

YANN LE BOHEC, avec la collaboration de CATHERINE WOLFF (Hrsg.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (17–19 septembre 1998). Verlag De Boccard, Paris 2000. 2 Bände, 754 Seiten, zahlreiche Abbildungen im Text.

Following the Lyon Congress of 1997, which was intended to bring A. VON DOMASZEWSKI's *Rangordnung* (Bonn 1910, second edition by B. DOBSON, 1967) up to date, the editors have undertaken a similar task for E. RITTERLING's classic article 'Legio' in the *Realencyclopädie*. The result this time is almost twice as large: "chaque légion bénéficierait d'un traitement" in Volume I, except for *XVI Flavia*, for which the colleague concerned did not submit a contribution. In fact, the coverage is not quite so comprehensive as that of Ritterling: The Augustan *legio I* (RITTERLING *op. cit.* 1376–1380) gets only brief mention, once as '*I G()*' (pp. 465 f.), once as '*I Augusta*' pp. 689 f., a title it may have been obliged to forego, if it is the legion referred to by DIO 54,11,5, as R. SYME suggested, *Journal Roman Stud.* 23, 1933, 15 ff.); and of course the aim was to deal with the principate or 'Haut-Empire' only, so the numerous Diocletianic and later formations, *I Armeniaca*, *I Flavia Gallicana Constantia*, *I*, *II Flavia Martis*, etc., which Ritterling included, are not covered. (All the same, three new legions, which Ritterling thought might be pre-Diocletianic creations of the third century, ought, perhaps, to have been considered here: *I Illyricorum*, *IV Italica* – which does, however, receive brief discussion in Vol. II, see below – and *XII Victrix*.) This task fills the first volume, while the second is devoted to miscellaneous related themes, in which a good many legions are studied in further detail.

The work begins with an appreciation, by S. DEMOUGIN and Y. LE BOHEC, of the sadly missed expert on the equestrian officers, Hubert Devijver, who died on 28 September 1997; a statement of the objectives of the congress by LE BOHEC; and a fascinating biographical sketch, "*Legio*. Emil Ritterling und sein Beitrag zur

Truppengeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit”, by R. WIEGELS (who illustrates three sheets from Ritterling’s handwritten ‘Scheden’). The rest of Volume I covers “L’histoire des légions”. Four that served a long time in Britain (*II Augusta*, *VI Victrix*, *IX Hispana* and *XX Valeria Victrix*) are discussed first (*XIV Gemina* and *II Adiutrix* are omitted here), followed by eleven legions based at one time or another in the Rhineland (*V Alaudae*, *XXI Rapax*, *XV Primigenia*, *XXX Ulpia*, *XVII*, *XVIII* and *XIX*, *I Minervia*, *XXII Primigenia*, *IV Macedonica*, *VIII Augusta*, *XI Claudia*). Next come those based in the Danube-Balkan zone, more or less from west to east (*III Italica*, *II Italica*, *I–II Adiutrix*, *X*, *XIII* and *XIV Gemina*, all the legions that served in Dacia, *I Italica*, the legions of Moesia Superior), then the eastern ones (*I*, *III Parthica*, *XII Fulminata*, *XV Apollinaris*, *III Gallica*, *X Fretensis*, *IV Scythica*, *III Cyrenaica*, *VI Ferrata*, *II Traiana* and *XXII Deiotariana*), finally those of Africa (*I Macriana* and *III Augusta*), Spain (*VII Gemina*) and Italy (*II Parthica*). Several authors deal with more than one legion: L. KEPPIE on the four British legions, LE BOHEC on *XV Primigenia*, *XXX Ulpia*, *I Minervia*, *III Augusta* and the legions of Moesia superior (*IV Flavia* and *VII Claudia*), the latter with C. WOLFF, who herself tackles *I* and *III Parthica* as well, while B. LÖRINCZ covers *II Italica* and *I–II Adiutrix*, TH. FRANKE *V Alaudae*, *XXII Primigenia* and *XIV Gemina* and WIEGELS the three lost in AD 9 (*XVII*, *XVIII*, *XIX*). I. PISO, the leading authority on the epigraphy of Romania, rather than presenting, as invited, ‘l’histoire complète’ of the legions that formed the permanent garrison of Dacia, *IV Flavia* and *XIII Gemina*, and (with a colleague) *V Macedonica*, offers a comprehensive survey of all the legions at various times active in Dacia, eleven in total. “Les légions dans la province de Dacie”. J. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA covers *IV Macedonica* and *X Gemina*, E. DĄBROWA deals with two eastern legions, *III Gallica* and *X Fretensis*, both of which he had previously handled, while *II Traiana* and *XXII Deiotariana*, long based in Egypt, are discussed by S. DARIS, a specialist in the military history of that province. The other contributions are by: FR. BÉRARD, *XXI Rapax*; W. ECK, *I Minervia* in the third century; M. REDDÉ, *VIII Augusta*; R. FELLMANN, *XI Claudia*; M. ABSIL, *I Italica*; F. BERTRANDY and B. RÉMY, *XII Fulminata*; E. L. WHEELER, *XV Apollinaris*; M. A. SPEIDEL, *IV Scythica*; P.-L. GATIER, *III Cyrenaica* in Arabia; H. M. COTTON, *VI Ferrata*; A. CHAUSA, *I Macriana*; P. LE ROUX, *VII Gemina*; C. RICCI, *II Parthica*; W. VAN RENGEM, *II Parthica* at Apamea.

It is impossible to do justice to all the papers in so rich a collection and some can only be listed. The contributors were given a free hand and the treatment inevitably varies markedly according to the quantity of evidence. Whereas Wheeler’s paper on *XV Apollinaris* (pp. 259–308) is almost a (very readable) monograph, Wolff has only a page and a half on *XIII Gemina* in the first century, the same amount on *III Parthica* and on *III Cyrenaica* in the first century, and two and a half pages on *I Parthica*, while Le Bohec has only two and a half on *I Minervia* and half a page on *XV Primigenia*. The latter of course had a very short history and has not delivered much new evidence since 1925. It is odd that

the important late Neronian inscription from Cologne is referred to as showing P. Sulpicius Scribonius Rufus as “légat impérial propréteur de la XV<sup>ème</sup> légion Primigenia”. See W. ECK, *Kölner Jahrb.* 13, 1972/3, 89 ff. (improving on *Année Épigr.* 1969/70, 443), and *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen Köln-Bonn* 1985, 125, expanding *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)* and *leg(io) XV Primigenia* [not *leg(ionis)Primigeniae*].

L. KEPPIE sets out to highlight “epigraphic or archaeological evidence ... since Ritterling wrote” and succeeds admirably (with 3 figures). TH. FRANKE, author of a dissertation on “Die Legionslegaten der römischen Armee in der Zeit von Augustus bis Traian” (Bochum 1991) is well equipped to give systematic coverage (with full bibliographies) on the three legions entrusted to him here. F. BÉRARD approaches *XXI Rapax* rather differently, with brief summaries on the origins of the legion; its first stay in Germania inferior and superior; its role in 69–70; its second spell in each of the Germanies; and a lengthy discussion of the end of the legion, followed by a detailed appendix (with a drawing) on a new inscription from Nyon of a man described as *optioni et quaestori equit(um) / interregi leg. XXI / decurion. / col. Eq(uestris)*. Rather than taking *interregi* as a double mason’s error for *interpreti* (of the legion), he argues that *interrex* was a municipal office (for which he cites parallels), which had been inserted, mistakenly, in an originally vacant space to the left of *leg. XXI*. (This legion crops up again in Vol. II, with a paper by L. ROSSI, commented on by A. SARTORI, “Legio XXI Rapax ... atque Infidelis?”, where Rossi argues, on the basis of a scene on Trajan’s Column, that it was dissolved and suffered *damnatio memoriae* after desertion in that emperor’s Dacian war. The case seems to fall short of proof.) What one misses on *XXI Rapax*, it should be added, is reference to the inscription first published by W. ECK, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (München 1970) 93 ff., of L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (*cos. ord.* 81), the man who besieged and took the fortress of Masada – and before that had been legate of *XXI Rapax*, as a tribunician, for he was then *adlectus inter praetorios et patricios*, i.e. in AD 73. No doubt he had performed well in restoring discipline to a unit that had lived up to its name in the Civil Wars (*Tac. hist.* 1.67,1); and perhaps he commanded it when it turned the tide against Civilis and Classicus at Trier (*ibid.* 4.78).

*I Minervia* receives two separate papers, LE BOHEC on the first and second centuries and ECK on the third, the latter concentrating first on a reinterpretation of the Victory monument found at Beuel opposite Bonn in 1898 (CIL XIII 8017), arguing in the light of parallels that it was set up there, in AD 231, at the site of a battle, then on new evidence, in particular the *honesta missio* of a veteran. This unusual document, also from the reign of Severus Alexander, registers the honourable discharge conferred by the governor Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus (who had previously been legate of the legion). W. Eck adds a list of “Ergänzungen zu den Listen” in RITTERLING – it is a pity that such summaries were not appended for all the legions. Another contributor, J. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA, on *IV Macedonica*, commented that “el editor considera que la prosopografía legionaria no es el objetivo primordial de este libro” – but fortu-

nately he could not resist offering a list, mostly, it is true, of items already in RITTERLING. M. ABSIL, on *I Italica*, also offers a documented 'Prosopographie', as does K. DIETZ on *III Italica*. The latter, as of course also B. LÖRINCZ on *II Italica*, had the benefit of starting with an important piece of information unknown to E. RITTERLING, Année Épigr. 1956, 123, the inscription of the procurator Ti. Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, who had served *ad dilectum cum Iulio Vero per Italiam tironum II (= utriusque) leg(ionis) Italicae* (cited in full by Lörincz, p. 145 n. 6). DIETZ, who is on home ground, can cite *inter al.* his own previous work on the early history of *III Italica*, especially Chiron 19, 1989, 407–447. He can offer a welcome number of new inscriptions and, like W. ECK, "Ergänzungen zu den Listen" in RITTERLING. The text of LÖRINCZ's paper is rather shorter, but he has very copious annotation, including a string of post-Ritterling inscriptions. On *I* and *II Adiutrix*, based for most of their history in the author's native Hungary, Lörincz can give detailed and authoritative guidance, again with copious notes. LE BOHEC and WOLFF, on *IV Flavia* and *VII Claudia*, can also provide a good deal of new evidence and they summarise the post-Ritterling personnel. The short paper by FR. BERTRANDY and B. RÉMY on *XII Fulminata* assembles the very limited new material (and, mercifully perhaps, does not discuss the alleged participation of the legion in the Weather Miracles of Marcomannic wars, invoked by ignorant Christian writers to explain *Fulminata*, a title the Twelfth had had since Augustus). Wheeler's paper on *XV Apollinaris*, already mentioned for its length, includes a helpful post-Ritterling supplement in tabular form. H. M. COTTON adds a similar Appendix to her paper on *VI Ferrata*, as does S. DARIS on *II Traiana* and *XXII Deiotariana*. Two of the later papers in Vol. I, by Y. LE BOHEC on *III Augusta* and P. LE ROUX on *VII Gemina*, are by the authors of substantial monographs on their subject (Y. LE BOHEC, *La troisième légion Auguste* [Paris 1989]; P. LE ROUX, *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409* [Paris 1982]). The two last papers are both on *II Parthica*, C. RICCI giving a full coverage of the legion's history, with special attention to its fortress near Rome, while W. VAN RENGEN concentrates on the astonishing new epigraphic evidence from Syrian Apamea, first unveiled in the late 1980s but still not completely published.

Volume II, "Les légions dans l'histoire", contains twenty-seven papers ranging from M. GALINIER, "La représentation iconographique du légionnaire romain", (22 figures), to J. IRMSCHER, "*Legio = λεγεών*". M. HASSALL discusses "The location of legionary fortresses as a response to changes in military strategy: the case of Roman Britain AD 43–84" (a table and 15 maps). This is an aspect which could usefully have been repeated for all the legions, at least up to the time of Hadrian, when they began to settle down. At least presentation in tabular form would have been very valuable, updating A. BETZ, "Zur Dislokation der Legionen in der Zeit vom Tode des Augustus bis zum Ende der Prinzipats-epoche". In: E. SWOBODA (ed.), *Carnuntina* (Graz, Köln 1956) 17–24. The map of the Empire, marking all known legionary bases but not the legions which occu-

ried them (p. 23), is no substitute. Hassall can refer to his previous paper, "Pre-Hadrianic legionary dispositions in Britain", delivered in 1992 at a conference in honour of George Boon (1927–1994). It was not published until 2000, in: R. J. BREWER (ed.), *Roman Fortresses and their Legions* (London, Cardiff 2000) 51–67. That volume contains ten other papers, which admirably supplement the work under review (note especially S. VON SCHNURBEIN, "The organization of the fortresses in Augustan Germany", pp. 29–39; J. J. WILKES, "Roman legions and their fortresses in the Danube lands", pp. 101–119; S. TH. PARKER, "Roman legionary fortresses in the east", pp. 121–138). Another important work in this field also published in 2000 is a collection of twenty-one papers by L. KEPPIE, *Legions and Veterans (MAVORS XII)* [Stuttgart 2000]).

To return to Volume II of the present work: G. WESCH-KLEIN gives a useful survey of "Die Legions-ziegeleien von *Tabernae*" in the light of several decades of excavation, as does J. K. HAALBOS on "Römische Truppen in Nijmegen (14 figures)", where over a dozen different legions have left epigraphic traces. For ROSSI and SARTORI on *XXI Rapax*, cf. above. Four scholars, E. MARIN, M. MAYER, G. PACI and I. RODA, combine in "Elementos para una puesta al día de las inscripciones del campo militar de *Bigeste*", near Narona in Dalmatia, with an appendix of inscriptions not in CIL III, Année Épigr. or ILIug. K. STROBEL, "Zur Geschichte der Legionen V (Macedonia) und VII (Claudia pia fidelis) in der frühen Kaiserzeit und zur Stellung der Provinz Galatia", focuses first on *V Gallica* (not identical, he maintains, with *V Macedonica*), which he argues was based for a few years in Galatia from the annexation of the country by M. Lollius and then transferred with him to the west, first to Macedonia, then to Gaul, to be destroyed in 16 BC in the so called *clades Lolliana*. He then tackles *V Macedonica* and *VII (Claudia)*, down to the time of Tiberius and Claudius respectively. VII, he shows, following S. MITCHELL (Anatolia: Land, men and gods in Asia Minor I [Oxford 1993] 70) and others, was active for some years in Galatia. M. CHRISTOL and TH. DREW-BEAR, "Une inscription d'Ancyre relative au *sacer comitatus*", give an improved reading of CIL III 6764, which they rediscovered and illustrate with a photograph: a *signifer* of *XXX Ulpia Victrix*, with a name nicely typical of the Rhineland, Sanctinius Severus, turns out to have been *sac/ro comitat[us] agens* or *militans*. They offer valuable observations on the development of the *comitatus* and assign this soldier to the period 214–218. M. GICHON offers the only detailed study here of an actual campaign, "The siege of Masada" by *X Fretensis* (8 figures). *VII (Claudia)* crops up again with J.-P. LAPORTE, "La *legio VIIa* et la déduction des colonies augustéennes de Césarienne" (6 figures), including a detailed summary of its history from Caesar to the mid-20s BC, a briefer account of its subsequent stations and full discussion of its part in the founding of the colonies at Rusazus, Saldæ and Tubusuctu.

Several papers provide new insight on the legions that served in Spain under Augustus (cf. also the two papers by Gómez-Pantoja in Vol. I, above): S. PEREA YÉBENES on "Hispania y la *legio XX*" (4 figures) argues that it was never in the peninsula at all (it must be noted that

he is not the only contributor still to believe the old idea that the Twentieth got the title *Valeria Victrix* for service under M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus in AD 6: See Keppie pp. 27f. for the more convincing explanation, that the name *Valeria* meaning 'valiant', was conferred, with *Victrix*, at the same time that XIV *Gemina* became *Martia Victrix*, for suppressing the revolt of Boudica); A. MORILLO CERDÁN and V. GARCIA MARCOS offer "Nuevos testimonios acerca de las legiones VI *Victrix* y X *Gemina* en la region septentrional de la península Ibérica" (9 figures); A. MORILLO CERDÁN discusses "La legio IIII *Macedonica* en la península Ibérica. El campamento de Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia)" (6 figures) and M.P. GARCÍA-BELLIDO analyses the "Lingots estampillés en Espagne avec des marques de légions et d'Agrippa", I *pri(ma)* but not *Augusta*, cf. remarks above), IV *Macedonica* and X *Gemina* (9 figures).

Legionaries attested in Italy are discussed by: A. SARTORI, "Soldati in servizio nell'area Transpadana" (5 pages of tables); H. SOLIN, "Antium et ses légions. Nouveaux témoignages" (with a drawing and 2 photographs); G. MENNELLA, "Legionari del Donau a Dertona e Ticinum: una nuova testimonianza" (6 figures). M. REALI, "Macro-storie di legioni e micro-storie di legionari: i *Mediolanenses* sotto le armi" (with a list of 46 inscriptions) and E. TODISCO, "I veterani italici nelle province: l'integrazione sociale" (7 pages of tables), study Italian legionaries. M.F. PETRACCIA LUCERNONI and M. TRAVERSO, "A proposito de Massimino il Trace", cover Maximinus' own career before accession and the 'legioni *ex tironibus*', which provides the opportunity to discuss (sceptically) Ritterling's hypothesis that IV *Italica* was formed by Severus Alexander. They rely rather too much, in the reviewer's opinion, on the largely fictional *vita* in the *Historia Augusta*.

The final batch of miscellaneous papers comprises: P. COSME, "Le versement de la prime de congé aux vétérans des légions: quelques hypothèses à partir des mutineries de 14 ap. J.-C."; J. ROTH (author of a monograph on the subject, "The Logistics of the Roman Army at War" [Leiden 1998]), "Logistics and the legion"; P. VARON, "*Epibati*. Legionary marines"; P. BARTOLONI, "Un indagine statistica sui rapporti di tipo matrimoniale dei legionari attraverso le testimonianze epigrafiche. Il caso della Pannonia" (6 pages of tables); J.-L. VOISIN, "Ethique militaire et mort volontaire sous le Haut-Empire: un soldat peut-il se tuer?"; C. CASTILLO and A. SÁNCHEZ-OSTIZ, "Legiones y legionarios en los epígrafes *pro salute imperatoris*: una panorámica"; and IRMSCHER on the Greek transcription for *legio* (cf. above).

R. WIEGELS, who opened the congress with his biographical paper on Ritterling, ends the proceedings with a "Schlusswort", in which he returns to the Master's methods, properly affirming that his conclusions remain valid in many cases nearly eighty years on. He mentions also that Ritterling's notes indicate that he "weit über den zeitlichen und sachlichen Rahmen seines RE-Artikels Material zusammengetragen hat". Wiegels makes four recommendations: inter-disciplinary study of the sources is needed, especially of the inscriptions in the context of the monument to which they belonged; legions should be studied in the context of "größere

Heeresverbände"; more concentration is required on the the legions "in ihrem sozialen Umfeld" (here one may refer to the recent volume by O. STOLL, *Römisches Heer und Gesellschaft*. MAVORS XIII [Stuttgart 2001]); a data bank should be set up. Ideally, he concludes, a "römische Heeresgeschichte" is needed, but, quoting I. Piso, he admits that "die römische Heeresgeschichte ist eine 'verheerende' Geschichte". True enough: But a great deal of excellent new work is now available, not only in the volumes produced by the indefatigable Le Bohec, but, especially, in the wonderful series of reprinted papers edited by M.P. SPEIDEL, MAVORS, examples of which have been referred to above.

The only index is the single page listing the legions (not including the remarks on IV *Italica* and V *Gallica*), a disappointment to those who benefited from the nearly thirty pages of indices to L'Hiérarchie. More detailed indices would have made it much easier to digest and exploit the contents of these densely packed pages. Misprints crop up from time to time, but none seem to be misleading, and the quality of the production is on the whole excellent. It is a slight shame that Emil Ritterling is re-baptised 'Emmanuel' by the organiser (p. 7). At all events, this congress has shown that the great man's famous article will continue to form the basis of future research. Those who have their own RE 12 or have photocopied it will no doubt enter in the margins the very numerous addenda and corrigenda that several dozen scholars have contributed here.

Vindolanda Museum

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