

The Auxiliary Units in Moesia Superior and Dacia. A Review and an Update¹

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The publication of the newly discovered Roman military diplomas allow us now to determine in a more accurate way the deployment pattern of the auxiliary units, both in Moesia superior and then in Dacia and, thereafter, in Dacia superior and Porolissensis².

The auxiliary units of Moesia inferior already stationed at the north of the Danube, a military buffer zone of the province, formed the army of the Dacia inferior province. Since this aspect is already discussed in my published book on the Roman army in Moesia inferior and also in a joint article (with C. C. Petolescu) (Matei-Popescu 2010; Petolescu / Matei-Popescu 2008), it should not be taken into consideration here.

Moreover, it is also now possible to see the important impact of the making of the Dacia province and Trajan's Parthian war on the distribution of the military units on the Roman frontier, from Pannonia (and not only, also from Britannia and Germania inferior) to the Black Sea and further to the East³. It will be therefore the task of this paper to have an overview on the deployment of the auxiliary units in the Moesia superior and Dacia from Domitian to Hadrian, when the system was settled.

MOESIA SUPERIOR

With little exceptions, the auxiliary units of Moesia superior were the same auxiliary units already stationed in the area in the time of Vespasian (**table I**) (Matei-Popescu 2010-2011). When the bigger Moesia province was divided by Domitian in around 86, ten cohorts previously attested in Moesia appeared in Moesia superior. Beside these cohorts, the *ala Claudia nova* is also attested in Moesia superior. Comparing this situation with the one from Moesia inferior, where at least nine *alae* and eighteen up to twenty cohorts are attested it seems that this number is too small (Matei-Popescu 2010, 239-242).

It was Domitian's task to strengthen the defence of this limes sector. By the end of his reign, two cavalry units from Syria (*II Pannoniorum* and *praetoria singularium*), five cohorts from Pannonia (*III Brittonum*, *II Hispanorum*, *I Montanorum c. R.*, *VI Thracum* and *VII Breucorum*) and one, probably from Macedonia (*II Gallorum Macedonica*), were added. The explicit evidence of the imperial constitution from 97 that enlisted 19 cohorts⁴ allows considering that all the cohorts enlisted on the constitutions around 100-101⁵, with the exception of two cohorts (*II Britannorum milliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis* and *I Vindelicorum*

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² Statistics: Moesia – 8 *constitutiones*, 16 diplomas; Moesia superior – 33 *constitutiones*, 51 diplomas; Moesia inferior – 47 *constitutiones*, 71 diplomas; Dacian provinces – 55 *constitutiones*, 77 diplomas; see Eck / Pangerl 2009, 577-583; Eck / Pangerl 2011a, 231-233.

³ For the auxiliary units during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian see Holder 2003 and Holder 2006.

⁴ Eck / Pangerl 2005b, 231-234, # 2: [*equitibus et peditibus*] *qui milita[nt in alis tribus et cohortibus d]ecem et nove[m quae ...]*.

⁵ May 8, 100 (CIL XVI 46; Eck / Pangerl 2008a, 326-329, # 2); 100 (Eck / Pangerl 2008a, 338-345, # 3-5; Eck / Pangerl 2009, 562-566, # 18); May 16, 101 (RMD III 143; Eck / Pangerl 2008a, 329-337, # 2);

Table I. The units attested in Moesia in Flavian time

Previous attestation	The units	Further attestation
Germania inferior	ala I Asturum	Moesia inferior
Germania superior	ala Claudia nova	Moesia superior
raised by Vespasian	ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum	Moesia inferior
?	ala Gallorum Flaviana ?	Moesia inferior
Moesia	ala II Gallorum	Cappadocia
Pannonia	ala II (Hispanorum et) Aravacorum	Moesia inferior
Pannonia	ala I Pannoniorum	Moesia inferior
Syria ?	cohors I Antiochensium	Moesia superior
raised by Vespasian	cohors I Flavia Bessorum	Moesia superior
raised by Vespasian	cohors II Flavia Bessorum	Moesia inferior
Dalmatia	cohors I Bracaraugustanorum	Moesia inferior
raised by Vespasian	cohors II Flavia Brittonum	Moesia inferior
Moesia	cohors I Cantabrorum	?
Thracia?	cohors II Chalcidenorum	Moesia inferior
Moesia	cohors (I) Cilicum	Moesia superior
Moesia	cohors I Cisipadensium	Moesia superior
raised by Vespasian	cohors I Flavia Commagenorum	Moesia inferior
raised by Vespasian	cohors II Flavia Commagenorum	Moesia superior
Moesia	cohors I Cretum	Moesia superior
Germania inferior/superior	cohors III Gallorum	Moesia inferior
Moesia	cohors IIII Gallorum	Moesia inferior
?	cohors V Gallorum	Moesia superior
Syria	cohors VII Gallorum	Moesia inferior
?	cohors VIII Gallorum	?
?	cohors IIII Hispanorum	Moesia superior ?/ Dacia superior
Germania superior	cohors V Hispanorum	Moesia superior
?	cohors II Lucensium	Moesia inferior
?	cohors I Lusitanorum	Moesia superior
Cyrene	cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica	Moesia inferior
Moesia	cohors II Mattiacorum	Moesia inferior
raised by Vespasian	cohors I Flavia Numidarum	Moesia inferior
raised by Vespasian	cohors II Flavia Numidarum	Moesia inferior
Syria	cohors I Raetorum	Moesia inferior
Moesia	cohors I Sugambrorum veterana	Moesia inferior
?	cohors I Sugambrorum tironum	Moesia inferior
Moesia	cohors Tyriorum	Moesia inferior
Syria	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	Moesia superior
Dalmatia	cohors (I) Ubiorum	Moesia inferior

civium Romanorum milliaria pia fidelis, both appearing on Germania inferior's constitution from February 20, 98⁶), stayed in Moesia superior as late as the end of the reign of Domitian. During Trajan's

bellum Dacicum other units were deployed on the field, especially from Britannia (*I Alpinorum* and *pedites singulares Britannici* – *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* must be also added, attested in

⁶ RMD IV 216; Matei-Popescu / Țentea 2006b. For the important part played by the army in Germania inferior in the time of Domitian (especially during the Saturninus' uprising) and in the events that brought Trajan to the imperial power see Holder 1999; Eck 2007, 33-52 and Eck 2012, 73-83.

Table II. The units attested in Moesia superior, Domitian – Trajan

Previous attestation	The units	Further attestation
Moesia	ala Claudia nova	Dacia
Syria	ala II Pannoniorum	Moesia superior
Syria	ala (Flavia) praetoria singularium	Moesia superior
Britannia	ala Hispanorum Campagonum	Pannonia inferior
Moesia	cohors I Antiochensium	Moesia superior
Moesia	cohors I Cilicum	Moesia superior
Moesia	cohors I Cispadensium	Moesia superior
Moesia	cohors I Cretum	Moesia superior
Moesia ?	Cohors V Gallorum	Moesia superior
Moesia	cohors V Hispanorum	Moesia superior
Moesia	cohors I Lusitanorum	Moesia superior
raised by Vespasian	cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria	Moesia superior
raised by Vespasian	cohors II Flavia Commagenorum	Moesia superior
Noricum, Pannonia	cohors I Montanorum	Moesia superior
Pannonia	cohors I Brittonum milliaria	Moesia superior
Pannonia	cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R.	Moesia superior
Pannonia	cohors III Brittonum veterana	Moesia superior
Pannonia	cohors VII Breucorum c. R.	Moesia superior
Pannonia	cohors II Hispanorum (scutata Cyrenaica)	Moesia superior
Pannonia	cohors VIII Raetorum	Moesia superior
Pannonia	cohors VI Thracum	Moesia superior
Germania inferior	cohors II Brittonum milliaria c. R. p. f.	Moesia superior
Germania inferior	cohors I Hispanorum p. f.	Moesia superior
Germania inferior	cohors I Pannoniorum veterana p. f.	Moesia superior
Germania inferior	cohors I Vindelicorum c. R. p. f.	Moesia superior
Britannia	cohors I Alpinorum	Moesia superior
Britannia	cohors III Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum	Moesia superior
Britannia	pedites singulares Britannici	Moesia superior
Pontus et Bithynia	cohors III Campestris	Moesia superior
Pontus et Bithynia	cohors IV Cypria	Moesia superior
Macedonia?	cohors II Gallorum Macedonica	Moesia superior
?	cohors III Raetorum	Moesia superior
?	cohors I Thracum c. R.	Moesia superior

Moesia superior for the very first time in 112 (Eck / Pangerl 2008a, 355-363, # 8-9), but which could have been brought from Britain after 98⁷), Germania inferior (cohorts: *I Hispanorum p. f.*, *I Pannoniorum veterana p. f.* – attested there in 101⁸), Pontus et Bithynia (cohorts: *III Campestris* and *IV Cypria* (AE 1993, 1429 = 1995, 1425; IGR

I 895; Speidel / French 1985; French 2004, # 122) – the strange numerals are still to be explain⁹) and neighbouring province of Pannonia (cohorts: *I Brittonum milliaria*, *I Britannica milliaria* and *VIII Raetorum*), probably direct on Dacian territory, but they were enlisted among the units of Moesia superior (**table II**) (Matei-Popescu

⁷ AE 2004, 858 (= AE 2003, 1033 a-b).

⁸ RGZM 9.

⁹ For *III Campestris*, M. P. Speidel (1976, 343) thinks that “it seems to have been part of a composite series of units so that perhaps there never existed any other *Campestris* units”. Nevertheless, if we admit that on the inscription from *Amastris*, AE 1993, 1429 = 1995, 1425, one should read *cohors Camp(estr)s* and not *cohors Camp(anorum)ana*), proposed by Speidel 1995, 123-127, # 1, and, on the inscriptions from Kerch (*Pantikapaion*) and *Sinope*, it always appears *cohors Cypria*, it becomes obvious that the missing of numeral is not random and probably means something (the same for a *cohors Thracum* attested in the *Pantikapaion* also).

2006-2007, 31-39; Matei-Popescu / Țentea 2006a)¹⁰.

Regarding other regiments, attested neither in Moesia before Domitian's reign, nor in Pannonia at the middle of the 80's, I am not in the position to identify their garrisoned province before their deployment to Moesia superior. It is the case of the cohorts: *I Flavia Bessorum*, *II Flavia Commagenorum*, *I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria*, *III Raetorum* and *I Thracum c. R.* All of them are not directly attested elsewhere before their appearance among the auxiliary units of this province. However, some indirect evidence could be brought into discussion. For the units with the name *Flavia*, created probably Vespasian, one can assume that they were directly deployed in the province of Moesia. Later on, the *I Flavia Commagenorum* and *II Flavia Bessorum* cohorts are attested in Moesia inferior, whilst in Moesia superior there attested the *II Flavia Commagenorum* and *I Flavia Bessorum* cohorts. This suggests that they were settled in the area already during the reign of Vespasian. The same should be the case of the *I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria* cohort, recruited in also during the reign of Vespasian. Unfortunately,

for the *III Raetorum* and *I Thracum c. R.* cohorts not even indirect evidence can be brought into discussion. It seems that these units not attested on the territory of Moesia before Domitian's reign, were in fact deployed in this area also by Domitian himself.

At the end of the *bellum Dacicum*, almost the entire garrison of the newly created Dacia province was built upon the units from Moesia superior. The remaining units of the province were used thereafter in *expeditio Parthica*, as the imperial constitution from 115 shows (**table III**) (Eck / Pangerl 2005a; Eck / Pangerl 2008a, 363-370, # 10)¹¹.

After the administrative reforms undertaken by Hadrian, on the territory of Moesia superior two *alae* and ten cohorts are attested all away through the second century AD¹². New units would be raised only by Marcus Aurelius in the context of the Marcomannic wars, such as the two following pairs of cohorts *I* and *II Aurelia nova milliaria*, *I* and *II Aurelia Dardanorum*, all deployed in the mining areas of the province (**table IV**) (Dušanić 1977; Dušanić 2000). In the same context, the *III Campestris* cohort appeared by 179 in Dacia superior (Piso / Benea 1984)¹³.

¹⁰ Dacia was not a province after 102, yet the units from Pannonia could have been enlisted on the Pannonian diplomas as being in expedition. Nevertheless, that was not the case, they were enlisted among the units of Moesia superior. This could lead us at the conclusion, that a part of Dacian territory was from the legal point a view already part of the Moesia superior province. Which were the spheres of competence of the Upper Moesian governor and the ones of that Longinus (Cassius Dio, 58, 12, 1: (Δεκέβαλος) ... Λογγίνου δέ τινα στρατοπέδου ἐξηγουόμενον ... προσκαλεσάμενος; 58, 8, 7: (Τραϊανός) ... καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν Ζερμιζεγεθούσῃ καταλιπὼν, τὴν τε ἄλλην χώραν φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν; see also Exc. UG 49: ... Λογγίνου τὸν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ στρατιάρχην...), are still very difficult to define. This Longinus in charge of commanding the Roman army from Dacian soil, or only of the camp from *Sarmizegetusa* (what Cassius Dio ment by στρατόπεδον is still a matter of discussion, nevertheless it occurs to me that he uses the word as equivalent to *castra*, see for example, 59, 9, 2: αὐτὸς (scil. Ἀδριανός) πάντα ἀπλῶς, οὐ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὄπλα λέγω καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ τάφρους καὶ περιβόλους καὶ χαρακώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ..., καὶ ἐφροῶν καὶ ἐξετάζων, was identified with Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, *vir consularis* and former governor of Moesia superior and Pannonia (Piso 1993, 1-4). Piso 2008, 297-299, thinks that the regiments in question were still at the south of the Danube, but why to transfer units from Pannonia at the south of Danube when the war was carried on at the north of the Danube? It is therefore possible to envisage another explanation (only if Longinus is indeed Cn. Pinarius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, and not only the commander of the *vexillatio* which occupied the camp of *Sarmizegetusa*): only a part of the former Decebal kingdom belonged to Moesia superior (probably the southern one) and Longinus was the commander of the Roman army stationed on the reduced territory of the new Decebal kingdom, as a result of the peace treaty. How large was that army is still an unsolved problem (in the area of the former royal residence at *Sarmizegetusa*, at least three vexillations of the legions *III Flavia Felix*, IDR III/3, 269a-c, *II Adiutrix p. f.*, IDR III/3, 268, and *VI Ferrata*, IDR III/3, 270, are attested). During Trajan's Dacian wars there were many autonomous commands like Longinus' one, since C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus is attested as: στρατηλάτης γινόμενος Δακικῆς πολέμου, AE 1934, 176 = IDRE II 381; Piso 1993, 23-29, # 4.

¹¹ Soldiers from the following units, if not the entire units – at least the units which are thereafter in Moesia superior attested, were sent into expedition: *ala praetoria singularium* (Syria) and *cohortes I Thracum Syriaca* (Moesia inferior), *I Montanorum* (probably a part remained in the East, since a *cohortes I Montanorum* is attested in Syria Palaestina and another *I Montanorum* is again attested in Moesia superior), *I Cilicium* (Moesia inferior), *I Cisipadensium* (Thracia), *III Augusta Nerviana Brittonum* (probably annihilated by the Parthians), *III Raetorum*, *V Hispanorum*, *VII Breucorum* (Pannonia inferior) and *Flavia* (probably annihilated by the Parthians). In the same time four cohorts remained in Moesia superior: *I Lusitanorum*, *I Flavia Bessorum* (transferred to Macedonia by 120), *I Antiochensium* and *III Brittonum veterana*.

¹² The imperial constitutions: July 1(?), 126 (Eck / Pangerl 2006b, 102-104, # 4; Weiß 2008, 280-286, # 5), parallel constitution (RMD V 366); September 9, 132/133 (RMD IV 247); January 20, 151 (RGZM 31; Eck / Pangerl 2008a, 372-376, # 12); March 5, 153 (Eck / Pangerl 2008a, 377-380, no. 13); April 23, 157 (RGZM 37; RMD V 418; 419; Weiß 2008, 286-290, # 6 – see also the table with all the diplomas issued after this constitution in Eck / Pangerl 2008a, 384-386); January/February 160 (CIL XVI 111; RGZM 40; see also Weiß 2008, 290-291, no. 7); February 8, 161 (RMD I 55).

¹³ RMD II 123. It is possible that from Hadrian until the reorganization of the Dacian provinces during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the auxiliary fort of *Drobeta* was under the control of the governor of Moesia superior, see the entire discussion by Piso / Benea 1984, 288-291.

Table III. The units attested in Moesia superior after *bellum Dacicum*

Previous attestation	The units	Further attestation
Britannia	ala I Hispanorum Campagonum	Pannonia inferior – Dacia superior
Moesia superior	ala praetoria singularium	115 <i>in exped.</i> – Syria
Moesia superior	cohors I Antiochensium	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors I Lusitanorum	Moesia superior
Dacia, 109, 110	cohors I Pannoniorum veterana	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors III Brittonum veterana	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors I Cilicum	115 <i>in exped.</i> – Moesia inferior
Moesia superior	cohors I Thracum Syriaca	115 <i>in exped.</i> – Moesia inferior
Moesia superior	cohors I Cisipadensium	115 <i>in exped.</i> – Thracia
Moesia superior	cohors III Raetorum	115 <i>in exped.</i> – Cappadocia
Moesia superior	cohors VII Breucorum	115 <i>in exped.</i> – 116, 117 Cyprus – Pannonia inferior
Dacia, 109, 110	cohors I Montanorum	115 <i>in exped.</i> – Moesia superior – a part of the unit the later <i>cohors I Montanorum Syria</i>
Moesia superior	V Hispanorum	115 <i>in exped.</i> – Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors I Flavia Bessorum	Macedonia, 120
Moesia superior	cohors III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum	115 <i>in exped.</i> – vanished
Moesia superior	cohors Flavia	115 <i>in exped.</i> – vanished
Moesia superior	cohors II Dacorum	126 <i>in exped.</i> ? – Britannia ? <i>cohors I Aelia Dacorum</i> ?

Table IV. The units attested in Moesia superior, Hadrian – Marcus Aurelius

Previous attestation	The units	Further attestation
Dacia, 109, 110	ala Claudia nova miscellanea	Moesia superior
Moesia inferior	ala Gallorum Flaviana	Moesia superior
Dacia, 109, 110	cohors I Cretum sag.	Moesia superior
Dacia superior	cohors II Gallorum Macedonica	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors V Hispanorum	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum	Moesia superior
Moesia superior – <i>in exped.</i> 115	cohors I Montanorum	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors I Antiochensium sag.	Moesia superior
Dacia, 109, 110 – Dacia superior, 124	cohors III Campestris	Dacia superior, 179 – Dacia Porolissensis, Severan
Moesia superior	cohors I Lusitanorum	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors III Brittonum veterana	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors I Pannoniorum veterana	Moesia superior
newly raised	cohors I Aurelia Dardanorum	Moesia superior
newly raised	cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum	Moesia superior
newly raised	cohors I Aurelia nova	Moesia superior
newly raised	cohors II Aurelia nova	Moesia superior

A special discussion deserves the *cohors II Dacorum*, which appears only on a constitution for Moesia superior from 126, but probably sent into an expedition, and no imperial name is recorded and it is not attested elsewhere (Eck / Pangerl 2006b, 102-104; Weiß 2008, 280-286). The lack of the im-

perial name could lead us to the conclusion that it was probably raised by Domitian after 89, possible as a consequence of the peace treaty between the emperor and Decebalus. It would not be the first example of the units raised from a client king royal regiments submitted to the Romans. The numeral is

a clear indication that at least two units were raised, probably both labelled as *Flavia Domitiana*. This unit could have also been the core of the later unit *I Aelia Dacorum milliaria* from Britain¹⁴.

DACIA

The first garrison of the Dacia province was mainly composed of the auxiliary units of Moesia superior deployed on the field since Trajan's first Dacian expedition¹⁵. To these four *alae* were added, three from Pannonia (*Augusta Ituraeorum*, *I civium Romanorum* and *I Britannica/Brittonum c. R.*) and one from Moesia inferior (*I Pannoniorum*). When exactly they were deployed in Dacia, it is impossible to tell. They were probably involved in the Dacian second expedition. Some cohorts were also added (*IIII Hispanorum*, attested in Moesia in Vespasianic time and attested only in Dacia and not at all in Moesia superior, was probably also part of this latter province garrison, although it is not attested by the imperial constitutions): *I Augusta Ituraeorum* and *II Gallorum Pannonica*, probably from Pannonia, *I Ituraeorum milliaria* from Cappadocia, where it would returned in the Hadrianic time, *V Lingonum* from Britain and *I Cannanefatium* and *I Thracum sag.* from unknown provinces (table V)¹⁶.

This was about to change at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, when two new provinces are attested: Dacia superior, the core of the former larger Dacia province and Dacia inferior, in the South-East part of Dacia¹⁷. To these two, another province was added, probably a little bit later, in the North-Western part, namely Dacia Porolissensis (Piso 2005, 143-150)¹⁸.

DACIA SUPERIOR

The auxiliary units attested in Dacia superior are the units already stationed in Dacia province in the time of Trajan¹⁹. To these, two *alae* from Pannonia Superior were added, *I Batavorum milliaria* and *I Gallorum et Bosporanorum*. They were transferred in the context of the war carried out on the Dacian territory at the end of Trajan's reign. In the same context, a large vexillatio, if not the entire unit, of the *ala Ulpia contariorum milliaria* also from Pannonia superior took part in the military operations, since members of this unit received a special grant on April 5, 121 (Eck / Pangerl 2008b)²⁰. *Ala Hispanorum* attested in 119 among the auxiliary units of Dacia superior was transferred to Dacia inferior. From Dacia inferior the *cohors I Ubiorum* was transferred to Dacia superior, but it seems that the unit probably continued to have been accommodated in the Odorheiul Secuiesc Roman fort and only the frontier was change (Eck / MacDonald / Pangerl 2001, 40; Matei-Popescu 2010, 235-236, # 42). In the same time, *ala Hispanorum Campagonum* attested in 112 in Moesia superior and thereafter in 114-119 in Pannonia superior was attested in Dacia superior after 120, being accommodated in the Micia Roman fort (table VI).

A problem is still the identification of the *V Gallorum* cohorts, at least three attested in the Lower Danube area in Trajan and in the early Hadrianic time: *V Gallorum* in Pannonia inferior, transferred thereafter probably to Britain, *V Gallorum Dacica* attested now by an imperial constitution of 124 for the Dacia superior and *V Gallorum et Pannoniorum*, the unit previously attested in Moesia superior only as *V Gallorum*. It is impossible to tell in this mo-

¹⁴ See also Holder 1998, 255-257, who considers that the *I Aelia Dacorum milliaria* cohort was initially recruited as a *numerus Dacorum*; Weiß 2008, 284-285, argues that the unit from Moesia superior was sent into a military expedition in Britain, in 122, being the core of the latter unit, *I Aelia Dacorum milliaria*.

¹⁵ For the preliminaries of the organization of the new province see Piso 2008 with the entire bibliography and discussion.

¹⁶ For the auxiliary units in Dacia see Petolescu 2002; Țentea / Matei-Popescu 2004. The imperial constitutions: August 11, 106, in fact 110 (CIL XVI 160 = IDR I 1; RMD V 343); October 14, 109 (RMD III 148); February 17, 110 (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; RMD IV 220; Eck / Pangerl 2011a, # 1); July 2, 110 (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3); 113-114 (RMD IV 225); May 3-4, 114 (RMD IV 226 = RGZM 16).

¹⁷ First attestation November 19, 119, only Dacia superior, RMD V 351. Dacia inferior is directly attested on July 17, 122, RGZM 20 = RMD V 361. For the administrative reorganization at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian see Petolescu 1985, 50-55 and Piso 2005, 23-31.

¹⁸ First attestation April 14, 123, RGZM 22.

¹⁹ The imperial constitutions: November 12, 119 (RMD V 351); June 29, 120 (AE 2007, 1762); April 14, 123 (RGZM 22); November 24, 124 (Eck / Pangerl 2010a, 247-255, # 1); 136-138 (RMD V 384); 142 (Eck / Pangerl 2012); February 23, 144 (CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14); December 13, 157 (CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 15); July 8, 158 (CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16); April 1, 179 (RMD II 123). See also RMD I 17 = IDR I 5; RMD I 6, June 29, 120 and RMD I 27 = IDR I 8; IDR I 9, January 31 or February 12, 126, copied after special constitutions (only citizenship) issued for the *Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria*.

²⁰ RMD V 357; RMD I 19, another copy issued after the same constitution.

Table V. The units attested in Dacia

Previous attestation	The units	Further attestation
Moesia superior	ala Claudia nova	Moesia superior
Moesia inferior	ala I Pannoniorum	Moesia inferior – <i>ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum</i>
Moesia superior	ala II Pannoniorum	Dacia Porolissensis – <i>ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum</i>
Pannonia	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	Pannonia inferior
Pannonia	ala I civium Romanorum	Pannonia inferior
Pannonia	ala I Britannica / Brittonum	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors I Alpinorum	Dacia superior
Moesia superior	cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R. p. f.	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors II Britannorum milliaria c. R. p. f.	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria torq.	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors III Campestris	Dacia superior, 124 – Moesia superior, 132/133
?	cohors I Cannanefatium	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors I Cretum sag.	Moesia superior
Moesia superior	cohors II Flavia Commagenorum	Dacia superior
Moesia superior	cohors III Cypria	Dacia superior
Moesia superior	cohors II Gallorum Macedonica	Dacia superior – Dacia Porolissensis, 123 – Moesia superior, 133
?	cohors II Gallorum Pannonica	Dacia superior
Moesia superior	cohors V Gallorum (et Pannoniorum)	Dacia superior – Dacia
Moesia superior	cohors I Hispanorum p. f.	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors II Hispanorum (scutata Cyrenaica)	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia – Moesia superior ?	cohors IIII Hispanorum	Dacia Porolissensis
Cappadocia	cohors I Ituraeorum milliaria	Cappadocia, 135?
Pannonia, 102	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum	Dacia superior
?	cohors V Lingonum	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors I Montanorum	Moesia superior, 115 <i>in exped.</i> , 133
Moesia superior	cohors VIII Raetorum	Dacia superior
?	cohors I Thracum sag.	Dacia superior
Moesia superior	cohors I Thracum c. R.	Pannonia superior, 126?
Moesia superior	cohors VI Thracum equitata	Dacia Porolissensis
Moesia superior	cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria c. R. p. f.	Dacia superior
Moesia superior	pedites singulares Britannici	Dacia superior

ment wherefrom *V Gallorum Dacica* was brought to Dacia superior. It is possible that the unit attested in Moesia superior to have been the core of the latter attested units: *V Gallorum Dacica* and *V Gallorum et Pannoniorum*. In the context of the Trajan's Dacian expedition it is possible that only a part of the cohort have been sent north of Danube. After the war, both parts of the same cohort were brought up to strength using new recruits from Pannonia, in the case of *V Gallorum et Pannoniorum*, and from other

parts of Empire for the units which received also the *agnomen Dacica*.

A special discussion deserve the *Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria*, attested in 120 and in 126, by two special imperial constitutions granting only the *civitas Romana* without the *conubium*²¹. They were sent to Dacia in the context of the war against the Sarmatians at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian. Thereafter, they were probably the core of the later attested *numeri Palmyrenorum*, both in Dacia supe-

²¹ CIL XVI 68 = IDR I 6; RMD I 27 = IDR I 8; RMD I 28 = IDR I 9.

Table VI. The units attested in Dacia superior

Previous attestation	The units	Further attestation
Pannonia superior, 116	ala I Batavorum milliaria	Dacia superior
Pannonia inferior, 119	ala I Hispanorum Campagonum	Dacia superior
Moesia inferior	ala (I) Hispanorum	Dacia inferior, 129
Pannonia superior	ala Gallorum et Bosporanorum	Dacia superior
Dacia	ala I Augusta Ituraeorum	Pannonia inferior, 126
Pannonia superior, 116	ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria	Pannonia superior, 126
Dacia	cohors I Alpinorum	Dacia superior
Dacia	cohors I Britannica milliaria	Dacia Porolissensis, 123
Dacia	cohors II Brittonum / Britannorum milliaria c. R. p. f.	Dacia Porolissensis
newly raised	cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria	Noricum, after 201
Dacia	cohors II Flavia Commagenorum	Dacia superior
Dacia	III Campestris c. R.	Moesia superior, 132/133 – Dacia superior, 179 – Dacia Porolissensis, Severan
Dacia	cohors IIII Cypria	Moesia superior, 126 – Pontus et Bithynia ?
?	cohors III Delmatarum	Dacia superior
Dacia ?	cohors IIII Hispanorum	Dacia superior
Dacia	cohors II Gallorum Pannonica	Dacia superior
?	cohors V Gallorum (et Pannoniorum) Dacica	Dacia superior
Dacia	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum	Dacia superior
Dacia	cohors VIII Raetorum	Dacia superior
Dacia	cohors I Thracum sag.	Dacia superior
Dacia inferior	cohors I Ubiorum	Dacia superior
Dacia	cohors I Vindelicorum c. R. p. f.	Dacia superior
?	cohors I sagittariorum	Dacia superior, after 166
Dacia	pedites singulares Britannici	Dacia superior
Dacia inferior ?	vexillatio equitum Illyricorum / ala numeri Illyricorum	Dacia superior / Dacia inferior ?
Numidia	<i>vexillarii Africae et Mauretaniae Caesarensis qui sunt cum Mauris gentilibus</i> , 146, 152, 158	Dacia superior, Dacia Porolissensis, Dacia inferior – <i>numeri Maurorum</i>
Syria	Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria	Dacia superior, Dacia Porolissensis – <i>numeri Palmyrenorum</i>
Germania inferior	numerus exploratorum Germanicianorum	Dacia superior

rior and in Dacia Porolissensis (Nemeth 1997, 102-103, # 1; Petolescu 2002, 138-144, # 75-77; Țentea 2011a; 2011b, 66-78).

Another military presence was the one of the *numeri Maurorum* in all of the three Dacian provinces. Their core should be found in the *vexillarii Africae et Mauretaniae Caesarensis qui sunt cum Mauris gentilibus in Dacia superiore*, attested by three imperial constitutions from 146, 152 and 158. In fact, the grant was made only to *vexillarii*, former members of various auxiliary regiments from the two provinces (unpublished, information W. Eck; AE 2007, 1763; CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16; Nemeth 1997, 103-105, # 2; Petolescu 2002, 134-138, # 69-74). The *Mauri gentiles* formed thereafter smaller *numeri* settled in all three Dacian provinces.

Both the Palmyrenes and the Mauri were settled in important strongholds of the provinces, like *Tibiscum*, *Micia*, *Porolissum*, Răcari, or in the area of the gold mines from *Ampelum* (*numerus Maurorum Hisp.* – but this *numerus* seems to have been sent from the area of the Hispanic provinces and in other chronological context) (Petolescu 2002, 137-138; Țentea 2009, 372). They were labelled after their stationed places. If for the Palmyrenes the crises around the years 117-118 should be the explanation for their deployments on the Dacian soil, for the Mauri no valid explanation was until now envisaged. A possible war in the time of Antoninus Pius was taken into consideration, but the lack of the evidence does not allow us to speculate even further into this direction.

About the *numerus exploratorum Germanicianorum*, attested in the area of Orăștioara de Sus only by inscriptions and probably recruited from different units of the army from Germania inferior (since one of its soldiers was recruited from Cologne²²), there are no information regarding the moment and the context of its arrival in Dacia superior (Nemeth 1997, 105-106, # 4; Petolescu 2002, 131, # 66). Nevertheless, an earlier arrival, in the context of Trajan's Dacian war could not be completely ruled out of the discussion. Its settlement in the nearby of the *Sarmizegetusa regia*, the seat of the last king of the Dacians, has a meaning only in an earlier context. Another possible explanation, would take into consideration this *numerus* together with *pedites singulares Britannici* / *numerus singularium Britannicianorum*, stationed in Cigmău area, guarded a shortcut route to the Dacian goldmines, probably used also before the Romans (Țentea 2009). Nevertheless, both explanations allow us to firmly assert the presence of the *numerus exploratorum Germanicianorum* among the units in Dacia also during the reign of Trajan.

DACIA POROLISSENSIS

The army of the Dacia Porolissensis province was composed only of auxiliary units, most of them already accommodated in the north-western Dacian Roman forts from the time of Trajan²³. To these two Pannonia *alae* were added, namely *ala Siliana* and *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, which were accommodated in the forts of Gilău and Ilișua, together with three cohorts: *II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum* (Buciumi), *I Batavorum milliaria c. R.* (Romita) and *I Aelia gaesatorum milliaria* (Bologa). It seems now that there are at least two *gaesati* units with the same names, since *cohors I Aelia gaesatorum* appeared in Dacia Porolissensis in 123 and a homonymous unit is attested in Pannonia superior in 126. The first is thereafter attested in Dacia Porolissensis, while the latter seems to be the one which appeared with a different name on the constitutions for the auxiliary units from Pannonia inferior, namely *cohors I Aelia sagittariorum milliaria* (Nemeth 2004, 640-641). When and why these units were transferred from the Pannonian provin-

es is still a matter of discussion. It seems that around 123-124 they were already in Dacia Porolissensis, being probably transferred sometime after 118 (table VII).

CONCLUSIONS

The auxiliary units system from Moesia superior was inherited from the former province of Moesia to which important additions were made both by Domitian or Trajan. The auxiliary units from Moesia superior became the core of the military force of the newly created Dacia province, to which Pannonian units were added (the three attested Dacian legions: *III Flavia Felix*, *XIII Gemina* and *I Adiutrix* were previously part of the armies of Moesia superior and Pannonia²⁴). Later on, the Moesia superior, together with Pannonia inferior, provided an important number of units for *expeditio Parthica*. Some units from Dacia were also sent in this expedition. In Pannonia inferior, other units are attested deployed there in order to replace the units sent into the Parthian expedition (for example *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* from Moesia inferior and *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* from Moesia superior, both to replace *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria*). It seems that the auxiliary units of these three provinces, Moesia Superior, Dacia and Pannonia, later on Pannonia superior and inferior, acted together as an almost integrated task force, especially during the military expeditions. This is fully attested during the war from 117-118 against the Sarmatians, but also later on during the military expeditions from the reign of Marcus Aurelius. From the strategic point of view, Dacia province was only a northern and eastern prolongation of the Moesia superior and Pannonia provinces.

Another important moment was Hadrian's decision to make three separate Dacian provinces, as a consequence of the wars from 118-119 and the new agreements with the Sarmatians, both the Iazyges and the Rhoxolani (Petolescu 1985, 50-51). If for the Dacia inferior province the situation is pretty clear, since almost entire army was built using the auxiliary units of Moesia inferior already into place from the time of Trajan (with two additions: *numerus Illyricorum* and *numerus burgariorum et*

²² IDR III/3, 263: *Iulius Secundus, expl(orator) domo Agrip(pinensi)*.

²³ The imperial constitutions: April 14, 123 (RGZM 22); August 10, 123 (RMD I 21 = IDR I 7; RMD I 22 = IDR I 7 A); other constitution from the same day, Eck / Pangerl 2011b; 128 (Ciongradi / Bota / Voișian 2009); 130/ 131 (RMD V 378); July 2, 133 (RMD I 35 = IDR I 11); September 24, 151 (RMD V 404); 143-153 (Ciongradi / Zăgrean 2011); September 27, 154? (CIL XVI 110 = IDR I 17; RMD I 47); July 21, 164 (RMD I 64 = IDR I 18; CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19; RMD I 63 = IDR I 20; IDR I 21 = RMD I 66; 22 = RMD I 65/ II 115; RMD II 116; 117; RMD IV 287; 289?; AE 2007, 1764).

²⁴ For the legions attested in the Dacian provinces see Piso 2005, 401-428, with the entire bibliography.

Table VII. The units attested in Dacia Porolissensis

Previous attestation	The units	Further attestation
Dacia	ala I Brittonum c. R.	Pannonia inferior, 123
Dacia	ala II (Gallorum et) Pannoniorum	Dacia Porolissensis
Pannonia inferior	ala Siliana armillata bis torquata c. R.	Dacia Porolissensis
Pannonia inferior	ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana	Dacia Porolissensis
Pannonia superior	cohors I Batavorum milliaria c. R. p. f.	Dacia Porolissensis
Dacia superior	cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R. p. f.	Dacia Porolissensis
Dacia superior	cohors II Brittonum / Britannorum milliaria c. R. p. f.	Dacia Porolissensis
Pannonia inferior	cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum	Dacia Porolissensis
Dacia	cohors I Ulpia Brittonum torquata milliaria c. R.	Dacia Porolissensis
Dacia	cohors I Cannanefatium	Dacia Porolissensis
Pannonia superior, or newly raised?	cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria	Dacia Porolissensis – Pannonia superior 126, or different?
Dacia superior	cohors II Gallorum Macedonica	Moesia superior, 132/133
Dacia	cohors I Hispanorum p. f.	Dacia Porolissensis
Dacia	cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria	Dacia Porolissensis
Dacia	cohors II Hispanorum (scutata Cyrenaica)	Dacia Porolissensis
Dacia	cohors V Lingonum	Dacia Porolissensis
Dacia	cohors VI Thracum	Dacia Porolissensis

veredariorum), the situation in Dacia superior and Dacia Porolissensis suffered many changes. Two legions were removed from the area and from that moment on, until the reign of Marcus Aurelius, only one legion defended both Dacia superior and Dacia Porolissensis, *legio XIII Gemina* from *Apulum* (Piso 2005, 422-427) – the Dacia inferior was under the surveillance of the three legions of Moesia inferior from *Novae*, *Durostorum* and *Troesmis*. This led to important changes both in the structure and in the settlements of the auxiliary units in these two provinces. Unfortunately, many of these changes remain unknown to us, with some exceptions, especially the units transferred from the Pannonian provinces to Dacia Porolissensis, or the sending of

the *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum*, attested in Dacia superior in 124, to Pannonia inferior in 126. Why it was needed to bring in the same time units from Pannonian provinces, but also to send other units from Dacian provinces to the Pannonian provinces is probably a matter of fighting style and specialization of different units. Some units were needed for specific tasks, or some units fitted perfect into a specific geographic area.

The military system set up by Hadrian lasted, with minor changes, especially during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in the context of the Marcomannic wars, but also in the Severan period, until the abandonment of the Dacian province during the reign of Aurelian.

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