

PARTICIPATION OF THE AUXILIARY TROOPS FROM MOESIA SUPERIOR IN TRAJAN'S DACIAN WARS

FLORIAN MATEI-POPESCU, OVIDIU ȚENEA

Next to the legions participating in the two *expeditiones Dacicae*¹ the auxiliary troops from the provinces close to *Decebalus'* kingdom, Pannonia, Moesia Inferior and particularly Moesia Superior, played also an important role. Given that Moesia Superior was the main attack base against the Dacian kingdom, the auxiliary troops from this province played a far more important role than the troops from the other two mentioned provinces. In fact Trajan did not bring new units to Moesia Inferior either, until starting with year 102, when the auxiliary troops from the latter intervened for the first time at the north of the Danube after *Decebalus'* and his allies' attack on the province, which would argue in favour of the assumption that Trajan did not intend to open a so-called second front² as he believed that a direct attack through Banat region on the centre of the Dacian kingdom could be decisive.

As compared to the situation that is quite clear to see in the case of Moesia Inferior, the *auxilia Moesiae superioris* has been until recently claimed to have been reinforced on the eve of the first *expeditio Dacica*, a fact revealed by the record of military diplomas. Therefore, according to the diplomas already known, the Moesia Superior garrison was composed under Domitian's rule of three *alae* (*II Pannoniorum*, *Claudia nova*, *Praetoria*) and 14 cohorts (*I Cilicum*, *I Cisipadensium*, *I Cretum*, *I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria*, *I Antiochensium*, *I Lusitanorum*, *I Montanorum*, *II Flavia Commagenorum*, *II Gallorum Macedonica*, *III Raetorum*, *V Gallorum*, *V Hispanorum*, *VI Thracum*, *VII Breucorum c. R.*)³. On the diploma of the year 100, the number of *alae* remained unchanged, but the number of cohorts increased up to 21⁴. As compared to the diplomas from Domitian's time, the following cohorts appeared for the first time: *I Flavia Bessorum*, *I Thracum c. R.*, *I Vindellicorum milliaria c. R.*, *I Thracum Syriaca*, *II Hispanorum*, *II Brittonum milliaria c. R. p. f.*, *III Brittonum*. This diploma has been long considered as a decisive element proving undeniably the reinforcement of the province garrison on the eve of the first Dacian expedition. Meanwhile, a new diploma was issued in the year 97⁵, unfortunately extremely fragmentary, but still preserving the notice of the number of cohorts: *decem et novem*, which proves that at least part of the cohorts registered in year 100 had already been in the province since Domitian's time⁶. It is only the hazard of discoveries that has kept

¹ We express our gratitude for all help provided to us during the writing of this paper to Mrs. Werner Eck (Kologne), Rudolf Haensch (Munich), Paul Holder (Manchester), Barnábas Lőrincz (Budapest), Andreas Pangerl (Munich). K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donaupraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Antiquitas. Reihe 1. Band 33, Bonn., 1984, p. 85-98. On the participation of the Moesia Superior legions see D. Benea, *Din istoria militară a Moesiei Superior și Daciei. Legiunea VII Claudia și legiunea IV Flavia Felix*, Cluj-Napoca, 1983, p. 47-48 (*VII Claudia p. f.*) and p. 149-159 (*IV Flavia Felix*).

² Fl. Matei-Popescu, *Argesis* 13, 2004, p. 123-129.

³ CIL XVI 39 of the 16th September 94; RMD 335 (copy of the same Constitution); RMD 6 of 6 July 96

⁴ CIL XVI 46 of the 8 May 100.

⁵ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 152, 2005, p. 231-234, no. 2.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 234: „Doch müssen fast alle Einheiten, die in CIL XVI 46 aufgeführt waren, auch in dieses Diplom Eingang gefunden haben.”

this detail unknown. The *alae II Pannoniorum* and *Praetoria* and the *I Montanorum* and *I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria* cohorts are directly attested by this diploma, the presence of the *Claudia Nova* ala being only assumed. Nevertheless, in the diploma of the year 100 there are two additional cohorts as compared to the mentioned diploma of the year 97. Therefore, *I Vindellicorum milliaria c. R. p. f.* and *II Brittonum milliaria c. R. p. f.* could not have been in Moesia Superior in 97, as they appear in Germania Inferior on the 20th of February 98, as indicates a military diploma for this province, discovered at Elst⁷. As far as these troops are concerned, it is obvious that they were transferred by Trajan for the purpose of their participation in the first Dacian expedition, the former leaving traces on the Pannonia territory at *Aquincum*⁸ and *Alisca*⁹ during this transfer¹⁰. These two troops were *cohortes milliariae* and it is very likely that they distinguished themselves even under the rule of the future emperor in the campaigns of year 97. The symmetric way in which Trajan chose to send again, after the campaign of year 101, two *cohortes millitariae* (*I* and *II Nervianae Pacenses milliariae Brittonum*) in order to reinforce the Moesia Inferior garrison, toughly put to the test during the attack from the winter of 101-102¹¹, is very interesting as well. This is another proof that the presence of the two above-mentioned cohorts in Moesia Superior in year 100 is not at all an accident. In fact, among the cohorts attested in Germania Inferior, *I Thracum c. R. p. f.* and *III Lusitanorum c. R. p. f.*, appear in Pannonia Inferior in 110¹², whilst *I Hispanorum p. f.* and *I Pannoniorum veterana p. f.*, in Moesia Superior in 103/105¹³ and then in Dacia's garrison after the end of the wars¹⁴. But these last cohorts were moved after the beginning of the first Dacian expedition, as they appear on a new diploma of Germania Inferior of the 13th of March 101¹⁵, which happened also to the two above-mentioned cohorts appearing in Pannonia Inferior. All these attesting elements indicate the way in which Trajan understood how to prepare the expedition against *Decebalus*, by concentrating in Pannonia and Moesia Superior auxiliary troops, already trained in the battles on the Rhine limes, that were to join the troops already existing in these provinces. It is also to be noted the way in which the emperor understood, after the first Dacian expedition, that he needed more units in order to reinforce the expeditionary military force (the case of the two cohorts from Moesia Superior appearing on Dacia's diplomas) or in order to reinforce the Pannonian limes as it might have been the case of the two troops in Pannonia on which we have no indication of their direct involvement in the military operations in Dacia.

Among the other cohorts attested for the first time in the diploma of year 100, *I Thracum Syriaca*, was stationed on Moesia's territory, at *Timacum Minus* (Ravna) ever since Vespasian's time¹⁶. As concerns *I*

⁷ RMD IV, 216; see also on the participation of the auxilliary units from Germania Inferior to the Dacians expeditions Fl. Matei-Popescu, O. Țentea, in D. Benea (ed.), *Daci și romani. 1900 de ani de la integrarea Daciei în Imperiul Roman (Timișoara 24-26 martie 2006)*, Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis VII, Timișoara, 2006, p. 56-65.

⁸ CIL III 3562.

⁹ AnnÉp 1935, 103 = RIU 1029.

¹⁰ B. Lörincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. Teil I: Die Inschriften*, Wien, 2000, p. 48; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39-40/I, 2002-2003, p. 296.

¹¹ B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer, Band 37, 1-2, Mainz, 2004, no. 10-11; Fl. Matei-Popescu, Argesis 13, 2004, p. 126; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39-40/I, 2002-2003, p. 276-277.

¹² CIL XVI 164; G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior*, EpigrStud, Band 6, Düsseldorf, 1968, p. 66 (with a remarkable intuition on the cohort *III Lusitanorum*: „Da sie auf früheren pannonischen Diplomen nicht genannt wird, ist anzunehmen, dass sie um das Jahr 104 vom Niederrhein zusammen mit der Legio X gemina nach Pannonien abkommandiert wurde.”); B. Lörincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 38, no. 31 (*III Lusitanorum*) and p. 43, no. 42 (*I Thracum c. R. p. f.*); O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 293.

¹³ CIL XVI 54; B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, nr. 13.

¹⁴ CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD III 148.

¹⁵ B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, no. 9.

¹⁶ It appears on the military diplomas of 75 (B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, no. 1) and 22 February 78 (discovered at Montana, CIL XVI 78) and on inscriptions in the mentioned fort, Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002 (2004), p. 227, no. 36, being fully attested.

Flavia Bessorum, *III Brittonum* and *II Hispanorum (scutata Cyrenaica)*, it is not known with certitude whether they were stationed ever since Domitian's time on the territory of Moesia Superior, but we may assume that they must have been among the 19 cohorts mentioned on the diploma fragment of the year 97. The *II Hispanorum* cohort (*scutata Cyrenaica*) had been stationed in Pannonia¹⁷, being moved to Moesia Superior, on a date that we do not know, but most likely before the beginning of Trajan's rule as it happened to all the troops moved from Pannonia to Moesia Superior. The same explanation may be provided also for the *III Brittonum* cohort¹⁸, the only unknown element remaining the enigmatic *I Flavia Bessorum* cohort. Just like *II Flavia Bessorum*, which was stationed in Moesia Inferior¹⁹, it would be possible for *I Flavia Bessorum* to have been stationed in Moesia ever since Vespasian's time. The situation of *I Thracum c. R.* cohort remains still unclear as it is not attested by the 93 and 96 diplomas, but arithmetically it could have been among the 19 cohorts mentioned in the diploma of the year 97, although there is no direct evidence in this respect. Anyway, this unit is different from *I Thracum c. R. p. f.* mentioned above, the latter being moved from Germania Inferior to Pannonia, remaining afterwards on the territory of the Pannonia Inferior province, while *I Thracum c. R.* would be stationed in Dacia²⁰. Starting with 113/126 a homonymous cohort having the same name appears in Pannonia Superior²¹, while on the territory of Dacia Superior a cohort *I Thracum sagittariorum* is mentioned between the years 136/138 and 144²². It would be very likely that the latter should be the cohort attested at the beginning of the province²³, although its absence from the diplomas of 114, as well as their identical name, make us believe now that it was most probably moved to Pannonia Superior from the area in which it might have been moved, along with other units, by Domitian, in order to reinforce Moesia's limes.

In two diplomas, copies of the same imperial constitution, which is dated approximately during the time of the second Dacian expedition, along the troops already known, the following cohorts appear for the first time: *I Brittonum milliaria*, *I Britannica milliaria c. R.*, *I Hispanorum p. f.*, *I Pannoniorum veterana*, *I Alpinorum*, *III Campestris c. R.*, *III Cypria c. R.*, *VIII Raetorum c. R.* and a group of *pedites singulares Britannici*²⁴. From among these troops, *I Britannica milliaria c. R.* and *I Brittonum milliaria* had been stationed on Pannonia's territory²⁵ like *VIII Raetorum*²⁶ being passed under the command of the Moesia Superior's legate, although they were most likely to be found in Dacia, where they would be stationed after the end of the hostilities, which proves that during the wars or rather during the second Dacian expedition they were under the command of Moesia Superior's governor, never actually being moved to the territory of the Moesia Superior province. We have already discussed above the way in which the cohorts *I Hispanorum p. f.* and *I Pannoniorum veterana* were dislocated on the territory of the Moesia Superior province. The situation of the cohort *I Alpinorum* is slightly more complicated as two cohorts of the same name and number are known, one of them being *peditata* and the other, *equitata*. The *equitata* cohort definitely took part in Trajan's Dacian wars, as we understand from an inscription discovered at *Thuburbo Maius* in Africa, which

¹⁷ B. Lörincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 36, no. 25.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 32, no. 15: „Vor dem 5. Mai 100, wahrscheinlich schon 97, wurde sie in die Moesia Superior versetzt.”.

¹⁹ Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002, p. 192-193, no. 11

²⁰ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39-40/I, 2002-2003, p. 293.

²¹ B. Lörincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 42, no. 44

²² C. C. Petolescu, A. Corcheș, Drobeta 11-12, 2002, p. 120-126; CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14.

²³ O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, ActaMN 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 293-294.

²⁴ CIL XVI 54; B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, no.13, from 103/105. See also CIL XVI 49 of 12 January 105 (only *tabella II*) granted to *Lucco Treni f. Dobunn(us)* of cohort *I Britannica milliaria c. R.*, under the command of the tribune *Q. Caecilius Redditus* and RMD V 339, probably on the same date and copy of the same constitution (only *tabella I*), granted to a member of cohort *I Brittonum milliaria*. Considering the existence of these diplomas, we wonder whether it would be possible that CIL XVI 54 and B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, no. 13, to be copies of the same constitution as CIL XVI 49 and RMD, V 339? We remind that CIL XVI 49, 54 and RMD, V 339 were all found on Hungary's territory.

²⁵ B. Lörincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 31-32, no. 12-13; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 86-88, no. 22-23.

²⁶ B. Lörincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 41, no. 40; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 119, no. 54.

presents the career of this unit's prefect *M. Vettius Latro*, decorated by Trajan following one of the Dacian expeditions, most likely the first of them²⁷. Still, the presence of the *equitata* cohort does not exclude the presence of the *peditata* cohort. A homonymous cohort appears in Britannia in year 103²⁸, being probably the *peditata* cohort, or maybe a third *Alpinorum* cohort, as it is difficult to believe that it was moved immediately after this moment to Moesia Superior²⁹, where it appears in the mentioned diploma of 103/105. The cohort *I Alpinorum equitata*, which was certainly deployed in the Dacian wars, had been stationed for a while in Pannonia as it appears on an inscription discovered at Dunapentele = Dunaújvaros, until on the eve of the Dacian wars³⁰. To make the situation even more complicated, a cohort *I Alpinorum* appears in a diploma for Pannonia on the 19th of November 102³¹. From this level of knowledge it is practically impossible to make an exact distinction between the two cohorts and it is difficult to establish which one of the two *Alpinorum* cohorts appears in Moesia Superior, then in Dacia on the 3rd/4th of May 114³², and finally in Pannonia Inferior, where in September 114 there are attested once again two *I Alpinorum* cohorts. The hypothetical existence of a third *I Alpinorum* cohort which was stationed in *Britannia*, being transferred to Moesia Superior and then to Dacia is supported by the attestation of a cohort of this name, starting with the year 119 on Dacia Superior's territory³³, while in Pannonia two cohorts are further attested, *equitata* and *peditata*. Unfortunately, in this case, we found ourselves on a very unsure ground.

The *III Campestris* and *IV Cypria* cohorts seem to have been brought from Pontus et Bithynia³⁴, especially to take part in the Dacian wars, being present actually on Dacia's diplomas, after the establishment of the province³⁵. If *IV Cypria* continued to be stationed on Dacia Superior's territory, *III Campestris* would return to Moesia Superior³⁶. Under the circumstances, the dating of the two inscriptions attesting the centurion *P. Aelius Papirianus*³⁷ and the Illyrian origin soldier *Liccaius Vinentis*³⁸, discovered in Drobeta is even more complicated; they might be both dated during Marcus Aurelius' time, when this unit was stationed probably in the Roman camp here³⁹, although the presence of the *hic sita est* formula, along with the *Dis Manibus* formula on one of the inscriptions might make us think of a dating in the first two decades of the second century AD.

In conclusion, particularly to take part in the Dacian wars, 10/11 cohorts were moved to Moesia Superior (see the Table 1), out of which 4 *milliariae* and a non-regulated unit recruited from Britannia. Out of these 10/11 cohorts, 6 cohorts came after the end of the first Dacian war and were deployed only in the second Dacian war, as they are attested by the military diplomas in others provinces at the beginning of the first Dacian war.

²⁷ AnnÉp 1939, 81 = IPD⁴ 808 = IDRE II 424, with a comment and the discussion in full at p. 444.

²⁸ M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia* 25, 1994, p. 52, no. 9.

²⁹ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, Bucharest, 2002, p. 81-82, no. 17 and P. Holder, *Auxiliary Deployment in the Reign of Trajan*, in this issue, p. 148, consider that this cohort from Britannia appears later in Moesia Superior and then in Dacia. We thank again to dr. Paul Holder for this Kindly permission to use this manuscript before its publication.

³⁰ CIL III 3352 = ILS 2591; B. Lörincz, *Hilfsstruppen*, p. 27, no. 1; idem, in M. Mirković (ed.), *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau. Akten der Regionalen Konferenz organisiert von Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung Beograd, 16-19 Oktober 2003, Belgrade, 2005*, p. 56. It seems that this cohort never stationed at Gorsium being attested at Vetus Salina at the beginning of the Second Century AD.

³¹ CIL XVI 47; B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, no. 13.

³² RMD IV 226 = B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, no. 16.

³³ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p.82.

³⁴ On an inscription from *Amastris* appears a *miles* and *tubicen* of a cohort *Camp(estrus?)*, AnnÉp 1993, 1429 = AnnÉp 1995, 1425. On another inscription from *Sinope*, which seems to date from the first century AD, appears a certain *M. Blossius, M. f., Ter., mil(es) coh(ortis) Cypr(iae), (centuria) Bassi, ex testamento situs*, D. H. French, *The Inscriptions from Sinope*, Bonn, 2004, 122 (*Inchriften griechischer Städte Kleinasien* 64). See also P. Holder, *Auxiliary Deployment in the Reign of Trajan*, in this issue, p. 145.

³⁵ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 92-93, no. 28 and p. 102, no. 34.

³⁶ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 92-93, no. 28 and the diploma of 132/133 (RMD IV 247).

³⁷ CIL III 14216¹⁰ = IDR II 44.

³⁸ CIL III 14216⁸ = IDR II 45.

³⁹ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 94.

Table 1

MOESIA SUPERIOR before the Dacian wars	MOESIA SUPERIOR auxiliary units dislocated for the Dacian wars	MOESIA SUPERIOR after the end of the Dacian wars	DACIA
<i>ala II Pannoniorum</i>	<i>cohors I Vindellicorum milliaria c. R. p. f. (GI, 98)</i>	<i>ala Praetoria singularium (115 in exped.)</i>	<i>ala II Pannoniorum veterana</i>
<i>ala Claudia nova</i>	<i>cohors II Brittonum milliaria c. R. p. f. (GI, 98)</i>	<i>cohors I Antiochensium</i>	<i>ala Claudia Nova (132/133 MS)</i>
<i>ala Praetoria singularium</i>	<i>cohors I Brittonum milliaria (P, 85)</i>	<i>cohors I Lusitanorum</i>	<i>cohors I Vindellicorum milliaria c. R. p. f.</i>
<i>cohors I Cilicum</i>	<i>cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R. (P, 85)</i>	<i>cohors I Pannoniorum (115 ?)</i>	<i>cohors II Brittonum milliaria c. R. p. f.</i>
<i>cohors I Cisipadensium</i>	<i>cohors I Pannoniorum veterana (GI, 98, 101)</i>	<i>cohors III Brittonum veterana</i>	<i>cohors I Brittonum milliaria</i>
<i>cohors I Cretum</i>	<i>cohors I Alpinorum (B, 103 ?)</i>	<i>cohors I Thracum Syriaca (115 in exped.)</i>	<i>cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R.</i>
<i>cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria</i>	<i>cohors I Hispanorum p. f. (GI, 98, 101)</i>	<i>cohors I Cilicum (115 in exped.)</i>	<i>cohors I Pannoniorum veterana (109, 110; 115 MS)</i>
<i>cohors I Antiochensium</i>	<i>cohors III Campestris c. R. (PB?)</i>	<i>cohors I Cisipadensium (115 in exped.)</i>	<i>cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria</i>
<i>cohors I Lusitanorum</i>	<i>cohors IIII Cypria c. R. (PB?)</i>	<i>cohors III AVG NERV ? (115 in exped.)</i>	<i>cohors II Gallorum Macedonica</i>
<i>cohors I Montanorum</i>	<i>cohors VIII Raetorum (P, 80-102)</i>	<i>cohors V Hispanorum (115 in exped.)</i>	<i>cohors I Alpinorum eq.</i>
<i>cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i>	<i>cohors I Thracum c. R.?</i>	<i>cohors IIII Raetorum (115 in exped.)</i>	<i>cohors I Cretum sagittariorum</i>
<i>cohors II Gallorum Macedonica</i>	<i>pedites singulares Britannici (B)</i>	<i>cohors VII Breucorum (115 in exped.)</i>	<i>cohors I Montanorum (115 in exped.)</i>
<i>cohors IIII Raetorum</i>		<i>cohors I Flavia Bessorum ? (120 Maced.)</i>	<i>cohors I Thracum c. R.</i>
<i>cohors V Gallorum</i>		<i>cohors II Dacorum (126)</i>	<i>cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i>
<i>cohors V Hispanorum</i>			<i>cohors I Hispanorum p. f.</i>
<i>cohors VI Thracum</i>			<i>cohors II Hispanorum</i>
<i>cohors VII Breucorum c. R.</i>			<i>cohors III Campestris (132/133 MS)</i>
<i>cohors I Flavia Bessorum</i>			<i>cohors IIII Cypria c. R.</i>
<i>cohors I Thracum Syriaca</i>			<i>cohors V Gallorum</i>
<i>cohors I Thracum c. R.?</i>			<i>cohors VI Thracum eq.</i>
<i>cohors II Hispanorum</i>			<i>cohors VIII Raetorum</i>
<i>cohors III Brittonum veterana</i>			<i>pedites singulares Britannici</i>

As it can be noted in the table containing the situation of transfer of troops after the end of the Dacian wars, most of the Moesia Superior auxiliary troops formed Dacia's garrison, as indicated by the register of the military diplomas of the newly established province⁴⁰. Practically, with the exception of the *alae I civium Romanorum*, *I Augusta Ituraeorum*, *I Britannica c. R.*, *I Pannoniorum* and the cohorts *I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum*, *I Ituraeorum sagittariorum*, *II Gallorum Pannonica*, *V Lingonum*, all the other units had been detached from the Moesia Superior army. Certainly the *alae I Batavorum milliaria*, *I Bosporanorum*, *I Hispanorum Campagorum* (Dacia Superior), *Siliana*, *I (Tungrorum) Frontoniana* (Dacia Porolissensis) and the cohorts *I Ubiorum* (Dacia Superior/ post 120/130), *I Batavorum milliaria*, *II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*, *I Cannanefatium*, *I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria* (Dacia Porolissensis) are also to be added, which appear among the troops from Dacia Superior or Dacia Porolissensis starting with Hadrian's reign⁴¹ (see the Table 2), as they were indisputably moved in order to be able to face the attacks of the years 117-118 and to reinforce the defensive capacity of this territory in the context of the establishment of the Dacia Porolissensis province. The auxiliary troops which were dislocated for a shorter or longer period in Dacia and then in Dacia Superior, in Dacia Porolissensis respectively, were implicated, in our view, also in the military operations during the Dacian wars. As for the other units in Moesia Superior on which we do not have precise information from other sources that they participated in the Dacian wars, it is merely hypothetically that we may claim their actual deployment in these military operations. This would be the case of *I Flavia Bessorum* cohort, which appears in 120 on Macedonia's territory, without knowing for certain when this transfer actually took place⁴²; *V Hispanorum*, which appears in 108 in Moesia Superior⁴³, but which would participate afterwards in the Parthian expedition, as shown in the diploma of 115⁴⁴ and *III Brittonum veterana*, which was stationed in 115 in Moesia Superior, not being sent to the Parthian expedition⁴⁵, but the stamps of which were found in *Drobeta*, indicating a transport of regular material produced by this troop or the participation of a detachment of this troop in the building of the bridge between the two wars⁴⁶. As concerns the *I Lusitanorum* cohort one cannot argue with certainty that it participated in the Dacian wars⁴⁷, either, we rather believe that it stayed to protect the important Roman camp of *Taliata* (Donji Milanovac)⁴⁸ where the cohort had its garrison at that time.

The *I Cilicium* cohort was claimed to have participated in the Dacian wars, but we do not have any direct proof in this respect⁴⁹. Similarly to the case of the *V Hispanorum* cohort, this cohort would also participate in the Parthian campaign, as attested by the military diploma of 115⁵⁰ and by an inscription from *Berytus* in which a vexillation composed of this cohort and the *I Thracum Syriaca* and *VII Breucorum* cohorts, placed under the command of the Prefect of the *I Thracum Syriaca* cohort, *M. Sentius Proculus*⁵¹. This inscription, the dating of which was intensely disputed⁵², may now be dated exactly in the period in which, according to the new diploma of 115, these cohorts were *translatæ in expeditione*

⁴⁰ CIL XVI 160 = IDR I 1 (11 August 106); CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2 (17 February 110); CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3 (2 July 110); RMD III 148 (14 October 109); RMD IV 225 (17 Dec. 113/2-3 May 114); RMD IV 226 = B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, 16 (3-4 May 114).

⁴¹ P. Holder, in J. J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in the Honour of Margaret Roxan*, London, 2003, synoptic table on p. 132, which sums up the situation of the transfers of auxiliary troops to Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis during Hadrian's reign. See also discussion on p. 102-103.

⁴² CIL XVI 67.

⁴³ The fragment of a *tabella II* of a diploma granted to a former footsoldier, [...]*nus Dolarri f. Sequanus* of this cohort under the command of a certain *[Ti. ? C]laudius Verax* (W. Eck, A. Pangerl, RÉMA 1, 2004, p. 103-115 of 27 July 108).

⁴⁴ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 35, 2005, p. 49-67.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 49-67.

⁴⁶ CIL III 8074¹² = IDR II 105; N. Gudea, *Die Nordgrenze der römischen Provinz Obermoesien Materialien zu ihrer Geschichte (86-275 n. Chr.)*, Sonderdruck aus JRGZM 48, 2001, p. 84. For the issue of the transport of regular material marked by the stamps of certain auxiliary troops from Dacia see also the opinions expressed by F. Marcu, in C. Găzdac et al. (eds.) *Orbis Antiquus Studia in Honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 583-586.

⁴⁷ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 138.

⁴⁸ On this Roman camp see N. Gudea, *Obermoesien*, p. 70-72, no. 13.

⁴⁹ Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002, p. 199, no. 17.

⁵⁰ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 35, 2005, p. 49-67. (see note 44)

⁵¹ AnnÉp 1926, 150; R. Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*, EpigrStud 1, Köln-Graz, p. 60, no. 117.

⁵² See the discussion in full by Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002, p. 228.

*Parthica*⁵³. Although we do not have direct evidence of the deployment of these two cohorts in the Dacian wars, we think that their very presence among the troops participating in the Parthian expedition may be due to the way in which these units had served in the Dacian wars. The same thing could thus be also stated as regards the *VII Breucorum* cohort, which never appeared on Dacia's diplomas, but participated in the Parthian wars, according to the diploma of 115 and to the inscription presented above.

Table 2

DACIA SUPERIOR	DACIA POROLISSENSIS
<i>ala I Batavorum milliaria</i> (PS)	<i>ala I Brittonum c. R. / post 14. 04. 123</i> (DS ?)
<i>ala I Brittonum c. R. ?/ante 14. 04. 123</i> (D ?)	<i>ala II Pannoniorum veterana</i> (D)
<i>ala I Bosporanorum</i> (PS)	<i>ala Siliana</i> (PI)
<i>ala I Hispanorum Campagonum</i> (PI)	<i>ala Tungrorum Frontoniana</i> (PI)
<i>cohors I Alpinorum eq.</i> (D)	<i>cohors I Batavorum milliaria p. f.</i> (PS)
<i>cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria 119</i> (D)	<i>cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R. eq.</i> (D)
<i>cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> (D)	<i>cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria</i> (DS)
<i>cohors I (?) Gallorum Dacica</i> (?)	<i>cohors II Britannica (Brittonum) milliaria c. r. p. f.</i> (D)
<i>cohors II Gallorum Macedonica ?</i> (D)	<i>cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum</i> (PI)
<i>cohors II Gallorum Pannonica</i> (D)	<i>cohors I Cannanefatium</i> (?)
<i>cohors III Hispanorum</i> (?)	<i>cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria</i> (PS ?)
<i>cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittarium</i> (D)	<i>cohors II Gallorum Macedonica / post 14. 04. 123</i> (D, DS)
<i>cohors VIII Raetorum</i> (D)	<i>cohors I Hispanorum p. f.</i> (D)
<i>cohors I Thracum sagittarium</i> (?)	<i>cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum milliaria</i> (D)
<i>cohors I Ubiorum</i> (DI)	<i>II Hispanorum (scutata Cyrenaica/ post 151)</i> (D)
<i>cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria eq.</i> (D)	<i>cohors V Lingonum</i> (D)
<i>pedites singulares Britanniciani</i> (D)	<i>cohors VI Thracum eq.</i> (D)

The case of the *I Cisipadensium* and *III Raetorum* cohorts is quite similar, as they both participated in the Parthian expedition, yet we do not have direct information of their likely participation in the Dacian wars. In fact, none of these cohorts would return to Moesia Superior, *I Cisipadensium* being moved to Thracia and then to Moesia Inferior⁵⁴ while *III Raetorum* was moved to Cappadocia⁵⁵.

The situation of the *I Thracum Syriaca* cohort is slightly more complicated. It seems that this troop participated in the Dacian wars, based on the granting of the Enoșești (*Acidava*) stamps of the *COH THRA* and *COH I* [...] types to this unit⁵⁶. Still at this moment such a historical reconstitution is no longer possible given that the troop appears on the 115 diploma as having been sent from Moesia Superior to the Parthian⁵⁷ expedition. Under these conditions, assigning the Enoșești stamps to this unit has to be reconsidered and the same should be done for the dating of the *Transmarisca* inscription, which dates after the transfer of this unit to Moesia Inferior, recorded sometimes after the Parthian war and the year 125, when this cohort is attested for the very first time on the territory of Moesia Inferior by a military diploma⁵⁸.

Although it does not appear among Dacia's troops in the first military diplomas of the province, the cohort *I Antiochensium* appears on an inscription in *Drobeta*, dated 103-105, which attests perhaps the participation of the troop in building the fort in which it appears that it was also stationed after the end of the Dacian wars⁵⁹. It is also possible that during the Dacian wars or immediately after them the troop was led by *M. Aemilius Bassus*, remembered by an inscription in *Albintimilium* (Italy,

⁵³ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 35, 2005, p. 59.

⁵⁴ Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52-53, 2001-2002, p. 202-203, no. 18.

⁵⁵ Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 142

⁵⁶ Al. Barnea, I. Ciucă, *SCIVA* 40, 1989, 2, p. 147-155; AnnÉp 1989, 630; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 121-122, no. 56; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *SCIVA* 52-53, 2001-2002 (2004), p. 227-228, no. 36; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003, p. 294.

⁵⁷ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 35, 2005, p. 49-67.

⁵⁸ M. M. Roxan, W. Eck, *ZPE* 116, 1997, p. 193-203 = RMD IV 235.

⁵⁹ AE 1959, 309 = IDR II 14; K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 120; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 82-83, no. 18; C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiile latine din Dacia (ILD)*, Bucharest, 2004, no. 51.

Regio IX) as *praefectus cohortis pr(imae) Antiochensium*, then *tribunus cohortis pr(imae) Brittonum* and, at last, *praefectus alae Moesiaca* (Germania Inferior)⁶⁰. The same name appears⁶¹ in the diploma of the 2nd of July 110 from *Porolisum*, awarded to a former soldier of the cohort *I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata civium Romanorum*, which means that he led the cohort *I Antiochensium* a very short while ago. After the year 132/133 the troop constantly appears in the Moesia Superior⁶² diplomas.

* * *

Further on we shall present the alphabetical list of troops involved in the Dacian wars and the attesting information, except for the units already mentioned.

*Ala I Claudia nova*⁶³ participated in the Dacian wars and with this occasion the prefect *M. Gavius Bassus* was decorated, as it appears on an inscription in Ephesus⁶⁴. The troop was attested in the new province in the diploma of the 2nd of July 110⁶⁵ in *Porolisum*. It seems that it took part in Trajan's Parthian campaign, as an inscription discovered in *Amasea*, in Galatia⁶⁶ seems to indicate, but it is not mentioned among the *translatæ in expeditione* troops in year 115⁶⁷. It shall afterwards appear among the Moesia Superior⁶⁸ troops.

*Ala II Pannoniorum*⁶⁹ participated in the Dacian wars and with this occasion the decurion *Ti. Claudius Maximus* was noted, as we find out from the famous inscription in Grammeni (Macedonia)⁷⁰. A stamp of this unit was discovered on the Sapaja Island, near the possible fort in Banatska Palanka (*Translederata*)⁷¹. No chronological data can be provided on the dating of the tegular material discovered in this locality as the fort was not archeologically investigated. The troops (troop) which would have the garrison here cannot be established based on the tegular material collected in the area of the presumed fort.⁷² Given that later the garrison of this troop was set in Gherla in Dacia Porolissensis⁷³, we can assume that this stamp might date back from the period when this troop stationed in Moesia Superior. C. C. Petolescu assumes that the funerary inscription of the rider *M. Verpidius Silvanus*, discovered in Ostrov and originating from *Sarmizegetusa*⁷⁴ might date from the period of the Dacian wars. After the end of the wars it is listed on the

⁶⁰ ILS 9506; H. G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, I-III, Paris, 1960-1961, no. 103; PME, A 75; P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan*, BAR Int. Ser. 70, 1980, Oxford, p. 157, E 136; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 82-83, No. 18.

⁶¹ CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

⁶² J. Spaul has issued the hypothesis of the reorganization of the troop after the Marcomanic wars when it seems it was named *cohors I Hemesenorum* (J. Spaul, *Cohors*, 480-482, see also the opinions in O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 291-292). Due to the *sagittariorum* indication, other researchers have advanced a similar hypothesis, precisely the amalgamation of the troop after 165 with *cohors I sagittariorum in Tibiscum* (A. Radnoti, *AArchSlov* 26, 1975, p. 207; D. Benea, *SCIVA* 27, 1976, 1, p. 77, p. 84; D. Benea, *Apulum* 16, 1978, p. 25; N. Gudea, *Drobeta* 4, 1980, p. 102; K. Strobel 1984, p. 120, note 15; p. 142).

⁶³ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 110. See also the inscription in *Drobeta* where *C. Iulius Verecundus, veteranus ex decurione* appears (CIL III 14216⁷ = IDR II 43; K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, Bern, 1951, p. 145, no. 237).

⁶⁴ AE 1972, 573 = IDRE II 376. PME G 8.

⁶⁵ CIL XVI 163.

⁶⁶ CIL III 13635, in which the decurion *L. Sempronius L. f. Scap. Macedo* from Altinum (Veneto) appears, Kraft, *Rekrutierung*, p. 145, no. 239.

⁶⁷ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 35, 2005, p. 49-67.

⁶⁸ J. Spaul, *Ala*², p. 89-91; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 264; W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 32, 2002, p. 420.

⁶⁹ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 114-115; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 74-76, no. 13.

⁷⁰ IDRE II 363.

⁷¹ CIL III 8074^{5b} = IDR III/1 5; N. Gudea, *Obermoesien*, p. 57-58, no. 8; E. Nemeth, *Armata în sud-vestul Daciei romane / Die Armee im Südwesten des römischen Dakien*, Timișoara, p. 35.

⁷² See note 142.

⁷³ N. Gudea, *Der dakische Limes*, p. 102-103, no. 97; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 75.

⁷⁴ CIL III 1483 = IDR III/2 460; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 75.

territory of the new province, in the diplomas dating from 109⁷⁵, 110⁷⁶ and 114⁷⁷. It was believed that it took part in Trajan's⁷⁸ Parthian campaign, but we do not have sure information in this sense. After the formation of the Dacia Porolissensis province, it was part of this province's garrison⁷⁹.

Ala praetoria singularium. It is quite sure now that there were at least two *alae praetoriae*, but only the Moesia Superior one appears with the name *singularium*. The other unit, which was stationed Pannonia and Pannonia Inferior was named *ala praetoria c. R.*⁸⁰. This troop in Moesia Superior took part in the Parthian war, as indicated by the diploma in 115 and it remained in the East⁸¹, but we cannot be certain of its participation in the Dacian wars although, as said before, the presence of certain troops from Moesia Superior in the Parthian expedition can be connected with their good performance during the Dacian wars.

*Cohors I Brittonum milliaria*⁸² participated in the Dacian wars and it received a special constitution by which the soldiers of this unit were awarded Roman citizenship *ante emerita stipendia*, as it results from the diploma in Porolissum of the 11th of August 106⁸³. From this moment the name of this unit became: *I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p. f. c. R.* The troop was stationed on Dacia's⁸⁴ territory, then in Dacia Superior in 119⁸⁵, and then was moved in the Dacia Porolissensis⁸⁶ province. It might be possible that the tile bearing the stamp of this cohort, discovered in Dierna dates from the period of the wars⁸⁷. In an inscription from *Albintimilium* (Italy, Regio IX) *M. Aemilius Bassus* is mentioned as *praefectus cohortis pr(imae) Antiochensium (vide supra)*, then *tribunus cohortis pr(imae) Brittonum* and at last *praefectus alae Moesiaca* (Germania Inferior)⁸⁸. In the Porolissum diploma of the 2nd of July 110 awarded to a former soldier of the cohort *I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata civium Romanorum* there is the same person⁸⁹.

*Cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R.*⁹⁰ was part of the units moved in Dacia from Pannonia and which were registered among the troops in Moesia Superior. After the end of the hostilities it remained in the new province⁹¹. It appeared then in Dacia Superior in 119⁹² and in Dacia Porolissensis starting in 123⁹³.

*Cohors II Brittonum (Britannorum) c. R. p. f.*⁹⁴ was part of the units moved by Trajan after 98 from Germania Inferior to Moesia Superior (*vide supra*). After the end of the hostilities it remained in the new province⁹⁵, and then was present among the troops in Dacia Porolissensis⁹⁶.

⁷⁵ RMD III 148.

⁷⁶ CIL XVI 163.

⁷⁷ RMD IV 226.

⁷⁸ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 115.

⁷⁹ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 75-76; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 270.

⁸⁰ B. Lőrincz, *Hilfsstruppen*, p. 23.

⁸¹ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 35, 2005, p. 49-67, in particular p. 56-58; it appears also on a diploma from 153 in Syria, P. Weiss, *Chiron* 36, 2006, p. 265-276 and p. 280 for a short history of the unit.

⁸² K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 124.

⁸³ CIL XVI 160 = IDR I 1.

⁸⁴ CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD III 148.

⁸⁵ W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 27-33, no. 1, in particular p. 31.

⁸⁶ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 87-88, no. 23; F. Marcu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 224-225; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 275.

⁸⁷ CIL III 8074¹⁰ = IDR III/1 52. See the whole argument at F. Marcu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 224 with the note no. 64.

⁸⁸ ILS 9506; H. G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, I-III, Paris, 1960-1961, No. 103; PME, A 75; P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan*, BAR Int. Ser. 70, 1980, Oxford, p. 157, E 136; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 82-83, no. 18.

⁸⁹ CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

⁹⁰ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 123-124.

⁹¹ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD III 225; RMD 226.

⁹² W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 27-33, no. 1, especially p. 31.

⁹³ D. Isac, F. Marcu, in N. Gudea (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Zalău, 1999, p. 587-590; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 86-87, no. 22.

⁹⁴ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 125.

⁹⁵ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 226.

⁹⁶ D. Isac, F. Marcu, in N. Gudea (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Zalău, 1999, p. 585-587; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 88-90, no. 24; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 275-276.

Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum equitata participated in the Dacian wars⁹⁷. The diplomas on the 14th of October 109⁹⁸ and the 2nd of July 110⁹⁹ listed it among the troops of the Dacia province, and it was attested as part of the Dacia Superior army in diplomas dated between 123 and 179¹⁰⁰. Stationing of the troop in the *Micia* fort could be argued on epigraphic basis for almost the whole duration of the province's existence; less for the first two decades of the second century. The earliest epigraphic attestation dates from the time of Hadrian¹⁰¹. Honorific and votive inscriptions attested the stationing of the troop in *Micia* until the mid-third century AD¹⁰². Following the archeological researches in the fort and in the civil site four types of tegular stamps¹⁰³ were identified. Besides the epigraphic evidences in *Micia*, more recently stamps of this troop were identified in Cladova, some 100 km below the *Micia*¹⁰⁴ fort. No elements on the dating of these stamps could be set and this fact would not exclude, according to Eduard Nemeth, the dislocation of some vexillations of this troop along the inferior part of the Mures River during Trajan rule¹⁰⁵.

It seems that it was stationed in *Micia* ever since Trajan, given that at this moment we could date more precisely the altar dedicated by the unit's prefect, *M. Arruntius Agrippinus*, to Jupiter Turmasgades¹⁰⁶. It is very likely that the same person was made prefect of the Eastern desert in Egypt in 118 (*praefectus Montis Berenicidis*, e)pa/rxoj o)/rouj), as he appears on an *ostrakon* discovered at *Krokodilo*¹⁰⁷. This position could be attained after the three *militiae equestres* and it supposed control of the roads and stone quarries in this part of Egypt¹⁰⁸. Thus the command of a *quingenaria* cohort, the first step of his military career, *Agrippinus*' mission in *Micia* could be dated in the first years of the province.

*Cohors I Cretum sagittariorum*¹⁰⁹. Some tegular material marked with the stamp of this troop was discovered in archeological excavations around the pillars of the bridge and in the fort. Other exemplars were identified in monuments belonging to more recent historical periods in this area¹¹⁰. It participated in military operations as it appears in 110 and in 114 (the diploma was awarded to a pedestrian of this cohort) among the troops of the new province¹¹¹. The tegular stamp in Stara Palanka (very close to

⁹⁷ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 128.

⁹⁸ P. Holder, *Auxiliary Deployment in the Reign of Trajan*, in this issue, p. 158, suggests that the reading should be *ala I Flavia Commagenorum sag.*, unattested elsewhere. AnnÉp 1990, 860 = RMD III 148 - the unit was written between the *alae*, the reading *ala II Commagenorum sag.* represents a confusion with *Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* (J. Garbsch, N. Gudea, ActaMP 14-15, 1991, p. 70).

⁹⁹ IDR I 3 = CIL XVI 163.

¹⁰⁰ B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, no. 22 (diploma awarded to a former soldier of this cohort); C. C. Petolescu, A. Corcheș, Drobeta 11-12, 2002, 120-126; IDR I, 14 = CIL XVI 90; IDR I, 15 = CIL XVI 107; Piso, Benea 1984, 263-295 = RMD II 123 = AnnÉp 1987 843.

¹⁰¹ CIL III 1371-4 = IDR III/3, 51-3, 45; AnnÉp 1903, 66 = C. Daicoviciu, ACMIT 3, 1930-1931, p. 35, no. 1 = IDR III/3, 46; CIL III 1343 = AnnÉp 1978, 705; IDR III/3 77.

¹⁰² CIL III 1372 = IDR III/3, 52.

¹⁰³ C. C. Petolescu, SCIVA 37, 1986, 4, p. 350, no. 341, assumes that the publication of the stamps in IDR III/3 197 – where three different types were described, is confuse and incomplete. The reading of the first two types of stamps is problematic, which led to certain polemics among different scholars.

¹⁰⁴ P. Hügel, *Ziridava* 19-20, 2000, p. 74, II-1. a-c.

¹⁰⁵ E. Nemeth, *Armata*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁶ IDR III/3 138.

¹⁰⁷ H. Cuvigny, *Ostraka de Krokodilô. La correspondance militaires et sa circulation. O. Krok. 1-151*, IFAO, Cairo, 2005, no. 87, p. 135-154, with a comment on the career of this person at p. 138-139.

¹⁰⁸ For a wider perspective see V. A. Maxfield, in Zs. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, University of Pécs, 2005, p. 201-210. Also see the career of *M. Artorius M. f. Pal. Priscillus Vicasius Sabidianus* preserved on an inscription from *Puteoli* (CIL VI 32929 = ILS 2700) from Trajan's time, who, after being consecutively: *praefectus cohortis XV Voluntariorum c. R.* (Germania inferior), *tribunus legionis VII Claudia* p. f. (Moesia Superior), *praefectus alae I Pannoniorum* (Africa or Moesia Inferior), became *praefectus montis Berenicidis*; Pflaum, *Carrières*, p. 185-186, no. 88; PME, A 168; P. Holder, *Auxilia*, p. 157, E 139; Y. Le Bohec, *Les unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique Proconsulaire et Numidie sous le Haut Empire*, Paris, 1989, p. 39; Fl. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002 (2004), p. 192, with the opinion that it is likely that he commanded *ala I Pannoniorum* from Moesia Inferior.

¹⁰⁹ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 128.

¹¹⁰ CIL III 1703, 2 = IDR II 103.

¹¹¹ CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD 226.

Banatska Palanka, *Translederata*) was not discovered during archeological excavations¹¹². Perhaps during administrative reorganisations at the time of Hadrian the cohort was part of the Moesia Superior troops, as it is attested starting in 132/133¹¹³. It is likely that the troop did not leave the *Translederata* fort which was under authority of the Dacia's legate, and once the Dacia Superior province was established it returned, along with the whole Northern bank of the Danube, under jurisdiction of the Moesia Superior governor.

*Cohors II Gallorum Macedonica*¹¹⁴ participated in the Dacian wars, and then remained among the troops of the new province¹¹⁵. On the 14th of April 123 it is attested in Dacia Porolissensis province, as being part – along with *ala I Brittonum c. R.* – of the two troops being *translatæ in Daciam Porolissensem*¹¹⁶. Sometimes before mid 2nd century, if not even starting in 132/133 (if we admit the presence of this troop on a military diploma)¹¹⁷, it was listed among the Moesia Superior¹¹⁸ troops.

*Cohors V Gallorum*¹¹⁹ participated in the Dacian wars and remained among the troops of the new province¹²⁰, and it was then attested on the 119 diploma among the Dacia Superior¹²¹ troops. During this period *P. Aelius Diophantus* was discharged, who is later mentioned on an inscription in *Drobeta* as a veteran and died at the venerable age of 86¹²². It is then recorded among the troops of Moesia Superior for the first time in 132/133 as during Marcus Aurelius it was attested under the name of *V Gallorum et Pannoniorum*¹²³ in this province. On a fragmentary diploma of 125/126 there is a cohort *V GA[llorum]*¹²⁴, but unfortunately it is extremely difficult to say whether this diploma is a copy of a constitution awarded to the troops in Dacia Superior or to those in Moesia Superior, although publication of the fragmentary diploma from 125/126 for the troops in Moesia Superior¹²⁵ would rather demonstrate that the second variant was the correct one. In 179 the unit appears among the Dacia Superior troops in the diploma discovered in *Drobeta*¹²⁶. The troop was stationed in the Pojejena¹²⁷ fort, a location which seems it did not leave at least until the end of the 2nd century AD. The fort was part of an area which during Trajan was under authority of the Dacia's legate and then, in 119 it came under authority of the legate of Moesia Superior and following the administrative reorganisations under Marcus Aurelius it was placed under authority of the legate of the three Daciae. This unit is certainly different from the homonym one appearing in Pannonia and then in Pannonia Inferior¹²⁸, given the fact that two troops with identical names appear on two diplomas on the 2nd of July 110, one for the auxiliary troops in Dacia, discovered in

¹¹² IDR III/1 6. In C. C. Petolescu's opinion, the tegular stamp dates from the time of the Dacian wars (C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 100, no. 32).

¹¹³ RMD IV 247; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 280.

¹¹⁴ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 130.

¹¹⁵ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 225 (17 Dec. 113/2-3 May 114).

¹¹⁶ B. Pfedehirt, RGZM, no. 22.

¹¹⁷ RMD IV 247; P. Holder, in J. J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in the Honour of Margaret Roxan*, London, 2003, p. 132.

¹¹⁸ C.C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 105, no. 39.

¹¹⁹ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 131.

¹²⁰ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

¹²¹ W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 27-33, no. 1, especially p. 31.

¹²² CIL III 14216⁴ = IDR II 46.

¹²³ RMD IV 247; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 284.

¹²⁴ W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *ActaMN* 38, 2001, p. 36-38, no. 3 = RMD V 367.

¹²⁵ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen in den mösischen Provinzen von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, no. 4, in this issue, p. 102-104, no. 4. We thank again Prof. Werner Eck and Andreas Pangerl for their kindly permission to use this manuscript before its publication.

¹²⁶ I. Piso, D. Benea, ZPE 56, 1984, note no. 11; RMD II 123.

¹²⁷ Two prefects of this troop are attested in Pojejena: *Q. Vibius Domatus* (AE 1963, 165 = IDR III/1 10 – uncertain dating) and *Q. Petronius Novatus* (AnnÉp 1972, 490 = IDR III/1 11; Devijver, PME P 26). During archaeological research in the fortress four types of tegular stamps were discovered belonging to this troop (N. Gudea, *Obernoesien*, p. 60, no. 10, Z 15-18), but when they were published their stratigraphic position was not mentioned, therefore it cannot be established during which building phase of the fortress they were used (see E. Nemeth, *Armata*, p. 42; p. 93-94, no. 3)

¹²⁸ O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003, p. 284, with the entire discussion.

*Porolissum*¹²⁹ and one for the auxiliary troops in Pannonia Inferior, discovered in Tokod¹³⁰. As it is known, three troops appear on the two diplomas (*ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria, cohortes I Montanorum, V Gallorum*) which were considered registered at the same time, following their participation in the Dacian wars, and among the troops in Dacia and those in Pannonia Inferior¹³¹. A close look reveals the fact that the *alae* mentioned refers to two different troops. Thus on the *Porolissum* diploma there is the *ala: I BRITANNICA C. R.*, and on the Tokod diploma there is the *ala: I FLAVIA AVG BRITANNICA (MILLIARIA) C. R.*¹³² The two cohorts *V Gallorum* appear identically on the two diplomas: *V GALLOR*, but if we admit that the two *Britannicae* *alae* are different, as shown by the name and the fact that the troop in Dacia is not recorded as *milliaria* and there are clear elements allowing identification of at least two *I Montanorum* cohorts (*vide infra*), there is nothing preventing us to believe that the two homonym troops are different and therefore have different stories, taking into account the fact that starting in 122 a *V Gallorum* cohort appears among the auxiliary troops in Britannia¹³³, while another *V Gallorum (et Pannoniorum)* cohort was stationed in Moesia Superior and Dacia Superior.

*Cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria*¹³⁴ participated in the Dacian wars, being one of the troops that especially distinguished itself during military operations receiving the surname *Ulpia* and mass citizenship for its soldiers. It built one of the first roads of the province from *Potaissa* to *Napoca*, as it appears on the milestone discovered at Aiton dating from 107/108, in which first appears with its new name¹³⁵. It also appears with this name¹³⁶ on the diplomas of the Dacia province, and was then attested among the troops of Dacia Porolissensis province¹³⁷.

*Cohors I Hispanorum p. f.*¹³⁸ participated in the military operations and then appeared on the diplomas in 110 and 114 of the new province¹³⁹ and, after the establishment of the Dacia Porolissensis province, it was stationed on its territory¹⁴⁰.

*Cohors II Hispanorum (scutata Cyrenaica)*¹⁴¹ participated in the military operations in southwestern Dacia and among the epigraphic evidences there is an interesting tegular stamp discovered in Banatska Palanka (*Translederata*)¹⁴² and an inscription dated 108 dedicated to Mars Ultor from Varset¹⁴³. Stamped bricks of this unit were discovered in the Roman bridge from *Drobeta*¹⁴⁴. It then appeared among the troops of the new province in the diplomas of 109 and 110¹⁴⁵ and on the diploma dated December 113 / May 114¹⁴⁶. It was then assumed that it participated in the Parthian wars¹⁴⁷, but its presence on the 114 diploma seems to infirm it, although, as to be seen below, in case of the *I Montanorum* cohort, the presence of this troop on the 114 diploma does not *ab initio* exclude the

¹²⁹ CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

¹³⁰ CIL XVI 164.

¹³¹ Finally C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 66-67, writing on the *alae* mentioned.

¹³² B. Lőrincz, *ActaArchHung* 29, 1977, p. 363-367; idem, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 157; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 263.

¹³³ CIL XVI 69; M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia* 25, 1994, p. 61, no. 30.

¹³⁴ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 134.

¹³⁵ CIL III 1627; Fl. Fodorean, *Drumurile din Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca, 2006, p. 64-68.

¹³⁶ CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; RMD IV 226, but without *Ulpia* on CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

¹³⁷ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 111-112, no. 45.

¹³⁸ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 132.

¹³⁹ CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 226.

¹⁴⁰ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 111, no. 44; O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 285.

¹⁴¹ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 135.

¹⁴² CIL III 8074,20 = IDR III/1, 7a; N. Gudea, *Obermoesien*, p. 57-58, no. 8; E. Nemeth, *Armata*, p. 36. On the dating of the tegular material discovered in this locality no chronological data can be provided as the fort was not archeologically investigated - *vide supra* the argument on *ala II Pannoniorum*.

¹⁴³ CIL III 6273=IDR III/1 106; N. Gudea, *Der dakische Limes. Materialien zu seiner Geschichte*, Sonderdruck aus JRGZM 44, 1997, p. 28, no. 10; E. Nemeth, *Armata*, p. 36-37.

¹⁴⁴ CIL III 1703¹ = IDR II 104.

¹⁴⁵ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

¹⁴⁶ RMD IV 225.

¹⁴⁷ C.C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 113, no. 46.

possibility that it participated in the Parthian war. The presence of the *Cyrenaica* epithet is also unclear, as it is for the first time present on the 151 diploma for Dacia Porolissensis¹⁴⁸.

*Cohors I Montanorum c. R*¹⁴⁹. The history of the two *I Montanorum* cohorts is rather unclear and it is difficult to establish which of the two known cohorts was moved on the Moesia Superior territory. This cohort *I Montanorum*, must have been the one attested in Noricum, as afterwards appeared for a short period in Pannonia, to participate in Nerva's *bellum Suebicum*, as this one was attested then in Moesia Superior where it built the in *Novae* (Čezava)¹⁵⁰ fortification. It participated in the Dacian wars, as it was attested in the newly established province in the 109, 110 and 114 diplomas¹⁵¹. At the same time its homonym was present on the 102 diplomas in Pannonia¹⁵², and then in the 110 and 114 diplomas in Pannonia Inferior¹⁵³. The argument that the two units were different is given by its listing among the troops which participated in the Parthian expedition as indicated by the new 115 diploma¹⁵⁴. After this expedition it was again present among the Moesia Superior troops starting in 132/133¹⁵⁵. For the situation to be even more complicated, a homonym cohort appears in Syria Palaestina in 139 and 160¹⁵⁶. Werner Eck and Andreas Pangerl believe that after participation of the Moesia Superior unit in the Parthian war it was possible that part of it remained in the East forming – along with new recruits – a whole new cohort, under the same name¹⁵⁷.

*Cohors VIII Raetorum*¹⁵⁸; this unit was stationed in Pannonia until 102¹⁵⁹, and then appeared on the Moesia Superior diplomas in 103/105¹⁶⁰, but given that it was mainly present in the territory North of the Danube (see above the whole discussion on the Pannonian troops appearing on the imperial constitution in 103/106 for the auxiliary troops in Moesia Superior). After the Dacian wars it appears among the troops of the new province¹⁶¹, then being stationed in Dacia Superior, in Inlăceni, during Hadrian, and afterwards in Banat, in Teregova¹⁶².

*Cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria c. R. p. f.*¹⁶³ was sent by Trajan after 98 from Germania Inferior to Moesia Superior (see above). It participated in the military operations with an undoubted important role in their development. It remained then among the troops of the new province and was attested by 109 and 110 diplomas¹⁶⁴. Along the bronze plate belonging to a soldier Iulius Martialis of this troop¹⁶⁵, there is no direct epigraphic evidence arguing the stationing of the troop in one of the castrae in Varadia (*Arcidava*). After the administrative reforms during Hadrian time it remained on Dacia Superior territory and occupied the *Tibiscum* fort¹⁶⁶. The argument around the dislocation of the troop in *Tibiscum* is connected to the history of a cohort with a rather unclear history, the *I Sagittariorum*¹⁶⁷.

¹⁴⁸ D. Isac, *ActaMN* 38/I, 2001, p. 49-58.

¹⁴⁹ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 140.

¹⁵⁰ O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 289.

¹⁵¹ RMD 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 226.

¹⁵² CIL XVI 47.

¹⁵³ CIL XVI 164; CIL XVI 61; RMD IV 228; B. Lörincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 81-82.

¹⁵⁴ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 35, 2005, p. 49-67.

¹⁵⁵ RMD IV 247.

¹⁵⁶ CIL XVI 87; RMD III 173.

¹⁵⁷ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Chiron* 35, 2005, p. 59.

¹⁵⁸ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 142.

¹⁵⁹ B. Lörincz, *Hilfstruppen*, p. 41, no. 40.

¹⁶⁰ CIL XVI 54; B. Pferdehirt, *RGZM*, no. 13.

¹⁶¹ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

¹⁶² C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 119-120, no. 54; E. Nemeth, *Armata*, p. 94-95, no. 4.

¹⁶³ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 145.

¹⁶⁴ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

¹⁶⁵ IDR III/1 110; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 125; E. Nemeth, *Armata*, p. 37 and p. 96, no. 6.

¹⁶⁶ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 125-128, Issue No. 62; E. Nemeth, *Armata*, p. 96-97, no. 6.

¹⁶⁷ The first certain epigraphic attestation of *cohors I sagittariorum milliaria* in Dacia is a building inscription discovered in the *Tibiscum* fort, dated 165 (IDR III/1 130). Authors of the archaeological research in *Tibiscum* believe that the troop was present here ever since the first years of the province, as it was the one building the second phase of the fort during Marcus Aurelius it erected – along with the other troops in the garrison – the stone phase (IV) of the big fort (D. Benea, *Banatica* 12, 1993, p. 99; D. Benea, P. Bona, *Tibiscum*, Bucharest 1994, p. 38). More recent lecture of a *CIS* type stamps in *Tibiscum*, as *CIV* (Al. Flutur, *Analele Banatului* 7-8 1999-2000, p. 376, pl. II/1-2) can also shed a new light on the history of the *I Vindelicorum* cohort. See also O. Țentea, Fl. Matei-Popescu, *ActaMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 291-292.

*Pedites singulares Britannici*¹⁶⁸; opinions of the historians are quite diverse about the origin of this unit¹⁶⁹ which appears in 103/105 in Moesia Superior¹⁷⁰, being moved with out any doubts to participate to the military operations. It was probably part of a so-called *vexillatio Britannica* sent to participate in the Dacian Wars¹⁷¹. It appeared then in the new province diplomas¹⁷² and it remained on Dacia Superior territory under the name of *numerus singularium Britannicianorum*¹⁷³.

At the end of this paper we want to punctually present the main conclusions arising from the review of the status of our knowledge on the participation of auxiliary troops from Moesia Superior in the Dacian wars:

- at this moment, a strong reinforcement of the Moesia Superior garrison around the first Trajan's *expeditio Dacica* can no longer be claimed, as the garrison was practically established at the time of Domitian, a situation similar to the one in Moesia Inferior;
- only two cohorts from Germania Inferior were brought to Moesia Superior, but they were both *milliariae* (*I Vindelicorum milliaria c. R. p. f.*; *II Brittonum milliaria c. R. p. f.*);
- we can notice however a need to supplement the forces in Dacia after the first Dacian war or even after the first year of campaign; for this purpose the *I Hispanorum p. f.* and *I Pannoniorum veterana* were brought in from Germania Inferior, and several troops from Pannonia (*I Brittonum milliaria*, *I Britannica milliaria c. R.*, *VIII Raetorum*); an irregular unit from Britannia (*pedites singulares Britannici*); and probably from Bithynia *IV Cypria c. R.* and *III Campestris*; a situation similar to the one in Moesia Inferior;
- we can notice a parallel attempt to reinforce the Pannonian limes which was weakened by the participation of some troops in the Dacian expeditions, by bringing the cohorts *I Thracum c. R. p. f.* and *III Lusitanorum c. R. p. f.* from Germania Inferior after the year 101;
- except for the *alae I civium Romanorum*, *I Augusta Ituraeorum*, *I Britannica c. R.*, *I Pannoniorum* and the cohorts *I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum*, *I Ituraeorum sagittariorum*, *II Gallorum Pannonica*, *V Lingonum*, all other units appearing in the diplomas of the new province were moved from the Moesia Superior army;
- the extremely large number of auxiliary units from Moesia Superior participating in *expeditio Parthica* is surprising, a fact which was possible due to the new realities on the Danube frontier, although their inclusion on the same list of troops from Moesia Superior makes us think that not all forces participated in the expedition but perhaps they were vexillations, as the vexillation above was attested, under the command of the prefect of the cohort *I Cilicum* or as indicated in a famous inscription in Rome attesting *L. Paconius Proculus*, who, as tribune of the legion *XI Claudia p. f.* in Moesia Inferior became: *praefectus vexillationis equitum Moesiae inferioris et Daciae euntium in expeditionem Parthicam*¹⁷⁴;
- the appearance of several cohorts unknown until now as the enigmatic *III AVG NERV*, possibly a cohort *III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria Brittonum*? similar with both cohorts *Augustae Nervianae Pacenses* already known; and in a diploma dated 125/126 of a *II Dacorum* cohort, located separately from the troops named as being stationed in Moesia Superior¹⁷⁵;
- the troops' garrisons are hard to follow on the field during Trajan, as based on the tegular stamps it seems that in any of the cases presented there can be no certain affirmation on their belonging to a datable archeological context in the first two decades of the 2nd century AD;
- it is not enough to identify tegular building materials bearing the stamp of a certain auxiliary troop as it is not a sufficient argument to demonstrate its involvement in the Dacian wars. In this sense we also have to bear in view simple transports of tegular material used in building this bridge.

¹⁶⁸ K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 148-149.

¹⁶⁹ See a short review in K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 101, note 13 and p. 148, note 15.

¹⁷⁰ CIL XVI 54; B. Pferdehirt, RGZM, no. 13.

¹⁷¹ For the *vexillatio Britannica* see K. Strobel, *Dakerkriege*, p. 100-102.

¹⁷² CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; RMD IV 225; RMD IV 226.

¹⁷³ C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, p. 129-130, no. 64.

¹⁷⁴ CIL VI 32933 = ILS 2723 = IDRE I 21; Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen*, p. 26, no. 44.

¹⁷⁵ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Neue Diplome für die Auxiliärtruppen in den mösischen Provinzen von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, in this issue, p. 105-108, no. 4.