should not assume that a Roman fort or military presence was there to block all entry into the province from outside. Rather, these were control points – managing, supervising, and likely taxing traffic (goods and people) traveling in both directions – akin to a modern border checkpoint which lets people cross in both directions but under the direct control and supervision of border guards (and usually for a fee). Thus, rather than an impermeable and defensive ‘ring of steel’ meant to keep people out of the empire, these frontiers were porous, fluctuating, controlled buffer zones broadly marking the furthest extent of direct Roman control, which both blocked and channeled people and products. As such, Arabia and Dacia can be considered true borderlands – places of interaction and exchange, of contact, transition, and movement, which the central Roman administration expended great efforts and manpower to control, through a frontier that was organized and adapted to suit unique local topographic, economic, and demographic constraints.

It should be clear by this point that this dissertation’s conclusions do not favor the notion of a ‘grand strategy’ in the traditional sense of that phrase. Since Edward Luttwak’s (in)famous study on the grand military strategy of the Roman empire, especially in terms of his argument for a centrally-mandated development of certain frontier types at different periods in time, Romanists have continued to debate and challenge his views.¹⁹⁴³ But as Whittaker has more recently pointed out, “The theory of a single ‘grand strategy’ of the

¹⁹⁴³ Luttwak 1976. The original and most widely-cited critical review is Mann 1979. For a critical review of Luttwak’s theories from the perspective of Dacia see Gudea 1997f, and from the perspective of Rome’s eastern frontier see Isaac 1989a. For several more recent discussions and debates about Roman grand strategy, see Lacey 2014; Wheeler 1993a; Wheeler 1993b.

Roman empire is a priori implausible, when geographic and political conditions were so different between various parts of the empire, particularly between the eastern and western halves.”¹⁹⁴⁴ Roman frontiers across the empire lacked the kind of uniformity that Luttwak espoused, even within similar cultural and environmental contexts, and even where there are visual similarities.¹⁹⁴⁵ There was no grand empire-wide military strategy, but what the comparative perspective on Dacia and Arabia has indicated are broad patterns and general similarities in the processes and practices involved in Roman expansion and in the creation of new provinces, even in very different environments.

What has become abundantly clear, however, is that the driving force behind Roman military organization, troop distribution, and the function of the army, is a consistent ability to adapt the same imperial institutions and administration to meet the challenges and the needs of local, *ad hoc* circumstances and constraints. This is punctuated by temporal horizons where broader empire-wide trends are discernable – in the current study these horizons included the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, the Severan period, and the reign of Aurelian. In the third century things became more chaotic in the Roman world – a reflection of a loss of central control, rapid turnover in the ruling hierarchy, economic decline, and mounting pressure and danger from external peoples on all frontiers.¹⁹⁴⁶ An often overlooked factor that also contributed to what scholars have traditionally called the ‘third century crisis’ is what Harper has recently called “the age of pandemic disease.”¹⁹⁴⁷ Starting with the Antonine plague (smallpox) that erupted in the mid-160s, and lasting until

¹⁹⁴⁴ Whittaker 2000, 305-306

¹⁹⁴⁵ Whittaker 2000, 312

¹⁹⁴⁶ Campbell 2005, 114-115

¹⁹⁴⁷ Harper 2015, 223

the Justinianic plague of the mid-sixth century (bubonic plague), it is now becoming increasingly clear that several widespread pandemics in late antiquity had a significant effect on the demographic and historical development of the later Roman and then Byzantine empires. Noteworthy in the context of the present study is an oft-overlooked major pandemic that spread through the empire in the 250s and 260s, which Harper has recently argued was a “meaningful causal factor in the severe disruptions of the period,” and that the “acute phase of transformational crisis in the [third] century’s third quarter” which followed the outbreak of this plague was not coincidental.¹⁹⁴⁸ He further suggests that the significance of this particular pandemic event “lay in its nature as an exogenous shock to an already stressed system that triggered immediate, cascading change with rapid re-organizational effects.”¹⁹⁴⁹ It therefore seems that increasing internal and external pressures (socio-political, geopolitical, military, and economic), compounded by the outbreak of a major pandemic, eventually led to the abandonment of Dacia and to the complete reorganization of Arabia under Aurelian – different solutions to empire-wide and local problems occurring at the same time.

During these different temporal horizons (Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, the Severans, Aurelian) there appear to be broad patterns in Roman policy – to fortify and reorganize frontier provinces, to rebuild or expand road systems, and to make changes in the distribution of troops. But these do not reflect some broad imperial edict that was uniformly and equally manifested in each place – rather these periods represent similar responses along different frontiers to similar immediate circumstances (i.e., attacks on multiple frontiers at

¹⁹⁴⁸ Harper 2015, 224, 248-259

¹⁹⁴⁹ Harper 2015, 224, 259-260

the same time exposing potential vulnerabilities that then are addressed), rather than an overall imperial strategy per se. In another example, the widespread use of the Roman army, especially within the imperial borderlands, as an internal police force might be thought of as an imperial 'strategy', but the manifestation of this practice on the ground in any given place varied enormously based on local circumstances, needs, and *ad hoc* local and individual decisions.

In both Dacia and Arabia, the social, economic, and physical landscapes were dominated by the Roman army. Indeed, based on these findings, it is clear that to understand the nature of Roman rule, the economy, the socio-cultural landscape, and even the rhythms of daily life in either one of these provinces, one has to first and foremost consider the role of the military. Soldiers, of many different ethnic backgrounds, enlisted in a variety of different units, formed the backbone of provincial society. One can imagine that after two centuries of Roman rule and local recruitment, the mark of the Roman military on the provincial population must have been so significant that almost everybody was in some way related to a soldier or veteran. The Roman army was the *sine qua non* of these two imperial borderlands, and it constituted one of the most important forces in the creation and history of Roman Dacia and Arabia.

Directions for Future Research

As is the case with most dissertations, much of what I had originally intended to cover in this study was either left on the cutting room floor or ended up being outside the scope and scale of one human dissertation. Moreover, during the course of writing and researching, various interesting avenues for further research became apparent, many of which I only addressed in passing. I will briefly outline some of these here.

As I mentioned in the introduction, this dissertation focused exclusively on the perspective of the Roman army and administration. Thus, an important future project, that can build on the conclusions and data gathered in this study, is an examination of the impact of the army on the non-military provincial and extra-provincial populations. What were the relationship(s) between soldiers and civilians in Dacia and Arabia? More broadly, what were the effects of the Roman conquest in 106 on the indigenous peoples of pre-Roman Dacia and Nabataea? What was the nature of the civilian population in these Roman provinces during the second and third centuries? Where did the civilians originate (locally or elsewhere?), what ethnic or cultural groups and identities can be ascertained, how and where did they live, in what kind of activities did they engage, and what was their relationship to the Roman administration and military population? In what ways were Roman bureaucrats and military personnel (including active-duty soldiers and veterans, legionaries and auxiliaries) embedded in provincial society? What were the non-military activities and roles of soldiers and veterans within provincial society – as farmers, builders, engineers, traders, consumers, and public patrons?

Since this dissertation argued that the Roman frontier in both provinces was porous, allowing people to move into and out of Roman territory, one needs to ask what kinds of populations were living beyond the frontier, in the territories beyond direct official Roman control? What was their relationship to the soldiers and civilians inhabiting the forts and *vici* along the frontier and within the provincial interior? How far beyond the frontier did Roman social and economic networks extend, and what did those networks look like?

These questions all involve important economic and social considerations regarding the presence of the army in these provinces. So, what was the economic impact of the army on each province? The thousands of soldiers patrolling each province needed to be fed and supplied (with clothes, various types of equipment, and animals such as horses and camels), and they spent the money with which they were paid (where and how did they spend it?). Thus, how did the army fit into and shape the economic development of Dacia and Arabia? And what was the social and religious impact of the army on provincial life? What kinds of religious activities (such as the worship of particular deities) characterized the Roman army in each province, and how did this relate to the wider religious practices of the civilian populations? What kinds of families did soldiers and veterans have (both *de iure* and *de facto*)? What was the pattern of recruitment for the different troops stationed in each province during the second and third centuries, and how did this impact the ethnic and cultural composition of the troops and their relationship to the local civilian population?

I did not have the time or space to analyse in detail the construction of the different structures built by the Roman army in these two provinces (forts, road stations, towers, defensive installations). Another useful project would be an architectural and archaeological

analysis of the many military structures that were only addressed briefly in this dissertation. How were these structures built (in terms of technique, design, building materials)? Are there differences in the types of structures and the way they were designed and built in different parts of the province, and in different provinces? What phases of occupation and use can be detected? In what ways were pre-Roman military and non-military structures appropriated and adapted by the Roman army? What was the relationship of military structures to civilian ones, and is it necessarily the case that there is always a clear distinction between the two? Moreover, what kind of civilian settlements grew up around legionary and auxiliary forts (or military outposts)? And, in places where a fort was built within an existing populated area, how did the construction of a new military building impact the local community?

Finally, this study only went as far as the reign of Aurelian (up to 275), after which Dacia and Arabia have rather diverging paths. What happened to the territory and provincial population of Dacia after the Roman army and administration withdrew? In other words, what was the nature of the post-Roman period in Dacia? In Arabia, what kind of continuities and changes are apparent in the aftermath of Diocletian's widespread administrative, territorial, and military reforms?

These are just a few of the many avenues for future research that have emerged from this study. Clearly, there is much to be done! As excavations and surveys continue to produce new information, and as more inscriptions and archaeological assemblages (both new and old) continue to be analysed and published, especially within our increasingly digital world where data is easily disseminated, I hope future scholars will embrace the challenges of

working towards a better understanding of Dacia and Arabia, which in turn will lead to a more complete picture of the Roman world (and beyond!).

TABLES

Table 1 – The Constitutions and Military Diplomas for Roman Dacia

Corrected, expanded, and updated from the Appendix in Eck and Pangerl 2011a, 231-233.
Provenance, if known, is listed in brackets after each diploma (for unknown provenance nothing is listed).

Trajanic Dacia

Constitution	Diplomas (one diploma per bullet)
109 (Oct. 14)	• RMD 3.148=IDRE 2.307=ILD 10=CER 9.523=AE 1987.854=AE 1990.860 (Ranovac, Moesia Superior)
110 (Feb. 17)	• CIL 16.57=IDR 1.2=ILS 2004 (<i>Savaria</i>, Pannonia Superior) • RMD 4.220 • Eck and Pangerl 2011a, 221-225 (no.1)
110 (July 2)	• CIL 16.163=IDR 1.3=AE 1944.58=AE 1946.131=AE 1947.31 (<i>Porolissum</i>, Dacia)
110 (106 Aug. 11 – diploma issued in 110, but constitution was on Aug.11, 106)	• CIL 16.160=IDR 1.1=AE 1944.57=AE 1946.131=AE 1947.31 (<i>Porolissum</i>, Dacia) • RMD 5.343=ILD 11=CER 21/24.967=AE 2002.1741
113 (Dec.17)- 114 (May 2/3)	• RMD 4.225=ILD 13=CER 21/24.968
114 (May 2/3)	• RMD 4.226 = RGZM 16=ILD 12=CER 21/24.969

Dacia Superior

117-138	• RMD 2.92=IDR III/3.194=ILD 31=CER 1.5=AE 1978.689 (<i>Micia</i>, Dacia Superior)
118-122	• RMD 1.20=IDR 1.4=ILD 1-4=CER 1.1=AE 1975.714=AE 1980.763 (Romănași, Dacia Porolissensis)
119 (Nov. 12)	• RMD 5.351=Eck <i>et al.</i> 2001, 27-36 (no.1) + Eck <i>et al.</i> 2002-2003, 48-50 (No.7) + Eck and Pangerl 2004-2005, 61-67=ILD 14=CER 21/24.970=CER 27/28.1307=AE 2001.2150=AE 2003.2047=AE 2005.1703
120 (June 29)	• CIL 16.68=IDR 1.6b=AE 1925.76=AE 1935.3=AE 1936.7 (<i>Porolissum</i>, Dacia Porolissensis) • RMD 1.17=IDR 1.5=AE 1958.30=AE 1959.31=AE 1960.336 (Cășeu/Samum, Dacia Porolissensis) • RMD 5.355=IDR 1.4=RMD 1.78b=CER 1.2=AE 1975.716 (Romănași, Dacia Porolissensis)
120 (June 29)	• Eck and Pangerl 2006-2007, 194-198 (no.4) • Unpublished diploma (according to Eck and Pangerl 2010, 247)

120 (May 16/June 13)	• RMD 4.232=IDR III/5,2.694=ILD 16=CER 17.738=CER 19/20.858=AE 1999.1280=AE 2002.1222a=AE 2002.1765 (<i>Apulum</i>, Dacia Superior)
120-126	• RMD 4.237
121 (Nov. 24)	• Eck and Pangerl 2010, 255-257 (No.2)
121 (April 5)	• RMD 1.19=AE 1965.131=AE 1974.569=AE 2008.1210=AE 2008.1752 (<i>Aquae Callidae</i>, Thracia) • RMD 5.357=CER 21/24.989=AE 2003.2059=Eck and Pangerl 2003=AE 2006.76=AE 2008.1751 • Eck and Pangerl 2008a • Eck and Pangerl 2008b
123 (Apr. 14)	• RGZM 22=ILD 20=CER 21/24.975=AE 2005.1281=AE 2006.77=AE 2007.105=Onofrei 2006; Onofrei 2013 (Urfa, Mesopotamia)
124 (May 16/June 13)	• RMD 1.26=RMD 4.271=IDR I.28=IDR III/5,2.695=IDR III/5,2.696=AE 1962.391=AE 1969/1970.391a (<i>Apulum</i>, Dacia Superior)
124 (Nov. 24)	• Eck and Pangerl 2010, 248-255 (no.1)
125 (Dec. 10)- 126 (Dec. 9)	• RMD 5.367=ILD 21=CER 21/24.976=AE 2001.2151
126 (Jan. 31/Feb. 12)	• Weiß 2012, 183-188
126 (Jan. 31/Feb. 12)	• RMD 1.27=IDR I.8=AE 1967.395 (<i>Tibiscum</i>, Dacia Superior) • RMD 1.28=IDR I.9=AE 1977.696 (<i>Tibiscum</i>, Dacia Superior)
136-138 (July 10/Dec. 10)	• RMD 5.384=ILD 34=CER 21/24.984=AE 2002.1223=Petolescu and Corcheș 2002 (<i>Micia</i>, Dacia Superior)
142 (Jan. 15-Apr. 25)	• Eck and Pangerl 2012
144 (Feb. 23)	• CIL 16.90=IDR I.14=AE 1935.111 (<i>Nova Zagora</i>, Thracia)
144-178	• RMD 2.122=ILD 37=CER 2.121=CER 6.366=CER 18.764=AE 1984.735 (<i>Tibiscum</i>, Dacia Superior)
145 (Dec. 10)- 146 (Dec. 9)	• Eck and Pangerl 2014, 269-272 (no.1)
152 (Sept?)	• Eck and Pangerl 2006-2007, 198-203 (no.5)
156 (Dec. 13)	• CIL 16.107=IDR I.15 (<i>Tibiscum</i>, Dacia Superior)
158 (Jul. 8)	• CIL 16.108=IDR I.16=ILS 2006 (Cristești, Dacia Superior)
179 (Apr. 1)	• RMD 2.123=ILD 46=CER 4.264=CER 5.297=AE 1987.843=Piso and Benea 1984 (<i>Drobeta</i>, Dacia Superior)

Dacia Inferior

118-140	• Weiß 2002, 246-248 (no.4)
119-129	• RMD 5.374=ILD 15=CER 21/24.971=AE 2001.2152=Eck <i>et al.</i> 2001, 38-42 (no.5)
122 (July 17)	• RGZM 20=ILD 18=CER 21/24.973=AE 2006.77

	• RMD 5.361=ILD 17=CER 21/24.972=AE 2002.1742 • Weiß 2002, 242-245 + Eck <i>et al.</i> 2003, 34-37 (No.2) • Eck and Pangerl 2006-2007, 186-189 (no.1)
129 (Mar. 22)	• CIL 16.75=IDR I.10 (Gura Padinii, Dacia Inferior)
129 (Dec. 10)- 130 (Dec. 9)	• RMD 5.376=IDRE 2.473=ILD 25=CER 17.731=CER 19/20.831=AE 1997.1764= Weiß 1997, 243-246 (no.8) • Mugnai 2011
130-138	• Eck <i>et al.</i> 2002-2003, 41-44 (No.4) • Eck <i>et al.</i> 2002-2003, 44-45 (No.5)
131-132	• RMD 5.380=ILD 24=CER 21/24.977=AE 2002.1743
134 (Nov.)	• Eck and Pangerl 2006-2007, 190-192 (no.2)
140 (Dec. 13)	• RMD 1.39=IDR I.13= AE 1962.264=AE 2012.78 (Palamartsa, Moesia Superior)
120-140	• RMD 5.389=ILD 28=CER 21/24.980=AE 2002.1744
146 (July 19)	• RMD 4.269=ILD 35=CER 21/24.985=CER 19/20.872=AE 2001.2155 • Eck and Pangerl 2011a, 225-230
150	• Eck and Pangerl 2006-2007, 192-193 (no.3)
154-161 (? Could also be for Britannia)	• Weiß 2012, 192-194
161 (after Feb. 8)- 167	• RMD 2.121=ILD 44=CER 1.9=AE 1978.697 (Slăveni, Dacia Inferior)
167-168	• RMD 5.442=CER 21/24.988=AE 2001.2154=Eck <i>et al.</i> 2001, 45-48 (no.5)

Dacia Porolissensis

123 (Apr. 14)	• RGZM 22=ILD 20=CER 21/24.975=AE 2005.1281=AE 2006.77=AE 2007.105=Onofrei 2006; Onofrei 2013 (Urfa, Mesopotamia)
123 (Aug. 10)	• RMD 1.21=IDR I.7=ILD 5=AE 1973.459=AE 1977.703 (Gherla, Dacia Porolissensis) • RMD 1.22=IDR I.7a (Covdin, Moesia Superior)
123 (Aug. 10)	• Eck and Pangerl 2011b
123-168	• RMD 2.128=ILD 48=CER 5.348 (Buciumi, Dacia Porolissensis)
127 (Apr. 14/30)	• RMD 1.30=ILD 23=CER 1.3=CER 21/24.917=AE 1977.701 (Gilău, Dacia Porolissensis)
118-120 or 126-128	• RMD 5.370
125-128	• RMD 1.31=ILD 6=CER 1.4=IDR I.12=AE 1973.458 (Buciumi, Dacia Porolissensis)
128 (July 7 or Aug./Sept. 5)	• Ciongradi <i>et al.</i> 2009 (<i>Napoca</i>, Dacia Porolissensis)

130 (Dec. 10)- 131 (Dec. 9)	RMD 5.378=ILD 29=CER 21/24.981=AE 2002.1745=Weiß 2002, 248-251 (no.5)
133 (July 2)	RMD 1.35=IDR I.11=AE 1962.255=AE 1965.28=AE 1967.390 (Gherla, Dacia Porolissensis)
133-140	Eck <i>et al.</i> 2002-2003, 46-48 (No.6)
134 (Dec. 10)- 135 (Dec.9)	Eck <i>et al.</i> 2002-2003, 38-41 (No.3)
135 (Nov. 14/Dec. 1)	RMD 4.248=ILD 30=CER 14/15.685=AE 1995.1283=AE 1996.1275 (<i>Porolissum</i>, Dacia Porolissensis)
138-142	RMD 1.40 = RMD 5, p.917, App. Ia=IDR I.23=ILD 9=CER 1.6=CER 14/15.684=AE 1980.756=AE 1995.1282
142 (Summer)/ 144 (Autumn)	Weiß 2012, 190-192
142 (Oct. 6)	Eck and Pangerl 2014, 272-277 (No.2)
143-153	Ciongradi and Zăgreanu 2011 (Gherla, Dacia Porolissensis)
151 (Sept. 24)	RMD 5.404=ILD 38=CER 21/24.986=AE 2001.1705 (Cășeiu/<i>Samum</i>, Dacia Porolissensis)
ca. 153-167?	Eck and Pangerl 2006-2007, 206-207 (no.7)
154? (Sept. 27)	CIL 16.110 = RMD 1.47=IDR I.17a=IDR III/1.98a=ILD 7=AE 1977.3=AE 1980.760 (Mehadia/<i>Ad Mediam</i>, Dacia Superior)
161? (Oct. 26)	RMD 3.177=RMD 5, p.704=ILD 39=CER 14/15.687=AE 1994.1487=Eck <i>et al.</i> 1994 (Gilău, Dacia Porolissensis)
164 (July 21)	- CIL 16.185=IDR I.19=AE 1937.113=AE 1959.37=AE 1959.252 (Palatovo, Thracia) - RMD 1.63=IDR I.20=AE 1959.37 (Cășeiu/<i>Samum</i>, Dacia Porolissensis) - RMD 1.64=IDR I.18=AE 1957.199 (Gilău, Dacia Porolissensis) - RMD 1.65= RMD 2.115=IDR I.22=ILD 8=CER 1.8=CER 5.349=AE 1980.761 (Buciumi, Dacia Porolissensis) - RMD 1.66=IDR I.21=AE 1980.762 (Buciumi, Dacia Porolissensis) - RMD 2.116=ILD 42=CER 2.178=AE 1983.850 (Buciumi, Dacia Porolissensis) - RMD 2.117 (Romănași, Dacia Porolissensis) - RMD 4.287=ILD 40=CER 21/24.987=AE 1999.1103 - RMD 4.289=ILD 41=AE 1995.1284 (<i>Porolissum</i>, Dacia Porolissensis) - Eck and Pangerl 2006-2007, 203-206 (no.6)=AE 2007.1764
164?	RMD 4.289=ILD 41=AE 1995.1284 (<i>Porolissum</i>, Dacia Porolissensis)

Table 2 – The Military Units of Roman Dacia

	Trajan's Dacia	Dacia Superior	Dacia Inferior	Dacia Porolissensis
Legions (ca. 5000)	<i>legio IIII Flavia Felix</i> <u><i>legio XIII Gemina</i></u>	<u><i>legio XIII Gemina</i></u>		<i>legio V Macedonica</i>
Alae milliariae (ca. 1000)		<i>ala Ulpia Contariorum</i> <i>milliaria</i> <u><i>ala I Batavorum</i></u> <u><i>milliaria</i></u>		
Alae quingenariae (ca. 500)	<u><i>ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum torquata</i></u> <i>ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> <i>ala I Britannica/Brittonum</i> <i>c.R.</i> <i>ala I c.R.</i> <i>ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana</i> <i>ala I Pannoniorum</i>	<i>ala I Bosporanorum</i> <u><i>ala I Hispanorum</i></u> <u><i>Campagonum</i></u>	<i>ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana</i> <u><i>ala I Asturum</i></u> <u><i>ala I Hispanorum</i></u>	<u><i>ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum torquata</i></u> <i>ala I Brittonum (Britannica) c.R.</i> <u><i>ala Siliana c.R. torquata armillata</i></u> <u><i>ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i></u>
Cohortes milliariae equitatae (ca. 1000)	<u><i>cohors I Britannorum milliaria c.R.</i></u> <i>cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p.f. c.R.</i> <i>cohors II Brittonum milliaria c.R. p.f.</i> <i>cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria c.R.</i> <u><i>cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria c.R. p.f.</i></u>	<u><i>cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria c.R. p.f.</i></u> <i>cohors I sagittariorum milliaria</i> <i>cohors III Delmatarum milliaria c.R. p.f.</i>		<u><i>cohors I Britannorum milliaria c.R.</i></u> <i>cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p.f. c.R.</i> <i>cohors II Brittonum milliaria c.R. p.f.</i> <i>cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria c.R.</i> <i>cohors I Batavorum milliaria c.R. p.f.</i>
Cohortes quingenariae equitatae (ca. 500)	<u><i>cohors I Alpinorum</i></u> <u><i>cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum</i></u> <u><i>cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum</i></u> <i>cohors I Pannoniorum veterana p.f.</i> <i>cohors II Gallorum Pannonica</i> <u><i>cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica</i></u> <i>cohors VI Thracum</i> <i>cohors VIII Raetorum c.R. torquata</i>	<u><i>cohors I Alpinorum</i></u> <u><i>cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum</i></u> <i>cohors II Gallorum Pannonica</i> <i>cohors VIII Raetorum c.R. torquata</i> <i>cohors IIII Hispanorum</i>	<u><i>cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum</i></u> <i>cohors I Bracaraugustanorum</i> <i>cohors II Flavia Numidarum</i> <i>cohors I Hispanorum veterana</i>	<u><i>cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica</i></u> <i>cohors VI Thracum</i>

Cohortes milliariae peditatae (ca. 1000)	<u>cohors III Campestris</u> <u>c.R. milliaria</u> cohors I Ituraeorum milliaria	<u>cohors III Campestris</u> <u>c.R. milliaria</u> cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria	cohors I Augusta Pacensis Brittonum milliaria	cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria <u>cohors II Augusta</u> <u>Nerviana Pacensis</u> <u>Brittonum milliaria</u>
Cohortes quingenariae peditatae (ca. 500)	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum cohors I Cretum sagittariorum cohors I Hispanorum p.f. cohors I Montanorum cohors I Thracum c.R. cohors II Gallorum Macedonica cohors III Cypria c.R. cohors V Gallorum <u>cohors V Lingonum</u>	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum cohors V Gallorum cohors I Gallorum Dacica cohors I Thracum sagittariorum cohors I Ubiurum	cohors I Tyriorum sagittariorum cohors II Flavia Bessorum cohors II Gallorum <u>cohors III Gallorum</u> cohors VI nova Cumidavensium	<u>cohors V Lingonum</u> cohors I Cannanefatium
Irregular units (ca. 500)	<u>pedites singulares</u> <u>Britannici</u> <u>equites et pedites</u> <u>singulares</u>	<u>pedites singulares</u> <u>Britannici</u> <u>equites et pedites</u> <u>singulares</u> numerus Illyricorum* Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria* numerus Germanicianorum numerus Maurorum Hispanorum* numerus Maurorum Miciensium* numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium* numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*	<u>numerus Surorum</u> <u>sagittariorum</u> numerus equitum Illyricorum* numerus burgariorum et veredariorum*	numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium sagittariorum* numerus Palmyrenorum O(ptatianensium?)* numerus M(aurorum?) O(ptatianensium?)*

Black = appear under Trajan

Blue = appear under Hadrian

Red = appear in the late 2nd or 3rd century

BoldUnderlined = units from Trajan's time attested into the 3rd century

BoldUnderlined = units from Hadrian's time attested into the 3rd century

* = irregular units that are mounted

Table 3 – The Military Units of Roman Arabia

	Trajan	2 nd century (after Trajan)	3 rd century
Legions (ca. 5000)	<i>legio VI Ferrata</i> (116 at earliest) <i>legio III Cyrenaica</i> (briefly sent away to fight Parthians)	<i>legio VI Ferrata</i> (only until 127 at the latest) <i>legio III Cyrenaica</i>	<u><i>legio III Cyrenaica</i></u>
Alae milliariae (ca. 1000)	<i>ala I Ulpia dromadriorum Palmyrenorum milliaria</i> (?)	<i>ala I Ulpia dromadriorum Palmyrenorum milliaria</i>	
Alae quingenariae (ca. 500)	<i>ala Gaetulorum veterana</i> (?)	<i>ala Gaetulorum veterana</i>	<u><i>ala Gaetulorum veterana</i></u>
Cohortes quingenariae equitatae (ca. 500)	<i>cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata</i> (?)	<i>cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata</i> <i>cohors I Augusta Canathenorum</i> <i>cohors I Aelia classica</i>	
Cohortes quingenariae peditatae (ca. 500)	<i>cohors I Thebaeorum</i> <i>cohors I Hispanorum Cyrenaica?</i> <i>cohors VI Hispanorum</i>	<i>cohors I Hispanorum Cyrenaica</i> <i>cohors I Thebaeorum?</i> <i>cohors VI Hispanorum</i> <i>cohors I Aurelia classica</i> <i>cohors II Aurelia (classica)</i> <i>cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum</i>	<u><i>cohors VI Hispanorum</i></u> <u><i>cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum</i></u> <i>cohors III T(h)r(acum)?</i> <i>cohors V Afrorum Severiana</i>
Irregular units (ca. 500)	<i>Equites et pedites singulares (et dromadarii singulares)</i>	<i>Equites et pedites singulares (et dromadarii singulares)</i>	<u><i>Equites et pedites singulares (et dromadarii singulares)</i></u> <i>Gothi Gentiles</i>

Black = appear under Trajan

Blue = appear under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius

Red = appear in the late 2nd or 3rd century

BlackUnderlined = units from Trajan's time attested into the 3rd century

BlueUnderlined = units from the time of Hadrian/Antoninus Pius attested into the 3rd century



Figure 1.1 – The Roman empire under Hadrian (in 125 CE). A yellow circle marks the location of Dacia, and a dark blue circle locates Arabia.

[edited from original map by Andrei Nacu via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_Empire_125.svg]



Figure 1.2 – The territory of Roman Dacia in modern Europe.

[map made by author using Google Earth]

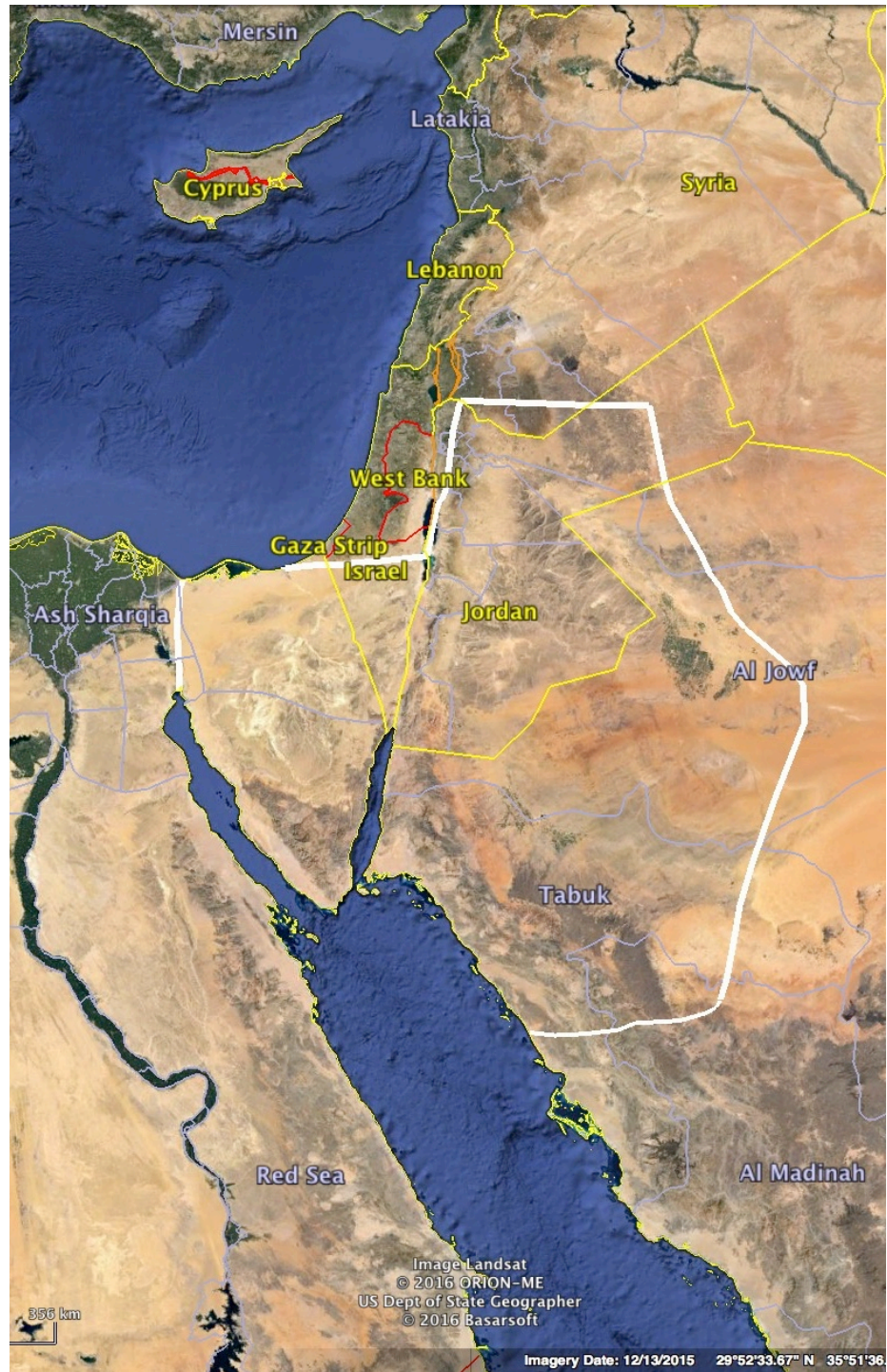


Figure 1.3 – The territory of Roman Arabia in the modern Middle East.

[map made by author using Google Earth]

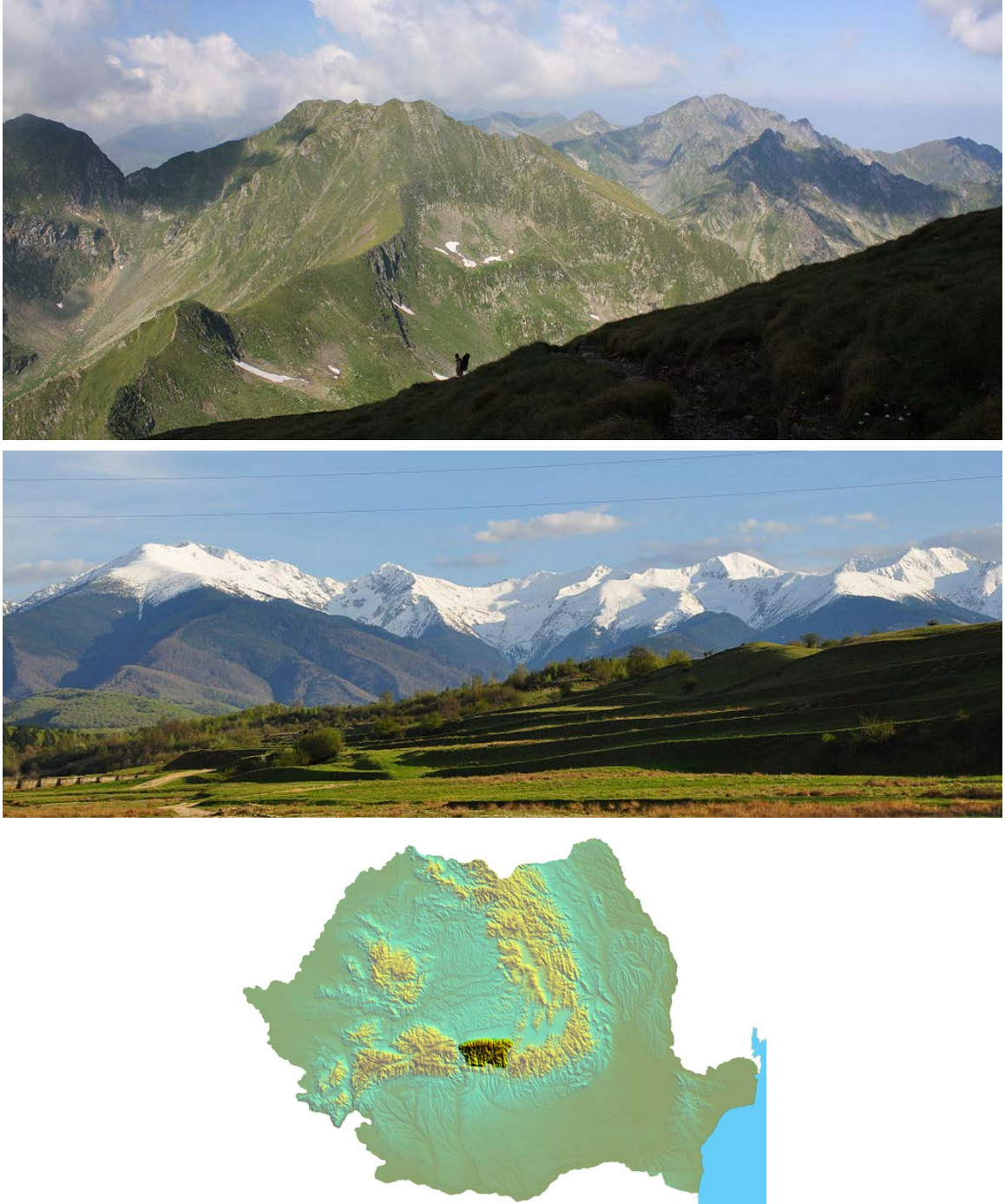


Figure 1.4 – Top and center: Two views of the Făgăraș Mountains in the center of the southern Carpathians; Bottom: the location of the Făgăraș Mountains on a map of modern Romania. This impressive mountain range was located within Roman Dacia’s interior (see also Figure 1.2).

[all three images from Wikimedia Commons; top (cropped from original) by Mercy: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Several_peaks_of_the_Fagaras_mountains.jpg; center (cropped from original) by Saturnian: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:F%C4%83g%C4%83ra%C8%99_Mountains,_Romania_-_View_from_S%C4%83rata_03.jpg; bottom map by Qyd: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fagaras-mountains-Ro.jpg>

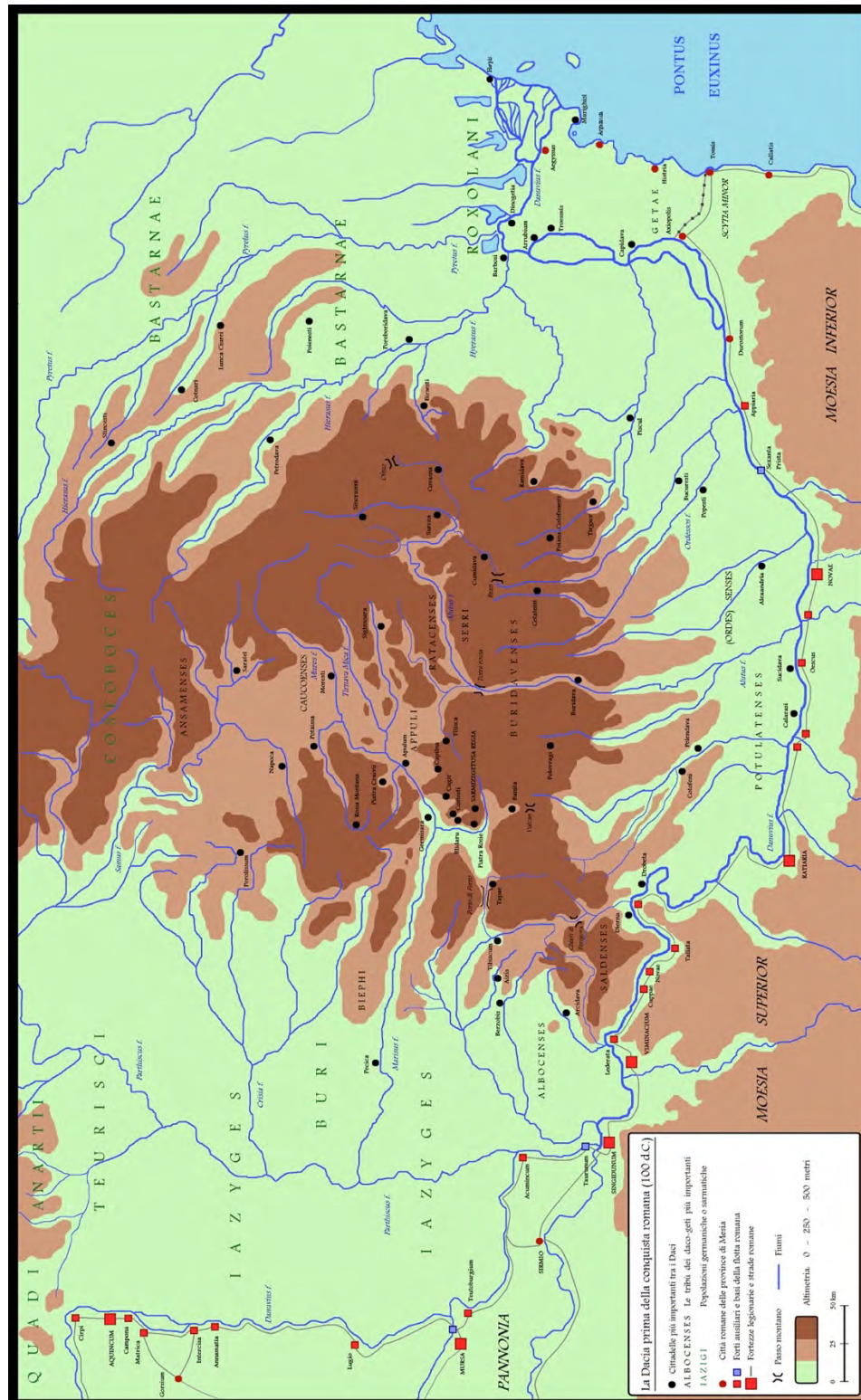


Figure 2.1 – Map of Iron Age Dacia on the eve of the Dacian Wars (ca. 100 CE).

[map by Cristiano64 via Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dacia_around_100_AD_-_Italian.png]



Figure 2.2 – Photos of the ‘*Tabula Traiana*’ inscription, carved into the cliff face of the Cazane (Iron Gates) gorge on the Serbian side of the Danube (near modern Ogradina, Serbia) (CIL 3.8267=CIL 3.1699=ILS 5863=AE 1978.474). It states that Trajan “with the mountains having been cut, made a road with raised ledges,” which was completed in 100, in preparation for the first Dacian War. Top image is a postcard from 1908, and shows the ledge for the road cut into the cliff on both sides of the inscription. Note the dramatic change in water level (seen in the recent photo on the bottom) caused by the Iron Gates 1 dam on the Danube.

[both photos cropped from originals via Wikimedia Commons; top photo in the public domain:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TABULA_TRAIANA.jpg; bottom photo by Rlichtefeld:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RC174-Tabula_Traiana.JPG]

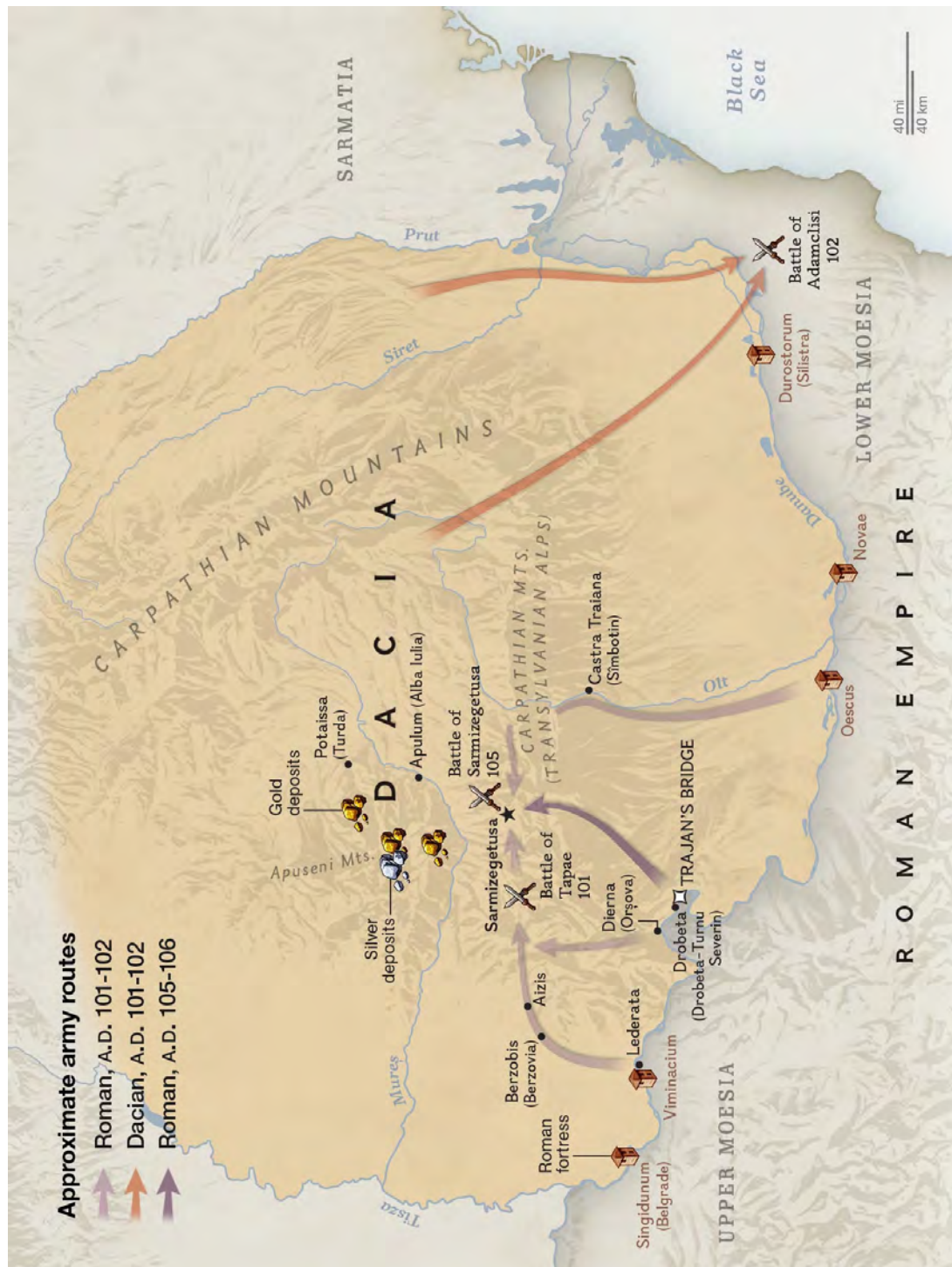


Figure 2.3 - Map showing approximate routes taken by the Roman army during the Dacian Wars.

(Map by Jerome N. Cookson, Alexander Stegmaier, and Matthew Twombly, NGM Staff. Sources: Ioana A. Oltean, University of Exter; Jon Coulston, University of St. Andrews, Scotland:
<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/trajan-column/article.html>)



Figure 2.4 – Trajan's Column (Rome): Roman soldiers cutting trees and building forts and a bridge during the first Dacian War.

(Cichorius plate XIV, scenes 15-18, via Wikimedia Commons:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:014_Conrad_Cichorius,_Die_Reliefs_der_Traianss%C3%A4ule,_Tafel_XIV.jpg]



Figure 2.5 – Trajan's Column (Rome): Romans storming a Dacian fortress, and the end of the first Dacian War.

(Cichorius plate LI, scenes 71-72, via Wikimedia Commons:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:051_Conrad_Cichorius,_Die_Reliefs_der_Traianss%C3%A4ule,_Tafel_LI.jpg]

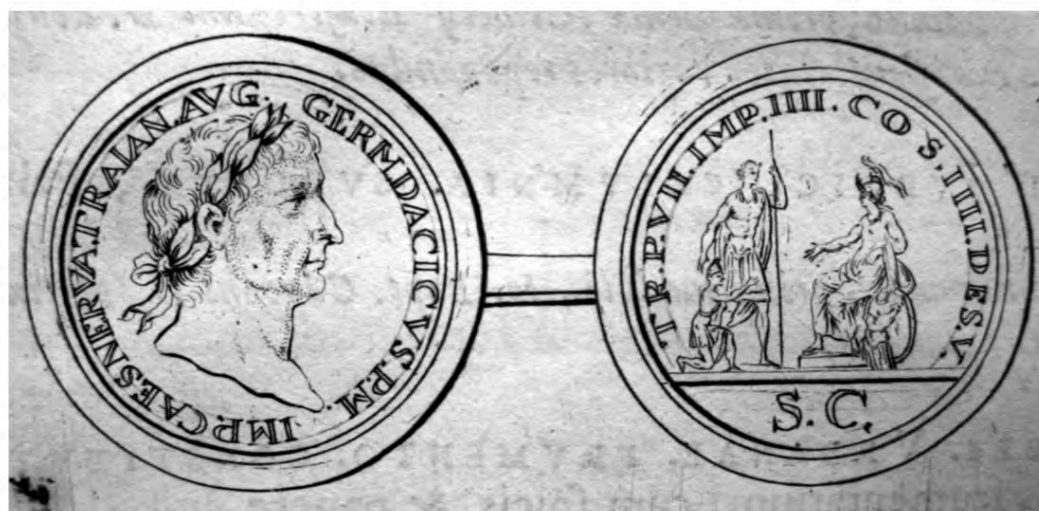


Figure 2.6 – Top image (1A): Recently published ‘new’ *sestertius* of Trajan, showing Dacian embassy to Rome in December 102 (found at Viterbo in a temporary deposit). Trajan on left, presents a kneeling Dacian with outstretched arms to a seated Roma (on right).

Bottom image (2): Almost identical type (some differences in attributes and details), in a copperplate from the 1674 catalogue of Jean Foy-Vaillant (*Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum Praestantiora*, 1st Ed, 1674, Vol. I, p.46).

[Williams and Woytek 2012, Plates 2 and 3]



12



13



Figure 2.7 – Two *aurei* of the same type, depicting Trajan (standing on left) presenting a Dacian to a Roman senator (standing on right). Struck on coins in 103/104, the scene commemorates a Dacian embassy to Rome in 102, which secured official approval from the Roman senate for a peace treaty to end the first Dacian War.

[Williams and Woytek 2012, Plate 5]

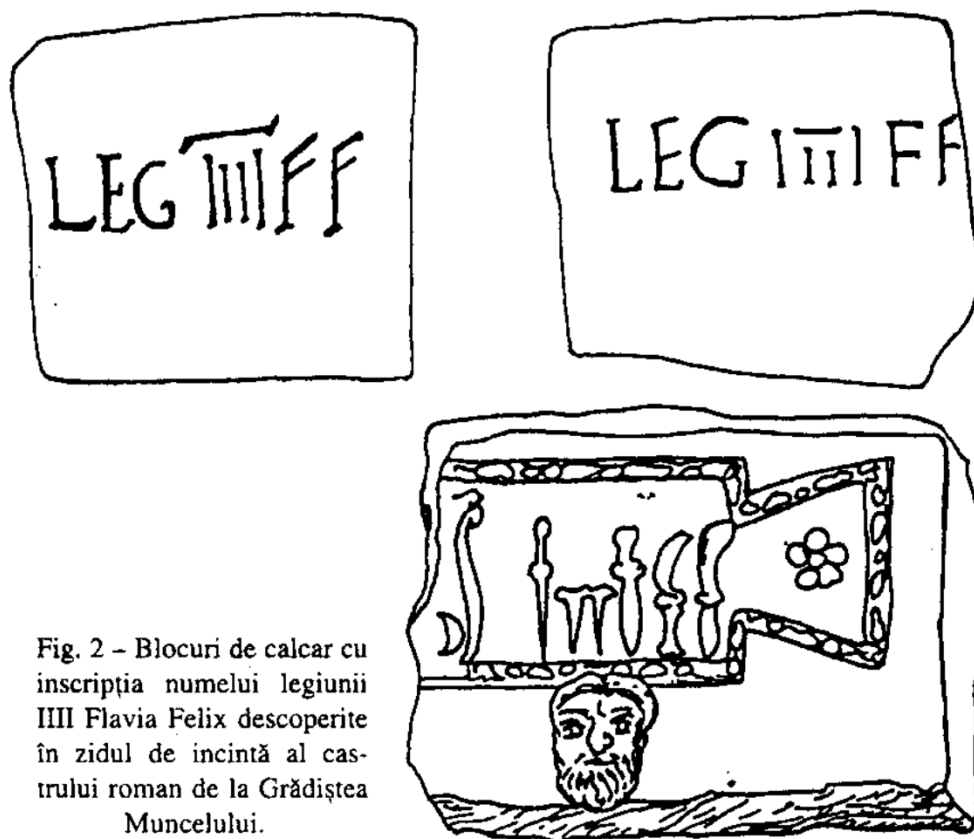


Fig. 2 – Blocuri de calcar cu inscripția numelui legiunii III Flavia Felix descoperite în zidul de incintă al castrului roman de la Grădiștea Muncelului.

Figure 2.8 – Limestone blocks with inscriptions of the *legio III Flavia Felix* found in the outer wall of the Roman fort at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (built and occupied between the two Dacian Wars, from 102-105).

[Opreanu 1999-2000, 157 (Fig.2)]

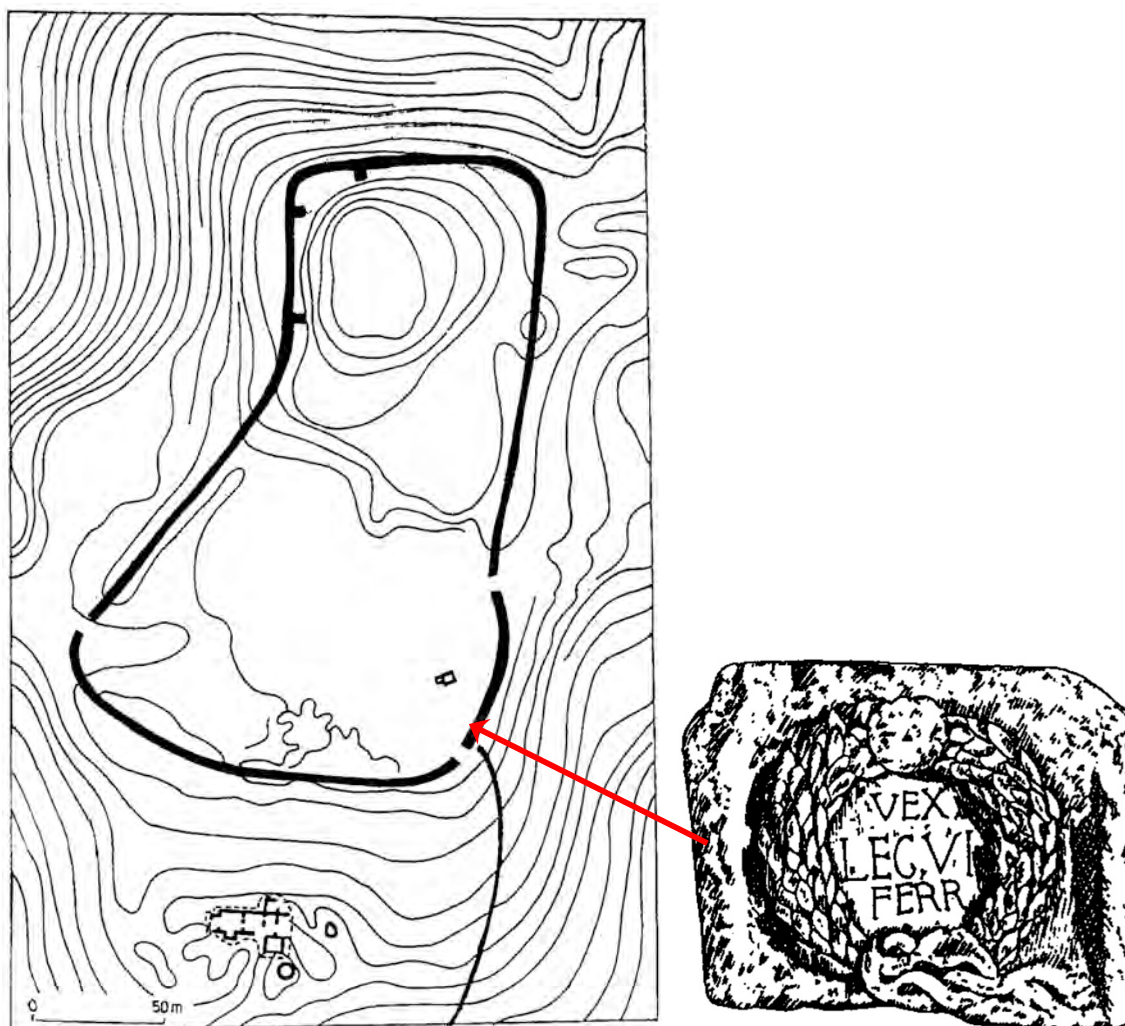


Figure 2.9 – (Left) The Roman fort at the Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (built and occupied between the two Dacian Wars, from 102-105). On the right is a drawing of the inscription of the *vex(illatio) leg(io) VI Ferr(ata)*, which helped build and man the fort. The red arrow indicates where it was found in the fort's outer wall.

[Opreanu 1999-2000, 153 (Fig.1) and 157 (Fig. 3.2)]



Figure 2.10 – Ruins of a pier of Trajan’s bridge on the Romanian shore of the Danube (at Drobeta-Turnu Severin, ancient *Drobeta*). It is now surrounded by a concrete enclosure that was built to protect it from the rise in water level created by the construction of the Iron Gates 1 dam.

[edited from original photo by Dan Mihai Pitea, via Wikimedia Commons:
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piciorul_Podului_lui_Traian,_malul_rom%C3%A2nesc_\(19_august_2009\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piciorul_Podului_lui_Traian,_malul_rom%C3%A2nesc_(19_august_2009).jpg)]



Figure 2.11 – Trajan's Column (Rome): Dacians burning down their own forts before they can be seized by the Romans, during the second Dacian War.

(Cichorius plate XC, scene 19, via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:090_Conrad_Cichorius,_Die_Reliefs_der_Traianss%C3%A4ule,_Tafel_XC.jpg]



Figure 2.12 – The tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Maximus from *Philippi* (Macedonia), showing Maximus capturing king Decebalus (who has just committed suicide) at the top. Below you can see the two torques and *armillae* that Maximus received for his participation in the Dacian Wars (under both Domitian and Trajan) and the Parthian War (under Trajan) (Speidel 1970; AE 1969-1970.583=AE 1974.589=AE 1985.721=IDRE 2.363).

[cropped from original photo: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=19572>]

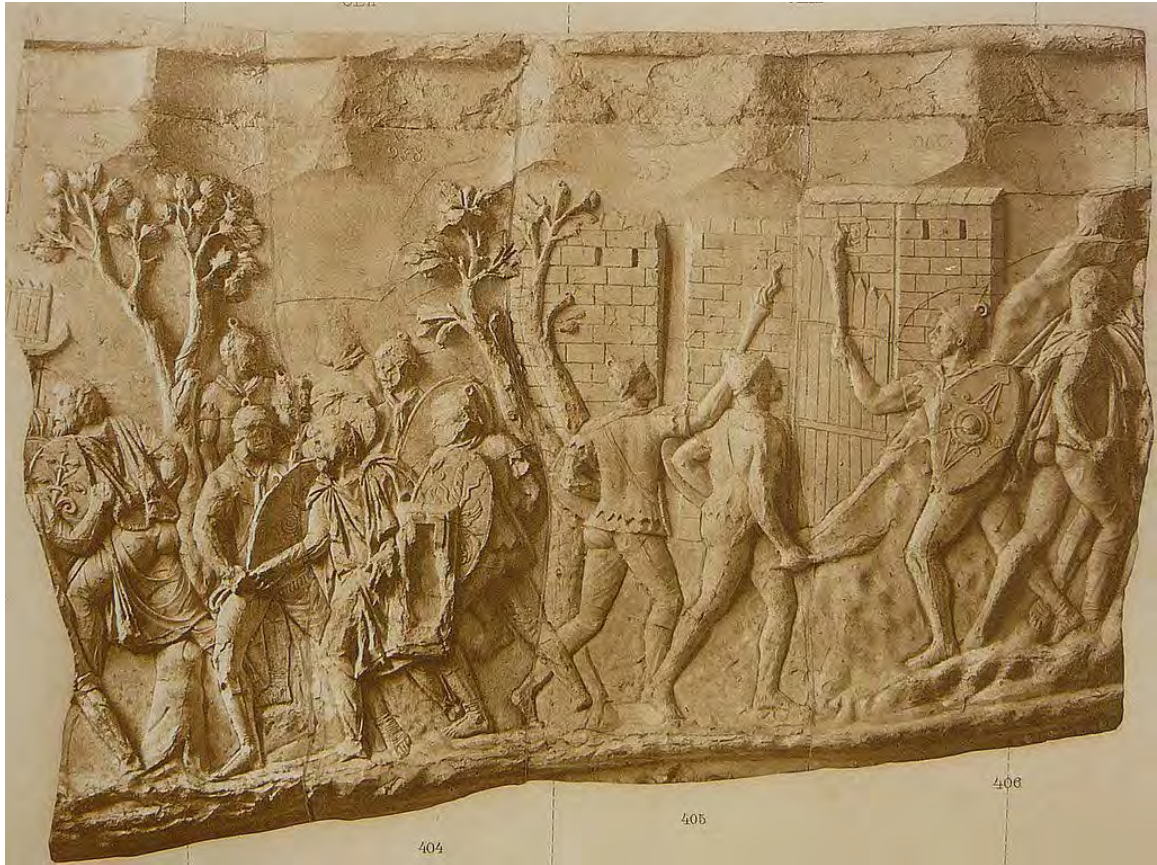


Figure 2.13 – Trajan's Column (Rome): Last fighting of the second Dacian War (part of the scene on the very left), the transport of Dacian prisoners, and Roman soldiers destroying Dacian forts.

(Cichorius plate CXI, scene 151-153, via Wikimedia Commons:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:111_Conrad_Cichorius,_Die_Reliefs_der_Traianss%C3%A4ule,_Tafel_CXI.jpg]



Figure 2.14 – Trajan's column in Trajan's forum, Rome.

(photo by Janusz Reclaw via Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Forum_Trajana.jpg)



Figure 2.15 – (Above) The (reconstructed) Adamclisi monument (*Tropaeum Traiani*) built by Trajan in Moesia Inferior in 109, dedicated to *Mars Ultor*, decorated with relief panels depicting the Dacian Wars around its base.

(Left) One of the original relief panels, showing a battle scene.

[both photos by author, taken June 2, 2013]



Figure 2.16 – RIC II.208: Reverse of Trajanic *aureus* struck after the Dacian Wars, showing Trajan trampling and aiming his spear at a fallen Dacian.

[cropped from original photo: http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.2.tr.208_aureus]



Figure 2.17 – RIC II.96: Reverse of Trajanic *denarius* showing personified *Dacia* (or a Dacian) sitting on a pile of weapons with hands bound behind the back. Underneath is written *DAC(ia) CAP(ta)*.

[cropped from original photo: http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00636/AN00636710_001_1.jpg]



Figure 2.18 – RIC II. 219: Reverse of silver Trajanic *denarius* showing *Dacia* seated on a shield, face in hand in a sign of mourning, with a Dacian *falx* on the ground next to her.

[cropped from original photo: <http://tjbuggey.ancients.info/trajden2.html>]



Figure 2.19 – RIC II.527: Trajanic *sestertius* showing *Victoria* attaching a shield to a tree trunk after having inscribed it with *VIC(toria) DAC(ica)* (note she is holding a *stylus*).

[cropped from original photo: http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00643/AN00643095_001_l.jpg]



Figure 2.20 – RIC II.507: Reverse of Trajanic *dupondius* struck after Dacian Wars showing *Pax* setting fire to a pile of arms while holding *cornucopiae* in the other hand.

[cropped from original photo: <http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.2.tr.507#examples>]



Figure 2.21 – Drawing of the design on a fragmentary vessel found at La Graufesenque, Gallia showing two repeating scenes. One of the scenes shows a figure labeled “*DECIBALV(s)*” stabbing himself – a depiction of the Dacian King’s suicide at the end of the second Dacian War.

[IDRE I.191, p.195]



Figure 2.22 – Various views of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, Dacia's only *colonia deducta* and administrative capital.

[all photos from: <http://www.ghidvideoturistic.ro/ghid-turistic/attractii-turistice.asp?idLoc=31&c1=SARMIZEGETUSA-ULPIA-TRAIANA>]

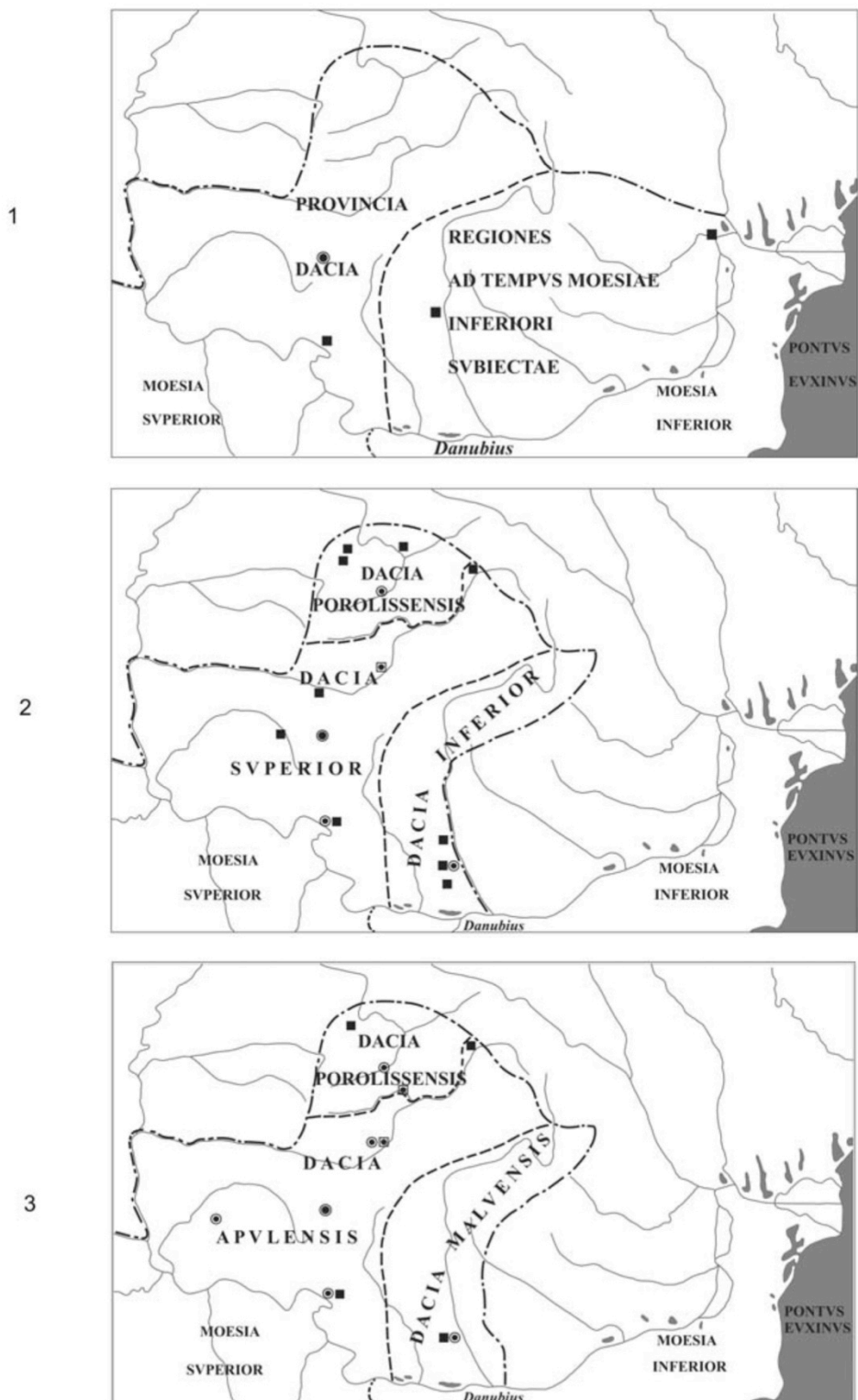


Figure 2.23 – Administrative organization of Roman Dacia: 1 – during the reign of Trajan; 2 – from the reign of Hadrian; 3 – from the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

[Petolescu 2010, 383 (Fig. 20)]

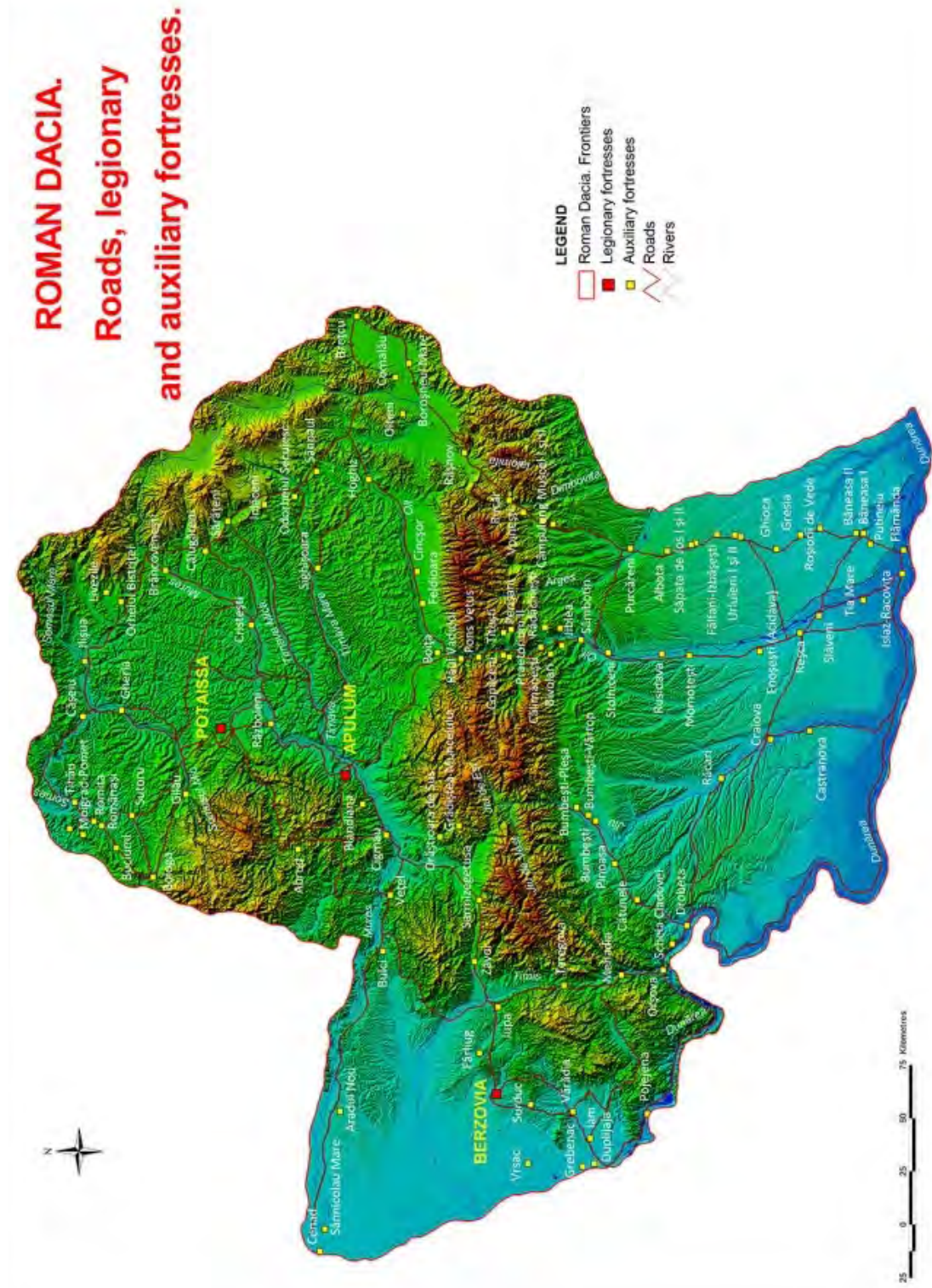


Figure 2.25 – Map of the roads and forts of Roman Dacia, showing the topography of the landscape.

[cropped from Fodorean 2015, Fig.2: <http://journal.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/513>]

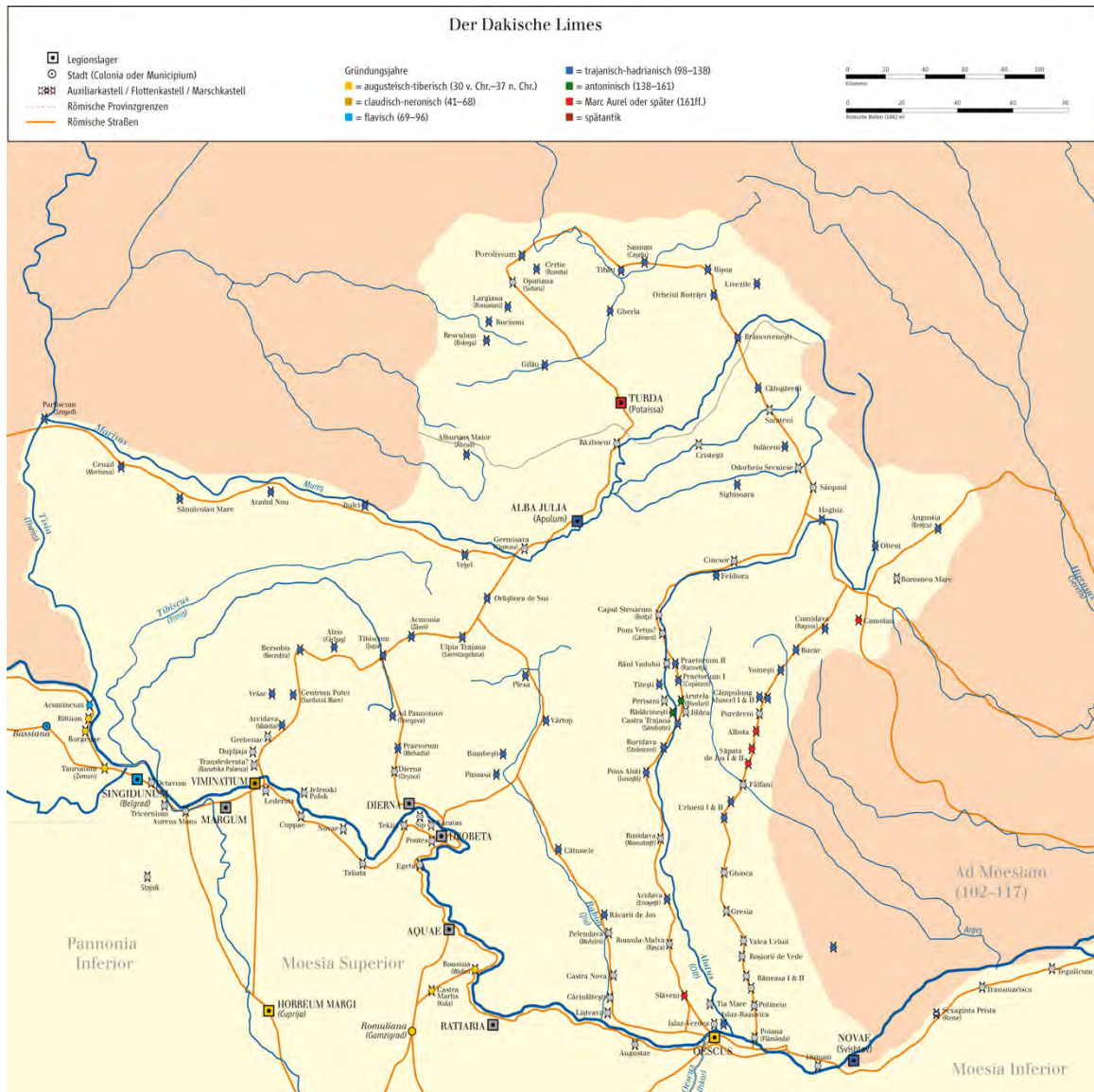


Figure 2.26 – Map of the roads and forts of Roman Dacia.

[map edited from original by Ziegelbrenner, via Wikimedia Commons:
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Limes6.png>]



Figure 2.27 – (Left) Drawing of the Aiton *milliarium* from 1758 (by M.P. Szatmary), which is now lost. A modern reconstruction is on the right. The milestone dated to 108 CE and recorded the construction of the road between *Potaissa* and *Napoca*.

[both photos via Wikimedia Commons; left one by Tico:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1758_Drawing_of_the_Milliarum_of_Aiton.jpg;

right one by CristianChirita:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Milliarum_of_Aiton,_modern_copy_erected_in_Turda,_Romania_in_1993.jpg]



Figure 2.28 – The auxiliary fort of Buciumi (Dacia Porolissensis).

[photo from: <http://www.ghidvideoturistic.ro/ghid-turistic/attractii-turistice.asp?idLoc=56&c1=Castrul-roman-Buciumi-Salaj#imagini>]



Figure 2.29 – Two aerial views of the multi-unit auxiliary fort at *Porolissum* and its wider landscape (Dacia Porolissensis).

[both photos from: <http://www.ghidvideoturistic.ro/ghid-turistic/attractii-turistice.asp?idLoc=2&c1=Castrul-roman-Porolissum>]



Figure 2.30 – Views of the landscape from the amphitheater at *Porolissum* (Dacia Porolissensis), in summer (top), and in winter (bottom).

[upper photo by Saturnian, via Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Porolissum_-_Amphitheater_01.jpg;

lower photo from: <http://www.ghidvideoturistico.ro/ghid-turistic/attractii-turistice.asp?idLoc=2&c1=Castrul-roman-Porolissum>]



Figure 2.31 – Roman road leading to *Porolissum* (Dacia Porolissensis), in summer (top) and in winter (bottom).

[upper photo by CameliaTWU, via Flickr: <https://flic.kr/p/yaWpDY>;
lower photo (cropped from original): <http://www.ghidvideoturistico.ro/ghid-turistic/attractii-turistice.asp?idLoc=2&c1=Castrul-roman-Porolissum>]



Figure 2.32 – Two views of the auxiliary fort of *Arutela* (Calimănești-Bivolari) on the Olt River (*limes Alutanus*).

[both photos are cropped from originals, via Wikimedia Commons:
top photo by ARCH AAG: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arutela,_vede_de_ansamblu.JPG
bottom photo by Gabriel: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castrul_roman_Arutela_\(3\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castrul_roman_Arutela_(3).jpg)]



Figure 2.33 – The auxiliary fort of *Tibiscum* (Jupa) (Dacia Superior), rebuilt in stone in 165 CE.

[top photo cropped from original by Saturnian, via Wikimedia Commons:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACastrum_Tibiscum_-_20.jpg

lower photo from: <http://arheowiesci.pl/2014/11/27/polscy-badacze-umkneli-z-krymu-do-rumunii/>]



Figure 2.34 – RIC II.622. Top is a Trajanic *sestertius* issued in 112, bottom is a Trajanic brass *dupondius* issued in 112-114, both celebrating the province of Dacia. The text on both reads *DACIA AVGVST(i) PROVINCIA*. A personified *Dacia* is shown seated on rocks (representing her mountains and probably also her gold mines), and she holds a legionary standard. Two children accompany her, one holding a bunch of grapes and the other holds stalks of grain, evoking the fertility of her land.

[both cropped from original;

top photo: <http://www.coinarchives.com/3cc5739b5e03bff8311dc11d19f6ee92/img/nac/087/image00223.jpg>;

bottom photo by Classical Numismatic Group: http://www.coinworld.com/news/world-coins/2015/08/trajan_s-major-conquests--ancients-today.html#]



Figure 2.35 – Two views of the site of the auxiliary fort of *Angustia* (Brețcu) in Dacia Inferior (Dacia's easternmost fort). The rampart marking the fort's perimeter is just visible on the bottom photo, in the foreground and background (the electrical pole in the center of the photo stands inside the fort, the electrical pole on the left stands on the rampart).

[both cropped from original photos by Saturnian, via Wikimedia Commons:
 top photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACastra_Angustia_03.jpg;
 bottom photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castra_Angustia_00.jpg]



Figure 2.36 – Hadrianic *sestertius* showing the emperor on horseback addressing Dacia's army, which is labeled *EXERC(itus) DACICVS* below.

[cropped from original photo: <http://www.romancoins.info/VIC-Historical2.html#excercitus>]



Figure 2.37 – IDR I.37 (TabCerD VII). Part of a wax tablet discovered in one of the St. Katherine (Sf. Ecaterina) mining galleries at *Alburnus Maior* in 1854, containing a purchase contract for a Greek slave boy named Apalaustus who was sold for 600 *denarii*, a transaction which took place on May 16, 142 in the *canabae legionis XIII Gemina* in *Apulum*, with at least one legionary veteran (of the *legio XIII Gemina*) as witness.

[photo and drawing from: <http://www2.rgzm.de/Transformation/Romania/Mining/Image13engl.htm>]

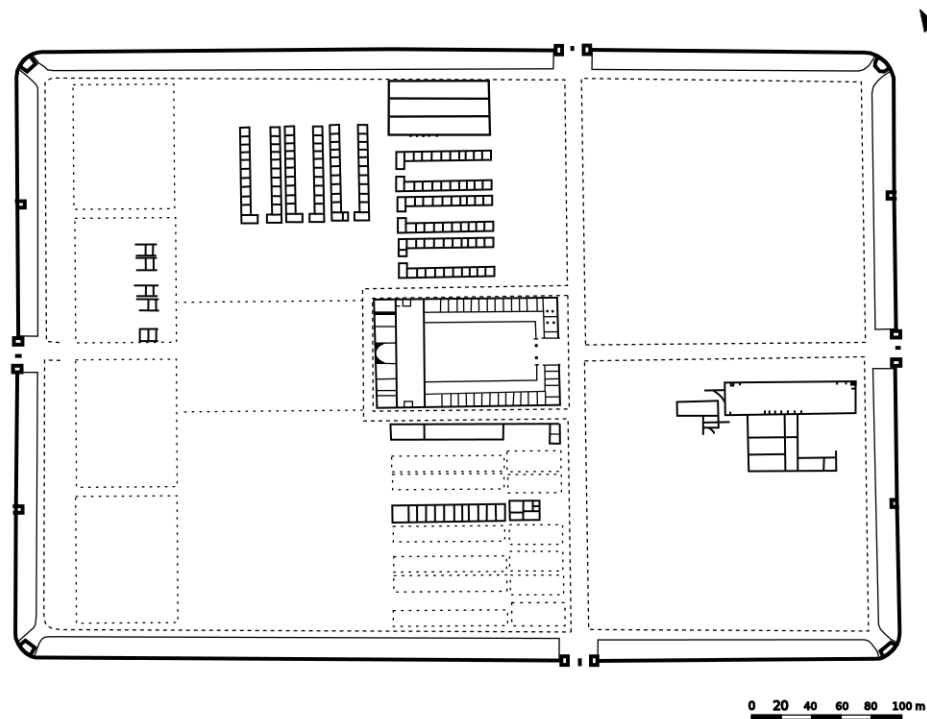


Figure 2.38 – Fortress of the *legio V Macedonica* at *Potaissa* (Turda) in Dacia Porolissensis.

[top photo: [http://www.ghidvideoturistico.ro/ghid-turistic/atractii-turistice.asp?idLoc=21&c1=Castrul-roman-Potaissa-\(Turda\)](http://www.ghidvideoturistico.ro/ghid-turistic/atractii-turistice.asp?idLoc=21&c1=Castrul-roman-Potaissa-(Turda))

lower plan by Saturnian via Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APotaissa_-_Plan.svg]

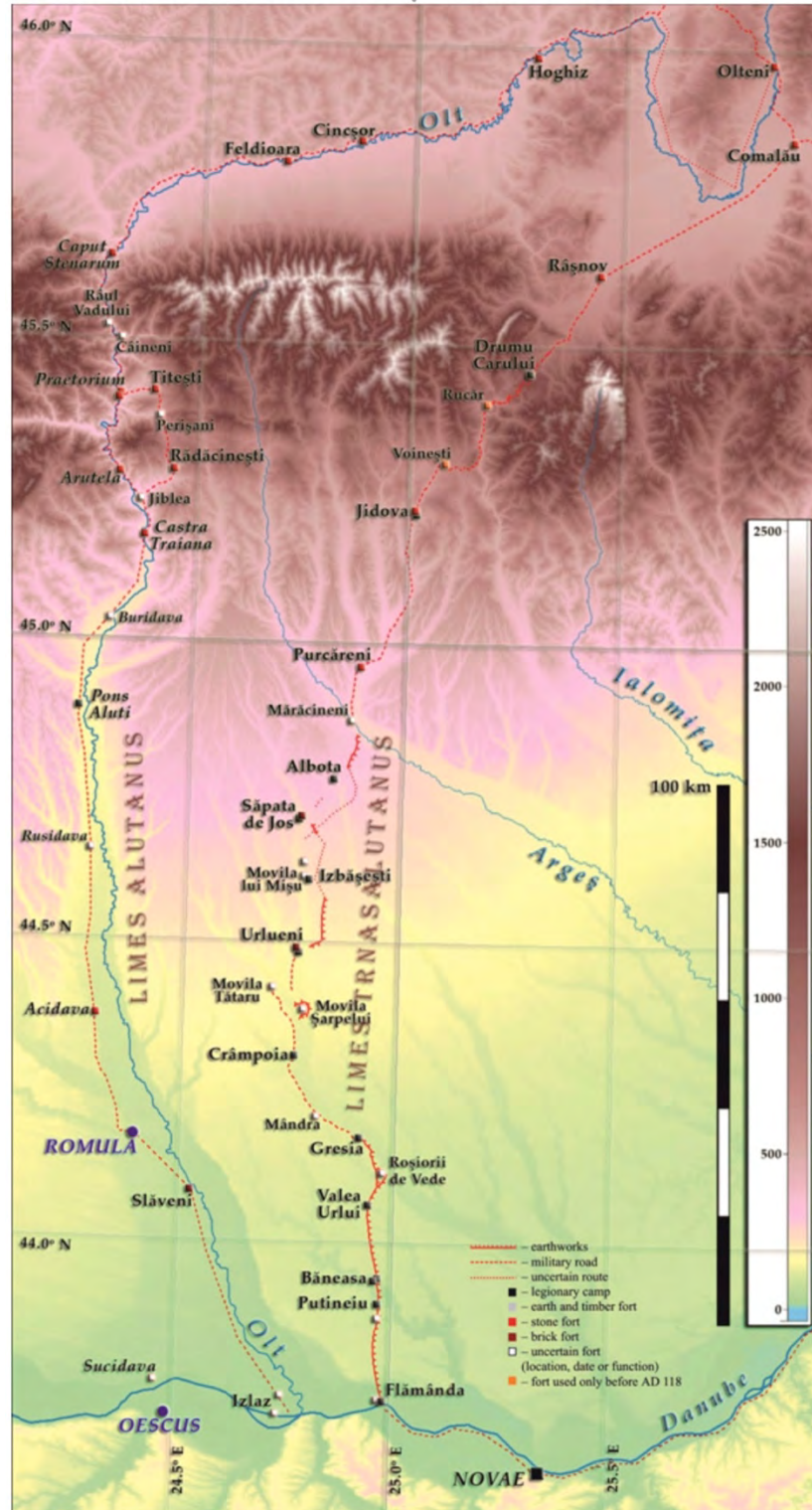


Figure 2.39 – Map of the *limes Alutanus* and *limes Transalutanus* on Dacia's southeastern frontier.

[Teodor and Ștefan 2014, 33 (Fig. 1)]



Figure 2.40 – *PROVINCIA DACIA* coin minted in Dacia under Philip the Arab (from the second year of minting– 247/248), showing Dacia standing and flanked by the standards (*vexilla*) of the two provincial legions (*legio V Macedonica* on the left, and *legio XIII Gemina* on the right).

[cropped from original photo by Classical Numismatic Group via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APhilipus_Arabus_%C3%86_29mm_247_155868.jpg]



Figure 2.41 – *PROVINCIA DACIA* coin minted in Dacia under Philip the Arab (from the second year of minting – 247/248), showing Dacia seated, holding an ear of grain, and flanked by the standards (*vexilla*) of the two provincial legions (*legio V Macedonica* on the left, and *legio XIII Gemina* on the right).

[cropped from original photo: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/philip_I/_dacia_AE28_Moushmov_3.jpg]



Figure 2.42 – The site of the auxiliary fort of *Micia*, in Dacia Superior (now ploughed over).

[both photos by Saturnian, via Wikimedia Commons:

top photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castra_Micia_019.jpg

lower photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castra_Micia_028.jpg]



Figure 2.43 – Temples and altar in the sacred zone of the Iron Age Dacian capital of *Sarmizegetusa Regia*.

[photo by Nicu Jianu, via Wikimedia Commons: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASarmizegetusa.jpg>]



Figure 2.44 – The site of the auxiliary fort of Houghiz (Dacia Inferior). The site is now ploughed over – part of the fort’s rampart is visible in the center of the photo.

[photo by Saturnian via Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castra_of_Houghiz_163.jpg]



Figure 2.45 – The auxiliary fort of Jidava (Câmpulung) on the *limes Transalutanius* in Dacia Inferior, built and garrisoned during the early third century by the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum*.

[both photos via Wikimedia Commons;
top by bmanolea: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castrul_Roman_Jidova_3.jpg;
bottom by Miehs: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castra_Jidava_-_Panoramic_view.jpg]



Figure 1.46 – Remains of the *legio XIII Gemina*'s fortress at *Apulum* (Alba Iulia). The Roman fortress was built over in later periods, and most of the building materials were reused as *spolia*. Lower photo shows the reconstructed *porta principalis dextra* of the original Roman fortress.

[upper photo cropped from original by Andrei Kokelburg, via Wikimedia Commons:
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAlba_Iulia_Castrul_roman_\(2\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAlba_Iulia_Castrul_roman_(2).jpg);
 lower photo cropped from original by Codrinb, via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACastrum_Apulum_2011_-_Porta_Principalis_Dextra-1.jpg]



Figure 2.47 – (Top) View of the landscape around the Roman imperial gold mines at *Alburnus Maior* (Roșia Montană). (Bottom) Masivul Cârnic (view to the north), which contains the greatest concentration of extant Roman mining galleries at *Alburnus Maior*. Masivul Cârnic is also seen on the left side in the top image.

[top photo: <https://transildania.wordpress.com/2011/04/21/rosia-montana-muntii-metaliferi/>;
bottom photo (RAN code: 6770.01): <http://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?lang=EN&imgid=35378;>]

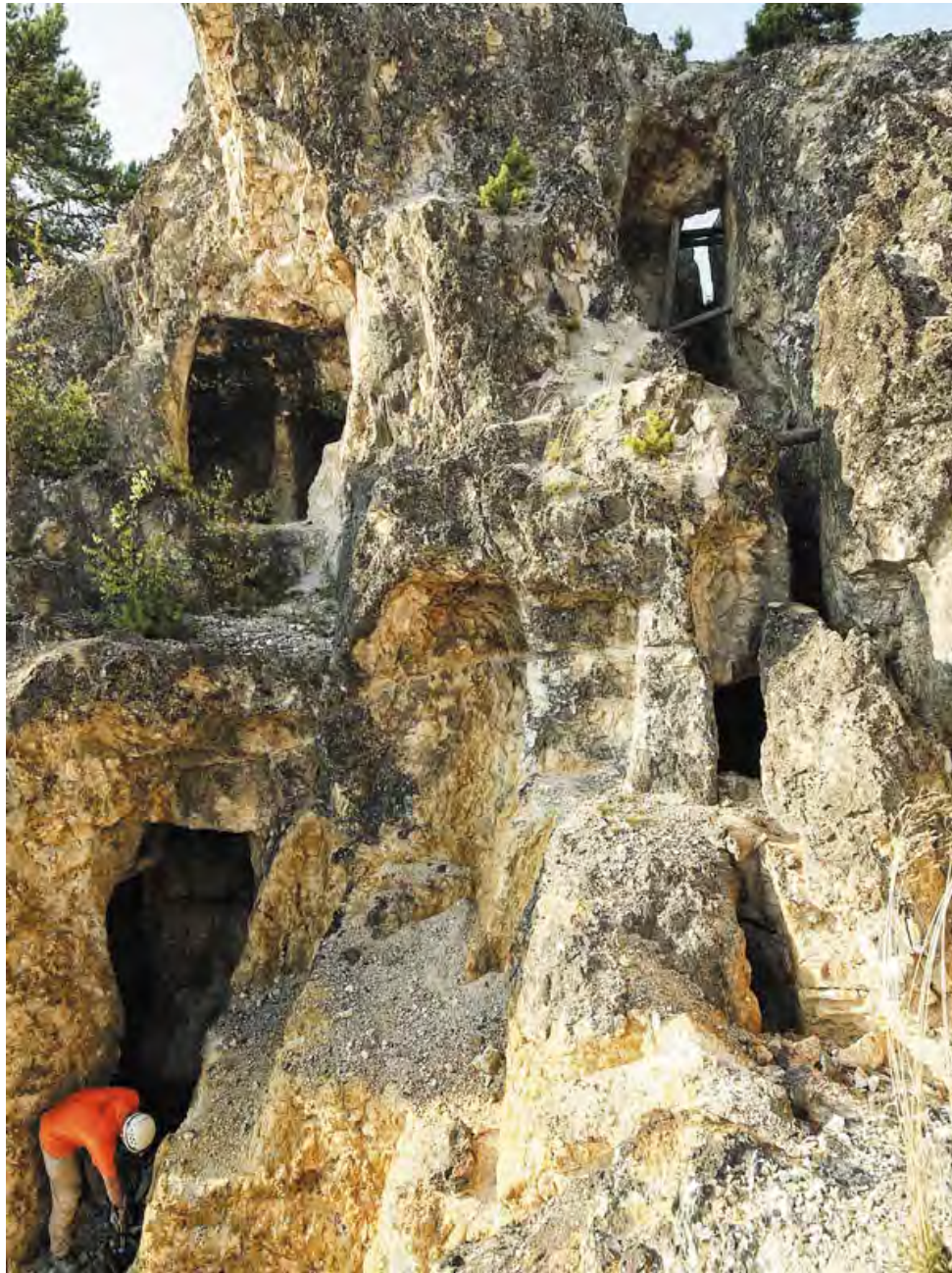


Figure 2.48 – The visible remains of Roman mining operations in Masivul Cârnic at the imperial gold mines of *Alburnus Maior* (Roșia Montană).

[photo from: <http://arhitectura-1906.ro/2013/11/peisaj-cultural-amenintat-rosia-montana/>]

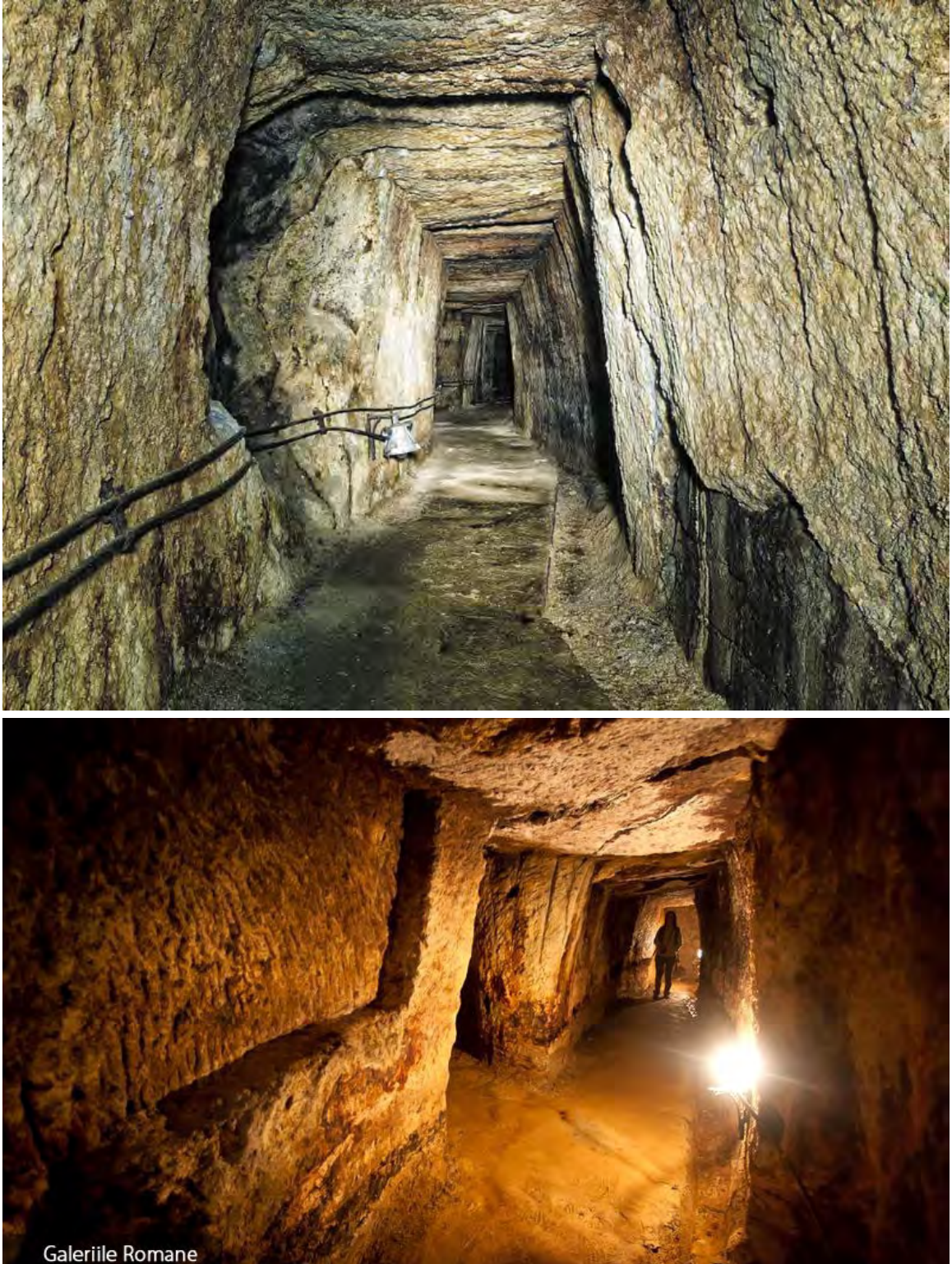


Figure 2.49 – Roman mine galleries in Masivul Orlea at the imperial gold mines of *Alburnus Maior* (Roșia Montană).

[top photo: <http://arhitectura-1906.ro/2013/11/peisaj-cultural-amenintat-rosia-montana/>;
bottom photo cropped from original: <http://cartitaplimbareata.ro/index.php/3309/salvati-rosia-montana-2/>]



Figure 2.50 – Remains of wooden mechanisms in the Cătălina Monulești mining gallery in Masivul Coș at the Roman imperial gold mines of *Alburnus Maior* (Roșia Montană).

[(RAN code: 6770.11), left photo: <http://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?lang=EN&imgid=46294>;
right photo: <http://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?lang=EN&imgid=46295>]



Figure 3.1 – Views of *Petra*, the capital of the Nabataean kingdom and one of the most important cities of Roman Arabia (top: view down from the ‘Great Temple’ towards the gate and main street; middle: view west towards Qasr al-Bint; bottom: view east down the main colonnaded street).

[all photos by author, taken in July 2011]



Figure 3.2 – Map of the Nabataean kingdom.

[Nehmé 2014, 13 (Fig.1)]



Figure 3.3 – Views of ancient *Hegra* in the Hedjaz desert (Mada'in Saleh, Saudi Arabia).

[all photos cropped from originals by Sammy Six, via Wikimedia Commons:
top: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madain_Saleh_\(6730226435\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madain_Saleh_(6730226435).jpg);
middle: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madain_Saleh_\(6730299351\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madain_Saleh_(6730299351).jpg);
bottom: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madain_Saleh_\(6720497611\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madain_Saleh_(6720497611).jpg)]



Figure 3.4 – (Top) View over the ruins of *Mampsis* (Mamshit, Israel) in the Negev, and its surrounding landscape. (Bottom) Horse stables in *Mampsis*.

[both photos by author, taken on May 8, 2014]



Figure 3.5 – Map showing the principal overland trade routes in the Roman East.

[edited from map in van der Meijden *et al.* 2012, 71 (Abb.1)]



Figure 3.6 – Two views of the port of ‘Aqaba (Jordan), ancient *Aila*, on the Red Sea.

[top: edited from original photo by Robert Bewley (taken Oct. 20, 2014), APAAME_20141020_RHB-0049
bottom photo by Frank M. Ingilae, via Panoramio: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/85357829>]

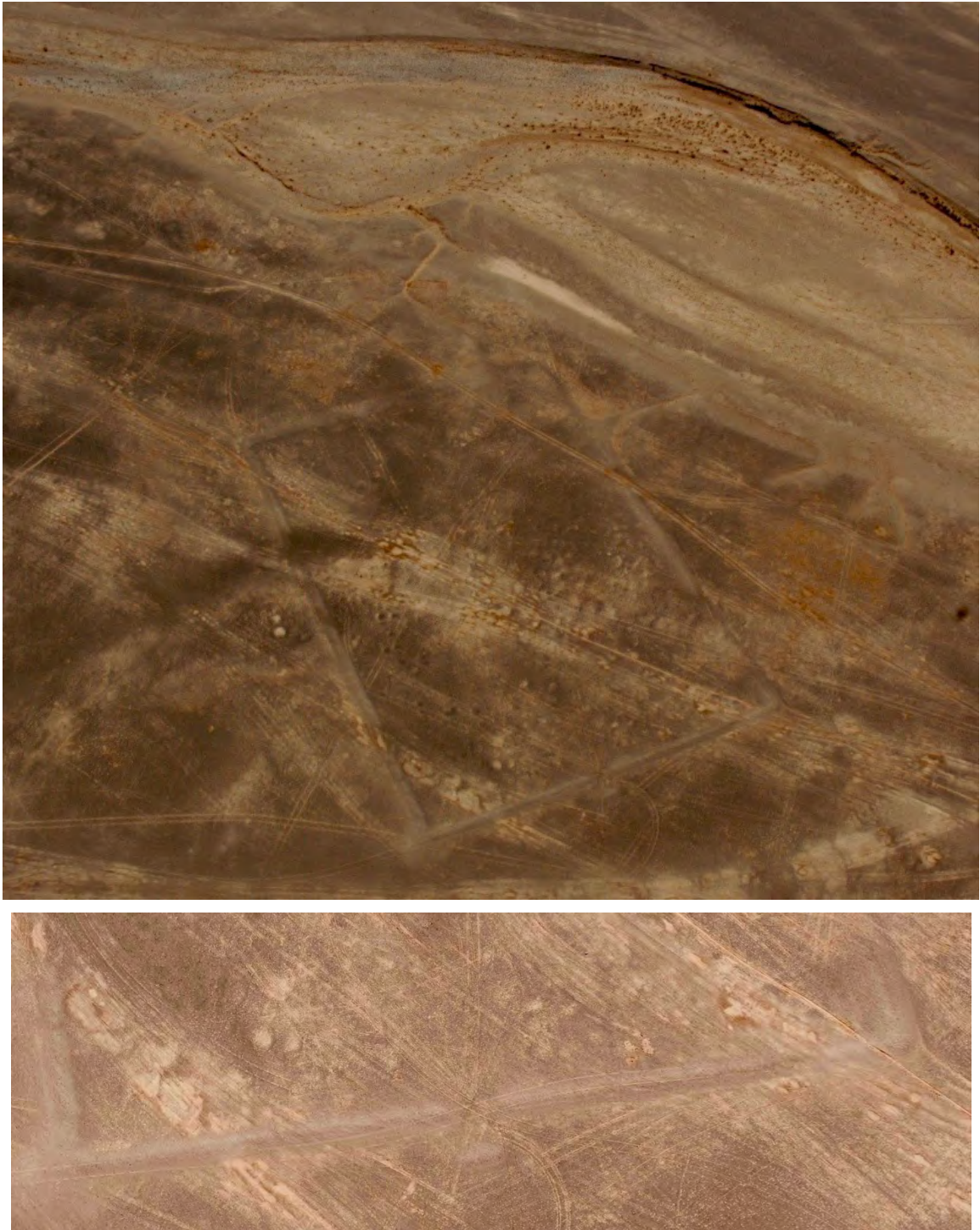


Figure 3.7 – Roman temporary camp at Khirbet Abu Safat (bottom photo shows a close-up of the *titulus* in front of the entrance on one side).

[edited from original photos; top by Francesca Radcliffe (taken Oct. 9, 2008), APAAME_20081009_FFR-0512; bottom by David Kennedy (taken Oct. 9, 2008), APAAME_20081009_DLK-0366]

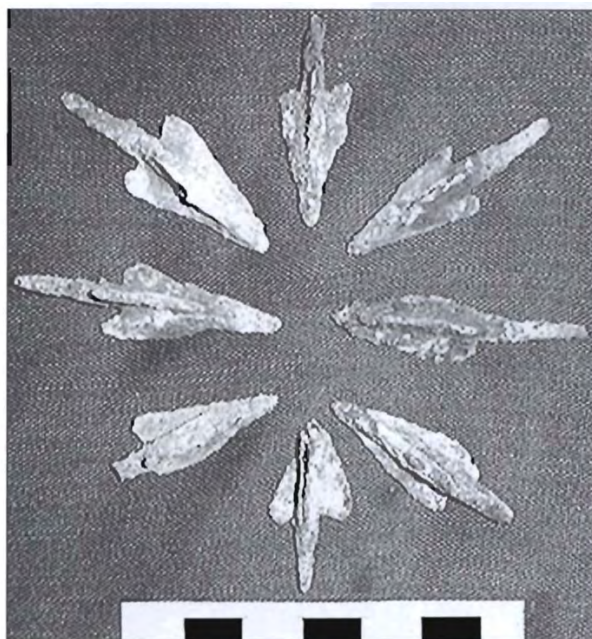


Figure 3.8 – Evidence of an early second-century military conflict from the ‘Great Temple’ at *Petra*. (Top) Ballista balls *in situ* as found in the Propylaeum West. (Bottom) Arrowheads and a bronze helmet cheek-piece.

[top photo from: https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Joukowsky_Institute/Petra/excavations/2005-adaj-excavations.html; bottom photos from: Joukowsky 2006, 356 (Figs. 6 and 7)]

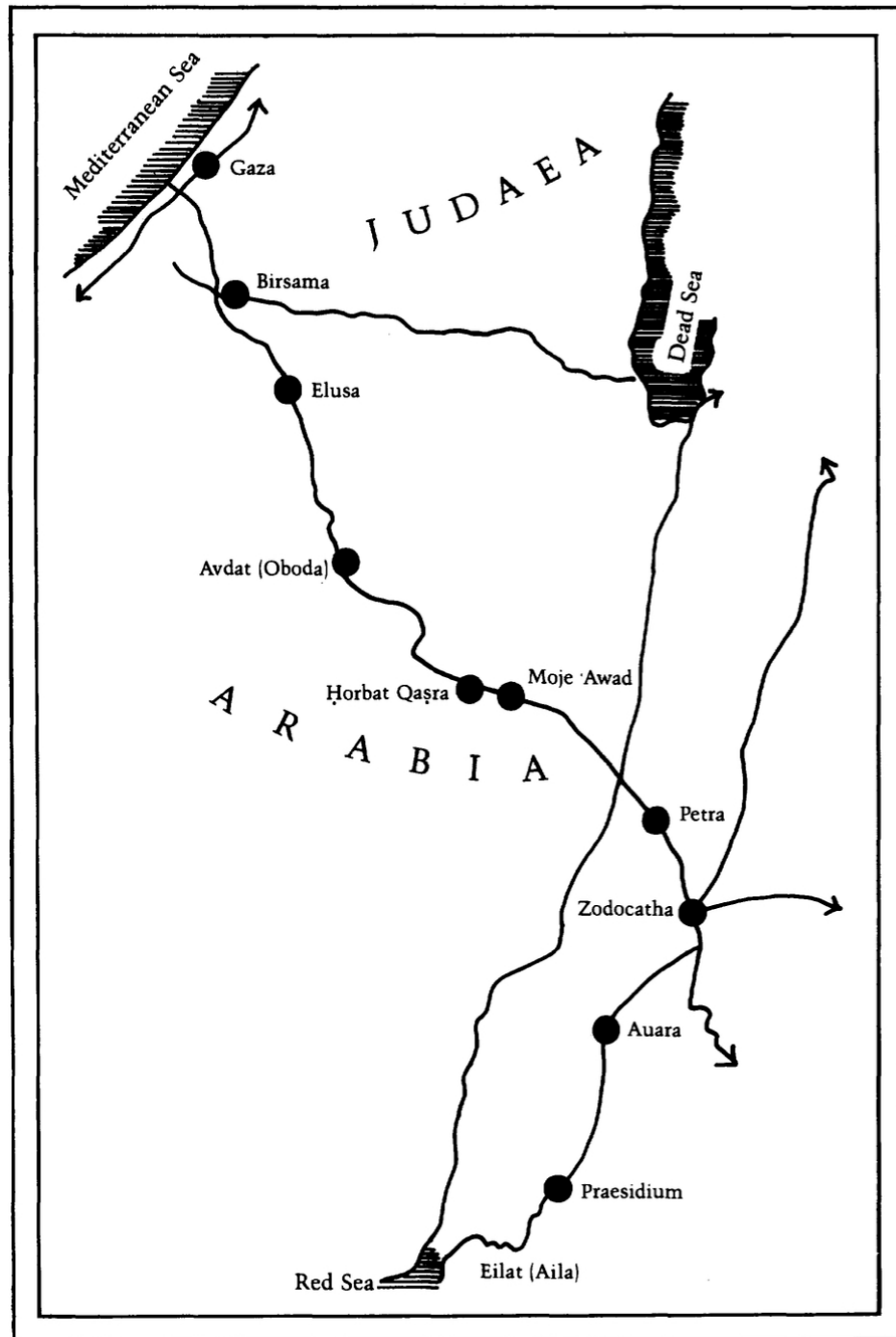


Figure 3.9 – Map of the *Petra-Gaza* road (see also Figure 3.10).

[Cohen 1982, 240]

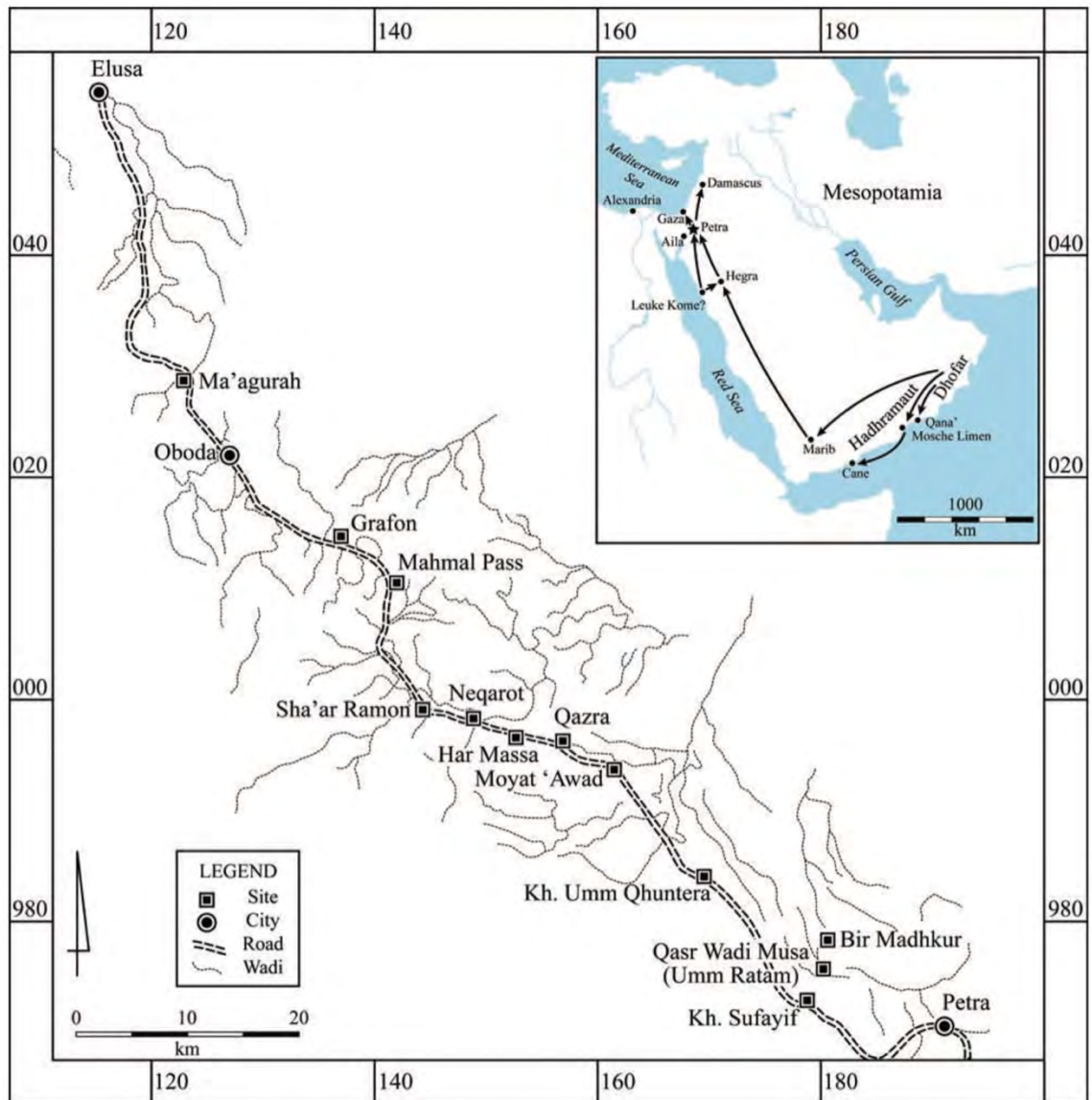


Figure 3.10 –The Incense Road between *Petra* and *Gaza* (showing the segment from *Petra* to *Elusa*). Inset in upper right shows the long-distance Arabian trade routes (the entire Incense Road) (see also Figure 3.9).

[Erickson-Gini and Israel 2013, 26 (Fig. 1)]



Figure 3.11 – Map of Roman Arabia showing second and third century Roman military sites mentioned in the text.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]



Figure 3.12 – Map of the Wadi Sirhan.

[Bauzou 1996, 25, Fig. 1]



Figure 3.13 – Trajanic coins of *Arabia Adquista*. Top left (labeled 1) dates to the end of 106-107 (RIC II, 239, 250 (no.94); 261 (no.245); 278 (no.465-468); Spijkerman 1978, 33 (C pls. I,5.22)), and coins of this type sometimes have either *ARAB ADQ* or *ARAB ADQVISIT* on them. Top right (labeled 2) dates to 111-114 (RIC II, 287 (no.610-615); Spijkerman 1978, 35 (pl. 5, 22a-b)), and coins of this type have either *ARAB ADQ* or *ARABIA ADQVIS* on them. Bottom is a Trajanic *denarius* from ca. 112.

Personified *Arabia* stands tall with a diadem in her hair and wearing a *chiton* and *himation*, holding a branch (of frankincense or myrrh tree?) in right hand, and a bundle of sticks (frankincense wrapped in palm leaves? *calami odorati*?) in the right hand. A dromedary (one-humped camel) stands beside or behind her.

[top image from LIMC II/2, p.355 (Figs.1-2);

bottom image cropped from: <https://twitter.com/optimoprincipi/status/691717548467994624>]



Figure 3.14 – Trajanic silver drachma (112-117 CE), probably minted in Rome and circulated in Arabia, with a two-humped Bactrian camel on the reverse (rather than the Arabian one-humped dromedary).

[cropped from original photo: <http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=4834&pos=11>]



Figure 3.15 – Trajanic coin struck at *Bostra* (from 112-114 CE) showing an *aquila* between two *signa* (left *signum* has wreath, and right *signum* has hand), representing the *exercitus Arabicus* (but especially the *legio III Cyrenaica*).

[cropped from original photo: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/4053/?search&stype=quick&q=Arabia&rno=4>]



Figure 3.16 – RIC II, 452 (nos. 878-879). Hadrianic coin of the *adventus* type (minted in Rome between 134-138). It depicts *Arabia*, holding a *patera* (?) in the right hand over an altar, and a bundle of sticks (frankincense in palm leaves?) in the left hand. Hadrian stands on the left, facing her and holding out his right hand. The text reads *ADVENTI AVG. ARABIAE S.C.*

[*LIMC* II/2, p.355 (Fig.4)]



Figure 3.17 – RIC II, 464 (nos. 943-944). Hadrianic coin of the *restitutor* type (minted in Rome between 134-138). It depicts a kneeling *Arabia* holding out her right hand to Hadrian, who stands on the left and is helping her get up. She holds a bundle (of frankincense in palm leaves?) in her right hand, and a small camel is standing beside her. The text reads *RESTITVTORI ARABIAE S.C.*

[*LIMC* II/2, p.355 (Fig.5)]



Figure 3.18 – Spijkerman 1978, 68-69 (nos. 1-2, pl.12)

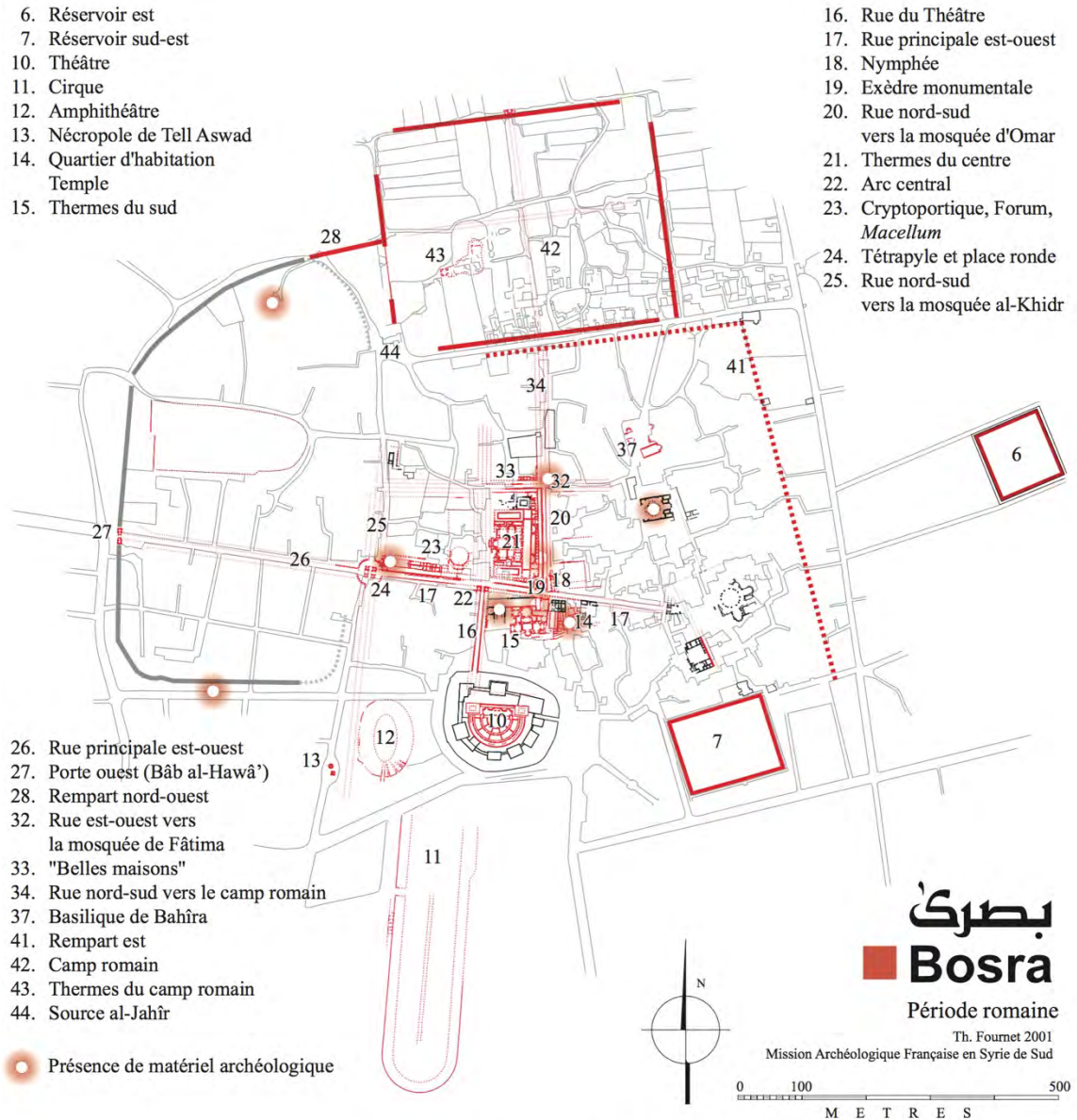
Hadrianic coin labeled *APAB(IA)*, locally minted (probably at *Bostra*), with the bust of *Arabia* holding a small child in each arm (perhaps the territories of *Auranitis* and *Arabia Petraea* that were encompassed by the province?).

[*LIMC* II/2, p.355 (Fig.6)]



Figure 3.19 – A portion of the inscription that originally adorned the Trajanic arch/gate at *Petra*, showing the city's honorific name as *metropolis Petra*.

[Fiema 2012, 300 (Abb 1)]



Plan de localisation des structures de l'époque romaine
et des sondages dans lesquels a également été trouvé du matériel de la même époque.

Figure 3.20 – Map of Roman *Bostra*, the capital of Arabia. Red marks the structures dated to the Roman period, and fuzzy brown circles indicate the locations of test excavations that yielded Roman material culture. The fortress of the *legio III Cyrenaica* is the rectangular structure labelled 42 at the north end of the city.

[Dentzer-Feydy et al. 2007, 35]



Figure 3.21 – Remains of ancient *Bosra* (top: view of the city north of the citadel; bottom: theatre).

[both photos cropped from originals; upper photo by Heretiq via Wikimedia Commons:
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABosra-Ruins.jpg>; lower photo by (Ergo) via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABosra_pano_Syria.jpg]



Figure 3.22 – Hadrian’s Arch at *Gerasa* (Jerash), built in honor of the emperor’s visit to the city in the winter of 129-130 (top: view of arch; bottom: arch in its wider setting)

[both photos edited from originals; top by Diego Delso, via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AArch_of_Hadrian%2C_Jerash%2C_Jordan2.jpg;
 bottom by David Boyer (taken Sept. 18, 2008), APAAME_20080918_DDB-0085]



Figure 3.23 – North gate of *Gerasa* (Jerash), built under Trajan in 115 CE, bearing an inscription in which the emperor is called “the savior and founder” of the city (top shows gate from inside the city; bottom shows gate from the other side, while it was undergoing restoration).

[both photos edited from originals; top by Zairon, via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGerasa_Nordtor.JPG;
 bottom by David Connolly (taken Sept. 18, 2008), APAAME_20080918_DC-0056]



Figure 3.24 – The Nabataean-style tomb of Arabia’s governor T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus at *Petra* (who died ca. 127 CE).

[photo by author, taken April 12, 2014]



Figure 3.25 – The Trajanic fort of *Havarra* (Humayma) (visible towards the upper right).
[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken May 20, 1998), APAAME_19980520_DLK-0242]



Figure 3.26 – The *Via Nova Traiana* in northern Jordan, west of Umm el-Jimal.

[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken Sept. 11, 2006), APAAME_20060911_DLK-0287]



Figure 3.27 – Wadi el-Mujib (see also Figure 3.52).

[edited from original photo by Francesca Radcliffe (taken Oct. 9, 2008), APAAME_20081009_FFR-0665]



Figure 3.28 – Wadi el-Hasa

[edited from original photo by Robert Bewley (taken Oct. 19, 2014), APAAME_20141019_RHB-0023]



Figure 3.29 – Wadi al-Walah

[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken Oct. 10, 2011), APAAME_20111010_DLK-0102]

Transliteration :

*l ḥlšt bn m^cn d'l s^cd w mrd tlt snn mn qbl nfs zlm fhlt w dšr slm l
d ḡnz z l m.*

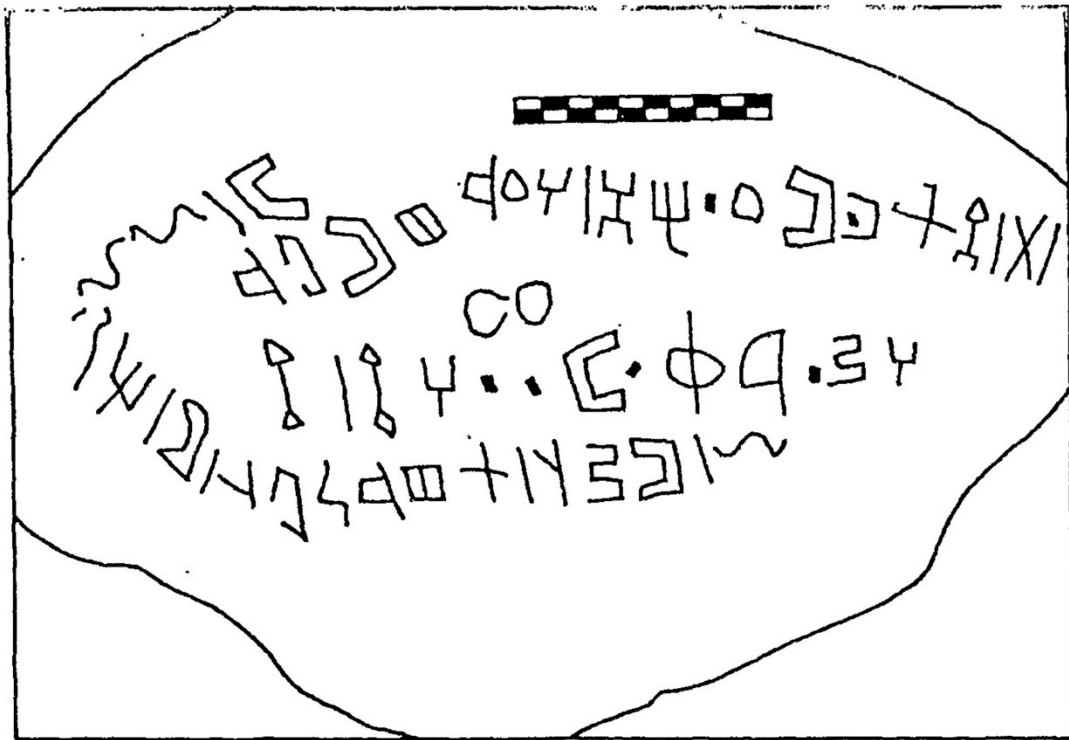


Fig. 2. — Copy of the inscription.

Translation :

By ḥlšt son of M^cn of the tribe of Sa^cd and he rebelled three years against Nepos, who is a tyrant. So, O Allāt and Dhu-Shara (grant) security to whom who escaped tyrannny.

Figure 3.30 – A Safaitic inscription from Wadi al-Hashad, near the northeastern border of Jordan (in the northeastern portion of ancient Roman Arabia). It records the name of Arabia's governor, T. Haterius Nepos (in the 130s CE), and an apparent three-year-long revolt against him (which seems to coincide with the period of the Bar Kokhba revolt in neighboring Judaea).

[Abbadi and Zayadine 1996, 157 (Fig.2)]



Figure 3.31 – Aerial view over Umm el-Jimal.

[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken Oct. 19, 2009), APAAME_20091019_DLK-0225]



Fig. 1.19. Part of the lintel inscriptions from al-Ruwāfa showing lines 1–4 (inscription I) and lines 5b–6 (inscription II) with arrows pointing to the first occurrence of [Θ]αμουδηνῶν ξ[θvos] in the Greek and šrkt tmwdw in the Nabataean. Photograph by Laïla Nehmé.

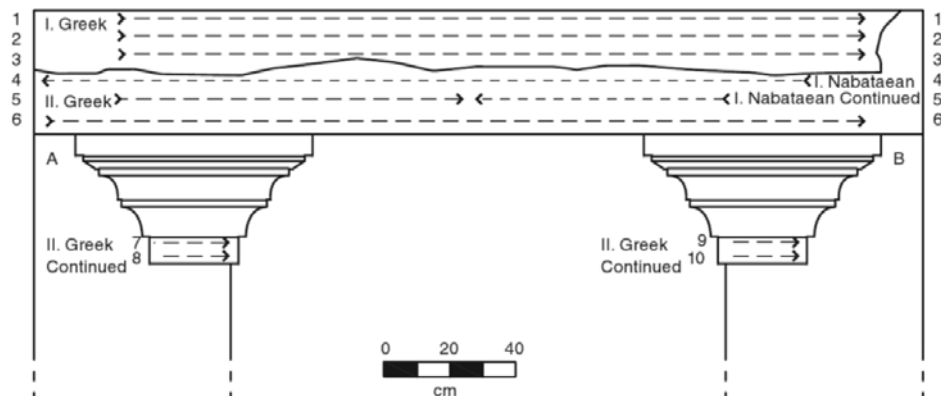
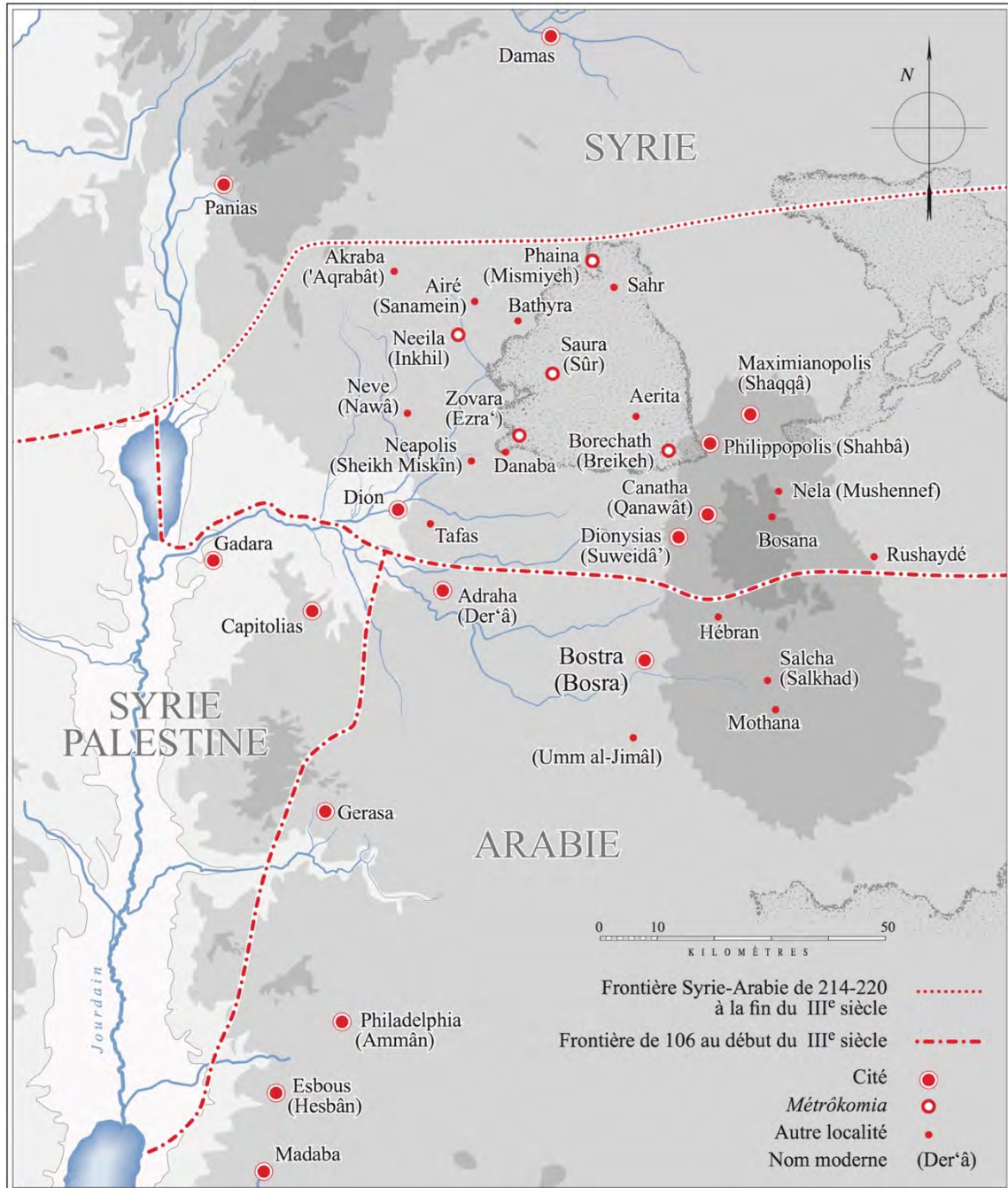


Fig. 1.23. A reconstruction of the original layout of the inscriptions on the lintel and capitals from al-Ruwāfa. Drawing by Aaron Styba.

Figure 3.32 – Inscription from Rawaffa (Saudi Arabia), dedicated to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus by a tribal confederation of Thamoudenoi.

[Macdonald *et al.* 2015, 46, 53 (Figs. 1.19 and 1.23)]



Carte de la Syrie du Sud avec les limites des provinces romaines aux II^e et III^e siècles ap. J.-C.
(T. Fournet, S. Vatteoni d'après Sartre 2001, p. 1013).

Figure 3.33 – Map of northern Arabia and southern Syria showing the changes in Arabia's northern frontier made at the beginning of the third century.

[Dentzer-Feydy *et al.* 2007, 24]



Figure 3.34 – Qasr el-Hallabat (second to third century, with later modifications and reuse)
[cropped from original photo by David Kennedy (taken Oct. 23, 2008), APAAME_20081023_DLK-0575]



Figure 3.35 – Qasr el-Azraq

[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken Sept. 8, 2008), APAAME_20080909_DLK-0165]



Figure 3.36 – Qasr el-Uweinid

[edited from original photo by Matthew Dalton (taken Oct. 15, 2014), APAAME_20141015_MND-0077]



Figure 3.37 – Reservoir in the Azraq Oasis.

[edited from original photo by Isabelle Ruben (taken Sept. 9, 2008), APAAME_20080909_IAR-0590]

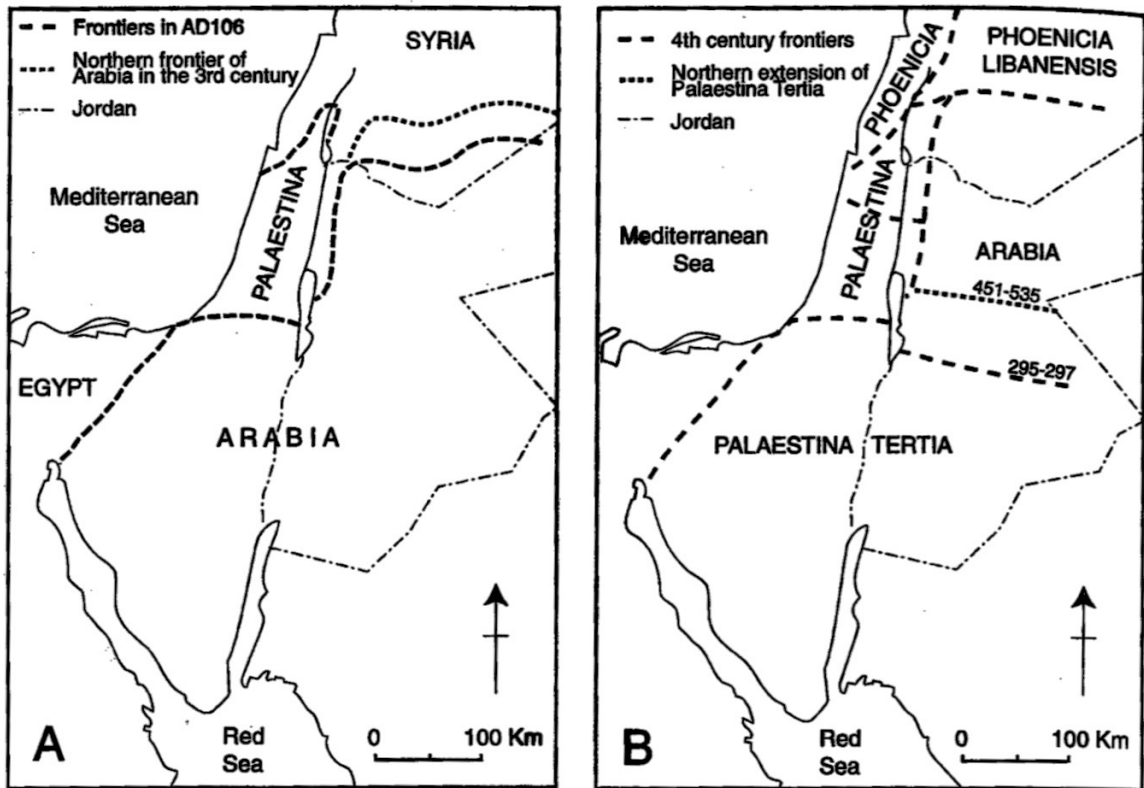


Fig. 11. Maps of the changing boundaries of Arabia and Palaestina (from Kennedy 2004, 41, fig. 4.2).

Figure 3.38 – The administrative reorganization of Arabia at the end of the third century.

[Kennedy and Falahat 2008, 164 (Fig.11)]



Figure 3.39 – The fort of Udhruh (foreground) (Tetrarchic but with possible second century phase).
[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken May 14, 1998), APAAME_19980514_DLK-0208]



Figure 3.40 – Deir el-Kahf (first to eighth centuries CE).

[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken Oct. 4, 2011), APAAME_20111004_DLK-0050]



Figure 3.41 – Qasr el-Aseikhim (Severan period).

[edited from original photo by Isabelle Ruben (taken Sept. 9, 2008), APAAME_20080909_IAR-0276]



Figure 3.42 – Fort at Khirbet Ain (first or second to third centuries CE).

[edited from original photo by Robert Bewley (taken June 15, 1999), APAAME_19990615_RHB-0111]



Figure 3.43 – Fort and caravanserai at Khirbet Khaw (second to third centuries CE)
[cropped from original photo by David Kennedy (taken Sept. 18, 2008), APAAME_20080918_DLK-0358]



Figure 3.44 – The tower of Zafaran A (second to fourth century phase built over an earlier, probably Nabataean, structure).

[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken May 13, 1998), APAAME_19980513_DLK-0101]



Figure 3.45 – Fort at Quweira, marked by a blue arrow in the foreground (Roman fort built over an earlier Nabataean structure).

[edited from original photo by Francesca Radcliffe (taken Oct. 9, 2008), APAAME_20081009_FFR-0041]



Figure 3.46 – Fort and caravanserai at Khirbet el-Khalde (probably ancient *Praesidium*), built by the Nabataeans and reused in the Roman period.

[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken May 20, 1998), APAAME_19980520_DLK-0305]



Figure 3.47 – Bir Madhkur (Nabataean military post reused in the second to fourth centuries).
[edited from original photo by David Kennedy (taken Oct. 5, 2015), APAAME_20151005_DLK-0317]



Figure 3.48 – Two views of the Nabataean-Roman caravanserai of Sha'ar Ramon in the Ramon Crater (along the *Petra-Gaza* road).

[both photos by author, taken May 7, 2014]



Figure 3.49 – The Roman fort overlooking the Mahmal Pass on the edge of the Ramon Crater (in Israel's Negev).

[both photos by author, taken May 7, 2014]

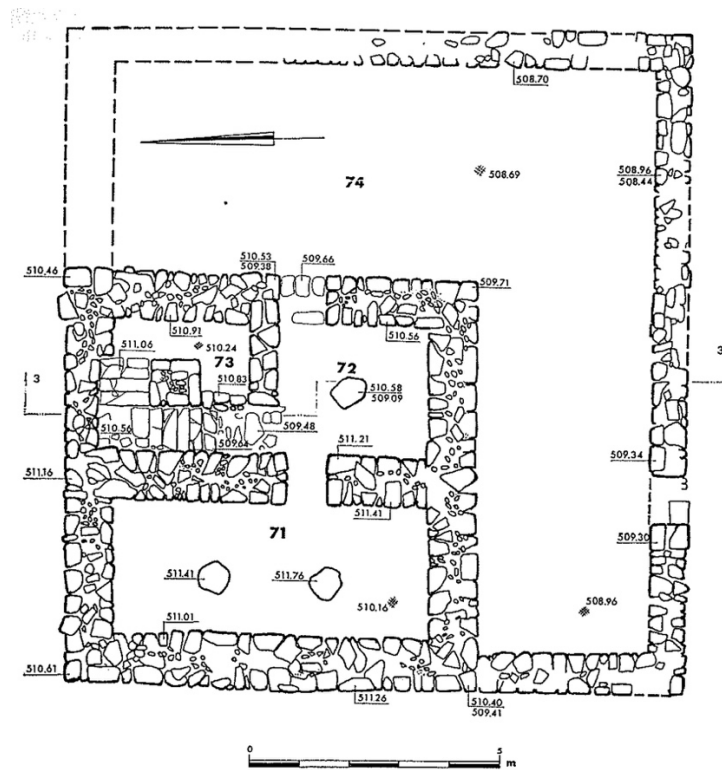


Fig. 12. Area D. Building 12. Roman tower.

Figure 3.50 – Roman tower of Horvat Haluqim, guarding the road between *Oboda* and *Mampsis* in the Negev (Israel).

[top photo by author, taken May 7, 2014; bottom plan from Cohen 1976, 48]



Trois fragments d'un linteau de basalte conservés à la citadelle.

« ...templus Iovis Hammonis a Pa[l]myrenis hostibu[s] dirutum...]
quem refec(i)t cum statua argentea et ostea ferra »
« ... le sanctuaire de Jupiter Ammon, détruit par les ennemis Palmyréniens...
qu'il a refait avec des statues d'argent et des portes ferrées ».

(montage photographique d'après Sartre 1982, p. 180-181, n°9107, pl. XVIII).

Figure 3.51 – Three fragments of a basalt lintel with a Latin inscription that reads “...the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, destroyed by Palmyrene enemies...who rebuilt it with silver statues and iron doors.” It refers to the destruction of the temple by the Palmyrene forces under Queen Zenobia during the reign of Aurelian.

[Dentzer-Feydy *et al.* 2007, 30]

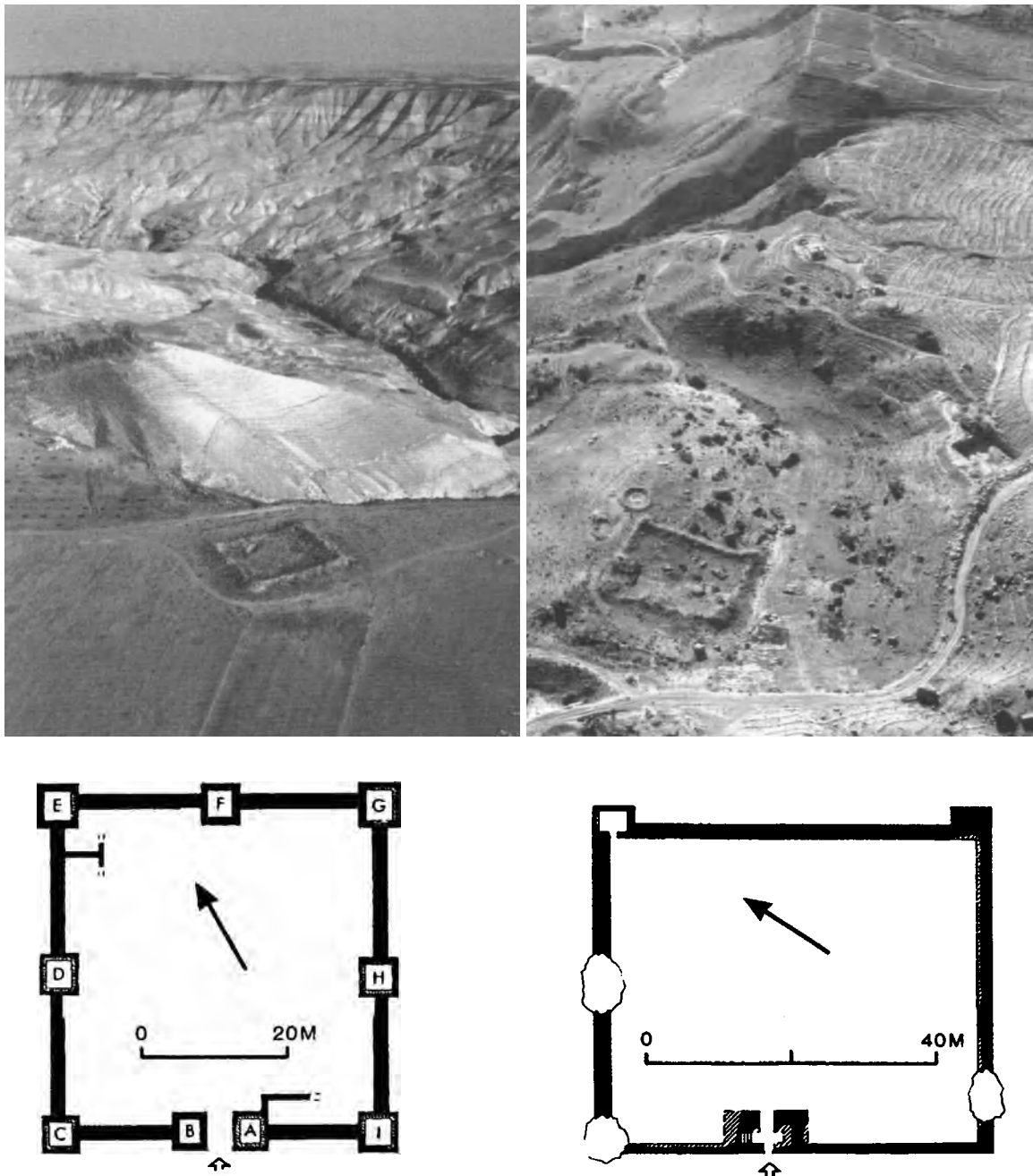


Figure 3.52 – The two forts of Muhattet el-Hajj (the upper fort is on the left side, the lower fort is right side, with a photo and plan of each one). These forts guarded the *Via Nova Traiana*'s crossing of the treacherous Wadi el-Mujib (see Figure 3.27).

[Kennedy 2004, 145-146 (Figs. 14.3-14.6)]

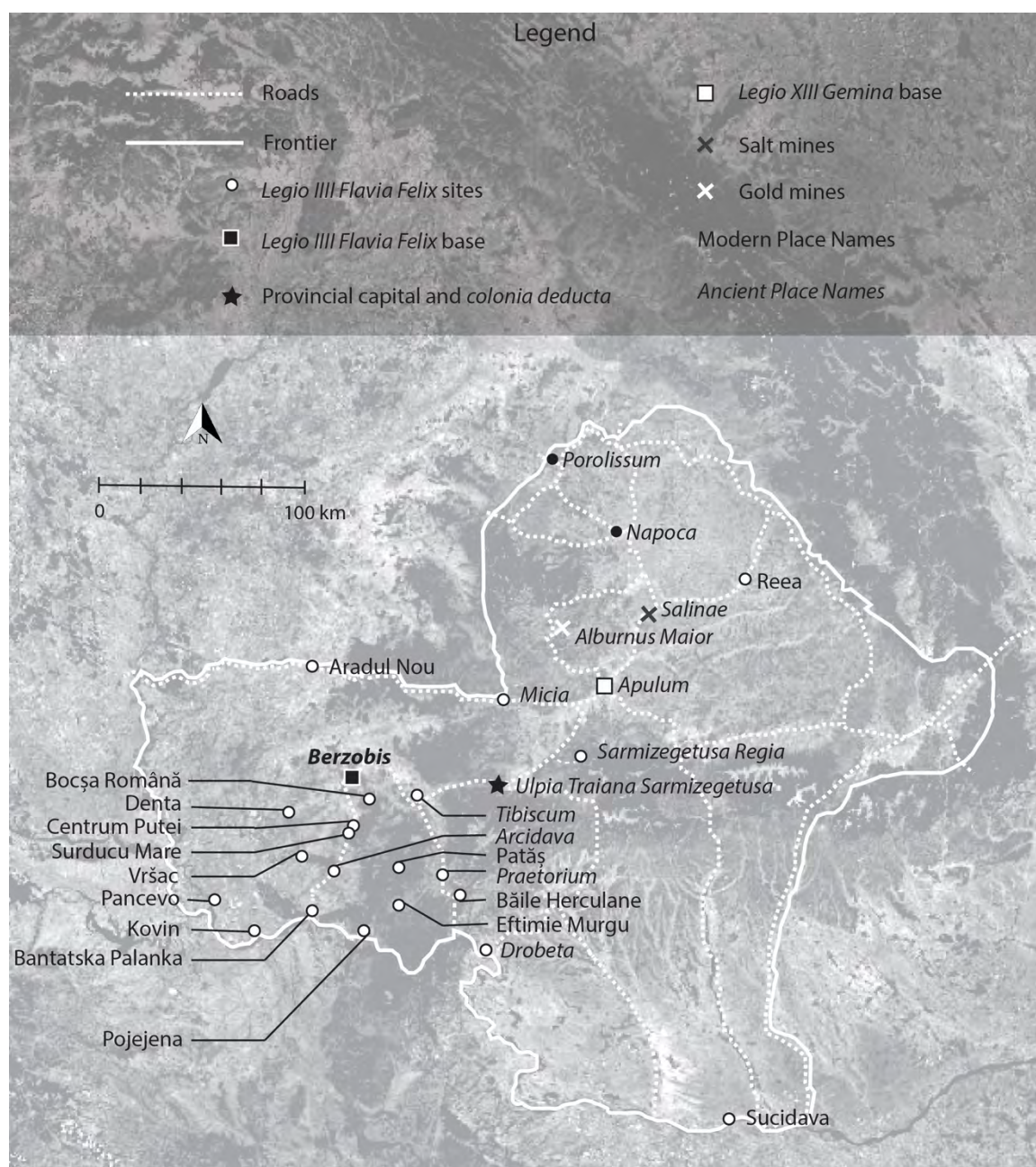


Figure 4.1 – Distribution map of *legio III Flavia Felix* in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]



Figure 4.2 – Tile stamps of the *legio III Flavia Felix* from Dacia (top were found at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, bottom is now in the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca).

[photos from: http://www.roma-victrix.com/armamentarium/castra_tegula_legioI-VII.htm]

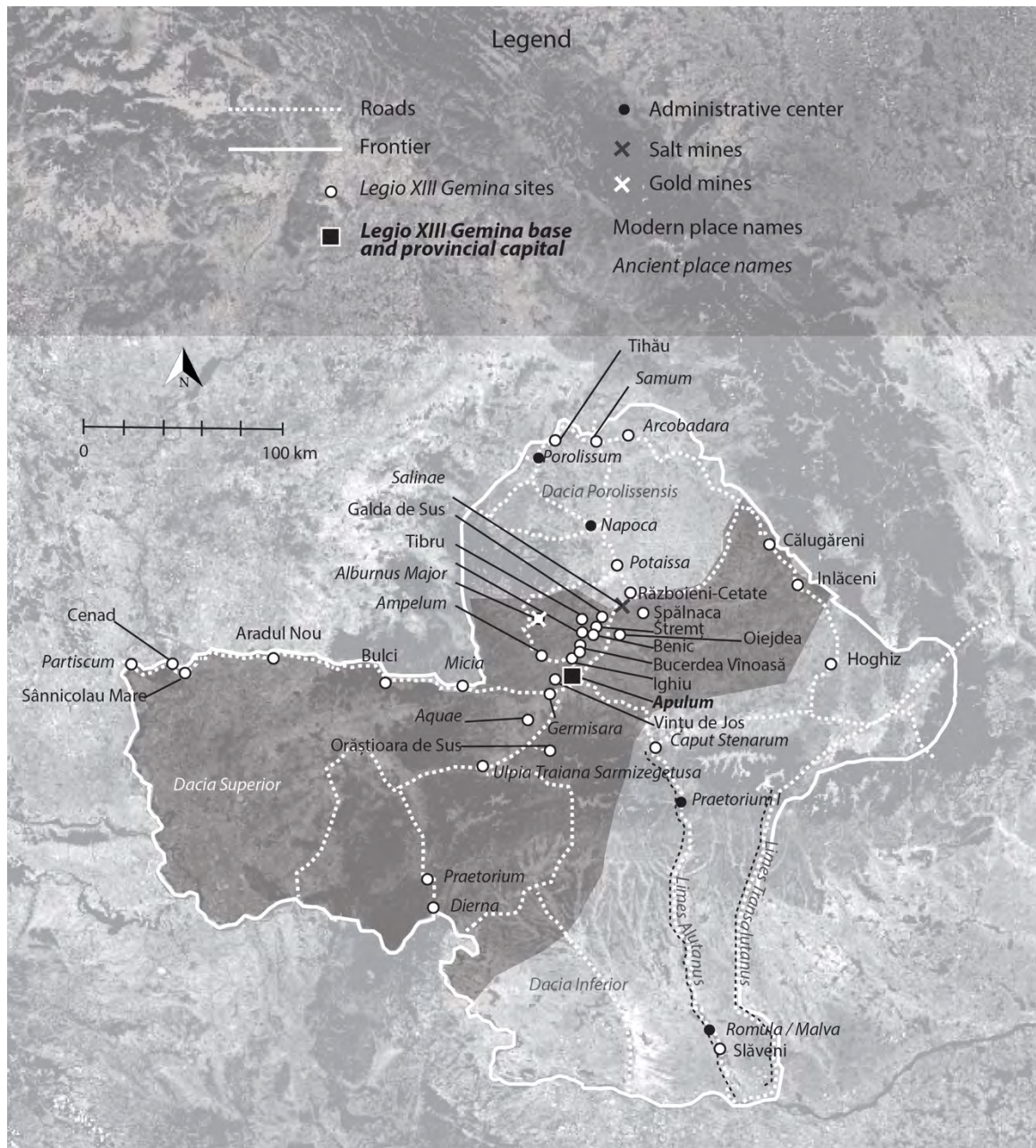


Figure 4.3 – Distribution map of *legio XIII Gemina* in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]



Figure 4.4 – Tile stamp of the *legio V Macedonica* from its fortress at *Potaissa* (Turda), Dacia.

[cropped from original photo by Philipp Pilhofer, via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ALegio_V_macedonica_in_potaissa.JPG]



Figure 4.5 – Tile stamp of the *legio XIII Gemina* from its fortress at *Apulum* (Alba Iulia), Dacia.

[cropped from original photo by Codrin.B, via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAlba_Iulia_National_Museum_of_the_Union_2011_-_Roman_Brick_Stamp_with_Legio_XIII_Gemina%2C_Apulum.JPG]

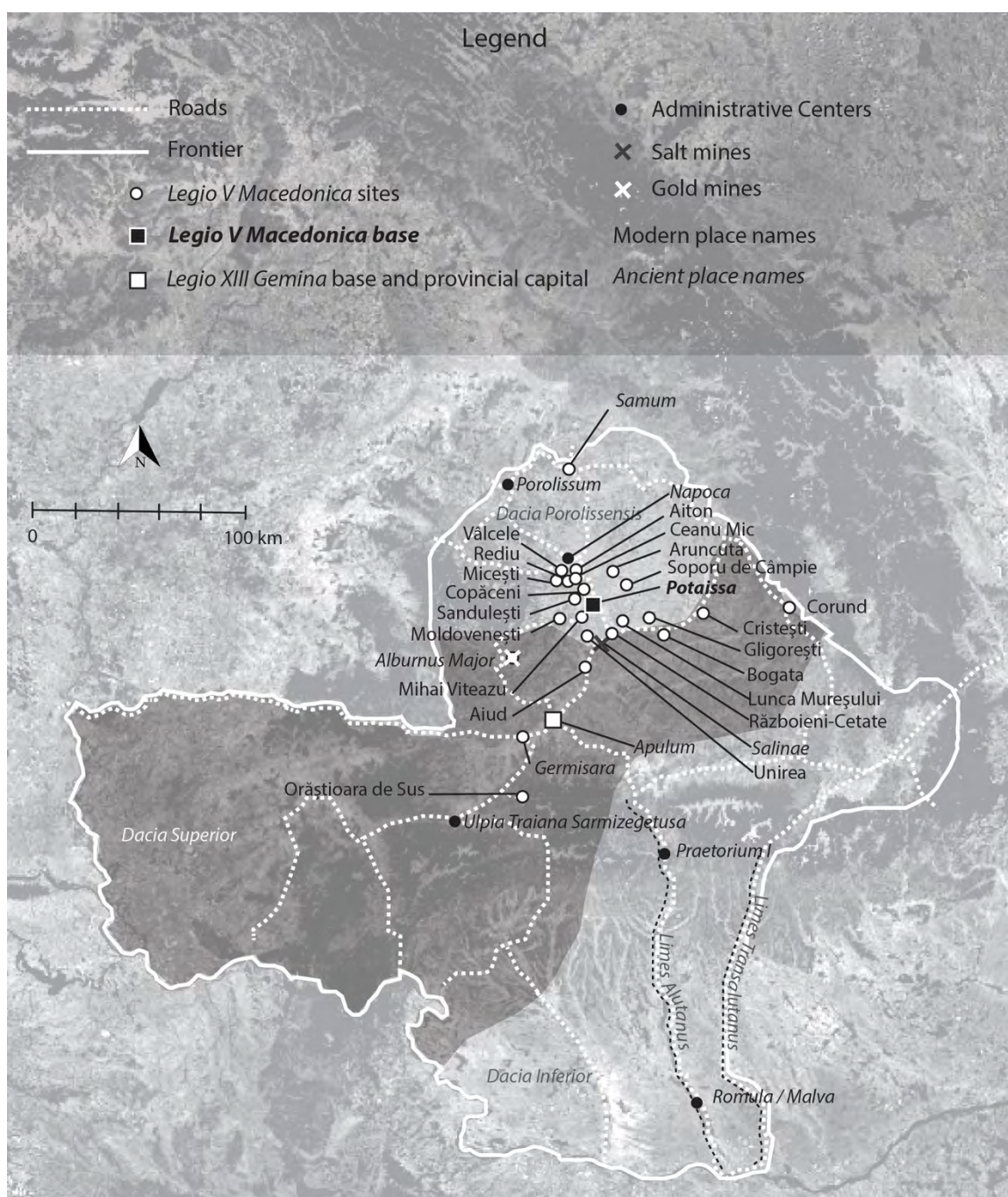


Figure 4.6 – Distribution map of *legio V Macedonica* in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]



Figure 4.7 – Roman auxiliary fort of *Germisara* (Cigmău) in Dacia Superior (above), and the road leading to the Roman baths at *Germisara* (left).

[upper photo by Saturnian via Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACas_tra_of_Cigmau_-_31.jpg;
 lower photo from:
[http://www.directbooking.ro/landmark-roman-thermal-baths-germisara-60.aspx#photo\[obiectiv\]/0/](http://www.directbooking.ro/landmark-roman-thermal-baths-germisara-60.aspx#photo[obiectiv]/0/)]

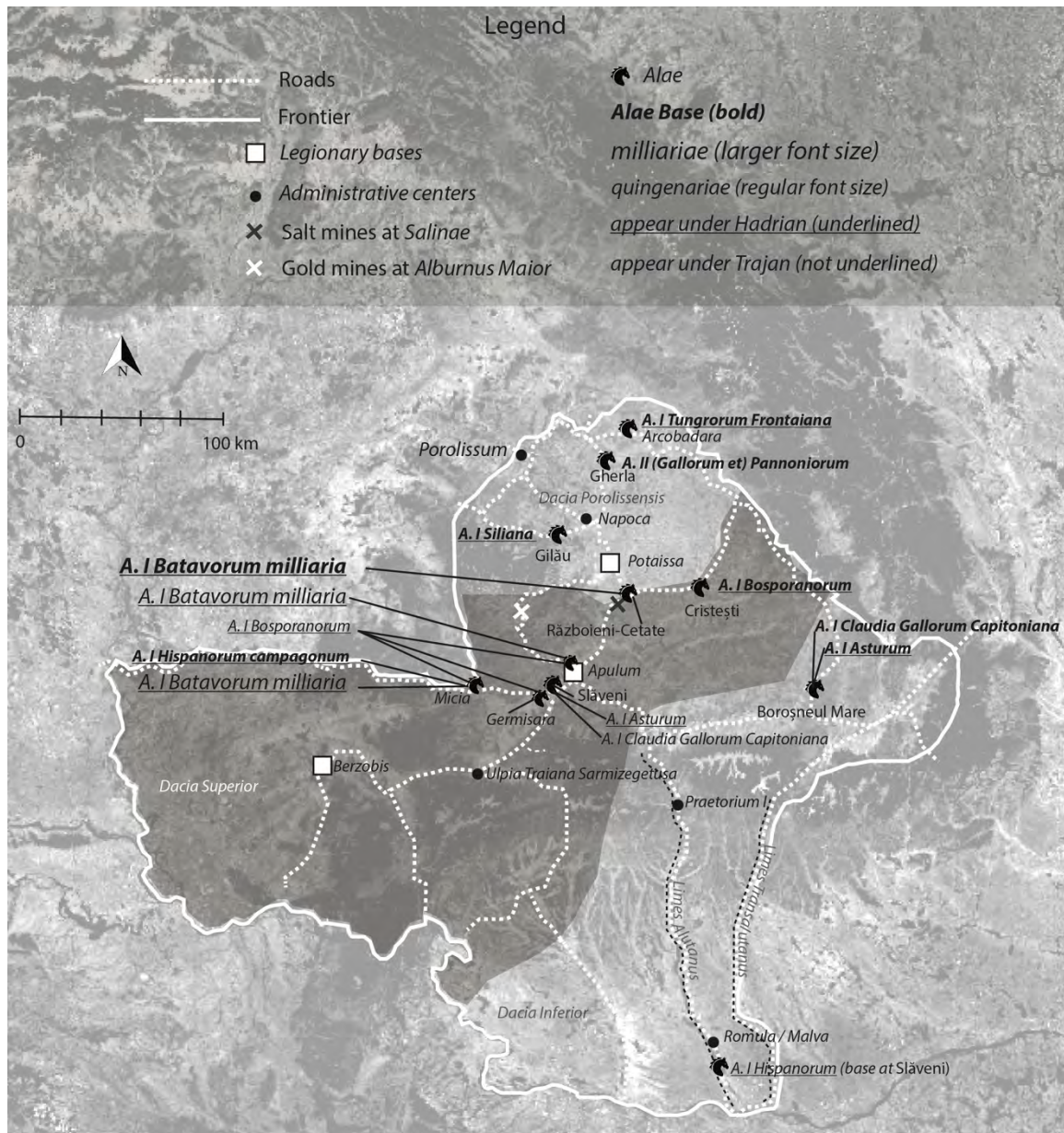
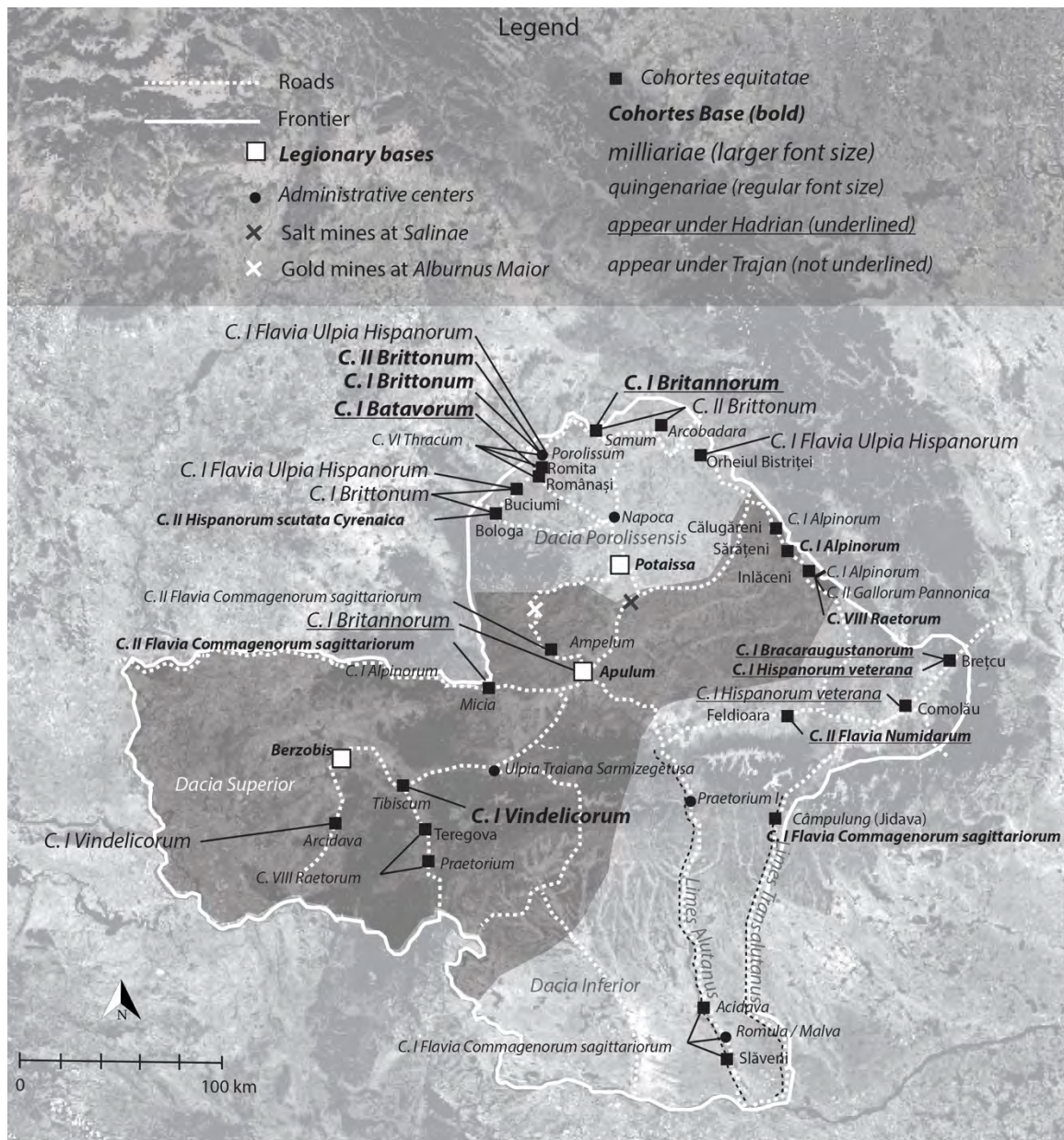


Figure 4.8 – Distribution map of *alae* during the second century in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]



[map by Bianca Bocancea]

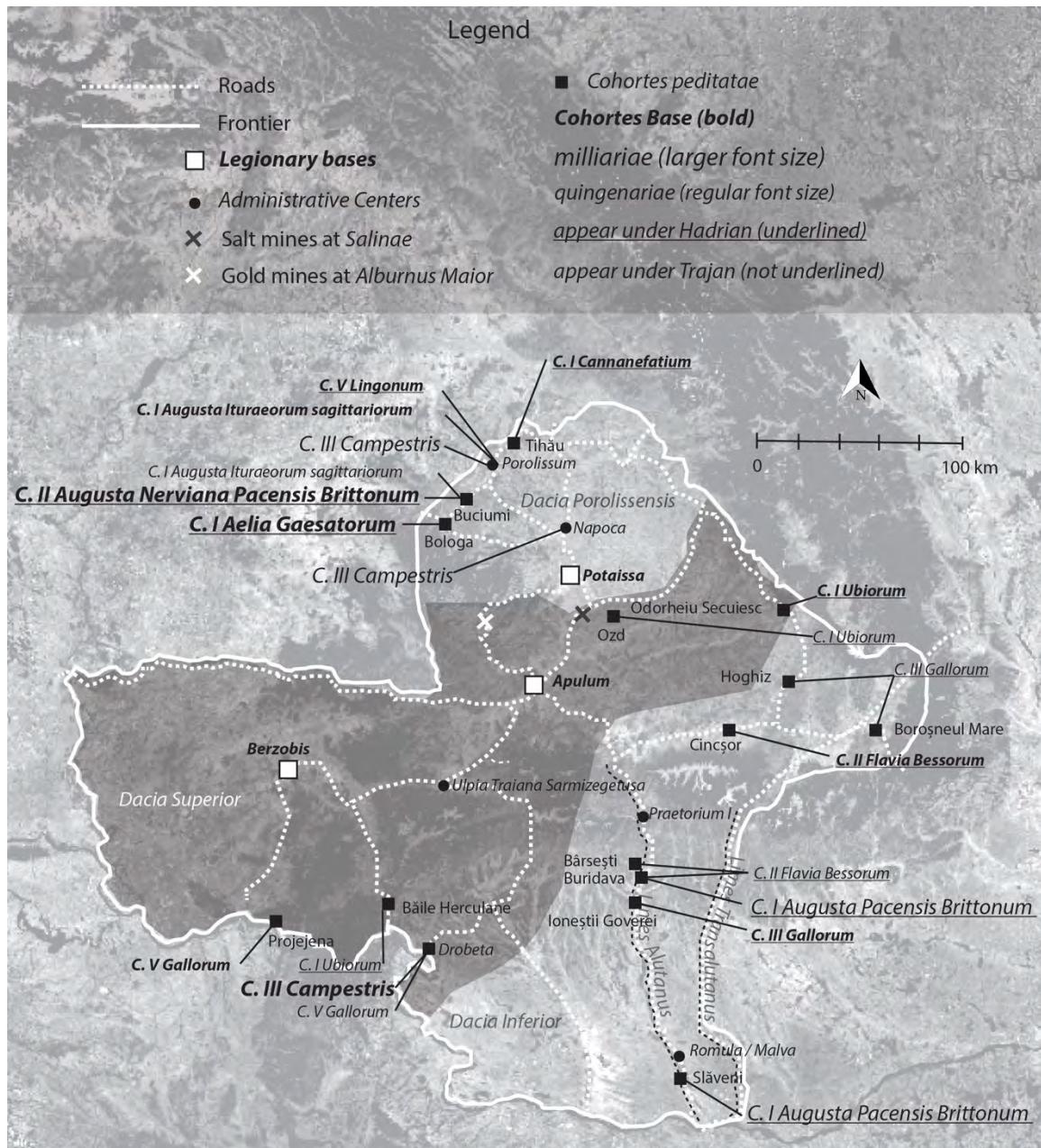


Figure 4.10 – Distribution map of *cohortes peditatae* during the second century in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]

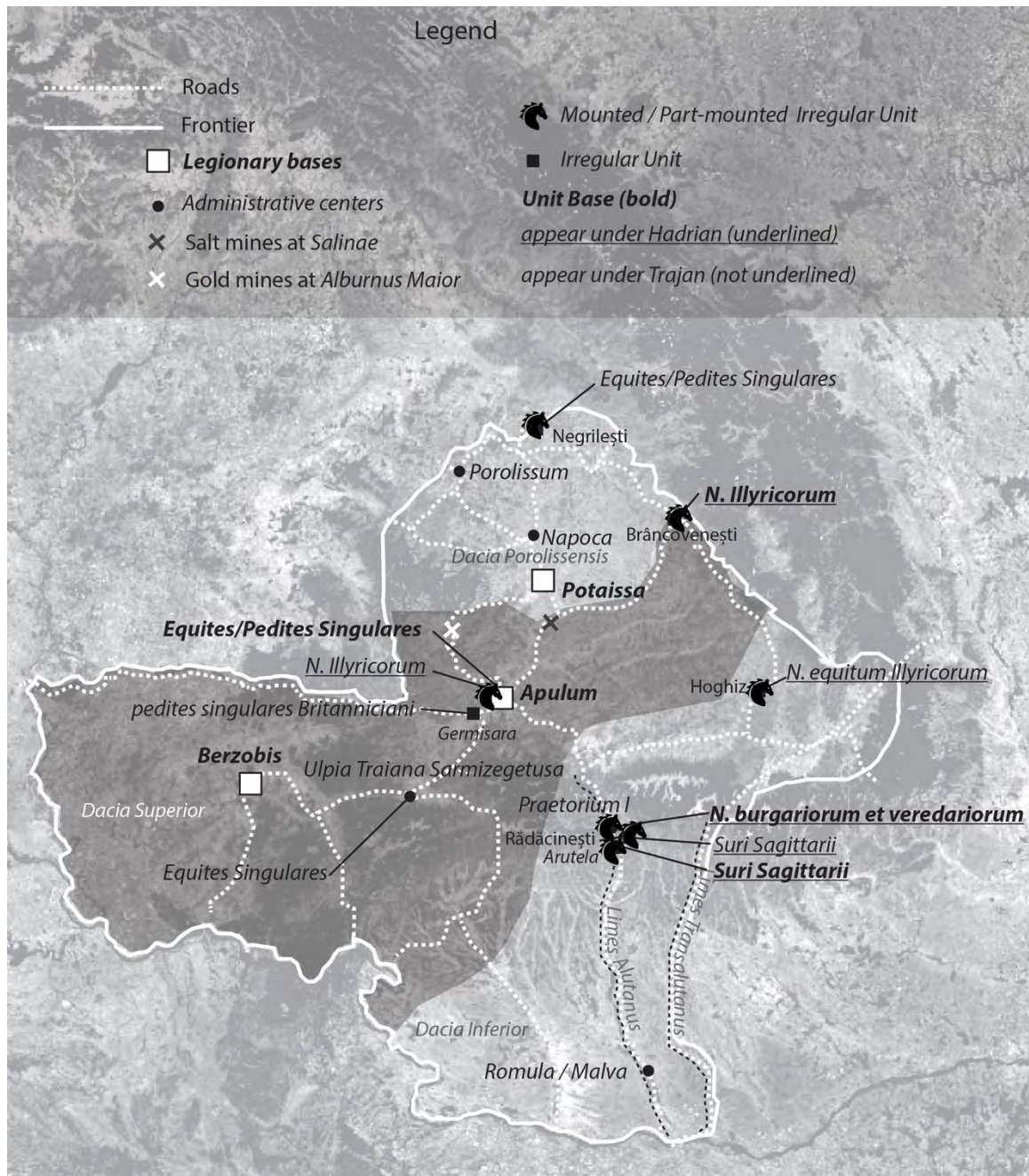


Figure 4.11 – Distribution map of irregular auxiliary units during the second century in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]

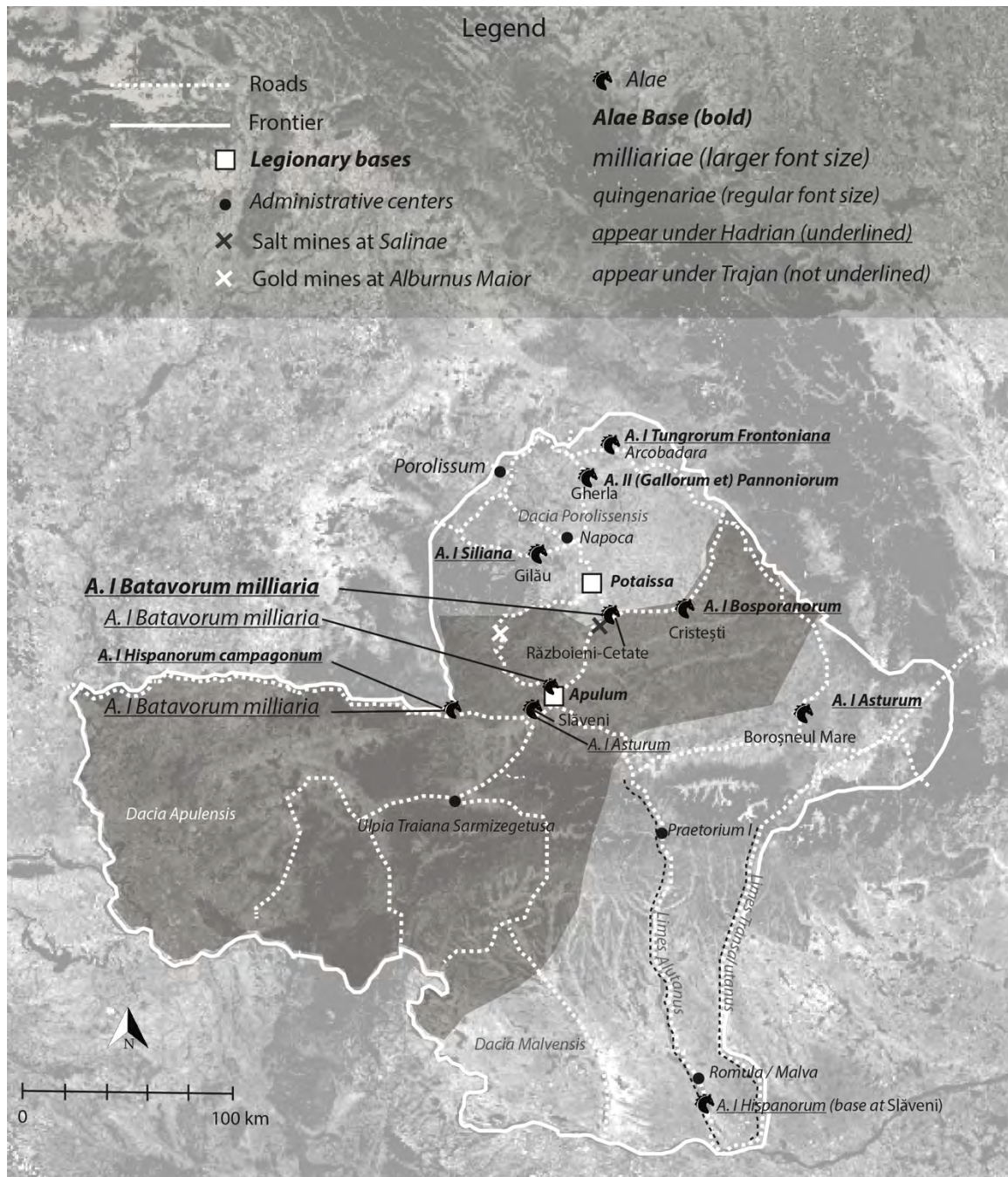


Figure 4.12 – Distribution map of *alae* during the third century in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]

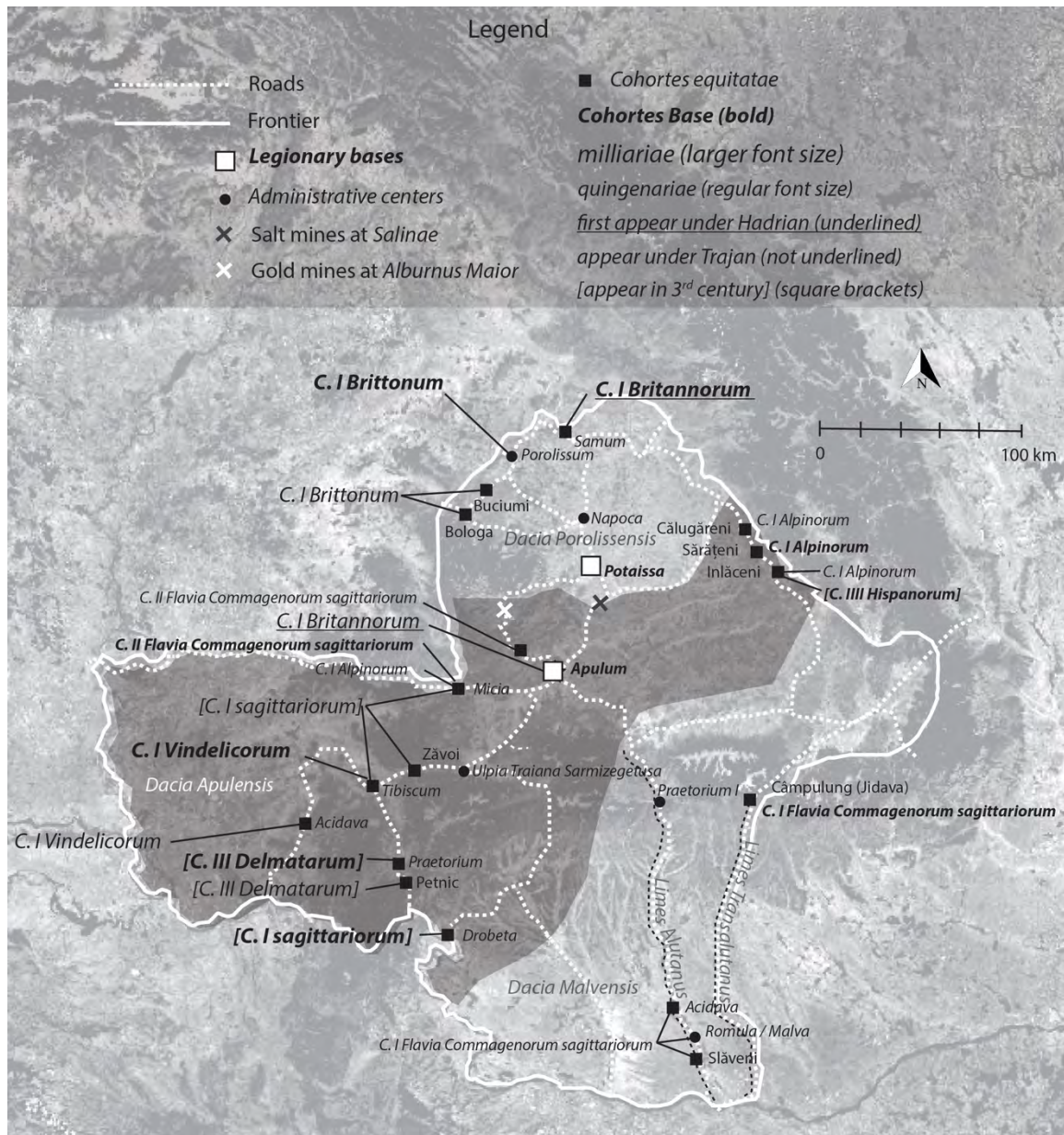


Figure 4.13 – Distribution map of *cohortes equitatae* during the third century in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]

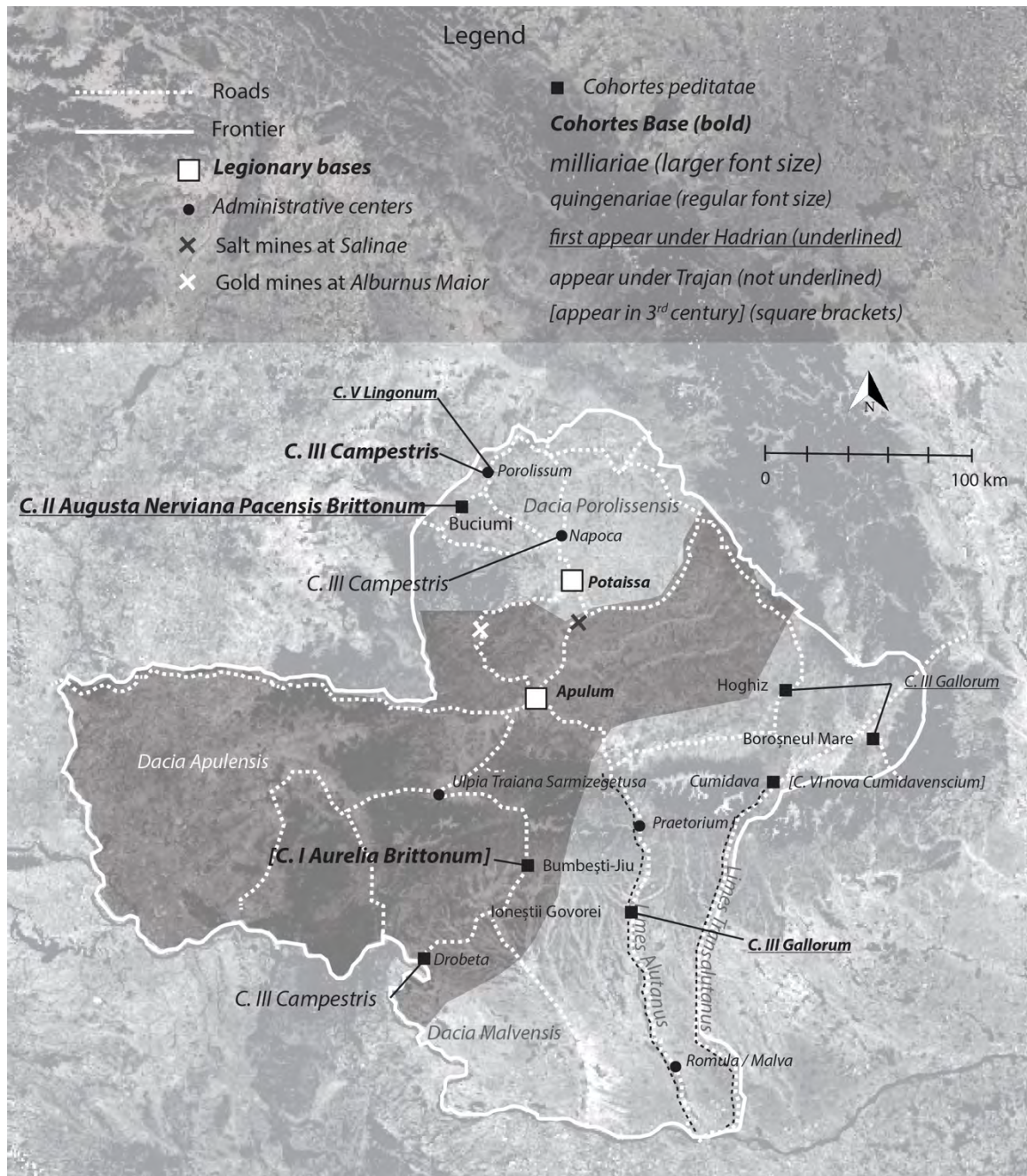


Figure 4.14 – Distribution map of *cohortes peditatae* during the third century in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]



Figure 4.15 – Distribution map of irregular auxiliary units during the third century in Roman Dacia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]



Figure 4.16 – The author with the epitaph for Mucatra Brasi, a soldier of the *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* who died at age 39, and who has a Thraco-Dacian name (IDR III/5.2.559=AE 1914.102). Originally found at *Apulum*, the column now stands in the National History Museum in Bucharest.

[photo by Filip Ani, taken June 9, 2013]

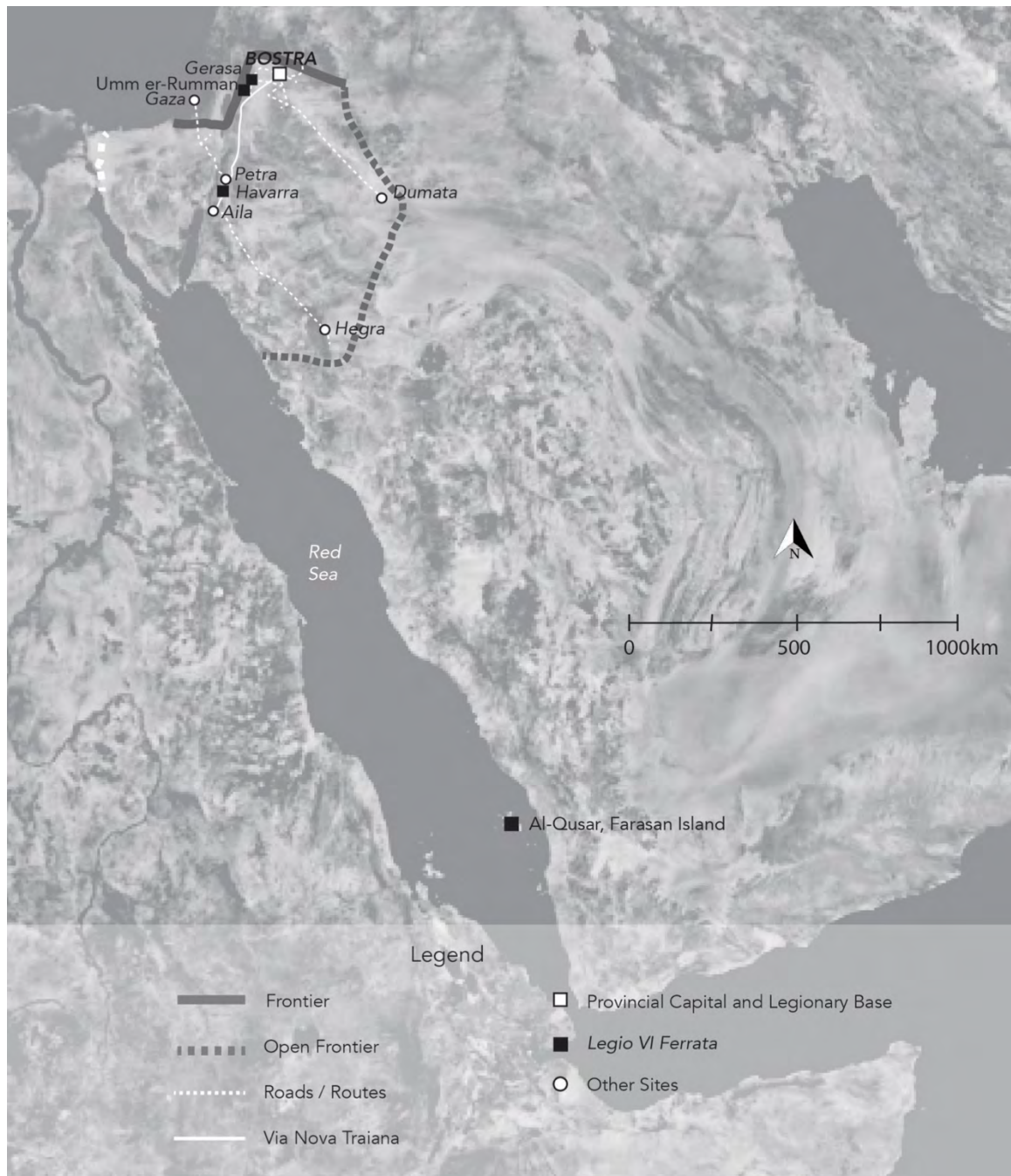


Figure 5.1 – Distribution map of the *legio VI Ferrata* in Roman Arabia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]

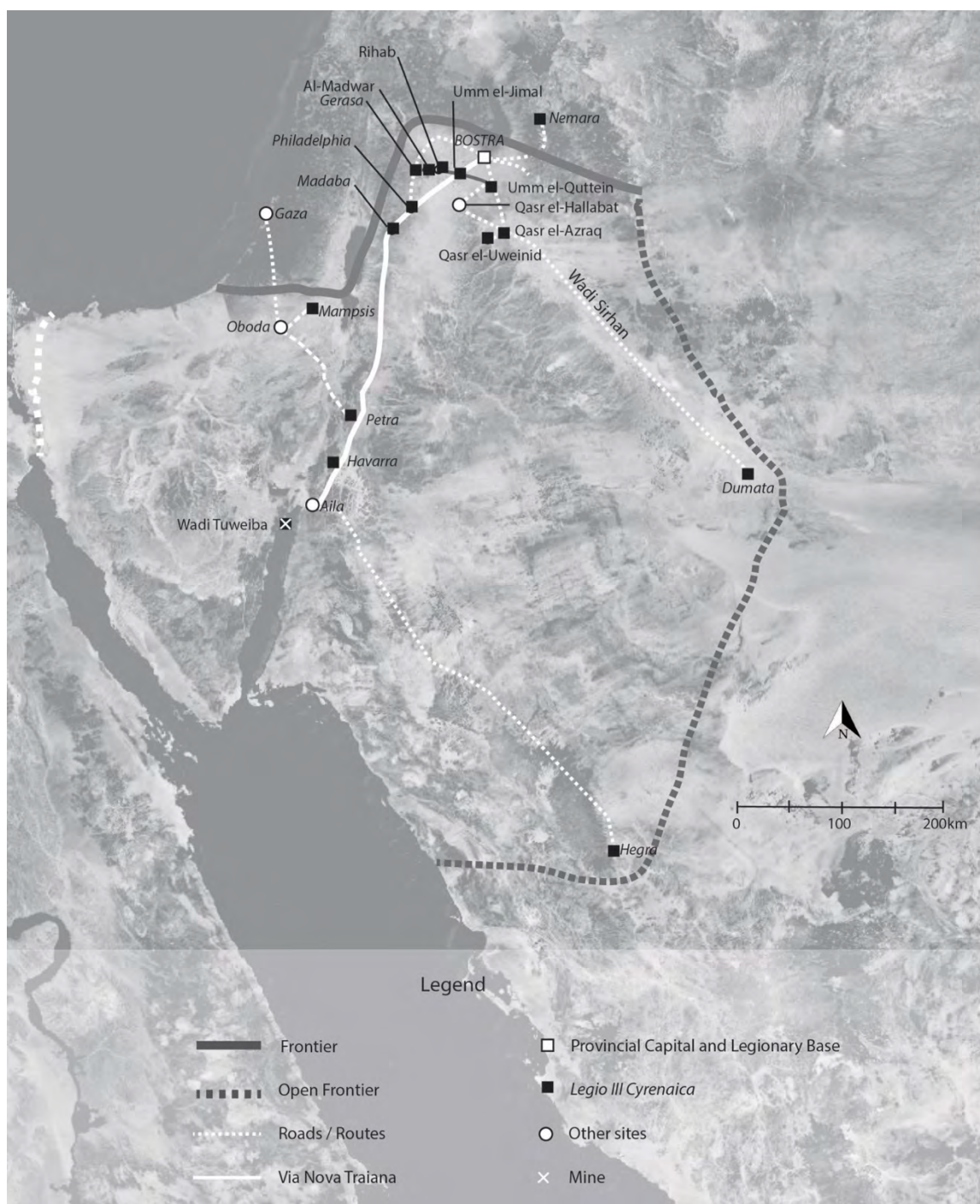


Figure 5.2 – Distribution map of the *legio III Cyrenaica* in Roman Arabia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]

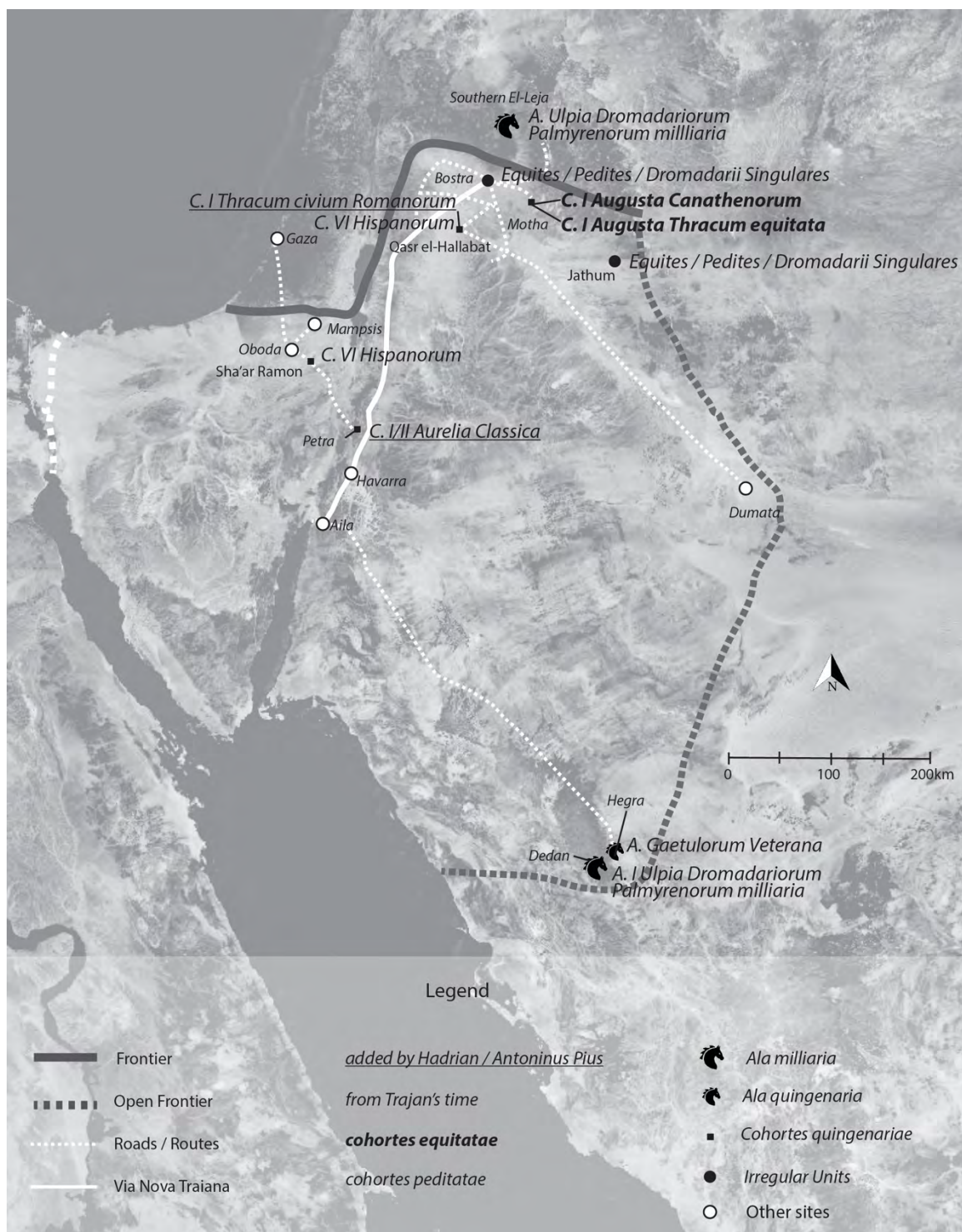


Figure 5.4 – Distribution map of the *auxilia* during the second century in Roman Arabia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]

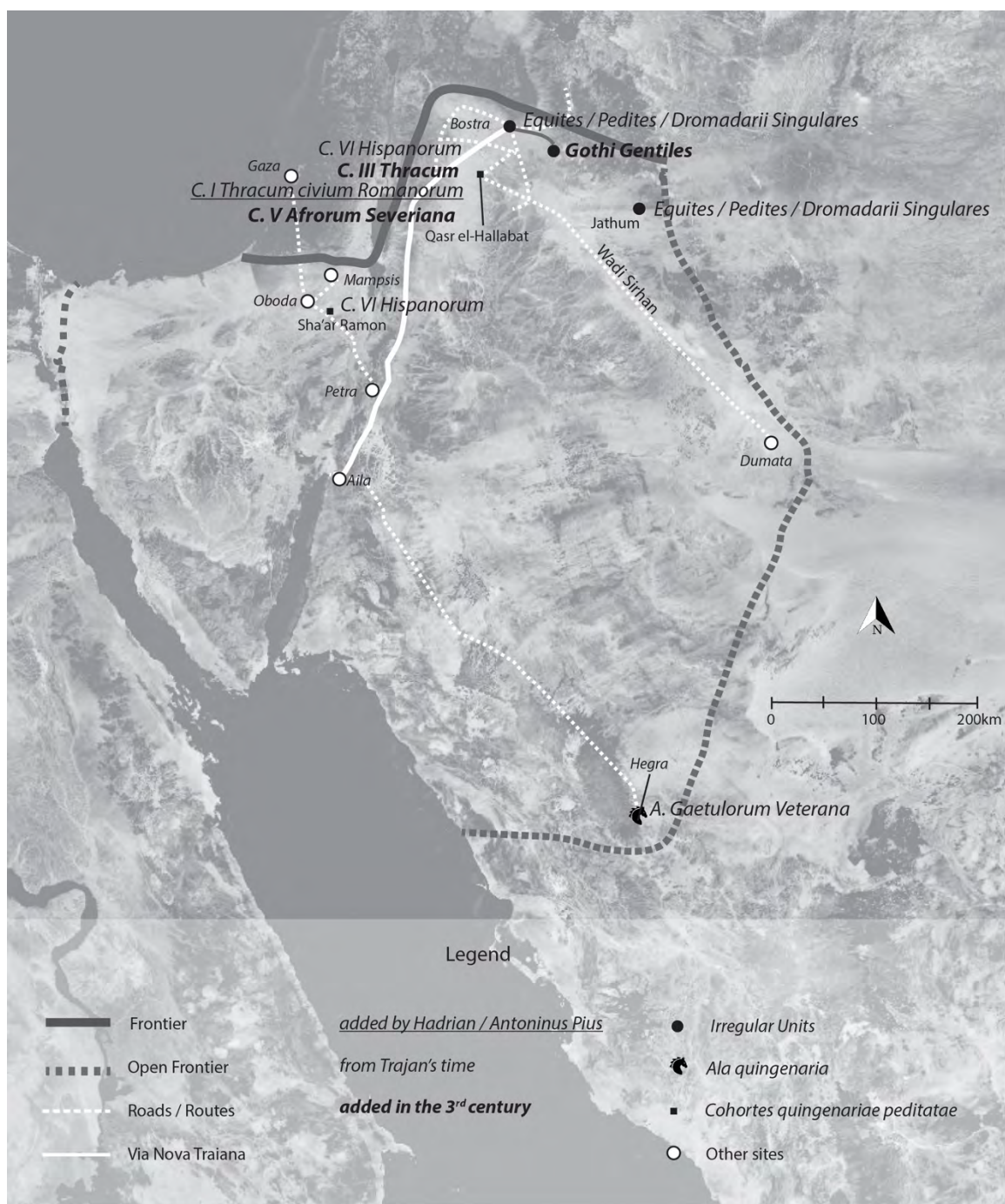


Figure 5.5 – Distribution map of the *auxilia* during the third century in Roman Arabia.

[map by Bianca Bocancea]



Figure 5.6 – Graffito carved into the southern rock face of the Siq at *Petra*, which reads Γ KYP – the Greek initials of the *legio III Cyrenaica* – (τρίτη) Κυρ(ηναϊκή) (IJ 4.19; PAE MP.742). Location of the graffito is indicated by the yellow arrow in the top photo, and a close-up of the graffito is shown in the bottom photo.

[both photos by author, taken April 14, 2014]

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Abbreviations:

AB – *Analele Banatului, S.N., Arheologie – Istorie*

AE – *L'Année épigraphique*

ADAJ – *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*

AMN – *Acta Musei Napocensis*

AMP – *Acta Musei Porolissensis*

AMS – *Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis*

ANRW – *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*

APAAME – Aerial Photographic Archive of Archaeology in the Middle East (accessible from:
www.humanities.uwa.edu.au/research/cah/aerial-archaeology)

AS – H. Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, vols. 1-6. Paris

BASOR – *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BHAUT – *Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis*

BMC – H. Mattingly and R.A.G. Carson, 1923-1962. *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. 6 vols. London.

CER – C.C. Petolescu, “Cronica Epigrafică a României” (published in installments, vols. 1-28, within issues of *SCIVA* from 1981 to 2009)

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

DPA – Rudolf Ernst Brünnow and Alfred von Domaszewski. 1904-1909. *Die Provincia Arabia auf Grund zweier in den Jahren 1897 und 1898 unternommenen Reisen und der berichte früherer Reisender*. 3 Vols. Strassburg: Trübner.

DRC – Seth William Stevenson, C. Roach Smith, and Frederic W. Madden. 1889. *A Dictionary of Roman Coins, Republican and Imperial*. London: George Bell and Sons.

EN – *Ephemeris Napocensis*

IDR – *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*

IDRE – *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae: Inscriptiones extra fines Daciae repertae Graecae et Latinae (saec. I, II, III) / Inscriptions de la Dacie Romaine: Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (I^{er} – III^e siècles)*

IEJ – *Israel Exploration Journal*

IGLS – *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, Paris, 1929 -

- IGR* – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Paris, 1911-1927
- IJ* – *Inscriptions de la Jordanie*, Vol. IV (= *IGLS Vol. XXI*); Vol. V
- ILD* – Constantin C. Petolescu. 2005. *Inscripții Latine din Dacia / Inscriptiones Latinae Daciae*, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române.
- ILS* – H. Dessau, ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892-1916
- JAHA* – *Journal of Ancient History and Archeology*
- JÖAI* – *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
- JRA* – *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
- JRS* – *The Journal of Roman Studies*
- LIMC* – *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
- MEFRA* – *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Antiquité*
- P.Mich* – *Michigan Papyri*
- PES* – H.C. Butler *et al.* 1907-1949. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions in Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*. 4 vols in many parts. Leiden
- [E. Littmann, D. Magie, and D.R. Stuart. 1921. *Syria, Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904 and 1909, Division III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Section A. Southern Syria*. Leiden.]
- PEQ* – *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
- PIR²* – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd Ed.
- RB* – *Revista Bistriței*
- RGZM* – B. Pferdehirt. 2004. *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- RIB* – *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
- RIC II* – Harold Mattingly and Edward A. Sydenham. 1926 [1997 reprint]. *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. II. Vespasian to Hadrian*. London: Spink & Son, Ltd.
- RMD* – M.M. Roxan and P. Holder, eds. 1978-2006. *Roman Military Diplomas*, Vols. I-V. London.
- SCIV* – *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche*
- SCIVA* – *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie*
- SEG* – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (accessed online: <http://www.brill.com/publications/online-resources/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum-online>)

SIG – Wilhelm Dittenberger. 1917. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Vol. II. 3rd Ed. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.

SHAJ – *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*

ZDPV – *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

ZPE – *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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