

The Roman Army in Lycia and Pamphylia

Julian BENNETT*

A central area of research with regard to the archaeology and history of the Roman Empire concerns the military forces stationed within Rome's various provinces. For a variety of reasons, our knowledge on this matter is significantly greater for the North African and European provinces than it is for those in the east. This is immediately apparent from the three most recent reports of the tri-annual Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, which despite its formal name covers aspects of the Roman army in all of the provinces: yet of 276 papers and reports in four volumes, only 34, or 12% deal with the eastern territories, an area equal to 35% of the Roman Empire¹. One of the reasons for this imbalance in research and knowledge is the lack of any systematic analysis of the epigraphic evidence for the Roman military in the eastern territories. This is especially true of the provinces within Asia Minor, although it has long been recognised that the wealth of epigraphic material found in the region might be used to rectify this lacuna². Consequently this paper, which is intended to make a start on redressing the situation by reviewing and assessing the epigraphic evidence for the presence of Roman army units in Lycia and Pamphylia in the imperial period, that is to say between the Julio-Claudian period and the events that sparked the beginning of the so-called "Third Century Crisis" (i.e., c. AD 14-235/8). Before going any further, however, some initial remarks on the type of epigraphic resources used here might prove useful, as not all will be familiar with those used in the esoteric field of Roman military studies. This is probably especially the case when it comes to the matter of distinguishing those sources that are particularly relevant to identifying the units "in praesidia" in any one region³.

The Nature of the Sources

The most common form of epigraphic source material used in Roman military studies are inscriptions on stone, particularly unit dedications and the funerary monuments

* Asst. Prof. Dr. Julian Bennett, Department of Archaeology and Art History, Bilkent University, 06800 Bilkent, Ankara.
E-mail: bennett@bilkent.edu.tr

¹ Groenmann van Waateringe – van Beek – Willems – Wynia 1997; Gudea 1999; Freeman – Bennett – Fiema – Hoffmann 2002.

² See, for example, the pioneering work of Sherk 1955, 400-413; and the summary review by Speidel 1983, 7-34 = Speidel 1984, 273-300.

³ The phrase "in praesidia" effectively means "in garrison" (see OLD, s.v. praesidium, 3 and 4), but lacks the same connotation of a fixed and rigid base for a specific military unit the term has today: as will be shown, Roman army units were frequently divided and even fragmented for outpost duty.

of serving soldiers, but also, in a few cases, the memorials of deceased army veterans⁴. However, during the period reviewed here, Asia Minor saw countless armies and units either marching to or from one or other campaign beyond the Euphrates frontier, or arriving as reinforcements or as replacements for units already stationed there⁵. This means that the bare epigraphic record of an individual unit at any one location in the Asian provinces cannot be taken at face value as providing proof the unit in question was “in praesidia” there. A text from Ancyra emphatically makes the point: it records that Ulpius Maximus, a soldier of the legio X Gemina, died there while “returning from Parthia” on the 3rd of September in the “consulship of Tertullius and Clemens”⁶. In other words, Maximus breathed his last while he (and presumably his unit) was in Ancyra on his way home to the legion’s permanent base (then at Vindobona/Vienna) after service in Severus’ eastern campaign of 195.

The same text, on the other hand, also demonstrates how some inscriptions can often be quickly isolated as of little evidential value when establishing which army units were “in praesidia” in a place or region. Even if it did not say that Maximus was returning from Parthia in a year related to a known historical campaign, there is clear proof that his legion, the X Gemina, was permanently based at one or other location in Europe throughout its entire history⁷: thus it could only have been at Ancyra on a transitory basis. More to the point, Ancyra is on a major strategic route, and so for our purposes, the evidential value of any form of Roman military inscription from that place would immediately be suspect - unless, that is, mitigating factors suggested otherwise. Such mitigating factors would certainly apply to an inscription from Ancyra recording a unit for which we cannot suggest any other “home” at the date or period in question, and in these circumstances, we might sensibly assume that there was at least a 50:50 chance the unit was at or near Ancyra on a long-term basis. The same applies, of course, to inscriptions of a like type found at other locations in Asia Minor: if we have no alternative contemporary “home” for the units they name then these were probably based for a period at or near the place where the inscription was found. It follows that this is especially true with specific regard to Lycia and Pamphylia. Both regions are far from the major strategic routes of the time, and so in the same circumstances, inscriptions of this type found in this region are even more likely to indicate at least the semi-permanent presence of the unit involved.

While inscriptions on stone form the main source of the epigraphic material used by the student of the Roman army, there is another type of written evidence that is of especial value in identifying the presence of Roman auxiliary regiments in a given place at a given time, namely those bronze documents usually referred to today as diplomata – their ancient name remains uncertain. During the reign of Tiberius, it apparently became customary for non-Roman citizens (*peregrini*) who volunteered for service in the *auxilia* to be rewarded with a grant of Roman citizenship if honorably discharged after a period of 25-30 years. Under Claudius, this practice was formalized so that after serving a set period of 25 years in the *auxilia*, a *peregrinus* qualified for Roman citizenship for himself and any

⁴ Spaul 1994, 11.

⁵ See, for example, Bosch 1967, 122-130 nos. 105 and 106, recording the march through Ancyra of troops on their way east in 114/115 for Trajan’s Parthian War, and *ibid* 141-147 no. 117, marking their return on their way west in 117, with Hadrian at their head.

⁶ *Ibid*, 277, no. 213.

⁷ Gómez-Pantoja 2000, 169-190.

existing or future wife and children⁸, although these rules were modified to an extent in the mid-2nd century. Evidently, some form of formal certificate had to be issued to confirm the status and rights of these men as both army veterans and as Roman citizens, and consequently the diplomata, which began to be issued under Claudius, and which represent a permanent and somewhat ostentatious form of the certificates that were made available to those who qualified.

The use of the word “ostentatious” is advisable, as when complete, a diploma is a quite substantial document: two inscribed bronze plates, measuring about 19x5 cm., weighing about 280 gr., and bound together face to face in the centre by a twisted bronze wire with a rectangular box containing the magistrate’s seals certifying their authenticity as a formal and legal record⁹. Their greatest value to the historian of the Roman army is the text inscribed on the outer face of one of the plates and repeated on the inside, for this is the abbreviated version of the official notice “posted” at Rome when the original owner of the diploma was discharged from military service¹⁰. These “posters” were clearly quite detailed documents, but all that is necessary to know about them here is that they included the full name and titles of the emperor at the very moment that infantry and cavalymen were to be discharged from one or more named auxiliary units in an individual province, as well as the day and month this discharge was ratified and the names of the presiding consuls at the time.

Hence an intact example of an auxiliary diploma will provide the complete list of the auxiliary garrison within a specific province on a specific day in a specific year – but only if all the units there had men eligible for discharge on the same day. This was not necessarily always the case, and consequently the unit listing on a diploma need not be entirely inclusive for the province involved on the date it was issued. A diploma for Galatia-Cappadocia of 100 is illustrative. It lists exactly two auxiliary units with one man from each eligible for discharge on the relevant date. Yet diplomata for the same province for 94 and 101 indicate that there were about 17 or 18 units in garrison in the province in those years, and it is frankly inconceivable that the number of auxiliary units had fallen from 17 or so to a mere pair between these two dates¹¹.

A more notable problem as far as we are concerned with here, however, is that very few diplomata are available for the eastern provinces, a total of eight being known to date for the whole of Asia Minor¹². The reasons for this lacuna are still being debated, but one possible reason is suggested by fact that the overwhelming majority of the surviving diplomata were issued to men who originated in the Balkans and Lower Danube region. It could be, therefore, that these bronze versions of a soldier’s discharge papers are an essentially cultural artifact, the majority of auxiliary veterans being content to receive a less permanent form of discharge document, as with the analogous papyrus or wooden texts

⁸ Birley 1986, 256-257; also Mann – Roxan 1988, 341-347.

⁹ See Suet. Nero 17, for the alleged introduction of this system of certification. Images of an excellent example of a complete diploma can be accessed via <http://www.sbonline.net/diploma/diplomae.htm>.

¹⁰ Eck – MacDonald – Pangerl 2002, 206-207.

¹¹ For the diploma of 100, see Eck – Pangerl 2004, 233-241; and for the diplomata of 94 and 101, see Pferdehirt 2004, 18.

¹² Only 9% of the published diplomas are for the eastern provinces, the eight from Asia Minor forming a mere 1.5% of the overall total.

that occasionally survive in the archaeological record¹³. Be that as it may, it just so happens that four of the eight Asia Minor diplomata are for the province of Lycia-Pamphylia, and thus along with the other epigraphic evidence for the Roman army in the region, they help determine the sequence of Roman army units based there. Indeed, now that the broad range of the material available for this study has been established, it is time to examine in a systematic manner the evidence for the composition of the Roman army in Lycia and Pamphylia.

The Garrison of Lycia and Pamphylia

During the principate of Augustus and the first two of his successors, Pamphylia was an integral part of *provinciae Galatiae* while the Lycian poleis formed an independent *koinon* with allied status. Quite what the political situation was in the region between 43, when Lycia was annexed to the Roman imperium, and c. 72/73, the date of the first explicit reference to a joint province of Lycia-Pamphylia, remains unclear. One school of thought claims that Claudius formed Lycia into a single province in 43, and that Vespasian joined it with Pamphylia in the 70's. The other says that Claudius initially formed a joint province of Lycia-Pamphylia, but that Nero disbanded this and restored independence to Lycia, the joint province being re-formed a few years later by Vespasian¹⁴. There is little to choose between the two points of view, although the somewhat ambiguous epigraphic and literary records would tend to support the first hypothesis rather than the second. Indeed, it could well be argued that the change in status of the two regions more logically belongs to the comprehensive reorganisation of the eastern provinces and adjacent allied territories that Vespasian initiated at the beginning of his reign¹⁵.

Whatever the date and circumstances of its original creation, the bureaucratic entity formally known as *provincia Lyciae et Pamphyliae* seems to have remained intact until at least 314/5-324, when the relevant section of the so-called Verona List was compiled¹⁶. Throughout this period, Lycia-Pamphylia belonged to that group of Roman territories known in colloquial terms by Tacitus and others as the “*inermes provinciae*”¹⁷. The phrase can be directly translated as meaning the “undefended” or “defenceless” provinces”, but it certainly does not mean that these territories wholly lacked any form of military garrison. After all, as Tacitus makes clear, Rome and Italy could be grouped among these “undefended” territories and yet there was a standing garrison at Rome in the form of the Praetorian Guard, the *Vigiles* and the Urban Cohorts. Instead, what is really meant by this expression is that a province or a region could be regarded as “undefended” if it lacked a legionary garrison, for at the time the term was in vogue, the legions were commonly (and rightly?) regarded as the only fighting force of any significance in the Roman Empire¹⁸.

¹³ Examples of these are reviewed in Mann – Roxan 1988, 341-347.

¹⁴ For a synopsis of the arguments, see Behrwald 2000, 129-146; but for more emphatic statements on the matter see also Şahin 1999, 31 n. 49, with *idem*, Şahin 2004, 139.

¹⁵ See Levick 1999, 164-166; also Bennett 2001, 17, with *idem*, Bennett 2002, 304.

¹⁶ On the Verona List, see Barnes 1982, 201-208, esp. 205.

¹⁷ E.g., Tac. Hist 1.11.16; 2.81, 83; and 3.5.

¹⁸ Compare Sherk 1955, 401 n. 3.

Thus whenever Tacitus used the term “*inermes provinciae*”, he did so to stress that the provinces he was referring to were only “undefended” in the sense that they did not have a Roman legion stationed within their boundaries, not that they lacked any form of military presence. Indeed, as we learn from other contemporary literary sources as well as the epigraphic evidence, each and every one of the *inermes provinciae* was provided with one or more regiments of *auxilia* stationed there on a permanent basis¹⁹. These units were the permanent versions of those first raised in Republican times on an ad-hoc basis from among Rome’s “friends and allies” to support the Roman legions in times of war. Augustus apparently made them a permanent part of the imperial army, and it became usual to name them for the tribe or region that provided their original complement and frequently most of their subsequent recruits. These “ethnic” names continued to be used throughout the imperial period, but from the later Julio-Claudian period onwards they increasingly drew new volunteers from the area in which they were stationed. That apart, by the time of mid-1st century, three basic types of auxiliary unit had evolved. Most numerous were the *cohortes*, formed entirely of infantrymen; then came the *cohortes equitata*, infantry units provided with an additional cavalry element; and lastly there was a limited number of *alae*, the cavalry regiments. Moreover, by this time the auxiliary units also came in two sizes, *quingenaria* and *milliaria*, with nominal strengths respectively of 500 and 1,000 men. To begin with, all auxiliary regiments were quingenary, the first milliary units apparently being formed on an ad-hoc basis in the Neronian period for campaign purposes only²⁰, and even after they became permanent elements of the Roman army, there were always less numerous than their quingenary equivalents.

The general rule seems to have been for each of the *inermes provinciae* to be provided with a single quingenary auxiliary cohort, although some of larger provinces of this type, as with Pontus-Bithynia, might have two²¹. It would appear that *equitate* units were normally preferred for such garrisons, their cavalry complement being especially useful for patrol and escort duties in the countryside²². Whatever their precise nature, whether purely infantry, or *equitate*, or entirely cavalry, all quingenary units were commanded by a Roman citizen of the equestrian class holding the official title of *praefectus* or *prefect*, his rank indicating the size of the unit he commanded. It is important to observe, however, that when there was only one auxiliary unit in a province, as was the case with Lycia-Pamphylia, then whatever that unit’s size, its commander always took the courtesy title of *tribunus*, or *tribune*, a title normally reserved in the auxiliary career structure for men who commanded a milliary unit. The relevance of this here is that while we sometimes find the title *tribunus* assigned to the commanders of auxiliary units stationed in Lycia-Pamphylia, specifically on one inscription and on three of the diplomata, this does not mean that the units concerned were milliary, although this has often been suggested²³. Such apart, having established the type of garrison to be expected in Lycia and Pamphylia, let us now move on to what the epigraphic evidence itself reveals, discussing this and the units concerned on a chronological basis.

¹⁹ E.g., Ritterling 1927, 28-32.

²⁰ Cf. Spaul 2000, 503-04.

²¹ Bithynia: Pliny Ep. 10.21.

²² Cf. Davies 1989, 146-148.

²³ E.g., Nollé 1986, 199-202; and Russell 1991, 481.

Cohors I Hispanorum equitata

The cohors I Hispanorum is reported on a Greek language funerary text from Perge²⁴. This records the death of the 25-year old “Tlouas son of Isuas, ὁ καὶ (= “who is also known as”) Longinus, a soldier in the cohors Hispanorum”, the memorial having been erected by “Toues son of Nesis, ὁ καὶ Capito, σημηαφόρος (semeaphoros = signaller or flag-bearer) of the same unit”. None of these non-Latin names are otherwise known except for Toues, which is found elsewhere in Pamphylia, as well as in Pisidia and Cilicia²⁵. However, Tlouas would also seem to be a local name, and so both men were probably recruited into the unit after it arrived in Anatolia. That aside, the number of “native” names in the text strongly suggests it belongs to the early imperial period, as by the 2nd century, local recruited auxiliary soldiers, and in particular the indigenous peoples of Asia Minor, generally favoured more Hellenised or even Latinised names. Such an early date for this inscription finds some support in the way the soldiers here have combined their given indigenous name with an alternate Latinised name to suit their semi-Romanised status, although this practice continued into the later Hadrianic period at least²⁶. On the other hand an early date for the inscription might also be deduced from the record here of Tlouas’ name and patronymic alone without origo, as generally speaking, this practice seems to have been more usual for auxiliary tombstones in the earlier Julio-Claudian period rather than later.

The cohors I Hispanorum we are concerned with here should be one of the four like-named units known from the epigraphic record, all of them being quingenary cohortes equitata²⁷. However, apparently only two of these were ever in praesidia in the eastern provinces, one of them having the additional title of “veterana”, indicating it was the first such unit to be raised from the Iberian peninsula²⁸. This particular unit makes its earliest appearance in the epigraphic record on a diploma of 2/7/60 for Illyricum, thereafter being recorded in one or other of the Danubian provinces into at least the Antonine period²⁹. The earliest mention of the other eastern-based cohors I Hispanorum equitata is for 9/3/81, and comes in the form of a graffito on one of the colossi at Thebes in Egypt. The same unit next appears on a diploma of 9/6/83 for the same province, later being attested in Judaea on a diploma for 24/09/105³⁰.

Superficially, the lack of any other information regarding which unit of Hispani Tlouas belonged to might seem to present a problem in establishing its exact identity. However, the lack of a numeral on the inscription we are concerned with does at least indicate that there was only one unit of Hispani in the province where Perge was situated at the time the inscription was cut, and as there are two Latin texts that refer to a I Hispanorum in western Anatolia in the early imperial period, we are presumably dealing with the same regiment. One of these texts is a Latin language funerary monument from near Olbassa, in neighbouring Galatian Pisidia, which also gives a list of men with both indigenous and

²⁴ Şahin 2004, 141 no. 469.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 141.

²⁶ E.g., Devijer 1994, 69.

²⁷ Spaul 2000, 108.

²⁸ Saddington 1982, 174.

²⁹ Spaul 2000, 109.

³⁰ CIL 3.50, with CIL 16.29: compare Spaul 2000, 112.

“alternate” Latin names, in this case with the Latin “qui et” for the Greek “ὁ καί”. There is no other clue as to the date of this text, except that it records the unit’s name before its number, i.e., as “COHOR(ors) HISP(anorum) I”, an epigraphic practice often found in inscriptions of pre-Flavian date. However, the second text, from Ephesus, a Latin dedication to a presiding governor of Galatia, which can be intrinsically dated to 70/71, is more informative³¹. It records that one M.Aemilius Pius, who caused the inscription to be erected, was concurrently praefectus of the cohors I Bosporiana and the cohors I Hispanorum, and the terminology involved indicates that he and his units were in Galatia at the time. Given that the I Hispanorum veterana was in Illyria by 60, then the cohors Hispanorum in Galatia and recorded at Perge should be its sister unit, and is presumably the same regiment that is heard of in Egypt in 83 and 88.

The available evidence does not allow any precision on when the I Hispanorum may have been in Perge, or if Perge (and Pamphylia) was assigned to Galatia or to Lycia-Pamphylia at the time Tlouas’ funerary monument was erected. All that can be said is that the name forms in this text suggest “early” in the 1st century is probably more likely than “late”. Yet whatever province Perge belonged to when the I Hispanorum was there, historical and logistical circumstances make it doubtful that the unit transferred directly from Pamphylia to Egypt, and so its presence in Egypt from at least the early 80’s is best explained as marking the end of a series of transfers over a period of time from one province to the next and so forth³². In which case, a likely historical context for the first stage in its movement from Perge would be between 72 and 73/75, during Vespaian’s reorganisation of the eastern Anatolian provinces after his seizure of Armenia Minor and Commagene, the I Hispanorum perhaps eventually arriving in Syria before being transferred to Egypt and subsequently to Judaea.

Cohors I Apula civium Romanorum (?equitata)

The evidence for the cohors I Apula having been in Lycia-Pamphylia is a fragmentary funerary inscription from Side with an incomplete Latin and Greek text³³. This commemorates one “Lucius Salvius, son of Lucius, of the Sergia tribus”, who is described in the Latin part of the text as being “EX COH[ORTE] APULA”, or “of the cohors Apula”, although the preceding section, reporting his relationship to that unit, is missing. There is general agreement that the inscription is Julio-Claudian in date as it combines two points of chronological value. Firstly Salvius lacks a cognomen, but the name of his tribus is provided: the absence of the first and the inclusion of the second on this type of inscription are thought to be more characteristic of the Julio-Claudian period rather than any later. Secondly, Lucius’ praenomen is spelt in the Greek text in the form Λέυκιος rather than Λουκιος, and the former is considered more usual in the Julio-Claudian and earlier periods, the latter starting to become more common in Flavian times and after³⁴. The general Julio-Claudian or early Flavian date of the text, therefore, is reasonably secure.

³¹ Engelmann – Knibbe – Merkelbach 1980, 114-115 no. 715.

³² A direct transfer by sea cannot be excluded, given that there was a well-travelled sea route from Patara to Tyre (Acts 21.1-3), but it seems inherently unlikely that a Roman army unit would be transferred in this way other than in exceptional circumstances.

³³ See AE 1966.478 = Nollé 2001, 526-527 no. 202; with Speidel 1976, 340-341 (Speidel 1984, 91-92) and Speidel 1983, 14 (Speidel 1984, 280).

³⁴ See Nollé 2001, 526, with further literature.

Salvius' regiment, the cohorts I Apula, was originally raised by Augustus from among free-born Italians in the district of Apulia, apparently in response to one of the crises that characterised the latter years of his reign³⁵. The unit was certainly active at Alexandria Troas in the province of Asia towards the end of Augustus' reign³⁶, and it is next heard of in the single province of Cappadocia in c. 135, although it is not listed on a diploma of 101 for the joint province of Galatia-Cappadocia³⁷. In the late 4th century, it was based at Ysipoorto (?Surmene) in Armenia, as part of the frontier army of the Dux Armeniae, appearing in the list of his forces for the first and only time with the label *civium Romanorum*³⁸. It is not clear if this title denotes the unit's origin as a regiment raised entirely from Roman citizens, or if it indicates that the ranks of the I Apula had been opened to peregrini and that subsequently a block grant of Roman citizenship was made to all of its serving members for some specific meritorious behaviour on the battlefield³⁹. What is not known is whether this unit was standard infantry cohort or if it was a *cohors equitata*, although on balance as the latter type of unit seems to have been more usual in the "inermes provinciae", then we might assume that the I Apula was a unit of this type.

Unfortunately, because of the incompleteness of this text, we do not know if Salvius died while a serving soldier with the cohorts Apula, in which case his unit was in the vicinity of Side at the time; or if he was a veteran, which could make the inscription effectively useless for our purposes⁴⁰. His possession of the *nomina* and tribal affiliation of a Roman citizen does not help in the matter one way or the other. Not only was the cohorts Apula initially formed as a unit of men who already had citizenship status but also from the Flavian period onwards it was not uncommon (if unusual) for Roman citizens to join the nominally peregrine auxilia, although most that did so entered with the rank of centurion or decurion after service in a Roman citizen unit⁴¹. However, given that Augustus settled legionary veterans at Alexandria Troas, Salvius could have been a son of one of these men who joined the I Apula when it was there at the beginning of the first century AD⁴². Even so, the way the Latin part of the text stops abruptly with the phrase "of the cohorts Apula", while the Greek text that follows simply lists Lucius' praenomen, nomen, filiation, and tribus, make it unlikely that our man was a veteran at the time of his death. Such a sparse record speaks more of an epitaph paid for by a soldier's comrades-in-arms than one for a veteran, who might be expected to be honoured somewhat more fulsomely by his family and/or heirs.

On balance, then, Salvius' meagre epitaph might suggest he was a serving member of the cohorts I Apula when he died, and therefore that the unit was in praesidia at Side in the Julio-Claudian or early Flavian period. The limited evidence that we have for the unit's whereabouts as well as the historical circumstances would certainly allow for such a possibility, with the I Apula being transferred to Asia to Pamphylia to replace the I Hispanorum after

³⁵ Brunt 1974, 161-185: 181-182; see also Speidel 1976, 340 (Speidel 1984, 91).

³⁶ AE 1973.501: see Brunt 1974.

³⁷ Arr, Ext. 7; see Pferdehirt 2004, 18 n. 1.

³⁸ ND Or. 38.34.

³⁹ Maxfield 1981, 227-232, and Maxfield 1986, 37-38. Cf. CIL 16.160, the specially worded diploma of 110 for those in the cohorts I Brittonum milliaria who were awarded Roman citizen status for distinguished service in the Second Dacian War.

⁴⁰ E.g., Saddington 2002, 879.

⁴¹ Holder 1980, 86-90. Also Speidel 1984, 142-153 (Speidel 1984, 173-187).

⁴² Although the nomen Salvius is not attested for Alexandria Troas, the *Sergia tribus is*: see Ricl 1997, 242 no. T.153.

that regiment was sent further east at the beginning of the Flavian period. The preparations for Trajan's Parthian War in 114/115 could well have occasioned a later transfer initially to Galatia-Cappadocia, before the unit was permanently assigned to Cappadocia during Hadrian's reorganisation of the eastern provinces in 117, remaining there to appear in the late 4th century as a part of the garrison in the military region of Roman Armenia.

Cohors IIII Raetorum equitata

The possibility that the IIII Raetorum was in Lycia-Pamphylia during its career rests on how one interprets the Greek text on a child's sarcophagus from Side. This names the three-year-old M. Ulpus Arrianus, the son of M. Ulpus Longus, *ἐκατοντάρχος* (centurion) with the unit⁴³. As centurions were apparently allowed to marry and have their families with them while on active service⁴⁴, Longus could have been with both his family and the IIII Raetorum when his son died, and therefore the unit could have been at Side, or at least in Lycia-Pamphylia, at the time. There is, unfortunately, one specific problem with this hypothesis, namely that although Longus styles himself on the inscription as a *ἐκατοντάρχος*, this does not prove he was still in military service at the time the text was carved. It seems that men who achieved the rank of centurion continued to use the title in civil society in a like manner to those senior military officers in the modern United Kingdom and the United States of America who advertise their former rank in retirement⁴⁵. In other words, our Longus may have been a veteran who retired to Side after his discharge from the IIII Raetorum when it was in another place altogether. In fact Longus' own nomenclature can be adduced to support such an interpretation, for his praenomen and gentile nomen are those of the emperor Trajan, and men with acquired imperial nomenclature of this type usually took it when discharged by the emperor of the same name⁴⁶. It is of course equally possible that our Longus was the son or other descendant of an auxiliary veteran who adopted this nomenclature after his discharge under Trajan, and that despite his status as a Roman citizen, Longus chose service in the auxilia: if so, then his names would have no bearing on the matter, except to indicate a late or post-Trajanic date for the text⁴⁷.

Despite the uncertainty over Arrianus' military status at the time of his son's death, what little that we know of the history of the cohorts IIII Raetorum does not entirely exclude the possibility that it might have been in Side at the relevant period. The unit itself was initially recruited from among the Raeti, an ethnos that inhabited the region around modern Lake Constance, and after being absorbed into the Roman Empire in AD 15⁴⁸, the tribe eventually provided at least eight cohorts equitata, of which – fortunately for us – there was only one with the numeral II II⁴⁹. The diplomata show that from at least 16/9/94 to

⁴³ See AE 1915.49; Nollé 2001, 535-537 no. 219, with Speidel 1983, 14; Speidel 1984 280.

⁴⁴ Hassall 1999, 35-40.

⁴⁵ The matter is more fully discussed in Bennett 2007.

⁴⁶ Cf. K. Kraft 1951, 101-102; also Mann 2002, 227-234: 230, where it is noted that several men with Trajan's nomenclature acquired this at the end of his Dacian Wars in 106.

⁴⁷ It is only fair to note the suggestion that the cognomen of Longus' son, Arrianus, may have been chosen to honour Flavius Arrianus, governor of Cappadocia 131-137, and thus the inscription is Hadrianic or later (e.g. Nollé 2001, 537): this is possible, but stretches credulity.

⁴⁸ Saddington 1982, 153.

⁴⁹ Spaul 2000, 276-287.

at least 8/5/100, this regiment was in Moesia Inferior⁵⁰, but it is not included in any of the known later diplomata for either that province or the others in the Danubian region. On the other hand, a cohort III Raetorum equitata appears in the Cappadocia garrison for the first time in c. 135⁵¹, and is presumably the same unit, having been transferred to the east in connection with Trajan's Parthian War, and remaining there after Hadrian's accession and his reorganization of the easternmost provinces. It makes its last appearance in the literary record in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, where it is listed among the frontier army of the *Dux Armeniae*, with a base at Analiba (?Diviri)⁵².

However, while it is clear that the cohort III Raetorum may well have seen service in Lycia-Pamphylia, our ignorance of Longus' military status at the time of his son's death – whether a serving or retired centurion – prevents any resolution of the matter. On the other hand, there is explicit evidence for auxiliary regiments being based at Side throughout the Roman imperial period. In which case, even if Longus were a veteran, a plausible explanation for his presence at Side would be that he came from the place or its vicinity and was recruited into the cohort III Raetorum when it was stationed there. Alternatively he could have arrived and met his wife there while on active service with the unit, and chose to settle in this place on his retirement. In other words, there is at least the possibility, if no more, that the cohort III Raetorum was in Lycia-Pamphylia between leaving Moesia Inferior under Trajan and arriving in Cappadocia under Hadrian.

Cohors I Musulamiorum equitata

The cohort I Musulamiorum is recorded on a diploma for Lycia-Pamphylia of March or July 138, which was found in 1988 as a result of illegal digging of an ancient site in the eastern part of the province⁵³. This site is generally identified as that of the Laertes known from various ancient sources, and a place sometimes assigned to Pamphylia, and sometimes to Cilicia⁵⁴. The diploma itself was issued to a man named Galba, who came from Cyrrhus in Syria, and who was recruited in 112/113. Given its provenance, we can assume that Galba retired to Laertes after his discharge rather than return to Cyrrhus, and in fact the text of the diploma provides an explanation for his presence in Lycia-Pamphylia. He had previously contracted a marriage with a woman who is described as a Pamphylian, and so she could well have come from Laertes itself⁵⁵.

A Greek-language funerary monument from Patara gives further confirmation of the unit's presence in Lycia-Pamphylia. It was erected in memory of one Cn. Philopator, from "Bithynian Claudiopolis", and the text informs us that he was a member of the century of Rufus Cornelius in the cohort I Musulamiorum at the time of his death, and that he died with the rank of *beneficiarius* at the age of 40 after 18 years of military service⁵⁶. Philopator was evidently recruited locally after this unit had arrived in Lycia-Pamphylia, and his stated

⁵⁰ E.g., CIL 16.39: 16/9/94; RMD 6: 12/6/96; and CIL 16.46: 8/5/100; cf. Spaul 1991, 282.

⁵¹ Arr. Ext. 1: "ἰππεις ... σπειρης της τεταρτης των Ραιτων..."

⁵² ND Or. 38.28.

⁵³ Russell 1991, 481.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 484-486.

⁵⁵ See Roxan 1986, 268 and 271-275.

⁵⁶ IGR 3.677 = TAM 2.485.

origo, “Bithynian Claudiopolis”, helps date the text. During the reign of Hadrian, between 123/130 and 138, the place took the official name of Hadriane, although in the latter part of the same period it was additionally known by its original name of Bithynion to honour Antinöos, its native son, and Hadrian’s lover⁵⁷. Thus the text should date to either before 123/130 or after 138, the later date being preferred to allow Philopator’s origo to be stated as “Claudiopolis” after the 18 years of service he had completed at the time of his death. Such apart, there is no agreement on what Philopator’s rank or title of beneficiarius involved, although the consensus is that it was primarily an administrative post, and it could imply a duty in both the military and the civil sphere of authority⁵⁸. As this is the only military text known from Patara, then we might assume that Philopator was seconded there on some function connected with the civil administration of the place and/or the province⁵⁹.

The evidence of the Laertes diploma and the Patara inscription fits in nicely with what we know of the movements of the cohorts I Musulamiorum. The first of two cohortes formed from the Musulami, a Numidian tribe from south of the Aures Mountains, the unit first appears on a diploma as part of the Syrian army on 7/11/88⁶⁰. Another diploma shows that it was still in Syria on 12/5/91⁶¹, while we can assume from the Laertes diploma that it was also there when Galba, a native of Cyrrhus in Syria, joined the unit in 113⁶². It most likely left Syria for active duty in Trajan’s Parthian War, as the most suitable explanation for its presence in Lycia-Pamphylia in 138 is that it was without a “home” at the end of the Parthian War, and so was transferred to its new province when Hadrian reorganized the eastern frontier in c. 117. As it is, an inscription found at Thessalonika and honouring one of the unit’s former commanders provides some support for this idea, for analysis of the man’s career strongly suggests that he held this post shortly before c. 123-125 and that the I Musulamiorum was in Lycia-Pamphylia at the time⁶³. That aside, as will be shown in the following section, the cohorts I Flavia Numidarum was certainly in Lycia-Pamphylia by 165/166, and as the I Musulamiorum is not subsequently recorded in any other provincial army, and it is absent from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, it most likely left Lycia-Pamphylia for service in Verus’ Parthian War in c. 162/3, and was destroyed in action.

Cohors I Flavia Numidarum equitata

No less than three diplomata record men discharged from the I Flavia Numidarum while it was in Lycia-Pamphylia, the earliest being for the year 165/166, the others for the

⁵⁷ Waddington – Babelon – Reinach 1925, 270 nos. 13-18; cf. Birley 1997, 158; and Becker-Bertau 1986, 3.

⁵⁸ For a discussion with reference to the various views, see Ott 1995, 61-63.

⁵⁹ Given Patara’s prominence as one of the main ports of Lycia, Philopator could have been specifically assigned to oversee customs’ duties: cf. *ibid.*, 129-149.

⁶⁰ CIL 16.35.

⁶¹ RMD 214 (91); cf. Spaul 2000, 472

⁶² Russell 1991.

⁶³ ILS 9472, with the *cursus honorum* of one G. Mestrius Servilianus. His first military command was as *χελίαρχος* or tribune of the cohorts I Musulamiorum equitata, his stated rank showing that he had charge of the unit while it was in Lycia-Pamphylia. He then served as *ἐπαρχος* or prefect of a mounted unit of Palmyrene archers in Dacia Porolissensis. These units were raised for explicit six-year terms of service on two specific occasions, in 113 and 119, and as the province of Dacia Porolissensis was not formed until 123, his Palmyrene unit must have been one of those raised in 119. Consequently, his command of the I Musulamiorum in Lycia-Pamphylia should be dated at the very latest to before 123-125, i.e., the period between the formation of the province of Dacia Porolissensis and the disbanding of the second levy of Palmyrene units after their statutory six years of service.

23/8/167 and for 23/3/178⁶⁴. These documents aside, there are no less than four inscriptions relating to the unit's stay in Lycia-Pamphylia, of which two are from Perge. One of this pair is in Latin, and is an honorific monument for M. Gavius Priscus Junior, the governor of Lycia-Pamphylia at a time when the emperor was a "Marcus Antoninus", although as both Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and Caracalla (211-217) shared this abbreviated official name, it cannot be determined which one is meant⁶⁵. The monument was dedicated by a man whose name is now lost in order to mark his promotion from the rank of *cornicularius*, or clerk, to that of *decurion*, commanding one of the unit's *turmae* or cavalry squadrons. As there seems to have been a great deal of flexibility in the system of junior auxiliary promotions, the inscription is of additional and wider interest in being only the second reported case of a *cornicularius* promoted to *decurion*⁶⁶.

The other inscription from Perge recording the I Flavia Numidarum is in Greek, and is a funerary dedication for one Aurelius Agapomenus. He describes himself as a soldier in the *cohors* I Flavia Numidarum, the text indicating he was present at Perge with members of his family, although the precise relationship between him and them is not clear⁶⁷. The inclusion of the apparent nomen "Aurelius" in our man's name has prompted the assertion that he received Roman citizenship after Caracalla's *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, as many who were enfranchised by the law took this nomen to honour the emperor, his full formal name being M. Aurelius Antoninus⁶⁸. However, we cannot be certain that "Aurelius" is used here as a nomen, for Roman *nomina* were sometimes used by auxiliary soldiers as a first or even a second name⁶⁹. Moreover, even if in this case Aurelius was a nomen, and Agapomenus therefore a Roman citizen, he could be the descendant of someone who took Roman citizenship after service in the *auxilia* under Marcus Aurelius - or even under Antoninus Pius, if he had served in the *equites Singulares Augusti*⁷⁰. In other words, our man's names provide no clear evidence as to the inscription's date.

A third inscription that has long been known to relate to both a *cohors* I Numidarum and to Perge is a Greek-language text that comes from Brindisi, Italy⁷¹. This is the funerary text of one Flavius Valens, and when first read it was thought that he had been *χειλιάρχος*, or tribune, of the (pre-Flavian) *cohors* I Numidarum, and that he had come from Perge in Pamphylia. However, a re-analysis of the text has revealed that Valens actually held the rank of *ἐκατόνταρχος*, or centurion, with the "cohors I Flavia Numidarum", and that the unit was "at Perge in Pamphylia"⁷². In other words, this is the tombstone of a veteran who had settled in Brindisi after completing his service with the unit.

The fourth and apparently chronologically latest inscription reporting the presence of the *cohors* I Flavia Numidarum in Lycia-Pamphylia is from Side. It is in the form of a statue

⁶⁴ For the diploma of 165/166, see Weiß 1999, 77-82; for that of 23/8/167, see RMD 67; and for that of 23/3/178, see CIL 16.128.

⁶⁵ AE 2000.1453 (= Şahin 1999, 185-186 no. 156); cf. Eck 2000, 251-257, esp. 257.

⁶⁶ Breeze 1974, 278-286.

⁶⁷ Şahin 2004, 78-79 no. 365.

⁶⁸ Merkelbach – Şahin, 142.

⁶⁹ E.g., Mann 2002, 230-231.

⁷⁰ See Weiß – Speidel 2004, 262 with Speidel 1994, 10-11 n. 75.

⁷¹ IGR 3.465.

⁷² Nollé 1986, 199-202.

base, and the Latin text records a group dedication by the unit to Gordian III at the time he was still Caesar⁷³. This makes the inscription one of a scant few that can be precisely dated, for Gordian was made Caesar by Fupienus and Balbinus, the ruling Augusti, at the end of January 238, before becoming emperor himself after they died at the beginning of May that same year⁷⁴.

The evidence discussed above fits in perfectly with what else is known concerning the history of the cohorts I Flavia Numidarum equitata. The region of Numidia, which formed the western part of the province of Africa, provided three cohortes of auxilia, the earliest, the cohorts I Numidarum, probably having been raised by Claudius after the formal creation of the two Mauretanian provinces in c. 41/43⁷⁵. The I Flavia Numidarum equitata, on the other hand, along with its sister unit, the II Flavia Numidarum, was a creation of one of the Flavian emperors, possibly Vespasian, for service in the closing stages of the First Jewish War, but more likely by Domitian, who desperately needed extra units for his Danubian campaigns. It makes its first appearance on a diploma of 25/9/111 for Moesia Inferior⁷⁶, and it remained in that province until at least 157⁷⁷: given that the unit's next appearance on a diploma is that for Lycia-Pamphylia in 165/166, it was probably transferred there to replace the cohorts I Musulamiorum at the time of Verus' Parthian War. As we have seen, it was still in Lycia-Pamphylia until at least the early months of 238, but it then disappears from the historical record, for it is absent from the lists supplied in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

Perge and Side and the Auxilia of Lycia and Pamphylia

The above review suggests there were no less than four and perhaps five auxiliary units present in succession in the region of Lycia and Pamphylia during the imperial period, although the available evidence does not allow us to decide where any of them were physically and officially based during their assignment. On the other hand, except for the Patara epitaph, of a beneficiarius from the cohorts I Musulamiorum who was probably seconded there, all the other inscriptions relevant to this topic come from either Perge or Side, and so both places could well have served this function at one time or another. Indeed, of the four which record the presence of the cohorts I Flavia Numidarum in Lycia-Pamphylia, one, the funerary text from Brindisi, explicitly states that Perge was its official base, while a second, the dedication to Gordian III in 238, suggests that Side filled that role. It could be, of course, that the official base of the cohorts I Flavia Numidarum was moved from the one place to the other between the dates these inscriptions were carved, but it is equally possible that the unit (and all those previously stationed in Lycia and Pamphylia) was simply physically divided between these two urban centres. This was, after all, a known practice of the Roman army at times when accommodation was at a premium⁷⁸. More to the point, the literary and other evidence for those Roman army units based in the more

⁷³ AE 1966.459 = Nollé 1993, 311-314 no. 42.

⁷⁴ Nollé, *op cit*, 314.

⁷⁵ It should be noted that in some earlier studies of the auxilia in Asia Minor (e.g., Nollé 1986, 199-202, and Spaul 2000, 473), this earlier agnomen-less Numidian regiment has been confused with the I Flavia Numidarum we are concerned with here.

⁷⁶ RMD 222.

⁷⁷ RMD 241, for 20/8/127; 265 for 138-142; 270, for December 145/January 146; and 50, for 157.

⁷⁸ See. e.g., Bowman – Thomas 1994, Tablet no. 154.

highly populated regions of the Levant during the imperial period indicates that they were as a matter of course often divided into sections for billeting in civilian communities, both urban and rural⁷⁹.

As it is, if we are to take at face value the claims of the mid-2nd century writer Aelius Aristides, this was also the case in the provinces of Asia Minor, if, perhaps, with a greater emphasis on rural billeting. In his encomium on the majesty of the Pax Romana, he tells us that in those provinces where the garrison consisted of *auxilia* alone, that is, the *inermes provinciae*, the soldiers were not “concentrated in the cities, billeted in each and every household, but scattered through the countryside, so that many of the provincials do not even know where their guardians are”⁸⁰. Aristides was a native of Mysia who spent most of his adult life in Pergamon and Smyrna, and it is reasonable to assume that he specifically had the *inermes provinciae* of Asia Minor in mind when he made this claim. In fact it just so happens that the first Roman military base to be physically identified on the ground in Anatolia is located at Gordion, where at some point in the mid-1st century, a Roman military unit, or part thereof, created a base within what to all intents and purposes seems to have then been an abandoned ancient site set in the open countryside, just as the US Army has recently established a logistical facility within the ruins of Babylon. True, we should treat with some reserve Aristides’ statement that soldiers were never billeted in the urban centres, for other evidence directly contradicts this⁸¹. However, that corollary apart, it is clear that by his day at least it was the usual practice in the *inermes provinciae* to divide the auxiliary garrison into a number of small sections that could be dispersed throughout the territory concerned.

All in all, therefore, we should probably dismiss any thought that the auxiliary regiments which served in Lycia and Pamphylia had an identifiable and purpose-built military base of the type common to the European and African provinces. In which case, it could be that the “headquarters” of the Lycia-Pamphylia units at any one time was where the then commanding officer chose to reside on a long-term basis, either Perge or Side. Even so, no army has ever found it satisfactory to be entirely without a central place where at least the greater part of a unit might be assembled on certain specific occasions, most obviously for issuing general orders and for distributing pay and supplies. Consequently, it is quite possible that some evidence might yet be found at Perge or Side for a military compound and its associated buildings, whether built specifically for the purpose, as at Corbridge in Britannia, or adapted from a group of requisitioned domestic buildings, as at Dura Europas in Syria⁸². From this we might make one further observation, that the acropolis at Perge, an area that apparently lacked any major public buildings in the imperial (i.e., pre-Christian) period would be the obvious location for such a base at that place at least.

⁷⁹ Cf. Gregory 1995, 28-31 and 58; also Lib. *Or.* 47 (*De patrocinitis*), referring to soldiers billeted in groups of villages in the territory of Antioch.

⁸⁰ Ael. Arist. To Rome 67.

⁸¹ Note for example a sermon on virginity attributed to Basil of Ancyra (fl. 33-350), in which he makes it quite clear that Roman army in the east regularly billeted troops on civilian homes: cf. Migne 1857, 700d-701a; also Veg. *Ep. rei Milit.* 3.8.1, on how an army unit might be based in an urban centre.

⁸² For Corbridge: cf. Dore 1989, *passim*; for Dura Europas, cf. Pollard 2000, 54-56 and 105-106.

The role of the Roman Army in Lycia Pamphylia

Having reviewed the matter of how and where those auxiliary units in praesidia in Lycia and Pamphylia may have been physically based, all that remains is to answer the question of “Exactly why was an auxiliary garrison required in Lycia and Pamphylia?” As it is, there is no direct evidence to help us fix on a definitive and precise answer, or, rather, not one that specifically applies to Lycia and Pamphylia. On the other hand, the scarce evidence that is available for the region as a whole can be correlated to an extent with what we know of the general duties of the auxilia in the Roman provinces elsewhere, at least as far as these can be reconstructed from the wide range of literary and epigraphic data that is available for some of these territories. At its simplest, what this material tells us is that almost without exception, every one of Rome’s provinces - and even Italy, for that matter - faced a greater or lesser threat to peace and order from local malcontents of one sort or another⁸³. This unhappy state of affairs was, to an extent, inevitable in a social system that lacked the universal equivalent of any form of local or regional police force⁸⁴. Thus although the origins of the Roman auxilia are to be found in the Roman army’s military needs on campaign, the growth of empire and the necessity to provide internal security in the occupied territories saw an incremental change in their basic role. While trained for war, for which reason most of these units were based in forts located along the borders of the Roman Empire, many now took on the duties of a rural and urban gendarmerie, responsible for ensuring that the Roman civil officials on the spot could dispense justice and maintain law and order⁸⁵. Hence all of the *inermes provinciae*, such as Lycia-Pamphylia, had at least one unit of auxilia in garrison to help promote and enforce internal security.

In the main, the greatest threat to the internal security of the *inermes provinciae* – Italy included, although strictly speaking it was not a province - came from those bands of rural brigands, robbers and malcontents generically classed as *latrones*. In fact these groups proved to be such a threat that by the 3rd century, it was usual for soldiers to be assigned for service specifically as *latrunculatores* just to deal with brigands of this kind⁸⁶. There are several studies that have examined the role of the Roman auxilia in the frontier and non-frontier provinces with regard to such groups, who generally flourished in mountainous areas like those which characterize inner Lycia and Pamphylia, and so the evidence for this need not be considered here in any detail⁸⁷. Even so, it should be noted that the Pisidian Taurus, at the extreme edge of Lycia-Pamphylia, was a renowned haunt of gangs of this type. Indeed, by the mid-3rd century this area was the scene of much locally motivated activity aimed at curbing the activities of both brigands and organized groups rebelling against Roman authority, with the formation of semi-permanent civilian militia and units of “bandit-chasers”, akin to the posses that feature in Wild West films, in response to the failure of the Roman State to deal with these matters⁸⁸.

⁸³ Cf. Davies 1989, 54-63 and 65-66.

⁸⁴ Cf. Campbell 1994, 110.

⁸⁵ Dig. 1.16.7.2 and 1.18.13.pr. (both Ulpian)

⁸⁶ Dig. 1.18.13 (Ulpian); and 48.13.4.2 (Marcianus).

⁸⁷ The earliest of these studies is the still informative work by Hirschfeld 1913, 578-612, but see also Alston 1995, 81-96; and Pollard 2000, 96-104.

⁸⁸ The literature on this is extensive but the seminal study remains Shaw 1990, 199-233; Shaw 1990b, 237-270. Among the more recent work, see especially the independent but complementary studies of: Zimmerman 1996, 265-277; Mitchell 1999, 155-175; and Ballance – Roueché 2001, 87-112.

In fact these particular bands were the inheritors of a long entrenched local tradition that can be traced back to the Hellenistic period, and which was not entirely quenched even after Rome assumed responsibility for security in the region in the early imperial period⁸⁹. More to the point, a rather neglected funerary text of c. 160 or later from Sourt Köy in north Lycia, which records the death of one Aurelius Valerius, would seem to be highly relevant to the subject in general and this paper in particular. This is because the text gives Valerius the “rank” of *principalis*, an informal title that was given to a soldier below the rank of centurion when placed in command of a small detachment on secondment from its parent unit⁹⁰. Given its probable date, we can then assign Valerius to either the I *Musulamiorum* or the I *Flavia Numidarum*, but more to the point, his stated “rank” and his very presence at this remote spot combine to suggest that he commanded a detail or sub-unit of *auxilia* stationed in the vicinity on a semi-permanent basis to deal with a band of local *latrones*.

Rural policing and patrolling duties of this type aside, literary and epigraphic sources confirm the use of *auxilia* in other ways connected to the effective implementation of civil rule in the *inermes provinciae*. Pliny the Younger, for example, the governor of Bithynia between 109 and 111, and with two auxiliary *cohortes* under his command, reported in one of his letters to Trajan that the practice had developed for *auxilia* to serve as guards in local prisons⁹¹. In another he refers to one Apulleius, “the miles (soldier) at the *statio* (outpost) at Nicomedia”, and who was apparently there in an official capacity that to all intents and purposes made him the provincial governor’s local representative⁹². Indeed, this form of detached duty is one that we can with a degree of confidence assign to various members of the garrison of Lycia-Pamphylia, as there are no less than four inscriptions in the region referring to auxiliaries who were certainly or probably on detached duty by themselves. One of these four, that recording the *beneficiarius* Philopator at Patara, has already been referred to, but Olympus has produced three inscriptions likewise referring to soldiers similarly assigned to local duties, but unfortunately without naming their parent unit(s). Of these three, one also gives the soldier concerned the title of *beneficiarius*, while the wording and style of the epitaph suggest a mid- or late-2nd century date and that the man concerned was from the Attalea-Perge region⁹³. The second, on the other hand, names this local military official as the *stationarius*, i.e., “the soldier at the *statio*”, while in the third case, he is described as both *beneficiarius* and *stationarius*⁹⁴.

It is clear from the Olympus inscriptions, as well as similar examples from other parts of Anatolia, that one of the specific duties assigned to such soldiers on individual duty away from their parent unit was to receive the *fines* payable by those who desecrated the funeral monuments of others, a task which in many other Anatolian inscriptions was assigned to the local civil authority⁹⁵. However, as we learn from the example of Pliny the Younger’s “miles at the *statio* at Nicomedia”, these men were evidently given a

⁸⁹ Nenski 1999, 413-465; and Wolff 2003, 95-124.

⁹⁰ IGR 3.394 = IGR 3.503; cf. Speidel 1978, 100, no. 55. For the “rank” of *principalis*, see Domaszewski 1967, 1-6.

⁹¹ Pliny Ep. 10.19-20.

⁹² Pliny Ep. 10.74.

⁹³ TAM 2.987 = IGR. 3.751: see also Robert 1955, 172-177: 176-177.

⁹⁴ TAM 2.953 and 2.1165 respectively.

⁹⁵ Cf. Ameling 1985, 159.

considerable degree of personal authority to pursue any matter that impinged on the interests of the imperial administration⁹⁶. Consequently, it is likely that in those places where there was a single stationarius, as at Olympus, then he was probably also empowered (when necessary) to enlist local citizens as a support force for the purpose of upholding law and order. In rural areas, on the other hand, at least in the 3rd century, we find examples of stationarii on an individual basis or as part of a sub-unit who were specifically charged with guarding through routes and rural areas⁹⁷. The fact is that - as Pliny's "miles at the statio at Nicomedia" clearly demonstrates - even as early as the first decade of the 2nd century it had become relatively usual practice to assign military personnel to various civil locations for the general oversight of local affairs, even though the specific terms "stationarius" and "stationarii" do not appear in the literary record until the middle years of that century⁹⁸. In other words we should reject the commonly held view that the Anatolian stationes and their stationarii were a mainly 3rd century phenomenon, to be broadly associated in connection with tax collection and the like⁹⁹.

Yet while the preservation of law and order specifically against the armed bands of *latrones* in the countryside and on a more general basis in the cities was evidently a primary function of the *auxilia* in the *inermes provinciae*, they also routinely carried out a series of other and often less-taxing duties¹⁰⁰. One of the (presumably) more glamorous of these was service as one of the *singulares*, the guards for the provincial governor¹⁰¹, and the inscription from Sourt K oy already referred to was in fact set up by a cavalryman serving in this way¹⁰². However, a number of more mundane duties in the civil administration were routinely assigned to auxiliaries, and the *cornicularis* of the *cohors I Flavia Numidarum* who honoured M. Gavius Priscus Iunior, governor of Lycia-Pamphylia, at Side could have been serving as one of his personal clerks¹⁰³. It was, after all, common practice for the better-educated soldiers to be seconded for such duties¹⁰⁴, and Pliny, of course, provides us with case examples for Pontus-Bithynia, twice mentioning soldiers he describes as *beneficiarii* who were seconded to serve two other Roman officials in his province¹⁰⁵. He is not, however, very informative regarding their duties, but while it is certain that these involved some temporary guard duty in one case, Pliny's naming of these men as *beneficiarii* might suggest they primarily filled one or other administrative function¹⁰⁶. It could be, on the other hand, that they were seconded in a supervisory or advisory capacity for an urban construction project, given that it was part of the governor's duty to supply such men for

⁹⁶ Pliny, Ep 10.74; cf. Dig. 11.4.1.2 (Ulpian).

⁹⁷ Cf. CIL 3.7136 and IGR 3.242 (= 1470), 748 (= TAM 2.1165) and 812.

⁹⁸ Dig. 1.12.1.12 (Ulpian) and 11.4.4 (Paulus); also Campbell 1994, 178-179, quoting SB 9207.

⁹⁹ As, e.g., Mitchell 1993, 232-234.

¹⁰⁰ For an account of these in the senior provinces see Rankov 1999, 15-34.

¹⁰¹ Speidel 1978, 17-19.

¹⁰² IGR 3.394 = 503; cf. Speidel 1978, 100 no. 55. As already noted, the inscription is probably late 2nd century in date: thus, like the Valerius it commemorates, our *singularis* was also presumably detached from either the I *Musulanium* or the I *Flavia Numidarum*.

¹⁰³ For two *cornicularii* who were chief clerks to a provincial governor, see Bosch 1967, 257 no. 197.

¹⁰⁴ Campbell 1994, 110.

¹⁰⁵ Pliny Ep.10.21; and 10.27.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ott 1995, 61-63.

the repair or construction of public buildings¹⁰⁷. Either way, other than those beneficiarii at Patara and Olympus already referred to, an inscription from Perge also refers to a beneficiarius, one Aurelius Marcianus¹⁰⁸, but as Perge was one of those places where the auxiliary units of Lycia-Pamphylia are known to have been “based” at one time or another, it is not clear if Marcianus held this rank in a military or civil capacity.

Conclusions

As the evidence stands at present, we can be certain or fairly confident that at least four and probably five quingenary cohortes were assigned in succession to the regions of Lycia and Pamphylia between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD. The earliest of these was probably the cohors I Hispanorum equitata, a unit known to have been in Anatolia in the Julio-Claudian and early Flavian period, and which may have been in Perge when Pamphylia was a part of Galatia. It was apparently succeeded, probably early in Vespasian’s reign, by the cohors I Apula civium Romanorum (?equitata), and this unit could well have remained in the joint province of Lycia-Pamphylia until the time of Trajan’s Parthian War. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the I Apula may have been replaced by the cohors III Raetorum equitata, but by 123/125 at the very latest, and probably from 117, the necessary garrison duties in Lycia-Pamphylia were provided by the I Musulamiorum equitata. This unit was probably transferred east for Verus’ Parthian War in c. 162/3, as by 165/166, the cohors I Flavia Numidiarum equitata was “in praesidia” in Lycia-Pamphylia. It is also the last recorded formal auxiliary garrison in the province, an inscription from Side attesting its presence there as late as the early part of 238, after which it disappears from the written record.

The evidence that we have suggests that the garrison of Lycia and Pamphylia was quite possibly regularly divided between Perge and Side, with sub-units and even individuals operating at other urban and rural centres. It does not, unfortunately, tell us much about the duties and functions of the units involved or the men who served in them. However, the limited data available, when set against the broader historical evidence for the region, conforms to what is known and what is inferred regarding the duties of such units in the other *inermes provinciae* of the Roman Empire, that the main role of the *auxilia* in such areas was that of a regional gendarmerie. Indeed, while it appears that the units known to have been stationed in Lycia and Pamphylia were divided and even fragmented when necessary to supply a military presence throughout the region, this “showing of the colours” would seem to have been at least effective enough to provide a period of relative peace from the turmoil and disorder that generally typified the more mountainous regions of Asia Minor in the classical period. However, the widespread disorder and unrest that the area experienced in the later 3rd century seems to have prompted the creation of more localized and semi-permanent civilian units of “bandit-chasers”, a reflection (perhaps) of the Roman State’s inability to maintain an effective auxiliary force throughout the Roman Empire in that period of continued struggle we designate the “Third Century Crisis”.

¹⁰⁷ Dig. 1.16.7.1 (Ulpian).

¹⁰⁸ Şahin 2004, 46, no. 324: his name suggests a date after the mid- 2nd century, in which case he was probably with the cohors I Flavia Numidiarum

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Özet

Likya ve Pamfilya'da Roma Ordusu

Roma İmparatorluğu tarihi ve arkeolojisinin ana araştırma alanlarından biri Roma'nın çeşitli eyaletlerinde konuşlanmış askeri güçleriyle ilgilidir. Bu konudaki bilgimiz Kuzey Afrika ve Avrupa eyaletleri için doğudaki diğer eyaletlere nazaran çok daha fazladır. Araştırma ve bilgi konusundaki bu dengesizliğin çeşitli sebepleri vardır ancak kilit etmenlerden biri Doğu eyaletlerindeki Roma askeri varlığı için epigrafik verilerin sistematik şekilde incelenmemiş olmasıdır. Bu durum özellikle Anadolu'daki eyaletler için geçerlidir ve bu çalışmada Iulius-Claudiuslar dönemi ile "Üçüncü Yüzyıl Krizi" (yani, İ.S. 14–235/238) arasındaki zaman diliminde Likya ve Pamfilya'da üslenmiş Roma askeri birliklerini belirlemek amacıyla mevcut epigrafik verileri kullanarak elden geldiğince bu konuda sağlıklı bilgi sunmaktır. Söz konusu analizde kullanılan epigrafik veri tipleri hakkında özet bilgi ve *inermes provincae* ya da "savunmasız eyaletler" denilen, Likya ve Pamfilya gibi ağır şekilde askerlendirilmiş sınırlardan uzaktaki topraklarında Roma Devleti'nin iç güvenliği nasıl sağladığına dair de bir kısa değerlendirme verilmektedir. Bunların yanı sıra kısaca savunmasız eyaletlerde garnizona alınan ve vatandaş olmayanlardan oluşan Roma *auxilia* birliklerinin doğası anlatılmaktadır.

Bu gözden geçirmenin birincil sonuçlarından biri İ.S. 1. yy. ile 3. yy. arasında Likya ve Pamfilya bölgelerine ardı ardına en az dört ve belki de beş *auxiliary quingenary cohortes* atandığı anlaşılmıştır. Bu garnizonlardan ilki muhtemelen, 1. yy.'ın ortalarında, daha Pamfilya hâlâ Galatya'ya bağlı iken Perge'de varlığı bilinen *cohors I Hispanorum equitata* idi. Bu birimi görünüşe göre Vespasianus'un hükümdarlığının ilk yıllarında Side'de tespit edilen *I Apula civium Romanorum* takip etti. Bu birlik, muhtemelen 114 yılında Traianus'un Parth Savaşı'na hazırlıkları sırasında doğuya gönderilinceye kadar, Likya-Pamfilya birleşik eyaletinde kalmış olabilir. Likya-Pamfilya'daki bir sonraki garnizon, Side'deki bir mezar yazıtından öğrenilen *III Raetorum equitata* olabilir, ancak 123 yılına gelindiğinde birleşik eyaletin garnizonu, Patara'da bir üyesi saptanan *I Musulamiorum equitata* idi. Bu birlikte muhtemelen 162/3 yılına kadar eyalette kaldı ve bu tarihte Verus'un Parth Savaşı için yola çıktığında yerini *I Flavia Numidarum equitata* aldı. Bu son birlik hem Perge hem de Side'de saptanmış olup 238 yılına kadar eyalette olduğu bilinmektedir.

Elimizdeki sınırlı bilgiden anlaşıldığı üzere ilgilendiğimiz zaman diliminde Likya ve Pamfilya'da bu birlikler tarafından sürekli kullanılan sabit bir üs yoktu. Bilakis, her birlik olasılıkla Perge ve Side arasında eşit bölünmüş olabilir ve bazı alt-birlikler hatta Patara ve Olympos gibi başka kent merkezlerinde ve kırsal bölgelerde ile özellikle Likya-Pamfilya'nın dağlık iç kesimlerinde bireysel askerler çalışıyordu. Bu birimlerin ve adamlarının görevleri ve işlevleri hakkında neredeyse hiç gerçek veri bulunmamasına karşın elimizdekiler Roma

İmparatorluğu'nun diğer savunmasız eyaletlerindeki bu tür etkinliklerle ilgili bilinenlerle uyum içindedir. Diğer bir deyişle, bu birlikler Roma idaresi adına yerel konularla ilgilendi ve kentsel ve kırsal bölgelerde etkin jandarmalık görevi yaptı. Ancak, 3. yy.'ın üçüncü çeyreğine yani "Üçüncü Yüzyıl Krizi"nin en ateşli günlerine gelindiğinde Likya-Pamfilya'nın iç bölgelerindeki genel güvenlik eksikliği ve artan huzursuzluk sonucu daha sert ve daha yerel polis gücü biçimi geliştirildiği açıktır. Halk arasında "haydut kovalayıcı" olarak bilinen bu yerel milisler sonuçta aslında eyaletin *auxilia* garnizonu tarafından sağlanan güvenlik işlevini üstlenmeye başladı.