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Les auxiliaires de l'armée romaine

Des alliés aux fédérés

Actes édités par
Catherine WOLFF
et **Patrice FAURE**

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Actium, Allies, and the Augustan Auxilia: reconsidering the transformation of military structures and foreign relations in the reign of Augustus

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Augustus' military reforms are a major theme of Roman military history. As with many subjects of military history, this topic also has implications that reach far beyond the limited scope of Roman army studies in the strict sense of the word. It sheds much light on the Roman Empire's strategies towards the peoples it ruled and the terms it set for their integration. The issue impacts on attempts to understand how Imperial Rome evolved from its previous Republican structures, and how it exploited its provincial resources without critically eroding internal cohesion¹. Republican Rome used ever-increasing numbers of foreign troops to supplement and strengthen its army of citizen soldiers in the legions². Such troops supporting the legions were generally called *auxilia* and included cavalry and lightly armed infantry soldiers as well as specialist troops³. Since the end of the Social War in 88 B.C. when Rome included the Italian *socii* into its citizen units, the foreign *auxilia* made up the principal secondary branch of the Roman army. Traditionally, the Republican *auxilia* were supplied by Rome's foreign allies, subject peoples and mercenaries in times of war and disbanded thereafter.⁴ Inscriptions and papyri reveal that during the reign of Augustus major changes took place. Roman auxiliary units named *alae*, *cohortes* and *cohortes equitata*,

¹ On the subject in general see most recently Gambash 2015.

² Liv., XXII, 37, 7-8.

³ Cf. e.g. Cic., Ver., V, 60 (see n. 97 below); Cic., Phil., X, 24; Caes., Gal., I, 39, 2; B. Afr., 59, 3; Liv., XXXVII, 39, 7-13; XLII, 35. Cf. Saddington 1970; 1982, p. 27-53.

⁴ Fest., 17: *Auxiliares dicuntur in bello socii Romanorum exterarum nationum, dicti a graeco αὐξησις. See Cheesman 1914, p. 8. Auxilium, however, was formed from *augere*: Var., L, V, 90: Auxilium appellatum ab auctu, cum accesserant ei, qui adiumento essent alienigenae. Cf. also Liv., XXII, 37, 7-8, and TLL 1618-30 s.u. 'auxilium'.*

each of around five hundred non-Roman soldiers from one or more provincial communities, were thenceforth permanently stationed in Roman style fortresses in the provinces, paid and maintained by the Romans, and organised as standardised formations. Clearly, Rome's new ruler had thoroughly transformed the Empire's auxiliary forces. Not least because of the great historical importance of Augustus' major political and administrative reorganisations, his military reforms have also (and rightfully so) attracted the attention of modern scholars, and many recognise them as fundamental changes in the structure and organisation of the Roman Empire⁵. Yet, sources are scarce and Augustus' military reforms evade detailed analysis. Many open questions therefore still surround the emergence of Rome's new professional auxiliary forces during the reign of Augustus.

Some general traits of the developments are nevertheless apparent⁶: shortly after the battle of Actium, Imperator Caesar disbanded many troops from the armies of both sides, and dismissed many foreign rulers and their contingents. According to Suetonius, the victor then sent the remaining legions and *auxilia* to the provinces of the Empire: *ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia prouinciatim distribuit*⁷. Although a standing army already began to develop during the Late Republic, it soon became apparent that Imperator Caesar had devised a new design for the post-Actian imperial army. For on 11 January 29 B.C. he had the gates of the temple of Janus Quirinus closed and celebrated the rite of *augurium salutis* without discharging all Roman citizens under arms. That amounted to his officially acknowledging that a permanent Roman army was to exist forthwith, even in times of empirewide peace⁸. Actium therefore appears to have marked an important symbolic watershed in the history of the Roman army.

Remarkably however, there is no concrete evidence for a ruling or set of rulings, which Augustus may have issued then or on any other single occasion during his long reign to reform the *auxilia*. In fact, upon closer scrutiny of the narrative sources, many supposed differences between the late Republican and early Imperial auxiliary forces seem to fade away. Remarkably, for instance, the command structure of the *auxilia* attained its later stable arrangement only in the reign of Claudius. Yet, from the Augustan period of transition a new imperial army emerged, for which there is rich epigraphic, papyrological, numismatic, and literary evidence⁹. We know of only one post-Actian date in Augustus' reign to

⁵ Haynes 2013, p. 41: 'a permanent Empire-wide institution, a dramatic step with profound consequences', recognizable through 'a broad pattern of standardization' (*ibid.*, p. 43). In general cf. e.g. Cheesman 1914, p. 7-20; Raaflaub 1987; Keppie 1998, p. 145-171; Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 19-51; Haynes 2013, p. 38-50.

⁶ For general accounts of these developments see esp. Gabba 1973; Saddington 1982; Keppie 1998, p. 150-152, and now Haynes 2013.

⁷ Suet., *Aug.*, 49; D.C., LIV, 25, 5f; LV, 23, 1. Cf. also *RGDA*, 17; Str., XVII, 1, 12; J., *BJ*, II, 5, 1. Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 48, 1 and Speidel M.P. 1984a, p. 323-327. For the date see Oros., *Adu. Pag.*, VI, 19, 14: *Ibi orbis terrarum praesidia diuisis legionibus conposuit* with Wesch-Klein 1991. For a full discussion see Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 19-51, 407-437. Speidel M.A. 2014a, p. 54-55.

⁸ Early developments towards a standing army: cf. e.g. Smith 1958, p. 70-74; Harmand 1967, p. 46-47. Rambaud 1969. Acknowledged on 11 January 29 B.C.: Speidel M.A. 2012, p. 175.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Strobel 1995; Speidel M.A. 2014b.

which our sources ascribe major military reforms: 5 July 13 B.C.¹⁰ On that day, during a meeting of the Senate eighteen years after Actium, Augustus announced new (and confirmed other existing) conditions of service in the Roman army: he defined and unified the length of service, pay and discharge grants for all branches of the Roman army. The historical context and the occasion for these reforms were Augustus' preparations for the impending German war. In 5 and 6 A.D., some adjustments and alterations were added¹¹. Only in 6 A.D., it seems, was Augustus formally established as the commander-in-chief of the entire Roman army¹². Remarkably however, none of these reforms are reported to have concerned the size and organisation of auxiliary units or the composition of field armies.

Significantly, it was standard practice for the new Imperial *alae* and *cohortes* to be paid from the Roman treasury and subjected to the *disciplina Augusta*¹³. The new Imperial *ala* (its name evoked the “wings” of the Republican army) replaced the previous tactical cavalry unit, the *turma* of around 30 or 32 horsemen (the latter was now treated as a sub-unit of the *ala*)¹⁴. Auxiliary infantry cohorts already existed before the first century B.C., but now some of them were supplemented by a mounted contingent of around one hundred and twenty horsemen, thus creating the new *cohortes equitatae*. Soldiers for all of these units were recruited from subject peoples and city-states, and employed as professionals at fixed conditions, including pay, length of service and discharge benefits. *Auxilia*, as a collective term, applied in an increasingly technical sense to these new permanent and standardised units (as *auxiliaries* did to their soldiers). There is still occasional mention in our sources of local militias, mercenaries, and, above all, of foreign allies. Tacitus, for one, continued to count such troops among the *auxilia*¹⁵. Thus, his *auxilia regum* echoes Cicero's use of the term: e.g. *quibus (scil. copiis) rex Deiotarus imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret*¹⁶. Perhaps the traditional inclusiveness of Tacitus' *auxilia* is partly due to his averseness to technical terminology. However, Festus' (and thus Flaccus') and Vegetius' definitions of *auxilia* are equally inclusive, and thus betray the continued existence of this particular use of the term in post-classical Latin¹⁷.

¹⁰ D.C., LIV, 25, 3-6. *InscrIt* XIII, 2, 189, 208, 476. Cf. also Suet., *Aug.*, 49, 2. For a detailed commentary see Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 408-410, 40-41 and 547-559; 2014a, p. 54-55.

¹¹ D.C., LV, 23, 1; LV, 26, 5. Cf. RGDA, 17.

¹² Eck 2015, p. 660-662 with further bibliography.

¹³ For pay as a standard feature of auxiliary service under Augustus cf. e.g. Tac., *Ann.*, II, 9: *Flauus aucta stipendia, torqueum et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, inidente Arminio ulia seruitii pretia*. See also Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 349-437; 2014a. For Augustus and the *disciplina Augusta* see Tac., *Ann.*, III, 42: *Militia disciplinaque nostra habebatur* with Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 26-35, 53-78. Cf. also Vell., II, 109, 1; Tac., *Ann.*, II, 52. Phang 2008.

¹⁴ Previous tactical unit: cf. e.g. *CIL* I², 709 = *ILS* 8888. Some of Caesar's auxiliary cavalry units commanded by *praefecti equitum*, however, appear to have been larger than *turmae* of merely 32 men. Cf. Caes., *Gal.*, I, 23 (with mention of a *decurio equitum Gallorum*); III, 26 and IV, 11. For Caesar as the possible founder of the new *alae* see below n. 56.

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. Tac., *Ann.*, I, 60; II, 16; *Hist.*, IV, 51. Cf. Saddington 1970, *passim*, esp. p. 94: „the term [sc. *auxilia*] is not reserved for trained or professional auxiliaries attached to the legions.“ By contrast, Tacitus also uses the term *socii* both for Roman *alae* and *cohortes*, and for the entirety of all non-Roman contingents of Roman expeditionary armies: Saddington 1970, p. 94-95.

¹⁶ E.g. Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 38 and XV, 26. Cic., *Deiot.*, VIII, 22.

¹⁷ Fest., 17 (cf. above n. 3). Veg., *Mil.*, II, 1: *Sed auxilia a sociis uel foederatis gentibus mittebantur*.

Auxilia of the Roman army (Republican and Imperial), it might be said, thus came from wherever the *imperium Romanum* was obeyed. Yet, recent accounts of the Imperial *auxilia* generally apply the term exclusively to the new permanent and standardised *alae*, *cohortes* and *cohortes equitatae*, and thereby exclude a considerable part of Imperial Rome's *auxilia* from their considerations¹⁸. Although, to some extent, the treatment of the standardised units as a separate category of the Roman Imperial army can be justified, investigating them in isolation from the rest of the auxiliary forces obscures their origins as well as the nature of the Augustan military reforms in the aftermath of Actium.

The historiography of past decades was much concerned with the motives that guided Augustus' reforms of the Roman military system. In particular, it was assumed that he needed, above all else, to disband the unruly civil war soldiers and to form a new imperial army that was devoted entirely to him, and stationed so far away from Rome that it could no longer interfere with domestic politics¹⁹. Considerations of that sort may of course, to some extent, have influenced Imperator Caesar's decisions after Actium and the conquest of Egypt when he discharged a great many soldiers. However, the argument that his military reforms primarily served to remove the soldiers from active involvement in politics is less than compelling, for (as is well-known) it was precisely Augustus who first permanently stationed large numbers of soldiers in Rome and Italy (*cohortes praetoriae*, *urbanae* and *uigilum*, and the imperial fleets). Moreover, it is demonstrably wrong (despite repeated and recent claims) that the Roman soldiers' loyalty was officially transferred by a new military oath from the *res publica Romana* to the new sole ruler²⁰. Considerations to create a powerful and permanent army that was financially sustainable may therefore have been the goal Augustus tried to achieve when he decided to drastically reduce the size of the two Roman armies at Actium²¹. If true, we also need to ask how exactly financial considerations may have influenced the Augustan reforms of the *auxilia* and their outcome.

Foreign soldiers were present at Actium in vast numbers. Plutarch's list²² of eastern rulers who personally led their soldiers to Actium in support of Antony includes Bogud of Mauretania, Tarcondimotus of Upper Cilicia²³, Archelaus of

¹⁸ The *Encyclopedia of the Roman Army* (2015) provides a very recent illustration of this point. It does not consider allied troops, militias or mercenaries under the headings 'Augustus's Army', 'Flavians and the army', or 'Units: the Principate' (although the latter even includes a curious paragraph on 'The Camel Corps'). Nor is an entry to be found that deals with the various reforms of the Roman army during its long history. See however the late Denis Saddington's contribution *ibid.*, 'Allies: Principate'. Haynes 2013, esp. p. 69-70 and 115, acknowledges the existence (and importance) of *ad hoc*-formations, *nationes*, *numeri* etc in the Imperial period, yet without including them among the Roman imperial *auxilia*, and therefore also without fully discussing their place within the Roman army. Similarly: Le Bohec 2002, p. 25-29; Webster 1983, p. 141-156 and others.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. Webster 1983, p. 24; Raaflaub 1987; Gilliver 2007, esp. p. 184-185.

²⁰ See Speidel M.A. 2010.

²¹ Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 53-84.

²² Plu., *Ant.*, 61, cf. 63.

²³ Cic. *Fam.*, XV, 1, 2: *fidelissimus socius trans Taurum amicissimusque populi Romani*. Cf. also Str., XIV, 5, 18.

Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Sadalas of Thrace. Other eastern rulers sent their soldiers under the command of delegates, such as Malichus of Arabia, who sent a tribal leader named Iambilichus. Polemon of Pontus, Herod the Great, and Amyntas of Lycaonia and Galatia also sent soldiers, and even the kings of the Medes and of the Getae are on record for having sent auxiliary forces²⁴. According to Plutarch, the rival generals each commanded 12'000 horsemen, the overwhelming majority (if not all) of which surely belonged to their respective auxiliary forces. Many of the 6'000 Gallic and Spanish horsemen that survived Antony's Parthian campaign of 36 B.C. no doubt fought for him at Actium²⁵. The origins of the remaining 6'000 horsemen in Antony's army are not on record, nor is the size, organisation and structure of their units. Evidently, there were also soldiers from the Ptolemaic army of Egypt fighting for Antony at Actium. Moreover, Cleopatra had several hundred horsemen from Gaul under her own command, and her army may also have included Egyptian allied troops from countries south of Egypt²⁶. Nothing survives to seriously suggest that these troops were militarily inadequate or intolerably disloyal. The victor's denigrating descriptions of them as a motley band of barbarians served, as is well-known, to emphasize the Roman-ness of his own army and to convey the message of the superiority of everything Roman, armies and leaders in particular.

Yet contrary to the victor's later propaganda, foreign troops at Actium were hardly just a characteristic of Antony's army. Thus, as is well known, naval commanders such as Eurycles from Sparta, or Seleucus from the Syrian coastal city of Rhosos also served in Imperator Caesar's army²⁷, just as indigenous North Africans appear to have done²⁸. The mostly non-Roman origins of his 12'000 horsemen are not all on record, but Horace refers to the presence, at Actium, of a group of two thousand cavalry from Gaul in Imperator Caesar's army²⁹. We can also safely assume that his (mounted) Germanic bodyguard accompanied him, as they had in Sicily in 36 B.C.³⁰ No doubt, there were many more foreign soldiers in Imperator Caesar's army from the western countries he ruled. Yet even 'barbarian' Orientals, in increasing numbers, joined his forces, albeit as deserters from Antony's army, such as Amyntas of Lycaonia and Galatia, Deiotaros Philadelphos of Paphlagonia, or Medeios and the people of Mysia³¹. All these foreigners were part of the victorious Roman army and contributed in one way or another to the outcome of the battle.

²⁴ According to D.C., XLIX, 44, 4, the dispatch of the Median contingent led to the Parthian recapture of Armenia.

²⁵ 4'000 (Plu., *Ant.*, 50, 1) of 10'000 (Plu., *Ant.*, 37, 3) cavalry were lost in 36 B.C.

²⁶ Gaulish horsemen: J., *BJ*, I, 20, 3; AJ, XV, 7, 3. Four hundred of them were later transferred by Imperator Caesar to serve as king Herod's bodyguard. Egyptian allies: Verg., *A.*, VIII, 705-706: *omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi, omnis Arabs, omnes uertebant terga Sabaei*. For troops supplied by Egypt's allies compare e.g. Caes., *Ciu.*, III, 110.

²⁷ Plu., *Ant.*, 67; *IGLS* III, 718, esp. ll. 85-93.

²⁸ D.C., L, 6, 4. Cf. Plu., *Ant.*, 61.

²⁹ Hor., *Epod.*, IX, 17f.

³⁰ App., *BC*, V, 117.

³¹ Plu., *Ant.*, 63; D.C., L, 13, 5; LI, 2, 1 and 3; LI, 7, 4.

It seems perfectly justifiable, therefore, to classify the war of 32 – 30 B.C. not merely as a Roman civil war, but indeed as a true World War. Propertius, for one, thought so³². In any event, there can be no doubt that the impact of Actium was felt on many levels throughout the Roman world and beyond. In Roman public commemoration, the battle of Actium of course became the legendary foundation of a new and peaceful era. It was celebrated as a Roman victory over uncivilized barbarians. The role of the western foreigners on the battlefield was played down, that of the easterners distorted. Was Actium therefore the end of the republican military system that had put so much emphasis on the help from foreign allies? Was it a watershed in the history of the Roman army and at least the symbolic birthday of a new, imperial and standardised auxiliary force with a new ‘Roman’ style, one that by its appearance, structure, pay and daily routine (*disciplina Augusta*) conveyed the impression that Augustan Rome thenceforth won its grand victories solely with ‘Roman’ arms: *alae*, *cohortes* and *cohortes equitatae*?

One possible approach towards an answer consists in tracing the composition of Roman field armies before and after Actium. Velleius Paterculus’ description of the army, which Pompey built up in 48 B.C. at Dyrrhachium during the war against Julius Caesar, may serve as an example for the traditional composition of such armies during the Late Republic for it comprises the standard components usually employed in this period: ‘legions (...) auxiliary troops of foot and horse (*equitum ac peditum auxilia*), and the forces of kings, tetrarchs, and other subject rulers’ (*regum et tetrarcharum simulque dynastarum copiis*), as well as a fleet in the Adriatic.³³ Both Roman armies at Actium were composed in the same manner: Roman legions, non-Roman infantry and cavalry, contingents provided by allied tribes and kings, as well as fleets. There is no mention however of *alae* or *cohortes*. Only a few years after Actium, in 26/25 B.C., Augustus ordered a military expedition to invade the countries of Southern Arabia. The army for this operation was again composed in the described traditional manner. It consisted of 10'000 soldiers drawn from the legions and *auxilia* (*cohortes* and *alae* [?]) of the garrison of Roman Egypt³⁴, a contingent of 1'000 soldiers from the neighbouring Nabataean kingdom under the command of prince (‘kings brother’) Syllaeus, 500 soldiers supplied from the guard of king Herod, and a large fleet³⁵. Velleius’ description of the army which Tiberius led against the Pannonian insurgents in 6 A.D. confirms that post-Actian field armies continued to be composed in compliance with the same principles. For according to Velleius, who personally served in this army, it consisted of ‘ten legions, more than 70 cohorts, fourteen (?) *alae*, and more than 10'000 veterans. Together with these there was a large body of volunteers and considerable forces

³² Prop., IV, 6, 19: *huc mundi coiere manus*.

³³ Vell., II, 51, 1.

³⁴ Egypt’s early Roman garrison: Str., XVII, 1, 12. Cf. below n. 64.

³⁵ Str., XVI, 4, 21-23; J., AJ, XV, 9, 3 (317). Speidel M.A. 2015, p. 241.

of royal cavalry³⁶. Evidently, the general composition of this large field army was still very much in line with traditional structures (legions – non-Roman auxiliary units – allied forces) but it is surely significant that Velleius now supplies specific numbers of *alae* and *cohortes* instead of merely referring to *equitum ac peditum auxilia*, as he did for Pompey's army at Dyrrachium. As Denis Saddington maintained: ‘there is no real reason for thinking that Velleius was not using the terminology in use during the campaigns in which he participated’³⁷.

While such accounts appear to reflect the emerging predominance of the new standardised *alae* and *cohortes* and their regular employment in the years after Actium, they also reveal the continuity of traditional principles, by which Roman field armies were composed. Thus, beside the legions, Roman field armies comprised two different categories of non-Roman auxiliary forces both before and after Actium: the older *equitum ac peditum auxilia* or the new imperial *alae* and *cohortes* on the one hand, and contingents supplied by Rome's allies on the other. Both made up the non-Roman auxiliary forces of the Roman imperial army. As many other examples prove, this principle continued to be applied throughout the following centuries. It is surely significant that the bipartite composition of the Imperial auxiliary forces, as implied by Velleius Paterculus and others, was already in existence in the Late Republic.

Yet, difficulties arise when we attempt to identify the differences between both categories of *auxilia* in the armies of the Late Republic. As we have seen, Velleius Paterculus calls the first category, immediately following the legions, *equitum ac peditum auxilia*. The remaining auxiliary units he qualifies as forces provided by kings, tetrarchs, and other subject rulers (*regum et tetrarcharum simulque dynastarum copiis*). Evidently, this latter group hailed from beyond provincial soil. Cassius Dio, too, appears to imply the presence of the same types of traditional *auxilia* at Actium. For he refers to Antony's ‘own’ cavalry, and in one paragraph specifically sets it apart from the forces of Philadelphus of Paphlagonia³⁸. He also refers to Imperator Caesar's cavalry in similar terms³⁹. These non-Roman horsemen thus appear to have ‘belonged’ to the Romans, and need to be distinguished from others, such as those in Plutarch's lengthy list of foreign soldiers at Actium, who ‘belonged’ to their foreign rulers⁴⁰. Yet, what exactly does that mean? Surely, it cannot be taken to mean that some non-Roman auxiliary units fought under Roman commanders while other foreigners served under independent, non-Roman leaders of equal rank. For all foreign rulers at Actium evidently fought under the superior command of either Imperator Caesar or Mark Antony. Moreover, all auxiliary units of Republican field armies, irrespective of their provincial or non-provincial origins, usually

³⁶ Vell., II, 113, 1. Cf. Vell., II, 112, 4 referring to the same army by a shorthand term: *auxiliaribusque et equitatui regio*. In II, 117, 1 Velleius describes Varus' losses of 9 A.D. as comprising three legions, *totidem alarum et sex cohortium*.

³⁷ Saddington 1970, p. 115.

³⁸ D.C., L, 13, 5.

³⁹ D.C., L, 12, 1 and 14, 3.

⁴⁰ Plu., *Ant.*, 61 and 63.

appear to have been commanded by natives from their respective communities. Jonathan Prag has recently elaborated on this aspect and proposed the general rule that ‘the *auxilia* were, in all periods of the Republic, led by their own native commanders (under some overall Roman command)’⁴¹. Remarkably, much the same was true for the early Imperial *auxilia*, including the new *alae* and *cohortes*⁴².

With regard to the post-Actian auxiliary forces, Géza Alföldy and Denis Saddington drew the line between permanent ‘professional infantry and cavalry auxiliaries’ (i.e. the new *alae* and *cohortes*) on the one hand and ‘local troops supplied for the occasion by kingdoms or tribes’ on the other⁴³. Thus, Saddington maintained that early Imperial authors styled the new *alae*, *cohortes* and *cohortes equitatae* as ‘professional’ or ‘regular’ and set up from soldiers that were recruited within the provinces⁴⁴. The second type of *auxilia* mentioned by the same ancient authors was supplied by chartered towns, single tribes or foreign allies and consisted of ‘irregular’ or ‘ad-hoc’ units. These troops could be provided by provincials and extra-provincials alike, included lightly armed infantry and cavalry, and were sent home at the end of a war, as was traditional Republican practice⁴⁵. Yet questions remain. Was there a difference, in principle, between the ‘irregulars’ from within and those from beyond the provincial boundaries? And in what respect(s) can the pre-Actian *auxilia* provided by foreign kings and dynasts be seen to have differed from the post-Actian ‘irregulars’? The post-Actian *alae* and *cohortes* were evidently professional units in the sense that their soldiers were engaged in the military profession as their main occupation and source of livelihood. To some extent, however, the terms ‘permanent’ and ‘professional’, generally used by modern authors to contrast ‘ad-hoc’ and ‘irregular’, require further qualification, as far too little is known about the conditions of service in the irregular units (foreign and provincial) of the Early Empire to be able to make confident general statements about their degree of permanence and professionalism⁴⁶.

A recent study proposed to locate the principal differences between possible types of Late Republican *auxilia* simply in the “proportion of participation or size of force”⁴⁷. Interestingly, this view implies that allied foreign kings with large armies were of greater military (and thus political) importance to Late Republican Rome than the many provincial communities that could only provide modest or average sized contingents. No doubt, size mattered. Yet size was unpredictable. Only in rare cases, such as that of king Attalos I, in 200 B.C., do we hear of a clause in the *foedus* with Rome that defined a fixed number of

⁴¹ Prag 2010, p. 105; Haynes 2013, p. 42-43. Compare also Pfeilschifter 2007, esp. p. 33-34.

⁴² Cf. e.g. Alföldy 1968, p. 78 and 89f. Haynes 2013, p. 42f. with examples.

⁴³ Alföldy 1968, p. 93; Saddington 1970, p. 123.

⁴⁴ Saddington 1970. Witness, however, a *cohors* and several *alae Parthorum*. It appears, however, that the soldiers and officers for these units were recruited from within the Empire: cf. Kennedy 1977.

⁴⁵ Cavalry: Vell., II, 112, 4; II, 113, 1; J., BJ, II, 18, 9; Tac., Ann., II, 11. Sent home: Tac., Hist., II, 69: *redita ciuitatibus Gallorum auxilia*.

⁴⁶ Cf. Timpe 1970, p. 68. Cf. also below at nn. 86-96.

⁴⁷ Prag 2010, p. 106.

soldiers (1'000) that was to be supplied to the Romans in the case of war⁴⁸. Otherwise, it seems, such clauses only vaguely quantified the military assistance that Rome expected from her allies⁴⁹. The required number of auxiliary soldiers appears to have been set at the beginning of each year in which Rome was at war, when the Republican Senate debated issues concerning the State, the provinces and the armies (*de re publica deque prouinciis et exercitibus*)⁵⁰. Roman magistrates then informed their allies of the numbers of soldiers they required from them⁵¹.

Augustus remedied this uncertainty: by setting up numerous permanent and standardised *alae* and *cohortes* after Actium he substantially increased the predictability of the size of Rome's *auxilia*. Moreover, the post-Actian *alae* and *cohortes* also increasingly adopted a new 'Roman' style, which was no doubt significantly fostered by their placement in camps of Roman design and their submission to the rules of *disciplina Romana* (or *Augusta*)⁵². The same does not appear to have applied to a comparable extent to the Late Republican *auxilia*. The new 'Roman' style is reflected, among other things, by the frequent and wide-spread use of Latin (and Greek) epigraphy by the members of the new Imperial *alae* and *cohortes* since the age of Augustus. By contrast, soldiers of the irregular, 'ad-hoc' auxiliary formations remain almost completely absent from the epigraphic record⁵³. Yet in some cases, terminology suggests continuity. Sallustius, for instance, mentions *cohortes Ligurum* in his account of the Jugurthine War. Formations *uetus loci* of the same name are also known from Tacitus and the epigraphic record to have existed in the first century A.D.⁵⁴ Serving in the Civil War armies of Caesar and his opponents we find 'twenty-two cohorts from the new levies in Gaul' or 'several auxiliary cohorts of Spaniards'⁵⁵. There is good reason to believe that such cohorts were among the ancestors of the many *cohortes Gallorum* and *Hispanorum* of the early Imperial period. Moreover, there is compelling (albeit slim) epigraphic evidence to suggest that the *ala* as a new cavalry formation was already in existence before Actium and

⁴⁸ Liv., XXXI, 46, 3. Yet cf. also App., *Hisp.*, IX, 48.

⁴⁹ See e.g. AE 2005, 1487 = BE 2006, 143, ll. 25 – 27: κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον (46 B.C.). The earlier *foedus* with Lycia has κατὰ τὸ εὐκαιρὸν, which was also used in the *foedera* with Kibyra and Methymna: Schuler 2007, p. 58. Cic., *Fam.*, XV, 1, 6 and *Phil.*, XI, 31 also strongly imply that the *foedera*, in general, only contained vague quantifications of military aid.

⁵⁰ E.g. Liv., XXXVIII, 35, 9-10. Cf. also Plb., VI, 13, 1; Liv., XXX, 1, 1; XLII, 1, 1-6 etc. This was the occasion when the Senate decided how many soldiers, citizens and foreign allies, were to be recruited both to make up new and to reinforce existing units, and how much money and supplies were to be sent to the armies: Liv., XXII, 36, 1-5; XXVI, 11, 5; XXIX, 15, 1; XXXIX, 20, 3; XL, 44, 5; XLII, 1, 2; XLIII, 12, 1-11; XLIII, 15, 1; XLIV, 1, 1 etc. On pay see esp. Nicolet 1978.

⁵¹ Cf. Liv., XLII, 35, 6-7 (171 B.C.: *incertus numerus, quantum rogati Cretenses misissent*). Liv., XLIII, 7, 1-4 (170 B.C.: *quantum sibi imperatum*).

⁵² Cf. Phang 2008; Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 26-35.

⁵³ Alföldy 1968, p. 92f. rightly maintained that the opposite was not true: the lack of inscriptions from soldiers of an early imperial auxiliary unit is no proof that that particular unit was irregular.

⁵⁴ Sall., *Iug.*, 38 (his use of *turma* in the same passage suggests that he was using technical terminology) and 77; Tac., *Hist.*, II, 14: *Ligurum cohortes, uetus loci auxilium*. CIL V, 7426; 7890; 7891; 7897; ILS 2595; AE 1981, 601; AE 1994, 795 etc.

⁵⁵ Caes., *Ciu.*, I, 18: *cohortesque ex nouis Galliae dilectibus xxii; B. Alex.*, 64: *compluris cohortis auxiliarias Hispanorum*.

may even have been created by Julius Caesar during the civil wars⁵⁶. Although the earliest *alae* hardly yet counted ca. five hundred horsemen, the number that was later to become standard, it may have been organised along its classic structure of *turmae* commanded by decurions from the very beginning⁵⁷. If true, a scenario appears to emerge, by which the pre-Actian *alae* and *cohortes* not only served as models for the standardised Imperial auxiliary units, but were also among the auxiliary units that came to fight at Actium⁵⁸. Moreover, the empire-wide dominance of these new types of auxiliary units immediately after 31/30 B.C. strongly suggests that they had already stood the test and proven their battlefield value before 31 B.C., as the few encounters between the forces of Antony and Imperator Caesar before the sea battle at Actium were by themselves hardly sufficient to establish the supremacy of the new formations.

It has recently been pointed out, however, that there is not enough evidence to show that any auxiliary unit survived the civil wars to become part of the new imperial army⁵⁹. While that may be true for the evidence concerning individual units, Suetonius' statement and the cases quoted above leave no doubt that a substantial number of previously existing auxiliary units indeed moved to the outer provinces together with the legions after the battles of 31 and 30 B.C. These *auxilia* surely included all (or most) pre-Actian *alae* and *cohortes* for they will have been favoured during the selections for the new imperial army. Other auxiliary units may have been transformed or amalgamated shortly after Actium to conform to the new standards. Although, at present, it is impossible to determine the precise dates of their creation as or transformation to the new types of auxiliary formations, several post-Actian auxiliary units clearly had Republican ancestors. Thus, for instance, Cretan and Numidian archers, famous for their many successful missions with republican armies including Caesar's war in Gaul, formed imperial *cohortes sagittariae* in the early first century A.D.⁶⁰ Syrian archers from the tribe of the Itureans, who once fought in the Civil War armies of Caesar and Antony, are also on record for serving in *cohortes sagittariae* not long after Actium⁶¹. African *Gaetuli* served in Roman armies of

⁵⁶ See Cheesman 1914, p. 24-25; Birley 1988, p. 368-370; Holder 1980, p. 21-23; Saddington 1982, p. 147-150; Speidel M.P. 1984a, p. 111-113. Haynes 2013, p. 35-36, 38, 42. Cf. in particular H. Dessau's comments on *ILS* 2490 (= *CIL* I², 1569, cf. p. 1007 = *CIL* X, 6011 = *ILLRP* 498: *ala Scaeuae*). Speidel M.P. 1984a, p. 111-113 on *ILS* 2499 (= *CIL* IX, 733 = *AE* 1980, 537: *ala Patru*). Birley 1988, p. 376 and Schäfer 2000, p. 146-147 on *ILS* 2531 (= *CIL* XIII, 1041 = *AE* 1888, 51: *ala Aectorigiana*).

⁵⁷ Size: see the evidence for the varying sizes of pre-Actian cavalry contingents collected by Birley 1988, p. 369-370. Structure: *CIL* IX, 733 = *ILS* 2499. Cf. most recently Haynes 2013, p. 35.

⁵⁸ Speidel M.P. 1984a, p. 112.

⁵⁹ Haynes 2013, p. 36-37.

⁶⁰ Caes., *Gal.*, II, 7; *ILJug* II, 582 (Niš). Military diplomas almost consistently show *cohors I Cretum* to have been *sagittaria*. The Numidian Tacfarinas served as an officer (?) in the *auxilia* under Augustus and Tiberius. Several *cohortes Numidarum* are known from the epigraphic record, and one *coh. I Numidarum (equitata?) sagittaria* was among Arrian's expeditionary forces against the Alani in 135 A.D. (*Ekt.*, 3 and 18. Cf. Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 618).

⁶¹ *B. Afr.*, 20, 7; Cic., *Phil.*, II, 44, 112. J. & L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.*, 1976 [*REG* 89 (1976)] 581 no. 722 = Bernand 1969, no. 159. Cf. Saddington 1982, 202 n.1; Dąbrowa 1986a, p. 221-230; Kennedy 1989, p. 238; Speidel M.P. 1992, p. 251-253; Myers 2010, p. 124-125.

the Late Republic, and are known to have formed a *cohors Gaetulorum* early in Augustus' reign⁶².

The transformation of existing units and the setting up of new ones after 31 B.C. surely required some time and no doubt took questions of loyalty and battlefield performance into account, perhaps according to principles that resembled those evoked by the 'El Bierzo-edicts' of 15 B.C.⁶³ Remarkably, however, Strabo's description of the new permanent garrison of Roman Egypt during the early/mid 20s B.C. appears to refer to no other specific type of *auxilia* than *alae* and *cohortes*⁶⁴. That surely implies that successful efforts were made to keep the period of transition relatively short. In the end, the process must have produced the great majority of the new Augustan *alae* and *cohortes equitatae*, as well as many new *cohortes*. In this respect, Actium indeed marked an important symbolic milestone in the development of the new imperial *auxilia*. It is therefore, perhaps, not unlikely that the standard size of the Imperial quingenary *ala* of ca. five hundred horsemen was also introduced as a part of this process.

The royal contingents and all other formations that were not selected for the new permanent auxiliary army were sent home after Actium, or after the conquest of Egypt in the following year. That, of course, was traditional and standard Republican practice. Yet, in the context of his restructuring of the army, it is significant that Augustus did not decide for such auxiliary forces to be generally excluded from future Roman military expeditions and the new Imperial military system. Rather, the Republican practice continued, and the evidence is abundant. Foreign allies and defeated enemies (either treaty-bound or as prisoners of war) remained important sources for the auxiliary forces of the Roman army⁶⁵. The same is true for local militias from within the Roman provinces. Eric Birley has treated the latter in a comprehensive and exemplary survey⁶⁶. He convincingly maintained that 'for such forces to have any value for war there must necessarily have been standing arrangements for them to undergo a measure of training, and for a suitable supply of arms to be available (...). And it becomes plain that it was normally up to the governor of a province to decide that they should be called up in support of his regular troops'⁶⁷. The same was, of course, also true for all extra-provincial 'irregular' contingents of Roman field armies⁶⁸. Thus, Tacitus and Josephus in particular provide numerous examples of military support for Roman field armies by allied foreign kings and dynasts⁶⁹. To point to just one other well known case of later date, Flavius Arrianus, the

⁶² Lassère 1994, p. 244-253.

⁶³ AE 1999, 915 = AE 2000, 760. Cf. *IGLS* III, 718. Verg., G., IV, 560-562.

⁶⁴ Str., XVII, 1, 12 using the terms σπεῖραι Ρωμαίον and ιππαρχίαι. The latter is generally thought to refer to *alae*, for which there was no standard term in Greek at this early time. Cf. Saddington 1970, p.122. See also Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 48, 1; J., *BJ*, II, 5, 1 and Speidel M.P. 1984a, p. 317-327; Speidel M.P. 1992, p. 251-253.

⁶⁵ Cf. Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 109-120 for a discussion of Germanic troops in the Roman army.

⁶⁶ Birley 1988, p. 387-394. Cf. also Alföldy 1968, p. 66-77 and 93-95. For an earlier treatment of the subject see Mommsen 1882.

⁶⁷ Birley 1988, p. 388.

⁶⁸ For the governor's role cf. Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 591-592.

⁶⁹ Cf. e.g. Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 47; XIII, 38; XV, 6; XV, 26; *Hist.*, V, 1; J., *BJ*, II, 18, 9 (500-501); III, 4, 2 (68); V, 1, 6 (41-42); VII, 7, 1-3 (219-245). Saddington 1970, p. 96-97, 101-102, 117, 119, 121; Millar 1994, p. 53, 72, 75, 82; Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 591-592.

consular governor of Cappadocia, assembled a Roman field army in 135 A.D. and led it against the Alans. His forces consisted of soldiers not only from both legions and the regular four *alae* and ten cohorts of the Cappadocian army, including scouts and guards, but also of additional auxiliary troops: *to symmachikon*. These were supplied by local provincial and foreign communities (Trapezous, Rhizaion, Colchoi, Lesser Armenia, and Greater Armenia)⁷⁰. Ps. Hyginus used the term *nationes* to refer to the irregular units of Roman field armies of the later second century A.D., and differentiated between *symmachiarii* and *reliquae nationes*⁷¹. As the latter included *Palmyreni*, *Gaesati* (?), *Daci*, *Brittones*, and *Cantabri*, the vague term *symmachiarii* might be taken to have denoted extra-provincial allies in particular. However, an early second century inscription from Ujo in Asturia mentions *symmachiarii Astures*, which implies that the terms *symmachiarii* (or Greek *symmachoi*) and *nationes* were synonymous, and may not have had any technical value beyond (usually) denoting irregular auxiliaries⁷². Many other terms were also applied⁷³. Tacitus, for instance, while generally counting irregular tribal forces among the *auxilia*, refers to them by a variety of names, including *iuanes*, *iuentus*, *populares*, *tumultuariae cohortes*, *tumultuaria manus* etc.⁷⁴, or he simply used tribal names: *Helueti*, *Chauci*, *Bataui*, *Triboci*, *Vangiones*, *Caeracates* etc.⁷⁵ Similarly, Josephus referred to ‘Arabian archers’, ‘Syrian slingers’, ‘hoplites from Berytus’ and the like in imperial field armies, and Suetonius records a *manus Calaguritanorum* in Imperator Caesar’s body guard prior to 31 B.C.⁷⁶ Epigraphy concurs: *milites*⁷⁷, *populares*⁷⁸, *sy]mmachar[-*⁷⁹, *Brittones*⁸⁰, *Raeti Gaesati*⁸¹, *Gaesati* or *numeris Gaesatorum*⁸², etc.

⁷⁰ *Arr.*, *Ekt.*, 7, cf. 14.

⁷¹ Ps. *Hygin.*, 19, 30, 43.

⁷² *AE* 1935, 12. For the hitherto only other known epigraphic occurrence of the term see *AE* 2005, 923.

⁷³ Cf. Saddington 1970 for a full discussion of the evidence.

⁷⁴ *Tac.*, *Ann.*, II, 8 (*auxiliorum agmen Batauique*); III, 43; XIII, 54; XIII, 56; *Hist.*, I, 68; II, 61; III, 21; III, 5; IV, 20; IV, 66 etc. Precisely because such terms were not technical, *turba popularium* (*Tac.*, *Hist.*, IV, 67) could also refer to Rome’s enemies.

⁷⁵ *Tac.*, *Ann.*, II, 17; *Hist.*, I, 67-68; IV, 70; IV, 85.

⁷⁶ J., *BJ*, II, 5, 1 (67); III, 7, 9 (166); III, 7, 18 (207); III, 7, 26 (262); V, 1, 6 (41-42); V, 6, 5 (284); Suet., *Aug.*, 49.

⁷⁷ *AE* 1954, 102 = *AE* 1964, 146a = *AE* 1999, 1022 = *AE* 2001, 1322 from Glanum = (Saint-Rémy, 2nd c. A.D.?): *milites Glanici*. Cf. Le Bohec 1999b; Christol 2001, however, suggested that these *milites* were soldiers from *Glanum* enlisted in regular units of the Roman army.

⁷⁸ *CIL* VIII, 8828 = *CIL* VIII, 20630 = *ILS* 6889: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aur(elius) Se(ptimius) Alexander Pius Felix Aug(ustus) muros / paganicenses Serte/itanis per popul(ares) suos fe(cit cur(ante) Sal(lustio) Semp(ronio) Victore / proc(uratore) suo instantibus Hel/uo Crescente dec(urione) al(ae) / I Cl(audiae) Kapitonianae pr[incipi]e]. *AE* 1993, 1231 = *AE* 1997, 1204: ... a militibus prou(inciae) Raetiae sed et Germaniciana itemque popularibus ...*

⁷⁹ *AE* 2005, 923 (Chester, 3rd c. A.D.).

⁸⁰ *CIL* XIII, 6622: ... cornuclarius Britonum (!) ...

⁸¹ *CIL* XIII, 1041 = 2531: *euocato [diui Aug(usti)] Gesatorum DC Raetorum castello Ircauio. RIB I, 1235: ... [coh(ors) I Van]gionum item Raeti Gae[s]ati et expl/oratores Habitancenses] posuerun[t ...]; 1724: uex{s} illatio G(aesatorum) R(a)e(t)o(rum) quorum curam agit Tabellius Victor 7(centurio); RIB I, 1216: uexil(latio) G(aesatorum) R(a)e(t)o(rum) q(uorum) c(uram) a(git) Aemil(ius) Aemilianus trib(unus) coh(ortis) I V(angionum); RIB I, 1217; RIB I, 2117 = ILS 2623.*

⁸² *CIL* V, 535 = *InscrIt* X, 4, 41: *pr]aef(ectus) Gaesa[torum]/ [--]um Heluet[iorum] ...; ILS 5795: ... certamen operis inter classicos milites et Gaesates dedi ...; CIL XIII, 3593 = ILS 7055:*

Such ‘irregular’, non-Roman troops both from within and beyond provincial territory were usually employed in Roman Imperial field armies only for the duration of a single campaign or war, and therefore no doubt took the place and in many respects continued the unbroken traditions of their pre-Actian ancestors⁸³. The longevity of this type of *auxilia* thus betrays its continuing military success as well as enduring efforts, in many parts of the Empire, to keep up local military traditions and training. The case of the *Heluetii*, a Gallic tribe once famous for its warlike population, provides details. For this tribe maintained a militia in the service of Rome, the origins of which went back to 58 B.C. In that year, after his victory over the Helvetians, Julius Caesar, without (at that stage) formally subjecting the tribe to direct Roman rule, ordered the Helvetians to guard their territory against German invaders⁸⁴. Caesar intended this measure to secure the safety of Rome’s provincial territory (at the Helvetians’ expense), just as he did in the case of Syria a decade later when he ordered the neighbouring kings to protect and defend the Roman *prouincia*⁸⁵. Yet unlike the eastern dynasts, the Helvetians were soon subjected to Roman provincial rule. Even so, the tribe continued to maintain a militia, for which they provided pay and supplies⁸⁶.

After their political and administrative integration into the Empire, the military training and discipline of the Helvetian militia gradually deteriorated (or so Tacitus claimed)⁸⁷. In 69 A.D., this lead to humiliation and a crushing defeat. Knowing nothing of the murder of Galba, the Helvetians refused to acknowledge Vitellius as their new emperor and decided to oppose the usurper and his troops. Yet, as the Helvetian soldiers (according to Tacitus) were unable to use their weapons correctly, to keep their ranks, or to act in concert, and as their fortifications were old and ruinous (*non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere ... dilapsis uetustate moenibus*), the Vitellian soldiers destroyed the militia without difficulty⁸⁸. It is remarkable, therefore, that at an unknown point in time after its destruction, the Helvetian militia was replaced by a regular

[*n(umerus)*] *Gesatoru[m]*. Before the second century A.D., the term *numerus* (‘unit’) was frequently omitted.

⁸³ The permanent *numeri* of the second and third centuries A.D. probably developed from such ‘irregular’ troops. For the provincial militias and irregular units of the Roman Imperial army see above nn. 42 and 65, as well as Callies 1964, and Speidel M.P. 1984a, p. 117-148. For the possible existence of the rank of ‘centurio’ in the late Nabataean army see e.g. Bowersock 1983, p. 71.

⁸⁴ Cic., *Prou.*, XIII, 33: *itaque cum acerrimis Germanorum et Heluetiorum nationibus et maximis proeliis felicissime decertauit, ceteras conterruit, compulit, domuit, imperio populi Romani parere adsuefecit*. See Frei-Stolba 1976, p. 336; Caes., *Gal.*, I, 28, 4: *id ea maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum, unde Heluetii discesserant, uacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, suis finibus in Heluetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae prouinciae Allobrogibusque essent*.

⁸⁵ Compare B. Alex., 65: *reges tyrannos dynastas prouinciae finitimos, qui omnes ad eum concurrerant, receptos in fidem condicionibus impositis prouinciae* (sc. *Syriae*) *tuendae ac defendendae dimittit et sibi et populo Romano amicissimos*.

⁸⁶ Tac., *Hist.*, I, 68: *pecuniam missam in stipendum castelli ...*

⁸⁷ Tac., *Hist.*, I, 67-68.

⁸⁸ Tac., *Hist.*, I, 68. Other local militias, Tacitus claims, were in a similar state: Tac., *Ann.*, III, 46 or *Hist.*, IV, 15.

cohors I Heluetiorum, paid, armed, and supplied by the Roman treasury⁸⁹. This latter unit is known from several second century inscriptions to have been stationed on the Upper German frontier. Moreover, Helvetian horsemen continued to be recruited into cavalry units and the imperial horse guard in the second century⁹⁰. Perhaps military traditions among the Helvetians had not deteriorated quite as badly during the first century A.D. as Tacitus wanted his readers to believe. Be that as it may, there is no apparent reason to categorically deny the historian's statement that the tribe indeed provided pay and supplies for its militia, and maintained fortified places until 69 A.D.

Nor is there any reason to assume, *a priori*, that the Helvetians were the only community in the Roman Empire that maintained such a militia at comparable conditions in the first century A.D. Perhaps, therefore, not all local militias of the Empire were merely short-lived 'ad-hoc' formations. A reference to other such troops may in fact be found in Tacitus' description of the Vitellian troops that defeated the Helvetian militia in early 69 A.D. These included *Raetica auxilia*, which Tacitus explains to have consisted of *alae* and *cohortes*, as well as 'their youth of the Raetians', who were 'accustomed to arms and trained in warfare' (*alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum iuuentus, sueta armis et more militia exercita*)⁹¹. The identity and status of the Raetian youth of the *alae* and *cohortes* is not readily apparent. Perhaps they were simply trained recruits from Raetia not yet formally assigned to their auxiliary units⁹². Denis Saddington, however, suggested a different solution. In his opinion, the Raetian youth belonged to a 'standing militia', because they were well trained in warfare⁹³. Be that as it may, an 'irregular' force of six hundred *G(a)esati Raeti* is in fact known to have been stationed in *castellum Ircauium* (probably in Raetia) during the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, which seems to imply that this unit was in existence for a prolonged period of time⁹⁴. Although their daily life and military exercise may not have equalled that of professional soldiers serving in the standard *alae* and *cohortes*, 'irregulars' who were *sueta armis et more militia exercita* must nevertheless have had regular or even frequent training and may therefore have reached a significant degree of 'professionalism'⁹⁵. That is particularly likely in the case of irregular cavalry formations and (the elites of) royal troops. The case of the Helvetian militia thus suggests that differences in military valour were mainly due to varying local traditions of training and martialness – and to their upkeep or neglect⁹⁶. In other words, both those communities within the provinces that maintained militias, and Rome's allied

⁸⁹ AE 1897, 148e; CIL XIII, 6472; 6475; 6542; 6543; 12442. Some other regular early Imperial auxiliary units appear to have had similar origins: cf. e.g. Kraft 1951, p. 37-40; Alföldy 1968, p. 86-93.

⁹⁰ CIL XVI, 76. Speidel M.P. 1994b, nos. 84 and 344. Cf. Speidel M.P. 1986b.

⁹¹ Tac., *Hist.*, I, 68.

⁹² Cf. CIL V, 7990 (Aquileia); CIL V, 7989 = ILS 487 (Aquileia); AE 1979, 257 (Torviscosa); AE 1979, 256 (Torviscosa): *tirones iuuentutis nouae Italicae dilectus posterioris*, from the 230s A.D. For a commentary see Speidel M.A. 2016.

⁹³ Saddington 1970, p. 108.

⁹⁴ CIL XIII, 1041 = ILS 2531 (Saintes).

⁹⁵ Cf. also e.g. Tac., *Hist.*, II, 61; IV, 12 and Kraft 1951, p. 38-39; Timpe 1970, p. 68.

⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. Tac., *Ag.*, 21 and *Ann.*, III, 46; J., *BJ*, II, 18, 9 (502).

rulers from beyond provincial territory were responsible throughout the Imperial period for the valour of their ('irregular') soldiers, and no doubt also for their pay, weapons and supplies⁹⁷.

A passage from Cicero's second oration against Verres in fact reveals this to have been a practice of long-standing Republican tradition. For according to Cicero, it had always been the responsibility of Rome's allies to provide pay and supplies, as well as a commander for the contingent of auxiliary soldiers they were obliged to place at the disposal of the Romans⁹⁸. Furthermore, in a passage of his *de legibus*, Cicero maintains that debates in the Roman Senate required knowledge of 'the number of soldiers the *res publica* had, and how much money was in the treasury. (...) Knowledge also of who are the allies, friends and tax-paying subjects (*stipendiarii*) of the *res publica*, and who was under which law, contract, or treaty'⁹⁹. Cicero's statements thus imply that during the Late Republic it was normal for soldiers of the *res publica Romana* to be paid out of the Roman treasury, whereas Rome's allies, friends and *stipendiarii* (apparently irrespective of their origins from within or beyond the provincial boundaries) served according to the conditions spelled out in their treaties, contracts or agreements with Rome¹⁰⁰. The main characteristic of Cicero's description of the Late Republican army is its bipartite structure: Roman-paid *milites* of the *res publica* on the one hand, and additional, treaty-bound troops supplied by *socii*, *amici* and *stipendiarii* on the other. Yet, can Cicero's assertions be reconciled with the descriptions, referred to earlier, of a bipartite composition of the *auxilia* of Late Republican field armies? In other words, did the differences between the two groups of non-Roman forces include the source from which they received their pay, as apparently was the case in the Early Empire?

There is, in fact, evidence in favour of such a solution. For according to Livy, Rome paid mercenaries since 212 B.C. in times of military need – and called them *auxilia* and allies¹⁰¹. That, of course, is both revealing and disturbing, as recourse to mercenaries was considered altogether un-Roman. We must therefore probably expect the language of our sources to occasionally obscure the true status of certain *auxilia*. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that no clear evidence survives to indicate since when paying for certain auxiliary forces had

⁹⁷ Cf. Alföldy 1968, p. 94–95.

⁹⁸ Cic., *Verr.*, V, 60: *Sumptum omnem in classem frumento stipendio ceterisque rebus suo quaeque nauarcho ciuitas semper dare solebat. (...) Erat hoc, ut dico, factitatum semper, nec solum in Sicilia sed in omnibus prouinciis, etiam in sociorum et Latinorum stipendio ac sumptu, tum cum illorum auxiliis uti solebamus ...* That is of course the system Polybius described in the case of Rome's former Italian allies: Plb., VI, 21, 4–5. Cf. Liv., XXVII, 9, 2. For a commentary on the passage cf. Nicolet 1978.

⁹⁹ Cic., *Leg.*, III, 41: *est senatori necessarium nosse rem publicam – idque late patet : quid habeat militum, quid ualeat aerario, quos socios res publica habeat, quos amicos, quos stipendiarios, qua quisque sit lege, condicione, foedere*

¹⁰⁰ Cf. e.g. *I.Knidos* 31 (*lex de prouinciis praetoriis*) and App., *Mith.*, XIV, 94 for how Rome intended the mobilisation of its allies to function. For treaties see also (e.g.) Cic., 2 *Verr.*, V, 49–50. Reynolds 1982, no. 8, 32–36; Crawford 1996, no. 19 II 5–16. Cf. Alföldy 1968, p. 94. Haynes 2013, p. 112–116.

¹⁰¹ Liv., XXIV, 49, 7–8 and XXV, 33, 1 (cf. Plb., X, 6, 2). Cf. most recently Cadiou 2007, p. 663–667.

become common Roman practice¹⁰². Be that as it may, some details of a system are on record by which auxiliary units under their own native commanders were paid by Roman funds in the mid-first century B.C. The information is contained in an episode in Julius Caesar's 'Civil War' and concerns auxiliary horsemen in Caesar's army from the recently defeated Gallic tribe of the Allobrogians¹⁰³. According to this episode, the Allobrogian commanders had to inform the Roman pay masters of the number of soldiers under their command whereupon they received their soldiers' *stipendium*. Handing out pay to individual Allobrogian soldiers, therefore, was the task of their native commanders. There is nothing in this passage to suggest that the procedure as such was unusual or restricted to Allobrogian horsemen. It rather seems that the reference is to a standard and routine pay procedure. Interestingly, therefore, a passage in the *Bellum Africum* refers to a similar procedure by which Numidian cavalry sent by king Juba I to serve in Scipio's forces in Africa was paid from Roman provincial funds¹⁰⁴.

Although there is nothing to suggest that the cavalry units concerned in these episodes were standardised *alae*, we can surely assume that if they were not and if therefore some of the old-style *auxilia* were paid from Roman funds in the Late Republic, the new Roman-style *alae* and *cohortes* in existence before Actium were treated likewise. In any event, when taken together, Cicero's statements and the evidence from Julius Caesar strongly suggest that the two groups of *auxilia* known from the Early Empire, i.e. those paid by the Romans and others paid by their own communities, existed simultaneously well before Actium. References such as those mentioned above to *equitum ac peditum auxilia* at Dyrrachium or to Antony's and Imperator Caesar's 'own' auxiliary forces at Actium (as opposed to the *auxilia* of allied kings and dynasts), are therefore surely best understood to have meant *auxilia* that were paid from Roman funds. Although there is not enough evidence at hand to reliably assess the usual size of either type of *auxilia* in Roman field armies before Actium, the evidence that has survived suggests that the pre-Actian Roman-paid *auxilia* was already substantial. Thus, while the considerable increase in the number of *alae* and *cohortes* in the years after Actium may have alleviated some tribes from the burden of having to pay for the auxiliary soldiers they provided Rome with, the transformation to standardised units may not have raised Roman military expenditure to an entirely new scale.

Major changes affected other aspects of the *auxilia* after Actium. Rearranging a unit's formation amounted to a new battle order, it therefore entailed a fitting command structure, and adequate fighting techniques. A functioning system for continuous recruitment into the new standardised *auxilia* also eventually needed to be implemented, not least because not every tribe that was obliged to furnish auxiliary soldiers would have had the capacity to raise

¹⁰² Perhaps since the Marian reforms: cf. Nicolet 1978, p. 11.

¹⁰³ Caes., *Ciu.*, III, 59–60. Recently defeated: Caes., *Gal.*, I, 6, 2: *nuper pacati*. The tribe was under Roman rule since 121 B.C., however.

¹⁰⁴ *B. Afr.*, 6, 1 and 8, 5.

c. 500 men for an entire unit. No doubt therefore, such contributions to Rome's permanent auxiliary forces needed to be pooled and organised as common efforts in many cases¹⁰⁵. Smaller communities would probably also no longer have had the chance to provide a commander for their soldiers. Standardising a great many of the *auxilia* may also have curtailed some of the variety of local fighting techniques, but a common standard throughout the Empire was of course of enormous value when such units were recalled from their various garrison places to form field armies, as they could now be sent into action without further delay. This, in turn, no doubt added up to a notable increase in the overall military efficiency of the *auxilia*.

Augustus' creation of a new standardised and permanent auxiliary army after the battle of Actium, its distribution throughout the Empire, and the unification of service conditions in the various branches of the auxiliary forces in 13 B.C., therefore, were measures of great political, financial, and military consequences. Rome thus developed the capacity to compute, raise and distribute the necessary manpower, funds and supplies throughout the Empire¹⁰⁶. For many tribes and communities the setting up of permanent Roman-paid *alae*, *cohortes* and *cohortes equitatae* in the immediate aftermath of Actium must have involved a partial reconsideration of their obligations towards Rome. In the long run, the results of these changes contributed considerably to the specific developments of local societies, the monetization of the provinces, as well as to local production and imports.

Important and far-reaching as the changes in the aftermath of the battle of Actium were, their outward appearance was technical and rather unspectacular according to the canonical conventions of ancient historiography. For those recording the historical events of this age, there wouldn't have been much to report besides a sharp increase in numbers of certain types of auxiliary formations in the years following 31/30 B.C. Moreover, restructuring or establishing new and permanent auxiliary troops in the provinces, in particular, appears to have had only a very limited impact (if any) on the general principles that guided the composition of post-Actian field armies. Thus, the new Augustan *auxilia* remained deeply rooted in the structures of the Late Republican army. George L. Cheesman, in his seminal study of *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, maintained: "We can thus see that when the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. placed the forces of the Roman world in the hands of Augustus, the main lines on which the military system of the Empire was based were already clearly marked, and his great work of reorganisation, while importing everywhere order and principle into existing practice, involved no breach with the military traditions of the past." His judgement, it thus appears, still holds true.

¹⁰⁵ Compare the regulations contained in the El Bierzo edicts: *AE* 1999, 915 = *AE* 2000, 760.
Cf. Alföldy 1999b, esp. p. 198 and 202.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Speidel M.A. 2009, p. 53-84.

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Ce livre regroupe vingt-sept études issues des travaux du sixième congrès sur l'armée romaine, qui s'est tenu à Lyon en octobre 2014. Les spécialistes internationaux réunis pour l'occasion ont été invités à partager leurs réflexions sur les soldats et les unités auxiliaires de Rome, un siècle exactement après la publication de l'ouvrage fondateur de G. L. Cheesman. Le choix d'un tel sujet vise à réparer pour partie une « injustice » faite à des soldats qui ont joué un rôle historique crucial, mais qui ont longtemps souffert d'un intérêt historiographique seulement secondaire. La diversité (ailes et cohortes, contingents fournis par les États-clients, milices et troupes supplétives...) et la plasticité de ces formations, qui ont changé de noms, de formes et de visages au fil d'une histoire millénaire, contribuent à faire des auxiliaires l'un des sujets les plus riches et les plus stimulants de la recherche sur l'histoire de l'armée romaine. Ce constat est encore renforcé par le renouvellement profond de la documentation (illustré notamment par la découverte récente de très nombreux diplômes militaires, ostraca et tablettes, de la Bretagne à l'Égypte) et par les inflexions tout aussi importantes d'une historiographie qui doit s'efforcer de construire, aujourd'hui, de nouvelles perspectives et réflexions sur le sujet. En proposant une approche diachronique courant de la République à l'Antiquité tardive – très rarement produite jusqu'ici dans les études sur les auxiliaires de Rome –, les actes du sixième congrès de Lyon espèrent non seulement fournir des contributions utiles, mais aussi suggérer quelques directions aux enquêtes futures, en faisant apparaître certains progrès comme certains vides, manques ou limites des connaissances et des recherches actuelles.

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