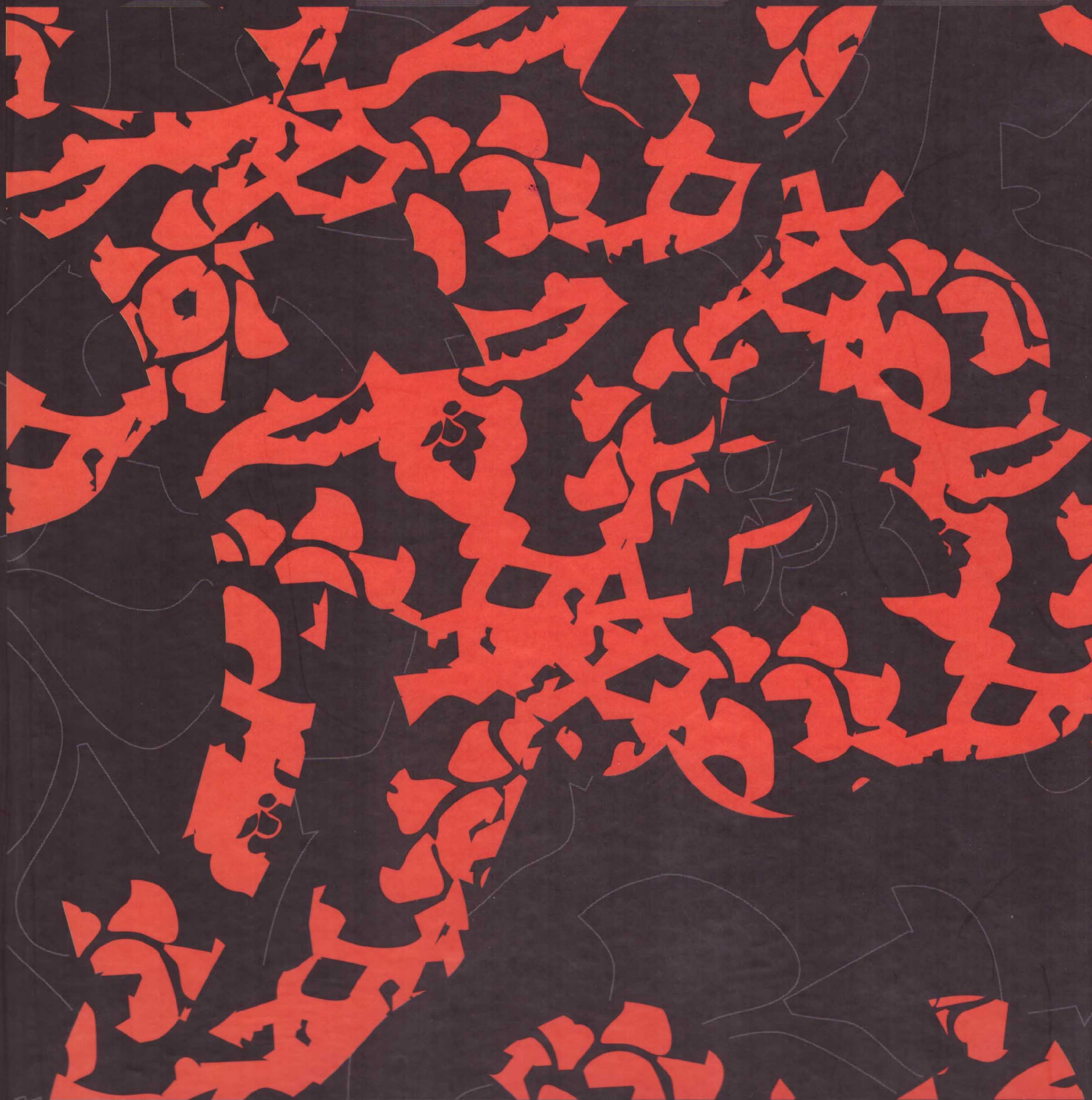


EX ORIENTE AD DANUBIUM

The Syrian Units on the Danube Frontier of the Roman Empire



Ovidiu Țentea

OVIDIU TENEA

EX ORIENTE AD DANUBIUM.
THE SYRIAN UNITS ON THE DANUBE FRONTIER
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM OF ROMANIA

THE CENTRE FOR ROMAN MILITARY STUDIES

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EX ORIENTE AD DANUBIUM.

**THE SYRIAN UNITS ON THE DANUBE FRONTIER
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE**

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To Almira, Tudor & Toma

CONTENTS

Foreword	III
Acknowledgements	V
1 Introduction	1
Geographical background	2
Historical context	3
Past studies	4
Study structure	5
2 The background: Roman Near East	9
Roman Syria	9
Commagene	12
The territories of the Itureans	15
Osrhoene	17
Canatha	18
Emesa	18
Antiochia	19
Palmyra	19
Arabia	24
3 The Syrian units deployed to the Danube provinces	27
I. Ala Celerum Philippiana	27
II. Ala I Commagenorum milliaria sagittaria	28
III. Ala nova Firma Cataphractaria Philippiana	30
IV. Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria	31
V. Ala I Osrhoenorum sagittaria	34
VI. Ala I Septimia Surorum	34
VII. Cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria equitata	35
VIII. Cohors I Antiochensium sagittaria	38
IX. Cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Trachonitarum	39
X. Cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittaria	40
XI. Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	41
XII. Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria equitata	45
XIII. Cohors I Aurelia Antoniana milliaria Hemesenorum sag. eq. c.R.	48
XIV. Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria	52
XV. Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria equitata milliaria	55
XVI. Cohors I sagittaria	60
XVII. Cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum sagittaria equitata (= Cohors I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sag. eq. c.R.)	63
XVIII. Cohors I Tyriorum sagittaria	65
Palmyreni sagittarii	66
XIX. Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium	71
XX. Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium	73
XXI. Numerus Palmyrenorum O[...]	75

XXII. Numerus Surorum sagittaria	76
XXIII. Vexillationes equitum ex Syria	78
4 Deities chosen for worship	79
5 Fighting style and military equipment	87
Conclusions.....	97
Annexes	101
A. Repertory of inscriptions	103
B. Repertory of stamps	157
C. I. Military diplomas from Moesia, Dacia and Pannonia	163
C. II. Records in military diplomas, inscriptions and tile stamps	191
Abbreviations	201
Indices	225
Illustrations	229

FOREWORD

Once the borders of the Roman state were established, under Augustus, on the Danube line, strongly militarised territorial entities taking over good part of the general defence effort were set up along the river. Thus, a separate study of the Danube provinces, to which Trajan added Dacia, even though from only a military standpoint is entirely justified. These provinces are yet much more than a defence belt. In order to accommodate a quarter up to a third of the imperial military strength, they had to be economically supported by Roman economic, social and political structures. This meant the creation of Roman type communities based either on native communities or on massive colonisation. One should not also forget that, far from being exploited, good part of the Empire wealth was flowing to the Danube provinces via the soldiers pay, thus maintaining the production of goods at high levels and generating a feeling of content and trust amongst the population.

The army did not fulfil only the border defence function. Regardless their areas of origin, soldiers there defended the values of Rome not only in the 25 years of military service, but after discharge as well. Such attitudes and feelings would be expressed by soldiers and provincials in the 3rd century AD via *genius Illyrici*.

Insomuch as the Danube provinces may be singled out for study purposes among the provinces of the Empire, equally, the Oriental troops deserve special attention among the Danube units. They were not deployed there only to merge, for domestic security reasons, the peoples of the Empire, but also for well grounded strategic and tactical reasons. The riders in the Pannonian steppe had to be opposed at least as well as trained horsemen, the Barbarian archers had to be opposed the best archers, while attrition or policing actions past the limes could not be left to the account of the legionaries. As in modern warfare tanks cannot accomplish their mission without the infantry, the legions, which were the shock forces of the Antiquity, could not do much without the troops not only auxiliary, but also special. Amongst, those Oriental distinguished themselves by weapons and tactics. Another non-dismissible aspect is that the Orientals brought their own cultural stock and traditions that deeply influenced the society with which they came into contact.

For such theme, one could hardly find a more competent specialist than Ovidiu Țentea, who has been studying the Oriental units and their impact on the provincial society for many years. Therefore, the logic of the exposition is not surprising. Firstly, the author introduces us firstly to the recruitment areas, with their own history within the Roman state and the reasons for which the Romans preferred certain troops and tactics. The author then designs monograph chapters for each troop and makes an excellent job of an epigrapher in the appendices. The archaeological part tackles the military equipment indicative of battle tactics and the reasons for using Orientals on certain sections of the front and under certain circumstances. The impact of the Oriental soldiers on the provincial society cannot be established without a complete population study, which was not the aim of this volume. The chapter on the Oriental deities that the soldiers worshipped suggests though one of the approaches to pursue.

It is a great satisfaction that the series of the Centre for Roman Military Studies benefits of such great value book.

Professor Ioan Piso

Acknowledgements

This book would not have been possible without the continued support of several people to whom I wish to address my thanks herein as well.

My thanks go to Professor Ioan Piso for supervising my doctoral thesis, for his guidance and advice in order to escape certain methodological and interpretation drawbacks. Our already enduring collaboration from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* was even more important, as it was there where, past the daily turmoil, we had some of our particularly important discussions. Due mainly to misfortune, the achievement of the doctoral stage was not accompanied by related archaeological research, which significantly burdened the completion of this work. The recent discovery of the Palmyrene gods' temple in the centre of *Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa* was a generous, yet belated compensation thereof.

The first archaeological research I was involved in was performed under the supervision of Professor Dan Isac from the Babeş-Bolyai University, when I was trained into not only the basics of this profession, but also into the appetite for Roman military history. His observations in the acceptance of the graduation thesis "*The Orientals in Roman Dacia*" encouraged me to pursue this study approach. For all that I express my thanks.

In the recent years, I concluded several projects together with my friend Florian Matei-Popescu, whose successful results were not long in coming. For his support during the preparation of this paper and our lengthily debates of many of the themes herein, I wish to express my thanks this way too.

My thanks go to Professor Constantin C. Petolescu, Professor Radu Ardevan and Dr. Liviu Petculescu for their relevant remarks in the reviews of this book. The entire manuscript was read by Dr. John Karavas and Dr. Corina Borş to whom I owe many corrections.

I also thank Mrs. Gabriela Safta-Balica, the translator of the work.

I am grateful to all of my friends and colleagues, who helped me during the various stages of this work completion.

My entire gratitude goes to my mother, who was the most important support during my training years; thank you for all your help and endless understanding.

Almira, Tudor and Toma, I dedicate this book to you, with all my love.

INTRODUCTION

1

This book is a reviewed version of the doctoral thesis titled *The Syro-arabian units on the Danube frontier of the Roman Empire*, which we defended in 2008 with the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj.

We chose the theme because we aimed to study in detail a subject past the “mirage” generally represented by the Oriental cults, priests, traders or soldiers. Connections between the west and east of the Empire always incited scholars, leading to ample debates of the “Oriental phenomenon”.

We selected the Danube provinces primarily for surpassing the determinism resulted from a research limited to the province of Dacia, which focused most of our personal preoccupations until choosing this subject, as well as part of those following the investigations necessary for the completion of this work. Another reason underlying our choice, closely connected to the first, was the intention to propose another view on the subject that would go beyond the framework already provided by analogies. Such an approach is based on the belief that, when a troop from an area different than that familiar turns subject from analogy, it must be examined carefully and be submitted to same investigation.

We started from the premise that the analysis of the Syrian auxiliary units deployed in the Danube provinces of the Empire should operate with two parameters: the origin in the same space of the mentioned units, as well as their displacement to provinces located in a well delimited geographical area with many common elements.

We attempted to see whether the establishment of a troop may be related to the integration within the Empire of the political entity of origin. The periods when these ethnic units were raised are still a subject of controversy. The Empire’s relations with various client states in the Orient were extremely refined, starting from the different conditions under which diplomatic reports were developed and to the grant by Rome of various autonomy degrees to the communities, part of the Empire. Therefore, by examining the political history of the communities from where the units (relevant to this paper) were raised, we attempted to obtain elements that corroborated with the epigraphic data referring to respective units, and would thus provide information on the time when the troop was established. Thus, we chose to briefly present the main data on the communities from where respective units were originally recruited.

Questions related to the existence or lack thereof of any strategic reasons behind the displacement of such troops also played an important part in choosing the subject of this work. Were they a tactical solution adequate to the enemies in certain areas or limes sections? Was there any coherent strategy or only tactical solutions combined, adapted to various circumstances? When examining this aspect we took into consideration the weapons and military equipment of the archers in these provinces in the attempt to systemise all items whose typological features would be defining for Eastern origin units.

Traditionally, the specialized literature put in direct relation the penetration and diffusion of the Oriental cults in the western provinces during the Principate to the displacement of certain troops of Eastern origin or population inflows from the mentioned space. By gathering and statistically comparing the epigraphic evidence on the Syrian units to those belonging to other auxiliary units we tried to show the diffusion share of the Syrian gods by the soldiers in various auxiliary units.

Besides defining the recruitment area of respective units, we deemed important the time when these units were established or incorporated as regular units in the Roman army. We started from the premise that at least over the first generation, these units exclusively included members in the original community of the troop. We discussed the completion means of the strengths (either by new recruits from the area of origin or by local recruitment) from case to case, depending on the available information. Emphasis was yet put on the official history of the respective units instead on the individual analysis of certain characters, their families or communities of origin, precisely due to the fact this approach would be tackled in a different work¹.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

To start with, we shall briefly present a few aspects concerning the geographical background of the Danube provinces, later pinpointing some of the historical moments we deemed directly connected to the issue of the Syrian units' deployment to this area during the Principate. Until the Roman age, the Danube presented no political frontier, which changed only in modern times, delimiting the newly established national entities. The upper course of the Danube is separated from the lower by a portion of approximately 130 km., where navigation was extremely difficult in the past. The area of Porțile de Fier (Iron Gates), "Cazanele" ("boilers"), represented a true fracture, avoided by tracing a canal built prior Trajan's Dacian campaigns (similar developments were carried out later only by the end of the 19th century by the Austrian engineers). In general, the area was inhabited by the Celts to the north-west, the Illyrians in the west, the Dacians in the north-east and by the Thracians in the south-east. The nucleus of the region is represented by the area called in modern terms Central Europe, namely the provinces of Upper Pannonia, Lower Pannonia, Upper Moesia, Upper Dacia and *Dacia Porolissensis*. We shall see below that most of the Syrian auxiliary units deployed to the Danube provinces are concentrated in this space. The area comprised the Carpathian arch, the Bohemian Massif, the Eastern Alps, the Dinaric Alps and the Balkan Mountains², in fact the upper and mid courses of the Danube, represents a geographical unit with many inland communication possibilities, also providing high protection on many mountain routes. Some of the solutions for the control of the trade routes and their protection against the danger of Barbarian populations' infiltration may be understood from this view.

Within this context, one may mention a striking discrepancy between intra-Carpathian Dacia and Lower Dacia, Upper Moesia and Lower Moesia, respectively between what one calls the western provinces and those located by the limit of the eastern provinces. We shall not enter into details concerning the diffusion areas of certain categories of materials or religious beliefs, since a simple enumeration would suppose a very ample bibliographical assessment. We shall contend ourselves only to give two examples to this effect. Navigation on the Danube in the "Cazanelor" ("Boilers") area was highly risky until recent date, reason for which we believe that the area was rather a fracture than a connection bridge. Secondly, one of most significant sensitive points was the Morava and Danube interflow. The couloirs that Morava dug between the Carpathian Mountains and the Bohemian Massif allowed, beside the establishment of an

1 The Syrian communities on the Danube frontier of the Roman Empire (work in progress).

2 Šašel 1973, 80–85; Wilkes 1996, 560–561 map. 12; Wilkes 2005, 126–127 fig. 1.

extremely important trade route, the Amber Road, also the opportunity of easy access of the German populations to the borders of the Empire. Not accidentally, two legions were located by the end of this couloir on the Danube course, the area being strongly fortified and supplied with auxiliary units³.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The decision to establish the permanent occupation up to the Danube was taken in AD 9, the date when the fortifying of the river begins. The revolt in Pannonia decisively changed the configuration of the Danube provinces in the area. The mid 1st century AD was characterised by the entrance of the Sarmatian Iazyges and Roxolani in the Muntenia Plain area and in the Pannonian Plain. During the civil wars of 68–69, they raided the territories of the Empire on three separate occasions, all respectively repelled with great difficulty by the Roman army. This is the time when the structural reorganisation of the defensive system of Moesia occurs, which would mark the beginning of a new period for the Danube provinces⁴. The events of those years proved the weakness of the Roman defensive system, yet also the danger represented by the increasing power of the allies in the north of Lower Danube. Rome's reply was the extension of a belt of fortifications along the Danube, from south Germany to the Danube mouths. The second part of the Flavian period was defined by the transfer of the strategic gravitation centre to this area. Until around the times of the Dacian campaigns, the stability policy in the area relied on the grant of subsidies and the development of a flourishing trade on the Amber Road and other land routes. Domitian accelerated the deployment of units to the forts on the Danube during the conflicts with the Quadi, Marcomanni and the Dacians⁵. The infrastructure of Pannonia and Upper Moesia was an excellent support for the preparation of the Dacian campaigns (units transport and supply)⁶. During the organisation of the province of Pannonia and the limes, troops that could be deployed to the Dacian campaigns could be better traced through evidence, since, as we shall see below, only the proper organisation of the new province under Hadrian would lead to the re-deployment of a significant number of troops from Pannonia to the territory of Dacia⁷. The conquest of Dacia caused a special effervescence in the area, due to the serious disturbance of the economic and trade structures of the populations in the northern area of the Danube. The defeat of the Dacian kingdom was insufficient for the pacification of the area⁸. During the Parthian campaign, a substantial number of troops from the Danube provinces were involved, which would be felt during the 117/118 crisis⁹. Circumstances are also similar during Lucius Verus's Parthian campaign (the list of auxiliary units leaving said province on the occasion is not very clear, however the inflow of auxiliary units from the East deployed to Pannonia once the Oriental campaign was finished is significant herein)¹⁰. For this reason, the trade intensity decreases, many services are diminished and

3 Ample presentations of the state of research, as well as of the essential bibliography on the Danube provinces were drafted by J. J. Wilkes (Wilkes 1996, 545–585; Wilkes 2000, 577–603; Wilkes 2005, 124–225). Among the studies we shall quote only those most recent: Burns 2000; Tóth 2003, 19–24; Nemeth 2005, 13–15; Nemeth 2007, 141–150.

4 Wilkes 1996, 558.

5 Matei-Popescu 2006–2007, 38.

6 See to this effect more the recent works Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006, 127–140; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, 75–120; Nemeth 2007, 195–210.

7 Lőrincz 2001, 83–88.

8 Opreanu 1998, 47–54.

9 For their list in a recently published diploma see Eck, Pangerl 2005, 49–67.

10 See to this effect the history of *cohortes I Aurelia Antoniana mill. Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata c. R., cohortes I mill. Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum sagittaria equitata* (= *cohortes I millifaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata*

even more, Lucius Verus “celebrates” the triumph in 166 with smallpox¹¹. Many recruits and much population were needed – *dedittio*. They were carefully monitored, while later, gradually, any distinction between Barbarians and Romans could no longer be made. Differences were obvious only compared to the populations past the frontier¹². It seems that this period corresponds to the veterans’ lack of interest in securing their military diplomas. Starting with this period, discussion on the history of the auxiliary units significantly loses substance also due to the fact that military diplomas, the most important documents based on which the history of the auxiliary units is reconstructed, are no longer the object of interest for the veterans. Hence, a more thorough study of the auxiliary units’ history centres mainly on the 2nd century, as military diplomas could be used as historical source.

PAST STUDIES

One of the first studies on the history of the Roman auxiliary units in the Roman Empire was that drafted by C. Cichorius by the end of the 19th century¹³. The next were published by mid following century by W. Wagner¹⁴ and K. Kraft¹⁵. The subject was subsequently tackled for the two Moesias and the provinces of Dacia by J. Beneš¹⁶. In the ‘80s, the studies of P. Holder and D.B. Saddington¹⁷ are the two major landmarks. J.E.H. Spaul wrote two works intended as a follow-up to Cichorius’s articles¹⁸. At least in what the units in the provinces of Moesia and Dacia are concerned, they are full of discrepancies and confusions which we discussed in a recent publication¹⁹. One should also mention here the works of the German scholar K. Strobel on the Dacian campaigns of emperors Domitian and Trajan, presenting broadly²⁰ the history of the auxiliary units participating in the military operations.

An important work on the history of the Roman army during the Principate and Dominate on the territory of Dobruja was published by A. Aricescu, until not long ago, considered the main reference book on the area²¹. Fl. Matei-Popescu published several studies concerning the auxiliary units in Lower Moesia. His works, beside upgrading the rather dense information of the last years, succeeded to clarify many aspects of the military history of the province²².

The history of the Roman army on the territory of Dacia is marked by the works of V. Christescu²³, D. Tudor²⁴, I.I. Russu, with an article intended as review of the first version of

c. R.), *ala I Thracum Herculiana* and likely *cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Trachonitarum*. The directions of certain operations during the Marcomannic wars could be established also by identifying temporary forts north the Danube, in Upper Pannonia sector; noticing concentrations on the Morava couloirs (amongst which best known is Mušov Burgstall), respectively in front on the important pass of the Danube between *Brigetio* and Iža (Rajtár 1997, 475 fig. 6.75, 76; Tejral 1997, 534 fig. 6.101; Wilkes 2005, 126–127 fig. 1, 202 Ps 55, Ps 59, Ps 64 – 66).

11 The mortality rate is appreciated to 15% within the army (Burns 2000, 230)

12 Opreanu 1998, 69–82; Burns 2000, 247.

13 Cichorius 1894, 1224–1277; Cichorius 1901, 231–356.

14 Wagner 1938.

15 Kraft 1951.

16 Beneš 1970, 159–209; Beneš 1978.

17 Holder 1980; Saddington 1982.

18 Spaul 1994; Spaul 2000.

19 Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 259–296. See Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006 (2006a, 2006 b).

20 Strobel 1988; Strobel 1984.

21 Aricescu 1977. Certain aspects of the military history were discussed in a subsequent work by Al. Suceveanu (Suceveanu, Barnea 1991).

22 Matei-Popescu 2010.

23 Christescu 1937.

24 Tudor 1978.

J. Beneš's study²⁵, Cr.M. Vlădescu, with two works on the Roman army in the province of Lower Dacia²⁶, respectively the Roman military fortifications in the same province²⁷. C.C. Petolescu also dedicated many studies to the auxiliary units on the territory of Dacia²⁸.

For Pannonia, rather important proved the epigraphic catalogue in the monograph volume Intercisa I and J. Fitz's work on the Syrian community at Intercisa²⁹. A. Mócsy's approaches in either a collective volume six years later or in occasion of the International Limes (Roman Frontiers) Congress held at Pécs in 2003³⁰ are considerable for a synthesis on the entire province. Tile stamps were systematically published by B. Lőrincz³¹, who later also synthesised the epigraphic information regarding these troops in the excellent monograph dedicated to the auxiliary units in Pannonia³².

Certain aspects of the auxiliary units' history were mentioned in the syntheses dedicated to Roman frontiers, of which we shall mention below only those more recent drafted or coordinated by N. Gudea, M. Zahariade, Zs. Visy, H. Friesinger, F. Krinzinger and J. Karavas³³.

STUDY STRUCTURE

So far, we have analysed the Syrian auxiliary units in a general historical context, yet from two different geographical and cultural perspectives. The second chapter aims at mentioning the most significant historical and cultural aspects defining the specificities of the communities from which these troops were recruited. The unequal quantity of the information related to the troops' history obviously influenced the thoroughness degree of the history of the communities of origin. When data on certain troop were few, we deemed irrelevant any excessive description of the history of the troop's native community. This explains the occasional significant differences within chapter 2. Inasmuch as possible, we attempted to define elements specific to each community from where the auxiliary units examined herein were raised.

The documentation underlying the reconstruction of the auxiliary units' history, mirrored in chapter 3, is represented by epigraphic sources amongst which, the military diplomas were very important. The period they cover is in general one century in time, starting with the second half of the 1st century AD. An impressive number of military diplomas were published over the past two decades, coming especially from the East-European countries due to the boom of the antiquities trade. Under such circumstances, studies concerning *auxilia* were much activated. A comparison of the states of research and historiographic discourse frameworks in two volumes resulted from conferences on the issue, separated by a chronological interval of twenty years³⁴, is extremely relevant for any assessment of the advances made in this aspect of ancient history. However, a rather important deficiency in such information, in the case of a significant number of recently published military diplomas, is their unknown find spot. Analyses concerning the direction followed by soldiers after discharge are feasible under rather broad statistical parameters. As it becomes apparent from the appendices regarding military diplomas in the last twenty years, the number of finds increased remarkably.

25 Russu 1972, 63–77.

26 Vlădescu 1983.

27 Vlădescu 1986.

28 Petolescu 1995, 35–49; Petolescu 1995a, 237–275; Petolescu 1996, 21–38; Petolescu 2002.

29 Fitz 1972.

30 Mócsy 1974; The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia; Roman Army in Pannonia.

31 Lőrincz 1976; Lőrincz 1978; Lőrincz 1980.

32 Lőrincz 2001.

33 Gudea 1997; Gudea 2001; Gudea 2005; Zahariade, Gudea 1997; The Roman Army in Pannonia; Der römische limes in Österreich; Karavas 2001.

34 Heer und Integrationspolitik and Militärdiplome.

Often, inscriptions put us in the dilemma of interpreting “wandering stones”, which was the case for all areas of the Danube frontier. In reaching certain prudent conclusions, we could not avoid underlining the necessity for multidisciplinary approaches (in the case of tile stamps as well) that would bring additional data on the origin place of the rocks, respectively raw material and degreasers. The documentary material is rather unequally distributed, so that any comparative analyses between different sites, garrisons of the troops object herein, should be amended with necessary nuances.

Tile stamps. Identification of building tile stamps bearing the stamp of a certain auxiliary troop is no enough argument to support their involvement in the Dacian wars. One should consider to this effect also simple tile material transports used for instance, in the construction of the bridge at *Drobeta*. The tile material marked with the stamps of legionary or auxiliary units has a different relevance in interpreting the deployment of certain troops, which is due to both the record significance of this artefact type in certain sites, as well as the conditions of the find. Discussion on the production spot and their circulation should consider in each case a multitude of possibilities³⁵.

The analysis of the weapons and military equipment aimed at identifying, inasmuch as possible, the archaeological context, the establishment of an accurate typology as well as the study of the production, copy, diffusion technologies etc³⁶. How realistic is the goal of theorising nuanced explanations upon the corroboration of the epigraphic information with that archaeological? To what extent did we cross the limit imposed by the cluster of numerically significant inscriptions in sites where record on the stationing of a certain troop is significant both by a variety of sources as well as by their connection to the archaeological context? In addition, corroborating the mentioned information and the artefacts significant for respective troop, namely their weapons and military equipment would bear great importance. The so-called “small-finds”, votive objects identified in the military environment, were deemed potential evidence for personal cults. In most cases though, the published artefacts, which should accompany epigraphic arguments, are either lacking the relevance of the relative chronology or could not be correlated with the stationing of a troop in respective site! At *Straubing (Sorviodurum)*³⁷ yet, the chronology of the fort’s building stages is carefully structured, alike the correlation of stratigraphy to the artefacts datable during the stationing of cohort *I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria* there; religious nature epigraphic records of the troop are missing though! At *Intercisa, Tibiscum, Micia* or *Porolissum*, to only give a few examples, in the case of artefacts deemed specific to *sagittarii* troops, referencing strictly weapon and military equipment items, the situation is far from satisfying³⁸.

35 See to this effect the discussion in Marcu 2004, 570–594. A possible answer may be provided by interdisciplinary studies, however their results should not be generalised, since they were completed only for individual cases. For instance, the tile material of legion XIII Gemina found at *Alburnus Maior* (Țentea 2003, 253–265), compared to similar types from *Apulum* (Ionescu, Ghergari, Țentea 2006, 413–436). An answer to this effect would be the corroboration of the data resulting from approaches performed on much larger scale.

36 We disregarded the repertoire and illustration of weapon and military equipment items specific to the Syrian soldiers, as, as we shall see in the chapter discussing them, most of the published finds come from Dacia, which is thus rather a case study.

37 Walke 1965, 16 abb. 5, 17, Taf. 97–100, 105/5–8, 25–31; Keim, Klumbach 1951 (2nd edition 1976); Prammer 1989.

38 Salamon 1976, 207–215; Bona, Petrovszky, Petrovszky 1983, 405–432; Benea, Bona 1994; Gudea 2006, 395–413; Petculescu 2002, 765–770. The state of the archaeological research at *Intercisa* (Dunaújváros) was similar to that carried out at *Micia* (Vețel, Mintia), to use as example the case of special relevance sites herein. Large industrial developments resulted, beside in significant damages to the sites, to the discovery of an impressive epigraphic material, which somewhat undeservedly remained as “witness”. Circumstances were yet different at *Intercisa*, where publication of the archaeological research results was relatively quick (*Intercisa I*, *Intercisa II*). In the case of excavations performed in cemeteries, the published archaeological materials suffer due to the lack of precision in labelling the artefacts or simply to inadequate research methodology. Circumstances are not very

In the chapter on religion, we mainly considered the statistical aspects of the dedications with the aim of noticing their relevance compared to similar manifestations of other soldiers in the auxiliary units of the Empire.

The documentary support of the work is *supplementum epigraphicum*, which gathers all inscriptions referring to the history of the Syrian auxiliary units deployed to the Danube limes. It is structured in four appendices: the catalogue of inscriptions, the catalogue of tile stamps, appendices comprising records of all auxiliary units on the military diplomas in the Danube provinces and the tables corroborating the epigraphic information attesting Syrian auxiliary units in the Danube area.

fortunate in the case of the artefacts published from this site. Therefore, except the material issued by Ágnes Salamon, other materials that could be attributed to the Syrian archers are few (Salamon 1977, 205–215). Noticeably, the archaeological excavations on both Danube banks in Lower Pannonia were coordinated by the same teams, hence interaction between the Romans and the barbarians was defined more coherently, which is obvious in the publications (*Roman Archaeology in Pannonia* or *Roman Army in Pannonia*).

THE BACKGROUND: THE ROMAN NEAR EAST

2

The information in the short presentation of the territories from where the auxiliary units under investigation were raised, was selected according to its relevance within the scope of this paper, without aiming to overview all significant landmarks of the history of respective communities. Though the interpretive framework of the analogies herein is subjective, we attempted to structure the presentations so as to maintain the logic of the short reviews of their history highlights. We believe that too many details regarding the history of the troops' communities of origin, on which little information has been preserved, is of no interest for the topic herein.

ROMAN SYRIA

The space of reference is rather expansive and varied from the ethnic and geographical points of view, the ethnic and political structures being of great diversity. The reports of these units with the Roman administration were much nuanced and rather permeable over time. The vicinity of a reputable adversary like the Parthian Kingdom entailed a complicated approach of Rome's relations with some of the units located in the contact area between the two empires¹. There were quite a few situations when, over time, on the basis of the prerogatives of their own *mandata*, the governors of Syria took very important measures that at first sight were believed to be the expression of the direct will of the Emperor (see the case of the conquest of the Nabataean kingdom).

The evolution of Rome's eastward expansion was generally influenced by the diplomatic relations with the states in the area, hence it may be regarded as a succession of events tactically correlated with the emplacement of fortifications and displacement of troops. The expansion of the controlled territories was accompanied by the implantation of veteran colonies that impacted the integration of certain communities within the Empire.

By the early 1st c. BC, Syria succumbed to anarchy, divided by the fratricide struggles of the Seleucid dynasty². It also had serious problems with warlike populations like the Ituraeans (the Mountains of Phoenicia and Southern Syria), the Emeseans (mid Orontes river) or the Rhambeans (along the Euphrates). For instance, against the Ituraeans, *Damascus* asks the support of the Nabataean king Aretas III the Philhellene, while *Antiochia* asks for Armenian help³. Rome's constant involvement in the East was grounded on various reasons, among which

1 Kennedy 1996a, 67–90.

2 Will 1967, 423–434, 455–466; Sullivan 1990 stemma 7.

3 Jones 1971, 254; Rey-Coquais 1978, 44.

the fight against Tigranes, the Parthian danger, the fight against the pirates and rarely, financial interests⁴ were invoked.

Given this crisis, Pompey appears as a liberator, re-establishing “municipal independence”⁵. Pompey abolished the Seleucid royalty by substituting it with the authority of local princes (for instance, the tetrarch of *Chalcis*, the phylarch of *Emesa*, king *Antiochus of Commagene*), in exchange for the acceptance of census tax payments. Thus, Rome imposes its control in Syria in 64 BC, by transforming it into a Roman province with the capital at *Antiochia*. The province became Rome’s foremost military headquarters in the East, as the events succeeding over the following centuries would show. Annexation under the circumstances of the civil wars was insufficient, especially after Crassus’s defeat at *Carrhae*, subsequent which the Parthians intervene in Syria.

During the 1st c. AD, Roman Syria was a mosaic of towns, principalities and territories, of various statutes, which Rome gradually integrated within the province of Syria. Rome’s policy towards local leaders mirrors both the difficulties on site and the momentary interests of the emperors or province governors in relation to the local dynasts; a process called in some modern works “prudent Romanisation”.

Marc Antony’s intervention in the East generates a series of changes in the relationship with some of the client states. After *Actium*, Augustus would annex many of these principalities, which acknowledged his predecessor’s authority. As we shall see below, during his reign, Roman control of this area would extend and consolidate.

Large towns preserved relative autonomy for a while. Plinius records them as *Antiochia libera*, *Laodiceea libera*, *Seleucia libera*. *Sidon* and *Tyrus* also preserved their freedom. Some of the cities retained their right to strike silver coinage (a sovereignty privilege), which is however gradually lost (for instance *Arados* in 46 BC, *Seleucia* until AD 6, *Antiochia* until AD 38, *Sidon* 43 AD, *Tyr* until the end of Nero’s rule etc.). Some of the bronze municipal coins bore neither the effigy nor the emperor’s name, yet it is uncertain that these “pseudo- autonomous” coins had political significance.

The development of the economic activities bolstered the issue of municipal coins in Syria. Towns in NW Syria (*Cyrrhus*, *Beroe*, *Hierapolis*, *Zeugma*, *Chalcis*), supplied until then by *Antiochia*, strike their own coins beginning with Trajan’s rule, most likely due to the preparations for the Parthian war. This conflict, alike the previous annexation of *Arabia*, obviously had marked economic purposes. The two conquests would have removed intermediaries on the trade routes with the Far East.

Trajan’s failure in *Parthia* forced his successors to review their commercial policies. Since Rome was unable to gain control over the routes to the Persian Gulf via the Euphrates, Hadrian would attempt to revive the southern routes, onto which the Nabataeans had been previously diverted. The emperor would re-empower the hub at *Petra*, which would become metropolis *Hadriana Petra*. Under Hadrian, *Laodiceea*, *Rosos*, *Tripolis*, later *Tyrus* and *Seleucia* would officially entitle themselves autonomous, *Palmyra* being declared free city⁶. *Palmyra*’s raise to the rank of *municipium*, *Hadriana Palmyra*, having been acknowledged considerable autonomy, had undoubtedly been a measure designed to favour the resumption of trade with the *Parthian* empire⁷.

4 Rey-Coquais 1978, 45; Will 1967, note 4 opts for the financial interests.

5 Jones 1971, 256–257.

6 Seyrig 1941a, 155–175.

7 Within an interval of almost half a century, the Parthians conquer, under kings Mithridates I and II, *Media*, *Babylon*, *Seleucia*, Mesopotamia (preserving their organisation in the form of satrapies and eparchies). Mithridates II conquers Armenia, where in 94 BC imposes Tigranes king. Then, shortly after the annexation of *Adiabene*, *Gordyene*, *Osrhroene*, following negotiations with the Han dynasty, he lays the foundations for the Silk Road, which triggered exceptional returns consequent trade relations with the traders in the Mediterranean

Rome's conquest of the East is seen by some of the authors as a slow advance of the legions within a gradual extension process of the province of Syria and not as part of a "grand strategy" of the Empire. The annexation of some small client kingdoms after the Judean revolt gives the impression of a coherent plan for the consolidation of the Roman defensive system in the region. Between Pompey and Vespasian, the Roman state directly controlled only the territories of the Greek or Hellenised cities, like *Tetrapolis*⁸ and the Phoenician coast, respectively *Damascus* and *Decapolis*. It seems that for a good period of time, they had no Roman garrisons, thence high officials of the imperial administration were very likely not present in these cities. In addition, we assume that the security of these areas was ensured from the funds of respective cities⁹.

Starting with Augustus, Rome's power in the East significantly increased. It established its direct authority over urban territories and the protectorate over the not yet completely sedentary populations, being also concerned about completing the disposition of inland small Hellenistic kingdoms, the coast being controlled via military bases. In the case of *Tetrapolis* in the north and *Decapolis* in the south, the Hellenistic kings received certain prerogatives. Two veteran colonies are set up under Augustus: *Berytus*, on the coast and *Heliopolis* (Baalbek), inland. Many regions in Syria were occupied by nomad or semi-nomad independent and turbulent populations like the Ituraeans, dependent on Baalbek, and the Emeseans, located more to the north, in the *Homs* region.

By the end, it is worth mentioning that temples enjoyed full immunity, having property over the land and the right to collect their own taxes¹⁰. Such privileges seem to have been retained, among other, by the temple of Jupiter in *Doliche* or that in Baalbek. M. Rostovtzeff argued that beside city territories, almost half of the northern part of Syria was in the possession¹¹ of the temples.

The troops' disposition took into consideration the specific elements of each region, starting from the province and various communities statuses and continuing with the strategic interests of the Roman state and governors' policies, without neglecting relations between these communities. Trade protection was obviously of special importance. Without entering too many details herein, we mention the dedication of two *villici* of the customs procurator at *Porolissum*, *Ti. Claudius Xenophon*, to the honour of emperor Commodus, called *restitutor commerc(iorum)*¹².

B. Isaac believed that the preservation of order on a regional and local context in the area of Syria was largely the army's job. According to the mentioned author, the army in the East was firstly engaged in domestic tasks (insurance of internal order, respectively surveillance of the nomads) and then in those foreign¹³.

world (Rey-Coquais 1978, 55; Bennett 2006 238). During this reign still, trade relations with the Roman world were initiated (Robert 1993, 28).

8 *Tetrapolis* in Syria consisted of the cities at *Antiochia*, *Seleucia Pieria*, *Apamea* and *Laodicea* in Syria (Millar 1993).

9 *Decapolis* was a group of ten towns on the eastern frontier of the Empire in Syria and Judea (re-named Palestine in 135). The ten towns did not constitute a league or a political unity, being grouped upon language, culture, geographical location and political status similarities. The cities in *Decapolis* were centres of the Greco-Roman culture within a Semitic space (Judean, Nabataean and Aramean). Except for *Damascus*, "the *Decapolis* region" was located in today's north-east Israel, north-west Jordan and south-west Syria. Each town had a certain degree of autonomy and its own administration. The names of the ten cities part of *Decapolis* come from Plinius (*NH* 5.16.74): *Gerasa* (Jerash), *Scythopolis* (Beth-Shean), the only city west Jordan, *Hippos* (Hippus or Sussita), *Gadara* (Umm Qays), Pella, *Philadelphia* (Amman), *Dion*, *Canatha* (Qanawat), *Raphana*, *Damascus* (due to its geographical location it was deemed honorific member of the league). According to other sources, it is likely that even 18 or 19 Greco-Roman cities were part of *Decapolis*. For a synthetic presentation of ancient and modern sources regarding this issue see Parker 1975, 437-441.

10 "Inmates" – κάτοχοι – supervised annual return of the temples ensuring on this level the relation with city authorities, while they would later represent the temples in relation to the Roman authorities.

11 Rostovtzeff 1926, 247.

12 Gudea 1988, 178 = Gudea 1996, 278, no. 1 = *ILD* 677; Gudea 1996, 80; Gudea 1994, 67-68; *ILD* 678; Paki 1988, 223, who notes on the basis of epigraphic records, the prevalence of Syrian and Palmyrene origin populations at *Porolissum*, and p. 224 where the author notices that their economic power was exclusively based on trade.

13 Isaac 1998, 155-158.

Circumstances in the Anatolian provinces are different since, largely, they were not located on the limes. In these areas, revolts were fewer and *poleis* well consolidated. Therefore, the military presence was limited, soldiers being involved to different degrees in the defence of certain regions, although, in certain areas of Asia Minor, the brigandage was a plague in the Roman period¹⁴.

In less urbanised regions, insufficiently pacified, located in border areas, with higher risk of unrest (*Cappadocia*, Syria, Judea-Palestine or Egypt), the military presence is more noticeable, while the army's involvement in order keeping was much more significant than in the Anatolian provinces¹⁵. In rural areas, the army replaced the nonexistent municipal institutions¹⁶.

Client rulers contributed with substantial forces to support the Roman army during various wars. Subsequent to their annexation, these armies were integrated within the Roman army. The times when the troops of Commagenians, Emeseans and Palmyrenes were integrated are insufficiently clear. Best examples are those regarding king Herod's army or that of the Nabataean kingdom. For instance, when Vespasian invaded Judea in 67, Flavius Josephus reported that many rulers had sent numerous troops to support the emperor: Antiochus – *Commagene*, Agrippa – and Sohaemus – *Emesa* sent each two thousand archers and one thousand cavalry soldiers, while Malchus (Nabataea) would have sent five thousand foot archers and one thousand mounted soldiers (Josephus, *BJ* 3.66)

COMMAGENE

The Roman frontier from Anatolia, between the Black Sea and Syria, was one of the most important frontier segments of the Empire. It is a sector that ensured protection against the invasions of the aggressive populations on the upper course of the Euphrates as well as the safety of the routes connecting the East to the West, by the emplacement of bases necessary for military operations. Its position by the junction of the Hellenic, Semitic and Iranian territories as well as the control over the crossing points past the Euphrates, conferred this kingdom an influence compared disproportionate to its size. One should mention here Armenia's vicinity, which for a significant period of time was the object of fierce disputes between Rome and *Parthia*¹⁷. Together with the novel epigraphic and archaeological finds, these reasons contribute to a better understanding of the disposition of Roman forces in Cappadocia¹⁸.

A kingdom in north-west Syria, Commagene became independent in 162 BC, subsequent the revolt against the Seleucids. The first direct contacts with the Romans date from during the civil wars, when king Antiochus supplied Pompey 200 archers¹⁹, reason for which he is rewarded with part of Mesopotamia. The ruler was dethroned by Marc Antony due to his allegiance during the conflict with the Parthians²⁰.

During the first part of the 1st c. AD, Rome's policies towards this territory seem to lack coherence. At times, these apparently contradictory aspects were the results of dynastic issues in both the Kingdom of *Commagene* and Rome rather than foreign policy matters. The Kingdom is annexed for the first time by Tiberius in AD 17, once with the entire Cappadocia²¹, the authority

14 Brélaz 2005, 52–55. See also in this work the discussion regarding the role of the “municipal militias” (p. 193), the local autonomy in matters related to public security (p. 228) and situations when the army intervened against the brigands (p. 290).

15 Brélaz 2005, 328–329.

16 Pollard 2000, 97–98

17 Sullivan 1990, 59.

18 Speidel 2007, 73–90; Speidel 2009, 595–631.

19 Davies 1977, 261.

20 Speidel 2005, 85–88.

21 The annexation of the kingdom under Tiberius was vaguely motivated, king Archelaus being accused of leading a “rebellion” (Isaac 1990, 40).

of king Antiochus IV being yet re-established by Caligula in AD 38²². The conquest of the small kingdom and its inclusion in the province of Syria by its governor, *L. Iunius Caesenius Paetus*, took place in the second part of year 72, again as the result of an alleged complicity with the Parthians²³. The inscriptions mention a *bellum Commagenicum*²⁴, while Suetonius²⁵ and Flavius Josephus speak about a "skirmish"²⁶.

In general, in both diplomacy and war, the relation between the perception of danger and the preventive strike is confusing. Examples recorded over time for situations when empires justify expansion by the assurance of frontier security are rather numerous. Evidence to this effect is the report in Flavius Josephus on the conquest of the Kingdom of *Commagene* (Josephus, *BJ* 2.16.4), interpreted remarkably suggestively by Benjamin Isaac. Thus, should the ruler have been disloyal (he was not!) and should the Parthians have wanted to attack (they did not!), it would have been dangerous for the Romans not to occupy *Samosata* (so, they did!)²⁷. The same author interpreted Josephus's account as evidence for the fact that the Parthians represented no danger for the Empire borders at that time. Prior the Jewish uprising, the classical author presents Agrippa II as stating that *Parthia* did not infringe the treaty with Rome, while further on describes the meeting between Vologaeses I and Titus at *Zeugma*, a moment for the celebration of the Jewish revolt squashing. On this occasion, the Parthian king awards Titus with a golden crown²⁸.

Some scholars understand the annexation of *Commagene* as expansion, while others plead for strategic reasons related to the fortification of the Euphrates course²⁹. Such conquest should be regarded within the broader context of emperor Vespasian's policy, when profound changes in both the reorganisation of the military disposition and infrastructure as well as foreign policy and province administration occurred. Benjamin Isaac believed the intent to camp the legion at *Samosata* was very likely the reason for which *Commagene* was attached³⁰. The key element of this reorganisation seems to have been the transformation of Cappadocia into a large military province. Two legions were displaced at *Samosata* and *Satala*, so that Cappadocia would become a

22 Rey-Coquais 1978, 49; Millar 1993, 52–53.

23 Kennedy 1983a, 187–188; Millar 1993, 80–93; Dabrowa 1994, 20; Isaac 1990, 22, 39.

24 ILS 9198 – *Baalbek*; AE 1943, 33 – *Volubilis*.

25 Suetonius, *Vespasian* 8.4: *Achaiam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum libertate adempta, item Trachiam Ciliciam et Commagenen dicionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit [...]*. Suetonius, *Vespasian* 8.5: *Cappadociae propter adsidios barbarorum incursus legiones addidit consularem rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano*.

26 According to the account in Josephus (*BJ* 7.7.1–2), during the fourth year of Vespasian's rule (July 1, 72 – June 30, 73), Paetus denounces king Antiochus IV Epiphanes of *Commagene* that he intended to rally the Parthians in a revolt against Rome. With the emperor's approval, Paetus heads to *Samosata*, while the sons of Antiochus, Epiphanes and Callinicus, start to fan the flame in order to organise the resistance. Antiochus calls for prudence, travels to Tarsus in Cilicia where he surrenders to the Romans, which seems to have demoralised the army. This might have been the explanation for the easy success of the Romans. Antiochus was subsequently received at Rome with great honours, like in fact happened with his sons too, of whom it was believed to be "intolerable to live outside the Roman empire" (ILS 9200; Josephus, *BJ* 7.7.3). Epiphanes continued to entitle himself *basileos* even though he joined the Senate and became consul in 109 (Sullivan 1977, 794).

27 Isaac 1990, 22.

28 Some scholars argued that following the easy success of *Caesenius Paetus*, in 73 the Parthian king Vologaeses commences hostilities with the Empire, most likely in the *Commagene* area (Bowersock 1973, 135; Dabrowa 1994, 25).

29 For a synthetic presentation of these views see Speidel 2005, 86 note 5.

30 Isaac 1990, 39. The annexation of *Commagene* might also be a lesson learned after the failed conquest attempts of Armenia by Corbulo, under Nero, and Paetus. Syria proved vulnerable while the Roman army was campaigning in Armenia, as proven by the Parthian invasions of the province. The reinforcement of this frontier sector up to the Euphrates seems to have been crucial for the Roman policy of the subsequent years, by strengthening the entire defensive system and the infrastructure. Thus, excellent supply and attack bases were established.

large military province, while all trade routes and crosses over the Euphrates would be included in the Roman legions' control. The incorporation of *Commagene* completed the policy of the Eastern frontier defence, the governor of Syria³¹ being responsible for the defence of the Euphrates from *Sura* to the Cappadocian border.

1. Subsequent the annexation, the kingdom was divided into four city-states: *Samosata*, *Caesarea Germanica*, *Perrhe* and *Doliche*, with a separate *koine* within the province of Syria³². Strategic considerations must have been decisive in the political reconfiguration of the entire area. The royal authority was replaced by Roman rule in Armenia Minor, while the small kingdoms of Chalcis and *Emesa* disappeared from the political configuration of the area.

The domestic history of the kingdom has interesting aspects regarding the relations between the royal family and various other families. There were certain disputes between the local Semitic population and various families of Iranian, Greek or Macedonian families, which may explain king's Antiochus I religious programme of syncretic nature. Its stake was to re-conciliate such differences and evidently, to reinforce the position of the royal family, it itself anchored in Greek and Persian traditions. Interestingly, subsequent Antiochus's III death in AD 17, large part of the population of *Commagene* requested Rome's direct control over the kingdom. This may be a sign of a lacking dynastic stability, which would have encouraged the nobility to appeal to such solution. The comparative analysis of the relations of the small kingdoms in the area with the Empire shows that Rome believed it must be consulted on throne succession matters.

It was assumed that the auxiliary units of Commagenians were raised among the soldiers offered as support by king *Antiochus of Commagene* during Titus's campaign in Judea³³. Flavius Josephus records a number of Commagenians sent in 66 by Antiochus IV to the aid of governor *G. Cestius Gallus* in the Jewish uprising³⁴. The diploma from Cataloi of 92³⁵ lists *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* amongst the troops of Lower Moesia discharging soldiers in that year. Henceforth, one may argue that respective troop could have been raised no later than 67³⁶, which is in agreement with the statements of the ancient author.

According to Flavius Josephus, the army of Antiochus IV consisted of over 2000 mounted archers and 3000 foot archers. Naturally, the army of *Commagene* could not have been smaller than the garrison stationed there after 72, which included one legion and a few *auxilia*³⁷.

Insofar, four auxiliary units recruited from *Commagene* were recorded during the Principate: *Ala I Commagenorum* (Egypt, Noricum), *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* (Lower Moesia, Lower Dacia), *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* (Upper Moesia, Dacia, Upper Dacia) and *cohors VI Commagenorum* (Numidia).

We shall discuss the two cohorts of Commagenians whose history is linked to that of the province of Dacia. The debate on the record of an "ala II Flavia Commagenorum" within the army of this province remains an issue which was twofold explained, the solution thereof depending on new evidence which is yet to identify. The troop is recorded by a single diploma, of October 109³⁸. J. Garbsch believed the reading "ala II *Commagenorum sagittaria*"

31 Mitford 1980, 1182. B. Isaac believed the intention to camp the legion at *Samosata* was very likely the reason for which *Commagene* was annexed (Isaac 1990, 39).

32 Rey-Coquais 1978, 53; Sullivan 1977, 732–798.

33 Wagner 1938, 123–126; Saddington 1982, 48–49; Spaul 2000, 404–405; Petolescu 2002, 97–99.

34 Josephus, *BJ* 2.18.9.

35 Petolescu, Popescu 2004, 269–276.

36 Matei-Popescu 2004, no. 20. *Ala I Commagenorum*, for instance, is recorded in Egypt on a *pridianum* dated in AD 48 (Saddington 1982, 255). If the two cohorts were recruited earlier than the Flavian period, then the imperial titulature might have been granted as honour for battle bravery – Holder 1980, 16.

37 Speidel 2005, 98–99.

38 AE 1990, 860 = RMD III 148.

was a scribal confusion with *Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*; P. Holder does not doubt that respective record was accurate³⁹.

“L`Iturée n`existe pas”
Aliquot 2003, 191

THE TERRITORIES OF THE ITUREANS

Alike the Judeans, the Ituraeans benefited from the disintegration of the Seleucid kingdom – expanding over the neighbouring tribes and cities.

Ituraea is the Greek name of the land deriving from Jetur, the Biblical name of Ishmael’s son (Genesis XXV 15, 16). This name is mentioned only once in the Bible (Luke III 1), while historical sources mention only the name of the populations, namely the Ituraei (the Greek: Ἰτουραῖοι or Ἰτυραῖοι). The first mention of Eupolemus records them among the tribes conquered by king David, then Strabo, Plinius, Josephus as well as others designate the Ituraeans as Arabians. They are known to the Romans as bandits or plunderers, being appreciated as excellent archers.

Several Christian theologians, among whom also Eusebius, take into consideration a paragraph in Luke, placing *Ituraea* near *Trachonitis*; however, all historical sources would support a different location of these territories. Josephus (*Ant.* XIII 11, 3) located the kingdom of the Ituraeans in north Galilee. In 105 BC, Aristobulus I defeats the Ituraeans and attaches part of their territory to Judaea and, according to the same source, imposes to them the Judaism⁴⁰. Strabo (16.2.10) includes the land of the Ituraeans in the kingdom of Ptolemy, son to Mennaeus (85–40 BC), with the capital at *Chalcis*⁴¹. Ptolemy was succeeded by his son, Lysanias, called by Dio Cassius (XLIX 32) “king of the Ituraeans”. Around 23 BC, *Ituraea* and its neighbouring regions would come under the authority of Zenodorus⁴². Three years later, subsequent his death, his possessions lay between *Trachonitis* and *Galilee*, including *Paneas* and *Ulatha*, which Augustus puts in 20 BC under Herod the Great’s authority, being subsequently his son Philip’s legacy (Josephus, *Ant.* XV 10, 3). When describing the tetrachy of Philip, Josephus recorded *Batanea*, *Trachonitis* and *Auranitis*, however makes no mention as to the Ituraeans⁴³. Therefore, according to the aforementioned classical authors, *Ituraea* was located in the Mount Lebanon region, which is confirmed by an inscription datable to AD 6–7, reporting the expedition of prefect *Q. Aemilius Secundus Quirinius* against the Ituraeans to Mount Lebanon⁴⁴. In 38, Caligula assigns *Ituraea* to Sohaemus, called by Dio Cassius (LIX. 12) and Tacitus (*Annales* 12, 23) “king of the Ituraeans”.

One should note that all evidence preserved until nowadays references neither *Ituraea* nor its king. Every time the ancient sources speak about the Ituraeans, about the *king of the Ituraeans*, the possession or tetrarchy of a certain individual, without yet ascribing it a special designation. This line of reasoning was transposed into a very graphic phrase in a recent study: «L`Iturée

39 Garbsch 1989, 137–151; conclusions resumed in Garbsch, Gudea 1991, 70; Holder 2003, 132, tab 1; Holder 2006, tab 4. See also to this effect Ubl 2004, 32.

40 We may not take into account a mass conversion of the Ituraeans, however it would have been extremely interesting if the latter had also adopted the religious intolerance, the exclusivism and resistance of the theocracy, specific to the Judean opposition against Rome – see to this effect the study of D. B. Saddington (1975, 112–137).

41 City whose possible location was identified following recent investigations at Majdal `Anjar (Myers 2010, 90–92).

42 Josephus, *Ant.* 15.10.1; Josephus, *BJ* 1.20.4. After Zenodor had obtained Rome’s recognition of the tetrarchy at *Chalcis* succession, far from ensuring security in South Syria, he joined the plunderers. Augustus successively dispossessed him of various territories and donated them to king Herod the Great so to later pass them on to his son, tetrarch Philip. The latter founded in 2 BC the city of *Caesarea* Hermon, at the heart of Ituraean territories.

43 Josephus, *Ant.* 17.11.4; Josephus, *BJ* 2.6.3.

44 CIL III 6687 = ILS 2683.

n`existe pas"⁴⁵. The centre of the principality was the valley of Massyas, containing the age-old capitals at *Chalcis* and *Heliopolis* and the two flanks of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains, the unit being led, seemingly, by the high priests of *Chalcis*.

Augustus secured north Lebanon from the Ituraean threat⁴⁶, during a period when *Seleucia*, *Arados*, *Sidon*, *Tyrus*, *Berytus* become Roman colonies⁴⁷. In the same period, the Arqa of Lebanon became *Caesarea* of Lebanon, intended to rule and administer the nomad mountaineering populations⁴⁸. In north-west Syria, Plinius (*NH* 5.81–2) records many tetrarchs, of whom 17 are too insignificant to him to count. The same emperor dethrones the dynasty in *Emesa*, only to re-establish it ten years later.

Claudius donated *Chalcis* to Herod, nephew of Herod the Great. After the death of king Sohaemus (AD 49), prince of North Lebanon, and of king Agrippa I, who inherited the possessions of Philip's tetrarchy, their territories were attached to the province of Syria (Tacitus, *Annales* 12, 23). Direct governorship proved unsatisfying in a first phase. Agrippa's I son, who was firstly awarded the kingdom of *Chalcis*, gradually received upon the death of his uncle Herod, beside his territories in Palestine, all previous tetrarchies of Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, Hermon⁴⁹ and those in south Syria. Upon the death of Agrippa II, whose controversial date is definitely previous to the end of Domitian's rule, his kingdom was definitively attached to the province of Syria. Part of them would become imperial domain, as shown by the inscriptions dated to years of the emperors from the Mount of Lebanon east of *Byblos* and especially in south Syria. In order to locate the many tribes recorded by inscriptions (in the mountain area close to the desert), governor *Cornelius Palma* would support urbanisation in the form of a water policy. In the Mount of Lebanon, forests were delimited and port *Byblos* was developed for their exploitation.

Aristobulus of *Chalcis* inaugurated in 92 an era undoubtedly marking the return to municipal life in the province of Syria, date from when the city would bear the name *Flavia Chalcis*.

The Ituraean archers were raised during the civil war by Caesar. The emperor frequently used mounted or foot archers, describing them as "*sagittarios Ityreis Syris et cuiusque generis*"⁵⁰, while Pompey made use of archers from Crete, Lacedaemonia and Pont⁵¹. The Roman administration troubles with the combative Ituraeans under Augustus are recorded both by literary⁵² and epigraphic⁵³ sources.

The first recruitments in the Roman auxiliary units from among these populations seem to have been carried out as early as Augustus. An argument to this effect is the record in AD 39 of a *cohors Ituraeorum* (without number) at *Syrene*⁵⁴. This is *Cohors II Ituraeorum*, which would be constantly recorded in this area of Nubia until AD 204 (*Fayum*, *Pselchis*, *Talmis*, *Phila* and *Hiera Sykamnios*)⁵⁵. Neither in the Ituraean's case may we establish the time when

45 Aliquot 2003, 191.

46 CIL III 6687 = ILS 2683.

47 An important element of Rome's policy in the East is the celebration of the imperial cult, which proved to be for Roman Syria the first expression of its unity and loyalism. An extremely important measure was the calendar reform, until then events being marked in different local, Pompeian, Caesarean, Augustan eras – Rey-Coquais 1978, 48.

48 Rey-Coquais 1978, 51.

49 Hermon (the Sacred mountain), the highest mountain nearby the Anti-Lebanon Mountains (2.759 m.) located close to the Golan Heights. An area intensively inhabited by the Ituraeans (Shimon Dar 1993; Aliquot 2003).

50 Caesar, *Bell.Afr.* 20.1; Cicero, *Phil.* 2.44.112; Saddington 1982, 202 no. 1.

51 Davies 1977, 261.

52 Strabo 16.755–756.

53 ILS 2683 = CIL III 6687, apud Dabrowa 1986, 221; Dussaud 1955, 176 sqq; Altheim, 1964, 351, 364; Rey-Coquais 1978, 47 note 31.

54 CIL III 14147.1 = ILS 8899 = AE 1896 39.

55 Speidel 1992, 259 with the inscriptions text; Dabrowa 1986, 228–229 for a short troop history.

the auxiliary units supplied to the Roman army have been designated under the *Ituraeorum* or *Chalcidenorum* ethnonyms.

OSRHOENE

The small kingdom of *Osrhoene*, with its capital at *Edessa* (Urfa), was located in the Taurus Mountains area, by the junction of the east-west routes from *Zeugma* (Euphrates) towards *Nisibis* and then farther to Tigris, with the north-south road from *Samosata* (Euphrates) to *Carrhe*. The kingdom was successively under Seleucid, Parthian and Roman rules.

The Greek population was not predominant over time, Arabian influences being strong in the area. On the background of the Seleucid decline, *Edessa* becomes the capital of a small kingdom led by the so-called Abgar dynasty under a strong Parthian influence. Plinius (*NH* 5.85) called the inhabitants of *Osrhoene* “Arabes”, their leaders being known as “phylarch” or “toparch” of the Saracens.

Edessa was eventually annexed under Caracalla (211–217). The city owed its relative independence to Crassus’s extravagance at Carrhe in 53 BC, event which caused anxiety to the Romans against the Parthian rival. Victorious, the Parthians slain Abgar II. After 167 years, the first to impose Roman superiority in the conflicts with the Parthians is Trajan, in AD 114. After entering *Edessa*, Trajan received the title *Arabicus*, date when the city enters under Roman influence.

In AD 163, Parthian troops invade north Mesopotamia, replacing king Manu VIII with their own contender. Rome reacted promptly, and Lucius Verus led the legions in a victorious expedition, following which Manu VIII was reinstated.

During the civil wars of 193–194, *Edessa* supports the governor of Syria, *G. Pescennius Niger*, who made peace with the Parthians prior to his defeat by Septimus Severus. The latter campaigned twice against *Parthia*, in 195 and 197. During the second campaign, the province of *Osrhoene* was established, governed by a procurator. The latter created, at his turn, two additional provinces made up of the conquered territories past the Euphrates that would serve as buffer for the province of Syria. According to an inscription in the fort at Eski Hasr (ca. 70 km west-north-west *Edessa*), respective fortification was built “between the province of *Osrhoene* and the kingdom of Abgar”, namely the reduced domain of Abgar VIII (177–212). During the Eastern expedition, Caracalla dispossesses Abgar IX in AD 212, annexing *Edessa*. The emperor leads his Parthian campaign from *Edessa*, which becomes colony. In 239, L. Aelius Aurelius Septimius Abgar (X) benefited of a dynastical restoration; the novel capital, *Marcopolis* was set up to the honour of Gordian III. The restoration was short, since upon the background of a counterattack (by the end of 242 and in the spring of AD 243), Abgar X disappears and *Edessa* becomes *colonia* again.

There is no information recording the conquest of the city subsequent to Shapur I’s victory near *Edessa* in 260, when emperor Valerian is captured. Following the victory of Galerius Maximianus against the Persians, in 298, *Edessa* becomes the capital of the new province of *Osrhoene*. There is no evidence on a garrison in existence except for the soldiers who accompanied the *staff* available to the *dux Osrhoenae*.

Between the campaign of Septimius Severus in 198–199 and at least until Caracalla’s campaign of 217, *Hatra* was part of the Empire, preserving autonomy according to the model of *Edessa*. The alliance does not seem to have had immediate effects, since until the attack of Ardashir in 229⁵⁶ no troops were recorded in the city. One dedication mentions the stationing of Roman troops at *Hatra* in 235 and later, under Gordian III⁵⁷, just after the first Sassanid assault. East the city, a few *castella* were found. The Empire’s alliance with *Hatra* probably led to its destruction.

56 Cassius Dio 80.3.2.

57 AE 1958, 238–240; Sartre 2005, 345.

The attack of 229 proves that the Persians deemed the city as Rome's ally. *Hatra* was assaulted and conquered in 240⁵⁸, being abandoned shortly after⁵⁹.

CANATHA

According to coin legends and other epigraphic evidence, the name under which it appears was *Kanatha*, *Kanotha* or even *Kenetha*. The city was mentioned by Flavius Josephus⁶⁰ in the context of Herod's defeat by the Arabians. Eusebius of Caesarea and Stephanus of Byzantium placed it near *Bostra*. *Canatha*, today El-Qanawat, is a village located north-east of *Bostra*.

Canatha (Qanawat) was part of *Decapolis*. Its location was valued strategically starting with Pompey, as it would control the entire northern border of the Nabataean kingdom, ensuring also the junction between the cities from Transjordan (*Gerasa*, *Adraha*, *Dion*) and the desert area where the north of the Nabataean kingdom was delimited from south Syria⁶¹.

The longest passage on *Decapolis* (the Greek: *deka*, ten; *polis*, city) comes from the accounts of Plinius (*NH* 5.16.74), respective data being completed in AD 77: "On the side of Syria, joining up to Judaea, is the region of *Decapolis*, so called from the number of its cities; as to which all writers are not agreed". Pliny lists the following cities as part of *Decapolis*: *Damascus*, *Philadelphia*, *Raphana*, *Scythopolis*, *Gadara*, *Hippos*, *Dion*, *Pella*, *Gerasa* (named erroneously *Galasa*) and *Canatha*.

Both Cichorius and Cheesman indicate a single *cohors milliaria* of Canatheans. Spaul argued that archer auxiliary units were raised from this area, most likely after Titus's Jewish campaigns⁶².

EMESA

Emesa was founded after the death of Alexander the Great, its history during the Seleucids being poorly known. It was included in the Seleucid district of Apamea, its notoriety being especially due to the cult of god El-Gabal, whose high priest was emperor Elagabalus (AD 218).

Sampsiceramus was an Aramaic chieftain who was an ally to the last monarchs of Syria. In 64 BC, at Pompey's request, Sampsiceramus captured and killed the second last Seleucid king *Antiochus XIII Asiaticus*. This individual would become the founder of the king-priests dynasty of *Emesa*, also known as the Sampsiceramids⁶³. Various members of the dynastic family wore Aramaic, Roman or Greek names, being the exponents of a cosmopolitan culture. The principality of Iamblichos of *Emesa* enters under Rome's authority under Marc Antony, remaining over the 1st c. BC one of the client states nearby the province of Syria⁶⁴.

During Marc Antony's campaigns and in the early Augustus's rule, Rome's policy towards the leaders of *Emesa* oscillated, depending on the exceptional conditions generated by conflict affairs, events which generated a series of contradictory measures. The golden period of the small principality is marked by the reign of Iamblichos II (20 BC – AD 14) and Sampsiceramus II (AD 14–48). This was a period of political stability doubled by a significant economic growth, also caused by the fact that *Emesa* was *Palmyra*'s gate to the Mediterranean Sea. Links with *Palmyra* are very close, an inscription hailing from there designates Sampsigeramos II "supreme king"⁶⁵. *Emesa* seems to have been a regional power, its dynasts being kin to those in *Chalcis* and exercising their

58 Sartre 2005, 346, 544 note 21.

59 When Ammianus Marcellinus (25.8.5) visited *Hatra* in 364, he saw only abandoned ruins.

60 Josephus, *BJ* 1.19.2; Josephus, *Ant.* 15. 5.1

61 Sartre 1981, 357.

62 Spaul 2000, 412.

63 Sullivan 1990, stemma 6.

64 Sullivan 1990, 64–65; Sartre 2005, 55, 70.

65 Sartre 2005, 76.

influences at religious level. Baalbek-*Heliopolis*, who had been granted the status of *colonia*, was honoured by “Sohaemus, son to the great king Sampsiceramus” (IGLS VI 2760). The association may be explained by the similarity between the Emesean gods and those in *Baalbek*⁶⁶.

Most likely, the annexation of *Emesa* occurred between AD 72, when Sohaemos participates together with L. Caesennius Paetus in the conquest of *Commagene* and AD 78, date when an epitaph mentions a few members of the Sampsigeramid dynasty with *tria nomina*. The dynastic family was not abolished, its powers being limited to the symbolic function of high priests of Elagabalus. As aforementioned, emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, known as Elagabalus came from this family.

Under Caracalla, it becomes *colonia*, *Emesa* being the headquarters during emperor Aurelian’s campaigns against the Palmyrean queen Zenobia.

ANTIOCHIA⁶⁷

Antiochus, one of Alexander’s the Great successors, gave his name to several cities, reason for which not even the classical authors are able to give a satisfying solution as to which we may chose when attempting to establish the recruitment area of *cohors I Antiochensium*, in fact the single auxiliary troop known to bear this name insofar.

Ptolemy places *Antiochia* on the Orontes, this being likely the area of origin of the cohort in question.

Without too many and significant data on a city garrison, *Antiochia* was the base of a few military operations unfold over time in the area. Beside the special status of the city within the province of Syria, it was successively headquarters and imperial residence. Thus, Trajan spent there a winter during the Parthian war, similarly to Lucius Verus, later on. In AD 193, the troops hailed Pescennius Niger emperor at *Antiochia*, the latter establishing his headquarters there. During his Parthian campaign, Caracalla also halted there. This city also fulfilled an important role during the ephemeral Empire of *Palmyra*.

PALMYRA

The “Caravan City” was surrounded by natural barriers mainly: dessert and mountains to the north, west and south-west (the Mount of Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon Mountains cutting connection with the Mediterranean coast), and the dessert of Hauran eastwards and southwards.

The beginnings of the history of *Palmyra* are unclear. The first inhabitants of *Tadmor* (the original name of *Palmyra*) were nomad Amorites recorded starting with the 18th c. BC. The used language was the Aramaic, a language related to Hebrew and written in the same alphabet, which became a *lingua franca* during the Assyrian Empire (8th c. BC). The religion and customs belong to the local Amorite population, with an Arabian component established later from the wave of southern Nabataeans and other various groups⁶⁸. There also existed Greek civilisation elements, Greek speakers. Inscriptions are bilingual, in both Aramaic and Greek and a few are in Latin, being dated to the last years of the city⁶⁹. Therefore, the mixture of Arabian, Aramaic, Greek and Roman elements was specific to the civilisation of *Palmyra*. The proper and god names were part Aramaic, part Arabian. The original Arabian settlement would transform, over time, from a caravan station into a first rank city of the Antiquity. Appian noted that in 41 BC, Marc Antony campaigned in *Palmyra*, known for its trade relations with the Parthians, intending to “enrich

66 Sartre 2005, 77.

67 Isaac 1990, 269–276, 436–438.

68 Teixidor 1979; Dirven 1999; Kaiser 2004.

69 As’ad, Delplace 2002.

his horsemen”, yet the Palmyrenes (mostly nomad, settling the oasis) left the city “vanishing into the dessert”, reason for which the Romans returned empty-handed (Appian, *BC* 5.1.9). The anecdotic account of the classical author underlines the independent nature of the trade practiced by *Palmyra* at that date. The privileged status of *Palmyra* within the province of Syria is also emphasised by the account in Plinius, datable to AD 77 (Plinius, *NH* 5, 88). This special status does not explain however the exceptional rise of *Palmyra* during the 1st c. AD. One explanation may reside in the interest to move access to the ports by the Mediterranean Sea from *Antiochia* to the Phoenician ports of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, much better equipped for fabric transports⁷⁰. The dessert and the nomad nature of the population in *Palmyra* represent the hindrances of a direct trade route to the Mediterranean Sea. As trade activities rose in intensity in this area, the oasis population began to settle becoming sedentary, the safety degree of caravan transports⁷¹ also rising in parallel. It was then when the Greeks in *Babylon* saw the opportunity to develop a more efficient trade route and support the urbanisation of the oasis, which involved the development of administrative and political structures. Within this context, it worth mentioning an act of euergetism of AD 24 in the case of a temple built by “all the merchants in *Babylon*”. A previous inscription (datable prior AD 19) mentions the contribution of Palmyrean and Greek traders from *Seleucia* in the construction of a temple⁷².

The flourishing period of *Palmyra* coincides with the Roman rule in Syria, becoming important at the time of taking the decision to cross the dessert via the trade routes to the prejudice of detours.

The inscriptions provide an incomplete image of the trade routes operated by *Palmyra*. They were placed in *agora* and mention only the caravan route of *Spasinou Charax*⁷³ from the Persian Gulf on the Euphrates to *Vologesias* (west of *Babylon*) or possibly, via *Dura Europos*. Two Palmyrene boats are recorded to have arrived from Scythia, meaning the estuary of the Indus river, located in the north-west India. M. Gawlikowski noted that in inscriptions “there is nothing to suggest that the Palmyrenes were interested in the land routes through Iran and Central Asia”, which normally are believed Silk Road routes⁷⁴. To a certain extent, trade relations seem to have existed with India and China via the ports in India and the Persian Gulf. Here, one should bring into discussion the role of the nomads in this trade, of which the sheiks could have profited. A few inscriptions also mention the dangers of attacks, crushed by the swift interventions of the troops dispatched from *Palmyra*. The main actors of the city’s trade activities maintained constant advantageous trade relations with the nomad herder populations in the neighbouring areas. On many occasions, various notables involved in caravan transports and clan or nomad tribes’ chieftains, of whom part were brigands, were even related. For the success of its own business based on commerce, *Palmyra* was completely interested in maintaining these populations as nomadic. In their turn, they used the metropolis markets to sell their own products⁷⁵.

70 Robert 1993, 171.

71 The organisation and management of the caravan trade could have been unsuccessful had the blood ties and hospitality between the traders and the sheiks in the area not developed. A trading city in the respective area had to be absolutely necessary based on powerful aristocracy, while its exponents hardly consisted of individuals other than the “pure blood” nobles. *Palmyra* also had the great advantage of having become a great religious centre wherein the sun-god dominated the lower rank gods.

72 For the complete discussion see Robert 1993, 172.

73 The main port by the Persian Gulf, capital of the kingdom of *Mesene*. Matthews 1984, 165. The oldest inscription seems to be the record of a Palmyrene trade mission to *Spasinou Charax* under Germanicus. On the other hand, it seems there was also the seat of a Palmyrene traders corporation. Ultimately, many inscriptions record caravans operating on this route. (Seyrig 1941, 252). Inscription of 140, records the route *Charax – Vologesias – Palmyra* (Seyrig 1941, 252–253 no. 21)

74 Gawlikowski 1994, 29.

75 Teixidor 1987, 49–50.

There is no doubt on the multitude of trading routes departing from *Palmyra*. The silence of the inscriptions may have several explanations. Until caravans left westwards to the Mediterranean Sea under Roman control, there was no need of contention to this effect. Then, an even more plausible explanation would be the direct involvement of *Palmyra* only in the southern caravan route, being a mere guarantor in the case of the other routes. Appian reported that the Palmyrean, “as merchants, they brought products from India and *Arabia* through *Persia* and distributed them in the Roman territories”. Caravan leaders were mentioned on many inscriptions. Rostovtzeff believed that their members were “prince-traders”, for each travel being set up a trading company. Thus, they chose a leader, while by the end of the journey, the caravan was dissolved⁷⁶.

To what extent was the Roman army involved in caravan protection?

Two honorific inscriptions dated under Septimius Severus record some local militias. An inscription of AD 199 mentions Ogilô, son to Maqqai, “strategist against the nomads”⁷⁷, and another, dated to the previous year, honours *Aelius Bôra* (son to *T. Aelius Ogilô*), who “as strategist, re-established peace by the city borders”⁷⁸.

An inscription on a mural abutment in *agora*, dated to AD 135, is a dedication to *Iulius Maximus*, who accompanied the caravan of *M. Ulpius Abgarus*, son to Hairan (brother of *M. Ulpius Iarhai*) to *Spasinou Charax*⁷⁹. It is unknown whether these were Roman army units called upon or which intervened by accident.

Luxury goods like silk, jewellery, perfumes, pearls, spices were brought from India, China, south *Arabia* and annually cost Rome’s treasury around 100 million sesterces⁸⁰. No inscription mentions silk, spices, pearls or other exotic products⁸¹, yet in one of the cemeteries at *Palmyra* were discovered silk fabric fragments belonging to the Han dynasty, which accounts for China’s trade communication with the Mediterranean Sea⁸².

The local industry did not seem important, being directed to accommodate daily necessities. The city’s leading individuals were involved in both public functions and the organisation or even personal leadership of the caravans. The latter maintained constant excellent trade relations with the nomad herders in the city territory or the neighbouring areas. In many situations, the notables involved in caravan transports were kin to the clan or nomad tribes’ chieftains, of whom

76 Rostovtzeff 1932, 806. E. Will noticed the complexity of the caravan organisation, on one hand caravan leaders and traders (either founders or entrepreneurs), the communities outside *Palmyra* and *strategoi*, the individuals who ensured caravan security, including also the diplomatic negotiations (Will 1957). A few were obviously important players on the commerce scene of *Palmyra*, their role being to invest capital in trading activities. J. F. Matthews describes these skilful individuals as Bedouin sheiks who offered *Palmyra* their excellent relations with the nomad population, hence their legitimate status of dessert police. The author argues that these individuals were not prince-traders, being in fact protectors and patrons of the merchants. Once *Palmyra* was defeated by the Roman armies in AD 272, they simply moved back to the desert, after having enjoyed a short period of magnificent “urban grandeur” (Matthews 1984, 169). In the mountain areas of north-west *Palmyra* there is evidence of extensive farming and grazing in the period corresponding to *Palmyra*’s climax. These records indicate the resources which these entrepreneurs, among whom also *Marcus Ulpius Iarhai*, could have invested in the caravan trade (Schlumberger 1951). Among the epigraphic monuments that may be related to *M. Ulpius Iarhai* (nine in the *agora* and one in the temple of Bel, dated between 155 and 159), five record caravaneers operating between *Palmyra* and *Charax*, the other is dedicated by *Khoumana* (city in *Chaldea*), the other placed by a company of *indicopleustes* which definitely operated on the *Charax* route. In another, his brother Abgar partnered him in 136 in a caravan from *Charax*, then Abgar, the son to Iarhai also led a caravan in 159 like his father did in 156 and 157. Most likely, the boats to India were only financed by Iarhai (Seyrig 1941, 261; Delplace, Yon 2005, 230 fig. 356, 233 fig. 362).

77 Ingholt 1932, 291

78 Ingholt 1932, 281

79 Seyrig 1941, 242 no. 12.

80 Plinius, *NH* 12. 41.

81 Rey-Coquais 1978, note 151.

82 The north-western cemetery of the city, see Schmidt-Colinet 1989; Schmidt-Colinet, Stauffer, al-Assad 2000.

part were even brigands. For the success of their own businesses based on trade, *Palmyra's* interest was that these populations remain nomad. At their turn, they used the metropolis markets to sell their own products⁸³.

Palmyra's development reached a climax between AD 130 and 270, from when date most of the epigraphic and sculptural monuments. Free of the Nabataean competition, *Palmyra* held the monopoly of trade with the East of the Empire. Palmyrene caravans either went by *Vologesias* (close to Ctesiphon), or by the ports at *Horath* and *Spasinou Charax*. A Palmyrene merchant reached *Susiene* in AD 138 as "ambassador". Maybe the Palmyrenes sailed the Euphrates on the rafts of others, as seem to show a corporation⁸⁴.

Hadrian awards the city special favours and, in occasion of his visit of 130, elevates it to the level of *municipium*, naming it *Hadriana Palmyra*, evidently in the attempt to promote the resumption of trade with the Parthian empire.

Within this context one may notice that *Palmyra* had a special, however not exceptional status compared to some of the great trading centres in the Near East. The connection between the centre of Mesopotamia (*Babylon*, *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*) and Egypt was made via a circular arc to the north. Under these circumstances, a shortcut between *Dura Europos* and *Palmyra*, respectively the decision to annihilate the Nabataean kingdom are the circumstances of the exceptional rise of the metropolis. It is noteworthy that the favourite route until then was that to the Persian Gulf, the special relation which *Palmyra* had with *Spasinou Charax*⁸⁵ being well documented. Normally, regardless the number of operational routes in that area, there had to be only one stock market, which was in Rome's interest; the game of economic mechanism gave *Palmyra* this monopoly, which previously ensured the prosperity of *Petra*⁸⁶.

Under the same emperor, custom taxes were revised (AD 137), by replacing the previous taxation system with the model of the Greek municipalities within the Empire. Under Septimius Severus or Caracalla, *Palmyra* is granted *ius Italicum* and the status of *colonia*. In this period there are several recorded Palmyrenes who become citizens, bearing, beside their traditional names, the *nomina imperialia* Septimius or Iulius Aurelius as *cognomina*.

The decline of the balance between the Roman empire and its eastern neighbours, either Parthians or Sasanids, threatened the welfare of *Palmyra* on many occasions, like for instance during the campaigns of Crassus (54 BC), Trajan (AD 114–117), Caracalla (AD 216), culminating with its collapse following an extended political crisis.

83 Teixidor 1987, 49–50.

84 Starting with the second half of the 2nd c. AD, certain Palmyrean traders organised in companies of *indico-pleustai* (recorded by a Greek inscription in *agora*) sailed to Scytia, i.e. India. There may be an archaeological trace of their passing through the isle of Kharg. The owners and captains seem to be Palmyrene. The inscriptions from Egypt revealed a corporation of Palmyrene owners and traders in the Erythraean Sea (the term designated to the same extent the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, rather than the Red Sea). They had a seat at *Coptos* on the Nile, which the caravans connected to the Egyptian ports by the Red Sea. E. Will's (1957, 262–277) study on caravan organisation is essential. Although *Palmyra* maintained Meharian archer militias and fortified caravanserais along the desert routes, caravans were confronted with great dangers (Rey-Coquais 1978, 145). The two texts recording navigation to Scytia speak of difficulties, however no document allows us to suppose that for reaching "Scytia" the Palmyrene traders were forced to sail to an Egyptian port by the Red Sea, rather than to a port in the Persian Gulf.

85 It was often suggested in the specialty literature that *Palmyra* benefited of a certain degree of autonomy concerning the trade relations, which encouraged it to perfect its own transport, protection and trade systems. D. T. Potts established a similarity between *Palmyra's* position in relation to Rome and *Spasinou Charax* in relation to *Parthia*. These two powers would have preferred a *laissez-faire* view regarding the exchanges between these two great trading centres, which was more profitable than the policy of strict control (Potts 1997, 94). On the importance of maintaining this equilibrium see also Gawlikowski 1983, 54.

86 Rey-Coquais 1978, 56.

The emergence of the Sasanids created new difficulties for the Empire, on the background of the domestic dynastic crises: the expulsion of the Roman citizens from Mesopotamia starting with Ardashir around 230, then his successor Shapur I defeats a Roman army in 244. *Dura Europos* falls in 256, and *Palmyra* seems to be next target. Shapur's triumph was completed by the capture of Valerian in AD 260.

In this context, Odenathus and his spouse, Zenobia appear on the scene. As a member of a leading family of *Palmyra*, Odenathus gains military power, placing his military success in the support of Rome, becoming the leader of *Palmyra* and being honoured with many titles by the emperors and the Senate. He attacks the Persians in 262, fighting them off past the Euphrates, when he captures Shapur's spouse and children and is proclaimed saviour of the Empire. During the following attack of 267, he pushes the Persians past Tigris. In accordance with the practice of the period, Odenathus would declare himself Roman emperor, however upon his return from the campaign, he is assassinated together with his son at *Emesa*.

Power passes to the hands of Zenobia, second wife and mother to his second son, Wahballath, for whom she rules as regent (part of the historiographers consider Zenobia a true Lady Macbeth, concluding that the queen orchestrated the death of her own husband). From the very beginning, she proclaimed herself descendant of the Ptolemies, Cleopatra of Egypt and the king of Syria. Zenobia gained swift control over the nomad populations and cities in central Syria, sent weapons to the Arabian Peninsula and, finally, invaded Egypt⁸⁷. She extended control over *Antiochia* up to central Asia Minor. The title of *Augustus*, assumed by her son in AD 271, is indicative of cutting connections with Rome. After defeating the Vandals and the Goths who crossed the Danube and the Germans who invaded Italy (prior re-establishing order in Gallia, Britannia and Spania), Aurelian sent an army to regain Egypt, he himself leading an army through the Balkans⁸⁸ and Anatolia, reaching *Palmyra* in AD 272. After defeat, Zenobia was brought to Rome and lived for the rest of her life in the *villa* at *Tivoli*.

Following this defeat, *Palmyra* decays, transforming in short while in a bourg for the nomads in the neighbourhood, a Roman garrison being maintained there for another while. Caravan routes are moved northwards, along Asia Minor, towards Constantinople, Syria itself being no longer included on the Silk Road route.

The city control was extended, as mentioned, over a vast area, including villages or territories inhabited by nomad populations. The villages and tribes provided the Palmyrene police excellent dromedary archers, recruitment from the metropolis area being difficult. *Dura Europos*, by the border of the Palmyrene territory, becomes the command centre of the trade and military routes to *Parthia*. It was a prosperous city which also benefited of a garrison at *Palmyra*. In fact, this is the only regular auxiliary troop of Palmyrenes, clearly recorded within the empire⁸⁹.

Although *Palmyra* was part of the Empire as early as the last part of the 1st c. AD, no auxiliary troop is known except for *cohort XX Palmyrenorum* stationed at *Dura Europos*, raised under Marcus Aurelius⁹⁰. Most likely, due to *Palmyra's* role in ensuring the security of the neighbouring steppe and desert areas, it might have been exempted from the obligation to supply *auxilia* recruits⁹¹.

87 This is indicative of the Palmyrene aristocracy objective to gain control over the trade routes from Egypt, as the traditional trade routes east the Euphrates were blocked.

88 Within this context may be seen Aurelian's decision to withdraw the Roman army and administration from the province of Dacia (Piso, entea 2011, forthcoming).

89 Rostovtzeff 1926, 247.

90 For the complete discussion see Kennedy 1983b, 214–216.

91 Kennedy 1999, 85. *Emesa* must have fulfilled a similar role.

ARABIA

As previously shown, in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods, there were several consecrated trade routes that ensured commercial exchanges between the Mediterranean Sea and certain areas in the East. The northern land route ensured commercial links with China, the Silk Road, and they might have coupled with the caravan routes: via *Petra*⁹² or via *Palmyra*⁹³. Difficulties due to the interposition of the Parthian empire were obvious, then once with the arrival of the Sasanids the route became impractical. Rome's involvement in the desert areas was minimal⁹⁴, transport activities being carried out in close connection with the local, nomad populations.

Most modern historians believe that Trajan's Parthian expedition had a consistent economic justification, namely the elimination of intermediaries on the trade routes with the Far East. The failure of this approach would force Hadrian to review the entire trade policy of the area by reactivating the southern routes, context in which *Arabia* becomes rather important.

The establishment of the province was a turning point in the history of the entire region. *Bostra*, located in the southern area of Hauran region, becomes the capital of the new province and seat to legion *III Cyrenaica*, transferred from north Africa⁹⁵. The construction of the main road of the province, *Via Traiana Nova*, would be completed in 114. Recent studies differentiate between the occupation of the Nabataean kingdom in 106 and the province organisation⁹⁶. It is believed that the occupation of the Nabataean kingdom was caused by circumstantial factors. Thus, the governor of Syria played an extremely important role in the Roman intervention in the Nabataean kingdom, the terms under which the *mandata* of these governors were defined allowed them to take decisions of the type⁹⁷. Thus, in 106 a military intervention occurred, the decision to create the province being taken subsequently. One may note that the set up of the new province would be carried out around the road *Via Nova Traiana*, built in 111–114⁹⁸. The epigraphic phrase *redacta in formam prouvinciae*⁹⁹ references not the initial set up upon the military intervention in the Nabataean kingdom of 106, but rather the completion of the province organisation, performed almost a decade later.

Fortifications on the western border of *Arabia* are located on a line parallel to *Via Nova Traiana*. This fortification line was deemed an "outer *limes*" or a "central sector" of *Limes Arabicus*¹⁰⁰ and understood as a militarised area built to block Arabian raids from the desert¹⁰¹. In current terms, *limes* most likely refers to only the frontier area and not to a militarised border¹⁰². The analysis of this frontier failed to consider the relations between the fortifications in question¹⁰³. Isaac noted that the roads system determine the reason for the existence of certain fortifications and not the reverse¹⁰⁴.

As mentioned above, in the discussion referring to *Palmyra*, the almost exclusive advantage of the creation of province *Arabia*, deemed by most historians, was the construction of a new road

92 Sidebotham 1986, 71–76, 137–141, 148–155

93 Sidebotham 1986, 108–110.

94 Isaac 1998, 414.

95 Rey-Coquais 1978, 54

96 Freeman 1996, 102–113,

97 Potter 1996, 56–60.

98 Freeman 1996, 102–113.

99 CIL III 14149, 21 = ILS 5834 "[...] *redacta in formam prouvinciae Arabiae viam novam a finibus Syriae usque ad mare Rubrum aperuit et stravit per C. Claudium Severum leg. Aug. pr. pr.*") [A.D. 111].

100 Parker 1987, 39.

101 Parker 1991, 499.

102 Isaac 1988, 125–147; Wheeler 1993, 24–30; Whittaker 1994, 200–202.

103 Graf 1997, 271.

104 Isaac 1990, 128: "Mapping and dating forts without considering the road-network is an unstructured procedure which can not lead to an understanding of the system".

to the Red Sea. As such, the land connection linked central Mesopotamia with the Red Sea¹⁰⁵ on a route used from ancient times.

This link should be regarded as an alternate road, but also as a bypass of the Silk Road. From there, the most important connection point is Egypt. For economic reasons, the sea traffic on the route linking ports by the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean¹⁰⁶ was much more cost efficient due to the increased transport capacity¹⁰⁷. After leaving the Red Sea, several routes might have been followed¹⁰⁸, however their scheduling had to consider the monsoon season; as such, it was best to depart from Egypt in July, and return in November. This involved transports on large vessels, which also entailed considerable capital investments. It was computed that the value of such a boat, according to the goods listed on a papyrus, represented the equivalent of a farm in Egypt provided with a 2400 acres land¹⁰⁹.

In epigraphic data, the Nabataeans seem to be transporters of merchandise only between the quarries on the Nile and the ports by the Red Sea, being active in the eastern dessert of Egypt during the Roman period and possibly, previously as well. Most do not record the occupations of the recorded individuals, yet *graffiti* discovered in the mountain areas between the Nile and the ports by the Red Sea may refer to cameleers involved in transport dealings, without the mention of a company or its partners.

In exchange, the Palmyrenes owned well financed trade companies. This is recorded by the archaeological finds at *Coptos* and *Dendereh*, from almost 100 years ago. At *Coptos* the Palmyrenes held a true trade headquarters – *funduq*¹¹⁰. There is no evidence regarding Palmyrean caravans in Egypt during the Roman period¹¹¹.

Under Trajan and Hadrian special attention was granted to the construction of roads and port facilities making possible the transport between the Red Sea and the Nile¹¹². The army in the east of the Egyptian dessert was organised in the form of a regional command, its presence being determined by the surveillance of good development of trading activities¹¹³. *Berenike* and *Myos Hormos*'s function was to take over part of the transports, given the difficulty of sailing in the north of the Red Sea.

Apparently, Rome had become during the Principate a slave to luxury goods. This seems to be supported by Plinius notes, according to which 50 million sesterces entered annually in India from the commerce with Rome (NH VI 26.101). Yet, to what extent did the statement of the ancient author be an exaggeration¹¹⁴. The data supplied by Plinius needs no questioning; the results of archaeological investigations in India indicate a massive inflow of Roman goods, especially luxury ware and amphorae. The discovery of an important trade centre at *Arikamedu* (on the western coast of India)¹¹⁵ is significant in this respect. To exemplify, we shall only provide

105 The policy of roads construction and in certain periods, even some direct military interventions against the brigands, account for the special importance which the Romans granted to trade routes (Isaac 1998, 423). Nevertheless, a direct link between the protection of certain economic interests, some major political decisions of Rome and the precise date when these events occurred is hard to discern.

106 Sidebotham 1991, 13 fig. 2.1, 14 fig. 2.2.

107 Debate on the importance of this trade route were encouraged by the publishing of *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, the navigation guide in the Erythraean Sea (name by which the ancients understood both the Red Sea, the Aden Gulf and the west Indian Ocean). It is a manual for the merchants and sailors of Egypt, who carried goods in this area, drafted by mid 1st c. AD (Casson 1991, 8).

108 Casson 1991, 9.

109 Casson 1991, 8.

110 Rey-Coquais 1978.

111 Sidebotham 1986, 96.

112 Sidebotham 1986 cap. III.

113 Sidebotham 1986, 53; Isaac 1990, 151 sqq; Isaac 1998, 420.

114 Sidebotham 1991, 23.

115 Sidebotham 1986, 22, Sidebotham 1991, 23; Confort 1991, 134–150; Lynding Will 1991, 151–156.

the information resulted from the studies published in the proceedings of the colloquium *Rome and India: The Sea Trade*¹¹⁶. Roman products were intensively traded also on the eastern coast of India. Thus, should we also consider Strabo's accounts, the eastern coast of India did not represent a *terra incognita* for those coming from west. In this region, the trade involved relatively limited financial resources, since traffic was almost year-round.

Chinese sources mention that the Parthians wanted to preserve the exclusivity of trade with China, which they succeeded until no later than AD 166, since when dates the first record, according to the same sources, of direct diplomatic relations with the Romans. In the same year, some Roman merchants traded products in Cambodia¹¹⁷. Although sea traffic was much more profitable, it could not supply land trade via Central Asia.

Millar's societal flexibility is explained, according to Kennedy, by the fact that these units interacted over the centuries with many imperial powers and were involved in many military conflicts. Millar speaks about a "historical amnesia" when relating certain populations to the monuments of the past, yet the concept that the land they inhabited belongs to them involves the "long term occupation" concept and an attachment to ruins and monuments¹¹⁸.

The various circumstances account for a mosaic difficult to interpret synthetically. Obviously, large part of our evidence, resulted from epigraphy, art or architecture, joins conclusions valid mainly for the identity of the individuals coming from the educated level of the Near East society. We shall underline only a few atypical situations. It is interesting to note that families, whose names are Hellenised or Romanised, give their children Semitic names. Some of the tombstones at *Zeugma* (founded in the Greek period and turned legionary fortress) record Greek and Roman dress, yet the epitaphs were exclusively written in Greek¹¹⁹. An emblematic case to this effect is the relief of *Antiochus I of Commagene*.

116 *Rome and India*, 39–133, 157–215.

117 Robert 1993, 11.

118 Millar 1993, 269–270.

119 Kennedy 1999, 103.

THE SYRIAN UNITS DEPLOYED TO THE DANUBE FRONTIER

3

I. *Ala Celerum Philippiana*

Upon the death of Gordian III in AD 244, his successor Philip the Arabian terminates hostilities on the eastern front, while on his return to Rome, the emperor visits his native city, *Shahba*, located north of *Bostra*. It was magnificently rebuilt under the name *Philippopolis*, most likely garrisoning the troop for a while, as suggested by an inscription of a knight in *ala Celerum Philippiana* (A.I.2)¹.

Ala Celerum was established by Philip the Arabian, being one of the troops part of the suite accompanying the emperor to the capital of the Empire in occasion of the celebration of Rome's first millennium in 248².

The unit is recorded by two inscriptions known insofar, the aforementioned from *Philippopolis* and the tombstone from *Virunum*, capital of *Noricum*, dedicated to *Aggaeus*, *hexarcho alae Celerum viro sagittandi peritissimo vi militum interem(p)to* (A.I.1)³. Certain authors argued that the troop was displaced to *Noricum* during the *Marcomannic wars*, believing that it had been stationed in *Arabia*⁴ during the 3rd century AD.

The *Celeres* were the personal armed guard maintained by *Romulus*, the mythical founder of ancient Rome. They were associated to *Celer*, the lieutenant of *Romulus*, responsible according to certain sources, for *Remus's* slaying. *Titus Livius* and other sources claim they were a cavalry unit, *celer* apparently meaning literally "swift, expedite". The name was not commonly used to designate *auxilia*. It carries a historical resonance, adequate for such celebration. The name is indicative of the special honour that the emperor⁵ granted to this troop. This, alike *Romulus redivivus*, would be very likely another means by which Philip the Arabian attempted to legitimate his position.

Hexarchus is a title novel for army posts, assuming that the cavalry ranks by the end of the 3rd century AD like *centenarius*, *ducenarius* and possibly *senator* originated in the deliberate

1 AE 1928, 153b = AE 1992 1694. Speidel 1977, 702.

2 Speidel 1974, 934-939; Speidel 1977, 702-703; Graf 1994, 269. See also the discussion on the establishment of this troop in 238 by Gordian III and its subsequent inclusion among Philip the Arabian's favourites - Speidel 1992a, 219-220.

3 CIL III 4832 = 11506 = ILLPRON 18 = ILS 2528. Davies 1977, 269 no. 2, note 70.

4 Wagner 1938, 25; Kraft 1951, 144; Alföldy 1974, 257.

5 Speidel 1977, 703. Other romantic *Latini* and *Sabini* names among *auxilia palatina* in *Notitia Dignitatum* Oc. 5, 194 and 195; Speidel 1977, note 42.

assimilation of the emperor's elite cavalry with the old equestrian order. *Ala Celerum* uses the new ranks, which are missing in the case of other *alae*⁶.

The inscriptions from *Philippopolis* and *Virunum* account for the troop's escort function, accompanying the emperor on his journeys within the Empire. It might have completed the services of *equites singulares Augusti* units or even replaced them for the duration⁷. Regardless of its function, the *ala* was part of the new cavalry troops raised in the respective period, a situation similar to *ala nova firma Cataphractaria Philippiana* (III).

It is possible that part of the unit was left at *Virunum* where it might have been involved in the civil war against Philip the Arabian. Hence, Aggaeus could have lost his life to the battle at *Virunum* or defending the emperor in Thracia, since it is known that the emperor was slain at *Beroea*.

II. *Ala I Commagenorum milliaria sagittaria*

Among the *alae* raised in the East during the pre-Flavian period, only *ala I Commagenorum*⁸ is known, being recorded for the first time in Egypt under Tiberius, as evidenced by a rock inscription listing a group of troopers (A.II.1).

Its headquarters was at *Syene* (Aswan), where three troops were stationed, the fort being key to the defensive system of the entire area⁹. Part of the troop strength of Commagenians was consigned in the fort at *Talmis* in Nubia (A.II.1–3.), along the Nile, its task being to protect the area linking Egypt to the Kingdom of *Meroe*. Three dedications recording the *ala* at *Talmis* (Kalabsha): one by a decurion and thirteen soldiers (A.II.1)¹⁰, one by a horseman (A.II.2), and one by a decurion (A.II.3)¹¹.

Another soldier from *ala Kommagenorum turmae Kaouiou* was mentioned in one dedication from Elkab (A.II.4.)

It was believed, on the basis of an ostrakon inscription, that *ala I Commagenorum* was stationed in Egypt at least until AD 165¹², however this was in fact *ala Vocontiorum*, known in Egypt between 55 and 165, leaving slightly prior AD 183 for *Palmyra*¹³. The accurate reading of the ostrakon in question certifies that the troop is one and the same with that recorded in Noricum starting with AD 96¹⁴. The last reference on the troop's stationing in Egypt is the military diploma of AD 83¹⁵. Therefore, the unit left Egypt sometime between 83¹⁶ and 95, according to some authors, in order to participate in Domitian's campaigns against the Dacians¹⁷. It was hypothesised that

6 Speidel 1977, note 42: *hexarchus* is one of the new ranks which Hieronymus had not been used till that point in the famous passage on these titles. The new titles were used prior 256, date from when they start to disseminate, see M. Rostovtzeff, A. Bellinger, F. Brown and C. Welles, (eds), *The excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report on the Ninth Season, 1935–1936, Part 3: The Palace of the Dux Ripae and the Dolicheneum*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1952, 42, no. 952): *ducenarias, item centenarias. Ducenaris protectores*.

7 Speidel 1992a, 218.

8 Cheesman 1914, 181–182; Graf 1994, 269.

9 Speidel 1992, 246. The author believed that circumstances from *Dura Europos*, located between *Parthia* and *Palmyra*, where several vexillations from more than one troop were stationed are the best analogy for *Syene*; at *Apsarus*, by the Cappadocian border, there were five cohorts that could have been sent to *Albania*, *Iberia* or *Armenia*; the examples from Dacia are *Porolissum*, *Micia* or *Tibiscum*.

10 Holder 1980, 270, no. 241; Speidel 1992, note 80; Spaul 1994, 95 note 2.

11 Speidel 1992, note 79.

12 SEG 1981 513, see SB 12388.

13 Speidel 1992, 267–268.

14 Ubl 1981, 24–38.

15 CIL XVI 29.

16 CIL XVI 29.

17 See the presentation in Speidel 1992, 268.

the troop number may come from its involvement in Domitian's campaigns in the Danube area. After Trajan's Dacian wars, the troop might have been stationed in the Danube area.

The discussion on the record of an "ala II Flavia Commagenorum" as part of the army of Dacia in the diploma of 14 October 109 from Ranovač is an issue for which twofold answers were given, however whose solution depends on novel pending evidence. The troop is recorded by a single diploma, that from October 109¹⁸. J. Garbsch believed that the reading "*ala II Commagenorum sagittaria*" was a scribe's confusion with *cohortes II Flavia Commagenorum*¹⁹, yet P. Holder has no doubt that respective record was accurate²⁰. The troop is missing from the diploma from *Koptos* of 105²¹.

A recent epigraphic find from *Novae* (Svishtov-Bulgaria) records the dedication of a troop decurion to the supreme god of the unit's land of origin: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolichen(o) / ubi ferrum na/scit(ur)*. Information on the find circumstances hinders a more limited dating, which might have provided us with clues regarding a possible displacement of the troop or of a *vexillatio* to this area (A.II.16)²².

The first record of this troop in Noricum comes from a diploma of AD 106²³. The troop lent its name to the fort *Comagena/Comagenis* (Tulln)²⁴, building in AD 104 the stone fort, which is recorded in a recently discovered²⁵ building inscription (A.II.5). Within a diploma of the second half of the 130s AD, the troop is listed for the first time as *milliaria sagittaria*, the ala having specified the number indicative "I". Under Caracalla, it receives the name *Antoniniana*, which is also found on the building inscription of AD 104, where the imperial epithet was added subsequently (A.II.5).

In relation to the history of this troop at *Comagena/Comagenis* one should mention an altar for Mithras (A.II.6)²⁶ and a funerary inscription datable most likely in the first half of the 2nd century AD (A.II.7)²⁷.

No evidence dating from the Marcomannic wars period was identified in the fort at *Comagenis*. After 260, there are no traces of occupation there either, hence the troop might have been included within Gallienus's mobile army.

Many funerary inscriptions record the troop's stationing in Noricum over the entire 2nd-3rd centuries AD: at Faimingen (A.II.8)²⁸, Wolfsberg (A.II.9)²⁹, *Flavia Solva* (Leoben) (A.II.10)³⁰, *Celeia* (Celje – Slovenia) (A.II.11, 14)³¹, Pielach bei Melk (A.II.12)³², Kircheiselfing (A.II.13)³³ and Thalheim bei Wels (A.II.15). The name of the troop was read on a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus from *Gerulata*, however this was in fact ala I *Ca(nnanefatium)*³⁴.

18 AE 1990, 860 = RMD III 148; Garbsch 1989, 137-151; conclusions resumed in Garbsch, Gudea 1991, 70.

19 In the case of the second troop, this is a reversal between *II Flavia Commagenorum* (on *intus*, the troop number is *I*), which is in fact a *cohortes*, and *I Augusta Ituraeor(um)* (which must be an *ala*); the confusion was caused by the fact that two troops of Ituraei with similar names were located in Dacia at that time: *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum* (17 February 110) and *cohortes I Augusta Ituraeor(um)* (both diplomas from 110). ILD 10, p. 26.

20 Holder 2003, 132, tab 1; Holder 2006, tab 4. See to the same effect also Ubl 2004, 32.

21 AE 1968 513 = RMD 9

22 Markov 2008, 253-257.

23 CIL XVI 52.

24 Kandler, Vettters 1986, 154; Freisinger, Krinzinger 1997 226; Ubl 2004, 31-38; Ubl 2004a, 26-30; Hübl 2004.

25 Ubl 2004 a, 26.

26 CIL III 5650 = ILLPRON 886.

27 CIL III 5652 = ILLPRON 903.

28 CIL III 11901.

29 IL III 5091 = ILLPRON 740

30 CIL III 14368, 24 = ILLPRON 1414

31 CIL III 5224; ILLPRON 1684; AE 2008, 1012; Ubl 1996, II/13.

32 ILLPRON 877.

33 AE 1973, 381. It may be restored as ala Cannanefatium, Celerum, Clasiana, Claudia Nova or ...Commagenorum!

34 AE 1966, 292; Lőrincz 2001, 46, 182 cat. no. 80.

The involvement of the three alae from Noricum in the expedition designed to annihilate the rebellion from North Africa (24 March 151 AD) is well-known.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Decuriones

Bassus	A.II.1
Cavius	A.II.2
Vi...d[...]	A.II.3
C. Iulius Ursinus	A.II.14
L. Aelius L. f. Serg(ia) Aet[er]n[us], praef., ala Commag., in Aegypt? (Europos, sec. I p. Chr)	PME I 20; Criniti 1973 no. 20a*

Equites

Heliodorus	turme Bassus
Antonius	turme Bassus
Mareas	turme Bassus
Antiochus	turme Bassus
Valerianus	turme Bassus
Mamboraeus	turme Bassus
Rufus	turme Bassus
Sabinus	turme Bassus
[...]n[...] Taurus	turme Bassus
Mithridates	turme Bassus
Crispus	turme Bassus
Germanus	turme Bassus
Marcus	turme Bassus
Manander	turme Cavii (A.II.2)
Apollonios	A.II.4
Florentinus Florus	A.II.10
Aur. Quartinus	A.II.12
Terentinus Tauronis	A.II.13

Veterani

P. Ael. Germanus – veteranus ex decurione	A.II.7
C. Iunius Isaeus	A.II.11

III. *Ala nova firma cataphractaria Philippiana*

The troop was set up by Alexander Severus in Mesopotamia. He called a halt to the war with the Persians due to the invasion of the Alamanni. Beside legions, the emperor comes with the Oshroeni archers from Mesopotamia, with Arabians and Persians. After negotiating with the Alemanni, the emperor was killed at Mainz, the new acclaimed emperor being Maximinus Thrax. In the spring of AD 236, Maximinus Thrax resumes his offensive against the Alamanni on the Rhine, campaign during which seem to lose their lives the two brothers Aurelius Saluda and Aurelius Regrethus. Their brother Aurelius Aurelianus, saw to their funerals as recorded by the dedication on the tombstone from Cannstatt (A.III.1)³⁵, area where these battles most likely were fought.

35 AE 1931, 68.

Ala nova firma milliaria cataphractaria is involved in AD 238 in the conflicts from Italy against the Senate³⁶. The troop is mentioned in an inscription discovered at *Intercisa* (A.XIII.23)³⁷, which was interpreted by certain authors as its stationing in Pannonia under Gordian III³⁸. The record is though insufficient to prove that *ala* was garrisoned in this fort³⁹. In AD 244, it was involved in Philip the Arabian's campaign in *Persia*, being subsequently stationed at *Bostra* (A.III.2)⁴⁰.

IV. *Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria*

The troop is the only *ala* recruited from among the populations of Ituraei from Syria⁴¹.

Most likely, the unit was raised under Nero for the Parthian campaigns, being part of Vespasian's army returning victorious to Italy, from where the epithet Augusta resulted. Subsequently, it returned to Pannonia⁴². Nacera Benseddik argues that it was Augustus who raised the archer troop from amongst the mountaineer populations from Coele-Syria, noting that the Ituraei are numerous among the troops on the Danube limes⁴³.

Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum was the first troop of which it is known to be properly stationed at *Arrabona*⁴⁴. The epitaphs of Ituraei troopers were recorded in the eastern part of the city⁴⁵. The troop strength of that period comprised both Ituraei like *Acrabanis Ababunis*, *Hanicus* (A.IV.1)⁴⁶, *Bargathes Regebali* (A.IV.2)⁴⁷, and Celts from Pannonia (A.IV.3)⁴⁸ or Batavians and Celtic-Hispaniards (A.IV.4)⁴⁹. K. Strobel⁵⁰ argues yet that by mid 1st century AD – more precisely between 50 (?) and 70 – it was stationed at *Solva-Esztergom*⁵¹. The troop is recorded at *Solva* also by “ALARIS”- type retrograde stamps, read by Szilágyi as *ala(e) pri(mae) I(turaeorum) s(agittariorum)*⁵².

The troop built the first fort at *Intercisa*, datable under Domitian⁵³. There, *Iantumalius Blatonis* (A.IV.5)⁵⁴ was attested, the monument in question dating to the end of the 1st century AD⁵⁵. The “ALIS” – type stamps⁵⁶, dated in the interval between the end of the 1st century AD and the first

36 Speidel 1977, 704 note 51.

37 CIL III 10307 = ILS 2540; *Intercisa* I, no. 341; RIU IV 1073; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 320.

38 Wagner 1938, 34; *Intercisa* I, 247.

39 Fitz 1972, 136 note 1; Lőrincz 2001, 46.

40 CIL III 99 = IGLS 13,1, 9090 = ILS 2771.

41 Graf 1994, 269.

42 Spaul 1994, 155.

43 Benseddik 1979, 34–35.

44 Wagner 1938, 52; Fitz 1962, 44; Gabler 1967, 51. *Ala Pannoniorum* and *ala I Aravacorum* were only transient sometime by mid 1st century AD. Cichorius believed that the troop was present in Germania, near Bonn (Cichorius 1894, 1250), however no record to this effect is known.

45 Gabler 1968, 78.

46 CIL III 4367 = RIU 253.

47 CIL III 4371 = ILS 2511 = RIU 254.

48 CIL III 11083 = RIU 263.

49 CIL III 4368 = RIU 635.

50 Strobel 1984, 112, n. 72.

51 Szilágyi dates the fort construction by the end of the 3rd century AD, while L. Bárkóczi to the 4th century AD. (Szilágyi 1952, 198).

52 Szilágyi 1942, 174; Lőrincz 1978a, 4, fig. 1.5.

53 Strobel 1984, 112, n. 72.

54 Erdély-Fülep 1954, 278, Nr. 2 = Fitz 1972, 39, no. 2 = RIU 1233.

55 The cases when certain inscriptions were brought at *Intercisa* from *Aquincum* during the 4th century AD are not few (Fitz 1972, 9). Since the previous fort of the troop was at *Arrabona*, according to the same author, the monument could not have reached Dunaujváros this way (Fitz 1972, 40).

56 See Szilágyi 1942, 175–176 – analogy with a stamp at *Sirmium* (AIS), which according to his view belonged to the same troop; *Intercisa II*, 14 note 39. For *Sirmium* see the discussion in Lőrincz 1978a, 7 n. 66.

years of the following century⁵⁷ are related to the record of this troop at *Intercisa* too. B. Lőrincz appreciated that ala I Augusta Ituraeorum was stationed at *Intercisa* between 92 and 101⁵⁸. The "ALIS"-type stamps from *Intercisa* were restored as *al(ae) [I] I(turaeorum) s(agittariorum)* or *a(lae) I I(turaeorum) s(agittariorum)* (B.IV.1)⁵⁹.

The last epigraphic record of the troop in Upper Pannonia dates from AD 98⁶⁰. It seems to have participated only in the second Dacian war, when the conquest effort required the involvement of the majority of troops from Pannonia⁶¹. It will remain for a while in the newly established province, being mentioned in both the diploma of 17 February 110⁶² and that of 2 July 110⁶³. The second mentioned diploma belongs to a native coming from the troop's establishment area: *Thaemo Horati f(ilio) Ituraeo*. A more recently published diploma, another copy of the aforementioned *constitutio*, mentions the award of due rights to another soldier in this troop, *Marsua Calvius f. Arzalus*⁶⁴.

The fort where this troop was stationed in Dacia is yet unknown. The epitaph of a veteran (A.IV.11), native of *Caesarea Pontica*⁶⁵, is a clue for a possible stationing of the troop at *Micia* until it was sent to Lower Pannonia⁶⁶.

Until recently, it was believed that during 113–114, it departs for the "southern sector" of the limes in Lower Pannonia⁶⁷, where until 167, the ala is regularly mentioned in the diplomas of the 2nd c. (139⁶⁸, 146⁶⁹, ca 154/156⁷⁰, 159–160⁷¹, 167⁷², 186⁷³ (?) and 192⁷⁴). A very recently published diploma lists it among the units in *Upper Dacia* in November 24, 124⁷⁵, hence the troops's stationing in Dacia seems to be 10 years longer than previously assumed. Its garrison in Lower Pannonia was *Rittium* – Surduk, where probably it was probably displaced directly from Dacia⁷⁶.

A troop vexillation was sent to *Mauretania Caesarensis* between 148 and 150 as part of the expeditionary force of Porcius Vetustinus, with the aim of appeasing the Mauri revolt, without forming part of the mentioned province army (A.IV.6)⁷⁷. The bas-relief from *Tipasa* depicts them without armour, bareheaded and holding a bow in the left hand. It is very likely that this troop might be identified with *ala Augusta* in the inscription from Fedjana (*Mauretania Caesarensis*) (A.IV.12)⁷⁸.

57 Lőrincz 1976, 34, 88, n. 101.

58 Lőrincz 1977, 367.

59 Lőrincz 1978, 23, 25, no. 9/82–90

60 CIL XVI 42; RMD II 80, 81

61 Diaconescu 1997, 29.

62 CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2.

63 CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

64 Eck, Pangerl 2011, no. 1, 221–225.

65 CIL III 1382 = IDR III/3 179.

66 Wagner 53, Beneš 1970, 165; Russu 1972, 67.

67 Nagy 1954, 112; Nagy 1956, 63; Fitz 1962, 41.

68 CIL XVI 175.

69 CIL XVI 179–180; Eck, Weiss 2001, 195–208 = RMD V 401; Mirković 2008.

70 Lőrincz 1999, 173–175 = RMD V 415

71 CIL XVI 112–113.

72 CIL XVI 123.

73 CIL XVI 131, see Fitz 1959, 431.

74 RMD V 446; 447 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 44; CIL XVI 132

75 Eck, Pangerl 2010a, 247–255, no. 1.

76 Petolescu 1995, 44.

77 Benseddik 1982, 34–35; Spaul 1994, 155.

78 AE 1975, 951; Benseddik 1982, 195, no. 1.

S. Dušanić believed that only part of the troop garrisoned *Rittium*, the rest remaining in Dacia⁷⁹. During the Marcomannic wars, it is recorded at *Rittium*, where it remains also by their end⁸⁰.

The last known inscription of the troop is that of L. Septimius Lister, found at *Aquincum* (A.IV.9), which may be dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD⁸¹. L. Septimius Lister spent part of his service in the governor's *officium*, when it was supposed that the troop was located somewhere near the capital of Lower Pannonia. The individual was detached at *Aquincum*, the troop however did not leave meanwhile the fort at *Rittium*, in the east of the province⁸².

Previous explorations concluded that *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria* garrisoned the fort at *Ulcisia Castra* between the end of the 2nd c. and the first decade of the 3rd century AD⁸³. L. Nagy revised the reading of the inscription CIL III 15171, assigned to an *ala*, maintaining it was erroneous⁸⁴. The *ala* left Pannonia not even after the reorganisation which occurred in the Marcomannic wars' aftermath.

The altar for Jupiter Heliopolitanus⁸⁵ from Rome was raised by a *vexillatio* belonging to this *ala* (A.IV.10), and according to T. Nagy, it may be a commemorative monument of Septimius Severus's⁸⁶ campaign in Italy.

The rest of the troop monuments, datable to the 2nd and 3rd centuries come from *Syrmia* (A.IV.7)⁸⁷. On their basis and although no records of the troop were found at *Rittium*, one may assume that between the end of the Marcomannic wars and the end of the Severan period, the troop was stationed only in the fort at *Rittium*⁸⁸.

The inscriptions from the southern sector of Pannonia and the neighbourhood of Upper Moesia, dated between 223 and 226, mention the two legions of Upper Moesia and one each from Lower Moesia, Lower Pannonia, Upper Pannonia and Noricum. Both the presence of the six legions in this area and their honorific titles are indicative of certain conflicts occurring in south Lower Pannonia and Upper Moesia at the date. It is likely these were the conflicts with the Sarmatians, the troop being located there precisely to fight them⁸⁹. It is very likely that *Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum* would have received the title "*Severiana*"⁹⁰ under such circumstances.

79 Dušanić 1968, 111. The arguments are based on an inscription dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus by a *vexillatio* of the unit in Rome (ILS 2546). *Vexillationes equitum ex Syria* in the diploma at Tokod of 110 (ILS 2546), considered by Radnoti and Barkoczi as preceding *ala I Ituraeorum sagittaria* at *Rittium*, being only part of a troop, separated from that in Dacia. According to the quoted author, it is likely that elements from this vexillation reached also *Tīpasa* (*Mauretania Caesarensis*).

80 Lőrincz 1993, 52.

81 CIL III 3446; Fitz 1962, 51.

82 Cantacuzino 1928, 394; Nagy 1954, 113.

83 Wagner 1938, 52; Szilágyi 1942, 174.

84 Nagy 1937, 111. In the second century, more precisely between 133 or 138 and 163 one may consider that the troop stationed there was *cohors IIII voluntariorum c. R.* It is only possible that it was still stationed there until Alexander Severus. By the end of the Severan period, *Cohors I ∞ nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria* was dispatched there. Fitz 1962, 52; Nagy 1973, 53–57.

85 CIL VI 421 = ILS 2546.

86 Nagy 1954, 113.

87 CIL III 10222 (at *Sirmium*); A. Premerstein, N. Vulić, in *JÖAI* 6 (1903) Bb. 59, No. 97 apud. Cantacuzino 1928, 394 (at Guberevci).

88 It was supposed that the troop of Ituraei knights was assimilated by – included in – *Ala Flavia Pannoniorum*, which, according to the 3rd century AD finds assigned to it, would have occupied approximately the same territory. According to Fitz (1962, 71 n. 252), the contemporary monuments of the two *alae*, alike the stamped bricks from the 3rd century found inside the two forts, contradict the supposition above. The evidence points to the fact that construction works within the two forts were performed simultaneously, hence they had separate garrisons.

89 An interesting discussion in this respect, on the fighting strategy of the Roman cavalry in *limes* areas – see Găzdac 1997, 147–148.

90 Fitz 1962, 108.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Praefecti

C. Vettius Priscus

Tab. 4. CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; Eck,
Pangerl 2011, no. 1, 221–225
A.IV.7

Iovius Tusculanus

Decuriones

Zanis; early Flavian date

A.IV.1

Niger; date 50–100 AD

A.IV.3

Albanus Balvi, Betavus; date 50–100 AD

A.IV.4

Ti. Iulius Reitugenus; date 50–100 AD

A.IV.4

Ti. Iulius Lucanus, date 50–100 AD

A.IV.4

Cl. Rufinus

A.IV.10

Ursio

A.IV.10

Duplarius

Ael. Victorinus

A.IV.4

Equites

Thaemus Horati f., *Ituraeus*

Tab. 4. CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2

Acrabanis Ababunis f; early Flavian date

A.IV.1

Hanicus Ababunis frater?

A.IV.1

Bargathes Regebali f; early Flavian date

A.IV.2

[---] Ana[mi f.]; date AD 50–100

A.IV.3

Iantumalius Blatonis f.; date ca. AD 100

A.IV.5

Iulius Gallianus

A.IV.6

Caius Beliabo?

A.IV.6

Mantaeus Secu(ndu)s?

A.IV.6

C. Licinius Coll., *Caes(area) Pontici*

A.IV.11

Marsua Calvius, *f. Arzal(o)*

Tab. 4. Eck, Pangerl 2011, no. 1,
221–225

Veterani

Iulius Iulianus; date 150–200 AD

A.IV.8

L. Septimius Lister, *ve. ex. i. c.*; date ca. 200 AD

A.IV.9

V. *Ala I Osrhoenorum sagittaria*

The presence of this troop in Pannonia is supposed on the basis of a tile stamp discovered at *Brigetio*⁹¹. The “SOTALA” stamp was interpreted as retrograde, being read by Szilágyi as *ala(e) I O(srhoënorum) s(agittariorum)*⁹².

B. Lőrincz relates this record with the inscription from *Intercisa*, mentioning a *numerus Osrhoënorum*⁹³.

VI. *Ala I Septimia Surorum*

Little is known on a possible stationing of this troop in Pannonia. The only record to this effect is the inscription from *Carnuntum*⁹⁴. Certain authors include this inscription among the

91 Lőrincz 2001, 46, n 229.

92 Szilágyi 1942, 180 sqq, Abb 8.

93 Lőrincz 1978a, 7 n. 70.

94 H.-G. Kolbe, CJ 8, 1963–1964; AE 1966, 286 = AE 1968, 422 = AE 1983, 766 = AE 1992, 1431; IDRE II 258.

records of ala *II Septimia Syrorum civium Romanorum*⁹⁵. G. Alföldy and later B. Lórinč prefer the reading *ala I Septimia Syrorum*⁹⁶.

[O]ctavianus's career provides no clues on the troop's stationing in Pannonia⁹⁷.

VII. *Cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria equitata*

The troop was camped at Klosterneuburg (*Cannabianca? Asturis?*) for two centuries⁹⁸. According to Fitz, the fort at Klosterneuburg was separated, likely, from Noricum and attached to Upper Pannonia under Domitian⁹⁹. *Cohors I Aelia sagittaria equitata*¹⁰⁰ occupied the fort there starting with the rule of Hadrian. It is constantly recorded in the diplomas of the 2nd century AD¹⁰¹, and for the last time in a diploma from *Brigetio* of 163, when it was put by the end of the list of the troops arranged topographically from west to east¹⁰².

The record of the troop's presence at Klosterneuburg was also made on the basis of certain tile stamps (B.VII.1 – dated to the 2nd – 3rd century AD, B.VII.3 – dated 198–211 or AD 222–235 – given the presence of the imperial epithet)¹⁰³.

Szilágyi argued that for a considerable chronological interval, *cohort I Aelia sagittaria* acted like a troop auxiliary to the vindobonense legion¹⁰⁴. According to the above author, the cohort at Klosterneuburg seems to have been subordinated to the legion stationed at *Vindobona*. Klosterneuburg (*Cannabianca*) was considered a "flank fortification" of *Vindobona*; similar situation with *Ulcisia Castra* – included in the immediate range of the legionary fortress at *Aquincum*. Manipuli from X Gemina, which was permanently stationed at *Vindobona*, would have used to be dispatched to Klosterneuburg when war demands required it. The troop supplied the entire limes with bricks produced in great quantities¹⁰⁵. When the construction works of military buildings was temporarily ceased, it was the civilians who carried on with this task¹⁰⁶.

The troop record by the discussed stamps at *Carnuntum* does not mean it was camped there during the 2nd–3rd century AD. It is believed that it sent the bricks made at Klosterneuburg¹⁰⁷ at *Carnuntum* along the Danube. More recent excavations revealed a stamp of this troop, of "COHIAELS"- type (pl. 6.4–5), datable to the 4th century AD¹⁰⁸.

Castella Ala Nova (Schwechat) and *Aequinoctium* (Fischamend), located between the legionary fortresses at *Carnuntum* and *Vindobona*, had no independent garrison, these garrisons being assured

95 Spaul 1994, 211; IDRE II 258.

96 Alföldy 1987, 229; Lórinč 2001, 46.

97 PME S86: *Praefectus: – t. M. F. Faustianus, praef.*

98 Cichorius 1900, 329; Wagner 1938, 183 sqq; Szilágyi 1952, 212; Kraft 1951, 185 no. 1790; Fitz 1962, 38; Mócsy 1962, 623; Ubl 1979, 117; Lórinč 1980, 31 sqq; Genser 1986, 418 sqq; Lórinč 1994, 51.

99 Fitz 1962, 38.

100 On the confusion around *Cohors I Aelia (Caesarensium?) ∞ sagittaria* in the reading of diplomas of 2.07.133 (CIL XVI 76) and 16.10/13.11.134 (RMD IV 250) – see Nemeth 2004, 639–642.

101 Wagner 183, Szilágyi 1952, 212; Barkóczy 1958, 419. Nesselhauf explains *Caesar* as *Caesarensis*, a specific geographical determination. If this was no clerical error (RMD III n. 30), it may be a compliment to L. Aelius *Caesar, consul II*, who might have had an interest in this troop – apud Spaul 2000, 481.

102 CIL XVI 76–133; CIL XVI 77–133; CIL XVI 178–146; CIL XVI 96–148; CIL XVI 97–149; Lórinč 2001, 41, no. 41.

103 Given the long stay of this troop at Klosterneuburg, it is impossible to chronologically separate the stamps on more restricted chronological segments. Differentiations may be made starting with the Severan period, when the stamps contain the *nomina imperialia* abbreviation.

104 Szilágyi 1952, 212 n. 239.

105 Szilágyi 1952, 212 sqq.

106 Fitz 1980, 138.

107 Szilágyi 1952, 210 n. 216.

108 Čencič, Schuh 2000, 204. cat. no. 21, pl. 3,10.

by the two legions¹⁰⁹. The tile stamps identified there support such fact, however a brick stamped with the name of the troop in question¹¹⁰ was identified at *Ala Nova*. In this area, at Bruckneudorf – Parndorf Villa, Neusidel am See Stf., Pama Stf., Winden am See Villa, tile stamps of the troop in question were recorded within archaeological contexts datable to the 2nd – 4th century AD¹¹¹.

Moreover, bricks of the cohort were signalled at *Gerulata* (Rušovce-Orosvár)¹¹², *Ad Flexum* (Mosonmagyaróvár)¹¹³, *Quadrata* (Barátföldpuszta)¹¹⁴, *Arrabona* (Győr)¹¹⁵.

The stamps – datable to the 2nd–3rd century AD – from *Vindobona*, *Ala Nova*, *Carnuntum*, *Gerulata*, *Quadrata*, *Arrabona*, Pama, Neusiedl am See (?), Bruck a. d. Leitha; Mauer an der Url (= Öhling) [Noricum] (no. 119) and those from *Kelamantia* (Izá-Leányvár) (dated to the first part of the 3rd century AD) (no. 121) do not account for an effective presence of some vexillations in these places, but are rather related to the troop's brick-making speciality.

Ampler fortification works of the limes seem to have occurred under Septimius Severus between 197 and 202. These works cannot be tackled distinctly from the Barbarian movements and clashes occurring by the Danube bend and the southern sector of the Danube¹¹⁶. Moreover, according to Fitz, during the fortification works performed under Alexander Severus, only *Cohors I Aelia* <∞> *sagittaria equitata* left stamped tiles with title *Severiana* in Upper Pannonia¹¹⁷. Minor conflicts with the Quadi and Marcomanni took place between 227 and 228 near the Danube bend and in west Pannonia. The above author argues that *Legio XIV Gemina* and *Cohors I Aelia Severiana* received the title *Severiana* at that point, titulature which is epigraphically recorded in AD 230 by an inscription at Klosterneuburg (A.VII.5)¹¹⁸.

It is noteworthy that many tile stamps belonging to this troop, dated to the 4th century AD, are recorded in various places from Upper Pannonia, which indicates it was involved in ample and numerous construction works¹¹⁹.

A recent synthesis on the cohorts of the Roman empire written by J. E. H. Spaul provides a particular scenario on the troop history. Although the military diplomas record two units, *cohors I sagittaria* in Germania and another *cohors I Aelia sagittaria* in Upper Pannonia, the cumulative epigraphic data would indicate that both troops were stationed at Klosterneuburg in Upper Pannonia; so that, according to the mentioned author, the two names reference the same troop. The first unit – *quingenaria* – stationed at Bingen, would have become *milliaria* when moved to Pannonia under Hadrian, from where the *nomen imperiale: Aelia*. Since the earliest epitaphs (dated to the 1st century AD) were identified near Bingen, on mid Rhine, a second group (dated to the 2nd century AD) being found at Klosterneuburg, while a third group would comprise the inscriptions from *Drobeta* (dated to the 3rd century AD), Spaul believes that such records account for

109 Fitz 1962, 39

110 Szilágyi 1952, 211

111 See Lőrincz 1991, 244–247, *COHRIAELS* type: Bruckneudorf – Parndorf Villa (4th century), Neusidel am See Stf. (4th century), Pama Stf. (4th century), Winden am See Villa.

112 Szilágyi 1933, 86, no. 3c; no. 4; Szilágyi 1952, 205; Barkóczi 1958, 420, Fitz 1962, 41; Lőrincz 1976, 32 n. 95.

113 Szilágyi 1952, 210.

114 Szilágyi 1952, 206; Lőrincz 1980, type 10,1 = 9/6, 11/3 late Roman period.

115 The fort was simultaneously built by vexillations of XIV Gemina and XV Apollinaris. The bricks for repairs and the construction of the watch towers in the area was ensured during the 3rd century AD until mid 4th century AD, beside certain legionary vexillations, by *cohors I Aelia sagittaria* – Szilágyi 1952, 205; Lőrincz 1980, type 9,6 = 5/22a, type 10,2 = cat. no. 5/24; type 10,3 = cat. no. 5/25.

116 Fitz 1959, 253; Fitz 1962, 77.

117 Fitz 1962, 81. The most important brick – “distributing” unit for the construction works carried out during this period was *cohors VII Breucorum*. Tiles of the troop, bearing the honorific title *Severiana*, are known at *Brigetio*, *Aquincum* and *Annamantia*.

118 Fitz 1962, 111, who believed that this inscription does not refer to a war, hence it would be a *terminus ante quem*. This name may also come from the involvement in an armed conflict under Septimius Severus or Alexander Severus.

119 For an ampler discussion see Lőrincz 2001, 41 n. 207, with most recent bibliography.

the troop's garrisons between the second half of the 1st century AD and mid 3rd century AD. The absence of epithets Ulpia or Flavia from the troop name would suggest, according to the same author, that the troop was raised under Claudius or Nero from amongst archers in the eastern area of the Mediterranean (Crete, Syria, Tripoli and *Sidon*). The troops' demand on the Rhine – during the Flavian period – in order to replace those dispatched to Britannia would have led to the troop's displacement to this area. However, no diploma from Germania is mentioned. It emerges in Pannonia starting with 133 as *cohors I Aelia sagittaria*. In conclusion, Spaul believes that the unit was stationed at Klosterneuburg until Alexander Severus, being moved to Turnu Severin, in Lower Moesia (!?)¹²⁰ sometime between 222 and 240.

Cohors I sagittaria milliaria was recorded at *Tibiscum* in 165 by a dedication to emperor Marcus Aurelius¹²¹, several scholars arguing in favour of its identification with the homonym troop recorded at Bingen¹²². The troop was stationed in Dacia as early as the first part of the 2nd century AD, being recorded via the tile stamps from *Tibiscum*¹²³ and the fort at Zăvoi¹²⁴. *Cohors I sagittaria* was seemingly displaced to *Drobeta* in the second half of the 2nd century AD, no record prior Septimius Severus¹²⁵ being found. At *Drobeta* are recorded the troop's imperial appellatives: *Antoniniana*, *Gordiana* and *Philippiana*¹²⁶.

The troop's name in the epigraphic evidence from Klosterneuburg included "Aelia" both in the inscriptions dated to the 2nd century AD (A.VII.1, A.VII.3, A.VII.6., A.VII.8, A.VII.9,) and those dated to the following century (92, 93, 95, 96). In addition, during the 4th century AD, "AEL"¹²⁷ from the troop's name abbreviation used on tile stamps is not missing. Therefore, Spaul's conclusions are inaccurate since, as shown above, *cohors I Aelia sagittaria* is recorded continuously in Pannonia between 118–119 and epithets *Ant(oniniana)* (A.VII.10)¹²⁸ and *Ael(ia) Severiana* (A.VII.5.)¹²⁹ are mentioned until the first part of the 4th century AD. In Dacia, records of a *cohors I sagittaria milliaria* are early, do not include epithet *Aelia* in the troop's name, while stamps types differ from those assigned in Pannonia to *cohors I Aelia sagittaria*. The evolution of these two troops has over the 2nd–3rd century AD different developments.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Tribuni

C. [I]ulius Longinus; AD 159	A.VII.1
[P.?] Aelius The[odorus vel odotus]; likely in the 2 nd century AD	A.VII.3
[----] Flavianus; likely in the 3 rd century AD	A.VII.4

120 Spaul 2000, 481–482.

121 IDR III 1 130. The authors of the archaeological researches from *Tibiscum* believe that the troop was present there as early as the first years of the province, building the second phase of the fort there and erecting under Marcus Aurelius, together with the other troops in garrison, the stone phase of the large fort (phase IV); see Benea 1993, 99; Benea, Bona 1994, 38.

122 Russu, 1969, 171; Benea 1976, 82 n. 29.

123 "COH I S" – IDR III/1 251; "CIS" – IDR III/1 252. Part of the stamps are in fact "CIV" see Flutur 1999–2000, 376, pl. II/1–2.

124 Bozu, 1977 130–133.

125 In 179 the troop was still at *Tibiscum* see Piso, Benea 1984, 286 n. 137. Three stamped brick types were identified at *Drobeta* see Benea 1976, 80, fig. 2/1–4, 3/1, 2–5. It is worth mentioning here that type CIS, the most frequent found at *Tibiscum*, was recorded at *Drobeta* by only a specimen; type COH I SAG, the most frequent at *Drobeta*, was recorded only once at *Tibiscum*! Two specimens of the type were identified at Zăvoi. Gudea 1978, 102 identifies *cohors I sagittaria milliaria* with *cohors I Antiochensium sagittaria*.

126 CIL III 6279, 8018 = 1583, Benea 1976, 77–84.

127 On the discussion regarding the troop record in the 4th century AD, see Lőrincz 2001, 41 n 270.

128 Ubl 1991, 111, Nr. XVII 135; Weber, Selinger 1994, 216 no. 258; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 426 (dating 220–222).

129 CIL III 5647; Fitz 1983, 106 No. 395; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 427.

Cassius Paul(I)[i]nus; 2 nd –3 rd century AD	A.VII.12
C. Aurelius Crescens; 230 AD	A.VII.5
<i>Principales</i>	
<i>Vexillarii</i>	
Dasillus; date 20–150 AD	A.VII.7
<i>Custodes armorum</i>	
Firmanus Cassronis; date 100–150 AD	A.VII.7
Septimius December; date 200–250 AD	A.VII.11
<i>Eques</i>	
Liccaius Licin[i (f)]; early Hadrianic date	A.VII.6
<i>Pedites</i>	
Nero Sab[i]ni (f.); date 100–150 AD	A.VII.8
Surio Provincial[i]s fil.; date 100–150 AD	A.VII.9
Septimius Crescens; date ca. 222 AD	A.VII.10
Septimius Karinus; date prior 222 AD	A.VII.10
Ulpus Avitus; date 100–300 AD	A.VII.13
[----]tanius [----]us; date 100–300 AD	A.VII.14

VIII. *Cohors I Antiochensium sagittaria*¹³⁰

It was believed that under Vespasian, the troop was stationed in Pannonia.¹³¹ It is recorded in Moesia starting with 75, being listed among the troops recorded by the diploma of Taliata of 75¹³². In Upper Moesia, it is present in the diplomas of September 16, 94¹³³, May 8, 100¹³⁴, 100¹³⁵, May 16, 101¹³⁶ and 96/100¹³⁷.

Although there is no record within the military diplomas on its being among the troops in Dacia, cohort *I Antiochensium* appears on one inscription from *Drobeta*, dated to 103–105, most likely recording the troop's involvement in the construction of the fort, where it seems to have been stationed also subsequent the end of the Dacian campaigns (A.VIII.1)¹³⁸. Its direct involvement into the Dacian campaigns is uncertain¹³⁹. In addition, it is likely that during such campaigns or just after, the troop was led by *M. Aemilius Bassus*, mentioned on an inscription from *Albintimilium* (Italia, regio IX) as *praefectus cohortis pr(imae) Antiochensium*, then *tribunus cohortis pr(imae) Brittonum* and, finally, as *praefectus alae Moesiaca* (Lower Germania)¹⁴⁰. The same individual¹⁴¹ is recorded in the diploma of July 2, 110 from *Porolissum*, awarded to a former soldier of cohort *I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata civium Romanorum*, which meant he was the commander of cohort *I Antiochensium* little before that.

130 Strobel 1984, 120; Spaul 2000, 424; Petolescu 2001, 82–83, no. 18; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 272.

131 Wagner 1938, 87; Lőrincz 2001, 46.

132 RMD 2 = AE 1968, 446 = AE 1980, 788 = ILJug-2, 477.

133 CIL XVI 39 = AE 1897, 108; CIL XVI 39; RMD V 335; Weiss 2008, 279–280, no. 4.

134 CIL XVI 46 = AE 1912, 128; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 326–329, no. 2.

135 Eck, Pangerl 2008, 338–345, no. 3–5; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 562–566, no. 18.

136 RMD III 143; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 329–337

137 RMD IV 218. The diploma was issued to a veteran infantryman of *cohors I Antiochensium*. All that remains of his name is the last letter of his father's name: *S, f(ilio)*. See also Matei-Popescu 2006–2007, 41–42.

138 AÉ 1959, 309 = IDR II 14; ILD 51.

139 Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, 99.

140 ILS 9506; Pflaum 1960, no. 103; PME, A 75; Holder 1980, 257, E 136.

141 CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

It is then constantly listed in the diplomas of Upper Moesia as shown by the records of 112¹⁴², 115 – without the mention in *exped(itione Parthica)*¹⁴³, 132–133¹⁴⁴, 151¹⁴⁵, 157¹⁴⁶, 155/159¹⁴⁷, 158/159¹⁴⁸, 160¹⁴⁹ and 161¹⁵⁰ (Table 1).

A recently discovered military diploma awarded to a footsoldier in this cohort, was copied after an imperial constitution of April 23, 157¹⁵¹: [*coh(ortis) I Antioch(ensium) sag. cui praest L. C] ael[ius Sa ...], ex pe[dite], Baralae Barga[t(h)is f. ...]*

J. Spaul hypothesised that the troop was reorganised in the Marcomannic Wars' aftermath, when it was named *cohors I Hemesenorum*¹⁵². Other scholars advanced a similar hypothesis due to the indication *sagittaria*, namely the troop's amalgamation with *cohors I sagittaria* from *Tibiscum*¹⁵³ after 165.

In late diplomas (AD 151, 157 and 161) the troop is mentioned with the indicative *sagittaria*, which immediately makes us think of the *COH I SAG ANT* stamps from *Drobeta* (B.XVI.3, D.XVI)¹⁵⁴, assigned to *cohors I sagittaria*, a unit with a still debated history, unrecorded by military diplomas. The mention of the unit weapon before the ethnonym is a major inconvenient in any restoration thereof.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Praefecti

L. C]ael[ius Sa ...]; date AD 157

Weiss 2008, 286–290, no. 6

Pediti

Baralus Barga[t(h)us f.; date AD 157

Weiss 2008, 286–290, no. 6

IX. *Cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Thraconitarum*

Cohors I Augusta Canathenorum et Thraconitarum from *Arabia* is named *cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Thraconitarum* in one inscription from *Ad Flexum* (Mosonmagyaróvár)¹⁵⁵. When analysing an inscription from *Arabia*, M. P. Speidel's proposition was to identify the troop with the one according to the CIL editor's reading, namely *cohors I Flavia Canathenorum*, in which case this would have referenced a different troop, displaced to *Raetia*¹⁵⁶. Since the epigraphic evidence is rather poor, namely just one inscription identified in *Pannonia* and none in *Raetia*, the identification of this troop with the unit stationed at *Straubing* is unlikely.

142 Eck, Pangerl 2008, 355–363, no. 8–9

143 Eck, Pangerl 2005; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 363–370, no. 10.

144 RMD IV 247.

145 Pferdehirt 2004, no. 31; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 372–376, no. 12.

146 Pferdehirt 2004, no. 37; RMD V 418; 419; Weiss 2008, 286–290, no. 6; see also Eck, Pangerl 2008, 384–386

147 AE 1998, 1617.

148 AE 1999, 1315 = M. Mirković, ZPE 126 1999, 251, no. 4.

149 CIL XVI 111 = AE 1935 69; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 40; see also Weiss 2008, 290–291, no. 7.

150 RMD 55 = AE 1972 657.

151 Weiß 2008, 286–290, no. 6. See also Pferdehirt 2004, no. 37, RMD V 418–419.

152 Spaul 2000, 480–482, see also the views in Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 291–292:

153 A.Rádnóti, AArchSlov 26, 1975, 207; Benea 1976, 77, 84; Benea 1978, 25; Gudea 1980, 102; Strobel 1984, 120, note 15, 142.

154 Benea 1976, 80, fig. 3/2–5, type C; IDR II 106c.

155 Lőrincz 2001, 33.

156 CIL III 14379; Speidel 1977, 709. The author would review this hypothesis, locating the troop in *Pannonia*, see Lőrincz 2001, 33 no. 199.

The troop might have arrived to Pannonia together with *cohors I Aurelia Antoniana mill. Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata c. R.*, *cohors I mill. Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum sagittaria equitata* (= *cohors I millitaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata c. R.*) and *ala I Thracum Herculiana*¹⁵⁷ from the East, with the obvious purpose to reinforce the Pannonian *limes*¹⁵⁸. Its stationing at *Ad Flexum* (A.IX.1)¹⁵⁹ is recorded only during Septimius Severus's rule, however it might have remained on the spot also after this chronological interval.

A troop *eques*, namely Claudius Victorinus (A.IX.1) is known; the inscription is dated between AD 205 and AD 211.

X. *Cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittaria*¹⁶⁰

This troop is recorded in Lower Moesia on June 14, 92 by the military diploma of Cataloi¹⁶¹. It is possible that the same unit was also mentioned on the military diploma fragment concerning the Moesian army in 78¹⁶². Under such circumstances, one may argue that from the moment of its recruitment likely, it was moved to Lower Moesia¹⁶³. The unit is constantly recorded in the *constitutiones* awarded to the troops in Lower Moesia as follows: August 14, 99¹⁶⁴, May 13, 105¹⁶⁵, October 19, 120¹⁶⁶, May/December 121¹⁶⁷, August 20, 127¹⁶⁸ and April 2, 134¹⁶⁹. Within the diplomas of February 28, 138 and April 7, 145, the unit is mistakenly numbered *I Chalcidenorum*¹⁷⁰. Later, it regularly appears in the diplomas of 146¹⁷¹, September 27, 154¹⁷², February 8, 157¹⁷³ and 156/158¹⁷⁴.

There is no information on its possible garrison place while stationed in the province of Lower Moesia. The tiles stamped *COH II C* identified at Gura Canliei and Izvoarele (*Sucidava*), interpreted as to belong to this troop¹⁷⁵ might provide a clue to this effect. Unfortunately, for lack of other more conclusive records, we may not theorize on garrison locations, given that not even the text completion is certain.

Furthermore, there is no record on any of the troop's commanders or soldiers, active on the territory of Lower Moesia, with one possible exception, namely that from *Apri* in Thracia, completed as follows: [*praef. Coh. II*] *equ[itatae Chalcide]nor[um]*, which would date, anyhow, under

157 The troop would return to Syria in 182–183.

158 Lőrincz 1994, 55; CIL III 3668.

159 Lőrincz 2001, 245 cat. no. 292.

160 Cichorius 1900, 269; Wagner 1938, 118–119; Aricescu 1977, 65; Beneš 1978, 24; Spaul 2000, 429; Matei-Popescu 2004, no. 35; Matei-Popescu 2010, no. 18.

161 Petolescu, Popescu 2004, 269–276.

162 Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2002a, 227–231, no. 1: *II C[...]*.

163 Wagner 1938, 118; Beneš 1978, 24; Spaul 2000, 429.

164 CIL XVI 45; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 8; Eck, Pangerl 2006, 97–99.

165 Pferdehirt 2004, no. 11; Petrovsky 2004, 10–17.

166 RMD V 356; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 533–537, no. 9.

167 Eck, Pangerl 2008, 296–300, no. 10.

168 RMD IV 241; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 23.

169 CIL XVI 78; Weiss 2008, 300–302, no. 11.

170 CIL XVI 83, respectively RMD III 165/ RMD V 399; Weiss 2008, 314–316, no. 16; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 548–552, no. 14–15. This evidently records *II Chalcidenorum* and not *I Chalcidenorum*, as Aricescu believed (1977, 57). A *cohors I Chalcidenorum* was recorded in 157 in Syria (CIL XVI 106). Another *cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata* was stationed in Numidia (Le Bohec 1989a, 70–73). See the discussion in Matei-Popescu 2010, no. 18.

171 RMD IV 270; Weiss 2008, 307–309, no. 13; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 553–556, no. 16

172 RMD V 414; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 557–562, no. 17.

173 Ivantchik, Krapivina 2007, 219–242.

174 RMD I 50; Weiss 2008, 309–312, no. 14.

175 Matei-Popescu 2004, 35; Matei-Popescu 2010, no. 18.

Vespasian¹⁷⁶. Should we agree with this view, then cohort II Chalcidenorum was *equitata*, thus also comprising horse-mounted units.

It was most likely raised in the pre-Flavian period from *Chalcis*, Lebanon and transferred to Moesia, province where both garrison and stationing term are unknown, except for the mentions in the military diplomas.

XI. Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria equitata (?)¹⁷⁷

Until recently, the date of the troop establishment was related to the annexation of the kingdom of *Commagene* (AD 72), which is in fact emphasised by its imperial name. The presence of this unit on the diploma of Cataloi of AD 92 accounts for an earlier recruitment, namely prior the start of Vespasian's rule¹⁷⁸. The unit is also mentioned among the troops of Lower Moesia in the *constitutiones* of 97¹⁷⁹, 105¹⁸⁰, 111¹⁸¹ (Table 4). The epitaph from *Tomis* recording *M. Iulius Tertullus* and *Mitrادات*, a veteran, respectively a foot soldier in the troop¹⁸² dates to the period when it was stationed in Lower Moesia.

During the first decades of the 2nd c., the history of the troop of Commageni may be not tackled separately from that of the legions involved, during the Dacian campaigns, in the operations carried out in the Muntenia area. *Exercitus Moesiae Inferiors*¹⁸³ was central to the military effort unfold by the Empire in the conflict with the Kingdom of Dacia¹⁸⁴ due to the strategic position of the Moesias in relation to the north-Danubian territory¹⁸⁵. V Macedonica (*Oescus*) and I Italica (*Novae*)¹⁸⁶ formed the nucleus of the troops in Lower Moesia during the first Dacian campaign. The two legions were involved in ample operations, being the single troops recorded at *Buridava* during the first campaign¹⁸⁷. According to the same scenario, detachments of V Macedonica and I Italica were most likely transferred together with cohort I Flavia Commagenorum from *Buridava* to *Drajna de Sus* and *Mălăiești* in order to build forts along the access routes from Transylvania¹⁸⁸. Such troop movements are related to the destruction of the Dacian fortifications at *Gura Vitioarei*, *Plopeni*, *Slănic* or *Homorâciu*¹⁸⁹, but also *Târșor* or *Pietroasele*,

176 AE 1973, 485 = AE 1976, 583; Saddington 1982, 71; PME, Inc. 75.

177 Cichorius 1900, col. 273–274; Christescu 1937, 183; Wagner 1938, 123–124; Kraft 1951, 60–61; 173, no. 1330–1331 a, b; Russu 1972, 70; Aricescu 1977, 59–60; Tudor 1978, 334; Beneš 1978, 26–27; Strobel 1984, 127; Vlădescu 1983, 25; Spaul 2000, 403; Petolescu 2002, 95–96; Matei-Popescu 2004, 204, no. 20; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 279–280; Matei-Popescu, Țentea, 2006a, 87–88; Țentea 2007a, 143–148.; Matei-Popescu 2010, no. 22.

178 Petolescu, Popescu 2004, 269–276.

179 RMD V 338; Eck, Pangerl 2005a, 185–192; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 510–512, no. 2.

180 CIL XVI 50.

181 RMD IV 222

182 AE 1938 6 = ISM II 176. According to I. I. Russu, *Mithradates* is an Iranian name, while *Barales* is of Syro-Semite origin (Russu 1969, 171 note 13).

183 CIL III 12467.

184 Wagner 1938, 123; Russu 1969, 172; Strobel 1984, 127; Petolescu 1995a, 249.

185 Christescu 1937, 13–4; Sarnowski 1987, 107–22. See to this effect Matei-Popescu 2004, 123–129, with complete discussion.

186 On the issue regarding the involvement of the legions from Lower Moesia in the Dacian campaigns see the more recent discussion in Matei-Popescu 2007, 290–300 and Petolescu, Matei-Popescu 2008, 357–367.

187 IDR II 381; Zahariade 1997, 59. Their record there, beside *pedites singulares*, led to the hypothesis according to which the governor of Lower Moesia was stationed there (*Bichir* 99–102). *Doruțiu-Boilă* (1990, 251–71) dates yet the presence of *pedites singulares* at *Buridava* after the cease of hostilities in the first campaign or even after the establishment of the province.

188 Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 61–62. This view frames within an ampler strategic vision, previously maintained by C. C. Petolescu, who believed that between the two Dacian campaigns several valleys that represented access routes to the intra-Carpathian region had been blocked by fortifications built by the Roman army (Petolescu 1986, 510–514)

189 On the strategic position of said forts as well as on their relation with the Dacian fortified points see Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997 fig. 1.

which must have been built in the same period. It was supposed that the garrison of the fort at Drajna de Sus comprised, within the time frame between the two Dacian campaigns, vexillations from the above mentioned legions and the strength of the cohort of Commageni. According to Zahariade, subsequent the conquest of Dacia, such units were supplemented by a vexillation of XI Claudia¹⁹⁰. The entire debate on the displacement of respective troops was argued on the basis of stamped tile material finds belonging to the units in question. It is also worthy of note that any scenario based on the interpretation of tile stamps may be taken into consideration only to the extent to which respective territory was included at that time into a certain province, which would have determined the jurisdiction over the territories where the *figlinae* producing the respective building material¹⁹¹ were located. Under such circumstances, any propositions regarding the operations of various troops during the campaigns on the basis of tile stamps analysis are still mere suppositions.

The stamps found in the fort at Drajna de Sus were included in three types, the third consisting of two sub-variants¹⁹²: stamps “COH COM” represent type Drajna de Sus I¹⁹³, stamps “COH I COM” type Drajna de Sus II¹⁹⁴, while “COH COMA” type Drajna de Sus III.a-b¹⁹⁵. Though fragmentary, a stamped brick identified in the fort at Voinești may be framed in type III.a¹⁹⁶. Type III.b has the same specificities with type III.a., the text imprint being deeper and the cartridge doubled on the inside by a thin line. The archaeological investigations from Târgșor yielded tile stamps belonging to this troop¹⁹⁷. Though fragmentary, a stamp from Voinești may be framed in type Drajna III and possibly in sub-variant III.b, yet the two specimens from Târgșor belong to a different type (pl. 2.1–7).

The number of stamps used by Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum at Drajna de Sus would suggest, according to the scholars dealing with the study of the tile material from north-west Muntenia, that the entire strength of the troop was stationed at Drajna de Sus¹⁹⁸. Respective assertion, as well as the computation of troop strengths in the area, are based on the assumption that each stamp type belonged to a *centuria*. To what extent does the discovery of the two stamps from Târgșor and the specimen at Voinești support the presence of certain vexillations of the troop of Commageni in these areas or only the transport of tile material from the fort at Drajna de Sus?

190 Until recently, it seemed that the legion was stationed for a while at *Brigetio*, in Pannonia, however it is very likely that such evidence dated to the period of its transfer to the Lower Danube limes, which occurred, according to Florian Matei-Popescu, following the Dacian 101–102 winter attack (Lőrincz 1975, 342–352; Matei-Popescu 2004a, 123–129). M. Zahariade believes that only part of the legion was displaced to *Oescus*, where it was stationed together with V Macedonica, the transfer taking place prior the start of the first Dacian war concurrently with the vexillation from *Brigetio*, while another vexillation would have been sent directly to *Durostorum* around 105–106 (Zahariade 1999, 599–607). Subsequent the 101–102 winter attack, under extraordinary pressure on two fronts, rather expanse, Trajan decides to bring XI Claudia and detachments of I Minervia (or possible its entire strength), leaving at *Brigetio* the vexillation dealing with the erection of the fort in that point of the Pannonian limes, as the emperor wished not to excessively weaken this limes sector. Fl. Matei-Popescu argued that only after the 101–102 winter attack, the army of Lower Moesia was reinforced with new legions and two *milliariae* cohorts, V Macedonica being moved within the same context, to *Troesmis* (Matei-Popescu, 2004a, 123–129). It is possible that the army of Lower Moesia had been involved in the development of military operations starting rather with AD 102, namely after Decebalus’s and his allies attack south the Danube (Matei-Popescu 2007).

191 See to this effect Piso 1996, 198–199.

192 CIL III 12530a = IDR II, 603a–c = Ștefan 1944, 124.

193 Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 14 a–b; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127 fig. 5/I a.

194 Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 15 a–c; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127 fig. 5/II b.

195 Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23; type III.a – fig. 16 a–b, type III.b – fig. 16 c–e; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127 fig. 5/III c–d.

196 Bădescu 1981, 292, fig. 2; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127 fig. 5/g.

197 Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127 fig. 5/IV e–f. See also previous mentions, recorded based on the oral information provided by the author of the research: Petolescu 1995a, 249 note 433; Petolescu 2002, 96 note 5.

198 Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 64.

Only the results of the mineralogical studies pending publication¹⁹⁹ doubled by the discussion of novel elements would be able to bring clarification to this subject²⁰⁰. Within a recent study, M. Zahariade and D. Lichiardopol proposed a method of computation of the unit strengths stationed in north Muntenia on the basis of the theoretical ratio between the typology and distribution of the stamped tile material. This approach is based on the collection of tile finds from north-west Muntenia²⁰¹. The hypotheses on the strength of the troops stationed in each fort are limited though by the precariousness of the archaeological investigations of respective forts, which hinder any estimation of troop strengths based on their internal planning and size of the buildings inside.

Beside records of the stamps of the cohort of Commageni, at Drajna de Sus, Voinești and Târgșor are also mentioned the stamps of legion XI Claudia, which may signify, under the reserve of similar future records, that we are dealing with a possible attachment of Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum to vexillations from this legion²⁰².

Subsequent the administrative reorganisation under Hadrian, the cohort is recorded among the units in Lower Dacia within the diplomas of 126²⁰³, 130²⁰⁴, 131–132²⁰⁵, 140²⁰⁶ and 146²⁰⁷ (table 9). Chronological landmarks are missing for the records in the other forts of Lower Dacia. Troop records at *Romula*²⁰⁸, *Slăveni*²⁰⁹ and *Acidava*²¹⁰ are due only to tile stamp finds. This stamp type, in retrograde writing, was dated according to history logic after 117–118, when the troop was displaced to the Alutanus *limes* area²¹¹, differentiating from Drajna de Sus types. The stamps from *Romula* and *Slăveni* may belong, in our view, to different subtypes. Cartridge sizes are very similar, the writing is retrograde in both cases, yet the shape and thickness of the letters are different. Since only one specimen is known for each site, a possible interpretation to this effect should be approached with caution.

The first reading of the troop stamps from *Romula*, in the Papazoglu collection, established by O. Hirschfeld was accurate: *Coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)*²¹². When published in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, A. von Domaszewski confuses the abbreviation of the imperial name “FL” with “II”²¹³, a reading which would be adopted on other occasions as well²¹⁴. V. Christescu, following the comparison with two military diplomas from Upper Dacia, province where *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* had no purpose, re-establishes the correct reading of the type stamps²¹⁵. D. Tudor considered that *Romula* was the most important place of discovery, at the date, of

199 The mineralogical analysis of the tile material with the stamp of cohort I Commagenorum is under study with the Mineralogy Department of the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj.

200 The archaeological research in the fort at Drajna de Sus was resumed in 2012, yielding interesting results.

201 Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 121–133 = Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2009, 173–184.

202 A very good analogy to this effect is *Cohors I Aelia sagittaria*, which for a considerable time span operated as a troop auxiliary to the legion stationed at *Vindobona*. The cohort was camped at Klosterneuburg, however strategically it seems to have been subordinated to the legion stationed at *Vindobona*. Klosterneuburg (*Cannabianca*) was deemed as the “flank fortification” of the fort at *Vindobona*. In addition, *Cohors I <∞> nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria (Ulcisia Castra)* seems to have been included in the range of the legion at *Aquincum*.

203 Ilkić 2009, 59–73.

204 RMD V 376

205 Mugnai 2011, 277–280.

206 IDR I 13 = RMD I 39

207 RMD IV 269; Eck, Pangerl 2011, 225–230, no. 2.

208 IDR II 382.

209 Tudor 1933, fig. 3 c, d; IDR II 528 = CIL III 8074, 14d (erroneous reading).

210 IDR II 551 = CIL III 8074, 14d.

211 Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 68 note 18.

212 O. Hirschfeld, in *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, Berlin, II, no. 40 (apud. Tudor 1933, 229).

213 CIL III 8074, 14c.

214 Cichorius 1900, 274; Pârvan 1926, 277.

215 Christescu 1937 (= IDR II 382; Tudor 1933, 67–68, 229 no. 1; Tudor 1978, 334; Vlădescu 1983, 35).

most stamps of the troop, believing it had been stationed there as early as AD 105. From there, certain vexillations would have been temporarily displaced at Slăveni and Acidava, in occasion of their involvement in an intense building campaign on Olt river valley and the north-east area of Muntenia – at Drajna de Sus. Hence, subsequent the administrative reorganisation under Hadrian, *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* would have remained in Lower Dacia²¹⁶. The displacement of the troop to the north of the Danube would have been on a different route. Most likely, D. Tudor's assumptions may reference the period just after the abandonment of north-west Muntenia by the Romans. Ioana Bogdan-Cătănicu argued that a *castellum*²¹⁷ was located at *Romula* and that the troops whose stamps were found in the precinct wall and other official buildings were not garrisoned at *Romula*, but were involved in the construction and reconstruction of the Roman town²¹⁸. At Slăveni, the troop is recorded by stamps of the same type as in *Romula*, however of smaller size²¹⁹. It is impossible to know whether this cohort was garrisoned either at *Romula*²²⁰ or Slăveni²²¹.

According to Al. Barnea and I. Ciucă, the record of bricks exhibiting the stamp of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum* documents the presence at *Acidava* of certain vexillations of the respective troop as builders, the fort becoming later the troop garrison. The time when *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* returned to Olt River would have coincided with the replacement of the timber fort at *Acidava* with that in bricks²²².

Since the number of stamps belonging to the cohort of Commageni is rather small on the territory of Lower Dacia should we take into account the possibility that part of this tile material had been transported there in certain cases, then the entire situation may be reconsidered.

The single record chronologically relevant comes from the fort at Câmpulung-Jidava. In *retentura dextra*, on the pavement of a barracks' *contubernium*, was discovered a brick bearing the signature of a soldier (*miles*) in cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum*. It was regarded as the first record of a troop on *limes Transalutanus*²²³. The barracks is single-phased; the dating (based on coins) would be Severan, a coin from *Philippus Caesar* found in the burning level would account for the fort's destruction around the attacks of the Carpi, under Philip the Arabian²²⁴. By comparison with the troop of Commageni from *Micia*, C.C. Petolescu assumed the troop was *equitata*²²⁵. In the *principia* basement, in "the same rooms and even placed in compact groups" were identified more than 400 arrowheads²²⁶. This stage of the *principia* at Jidava, which includes the discussed *armamentaria*, may very likely correspond to the stationing of the cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum* there. C.C. Petolescu deemed as certain the troop's stationing in the fort there at least in the first half of the 3rd c.²²⁷

The fact that in the *castellum* at Urluieni, among weaponry items discovered over the archaeological diggings performed there arrowheads are dominant, made the excavator believe that the troop camped there was one made-up of archers. The hypothesis is also supported on the

216 Tudor 1933, 232.

217 Bogdan-Cătănicu 1994, 350 note 32.

218 Bogdan-Cătănicu 1981, 25–26 note 226.

219 On the issue of the units stationed at Slăveni, see Vlădescu 1983, 32–57.

220 Tudor 1978, 334.

221 Beneš 1978, 27.

222 IDR II 551 = CIL III 8074 14d; Barnea, Ciucă 1989, 148, 154. For a presentation of the fort see Tudor 1978, 301–304 and Vlădescu 1983, 82–85.

223 Petolescu 1999, 189; Petolescu 2002, 95–97, no. 30.

224 Petolescu, Cioflan 1984, 15–17.

225 Petolescu 1995a, 250 note 443, arguments being based on the considerable sizes of the *horreum*, indicating that a *cohors equitata* was stationed there; see Petculescu 1987, 70.

226 Popescu, Popescu 1970, 257, fig. 12/2. See to this effect Davies 1977, 257–265; Zanier 1988, 22–25.

227 Petolescu 1995a, 250; Petolescu 2002, 96–97.

fact that these *castella* were located on the line of forts in west Muntenia where the Roman army's adversaries were the Dacians and the Roxolani, who were good bow fighters²²⁸.

Information on the troop composition is rather scarce. Two prefects are known, possibly of Italian origin²²⁹: M. Antoninus Modianus and C. Betitius Pietas²³⁰. Two of the troop soldiers are recorded also in the inscription from *Tomis*: M. Iulius Tertullus and Mitridates²³¹. The name of a soldier, [– –]*ITULCAI* (?), is also known on a *graffito* found in the fort at Jidava (B.XI.9)²³².

Therefore, the troop strength corresponds to that of a *cohors quingenaria*, however it might have also been *equitata*²³³. Both by analogy with the mentioned troop as well as on the basis of archaeological circumstances in the fort at Jidava, we may suppose that the troop name was *Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum equitata* (?) *sagittaria*.

XII. *Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittaria*²³⁴

The troop is listed in the diplomas for the province Upper Moesia of July 12, AD 96²³⁵, May 8, AD 100²³⁶, AD 100²³⁷, May 16, AD 101²³⁸ and AD 103/105²³⁹ (Table 1). It was involved in the Dacian expedition of emperor Trajan²⁴⁰, being subsequently recorded among the troops of the newly created province in October 14, AD 109²⁴¹ and July 2, AD 110²⁴².

After the administrative reforms of AD 118/119, it will form part of the *auxilia* of Upper Dacia. The first record dates from April 14, AD 123, a military diploma copy of an imperial *constitutio* granted to the soldiers in this troop, in the unit of *Pedites singulares Britannici*, the *ala I Brittonum c. R.* and the cohort *II Gallorum Macedonica*, which had already been transferred to the territory of the novel province, *Dacia Porolissensis*. The diploma was awarded to *Zacca, Pallaei f., Syrus*, under the command of *Ulpus Victor*²⁴³. He had been raised no later than AD 98, his origin indicating the concern of the Roman authorities to complete the strength of archer cohorts with

228 Bogdan-Cătănicu 1994, 348 – accurately underlined that when arrows are also identified in a site, one may not conclude in absolute that *sagittarii* were stationed there, as the bow was used for training by other soldiers as well.

229 Wagner 1938, 124; Russu 1969, 172.

230 CIL VI 3504 (*Roma*), PME 1976/9 A 138; respectively CIL IX 1132 (*Aeclanum*, Regio II), PME B 22 – dating to the first part of the 2nd c. AD; ILD 106.

231 ISM II 176. The inscription at *Tomis* cannot evidence a possible stationing of the cohort in the city by the Black Sea shore, since the tombstone beneficiary was a veteran and not an enlisted soldier (Matei-Popescu 2004, no. 20).

232 Reading ILD 164 (the find was also mentioned in Petolescu 1995a, 250; Petolescu 2002, 96–97). Felix Marcu argues that a *graffito* recording the name of a soldier in *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* does not automatically evidence the stationing of the troop at Jidava. In the support of his arguments, the author mentions a *graffito* on a brick marked with the stamp of *legio XX* from Caernarvon dated under Septimius Severus, who recorded a soldier of an auxiliary troop (*coh. Sunicorum* or *Sunucorum*) working in the legion *figlina* (Marcu 2004, 577).

233 Petolescu 1995a, 250 note 443.

234 Cichorius 1900, col. 273–274; Christescu 1937, 183; Wagner 1938, 123–124; Kraft 1951, 60–61; 173, no. 1330–1331 a, b; Russu 1969, 167–186; Petolescu 1972, 43–50; Beneš 1978, 26–27; Russu 1972, 70; Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974, 247–258; Petolescu 1976, 393–398; Gudea 1976, 517–521; Tudor 1978, 334; Petculescu 1982, 84–89; Strobel 1984, 128; Spaul 2000, 404–405; Petolescu 2002, 97–99 no. 31; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 280; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, 87–88; Țentea 2007a, 148–151.

235 AE 1977, 722 = RMD I 6.

236 CIL XVI 46; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 326–329, no. 2.

237 Eck, Pangerl 2008, 338–345, no. 3–5; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 562–566, no. 18.

238 RMD III 143; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 329–337.

239 January 12, 105?, CIL XVI 49; CIL XVI 54, Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13, RMD V 339.

240 Ströbel 1984, 128.

241 AE 1990, 860 = RMD III 148.

242 IDR I 3 = CIL XVI 163.

243 Pferdehirt 2004, no. 22.

recruits coming from the same area and having likely the same skills. Other four diplomas record it in Upper Dacia in 136/138²⁴⁴, 144²⁴⁵, 157²⁴⁶ and 179²⁴⁷ (Table 8).

The troop stationing in the fort at *Micia* is recorded for almost the entire duration of the province, except for the first two decades of the 2nd c. The earliest record dates under Hadrian²⁴⁸. Other inscriptions were dedicated by the troop to emperors Antoninus Pius²⁴⁹, respectively Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus²⁵⁰ in AD 164. The rebuilding of the baths (*balneas coh(ortis) II Flaviae Commagenorum vetustate dilapsas restituit*)²⁵¹ by the care of prefect *Sextus Boebius Scribonius Castus* occurs in 193. The baths are further repaired under Severus Alexander²⁵². An inscription accounts the troop's involvement, beside other units, in the performance of important military works during the joint rule of Septimius Severus and his sons. This inscription also mentions a [*praefectus*]us²⁵³.

Yet, it seems that this unit was stationed at *Micia* as early as Trajan, given the fact that we are now able to more accurately date the altar dedicated by the unit prefect, *M. Arruntius Agrippinus*, to Jupiter Turmasgades²⁵⁴. It is very likely that this individual had become in AD 118 prefect of the Eastern desert, in Egypt (*praefectus Montis Berenicidis*), as mentioned on a Greek ostrakon found at *Krokodilô*²⁵⁵. This post might have been occupied after fulfilling the three equestrian militiae and consisted in the control of roads and stone quarries in the area of Egypt²⁵⁶. Therefore, since the command of a *quingenaria* cohort comes first amongst the three equestrian militiae, the mission of *Agrippinus* to *Micia* may be dated in the first years of the province²⁵⁷.

Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum is recorded in the fort at *Micia* by four tile stamp types²⁵⁸. The reading of the first two types raised some problems, leading to the contention of scholars.

Type 1: "COH II FL COMM" – *Cohors II Fl(avia) Comm(agenorum)*. Originally, the stamps pertaining to this type were restored *COH II HIS*, being assigned to cohort II *Hispanorum*²⁵⁹. Since an important number of bricks of the type were found in the baths, Floca assigned the stage of rebuilding and enlargement of the baths to cohort II *Hispanorum*, suggesting altogether that in the missing part of the inscription that mentions the rebuilding thereof under Alexander Severus (A.XII.2), the name *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* should be replaced with *cohors II Hispanorum*. The same reading of the stamps in question is found again in occasion of the publishing of a number of ovens²⁶⁰ or tiles and stamped bricks²⁶¹. Adjustments to such restorations were made

244 RMD V 384

245 IDR I, 14 = CIL XVI 90.

246 IDR I, 15 = CIL XVI 107.

247 Piso, Benea 1984, 263–295 = RMD II 123 = AE 1987, 843.

248 CIL III 1371 = IDR III 3, 51.

249 Petculescu 1982, 84–85, no. 1, fig. 1; ILD 307 – date: December 10, AD 139 – December 9, AD 140.

250 CIL III 1372 = IDR III 3, 52; CIL III 1373 = IDR III 3, 53.

251 CIL III 1374 = IDR III 3, 45.

252 AE 1903, 66 = Daicovicu 1930, 35 no. 1 = IDR III 3, 46.

253 CIL III 1343 = AE 1978, 705; IDR III 3, 77.

254 IDR III 3, 138.

255 Cuvigny 2005, 135–154, no. 87, with a comment on his career at p. 138–139.

256 See the career of *M. Artorius M. f. Pal. Priscillus Vicasius Sabidianus* preserved on an inscription from *Puteoli* (CIL VI 32929 = ILS 2700) under Trajan, who after having been successively: *praefectus cohortis XV Voluntariorum c. R.* (Lower Germania), *tribunus legionis VII Claudiae p. f.* (Upper Moesia), *praefectus alae I Pannoniorum* (Africa or Lower Moesia), becomes *praefectus montis Berenicidis*; PME, A 168; Holder 1980, 157, E 139.

257 Fl. Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, 88.

258 Petolescu 1986, 350, no. 341, believed their publishing in IDR III 3, 197 – where three types are mentioned, confusing and incomplete.

259 Floca 1968, 113, n. 10.

260 Floca, Ferenczi, Mărghitan 1970, 9–10.

261 Petolescu 1972; 43–46, Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974, 254–256.

only years later, following the discovery of better imprinted stamps, which provided the opportunity of a more accurate reading²⁶².

Type 2: "COH II FL COMC". The reading of the type, currently accepted, was established within a study on the epigraphic finds from *Micia* by L. Petculescu²⁶³; the completion may be as follows: *Coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(ma)g(enorum)* or *Coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum) C(ommodiana)* or *G(ordiana)* or *G(alliana)*. C.C. Petolescu believed possible to read letter G, the last, as *G(etica)*²⁶⁴. It is also worth mentioning that specimens on which the three letters in COH are equal belong in fact to the type at issue²⁶⁵ and are no variants of type COH II FL COMM²⁶⁶.

Types 3, respectively 4 posed no reading and interpretation problems. The stamps are: "CO SE FLA C", read as *Co(hors) Se(cunda) Fla(via) C(ommagenorum)*²⁶⁷, respectively "COH II COM" – *COH(ortis) II COM(magenorum)*²⁶⁸.

More recently, stamps of the troop were identified at Cladova (pl. 2.9–10), approximately 100 km downstream the fort at *Micia*²⁶⁹. No elements regarding the dating of these stamps could be specified, which according to E. Nemeth, would not exclude the displacement of certain vexillations of the troop to the Lower Mureş river under Trajan²⁷⁰.

There are plenty of epigraphic records in order to restore its full name: *Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittaria*, to which adds the imperial cognomen as the case may be. In the mentioned diplomas of 109 and 110 it was named *sagittaria*, respectively *sagittarior(um)*. In one inscription from *Micia* it appears with the name *eq(uitata) s[agittariorum]*²⁷¹. L. Sossius is *decurio*, which proves that the troop is *equitata*²⁷², its strength corresponding to a *cohors quingenaria equitata*²⁷³. Other two inscriptions from *Micia* record the troop's imperial cognomina: *[Severi] ana [Alexandriana]*²⁷⁴ and later, *Philippiana*²⁷⁵.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Praefecti

M. Arruntius Agripinus

A.XII.21

262 Petolescu 1976, 395–397 no. 3; Gudea 1976, 519, no. 3.

263 Petculescu 1982, 87–88, no. 3, fig. 3.

264 AE 1983, 848 = Petolescu 1984, 378 no. 233. Slightly different readings attributable to the poor imprint of the cartridge: Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974, 256 no. 33 (Petolescu 1972, 47, note 25) adds by the end of the reading in CIL III 8074.14a – S(agittariorum); Floca 1968, 112 proposes "COMAG".

265 Petolescu 1976 397 note 17.

266 Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974 253 no. 35.

267 Petolescu 1976 397 no. 4 (= IDR III 3, 197, type II – incomplete due to the poor preservation state of the specimen; Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974, 256 no. 34 – A is rendered incorrectly, namely in reverse. The letter is in fact, in regular position).

268 Petolescu 1976 397 no. 5. Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974, 255–6 no. 32 note 45 inadvertently quote an analogy for this type as the specimen Szilágyi 1946, 55 pl. XVIII/253 (the quoted cartridge is in fact XVII/253 (!) and belongs to type "COH COM", being similar to type *Drajna de Sus I* (!). The find spot of the specimen published by Szilágyi was unknown at the date.

269 Hügel 1996, 74, II–1. a–c. Site Cladova "Dealul Carierei" is multi-layered, comprising inhabitancy traces datable from the Upper Palaeolithic until the 16th c. The Roman tile material was found in the construction layer of Medieval buildings – V. Boroneanţ, G. P. Hurezan, P. Hügel, *Cladova, Dealul Carierei*, CCA 2001 (2002), 106. A Dacian fortified settlement was investigated over several campaigns in the same spot, the material being dated over the 2nd – 1st c. BC. For a synthetic presentation see more recently Pop 2006, 19.

270 Nemeth 2005, 43.

271 AE 1903, 65 = Daicoviciu 1930, 37, 6 = ILS 9273 = IDR III 3, 138.

272 CIL III 1355 = IDR III 3, 105.

273 Daicoviciu 1930, 24, 36–7; Christescu 1937, 185; Floca 1968, 113; Petolescu 1995a, 251.

274 AE 1903 66 = IDR III 3, 46 (n. 99)

275 CIL III 1379 = IDR III 3, 58.

Sex. Boebius Scribonius Castus	A.XII.1, A.XII.11
Iulius Arcanus	A.XII.18
C. Pomponius Cassianus	A.XII.13, A.XII.14
Tampius Ruf[inus]	A.XII.8
C. Vettius Sabinianus	A.XII.17
[...]dianus	A.XII.2
M. [...]	A.XII.10
Ignotus	A.XII.12
Αίλιανός Εύφράνορος	P. IFAO III 18
Ulpus Victor	Pferdehirt 2004, no. 22
<i>Centuriones</i>	
Crisp(us) Lucius	A.XII.15
C. Iulius [Mart]ialis	A.XII.25
<i>Decuriones</i>	
L. Sossiu[s]	A.XII.16
<i>Actarius</i>	
Ianuarius	A.XII.19
<i>Curator</i>	
Aure(lius) Dionisius	A.XII.22
<i>Veterani</i>	
Dion[ysius]	A.XII.24
Aur(elius) Maurus	A.XII.23
? Do[mitius]	A.XII.20
Zacca, Pallaei f., Syrus	Pferdehirt 2004, no. 22

XIII. *Cohors I Aurelia Antoniana milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum*

The stationing of *cohors I Aurelia Antoniniana milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata c. R.* is extremely well documented due both the many archaeological investigations and the publishing of their results as well as the exceptional status enjoyed by the Emesene troop at *Intercisa*. Since the troop records are abundant and the results of the studies dedicated to it notorious in the specialty literature, our presentation herein shall be rather succinct, limited to pinpointing the main aspects related to the troop history.

It was believed that the troop was raised under Trajan and transferred to Pannonia by Hadrian²⁷⁶, which was yet not confirmed since there are no records of it in military diplomas prior 178, being listed in the fragmentary diplomas of the period between 178 and 203²⁷⁷. J. Spaul believes it was possibly created following the reorganisation of *cohors I Antiochensium*²⁷⁸. The unit seems to have been recruited under Marcus Aurelius and sent to *Intercisa* by the end of the emperor's rule.

²⁷⁶ The thesis postulated by Rostovtzeff, adopted by S. Lambrino (1932, 262-266) and Wagner (1938, 142) theorised the raising of the troop under Trajan and the transfer to Pannonia under Hadrian. This was not confirmed, since the troop was not recorded within military diplomas prior 167.

²⁷⁷ CIL XVI 123, 131, 132.

²⁷⁸ Spaul 2000, 424.

In 176, Syrian auxilia from the East arrive in Pannonia: *cohors I Aurelia Antoniniana milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata c. R. (Intercisa)*, *cohors I Aurelia Antoniniana milliaria Surorum sagittaria equitata (Ulcisia Castra – Széttendre)*, *cohors I Augusta Canathenorum et Trachonitarum* from Arabia (appears with the name *cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Trachonitarum – Ad Flexum?*), *ala I Thracum Herculiana* (returns to Syria in 182–183)²⁷⁹.

Until the arrival of the Emesene cohort, the fort at *Intercisa* headquartered only *alae*; 92–101, *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sag.*; 101–105, *ala I Britannica c. R.*; 105–118/9, *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*; 118/9–138, *ala I Thracum veterana sag.*; 138–176, *ala I c. R.*²⁸⁰. Therefore, it seems that strategically, the defence of the area could not be conceived without the involvement of mounted units, which most likely led (beside other reasons as well) to the displacement there of the Emesene troop.

It seems that following the Marcomannic wars, the fort at *Intercisa* was greatly damaged, hence after the arrival of the Emesene cohort it benefited of many reconstruction works²⁸¹. These events are epigraphically reflected by three building inscriptions (A.XIII.2 – dated AD 180–183, respectively A.XIII.3–4 – dated AD 183–185). The reconstruction of the fort by *cohors I Aurelia Antonina mill. Hemesenorum sag. eq. c. R.* takes place between 180–183/185. In 185 the building in this area of certain *burgi*²⁸² is recorded.

The building of temples is occasioned by the visit of emperor Septimius Severus to Pannonia, respectively *Intercisa* in AD 202. Then, temples for Deus Sol Elagabalus (A.XIII.8) and his *paredra* Diana Tifatina (A.XIII.7), attested in *interpretatio Romana*, are erected. The construction of the two sanctuaries represents an homage brought to the imperial couple. They are true devotion deeds of the troop and implicitly of the community to the imperial couple, especially to Julia Domna, daughter of the greatest priest of Elagabalus from *Emesa*. Other monuments are built in occasion of emperor Caracalla's visit (A.XIII.9–11)²⁸³.

According to Fitz, the troop's loyalty to the Severan dynasty might have facilitated the swift ascension of the unit officers to governorship offices or as legion legates. The friendliness to this troop and not its peculiar importance on the eastern border of Pannonia would explain, according to the same author, an "enigma" rather difficult to solve, namely the rather disproportionate number of inscriptions found at *Intercisa* compared to the rest of the forts on the Lower Pannonia limes. The epigraphic material from *Emesa*, datable between AD 180 and 260 is also rich and varied. Therefore, the Emesenes behaved at *Intercisa* as a true *diaspora*, erecting numerous and opulent monuments. Such wealth is also specific to cemetery monuments, which account for the much better economic status enjoyed by these soldiers compared to other soldiers from other forts on the *limes*. Most of the monuments in question belonged to the soldiers and their families, thus this phenomenon may not be assigned to Syrian traders, who played in their turn during the 3rd c. an important role in the Danube provinces. Hence, the loyalty to the Severan dynasty practically materialised in the welfare of this community both financially as well as by other benefits.²⁸⁴

The Syrian community at *Intercisa* seems to have had isolated itself from the rest of the Pannonian populations, which was atypical for circumstances in Pannonia²⁸⁵. Mócsy

279 Lőrincz 1994, 53; Lőrincz 2001, 35.

280 Lőrincz 2001, 124. Contra: Fülep (1954) and Barkóczy (1964, 257 sqq) argue that the fortification was built after the Dacian wars, being firstly occupied by *cohors I Alpinorum equitata*. T. Nagy 1959, 52 considered that it was built prior the conquest of Dacia by XIV Gemina and *ala Siliana*. When *ala Siliana* moved to Tolna after the Dacian wars, *ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria* built the stone fort at *Intercisa*, later destroyed by the lazyges.

281 Fitz 1962, 77; Fitz 1972, 63.

282 Fitz 1972, 67.

283 Fitz 1972, 91.

284 Spaul 413–414.

285 Fitz 1972, 247–8.

believed that the prosperity of the Danube provinces in general was due to the army contribution. The constant recruitment from Syria led yet into transforming the *Intercisa* area into a Syrian “enclave”²⁸⁶.

The importance of the troop within the defensive system of Lower Pannonia, respectively its involvement in certain conflicts in the limes area are also evidenced by the imperial epithets included in its official titulature: *Antoniniana* (the earliest record in 213 – A.XIII.11), *Maximiniana* (the earliest record in 237 – A.XIII.36), *Gordiana* (the earliest record in 240 – A.XIII.16)²⁸⁷.

The tile stamps of the troop are also very numerous, hundreds of tile stamps framing 5 or 6 types²⁸⁸ being recorded (B.XIII.1.a–c – pl. 6.1–3).

Inscriptions and diploma mentions indicate that the troop was formed of archers – *sagittaria*, as well as that its strength corresponded to an *equitata milliaria* unit²⁸⁹.

Of interest are the weaponry and military equipment finds in *Intercisa*, which, beside the typological framing, may be directly connected to the troop of Emesenes and its fighting style. They include the workshops for making bow bone accessories²⁹⁰ and a typical Syrian helmet that bears marked its bearer’s name (A.XIII.34)²⁹¹.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Centurioni

M. Aurelius Heraclitus; date 200–250	A.XIII.65
Exuperatus; date 238–244	A.XIII.18
P. Aelius Procu[lus]; date 200–250	A.XIII.45
P. Aelius Proculinus; date 200–250	A.XIII.45
Aurelius Rufus; date 200–250	A.XIII.21
M. Ulpius Iulianus; date 200–250	A.XIII.50

Decurioni

Aur. Is<au>ricius Verecundus; date 200–250	A.XIII.42
M. Aurelius Monimus; date 200–250	A.XIII.43
M. Aurelius Primianus; date 200–250	A.XIII.63
L.[Aurelius Ve]recundinus; date 200–250	A.XIII.64
Iulius Sa[l]ustianus; date 200–250	A.XIII.33
Maximus; date 200–250	A.XIII.34

Principales

Duplicarii

Aurelius Barsamsus; date 200–250	A.XIII.23
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286 Mócsy 1974, 227.

287 Lőrincz 2001, 147.

288 Lőrincz 1976 p. 93; Lőrincz 1978, 26, 27 Taf. 7/4; 8/1, 2. Their record evidences repairs, however no inscription mentions such fact.

289 Within the military diplomas of the *constitutio* of August 11, 192 (RMD V 446; 447 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 44; CIL XVI 132) there are certain inadvertencies on the unit name. On *intus* appears “*quingenaria milliaria*”: *D^{oo} Hemesenorum*, deemed a copy error and not the record of another troop formed of Emesene archers (RMD 446, 11, RMD 447, 10). The argument for the existence of a cohort *Hemesenorum* is the record of a *c(ohortis) Hem(esenorum) Gord(ianae)* on an altar from Leanzfalu (A.XIII.18). This inscription was included yet rightfully by B. Lőrincz among the records of the troop at *Intercisa* (Lőrincz 2001, no. 319).

290 Salamon, 1977, 209, fig. 1

291 Szabó 1986, 421–425.

Barsemis Abbei; date ca. 240	A.XIII.19
Aurelius Valentianus; date 200–250	A.XIII.44
<i>Signiferi</i>	
M. Aurelius Malchianus, date 200–250	A.XIII.51
<i>Vexillarii</i>	
Antoninus Bassus; date ca. 250	A.XIII.47
Antoni{n}us R(u)ssus; date 200–250	A.XIII.53
<i>Custodes armorum</i>	
Aurelius Iustinianus; date 200–250	A.XIII.31
<i>summi curatores</i>	
M. Aurelius Malchianus; date 200–250	A.XIII.51
Aureli[us----]s; date 200–250	A.XIII.62
Aurelius Matu[rus]; date 200–250	A.XIII.24
Iulius Donatus; date 200–250	A.XIII.25
<i>Beneficarii praefecti and tribuni</i>	
Aurelius Antonius; date 200–250	A.XIII.40
Aurelius Monimus; date 200–250	A.XIII.48
M. Aurelius Silvanus; date 200–250	A.XIII.22, 41, 49
<i>Curatores</i>	
M. Aurelius Cerdon; date 200–250 ()	A.XIII.9
<i>Stratores tribuni</i>	
M. Aurelius Deisan; date 200–250	A.XIII.13
<i>Equites</i>	
Macedo; date 200–250	A.XIII.34
Constans; date 200–250	A.XIII.34
Aurelius Her<c>ulanus; date 200–250	A.XIII.26
<i>Milites (pedites)</i>	
[---]i f. Sigillius; date ca. 200;	
M. [Aurelius] Primianus; date sec. III	A.XIII.52
L. Aurelius Antoninus; date 200–250	A.XIII.64
M. Aurelius Lon[ginus?]; date 200–250	
M. Aurelius Decimus; date 200–250	A.XIII.54
Aurelius Maximus; date 200–250	A.XIII.67
Aurelius Bassus; date 200–250	A.XIII.67
M. Aurelius Marcus; date 200–250	A.XIII.55
Aurelius Rufinus; date 200–250	A.XIII.56
M. Aurelius Valerianus; date 200–250	A.XIII.68
Germanius Valens; date 200–250	A.XIII.57
Marinus Silvani f., date 200–250	A.XIII.58
M. Aurelius; date 200–250	A.XIII.58

Veterani

[M. Au]relius Bazas; date ca. 200	A.XIII.38
M. Aureliuds Cerdon; date 210–220	A.XIII.9
M. Aurelius Deisan; date 210–220	A.XIII.13
M. Aurelius Heraclitus; date ca 235/240	A.XIII.65
M. Aurelius Salumas; date ca. 250	A.XIII.39
Aurelius Antonius; date 200–250	A.XIII.40
M. Aurelius Silvanus; date 200–250	A.XIII.22, 41
M. Ulpius Iulianus; date 200–250	A.XIII.50
Aurelius Is<au>ricius Verecundus, date 200–250	A.XIII.42
M. Aurelius Monimus, date 200–250	A.XIII.28, 43
M. Aurelius Primianus, date 200–250	A.XIII.63
Iulius Sa[l]ustianus, date 200–250	A.XIII.33
Aelius Valentianus, date 200–250	A.XIII.44
Aelius [P----], date 200–250	A.XIII.59
Aurelius Damas, date 200–250	A.XIII.27
Domitius Longinus, date 200–250	A.XIII.60
Aurelius Firmus, date 200–250	A.XIII.60
Aurelius Manaia, date 200–250	A.XIII.61
Olumnus Valens, date 200–250	A.XIII.69
Gaius Maximus, date 200–250	A.XIII.69
Sabinus, date 200–250	A.XIII.29, 66
Sabinianus, date 200	A.XIII.29
Aurelius Mammianus, date 200	A.XIII.30
Iulius Barsimius, date 200	A.XIII.32

XIV. *Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria*

The name Augusta suggests that the troop was set up under Augustus²⁹², though this imperial cognomen appeared for the first time in the titulature of the auxilia under Tiberius²⁹³. Its actions unfolded in Syria until Vespasian, being subsequently moved to Pannonia at Esztergom²⁹⁴.

The unit was recorded in Pannonia²⁹⁵ by the diplomas of February 20, AD 98²⁹⁶ and November 19, AD 102²⁹⁷ (Table 11), which proves it was not involved in Trajan's first Dacian campaign. Strobel believed that the troop participated in the first Dacian campaign as part of the Pannonian army force²⁹⁸. It seems that until AD 89 it was stationed at *Solva* (Esztergom), being later moved to *Ad Statuas* (Várdomb)²⁹⁹. Szilágyi argues it was also stationed at *Aquincum*³⁰⁰.

At *Solva* two funerary stelae belonging to soldiers in the troop were identified. The first inscription was put for Crescens Iulionis by a certain Victor, most likely a brother-in-arms (A.XIV.1)³⁰¹.

292 Dabrowa 1986, 222 n. 9.

293 Cheesman 1914, 46–47; Holder 1980, 14 sqq.

294 Spaul 2000, 440.

295 Russu 1972, 72–73 no. 50; Petolescu 1995a, 265.

296 CIL XVI 42; RMD II 80, 81.

297 CIL XVI 47.

298 Strobel 1984, 136 note 207.

299 Nagy 1956, 69 n. 185; Lőrincz 2001, 37.

300 J. Szilágyi BpR 14 1945, 75, 147.

301 Lőrincz 2001 cat. no. 375.

The monument for Soranus Iamelicus was erected under the care of a troop centurion, [G]ermanus (A.XIV.2)³⁰². The name of the deceased hails, according to B. Lőrincz, from Syria³⁰³.

The last record of the troop in Pannonia dated to 102 was hence the fort *Ad Statuas*³⁰⁴. It is involved in the second campaign against the Dacians³⁰⁵, remaining in the newly established province subsequent its abandonment. It was listed among the troops in the province of Dacia within the *constitutiones* of October 14, AD 109³⁰⁶ and February 17, AD 110³⁰⁷, and no longer in the other *constitutio* of July 2 of the same year³⁰⁸ and that of May 3–4, AD 114³⁰⁹.

It was believed that stamps “COH I AVG” from Buciumi and *Porolissum* belonged to this troop. In the fort at Buciumi, in the wall of a second phase barracks was identified a fragmentary inscription, reused, displaying the troop’s name³¹⁰. The inscription was dated originally by C.C. Petolescu³¹¹ under Trajan. This hypothesis was opposed by N. Gudea two years later, who believed the reading forced and the dating erroneous, appreciating that the inscription could be of a later date, even after mid 2nd c.³¹², though later the author reviewed said statements³¹³. Hence, the unit which would have been stationed in the earth-and-timber fort Buciumi 1 would be *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*, both stamped tiles being identified, according to the excavators, in the early levels of inhabitancy³¹⁴. According to N. Gudea, at Buciumi would have arrived after AD 114 the *cohors II Nervia(na) Brittonum (II Augusta Nerviana Brittonum milliaria)*, which would have evidenced that the Iturean unit was moved to *Porolissum*³¹⁵.

The stamped bricks belonging to this troop found at *Porolissum* account most likely for the troop’s involvement in certain construction works³¹⁶. One of the “COH I AVG” types stamps from *Porolissum* was read in the end part INP³¹⁷. The accurate reading, namely COH I AVG, was established by I. I. Russu following the identification of a similar find; the last three letters were in reverse causing Szilágyi’s erroneous interpretation³¹⁸. According to N. Gudea, type “COH I AVG” and “ITV” tile stamps recorded *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*³¹⁹. Two years later, the author would review this interpretation within a study aiming to complete the publishing of the AD 109 diploma from Ranovač. There, the author mentioned there was no longer doubt regarding the presence in Dacia of two different Iturean cohorts, maintaining that the single records of this troop presence at *Porolissum* are represented by the “COH I AVG”³²⁰ stamp type. In what the place available for the troop in the fort at Buciumi is concerned, N. Gudea argued this infantry unit was 1000 men strength (composed of 10 centuries), occupying four barracks in *praetentura dextra* and one barracks in *praetentura sinistra*,

302 Visz 1992, 25–42; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 376.

303 Lőrincz 1993, 297–9.

304 Gabler 1976, 27.

305 Strobel 1984, 136; Petolescu 1995a, 265.

306 AE 1990 860: *I AVG ITVRAEOR*; Garbsch, Gudea 1991, 62–3, 73.

307 CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2: *I AVG ITVRAEORVM SAGITAR*; RMD IV 220; Eck, Pangerl 2011, no. 1.

308 CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

309 RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16.

310 Chirilă 1972, 117, nr. 11; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975 no. 39, Gudea 1997a, 24.

311 Petolescu 1974, 599–601, no. 8. For the age of the inscription pleads also the fact it was reused in the walls of a barracks. The imperial titles date it to AD 114–115.

312 Gudea 1976, 519–20.

313 Gudea 1997a, 25.

314 Chirilă, Gudea 1972 117; Gudea 1997a, 24, fig. 12.1.

315 Gudea 1978, 67.

316 Gudea 1978, 67.

317 Szilágyi 1946, p. 53, pl. XV/220.

318 Russu 1959, 316 n. 1.

319 Gudea 1989, 524, pl. CXIX/3, 4.

320 Gudea 1991, 73.

the rest being camped in *retentura*³²¹. However, to our knowledge, this troop is mentioned nowhere else with the title *milliaria*, while in exchange, *cohors II Augusta Nerviana*, recorded as *milliaria* by military diplomas (see table 4, table 6) was stationed in this fort.

The unit records at *Porolissum* were deemed to include the “COH I AVG” type stamps, imprinted on bricks, and tiles with letters “ITV” incised in the raw fabric discovered in the fort on Pomet, as well as a tile fragment with letters “ITV” incised in the raw fabric coming from the so-called “customs”³²². N. Gudea proposed as alternative to his interpretation also a possible assignment of these bricks to an Iturean *numerus* of *sagittarii*³²³. Aforementioned solution has no analogy within the rest of the Empire.

Once the diploma at Ranovač was republished in 1991, N. Gudea reviews his interpretation assigning the bricks incised with letters “ITV” to cohort I *Ituraeorum sagittaria*. A few years later, the author resumes the older hypothesis, whilst his most recent assertions in this respect support the hypothesis of 1991³²⁴.

According to N. Gudea, *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria* was a mobile unit which arrived at *Porolissum* in 106, from where was sent to Buciumi after 110. Subsequent Trajan’s reign, it would be brought back to *Porolissum*³²⁵. From *Porolissum* it would be displaced to a fortification in Upper Dacia.

The interpretation of the records on the possible stationing of *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* in the north-western area of Dacia may be summarised as follows. For the inscription found in the fort at Buciumi (A.XIV.4) the reading [...] *Aug(ustus) [trib(unicia) / pot(estate) III im(p)eratori]... co(n)s(uli)... / pro[co(n)s(uli) / co]h(ors) I [...]*³²⁶ was proposed, thus connecting this restoration to that of a COH I AVG type stamp marked on bricks and tiles hailing from the forts at Buciumi (B.XIV.1)³²⁷ and *Porolissum* (B.XIV.1 – pl. 4.1–2)³²⁸, assigned to *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*. The inscription date, given the order number of the tribunician power, [XV]III or [XVI]III, was AD 114 –115. More recently, C.C. Petolescu argued that the inscription dated rather under Hadrian, namely between December 10, AD 134 – December 9, AD 135³²⁹. Hence, this *cohors I*, respectively *cohors I Augusta* (mentioned on the tile stamps) may be other troops (or other troop) in the army of *Dacia Porolissensis*. Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum is recorded in the diplomas for Upper Dacia between 124 and 179, which, corroborated by the possible dating of the inscription at Buciumi between 134–135, evidence that respective inscription and tile stamps belong to another troop, a variant which would be *cohors I [I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria]*, a troop recorded in the fort at Buciumi³³⁰.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Praefecti

L. Calidius L. f. Camidienus (from Vettona, Italy); date 98. CIL XVI 42, XI 7978, PME C 50

T. Statilius Taurus (Mainz); date sec. 2 AD. CIL XIII 6817, PME S 70 (fig. 19.2).

321 Gudea 1997a, 25.

322 Gudea 1996, 231, pl. LII.2.

323 Gudea 1989, 166–8.

324 Gudea 1996, 72.

325 Gudea 1997a, 24–26; Gudea 2001, 42. Nevertheless, in the last quoted publication, on the same page, the mentioned author stated that “after 114, only cohorts I Ulpia Brittonum, I Ituraeorum and V Lingonum remained in the fort” (!).

326 Chirilă, Gudea 1972, p. 117, no. 11, pl. CXXXIX/1; Petolescu 1974, 599–601, no. 7.

327 Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 117, pl. CXXXIX/2; ILD 636.

328 ILD 741

329 ILD 635.

330 Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 115–116, pl. 136; Petolescu 1977, p. 161, note 16; Piso 1978, 186–187, fig. 9; AÉ, 1978, 690; ILD 633; see also Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, 85.

Principalis

[G]ermanus, *centurio* – date: Early Flavian

A.XIV.2

Pedites

Soranus Iamelicus (*Solva* – Esztergom), *miles*, *Ituraiu(s)*

A.XIV.2

Crescens Iulionis (*Solva* – Esztergom); date: Early Flavian

A.XIV.1

P. Insteius Agrippa (from *Cyrrhae*), date 98 AD

CIL XVI 42, XI 7978

The troop was mentioned in Upper Dacia in the military diplomas of 124³³¹, 136/138³³², 144³³³, 157³³⁴, 158³³⁵ and 179³³⁶ (Table 8). I. Piso and Doina Benea consider it is likely that the troop occupied one of the forts on the western border of Dacia, in the Banat area³³⁷. On the basis of a new reading of one of the stamp types assigned to cohort I Alpinorum discovered in three different forts on the eastern limes of Dacia (Călugăreni, Sărățeni and Inlăceni), I. Piso and F. Marcu argued that CPAI stamps would read *cohortis Primae Augustae Ituraeorum*, the unit being stationed in the fort at Călugăreni³³⁸. According to this hypothesis, *cohors I Alpinorum* would have been stationed in the fort at Sărățeni, thus delimiting the tile stamps of the two mentioned troops. In this state of research, such hypotheses must be supported by comprehensive multi-disciplinary studies so to refine any conclusions.

It was assumed that an inscription from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* would represent a mention of a member of this troop *[P(ublius) A]elius D[...] praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) I[turareorum?]*³³⁹, the most likely reading being *T[hracum]*³⁴⁰.

XV. *Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria equitata (?) milliaria*

In order to establish the start date of this troop history it is important to discuss the *cursus honorum* of an anonymous knight known from an inscription at *Antiochia* in Pisidia³⁴¹. His career is as follows: *prae]]/fec(tus) coh(ortis) Ityr(aeorum) / trib(unus) mil(itus) leg(ionis) IV / Scyt(h)ic(ae) praef(ectus) / equit(um) praef(ectus) rip(ae) / Danuvi(i)*. The inscription dates from the first years of Claudius's rule³⁴², which indicates that the anonymous exercised the prefecture of the Iturean cohort under Tiberius³⁴³. This document is the earliest epigraphic record of the troop in question.

Devijver³⁴⁴ considers that the reading of the inscription part mentioning the auxiliary troop may be *coh. Ityr[raeorum]* or *coh. I Tyr[iorum]*. According to the conclusions of the above mentioned author on the regularity in the exercise of equestrian militias, one may attempt to settle the issue. A knight who had obtained the title of military tribune exercised his function in another province than where he was *praefectus cohortis*³⁴⁵. The individual was *tribunus*

331 Eck, Pangerl 2010a, 247–255, no. 1.

332 AE 2002, 1223; RMD V 384.

333 CIL XVI 90 = IDR I, 14: *[I AVG] ITVR*.

334 CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 15: *I AVG [ITVR]*.

335 CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16: *I AVG ITVR*.

336 Piso, Benea 1984, 280 = RMD II 123: *I AVG ITVRAEORVM*.

337 Piso, Benea 1984, 280 = RMD II 123.

338 Piso, Marcu 2008, 175–176.

339 IDR III/2, 295 no. 348.

340 Piso 1988, 163–164, no 1.

341 AE 1926, 80. For the troop history see Țentea 2004, 806–815.

342 For the discussion in this respect see: Dabrowa 1986, 225 note 34.

343 Dabrowa 1986, 225.

344 PME II 921.

345 Devijver 1981, 112.

militum in legion IV Scythica stationed in Moesia. In this province, there are records of cohort *I Tyrriorum*, which makes E. Dabrowa choose the reading identifying *cohors I Ityraeorum* in this inscription.

The inscriptions from *Mogontiacum* record that the troop was stationed in Germania during the first years of Tiberius's reign, being very likely formed under his predecessor. It is impossible to establish whether the troop was raised prior or after *Actium*³⁴⁶. Given that the Iturean archers were involved in the civil wars, it is possible that in the first part of its existence the troop was stationed in Syria.

Among the recent archaeological finds from Mainz (*Mogontiacum*), a *graffito* incised on a wooden tablet is of interest in our case: *Dato Itura(eo) / (centuria) Pauli*. It was found in an Augusteian level of the road connecting the legionary fortress to the bridge over the Rhine. The dendrochronological analysis of some timber girdles indicate the date AD 17–16³⁴⁷. This artifact represents the earliest date that may be connected to arrival of the Iturean troop at *Mogontiacum*. The typological dating of certain artifacts discovered in the same archaeological context points to a few years later³⁴⁸. Most likely, this might record a soldier in *cohors I Ityraeorum*³⁴⁹.

The earliest epigraphic records of the troop come from *Mogontiacum* still. Inscriptions for soldiers in the cohort were identified on its territory and nearby. Interestingly, the Semitic anthroponyms borne by these soldiers are mentioned: *Caesus Haneli* (A.XV.4)³⁵⁰, *Monimus Ierombali* (A.XV.5)³⁵¹, *Sibbaenus Eronis* (A.XV.6)³⁵².

Tacitus speaks about a large number of *sagittarii* within Germanicus's army during the campaigns against the Germans³⁵³. Epigraphic sources show there was a troop of *sagittarii* in Germania as early as Augustus³⁵⁴. Although Tacitus makes no mention of the archer troops, one may suppose that *cohors I Ityraeorum* was amongst them also.

Therefore, under Augustus it was believed that the troop was adequate to the military exigencies in Germania, their weapon type and fighting style being taken into consideration.

The date when the Iturean troop left Upper Germania may be deduced only in connection to certain events developing in the East. Tacitus mentions that legionary and auxiliary units from Germania were transferred to Armenia in AD 58 in order to fight against the Parthians³⁵⁵. An inscription from 65 confirms Tacitus was correct by recording legion IV Scythica in campaign against the Parthians³⁵⁶. It was believed that the troop of Ituraei accompanied this legion to the Eastern front based on its record in AD 88 on a diploma from Syria³⁵⁷. The troop is however missing from the list of troops located in Syria according to the diploma of 65³⁵⁸. An important number of military units from the European area were concentrated by the end of Nero's rule in the Caucasus³⁵⁹ and Alexandria³⁶⁰ areas. It was possibly then when this troop was brought

346 Saddington 1982, 164 note 4.

347 Hessinger 2010, 294–296.

348 Hessinger 2010, 294–296.

349 One should take into account that epigraphic evidence referring to several Iturean troops were found in this area (see).

350 CIL XIII 7040.

351 CIL XIII 7041.

352 CIL XIII 7042.

353 Tacitus, *Annales* 2.9.2; Saddington 1982, 29, 30.

354 CIL XIII 7515; Kraft 184, nr. 1771.

355 Tacitus, *Annales* 13.35. 4.

356 AE 1978, 658.

357 CIL XVI 35.

358 Saddington 1982, 164 note 4.

359 Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.6. 4.

360 Tacitus, *Historiae* 5.1.2; Josephus, *BJ* III 1, 3.

to the area, which would explain why there is no record of it in the aforementioned diploma. B. Oldenstein-Pferdehirt argues that the unit was stationed at Mainz between 17 and 69³⁶¹.

Subsequent the war waged by the Empire against the Parthians, cohorts I Ituraeorum remains in the East in the action range of legion IV Scythica. It is possible this legion was attached the troop of Iturean *sagittarii*. The legion in question was recorded in AD 62 in Syria, which may favouring those scholars arguing that the auxiliary troop in question left Germania in order to partake the Parthian wars in AD 58. This hypothesis may take shape when based on additional arguments. Obviously, its lack from the list of troops stationed in Syria in AD 62 does not automatically mean that the troop was not located there. It was involved in the battles against the Judean insurgents. An inscription from *Pessinunt* in the honour of Ti. Claudius Heras proves the troop of Ituraei at issue was involved in the conflicts in Judea under Vespasian³⁶².

From Syria, the troop is displaced to the Lower Danube area in order to participate in the Dacian wars³⁶³, being mentioned in the diplomas of October 14, AD 109³⁶⁴ and February 17, AD 110³⁶⁵. It is not mentioned though in the diploma of July 2, AD 110, which made some authors, until the diploma of AD 109 from Ranovać was published, to question the validity of the information in the first diploma of AD 110 regarding the record of cohort I Ituraeorum. Then, it was appreciated as a scribal error. Disregarding such assertions, D. Kennedy and E. Dabrowa, when analysing some aspects related to *cohortes milliariae*, respectively linked to the cohorts of Ituraei within the Empire, place the troop in Dacia during the first years of existence of the new province³⁶⁶. Once the Ranovać diploma was republished, N. Gudea reviews the issue, appreciating that the army of Dacia under Trajan also comprised two cohorts formed of Itureans, the certainty of the existence of both troops in Dacia being ensured, according to the mentioned author, by the mention of *cohortes I Ituraeorum sagittaria* also in the diploma of AD 109³⁶⁷.

Strobel argues that during the conquest campaigns the troop operated on the *Drobeta – Bumbesti Jiu – Pasul Vulcan* line towards the Dacian fortresses in the *Șureanu Mountains*³⁶⁸.

Cohors I *Ituraeorum sagittaria* is recorded at *Porolissum* by type *CHSIJS* and *CHSS*, as well as *ITV* (pl. 4.3–4)³⁶⁹ stamps. These stamps were restored over time differently. Szilágyi pointed out several ways in the reading of these stamps, believing they are of different types: *C(o)H(or)S I P(almyrenorum) S(agittariorum)* or no. 230/231: *C(o)H(or)S S(agittariorum)*³⁷⁰, respectively *C(o)H(or)S S(urorum)* sau *C(o)H(ors) S(urorum) S(agittariorum)*³⁷¹. C. Daicoviciu opted for *C(o)H(or)S I (h)IS(panorum)*, without excluding the possible interpretation in the formula *C(o)H(or)S I I(turaeorum) S(agittariorum)*³⁷², a view with which M. Macrea³⁷³ would later agree. I. I. Russu favoured the reading *C(o)H(or)S I (h)IS(panorum)*³⁷⁴. N. Gudea would agree that the troop is recorded via the discussed stamp type within a study concerning the archaeological and epigraphic finds from *Porolissum*. Therein, the scholar from Cluj attributed “*ITV*” type stamps to cohort I *Augusta*

361 Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 304 Abb.1. After this date, the troop is no longer recorded in Lower Germania – Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 347–8.

362 IGR III 230; see Maxfield 1981, 166; Saddington 1982, 72; Dabrowa 1986, note 52. Then also recorded by Flavius Josephus.

363 Russu 1969, 171; Petolescu 1995a, 265; Dabrowa 1986, 223.

364 AE 1990 860.

365 CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; RMD IV 220; Eck, Pangerl 2011, no. 1

366 Kennedy 1983, 258; Dabrowa 1986, 223.

367 Gudea 1991, 72.

368 Strobel 1984, 136.

369 Gudea 1997a, 26; Gudea 1989a, 42, fig. 27; contra Gudea 1989, 165–6 (!).

370 Szilágyi 1946, no. 228–229.

371 Szilágyi 1946, no. 230–231.

372 Daicoviciu 1944, 320.

373 Macrea et al. 1961, 379 fig. 17.

374 Russu 1972, 73.

*Ituraeorum sagittaria*³⁷⁵, view which he would maintain also within the archaeological monographs published in 1989³⁷⁶ and 1996³⁷⁷, although once the Ranovač diploma was re-edited, in 1991 the above author would assign the ITV type stamps differently.

According to N. Gudea, *cohors I Ituraeorum* would have arrived at *Porolissum* in 106, which he theorises on the basis of this troop stamp finds in the first phase of the fort on Pomet. It would have left *Porolissum* not before *numerus Palmyrenorum*³⁷⁸ would have arrived there. The said author believes that the troop is recorded at *Porolissum* also in the time frame between the end of the 2nd c. and the start of the 3rd c.³⁷⁹, which would account for its stationing at *Porolissum* over the entire Roman rule in Dacia³⁸⁰.

Most of the CHSS-CHSIJS type stamps were identified by Rádnoti in the stone phase of the *principia*. E. Tóth included these stamps in CHSIJS-CHSS group (pl. 3), proposing the reading C(o)H(or)S II(turaeorum S(agittariorum) (milliaria)³⁸¹.

The last graphic sign in the discussed cartridge is not rendered, in our view, as a proper “S”. The examples from plate III clearly indicate sign “∞”, rendered though vertically. Nevertheless, as shown by the mentioned examples, the first letter “S” may be rendered either in regular position, or – most often – in reverse. In none of the cases, the final sign “∞” may be mistaken with letter “S”, it being rendered similarly to number “8”, the ends of the so-called “S” being extended, if not joined. Moreover, it is worth mentioning here that on none of the specimens belonging to this type the two supposed letters “S” have the same orientation, which must be related to the possible intention of those making the cartridges to show that the two signs should not be read the same, even though sometimes letter “S” is placed in reverse, which is not unusual in the case of tile stamps.

Two CHSIIS type stamps (pl. 3.3–4) were also identified at Romita: the first was found in the fort baths – during the excavation campaign of 1972, the second in *praetentura*, during the digs of 1996³⁸². The stratigraphic position of the brick found in the fort would indicate that the stationing of *Cohors I Ituraeorum* took place during the timber phase of the fort at Romita, together with *Cohors VI Thracum*³⁸³. Al. V. Matei and I. Bajusz suppose that once with the arrival of *cohors II Brittanica* at Romita, under Hadrian, *cohors I Ituraeorum* was transferred to *Porolissum*. The circumstances would be similar to those of cohort I Augusta Ituraeorum, which was recorded in this period at *Porolissum* and Buciumi concurrently. It is possible these are vexillations of these troops involved in the construction of the forts on the limes of *Dacia Porolissensis*, without excluding the possibility they were stationed for a short while in these forts. Their stamps are sporadic both in Romita and Buciumi, which must call for caution in interpretation until further evidence comes to light.

D. Kennedy argues that the troop bore the name *milliaria* as early as Nero³⁸⁴, being one of the units involved in the wars against the Jews under Vespasian. In addition, the unit was

375 Gudea 1978, 67–8.

376 Gudea 1989, 157, pl. CXIX 3–4.

377 Gudea 1996 72.

378 Gudea 1997, 63.

379 Gudea 2001, 42.

380 Gudea 1991, 73; Gudea 1997a, 26.

381 Tóth 1978 50–1, fig. 16. At first sight, based on the way that Tóth's work is quoted, Gudea's reading seems hasty, as quote is made only the page indicating the item within the catalogue and the plate. Tóth assumed this stamp type is a record of the Iturean troop, which also took the title *milliaria*. Gudea makes no mention to this fact. His reading would be adopted without any exception in the following studies, the landmark being the first restoration variant proposed by Daicovicu for this stamp type.

382 Matei, Bajusz 1991, 91, pl. II/12, 13. A string stiffener found in the fort evidences the existence of a group of *sagittarii*. Unfortunately, no information on the stratigraphic position of the find are known.

383 Matei, Bajusz 1991, 93.

384 Kennedy 1983, 258, no. 9. The author considers neither the tile records from Dacia, nor the reading proposed by Tóth. His approach is mainly based on the troop records in the East.

also mentioned by Flavius Josephus as part of the auxilia composed of 1000 foot soldiers participating in these campaigns³⁸⁵. Adopting E. Tóth's reading, E. Dabrowa believes yet that once with its displacement to Dacia the troop was reorganised and reinforced, which would be indicated by the name *milliaria*. In the author's view, this rank change would stand for its special importance within the system at Porolissum³⁸⁶.

According to the general view, the troop was moved to Thracia³⁸⁷ sometime in the second half of the 2nd c. E. Dabrowa yet argues that the inscription does not account for its stationing in Thracia, but rather records [Se]cundus Corn[utus], from Serdica, during his exercise of a civilian post. Nonetheless, the possibility that the troop was located in Thracia between the end of the 2nd c. and start of the following century³⁸⁸ is not excluded.

The matter of its identifying with *cohors Ituraeorum equitata*, mentioned among the troops from Cappadocia in the fourth decade of the 2nd c.³⁸⁹, is still open to debate, given that further clarifying elements are missing. One may not exclude its identity with *cohors Ituraeorum* from the inscription at *Pessinunte*³⁹⁰. A possible link between a hypothetical displacement of the troop to Cappadocia and from there to Thracia or the reverse, from Thracia to Cappadocia, may be only suggested at this point. We believe it is more likely that the troop mentioned in Cappadocia, among the army of Arrian, was *cohors II Ituraeorum equitata*, whose name was mentioned on inscriptions found in Egypt where this troop was stationed for a long period of time.

The reconstruction of the troop history is problematic in regards of assigning certain inscriptions to cohort *I Ituraeorum* or to another Iturean cohort, since only *cohors Ituraeorum* is mentioned, without the specification of the troop number. The name of a *cohors Ituraeorum* is known due to several inscriptions from Egypt, which in fact record *cohors II Ituraeorum*. The troop here should not be confused with *cohors I Ituraeorum c(ivium) R(omanorum)* from *Mauretania Tingitana*³⁹¹. M. Roxan frames the stationing of *cohors I Ituraeorum c(ivium) R(omanorum)* in *Mauretania Tingitana* between the record on a military diploma of 109 and the mention in *Notitia Dignitatum*³⁹², time span when it was permanently garrisoned in the mentioned province³⁹³.

Since *cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria (milliaria)* is recorded in Dacia only by two rather short inscriptions, the troop component over its stationing in this province is unknown. In other provinces, *Secundus Cornutus* and an anonymous in an inscription from *Antiochia* in Pisidia³⁹⁴ are recorded both as *praefecti*. *Prexilaos*, who was also a prefect of a *cohors Ituraeorum*, recorded in Egypt, was active as mentioned, in *cohors II Ituraeorum*. One would have expected that the command of this *cohors milliaria* had been entrusted to officers of the rank of *tribunus*. Since they are mentioned as *praefecti* does not change the problem data, since the *praefectus* title may also comprise, in a broad sense, the tribune post. The reverse is by no means valid.

385 Josephus, *BJ* III, 4,2.

386 Dabrowa 1986, 228, note 56. The troop's place within the military diplomas provides no additional data on its strength. In the diploma of 109, it is listed the third, and a year later it ranks fifth, yet for instance the following troop is *cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum ∞ (!) civium Romanorum*, which calls for attention when attempting to assess the strength of a troop depending upon the position in the list on military diplomas, accounting for either higher or smaller strength.

387 AE 1907 50 = IGR I 1462; Wagner 1938, 157–158; Beneš 1970, 181 no. 68; Beneš 1978, 42 no.101; Russu 1969, 171; Russu 1972, 73 no. 51; Wagner 1936, 157–158; PME II 723; Russu 1969, 171; Petolescu 1995a, 265.

388 Dabrowa 1986, 223–224, note 27.

389 Arrian, *Tactica (Ektaxis 1)*, see Ruscu, Ruscu 1995, 210, 231; Speidel 2009, 616.

390 IGR III 320 see Dabrowa 1986, note 52.

391 Wagner, 157–8.

392 Roxan 1973, 846.

393 Roxan 1973, 834–835; Dabrowa 1986, 223.

394 AE 1926, 80.

Regarding the troop's full titulature and implicitly, its strength, we believe we are dealing with a *cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria milliaria*³⁹⁵.

XVI. *Cohors I sagittaria*

The history of the archer cohort is rather controversial given the fact it is not recorded by military diplomas. It is deemed the first auxiliary unit in the fort at *Tibiscum*³⁹⁶, its name being listed on an inscription dedicated to emperor Marcus Aurelius³⁹⁷ discovered in the *principia* of the larger fort and dating from AD 165. It was believed that some of the stamps pertaining to this troop belonged to the early phases of the fortification³⁹⁸. According to the same view, the displacement of the troop from *Tibiscum* would have been the result of the arrival of cohort I Vindelicorum (from Vărădia?)³⁹⁹. The *COH I S* (B.XVI.6) type stamps were also identified in the fort at Zăvoi (Caraș-Severin county)⁴⁰⁰.

More recent opinions on the identity of the troop recorded at *Tibiscum* and that at *Drobeta* underlined several reserves⁴⁰¹.

J. E. H. Spaul opts for a special scenario regarding the troop's history, believing that although the military diplomas record the existence of two units: *cohors I sagittaria* in Germania and another *cohors I Aelia sagittaria* in Upper Pannonia, the cumulative epigraphic data would yet evidence that both troops were stationed at Klosterneuburg in Upper Pannonia; thereafter, according to the mentioned author, the two names reference the same troop. The first unit – *quingenaria* – stationed at Bingen, would have become *milliaria* when moved to Pannonia under Hadrian, hence the epithet *Aelia*. Since the earliest epitaphs (dated to the 1st c.) were identified near Bingen, on the mid Rhine, a second group (dated to the 2nd c. AD) was found at Klosterneuburg, while the third group that would have comprised the inscriptions from *Drobeta* (dated to the 3rd c. AD), Spaul believes that they record the garrisons of the troop between the second half of the 1st c. AD and mid 3rd c. AD. The absence of the epithets *Ulpia* or *Flavia* would suggest, according to the same author, the troop's establishment under Claudius or Nero of archers from the eastern area of the Mediterranean (Crete, Syria, Tripoli and Sidon). The troop demand during the Flavian period on the Rhine in order to replace those transferred to Britannia, would have led to the displacement of the unit to this area. It emerges in Pannonia starting with 133 as *cohors I Aelia Caes. Sagittaria*. In conclusion, Spaul wrongly believes that the troop was stationed at Klosterneuburg until Alexander Severus, while sometime between 222–240 it was moved to Turnu Severin, in Lower Moesia!

The first certain epigraphic record of *cohors I sagittaria milliaria* in Dacia is the building inscription found in the fort at *Tibiscum*, dated to AD 165 (see *supra*). The excavators from *Tibiscum* believe that the troop was present there as early as the first years of the province, building the

395 The closest variant seems to us the reading: *cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria equitata* (?) *milliaria* (?), which was also chosen among others by Wagner 1938, 157; Russu 1969, 171; Sanie 1981, 27; Strobel 1984, 136. For *milliaria* see IGR III 1139 (ἀρξάντοϛ) and for *equitata*: AE 1929, 131 – [tu]r(mae) equi[tum].

396 Benea, Bona 1994, 54 note 40; Nemeth 2005, 95.

397 IDR III/1, 130

398 IDR III/1, 251, 252

399 We conjecture that the discovery of a bronze tablet with the text *coh(ors) I / Vindelico(rum) / Iuli Mar/tialis / (centuria) Clemen(tis)* in the fort at Vărădia (*Arcidava*) (IDR III/1 110) is no direct epigraphic evidence on the garrison location of the mentioned troop. There is therefore, no clear record of it within one of the forts in Dacia by the start of the 2nd c. AD. The troop would remain, subsequent the administrative reforms under Hadrian, on the territory of Upper Dacia (see table 8) occupying the fort at *Tibiscum* (see Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, 98. See also Petolescu 2002, 125–128, no. 62; Nemeth 2005, 96–97, no. 6).

400 Bozu 1977, 131–133.

401 Petolescu 2002, 120; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 291–292; Nemeth 2005, 95 note 45.

second phase of the fort there, while under Marcus Aurelius erecting, together with the other troops in garrison, the fourth stone phase of large fort⁴⁰².

Certain scholars argued in favour of its identification with its namesake cohort recorded at Bingen, based on the fact that the troop would have been stationed in Dacia as early as the first part of the 2nd c. AD and recorded by tile stamps identified in the forts at *Tibiscum* and Zăvoi. As such, it would have been transferred from *Tibiscum* to *Drobeta* in the second half of the 2nd c. AD⁴⁰³. C.C. Petolescu agreed to identify this unit with a *cohors I milliaria* recorded by a diploma from Syria in AD 88⁴⁰⁴.

It is worth mentioning here the problems raised by the record of this troop in Dacia:

The first would be its lack from the military diplomas for this province and the second its official titulature: *Cohors I Sagittaria*. Since the inscription from *Tibiscum*, afore mentioned, is an official inscription, it is hard to believe, if not even impossible, that it did not contain the full name of the troop. Given the troop records in the inscriptions from *Drobeta* as well, one may conclude that its official titulature in Dacia is known starting with mid seventh decade of the 2nd c. Should we agree that this cohort appears in Dacia starting with this period, then we might explain why it is missing from military diplomas. After this date, amongst the diplomas for Dacia only that at *Drobeta* is known, dated to AD 179. This would however contradict the troop identification by the *CIS* type stamps from *Tibiscum*.

Three types of stamped bricks were identified at *Drobeta*. It is noteworthy that type *CIS*, the most frequently found at *Tibiscum*, is recorded at *Drobeta* by only one specimen and even that questionable. Type *COH I SAG*, the most frequent in *Drobeta*, is not recorded at *Tibiscum*.

Part of the stamps at *Tibiscum* insofar read *CIS* are in fact *CIV*. There, only a single *COH I S* stamp, of the same type with the two found at Zăvoi, was discovered.

Regarding the *CIS* type stamps from *Tibiscum*, we believe that two “scenarios” are possible: either they do not represent the troop’s abbreviation, or were not discovered in early archaeological contexts – the specimens published as early might in fact belong to type *CIV*⁴⁰⁵ (pl. 4.5–6). Thus, the troop would have been formed later, possibly as the result of the amalgamation of Syrian archer troops or would have been displaced to Dacia during this period, circumstances when the troop’s inscription records would not contradict those known insofar by tile stamps. Only a review of the archaeological information on the emergence of these stamps may provide consistency to above assertions.

Within the epigraphic records at Klosterneuburg the troop name included the title “*Aelia*” both in the inscriptions dated to the 2nd c. AD and the following one. In addition, over the 4th c. AD, the troop’s name abbreviation used on tile stamps does not lack “*AEL*”.

Therefore, Spaul’s identification cannot be supported since, as shown above, *cohors I Aelia sagittaria* is recorded in Pannonia between 118–119, while until at least the first part of the 4th c. the epithets *Ant(oniniana)* and *Ael(ia) Severiana* are recorded. In Dacia, records of *cohors I sagittaria milliaria* do not include in the troop name the epithet *Aelia*, while the stamp types differ from those attributed in Pannonia to cohort *I Aelia sagittaria*. Most likely, we are dealing with a different evolution of the two troops over the 2nd – 3rd c. AD.

Some scholars favoured, for instance, the amalgamation of *cohors I Sagittaria milliaria* with *cohors I Antiochensium sagittaria*⁴⁰⁶.

The troop does not seem to arrive at *Drobeta* earlier than the period of Septimius Severus, while clear evidence supporting even earlier displacement there is missing. For instance, *cohors*

402 Benea, Bona 1994, 38.

403 Benea 1976, 77–84.

404 CIL XVI 35, see Petolescu 1971, 415–416.

405 The most recent reading of *CIS* type stamps from *Tibiscum* as *CIV* (Flutur 1999–2000, 376, pl. II/1–2) may shed new light over the cohort history as well. See also Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 291–292.

406 See supra *cohors I Antiochensium*..

III Campestris was registered as early as 179 among the troops of *Dacia Apulensis*, its certain stationing at *Porolissum*⁴⁰⁷ being recorded only a century later.

A dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus put by some *sacerdotes militares* was dated most likely under emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, without excluding a later variant (A.XVI.3)⁴⁰⁸. The dedicators are three priests in cohort *I sagittaria* garrisoned at *Drobeta* in the first part of the 3rd c.; the first two have Roman names and the third is found in a similar form in a Greek inscription from Rome, worn by another priest of Dolichenus⁴⁰⁹.

A prefect *Iul(ius) Valerius Emeritus*, dedicates an altar to Jupiter and Iuno Regina (A.XVI.6)⁴¹⁰. He may be related to the history of the *sagittarii* unit, however he might have been as well the prefect of another troop stationed at *Drobeta*.

The latest inscriptions record the troop size, *milliaria*, and two imperial epithets: *Gordiana* (A.XVI. 4)⁴¹¹, respectively *Philippiana* (A.XVI.2)⁴¹². In addition, the troop name was written on a tombstone mentioning soldier Aurelius Iulius (A.XVI.5)⁴¹³. A “graffito” on a brick found in the baths at *Drobeta* mentions another soldier, *Aurelius Mercurius*, “*in figlinis magister super milites LX*” (A.XVI.7)⁴¹⁴.

Views regarding this troop history prior its record in Dacia tended to identify it with *cohors I sagittaria* from Bingen, namely *cohors I milliaria* (see *supra*). Both views take into account the respective troop’s involvement in the Dacian campaigns, correspondingly the early record of the cohort in the fort at *Tibiscum*. For lack of clear epigraphic records corroborated with early archaeological contexts we tend to link the history of the unit at *Tibiscum* only during the construction period of the headquarters building by mid seventh decade of the 2nd c., while its identification with the troop at *Drobeta* remains highly hypothetical.

The two inscription groups mentioning a *cohors I sagittaria* at *Bingium* (Bingen, Bingenbruck) provide no linking element to the troop recorded later in Dacia. *Cohors sagittaria* was recorded under Augustus at *Bingium*⁴¹⁵, which may be related to Cassius Dio’s note (LVI 22, 2a) on the involvement of *sagittarii* in the battle of the Teutoburg Forest⁴¹⁶. Within the detailed description of the line of battle at *Idistaviso*, of 16, Tacitus (*Annales* 1.56.1) mentions also *equites sagittarii*. Radnóti believed that these troops would be *cohors sagittaria* and *cohors (I) Ituraeorum*⁴¹⁷. Among the archer troops, under Tiberius, are recorded *cohors Surorum* at *Mogontiacum* and *cohors I Sagittaria* at *Bingium*. A *cohors I sagittaria* was located hence at *Bingium* (Bingen, Bingenbruck) in the AD 17 – 69 time frame, after which it is no longer listed among the troops of Lower Germania⁴¹⁸.

During the Claudio-Neronian period a concentration of troops was recorded in this area, *sagittarii* troops like *ala Parthorum et Araborum*⁴¹⁹ and *cohortes Ituraeorum* (the tombstone of T. Statilius Taurus considered)⁴²⁰ being also mentioned.

407 Piso 2001, 225–233.

408 Petolescu 2004, 38–45; ILD 53.

409 See ILD 53.

410 CIL III 14216,2 = IDR II 18.

411 CIL III 6279 = ILS 3154 = IDR II 23.

412 AE 1959, 311; IDR II 10.

413 CIL III 1583 = 8018 = IDR II 135.

414 AE 1939, 19 = IDR II 107.

415 CIL XIII 7515.

416 Saddington 1986, 781 note 5.

417 Radnóti 147, 150 note 48.

418 Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 304 abb.1, 347–348 for the list of diplomas (data that did not change not even following the rather numerous finds in the recent years). See the ample study Zeithen 1997, 111–186.

419 Among all the records of Parthian units, only one inscription mentions the name *sagittaria* (ILS 9013). A relief on an early tombstone from Mainz depicts a mounted archer (AE 1967, 332; CISR II 5, Taf. 27 no. 29).

420 Saddington 1976, 780.

It is recorded there by a group of five tombstones (A.XVI.7 – A.XVI.11), whose analysis shows that it was mainly formed of soldiers with eastern specific names, hailing from Crete (A.XVI.7)⁴²¹, Sidon (A.XVI.8)⁴²², Tripo[[li] (A.XVI.9)⁴²³, respectively by the mention “*natione Surus*” (A.XVI.11)⁴²⁴.

One of these archers, *Tiberius Iulius Abdes Pantera*, became a famous individual in the English-American literature due to the suggestion he might be identified with the Roman soldier Panthera, of whom Celsus argued he might have been the real father of Jesus⁴²⁵. A. Deissmann, coordinating the publication of inscriptions in CIL XIII, seems unfamiliar with the detailed find conditions of the monuments, the information supplied being poor and occasionally⁴²⁶. The history of two contemporaneous troops recorded at *Bingium* and *Mogontiacum*, namely *cohors I sagittaria* and *cohors I Ituraeorum*, seems to be common for their stationing period in Germania. By the end of this extended digression to the origins of cohort *I Sagittaria*, we wonder whether the separation of the inscriptions between Bingen/Bingenbruck and Mainz was not in fact a record error⁴²⁷.

XVII. *Cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum sagittaria equitata = Cohors I millifaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum*

It arrives in Pannonia in AD 176 together with other Syrian auxilia from the East, being camped in a strategically important fort, *Ulcisia Castra* (Széttendre)⁴²⁸.

Within his study on the garrison at *Ulcisia Castra* during the 2nd – 3rd c., T. Nagy argues that the troop was set up by Septimius Severus, being posted there by Caracalla or Elagabal between 212–222 when the fort was rebuilt. In 242 it leaves for the Parthian war and never returns⁴²⁹.

Soproni prefers an earlier date of the troop’s stationing at *Ulcisia Castra* “*constituta Pisone et Iuliano (cos.)*” being formed under the name *cohors I ∞ Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum* and renamed *cohors I ∞ nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum*.

M. P. Speidel gives the name “*nova*” the meaning of “changed”, “reformed”, “renewed”, so that *cohors I ∞ Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum* turning *cohors I ∞ Antoniniana nova Severiana constituta* would have been raised under *Pisone et Iul...* consuls, thus datable to 175⁴³⁰. Its recruitment at that date would also justify the name *Aurelia Antoniana*. Spaul believed that the troop was not *millifaria* from the very beginning, and that it might have received this status either under Septimius

421 CIL XIII 7513

422 CIL XIII 7514.

423 CIL XIII 7512:

424 CIL XIII 11962

425 All data on this soldier come from a stela found at Bingenbruck in 1859 (A.XVI.8). The link between *Panthera* mentioned by Celsus and *Tiberius Iulius Abdes Pantera* was suggested for the first time in 1966 by Marcello Craveri (*La vita di Gesù*, Milano). This connection is based on the information overtaken from Celsus, according to which Jesus was an illegitimate child, and a soldier of this name lived in that period. The career of the individual herein started indeed in Palestine, in the period when Jesus was born (see in detail the presentation in Tabor 2006, 64–72). See for a critical view of these remarks: Haupt, Hornung, 2004, 133–140.

426 A painting depicting the construction works of the railway, based on which a group of tombstones together with funerary and offerings furniture were identified, indicates a relatively compact group of graves, which represented a group within the cemetery.

427 See the relevance of the registration data of the inscriptions from Mainz recording *cohors I Ituraeorum* A.XV.3 – A.XV.8 (CIL XIII 6278; CIL XIII 7040–7044).

428 Soproni 1980 39, 45; Lőrincz 1994, 53; Spaul 2000, 417. Regarding the imperial names, one may specify that the earliest record of epithet “*Antoniniana*” dates from 214 (A.XVII.2), while “*Gordiana*” from 241 (A.XVII.7).

429 Nagy 1973, 53 sq.

430 Speidel 1992, 170, 172.

Severus, who used it against Clodius Albinus, or under Alexander Severus. The same author argues that prior its record in Pannonia, it might have been present in Moesia or Dacia under the name *cohors Aurelia Syrorum* or *cohors Aurelia Syrorum*⁴³¹. It left Pannonia to campaign in Parthia or Germania or Raetia, as per the record on the altar from Otling⁴³².

Its entire stationing in Pannonia is related to the fort at *Ulcisia Castra*, where the troop left numerous inscriptions and tile stamps⁴³³.

The earliest epigraphic records hail from the praetorium building (A.XVII.3–4), put in the honour of Alexander and Julia Mamaea in AD 230.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Decurio

Aurelius Monimus; date 200–250 A.XVII.18

Principales

Signiferi

M. Aurelius Priscus; date 200–250 A.XVII.5

Vexillarii

Iulius Victor; date 241 A.XVII.5

Sesquiplicarii, tesserarii

Iulius Taurus, date: 200–250 A.XVII.5

Custodes armorum

[---]us Mi[---, q]ui et Pattuo; date 200–250 A.XVII.5

Summi curatores

[---]enio; date 200–250 A.XVII.9

Equites

Iulius Victor; date 241 A.XVII.5

Iulius Taurus; date 200–250 A.XVII.5

Septimius Bauleus; date 200–250 A.XVII.10

[---]nus; date 200–250 A.XVII.12

Septimius Severinus; date 200–250 A.XVII.12–13

Pedites

T. [I]ul(ius) Valens; date 200–250 A.XVII.6

Iulius Taurus; date 200–250 A.XVII.8

Iulius Publius; date 200–250 A.XVII.12

[---]m[---]; date 200–250 A.XVII.14

[---]; date 200–250 A.XVII.14

[---], date 200–250 A.XVII.16

Q. [Aelius Apoll]onius; date 200–250 A.XVII.17

431 Spaul 2000, 418.

432 CIL III 5911.

433 Lőrincz 2001 no. 42 p. 42 – cat no. 362, 432–452.

1. Further reinforcement of the limes occurs between 197 and 202 during Septimius Severus's rule. Such works cannot be treated separately from the Barbarian movements and struggles taking place by the Danube bend and in the Danube sector of Sirmia⁴³⁴.

According to Fitz, the arrival in the Danube bend area between 227 and 228 of *cohors I <∞> nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria (Ulcisia Castra)* and *ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria (Azaum)* was intended to reinforce the border. The stamped bricks of *cohors VII Breucorum* – the most numerous – and of the Syrian unit account for significant building works they performed in the area between *Brigetio* and *Annamantia*⁴³⁵.

Ulcisia Castra was a place where intense construction works were unfold in this period. There were identified over one hundred stamped bricks belonging to this troop. Their high stamp numbers indicate the troop produced tile material on large scale, even though one may not speak of a long period over which such activity occurred. This shows that the troop was specialised in making bricks (B.XVII/1–3)⁴³⁶. Typological differentiation may not be delimited on a chronological scale unless based on stratigraphy.

Stamped bricks of the troop in question were identified at *Aquincum*, used in the constructions performed under Caracalla and later, under Alexander Severus. It is believed that the presence of this material at *Aquincum* would not be due to the effective presence of the troop in the building works, but to transports of the material it produced at *Ulcisia Castra*⁴³⁷. Accordingly, the tile stamps belonging to the troop found at *Cirpi* or *Campona*, would be the result of brick transports⁴³⁸.

XVIII. *Cohors I Tyrriorum sagittaria*⁴³⁹

This unit appears in Moesia as early as Vespasian's reign⁴⁴⁰, being later recorded in Lower Moesia by the military diplomas of 97⁴⁴¹, 99⁴⁴², 105⁴⁴³ and 116⁴⁴⁴ (table 4). It is possible that this cohort was the one commanded by an *ignotus*, recorded in an inscription from Akkilise in Pisidia, who was first prefect of cohort ITVR (*Ituraeorum vel I Tyrriorum*) and then military tribune of legion IV Scythica⁴⁴⁵. Under these circumstances, it was assumed that the troop had been on the territory of Moesia from an earlier period. Yet, as proven later, the unit emerged at a later date on the territory of Lower Moesia under the name *cohors I Tyrriorum sagittaria*⁴⁴⁶. Thus, the inscription from Akkilise belongs to *cohors I Ituraeorum*⁴⁴⁷.

It was definitely involved in the Dacian wars and remained north the Danube⁴⁴⁸. In this area that belonged to Lower Moesia, it is recorded in 116 on the list of troops pertaining to the said

434 Fitz 1962, 77.

435 According to Fitz 1962, 109, the milestones of 229 and 230 under Alexander Severus account for the relation with this reconstruction process of the area. Most of them were found in the sectors between *Aquincum* and *Brigetio*. The inscriptions assigned to this troop, found at Leányfalu (A.XVII.5) and Visegrád (A.XVII.15), hail from Szentendre, being carried to the mentioned places as building stone in a later period see Szilágyi 1952, 196 n. 66.

436 Nagy 1939, 133; Fitz 1962, 52; Lőrincz 1976 n. 105.

437 Fitz 1962, 53.

438 Fitz 1952, 81.

439 Strobel 1984, 145; Spaul 2000, 294; Petolescu 2002, 124; Matei-Popescu 2004, 226, no. 35; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 294–295; Matei-Popescu 2010, no. 39.

440 Pferdehirt 2004, no. 1.

441 RMD V 337.

442 CIL XVI 45; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 8; Eck, Pangerl 2006, 97–99.

443 Pferdehirt 2004, no. 10.

444 Eck, Pangerl 2006, 99–102, no. 3; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 525–530, no. 7.

445 AE 1926, 80; PME, Inc. 64.

446 Matei-Popescu 2004, 226–227, no. 35.

447 See the discussion in Țentea 2004, 806 and the more recent arguments in Matei-Popescu 2004–2005, 214.

448 Strobel 1984, 145.

province (Table 6). After the reform under emperor Hadrian, it is listed among the troops in Lower Dacia on the military diplomas of 130⁴⁴⁹, 140⁴⁵⁰, 146⁴⁵¹ and 167–168⁴⁵² (table 9). It was hypothesised it was garrisoned in the fortification at Boița (*Caput Stenarum*)⁴⁵³, yet evidence is still deficient.

Among the commanders active in this cohort during its stationing in the province of Lower Moesia, the single individual who might frame within these limits would be L. Valerius, recorded on an inscription at *Salona*, dated to the start of the 2nd c., however further confirmative elements⁴⁵⁴ are missing. In addition, on an inscription from Teramo (*Interamna Praetuttinorum, regio V*), recording an equestrian career, the individual whose name was lost to stone cracks was the prefect of this cohort. It is yet likely that the inscription dates to the period when the cohort was already in Dacia⁴⁵⁵.

Remarkably, this troop or its namesake troop is recorded in a very early period, by the start of the 1st c., on an inscription from Italy mentioning the name of a prefect⁴⁵⁶.

Palmyreni sagittarii

Palmyreni sagittarii were the subject of two special *constitutiones* issued in AD 120 and 126, operating at that time in Upper Dacia. They are the first records of the Palmyrenes in the Roman army⁴⁵⁷. The *constitutiones* were the object of numerous studies due both their exceptional nature as well as their early dating when compared to those *constitutiones* issued for the troops in Dacia⁴⁵⁸.

The rights granted to the Palmyrene archers therein are incomplete, making no mention of the citizenship award *ante emerita stipendia* following exceptional bravery like in the case of the diploma from *Porolissum* of August 11, AD 106⁴⁵⁹. Among the finds within the Empire, there are diplomas that grant special awards and Roman citizenship to the soldiers in a single unit⁴⁶⁰, yet in this case, the specific epithets, like *pia fdelis*, *torquata* or *armillata*, gained by the auxiliary units over time⁴⁶¹ are not mentioned.

The difference between the two copies of 120 and 126 is that the text of the later makes no mention *ex Syria*. In addition, references to family, *conubium*, troops other than that of the beneficiary or the unit commander name are missing. The commanders of these units, as we shall see below, must have been awarded Roman citizenship via the same *constitutiones*.

Hence, the Palmyrenes *sagittarii* object of the two *constitutiones* were in 120, respectively 126 (or at least closely to these dates) in Upper Dacia, however their organisation, respectively stationing place or places are unknown.

449 RMD V 376.

450 RMD I 39 = IDR I 13.

451 RMD IV 269; Eck, Pangerl 2011, 225–230, no. 2.

452 RMD V 442.

453 Lupu 1974, 219–227; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 74–75 – the mentioned stamp bears only letters *COH I*.

454 CIL III 8716; PIR III, p. 351, no. 18; Pflaum 1960, 193–197, no. 92 and p. 967–968; PME, V 3.

455 AE 2000, 466. Subsequent this second equestrian militia, he became tribune of the cohort I Britannica milliaria c. R. equitata, stationed at Cășei, Petolescu 2002, 86–87.

456 C. *Atilius A. f. Glabrio* – CIL XI 1934 = ILS 2685, PME, A 176.

457 For the list of the Palmyrene soldiers in the Roman army see Young 2001, 207–208. The Syrian archers are noticeable in the representations of Rome's allies on Trajan's Column involved in the Dacian expeditions of the emperor (Cichorius 1900, Taf. LXXX, Scene CVIII and Taf. LXXXVI, Scene CXV). Their equipment and weaponry must have been very similar with that of the Palmyrene archers.

458 If in 1975, when IDR I volume was published, were known 23 diplomas for the army in Dacia, while in 2011 are published 77 diplomas pertaining to 55 *constitutiones* (Eck, Pangerl 2011, 231–233).

459 CIL XVI 160 = IDR I 1.

460 For a list of these exceptions see: Roxan 1981, 265–286.

461 Maxfield, 1981, 218–235.

The diplomas were found in the following auxilia forts at *Porolissum* (*tabela II* being identified at Jibou), Căței, Românași for the examples copied after the constitution of 120, and the fort and civil settlement at *Tibiscum* for those of 126.

The copies of the later imperial constitution were found at *Tibiscum*, where the unit of Palmyrenes is apparently recorded earlier. The first record of a Palmyrene *numerus* dates from 159/160 and belongs to the unit at *Tibiscum*.

The earliest records of a Palmyrene unit at *Porolissum* come from monuments discovered at *Palmyra* (A.XX.13–14)⁴⁶².

Of the 14 persons included in the prosopography of *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*, six have their *nomen* Aelius (A.XIX.1–3, 8–10, 14, 15?) and six have a Palmyrene patronymic.

In the case of the troop at *Porolissum*, *nomen* Aelius (A.XX.12) pertains to only one individual of the twelve mentioned in the prosopography of this troop. Five persons are yet named Aurelius (A.XX.8, 11), however it is noteworthy that four are listed on the same inscription (A.XX.8).

Curiously, at *Porolissum* were discovered only two tombstones belonging to soldiers in *numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium* (A.XX.8 – A.XX.9), while two such inscriptions were found on the territory of *Dacia Porolissensis* at *Potaissa* (A.XX.11 and A.XX.12?) and one at Ilișua (A.XX.10). The statistical relevance of these observations is poor due to the small number of inscriptions taken into consideration.

A note based still on a rather small statistical sample is the apparent clustering of two *constitutiones* copies of 120 on the territory of *Dacia Porolissensis* (in the forts at *Samum*-Căței, *Porolissum* and Românași)⁴⁶³, the copies of 126 being discovered at *Tibiscum*⁴⁶⁴.

It is interesting to see under what conditions the Palmyrenes *sagittarii* receive the military diplomas. Similarly to the cases referring to *Mauri equites*, the diplomas lack mentions regarding troops other than that of the beneficiary. One must note that the awarded rights are limited to *civitas Romana*, as well as the exceptional nature of the services these soldiers performed to the favour of Rome. Moreover, the discussed diplomas record no commanders of these units. Thus, it was believed that these diplomas were assimilated to specific awards for bravery, being granted *ob virtutem*.

According to J. C. Mann, the diplomas granted to *Palmyrenis sagittariis* inscribe belong to a context broader than the manifestation of exceptional bravery on the battle field. Even if bravery itself played an important role, it did not suffice to the citizenship award as this would have entailed a contract closed for a minimal period. The quoted author argued that the recruitment of these units occurred in AD 114 in occasion of the preparations for the Parthian wars, which would point to an additional interval of six years⁴⁶⁵.

The mention *ex Syria* found on the diplomas of 120, missing from those of 126, references the preceding garrison of the Palmyrene archers. In this case, the geographical specification does not designate an area of recruitment, since it was included within the term *Palmyrenis*.

P. Le Roux relates the award of these privileges to the Palmyrene archers to the status of *civitas foederata* of which *Palmyra* benefited, thus accordingly only the *foederatae* communities could have claimed the award of citizenship subsequent limited military service. Thereafter, the aforementioned author argues that the Palmyrenes and the *Mauri* returned in significant

462 Seyrig 1941, 230–231 no. 3; AE 1947, 169; Petolescu 1979, 105–109; Piso 1985, 475; IDRE II 413; Delplace, Yon 2005, 151 IA.01; Seyrig 1941, 230 no. 4; AE 1947, 170; Petolescu 1979, 105–109; Speidel 1984, 222–223; IDRE II 414; Delplace, Yon 2005, 153 IA.04. The inscription was dated between AD 141 and 159.

463 IDR I 5 = RMD I 17; CIL XVI 68 = IDR I 6 (*tabella* I discovered in the fort at *Porolissum*, while *tabella* II was found in the walls of the Wesselényi castle at Jibou); RMD I, p. 102, no. 2.

464 IDR I 8 = RMD I 27; IDR I 9 = RMD I 28.

465 Mann 1985, 217–219. The author makes some parallels related to six-year service (*Latini Iuniani* who served six years in the cohorts of *vigiles*).

numbers to their homeland, where they continued to live according to the legal rules specific to the respective community, reason for which they were only interested in the citizenship grant. G. Forni interprets the award of incomplete rights via these *constitutiones* as the avoidance to extend the citizenship right, which were in fact particular to the policies enforced by Domitian and Trajan⁴⁶⁶. According to certain authors, the practice of Roman citizenship award to soldiers subsequent a limited period was specific to the communities who had previously obtained the status of *foederata*⁴⁶⁷.

The troops of Palmyrenes in Dacia also appear associated with titles *vexillatio* or *numerus*. The word *numerus* hails from a purely tactical meaning, designating a unit or unit contingent. *Numerus* would be a troop fraction defined administratively or resulting from the dispersal to several points of a troop corps resulted from bringing together the soldiers in an irregular (uncommon) unit, equipped though according to regular Roman units standards⁴⁶⁸.

Extremely interesting are the previously mentioned dedications of two prefects of the Palmyrenes at *Porolissum*, found in the *agora* at *Palmyra*: *M. Ulpus Abgarus* – datable to AD 141 (A.XX.13)⁴⁶⁹ and *T. Aelius* – datable between AD 138 and 159, maybe even 141 (A.XX.14).

The second inscription at *Palmyra*, that of 141, mentions that “those in the first *vexillum*”⁴⁷⁰ stood under the command of a *T. Aelius*. Thus, the period when these units would have been established into *numeri* may be restricted to the chronological frame 141–159/160, date when *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* (A.XIX.18) was recorded for the first time. On the basis of this reading, it was assumed that another *vexillum*⁴⁷¹ was likely garrisoned at *Optatiana*. The identification is

466 Forni 1992, 324 sq.

467 Le Roux 1986, 358–359; Onofrei 2009, 318.

468 The term *numerus* was frequently discussed in the specialty literature. The first definitions of the *numerus* type units belong to Th. Mommsen and A. von Domaszewski, their ideas being developed within many subsequent studies. The first considered that the term covered the third component of the Roman army, the units being raised among the Barbarian populations, having a special status under Marcus Aurelius (Mommsen 1910, 106). Domaszewski argued that the units appear under Hadrian even though the term *numerus* is recorded later (von Domaszewski 1967, 59). The idea that these troops, with an ethnic-specific name and inferior pay were created under Hadrian, being also the main factor of barbarisation of the Roman army, is supported in several studies (Cheesman 1914, 88–90; Rowell 1937, 1327–1341 and 2537–2554; Mann 1954, 501–506; Saddington 1975, 196–199). F. Vittinghoff insisted yet on the Romanisation of the soldiers in the *numeri* units, specifying that recruitment was different compared to that for *auxilia* (Vittinghoff 1950, 398–407). H. Callies noted that the term *numerus* does not designate a specific unit category, these units becoming permanent starting with the second half of the 2nd c. and being allotted to various garrisons (Callies 1964, 184–185). Based on the information in Pseudo-Hyginus, M. P. Speidel argued that the term *numerus* means nothing else but a military unit, being preferred to that of *nationes*. These contingents would have had the role to support to Roman army (Speidel 1975, 213–221). The assimilation by Speidel of the terms *numerus* and *nationes* is contradicted by Pat Southern, who believed that the terms designated two units that existed simultaneously, *nationes* or *numerus*, being used differently according to circumstances. These irregular contingents that had been raised firstly for a unit made up of non-Roman populations, become permanent, yet they preserve the traditional weaponry and fighting style, being allotted garrisons in frontier areas and headed by Roman officers – centurions and tribunes (Southern 1989, 81–140). R. Saxer noted that the term *vexillatio* is confused with that of *numerus*, indicating expeditionary military detachments whose role was to reinforce certain sector, being attached to legions or auxiliary units. The term *numerus* is granted to foreign units who firstly served a tactical function (Saxer 1967, 131).

469 An individual named *M. Ulpus Abgarus*, son to Hairan, was the associate of his famous brother, *M. Ulpus Iarhai*, in a caravan transport carried out in 136! (see Chapter II note 79). The name's resemblance as well as the inscriptions' dating within the same chronological interval is rather striking, alike the relatively close location to the *agora*. However, the short Palmyrene text on the prefect inscription also points to the patronymic Taimarsô.

470 Analogy with an inscription from *Teba* quoted by M. P. Speidel (Speidel 1984, 222–223), recording a *tesserarius* in the first *vexillation*.

471 Petolescu 1979, 108 note 44.

impossible given that its hypothetical location at Sutoru was not confirmed⁴⁷², no evidence of this troop being found there. It is more likely that *numerus Palmyrenorum O[...]* had been stationed close to *Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa*⁴⁷³.

According to C.C. Petolescu, the record at that date of the Palmyrenes *in vexillatione* at *Porolissum*, would indicate they had not been for long there, hence implicitly, they were not on the northern frontier of Dacia on June 29, AD 120. According to the mentioned author, the diplomas from Cășei, *Porolissum* and Românași would have been brought there by the successors of the deeds beneficiaries⁴⁷⁴.

When resuming the reading of the inscription, Ioan Piso specified that the text does not evidence that *Porolissum* was part of Upper Dacia, but rather that the Palmyrene archers were raised in Upper Dacia, likely from *Tibiscum*⁴⁷⁵. The troop remained at *Tibiscum* was still named a *vexillation*, as suggested by the text of an inscription dedicated to Liber Pater (temple?) *per vexillation[em] [Pal]myren[or(um)]*⁴⁷⁶ found in the fort there and datable under the reign of Antoninus Pius together with M. Aurelius Verus.

A similar case is represented by *vexillationes equitum ex Syria* from Lower Pannonia, recorded in the diploma of Tokod of July 2, AD 110. No unit bearing this name was identified within inscriptions, nor was their camping location identified. The presence of these mounted units is put into direct relation to their involvement in the Dacian wars; subsequently, between the end of the Dacian campaigns and the start of the Parthian campaign, they might have been stationed at *Rittium-Surduk*, in south Pannonia. Likely, they returned to the East during Trajan's Parthian campaign, however their further stationing in south Pannonia is not excluded, though no such record is known to this effect.

Interesting data for the discussion herein are provided by the *stela* at *Carnuntum* belonging to a soldier in cohort *II Italica c. R.*, Proculus son to Rabilus of *Philadelphia* (tribe *Collina*). The mention *ex vexil(latione) sagit(tariorum) exer(citus) Syriaci* (A.Varia.1)⁴⁷⁷ accounts for his activity prior to the rank of *optio* in the Italian cohort, which reminds us of the formulas in the diplomas subject herein, in case the formula *ex Syria* is, similarly to the inscription from *Carnuntum*, an abbreviation for *ex(ercitus) Syria(ci)* (see table).

no	Title	Date	Publication	Location
1	<i>Ex vexil[lariis] sagit[tariis] exer[citus] Syriaci</i>	69/70	CIL III 13483a	<i>Carnuntum</i>
2	<i>Vexillationes equitum ex Syria</i>	110	CIL XVI 164	Tokod
3	<i>Palmirenis sagitt(ariis) ex Syri(a)</i>	120	IDR I 5 = RMD 17	<i>Samum</i>
4	<i>[Palmirenis sagittariis ex] Sy/ria</i>	120	CIL XVI 68 = IDR I 6	<i>Porolissum</i>
5	<i>[Palmirenis sagi]ttariis e[x Syria]</i>	120	RMD, p. 102, nr. 2	<i>Românași</i>
6	<i>[Palmyr]eni[s sagittariis <ex Syria>?]</i>	120? 126?	RMD 237	?
7	<i>Palmirenis sagittariis</i>	126	IDR I 8 = RMD 27	<i>Tibiscum</i>
8	<i>Palmirenis sagittariis</i>	126	IDR I 9 = RMD 28	<i>Tibiscum</i>

The mention within an inscription of this *exercitus* of the army of the province of Syria, intervening in the Danube area during the crisis of AD 69, might have provided good support for the restoration of the diplomas of 120, respectively 110 from Tokod⁴⁷⁸. The coin series *EXERCITVS*,

472 See to this effect the complete discussion in Nemeti 2006, 281–283.

473 Piso 1988, 163–170.

474 Petolescu 1979, 108.

475 Piso 1985, 475.

476 IDR III 1, 181; Piso, Benea 1999, 91–96, no. 1, fig. 1; AE 1999, 1295; ILD 202.

477 CIL III 13483a = AE 1896, 27; Holder 1980, 333 no. 3121; Speidel 1992, 226; Lőrincz 2001, 374.

478 Only a careful examination of the diplomas would bring information to support our hypothesis, in case that words “*ex*” or “*Syri*”, respectively “*Syria*” would be preceded by an abbreviation.

issued in the honour of the provincial armies during Hadrian's visit to respective provinces⁴⁷⁹ is also worth discussing here. The reading *exercitus* for the abbreviation *ex Syria* in the constitution of 120 lacks yet any arguments⁴⁸⁰.

Did the elite of *Palmyra* succeed to capitalise in an exceptional manner on the emperor's critical demand for recruits? Under the exceptionally given circumstances, this may represent the dispatch of archer troops in order to obtain Roman citizenship for a significant number of Palmyrenes. Were these enrolments carried out on the basis of initial negotiations underlying the exceptional nature of the diplomas, namely the speedy achievement of Roman citizenship? The battle bravery of the Palmyrenes and their efficiency in the conflicts with the Iazyges are undeniable, yet these do not seem to have enough bearing on the award of citizenship, without this being explicitly mentioned within the diploma text⁴⁸¹. The practice of Roman citizenship granting to soldiers after a limited period (in this case 6 years) is specific, according to C. Onofrei, to quote the most recent study on the matter, to fortresses of *foederata* status or to communities related to *Roma* via a *foedus*⁴⁸². Should we agree with this reasoning, which takes into account J. C. Mann's hypothesis⁴⁸³, we should consider that recruitment occurred in AD 114, respectively AD 120, which is unlikely. The six-year interval between the two *constitutiones* may be though related to the time span separating his governorship of Syria from his second visit to Syria, taking place in AD 123.

Hadrian's policy, favourable to the Palmyrenes traders, was interpreted as a deliberate measure for obtaining army recruits⁴⁸⁴. Obviously, the emperor's relations with *Palmyra* were special, which is underlined by the allotment of the citizens' body to race *Sergia*⁴⁸⁵ and implicitly the considerable frequency of the name *Publius Aelius*. Aforementioned recruitments were related, as mentioned above, by the direct presence of the emperor at *Palmyra*. Therefore, the first recruitment of Palmyrene soldiers occurred in 117, in agreement with the immediate requirements of the Danube front. Hadrian, familiar with the fighting style of the Iazyges, of which he might have gained knowledge during his mandate as governor of Lower Pannonia, chose a solution both tactical and diplomatic when raising Palmyrene archers. This view would have a good correspondent in the measures that Hadrian took to re-establish the political balance in the Near East deeply disrupted by the events in the last part of Trajan's reign. Subsequent Trajan's failure in Parthia, *Roma* could not gain control over the trade routes along Euphrates and towards the Persian Gulf. Hadrian would be forced to review his entire trade policy of the area by reactivating the southern routes.

Until under Trajan, Rome was exclusively interested in *Palmyra* from an economic point of view. The award of the two exceptional *constitutiones* of 120 and 126 for the Palmyrenes archers, which are the first records of their involvement in the Roman army, must be regarded via the major crisis which the Empire underwent after Trajan's death. Given that Turbo had left by the start of 117 to the north of Africa⁴⁸⁶ with great part of the troops, in order to resolve

479 *Exercitus Britannicus* – RIC II 912–913, 458; *exercitus Cappadocicus* – RIC II 914, 458; *exercitus Dacicus* – RIC II, 915–919a; *exercitus Germanicus* – RIC II, 920–921, 459; *exercitus Hispanicus* – RIC II 922–923, 460; *exercitus Mauretanicus* – RIC II 924–925, 460; *exercitus Moesicus* RIC II 926, 940; *exercitus Noricus* – RIC II 927, 461; *exercitus Raeticus* – RIC II 928–930, 461; *exercitus Syriacus* – RIC II 931–937, 462.

480 We hypothesised this when defending our doctoral thesis (Țentea 2008, 126–127).

481 The Roman citizenship was more useful to the Palmyrenes who remained in Dacia rather than to those who returned to *Palmyra*. Among the Palmyrenes recorded at *Tibiscum*, those who received Roman citizenship must have been the beneficiaries of these diplomas and their direct successors.

482 Onofrei 2009, 318.

483 Mann 1985, 217–219.

484 Seyrig 1941, 228 note 5.

485 At *Palmyra* are known only three families *Ulpia* (Seyrig 1941, no. 3, no. 12).

486 For Q. Marcius Turbo's missions to the north of Africa see I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae* II. Die ritterlichen Amtsträger, no. 72 (forthcoming).

the critical situation caused by the Iazyges in west Dacia, Hadrian appealed, among other, to the services of these local militias formed of Palmyrene archers. These mounted archers were specialised in the protection of the caravan trade as well as the safe maintenance of the roads controlled by *Palmyra*. The efficiency of the first measure taken in AD 117, seems to have determined the emperor that six years later, in occasion of his visit to Syria, to perfect a new agreement concerning the dispatch of an additional contingent of archers to Dacia. We shall not insist here on the conditions under which during Hadrian's second visit these new contingents were necessary, yet one should underline the rather *ad-hoc* nature of these two first stages of recruitment. Not by chance these units, listed by the text of the mentioned *constitutiones* under the name *Palmyreni sagittarii*, appear in the earliest inscriptions from Dacia or related to their presence in this province under the name *vexillationes* until AD 159/160 when these units would be found under the name *numeri*. The three *numeri* of Palmyrenes known in Dacia most likely come from the units of Palmyrene *sagittarii*. All these units were displaced to the western border of Dacia⁴⁸⁷.

The names of two soldiers, *Bari[c]i Male f(ilio) Palmyr(a)* (IDR I 5) and *Hamaseo Alapatha Palmyr(a)* (IDR I 6) could be identified on the copies of the *constitutiones* of 120 found in Dacia. *Perhev, Athenatan f.* (IDR I, 8) and *Perhev f.* (IDR I, 9) are known from the two examples discovered at *Tibiscum* and dated six years later.

XIX. Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium

The unit of Palmyrenes at *Tibiscum* is recorded for the first time under the name *numerus* in an inscription dated to AD 159/160 (A.XIX.18)⁴⁸⁸. It was argued that this unit had had its own fort at *Tibiscum* for a while, very close southwards to the fort where *cohors I sagittaria*⁴⁸⁹ was camped. Later, it would have been stationed in the larger fort, which replaced the previous fortifications at *Tibiscum*⁴⁹⁰. Both tile stamps⁴⁹¹ as well as inscriptions that may be related to the troop history in connection to this *numerus* were identified there. Many record Palmyrene soldiers, which, beside hailing from the Palmyrene unit, is also underlined by the specific anthroponymy, by a few short Palmyrene texts (A.XIX.8, A.XIX.18, A.XIX.12, IDR III 1, 178.) and some of the dedications indicative of *Palmyra* gods. One may assume that the unit of Palmyrenes was stationed at *Tibiscum* until the withdrawal of the Roman army from Dacia.

The recorded military ranks are *miles*, *optio*, *armorum custos* or *princeps numeri*. Veterans are also mentioned (A.XIX.2⁴⁹², A.XIX.17⁴⁹³, A.XIX.19⁴⁹⁴). The name of a prefect *M. Papius M. f. Cor(nelia tribu vel. Corne[lianus])* is mentioned on an inscription whose authenticity was questioned⁴⁹⁵.

Both in the case of the Palmyrene names as well as those of Roman origin, the frequency of the adoption of the Aelius *gentilicium* preceded in many cases by the *praenomen Publius*, accounting for the citizenship award under Hadrian, is remarkable. The record on a column from *Apulum* of two Thracian anthroponyms, evidencing a local recruitment at least during the 3rd c. (A.XIX.20)⁴⁹⁶ is rather interesting in what the discussion on the ethnicity of the soldiers in this unit is concerned.

487 Petolescu 1996, 30–35; Petolescu 2002, 138 note 12; Nemeth 1997, 102; Piso, Benea 1999, 93–95.

488 IDR III 1, 167.

489 Benea, Bona 1994, 36.note 40.

490 Nemeth 2005, 49.

491 IDR III 1, 256.

492 Piso 1983, 107–109, no. 4, fig. 3 a-d (IDR III 1, 142 + 149); ILD 207.

493 Moga, Russu 1974, no. 34; IDR III 1, 164.

494 CIL III 8000 = IDR III 1, 166; Russu 1969, 178.

495 Petolescu 2002, 140 note 10.

496 Russu 1967, 91; IDR III 5, 559; Petolescu 2002, 141.

One inscription mentions a temple of Liber Pater, [*fecit per uex*]*illation[em]* [*Pal*]*myrenorum* under the reign of Antoninus Pius and cesar Marcus Aurelius (A.XIX.6)⁴⁹⁷. In the pavement of a building in the north-west corner of the fort, building where several inscriptions dedicated to the Palmyrene gods (A.XIX.1 – A.XIX.3) were found over the archaeological investigations, a brick with a *graffito* recording the construction of a building portico under the care of *Mar(?ius) Aurel(?ianus), princeps n(umeri)* (A.XIX.7)⁴⁹⁸ was discovered. I. Piso and Doina Benea believed this building might have served a cult purpose⁴⁹⁹.

F. Marcu argued in favour of the official nature of the entire building group in this fort area, believing that the name *porticum deum*, found on the above mentioned *graffito*, might suggest another functionality of the building. Based on a very similar analogy at Corbridge, the entire area including also the three buildings in the north-eastern corner of the fort might have constituted a group of *scholae* or *collegia* belonging to the Palmyrene soldiers⁵⁰⁰.

It is noteworthy that several parts of a bow and a few arrowheads⁵⁰¹ were discovered in a channel of this building underground heating facility.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Decurio princeps

Mar(?ius) Aurel(?ianus), sec.III (?) A.XIX.7.

Optiones

P. Aelius Servius; date 198–211 (?)

A.XIX.1, A.XIX.2

Aelius Guras Iiddei?

A.XIX.8

Bana ...?

A.XIX.9

Custos armorum

Aelius Zabdibol?

A.XIX.3

Milites

Aelius Borafas Zabdiboli?

A.XIX.10

P. Aelius Claudianus sec.II (?)

A.XIX.14

[Ae]l(ius?) Male?

A.XIX.15

Antonius Marcus?

A.XIX.16

Valerius Iulianus?

A.XIX.16

Claudius M... (?)?

A.XIX.17

Neses Ierhei 159/160

A.XIX.18

Mucatra Brasi?

A.XIX.19

Mucapor Mucatralis?

A.XIX.19

497 Piso, Benea 1999, 91–96, no. 1, fig. 1.

498 Piso, Benea 1999, 104–106, no. 8, fig. 10 (a-b-c); AE 1999, 1302; ILD 213.

499 Piso, Benea 1999, 106.

500 Marcu 2006, 259–269; Marcu 2006a, 76–105.

501 Bona, Petrovszky, Petrovszky 1983, 412. Moreover, such finds were identified over the researched surface of the fort and civil settlement (see Chapter IV).

XX. Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium

The unit of Palmyrene archers is recorded at *Porolissum* only by three datable inscriptions, namely an inscription recording the restoration of the temple for Bel under Caracalla (A.XX.1)⁵⁰², that of a *Val(erius) Them(us) decurio municipii*, most likely former veteran of the Palmyrene unit (A.XX.7)⁵⁰³, datable in the first part of the 3rd c. and an altar dedicated to empress Herennia Etruscilla by *n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum) Porol(issensium) sag(ittariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)* (A.XX.2)⁵⁰⁴.

Among the soldiers of this unit we mention *Salmas Rami ex n(umero) P(almyrenorum)* (A.XX.9)⁵⁰⁵, *Mucianus, optio Palm(yrenorum)* (A.XX.5)⁵⁰⁶. On a tombstone from *Porolissum* were identified the names of certain soldiers most likely part of the same troop (A.XX.8)⁵⁰⁷: a veteran, former decurion, *Aur(elius)*, a signifer [*Aur.*] *Passer*, *Aurelius [...]* *mil(es) n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium)* and *Au-[rel(ius) - -]us actarius*.

The troop also comprised mounted strength according to the text of an inscription at *Ilişua*, recording *Aurelius Iustinus eques N(umero) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium)* (A.XX.10)⁵⁰⁸. The inscription *Deo patrio Belo n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum) sagit(tariorum)* dedicated by *T. Fl. Saturninus (centurione) le]g(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)* (A.XX.1)⁵⁰⁹ in occasion of the temple reconstruction is of much interest for the discussion herein. This record, as well as the two inscriptions from *Potaissa* might point to the promotion of the soldiers in this unit, whose name comprises by mid 3rd c. the title *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* (A.XX.1), in legion V Macedonica.

The epithet *deo patrio* emphasises both the Palmyrene origin of the god as well as its protective role of the troop. The inscription records the governor of the three Dacias, *Caius Iulius Septimius Castino* (his name was erased from the inscription text), *Ulpius Victor*, procurator of *Dacia Porolissensis* and *Titus Flavius Saturninus*, who supervised the temple's reconstruction. It was believed that this temple was built by the end of the 2nd c. on the spot where the temple for *Liber Pater*⁵¹⁰ was previously dismantled. *Doina Benea* reinterprets the functions of the buildings around the temple, believing that the three buildings formed a complete area. The author argued that the replacement of a Roman cult by an Eastern cult is hardly acceptable⁵¹¹.

The text of an inscription at *Thessaloniki* mentions *G. Mestrius Servilianus* (the only recorded prefect of the troop), a Roman knight *ἐπαρχος εἰλης ἰππέον ἀριφµοῦ Παλµυρηνῶν Πορολισηνῶν* (A.XX.15)⁵¹².

From *Potaissa* hail two inscriptions related to the troop history. A tombstone of a Palmyrene family records *Aelius Bolhas Bannaesus vet(eranus) ex n(umero) Palmur(enorum)* (A.XX.11)⁵¹³. The second tombstone was cared and the inscription dedicated by *L. Aurelius Celsinianus, mil(es) c(o) h(ortis) I P(...) P(...)* (A.XX.12)⁵¹⁴.

502 Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 11, no. 7; Gudea 1989, 762, no. 10; Sanie 1981, 275 no. 103; ILD 663.

503 Russu 1968, 453, no. 1; AE 1971, 387.

504 Daicoviciu 1940, 328–329, no. 7 f, fig. 26; AE 1944, 56; Tóth 1978, 38, no. 50; Gudea 1989, 765, no. 20; ILD 672.

505 CIL III 837.

506 Russu 1959, 872; no. 1, fig. 2 (= AE 1960, 219); Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 14, no. 16; Tóth 1978, 38, no. 49; Gudea 1989, 768, no. 34; ILD 690.

507 Szilágyi 1946, 13, note 60; AE 1971, 389; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 18, no. 20; Tóth 1978, 39, no. 52; Gudea 1989, 770, no. 48; ILD 704.

508 CIL III 803.

509 Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 11, no. 7; AE, 1980, 755; ILD 663.

510 Matei 1980, 90–97; Sanie 1981, 275, no.103; Gudea 1989, 144–147; Gudea 2003, 217. N. Gudea supposed that a dedication for *Dea Syria*, discovered in 1937 (AE 1944, 50 = ILD) in the northern area of the fort, would come from this phase of the temple (Gudea 1989, 768, no. 31; Gudea 2003, 225).

511 Benea 1980, 185–190; Benea 2002, 185–200..

512 ILS 9472 = IDRE II 356.

513 CIL III 907 = CIL III 7693; Petolescu 2002, 142.

514 CIL III 908.

It was believed that subsequent AD 250, from when the latest inscription of the unit (A.XX.1) dates, the unit was divided, according to the poor records on the inscriptions from Thessaloniki (A.XX.15) and *Potaissa* (A.XX.12), into an ala and a cohorts. However, this hypothesis may not be argued convincingly unless the file on this troop would be completed with substantial epigraphic data.

The religious epigraphic monuments are not many. Two inscriptions were put to Jupiter, dedicators being *P. Aelius Malachus*, flamen and *sacerdos dei n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium)* (A.XX.3)⁵¹⁵, and *Zabdas Hutri* (A.XX.4)⁵¹⁶. Then, Silvanus Domesticus is honoured by a veteran, likely Palmyrene, who became a municipal decurion (A.XX.7) and Mucianus, *optio* of the same troop (A.XX.5). Nepos, centurion of the troop of Palmyrenes, dedicates an altar to goddess Nemesis (A.XX.6)⁵¹⁷.

The tile stamps *N(umerus) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium)*⁵¹⁸ (pl. 5.3–4) identified in the fort at *Porolissum* and the *signum* with letters *NP* discovered at Viştea might have belonged to the troop⁵¹⁹.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Praefecti

G. Mestrius Servilianus έπαρχος είλης ιππέον άριφμού ILS 9472 = IDRE II 356
Παλμυρηνών Πορολισσηνών

Centurio

Nepos A.XX.6

Decurio

Aur(elius) A.XX.8

Optio

Mucianus A.XX.5

Actarius

Au-[rel(ius) - - -]us A.XX.8

Signifer

[Aur.] Passer A.XX.8

Eques

Aurelius Iustinus A.XX.11

Milites

Aurelius [...] A.XX.8

Veterani

Val(erius) Them(us) A.XX.7

515 Chirilă et al. 1980, 89–90, no. 3, fig. 3; Sanie 1981, 292, no. 1; ILD 680.

516 Gudea, Chirilă 1988, 153, fig. 7; AE 1988, 976; AE 1999, 1278; Gudea 2000, 201–202; ILD 682.

N. Gudea believed that the name may of Hebrew origin (Gudea 2000, 201–202). S. Sanie (Sanie 1999, 3–4, p. 177, no. 4) proposed *M(arcus) Abidas Hutri*. C.C. Petolescu opts for the name *abidas*, identical with the Palmyrene name *Zabdas* (ILD 682).

517 Gudea et al. 1992, 149–150, 174, fig. 1; ILD 692.

518 Tóth 1978, 53, fig. 15; AE 1979, 501 g; Gudea 1989, 537, ILD 744.

519 Isac 1991, 62, 64 fig. 4/7.

Aelius Bolhas Bannaesus
Salmas Rami
ignotus

A.XX.12
A.XX.10
A.XX.7

L Aurelius Celsinianus, *mil(es) c(o)h(ortis) I P(...)* P(...)

A.XX.13

XXI. Numerus Palmyrenorum O[...]

The troop name was marked on a tombstone at *Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa* (A.XXI.1)⁵²⁰ recording a veteran Ael. Septimius Audeo, *ex (centurione) n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) O(...)*. The inscription was put by his family members, of whom son Aelius Septimius Romanus was at that date *mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae), [a]diut(or) offic(ii) cornicul(arium)*. The deceased's Eastern origin cognomen and the possible use as praenomen of name Aelius, in case this gap was not [P. vel T. A]el(ius) are worth mentioning.

Still from *Sarmizegetusa* comes an incomplete inscription (A.XIV.3) recording an individual [P(ublius) A]elius D[...] (restored in certain cases D[omo P]almyr(a) Ori[e[n...]), prefect of a cohors I Augusta T[hracum?]. We believe that the following restoration is very likely: [P(ublius) A]elius D[...] / [...centurio? vel praeposito N(umero) P]almyr(enorum) Ori[e...] / praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) T[hracum?]⁵²¹. An argument in favour of this restoration of the text gap as *numerus* is the record N(umerus) P(almyrenorum) O(...) at *Sarmizegetusa* (A.XXI.1). In this case, the troop name may be restored as N(umerus) P(almyrenorum) Ori(e...), hypothesis which seems to us more likely than O(ptatiansium). This restoration was made by analogy with a possible N(umerus) M(aurorum) O(ptatianensium) recorded on a tombstone – Aure(ius) Bassus sign(ifer) n(umeri) M(...) O(...)⁵²², respectively on the tile stamps found at Sutoru⁵²³, place identified with *Optatiana*⁵²⁴. Given the fact that no record of this Palmyrene *numerus* is directly connected to Sutoru, since the location *Optatiana* at Sutoru is improbable⁵²⁵, the location of this troop toponym should be likely sought nearby *Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa*⁵²⁶. This may also be the case of the connection with the many individuals of Palmyrene origin at *Sarmizegetusa*, most of them in the elite of this *colonia*⁵²⁷.

A tombstone with the mention of a troop member – Iul(ius) C-[- - (centurio)?] was identified in the walls of the fortress at Suceava. The origin of the item was deemed intra-Carpathian (A.XXI.2)⁵²⁸. The inscription is a “travelling stone”, arrived at Suceava sometime during the Middle Ages (possibly by mid 16th c.), prior the burning and destruction of the fortress. C. Croitoru believes that the origin place of the inscription is Barboși, discussing several “evidence on the transport of artifacts from Barboși to the princely palace at Iași”⁵²⁹. The quoted author does

520 CIL III 1471 = IDR III 2, 366.

521 The reading *praepositus numeri Palmyrenorum Oriens* was also adopted by N. Gostar (Gostar 1979, 663). For T[hracum?] see Piso 1988, 163–164, no 1.

522 AÉ 1932, 81; ILD 575.

523 CIL III 1633,6 = 8074,27 = ILD 759.

524 TIR L 34, p. 86 (*Optatiana*), 107 (Sutoru), XI c.

525 See the discussion on *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*.

526 Piso 1988; 163–164, no. 1.

527 A few trilobed arrowheads, specific to the Syrian units, were identified in the early levels of *forum vestus* (Etienne, Piso, Diaconescu 2004); they represent a clue on the presence in the area of archer units by the early 2nd c. For a recent presentation of certain aspects of the religious life of this community at *Sarmizegetusa* see Piso 2004, 299–304; Nemeti 2005, 164–178; Piso, Țentea 2011, 111–121..

528 Tudor 1953, 489–495; AÉ 1956, 217; Gostar 1974, 63–71; Petolescu 2002, 143; ILD 758.

529 Croitoru 2004, 121, note 258: M. Costin, *Opere* (P. P. Panaitescu editor), Bucharest 1958, p. 267 and D. Cantemir, *Hronical Vechimei a Romano-Moldo-Vlahilor* (Gr. G. Tocilescu editor), Bucharest 1901, p. 161; Tudor 1953, 467–487.

not agree with the troop's displacement in the Danube mounths area, believing that *Iul(ius) C...* established himself in this area.

XXII. *Numerus Surorum sagittaria*⁵³⁰

The troop most likely comprises units of *suri sagittarii*. In AD 138, they build the stone fort at *Arutela* (A.XXII.1 – A.XXII.2)⁵³¹. Given the limited nature of the defensive system research, there is no certainty that this fortification had any previous earth-and-timber phases⁵³². Obviously, our statement may not be valid unless based on underlying archaeological data, yet the published results of the archaeological investigations do not prove either that a fortification was built there for the first time in AD 138 or that the stone fort was erected at the time following the dismantling of a previous earth-and-timber fortification. The two hypotheses above are meant to show the shortcomings of the assertions regarding the chronology of the fort at *Arutela*, which may have implications in the elucidation of this troop history⁵³³.

In the fort at Rădăcinești, of sizes similar to that at *Arutela*, were recorded two building inscriptions comparable in text, belonging to the same troop (A.XXII.4 – A.XXII.5)⁵³⁴.

Subsequently, the unit was organised as *numerus*, being likely recorded in three inscriptions discovered at *Romula*. *Librarii cum Antonino Zoilo actario praepositi numeri Surorum* dedicated an altar to Mithras (A.XXII.5)⁵³⁵. *Claudius Montanus, immunis ex numero Surorum sagittaria*, takes care of his daughter's funeral *Claudia Amba* (A.XXII.6). The dedicators of an altar to *Placida Regina*, put by *equites [...] per Proculo principe et Gaio optione* (A.XXII.7) seem to be in the same unit.

NS (B.XXII.1) type stamps, used in "Philip the Arabian" wall, were also identified at *Romula*. From the fort at Slăveni come *NS* and *N* (B.XXII.2 – B.XXII.3) type stamps⁵³⁶.

The careers of two individuals at the command of this *numerus* raised much controversy as they were related to the debate on the record of Dacia Malvensis and the location of town Malva.

Sex. Iulius Possesor is recorded on an inscription at *Hispalis* (Seville) with the rank of *praeposito numeri Syror(um) sagittarior(um) item alae primae Hispa/nor(um)* – A.XXII.9⁵³⁷, and in that at *Mactaris (Africa Proconsularis)* – A.XXII.10, as *curator numeri Syrorum sagittaria item alae primae Hispanorum*. Given the rank of *praepositus*, he cumulated the command of both this *numerus* and the auxiliary unit stationed at the same time at Slaveni – *ala I Hispanorium*⁵³⁸. One should note that both titles *praepositus* and *curator* are indicative of a provisional nature command⁵³⁹. References to the Syrian unit mention the troop stationed in Lower Dacia and not its namesake from *Mauretania Caesarensis*⁵⁴⁰.

530 Christescu 1937, 200; Wagner 1938, 216; Aricescu 1977, 69; Beneš 1978, 63.

531 CIL III 12601a (= 13793); IDR II 575; CIL III 12601b = 13794; IDR II 576.

532 See the propositions for the defensive system in Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, fig. 39.

533 Pat Southern interprets the inscription on a silver blade found within the fort, made in dotted letters – *Valerius Valer[i]anus / eq(ues) lib(rarius) c(o)hor(tis) I His(panorum) ex [v]oto pos(uit)* – as the argument of the presence of this auxiliary troop in the fort. Obviously, as argued by the quoted author, the sizes of the fortification do not suit such solution. The same author hypothesised on the presence of an auxiliary officer at the command of the Syrians!

534 CIL III 12604 = IDR II 584; CIL III 12605 = IDR II 585. The troop name was restored in the second inscription.

535 IDR II 341.

536 CIL III 14216,30 = IDR II 529; CIL III 14216, 31 = IDR II 530.

537 CIL II 1180 (= ILS 1403; AE 1965, 237; IDRE I 19).

538 Petolescu 2002, 144.

539 IDRE I 179 – with complete discussion.

540 IDRE 179, p. 181; Petolescu 2002, 144 note 10.

Another commander, *Sex. Iulius Iulianus* was recorded on a tombstone at *Caesarea (Mauretania Tingitana)* – A.XXII.12⁵⁴¹. According to C.C. Petolescu, his mission to *Dacia Malvensis* differed from the charge to lead Bessian recruits in *Mauretania Tingitana*⁵⁴².

This unit is known from a single inscription, found at Piua Pietrei, by the mouths of river Ialomița (A.XXII.8)⁵⁴³, in front the Roman fortification at *Carsium* (Lower Moesia). Since there is no other information about it on the territory of Lower Moesia, the record was put in relation to the troop presence in Lower Dacia⁵⁴⁴.

Still, other scholars believed that this unit might have reached this point either once with Trajan's Dacian wars⁵⁴⁵ or during the 214⁵⁴⁶ war against the Carpi under emperor Caracalla.

From the quoted inscription comes the name of centurion Flavius Ianuarius and signifer Flavius Avitianus⁵⁴⁷.

The origin of the inscription discovered at Gura Ialomiței is still controversial in the specialty literature (A.XXII.7)⁵⁴⁸. According to Gr. Tocilescu, the altar was discovered by the end of the 19th c., source also quoted by V. Pârvan⁵⁴⁹. D. Tudor, followed by R. Vulpe, questioned the accuracy of the information concerning the find spot of the altar, believing it to be a registration error, the monument seen by Tocilescu in the Kogălniceanu collection being brought from Oltenia⁵⁵⁰. The same view was later adopted on several occasions⁵⁵¹.

W. Wagner believed this *numerus* differed from that recorded in Lower Dacia⁵⁵².

It is likely that a fortification was in existence in this area also during the Principate, representing the outpost of the garrison at *Carsium*⁵⁵³. The dedication to *genius centuriae*⁵⁵⁴ from

541 CIL VIII 9381 (=20945; ILS 2793; Speidel 1973, 169–177; IDRE II 463); PME I 73..

542 Petolescu 2002, 144 note 10. M. P. Speidel argued that the Syrian troop was transferred in the 3rd c. to *Mauretania Caesarensis* (Speidel 1977a)

543 CIL III 7493 = ISM V 127. For location, see TIR L 35, 58. See also Pârvan 1974, 90–91 (with Vulpe's note, p. 174, n. 203, who believes that in fact this inscription was not even found at Piua Pietrei, but was brought from Oltenia and entered the M. Kogălniceanu collection, being later published by Gr. Tocilescu AEM 8, 1884, 34, no. 4).

544 Aricescu 1977, 69; Tudor 1978, 194, 297, 339, 340; Nemeth 1997, 105, no. 3; Petolescu 2002, 143–144.

545 Sarnowski 1988, 59.

546 Ioana Bogdan-Cătănicu (Bogdan-Cătănicu 1997, 107) believed possible that this *numerus* had operated in the Gura Ialomiței area in the context of the Carpi attacks of 214; the author maintained that the hoards from Muntenia were buried as a result.

547 For both ranks see Domaszewski 1967, 59–61 (p. XVII–XVIII).

548 CIL III 7493 = ISM V 127.

549 Tocilescu 1902, 283; Pârvan 1974, 90–91.

550 Tudor 1978, 224, 279; Vulpe 1974, 174, n. 203.

551 We quote selectively: Tudor 1978, 339–340 (with certain nuances, in this case, compared to the second edition); Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 419; Aricescu 1977, 69; Vlădescu 1983, 41–42, and, more recently, in an excellent synthesis of the auxiliary units in Lower Moesia, Matei-Popescu 2004, 232, no. 41.

552 Wagner 1938, 216 – view also adopted by J. Beneš (Beneš 1978, 63, no. 161/25). For more recent views regarding the *numerus* history: Southern 1989, 137–138 (skips this inscription in the repertoire); Németh 1997, 105, no. 3 (does not discuss this inscription); Reuter 1999, 547 (adopts Beneš's view; we believe it a mere editorial error the note that the outpost of the fortification at *Gorsium* – instead at *Carsium* – had been located at Piua Petrii).

553 Nicolae 1993, 247; Zahariade 1997, 201. The existence of a Roman outpost west of *Carsium*, in the Gurii Ialomiței area, should not be excluded even more that previous evidence on the existence of a Roman fortification there preserves. D. Bondoc argued that the north-Danubian fortifications between the 4th – 6th c. AD represented simple extensions into the *Barbaricum* of their counterparts south the river, many being located close to the mouths of rivers flowing into the Danube, also having the obvious purpose to prevent possible attacks on these directions. Within this context, the mentioned author asserts that the fortification at Piua Petrii functioned only in the Late Roman period (Bondoc 2009)

554 It is remarkable that within the cult of the Genii during the Roman period, the largest number of cult places, altars or statues were dedicated to *Genius centuriae*, both in legions as well as in the praetorian guard. This would account for the strong feeling of identity and connection of the soldiers to the centuria which they were

Piua Petrii is not accidental, since such a small-sized fortification might have accommodated one *centuria* of the *Numerus Syrorum sagittaria*⁵⁵⁵. We believe that both find and fortification locations are uncertain⁵⁵⁶. In this state of research yet, this would be the single record of this *numerus* in Lower Moesia⁵⁵⁷.

XXIII. *Vexillationes equitum ex Syria*

Vexillationes equitum ex Syria are recorded in the diploma of Tokod⁵⁵⁸. No unit that would bear this name and no camping place for it were identified. The presence of these mounted units is put in direct relation to their involvement in the Dacian wars. Between AD 106 and 113/4, they seem to have been stationed at *Rittium-Surduk*⁵⁵⁹, in south Pannonia.

Likely, the troops returned to the East during Trajan's Parthian campaign. In addition, it is possible that either these vexillations were reorganised into another troop or that respective units were dispersed into several mounted troops within the province⁵⁶⁰. S. Dušanić argues that *vexillationes equitum ex Syria* not only precedes ala I Augusta Ituraeorum at Rittium (Surduk), but that the unit was even part of this *alae* different than the one in Dacia⁵⁶¹.

part in. It seems that they felt more protected within this unit type rather than in the *contubernium* or cohort. Frequently, dedicators to *genius centuriae* were *signifer*, *optio* or *custos armorum* soldiers and even the centurion himself (Speidel, Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978, 1546). According to M. Popescu, the inscription in question allows the understanding of the essential role granted to the tutelary spirit of the *centuria* for the protection of a *vexillatio* in mission (Popescu 2004, 323).

555 See also Southern 1989, fig. 5–7.

556 We hope that the pluridisciplinary approaches of the rock origin of the monument identified at Piua Petrii would shed additional light to this effect.

557 An associated discussion would be that of the discovery of a tile stamp at Barboși. Since we did not succeed to see the specimen in question, despite repeated requests, our hypothesis may be deemed at this point a mere exercise of formal logic. The stamp, in closed cartridge, has three letters in ligature, two of them being only partially visible. Until recently, two reading variants were published, each benefiting of several restorations: "ALP" in ligature with "E", restored as *Al(a)e P(annoniorum)* (Sanie 1993, 17; Sanie 1995, 152), then "NPE" or "NEP", with the three letters in ligature (Sanie 1996, 145–8, 154; Sanie 2001, 374, 376). The discovery of the stamp within an archaeological context where identified coins were issued under Trajan led S. Sanie to restorations that bring into focus troops, which according to their name resonance might have existed in the first part of the 2nd c. AD, namely *N(umerus) E(xploratorum) P(iroboridavensis)* or *N(umerus) E(xploratorum) P(annoniorum)*. Obviously, S. Sanie's review of the stamp reading shows that the letters are not easily distinguishable. Within his more recent reinterpretation, the author specifies that the first letter may be read "N", thus we might be dealing with a *numerus* [Sanie 1996, 154 fig. 12–13; Croitoru 2004, 121 = Croitoru 2004a, 167–168: *n(umerus) E(quitum) p(almyrenorum)*]. The photo published on this occasion does not remove uncertainties regarding the stamp reading within its first publication, reason for which we believe that the drawing renders both the state of fact and a certain dose of interpretation. The reading of the stamp would be in this case *N(umerus) S(yrorum) (N)*, being similar as type with those at *Romula* (CIL III 1633, 20 = CIL III 8074 28 = IDR II 383) and *Slăveni* (CIL III 14216, 30–31 = IDR II 529, 530), which might reinforce the argument of this troop presence in the fortification at Piua Petrii.

558 CIL XVI 164; Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 202.

559 Mócsy 1962, 624; Saxer 1967, 25 sqq.; Dušanić 1968, 111; Strobel 1984, 148; Lőrincz 2001, 53.

560 Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 202.

561 Dušanić 1968, 111.

DEITIES CHOSEN FOR WORSHIP

4

Are the Syrian units the key factor in the dissemination of Eastern cults in the western provinces of the Empire or are they not? In this regard we shall discuss hereinafter a few general aspects concerning the religious beliefs of the soldiers in the Syrian auxilia dispatched to the Danube provinces of the Roman Empire, namely Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia.

The penetration of Eastern cults¹ in this area as well as their diffusion during the Principate has been explained mainly by either the displacement of the units from the Levant area or through the mediation of populations coming from the mentioned region. We shall make reference herein to both case studies and syntheses on Eastern cults from the respective provinces².

Among the 22 regular or irregular auxilia coming from the Syrian environment recorded on the territory of the mentioned provinces, only from 10 of them we can find inscriptions dedicated to various deities³.

Here is a short statistical presentation of the inscriptions repertory for the mentioned units (see table):

Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria

Heliopolitanus appeared in a syncretistic form in an inscription from 93⁴. An inscription dedicated to Jupiter has also been recorded⁵.

Cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Trachonitarum

There is an inscription attesting Dii patrii Manaphus and Theandrius⁶.

Cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria equitata

- 1 We preferred the use of the generic term “eastern cults” introduced by Franz Cumont (Cumont 1929) and consecrated in the specialized literature in the volume series “Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’ Empire romain” or more recently, in Robert Turcan’s synthesis (Turcan 1989 – Romanian translation, Bucharest, 1998). Furthermore, we chose to use the generic name of Syrian units to replace the periphrasis “regular and irregular auxilia coming from the “Syrian-Arabic” region, integrating in fact all “non-legionary” units.
- 2 Schön 1988; Kádár 1962; Selem 1980; Zotović 1966; Tacheva-Hitova 1983; Popa, Berciu 1978; Berciu, Petolescu 1976.
- 3 We did not include in our repertoire an inscription from *Comagena* (Noricum, St. Andrae) where the dedication to Mithras might have been placed by soldiers of *ala I Commagenorum, Comaci(a)e et Com(magenorum)* – CIL III 5650 (p. 1842) = ILLPRON 886 = AE 1953, 127.
- 4 CIL VI 421; ILS 2546; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 150.
- 5 CIL III 3446; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 149.
- 6 CIL III 3688; ILS 4349; Birley 1978, 1525 no. 29; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 292.

There have been recorded three inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter⁷.

Cohors I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata cR

There are five dedications to Jupiter, out of which one records him with the epithet *Augustus*, and two associate him with Iuno and other gods⁸. An interesting dedication is the one for *Genius t(urmae)* and *Epona Regina*⁹. The monuments may be dated mainly under the Severans.

Cohors I Aurelia Antoniana milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata cR

Among the inscriptions dedicated by this unit to various deities, seven are dedicated to Jupiter, four to Heliogabal¹⁰, two to Sol¹¹, three to Liber Pater¹², two to Diana¹³, two to Silvanus (*Domesticus* and *Conservator*)¹⁴ and one to each *Dis omnibus*¹⁵ and *Victoria*¹⁶.

Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria equitata

There are four inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter¹⁷, two to Dolichenus¹⁸ under the form *interpretatio romana*, in one being surnamed Commagenus. Two inscriptions record Turmazgades as Jupiter Turmazgades, respectively *Genius Turmazgades*¹⁹. There is also one inscription for each of the following deities: Mercury²⁰, Hercules²¹, Liber Pater²², Mars Gradivus²³, Fortuna²⁴, Minerva²⁵ and Diana²⁶.

Cohors I sagittaria

There is one inscription for each Jupiter and Iuno²⁷, Jupiter Dolichenus²⁸ and one for Mars Gradivus²⁹.

Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium

- 7 AE 1977, 616; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 420. CIL III 5645; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 422. AE 1977, 617; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 425.
- 8 CIL III 10581; RIU 843; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 438. CIL III 15170 = 3640; RIU 872; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 439. CIL III 10575; RIU 874; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 442. AE 1986, 579; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 452. CIL III 13386; AE 1939, 17; RIU 875; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 444.
- 9 RIU 869; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 441.
- 10 AE 1973, 473 *bis*; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 303. AE 1910, 141; ILS 9155; Intercisa I, no. 135; RIU 1104; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 306. AE 1910, 133; Intercisa I, no. 326; Jfztz 1972, 101 no. 14; RIU 1139; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 310, 326.
- 11 AE 1971, 331; Fitz 1972, 130 No. 20; RIU 1099; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 335. AE 1908, 52; Intercisa I, no. 361; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 24; RIU 1100; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 338.
- 12 AE 1910, 149; Intercisa I, no. 352; RIU 1088; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 337; AE 1910, 135; Intercisa I, no. 535; RIU 1186; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 361; AE 1971, 329; Fitz 1972, 128 No. 66; RIU 1085; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 366.
- 13 CIL III 10304; Intercisa I, no. 349; Fitz 1972, 202; RIU 1056; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 312; AE 1910, 140; Intercisa I no. 324; RIU 1059; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 305.
- 14 Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 330; AE 1971, 351; Fitz 1972, 128 no. 60c; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 367.
- 15 AE 1910, 128; Intercisa I, no. 332; Fitz 1972, 134 no. 58; RIU 1060; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 364.
- 16 AE 1908, 48; Intercisa I, no. 331; RIU 1080; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 304.
- 17 CIL III 1343; AE 1978, 705; IDR III/3, 77; CIL III 7848; IDR III/3, 78; CIL III 7849; IDR III/3, 79; CIL III 1347 = 7850; IDR III/3 88.
- 18 AE 1911, 35; IDR III/3, 67; IDR III/3, 66.
- 19 AE 1903 65; ILS 9273; IDR III/3 138; CIL III 1338; ILS 4047a; IDR III/3 139.
- 20 CIL III 7855; IDR III/3, 109.
- 21 ILD 306: most recent discussion; IDR III/3, 130 (Silvanus Domesticus).
- 22 CIL III 1355; IDR III/3, 105.
- 23 CIL III 1619 = 7854; IDR III/3, 108.
- 24 AE 1903, 67; IDR III/3, 68.
- 25 AE 1971, 399; IDR III/3, 111.
- 26 AE 1975, 706; IDR III/3, 63.
- 27 CIL III 14216,2; IDR II 18
- 28 Petolescu 2004, 38–45; ILD 53.
- 29 CIL III 6279; IDR II 23.

Two inscriptions were dedicated to Malakbel³⁰, one to Bel³¹, *dii patrii*, one to *Genius numeri*³² (probably still Malakbel), one to *Minerva Augusta* and *Genius numeri Palmyrenorum*³³ and one to *Liber Pater*³⁴.

Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium

Two inscriptions invoked *Silvanus Domesticus*³⁵ and one each *Bel*³⁶, *Iupiter*³⁷ and *Nemesis*³⁸.

Numerus Surorum sagittaria

There is one inscription for each of the following deities: *Mithras*³⁹, *Placida Regina*⁴⁰ and *Genius centuriae*⁴¹.

Through the present paper we tried to accomplish more than a critical assessment of previous studies on the dissemination of Eastern religions by the units coming from this area, through a statistical evaluation of all inscriptions dedicated by their members, precisely in the attempt to “clarify” statements based on “classical” examples like *cohors I Aurelia Antoniana milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria* at *Intercisa* or *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria* at *Micia*. The respective epigraphic material, extremely unequal in quantity from one case to another (see table), was compared with the results of a presumably exhaustive statistics on all religious inscriptions attesting auxilia in the Danube provinces, of which we shall present only the synthetic results, specifically due to the moderate relevance of this approach. We also tried to compare the results of the epigraphic records analysis belonging to Syrian units, respectively non-Syrian units in the Danube provinces, with those from Syria.

We considered a number of 155 auxiliaries (40 *alae* and 115 *cohortes*), out of which 22 are Syrian. Among the 22 Syrian units, 10 are recorded with inscriptions dedicated to various deities (see table 1 and discussion below).

We took into account 53 units (17 *alae* and 36 *cohortes*) from Syria, out of which only 13 can be included in the category that dedicated religious inscriptions. Other 18 units come from the Levant region, including for the statistics herein, an *ala* and five cohorts from Asia Minor. Epigraphic records of religious nature are known only for four units!

Therefore, a complete analysis of the epigraphic material related to this subject may turn from “challenge” to “irrelevant”! How realistic is the explanation of the diffusion of various cults following the corroboration of epigraphic and archaeological data? To which extent could have been crossed the limit of numerous inscriptions concentrated in sites where records on the stationing of certain units are significant due both the variety of sources as well as their connection to the archaeological context? Votive objects found in the military area, the so-called “small finds” were regarded as potential evidence for personal cults. The results of a synthesis drafted for Britannia are yet disappointing from the mentioned aspects standpoint⁴². To what extent is the desideratum of future syntheses based on prospect finds not only rhetorical! In most

30 Piso 1983, 107–109, no. 4, fig. 3 (= IDR, III/1, 142 și 149); ILD 207; Piso 1983, 109, no. 5, fig. 4 (= IDR III/1 143 + 148); ILD 208.

31 IDR III/1, 134.

32 IDR III/1, 136.

33 Timoc 2006, 277–282.

34 IDR III/1, 181; Piso, Benea 1999, 91–96, no. 1, fig. 1; AE 1999, 1295; ILD 202.

35 AE 1960, 219; Tóth 1978, no. 49; Gudea 1989, 768, no. 34; ILD 690.

36 Gudea, Lucăce 1975, 11, no. 7; Gudea 1989, 762, no. 10; AE 1977, 666; AE 1980, 755; ILD 663.

37 Chirilă et al. 1980, 89–90, no. 3, fig. 3; Sanie 1981, 292, no. 1; ILD 680.

38 Gudea et al. 1992, 149–150, 174, fig. 1; ILD 692.

39 IDR II 341; AE 1914, 120.

40 CIL III 1590a = 8029; IDR II 338.

41 CIL III 7493; ISM V 127; Țentea 2005, 183–184.

42 Green 1978.

cases, the published artefacts that should reinforce epigraphic arguments, either lack relative chronology relevance or could not be correlated with the stationing of a unit in the respective site! At Straubing (*Sorviodurum*)⁴³, however, both the chronology of the constructional stages of the fort and the stratigraphic correlation with the artefacts dating during the stationing of cohort *I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittaria* are carefully structured; nonetheless, religious epigraphic records of the units are missing!⁴⁴

Altogether, it was assumed that these units are the bearers of religions specific to their recruitment areas, however, depending on various factors (time span from the establishment of the units, the province where they were displaced etc), significant variables emerge. We should mention that different degrees in the knowledge of a unit history and the unequal quantity of available records hinder generally valid conclusions. Chronological landmarks are not always conclusive hence we shall pinpoint just a few aspects of the “classical” cases already mentioned.

Among the ethnic groups colonised in Dacia, the Palmyrenes distinguished themselves through their capacity to preserve religious traditions. Few votive gestures of the Palmyrenes in Dacia were directed to deities that did not belong to the circle of the gods worshipped in *Palmyra*.

Malakbel was the most popular among the Palmyrenes in the Roman army⁴⁵, his predilect worship by Palmyrene soldiers in the Empire being related to his feature as a solar god⁴⁶. In Dacia there are six clear votive monuments dedicated to him: four at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* and two at *Tibiscum*, his name being restored on other two fragmentary monuments. Palmyrene soldiers compared their gods to those of their peers, interpreted them by emphasizing their specific capacities and classified them according to schemes outside the “pantheon” of the country of origin. Religious manifestations of the Palmyrene soldiers as indicated by the worship of deities like Bêl, Iarhibôl, Aglibôl and even Malakbel are mainly determined by the Palmyrene civic religion. Far from home, they seemed to have preserved the “national” specific, common to all Palmyrenes, so to later relinquish the “tribal” aspects of the Palmyrene religion⁴⁷.

An extremely widespread deity within the military environment is Jupiter Dolichenus. Traces of Jupiter Dolichenus’ cult in the Roman Empire were recorded especially in eastern and border provinces. Part of Jupiter Dolichenus’ evidence in the Danube provinces can be related to civil (in large economic centres) or even Syrian military elements⁴⁸. At the level of the province, it has been considered that the penetration of Jupiter Dolichenus’ cult in the area was exclusively due to the units of Commageni⁴⁹. We shall not insist here on the debate whether *Commagenus* is an epithet of Dolichenus or a distinct cult. Certainly, these inscriptions are not to be associated *stricto sensu* to the presence in the area of Commageni cohorts, as argued in certain cases for Dacia, at *Ampelum*, Săcădate. Only two of the 14 religious inscriptions belonging to *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* from *Micia* are dedicated to this deity. Certainly, we would have expected to find more numerous pieces of evidence attesting Dolichenus at *Micia*, given

43 Walke 1965, 16 abb. 5, 17, Taf. 97–100, 105/5–8, 25–31; Keim, Klumbach 1951; Prammer 1989.

44 At *Intercisa*, *Tibiscum*, *Micia* or *Porolissum*, to give only a few examples, for the artefacts deemed to be specific to the *Sagittari* units, we are referring here only to weaponry and military equipment items, the level of research is yet far from satisfying (Salamon 1977, 207–215); Bona, Petrovszky, Petrovszky 1983, 405–432; Benea, Bona 1994; Gudea 2006, 395–413; Petculescu 2002, 765–770.

45 Dirven 1999, 188.

46 The six inscriptions from Dacia are supplemented by other seven inscriptions from North Africa (four from El Kantara, two from *Castellum Dimmidi* and one from El Ghara). The god’s popularity in Dacia is expressed by his ranking first among the ancestral gods for whom *P. Aelius Theimes* rebuilt the temple at Sarmizegetusa. See to this end complete discussion in Nemeti 2004, 643–650; Nemeti 2005, 175–178. The monuments from *Tibiscum* are fragmentary, only the name of the deity was restored.

47 Nemeti 2005, 649. For a general presentation see Kaiser 2002, 43–66.

48 Nemeti 2005, 232.

49 Petolescu 1998, 8.

that the fortification there was the garrison of the Commageni unit for a remarkable period of time. Several deities coming from Syria, namely Jupiter Dolichenus and Jupiter Turmazgades, Jupiter Hierapolitanus⁵⁰ and Jupiter Heliopolitanus were recorded at *Micia*. However, to what extent may this be exclusively related to the Commageni unit? We may however assert that they made Turmazgades well-known!

We should also mention the case of *M. Arruntius Agrippinus*, prefect of *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*, attested by an inscription from *Micia* dedicated to Jupiter Turmazgades⁵¹. It is very possible that this individual was identified with his homonym who in 118 became a prefect of the eastern desert, in Egypt (*praefectus Montis Berenicidis*), as mentioned on an *ostrakon* from Krokodilô⁵². The command of a *quingenaria* cohort – first of the equestrian militias – could date *M. Arruntius Agrippinus'* commission at *Micia* in the first years of the province⁵³.

Moreover, we would have expected that certain gods, like Jupiter Heliopolitanus, have been worshipped by the units of Ituraei – likely too parsimonious on epigraphic records – or by other units of Syrian origin. From inscriptions available to date, the cult of Heliopolitanus in Dacia⁵⁴ is known through the dedications made by legionaries and not by members of Syrian auxiliaries⁵⁵. The dedicators of the two inscriptions from *Micia* are of *gens Licinia*, recorded at Baalbek. The early dating of these inscriptions from Dacia supports the fact they were most likely natives of the mentioned city⁵⁶.

For instance, the Syrian units that secured the eastern frontier of Lower Pannonia from the end of the Marcomannic wars onwards, although apparently exhibiting similar histories are rather two different cases according to epigraphic records. There have been approx. 70 inscriptions recorded (more than 20 are religious) that mention *cohors I Aurelia Antoniana mill. Hemesenorum sag. eq. c.R.*, based at *Intercisa*, a very special case among the auxilia from the Empire; while from *Ulcisia Castra* there have been recorded only 18 inscriptions (6 with religious character) belonging to *cohors I mill. nova Severiana Surorum sag. eq. c.R.*

Records of *cohors I Hemesenorum* from *Intercisa* have been quoted mainly in reference to the preservation of Semitic religious beliefs in the Roman world. One of the arguments was the unit establishment under Trajan or Hadrian. In fact, one of the most spectacular aspects in the history of this unit was the devotion of its soldiers to Elagabal (Elah-Gebel), the famous god of *Emesa*⁵⁷, the city from where this unit was raised. Julia Domna, Septimius Severus' spouse, belonged to the family of king-priests governing the city. For this reason and especially given the ascension to the throne of Emperor Elagabalus, the city is famous all over the Empire at

50 IDR III/3, 97; for the description of discovery circumstances and interpretation see Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, p. 77; Nemeti 2005, 242–243. Sorin Nemeti argues there must have been a temple for Dolichenus pertaining to the Commageni soldiers that housed Turmazgades and Heliopolitanus, as well as a temple for Dea Syria and Turmazgades.

51 IDR III/3 138.

52 Cuvigny 2005, p. 138–139, no. 87.

53 Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, 88.

54 *Micia*: *Q. Licinius Macrinus*, centurion in IIII Flaviae Felix (CIL III 1353 = IDR III/3, 95), respectively *L. Licinius Messalinus*, centurion in XIII Gemina (CIL III 1354 = IDR III/3 96); *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*: *C. Domitius Valens*, centurion in XIII Gemina (Floca 1932, 102 fig. 1, AE 1933, 18, IDR III/2 243)

55 Mihai Popescu argued that the distribution of the Heliopolitanus cult in Dacia was mainly due to legionaries (Popescu 2004, 141).

56 Given the rather frequent record of *nomen gentile*, Sorin Nemeti argued this criterion may not account for their Heliopolitan origin (Nemeti 2005, 241, note 241). The dedication of *M. Arruntius Agrippinus*, mentioned above, may be a supportive element to this end, belonging most likely to the same period.

57 Domaszewski 1895, 60 considered that the deity was imposed to the army only under Elagabalus. An inscription dedicated to this god is datable four years prior the reign of the emperor, respectively in 214 (Intercisa I, no. 326; Fitz 1972, 101 no. 14; 195; RIU 1139; Lőrincz 2001, cat. no. 310), thus proving the dedication is not the result of an imperial dictate (Haynes 1993, 151).

that time. The inscriptions of this unit show tight connections to its city of origin, certainly, also including the devotion acts to the imperial house.

The main causes of Eastern cults dissemination in the west of the Empire were considered to be: the economic prevalence of the East (especially due to very intense trade relations in the region) that fostered the diffusion of religious beliefs⁵⁸, the inflow of populations coming from the East, the soldiers recruited from this area, respectively the stationing of the legions and auxilia in the East. Obviously, the direct support of “Syrian” emperors cannot be overlooked (Septimius Severus, Elagabalus, Philip the Arab). In many of the case studies, namely the publishing of certain monuments dedicated to Eastern gods, the diffusers of the eastern beliefs were sought among the units of Syrian origin stationed in fortifications more or less nearby.

Overall, the Roman army was considered one of the greatest promoters of the Eastern cults starting with mid 2nd c. AD regarded as “approved cults” within the official Roman religion and celebrated by soldiers beginning with the reign of Alexander Severus, when they were included in the official military religion of the Roman army⁵⁹. The triumph of the Eastern religion over the Roman military gods was delayed only by a few “religious reforms”⁶⁰ over time⁶¹. Even though the religion of the soldiers was manipulated, it did not directly involve conscious attempts of Romanisation of the auxiliaries⁶².

The soldiers in the Syrian units worshipped the gods of the Roman Pantheon such as military divinities, local divinities or the seducing Eastern cults. It is likely that part of the units had still worshiped some of the gods from their native area⁶³. To what extent were eastern units disseminating their cults outside their area of origin? Their living environment, respectively the complexity of reasons determining the worship of a certain god are elements impossible to retrace! Obviously, the most important element is the studying of individual dedications of lower rank soldiers; however, epigraphic evidence is little. The issue is hence the identification of personal preferences of officers or soldiers, noticeable only occasionally in records known to date⁶⁴. Individual dedications to any deities outside the classical pantheon were allowed insofar the tasks related to the practice of the official religion were carried out. Often, the practice of the public cult was formal, the role of the individual in such ceremonies being extremely reduced. Irrespective of the personal religion, the official processions to which an auxilia soldier had to participate within a year were comprised in a list of festivals and religious ceremonies exemplified

58 The role of trade in propagating Eastern cults and religions is obvious in the case of Syrian traders from Dacia or other provinces of the Empire: Cagnat 1909, 4 sqq; Pârvan 1909.

59 Hoey 1939, 456. According to Domaszewski, Eastern cults were adopted by Commodus, thus becoming part of the official military religion under Septimius Severus (Domaszewski 1895, 59; Birley 1978, 1516). To what extent may one speak of “approved” Eastern cults within the soldiers’ religion or of a coherent religious policy? (an idea argued among others by A.S. Hoey (Hoey 1939, 458), E. Birley (Birley 1978) or more recently Ștefănescu 2005, 211–218. Overall, this view seems to have been influenced by the interpretation according to which *Feriale Duranum* was a standard calendar for the Roman army, regardless the area (Fink, Hoey, Snyder 1940, 28–29), updated at the beginning of each rule (Fink, Hoey, Snyder 1940, 37–38), imposed to the soldiers in the auxilia. Thus, the Roman state would have pursued a coherent Romanisation policy of the auxilia, fact which does not suit Roman habits – Haynes 1993, 144.

60 See Augustus’ policy of return to traditional cults (exclusion of Eastern cults) or the discipline and professional ideas restored by Hadrian during his tour in the provinces!

61 Hoey 1939, 481. According to Greg Woolf, one may speak restrictively about the export of cults from certain *poleis* to various areas of the Empire, since under the Roman rule, these entities gradually lost control over their own cults. The ability of the Roman religion to develop and incorporate new gods was in fact an important factor in the erosion of its own authority (Woolf 2003, 49).

62 Haynes 1993, 143.

63 Birley 1978, 1506.

64 We should mention we are not far from Allan S. Hoey’s declared deadlock, who almost 60 years ago dealt with same issue (Hoey 1939, 457).

by *Feriale Duranum* – in the annual religious calendar of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*. On the whole, it included a standard list of ceremonies without being specific to a certain unit⁶⁵. The individual did not avoid public obligations however on a personal level he could have chosen the solution closest to his own beliefs. Even though the soldiers were not forced to participate directly to religious processions, the mere presence as witness to this succession of ceremonies must have had an impact⁶⁶. Helgeland described the fort very suggestively as a “Roman island in a jungle of non-Roman morals”⁶⁷.

The answer to the introductory question whether the Syrian units were or not the supreme promoters of the Eastern cults to the western provinces is rather an urge to caution when drafting conclusions based on case studies. Moreover, the statement that the units were merely factors that influenced the dissemination of Eastern cults without playing the main role in this process is rather a conviction not certitude.

Table

No.	Unit	Province	Deities
1 (IV)	Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria	PI, D	<i>Iupiter</i> (200–220); <i>Iupiter Heliopolitanus</i> (93)
2 (IX)	Cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Trachonitarum	PS, R	<i>Manaphus et Theandrius</i> (205)
3 (VII)	Cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria eq.	PS	3 <i>Iupiter</i> (159, 2 nd c., 3 rd c.)
4 (XVII)	Cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum sag. eq. = Cohors I millilaria nova Severiana Surorum sag. eq. cR	PI	4 <i>Iupiter</i> (222–235, 247–249, 200–250); <i>Iupiter et Iunona Regina</i> (200–250); <i>Genius turmae et Epona Regina</i> (241)
5 (XIII)	Cohors I Aurelia Antoniana milliaria Hemesenorum sag. eq. cR	PI	3 <i>Iupiter</i> (200–250; cca 240), 2 <i>Iupiter Culminaris</i> (200–250), <i>Iupiter et Genio cohortis</i> (213), <i>Iupiter et [...]</i> (222–235), <i>Victoria</i> (200), <i>Diana Augusta</i> (222–235), <i>Diana Tifatina</i> (202), <i>Silvanus Domesticus</i> (200–250), <i>Silvanus Conservator</i> (200–250), <i>Liber Pater</i> (200–250), <i>Liber Pater et Libera</i> (200–250), <i>Dis omnibus</i> (200–250), 4 <i>Heliogabal</i> (198–199, about 202, 214, 3 rd c.), 2 <i>Sol</i>
6 (XII)	Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sag. eq.	DS	4 <i>Iupiter</i> (209–212), 2 <i>Iupiter Dolichenus</i> , <i>Fortuna Augusta</i> (after 193), <i>Diana</i> , <i>Liber Pater</i> , <i>Mars Gradivus</i> (about 160), <i>Mercurius</i> , <i>Minerva Augusta et Genio cohortis</i> , <i>Hercules</i> , <i>Iupiter Turmazgades</i> (Traian?), <i>Genius Turmazgades</i>

65 For instance, more than half of the events recorded in this calendar were associated with the practice of the Imperial cult – Haynes 1999, 168. Ceremonies are thus divided into three categories: the most numerous were linked to the Imperial cult, followed by festivals of religious significance and *feriae publicae*. See also Nock 1952, 187–252.

66 Haynes 1999, 169.

67 Helgeland 1978, 1495.

7 (XVI)	Cohors I sagittaria	DS	<i>Iupiter et Iunona Regina (3rd c.), Iupiter Dolichenus (198–211), Mars Gradivus (after 238)</i>
8 (XIX)	Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium	DS	<i>Liber Pater, Dis patriis, Genius numeri, 2 Malakbel, Bel</i>
9 (XX)	Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium	DP	<i>Iupiter, 2 Silvanus Domesticus, Bel</i>
10 (XXI)	Numerus Surorum sagittaria	DI, MI	<i>Mithras, Placida Regina, Genius centuriae</i>

FIGHTING STYLE AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT

5

Weapon and military equipment finds associated with the presence of Syrian archers are rather infrequent within the archaeological excavations of Roman fortifications in the Danube provinces of the Empire. Most of them are either sporadically published or originate from archaeological contexts dated inconclusively¹.

This chapter proposes to make a short overview of weapon finds, respectively of the main elements with reference to the Syrian archers' fighting style.

Both bow and arrows are not proper Roman weapons, being introduced in the Roman army under the pressure of adversaries requiring a different tactical approach². In Hispania, recorded for the first time in Scipio's army, archers are present in small groups, corresponding to a legionary *centuria*³. By the end of the Punic wars, significant units of *sagittarii*⁴ will gradually enter the Roman army, however, despite the rather early emergence, their incorporation and establishment as regular troops were the result of long-term processes. During his campaigns to Gaul, Caesar was forced to "reinvent" this weapon by joining archer units to his legions. They were quite "novel" to the Romans, as Caesar mentions as unordinary the fact that solid archer units were present among Vercingetorix's army⁵. Caesar would use Iturean archers⁶ during the course of the civil wars. In Galia he made no attempt to recruit Gallic archers, but relied upon Numidians and Cretans⁷.

Sagittarii units would become regular⁸ only under the Principate. Subsequently, the words *sagittarii*, *sagittaria* in a troop name would be indicative of the weapon specific to the respective

1 Many studies on Roman army strategies and tactics make reference to these artefacts. I shall mention herein the most recent: Ruscu, Ruscu 1996, 205–259; Găzdac 1997, 151–166; Diaconescu 1997, 13–52; Ureche 2008, 247–261; Ureche 2010, 35–40. A synthesis on the weapons of the archers from Dacia, brought together in a more recent synthesis (Petculescu 2002, 765–770).

2 The distinction between tactics and strategy was explained as follows: the first has to do with battle, the other with war. Modern historians have added a level of "operations" in-between and on top, a level of "grand strategy". If the term "operation" may be easily adapted to the realities of the Roman period, it is not the case with the second, promoted by the work "Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire" (Luttwak 1970), which generated great historiographical effervescence. Part of the scholars sought to expand the notion of "grand strategy" to include the spheres of economics and diplomacy (Mattern 1999, 81). Others argued in favour of a much more flexible approach that would take into consideration the specificities of the Empire periphery as well as numerous other local factors (see complete discussion in Wheeler 1993, part 1, 21–22).

3 Feugere 1993, 211.

4 See to this effect the weaponry from *Numantia* published by M. von Groller (1901, 85–132).

5 Caesar, *Bell.Gal.* VII 31.

6 Caesar, *Bell.Afr.*, 20; Cicero, *Phil.* 2, 112.

7 Davies 1977, 261.

8 Feugere 1993, 48; DA IV.2, 1006.

troop. These troops, raised from various areas of the Empire preserved the weapon of choice beside their native clothes, instructions in the mother tongue and fighting style. The introduction of mounted archer units within the light cavalry would diversify tactical solutions of harassment and breach of enemy ranks provided with a solid and well ordered infantry. When applicable, these troops were extremely useful to cover retreat⁹.

Sagittarii were recruited primarily from those areas of the Empire famous for their tradition in bow making and handling, namely the Levant, Numidia, Thrace, Crete and Cyrenaica¹⁰. Under the Principate, the vast majority would be enlisted from Syria or Arabia¹¹. Starting with the end of the 1st century AD, their strength would considerably increase, while any subsequent battle formation would contain a unit of foot archers¹² in the second line. Their organisation into regular troops and the rather large numbers they reached during the 1st–3rd century AD¹³ stand proof for their high recognition and special role on almost all Empire frontiers.

The introduction of the re-curved bow, the most efficient at that date¹⁴ to supply the simple “Greek” bow or the longbow used by the Cretans and Thracians is significantly important. The re-curved bow, beside the central hard and supple wood part, was provided with deer horn (firstly) and bone stiffeners. The different bow segments make use of the complementary properties of these materials joined by assembling, gluing and binding, thus offering much higher propulsion force compared to previous bows¹⁵.

It is noteworthy that during the early period of the Principate the re-curved bow was broadly diffused, so it might have also been used as a hunting weapon, as shown by certain mosaic scenes¹⁶. These artefacts should not be discriminatorily associated with archer troops only. The bow use was not exclusively reserved to *sagittarii* troops, such equipment being one of “reserve”, extremely necessary for mural defence in case of siege¹⁷. Literary sources also record that this weapon type is standard to the Roman army¹⁸.

After use, the bow was dismantled (by removing the bowstring) so that the wood would preserve its natural curvature, which gave the bow a reverse curvature orientation, as shown by the Parthian bow at Yrzi¹⁹. In order to attach the bowstring, archers regardless of origin, bent the bow on their knees²⁰. The composite bow was expensive as opposed to the other bows, for its construction necessitated specific wood, horn and bone types and a long manufacture process that required great skill from both the craftsman and archer. Archers were perceived differently within the Empire. In the East, the mounted archer, who afforded an expensive bow, was part of the community elite. Archers raised in the western provinces came from amongst less wealthy

9 Luttwak 1970, 42, 45. For a more recent synthesis see Ureche 2011, 35–40.

10 Coulston 1985, 288–289.

11 Coulston 1985, 220.

12 Vegetius, *Epitoma* 1.15.

13 Davies 1977, 269–70) indentified for this period at least 8 *alae*, 32 *cohortes* and 3 *numeri* of archers at the scale of the entire Empire, beside which all troops bearing the name *Palmyrenorum*, *Commagenorum*, *Ituraeorum* and *Ulpia Praetorum* are probably included.

14 Ruscu 1996, 216.

15 Coulston 1985, 226, Feugere 1993, 212.

16 Petculescu 2002.

17 Davies 1977, 265–266.

18 Arrian, *Tactica*, 43, I (says that *alae* soldiers must be trained in handling projectile weapons like slingshots, bows and war machinery); Vegetius, *Epitoma* 1.15 (ca. one third up to a quarter of legionaries should be exercised in archery, both on foot and horseback).

19 Coulston 1985, 222, fig. 2.

20 Feugere 1993, 212; according to a specific gesture preserved especially due to the representations of the Scythian art DA I, fig. 472.

social categories, were not equipped with highly efficient bows and were not extensively trained in the use of the bow whilst riding on horseback²¹.

Archaeological finds belonging to Roman period contexts include only those bow parts made of deer horn or bone, generically known as bow stiffeners²². They divide in two classes: terminal and central²³, according to the place they were attached to the wooden support. Bow stiffeners appear in many military sites, starting with archaeological levels corresponding to the first part of the 1st century AD, more precisely under Augustus.

In this period still, trilobate arrowheads, novel to the Roman army²⁴, emerge on a large scale especially within military settings. Similarly to the composite bow and non-excluding other arrowhead types, they were spread by eastern archers mainly²⁵ all over the Empire, at least during the early imperial period.

The eastern archers' equipment is represented by the "Levantine style" attire, as depicted on Trajan's Column: an ankle-deep cloak covered by *lorica squamata* type armour, short-sleeved, and a conical helmet, atypical to the Roman army. The armour was imposed to those to whom it was uncommon, as they could not bear shields²⁶. The bow case²⁷, the quiver²⁸ and the arrowheads are of special importance within the archer equipment. The arm guards²⁹ come to complete the equipment. They were used to protect the left arm from the bruises or burns inflicted by the bowspring when released. Material evidence of their presence is missing, however archer depictions on Trajan's Column account for their use. Most likely, the lack of material evidence may be either due to the fact that arm guards were made of organic material³⁰ or to erroneous interpretation of certain materials, framed in other categories as a result.

Certainly, once incorporated within the Roman army, these auxiliaries would be under powerful "Romanising" influences in all aspects of the spiritual or material life and implicitly, in

21 Coulston 1985.

22 Coulston 1985, 223. Bow fragments found beside adjacent organic materials were all identified in non-Roman environments, yet in certain cases, they are contemporary with the Roman imperial period and thus, relevant as comparative material.

23 Petculescu 2002, 765.

24 These arrows are rather varied in shape, size and processing standard. Zanier 1988, 7. Quadrilobe form arrows are extremely rare. Such arrows were identified among the finds in the Roman fort at Numantia (the so-called Scipio's fort), clustering in large numbers in the same area of the fortification (Schulten 1927, 251, taf. 34/31-34). Their shape differentiates from the consecrated type of the imperial period. They are rather pyramidal arrowheads, three-bladed, exhibiting deep incisions on their sides, suggesting rather a proper trilobate arrowhead.

25 W. Zanier identified four groups: with sharply-extended wings (two variants), ending in right angle to the peduncle, angular and sharp - Zanier 1988, Abb. 1. These arrowheads were made of an iron core, being "modelled" by repeated strikes on anvil or other special devices. Their production process was very complex and supposed a high degree of specialization of the craftsman. Within a study dedicated to the entire manufacture process of trilobate arrowheads via the tools of the period, Zanier and Guggenmos named a number of 12 stages to be completed until the product was finished, which supposes on average 105 minutes for each specimen (Zanier, Guggenmos 1995, 21, Abb. 2, 3; 22). If certain arrowheads were made in compliance with this procedure, one may assume that the craftsman belonged to a troop of eastern *sagittari*, if respective artefacts may be dated to the 1st- 2nd century AD. It seems that from the 3rd century AD onward, this arrowhead type was used on a larger scale by other troops of *sagittari* as well.

26 Vegetius, *Epitoma* 1.20; 2.15.

27 The bow case is essential to the archer equipment, since both the bowspring as well as the joined parts glued to the wood, bone and horn may be destroyed in damp conditions. There is no direct evidence of its use in the Roman army, appearing on Sassanid and Parthian reliefs (Coulston 1985, 271).

28 The quiver was also highly important for the same reason of waterproofing, this time, of the arrows. In Roman depictions it appears in cylinder shape, worn on the back by foot archers (Zanier 1988, 7), while mounted archers usually wore it on the right side of the saddle, behind the rider (Dixon, Southern 1992, 57).

29 Vegetius, *Epitoma* 1.20.

30 Coulston 1985, 277; Dixon, Southern 1992, 55.

the field of military equipment. Gradually traditional, cone-shaped helmets would be replaced for the simple fact that Roman workshops no longer made them. Practically, from the second half of the 2nd century AD they disappear entirely. In the offensive weaponry field, they would be forced to adopt certain weapons atypical to their specialisation as well, firstly for tactical reasons related to the adjustment to Roman army standards. Thus, the traditional double-sided battle axe would be progressively replaced by the Roman sword, while the equipment would be occasionally completed with light spears for defence in case the archers were caught offhand by the enemy³¹.

Military equipment finds evidence no peculiarities specific to the area of origin, on the contrary, in numerous cases they account for extreme uniformity all over the Empire³². In Dacia, a record number of at least 23 units of eastern *sagittarii*³³ was reached. Large part of these troops was involved in the conquest wars of Dacia, in the aftermath either retuning to the provinces from where they were detached or remaining on the spot as garrison troops. Another category is represented by troops displaced subsequent this interval, according to the operational demands of the respective time.

Issues related to the study of the military equipment of these troops are multiple: for some, the station is unknown, others garrisoned forts either succeeding or being succeeded and, respectively were garrisoned beside other troops, which due to unclear archaeological contexts from where part of the published material was collected, lead to equivocation and probable conclusions only.

Below, we shall review data on published weaponry items on the territory of Dacia.

Terminal stiffeners are by far the most frequent artefacts pertaining to the military equipment of the eastern archers. They are more or less arched, with a widened, most often rounded end, provided with a nock for the attachment of the bowspring. One of the surfaces is rounded and polished (the exterior), the other is filed in such a manner to exhibit certain parallel notches. The aim of this procedure was to increase attachment adherence to the wooden support³⁴.

Four terminal stiffeners³⁵ and one central³⁶ come from the fort and civil settlement at *Tibiscum*. At least two archer units were stationed there: *cohors I sagittaria milliaria equitata*, consequently transferred to Drobeta and *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*. The excavators assigned the items to the 3rd century AD level when *cohors I Vindelicorum* was also stationed inside the fort beside the Palmyrenes unit.

At *Micia*, a significant number of terminal stiffeners, two central stiffeners and a series of unfinished pieces or processing waste were identified in the central part of the fort, inside the level corresponding to the last phase (dated ca. 106–170 AD). The first mention worthy of note here is that we are definitely dealing with a composite bow-making workshop³⁷, an exceptional case within the Empire. The second mention takes into account the shape and size of the terminal stiffeners.

31 Dixon, Southern 1992, 77.

32 An excellent example to this effect is the catalogue of finds from *Dura Europos* issued by S. James, with analogies in many provinces of the Empire (James 2004, 251–254; see also the catalogue p. 72–230). The equipment items of *cohors I Flavia Canathenorum mill. eq.sagittaria* discovered in the fort at Straubing (datable after AD 125 – date when the troop is recorded there), are not peculiar, being extremely standardized (Walke 1965, Keim, Klumbach 1976, Prammer 1989).

33 In Mauretania, Numidia or *Africa Proconsularis* together nine units of *sagittarii* (Feugere 1993, 212–213) are mentioned. One should bear in mind this number includes the troops recorded in the Danube provinces over more than two centuries, hence their accurate quantification should be specified according to the historical time of reference. Davies (1977, 269–270) indexed 37 *sagittarii* units within the Empire.

34 Petculescu 2002, 96.

35 Bona, Petrovszky, Petrovszky 1983, 417, pl. XI/2,11; Petrescu, Rogozea 1990, 117, pl. XI/5; Benea 1983, fig. II/2.

36 Bona, Petrovszky, Petrovszky 1983, pl. XI/1.

37 Petculescu 2002, 765.

The most have a round end (some angular), certain are strongly arched and shorter and other are straighter and wider. The latter were definitely longer as well. Very good analogies may be found in the deposit at *Intercisa*³⁸, where the single complete pieces within the Empire are preserved.

Long, wide and less arched stiffeners belonged to bows with a very large span between the limbs, alike those described by sources to belong to foot archers³⁹, while the smaller, more arched belonged to much smaller bows, as those described in the case of mounted archers⁴⁰ and as depicted by sculptural representations or mosaics from *Apamea*⁴¹. Since the single troop of archers stationed at *Micia* in this period is *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sag. eq.*, we believe that both small and large-sized bows might have been used by the mentioned troop⁴².

A terminal stiffener was discovered in the fort at *Romita*⁴³. The terminal stiffener of the bow identified in the fort at *Urluieni* reinforces the excavator's hypothesis on the presence of a *sagittari* troop in garrison of the large fort there, without being able though to specify the troop's name or ethnicity⁴⁴. In addition, a terminal bow stiffener was found⁴⁵ at *Cristești*, garrisoned by a troop raised in the eastern part of the Empire, namely *ala I Bosphoranorum*.

Similar finds within legionary fortresses should be related to Vegetius's accounts, according to whom one third of legionaries should be exercised as archers. In certain cases, rather rare, we believe that *sagittari* vexillations were attached to certain legionary units. Three such specimens were found at *Apulum*⁴⁶.

Arrows abound amongst archer-related archaeological finds due to high numbers shot and hence, lost. They usually preserve the iron head, however in eastern provinces complete arrowheads were also found. The arrowhead weight, size and type depend on the archer's strength, on the way the bow was used and the protection degree of the target. The most powerful were the short narrow-headed arrows designed to penetrate the enemy's armour.⁴⁷ Similarly to the majority of distance-launching weapons, the arrows (arrowheads) are not dating elements by themselves, the typological information being significant only if the find context, and implicitly, the dating elements are known. A typology of datable arrowheads under the Principate comprises the following categories: tanged trilobate arrowheads, by far the most numerous, tanged pyramidal and socketed pyramidal arrowheads⁴⁸.

The largest lot of trilobate arrowheads ever published comes from the so-called customs at *Porolissum*⁴⁹. Since chronological specifications are missing, one may only assume they were used by *cohors Ituraeorum sagittaria equitata (?) milliaria*, whose presence within this building is attested by a tile stamp⁵⁰. Only two specimens were dated by N. Gudea to the 3rd century AD⁵¹; nonetheless, at the date, it seems that above unit was no longer stationed there, therefore

38 Salamon 1977, 209, fig. 1, 1-14.

39 Coulston 1985, 245-246.

40 Dixon, Southern 1992, 53.

41 Dixon, Southern 1992, fig. 22.

42 Petculescu 2002, 765.

43 Matei, Bajusz 1997, 129, pl. 82/1 – fort where cohorts *I Ituraeorum sag.*, *II Brittanorum* or *VI Thracum* were recorded in garrison.

44 Bogdan-Cătănicu 1994, fig. 14a.

45 Petică, Zrinyi 2000, 127, no. 41 pl. V/7.

46 Ciugudean 1997, pl. XXX/ 2-4. Analogies for legionary fortresses: *Carnuntum* (Groller 1901, 131 pl. 24; Grünwald 1986, Taf. 13/6-8; Bishp, Coulston 2006, 79, fig. 43, 1-3); *Caerleon* (Bishp, Coulston 2006, 137, fig. 99).

47 Coulston 1985, 264.

48 Erdmann 1976, 5-10, adopted in a study on the military equipment of the archers from Dacia also by Zanier (1988, 7-25) and Petculescu (2002, 766).

49 Gudea 1996, 235-9, pl. LVI, LVII.

50 Gudea 1996, 336 pl. LII.2. The troop was recorded in the fort on *Pomet* by a several tile stamps found in the stone phase of the headquarters building see Tóth 1978, 50-1, fig. 16.

51 Gudea 1996 237 pl. LVI/6,7.

one may suppose that the arrowheads were in use by *numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium*. The precise stationing location of this troop at *Porolissum* is still uncertain. It is noteworthy though that bone or deer horn pieces, parts of composite bows definitely used by respective troops are missing. Two trilobate arrowheads deemed votive offerings⁵² were discovered at *Porolissum* still, inside the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus.

At *Tibiscum*, many arrowheads were found⁵³ in the hypocaust channel of the so-called building "A". It seems that *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* was stationed in the fort area where this building lies, since inscriptions dedicated to the Palmyrene gods⁵⁴ were identified there, while a nearby building might have been a *schola* that belonged to this troop⁵⁵. A few "arrowhead base" fragments were also discovered⁵⁶ in the fort at *Tibiscum*. They must have been used by *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*.

Arrowhead finds are recorded also in the fort at *Micia*, most likely used by archers in *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittaria*⁵⁷.

The most consistent finds come from the fort at *Jidava*, presumably from the *armamentarium*. There, 400 such arrowheads were found in the largest arsenal insofar discovered in Roman Dacia. Only a few were published in the preliminary excavation report⁵⁸. A brick bearing the signature of a soldier (*miles*) in *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria*⁵⁹ was identified on the floor of one of the rooms in the barracks in *retentura dextra*. The barracks are single-phased, the dating based on the coins found in the burning level suggesting the fort was destroyed during the attacks of the Carpi under Philippus Arabs⁶⁰. This phase of the *principia* at *Jidava*, incorporating the *armamentarium* in question, may very likely correspond to the stationing of cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum* there. It is certain this troop was stationed at *Jidava* at least in the first half of the 3rd century AD⁶¹.

A rather significant number of arrowheads come from the fort at *Arutela*, where *numerus Surorum sagittaria*⁶² was in garrison.

Above equipment items were distributed in all *limes* sectors of the Empire. It is generally agreed that arrows vary in size, weight, shaft and head type depending on the archer's strength, the way the bow was handled (whether on foot or mounted) and the vulnerability of the possible target⁶³. High differences between the sizes of the above presented arrowheads may be due to their use for other purposes than military⁶⁴.

Another specific element of the military equipment considered herein is the bronze conical helmet, worn by the eastern archers according to certain depiction details on Trajan's Column⁶⁵. Such a helmet was discovered in the fort at *Bumbești*⁶⁶. It is a bronze, undecorated helmet, whose cover extends sharply, ending in an empty cone-shaped top, originally provided with a button above. Analogies for this helmet are few, only three being identified in the Roman world (at

52 Gudea 2006, 138 fig. 8/6-7.

53 Bona, Petrovszky, Petrovszky 1983, 412.

54 Piso, Benea 1999, 104 n. 61.

55 Piso, Benea 1999, 106.

56 Bona, Petrovszky, Petrovszky 1983, 418; Petculescu 2002, 765-767.

57 Petculescu 2002, 765-767.

58 Popescu, Popescu 1972, 257, fig. 12/2.

59 Petolescu 1999, 189.

60 Petolescu, Cioflan 1984, 15-17.

61 Petolescu 1995a, 250.

62 Vlădescu 1983, 177, fig. 113 = Vlădescu 1974-5, 42 fig. 16.

63 Coulston 1985, 264.

64 Petculescu 2002, 767; the author suggests that the very small arrowheads were designed for hunting purposes.

65 Cichorius 1900, Taf. LXXX, Scene CVIII and Taf. LXXXVI, Scene CXV.

66 Petculescu, Gherghe 1979, 603-606.

Dakovo in Bosnia, at Briastovets in Bulgaria and at *Intercisa* (A.XIII.34)⁶⁷ in Hungary). H. Russell Robinson connected these helmets with those displayed on Trajan's Column, assigned the first two to *sagittarii* cohorts and framed them in type D⁶⁸. The best analogy for the discussed helmet is that at *Intercisa*, which is also conical, bronze-made, undecorated and definitely belonging to cohort *I milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata*. Thus, the helmet at Bumbești most likely belonged to a soldier in a troop equipped according to the Levantine style, the single which would have been equipped as such being *cohors IV Cypria c.R.* (camped there subsequent the conquest of Dacia and displaced sometime prior AD 201⁶⁹). As if to complete the image provided by the helmet at Bumbești, a bronze cheekpiece⁷⁰ was found at *Micia*, which, due to its narrowness and special shape (the posterior rim is almost vertical) and for the lack of analogies within the Empire, was assigned by Petculescu to an undecorated conical helmet of an eastern archer⁷¹.

In general, weapon and military equipment finds belonging to the troops of *sagittari* stationed in the Danube provinces referenced herein were seldom published. Below, we shall mention a few.

Among the finds at *Intercisa*, only the bow stiffeners from the deposit within the fort⁷² were published and only a number of trilobate form arrowheads from the cemetery were mentioned. This is a group of trilobate strongly corroded arrowheads which today are housed with the *Intercisa* Museum⁷³.

Trilobate arrowheads were identified also at *Carnuntum*, in the *armamentarium* within the legionary fortress⁷⁴ as well as in the auxiliary fort⁷⁵.

16 trilobate arrowheads⁷⁶ and 9 bow stiffeners were discovered in the earth-and-timber fort at Iža-Leányvár located in front the fortress at *Brigetio*, north the Danube. Amongst two are terminal, preserving the orifice for the attachment of the bowspring⁷⁷. The fort was built after AD 175 and destroyed shortly after⁷⁸. It is noteworthy, for the context wherein these fortifications were built that another five temporary camps⁷⁹ were signalled close to the mentioned fortification, namely still north the Danube. It is thus worth noting that auxiliaries brought from the East after the defeat of *C. Avitius Cassius* were displaced to Pannonia.

Trilobate arrowheads⁸⁰ and bow stiffeners⁸¹ were identified within accurate stratigraphic conditions in the fort at Straubing (*Sorviodurum*). The famous *parade masks of obvious*

67 Szábo 1986, 421–425.

68 Russell Robinson 1975, 83, 85.

69 Petculescu 2002, 127.

70 Petculescu 1982, no. 2, fig. 3/1.

71 Petculescu 2002, 129.

72 Salamon 1976, 209, fig. 1/1–14 – artefacts initially deemed Hunnic weapons.

73 Sági 1954, 75 sqq Taf. 20, 20 (grave 27, dreiflügelig?); Zanier 1988, 16 no. 82– 25 strongly corroded specimens in the *Intercisa* Museum, part of which I personally saw in occasion of the International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies of 2003.

74 Groller 128 taf. 23, 16–24; Grünwald 1986, Taf. 13. 6–8.

75 H. Stiglitz, CJ 1986 (1987), 213 Taf. 3, 5–8.

76 Kuzmová, Rajtár 1986, 367 Abb. 8, 2. 4; Zanier 1988, 17 no. 80; Rajtár 1994, 87 Abb. 4, 1–16.

77 Rajtár 1994, 88 Abb. 5/1–9.

78 Kuzmová, Rajtár 2003, 194–195.

79 Kuzmová, Rajtár 2003a, 197. For the interesting circumstances in this frontier sector, I mention the trilobe form arrowheads identified at Mušov (Tejral 1986, 399 Abb. 1, 8, 12. 5), specimens exhibited by the Museum in Mikulov (the Czech Republic).

80 Walke 1965, Taf. 105/5–8.

81 Walke 1965 Taf. 105/25–31.

eastern influences⁸² come from there. All these artefacts may be related to cohort *I Flavia Canathenorum*⁸³ stationed there.

Finds recorded on the territory of the *Moesias* may be reduced to a single mention from *Topraichioi*⁸⁴.

Archers were intended to support other troops by standing behind them and shooting above. Commonly, they supported the heavy infantry against cavalry attacks however, they were unable to resist attack by themselves. One of their other tasks was to make vulnerable enemy orders by their firing shots, exposing them to cavalry charges and thus decreasing infantry losses. The archers' position behind the battle line was useful for both their protection as well as for the fact they would continue firing in close combat cases⁸⁵ as well.

Foot archers used larger and stronger bows, with a higher shooting range when compared to the mounted archers⁸⁶, as riders lacked steadiness⁸⁷. Nonetheless, the increased mobility allowed the riders to act more rapidly on a larger surface, using especially the composite bow because of its smaller sizes.

Speed and mobility were the advantages of the mounted archers, which made them difficult targets. The common tactics they adopted was riding in parallel to the enemy⁸⁸. Moreover, one of the tactics often employed by the eastern archers was to fake retreat, whilst still shooting over the horse back. This technique, called "the Parthian shot" or "retreat shot" was likely used for both escaping unhurt when the stack of arrows emptied as well as for entrapping the enemy⁸⁹. Mounted archers were also efficient in the chase and dispersal of the heavy cavalry⁹⁰. The archer's goal was not to hit a certain target, but to shot as many arrows as possible at the enemy. Thus, shooting speed replaced precision. The success of archer troops was due to the high action range of the arrows⁹¹, their power of penetration, shooting speed, quantity of launched arrows and shooting accuracy. Except for the archers, the troops made up of easterners also comprised other categories of foot soldiers used in enemy pursuit actions⁹².

A few conclusions may be drawn by the end of the review of weapon and military equipment finds and the main elements of the fighting style of the Syrian archers from the Danube provinces. One may underline the unitary manner in the equipment of these troops under the Principate. There was practically no weapon type specific to the eastern archers that could not be found in any of the forts where they are recorded epigraphically.

With few exceptions, Syrian archer troops do not differentiate much from the rest of the auxiliaries inasmuch the military equipment is concerned.

82 Eastern-type masks found at Straubing, but also at Einingen cannot be deemed to have been used only by mounted eastern archers, since they are associated with Hellenistic masks within these deposits and were also used in the Trojan games celebrated on a yearly basis. In fact, such masks were also found in Dacia at *Romula* (Garbsch 1978, O 40), Cincșor (Dragotă 1987, 276–268) or Gilău (Isac, Bărbulescu 2008, 215–216, 226 Abb. 13–15) or at Visegrad in Lower Pannonia (Garbsch 1978, O 42).

83 Klumbach 1976; Prammer 1989.

84 Zahariade, Opaïț 1986, 571 Abb. 11,3; Zanier 1988, 17 no. 91.

85 Arrian, *Tactica*, 18.

86 Coulston 1985, 245–246.

87 Dixon, Southern 1992, 53

88 Ureche 2011, 35–36.

89 Coulston 1986; Peddie 1996, 91, Ureche 2008, 253.

90 Ruscu, Ruscu 1996, 216; Ureche 2011, 36.

91 Peddie 1996, 92.

92 Ruscu, Ruscu 1996, 225; Ureche 2008, 247–261.

The Romans incorporated these troops among the elite units. They were notably placed in strategic areas, where difficult enemies that required a special tactical approach had to be dealt with⁹³.

A significant part of these troops was displaced to many important forts like *Porofissum*⁹⁴, *Micia* or *Tibiscum* garrisoned on a continual basis by several units. In cases of emergency, respective fortifications turned into genuine zone headquarters, the junction area of several troops in the province⁹⁵.

The displacement of these troops to certain frontier points and not only, should be regarded against the background of the special dynamics of the Roman army in times of war. The tactical adequacy of these troops rested rather on the momentary necessities of the Roman army at respective times and places, rather than on strategic reasons which certain modern historians reconstitute when analysing various *limes* sectors in detail.

93 A vast area close to the space mentioned herein was inhabited by the Sarmatians – for an overview see Bârcă 2006.

94 Ruscu, Ruscu 1996, 227.

95 *Syene* (Aswan), garrisoned by three troops, is one of such headquarters, the fort being the pivot of the defensive system of the entire area (Speidel 1992, 246). In addition, a few *vexillationes* made up of several units seem to have been stationed at *Dura Europos*, located between *Parthia* and *Palmyra*. At *Apsarus*, on the Cappadocian border, there were five cohorts that could be dispatched to *Albania*, *Iberia* or *Armenia* (M. P. Speidel, *The Caucasus Frontier: Second Century Garrisons at Apsarus, Petra and Phasis*, Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III (Stuttgart), 1986, 657–660 = RAS II).

CONCLUSIONS

When drafting each chapter or sub-chapter we aimed at drawing conclusions corresponding to the approached theme, therefore we believe that a series of final considerations by the end of the paper are opportune.

We analysed herein a number of 22 auxiliary units of irregular troops raised in the Roman Near East. Records available for analysis were rather unequal, hence certain statistical conclusions may have no relevance. The statistics in appendix D synthesises all epigraphic information and is a mirror thereof.

The most relevant and complete data on individual troop's history regard two cohorts stationed for a long period in the same fort, namely *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria equitata* (XII) and *cohors I Aurelia Antonina milliaria Hemesenorum* (XIII). The first cohort, stationed at *Micia*, was constantly recorded in military diplomas, 25 inscriptions (A.XII) and four types of tile stamps (B.XII). Data on both its military equipment (note) and votive monuments were paramount in drawing our conclusions. The cohort of Hemeseni at *Intercisa* was recorded by no less than 69 inscriptions (A.XIII) and 3 types of tile stamps (B.XIII); however, owing to its late deployment to Pannonia, it was not recorded in military diplomas. This lack was yet successfully compensated by the multitude and variety of the inscriptions and its constant stationing at *Intercisa*. Unfortunately, weapons and pieces of military equipment are still pending publication. Knowledge on such a great number of monuments belonging to these unit is due to the vast rescue archaeological research carried out following certain investments developed there¹.

The *cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria equitata* (VII), stationed at Klosterneuburg, appears on 14 inscriptions, diplomas and many tile stamps distributed on an extremely spread area in the north of Upper Pannonia. Such broad diffusion of tile stamps marked by the stamp of an auxiliary troop is rather rare, the closest example being *cohors VII Breucorum* in Lower Pannonia (see). Moreover, *cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antonina Surorum sagittaria equitata (I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum)* (XVII), is recorded by a number of 18 inscriptions in the area of its permanent garrison at *Ulcisia Castra*, as well as by tile stamps records. Similarly to the situation of the cohort of Hemeseni at *Intecisa*, its late displacement to Pannonia is explanatory for its lack of mention on military diplomas.

Ala I Commagenorum (I) and *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria* (IV) are in their turn well known due both to records on military diplomas as well as the 16, respectively 12 known inscriptions. Two irregular units of Palmyrenes from Dacia, *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* (XIX) and *numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium* (XX) are also well documented by 20, respectively 15 inscriptions.

In addition, relevant data are known for *numerus Surorum sagittaria* as well (XXII) – 11 inscriptions and a few tile stamps records – yet its stationing location is still unknown and some of the elements in the troop history remain unclear.

1 See cap. I note 38.

Although *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* (XI) is constantly present on military diplomas of Lower Moesia and Lower Dacia and well recorded by tile stamps dated under Trajan, in north-west Muntenia and, somewhat at a later date, in west Lower Dacia, certain aspects of its history are still insufficiently defined. The knowledge degree on the history of the two cohorts of Ituraei is also similar: *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria* (XIV) and *cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria milliaria equitata* (XV). For lack of further evidence, the history of the evolution of *cohors I sagittaria*, unit unrecorded by military diplomas, remains doubtful, which according to certain examples mentioned above would account for a late dating of this troops records on the territory of Dacia.

A less known history is also apparent for *cohors I Antiochensium sagittaria*, recorded in diplomas and a single inscription from Drobeta as well as for *cohors I Tyrriorum sagittaria* (XVIII), *cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittaria* (X) and *vexillationes equitum ex Syria* (XXIII), not recorded by inscriptions.

The three epigraphic records on *numerus Palmyrenorum O[...]* (XXII) point to its stationing somewhere in *Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa* area, yet assumptions based on such data as well as on the subsequent evolution of the community of Palmyrenes at Sarmizegetusa cannot replace the available defective information.

Little may be said about the history of five units, their inclusion herein being only for gathering every data on all troops coming from the Syrian space, deployed to the Danube provinces. *Ala nova Firma Cataphractaria Philippiana* (III) is known from 4 inscriptions originating in distance spaces, and *ala Celerum Philippiana* (I) is known from two records, one at *Virunum*, Noricum(A.I.1.) and the other at *Philippopolis*, Arabia (A.I.2.). *Ala I Osrhoenorum sagittaria* (V), *ala I Septimia Surorum* (VI) and *cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Thraconitarum* (IX) are evidenced by only one inscription.

Significant contributions of Oriental troops and populations are noticeable in the Danube provinces in a context directly related to the Eastern campaigns of the Empire. Often, events occurred in direct relation on both fronts. Thus, subsequent the pacification of one of the areas, it was decided to establish a novel army corps, which every time included freshly recruited units too, only to be sent to the opposite front.

A particular time when the involvement of certain units from the East was noticeable in the Danube area is represented by the civil wars of AD 69. As mentioned, the conquest of Dacia was the result of a considerable effort of the Roman army, which led to a special effervescence in the area of the neighbouring provinces. Relatively quick, good part of the troops in the provinces in question was involved in Trajan's Parthian campaign, which would be felt during the crisis upon the emperor's death. Among the troops leaving numerous data count the archer units from *Palmyra* brought by Hadrian in Dacia.

Large part of the troops participating in Lucius Verus's Parthian campaign was taken from their Danubian garrisons. As noted, subsequent the suppression of Avidius Cassius's revolt in Syria, in order to counteract the Sarmathians in the Pannonia area *cohors I Aurelia Antoniana mill. Hemesenorum sag.*, *cohors I mill. Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum sag.*, *ala I Thracum Herculiana* and, likely, *cohors quingenaria Canathenorum et Thraconitarum* were dispatched from the East.

It is noteworthy that tactically, the adequacy of the units to the encountered enemy was sought. At least in the 3rd century, when operational theatres are many and rather unpredictable, local recruiting carried an overwhelming weight. For the 2nd century AD, given the advantage of the information preserved on military diplomas, we were able to notice an inflow of population from the East under Hadrian and later, under Marcus Aurelius. Later inflows, under the Severans and then from mid 3rd century AD are recorded by inscriptions, which are more numerous in this period compared to the previous centuries. The increase of the number of inscriptions recording dedications to Syrian gods made by individuals with Eastern hint names do not automatically

account for an inflow of populations coming from the East, but must be related to devotion acts to the imperial house of Syrian origin.

We believe that the primary reason of some of the troops displacements were the great conflicts, which, most often, were generated by diplomatic imbalances related to economic and commercial matters. We tend to believe that behind any official, rather efficient propaganda, lay the economic interests of certain groups influencing the foreign policy of the Roman state. Occasionally, the temptation to comprehensively tackle cultural mechanisms and practices or their implications in the Romanisation process offsets economic and commercial imbalances due to conflicts. Evidently, the reasons of invasion were extremely diverse, Rome displaying on many occasions an aggressive attitude supported by ideological or domestic policy reasons, however the constant preoccupation of the communities was to maintain diplomatic balance in border areas (see in this case, the case of *Palmyra*). Moreover, we believe that the reason for the displacement and deployment on the Danube frontier of troops originating in the East was that to ensure trade protection in a frontier area, field where such troops excelled. Additionally, the communities where these soldiers originated were very likely involved in trade activities.

In what strategic reasons concerning the displacement of Syrian auxiliary troops in this area are concerned, we made a few remarks, which shall be presented below.

The Danube sector in the interflow area with Morava, area where two legions were set up, at *Carnuntum* and *Vindobona*, represented the access gate to the space between the Alps and the Carpathians, being located in the neighbourhood of the Bohemian Massif. Once this sector crossed, access up to the Plain of Po was easy. Blockage was focused on the forts at *Carnuntum* and *Vindobona*. The fort at Klosterneuburg (garrison of cohort *I Aelia sagittaria* for a long time) was interpreted as a “flank” fortification of *Vindobona*. The fort at *Comagena* was designed to oversee access from the area to the upper corridor of the Danube.

Ulcisia Castra also represented a flank fortification for the legion at *Aquincum*. The same was also maintained in the case of the fort at *Intercisa*, the stationing location of an important troop of Hemeseni. It is worth mentioning that *Intercisa* was located on the main trade route to the province centre, to *Gorsium (Herculia)*. Given the experience of the inhabitants of *Emesa* in trading activities, the city being located on the road linking *Palmyra* to the ports of the Mediterranean, we believe that the deployment of the said troop in this strategic point in Pannonia is not at all accidental. The wealth of the Syrians at *Intercisa*, due to circumstances favouring them under the Severans, is evidenced by both the opulence of the monuments surfacing in this site as well as their relations. *Gorsium (Herculia)* was the junction point of the main trade routes in this area of Pannonia, being also the centre of the imperial cult for the entire province (the temple of the Capitoline Triad) and assembly location of the provincial council. An interesting issue for the discussion herein is the discovery, during the performed archaeological excavations, of camel bones, related by certain authors to the Syrian traders in the area.

These Oriental units are found especially in key frontier points, where several units are recorded either in one fort/area or in regions where certain troops were concentrated in case of emergency. Among count *Porolissum*, *Micia*, *Tibiscum*, *Intercisa* or *Ulcisia Castra*² in the case of the Danube frontier. In addition, some of the troops recorded constantly around certain legions, like *cohors I Aelia sagittaria* or *cohors I Commagenorum*, during its stationing in north-west Muntenia played an important role.

Concerning the weapons and military equipment, one notices a unitary manner in equipping these troops all over the Empire. They did not categorically differentiate from the rest of the auxiliaries in the respective provinces. Differentiations may be made with clarity in terms of weapons and military equipment only by early Principate, when these troops enter massively in the Roman *auxilia*, since later the bow and arrows would be also adopted by other units, so

2 See chapter 5 note 95.

to be found on a large scale during the 3rd century. These units, deemed at first “special”, were deployed to important strategic areas, where the Empire was confronted with difficult enemies, requiring a different tactical approach and adequate equipment.

The diffusion of religious beliefs occupies a special place among the overall aspects of the Syrian soldiers’ presence in the Danube provinces. The adoption and spread of the Oriental cults by the troops coming from the Syrian space is common place in the specialty literature. The statistical analysis of the deities found in the dedications of these soldiers evidences no Syrian preponderance. Moreover, the compared statistical analysis, even though not exhaustive, of the deities worshipped by the soldiers in the Syrian origin troops and of those worshipped by the members of other auxiliary units evidences minor differences only. Therefore, the answer to the question whether the Syrian troops are or not promoters by excellence of the Oriental cults in the western provinces should rather be a call for prudence in arriving at a conclusion in what case studies are concerned. Taking all necessary reserves, we express our conviction that these troops were only factors influencing the dissemination of the cults, playing no chief role within the process.

As mentioned by the start of this book, the study of the Syrian troops displaced to the Danube provinces during the Principate wished to be an exercise that would put into contact two different spaces, very dynamic from military and political points of view. Their interaction was analysed at the level of the auxiliary units coming from the eastern part of the Empire, tackling only tangentially certain aspects of the continuous army movements between these spaces during periods of crisis. We thus attempted to see whether these troops were individualised among a geographical and demographical entity entirely different from the area of origin. In certain circumstances, our conclusions were rather incomplete since an overall view is possible only by the comparison of all areas where these troops were deployed, approach which should comprise an as detailed as possible analysis of the soldiers of Syrian origin (to term them here generically only) active in legions.

An overall view of the subject would integrate data related to families and the group where these individuals belonged. Since we refer here mainly to ethnic groups, we considered that their identity supposes several factors in existence: a collective name, a founding myth, a common history, a distinct culture, association to a certain territory and certain solidarity. In most cases we used the epigraphic phrases referencing the city or region of origin. Large part of the inscriptions, namely those funerary, were deemed the least explicit on the identity of respective individuals, given that epigraphic phrases include most often either *tria nomina* and the respective soldier’s rank or social status, in case they were veterans. Therefore, ethnicity may be expressed by language, preferences for certain gods or children names. However, we shall discuss these aspects elsewhere...

ANNEXES

Annex A

REPERTORY OF INSCRIPTIONS

I. Ala Celerum Philippiana

A.I.1. *Virunum* (Arndorf), Noricum

CIL III 4832 = 11506 = ILLPRON 18 = ILS 2528:

Aggaeo

Hexarcho

alae celerum

viro sagittandi

peritissimo vi m

ilitum interem(p)

to Monna

marito amantissimo

A.I.2. *Philippopolis* (Shahba), Arabia

AE 1928, 153b = AE 1992 1694:

Divo vel. Davi Marino. eqq(uites) alae Celerum Philippianae

II. Ala I Commagenorum

A.II.1. *Talmis* (Kalabsha), Egypt

IGR 1336 = Gauthier 1914, 269 no. 3 = SB 4587:

[(ἔτους .)] Ἀὐτοκράτορος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ
[κυριοῦ] Σεβαστοῦ Παχῶν ιβ (?)

A.II.2. *Talmis* (Kalabsha), Egypt

Lesquier 1918, 497 no. 27 = SB 4575:

Τὸ προσκύνημα

Μενάνδρου εἰπέο ἄλης

Κομμαγηνῆς τύρμης

Καουιοῦ καὶ τῶν

παρ' αὐτοῦ

καὶ τοῦ γράψαντος

καὶ τοῦ ἀνα[γεινώσκοντος]

A.II.3. *Talmis* (Kalabsha), Egypt

Gauthier 1911, 303 no. 1 = Lesquier 1918, 76, 501 no. 43 = SB 4617:

Ἄγαθῆ τύχη

Τὸ [προς]κύνημα Οὐι....

δ.....κουρειων [εἶ]λ[ης]

Κο[μμ]αγηνῶ(ν) καὶ τῶν...
-ηνον αὐτοῦ κατ' ὄνομα
πα[ρ]ὰ τῷ θεῷ κυρείῳ Μανδρού-
λε[ι] καὶ [έ]μοῦ τοῦ γράψαντος
Λ.....Περέννιος στρατιώτου
ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ ΚΑΙΕΣΤΑΙ

A.II.4. Mahamîd Valley, Egypt

AE 1982, 914:

Τὸ προσκύ-
νημα Ἀπολλ-
ωνίου Μαρίου
ἰππέως ἱλῆς Κω-
μαγηνῶν κα[ι]
Τιβεριᾶτος τῆ[ς]
μ[η]τρὸς αὐτο[ῦ]
.....

A.II.5. Comagena (Tulln), Noricum

Ubl, 2004a, 26; AEA 2001/02, 127 = AEA 2004, 60 = AE 2003, 1319:

[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Nervae fil(io)]
[Nervae Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico)]
Da[c(ico)] pontif(ici) ma[x(imo) trib(unicia)]
pot(estate) V[II] imp(eratori) IIII c[o(n)s(uli) V pat(ri) patr(iae)]
a[II]a Commag[enorum]
Antonin[iana]¹

A.II.6. Comagena (Tulln), Noricum

CIL III 5650 = ILLPRON 886 = AE 1953, 127:

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) Verus pro salute
Comaci(a)e et Com(magenorum) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.II.7. Comagena (Tulln), Noricum

CIL III 5652 = ILLPRON 903 = AEA 2005, 5:

P(ublio) Ael(io) Germano
veter(ano) ex dec(urione) et
Cassiae Valentin(a)e
eius et Publiis Aeliis
Sabiniano et Germano
decc(urionibus) in colonia{e}
{A}Ovilavensi(um) a militiis
et [Ael(iae)] Valentinae sor
ori eg(regiae) m(emoriae) p(uellae) P(ublius) Aelius
Rufin{i}us dec(urio) et
Ivir i(ure) d(icundo) A[e]l
Cetiens(ium)
perfici c(uravit)

1 Antoniniana title was later added – Ubl 2003, 28.

A.II.8. Faimingen, Raetia

CIL III 11901:

H(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)
[comm]un(is) l(ibertus) Euv[odi]
[pra]ef(ecti) a(lae) F(laviae) Commag(enorum)

A.II.9. Wolfsberg, Noricum

CIL III 5091 = ILLPRON 740:

Lol(lio) Secun
do Fab(ia) et Att(iae) Secundinae
ux(ori) f(ilius) f(ecit) et Attio
Accepto mil(iti) Com(magenorum) (?)

A.II.10. Flavia Solva (Leoben, Seiz)

CIL III 14368, 24 = ILLPRON 1414:

C(aius) Florentinius Censorinus v(ivus)
at (A)eli(a) Brenturia co(n)iux vivi
f(ecerunt) sibi et Flore(ntinio) Floro filio car(issimo)
eq(u)iti al(ae) Comag(enorum) pr(imae) singulari stup(endiorum) XX
an(norum) XL et C(aio) A(elio?) C(...) et Florentinia
Florentina an(norum) LXX

A.II.11. Celeia (Celje), Noricum

CIL III 5224 = ILLPRON 1684:

[...]
et C(aio) Iunio Nicandr(o)
fil(io) ann(or)um XXXVIII
Matt(iae) P(ubli) f(iliae) Verinae
ann(or)um XXIII
et C(aio) Iunio Isaeo vet(erano)
ex dec(urione) alae I Com(magenorum) an(norum) LX
[et Ul]p(iae) A[f]rodisiae an(norum) XXV m(ensis) I

A.II.12. Pielach bei Melk, Noricum

ILLPRON 877:

D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Quarti
nus mil(es) al(ae) p(rimae) Co(mmagenorum)
o(bitus) an(norum) L Dubi(tatia?) Satu
rnina vi(va) fe(cit) sibi
et con(iugi)

A.II.13. Kircheiselfing, Noricum

AE 1973, 381:

D(is) M(anibus) Terentinus
Tauronis
f(ilius) eq(ues) a(lae) C(...) o(bitus) a(nnorum) XXX
et Ver(...) Cosinia
mater o(bit) a(nnorum) LXV
Aur(elis) Taurio

coniug(i) et f(ilio)
et Flaccina fil(ia)
eius uiu(i) fec(erunt)

A.II.14. Cefeia (Celje), Noricum

AE 2008, 1012; Ubl 1996, II/13:
D(is) M(anibus)
C(aio) Iulio Ursino dec(urioni)
alae I Com(m)agenorum an(norum) XL
Titia Procula marito optimo
ecit et sibi

A.II.15. Thalheim bei Wels, Noricum

Ubl 1996 Nr. II/6; Kremer, 2001, Kat. II 334:
D(is) M(anibus)
Restuti Quarti
eq(uitis) alae Co
mmag(enorum) singularis
ann(orum) XXXV h(eres)
Respectus
[...]
f(aciendum) c(uravit)

A.II.16. Novae (Svishtov), Lower Moesia

Markov 2008, 253 – 258; AE 2008 1187:
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolichen(o)
ubi ferrum na
scit(ur) P(ublius) Aelius Be
nivolus dec(urio) al
ae Com(m)agenor(um)
iussu dei ipsius

III. Ala nova Firma Cataphractaria Philipiana

A.III.1. Bad Cannstatt, Upper Germania

AE 1931, 68:
D(is) M(anibus)
Aurelis Saluda et
Regretho fratrib(us)
quond(am) equitibus
n(ovae) alae firm(ae) catafr(actariae)
{Aur} Aurel(ius) Abdetat
hus frater
e(orum) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

A.III.2. Bostra, Arabia

CIL III 99 = IGLS 13,1, 9090 = ILS 2771
Iulio Iuliano [v(iro) e(gregio) duce]nar(io)

*praef(ecto) leg(ionis) I Pa[rthic]ae
Philippianae d[uc]i devotis
[s]imo Trebicius Gaudinus
[p]raef(ectus) alae novae firmae
[(milliariae) catafract(ariae) Philippianae
praeposito optimo*

See also **A.XIII.19. Intercisa.**

IV. Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria

A.IV.1. Arrabona

CIL III 4367; Kraft 1951, 153 no. 421a-b; Mócsy 1959, 243 Kat. 158/3; Gabler 1968, p. 58 no. 9; RIU I 253; Holder 1980, 281 no. 571; Gabler 1994, 76; Lőrincz 2001, no. 140:

*Acrabanis
Ababunis f(ilius) ala
Augusta Ituraior
um an(norum) XLV stip(endiorum) XII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
Hanicus frater
heres posiut*

A.IV.2. Arrabona

CIL III 4371; Kraft 1951, 153 no. 423a-b; Mócsy 1959, 243 Kat. 158/1; RIU I 254; Holder 1980, 281 no. 572; Lőrincz 2001, no. 141:

*Bargathes
Regebali f(ilius)
eq(ues) alae Aug(ustae)
Ityraeorum(!) do
mo Ityraeus(!) an(norum)
XXV stip(endiorum) V h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
Zanis dec(urio) et Bar
amna Beliabi f(ilius)
et Bricbelus fratre(s)
heredes posierunt*

A.IV.3. Arrabona

CIL III 11083; Kraft 1951, 154 no. 424; Mócsy 1959, 243 Kat. 158/5; Fitz, Alba Regia 2-3, 1961-1962, 34 no. 12; RIU I 263; Lőrincz 2001, no. 142:

*[...] an(norum) [...]
[A]ug(usta) It[u]r[aeorum...]
[...]m Nigri an(norum)
VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
[...]nami f(ilius) et Ana
[...]jidi f(ilius) et Catus Moci f(ilius)
[...]I m(onumentum) p(osuerunt)*

A.IV.4. Arrabona

CIL III 4368; Kraft 1951, 153 no. 422a-b; Barkóczy 1951 no. 11 (se adaugă Mócsy, ArchÉrt 80, 1953, 160); Mócsy 1959, 243 Kat. 158-4; Fitz, Alba Regia 2-3, 1961-1962, 34 no. 11; Gabler 1968, p. 60 no. 10; Holder 1980, 281 no. 573; RIU III 635; Lőrincz 2001, no. 143:

*Albanus Balvi f(ilius)
dec(urio) ala Augusta Ituraeo
rum domo Betavos (!) an
nor(um) XLII stipendiorum
XX hic situs est titulum
memoriae posuerunt
Tib(erius) Iulius Reitugenus et
Lucanus dec(uriones) ala Aug(usta)
Ituraeorum*

A.IV.5. Intercisa

Intercisa I no. 2; Mócsy 1959, 257 Kat. 205/2; Fitz 1972, 39; Holder 1980; 281 no. 575; RIU IV 1233; Lőrincz 2001, no. 144:

*Iantumalis Blato
nis f(ilius) eques alae I Itur(aeorum)
an(norum) XXX, s[tip(endiorum)] [...]*

A.IV.6. Tipasa, Mauretania Caesarenis

AE 1955, 131; Bensedik 1982, 200, no. 20; Lőrincz 2001, no. 146:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Iulius Gallianus, eq(ues)
alae I Aug(ustae) Itur(aeorum) vix(it) ann(is)
XXXV, mil(itavit) ann(is) XXIII
C. Beliabo, heres et
Mantaeus, sec(und)us
her(es) exer(citus) Pan(n)on(iae) inferior(is)*

A.IV.7. Sirmium, Lower Pannonia

CIL III 10222; Mirković 1971, 72 no. 37; Lőrincz 2001, no. 147:

*[D(is)] M(anibus)
[...]hae
[...]ance
[vixit a]nn(is) XXVI
Iovius Tusculanus prae
fect(us) equit(um)
alae Ityr(raeorum)
uxori optim(ae)
castissim(ae)
[obs]equentissi
[ma]e piissim(ae)*

A.IV.8. Gruberevac, Upper Moesia

A. v. Premerstein, N. Vulić, ÖJh 6, 1903, Bbl. 59 sqq, no. 97; IMS I 115; Lőrincz 2001, no. 148:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Iul(ius) Ascius, vix(it)*

ann(is) C et Iul(ia) Pro
culina vix(it) ann(is) XL
Licinia Bonosa
coniugi et fil[i](a)e
cariss(imis) et Iul(io) Iuli
ano gener(o) vet(e)ra(no)
alae Itur(a)eor(um) qui vix(it)
ann(is) LX et sibi viva p(osuit)

A.IV.9. Aquincum

CIL III 3446; Lőrincz 2001, no. 149:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
L. Seprimi
us Liste
r ve(teranus) al(a)e
Etur(a)eo
rum ex i(mmuni?) c(onsularis?)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.IV.10. Roma

CIL VI 421 = ILS 2546; Lőrincz 2001, no. 150:

I(ovi) O(pimo) M(aximo)
Heliopolita
no vexillatio
Alae Itur(a)e
orum praebe
ntibus Cla(udiis)
Rufino et Ur
sione, decurio
nes posuerunt

A.IV.11. Micia

CIL III 1382 = IDR III 3, 179:

D(is) M(anibus)
Memoriae
C(ai) Licini
Coll(ina tribu) Caes(area)
Pontici vet(erano)
alae I Aug(ustae)
I[tura]eo[r(um)] vix(it)
an(nos) L [...]
Licin[iu]s Eup
[r]epes [[ibertus]] p(atrono) f(ecit)

A.IV.12. Fedjana, Mauretania Caesarensis; date: 2nd century AD

AE 1975, 951; Benseddik 1982, 195, no. 1:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Victoria
e Noreiae sac(rum)
Vexillatio

*ala(e) Aug(ustae) Sentius Ex
oratus Spectati
us Viator decuriones
exercitus Norici
quibus praeest Iul(ius)
Primus (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibens) m(erito)*

VI. Ala I Septimia Surorum

A.VI.1. Carnuntum

H.-G. Kolbe, CJ 8, 1963–1964; AE 1966, 286 = AE 1968, 422 = AE 1983, 766 = AE 1992, 1431; Vorbeck 1980, no. 33; IDRE II 258:

*Genium
Pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) [[Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(eli)]]
[[Antonini P(ii) F(elicis) Augusti]]
[A]lf(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) Faustianus
[d]ec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) A(ugustae) S(avariae) et c(oloniae)
S(eptimiae) A(ureliae) A(ntoniniana) K(arnunti) eq(uo)
[p]ub[li]c[us] sacerdotalis
p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) s(uperioris) trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis)
XIII G(eminae) Ant(oniniana) trib(unus)
coh(ortis) II Mattiacor(um)
m(illiarum) eq(uitatae) praef(ectus) alae
[I?]I Sept(imiae) Suror(um) (milliarum)
[c]oll(egio) fabr(um) Karn(untensium) d(onum) d(edit)
Ded(icatum) Imp(eratore) [[An[tonino] Aug(usto)]]
II et Sacerdote co(n)s(ulibus)
X Kal(endas) Sept(embres)
agente praef(ecto) T(ito) Ael(io) Constant(ion vel. Io)
magg(istris) coll(egii)
Ael(io) Herculano et Ulp(io) Marc[el-]
fino*

VII. Cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria equitata

A.VII.1. Klosterneuburg

Ubl, PAR 27, 1977, 27 sqq; AE 1977, 616; Ubl 1979, 103, Abb. 7; Devijver ZPE 43, 1981, 111 = Devijver 1989, 182; Ubl 1991, 124, no. XXXIV; Lőrincz 2001, no. 420:

*[[I(ovi)]] O(timo) M(aximo)
[pr]o salu[t]
e I]mp(eratoris) A[el(ii) Ant
o]nini Aug(usti) [et]
Veri Caes(aris)
coh(ortis) I A[el(iae)
s]ag(ittaria) c(ui) p(raeest) C(aius)
[[I]ul(ius) Longi
nus trib(unus)*

Quintillo et Prisco
co(n)s(ulibus).

A.VII.2. Klosterneuburg

CIL III 5646; Kraft 1951, 185 no. 1791, 191; Ubl 1991, 120 no. XXIX; Lőrincz 2001, no. 421:
[[...]]

pro sal(ute) Aug(usti)
Q(uintus) Attius Co
nerti filius
Tertinus tes
serar(ius) coh(ortis) I Ael(iae) sag(ittariae)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.VII.3. Klosterneuburg

CIL III 5645; Lőrincz 2001, no. 422:

[I(ovi) O(timo)] M(aximo)
[sa]c(rum)
[coh(ors)] I Ael(ia) [sag(ittaria)] (milliaria) eq(uitata)
[cui p(raeest) P.?] Ael(ius) The
[?odoru vel odotu]s trib(unus)
[v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]

A.VII.4. Klosterneuburg

Ubl, PAR 27, 1977, 28; AE 1977, 617; Ubl 1979, 103, 105 Abb. 8; Ubl 1991, 119, no. XXVIII;
Lőrincz 2001, no. 425:

[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo)
[coh(ors) I] Ael(ia) (milliaria)
[sa]git(aria)
[cui pr]aeest
[---] Flavin(us)
[tr]ib(unus)

A.VII.5. Klosterneuburg

CIL III 5647; Fitz 1983, 106 no. 395; Lőrincz 2001, no. 427:

coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Seve
riana eq(uitata) c(ui) p(rae)est
C(aius) Aurelius
Cresce(n)s trib(unus)
Agric(ola) et Clem(ente) co(n)s(ulibus)

A.VII.6. Klosterneuburg

Ubl 1991, 108 no. XIV; Weber, Selinger 1994, 215 no. 254; Lőrincz 2001, no. 416:

D(is) M(anibus)
Liccai(i) Li
cin[ii] (filii) eq(uitis)
coh(ortis) [I] Ael(iae)
sag(ittariae) stip(endiorum)
XV [a]n(norum) XXX
Nig[r]inus

*her(es) [fac(iendum)] cu
[ravit]*

A.VII.7. Klosterneuburg

Ubl 1991, 104 sqq, no. VIII 129; Weber, Selinger 1994, 214 no. 249; Lőrincz 2001, no. 417 = AE 1992, 1438:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Firmani Cass
ronis (filii) arm(orum) cus(todis)
coh(ortis) I [s]ag(ittariae) stip(endiorum)
XIII domo
Lai Dasillus
vex(illarius) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

A.VII.8. Klosterneuburg

Ubl 1991, 106 sqq, no. XI 130; Weber, Selinger 1994, 215 no. 252; Lőrincz 2001, no. 418 = AE 1992, 1439:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Nero
Sab[i]ni (filius)
mil(es) coh(ortis) I
Ael(iae) sag(ittariae) an
norum XXX stip(endiorum)
XVI h(ic) [s(itus)] e(st) Luc
anus Batonis (filius)
h(eres) [f(aciendum)] c(uravit)*

A.VII.9. Klosterneuburg

Ubl 1991, 107 sqq, no. XIII 132; Weber, Selinger 1994, 215 no. 254; Lőrincz 2001, no. 419:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Surio Provi
ncial[i]s fil(ius) mil(es)
coh(ortis) I A[e]l(iae) sag(ittariae)
arm(orum) [c]us(tos) an(norum)
XXXVII [sti]p(endiorum) XVII
Ulp(ius) P[hi]lippus
opti[o] heres
f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

A.VII.10. Klosterneuburg

Ubl 1991, 111, no. XVII 135; Weber, Selinger 1994, 216 no. 258; Lőrincz 2001, no. 426:

*D(is) [M(anibus)
S]ep(timio) Karino te[sser(ar)io?)
a]n(norum) XXXVIII st(i)p(endiorum) XXII et Sep(timio)
Crescenti mil(iti) coh(ortis) sag(ittariae) Ant(oninianae)
an(norum) XXX st(i)p(endiorum) X fratribus Sep(timiae)
Crescentin(a)e an(norum) L
matri Sept(imio) Geniali
patri Sept(imiae) Quiet(a)e et*

*Sept(imiae)Quaetill(a)e et
Sept(imiae) Pr(a)esenti(a)e
sororibus et Sept(imiae)
Victorin(a)e coniugi
Sept(imius) Karus vet(eranus)
f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

A.VII.11. Klosterneuburg

Ubl, RÖ 13–14, 1985–1986, 319; AE 1988, 928; Ubl 1991, 110 no. XVI, 134; Lőrincz 2001, no. 428:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Aureliae
Florentin
(a)e an(norum) VI Se
p(timius) Decembar
ar(morum) q(ustos) (!) coh(ortis) I
A(eliae) s(agittariae) et Aur(elia) Vi
ctorina
par(entes) filiae kar(issimae) et
sibi f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)*

A.VII.12. Klosterneuburg

Ubl 1991, 115 no. XX; H. Taeuber, ZPE 99, 1993, 203 sqq. Taf. XIVa; Weber, Selinger 1994, 217 no. 261; Lőrincz 2001, no. 431:

*Νευκηράτ<ω>
Μει[λη]τοπο-
λεί[τη ἄ]λείπτη
Κάσ[σ]ιος
Παυλ[εῖ vel λι]νος
χειλί[αϞ]χος
φίλ<ω>.*

A.VII.13. Klosterneuburg

Ubl 1991, 109 no. XV, 131; Weber, Selinger 1994, 216 no. 256; Lőrincz 2001, no. 503:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Ulpio Avito
vet(erano) coh(ortis) I Ael(iae)
sag(ittariae) a[n(norum)] LXXV
et Victorinae
coniu[g(i)] an(orum) XL
et Avi[t]ae f(iliae) an(norum) X
et Emeri[t]o f(ilio) an(norum) VIII
et Supe[ria]e f(ilia) an(norum) VI
par(entibus) p(ientissimis) V[i]ctoria f(ilia)
et cog[n]at(is) h(eres) e(x) testamento fecit.*

A.VII.14. Klosterneuburg

Ubl 1991, 98 no. II; Weber, Selinger 1994, 213 no. 243; Lőrincz 2001, no. 504:

*[D(is) M(anibus)
[...]]tanio*

[...]o veter
[ano c]oh(ortis) I Ae(liae) sag(ittariae)
[an(norum) --- viva si]b(i) Ul(pia) Vera
[et coniug]i pientis(s)imo
[f(aciendum)] curavit.

VIII. Cohors I Antiochensium sagittaria

A.VIII.1. Drobeta

AE 1959, 309; Russu 1978, 189 și fig. 1; IDR II 14 = ILD 51
[Imp(erator)] Caes(ar) di[vi Ner-]
[vae f(ilius)] Nerva Tra[ianus]
[Aug(ustus) Ger]m(anicus) Dacic(us) p[ont(ifex)]
[max(imus) trib(unicia)] potest(ate) co(n)s(ul) [p(ater) p(atriciae)]
[fec(it) per co]h(orem) I Antio[ch(ensium)]

IX. Cohors quingegenaria Canathenorum et Thraconitarum

A.IX.1. Bratislava, Upper Pannonia

CIL III 3688 = ILS 4349; Birley 1978, 1525 no. 29; Lőrincz 2001, no. 292:
Di(is) patri(i)s Ma
napho et Thean
drio, pro sal(ute)
dd[[d(ominorum)]] nn[[n(ostrorum)]]
Cl(audius) Victorinus
eq(ues) coh(ortis) (quingenariae) Can(athenorum) e(t) Trac(honitarum)
et Cl(audius) Maximus, fil(ius)
domo Can(atha), v(otum) s(olverunt) l(aeti) l(ibentes)

XI. Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum

A.XI.1. Tomis

AE 1938, 6 = ISM II 176:
M(arco) Iulio
Tertullo
vet(erano) coh(ortis) I
Commag(enorum)
Mitridates
mil(es) coh(ortis) eiusd(em)
et Barales
b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)

XII. Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria equitata

A.XII.1. Micia

CIL III 1374 = AE 1903 67 = ACMIT 1930 p.36 2 = IDR III 3, 45:
Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Septimius Severus

*Pertinax Aug(ustus) co(n)s(ul) balne
as coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Commag(enorum) ve
tustate dilabsas resti
tuit sub Polo Terentia
no co(n)s(ulari) III Daciar(um) curante Sex(to) Boebio Scribonio Casto
praef(ecto) coh(ortis)*

A.XII.2. Micia

AE 1903 66 = IDR III 3, 46:

*Imp(erator) Caes[ar M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Severus]
[[Alex(ander) Pius Felix Augustus]]
balnea[s coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Commagenor(um)]
Severia[nae vetust(ate) dilapsas res]
tituit s[ub ... co(n)s(ulari)]
Dac(iarum) III c[urante ...]
diano p[raef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Com(magenorum) Severi]
anae [Alexandrianae]*

A.XII.3. Micia

CIL III 1371 = IDR III 3, 51:

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi
Trai(ani) Parth(ici) fil(io)
divi Ner(vae) nep(oti)
Trai(ano) Hadriano
Aug(usto) p(atri) p(atriciae) co(n)s(uli) III
coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)*

A.XII.4. Micia

CIL III 1372 = IDR III 3, 52:

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Antonini f(ilio)
divi Had(riani) nep(oti) divi [Tra]
ian(i) Parth(ici) pronep(oti) [divi]
Ner(vae) abnep(oti) M(arco) Aur[el(io)]
Antonino Aug(usto) Ar
meniaco trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVIII
co(n)s(uli) III coh(ors) II Fl(avia)
Com(magenorum)*

A.XII.5. Micia

CIL III 1373 = IDR III 3, 53:

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi An
toni(ni) f(ilio) divi Had(riani) nep(oti) divi
Trai(ani) Parth(ici) pronep(oti) divi
Nervae abnep(oti) L(ucio) Aurel(io)
Vero Aug(usto) Armeni
co trib(unicia) pot(estate) IIII co(n)
s(uli) II proco(n)s(uli) coh(ors)
II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)*

A.XII.6. Micia

CIL III 1379 = IDR III 3, 58:

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Iulio
Philippo Pio F(elici)
Invicto Aug(usto)
pontifici maximo
trib(unicia) potestat(e) I[I]
[p]ater(!) patriae
[c]o(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) coh(ors)
II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum) Philip
[p]iana devota nu
mini maiestatiq(ue)
[eiu]s ex quaestura*

A.XII.7. Micia

Petculescu 1982, 84–85, no. 1, fig. 1; ILD 307:

*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi]
[Had(riani) fil(io) divi]
[Trai(ani) nep(oti) divi]
[Ner(vae) pronep(oti)]
Had[riano) Antonin
o Aug(usto) Pio
[t]ri(buniciae) pot(estatis) III co(n)s(uli)
[I]I p(atr) p(atr)iae, coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)*

A.XII.8. Micia

AE 1975, 706 = IDR III 3, 63:

*Dean[ae]
[...]
Tampius
Rufi[nus]
pra[ef(ectus) coh(ortis)]
II Com[mag(enorum)]
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)]*

A.XII.9. Micia

IDR III 3, 66:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolicheno C(ommageno)
Iul(ius) Troph
im(us) vo(tum) s(olvit)
[[ibens) m(erito?)]*

A.XII.10. Micia

AE 1911, 35 = Daicovicu 1930 p.36 no. 3 = IDR III 3, 67:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Dolicheno
ara(m) Micia[e]
M(arcus) [...]
[...] pra[ef(ectus)]*

cob(ortis) II Fl(aviae)
Commag(e)
norum
bene m(erenti)
posuit

A.XII.11. Micia

AE 1903, 67 = IDR III 3, 68:
Fortunae
Aug(ustae) sacrum
Scribonius
Cast[us praef(ectus)]
cob(ortis) I[I Fl(aviae) Com]
m[ag(enorum)]

A.XII.12. Micia

CIL III 1343 = AE 1978, 705 = IDR III 3, 77:
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
pro sal(ute) dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum)
[Severi] et Anton(ini)
[[et Getae Caes(aris?)]]
[.]CVIL[.]DEP
a[I]ae Ba[t(avorum)] al(ae) Cam(pagonum)
sub cur(a) Iul(i)
Tere(n)tiani pr(a)ef(ecti)
cob(ortis) s(a)g(ittariorum) cob(ortis) I Alp(inorum)
n(umeri) M(aurorum) Tib(iscensium) n(umeri)
[G]erm(anicianorum) [n(umeri) Cam]
[p]estr(orum) [...]
[.]S[.]
[.]MO[.]I[.]
[praefect]us cob(ortis) I[I Fl(aviae)]
[Comma]g(enorum) [...]

A.XII.13. Micia

CIL III 7848 = IDR III 3, 78:
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
cob(ors) II F[[l(avia)]
Com(magenorum) cu[i]
praeest
C(aius) Pompo
nius Cas
sianus
praefect(us)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XII.14. Micia

CIL III 7849 = IDR III 3, 79:
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
cob(ors) [II Fl[[l(avia)]

C[om(magenorum) cui]
[praeest]
[C(aius) Pom]pon
[iu]s Cassi[a]
[nu]s praef(ectus)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XII.15. Micia

CIL III 1347 (= 7850 = IDR III 3 88):
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Crisp(us)
Luci (centurio)
coh(ortis) II Co[m(magenorum)]
v(otum) solv(it)

A.XII.16. Micia

CIL III 1355 = IDR III 3, 105:
Libero
[P]atri sac(rum)
L(ucius) Sossius
dec(urio) coh(ortis) II
Fl(aviae) Comm(agenorum)
ex voto
l(ibens) p(osuit)

A.XII.17. Micia

CIL III 1619 = 7854 = IDR III 3, 108:
Mart[i] Gra[d[ivo]]
coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Co(mmmagenorum)
cui praeest
C(aius) Vettius
Sabinianus praef(ectus)

A.XII.18. Micia

CIL III 7855 = IDR III 3, 109:
Mercur[i]
o sac(rum)
Iulius
Arcan
us pra[ef(ectus)]
coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae)
Commag(enorum)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)
Mercurio
sacr(um) [Iul]ius
[A]r[can]u[s]
pra[ef(ectus)] c[oh(ortis)]
II Fl(aviae) Com
magenor(um)

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)

A.XII.19. Micia

AE 1971, 399 = IDR III 3, 111:

Minervae

Aug(ustae) et Gen(i)

o coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae)

Com(m)agen(orum)

Ianuarius

actar(ius)

v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) [s(olvit)?]

A.XII.20. Micia

IDR III 3, 130; Petolescu 1976, 394–395, no. 2; ILD 306.

He[rculi sacrum]

Do[mitius..., -mesticus, vet(eranus)?]

[coh(ortis)] II Fl(aviae) [Commag(enorum)]

A.XII.21. Micia

AE 1903 65 = Daicoviciu 1930, 37, 6 = ILS 9273 = IDR III 3, 138:

[I]ovi Tur

mazgadi

coh(ors) II Fl(avia)

[Co]mmag(enorum) eq(uitata) s[ag(ittariorum)]

[cui] pr(aest) M(arcus) Arru[nt]

[iu]s Agrippinu[s]

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XII.22. Micia

CIL III 1338 = ILS 4047a = IDR III 3, 139; Russu 1969, 172; Sanie 1981, 262 no. 37:

G(enio) T(ur)maz(gadae)

Aure(lius) D

ionisiu

s cur(ator) pos(uit)

A.XII.23. Micia

CIL III 6267 = IDR III 3, 166:

D(is) M(anibus)

Aur(elius) Maurus vet

eranus c(o)hor(tis)

Com(m)agenoru(m)

vix(it) an(nos) L Aur(elius) Prima

nus vix(it) an(nos) XVIII Aur(elius)

Surus milis(!) n(umeri) M(aurorum)

M(iciensium) vix(it) an(nos) XX Aur(elia) Eus

tina vix(it) an(nos) BS XVIII Aurel

ia Surilla mater p(ro) p(ietate) f(ecit)

b(ene) m(erentibus)

A.XII.24. *Micia*

CIL III 12569 = Russu 1967, 170–171 = IDR III 3, 175:

[D(is)] M(anibus)

[...] Dion

[ysiu]s vet(eranus) c(o)h(ortis)

[II Fl(aviae)] Com(magenorum) v(ixit)

[an(nos) ...] Ulp(ia) Dem

[etri]a et

[...] f(aciendum) c(uraverunt?).

A.XII.25. *Micia*

CIL III 7873 + 13773 = Russu 1967, 171–172 = IDR III 3, 177:

[...] vixit a]n(nos) VII

[...] T ZIA

[...] C(aius) Iul(ius)

[Marti]alis [(centurio)

[coh(ortis) Co]mm(agenorum)

[... coni]ugi et

[...]iber

[tis? ...] vix(it)

[...] MAR

[... v]ix(it)[...]

XIII. Cohors I Aurelia Antonina milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum

A.XIII.1. *Intercisa*

CIL X 3847 = ILS 1398; Pflaum 1960, 419 no. 171/1; Fitz, AAH 16, 1968, 313; Fitz 1972, 198 no. 1; Lőrincz 2001, no. 298:

M. Campanio

M. fil(io) M. nep(oti) Fal(erna)

Marcello

proc(uratori) A[ug]ustor(um)

ad Me[rc]urium

Alexandr(eae) proc(uratori)

provinc(iae) Cypri

praef(ecto) eq(uitum) alae Parth(orum)

trib(un) coh(ortis) pr(imae) Hemesen(orum)

praef(ecto) coh(ortis) III Breucor(um)

[c(ives) R(omani) in provi]ncia Cypro

A.XIII.2. *Intercisa*

AE 1910, 147; Intercisa I no. 309; Fitz, AE 1964, 104; Fitz, Alba Regia 8–9, 1967–68, 200 no. 12; Fitz 1972, 63 sqq. no. 1 = 204 no. 1; RIU IV 1125; Lőrincz 2001, no. 299:

Imp(eratore) Caes(are) [M. Aur(elio) Commod]o

Antonino A[ug]usto] Sarm(atico), Germ(anico)]

coh(ors) I (milliaria) Ant(onina) [Hemesenorum]

sub Sept(imio) Flacco [leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)]

curante Iul(io) [---]

A.XIII.3. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 308; T. Nagy, ArchÉrt 82, 1955, 244; Fitz, ArchÉrt 86, 1959, 140; Fitz, Alba Regia 8–9, 1967–68, 200 no. 11; Fitz 1972, 64 no. 2; RIU IV 1124; Lőrincz 2001, no. 300:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M. Aur(elius) Commodus Antoninus A]ug(ustus) Pius
Sarm(aticus) Germ(anicus), [Brit(annicus)? ---]
[---coh(ors)] I Aur(elia) Antonina (milliaria) H[em(esenorum)---]

A.XIII.4. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 310; Fitz 1972, 64 no. 3; RIU IV 1126; Lőrincz 2001, no. 301:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) [M. Aur(elius) Commodus Aug(ustus) Pius Sarm(aticus) Germ(anicus)]
max(imus), Brit(annicus), co(n)<s>(ul) IIII, [...coh(orti) pri]
mae He<m>(esenorum) fecit [...]

A.XIII.5. Székesfehérvár, Upper Pannonia

AE 1973, 473 bis; Lőrincz 2001, no. 303:

[Deo So]li Elagab
[alo sac]r(um), pro salu
[te domin]orum nn(ostrorum)
[L. Septimi(i)] Severi Pii
[Pertinaci]s et M. Aur(elii) Anto
[nini Augg(ustorum)] [[et Sept(imii) Getae
[Caes(aris)]]], mil]ites cohort(is)
[[milliariae) Antonin(ae)] Hemesenorum
[adiectis oper]ibus ut Clau
di(i) Claudian]i, pr(a)esidis
[cura voverunt, i]ussu eius tem
[plum a funda]mentis inpe
[ndis suis fec]erunt

A.XIII.6. Intercisa

AE 1908, 48; Intercisa I, no. 331; Fitz 1972, 219 Amn. 3; RIU IV 1080; Lőrincz 2001, no. 304:

Sacrae [Victoriae Augusti vel Augustorum?]
M. Minic[ius ---, trib(unus) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hem(esenorum)?]
in hon[orem domus divinae]
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Iunoni Reginae]
et Mi[nervae Augustae]
digni[ss]i[mi]s? ---

A.XIII.7. Intercisa

AE 1910, 140; Intercisa I no. 324; Fitz 1972, 90 no. 10 = 198 no. 2; RIU IV 1059; Lőrincz 2001, no. 305:

[Num]ini Dianae Tifatinae
[pro s]alute Imp(eratorum) Sep(timii) Severi et
[Aur(elii) A]nt(onini) Augg(ustorum) et [[Getae Caes(aris)]]], fil(ii) f(e)licis
[simi maxi]mi princip<i>s, agente Bae[b]io Caeciliano
[[leg(ato) Augg(ustorum, M]odio Rufino, trib(un)o coh(ortis) (milliariae)
Hem(esenorum) [in vel ad m]emor(iam) Cam
[panii Marc]elli, tunc trib(uni) n(ostri), conv[eterani coh(ortis) s(upra)s(criptae)] templum
[a so]lo exstruxeru[nt]

A.XIII.8. Intercisa

AE 1910, 141 = ILS 9155; Intercisa I, no. 135; Fitz 1972, 90 no. 9 = 219 no. 1; RIU IV 1104; Lőrincz 2001, no. 306:

Deo

[So]li Aelagabalo, pro

[s]alute Imp(eratorum) L. Sep(timii) Severi

[Pi]i et M. Aur(elii) Antoni(ni) Pii e

[t] C. Sep(timii) G<e>tae Caes(aris) Augg(ustorum)

[c]oh(ors) (milliaria) Anto(nina) Hemes(enorum) s(agittaria)

[cu]i sub Baebio Caeciliano

[leg(ato) A]ugg(ustorum) pr(a)eest Q. Mod(ius) Q. f(ilius) QuirinaRu<f>inus trib(unus)

[te]mp<l>um a solo extru(x)it.

A.XIII.9. Intercisa

AE 1910, 137; Intercisa I no. 23; Fitz 1972, 132 no. 36; RIU IV 1182; Lőrincz 2001, no. 307:

[D(is)] M(anibus)

M. Aur(elius) Cerdon, vet(eranus) ex cur(atore)

coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hem(esenorum), dom(o) Arethu[s]a

sibi et Aureliae Iuliae, (coniugi) su[a]e et

M(arco) Aur(elio) Silvano fil(io), q(ui) v(ixit) an(nis) XVI

et Aur(eliae) Heliodorae, q(uae) v(ixit) an(nis) XXVII

et Aur(eliae) Immedaru, q(uae) v(ixit) an(nis) XXIII

fili[is] et M. Aur(elio) Vincentio, q(ui) v(ixit) an(nis) VIII

et M. Aur(elio) Heliodoro, nepotib(us) c(uravit) m(onumentum) m(emoriae).

A.XIII.10. Intercisa

AE 1971, 334; Fitz 1972, 102 no. 15; Lőrincz 1975 no. 32; RIU IV 1140; Lőrincz 2001, no. 308:

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco)

Aur(elio) Severo

Antonino Pio

Felici Aug(usto) Part(h)i(co) Brit(annico)

max(imo) pont(ifici) max(imo) Ger(manico)

max(imo) coh(ors)

I (milliaria) Hemes(enorum)

Aurel(ia) Anto

niniana sag(ittariorum)

eq(uitata) c(ivium) R(omanorum) devo

tissima nu

mini eius

A.XIII.11. Intercisa

CIL III 10306; Intercisa I no. 338; Fitz 1972, 93 no. 11; RIU IV 1075; Lőrincz 2001, no. 309:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)

pro s(alute) Imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aur(elii) Ant(onini)

Pii Aug(usti) et Genio

coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hem(esenorum) Ant[o]

niniana T(itus) Cl(audius)

Procus b(ene)ficarius) co(n)s(ularis)

legionis II Ad(iutricis)

pi(ae) <f>id(elis) Antonin(ianae)
Imp(eratore) Ant[o]n(ino) IIII et Cael(io) Balb(ino) it(erum) [co(n)s(ulibus)]

A.XIII.12. Intercisa

AE 1910, 133; Intercisa I, no. 326; Fitz 1972, 101 no. 14; RIU IV 1139; Lőrincz 2001, no. 310:

Pro salute et victoria

Germ(anica) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii) Severi

Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti)

Parth(ici) max(imi) Brit(annici) max(imi), Germanici

max(imi) pontif(icis) max(imi), p(atris) p(atriciae), trib(unicia) pot(estatis)

co(n)s(ulis) IIII, deo patrio Soli Ela

gabalo mil(ites) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hem(esenorum) Anton(inianae)

dedicatum opus X Kal(endas) Sep(embres)

Messala et Sabino co(n)s(ulibus)

A.XIII.13. Intercisa

CIL III 3334; Intercisa I, no. 130; Fitz 1972, 129 no. 10; RIU IV 1184; Lőrincz 2001, no. 311:

Marcus Aurel(ius) Deisan, domo

Hemesa, vet(eranus) ex s(ta)tor(e) trib(uni) coh(ortis) I (milliariae) H(e)m(esenorum)

vivus sibi <e>t viv<e>n

tibus Aureli(i)s

Monimo strat(ori)

et Regi<l>iano lir(ario)

leg(ati) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) fili(is)

posuit

et Aur(elio) Abigeneo q(ui) v(ixit) ann(is) XVII m(erentibus) X (diebus) XVII

et Aur(elio) Prisciano m(i)<l>(iti) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) nepotibu[s]

A.XIII.14. Intercisa

CIL III 10304; Intercisa I, no. 349; Fitz 1972, 202; RIU IV 1056; Lőrincz 2001, no. 312:

[Di]anae Aug(ustae)

[p]ro salute d(omini) n(ostri)

[I]mp(eratoris) Alexan

[dr]i Aug(usti) vett(erani)

[co]h(ortis) (milliariae) Heme

[se]norum [v(otum)] s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)

A.XIII.15. Szabadegyháza, Lower Pannonia

AE 1965, 10; Fitz 1972, 220 no. 1; Lőrincz 2001, no. 313:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo), Iunoni

Reginae, Mi

nervae, Sera

[pi]di, Isid[i, ce

t]eris di[is]

deabusqu[e]

M(arcus) Porciu[s]

verus, tri[b(unus)]

coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hemes(enorum)

eq(uitatae) c(ivium) R(omanorum)

A.XIII.16. Intercisa

CIL III 3331; Intercisa I, no. 311; RIU IV 1143; Lőrincz 2001, no. 318:

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco)
Ant(onio) Gordiano
P(io) F(elici) Invicto Aug(usto)
pontif(ici) max(imo)
trib(unicia) pot(estate) III
patri patriae
co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli)
coh(ors) I (milliaria) Hem(esenorum)
Gordiana
sagitt(ariorum) eq(uitata) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
numini eius
devotissima

A.XIII.17. Intercisa

AE 1971, 335; Fitz 1972, 118 no.17; RIU IV 1144; Lőrincz 2001, no. 325:

Sanctissimo
ac super om
nes principes
clementissimo
Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Vibio
Treboniano
Gallo P(io) F(elici) Invic
to Aug(usto) pontif(ici)
max(imo) trib(unicia) po[t(estate) III]
co(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriciae) [pro]
co(n)s(uli) coh(ors) [I (milliaria)]
Hemes(enorum) ma[ies]
tati eorum devotissi[ma]

A.XIII.18. Intercisa

RIU III 844; Fitz 1983, 158 no. 616a; Lőrincz 2001, no. 319:

Centuri(a)e s(acrum)
Exsuperatus (centurio)
c(ohortis) Hem(esenorum) Gord(ianae)
Geni<o>
Cu[---]

A.XIII.19. Intercisa

CIL III 10307 = ILS 2540; Intercisa I, no. 341; AE 1969/70, 514; Fitz 1972, 132 no. 35; RIU IV 1073; Lőrincz 2001, no. 320:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Barsemis Abbei
dec(urio) alae Firmae
Katap(h)ractariae
ex numero Hos
ro<en>orum mag(ister)
coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hemes(e)
n(orum) d(omo) Carris et

Aur(elia) Iulia coniux
<ei>us v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)
Aurelia Thicimim
et Aurelia Asalia {et}
filias Barsimia Tit
ia? [... nep]ot(es)

A.XIII.20. Előszállás, Lower Pannonia

Fitz, Alba Regia 8–9, 1967–68; 202 no. 21; Lőrincz 2001, no. 326:
[Deus Sol Aelag]abalu[s]
[...c]oh(ortis) [(milliariae) Hemes(enorum)?...

A.XIII.21. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 342; Fitz 1972, 130 no. 17; RIU IV 1071; Lőrincz 2001, no. 332:
I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Aur(elius) Rufus
(centurio) pro se su
isque om
nibus
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XIII.22. Intercisa

Lőrincz 2001, no. 330:
Silvano
Domestico
Aur(elius) Silva
nus vet(eranus)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)

A.XIII.23. Intercisa

AE 1971, 331; Fitz 1972, 130 no. 20; RIU IV 1099; Lőrincz 2001, no. 335:
Deo Soli Au
r(elius) Bars
amsus o
pt(io) coh(ortis) ex
voto pate
rno cum
[suis pos(uit)]

A.XIII.24. Intercisa

AE 1910, 149; Intercisa I, no. 352; Fitz 1972, 131, no. 23, RIU IV 1088; Lőrincz 2001, no. 337:
Libero Pa
tri et Liber(a)e
Aureliu[s]
Matu[rus]
s(ummus) c(urator) v(otum) s(olvit) [(libens) m(erito)].

A.XIII.25. Intercisa

AE 1908, 52; Intercisa I, no. 361; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 24; RIU IV 1100; Lőrincz 2001, no. 338:

D(eo) S(oli)

Iul(ius) Don

atus

s(ummus) c(urator) v(otum) s(olvit)

l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

A.XIII.26. Intercisa

CIL III 3328 = 10303; Intercisa I, no. 339; Fitz 1972, 132 no. 38; RIU IV 1081; Lőrincz 2001, no. 349:

I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo)

Culminari

Aur(elius) Her<c>u

lanus

eq(ues) coh(ortis) (milliarie)

Hem(esenorum)

[...]

A.XIII.27. Intercisa

Intercisa I no. 340; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 50; RIU IV 1068; Lőrincz 2001, no. 358:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)

Aurel(ius) Damas veter(anus)

Hemesen[o]rum [...]

A.XIII.28. Intercisa

AE 1910, 135; Intercisa I, no. 535; RIU IV 1186; Lőrincz 2001, no. 361:

Libero Patri

Aurel(ius) Mo

nimus

vet(eranus) pro s

alute sua et s

uorum

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XIII.29. Intercisa

AE 1910, 128; Intercisa I, no. 332; Fitz 1972, 134 no. 58; RIU IV 1060; Lőrincz 2001, no. 364:

*Dis o{*i*}mnibus*

Sabinus vet(eranus)

Sabinianus

vet(eranus) ex voto

posuit

A.XIII.30. Intercisa

AE 1971, 328; Fitz 1972, 128 Anm 1 no. 60a; RIU IV 1082; Lőrincz 2001, no. 365:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)

Culmin(ari)

Aur(elius) Mammi

anus vet(eranus) c

um suis
omnibus
s v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XIII.31. Intercisa

AE 1971, 329; Fitz 1972, 128 Anm. no. 66; RIU IV 1085; Lőrincz 2001, no. 366:

Libero Patri

Aurel

ius Ius

tinianus

arm(orum) [c]us(tos)

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XIII.32. Intercisa

AE 1971, 351; Fitz 1972, 128, no. 60c; Lőrincz 2001, no. 367:

Sil(vano) Con

servatori p

ro sal(ute) Iuli

Barsimi vet(erani)

Sev(erius) Celsus

et Aur(elius) Atella

nus v(otum) sol(verunt).

A.XIII.33. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 358; Fitz 1972, 132 no. 31; RIU IV 1112; Lőrincz 2001, no. 344:

[...]

Iul(ius) Sa[l]

Ustia

nus vet(eranus) ex

de<c>(urione) coh(ortis)

(milliariae) Hem(esenorum)

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XIII.34. Intercisa

Szabó 1986, 421sqq; AE 1986, 597a-b; Lőrincz 2001, no. 345:

a) *t(urma) Maxi(mi) Macedo(nis)*

b) *t(urma) Maxi(mi) Constanti(s)*

A.XIII.35. Intercisa

CIL III 3728 = 10636; Intercisa I, no. 317; Lőrincz 2001, no. 314:

[...m]aximus coh(ors) (milliaria) [Hem(esenorum)]

Maximiniana

ab Aq(uinco)

m(ilia) p(assuum) XLVII

A.XIII.36. Intercisa

AE 1975, 701; Lőrincz 2001, no. 315:

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)

C(aio) Iul(io) Vero Maximino

Pio Fel(ici) Invicto Aug(usto) pontifici
max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) III
imp(eratori) V co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriae)
Imp(eratori) et C(aio) Iul(io) Vero Maximo Aug(usto)
nobilissimo Caes(ari)
principi iuventutis
Aug(usti) n(ostri) filio Germanicis
Dacis Sarmaticis
maximis coh(ors) (milliaria) He(mesenorum) Maximiniana
ab Aq(uinco) m(ilia) p(assum)

A.XIII.37. Intercisa

CIL III 3729 = 10634; Intercisa I, no. 320; Fitz 1983; 210 no. 803; Lőrincz 2001, no. 348:
[...] coh(ors) I (milliaria) Hem(esenorum) ---]iana ab Aq(uinco) m[ilia] p(assuum) XLV

A.XIII.38. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 134; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 39; RIU IV 1180; Lőrincz 2001, no. 302:
[D(is)] M(anibus).
[M. A]ur(elius) Bazas, vet(eranus) ex [---coh(ortis) I
(milliariae) H]emes(enorum), domo Ge[rasa]
[mi]ssus honesta m[issione]
[a] Val(erio) Pudente, c(larissimo) v(iro), am[p(issimo?) praes(ide?)
[vi]vus sibi faciendum [curavit]
[in]stantibus [nomine ---]

A.XIII.39. Intercisa

CIL III 10318; Intercisa I, no. 133; Fitz 1972, 130 no. 21; RIU IV 1202; AE 1983, 782c;
Lőrincz 2001, no. 323:
D(is) [M(anibus)]
M(arcus) Aur(elius) Sallumas vet(eranus)
ex tess(erario) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hemes(enorum) domo
Hemesa annorum LXXXII vivo
sibi et Aureliae Mat[---]
quondam coni[ugi---]
[---]

A.XIII.40. Intercisa

Intercisa I, 103; Fitz 1972, 129 no. 11; RIU IV 1178; Lőrincz 2001, no. 327
D(is) M(anibus)
Aur(elius) Antonius vet(eranus) [ex]
benef(iciario) trib(uni) c(o)ho(rtis)
(milliariae) (H)e[mes(enorum)]
posuit sibi vi(v)us et Aurel(iae) [...]
coniugi vi(v)ae posuit et Aure(liae)
Iulia(e) filia(e) caris(simae) qu(a)e vi[x(it) an(nis)

A.XIII.41. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 129; Fitz 1972, 129 no. 13; RIU IV 1203; Lőrincz 2001, no. 331:
D(is) M(anibus)

*M(arco) Aurel(io) Silvano veterano ex b(ene)f(iciario) tribun(i)
domo Hemesa vixit annis LX Aurelia
Hilara coniuxs et Aureli
Salvianus et Silvanus e<t>
{et} Silvina fili(i) carissimi
et conheredes be
ne merenti et digno
posuerunt*

A.XIII.42. Intercisa

*Intercisa I, no. 113; AE 1910, 146; Fitz 1972, 131 Anm. 6; RIU IV 1187; Lőrincz 2001, no. 339:
D(is) M(anibus)
Aur(elius) Isaur(icius) Verecundus S(urus) vet(eranus) coh(ortis) (milliariae)
Hem(esenorum) ex dec(urione) vix(it) ann(is) LXX Aur(elia) Isauri
cia Scribonia coni(ux) et Is<au>ricius Verec
undus et Isauricius Marcus et Aur(elia) V
erecunda fili(i) et co(n)heredes vivi sibi et pat
ri pientissimo posuerunt*

A.XIII.43. Intercisa

*AE 1909, 150; Intercisa I, no. 132; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 28; RIU IV 1194; Lőrincz 2001, no. 340:
[D(is)] M(anibus)
M(arco) Aurel(io) Monimo vet(erano)
ex dec(urione) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hemes(enorum)
domo Hemesa qui
vixit ann(is) LXIII co
[n]iugi Iulia Ticim
[a e]t Aurel(ius) Iulian
[us strat(or) co(n)]s(ularis) filius [...]*

A.XIII.44. Intercisa

*Intercisa I, no. 131; Fitz 1972, 132 no. 32; RIU IV 1236; Lőrincz 2001, no. 346:
D(is) M(anibus)
Iuliae Silvinae matri
dulcissim(a)e q(uae) v(ixit) ann(is) LXVI et
Ael(io) Valentiano vet(erano) coh(ortis) (milliariae)
Hemes(enorum) ex dupl(icario) vivo patri
dulcissimo Ael(ius) Vitalis
b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) faciendum curavit.*

A.XIII.45. Intercisa

*AE 1965, 233 = AE 1971, 326; Fitz 1972, 246; RIU IV 1155; Lőrincz 2001, no. 321:
[D(is) M(anibus)]
P(ubl)io Ael(io) Proculino [e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iro)] --- (centurioni)
primo in coh(orte) (milliaria) [Hemes(enorum) trans]
lato in leg(ionem) II Ad[iut(ricem) p(iam) f(idelem) exer]
cit(atori) eq(uitum) leg(ionis) s(upra) [s(criptae) (centurioni) coh(ortis) urb(anae) (centurioni)]*

*coh(ortis) VII praet(oriae) p(iae) v(indicis) [Phil(ippiana) bello]
Dacico deside[rato ad ca]
stel(lum) Carporum [Milit(avit) ann(os)]
XXVI P(ublius) Ael(ius) Procu[lus (centurio)? coh(ortis) ei]
usdem et Aure[lia ---]
a parentes fil[io suo ca]
rissimo et sib[i vivis]
et infelic[issimo]
filio posue[runt]*

A.XIII.46. Intercisa

CIL III 10321; Intercisa I, no. 37; Fitz 1972, 221 no. 1; RIU IV 1239; Lőrincz 2001, no. 322:

D(is) M(anibus)

Lissinia

Galla vixit

annis XXI

Calpurnius

Irenaeus

Tribunus

coniugi rarissimae

b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)

A.XIII.47. Intercisa

AE 1906, 110 = ILS 9169; Intercisa I, no. 18; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 26 și 33; RIU IV 1153; Lőrincz 2001, no. 324:

D(is) M(anibus)

Ael(io) Munatio

caps(ario) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hem(e)s(enorum)

stup(endiorum) XXVIII dom(o)

Sam(osata) Aur(elia) Cansa

una con(iux) Ant(onio)

Basso vex(illario) sec(undo) her(ede)

sanctiss(imo) coniug[i]

con se natib(us)q(ue) suis

fecit

m(onumentum) m(emoriae)

A.XIII.48. Intercisa

AE 1912, 7; Intercisa I, no. 16; Fitz 1972, 129 no. 12; RIU IV 1193; Lőrincz 2001, no. 328:

D(is) M(anibus)

Aur(elio) Monimo b(ene)ficiario

trib(uni) coh(ortis) (milliariae) H

emes(enorum) stip(endiorum) XXIII

vixit an(nis) XLV

G(---) Bassus lib(ertus)

b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) ex ipsi

us praecepto

A.XIII.49. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 34; Fitz 1972, 129 no. 11; RIU IV 1181; Lőrincz 2001, no. 329:

D(is) M(anibus)
Aur(elio) Cas
siano filio
vix(it) annis
III Aur(elius) Sil
vanus b(ene)
[f(iciarius)] trib(uni) pa
[ter] b(ene)
[m(erenti) p(osuit)]

A.XIII.50. Intercisa

CIL III 10314; Intercisa I, no. 33; Fitz 1972, 130 no. 18; RIU IV 1265; Lőrincz 2001, no. 333:

D(is) M(anibus)
M(arco) Ulp(io)
Iuliano
vet(erano) ex (centurione)
vix(it) an(nis) LXIII

A.XIII.51. Intercisa

CIL III 10315; Intercisa I, no. 17; RIU IV 1189 = AE 1983, 782a = AE 1992, 1456; Speidel 1992, 137; Lőrincz 1992, 117, no. 2; Lőrincz 2001, no. 334:

M(arco) Aur(elio) Malc[ih]ia[no militi]
leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) strat(ori) off(icii) [co(n)s(ularis) sum]
mo cur(ator) signifer[o coh(ortis) (milliariae)]
Hemes(enorum) q(ui) v(ixit) ann(is) LV[...]
Pulchra uxo[r] ip[sius] viva?
faventissim[o fac(iendum) curavit]

A.XIII.52. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 15; T. Nagy 1955, 242; RIU IV 1197; Lőrincz 2001, no. 341:

M(arco) Aur(elio) Prim[o p(atri) q(ui) vi?]
xi(it) an(nos) L et T[...]
m(atri) vix(it) an(nos) XXXXV [et? A]
mm(a)e soro[ri] q(uae)?]
vix(it) an(nos) X et [Aureli]
ae Flor(a)e q(uae) [vix(it)]
an(num) parum M(arcus) [Aur(elius)]
Primianu[s] mil(es)]
c(o)ho(rtis) (milliariae) He(mesenorum) pa[renti(bus)]
bene meri[tis] pos(uit)]

A.XIII.53. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 35; Fitz 1972, 132 no. 34; RIU IV 1217; Lőrincz 2001, no. 347:

D(is) M(anibus)
Cl(audius) Antonius
vixit annis
V Antoni{n}
us R(u)ssus

vexillarius
f(i)l(io) m(e)r(enti) p(osuit)

A.XIII.54. Intercisa

AE 1971, 345; Fitz 1972, 128 Anm. 1 (no.17); RIU IV 1222; Lőrincz 2001, no. 350:

[M(arci) Aur(eli)] Lon[ginus et]
Decimus m[il(ites) coh(ortis) (milliariae) He]
mes(enorum) eq(uitatae) Qu[arta? fl(ii) pa]
rentibus [carissimis]
s(uis) et [s(ibi) pos(uerunt)]

A.XIII.55. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 20; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 42; RIU IV 1191; Lőrincz 2001, no. 352:

D(is) M(anibus)
M(arco) Aur(elio) Mar
co mil(iti) coh(ortis)
(milliariae) Hem(esenorum) q(ui) v(ixit) an(nis)
XXX Theodor(a)e
et M(arcus) Aur(elius) Marianus
patri et sibi et m
atri karissim(a)e
vividus m(erenti) p(osuit)

A.XIII.56. Somlóvásárhely, Upper Pannonia

AE 1910, 131; RIU II 365; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 44; Lőrincz 2001, no. 353:

Aur(elio) Rufin<o> mil(es)
c(o)ho(rtis) (milliariae) H<e>m<e>se(norum)
an(norum) XX co(n)sobrino
et Aur(eliae) Iezena(e)
aviae an(norum) LXXX Aur(elius)
Proculinus
pequarius leg(ionis)
[...]

A.XIII.57. Intercisa

AE 1906, 107; Intercisa I, no. 19; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 46; RIU IV 1161; Lőrincz 2001, no. 355:

D(is) M(anibus)
Aureliae Barache vixit
ann(os) XXXV et Aur<e>l(iae) Ger
manillae vixit
ann(os) IIII et altera
filia Aurelia Ger
manilla vi[xi]t ann(os)
II et Immostae matri su(a)
e vixit ann(os) XL German
ius Valens mil(es) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hem
es(enorum) uxori et matri et fi
liis posuit et sibi {v}vi(v)us fe
cit.

A.XIII.58. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 21; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 47–8; RIU IV 1243; Lőrincz 2001, no. 356:

D(is) M(anibus) Marin
o Silvani (filio)
mil(iti) coh(ortis) (milliariae)
Hemes(enorum) a(nnorum) L
II stip(endiorum) XX
VIII Mar
cus Aure
l(ius) mil(es) co
h(ortis) s(upra) s(cripta)e he
res
b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)

A.XIII.59. Intercisa

AE 1971, 337; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 49; RIU IV 1154; Lőrincz 2001, no. 357:

Aelio P[---]
vet(erano) co[h(ortis) I (milliariae) Hem(esenorum)] q(ui) vix(it) ann(is) ---
Octav[ia ...]
lina co[niugi ---]
et Silvi [---]
et sibi v[ivae]
pos[uit]

A.XIII.60. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 22; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 51 și 54; RIU IV 1227; Lőrincz 2001, no. 359:

D(is) M(anibus)
Domitio Lon
gino vet(erano) coh(ortis)
(milliariae) Heme(senorum)
et Domit(i)
ae Avitae parenti
bus pos(uerunt) Domiti
as Revocata et
Amata [f]ias vivae in
stant(i)bus A(ur(elio) Firmo
vet(erano) et Aur(elio) Aunio
ge<n>eris

A.XIII.61. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 38; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 52; RIU IV 1165; Lőrincz 2001, no. 360:

D(is) [M(anibus)]
Aureliae Nardanosae
cives Armen(iaca) vix(it) ann(is)
XLIII Aur(elius) Manaia vet(eranus) mar(itus) et
Aurel(ius) Tata Pusintulus
fil(ius) m(emoriae) posu(erunt)

A.XIII.62. Intercisa

AE 1910, 148; Intercisa I, no. 119; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 22; RIU IV 1169 = AE 1910, 148; Lőrincz 2001, no. 336:

*D(is)] M(anibus)
[...] vixit ann(is) LIX et Aureli
[us ...]s s(ummus) c(urator) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Heme(senorum) filius
[p(atri piissim)o posuit.*

A.XIII.63. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 114; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 29; RIU IV 1196; Lőrincz 2001, no. 342:

*D(is) M(anibus)
M(arcus) [A]ur(elius) Primianus vet(eranus) e[x]
dec(urione) c(o)ho(rtis) (milliariae) Hemes(enorum) an(norum) L
et Sept(imiae) Gratae ux[o]ri pientis[si]
mae ann(orum) XXXVI et Aur(eliae) Ianuariae
filiae [a]nn(orum) XX M(arcus) Aur(elius) Primianus s[ibi]
et sui[s vi]os(!) f[a]ciendum curavi[t]*

A.XIII.64. Intercisa

Intercisa I, no. 115; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 30 și 133 no. 40; RIU IV 1177; Lőrincz 2001, no. 343:

*L(ucio) Aur(elio) Antonin[o mil(iti) coh(ortis) (milliariae)]
Hem(esenorum) et Aureliae [... q(uae) v(ixit)]
ann(os) XVIII Aureli[a ...]
marito et filia[e ...]
et sibi viva et L(ucius) [Aurelius Ve]
recundinus dec(urio) [coh(ortis) s(upra)s(criptae) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)].*

A.XIII.65. Intercisa

AE 1920, 136; Intercisa I no. 116; Barkóczi 1964, 349 no. 144/27; Fitz, Klio 50, 1968, 159 no. 2; Fitz 1972, 223 no. 2; RIU IV 1186; Lőrincz 2001, no. 316:

*D(is) M(anibus)
M(arcus) Aur(elius) Heraclitus vet(eranus) ex (centurione) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hem(esenorum)
an(norum) LXX vi(v)us fecit sibi et Aureli(i)s Heraclito et
Sereno vivis fili(i)s suis et Serenae h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*

A.XIII.66. Intercisa

Sági, Intercisa I no. 103; Barkóczi 1964, 350 no. 144/90; Fitz 1972, 134 no. 59; RIU IV 1195; Lőrincz 2001, no. 317:

*M(arco) Aur(elio) Monimo vet(erano) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)
Sabini q(uondam) vet(erani) domo Hemesa
filio patri q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os) LV et Aureliae
Alexandriae matri q(uae) v(ixit) ann(is)
XXXV et Aureliae Athenu
sorori q(uae) v(ixit) ann(is) XX M(arcus) Aur(elius)
Alexander mil(es) leg(ionis)
libr(arius) off(icii) praes(idis)*

A.XIII.67. Intercisa

AE 1909, 149; Intercisa I, no. 118; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 41 și 43; RIU IV 1192; Lőrincz 2001, no. 351:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Aur(elio) Maxim
iano mil(iti)
cob(ortis) (milliariae) He
mes(enorum) st(i)p(endiorum) II
q(ui) v(ixit) an(nis) XVI
m(ensibus) VII et Aur(elio)
Prisco frat
ri ipsius q(ui) v(ixit) an(nis)
XI Aur(elius) Bassus
mil(es) cob(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae)
her(e)s ex tes(tamento)
eorum pos
uit.*

A.XIII.68. Intercisa

AE 1910, 144; Intercisa I, no. 117; Fitz 1972, 133 no. 45; RIU IV 1176; Lőrincz 2001, no. 354:
*M(arco) Aur(elio) Alexandro vet(erano) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) q(ui) v(ixit) ann(is) LXX et
Aureliae Rufinae (coniugi) eius q(uae) v(ixit) ann(is) LX et M(arco) Aur(elio)
Valeriano mil(iti) cob(ortis) (milliariae) Hem(esenorum) q(ui) v(ixit) ann(is) XXV fil(io) et
Aureliae Valerinae q(uae) v(ixit) ann(is) XVIII fil(iae) eor(um)
M(arcus) Aur(elius) Aurelianus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) ex strat(ore) co(n)
s(ularis)
cognatis dignissimis*

A.XIII.69. Intercisa

Barkóczi, în Intercisa I, p. 48; Fitz 1972, 111 no. 9, 134 no. 55 și 57; RIU IV 1249; Lőrincz 2001, no. 362:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Oolumnius Val
ens vet(eranus) c(o)ho(rtis) I
Ant(oniniana) (milliariae)
He[mes]
[enorum sagit]
[tariorum vix(it) ann(is) ...]
[... vet(eranus)]
c(o)[ho(rtis)] prim(a)e nov(a)e
(milliariae) Severian(a)e Surorum
sagittaria
et Gaius Maximus
vet(eranus) secundus
heres bene mer
enti p(osuerunt)*

XIV. Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria

A.XIV.1. Solva (Esztergom)

B. Lőrincz, H. M. Kelemen, *Klio* 79, 1997, 178 sqq. no. 1, 189 Abb. 2–3; Lőrincz 2001, no. 375:

Crescens Iulionis

f(ilius), miles coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) Itur(aeorum)

ann(orum) XXXXIII, stipen(diorum)

XXIII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st). t(itulum) m(emoriae) p(osuit)

{titulo} Victor, heres

A.XIV.2. Solva (Esztergom)

Zs. Visy, *Specimina* 5/1, 1989 (1992), 29 sqq; B. Lőrincz 1993, 297 sqq.; Lőrincz 2001, no.

376:

Soranus

Iamelici f(ilius)

mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) Aug(ustae)

Itur(ioru(m), Itur(iu(s)

ann(orum) L, stip(endiorum) XIIX

h(ic) s(itus) e(st) {(centurio)} [G]ermanus, (centurio)

[h(eres)] t(itulum) m(emoriae) [p(osuit)]

A.XIV.3. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa

Daicoviciu 1924, 251 = IDR III 2, 348; Gostar 1979, 663; Piso 1988, 163–164 Nr. 1:

[...]A[...]

[P(ublius) A?]elius D[...]

[ex N(umero) P]almyr(enorum) Ori[...trib(unus)? ...]

praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) I[tur(aeorum?)] vel. T[hracum?]

A.XIV.4. Buciumi

Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 117, pl. 139, cf. Petolescu 1974, 599–601, no. 8; ILD 635:

[...] Aug(ustus) [trib(unicia)

pot(estate) III im[p(eratori)...co(n)s(uli)...]

pro[co(n)s(uli)]

[co]h(ors) I [...]

XV. Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria milliaria equitata

A.XV.1. Antiochia

AE 1926, 80:

prae]

fec(tus) coh(ortis) I tyr(aeorum)

trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IV

Scyt(h)ic(ae) praef(ectus)

equit(um) praef(ectus) rip(ae)

Danuvi(i)

d(ono) d(edit)

A.XV.2. Moesia

IGR III 1139:

... τοῦ εἰς Μοισία[ν] πεμφθέντος καὶ ἀρξάντος [σπείρης Ἰ]τουραίων.

A.XV.3. Mogontiacum

CIL XIII 6278:

[...]orius III[...]

[... I]turaiorum [...]

[... ann]o(rum) XXX sti[p(endiorum) ...]

h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

A.XV.4. Mogontiacum

CIL XIII 7040:

Caes Han

eli f(ilius) m{h}iles

ex coh(orte) I Itu

ra<e=i>orum

annorum

L stipendio

rum XIX

h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

Iamlicus

frater f(ecit)

A.XV.5. Mogontiacum

CIL XIII 7041:

Monimus

Ierombali f(ilius)

mil(es) c(o)hor(tis) I

Ituraeor(um)

ann(orum) L

stip(endiorum) XXI

h(ic) s(itus) est

A.XV.6. Mogontiacum

CIL XIII 7042:

Sibbaeus Eron

is f(ilius) tubicen ex

cohorte I

Ituraeorum

miles ann(orum) XXIV

stipendiorum VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

A.XV.7. Mogontiacum

CIL XIII 7043:

Ca(ius) Vinicar(ius?) L(uci)

f(ilius) coh(ortis) I Ytu

raior(um!) annor(um)

XXXVII stip(endiorum) IIII

L(ucius) Vinicar(ius?)

fra(ter) fa(ciendum) cu(ravit)

A.XV.8. *Mogontiacum*

CIL XIII 7044:

coh(ortis) I I]

turaeo[r(um) an(norum) ...]

stip(endiorum) II h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

XVI. Cohors I sagittaria

A.XVI.1. *Tibiscum*

IDR III 1, 130:

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Anto

nini fil(io) divi Hadr(iani)

nep(oti) divi Traiani Part(hici)

pronepoti divi Ner

vae abnep(oti) M(arco) Aurel(io)

Antonino Aug(usto) Arme

niaco pont(tifici) max(imo) imp(eratori) II trib(uniciae)

potes(tatis) XVIII co(n)s(uli) III

coh(ors) I sag(ittariorum)

A.XVI.2. *Drobeta*

AE 1959, 311; Doina Benea 1976, 77–84; IDR II 10:

I[mp(eratori)] Caes(ari) [[M(arco) Iul(io)]]

[[Philippo]] Aug(usto) pontif(ici)

maximo trib(unicia) pot(estate)

co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriciae) proco(n)s(uli)

coh(ors) I sag(ittariorum) [[Philip]]

[[piana]] (milliaria)

equitata devo

ta numini ma

iestatiqu[e] eius

A.XVI.3. *Drobeta*

Petolescu 2004, 38–45; ILD 53:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [D(olicheno)]

pro sal(ute) im-

pp(eratorum) et c(o)hor-

tis pri(mae) sag(ittariorum)

Silvanus,

Flavius et A

tennais, sa

cer(dotes) c(o)ho(rtis) s(upra) s(criptae)

ex v(oto) p(osuerunt)

A.XVI.4. *Drobeta*

CIL III 6279 = ILS 3154 = IDR II 23:

Mar[ti] Gra[d]

ivo sacr

um coh(ors)

*I sagitt(ariorum) [(milliaria)
Gordiana*

A.XVI.5. Drobeta

CIL III 1583 = 8018 = IDR II 135; Benea 1976, 82:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Iul(ius) Herculanus
dec(urio) sc(h)ol(ae) fab(rum) imag(inifer)
vix(it) ann(os) LXXX Iul(ia) Viv
enia coniux Iul(ius)
Marcianus fil(ius) im
ag(inifer) sc(h)ol(ae) fab(rum) vix(it)
ann(os) XXVII Aur(elius) Iuli
us mil(es) c(o)hor(tis) I Sag(ittariorum) im
ag(inifer) vix(it) ann(os) XXX Iul(ius)
Marcellinus fil(ius)
vexil(larius) sc(h)ol(ae) fab(rum) vix(it)
ann(os) XXV Iul(ia) Ma
rcia fil(ia) vix(it)
ann(os) XIII Iul(ia) Er
aclia fil(ia) vix(it)
ann(os) VIII Iul(ia)
Marcelina nep(os)
vix(it) ann(os) IIII Viv
encia mater se viva f(ecit)*

A.XVI.6. Drobeta

CIL III 14216,2 = IDR II 18:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Iunoni Reg(inae)
[I]ul(ius) Val(erius) Emerit(us)
[prae]fectus co[h(ortis)*

A.XVI.7. Drobeta;

AE 1939, 19 = IDR II 107:

*Aurelius Me
rcurius milis c(ohor)
tis I sagitt(ariorum) in
figlinis magis
ter super mi
lites LX Scripsit
Aurelius Iulianus
milis co(ho)rtis prima(e)*

A.XVI.7. Bingium (Bingerbruck), Germania

CIL XIII 7513; CISR II 14, 48 Taf. 24:

*Hyperanor Hyperano
ris f(ilius) Cretic(us) Lappa mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis)
I sag(ittariorum) ann(or)um LX stip(endiorum) XVIII
h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*

A.XVI.8. Bingium (Bingerbruck), Germania

CIL XIII 7514; CISR II 47, 27 Taf. 27, 28:

Tib(erius) Iul(ius) Abdes Pantera

Sidonia ann(or)um LXII

stipen(diorum) XXXX miles exs

coh(orte) I sagittaria

h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

A.XVI.9. Bingium (Bingen), Germania

CIL XIII 7512; CISR II 14, 27 Taf. 14:

Biddu[...] Astor(is)

f(ilius) Tripo[li Sur]us c(o)h(ortis)

I sag(ittariorum) a[nn(or)um] XXVII s(t)i(pendiorum)

XV h(i)c s(itus) est

Asipa [...]

A.XVI.10. Bingium (Bingen), Germania

CIL XIII 7515; CISR II 14, 28 Taf. 14:

C(aius) Iulius H

astaius

c(o)h(ortis) sagi(ttariorum)

mis(s)icius

Amoen

a l(iberta) h(ic) s(iti) s(unt)

A.XVI.11. Bingium (Bingen), Germania

CIL XIII 11962a; CISR II 14, 26 Taf. 14:

[...]

natione Sur

us miles exs coh(orte)

I sagittarior

um an(norum) [L?] stip(endiorum)

XI h(ic) [s(itus) e(st)]

**XVII. Cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antonina Surorum sagittaria equitata =
Cohors I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum**

A.XVII.1. Leányfalu; Lower Pannonia

Soproni 1980, 39; RIU III 840; AE 1982, 817; Fitz 1983, 32 no. 16a; Lőrincz 2001, no. 432:

Imp(eratori) Cae(sari) L(ucio) Sept<i>(mio)

Sev(ero) Pert(inaci) Aug(usto) p(atri) p(atriciae) Arab(ico)

Adiab(enico) imp(eratori) V co(n)s(uli) II tri(bunicia)

pote(state) II(I) pontifi(ci) maximo et

M(arco) Aur(elio) Antoni(no) Caes(ari) coh(ors) I

Aure(lia) Antoniniana nova Se(veriana) const(ituta)

Pisone et Iul(iano) co(n)s(ulibus)

A.XVII.2. *Ulcisia Castra*

Soproni 1980, 44 sqq; RIU III 865; Fitz 1983, 58 no. 198a; Lőrincz 2001, no. 434:

[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio) A]ntonin[o] Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto)

[Part(hico) max(imo) Brit(annico) max(imo) Ge]rm(anico) max(imo) pont(ifici)

[max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVII i]mp(eratori) III co(n)[s(uli)] IIII p(atri) p(atricae)

[coh(ors) I (milliaria) n(ova) Sever(iana) S(urorum) s(agittaria) An]toninia[na] eq(uitata)

c(ivium) R(omanorum)

A.XVII.3. *Ulcisia Castra*

CIL III 3638; Nagy 1939, 128; RIU III 867; Lőrincz 2001, no. 436:

[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)]

[M(arco) Aurel(io) Se]

[vero Alex]

[andro Inv]

ict[o] P(io) F(elici)]

Aug(usto) pont(ifici)

max(imo) trib(uniciae)

potestatis

[[VIII]] co(n)s(uli) [[III]] p(atri) p(atricae)

coh(ors) I n(ova) S(everiana) S(urorum) s(agittaria)

devota nu

mini eius

A.XVII.4. *Ulcisia Castra*

CIL III 3639; Nagy 1939, 128; RIU III 868; Lőrincz 2001, no. 437:

[[Iuliae]]

[[M(a)meae]]

Aug(ustae) [[matri]]

d(omini) n(ostri) invicti

Imp(eratoris)

Severi

[[Alexandri]]

P(ii) F(elicis) Augusti

et castrorum

coh(ors) I n(ova) S(everiana) S(urorum) s(agittariorum)

devota nu

mini eorum

A.XVII.5 *Ulcisia Castra*

CIL III 10581; Kraft 1951, 186 no. 1842; RIU III 843; Lőrincz 2001, no. 438:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)

M(arcus) Aur(elius) Pris

cus sig(nifer) coh(ortis)

I (milliariae) nova(e)

Severiana(e)

Surorum sag(ittariae)

[v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XVII.6. Ulcisia Castra

CIL III 15170(=3640); RIU III 872; Lőrincz 2001, no. 439:

[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo)

pro salu(te)

[d]d(ominorum) nn(ostorum) T(itus)

[I]ul(ius) Vale(n)s

m(iles) coh(ortis) (milliariae) n(ovae)

[S(everianae)] S(urorum) s(agittariae) (pro se) et suis

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XVII.7. Ulcisia Castra

RIU III 869; Lőrincz 2001, no. 441:

Genio t(urmae) et

Epon(a)e Reg(inae)

Iul(ius) Victor

eq(ues) vexi(llarius) coh(ortis)

(milliariae) n(ovae) S(everianae) Gordian(ae)

S(urorum) s(agittariae) in honore(m) t(urmae)

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) Gordiano

II et {et} Pomp(eiano) co(n)s(ulibus)

Kal(endis) Iun(iis)

A.XVII.8. Ulcisia Castra

CIL III 10575; RIU III 874; Lőrincz 2001, no. 442:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) A[u]g(usto)

Iul(ius)

Taurus

miles

se(s)q(ui)p(licarius)

eq(ues)

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XVII.9. Ulcisia Castra

RIU III 870; Lőrincz 2001, no. 443:

[...]enio

s(ummus) c(urator) pro

se et suis

v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XVII.10. Ulcisia Castra

CIL III 13386; AE 1939, 17; RIU III 875; Lőrincz 2001, no. 444:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo)

dis deab

usque Sep(timius)

Bauleus eq(ues)

caps(arius) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XVII.11. Pócsmegyer, Lower Pannonia

RIU III 863; Lőrincz 2001, no. 445:

[...]us mi[...]q]
ui et Pattu
o custom<s>
armorum
coh(ortis) n(ovae) Sev
er(ianae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XVII.12. Ulcisia Castra

RIU III 887; Lőrincz 2001, no. 446:

[...]no [equiti]
[c(o)ho(rtis) (milliariae) n(ovae) Seve]r(ianae) qui vix[it]
[ann(os) --- et] Iul(io) Publio
[mil(iti?)] c(o)ho(rtis) s(upra)s(ripta) qui vixi(t)
[ann(os) --- et] Aeli(a)e Severin(a)e
[matri et] Iul(io) Aeliati
[patri?] et Sergiae
[---]vae coniug(i)
[et Iuli]o Publano
[fil(io)? S]ep(timius) Severinus
[eques c(o)h]o(rtis) eiu(s)dem
[f(aciendum)] c(uravit).

A.XVII.13. Ulcisia Castra

AE 1939, 14; RIU III 888; Lőrincz 2001, no. 447:

D(is) M(anibus)
Ael(iae) Severin(a)e Sep(timius) Seve
rinus eques matri
viv(a)e fecit

A.XVII.14. Leányfalu, Lower Pannonia

RIU III 853; Lőrincz 2001, no. 448:

[...]
m[--- mil(es?) coh(ortis) I]
(milliariae) n[ovae S(everiana) S(uro)rum] s(agittariae) --- ann(or)um]
XLII L[--- mil(es?)]
c(o)ho(rtis) s(upra)s(criptae) her[es faciendum curavit]

A.XVII.15. Visegrád

CIL III 10587; RIU III 818; Lőrincz 2001, no. 449:

[...]id[...]
coh(ors) I nova [S(everiana) S(u)rum] s(agittariae)

A.XVII.16. Budakalász

RIU III 935; Lőrincz 2001, no. 450:

[---] mil(es) coh(ortis) eiusdem
[---] Sep(timia) Theodora
[---] pient]issi(mis) viv(u)s sibi f(aciendum) c(uravit)
[---] et Zosimen(a)e con(iugi)
[et ---]nniano fil(io) et
[---] nepot(i) et Diomedi n(epoti)

[et ---] nep(oti) et Omainae

A.XVII.17. Aquincum

AE 1947, 31; Lőrincz 2001, no. 451:

Memoriae Q(uinti) [Aeli Apoll]oni mil(itis) coh(ortis) (milliaria) nov(a)e Suror(um)
stip(endiorum) III

vix(it) ann(os) XX Aelia Marcia mater filio dulcissimo et Aelia
Apollonia soror eius faciendum curaverunt
Lubrica quassa levis fragilis bona vel mala fallax
vita data est homini non certo limite create
per varios casus tenuato stamine pendes
vivo mortalium dum{dum} dant tibi tempora Parc(a)e
seu te rura tenent urbes seu castra vel (a)equor
flores ama Veneris Cereris bona munera carpe
et Nysii larga et pingua dona Minervae
candida(m) vita(m) cole iustissima mente serenus
iam puer et iu(v)enis iam vir et fessus ab annis
talīs eris tumulo superumque oblitus honores

A.XVII.18. Szigetmonostor

AE 1986, 579; Lőrincz 2001, no. 452:

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et]
Iunoni Regi
n(a)e Aurel(ius) Mo
nimus decu
rio c(o)hor(tis)
(milliariae) nov(a)e Sev
erian(a)e pro
salute sua
et suor(um)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

XIX. Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium

A. XIX.1. Tibiscum

Moga, Russu 1974, no. 10 (= IDR III 1, 136; Piso, Benea 1999, 104, n. 61:

[G]enio n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum) Tib(iscensium)
[et] hor(rei) e[t] dis p[a]t(riis) et pro
[sal]ute Auggg(ustorum) [n]n(ostrorum) P(ublius) Ael(ius)
[Ser?]vius vet(eranus) [ex] opt(ione)
[cum sui?]s ex voto [pos]uit

Timoc 2006, 277–278:

Minervae | Aug(ustae) et | genio n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum) | Tib(iscensium) Val(erius) Rufi|nus
actar(ius).

A. XIX.2. Tibiscum

Piso 1983, 107–109, no. 4, fig. 3 a-d (IDR III, 1 142 + 149); AE 1983 797; ILD 207

[Deo M]alach[belo pr]o sal(ute) ddd(ominorum)
[nnn(ostorum) A]uggg(ustorum) P(ublius) A[elius Ser?]vius
vet(eranus) ex op[t(ione) n(umeri) Palm(yrenorum)]

A. XIX.3. Tibiscum

Moga, Russu 1974, no. 8; Sanie, Petolescu 1976, 399–401; Sanie 1981, 275–276, no. 104;
IDR III 1, 134

Bel[o] deo Palmyr(eno)
Ae[l(ius) Z]abdibol
ar[m]orum cus(tos)
e[x nu]mero
Pal[myrenoru]m
[v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito)

A. XIX.4. Tibiscum²

IDR III 1, 135; Sanie 1981, 127:

Dis Patr(iis)
Marcel[...]
L(ucius?) Del[...] n(umeri)
Palm(yrenorum?) Ti[bisc(ensium)]
[v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens?) m(erito)]

A. XIX.5. Tibiscum

Piso 1983, 109, no. 5, fig. 4 a-d (= IDR III 1, 143 și 148); AE 1983, 798; ILD 208

Au[ribus]
D[ei] vel D[ei Solis]
Malag[beli]
Ael(ius) V...

A. XIX.6. Tibiscum

IDR III 1, 181; Piso, Benea 1999, 91–96, no. 1, fig. 1; AE 1999, 1295; ILD 202.

[L]iber[o Patri pr]o sa[l]ute Imp(eratoris) [Ca]e[s(aris) T(iti) Ael(ii)] H[a]-
[driani Antonini Aug(usti)] Pi[i et M(arci) Aurel(ii) Veri]
[Caes(aris) ceterorumq(ue) liberorum] ei[u]s
[... le]g(atu)s Aug(usti) pr(o) [pr(aetore)]
[tem]pl[um...?fecit per vex]illation[em]
[Pal]myren[or(um)?cu]ra [...]?bun[...]
fru[gifero?]

A. XIX.7. Tibiscum

Piso, Benea 1999, 104–106, no. 8, fig. 10 (a-b-c); AE 1999, 1302; ILD 213.

Mar(ius?) Aurel(ianus?)
princeps n(umeri)
port[i]cum d
eum stra(vit)

2 Sanie 1981, 127: D(eo) I(nvicto) S(oli) P(ublius) Atr(ius) Marcell(inus) de[c?(urio) num(eri)] Palm(yrenorum) Ti[b(iscensium)] I(nvicto) S(oli) l(ibens) m(erito).

A. XIX.8. Tibiscum

CIL III 7999; Moga, Russu 1974, no. 30; IDR III 1, 154; Kaizer 2004, 565

D(is) M(anibus) M(...?)

Ael(ius) Guras Iiddei (filius)

[op]tio ex n(umero) Palmur(enorum)

[vi]xit ann(is) XXXXII mil(itavit)

[an]n(is) XXI Ael(ius) Habibis

[pon]tif(ex) et h(eres) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)

gwr' ydy hptyn – „Gura, Sohn des Yidi, optio“

A. XIX.9. Tibiscum

Gostar 1964, 301–302 no. 2 fig. 2; IDR III 1, 162 = AE 1967, 394.

[...]

Bana G MA E IN

opt(i)o(?) p(ater) et f(ilio?) b(ene) m(erenti)

A. XIX.10. Tibiscum

IDR III 1, 152 = CIL III 14216; ILD 216

D(is) M(anibus)

Ael(ius) Borafas Za

bdiboli mil(es) e[x]

n(umero) Pal(myrenorum) vix(it) a[nn(is)...]

[... Val]eria C...

A. XIX.11. Tibiscum

Sanie 1981a, 359–360, no. 1, fig. 1/5; ILD 226.

MLA

WTRNL

Fragment of an inscription written in Palmyrenian; in Latin transcript:

Male

veteranus

A. XIX.12. Tibiscum

Moga, Russu 1974, no. 43; Petolescu1976, 400 no. 3, 402 no.4; IDR III 1, 170; ILD 218;
Kaizer 2004

[ex n(umero) Palmyren]orum v[ix(it) ann(is) ...]

[...] ex eis mili(tavit) anni[s ...]

[...T]hemhes fratri be

[nemere]nti pos(uit)

[- - -] br tym[- - -] – „[- - -] Sohn des Taym[- - -]“

A. XIX.13. Tibiscum

Moga, Russu 1974, no. 44; IDR III 1, 176:

e]x n(umero) Pal(myrenorum) v[ix(it) ann(is)...]

A. XIX.14. Tibiscum

Moga, Russu 1974, no. 29; IDR III 1, 153:

D(is) M(anibus)

*P(ublius) Ael(ius) Claudia
nus mil(es) n(umeri)
P(almyrenorum) T(ibiscensium)
[...] vix(it) an(nis)
[...]SC[...]
[...]A[...]
[...]MP[...]
[...]M[...]*

A. XIX.15. Tibiscum

Moga, Russu 1974, no. 26; IDR III 1, 155
*[D(is)] M(anibus)
[...]l(ius) Male
[...]E mil(es) e(x)
[n(umero) Pa]l(myrenorum) vix(it) an(nos)
[...]ZI[...]*

A. XIX.16. Tibiscum

Moga 1971, 46–47; Moga, Russu 1974, no. 31; IDR III 1, 160.
*D(is) M(anibus)
Antonio
Marco
et Val(erio) Iulian
o mil(itibus) ex
Pa
lmyr(a?) vix(erunt) a
n(nos) XXX
po(suit) Ae
l(ius) Priscus
b(ene) m(erentibus)*

A. XIX.17. Tibiscum

Moga, Russu 1974, no. 34; IDR III 1, 164
*[...]S M D
Cl(audius?) M(?) vet(eranus) ex
n(umero) Palm(yrenorum) Tib(iscensium) vix(it)
an(nos) XXXV mil(itavit)
a[nn(is?) ...]C[...R[...]]A vix(it)
an(nos) XXV Au[relius, a ?...]
et Ma[...]]D P M B
f(ilio?) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit?)*

A. XIX.18. Tibiscum

Russu 1969, 175; Sanie 1970, 405–409; Moga, Russu 1974, no. 37; IDR III 1, 167; Kaizer 2004, 565–566.

*[D(is)] M(anibus)
N[e]ses Ierhei
[e(x)] n(umero) Pal(myrenorum) vixit
[a]n(nis) XXV Ma*

[I]chus et Ier
[he]us f(ratri) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt)
'bd mlkw | lnš' [...h]wh | šnt 470 | byrh tbt – „Malku hat es für Neša [- -], seinen Bruder,
hergestellt. 17 December 159 – 16 January 160

A.XIX.19. Stela -Tibiscum

CIL III 8000 = IDR III 1, 166; Russu 1969, 178:

[...]vit[...]
[vix(it)] an(nos) XXX [...]
[...]TICIA[...]
[he]res Gad
des Aninas
vete(ranus?) vix(it) an(nos)
L Iul(ia) M[a]r
cia Erapoles
I? p(osuit)? coniux [

A.XIX.19. Apulum

Russu 1967, 91; IDR III 5, 559.

D(is) M(anibus)
Mucatra
Brasi miles
n(umeri) Palmyren(orum)
Tibiscensium
Vixit annis XXXVIII
Mucapor Mucatral(is)
heres contubern(ali)
carissimo posuit

XX. Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium

A.XX.1. Porofisum

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 11, no. 7; Gudea 1989, 762, no. 10; Petolescu, 1977, 159–165 (= AE, 1977, 666); Piso 1980, 277–282, pl. XVIII e. (= AE, 1980, 755); Sanie 1981, 275 no. 103; ILD 663.

Pro salute [I]mp(eratoris) M(arci) Aur[[eli]]
Antonini Aug(usti) Pii Fel(icis) deo
patrio Belo n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum) sagit(tariorum) tem
plum vi ignis consumptum
pecunia sua restituer(unt) dedi-
cant[e] [[[C(aio)] I[ul(io) Sept(imio) Casti]no]]
co(n)s(ulari) III Daci[ar(um)] Ulpio Victore
proc(uratore) Aug(usti) provi[nc(iae) Po]rol(issensis) cura agen-
te T(ito) Fl(avio) Saturni[no (centurione) le]g(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) p(iae) c(onstantis)

A.XX.2. Porofisum

Daicovicu 1940, 328–329, no. 7 f, fig. 26; AE1944, 56; Tóth 1978, 38, no. 50; Gudea 1989, 765, no. 20; ILD 672.

[[Herenniae Etrus-]]

[[*cillae sanctissimae*]]
[[*Aug(ustae) coniugi D(omini) n(ostri)*]]
[[*Traiani Deci Aug(usti)*]]
[[*matri Augg(ustorum)*]] et castro-
rum senatus ac
patriae n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum)
Porol(issensium) sag(ittariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
Decianus dicatissi-
mus numi-
ni eorum

A.XX.3. Porofissum

Chirilă et al. 1980, 89–90, no. 3, fig. 3; Sanie 1981, 292, no. 1; ILD 680.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
P. Ael(ius) M
alachu(s)
flamen
q(uin)q(uennalis) mun(icipii)
S(eptimii) Por(olissensis) et sa
cerdos
Dei n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XX.4. Porofissum

Gudea, Chirilă 1988, 153, fig. 7; AE, 1988, 976; AE 1999, 1278; Gudea 2000, 201–202; ILD 682:

IVPP(iter) M(axime)
SABIDAS HVTRI
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XX.5. Porofissum

Russu 1959, 872; no. 1, fig. 2 (= AE 1960, 219); Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 14, no. 16; Tóth 1978, 38, no. 49; Gudea 1989, 768, no. 34; ILD 690.

Sil(vano) Do[m(esticum)]
Mucianu
s optio Pal(myrenorum)
v(otum) po(suit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XX.6. Porofissum

Gudea et al. 1992, 149–150, 174, fig. 1; ILD 692.

Neme
si sac(rum)
Nepos
ce(nturio) (?) n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum)

A.XX.7. Porofissum

AE 1971, 387:

Silvano Domest(i)c(o)
sacrum
Val(erius) Them(o?)

vet(eranus) dec(urio)
municip(ii)
[v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

A.XX.8. Porofissum

Szilágyi 1946, 13, nota 60; AE 1971, 389; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 18, no. 20; Tóth 1978, 39, no. 52; Gudea 1989, 770, no. 48; ILD 704.

[D(is) M(anibus)]
Aur(elius)? - - -]us vet(eranus) ex
[dec(urione)? vix(it) an(nos)] LXXXV mil(itavit)
[an(nos)? Aur.] Passer sig(nifer)
[?N P P vix(it)] an(nos) XXXIII Ael(ia)
[? Sura vix(it) a]n(nis) XVIII Aur(elius)
[- - -] mil(es) n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orofissensium) vix(it)
[an(nos) - - - Au]r(elia) Sabina et Au-
[rel(ius) - - -]us actarius
[N P P?] B (?)...

A.XX.9. Porofissum

CIL III 837:

[...] coniux vix(it) an(nis) X[...]
[...] f(ilius) vix(it) an(nis) V[...]
Salmas Rami [...]
ex N(umero) P(almyrenorum) coniugi
et filio b(ene) m(erentibus) pos(uit)

A.XX.10. Ilișua

CIL III 803:

D(is) M(anibus)
Aur(elius) Iustin[us]
eques N(umero) P(almyrenorum) P(orofissensium)
vi(xit) an(nos) xl[. .?]
Aur(elius) Maximus frater
et heres f(aciendum) c(uraverit)

A.XX.11. Potaissa

CIL III 907 = CIL III 7693; Petolescu 2002, 142:

D(is) M(anibus)
Ael(ius) Tiadmes Palmura
vix(it) an(nis) VIII Surillio
vix(it) an(nis) XXV Rufina vix(it)
an(nos) XX Ael(ius) Bolhas Ban
naei vet(eranus) ex n(umero) Palmur(enorum)
et Ael(ia) Domestica co
niux {a}eius posuerant
filiae pientissimae et du
lc(issi)m(a)e et liberto et men
esteriis b(ene) m(erentibus)

A.XX.12. Potaiissa

CIL III 908:

D(is) M(anibus)

Aur(elius) Celsus

vixit an(nos) LX

Aur(elius) Bassus

vix(it) an(nos) L Aur(elius)

Celsinian[us]

mil(es) c(o)h(ortis) I P(...) P(...)

pat(ri) et av(u)nc

ulo pient(issimis)

ob merita

p(osuit)

A.XX.13. Palmyra

Seyrig 1941, 230–231 no. 3; AE 1947, 169; Petolescu 1979, 105–109; IDRE II 413; Delplace, Yon 2005, 151 IA.01:

[Μ]ᾶρκον Οὐλπιον Ἀβγα]ρον ἑπαρχον

Παλμυρενῶ[ν το]ξοτῶν καὶ γερ-

.....
[Μᾶ]ρκοι Οὐλπιοι Ο.....

.....ων ἑκατοντ[άρχης]

.....οὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τε[ιμῆς]

[χάριν ἔτ]ους βνυ' Αὐδυναίο[υ].

A.XX.14. Palmyra

Seyrig 1941, 230 no. 4; AE 1947, 170; Petolescu 1979, 105–109; Speidel 1984, 222–223; IDRE II 414; Delplace, Yon 2005, 153 IA.04:

Τ. Αἴλιο[ν..., ἑπαρχον τῶν]

ἐν Παρολί[σσω τῆς ... -]

ρας Δακίας [κα]τε<ι>λεγμένων

τοξοτῶν, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτο[υ]

αὐτοῦ οὐηξί[λλ]ου τειμῆς

[χάριν].

A.XX.15. Thessalonic

ILS 9472 = IDRE II 356

ἑπαρχος εἰλης ἱππέον ἀριφμού Παλμυρηγῶν Πορολισσηγῶν

XXII. Numerus Palmyrenorum O[...]

A.XXI.1. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa

CIL III 1471 = IDR III 2, 366:

[P(ublius) A]el(ius) Sept(imus) Audeo qui et Maxi

mus vet(eranus) ex [(centurione) n(umeri)]

P(almyrenorum) O(...?) vixit annis LX

[A]el(ius) Sept(imius) Romanus mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)

[a]diut(or) offic(ii) cornicul(arium) et Septimia

[Se]ptimina quae et Revocata [fil(ia) et]

[C]ornelia Antonia uxor heredes
[po]nendum curaverunt cura agen[t(e)]
[S]eptimio Asclepiade Aug(ustali) col(oniae)
liberto eius

A.XXI.2. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa

AE 1956, 217; Gostar 1974, 63–71; IDR III 2, 416; ILD 758:

D(is) [M(anibus)]
Iul(ius) C[...]
n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) O(...?) m[il(itavit) ann(is)...]
vix(it) ann(is) [...]
vividus fe[cit sibi et ---]

A.XXI.3. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa

CIL III 12592; IDR III 2, 367:

[... n(umeri)?]
Palmyr(enorum?) O...? [vix(it)]
an(nis) L[- - -]
Ael(ius) Alex(ander)
IC[- - -].

A.XXI.4. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa

AE 1927, 56; IDR III/2, 20; AE 2004, 1212:

[- - - pro salute?]
[d(omini) n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Diui Seueri Pii nep(otis)?]
[diui Magni Ant]on[ini f(ilii) M(arci) Aur(elii) Seu(eri)? [[Alexandri]]] Pii [Fel(licis) inu(icti)
Aug(usti)
et num(eri)? P]almyr(enorum) O[...]
[...i] Abraen(us?) Fl(auius?) M[arianus?]
[...] Cassi(us) Marini[s ...]
[Ma]ximus Gora Lu[cianus?...]
[...] Maximus Bars[emon?]
[sacer]dot(es) templum [a solo?]
ex suo fecer(unt). Á. Szabó, Z. 1: I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolichen[o].

See also A.XIV.3. **Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.**

XXII. Numerus Surorum sagittaria

A.XXII.1. Arutela

CIL III 12601a = 13793 = IDR II 575:

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Traiani Part(hici)
fil(io) divi Nervae nep(oti) Traiano
Hadriano Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate)
XXII co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriciae) Suri sag(ittarii)
sub T(ito) Flavio Constante proc(uratore) Aug(usti)

A.XXII.2. Arutela

CIL III 12601b = 13794 = IDR II 576:

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [divi T]raiani
[Pa]rt(hici) fil(io) d[iv]i [N]ervae
n[e]p(oti) Traiano Hadri-
ano Aug(usto) [p(ontifici)] m(aximo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate)
[XX]II co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriciae) [Suri s]ag(ittarii)
sub T(ito) Flavio Constante proc(uratore) Aug(usti)*

A.XXII.3. Rădăcinești

CIL III 12604 = IDR II 584:

*Imp(eratori) Caes[ari divi]
Traiani Par[thici f(ilio) divi]
Nervae ne[poti Traia]
no Had[riano Aug(usto) p(atri)]
p(atriciae) pon[t(ifici) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate)]
[... co](n)s(uli) III
[...]*

A.XXII.4. Rădăcinești

CIL III 12605 = IDR II 585:

*[Imp(eratori) Caesa]ri div[i]
[Traiani Parth]ici f(ilio) d[i]
[vi Nervae nepo]ti Tra
[iano Hadriano] Aug(usto)
[p(atri) p(atriciae) pont(ifici) ma]x(imo) trib(unicia)
[pot(estate) ... imp(eratori) ...] co(n)s(uli)
[... Suri sag]ittarii*

A.XXII.5. Romuła

AE 1914, 120; Petolescu, Berciu 1976, 51–52; IDR II 341:

*Soli Invic
to Mithra[e]
libr(arii) cum
Anton(io) Z[o]
[i]lo act(ario) [p(rae)p(ositi)]
n(umeri) s(urorum) p(osuerunt)*

A.XXII.6. Romuła

CIL III 1593 = 8023 = IDR II 350:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Claudia Am
ba vix(it) an
nos XX fe
cit in Dacia
ann(os) V Cl(audius) Mon
tanus imm(unis)
ex n(umero) Sur(orum) sag(ittariorum)
pat(er) eius b(ene) m(erenti) fecit*

A.XXII.7. Romuła

CIL III 1590a = 8029 = IDR II 338:

Placidae
Reginae
eq(uites) v(otum) l(ibentes) p(osuerunt)
per Proculo
princ(ipe) et
[G]aio opt(ione)

A.XXII.8. Pius Petrii, Moesia inferior

CIL III 7493 = ISM V 127:

Genio cent(uriae)
F(avii) Ianuar(i)
F(avius) Avitianus
sig(nifer) n(umeri) Suro-
[r]um s(agittariorum) eius
voto libens
posuit

A.XXII.9. Hispalis (Sevilla)

CIL II 1180 (=ILS 1403; AE 1965, 237; IDRE I 179); PME I 99:

Sex(to)Iulio Sex(ti) f(ilio) Quir(ina tribu) Possessori,
praef(ecto) ch(ortis) III Gallor(um), praeposito nume-
ri Syror(um) sagittarior(um), item alae primae Hispa-
nor(um), curator civitatis Romulensium Mal-
vensium, tribuno mili(tum) l(egionis) XII Fulminatae,
curatori coloniae Arcensium, adlecto
in decurias ab optimis maximisque
imp(eratoribus) Antonino et Vero Augg(ustis), adiu-
tori Ulp(ii) Saturnini praef(ecti) annon(ae)
ad oleum Afrum et Hispanum recen-
sendum item solamina transfer-
enda item vecturas naucula-
riis exsolendas, proc(uratori) Augg(ustorum) ad
ripam Baetis; scapharii Hispalen-
ses ob innocentiam iustitiam-
que eius singularem

A.XXII.10. Mactaris

AE 1983, 976; IDRE II 435; PME I 99:

Apollini Patrio Aug(usto)
Sex(tus) Iulius Possessor, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) Gall(orum), cura-
tor numeri Syrorum sagittaria, item
alae primae Hispanorum, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XII F(ulminatae),
adlectus in decurias ab optimis maximisq(ue)
Imp(eratoribus) Antonino et Vero Augg(ustis), adiutor
praef(ecti) annonae ad horrea Ostiensia et
Portuensia, proc(urator) Aug(usti) ad ripam Baetis,
proc(urator) Aug(usti) Ostis ad annonam, proc(urator) Aug(usti)
Alexandriae ad Mercurium
statuam ahenam transmare advectam d(ono) d(edit)

A.XXII.11. Caesarea

CIL VIII 9381 (=20945; ILS 2793; Speidel 1973, 169–177; Speidel 1977a, 167; IDRE II 463);

PME I 73

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Sex(tus) Iulianus
ex Germania Superiorem
tribunus n(umeri) Syrorum M(al
vensiun hic sepultus est
dum deducit iuniores Bessos
(mille) in Tingitana(m) provicni(a)m
qui vixit annis XXXV cui
monumentum fecit
Iul(ius) frater
Et heres curante
Sacimatho
Liberto eiusdem
defuncti

VARIA

A.Varia.1. Carnuntum

CIL III 13483a = AE 1896, 27; Holder 1980, 333 no. 3121; Speidel 1992, 226; Lőrincz 2001, 374:

Proculus
Rabili f(ilius) Col(lina)
Philadel(phia) mil(itavit)
optio coh(ortis) II
Italic(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) (centuria) Fa[us]
tini ex vexil(latione) sa
git(tariorum) exer(citus) Syriaci
stip(endiorum) VII vixit an(nos)
XXVI
Apuleius frate(r)
f(aciendum) c(uravit)

A.Varia.2. Ampelum

CIL III 7832 = IDR III 3, 296 = Balla 2000, 69 no. 3:

Deo [Aeter]
n(o) [C]omm
ag(enorum) Dulc
[eno]

A.Varia.3. Ampelum

CIL III 1301a = 7834 = ILS 4298 = IDR III 3, 298 = Balla 2000, 70 no. 4:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Comma
genorum [A]e
terno Ma
rinus Ma

rian(us) Bas(si fil.)
sacerdos I(ovis)
O(ptimi) M(aximi) D(olicheni) pro s(alute) s(ua)
suorumq(ue) o
mnum vot(um) (solvit)

A.Varia.4. Ampelum

CIL III 1301b = 7835 = ILS 4299 = IDR III 3, 299 = Balla 2000, 70 no. 5:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) et
deo Com
maceno
Aurel(ius)
Marinus
et Adde
Barseme
i et Ocea
nus So
cratis sa
cerdotes
v(otum) l(ibentes) p(osuerunt)

A.Varia.5. Ampelum

IDR III 3, 299a:

[...]DO[...]
sacerdos te[m(pli?)]
I(ovis) O(ptimi) M(aximi) D(olicheni) pro se et
suorumq(ue) o
mnum vot
um pos(uit)

A.Varia.6. Săcădate (Sibiu).

IDR III 4, 86; Balla 2000, 70:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Dolic[heno]
Comm[ageno]
[r]V[m...]

Annex B

REPERTORY OF STAMPS

II. Ala I Commagenorum

B.II. 1. *Comagena* (Tulln)

Polaschek RE 17 1002

A(lae) I C(ommagenorum)

IV. Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria

B.IV.1. *Intercisa*

Szilágyi, in: *Intercisa* II. 14; Fitz 1972, 41; Lőrincz 1978a, 4; 10 Kat. 3/19; PS II 23 sqq. 111 Kat. 9/82–90; Lőrincz 2001, no. 145:

al(ae) I I(turaeorum) s(agittariae) sau *a(lae) I I(turaeorum) s(agittariae)*
S(iliana) cf. Nagy; Szilágyi.

V. Ala I Osrhoenorum sagittaria

B.V.1. *Brigetio*

Szilágyi 1942, 180 sqq, Abb 8; Lőrincz 2001, 46, n 229.

SOTALA

VII. Cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria equitata

B.VII.1. *Klosterneuburg*

J. W. Neugebauer, Mathilde Grünwald, RÖ 4, 1976, 169 no. 21–22, Abb. 3–4; Ubl 1979, 109 Abb. 10; Lőrincz 2001, no. 423:

- a) *coh(ortis) I Ae(liae) s(agittariae)*
- b) *[c]oh(ortis) I Ael(iae) [sag(ittariae)]*
- c) *coh(ortis) I A(eliae) sag(ittariae)* (pl. 6.4–5)

B.VII.2. *Vindobona, Ala Nova, Carnuntum, Gerulata, Quadrata, Arrabona, Pama, Neusiedl am See (?), Bruck a. D. Leitha; Mauer an der Url (=Öhling) [Noricum]*

CIL III 4664 a-c, 11371a, 11373, 11456, 11857b p. 2328⁴³, 11371; ITP 86 no. 1, 3–5; ZV 96 sqq. Kat. 1668–1682, 118 Kat. 2309; PZ III 84 sqq Kat. 5/22a, 24–25, 9/6, 11/3; Lőrincz 1980, 272 sqq. Kat. 2/5, 11, 3/1, 11/1, 13/1; Lőrincz 2001, no. 424:

- a) *coh(o)r(tis) I (A)el(iae) sag(ittariae)*
- b) *coh(ortis) I Ae(liae) s(agittariae)*

- c) *co(hortis) p(rimae) (A)el(liae) sag(ittariae)*
- d) *co(ho)r(tis) I (A)e(liae) s(agittariae)*

B.VII.3. Klosterneuburg

CIL III 11857a; Ubl 1979, 109 Abb. 10; H. Ubl, RÖ 13/14, 1985/1986, 311 sqq. Abb. 16; Lőrincz 1985, 184 T 395a; Lőrincz 2001, no. 429:

- a) *coh(ortis) I A(eliae) sag(ittaria) Se(verianae)*
- b) [*coh(ortis) I Ae(liae) s]ag(ittaria) Se(verianae)*
- c) *coh(ortis) I A(eliae) sag(ittaria) Se(verianae)*

B.VII.4. Kelamantia

J. Rajtár, Študijné Zvesti AÚSAV 23, 1987, 55, 62 no. 281–282, 90 Abb. 27; Lőrincz 2001, no. 430:

- a) [*coh(ortis)] I A(eliae) sag(ittaria) Se(verianae)*
- b) *coh(ortis) I Ae(liae) sag(ittaria) Se(verianae)*

XI. Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum

B.XI.1. Drajna de Sus

Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 14 a-b (tipul Drajna de Sus I)
COH(ortis I Flaviae) COM(magenorum). (pl. 2.1)

B.XI.2. Drajna de Sus

Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 15 a-c (tipul Drajna de Sus II)
COH(ortis) I (Flaviae) COM(magenorum) (pl. 2.2)

B.XI.3. Drajna de Sus

Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 16 a-b (tipul Drajna de Sus III.a)
COH(ortis I Flaviae) COM(m)A(genorum) (pl. 2.3)

B.XI.4. Drajna de Sus

Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 16 c-e (tipul Drajna de Sus III.b)
COH(ortis I Flaviae) COM(m)A(genorum) (pl. 2.4)

B.XI.5. Romuła

IDR II 382
COH(ortis) I F(laviae) COM(magenorum)

B.XI.6. Slăveni

IDR II 528
COH I F COM
COH(ortis) I F(laviae) COM(magenorum)

B.XI.7. Voinești

Bădescu 1981, 292 fig. 2
COH(ortis I Flaviae) COM(magenorum) (pl. 2.7)

B.XI.8. Târgșor

Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127 fig. 5 e-f.

COH(*ortis I Flaviae*) COM(m)A(*genorum*) (pl. 2.5–6)

B.XI.9. Graffito – Jidava

ILD 164

[...]ITULCAI (?) miles

[coh(*ortis*) I FL]a(*viae*) Commagenorum

XII. Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria equitata

B.XII.1. Micia

Gudea 1976 518, fig. 2/6.

COH(*ortis*) II FL(*aviae*) COMM(*agenorum*) (pl. 2.8)

B.XII.2. Micia

Petolescu 1976, 397 note 17; IDR III 3 197 type I; AE 1975 731.

COH(*ortis*) II FL(*aviae*) COM(ma)G(*enorum*) sau Coh(*ortis*) II FL(*aviae*) Com(magenorum) C(ommodianae)

B.XI.3. Micia

Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974 256 no. 34; Petolescu 1976, 397 no. 4

CO(*hortis*) SE(*cundae*) FLA(*viae*) C(ommagenorum)

B.XI.4. Micia

Petolescu 1976 397 no. 5

Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974, 255–6 no. 32.

COH(*ortis*) II COM(magenorum)

B.XI.5 Cladova (Arad)

Hügel 1996, 74, II–1. a-c:

COH(*ortis*) II FL(*aviae*) CO[MM(*agenorum*)] (pl. 2.9, 10)

**XIII. Cohors I Aurelia Antonina milliaria Hemesenorum
sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum**

B.XIII 1–3. Intercisa

E. Mahler, ArchÉrt 27, 1907, 245; ITP 92 no. 54, 55; Szilágyi, in Intercisa II.13 ; Barckóczy ebd 547 sqq ; PS II 26, 71 sqq, Kat. 7, 21, 22, 25, 31, 33, 34, 44–48, 53, 57, 58, 62, 64, 65, 68, 69, 83–85, 91, Kat. 9/25? 42, 45 Taf. 7,4; 8,1–2; Lőrincz 2001, no. 368:

1. coh(*ortis*) (*milliariae*) He(mesenorum) (pl. 6.1,2)

2. coh(*ortis*) (*milliariae*) H(emesenorum)

3. coh(*ortis*) (*milliariae*) H(emesenorum) (pl. 6.3)

XIV Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria

B.XIV.1. Buciumi

Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 117, pl. CXXXIX/2; ILD 636

COH(*ortis*) I AVG(*ustae*)

B.XIV.2. Porofissum

Szilágyi 1946, 53, pl. XV/220; Russu 1959, 316; Gudea 1989, 524, no. 4, pl. CXIX/5; ILD 741.
COH(*ortis*) I AVG(*ustae*) (pl. 4.1, 2)

XV Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria milliaria equitata

B.XV.1. Porofissum

Tóth 1978, 58, no. 83, fig. 16, 83 – Gudea 1989, 524 pl. CXVII.5.
C(o)H(*ortis*)S (I *Ituraeorum*) (*milliariae*)

B.XV.2. Porofissum

Gudea 1989, 524 pl. CXVII/4
C(o)H(*orti*)S (I *Ituraeorum*) (*milliariae*)

B.XV.3. Porofissum

Gudea 1989, 524 pl. CXVII/7
C(o)H(*orti*)S (I *Ituraeorum*) (*milliariae*)

B.XV.4. Porofissum

Gudea 1989, 524 pl. CXVII/7
C(o)H(*orti*)S I I(*turaeorum*) (*milliariae*)

B.XV.5. Porofissum

Tóth 1978, 57, no. 46
C(o)H(*orti*)S I I(*turaeorum*) (*milliariae*)

B.XV.6. Romita

Matei, Bajusz 1997, 160, pl. II/12–13.
C(o)H(*orti*)S I(*turaeorum*) (*milliariae*)

B.XV.7. Porofissum

Gudea 1978, 69 pl. V/3; Gudea 1989, 524, pl. CXIX/3; ILD 736
(*Cohortis I*) ITV(*raeorum milliariae*)? (pl. 4.3)

B.XV.8. Porofissum

Gudea 1978, 70 pl. V/4; Gudea 1989, 524, pl. CXIX/4; ILD 736
(*Cohortis I*) ITV(*raeorum milliariae*)? (pl. 4.4)

XVI. Cohors I sagittaria

B.XVI.1. Drobeta

Benea 1976, 80, fig. 3/1 – tip B; IDR II 106:
C(*ohors*) I S(*agittaria*)

B.XVI.2. Drobeta

Benea 1976, 80, fig.2/1-4 – tip. A; IDR II 106b
Coh(ors) I S(agittaria)

B.XVI.3. Drobeta

Benea 1976, 80, fig.3/2-5, tip C; IDR II 106c
Coh(ors) I S(agittaria) Ant(oniniana)

B.XVI.4. Tibiscum

Flutur 1999–2000, 376:
C I V (pl. 4.5)

B.XVI.5. Tibiscum

Flutur 1999–2000, 376:
C I V (pl. 4.6)

B.XVI.6. Zăvoi

Bozu 1977, 316:
Coh(ors) I S(agittaria) (pl. 5.1)

B.XVI.7. Zăvoi

Bozu 1977, 316:
Coh(ors) I S(agittaria) (pl. 5.2)

**XVII. Cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antonina Surorum sagittaria equitata =
Cohors I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum**

B.XVII.1. Ulcisia Castra

Nagy 1939, 134 Abb. 114,9-13; T. Nagy BpR 13 1943, 395, 554; Lőrincz 1985, 178 T 16a;
Lőrincz 2001, no. 433:

- a) *coh(ortis) (miliariae) n(ovae) S(everianae) Ant(oniniana) S(ursorum)*
- b) *c(ohortis) (miliariae) n(ovae) S(everianae) Ant(oniniana) S(ursorum) s(agittaria)*

B.XVII.2. Ulcisia Castra

Nagy 1939, 134 Abb. 114, 14-15; Nagy, BpR 13, 1943, 395, 554; Lőrincz 1985, 182 T 198b;
Lőrincz 2001, no. 435:

- a) *c(ohortis) (miliariae) n(ovae) S(ursorum) Ant(oniniana)*
- b) *c(ohortis) (miliariae) n(ovae) S(everianae) S(ursorum) Ant(oniniana)*

B.XVII.3. Ulcisia Castra

Nagy 1939, 134 Abb. 114-115, 16-22; Nagy, BpR 13, 1943, 395, 554; Lőrincz 1985, 182 T
198b; Lőrincz 2001, no. 440:

- a) *c(ohortis) (miliariae) n(ovae) S(everianae) S(ursorum) s(agittariae)*
- b) *c(ohortis) n(ovae) S(everianae) S(ursorum) s(agittariae).*

XIX. Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium

B.XIX.1. Tibiscum

Moga 1970, 137 fig. 1; Moga, Russu 1974, no. 57; IDR III 1, 256a.
N(umerus) P(almyrenorum) T(ibiscensium)

XX. Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium

B.XX.1. *Porolissum*

Tóth 1978, 53, fig. 15; AE, 1979, 501 g; Gudea 1989, 537; ILD 744.
N(umerus) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium) (fig. pl. 5/3, 4)

XXII. Numerus Surorum sagittaria

B.XXII.1. *Romula*

CIL III 1633 = 1590a = IDR II 383
N(umerus) S(urorum)

B.XXII.2. *Slăveni*

CIL III 14216,30 = IDR II 529
N(umerus) S(urorum)

B.XXII.3. *Slăveni*

CIL III 14216,31 = IDR II 530
N(umerus)

Annex C

I. Military diplomas from Moesia, Dacia and Pannonia

TABLE 1.
Upper Moesia

September 16, 94	July 12, 96	May 8, 100	100	May 16, 101
(CIL XVI 39; RMD V 335; Weiss 2008, 279–280, no. 4)	(RMD I 6)	(CIL XVI 46; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 326–329, no. 2)	(Eck, Pangerl 2008, 338–345, no. 3–5; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 562–566, no. 18)	(RMD III 143; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 329–337)
ala II Pannoniorum ala Claudia Nova ala Praetoria cohors I Cilicum ∞ cohors I Cispadensium cohors I Cretum cohors I Flavia Hispanorum ∞ cohors I Antiochensium cohors II Gallorum Macedonica cohors III Raetorum cohors V Gallorum cohors V Hispanorum	ala Praetoria cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Cretum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Cilicum cohors I Flavia Hispanorum ∞ cohors II Flavia Commagenorum cohors III Raetorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors VI Thracum cohors VII Breucorum	ala Praetoria (97, Eck, Pangerl 2005b) ala I Claudia Nova (97, Eck, Pangerl 2005b) ala II Pannoniorum (97, Eck, Pangerl 2005b) cohors I Flavia Bessorum cohors I Thracum c.R. cohors I Flavia Hispanorum ∞ cohors I Antiochensium cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Montanorum c.R. (97, Eck, Pangerl 2005b) cohors I Cispadensium cohors I Cretum cohors I Vindellicorum ∞ c.R. cohors I Thracum Syriae cohors I Cilicum cohors II Hispanorum cohors I Vindellicorum ∞ c.R. cohors I Thracum Syriae cohors I Cilicum cohors II Hispanorum cohors II Gallorum Syriae cohors II Gallorum Macedonica cohors II Hispanorum (poate și în 99, RMD I 7) cohors II Gallorum Macedonica cohors II Brittonum ∞ c.R.p.f. cohors II Flavia Commagenorum cohors III Brittonum cohors III Raetorum cohors V Gallorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors VI Thracum cohors VII Breucorum c.R.	[ala Praetoria] ala Claudia nova [ala II Pannoniorum] cohors I Lusitanorum [cohors I ...] cohors I Thracum c. R. [cohors I ...] [cohors I Antiochensium] [cohors I ...] cohors I Cretum cohors I Montanorum c. R. cohors I Thracum Syriae cohors I Cilicum cohors II Hispanorum cohors II Gallorum Macedonica cohors III Brittonum cohors III Raetorum cohors V [Gallorum] cohors V Hispanorum cohors VI Thracum cohors VII Breucorum classici	ala II Pannoniorum cohors I Flavia Bessorum cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria cohors I Antiochensium cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Montanorum c. R. cohors I Cretum cohors II Flavia Commagenorum cohors III Brittonum cohors III Raetorum – III PRAETORVM on the extrinsecus – felt on the intus cohors V Hispanorum cohors VI Thracum

103/ 105	(January 12, 105?, CIL XVI 49) – <i>constituție specială – pie et fidefiter expeditio Dacia functis ante emerita stipendia civitatem Romanam dedit</i> , Eck, Pangerl 2008, 348–353, no. 6)	102–104	112	115	December 10, 125/ December 9, 126 probably 1 June 126 (Eck, Pangerl 2006; Weiss 2008, 280–286, no. 5; see also RMD V 366)
ala Praetoria singularium (102	ala Praetoria singularium	ala I Hispanorum Campagnum	cohors I Lusitanorum	ala [Gallorum Flaviana?]	
– <i>constituție specială – pie et</i>	ala II Pannoniorum	ala Praetoria singularium	cohors I Flavia Bessorum	cohors I Montanorum	
<i>fidefiter expeditio Dacia functis</i>	cohors III Augusta Nerviana	cohors I Flavia Bessorum	cohors I Antiochensium	cohors III Brittonum veterana	
<i>ante emerita stipendia civitatem</i>	Brittonum	cohors I Montanorum	cohors III Brittonum veterana	cohors V Hispanorum	
<i>Romanam dedit</i> , Eck, Pangerl	cohors III [Brittonum veterana?]	[cohors I Cretum / I	ala Praetoria singularium (in	<i>item cohorte II Dacorum [missa?</i>	
2008, 348–353, no. 6)	cohors III[I Raetorum?]	Lusitanorum]	exped.)	<i>in expeditione]</i>	
ala II Pannoniorum	cohors V Hispanorum	cohors I Antiochensium	cohors I Thracum Syriaca (in		
cohors I Brittonum ∞	[cohors VI Thracum?]	cohors I Cisipadensium	exped.)		
cohors I Britannica ∞ c.R. (12	cohors VII Breucorum	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	cohors I Montanorum (in exped.)		
<i>Ianuarie 105, CIL XVI 49 –</i>	classici	cohors I Cilicum	cohors I Cilicum (in exped.)		
<i>tabella II</i>)		[cohors III Brittonum]	cohors I Cisipadensium (in		
cohors I Pannoniorum veterana		cohors III Augusta Nerviana	exped.)		
cohors I Montanorum		Brittonum	cohors III Augusta Nervia		
cohors I Hispanorum		[cohors III Raetorum]	Brittonum (in exped.)		
cohors I Alpinorum		[cohors V Hispanorum]	cohors III Raetorum (in exped.)		
cohors II Flavia Commagenorum		[cohors VII Breucorum]	cohors V Hispanorum (in exped.)		
cohors III Campestris c.R.		cohors Flavia	(27 Iulie 108, Eck, Pangerl 2004)		
cohors III Cypria c.R.		classici	cohors VII Breucorum c. R. (in		
cohors VI Thracum			exped.)		
cohors VIII Raetorum			cohors Flavia (in exped.)		

September 9, 132/ 133	January 20, 151	April 23, 157	January 160 / (February 7?)	February 8, 161
(RMD IV 247)	(Pferdehirt 2004, no. 31; Eck, Pangerl 2008, 372–376, no. 12)	(Pferdehirt 2004, no. 37; RMD V 418; 419; Weiss 2008, 286–290, no. 6; see also Eck, Pangerl 2008, 384–386)	(CIL XVI 111; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 40; see also Weiss 2008, 290–291, no. 7)	(RMD I 55)
[ala I Claudia Nova Miscellanea] ala Gallorum Flaviana (1 Septembrie 118/ 31 Octombrie 119 MI, RMD V 350)	ala Gallorum Flaviana (144/ 146, RMD V 402) ala Claudia nova miscellanea cohors Pannoniorum veterana cohors V Hispanorum cohors III Campestris cohors I Lusitanorum cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors III Brittonum veterana (5 martie 153, <i>tabella II</i> , Eck, Pangerl 2008, 377–380, no. 13 – in both diplomas the unit is under the command of M. Blossius Vestalis, from Capua)	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium sag. cohors I Cretum sag. cohors II(I) Campestris c.R. cohors II Gallorum Pannonica III Brittonum veterana cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum veterana	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium cohors I Cretum cohors III Campestris cohors II Gallorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium sag. cohors I Cretum cohors III Campestris cohors II Gallorum III Brittonum vet. cohors I Augusta Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum veterana (February 18, 165, CIL XVI 120?)
[ala I Claudia Nova Miscellanea] ala Gallorum Flaviana (1 Septembrie 118/ 31 Octombrie 119 MI, RMD V 350)	ala Gallorum Flaviana (144/ 146, RMD V 402) ala Claudia nova miscellanea cohors Pannoniorum veterana cohors V Hispanorum cohors III Campestris cohors I Lusitanorum cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors III Brittonum veterana (5 martie 153, <i>tabella II</i> , Eck, Pangerl 2008, 377–380, no. 13 – in both diplomas the unit is under the command of M. Blossius Vestalis, from Capua)	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium sag. cohors I Cretum sag. cohors II(I) Campestris c.R. cohors II Gallorum Pannonica III Brittonum veterana cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum veterana	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium cohors I Cretum cohors III Campestris cohors II Gallorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium sag. cohors I Cretum cohors III Campestris cohors II Gallorum III Brittonum vet. cohors I Augusta Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum veterana (February 18, 165, CIL XVI 120?)
[ala I Claudia Nova Miscellanea] ala Gallorum Flaviana (1 Septembrie 118/ 31 Octombrie 119 MI, RMD V 350)	ala Gallorum Flaviana (144/ 146, RMD V 402) ala Claudia nova miscellanea cohors Pannoniorum veterana cohors V Hispanorum cohors III Campestris cohors I Lusitanorum cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors III Brittonum veterana (5 martie 153, <i>tabella II</i> , Eck, Pangerl 2008, 377–380, no. 13 – in both diplomas the unit is under the command of M. Blossius Vestalis, from Capua)	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium sag. cohors I Cretum sag. cohors II(I) Campestris c.R. cohors II Gallorum Pannonica III Brittonum veterana cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum veterana	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium cohors I Cretum cohors III Campestris cohors II Gallorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium sag. cohors I Cretum cohors III Campestris cohors II Gallorum III Brittonum vet. cohors I Augusta Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum veterana (February 18, 165, CIL XVI 120?)
[ala I Claudia Nova Miscellanea] ala Gallorum Flaviana (1 Septembrie 118/ 31 Octombrie 119 MI, RMD V 350)	ala Gallorum Flaviana (144/ 146, RMD V 402) ala Claudia nova miscellanea cohors Pannoniorum veterana cohors V Hispanorum cohors III Campestris cohors I Lusitanorum cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors III Brittonum veterana (5 martie 153, <i>tabella II</i> , Eck, Pangerl 2008, 377–380, no. 13 – in both diplomas the unit is under the command of M. Blossius Vestalis, from Capua)	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium sag. cohors I Cretum sag. cohors II(I) Campestris c.R. cohors II Gallorum Pannonica III Brittonum veterana cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum veterana	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium cohors I Cretum cohors III Campestris cohors II Gallorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum	ala Claudia nova miscellanea ala Gallorum Flaviana cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum cohors V Hispanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Antiochensium sag. cohors I Cretum cohors III Campestris cohors II Gallorum III Brittonum vet. cohors I Augusta Lusitanorum cohors I Pannoniorum veterana (February 18, 165, CIL XVI 120?)

TABLE 2.

Participation of the auxiliary units from Upper Moesia in Trajan's Dacian wars (Matei-Popescu, Tentea 2006b, 104 tab. 2)

ala Claudia Nova	praefectus M. Gavius Bassus (AE 1972, 573 = IDRE II 376; PME, G 8); Drobeta, decurio, C. Iulius Verecundus (CIL III 14216 ⁷ = IDR II 43)
ala II Pannoniorum	decurio, Ti. Claudius Maximus (IDRE II 363); brick stamps discovered on Sapaja island, near Banatska Palanka (Translederata, IDR III/1 5); Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16)
cohors I Alpinorum	103 Britannia? (CIL XVI 48); 103/ 105 Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13); Dacia (RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16); 119 Dacia Superior (RMD V 351; 384; CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14; RMD II 123)
cohors I Antiochensium	103/ 105 Drobeta (AE 1959, 309 = IDR II 14); praefectus, M. Aemilius Bassus (<i>ante</i> 110, ILS 9506; PME, A 75) 115 Moesia Superior (Eck, Pangerl 2005)
cohors I Brittonum ∞ Ulpia torquata p.f. c.R.	11 August 106, ante emerita stipendia (CIL XVI 160 = IDR I 1); 85 Pannonia (CIL XVI 31); 103/ 105 Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13)
cohors I Britannica ∞ c.R.	85 Pannonia (CIL XVI 31); 103/ 105 Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13); Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 225; RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16)
cohors II Brittonum/ Britannorum ∞ c.R. p.f.	98 <i>Germania Inferior</i> (RMD IV 216); 100 Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 46); Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16)
cohors III Campestris c.R.	Pontus et Bithynia? (AE 1993, 1429 = AE 1995, 1425); 103/ 105 Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13); Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; RMD IV 225); 132/ 133 Moesia Superior (RMD IV 247); Drobeta, centurio, P. Aelius Papirianus (CIL III 14216 ⁰ = IDR II 44); miles, Licaius Vinentis (CIL III 14216 ⁸ = IDR II 45)
cohors II Flavia Commagenorum	Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3); praefectus M. Arruntius Agrippinus, Micia în timpul lui Traian (IDR III/3 138); praefectus Montis Berenicidis, Egipt 118 (Cuvigny 2005, no. 87)
cohors IIII Cypria c.R.	Pontus et Bithynia? (IK 64, 122); 103/ 105 Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13); Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2); Dacia Superior (stamps at Bumbesti, IDR II 179 a-d)
cohors I Cretum sag.	Dacia (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16); brick stamps from Drobeta bridge (CIL III 1703, 2 = IDR II 103); brick stamp at Banatska Palanka (Translederata, IDR III/1 6)
cohors II Gallorum Macedonica	Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 3; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 225); April 14, 123 Dacia Porolissensis (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 22)
cohors V Gallorum	Dacia (RMD 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3); 119 Dacia Superior (RMD V 351); 132/ 133 Moesia Superior (RMD IV 247); Drobeta, veteranus, P. Aelius Diophantus (CIL III 14216 ⁴ = IDR II 46)
cohors I Flavia (Ulpia) Hispanorum ∞	Dacia (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3); 107/ 108 Aiton (CIL III 1627; Fodorean 2006, 64–68)
cohors I Hispanorum p.f.	101 <i>Germania Inferior</i> (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 9); 103/105 Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13); Dacia (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 226)
cohors II Hispanorum (scutata Cyrenaica)	brick stap at Banatska Palanka (<i>Translederata</i> , CIL III 8074,20 = IDR III/1); 108 Vârșet (CIL III 6273 = IDR III/1 106); brick stamps form Drobeta bridge (CIL III 1703 ¹ = IDR II 104); Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 225)
cohors I Montanorum c.R.	Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16); 115 Moesia Superior (Eck, Pangerl 2005); 132/ 133 Moesia Superior (RMD IV 247)
cohors I Pannoniorum veterana p.f.	101 <i>Germania Inferior</i> (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 9); 103/ 105 Moesia Superior (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13); Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3); 115 Moesia Superior? (Eck, Pangerl 2005)

cohors VIII Raetorum	102 Pannonia (CIL XVI 47); 103/ 105 <i>Moesia Superior</i> (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13); Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3)
cohors I Thracum c.R.	Dacia (RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3); 136/ 138 <i>Dacia Superior</i> –I Thracum sag. (RMD V 384) – possible not identically; 126 <i>Pannonia Inferior</i> –I Thracum c.R. (RMD IV 236) – possible not identically.
Cohors VI Thracum	Dacia (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16); Dacia Porolissensis (RMD V 378; 404; CIL XVI 110 = IDR I 17; RMD I 47; RMD I 64 = IDR I 18)
cohors I Vindellicorum ∞ c.R. p.f.	98 <i>Germania Inferior</i> (RMD IV 216); 100 <i>Moesia Superior</i> (CIL XVI 46); Dacia (RMD 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3)
Pedites singulares Britannici	Britannia?; 103/ 105 <i>Moesia Superior</i> (CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 13); Dacia (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 225; RMD IV 226); <i>Dacia Superior</i> (CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 15)

TABLE 3.
Units from Upper Moesia deployed in Dacia

The auxiliary units from Moesia Superior before the Dacian campaigns	The auxiliary units from Moesia Superior after the Dacian campaigns	The auxiliary units in Dacia deployed from Moesia Superior
<i>ala II Pannoniorum</i>	-	<i>ala II Pannoniorum veterana</i>
<i>ala Claudia nova</i>	-	<i>ala Claudia Nova (132/ 133 MS)</i>
<i>ala Praetoria singularium</i>	<i>ala Praetoria singularium (115 in exped)</i>	-
<i>cohors I Cilicum</i>	<i>cohors I Cilicum (115 in exped; 134 MI)</i>	-
<i>cohors I Cispadensium</i>	<i>cohors I Cispadensium (115 in exped; 138 Th)</i>	-
<i>cohors I Cretum</i>	-	<i>cohors I Cretum sagittaria</i>
<i>cohors I Flavia Hispanorum ∞</i>	-	<i>cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum ∞</i>
<i>cohors I Antiochensium</i>	<i>cohors I Antiochensium</i>	-
<i>cohors I Lusitanorum</i>	<i>cohors I Lusitanorum</i>	-
<i>cohors I Montanorum</i>	-	<i>cohors I Montanorum (115 in exped)</i>
<i>cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i>	-	<i>cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i>
<i>cohors II Gallorum Macedonia</i>	-	<i>cohors II Gallorum Macedonia</i>
<i>cohors III Raetorum</i>	<i>cohors III Raetorum (115 in exped.)</i>	-
<i>cohors V Gallorum</i>	-	<i>cohors V Gallorum</i>
<i>cohors V Hispanorum</i>	<i>cohors V Hispanorum (115 in exped.)</i>	-
<i>cohors VI Thracum</i>	-	<i>cohors VI Thracum eq</i>
<i>cohors VII Breucorum c.R.</i>	<i>cohors VII Breucorum (115 in exped.)</i>	-
<i>cohors I Flavia Bessorum</i>	<i>cohors I Flavia Bessorum? (120 Maced.)</i>	-
<i>cohors I Thracum Syriaca</i>	<i>cohors I Thracum Syriaca (115 in exped.; 125 MI)</i>	-
<i>cohors I Thracum c.R.?</i>	-	-
<i>cohors II Hispanorum</i>	-	<i>cohors II Hispanorum</i>
<i>cohors III Brittonum veterana</i>	<i>cohors III Brittonum veterana</i>	-

The auxiliary units deployed in Moesia Superior for the Dacian campaigns		
<i>cohors I Vindellicorum</i> ∞ c.R. p.f. (GI, 98)	-	<i>cohors I Vindellicorum</i> ∞ c.R. p.f.
<i>cohors II Brittonum</i> ∞ c.R. p.f. (GI, 98)	-	<i>cohors II Brittonum</i> ∞ c.R. p.f.
<i>cohors I Brittonum</i> ∞ (P, 85)	-	<i>cohors I Brittonum</i> ∞
<i>cohors I Britannica</i> ∞ c.R. (P, 85)	-	<i>cohors I Britannica</i> ∞ c. R
<i>cohors I Pannoniorum veterana</i> (GI, 98, 101)	<i>cohors I Pannoniorum</i> (115?)	<i>cohors I Pannoniorum veterana</i> (109, 110; 115 MS)
<i>cohors I Alpinorum</i> (B, 103?)	-	<i>cohors I Alpinorum</i> eq
<i>cohors I Hispanorum</i> p.f. (GI, 98, 101)	-	<i>cohors I Hispanorum</i> p.f.
<i>cohors III Campestris</i> c.R. (PB?)	-	<i>cohors III Campestris</i> (132/ 133 MS)
<i>cohors III Cypria</i> c.R. (PB?)	-	<i>cohors III Cypria</i> c. R
<i>cohors VIII Raetorum</i> (P, 80–102)	-	<i>cohors VIII Raetorum</i>
<i>cohors I Thracum</i> c.R.?	-	<i>cohors I Thracum</i> c.R.
<i>pedites singulares Britannici</i> (B)	-	<i>pedites singulares Britannici</i>
-	<i>cohors II Dacorum</i> (126)	-
-	<i>cohors III Augusta Nerviana Brittonum</i> (115 in exped.)	-

TABLE 4.
Units from Lower Moesia (after Matei-Popescu 2010, tab. V).

June 14, 92 (Petolescu, Popescu 2004, 269-276)	September 9, 97 (RMD V 337)	September 9, 97 (RMD V 338; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 510-512, no. 2)	August 14, 99
<i>ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum</i>	<i>ala</i> [I Asturum]	<i>ala</i> [I Pannoniorum?]	(CIL XVI 45; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 8; Eck, Pangerl 2006, 97-99)
<i>ala I Flavia Gaetulorum</i>	<i>ala</i> I Flavia Gaetulorum	<i>ala</i> I Claudia Gallorum	<i>ala</i> I Asturum
<i>ala I Pannoniorum</i>	<i>ala</i> [I Vespasiana Dardanoru]m	<i>ala</i> II Aravacorum (Hispanorum)	<i>ala</i> I Flavia Gaetulorum
<i>ala I} Claudia Gallorum</i>	<i>ala</i> Atectorigiana	<i>ala</i> [Gallorum Flavi]ana	<i>ala</i> I Vespasiana Dardanorum
<i>ala Gallorum Flaviana</i>	<i>cohors</i> [...?]	<i>ala</i> Hispanorum	<i>cohors</i> I Lepidiana c.R.
<i>ala Gallorum Atectorigiana</i>	<i>cohors</i> I Tyriorum	<i>cohors</i> [I...?]	<i>cohors</i> I Tyriorum
<i>ala Hispanorum</i>	<i>cohors</i> I Lepidiana	<i>cohors</i> I Hispanorum veterana	<i>cohors</i> I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica
<i>cohors</i> I Raetorum	c.R.	<i>cohors</i> [I Su]lambrorum tir]onum	<i>cohors</i> II Flavia Brittonum
<i>cohors</i> I Bracaraugustanorum	<i>cohors</i> [...?]	<i>cohors</i> I Fla]via Numida]rum	<i>cohors</i> II Chalcidenorum
<i>cohors</i> I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	<i>cohors</i> II [C]hal]cidenorum]	<i>cohors</i> I Flavia Commagenorum	<i>cohors</i> VII Gallorum

cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	cohors [...?]	cohors II Flavia Bessorum	classici
cohors I Sugambrorum tironum	cohors [...?]	cohors II Lucensium	
cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	cohors [...?]	cohors III Gallorum	
cohors II Chalcidenorum	cohors [...?]	cohors Ubiorum	
cohors II Lucensium	cohors [...?]		
cohors II Bracaraugustanorum			
cohors II Flavia Bessorum			
cohors II Gallorum			
cohors III Gallorum			
cohors III Gallorum			
cohors VII Gallorum			
August 14, 99	May 13, 105	May 13, 105	May 13, 105
(CIL XVI 44)	(Pferdehirt 2004, no. 10)	(Pferdehirt 2004, no. 11; Petrovsky 2004, 10-17)	(CIL XVI 50)
ala Gallorum Flaviana	ala I Pannoniorum	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala I Claudia Gallorum
ala I Pannoniorum	ala Hispanorum	ala I Asturum	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum
ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala Atecorigiana	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala Gallorum Flaviana (1 September 118/ 31 October 119, RMD V 350)
cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis ∞ Brittonum	cohors I Lepidiana c.R.	cohors I Flavia Commagenorum
cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica
cohors I Hispanorum veterana	cohors I Tyriorum saq.	cohors I Sugambrorum tironum	cohors II Lucensium
cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors I Hispanorum veterana	cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors II Flavia Bessorum
cohors II Gallorum	cohors I Flavia Numidarum	cohors II Chalcidenorum	cohors II Gallorum
cohors Ubiorum	cohors II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis ∞	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors III Gallorum
	cohors VII Gallorum	cohors Ubiorum	cohors III Gallorum
			classici

September 25, 111 (RMD IV 222)	[September 25, 111? or 112-114	116 (Eck, Pangerl 2006, 99-102, no. 3; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 525-530, no. 7)	October 19, 120 (RMD V 356; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 533-537, no. 9) – see also Eck, Pangerl 2009, 530-533, no. 8, from 119)
ala I Pannoniorum	(CIL XVI 58)	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum
ala I Claudia Gallorum (1 Septembrie 118/ 31 Octombrie 119, RMD V 350)	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum (113?, Weiss 2008, 293-296, no. 9)	ala Atectorigiana Gallorum	ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum
ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum (113?, Weiss 2008, 293-296, no. 9)	ala [...?]	cohors I Tyriorum sag.	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum
cohors I Flavia Numidarum	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (September/ December 107, tabella II, Pferdehirt 2004, no. 14)	cohors I ∞ Brittonum	
cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	cohors I Lepidiana	cohors I Sugambrorum tironum	ala Gallorum Atectorigiana
cohors I ∞ Brittonum	cohors [...?]um	cohors I Flavia Bessorum	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum
cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum tironum	cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	cohors II Flavia Numidarum	cohors I Sugambrorum veterana
cohors I Flavia Commaqenorum	cohors II Lucensium		cohors I Bracarorum c. R.
cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors II Gallorum		cohors I Lepidiana c. R.
cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors III Gallorum		cohors I Flavia Numidarum
classici	cohors VII Gallorum (Mai/ August 109, RMD IV 219)		cohors II Chalcidenorum sagit.
			cohors II Lucensium
			cohors II Flavia Brittonum
			cohors II Mattiacorum
May/December 121 (Eck, Pangerl 2008, 296-300, no. 10)	June 1, 125 (RMD IV 235; RMD V 364; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 537-541, nos. 10-11)	August 20, 127 (RMD IV 241; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 23)	April 2, 134 (CIL XVI 78; Weiss 2008, 300-302, no. 11)
ala I Gallorum et Panno]niorum	ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala I Pannoniorum et Gallorum	ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum
ala I Flavia [Gaetulorum]	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (RMD V 356, 19 Octombrie 120)	ala Gallorum Atectorigiana	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum
ala [II Hispanorum et Ara]vacorum	cohors I Thracum Syriaica	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum (1 September 118/ 31 October 119, RMD V 349)	cohors I Cilicum
cohors I Cla[udia Sugambrorum veterana/ tironum]	cohors I Lepidiana c.R.	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	cohors I Bracarorum
cohors I Lusitano[rum Cyrenaica]	cohors I Bracarorum c.R. (105/ 127, RMD V 369)	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	cohors II Mattiacorum
cohors [I...?]	cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors I Lusitanorum	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum (tironum?)
cohors I Ger[manorum]	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors I Flavia Numidarum (125/ 129, RMD V 375)	cohors II Chalcidenorum

cohors [I...?]			cohors I Thracum Syriaca (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 23)	
cohors [I Lep]idiana c. R.			cohors I Germanorum	
cohors [II Chalcidenorum saq.]			cohors I Bracarorum	
cohors [II Lucen]sium			cohors I Lepidiana	
cohors II Fla[via Brittonum]			cohors II Flavia Brittonum	
			cohors II Lucensium (105/ 127, RMD V 369)	
			cohors II Chalcidenorum	
			cohors II Mattiacorum	
			classici	
135	136	136	February 28, 138	January-November 140
(Eck, Pangerl 2009, 541-543, no. 12)	(Schindel 2010, 259-263)	(Schindel 2010, 259-263)	(CIL XVI 83)	(Weiss 2008, 302-307, no. 12)
ala [I Vespasiana Dardanorum]	cohors [...]	cohors [...]	ala I [...?]	ala I Gallorum Atectorigiana
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	cohors I Cilicum	cohors I Cilicum	ala I [...?]	[ala I Flavia G]aetulorum
cohors I [...?]	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	[cohors I Flavia N]umid[arum]
cohors [I Sugamborum ve]terana	cohors II Bracaraugustanorum	cohors II Bracaraugustanorum	cohors I [...?]	
cohors I Germanorum	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors I [...?]	
cohors I [...?]			cohors I(I) Chalcidenorum	
cohors [I] Flavia Numidarum			cohors I Lusitanorum [Cyrenaica]	
cohors [...?]			cohors II Mattiacorum	
			classici	
April 7, 145	146	146	Septembre 27, 154	156/ 158
(RMD III 165/ RMD V 399; Weiss 2008, 314-316, no. 16; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 548-552, no. 14-15)	(RMD IV 270; Weiss 2008, 307-309, no. 13; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 553-556, no. 16)	(RMD IV 270; Weiss 2008, 307-309, no. 13; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 553-556, no. 16)	(RMD V 414; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 557-562, no. 17)	(RMD I 50; Weiss 2008, 309-312, no. 14)
ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum	ala [I Vespasiana Dardanorum]	ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum
ala I Gallorum Atectorigiana (RMD IV 265, 138/ 142)	ala I Gallorum Atectorigiana	ala I Gallorum Atectorigiana	ala [I Gallorum et Pannoniorum]	ala I Gallorum Atectorigiana (156, in exped. MT, Chiriac et al. 2006)
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala [I Flavia Gaetulorum]	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	ala I Gallorum Atectorigiana	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum (156, in exped. MT, Chiriac et al. 2006)
ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	ala [II Hispanorum et Aravacorum]	ala [I Flavia Gaetulorum]
cohors I Bracarorum c.R.	cohors I Bracarorum c.R.	cohors I Bracarorum c.R.	cohors [I Bracarorum c. R.]	cohors I Bracarorum c.R.
cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors II Mattiacorum	cohors [I Flavia] N[umidarum]	cohors I Flavia Numidarum (February 8, 157, Ivantchik, Krapivina 2007, 219-242)
cohors I Flavia Numidarum (RMD IV 265, 138/ 142)	cohors I Flavia Numidarum	cohors I Flavia Numidarum	cohors [II Flavia Brittonum]	cohors [II Flavia Brittonum]
cohors Claudia Sugamborum veterana	cohors I Claudia Sugamborum veterana	cohors I Claudia Sugamborum veterana	cohors I Claudia Sugamborum veterana	cohors I Claudia Sugamborum veterana
cohors [I] Chalcidenorum saq.	cohors I Lusitanorum	cohors I Lusitanorum	cohors [I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica]	cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica

cohors I Cilicum sag.	cohors II Chalcedenorum sag.	cohors II Chalcedenorum sag.	cohors II Chalcedenorum sag. (February 8, 157, Iwantchik, Krapivina 2007, 219-242)
cohors I Thracum Syriaca	cohors I Cilicum sag. (RMD V 412, 148/153)	cohors [I Cilicum sag.]	cohors I Cilicum sag.
cohors I Germanorum	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	cohors I Thracum Syriaca
cohors II Bracaraugustanorum (RMD IV 265, 138/ 142)	cohors I Germanorum	cohors I Germanorum	cohors I Germanorum c.R. (February 8, 157, Iwantchik, Krapivina 2007, 219-242)
cohors Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	cohors (I) Bracar(augustanorum)	cohors II Bracaraugustanorum	cohors II Bracaraugustanorum (February 8, Iwantchik, Krapivina 2007, 219-242)
cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	cohors I Cisipadensium	cohors I Cisipadensium (February 8, 157, Iwantchik, Krapivina 2007, 219-242)

TABLE 5.
Participation of the auxiliary units from Lower Moesia in Trajan's Dacian wars (after Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006b, 109 tab. 5 and Matei-Popescu 2010, tab. VI)

ala I Asturum	<i>praefectus</i> , <i>P. Priferminus Paetus Memmius Apollinaris</i> (IDRE I 112; PME, P 107); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> (RMD V 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269)
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	<i>praefectus</i> , <i>P. Bestius P.f. Quirina Betuianus C. Marius Memmius Sabinus</i> (IDRE II 468; PME, B 21); <i>Moesia Inferior</i> (CIL XVI 58; RMD V 349; RMD IV 241; CIL XVI 78; RMD III 165/ V 399; RMD IV 270; RMD I 50)
ala I Claudia Gallorum	118/ 119 <i>Moesia Inferior</i> (RMD V 350); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 20; RMD V 361; RMD V 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269)
ala Gallorum Atecorigiana	116 <i>Moesia Inferior</i> (Eck, Pangerl 2006); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> 122 (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 20); <i>Moesia Inferior</i> (RMD IV 241; RMD IV 265; RMD III 165/ V 399; RMD IV 270; RMD I 50)
ala Hispanorum	<i>Dacia Superior</i> 119 (RMD V 351); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> (CIL XVI 75 = IDR I 10; RMD V 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269; RMD V 442)
ala I Pannoniorum	111 <i>Moesia Inferior</i> (RMD IV 222); <i>Dacia</i> 114 (RMD IV 225); <i>Moesia Inferior</i> (<i>ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum</i> , RMD IV 235; 241; CIL XVI 78; RMD III 165/ V 399; RMD IV 270; RMD I 50)
cohors II Flavia Bessorum	Brick stamps from Stolniceni, Bârsești, Rucăr (IDR II 561-562; 571; 607); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 20; CIL XVI 75 = IDR I 10; RMD V 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269)
cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	<i>Dacia Inferior</i> (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 20; RMD V 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269; RMD V 442)
cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis ∞ Brittonum	<i>Moesia Inferior</i> 105 (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 10); 111 (∞ <i>Brittonum</i> RMD IV 222); 116 <i>Moesia Inferior</i> (∞ <i>Brittonum</i> , Eck, Pangerl 2006) brick stamp discovered at Buridava (CORSMB, IDR II 560); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> (RMD V 374; 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269)

cohors II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis ∞	<i>Moesia Inferior</i> 105 (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 10); <i>Pannonia Inferior</i> 114 (CIL XVI 61; RMD 87); 131 Dacia Porolissensis (RMD V 378)
cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	Brick stamps uncovered at Drajna de Sus (CIL III 12530 = IDR II 603; AE 1997, 1323), Voinești (ILD 166); Târgșor (Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127 fig. 5 e-f); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> (RMD V 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269)
cohors II Gallorum	<i>Dacia Inferior</i> (CIL XVI 75 = IDR I 10; RMD V 376; 380; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269; RMD V 442)
cohors III Gallorum	<i>Dacia Inferior</i> (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 20; RMD V 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269)
cohors I Hispanorum veterana	<i>Pitoboridava (praesidium)</i> ; <i>Buridava (vexillatio)</i> ; <i>trans Danuvium in expeditionem</i> (Hunt papyrus, Fink 1971, no. 63); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> (CIL XVI 75 = IDR I 10; RMD V 389; 376; 380; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269)
cohors II Flavia Numidarum	116 <i>Moesia Inferior</i> (Eck, Pangerl 2006); <i>Dacia Inferior</i> (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 20; CIL XVI 75 = IDR I 10; RMD V 376; 380; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD V 269)
cohors Ubiorum	<i>Dacia Inferior</i> 119/ 129 (RMD V 374); 144 <i>Dacia Superior</i> (CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14)
cohors I Tyriorum sagittaria	<i>Dacia Inferior</i> (RMD V 376; RMD I 39 = IDR I 13; RMD IV 269; RMD V 442)

TABLE 6.

Units from Lower Moesia deployed in Lower Dacia (after Matei-Popescu 2010, tab. VII)

Auxiliary units in Moesia Inferior before Trajan's Dacian war	Auxiliary units in Dacia Inferior transferred from Moesia Inferior	Auxiliary units in Moesia Inferior after the making of Dacia Inferior province
ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	-	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum
ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	-	ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (114 PI; 125 MI)
ala I Pannoniorum	-	ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum (114 D; 125 MI)
ala I Claudia Gallorum	ala I Claudia Gallorum	-
ala Gallorum Flaviana	-	ala Gallorum Flaviana (118/ 119 MI; 132/ 133 MS)
ala Gallorum Aetorigiana	ala Gallorum Aetorigiana	ala Gallorum Aetorigiana (122 DI; 127 MI)
ala Hispanorum	ala Hispanorum (129 DI; 119 DS)	-
ala I Asturum	ala I Asturum	-
ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum	-	ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum
cohors I Raetorum (92 MI; Asia?)	-	-
cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	-
cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica
cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	-
cohors I Sugambrorum tironum	-	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum tironum (156 Syria)
cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	-	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana (după 127 Asia; 146 MI)
cohors II Chalcidenorum	-	cohors II Chalcidenorum

cohors II Lucensium	-	cohors II Lucensium (127 MI; 136 Th.)
cohors II Bracaraugustanorum (92 MI; 114 Th.)	-	cohors II Bracaraugustanorum (138/ 142 MI)
cohors II Flavia Bessorum	cohors II Flavia Bessorum	-
cohors II Gallorum	cohors II Gallorum	-
cohors III Gallorum	cohors III Gallorum	-
cohors IV Gallorum (92 MI; 114 Th.; 121 Cil.)	-	-
cohors VII Gallorum (92; Syria)	-	-
cohors Ubiorum	cohors Ubiorum (119/ 129 DJ; 144 DS)	-
cohors I Hispanorum veterana	cohors I Hispanorum veterana	-
cohors I Tyriorum sagittaria	cohors I Tyriorum sagittaria	-
cohors I Lepidiana c.R.	-	cohors I Lepidiana c.R. (după 127 transferată în Capp.)
cohors I Flavia Numidarum	-	cohors I Flavia Numidarum (165 Lyc. Et Pamph.)
cohors II Mattiacorum	-	cohors II Mattiacorum (cca 155 Th.; 198 MI)
cohors II Flavia Brittonum	-	cohors II Flavia Brittonum
cohors II Flavia Numidarum	cohors II Flavia Numidarum	-
Auxiliary units transferred to Moesia Inferior for Trajan's Dacian war		
cohors I Nerviana Augusta Pacensis ∞ Brittonum	cohors I Nerviana Augusta Pacensis ∞ Brittonum	-
cohors II Nerviana Augusta Pacensis ∞ Brittonum (114 PI; 131 DP)	-	-

TABLE 7.
Dacia

August 11, 106 (CIL XVI 160 = IDR I 1; RMD V 343)	October 14, 109 (RMD III 148)	February 17, 110 (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; RMD IV 220; Eck, Pangerl 2011, no. 1)	July 2, 110 (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3)
cohors I Brittonum ∞ Ulpia torquata p.f. c.R. / ante emerita stipendia	ala I civium Romanorum	ala I civium Romanorum	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum
	ala (cohors) II Flavia Commagenorum sag.?	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	ala I Claudia (Nova)
	ala II Pannoniorum	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sag.	ala I Britannica c.R.
	cohors I Brittonum ∞ Ulpia torquata c.R.	cohors I Britannica ∞ c.R.	ala II Pannoniorum veterana

cohors I Britannica ∞ c.R.	cohors I Hispanorum p.f.	cohors I Ulpia Brittonum ∞ Ulpia torquata c.R.
cohors I Ituraeorum	cohors I Thracum c.R.	cohors I Vindellicorum ∞ c.R. p.f.
cohors I Thracum c.R.	cohors I Ituraeorum	cohors I Britannica ∞ c.R.
cohors (ala) I Augusta Ituraeorum?	cohors Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum ∞ c.R.	cohors I Flavia Hispanorum ∞
cohors I Vindellicorum c.R. p.f.	cohors II Gallorum Macedonia	cohors I Montanorum
cohors I Pannoniorum veterana	cohors III Campestris	cohors I Thracum c.R.
cohors I Montanorum	cohors IIII Cypria c.R.	cohors I Cretum sag.
cohors II Gallorum Pannonica	cohors VIII Raetorum	cohors I Hispanorum p.f.
cohors II Hispanorum	pedites singulares Britannici	cohors I Pannoniorum veterana p.f.
cohors II Britannorum ∞ c.R. p.f.		cohors II Hispanorum
cohors II Gallorum Macedonia		cohors II Britannorum ∞ c.R.
cohors III Campestris c.R.		p.f.
cohors IIII Cypria		cohors II Gallorum Pannonica
cohors V Gallorum		cohors II Gallorum Macedonia
cohors VIII Raetorum		cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sag.
113 (December 17)/ 114	May 3/4, 114	cohors V Lingonum
(May 2/3)	(RMD IV 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16)	cohors V Gallorum
(RMD IV 225)	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	cohors VI Thracum
ala I Pannoniorum	ala II Pannoniorum veterana	cohors VIII Raetorum
	cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum ∞	pedites singulares Britannici
cohors I [...?]	cohors I Britannica ∞ c.R.	
cohors [I Britannic]a ∞	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sag.	
cohors II Hispanorum	cohors I Montanorum	
cohors II [...?]	cohors I Hispanorum	
cohors II Gallorum Macedonia	cohors I Cretum sag.	
cohors II [...?]	cohors I Alpinorum	
cohors II [...?]	cohors II Britannorum ∞ c.R. p.f.	
cohors III Campestris	cohors V Lingonum	
cohors [...?]	cohors VI Thracum	
cohors [...?]	pedites singulares Britannici	

TABLE 8.
Upper Dacia*¹.

<p>November 12, 119 (RMD V 351) ala Hispanorum (29 iunie 120, tabella II, AE 2007, 1762; Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 194–198) cohors [...] ?] cohors I Alpinorum cohors I Britannica ∞ c.R. cohors II Brittonum c.R. p.f. cohors V Gallorum cohors VIII Raetorum</p>	<p>April 14, 123 (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 22) cohors II Flavia Commagenorum pedites Britannici (item trans. in DP)</p>	<p>November 24, 124 (Eck, Pangerl 2010a, 247–255, no. 1) ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria cohors II Gallorum Pannonica cohors III Campestris c. R. cohors V Gallorum Dacica cohors VIII Raetorum</p>	<p>December 10, 136/ July 10, 138 (RMD V 384) ala I Batavorum ∞ ala I Hispanorum Campagonum ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum vexillatio/ Numerus equitum Illyricorum cohors I Alpinorum cohors I Vindelicorum cohors I Thracum sag. cohors I Ubiorum cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum] sag. cohors II Gallorum Pannonica cohors II Flavia Commagenorum cohors [V] Gallorum Dacica cohors [VIII Hispanorum] cohors [VIII Raetorum]</p>
<p>February 23, 144 (CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14) ala [I Batavorum ∞] ala I Hispanorum Campagonum ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum cohors II Gallorum Pannonica cohors [II Flavia Commagenorum] cohors [V Gallorum Dacica] cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum cohors I Vindelicorum ∞ cohors I Thracum sag. cohors III Hispanorum cohors VIII Raetorum cohors I Ubiorum cohors I Alpinorum</p>	<p>December 13, 157 (CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 15) ala [Batavorum ∞] ala I Hispanorum Campagonum ala I [Gallorum et Bosporanorum] cohors I Vindelicorum ∞ cohors [II Gallorum Pannonica] (Iul. – sept. 152, AE 2007, 1763; Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 198–203) cohors II Flavia Commagenorum cohors [I Alpinorum] cohors [VIII Raetorum] cohors I Ubiorum cohors I Thracum sag. cohors [V] Gallorum Dacica cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum cohors [VIII Hispanorum/ VIII Raetorum] pedites singulares Britannici</p>	<p>July 8, 158 (CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16) ala I Batavorum ∞ ala I Hispanorum Campagonum ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum cohors I Thracum sag. cohors IV Hispanorum cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum vexillarii Africae et Mauretaniae Caesarensis qui sunt cum Mauris gentilibus (Iul-sept. 152, AE 2007, 1763; Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 198–203)</p>	<p>April 1, 179 (RMD II 123) ala I Batavorum ∞ ala I Bosporanorum cohors I Alpinorum cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum cohors III Dalmatarum cohors V Gallorum (Dacica) cohors I Thracum sag. cohors I Ubiorum cohors II Gallorum et Pannoniorum (Pannonica) cohors I Vindelicorum cohors VIII Raetorum cohors III Campestrum (Campestris) cohors III Hispanorum cohors II Flavia Commagenorum vexillatio peditum singularium Britannicianorum</p>

* See also *Palmyrenii sagittarii ex Syria*: June 29, 120 (RMD I 17 = IDR I 5; IDR I 6 – tabella II, AE 2007, 1761 – Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 194–198) and January 31 / February 12, 126 (RMD I 27 = IDR I 8; RMD I 28 = IDR I 9). See also *constitutio* from April 5, 121 for *ala I Ulpia contartiorum*, Eck, Pangerl 2008a; RMD V 357; RMD I 19 – *is qui militavit in ala Ulpia contartiorum miliaria quae est in Dacia superiore sub Iulio Severo legato, praefecto Albucio Candido*.

TABLE 10.
Dacia Porolissensis

April 14, 123 (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 22)	August 10, 123 (RMD I 21 = IDR I 7; RMD I 22 = IDR I 7 A)	August 10, 123 (Eck, Pangerl 2011a)	128 (Ciongradi, Bota, Voişian 2009)	December 10, 130 / December 9, 131 (RMD V 378)
ala I Brittonum c.R. (trans. in DP) cohors II Gallorum (trans. in DP)	ala II Pannoniorum (RMD IV 233) ala I Brittonum cohors I Britannica ∞ item ala I Brittonum (intus)/ Britannica (ext.) c.R. (PI)	cohors I Flavia Hispanorum ∞ cohors I Batavorum ∞ cohors I Aelia gaesatorum cohors II Augusta Brittonum ∞ cohors I Hispanorum	[ala Silia]na ala (II) Gallorum et Pannoniorum torquata [ala I Frontoniana] et Tungrorum cohors I Ulpia Brittonum [torquata ∞ c. R.] cohors I Britannica ∞ c. R. cohors I Flavia Hispanorum ∞ cohors [II Bri/ I Gaesa] [annorum/orum] cohors I Hispanorum cohors I Cannanefatium cohors II [Hispanorum / Britannorum ∞?] cohors [...] cohors [...] cohors [...] cohors [...]	ala II Pannoniorum cohors [...?] cohors I Batavorum ∞ c.R. p.f. cohors I Cannanefatium cohors [...?] cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis ∞ Brittonum cohors [...?] cohors V Lingonum cohors VI Thracum

July 2, 133 (RMD I 35 = IDR I 11)	ala Silitana c.R. ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana cohors I Ulpia Brittonum ∞ cohors I Britannica ∞ cohors I Hispanorum ∞ cohors I Batavorum ∞ cohors I Aelia gaesatorum (∞) cohors II Brittonum / II Britannorum ∞ (IDR I 12, 117/ 138)	September 24, 151 (RMD V 404)	ala (II) Gallorum et Pannoniorum ala Silitana ala Tungrorum Frontoniana (143– 153, Ciongradi, Zăgrean 2011) cohors I Ulpia Brittonum ∞ (143– 153, Ciongradi, Zăgrean 2011) cohors I Britannica ∞ cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum ∞ cohors I Batavorum ∞ c.R. (? 143– 153, Ciongradi, Zăgrean 2011) cohors I Aelia gaesatorum ∞ cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum ∞ (RMD I 40 = IDR I 23/ RMD V Appendix Ia: 138/ 142) cohors II Britannorum ∞ (143– 153, Ciongradi, Zăgrean 2011) cohors I Hispanorum cohors I Cannanefatium cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica (143–153, Ciongradi, Zăgrean 2011) cohors V Lingonum cohors VI Thracum	September 27, 154? (CIL XVI 110 = IDR I 17; RMD I 47)	ala [Silia]na ala (II) Gallorum et Pannoniorum ala Tungrorum Frontoniana cohors I Ulpia Brittonum ∞ cohors [I Britannica] ∞ cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum ∞ cohors [I Batavorum ∞ c.R.] cohors I Aelia gaesatorum ∞ cohors [(I) Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum ∞ II Britt(anorum) ∞ cohors I Hispanorum cohors [I Cannanefatium] cohors II Hispanorum scutata Cyrenaica cohors [V Lingo]n(um) cohors VI Thracum	July 21, 164 (RMD I 64 = IDR I 18; CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19; RMD I 63 = IDR I 20; IDR I 21 = RMD I 66; 22 = RMD I 65/ II 115; RMD II 116; 117; RMD IV 287; 289?; AE 2007, 1764)	ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum ala Silitana c.R. ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana cohors I Brittonum ∞ cohors I Britannica eq. cohors (Flavia Ulpia) I Hispanorum ∞ cohors I Batavorum ∞ cohors I Aelia gaesatorum cohors II Nerviana Brittonum ∞ cohors II Britannorum ∞ cohors I Hispanorum cohors I Cannanefatium cohors II Hispanorum (scutata Cyrenaica) cohors V Lingonum cohors VI Thracum
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TABLE 11
Pannonia

February 13, 54 (CIL XVI 2); Illyricum		July 2, 61 (RMD IV 202); Illyricum	July 2, 61 (CIL XVI 4); Illyricum	June 30, 71 (Eck 2003, 220–228 = RMD V 324); Pannonia? ala I Brittonum
cohors II Hispanorum	ala I Hispanorum et Aravacorum ala I Hispanorum Auriana ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum ala II Astorum (Asturum)	ala I Hispanorum et Callaecorum cohors I Hispanorum cohors I Alpinorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors II Alpinorum cohors II Hispanorum cohors V Lucensium et Callaecorum		
July 26, 80 (CIL XVI 26-Klosterneuburg; RMD III 138); <i>Augusta Treverorum</i>	in alis quinque et cohortibus decem et quattuor ala I civium Romanorum ala I (Arvacorum) ala II Arvacorum ala Frontoniana ala Silliana cohors I Noricorum cohors I Britannica cohors I Montanorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I (Alpinorum) cohors I (Alpinorum) cohors II Alpinorum I ET I ET II ALPINORVM cohors II Hispanorum cohors III Thracum cohors V Gallorum cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium cohors VI Thracum cohors VIII Raetorum	ala I civium Romanorum ala I (Arvacorum) ala II Arvacorum ala Frontoniana ala Silliana cohors I Noricorum cohors I Britannica cohors I Montanorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I (Alpinorum) cohors I (Alpinorum) cohors II Alpinorum I ET I ET II ALPINORVM cohors II Hispanorum cohors III Thracum cohors V Gallorum cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium cohors VI Thracum cohors VIII Raetorum		September 5, 85 (CIL XVI 31) ala I civium Romanorum ala I (Arvacorum) ala II Arvacorum ala Frontoniana ala praetoria ala Silliana cohors I (Montanorum) cohors I Montanorum cohors I Noricorum cohors I Britannica milliaria cohors I Brittonum milliaria cohors I (Alpinorum) cohors I Alpinorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum cohors II Hispanorum cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium cohors V Gallorum cohors VI Thracum cohors VII Breucorum cohors VIII Raetorum
July 26, 80 (CIL XVI 26-Klosterneuburg; RMD III 138); <i>Augusta Treverorum</i>	ala I Arvacorum ala I civium Romanorum ala II Arvacorum ala Frontoniana cohors I Alpinorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Britannica cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum cohors II Hispanorum cohors III Thracum cohors V Breucorum cohors VIII Raetorum ...item iis, qui militant in alis duabus I civium Romanorum et II Arvacorum et cohorte VIII Raetorum, et sunt sub eodem (sc. T. Atilio Rufo)	June 83 (RMD IV 210)	September 3, 84 (CIL XVI 30)	

February 20, 98
(CIL XVI 42; RMD II 80, 81)

ala Siliana c. R.
ala I Augusta Ituraeorum
cohors I Montanorum c. R.
cohors I Batavorum (milliaria) p. f.
cohors I Lusitanorum
cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum
cohors II Batavorum (milliaria)

100/102?
(RMD III 144); see also RMD II 82, dated
98/102

ala [?]
ala [?]
cohors I Batavorum (milliaria) [p. f.]
cohors [II Asturum et Callaeor]um
cohors II [Alpinorum sau Batavorum
(milliaria)]
cohors [V Callaeorum Lucens]um
cohors V [Gallor]um
cohors VI[III Raetorum]

November 19, 102
(CIL XVI 47)

ala I Arvacoorum
ala I Flavia Britanniana milliaria c. R.
ala Siliana c. R.
cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum
cohors I Alpinorum
cohors I Montanorum
cohors II Alpinorum
cohors VIII Raetorum

July 2, 110
(CIL XVI 164)

ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica
(milliaria) c. R.
ala Frontoniana
ala Siliana c. R.
ala praetoria c. R.
cohors I Lusitanorum
cohors I Alpinorum
cohors I Thracum c. R. p. f.
cohors I Alpinorum
cohors I Noricorum
cohors I Montanorum
cohors II Alpinorum
cohors II Asturum et Callaeorum
cohors <II> I Lusitanorum p. f.
cohors V Gallorum
vexillatio equitum ex Syria

September 1, 114
(CIL XVI 61; RMD II 87; RMD III
152 + 228/ V 345 = RGZM 17/18;
RMD III 153); See also RMD V 346
+ RMD III 154

ala I Flavia Gaetulorum
ala Frontoniana
cohors I Alpinorum
cohors I Montanorum
cohors I Alpinorum
cohors I Lusitanorum
cohors II Augusta Nerviana
Pacensis (milliaria) Brittonum
cohors III Lusitanorum
item ala I Flavia Augusta
Britannica (milliaria) c. R. missa
in expeditionem (Parthicam)

113 or 115
(RMD V 347)

ala I Flavia Gaetulorum
ala...?
ala...?
ala Frontoniana
ala...?
cohors I Montanorum

March–April 119
(AE 2003, 2041 = Eck, MacDonald,
Pangerl 2004, 25–34)

August 10, 123
(IDR I 7 = RMD I 21; IDR I
7a = RMD I 22)

ala Siliana armillata torquata c. R. item ala Britton(um) c. R. quae
est in Pannonia inferiore...
ala I praetoria c. R.
ala I Hispanorum Campagonum
cohors I Alpinorum
cohors I Thracum c. R.
cohors I Alpinorum
cohors I Montanorum

TABLE 12 Lower Pannonia

April 30, 129 (RMD I 34)	ala I Thracum veterana ? ? Unspecified number of units	May 19, 135 (Roxan 1999, 249–273 = RMD IV 251)	139 (CIL XVI 175)	July 7, 143 (Roxan 1999, 255–273 = RMD IV 266 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 30)	141/144 (Lőrincz 1996, 261–265 = RMD IV 268)
	ala I Thracum veterana Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica (milliaria) ala I civium Romanorum ala I Augusta Ituraeorum ala praetoria c. R. cohors I Alpinorum cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Alpinorum cohors I Noricorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Brittonum milliaria (vezi discuția RMD IV, p. 490, n. 6) cohors II Augusta Thracum cohors III Bataavorum (milliaria) cohors III Lusitanorum cohors VII Lusitanorum (!), probabil VII Breucorum (vezi RMD IV, p. 490, n. 7) item classicis (senis et vicenis)	ala I Flavia Britannica (milliaria) ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria ala I civium Romanorum ala praetoria c. R. ala I Augusta [Itur(aeorum)] cohors [I Alpinorum equitata] cohors I Thracum Germanica cohors I Alpinorum peditata cohors I Noricorum cohors I Montanorum cohors [I Lusitanorum] cohors [II Asturum et Callaeorum] cohors II Augusta Thracum cohors III Lusitanorum cohors [III Bataavorum] cohors [?] cohors VII Breucorum item classicis	ala I Thracum veterana ala I civium Romanorum ala I praetoria c. R. ala I Augusta Ituraeorum cohors I Alpinorum (equitata) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Noricorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Camp(anorum) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Alpinorum peditata cohors II Asturum cohors II Augusta Thracum cohors III Bataavorum (milliaria) cohors III Lusitanorum cohors VII Breucorum item classicis (senis et vicenis) item fil(i)is classicorum	cohors [II Augusta T]hracum cohors I Montanorum cohors [II Asturum et Callaeorum] [...?] [item classicis (senis et vicenis)]	

<p>September 7, 144 (Dušanic 2001, 209–211 = RMD V 397); near <i>Viminacium</i> ala [?] ala [?] ala [?] ala [?] ala [?] cohors [III Batavorum (milliaria)] cohors [?] cohors [I Thracum Germanica] cohors I A[lpinorum] cohors [...]II (?) cohors III Lusitanorum cohors [?] cohors VII Breucorum cohors II <Augusta> Thracum cohors I Montanorum cohors [I Cam]panorum voluntarium cohors I Thracum c. R. ... praeterea praestitit ut liberi decurionum et centurionum quos praesidi provinciae ex se procreatos ante quam in castra irent probavissent cives Romani essent (see also Eck, Weiss 2001, 195–208 and RMD V, p. 810, n. 9)</p>	<p>September/October 145 (CIL XVI 91) cohors [II Asturum et Callaeorum] ? Unspecified number of units [item classicis]s (senis e[t vicenis])</p>	<p>August 11, 146 CIL XVI 179–180 (Eck, Weiss 2001, 195–208 = RMD V 401; Mirković 2008, 285–290). ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica (milliaria) ala I praetoria c. R. ala I Brittonum c. R. ala I Thracum sag. veterana ala I Augusta Ituraeorum cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Alpinorum equitata cohors III Batavorum (milliaria) vex(illatio) cohors II Augusta Thracum cohors I Montanorum cohors III Lusitanorum cohors I Campanorum voluntarium c. R. item classicis (XXVI) ... praeterea praestitit ut liberi decurionum et centurionum quos praesidi provinciae ex se, item caligatorem antequam in castra irent, procreatos probavissent cives Romani essent</p>	<p>October 9, 148 (CIL XVI 179; CIL XVI 180; RMD IV 272); Bulgaria ala I Flavia Britannica (milliaria) ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria ala I Brittonum c. R. ala I praetoria c. R. ala I Augusta Ituraeorum cohors III Batavorum (milliaria) vex(illatio) cohors I Alpinorum equitata cohors I Thracum Germanica cohors I Alpinorum peditata cohors I Noricorum cohors III Lusitanorum cohors II Nerviorum (?) et Callaeorum cohors VII Breucorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors II Augusta Thracum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Campanorum voluntarium c. R. cohors I Thracum c. R. item classicis (sex et viginti) item fili(i)s classicorum dedit et conubium cum uxoribus</p>
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August 1, 150 (CIL XVI 99); Szöny	August 5, 152 (RMD III 167; Eck, Pangerl 2009a) <i>Lussonium</i>	September 27, 154 (Weiss 2004, 247–254, no. 2 = AE 2004, 1923)
5 alae from Pannonia Inferior and Pannonia Inferior	alae from Pannonia Inferior and Pannonia Inferior	
ala I Hispanorum et Aravacorum (PS)	ala I Ull[pi]a contartiorum (milliaria) (PS)	ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica (milliaria)
ala [III Augusta] Thracum (PS)	ala [I Thracum victrix] (PS)	ala I Thracum veterana
ala I Flavia Britannica (milliaria) c. R. (PI)	ala [I] Hispanorum Arv[acorum] (PS)	ala I civium Romanorum
ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria (PI)	ala [I Cannanefatium c. R.] ala [III Augusta Thra]cum sagitt(aria) (PS)	ala I praetoria c. R.
ala I Augusta Ituraeorum (PI) dimissis honesta missione per Porcium Vetustinum	ala [I Flavia Britannica (milliaria) c. R.] (PI)	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum cohors III Bataavorum (milliaria) vexillatio
procuratorem, cum essent in expeditione Mauretaniae Caesariensis	ala [I Thracum] sagit(taria) ve[ter(ana)] (PI)	cohors I Alpinorum equitata cohors I Thracum Germanica cohors I Alpinorum peditata cohors I Noricorum
	ala [I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria] (PI)	cohors III Lusitanorum cohors II Asturum et Callaeorum cohors VII Breucorum cohors I Lusitanorum
	ala [I civium Romanorum?] (PI) [dimissis honesta missione per Porcium Vetustinum procuratorem, cum essent in expeditione Mauretaniae Caesariensis]?	cohors II Augusta Thracum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Campanorum voluntariorum item classicis

<p>c. a. 154/156 (Lőrincz 1999, 173–175 = RMD V 415)</p>	<p>February 8, 157 (RMD II 102; 103); <i>Lussonium</i></p>	<p>December 27, 157/158 (CIL XVI 112; 113; RMD IV 276)</p>	<p>154/161 (RMD II 110)</p>
<p>ala I Flavia [Britannica (milliaria)] ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria ala I civium Romanorum] ala I] praetoria c. R. ala I] Augusta Ituraeorum] cohors III Bataavorum [(milliaria) vexillatio] cohors I] Alpinorum equitata] cohors I] Thracum Germanica cohors I] Alpinorum peditata] cohors I] Noricorum um] cohors I] III Lusitanorum cohors I] II Asturum et Callaeorum] cohors I] VII Breucorum] cohors I] I Lusitanorum] cohors I] II Augusta Thracum] cohors I] Montanorum] cohors I] Campanorum voluntarium] cohors I] Thracum c. R.]</p>	<p>ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria ala I civium Romanorum ala I praetoria c. R. ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica (milliaria) ala I Augusta Ituraeorum cohors I Alpinorum equitata cohors III Bataavorum cohors I Thracum Germanica cohors I Alpinorum peditata cohors I Noricorum cohors III Lusitanorum cohors II Asturum et Callaeorum cohors VII Breucorum cohors I Lusitanorum cohors II Augusta Thracum cohors I Montanorum cohors I Campanorum voluntarium cohors I Thracum c. R. item classicis (sex et viginti)</p>	<p>ala I Flavia Britannica (milliaria)]; ala I Flavia Britan n(ica) (milliaria) c. R. p. f. ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria ala I Augusta [Ituraeorum sagittaria] ala I civium Romanorum ala I Brittonum c. R. cohors I] Noricorum] cohors I] III Lusitanorum cohors II Asturum et Callaeorum cohors VII [Breucorum] cohors I] II Augusta Thracum] (CIL XVI 112); cohors I] Lusitanorum (CIL XVI 113) cohors I Lusitanorum (CIL XVI 112); cohors II Augusta [Thracum] (CIL XVI 113) cohors Montanorum (CIL XVI 112); cohors I Montanorum] (CIL XVI 113) cohors I Ca]mpanorum voluntarium c. R. cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Alpinorum equitata cohors III Bataavorum cohors I Thracum equitata (CIL XVI 113) Germanica cohors I Alpinorum peditata</p>	<p>ala I Flavia Augusta Brita]nnic(a) (milliaria) ala I civium Romanorum] ala I] praetoria c. R.] ala I] Thr]ac(um) sagittaria ala I] Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria] et cohortibus XIII cohors I Al(pinorum) [equitata?]</p>

154/161	March 7, 161–163 ante September	August 23, 162	5 Mai 167	166/168
(RMD IV 284)	(Eck, Pangerl 2010)	(CIL XVI 123)	(RMD III 181)	
ala [I] Flavia Augusta Britannica (milliaria)]	ala I Flavia Brittonum (sic!)	ala I Thracum veterana	in ala [una?]	et cohortibus duabus
ala [I] Thracum veterana	ala I Thracum veterana	ala I Brittonum c. R.	II Britt. extrinsecus	cohors[I M]on[t]a[norum]
s[agittaria]	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	cohors III Lusitanorum
ala [I] praetoria c. R.]	cohors III Batavorum miliar(ia)	cohors III Batavorum miliar(ia)	cohors I Thracum Germanica c. R.	
ala [I] Augusta Ituraeorum	cohors I Alpinorum equit(ata)	cohors I Alpinorum equit(ata)	cohors I Alpinorum peditata	
ala [?]	cohors I Thracum c. R.	cohors I Thracum c. R.	cohors I Noricorum	
et cohortibus?	Germ(anica) (sic!)	Germ(anica) (sic!)	cohors III Lusitanorum	
	cohors I Alpinorum pedit(ata)	cohors I Alpinorum pedit(ata)	cohors II Asturum et Callaeorum	
	cohors I Noricorum	cohors I Noricorum	cohors VII Breucorum	
	cohors III Lusitanorum	cohors III Lusitanorum	cohors I Lusitanorum	
	cohors II Asturum et Callaeorum	cohors II Asturum et Callaeorum	cohors II Augusta Thracum	
	cohors VII Breucorum	cohors VII Breucorum	cohors I Montanorum	
	cohors I Lusitanorum	cohors I Lusitanorum	cohors I Augusta Thracum c. R.	
	cohors II Augusta Thracum	cohors II Augusta Thracum		
	cohors I Montanorum	cohors I Montanorum		
	cohors I Campanorum	cohors I Campanorum		
	cohors I Thracum civium	cohors I Thracum civium		
	Romanor(um) (in <i>intus</i> is noted again cohors I Montanorum)	Romanor(um) (in <i>intus</i> is noted again cohors I Montanorum)		

August 11, 192 (RMD V 446; 447 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 44; CIL XVI 132)	August 31, 203 (RMD III 187); <i>Viminacium</i>
ala I praetoria c. R.	in alis? et cohortibus?
ala I Thracum sagittaria veterana	cohors VII Breucorum
ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica (milliaria)	cohors I Campanorum voluntariorum
ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	cohors [?]
ala I civium Romanorum	cohors I T[hracum Germanica]
cohors III Batavorum	
cohors II<I> Aurelia Dacorum; II Aurelia Dacorum (RMD V 447)	
cohors I (milliaria) Hemesenorum (RMD V 447)	
cohors I Lusitanorum	
cohors II Augusta Thracum	
cohors I Montanorum	
cohors I (milliaria) Maurorum (RMD V 447)	
cohors III Lusitanorum	
cohors I Thracum	
cohors VII Breucorum	
cohors I Thracum Germanica	
cohors I Noricorum	
cohors I Alpinorum peditata	
cohors I Alpinorum equitata	
cohors II nova<e>	
cohors I Campanorum	

TABLE 13
Upper Pannonia

May 3, 112 (RMD IV 223 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 15)	December 16, 113 (RMD II 86); Regensburg	July 2, 133 (CIL XVI 76-Győr; CIL XVI 77) Szóny
ala I Batavorum milliaria c. R. p. f. ala [?] ala I Ulpia contartorium milliaria ala [?] ala I Thracum veterana ala[I Thracum] veterana ala I Arvacorum et Hispanorum [et Hispanorum?] ala I Bo sporanorum cohors I (Batavorum milliaria c. R. pf.?) cohors II Batavorum milliaria c. R. p. f. cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium	ala I Ulpia contartorium milliaria] ala I Thracum veterana] ala I Cannenefatium] ala I Arvacorum et Hispanorum ala I Bosporanorum] cohors I (Batavorum milliaria c. [R.] cohors II Batavorum milliaria c. [R.] cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium	ala I Ulpia contartorium (milliaria) ala I Thracum victrix ala I Cannanefatium ala I Hispanorum (et) Arvacorum ala III Augusta Thracum cohors I Aelia Gaes(atorum) (milliaria) sag(ittartorium) cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors II Alpinorum cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium
October 16 /November 13, 134 (RMD IV 250 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 26)	June 16, 138 (CIL XVI 84); Tótvázsony	July 19, 146 (CIL XVI 178); Csapdi
ala I Ulpia contartorium (milliaria) ala I Ulpia contartorium ala I Thracum victrix (milliaria) ala I Cannanefatium c. R. ala I Hispanorum (et) Arvacorum ala III Augusta Thracum cohors I Aelia Caes. (milliaria) cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors II Alpinorum cohors III voluntarium cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium	ala I Ulpia [contartorium (milliaria)] ala [...] ala I Hispanorum et Arvac]orum ala III Augusta Thracum cohors [...] cohors I Aelia (milliaria sagittaria)?] cohors [II Alpinorum?] cohors [I]III voluntarium c. R. cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium?] (146–149, AE 2002, 1141) cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria)?] cohors [XVII] voluntarium c. R. (146–149, AE 2002, 1141)	ala I Ulpia contartorium (milliaria) ala I Thracum victrix ala I Cannanefatium c. R. ala I Hispanorum (et) Arvacorum ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria cohors I Aelia (milliaria) sagittaria cohors I Ulpia [Pannoniorum]- extrinsecus contar(orum)- (milliaria) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors II Alpinorum cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium
June 18, 139 (Beutler 2011); Carnuntum	June 18, 139 (Beutler 2011); Carnuntum	July 1, 126 (RMD IV 236)
ala I Ulpia [contartorium (milliaria)] ala [...] ala I Hispanorum et Arvac]orum ala III Augusta Thracum cohors [...] cohors I Aelia (milliaria sagittaria)?] cohors [II Alpinorum?] cohors [I]III voluntarium c. R. cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium?] (146–149, AE 2002, 1141) cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria)?] cohors [XVII] voluntarium c. R. (146–149, AE 2002, 1141)	ala I Ulpia contartorium (milliaria) ala I Thracum victrix ala I Cannanefatium ala I Hispanorum (et) Arvacorum ala III Augusta Thracum cohors II Alpinorum cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum (milliaria) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors I Thracum c. R.	ala I Ulpia contartorium (milliaria) ala I Thracum victrix ala I Cannanefatium ala I Hispanorum (et) Arvacorum ala III Augusta Thracum cohors I Aelia Gaes(atorum) (milliaria) sag(ittartorium) cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors II Alpinorum cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium

October 9, 148 (CIL XVI 96); Ászár	ala I Ulpia contartiorum (milliaria) ala I Thracum victrix ala I Cannenefatium c. R. ala I Hispanorum (et) Arvacorum ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors I Aelia sagittaria cohors XVIII voluntariorum c. R. cohors III voluntariorum c. R. cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors V Callaeorum Lucensium cohors II Alpinorum	July 5, 149 (CIL XVI 97); Szóny	ala I Thracum victrix ala I Cannenefatium c. R. ala I Hispanorum (et) Arvacorum cohors I Aelia sagittaria cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors II Alpinorum cohors IV voluntariorum c. R. cohors XIX voluntariorum c. R.	August 1, 150 (CIL XVI 99, Szóny) 5 <i>alae</i> form Pannonia Inferior and Pannonia Inferior ala I Hispanorum et Arvacorum (PS) ala [III Augusta] Thracum (PS) ala I Flavia Britannica (milliaria) c. R. (PI) ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria (PI) ala I Augusta Ituraeorum (PI) dimissis honesta missione per Porcium Vetustinum procuratorem, cum essent in expeditione Mauretaniae Caesariensis	August 1, 150 (RMD IV 273 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 36) <i>alae</i> from Pannonia Inferior and Pannonia Inferior ala I Ulpia contartiorum (milliaria) (PS) ala [I Thracum victrix] (PS) ala [I] Hispanorum Arv[acorum] (PS) ala [I Cannenefatium c. R.] ala [III Augusta Thra]cum sagitt(aria) (PS) ala [I Flavia Britannica (milliaria) c. R.] (PI) ala [I Thracum] sagitt(aria) ve[ter(ana)] (PI) ala [I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria] (PI) ala [I civium Romanorum?] (PI) [dimissis honesta missione per Porcium Vetustinum procuratorem, cum essent in expeditione Mauretaniae Caesariensis?] 155/156 (RMD V 416); Carnuntum	c. a. 150 (RMD IV 273 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 36) <i>alae</i> from Pannonia Inferior and Pannonia Inferior ala I Ulpia contartiorum (milliaria) (PS) ala [I Thracum victrix] (PS) ala [I] Hispanorum Arv[acorum] (PS) ala [I Cannenefatium c. R.] ala [III Augusta Thra]cum sagitt(aria) (PS) ala [I Flavia Britannica (milliaria) c. R.] (PI) ala [I Thracum] sagitt(aria) ve[ter(ana)] (PI) ala [I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria] (PI) ala [I civium Romanorum?] (PI) [dimissis honesta missione per Porcium Vetustinum procuratorem, cum essent in expeditione Mauretaniae Caesariensis?] 155/156 (RMD V 416); Carnuntum
September 24, 151 (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 32)/together with <i>alae</i> from Noricum ala [I Ulpia cont]ar(iorum) (milliaria) (PS) ala I Thracum sagittaria c. R. (PS) ala I Hispanorum Arvacorum (PS) ala I Cannenefatium c. R. (PS) ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria (PS) ala I Commagenorum milliaria sagittaria (N) ala I Augusta Thracum (N) ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana dimissis honesta missione per Varium Clementem cum essent in expeditione Mauretaniae Caesariensis	April/June 152 (RMD V 406, half from <i>tabella</i> II) cohors II Alpinorum	November 3, 154 (CIL XVI 104); Öskü	ala I Ulpia contartiorum (milliaria) ala I Thracum victrix ala I Cannenefatium c. R. ala I Hispanorum (et) Arvacorum ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors I Thracum c. R. cohors II Alpinorum cohors V Callaeorum Lucensium cohors XIX voluntariorum	November 3, 154 (CIL XVI 104); Öskü	ala I Ulpia contartiorum milliaria ala [I Thracum] victrix ala I Cannenefatium ala I Hispanorum Arvacorum ala [III Au]gusta Thracum cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors [I Thracum c. R.] cohors [II Alpinorum] cohors IV [vol(untariorum) c. R.] cohors V Ca[II](aeorum) Lucens(ium)] cohors [XIX] vol(untariorum) c. R. ... praeterea praestitit ut liberi decurionum et centurionum item caligatorum quos antequam in castra irent procreatos probavissent cives Romani essent	

June 21, 159 (RMD V 422, 423 – fragmentary, 424 – <i>tabella</i> II, AE 2004, 1904, 1905)	December 156-December 160	December 10, 160 /March 7, 161 (RMD V 176)	February 8, 161 (RMD V 430 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 43; RMD V 431; RMD IV 279/ III 176)
ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria ala I Thracum victrix c. R.] (RMD V 424)	ala I Ulpia contariorum (milliaria) ala I Thrac(um) [victrix] ala I Cannanefatium c. R. Ala I [Hispanorum Arvacorum] Ala [III] Augusta Thracum cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum milliaria? cohors I Thrac(um) c. R. cohors II Alpinorum cohors [IV] voluntariorum c. R.] cohors [V] vol(untariorum) c. R. cohors V Callaeorum [Lucensium] cohors [XIX] voluntariorum c. R.]	ala [I Hispanorum Arvacorum] ala [I Ulpia]cont[ar(iorum) (milliaria)] ala [I Cannanefatium c. R.] ala [I Thracum] victrix cohors [I Aelia] gaesatorum [(milliaria)] cohors [?] cohors [V Cal]laecor(um) [Lucens(ium)] cohors [?] cohors [?] cohors II Al[pinor(um)] cohors [?]	ala I Arvacorum ala I Ulpia contariorum (milliaria) ala III Augusta Thracum ala I Thracum victrix ala I Cannanefatium c. R. cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum sagittaria (vezi RMD V, p. 856, n. 2) cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum (milliaria) cohors V Callaeorum Lucensium cohors XVIII voluntariorum cohors II Alpinorum cohors I Thracum c. R.
154/161 (RMD III 174); <i>Carnuntum (canabae)</i> , Bad <i>Deutsch-Altenburg</i>	September 163 -December 9 (RMD I 62); Szőny	160/164 (RMD IV 290); Hungary	
ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria] ala I Thracum v[ictrix] ala [?] ala [?] ala [?] et in cohortibus?	ala I Thracum [victrix] ala [I Cannane]f(atium) c. R. ala I Hispanorum et Arvacorum ala [Augusta Thracum sagittaria] cohors III [voluntariorum] cohors [XIX] vol(untariorum) c. R. cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum cohors [V] Callaeorum Lucensium] cohors [I] Thracum c. R.] cohors II Alpinorum cohors [I Aelia milliaria sagittaria]	ala [I Ulpia contariorum (milliaria)] ala [I Thracum v]i]ctri]x) ala I [Cannanefatium c. R.] ala [I Hispanorum A]rvacorum ala [III Augusta Thracum sagittaria] cohors [I Ulpia Pa]nnon(iorum) (milliaria)] cohors [I] Thracum c. R.] cohors [II] Alpinorum cohors [V] Callaeorum Lucen] s(ium) cohors [XIX] voluntariorum]	

II. RECORDS IN MILITARY DIPLOMAS, INSCRIPTIONS AND TILE STAMPS

	UNIT	MILITARY DIPLOMAS	INSCRIPTIONS	STAMPS
I	Ala Celerum Philippiana	-	NORICUM <i>ala Celerum (Virunum, CIL III 4832 = 11506)</i> ARABIA <i>ala Celerum Philippiana (Philippopolis, AE 1928, 153b = AE 1992 1694)</i>	-
II	Ala I Commagenorum	EGYPT 83 (CIL XVI 29) NORICUM <i>Commagenorum</i> 106 – (CIL XVI 52 = AE 1995, 1218) I Commagenorum (CIL XVI 174 = AE 1953, 128 = 1991, 1286) I <i>Commagenorum</i>] (RMD II 93 (RMD III p. 245) = AE 1988, 915 = AE 1995, 1219)	NORICUM <i>a[ll]a Commag[enorum] (Comagena, AE 2003, 1319)</i> <i>al(ae) Comag(enorum) pr(imae) (Soha, CIL III 14368, 24 = ILLPRON 1414)</i> <i>alae I Com(magenorum) (Celeia, CIL III 5224 = ILLPRON 1684)</i> <i>alae I Com(m)agenorum (Celeia, AE 2008, 1012; Ubl 1996, II/13)</i> <i>al(ae) p(trimae) Co(mmagenorum) (Pielach bei Melk, ILLPRON 877)</i> <i>a(lae) C(...)</i> (AE 1973, 381, Kircheiselfing, Noricum) <i>alae Commag(enorum)</i> (Thalheim bei Wels, Ubl 1996 Nr. II/6; Kremer, 2001, Kat. II 334) RAETIA <i>a(lae) F(laviae) Commag(enorum)</i> (Faimingen, CIL III 11901) MOESIA INFERIOR <i>alae Com(m)agenor(um)</i> (Markov 2008, 253 – 258; AE 2008 1187)	AIC (Polaschek RE 17 1002)
III	Ala nova Firma Cataphractaria Philippiana	-	GERMANIA SUPERIOR <i>n(ovae) alae firm(ae) catafr(actariae)</i> (Bad Cannstatt, AE 1931, 68) ARABIA <i>alae novae firmae [(militariae) catafract(ariae) Philippianae (Bostra,</i> CIL III 99 = IGLS 13.1, 9090 = ILS 2771) PANNONIA INFERIOR <i>alae Firmae Katap(h)ractariae (Intercisa, CIL III 10307 = ILS 2540)</i>	-

IV	Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	<p>Pannonia 98 I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um) (CIL XVI 42)</p> <p>DACIA</p> <p>109? I Aug(usta) Ituraeorum (greșit II Flavia Commagenorum) (RMD 148)</p> <p>110 I Aug(usta) Ituraeorum (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; RMD IV 220; Eck, Pangerl 2011, no. 1)</p> <p>110 I Augusta Ituraeor(um) (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3)</p> <p>114 I Aug(usta) Ituraeorum (RMD 226 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 16)</p> <p>DACIA SUPERIOR</p> <p>124 I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria (Eck, Pangerl 2010a, 247–255, no. 1)</p> <p>Pannonia Inferior</p> <p>135 I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) (Roxan 1999, 249–273 = RMD IV 251)</p> <p>139 I Aug(usta) [Itur(aeorum)] (CIL XVI 175 = RMD III, p. 245)</p> <p>143 I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) (RMD 266)</p> <p>146 I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) (CIL XVI 179–180)</p> <p>148 I Aug(usta) [Itur(aeorum)] (RMD 272)</p> <p>150 (CIL XVI 99)</p> <p>ca. 150 I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) (RMD 273; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 36)</p> <p>152 I Augusta Ituraeorum (Eck, Pangerl 2009 a); RMD III 167)</p> <p>154 I Augusta Ituraeorum (Weiss 2004, 247–254, no. 2 = AE 2004, 1923)</p> <p>154/161 ala [I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria] (RMD II 110)</p>	<p>PANNONIA ala Augusta Ituraeorum (Arrabona, CIL III 4367; RIU 253; Lőrincz 2001 no. 140)</p> <p>alae Aug(ustae) Ituraeorum (Arrabona, CIL III 4371; RIU I 254; Lőrincz 2001 no. 141)</p> <p>[A]ug(usta) It[u]l(aeorum) (Arrabona, CIL III 11083; RIU 263; Lőrincz 2001 no. 142)</p> <p>ala Augusta Ituraeorum (Arrabona, CIL III 4368; RIU 635; Lőrincz 2001 no. 143)</p> <p>alae I Itur(aeorum) (Intercisa, RIU 1233; Lőrincz 2001 no. 144)</p> <p>DACIA alae I Aug(ustae) [Itura]eo[r(um)] (Micia, CIL III 1382 = IDR III/3 179)</p> <p>PANNONIA INFERIOR alae Ibyr(aeorum) (Sirmium, CIL III 10222; Lőrincz 2001 no. 147).</p> <p>al(a)e Etur(a)eorum (Aquincum, CIL III 3446; Lőrincz 2001 no. 149)</p> <p>MOESIA SUPERIOR Alae Itur(a)eor(um) (Gruberevac, IMS I 115; Lőrincz 2001 no. 148)</p> <p>MAURETANIA CAESARENSIS alae I Aug(ustae) Itur(aeorum) (Tipasa, Bensendik 1979, 200, no. 20; Lőrincz 2001 no. 146)</p> <p>ROMA Alae Itur(a)eorum (CIL VI 421 = ILS 2546; Lőrincz 2001 no. 150)</p>	<p>ALIS* (Intercisa; Fitz 1972, 41; Lőrincz, 1978a, 4; 10 Kat. 3/19; PS II 23 sqq. 111 Kat. 9/82–90; Lőrincz 2001, no. 145).</p>
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* Type. *al(ae) (I) I(turaeorum) s(agittariae) / S(ittanae)* cf. T. Nagy. ArchÉrt 82, 1955, 235; Nagy 1956, 51; Szilágyi, in: Intercisa II. 14.

	-	<p>154/161 [I] <i>Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum)</i> RMD 284)</p> <p>162 <i>I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> (Eck, Pangerl 2010)</p> <p>157 <i>I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> (RMD II 102; 103)</p> <p>157-158 <i>I Aug(usta) [Itur(aeorum) sagitt(taria)]</i> (CIL XVI 112=RMD II, p. 133=AE 1983 787a).</p> <p>159-160 [I] <i>Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) sagitt(taria)</i> (CIL XVI 113 =RMD II, p. 133 = AE 1983 787b).</p> <p>167 <i>I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum)</i> (CIL XVI 123)</p>	-	-
V	Ala I Osrhoenorum sagittaria		-	sotala (<i>Brigetio</i> – Szilágyi 1942, 180 Abb 8; Lőrincz 2001, 46, no. 229)
VI	Ala I Osrhoenorum sagittaria		-	-
VII	Cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria equitata		-	COHI AE S [C]OHI AEL [SAG] COHI A SAG (Klosterneuburg; dated 2 nd -3 rd centuries AD – Ubl 1979, 109 Abb. 10; Lőrincz 2001, no. 423) COHI A SAG SE [COH I AEL S]AG SE COHI A SAG SE (Klosterneuburg; dated 198-211 or 222-235 AD – CIL III 11857a; Ubl 1979, 109 Abb. 10; Lőrincz 2001, kat. no. 429 COHR I EL SAG COHI AE S CO P EL SAG

VIII	Cohors I Antiochensium sagittaria	- Moesia 75 I Antiochensium (RMD 2 = AE 1968 446 = AE 1980 788 = ILJug-2, 477). Moesia Superior 94 I Antiochensium (CIL XVI 39 = AE 1897 108) 100 I Antiochensium (CIL XVI 46 = AE 1912 128) 96/100 I Antiochensium (RMD 218) 132 I Antioch(hensium) (RMD 247) 157 I Antioch(ensium) sag (Weiss 2008, 286-290, no. 6) 155/159 I Antioch(ensium) sag(ittariorum) (AE 1998 1617) 158/159 [I] Antioch. sag(ittariorum) (AE 1999 1315 = M. Mirković, ZPE 126 1999, 251, no. 4) 160 I Antioch(hensium) (CIL XVI 111 = AE 1935 69) 161 I Antioch(ensium) sag(ittariorum) (RMD 55 = AE 1972 657)	- [co]h(ortem) I Antio[ch(ensium)] (Drobeta, IDR II 14 = AE 1959 309)	CORS I E S (Vindobona, Ala Nova, Carnuntum, Gerulata, Quadrata, Arrabona[...]-CIL III 4664 a-c, 11371a, 11373, 11456, 11857b p. 2328 ⁴³ , 11371; ITP 86 No. 1, 3-5; PZ III 84 Kat. 5/22a, 24-25, 9/6, 11/3; Lőrincz 1980, 272 sqq. no. 2/5, 11, 3/1, 11/1, 13/1; Lőrincz 2001, no. 424) COH I A SAG SE COH I AE SAG SE (Klosterneuburg; dated 2 nd -3 rd centuries AD - Lőrincz 2001, kat. no. 430)
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IX	Cohors quingengaria Canathenorum et Thraconitarum	-	-	-	
X	Cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittaria	-	-	-	
XI	Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	Moesia Inferior 92 I Flavia Commagenorum (Petolescu, Popescu 2003, 73-92 = Petolescu, Popescu 2004, 269-276) 97 I Flavia] Commagenorum (Weissv1997, 233-238, no. 4) 105 I Flavia Commagenorum (CIL XVI 50) 111 I Flavia Commagenor(um) (RMD 222) Dacia Inferior 126 I Flavia Commagenorum (Ilić 2009) 130 I Flav(ia) Commag(enorum) (Weiss 1997, 243-246, no. 8; RMD V 376) 131-132 I Flavia Commagenorum (Mugnai 2011) 140 I Fl(avia) Comm(agenorum) (IDR I 13 = RMD 39) 146 I Fl(avia) Commag(enorum) sag(ittaria) (RMD 269; Eck, Pangerl 2011, 225-230, no. 2)	-	-	COH COM (Drajna de Sus, Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 14 a-b) COHI COM (Drajna de Sus, Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 15 a-c) COH COMA (Drajna de Sus, Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 16 a-b) COH COMA (Drajna de Sus, Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 23, fig. 16 c-e) COHI F COM (Târgșor, Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127 fig. 5 e-f.) COHI F COM (Romula, IDR II 382= CIL III, 8074, 14c) COHI F COM (Slăveni, IDR II 528) COH COM (Voinești, Bădescu 1981, 292 fig. 2) COHI F COM or COHI FL CO... (Acidava, IDR II 551 = CIL II 8074, 14d) [...]TULCAI (?) miles [coh(ortis) I Fl]a(viae) Commagenorum (Jidava, ILD 164).

XII	Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria equitata	<p>Moesia Superior 96 II Flavia Commagenorum (AE 1977 722 = RMD 6) 100 II Flavia Commagenorum (CIL XVI 46 = AE 1912 128) 103/7 II Flavia Comm[agenorum] (CIL XVI 54) DACIA 109 –apare din eroare printre <i>alae</i>. (RMD 148 = AE 1990 860) 110 II Flavia Commagenor(um) sagittarior(um) (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3) DACIA SUPERIOR 123 II Flavia Commagenorum (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 22) 136/138 III Flavia Col[m(magenorum)] (Petolescu, Corcheș, 2002, 120–126) 144 – in lacună (IDR I, 14 = CIL XVI 90) 157 II Flavia Commagenor(um) (IDR I, 15 = CIL XVI 107). 179 II Flavia Commag(enorum) (Piso, Benea 1984, 263–295 = RMD 123 = AE 1987, 843)</p>	<p><i>coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Commag(enorum)</i> (Micia, CIL III/1374 = IDR III/3 45). <i>coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Com(magenorum) Severijanae</i> [Alexandrianae] (Micia, AE 1903 66 = IDR III/3 46) <i>coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)</i> (Micia, CIL III 1371 = IDR III/3 51) <i>coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)</i> (Micia, CIL III 1372 = IDR III/3 52) <i>coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)</i> (Micia, CIL III 1373 = IDR III/3 53) <i>coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum) Philip [p]iana</i> (Micia, CIL III 1379 = IDR III/3 58) <i>coh(ortis) II Com[mag(enorum)]</i> (Micia, AE 1975, 706 = IDR III/3 63) <i>coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Commag(e)norum</i> (Micia, AE 1911, 35 = IDR III/3 67) <i>coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Com[m]ag(enorum)</i> (Micia, AE 1903, 67 = IDR III/3 68) <i>coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Commalg(enorum)</i> (Micia, CIL III 1343 = ID III/3 77) <i>coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)</i> (Micia, CIL III 7848 = IDR III/3 78) <i>coh(ors) II Fl(avia) C[om(magenorum)]</i> (Micia, CIL III 7849 = IDR III/3 79) <i>coh(ortis) II Col[m(magenorum)]</i> (Micia, CIL III 1347 = 7850 = IDR III/3 88) <i>coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Comm(agenorum)</i> (Micia, CIL III 1355 = IDR III/3 105) <i>coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Co(mmag(enorum)</i> (Micia, CIL III 1619 = 7854 = IDR III/3 108) <i>coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Commagenor(um)</i> (Micia, CIL III 7855 = IDR III/3 109) <i>coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Com(m)agen(orum)</i> (Micia, AE 1971, 399 = IDR III/3 111) C[...] FL (Micia, IDR III/3 130) <i>coh(ors) II Fl(avia) [Co]mmag(enorum) eq(uitata) s[agittariorum]</i></p>	<p>COH II FL COMM (Micia, Gudea 1976 518, fig. 2/6) COH II FL COMC (Micia, IDR III/3 197 tip I). CO SE FLA C (Micia, Petolescu 1976, 397 no. 4; Petolescu, Mărghitan 1974, 256 no. 34). COH II COM (Micia, Petolescu 1976 397 no. 5) COH II FL COMM (Cladova, Hügel 1996, 74 pl. II/1 a–c)</p>
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			(<i>Micia</i> , AE 1903 65 = IDR III/3 138) c(o)hor(tis) Com(m)agenoru(m) (<i>Micia</i> , CIL III 6267 = IDR III/3 166) c(o)h(ortis) [II F(aviae)] Com(magenorum) (<i>Micia</i> , CIL III 12569 = IDR III/3 175) [coh(ortis) Co]mm(agenorum) (<i>Micia</i> , CIL III 7873 + 13773 = Russu 1967, 171-2 = IDR III/3 177)		
XIII	<i>Cohors I Aurelia Antonina</i> ∞ <i>Hemesenorum sag. eq. c R</i>	-	<i>Antoniniana</i> (the earliest record in 213 – A.XIII.11), <i>Maximilitiana</i> (the earliest record in 237 – A.XIII.36), <i>Gordiana</i> (the earliest record in 240 – A.XIII.16).	COH ∞ HE C ∞ H COH ∞ H (<i>Intercisa</i> – ITP 92 no. 54, 55; Lőrincz 2001, no. 368)	
XIV	Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittaria milliaria equitata	Dacia 109 I <i>Ituraeor(um)</i> (RMD 148) 110 I <i>Ituraeor(um)</i> (CIL XVI, 57 = IDR I, 2; RMD IV 220; Eck, Pangerl 2011, no. 1).	-	CHSIIIS (<i>Porofissum</i> , Tóth 1978, 57, no. 46; Gudea 1989, pl. CXVIII/7) CHSS (<i>Porofissum</i> , Tóth 1978, 58, no. 83, fig. 16, 83 = Gudea 1989, 524 pl. CXVIII/4,5,7) CHSIS (<i>Ronita</i> , Matei, Bajusz 1997, 160, pl. II/12-13) ITV (?) (<i>Porofissum</i> , Gudea 1989, 524, pl. CXIX/3, 4)	
XV	<i>Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria</i>	Pannonia 80 I <i>Augusta Ituraeorum</i> (CIL XVI 26) 98 I <i>Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um)</i> (CIL XVI 42) 102 I <i>Augusta Ituraeorum</i> (CIL XVI 47) DACIA 109? I <i>Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um)</i> (RMD 148) 110 I <i>Aug(usta) Ituraeorum sagittar(ia)</i> (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; RMD IV 220; Eck, Pangerl 2011, no. 1)	PANNONIA coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) Itur(aeorum) (<i>Solva-Esztergom</i> ; Lőrincz 2001 no. 375) c(o)ho(rtis) Aug(ustae) Itur(aoru(m)) (<i>Solva-Esztergom</i> ; B. Lőrincz, ZPE 95 1993, 297 sqq.; Lőrincz 2001 kat. no. 376) Dacia [co]h. I [Aug.] [Ituraeorum sagitt.] (Buciumi, Chirilă-Gudea 1972, 117, pl. 139)	COH I AVG? (Buciumi, Chirilă, Gudea 1972, 117, pl. CXXXIX/2) COH I AVG? (<i>Porofissum</i> , Gudea 1989, 524, no. 4, pl. CXIX/5) C P A I? (Călugăreni, Piso, Marcu 2008, 156-157)	

XVI	Cohors I Sagittaria	<p>114 I Aug(usta) Ituraeorum sagittaria (RMD 226)</p> <p>DACIA SUPERIOR</p> <p>124 I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria (Eck, Pangerl 2010a, 247–255, no. 1)</p> <p>136/138? [...] sag (Petolescu, Corcheș 2002, 120–126; RMD V 384)</p> <p>144 I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) (CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14)</p> <p>157 I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um?) (CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 15)</p> <p>158 Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) (CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16)</p> <p>179 I Augusta Ituraeorum (Piso, Benea 1984, 280; RMD 123 = AE 1987 843)</p> <p>–</p>		
XVII	Cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum sagittaria equitata (= I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sag. eq. cR)	<p>–</p>	<p>c(ohor)tis I sagitt(ariorum) (Drobeta, IDR II 107)</p> <p>c(ohor)tis I sag(itariorum) (Drobeta, CIL III 8018=IDR II 135)</p> <p>c(ohortis) pri(mae) sag(itariorum)] (Drobeta, Petolescu 2002, 120 nota 10)</p> <p>cob(or)is I sagitt(ariorum) [[Philippiana]] (milliaria) equitata (IDR II 10)</p> <p>–</p>	<p>COHI S (Tibiscum IDR III/1, 251). CI S (Tibiscum IDR III/1, 252). COHI S (Zăvoi, IDR III/1, p. 234). CI S (Drobeta, IDR II, 106a). COHI SAG (Drobeta, DR II, 106,b). COHI SAG ANT (Drobeta IDR II, 106, c).</p> <p>–</p>

XVIII	Cohors I Tyrriorum sagittaria	<p>Moesia Inferior 97 I Tyrriorum (MacDonald, Mihajlovich, ZPE 138, 2002, 225–228. Vezi și RMD 140 + B. Lőrincz, Zs. Visy, ZPE 63 1986, 241–249) 99 I Tyrriorum (CIL XVI 45) 105 I Tyrriorum-sagittaria (Pferdehirt 2004, no. 10) Dacia inferior 130 I Tyrrior(um) sag(ittariorum) (AE 1997, 1764 = Weiss 1997, 243–246, no.8; RMD V 376) 140 I Tyr(orum) sag(ittariorum) (IDR I 13 = RMD 39) 146 I Tyrrior(um) sag(ittaria) (RMD 269; Eck, Pangerl 2011, 225–230, no. 2) 167–168 [Tyrri]rum] (Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2001, 45–48, no. 5; RMD V 442)</p>	-	-
	Palmyrenis sagittariis	<p>Dacia SUPERIOR 120 Palmyrenis sagittariis ex Syria (IDR I 5 = RMD 17) 120 Palmyrenis sagittariis ex Syria (CIL XVI 68 = IDR I 5) 120 [Palmyrenis sagi]ttariis elx Syria] (RMD, p. 102, no. 2) 126 Palmyrenis sagittariis (IDR I 8 = RMD 27) 126 Palmyrenis sagittariis (IDR I 9 = RMD 28) 120–126 [Palmyr]eni[s sagittariis <ex Syria>?] (RMD 237)</p>	-	-
XIX	Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium		NPT (Tibiscum – IDR III 1, 256a)	
XX	Numerus Palmyrenorum Porofissensium		NPP (Porofissum – AE, 1979, 501 g; Gudca 1989, 537; ILD 744)	

XXI	Numerus <i>Palmyrenorum</i> <i>Of...</i>	-	-	-	-
XXII	Numerus <i>Surorum</i> <i>sagittaria</i>	-	-	-	NS (<i>Romula</i> – CIL III 1633 = 1590a = IDR II 383) NS N (<i>Slaveni</i> – CIL III 14216,30, 31 = IDR II 529, 530)
XXIII	Vexillationes equitum ex Syria	-	-	-	-

ABBREVIATIONS

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INDICES

TOPONYMS

- Actium* 10, 56
Ad Flexum (nowadays Mosonmagyaróvár) 36, 39, 40, 209, 222
Adraha 18
Antiochia 9, 10, 11, 19, 20, 23, 55, 59, 136
Apamea 11, 18, 91
Arados 10, 16
Arikamedu 25, 203, 210
Arqa (of Lebanon) = *Caesarea* (of Lebanon) 16
Arrabona (nowadays Győr) 31, 36, 107, 108, 157, 192, 206, 222, plate 6
Auranitis 15
Babylon 10, 20, 22
Barboși 75, 78, 215,
Batanea 15
Beroea (nowadays Allepo) 10, 28
Berenike 25
Berytus 11, 16
Bingium (nowadays Bingerbruck / Bingen) 62, 63, 139, 140
Bostra 18, 24, 27, 31, 106, 191
Byblos 16
Caesarea Germanica (city state) 14
Canatha (*Kanatha*, *Kanotha* or *Kenetha*) (nowadays El-Qanawat) 11, 18, 215
Cannstatt 30, 106, 191
Cappadocia 12, 13, 14, 59, 211
Carnuntum 34, 35, 36, 69, 91, 93, 99, 110, 155, 157, 188, 189, 190, 194, 202, 203, 206, 218
Carrhae 10
Cataloi (diplomas) 14, 40, 41
Celeia (nowadays Celje) 29, 105, 106, 191
Chalcis (kingdom) 16
Chalcis (*Flavia Chalcis*) 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 41
Comagena / *Comagenis* (nowadays Tulln) 29, 79, 99, 104, 157, 191, 218
Commagene (kingdom) 10, 12-14, 19, 41
Constantinople 23
Coptos 22, 25
Ctesiphon 22
Cyrrhus 10
Damascus 9, 11, 18
Decapolis 11, 18, 212
Dendereh 25
Dion 11, 18
Doliche (city state) 11, 14
Drobeta 6, 36, 37, 38, 39, 57, 60, 61, 62, 90, 98, 114, 138, 139, 161, 166, 194, 198, 201
Dura Europos 20, 22, 23, 28, 90, 95, 204, 208
Edessa (nowadays Urfa) 17, 208
Egypt 12, 14, 22, 23, 25, 28, 30, 46, 59, 83, 103, 104, 191, 203, 209
Emesa 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 23, 49, 83, 99
Elkab 28
El-Qanawat (= *Qanawat*) see *Canatha*
Eski Hasr 17
Faimingen 29, 105, 191
Fayum 16
Gadara (nowadays Umm Qays) 11, 18
Galilee 15
Gerasa (nowadays Jerash) 11, 18
Gerulata (nowadays Rušovce-Orosvár) 29, 36, 157, 194
Gorsium (*Herculia*) 99
Hatra 17, 18
Heliopolis (nowadays Baalbek) 11, 16, 19
Hierapolis 10
Hiera Sykammios 16
Hippos 11, 18
Horath 22
Intercisa 5, 6, 31, 32, 34, 48, 49, 50, 80, 81, 82, 83, 91, 93, 97, 99, 107, 108, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 157, 159, 191, 192, 197, 205, 208, 209, 215, 217, 222, plate 6
Ituraea 15
Judea (Palestine) 11, 12, 14, 16, 57, 63
Kelamantia (nowadays Izá-Leányvár) 36, 158
Kircheiselfing 29, 105, 191
Klosterneuburg 35, 36, 37, 43, 60, 61, 97, 99, 110, 111, 112, 113, 157, 158, 180, 193, 194, 204, 218
Laodicea 10
Limes Arabicus 24, 212
Marcopolis 17
Meroe (kingdom)
Micia 6, 28, 32, 44, 46, 47, 81, 82, 83, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 97, 99, 109, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 159, 166, 192, 196, 197, 203, 205, 212, 213, 221, plate 2
Mogontiacum (nowadays Mainz) 30, 50, 54, 56, 57, 62, 63, 137, 138, 207, 211, 219, 220
Myos Hormos 25

Nabataea (kingdom) 9, 12, 18, 22, 24
Nisibis 17
Novae (nowadays Svishtov) 29, 41, 106
Osrhoene (kingdom) 17
Palmyra (*Hadriana Palmyra*) 10, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 67, 68, 70, 71, 82, 95, 98, 99, 151, 204, 206, 208, 210, 216
Paneas 15
Pella 11, 18
Petra (*Hadriana Petra*) 10, 22, 24, 95
Perrhe (city state) 14
Philadelphia (nowadays Amman) 11, 18, 69
Philae 16
Philippopolis (nowadays Shahba) 27, 28, 98, 103, 191
Pielach bei Melk 29, 105, 191
Porolissum 6, 11, 28, 38, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73, 74, 82, 91, 92, 95, 99, 148, 149, 150, 160, 162, 197, 199, 203, 206, 207, 210, 211, 217, plate 3, plate 4, plate 5
Pselchis 16
Quadrata (nowadays Lébény-Barátföldpuszta) 36, 157, 194, plate 6
Ranovač (diploma) 29, 53, 54, 57, 58
Raphana 11, 18
Rittium (nowadays Surduk) 32, 33, 69, 78, 80
Rosos 10
Scythopolis (nowadays Beth-Shean) 11, 18
Sorviodurum (nowadays Straubing) 6, 82, 93, 218
Samosata (city state) 13, 14, 17
Sarmizegetusa (*Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa*) V, 55, 69, 75, 82, 83, 98, 136, 151, 152, 205, 208, 213, 221
Satala 13
Seleucia (*Seleukeia*) 10, 11, 16, 20, 22
Sidon 10, 16, 20, 37, 60, 63
Spasinou Charax 20, 21, 22, 214
Solva (nowadays Esztergom) 31, 52, 55, 136, 197, 198
Solva = Flavia Solva (nowadays Leoben) 29, 105
Sura 14
Susiene 22
Syene (nowadays Aswan) 28, 95
Syrene 16, 28
Syria 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 31, 33, 37, 40, 49, 50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, 61, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 81, 83, 88, 98, 202, 204, 209, 214
Tadmor see *Palmyra*
Thalheim bei Wels 29, 106, 191
Talmis (nowadays Kalabsha) 16, 28, 103
Tetrapolis 11
Tibiscum 6, 28, 37, 39, 60, 61, 62, 67, 69, 70, 71, 82, 90, 92, 95, 99, 138, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 161, 198, 199, 201, 202, 206, 211, 213, 215
Trachonitis 15
Tyr (nowadays Tyre) 10, 16, 20
Ullatha 15
Ulcisia Castra (nowadays Széttendre) 33, 35, 43, 63, 64, 65, 83, 97, 99, 141, 142, 143, 161, 211

Via Nova Traiana 24
Vindobona (nowadays Wien) 35, 36, 43, 99, 157, 194
Virunum (nowadays Arndorf) 27, 28, 98, 103, 191
Vologesias 20, 22
Wolfsberg 29, 105
Zeugma 10, 13, 17, 26

ETHNONYMS (NAMES OF PEOPLES)

Alamanni 30
 Amorites 19
 Arabes 17, 204
 Arabians 15, 18, 30
 Batavians 31
 Canatheans 18
 Celts 2, 31
 Celtic-Hispaniards 31
 Commagenians 12, 14, 28
 Cretans 87, 88
 Dacians 2, 3, 28, 45, 53
 Emeseans 9, 11, 12
 Germans 23, 56
 Goths 23
 Hemeseni 97, 99
 Iazyges 3, 49, 70, 71
 Illyrians 2
 Itureans 9, 11, 15, 16, 211
 Judeans 15
 Marcomanni(c) 3, 4, 27, 29, 33, 36, 39, 49, 83
 Nabataeans 10, 19, 25
 Numidians 87
 Quadi 3, 36
 Palmyrenes 12, 20, 22, 23, 25, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 82, 90, 97, 98, 204
 Parthians 10, 12, 13, 17, 19, 22, 26, 56, 57
 Persians 17, 18, 23, 30,
 Rhambeans 9
 Roxolani 3, 4, 45
 Sarmathians 98
 Saracens 17
 Sasanids 22, 23, 24
 Thracians 2, 88
 Vandals 23

ANTHROPONYMS (NAMES OF PERSONS)

Abgar II 17
 Abgar VIII 17
 Abgar IX (L. Aelius Aurelius Septimius Abgarus) 17
 Agrippa 12
 Agrippa I 16
 Agrippa II 13, 16
 Alexander Severus (emperor) 30, 33, 36, 37, 46, 60, 64, 65, 84, 205
 Alexander the Great 18
 Antiochus of Commagene (king) (=Antiochus I of Commagene) 10, 14, 26
 Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) of Commagene 13, 14
 Antiochus XIII Asiaticus (king) 18

Appian 19, 20, 21
 Ardashir 17, 23
 Aretas III the Philhellene (king) 9
 Aristobulus of Chalcis 16
 Aristobulus I 15
 Augustus (emperor) III, 10, 11, 15, 16, 31, 52, 56, 62, 84, 89, 203, 207, 215, 216, 218
 Aurelian (emperor) 19, 23
 C. Avitius Cassius 93
 Caesar 16, 87,
 L. Junius Caesennius Paetus 13, 19
 Caligula (emperor) 13, 15
 Caracalla (emperor) 17, 19, 22, 29, 49, 62, 63, 65, 73, 77
 G. Cestius Gallus 14
 Claudius (emperor) 16, 37, 55, 60
 Commodus (emperor) 11, 84, 208
 A. Cornelius Palma 16
 M. Licinius Crassus 10, 17, 22
 Domitian (emperor) 3, 4, 16, 28, 29, 31, 35, 68, 210, 215, 217
 Elagabalus (emperor) 18, 19, 83, 84
 Eupolemus 15
 Eusebius (Eusebius of Caesarea) 15, 18
 Gaius Pescennius Niger 17
 Galerius Maximianus 17
 Gordian III (emperor) 17, 27, 31
 Hadrian (emperor) 3, 10, 22, 24, 25, 35, 36, 43, 44, 46, 48, 54, 58, 60, 66, 68, 70, 71, 83, 84, 98, 204, 205, 207, 215, 220
 Herod the Great 15, 16
 Herod, nephew of Herod the Great 16
 Iamblichos 18
 Iamblichos II 18
 Julia Domna 49, 83
 Lucius Verus (emperor) 3, 4, 17, 19, 46, 98
 Lysanias, son of Ptolemy 15
 Malchus 12
 Manu VIII 17
 Marc Anthony (Marcus Antonius) 10, 12, 18, 19
 Marcus Aurelius (emperor) 23, 37, 46, 48, 60, 61, 68, 72, 98
 Maximinus Thrax 30
 Nero 10, 13, 31, 37, 56, 58, 60, 62
 Odenathus 23
 Philip, son of Herod 15
 Philip the Arabian (emperor) 27, 28, 31, 44, 76, 84,
 Pliny 18
 Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus) 10, 12, 16
 Ptolemy (=Ptolemy, son to Mennaeus) 15, 19
 Sampsiceramus 18
 Sampsiceramus II 18, 19
 Septimus Severus (emperor) 17, 21, 22, 33, 36, 37, 40, 45, 46, 49, 61, 62, 63, 65, 83, 84
 Shapur I 17, 23
 Sohaemus 12, 15, 16
 Sohaemus, son of Sampsigeramos 19
 Tiberius (emperor) 12, 28, 52, 55, 56, 62
 Tigranes 10

Titus (emperor) 13, 14, 18
 Trajan III, 2, 4, 10, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 29, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 57, 66, 68, 69, 70, 77, 78, 83, 89, 92, 93, 98, 166, 172, 173, 174, 204, 207, 208, 210, 215, 216, 217
 Valerian (emperor) 17, 23
 Vespasian (emperor) 11, 12, 13, 31, 38, 41, 52, 57, 58, 65, 202, 204, 205, 208, 215
 Vologaeses I 13
 Wahballath 23
 Zenobia 19, 23
 Zenodorus 15

UNITS

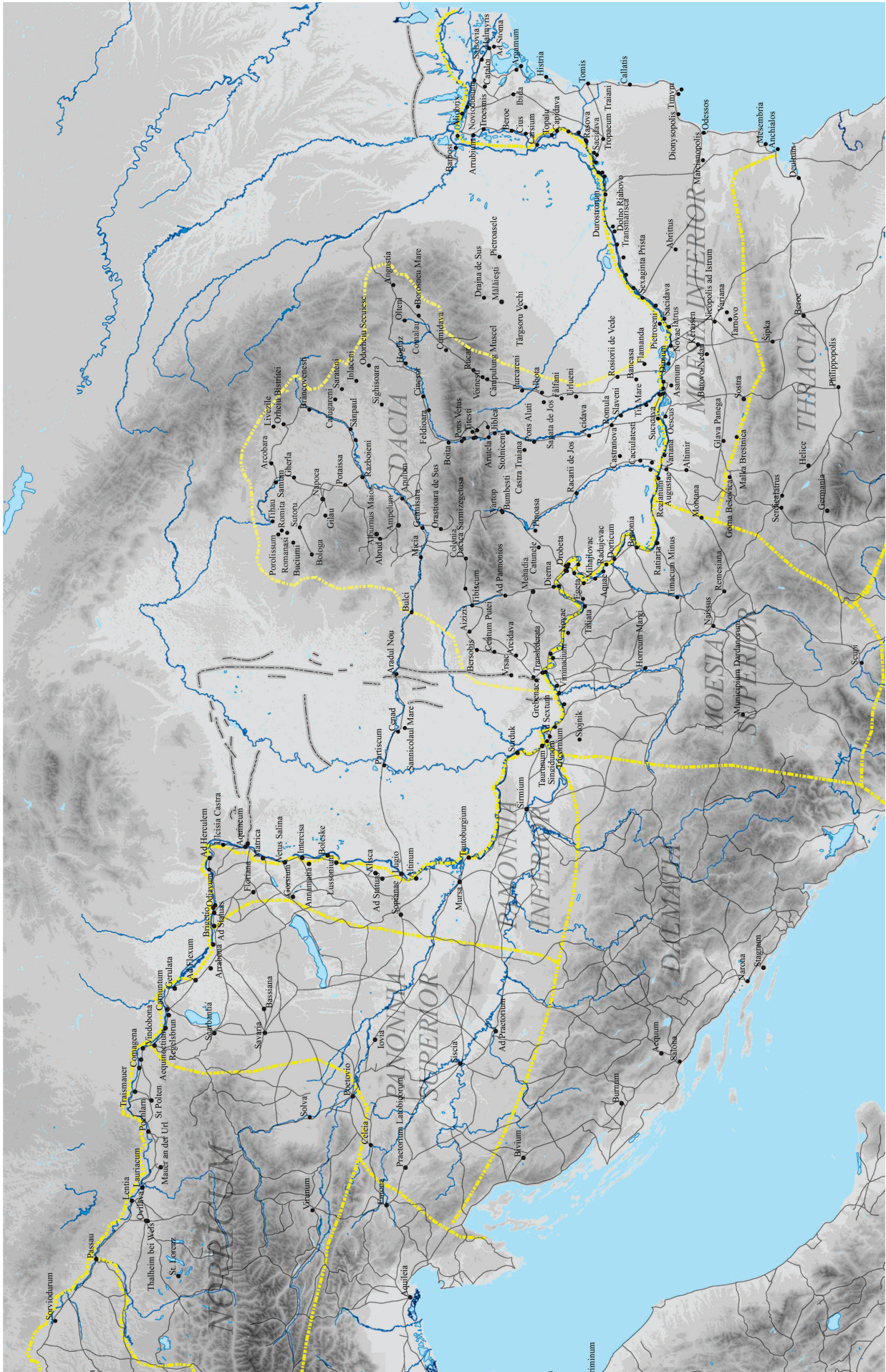
Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria 31, 33, 49, 78, 79, 85, 97, 107, 157, 174, 175, 176, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 192
Ala I Commagenorum milliaria sagittaria 14, 28, 79, 97, 103, 157, 189, 191, 218
Ala I Osrhoenorum sagittaria 34, 98, 157, 193
Ala I Septimia Surorum 34, 35, 98, 110
Ala I Thracum Herculiana 4, 40, 49, 98
Ala II Commagenorum sagittaria 14, 29
Ala Celerum Philippiana 27, 98, 103, 216
Ala nova Firma Cataphractaria Philipiana 28, 30, 98, 106, 191
Cohors I Aelia milliaria sagittaria equitata 35, 36, 37, 43, 60, 61, 79, 85, 97, 99, 110, 157, 188, 189, 193
Cohors I Antiochensium sagittaria 19, 37, 38, 48, 61, 98, 114, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 194
Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria 52, 53, 54, 75, 98, 136, 159, 174, 175, 176, 181, 197, 209, 213
Cohors I Aurelia Antoniana milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum 3, 40, 48, 80, 81, 83, 85, 98
Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittaria 39, 90
Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria equitata 14, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 92, 98, 114, 158, 168, 169, 170, 173, 177, 195
Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittariorum milliaria equitata 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 65, 98, 136, 160, 175, 197, 218, plate 3
Cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antonina Surorum sagittaria equitata (I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata civium Romanorum) 63, 97, 98, 140, 161
Cohors I sagittariorum 36, 37, 39, 60, 61, 62, 63, 71, 80, 86, 90, 98, 138, 160, 198, 202
Cohors I Tyrionum sagittaria 6, 65, 98, 168, 169, 170, 173, 174, 177, 199
Cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittaria 40, 98, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 195,
Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittaria 14, 15, 29, 45, 46, 47, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 91, 92, 97, 114, 159, 163, 164, 166, 167, 174, 175, 176, 196

Cohors II Ituraeorum 16, 59
Cohors VI Commagenorum 14
Cohors VII Breucorum 36, 65, 97, 163, 164, 167, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187
Cohors XX Palmyrenorum 23, 85, 209
Cohors Ituraeorum 16, 59, 91
Cohors quingegenaria Canathenorum et Thraconitarum 39, 114, 195
Palmyreni sagittarii 66, 71, 212
numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium 67, 73, 81, 86, 92, 97, 148, 162, 199
numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium 67, 68, 71, 80, 86, 90, 92, 97, 144, 161, 199
numerus Palmyrenorum O[...] 69, 75, 98, 151, 200, 206
numerus Surorum sagittariorum 76, 81, 86, 92, 97, 152, 200
vexillationes equitum ex Syria 33, 69, 78, 98, 200

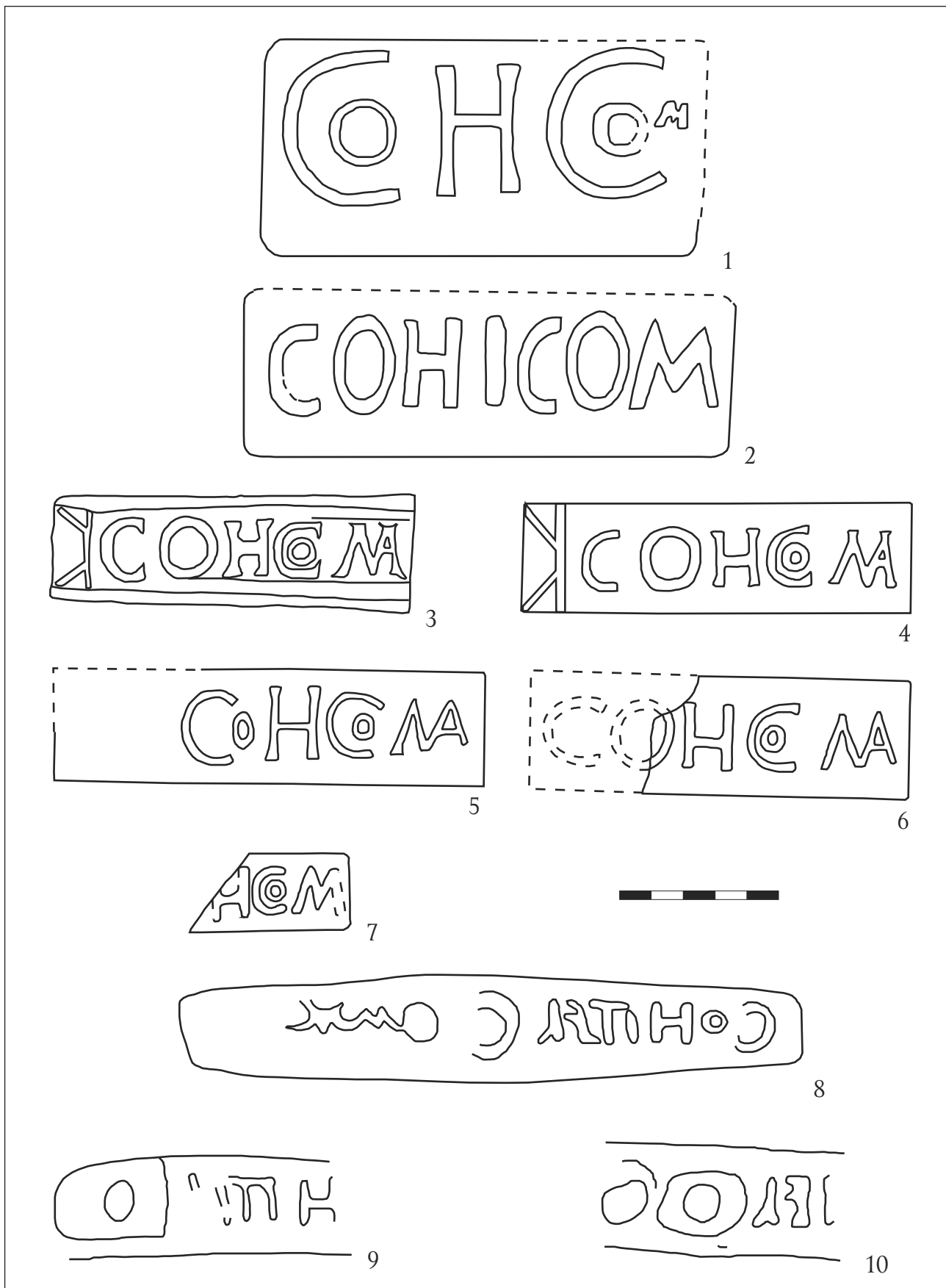
DEITIES

Aglibôl 82
 Bel (Bêl) 81, 82, 86
 Deus Sol Elagabalus 49
 Diana 80
 Diana Augusta 85
 Diana Tifatina 49, 85, 121
Dis patriis 86
Dis omnibus 80, 85
 Dolichenus (Iupiter Dolichenus) 29, 62, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 92, 214
 Elagabal (El-Gabal / Elah-Gebel) 18, 19, 49, 83, 122
 Epona Regina 80, 85
 Fortuna 80
 Fortuna Augusta 85, 117
Genius centuriae 77, 78, 81, 86

Genius cohortis 85
Genius numeri (Malakbel?) 81, 86
Genius numeri Palmyrenorum 81, 144
Genius t(urmae) 80, 85
 Genius Turmazgades 80, 85,
 Heliogabal 80, 85
 Heliopolitanus (Iupiter Heliopolitanus) 33, 79, 83, 85
 Hercules 80, 85
 Iarhibôl 82
 Iupiter Culminaris 85
 Iuno 80
 Iuno Regina (Iunona Regina) 62, 85, 86
 Iupiter (Iupiter) 11, 62, 74, 79, 80, 81, 85, 86
 Iupiter Dolichenus Commagenus 80, 82, 201
 Iupiter Hierapolitanus 83
 Iupiter Turmazgades (Turmasgades) 46, 80, 83, 85
 Liber Pater 69, 72, 73, 80, 81, 85, 86
 Liber Pater et Libera 85
 Malakbel 81, 82, 86
Manaphus et Theandrius (Dii patrii) 79, 85
 Mars Gradivus 80, 85, 86
 Mercury 80, 85, 118
 Minerva 80,
 Minerva Augusta 81, 85, 119, 155
 Mithras 29, 76, 79, 81, 86
 Nemesis 74, 81
 Placida Regina 76, 81, 86
 Silvanus Domesticus 74, 80, 81, 85, 86
 Silvanus Conservator 85
 Silvanus (*Domesticus* and *Conservator*) 80
 Sol 85
 Theandrius see *Manaphus et Theandrius*
 Turmazgades 80, 83
 Victoria 80, 85



Pl. 1 Danubian Provinces during the Principate



Pl. 2 *Cohors I Flavia Commanenorum*: 1. COH COM, 2. COH I COM, 3-4. COH COMA - Drajna de Sus, 5-6. COH COMA - Târgșor, 7. COH COM - Voinești (Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127, fig. 5). *Cohors II Flavia Commanenorum*: 8. COH II FL COMM - Micia; 9-10. COH II FL COMM - Cladova (Hügel 1996, 74, II-1).

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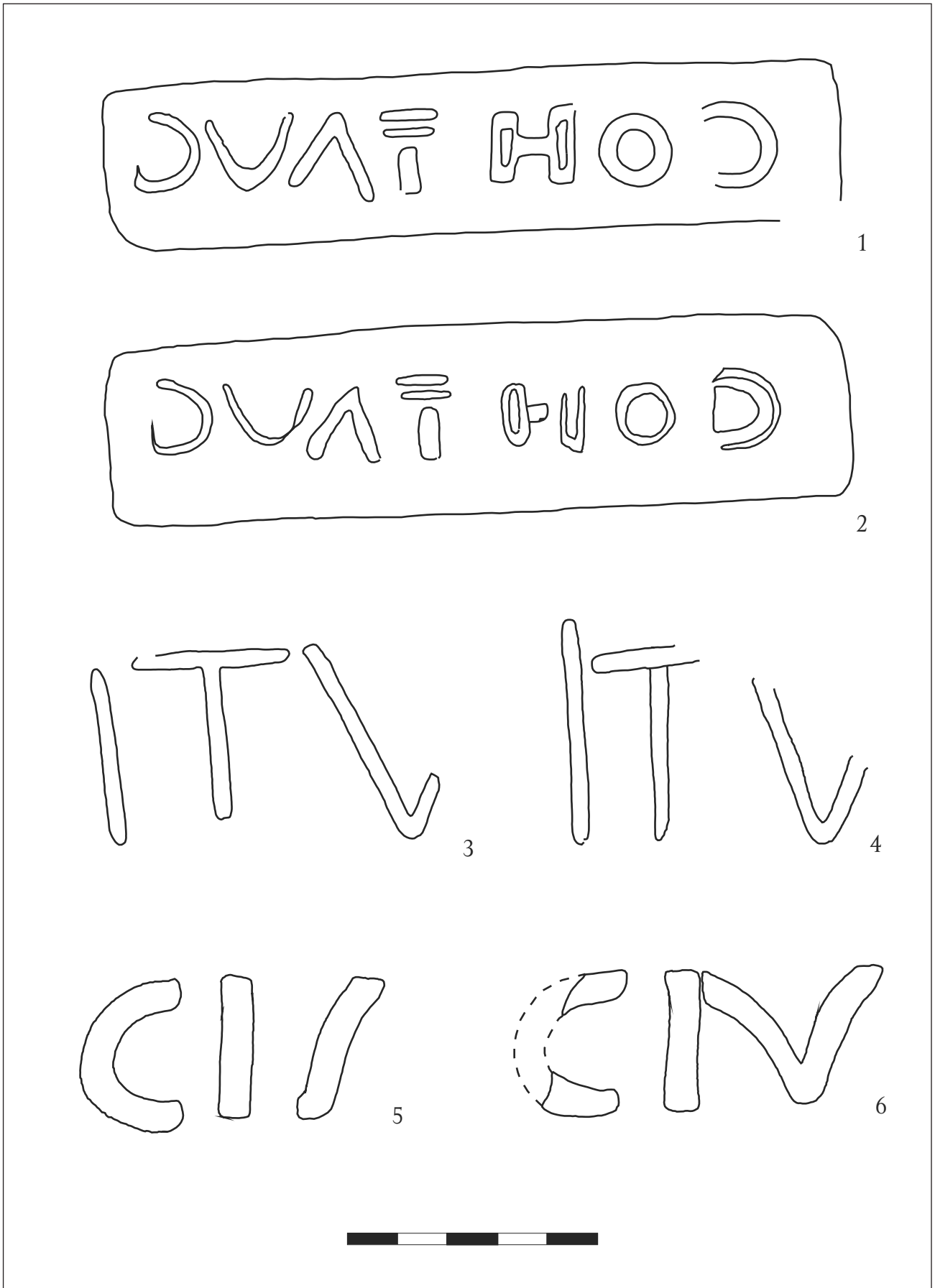
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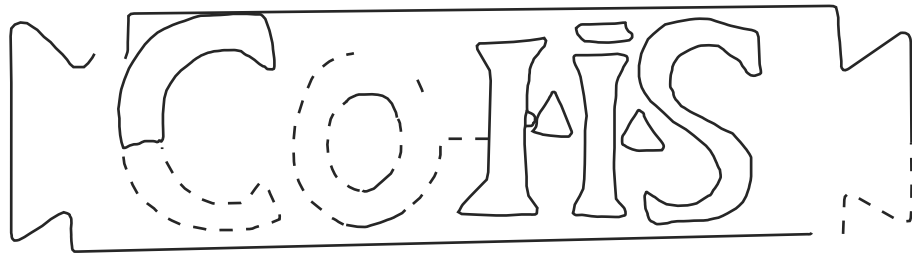
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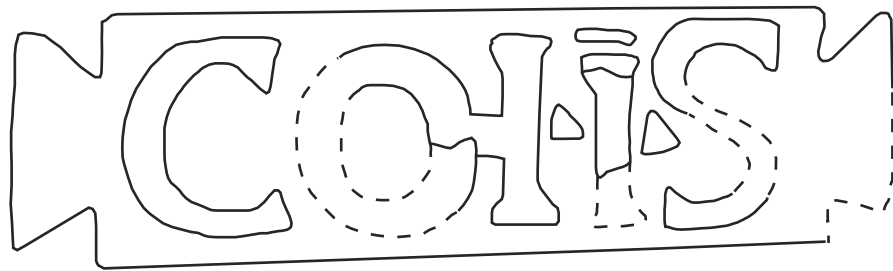
Pl. 3 1-5. CHSS, CHISS (*cohors I Ituraeorum - Porolissum*) (Țentea 2004, 814 pl. I-II).



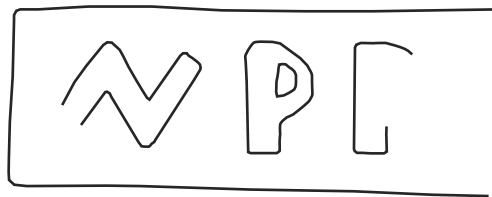
Pl. 4 1-2. *COH I AVG* - Porolissum (Gudea 1989, 978 pl. CXIX,5-6); 3-4. *ITV* - Porolissum (Gudea 1989, 978 pl. CXIX, 3-4); 5-6. *Tibiscum* (Flutur 1999-2000, 378 pl. II).



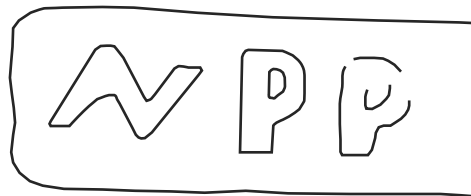
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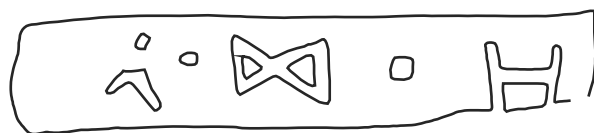
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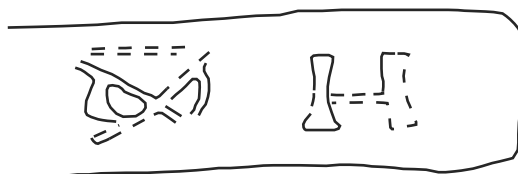
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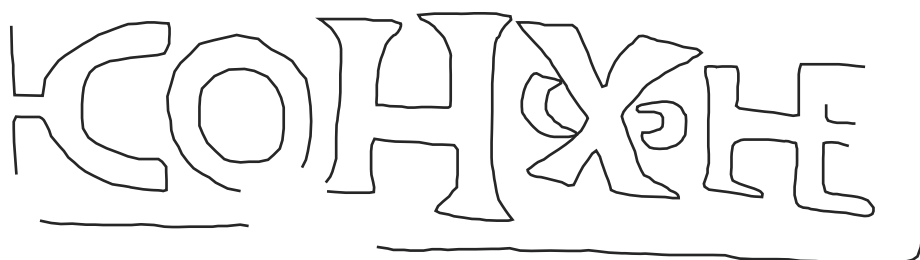
Pl. 5 1-2. *COHIS* – Zăvoi (Bozu 1977, 131-133); 3-4. *NPP* – Porofisum (Gudea 1989, 980 pl. CXXI, 17-18)



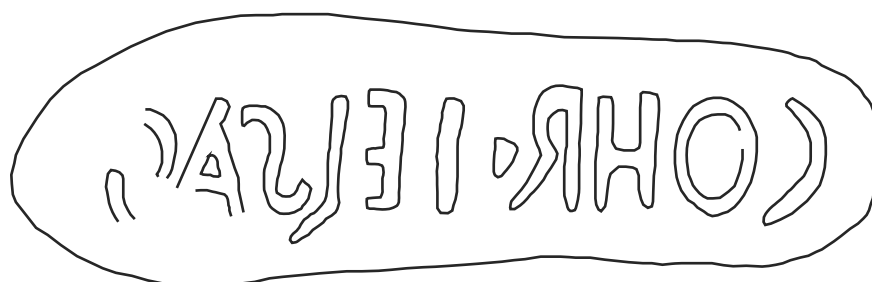
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Pl. 6 1-2. C X H - Intercisa (Lőrincz 1978, Taf. 8, 1, 1a); 3. COH X HE - Intercisa (Lőrincz 1978, Taf. 7, 4); 4. COHR I EL SAG - Arrabona (Lőrincz 1980, Taf. 10, 1); 5. COHR I EL SAG - Quadrata - (Lőrincz 1980, Taf. 10, 1).

