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THE ARMY REFORMS OF DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE AND THEIR MODIFICATIONS UP TO THE TIME OF THE NOTITIA DIGNITATUM.

By E. C. NISCHER, DR. PHIL.

When Diocletian ascended the throne of the Caesars on September 17, 284, there was still in the field against him an army under the command of Carinus, the elder son of Carus. Carinus was killed by one of his own officers in the battle of the Margus (285), and Diocletian was thus left undisputed master of the Empire. Of all the emperors who up till now had reigned in Rome none had succeeded in emancipating himself so completely from outside influence, whether wielded by the Senate or by the Praetorian Prefect or by any one else, as did this native of Illyria. It was left for him to deprive the Senate of the last of its fictitious prerogatives—prerogatives which had extended even into the domain of army administration—and to become in the fullest sense of the term the founder of an absolute monarchy.

The concentration of supreme and unlimited authority in the hands of a man so energetic and far-sighted as was Diocletian could not but have its effect on the organization and development of the army. Despite the many modifications introduced in the course of centuries, in substance the system of Augustus still remained, and the legions which Diocletian found in existence when he ascended the throne must have been the thirty-three Severan legions, whose names we know, and the I Julia Alexandria.¹ Besides there were, as there had always been since Augustus's day, the due complement of auxiliaries and the personnel of the fleets.

The following, then, was the distribution of the legions at the beginning of Diocletian's reign :—

Lower Britain :	VI Victrix	..	..	..	..	1 legion.
Upper Britain :	II Augusta ; XX Valeria Victrix	..	..	..	..	2 legions.
Lower Germany :	I Minervia ; XXX Ulpia Victrix	..	..	..	..	2 legions.
Upper Germany :	VIII Augusta ; XXII Primigenia	..	..	..	..	2 legions.
Raetia :	III Italica	..	..	..	..	1 legion.
Noricum :	II Italica	..	..	..	..	1 legion.
Upper Pannonia :	X Gemina ; XIV Gemina	..	..	..	..	2 legions.

¹ Cf. Böcking, *Not. dign.* p. 223, note 35. This legion seems to have been raised by Severus Alexander for his intended eastern campaign. It was certainly in Egypt by Diocletian's reign. Under

Constantine I it was disbanded as a frontier-legion and its name survived only as that of a *legio comitatensis* (*Not. dign.*, Or. viii, 51, Julia Alexandria).

Lower Pannonia :	I Adjutrix ; II Adjutrix	..	..	..	2 legions.
Upper Moesia :	IV Flavia ; VII Claudia	..	..	..	2 legions.
Dacia :	V Macedonica ; XIII Gemina	..	..	..	2 legions.
Lower Moesia :	I Italica ; XI Claudia	..	..	..	2 legions.
Cappadocia :	XII Fulminata ; XV Apollinaris	..	..	..	2 legions.
Syria :	IV Scythica ; XVI Flavia	..	..	..	2 legions.
Phoenicia :	III Gallica	..	..	..	1 legion.
Judaea :	VI Ferrata ; X Fretensis	..	..	..	2 legions.
Mesopotamia :	I Parthica ; III Parthica	..	..	..	2 legions.
Arabia :	III Cyrenaica	..	..	..	1 legion.
Egypt :	[I Julia Alexandria] ; II Traiana	..	..	..	2 legions.
Numidia :	III Augusta	..	..	..	1 legion.
Spain :	VII Gemina	..	..	..	1 legion.
Italy :	II Parthica	..	..	..	1 legion.
Total ..					<u>34 legions.</u>

Like so many of his predecessors, Diocletian too recognized the weakness of the Roman military system—a weakness which, as he perceived, consisted in the fact that, looked at in the light of the size of the Empire, the fighting forces were inadequate in number ; and the chief object of his army reform was the remedying of this grave defect by the raising of entirely new units of *first-line* troops. This plan he was able to carry out with more completeness than any of his predecessors because, as absolute monarch, he had very different means at his disposal and could afford to disregard the considerations that had weighed with others. The general situation too was, no doubt, particularly favourable, and fortune did not leave the Emperor in the lurch in his great undertaking.

To form a proper conception of Diocletian's activities in the military sphere, it is essential to distinguish his work quite clearly from the reforms of Constantine. This, however, has never yet been done. The character of a single transaction has been attributed to something that was not merely the work of two entirely different men, but was actually the embodiment of two policies that were to some extent incompatible. Mommsen¹ had laid down the principle that "the army of this period must be described as the joint creation of Diocletian and Constantine," and all subsequent historians have been influenced by his dictum. Thus, even Seeck² accepts this view, at least partially. After speaking of the 'barbarising' of the army, on the one hand, and of its loss of morale, on the other, he represents the process as already so far advanced at the time of Diocletian's accession that it would have been impossible to check it ; he holds that, though at the beginning of his reign the Emperor certainly enrolled a considerable number of new legions, *alae*, and

¹ 'Das römische Militärwesen seit Diocletian,' *Hermes* xxiv (1899), p. 228.

² *Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt.* ii, p. 33 and note.

cohorts, he was finally forced to the conclusion that the supplies of money and of men were insufficient. This is the basis on which Seeck tries to build his account of Diocletian's army reforms.

All regiments bearing the titles Diocletiana, Maximiana, Iovia, Herculia, and Valeria he calls Diocletianic, as well as the following legions:—I Armeniaca (*Or.* vii, 49); II Armeniaca (*Or.* vii, 50); I Illyricorum (*Or.* xxxii, 30; *C.I.G.* 2941); I Isaura Sagittaria (*Or.* vii, 56); II Isaura (*Or.* xxix, 7); III Isaura (*Or.* xxix, 8); IV Italica (*Or.* vii, 54); I Noricorum (*Occ.* xxxiv, 40, 41; *C.I.L.* iii, 4655^a, 4803, 5756, 6489); IV Parthica (*Or.* xxxv, 24); V Parthica (*Amm. Marc.* xviii, 9, 3); VI Parthica (*Or.* vii, 55); I Pontica (*Or.* xxxviii, 16; *C.I.L.* iii, 236). All units bearing the title Flavia, on the other hand, he regards as creations of Constantine, a theory which does not always hold good, for the *legio ripariensis* II Flavia Constantia (*Or.* xxxi, 32), at all events, owes its title to Flavius Constantius, Diocletian's Caesar. This legion belongs to a group which contained the undoubtedly Diocletianic frontier-legions, I Maximiana and III Diocletiana (*Or.* xxviii, 18; xxxi, 31, 33, 38), and which reappears in the three *legiones comitatenses* of the same names (*Or.* vii, 45; viii, 36, 37). The fact that all three bear the additional designation 'Thebaeorum' is further proof of their intimate connexion.

Seeck next calls attention to the two different methods of naming the legions: some, in accordance with the custom that had prevailed since the first century, bore a number with one or two titles attached, *e.g.* Legio I Armeniaca; others had no number but were often, though not always, differentiated according to age, *e.g.* Ioviani Seniores, Herculiani Iuniores. He conjectures that "the two methods of nomenclature point to the two periods into which, so far as his military reforms are concerned, the reign of Diocletian falls; that is to say, the legions which bear a number were probably enrolled before Diocletian divided the field army from the frontier army."

Grosse¹ takes much the same line, remarking incidentally that the first fruit of Diocletian's reforms was merely a reinforcement of the army, not its reorganization. As soon, however, as the Emperor realized, as he speedily did, that this measure was not sufficient and that, if the cordon were to be continuous, some millions of troops would be required to ensure the simultaneous defence, at every point, of the frontiers of the Empire, immensely long as they were, and threatened almost everywhere, he created the field army that he might have a reserve always ready for every emergency. We shall see in the sequel that Diocletian strove to attain this end by other means, means which did not represent so complete a break with all previous traditions.

¹ *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (1920), pp. 57 f.

It may seem strange that all earlier attempts to give a clear idea of the activities of Diocletian and Constantine in the military sphere have met with such small success, that indeed the results have invariably been contradictory and perplexing. The reason is that, in endeavouring to separate the reforms of the one emperor from those of the other, no one has deduced from the available facts the whole of the conclusions which they are capable of yielding. And yet there are the clearest grounds for drawing an exceedingly sharp distinction :—

(1) In the field armies (*palatini* and *comitatenses*)—with one or two easily explained exceptions—no *pre*-Constantinian names are to be found.

(2) As we shall see, Diocletian doubled the number of frontier legions and also added largely to the total of auxiliaries. Had he been the creator of the field army, he would never have begun by carrying through this enormous increase of the old army units, a proceeding which must naturally have occupied a long series of years, and then have fashioned a set of entirely new units out of units whose formation was barely completed. A much longer period than the principate of Diocletian would have been needed for the execution of all these measures and for testing the old system and replacing it by something else.

(3) All the passages¹ which bear upon the military activity of Diocletian and of Constantine expressly describe the former as the augmentser and the latter as the reorganizer of the Roman army. Lydus² tells us indeed that Constantine doubled the number of the army; but, quite apart from the unreliability of that author, the passage can be readily explained by supposing it to mean that out of *one*, the old army, Constantine formed *two*, the field and the frontier armies. A layman like Lydus might naturally enough be betrayed into a loose and misleading statement such as he actually makes.

(4) Three inscriptions from Rome³ and one from Troesmis,⁴ which Mommsen and his successors down to Grosse have cited as supporting their view, can easily be interpreted in a different sense. Moreover, to what extent would the main argument be strengthened, even if Mommsen had succeeded in showing conclusively that this *one* body of troops—it is ‘*lanciarii*’ that are in question—had already been constituted by Diocletian on the same lines as those adopted by Constantine for the whole of the field-army? It should be observed that under Constantine the field-army contained as many as 286 units.

Besides the fifteen Diocletianic legions already enumerated, there

¹ Zosimus iii, 34; Vict. *Caes.* xli, 12; Lact., *De mort. pers.* 7; finally an extract in Suidas which apparently comes also from Zosimus.

² *De mens.* i, 27.

³ *C.I.L.* vi, 2759, 2787, 32965. See p. 55 *infra*.

⁴ *C.I.L.* iii, 6194.

are ten other divisions of which Diocletian was certainly, or at least fairly certainly, the founder. These are:—I Jovia (*Or.* xxxix, 32-35); II Herculia (*Or.* xxxix, 29-31; 35); III Herculia (*Occ.* v, 238 = vii, 54); V Jovia (*Occ.* xxxii, 44, 46, 48); VI Herculia (*Occ.* xxxii, 45, 47, 48); I Julia Alpina (*Occ.* v, 257 = vii, 34); II Julia Alpina (*Occ.* v, 258 = vii, 60); III Julia Alpina (*Occ.* v, 248 = vii, 35); IV Martia (*Or.* xxxvi, 22); and lastly a IV Jovia, which has disappeared in the Notitia but is deducible from the continuous numbering of the legions bearing the titles Jovia and Herculia.

If we turn next to the new legions in the Notitia (*palatini*, *comitatenses*, *pseudocomitatenses*) which either are designated by a number only or bear a number in addition to another designation, we shall see that they have all developed out of pre-Diocletianic or Diocletianic legions, with the exception of the few to be mentioned now, and these we must consider more in detail:—

East.	West.
I Flavia Gemina (viii, 40).	I Flavia Pacis (v, 249 = vii, 146).
II Flavia Gemina (viii, 41).	II Flavia Virtutis (v, 250 = vii, 147).
I Flavia Constantia (vii, 44).	III Flavia Salutis (v, 251 = vii, 148)
	II Flavia Constantiniana
	(v, 253 = vii, 149).
	I Flavia Gallicana Constantia
	(v, 264 = vii, 90).
	I Flavia Mettis ¹ (v, 269 = vii, 95).

All these legions are *comitatenses* with the exception of the two last of the western ones, which are *pseudocomitatenses*. These two seem to have developed, not out of frontier-legions, but out of auxiliary cohorts, as the resemblance between the names of the I Flavia Gallicana Constantia and the ‘*milites primae Flaviae, Constantia*’ (*Occ.* xxxvii, 20) suggests. And, just as in the case of this legion we see the place-name Constantia added, so in the case of the second *legio pseudocomitatensis* we have the place-name Mettis.

But, excluding these two legions from our consideration, we find various reasons for believing that the other seven—to which must be added a *legio comitatensis* I Flavia Constantiniana, of whose existence at one time we may be certain—really go back to previous Diocletianic legions:—

(1) This was the case, as we have seen, with all the other legions that were named and numbered in this way.

(2) It is remarkable that, although a whole series of units are called after Maximianus Herculeus and Flavius Constantius, not a single one takes its name from Diocletian’s other colleagues, while the total

¹ The reading ‘Metis’ (*Occ.* v, 269) or, better, ‘Mettis’ seems to me preferable to ‘Martis’ (*Occ.* vii, 95).

number of regiments that derive their titles from the Flavian house is very great and two legions actually bear the name of Constantine I. The obvious explanation is that a considerable number of these units (and among them all the eight *legiones comitatenses* enumerated above) bore the names of imperial colleagues of Diocletian who belonged to the number of Constantine I's enemies. Constantine therefore renamed these legions after himself and his family, and did so no doubt early in his reign before he essayed the complete reorganization of the army.

(3) It will be found that the execution of Diocletian's plans of reform called for just about the number of legions we have identified above as his. These reforms consisted in the institution of a number of independent bodies of divisional and main reserves which were not tied to any particular point of the frontier, but which possessed a greater freedom of action and could even be employed at need in more distant provinces without any substantial weakening of the frontier-defence proper.

To prove the existence of these reserves we must, however, produce concrete examples :—

On the Danube the legions are usually posted in two stations, five cohorts in each.¹ The distribution of the legions is such as to leave no gap anywhere. Yet we find here originally two legions, III Herculia and IV Jovia, which do not fit into the scheme of direct frontier-defence and which therefore can never have been actually stationed on the frontier. A disposition of the two legions in which III Herculia formed one group together with I Jovia and II Herculia, and IV Jovia another with V Jovia and VI Herculia, is equally inconceivable, for Diocletian preferred to have his provincial legions in pairs, and often introduced this arrangement himself where he did not find it already in existence. The only possible conclusion then is that these two legions were not stationed immediately on the frontier itself but formed a sort of divisional reserve, somewhere behind it, for a definite sector of the Danube frontier. The headquarters of the two legions must have been the two towns of the province Valeria which bear their names, Herculia and Jovia. Here they occupied a central position, from which they could be quickly pushed forward to any point on the frontier that was threatened. Or, should the enemy break through with unexpected suddenness at the sharp projecting bend which the Danube takes between Brigetium and Aquincum, his advance on Aquileia by the most direct route would bring him up against the intact divisional reserve,

¹ Note, however, Upper Moesia (IV Flavia : 1 station), Dacia Ripensis (V Macedonica : 4 stations; XIII Gemina : 5 stations), Valeria (II Adjutrix : 6 stations), and Upper Pannonia (X Gemina : 1 station). These are exceptions.

a formidable fighting force when account is taken of its quota of *alae* and cohorts.

I have already mentioned the three Diocletianic legions bearing the title *Julia Alpina*. Two of these, the I and II, appear in the *Notitia* as *legiones pseudocomitatenses*, the first being under the command of the *Comes Italiae*, the second under that of the *Comes Illyrici*. But the territory of these two generals included the Julian Alps, with which the *pseudocomitatenses* and also the *Legio III Julia Alpina*, which is reckoned in the *Notitia* as a *legio comitatensis*, must be very closely connected. Now to this day in that part of the Alps there survive the imposing remains of an extensive system of fortifications, consisting of several lines of walls and forts, which stretches in depth from Oberlaibach to Heidenschaft.¹ Their garrison was doubtless originally the three *Legiones Juliae Alpinae*, whose task it would therefore be to defend the roads that led from Pannonia—and perhaps also from the neighbouring part of Noricum—into North Italy.

The creation of these three legions, and the stationing of them in that part of the Alps from which they derived their title, shows the great importance which Diocletian attached to those mountain passes as offering the best and shortest route for any army which had forced its way across the middle Danube and was bent on invading North Italy. If we consider this in connexion with what we said above about III *Herculia* and IV *Jovia*, we shall see that an enemy attempting to advance from the Danube to *Aquileia* would have to penetrate three defensive zones—the frontier-fortifications along the river itself, the reserve position *Herculia-Jovia* with its mobile garrison, and the passes of the Julian Alps held by the three legions that were called after them.

What has been said about III *Herculia* and IV *Jovia* holds good also for I and II *Armeniaca*, and still more for V and VI *Parthica*, which consequently must also have been originally divisional reserves. Similarly the three *Isaurian* legions, only two of which appear in the *Notitia* as still stationed in the country, must not merely have served for the suppression of brigandage but must also, we may be sure, have had their part to play as a main reserve for the Euphrates frontier. But, if we can prove that the system of divisional and main reserves was in use to the extent that has been indicated, we must assume that Diocletian instituted a similar system all over the empire. We must suppose therefore that there were also divisional reserves for the Rhine frontier, for the eastern sector of the Danube, for Egypt and for Africa. The last two, unable from

¹ Müllner, in *Emona*, 1879, p. 186; *Argo* viii, p. 201 f, 220 f; ix, 11 f, 29 f. Premmerstein and Rutar, *Römische Strassen und Befestigungen in*

Krain: 1899. Last surveyed during the European War by W. Schmid, some of whose results have been published.

their position to derive support from the main reserves, were made correspondingly stronger. The distribution may have been as follows :—

Divisional reserve for the Rhine frontier: [I Flavia Constantiniana¹]; II Flavia Constantiniana.

Divisional reserve for West Danube frontier: III Herculia; [IV Jovia].

Divisional reserve for East Danube frontier: I Flavia Gemina; II Flavia Gemina.

Divisional reserve for Pontus and Armenia: I Armeniaca; II Armeniaca.

Divisional reserve for Mesopotamia and Osrhoene: V Parthica; VI Parthica.

Reserve for Egypt: I Maximiana; II Flavia Constantia; III Diocletiana.

Reserve for Africa: I Flavia Pacis; II Flavia Virtutis; III Flavia Salutis.

Main reserve in the Julian Alps: I, II, III Julia Alpina.

Main reserve in Isauria: I, II, III Isaura.

The deductions drawn above have already given us a picture of the methods which Diocletian adopted for the improvement of the frontier defence. But, in so far as the picture has not been blurred by subsequent changes due to Constantine, they also show us how Diocletian formed his legion-groups and how he proceeded in the matter of nomenclature. The normal division is the group of two legions; in nomenclature, consecutive numbering and closely allied designations are, as far as may be, adopted. The recognition of this fact considerably simplifies the problem of the reconstruction of the legionary garrisons of the provinces in the reign of Diocletian, and we can form some such idea of the scheme as the following :—

Britannia II :	VI Victrix ; XX Valeria Victrix..	..	..	2 legions.
Britannia I :	[I Flavia Victrix ²]; II Augusta ..	..	..	2 legions.
Germania II :	I Minervia ; XXX Ulpia Traiana ..	..	..	2 legions.
Germania I :	VIII Augusta ; XXII Primigenia ..	..	..	2 legions.
Sequanicum :	[IV Italica ²] .. .. .	..	..	1 legion.
Raetia :	III Italica .. .. .	..	..	1 legion.
Noricum :	I Noricorum ; II Italica ..	..	..	2 legions.
Pannonia I :	X Gemina ; XIV Gemina ..	..	..	2 legions.
Valeria :	I Adjutrix ; II Adjutrix ..	..	..	2 legions.

¹ Throughout this article the use of square brackets indicates that the unit concerned is not actually mentioned in any of the ancient authorities, although there is other evidence from which its existence may be inferred. In the present case, for example, we may safely argue back from a 'II Flavia Constantiniana' to a 'I Flavia Constantiniana.'

² The reasons for the disposition I here suggest for I Flavia Victrix, IV Italica, and I Flavia Constantia cannot be considered until we come to the reforms of Constantine with which they stand in close connexion : see pp. 21, note 7, 23 ff.

Pannonia II :	V Jovia ; VI Herculia	2 legions.
Moesia I :	IV Flavia ; VII Claudia	2 legions.
Dacia Ripensis :	V Macedonica ; XIII Gemina	2 legions.
Moesia II :	I Italica ; XI Claudia	2 legions.
Scythia :	I Jovia ; II Herculia	2 legions.
Pontus :	I Pontica	1 legion.
Armenia :	XII Fulminata ; XV Apollinaris	2 legions.
Mesopotamia :	I, II Parthica	2 legions.
Osrhoene :	III, IV Parthica	2 legions.
Syria :	IV Scythica ; XVI Flavia	2 legions.
Phoenicia :	I Illyricorum ; III Gallica	2 legions.
Palaestina :	VI Ferrata ; X Fretensis	2 legions.
Arabia :	III Cyrenaica ; IV Martia	2 legions.
Thebais :	[I Julia Alexandria] ; II Traiana	2 legions.
Africa :	[I Flavia Constantia ¹] ; III Augusta	2 legions.
Hispania :	VII Gemina	1 legion.
		<hr/>
		First line .. 46 legions.
Divisional reserves	Second line ..	16 legions.
Main reserves	Third line ..	6 legions.
		<hr/>
		Total .. 68 legions.
		<hr/>

Diocletian's endeavour to give expression to the essential unity of the groups by the use of suitable names and numbers is clear from the following examples :—

- (1) The creation of the group I-VI Jovia-Herculia.
- (2) The completion of the group I-III Parthica by the addition of similarly named legions with the numbers IV-VI and the transference of II Parthica from Italy, where we know that it still was in the time of Severus Alexander,² to the East.
- (3) As I Italica could not be withdrawn from Lower Moesia, the new legion in Noricum was given the name of I Noricorum.
- (4) The new legion in Arabia was given the number IV, immediately following that of its companion.

In the case of the legions which he inherited, Diocletian's system of nomenclature was, naturally enough, sometimes inapplicable. All the 68 legions we have just enumerated were units of the old system, each having an effective strength of 5,500 infantry with the usual complement of legionary cavalry, though it is doubtful whether the nominal strengths were ever reached in actual practice.

The number of those *alae* and *cohorts* mentioned in the *Notitia* which can with any certainty or even probability be attributed to Diocletian seems comparatively small. We must remember, however, that the 'wastage' of auxiliaries was always much greater than that of

¹ See note 2, page 8.

² Dio, iv, 24.

legions; that, when auxiliary units were cut to pieces, they were seldom replaced; and that they were far more frequently allowed to fall into decay than were the legions. Moreover, the auxiliaries were much more seriously affected by the reforms of Constantine than the legions, so that even in the *Notitia* we often encounter the auxiliaries of the frontier provinces in an entirely different guise.

Owing to the numerous lacunae a reconstruction of the grouping of the individual units is difficult, and at the best is possible only to a very limited extent. We cannot even get any clear idea of the number of *alae* and cohorts created by Diocletian. Tacitus¹ tells us that in the time of Augustus and Tiberius the number of auxiliary troops was about the same as the number of legionaries, but he adds that the former was subject to constant fluctuations, being sometimes larger, sometimes smaller. Were this principle applied to Diocletian's strengthening of the army, enormous numbers would result. Reckoning the 34 new legions at 6,000 men apiece and the *alae* and cohorts at 500, Diocletian would have had to create a total of some 400 new *alae* and cohorts in order to adhere to the standard which Tacitus mentions. Such numbers are clearly incredible.

I should attribute the *alae* and cohorts bearing the title Flavia neither to Vespasian nor yet to Constantine, but rather to Diocletian, who named them, as he named the *Ala Constantiana* (*Or.* xxxiv, 34) and the *Ala II Constantiana* (*Or.* xxxvii, 27), after his Caesar, Flavius Constantius. I find one proof of this in the *Ala XV Flavia Carduenorum* (*Or.* xxxvi, 34), since this unit derived its name from the province Carduene which, together with Zabdicene,² was surrendered by the Persians to Rome in 290 A.D. *i.e.* during the reign of Diocletian. Mommsen's suggestion³ that the divisions raised for the conquest of Zabdicene and Carduene "were numbered consecutively without distinction of cavalry and infantry, each taking its name from one of the new districts," is not, I think, convincing. Such consecutive numbering would be directly opposed to everything we learn from the *Notitia* as to Diocletian's army organization, quite apart from the fact that it would have been impractical and pointless. But it is not at all necessary to have recourse to such desperate measures in order to account for these high numbers. There is no doubt that Diocletian did raise a very large number of *alae* and cohorts. These were sometimes arranged in groups and numbered consecutively, each group invariably consisting either only of *alae* or only of cohorts; but there were also units which stood by themselves. New units were subsequently added to the groups as occasion arose, and this is apparently what happened in the case of *Ala XV*

¹ *Ann.* iv, 5. The calculation of Tacitus includes among the auxiliaries the crews of the '*sociae triremes*.'

² Cf. Cohors XIV Valeria Zabdenorum (*Or.* xxxvi, 36).

³ *Hermes* xxiv, p. 275.

Flavia Carduenorum and Cohors XIV Valeria Zabdenorum. That is the explanation of the high numbers of these two formations.

As to the composition of the groups, my view is that these were distinguished by their nomenclature, so that, for example, one bore nothing but the name of a member of the imperial house,¹ a second bore in addition the name of a people,² a third some designation indicating its equipment,³ and so on. Among the cohorts there was one group whose members were named from the Danubian provinces,⁴ and at least one other bearing a different set of tribal and provincial names.⁵

When Seeck⁶ puts the total number of legionaries up to the time of Diocletian at precisely 180,000 and the whole imperial army at 300–350,000 men, one cannot but agree entirely. The supposed quadrupling of this force by Diocletian⁷ is a wild exaggeration. Indeed, we cannot speak of even a doubling of the army, although the number of legions was doubled. In the first place, the increase in the number of auxiliaries did not nearly keep pace with the increase in the number of legionaries. In the second place, it can be proved that Legio I Noricorum was not really a new formation but was in the main a combination of various independent auxiliary cohorts⁸; and what is true of this one legion may be true also of others. *Diocletian's system, then, represents, for the first and last time, a definite preference for large units (i.e. legions) over small, independent formations (i.e. alae and cohorts).*

Diocletian had sought to remedy the weakness of Rome's frontier defence by a huge increase in the strength of her forces, and this endeavour, combined with the creation of reserves, undoubtedly achieved a certain measure of success. Nevertheless, the system continued to suffer from conspicuous defects, the ultimate cause of which lay deeper than the complete barbarisation of the rank and file and of a large proportion of the officers. Brave and doughty warriors though they were, the soldiers who now fought in the Roman legions were little fitted for the complicated manoeuvres

¹ e.g. Cohors I Jovia—Cohors III Herculia; Cohors I Flavia—Cohors XII Valeria.

² e.g. Ala I Flavia Raetorum—Ala VIII Flavia Francorum.

³ e.g. Ala I Valeria dromedariorum—Ala II Herculia dromedariorum.

⁴ e.g. Cohors I Herculia Raetorum—Cohors III Herculia Pannonicorum—Cohors VI Valeria Raetorum.

⁵ e.g. Cohors I Flavia Sapandica—Cohors II Flavia Pacatianorum—Cohors V Valeria Frygum.

⁶ *Gesch. des Untergangs*, I, p. 255.

⁷ Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* 7.

⁸ There were in Noricum:

in 69 (*Tac. Hist.* iii, 5) at least 1 ala
8 cohorts

in 153 (*Diploma no. lxiv*) 4 alae
14 cohorts
c. 400 (*Not. dig. Occ.* xxxiv) 6 alae
3 cohorts

Simultaneously with the disappearance of the majority of the independent cohorts from Noricum a new legion, I Noricorum, makes its appearance there. We may conclude that this was no mere chance coincidence, but that Diocletian had thought it advisable to form a new legion by the fusion of a number of separate auxiliary cohorts. We may perhaps find a further indication of this in the fact that inscriptions and other finds relating to Legio I Noricorum begin at the exact date when those relating to the cohorts apparently come, for the most part, to an end.

of units so large as was the legion, the mobility and efficiency of which depended on years of drill such as could only be demanded from Roman citizen-soldiers. Yet the greater the need for soldiers, the stronger the pressure to have recourse to barbarians or semi-barbarians. Nor must we forget how Rome's power of defence had been weakened by the protracted series of civil wars, which were only brought to an end when Constantine obtained the undisputed mastery of the empire.

All these considerations, then, prompted the new ruler to abandon completely the old system, whose last representative we now recognize in Diocletian, and to devise a plan for the entire reorganization of the army. This plan he proceeded to work out with great care and with uncompromising energy. If, in spite of all, his reform was marred by many weaknesses, if its appearance of rigid uniformity may sometimes make us inclined to look upon it as petty, we must not forget that such strict adherence to a uniform pattern was characteristic of the whole age, and that we are dealing with the first attempt to break away from the system which had been in vogue for centuries and to replace what had become an anachronism by something that was new and totally different. We must refrain from applying a petty critical standard to this reform of Constantine. It was undoubtedly a great achievement.

Taught by the experiences he had gone through at the outset of his career, Constantine laid down two main principles for his programme of reform :—

- (1) A thorough-going division of the whole defensive force of the Empire into a field-army and a garrison-army.
- (2) A sweeping replacement of the old legions by smaller units.

In place of a single class of troops, used sometimes for garrison duty and sometimes for service in the field, there were in future to be two sharply differentiated kinds. This differentiation found expression, not merely in the actual distribution, but in various other and to some extent very notable characteristics :—

(1) The garrison-troops (apart from the *pseudocomitatenses*) retained, on the whole, their original *form and organization*; the troops of the field-army were broken up into smaller units, corresponding to the change that had taken place in tactics.

(2) The great difficulty of filling up the ranks of so considerable an army made it necessary to be content with inferior *material* for the garrison-troops. The immobility of these formations also resulted in their ultimately combining in themselves all the weaknesses of frontier militia. They became peasants caring more for the management of their little plots of land than for their military duties, and so lost any fighting instinct they might ever have possessed. This produced a sharp distinction between the two

classes of soldier, and the distinction grew more and more pronounced until it finally tended to become obliterated again through the general decline of Rome's military power.

(3) The differentiation finds expression even in the *nomenclature*. The troops of the garrison-army—all the frontier-legions and a considerable number of the auxiliaries—bear their old names. The troops of the field-army occur in the Notitia and in contemporary authors under designations which were quite unknown to the pre-Constantinian army.

(4) The troops of the garrison-army were now quartered in their *cantonments* as a stationary frontier-force. Only in cases of urgent necessity were they employed away from these, and then probably only within the limits of the province. It was otherwise with the troops of the field-army: they represented a mobile reserve with a potential freedom of movement hitherto unknown in the Roman army; they could quite safely be thrown in at the exact point where they happened to be required, for they had no particular sector of the frontier to defend, and consequently their withdrawal left no gap which would have offered restless neighbours a welcome opportunity for raids.

In order to understand how Constantine proceeded in forming the field-army, we must first of all attempt to reconstruct from the data given in the Notitia the constitution of that army at the time when it was brought into being.

The field-army consisted of regiments of the guard (*palatini*) and regiments of the line (*comitatenses*). These differed only in status, not in the manner in which they were employed. The *palatini* were divided into *vexillationes*, *legiones* and *auxilia*, the *comitatenses* into *vexillationes* and *legiones*. The *vexillationes* were cavalry regiments 500 strong; the *legiones* were infantry regiments 1,000 strong (each = two battalions of 500); the *auxilia* were independent infantry battalions of 500 men each.

Taking the Notitia, let us exclude those regiments which are of later origin, and let us add those which undoubtedly existed in Constantine's time, though they disappeared subsequently. This gives us the following list¹ for the field-army:—

EAST.	PALATINI	WEST.
<i>Vexillationes.</i>		
1. Comites seniores.		Comites seniores.
2. [Comites iuniores.]		[Comites iuniores.]
3. [Equites brachiati seniores.]		Equites brachiati seniores.

¹ Probable additions are enclosed within square brackets; see *supra* p. 8, note 1. The placing of the title 'seniores' within parentheses indicates that, when the field army was first constituted, each half of the Empire contained only a single

unit bearing the name to which the title is attached. When similarly named units were subsequently raised in the same half of the Empire, the latter were distinguished as 'iuniores,' while the original units naturally became 'seniores.'

EAST.

4. Equites brachiati iuniores.
5. Equites promoti seniores.
6. [Equites Batavi seniores.]
7. Equites Batavi iuniores.
8. Comites sagittarii Armeni.
9. [Comites sagittarii Seniores.]
10. Comites sagittarii iuniores.
11. Comites clibanarii.
12. Equites Persae clibanarii.
13. Equites Arcades.

WEST.

Vexillationes.

- Equites brachiati iuniores.
 Equites promoti seniores.
 Equites Batavi seniores.
 Equites Batavi iuniores.
 Comites Alani.
 Equites cornuti seniores.
 Equites cornuti iuniores.
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]

Legiones.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Joviani iuniores. | Joviani seniores. |
| 2. Herculiani iuniores. | Herculiani seniores. |
| 3. Primani [seniores.] | Octavani. |
| 4. Undecimani [seniores.] | Pannoniciani seniores. |
| 5. Britones seniores. | Moesiaci seniores. |
| 6. Daci. | [Valeriani.] |
| 7. Scythae. | Thebaei. |
| 8. Nervii. | Tongrecani seniores. |
| 9. Fortenses. | Divitenses (seniores). |
| 10. Lanciarii seniores. | Armigeri propugnatores seniores. |
| 11. Lanciarii iuniores. | Armigeri propugnatores iuniores |
| 12. Mattiarii seniores. | Lanciarii Sabarienses. |
| 13. Mattiarii iuniores. | Cimbriani. |

Auxilia.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Batavi seniores. | Batavi seniores. |
| 2. [Batavi iuniores.] | Batavi iuniores. |
| 3. Tubantes. | Tubantes. |
| 4. Salii. | Salii (seniores). |
| 5. Ascarii seniores. | Ascarii seniores. |
| 6. Ascarii iuniores. | Ascarii iuniores. |
| 7. [Brachiati seniores.] | Brachiati seniores. |
| 8. Brachiati iuniores. | Brachiati iuniores. |
| 9. [Invicti seniores.] | Invicti seniores. |
| 10. Invicti iuniores. | [Invicti iuniores.] |
| 11. Mattiaci seniores. | Mattiaci seniores. |
| 12. Mattiaci iuniores. | Mattiaci iuniores. |
| 13. Cornuti. | Cornuti (seniores). |
| 14. Victores. | Victores (seniores). |
| 15. Sagittarii dominici. | Sagittarii venatores. |
| 16. Sagittarii Orientales (seniores). | Sagittarii Nervii. |
| 17. Sagittarii lecti. | Sagittarii Tungri. |
| 18. Constantiani. | Jovii seniores. |
| 19. Constantiniani. | Jovii iuniores. |
| 20. Regii. | Augustei. |
| 21. Sagittarii Gallicani (seniores). | Galli victores. |
| 22. Anglevarii. | Ampsiarii. |
| 23. Bucinobantes. | Brisigavi (seniores). |
| 24. Falchovarii. | Bructeri. |
| 25. Raetobarii. | Heruli (seniores). |

EAST.

26. Hiberi.
27. Thraces.
28. Atecotti.
29.
30.
31.
32.
33.
34. [Petulantes seniores.]
35. Petulantes iuniores.
36. Defensores.
37.
38. Vindices.
39.

WEST

Auxilia.

- Mauri tonantes (seniores).
 Raeti.
 Celtae (seniores).
 Sequani.
 Tungri.
 Latini.
 Sabini.
 Seguntienses.
 Petulantes seniores.
 [Petulantes iuniores.]
 Felices (seniores).
 Exculcatores (seniores).
 Leones (seniores).
 Grati.

COMITATENSES.

Vexillationes.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Equites promoti iuniores. | Equites promoti iuniores. |
| 2. Equites armigeri seniores Orientales. | Equites armigeri seniores. |
| 3. [Equites armigeri iuniores Orientales.] | Equites armigeri iuniores. |
| 4. Equites armigeri seniores Gallicani. | Equites armigeri seniores. |
| 5. [Equites armigeri iuniores Gallicani.] | [Equites armigeri iuniores.] |
| 6. Equites sagittarii seniores. | Equites sagittarii seniores. |
| 7. Equites sagittarii iuniores. | Equites sagittarii iuniores. |
| 8. Equites sagittarii seniores. | Equites sagittarii Parthi seniores. |
| 9. [Equites sagittarii iuniores.] | Equites sagittarii Parthi iuniores. |
| 10. Equites primi sagittarii. | Equites sagittarii Cordueni. |
| 11. [Equites secundi sagittarii.] | Equites sagittarii clibanarii. |
| 12. Equites primi clibanarii Parthi. | Equites primo sagittarii. |
| 13. Equites secundi clibanarii Parthi. | Equites secundo sagittarii. |
| 14. Equites tertii clibanarii Parthi. | Equites tertio sagittarii. |
| 15. Equites quarti clibanarii Parthi. | Equites quarto sagittarii. |
| 16. Equites primi scutarii. | Equites scutarii seniores. |
| 17. Equites secundi scutarii. | Equites scutarii iuniores. |
| 18. Equites primi scutarii Orientales. | Equites scutarii seniores. |
| 19. [Equites secundi scutarii Orientales.] | [Equites scutarii iuniores.] |
| 20. Equites scutarii. | Equites scutarii Aureliaci. |
| 21. Equites catafractarii Albigenses. | [Equites catafractarii seniores.] |
| 22. Equites catafractarii Ambianenses. | Equites catafractarii iuniores. |
| 23. Equites catafractarii Bituriges. | Equites cetrati seniores. |
| 24. Equites catafractarii. | Equites cetrati iuniores. |
| 25. [Equites primi stablesiani.] | Equites stablesiani (Africani) seniores. |
| 26. Equites secundi stablesiani. | [Equites stablesiani iuniores.] |
| 27. Equites tertii stablesiani. | Equites stablesiani Italiciani. |
| 28. | Equites stablesiani. |
| 29. Equites tertio Dalmatae. | Equites octavo Dalmatae. |
| 30. Equites quinto Dalmatae. | Equites Dalmatae Passerentienses. |
| 31. Equites sexto Dalmatae. | [Equites . . . Dalmatae.] |
| 32. Equites nono Dalmatae. | [Equites . . . Dalmatae.] |
| 33. Equites . . . Dalmatae.] | Equites Mauri alites. |
| 34. [Equites . . . Dalmatae.] | Equites Mauri feroces. |

EAST.

WEST.

Vexillationes.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 35. Equites Germaniciani seniores. | Equites Marcomanni. |
| 36. [Equites Germaniciani iuniores.] | Equites Syri. |
| 37. Equites promoti clibanarii. | Cuneus equitum promotorum. |
| 38. [Cuneus equitum primorum
clibanariorum Palmyrenorum.] | Equites Constantiaci felices. |
| 39. Cuneus equitum secundorum
clibanariorum Palmyrenorum. | Equites primi Gallicani. |

Legiones.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Secundani [seniores.] | Primani iuniores. |
| 2. V Macedonica. | Secundani iuniores. |
| 3. VII Gemina. | II Britannica. |
| 4. X Gemina. | Secundani Italiciani. |
| 5. Tertiodecimani. | Tertio Augustani. |
| 6. Quartodecimani. | III Italica. |
| 7. [Tricesimani.] | Septimani seniores. |
| 8. Germaniciani seniores. | Septimani iuniores. |
| 9. [Norici.] | Septimani seniores. |
| 10. Pannoniciani iuniores. | Undecimani [iuniores.] |
| 11. [Moesiaci iuniores.] | [Britones iuniores.] |
| 12. I Maximiana Thebaeorum. | Germaniciani iuniores. |
| 13. II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum. | III Herculia. |
| 14. III Diocletiana Thebaeorum. | III Julia Alpina. |
| 15. [I] Julia Alexandria. | I Flavia Pacis. |
| 16. I Flavia Gemina. | II Flavia Virtutis. |
| 17. II Flavia Gemina. | III Flavia Salutis. |
| 18. Constantini seniores. | [I Flavia Constantiniana.] |
| 19. [Constantini iuniores.] | II Flavia Constantiniana. |
| 20. I Flavia Constantia. | Flavia victrix Constantina. |
| 21. Divitenses (Gallicani). | Fortenses ([seniores]). |
| 22. Martenses (seniores). | Ursarienses ([seniores]). |
| 23. Solenses (seniores). | ..... |
| 24. Augustenses. | Acincenses. |
| 25. Lanciarii Augustenses. | Anderetiani. |
| 26. Constantini Dafnenses. | Cortoriacenses. |
| 27. Balistarii Dafnenses. | Garronenses. |
| 28. Dianenses. | Geminiacenses. |
| 29. Menapii. | Menapii (seniores). |
| 30. Martii. | Pacatianenses. |
| 31. Minervii. | Praesidienses. |
| 32. Lanciarii Stobenses. | Vesontes. |
| 33. Balistarii (seniores). | Balistarii. |
| 34. [Lanciarii (seniores).] | [Mattiarii (seniores).] |
| 35. | Armigeri defensores (seniores). |
| 36. | Propugnatores (seniores). |
| 37. | Mauri cetrati. |
| 38. Tzanni. | Regii. |
| 39. .... | ..... |

This gives us :—

			EAST.	WEST
<i>Vexillationes palatinae</i>	..	..	13	13
<i>Legiones palatinae</i>	..	..	13	10
<i>Auxilia palatina</i>	..	..	32	39
<i>Vexillationes comitatenses</i>	..	..	38 ¹	39 ¹
<i>Legiones comitatenses</i>	..	..	35	37

If we glance through the lists, we observe in spite of their incompleteness :—

(1) In the two halves of the Empire the general framework is perfectly symmetrical.

(2) The *vexillationes palatinae* and the *legiones palatinae* appear with a maximum of 13, the remaining formations with a maximum of 39; this, therefore, seems to represent the original establishment.

(3) Even in nomenclature, symmetry prevails widely between the two halves of the Empire. A considerable number of units bear the same names, while in other cases there is a correspondence in meaning and significance; e.g., Constantiani and Constantiniani correspond to Jovii Seniores and Jovii Iuniores, Catafractarii to Cetrati, and so too with the regiments called after the names of peoples.

(4) With the exception of those of the new units that were descended from old legions and of the Equites Dalmatae I to IX, which were formed out of old alae, the regimental names from the East and from the West give no indication of overlapping. In each half of the Empire they are quite independent.

(5) To anticipate a little, it should be remarked that, though overlapping does occur occasionally between the names of *palatini* and *comitatenses*,² there is no connexion between the names of the *legiones* of the field-army and those of the *legiones pseudocomitatenses*, except in the case of the units formed out of, and called after, old legions. So also in the field-army, the cavalry, the legions and the *auxilia* form groups that are absolutely distinct, even as regards their names.

By way of explanation of the lists, it should be added :—

(1) From the symmetrical structure of the field-armies of East and West we may infer that ‘*seniores*’ and ‘*iuniores*’ of the same name are always to be considered as creations of Constantine, if they appear in both halves of the Empire. Wherever we meet them in one half only, then (unless there are special indications to the contrary) they are always of later origin.

¹ As it is uncertain to which half of the Empire the four missing regiments of Equites Dalmatae (numbered I, II, IV, VII) belonged, they have been equally divided between East and West in the lists and in the above total.

² e.g. Equites promoti seniores (*pal.*)—Equites promoti iuniores (*com.*).

(2) We can also regard as later formations all those regiments in the Notitia which bear the title ‘*Britannici*’ or ‘*Gallicani*’ in addition to old ‘auxiliary’ names—that is, names of *auxilia palatina*; and, as the one name of an emperor which occurs several times in conjunction with ‘Gallicani,’ is that of Honorius,¹ we can safely attribute to him all units so designated. No doubt the Sagittarii Gallicani (*Or.* v, 54, 55) go back to Constantine, but we cannot regard them as an exception, for in their case we are dealing with a troop of ‘seniores’ and ‘iuniores,’ which had to be distinguished by name from the Sagittarii Orientales Seniores and Iuniores (*Or.* vi, 54, 55). The parallelism between the Gallicani and the Orientales can be seen in the assigning of the former to the Magister Militum Praesentalis I, and of the latter to the Magister Militum Praesentalis II, as well as in the exact correspondence of their numbering—the two ‘seniores’ appear as sixth, the two ‘iuniores’ as seventh *auxilium palatinum* in the respective lists of the Notitia.

But a further very remarkable phenomenon strikes us in connexion with the Britannici and Gallicani: there are no ‘seniores’ bearing these titles—with the exception, of course, of the Sagittarii Gallicani. The position of the word ‘iuniores,’ too, is worthy of note. When correctly placed, it always comes *before* the word ‘Britannici’ or ‘Gallicani,’ which shows that it does not belong to ‘Britannici’ or ‘Gallicani’ but to the preceding part of the name, ‘Britannici’ or ‘Gallicani’ being a later addition:—

Invicti seniores	Invicti iuniores	Invicti iuniores Britannici.
Mattiaci seniores	Mattiaci iuniores	Mattiaci iuniores Gallicani.
Jovii seniores	Jovii iuniores	Jovii iuniores Gallicani.
Salii seniores	Salii iuniores	Salii iuniores Gallicani.
Victores seniores	Victores iuniores	Victores iuniores Britannici.
Exculcatores seniores	Exculcatores iuniores	Exculcatores iuniores Britannici.
Felices seniores	Felices iuniores	Felices iuniores Gallicani.
Sagittarii Nervii	.....	Sagittarii Nervii Gallicani.
Honoriani Atecotti seniores	Honoriani Atecotti iuniores	[Honoriani] Atecotti iuniores Gallicani.
Honoriani Mauri seniores	Honoriani Mauri iuniores	Honoriani Mauri [iuniores] Gallicani.

The name of the third member of the following group of *vexillationes comitatenses* in Africa is formed in very much the same way, and accordingly the unit is probably also to be attributed to Honorius:—

Equites scutarii seniores	Equites scutarii iuniores	Equites secundi scutarii iuniores.
------------------------------	------------------------------	---------------------------------------

The ‘seniores’ and ‘iuniores’ of all these regiments existed in the time of Honorius—only the Sagittarii Nervii were single. On the occasion of an increase in the number of units—and this

¹ Honoriani felices Gallicani (*Occ.* v, 247 = vii, vii, 81); Honoriani Mauri [iuniores] Gallicani (89); Lanciarii Gallicani Honoriani (*Occ.* v, 239 = (*Occ.* v, 220 = vii, 52).

must have been at least the second such increase during the Emperor's reign, since some *auxilia palatina*¹ whose names show them to have been raised by him appear above in the same category as the older regiments—a new principle of nomenclature different from that hitherto in use was, for some reason or another, introduced; pairs of regiments were expanded into groups of three, containing one regiment of seniores and two of iuniores. The 'younger' iuniores, after reconstitution, change of station, or the like, were called Britannici or Gallicani.

(3) Our sources do not enable us to determine the principles upon which Constantine proceeded in selecting the troops for the *palatini*. The names of the regiments concerned, however, suggest that they were units which had won for themselves particular credit in the army through their bravery and the fame of their achievements, and which probably had also deserved well of the Flavian house in the recent fighting. We can gather from the names of the individual units (so far as they give us any clue at all) that the vast majority came from the Rhine and Danube provinces.

Constantine's next care in the execution of his programme of army reform was *the finding of some offset for the shortage of officers and men*. Diocletian's increase of the army had meant a strain so considerable as almost to reach the breaking point. Constantine saw himself compelled to reject all idea of a further increase and to procure the soldiers necessary for the new units of the field-army in other ways:—

(1) *By disbanding older formations*. As we see from the Notitia, the following legions were disbanded, i.e. ceased to exist in their old form²:—

Divisional reserve for the Rhine frontier	2 legions	8,000 men
Divisional reserve for the West Danube frontier	2 legions	8,000 men
Divisional reserve for the East Danube frontier	2 legions	8,000 men
Divisional reserve for Pontus and Armenia	2 legions	6,000 men
Divisional reserve for Mesopotamia and Osroene	2 legions	6,000 men
Reserve for Africa	3 legions	12,000 men
Main reserve in the Julian Alps	3 legions	12,000 men
Main reserve in Isauria ³	1 legion	3,000 men
I Julia Alexandria	1 legion	3,000 men
Total ..	18 legions	66,000 men

With the exception of the I Julia Alexandria the disbanded legions were thus all Diocletianic legions. In addition to these, various bodies of auxiliaries (we cannot be sure of the exact number) were also disbanded.

¹ Honoriani Atecotti seniores and iuniores; Honoriani Mauri seniores and iuniores.

² Having regard to the fact that the old legions were certainly not up to strength, I reckon those in the West and those in the Eastern Danube provinces

at 4,000 men apiece, those elsewhere in the East at 3,000.

³ Only I Isaura was disbanded. II and III continued to exist as frontier-legions with their old organization and establishment.

(2) *By withdrawing vexillations¹ from such old units as continued to exist as frontier troops.* The legionary vexillations belong to one or other of two varieties—(i) those which bear the number, or the number and the name, or simply the name of the legion from which they were drawn, and (ii) those which are called after the province from which they come. The first variety includes:—

- Primani [seniores],² *leg. pal.* (*Or.* vi, 45).
 Primani iuniores, *leg. com.* (*Occ.* vii, 155).
 Secundani [seniores],² *leg. com.* (*Or.* ix, 35).
 Secundani iuniores, *leg. com.* (*Occ.* vii, 156).
 II Britannica,³ *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 241 = vii, 84).
 II Traiana,⁴ *leg. rip.* (*Or.* xxviii, 19).
 Tertio Augustani, *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 254 = vii, 151).
 V Macedonica, *leg. com.* (*Or.* vii, 39).
 V Macedonica,⁵ *leg. rip.* (*Or.* xxviii, 14).
 Septimani seniores,⁶ *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 228 = vii, 132).
 Septimani iuniores,⁶ *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 242 = vii, 139).
 VII Gemina, *leg. com.* (*Or.* vii, 41).
 Septimani seniores,⁶ *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 228 = vii, 31).
 Septimani iuniores,⁶ *leg. pseud.* (*Occ.* v, 273 = vii, 103).

¹ While the *vexillationes palatinae* and *comitatenses* of the Notitia are cavalry regiments 500 strong, the 'vexillations' here referred to are detachments similar to those which it was customary in earlier centuries to draw from one or more regular units for some definite purpose (a particular campaign or more than usually important field-works) and to group under a single standard, the *vexillum*, whence their name. This was done when for one reason or another it was thought inadvisable to withdraw complete units from a province. Cf. *C.I.L.* iii, 600, 'praepositus in Mesopotamia vexillationis equitum selectorum alarum . . . , item cohortium . . .'; *C.I.L.* iii, 1980, 'vexillationis leg(ionis) II Piaae et III Concordiae.'

² A probable explanation of the omission of 'seniores' is that the seniores and the iuniores were stationed in different halves of the empire, and there could thus be no confusion. I think we should be justified in connecting the Primani and Secundani—seniores and iuniores alike—with the I and II Adjutrix, respectively. Apart from the fact that this is the only way in which they can conveniently be fitted into the general system of vexillations, the circumstance that in the West they appear as a pair points to the same conclusion.

³ The title of the vexillation of the II Augusta combines the legionary number with the name of the province from which it came.

⁴ The *legiones riparienses* (frontier-legions) II Traiana and III Diocletiana, which were stationed in Egypt, were originally detachments of the similarly named frontier-legions stationed in the Thebaid. When the Egyptian portion of the frontier was made into two provinces, the detachments that were in Egypt remained there and

became independent frontier-legions, though with a strength of only 1,000 men each.

⁵ The *legiones riparienses* V Macedonica and XIII Gemina, which we find in Egypt, are vexillations of the similarly named Dacian frontier-legions. They were not incorporated in the field-army, but were assigned to the Egyptian provincial army as independent frontier-legions, with a strength, however, of only 1,000 men each.

⁶ In *Occ.* v, only three regiments called Septimani are enumerated, while of the four mentioned in *Occ.* vii three are 'iuniores' and only one 'seniores.' The order of names in the Notitia suggests that the 'iuniores' of vii, 31 is a mistake for 'seniores.' Thus we have in v and vii:

v, 228 Septimani seniores vii, 31 Septimani iuniores

229 Regii

32 Regii

The mistake of writing 'iuniores' for 'seniores' in vii may have been caused by the fact that in that passage the Septimani are immediately preceded by the Mattiarii iuniores (vii, 30). As for the other inconsistency, a unit has dropped out in chap. v—unless, indeed, this legion disappeared during the few years which separated the compilation of the two chapters. As the missing unit bore the same name as the other set of 'seniores,' it was omitted by the copyist either purposely—because he thought the two units were one and the same, and wished to correct what he took to be a textual error—or by accident. A similar instance of the conflation of two units occurs in chap. vii. In v (*Occ.*) we have:

198 Honoriani Marcomanni seniores.

199 Honoriani Marcomanni iuniores.

in vii, on the other hand, we find only:

38 Marcomanni.

Octaviani, *leg. pal.* (*Occ.* v, 153 = vii, 28).
 X Gemina, *leg. com.*, (*Or.* vii, 42).
 Undecimani [seniores],¹ *leg. pal.* (*Or.* vi, 46).
 Undecimani [iuniores], *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 234 = vii, 134).
 Tertiodecimani, *leg. com.* (*Or.* viii, 38).
 XIII Gemina,² *leg. rip.* (*Or.* xxviii, 15).
 Quartodecimani, *leg. com.* (*Or.* viii, 39).
 Tricesimani,³ *leg. com.* (*Amm. Marc.* xviii, 9, 3: in the East).
 Tricesimani,⁴ *leg. pseud.* (*Occ.* vii, 108).
 I Italica, *leg. pseud.* (*Or.* vii, 53).
 Secundani Italicani, *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 235 = vii, 144).
 III Italica, *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 237 = vii, 53).
 IV Italica, *leg. pseud.* (*Or.* vii, 54).
 Joviani seniores,⁵ *leg. pal.* (*Occ.* v, 145 = vii, 3).
 Joviani iuniores,⁵ *leg. pal.* (*Or.* v, 43).
 Herculiani seniores,⁵ *leg. pal.* (*Occ.* v, 146 = vii, 4).
 Herculiani iuniores,⁵ *leg. pal.* (*Or.* v, 44).
 I Maximiana Thebaeorum, *leg. com.* (*Or.* viii, 36).
 II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum, *leg. com.* (*Or.* vii, 45).
 III Diocletiana Thebaeorum, *leg. com.* (*Or.* vii, 37).
 III Diocletiana,⁶ *leg. rip.* (*Or.* xxviii, 18).
 Flavia Victrix Constantina,⁷ *leg. com.* (*Occ.* v, 252 = vii, 138).
 I Flavia Constantia,⁸ *leg. com.* (*Or.* vii, 44).
 Constantiaci,⁸ *leg. pseud.* (*Occ.* v, 271 = vii, 150).
 Lanciarii Lauriacenses,⁹ *leg. pseud.* (*Occ.* v, 259 = vii, 58).
 Lanciarii Comaginenses,⁹ *leg. pseud.* (*Occ.* v, 260 = vii, 59).

We come now to those legionary vexillations which derive their name from the province whence they came. That here too we are really dealing with legionary vexillations is obvious at once, seeing that those provinces which are divided into a I (Upper) and a II (Lower)—Britain, Germany, Pannonia and Moesia—provide two legionary vexillations each, one ‘seniores’ and the other ‘iuniores,’ while the smaller, undivided provinces—Dacia, Scythia, Thebais—furnish only one. But that these legionary vexillations or new legions were drawn from the frontier-legions stationed in the provinces concerned follows from the fact that this second variety of legionary vexillation comes only from those provinces which were represented

¹ A similar case to that of the Primani and Secundani, cf. p. 20, note 2.

² Cf. p. 20, note 5.

³ Ammianus's description seems to suggest that this legion was *comitatensis*.

⁴ Not ‘Truncensimani.’ The order in which they appear in the Notitia and their assignment to Gaul suggest that they were *pseudocomitatenses*. As the above list shows, this is not the only instance in which a vexillation is assigned the position of a *legio pseudocomitatensis*.

⁵ These vexillations were drawn from the legions in Lower Pannonia or from those in Scythia (cf. p. 9), or partly from the one and partly from the other.

⁶ Cf. p. 20, note 4.

⁷ I regard this *legio comitatensis* as a vexillation of the I Flavia Victrix stationed in Upper Britain: cf. p. 8, note 2, and pp. 4, ff.

⁸ Cf. p. 40.

⁹ Cf. p. 41.

in the first variety. There is a further circumstance which goes to support our hypothesis. All the provinces here enumerated, from which there comes a new legion named in this fashion, had two frontier-legions, so that we may suppose that the new legions were formed by each of the old legions providing half of the necessary officers and other ranks, or 500 men apiece, which corresponds to the strength of an *auxilium palatinum*. In Raetia there was only one legion, and here we see that as a matter of fact no new legion bearing the name of the province was raised. Instead, we find an *auxilium palatinum* of the name—the Raeti (*Occ.* v, 191 = vii, 44)—which therefore represents Raetia's share in this levy of troops for the field-army.

Side by side with the Raeti, the Notitia mentions another *auxilium palatinum*, the Sequani (*Occ.* v, 192 = vii, 43), and it should be particularly noted that though the order differs in the two lists—in the one the Raeti come first, in the other the Sequani—in both cases the two units appear together. This, taken along with the similarity of name-formation and the contiguity of the provinces Raetia and Sequania, enables us to infer an even closer correspondence. That is, it appears that Diocletian, instead of providing an additional legion in Raetia, raised a legion for the neighbouring province of Sequania which at that time was without any legion at all, and that it was from this legion that the *auxilium palatinum* known as Sequani was afterwards drawn in the reign of Constantine. Moreover, to put a final point, it would surely be extremely surprising if Diocletian's prodigious increases of the army should have passed by the frontier of the Rhine without leaving any mark except the new divisional reserve.

Regarding the name of this Diocletianic legion in Sequania, I have the following suggestion to offer. We have seen that Diocletian preferred to form groups of units connected by their nomenclature. Noricum had the I Noricorum and II Italica, in order from east to west; then came Raetia with the III Italica. What is more natural than to look for the IV Italica in Sequania? One portion of it may well have been stationed in the old fortress at Vindonissa, while—precisely as in most of the other provinces along this frontier-line—there would be one or more other fortresses for other portions of the legion. As for the subsequent fortunes of the IV Italica, I am disposed to believe that it was not disbanded under Constantine, since we have no instance of any disbanding of a first-line legion along the whole of the Rhine-and-Danube frontier, but that the remnant, which was left after the withdrawal of the vexillations, continued in being as a frontier-legion until it finally shared the fate of the other legions of the Rhine.

I come back now to the legionary vexillations named after provinces, and subjoin a list of them, including those whose names

we have to supply since they are missing in the Notitia as having been no longer in existence when that document was compiled:—

[Britones iuniores], *leg. com.* (West ?).

Britones seniores, *leg. pal.* (Or. ix, 22).

Germaniciani iuniores, *leg. com.* (Occ. v, 236 = vii, 33).

Germaniciani seniores, *leg. com.* (Or. ix, 34).

Sequani, *aux. pal.* (Occ. v, 192 = vii, 43).

Raeti, *aux. pal.* (Occ. v, 191 = vii, 44).

[Norici], *leg. com.* (East ?).

Pannoniciani seniores, *leg. pal.* (Occ. v, 149 = vii, 7).

[Valeriani], *leg. pal.* (West ?).

Pannoniciani iuniores, *leg. com.* (Or. viii, 48).

Moesiaci seniores, *leg. pal.* (Occ. v, 150 = vii, 8).

Daci, *leg. pal.* (Or. vi, 43).

[Moesiaci iuniores], *leg. com.* (East : Amm. Marc. xxix, 6).

Scythae, *leg. pal.* (Or. vi, 44).

Thebaei, *leg. pal.* (Occ. v, 154 = vii, 29).

This list brings out two points:—

(a) Legionary vexillations, called after the provinces providing them, were drawn from Britain, the whole of the Rhine-and-Danube frontier, and the Thebaid, the last-named of which districts occupied an exceptional position among the eastern provinces in other ways, *e.g.*, as being the only one of them in which we meet with ‘*cunei equitum*,’ and ‘*milites*’ in the frontier-army.

(b) Where ‘*seniores*’ and ‘*iuniores*’ of the same name belong to different classes, the ‘*seniores*’ always have the higher status, the ‘*iuniores*’ the lower. From this I conclude that, in the case we are dealing with, the ‘*seniores*’ represent the contingent furnished by the province known as Upper (I), the ‘*iuniores*’ that furnished by the province known as Lower (II).

We have still to explain some names in the above list which have had to be supplied:—

(a) As the Britones seniores are mentioned in the Notitia, there must also have been *Britones iuniores*. It is further clear, however, from the foregoing catalogue that legionary vexillations of this type, named after the province, which were drafted into the field-army as new legions, could only have been brought from those provinces that had two frontier-legions in their garrison. But this leads to the conclusion that, at the time of Constantine’s reform, the garrison of Britain consisted of four legions in all, and we shall certainly be fully warranted in dating the fourth legion back to Diocletian.

In A.D. 43, under Claudius, four legions crossed to Britain—the II Augusta and XIV Gemina from Upper Germany, the XX Valeria Victrix from Lower Germany, and the IX Hispana from

Pannonia. The XIV Gemina took part in the civil wars that followed the death of Nero, and it was finally sent back to Upper Germany by Vespasian in A.D. 70, its place being taken by the newly raised II Adjutrix. The latter, however, did not remain in Britain permanently either. In A.D. 85 it was transferred to Pannonia. Thereafter the number of legions stationed in the still undivided province of Britain was three, an arrangement which was not disturbed by the destruction of the IX Hispana about the year 117, since this legion was replaced in 118 by the VI Victrix from Lower Germany. The division of the province into Upper and Lower Britain was carried out during the reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 197). Our sources bear out this account of the course of events. The list given by Tacitus¹ contains no British legions. From Ptolemy we get the following data :—

- ii, 3, 10. Ἐβόρακον, λεγίων ς νικηφόρος.
- ii, 3, 11. Διοῦα, λεγίων κ νικηφόρος.
- ii, 3, 13. Ἰσκα, ἐν ᾗ λεγίων καὶ (for β) σεβαστή or
ἐν ᾗ λεγίωνες β σεβαστή.

Josephus² gives the number as four, and the Vatican pillars enumerate 'II Aug., VI Victr., XX Victr.',³ the province being therefore still undivided. On the other hand, Dio⁴ distinguishes between Upper Britain (II Augusta, XX Valeria Victrix) and Lower Britain (VI Victrix).

From the Notitia we can glean the following evidence regarding the legions in Britain :—

- Occ.* xxviii, 19. Praefectus legionis II Augustae, Rutupis.
- Occ.* xl, 18. Praefectus legionis VI, [Eburaci].

We see from this that the II Augusta has been transferred from Isca (Caerleon) to Rutupiae (Richborough), and that only the chapters dealing with the most northerly and the most southerly parts of Roman Britain survive in the Notitia. The whole of the intervening district is missing. The positions of Eburacum (York), which was in Lower Britain, and of Deva (Chester), which was in Upper Britain, suggest that, speaking generally, the boundary between the Upper and the Lower province must have run from the Humber (Hull) to the Mersey (Liverpool-Birkenhead).⁵ Now, if the Notitia gives under 'Dux Britanniarum' (*Occ.* xl) the stations from Hadrian's Wall to Danum (Doncaster), we must conclude that the domain of the Dux Britanniarum coincided exactly, or at least in the main, with Lower Britain. The division carried out by Diocletian can

¹ *Ann.* iv, 5.

² *Bell. Jud.* ii, 16, 4.

³ *C.I.L.* vi, 3492.

⁴ *lv*, 23.

⁵ The inscription found at Bordeaux in 1921

(*Rev. des Études anc.*, 1922), showing that Lincoln was in Lower Britain, proves that this view is no longer tenable, and that the boundary must really have run further south (*J.R.S.* xi, p. 104). That, however, does not affect the main argument here.

thus have affected only the considerably larger province of Upper Britain which was broken up into the new provinces of Britannia Prima, Flavia Caesariensis and Maxima Caesariensis. While, therefore, Eburacum, with the VI Victrix, was still in Lower Britain as before, Deva, with the XX Valeria Victrix, belonged to the neighbouring province, which was new—we are not for the moment concerned with its name. The II Augusta was stationed in the most southerly of the new provinces, and we shall therefore have to look for the new legion in the fourth province. Now, in raising the new legions which were named after provinces, Constantine without doubt invariably grouped two immediately adjacent provinces together, so that he would have the following pairs at his disposal: the VI Victrix and XX Valeria victrix, the [I . . .] and II Augusta. Even although Diocletian organized the four provinces as independent entities (as the separate treatment in the Notitia shows that he did), nevertheless here, too, he had the opportunity of at least associating in pairs by name (VI Victrix, XX Victrix) or number ([I . . .], II Augusta) the legions of each pair of adjacent provinces. On this ground I further conclude that the unknown legion bore the number I.

The probability that absolutely no traces of this legion should survive in the Notitia, though it cannot indeed be set aside entirely, is certainly small, and of all the new legions in which the name could have been preserved, the most likely seems to me to be the Flavia Victrix Constantina (*Occ.* v, 252). The later addition 'id est Constantiaci' is misleading; the correct reading is doubtless 'Constantini.' It has, however, prompted Seeck to identify the legion with the Constantiaci of vii, 150. This will not do.

We read in the Notitia:—

- Occ.* v, 252 Flavia Victrix Constantina (*leg. com.*)
- 253 II Flavia Constantiniana (*leg. com.*)
- 271 Constantiaci (*leg. pseud.*)
- vii, 138 Constantiniani (Tingitania).
- 149 Constantiniani (Africa).
- 150 Constantiaci (Africa).

The name in vii, 150 is exactly the same as that in v, 271 and is therefore the *legio pseudocomitatensis*. The names in vii, 138 and 149 are both identical with that in v, 253, so the question must remain open whether we are to claim 253 as a legion of Tingitania or of Africa. Despite the fact that the form 'Constantina' is less usual for units called after Constantine,¹ I still think it is correct and that it corresponds to the other of the two 'Constantiniani' of chapter vii.

¹ Cf. *Or.* viii, 42 Constantini seniores; viii, 45 Constantini Dafnenses.

The I Flavia Victrix would then have been the fourth legion raised by Diocletian for Britain, and would have been named by him after his Caesar, Flavius Constantius, to whose domain Britain belonged; the number I served to connect it with the II Augusta, the title 'Victrix' with the VI Victrix and XX Victrix. Constantine, however, either when he was acclaimed Caesar by the British troops after his father's death (A.D. 306), or perhaps at a later date, in gratitude for this action, bestowed upon the legion the title Constantina in addition to its other names.¹

(b) Practically all the provinces from Britain to the Black Sea are represented by legions or *auxilia palatina* bearing their names. Noricum and Valeria are the only exceptions, and yet Noricum and Valeria supplied a whole series of other vexillations for the field-army. The absence from the Notitia of legions or *auxilia* bearing the names of these two provinces can, therefore, only be explained by the supposition that the units in question had ceased to exist at the time when that document was compiled. The high status of the troops in the province of Valeria suggests that the *Valeriani*, like the Daci and Scythae, were *palatini*, while the rank of the province of Noricum, as well as its proximity to Germany, to which it was immediately adjacent, makes it natural to suppose that the *Norici* were *comitatenses*, the category of troops to which both the legions called Germaniciani belonged.

(c) On the *Moesiaci iuniores* we get some light from Ammianus.² In his description of the irruption of the Quadi into the province of Valeria (A.D. 371) he says: 'obviam legiones motae sunt duae, Pannonica et Moesiaca, valida proeliis manus . . .' That the two legions were of equal rank may be gathered from the words 'ortis inter se discordiis impediti de honore certabant et dignitate.' Such rivalry would have been impossible between a legion of the guard and a legion of the field-army. The legions referred to by Ammianus must therefore have been either the two 'seniores' of the West (*palatini*), or the Pannoniciani iuniores of the East (*comitatenses*) and the Moesiaci iuniores who are missing from the Notitia, and who must in that case have also been stationed in the East as *comitatenses*. It is true that the scene of the battle was in the province of Valeria, but it was not far from the frontier of the Eastern Empire, and on that account it seems to me more probable that it was the two legions called 'iuniores' that were involved rather than the 'seniores,' especially as the latter were not under the Comes Illyrici, to whose command Valeria belonged, but under the Comes Italiae. Moreover, the outcome of the battles that ensued

¹ These deductions are of a purely hypothetical character and represent an attempt to establish the name of this fourth British legion. Its existence I regard as proven.

² xxix, 6, 13.

with the Quadi supports the hypothesis here put forward : we gather from Ammianus that the Moesiaci were cut to pieces—which accounts for their not appearing in the Notitia—while the Pannonici, though suffering heavy losses, were nevertheless not completely wiped out.

If we bring together all the known units which were formed from legionary vexillations, we get :—

14 <i>legiones palatini</i> , each 1,000 strong	.. .. .	14,000 men
2 <i>auxilia palatina</i> , each 500 strong.	.. .. .	1,000 men
28 <i>legiones comitatenses</i> , each 1,000 strong	.. .. .	28,000 men
7 <i>legiones pseudocomitatenses</i> , each 1,000 strong	.. .. .	7,000 men
4 <i>legiones riparienses</i> , each 1,000 strong	.. .. .	4,000 men
Total ..		54,000 men

(3) *By detaching the mounted contingents from the legions and the cohortes equitatae, which were thus transformed into purely infantry units.* That horse and foot were thus separated is universally agreed, although many scholars ascribe the change, not to Constantine, but to Diocletian.¹ If regard be had to the fact that Diocletian continued to raise units organized on the old lines, while all really drastic reforms were originated by Constantine, it becomes apparent that this step too should in all probability be attributed to the latter. The actual transformation of the legionary cavalry into independent regiments of horse is attested by weighty evidence, that of the military diplomas. I select a few of these and contrast the evidence which we find in the Notitia with the data they provide :—

Upper Pannonia (I) :—

Military Diploma

CV (116 A.D.) 5 alae, ? cohorts }
 XLVII (133 A.D.) 5 alae, 5 cohorts }
 LX (148 A.D.) 5 alae, 7 cohorts }
 LXI (149 A.D.) 4 alae, 7 cohorts }

Notitia.

Occ. xxxiv.
 5 cohorts
 16 alae.

Lower Pannonia (II) :—

Military Diploma

XXXIX (114 A.D.) 2 alae, 6 cohorts }
 LXXIV (167 A.D.) 3 alae, 10 cohorts }

Occ. xxxii.
 10 cohorts
 18 alae.

Noricum :—

Military Diploma

LXIV (153 A.D.) 4 alae, 14 cohorts }

Occ. xxxiv.
 3 cohorts
 6 alae.

¹ Mommsen, *Hermes* xxiv, p. 230, dates the separation to the Constantinian period. Grosse, *Militärsgeschichte* p. 15, assumes that it is as early as Gallienus.

Raetia :—

Military Diploma

XXXV (108 A.D.) 4 alae, 11 cohorts }
 LXXIII (166 A.D.) 3 alae, 14 cohorts }

Notitia.

Occ. xxxv.
 8 cohorts
 6 alae.

While, therefore,—apart from Noricum, which occupied an exceptional position for reasons already explained (p. 11)—the number of the cohorts remained fairly stationary, it is observable that at the date of the Notitia the number of alae in all these provinces was distinctly higher than before. The increase is not to be explained merely by the formation of new units—that process would be largely counterbalanced by the disbandment of old ones—but mainly by the making of the legionary cavalry into independent regiments of horse.

For the new regiments of horse, which were to be attached to the field-army, there were available, to begin with, the mounted contingents¹ belonging to the eighteen legions that were disbanded. On the assumption that their numbers had fallen in the same proportion as the numbers of the legionary foot, the twelve European legions that were disbanded had each 500 mounted men on its establishment, while the six in the Eastern Empire had each 400. This gives a total of 8,400. In addition there were the mounted men from the disbanded cohortes equitatae. For the rest of the necessary supply the cavalry relinquished by the general body of frontier-legions and cohortes equitatae formed, along with the disbanded alae, a great reservoir from which were drawn, on the one hand, the new mounted units of the field-army (*vexillationes palatinae* and *comitatenses*) and, on the other hand, the new mounted formations of frontier-troops (*cunei equitum* and *equites*).

It was impossible that all the measures here described could be carried through without seriously impairing the fighting value of a considerable proportion of those units of the old type that still survived, and reducing them to a condition that may almost be described as chaotic. The more efficient a regiment was and the more it had seen of active service, the heavier the drain it had suffered through drafts for the field-army, since it was of course always the best men who were selected for this. The legions of the East had never been of the same quality as the European legions.² What they were like in Constantine's time is shown by the fact that, except in the case of the Thebaid, they were not called upon to supply any legionary vexillations at all. After the establishment of the field-armies the European frontier-legions sank to the same low level.

¹ According to Vegetius (ii, 6) each legion had 726 mounted men on its establishment.

² Cf. Mommsen, 'Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit' in *Hermes* xix, pp. 22 f.

Accordingly here too a partial reorganization proved to be necessary. In carrying it out Constantine made a distinction between the garrisons in the frontier-provinces and those in such parts of the Empire as did not march directly with the world of barbarism :—

(1) *Frontier-garrisons*. The frontier-troops, called in the Notitia sometimes *limitanei*,¹ sometimes *riparienses*,² appear partly under the old names ‘legio,’ ‘ala,’ ‘cohors,’ ‘numerus,’ but partly also under names which are foreign to the earlier organization of the Roman army. The Notitia speaks of the ‘*cunei equitum*’ and ‘*equites*,’ which in a number of provinces are mentioned along with the ‘*alae*,’ while in others they are alone. So, too, with the ‘*auxilia*’ and ‘*milites*,’ which are sometimes mentioned along with the ‘*cohortes*’ and sometimes alone. I am not disposed to think that there was any connexion between these differences and the intrinsic value of the troops concerned, at all events not at a period so late as that of the Notitia. At that time all these frontier-formations, whatever name they might bear, were pretty much of equal value. The only thing that now mattered was the material recruited, and this depended almost exclusively on the position of the province concerned, since all these frontier-formations filled their ranks by territorial enlistment, except in so far as barbarians were enrolled. My explanation of the origin and cause of the variation in nomenclature is that the old names ‘ala’ and ‘cohors’ remained the property of all those units that underwent no change during the course of Constantine’s army reforms, while the new names indicate those units which Constantine created partly out of the former legionary-cavalry, partly by combinations of such regiments of horse or foot as had been so weakened by the withdrawal of drafts for the field-army that several of them had to be grouped into a single new regiment in order once more to get units that approximated to the prescribed strength.

A survey of the auxiliary forces of the frontier-armies shows us that in the East³ there were no ‘*cunei equitum*’ and no ‘*milites*’ but, in addition to a very considerable array of ‘*alae*’ and ‘*cohortes*,’ only regiments of ‘*equites*’ almost exactly equal in number to the ‘*alae*.’⁴ This difference between the East and the other portions of the Empire is once more to be accounted for by the inferior quality of the Eastern troops, which rendered them less suitable for the field-army. Just as, except in the case of the Thebaid, no legionary vexillations were drafted into the field-army from

¹ *Occ.* xxv, 20 ; xxvi, 12.

² *Or.* xxxix, 28 ; xl, 29.

³ With the exception of the two ‘*cunei equitum*’ (*Or.* xxxi, 23 and 24) and the single regiment of ‘*milites*’ (*Or.* xxxi, 35) in the Thebaid.

⁴ 72 ‘*equites*’ and 73 ‘*alae*.’ Here, and in

the comparisons that immediately follow, I include the auxiliary regiments that date from Valentinian and Theodosius, because in the main they were raised only in substitution for units that had been annihilated or disbanded, a process that entailed no substantial alteration in the general perspective as contrasted with the period of Constantine.

the Eastern frontier-legions, so also with the auxiliary troops. The 'equites' of the East were formed partly out of the mounted contingents previously attached to the legions, partly out of *alae* which required to be combined into new units either because of their numerical weakness or because of their inferior quality.

Disregarding the doubtful British units, we get the following ratio between the auxiliary regiments which appear in the *Notitia* under one of the old names and those which appear under one of the new ones:—

78 'alae' to 164 'cunei equitum' and 'equites.'
100 'cohortes' to 74 'auxilia' and 'milites.'

Here again we can see the effect of the separation of the legionary cavalry from the legionary infantry, a step which, on the assumption that one mounted regiment was formed out of the mounted contingent of each of the legions that were not disbanded, resulted in the creation of 50 new regiments of cavalry.

We formerly assumed that the legions of the Western Empire, and of those Danubian provinces that belonged to the Eastern Empire, were each 4,000 strong, the legions of the rest of the Eastern Empire each 3,000 strong. If this was so, then the whole of the legions would be of approximately the same strength after the levy of legionary vexillations had been made. So far as we can determine the total number of men thus levied, it amounted to 53,000. As these were drawn from 33 legions, inclusive of the legions in the Thebaid, the average reduction in the strength of each of the legions concerned would be more than 1,600. It is highly probable that a partial endeavour would be made to fill up the resulting gaps with such inferior recruiting material as was available, but we may be sure that the numbers involved were inconsiderable, so that we can suppose the frontier-legions, after Constantine's reforms had been carried through, to have consisted, on an average, of 3,000 infantry apiece.

The four frontier-legions in Egypt, which were formed out of legionary vexillations¹ or legionary detachments,² had a strength of 1,000 men each. This was also the case with the two legions raised by Valentinian for the Thebaid.³

The nominal establishment for all⁴ units of the auxiliary forces was 500 men for each, as it had formerly been for the *ala* and the cohort, but no unit can ever have been up to strength.

(2) *Pseudocomitatenses*. Speaking of the category of troops who appear in the *Notitia* and elsewhere under the name of *pseudocomitatenses*, Mommsen remarked⁵: "This designation can only have attached to them on the ground that they were originally

¹ *Or.* xxviii, 14 and 15.

² *Or.* xxviii, 18 and 19.

³ *Or.* xxxi, 36 and 39.

⁴ So far as they were not 'milliaria,' unless indeed this name too had degenerated into an empty form.

⁵ *Hermes* xxiv, p. 209.

frontier-troops and were transferred from the frontier into the highest class of troops,¹ without however being placed on quite the same level as the regiments that properly belonged to it." And this explanation has been adopted by all his successors without substantial modification.² I can hardly believe that any one who has perused it attentively has found it wholly satisfactory. At all events I cannot say that I did so myself. I therefore tried to find some other way of accounting for the name. The first clue was given me by the *legiones pseudocomitatenses* I (*Occ.* v, 257 = vii, 34) and II' (*Occ.* v, 258 = vii, 60), bearing the title Julia Alpina, which, as we saw above (p. 9), formed the garrison of the passes through the Julian Alps.

These *legiones pseudocomitatenses*, then, appear as garrison-troops, and all the other legions of this class were garrison-troops too, for in the districts assigned to all those field-armies in connexion with which *pseudocomitatenses* are mentioned, there were, in the rear of the frontier, fortified zones which required a permanent garrison, precisely as did the frontier fortifications themselves. This duty had formerly been discharged by auxiliary *alae* and cohorts, as we can see in the *Notitia* it still was³ in Thrace,⁴ in Spain,⁵ and to some extent in Gaul⁶ and Italy.⁷ On the other hand, in those provinces and parts of provinces which have just been named, there are no *pseudocomitatenses*. This interrelation proves that the class of legions we are discussing was formed from the old garrison-troops of those provinces in which there were no frontier-armies stationed. They were under the orders of the commander of the frontier-army to the district of which they had been assigned; they formed a part of the troops at his immediate disposal. But, as they were garrison-troops, not field-troops, they were called *pseudocomitatenses*, to distinguish them from the latter, the real *comitatenses*. The *ψευδος* consisted in their being called *comitatenses* without belonging to the *comitatus*.

As the *pseudocomitatenses* were garrison-troops and the need for them varied according to the situation and the particular circumstances of each district, they could not be fitted into so rigid a system as the troops of the field-army, which came into existence at the same time as they did. This is matter for regret, since it makes it impossible for us to reconstruct their original—Constantinian—organization with the same certainty as we were able to do when dealing with the field-formations. We must restrict ourselves to

¹ Mommsen here means the field-army or, to use his own phrase, the imperial troops.

² e.g. Mangold, 'Legionen des Orients auf Grund der *Notitia Dignitatum*' in *Rheinisches Museum* N.F. 57 (1902) p. 262; Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*, ii² (1909), p. 225; Wilcken in Mitteis and Wilcken's *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papy-*

ruskunde vol. i, pt. 1 (1912); Grosse, *Militärgeschichte*, pp. 58, 90 f.

³ Partly too by legions, as in Spain (*Occ.* xlii, 26) and Isauria (*Or.* xxix, 7 and 8); also by legionary detachments.

⁴ *Or.* xl, 46, 48 and 49.

⁵ *Occ.* xlii, 27-30, and 32.

⁶ *Occ.* xlii, 17 and 19.

⁷ *Occ.* xlii, 6.

eliminating the post-Constantinian units and supplying from the context a few of the units that are missing. The material available does not enable us to determine their original number.¹ Importance attaches to the already (p. 17) mentioned fact that overlapping of nomenclature with units of the field-army occurs only in the case of those few *legiones pseudocomitatenses* which were formed out of, and called after, frontier-legions.

The following regiments of *pseudocomitatenses* can be recognized as Constantinian :—

EAST.	WEST.
1. I Italica.	1. Septimani iuniores.
2. IV Italica.	2. Tricesimani.
3. [V Parthica.] ²	3. I Julia Alpina.
4. VI Parthica.	4. II Julia Alpina.
5. I Isaura sagittaria.	5. Constantiaci.
6. I Armeniaca.	6. Lanciarii Comaginenses.
7. II Armeniaca.	7. Lanciarii Lauriacenses.
8. Bugaracenses.	8. I Flavia Gallicana Constantia.
9. Merenses.	9. I Flavia Mettis.
10. Scampenses.	10. Martenses.
11. Scupenses.	11. Romanenses.
12. Timacenses auxiliarii.	12. Abrincatini.
13. Ulpianenses.	13. Abulci.
14. Transtigritani.	14. Antianenses.
15. Auxiliarii sagittarii.	15. Latarienses.
16. Fortenses auxiliarii.	16. Cornacenses.
17. Funditores.	17. Mauri Osismiati.
18. [Praeventores.] ³	18. [Mauri Veneti.] ⁴
19. [Superventores.] ³	19. Musmagenses.
	20. Pontennenses.
	21. Taurunenses.
	22. Defensores.
	23. Exploratores.
	24. Insidiatores.
	25. Superventores.

Of the foregoing, to judge by the nomenclature, East nos. 1–7 and West nos. 1–7 may have been formed from legions, East nos. 8–16 and West nos. 8–21 from cohorts, East nos. 17–19 and West nos. 22–25 from numeri.

¹ Still the numbers given here will not be far removed from the actual establishment in Constantine's time. Just as the frontier-legions, in consequence of their immobility, remained very much the same from Constantine to Honorius, so too the garrisons of the fortified zones in rear of the frontiers must have continued very much the same. Indeed, this would apply to them in an even higher degree, since their position was on the whole distinctly less exposed than that of the frontier-garrisons. Nevertheless, that we have got to reckon with the loss of units of the kind is proved by the instances of the V Parthica, and of the Praeventores and Superventores.

² Amm. Marc. xviii, 9.

³ Amm. Marc. xviii, 9. The Superventores in the West (v, 220=vii, 96) are *pseudocomitatenses*, and we must assume that those in the East were so also. The correspondence of name, as well as the name itself (cf. Defensores, Exploratores, Insidiatores), suggests that the Praeventores belonged to the same category.

⁴ Analogy favours the existence of a *legio pseudocomitatensis* of this name : *Occ.* xxxvii, 16, Praefectus militum Maurorum Benetorum (i.e. Venetorum); *Occ.* xxxvii, 17, Praefectus militum Maurorum Osismiacorum.

Before we proceed to the explanation of the above list and, generally, with the discussion of the *pseudocomitatenses*, we must try to form some idea of the number of troops which Constantine required for the *palatini*, *comitatenses*, and *pseudocomitatenses*. This amounted to:—

CAVALRY.

26 <i>vexillationes palatinae</i> , of 500 horsemen each	..	13,000 horsemen
78 <i>vexillationes comitatenses</i> , of 500 horsemen each		39,000 horsemen
Total	..	52,000 horsemen

LEGIONS OF THE FIELD ARMY.

26 <i>legiones palatinae</i> , each 1,000 strong	..	..	26,000 infantry
78 <i>legiones comitatenses</i> , each 1,000 strong	..	..	78,000 infantry
Total	..		104,000 infantry

AUXILIA OF THE FIELD-ARMY.

78 <i>auxilia palatina</i> , each 500 strong	39,000 infantry
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PSEUDOCOMITATENSES.

44 (?) legions, each 1,000 strong	44,000 infantry
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In all, therefore, 52,000 horsemen and 187,000 infantry.

For the cavalry there were available the mounted contingents of the eighteen disbanded legions, from which some 18 *vexillationes* could be formed. The material for the remaining 86 *vexillationes* would have to be obtained from the existing *alae*, and this was done by the withdrawal of parts of some of them and the complete disbandment of others.

As regards the field-legions we have calculated (p. 27 and p. 19) that they were made up by:

Withdrawal of vexillations from the frontier-legions	..	42,000 men
Disbandment of 18 legions, amounting in all to	..	66,000 men
Total	..	108,000 men

From this we have to subtract those who were utilized to form:—

7 <i>legiones pseudocomitatenses</i> , each ¹ 1,000 strong	7,000
2 <i>auxilia palatina</i> ²	1,000
	8,000 men
This leaves available	100,000 men

¹ I Julia Alpina, II Julia Alpina, I Armeniaca, II Armeniaca, V Parthica, VI Parthica, I Isaura sagittaria.

² The legio IV Jovia provided 2 *auxilia palatina*

(Jovii seniores and iuniores, *Occ.* v, 168 = vii, 16, and *Occ.* v, 184 = vii, 42) instead of a single field-legion.

The 4,000 men by which this falls short of the full total will probably have been four legionary vexillations, whose names have not come down to us. It must also be borne in mind that, while we have assumed a strength of only 4,000 or 3,000 men apiece for the eighteen disbanded legions, the establishments of some of them may have been larger.

In the case of four *auxilia palatina*¹ we have been able to prove a legionary origin; the remaining 74 (37,000 men) must have been drawn from auxiliary cohorts.

Of the *legiones pseudocomitatenses*,

7 are legionary vexillations	.. .. .	7,000 men
7 were formed from disbanded frontier-legions	..	7,000 men
Total		14,000 men

The thirty legions constituting the balance (30,000 men) were built up from cohorts and numeri. That a large number of what were originally auxiliary units were as a matter of fact used for forming the new units is proved by the many gaps which the lists of the Notitia reveal in the series of the alae and cohorts, as well as by the entire absence of the numeri² from these lists. Nor, finally, should it be forgotten that, if the bodies of troops which Constantine found in existence were not up to establishment, it is also by no means certain whether his own creations had their full complement of men.

It is therefore clear that neither for the cavalry nor for the infantry of the new field-army and of the *pseudocomitatenses* was Constantine obliged to raise even a single new recruit. He was able to meet his whole requirements from the formations already in existence. His reform thus represents no increase in the numbers of the army, but merely a transformation of the bodies of troops already available and of the soldiers that belonged to them.

It has already been indicated that in the case of the *pseudocomitatenses* there was much more variation in the sources whence they were drawn and the ways in which they were formed than there was in the case of the rest of Constantine's new creations. We must now distinguish more particularly:—

(a) Sometimes they were legionary vexillations, formed in the same way as those which were embodied in the field-army as *legiones palatinae* and *legiones comitatenses*—by the selection and withdrawal of men from the whole legion—except indeed that in choosing men for the *pseudocomitatenses* the selectors probably contented themselves with inferior material. These *legiones pseudocomitatenses* were extra-territorial, *i.e.* they were stationed outside of their province

¹ Raeti, Sequani, Jovii seniores and Jovii iuniores.

² With the exception of Britain (*Occ.* xxviii and xl) and *Occ.* xxxv, 32.

of origin. The frontier-legion affected continued to exist after the vexillation was withdrawn from it. To this group belong:—

Septimani iuniores in Gaul (*Occ.* v, 273 = vii, 103).

I Italica in the East (*Or.* vii, 53).

IV Italica in the East (*Or.* vii, 54).

(b) At the time when Constantine divided the garrison-troops into *riparienses* and *pseudocomitatenses*, portions of the legions were quartered in stations which, after the division, lay outside the limits of the frontier-province and within the zone of the commander of the field-army immediately concerned.¹ These were accordingly disjoined from the legion and were transformed into independent *legiones pseudocomitatenses*. They remained in the province; the original legion continued to exist. To this group belong:—

Tricesimani in Gaul (*Occ.* vii, 108).

Lanciarrii Lauriacenses in Illyricum (*Occ.* v, 258 = vii, 59).

Lanciarrii Comaginenses in Illyricum (*Occ.* v, 259 = vii, 60).

Constantiaci in Africa (*Occ.* v, 271 = vii, 150).

(c) Sometimes the whole legion was disbanded by Constantine, one part of it remaining in its old quarters and being transformed into a *legio pseudocomitatensis*, while the rest of the personnel went to make up field-legions with new names. They remained in the province; the original legion disappeared. The following *legiones pseudocomitatenses* of this group are known:—

I Julia Alpina in Italy (*Occ.* v, 257 = vii, 34).

II Julia Alpina in Illyricum (*Occ.* v, 258 = vii, 60).

I Armeniaca in the East (*Or.* vii, 49).

II Armeniaca in the East (*Or.* vii, 50).

V Parthica in the East (*Amm. Marc.* xviii, 9).

VI Parthica in the East (*Or.* vii, 55).

I Isaura (sagittaria) in the East (*Or.* vii, 56).

(d) Auxiliary cohorts, numeri and small legionary detachments were sometimes combined into *legiones pseudocomitatenses*, which took their name from one of these cohorts² or from a numerus³ or from a place (a fortified station).⁴ What happened here, then, was simply a change of the units into the homogeneous class of *pseudocomitatenses*. The old soldiers remained and they were employed in the old way, but the old formations and some of the old names disappeared. In the case of these *pseudocomitatenses* also the province was unchanged, so far at least as it is possible for us to attain certainty on the point,

¹ Thus, for instance, only the northern part of Noricum (Noricum Ripense) remained under the command of the Dux, while the southern part (Noricum Mediterraneum) was placed under the direct control of the Comes of the field-army.

² e.g. I Flavia Mettis; Romanenses (=cohors civium Romanorum).

³ e.g. Exploratores; Superventores.

⁴ e.g. Cornacenses; Scampenses.

which we can only do with those legions whose name is derived from a particular place :—

<i>Name of the legion.</i>	<i>Situation of the fortress, etc., after which the legion was called.</i>	<i>Province in which the legion was stationed.</i>
Abrincateni.	Lugdunensis II.	Gaul.
Abulci.	?	Gaul.
Antianenses.	Valeria.	Illyricum (West)
Bugaracenses.	Dardania.	Illyricum (East).
Latiarienses.	?	Illyricum (West).
Lanciarrii Comaginenses.	Noricum.	Illyricum (West).
Cornacenses.	Pannonia II.	Gaul.
I Flavia Gallicana Constantia.	Lugdunensis II.	Gaul.
I Flavia Mettis.	Belgica I.	Gaul.
Lanciarrii Lauriacenses.	Noricum.	Illyricum (West).
Merenses.	Dardania.	Illyricum (East).
Musmagenses.	?	Gaul.
Mauri Osismiaci.	Lugdunensis III.	Gaul.
Mauri Veneti.	Lugdunensis III.	Gaul (?)
Pontennenses.	Raetia.	Italy.
Scampenses.	Epirus Nova.	Illyricum (East).
Scupenses.	Dardania.	Illyricum (East).
Taurunenses.	Pannonia II.	Illyricum (West).
Timacenses auxiliarii.	Dacia Ripensis.	Illyricum (East).
Ulpianenses.	Dardania.	Illyricum (East)

Apart from the three cases in which the place from which the legion derived its name can no longer be identified, only a single regiment—the Cornacenses—is quartered outside of the country of origin, and even this may not be an exception since, besides the Pannonian Cornacum, there may have been in Gaul or on the Rhine a place of the same name, after which the unit was called. In any event we are presented here with a clear picture of territorial location, such as indeed it is only natural to look for in view of the character of the *pseudocomitatenses* and of the way in which they were formed. These garrison-troops are just as firmly rooted in their country of origin as was the case with the frontier-troops of later imperial times.

Mention has more than once been made of the second legion which had been raised by Diocletian for Africa. In this province, or in Numidia, the older lists down to Cassius Dio speak only of one legion, the III Augusta. The importance and the extent of the African provinces of the Western Empire make it, however, appear almost certain that here as in various other regions Diocletian increased the number of the legions to two. In his time, indeed, only the provinces of Sequania, Raetia, Pontus and Spain, where special circumstances justified an exception of the kind, were garrisoned by single legions. In Africa, however, the conditions were such that two legions with their associated auxiliaries certainly represented the minimum force that was needed

for the purposes of defence. That the conditions in Africa must have undergone a considerable change as compared with earlier times is sufficiently clear from the establishment of the divisional reserves, as well as from the fact that on the occasion of Constantine's army reform, which falls exactly a generation later than that of Diocletian, Africa received a small independent field-army.

If Diocletian raised the number of legions from one to two in provinces which, like Noricum for example, lay between other sectors of the frontier garrisoned by legions and for which reinforcements could be quickly and easily brought up, there is all the more reason why he should have done this for Africa which, owing to its exposed position, had to depend much more on its own resources. Moreover, it is not impossible that here, too, just as in Noricum, the new legion was partly formed from independent auxiliary cohorts.

The account given above (pp. 34 f.) of the various ways in which the *legiones pseudocomitatenses* were formed provides a clue to the determination of the name of this second African legion. We saw that, with trifling exceptions, the province of all the *legiones pseudocomitatenses* remained unchanged. Now only one legion of the kind—the Constantiaci (*Occ.* v, 271 = vii, 150)—has its station in Africa, and I venture to suggest that it was formed from the second African legion in the manner described under (c) or, more probably, under (b). If that be so, the second African legion must have borne the name of the Caesar, Flavius Constantius. In this connexion there emerges the likelihood that the *legio comitatensis* I Flavia Constantia (*Or.* vii, 44), which is under the command of the 'magister militum per Orientem,' was also drawn, doubtless as a vexillation, from the second African legion, and that in its title there is preserved for us the full name of this frontier-legion.

Among the *legiones pseudocomitatenses*, whose origin is to be traced back to the change in the organization of the high command, I included the Lanciarii Lauriacenses and the Lanciarii Comaginenses. As a pendant to the description of the manner in which this process was carried out, a short excursus on the Legio I Noricorum may be inserted here. The *Notitia* (*Occ.* xxxiv) mentions more than one detachment of this legion. Corrected, the passages read:—

40. Praefectus legionis primae Noricorum cohortium quinque partis superioris, Adiuvense.
41. Praefectus legionis primae Noricorum militum liburnariorum, Fafianae.

A station with the 'cohortes quinque partis inferioris' is thus missing. To identify the position of that station we must go a little farther afield and begin by determining the position of the station Adiuvense. In doing so we must have regard above all to a consideration which is important from the military point of view

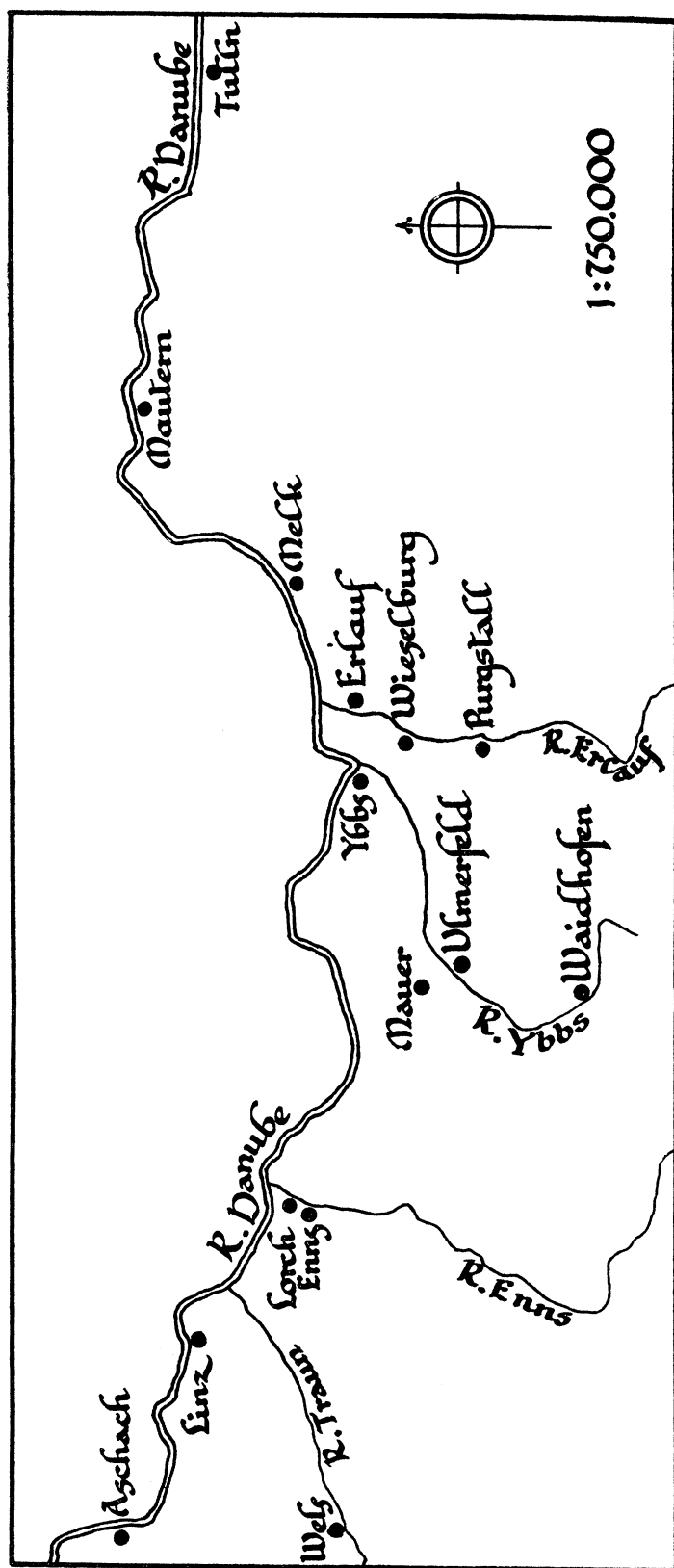


FIG. I. SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE DISTRIBUTION OF LEGIONARY FORCES IN NORICUM.

both in its tactical and in its administrative aspect. The stations of the Legio II Italica—Lauriacum (Lorch near Enns), Lentia (Linz-on-the-Danube), and also, as is clear from the Antonine Itinerary (249, 3), Joviacum (Aschach-on-the-Danube?)—all lie on the western half of the Norican stretch of the river (fig. 1). The Legio I Noricorum must therefore have occupied the eastern portion, since otherwise the detachments of the two legions would have overlapped, an arrangement which was not usual and for which there was here no occasion whatever. Organization, striking power, administration,—in short, the whole business of war and peace—would have been thrown out of gear by a confusion of the kind. We must accordingly assume a fairly sharp division between the districts of the two legions, and we may confidently regard the Enns as the boundary between the two sectors, all the more so as a detachment of the II Italica was quartered immediately to the west of the Enns at Lauriacum, while all the tiles found in the fort of Mauer-on-the-Url,¹ 25 km. east of the river, bear the stamp of the I Noricorum. A clear-cut separation of the kind is in complete harmony with the whole of Diocletian's administrative system, which indeed rested upon the basis of a very far-reaching and well-marked division between the individual areas of administration.

In the eastern part of Noricum the Peutinger Table (iv, 5) mentions a station 'ad ponte(m) Ises,' which is generally supposed to have been at Ybbs. Moreover, a whole series of tiles have come to light with the stamps FIG IVES² and FIGVLINAS IVENSIANAS³ LEG I NOR. Kubitschek⁴ compares the form *Ivensianas* or *Iuven-sianas* with *castrensi*, which would give: *castrensiani*, *castrense*, *castrum* = *Ivensianas*, *Ivense*, *Ivum* or *Iva*.

If the fort at Ybbs was really called Ivum or Iva, then the name of the station in the Peutinger Table must be corrected into 'ad pontem Ivae' (or 'Ivi'). This would be anything but a serious alteration, in view of the fact that we have to make 'c(astra) legio(nis)' out of the 'elegio' of iv, 5.⁵

The fort on the river Ybbs was of exceptional importance, since it commanded, not only the entrance into the extensive valley of the Ybbs, but also (along with the fort at Mauer-on-the-Url) the road which runs into the valley of the Enns through Ulmerfeld and Waidhofen-on-the-Ybbs, as well as several other roads which lead eastwards towards the line Erlauf-Wieselburg-Purgstall and so to the rear of the frontier-fortifications (see fig. 1). There thus appears

¹ C.I.L. iii, 5756, 11847.

² C.I.L. iii, 5765 (Mautern), 11870 (Enns, Mauer-on-the-Url), p. 2328⁴² (Vienna); *Mitteilungen der Zentralkommission*, N.F., xvi (1893), p. 232 (St. Pölten).

³ C.I.L. iii, 11349 (Ragendorf in the county of Wieselburg close to Gerulata, Sirmium), 11848 and

p. 2328²⁰⁰ (Mauer-on-the-Url), p. 2348⁴² (Püribach at the north end of the Neusiedler See).

⁴ 'Vom norischen Donauufer, 2. Ad Iuvense' *Mitt. der Zentralkom.*, 3 F, v (1906), pp. 49 f.

⁵ Nischer, 'Untersuchungen über die Römerstrasse von Wien nach Wels' in *Mitt. d. geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 1919, p. 110.

to have been every justification for the establishment of a strong position here and for garrisoning it by a portion of a legion.¹

Now, if Iva is really to be looked for at Ybbs, the tiles² manufactured there must, of course, have been brought up the river to Enns, unless they were conveyed overland like those found at Mauer-on-the-Url.³ This transport up-stream may, however, represent an exception, due to special circumstances, just as much as does the probable conveyance—mentioned by Kubitschek⁴—of tiles with the stamp FIG PET from the neighbourhood of Vienna to Mauer-on-the-Url.

I think it improbable that the absence from the Notitia of the 'cohortes quinque partis inferioris' of the I Noricorum is due to an oversight; the fact that the same five cohorts of the XIV Gemina are missing from the same chapter⁵ makes such a mere mistake unlikely. We must rather suppose that they had already been disbanded or annihilated, or had disappeared from the army list for some other reason. The following considerations indicate where they were formerly quartered:—

Among the *legiones pseudocomitatenses* of the Illyrian army the Notitia mentions:—

Occ. v, 259 = vii, 58, Lanciarii Lauriacenses.

Occ. v, 260 = vii, 59, Lanciarii Comaginenses.

In the Lanciarii Lauriacenses we recognize one of Constantine's new formations which was called after Lauriacum, the headquarters of the Legio II Italica. It had been formed out of a detachment of the legion which was stationed in the southern portion of the province and which along with that portion (Noricum Mediterraneum) was separated from the frontier-province proper (Noricum Ripense) and placed under the control of the commander of the field-army. When this took place, the detachment, as being now a garrison-force employed in the interior, was transformed into a *legio pseudocomitatensis*. Similar legionary detachments originally belonging to the Legio III Italica are the units under the command of the 'praefectus legionis tertiae Italicae transvectioni specierum deputatae, Foetibus,' and of the 'praefectus legionis tertiae Italicae transvectioni specierum deputatae, Teriolis,' in Raetia (*Occ. xxxv, 21 and 22*), which were told off to guard the passes over the Alps. Unlike the detachment of the II Italica which was employed on similar service, they continued to form an integral part of the frontier-

¹ Miller (*Itineraria Romana*, col. 285) equates thus: Aduense = Castrum Iuvene = Salzburg. But this, apart from anything else, would split the legion up completely, and would involve a quite lop-sided division of the frontier-defence. Besides, even then we should still have to assume a corruption of the name.

² *C.I.L. iii, 11870*, FIG IVES.

³ *C.I.L. iii, 11848* and p. 2328²⁰⁰, FIGVLINAS IVENSIANAS LEG I NOR; *iii, 11870*, FIG IVES.

⁴ *Jahrb. der Zentralkom. v (1911)*, p. 253.

⁵ All ten cohorts of the Legio II Italica are enumerated in the Notitia (*Occ. xxxiv, 38, 39*); only the text is partly corrupt.

legion, since Raetia Prima and Raetia Secunda were both left under the undivided command of the Dux Raetiae.

It is natural to apply the analogy of this case to that of the Lanciarii Comaginenses, who are always mentioned immediately after the Lanciarii Lauriacenses—probably just for the reason that both came originally from the same province. On such a showing the former were, to begin with, a detachment of the Legio I Noricorum, and Comagena (Tulln), the place after which they were called, had been the headquarters of the Legio I Noricorum. This is exactly what we should expect from the important position of Comagena, and also accounts for the fact that the squadron of ships attached to the legion had its base there, just as the squadron attached to the II Italica had its base at Lauriacum.¹

The data which the Notitia supplies as to the Legio I Noricorum would, therefore, have to be completed (or corrected) as follows :

Praefectus legionis I Noricorum cohortium quinque partis superioris, ad Ivam.

Praefectus legionis I Noricorum cohortium quinque partis inferioris, Comagenis.

Praefectus legionis I Noricorum militum liburnariorum, Fafianae.

The Legio I Noricorum, then, was originally divided up in exactly the same way as the Legio II Italica, and its stations—Iva (near Ybbs), Comagena (Tulln), Fafiana (Mautern)—all lie in the eastern frontier-sector of the province.

We had reached the conclusion² that, when the field-armies were created, the East and the West each had assigned to them 13 *vexillationes palatinae* and 13 *legiones palatinae*, 39 *auxilia palatina*, 39 *vexillationes comitatenses* and 39 *legiones comitatenses*. If we single out from the lists in the Notitia the troops of the guard and eliminate the post-Constantinian units, making no attempt whatever to supply what may be missing, we get the following distribution :—

EAST.						<i>Vex. pal.</i>	<i>Leg. pal.</i>	<i>Aux. pal.</i>
Magister militum praesentalis I	..	..				5	6	11
Magister militum praesentalis II	..	..				5	6	11
Magister militum per Illyricum	..	..				—	1	6
WEST.								
Italy	..	..	..	..	..	5	8	13
Illyricum	..	..	..	..	..	—	—	8
Gaul ..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	7
Spain ..	..	..	..	..	..	—	—	7
Tingitania	..	..	..	..	..	—	—	1
Africa	..	..	..	..	..	—	3	—

¹ *Occ.* xxxiv, 43, Praefectus classis Lauriacensis ; 42, Praefectus classis Arlapensis et [Co]maginensis.

² See *supra* p. 17.

Despite the long and troubled period that covers the interval between the establishment of the field-armies and the lists of the Notitia, the original outline is still fairly discernible. In the East we see two large and one small corps of the guard, and, if we keep in view the fundamental fact of Diocletian's division of the whole Empire into four parts, it becomes clear that in the West the arrangement was the same. Italy and Illyricum belonged to one of the two Western spheres of influence, and Gaul, Spain and Tingitania belonged to the other, while Africa, in virtue of its isolated situation, occupied a position that was militarily independent.

As the *legiones palatinae* of the East remain at the original figure (13) and as, besides, they fit best into the whole numerical system and correspond most closely with the conventionalizing character of the age, we may take their disposition as the basis of the distribution of the whole field-army. This gives us for the East and for the West two large armies apiece, each consisting of 6 *vex. pal.*, 6 *leg. pal.*, 18 *aux. pal.*, 18 *vex. com.*, and 18 *leg. com.*, as well as one small army apiece, consisting of 1 *vex. pal.*, 1 *leg. pal.*, 3 *aux. pal.*, 3 *vex. com.* and 3 *leg. com.*

In the East the modifications are insignificant and affect only the *auxilia palatina*. In the West we observe more serious variations in the case of the *legiones palatinae* and the *auxilia palatina*. The increase in the number of the legions in Africa may go back to the expedition of Theodosius the Elder in 371 A.D. (Amm. Marc. xxix), while the reinforcement of the Italian army, mainly at the expense of Gaul, is to be attributed to Stilicho, who in the winter of 401-2 withdrew the British and Gaulish contingents for the defence of Upper Italy.

The figures I have given show that a large army consisted of six groups, each of which constituted one small army. The composition of a group of the kind was :—

					Cavalry.	Infantry.
1 <i>vexillatio palatina</i>	..	..	..	..	500	—
1 <i>legio palatina</i>	..	..	..	..	—	1,000
3 <i>auxilia palatina</i>	..	..	..	..	—	1,500
3 <i>vexillationes comitatenses</i>	..	..	..	..	1,500	—
3 <i>legiones comitatenses</i>	..	..	..	..	—	3,000
Total ..					2,000	5,500

When the details are thus set out, we are struck in the first place by the large proportion of mounted men, as compared with earlier times, and in the second place by the sum total of the infantry—5,500. This is, of course, the very number mentioned by our authorities as the war-strength of the old legions; their first cohorts had 1,000 men on the establishment, while each of the remaining nine cohorts was only 500 strong. I do not think that the numerical

correspondence rests merely upon a chance coincidence. Rather, I am of opinion that Constantine, however great his predilection for schematic arrangements, was nevertheless reluctant to make an immediate departure from the traditional strength of the larger tactical unit and completely abandon a system whose suitability for its purpose had stood the test of so many centuries. As, however, the old legion represented a mass of men too large for his own time, he hit upon the expedient of breaking it up into a number of smaller bodies of troops, independent of each other, although still maintaining a certain connexion. But, since the bond left between them was very loose and had no special practical importance, it was not long until it disappeared altogether and with it the last reminiscence of the legion as a field-force.

Under Diocletian the two 'praefecti praetorio' were the highest military officers.¹ Constantine raised the number of 'praefecti praetorio' from two to four, and deprived them of their military power, so that thenceforward they were purely civil officials. The supreme command over the whole army passed to the 'magister peditum praesentalis' and the 'magister equitum praesentalis,'² the former of whom, as we know from various references in our authorities,³ always held the higher rank and took precedence of the latter. This adherence to the number two is one more proof of Constantine's endeavour to depart from established custom no farther than was absolutely necessary.

The creation of the posts of 'magister equitum per Gallias,' 'magister equitum per Illyricum' and 'magister equitum per Orientem' apparently goes back to the tripartite division of the Empire among the three sons of Constantine. Just as the city of Constantinople remained the common possession of all, a symbol (as it were) of the unity of the Empire as against the outer world, so too there was only a single 'magister peditum praesentalis' and a single 'magister equitum praesentalis' for the whole Empire. But, in addition, each of the three Caesars had a 'magister equitum' as supreme commander of the army belonging to that portion of the Empire that had been allotted him. The 'magister equitum per Gallias' is referred to in the following passages of Ammianus:—

xvi, 4 : Marcellus, magister equitum

xvi, 7 : magistro armorum [Marcello]

xvi, 10 : misso in locum Marcelli Severo

¹ Zosimus ii 32: δύο γὰρ τῆς αὐλῆς ὄντων ὑπάρχων (praefecti praetorio), καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κοινῇ μεταχειριζομένων, οὐ μόνον τὰ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τάγματα τῇ τοῦτων ὥκονομείτο φρόντιδι καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτετραμμένα τὴν τῆς πόλεως φυλακὴν καὶ τὰ ταῖς ἐσχαιαῖς ἐγκαθήμενα πάσαις.

² Zosimus ii, 33 : ἐφεστῶτων γὰρ τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ στρατιώταις οὐ μόνον ἑκατοντάρχων (centuriones) καὶ χιλιάρχων (tribuni), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων δοκῶν (duces) οἱ στρατηγῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τόπῳ

τάξιν ἐπεῖχον, στρατηλάτας καταστήσας, τὸν μὲν τῆς ἵππου, τὸν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ('magister equitum' and 'magister peditum praesentalis'), ἐπὶ τοῦτους δὲ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τάττειν στρατιώτας καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας μεταβέβη.

³ Dagalaiphus, 365 A.D. (Amm. Marc. xxvi, 5); Sebastianus, 377 A.D. (Zosimus iv, 17). Cf. Amm. Marc. xxviii, 6; xxx, 5 and 10; xxxi, 8. Also the order of succession in the Notitia, Occ. i. 5 and 6, as well as chap. v and vi.

for both halves of the Empire, so that thenceforward we find a 'magister peditum praesentalis' and a 'magister equitum praesentalis' both in the East and in the West. Ammianus thus describes the distribution of the generals (xxvi, 5): 'Valentino quidem, cuius arbitrio res gerebatur, Jovinus evenit, dudum promotus a Juliano per Gallias magister armorum, et Dagalaiphus, quem militiae rectorem provexerat Jovianus; in Orientem vero sequuturus Valentem ordinatus est Victor, ipse quoque iudicio principis antedicti provectus, cui iunctus est Arinthaëus. Lupicinus enim pridem a Joviano pari modo promotus magister equitum, partes tuebatur Eoas. Tunc et Equitius Illyriciano praepositus exercitui, nondum magister sed comes.'

The posts previously held by the generals here enumerated, and those to which they were now appointed, were as follows:—

Arinthaëus, 'magister peditum praesentalis' becomes
 'magister peditum praesentalis' in the East,
 Dagalaiphus, 'magister equitum praesentalis' becomes
 'magister peditum praesentalis' in the West,
 Lupicinus, 'magister equitum per Orientem' remains
 'magister equitum per Orientem,'
 Jovinus, 'magister equitum per Gallias' becomes
 'magister equitum praesentalis' in the West,
 Victor, 'magister equitum [per Illyricum]' becomes
 'magister equitum praesentalis' in the East,
 Equitius, 'tribunus scholae primae scutariorum' (Amm.
 Marc. xxvi, 1) becomes first 'comes' and then
 'magister equitum per Illyricum.'

The office of the 'magister militum per Thracias' may, in my opinion, be ascribed to Theodosius, a view that is supported by the circumstance that, among the seven divisions of the guard mentioned in the *Notitia* (*Or.* viii) as under the command of this general, as many as four go back to Theodosius.

The use of the title 'magister militum,' instead of 'magister peditum' and 'magister equitum,' is post-Constantinian. It should moreover be noted that Ammianus, too, in his account of the year 378 speaks (xxxi, 16) of a 'magister militiae trans Taurum,' Julius by name,¹ in whom we can recognize the 'magister equitum per Orientem.'

From Ammianus we can see that the order of rank among the 'magistri' was as follows:—

magister peditum praesentalis,
 magister equitum praesentalis,
 magister equitum per Orientem,
 magister equitum per Gallias,
 magister equitum per Illyricum.

¹ Cf. Amm. Marc. xxvi, 7, and xxxi, 16.

The passage cited above from Zosimus (ii, 33) also supplies evidence as to how the military posts were graded and as to which officers were superior, which subordinate. It is stated there that the two pre-Constantinian 'praefecti praetorio' were of higher rank οὐ μόνον ἑκατοντάρχων (centuriones) καὶ χιλιάρχων (tribuni) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων δουκῶν (duces) οἱ στρατηγῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τόπῳ τάξιν ἐπεῖχον. Constantine conferred the same absolute authority upon the στρατηλάτας, τὸν μὲν τῆς ἵππου, τὸν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ('magister equitum' and 'magister peditum'), the military successors of the 'praefecti praetorio.'

The whole passage is, of course, not couched in such official language as would have been employed in a military order of the day—in Constantine's time the office of centurion was already obsolete, nor is any mention made of the 'comites.' Still its general sense is perfectly intelligible. Zosimus means that everything was subordinate to the supreme command: officers ('centuriones'), brigadiers ('tribuni') and generals ('duces'). It is thus plain and obvious that this represents the gradation of the commissioned ranks and the relation that subsisted between them on service. Zosimus in his description employs the designations that would be intelligible to non-professional readers. The reason why there is no reference to the 'comites' of the field-armies, but only to the ('comites' and) 'duces' of the frontier-armies, who were afterwards placed under their orders, is that in Diocletian's day there were as yet no field-armies at all. And the passage under discussion applies to the period of transition between the latter emperor and Constantine I. In due course the newly created intermediate grades were inserted in their appropriate place between the supreme command and the commanders of the frontier-armies.

When the Notitia was compiled, the 'comites' and 'duces' of the Eastern frontier-districts were responsible—each according to the situation of the province assigned him—to the 'magister militum per Orientem,' the 'magister militum per Thracias,' or the 'magister militum per Illyricum,' as the case might be,¹ while these latter again were in their turn responsible to the 'magistri militum praesentales.' Similarly the commanders of the Western frontier-sectors were subordinate to the 'magister peditum praesentalis,' in the same way as any of the commanders of the seven field-armies. The resulting organization is as follows:—

I	Dioecesis Aegyptus	} ..	Magister militum per Orientem.
II	„ Orientis		
III	„ Pontica		
IV	„ Asiana		
V	„ Thraciae	..	Magister militum per Thracias.

¹ Authorities for the subordination of the 'duces' to the three local 'magistri militum' are: *Theodosiani libri* i, 7, 2; vii, 1, 9 and 18; vii, 17, 1 and

20, 13; xii, 1, 113; and xv, 11, 1; *Nov. Theodosian.* xxiv, 1 and 2; *Cod. Justin.* xii, 59, 8.

VI	Dioecesis	Macedonia	}	..	Magister militum per Illyricum.
VII	„	Dacia			
VIII	„	Italiana	..	Comes Italiae.	
IX	„	Illyricum	..	Comes Illyrici.	
X	„	Africa	..	Comes Africae.	
XI	„	Viennensis	}	..	Magister equitum Galliarum.
XII	„	Galliarum			
XIII	„	Hispaniarum	..	{	Comes Hispaniae.
					Comes Tingitaniae.
XIV	„	Britanniarum	..		Comes Britanniae.

It will be observed that in both halves of the Empire the military and the political organization go hand in hand, and more particularly that in the Western Empire the limits of the dioceses coincide almost absolutely with the limits of the spheres of the ‘comites.’ Where there is a departure from this rule, the reason is obvious. The two Gaulish dioceses form a homogeneous whole, at once politically under the ‘praefectus praetorio Galliarum’ and militarily under the ‘magister equitum Galliarum.’ Tingitania, on the other hand, as being an exposed province, divided from Europe by the sea, was detached from the sphere of the military governor (‘comes’) of Spain and placed under the charge of an independent governor of its own, the ‘comes Tingitaniae.’

In the Eastern Empire, over and above the three field-armies associated with particular provinces or groups of provinces, there were the two additional field-armies which were directly controlled by the two ‘magistri militum praesentales.’

The field-armies could, of course, be employed quite freely anywhere within the half of the Empire to which they belonged, and in special circumstances they could be employed even within the other half; normally, however, as the foregoing list shows, they had a closer connexion with an area more circumscribed. It follows, however, that the commander of the field-army, in virtue of his superior rank, must have occupied a paramount position in the frontier-district, for whose defence he was told off. These officers, then, were the direct commanders of their own field-armies, while at the same time—through the commanders of the frontier-sectors who were their subordinates—they exercised authority over the troops in a number of frontier-provinces, since only in this way could unity of command be secured in these districts, where an almost perpetual state of war prevailed. For less important undertakings the appropriate field-army, or even detachments of it, would suffice, and in such cases the commander of the field-army had control of all the troops on active service.¹ In more serious wars, where the troops of other districts had to be summoned as reinforcements, the supreme command would be determined by circumstances.

¹ Cf. the action of Charietto, the ‘comes per utramque Germaniam,’ *Amm. Marc.* xxvii, 1; also *Zosimus*, iii, 7.

No attempt to contrast the reorganization of the Roman army under Diocletian with its reorganization under Constantine would be complete without a comparison of the numerical strength of Diocletian's legions of reserve with that of Constantine's field-armies, since under both emperors these represent primarily the forces that were destined for open warfare. And, although under Diocletian it was still possible for the units in question to be reinforced by detachments of the regular frontier-troops, who ceased to be available for that purpose in Constantine's time, the balance is redressed by the consideration that Diocletian's reserves are hardly likely to have been up to establishment, whereas we are probably justified in assuming that Constantine's field-troops were so, at all events at the outset and so far as the majority of the units were concerned.

For the purposes of our comparison we must remember that Diocletian's second line consisted of 16 legions (divisional reserves) and his third line of 6 legions (main reserves), or 22 legions in all, each containing 700 horse and 5,500 foot, and further that for each reserve legion we must reckon two *alae* and two cohorts of auxiliaries. We therefore have:—

Cavalry.

DIOCLETIAN.			CONSTANTINE.		
22 legions (700 each) ..	..	15,400	26 <i>vex. pal.</i> (500 each) ..	..	13,000
44 <i>alae</i> (500 each) ..	..	22,000	78 <i>vex. com.</i> (500 each) ..	..	39,000
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total ..	..	37,400	Total ..	..	52,000

Infantry.

DIOCLETIAN.			CONSTANTINE.		
22 legions (5,500 each) ..	..	121,000	26 <i>leg. pal.</i> (1,000 each) ..	..	26,000
44 cohorts (500 each) ..	..	22,000	78 <i>aux. pal.</i> (500 each) ..	..	39,000
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total ..	..	143,000	Total ..	..	143,000

The numerical strength of the two armies was thus equal, so far as infantry went; in cavalry—if the above calculation holds good for the time of Diocletian—the field-armies of Constantine were stronger by two-sevenths.

If we survey the activity of the two emperors in the sphere of things military, Diocletian stands out conspicuously as the *augmenter* of the Roman army on a grand scale, although his creation of the legions of reserve also marks an important step on the path of progress. The great *reformer*, however, was Constantine, who sought by his new system, not merely to check the decay of the defensive power of Rome, but also to lend it an offensive strength and a mobility that far outstripped the achievements of his predecessors. Still even he was compelled to reckon with facts, and accordingly he was

content to apply a new system to the forces he found already in existence, without endangering his efforts by too violent a strain. But, with all our admiration for Constantine's creation, we must retain our sense of fairness and should never forget one thing. Without *Diocletian's* increase of the army, carried out as it was with ruthless energy, the army reform of *Constantine* would have been impossible. That increase provided the basis on which was subsequently raised the superstructure whose ruins are preserved in the *Notitia* for our wonder and astonishment.

It has already been indicated that the organization of the Roman army underwent further notable changes in the period that lies between the completion of Constantine's reform and the compiling of the lists of the *Notitia*. None of these changes, however, affected the general framework of the army in anything like so drastic a manner as the work of the great reorganizer had done. They are limited mainly to the development of the relations of the high command and to the establishment of new bodies of troops to take the place of units that had disappeared. Only two points need to be specially emphasized.

(1) Constantine's organization of the field-armies was far too 'schematic' to maintain itself permanently in actual practice; the problems that had to be solved in the individual portions of the Empire differed too widely in character for that. A change had accordingly to be made, and it was effected by *subdivision of the field-armies* into a larger number of divisional reserves, which were much better adapted to meet local needs. This, of course, involved also an *alteration in the relations of the commanders*. The transformation, however, did not take place all at once; rather, it developed gradually and was only carried to completion by Stilicho—that is, immediately before the period from which date the majority of the lists of the *Notitia*.

(2) The various demands which the individual armies were called upon to satisfy made an alteration in their original distribution necessary; but movements of the kind always took place only within the limits of the half of the Empire concerned. If this device did not provide a way out, then there was nothing for it but to proceed to the raising of new bodies of troops. The oldest units that were brought into existence in this way go as far back as the time of Constantine and his sons. These formations were obtained by the subdivision of already existing bodies of troops into two units, entitled 'seniores' and 'iuniores,' each of which *was intended to be* of the same strength as the original unit. The majority of them can be recognized at once by the mere fact that in the other half of the Empire there is only *one* unit to correspond. The latter, while it has the same name, lacks the additional title.

The new units are :—

EAST.

WEST.

Auxilia palatina.

Sagittarii Gallicani iuniores.
Sagittarii Orientales iuniores.

Brisigavi iuniores.
Celtae iuniores.
[Heruli iuniores].
Mauri tonantes iuniores.
[Salii iuniores].
Cornuti iuniores.
Victores iuniores.
Exculcatores iuniores.
Felices iuniores.
Leones iuniores.
[Menapii iuniores].
[Tungrecani iuniores].

Legiones comitatenses.

[Martenses iuniores].
Lanciarrii iuniores.
Balistarii iuniores.
Solenses [iuniores] Gallicani.

[Divitenses iuniores].
Fortenses [iuniores].
Ursarienses [iuniores].
Mattiarrii iuniores
[Armigeri defensores iuniores].
Propugnatores iuniores.

Legiones pseudocomitatenses.

Defensores iuniores.
Superventores iuniores.

Under Valentinian I, his brother Valens, and his sons Gratian (and Valentinian II ?) there was a further creation of a not inconsiderable number of new bodies of troops. Zosimus (iv, 12) refers to it thus : ἐκ τε τῶν προσουκούντων τῷ Πήγῳ βαρβάρων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἔθνεσι γεωργῶν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ἐγκαταλέξας τάγμασιν. Ammianus (xxx, 7) mentions this strengthening of the army too, not indeed with so much detail : ‘Valentinianus et auxit exercitus valido supplemento et utrobique Rhenum celsioribus castris munivit atque castellis.’

The subjoined list comprises the units of the field-army which we know to date from this period :—

EAST.

WEST.

Vexillationes palatinae.

Equites constantes Valentinianenses
seniores.
[Equites constantes Valentinianenses
iuniores].

Auxilia palatina.

[Primi sagittarii Valentis].
[Secundi sagittarii Valentis].
Tertii sagittarii Valentis.

Valentinianenses seniores.
Valentinianenses iuniores.
Felices Valentinianenses.
Gratianenses seniores.
Gratianenses iuniores.

EAST

Legiones comitatenses.

Valentinianenses.

[I Felix Valentis Thebaeorum].

II Felix Valentis Thebaeorum.

Gratianenses.

Mattiarii constantes.

For the field-armies this would mean a reinforcement of 1,000 horse and 9,000 foot, to which must further be added 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot (4 *alae*, 2 *legiones riparienses*, and 4 cohorts in the East) for the garrisons on the frontier, or a grand total of 16,000 men. These, however, must have been pretty well neutralized by the loss of other units; apparently as early as the year 387, for instance, a legion and two *auxilia* of the guard, raised by Valens, were destroyed in the battle of Adrianople which ended the career of the sovereign from whom they took their name. The two frontier-legions raised for the Thebaid¹ can hardly have had a higher strength than the legions of the field-army or the *pseudocomitatenses*.² It is not to be supposed that their original establishment was fixed at a figure above the actual establishment of the old frontier-legions, which were now much reduced and to some extent entirely dismembered. If, however, a smaller establishment than that which the frontier-legions used to have was accepted, the obvious course was to keep it at the same figure as that of the *pseudocomitatenses*.

According to Themistius, *Or.* 18 (p. 270, Bonn), the Roman army would seem to have been stronger under Theodosius than at any previous period: ὁ (Theodosius) πλοῦτος τοσοῦτον βόσκει στρατὸν ὅσον οὐποτε ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία. It is true that Zosimus (iv, 29) asserts the exact opposite: τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐν ὀλίγῳ μεμείωτο χρόνῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ μηδὲν περιέστατο. But, as Mommsen has already pointed out (*Hermes* xxiv), "the fact that in iv, 27 he [Zosimus] actually represents him [Theodosius] as doubling the number of the officers of lower rank (ἰλάρχας καὶ λοχαγούς καὶ ταξιάρχους) does not argue well for this prejudiced chronicler."

From the *Notitia* we get the following list of bodies of troops which owe their origin to Theodosius and which all belong to the East:—

Vexillationes palatinae.

Equites Theodosiaci seniores.

Equites Theodosiaci iuniores.

Comites Arcadiaci.

Comites Honoriaci.

Comites Taifali.

Vexillationes comitatenses.

Equites primi Theodosiani.

[Comites catafractarii bucellarii seniores].

Comites catafractarii bucellarii iuniores.

¹ *Or.* xxxi, 36, legio I Valentiniana, Copto; 39, legio II Valentiniana, Hermunthi.

² Cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxiv, p. 214, Anm. 1.

Auxilia palatina.

Primi Theodosiani.
 Secundi Theodosiani.
 Tertii Theodosiani.
 Quarti Theodosiani.
 Felices Theodosiani.
 Felices Theodosiani Isauri.
 Felices Arcadiani seniores.
 Felices Arcadiani iuniores.
 Felices Honoriani seniores.
 Felices Honoriani iuniores.
 Tervingi.
 Visi.

Legio comitatensis.

I (felix) Theodosiana.

Legiones pseudocomitatenses.

[Primi Theodosiani].
 Secundi Theodosiani.
 [Felices Theodosiani seniores].
 Felices Theodosiani iuniores.
 Balistarii Theodosiani [seniores].
 Balistarii Theodosiani iuniores.

The number of units raised by Theodosius is thus quite imposing¹; nevertheless it does not appear to be so large as might have been expected from what Themistius says. It is a remarkable fact that all the new formations belong to the East, while the Western Empire emerges empty-handed. The explanation is that at first Theodosius was entrusted merely with the government of the East. After the murder of Gratian (383) a large part of the West was in the hands of the usurpers Maximus and Victor until the year 388. Valentinian II, son of Valentinian I, who regained possession of the West after the overthrow of the usurpers by Theodosius, was put out of the way in the year 392, and a new pretender to the throne, Eugenius, made himself master of the West. It was only by his victory on the Frigidus (394) that Theodosius reunited the Empire once more; he died there on the 15th January, 395. He was thus in control of the West for merely a few short months, and that is the reason why no traces of him survive in the army of the Western Empire.

Arcadius raised no new troops in the Eastern Empire, even if the two units of 'bucellarii catafractarii'² date from his time. Such a step was unnecessary, since his father had made sufficient additions to the army in that part of the Empire. The bodies of troops named after Arcadius go back to his father who named a series of units after himself and his two sons:—

Vexillationes palatinae.

Equites Theodosiaci seniores (Or. vi, 33).
 Equites Theodosiaci iuniores (Or. viii, 27).
 Comites Arcadiani (Or. viii, 25).
 Comites Honoriani (Or. viii, 26).

Auxilia palatina.

Felices Theodosiani (Or. vi, 62).
 Felices Theodosiani Isauri (Or. v, 66).
 Felices Arcadiani seniores (Or. vii, 36).
 Felices Arcadiani iuniores (Or. vi, 63=65).
 Felices Honoriani seniores (Or. vii, 37).
 Felices Honoriani iuniores (Or. v, 62).

¹ Field-army: 4,000 horse, 7,000 foot; *pseudocomitatenses*: 6,000 foot. To these have to be added 2,500 horse and 1,000 foot for the frontier-troops (5 *alae*, 2 cohorts). A total, therefore, of 20,500 men.

² As regards the 'bucellarii,' cf. Böcking, *Notitia*

Dignitatum pp. 207 f. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxiv, pp. 234 f. (with list of contemporary references to the 'bucellarii'); Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* ii², p. 471; Guilhaumez, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1902), p. 21.

When we speak of the imperial activities of Honorius, we are really always thinking of Stilicho, who was for many years the all-powerful ruler of the West. It is accordingly to this great statesman and general that we must attribute the very considerable increase in the army of the Western Empire. The *Notitia* enables us to identify the following units, which amount to a total strength of 2,500 horse and 12,000 foot:—

Auxilia palatina.

GROUP 1.

Honoriani ascarii seniores.
[Honoriani ascarii iuniores].
Honoriani Marcomanni seniores.
Honoriani Marcomanni iuniores.
Honoriani Mauri seniores.
Honoriani Mauri iuniores.
Honoriani Atecotti seniores.
Honoriani Atecotti iuniores.
[Honoriani victores seniores].
Honoriani victores iuniores.

GROUP 2.

Jovii iuniores Gallicani.
Salii iuniores Gallicani.
Mattiaci iuniores Gallicani.
Felices iuniores Gallicani.
Sagittarii Nervii Gallicani.
Exculcatores iuniores Britannici.
Invicti iuniores Britannici.
Victores iuniores Britannici.
Honoriani Mauri [iuniores] Gallicani.
[Honoriani] Atecotti iuniores Gallicani.

Vexillationes comitatenses.

Equites Honoriani seniores.
Equites Honoriani iuniores.
Equites Honoriani Taifali seniores.
Equites Honoriani Taifali iuniores.
Equites secundi scutarii iuniores.¹

Legiones comitatenses.

Honoriani felices Gallicani.
Lanciarum Honoriani Gallicani.

As a product of the time of Valentinian III the *Notitia* names one *auxilium palatinum*, the 'Placidi Valentiniaci felices,' who appear in the Western Empire (*Occ.* vii, 36) as a later addition.

The following summary is intended to give a general view of the changes that took place in the period from Constantine to the date of our version of the *Notitia*, as a result of the increases and losses in the field-army. In the case of the garrison-army no comparison of the kind is possible, since we cannot determine the exact strength of the individual units after the completion of Constantine's reform, and further since, in the case of many pre-Constantinian units which can be shown to be missing from the *Notitia*, we are not in a position to say whether they disappeared *before* the reform, *in consequence* of the reform, or *after* the reform. We are, therefore, compelled to limit ourselves here to the troops of the field-army, for which we possess certain enough dates.

¹ Cf. *supra* p. 8.

<i>Increases.</i>		EAST.		WEST.	
under		Horse.	Foot.	Horse.	Foot.
The Flavians ..	..	—	5,000	—	13,000
Valentinian, etc. ..	..	—	6,000	1,000	3,000
Theodosius ..	..	4,000	7,000	—	—
Valentinian III (East)	}	—	500	2,500	12,000
Stilicho (West) ..					
Total <i>Increases</i> ..		4,000	18,500	3,500	28,000

<i>Losses.</i>					
in the field-army					
troops raised by					
Constantine .. ..	..	7,500	14,500	4,500	7,000
The Flavians .. ..	..	—	1,000	—	5,000
Valentinian, etc. ..	..	—	2,000	500	—
Theodosius .. ..	..	500	—	—	—
Stilicho .. ..	..	—	—	—	1,000
Total <i>Losses</i> : ..		8,000	17,500	5,000	13,000

<i>Changes.</i>					
Constantine's levies ..	..	26,000	71,500	26,000	71,500
Add <i>Increases</i> .. ..	..	4,000	18,500	3,500	28,000
Total		30,000	90,000	29,500	99,500
Deduct <i>Losses</i> .. ..	..	8,000	17,500	5,000	13,000

<i>Strength at date of</i>					
<i>the Notitia</i> ..		22,000	72,500	24,500	86,500

If we compare the strength of the field-armies at the time of Constantine and at the date of the Notitia, we observe that, despite the creation of all the new units, the cavalry has suffered not inconsiderable losses, amounting in the Eastern Empire to 16 per cent. and in the Western Empire to 6 per cent. The infantry has been strengthened in the East by 1,000, and in the West by 15,000. If, however, we leave out of account the last increase, which was due to Stilicho, the cavalry of the Western Empire has suffered precisely the same loss as the cavalry of the Eastern Empire, and the infantry of the Western Empire has been increased by only 3,000 men—as compared with 1,000 in the Eastern Empire—so that here again complete agreement is the rule. But, if we assume, as we have good reason for doing, that after Constantine the strength of the various units continued to decline, we cannot regard the increase in their number by his successors as a real increase in the army, but only as a series of attempts to prevent an excessive fall in the total.

From the foregoing comparison we may infer that even at the time of the death of Theodosius the field-armies of the two halves of the Empire balanced one another numerically. Thereafter, however, Stilicho's superiority to the statesmen and generals of the Eastern Empire is clearly shown by the mere fact that he met the critical situation of the West by an increase of the army, while they, faced with the same situation, were unable to follow his example in the East.

ADDENDUM.

The 'lanciarri' referred to in the inscriptions cited in footnotes 3 and 4 on p. 4 *supra* belonged to the troop (apparently a detachment of the Praetorian Guard) which appears under the name of *λογχοφόροι* as early as Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iii, 6, 2 and v, 2, 1. That they were actually called 'lanciarri' even then, is proved by the choice of the designation *λογχοφόροι*—a translation of the Latin 'lanciarri'—instead of the usual Greek word *δορυφόροι*.