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Corps du chef et gardes du corps dans l'armée romaine

Actes édités par
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The *Germani corporis custodes*: a “unit in motion”?^{*}

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Thanks to a few surviving literary sources, we know of the existence of the Germanic bodyguards of the Julio-Claudian emperors. These texts, however, were all written after the dissolution of the unit and sometimes even contradict one another¹. More relevant for the reconstruction of the unit is the contribution of around 30 inscriptions. They all have been found in Rome and they are, except for two texts, of a funerary nature.

After a brief outline of the history of scholarship, we will discuss both the literary and epigraphic sources (see Appendices I-II) and we will focus on some questions regarding the unit that remain unanswered.

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¹ At least Flavius Josephus and Cassius Dio used Cluvius Rufus' writings as a source for their works: see Grosso 1965, to whom we also refer for the various versions and inaccuracies of the Dio's epitomators (Zonaras, Xiphilinus, John of Antioch), and for the differences between Plutarch, Cassius Dio and Tacitus on the hand and Suetonius on the other hand concerning the behaviour of the *custodes* before the death of Nero and the dissolution of the unit. About the Roman sources of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates* XIX (in particular Cluvius Rufus) regarding the story of Caligula's murder and the Claudius's election: Galimberti 2001, p. 39-54.

1. History of the study

The unit has been a subject of study since the mid-19th century, starting with the publication by Henzen 1856 and followed by the contributions of Jullian 1883b, Rosenstein 1884, Mommsen 1887 and Bang 1906. All of these scholars, however, worked with the few inscriptions that were published in *CIL* VI at the time, whereas the most significant epigraphic findings occurred in the middle of the 20th century. The volume of Bellen 1981 represents the first real systematic approach and continues to be an irreplaceable reference work. The topic was explored further by M.P. Speidel² in his studies of the Germanic guard in Rome and the *equites singulares*, and, in more recent times, by A. Busch and C. Ricci³, in their volumes on the various soldiers stationed in Rome.

After the publication of Bellen, only one new inscription was published (1982). This stele, belonging to Vetus, a Batavian *corporis custos* of Nero, was found in the area of Magliana in Rome, near the Tiber (App. II, 32). On account of its state of conservation (severely damaged at the base), this inscription gave little information, with the exception of the guard's Latin name, Vetus. On the other hand, the contribution of Ambrogi and Priuli, who republished the group of inscriptions on steles found along the Via Portuense, was of particular importance. These steles all date to the Neronian age and are displayed today in the garden near the Baths of Diocletian. One of the main disagreements that immediately arose among scholars was, as we shall see, the legal status of the guards.

2. Literary sources

There are very few useful references in the literary sources, all of which were written after the dissolution of the unit. Ancient authors usually use the term *Germani*⁴; the first to mention them specifically as *Bataui* is Suetonius, in his discussion of Caligula's military campaign in *Germania*, conducted in 39/40 and aimed at increasing the men in his guard (App. I, 2)⁵. Unlike the praetorians, it seems that the *custodes* have never been involved in conspiracies against the emperor, or to have participated in his *acclamatio*. Instead, they were known for their loyalty. Only on rare occasions they played a more important role.

The formation of the *manus Germanorum*, first alongside and later replacing the Spanish guard (*Calagurritani*), dates back to Octavian, according to Suetonius (App. I, 1). Augustus himself, however, decided to send them temporarily away from Rome in 9, after the defeat of Varus, out of fear of

² Speidel, M.P. 1994a; 1994b, p. 12-31.

³ Busch 2011, p. 94, 125-127; Ricci 2018a, p. 97-98, 147.

⁴ See the synthesis of Wiegels, Spickermann & Barceló 1998.

⁵ Suetonius' account does not correspond to Cassius Dio (LIX, 21, 2), who claims that while Caligula left for Gaul on the pretext that German enemies were causing trouble, the real purpose was to seize the possessions of Gallic and Spanish landowners. See Cristofoli 2018, p. 125-139; Roberto 2018, p. 216, 343 nt. 18.

possible repercussions (App. I, 1, 19)⁶. Augustus must have later recalled them, since Cassius Dio specifically mentions the Batavians in the list of the various military units present in Rome during the Augustan age (App. I, 18). Additionally, it seems that the *Germani* were present in Rome again in 14, when a selected group (*robura Germanorum*) accompanied Drusus the Younger to quell a rebellion, which had broken out among the legions in Pannonia, at the time of Tiberius' succession to the throne (App. I, 14).

The Germanic Guard, as previously mentioned, later accompanied Caligula on his expedition to *Germania* in 39/40 (App. I, 3) and spread death and destruction among those present immediately after Caligula's assassination on the January 24th 41 (App. I, 9-13, 20). The absence of the *custodes* when Caligula left the theatre on the Palatine and returned to his palace, meeting his assassins along the way, is a matter of debate⁷. During Nero's final days, only a few imperial freedmen remained loyal to him. The *custodes*, on the other hand, took advantage of Nero's temporary absence from the palace, sacking his bedroom and abandoning the emperor; according to Plutarch, they had been corrupted by Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the praetorian guard (App. I, 7, 17, 22).

The unit is defined alternately by the sources as *cohors*, *manus*, *numerus* and, in Greek, μέροϛ, probably because it consisted of both infantrymen and cavalrymen. According to Suetonius, the unit was dissolved by Galba at the beginning of his reign, not on account of a lack of loyalty to Nero⁸, but because they were suspected of sympathizing with a member of the powerful senatorial family of the Cornelli Dolabellae (App. I, 8), whose *horti* were close to their barracks⁹. H. Bellen argues that it was the Batavian Iulius Ciuilis, who was summoned and detained in Rome by Nero but later released by Galba, who sent the *cohors Batauorum* back to their homeland after they were no longer needed, but this is merely a hypothesis.

3. Epigraphic sources

For more substantial evidence regarding the Germanic bodyguards, we must turn to the epigraphic findings. Thus far, we know of about thirty inscriptions, all from Rome, which mention some *corporis custodes* that served

⁶ One may wonder whether, rather than being banished, the *custodes* were assigned the custody of those who had been sentenced to *relegatio in insulam*.

⁷ Bingham 2013, p. 25 suspects that Caligula's *custodes* were detained by the praetorians involved in the conspiracy. On Flavius Josephus' version: Galimberti 2001, p. 39-54.

⁸ Cosme 2011, p. 368 nt. 63 believes that the dissolution of the unit can be explained by Galba's need to reduce his military expenditure. If the suspicion of sympathy for Dolabella were true, this would mean that the *custodes*, at least the *Germani*, played some role in the struggle between the various political factions in the city, contrary to Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 58, 2 concerning the Pisonian conspiracy in 65. Instead, Grosso 1965, p. 406 believes that Galba, through the dissolution of the unit, wanted to punish the *custodes* for their betrayal of Nero. On this problem, see also Speidel M.P. 1994b, p. 169 nt. 29.

⁹ Eck 1996; Cosme 2017, p. 75, 102-103: it must concern the suffect consul of 55, banished from Rome by Otho and then killed on behalf of Vitellius (*PIR*² C 1347).

from the reign of Tiberius to that of Nero. No text seems to date back to the Augustan period (App. II). None of these *custodes* appear to have returned to their homeland, but the same can be said for many other soldiers who spent 16 or 20 years of their lives in Rome (or in the provinces, for auxiliary soldiers)¹⁰.

Unlike other military units in Rome, we do not know of any dedications to gods or emperors by the *custodes*. They are known only for their epitaphs, with two exceptions related to the same person: the first, a list of imperial freedmen who present themselves as *honorati*, among whom appears a *Ti. Claudius Aug.l. Actius, curator Germanorum* (App. II, 2). The second exception concerns a dedication, carried out by the same person, of a sepulchral area for a group of slaves and imperial freedmen along the Via Appia, including a *trichila*, columns, *mensae* and a perimeter wall (App. II, 1).

Several men of the Germanic troop specifically guarded members of the *domus Augusta*, in particular Germanicus and his sons Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar. H. Bellen argued that they were to be considered private bodyguards, but it is more likely that they belonged to the imperial guard and acted in this private capacity temporarily, as is attested in the literary sources for Agrippina under Nero (App. I, 6)¹¹.

4. Why *Bataui*?

Like the literary sources, the epigraphic sources often define the members of the guard generically as *Germani*, especially during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. This name served both as an indication of origin and as an identification of the unit. Specific tribes are mentioned in only a few inscriptions¹². Later, however, the name *Germanus* disappeared from use, whereas the *natio* of the guard was specified more frequently. We see a similar trend with the *classiarii* and the *equites singulares*.

In the group of guards, 12 are defined as *Bataui*, five as *Vbii*, two as *Frisii*, one as *Betasius*, one as *Peucennus* and, perhaps, one as *Suebus*. We also find some of them, especially the Batavians, later on among the *equites singulares*¹³. The *Bataui*, *Vbii* and *Frisii* were Germanic tribes, located in the territory of *Gallia Belgica* (we can only refer to *Germania Inferior* in the proper sense from Domitian onwards). These tribes were linked to the Romans by treaties of friendship¹⁴.

¹⁰ Nicolay 2007, p. 161; 2009.

¹¹ The case of the Germans in service of the senatorial Statilii family during the same years was different: *CIL* VI, 6221; 6229; 6231-6236; cfr. Bellen 1981, p. 33 regarding their abolition under Claudius.

¹² Cfr. Roymans 2004, p. 28-29, discusses the rise of the concept of *Germani* as a product of Roman frontier politics; also Roymans & Derks 2015.

¹³ Speidel M.P. 1994a.

¹⁴ Bellen 1981, p. 34-57 (also for their internal organisation); Ricci 1993a, p. 221; Speidel M.P. 1994a; Derks 2009, p. 261-262. Nicolay 2007, p. 237-251 emphasizes the importance of warriorship in Batavian society and the role of bodyguards of kings or military leaders in the societies of Northern Gaul. For the *Bataui*: Will 1987, p. 4-20; Dietz 1997a; for the *Frisii*: Will

The moment in which the Germanic guard was introduced to Rome is a topic of debate. *Germani* (mostly *Bataui* and *Vbii*) would have been brought to Octavian by Agrippa, after the latter's return from his military campaigns of 39/38 BCE or 19/18 BCE in Gaul¹⁵. However, since we know that foreign bodyguards already protected Roman generals and politicians in the final century of the Republic, Speidel (1994b) traces the origins of the Germanic imperial guard back further. Caesar had recruited a high number of Germans (between 400 and 800) as early as 52 BCE, first against Vercingetorix and later during the Civil War¹⁶.

Indeed, archaeological finds suggest that trade relations already existed between the Romans and a few Celtic tribes, such as the Chatti, before the time of Caesar. However, since the territories of Northern Gaul were not yet under Roman control, N. Roymans hypothesizes the existence of agreements to guarantee the safety of merchants¹⁷. Therefore, in the second half of the 1st century BCE there would not have been multiple treaties between the Romans and the Batavians, who detached from the Chatti and occupied the territories on the left bank of the Rhine, between the lower river and the river mouth¹⁸. Indeed, it is probable that these treaties were a series of agreements, renewed over the years, which would later allow Drusus the Elder in 15/12 BCE to use these territories as a base for his Germanic campaigns (Tacitus generically mentions an *antiqua societas*)¹⁹.

1987, p. 24-30; Dietz 1998; for the *Vbii*: Wiegels 2002; Lamberti 2006; for the *Betasii*: Dietz 1997b, p. 400; for the *Suebi*: Wiegels 2001.

¹⁵ For the first date: Bellen 1981, p. 15, 39, 100 and Tausend 1988, p. 495-497. Lamberti 2007 instead believes the reference to be to the campaign of 19/18 BC.

¹⁶ Soraci 2005-2006, p. 5-6 discusses an alliance between Romans and Batavians dating back to 55 BC; Roymans 2004, p. 20-21, 55-61 considers the origin of the alliance between Romans and Batavians to date back to the time of Caesar; the *Germani* in service during the Civil War and the *bellum Alexandrinum* may in fact have been mostly Chatti and Batavians. Indeed, the *Germani* are described as skilled swimmers (Caes., *Ciu.*, I, 83, 5; *B. Alex.*, 29, 2) and we know that this was a distinctive feature of the Batavian auxiliaries (Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 12); Wolters 1990, p. 144. Bellen 1981, p. 15, 39 instead traces the origin of the *custodes* back to the Germanic cavalry present in Sicily on the side of Octavian in 36 BC. Some members of the Batavian military aristocracy carried the *gentilicium Iulius* and commanded *alae* or *cohortes* made up of their own men (like the brothers Ciuilis and Paulus, members of the royal family). They must be descendants of Batavians who had received citizenship either from Caesar or Octavian, probably as a reward for their services or as a consequence of trade treaties: Roymans 1996, p. 24-28; Roymans 2004, p. 61-63. Drinkwater 1978, p. 826 believes that the Batavians with the *gentilicium Iulius* were descendants of soldiers who had shown their loyalty to Caesar during the Gallic Wars; cfr. Birley 2001; 2002.

¹⁷ Cfr. Caes., *Gal.*, I, 39, 1; IV, 20, 3-4. Roymans 1990, p. 147-168, concerning the amphorae produced between the second half of the 2nd and the end of the 1st century BC, which were also found in the territory of the Chatti, on the right bank of the Rhine. In the Augustan Age, following the pacification of these territories, the Romans encouraged agriculture. On the effects of Romanization in the lower Rhine area, cfr. Slofstra 2002; Willems 1983, p. 112-113 emphasizes the lack of archaeological evidence suggesting interregional interactions with Roman immigrants in the Batavian territories: this would indicate the isolation of their economy, but this is countered by new findings; cfr. Roymans 2011.

¹⁸ Willems 1983, p. 111-112, 112-113 (on the development of new settlements, including that corresponding to Nijmegen, due to Roman military interests); cfr. Slofstra 2002, p. 23-25, concerning the anti-Germanic role of the Batavians after their migration to the left bank of the Rhine. On coin findings, occasionally associated with sanctuaries and interpreted as Batavian emissions: Roymans & van der Sanden 1980; Roymans & Aarts 2005; cfr. Heinrichs 2003.

¹⁹ Thus Roymans 2004, p. 55-61, also on the basis of archaeological finds (helmets, swords, shields and horse decorations, but also Dr. 1b amphorae and *terra sigillata*). Tac., *Germ.*, 29, on the subject of the Batavians, declares: *manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne: nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit*. According to Roymans 2004, p. 31-35, the weapons found

The literary sources use both the collective definition, *Germani*, and the more specific definition, *Bataui*, but, as we know from the inscriptions, not all *corporis custodes* had to be *Bataui*. Did the Romans impose this collective name on all guards? This view is supported by the fact that the same thing happened for the Batavian cohorts, who continued to call themselves Batavian, referring to the original type of recruitment, even when they were no longer formed by *Bataui* alone²⁰. Among the Germanic tribes, the *Bataui* were praised especially for their military skill and physical power: they were excellent soldiers, skilled on horseback and adept at crossing rivers²¹. They were exempt from paying taxes, but obliged to supply men, not only for the *corporis custodes*, but also for the auxiliary *cohortes* and *alae*²². Compared to the other tribes that were located in *Gallia Belgica* in the pre-Flavian period, the greatest burden of all was carried by the *Bataui*. They were forced to provide recruits for one cavalry *ala* and as many as eight infantry *cohortes*, resulting in a total of at least 5000 men²³.

This situation ended up causing strong discontent, which contributed to the outbreak of the great Batavian revolt, led by Iulius Ciuilis in 69/70. This revolt, however, did not change the positive nature of their relationship with Rome²⁴. Rome's relationship with other Germanic tribes, such as the *Vbii* and *Frisii*²⁵, had also been friendly since the time of Caesar's conquest of Gaul. They, like the *Bataui*, had also migrated from the right bank to the left bank of the Rhine and the two tribes had remained allies, playing an anti-Germanic role²⁶.

along the middle and lower course of the Rhine, sometimes in rural and native territories, sometimes close to Roman camps, many of which are pre-Flavian, must, in some cases, be votive offerings by veterans to the principal Batavian deity, Hercules Magusanus, while in other cases the context is sepulchral. In any case, they show continuity with rituals of the La Tène period; in the more southern territories of the Rhine, however, they already show discontinuity during the early Augustan period.

²⁰ For the effects of recruitment on the ethnicity of the Batavians: Willems 1984, p. 235. On the importance of ethnicity, expressed only when one died far from home: Derks 2009, p. 256, 270. On the fame of the Batavians and the use of ethnicity as a means of self-representation: Derks 2009, p. 253, 264, 269-270; Derks 2009, p. 243-245; previously Derks 2004. On the Vindolanda tablets, we find the names of soldiers belonging to the ninth Batavian cohort. Their ethnic name usually does not appear on these tablets, except for those soldiers who were not Batavians: Birley 2001, p. 246-247; 2002.

²¹ For the sources, see De Ruggiero 1910; Willems 1984, p. 144 nt. 62.

²² Cfr. Willems 1983, p. 112-113 and Derks 2004 and 2009 (map on p. 264), who discuss all the inscriptions referring to the *Bataui*, almost all found at the borders of the Empire, where they were employed as soldiers.

²³ Tac., *Germ.*, 29; cfr. Willems 1984, p. 227-230; Roymans 2004, p. 22-23.

²⁴ Cosme 2011, p. 248-289 also attributes an important role to the discontent both of the *custodes* themselves, due to the recent dissolution of their unit by Galba, and of the Batavian auxiliaries, who had been treated in a very different way to the *custodes*. The ethnic designations of the auxiliary unit were valid solely during the initial years. However, even after the auxiliary units became mixed units from an ethnic point of view, they retained their original ethnic designations.

²⁵ For the first: Lamberti 2006, p. 107-119; 2007 (according to whom there would already have been a *deditio in fidem* from the *Vbii* in 55 a.C., before the *transgressio Rheni* with Agrippa in 19/18 a.C.); for the second: De Ruggiero 1920; Dietz 1998.

²⁶ Derks 2004; Schulze-Forster 2010, p. 21-22.

5. Names and legal status (see Appendix III)

A total of about 60 people (in addition to the deceased, their *decuriones* and their heirs), are mentioned in the surviving inscriptions. In only four cases we find *tria nomina*, which refer, at least in two cases, to imperial freedmen of Claudius and Nero, who served in the superior roles of *decurio* and *curator*. The other two, both *Ti. Claudii* (freedmen or new citizens), were common *custodes*. We do not know whether these freedmen had been freed before starting their service or whether they were initially employed as slaves and eventually freed.

In all other cases, we find only one name, mostly in Latin (37 cases). This phenomenon has a parallel in the native onomastics of *Gallia Belgica* and *Germania Inferior*²⁷, as well as in the inscriptions concerning the *Bataui* who served in *cohortes* and *alae*. In all of these cases, however, the name of the father also appears²⁸: such references are absent from the inscriptions of the *custodes*. Three of them have a relatively common Roman *gentilicium* (Baebius, Fannius, Rabutius) as their personal name. Only a few have Germanic names (for example Sinnius), but sometimes we find that an ethnicity has been used as a personal name (Batausus, Cotinus, Marsus).

Lastly, a dozen *custodes* (by no means a small number) have names of Greek origin, some of which are rare and not easily explicable, since they do not occur among the auxiliary *Bataui* and rarely occur in the city of *Nouiomagus Batauorum* or in *Germania Inferior* more generally, where Greek names were used frequently, above all for slaves²⁹. Some names appear several times: Bassus (three cases) and Macer (three cases) are curious names, since the *custodes* had to be anything but short and meagre³⁰. Perhaps the name Fuscus (brown, dark) was meant to emphasize a contrast with the real colour of his hair, eyes and skin³¹. Another guard was called Chloreus, a Greek name signifying ‘blonde’ or ‘pale’, which we do not find elsewhere in Rome but seems to be a suitable name for a Batavian.

It is uncertain whether these were the original names of the *custodes* or whether they were chosen at the time of enlistment. It seems probable that we are dealing with new names, assigned to the guards in order to give them a new identity. It is also possible that the Latin name was a translation of their original name, or that they were given a Latin name that somehow sounded like their original one, but was more familiar to a Roman³².

²⁷ Raepsaet-Charlier 2011.

²⁸ Cfr. the onomastic lists of Derks 2009, p. 277-282.

²⁹ Cfr. Amiri & Deissler 2016, p. 17-49, 73-175. An exception in Rome is the case of the praetorian M. Amusan(ius) Hylacus, from *Nouiomagus* (CIL VI, 32627), but his inscription dates back to the 3rd cent.: Derks 2009, Appendix n. B54.

³⁰ Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 14; V, 18 describes the *Bataui* as very tall.

³¹ The red hair of the *Bataui* was a *topos*: Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 6; Sil., III, 688 mentions an *auricomo Batauo*; cfr. Mart., XIV, 176.

³² Derks 2009 p. 243 believes that it was at the time of recruitment that the *Bataui* changed or received their name and that this practice gave them a new identity and a break with their past. Concerning the choice of the name, they conformed to the onomastic conventions of imperial slaves.

However, the high number of Greek names certainly demands further explanation. Sometimes, these names are not found elsewhere in Rome (Alcimachus, Chloerus, Gnostus) or are very rare (Indus). It seems unlikely that the *custodes* received these names at the time of their birth. The name Indus may recall the name of the Trier nobleman who in 21, as prefect of an *ala Gallorum*, helped the Romans during a revolt of the *Treueri* and the *Aedui*³³.

According to T. Derks³⁴, the Greek names could also be explained by the fact that the guards served the emperor; in one way or another, they were equated with members of the *familia Caesaris* (regardless of whether or not they had a servile status).

Some guards, who all served under Tiberius, had a double name, the second ending *-anus*, in accordance with an onomastic formula that frequently occurred among the members of the *familia Caesaris*. It usually represented a change of ownership: Bassus, Macer, Nereus, and Valens were all *Germaniciani*; we also know of a Romanus Iulianus and a Sennius Drusianus. With the exception of Romanus, they had all initially belonged to Germanicus or to his son Drusus (unless Drusianus refers to Drusus the Younger; it is unlikely that it concerns Drusus the Elder)³⁵, and later changed master and started to serve Tiberius or the sons of Germanicus.

Considering this type of nomenclature, one may argue that, as far as status is concerned, the *custodes* were initially considered to be slaves, as C. Jullian, J.B. Keune and Th. Mommsen claim. Indeed, in the *CIL*, their inscriptions are not included in the section of the military, but in the section of *monumenta integra reperta*, either found in columbaria, or in the section of the *officiales Augustorum reliqui*. More recently, F. Grosso, P.R.C. Weaver, G. Boulvert, L. Polverini and H. Solin have also argued for a servile status. Alternatively, the *custodes* could have been prisoners of war, who were then selected for the imperial guard instead of being sold as slaves. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Caligula embarked on his Germanic expedition with the express purpose of searching new men for his Batavian bodyguard (App. I, 2), evidently thinking in terms of capturing prisoners and trafficking young men.

If the *custodes* were already free *peregrini* from the beginning (as J. Rosenstein, M. Bang, H. Bellen and more recently also A. Kolb, A. Busch, R. Cowan and C. Ricci believe), why did the Emperor not resort to the usual forms of recruitment, considering the friendly relationship between the *Bataui* and the Romans? Moreover, as outlined above, none of our inscriptions contain the father's name expressed in the genitive, as normally happens in the case of *peregrini*.

Of further significance is the fact that, according to Flavius Josephus and Suetonius, Caligula would have put gladiators, who belonged to the *Thracas* (App. I, 4), in charge of his *custodes* (we know one of them: Sabinus [App. I,

³³ Cosme 2011, p. 270.

³⁴ Derks 2009, p. 243, nt. 16.

³⁵ *Contra* Bellen 1981, p. 23 and nt. 9, 24 nt. 16.

9))³⁶. Gladiators were usually not *peregrini*, but slaves, whose names were not their birth names³⁷.

The fact, however, that the name of the emperor appears in the genitive in the epitaphs of the *custodes* does not seem to be a decisive argument in favour of a servile status, since the genitive does not necessarily depend on an implicit *servus*. The genitive may simply depend on the qualification *corporis custos*. We notice a similar situation among the officers in the imperial fleet, where we find a Helios *Caesaris trierarchus* or a Caspius *trierarchus Ti. Caesaris*, the names of whom, like those of the *corporis custodes* under Tiberius, we find on columbarium slabs³⁸.

Paribeni (1910), later taken up by Priuli (1984), takes a middle stance, arguing for an initially servile/libertine condition (until Caligula), which changes from Claudius onwards when they became *peregrini*. The only four individuals with an imperial *gentilicium* would have belonged to a transitional phase. They would have started their service under Tiberius or Caligula, and then were perhaps freed under Claudius, and would have found themselves serving alongside free men.

Two of them, as already discussed, were respectively *decurio* and *curator*. In Rome we find both of these positions in the *collegia* of slaves and freedmen, particularly in the *familia Caesaris*. While the *decurio* is also found in military sphere, it is, however, limited to cavalry units and divided internally into *turmae* and not into *decuriae*. Therefore, the hypothesis that part of the *custodes* could have had, at least in the beginning, a servile/libertine status, is not completely unjustified and this same type of organisation may have also been retained later.

Under Claudius and Nero, the organisation of the *custodes* seems to have changed in many aspects. For the first time, heirs appeared in the epitaphs (as happened in the epitaphs of other soldiers serving in Rome), an element that is incompatible with a servile status. In addition, Suetonius' report that the *Germani* were sent home by Galba without any premium seems to be an argument in favour of their status as free men. If they were slaves, they would not have been sent back to their homeland, but would have been destined to serve other functions. In any case, they would not have had the right to be discharged³⁹.

Essentially, we are dealing with a situation similar to that of the sailors in the fleet, where, at least in the beginning, slaves, imperial freedmen and *peregrini* were present simultaneously⁴⁰. Neither in the fleet nor among the *custodes* we

³⁶ Nero would have done the same thing with the *murmillo* Spiculus, according to Bellen 1981, p. 43-45, based on the awards granted to him by the emperor (Suet., *Nero*, 30, 2) and the fact that one of the *decuriones* of the *custodes* under Nero was named after the famous gladiator (App. II, 15). Cfr. also Speidel M.P. 1994b, p. 28. The role of gladiators as bodyguards in the Republic is well known and they were often used during the Civil Wars: Speidel M.P. 1994b, p. 168-169 nt. 26.

³⁷ There was a *Batauus Vitalis*, a *raetarius*, who died after his performance in the amphitheatre of Parma: *CIL* XI, 1070 (*EAOR*, II, 46).

³⁸ Granino Cecere 1995; cfr. Boulvert 1970, p. 61-63.

³⁹ Menéndez Argüin 2006, p. 36 believes that Nero rewarded the loyalty of his *custodes* during the conspiracy of 65 by granting them Roman citizenship.

⁴⁰ Panciera 2006, p. 1271-1292, 1441-1452; cfr. Busch 2011, p. 168.

find Roman citizens. This is not the only similarity between the sailors and the guards, as we shall see, but is entirely unlike what happens with the *classarii*. No *custos* ever received a military diploma, despite the fact that these were introduced under Claudius⁴¹. However, even during the reign of Claudius and Nero, the *custodes* continued to present themselves in their inscriptions without the name of their father and, unlike the *peregrini*, who served in auxiliary *alae* and *cohortes*, the great majority of *corporis custodes* continued to indicate only their lifespan and not their years of service.

Therefore, it seems that they were never considered to be a real *militia* (Nero, like Caligula, put a gladiator in charge of them; vd. *supra*).

However, on this topic, it should also be noted that, at the time of Nero, the *custos Nobilis* is presented as a *miles*, Sollemnis as an *optio* and that the verb *militauit* appears twice.

6. Internal organisation

The literary and epigraphic sources do not provide us with much reliable information about the internal organisation of the unit. We do not know the total number of men in service: some estimate 100, others believe it to be approximately 500, the equivalent of a cohort, or even more, but we do not have exact numbers⁴². Nor do we know the title of the commander of the *decuriones*. The qualification of ‘tribune’, as used by Flavius Josephus, has not been found yet. The rank of *sub praefectus cohortis Germanorum* has been suggested on the basis of a recently edited Spanish inscription, which dates to 31-32⁴³. Nevertheless, this military office, held by an individual who was also a *decurio equitum alae Taurianae*, could have been held within an auxiliary *cohors*, since attestations exist for *subpraefecti* of *alae* and of *cohortes*⁴⁴, as, during the 1st century, *cohortes Germanorum* are attested in the auxiliary troops⁴⁵.

The exact relationship of the *corporis custodes* with other units, whose role was to protect the emperor, also remains problematic. An example could be the detachment of praetorians on the Palatine or the *speculatores*, who were initially a separate unit and were later integrated into the praetorian cohorts⁴⁶.

⁴¹ Behrends 1986.

⁴² Cassius Dio (App. I, 18) declared that he did not know their number. According to Grosso 1965, p. 399, it largely exceeded the 100 men; Ricci 1993a, p. 220 imagines a number between 500 and 1000 men; Le Bohec 2004b, p. 31 a number between 100 and 500; Menéndez Argüín 2006, p. 35 imagines 1000, based on Flavius Josephus (App. I, 9), who defines their commander as *chiliarchos*; Cosme 2017 of 100.

⁴³ AE 2015, 657 (Los Bañales, Hispania Citerior): [Q.] *Sempronio L.f. / Vitulo dec(urioni) equit(um) / alae Taurianae, / [s]ub praefecto / [c]oh(ortis) Germanorum / [Aesop]us lib(ertus) / [p(osuit)?] ex tes(amento)*; cfr. Ventura Villanueva, Andreu Pintado & Romero Novella 2018 with the aforementioned bibliography.

⁴⁴ *Subpraefecti* in *auxilia*: *InscrAq.* II, 2864, 2813 (1st century).

⁴⁵ A *cohors Germanorum* is attested in *CIL* XIV, 2960 (*Praeneste*); a *cohors I Germanorum* in *CIL* XI, 5745 (*Sentinum*), both date to the 1st century.

⁴⁶ Bingham 2013, p. 16-17; on the *speculatores*: Y. Le Bohec in these proceedings; previously Speidel M.P. 1994b, p. 170-171 nt. 32 and Crimi 2012.

The function of the *Germani* appears in the form *corpore custos* (especially at the beginning)⁴⁷ or *corporis custos*, but sometimes they are simply called *Germani*. In fact, their ethnic origin alone would suffice to distinguish the type of service. We do not know whether their role as *corporis custodes* was the beginning of their military career (for which we must assume that they were sent to Rome without any prior training) or whether they were selected from the men in service in the auxiliary Batavian units, as would happen from Trajan onwards with the *equites singulares*. However, the young age at which some of them died renders this last hypothesis unlikely.

The age of enlistment must have been similar to that of soldiers, around the age of 18, as well as the age of death, between 25 and 40. No guard seems to have completed his service, so we do not know how long the service lasted: we never find the title of *ueteranus* or a formula like *ex corporis custode*. According to H. Bellen, the guards were discharged at the age of 40 (after about 20 years of service), since by then they had become unfit for service. Perhaps we can hypothesize a service of 25 years in total, as is the case of the *peregrini* who served in fleets, *auxilia* and, later, in the *equites singulares*. However, considering their age of death, it would seem that none of the guards known to us completed this service.

The inscriptions do not provide clear indications as to whether they fulfilled their role on foot, as might be deduced from Suetonius' description of them as a *cohors* (App. I, 8), or on horseback, as is asserted by Cassius Dio (App. I, 18: he could, however, have confused them with the *equites singulares*, who were also in service at his time) and by those who see a continuity with Caesar's horse-guard and successive *equites singulares Augusti*⁴⁸. Just as the praetorians appear both as *milites* and as *equites*, it is possible that the *corporis custodes* were guards who served both on foot and on horseback, depending on the circumstances. In favour of a unit on horseback is the rank of *decurio*, but we must bear in mind that the *equites* were arranged in *turmae* and *decuriones* are also present in the *familia Caesaris*, commanding the *decuriae* in which the imperial slaves were organized. Likewise, the *apparitores* (*praecones*, *uiatores*, *lictors*, *scribae*), who often assisted the emperor in performing his duties, were divided into *decuriae*⁴⁹. Each *custos* indicates his *decuria* using the name of the *decurio*. Since there are fewer *decuriones* than *custodes* in service, it is not surprising that we only find funerary inscriptions for two of them: Proculus, serving Claudius before he became emperor (and therefore serving under Caligula) and Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Ductus, freedman of Claudius or Nero.

Under Nero, apart from the title of *custos*, indicating a simple guard and the rank of *decurio*, we also find the title of *optio*, which in military terms indicates a selected soldier, who aspired to a promotion (in this case probably to *decurio*). Only the *custos* Nobilis explicitly defines himself as a *miles* of emperor

⁴⁷ Bellen 1981, p. 24 nt. 20.

⁴⁸ The bravery of the *Bataui* on horseback is stressed by Plu., *Oth.*, 12; cfr. Speidel M.P. 1994b, p. 12-15. In favour of a unit on horseback are also Le Bohec 2004b, p. 31 and Menéndez Argüín 2006, p. 35-36, who also traces the guard's origin back to Caesar.

⁴⁹ Bellino 1910; Angius 2016.

Nero, but this is one of the last inscriptions that we know of; in fact the titulature of Nero starts with *imp.* only from 66. Since we lack any depictions of the unit, we do not know the details of their equipment. From Flavius Josephus, we only learn that they were armed with swords and that *Germani* in general could erupt in violent anger (App. I, 9, 11).

From the reign of Claudius onwards, a *collegium Germanorum* directed by a *curator*⁵⁰ appeared in the sepulchral inscriptions. According to H. Bellen, this *curator* would have served a commanding role over the unit and, because of this, he would have been selected from outside the unit itself⁵¹. However, as often happened with the *curatores*, his role would have been limited to the financial management of the *collegium Germanorum*. The *collegium* must have had a funerary purpose, similar to many other *collegia* in Rome, set up to ensure a proper burial for each of its members, who were usually required to pay a fee. The *custodes* were men without any roots in Rome and no relatives in the city. Those closest to them were their *fratres*, who were also enlisted and who we find as heirs in their inscriptions: the term is therefore probably equivalent to ‘fellow soldier’, as in other military units⁵².

It seems that in most cases the guards did not start their own family: only three of them were buried by women (two of whom declared themselves as spouses). The women appear, on account of their names (Iulia Fausta, Luria Paezusa, the onomastics of the third are incomplete) to have been freed⁵³. Was the ban on marriage during military service also applied to the *custodes*? Were they already exempted from their duties because of their age? Surely, the *decurio* and imperial freedman Tiberius Claudius Ductus, who died at the age of 30 and was buried by his *coniunx* Luria Paezusa, must have been still active; the other two were simply *custodes*.

As usually happened with the regular military units present in Rome, the *custodes* appointed members of their own *decuria* or their own unit as heirs. After a certain period, the formula *ex collegio Germanorum* ends the epitaphs (except for those dedicated by women). Therefore, this formula does not indicate, as H. Bellen believed, that the grave was paid with funds of the *collegium*, but rather stresses the fact that the heir (and the deceased) belonged to that *collegium*. This fact justified the burial of the deceased in an area owned by the *collegium* or, alternatively, confirmed that the burial area had been granted by the *collegium*⁵⁴. However, we must remember that the reference to funerary *collegia* is also found in the epitaphs of slaves or freedmen⁵⁵.

⁵⁰ Bellen 1981, p. 58–81 (also for the onomastics of the *custodes*).

⁵¹ Thus also Menéndez Argüín 2006, p. 36.

⁵² Panciera 2006, p. 1444; on the question as to whether *frater* refers to a blood brother or a fellow soldier (‘band of brothers’), cfr. also Derks & Roymans 2006, p. 123, nt. 12.

⁵³ Ricci 1993a, p. 223 believes that the *Germani* in Rome remained on the margins of society and did not fully succeed in their integration.

⁵⁴ Thus Ambrogi & Priuli 1984. In the military sphere this is attested in the inscriptions of the *curatores statorum* and *curatores ueteranorum*: Speidel M.P. 1994b, p. 168 nt. 23.

⁵⁵ CIL VI, 6216; 6217; 9310; 10262; 10263; 33999.

7. Types of monuments, sepulchral areas, camps (see Appendix IV)

Unlike the soldiers of the *cohortes praetoriae* and *urbanae*, who do not seem to have had proper burial areas (although there is a concentration of epitaphs along the Via Salaria and Nomentana, close to their *castra*) and also unlike the *equites singulares*, whose steles were concentrated along the ancient Via Labicana (the modern Via Casilina), the inscriptions from the *corporis custodes* come from three sepulchral areas in Rome⁵⁶.

The oldest group of inscriptions comes from the Via Appia Antica. These inscriptions are engraved on slabs, quite similar to those in the columbaria of Julio-Claudian slaves and freedmen. They date back to the age of Tiberius or, at the very latest, in the case of three *custodes* of Claudius (who appears as Ti. Germanicus), before the latter became emperor⁵⁷. The presence of these *custodes* in the columbaria may lead to the hypothesis that at least these 11 *custodes* were not *peregrini*.

The situation changed under the emperor Claudius, and inscriptions began to be found along the initial part of the Via Aurelia, next to the park of Villa Doria Pamphili⁵⁸. The slabs are replaced by travertine steles, similar to those of soldiers in service in Rome⁵⁹. Some are as high as 2 metres and are decorated at the top, like the monuments of the praetorians, with a crown. Likewise, on the steles of the *custodes*, we find the name of the deceased in the nominative and we never find the *adprecatio* to the *Dei Manes*. The space destined for the inscription is larger than in the steles of the praetorians; the epigraphic space is demarcated by a moulded frame, therefore allowing for a greater amount of information, for example the dedicators and the *collegium Germanorum*.

We are dealing with epigraphic forms that represented the deceased with considerable visual impact. Something seems to have changed in the way that the *corporis custodes* were perceived. They began to be buried in areas purchased with money from the *collegium*. It is quite possible that this change in burial type, along with the appearance of the *collegium Germanorum* and of the heirs, can be connected to a reorganisation of the unit including the entry of *peregrini* with a free status, in the context of the Claudius' military reforms⁶⁰.

The first mile of the Via Aurelia continued to be used for the *custodes* under Nero⁶¹. However, from this period onwards, another area, near the Via Portuense, also began to be used for burials. The latter was a road running

⁵⁶ Derks 2004, p. 58-59; Ricci 2005; Busch 2011, p. 125-127.

⁵⁷ That Tiberius Caesar Germanicus must be identified as Claudius before 41 seems probable, since we know that Tiberius did not bear the surname Germanicus. Costabile 2008, p. 114-119 has a different opinion.

⁵⁸ Verrando 1995, 37.

⁵⁹ This was already underlined by Derks 2004, p. 60-65; 2009, p. 253, nt. 63; Panciera 2006, p. 1391-1392; in reality, the steles of the praetorians have a narrower and more elongated shape and the crown is more stylized.

⁶⁰ On this idea, see also Ricci 1993a, p. 220.

⁶¹ Busch 2011, p. 125-127; cfr. D'Onza 2016.

between the Tiber and the *horti* of Caesar in the direction of Rome's new port, built by Claudius, but inaugurated by Nero.

In the large necropolis, used until the first decades of the Empire (demonstrated by the various columbaria with slabs, often referred to imperial slaves and freedmen), eight inscriptions of *custodes* were found. These include one columbarium slab, which must have belonged to an earlier phase, and five large steles of a type that became common from the rule of Claudius, all belonging to the Neronian age⁶². However, it does not seem that the burial area along the Via Portuense completely replaced the one along the Via Aurelia, because one of Nero's *custodes* (Nobilis) was buried on the Via Aurelia. After all, the two sepulchral areas do not lie that far apart and, for a long time, the Via Aurelia was used as a necropolis for the people of Trastevere, in particular for the detachment of sailors from the fleet of Ravenna. The inscriptions of these sailors, however, do not appear before the end of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd century⁶³.

The particular concentration of funerary steles of *custodes* in this area, along the Via Aurelia and the Via Portuense, has led us to believe that their barracks were located here, at least from the age of Claudius onwards. We know that this area was home to both the suburban *horti* of illustrious people (not only those of Caesar)⁶⁴, and the *castra* of the sailors of Ravenna, with whom the *custodes* perhaps shared a legal status and an exclusively provincial origin.

Conclusion

The *corporis custodes* was a unit in motion, not only because they left the *insula Batauorum* and the other northern territories of *Gallia Belgica* to move to Rome, but because they were subject to significant changes in a short space of time, in terms of burial areas, funerary monuments and perhaps even legal status and the location of their camp. Even their names probably changed once they started their service in Rome.

However, an element that never changed, except during the final days of Nero, was the loyalty of the *custodes* towards the emperors, following a behavioural model towards their leader that was inherent in Celtic populations⁶⁵.

⁶² Loreti 2007, p. 229-230.

⁶³ Busch 2011, p. 142.

⁶⁴ Chioffi 1996.

⁶⁵ Nicolay 2007, p. 237-251; cfr. Bellen 1981, p. 82-99 (on the adjective *fidelissima* attributed to the *Germanorum cohors*: App. I, 8).

Appendix I

(principal literary sources; translations from Loeb Classical Library)

- 1) Suet., *Aug.*, 49, 1: ... *ceterum numerum partim in urbis partim in sui custodiam adlegit, dimissa Calagurritanorum manu quam usque ad deuictum Antonium, item Germanorum quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circa se habuerat.*

... Employed the remainder partly in the defence of the city and partly in that of his own person, having disbanded a troop of Calagurritani which had formed a part of his body-guard until the overthrow of Antony, and also one of Germans, which he had retained until the defeat of Varus.

- 2) Suet., *Cal.*, 43: *militiam resque bellicas semel attigit neque ex destinato, sed cum ad uisendum nemus flumenque Clitumni Meuaniam processisset, admonitus de supplendo numero Batauorum, quos circa se habebat expeditionis Germanicae impetum cepit.*

He had but one experience with military affairs or war, and then on a sudden impulse; for having gone to Mevania to visit the river Clitumnus and its grove, he was reminded of the necessity of recruiting his body-guard of Batavians and was seized with the idea of an expedition to Germany.

- 3) Suet., *Cal.*, 45: *mox deficiente belli materia paucos de custodia Germanos traici occultique trans Rhenum iussit ac sibi post prandium quam tumultuosissime adesse hostem nuntiari.*

Presently, finding no one to fight with, he had a few Germans of his body-guard taken across the river and concealed there, and word brought him after luncheon with great bustle and confusion that the enemy were close at hand.

- 4) Suet., *Cal.*, 55: ... *Thraeces quosdam Germanis corporis custodibus praeposuit.*

... He gave some Thracian gladiators command of his German body-guard.

- 5) Suet., *Cal.*, 58: ... *ad primum tumultum lecticari cum asseribus in auxilium accurrerunt, mox Germani corporis custodes ac nonnullos ex percussoribus quosdam etiam senatores innoxios interemerunt.*

... At the beginning of the disturbance his bearers ran to his aid with their poles, and presently the Germans of his body-guard, and they slew several of his assassins, as well as some inoffensive senators.

- 6) Suet., *Nero*, 34: ... *mox et honore omni et potestate triuauit abductaque militum et Germanorum statione contubernio quoque ac Palatio expulit.*

Then depriving her of all her honours and of her guard of Roman and German soldiers, he even forbade her to live with him and drove her from the Palace.

- 7) Suet., *Nero*, 47: ... *ad mediam fere noctem excitatus ut comperit stationem militum recessisse prosiluit e lecto ... in cubiculum rediit unde iam et custodes diffugerant direptis etiam stragulis, amota et pyxide ueneni.*

... He awoke about midnight and finding that the guard of soldiers had left, he sprang from his bed ... he returned to his own chamber, from which now the very caretakers had fled, taking with them even the bed-clothing and the box of poison.

- 8) Suet., *Gal.*, 12: *Item Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissoluit ac sine commodo ullo remisit in patriam, quasi Cn. Dolabellae, iuxta cuius hortos tendebat, prionorem.*

He also disbanded a cohort of Germans, whom the previous Caesars had made their body-guard and had found absolutely faithful in many emergencies, and sent them back to their native country without any rewards, alleging that they were more favourably inclined towards Gnaeus Dolabella, near whose gardens they had their camp.

- 9) J., *AJ*, XIX, 119-122: *πρώτους δὲ εἰς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἡ αἰσθησις ἀφίκετο τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς. δορυφόροι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ὁμώνυμοι τῷ ἔθνει ἀφ' οὗ κατειλέχато Κελτικῷ τάγμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ αὐτῶν. θυμῷ δὲ χρῆσθαι πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ σπάνιον εἴ τις ἐτέροις βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ ἡσσόνως λογισμὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων, ῥωμαλέοι τε τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ συνιόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὓς ἂν νομίσωσι, μέγαρα κατορθοῦντες. οὗτοι οὖν πυθόμενοι τοῦ Γαίου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ περιαλγῆσαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρετὴ κρίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῖς προσφιλεῖς ἦν Γάιος δόσει χρημάτων τὸ εὖνουν αὐτῷ κτώμενος, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, προειστήκει δ' αὐτῶν Σαβίνος χιλιάρχων οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ γενναιότητα προγόνων, μονομάχος γὰρ ἦν, ἰσχύϊ δὲ σώματος τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις κτησάμενος ἄθροισιν ἀρετὴν, διεξήεσαν τῆς οἰκίας ἀνερευνώμενοι τοὺς σφαγῆας τοῦ Καίσαρος.*

The Germans were the first to discover the death of Gaius. They were the emperor's bodyguard and bore the name of the nation from which they had been enlisted: and it was they who made up the Celtic band. It is a national trait of theirs to act furiously to a degree such as is rarely if ever met with among other barbarians, for the Germans pause less for calculation of the consequences. They are also physically powerful and win great success in the first onset whenever they engage any whom they consider enemies. These men, then, when they learned of the murder of Gaius, were full of resentment, for they did not decide issues on their merits according to the general interest, but according to their own advantage. Gaius was especially popular with them because of the gifts of money by which he acquired their goodwill. With swords drawn, they burst out from the palace in search of Caesar's murderers. They were led by Sabinus, a military tribune who owed his command over such men not to the services and nobility of his ancestors, for he was a gladiator, but to his physical strength.

- 10) J., *AJ*, XIX, 138-142: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος τῶν Γερμανῶν περιέσχε τὸ θέατρον ἐσπασμένων τὰ ξίφη, πᾶσι τοῖς θεωροῖς ἐλπίς ἦν ἀπολεῖσθαι ... εἰσιπτιόντων τε ἡδὴ βοῇ τοῦ θεάτρου ῥήγνυται καθ' ἱκετείαν τρεπομένου τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥς πάντων ἀγνοίας αὐτῇ γενομένης καὶ τῶν βουλευθέντων τοῖς ἐπαναστάσιν, εἰ δὴ τις καὶ γέγονεν ἐπανάστασις, καὶ τῶν γεγονότων... θραύεται δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ μεταμελήσαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεωροῖς βουλευματος, ὁμὸν τε γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνοις καίπερ ἐξηγριωκόσιν ἐδόκει.*

But when in fact a troop of Germans with drawn swords surrounded the theatre, all the spectators expected a massacre ... When the troops now streamed in, the people in the theatre burst into cries, turning in supplication to the soldiers and pleading that they had had no knowledge of anything, neither of the designs of the rebels, supposing that a rebellion had occurred, nor of actual events... The anger of the soldiers gave way under the impact of these words, and they repented of their intended attack on the spectators, which would have been cruel and appeared so even to them, furious though they were.

- 11) J., *AJ*, XIX, 148-152: *ἡδὲ καὶ Στήλας Ἀρουντίος παρῆν ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι σὺν αὐτῷ κελεύοντες κατατίθεσθαι τὸν σίδηρον καὶ διασαφούντες Γαίου τὴν τελευτήν. τοῦτο καὶ σαφέστατα ἔσωσεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ συνειλεγμένους καὶ πάντας, οἱ καὶ ὅπως οὖν τοῖς Γερμανοῖς περιτύχοιεν: ἐλπίδος γὰρ αὐτοῖς παραγενομένης ἔμπουν κεῖσθαι τὸν Γάιον οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτινος κακῶν ἂν ἀπέσχοιτο. τοσόνδε ἐπερίσσευσεν αὐτοῖς*

εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς κἂν μετὰ τοῦ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπολουμένου τῆς ψυχῆς κτήσασθαι τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυστυχίᾳ συνεσόμενον. παύονται δὲ τοῦ ὀρηγκότος εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν μαθήσεως σαφοῦς παραγενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ, διὰ τε τὸ εἰς ἀχρεῖον ἐπιδείξεσθαι τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς εὐνοίας, ὃς ἀμείψαιτο αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότες, καὶ δέει, μὴ καὶ περαιτέρω τῇ ὕβρει χρωμένων ἐπιστροφή γένοιτο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἴπερ εἰς ἐκείνην περισταίῃ τὸ κράτος, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπικαταστάντος ἄρχοντος. καὶ **Γερμανοὶ** εἰ καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπαύσαντο λύσεως τῆς ἐπὶ Γαίου τῷ θανάτῳ καταλαμβανομένης αὐτοῦς.

... But now Arruntius had got control and accompanied the tribunes recalling the Germans, bidding them sheathe their swords and giving a full account of the death of Gaius. This was certainly the thing that saved those who were assembled in the theatre and all who in any way came in contact with the Germans; for, had the Germans been given any hope that Gaius still lay breathing, there is no crime from which they would have refrained. So great was their loyalty to him that they would even have risked their ardent devotion, now that the one who would have rewarded them had perished. They feared, moreover, that, if they proceeded further in their lawless mood, they might attract attention from the senate, supposing that it should succeed to power, or from the imperial ruler who won control. So the Germans did, at any rate, though it was a narrow escape, desist from the frenzy that took possession of them at the death of Gaius.

- 12) J., *AJ*, XIX, 157: Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐξανίστατο **τῶν φυλακῶν** αἱ τὸ κατ' ἀρχᾶς πάνυ πικραὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπάνισως.

... By now the occupants of the theatre were rising from their seats, the guard which at first had been so cruel being somewhat relaxed.

- 13) J., *AJ*, XIX, 215: Καὶ **τῶν Γερμανῶν** τε ἐν τιμωρίαις τῶν σφαγέων ὄντων ὁμότητος χάριτι τῆς ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος τοῖς πάσιν.

... Even the German troops were engaged in vengeance on the assassins more to gratify their own ferocity than to promote the general good of all.

- 14) Tac., *Ann.*, I, 2: *Haec audita ... Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus ciuitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis ... additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et **robora Germanorum**, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant.*

... Tiberius was driven by the reports from Pannonia to send out his son Drusus, with a staff of nobles and two praetorian cohorts. He had no instructions that could be called definite ... in addition, a large part of the praetorian horse was included, as well as the flower of the German troops, who at that time formed the imperial bodyguard.

- 15) Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 18: ... *cognitum id Neroni excubiasque militares quae ut coniugi imperatoris olim tum ut matri seruabantur et **Germanos** nuper eundem in honorem custodes additos degredi iubet.*

... Nero knew it, and gave orders to withdraw the military watch, which she had received as the wife, and retained as the mother, of the sovereign, along with the Germans lately assigned to her as a bodyguard for the same complimentary motive.

- 16) Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 58: ... *uolitabant per fora, per domos, rura quoque et proxima municipiorum pedites equitesque permixti **Germanis** quibus fidebat princeps quasi externis.*

... And through squares and houses, even through the country districts and nearest towns, flitted footmen and horsemen, interspersed with Germans, trusted by the emperor because they were foreign.

- 17) Plu., *Gal.*, 2, 1-2: Νυμφίδιος γὰρ Σαβίνος ὢν ἑπαρχος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μετὰ Τιγελλίνου τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐπεὶ τὰ Νέρωνος ἀπέγνωστο παντάπασιν καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀποδρασόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπεισε **τὸ στρατιωτικόν**, ὡς μηκέτι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἤδη πεφευγότος, αὐτοκράτορα Γάλβαν ἀναγορεύσαι, καὶ δωρεάν ὑπέσχετο κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς αὐλικοῖς ...

It was Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the court guard along with Tigellinus, as I have already stated, who, when Nero's case was altogether desperate, and it was clear that he was going to run away to Egypt, persuaded the soldiers, as though Nero were no longer there but had already fled, to proclaim Galba emperor, and promised as largess seventy-five hundred drachmas apiece for the court ...

- 18) D.C., LV, 24, 7-8: **ξένοι τε ἱππῆς ἐπίλεκτοι**, οἷς τὸ **τῶν Βατάουων** ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάουας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ρήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα, ὅτι δὴ κράτιστοι ἱππεύειν εἰσὶ, κεῖται: οὐ μέντοι ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ ...

... There were also picked foreign horsemen, who were given the name of Batavians, after the island of Batavia in the Rhine, inasmuch as the Batavians are excellent horsemen. I can not, however, give their exact number ...

- 19) D.C., LVI, 23: ἐπειδὴ τε συγχνοὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ **καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Κελτοί**, οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευόμενοι, ἦσαν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τι νεοχμώσωσι, καὶ τοὺτους μὲν ἐς νήσους τινὰς ἀπέστειλε, τοῖς δ' ἀόπλοις ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς πόλεως προσέταξε.

... There were in Rome a large number of Gauls and Germans, some of them serving in the praetorian guard and others sojourning there for various reasons, he feared they might begin a rebellion; hence he sent away such as were in his body-guard to certain islands and ordered those who were unarmed to leave the city.

- 20) D.C., LIX, 30, (1^b): οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὅσοι μὲν **ἐκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μέρους** ἦσαν, ἐθορύβουν τε καὶ ἐστασίαζον ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς ποιεῖν.

All the soldiers of the Germanic corps fell to rioting and quarrelling, with the result that there was some bloodshed.

- 21) D.C., LXI, 9, 1 : ἐν δὲ τινὶ θέα ἄνδρες ταύρους ἀπὸ ἵππων, συμπαραθέοντές σφισι, κατέστρεφον, τετρακοσίας τε ἄρκτους καὶ τριακοσίους λέοντας **οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ σωματοφύλακες** τοῦ Νέρωνος κατηκόντισαν.

At one spectacle men on horseback overcame bulls while riding along beside them, and the knights who served as Nero's bodyguard brought down with their javelins four hundred bears and three hundred lions.

- 22) D.C., LXIII, 27, 2-3: μέλλοντος δὲ ταῦτα πράσσειν ἡ βουλὴ τὴν περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα φρουρὰν ἀποκαλέσασα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸν μὲν πολέμιον ἀπέφηνε, τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν ἀνθεῖλετο αὐτοκράτορα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθετο ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ **τῶν σωματοφυλάκων** ἐγκαταλέλειπται ἔν κήποις δὲ τισιν ἐτύγχανε καθεύδων, φυγεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν.

He was on the point of putting these measures into effect when the senate withdrew the guard that surrounded him and then, entering the camp, declared him an enemy and chose Galba as emperor in his place. But when he perceived that he had been deserted also by his body-guards (he happened to be sleeping in a certain garden), he undertook to flee.

Appendix II

(Inscriptions – photos available on the site www.edr-edr.it)

- Columbaria between the Via Appia Antica and the Via Latina: *CIL* VI, 4337-4345; 4437; 4716 (slabs: Tiberius-Caligula)

- Burial ground on the Via Aurelia Antica, at the corner of the Via delle Fornaci, outside the Porta San Pancrazio (excavations began in the XVII c.-half XIX c.): *CIL* VI, 8802-8809; 37554-37554a; *AE* 1968, 32 (steles: Claudius-Nero).

- Burial ground on the Via Portuense, 2 km from Porta Portese, in the former factory area Purfina, excavations 1947: *CIL* VI, 8811 (funeral altar?: Claudius/Nero); *AE* 1923, 73 (columbarium slab: Tiberius/Caligula); 1952, 145-149; 1983, 58 (steles: Nero).

Non-funerary inscriptions:

1. *CIL* VI, 4305 (p. 3850) (*ILS* 1732) = EDR138956 (from a columbarium, via Appia; Louvre; slab; 27,5 x 72,2 x 3; lett. 2,5-2):

Ti(berius) Claudius diui Claudi lib(ertus) Actius / honoratus, curator Germanorum / et aeditu(u)s Dianae Cornificianae) collegio magno / trib(unorum?) diuae Augustae tric(hi)lam cum columnis / et mensis et maceria s(ua) p(ecunia) d(onum) d(edit).

2. *CIL* VI, 20216 (p. 3524) = 34128a = EDR137183 (unknown origin, lost):

Hono[rati]: / M(arcus) Iulius Aug(ustae) l(ibertus) Posides, [---], / M(arcus) Iulius Aug(ustae) l(ibertus) Neber, [---], / Ti(berius) Claud(ius) Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Actius cur(ator) Ge[rmanorum], / Aratus Bithi (seruus) frat[er ---], / C(aius) Iulius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Bathyllus, [---], / M(arcus) Livius Bithus [---].

Epitaphs:

VIA APPIA/LATINA

3. *CIL* VI, 4337 cfr. p. 3416, 3850 (EDR106111; lost): **Bassus** / Germanus / Germanician(us) / Drusi Caesaris nat(ione) / Vbius ; u(ixit) a(nnos) XXX.

4. *CIL* VI, 4338 cfr. p. 3416 (EDR106113; lost): **Bassus** Tiberi / Germanici Germanus.

5. *CIL* VI, 4339 cfr. p. 3416 (EDR106114; lost): **Macro** / Germaniciano / Ti(beri) Caesaris / Germano / natione Vbius.

6. *CIL* VI, 4340 cfr. p. 3416 (EDR106164; lost): **Macer** / *Ti(beri) Germanici / Germanus / corpore custos ; / u(ixit) a(nnos) XXX.*
7. *CIL* VI, 4341 cfr. p. 3416, 3850 (*ILS* 1717; EDR106165; lost): **Valens** *Germanus / Germanicianus / Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti / nation(e) Batauus; u(ixit) a(nnos) XXXV.*
8. *CIL* VI, 4342 cfr. p. 3850 (*ILS* 1720; EDR106166; lost): **Bassus** *Neronis / Caesaris corpore / custos natione Frisius; / uix(it) a(nnos) XL.*
9. *CIL* VI, 4343 cfr. p. 3416, 3850 (*ILS* 1721; EDR106168; lost): **Hilarus** *Neronis / Caesaris corpore / custos natione Frisiaeo; / uix(it) a(nnos) XXXIII.*
10. *CIL* VI, 4344 cfr. p. 3416, 3850 (*ILS* 1722 = EDR106169; lost): **Nereus** *nat(ione) German(us) / Peucennus Germanici/anus Neronis Caesaris; / uixit annis XXVII.*
11. *CIL* VI, 4345 cfr. p. 3416, 3850 (*ILS* 1723; EDR106172; Vatican Museums; 16 x 22): **Proculus** / *decurio / Germanorum / Ti(beri) Germanici.*
12. *CIL* VI, 4437 cfr. p. 3416 (EDR120321; “vigna Codini”; preserved inside a columbarium; 12,5 x 27): **Sinnio** *Caesar(is) / corpore custos / Drusianus.*
13. *CIL* VI, 4716 (EDR120407; “vigna Codini”; preserved inside a columbarium; 9 x 12): « **Fuscus** *T »[i(beri) Caesaris?] / German[icianus? uel -us] / corpor(e) c[ustos].*
rr. 1-2 : *T[i.] / German[ici], CIL.*

VIA AURELIA (Necropolis of Villa Doria Pamphili):

14. *CIL* VI, 8802 cfr. p. 3463, 3891 (*ILS* 1729; EDR168841; lost): **Alcimachus** / *Neronis Claud(i) / Caisar(is) Aug(usti) Ger(manici) / corpor(is) cust(os) / dec(uria) Albani / nat(ione) Bata(u)us; / uix(it) ann(os) XXXV; / h(ic) s(itus) e(st); posuit / Batauus dec(uria) Montani / her(es) eius ex coll(egio) Ger(manorum).*
15. *CIL* VI, 8803 cfr. p. 3463, 3891 (*ILS* 1730; EDR168842; lost): **Ti(berius) Claudius I Chloreus** / *Neronis Claud(i) / Caesaris Aug(usti) / corporis custos / dec(uria) Spiculi, / natione Bata(u)us; / uix(it) ann(os) XL; h(ic) s(itus) e(st); posuerunt / Ti(berius) Claudius Diadumenus et / Censor dec(uria) Spiculi / heredes eius ex / collegio Germanorum.*
16. *CIL* VI, 8804 (EDR168843; lost): **Linus** / *Ti(beri) Claud(i) / Caesaris Aug(usti) / corporis custos / dec(uria) Epagati / natione Batauus; / uix(it) ann(os) XX[---]; h(ic) s(itus) e(st); / posuit / Macer heres / eius ex collegio / Germanorum.*

17. *CIL* VI, 8805 (EDR168844; lost): ----- / *dec(uria) [---]* / *nation(e) V[bius]; / uixit ann(os) XXV; h(ic) s(itus) e(st); / posuit **Marsus** / dec(uria) Cotini / heres ex / collegio Germanorum.*
18. *CIL* VI, 8806 cfr. p. 3891 (*ILS* 1727; EDR168845; lost): **Nobilis** / *miles Impera(toris) / Neronis Aug(usti) / corp(or)is cust(os) / dec(uria) Rabuti / nat(ione) Bata(u)us; / milit(auit) an(nos) II; / uix(it) an(nos) XX; h(ic) s(itus) e(st); / posuit **Baebius** / d(ecuria) Rabuti heres.*
19. *CIL* VI, 8807 cfr. p. 3891 (*ILS* 1725; EDR168846; lost): **Paetinus** / *Ti(beri) Claud(i) / Caisar(is) Aug(usti) / corp(or)is cust(os) / dec(uria) Pacati / nat(ione) Bata(u)us; / uix(it) ann(os) XX; / h(ic) s(itus) e(st); / pos(uit) **Virus** dec(uria) Pacati / h(eres) eius ex col(legio) Germa[norum].*
20. *CIL* VI, 8808 cfr. p. 3891 (*ILS* 1728; EDR168852; necropolis of Villa Doria Pamphili; preserved in the same place; stele; ca. 160 x 62 x 6,5; lett. 6,5-3,5): **Phoebus** / *Neronis Claud(i) / Caesaris Aug(usti) / corp(or)is cust(os) / dec(uria) Rabuti / nat(ione) Baetesius; / mil(ita)uit an(nos) VIII; uix(it) an(nos) XXV; / h(ic) s(it) e(st); posuit **Gnostus** / dec(uria) eadem heres eius / ex colleg(io) German(or)um.*
21. *CIL* VI, 8809 cfr. p. 3891 (*ILS* 1726; EDR168853; lost): **Postumus** / *Ti(beri) Claudi / Caisar(is) Aug(usti) / corpor(is) cust(os) / dec(uria) Synerotis / nat(ione) Vbius; / uix(it) an(nos) XXV; / h(ic) s(itus) e(st); / pos(uit) **Capito** dec(uria) / Synerotis her(es) eius / ex col(legio) Germ(anorum).*
22. *CIL* VI, 37754 (EDR072289; lost; 55 x 60 x 20): **Silua** / *Neron(is) Claudi / Caesaris Aug(usti) / [corpor(is) cu]stos / [---].*
23. *CIL* VI, 37754a (EDR168854; lost; 33 x 20 x 3): **[S]abin[us]** / *[T]i(beri) Clau[di] / Caisari[s Aug(usti)] / Germa[nici] / -----.*
24. *AE* 1968, 32 (EDR074734; walled up at the entrance of the burial ground of Callisto, between the Via del Casale di San Pio V and the Via Aurelia Antica; stele; 115 x 43 x 13; lett. 4,2-3): **Saturni[nus]** / *Ti(beri) Clau(di) / Caesaris [Aug(usti)] / German[ici] / corporis [custos] / dec(uria) La[eti] / natione Ba[tauus?]; / uixit ann[os] ---]; / h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)]; / posuit **La[etus]** / curator ex [coll(egio)] / Germanor[um].*

VIA PORTUENSE:

25. *CIL* VI, 8811 cfr. p. 3463, 3891 (*ILS* 1731; EDR168855; funeral altar?, lost): **Ti(berio) Claudio I Aug(usti) lib(erto) Ducto** / *dec(urio) / Germanorum; / uix(it) an(nos) XXX; posuit Luria / Paezusa coniugi suo et sibi.*
26. *AE* 1923, 73 (EDR072905; MNR, Baths of Diocletian, room VIII; slab; 12 x 23 x 2,5; lett. 2-1,5): **Romano Iuliano** / *corpore custos / Caesaris / Fausta Iulia / fecet.*

27. AE 1952, 145 (EDR073884; MNR, Baths of Diocletian, Garden of the 500; stele; 200 x 72 x 22,5; lett. 7,5-3): **Fannius** / Neron(is) Claud(i) / Caesaris Aug(usti) / corpori(s) custos / dec(uria) Cotini / nation(e) Vbius; / uixit ann(os) **XIIX**; h(ic) s(itus) e(st); / posuit **Corinthus** / dec(uria) eadem heres eius / ex colleg(io) German(orum).

28. AE 1952, 146 (EDR073885; MNR, Baths of Diocletian, Garden of the 500; stele; 185 x 69,5 x 21; lett. 7,5-3): **Ter[tius?]** / Ner(onis) Claud(i) Ca(esaris) / Aug(usti) corp(or)is cust(os) / dec(uria) Prudentis / nat(ione) Batau(us); / uix(it) ann(os) **XXXVII**; / h(ic) s(itus) e(st); posuerunt / **Sollemnis** optio / et **Reginus** dec(uria) Prudentis / heredes eius ex collegio / Germanorum.

29. AE 1952, 147 (EDR073886; MNR, Baths of Diocletian, Garden of the 500; stele; 220 x 74 x 27; let. 8-3): **Gamo** / Ner(onis) Claud(i) Caes(aris) / Aug(usti) corp(or)is cust(os) / dec(uria) Pacati / nat(ione) Batau(us); / uix(it) ann(os) **XXV**; / h(ic) s(itus) e(st); posuit / **Hospes** dec(uria) Pacati / frater et heres eius / ex collegio / Germanorum.

30. AE 1952, 148 (EDR073887; MNR, Baths of Diocletian, Garden of the 500; stele; 215 x 49 x 31; lett. 7-3): **Indus** / Neronis Claud(i) / Caesaris Aug(usti) / corpor(is) custos / dec(uria) Secundi / natione Batauus; / uix(it) ann(os) **XXXVI**; h(ic) s(itus) e(st); / posuit / **Eumenes** frater / et heres eius ex collegio / Germanorum.

31. AE 1952, 149 (EDR073888; MNR, Baths of Diocletian, Garden of the 500; stele; 145 x 90 x 20; lett. 6-3,5): [---]**inus** / [Ne]ronis Claud(i) / [C]aes(aris) corp(or)is cust(os) / dec(uria) Benigni / nat(ione) Batau(us); / uix(it) ann(os) **XXV**; h(ic) s(itus) e(st); / posuit **Calyx** dec(uria) Benigni / her(es) eius ex col(legio) Germ(anorum).

32. AE 1983, 58 (EDR000830; Mentana, F. Zeri collection; stele; 145 x 90 x 20; lett. 5,5-3,3): **Vetus** / Neronis Claud(i) / Caesar(is) Aug(usti) / corp(or)is cust(os) n[at(ione)] / Ba[tausus ---].
r. 4 cus(tos) n[at(ione)], Polverini.

UNKNOWN ORIGIN (Probably from a columbarium):

33. CIL VI, 8810 cfr. p. 3891 (ILS 1724; EDR123305; Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale – Villa Corsini a Castello; slab; 10,6 x 18,5 x 3,1; lett. 2,7-1): **Seuerus** / corpore custos / Ti(beri) Caesaris / Germanician[us ?] / natione Sui[bus ?]; / u(ixit) a(nnos) [---].
r. 4 : Germanici Au[g(usti)], CIL.

34. CIL VI, 8812 (EDR168856; Vatican Museums; slab; 13 x 12 x 4): [---]**jore**[---] / [Neroni]s Caesa[ris] / [corpore?] custos hic sit[us est]; / [---]ma coniux p[osuit].
r. 2 : [---]s Caesa[ris], CIL.

Appendix III

(Onomastics of the *custodes*, including heirs, *decuriones* and *curatores*)

Tria nomina:

1. Ti. Claudius diui Claudii lib. Actius: curator Germanorum and honoratus
2. Ti. Claudius Chloreus, Neronis corporis custos – 40 years old – Batauu
3. Ti. Claudius Diadumenus, heir of Ti. Claudius Chloreus, the same decuria, ex collegio Germanorum
4. Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Ductus, decurio Germanorum – 30 years old – buried by Luria Paezusa

Single names:

5. Albanus, decurio of Alcimachus
6. Alcimachus, Neronis corporis custos – 35 years old – Batauu, ex collegio Germanorum
7. Baebius, imp. Neronis corporis custos, heir of Nobilis
8. Bassus Neronis Caesaris corporis custos – 40 years old – Frisius
9. Bassus Germanus Germanicianus Drusi Caesaris – 30 years old – Vbius
10. Bassus Ti. Germanici – Germanus
11. Batauu, decuria Montani, heir of Alcimachus, ex collegio Germanorum
12. Benignus, decurio of [---]inus and of Calyx
13. Calyx, Neronis corporis custos, heir of [---]inus
14. Capito, Ti. Claudii Aug. corporis custos, heir of Postumus
15. Censor, heir of Ti. Claudius Chloreus, the same decuria, ex collegio Germanorum
16. Corinthus, decuria Cotini, heir of Fannius
17. Cotinus, decurio of Fannius, Corinthus and Marsus
18. Eumenes, heir of Indus (and frater)
19. Fannius, Neronis corporis custos – 18 years old – Vbius, ex collegio Germanorum
20. Fuscus, Ti. Germanici corporis custos – Germanus
21. Gamo, Neronis corporis custos – 25 years old – Batauu, ex collegio Germanorum
22. Gnostus, Neronis corporis custos, heir of Phoebus
23. Hilarus, Neronis Caesaris corporis custos – 33 years old – Frisaeus
24. Hospes, decuria Pacati, heir of Gamo (and frater)
25. Indus, Neronis corporis custos – 36 years old –, ex collegio Germanorum
26. La[etus], decurio of Saturninus and curator ex collegio Germanorum
27. Linus, Ti. Claudii Aug. corporis custos – Batauu, ex collegio Germanorum
28. Macer Germanicianus Ti. Caesaris Germanus – Vbius
29. Macer, heir of Linus
30. Macer, Ti. Germanici corporis custos – 30 years old – Germanus
31. Marsus, Neronis corporis custos, heir of?

32. Montanus, decurio di Batauus
33. Nereus Germanicianus Neronis Caesaris – 27 years old – Germanus, Peucennus
34. Nobilis, miles, imp. Neronis corporis custos – 20 years old – militauit annos 2 – Batauus
35. Pacatus, decurio of Gamo, Hospes, Paetinus and Virus; perhaps = Epagatus, decurio of Linus
36. Paetinus, Ti. Claudi Aug. corporis custos – 20 years old – Batauus, ex collegio Germanorum
37. Phoebus, Neronis corporis custos – 25 years old – militauit annos 8 – Baetesius, ex collegio Germanorum
38. Postumus, Ti. Claudi Aug. corporis custos – 25 years old – Vbius, ex collegio Germanorum
39. Proculus, decurio Germanorum Ti. Germanici
40. Prudens, decurio of Ter[tius?] and of Reginus
41. Rabutius, decurio of Nobilis, Baebius, Phoebus and Gnostus
42. Reginus, Neronis corporis custos, heir of Ter[tius?]
43. Romanus Iulianus, Caesaris corporis custos – buried by Fausta Iulia
44. Sabinus, Ti. Claudi Germanici corporis custos
45. Saturninus, Ti. Claudi Aug. corporis custos – Batauus, ex collegio Germanorum
46. Secundus, decurio di Indus
47. Seuerus, Ti. Claudi corporis custos – Suibus (?)
48. Silua, Neronis corporis custos
49. Sinnio, Caesaris corporis custos, Drusianus
50. Sollemnis, optio, heir of Ter[---]
51. Spiculus, decurio of Ti. Claudius Chloreus, Ti. Claudius Diadumenus and Censor
52. Syneros, decurio of Postumus and Capito
53. Ter[tius?], Neronis corporis custos – 37 years old –, Batauus, ex collegio Germanorum
54. Valens, Germanus Germanicianus Ti. Caesaris Augusti – 35 years old – Batauus
55. Vetus, Neronis corporis custos – Batauus
56. Virus, Ti. Claudi Aug. corporis custos, heir of Paetinus
57. [---]inus, Neronis corporis custos – 25 years old – Batauus, ex collegio Germanorum
58. [---]ore[---], Neronis Caesaris corporis custos – buried by his spouse
59. [---] Neronis corporis custos – 25 years old – Vbius, ex collegio Germanorum

Appendix IV
(Places of origin of the inscriptions)

Vie Appia/Latina:

Edition	Type of monument	Origin	Dating
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4337	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Tiberius (before 30)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4338	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Claudius (before 41)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4339	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Claudius (before 41)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4340	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Claudius (before 41)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4341	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Tiberius
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4342	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Tiberius (before 30)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4343	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Tiberius (before 30)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4344	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Tiberius (before 30)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4345	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Claudius (before 41)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4437	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Tiberius (before 30)
<i>CIL</i> VI, 4716	columbarium slab	Via Appia/Latina	Claudius (before 41)

Via Aurelia:

Edition	Type of monument	Origin	Dating
<i>AE</i> 1968, 32	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Claudius
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8802	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Nero
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8803	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Nero
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8804	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Claudius
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8805	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	?
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8806	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Nero
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8807	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Claudius
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8808	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Nero
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8809	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Claudius
<i>CIL</i> VI, 37754	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Nero
<i>CIL</i> VI, 37754a	travertine stele	Via Aurelia antica	Nero

Via Portuense:

Edition	Type of monument	Origin	Dating
<i>AE</i> 1923, 73	columbarium slab	Via Portuense	Tiberius?
<i>AE</i> 1952, 145	travertine stele	Via Portuense	Nero
<i>AE</i> 1952, 146	travertine stele	Via Portuense	Nero
<i>AE</i> 1952, 147	travertine stele	Via Portuense	Nero

<i>AE</i> 1952, 148	travertine stele	Via Portuense	Nero
<i>AE</i> 1952, 149	travertine stele	Via Portuense	Nero
<i>AE</i> 1983, 58	travertine stele	Via Portuense	Nero
<i>CIL</i> VI, 8811	urn	Via Portuense	Nero?

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Corps du chef et gardes du corps dans l'armée romaine

Le septième congrès international de Lyon sur l'armée romaine, tenu en octobre 2018, a mis à l'honneur la question du corps du chef et des gardes du corps dans l'armée romaine, depuis la Royauté jusqu'à l'Antiquité tardive. La figure du garde du corps et l'existence de « troupes de garde » semblent familières aux historiens, qui ont produit à leur sujet des études devenues des « classiques » de l'historiographie de l'armée romaine (ainsi les livres de M. Durry et A. Passerini sur les cohortes prétoriennes, ou ceux de M. P. Speidel sur les *equites singulares Augusti*). Les prétoriens, par exemple, comptent parmi les soldats les plus emblématiques de l'armée romaine et sont volontiers considérés comme les membres d'une « garde prétorienne » dont l'existence irait de soi. Pourtant, les textes antiques n'emploient jamais ce terme et la nature de cette unité militaire est bien plus complexe et diverse. C'est dire combien les missions, la composition et l'identité même des « troupes de garde » méritaient un réexamen. À cette fin, on trouvera dans ce livre des bilans et des synthèses actualisés, qui intègrent les dernières découvertes et interprétations des sources, tout en proposant de nouvelles perspectives de recherche sur les soldats et les unités dites « de garde ». Parmi ces nouveaux champs d'investigation, ouverts aux développements de l'historiographie contemporaine, figure l'attention portée aux corps mêmes, longtemps délaissés au profit des unités : le corps du chef dont il faut préserver l'intégrité, et celui du soldat censé le protéger.

Ont contribué à ce volume :

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