

The Initial Spread of the Provincial Census: Warfare and the Census¹

Jared Kreiner

Abstract: The Roman provincial census was a key institution of imperial administration and Roman control. Did Augustus have a grand plan for extending it to the provinces of Rome's empire? Was there a global census (Lk. 2:1–5) or was this a piecemeal process? Using a novel lens to this debate, namely the wartime contexts of provincial censuses under Augustus, I argue that the impetus for the earliest provincial censuses was to gather information on human and natural resources to support impending or ongoing military campaigns. The provincial census then did not serve a single purpose at any one time. Rather, it was an institution that could serve local, global, and ideological purposes simultaneously.

Introduction

The Roman provincial census was a key institution of imperial administration and Roman control. Despite its importance, there is a distinct paucity of evidence concerning its introduction and early development, let alone how operations were precisely conducted. Such a patchy record has sparked perennial debate about Augustus' intention behind the provincial census: did he have a grand plan for extending the census to all the provinces? Did he conduct a global census as the evangelist Luke stated (Lk. 2:1–5), or was this a piecemeal process? This article offers a novel approach to these questions through contextualizing the five attested provincial censuses during the reign of Augustus through the lens of planned or ongoing warfare in neighboring regions. It also serves as a prolegomenon of a monograph in progress, *Warfare and the Roman Provincial Census in the Age of Augustus*. Throughout I maintain the following points. 1) Despite what surely must be

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an incomplete record of provincial censuses, there is a clear link between provincial census operations and impending or ongoing military campaigns during Augustus' reign, in which the census operations gathered information on human and natural resources to support those campaigns. 2) Though provincial census operations were useful to support military operations, the institution appears in an ad hoc nature throughout Augustus' reign and was not used for every war. This also lends further credence to arguments suggesting that there was no grand plan to 'measure the world' in a single moment. 3) While information derived from censuses was useful for supporting military operations regionally, the provincial census was an institution that could serve local, global, and ideological purposes at one and the same time. For example, the emperor employed raw data from provincial censuses to convey his power via knowledge.

What is the Provincial Census?

The provincial census was an administrative institution first deployed in Gaul in 27 BCE by Augustus, and it was meant to create a more predictable and efficient tax regime to support statal needs (such as Rome's standing army)² through counting, categorizing, and assessing provincials and their resources, allowing the state to more effectively tax subjects in currency, natural resources, and manpower. To borrow James Scott's terms, the census was meant to make Rome's subject population and resources more legible to the imperial center, meaning more understandable and manageable. The idiosyncrasies of local property ownership and tax regimes need to be simplified, and abstractions of these local practices are made to increase legibility for the state.³ Furthermore, the census performed ideological roles, aggrandizing and reinforcing the strength of the emperor through quantification. According to exaggerating panegyrists, emperors like Antoninus Pius could govern through letters from Rome (Aristid. *Or.* 26.33), implying he has all the information at hand to rule justly. Likewise, according to Pliny the Younger, Trajan was "like a swift-moving star, [able] to see all, hear all, and be present at once with aid wherever your help is sought" (Plin. *Pan.* 80.3, trans. Radice 1969). A fair portion of the information required by emperors to act thus, despite the exaggeration, surely derived from citizen and provincial censuses. In essence, the ability to count and organize the world was a form of knowledge as power which was expressed on Augustan era public monuments such as the *Res Gestae* and the Map of Agrippa. This knowledge was clearly disseminated as we find echoes of census information appearing in other sources. In the First Edict

² See for instance, Béranger 2009, 189–190. Transition to standing army, Keppie 1998; Eck 2007, 114–120; Rossignol 2009, 78.

³ Scott 1998.



of Cyrene, Augustus reported that there were 215 Roman citizens in the province of Cyrenaica with a census valuation of 2,500 denarii (*SEG* 9.8.1, ll.4–6). Meanwhile, Pliny the Elder was able to provide population totals for the three districts of northwestern Spain (Plin. *HN* 3.28: 240,000 Astures, 166,000 Lucenses, and 285,000 Bracari). Finally, Strabo noted that 500 Roman citizens of equestrian status live in the territory of Gades, Baetica (Strabo 5.1.7). Ideologically speaking, to count a population shows one's dominion over it.⁴

If I were to draw a flow chart representing a rough sketch of a provincial census operation from its conception down to individual households' tax assessments it would have six stages. 1) The emperor orders a census for a province.⁵ 2) That province's governor sends an edict to every community within the province (or maybe just administrative centers and legal markets?) announcing the census and when it will occur.⁶ 3) The governor appoints census officials for each administrative center.⁷ 4) Heads of household register an assessment before census agents at their local administrative center.⁸ 5) Information from each administrative center's census operation is used to determine each community's tax burden. The aggregate of this information provides the expected tribute Rome will receive from the province.⁹ 6) Local government officials utilize the same census records to determine individuals' tax burdens (local and imperial).¹⁰ So, as the provincial census was organized by province, then community, then individual household, the accumulation of information about individuals' identities, kin relations, juridical and social statuses, and ages it serves as an important instrument of control for the imperial center. In

⁴ Nicolet 1991; Rathbone 1993, 94; Ando 2000, 353, 359; Le Teuff 2012, 60; Claytor / Bagnall 2015, 638; Dench 2018, 47. Pliny the Younger: *postremo velocissimi sideris more omnia invisere omnia audire, et undecumque invocatum statim adesse et adsistere*.

⁵ Cotton 1997, 207–208; Cotton / Yardeni 1997, 149; Béranger 2009, 192; cf. Claytor / Bagnall 2015, 637–638.

⁶ Bagnall / Frier 1994, 11; Cotton / Yardeni 1997, 149. It is quite clear that *civitates stipendiariae*, communities subject to tribute, were liable to census operations. A census operation in Gallia Belgica under Trajan suggests that *civitates foederatae*, allied communities bound by treaty, could be required to register in censuses, as the Remi did (*CIL* 12.1855; Plin. *HN* 4.106). Whether *civitates liberae*, autonomous communities, were subject to census operations, I am uncertain.

⁷ Béranger 2009, 198–199; Kreiner 2020, 87–90.

⁸ Neesen 1980, 52; Isaac 1994; Kreiner 2020, 90–93.

⁹ Suet. *Vesp.* 16.1; App. *praef.* 15; Hyg. *On Establishing Boundaries* (=Hygini liber *gromaticus de limitibus constituendis*) 160.27–162.2; *IG* 5.1.1432; Ulp. *de censibus* III= *Dig.* 50.15.4.2; Campbell 2000, 154–57; Ando 2006, 187; Le Teuff 2012, 307.

¹⁰ cf. *IG* 5.1.1432; Isaac 1994, esp. 263–264. While there is no evidence of a census for Achaia, local governments used census records, or similar forms of local assessments, for local institutions (to determine eligibility for magistracies or liturgies, for instance), to assess the wealth of their population, and to distribute the burden of imperial taxation. In the case of the latter, the honorand of *IG* 5.1.1432 resolved to divide up the burden of Messene's imperial tribute through an Eight obol tax (Lo Cascio 1999, 198; Levick 2000, 84; Mattingly 2011, 134–135; Le Teuff 2012, 307).



essence, what the provincial census allowed for was a more direct rule over provincials than previous tax regimes.¹¹

On the ground, operations were based upon urban centers, and everywhere outside of Egypt provincials were required to go to their nearest administrative centers to make self-declarations before census agents.¹² It was the responsibility of the head of the household to accurately register whatever information was required in their province, which varied across provinces.¹³ Census agents could require three broad types of information from provincials. First, the state wanted to know where its residents lived, typically just enough information for the authorities to track down someone should the need arise.¹⁴ Second, in those places that had a capitation tax or where communities were liable to *auxilia* service, census officers could ask each household to state who lived there, how old they were, and what the status was of each person residing there. This allowed the state to assess exaction levels for communities, and to know the human resources available in a given area for irregular exactions such as *corvée* labor or military levies.¹⁵ Third, census officials could ask provincials to record certain types of properties, crops, and resources they had and where each might be found, so that each property could be evaluated for taxes at their respective locales. The census agent's role in the declaration process was merely to check and control the self-assessment of the registrant.¹⁶

The Focus on War and the Census

I am building off the work of several scholars, going back to Mommsen, who have made connections between provincial censuses and the Roman military, along with their operations, to make two new contributions.¹⁷ While both John F. Drinkwater and Jonathan Roth have already hypothesized that the censuses of Drusus and Germanicus in Gaul served as support operations for military campaigns across the Rhine (Liv. *Per.*

¹¹ Hingley 1997, 89–90; Scott 1998, 26, 76–81; Le Teuff 2012, 161.

¹² Corbier 1991, 227; Le Teuff 2012, 224–225; Kreiner 2020, 92–93. On Egypt, see Bagnall / Frier 1994.

¹³ Head of household/owner of property: Parassoglou 1970, 97; Brunt 1981, 167. Variation between provinces: Brunt 1981, 165–167; Kreiner 2020, 80–81. For examples of property owners/heads of household registering before officials, see: *P.Yadin* 16: Arabia, 127 CE; *SB* XX 14440: Egypt, 11 CE; *SB* XII 10788B: Egypt, 61 CE; cf. *P.Mich.* inv. 4406a: Egypt, 3 BCE.

¹⁴ Kreiner 2020, 81–82. For examples of the limited information provided on declarations, see for instance: *SB* XXIV 16011: Egypt 11/12(?) CE; *SB* XX 14440: Egypt 11/12 CE; *SB* X 10759: Egypt 35 CE; *P.Yadin* 16: Arabia 127 CE; cf. Dig. 50.15.4 = Ulp. *de censibus*, III.

¹⁵ On names, ages, and identification marks in census returns see generally: *SB* XX 14440; *SB* I 5661: Egypt, 34 CE; *SB* X 10759; *P.Yadin* 16; Dig. 50.15.

¹⁶ Property: *P.Yadin* 16; *XHev/Se* 62: Arabia 127 CE; Dig. 50.15.4.2 = Ulp. *de censibus*, III. Census agent's role: Neesen 1980, 52; Isaac 1994, 260, 263.

¹⁷ Mommsen 1887, 2.1.392–394; Pflaum 1960, 17–18; Drinkwater 1983, 24, 28; Roth 1999, 237; Rossignol 2009, 94–102; Haynes 2013, 40–41; Le Teuff 2017.



138, 139.1; Cass. Dio 54.32; Tac. *Ann.* 1.31, 2.6), no one has teased out the distribution of Rome's earliest provincial censuses to wars. Second, I extend the utility of census operations beyond ad hoc taxes and recruitment (Fig. 1).¹⁸ Because censuses can provide information on human and natural resources, the Roman state might more effectively plan for campaigns by determining and keeping track of each community's levy, recruitment, and supply obligations, such as to requisition animals or carts, or who to press into service as porters or rowers. Furthermore, information derived from census records could assist in planning where to requisition or purchase grain, metal, leather, wood, or animal needs of the campaigning army. These factors may partially explain when and where provincial censuses were first implemented across the empire during the Augustan era.

When Rome extracted men and resources from its provinces to support military campaigns, the state had to consider various obligations communities of differing statuses had for supporting Roman operations. The obligations of individual provincial communities were likely determined when each community entered a relationship with Rome, such as a treaty or subjection via conquest.¹⁹ It is also plausible that such obligations could be reassessed around the time of provincial censuses. This may be part of the affairs Augustus was settling in Spain and Gaul around 27 and 16 to 13 BCE, around the time of censuses in those regions (Cass. Dio 53.22.5, 54.21, 23.7, 25.1). There are a few specific examples of these arrangements with communities to provide men for campaigns, such as the Batavi (Tac. *Germ.* 29), or to provide supplies as their form of tribute, such as the Frisii and leather (Tac. *Ann.* 4.72). There is, however, a body of scholarship revealing that certain regions faced high levels of *auxilia* recruitment during the Julio-Claudian period (Spain, Gaul, Illyricum, and Thrace).²⁰ Provincial censuses in these regions could reveal the potential manpower and resources of communities, so that the state might more effectively plan for campaigns by determining and keeping track of each community's levy, recruitment and supply obligations.

The role of the *civitas* (a city and its territory) in the relationship between locals and the imperial center is essential to how Rome set tax burdens and recruited soldiers. Rome carried out census operations and determined human and material tax

¹⁸ Drinkwater 1983, 24, 28; Roth 1999, 237. Both suggest that the censuses provided information that would have been used to create ad hoc taxes to support the wars (Cass. Dio 54.32; Tac. *Ann.* 1.31, 2.6).

¹⁹ Ivleva 2016, 164.

²⁰ Cheesman 1914; Saddington 2005, 64; Haynes 2013, 104–105. A simple calculation of the table, recruitment location of *alae* and *cohortes* prior to 70 CE, in Cheesman 1914 reveals that roughly sixty percent of known *alae* and *cohortes* in the Julio-Claudian period were raised in these areas.



burdens at the *civitas* level.²¹ *Civitates* were also very likely important centers of both *auxilia* and legionary recruitment. Rights, privileges, and exemptions, or the lack thereof, could exist at the *civitas* level, which may greatly impact the level and types of burdens experienced by different communities within the same region.²² Both local and provincial authorities would have the ability to create lists from censuses detailing the number of military aged men and their statuses that could be utilized for conscription or recruitment.²³ The depth of knowledge available to Rome went beyond merely creating potential ad hoc taxes to support impending or ongoing campaigns. Instead, Rome could potentially rely upon an increased movement of human and natural resources, raised by occasional exactions and various obligations towards Rome, in the direction of the campaign area for the duration of a war. One must remember that this was an era of great mobility for *auxilia*, where units could be raised in one area and then shortly thereafter shipped off elsewhere to serve in campaigns or to make up shortfalls.²⁴

The state could combine census information with the *lex provinciae* of a given province to determine which communities were liable to provide soldiers or certain types of supplies. In fact, there is an example from Gaul in the Tiberian period detailing a simultaneous census and recruitment operation, when Torquatus Novellius Atticus was a legate for both operations in Gallia Narbonensis in 30 CE (*CIL* 14.3602).²⁵ Additionally, I am currently teasing out several *auxilia* units that could have been raised for the case study campaigns deriving from census information. As such, one should very much consider the lists of units within the ensuing case studies tentative. One last *note bene* before the case studies. The pre-Claudian evidence for *auxilia* units heavily relies on inscriptions lacking precise dating. It is therefore impossible to fully verify when individual units came into being beyond which emperor was ruling at the time. So, when units appear below, please bear in mind that they are efforts to place certain units at a historical moment by comparing the unit's place of origin, often given

²¹ Corbier 1991, 213–214. Outside of Egypt, I have not found an imperial census agent operating beneath the *civitas* level.

²² Le Teuff 2012, 182–190; Haynes 2013, 41. For how provincial censuses can go hand-in-hand with a *dilectus*, Rossignol 2009, 99; Le Teuff 2017. For a case study of how burden levels could vary greatly within a single region, see Kreiner 2021.

²³ Pearson 2021 already notes this possibility for the mid-Republican citizen census. The extension of such practices to the imperial provincial census is not a significant leap. For the Late Republican Roman census being the model for the imperial provincial census, see *CIL* I² 593 (Tabula Heracleensis); Wiseman 1969; Nicolet 1991, 201–202; Crawford 1996, no. 24; Kreiner 2020, 78–80.

²⁴ Ivleva 2016; cf. Haynes 2013, 134.

²⁵ Le Teuff 2017, esp. 51, 57. While Le Teuff (2017, 56–57) argued that L. Volusenus Clemens was a prefect of recruits while also conducting census operations in Gallia Narbonensis and Aquitania (*CIL* 11.601), Eck has persuasively shown that Clemens was prefect of recruits in Gallia Narbonensis, then Pannonia, before conducting a census under Augustus in Aquitania (2020).



away by the unit's name, with the location of the inscription, which was likely (though not always) close to where the unit served, and this helps to determine plausible creation dates for auxiliary units.

Case Studies

I am presenting here five case studies that are attested in narrative and/or epigraphic sources. For the sake of space, preliminary considerations on conjectured provincial censuses in Cyrenaica (before 7 BCE: *SEG* 9.8.1, ll.4–6), Germania Magna (7 to 9 CE: Cass. Dio 56.18.3), and Illyricum (6 CE: Cass. Dio 55.29.1) have been left aside, but they will be considered alongside the following case studies in the broader project.²⁶ At this stage, I have left out a discussion of provincial censuses in Egypt—currently the earliest attested Roman census happened there in 11/10 BCE—due to the more closed nature of the province. In essence, I am uncertain at this stage about the relationship of this province to the logistics and recruitment for campaigns from neighboring provinces (i.e. forces not led by the governor of Egypt himself, who did lead forces into neighboring regions on occasion).²⁷

27 BCE: Gaul (and Spain?)

The first provincial census was conducted by Augustus himself in Gaul shortly after his 'First Settlement' of January 27 BCE (Cass. Dio 53.22.5). It seems reasonably clear that the princeps had plans of exercising his recently established powers to conduct a war somewhere along the empire's northwestern frontiers, with Britain heavily rumored.²⁸ Augustus wanted something to further legitimize his position as most of his military victories were over fellow Romans in civil wars.²⁹ Britain made sense as his adoptive father had campaigned there and to conquer it would be quite the feather in his cap. The internal border with the Cantabri and Astures, however, had been destabilizing neighboring regions under Roman control, deeming it the more necessary task. As Cassius Dio notes, Gallia Comata was still not entirely incorporated administratively since Caesar's conquest nor were the populations of Aquitania truly settled for Roman control (Cass. Dio 53.22.5). This may be because Aquitania was a

²⁶ Conjectural censuses of Germania Magna and Illyricum have been proposed by Timpe 1970, 88, Firpo 1985, and Unruh 2001, 52. Meanwhile, it is difficult to establish whether Augustus' statement concerning the number of citizens in Cyrene with a census valuation of 2,500 denarii derived from a citizen census of 8 BCE or a provincial census before 7 BCE (*Res Gestae* 8.3; *SEG* 9.8.1).

²⁷ First census: Claytor / Bagnall 2015. Obviously, we know that the garrison of Egypt could be deployed in neighboring regions, such as the Arabian expedition of 26 BCE (*Res Gestae* 26.5; Strabo 16.4.22–24; Cass. Dio 53.29.3–8). Further research is required to test if Egypt provided supplies and conscripted men (into new or existing units) to support wars in neighboring regions.

²⁸ Brunt 1990, 103–104; Birley 2005, 15–16. Primary sources: Cass. Dio 49.38.2 (34 BCE), 53.22.5 (27 BCE), 53.25.2 (26 BCE); Verg. *G.* 1.30; Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.12–15, 1.35.29–30, 3.5.2–4; cf. Strabo 2.5.8, 4.5.3.

²⁹ For instance, Eck 2007, 61.



fringe region abutting areas beyond Roman hegemonic control, comprising peoples from the same ethnic and cultural Celto-Iberian groups as those within the empire.³⁰

Several senators celebrated triumphs in Aquitania between 43 and 27 BCE. Between 39 and 37 BCE, Marcus Agrippa campaigned in Aquitania (Cass. Dio 48.49.4; App. *B Civ.* 5.92; Eutr. 7.5), and Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus celebrated a triumph on May 17th, 36 BCE over the Cerretani of northeastern Spain (*CIL* I², 1, p.180; Cass. Dio 48.42). Over the next several years three more senators celebrated triumphs *ex Hispania*, unfortunately we know little to nothing about where and over whom they were fighting. In the case of Caius Norbanus Flaccus, who was in Spain from 36 to 35 BCE, he was probably operating in northern Lusitania as he had founded Norba.³¹ In the years immediately preceding 27 BCE, Roman generals were active campaigning in both southwestern Gaul and northeastern Spain, along shared borders of the two provinces. Titus Statilius Taurus in 29 BCE paved the way for later operations by campaigning between the Duero Valley and the Cantabrian Sea.³² Meanwhile, Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus received a triumph *ex Gallia* for his actions against the tribes of Aquitania (*CIL* I², p. 50; App. *B Civ.* 4.38; *Tib.* 1.7, 2.1, 2.5).

Though we know shockingly little about the conduct of these campaigns (however, we may learn more by systematically studying the dozens of Roman military camps discovered in the region in recent decades),³³ it does establish that a war to end internecine conflict in the region was needed. For me this body of evidence points to Augustus planning to conduct a war in Cantabria for some time and that the census of 27 was aimed at supporting such a war. In terms of supplies, they could have arrived at the operations center in Segisama (Sassamón) from Aquitania on the road from Narbo to Tarraco, then west, or maybe from the port city of Burdigalia (Bordeaux) to Sassamón.³⁴ Furthermore, we know that naval operations were conducted from Aquitania during the war (Flor. 2.33.48; Oros. 6.21.4); knowledge of manpower and resources were needed for the task of constructing and manning the vessels. Finally,

³⁰ Woolf 1998, 32; Bartenstein 2015, 72, 85. On the ad hoc nature of Rome's human and financial exactions in Gaul from 49 to 27 BCE, see Sherwin-White 1957, 41; Wightman 1974, 473; Polak / Kooistra 2015, 385. It is worthwhile to point out that Cass. Dio 53.22.5 discusses a wide range of relevant affairs, a need for reorganization of Gaul and Spain, where some regions had not been fully incorporated administratively, Augustus' plans for Britain, and his census in Gaul (and potentially Spain?).

³¹ On the proconsuls in Hispania in this period, see Le Roux 2010, 39–41; Amela Valverde 2013–2014; Bartenstein 2015, 70–71; Perea Yébenes 2017. Caius Norbanus Flaccus celebrated his triumph on October 12, 34 BCE (*Fasti Triumphales*; *Fast. Barb.* Year 34). Foundation of Norba (Perea Yébenes 2017, 125). Lucius Marcius Philippus celebrated his triumph on April 22, 33 (?) BCE (*Fast. Barb.* Year 33). Appius Claudius Pulcher celebrated his triumph on June 1, 32 BCE (*CIL* I², 1, p.765).

³² Amela Valverde 2013–2014, 71–73.

³³ See for instance: Peralta / Camino / Torres-Martínez; Morillo *et al.* 2020; Fernández-Götz / Roymans 2024).

³⁴ Sassamón as operations center (Oros. 6.21.3; García Sánchez / Costa-García 2022).



there are a few auxiliary units that may have been founded shortly after the provincial census in Gaul (Table 1; for possible units raised from Spain, see Lusitania below). So, to summarize, the first provincial census was conducted less than a year before Augustus' first major war of his reign and it seems clear to me that he had done so to support wartime operations in supplies and manpower.

13/12 BCE: Gaul

In 13 or 12 BCE, the emperor Augustus' son-in-law Drusus was conducting a census in Gallia Comata when the Sugambri, along with Germanic populations on both sides of the Rhine, invaded Roman territory (Liv. *Per.* 138.3, 139.1; cf. *CIL* 13.1668 col. 2, ll. 29–32; Cass. Dio 54.32). This invasion represents the beginning of Augustus' German Wars, a series of near yearly campaigns fought across the Rhine from 12 BCE to 16 CE. The census itself is well attested in the sources, perhaps due entirely to the person who conducted the census operation. Through these sources, it is quite clear that Roman decision-makers were preparing for an eventual Transrhene operation, though it is not certain that it was supposed to begin while the census was underway. In fact, one might argue that the Sugambrian invasion pushed forward the timetable (Cass. Dio 54.32.1; Liv. *Per.* 139.1).

First, there was a great deal of regional instability in the decades prior to Drusus' census. As Table 2 shows, Roman legates throughout the twenty-five years before the provincial census exacted retaliatory campaigns beyond the Rhine and had to check frequent invaders, often invited by populations under Roman hegemony.³⁵ This points directly to the problem, namely that the Rhineland was like Roman Hispania and Aquitania in that ethnic and cultural groups were divided by an artificial Roman boundary.³⁶ Repeated invasions and raids revealed that tribes east of the Rhine could easily penetrate deep into Gaul, and that tribes in Roman territory could act in concert with them. The solution to settling Gallia Belgica was to extend Roman control over the Rhine. Much ink has been spilled trying to establish when Augustus developed his German policy; was it in 19 BCE when Augustus sent Agrippa to Gallia Comata for the second time or was it a few years later after the Lollian Disaster?³⁷ Regardless of when one believes Augustus developed his German policy, it seems that Drusus' provincial census was part of preparatory efforts for a very clearly planned war.

Second, the Roman road network was extended from Lugdunum (Lyons) to the Rhineland, probably beginning in Agrippa's second governorship of Gallia Comata (cf.

³⁵ For the period between Caesar and Drusus, see further Wightman 1974; Drinkwater 1983; Gechter 2003; Hanel 2015.

³⁶ Woolf 1998, 32.

³⁷ For viewpoints and historiography of the debate, see for instance: Wells 1972; Christ 1977; Rich 2003; Hanel 2015.



Strabo 4.6.11). Dendrochronology confirms that the bridge over the Mosel at Augusta Treverorum (Trier) was constructed in 18/17 BCE, which suggests that the road from Augusta Treverorum to Ara Ubiorum (Köln) was established in the 10s BCE. It is also around this time that the road from Gesoriacum/Bononia (Boulogne-sur-Mer) to Ara Ubiorum was constructed.³⁸ Obviously, these roads were built to expedite the movement of soldiers and supplies towards the Rhineland.

Third, it has long been suspected that some legions were transferred from Hispania to the Rhineland in the years leading up to the start of the German Wars. After Agrippa's campaign in Spain in 19 BCE (Cass. Dio 54.11.1–6), a Legio I, Legio V Alaudae, and Legio VIII (Hispana) may have moved to the Rhineland.³⁹ Fourth, Augustus was in the region from 16 to 13 BCE organizing indigenous communities (Cass. Dio 54.21.1, 25.1). Based on all the other evidence, it seems that Augustus was attempting to make the region more efficient for routine extractions.⁴⁰ A provincial census around this time makes a great deal of sense because censuses, after all, were an ideal time to reconsider and address the statuses of individuals and communities, as well as to reevaluate provincial structures and organization.

Finally, we know of several Gallic auxiliary units that were created in either the middle or late Augustan periods (Table 3, cf. Table 6), which could very well have been created in the lead up to this war or to support the campaigns of Germanicus. So, all this information puts forward a very strong case that the provincial census was the last in a long set of preparations for a major Augustan war front.

³⁸ Chevallier 1997, 229; Heinrichs 2015, 143; Hanel 2015, 166; Reddé 2015, 8–9. There are significant debates concerning precisely when Agrippa built the road network described by Strabo. It is possible that the trunk road from Lugdunum to Ara Ubiorum was established earlier, with a fording of the Mosel prior to the bridge. The Roman camp on the Petrisberg overlooking the later site of Augusta Treverorum dating to around 30 BCE does evince Roman operations in the region (Cass. Dio 51.20.5, 51.21.5–6; Hanel 2015, 166). I, however, view the later date for this road as more probable, taking its construction as part of a broad slate of contemporary activities in the region, such as the relocation of the Ubii (and maybe the Batavi, chronology is debated), the foundation of Augusta Treverorum, and the foundation of camps such as the Hunerberg at Nijmegen, Novaesium (Neuss), and Asciburgium (Moers-Asberg)—all of which were placed in the territories of recently settled tribes. The literature is vast on these topics, I have found the following as useful starting points with references to broader literature: Gechter 2003; Eck 2004, 46–62; Kemmers 2007; Becker 2015, 229–230; Hanel 2015, 166; Heinrichs 2015, 134–143; Habermehl et al. 2022; Roymans / Habermehl 2023.

³⁹ Syme 1933, 15–19, 28–33; Keppie 1998, 175–178; Franke 2000, 40. A Legio I left Hispania probably sometime around 16 BCE but surely by 9/10 CE; Legio V Alaudae left Hispania shortly after 19 BCE, but before 17 BCE, if it is the legio V that lost its standard in the clades Lolliana (Vell. Pat. 2.97.1). Otherwise, the unit is well attested in the Rhineland but could have arrived later in the Augustan period. Meanwhile, Legio VIII (Hispana) left Hispania sometime between 19 BCE and 9 CE for either the Rhine or Danube frontier, or both.

⁴⁰ Wolters 2020, 31.



27/15 BCE: Lusitania

An inscription from Sorrento, Italy attests to a census conducted in Lusitania during the Augustan period (*CIL* 10.680). Because he was appointed by Augustus himself ([*ab imp(eratore)*] | *Caesare Aug(usto)* [*misso pro*] | *censore ad Lus[itanos]*), Proculus was surely appointed to the task while the emperor was in Spain, which leaves two probable periods, around 27 BCE or sometime between 16 and 13 BCE when Augustus was organizing Spain and Gaul further (Cass. Dio 53.22.5, 54.19–21, 25.1).⁴¹ As such, this provincial census is surely connected to either the early phase of the Cantabrian Wars or preparations before the German Wars. Hispania was heavily mined for auxiliaries in the early Principate, so it is not surprising that a census would be conducted here for either the final conquest in Spain or ahead of the planned German Wars.⁴² I have currently found eight plausible units from Hispania more generally raised in this period that may derive from census information: a cohors I Hispanorum (presumed on evidence of following), cohors II Hispanorum Cyrenaica,⁴³ and cohortes I–III Lusitanorum and cohors Lusitanorum (Cyrenaica),⁴⁴ ala Hispanorum Veterana, and ala Hispanorum Tironum.⁴⁵ Furthermore, if the census of Proculus dates to the early phases of the Cantabrian Wars, then it is probable that the operation provided data useful to supplying operations approaching the Astures from the west or south.⁴⁶

6 CE: Syria and Judaea

The census of Quirinius in Syria and Judaea in 6 CE is a provincial census most known for the debates surrounding the birth of Jesus and the debates over a global census,

⁴¹ Cf. Le Teuff 2012, 250, 402, 419.

⁴² Heavily mined region for auxilia service: op. cit. n.19.

⁴³ *IRCyr2020*, C.552, C.726, P.220 = *AE* 1985, 940–942. This unit may have been raised in either 27 or around 15 BCE, possibly 27 BCE for the war in Spain, then moved to Cyrenaica for the war waged by Quirinius in the late 10s BCE (Flor. 2.31) or one waged sometime between 5 BCE and 2 CE (*OGI* 767; *SEG* 9.63). Three soldiers of probably Augustan to Julio-Claudian date attest to the presence of cohors II Hispanorum Cyrenaica there (Reynolds 1980–1981; Le Glay 1985; *IRCyr2020*, C.552).

⁴⁴ A cohors Lusitanorum (Cyrenaica) is attested at Cyrene between 4 and 14 CE, based on Tiberius' naming convention (*IRCyr2020*, 118; cf. Spaul 2000, 59–60). This unit surely arrived under the same conditions as the preceding one. Cohortes I–III were probably raised during the Augustan period, maybe initially for service in Spain (Spaul 2000, 61–65), leaving the possibility that the series of cohorts was established at some point during the Cantabrian Wars or shortly thereafter.

⁴⁵ Castelli 1992; Saddington 1994; Spaul 1994, 21; Zuccaro 2017. A Tiberian era inscription in honor of a Publius Cornelius Scipio lists these two units next to three others known to have served in the Rhineland, which suggests that our ala Hispanorum Veterana and Ala Hispanorum Tironum served there too (*CIL* 6.41050). Titles such as Veterana and Tironum are often used to distinguish between two units from the same region serving in the same province. While this inscription is surely associated with the campaigns after the Varian Disaster (9 CE), the most likely contexts for the creation of these units would be during the Cantabrian Wars, the build-up of forces ahead of Drusus' German campaigns, or maybe even as late as 10 CE after the losses sustained in the Teutoburg Forest.

⁴⁶ Access routes: Costa-Garcia *et al.* 2018; Costa-García 2023, 1106–1118.



fortunately the former is not of our concern here.⁴⁷ The census of Quirinius is attested for Syria and Judaea in 6 CE according to Josephus as well as an inscription from Apamea in Syria (Jos. *AJ* 17.355, 18.1–2; *CIL* 3.6687). So, let us leave aside debates on the date of this famous census and focus instead on the geopolitical situation around 6 CE in the Near East, which may be key to understanding the context for it happening.

For me, this provincial census operation was due entirely to the geopolitical situation in Armenia and Parthia at the turn of the 1st century. I believe that this census was part of preparations for a potential war that never actually materialized. In other words, this may have been part of preparations to intervene in deteriorating regional politics if necessary. I have so far found up to nine auxiliary cohorts that may have been created at this time, most of which were shipped out soon thereafter to the Danube and Rhine in the wake of the Great Illyrian Revolt and the Varian Disaster (Table 4). Syria makes sense as a potential operation base for a war with Armenia or Persia in 6 CE because there were only three provinces in the Eastern Mediterranean with legions: Syria, Galatia,⁴⁸ and Egypt. So, Syria's garrison was the only potential bulwark and operation base for interventions with Parthia and Armenia, explaining why the census happened here.

The timing of the census operation in my estimation, however, is due to the following. Table 5 reveals it would be an understatement to state that Parthia and Armenia were enduring much political instability, violence, and coups from 10 BCE to 12 CE. Gaius Caesar's expedition was the only personal Roman intervention during this period. But, Rome also sent nominees for the vacant thrones to both kingdoms around 6 BCE, 2 CE, and 6 CE in efforts to secure Roman interests regionally, with mixed results. It is clear that the local nobility, as well as royal family in-fighting led to an intense period of violence and coups. If it were not for the hectic events of 6 CE around the Mediterranean—wars in Africa and Isauria (Cass. Dio 55.28.3–4; Vell. Pat. 2.116.2; Flor. 2.31.40), an interrupted major campaign against Maroboduus (Vell. Pat. 2.108.1–110.3; Cass. Dio 55.28.6–7), unrest in Sardinia (Cass. Dio 55.28.1–2), and the beginning of a massive indigenous revolt in Illyricum (Cass. Dio 55.29; Vell. Pat.

⁴⁷ Debates persist on the date of the census of Quirinius when one considers Mt. 2:16, who links the birth of Jesus to the reign of Herod, alongside Lk. 2:1–5. Some scholars have used this to argue that the census mentioned in Luke happened before the death of Herod in 4 BCE or that there were two censuses (on the debates, see for instance Schürer 1973, 1.399–428). There is no evidence to suggest that Rome imposed provincial censuses upon client-states such as Herod's (cf. Kreiner 2020, 123–125). If Herod had imposed a Roman-styled census upon his population, it would have been on his own initiative.

⁴⁸ Galatia's legionary garrison transferred west to aid in arresting the Great Illyrian revolt in 7 CE (Vell. Pat. 2.112.4), further changing the calculus for potential Roman interventions in the East (Mitchell 1976; Bennett 2019, 245–246).



2.110)⁴⁹—I think that Augustus probably would have intervened militarily in the region.

14/16 CE: Gaul

Our final case study returns us to Gaul where we began and is attested in Tacitus' *Annals* (1.31, 2.5–6). Like the other censuses in Gaul in this period, that of Germanicus seems to be well attested because of who he was, an imperial prince. Germanicus had started the provincial census in 14 CE, but it was interrupted by Augustus' death and the subsequent mutinies of the Rhineland armies (Tac. *Ann.* 1.31–54). At the latest, census activities resumed in the Fall/Winter of 15/16 CE alongside notable changes in Germanicus' strategy (Tac. *Ann.* 2.5–6). Simultaneously, there appears to have been a census in Aquitania led by Lucius Volsenius Clemens (*CIL* 11.6011), which perhaps replenished existing units with fresh recruits during Germanicus' continuing campaigns or aided organizing supply chains.

Germanicus' census operation occurred amid campaigns following the Varian Disaster of late summer 9 CE. In 10 CE Tiberius secured the Rhine frontier before leading a cautious campaign just beyond the Rhine in 11 CE with Germanicus,⁵⁰ perhaps aimed at securing the allegiance of certain tribes or punishing tribes involved in the Battle of Teutoburg Forest. The duo then led a naval campaign in the North Sea region in either 11 or 12 CE (Vell. Pat. 2.121), probably to secure the allegiance of tribes like the Frisii and Chauci or to harass recalcitrant tribes like the Breuci or Cherusci. While operations from 10 to 13 CE focused on securing the allegiance of certain Transrhene populations and harassing tribes involved in the Battle of Teutoburg Forest where Varus and his three legions were destroyed, warfare across the Rhine entered a new and more intense phase after Germanicus' census began in 14 CE. Considering this, the period from 10 to 13 CE should be seen as preparatory movements before major operations against the Cherusci, Breuci, Angrivarii, Usipeti, Bructeri, Chatti, and Marsi—the populations who aided Arminius in destroying Varus' three legions in the Teutoburg Forest.

After 9 CE, the Rhineland garrison rose from five or six legions to eight and once we consider an equal number of *auxilia*, this correlates to roughly 80,000 soldiers on the Rhine frontier.⁵¹ There is significant evidence of *auxilia* recruitment in this period to fill the increased garrison needs (Table 6), and in some of my earlier work I demonstrated how exacting and demanding this period of warfare was on the

⁴⁹ On the active and complicated year of 6 CE, see Swan 2004, 186–203.

⁵⁰ 10 CE: Cass. Dio 56.22.2b, 24.6; Vell. Pat. 2.120.1. 11 CE: Cass. Dio 56.25; Suet. *Tib.* 18; Vell. Pat. 2.120.

⁵¹ Kreiner 2021, 161.



population of the Rhineland. Alongside auxiliary recruitment, there were minor disasters that required unit replenishment, replacement horses, and replacement arms, armor, and equipment that led to Germanicus' change in strategy in 16 CE which saw the construction of 1,000 ships before the campaign season (Tac. *Ann.* 2.6).⁵² In short, I believe that a provincial census begun in 14 CE ahead of an intensification of warfare beyond the Rhine and finished ahead of the final campaign season in 16 CE was an operation very clearly related to and meant to support regional military efforts by assessing what communities in Gaul could feasibly contribute after more than twenty-five years of nearly continuous warfare in a neighboring region.

Conclusions

This paper has demonstrated that there is very strong evidence to suggest that warfare, whether planned, potential, or ongoing, was an important motivator in the extension of the provincial census to the Roman northwestern provinces and Syria in the Augustan period. It is important to note, however, that I am not presenting a new model of explaining for what the provincial census was used, but rather my ambition is simply to expand scholarship on the spread of the provincial census. The provincial census could be deployed simultaneously to meet local, regional, and ideological needs; it was an institution which could be practical and symbolic. Just like many other facets of Augustus' reign where the princeps experimented and innovated throughout—equestrian offices, the structure and basis of his power, length of military service, etc.—I think that the development of the provincial census was the result of piecemeal decisions to carry out operations rather than a grand plan or empire-wide operation. This factor may even explain some of the awkward absences of provincial censuses in this period.

The absences, however, raise questions about my claims and whether there was a global census in the Augustan age. Provincial censuses were mundane topics for ancient authors; most evidence for the institution comes from inscriptions of census agents rather than narratives.⁵³ Thus, it will always be plausible that the provincial census was adopted empire-wide in the Augustan period and simply went unrecorded, as it was unexceptional. The cases that do appear in narrative accounts in this period—Gaul (27 BCE, 12 BCE, 14 CE) and Syria and Judaea (6 CE)—do so because of the imperial family's involvement in proceedings. Augustus conducted the operation in Gaul in 27 BCE and had determined to annex Judaea while a provincial census was underway in Syria. Meanwhile, the operations of 12 BCE and 14 CE were conducted by

⁵² Kreiner 2021.

⁵³ Béranger 2009, 192.



Drusus and Germanicus respectively, so the imperial presence makes these operations noteworthy.

If provincial censuses were so useful to support war operations in my case studies, why did Augustus not deploy provincial censuses for all his wars in this period? For example, we lack evidence of census operations associated with campaigns in Africa, the Alps, and Pannonia. The middle of Augustus' reign was especially busy with wars of expansion and consolidation, and it does make me uneasy that I do not yet have a satisfying answer for the absence. This is especially the case since imperial family members, such as Tiberius and Drusus, led some of these campaigns themselves. Again, if a provincial census happened when they were preparing for wars, we would expect a higher chance for such census operations to be recorded. This is not to state that I do not believe in the arguments which I have presented, far from it. In fact, it backs my contention that there was no grand plan for the provincial census. Rather, it is my hope that future work and chance finds may both help explain these awkward absences in the pattern and shed light on the early years of this important instrument of imperial control.

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Figures and Tables

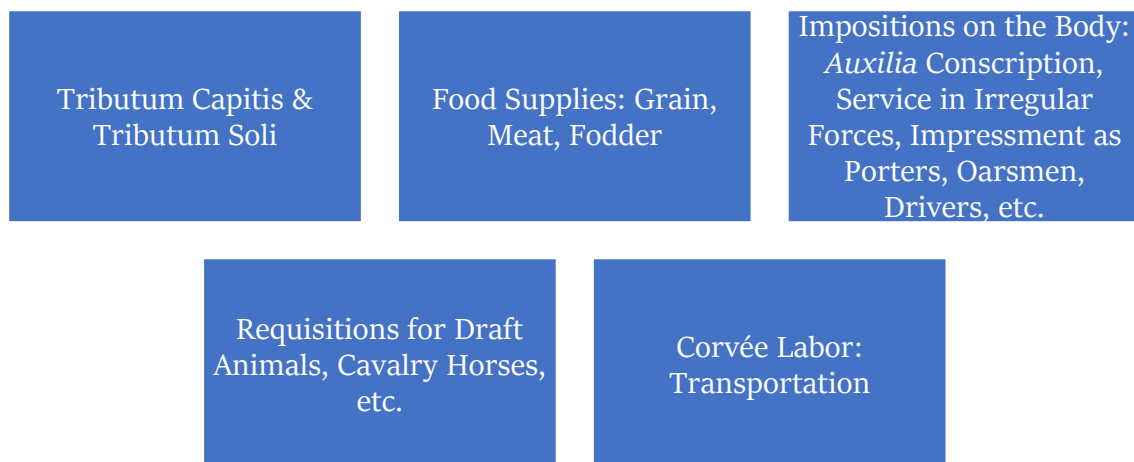


Fig. 1: Burdens and impositions potentially derived from census information (based on Kreiner 2021, 161)

Unit	Reference	Probable Creation Date
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Cohors I Aquitanorum Veteranorum ⁵⁴		Post 28 BCE
Cohors (III?) Aquitanorum ⁵⁵	<i>AE</i> 1988, 651–652; <i>AE</i> 2004, 674; <i>ILSard</i> n222	Post 28 BCE
Ala I Gallorum Aetorigiana ⁵⁶	<i>CIL</i> 13.1041	30s to 16 BCE
Ala II Gallorum (?) ⁵⁷	<i>PME</i> A172; <i>CIL</i> 9.3610	c.27 BCE or 16–12 BCE

Table 1: Gallic Units Possibly Raised After 27 BCE

38 BCE	Agrippa campaigns across the Rhine, likely after Germanic incursions (Cass. Dio 48.49.3)
30 BCE	Morini revolt; incursion of Suebi blocked (Cass. Dio 51.21.5–6; <i>CIL</i> 1 ² , p76)
29 BCE	Treveri revolt; Germanic tribes aided them (Cass. Dio 51.20.5; <i>ILS</i> 895)
25 BCE	Marcus Vinicius leads a retaliatory campaign across the Rhine (Cass. Dio 53.26.4)
c.19 BCE	Possible invasion by Usipetes and Tencteri ⁵⁸
17/16 BCE	Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri invade; Lollian Disaster (Cass. Dio 54.20.4–6; Vell. Pat. 2.97.1)
15 BCE	Gaul restive due to incursions and dissensions of Gallic chiefs (Suet. <i>Tib.</i> 9)
13/12 BCE	Census of Drusus; Invasion of Sugambri (Cass. Dio 54.32.1)

Table 2: Roman Interventions in Northeast Gaul from Caesar to Drusus, 44–12 BCE

Unit	Reference	Possible Creation Date
Cohortes I–XI Gallorum ⁵⁹	<i>CIL</i> 3.8439	12–1 BCE
Cohors I Ubiorum (?) ⁶⁰	<i>CIL</i> 10.4862 = <i>ILS</i> 2690	12 BCE–16 CE
Ala Rusonis ⁶¹	<i>CIL</i> 13.7031	20–12 BCE
Ala (Gallorum) Sebosiana ⁶²	<i>BRGK</i> 17, no.216	12 BCE–16 CE

Table 3: Gallic Units Possibly Raised from Census of Drusus Data

Unit	Reference	Possible Creation Date
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⁵⁴ Holder 1980, nos. 1091–1092; Spaul 2000, 141–143; Gayet 2006, 73; Kreiner 2020, 380.

⁵⁵ Rowland Jr. 1978, 168–169; Holder 1980, 111, no.1081–1082; Gayet 2006, 74; Kreiner 2020, 380.

⁵⁶ Kraft 1951, 141–142, no. 161; Birley 1978, 265; Holder 1980, 46–47, 92, 272, no. 351; Spaul 1994, 48; Gayet 2006, 79; Matei-Popescu 2010, 178; Haynes 2013, 38, 42; Kreiner 2020, 372.

⁵⁷ Holder 1980, 111; Demougin 1992, no. 511; Spaul 1994, 130; Gayet 2006, 82–83; Kreiner 2020, 371–372.

⁵⁸ Polak / Kooistra 2015, 395.

⁵⁹ The existence of an Augustan era cohorts XI Gallorum presumes a contemporaneous series of cohorts numbered at least from I to XI. Holder 1980, no. 1551; Spaul 2000, 172; Kreiner 2020, 383–384; cf. Alföldy 1968, 57–58.

⁶⁰ Alföldy 1968, 73–74, 112, 214; Holder 1980, no. E56; Spaul 1994, 252–253; Matei-Popescu 2010, 222; Kreiner 2020, 389.

⁶¹ Kraft 1951, 158, no. 541; Holder 1980, no. 721; Spaul 1994, 20; Gayet 2006, 73; Kreiner 2020, 376.

⁶² Kraft 1951, 158–159, nos. 561–563; Holder 1980, nos. 440–443; Spaul 1994, 198–199; Gayet 2006, 83; Kreiner 2020, 372–373.



Cohors I Cyrrhestarum	Implied	
Cohors II Cyrrhestarum ⁶³	<i>AE</i> 1925, 132; <i>AE</i> 1961, 303; <i>AE</i> 1994, 1357-1358; <i>AE</i> 2009, 1015, 1034; <i>CIL</i> 3.8734, 3.14934; <i>ILJug</i> 842,	10 BCE–7 CE
Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittariorum (?) ⁶⁴	<i>CIL</i> 13.740–13.742, 13.6278	7 BCE–16 CE
Cohors I Sagittariorum ⁶⁵	<i>CIL</i> 13.7512–7515	1–14 CE
Cohors II Sagittariorum	Implied	1–14 CE (?)
Cohors III (Sagittariorum) ⁶⁶	<i>BRGK</i> 58, no.101	c.1–20 CE
Cohors Silauncensium ⁶⁷	<i>CIL</i> 13.8593	c.1–10 CE (?)
Cohors Surorum ⁶⁸	<i>BRGK</i> 27, no.113	Pre–37 CE
Cohors Tyrriorum	<i>AE</i> 2012, 495 = <i>AE</i> 2011, 365	Beginning of the 1 st century CE

Table 4: Syrian Units Possibly Raised Census of Quirinius Data

⁶³ Holder 1980, nos. 1361–1365; Matijević 2009; Ferjančić 2018, 149; cf. Cesarik 2022, 57, 64–65.

⁶⁴ Kraft 1951, 178–179, nos. 1531–1533; Holder 1980, nos. 1681–1684. These tombstones are all dated to the Tiberian period. Recruitment date ranges are estimated from number of service years. Cf. Epigraphic Database Heidelberg for comments, nos. HD056260, HD056262 HD056263, HD032526.

⁶⁵ Kraft 1951, 22, 35, 36, 184–185 nos. 1771–1775; Holder 1980, no. 2041.

⁶⁶ Holder 1980, no. 2061; HD004420 (<https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD004420> (Last Updates: 2017–12–07, Gräf))

⁶⁷ Kraft 1951, 185, no. 1811; Alföldy 1968, 69–70, no. 150; Holder 1980, no. 2081. Tiberius Iulius Sbedas received citizenship from Tiberius, probably after his dismissal, which suggests he was recruited under Augustus.

⁶⁸ Kraft 1951, 185, no. 1831; Holder 1980, no. 2122; HD022227 (<https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022227> (Last Updates: 2017–12–07, Gräf)). The soldiers name, Tiberius Iulius Selvanus, suggests that he received Roman citizenship under the emperor Tiberius.



10/9 BCE	Phraates IV (Parthia) sends his four eldest sons to Rome to ensure his succession plans
c.8 BCE	Tigranes III (Armenia) dies
c.6–2 BCE	Tigranes IV (pro-Parthia) and Artavasdes III (Roman backed) vie for the Armenian throne. Tiberius is given command of the East but goes into retirement instead. Tigranes IV ultimately successful becoming king of Armenia.
3/2 BCE	Phraates IV (Parthia) is assassinated
1 CE	Gaius Caesar meets Phraates V on the Euphrates
2 CE	Gaius Caesar wounded installing Ariobarzanes on Armenian throne
4 CE	Phraates V (Parthia) ousted by Parthian nobility; Ariobarzanes II (Armenia) dies; Gaius Caesar dies
6(?) CE	Orodes III (Parthia) is killed; Artavasdes IV (Armenia) is killed; Rome sends Tigranes V to Armenia
Between 6 & 8 CE	Parthia seeks a king from Phraates IV's children in Rome, Rome sends Vonones
Between 9 & 12 CE	Vonones ousted from Parthia, flees to Armenia

Table 5: Parthian and Armenian Internal Strife and Roman Relations, 10 BCE to 12 CE⁶⁹

Unit	Reference	Possible Creation Date
Ala Agrippiana ⁷⁰	<i>CIL</i> 13.6235	6–27 CE
Ala Antiana ⁷¹	<i>AE</i> 1926, 82; cf. <i>Tac. Ann.</i> 2.6.1	14–16 CE
Ala Augusta Germanicana (?) ⁷²		9–14 CE
Ala Frontoniana ⁷³	<i>BRGK</i> 58, no.162; <i>AE</i> 1931, 30; <i>CIL</i> 13.8558	14–20 CE
Ala (II) Longiniana (?) ⁷⁴	<i>CIL</i> 13.2615; cf. <i>AE</i> 1999, 1016	14–30 CE
Ala Petriana/Pomponiani (?) ⁷⁵	<i>CIL</i> 13.11605; <i>CIL</i> 13.8097	11–15 CE

⁶⁹ For reconstructions of dates and events with references to primary and secondary sources, see based on Sherwin-White 1984; Swan 2004; Schlude 2020; Dąbrowa 2021; Gregoratti 2024.

⁷⁰ Kraft 1951, no. 121; Birley 1978, 265; Holder 1980, no. 331; Saddington 1994; Spaul 1994, 24–26; Gayet 2006, 90; Kreiner 2020, 367.

⁷¹ P.M.E. *incerti* no. 65; Birley 1978, 265; Holder 1980, 21, E41; Spaul 1994, 27–8; Gayet 2006, 78; Kreiner 2020, 367–368.

⁷² Birley 1978, 267; Spaul 1994, 137.

⁷³ Kraft 1951, 162–163, nos. 681–682; Alföldy 1968, 38–40, nos. 70–76; Birley 1978, 267; Holder 1980, no. 861–863; Spaul 1994, 118–119; Kreiner 2020, 371.

⁷⁴ There is every bit of chance it was created earlier, but given the present evidence, a later date makes sense. Kraft 1951, 154, nos. 431–435; Alföldy 1968, 21–23, nos. 32–38; Holder 1980, nos. 391–396; Spaul 1994, 156; Gayet 2006, 76; Kreiner 2020, 373–374.

⁷⁵ Kraft 1951, 157–158, nos. 511, 531; Alföldy 1968, 29–30, no. 55; Birley 1978, 263; Holder 1980, 21; Spaul 1994, 179–182; Gayet 2006, 76; Kreiner 2020, 375.



Ala Praetoria ⁷⁶	<i>CIL</i> 13.8310	9–16 CE
Ala Tauriana (?) ⁷⁷	Holder 1980, no. 451; cf. <i>AE</i> 2015, 656–657; <i>AE</i> 2016, 819	14–16 CE (?)
Ala Vocontiorum ⁷⁸	<i>CIL</i> 13.3463	14–30 CE

Table 6: Gallic Auxiliary Units Possibly Raised from Germanicus' Census Data

⁷⁶ Alföldy 1968, 30–31, no. 56; Holder 1980, no. 711; Saddington 1994, 73–74; Spaul 1994, 188.

⁷⁷ Birley 1978, 271; Holder 1980, no. 451; Christol / Le Roux 1985, 18–21; Spaul 1994, 217–218; Gayet 2006, 81; Kreiner 2020, 377.

⁷⁸ Kraft 1951, nos. 711–713; Alföldy 1968, 40–42, nos. 77–81; Holder 1980, no. 891; Spaul 1994 240; Kreiner 2020, 379. Contra: Gayet 2006, 72.

