

TRAJAN'S ARMY ON TRAJAN'S COLUMN

Introductory

The best illustrations of the army which extended and protected the Roman Empire are to be seen on Trajan's Column. They are not, however, thoroughly known to classical students, for reasons which are worth stating. The primary reason is undoubtedly the scarcity of Cichorius's reproductions¹ of the reliefs and the still greater rarity of plaster casts;² but an important contributory factor is the bewildering quantity and peculiar quality of the material. The reliefs tell the story of two wars, the first a series of expeditions leading up to great battles, not unlike Agricola's campaigns³ in Britain; the second an organised conquest, ending in the burning of the hostile capital, the suicide of the nobles and their King and the enslavement of a people. This narrative picture, as dramatic as the Bayeux tapestry but unprovided with a text, has attracted historians, because it seems to fill a gap in their literature, and students of art, as being among the most extensive and detailed examples of such Roman sculpture. But, without wishing to disparage the learning and ingenuity which have been devoted to such studies, it must be conceded that the results of study from these angles have been disappointing. Historians,⁴ in default of a text, have failed to reach an agreed narrative. Art students⁵ have classified the various scenes, but with intangible conclusions. Both lines of approach have the air of inadequacy that would mark a history of the Indian Mutiny or a theory of Victorian art based exclusively upon the news-prints of the day. In these circumstances it is permissible to ask whether the reliefs were meant to inspire this kind of analysis, or whether their message was not something totally different.

¹Studies of the reliefs must be based upon *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule, herausgegeben und historisch erklärt von Conrad Cichorius*, Berlin, 1896–1900, in two folio wrappers of plates and three quarto volumes of text. There are three systems of numbering, by plates (Roman), by scenes (Roman) and by casts (Arabic), the second being mostly used, as here. The second and third volumes of the text, describing the scenes, though consulted, have been deliberately eschewed as a basis for descriptions here, in order to form a completely independent judgement of what the scenes portrayed. Reference must also be made to the plates and text of Lehmann-Hartleben's *Die Traianssäule, ein römisches Kunstwerk zu Beginn der Spätantike*, vols. i (text) and ii (plates), Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, henceforward abbreviated as L-H. The plates are collotypes of large quarto size, but their small scale makes them inadequate for the finer detail. The text is indispensable. The scenes are quoted with Cichorius's second numbering, but the plates have also an independent Arabic enumeration.

²Complete sets of casts exist in the Lateran Museum, Rome, the Casts Museum, Berlin, and the South Kensington Museum, London, being moulded from the matrices in this order.

³No better illustration of a final victory, achieved, like that of the Mons Graupius, *citra Romanum sanguinem* (Agricola, 35), exists than scene xxiv.

⁴L-H i, p. vii: cf. Petersen, *Trajan's Dakische Kriege*, i–ii; Von Domaszewski, *Philologus*, 1906, 321; Stuart-Jones, *PBSR*, v, 442; Davies, *JRS*, vii, 74–97.

⁵Cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 202–3, 207–10.

The connection of the reliefs themselves with the Column which they grace is a complicated one, but it bears intimately upon the history of their composition. As Dr. Lehmann-Hartleben⁶ has pointed out, it is certain that they had no connection with the purpose of the Column as at first designed, when it was intended to shew the height of cliff excavated in making room for the Forum in which it stood. They are, on the other hand, intimately connected in subject with the second conception, when the Column became a War Memorial crowned by an Eagle,⁷ as the type of the victorious army. They also remained appropriate enough to the third phase, when the chamber at the foot of the Column was set apart to contain the ashes⁸ of the Emperor and his consort, for they recalled some of his most distinguished triumphs. But it is very evident that the scroll itself was not originally designed for the Column, and this raises the question how the reliefs came into being at all, a point which is at least partly answered by considering the composition itself.

As a record of victory, the reliefs are a most unusual composition. The outstanding events of the wars could have been illustrated by a series of independent compositions, such as existed in panels, probably in this very Forum: and scenes of the kind could have been mounted on the Column in horizontal bands, for which there are abundant analogies. Again, it is quite certain that anyone of intelligence could have composed in a couple of hours a more telling continuous narrative of the wars than is given by the actual arrangement of the reliefs. The whole effect of the work is only matched by the modern cinematograph or an old Japanese scroll. Yet the essentially Roman nature of this presentation, no doubt not uncommon then in picture-books, is clear from its similarity to two other unillustrated Roman creations, the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius and the *Saturae* of Juvenal, which owe their entire success as works of art to the fact that they include in a single frame a vivid series of disconnected pictures. The reliefs of Trajan's Column may justly be claimed to translate a picture-book into sculpture. Further, the whole motley composition, whether in book-scrolls or on stone, actually succeeds in making a more abiding impression than a series of clear-cut but isolated topical views. The result is also much nearer the truth: for the artist, including a multitude of minor scenes, thereby set the major events into their place as causes and effects in an unbroken chain of everyday activities. In fact, the minor events compel a rational, common-sense view of glory by sheer weight of numbers, thus conveying a truly remarkable interpretation of war to those who study the reliefs. The victories are portrayed, but always in company with the grinding toil which made them possible; while, pervading the composition, amid

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⁶L-H. i, pp. 5-6; the inscription shews this, and excavations have made the matter plain; cf. Boni, *British Academy Proc.* iii, 93. One might compare the conversion of Victor Emmanuel's Monument into the tomb of the Unknown Soldier; in modern Rome.

⁷L-H i, 4: the coins shewing the Eagle are Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, ii², Trajan, 357-9.

⁸Dio Cass. lxxviii, 16; cf. Boni, loc. cit.

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the blood and sweat of the labouring host, looms the figure of the Emperor as responsible commander-in-chief. This notion of Imperial responsibilities was no new idea; Paterculus⁹ had found it embodied in Tiberius, and had expressed a soldierly realisation of the discovery in words. But Trajan's Column exhibits the first comparable treatment of the theme on stone, giving actual instances of the patient devotion to everyday duty which inspired the noble ideal; and nowhere was that ideal more constantly typified than in the Roman army and its commanders. Thus, the Column, as a memorial to that army, chiefly records how, under Imperial auspices, the soldiers went about their tasks. It tells something indeed of history, but more of the labour by which history was made.

The technical methods by which the translation was made have been thought to reveal the clumsiness attaching to first attempts. Everyone can see that a scroll wound round a column makes a poor display, even if picked out with paint¹⁰ and furnished with metal accessories.¹¹ But, as Lehmann-Hartleben¹² has very well stressed, the artist was responsible for neither the position nor the theme. His part was the expression, and he has exploited the scroll so as not to miss the feeling of continuity which his treatment of the theme demanded. It must be realised that when once the sense of flow is given to the various subjects which the form of the scroll so skilfully unites, there is no intimate connection between the successive scenes; as in the procession of daily life, very little links them except the march of events. At this point the artist's sense of selection becomes an important factor; for the scenes do not represent even one event from each day of the wars, but diverse yet typical activities, which are combined with certain renowned events so as to give an impression of continuous action, without necessarily representing exactly what happened. Thus, while the major events doubtless follow a rough time-sequence, and represent some facets of the truth, there is no need to assume the same of the minor ones, though each minor scene still remains typical of the context in which it is set.

These principles of composition must rapidly be obvious to any student of the reliefs; but they can only be successful as in Japanese art, when each scene is a precise and accurate delineation of the characters which compose it. Realistic work of any kind cannot succeed except upon these terms; and the reliefs owe their striking success precisely to the fact that they so clearly obey them. Each scene is clearly based upon a careful sketch, which must have been made in the war-area from actual details on the spot, because nowhere else can such things be seen or imagined in accurate combination. If proof of this cardinal fact were

⁹Hist. Rom. ii, 113-15.

¹⁰L-H. i, 147.

¹¹Ibid., and Abb. 23, 24: the fact is obvious throughout the reliefs.

¹²L-H. i, I.

required, it appears, on the reliefs themselves, in the precise details¹³ of buildings, costume, accoutrements, and physiognomy, of not only Trajan's legions and auxiliaries but also of the barbaric hosts of Dacians and their allies.¹⁴ But this kind of observation, so detailed as to be almost photographic, is rarely exercised in immediate conjunction with the faculty of composition. Notes for a composition may be made, but the individual sketches for that eventual scene are made on a different page, perhaps in a different note-book. Indeed, it may be regarded as certain that this was so in dealing with Trajan's Column, because the history of the monument shews that the scenes were not applied to it until after the wars were over and the Column had already been voted for a different purpose. Thus, the scenes as there presented must be the result of working up the contents of an artist's war-time sketch-book. Such books must have been common as scrolls embodying family traditions; and provide a better derivative, because more detailed, than the triumphal cartoon,¹⁵ conceived on broader lines.

If this analysis of the methods by which the reliefs were composed represents anything like the truth, it automatically destroys the possibility of considering the scenes as valuable for chronology or as safe guides in topography. Even supposing that one man executed all the sketches, and worked them up into faithful scenes, he could not know, as the wars progressed, which scenes were to prove ultimately significant to the historian, especially when the number to be finally selected was still all unknown: also, artists are notoriously indifferent to considerations of this kind. Actually, any artist of merit could work up a series of field-sketches into a very convincing representation of the war as it took place; but few historians would go to such an account for chronological material or for any point external to the immediate content of the representation. Yet it must be admitted that on Trajan's Column very much this kind of selection must have taken place; for, although it is uncertain who chose the actual scenes which were finally to be carved upon the scroll, it is at least sure that a final selection must have been drafted in detail upon a roll exactly filling the required space. In other words, the original sketches, already themselves a selection, must have been revised afresh to suit their final situation: for the Column as first voted was not intended to be a War Memorial or to bear these reliefs. Thus, since it is impossible to suppose that

¹³For Roman buildings, see amphitheatre, xxxiii; arches, xxxiii, lxxix, xcvi; block-houses, i; entrenchments, see note 56, p. 14; forts, see section iv, below; lighthouse, lxxxiii, porticoes, lxxx, lxxix and lxxxi with temples; temples, lxxix; theatres, iii and lxxxvi (stone), c (wood); town, iii; watchtowers, i. For costume and accoutrement, see cavalry, lxiv; slingers, lxvi, lxx, lxxii, cxiii; club-men, xxiv, xxxvi, xxxviii, lxx; archers, lxvi, lxx, cviii, cxv; physiognomy, archers, cxv, club-man, xxiv, cavalry, lxiv.

¹⁴For Dacian buildings, see fortress, xxv, xciii; houses (stone), xxv (on legs), xxix, xlv; huts (wood), xxv, lix, lxxvi, cxix, cli, xxv and lvii on legs; pound, xxv; Sarmizegethusa, *murus gallicus*, cxiii-cxv; temples or tombs, lxii. For costume and accoutrement, ambassadors, c; cataphracts, xxxi, xxxvii; sword, lxxii, xciv, xcvi, cxv (on ground); Decebalus, cxlv, xxiv (cf. L-H., 68). In the case of the cataphracts (xxxvii) it is worth noting the intimate detail, extending to the eye-protector for the horse. The writer has noted many similar eye-protectors in the R-G. Central-Museum at Mainz and some in Bonn Museum. A fragment of one is in Chertiers Museum.

¹⁵It is, in fact, much more likely that the cartoon was derived from the scrolls.

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the artist or artists originally composed the sketches with a situation upon the Column in mind; and since it must even remain doubtful whether they ever knew that their work was to be copied in stone, the chance that the scenes as preserved represent a carefully studied topographical or historical account of the campaigns becomes accordingly more remote.

The essential merit and ultimate value of these reliefs may therefore well be considered to rest entirely upon their claim to represent faithfully the figures and objects which go to make up each striking vignette. To return to the literary parallels, that is exactly the position which a critic must take in regard to them. They represent neither history nor topography but facets of social life; and it may be asked with some reason whether the composer of the scroll did not consider the similar representation of army life the greatest part of his work, to which all else was subordinated? Whatever the size or scope of the original collection of drawings, the scenes in scroll-form have been selected with the plainest intention of shewing with emphasis the army at work. Accuracy in this regard is what may properly be expected from them. They illustrate, with a care and fullness never before attempted and never afterwards surpassed, the adage that the Roman army owed as much to the spade as to the sword. In respect of that fidelity to detail they differ fundamentally from the reliefs of the Column of Marcus, which are the scroll of an impressionist, interested rather in the tumult and horror of war than in the methods by which it was waged. There is nothing impressionistic¹⁶ about the scenes on Trajan's Column. They are best compared with the accurate drawings made a century ago by the journalist-artists whom press-photographers have now replaced; for examination quickly reveals that they possess the peculiar flatness of low-relief sculpture copied from a drawing. The details reproduced are often conceived in a manner that is appropriate only to the original scroll, as if the draughtsman had been ignorant or unmindful that the chisel was eventually to replace the pen. At this stage, when the scroll was transferred to stone, there was, naturally enough, some room for misunderstanding. But the tendency to make mistakes is greatly mitigated by the mechanical accuracy with which the stone-cutters reproduced their model, without necessarily understanding all they saw in it. Sometimes there is a direct superimposition of ideas, as in portraying the entrenchment. The draughtsman drew it turf-built,¹⁷ crowned by a duck-board walk, as those who know about turf-work can see even from the evidence as presented. But the stonecutter clearly thought that he was copying a stone wall, surmounted by an unusual decorative moulding.¹⁸ Similar results of seeing without

¹⁶L.H. i. 39 observes that only two out of all the scenes in the Column of Marcus illustrate building: in the Column of Trajan there are more than one hundred times as many.

¹⁷See *JRS* xvi, 264, where the writer first ventured this conclusion. The identification of the log-walk had already been made by Jacobi (*Saalburg Jahrbuch*, iv (1921), 70, n. 2) and Cichorius (ii, 61. Abb. 8), without perceiving that this implied an earthwork below, since duck-board walks have no place upon stone ramparts.

¹⁸Cf. xlix, where the duck-board walk becomes a pattern. For other misconceptions, see pp. 24, 28, 30, 32, 35, 37.

understanding appear in the representations of *ballistae*:¹⁹ while the curious implements outside Sarmizegethusa²⁰ are copied without comprehension of their meaning. But the very fact that these muddles are quite exceptional attests the excellence of the original drawings: they at least were not an experiment but a tradition.

The usual attitude adopted by students towards this accuracy has been, however, to take it for granted, and to use the reliefs as illustrations for archaeological material. But it is natural that until the truth of the representations as a whole can be established, this use should be limited. Meanwhile, archaeological exploration, not least in Britain, has been accumulating a body of material which enables their accuracy to be tested. It is possible to find parallels for so many features illustrated that a comparison between the actual relics and their portrayal upon the reliefs ought no longer to be delayed. Hitherto, it has been absent partly because the analogies are of recent acquisition and occur in scattered sources, and partly because they are far removed from the path of the art-student. But a demonstrably successful comparison should very greatly enhance the value of the reliefs in the eyes of military students, to whom the original aspect of the remains with which they deal becomes of increasing concern; and it should serve to emphasise that aspect of the composition of the reliefs reviewed in the previous paragraphs, making them representative of an otherwise lost group of Roman artistic inventions. To test the matter, sixteen typical scenes, illustrating the different aspects of military life, have been selected for comparison with actual remains, but frequent recourse is had to other reliefs, in the commentary, in order to show that the selection is truly typical of the material considered.

¹⁹ See below, p. 17.

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1. THE ARMY ON THE MARCH

(a) Marching to a review (pl. 1). C. iii-v.; L-H. 6. Casts, 10-14.

Description

Out of a walled town, containing three-storey buildings and entered through single gateways crowned by crenellated towers with two front windows, marches an army of praetorians and legionaries, crossing the Danube on parallel bridges of boats. The reed-crowned Father Danube looks on attentively, for the army is about to pass the Emperor in review.

The boats of the bridges face up-stream, with rudders fastened in position. Each boat carries amidships a stout pier of short vertical logs, held firm by horizontal slats. These are the main piers of the bridge; but, in addition, a pontoon floats between each pair of boats and is built of closely-fitted planks, heavily nailed, the whole being crowned by small railings parallel with the road which it supports. Thus, anyone could stand on the pontoon to execute running repairs without difficulty. The roadway structure is of three thicknesses of timber, but the detail is not clearly discernible. Stout railings are fixed to uprights and diagonal cross-spars with very large nails. Where the bridge comes to land, it is carried on vertical struts, braced by cross-spars parallel with the roadway.

Most of the further bridge is hidden. Across it march praetorian standard-bearers, headed by the horses and grooms of the Emperor and his suite, and by bareheaded officers in moulded cuirasses, double kilts, and knee-breeches. Their standards are decorated with chaplets, medallions, a cross-bar with oak-leaf pendants and a statue crowning all. A *vexillarius*, whose square tasselled flag hangs on a cross-bar and is crowned by a winged Victory, and an *imaginifer*, whose *imago* has perished, complete the standard-bearers. The *signiferi* wear bearskin hoods over an ordinary crestless helmet, an over-tunic with lower border of cut points or round lappets and elbow sleeves, a *gladius* and sword-belt, a kilted tunic and knee-breeches. The *vexillarius* and *imaginifer* are bareheaded and cloaked, beyond which nothing more is visible. There are also two *cornicines*, clad like the *signiferi* with whom they are associated.

The legionaries on the hither bridge are preceded by an officer on foot, bareheaded and dressed in a moulded cuirass, double kilt, knee-breeches laced at the outer side and a long cloak. He is followed by a bareheaded *aquilifer*, whose eagle is decorated with a crown of valour: this standard-bearer is dressed like the other *signiferi* but with a long cloak instead of a bear-skin hood. Two legionary *signiferi* follow, carrying standards decorated with *paterae*, a cross-bar with elaborate pendants and a vertical wreath. They are accompanied by a *vexillarius*.

A long column of legionaries brings up the rear. Each man wears a neckerchief, a segmental cuirass reaching from shoulder to hip, a kilted tunic with elbow-sleeves, a sword-belt with *gladius* and sporran, and no breeches. Their oblong convex shield, with wreath-emblem, hangs from the left shoulder; their helmet, with cheek-pieces tied together at the crestless top, hangs down from the right shoulder. Most have long curly hair and beards, only a few following the Trajanic fashion of straight hair and clean-shaven face. In their right hand they

bore a javelin, now gone. Over their left shoulder rides the stake carrying the kit. This consists of five objects: a string-bag, for forage; a metal cook-pot and a metal *patera*, for cooking and eating; a tightly-filled sack, containing either rations or clothing; and a satchel reinforced with straps, very like a tool-kit, and probably indeed containing the tools which a legionary carried. Two men are talking as they leave the town-gate, a finer structure than the rest, with towers on each side of it; the rest trudge in silence.

Commentary

The place which the troops are leaving, or passing through, is certainly a town, for its buildings are unmilitary and its outline quite unlike that of a legionary fortress. The type of town-gate is matched at the British town-walls of Colchester¹ (postern in the Castle grounds) and Lincoln² (west Gate). The troops cross the river, and are to pass before the Emperor, who is sitting with his suite on a *tribunal* raised on the further bank, as shewn in the next scene. This is the gathering of the troops and their preliminary inspection, rather than their marching forth to war in full equipment. The campaign is not formally opened until a little later, when the Emperor in camp conducts the *suovetaurilia*,³ thus hallowing the host for its work.

The bridges of boats are of regular Roman type. The legionaries carried log-canoes⁴ with them for making such bridges, according to Vegetius and Hesychius; and the slight nature of such portable craft no doubt explains the combinations of boat and pontoon visible here. A permanent bridge of boats spanned the Rhône at Arles, according to the Ostia mosaics.⁵ This kind of work was done by the *classici*,⁶ who were probably no more sailors than "navvies" are today.

The troops using the bridge are legionaries and praetorians. The latter are distinguished by their standards⁷ only: and, in other reliefs on the Column, these standards usually accompany the Emperor, being the most sure indication of the

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¹ The fallen superstructure of this gate can still be seen in the grounds of Castle park at Colchester.

² This gate was discovered buried in the mound of the mediaeval castle, like the Roman walls of Cardiff and York. It collapsed soon after discovery, but not before a careful drawing, now in Lincoln City Museum, had been made by Samuel Tuke.

³ *Suovetaurilia* appear twice in the first war and once in the second (viii, liii, ciii), marking the opening of campaigns rather than the beginning of special tasks (cf. *JRS* xi, p. 13). The representation is to be compared with that on the famous terminal slab (cf. *JRS* xi, pl. i) of the Antonine Wall at Carriden. With the *allocutiones*, these scenes form the most important guides to the action of the reliefs. The procession goes all round the camp, headed by garlanded *tubicines* and *cornicines*, followed by the three decorated animals, with attendant *popae*, and by the troops in undress uniform. The general awaits it at the *praetorium*, sacrificing upon a portable altar or a turf altar, and attended by *tubicines*, *camilli* and the sprinkler of *mola salsa* (ciii).

⁴ See p. 31 below.

⁵ The bridge-head, built in stone, still exists; the mosaic is figured in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1914, 286, see Constans, *Arles Antique*, 343: cf. Ausonius, *Urbes*, 77, *ut mediam facias navali ponte plateam*.

⁶ *De mun. castr.*, 24. I owe the comparison with navvies to Mr. C. E. Stevens.

⁷ As pointed out by Stuart-Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, pl. xxvii, 210-212.

⁸ viii, xxiv;

⁹ Cf. Stuart

¹⁰ Legionari cxxviii; cf. stanc xlii, l, liii, liv, l standards on xx

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¹³ *Cichoriu centurion wearing elaborate belt, shoulder-plates; Flaccus wear ph scale armour; see pl. i.*

¹⁴ Scene x. Tac. A. ii, 13, p

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presence of the praetorian troops. In camp, the standards are shewn grouped apart from the legionary standards, as literature⁸ proclaims that they should be. The reliefs on the Column thus differ markedly from other reliefs in the Capital,⁹ wherein praetorians figure prominently with their standards, which are worth comparing for detail. There is a sharp distinction visible here, between the legionary standards,¹⁰ with their row of superimposed vertical *paterae*, and these elaborate compositions of chaplets and medallion. The *vexillum*¹¹ is to be compared with the example upon the tombstone of a Bonn vexillarius, and with the real article from Egypt, now in Moscow; while the *imaginifer*¹² can also be matched upon a stone from Mainz. The rank of the officer at the head of the army is obscure, owing to the present lack of colour. But Cichorius's notion,¹³ that it is a centurion, is probably correct, since three of these officers appear in the marching column, and their dress agrees with that of Favonius Facilis of Colchester. They seem to be accompanied by decurions. Since the *legati* might be expected to be with the Emperor, the man may be a tribune, or perhaps the *praefectus castrorum*. A closer view of the bearskins¹⁴ of the *signiferi* is to be had elsewhere.

⁸ viii, xxiv; cf. Tac. A. i, 18.

⁹ Cf. Stuart-Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, pls. xxxvii, xlviii

¹⁰ Legionary standards: iv, viii, x, xxii, xxiv, xxvii, xxxiii, xli, xlviii, lxi, lxxvii, lxxxv, cvi, cxxviii; cf. standard on tombstone of L. Duccius Rufinus at York. Praetorian standards, v, viii, xl, xlii, l, liii, liv, lxiii, lxxv, lxxix, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, xcvi, civ, cxiii, cxxiii, cxxxvii. There are also standards on xxiv, l, and lxxv which are of a peculiar type, perhaps connected with cavalry.

¹¹ *Germania Romana*, iii², pl. vi, I: the Moscow flag is published by Rostovtzev, *Monuments of the Egyptian section in the Alexander III Museum, Moscow*, iii, pl. xxiv, from the Golenicheff collection. It is a scarlet flag with a Victory, on globe, holding a wreath and palm branch, all embroidered in gold. I owe this interesting reference to Miss M. V. Taylor. In England, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, ser. 3, iv, 18, figures the head of a staff or standard which is first and best described in op. cit., ser. 2, x, 77, as found at Spennithorpe, in Wensleydale. It is a lotus-leaf capital on a stang, 4½" across, bearing 'a representation of a centaur slaying a wolf'. Total height, 8¼". This object, as Mr. James McIntyre points out to me, is undoubtedly akin to the standard from Sidmouth, figured in *Illustrated London News*, 14 Aug. 1926, which is a socket from the top of a pole or staff, provided with a strong hook at right-angles to the figure above, and meant to hold something, perhaps a flag, hanging parallel with it. On its long base stands a centaur ridden by a winged figure and attacked from the front by a dog or wolf. As Major Gordon Home, who re-discovered the Sidmouth object, notes, the centaur was the emblem of the Severan *legiones Parthicae*. The first of these objects is apparently an *imago*, the second a *vexillum*.

¹² *Germania Romana*, iii², pl. iv, 2.

¹³ *Cichorius*, ii, 35. The tombstone of Favonius Facilis, now in Colchester Museum, shews a centurion wearing greaves; a double kilt with metal-trimmed lower lappets; a breastplate; an elaborate belt, with which are connected a sword-strap and dagger-girdle; a dagger; a sword; shoulder-plates; sleeves to the elbow, and a cloak. He carries a vinestick. Caelius and Q. Sertorius Flaccus wear *phalerae* on top of their cuirasses, the former having a plain cuirass, the later one of scale armour; see Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des röm. Heeres während der Kaiserzeit*, pl. i.

¹⁴ Scene x. Cf. Vegetius, ii, 16, *ursinis pellibus*: this was the disguise adopted by Germanicus, Tac. A. ii, 13, presumably because a *signifer* might move about the camp unquestioned.

The relief is also a *locus classicus* for the costume and kit¹⁵ of the legionaries. Neither here nor anywhere else on the Column are they shewn with breeches.¹⁶ This agrees with the evidence from the tombstones, which shew them sometimes with breeches and sometimes without them, and it may be suggested that this was, in Central Europe at least, the difference between winter and summer dress. The only part of the dress not visible is the military boot,¹⁷ of which fine illustrations appear elsewhere, matched by numerous actual examples. There has been some argument¹⁸ as to whether the kit was regularly carried on poles as here shewn; for, on the one hand, this arrangement appears nowhere else on the Column, and, on the other, it does not agree with the statement of Frontinus,¹⁹ that the articles were *aptata fasciculis*. The difference might be explained in two ways: the artist may have illustrated the kit thus in order to shew just what it was (as, for example, he draws *lilia*²⁰ uncovered to shew their nature); or the arrangement may have been a special one to facilitate the inspection of kit, since an inspection is about to take place.

The standard articles which the men carry are susceptible of further analysis. The metal *paterae*²¹ are extremely common in and beyond the frontier districts of the Empire; and there is some reason for thinking that they were made in large quantities by a few firms, such as the Campanian firms of Cippius Polybius and Ansius Epaphroditus. They are sometimes marked with the individual soldier's name. The metal cooking-pots²² are less common, but are known at Newstead, also marked as individual property.²³ The normal diet²⁴ with which they were associated was corn, lard (*larida*), cheese and rough wine (*posca*); but this was not infrequently supplemented with foraged food in the common kettle²⁵ of the *contubernium*. Nevertheless, the food does not differ fundamentally from that of the Abruzzese peasant to-day. Some of this food could no doubt be carried in the string-bag with which each man is supplied. But the other containers, the satchel

¹⁵ The standard of clothing is invariable on the Column, and is to be compared with that on the tombstones cited below. Compare also the pile of clothes carried by the legionary fording a river, xxvi. For the helmets, see Schaeffer's valuable work, *Le casque romain de Drusenheim*.

¹⁶ Perhaps because it is summer. The evidence of the tombstones is for breeches or even trousers sometimes; cf. *Germania Romana*, iii², pls. xxviii, 3 and iii, 1 with breeches, iii, 2, 3, 4 without them; or pls. iv, 1 and 3 and v, 1 with trousers, v, 3 without them. Parker, *The Roman Legions*, 250, is perhaps too categorical.

¹⁷ See, however, scene xv, and notes below.

¹⁸ Jacobi, *Saalburg Jahrbuch*, iv (1921), 90, n. 3, thinks the arrangement abnormal, as against Rice-Holmes. Neither commentator visualises the special occasion of a parade, nor the desire to shew all possible on the part of the artist.

¹⁹ *Strat.* iv, 50, 7.

²⁰ xxv; see below, p. 39.

²¹ For these *paterae* in general, see Haverfield, *Arch. Journ.* xlix, 228-231, and Bosanquet, *PSAS* lxii, 246-254: they are especially plentiful in Scotland, where they were valued as booty, cf. Curle, *PSAS*, lxvi, 298 sqq.

²² *Newstead*, 274, pl. liii, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8: for names, see *ibid.* 274, fig. 37.

²³ *EE*. 1324 a, b.

²⁴ Spartian, *Vit. Hadriani*, 10.

²⁵ See Curle, *PSAS*, lxvi, pp. 310-314, figs. 18, 21.

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(b) Pitch 280-285.

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of the legionaries. ¹⁵ *shewn with breeches.* ¹⁶ *show them sometimes dressed that this was, summer dress. The fine illustrations there has been some as here shewn; for, the Column, and, on that the articles were says: the artist may as, for example, he it may have been a on is about to take*

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and the sack, are probably for tools and clothing. According to Josephus,²⁶ each man had a saw, axe, sickle, chain, rope, spade and basket. The last two were not carried by the men, but the other five may well have fitted into the little satchel, which is remarkably like a tool-bag. An example of the satchel²⁷ exists in the collection from Bar Hill in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow. It may be remarked that the sickle was not only used for reaping forage, as on the Column,²⁸ but also mowed bedding for the tents. The axes²⁹ are well known, together with their sheaths. The saws³⁰ are less common. In conclusion, it may be remarked that the object of Marius in inventing this method of transport was not to help the soldier, but to economise in baggage-animals: the soldiers were called *muli mariani* not because they were laden like *iumenta*, but because they took their place.

(b) Pitching camp after a day's march (pl. 2). C. cvi-cvii.; L-H. 50. Casts, 280-285.

Description

A legion is just finishing its day's march, in fighting order, and is about to make contact with a second force, headed by the Emperor, which has been marching by a more peaceful valley. Both columns have been preceded by an advance force, but the contrast in bearing between them is quite remarkable.

The legion is arriving at the gate of an entrenchment already prepared for it, and an officer at its head is about to give the signal, by a *cornicen*, for the standards to halt. The soldiers are meanwhile marching at ease, chatting to one another. Two *cornicines*, dressed like the *signiferi* to whom they signalled, one Praetorian *signifer*, an *aquilifer* with decorated eagle and a *vexillarius* lead the van. The private soldiers march in a column, with shields fixed on the left arm and javelins (now gone) in the right hand. They are wearing their crestless helmets, of which the broad neckguards, visors and check-pieces are very clearly shewn. The contrast with the last scene, where the soldiers are marching with full kit, but unprepared for action, is interesting. All the shields bear the winged-thunderbolt emblem; but one has in addition a four-leafed rosette, which is repeated on some of the cavalry-shields in the Emperor's column.

The second column, headed by the Emperor, advances at an equal pace, and the *cornicen* is blowing a halt, the *signifer* just behind him stopping with sharp

²⁶ *B.J.* iii, 5, 95.

²⁷ Shewn to the writer by Miss A. Robertson, at the Hunterian Museum: she will shortly publish it.

²⁸ Scene cx; cf. *Newstead*, 283-4, pl. lxi, 2, 5, where it is noted that they are an exact reproduction of this type. For the practice of foraging, cf. Caesar, *B.G.* v, 17: the bedding occurs in Varro, *de L.L.* v, 166, s.v. *lectica*, and in Vegetius. ii, 10, as *stramina*.

²⁹ See *Newstead*, pl. lvii, 1-5, and p. 279, fig. 3 for the sheaths.

³⁰ An example is figured in *Newstead*, pl. lxxiii, 6: as Mr. James McIntyre points out to me, its curved handle and double edge combine the advantages of the modern types of pruning-saw, which has *either* a curved handle and back, with one edge (the so-called 'Grecian' type), *or* a straight back and handle with two edges. The teeth in each edge are of different sizes, as now.

precision. The legionaries still marching behind carry shields and javelins, but have discarded their helmets. They are followed by a baggage train, consisting of pack-mules and two-horse transport-carts with two wheels, all loaded with helmets and cavalry-shields.

Meanwhile, the *equites*, leaving helmets, spears and shields on the baggage-train, have entered a large marching-camp, already prepared, whose *portae decumana*, *quintana* and *principalis dextrae* are visible. It has a mound for a rampart—the simplest type shown on the Column—with neither rampart-walk nor merlons. But the work inside is not yet finished. Some tents are already pitched, incised by the sculptor ready for the painter to pick out in the background. Others are being unloaded from pack-mules and from transport-waggons, being rolled in tight bundles for transport with the seams of their leather squares standing out well. A staging, seen end-on and occupied by a trooper, has been run up to give access to an adjacent stream, from which another *eques* fills a camp-kettle as the first move towards an evening meal.

Commentary

This scene is particularly interesting as a contrast to the river-side review. The army is now in the field, marching both in fighting order and at ease; but in neither case is there any sign of the baggage being carried on stakes. On the contrary, the second column has relegated most of its spare *impedimenta* to the baggage-train. The presence of a praetorian *signifer* in the division which does not accompany the Emperor might seem³¹ to imply that the *praefectus praetorio* was there in command.

The musical instruments deserve some comment. According to Vegetius,³² those in use were the *tuba*, *cornu* and *bucina*. The *tuba*³³ was the most common, and sounded the commands to the soldiers: advances, retreats, and the beginning of watches were sounded in this way. The form of the instrument was straight, and it is shewn thus on the Column: but tombstones³⁴ mostly shew the *bucina*, with a central twist, like modern trumpets, which was ordinarily used for watches. The *cornu*³⁵ was of horn and silver, and was used for controlling the standard-bearers, for announcing the end of watches and for sounding the *classicum*³⁶ when the Emperor was present or when sentences of court-martial were carried out. The *classicum* was a call played on the *cornu* by *bucinatores*, and was of ancient origin. It was once the summons to the citizen-assembly, convened by the consul,

³¹ It would, however, be unsafe to base an historical deduction upon this point.

³² Vegetius, ii, 22: iii, 5 (description of instruments). The trumpeters in a body were *aeneatores*, CIL, xiii, 6503.

³³ loc. cit.; *tubicen ad bellum vocat milites et rursum receptui canit . . . sive ergo ad vigilias vel agrarias faciendas, sive ad opus aliquod . . . tubicine vocante operantur.*

³⁴ Cf. Bonn Museum, no. 685 (15319); Museum Vindobonense, Vienna, tombstone of M. Praeconius Iucundus, *tubicen leg. xv. Ap(ollinaris)*.

³⁵ Veget. iii, 5, *quod ex uris agrestibus argento nexum.*

³⁶ id. ii, 22, *classicum item appellatur quod buccinatores per cornu dicunt: hoc insigne videtur imperii.*

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who also used it in the field as commander-in-chief. Hence it became the Emperor's trumpet-call. At a general advance the *tuba* and *cornu* blew together,³⁷ because the soldiers were following the standards forward. On this picture, the standard-bearers are signalled to halt, as the preliminary to breaking column and taking up the allotted task of camping.

There is also an excellent view of the soldiers' helmets. The crests are stowed away, as always on active service.³⁸ The type with broad neck-guard, visor and cheek-pieces is not very common in Britain, but is well known on the Continent.³⁹ It is clear that the helmet was not worn when marching at ease, as in the rearward column.

The baggage train consists of pack-mules (*iumenta*) and two-wheeled carts. Both methods of transport appear again and again on the Column, and it is evident that the cart corresponds to a standard type.⁴⁰ In the *de munitionibus castrorum*,⁴¹ one pack-mule goes to one *contubernium*, carrying its tent, mill, kettle, kit and tools. All these things, with the carts (*vehicula*), were under the disposition of the *praefectus castrorum*,⁴² the *praefectus fabrorum*⁴³ looking after the arms and repairs. It is not known how the carts were apportioned; but one to each *centuria* suggests itself, on the analogy of the *carroballistae*.⁴⁴ They would carry primarily the centurion's tent and luggage, with common property of the *centuria*.

The delineation of a marching-camp is of considerable interest. In the first place, it shews enough of the plan (three gates out of six) to demonstrate that this is the normal tertiate form recommended for large forces by the *de munitionibus castrorum*⁴⁵ and by Vegetius.⁴⁶ As fine examples of the type may be cited Gilnockie,⁴⁷ Cawthorn B,⁴⁸ Featherwood,⁴⁹ Cleghorn⁵⁰ and Kirkbuddo:⁵¹ while

³⁷ loc. cit. *quotiens autem pugnatur et tubicines et cornicines pariter canunt*.

³⁸ They appear, however, in the *allocutio* of civ, immediately after the *suovetaurilia* opening the second war.

³⁹ See, however, Newstead, pl. xxvi; *B.M. Guide, Antiquities of Roman Britain*, pl. iv, the Ely helmet.

⁴⁰ Cf. cvi-vii, cxxix, lxi, lxvi. Scene lxi shews oxen and mules as draught-animals. In lxvi such a cart bears a *ballista* towards new gun-emplacements. These carts are not to be confused with the Dacian four-wheelers, with yoke-poles and harness, carrying miscellaneous objects, including a dragon-standard, in xxxviii.

⁴¹ This may be deduced from the space allowed to *iumenta*, in front of each tent, which is nine feet by twelve. Cf. Columella, *de R.R.* i, 6, 6, giving a minimum of nine feet wide to oxen.

⁴² Vegetius, ii, 10.

⁴³ Vegetius, ii, 11.

⁴⁴ Vegetius, ii, 25; *nam per singulas centurias carroballistas habere consuevit, e quibus muli ad trahendum et singula contubernia ad armandum vel dirigendum . . . deputantur*.

⁴⁵ *De mun. castr.* 21.

⁴⁶ Vegetius, iii, 8, *tamen pulchriora creduntur quibus ultra latitudines spatium tertia pars longitudinis additur*.

⁴⁷ Royal Comm. Anc. Mon., *Dumfriesshire*, pp. 27-8, no. 45, fig. 28.

⁴⁸ *Arch. Journ.* lxxxix, 21, fig. 3, 76, pl. xx.

⁴⁹ MacLauchlan, *Map of the Watling Street*, sheet vi.

⁵⁰ Roy, *Military Antiquities of the Romans in N. Britain*, pl. ix.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* pl. xiii.

Glenmailen⁵² and Raedykes⁵³ will recall the Vegetian caution, *nec utilitati praejudicat forma*.⁵⁴ Secondly, the earthwork consists of a rampart only, of the *agger* type, in *unius noctis transitum*, described by Vegetius⁵⁵ and in the *de munitionibus castrorum*.⁵⁶ This simplest of all types is shewn several times on the Column, and is to be carefully distinguished from the more elaborate works described below. It will be noted that it is not even fortified by stakes, and a work made with *valli*⁵⁷ of the traditional form is nowhere shewn on the Column.

Inside the camp the tents are being set up. It is quite evident that the great bundles which are being unloaded are the tents, for they are divided into rectangular panels exactly like those of the tents as unfolded.⁵⁸ The panels themselves, stitched with tent-maker's stitching, are to be seen in large quantities in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, and are the subject of a forthcoming study.⁵⁹ The tents are of at least three types, the large *praetorium* of the commander, also known as the *augurale*;⁶⁰ the *tentoria*⁶¹ of the tribunes and centurions; the *papiliones*⁶² of the soldiery. The two first types are box-tents: the soldiers' tent, as shewn here, was a simple bivouac tent. The tent was at once sleeping and living-room for the *contubernium* of eight men, and each group had

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⁵² PSAS, I, p. 352, fig. 10; cf. *Bericht xix R-G Komm.* abb. 17.

⁵³ Ibid. 344, fig. 6; cf. *Bericht cit.* abb. 18 = *Brit. Acad. Suppl. Pap.* vi, fig. 8.

⁵⁴ Vegetius, iii, 8, *pro necessitate loci . . . castra constitues; nec utilitati praejudicat forma*.

⁵⁵ Vegetius, iii, 8.

⁵⁶ *De mun. castr.* 48; Jacobi, *Saalburg Jahrbuch*, iv (1921), 68–72, distinguishes, (1) the work in *unius noctis transitum*; and (2) the *castra stativa*, 'supra quem ad similitudinem muri et pinnae et propugnacula componuntur,' cf. Caesar, *B.G.* v, 40, vii, 72, viii, 9, and the same type, but composed of corpses for sods and arms for a breastwork, in the emergency of *Bell. Hisp.* 32. To these may be added (3) the semi-permanent type so often figured on the Column, as Jacobi notes (op. cit. 70, n. 2), without observing that the first and second types also appear. The complicated types are considered below, p. 24, n. 24. Examples of this kind appearing on the Column are xciv, ciii, possibly cvii, cxiv, cxxxi, cxxxiv (with emergency towers).

⁵⁷ The traditional stake is described by Livy, xxxiii, 5, 9: *Romanus leves et bifurcos plerosque et trium aut cum plurimum quattuor ramorum vallos caedit*. The Column exhibits only regularly-cut stakes for stockades, which are not associated upon it with ramparts.

⁵⁸ Cf. xxxiii; this type of bundle is presumably the normal *papilio*, called 'butterflies' by the soldiers either because they folded out like one, or because they came out of a long roll like a caterpillar; cf. *Isid. Orig.* xv, 10. The bundle is described by Cichorius (iii, 184) as *lange mit Stricken umschnürte Ballen* and *mit Riemen verschnürte Ballen*, mistaking the edges of the leather panels for binding-ropes. For closer views, see lxi–ii, and lxxv. Tent-pitching was one of the three important drills; cf. Appian, *Iberica*, 88, τοῖς μὲν ταφρεύειν ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς δὲ τεχνίζειν, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν.

⁵⁹ See a preliminary note in *Cumb. and Westmorland. A. & A. Soc. Trans.* xxxiv, 62–90.

⁶⁰ Quintil. viii, 2, 8; cf. Tac. *A.* ii, 13: the tent appears in scenes viii, xii, xiii, xvii, xxi, liii, lxi, lxii, xcvi, cxxv, cxli, cxlvii.

⁶¹ There is no evidence that the term was used distinctively for these tents, but they were at least neither *praetoria* nor *papiliones*. See viii, xii, xiii, xvii, xxi, xxviii, xliii, cv, cxiii, cxxv, cxxviii, cxlvii.

⁶² For the name, see n. 58 above. They occur in xvi, lvi, lxi, lxii, lxvi, cii, ciii, cvii, cix, cx, cxiii.

⁶³ Script. prohibition, see

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caution, *nec utilitati* rampart only, of the *castris*⁵⁵ and in the *de* several times on the more elaborate works by stakes, and a work on the Column.

It is evident that the great *castra* are divided into rectangles.⁵⁸ The panels are in large quantities and are the subject of a large *praetorium* of the tribunes and *tabernacula* are box-tents: the *tabernaculum* tent was at once and each group had

its own hearth⁶³ (if allowed), for which the kettle⁶⁴ is being filled at the stream. It is interesting to see the temporary staging⁶⁵ for watering, which prevents befouling of the stream by treading down the bank.

2. vi, fig. 8.
castra praeiudicat forma.

It distinguishes, (1) the work in *castris* *muri et pinnae* et and the same type, but the variety of *Bell. Hispanica* 32. To the Column, as Jacobi notes (op. cit.). The complicated types on the Column are xciv, ciii,

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called 'butterflies' by the layout of a long roll like a (84) as *lange mit Stricken* of the leather panels for one of the three important *castra*, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν. *Trans.* xxxiv, 62-90.

cii, xiii, xvii, xxi, liii, lxi,

but they were at least cxxv, cxxviii, cxlvii. ii, ciii, cvii, cix, cx, cxiii.

⁶³ Script. Hist. Aug. *Pescennius Niger*, 10: cf. Schulten, *Masada*, pls. iv, vi, viii; for prohibition, see Caesar, *B.G.* vi, 29, *monet ut ignis fieri in castris prohibeat*; cf. *S.H.A.* above.

⁶⁴ See *Newstead*, pl. liii, and *PSAS*, lxvi, 310, fig. 18.

⁶⁵ For similar stagings on a river-bank, cxxxi. a watering-party with skins appears on cxxiv.

2. THE ARMY IN ACTION

(a) A field-dressing station; artillery in action (pl. 3). C. xl.; L-H. 22. Casts, 101-108.

Description

Parts of this great battle-scene are worth noting for their special features, the treatment of wounded and the *carroballistae* in action. Legionaries and cavalry are engaged in heavy fighting with the Dacians, but the victory is nearly won, and there have been large captures of Dacian prisoners, of whom one is being brought before Trajan and his praetorian body-guard by a trooper, while in the background others are having their forearms roped behind their backs.

Between these groups a legionary and a trooper are receiving first-aid. The cavalryman has a severe wound in his right thigh. His face is drawn with pain as a bandage is being applied to the critical spot, whence his breeches have been cut away. The legionary is being helped to a seat, and is hurt in his left arm or shoulder. The medical orderlies are troopers in standard clothing.

Meanwhile, the elevated ground in the rear is occupied by two *carroballistae*, each drawn by a pair of mules. The machines are constructed as part of a little box-like cart, with wheels of eight carved spokes set in prominent hubs, the whole quite unlike the normal transport waggon, and very much more like the hopper-trailer of a modern field-gun. It may, indeed, be surmised that the ammunition was kept in the little box under the machine: and it is worth emphasis that the whole cart is a specially-constructed object, not an ordinary waggon pressed into service. The machine itself is served from two sides by a staff of two legionaries, one loading and the other, as his attitude clearly shews, winding up the propulsion-spring with a little capstan at the side of the machine. The mules stand patiently, awaiting the recoil. The barrel whence the projectile was shot is elevated to clear the heads of the mules and give a low trajectory. The action of the crew indicates that the machines are in use, not in reserve, as their rearward position might alternatively suggest. The firing is directed over the heads of the Romans.

Commentary

The medical service of the Roman army has been discussed by von Domaszewski¹ and Cheesman.² It was the care of the *praefectus castrorum*;³ and traces of an admirable hospital (*valitudinarium*) have been discovered at Novaesium⁴ in the legionary fortress, while a similar building at Housesteads⁵ has

¹ *Rangordnung des röm. Heeres*, 45.

² *Auxilia of the R.I.A.*, 43-44. Tac. *A.* i, 64 implies that *fomenta sauciis* were a normal provision.

³ Vegetius, ii, 10.

⁴ Novaesium, cf. *Legacy of Rome*, 295, fig. 15; Haltern, *Germania*, 1928, 74; *Vetera, Bonn. Jahrb.* 1932, 277. An interesting summary of evidence, inspired by Haverfield, occurs in C. Allbutt, *Greek Medicine in Rome*, pp. 467-9.

⁵ Block ix, *Arch. Ael.* 2, xxv, p. 239, pl. xix; see *Companion to Roman History*, p. 255.

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Rome, p. 414.

⁸ Vegetius, i

⁹ Idem, ii, 2

¹⁰ Idem, loc

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been identified for auxiliary forts. In the field, Schulten has made a tempting identification of a group of tents at Masada.⁶ There were trained doctors and their orderlies (*medici*, and *medici ordinarii*), of whose practical abilities the work of Paulus of Aegina⁷ no doubt gives a fair picture. It was expected that they should carry into the field first-aid appliances, chiefly bandages, as in use here. These were no doubt applied by the ordinary trooper orderlies, while the *medicus* would be operating in the hospital-tent.

According to Vegetius,⁸ *carroballistae* were at first invented to deal with elephant-charges, but their advantage in the open field must have been obvious from the first. He describes⁹ a state of affairs in which they were apportioned at the rate of one to each *centuria*. *Non solum autem castra defendunt, verum etiam in campo post aciem gravis armaturae ponuntur*: they were drawn by mules and served by a gun-crew of one *contubernium*.¹⁰ It is clear that the staff shewn on the relief is one reduced to a minimum, to prevent confusion, and that only the main actions are shewn. There is no other example of a *carroballista* on the Column, though a normal transport-waggon carrying a *ballista* to its *tribunal* (lxvi-vii) looks rather like one. But the *ballistae* are always represented in the same way, shewing that the sculptor copied and consistently misunderstood a uniform drawing. He seems to have mistaken the bow of the machine for an arched cross-brace between the two coil-chambers, a feature which is not demanded by the structure of the machine,¹¹ though the front of it was often slightly bowed, as on the tombstone of Vedennius Modestus.¹²

(b) The *auxilia* in action (pl. 4). C. lxx.; L-H. 33. Casts, 177-180.

The Dacians, proving no match for the Romans in the field, are being driven into one of their hill-forts, protected by stout palisading. Most of them press in through the gateway, while the rearmost are fighting desperately on their knees. The Roman attack is being driven home by a central body of dismounted troopers, with oval shields marked with a star and crescent, and long spears, once supplied in metal but now missing. While the identity of these soldiers may be in some doubt, they are supported by some highly individual units. Their right flank is guarded by a club-man, or *Kolbkerl*, whose head and torso are entirely naked, while his body, from the waist down, is clad in long trousers, loose to the knee and more tightly gathered in towards the ankle. How these men were shod is not clear,

⁶ *Masada*, 128.

⁷ This interesting work is rarely studied. It contains an important section of directions to army-surgeons for extracting missiles, and is remarkably up-to-date and practical. See remarks by J. S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*, 6-7; also C. Allbutt, *Greek Medicine in Rome*, p. 414.

⁸ Vegetius, iii, 24.

⁹ Idem, ii, 25.

¹⁰ Idem, loc. cit., see note 16, p. 42.

¹¹ Schramm, *Antiken Geschütze der Saalburg*, pls. 9 and 11.

¹² Schramm, op. cit., 36, fig. 10: also *Companion to Roman History*, pl. xxxviii, a better reproduction, from the original stone.

either on this or other illustrations. The trousers are held by a very thick waistband, to which is attached a sword, visible in other illustrations of these troops. For defence, the man is using a normal cavalry shield, decorated with the emblems already described, on his left arm, while his right hand brandishes a knobbed truncheon.

Still further out on this flank is a slinger, dressed in a short *chiton*, girt at the waist, and a short cloak, fastened on the right shoulder and draped over the left arm so as to contain in its folds his stock of ammunition, shewn in turn as a goodly collection of round missiles. His right arm is thus left entirely free to work the sling, here once supplied in metal and now vanished, but shewn elsewhere as held trailing but fully loaded, in the same attitude as here.

At the rear of the force, and pressing round on the left flank, is a company of archers. These tall Easterners retain their native physiognomy and costume. Their high cheekbones and aquiline noses are clearly distinguishable, while their voluminous flowing skirts swing arrogantly round the ankles. Their short-sleeved shirts are covered by a leather jerkin reaching to middle thigh, where it terminates in decorated lappets, usually repeated on the edge of the sleeve. Over the left shoulder hangs the strap for the quiver, carried on the back where it can be reached by the right arm. The left hand holds the bow, and the whole of the forearm is encircled by a closely twined brace, enabling it to withstand the recoil of the powerful Turkish bow which is being used. The shape of this bow shews it to be a composite type, built up with horn and of immense power. Finally, the heads of these bowmen are protected by a conical cap, constructed in sections on a frame rather like that of a modern busby, and fitted with cheek-pieces fastened under the chin and a neck-guard just covering the occiput.

In the extreme rear, behind the rough ground framing the preceding subject, a further corps of dismounted troopers is awaiting the event of the fight; it is sheltered in a grove of palms.

Commentary

Auxiliary troops, where clearly to be recognised as such, occupy no large space on the Column, though it is always difficult to identify the cavalry troopers who occupy a very prominent part in all operations, but wear very similar dress. There is only one example of unquestioned auxiliary cavalry¹³ shewn, where the riders bear round targes and lances, while their hair is dressed in long rolls from the crown of the head, suggesting North African¹⁴ connections. On the other hand, the infantry types appear several times and in different combinations. It may be remarked, however, that the presentation of the army as fundamentally Roman, with parts perhaps even masquerading as such, only reflects the standard opinion of the day and the definite army policy. In literature, the auxiliaries figure as rarely as upon the Column, because theirs is the unchronicled rough-and-

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¹⁵ Cf. Chees *Museum Guide* to articles has been

¹⁶ *Agricola*,

¹⁷ Vegetius,

¹⁸ Cichorius,

miliaria, I s. m. e III Cyrenaica, I I Ituraeorum, I Iu equitate continge bow, cf. Lindens shewing *Monimu*.

¹⁹ Scene lxvi

²⁰ Scene cxv.

²¹ Scene cvii.

²² *CIL* vii, 7.

1242, from Bar H

²³ *Roman fo*

¹³ Scene lxiv.

¹⁴ Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, 332. Cheesman, *Auxilia*, 128-9; Stuart-Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, pp. 208-9.

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tumble of the wars. In actuality, they were of set policy moulded in the Roman convention:¹⁵ on parade they might wear masks concealing their non-Roman features in a classic frame, and on discharge they became Roman citizens. These facts are all symptoms of the same outlook, which does not prevent them from taking a notable place in the main battle scenes, because, as Tacitus¹⁶ emphasises, a victory won *citra Romanum sanguinem* was a credit to the commander-in-chief. Again, the faith in the legions was strikingly justified by works: for the legion did indeed effect all that was required from a body of 'shock troops,' and perhaps even more than was expected in creating and maintaining communications. No better justification for its glorification on the Column could be found than the proud words of Vegetius,¹⁷ written when the system had passed away: *Romana autem virtus praecipue in legionum ordinatione praepollet. . . Documentum est magnitudo Romana, quae semper cum legionibus dimicans tantum hostium vicit quantum vel ipsa voluit vel rerum natura permisit.*

Among the auxiliaries here figured, the distinctive Syrian bowmen were organised in many cohorts,¹⁸ such as the Hamii, Ituraei, and Damasceni. These archers occur in three other contexts on the Column, twice in action and once in the march. On each occasion they are slightly differently clad, as if the artist had been copying different units. Those in action¹⁹ wear coats of mail and those shooting into Sarmizegethusa²⁰ have both these and a sword. Those on the march²¹ also have a sword, missing in this illustration, but wear quite a different pattern of leather jerkin, and no coat of mail. Such minor differences in the essentially similar clothing are most likely the result of copying men from various corps. Indeed, it is almost certain that the mail-clad archers at the siege of Sarmizegethusa must be a different body from those figured in the first war, two years earlier. In actuality it is interesting to note that the Hamian archers appear in Britain on both frontier-walls,²² and have left traces of their presence at Bar Hill,²³ on the Antonine Vallum, in the shape of horn strengthening-pieces, recently ex-

¹⁵ Cf. Cheesman, op. cit. p. 65; for the parade masks, see *Newstead*, pls. xxix, xxx, and *British Museum Guide to Roman Britain*, pl. v, for the Ribchester helmet. The very great beauty of these articles has been quite insufficiently appreciated.

¹⁶ *Agricola*, 35.

¹⁷ Vegetius, ii, 2.

¹⁸ Cichorius, *Pauly-Wissowa*, iv, 329 *sqq.* records, s.v. cohorts; I sagittariorum, I sagittariorum miliaria, I s. m. equitata, I Ulpia s. eq., III sagittariorum; I Apamenorum, I Flavia Chalcidenorum, III Cyrenaica, I Flavia Damascenorum miliaria, I Hamiorum, I Hemensenorum miliaria, I Aug. Ituraeorum, I Ituraeorum, I miliaria nova Surorum, I Thracum and I Tyriorum. Apart from the equitate contingents, *alae* are also known, three from inscriptions and one by inference. For the bow, cf. Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des röm. Heeres während der Kaiserzeit*, pl. v, 3, shewing *Monimus Ierombali f.*, of coh. I. Ituraeorum.

¹⁹ Scene lxvi.

²⁰ Scene cxv, shewing best of all the Eastern facial types.

²¹ Scene cviii.

²² *CIL* vii, 748, 758, 774, from Carvoran (Magna) on Hadrian's Wall, *ibid.* 1110 and *EE*. ix, 1242, from Bar Hill, on the Antonine Vallum.

²³ *Roman forts on the Bar Hill*, 122, fig. 44.

z, 128-9; Stuart-Jones,

plained by Dr. Kurt Stade,²⁴ as used for the tips of their composite bows. These particular illustrations of the bows in question have not, however, received the attention they deserve.

The slingers²⁵ were organised in bodies well known both in literature and epigraphy. They used a leather sling, projecting bolts known as *glandes*,²⁶ of which the leaden variety, as used at Birrenswark, has a truly acorn shape. But the round missiles²⁷ shewn here, of stone or baked clay, are also known; and, while the leaden variety are certainly of early date, it is perhaps unsafe to conclude that the one type superseded the other, and still more risky to use either type as a chronological norm. The physical characteristics²⁸ of the slingers shewn here suggest that they are westerners rather than Cretans.

The status of the troops armed with clubs raises some difficulty. Since they were also armed with swords, of the long slashing type, it is not impossible to interpret them as *auxilia* who were allowed to retain national or tribal weapons for use in the field. The Dacian auxiliaries,²⁹ with their distinctive curved sword, are a case in point. It is, however, difficult to believe that regular troops would be allowed to fight so ill-clad, wearing no helmet and no covering for the body except a pair of trousers. Thus, the suggestion that these are less regular troops, perhaps *numeri* or the *symmachiarii*, as emended in the text of the *de munitionibus castrorum* by Mommsen,³⁰ has much to commend it, especially since the *symmachiarii* are now mentioned by a Spanish inscription³¹ as drawn from the Astures for this very war. Other half-naked soldiery also appear,³² wielding the spear or sword, and these may be the same men, using other weapons than their clubs. But the matter is not certain, and one at least wears not trousers but a kilt.

²⁴ *Germania*, xvii, 110–114, *Beinplatten zur Bogenversteifung aus römischen Waffenplätzen*. The matter is further discussed by Sir Geo. Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland* (ed. 2), 283 sqq.; cf. also *Arch. Camb.* lxxvii, 1932, 95–6 for a number of these objects from Caerleon.

²⁵ It must said, however, that all the records of special bodies are of earlier date. E.g. *Caes. B.G.* ii, 7, 10, 19, 24; viii, 40; *Bell. Afr.* 78; cohorts appear in *B.C.* iii, 4, 44, 88, 93, 94, and Appian, *B.C.* ii, 49, 71. Livy describes the Balearic leather sling, xxxviii, 29. Tacitus mentions them twice, *A.* iv, 20, xiii, 39, the latter in A.D. 58.

²⁶ For the Continental examples, see Zangemeister, *EE.* vi, *glandes plumbeae*. Those from Birrenswark appear in *PSAS* xxxiii, 213–16, and one from Birdoswald appears in *C. & W. Trans.* O.S. xv, 200; cf. *Agricola*, ed. Furneaux-Anderson, liii. The idea that in this country the *glandes* were of early date was started by Haverfield, in *The Antiquary*, March, 1899.

²⁷ Cagnat, *Les deux camps de la légion troisième auguste à Lambèse*, 43.

²⁸ Brachycephalic, wavy hair, nose broad and snub.

²⁹ Cf. *CIL* vii, 838, of *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* at Birdoswald, which is decorated with this kind of sword and a palm-branch. Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, ed. 9, 174.

³⁰ *De mun. castr.*, 19, 29, 43.

³¹ *L'Année épigraphique*, 1926, p. 21, no. 88, mentioning C. Sulpicius Ursulus, *praefectus symmachiariorum Asturum belli Dacici*. The inference is that this class of soldier was also drawn from other communities than the Astures. I owe this reference to Mr. E. B. Birley. For the use of clubs, cf. the Aestii of Tac. *Germania*, 45.

³² Scenes xxiv, xxxviii, xl, lxvi, lxvii, lxxii, cviii.

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³ Vegetius, ii,