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**The legionary horsemen: An essay on the *equites legionis* and
*equites promoti***

Pavkovič, Michael Frederick, Ph.D.

University of Hawaii, 1991

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THE LEGIONARY HORSEMEN:
AN ESSAY ON THE *EQUITES LEGIONIS* AND *EQUITES PROMOTI*

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY

DECEMBER 1991

By

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ABSTRACT

This work is a study of the Roman legionary horsemen of the imperial period, both the *equites legionis* of the high empire and the *equites promoti* of the later empire. To date, the legionary cavalry have not been studied thoroughly, apparently on account of a perceived lack of material. New evidence makes such a study possible. A number of problems are addressed including the troopers' commander, organization, career structure, and tactical role.

Common wisdom holds that during the high empire the legionary horsemen were staff cavalry, implying rear echelon duties rather than an active combat role. It is argued here that the legionary cavalry had an active battlefield role, serving as the guard unit of the legionary commander. The careers of legionary troopers, who were at times advanced to command positions in the auxiliary regiments, implies such elite status. Similar promotions are known for other guard units of the Roman army.

This work also deals with questions concerning the organization and commander of the legionary horsemen. This study concludes that the legionary horsemen were not organized into squadrons as were the auxiliary cavalry, but rather were kept on the roles of the

infantry companies. The rank of the commander of the legionary cavalry, which has been much disputed in the past, now appears to have been that of a centurion.

During the third century, units of legionary horsemen were created as independent entities. This is again similar to the creation of other new line units from either guard units or elite mobile formations, strengthening the identification of the legionary troopers as a crack unit of the Roman army.

In addition to the analysis, this study contains a catalogue of pertinent inscriptions papyri and monuments relating to the legionary horsemen. A commentary appears where appropriate.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Inscriptions given by number only are references to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

AE	<u>L'Année Epigraphique</u>
AJP	<u>American Journal of Philology</u>
Arrian, Ekt.	Arrian, <i>Ektaxis kata Alanon</i>
BASP	<u>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</u>
BGU	<u>Berliner Griechische Urkunden</u>
BJ	<u>Bonner Jahrbücher</u>
Caesar, BG	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i>
Fink, RMR	R. O. Fink, <u>Roman Military Record on Papyrus</u>
HSCP	<u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</u>
IGLS	<u>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</u>
IGR	<u>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</u>
ILS	H. Dessau, <u>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</u> (Berlin, 1892-1916)
Josephus, BJ	Josephus, <i>Bellum Judaicum</i>
JRS	<u>Journal of Roman Studies</u>
Not. Dig.	<u>Notitia Dignitatum</u>
P. Charite	<u>Papyrus from the Charite Archive</u>
P. Grenf. 2	B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, <u>New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri</u> (Oxford, 1897)
P. Mich.	C. C. Edgar, A. E. R. Boak, J. G. Winter, et al., <u>Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection</u>

List of Abbreviations

PBSR	<u>Papers of the British School at Rome</u>
RE	<u>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</u> (Stuttgart, 1894-)
RIB	<u>R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, I, Inscriptions on Stone</u> ((Oxford, 1965)
RIU	<u>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</u>
Sallust, BI	<i>Sallust, Bellum Iugurthinum</i>
SEG	<u>Supplementum Epigraphicorum Graecorum</u>
Tacitus, Agr.	<i>Tacitus, Agricola</i>
WS	<u>Wiener Studien</u>
ZPE	<u>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</u>

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Of the various branches of the Roman military establishment, the best known both to scholar and layman alike are probably the troops of the legions, the "line infantry" formations of the Roman army. The reason behind this notoriety is the large number of documents concerning the legions preserved from antiquity. These documents range from official troop rosters to private letters to the gravestones of the soldiers which preserve many important details on the career of the deceased and occasionally even depict him in uniform. A vast amount of academic ink has been spilled on a variety of topics concerning the legions such as their officers, organization, recruitment, and the histories of individual legions.

Despite this plethora of information and scholarship on the legions as a whole, there is one particular aspect of the legions which has suffered from a dearth of erudite investigation, viz., the horsemen who were attached to the legions: the *equites legionis* of the high empire (ca. 14 B.C.-A.D. 260) and the *equites promoti* of the later empire (ca. A.D. 260-476).¹

¹The standard work to date on the legionary horsemen of the high empire is the brief piece Breeze 1969, 50-55, esp. 53ff. The *equites promoti* of the later empire are discussed by Grosse 1920, 16ff.

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The primary reason behind this lack of disquisition is a perceived deficiency of source material. The number of monuments, inscriptions, papyri, and literary references for the legionary horsemen number fewer than two hundred as compared with the thousands of documents for the legions as a whole. As a result, many truisms about the organization, officers, ranks, and role of the legionary horsemen have come into being, based mainly on the observations of some of the early scholars of Roman army studies.

Most of these premises about the legionary horsemen, especially those of the early empire, tend to downplay the role of the legionary horse as battlefield troopers of the Roman army. Alfred von Domaszewski, the great authority on the rank structure of the Roman army, referred to them as *Stabskavallerie*, staff cavalry, implying their duties were to protect the legionary staff and commander; von Domaszewski seems to have had in mind the nineteenth century phenomenon of infantry and cavalry troops permanently attached to a unit's command structure.² Such Stabs-truppen do not seem to have had much of an active battlefield role, rather

²Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 39 and esp. 46.

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being rear echelon troops.³ H. M. D. Parker, who wrote extensively on the Roman legions, went so far as to explain the lack of documentary evidence for the *equites legionis* as a reflection of their lack of importance in the Roman army, rather than their relatively small numbers.⁴ This view is still held in recent scholarship on the Roman army where the communications role of the legionary is stressed;⁵ one scholar went so far as to say "These men were citizens, but they were by no means citizen cavalry."⁶

Many of these axioms can now be dispelled based upon new evidence and the reinterpretation of older evidence in light of new discoveries about the legions as a whole or even other units in the Roman army. Indeed, recently in a discussion of work to be done on the Roman army, a call was made for a monograph on the

³For the organization of a late nineteenth century staff and such Stabs-truppen, see Oberst Anton Elder v. Springer, Handbuch für Officiere des Generalstabes (Vienna, 1899), 127-142.

⁴Parker 1932, 141.

⁵See, for example, Breeze 1969, 55.

⁶Bishop 1988, 112f.

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legionary horsemen which would include a discussion of these soldiers and a catalog of documents.⁷

The preparation of this study, given the general paucity of materials, draws on all possible sources on the legionary horsemen. Each of the types of primary material has its own advantages and particular problems.

The single most important source in the study of the legionary horsemen is epigraphy. This is because the inscriptions concerning the legionary cavalry provide the largest corpus of documents; this is true not only of the *equites legionis*, but of the Roman army in general.

Epigraphy has long been recognized as the most fruitful course of inquiry into Roman army studies. Inscriptions of individual soldiers provide information on ranks, organization, promotions, recruitment and the movement of legions and auxiliary units while unit inscriptions, often altars or building records, are useful in reconstructing the religion of the Roman soldier, unit command structure and the operational history of units. The use of inscriptions by scholars in the study of the Roman army has been likened by a famous epigrapher to the modern use of "intelligence

⁷Speidel, 1990, 102.

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information" by military officers since the same types of data are to be gained from both sources.⁸

There are, however, some problems which arise in using inscriptions in the study of the legionary horsemen. One of the most serious is that the inscriptions which have been used in the course of the current study may not reflect all of the documents available. For reasons of economy a stone which belonged to a man who was at one point in his military career an *eques legionis* may not anywhere make mention of that position. Indeed, several of the gravestones cited in this work have been discerned to belong to legionary horsemen by deduction rather than explicit use of the military rank.⁹

There is also the distribution of extant inscriptions both geographically and chronologically. Some provinces of the empire have fairly large numbers

⁸Birley 1988g, 3f., who recognized the importance of the documentary evidence of inscriptions and papyri.

⁹9 shows a relief of a horseman who is a Roman citizen. 44 gives the term *eques* without a unit, but the man is a Roman citizen. 49 is the second of two stones of the same man who is called an *eques legionis* on the first stone, only a veteran on the second. 47, 53 and 73 all bear reliefs of legionary cavalry troopers, but the inscriptions only give the rank of "soldier," *miles*.

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of inscriptions while other regions of known military importance, like Cappadocia, have but one. Likewise, there are numerous inscriptions from the high empire, but the quantity declines dramatically by the end of the third century.

The second set of military documents are the papyri of the Roman army. These papyri tend to fall into three broad categories. First, there were the unit rosters and lists of individual soldiers. Second, are the lists kept by units which record the strength of a particular ala, cohort, or legion at a given point in time such as a commander's daily, monthly or annual report. The third type of papyri are military pay records and statements of available matériel. Finally, there are soldiers' official and personal correspondence and papers.¹⁰

The main problem with papyri is that because of the nature of the medium, it is only preserved in the dry

¹⁰For the classification of papyri, see Fink RMR, 9-17, 179-182, 241f. and 348-51. For the legionary horsemen, the majority of papyri fall into the category of correspondence and papers --five of the seven (92, 93, 118, 119 and 120) Of the remaining two one is an individual record (94) while the other is a monthly summary (91).

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eastern provinces. Therefore, the distribution of these important records is skewed.

There are also literary sources which are of use for the study of the legionary horsemen. These works can be divided into two basic classes. The first type of literary evidence is that which can be drawn from the contemporary historians of the Roman empire.

Unfortunately, explicit references to the *equites legionis* are rather sparse in Roman historical writings. In general, this seems to be because the legionary troopers were simply subsumed within the idea of "the legion" and were only mentioned in exceptional circumstances or for particular emphasis. Therefore, the historians who usually provide a fruitful line of investigation for the Roman army, such as Tacitus, Josephus, Cassius Dio and Ammianus Marcellinus, are too often silent on the cavalry troopers of the legions.

The second type of literary work which was consulted in the preparation of this study is the genre of ancient military manuals, which themselves can be further sub-divided into three categories. The first of those are the tactical writings of the high empire which were modelled on earlier Hellenistic treatises; a good illustration of this type is the *Taktika* of Flavius Arrianus (Arrian). Unfortunately such works are usually

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so Hellenistic in flavor or so general as to be of little use for the legionary horsemen.¹¹

Of more use are those manuals which were genuinely Roman. The best surviving example is the late imperial work of Vegetius, the *Epitoma rei militaris*. Vegetius is of far more utility to the study of the legionary horsemen than a Hellenistic styled work because he dealt with the Roman legion specifically, and so the legionary troopers are indeed mentioned. Vegetius, however, has been criticized as a worthwhile source for the Roman army; his *antiqua legio* was considered difficult to date at best or to be an idealized amalgam of various earlier periods at worst.¹² Thus Vegetius has been used rather cautiously by scholars and sometimes even ignored. Yet in recent years Vegetius has been rehabilitated.

¹¹While it is true that Arrian's *Taktika* does have an excursus on Roman cavalry tactics, it deals with the cavalry of the auxiliary *alae*, who supplied the great majority of Rome's horsemen. The tactics described therein however, were undoubtedly used by the legionary squadrons as well, even though they are not specifically mentioned. See *infra*, s.vv. Arms and Armor and The Role of the *Equites Legionis*.

¹²For some discussion on Vegetius, see Parker 1932 and Sander 1940.

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Vegetius' *triarii*, not usually taken seriously, have now been attested epigraphically.¹³

Lastly, there are the early Byzantine military treatises, too frequently overlooked by Roman historians. But these works often preserve elements of earlier Roman military practice; certain commands, for example, are in Latin rather than Greek. The best known of the early Byzantine works is the *Strategikon* of Mauricius. Sadly, while the Byzantine works do deal extensively with cavalry organization and tactics, there are no demonstrable references to legionary troops as the Byzantine horsemen were formed into independent units.

In addition to written sources on the *equites legionis*, there are also the pictorial representations of the horsemen. There are two types of monuments, the gravestones of private soldiers and reliefs or paintings on imperial monuments.

The most accurate depictions of the legionary cavalry appear on their funerary monuments. Roman soldiers, like all Romans, wanted to be remembered and thus took great care and expense in the erection of

¹³In the text of AE 1981, 777, the rank *optio triariorum* appears.

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their tombstones, which were often raised in sight of their camp.¹⁴

While a good stone can represent many items of equipment and dress in detail, there can be difficulties. One problem is the weathering of the monument, which can either have eroded details on stone itself or at least eradicated traces of paint which was often used to represent certain parts of the uniform. Moreover, on occasion a relief might be quite small and so only general comments can be made on equipment.¹⁵

Imperial representations of soldiers are also usually accurate, but there can be problematic aspects. Imperial monuments, like official art throughout history, tends to show the ideal of military equipment rather than the reality.¹⁶ This can be especially true if they are to be displayed in the capital.

¹⁴A good introduction to Roman military monuments is Anderson 1984; see 25-34 for the question of the stones' accuracy.

¹⁵29 below, for example. The size of depictions of military equipment can often influence their utility. Compare the comments of Domaszewski 1972a, 28f. and Durry 1938, 197 on the use of representations of standards, etc. on coins.

¹⁶See the problems raised by S. Frere in Lepper and Frere 1988, 266-269.

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Fortunately, this ideal still reflects an important aspect of the military uniform, such as parade or dress equipment.

The purpose of this study is, for the first time, to examine comprehensively all of the available evidence concerning the legionary cavalry troopers of both high and later empire. What follows is an attempt to create as complete a picture as possible for the *equites legionis* and *equites promoti* drawing on a variety of a materials.

CHAPTER II: THE *EQUITES LEGIONIS*

1. The Origins of the Legionary Horsemen

It may be assumed that from earliest times Roman horsemen were present to support the Roman infantry. When Rome was a mere town on the Tiber River, the horsemen were no doubt formed from the bodyguard and retainers of the king and should be considered an aristocratic institution.¹ But it is not until considerably later that we can talk about legionary cavalrymen.²

¹We have very little solid evidence for the Roman army before the Punic Wars. Our main source for Rome's early history, Livy, who wrote under Augustus, is well-known for his rather uncritical historical method and is notorious for his inconsistency and lack of knowledge with respect to Roman institutions and military affairs; for Livy as a military source, see the comments by Rawson 1971. Much of what is said concerning the Roman army during this early period must, therefore, be considered conjectural.

²The first time we hear of legionary horsemen referred to as such, i.e., using the phrase *equites legionarii*, is in a passage from Livy (35.6.10) concerning the year 193 B.C. They are again so called shortly thereafter in 180 B.C.: Livy 40.40.4. It is permissible, however, to talk of legionary horsemen somewhat earlier, namely, as soon as the aristocratic cavalry attached to the *legiones* receive a more or less permanent organization.

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According to tradition, the reign of Servius Tullius, 580-530 B.C., marked a turning point for both the Roman state and the army. The military reforms ascribed to Servius are generally attributed to the introduction of Greek hoplite tactics at Rome. Yet modern historians have doubted that such a complex military and political structure could have appeared at Rome at such an early date. Instead they surmise that there were a series of reforms which probably began in the middle of the fifth century B.C. and culminated in the middle of the fourth century B.C. with the Servian army as described by Livy (1.43). Slightly later the army was divided into two *legiones* organized into *centuriae*.³ During this period each *legio* was provided with a force of horsemen, apparently 600 strong, organized into small tactical units of ten men, *decuriae*.⁴

By the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. the Roman army was divided into four *legiones* organized in *manipuli* each of which was composed of two of the

³The development of the Roman army from an army based on a Greek style phalanx into one based on the hoplite *legio* and thence into the Servian army of five classes is discussed by Sumner 1970.

⁴Sumner 1970, 70 and 75.

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centuriae used in the earlier hoplite *legio*. It is with the manipular reform that the final organization of legionary horsemen appears to have been implemented. Since the number of *legiones* was doubled, the number of cavalry in each legion was halved; the Roman aristocracy, it seems, could still only provide 1200 troopers for the army.⁵ This is most likely the period when the *turmae*, or squadrons, each composed of three *decuriae*, were introduced; just as the larger *manipulus* subsumed the smaller *centuria* so too the larger *turma* now incorporated the smaller *decuria*.⁶

The organization of legionary cavalry, to the number of three hundred troopers per legion divided into ten *turmae* of thirty men each, became the established norm until at least the middle of the second century B.C.⁷

⁵Although there were 18 *centuriae* of *equites* in the centuriate assembly, it seems that only six were liable for military service. See Sumner 1970, 74f.

⁶This phenomenon of assimilation of smaller units by larger ones is described by Sumner 1970, 68.

⁷Livy, 21.17.8-9: *et duae Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu ... duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos ...* ; cf. Livy 42.35.4: *iusto numero ... equitum*. Anything over three hundred troopers was considered to be a surplus, as shown by Livy 44.21.8, *neque in ea provincia (Macedonia) plus quam duas legiones esse; eas repleri ut sena milia peditum trecenos haberent equites, ceteros pedites equitesque in praesidiis disponi*.

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Polybius, who wrote ca. 160 B.C., in a digression on the Roman constitution during his narration of the events of the Hannibalic War, discusses the numbers and organization of the Roman legionary horsemen⁸. Polybius likewise reports that the legionary horsemen were divided into ten *turmae* (ῥῆται). He gives additional information concerning the command structure of the *turmae*. Each *turma* has three *decuriones* (δεκαδάρκται), one for each subunit of ten men. The first of the three *decuriones* chosen in the levy served as the commander of the entire *turma*. If for some reason he was not present, the *decurio* who was the second of the three chosen assumed command of the unit. In addition to the *decurio*, each ten man subunit possessed a second officer, the *optio* (οὐραγός), who served as the deputy of the *decurio*. As such, each *decurio* personally appointed his own *optio*.

Although the number of *equites* attached to a *legio* was supposed to be three hundred troopers distributed in ten *turmae*, circumstances were often such that this "book strength" was either reduced or, occasionally,

⁸Polybius, 6.25.1-2.

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increased.⁹ The under-strength units of legionary horsemen could be attached to infantry units which were themselves under the established strength.¹⁰ The number of horsemen attached to each *legio* could vary from as low as one hundred and fifty to as high as four hundred. Units of three hundred are most commonly found attached to a legion followed by those two hundred strong.¹¹

How the legionary horsemen were organized when not at normal strength is uncertain. One possibility, at least in the case of two hundred and four hundred troopers, is that the number of *decuriae* in each *turma* was either increased or decreased.¹² Thus one might

⁹Three hundred horsemen is certainly the most common number given. See, for several examples, Livy 7.25.8; 21.17.5; 26.28.7; 29.24.14; 32.28.10; 29.28.10; 40.1.5; 41.9.2; 42.52.8; 43.12.3-10.

¹⁰Livy 40.18.6: *et in supplementum decreta tria milia civium Romanorum, ducenti equites.*

¹¹One hundred fifty horsemen: Livy 41.21.3; two hundred: Livy 40.18.6 and 44.21.6; four hundred equites: Livy 23.24.13. The strength of four hundred troopers was recommended by Cato in his *de re militari* as the new standard, cf. the comments by Rawson, 16.

¹²Sumner 1970, 68, believes that in the case of two hundred troopers the number of men in a *turma* was reduced rather than the number of *turmae*. This is probably correct, as it would simply require reducing the number of ten man subunits.

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speculate that in the case of a *legio* with only two hundred horsemen, each *turma* would be composed of only two *decuriae* while a *legio* with four hundred troopers would have four *decuriae* for each of its ten squadrons.

The case of a *legio* with one hundred fifty *equites* is not so obvious, as the division of the horsemen into ten *turmae* does not lend itself very well to the division of the individual squadrons into ten man subunits. Therefore, ranks and files would necessarily be altered.¹³ The second possibility is that the number of *turmae* was reduced to five; the latter seems the more reasonable.

From the middle of the second century B.C. the use of Roman legionary horsemen declined. This was probably due in part to the lack of willingness of the Roman aristocracy to serve in military campaigns. By the middle of the first century B.C. the legionary horsemen had disappeared, and their place had been taken by

¹³The *turmae* no doubt practiced certain equestrian maneuvers much like those described later by Arrian in his *technē taktika*. This is shown by the preservation of the order *duplicate turmas* in Livy 40.40.4-5. There is other evidence for the formal tactical training of such aristocratic horsemen: Xenophon (*Hipparch.* 3.1; 3.10-13) describes several training exercises by the Athenian *hippeis*. The most famous was probably the *anthippasia* which was a mock battle. For training of the Athenian horsemen see the recent discussion by Bugh 1988, 58ff.

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various foreign auxiliaries, like the ubiquitous Gauls of Caesar's campaigns.¹⁴

The last source which might mention these horsemen serving in the field is Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* when he describes Metellus' *agmen*, or order of march, during a campaign in 107 B.C.¹⁵ The rear guard is composed of *equites* under the command of C. Marius, a member of Metellus' staff. These *equites* are distinct from the *equites auxilarii* who guard the flanks of the column.¹⁶

There is an episode from Caesar's Gallic War which clearly illustrates the lack of any integral Roman legionary cavalry in the middle of the first century B.C.¹⁷ In 58 B.C. Caesar was faced with an incursion by the Germans under their chieftain Ariovistus. At one point during the campaign, Ariovistus suggested to Caesar that they meet to discuss their differences. Moreover, the German chieftain demanded that both he and Caesar

¹⁴See Harmand 1967, 46-51 for the dominance of foreign cavalry during the late Republic.

¹⁵Sallust, *BI* 46.7.

¹⁶For the identification of these *equites* with Roman legionary horsemen, see Koestermann 1971, 191f.

¹⁷Caesar, *BG*, 1.43.

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have escorts composed of cavalry alone. Ariovistus hoped that in this way he would put Caesar at a great disadvantage since the Roman commander would be forced to entrust his person to a band of foreigners, i.e., his Gallic cavalry. Caesar was unwilling to place his life in the hands of the Gallic horsemen, but he had no other cavalry at his disposal. Caesar did not want to cancel his meeting with Ariovistus, so, as a temporary expedient, he mounted members of his favorite legion, the 10th, on horses taken from his Gauls. At this sign of favor, the soldiers of the 10th legion joked that Caesar had knighted them, i.e., they were now aristocratic *equites*.¹⁸ This affair shows that Caesar had no Roman cavalry, at least not in sufficient numbers to form a sizeable battlefield unit, as he was forced to mount an infantry unit in their place.

There is some evidence, however, that the *equites Romani* retained certain military duties well into the last century of the republic, albeit only at Rome. In 63 B.C. we are told by Suetonius (*Iul.* 14.2) that there was a *manus armata*, an armed band, of Roman *equites* who were placed at the Curia to act as a guard for the place

¹⁸Because of this incident the legion took as one of its epithets *equestris*, "knightly." See the comments by Keppie 1984, 83f., 204, and 209.

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(*praesidii causa circumstabat*) and that this group intimidated Caesar's friends in the Senate when the horsemen drew their swords (*gladii*). This function was, no doubt, primarily ceremonial, but it does show that the Roman horsemen were still required to perform limited military functions in the city itself while armed and organized.

We know very little concerning the man or men who commanded the legionary cavalry. The *equites legionis* seem often to have been organized in battle groups formed from the troopers of several *legiones*, apparently under the command of a member of the army commander's staff.¹⁹ An example of this is the detachment under the orders of C. Marius in Africa; perhaps the commander himself led the legionary horsemen on occasion. It does seem, however, that lower ranking officers commanded the legionary cavalry. A pair of tribunes, for example, is known to have commanded a unit of legionary horsemen jointly.²⁰ Likewise a centurion is said to have introduced the practice of combining light infantry with

¹⁹Battlegroups: Livy 26.5.8-9; 31.21.13; 40.40.4.

²⁰Livy 41.4.3: *et parte alia T. et C. Aelii tribuni militum tertiae legionis cum equitatu adveniunt.*

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the horsemen²¹; he appears to have had some connection with legionary cavalry, perhaps as a training officer, a post which is known for the *equites legionis* of the empire. Equally, he may have commanded a detachment of horsemen or a subunit of some type. Although this

²¹Livy 26.4.10: *Auctorem peditum equiti inmiscendorum centurionem Q. Naevium ferunt, honorique id ei apud imperatorem fuisse.*

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centurion's connection to the legionary cavalry is probable, nothing can be said with certainty.

2. The Return of the *Equites Legionis*

With the accession of Octavian, later to be known as Augustus, as the first Roman emperor, the Roman armies of the civil wars of the late Republic were greatly reduced in size and reorganized.²² As part of this reorganization the legions were once again provided with a contingent of horsemen. The legions would retain this cavalry contingent until the period of crisis during the third century when circumstances dictated a change in the role and numbers of the legionary horsemen.²³ The *equites legionis* of the empire formed a rather different institution from their counterparts during the republic.

The most obvious difference between the republican and imperial legionary horsemen was in the social status of the men recruited. The republican horsemen were drawn from the young aristocrats of the Roman state. Though, as we have seen, these men had become less and less willing to serve as battlefield troopers, so that by the

²²For general surveys of the reorganization of the Roman army by Augustus, see Parker 1928, 72-92; Keppie 1984, 132-150.

²³It was not always thought that there were *equites legionis* attached to each legion for the whole of the imperial period: Marquardt 1884, 456, n.1; Sander 1940, 385. The publication of new evidence, most notably the inscription of Tiberius Claudius Maximus (77), however, shows the uninterrupted existence of a body of legionary cavalry.

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first century B.C. they no longer appear to have served with the *legiones*. The imperial *equites legionis* were recruited from a different source. They were drawn from the rank and file of the *legiones* themselves, i.e., they were recruited from the commoners who formed the infantry of the legions rather than from the aristocratic *equites Romani*.²⁴

The imperial legionary horsemen, however, ranked higher than the common soldiers of the legions, the *munifices*. This is shown by an inscription in which a cavalry trooper notes that he served as a common soldier, a *munifex*, for seven years before he was promoted to the rank of *eques*.²⁵ The *munifices* were those soldiers who were subjected to the *munera*, basic duties, of camp life such as daily maintenance of the camp and construction projects (the portage of wood, hay, water and straw into

²⁴It has been suggested that the young men of the equestrian and senatorial orders served as *equites legionis* as part of their *cursus honorum*. This hypothesis was suggested by Soltau; for a summary and rejection of the argument, justifiably correct, see Stein 1927, 88.

²⁵31. The ranking of the *equites legionis* as *immunes* is reinforced by a papyrus, 94: Premierstein 1903, 1-46, esp. 26ff.

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the camp and the quarrying of stone)²⁶. Immediately above the *munifices* were the *immunes*, soldiers who were exempted from these arduous duties about the camp (*vacatio munerum*), yet received the same basic pay as common legionaries. The legionary horsemen, however, do not appear in the list of *immunes* drawn up by the military jurist Tarruntenus Paternus preserved in the Digest, although the list may not be a complete roll of all the *immunes* of the legion.²⁷ The next higher ranking group in the legions were the junior officers, the *principales*; while some of the officers, standard bearers, and staff personnel within the body of horsemen ranked as *principales* proper, the majority of those whose

²⁶Camp duties are described by Vegetius 2.19: *fascicularia tamen, id est lignum foenum aquam stramen, etiam legitimi milites in castra portabant. Munifices enim ab eo appellantur, quod haec munera faciunt.* Similar duties, viz., including the gathering of wood, food stuffs and water are described by Josephus, BJ 3.3. A papyrus (P. Mich. 8.465, 13ff.) preserves a letter written by a man who styles himself a *principalis*; in the letter the soldier relates how he merely stands about while other soldiers, doubtless *munifices*, are forced to cut stones all day.

²⁷Digest 50.6.7. This list dates from the end of the second century A.D. It has been argued that the complex rank distinctions preserved by Paternus are only applicable for the second century onward; previously the term *immunis* denoted only a function and not an rank grade. See Sander 1954/55, 87-105. Webster 1985, 119, notes that the list is quite incomplete.

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rank was simply that of *eques* more likely ranked among the *immunes*.²⁸

²⁸Thus the ranking of von Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 47. An inscribed silver ring found at Baden may have belonged to the one of the *principales* of the horsemen of *Legio XXI Rapax* -- 16; von Domaszewski noted the silver ring as a distinction of those junior officers, although he calls all the troopers *principales*, see Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 49f. and 53f. Likewise, such a ring could have been awarded as a distinction for valor, a *donum militare*: See Speidel 1987a, 56-58. This seems to be the case with a silver ring showing a fully rounded bust of a bearded "war god" in a Phrygian helmet found at Hüfingen where an *ala quingenaria* was stationed; see Fingerlin 1986, 3-8

3. Recruitment of the *Equites Legionis*

The recruitment patterns of soldiers into the legionary horsemen are little known. The reason in part may be tied to the often blurry distinction between ranks, units, and functions in the Roman army: the term *eques* was used to define the soldier's rank, his unit, and his function within the unit.

We have already seen that the *equites legionis* ranked among the *immunes* of the legion, those soldiers who were exempt from the more strenuous duties about the camp.²⁹ But the *equites legionis* were more than a group of men who shared the same rank, they had their own administrative office, a *tabularium*, which gave them an independent organization.³⁰ The term *eques* could also be used, in the most basic sense of the word, to describe the function of a soldier -- the *equites legionis* were men who supplied the legion with a contingent which could be employed in any mounted function their commander

²⁹See also *infra*, s.v. Rank and Pay.

³⁰The *tabularium equitum legionis* is attested for *legio III Augusta* in Numidia: 102; see Speidel 1984d. The cavalry may have been called a *numerus*, the generic and non-technical term for any army unit. One possible expansion for an inscription seems to mention a *numerus equitum legionis secundae Traianae* (39) and it is known from a papyrus that the mounted contingent of a *cohors equitata* could be called a *numerus*; cf. Thomas and Davies 1977, 51 and 53f. and Fink, *RMR* 62.1.

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desired, including staff duties, a battlefield cavalry role, and serving as a guard for the legionary legate.³¹

It has generally been assumed that the legionary horsemen were required to serve for a given period of time as infantrymen in the legion. This phenomenon is known for the auxiliary horsemen who served as part of a mixed unit of cavalry and infantry, a *cohors equitata*, and for the cavalry who served with the cohorts of the Praetorian Guard. Both types of unit are roughly analogous to the *equites legionis*.³² The standard study of the legionary horsemen written to date goes so far as

³¹See *infra*, s.v. The Role of the *Equites Legionis*, for the varied duties of the legionary cavalry.

³²Gilliam 1986b, 289-307, in studying the rosters of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* (P. Dura 100=Fink, *RMR* 1 and P. Dura 101=Fink, *RMR* 2), noted the small number of recently recruited horsemen versus the large number of infantrymen. He concluded that the rank of *eques cohortalis* was generally given as a reward to an foot soldier after perhaps ten years of service. Gilliam then looked at the careers of a few legionaries and Praetorians and recognized the same general pattern. See also, Gilliam 1986c, 309-315, where likewise it would seem that no men were recruited for the cavalry component of a part mounted cohort.

For examples of Praetorians who were promoted from the rank of *miles* to *eques*, see 6.2601=ILS 2055; 11.5646=ILS 2081; 11.6350=ILS 9066; 12.2602=ILS 2118. M. Durry 1938, 191, suggested that a Praetorian needed to serve a minimum of five years before promotion the rank of *eques*. Breeze 1974, 256, however, believes this to be an underestimate, arguing instead for a minimum of seven years.

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to state that no soldier could enter the legions with the rank of *eques*, and that the lowest number of *stipendia* known for promotion is seven years.³³

While it is true that a legionary soldier was generally promoted to the rank of horseman after a period of service, an absolute rule defining a minimum period of time in rank cannot be proven for the *equites legionis*. Rather, it seems that various special circumstances could play a role in the appointment of a legionary to the position of *eques*. The most famous example of a soldier who quickly reached the rank of horseman is that of Tiberius Claudius Maximus, the captor of the Dacian king Decebalus.³⁴ Claudius Maximus is the only soldier known to have been recruited as a legionary horseman without any prior service as an infantryman or without a period of training as a cavalryman, i.e., holding the post of *discens equitum*.³⁵ Maximus' appointment to the rank of

³³Breeze 1969, 54.

³⁴75. The most complete commentary on this inscription remains the original publication, i.e., Speidel 1984d.

³⁵Speidel 1984d, 174, believed that in such a detailed career the earlier posts of *miles* and *discens equitum* would not have been omitted from the inscription. Breeze 1971, however, considered the possibility that the earlier positions might have been left off the stone, citing as an example 9.1609, a detailed career where the

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horseman could have been due to either of two reasons. The first was his family connections. Claudius Maximus may have come from a family which had a measure of influence with the provincial governor or some other high ranking military official who was able to bring a certain amount of pressure to bear on Maximus' account.³⁶ The

first rank given is that of a *principalis*. While Maximus' enlistment as a horseman cannot be made an absolute certainty it is likely. Speidel calculates that Maximus was born around A.D. 65 and recruited sometime before A.D. 85. Most soldiers seem to have enlisted between age seventeen and nineteen, so A.D. 82-84 are probable. By the conclusion of Domitian's Dacian War in A.D. 89 he had held the posts of *eques*, *quaestor equitum*, *singularis legati* and *vexillarius equitum*. This hardly leaves sufficient time to have served as a foot soldier. Moreover, since the more lengthy the inscription the greater the expense, a conscious decision was generally made to record all the posts held if a long, detailed career was to be inscribed on stone, whereas a short inscription would only record the highest post attained: witness the many inscriptions of centurions who record the only rank held as that of *centurio*.

³⁶An example of such favoritism can be seen in P. Mich. 466, 25ff. where a new recruit approached the governor in order to procure a staff appointment. The governor, who was not able to oblige the recruit, saw to it that the man was placed on the legionary staff with the hope of advancement at some later date. In the instance of an appointment to horseman through connections, the new recruit must have been able to ride upon enlistment, otherwise he would have been appointed to the post of "horsemen in training," *discens equitum* as is the case of Aurelius Gaius Secundus -- 120. Compare the comments of Tacitus, *Agr.* 19.2 where Agricola is said not to have been influenced by personal preferences, recommendation or entreaties in the appointment of men to his staff: *non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve adscire*.

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second reason why Maximus might have been chosen as an *eques* was on account of the function of the legionary horsemen as the guard of the commander of the legion. Perhaps this particular soldier possessed an especially fine body build, or was such a fine horseman, or even both, that the legate personally requested him for service in his guard unit.³⁷ This sort of phenomenon is known for other guard units in the provincial armies, most notably the *singulares consularis*, the guards of the provincial governor.³⁸

Once recruited for a position in the *equites legionis*, it is not certain whether the soldier was required to spend a given amount of time in the rank and

³⁷Maximus was probably a native Macedonian and so came from an area known in antiquity for its horsemen, e.g., the Companions of Philip and Alexander. Their neighbors, the Thracians, were also heavily recruited into Roman cavalry units. The Romans tried to recruit skilled horsemen into their cavalry units wherever possible; for this type of recruiting in the auxiliary forces, see Saddington 1982, 137-68. In the auxiliary forces, some men could also be enlisted as horsemen, no doubt "through some combination of merit and influence:" Gilliam 1986b, 294.

³⁸See, for example, Speidel 1978, 7f. and 104-112, esp. 110. As the governor chose his guard so too would the legate, even from newly recruited men. This does not seem to have been the case in the capital; however, where a minimum of four years service was required before entrance into the emperor's horseguards; see Speidel 1968, 4.

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unit. Such a required time in the rank and unit seems to have been the case with the governor's guard of *singulares*.³⁹ Normally, troopers appear to have served for a lengthy period of time in the *equites legionis*. A considerable number of soldiers ended their careers with the rank of *eques legionis*.⁴⁰

We are somewhat better informed about the recruitment of the horsemen into the legions themselves. The geographic pattern of troopers for the legions is, as we might expect, the same as the legions as a whole. G. Forni discerned the diachronistic reduction in the number of Italian legionaries from the reign of Augustus through the time of the emperor Hadrian. Forni's study showed that under Augustus, legionaries of Italian origin predominate. By the time of Claudius and Nero, Italians represented about half of the men in the legions. During the Flavian period through the time of Trajan, Italians comprised between one-fifth and a quarter of the men

³⁹Speidel 1978, 7, noted from the Dura rosters that the *singulares consulares* served for a period of at least three years.

⁴⁰For example, Etuvius Capreolus (32) served for ten years and M. Licinius Fidelis (100) for six years. Horsemen as *veterani*: 13, 35, 37, 46, 48, 61, 62, 66, 69, 82, 85.

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enrolled in the legions. From the Hadrianic period onward, few Italians served as legionaries.⁴¹

The geographical recruitment patterns of the legionary horsemen closely follow the scheme set forth by Forni. In the early first century A.D., from Augustus through Caligula, of the eight *equites legionis* whose homes are known, five are from Italy, while the remainder are one each from Spain, Gallia Narbonensis and Africa.⁴² This breakdown fits well with Forni's idea of a "western" recruiting area.⁴³

For the later Julio-Claudian period, under Claudius and Nero, our sample is perhaps too small to give a full picture. There are but two horsemen whose home can be identified and they are both Gauls;⁴⁴ therefore Forni's assertion that one-half of the legionaries during this period were Italians cannot be shown.

From the Flavians through the reign of the emperor Trajan, eight legionary horsemen with known origins can

⁴¹Forni 1953.

⁴²Italy: 13, 53, 61, 62 and 63; Spain: 35; Gallia Narbonensis: 23; Africa: 98

⁴³Forni 1953, 99-102.

⁴⁴Gallia Narbonensis: 32; Gallia Lugdenensis: 100.

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be determined. Two of those eight are Italians, three are from Spain, and one each from Gaul, Macedonia and Pisidia.⁴⁵ Once again, Forni's thesis on the recruitment of the legions in general holds for the *equites legionis*.

Finally, for the period from Hadrian through the end of the 3rd century, there are eighteen legionary cavalrymen whose homes can be discerned; only two of them are from Italy. Thrace supplied four, Germania Superior two, Pannonia Superior two, Syria three, Arabia one and four troopers come *castris*, from the camp, i.e., they were the sons of local soldiers.⁴⁶ Thus only a small portion of the legionary horsemen, as the legions as a whole, were recruited in Italy, with ever increasing local enlistments.

The age of soldiers upon their recruitment in the legionary horsemen, just as their origins, reflects that of the legions as a whole. The largest number of *equites legionis* joined the army between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one; sixteen of thirty cavalrymen fall in that age

⁴⁵Italy: 5 and 70; Spain: 14 (Baetica), 48 and 70 (Tarraconensis); Gallia (Aquitania): 100; Macedonia: 77; Pisidia: 82.

⁴⁶Italians: 9 and 42; Thracians: 2 and 38 (three *equites*); Germans: 22 (two horsemen); Pannonians: 57 and 78; Syria: 83, 84 and 38; an Arab: 91; *Castris*: 68, 110, 111 and 115.

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group.⁴⁷ The youngest trooper enrolled into the legions as a horseman was fourteen, while the oldest was thirty years of age.⁴⁸ These parameters are generally the same for all legionaries.⁴⁹

In terms of recruitment, legionary horsemen were normally enrolled into the legions on the principles set down for legionaries rather than horsemen. There were, however, exceptions where the requirements of legionary legate in enlisting men for his guard seem to have taken precedence, such as the case of Tiberius Claudius Maximus, which makes those instances all the more noteworthy.

⁴⁷Eighteen -- 69; Nineteen -- 5, 37 and 61; Twenty -- 13, 14, 31 (two *equites*), 38, 53; 80 and 118; Twenty-one -- 4, 48, 49 and 89.

⁴⁸Fourteen -- 6; fifteen -- 18 and 32; sixteen -- 34 and 101; seventeen -- 33, 64 and 78; twenty-two -- 100; twenty-three -- 23; twenty-five -- 45; twenty-eight -- 98; thirty -- 62 and 103.

⁴⁹Forni 1953, 26f.

4. Unit Organization

One of the more interesting questions concerning the legionary horsemen is how they were organized. There are two interpretations, each of which is supported by a particular type of evidence.⁵⁰ The first theory is that the *equites legionis* were attached, at least for administrative purposes, to the *centuriae* of the legion. This argument for the organization of the legionary horsemen is based primarily upon documentary sources, inscriptions and papyri, in which horsemen give their centurial affiliation as part of the description of their unit.⁵¹

The second interpretation is based on literary evidence, found exclusively in Vegetius, and a single inscription of doubtful reading. This interpretation argues for the division of the *equites legionis* into squadrons, *turmae*, like the legionary horsemen of the middle Republic. The two passages from Vegetius are relatively short and are worth quoting in full.

⁵⁰A brief survey of the evidence is provided by Breeze 1969, 54f.

⁵¹Some examples of horsemen in centuries: 4, 6, 48, 94, 95, 96, 100, 104; and by implication, 114 and 115. It has been suggested, based on the papyrus 94 published by Premerstein 1903, that there were two legionary horsemen per century.

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Moreover, it should be understood that there ought to be ten cohorts in one legion. But the first cohort precedes the others in the number and worthiness of the soldiers, for it gets the choicest men according to birth and education. Indeed, this (cohort) carries the eagle, which is always the principal standard in the Roman army and the ensign of the whole legion. This (cohort) also venerates the images of the emperors, that is, the sacred and present standards. It has one thousand one hundred foot soldiers and one hundred thirty-two armored horsemen and is called a *cohors miliaria*. This is the head of the legion, from this (cohort), when the battle is joined, the first line of battle is formed. The second cohort has five hundred fifty-five foot soldiers, sixty-six horsemen, and is called a *cohors quingenaria* (the remainder of the passage relates that the remaining cohorts are organized like the second and provides their battlefield positions). (Vegetius 2.6)

Just as among the infantry, (the unit) is called a century or maniples, so among the horsemen it is said to be a *turma*, and a *turma* has thirty-two cavalrymen. The man in charge of this unit is called a decurion. Indeed one hundred ten infantrymen are directed under a *vexillum* standard by a centurion. Likewise, thirty-two cavalrymen are led under a *vexillum* standard by a decurion (the section concludes with the qualifications of the centurions and decurions). (Vegetius 2.14)

In addition to the evidence in Vegetius, a silver ring from Baden which was read *eq. leg. XXI Sexti t(urmae)* was taken to support the existence of *turmae* for the legionary horsemen. The placement of the symbol for *turma* after the name of the commander rather than in

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front of it caused scholars to lack conviction in the reading.⁵²

Hope was once expressed that archaeology would aid in the resolution of the debate over the organization of the *equites legionis*; especially promising were the excavations at Inchtuthil, a Flavian legionary camp in Scotland, from 1952-65.⁵³ There are two places at Inchtuthil which might have housed the *equites legionis*. The first is a pair of barracks blocks, Barracks A and B, located next to the quarters of the men of the first cohort of the legion. These blocks were originally ascribed to the legionary cavalry, although the objection that they were too small was raised.⁵⁴ The final site report has shown that there was room for twenty *contubernia*, or squads, more than enough for the legionary horsemen who would require but sixteen

⁵²14. For example, Breeze 1969, 54f.

⁵³See Breeze 1969, 55. The final report on the excavations has only recently appeared: Pitts and St. Joseph 1985.

⁵⁴The excavator, I. A. Richmond, suggested that the occupants were the legionary horsemen in one of his summary site reports (*JRS* 47 (1957), 132). Breeze 1969, 55, based on the size of auxiliary troopers' quarters, argued that there was insufficient space for one hundred and twenty men.

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contubernia.⁵⁵ It has been noted, though, that this pair of barracks is, based on the present state of excavation of legionary fortresses, unique to Inchtuthil. While it is possible that at one fortress the *equites legionis* had a separate accommodation and at others they were quartered with the men of their parent centuries, it rather suggests that there were other occupants for these barracks.⁵⁶

The second possibility for the quarters of the legionary cavalry is within the so-called "Officers' Temporary Compound," apparently a residence for some of the officers of the legion, possibly including the legate who was the legionary commander, at least during the period of the camp's construction and, perhaps, somewhat longer.⁵⁷ This residence comprised a pair of barracks to house a guard unit of some type; each barracks block could house the equivalent of an infantry century, approximately eighty men. The identity of this guard is not certain, perhaps it was composed of a pair legionary

⁵⁵Pitts and St. Joseph 1985, 169.

⁵⁶Pitts and St. Joseph 1985, 170f., postulate that they housed some of the legionary specialists, probably *fabri*.

⁵⁷Pitts and St. Joseph 1985, 220ff.

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centuries. Alternatively, there is more than enough space for the *equites legionis*, who are known to have functioned as the legate's guard unit.⁵⁸ They may have even housed the governor's *singulares*. Unfortunately, once again, the placement of the legionary cavalry in these barracks is not an absolute certainty.

The likelihood that the legionary cavalry occupied a camp outside the main fortress is reinforced by the case of Lambaesis in Africa. In addition to the main camp, there are two smaller ones. The first, the so-called west camp, was probably built during Hadrian's visit as part of a training exercise.⁵⁹ The second, or east camp, also known as the "camp of 81" from its date of construction, may have been the quarters of the legionary horsemen since the inscription recording their *tabularium* was found there (102); the interior of the camp possessed

⁵⁸For the possible identity of the guard, see Pitts and St. Joseph 1985, 222. For the legionary horsemen as the legate's guard, see *supra*, s.v. Recruitment, and *infra*, s.v. The Role of the *Equites Legionis*. Since there is more space than is required for the legionary horsemen alone, the barracks may have accommodated the legate's personal guard as well, the *singulares legati legionis*; for these men, see Speidel 1984d, 175-179. The existence of legionary *singulares* for *legati legionis* has recently been challenged: Rankov 1990.

⁵⁹Janon 1973, 210f. and Fentress 1979, 94.

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a "basilical" structure.⁶⁰ This camp certainly housed another guard unit since an inscription to *disciplina militaris* dedicated by a unit of *equites singulares* was discovered there.⁶¹ Perhaps both units of mounted guards were quartered together.

The contradictory descriptions for the organization of the legionary horsemen have led to a division of opinion as to whether the *equites* were formed into *turmae* or not. On the one hand, the strength of the documentary evidence for centuries, and a corresponding lack of any definitive mention of legionary *turmae* or *decuriones*, has led some to argue that there were no such squadrons or commanders for the *equites legionis*.⁶² This school of thought was bolstered by Vegetius' reputation for unreliability.

This position was recently reinforced with a new reading of the inscription on the silver ring from Baden;

⁶⁰See Janon 1973, 201-210, esp. 204-207.

⁶¹Janon 1973, 207. For the identity of these *singulares*, see Speidel 1978, 121 and Rankov 1990, 168-172.

⁶²See, e.g., Lesquier 1918, 134f. The question of decurions in the legions, or more properly the lack thereof, is discussed by A. Passerini, Dizionario Epigraphico 4, 610.

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it did not in fact give the squadron of a decurion, but more likely referred to a centurion. To be more precise, the mark which had been taken as the symbol for *turma* appears to be the centurion's rank sign.⁶³

Moreover, negative evidence is adduced to show that the legionary horsemen were not placed in *turmae*. In addition to the lack of attestation for decurions and squadrons, no officers are known for any unit less than the *equites* as a whole.⁶⁴ Perhaps most critical to the question of the organization of the legionary horsemen is the presence of certain *principales*, especially the standard bearers, the *vexillarii*. In a dedication of the *equites* of *legio III Augusta* from Lambaesis in Africa (109) the officers of the horsemen are enumerated. Two standard bearers are explicitly mentioned. If the squadrons were normal size, thirty or thirty-two men, we would expect at least four standard bearers, one for each squadron (one hundred twenty troopers divided by thirty per squadron yields four squadrons), since such standard

⁶³Speidel 1987a, 56ff. Speidel read *eq(uitibus leg(ionis) XXI Sex(ti) I.T) primus pilus/princeps*; the rank insignia of the various centurions are discussed in Speidel 1986b. For this officer, see *infra*, s.v. Commander of the Legionary Horsemen.

⁶⁴See Breeze 1969, 54f.

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bearers were a necessary component in the transmission of orders. That there are only half the requisite number for full fledged *turmae* indicates that the legionary cavalry were not formed rigidly into squadrons; they must have possessed similar tactical subunits, though these need not be the exact size of a *turma*. The legionary units may have been thirty, forty or even sixty men strong.

Yet other scholars have tried to reconcile Vegetius with the documents. No doubt the *equites* of the Praetorians, who are often a good analogy for the *equites legionis*, have had some influence. It has been argued, based on the numbers of Praetorian *equites* appearing on a discharge list, that the Praetorians horse were organized into *turmae*.⁶⁵ These scholars have argued that the squadrons, and increased numbers of the horsemen, no doubt date to some reform in the third century Roman army⁶⁶ or that they were divided administratively into

⁶⁵Durry 1938, 99 calculated that since a *laterculus* listed some fifteen horsemen for a century, there were ninety for the entire cohort. Durry then assumed that they must be organized into *turmae* of thirty troopers each. There is, however, no explicit mention of these squadrons.

⁶⁶Breeze 1969, 53f., Sander 1940, 385.

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the centuries, but organized tactically into *turmae*.⁶⁷

But neither of these positions is tenable, since if there were *turmae*, there would need to be decurions. A papyrus from A.D. 320 shows that the officers of these legionary cavalry were not decurions, but rather centurions.⁶⁸

This papyrus is most instructive since it dates from the period when the legionary horsemen were greatly increased in numbers to, if Vegetius is to be believed, seven hundred twenty-six men. The legionary horsemen, therefore, numbered more than one hundred and fifty percent of an auxiliary regiment. It is exactly during this period, when the number of legionary cavalymen was augmented and when they formed independent units, that we should expect the presence of squadrons and decurions. Since we have centurions, there cannot have been *turmae*. Therefore, we can assume that there were no *turmae* for the horsemen during the earlier period when there were fewer men attached to the legion.

The legionary horsemen did, as a functional unit, require some organization. They were probably placed in smallish units roughly the size of *turmae* which

⁶⁷Parker 1932, 140.

⁶⁸123.

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maneuvered and fought like the auxiliary squadrons. These ad hoc subunits are known for the detachments and guards of the provincial governors.⁶⁹ This makes sense, as Hadrian's *adlocutio* shows that the legionary horsemen were trained in cavalry tactics and the contemporary tactics described by Arrian in the *techne taktika* are based on the *ala* and their subunits, the *turmae*. Indeed on one occasion auxiliary and legionary troopers acted in unison.⁷⁰

⁶⁹For the detachments: Saxer 1968, 97ff. The provincial guards: Speidel 1978, 25.

⁷⁰20.

5. The Commander of the *Equites Legionis*

It was originally thought that the commanding officer of the legionary horsemen was one of the tribunes attached to the legion; von Domaszewski went so far as to identify the commander of the *equites legionis* as one tribune in particular, the *tribunus sexmestris*, an officer on the legate's staff.⁷¹ This identification was based on a single inscription and on a literary passage. The reading of the inscription was doubtful at best as the inscription is fairly worn and is broken at a critical spot; the inscription has subsequently been republished without any reference to a tribune of the legionary horsemen.⁷² The literary reference adduced by von Domaszewski (Statius, *Silvae*, 5.1.95) while it mentions the commander of the *equites legionis*, does not mention the rank of this officer. The man in question

⁷¹Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 48f., especially 49.

⁷²3. Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 47, read *L. Campilio Paterno equite [ori]undo Aquae Flaviae opt(ioni) trib[uni] militum leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) p(iae) f(elicis)*. Le Roux 1982, 217, has republished the stone with a photograph (pl. VIIC). Le Roux replaced *oriundo* with *secundo*, a reading which von Domaszewski, *loc. cit.*, believed should be ``verhauen,`` and read *opt(ioni) [eq]uitum* in lieu of *opt(ioni) trib(uni) militum*. While Le Roux's emendation has not met with universal approval (see the commentary on this inscription in Chapter IV), it does cast a certain degree of doubt on the reading of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* used by von Domaszewski.

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could just as easily have been a centurion as a tribune.⁷³

The inconclusive nature of the evidence cited by von Domaszewski has led scholars to search elsewhere for the commanding officer of the legionary cavalry. One candidate who has gained some acceptance is the *optio equitum*, who would then have been analogous to other *optiones* who were in charge of units, e.g., the officer in charge of the medical facilities, the *optio*

⁷³Birley 1988c believed the passage referred to the appointment of centurions.

While they by no means provide proof that a tribune served as the commander of the *equites legionis*, two inscriptions from Brigetio may point to some connection, perhaps purely honorific, between the *tribunus laticlavus* and the legionary horse. The first (57) is a dedication by an *eques legionis* to the *Campestres*, the goddesses of the cavalry training grounds. The second inscription (3.14355.²¹=RIU 2.381) is a dedication to the same deities by the *tribunus laticlavus* (the one tribune of senatorial rank attached to a legion) of the same legion, *legio I Adiutrix*. While such a common dedication does not imply command of the unit, it may mean that the senatorial tribune, because of his rank, may have had the privilege of watching over the training exercises of the legionary horsemen. Vegetius, 2.12, notes that the tribunes were responsible for watching over the training exercises of their men and that well drilled and neat-looking soldiers were a source of pride for their tribune. Cf. the very tentative identification of this man as the commander of the legionary cavalry by Speidel 1968, 57 n.339.

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valetudinarii.⁷⁴ This officer, who up until recently was known from only a few inscriptions, is now reasonably well attested.⁷⁵

Objections can, however, be raised to making the *optio equitum* the commander of the unit. The first is the comparison with the *optio valetudinarii*. This latter post, although it did involve supervisory duties at the hospital, was a staff post primarily concerned with paperwork, not direct control over medical matters.⁷⁶ Those *optiones* who seem to have exercised actual command positions seem to have done so under the supervision of a higher ranking officer, e.g., the *optio centuriae*.⁷⁷

A second problem concerns the rank of the *optio* in relation to the other *principales* within the unit of legionary horsemen. It has been noted that an *optio*

⁷⁴Le Roux 1982, 267, believes that the *optio equitum* is a parallel for the *optio valetudinarii*. Parker 1932, 141, based on the *optio*'s position on a *scola* inscription from Lambaesis (109), saw this man as the horsemen's senior officer.

⁷⁵Early references include 3, 106 (presumed to head the list of the *scola* dedication) and 108. More recently 2, 76 and 86.

⁷⁶See Breeze 1976, 127-133, esp. 128.

⁷⁷See the examples in Breeze 1976.

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generally ranked no higher, and perhaps even lower, than the standard bearer, or *vexillarius*, of which there were at least two, and perhaps three, in the legionary horsemen (109).⁷⁸ It is, therefore, rather unlikely that the *optio*, who at the very best ranked the same as the standard bearers, was the unit commander.

Lack of a suitable candidate for the commander from either the tribunes or the *optio equitum* has led one scholar to argue that the legionary horsemen did not have any commander at all!⁷⁹ The argument is based on an analogy with the legionary cohorts -- the cohorts had tactical subunits, the centuries, which had officers, but the unit as a whole did not have one. Therefore, the legionary horsemen, with their *turma*-like subunits, perhaps commanded by the standard bearers or some other *principalis*, would not require an overall commander despite their administrative independence.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Noted by Speidel 1984d, 179.

⁷⁹Breeze 1969, 55.

⁸⁰Breeze 1971, 130, n.6, e.g., disregards the fact that the horsemen had their own *tabularium* and *quaestor* who administered their funds, again citing the example of the legionary cohorts. Moreover, he discounts the fact that the legionary cohorts were composed of a number of permanent tactical units. While it is quite likely that the legionary horsemen had tactical units similar to *turmae*, they were not permanent like a legionary century,

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Another suggestion, which has been put forward more recently, is that the *equites legionis* were commanded by a centurion, possibly a high-ranking one such as those supernumerary centurions attached to the staff of the provincial governor.⁸¹ Since the training officers of the legionary horsemen, or at least some of them, ranked as centurions, possibly of high rank, it would be unlikely that the commander would not be of a similar or higher grade.⁸² Such a centurion probably would have borne the title *praepositus* or *curam agens*.⁸³

but rather temporary like the tactical subunits in detachments.

⁸¹Much earlier Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 49, had proposed that a *centurio supernumerarius*, known from 32 with the additional rank of *magister equitum*, was probably the commander of the legionary horsemen of the late empire when their numbers were greatly increased. See Speidel 1978, 27f. for such high ranking centurions as unit commanders and that the supernumerary centurions had other functions such as the command of the legionary horsemen.

⁸²Training officers could be either centurions or *evocati*. At least some of those attached to the legionary horsemen were of the higher rank; see 43 with Fitz 1975, 565-75. That the commander must be of at least equal or higher rank was suggested by Speidel 1984d, 175, n.23.

⁸³See Speidel 1978, 26; cf. Saxer 1968, *passim*.

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This supposition has recently been augmented by the emendation of the inscription on the silver ring found at Baden. Some aspects of this have been discussed already. As to the rank of the commander, the ring seems to indicate that the commander of the *equites legionis* was a centurion; indeed, if read correctly, he was of very high rank, one of the *primi ordines*, perhaps the senior centurion of the legion, the *primus pilus*.⁸⁴

Since the silver ring from Baden now seems to show that centurions were the commanding officers of the *equites legionis*, light is shed on an interesting and well-known tombstone of a centurion replete with relief and inscription. The stone, from Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior and of mid first century date, records the career of T. Calidius Severus (45):

"Titus Calidius Severus, son of Publius, from the Camilian tribe. A horseman, likewise *optio* (and) *decurio* of *cohors I Alpinorum*, likewise a centurion of *legio XV Apollinaris*. He lived fifty-eight years and served thirty-three. Here he lies. Quintus Calidius placed it for his brother."

In addition, the relief underneath the inscription shows the equipment of the centurion: scale armor (*lorica squamata*), greaves (*ocrea*), the distinctive helmet of a centurion with transverse crest, and the

⁸⁴Speidel 1987a, 58.

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centurion's vinewood staff (*vitis*). Beneath the weapons are depicted the centurion's groom wearing a chainmail shirt and a horse.

The representation of the horse and the career of Calidius, i.e., his extensive association with the horsemen in the auxiliaries -- he served as both a simple cavalry trooper and a squadron commander (*decurio*), make one suspect that as a legionary centurion he was in some way associated with the legionary horsemen.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the inscription does not mention any such association, either as a commander or a training officer.⁸⁶

Since training officers always seem to give their rank, such as *exercitator* or *magister equitum* it does not appear that Calidius served in a training capacity. On the other hand, the one centurion mentioned on the Baden silver ring, while probably the commanding officer of the *equites legionis*, only identifies himself by his centurion's rank. If Calidius was attached to the legionary cavalry, he would have been their commander

⁸⁵Cf. the suggestion by H. J. Ubl 1969, 59ff.

⁸⁶See *infra*, s.v. Officers and Other Ranks, for legionary centurions as training officers.

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although he might also have served in the capacity of training officer.

Yet there is even more testimony that the commander of the legionary horsemen was a centurion, albeit the evidence is indirect as it comes from the late empire. In a will from the year A. D. 320 a centurion of the *equites promoti* disposes of his goods.⁸⁷ He has as witnesses seven colleagues, i.e., likewise *equites promoti*, who are also centurions. It is a reasonable assumption that the legionary horsemen were commanded during the high empire by a centurion, and when the numbers of horsemen were dramatically increased during the late 3rd century, more officers were needed, and so other centurions were added. Certainly centurions would not have been made officers in this substantial expansion if the original commander of the legionary horsemen did not hold that rank, i.e., it would be unlikely for centurions to be added to a unit whose commander ranked lower than they did themselves.

⁸⁷123.

6. Officers and Other Ranks

In addition to the unit commander, there were several other groups of officers (and "other ranks") which can be identified within the *equites legionis*. Three distinct groups of officers and other ranks can be identified: 1) training officers, 2) command *principales*, 3) and *principales* and other ranks with staff or administrative assignments.

A. Training Officers

The following training officers have been identified amongst the legionary horsemen and represent a wide range of rank:

exercitator

magister equitum

magister kampi

hastiliarius

The *exercitatores* were the riding-masters of the *equites legionis*, two of whom, both from *legio II Adiutrix*, are known for certain.⁸⁸ Those of the legionary horsemen seem to have ranked as centurions, although the rank of the *exercitatores* within the centurionate is still a question open to debate, i.e.,

⁸⁸ 54 and 60; see Speidel 1978, 28f.

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were they ranked among the *primi ordines* or not.⁸⁹ Other *exercitatores*, interestingly several of them from units of the imperial guard, ranked merely as *evocati*.⁹⁰

The rank of the *magister equitum* rests on more solid ground.⁹¹ As has been seen above (p. 46, n.78 and n. 79), this training officer was ranked as a centurion, apparently of high rank. It is probable that the *magister equitum* and the *exercitatores* are one and the same.⁹² The term *magister* became increasingly popular during the third century as a term, usually for a *principalis*, who was in a supervisory administrative or command position, which replaced or supplemented an older term such as *optio*; moreover, the choice of term could vary from one unit to the next.⁹³ In the case of a centurion, then, it seems that this man, who is from a

⁸⁹For a discussion of the problem of the rank of the *exercitatores* see the article by Fitz 1975.

⁹⁰Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 106f. A more recent discussion is provided by Birley 1988d, 326-330.

⁹¹34.

⁹²Compare the comments by Speidel 1978, 28, n.149.

⁹³Breeze 1976, esp., 132.

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different unit than the two *exercitatores*, holds the same position in a different guise.

The *magister kampi* was an officer of lower rank. The position is uniquely attested on a much discussed third century *schola* inscription from Lambaesis.⁹⁴ This man certainly cannot have ranked as a centurion, which as we have seen, was the rank of the commander and high-ranking training masters, since on that inscription he is listed below the *optio* and the *vexillarii*. Given what has been said above concerning the use of the term *magister* during the third century, the *magister kampi* should then be an assistant, similar to the *optio centuriae* in infantry units, to some officer, no doubt one of the training officers of a higher grade such as the *exercitator* or *magister equitum*.

The *hastiliarius* was originally thought by von Domaszewski to be an elite horseman attached to the staff of an officer and armed with a spear, the *hasta*; *hastiliarii* who may be from the *equites legionis* are known from Lambaesis.⁹⁵ But it has been suggested that

⁹⁴109.

⁹⁵109, 3 and 4.

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these troopers were instructors in spear-throwing.⁹⁶ They were not named after the spear, but rather after a practice weapon, the *hastile*. The rank is known elsewhere only among the *equites singulares Augusti*, the horse-guards of the emperor, although they may have existed in the provincial *singulares* as well. The rank seems to be unique to guard units where a premium was placed on such training.⁹⁷ As the guard unit of the legionary legate, the *equites legionis* thus might be expected to have such instructors.

Recently the role and function of the *hastiliarii* has been revised yet once again.⁹⁸ While the *hastile* still refers to a wooden practice weapon, it can now be argued that the shaft was used in a crowd control rather than a practice context. This would help to explain the appearance of *hastiliarii* only in guard units -- they helped to control unruly crowds which might beset the emperor or a provincial governor. This interpretation

⁹⁶Speidel 1968, 43f. They were not involved in the manufacture of these weapons as Davies 1989a thought; cf. the comments by Speidel 1978, 30f., n.159.

⁹⁷Speidel 1978, 30f. For *hastilia* being supplied to the guard of the Prefect in Egypt, see Speidel 1985e, 329-332, esp., 331f.

⁹⁸Speidel, forthcoming.

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does not rule out the existence of *hastiliarii* among the legionary troopers; a small number of them might be useful in dealing with disorderly soldiers.⁹⁹

B. Command *Principales*

The following *principales* were involved in various functions of command:

optio equitum

vexillarius

tesserarius

The *optio equitum* is now known through several inscriptions.¹⁰⁰ This officer was once thought to have been the commander of the legionary horsemen, but must now be seen as the assistant to the commander, a centurion. This would make him exactly analogous to the *optio in centuria* who is well attested for the legionary

⁹⁹It might be argued that this interpretation calls in to question the identification of the men on this dedication with *equites legionis*; it has in fact been suggested that the inscription belongs to the governor's *singulares* instead. See Speidel 1978, 31. For the reasoning behind attributing this *schola* list to the legionary horse, see the commentary to the inscription in Chapter III, *infra*.

¹⁰⁰See note 62 above.

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infantry, or perhaps even better, to the *optio vexillationis*.¹⁰¹

The best known command officer of the legionary horsemen is the standard bearer, the *vexillarius*.¹⁰² The exact duty of the *vexillarii* is a matter of conjecture. There were several serving with the legionary horsemen, at least two but perhaps more. The question is whether they carried the flags of the subunits of the horsemen, and if so whether there was but a single standard bearer for each subunit, or if there was but a single standard, *vexillum*, for the entire unit.

A reasonable assumption is that the standard bearers were attached to the subunits, although it is likely that there was more than one *vexillarius* for each such squadron. Roman cavalry were trained according to *turmae*¹⁰³ and even though the *equites legionis* did not have formal *turmae*, they certainly had similar units. These units would require standards upon which they would

¹⁰¹For the rank, Speidel 1985, 75-78.

¹⁰²53, 73, 77, 95, 100 and 109.

¹⁰³Vegetius 1.27.

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form ranks and which would guide their movements.¹⁰⁴ This arrangement would allow for legionary *equites vexillarii* to be detached for service elsewhere, a phenomenon known from Moesia Inferior when one such standard bearer was sent to command another unit.¹⁰⁵

The final rank in the chain of command was the *tesserarius*, again known only from the scola dedication from Africa (109, line 5). The *tesserarius*, whose name is derived from *tessera*, watchword, was the equivalent of an orderly sergeant in the modern British army and it was he who gave the watchword to the men in his unit.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴For the importance of standards and musical instruments in the tactics of the Roman army, see Domaszewski 1972a, 1-12. While not specifically mentioned, it has been argued that a dedication from Lambaesis (8.2557) by the *schola* of *cornicines* shows that the legionary horsemen had such musicians: thirty-five names appear, of whom five were assigned to the first cohort (one per double-strength century), twenty-seven were attached to cohorts two through ten (one for each pair of *centuriae*), and the remaining three were for the legionary horsemen. This would make the subunits of the legionary horsemen about forty men, a size attested for the subunits of horsemen in a *vexillatio* at Coptos (3.6627=ILS 2483). See Saxer 1968, 97ff. for discussion.

More than a single *vexillarius* could be part of one subunit, cf. *RMR* 1, cols. 38 and 39, when no less than four standard bearers were part of one *turma*.

¹⁰⁵73. See the discussion by Speidel 1984h, 185-188.

¹⁰⁶Passing the watchword on to the troops: Vegetius 2.7. G. R. Watson 1969, 79, makes the modern analogy.

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C. Staff Principales

Three staff *principales* are attested for the *equites legionis*. We might expect more for a unit the size of the legionary horsemen, but several administrative positions, e.g., *cornicularius* -- head of the unit's record office, would not be required as the *equites* remained on the rolls of their centuries and so many administrative tasks were performed at that level.¹⁰⁷ The posts are:

quaestor equitum

actuarium

pollio

The *quaestor* of the legionary horsemen was a financial officer.¹⁰⁸ The fund which he administered was certainly used for the upkeep of the unit's horses and perhaps the tack and other necessary accoutrements.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷This is also the case with the provincial *singulares*: Speidel 1978, 35f. The horseman of 21 who also lists *cornicularius* amongst his ranks may have been seconded to serve on the staff of the legate or may have held the post later in his career. It cannot be shown from the text that he was a *cornicularius* of the *equites legionis*.

¹⁰⁸77 with the commentary, in Speidel 1984d, 175.

¹⁰⁹Speidel, *loc. cit.* Whether the pay of the troopers themselves was dispersed from the fund cannot be determined.

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The *actuarius* of the legionary horsemen seems to have been concerned with the procurement of supplies for the unit. *Actuarii* were part of a triad of officers with supply functions known elsewhere, the other two being the *optio* and the *summus curator*.¹¹⁰ The latter official may have existed for the *equites legionis* but, because of the dearth of sources for the legionary horsemen, no examples survive. Certainly special supply officers would be necessary to see to the needs of the horses.¹¹¹

The *pollio* is a soldier whose function is not fully understood.¹¹² Of the various interpretations, the best seems that the *pollio* is concerned with the arms of the

¹¹⁰See Speidel 1978, 34f. The evidence adduced there makes the suggestion of Le Roux, 267, that the *actuarius* kept the *acta* of the unit less likely.

¹¹¹The *quaestor equitum* and the *actuarius* ultimately must have been responsible to the *praefectus legionis* (*castrorum*?) who according to Vegetius (2.9) oversaw the outfitting and feeding of the horses of the legion.

¹¹²An *eques pollio*: 68. Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 47, did not hazard a guess. Watson 1969, 182, makes the association with the *stratores*, suggesting horse trainers, while du Cange, cited by Watson, affiliates the *pollio* with weapons: *qui arma polit*. Watson's dismissal of du Cange is too hasty, especially considering that he can not adduce any more evidence than the proximity of *pollio* to *strator* in Paternus' list of *immunes*. A recent article by Dietz 1985, 235-252, identifies the *polliones* with Asinius Pollio and makes them language instructors. This seems the least satisfactory, though most imaginative, identification.

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legionary horsemen. Thus far, no *armorum custos* or similar non-commissioned officer for the care of the weapons of the *equites legionis* is attested. It seems that the horsemen, whose arms would have been quite different from those of their infantry colleagues -- more akin indeed to the equipment of the auxiliary horsemen than to that of the legionaries -- would have required a weapons' master of their own.¹¹³ Not only would their everyday arms and armor have demanded maintenance and supervision, but the legionary horsemen also possessed an additional panoply, their ``sports'' armor, which is not known for infantry soldiers.¹¹⁴ The different types of equipment used by the legionary cavalrymen make the presence of a non-commissioned officer in charge of such arms and armor reasonably certain, and the *pollio* seems to be the most likely candidate.

¹¹³For the equipment of the legionary horsemen and its similarity to that of the auxiliary horsemen, see *infra* s.v. Arms and Armor. The distinction between the arms and armor of the legionary and the auxiliary is well known: Tac. Ann. 12.35; Tac. Hist. 1.38

¹¹⁴See *infra*, s.v. Arms and Armor. It has been suggested quite recently that parade armor might not have been restricted to the cavalry of the Roman army and that the legionary examples might belong to the legionary infantry; indeed it might not have been parade armor at all, although no convincing evidence for this theory is given: Coulston 1988, 21 n.108.

7. Rank and Pay

As discussed above, the rank and file of the legionary horsemen were probably reckoned among the *immunes*, those men who enjoyed an exemption from the normal fatigue duties (*vacatio munerum*) in and around the legionary fortress.¹¹⁵ In addition to these ordinary troopers, there were several non-commissioned officers who because of their administrative or command functions ranked among the *principales* of the legion.¹¹⁶

For most of the first century of the principate the pay of a common legionary soldier was set at 225 *denarii*, paid in three *stipendia* of seventy-five *denarii* each.¹¹⁷ During the reign of the emperor Domitian a fourth *stipendium* was added.¹¹⁸ This brought the legionary pay to 300 *denarii*. Septimius Severus doubled the base pay

¹¹⁵See *supra*, s.v. The Return of the *Equites Legionis* and Recruitment.

¹¹⁶See *supra*, s.v. Officers and Other Ranks.

¹¹⁷For a brief introduction to the pay of the Roman legionary see Watson 1969, 89-92 with literature cited in the notes.

¹¹⁸Suet. *Domitian* 7.3: *addit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos terni*.

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to 600 *denarii* once again paid in three installments.¹¹⁹ After the Severan dynasty, the pay scale is difficult to reconstruct on account of the rampant inflation of the third century and the institution of payment and rewards in kind.

As *immunes*, the majority of the legionary horsemen received the same base pay as their colleagues who bore the rank of simple *miles*; the *vacatio munerum* did not confer any additional pecuniary benefits. The legionary horsemen, however, no doubt received some additional pay. The reason for this is that the troopers required additional funds for the purchase and upkeep of their mounts as well for the necessary tack and harness. It has been suggested, for example, that when the base legionary pay rate was 300 *denarii* a legionary horseman drew perhaps 400 *denarii*.¹²⁰ These extra monies seem to have been administered by the *quaestor equitum*.¹²¹ One possible use to which the funds were put would be the replacement of horses for the troopers; horses could be

¹¹⁹Herodian 3.8; see also Watson, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁰Speidel 1984a, 86f.

¹²¹See the discussion *supra*, s.v. Officers and Other Ranks.

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expensive and the unnecessary loss of an animal in unusual circumstances could be a capital offence.¹²²

In addition to the extra monies needed for their mounts, as cavalry troopers the *equites legionis* required still more funds for yet another mount-related expense, a servant (*calo*).¹²³ Servants are well attested for other units of the Roman army: the troopers of the cavalry regiments, *equites alares*; the cavalrymen of the auxiliary infantry regiments, *equites cohortales*; and the emperor's horseguards. The best source for the horsemen's servants are the tombstones of cavalrymen from Lower Germany dating to the mid to late first century A. D.; these stones preserve depictions of the trooper in

¹²²During the middle of third century, a cavalry trooper's horse in a *cohors equitata* was 125 *denarii*: See Davies 1989d, 153-173, esp. 164f. The troopers of the *cohortes equitatae*, while not mounted infantry, were a type of second class cavalry who often received inferior equipment, including horses; a first class cavalry horse might well cost more. The best work on the *cohortes equitatae* remains Davies 1989c, 141-151, esp. 148. The death penalty for a cavalry trooper who lost his horse through carelessness is mentioned by Josephus, *BJ* 6.154-155.

¹²³The most recent study of the horsemen's *calones* is Speidel 1989b; Speidel includes a good discussion on the few works which previously dealt with the subject.

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battle dress and his *calo* or a funeral banquet above with the soldiers' horse and servant below.¹²⁴

The servants probably performed all of the mundane tasks that the trooper required such as cooking, cleaning and camp chores, but they also played a military role.¹²⁵ On the march the servants were organized into units and put to use their animal-handling experience to work with the baggage train. In battle, the *calones* helped their masters mount up and then formed ranks to act as supply and support troops, hence their depiction with arms and armor.¹²⁶

Several horsemen's servants are known for *equites legionis*. The majority are unnamed, simply appearing on the stelae of their master.¹²⁷ One tombstone seems to

¹²⁴For a discussion of the servant on the tombstone, see Speidel 1989b, 240ff. The types of Roman tombstones from Germany are studied by Gabelmann 1972.

¹²⁵Speidel 1989b, 242-245.

¹²⁶Helping their masters mount: Schleiermacher 1984, 28; supply and support troops: Speidel 1989b, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁷9, 53, 75 and 81. The groom holding the horse of the centurion Calidius (45), who appears to have had a connection with the legionary horsemen (*supra*, 47), has been identified as a *calo* by Uhl 1969, lxii. Speidel 1989b, n.11, 241, rightly noted that since the man wears a soldier's belt and coat, he must be a soldier rather than a servant.

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have been erected by a legionary horseman for his servant, a certain Romanus.¹²⁸ The erection of stones by cavalry troopers for their servants are known for the emperor's horseguards.¹²⁹

There were various non-commissioned officers who drew pay above that of the common *equites*. Some of these men were paid at one and a half times the basic rate; these were the so-called tactical posts which included the higher ranking *immunes* with staff or command responsibilities such as the *tesserarius* and perhaps *armorum custos*, and junior *principales* such as the lower ranking standard bearers (*signiferi*, *vexillarii*), and the *optiones*. Others more senior *principales* including the *aquiliferi* and *beneficiarii* of high ranking officers received double pay. There was also a third group, to which no legionaries are known to have belonged, which is believed to have been paid at triple the normal rate.¹³⁰

Under this scheme, all the officers and other ranks of the *equites legionis* belonged to the second pay grade

¹²⁸26.

¹²⁹Speidel 1989b, n. 31, 245.

¹³⁰This four way division of the pay of the Roman legions was proposed by Domaszewski in Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 70ff.

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with the exception of the centurion in command of the unit and the senior training officer, the *exercitator equitum* or *magister equitum* who were paid, of course, as centurions.

Recently, a new scheme for the pay grades of the legions has been proposed by Dr. D. Breeze.¹³¹ Under this system, based on a study of promotions and transfers within the legions and on an analogy with the *auxilia*, the *optiones* and standard bearers (*signiferi* and *vexillarii*) were ranked among the troops who received double pay (*duplicarii*). The *optio equitum* and the *vexillarius equitum* would have thus received double pay.

This second arrangement of pay scales seems to be less satisfactory. The reason is the publication of the career of Claudius Maximus (77), which sparked the study of Breeze. Claudius Maximus was promoted from *vexillarius equitum* in *legio VII Claudia* to a *duplicarius* in *ala II Pannoniorum*. Under Breeze's pay scale both positions merit double pay. As an auxiliary *duplicarius* would receive 100 *denarii* a year less than one in a legion, Breeze argued that unusual military circumstances and better prospects for promotion justified that there was no pay increase associated with Maximus' transfer.

¹³¹Breeze 1971, 130-135.

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It seems unlikely, however, that a trooper would transfer to another unit and take a 12.5% pay cut for the prospect of promotion. It is therefore better to retain the original pay scales proposed by von Domaszewski in which the *vexillarius equitum* received one and a half times the base pay.

8. Promotion and Careers

An ambitious soldier who had attained the rank of *eques legionis* was not assured a promotion to higher rank within the legion; many troopers ended their military career with the rank of legionary horseman.¹³² A soldier who desired to reach the coveted rank of centurion had a greater chance of success if he followed the more traditional route to the centurionate, i.e., through the posts in the century, i.e., as a *tesserarius* or *librarius*, then an *optio in centuria*, then a *signifer* and finally onto the rank of *aquilifer*, *cornicularius*, or *optio spei* before reaching the rank of centurion.¹³³

Several legionary horsemen did, however, move up through the ranks of the legions. Two troopers were eventually promoted to the rank of *optio in centuria*. The first, Iulius Donatus, ended his military career sometime in the second century as a *ex optione*.¹³⁴ The second trooper, Aurelius Gaius Secundus, who served under

¹³²13, 35, 37, 46, 48, 61, 62, 66, 69, 82, 85.

¹³³See the discussion by Breeze 1974, 263-278. Breeze notes that the Romans preferred such a combination of administrative and command positions for promotion to the highest ranks of the legions.

¹³⁴103.

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Diocletian, held the post of *optio*, apparently in several units.¹³⁵

Two men are known to have advanced to the legionary centurionate. The first trooper, from the early third century, who began his career in *legio II Parthica* as an *eques legionis*; the man ended his career some twenty-two years later with the rank of centurion, presumably in the same legion.¹³⁶ The second soldier, who began as a simple *miles*, served during the first century. After four years, he was promoted to *eques*, a rank he held for ten years, after which he was advanced to the rank of centurion which he held for a remarkable twenty-one years! He ended his military service as a *praefectus cohortis*.¹³⁷

If the promotions to the higher positions in the legions were not readily forthcoming, transfers into units of the auxiliary forces often provided upward mobility in the career of a legionary horseman. One horseman, M. Licinius Fidelis, of *legio III Augusta* was transferred to the *ala Pannoniorum* with the rank of

¹³⁵120.

¹³⁶89 with commentary.

¹³⁷32.

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duplicarius, the deputy to the squadron commander, which he held until his death a mere four months later.¹³⁸

A second soldier, the famous Claudius Maximus was also transferred into an auxiliary cavalry regiment with the rank of *duplicarius*.¹³⁹ Claudius Maximus, however, was further promoted to the rank of decurion and so commanded a squadron of horsemen. Astonishingly, despite his great feat, he never reached the centurionate.

A significant number of *equites legionis* were commissioned as decurions in auxiliary regiments. One Spanish decurion from the *ala Patruī*, whose inscription seems to date from the civil wars immediately following the death of Julius Caesar is known to have possessed Roman citizenship.¹⁴⁰ It has therefore been suggested that this man was a former legionary horseman who had been transferred to the auxiliary cavalry to ensure that they were instilled with Roman discipline.¹⁴¹ If this soldier were an *eques legionis* it would not only be

¹³⁸101.

¹³⁹77.

¹⁴⁰9.733=ILS 2499.

¹⁴¹Speidel 1984b, 111-113.

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interesting for the career structure of the legionary cavalry but would also push back the reform reintroducing the horsemen to the legion to a time before the principate, perhaps as far back as the time of C. Julius Caesar himself.

The most well-known example of this phenomenon is a papyrus from A.D. 243-244 which records the dates of the promotions of a number of auxiliary centurions and decurions.¹⁴² Of the five decurions listed for this one unit, two of them were commissioned directly from the rank of legionary horsemen whereas the remaining three rose through the ranks of an *ala* to the post of either *sesquiplicarius* or *duplicarius* before promotion to decurion.

Epigraphy provides a further example. There is an inscription which lists the members of a detachment and records a certain Pomponius Herculanius who is listed as a decurion and former legionary horseman.¹⁴³ Pomponius had received a promotion to an auxiliary unit as a decurion

¹⁴²97. See the discussion in Gilliam 1986a, 191-206.

¹⁴³70.

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but at the time of the inscription he had not yet had the opportunity to take up his new post.

One final case needs to be considered. In the papyrus discussed above, an additional legionary horseman received a commission and in this case the unit is known to be the *cohors III Ityraeorum*. Here though, the trooper in question was not appointed as a squadron leader, a decurion, but rather was assigned to the infantry as a centurion.

The relatively large number of men appointed as commissioned officers to the auxiliary regiments is significant for the history of the legionary horsemen in that it may provide some insight into the status of the *equites legionis*. It was common for soldiers from elite units to be sent off to the line units so that the high standards of discipline and training found in the elite units might be transferred to the line units. The most famous examples are the *evocati legionis* who were posted to the legions so that the line units might be trained to the high standards of the units of the imperial guard.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, troopers from the emperor's horseguards, the *equites singulares Augusti* were sent to auxiliary units

¹⁴⁴Birley 1988d, 326. See also, Birley 1988b, 189-205.

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as decurions.¹⁴⁵ The provincial guard units, the *singulares consularis* also appear to have served as something of an officers' candidate school.¹⁴⁶

It now seems likely that the legionary horsemen performed a similar role, providing officers with a high degree of training so as to be able to promote a similar degree of discipline to their new units. Their expert training suggests that the legionary horsemen also excelled as a combat unit and as a guard unit to legionary commander.

¹⁴⁵Speidel 1968, 55f.

¹⁴⁶Speidel 1978, 51f.

9. Arms and Armor

Of the more than one hundred *monumenta* which record the *equites legionis* of the high empire, eight are tombstones which preserve a complete depiction of the deceased soldier. Six of the stones date to the first century A.D., the period during which we have the largest number of representations in his ``battle dress;'' many of these depictions belong to cavalrymen, who were rather more affluent than their colleagues in the infantry.¹⁴⁷ These stones generally represent the legionary horsemen in the same poses and with the same equipment as their counterparts in the auxiliary cavalry units.

The first century auxiliaries are most often depicted in the so-called rider-relief, where the trooper is shown mounted on his horse riding down a defeated barbarian enemy; the soldier is often followed by his servant (*calo*) who carries additional weapons including arrows. In the rider-relief the horsemen represented himself as the ``Hero,`` after the manner of the Thracian Rider-God, also known as the Danubian rider.¹⁴⁸ on the

¹⁴⁷See Bishop 1988, 114, who shows that 55% of the richly decorated Roman tombstones from the Rhenish frontier belong to the horsemen of the auxiliary or legionary cavalry.

¹⁴⁸The Thracian Rider-God and Danubian Rider are discussed by Kazarov 1938, 1-16 and, with particular reference to the tombstones of Roman horsemen,

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gravestone was that of the trooper when in battle. He is represented with a helmet (at least at times), protective body-armor, usually chain mail (*lorica hamata*) or, less frequently, scale mail (*lorica squamata*), a large shield, a spear capable of being thrust or thrown (*hasta*), and a sword, usually of the long Celtic-type (*spatha*).

Of the six stones of the legionary horsemen which can be dated to the first century A.D., four represent the deceased in the posture of the Thracian Rider-God.¹⁴⁹ Three of the stones are rather badly weathered and as a result only the most obvious items of equipment are still visible: the shield, the spear, and, in one instance, the helmet.¹⁵⁰ Yet one stone is fairly well-preserved.¹⁵¹ This monument, from Bonn, represents a certain Caius Marius who served fifteen years in *legio I Germanica*. Marius is depicted as bare-headed, but wears some type of

Schleiermacher 1984, 60-65, esp. 63f.

¹⁴⁹16, 47, 51 and 80.

¹⁵⁰The helmet on the relief of 52 is quite visible and even the type can be determined. See Ubl 1969, 28f., who classifies the helmet as of the Weisenau type, also referred to as Imperial Gallic Type D: cf. Robinson 1975, 53.

¹⁵¹16.

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armor over his tunic -- the armor is in turn decorated with his military decorations (*dona militaria*). The type of the armor cannot be determined from the stone, but was probably painted to represent chain mail.¹⁵² He also carries the characteristic spear and shield so well-known from the reliefs of the auxiliaries.

The two stones not of the Thracian Rider-God genre show the same basic elements of equipment. One gravestone of two brothers, both *equites legionis*, from the early first century A.D. has a very small battle scene which shows a legionary horseman in combat with a mounted barbarian opponent.¹⁵³ The legionary horseman carries the typical cut-oval shield. The second stone, which is anepigraphic, can be demonstrated to belong to a legionary horseman by the military decorations the man

¹⁵²Chain mail was difficult to represent by cutting into the stone, so the Romans often applied a coat of gesso or simply painted the armor grey with black 'links' to show that a soldier was wearing chain mail. See the discussion by Robinson 1975, 169, and Robinson 1972, 24-35, esp. 26.

¹⁵³See Ubl 1969, 20.

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had earned.¹⁵⁴ The trooper is shown mounted and protected by a chainmail shirt.

There are two grave reliefs of legionary horsemen from the early third century A.D. Unlike the first century examples, these stones portray the troopers standing about in ''camp uniform'' rather than in full battle equipment. The first of the stones is from Adiaum in Pannonia Superior. It depicts the deceased outfitted merely with a sword mounting a ring-pommel (52).¹⁵⁵ He wears a long sleeved tunic (*tunica mantica*) with narrow sleeves and a cloak (*sagum*) over his right shoulder fastened with a circular fibula. The tunic is girded by ring-buckle military belt (*cingulum*). A ring is worn on his left hand.

The second stone, from Brigetio, shows the trooper armed with a spear and shield (55); he leads his horse.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴The original publication of the stone (34) by Frenz 1985, K119, did not identify the man's rank. The review by Speidel 1990 shows the man to have been an *eques legionis*.

¹⁵⁵*Non vidi*. The description is taken from the excellent work by Ubl 1969, xxxvii. For descriptions of the individual items of dress and equipment, see Ubl 1969, *passim*.

¹⁵⁶*Non vidi*. The description is again based on that of Ubl 1969, xxvii.

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The horseman wears a long sleeved tunic, which reached as far as the knee. The tunic is belted, but no buckle is evident. Long pants (*braccae*) are worn beneath the tunic. A cloak, without a visible fibula, is draped over the right shoulder. In his left hand the soldier carries a large oval shield with a round boss (*umbo*) and a spear.

This method of representing the soldier in camp uniform became the norm in the third century.¹⁵⁷ It is therefore not possible to determine if the equipment of the legionary horsemen had changed dramatically from that carried by the auxiliary troopers, but there is no reason to believe that it did.

There is also an imperial, i.e., state constructed monument, which shows legionary horsemen. This is the early first century triumphal arch at Orange in southern France (ancient Arausio). The monument was erected to celebrate the suppression of a Gallic revolt by *legio II Augusta*.¹⁵⁸ Since the arch was erected to honor a legion, the horsemen depicted as part of the Roman force have, no

¹⁵⁷See Speidel 1984j, 14-16 for art on third century tombstones; cf. the survey of modern and archaeological sources by Coulston 1987, 141-156.

¹⁵⁸₁₂ as dated by P. M. Duval, in R. Amy et al. 1962.

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doubt correctly, been taken as *equites legionis*.¹⁵⁹ The equipment of these legionary horsemen is generally the same as appears on the first century tombstones: chainmail, helmet, shield, spear and sword. But the sword is not the usual Celtic longsword, the *spatha*, but rather the shorter *gladius* of the legionary infantry.¹⁶⁰

There is one horseman on the arch who does not wear chainmail, but rather scale armor. Scale armor was the type of protection often worn by officers; this soldier has been identified as an officer of the legionary horsemen, probably their centurion, who, as we have seen, was the commander of the *equites legionis*.¹⁶¹

Archaeology, that great tool for students of Roman military equipment, is not of much help for the battlefield equipment of the legionary horsemen. Although many pieces of cavalry equipment, especially helmets, have been found, there is no way of telling if a

¹⁵⁹G.-Ch. Picard, in Amy et al. 1962, 126f.

¹⁶⁰G.-Ch. Picard, in Amy et al. 1962, 125.

¹⁶¹For a centurion as commander, see *supra*, s.v. The Commander of the *Equites Legionis*.

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piece belonged to an auxiliary or a legionary; even the find spot can be deceptive.¹⁶²

There is, however, one area in which archaeology has been instructive: the sports armor of the legionary horsemen. The legionary cavalry, like their colleagues in the auxiliaries, took part in special cavalry games, the *hippika gymnasia*, as part of their training. These games are described in detail in the *Taktika* of Flavius Arrianus, the historian of Alexander the Great who was also a Roman commander and provincial governor.¹⁶³

A large amount of sports armor has been found, some of it from legionary camps, although, as noted above, the find spot cannot be taken as proof positive of the unit of the owner.¹⁶⁴ The most spectacular finds are the sports helmets which were fitted with an ornamental, but protective, mask. Unfortunately none of those found, even in legionary fortresses, can be definitively

¹⁶²Maxfield 1986, 59-72.

¹⁶³The best discussion of the *Taktika* is the commentary of Kiechle 1964, 87-129. The cavalry games and the training grounds of the Roman cavalry are described by Davies 1989b, 93-123.

¹⁶⁴The best collection of sports armor is the catalog by Garbsch 1978.

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ascribed to a legionary horsemen, although they must certainly have had them as part of their panoply.

Several pieces can, by means of their inscription or design, be shown to be part of the equipment of legionary horsemen. There are two plaques which were affixed to the soldier's cuirass. One has the letters GEM which should be expanded to *gemina*, 'the twin,' the title of the *legio X Gemina* which was stationed in the general vicinity of the find spot of the armor.¹⁶⁵ A second plaque has the names of the owners inscribed who identify themselves by their century, or company; only legionary horsemen were in companies -- auxiliaries were in squadrons (*turmae*).¹⁶⁶ Several other plaques have animal symbols which served as totem emblems of the legions, often associated with the creation of the unit.¹⁶⁷ There is also an ornate shield boss from Iran which belonged to a member of the legionary horsemen.¹⁶⁸ This can be

¹⁶⁵Garbsch 1978, P7. Brief introductions to legionary titles are found in Parker 1928, 261-271 and Keppie 1984, 205-212.

¹⁶⁶Garbsch 1978, P23.

¹⁶⁷Garbsch 1978, 31f.

¹⁶⁸Garbsch 1978, R7.

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determined from the inscription borne on the boss which mentions the century of the owner.

Finally, there is a literary reference to the equipment of the *equites legionis*. There is an inscription from the *adlocutio*, or address to the soldiers, of the emperor Hadrian to *legio III Augusta* (107) in which the emperor congratulates the legionary horsemen on their fine performance of an *exercitatio*, or military exercise. Not all of the troops reviewed by Hadrian were so well received; an unnamed unit under a prefect called Cornelianus did not please the emperor.¹⁶⁹ The soldiers hurled their spears while wearing armor of some type (*ut loricati iaculationem perageratis* -- 'armored you performed the hurling of the spear'). This exercise might be identified with the *iaculatio petrina* of Arrian's *Taktika*.¹⁷⁰ If the identification

¹⁶⁹8.18042 Cb=ILS 2487: *contrari discursus non placent mih[i]*... Arrian twice in the *Taktika* noted that soldiers should be praised or chastised according to their performance: 38.4-5 and 43.5.

¹⁷⁰The ἄκοντισμὸς ὁ πέτρινος of *Taktika* 37.4. So identified by S. Dehner, *Hadriani Reliquiae I* (Diss. Bonn, 1883), 14 (*non vidi*). This identification which is based on the difficulty of the manoeuver is not certain. Arrian said that the ἄκοντισμὸς ὁ πέτρινος was πάντων χαλεπώτατος, 'the most difficult of all' which seems to be echoed in Hadrian's *difficil[ium fecisti]*; see the commentary on the *Taktika* in Kiechle 1964, 96.

with Arrian's *iaculatio petrina* is correct, the term *loricatus* could possibly mean that the troopers wore not only their normal mail shirt, but also the colorful Cimmerian linen armor associated with the *hippika gymnasia*. Certainly such ``dress uniforms'' would be appropriate for an exercise put on before the emperor himself.

10. Religion

The legionary horsemen, like all Roman soldiers, worshipped a variety of deities. The gods and goddesses of the *equites legionis* ranged from the supreme divinity of the Roman state, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus¹⁷¹ to purely local cults such as the Matronae, 'the Mother Goddesses.'¹⁷² with a number of diverse deities in between the two.¹⁷³ One of the most common religious dedications is tied to Roman funeral practices, i.e., the dedications to the Dis Manibus, the Gods Below.¹⁷⁴

A number of scholarly studies have been devoted entirely to the religion of the Roman army and so there is no need to deal with the religion of the army as a whole.¹⁷⁵ Instead, it seems more useful to look at those

¹⁷¹28, 29 and 88.

¹⁷²21.

¹⁷³Gods and goddesses honored by the legionary cavalry: Atargatis (Dea Syria) - 87; Ascallacanus - 74; Bonus Eventus - 22; the Campestrēs - 56; Diana Regina - 73; Epona Augusta - 59; Fortuna Augusta - 104; Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Helipolitanus - 83; Mars Augustus - 60.

¹⁷⁴2, 8, 19, 38, 43, 52, 55, 57, 67, 75, 78, 80, 99, 105, 112 and 113. The formulae remained in use into the fourth century: 118 and 119.

¹⁷⁵The standard work on the religion of the Roman army must remain Domaszewski 1972b, 83-204. This basic work is brought up to date by Birley 1988e, 397-432. The official religion of the Roman army is discussed by Nock 1952, 187-252.

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deities which had some particular importance to the legionary horsemen as a whole, viz., the deities of their training grounds and mounts, the *Campestres*, *Epona*, and *Mars Augustus*.

The main deities associated with the training grounds of cavalry units were the *Campestres* or *Matres Campestres*. These divinities were of Celtic origin, probably introduced into the Roman army by the large numbers of Gallic horsemen who served in the Roman army during the late republic and early empire.¹⁷⁶ It was once thought that the *Campestres* were a cult of the auxiliary horsemen only, with *Mars Campester* serving as the tutelary deity of the *campus* of citizen troops.¹⁷⁷

There is, however, an inscription from *Brigetio*, *Pannonia Superior*, in which *M. Ulpus Rufus*, an *eques legionis* of *legio I Adiutrix*, honors the *Campestres*. This inscription dispels the contention that the *Campestres* were limited to the troopers who served in the auxiliary regiments.

¹⁷⁶Domaszewski 1972b, 131.

¹⁷⁷Domaszewski 1972b, 131f.

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This dedication to the *Campestres* raises some interesting questions. First, there is an inscription also from *Brigetio* which was dedicated to the *Campestres* by a *tribunus laticlavus* of the same legion. The connection between this tribune and the goddesses of the *campus* has generated at least two divergent interpretations. First, that there was some association between this tribune and the legionary horsemen; the most likely connection is that the tribunes oversaw the horsemen's training exercises.¹⁷⁸ A second interpretation is that senatorial and equestrian officers were mounted and that as a senator, the tribune possessed a horse, hence his dedication to divinities associated with horsemen.¹⁷⁹ This second explication seems rather weak. The *Campestres* are usually venerated by cavalrymen, or men associated in some way with cavalry units,¹⁸⁰ not simply men who are mounted on horseback; such a man might better honor *Epona*, the Celtic horse-goddess.

¹⁷⁸See *supra*, s.v. The Commander of the *Equites Legionis*, esp. note 61.

¹⁷⁹Birley 1988e, 420.

¹⁸⁰For the *Campestres* and cavalrymen see Speidel 1968, 55ff. and 73 and Birley 1988f, 433-435.

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Second, there are several inscriptions of legionary centurions or from legionary camps which are dedicated to the *Campestres*. The two inscriptions from legionary camps are from Aquincum in Pannonia Superior¹⁸¹ and from Lambaesis in Numidia.¹⁸² While the ranks of the dedicators are not preserved, the connection of the *Campestres* with cavalrymen and their presence at a legionary fortress argues for them being connected with the *equites legionis*.

There are three inscriptions erected by centurions in honor of the *Campestres* which may bear on the legionary horsemen. The first was dedicated at Auchendavy on the Antonine Wall by M. Cocceius Firmus, a centurion of *legio II Augusta*.¹⁸³ The second inscription was found at Rome and was set up by L. Aurelius Quintus of *legio VII Gemina*.¹⁸⁴ The third monument is from

¹⁸¹_{3.3667.}

¹⁸²_{8.10760.}

¹⁸³RIB 2177. See the discussion in Birley 1953, esp. 98-102.

¹⁸⁴ILS 4776=6.768.

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Numidia and belonged to L. Aurelius Maximus, presumed to be a centurion of *legio III Augusta*.¹⁸⁵

Why did these three men, none of whom are attested in any explicit connection with the cavalry, honor the *Campestres*? E. Birley has put forth an explanation: all three of these centurions served previously in the emperors' horseguards, the *equites singulares Augusti*.¹⁸⁶ The argument for Cocceius Firmus is based upon the large number, origins, and names of the deities mentioned, while that for Aurelius Quintus is based upon the find spot in the capital. No solid evidence is adduced for the third man.

One other possibility may, however, be submitted, i.e., that these legionary centurions were former commanders of the legionary cavalry. Although this suggestion has no direct support, it needs to be considered, if only in the case of Aurelius Maximus where neither the combination of deities (as with Cocceius Firmus) nor a find spot (as with Aurelius Quintus) can be

¹⁸⁵ILS 3157=8.2635. Birley 1988f postulated the rank of the man as a centurion in that legion: 435, n. 10.

¹⁸⁶For the case of Cocceius Firmus, see Birley 1953, 98-102 and Birley 1988f, 435; for Aurelius Quintus and Aurelius Maximus, Birley 1988f, 435

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used to argue for previous service in the imperial horseguards.

There is only one dedication to Epona, the protectress of horses and the skills associated with them. Epona, although of Celtic origin, became a common divinity throughout the Roman army in the western provinces.¹⁸⁷ In other inscriptions, Epona is occasionally found along with the *Campestres*.¹⁸⁸

There is also an inscription of a legionary *exercitator*, a riding master, which honors Mars Augustus. This deity may be the same as Mars Campester, the god of the exercise field, as the dedication is made by a training officer.¹⁸⁹ Mars, as a god of war, is a reasonable divinity for those concerned with military training to invoke.

The legionary horsemen also had a religious life as a group, making offerings on behalf the unit as a whole. In A.D. 231 the horsemen of *legio XXII Primigenia* made a dedication to *Bonus Eventus*, good fortune.¹⁹⁰ *Bonus*

¹⁸⁷See the discussion by Speidel 1968, 73f.

¹⁸⁸E.g., ILS 2417=3.7904, 3.11909.

¹⁸⁹Domaszewski 1972b, 116f.

¹⁹⁰22.

Eventus is representative of a host of tutelary deities such as *Fortuna*, *Tutela*, and *Hercules* (*Sanctus* and *Centuriae*); these various deities seem to have been united with the *Genius* of the unit in the role of protector.¹⁹¹ The presence of a protective deity and a *Genius* indicates that the *equites legionis* saw themselves as a distinct subunit within the legion, like a *centuria* or a *cohors* or at least as a *collegium* or *schola* of men of like rank.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹See Speidel 1989a, 359-364.

¹⁹²For the *Genii* of the Roman army, see Domaszewski 1972b, 175-190, and, more recently, Speidel 1984f, 353-368.

11. The Role of the *Equites Legionis*

The importance of the functions and role performed by the legionary horsemen has often been denigrated by scholars. One scholar has made the following comment on the legionary horsemen: ``These men were citizens, but they were by no means citizen cavalry.''¹⁹³ An eminent English historian of the Roman army went so far as to explain the dearth of *monumenta* for the legionary horsemen as a consequence of the legionary horsemen's unimportance.¹⁹⁴

The main duty of the legionary horsemen, no doubt because of their relatively small number (120 troopers), has therefore been seen as one of communications, although other functions have been acknowledged.¹⁹⁵ This purpose has been inferred from a dubious passage in Livy,¹⁹⁶ presumably based on the episode in which young Ti. Sempronius Gracchus is sent by L. Scipio to king Philip of Macedon (190 B.C.). This passage is suspect if

¹⁹³Bishop 1988, 112f.

¹⁹⁴Parker 1932, 141.

¹⁹⁵See, for example, Breeze 1969, 55. Breeze, however, notes that they did form a battlefield unit, sometimes acting in concert with the auxiliary cavalry units. A comment on their numerical insignificance is to be found in Parker 1932, 141.

¹⁹⁶37.7.

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for no other reason than that it discusses a republican aristocrat, rather than an imperial *eques legionis*. Moreover, this was a special mission, not a common duty, even for the republican horsemen.

This is not, however, to deny that courier duties were among the tasks assigned to the legionary horsemen, but only to point out that the oft-cited passage in Livy does not constitute proof. There is, however, a papyrus which does seem to show that messenger-duties were assigned to the *equites legionis*.¹⁹⁷ In this papyrus an officer discharges, ἀπόλυσεν, a legionary horseman. The trooper was also a *beneficiarius praefecti*, either of the legionary prefect or of some regional military officer, and was apparently detailed as a messenger.¹⁹⁸

The equipment, training and careers of the legionary horsemen argue that other functions were at least equally important as communications tasks. It seems that the battlefield role of the legionary horsemen must be reevaluated: the *equites legionis* were elite troopers

¹⁹⁷96 as edited by Speidel 1986a, 167f. with his commentary on the papyrus.

¹⁹⁸Speidel 1986a, 167f.

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who probably formed the guard unit of the legionary legate.¹⁹⁹

There is an excellent example of the legionary horsemen in battle from which we are provided with some evidence of their elite nature.²⁰⁰ In a battle with the Frisians the governor of Lower Germany, L. Apronius, tried to attack the Germans by sending an *ala* to outflank them. When this cavalry regiment ran into difficulties, Apronius sent in the legionary horsemen as a reserve (*subsidium*). The number of legionary horsemen must have been somewhere between 120 and 960 men. If the contingents of all eight of the German legions were present the horsemen would be as strong as two full *alae*. If but one legion's troopers were present, they would be a rather weak unit. In either case, they could not restore the situation. Apronius then sent in three more waves of reinforcements: three auxiliary cohorts, two additional units of auxiliary foot and finally more horsemen from the *alae*. The piecemeal commitment of the

¹⁹⁹The elite status of the legionary horsemen was long ago recognized by Besnier 1899, 236, but this opinion has subsequently been obscured by the legionary cavalry as a corps of messengers. Certainly the legionary troopers could be used in such a capacity, but need not be limited to those duties.

²⁰⁰20.

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reinforcing troops did no good and the situation was only restored by impetuous charge of a legion.

The question here is what do we learn from this passage about the status of legionary horsemen. First, that Tacitus called the legionary horsemen a reserve, *subsidium*, which may imply elite rank. Vegetius (3.6) mentions the importance of reserves (*subsidia*) on the march, apparently composed of *lectissimi equites* (*equites singulares* and, perhaps, *equites legionis*?) supported by light troops and archers. Later (3.17-18) Vegetius talks about the importance of a reserve composed of *superflui* or *supernumerarii*, possibly *singulares*, to stand near the general.²⁰¹ The best known example of a reserve of elite troops comes from Arrian's campaign against the Alans in A. D. 135 where that governor held near him a sizeable reserve of *singulares* and legionary foot guards.²⁰²

If Roman battlefield reserves were often formed from the best troops available, which was and still is common military practice, Apronius most likely considered his legionary horsemen to be among his most select troops. This would also help to explain why they were committed

²⁰¹Cf. Speidel 1978, 48, n.268.

²⁰²Arrian, *Ekt.* 22-23.

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so early into the fray; if any unit could restore the situation would it not be the crack soldiers of the reserve? This last point cannot, however, be argued too vigorously. One might also postulate that the early commitment of the legionary horse and the random deployment of units ending with the attack of the *robor* of the Roman army, a legion, makes the legionary cavalry an expendable commodity. This, though, would seem to fly in the face of standard Roman, almost universal, military practice concerning the composition of reserves.

As has been discussed above, the depictions of the arms and armor of the legionary horsemen shows that they were identical with those of the battle cavalry of the imperial army, the cavalymen of the *alae*. The tombstones of the *equites legionis* also showed the troopers to be victorious in battle over a defeated enemy.²⁰³ The equipment and combat scenes on funeral monuments prove that the legionary horsemen had an active role in military operations.

Military regalia represented on the reliefs of the *equites legionis* likewise point to their battlefield duties, especially their military decorations, the *dona*

²⁰³For the rider-relief, see Schleiermacher 1984, 60-65.

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militaria. No fewer than eight legionary horsemen were awarded various military decorations.²⁰⁴ One legionary horseman is known to have perished in battle.²⁰⁵

Realistic training exercises for warfare were a concern for the units of the Roman army: Josephus goes so far as to say their exercises were battle arrays without bloodshed and their battle arrays were exercises with bloodshed.²⁰⁶ This seems to have been the case with the legionary horse just as with other battlefield units of the Roman army.

Hadrian's address to the *equites legionis* of *legio III Augusta* (107) praises one such exercise, possibly the *iaculatio petrina* of Arrian's *Taktika*.²⁰⁷ The significant role of such training for the legionary horsemen is reinforced by the finds of cavalry ``sports'' armor used

²⁰⁴Seven are listed by V. A. Maxfield 1981, 213-217, esp. 216f. The eighth trooper was only recently published by G. Frenz 1985, K119 (36), along with the comments of Speidel 1990.

²⁰⁵47.

²⁰⁶BI 3.76-77.

²⁰⁷See above 41f.

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on the parade ground.²⁰⁸ The military exercises and the *hippika gymnasia* of the legionary cavalry, with the troopers in their sports armor and, probably, brightly colored tunics, must have presented the same pageantry as the exercises of the auxiliary regiments described by Arrian.²⁰⁹ Indeed, the legionary troopers must have been trained in the same methods of manoeuver and to the same degree of proficiency as on one occasion *equites legionis* and *equites alares* fought together.²¹⁰

The presence of riding masters and arms instructors further illustrates the high quality of martial training given to the units of legionary horsemen. The legionary horsemen had a number of training officers such as the *exercitator*, *magister equitum* and *magister kampi*. Some of these men, such as the *exercitator* and *magister equitum* were of high rank, probably centurions. Training officers of high rank are attested in both the imperial and provincial guard cavalry units.²¹¹

²⁰⁸See *supra*, s.v. Arms and Armor.

²⁰⁹*Taktika* 32.3-44.3.

²¹⁰20.

²¹¹Speidel 1978, 28ff.

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The *equites legionis* then seem to rank as a guard unit. This ranking is reinforced by an episode during the civil wars of A. D. 68-69. The legate of *legio I*, Fabius Valens, entered Cologne with his legionary horse as well as a body of auxiliary troopers (15). Certainly the legionary contingent was not included for its size; a single quingenary *ala* was at least four times the size of the legionary troop. The legionaries then must have been chosen for another reason, such as loyalty; they were, in effect, the legate's guard unit.

It has been known for some time that each legate, like many officers in the army, had bodyguards (*singulares*) attached to his staff.²¹² These guards, who ranked higher than the *equites legionis*, cannot have been as numerous. The *singulares* should probably be considered as a personal guard as opposed to a guard unit perhaps analogous to the *stratores* (bodyguards) and *singulares consularis* (guard regiment) of a provincial governor.²¹³

The ranking of the *equites legionis* among the various guard units of the Roman army would explain their

²¹²75 and Speidel 1984d, 175-179.

²¹³Speidel 1978, 132f.

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promotions to the various auxiliary regiments as officers.²¹⁴ Members of the guard units were often farmed out to the various units of the line. The purpose of this system of transfers was to provide the regular line troops with the same level of elan and quality of training as in the elite guard units.²¹⁵

One final consideration concerning the status of the legionary cavalry is as a squadron of guards for the commander. It was common in the Roman military for guard units to either be released for service among the line units or retain their elite ranking and become a mobile reserve for the army. As examples of the former phenomenon, there are the various *alae singularium* and the third century *stablesiani* regiments formed from the provincial and legionary guards respectively.²¹⁶ Similarly, a mobile reserve was formed from the mounted contingents of the guard at Rome.²¹⁷

²¹⁴*Supra*, s.v. Promotion and Careers.

²¹⁵See Speidel 1978, 51f and Birley 1988d, 326f.

²¹⁶*Alae singularium*: Speidel 1978, 54-66;
Stablesiani: Speidel 1984g, 391-396.

²¹⁷Speidel 1987b, 375-379.

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We see the same forces at work on the *equites legionis* during the third century. The crisis of the third century saw the legionary cavalry force greatly increased in number. As mobile guard units, the legionary horsemen, now styled *equites promoti*, or at least a portion of them were so called, could be spared for service elsewhere. We therefore have the formation of a number of *promoti* regiments in the later Roman army.

CHAPTER III: THE *EQUITES PROMOTI*

1. The Origins of the *Equites Promoti*

The latter part of the second century A.D. and the majority of the third century A.D. was to be an age of great change for the Roman empire. With the end of the Antonine dynasty in the last quarter of the second century A.D., the Roman empire in general and the Roman army in particular began to experience the first signs of stress from a variety of sources: political failures, economic woes and military disasters. The situation was greatly exacerbated in the second quarter of the third century A.D. after a brief period of resurgence under the Severan dynasty. Indeed, the middle years of the third century were to prove themselves to be an age of both great crisis and, after a number of reforms under several "barracks emperors, of recovery; the third century would culminate with the unquestioned end of the political system known as the principate and the establishment of an autocratic form of government known as the dominate.

One of the responses made by the Roman army to the ever changing military situation of the third century was the well known increase in the number and quality of the Roman cavalry forces, who were called *equites*, which is

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generally attributed to the emperors Gallienus and Aurelianus.¹ The units which formed this new mobile cavalry force were raised from several sources such as the ethnic *nationes* who had long been raised by the Romans for their special fighting talents² and various guard units of the emperor's household and provincial armies.³

¹Various aspects of the introduction of Gallienus' "Battle Cavalry" are discussed by Grosse 1920, 15-18; Alföldy 1927, 197-212; Hoffmann 1967, 247-57; Speidel 1984c, 117-148.

²The basic discussion remains Speidel 1984c. The Romans respected the raw martial skills which the tribes outside the empire possessed, as the barbarians were inculcated with weapons' handling and equestrian abilities from childhood onward; see Tacitus' comments in Germ. 32.

³Most of the guard units appear to have been transformed into elite line units which from the third century onward provided the nucleus of the mobile field armies. For example, the imperial guard provided a number of units to the field army: the mounted *equites praetoriani* and the *equites singulares Augusti* became the *comites dominorum nostrorum* and the *equites promoti dominorum nostrorum* respectively; the *lanciararii* and *protectores* of the guard also took on lives of their own as independent units. The origins of the *comites dominorum nostrorum* and the *equites promoti dominorum nostrorum* are discussed by Hoffmann 1967, 243-246, while the question of the guard as a whole acting as a nucleus for the new field army is taken up by Speidel 1987b, 375-379.

The provincial guards had long since provided new regiments of the line since they were often the only troops in a given province who, since they served at the capital rather than a frontier outpost, could be spared

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The creation of a new breed of legionary horsemen, the *equites promoti* or "promoted horsemen," who were both increased in number and who could be sent off as independent units, should probably be seen in the context of the transformation of guard regiments. As has been argued briefly in the last chapter, since the *equites legionis* served as the legionary legate's guard unit, and as such were trained to a higher standard than regular soldiers, they were caught up in this third century phenomenon of expanding the numbers and role of elite units.

The *equites promoti* existed in two distinct contexts, i.e., those who remained true legionary horsemen attached to their parent unit and those who formed into separate independent regiments. These two groups of *promoti* were once thought not to have existed simultaneously, but that the independent elements were created by Gallienus, returned to their parent legions by

for service abroad. Thus, the governors' auxiliary guards, the *singulares*, are known to have supplied cadres for no fewer than six line units; see Speidel 1978, 54-66. A third century example of this phenomenon is the creation of a number of cavalry regiments of *Stablesiani* who can now be shown to have been raised from the governors' legionary guards: Speidel 1984g, 391-396.

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Diocletian and finally detached to form separate regiments during the reign of Constantine.⁴

This thesis has not, however, received universal acceptance. Although the last attested documentary evidence for true legionary horsemen attached to their parent unit dates to the year A.D. 320,⁵ this does not preclude their existence down to a much later date. This is especially true given the severe shortage of evidence for the *equites promoti* specifically, and the late Roman army in general.

In fact, there is a piece of evidence which points to legionary cavalry surviving well into the sixth century; an unpublished inscription from Perge in Asia Minor records the composition of a Byzantine infantry "legion" which includes a small number of *veredarii*. This term is usually applied to a light horseman (from *veredus*, a swift hunting horse).⁶ If these *veredarii* are

⁴Parker 1932, 144.

⁵Bagnall and Lewis 1979, #188 (123).

⁶Pannonian *veredarii* appear as early as the middle of the second century in Hyginus' *De munitionibus castrorum*, (for this date, which is disputed, see Birley 1988a, 53-57).

One tantalizing suggestion is that these 800 Pannonii *veredarii* are actually the legionary horsemen of the three Pannonian legions in the army described by

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indeed descendants of the *equites legionis*, it would push forward the date for the existence of legionary horsemen nearly three centuries.

But even without the Perge inscription there is reason to believe that legionary horsemen continued to serve with their infantry companions. There is an attestation of horsemen still attached to a legion which mentions an *aeq(ues) ex numero lanciar(i)orum* who served in an *ischola aequitum*.⁷ It was once believed that this man was a legionary horseman serving in a *legio lanciariorum*.⁸ More recently it was shown that the trooper was from an ad hoc unit of *lanciararii* formed from the *lanciararii* detachments of various Danubian legions.⁹

Hyginus. This would explain why Hyginus does not otherwise mention the *equites legionis*, which has long perplexed scholars, and would provide a more gradual increase in the number of legionary cavalry: Josephus' 120, followed by Hyginus' 265 or so and culminating with Vegetius' 726. Unfortunately, as there is not direct connection between the terms *eques legionis* and *veredarius* this must remain in the realm of conjecture.

⁷118.

⁸Mommsen 1889, 230f.

⁹See Hoffmann 1967, 218-222, esp. 220.

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In any event, this inscription would then still record special lancea-armed horsemen among the *lanciararii*.¹⁰

It has been suggested that Diocletian never reattached the *promoti* to their legions, but rather the few instances we have where the *promoti* give their parent unit occur when the infantry and cavalry serve in the same province. The reason for this is that legionary detachments would often return to the units from which they originated, and so the administrative bonds remained quite strong. The horsemen would thus only be described in terms other than by the designation of their legion when they had left the province in which the infantry were stationed.¹¹ The various units of *equites promoti* who are mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* then represent detachments of legionary horsemen which have left their parent province and legion and have in effect become independent units requiring a name and designation of their own.

¹⁰cf. the position of mounted *lanciararius* held by Aurelius Gaius Secundus (120).

¹¹Speidel 1984c, 137.

2. Numbers and Unit Organization

Our main source for the numbers and, to some extent, the organization of the legionary horsemen after the third century reforms is the military manual of Vegetius. In a famous passage Vegetius (2.6) describes the organization and strength of the *antiqua legio*, i.e., the legion from the time of Diocletian.

The legion from the time of Diocletian shows a dramatic increase in the number of legionary horsemen. By this time the full strength complement of *equites promoti* was 726 troopers, not the 730 given by Vegetius (unless Vegetius is including some unmentioned group of officers or staff members which is unlikely). This large number, more than six times the number of *equites legionis* of the high empire, shows the new emphasis placed on cavalry forces in general, and the legionary horsemen in particular during the age of imperial crisis and recovery.

As was discussed above, not all of the legionary troopers could be expected to remain with their parent unit; some would be detached for service either within their own province or even in some distant theater of war. The "book strength" of *equites promoti* was often reduced, sometimes substantially, by detaching troops for

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service elsewhere as well as by common forms of attrition.

There is a papyrus which illustrates the lower number of legionary horsemen. The document, from early A.D. 300, records the salaries and donatives paid to various corps of troops.¹² Included among these units are the *equites promoti* of *legio II Traiana*.¹³ In his great work on the later Roman empire A. H. M. Jones calculated from the amount of the donatives that the number of *promoti* was 149 horsemen; more recently A. K. Bowman has revised the number to an even lower strength of approximately 78 troopers.¹⁴

There is no direct evidence for the strength of a regiment of *equites promoti* which had become an independent unit. It is reasonable to assume that they were the same strength as most other *vexillationes*, or regiments of horse. Common wisdom holds that such units were generally five hundred men strong.¹⁵ It should be

¹²121.

¹³Lines 204ff.

¹⁴Jones 1986, n.31, 1257ff. and Bowman 1978, 31.

¹⁵Grosse 1920, 49ff., esp. 51, based on a comment by Lydus *de mag.* 1.46.

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pointed out, however, that a *vexillatio* of *equites promoti* need not have been formed from a single legion;¹⁶ such a detachment of some five hundred troopers might have totally exhausted the cavalry contingent of an individual legion. Rather, a number of units might have contributed horsemen, often of a given specialization, to form a new cavalry regiment. One such case would be the *equites promoti clibanarii* who were most likely formed from the *clibanarii* of several legions within a province as these special horsemen would form only a portion of the troopers in the unit.¹⁷

¹⁶Cf. the comments by Grosse 1920, 50., who saw a precise correspondence between the number of *vexillationes* and legions, not limited, however, to the units styled *promoti*.

¹⁷The practice of forming troops armed in the same fashion into a new ad hoc unit can be traced back to the early Flavian period. There is an inscription (3.13483a=ILS 9168) which records a *vexil(latio) sagit(tariorum) exer(citus) Syriaci*. This document is particularly instructive in that it shows that a group of weapons specialists, in this case archers, from the *cohors II Italica c. R.*, which was not apparently *sagittaria*, were combined with men of a similar ilk for a specific purpose. The same can be said about the creation of units of armored horsemen, who began as specialists within regular units and who were then combined into ad hoc units which took on a life of their own. See the comments for armored cavalry units by Speidel 1984i, 151-156, esp. 154f.

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What we know of the internal organization of the *equites promoti* is likewise based upon Vegetius' description of the Diocletianic legion (2.6). It was once believed that Vegetius later (2.14) described these horsemen as formed in *turmae*.¹⁸ But as has been shown in the last chapter, they are horsemen of the *alae* rather than legionary troopers; moreover, there is plenty of evidence, such as the presence of *centuriones* rather than *decuriones*, to argue that they were not organized in proper *turmae*. Rather they were attached to a century for administrative purposes and were formed into *turma*-like units for their various tactical evolutions.¹⁹

The *antiqua legio* has a rather different organization for the legionary cavalry. According to 2.6 the horsemen were divided into ten units, each of which formed part of one of the cohorts of the legion. Cohort I, which was to be double strength, possessed a unit of one hundred thirty-two troopers while cohorts II-X were each provided with a troop of sixty-six horsemen.

Vegetius thus implies that by the time of Diocletian, the legionary cavalry were part of the

¹⁸For example, Parker 1932, 141f.

¹⁹Chapter 1, s.v. "Unit Organization."

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individual cohorts. This connection with the cohorts is made explicitly in a subsequent passage:

Thus the legionary horsemen respect their own cohorts by means of the love of military companionship, although horsemen are naturally accustomed to differ from infantrymen. Therefore through this connection a single union was preserved both of all the cohorts and of the infantry and cavalry within the legions. (2.21)

While the horsemen were attached, this was probably administrative; the cavalry troopers would still have required a separate tactical organization. It is not surprising, therefore, that the number of horsemen attached to the cohorts is equivalent to four *turmae* for cohort I and two *turmae* for cohorts II-X; but, as we have already seen for the *equites legionis*, these need not represent proper *turmae*, only similar-sized tactical units.²⁰

There is one last bit of information which seems to provide a tantalizing glimpse as to how weapons specialists within a unit were organized. Vegetius (2.6) notes that the one hundred thirty-two cavalrymen attached to cohort I are *loricati*, armored, while the remaining troopers are simply called *equites*. At first glance, it might appear that the armor of the entire group was

²⁰See Parker 1932, 141 and Chapter 1, s.v. Unit Organization.

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listed with the first detachment of legionary horsemen, and thus the entire body of *equites promoti* were considered to be armored.

An investigation of Vegetius' use of *loricatus* when describing horsemen, however, shows that the term appears to be a technical one. In the chapters on the disposition of horsemen in battle (3.16) and the use of reserves (3.17), Vegetius couples the *loricati* with *contati*, lancers, and calls them *equites fortiores*, the more courageous horsemen.

It seems unlikely that Vegetius would find the need to specify regular horsemen as armored since all Roman cavalrymen wore some form of metallic body armor.²¹ The special note of their armor and the use in conjunction with weapons specialists, the lancers, implies that these troopers too were distinctively equipped; i.e., their armor must have been unusually heavy. We would thus have in Vegetius' *loricati* and *contati* units of *catafractarii* (*catafractarii clibanarii*)²² and *contarii* respectively; troopers of both types could be considered *equites*

²¹See Chapter 1, s.v. Arms and Armor and *infra*, s.v. Arms and Armor. Contra Eadie 1967.

²²On the distinction, see Speidel 1984i, 153f.

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fortiores since they were originally elite horsemen within their units.

These two types of horseman, the heavily mailed *catafractarius clibanarius* and the *contarius*, are attested for the *equites promoti*.²³ If, as has been suggested, Vegetius used the term *loricatus* in a technical way when referring to cavalry, then the *loricati* attached to the first cohort were the elite troopers of the *equites promoti*. Thus, the heavily mailed and lance-armed horsemen were formed into special squadrons and troops to spearhead attacks.

²³*Catafractarii clibanarii*: Not. Dig. Or. 7.31; *contarius*: 123.

3. Officers

Of the various topics concerning the later Roman legionary horsemen about which there is sufficient information for discussion, the officers and command structure of the *equites promoti* are the most problematic. One reason is the paucity of evidence for these legionary cavalrymen in general, but specifically with respect to the command structure and officers. In the case of numbers and organization of the *promoti*, there exists not only the few, albeit important, pieces of documentary evidence, but also the elucidating comments of Vegetius. His *epitoma rei militaris* is, regrettably, silent on their officers. Likewise the stone reliefs of later legionary horsemen coupled with stray documentary references provide a clearer picture of the arms and armor of the troopers, but, unfortunately, there are no such sources for the officers and ranks of the *equites promoti*.

The situation is further complicated by the new rank structure of the later imperial army. During the late empire many new ranks were created to fill positions in the recently reorganized army and a number of the older ranks either changed their name or function to accommodate the command structure of both the newly created and reformed units of the field army.

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These problems concerning the officers and their place in the chain of command are not unique to the late Roman legionary horsemen, but rather pertain to the whole of the army. Such a dearth of material and the associated problems are the most likely culprits for the fact that no recent scholar has attempted a comprehensive study of the *Rangordnung* of the later imperial army.²⁴

The situation is not totally without hope, though, since the limited evidence does provide a few glimpses into the officer corps of the *equites promoti*. What follows is an attempt to reconstruct their command structure.

A. The Commander of the *Equites Promoti*

Despite the dearth of references, we are rather fortunate to have some good information about the commander of the late Roman legionary cavalry. Three separate sources record men who can be identified as the commanders of units of *promoti*.

The first piece of evidence is an inscription from the city of Rome discovered in the early part of this century (AE 1907, 143). The inscription mentions a *trebunus [equitum] promotorum* who must be the commander

²⁴The most complete study of the officers and ranks of the late period remains that by Grosse 1920, 107-198, now some seventy years old.

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of a unit of *promoti*. The rank of tribune is a very common one for commanders of all types of units in the later Roman imperial army both those which formed part of the field army as well as the frontier troops.²⁵ This rank was generally the highest in the late Roman *Rangordnung*.

There is some doubt, however, as to whether this particular inscription is indeed pertinent to those units of *equites promoti* which were descended from the legionary horsemen; this particular unit of *promoti* may be, based upon the find spot of the inscription, the *equites promoti dominorum nostrorum* who were created not from legionary squadrons, but rather from the *equites praetoriani*.²⁶

From this inscription alone, it can not be argued with absolute certainty that those regiments of *promoti* raised from legionary troopers were commanded by a tribune rather than some other officer. Yet it does,

²⁵See Grosse 1920, 145-150.

²⁶See Speidel 1987b, 375. It is certainly these *equites promoti dd.nn.* whose tribune, Bappo, is mentioned in the context of other guard units including the *comites* by Ammianus Marcellinus (15.4.10).

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based on the widespread use of this rank as unit commander, seem likely.²⁷

The next rank which can be identified with the command of the *promoti* is that of *praepositus*. Three papyri attest the existence of *praepositi* as unit commanders.²⁸ These papyri record *praepositi* as commanders of detachments of the horsemen of *legio II Traiana* at Tentyra and Asphynis.

The *praepositus*, who often served as a unit commander, ranked beneath the tribune; the *praepositi* of the late empire, like the *praepositi* of the high empire, seem to have been men who filled temporary posts or commanded detachments.²⁹ If there was in fact a tribune for the legionary *promoti*, he would have been the officer for the entire unit while detachments would have been under *praepositi*, who may well have been centurions.

B. Other Officers

²⁷Grosse 1920, 145-150.

²⁸121, 197 and 205; 122, 1-2; 123, 2

²⁹For the late Roman *praepositus*, see Grosse 1920, 143ff. The relationship and posts of the *praepositus* are explained in terms of an inscription from Hissarlik by Mommsen 1882, 523-544.

Officers

Under the late empire, the association of centurions with the legionary cavalry continued. There are two papyrological references to centurions associated with the *promoti*.³⁰

The first papyrus³¹ is a will of a centurion of the legionary horsemen of *legio II Traiana* in which no fewer than six centurions are attested as witnesses and who can be identified as members of the same *equites promoti legionis II Traianae* by the use of συγκολλήγας, "colleague," i.e., member of the same unit and with the same rank.

The second papyrus³² records a certain centurion named Maron to whom the disbursement of donatives was entrusted. He was aided by a regular horseman, *eques*, named Ammonius in this task. Interestingly, the same papyrus shows that a group of legionaries drawn from various eastern legions had their payment entrusted to a

³⁰123.1, 26-32; 121.203, 206.

³¹123.

³²121.

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centurion and a *signifer*³³ While this is negative evidence, it implies that the legionary *promoti* did not have a *signifer* to look after their accounts; it was after all the traditional task of the *signiferi* to look after the soldiers' deposits.

There is an inscription which also seems to mention a particularly high ranking centurion, a *ducenarius*.³⁴ Vegetius (2.8) tells us that the *ducenarii* were centurions who were in charge of 200 men, i.e., two *centuriae*, instead of the more usual 100 men (one *centuria*).³⁵

One last rank may be known for the later imperial *promoti*, the rank of *exarcus*, a commander of six troopers which seems to exist only for the cavalry.³⁶ The inscription which records this rank was found at Rome and mentions an *exarchus promotus dominicus*. The adjective *dominicus* as well as the find spot argue for the interpretation that this trooper belonged to the *equites*

³³121.195.

³⁴119.

³⁵Cf. Grosse 1920, 118f.

³⁶Grosse 1920, 109f.

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promoti dominorum nostrorum. Therefore, we can not be certain if legionary *promoti* had *exarchi*, but as with the tribune it seems likely.

Finally, the term *promotus* may itself denote an actual rank; the term does after all mean "promoted" or "advanced." Evidence of *promotus* as a rank comes from papyri from Hermopolis in Egypt dating from A.D. 347-348.³⁷ These papyri preserve two προμῶτοι Μοῦρων * σκυταρίων, where *promotus* clearly indicates the soldiers' rank within their unit.

³⁷P. Charite 6, 3 and 7, 3.

4. Arms and Armor

As has been discussed at the beginning of this chapter, cavalry from the third century onward played an increasingly important role in the defense of the empire. One aspect of these new cavalry units is that they possessed a much greater diversification of arms and armor than had been common previously. Just as with the troopers of the early empire, it appears that the later Roman legionary horsemen were armed and equipped in a manner similar to that of their colleagues in the line cavalry regiments; the *equites promoti* thus shared in the diversity of arms and equipment.

This variety of arms and armor among the legionary and other troopers of the later imperial should not, however, be seen as a new phenomenon of the third century (just as the creation of line units from guard units was not restricted to the third century exclusively). Rather equipment specialization in the Roman army merely came to fruition after a long period of evolution.

A. Excursus on Weapons Specialization

The Roman army of the imperial period is usually looked upon as a great monolithic structure with respect to arms and armor. This view by scholars begins with the reforms of C. Marius at the end of the first century B.C.

Marius incorporated the *capite censi* into the army, and the state began supplying weapons to these

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proletarians who were too poor to provide their own. The variations in equipment, which had been tied to the financial status of the owner, disappeared and by the early empire had become standardized.³⁸ The imperial Roman legions are described as uniformly equipped units of heavy infantry armed with the *pilum* or heavy javelin and *gladius* or short sword.³⁹

We see the same view of increasingly standardized weapons for the auxiliaries. The *auxilia* who were originally recruited from allied peoples fighting in their native fashion ceased to exist by the early empire; in their stead are units of auxiliaries uniformly equipped with light spears (*hastae*) and swords supported by a few units of archers. The auxiliary horsemen are organized into regiments mostly armed with the same light spears of the infantry and long Celtic swords (*spathae*) supported by a few units of lancers and mounted archers.⁴⁰

This view of the Roman army's high degree of standardization for weapons and armor is not restricted

³⁸See, for example, Keppie 1984, 64ff.

³⁹E.g., Webster 1985, 120-130, esp. 127ff.

⁴⁰For an example, see Cheesman 1914, 124-132.

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to modern scholars. A similar picture is painted by Tacitus, who although not a strong historian when it comes to military matters, talks of the *pilum* and *gladius* of the legionary and the *hasta* and *spatha* of the auxiliary.⁴¹

The rigid view of the *arma* of Roman army is not a totally accurate one. In fact, there are several pieces of evidence which show that the units of the Roman army were more varied than has previously been thought.

One of the best known examples of different weapons used in the same unit is the case of the legionaries in the *exercitus Cappadocicus* under Flavius Arrianus in A. D. 135. The legions were composed of equal numbers of *κοντοφόροι* (men armed with the *kontos*, the *pilum* and *λογχοφόροι* (men armed with the *lancea*, a light throwing spear).⁴² Arrian's purpose in the differing arms for his

⁴¹*Ann. et si auxiliaribus resisterent, gladiis ac pilis legioniorum, si huc veterent, spathis et hastis auxiliarum sternebantur.*

⁴²On the armament of Arrian's legionaries, especially the classification of the weapon of the *κοντοφόροι*, see Parker 1928, 251 and Kiechle 1964, 94 who identify the weapon as a *pilum*. Other scholars have seen other weapons: Bosworth 1977, 234 and 240-243 (pike -- Macedonian *sarissa*); Wheeler 1979, 311ff. and Wheeler 1977, 297-305 (thrusting spear -- *hasta*). Arrian's description of the soft iron head of the *kontos* makes the identification with the *pilum* the best interpretation, the arguments of Bosworth and Wheeler notwithstanding.

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legionaries was to provide a portion of them with a long range missile weapon, in this case the *lancea* of the λογχοφόροι, so that the legions, and their auxiliary support troops, can create a heavy barrage of missiles to stop the dangerous charge of the mailed horsemen of the Alani.⁴³

During the third century the legions may have received even more weapons specialists. Recent excavations at Apamea in Syria have yielded some interesting evidence for the *legio II Parthica*. Several weapons specialists can now be identified including legionary archers.⁴⁴ There is the continued presence of *lanciararii* as well as interesting troops known as *phalangarii*, troops who fought in a phalanx.

Arrian likewise supplies an example of an auxiliary infantry regiment which possessed troops of different types of weapons. The *cohors III Augusta Cyrenaica* sent a detachment to Arrian's army deployed against the

⁴³Arrian, *Ektaxis* §§25-26.

⁴⁴Balty 1988, 91-104, esp. 99-102.

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Alani.⁴⁵ In Arrian's battle line, two separate groups of Cyrenaicans are mentioned although they belong to but a single unit. The first group are 100 "hoplites," probably an allusion to a century, who are positioned to protect some of Arrian's lightly armed allies. The second group are archers who are deployed in the rear of the legionary phalanx (§18). The *cohors III Augusta Cyrenaica* must have consisted of both archers and the more conventional spear-armed troops (hoplites).

A similar situation is attested as far back as Flavian times. In the civil war of A.D. 68-69 there is an *optio* of *cohors II Italica c. R.* who is sent off to serve with a detachment of archers from the units in the Syrian army.⁴⁶ This has been taken to mean, rightly, that this unit, which is not *sagittaria*, contained at least a contingent of archers amongst its other troops.⁴⁷

The same process occurred in the regiments of auxiliary horsemen. An inscription from Gerulata in

⁴⁵For the identification of the unit, Ritterling 1902, 364. That the *cohors* sent only a detachment, see Arrian, *Ektaxis* §3.

⁴⁶3.13483a=ILS 9168.

⁴⁷Saxer 1967, 19f.

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Pannonia Inferior now shows that the *ala I Cannanefatium* had a portion of its troopers armed with the lance, i.e., were *contarii*.⁴⁸ Moreover, papyri from the third century record cataphracts, mailed horsemen, as part of units of regular horsemen.⁴⁹

The diverse weapons of the late Roman legionary horsemen and other troops is not, then, really new. Rather, the variety of differently-armed troops within a unit is simply the culmination of a process of weapons specialization in the Roman army.

B. Arms and Armor of the *Equites Promoti*

For the later legionary horsemen there is but one tombstone, only recently published, the important monument of Aurelius Gaius.⁵⁰ The soldier's shield and spear figure prominently in the relief. There is a minor change in the shield, which is now less oval. The spear may be a *lancea*, a throwing spear.

⁴⁸AE 1966,292=AE 1972, 496 and 497. See also Speidel 1987c, 61-65.

⁴⁹See the references cited by Speidel 1987d, 195-198 and Speidel 1984i, 155.

⁵⁰123. See the commentary by Drew-Bear 1981, 93-141.

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Similar equipment is to be seen on a painting from Luxor. While the soldiers are not called legionary horsemen, it seems that they must be, since Luxor was a legionary camp, probably garrisoned by *legio II Flavia* at the time the painting was completed under Diocletian.⁵¹ These soldiers, in camp dress, are shown with their spear and shield. The exact type of spear cannot be determined; it is probably the standard type, the *hasta*, while the round shield shown in the painting is similar to that on the tombstone of Aurelius Gaius (Plate 5). That the troopers depicted at Luxor are legionary horsemen may be reinforced by the presence of a soldier in a red tunic, the second figure from the left, which it seems was worn only by the centurions, whom we have seen to command the legionary cavalry; the remaining soldiers wear white tunics.⁵²

For the late empire, literary and documentary sources are more instructive. We find from Vegetius that the legionary horsemen were armored, i.e., *loricati*

⁵¹The unit which formed the garrison was discerned by Speidel and Pavković 1989, 151-154. For the painting, see M. El-Saghir et al. 1986, 27-31 and 124 with Plates 4 and 5.

⁵²The red tunic of centurions: Fuentes 1987, 41-77, esp. 61. See also Plate 4.

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(2.14). As we have seen above, these troopers are probably heavily armored horsemen such as *catafractarii* *clibanarii*.⁵³ The *Notitia Dignitatum*, a listing of late Roman military commands and units, mentions a unit of legionary cavalrymen who were such heavily-mailed horsemen, *clibanarii* (*Not. Dig. Or.* 7.2); the *clibanarii* were the forerunners of the medieval knight, completely armored from head to toe and riding armored horses.⁵⁴ This unit was probably formed by combining the *clibanarii* of several *legiones* into a single regiment.

Finally, a papyrus from Egypt mentions the weapons of an officer of the legionary horsemen, a centurion.⁵⁵ The list of equipment includes a shield, a breastplate, two axes, and a *contus* or lance. This implies that at least a portion of these particular *equites promoti* were *contarii* or lancers. Perhaps a particular opponent in the region was lance-armed, and this required the

⁵³*s.v.* Numbers and Organization.

⁵⁴Late Roman mailed horsemen are discussed by Speidel 1984i, 151-156.

⁵⁵123.1; 21-22; 27-32.

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presence of similarly equipped troopers in the Roman unit.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Speidel 1987c, 61-65, where *contarii*, lancers, were included in a non-lancer unit to fight the Sarmatian lancers who formed the unit's main opposition.

CHAPTER IV: DOCUMENTS OF THE *EQUITES LEGIONIS*

HISPANIA CITERIOR

1. 8.2663 = ILS 2335

Place: León

Date: September 26,
216

*Imp(eratori) Caesari M(arco) Antonino Pio Felici
Aug(usto), Parthic(o) max(imo) German(ico) max(imo)
pontif(ici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate)
XVIII, con(sule) IIII, imp(eratore) III, p(atri)
p(atriciae), proc(onsule), equites in his act(u)arius
leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) Ant(oniniana) p(iae)
fel(icis), devoti numini maiestatiq(ue) eius. (in
latere) dedica(verun)t VII k(alendas) Oct(obris)
Cattio Sabino II et Cor(entino) Anullio
co(n)s(ulibus).*

To the Emperor Marcus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus,
great victor over the Parthians, great victor over
the Germans, High Priest, holding the tribunicial
power for the nineteenth year, consul for the fourth
time, hailed imperator for the third time, father of
the Fatherland, proconsul. The horsemen of legio
VII Gemina Antoniniana plus felix, and within these
men the clerk (actuarii), are devoted to his (i.e.
the Emperor's) spirit and majesty. (On the side of

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the stone) They have dedicated it seven days before kalends of October when Cattius Sabinus and Corentinus Anullius were consuls.

Of interest in this inscription is the mention of the clerk or *actuarius* among the legionary horsemen. This certainly indicates the presence of an administrative office, *tabularium*, and an independent organization. The *actuarius* was a supply officer rather than a ''historian'' who kept the unit's *acta*. See pp. 61f.

2. AE 1928, 173=Le Roux 1982, #212, p. 232

Place: León

Date: early 3rd
century

*D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). M(arcus Aurel(ius)
Victor, [m(iles)] leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) P(iae)
F(elicis), natio(ne) [T]rax, anno(rum) XLV,
st(ependiorum) XX? opt(io) eqq(uitum) L?[... ..]
p. VIIII A ?[.....].*

Sacred to the Gods Below. Marcus Aurelius Victor,
soldier of *legio VII Gemina Pia Felix*, by
nationality a Thracian. He lived 45 years and

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served 20(?) years. Optio equitum L?[... ..] p.
VIII A ?[.....].

The post of *optio equitum* mentioned was never quite certain as a legionary post. It is now well attested by several other inscriptions, like that which follows.

Alföldy 1987c, 487, approved of the reading calling it an important piece of information from an unknown rank. Victor was a Thracian, who became a widely recruited group into the legions by the third century.

3. 2.5682=Le Roux 1982, #160, p. 217

Place: León

Date: 2nd century

*L(ucio) Campilio Paterno, equiti secundae alae
Flaviae, opt(ioni) [eq]uitu[m leg(ionis) ?...]per
Flavium Campilium Nofirum lib(ertum) f(aciundum)
c(uravit).*

To Lucius Campilius Paternus, horseman of *ala II Flavia*, *optio equitum* of *legio ?*, he saw to it that it should be made through Flavius Campilius Nofirus, his freedman.

Domaszewski in Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 47, saw an *op(tio) trib[uni] militum* rather than an *opt(io) [eq]uitum*. Close examination of Le Roux' plate VIIc seems

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to support his emendation. An oddity of the inscription is that Paternus seems to have begun his career as an auxiliary and then became a legionary horseman and an officer to boot! Usually, the legionary horseman was sent to the auxiliaries as an officer, not the reverse. See the discussion on pp. 72-76. Perhaps he held a rank above *eques* in the *ala*, like *sesquiplicarius* or *duplicarius*, but we would expect it to be mentioned: cf. 44 below.

BRITANNIA

4. RIB 254=AE 1951, 129

Place: Lindum

Date: 48-71

*Q(uinti) Corneli(i) Q(uinti) f(ili) Cla(ud)ia tribu
eq(uitis) le(gionis) VIIII 7(centuriae) C(assii)
Martia[l]is an(norum) XL stip(endiorum) XIX h(ic)
s(itus) e(st).*

Of Quintus Cornelius, son of Quintus, from the Claudian tribe, horseman of legio VIIII, from the century of Cassius Martialis. He lived 40 years and served 19. Here he lies.

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The importance of this inscription is that it is one of those which points to the administrative organization of the legionary horse, i.e., they were maintained on the rolls of their century.

5. RIB 482

Place: Deva

Date: 71-86/7

...]esis Pudens G(aii) fil(ius) Ser(gia tribu)
(domo) Augusta eques leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)
p(iae) f(idelis) annorum XXXII stipendiorum XIII.
h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

...]esis Pudens, son of Gaius, from the Sergian
tribe, with his hometown as Augusta, horseman of
legio II Adiutrix pia fidelis. He lived 32 years
and served 13. Here he lies.

6. RIB 481

Place: Deva

Date: 71-86/7

.....]inus eque[s leg(ionis)] II Ad(iutricis)
p(iae) f(idelis) 7(centuriae) Petroni Fidi
stipendiorum <I>XI annorum XXV hic sep[ul(tu)]s
est.

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.....]inus horseman of legio II Adiutrix pia fidelis, from the century of Petronius Fidus. He served 11 years and lived 25. Here he is buried.

This inscription likewise is noteworthy because of the mention of the trooper's century. The early date of this inscription, at most 16 or 17 years after the legion was raised, makes it a possibility that this horseman began his career as a sailor in the Ravenna fleet. If so, horsemanship cannot have been much of a prerequisite for the troopers of *legio II Adiutrix*.

7. Tacitus, *Annales* 14.32

Place: near Camulodunum

Date: 60

Et victor Britannus Petilio Ceriali, legato legionis nonae, in subsidium adventanti obvius fudit legionem et quod peditum interfecit: Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra et munimentis defensus est.

The victorious Briton met Petilius Cerialis, legate of legio IX, advancing in support and routed the legion, and destroyed as much as there were of the infantry. Cerialis escaped with the horsemen to the camp and was defended by the fortifications.

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This passage surely indicates the role of the *equites legionis* as the guard of the legionary legate. Even in defeat, the horsemen remained at the side of the commander and helped to defend the camp.

8. RIB 499

Place: Deva

Date: 2nd century

*D(is) M(anibus) G(aius) Iul(ius) Severus eq(ues)
leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) vixit an(nis)
XXXX [...]*

To the Gods Below. Gaius Iulius Severus horseman of
legio XX Valeria Victrix. He lived 40 years...

9. RIB 538=Schleiermacher 1984, 71

Place: Deva

Date: Mid/late 2nd
century

*Sextus Sexti filius Fab(ia) (tribu) Brix[(ia)....]
SIM.*

Sextus, son of Sextus, from the Fabia tribe, from
Brixia,...SIM(?)

While the inscription does not give the rank as
eques, the relief on the stele shows a horseman. That he

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is a legionary can be inferred from his Italian origin and that he gives his tribal affiliation, a sign of citizenship. Another interesting point is the appearance of a *calo*, or servant on the stone.

10. RIB 522

Place: Deva

Date: 2nd/3rd century

[D(is)] M(anibus), Aureli Luci equitis. h(eres)
f(aciendum) c(uravit)

To the Gods Below, (the monument) of Aurelius Lucus,
a horseman. His heir saw to the making of it.

It is presumed that Aurelius Lucus is a legionary trooper from the find spot of the inscription at a legionary camp. If he were from a unit other than the legion stationed there, we should expect him to give his unit. The monument bears a relief: a funerary banquet. Aurelius Lucus reclines on a couch, holding a cup in his right hand. He is said by the editors of RIB to be wearing a scale corslet, but it is not clear in the drawing of the relief. In the background a crested helmet and sword are shown, apparently hanging on the wall.

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11. RIB 356

Place: Isca

Date: 3rd century

*D(is) M(anibus). Aurelius Herculanus aequus vixit
annos XXVIII coniunx faciendum curavit.*

To the Gods Below. Aurelius Herculanus, a horseman,
lived 28 years. His wife saw to the making of it.

This trooper's gravestone was found at a legionary
camp and so should be considered a legionary horseman,
see above 10.

GALLIA NARBONENSIS

12. Relief on Triumphal Arch

Place: Arausio

Date: 27

This monument shows the suppression of a Gallic revolt by
legio II Augusta. Several horsemen are shown and as the
monument was meant to glorify the legion, these are
presumed to be *equites legionis*. A number of common
troopers are depicted. They wear a mail shirt and fight
with a sword reminiscent of the infantry *gladius* which is
worn on the left hip, a common thing in the early first
century A.D. An officer of the troopers is also shown;

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he is equipped with scale armor and and a crested helmet
and may be a centurion.

GERMANIA INFERIOR

13. 13.8276=ILS 2324

Place: Colonia Agrippinensium

Date: early 1st
century

...(Aur?)elius A(uli) f(ilius) [Le]m(onia tribu),
(domo) Bon(onia), eques [fac]tus, anno(rum) XLV,
[mis]sus ex leg(ione) I [vex]ssillo G(aii) Lucreti.
. . onis, mil(itavit) anno(rum) [X]XV, h(ic) s(itus)
e(st).

Aurelius, the son of Aulus, from the Lemonian tribe,
from Bononia. Made a horseman, he lived 45 years,
was discharged from Legio I in the *vexillum* of Gaius
Lucretius ... he served in the army 25 years. Here
he lies.

The *vexillum* of Gaius Lucretus does not provide any
indication about the organization of the *equites*
legionis; the placement of the phrase after "discharged
from the legio I" as well as the soldier's length of
service, i.e., five years beyond the norm of twenty years

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means that this is a *vexillum veteranorum*. These troopers were probably attached to the 1st cohort and would only be used for service at the legionary camp. See Frere 1980 for the attachment of veterans to the first cohort.

14. AE 1974, 452=Le Roux, 62, p.187

Place: Colonia Agrippinensium Date: 70-83

*Q(uintus) Licinius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Sergia (tribu)
Rusticus Cord(uba), eq(ues) leg(ionis) XXI Rap(acis)
ann(orum) XXXIIII, stip(endiorum) XIV, hic situs
est; h(eredes) ex t(estamento) f(aciundum)
c(uraverunt).*

Quintus Licinius Rusticus, son of Quintus, of the Sergian tribe, from Corduba. A horseman of Legio XXI Rapax. He lived 34 years and served 14 years. Here he lies. His heirs saw to the making of it from his will.

The date is supplied by the brief stay of the legion in Cologne. This trooper had been recruited in Spain, as his home, Corduba, makes clear.

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15. Tacitus, Historiae 1.57

Place: Colonia Agrippinensium Date: 68

*Is die postero coloniam Agrippinensem cum equitibus
legionis auxiliariorumque ingressus imperatorem
Vitellium salutavit.*

On the following day, having entered Cologne with
the legionary horsemen and the auxiliary cavalry, he
saluted Vitellius as emperor.

This Tacitean passage reinforces the function of the
equites legionis as a guard unit. The only legionary
troops who accompany the legate on his important mission
are the legionary horse. The legionary horsemen may also
have been there to add to the pomp and circumstance of
the imperial salutation as their superior training and
discipline would have made them one of the more elite
units available to the legate.

16. 13.10024, 31

Place: Aquae Helveticae Date: 43-63

*Eq(uitibus) leg(ionis) XXI Sex(tus) I.T (primus
pilus vel princeps).*

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To the horsemen of Legio XXI, Sextus, *primus pilus*
(or *princeps*).

This inscription provides the basis for the identification of the commander of the legionary horse as a centurion. The I.T was originally taken to refer to a turma, but has now been read as a centurions rank sign. See p. 42 above. A certain Sextus, a *centurio princeps* or *primus pilus* appears to have given such rings to the legionary cavalry.

17. AE 1976, 515

Place: Oppidum Batavorum

Date: Late 1st
century B.C.

T(itus) Ussi(us) equ(es) l(egionis) I G(ermanica?).

Titus Ussius, horseman of Legio I Germanica.

If this inscription is read properly, it would be the earliest attestation of the *equites legionis* after their reintroduction. The highly abbreviated nature of the inscription makes the expansion less than certain. Likewise, the name might read Tussius. If he were Tussius (a German ?) this would be analagous to the recruitment of Spaniards into the legions because of their well known horsemanship; see Speidel 1984b.

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18. 13.8059=Schleiermacher 1984, 4 (Plate 1)

Place: Bonna

Date: early 1st
century

C(aius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) Vol(tinia tribu)
(domo) Luco Augusto eques leg(ionis) I annor(um) XXX
stip(endiorum) XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Sex(tus)
Sempronius frater facien(dum) curavit.

Caius Marius, son of Lucius, of the Voltinian tribe,
with his home at Lucus Augustus. A horseman of
Legio I. He lived 30 years and served 15. Here he
lies. Sextus Sempronius, his brother, saw to the
making of it.

Although he does not mention it, Marius was
decorated with military honors, both torques and
phalerae. These decorations appear both on his breast
plate as well as in a close up. The stone is typical of
those from Lower Germany of the 1st century A. D. which
show the triumphant rider.

19. 13.8070

Place: Bonna

Date: 3rd century ?

D(is) M(anibus). Liberalinio Vitali eq(uiti)
leg(ionis) I M(inervae), Maturinia Galet(a) coniugi

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*incompara[bili] qui bello desiderat[us est
mo]numentum...*

To the Gods Below. To Liberalinius Vitalis,
horseman of Legio I Minerva, an incomparable husband
who died in war, Maturinia Gelata (dedicated) the
monument...

If there was any doubt of the battlefield role of
the legionary horsemen, certainly this inscription should
help to dispell the notion that they were mere staff
troops.

20. Tacitus, Annales 4.73

Place: Frisian frontier

Date: 28

*Atque interim repertis vadis alam Canninefatem et
quod peditum Germanorum inter nostris merebat
circumgredi terga hostium iubet, qui iam acie
compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque
legionum subsidio missos.*

And meanwhile, since a ford had been discovered, he
(L. Apronius) ordered the *ala Canninefatium* and
those of the German foot who served among us to
circle around the rear of the enemy, who now formed

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in line of battle drove back the auxiliary squadrons as well as the legionary horsemen sent for the purpose of aiding them.

That the legionary horse and auxiliary regiments served together can provide a bit of evidence that the organization and tactics of the units must have been similar. It seems unlikely that the Romans would have put them together otherwise.

GERMANIA SUPERIOR

21. AE 1932, 41

Place: Augusta Treverorum

Date: 69/70-93

*Matronis M(arcus) Val(erius) Crescens eques
leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis) cornicularius P(ublil)
Abulei Luculli.....*

To the Mothers. Marcus Valerius Crescens, horseman
of Legio VI Victrix, cornicularius of Publius
Abuleius Lucullus...

For these deities see above p. 87.

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22. 13.6669=ILS 2334

Place: Moguntiacum

Date: 231

*Bonum eventum ee. qq.(uitum) leg(ionis) XXII
Pr(imigenia) P(iae) F(idelis) Albanus Agricola et
Macrinus Iuli[a]nus q(uon)d(am) cives
Sumelo(cennensis). [Po]mpeiano et Paelignian(o)
co(n)s(ulibus).*

The Good Fortune of the horsemen of Legio XXII
Primigenia Pia Fidelis. Albanus Agricola and
Macrinus Iulianus, formerly citizens of Sumelocenna.
(Erected) when Pompeianus and Paelignianus were
consuls.

Bonum Eventum is a protective deity for the unit of
the legionary horsemen. This deity, like *Fortuna*, can be
identified with the *Genii* of Roman army units, especially
of smallish size.

23. 13.6904

Place: Moguntiacum

Date: early 1st
century

*Q(uintus) Cotanius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Volt(inia
tribu) (domo) Tolosa eques leg(ionis) XIII*

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*Gem(inae) an(n)o(rum) XXXV sti(pendiorum) XII h(ic)
s(itus) e(st).*

Quintus Cotanus, son of Quintus, of the Voltinian
tribe, from Tolosa. A horseman of Legio XIIII
Gemina. He lived 35 years and served 12 years.
Here he lies.

24. 13.6916

Place: Moguntiacum

Date: 2nd/3rd century?

*.....] _F VEL.A domo AG eq(ues) leg(ionis)
XIIII Ge(minae) h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

... F. VEL. A. (?) with his home at Ag(?), a
horseman of Legio XIIII Gemina. Here he lies.

25. 13.6948

Place: Moguntiacum

Date: 2nd/3rd century?

*Leg(ionis) XVI eq(ues) [ve]xsillar(ius) an(norum)
[...]XV stip(endiorum) XV[...*

Horseman and standard bearer of Legio XVI, he lived
35 (?) years and served 15...

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The soldier's age and length of service are minimums, but since the text breaks off before the X in his age and after the V in his term of service, the numbers given in the translation here, based on an recruitment age of 20 years (a common age), are conjectural.

26. 13.6954

Place: Moguntiacum

Date: 2nd century

*Romanus T(iti) Avidi Cordi eq(uitis) leg(ionis) XXII
Pri(migeniae) serv(u)s an(norum) XXVII m(at)er ?
eius p(ositum) h(ic) i(ntus) s(itus) e(st). s(it)
t(erra) t(ibi) l(evis).*

Romanus, the servant of Titus Avidius Cordus,
horseman of *legio XXII Primigenia*. He lived twenty-
seven years. His mother (?). Here he lies placed
within. May the earth be light for you.

This stone is raised by a legionary horseman in
honor of his servant which shows the close ties forged
between the two men. See Speidel 1989b.

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27. 13.7535a=AE 1901, 77=Speidel, Guards, 131

Place: Kreutznach

Date: mid to late
third century

*Claudiae Acceptae socr(a)e Iulius Spectatus eq(ues)
leg(ionis) XXII prot(ector) pr(aes[idis]) et
Sollemnia Severa filia [con]diderunt.*

To Claudia Accepta, his mother-in-law. Iulius Spectatus horseman of *legio XXII*, protector of the governor and Solemnia Severa, her daughter, built it.

Once again the guard function of the legionary horsemen is shown by this inscription. Like the *singulares praesidis*, the *equites legionis* could serve as part of the corps of *protectores* of the governor which must mean that they were of the same high degree of training.

28. 13.7609

Place: Schierstein

Date: February 28, 221

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo). Vic(torinus?) Seneca
eq(ues) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae)
[[Ant(oniniana)]] p(iae) f(idelis) ex voto in suo*

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posuit. Grato et Seleu<c>o co(n)s(ulibus), pridie kal(endas) Mart(is).

To Jupiter Best and Greatest. Victorinus(?) Seneca, horseman of *legio XXII Primigenia Antoniniana pia fidelis* placed it on his own behalf on account of his vow. When Gratus and Seleucus were consuls, on the day before the Kalends of March.

The date is supplied by the consular date and the use of the title *Antoniniana*.

RAETIA

29. 3.5942

Place: *Castra Regina*

Date: July 25, 240

*In ho(nore) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo)
M(aximo) aram alt(ar)e ius(su) ips(ius) Aur(elii)
Pervincian(i) eq(uitis) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)
d(e)d(icavit) VII kal(endis) Aug(ustis) Sabino et
Venusto co(n)s(ulibus).*

In honor of the imperial house, to Jove the Best and Greatest. When Sabinus and Venustus were consuls, He dedicated an altar seven days before the Kalends

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of August by order of Aurelius Pervincianus himself,
horseman of *legio III Italica*.

30. 3.5947

Place: Castra Regina

Date: 3rd century

*Cl(audia) Ursa vixit annos II dies X. Gesatia Lucia
vixit annos IIII. Fecit Cl(audius) Donatus eq(ues)
leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) et Pedania Profutura
parentes vivi filabus suis. Memoria(m) fecerunt.*

Claudia Ursa lived two years, ten days. Gesatia
Lucia lived four years. Claudius Donatus horseman
of *legio III Italica* and Pedania Profutura, living
parents, made it for their children. They (the
parents) made it in their memory.

NORICUM

31. 3.4858=ILS 2466=Ubl 1969, K14

Place: Magdalensberg

Date: Early 1st
century

*C(aius) Vettius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Pol(lia tribu)
eq(ues) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) ann(orum) XLIIX
stip(endiorum) XXVIII idem quaestor veteranorum et
Q(uintus) Vettius Q(uinti) f(ilius) frater eq(ues)*

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*leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) ann(or)um XL
stip(endiorum) XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (sic).
M(arcus) Metilius eq(ues) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)
et P(ublius) Arrius her(edes) C(ai) Vetti(i)
test(amento) posuerunt.*

Caius Vettius, son of Quintus, from the Pollia tribe. Horseman of *legio VIII Augusta*, he lived 48 years and served for 28. Likewise he was *quaestor veteranorum* and Quintus Vettius, son of Quintus, his brother, a horseman of *legio VIII Augusta*, he lived for 40 years and served 20. Here he lies. Marcus Metilius, horseman of *legio VIII Augusta* and Publius Arrius, heirs of Caius Vettius, placed it in accordance with his will.

These troopers are apparently part of a garrison placed in Noricum drawn from the Pannonian legion *VIII Augusta*. This garrison was a mixed unit of both foot and horse; the latter may have performed courier and police duties. Compare the garrison at *castellum Dimmidi* in Africa: 114 and 115.

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ITALIA

32. ILS 9090=AE 1902, 41

Place: Aquileia

Date: early 1st
century

*Q(uintus) Etuvius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Vol(atina tribu)
Capreolus domo Vienna miles leg(ionis) IIII
Scyt(hicae) ann(os) IIII eques ann(os) X, cent(urio)
ann(os) XXI, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) II Thrac(um) in
Germ(ania) ann(os) V, vixit ann(os) LX.
T(estamento) f(acere) i(ussit). Arbitratu
libertor(um) idemque heredum vivi fec(erunt) patrono
et sibi Ilus IIIIII vir, Erigonus, Secundus,
Illyricus, Heraclea.*

Quintus Etuvius Capreolus, son of Sextus of the Volatina tribe. From Vienna. He was a soldier of *legio IIII Scythica* for four years, a horseman for 10, a centurion for 21 years, and a prefect of *cohors II Thracum* in Germany for five years. He lived sixty years. He ordered this to be made in his will. By the judgement of his freedmen and likewise his heirs who living made this for their patron and themselves: *Ilus IIIIII vir, Erigonus, Secundus, Illyricus and Heraclea.*

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This man reached the highest post known from the recorded careers of *equites legionis*, that of prefect of a cohort of auxiliaries, but only after 40 years of service!

33. 5.896=ILS 2332

Place: Aquileia

Date: 3rd century

*Aurelius Iustinus eques a leg(ione) XI Cl(audia)
probatus annorum XVII, et militavit munifex annis
VI, eques annis IIII militavit in cohorte centuria
hastati posterioris ex plurimaticis depend[----]
ipsius in titulo (decem milia centum unum).*

Aurelius Iustinus horseman from *legio XI Claudia* approved at age 17, he served six years as a common soldier, four years as a horseman. He served in a cohort (?) in the century of the (centurion with the rank of) *hastatus posterior*. From many... of he himself on an inscription (Ten thousand one hundred and one).

This inscription shows that the *equites legionis* ranked as at least *immunes* as Iustinus differentiates the rank of horseman from that of a soldier weighed down with

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difficult duty and heavy work about the camp. See pp. 24ff.

34. 5.8278=ILS 2333

Place: Aquileia

Date: 3rd century

*Iulius centurio supernumerarius leg(ionis) XI
Claudiae stip(endiorum) XXXIIII, annor(um) circiter
XXXX[X]; tiro probatus ann(or)um XVI, postea
profecit disce(n)s equitum ordine factus mag(ister)
equitum, positus hic.*

Iulius centurio supernumerarius of legio XI Claudia,
he served 34 years, he lived around 50 years. At 16
he was approved as a recruit, thereafter he was
advanced to *discens equitum*, made in rank *magister
equitum*. Here he is placed.

This man seems to have spent most of his career
associated with the legionary horseman. After his
initial period as a recruit, he joined the horsemen and
was eventually promoted to training officer. His
position as *supernumerarius*, while not explicit, does not
rule out that he held some position with the horseman as
a centurion. Domaszewski, in Domaszewski-Dobson 1967,
49, believed he was both training officer and commander.

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35. ILS 2321

Place: Cales

Date: 1st century

*M(arci) Aemili M(arci) f(ili) Pob(lilia tribu)
Soteriae equitis, domo Osca, torquibus, armill(is)
phaleris ab imperatore donatus, militis missici
veterani leg(ionis) VIIII Hispanie(n)s(is), his ossa
sita sunt.*

Of Marcus Aemilius Soteria, son of Marcus of the Pobilian tribe, a horseman from Osca. Decorated with *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae* by the emperor. A veteran soldier of *legio VIIII Hispania*. His bones are placed here.

The trooper was decorated with a wide variety of awards by the emperor.

36. Frenz, 119, p.142 (Plate 2)

Place: Neapolis

Date: early 1st
century

Anepigraphic relief

The relief shows the upper body of a horseman with chainmail shirt, his mount and a woman. The man can be identified as an *eques legionis* from his *dona militaria* which are shown in the background. One interesting point

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of his equipment is the presence of a baldric over his right shoulder which would leave the sword suspended off of his left hip. One might argue that the man is a centurion -- after all centurions would have the same *dona* and would also wear the sword on the left hip. But, the Arch at Orange, of similar date, shows legionary horse with their swords suspended on the left. Moreover, if the man were a centurion, we might expect the scale mail shirt which is shown on the Arch at Orange.

37. AE 1946, 212

Place: Tarentum

Date: 1st century

*L(ucius) Scultidius Sex(ti) f(ili) Pollia (tribu)
Rufus veteranus leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae). Eq(ues)
mil(itavit) annos XXVI. Vixit an(n)os VL. H(ic)
s(itus) e(st). H(eredes) f(aciundum) q(uraverunt).*

Lucius Scultidius Rufus, son of Sextus, from the Pollia tribe. Veteran of *legio VIII Augusta*. A horseman he served 26 years. He lived 45 years. Here he is placed. His heirs saw to the making of it.

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38. AE 1919, 72

Place: Albanum

Date: early 3rd
century

*D(is) M(anibus) Aurelius Paibae (sic) equiti
leg(ionis) II Parth(icae) qui vixit ann(is) XXVIII,
mil(itavit) ann(is) VIII. Aurel(ius) Zepyr et
Aurel(ius) Mestrius heredes et cont(ubernales)
be(ne) f(ecerunt) m(erito).*

To the Gods Below. Aurelius Paiba, horseman of
Legio II Parthica who lived 28 years and he served
eight. Aurelius Zepyr and Aurelius Mestrius his
heirs and fellow soldiers made this for one well
deserving.

All of these troopers can be shown from their names
to have been Thracians, showing the new recruitment
patterns of the third century. Elite units were often
recruited from amongst the warlike Thracians. *Legio II
Parthica*, as a guard unit of the strategic reserve, drew
heavily upon Thracian recruits; see Forni 1953, 97f.

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39. AE 1955, 192

Place: Ostia

Date: 2nd/3rd century?

...]*LI praep(osito) d[... numero equitum leg(ionis)
secundae Traianae.*

LI praepositus of the *numerus* of horsemen of *legio
II Traiana*

40. 11.5746

Place: Sentinum

Date: 3rd century

*M(arco) Aurelio M(arci) f(ilio) Quarto equiti
leg(ionis) II Part(hiae) Severian(a) duplicario qui
vixit annis LX m(ensibus) IIII dieb(us) XII Appia
Hilara uxor cum Aureliis Marciane, Valeria, Quartino
filiis patri benemerenti.*

To Marcus Aurelius Quartus, son of Marcus, horseman
of *legio II Parthica Severiana*, a *duplicarius* who
lived 40 years, four months and 12 days. (Made by)
Appia Hilaria, his wife, and the *Aurelii Marciana
Valeria*, and *Quartinus*, his children, to their
father well deserving.

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41. 5.1882

Place: Concordia

Date: early 1st
century

*C(aius) Baebius P(ubli) f(ilius) Cla(udia tribu)
leg(ionis) XIII Geminai (sic) eques armillis
[d(onatis)]*.

Caius Baebius, son of Publius, of the Claudia tribe.
A horseman of *legio XIII Gemina* (decorated) with
armillae.

42. 5.6879

Place: Alpis Poenina

Date: 2nd
century?

*[L. L]icinius [S(eve)r]us eques le[g(ionis)] IIII
Mac(edonicae) (domo) P<e>oen(ino) v(otum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(eritis)*.

Lucius Licinius Severus horseman of *legio IIII
Macedonica* from Poenina. He discharged his vow
willingly to the ones deserving.

43. 5.944

Place: Aquileia

Date: 2nd century

*D(is) M(anibus). Val(erius) Quintus disce(n)s
equitum leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), cives ...*

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To the Gods Below. Valerius Quintus, *discens*
equitum of *legio XI Claudia*. A citizen of...

44. 5.2162

Place: Altinum

Date: 1st century

Cn(aius) Numerius C(ai) f(ilius) Vol(tinia tribu)
Fronto veter(anus) eq(uitum) leg(ionis) VIII
Aug(ustae) IIIIvir I.D. t(estamento) f(ieri)
i(ussit) sibi Cn(aio) Numerio Cn(ai) l(iberto)
Felici IIIIvir(o), Crescenti l(iberto), Tuendo
l(iberto).

Cnaeus Numerius Fronto, son of Caius, of the
Voltinia tribe. Veteran and horseman of *legio VIII*
Augusta, *IIIIvir iuro dicendus*. He ordered it to be
made for himself and for Cnaeus Numerius Felix,
freedman of Cnaeus and *IIIIvir*, *Crescens* his
freedman, and *Tuendus*, his freedman.

PANNONIA SUPERIOR

45. 3.11213=ILS 2596

Place: Carnuntum

Date: pre-63

T(itus) Calidius P(ublili) (filius) Cam(ilia tribu)
Sever(us) eq(ues) item optio decur(io) coh(ortis) I

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Alpin(orum) item 7(centurio) leg(ionis) XV

Apoll(inaris) annor(um) LVIII stip(endiorum) XXXIII.

Hic situs est. Q(uintus) Calidius fratri posuit.

Titus Calidius Severus, son of Publius, from the Camilian tribe. A horseman, likewise optio (and) decurio of *cohors I Alpinorum*, likewise a centurion of *legio XV Apollinaris*. He lived 58 years and served 33. Here he lies. Quintus Calidius placed (this monument) for his brother.

46. AE 1929, 221

Place: Carnuntum

Date: 1st century

*Petilliena Ingenua an(norum) VII. H(ic) s(ita)
e(st). C(aius) Petilienus L(ucii) f(ili) Lem(onia
tribu) vet(eranus) eq(ues) et Cassia Modesta filiae
suae p(osuerunt).*

Petilliena Ingenua lived seven years. Here she lies. Caius Petilienus, son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, veteran and horseman and Cassia Modesta placed it for their own daughter.

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47. 3.4480=ILS 2307

Place: Carnuntum

Date: early 3rd
century

...[mater] miserissima, Sept(imio) Ingenuo eq(uiti)
leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) qui Partia (sic) decedit
in bello, Sept(imio) Iuliano eq(uiti) [l]eg(ionis)
XI[III ?].....

...most wretched mother to Septimius Ingenuus,
horseman of *legio XIII Gemina* who was killed in war
with Parthia, to Septimius Iulianus horseman of
legio XIII?

48. 3.11239=ILS 2325

Place: Carnuntum

Date: late 1st century

C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ili) Gal(eria tribu)
Proculus Caligurri eq(ues) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae)
(piae) f(idelis) 7(centuriae) Vindicis, an(norum)
XXX stip(endiorum) IX, h(ic) s(itus) e(st),
t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit). H(eredes)
f(aciundum) c(uraverunt).

Caius Valerius Proculus, son of Caius, from the
Galeria tribe, a Caligurrus. Horseman of *legio XI*
Claudia pia fidelis in the century of Vindex. He

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lived 30 years and served nine. Here he lies. He ordered it to be made in his will. His heirs saw to the making of it.

This stone shows a Spanish citizen, from Tarraconensis, recruited as a horseman.

49. 3.4477=Ubl 1969, K15

Place: Carnuntum

Date: 1st half, 1st century

L(ucius) Marcius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Scapt(ia) (tribu) mil(es) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) ann(or)um XXXIIX stip(endiorum) XVII H(ic) s(itus) e(st). Frater p(osuit).

Lucius Marcius, son of Sextus, from the Scaptian tribe. Soldier of *legio XV Apollinaris*. He lived 38 years and served 17 years. Here he lies. His brother placed this.

The inscription does not give the rank of horseman. The use of *miles* must stand for *militavit*, as is the case with *milex* in an inscription from Lambaesis (8.2894= ILS 2328). That he is an *eques legionis* can be determined from the *Reiterrelief* on his stele. The soldier's name is a typical one from Aquileia in north Italy and found

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numerous times in Savaria close to Carnuntum. See Moćsy 1974, 121f. and 136 for the name.

50. 3.4172

Place: Savaria

Date: 3rd century

*Liberalis eq(ues) leg(ionis) XIIII G(eminae) v(otum)
s(olvit) l(ibens) m(eritis).*

Liberalis, horseman of *legio XIIII Gemina*. He discharged his vow freely to the ones deserving.

51. 3.4173

Place: Savaria

Date: 212-222

*Liberalis ve[t(eranus)] leg(ionis) XIIII G(eminae)
Ant(oniniana) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).*

Liberalis, veteran of *legio XIIII Gemina Antoniniana*. He discharged his vow freely.

It seems that the two preceding stones belong to the same soldier; the dedications appear to have been made at two different times, first when the soldier was on active duty as a horseman and then after his discharge as a veteran.

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52. 3.15188/3=Ubl 1969, K13

Place: Adiaum

Date: 222-235

*D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Ianuarius equ(es)
l(egionis) I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis)
Se(verianae) et Ulp(iae) (I?)Anuariae coniugi
carissime (sic) et Aur(eliae) Ianuariae f(iliae)
p(ientissimae) (quae) vix(it) an(nis) XII et
Aur(elio) Materno f(ilio)...*

To the Gods Below. Aurelius Ianuarius horseman of
legio I Adiutrix pia fidelis Severiana for Ulpia
Ianuaria, his dear wife, and Aurelia Ianuaria, his
most dutiful daughter who lived 12 years and
Aurelius Maternus, his son...

53. 3.4061=ILS 2330=Schleiermacher 1984, 107=Ubl 1969,
K34

Place: Poetovio

Date: early 1st
century

*C(aius) Rufius C(ai) f(ili) Ouf(entina tribu)
(domo) Med(iolano) mile[s] leg(ionis) XIII
Gem(inae), an(norum) XXXVI stip(endiorum) XVI,
fratre(s) pos(uerunt). H(ic) s(itus) e(st). [Above
the inscription is a horseman, holding a vexillum in
which is read vex(illum) eq(uitum)]*

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Caius Rufius, son of Caius, of the Oufentinan tribe,
from Mediolanum. A soldier of *legio XIII Gemina*.
He lived 36 years and served 16 years. His brothers
placed this. Here he lies.

This is the only depiction of a standard bearer of
the legionary horsemen. It is also of interest because
the soldier is accompanied by his *calo*.

PANNONIA INFERIOR

54. AE 1965, 223

Place: Intercisa

Date: 2nd century

*P(ublio) Ael(io) Proculino [v(iro) e(gregio),
signif(ero), 7(centurio)] primo in coh(orte)
(milliaria) [Hemes(ensorum), trans]lato in
leg(ionem) II Ad[(iutricem) p(iam) f(idelem),
exer]cit(atori) eq(uitum) leg(ionis)
s(upra)[s(criptae), 7(centurioni) coh(ortis) ...
urb(anae), 7(centurioni)] coh(ortis) VII
praet(oriae) p(iae) v(indicis) [Phil(ippianae),
bello] dacico deside[rato ad ca]stell(um) Carporum.
[Milit(avit) ann(is)] XXVI. P(ublius) Ael(ius)
Procu[lus vet(eranus) coh(ortis ei]usdem et*

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*Aure[lia....] a parentes fil[io suo ca]rissimo et
sib[i vivis] et infeli[cissimo] filio posu[erunt].*

Publius Aelius Proculinus, equestrian, standard
bearer, centurion first in *cohors milliaria
Hemesenorum* transferred into *legio II Adiutrix pia
fidelis* served as *exercitor* of the horsemen of the
legion written above, centurion of *cohors ? urbana*,
centurion of *cohors VII praetoria pia vindex
Philippiana*, killed in the Dacian war at *Castellum
Carporum*. He served 26 years. Publius Aelius
Proculus veteran of the same cohort and Aurelia ...
by parents to their dearest son and themselves while
living and they placed it for a most unlucky son.

The best commentary on this man and his rank remains
that by Fitz 1965. It is noteworthy that as an
exercitator Proculinus held the rank of centurion.

55. 3.11036=Ubl 1969, K3

Place: Brigetio

Date: middle of the
3rd century

*D(is) M(anibus) Val(erius) Ursinus ducenarius qui
vixit ann(os) XXV m(enses) III dies V Aurel(ia)
Firmilla filia quae vixit ann(os) VIII m(enses) III*

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*dies V et Fl(avius) Firmus mil(es) leg(ionis) I
Ad(iutricis) qui vixit ann(os) X[X]V m(enses) V dies
VII Aurel(ia) Ursicina fratri et filiae et coniugi
suo bene merentibus sepulcrum faciendu[m c]jura[vit]
vivite felices qui[b]u[s] est fortuna beata.*

To the Gods Below. Valerius Ursinus, ducenarius,
who lived 25 years, three months, and five days and
Aurelia Firmilla, his daughter, who lived eight
years, three months and five days and Flavius
Firmus, soldier of *legio I Adiutrix*, who lived 25
years, five months and eight days. Aurelia Ursicina
had this tomb made for her brother, his daughter,
and her spouse, well-deserving. Do you live happily
for whom there is good fortune!

Even though the soldier calls himself *miles* he is an
eques from the depiction on the monument which shows a
trooper with spear and shield leading a horse. This man
is a soldier rather than a *calo* as he is girded with a
military belt.

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56. 3.14355²²=RIU 2.380

Place: Brigetio

Date: 2nd century

*Campestr(ibus) M(arcus Ulpus Ruf(us) eq(ues)
leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) v(otum)
s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erentis)*

To the Gods of the Training Grounds. Marcus Ulpus Rufus, horseman of *legio I Adiutrix pia fidelis*. He discharged his vow willingly to the ones deserving.

57. RIU 2.561

Place: Brigetio

Date: 2nd century

*D(is) M(anibus). C(ai) Iul(ii) Respe[c]ti (domo)
Sav(aria) eq(ues) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) p(iae)
f(idelis) stip(endiorum) XX. H(ic) s(itus) e(st).
C(aius) Victo(rinus) Messor h(ere)s.*

To the Gods Below. Of Caius Iulius Respectus, from Savaria. A horseman of *legio I Adiutrix pia fidelis*. He served 20 years. Here he lies. Caius Victorinus Messor, his heir.

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58. 3.3396

Place: Campona

Date: 3rd century

*Aur(eliae) Candidae q(uondam) quae vixit annos XXV
Sep(timus) Priscus eques leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis)
coniugi carissim(a)e f(aciundum) c(uravit).*

To Aurelia Candida who once lived 25 years.

Septimus Priscus, horseman of *legio I Adiutrix*, saw
to the making of it for his most dear wife.

59. 3.3420

Place: Aquincum

Date: 3rd century

*Epon(a)e Aug(ustae) Apulei<i>u(s) Ianuarius eq(ues)
leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) v(otum)
s(olvit) l(ibens) m(eritae).*

To Epona Augusta. Apuleius Ianuarius horseman of
legio II Adiutrix pia fidelis. He discharged his
vow willingly to the one deserving.

The form *Epone* argues for the 3rd century date and
reflect a change in pronouciation. For the deity see p.
92.

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60. 3.3470

Place: Aquincum

Date: 2nd century

*Marti Aug(usto) Sac(rum). C(aius) Cusp(ius)
Secundus exercitator leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) pro
salute militum et sua quod evocatus vovit centurio
solvit l(ibenter) m(erenti).*

Sacred to Mars Augustus. Caius Cuspius Secundus
exercitator of legio II Adiutrix for the safety of
the soldiers and himself because as an evocatus he
made this vow, as a centurion he discharged it
willingly to the one deserving.

Mars Augustus, like the *campestres* above, was a god
of the training field. See above, Chapter I, *Religion*

DALMATIA

61. 3.9885=ILS 2322

Place: Rozki Slap

Date: early 1st
century

*M(arcus) Fraxsanius Sex(ti) f(ili) Pol(lia tribu)
domo Regio Lepido, veteranus leg(ionis) XI eques
annorum XLIIII, stipendiorum XXV, donatus phaleris
torquibus armillis, h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Primu(s)
l(ibertus) pro meritis.*

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Marcus Fraxsanius, son of Sextus, from the Pollia tribe, from Regium Lepidi. Veteran and horseman of *legio XI*. He lived 44 years and served 25 years. He was decorated with *torques* and *armillae*. Here he lies. Primus his freedman for the ones deserving.

62. 3.1814

Place: Narona

Date: early 1st
century

*P(ublius) Lastus A(uli) f(ilius) Scaeva domo
Florentia eques vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII
C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) annor(um) LX
stip(endiorum) XXX et Lastae P(ubli) l(ibertae)
Apiculae, P(ublio) Lasto Felici, P(ublio) Lasto
Diodoro lib(erti) t(estamento) f(aciendum)
c(uraverunt).*

Publius Lastus Scaeva, son of Aulus, from Florentia. Horseman and Veteran of *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis*; he lived 60 years and served 30 years and Lasta Apicula, freedwoman of Publius, Publius Lastus Felix, Publius Lastus Diodorus, his freedmen. They saw to the making of it according to his will.

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63. 3.3162a=Hoffmann 1905, 37

Place: Tilurium

Date: 42-66

*M(arco) Antonino Celeri eq(uiti) leg(ionis) VII
C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) Iulia Maxsima heres
fecit sibi et coniugi caro suo st(ipendiorum) XXX
(in) f(ronte) p(edes) XII in ag(ro?) XVII*

To Marcus Antonius Celer, horseman of *legio VII*
Claudia pia fidelis. Iulia Maxsima his heir made it
for herself and for her dear husband of 30 years.
In front, 12 feet, in the field, 17 (feet).

The stone bore a representation which is now
preserved only in a drawing. Unfortunately, few details
of the equipment can be seen except for the cut oval
shield.

64. 3.6416

Place: Macropolis

Date: early 1st
century

*P(ublius) Fanniu(s) Ani(ense tribu) (domo) Cremon(a)
eq(ues) leg(ionis) XI an(norum) XXIX stip(endiorum)
XII. h(ic) s(itus) e(st). F(rater) f(ratri)
pos(uit).*

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Publius Fannius, of the Aniensis tribe, from Cremona. Horseman of *legio XI*, he lived 29 years and served 12 years. Here he lies. His brother placed it for his brother.

DACIA

65. AE 1980, 738

Place: Apulum

Date: 212-222

*M.A.AVS P(ublius) Ael(ius) Secundinus, eq(ues)
[l]eg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) An[t]oninian(a)e, ex
v(oto) p(osuit) l(ibens).*

M.A.AVS (?) Publius Aelius Secundinus, horseman of *legio XIII Gemina Antoniniana* placed it willingly on account of a vow.

66. AE 1983, 800

Place: Apulum

Date: 3rd century

Ant(onius) Valens ex eq(uite)

Antoninus Valens, ex horseman.

Antonius Valens is the only man whose rank can be ascertained as former legionary horseman on this

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inscription which appears to be a discharge list of *veterani* from *legio XIII Gemina*; the right side of the stone appears to be missing.

67. 3.1200

Plac: Apulum

Date: 222-235

*D(is) M(anibus) SL.VIAE...JS Ser(gia tribu) Victor
Iad(ere) equ(es) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)
S(everiana). Igen(s) VISIVR*

To the Gods Below. SL.VIAE...JS (?) Victor Iadere
horseman of *legio XIII Gemina Severiana*. Ingens
VISIVR (?)

MOESIA SUPERIOR

68. 3.14507, b51

Place: Viminacium

Date: 195

*cohors III of legio VII Claudia p. f.:
P(ublius) Ael(ius) Vitalis eq(ues) pol(lio)
C(astris)*

Publius Aelius Vitalis, horseman and *pollio*. From
the camp.

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This rank has not be satisfactorily explained. The *polliones* probably cared for weapons and armor, in which case such a man for the legionary horsemen might have looked after any equipment peculiar to the cavalry; cf. p. 62f.

69. Mircovič 1988, 87

Place: Viminacium

Date: late 1st
century

L(ucius) Aemilius L(uci) f(ilius) Fab(ia tribu)
Flaus (domo) Bracara eq(ues) leg(ionis) IIII
F(laviae) f(elicis) stip(endiorum) XIIII vixit
ann(is) XXXII.

Lucius Aemilius Flaus, son of Lucius, of the Fabian tribe, from Bracara. A horseman of *legio IIII Flavia felix*. He served 14 years, he lived 32 years.

70. Mircovič 1988, 88

Place: Viminacium

Date: late 1st
century

P(ublius) Publicius Fabia (tribu) Constas (sic)
Brixxi(a) e[q(ues)] leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae)

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*f(elicis) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit). H(ic)
s(itus) e(st).*

Publius Publicius Constans of the Fabian tribe, from
Brixia. A horseman of *legio IIII Flavia Felix* he
ordered it to be made in his will. Here he lies.

MOESIA INFERIOR

71. AE 1982, 847

Place: Tomi

Date: 3rd century

*[.....ex] eq(uite) [vet(eranus) l]eg(ionis) V
[Mac(edonicae), vix]it an(nis) [... et] Mama
[con(iux) ? ei]us, vix(it) [an(nis) ...] et
Fl(avius) [...f]i(lius?).*

ex horseman, veteran of *legio V Macedonica*, he lived
... years and Mama his wife lived ... and Flavius
his son (?)

72. 3.7449

Place: Montana

Date: 155

*[---T(iti) Flavii] Longini leg(ati) Aug(usti)
pr(o) pr(aetore) vexillat(io) leg(ionis) XI
Cl(audia) sub cura Fl(avii) Maximi (centurionis)*

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leg(ionis) eiusdem, Severo et Sabiniano

co(n)s(ulibus).

(a list of *principales* and regular *milites* follows
one of whom is:)

decurio: Pomponius Herculanus ex eq(uite)

leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)

Of Titus Flavius Longinus, legate of Augustus with
praetorian power, the detachment of *Legio Claudia XI*
under the command of Flavius Maximus, centurion of
the same legion, when Severus and Sabinianus were
consuls.

Decurio: Pomponius Herculanus ex horseman of legio
XI Claudia

Herculanus has received his promotion but has not
yet been posted to his new unit. This is not evidence
for *decuriones* among the legionary troopers, rather
Herculanus is being sent off as an officier in an *ala*.

73. AE 1957, 341

Place: Montana

Date: 238-244

Dianae Reginae Aurel(ius) Titus vexill(arius)

eq(uitum) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) Gordianae ag(ens)

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*reg(ione) Mont(anense) cu[m] suis ex voto
pos(uerunt) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

To Diana the Queen. Aurelius Titus standard-bearer of the legionary horse of *legio I Italica Gordiana* serving in the area of Montana. With his own (household) they placed this on account of a vow. He discharged his vow willingly to the one deserving.

74. AE 1976, 611

Place: Trančovica

Date: 2nd century

*[S]an(c)to deo Ascallacano M(arcus) Iulius Val(ens),
eq(ues) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) posuit v(otum)
l(ibens) m(erito).*

To the sacred God Ascallacanus, Marcus Iulius Valens, horseman of *legio I Italica*, he placed this willingly according to a vow to the one deserving.

75. Kazarov, 1022=Schleiermacher 1984, 86

Place: Zlokučene

Date: 2nd century

*Dis Man(ibus) C(aius) Cassius V[...] Vet(eranus)
leg(ionis) I [Ital(icae)]*

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To the Gods Below. Caius Cassius V[...] veteran of
legio I Italica.

76. 3.6178-80

Place: Troesmis

Date: 2nd/3rd century

(6178, 2.30) *Iulius Seve(rus) ex eq(uite) cho II*

(6178, 3.17) *Val(erius) Rufus ex eq(uite) coh III*

(6178, 3.27) *Gelli(us) Germ(anus) ex eq(uite)*

(6179, 2.4) *Cal(purnius) ex eq(uite)*

(6179, 2.5) *BAL(?) Farianus ex (equite)*

(6180, 1.4) *[Sa]turnin(us) ex eq(uite) coh III*

The inscription records several horsemen who have
mustered out of their unit and are now veterans.

MACEDONIA

77. AE 1969/70, 583=Schleiermacher 1984, 98

Place: Philippi

Date: 1st third of
2nd century

Ti(berius) Claudius Maximus, vet(eranus) [s(e)]

v(ivo) f(aciundum) c(uravit). Militavit eque(s) in

leg(ione) VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(ideli), factus

qu(a)estor equit(um), singularis legati legionis

eiusdem, vexillarius equitum, item bello Dacico ob

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*virtute(m) donis donatus ab imp(eratore) Domitiano.
Factus dupli(carius) a divo Troiano in ala
secu(n)d(a) Pannoniorum, a quo et fa(c)tus
explorator in bello Daico et ob virtute(m) bis donis
donatus bello Parthico, et ab eode(m) factus decurio
in ala eade(m), quod cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput
eius pertulisset ei Ranisstoro. Missus voluntarius
honesta missione a Terent[io Scau]riano, consulare
[exerci]tus provinciae nov[ae Mesopotamiae
?.....]*

Tiberius Claudius Maximus saw to the making of this while he himself was living. He served as a horseman in *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*, was made *quaestor equitum, singularis* of the commander of the same legion, standard bearer of the horsemen. Moreover, in the Dacian war on account of his courage, he was decorated with awards by the emperor Domitian. He was made a *duplicarius* in the *ala II Pannoniorum* by the divine Trajan by whom also he was made a scout in the Dacian War and twice decorated with awards in the Parthian war. By the same man he was made a *decurio* in the same *ala* because he had captured Decebalus and brought back his head to Ranisstorum. He was discharged having served beyond

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his term with an honorable discharge by Terentius Scaurianus, the commander of the army of the new province of Mesopotamia.

An important inscription which has been fully commented on by Speidel 1984d.

CAPPADOCIA

78. French and Summerly 1987, 18, #2

Place: Satala

Date: Early 2nd
century

D(is) M(anibus) Ti(berius) Iuli(us) Ti(berii)
(filius) Cl(audia) (tribu) Martialis Savaria
mil(es) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) ann(orum) XXX
stip(endiorum) XIII Ti(berius) Iulius Buccio optio
eq(uitum) fratri posuit.

To the Gods Below. Tiberius Iulius Martialis, son of Tiberius, of the Claudian tribe, from Savaria, a soldier of *legio XV Apollinaris*. He lived 30 years, he served 13 years. Tiberius Iulius Buccio, *optio equitum*, placed this for his brother.

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79. Ἑκταξίς κατὰ Ἀλανῶν, §4-5

Place: Armenian Border(?)

Date: 135

ἡ τάξις δὲ ἔστω εἰς ὀπλίτας τέσσαρας. αὐτῶν δὲ
τούτων ὅσοι τοξόται ἡγείσθων. τὰς δὲ πλευρὰς τῆς
τάξεως φυλαττόντων ἑκατέρωθεν οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ οἰκεῖτοι.
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι ἱππεῖς ἵτwsαν, καὶ ἐπὶ
τούτοις οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἱππεῖς, ἔπειτα οἱ
καταπέλται, ἔπειτα τὸ σημεῖον τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης
φάλαγγος, καὶ ὁμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ <ὁ> ἡγεμῶν τῆς φάλαγγος
οὐάλης, καὶ ὕπαρχος, καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι οἷς τέτακται,
καὶ <πέντε> ἑκατόνταρχοι οἱ τῆς πρώτης σπεύρης
ἐπιστάται.

Let the formation be the width of four heavily-armed
infantry. Let the archers, as many as there are,
lead these men. Let each unit's own cavalry watch
the flanks of the array. After these, let the
select cavalry advance and after them the cavalry of
the phalanx (legionary cavalry); then the catapults,
and then the standard of the 15th Legion; and around
it the leader of the legion, Valens, and also his
adjutant and the tribunes appointed for this legion,
and the centurions placed over the first century.

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The position of the legionary cavalry is before the artillery of the legion, but more importantly, they are the only unit to precede the legate which implies their function as a guard. Also, they ride after another important guard unit, the governor's *equites singulares*. There is an implication that the two guard units formed up together in battle. While they are enumerated separately in the order of march, *agmen*, there is no mention of the *equites legionis* in the order of battle, *acies*. As they marched together, they may have fought together, in which case οἱ δὲ ἐπίλεκτοι ἵππεῖς of §22 might have included the legionary horsemen. Indeed the term *epilectos* is not a technical military term, but rather a literary one, which could be used to describe other troops such as *vexillarii*. See Speidel 1978, 49, for the terminology.

GALATIA

80. 3.269=3.6765=ILS 2327

Place: Ancyra

Date: 2nd century

*D(is) M(anibus). C(aio) Secundinio Iuliano equiti
leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis),
ann(orum) XXXV stip(endiorum) XV, C(aius) Seranius*

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*Vegetus secundus heres et collega f(aciundum)
c(uravit).*

To the Gods Below. For Caius Secundinus Iulianus
horseman of *legio XXII Primigenia pia fidelis*. He
lived 35 years, he served 15 years. Caius Seranius
Vegetus his second heir and fellow horseman saw to
the making of it.

The use of *collega* by Seranius, although it does not
give us a rank, shows that like Secundinius, Seranius too
was a legionary horseman. See Ritterling, RE XII 2
(1925), 1813.

81. Swoboda, Keil and Knoll, 1935, 115

Place: ?

Date: early 3rd
century

Γάιος Κηκίσσου, ἵππεὺς λεγεῶ(νος)

Gaius, son of Kekissos, horseman of the legion.

The relief shows an unarmored horseman with spear by
no shield in the manner of the triumphing rider, the lack
of armor probably indicating the camp dress of the 3rd
century. He is attended by a *calo*.

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PISIDIA

82. IGR 3.401=AE 1961, 15=Schleiermacher 1984, 120
(Plate 3)

Place: Cormasa

Date: Flavian

*C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ili) Papiria (tribu) natus
Cormasa missicius lecinis (sic) VII eques
monumentum (sic) fηcit (sic) sibi et Iucundo liberto
suo Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Κορμασεὺς λεγυῶμος (sic) ἐβδόμης
ἱπεὺς (sic) τῷ ὀπελευθέρῳ καὶ ...*

Caius Iulius, son of Caius, of the Papirian tribe,
born at Cormasa. Veteran of *legio VII*, a horseman,
he made this monument for himself and his freedman
Iucundus. (Greek) Caius Iulius, from Cormasa,
horseman of the seventh legion to his freedman
and...

Caius Iulius is a good example of the changing
recruitment patterns of the Roman army during the first
century A.D. when Italians were being replaced by
provincials in the army. Forni, 1953 has shown that by
the Flavian period Italians formed only one-fifth or one-
fourth of the legions. Caius Iulius' use of Greek in his

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home town inscription, so all could understand, shows that he was proud of his military service.

SYRIA

83. AE 1964, 55=IGLS 2714

Place: Baalbek

Date: 128-138

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano), pro salute
imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti),
p(atris) p(atriciae) ex testamento L(uci) Antoni
Silonis, eq(uitis) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae),
Heliopolitani, L(ucius) Varius Q(uinti) f(ilius)
Fab(ia tribu) Magnus vet(eranus) pro parte dimidia
et L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) f(ilius) Melior
pup(illus) (pro) parte quarta; et Vibi C(ai) f(ilii)
Fab(ia tribu) Rufus et Fuscus pupilli pro parte
quarta, hered(es) eius ex arg(ento) p(ondo)
octoginta v(otum) s(olverunt).*

To Jupiter Best and Greatest the Heliopolitanian.
For the health of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian
Augustus, father of the fatherland according to the
will of Lucius Antonius Silo, horseman of *legio III*
Augusta, a Heliopolitanian. L. Varius Magnus, son
of Quintus, of the Fabian tribe, for one half part,

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L. Valerius Melior, son of Lucius, an orphan, for one quarter part, and Vibius Rufus and Vibius Fuscus, of the Fabian tribe, sons of Caius, orphans, for one quarter part. His heirs, they discharged his vow from eight pounds of silver.

This particular manifestation of Jupiter represents a local god who was syncretized with a traditional Roman deity. Like many other local gods, the worship of Heliopolitan Jupiter was spread by legionary centurions who, when they were transferred between units, brought their local gods with them: Birley 1988e. The inscription is also useful as an example of the recruitment of non-Italians into the legions: it records a Syrian horseman who served in the *legio III Augusta* in Africa.

84. IGLS 2346

Place: Emesa

Date: 140

Ἔτους αὐτῷ μη(νὸς) Α[ὐ]δυναίου [Ἰ]ούλιου

<Μ>αρεῖνου ἱπ[π]έα λεγ(εῶνος) γ' (Γ)αλλ[ι]κ(ῆς)

Ἰούλιος (*sic*) Χείλ<ω>ν τὸν ἄδε[λ]φόν

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In year 451 in the month of Audnaios. (For) Iulius Marinus, horseman of *legio III Gallica* (and) Iulius Chsilon, his brother.

Iulius Marinus is, from his cognomen, an Arab.

85. IGR 3.1110=AE 1902, 59

Place: Apheca

Date: 2nd century

Οὐαλ(έρριος) Μᾶρκος οὐετρ[ανδς] ἀπὸ ἱππικ(οῦ)
λεγιῶνος Ϝ', οδ' [ἔτων].

Valerius Marcus veteran from the horse of *legio VI*.
He lived 74 years.

The use of 'από here denotes the same sense as *ex* in military latin. This trooper is therefore a veteran, who, based on his age of 74 years, is likely to have lived a considerable time beyond his enlistment.

86. IGR 3.1141

Place: Eitha

Date: 3rd century

Ἰππέα κύδιστον Διομήδεα δέρκεο, ξεῖνε,
τάγμα τε Κυρήνης στρατὶν τε ἄσκοῦντ' ἐπίτιμον,
ς θέτο....φρ... ἀρετῆς μνήμην, ἀνεγείρας

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ὤτῳ καὶ τέκνοις κῦδος τόδ' ὀρώμενον ἐσθλόν.

See the most glorious horseman Diomedes, stranger.

Made in honor of the soldier of *legio (III)*

Cyrenaica, who placed ... in memory of his virtue.

You awaken glory for him and his children ?

This inscription is a metrical poem, written in dactylic hexameter, the meter of epics.

87. AE 1930, 17

Place: Syria (?)

Date: 3rd century

Τῇ κύριᾳ Ἀταργάτῃ κατ' ἑπτάγην (*sic*) Ἰούλια,

Λεύκερινις ἵππεὺς λεγεόνος ΙΙΙΙ Σκυ(τικῆς) Ὀπτάτος,

Πρόκλος, Γάιος, Μάρκος, Κρισπεῖνος.

To the lady Atargatis by seven (?): Iulia, Leucerinis, a horseman of *legio IV Scythia*, Optatus, Proclus, Gaius, Marcus and Crispinus.

This inscription is a dedication to the goddess Atargatis, a name for the Syrian Goddess (*Dea Syria*). For this deity see F. Cumont, s.v. *Dea Syria*, RE IV,

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1900. Leucerinius and his co-dedicators certainly were all local Syrians worshipping a native deity.

88. SEG 34 (1984), 1456

Place: Palmyra

Date: 284-305

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo). Votum Amathallat f(ilius)

Sabbiti[.....] opti(onis) eq[uitum?] Διὶ

Ἐπίστῳ [Ἀμαθα]λλᾶθ Σαββ[ίτου---]ινοῦ

To Jupiter Best and Greatest. A vow of Amathallat, son of Sabbitus, optio equitum. (Greek) To Zeus the Greatest. Amathallat son of Sabbitus.

There can be little doubt from the name that this *optio equitum* is a native Palmyrene.

89. AE 1974, 648

Place: Apameia

Date: 231-233

[.... vix(it) ann(is)] XXXXIII, m(ensibus) V,

d(iebus) VIIII, mil(itavit) eq(ues) ann(is) IIII,

protector ann(is) IIII, opt[io] ann(is) XIII

✓(centurio) ann(o) I, Marcia Vivian Crescentina

coniux et heres marito incomparabili fecit.

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...he lived 43 years, 5 months, 9 days. He served as a horseman 4 years, as a protector 4 years, as an optio 13 years and as a centurion for one year. Marcia Vivia Crescentina, wife and heir, made it for an incomparable husband.

This inscription is one of two examples of an *eques* whose promotion was to the legionary centurionate rather than to a officer of the auxiliaries. See above p. 72.

PALESTINA

90. Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum*

Place: Galilee

Date: 66

εἶπετο δ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ τάγματος ἱππικόν. ἴδιοι γὰρ ἐκάστου τάγματος εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἐκάτον ἱππεῖς.

The integral cavalry of each legion followed him.
For each legion has 120 horsemen of its own.

This notice by Josephus is the only piece of evidence for the number of legionary horsemen in the first century, indeed, for the high empire.

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ARABIA

91. IGR 3.1257

Place: Namara

Date: 2nd/3rd century

Μεσάμαρος ἵππευς Κυρ(ηναικῆς), γένου[ς] Νάβας.

Mesamarus, horseman of the Cyrenaican, by race a Nabataean.

This inscription provides an example of how legions turned to local recruitment after being posted to a province for a period of time. Mesamarus, a Nabatean, has been enlisted into the Arabian *legio III Cyrenaica*: see Speidel 19841, 262.

92. Bennett and Kennedy 1978, 163-164

Place: Petra

Date: 1st half of
the 2nd century

*C(aius) Antonius Valens, eq(ues) leg(ionis) III
Cyr(enaicae) [Υ.] provitiani (?), vixit an(nos)
XXIV, mil(itavit) V. h(ic) s(epultus).*

Caius Antonius Valens, horseman of *legio III Cyrenaica* in the *centuria* of Provitianus (?). He lived 24 years and served five years. He is buried here.

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93. IGR 3.1311

Place: Melah-es-Sarrar

Date: 3rd century

[Ἰ]ούλιος Σεουή[ρο]ς ἰπ(πεὺς) ἀπὸ λε[γεῶνος]...

Iulius Severus, horseman from the legion...

AEGTPTUS

94. P.Gen.Lat.1=RMR 58

Place: ?

Date: ca. 90

11. 36-36 *Equites ii]cina Celsus Crispus*

Two horsemen:]cina Celsus and Crispus

That this papyrus records two horsemen in a century led Premierstein 1903, 27, to conclude that each century had two troopers. Of course the mathematics works out rather well in that 2 *equites* per century agrees with Josephus number of 120 for the horsemen as a whole (60 centuries x 2 horsemen per century = 120 *equites*).

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95. BGU II, 600

Place: Fayum

Date: 140

Μάρτυρες Μάρκ(ος) Τουρρανιος Φρόντων σημεα[φόρος
χ(κεντυρίας) 'Ρ]ούφου. Λούκ(ιος) Πετρώνιος
Ούαλερια[ν]ῶς [σημεαφόρος χ(κεντυρίας) 'Ιου]λίου
Σερήνου Γάιο(ς) 'Ιούλ[ι]ος 'Αρριανῶς σημεαφόρ[ος]
χ(κεντυρίας) τῆς αὐτῆς Λούκ(ιος) 'Αντώνιος
Σατυρνῆλος ἱπ(πεὺς) οὐξιλλ(αρίος) χ(κεντυρίας)
Ούίκτορος Γάϊο(ς) [Λο]ύκιος Γέμελλος ὀπτίων
χ(κεντυρίας) Ούαλεριανοῦ Π[ού]πλ(ιος) Τερέντιος
.[.]ε...[.]ἱπ(πεὺς) χ(κεντυρίας) τῆς αὐτῆς Σέξστος
'Αρρις Πομπηϊανῶς ἱπ(πεὺς) χ(κεντυρίας) Πρόκλου

Witnesses: Marcus Turranius Fronto, standard bearer
of the century of Rufus; Lucius Petronius
Valerianus, standard bearer of the century of Iulius
Seranus; Caius Iulius Arrianus, standard bearer of
the same century; Lucius Antonius Saturnilus,
standard bearer of the horsemen of the century of
Victor; Caius Lucius Gemellus, optio of the century
of Valerianus; Publius Terrentius ... horseman of
the same century; Sextus Arris Pompeianus, horseman
of the century of Proclus.

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96. O. Skeat 11=Gilliam 1986d

Place: Luxor

Date: ca. 157

Κλαύδιος Γερμ[ωνδς]

κουράτορι πρεσιδ[ίου .]

Ἀπόλυσον Ἰούλι[ου]

[ἰπ]πέα γ(κεντυρίας) Πρ[όκλου]

[β(ενε)φ(ικιάριον) ἐ]πάρχου]

Claudius Germanus to the curator praesidi. I dismissed the horseman Iulius of the century of Proclus, beneficiarius of the prefect.

The mention of a century makes it certain the horseman is a legionary from *legio II Traiana*. Speidel 1986a, 167f., has argued, based on the unit and date, that this Claudius Germanus should be the same man recorded in a papyrus, P Hibeh 2, 276.

97. P. Mich. III, 164=RMR, 20

Place: Cairo

Date: 242-244

11.1-2 Victorinus. [7-13 p]raesente et
extrica[to] c[o]s factus dec ex eq leg i[i] traiana
fortis

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11.13-14 *Origin[e]s. [9-15 divo] a[l]exandro e[t
dion]e cos. f[actu]s [de]c ex eq[*

11.21-22 *A]urelius A[r]pocra[t]ion[[6-12]s
agricola et clementino c[os] factus ord [e]x eq[*

Victorinus. (enlisted) when Praesens and Extricatus were consuls. Made decurio from legionary horseman of *legio II Traiana fortis*.

Origines. (enlisted) when the divine Alexander and Dio were consuls. Made decurio from legionary horseman

Aurelius Arpocratio. (enlisted) when Agricola and Clementinus were consuls. Made ordinarius (centurion) from legionary horseman.

This papyrus records the appointment of several legionaries to the rank of either *decurio* or centurion in the auxiliaries. The order in which the men were listed appears to be their order of appointment rather than enlistment (Birley 1986a, 193).

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NUMIDIA

98. ILT, 466=Benzina Ben Abdallah, 43

Place: Ammaedara

Date: 1st half of the
1st century

*Q(uintus) Geminus Q(uinti) f(ilius), Pollia
(tribu) (domo) Thunusida, eques (centuria) Catonis
vixit an(n)is XXXVI militavit an(n)is IIX. h(ic)
s(itus) e(st).*

Quintus Geminus, son of Quintus, of the Pollian
tribe from Thunusida. Horseman of the century of
Cato. He lived 36 years and served 8 years. Here
he lies.

99. 8.3260=ILS 2323

Place: Lambaesis

Date: 2nd century

*D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). M(arcus) Valerius
Fortunatus eq(ues) legionarius, v(ixit) a(nnis)
XXVII, Marcia Tertulla soror posuit. H(ic) s(itus)
e(st).*

Sacred to the Gods Below. Marcus Valerius
Fortunatus, legionary horseman. He lived 27 years.

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Marcia Tertulla, his sister, placed it. Here he lies.

100. 8.10629=8.16549=ILS 2329=ILA 3117

Place: Theveste

Date: 1st century

*M(arcus) [I]ulius M(arci) f(ilius) Qui(rina tribu)
Maternus Aug(usto)n(emeto) mil(es) leg(ionis) III
Aug(ustae) 7(centuria) Cri(s)pini, vix(it) ann(is)
XXVII mil(itavit) ann(is) V. h(ic) s(itus) e(st).
Sex(tus) Valerius Att[i]ci[a]nus vexillarius
eq(uitum) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae).*

Marcus Iulius Maternus, son of Marcus, from the Quirina tribe from Augustonemetum. Soldier of *legio III Augusta* in the century of Crispinus. He lived 27 years and served 5 years. Here he lies. Sextus Valerius Atticianus, standard bearer of the horsemen of *legio III Augusta*.

101. AE 1969/70, 661=Benzina Ben Abdallah, 45

Place: Ammaedara

Date: Before 75

*M(arcus) Licinius M(arci) f(ilius) Gal(eria tribu),
Lugd(un)o Fidelis, milit(avit) eq(ues) in leg(ione)
III Aug(usta) ann(is) XVI, fact(us) dupl(icarius) in*

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*ala Pann(oniorum) mens(ibus) IIII vix(it) ann(is)
XXXII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st), Q(uintus) Iulius Atticus
et T(itus) [Mi vel Vi]nicius Saecularis, eq(uites)
leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), h(eredes) eius,
posuerunt.*

Marcus Licinius Fidelis, son of Marcus, from the
Galeria tribe, from the town of Lugdunum. He served
as a horseman in *legio III Augusta* 16 years. Made a
duplicarius in *ala Pannoniorum* for 4 months. He
lived 32 years. Here he lies. Quintus Iulius
Atticus and Titus Minicius (or Vinicius ?)
Saecularis, horsemen of *legio III Augusta*, his
heirs, placed it.

This soldier's promotion scheme helps to establish
the phenomenon of promoting legionary horsemen to the
rank of officer in an auxiliary regiment to ensure that
all the units of the Roman army were trained to an
equally high standard (see p. 73f and p. 75f.).

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102. AE 1957, 85

Place: Lambaesis

Date: mid 2nd century

*Hadriani Nervae Adnep(os) Sar(matico) Ger(manico)
Max(imo) tabularium equitum leg(ionis) III
Aug(ustae) dedicavit co(n)s(ulo) desig(nato).*

... The administrative office (*tabularium*) of the
legionary horsemen of *legio III Augusta* dedicated it
to (Marcus Aurelius, grandson) of Hadrian, great-
grandson of Nerva, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, the
Greatest, consul designate.

The presence of such an administrative office is
important for the existence of an independent
organization for the *equites legionis*. See p. 49 above.

103. 8.2894=ILS 2328

Place: Lambaesis

Date: 3rd century

*Iulius Donatus eq(ues) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) ex
optione, vixit an(n)is LV, et millex anoru(m) XXV,
e(f)fectum fili(o) coniugi mer(enti).*

Iulius Donatus, horseman of *legio III Augusta*, ex-
optio. He lived 55 years and served 25. Made for a
son (and) for a deserving wife.

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Iulius Donatus gives his rank upon discharge as *ex optio* without any qualifying adjective or phrase. It may be that he was an *optio ad spem* in a century or, possibly, he may have been *optio equitum* since he does mention the rank of horseman. The name is known for other legionary horsemen: two Iulii Donati appear at Castellum Dimmidi (114 below).

104. 8.2593=ILS 2326

Place: Lambaesis

Date: 2nd century

*Ael(ius) Severus eq(ues) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)
7(centuria) Iul(i) Candidi, explicitus desiderio
animi sui, aram quam voverat Fortunae Aug(usti)
l(ibens) a(nimo) reddidit eamque dedic(avit).*

Aelius Severus horseman of *legio III Augusta* in the century of Iulius Candidus. Disentangled by the desire of his soul, he, willing in spirit, dedicated this altar he vowed to *Fortuna Augusti* when he returned.

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105. 8.2882=ILS 2331

Place: Lambaesis

Date: 2nd century

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). Herennius Victorinus
disc(ens) eqq(uitum) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae),
vixit ann(is) XXVII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

Sacred to the Gods Below. Herennius Victorinus
learning to be a horseman of *legio III Augusta*. He
lived 27 years. Here he lies.

106. ILS 9492=AE 1914, 48=Benzina ben Abdallah, 397

Place: Mateur (Madaurus?)

Date: second
half, 2nd century

*...] militavit annis XXXV C(aius) [T]i[t]urnius
Quartio eques legionis III Gallicae, cui
imp(eratores) Aug(usti) bello Phartico Seleucia
Babylonia torquem et armillas donaverun[t]. Votum
suum reddi[t].*

...He served 35 years. Caius Titurnius Quartio
horseman of *legio III Gallica* to whom the emperors
Augusti awarded a torque and *armillae* in the
Parthian war at Seleucia in Babylonia. He
discharged his vow.

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This inscription was dated by Dessau in his commentary to A. D. 198 and the Parthian war of Septimius Severus. Subsequently E. Ritterling, *RE* XII 2 (1925), 1524 and Alföldy 1987a, 213, have demonstrated that the Parthian campaign referred to in the text is actually that fought by C. Avidius Cassius in A. D. 166. The *imperatores Augusti* were Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. *Legio III Gallica* was one of the units which formed the backbone of Avidius Cassius' force. C. Titurnius Quartio was decorated for his service

107. 8.18042=ILS 2487

Place: Lambaesis

Date: 129

*Eq(uitibus) leg(ionis) [Ex]ercitationes militares
quodammodo suas leges [ha]bent, quibus si quit
adiciatur aut detrahatur, aut minor [exer]citatio
fit aut difficilior. Quantum autem difficultatis
[additur, t]antum gratiae demitur. Vos ex
difficilibus difficil[ilimum fecisti], ut loricati
iaculationem perageretis.....o, quin immo et
animum probo.....*

To the legionary horsemen. Military exercises have their own principles, to which if anything is added or removed, the exercise either becomes inferior or

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more difficult. Moreover, however much of difficulty is added, so much of the grace is removed. You performed the most difficult task as you completed the hurling of javelins while armored... Indeed, I approve your spirit.

108. 8.2550

Place: Lambaesis

Date: 198

*Dedicante Q(uinto) Anicio Fausto leg(ato)
Augg(ustorum) pro pr(aetore) c(larissimo) v(iro)
co(n)s(ule) desig(nato) eq(uitibus) leg(ionis) III
Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis).*

With Quintus Anicius Faustus legate of the Augusti
pro praetore, most outstanding man and consul
designate dedicating, by the legionary horsemen of
legio III Augusta pia vindex.

109. 8.2562

Place: Lambaesis

Date: 222-235

*[.F]onteius Fortunatus[....]ius Saturninus
v[ex(illarius)] [.]Pinarius Primus vex(illarius)
[.]Flavius Paulinus tess(erarius) A(ulus) Geminius
Extricatus mag(ister) k(ampi) M(arcus) Terentius
Saturninus hast(ilarius) Q(uintus) Iulius Barbarus*

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C(aius) Iulius Septiminius M(arcus) Iulius Maximus
M(arcus) Iulius Processus C(aius) Valerius Silvanus
cur(ator) sc(h)o(lae). (41 names follow)

Fonteius Fortunatus [....]ius Staturinus, standard
bearer, [.]Pinarius Primus standard bearer
[.]Flavius Paulinus duty officer, Aulus Geminius
Extricatus training officer, Marcus Terentius
Saturninus hastilarius, Quintus Iulius Barbarus,
Caius Iulius Septiminius, Marcus Iulius Maximus,
Marcus Iulius Processus, Caius Valerius Silvanus
caretaker of the club.

The exact identification of the *schola* is in some
doubt. It might be argued, that the men are the
singulares consularis from the presence of training
officers like the *magister kampi* and *hastiliarii*. This
is how Speidel 1978, note 159 p. 30f., and Speidel,
forthcoming, see the inscription. Besnier saw it as the
schola equitum legionis on account of ``the place and the
circumstances'' of the find. As has been argued above,
25, the presence of *hastiliarii*, whether training
officers or elite guards, does not eliminate the
possibility of the *schola* being that of the legionary
horsemen. The find spot, in the *praetorium* of *legio III*

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Augusta while not ruling out the governor's guard does seem to agree with Besnier.

110. 8.2565b

Place: Lambaesis Date: 3rd century
 (2565b, 6) [Ant]istius Victor (domo) kas(tris)
 eq(ues)

Antistius Victor, from the camp, a horseman

111. 8.2568

Place: Lambaesis Date: 3rd century
 (2568, 18) coh VIII Celsius Aprilis (domo)
 cas(tris) op(tio) eq(uitum).

Cohort VIII: Celsius Aprilis, from the camp, *optio equitum*

112. 8.3163

Place: Lambaesis Date: 1st quarter of
the 3rd century

*D(is) M(anibus) C(aius) Iulius Saturninus mil(es)
leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) Com(modis honoratus) vixit
annis XL. C(aius) Postumius Martialis eq(ues) aeres
eius fecit.*

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To the Gods Below. Caius Iulius Saturninus, soldier of *legio III Augusta*, honored with privileges, he lived 40 years. Caius Postumius Martialis, horsemen and his heir made it.

113. 8.3164

Place: Lambaesis

Date: 216-222

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). C(aius) Iulius Saturninus eq(ues) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) Antoninianae, v(ixit) a(nnis) XL, Propertia Quinta uxor et heres eius posuit. H(is) s(itus) e(st).

Sacred to the Gods Below. Caius Iulius Saturninus, horseman of *legio III Augusta Antoniniana*, he lived 40 years. Propertia Quinta his wife and heir placed it. Here he lies.

This man seems to be the same as in the previous inscription, having two heredes, one a *collega*, the other probably his wife.

114. Picard, #1

Place: Castellum Dimmidi

Date: May 3, 226

Coh(ors) X. ...(ius) Fuscus (domo) cas(tris), (Ca)ecilium Fort(unat)us (domo) cas(tris),

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(L)ucilius Felix Kar(thagine?), Octavius Aemeritus
(domo) cas(tris), ...esius Antoninus (domo)
Cil(lione), Aelius Fortunatus (domo) Cil(lione),
Iulius Liberalis (domo) Cil(lione), Flavius
Ianuarius (domo) Cil(lione), item eq(uites): Iulius
Donatus, Aemelius Lucian(us), Iulius Saturn(inus),
Iulius Fundan(us), Iulius Donatus, Flavius
(Lu)sitan(us), Q(uintus) Clodius Vitalis, Geminus
Aurelius, Munatius Concor(d)us.

Coh(ors) X. ... (ius) Fuscus from the camp;
(Ca)ecilius Fortunatus from the camp; Lucilius Felix
from Carthage; Octavius Aemeritus from the camp;
...esius Antoninus from Cillio; Aelius Fortunatus
from Cillio, Iulius Liberalis from Cillio, Flavius
Ianuarius from Cillio. Likewise the horsemen:
Iulius Donatus; Aemelius Lucianus; Iulius
Saturninus; Iulius Fundanus; Iulius Donatus; Flavius
Lusitanus; Quintus Clodius Vitalis; Geminus;
Aurelius; Munatius Concordus.

This inscription, the right side of an altar,
provides useful information of the structure of legionary
detachments. Speidel 1984k has demonstrated that as this
list mentions the soldiers' cohort but not their

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centuries, the cohort was the basic administrative unit upon which the *vexillatio*, detachment, was formed. Their number and the unit from which they are drawn is also instructive. There are ten horsemen all of whom are drawn from one cohort; if, as has been suggested by Premierstein 1903, 27, there were two horsemen per century, ten troopers would represent the majority of cohort X's mounted men. The soldiers of another cohort (cohort IX ?) are listed on the left side of the altar. This cohort, which supplied some 16 foot soldiers, did not contribute any *equites* to the detachment. From this we can infer that the cavalry troopers, like the infantrymen, formed their detachments based on their cohort rather than simply centuries. Picard 1944, 91, believed that it would be folly to send out only ten *equites* to serve as a combat unit and so the duties of the legionary horsemen at Castellum Dimmidi must have been limited to police and courier duties; thus, when detached on outpost duty, their role was similar to the mounted troops attached to an auxiliary cohort, the *equites cohortales*: see Davies 1989c, 147ff. No officer is mentioned among the ten horsemen. This led Picard 1944, 91, to suggest that they were led by a *strator*, a legionary groom; one such soldier is attested in a command position by Picard 1944, #3.

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115. Picard, #20

Place: Castellum Dimmidi

Date: 226

*item (eq)ui(tes): Flavius cas(tris), Q(uintus)
Calpurnius, Iulius, T(itus) Flavius, C...L.S,
M(arcus) Aurel(ius), T(itus) Flaviu(s), M(arcus)
Au(relius)*

Likewise the horsemen: Flavius, from the camp;
Quintus Calpurnius; Iulius; Titus Flavius; C...L.S;
Marcus Aurelius; Titus Flavius; Marcus Aurelius

CHAPTER V: THE DOCUMENTS OF THE *EQUITES PROMOTI*

ITALY

116. AE 1907, 143

Place: Rome

Date: late 4th
century

...dp...nonas, die mercuris qui vix(it) annus (sic)
XXXVII me(n)ses... di..s V trebunus equitum
promotorum.

Placed ... nones... on Wednesday, who lived 37
years, ? months, 5 days, tribune of the *equites
promoti*.

This is the only epigraphic attestation of a man of
command rank for the *equites promoti* other than
praepositus which is a title rather than a rank. The
question, because of the find spot, is whether the man
commanded the *equites promoti dominorum nostrorum*. See
above p. 118f.

117. AE 1946, 127

Place: Rome

Date: late 3rd
century

Val(erius) Proclianus protector qui vixit an(n)is
XLIIII et Val(erius) Nepotianus exarcus promotus

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*domnicus qui vixit annis XXX fratres. Valeria
Palladia coniugi carissimo bene merenti et cognato
suo domum eterna dolens fabricavit.*

Valerius Proclianus protector who lived 44 years
and Valerius Nepotianus, *exarcus promotus domnicus* who
lived 30 years, brothers. Valeria Palladia greiving for
a most dear, well deserving husband and his relative,
made it as their eternal home.

The man gives his rank as *exarcus promotus
domnicus*. The adjective *domnicus* must certainly refer to
his unit as the *equites promoti dominorum nostrorum*.

118. 6.32965=ILS 2791

Place: Rome

Date: late 3rd/early
4th century

*Dis manibus sacrum. Val(erio) Maxentio aeq(uiti)
ex numero Lanc(i)ariorum vixit an(nis) XXVI,
mil(itavit) an(nis) VI iscola aequitum b(ene)
m(erenti) f(aciundum).*

Sacred to the Gods below. For Valerius Maxentius,
a horseman from the unit of *Lanciarii*. He lived 36

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years and served six years in the *schola* of
horsemen. It was made for one well deserving.

This man is a mounted *lanciarium* in a legion which
shows legionary cavalrymen were still attached to the
infantry. The inscription is contemporaneous with 120
and in the text we also have a mounted *lanciarium*.

MOESIA SUPERIOR

119. AE 1903, 291

Place: Viminacium

Date: 1st third of
4th century

*D(is) i(nferis) m(anibus). Valerius Iovinu[s ex]
ducenar[io equitum] promotorum q(ui) vixit
[annos...]aginta d(u)os patr[ono impro]miscuae fide
Ne[stori] sui temp(or)is moribus bene cognito,
iusto of(f)icios operoso Vibia Sicca et Valeria
Marcella et Flavia Iovina [ob ab]stem[i]e
nob[iliter]que facta memoria fec(erunt).*

To the gods below. Valerius Iovinus, ex *ducenarius*
of the *equites promoti*, who lived ...?-two years.
For patron of pure faith, a Nestor of his own time,
known well for his mores, just, hard-working with

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respect to his duties, Vibia Sicca and Valeria Marcella and Flavia Iovina made this in his memory on account of selflessly and nobly done deeds.

This man appears to be a high ranking centurion. The date is supplied by the fact that he has one daughter with a pre-Constantinian name, Valeria and a second daughter with a post-Constantinian name, Flavia.

ASIA

120. AE 1981, 777

Place: Cotiaenum

Date: post 299-305

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Γάιος β' ἰστρατ[ευσάμ]νο(ς) ἰς λειγειῶναν
πρώτην (*sic*) Ἰταλ[ικὴν Μ]υσιατικῶν, ἐκλεχθεὶς ἰς
ὀγδ[όαν Αὐ]ούσταν Γερμανικίαν, ἐν ἐπ[αρχί]α Σκυθ[ία]
κα(ὶ) Πανν(ονία) Ἰοβία Σκυθικᾶ τή[ρων],
ἰστρατευσάμενος μαθητῆς ἱππέων, εἴτα ἱππ[εύς]
λωνκ[ιάρ]ι(ο)ς...(other ranks and a number of
provinces follow).

Aurelius Caius Secundus served in *legio I Italica*
Moesiatica, transferred to *legio VIII Augusta*
Germanica, in the provinces of Scythia and Pannonia

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in *legio I Iovia Scythia* as *tiro*, he served as *discens equitum*, then mounted *lanciarius*...

Of interest is the soldier's recruitment; he went directly from *tiro*, recruit, right into the ranks of the horsemen after a period in training as *discens equitum*. He was then attached to a legion as an *eques lanciarius* which shows weapons specialization. The stone also preserves the equipment of the deceased which included a round shield and a spear, perhaps a *lancea*. Noteworthy is the presence of two servants: for these see Speidel 1989b.

AEGYPTUS

121. P. Beatty Panopolis 2.

Place: Panopolis

Date: 300

φρ[οντίσατε] ἐξοδιάσαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας εἰς ὃν
δέξη τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ θρόνματ[α κατὰ κ]έλυσιν τοῦ
κυρίου μου Δόμνου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ
Λεοντίω πραιποσίτῳ ἱππέων προμώτων λεγεῶνος Β'
Τραϊανῆς δια[κειμέν]ων ἐν Τεντύρα...(lines 197-200)
...διὰ Μάρωνος (ἐκατοντάρχου) καὶ Ἀμμωνίου ἱππέως
ὀπινιατόρων ...(line 202)

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τοῖς ὑπὸ Λεόντιον πραιπόσιτον ἵππεῦσι προμῶτοις
λ[εγε]ῶνος Β' Τραϊανῆς διακειμένοις ἐν Τεντύρᾳ...
(lines 204-205)

See that you pay out, at the very hour you receive
this, according to the command of my lord Domnus,
the most noble Catholicus, to Leontius, *praepositus*
of the *equites promoti* of *legio II Traiana*
garrisoned at Tentyra...(lines 197-200)... through
the centurion Maron and the cavalryman Ammonius,
the agents...(line 202)...to the *equites promoti* of
legio II Traiana under the *praepositus* Leontius
stationed in Tentyra... (lines 204-205)

This unit is apparently a detachment on outpost
duty at Tentyra. It is interesting that it is a
centurion who doles out the pay, aided, it would seem,
by a common trooper.

122. P. Grenfell 2.74

Place: Tentyra (?)

Date: 302

Αὐρέλιος [Ἰ]ὼν Κάστορος [σ]τρατιώτης ἵππεὺς
προμῶτων σεκούντων ἄπὸ λεγεῶνος Β' Τραϊανῆς
διακειμένης ἐν Τεντύρᾳ ὑπὸ Μακρόβιον [πρ]αιπόσιτον.

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Aurelius Hero Castor, soldier (and) *eques* of the *promoti* from *legio II Traiana* stationed at Tentyra under the *praepositus* Macrobius.

This papyrus, along with 118 and 120, shows how the *equites promoti* were garrisoned throughout the Thebaid. They may have been used from police duties like the *cohortes equitatae* of the high empire.

123. P. Columbia 7.188

Place: Karanis

Date: 320

Οὐαλέριος Ἀειῶν ἑκατόνταρχος οὐξιλατίωνος ἱππέων
προμώτων λεγεῶν[ος] Β' Τραϊανῆς τῶν ὑπὸ Δηκέντιον
π[ραι]πόσιτον διακειμένων ἐν κώμῃ Ἀ[σ]φ[ύ]νει τοῦ
Λ[α]τοπολείτου νομοῦ...(lines 2-3)

ἵππο[±45] γ μοσχίου πυ.[..].ν α-ὄπλον, α-κουτὸς,
[α]-ἀλαβαντικὸν, α-θωράκιον, α-πελύκιον, α-ἱμάτιον,
α-ἄλλ(ο) πελύκιον... (lines 16-17)

Οὐαλέριος ..[(ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) σ]υνκολληγας (line 26)

Οὐαλέριος Ἀπι[ς (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(]ος) [σ]υνκ[ολ]λήγας< >
(line 27)

Οὐαλέριος Ἰσίδ[ωρος (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) συνκολλ]ήγας
(line 28)

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Οὐαλέριος Σαραπίου (ἐκατόνταρ)χ(ος) συνκολλήγας

(line 29)

Οὐαλέριος Ἰέραξ (ἐκατόνταρ)χ(ος) συνκολλήγας (line

29)

Οὐαλέριος Παλήμων (ἐκατόνταρ)χ(ος) συνκολλήγας (line

30)

Valerius Aion, *centurio* of *vexillatio* of the
equites promoti of *legio II Traiana* stationed under
the *praepositus* Decentius in the village of
Asphynis of the Latopolite nome... (lines 2-3)

Horse...calf, shield, lance, *alabandicum*, cuirass,
axe, cloak, another axe...(lines 16-17)

Valerius *centurion* and colleague, Valerius
Apis *centurion* and colleague, Valerius Isidorus
centurion and colleague, Valerius Sarapion *centurion*
and colleague, Valerius Hierax *centurion* and
colleague, Valerius Palemon *centurion* and colleague
(lines 26-30)

The number of *centurions* is a particularly
interesting aspect of this papyrus. No fewer than seven
are attested, the deceased and six of his ``colleagues.'' This
provides some hint as to the commanders and the
numbers of *equites promoti*. See above p. 118-123. The

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list of equipment also provides useful information. The *kontos*, taken by the original editors as "a pole" must surely be a lance, *contus*, in the context. The presence of a *thorax*, likely a mail shirt, shows that legionary horse, like most troopers, still had armor even if not shown on those monuments which depict camp dress. The *alabandicum* was thought likewise to be some sort of weapon: Bagnall and Lewis 1979, 218; it may also be some piece of armor.

124. MS Gardiner Wilkinson, No. 22, p. 51 and 62

Plates 4 and 5

Place: Luxor

Date: 301-302

Anepigraphic

These paintings are from the *sacellum* at the camps at Luxor. The scenes apparently depict an imperial *adventus*: M. Reddé in El-Saghir et al. 1986, 27-31. As the camps housed a pair of legions, now believed to be *legio I Maximiana* and *legio II Flavia Constantia*: see Speidel and Pavkovič 1989. There are several horsemen shown, all in camp dress. One is in a red tunic (Plate 4) while the others have white with decorative bands and patches: see MacMullen 1990, 95-102 for the decoration and symbolism of late Roman uniforms. This may be

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instructive as it has been argued that centurions wore red tunics; only legionary horsemen were led by centurions. See above p. 121ff.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has attempted to answer the need for a study of the *equites legionis* and *equites promoti*, the horsemen attached to the Roman legion, and for a collection of the evidence concerning them. In the preparation of this work, several problems concerning these legionary horsemen became evident.

The difficulties center around four main topics: the organization of the legionary cavalry, the commander of the *equites legionis*, the recruitment of legionary troopers and the role of these horsemen.

The organization of the *equites legionis* has, as discussed earlier, long been a point of contention among scholars. The main question was as to whether the legionary horsemen were organized into *turmae* as were the auxiliary troopers and which certain passages from Vegetius suggested or did they form part of the *centuria* as the epigraphic evidence implied.

The answer is that the legionary horsemen were attached to their *centuriae* for administrative purposes, but formed *turma*-like units on the battlefield. The evidence of Vegetius so often adduced cannot be shown actually to refer to the legionary horsemen; in fact, it is more likely to have referred to the auxiliary troopers as a point of comparison.

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Moreover, the lower officers usually associated with the cavalry squadrons, decurions, cannot be shown to have existed for the legionary horsemen.

The second problem concerning the legionary horsemen is closely tied to the first, i.e., if the *equites legionis* were not organized in squadrons and did not have decurions, who was their commanding officer? The evidence for a connection with tribunes seems to imply that, if these officers were involved with the horsemen of the high empire, it was in a training capacity. Likewise, the *optio* who has been proffered as the commander seems an unlikely candidate since at least some of the training officers of the horsemen ranked as centurions. The answer, then, seems to be that the commander of *equites legionis* was a centurion of fairly high rank. This interpretation is bolstered by the new reading of the inscription on the silver ring from Baden.

An interesting question which was raised in the course of this study was the recruitment of the *equites legionis*. This centers around the reasons as to why a man would be selected as a legionary horseman. The answer seems to be that these troopers were enrolled as legionaries first and horsemen second. We do not, for example, see large numbers of men enlisted in those

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provinces renowned for horsemen. Rather we see normal legionary recruitment patterns. Those horsemen, whose enlistment is unusual, can be attributed to the legate's preference in selecting his guard, as is the case with Ti. Claudius Maximus.

The question of the legionary legate's guard brings us to the problem of the role of the legionary horsemen. Scholars have long argued that a unit of one hundred twenty horsemen can hardly have served as more than a unit of staff troops whose primary function was to provide a corps of messengers. This study, however, has argued that the role of the *equites legionis* was more important to the legate than a rear area unit performing minor protective and communications duties. Instead the evidence points to the legionary troopers as forming an elite guard unit for the legionary commander. The promotions of legionary horsemen to command positions in the auxiliary regiments, the presence of training officers (and perhaps special guardsmen -- *hastiliarii*) and the formation of battle cavalry in the third century all point to their elite status.

The position of the legionary horsemen in the history of the Roman army, which has until now has been seen as somewhat secondary, can now be re-evaluated. The legionary horsemen and their successors the *equites*

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promoti may now take their proper place with the *equites singulares Augusti*, the *singulares praesidis* and the *stablesiani* as the crack units of the Roman army.



Plate 1

Tombstone of Caius Marius, Bonn

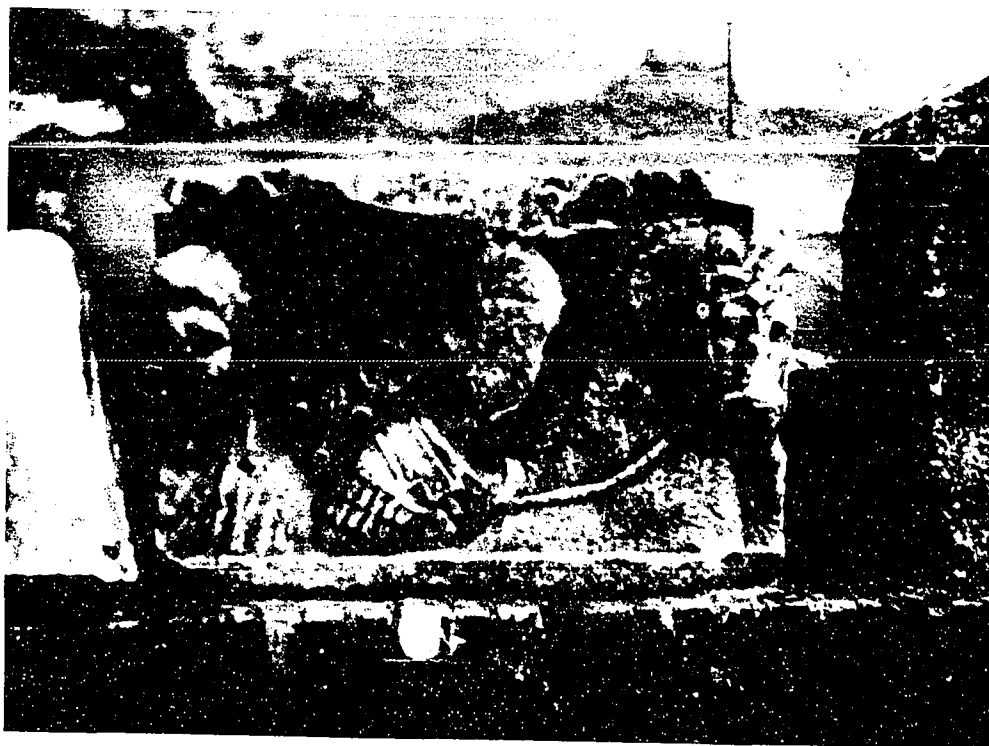


Plate 2

Anepigraphic Relief of a Legionary Horseman, Naples



Plate 3

Tombstone of Caius Iulius, Cormasa

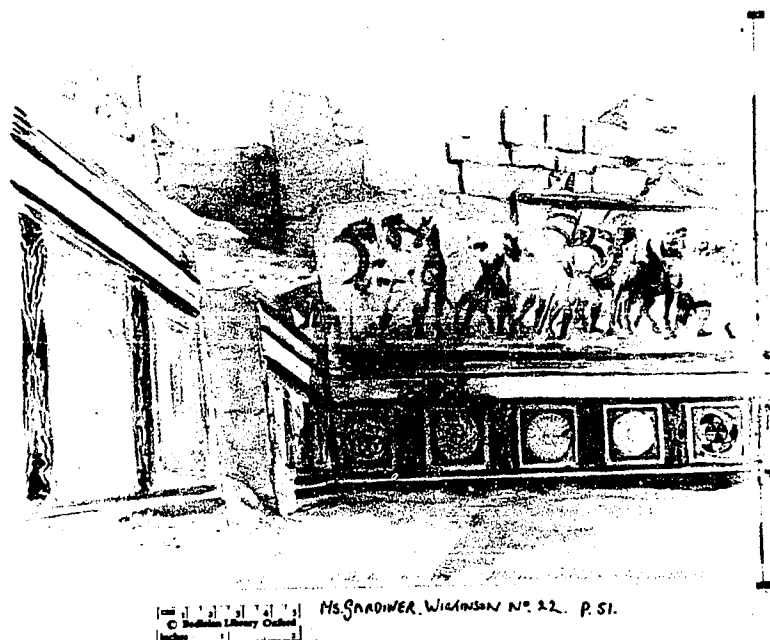


Plate 4
Wall Painting, Luxor



Plate 5
Wall Painting, Luxor (detail)

GLOSSARY

Ala	A cavalry regiment composed of a number of turmae.
Calo	A soldier's servant, usually a slave, found most often among horsemen.
Centuria	Basic administrative and combat unit of the legions and auxiliary cohorts, equal to a modern infantry company.
Centurio	Commander of centuria. The centurio's contemporary counterpart is probably a captain.
Cohors	A group of six centuriae which maneuvered together on the battle field. Equivalent to a modern battalion.
Cornicularius	Chief clerk or adjutant to an officer, usually of fairly high rank, such as a centurio, tribune or legate.
Decurio	Commander of a turma, or cavalry squadron.
Eques	Horseman. Best seen as both a rank and function in the Roman army.
Immunis	Common soldier "immune" from fatigue duties about camp.
Legate	A high ranking officer. The two main types are the legati Augusti pro praetore, provincial governors, and the legati legionis, commanders of individual legions.
Lorica	A set of armor. There were several types of loricae which could be classified according to the material and method of manufacture: lorica hamata -- chainmail, lorica segmentata -- bands of iron around the abdomen and over the shoulders and lorica squamata -- scales, often bronze, sewn to a leather backing.

Glossary

Munifex	Common soldier burdened with fatigue duties about camp.
Optio	A junior officer, usually in charge of some non-combat organization or an assistant to a higher ranking officer such as a centurio.
Principalis	Lower ranking officers of the Roman army with both command and staff duties
Stipendium	A year of military service with pay
Singularis	A "selected soldier" who serves as a guardsman. The two types were the singulares praesidis, the infantry and cavalry guards of the governors and the equites singulares Augusti, the emperors crack horseguards.
Tribunes	Staff officers, analogous to modern majors in the U. S. armed forces (not colonels as often translated since colonels hold command posts while majors, like tribunes, usually do not).
Turma	A cavalry squadron of thirty to thirty-two troopers. Led by a decurio.
Vexillarius	Standard bearer who carried the vexillum, a cloth flag used by horsemen and infantry detachments.

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