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Dr. Mommsen on the Recruiting System for Legionaries and Auxiliaries under the Empire in *Hermes* XIX.

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culty may perhaps be solved by changing our traditional conceptions of the fortifications existing previous to 415. On this point we have little information. Remains there are none, except the 'Wall of Gelon' to which (as I said above) no date can be assigned. Plutarch and Diodorus tell us practically nothing, and one is left to Thucydides. Here we have definite mention of an ἐντὸς πόλις (Ortygia) and an ἔξω πόλις which is προστειχθεῖσα, and would therefore naturally be on the low ground between Ortygia and Epipolae. And, if we take this account in its simple sense, difficulties vanish. Previous to 415, the fortified Syracuse lay to the s. of Epipolae. The southern slope of this plateau is gentle at the eastern end, and cannot have interfered with the wall of the outer city, still less have commanded it. When Nicias approached, the Syracusans naturally desired to increase the area of blockade. Perhaps, too, they had some dim feeling—Dionysius saw it plainly enough ten years later—that Syracuse could be attacked from Epipolae and not from the Anapus valley. So they not

only garrisoned Epipolae (vi. 96), but also built a wall—for all that we can *prove*, 'Gelon's Wall' may be a trace of it—running up across Epipolae due north, and reaching the sea somewhere near the creek of S. Bonagia and the later suburb Tycha. It is needless to point out that this made the blockade lines much longer than before.

If this is so, the ἔξω πόλις of Thucydides is the later Ἀχραδίνη, and both lie between Epipolae and the Great Harbour. But I have tried to argue the case for each independently, because, first, it is necessary to understand that the Athenian siege and the site of Achradina are in no way connected, and, secondly, the independent conclusions do strengthen each other. Each requires us to take an identical view of the condition of Syracuse in earlier times. Syracuse still remains μεγαλόπολις, but less astonishingly so than has usually been represented, and this is in itself some confirmation of my view.

F. HAVERFIELD.

DR. MOMMSEN ON THE RECRUITING SYSTEM FOR LEGIONARIES AND AUXILIARIES UNDER THE EMPIRE IN *HERMES* XIX.

SEVERAL recently found military inscriptions, as well as the thorough tabulation of those previously known (in *Ephem. Epigr.* vol. v.), have done much to clear up the subject of the imperial method of recruiting both for the legions and the auxiliaries. Hitherto it has been believed that in the early empire the legionaries were taken from Roman citizens only, and therefore came with a few exceptions of individual 'citizens' belonging to towns of Latin right, from those completely enfranchised communities which were chiefly to be found in the West. The inscriptions relating to the armies of Germany and Africa, the provinces about which we are best informed, contained nothing inconsistent with this view. Thus of the legions I. Germanica, IV. Macedonica and XIV. Gemina, during their stay in Germany in the first century, all the soldiers whose origin can be traced came from Italy and the West; so too, those of the IIIrd Augusta during its stay at Theveste. Among the Danube legions the rule is not so absolute. While of the three Pannonian legions (XV. Apollinaris, VIII. Augusta and IX. His-

pana), two only out of twenty-six come from the East, of the Dalmatian legions ten out of twenty-six do so, and the inscriptions from Troesmis in Lower Moesia show a similar distribution. About the oriental legions an inscription recently discovered at Coptos (*Ephem. Epigr.* v. p. 5), and dating from Augustus or Tiberius, has for the first time given us considerable information. Out of thirty-six cases from the two Egyptian legions (XXII. Deiotariana, and III. Cyrenaica), fourteen are from Galatia, nine from Egypt itself, and nine from Pontus, Syria, and Bithynia, or other parts of Asia Minor. In other words an overwhelming majority come from the East, from regions where the towns of Roman right were extremely few. This is confirmed by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 7 and 35, where for Corbulo's army, 'habiti per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus.' While therefore in the first century the German and African and Pannonian legions were recruited from Italy and the West, the Oriental legions were raised in the Eastern parts; the Dalmatian and Moesian legions occupying, as in situation, so in recruiting an intermediate

place, a fact which is also confirmed by Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 13, 'dilectus per Galliam Narbonensem, Africamque et Asiam habiti suppledis Illyricis legionibus.'

Clearly, therefore, the legionaries were not all necessarily taken from those already possessed of the franchise. Indeed the republican generals had gradually gained the right of recruiting non-citizens for the legions, on whom, however, on enlistment the *civitas* was conferred. In the Civil Wars whole legions were raised in this way (*vernaculae legiones*), and Augustus though he confined the general use of this practice to the East, still continued it in the West also in the case of individual recruits, and after the defeat of Varus even raised a whole legion, the XXIst *Rapax*, in this way (Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 31). Practically, therefore, he was only limited in his recruiting by the two qualifications of municipal origin and free birth, though even these were often eluded. There was thus a radical difference between the legions of the East and the West. We know of only one instance of a legion (the XVth *Apollinaris*) permanently transferred from the West to the East, and no instance the other way, though in the Eastern crises, it was common to reinforce the untrustworthy Oriental legions from the Western armies.

Under Vespasian an important change took place, in consequence of the military insubordination shown in the war with *Civilis*. The Italians, whose pride of birth made them less amenable to discipline, were henceforth practically excluded from legionary service. Thus out of twenty cases from the Ist *Adiutrix* raised by Galba, and Ist *Minervia* by Domitian only one is an Italian. One result was to throw a greater burden on the rest of the West, and it was found necessary to supply the African legion from the East. Thus of seventy-eight soldiers of the IIIrd *Aug.* enlisted by Trajan, thirty-two come from Syria, and twenty-two from Bithynia. Hitherto the recruiting had taken place both in senatorial and imperial provinces, in the former through the *proconsul*, in the latter through an imperial officer of equestrian rank. But under Hadrian, to decrease expense and to secure greater rapidity, a system of local recruiting was introduced, and in consequence the senatorial provinces, which contained no legions, were altogether omitted. In the inscriptions of the IIIrd *Augusta* from *Lambaesis*, the recruiting is shown to have been from Africa and Numidia almost exclusively, while an Egyptian inscription (*Eph. Epig.* v. p. 260) shows that from the IInd *Trajana*, twenty-eight out of thirty-

seven cases are from Egypt itself. Germany, however, and Gaul, being used largely for the auxiliary levy could not supply all the recruits for the German legions, in which accordingly, we find still a larger number of soldiers from elsewhere. Another important result of the local conscription was the position given to the Illyrian provinces, and especially to Pannonia. The primacy of the Danube legions in the second and third centuries became a primacy of the Illyrian soldiers, a result reflected in the series of Illyrian emperors, which was directly brought about by the exclusion of senators from posts in the army by Gallienus. It was not an unnatural consequence of local recruiting that the legions from this time were rarely moved from their provinces. With the exception of the three legions raised by Severus, and his removal of the Vth *Macedonica* from *Moesia* to *Dacia*, the list in the Vatican Inscription *C. I. L.* vi. 3492, dating between 120 and 170 A.D., and that of Dio Cassius (53, 24) under Alexander Severus agree in every point. A further change with important results was the gradual extension of the system of *vicarii*, dating perhaps from Trajan's reign (*Plin. Ep. ad Traj.* 30). When this was brought into connection with the system of *colonatus*, and the great land-owners sent their serfs into the legions, their character was greatly changed, a fact which has to be remembered in the wars against the Goths and Huns.

The auxiliary forces, *cohortes* and *alae*, were in a peculiar sense the emperor's own troops, and in military importance, though not in dignity, hardly stood behind the legions. That they were recruited solely from the imperial provinces is proved negatively by the fact that with one or two exceptions, which upon examination prove the rule, no names of districts or tribes appear belonging to senatorial provinces. This general induction is verified by the particular inscriptions in which the origin of auxiliary soldiers is stated. While therefore the senatorial provinces till Hadrian provided legionaries only, the others provided auxiliaries as well, though a system of compensation can be discerned. Thus *Raetia* raised at least eight cohorts, *Noricum* only one cohort and one *ala*, but while twenty-two legionaries from *Noricum* are known, only one appears from *Raetia*. So *Galatia* was almost passed over by the auxiliary levy, but provided many men for the Egyptian and Syrian legions. The auxiliaries again necessarily entered the service as non-citizens, as the legionaries did as citizens, but not only were they rewarded

with the *civitas* after twenty-five years' service (see *Diplomata* in *C. I. L.* iii.), but sometimes during actual service, which explains the otherwise perplexing fact that in inscriptions auxiliary soldiers are sometimes found assigned to one of the tribes. Where they are stated, as is sometimes the case, to belong to a colony, they were either assigned to this after their enfranchisement, or, as Mommsen thinks, the colony is to be regarded as only a Latin colony. It not unfrequently happened that the *civitas* was granted to a whole cohort as a special reward, in which case the words '*civium Romanorum*' were added to its official description (*C. I. L.* III. 1577), but while the title apparently remained, the position of recruits was not affected by it.

Under Augustus in all probability, and during the Julio-Claudian reigns, the auxiliaries were not only recruited from the districts whose names they bear, but were for the most part posted in or near their own provinces. Definite proofs of this are few, as there are no *diplomata* of so early a date, and accounts, like those of Tacitus for the Batavian and Jewish wars, are rare. There was probably no hard and fast rule on the subject, and in many cases it may have been a matter of indifference. But economical and sanitary grounds would favour their employment near their homes, while the inconvenience of posting troops in a country with strange language and habits would be greater for auxiliaries than for the legions with their large camps and greater organisation. On the other hand there were reasons which from the first must have worked in an opposite direction. Small provinces like *Raetia* or *Thrace* would certainly not need all their auxiliaries, while large provinces like *Germany* could hardly supply all they

required. Again legions, when moved to a fresh province, probably took their auxiliaries with them. Thus Batavian cohorts accompanied the XIVth legion to Britain (*Tac. Hist.* iv. 12), and cohorts of *Lusitani* (*Hist.* i. 70), and *Vascones* (iv. 33) accompanied the IVth *Macedonica* from Spain to Germany. So too, cohorts with peculiar arms or equipments were naturally wanted in different parts; as *e.g.* *Syrians* and *Dalmatians*. On the whole Augustus seems to have posted the auxiliaries in their own homes, unless exceptional circumstances prevented it. Thus German auxiliaries certainly served in Germany till 69, but a military diploma of 60 shows that hardly any native auxiliaries served in *Pannonia*, a difference explained by the *Pannonian* revolt of 6 A.D. No doubt from the various causes mentioned, the exceptions to the original plan increased as time went on, but *Vespasian* changed the principle of their employment. Moved, no doubt, by the Batavian rising, he carried out in other provinces the method of Augustus in *Pannonia*, and from his time the auxiliaries were to a great extent denationalised, *i.e.* employed away from home, and also recruited to a great extent locally. A further change, beginning with *Trajan*, was the formation of what were called *numeri* in inscriptions, and *nationes* in *Hyginus*, bodies of barbarians equipped with their own arms, and forming strictly national corps, such as the *Mauri* of *Lusius Quietus*, *Daci*, *Palmyreni*, *Sarmatae*, &c. These, however, differed from the auxiliaries in not necessarily coming from districts possessed of the right of *Latini* or *peregrini*, and were in fact an anticipation of the later employment of *Goths* and *Franks*.

E. G. HARDY.

THE *TIMAEUS* OF PLATO.

The Timaeus of Plato. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by R. D. ARCHER-HIND, M.A. Macmillan. 16s.

To edit the *Timaeus* is a difficult task. The Greek is hard, the text not always certain, the matter requires to elucidate it considerable learning, some knowledge of science and metaphysics, a sound acquaintance with the records of Greek philosophy up to Aristotle and farther; above all, in a work where the mythical element has opened a wide door to extravagance, a sober judgment combined

with training in the criticism of ancient philosophical texts.

Our editor has undertaken all departments. His interest is in the philosophy to which his Introduction is devoted, but the larger part of the notes is taken up by the other matters.

Excellent work has been done in the *Timaeus*: in the text by Stallbaum and C. F. Hermann, on the matter by Böckh, Martin, Zeller, and others nearer home.

The editor in his Introduction implies the place of his own work in some judgments