

**LEGIO XX VALERIA VICTRIX
A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY**

Stephen James Malone, BSc.

**Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

August 2005

Volume 2



III.1

The Early History of Legio XX (31 BC-AD 43)

The legions of Republican times were on the whole short-lived, raised for specific campaigns and disbanded wholesale when no longer required. Legions were numbered according to the order of their creation in any given year and, even if held over into a second season of campaigning, might be subject to reordering and renumbering whilst in winter quarters¹. There was thus little continuity from campaign to campaign, and legions with the same number existed at different times without necessarily being connected. The vast increase in the number of men under arms during the civil wars of 49-31 BC means that there was certainly a Twentieth Legion in existence in this period – at times probably more than one, fighting on opposing sides – and although it was out of the legions of these wars that Octavian fashioned his standing army, questions of continuity and identity still remain over the origins of the legion that was to become *legio XX Valeria Victrix*.

Republican formations

At the height of the Second Punic War (218-201 BC) the forces of Rome had exceeded 20 legions, but it was not until the first century BC that they regularly surpassed that number². Whether numeration was always continuous, or whether duplications were allowed between the forces of different commanders in different theatres of war, is uncertain. As Brunt points out³, there were certainly more than 10 legions already in existence when Caesar formed his legions XI-XV in the 50s BC, so that even when twenty or more legions were in the field, there need not have been a *legio XX*. However, numbers as high as XVIII are recorded as early as 56-54 BC⁴, and the dispositions of 53 BC, with Pompey's six legions in Spain, Julius Caesar campaigning in Gaul with ten and Crassus engaging the Parthians (albeit unsuccessfully) with eight, might allow the existence of a *legio XX*, perhaps in the east, at this time⁵. However, even had a legion with that number existed at this date, it

¹ Parker 1928, 42-3; Keppie 1984, 55-6.

² Brunt 1971, 418 table X; 449 and table XIV.

³ Brunt 1971, 448.

⁴ *ILLRP* 502 from Athens, a centurion serving under P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinter in Cilicia.

⁵ The lower numbered legions appear mostly to be found in the west and an intentional west-east numeration is sometimes adduced: Keppie 1984, 78 quoting Domaszewski 1894, 158.

would probably have been among the forces defeated at Carrhae and, if not destroyed, would in all likelihood have been disbanded soon after.

In 49 BC when Caesar invaded Italy, he rapidly built up his forces to something over 30 legions, numbered in unbroken sequence from I to about XXXIII⁶. This Caesarian *legio XX* presumably remained in existence up to the battle of Philippi (42 BC) and the defeat of Brutus and Cassius by the forces of Antony and Octavian. After this battle the majority of the legions which had been in service under Caesar were dissolved and in the following years Octavian appears to have begun the formation of a new numerical sequence which would ultimately form the basis of his Imperial Army⁷. This sequence in all probability encompassed a *legio XX*, although this need not have contained any part of Caesar's original. Certainly by 31 BC, Octavian's forces approached 28 legions⁸. Antony faced him at Actium with nineteen, four others remaining in Cyrenaica. All twenty-three are recorded on his legionary coin issue⁹, so we can be no more certain of the whereabouts of Antony's Twentieth Legion than we can of Octavian's, but it is possible that a *legio XX* was present at Actium on one side if not both.

Veterans of a *legio XX Siciliana* settled at Beneventum in southern Italy¹⁰ perhaps provide confirmation of the early existence of the legion. This unit might be an entirely separate entity raised in Sicily at some point during the civil wars¹¹ but it is perhaps more likely that the epithet reflects service in Sicily,

⁶ Brunt 1971, 474-475; Keppie 1983, 23; 1984, 199-200.

⁷ Keppie 1983, 26 after Schmitthenner 1958 and see further below.

⁸ Brunt 1971, 501: 16 at Actium, perhaps 12 more in Gaul, Spain, Illyricum, Italy and Cyrenaica.

⁹ Grueber 1910 vol. II, 526-30. Coins of *legio XX*: 529 no. 215. The numbers in fact go higher than 23, but some may not be genuine.

¹⁰ C. Marius, AE 1988.396 = 7.59; perhaps also A. Silanus, CIL IX 1625. Veterans of legions *VI* and *XXX* were settled here in 41 BC (Keppie 1983, 155), but we have nothing to clearly date settlement of veterans of the Twentieth (Keppie 2000a, 250-1 suggests a number of possible contexts from 41 through to 14 BC). The nomenclature of T. Flavius Titullus, IX 1608 = 7.33, also at Beneventum, might suggest a later period in his case at least, but Keppie 1983, 160 and n. 459 suggests an early date might be allowed.

¹¹ cf. *II Sabina* (X 4876) from the Sabine country; *III Sorana* (X 5713), formed at the town of Sora in Latium; Keppie 1984, 203. A. Silanus (above, n. 10) was *signifer* in a legion whose name is not

probably during the campaign of Octavian against Sextus Pompeius in 36 BC¹². Legionary titles recorded in this period were not always official and might only reflect the whim of the individual who set up the inscription and wished to commemorate a particular campaign or battle¹³. This action is also commemorated in the title of *legio X Fretensis*, named after the *Fretum Sicilum*, the Straits of Messina¹⁴, for service perhaps in the sea battles that were the key to the campaign. An earlier attempt in 38 BC with legions drawn from Gaul and Illyricum had failed because Octavian had been unable to force the crossing. In 36 BC a three-pronged assault was launched and although Sextus continued to have the better of naval engagements, once the legions had a foothold he was unable to hold out. In addition to its nautical emblems, *X Fretensis* shares the Boar symbol of the Twentieth, but the significance of this, if any, is not clear¹⁵.

The career of C. Baebius (3.3) also attests to the existence of a *legio XX* in the years before Actium, for he had been tribune of that legion before his appointment as *praefectus orae maritimae* in 31 BC, charged with authority over the coast of *Hispania Citerior*¹⁶. It cannot, however, be taken as proof of the legion's presence in Spain prior to 31 BC¹⁷ for there is no reason to suppose that the posts were held simultaneously rather than in succession. A tribune who had served in the province might perhaps be seen as better qualified for this prefecture, but it is not a necessary conclusion¹⁸.

After Actium there were again large numbers of men to be discharged. Octavian appears to have kept 26-28 legions under arms, for *legio XXII* was in existence by 25 BC, if not earlier¹⁹, and together with the 6 of Antony's legions that kept their identities and were incorporated into Octavian's army we reach the

evident on his epitaph. If the designation SICIL thereon were read as his *origo*, it might support this interpretation.

¹² cf. the Imperial legions *Gallica, Germanica, Hispana, Macedonica, Scythica* etc.: Ritterling 1925, 1386; Keppie 1984, 142-3.

¹³ Keppie 1983, 29; cf. *VIII Mutinensis* named from the battle of Mutina. See also Appendix 1 below.

¹⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1671; Dąbrowa 1993, 11.

¹⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1671; Barag 1967, 245-7; see Appendix 2 below.

¹⁶ XI 623: ...TR MIL LEG XXX... is also possible, but the Caesarian *legio XXX* had been disbanded in 41 BC and it does not seem that Octavian's forces reached such a number: Keppie 1983, 26-28.

¹⁷ *contra* Ritterling 1925, 1769; Bollini 1975, 339-46.

¹⁸ Le Roux 1984, 59 n. 197, but preferring the reading LEG XXX.

¹⁹ Ritterling 1925, 1791; Parker 1928, 89. Perhaps formed in 31BC: Keppie 1983, 28.

total of 28 known to exist in AD 9²⁰. A sequence of legions numbered from I-XXII with duplicates from among Antony's legions²¹ can be envisaged. Some continuity can perhaps be allowed. Wholesale restructuring would have allowed the creation of an orderly numerical sequence at this stage. The survival of duplicated numbering must indicate that some legions on both sides retained their identities. This indeed is the root of the suggestion that Octavian's new sequence may have been begun as early as 41 BC, for if an orderly sequence were to be created in 31 BC, then the Antonian legions need only have been slotted into their place, and if there were no continuity of Octavian's legions, there would be no reason to retain a duplicated number. Although the evidence is scant, it is possible therefore to suggest that a Twentieth Legion formed sometime before 36 BC, and seeing service in Sicily and perhaps at Actium, was retained as part of Octavian's army after 31 BC to become the *legio XX* of the principate.

A number of veterans of the Twentieth Legion are attested in Italy in the latter years of the first century BC²². Most probably belong to the Augustan *legio XX*, though the dating is rarely precise, and some may nevertheless have served with earlier civil-war units. The large scale settlement of veterans in Italy undertaken by Augustus, and recorded in his *Res Gestae*, ought to have involved the Twentieth Legion if it had indeed been in existence for as long as is suggested here. A pair of inscriptions from Atina²³ presumably records just such settlement for they seem to represent a joint dedication by the legion and the people of the town to the senator P. Tettius Rufus Tontianus who perhaps supervised the process as part of the general settlement of 14 BC²⁴. If so, the discharged veterans had probably enlisted in the immediate aftermath of Actium and served about 16 years by this time, but *where* they had served those 16 years remains uncertain.

²⁰ 25 remained after the Varian disaster and are enumerated by Tacitus *Ann.* 4.5 in the reign of Tiberius.

²¹ Legions *III Gallica*, *V Alaudae*, *VI Ferrata*, *X Equestris*, *III Scythica*, perhaps *XII Antiqua*: Keppie 1984, 134.

²² At Vallechia 7.29, Beneventum 7.33, 'Trumplia' 7.62, Patavium 7.74, Aquileia 7.89, 7.93 and Trieste 7.92; an Augustan context seems likely for most of these, see Tables 1 and 3.

²³ CIL X 5059, 5060.

²⁴ Keppie 1983, 85.

Table III.1: The Republican legion(s)

		<i>origo</i>	Rank	<i>legio</i>	Findspot
7.59	C. Marius		(<i>veteranus</i>)	<i>legio XX Sici(liana)</i>	Beneventum
IX 1625	A. Silanus?	Sicil?	<i>signifer</i>		Beneventum
7.33	T. Flavius Titullus?		(<i>veteranus</i>)	<i>legio XX</i>	Beneventum
3.3	C. Baebius		<i>tribunus militum</i>	<i>legio XX</i>	Forum Livi

Spain and the northern frontiers

If the stone of C. Baebius does not help us place *legio XX* in the years before Actium, three early inscriptions from Spain do seem to point to service there, perhaps during the wars of 26-19 BC²⁵. Their significance has been disputed, supposing these epitaphs merely to be those of Spanish recruits returning to Spain²⁶, but they are early in style, and the presence of at least one man of Italian origin would rather suggest settlement of veterans. C. Axonius (7.15)²⁷ came from Firmum Picenum in Italy and his settlement near to Emerita would seem to demand the presence of the Twentieth Legion in that province. The inclusion of his brother Quintus as an object of the dedication would suggest that both had been serving with legions in Spain, and perhaps both with the Twentieth. The tombstone of L. Hermelius (7.41) also seems best ascribed to this period²⁸ and he might be another soldier serving with the Twentieth in Spain and settled in the territory of Emerita (like Axonius, adopting the tribe of that *colonia*). The third inscription²⁹ is partial, but likewise appears to be that of a veteran of the Twentieth Legion, enrolled in the Papirian voting-tribe, and settled near to Emerita (itself a source of later recruitment to the legion in Britain³⁰). Some uncertainties remain. The founding of the *colonia Emerita Augusta* in 25 BC is recorded

²⁵ Augustus' army has generally been thought to comprise legions *I, II Augusta, IV Macedonica, V Alaudae, VI Victrix, IX Hispana* and *X Gemina*: Syme 1933, 22-3; 1970, 104; Jones 1976, 48-52. Roldan Hervas 1974, 208 and Le Roux 1984, 60 accept the probable involvement of *legio XX*.

²⁶ Yébenes 2000, 581-6.

²⁷ II 22*: Le Roux 1982, 59, accepting Ritterling's arguments (1925, 1769) as to the authenticity of the stone. Ritterling dated the stone at the latest to immediately after Actium.

²⁸ Le Roux 1982, 60.

²⁹ II 719 = 7.110.

³⁰ *RIB* 492 = 7.16, *RIB* 501 = 7.55, *RIB* 502 = 7.69 below.

by Dio³¹, but it is the Fifth and the Tenth legions that are commemorated as the founding units on coinage struck there³². However, these coins do not appear until AD 2³³ and it has been argued that they commemorate a later phase of settlement, that there were indeed three settlements at Emerita: an initial foundation by Julius Caesar; a second settlement in 25 BC, including veterans of *legio XX*, at the close of Augustus' campaigns; and a third settlement, of veterans of *V Alaudae* and *X Gemina*, in 19 BC when Agrippa brought the Spanish wars to their conclusion³⁴. One further hint can be seen in the later tombstones of two veterans of the Twentieth Legion at Aquileia³⁵, for their use of the term *aera* for *stipendia* in detailing length of service can be seen as an indication of a connection with Spain³⁶.

Table III.2: *Legio XX* in Spain

		Rank	<i>origo</i>	<i>tribus</i>	Findspot
7.15	C. Axonius (Q. Axonius)	(<i>veteranus</i>)	Firmum Picenum	Papiria	Elvas
7.41	L. Hermelius	<i>veteranus</i>		Papiria	Turgalium
7.110	...	(<i>veteranus?</i>)		Papiria	Caceres

If the legion had indeed been in Spain from an early date and taken part in Augustus' campaigns of 26-25 BC, the date of its withdrawal remains unknown. It is possible that it was removed elsewhere after the successful outcome of Augustus' *Bellum Cantabricum*, especially if large numbers of the most

³¹ Dio 53.26.

³² Le Roux 1982, 60; Canto 1990, 291.

³³ Canto 1990, 292; Burnett *et al.* 1992, 70-1.

³⁴ Canto 1990, 290-2: Dio's usage is *κτίζω*, 'found' – rather than *ἀποικίζω*, 'colonize' as for example at 54.23 – more in the sense of 'construct' than found *ex novo*. The coinage of P. Carisius, Augustus' legate in 25BC, does not name the legions and omits the title *Augusta*: Grueber 1910, II 374-7. Ritterling 1925, 1770 proposed a phase of settlement by *legio XX* earlier than 25BC. Wiegels 1974, 272 and n. 58 allowed that veterans of all three legions could be involved in 25BC. Roldan Hervas 1974, 208 suggests settlement of veterans at Norba to the north.

³⁵ See below 323 and n. 39.

³⁶ Ritterling 1925, 1770; Le Bohec 1994, 12. Roldan Hervas 1974, 208 argued that this was merely an indicator of early date, but some connection seems evident in its continued use by soldiers of *legio X Gemina* (largely not themselves of Spanish origin) on transfer from Spain to Carnuntum c. AD 63-68.

experienced men had been discharged at this time. However, the situation was far from settled and the legion may have remained until the final pacification of Spain in 19 BC, being then among the forces transferred to the northern frontiers for the Alpine campaigns of 16-15 BC, and the Pannonian wars of 13-9 BC under Tiberius³⁷. If the activities of Rufus Tontianus at Atina can be placed in 14 BC as part of the general settlement of veterans in that year, then the legion might be supposed to have been in or near Italy by that time³⁸.

Aquileia, on the Italian side of the Julian Alps, appears to have served as a winter base for the legions operating on the north-eastern frontiers of Italy³⁹ and the tombstones of two serving soldiers of the Twentieth have been found there⁴⁰. Another at Trieste⁴¹ also attests to its early presence in this quarter as does that of L. Plinius (7.68), found as far east as Reselec on the river Oescus in Moesia⁴². From AD 6 until its removal to the Rhine, as we shall see, the activities of the legion would not seem to allow its presence so far east and an earlier context has been argued, perhaps in the activities of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus against the Dacians and Sarmatians between 6 BC and AD 4⁴³. The precise dating and even the nature of his command remain unclear, but Lentulus may have been legate of Illyricum and the Twentieth then, as later, part of the armies of that *provincia*. The commemoration of a serving soldier in this way would certainly suggest that the legion was present, based perhaps at Oescus on the site later to be occupied by the fortress of *legio V Macedonica*⁴⁴. The *origo* and length of service of L. Plinius suggest a closer dating for these events, for he was from the tribe of *Trumplini* in the territory of Brixia, annexed to Rome only in 15 BC. His length of service, 17 years, would therefore place him at the earliest c. AD 2

³⁷ Syme 1934b, 347-55.

³⁸ Rather than in Spain or Gaul, for example, where Augustus was also settling veterans at this time: Keppie 1983, 83-5.

³⁹ Syme 1933, 23 n. 62; Wilkes 1969, 109. Chilver 1941, 12 disputed this possibility, but his contention that only detachments were present does not rule out the possibility of a military base of some significance.

⁴⁰ L. Valerius, V 939 = 7.89; Q. Vetuleius, V 948 = 7.93.

⁴¹ C. Velitius, *AE* 1977.314 = 7.92.

⁴² His compatriot C. Mestrius, V 4923 = 7.62 *infra* may be a contemporary. Recent excavations have identified the earlier military phases at Oescus itself but do not suggest a date prior to the first century AD: Kabakcieva 1996; 2000.

⁴³ Syme 1934a, 134-7.

⁴⁴ Kabakcieva 2000, 19.

even had he been enrolled immediately after the conquest of the Alps⁴⁵. The length of service of C. Velitius (7.92) at Trieste also bears consideration, for his 24 years must have been completed before AD 6⁴⁶, his enlistment therefore falling in or before 19 BC, and perhaps coinciding with a putative return of the legion from Spain at that time.

Legio XX in Illyricum

The Twentieth Legion was certainly serving in Illyricum by AD 6 for it is here that it enters the historical record, under the command of the governor Valerius Messallinus at the outbreak of the Pannonian revolt⁴⁷. As has been seen, it had probably been part of the army of that province for some time, perhaps from as early as 13 BC. In AD 6 it was among the forces moved forward to Carnuntum on the Danube for Tiberius' final assault on the Marcomanni in Bohemia. However, revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia caused the rapid curtailment of this campaign and Messalinus, sent ahead of the main army with part of the Twentieth Legion⁴⁸, engaged the rebel forces under Bato, the Dalmatian. Outnumbered and initially unsuccessful, Messalinus was able nonetheless to put the enemy to flight and was honoured with *ornamenta triumphalia*⁴⁹. The legion served throughout these campaigns, operating at first in the north out of Siscia, the winter quarters of Tiberius' legions and then in AD 9 in Dalmatia, under Tiberius and Germanicus, from the new fortress at Burnum. The presence of the legion here is confirmed by the tombstone of Salvius Frebranus Baculus (6.32) and it is probable that the Twentieth was responsible for the foundation of the fortress, which was perhaps intended as its new base⁵⁰. The veterans of the legion

⁴⁵ Syme 1934a, 136; Chilver 1941, 76-7. Syme *op. cit.* 137 suggests an alternative explanation for the presence of Plinius, for Gaius Caesar may have taken a legion from the Danube when he was sent east in 1 BC (Dio 55.10) leaving a gap to be filled from the legions of Illyricum.

⁴⁶ Normal discharge was suspended on the outbreak of the Pannonian revolt (Wilkes 1969, 111) and this was still one of the main grievances of the mutiny of AD 14.

⁴⁷ The narrative of events is to be found in Velleius 2.110-116 and Dio 55.29-34. The leaders of the revolt were Pinnes, one Bato, a Dalmatian, and another Bato, a Breucian.

⁴⁸ The adjective chosen by Velleius is *semiplena*, 'at half strength', used elsewhere (2.80) by him of Lepidus' newly formed, and presumably under strength, legions of 36 BC.

⁴⁹ Velleius 2.112; Dio 55.30. This celebrated action lies behind the suggested, but nowhere attested, name *XX Valeria* – see Appendix 1 below.

⁵⁰ Wilkes 1969, 75; Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger and Kandler 1979, 9.

settled at Iader and Salona in Dalmatia⁵¹ must have been discharged in the years before the outbreak of the revolt and suggest that the legion may have been stationed in Dalmatia for some time⁵².

The first two years of the war involved a struggle for control of the valley of the river Save, the vital land corridor between Italy and the eastern provinces. Caecina Severus and the army of Moesia had moved west to relieve Sirmium, Tiberius and his returning army controlled Siscia and the routes into Italy. Troops were levied in Italy to reinforce the army and Tiberius began to extend his control eastwards and southwards. Caecina, with the threat of Dacian and Sarmatian incursions in his own province, had been unable to move forward. With the arrival of reinforcements from the east, however, he could thrust north and west and by the end of AD 7 had linked up with Tiberius at Siscia. With the whole of the Save valley under his control, Tiberius was able to take the battle to the Pannonians and in the following year forced their capitulation. The Dalmatian Bato retreated into the mountainous terrain to the south and this became the focus of the final year of the campaign. Aemilius Lepidus had been given command of the army at Siscia and in AD 9 he marched south through hostile territory to join with Tiberius and Germanicus at Burnum. The Twentieth, which appears to have ended up at Burnum, was probably among his forces in this exploit for which he too was awarded *ornamenta triumphalia*⁵³. The fortresses of the Dalmatians were now reduced one by one and Bato finally submitted, bringing the war to a close.

It is probably in these wars that L. Antonius Quadratus (7.9), who may have been *signifer* of the legion, was twice decorated by Tiberius, receiving the *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae*⁵⁴. Later comments attributed to Germanicus also imply that the legion served with distinction under Tiberius at this time⁵⁵.

⁵¹ C. Allius, III 2911 = 7.5; T. Fuficius, III 2030 = 7.37.

⁵² Wilkes 1977, 245.

⁵³ Velleius 2.115. Characterised by Wilkes as a 'great march through Illyricum' by the Twentieth under Lepidus (1969, 97, 169).

⁵⁴ The legionary *signum* is depicted on his tombstone, as are the decorations. The *phalerae* are not mentioned in the inscribed text: Maxfield 1981, 53.

⁵⁵ Tacitus 1.42.6; see below note 64.



Fig. III.1.1 The early history of the Twentieth legion

Table III.3: *Legio XX in Italy and Illyricum*

		Rank	<i>origo</i>	<i>stip</i>	Findspot
7.89	L. Valerius	<i>miles</i>	Vercellae	9	Aquileia
7.93	Q. Vetuleius	<i>miles</i>		17	Aquileia
7.92	C. Velitius	<i>miles</i>	Bononia	24	Trieste
7.111	...	<i>veteranus</i>			Trieste
7.68	L. Plinius	<i>miles</i>	'Trumplia'	17	Reselec
7.62	C. Mestrius	<i>veteranus</i>	'Trumplia'		
7.63	P. Mestrius	<i>miles?</i>			Reselec
7.9	L. Antonius Quadratus	(<i>signifer</i>)	(Brixia)		Brixia
6.32	Salvius Frebranus Baculus	<i>hastatus prior</i>			Burnum
7.5	C. Allius	<i>veteranus</i>	Luca		Iader
7.37	T. Fuficius	<i>veteranus</i>			Salona
7.74	T. Saufeius	<i>veteranus</i>	(Patavium)		Patavium
7.29	L. Cornelius Macer	(<i>miles</i>)	(Vallechia)		Vallechia

Legio XX on the Rhine

If *legio XX* had been intended to occupy the fortress at Burnum as part of the garrison of Dalmatia, the loss of legions *XVII*, *XVIII* and *XLX* in the Teutoburger Wald in AD 9⁵⁶ necessitated a rapid transfer to the Rhine frontier, stationed first in a double legionary fortress at Cologne (*ara Ubiorum*) along with *legio I Germanica* and later at Neuss (*Novaesium*). Archaeological evidence for the presence of the legion at these bases is slight and we are dependant on a combination of the literary⁵⁷ and the epigraphic evidence

⁵⁶ At or near Kalkriese, NE of Osnabrück – the location, long obscure, has been confirmed in recent years by finds of coins and military equipment (Schlüter 1993, 1999).

⁵⁷ The narrative is given by Tacitus *Annals* 1-2: translations, Michael Grant (Dio 57.5.1-6.1 deals only with the events of AD 14 and adds little). Tacitus was drawing on earlier histories for his account, perhaps the lost *Bellum Germanicum* of Aufidius Bassus, or that of the elder Pliny (Syme 1958, 274-6), but he was writing a full century after the events he describes and although he is generally seen as reliable in his recounting of military history (Syme 1958, 378ff.; Wellesley 1969; Saddington 1991; Mellor 1993, 39), there are some confusions in his account of Germanicus' campaigns and much of the incidental detail may be invented (see notes 66-68 below).

for what little we know of dispositions in this period. The legion is placed at Cologne by Tacitus in AD 14⁵⁸. The early fortress has been presumed to lie beneath the later *colonia*⁵⁹ but continued excavation has failed to identify evidence of military occupation and the site at Cologne-Alteburg some 3km to the south, later the headquarters of the *classis Germanica*, now seems a better candidate⁶⁰. The earliest phases here date to the second decade of the first century, but the nature of the occupation remains unclear and the full extent and location of this fortress remains to be established⁶¹. The tombstones of C. Deccius (7.30) and L. Metilius (7.64) provide confirmation of the presence of the Twentieth.

The Twentieth was to spend 33 years on the Rhine frontier, a period encompassing the death of Augustus, campaigns deep into German territory under Germanicus, then the longueurs of Tiberius' reign and the brief flurry of activity under Gaius Caligula, before being called upon by Claudius to venture beyond the limits of the civilized world⁶². Initially there was much to be done to repair the damage of Varus' catastrophic defeat. The Twentieth, experienced and battle-hardened, may well have been at the forefront of Tiberius' and Germanicus' activities in AD 10-11. Punitive expeditions across the Rhine secured the frontier and reasserted Roman authority, fortresses were constructed, others enlarged or refurbished and the new armies of Upper and Lower Germany gradually established, each four legions strong. Once the immediate crisis was over, however, these vast forces were reduced to little more than guard duty, for Augustus would countenance no further expansion into Germany. Discontent grew. The crises of AD 6-9 had led to the retention of many due for discharge. Some had probably served throughout the Pannonian wars, the campaigns against the Marcomanni and the difficult suppression of the Pannonian revolt and now found themselves in garrison on the northern frontier with little sign of imminent discharge.

On the death of Augustus in AD 14 the legions of Germania Inferior – the First, Fifth, Twentieth and Twenty-First, now under the command of Aulus Caecina Severus – finally rose in mutiny, protesting

⁵⁸ Tacitus *Annals* 1.39.

⁵⁹ Wells 1972, 134-5; Filtzinger 1980, 72-74.

⁶⁰ Paffgen and Zanier 1995; Carroll 2001, 126.

⁶¹ Carroll-Spillecke 1999, 317; Hanel 1999, 311.

⁶² ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης Dio 60.19.

at their harsh treatment and low pay and demanding release for time-served veterans⁶³. The mutiny began among the Fifth and Twenty-First Legions but then spread to the Twentieth and the First who were encamped in the same summer quarters, perhaps at Neuss where Fortress C is conjectured to be of a sufficient size, although there is no clear evidence for its date⁶⁴. Germanicus attempted to reason with them, but they only redoubled their complaints, asking for the legacies left to the troops by Augustus and offering Germanicus the throne if he would lead them. Concessions were made, discharges arranged, donatives offered and eventually the legions were prevailed upon to return to their winter quarters, legions *XXI* and *V* to *Vetera* (Xanten) and legions *I* and *XX* to *Ara Ubiorum*. The situation remained unsettled. A senatorial delegation arriving at the Ubian capital raised fears that the concessions would be withdrawn and this prompted another outbreak. Germanicus was now moved to send away his wife and son (Gaius Caligula) to a place of safety. At this, Tacitus has the mutinous soldiers moved to repentance. In a long speech⁶⁵ Germanicus berates ‘the First Legion, you who received your standards from Tiberius, you, men of the Twentieth who have shared with him so many battles and have been enriched with so many rewards’. He finally prevails, the ringleaders are subject to summary justice by their own former comrades and good order is restored. The centurions of the legions, ‘the age-old targets of the soldiers’ ill-will and the first victims of their savage fury’, had borne the brunt of the men’s wrath. Germanicus now revised the centurial roll. ‘Each was summoned to state his name, rank, his birthplace, and the length of his service, to recount his exploits in battle, and award of decorations, if any. If the tribunes and the legion commended his energy and good behaviour, he retained his rank; where they unanimously charged him with rapacity or cruelty, he was dismissed’⁶⁶.

⁶³ Tacitus *Annals* 1.31-49.

⁶⁴ von Petrikovits 1961, 468-9; Rùger 1984, 25.

⁶⁵ Tacitus *Annals* 1.42-43. Earlier interpretations of this passage (Domaszewski 1893, 262; Furneaux 1896, 237; Hardy 1909, 38), in the face of grammatical sense, took this to indicate that the Twentieth Legion had been formed by (received its standards from) Tiberius. This was not the opinion of Ritterling (1925, 1771) and the argument is effectively countered by Parker (1928, 86-7).

The campaigns of Germanicus

In the aftermath of the mutiny Germanicus, perhaps viewing their continued idleness as the most serious threat, determined to occupy the legions and initiated a new series of campaigns beyond the Rhine⁶⁷. The first season was limited to action against the Marsi, between the rivers Lippe and Ruhr, who were taken by surprise and proved no great threat. The plans for AD 15 were more ambitious. Germanicus crossed the Rhine at Mainz in the early spring with legions II, XIII, XIV and XVI and moved north-eastwards up the Wetterau against the Chatti. Meanwhile, Caecina Severus, commanding legions I, V, XX and XXI, moved to prevent any intervention by the Cherusci and engaged the Marsi once more. Thus isolated and surprised, the Chatti were no match for Germanicus and his legions. Their capital was burned, the countryside ravaged and the people took to the forests.

With the Chatti neutralised, Germanicus turned to the real thrust of his campaign, the Cherusci and Arminius, Varus' nemesis. Caecina marched north with his legions through the territory of the Bructeri to the river Ems, there meeting with Germanicus who had brought his forces round by sea. The army ravaged all the country between the Ems and the Lippe, in the process recovering the eagle of the Nineteenth during raids on the Bructeri. Turning east however, he was only able to engage Arminius in one indecisive battle before withdrawing to the Ems and directing his forces back to their winter quarters on the Rhine. Caecina, with legions I, V, XX and XXI, returned overland by way of the *pontes longi*, a causeway built some 16 years previously through a vast swamp between the Ems and the Rhine by Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. However, Arminius had anticipated this move and had outstripped the baggage-laden and heavily armed Roman column to take up a commanding position. The Roman forces

⁶⁶ Tacitus *Annals* 1.44.

⁶⁷ Tacitus *Annals* 1.50-71, 2.5-26; These accounts should not be taken too literally (see above note 56). Despite the copious incidental detail, there is a suspicious convergence between the accounts of the campaigns of AD 15 and 16. Both begin with a raid on the Chatti and continue with a voyage by Germanicus via the Zuidersee and the River Ems; Lucius Stertinius is sent to deal with a recalcitrant tribe in the rear; Arminius and the Cherusci are brought to battle; an attack is made on a Roman column passing through a swamp; those returning by sea are swamped and many drowned. Archaeological evidence is sparse – sites in the valley of the Lippe and along the north-sea coast mark the invasion routes clearly enough (Schönberger 1969, 147), but Anreppen remains the most easterly of the known Roman military sites (Wells 1998, 461) and nothing marks the further progress of the campaigns.

were caught on uncertain ground and sorely beset⁶⁸; only towards the end of the second day were they able to force their way onto firmer, more open ground where they could encamp safely, and on the third morning they at last put the enemy to flight. The Upper German army too had a difficult return, the Second and Fourteenth Legions becoming inundated on the tidal marshes of the North Sea shore. Many were drowned. In all, the campaign had proved no great success, but triumphal insignia were awarded to the legates Caecina, Lucius Apronius and Gaius Silius and Germanicus began to plan his next season's operations.

In the course of this campaign, the army had passed close to the Teutoburg Forest and Germanicus had determined to visit the site of Varus' defeat and pay his respects to the fallen general and his men⁶⁹. Caecina with his forces, the Twentieth among them, was sent ahead to reconnoitre the dark woods and to build bridges and causeways and then the rest of the army followed. All around the scene of the massacre were 'whitening bones, scattered where men had fled, heaped up where they had stood and fought back. Fragments of spears and of horses' limbs lay there – also human heads, fastened to tree trunks. In groves nearby were the barbarous altars, on which they had immolated tribunes and first-rank centurions'. A great mound was raised over the remains of the three legions and the army, with redoubled fury against the enemy, continued the campaign.

For his campaign of **AD 16**, Germanicus decided to assemble all of his forces from the north, building a fleet of one thousand transports and again mustering his forces on the Ems. Pressing forward to the river Weser, he again faced Arminius. A crossing of the river was forced, and battle engaged at a place called *Idistaviso*. On this occasion the day went to the Romans and despite further engagements on the Cheruscan frontier, the victorious Roman army was able to press forward to the Elbe, where,

⁶⁸ Tacitus (1.65.2) has the ghost of Varus calling to Caecina in the night, beckoning him to destruction. Here as elsewhere (note 56) we must regard some of the more elaborate detail with suspicion. Parts of this account can be seen to derive from descriptions of events in the author's earlier *Histories* 5.14-15 (Woodman 1998, 77-80).

⁶⁹ Tacitus *Annals* 1.61-2. The bare fact of this visit seems to be confirmed by the independent description of Suetonius *Gaius* 3.2 (Dio 57.18.1 follows Suetonius), but Woodman (1998, 70-7) has shown that many of Tacitus' details are borrowed from the author's own *Histories* 2.70, describing the aftermath of the battle of Bedriacum.

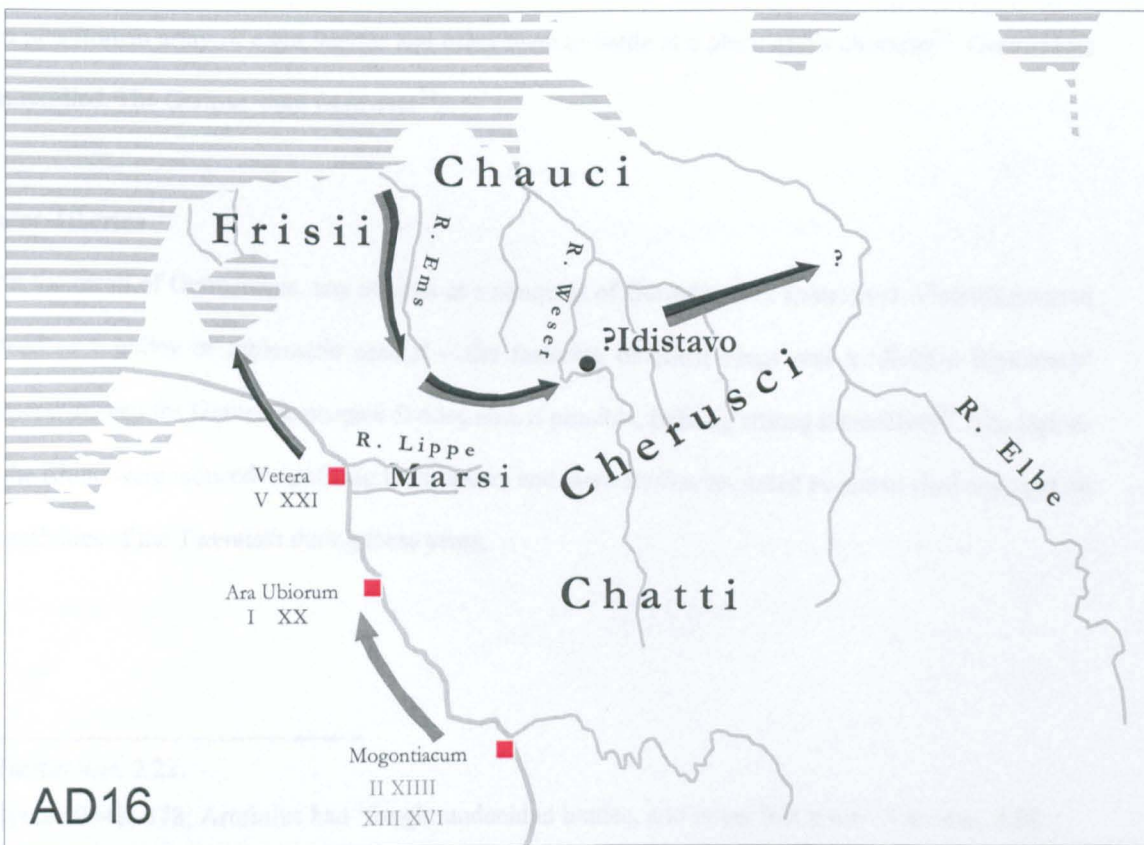
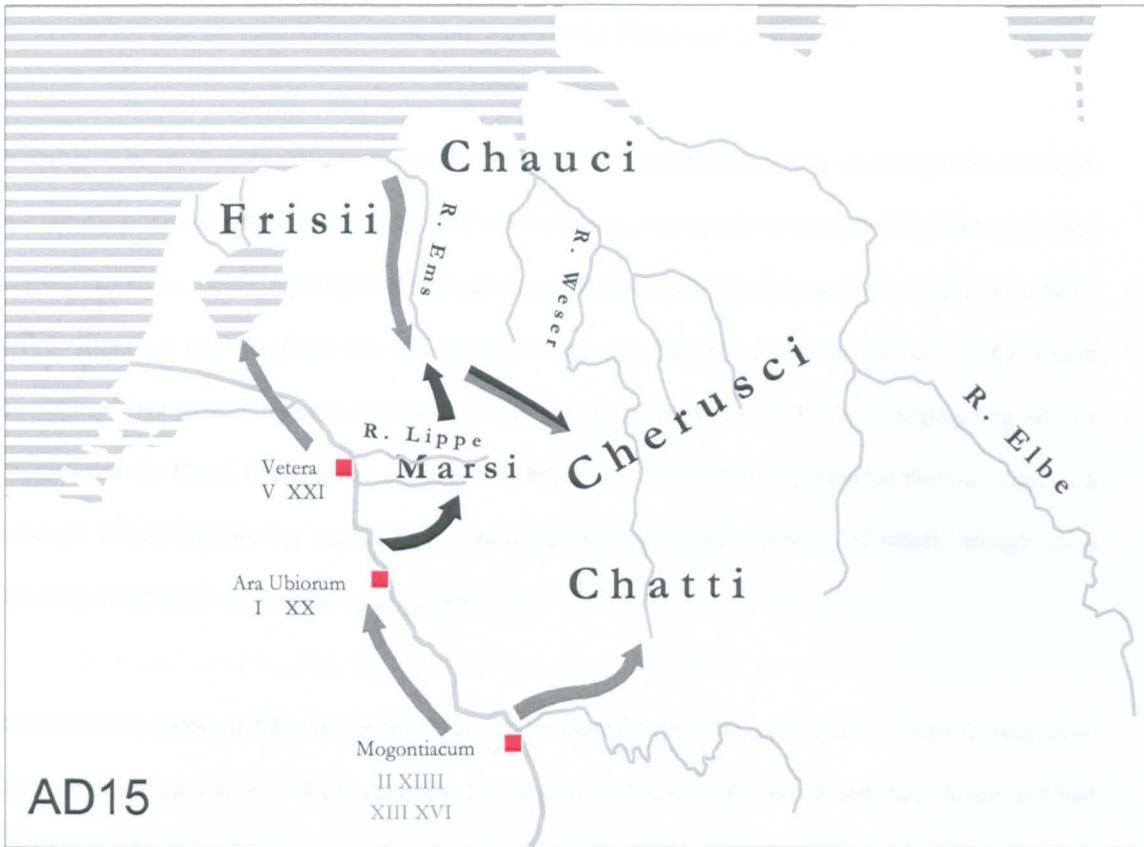


Fig. III.1.2 Campaigns in Germany

Tacitus records, Germanicus set up an altar 'Dedicated to Mars, Jove and Augustus by the army of Tiberius Caesar after its conquest of the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe'⁷⁰.

Summer now being at its height, the army was dispersed, part being sent back to winter quarters overland, while the majority embarked on the Ems for a return by sea. A great storm overtook the fleet at sea and scattered the ships, some reportedly driven as far as Britain, so that Germanicus' return was much delayed. Rumours that the fleet was lost spread among the German tribes on the east of the Rhine encouraging them to rebellion and Germanicus was forced to respond with further campaigning against the Chatti and the Marsi. Mallovendus, chief of the Marsi now submitted and reported that the Eagle of a second of Varus' legions lay buried in a nearby sacred grove, the recovery of which brought to a satisfactory conclusion to the year's campaigns.

Germanicus now pressed Tiberius for a further year to complete his conquest, but the emperor was more cautious in his approach. For all his victories, Germanicus had also sustained considerable losses and had not truly brought to heel Arminius, a formidable enemy who had been able to deploy large forces in the face of a Roman army of eight legions and bring them to battle at a place of his choosing⁷¹. Germanicus was recalled. The German wars were over⁷².

Under Tiberius

With the recall of Germanicus, any attempt at a conquest of Germany was abandoned. Tiberius resorted instead to a policy of diplomatic control – the fostering of client kings and a 'divisive diplomacy' intended to keep the Germanic peoples divided and, if possible, fighting among themselves⁷³. The legions on the Rhine were reduced to policing the frontiers and there are few recorded events to shed any light on the activities of the Twentieth during these years.

⁷⁰ Tacitus *Ann.* 2.22.

⁷¹ Syme 1934b, 378; Arminius had 'fought undecided battles, and never lost a war' Tac. *Ann.* 2.88.

⁷² Tiberius' divide-and-rule philosophy was ultimately borne out – Arminius succumbed in the end to internecine quarrels. Tac. *Ann.* 2.88.

⁷³ Luttwak 1976, 36.

In AD 21, rebellion flared among the Gallic communities⁷⁴. The main instigators were Julius Florus of the Treveri in the north and Julius Sacrovir of the Aedui in the south, but unrest became more general and the first outbreaks occurred amongst the Andecavi and the Turoni in the west. C. Visselius Varro, the legate of Germania Inferior sent legionaries to suppress this latter revolt, but it appears that no more than a single cohort was required⁷⁵. Florus and the Treveri were also soon dealt with. Intercepted by forces from the armies of both Upper and Lower Germany they were persuaded to submit and Florus committed suicide. The revolt among the Aedui, although more serious, was also quickly dealt with, this time by the legions of the Upper Rhine alone under Gaius Silius.

The Frisians of the North Sea coast, east of the Rhine, had entered into treaty relations with Drusus and were subject to the government of a Roman military officer. In AD 28 they revolted in protest at their taxation under the heavy hand of Olennius, a *primipilaris*, and laid siege to the garrison at the fort of *Flevum*. Lucius Apronius, former legate of Germanicus and now governor of Germania Inferior, seems to have been seriously alarmed, for even with four legions and many auxiliary units in his command, he was nonetheless moved to summon aid from the legions of Germania Superior⁷⁶. At the approach of this large force the Frisians retreated, but attempts to carry the fight to them and reassert control were unsuccessful. Many lives were lost and it was only through the actions of Cethegus Labeo, the Legate of the Fifth Legion that the Roman forces were able to escape without even more serious losses. The Frisians were not brought to heel until AD 47 under the governorship of Cn. Domitius Corbulo⁷⁷.

The involvement of the Twentieth Legion in these events can only be surmised, although men of the legion are explicitly mentioned under the command of Torquatus Novellius Atticus, tribune of a vexillation drawn from the four legions of lower Germany in this period⁷⁸. It is not closely dated and has been variously attributed to the known historical events of AD 14-16, AD 21 or AD 28. These all seem equally probable though we cannot rule out some other unrecorded event as a context.

⁷⁴ Tacitus *Ann.* 3.41-46.

⁷⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 3.46.

⁷⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 4.72-4.

⁷⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 11.19.

⁷⁸ XIV 3602 = *ILS* 950 = 8.4; Saxer 1967.4.

The legion's base in these years is uncertain. Changing priorities (and the realisation perhaps that Germany would never be won) led to the redistribution of the forces along the Rhine. Rather than large concentrations of men quartered together, the legions were spread more evenly in separate bases (which would also minimise the chances of a repetition of the events of AD 14). A series of fortifications have been identified at Neuss, predating the Claudian fortress. Fortresses D-I are dated to AD 15-32/35 and are assumed to be the work of either the First or the Twentieth Legions. The earliest timber phase of fortress K, later rebuilt in stone by *legio VI victrix*, is dated to 32/35-43 and deemed to be the work of *legio XX*⁷⁹. The full extent of these earlier fortresses is not known, but excavations indicate extensive and continuous occupation so that a permanent legionary establishment in this period can be assumed⁸⁰. The gravestones of M. Sulpicius (7.79) and Aconius (7.99) and of the centurion Titius (6.67) are the only direct evidence for the presence of the Twentieth, however. Other bases on the lower Rhine, at Vechten (*Fectio*) and Nijmegen (*Noviomagus*) in Holland, may also have been garrisoned by legionary troops in this period⁸¹. Soldiers of the Twentieth Legion might have formed part of the early garrison at Noviomagus but settlement of veterans in the area need not be closely linked to that establishment and L. Cornelius Cinna (7.28), who is commemorated at Nijmegen, may have served with the legion elsewhere on the Rhine.

Gaius Caligula in Germany

The emperor Gaius' arrival on the Rhine in AD 39 was reportedly prompted by the conspiracy of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, governor of Germania Superior, although plans had apparently been in train for some sort of German (and perhaps British) expedition⁸². Two new legions (*XV* and *XXII*) had been raised and a large force assembled at Mainz. This concentration of forces might be taken to indicate an imminent return to campaigning beyond the Rhine, but it has been argued that the provision of these

⁷⁹ *Fortress of legio VI*: Petrikovits 1961. *Phases D-K*: Rüter 1984, 25, 35-6.

⁸⁰ See *Novaesium* volumes i-ix (1967-83) in *Limesforschungen* series.

⁸¹ Wells 1972, 101, 119; Haalebos 2000. The legionary base at Ulpia Noviomagus was constructed shortly before 12BC and given up in AD 9/10 to be replaced by a new base on the Kops Plateau to the east, occupied AD 10-20 and not re-established until the late Flavian period: Haalebos and Willems 1999, 247.

⁸² Suetonius *Gaius* 43; Dio 59.21-3; Balsdon 1934b, 69; Syme and Collingwood 1934, 788.

newly-formed legions was intended to free up experienced men for a potential British invasion⁸³. It may be that in the aftermath of the conspiracy, these plans were shelved, for what follows seem to be more in the line of manoeuvres and training exercises⁸⁴. In the spring of AD 40 Gaius seems to have moved on to Lower Germany. Discipline in the army there had been as lax as in Germania Superior and P. Gabinius Secundus was now put in charge (perhaps replacing Lucius Apronius who may still have been in command, and as the father-in-law of Gaetulicus could hardly have been left in place, even if he had no involvement in the conspiracy). The abortive 'British expedition' may best be seen as a further set of manoeuvres aimed similarly at restoring the discipline and efficiency of the army of Germania Inferior, but perhaps simulating a sea-landing nonetheless. Certainly it seems too early in the year to have contemplated a sea crossing on any large scale⁸⁵. The story of Gaius' army drawn up on the shore as if to embark and suddenly bidden to pick up shells is presented as yet another example of the madness of the Emperor⁸⁶. Balsdon suggested that the supposed sea-shells were in fact siege equipment⁸⁷ and that it was rather the reluctance of the legions to embark on this enterprise (*cf.* below the similar difficulties encountered in AD 43) that caused the abandonment of the invasion and that it was in response to this that Gaius was moved to threaten the decimation of legions I and XX, 'those who had mutinously besieged his father's headquarters'⁸⁸. However, as Hind points out, the leap from *musculi* misunderstood to the

⁸³ Tacitus *Agricola* 13.4 thought that Gaius had undoubtedly planned an invasion of Britain, although this had come to naught. Syme and Collingwood 1934, 789 and Balsdon 1934a, 15 deduce from the numbering of these new legions an intention to leave legions XX, XXI and XXII in Germania Inferior and legions XIII, XIV, XV and XVI in Germania Superior; Caligula's invasion force ought therefore to have comprised legions I, II and V.

⁸⁴ Balsdon 1934b, 78-80; Davies 1966. Both point up the contrast between the ridicule heaped upon Caligula (Suetonius *Gaius* 43-48) and the more measured description of essentially the same events in Suetonius *Galba* 6.

⁸⁵ Davies 1966, 126 and n. 16; the seas were closed to shipping until March 10th and considered unsafe until May 27th (Vegetius *Epitome* 4.39). Gaius was back in Rome, a journey of up to 2 months, by the end of May.

⁸⁶ Suetonius *Gaius* 46.

⁸⁷ *Musculi* misunderstood by the layman Suetonius; Balsdon 1934b, 92. The term is used in this sense by Caesar *de Bello Gallico* 7.85.1; *de Bello Civili* 2.10.1, 3.80.5.

⁸⁸ Suetonius *Gaius* 48. No reason (other than 'a sudden access of cruelty') is given by Suetonius for the threatened decimation and no direct connection is made with events on the channel coast.

conchae of Suetonius' text is perhaps a leap too far, even if Hind's proposal of an actual search for pearls, the 'spoils of Ocean' for Gaius' triumphal procession⁸⁹, seems not much less unlikely.

It has been argued, nonetheless, that the scale of the preparations suggests a serious intent, and that even if a major extension of Roman power into Germany was unlikely, events on the Rhine might have been aimed at securing that frontier and ensuring the loyalty of the troops before launching an invasion of Britain⁹⁰. In the event Galba's campaigns did not succeed in securing the frontier sufficiently and no invasion of Britain was attempted, Gaius' presence on the Channel coast being only to accept the surrender of Adminius the son of Cunobelinus, an event that could be portrayed as the submission of a British king to Roman power⁹¹. Whether or not such a British expedition was seriously intended, it is clear that the situation on the Rhine remained unsettled: Galba was still engaged in campaigns against the Chatti into the following year, whilst in the north, in the last recorded action which might have involved soldiers of the Twentieth Legion on the Rhine, P. Gabinius Secundus inflicted a defeat on the Chauci, recovering the last of the eagles that Varus had lost⁹².

Table III.4: Legio XX in Germany

		Rank	<i>origo</i>	<i>stip</i>	Findspot
7.30	C. Deccius	<i>miles pequarius</i>	Ticinum	16	Cologne
7.64	L. Metilius	<i>veteranus</i>			Cologne
7.79	M. Sulpicius	<i>miles</i>	Patavium	17	Neuss
6.67	Titius	<i>centurio</i>	Pollentia		Neuss
7.99	...Aconius	<i>(miles)</i>	Cart(h)ago (Nova)	11+	Neuss
7.28	L.Cornelius Cinna	<i>veteranus</i>	Mutina		Noviomagus

⁸⁹ Hind 2003

⁹⁰ Barrett 1989, 126.

⁹¹ Suetonius *Gaius* 44; Bicknell 1968 argues that the activities on the Channel were in fact directed against the Cannenefates, citing Tacitus *Hist.* 4.15; recent finds at Valkenburg of barrels branded with the official mark C CAES AUG GER would seem to relate to military supply and activity on the lower Rhine in this period and perhaps support the contention of large scale military operations in the territory of the Cannenefates: Haalebos and Willems 1999, 251-3.

⁹² Suetonius *Cladius* 24; Dio 60.8.7.

III.2

Legio XX and the conquest of Britain (AD 43-87)

The prospect of emulating the great Julius Caesar, indeed of outdoing him, meant that the idea of an invasion of Britain was never entirely forgotten. Augustus contemplated it⁹³. Gaius, it seems, made concrete preparations, although as we have seen, how far or how seriously these were taken is not clear. For Claudius, unwillingly thrust into the limelight, it proved the military success he required to cement his hold on the imperial throne. Once engaged, Rome did not let go for 370 years. The scale of the preparations necessary for such an undertaking would have been considerable and have recently been examined by Fulford⁹⁴. Training, arming, provisioning, mustering and transporting the necessary forces would have required careful and long preparation. Indeed, it has been suggested that there was not time for everything to have been put in place between Claudius' accession in AD 41 and the spring of AD 43 and that the successful invasion of Britain should after all be viewed as the culmination of the plans put in train by Gaius. Had his attempt been at all serious then much would have already been prepared in AD 39-40. Even if his mustering of legions, auxiliaries and transport on the northern coast of Gaul were no more than a dummy run, it at least provided the concrete outcome of a lighthouse on the coast at *Gesoriacum*⁹⁵ (later *Bononia* = Boulogne) and would have provided valuable training for the campaign of AD 43.

Claudius' invasion force was commanded by Aulus Plautius, who had been consular governor of Pannonia⁹⁶. At its core were four legions: *legio XX*, brought up from Neuss; along with *II Augusta* and *XIII Gemina*, also drawn from the army of the Rhine; and *IX Hispana* brought by Plautius from Pannonia⁹⁷. Auxiliary cohorts and *alae* amounted to as many men again⁹⁸. The Second Augusta was

⁹³ Dio 49.38, 53.22, 53.25; Horace *Odes* I.35.29; Virgil *Georg* I.30.

⁹⁴ Fulford 2000.

⁹⁵ Suetonius *Gaius* 44.

⁹⁶ A.R.Birley 1981, 37-40. Eutropius *Breviarium* 7.13.2 gives an equal role to Cn. Sentius Saturninus: Black 2000 argues for joint command over a divided invasion force (see further below).

⁹⁷ *II Augusta* is the only legion directly attested; Tacitus *Hist.* 3.44. The post held by Ti. Claudius Balbillus (*AE* 1924.78 = 3.5), although honorary, confirms the involvement of *legio XX*. The participation of the others is an extrapolation back from the later position but accords with what we

under the command of the later emperor T. Flavius Vespasianus⁹⁹. Vespasian's brother Sabinus commanded another of the legions, and a third was headed by C. Hosidius Geta, but the identity of their commands is not known¹⁰⁰. The forces were mustered on the channel coast for their crossing of the 'Ocean'. Dio characterizes it as a venture 'ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης', outside the limits of the known world¹⁰¹. Close on a century of cross-channel trade between the Roman world and the island of Britannia meant that this was hardly the case. Nonetheless, it was a daunting prospect and Dio reports a near mutiny on the shore, only overcome by the appearance of Claudius' influential private secretary, the freedman Narcissus¹⁰². Most of the troops involved would have been recruited in Italy, Narbonensis and Spain¹⁰³ and were already serving far from their homes, but there would be many who had developed strong ties on the Rhine and would have viewed this venture across the Ocean with reluctance. The invasion was reportedly delayed until late in the season, perhaps because of these difficulties, although the true cause of the delay is difficult to establish. Suetonius¹⁰⁴ put it down to a minor illness of Galba who later came over as one of the emperor's *comites*. It is possible that he had been intended to have a larger part in the campaign. On the other hand, the delay had the effect of apparently persuading the British that the invasion was not to be, so that the landing was ultimately unopposed. Webster has suggested that this might have been a deliberate move on the part of Plautius¹⁰⁵.

know of legionary movements at the time. There is nothing to suggest that legions were withdrawn and replaced within a few years of the invasion. Earlier suggestions of the involvement of at least part of *legio VIII Augusta* (Frere 1967, 65 n. 2, Dudley and Webster 1965, 16) rest on flimsy evidence: they are countered by Keppie 1971. See now Webster 1980; Frere 1987.

⁹⁸ Webster 1980, 86; Peddie 1987, 180-4. The precise units involved are unknown. Those directly attested in pre-Flavian Britain amount to barely half this number; see Holder 1982, 104-33; Jarrett 1994. The composition of the auxiliary garrison is more comprehensively known from the early first century, but may have undergone significant change before that date.

⁹⁹ Tacitus *Hist.* 3.44; A.R. Birley 1981, 225-8.

¹⁰⁰ A.R. Birley 1981, 222-4 (Geta), 224-5 (Sabinus). It is suggested that Geta might have served on the Rhine before his involvement in the invasion, in which case he must have commanded *legio XIV* or *XX*.

¹⁰¹ Dio 60.19.

¹⁰² If it was their indignation at being addressed by a mere freedman that spurred the soldiers on to follow Plautius, then this was perhaps the intention.

¹⁰³ Mann 1983 and see above Table II.7.5.

¹⁰⁴ Suetonius *Galba* 7.

¹⁰⁵ Webster 1980, 94.

Neither the point of embarkation nor the beachhead are known with any certainty. The consensus has long been in favour of the shortest, most direct, crossing from *Gesoriacum* to *Rutupiae* (Richborough) which was in later times the main point of entry into the province. However, arguments can be made for more dispersed embarkation and/or landing points. The former might have made more sense logistically, the latter tactically, but they have their commensurate disadvantages. Landing the three divisions of Dio at separate points would have the advantage of spreading the defenders more thinly¹⁰⁶. However, too wide a separation would run the risk of the British concentrating their forces at one point and successfully repulsing a significant part of the invasion force. Landing at three points not far distant, or perhaps in three waves, followed by a rapid concentration of the forces for the further advance seems the most likely scenario. Richborough, if not the only landing point, was certainly utilised in this period, for Claudian defences have been identified¹⁰⁷. However, the possible involvement of the senator Cn. Sentius Saturninus as a joint commander¹⁰⁸ has given rise to suggestions of a much wider division of the Roman forces with a landing of part at least near Chichester¹⁰⁹. There are strong objections to such a weakening of the invasion force. Moreover, later operations in this quarter were undertaken by the Second Legion under Vespasian, who is placed by Dio at the heart of the advance upon Camulodunum. The suggestion has further developed into the proposition that the entire Roman force landed in Sussex and advanced to the Thames from the south-west¹¹⁰. Arguments of varying degrees of conviction can be made for the one or the other¹¹¹ but are difficult to separate in the absence of much more precise dating of activities on the south coast than perhaps we could hope to achieve. The realities of ancient navigation, and the overwhelming advantages of a short crossing in terms of communications and supply, would all seem to speak in favour of Richborough. However, the situation was undoubtedly more complex than the bare outlines given by Dio. We should not perhaps seek to take much more than the bare outlines

¹⁰⁶ Dio 60.19.4 states that the division was made so that they might not be hindered in landing, as might happen to a single force.

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps securing the beachhead: Cunliffe 1968, 232-4.

¹⁰⁸ See above n. 96.

¹⁰⁹ C.E.Stevens reported by Hawkes 1961, 65; Black 2000. Claudian military activity is known at Fishbourne, Cunliffe 1971, 71-6, but cannot be dated so closely as to preclude the later activities of *legio II*.

¹¹⁰ Hind 1989; Bird 2000; Sauer 2002.

¹¹¹ Frere and Fulford 2000; Sauer 2002.

from him. His statement that the fleet sailed from east to west¹¹² would not seem sufficient in itself to fix the landing point at one place rather than another.

Initial skirmishes between the forces resulted in defeats for Caratacus and his brother Togodumnus, but the main line of defence for the British forces appears to have been at an unnamed river, generally identified with the Medway. This appears to have been the decisive battle. Celtic auxiliaries, probably Batavians¹¹³, were able to swim the river and take the Britons by surprise while Vespasian and Sabinus also managed to get across with their legions and press home the attack. In spite of this the issue was not decided and the Britons were able to rally and join with the Romans again on the following day. A further legion under Hosidius Geta had now been brought to bear and after indecisive struggle, it is he who is credited with the final defeat of the Britons. To have held the invading Roman army to a two-day battle was a significant achievement on the part of the British, but defeat spelled the end to any significant resistance. The remainder of their force retreated to the Thames, once again trusting on the barrier of a river, but the Romans crossed once more and were offered little resistance. Imperial propaganda, as repeated by Dio, would have it that Plautius, concerned at continued resistance, now found himself in need of the assistance of the Emperor. Claudius duly arrived, with elephants in train, and led his legions in the final defeat of the British and the capture of Camulodunum, thus earning acclamation as *imperator* and a triumphal procession on his return to Rome¹¹⁴. The truth is that he spent all of sixteen days in Britain and it would seem that his presence at the final entry into the enemy capital was entirely for political effect. As well as his elephants, the emperor brought a large personal retinue among whom was Ti. Claudius Balbillus (3.5), nominally *tribunus militum* of the Twentieth Legion, but in reality the Emperor's personal astrologer¹¹⁵. The emperor's doctor C. Stertinus Xenophon¹¹⁶ was likewise present

¹¹² Dio 60.19.4.

¹¹³ Hassall 1970; Jarrett 1994, 54-5.

¹¹⁴ Dio 60.21-22. Suetonius *Claudius* 17, however, thought the campaign of little import: Claudius 'fought no battles and suffered no casualties'.

¹¹⁵ It has been suggested that the original invasion force might have comprised only three legions, and that a fourth crossed over with Claudius. Dio's account of the first engagement would not seem to demand more than three, and this might match the three divisions of the landing force: Frere and Fulford 2001, 47. If so, the enrolment of one of the emperor's favourites in the Twentieth Legion might gain a greater significance.

¹¹⁶ *PIR*¹ S 666; *IGR* IV 1086.

and also enrolled on the staff of a legion. These posts presumably fall within the category of 'supernumerary' appointments introduced by Claudius into the equestrian career¹¹⁷. Both men received decorations in the Triumph celebrated by the emperor to commemorate his victory nonetheless.

Almost no archaeological traces remain of these events and apart from our knowledge of the activities of Vespasian and the Second Legion, we know little of the parts played by individual legions¹¹⁸. Vespasian, Sabinus and Geta with their three legions were all in action at the Medway. A fourth legion was perhaps held in reserve by Plautius and it might be conjectured that this was the Ninth which had accompanied him from Pannonia, but certainty eludes us. However, although we know neither the identity of the commander of the Twentieth Legion nor much about its specific role in this period, there are a number of individuals whose careers might have involved service with the legion at this time. Chief amongst these is the centurion M. Favonius Facilis (6.25), commemorated at Colchester. If his death occurred before the departure of the Twentieth in AD 49 then his presence during the initial invasion is almost certain. Even if somewhat later¹¹⁹, his participation seems likely. The centurion Iustus Super (6.40) was probably also present at Colchester in this period. Livius Saturninus (6.43)¹²⁰ lived to see the legion transferred west, but was very likely a colleague. P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis (5.2), may also have served as centurion at this time although his post as *primus pilus* of the Twentieth perhaps falls a little later, and he might have served as centurion in other units before rising to this position. His later, equestrian, appointments culminated in the post of prefect of the Ravenna fleet but in his conduct of this post he incurred the wrath of the emperor Nero and he poisoned himself in AD 56 to forestall condemnation¹²¹. The interval between his primipilate with the Twentieth and his untimely end is uncertain, but probably precludes participation in the invasion in that post. C. Mannius Secundus (7.58), *beneficiarius* on the staff of the legionary legate, had served 31 years at the time of his death at Wroxeter. The earliest likely context – the combined operations of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Legions in north Wales in AD 60 – would suggest that Secundus had enrolled in the legion in AD 29 while stationed at Cologne or Neuss, had taken part in

¹¹⁷ Suetonius *Claudius* 25; Devijver 1970.

¹¹⁸ Peddie's reconstruction of events (1987, 87-8) notwithstanding.

¹¹⁹ The context of the tombstone suggests a *terminus ante quem* of AD 60 – see below.

¹²⁰ From Wooton near Gloucester. As we shall, see the absence of legionary *cognomina* may not be sufficient reason for dating this stone to the early 50s and the period of occupation at Kingsholm.

¹²¹ Tacitus *Ann.* 13.30.

the invasion, and had served throughout operations in Britain up to this point. At the very latest we might place his death in AD 84, in which case he would have begun his service during the operations in south Wales in the early 50s. Among the officers whose careers fall into this early period we have L. Domitius Severus (3.7), *tribunus militum*. Having held prefectures of a cohort and an *ala* before his appointment to the Twentieth, his career is a textbook example of the *tria militiae* established by Claudius¹²². The order in which the equestrian *militiae* were held was swiftly adjusted to place the tribunate with a legion before the prefecture of an *ala*¹²³ but even were he one of the first of the *ordo Claudii*, it is perhaps unlikely that he would have served as tribune with the Twentieth before or during the invasion, unless he passed very swiftly through the previous posts.

The course of the conquest of Britain over the first few years is not known to us in any detail. The campaigns of the future emperor Vespasian at the head of the Second Legion receive the most attention in the surviving sources, but the narrative of Tacitus does not pick up again until AD 47 and Dio's account is terse. The disposition of the legions in particular is largely a matter of projection back from the later situation. Thus the Second is assumed to have thrust south-west, the Fourteenth north-west and the Ninth north, in the general direction of their later bases at Exeter, Wroxeter and Lincoln respectively¹²⁴. The Twentieth is held to have formed the garrison of Colchester, the capital of the new province. The fact that the foundation of the *colonia* at Colchester in AD 49 is linked by Tacitus with the need to move a legion against the Silures in the west¹²⁵ implies the presence of a legionary fortress in this period and this has been confirmed by excavation¹²⁶. However, the tombstone of the centurion M. Favonius Facilis remains the only certain evidence for the presence of the Twentieth Legion at Colchester at an early date. The

¹²² Suetonius *Claudius* 25; Devijver 1970.

¹²³ By the time of Nero this had become the norm: Birley 1953, 138; Devijver 1970, 73.

¹²⁴ *Legio II*: Early occupation is posited at Silchester (Fulford 1993, 19-23), but with some doubts (Fulford and Timby 2000, 566). Lake Farm (Henderson 1988, 91) or Dorchester (Hassall 2000, 61) may represent a further move westwards. Occupation at Exeter dates from the mid-50s at the earliest (Webster 1988, 19). *Legio XIV*: Divided between vexillation fortresses at Wall, Kinvaston, Metchley, Leighton (Frere 1987) or in its entirety at Towcester, Mancetter (Webster 1993) or Leicester (Hassall *loc. cit.*); at Wroxeter before AD 60 (Manning 1981, 50). *Legio IX*: Leicester? (Hassall *loc. cit.*); Vexillation fortresses at Longthorpe, Broxtowe, Osmanthorpe, Newton-on-Trent (Frere 1987); Lincoln from early 50s (Jones 1980).

¹²⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 12.32.

¹²⁶ Crummy 1977; 1984; 1988, 24; 1992; and see now 1997, 44-8.

context of its discovery suggests that *Facilis* had died before AD 60 and the destruction of the *colonia* by Boudica. However, the dating cannot be more precise and there might be many reasons why a legionary centurion would find himself at the provincial capital without this implying the presence of the entire legion¹²⁷. As well as the Twentieth Legion, we also find evidence of the *ala I Thracum* at Colchester¹²⁸. It is possible that this unit was attached to the legion and had accompanied it from Neuss. The *eques* commemorated at Cirencester¹²⁹ was of Frisian origin and with 20 years service had probably enlisted while the unit was in *Germania Inferior*¹³⁰.

How the Roman forces were deployed and what sort of resistance they faced in the years immediately following the invasion is not known, although recent discoveries at Alchester show that the forward advance was rapid¹³¹. The situation inherited by the governor P. Ostorius Scapula in AD 47¹³² suggests continuing resistance, perhaps coordinated by Caratacus who was still at large, so that even if the Twentieth Legion was quartered in Colchester over the winter, it may well have been in the field during the campaigning season. On the other hand, in both this first action of Scapula, and in his subsequent suppression of an uprising among the Iceni, it is the auxiliaries that bear the brunt of the fighting. It is instead in the west, in the more difficult terrain of the Welsh hills and mountains, that we find the Twentieth Legion brought into play.

The Brigantes in the north under Cartimandua had entered into a client relationship with Rome; to the south and east of the Trent and Severn the province seemed secure; but in the west the Silures and Caratacus continued to fight and to face this threat the Twentieth Legion was moved west to a new

¹²⁷ *cf.* the later tombstones of soldiers found in London: *RIB* 13 = 7.47, *RIB* 18 = 7.73. The anonymous, seven-times centurion, *RIB* 203 = 6.78, found later at Colchester, had presumably settled there (the titles *Valeria Victrix* appear).

¹²⁸ *RIB* 201.

¹²⁹ *RIB* 109.

¹³⁰ Wachter and McWhirr 1982, 69. However, there may have been a variety of military sites at Colchester, accommodating a substantial and varied garrison, and occupied over a fairly short period of time (Fitzpatrick 1986, 37). A close connection between these two units need not follow.

¹³¹ Sauer 2000.

¹³² Tacitus *Ann.* 12.31.

fortress, perhaps at Kingsholm¹³³ on the Severn a short distance upstream from the site of the later fortress and *colonia* at Gloucester. The ensuing course of the war in this quarter is obscure. Large forts or vexillation fortresses are known at Clifford and Clyro in the Wye valley and possibly at Ariconium¹³⁴ but the narrative of Tacitus leaps straight to AD 51 and the final stand of Caratacus in the country of the Ordovices in mid-Wales. We have no indication of the numbers involved in this battle, but legionaries and auxiliaries alike were in action and it is likely that the Twentieth was heavily involved. Defeated, Caratacus attempted to find refuge among the Brigantes but was handed over and subsequently taken to Rome. Despite his capture the Silures were not pacified and continued to prosecute a guerrilla campaign in which the Twentieth Legion appears to have come off worse on a number of occasions. Tacitus¹³⁵ reports that legionaries building forts in Silurian country under the command of the *praefectus castrorum* were surrounded and only saved from annihilation by the prompt arrival of reinforcements. Even so, the prefect and eight centurions were killed along with many of their men. Further assaults by the Silures on foraging parties required intervention by the legion when auxiliary units proved unable to settle matters. Unrest continued, and when Didius Gallus reached Britain in AD 52 to replace Ostorius who had died in post, he found that a legion, commanded by C. Manlius Valens, had been defeated by the Silures¹³⁶. Again, the most likely candidate in this area and at this time is assumed to be *legio XX*¹³⁷.

Warfare in the west continued to occupy successive governors: Didius Gallus (52-57), Q. Veranius (57-58) and Suetonius Paulinus (58-61), the Twentieth and the Fourteenth Legions providing the main body of the troops available¹³⁸. The Fourteenth Legion was by this time at Wroxeter; the Twentieth may have

¹³³ Manning 1981, 34-8: perhaps only of vexillation size with the rest of the legion deployed between the Severn and the Wye (however, Usk would not seem to be so early). Hurst 1985, 119-122 is rather more sceptical of attempts to reconstruct military history to this level of detail given the limited archaeological evidence.

¹³⁴ Manning 1981, 37-8.

¹³⁵ Tacitus *Annales* 12.38.

¹³⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 12.40.

¹³⁷ Jarrett 1968, 78; Manning 1981, 38-9.

¹³⁸ Conflict between Venutius and Cartimandua in Brigantia during the governorship of Gallus required the intervention of Roman forces, but the legion under Caesius Nasica (Tacitus *Ann.* 12.40) is likely to have been the Ninth.

been moved further forward to a new fortress at Usk. Occupation here is dated to *c.*55-*c.*67¹³⁹. However, this would appear to conflict with Hurst's date of 64-8 for the abandonment of Kingsholm¹⁴⁰ and it remains possible that the fortress at Usk was never fully occupied. Barrack blocks in the north-west quarter remained uncompleted before conversion to accommodate a mounted unit¹⁴¹ perhaps as a complement to the legionary garrison, as is suggested at Colchester and at other legionary fortresses in Britain and the wider Empire¹⁴², but possibly as part of some other form of garrison here. Marks of ownership on samian vessels and other items from the Neronian fortress provide us with the names of a number of those stationed there¹⁴³. The mortarium belonging to the *contubernium* of Messor (7.61) might be claimed as legionary, but the status of the others is less clear. The appearance of the rare *nomen* Mestrius (*RIB* II 2501.385) is of interest, however, for legionaries of that name, from the region of Brixia in northern Italy, are known serving in the Twentieth Legion (7.62, 7.63) and this is an intriguing hint that members of that family might have retained a connection with the legion over 50 years or more¹⁴⁴.

The identification and allocation of fortresses to the legions is a problem which recurs with the movement of the legions around the province; it is one that is difficult to resolve¹⁴⁵. The closure of one fortress and the initiation of a new one cannot have been an instantaneous process. It is likely that an administrative presence at least was retained at the previous base, and probably for some years. Inchtuthil, as we shall

¹³⁹ Manning 1981, 45-52. The identification of the occupying force is once again a matter of extrapolation from the dispositions known to us. Supporting evidence might be found in the discovery of a seal-box lid bearing the emblem of a charging boar (Manning 1995, 136 no.8), but it is unlikely that this is in fact a legionary symbol (Brewer 2002b, 181). If the fortress was vacated *c.* AD 67, it was not apparently demolished until *c.* AD 75: Manning 1981, 173. The later, smaller, fort/works-depot dates from *c.* AD 85: Marvell 1996, 86-9.

¹⁴⁰ Hurst 1988, 49.

¹⁴¹ Marvell 1996, 77-9.

¹⁴² Bonn, Neuss, Mainz: Petrokovits 1975, 55-7. As noted above the *ala I Thracum* may have been stationed at Colchester alongside *legio XX*. Accommodation for such a force within the legionary fortress is perhaps in evidence at Caerleon (Zienkiewicz 1993, 80-3) and may have been intended at Inchtuthil (Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 145).

¹⁴³ Hassall 1982, 52-8. See further under Messor (7.61).

¹⁴⁴ C. Titius Mestrius (*AE* 1978.557), soldier of *legio XIII g m v*, was from Pelagonia in Macedonia but the name here is the Thracian *cognomen*: *Onomasticon* III, 79.

¹⁴⁵ Hurst 1985, 122 would argue that the detailed study of the movement of individual legions in pre-Flavian Britain is not worth pursuing.

see, remained uncompleted when building was abandoned after four years, and at that time, as Manning points out¹⁴⁶, the four legions of Britain possessed something like eight fortresses, half of which can have held no more than caretaker garrisons, but all of which might provide evidence for activity in that period. As the number of possible fortresses has increased, so the picture of legionary dispositions has become ever more confused¹⁴⁷. Quite how the legionaries were distributed among these fortresses, and where the administration of the legion would be based, is not always clear. It does seem that the Roman army was not averse to abandoning installations, even on a legionary scale, after only a few years and starting afresh elsewhere. It is not until the reconstruction of fortresses in stone that we begin to see some permanence in these dispositions¹⁴⁸.

For all their earlier obduracy, the Silures, it seems, had been more or less pacified by the end of the 50s AD. The thrust of continued campaigning was directed against the Ordovices in the north, and against the island of Mona (Anglesey) which had become a sanctuary for refugees and perhaps a focus for resistance¹⁴⁹. It was here that Paulinus was campaigning in AD 60 when recalled by the rebellion of the Iceni¹⁵⁰. The attempted intervention of the Ninth Legion was unsuccessful¹⁵¹ and the *colonia* at Camulodunum and the towns of Londinium and Verulamium were sacked before Paulinus could bring his forces to bear on the situation. Those forces available to him in his final encounter with Boudica were *legio XIV* and a vexillation¹⁵² of *legio XX*, supported by auxiliary units, and it may

¹⁴⁶ Manning 1981, 46.

¹⁴⁷ Hassall 2000a presents a comprehensive summary of how views on pre-Hadrianic legionary dispositions have developed.

¹⁴⁸ This permanence is most likely to be the cause rather than the effect in this process.

¹⁴⁹ Tacitus *Ann.* 14.28-29. The presence of the Druids and their groves is accorded some significance by Tacitus but there is really little to support the suggestion that Mona represented some sort of Druidical centre or stronghold.

¹⁵⁰ Tacitus *Ann.* 14.31-39; *Agric.* 14-16.

¹⁵¹ The legate Q. Petilius Cerialis lost his entire infantry force and was forced to flee with his cavalry. The explicit mention of 2000 legionaries later transferred from Germany to bring the Ninth Legion up to strength (Tacitus *Ann.* 14.39) suggests that he had only part of the legion with him at the time.

¹⁵² The term used is in fact *vexillarii* (Tacitus *Ann.* 14.34). Mann 2000, 153-4 argues that these were the most experienced men of the legion, with 20 years or more of service, formed as a unit under the *vexillum veteranorum*. This begs some questions as to how these were organised: extracted from individual centuries as required, or grouped together permanently into specific centuries or cohorts. They would



This material originated on the Interactive Ancient Mediterranean Web site (<http://iam.classics.unc.edu>). It has been copied under the terms of IAM's fair use policy. Copyright 1998, Interactive Ancient Mediterranean.

Fig. III.2.1 Roman Britain showing legionary fortresses and other bases

be that these were the forces that had been campaigning in North Wales. The remainder of the Twentieth Legion was presumably still in post on the Welsh frontier for intervention by the Silures or Ordovices could have made a bad situation infinitely worse (though if similar motives were behind the inaction of Poenius Postumus and the Second Legion, then he received no thanks for it). The location of the final encounter is not known but was probably somewhere along the line of Watling Street, the route that the legions would have taken from Wales and Wroxeter. Tacitus and Dio both give what are probably inflated figures for the size of the British force, and although the Romans were outnumbered it is probable that the British forces contained many who were not seasoned fighters. Having brought the Britons to a pitched battle, the organisation and discipline of the Roman army ensured them a straightforward victory. It seems clear that the Fourteenth Legion gained the titles *Martia Victrix* in recognition of this victory over the Iceni¹⁵³. The apparent parallel of the titles *Valeria Victrix* suggests the possibility that the Twentieth received this honorific for its contribution¹⁵⁴. However, the legion was not present in full strength and Ritterling was firmly of the opinion that such honorifics were bestowed upon the *aquila* as the personification of the legion and could not be won by a mere vexillation, but only if the entire legion had earned the glory¹⁵⁵. The discovery of a precisely dated document at Carlisle in which the *cognomina* are omitted raises the possibility that as at 7 Nov 83, *legio XX* had yet to receive the award¹⁵⁶. A later, Agricolan, context is possible and will be considered in more detail below.

The battle was decisive, but the army, brought up to strength with transfers from the army of the Rhine, was kept in the field (*sub pellibus* 'under leather' from which their tents were made). Continuing reprisals reasserted Roman power and re-established control. Of further advance we hear little but by AD 66, it seems, the garrison of Britain could spare a legion for more pressing concerns in the east and the

after all account for one fifth of the legion (or perhaps rather less given the likely rate of attrition even in peacetime: Scheidel 1996).

¹⁵³ Ritterling 1925, 1731; first attested AD 66: XI 395 = ILS 2648.

¹⁵⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1780; Parker 1928, 261, 133; Jarrett 1968, 79; Webster 1979, 112; but *not XX Valeria* receiving the additional *Victrix* as in these latter three. See further Appendix 1 below.

¹⁵⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1776

¹⁵⁶ Tomlin 1992, 154.

Fourteenth was withdrawn¹⁵⁷. Quite what this means for legionary dispositions within Britain is uncertain. Usk and Kingsholm both go out of use at this time, but Kingsholm was apparently replaced, a new fortress at Gloucester coming into use at about the same time, constructed after 64/66 and not abandoned until 77/78 or later¹⁵⁸. Once again the evidence of later dispositions tempts us towards the seemingly obvious conclusion, namely that the Twentieth moved north to fill the gap left by the Fourteenth, while the Second moved up to Gloucester only later to be pushed forward to Caerleon. However, terracotta antefixes produced from the same moulds have been identified at Exeter and Caerleon¹⁵⁹ and may suggest that the legion transferred directly from the one to the other. Gloucester would therefore represent a further base of the Twentieth, perhaps begun before the withdrawal from Britain of the Fourteenth and occupied until the mid 70s. Some sort of garrison, perhaps involving part of the Twentieth, may have occupied the fortress at Wroxeter until it became clear that there was no prospect of the Fourteenth returning. However, it is only our reading of the tactical situation, from a distance of centuries, that leaves us uncomfortable with such a disposition. It may be that the auxiliary garrison was deemed sufficient to deal with any minor trouble in the north-west. The Twentieth striking north up the Severn could be on the scene within a matter of days if needed.

Civil War

The civil wars of AD 69 had little direct impact within the island of Britain, but the legions were directly involved with large numbers of men removed to support the claims of Vitellius to the imperial throne. The Twentieth was at this time commanded by M. Roscius Coelius¹⁶⁰, who is characterized by Tacitus as a turbulent character¹⁶¹. The governor, Trebellius Maximus¹⁶², was unpopular with the army and Coelius had long been on bad terms with him. The advent of civil war intensified the quarrel and with the auxiliaries also siding with Coelius, Trebellius fled to join Vitellius in Gaul, possibly accompanying the 8000 men drawn from the garrison of Britain in his support, although these may already have been

¹⁵⁷ Perhaps for Nero's proposed campaign to the Caspian Gates: Keppie 1986, 417; Franke 2000, 194. It is reported that Nero gave thought to abandoning Britain entirely (Suetonius, *Nero* 18). He may not have been especially concerned for the security of the province at this stage.

¹⁵⁸ Hurst 1988.

¹⁵⁹ Bidwell and Boon 1976.

¹⁶⁰ A.R. Birley 1981, 231-2 = 1.2.

¹⁶¹ Tacitus *Hist.* 1.60.

¹⁶² A.R. Birley 1981, 59-62.

mustered on the Rhine before Vitellius left Cologne. Whatever the cause of the quarrel, it was not apparently a matter of choosing different sides, for the legions of Britain remained firmly in the Vitellian camp. In the absence of Trebellius, the legionary legates took charge of the province, with Coelius taking the lead, until the arrival of a new governor Vettius Bolanus sent over by Vitellius.

Forces sent south from the Rhine by Vitellius had already engaged and defeated the legions of Otho at Bedriacum in northern Italy. Vitellius marched south in triumph, the British vexillations accompanying the remainder of his forces. The army was concentrated at Ticinum and then marched south to Rome. Vitellius entered at the head of his legions, the eagles and *vexilla* of the various units arrayed at the head of the army in full dress. However, in the east and on the Danube, the legions had declared for Vespasian and within a few months Vitellius' forces were sent north to meet this threat. The valley of the River Po once again formed the scene of the decisive encounter, Vitellius' forces advancing to Cremona and meeting the Flavians east of the town on the 24th October. The vexillations of the Second, Ninth and Twentieth Legions were deployed in the centre of the line¹⁶³ in support of the Fifth and Fifteenth. Battle raged all night but the legions of Vespasian prevailed and moved on to take the fortified positions at Cremona and then the town itself before the final advance and capture of Rome on the 20th December. The members of the British contingent may never have returned to the province for the defeated legions were used to reinforce the army of Moesia, under threat from the Dacians¹⁶⁴.

Under Agricola

Despite Vespasian's early connection with Britain, the Twentieth Legion does not seem to have been immediately sympathetic to the new regime. There were those among the centurions and *milites* who owed their promotion to Vitellius, and the legion was late in swearing allegiance to the new emperor¹⁶⁵. Cn Julius Agricola¹⁶⁶ apparently found it in a state of some turmoil when he arrived to take command. Agricola had been an early convert to the cause of Vespasian and was sent out in AD 70 to replace Coelius, presumably bringing with him fresh men to restore the legion to full strength. During his period of command (70-73/4) the focus of campaigning was beginning to shift to the north. The

¹⁶³ Tacitus *Hist.* 3.22

¹⁶⁴ Tacitus *Hist.* 3.46

¹⁶⁵ Tacitus *Hist.* 44; *Agricola* 7.

¹⁶⁶ A.R.Birley, 1981, 73-81 = 1.3.

Brigantes, now under the hostile leadership of Venutius, had become a problem and the governorship of Petillius Cerialis (71-74) saw the first attempts to bring them to heel and the beginnings of a significant northwards expansion of the province. The involvement of Agricola, and hence of his legion, the Twentieth, is clear¹⁶⁷ but of details there are few. The Ninth Legion, moved forward from Lincoln to York¹⁶⁸, seems likely to have been the spearhead of the advance pushing north and west, taking the Brigantian stronghold at Stanwick, and reaching the west coast at Carlisle. Detachments of the Twentieth may have provided support, or perhaps operated to the west of the Pennines, linking up with the Ninth at Carlisle¹⁶⁹. It must be about this time that the headquarters of the legion was moved to the Wroxeter fortress, for once the Second Legion had transferred to Caerleon, c. AD 75, Gloucester was rendered superfluous, the fortress there being re-founded as a *colonia*¹⁷⁰. However, the concrete evidence for the presence of the Twentieth at Wroxeter is slight. The suggestion in fact rests largely on the interpretation of the gravestone of C. Mannius Secundus¹⁷¹. The arguments are presented by Tomlin¹⁷², his reading of the infrequently paralleled abbreviation BF LEG PR dispensing with the main difficulty – namely that a *beneficiarius* on the staff of the governor need not be at the base of his legion, whereas a *beneficiarius* on the staff of the legionary legate very likely would be.

Further campaigning against the Silures in South Wales took place under the governorship of Julius Frontinus (74-78), but *legio II Augusta* was by now at Caerleon and probably in the forefront of the battle. However, it has been suggested that the size of some of the marching camps in South Wales, e.g. Y Pigwn (15ha), Arosfa Gareg (18.2ha) and especially Neath (24.7ha), suggests a larger body of troops and

¹⁶⁷ Tacitus *Agricola* 8.

¹⁶⁸ Or perhaps split between Malton and York at this stage (Hartley 1966, 10-11; Hanson 1987, 64-5).

¹⁶⁹ Shotton 1996, 28.

¹⁷⁰ Debate continues over the date of this foundation; see Hassall and Hurst 1999. The *colonia*, it seems, had the title *Ner(viana)*, but these names could be subject to later change and the foundation need not be as late as the reign of Nerva, 96-8. The discharge of veterans in AD 49 at Colchester would have necessitated a significant draft of new men. These would themselves be due for discharge c. 74/75 and would once again form a ready source for such a foundation. The centurial stone of *legio XX VV* from Gloucester (*Britannia* 17, 429 no.3) may only indicate military assistance in the later construction of the *colonia* walls.

¹⁷¹ *RIB* 293 = 7.58.

¹⁷² Tomlin 1992.

a vexillation at least of *legio XX* may have been involved¹⁷³. North Wales, and the long delayed capture of Anglesey, awaited the return to Britain of Agricola as governor in 77 or 78¹⁷⁴. Despite arriving late in the summer, he was able quickly to mobilise sufficient forces to quash unrest and cross over into Anglesey. Although characterised by Tacitus as a conquest, it is probable that Agricola's activities in North Wales largely represented a consolidation of the situation bequeathed by Cerialis and Frontinus, for many of the forts in the area could as well date to his governorship. Agricola's second season also seems more a case of consolidating Roman control in areas already overrun by Cerialis and Frontinus, hence Tacitus' comments about Agricola's fort-building activities. The construction of forts and the concentration of forces on the Tyne-Solway line represents something new, however, and over the next five years under Agricola, the forces of Rome came as close as they ever would to the total conquest of the island of Britain.

The part played by the Twentieth Legion in these initial campaigns can only be surmised. Familiarity with this legion and with the terrain are usually held as contributing factors to Agricola's successful first season. It is only an assumption that he would continue to use his old legion as his main strike-force¹⁷⁵, but the transfer of *legio II Adiutrix* from Lincoln to a new fortress at Chester c. 78/9 would certainly seem to have freed up the Twentieth for campaigning in, and the eventual occupation of, the north of the newly enlarged province.

The 10-12 ha vexillation fortress at Red House, Corbridge seems to have served as a base for advance in the east¹⁷⁶. Carlisle may have served a similar purpose in the west. Although the fort beneath the town centre seems too small at 3.2 ha to have served a directly analogous purpose¹⁷⁷, the presence of further

¹⁷³ Jarrett 1964, 35-9; Frere 1987, 86-7. It must be admitted, however, that none of these sites are well dated.

¹⁷⁴ Syme (1958, 22 and n. 6), A.R. Birley (1981, 77) and Frere (1987, 89) prefer 78. The chronology is re-addressed in detail by Hanson (1987, 40-5) who makes a strong case for the earlier date. However, it remains difficult to reconcile with the possible dates for his consulship. Hanson places this immediately on his return from Aquitania, late in 76. The lateness of his arrival in Britain is left unexplained.

¹⁷⁵ As Cerialis is likewise assumed to have done in the case of the Ninth.

¹⁷⁶ Hanson *et al.* 1979; Hanson 1987, 85.

¹⁷⁷ Charlesworth 1980, 210.

Roman structures 400m to the east may indicate a significantly larger establishment at this date¹⁷⁸. Successive marching camps appear to mark the lines of advance, through Annandale to Clydesdale in the west and through Redesdale to Lauderdale in the east¹⁷⁹, but few have provided any direct dating evidence and although a Flavian date can probably be claimed for most, the purported lines of advance may represent too neat a solution in what must have been a relatively fluid situation. By the end of Agricola's third season Roman forces had reached the River Tay where two large 46.5ha camps at Dunning and Abernethy may represent a concentration of the forces hitherto advancing on different lines. Opposition does not seem to have been intense but it may have required the following two seasons to consolidate this newly won territory in lowland Scotland before any further advance was attempted¹⁸⁰. To what degree the legions were employed is unclear. As governor, Agricola had civil as much as military responsibilities and would have returned to the south at the close of the campaigning season. Auxiliary units would have been left in place to garrison the newly built forts, but the legionaries may well have been withdrawn, some perhaps to Corbridge or Carlisle, but others perhaps accompanying the governor on the journey back into the south of the province.

By the end of the fifth season (81 or 82), garrisons had been established on the Forth-Clyde isthmus and it would seem that a halt here was considered¹⁸¹. Although seeming to coincide neatly with the death of the emperor Titus, this hiatus, if such it was, perhaps falls too early. The need to consolidate behind the limit of northward advance had already necessitated two seasons of operation in lowland Scotland. If this was a policy decision to stop short of total conquest rather than just a pause before further advance, then that decision would seem to have already been taken before the death of Titus. On the other hand, the

¹⁷⁸ McCarthy 1984, 68.

¹⁷⁹ Maxwell 1980, 28-40.

¹⁸⁰ Hanson 1987, 93-5. It is at this stage that Agricola is supposed to have gazed across from the west coast to Ireland and ruminated on its easy conquest: Tacitus *Agr.* 24.3. Robinson 1999 has argued for an incursion into the island at this time, but this rests solely on his reading of the verb *exceperat*. The primary meaning may be 'to take out, extract' but since the Irish prince in question is described as having been expelled by a rebellion, there seems no reason to prefer this over the alternative 'to take under one's care or protection' (*OLD*).

¹⁸¹ Tacitus *Agr.* 23. Only Camelon, Mollins and Barochan, the latter just south of the Clyde, have been clearly shown to be of this date: Hanson 1987, 110.

opportunity for further glory suited Domitian only too well and the resumption of forward operations may well have been occasioned by his accession¹⁸².

Tacitus provides our only guide to the course of the campaign and provides few details. Using the fleet to keep his forces supplied and to provide intelligence, Agricola moved north. Resistance now seems to have been somewhat stiffer. At some stage the forces were split into three columns. The Ninth Legion, perhaps present in fewer numbers and seen as the weakest link, came under serious attack and was only saved through rapid reinforcement¹⁸³. The abundant traces of temporary marching camps once again seem to present the possibility of distinguishing lines of march and various classifications based on size and distinctive characteristics have been used. However, as Hanson points out, even those with a distinctive morphology (the 'Stracathro' type for example) show large variations in size, so that it is difficult to envisage the same grouping of units occupying each in succession. Several in fact (Dalginross particularly) seem to have been occupied for longer than a night or two and may represent temporary bases during campaigns into the glens, well away from the coast, and could perhaps to be credited to the activities of his successors¹⁸⁴. In the seventh and final season, the Caledonians were at last drawn into a set-piece battle at *Mons Graupius*¹⁸⁵. Agricola apparently had need only to deploy his auxiliary forces, some 13,000 men, including Batavian and Tungrian cohorts as well as Britons recruited in the south. The legions were held in reserve and were not called upon. The Caledonians were comprehensively defeated.

Whether the entire legion was in the field and where its winter quarters might have been is not certain. Demolition and rebuilding at Carlisle over the winter of 83/84 suggests a change of garrison here, including at least some soldiers of *legio XX*¹⁸⁶. Their presence is indicated by the discovery of a wooden stylus tablet from within the fort¹⁸⁷. The document is precisely dated to *iii idus novembres*, the 7th day before the Ides of November, *imp domitiano viiii cos*, in the ninth consulship of Domitian, i.e. 7th November AD 83. It records a loan by C. Geminius Mansuetus (7.40), in the century of Vettius

¹⁸² Frere 1987, 93.

¹⁸³ Tacitus *Agr.* 26.

¹⁸⁴ Hanson 1987, 123-6.

¹⁸⁵ The precise location of which remains elusive: Keppie 1980; Hanson 1987, 129.

¹⁸⁶ Caruana 1992, 106.

¹⁸⁷ Tomlin 1992, 146-50.

Proculus (6.74), to Q. Cassius Secundus (7.22), century of Calvius Priscus (6.15), of 100 denarii, one third of a year's pay. One or other of the soldiers, and perhaps all four named individuals, was presumably stationed here in the winter following the victory at Mons Graupius¹⁸⁸. A further stylus tablet¹⁸⁹ addressed to M. Iulius Martialis 'Trimontio aut Lugu(v)alio', at Trimontium (Newstead) or Luguvalium (Carlisle), may suggest that the legion had men split between these two bases at this time, although Martialis' unit is not identified. In the final phase of fortress building at Wroxeter, barrack blocks were demolished to make way for a large (and not clearly identifiable) building. Webster suggests¹⁹⁰ that with the main body of the legion in the north, Wroxeter may have become a base for administration, training and stores. With a headquarters group in the rear at Wroxeter, forward bases, and perhaps winter quarters, at Carlisle, Newstead and/or Corbridge, and construction work about to begin for a wholly new fortress at Inchtuthil, the legion may have been strung out over a large area.

Table III.5: The legion in Britain in the first century

	Reference	Date	Findspot	Form of Title
Ti Claudius Balbillus	3.5	AD 43	Ephesus	LEG XX
L. Domitius Severus	3.7	40s	Verona	LEG XX
P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis	5.2	40s	Trieste	LEG XX
M. Favonius Facilis >	6.25	<60	Colchester	LEG XX
Iustus Super	6.40	<49?	Colchester	
Livius Saturninus >	6.43		Gloucester	LEG XX
Messor	7.61	<67	Usk	
C. Mannius Secundus	7.58	<83	Wroxeter	LEG XX
M. Valerius Latinus	7.87		Bath	LEG XX
Q.Cassius Secundus		83	Carlisle	LEG XX
C. Geminius Mansuetus				
Calvius Priscus >				

¹⁸⁸ Tomlin 1992, 150 and n. 46. On alternative chronologies, see above note 171.

¹⁸⁹ McCarthy 1991, 216 No. 812.

¹⁹⁰ Webster 1988, 132; 2002, 83.

Vettius Proculus >				
Iulius Vitalis	7.51	L1	Bath	LEG XX VV
Cornelius Crescens >	6.22	L1	Gloucester	LEG XX VV
Ti Claudius Fatalis	6.19	L1-E2	Jerusalem	LEG XX V
Ti Claudius Vitalis	6.20	L1-E2	Rome	LEG XX V

Inchtuthil

Consolidation of the newly won territory involved the construction of a line of forts along the south-eastern Highland front, the so-called 'glen-blocking' forts¹⁹¹. Central to this system was a new legionary fortress in the Tay valley at Inchtuthil. Abandoned before fully completed, and unencumbered by later development, Inchtuthil has become the type-site for the Flavian legionary fortress with its complete layout established in excavations by Richmond and St Joseph between 1952 and 1965¹⁹². It is generally assumed to have been constructed by the Twentieth Legion, although no proof of this has been forthcoming. The argument proceeds from the assumption, noted above, that Agricola would have used the legion as his main strike force, and from the perception that a garrison at Wroxeter was the most dispensable¹⁹³. Alternatives have been offered, and the complexities of dispositions in this period will be considered further below, but we would be hard pressed to recognise archaeologically a 4-year absence at any of the legionary fortresses in the south of Britain, so that arguments of greater or lesser likelihood could probably be made for each of the British legions.

The Inchtuthil fortress was constructed over a period of about four years from 83 to 86 and then comprehensively demolished when the site was abandoned. Although all of the barrack accommodation was completed, the lack of a *praetorium*, or of a full complement of officer's houses, and more particularly of granaries, and indeed the lack of a full-scale bathhouse, might suggest that the legion never

¹⁹¹ Hanson 1987, 146. A start to construction before the final season of campaigning has been suggested: Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 272. The defensive implications of this terminology have been challenged: Breeze 1982, 55-6; Hanson 1987, 149; Hassall 2000b, 446.

¹⁹² Pitts and St. Joseph 1985. Although this does rely a great deal on inference from carefully placed, but essentially limited, trenching.

¹⁹³ Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 279; Manning 2000, 76-7. Hassall 2000a, 62 has suggested that *legio II Adiutrix* perhaps formed the garrison at Inchtuthil. The argument does not convince: cf. Lörincz 2000, 161 and n. 20. Rather than a 'junior' legion, sent to an unpopular posting, one might as easily argue for an experienced legion being placed in such a forward position.

took full possession of the fortress, or at least that its administrative centre remained elsewhere¹⁹⁴. Pitts and St Joseph estimated that the 'labour camps' could have held a work force in excess of 12,000 men and the assumption seems to have been therefore that the entire legion was involved in the undertaking and would have moved into the barrack accommodation as soon as it was ready¹⁹⁵. However, the evidence for occupation of these structures is equivocal. Rubbish pits in the verandas of barrack blocks give an indication of occupation of parts of the fortress. These were very evident as cropmarks in barracks 7-12 and, less densely, in barracks 1-6. Four were excavated in barracks 17 and 18, with other possible examples in barracks 58 and 59¹⁹⁶. Taken together these would only imply some occupation of barracks in the south and east quarter of the fortress. The ovens built into the back of the north-western rampart might suggest wider occupation, but not all of these had been used¹⁹⁷. Shirley's detailed manpower calculations suggest that a workforce of 1000 men for 600-1000 days would have been sufficient for the construction of the fortress with all necessary support in gathering and transporting materials and supplies¹⁹⁸. Clearly a larger body of men could have completed the work in a shorter time. In theory the entire legion might have completed construction in a single season, but the volume of materials required would have been difficult to source and transport on such an abbreviated timescale. Nor does the fact that the fortress was still incomplete when abandoned suggest that such an approach was taken. If a smaller body was committed to construction, there was plenty to do elsewhere. Construction work on other forts on this highland frontier, together with the establishment of a road network and a continuing commitment to police the newly conquered areas might well have accounted for the remainder of the legion. There is no necessity to suppose that its entire strength was ever gathered at Inchtuthil, even if that seems the most logical assumption once sufficient barrack accommodation was in place.

Even while construction proceeded, however, events on the Rhine and Danube were precipitating a crisis that would render continued occupation so far north untenable. The Chattan war of 83 may already have resulted in troop withdrawals from Britain, the defeat of Oppius Sabinus by the Dacians in 85 and of

¹⁹⁴ Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 139, 222: the house in the 'officer's compound' might have been intended initially for the *praefectus castrorum* and thereafter the legate on his arrival from Wroxeter.

¹⁹⁵ Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 239-44: 'Legion XX...moved into the fortress...towards the end of the first season', 244.

¹⁹⁶ Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 151, 153 Pl. XXVI, Figs 79, 82.

¹⁹⁷ Hanson 1987, 148 after Ogilvie and Richmond 1967, 71 *contra* Pitts and St Joseph, 1985, 200.

Cornelius Fuscus in the next year resulted in an ongoing call on manpower from the province which ultimately lead to the withdrawal of *legio II Adiutrix* in its entirety. Neither the date of L. Roscius Celer's command of a detachment of *legio IX Hispana* nor that of C. Velius Rufus' command of a vexillation drawn from nine legions, including all of those of the British garrison, is precisely known¹⁹⁹. Whether they fall as early as 83, or as late as 89²⁰⁰ the consequence would appear to be the same. Even if only a single cohort in size, the vexillations under Rufus' command would account for nearly half a legion. Anything more and the British garrison would have found itself almost a whole legion down, with a similar number of auxiliary troops perhaps also withdrawn, whilst occupying the largest area of the island that it ever would. This newly won territory, it seems, could not be held with the resources available. By mid 88 at the latest²⁰¹ Inchtuthil had been systematically demolished, the site levelled and anything that could not be removed smashed or buried. In the words of Tacitus, *perdomita Britannia et statim omissa*²⁰², 'Britain was conquered and immediately let go'.

It has long been supposed that the withdrawal of *legio II Adiutrix*, the abandonment of Inchtuthil and the transfer of *legio XX VV* to take over the fortress at Chester are directly linked²⁰³. Although not coming to such an obvious termination as at Inchtuthil, the coin series at Wroxeter also shows an unexpected fall with the issues of 87 not making it to the site in the expected numbers, suggesting that whatever administrative presence or holding garrison might have been present now also moved to Chester²⁰⁴. This seems the most straightforward, and most likely, reading of events. However, Hurst has argued for a second phase of military occupation at Gloucester, not earlier than 87-88 and that the only likely context for this would be for the Twentieth Legion to have begun rebuilding the fortress on its return from

¹⁹⁸ Shirley 2001, 98 and 146 Table H.

¹⁹⁹ Celer: *ILS* 1025. Rufus: *ILS* 9200; see 8.5 below.

²⁰⁰ AD 83: Saxer 1967, 2-23; Dobson 1978, 217. AD 89: Strobel 1986b; Kennedy 1983, 195 but still placing withdrawal of the men in 85 or 86. The weakness of the Ninth Legion, commented on by Tacitus *Agr.* 26, might suggest it was already under strength in 82.

²⁰¹ Hobley 1989, 70.

²⁰² Tacitus *Hist.* 1.2.

²⁰³ Jarrett 1968, 81-2; Frere 1987, 101-2 but see n. 20 therein; Keppie 2000b, 28; Manning 2000, 78.

²⁰⁴ Hobley 1989, 70.

Scotland²⁰⁵. This has the advantage of providing a context for the centurial stone of Cornelius Crescens (6.22) discovered reused in Gloucester cathedral, but is difficult to square with the picture presented above of the withdrawal from Scotland and the arrival of the Twentieth at Chester. It would seem particularly unlikely if the Chester fortress was in fact already vacant. However, the date at which the Second Adiutrix left Britain is not known with any certainty. The centurion of that legion decorated in *bello Dacico*²⁰⁶, presumably that of 89, might well have served with a detached vexillation, while the decorations of the Senatorial tribune Satrius Sep[...]²⁰⁷, who must have been serving with the legion as a whole, only indicate a presence on the Danube by 92²⁰⁸. An earlier withdrawal from Britain is not necessary for, as we have seen, the withdrawal of legionary vexillations, and perhaps auxiliaries, to the continent may have been a sufficient strain on resources to account for the abandonment of Caledonia²⁰⁹.

Even if this were the case one would have to ask why the legion would be sent to Gloucester rather than returning to Wroxeter if it were to be removed this far south at all. To begin reconstructing the fortress in stone would seem to introduce an unlikely element of permanence into the rather uneven legionary dispositions, and this activity should perhaps be seen as connected with the founding of the *colonia* on the site of the old fortress²¹⁰. Some part of the Twentieth Legion may indeed have been involved²¹¹, but not necessarily at such an early date. Although it was apparently later known as *colonia Nervia(na)*²¹², suggesting foundation in 96-8, Hassall points out that there are a number of cases where *coloniae* received

²⁰⁵ Hurst 1988, 51-6. The dating provides a *terminus post quem*. It is only the 'military' nature of the construction that seems to rule out a date in the 90s.

²⁰⁶ *ILS* 9193.

²⁰⁷ X 135 = *ILS* 2719 in *bellum Suebicum et Sarmaticum*.

²⁰⁸ Lörincz 2000, 162 but arguing for an initial withdrawal in 86.

²⁰⁹ Frere 1987, 104 n. 20, suggesting that the lack of auxiliaries was the defining factor, but also arguing that a third phase of timber building at Wroxeter should belong to the Twentieth Legion after its return from Scotland.

²¹⁰ Hurst 1988, 54 is clear about the military character of the buildings in this phase. However, the conversion/ reuse of military buildings by a *colonia* is paralleled at Colchester: Crummy 1988, 42.

²¹¹ See also the parallels between the architecture of the fortress walls at Gloucester and those at Chester: Hurst 1986, 119; Strickland 1982, 1983; Hurst in LeQuesne 2000, 124-6.

²¹² *ILS* 2365 = VI 3346. The *frumentarius* M. Ulpius Quintus of Glevum is recorded with the pseudo-tribe *Ner(via)*.

new imperial titles subsequent to their foundation and suggests that the *colonia* was founded by Domitian in the late 80s, the title being suppressed after his death and replaced by *Nerviana*²¹³.

The sequence of movements outlined above – Colchester, Kingsholm, Usk, Wroxeter, Inchtuthil, Chester²¹⁴ – is merely one possible scenario. It has the virtue of simplicity, but the extended period over which such relocations might have taken place has already been mentioned, and the reality was probably not so tidy. Other suggestions can be, and have been, made for legionary dispositions in this period and these are usefully outlined by Hassall²¹⁵. The proposal that at some stage many, indeed most, of the legionaries in Britain were distributed between vexillation fortresses of half legionary size, or smaller²¹⁶, is not considered here in detail. The number of such sites would certainly seem to indicate that campaigning was undertaken by detachments of less than legionary size, doubtless of mixed composition, but how long these sites were in use is not clear. Some might be identified as belonging to specific legions – Clifford and Clyro in South Wales for example²¹⁷, if they can securely be dated to campaigning by the Twentieth – but for the majority it seems unlikely the full nature of the occupying force will ever be known. The provision of permanent bases for the legions within Britain provides complexities enough, and however the legion was divided during the campaigning season, a legionary fortress, if home to little more than an administrative staff for much of the year, would seem to be a *sine qua non*.

One final complication to be addressed is Mason's suggestion that *legio XX* might have been responsible for the foundation of the fortress at Chester before handing it over to the Second when it was moved north²¹⁸. The suggestion of continued activity at Wroxeter up to 87/88²¹⁹ would not appear

²¹³ Hassall and Hurst 1999, 184. The example of Scupi, interpreted as the *Col(onia) F(lavia) F(elix) D(omitiana)* is not perhaps such a pertinent parallel. The name is elsewhere seen to read *Dar(danorum)*: Birley 1986b, 210.

²¹⁴ See Manning 2000.

²¹⁵ Hassall 2000a. But see Hurst 1985, 119-122: a useful corrective to the tendency perhaps to overinterpret the sparse literary and archaeological evidence.

²¹⁶ Frere 1987, 61-3; see Hassall 2000a, Tables 6.6-6.8.

²¹⁷ Manning 1981, 37.

²¹⁸ Mason 2000, 169.

²¹⁹ Hopley 1989, 72.

to fit with such a course of events. The practicalities for *legio II Adiutrix* in undertaking the planning and construction of a new fortress from as far away as Lincoln are as nothing compared with the construction of Inchtuthil by the Twentieth. Nor does the strategic situation seem better served in the late 70s by having a legion in reserve at Lincoln than in a position to operate on the west side of the Pennines whilst the tribes in Wales remained contained by two further legions. On the other hand, it might be noted that the barracks at Chester, even in the initial timber phase, share a design feature – the alleyway separating the *contubernia* from the centurion's house – with those at both Wroxeter and Inchtuthil²²⁰. However, the comparanda presented by Pitts and St Joseph suggest a wider variety of designs and dimensions for centurial accommodation than can be accounted for merely by differences in unit²²¹.

²²⁰ Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 155. The suggestion that this is also seen at Colchester is not borne out in the published plans: Crummy 1992, 11-13 Figs 2.3-2.6; nor clearly so at Gloucester: Hurst 1988, 3.4, 3.6. Davison 1989, 25 considers the type a general feature of early cohort barracks in Britain, but its retention by the Twentieth at Chester is unusual.

²²¹ Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 173-4 Tables V-VI.

III.3

Legio XX Valeria Victrix at Chester (AD 88-122)

Whatever the precise date of the Twentieth's transfer to *Deva*, it would have arrived to take over a fortress the layout of which was already established, and where some advances towards construction, or reconstruction, in stone might already have begun. This layout has occasioned some discussion, including as it does the large, and unparalleled, 'elliptical building' in the *insula* to the rear of the first cohort barracks and other large and unusual structures to the rear of the *principia* (Fig. III.3.1). Mason has recently assembled the excavation evidence of 1939 and 1963-9 into a comprehensive and detailed discussion of these structures²²². Of the nature of the elliptical building, at least in its first phase, little need be said here, as construction had been abandoned before the Twentieth Legion arrived and it was clearly extraneous to the needs of the incoming garrison. Mason does an admirable job in marshalling (and ultimately dismissing) the evidence for parallels²²³. His solution – a combined *augustaeum* and *imago orbis terrarum*, celebrating the foundation of a new Flavian dynasty and the glory of the Roman world – is ingenious but, without parallels, impossible to test. The building was never completed, there is no evidence to be had for its actual use, and we are reduced to deducing an intended use from a ground plan. More to the point, the fact that the design could be resurrected and finally brought to completion some 150 years later²²⁴ would indicate that a purpose could be served by a building of this form outside of the specific historical context. The extraordinary fact that the Severan structure was laid out afresh and did not systematically reuse the foundations laid down in the Flavian period indicates that there was no constraint to building in a more conventional form. Faced with a *tabula rasa*, the decision was taken to retrieve the plans from file and construct something which, if we follow Mason's argument, no longer had any use. Modifications to the design may indeed have changed the character of the building, but if a structure in this form could be constructed with a different use in mind later, then arguments for the use of the Flavian structure purely from form have little force. The most pertinent parallel would seem to be the

²²² Mason 2000.

²²³ *praetorium*, theatre/amphitheatre, *macellum*, *schola*, *palaestra*: Mason 2000, 66-76.

²²⁴ See below 391-2.

actual use to which the Severan building was put and here especially it is to be regretted that sufficient time or resources could not be found to look in detail at the artefactual evidence²²⁵.

If it is difficult to divorce intended Flavian from actual Severan use, then this would also cast doubt on Mason's arguments for the presence of such a building in the fortress in the first place. The Chester fortress is larger than contemporary establishments at Caerleon and York – 24.65ha as opposed to 20.50ha and 20.31ha respectively. The elliptical building, undoubtedly highly unusual, lies in the 'additional' space in the *latera praetorii*, to the rear of the *principia*. Mason proposes that this space was intended to house the headquarters of the governor in the newly enlarged province, with room for his bodyguard and administrative staff, if not for the governor's residence itself. The elliptical building is seen as part of this suite of buildings set apart from, if lying within, the legionary fortress. A number of other elements are brought into play to argue for the special nature of the Chester fortress and this 'governor's enclave', namely, the elaborate nature of the fortress wall, an inscription found beneath the Old Market Hall, and the Agricolan inscribed lead water pipes found within the elliptical building and elsewhere in the fortress. Taken together they add up to something unusual. However, it is far from clear whether they can be taken together at all²²⁶. The size of the fortress, however, does seem worthy of further consideration, for it is apparent that it was larger than the incoming Twentieth Legion required, with neither the elliptical building *insula*, nor that to the north, fully occupied in this period.

²²⁵ A point made of the report generally by White 2003.

²²⁶ The apparently unusual nature of the **fortress wall** is discussed further below. The argument for a Flavian inception of this design (Mason 2000, 87) is not strong and the similarity to the walls at Gloucester (Hurst 1986, 119) militates against any special significance for its use at Chester. **Old Market Hall Inscription** (*Britannia* 1 (1970), 290 no.1): apparently part of an expansive constitutional or legal text certainly unusual within a legionary fortress. However, neither the context nor the date are clear. It is suggested that it was once attached to the building in the *insula* to the rear of the *principia*, but as this was not completed until c.100/110 (Petch 1968, 4) the argument can only be that it records the rescinding of some declaration of special status for this 'enclave'. See also *RIB* I² 462 + add. which introduces further uncertainty over its original location. **Inscribed water pipes** (*RIB* II³ 2434.1-3): these give a consular date (IMP VESP VIII T IMP VII COS = AD 79) and the name of the governor, Cn Iulius Agricola, at the time of their insertion thus indicating that work had proceeded at least to the point of inserting a water supply to feed the proposed fountain by that date. Whether this implies an official interest in one particular branch of the water system is an open question.

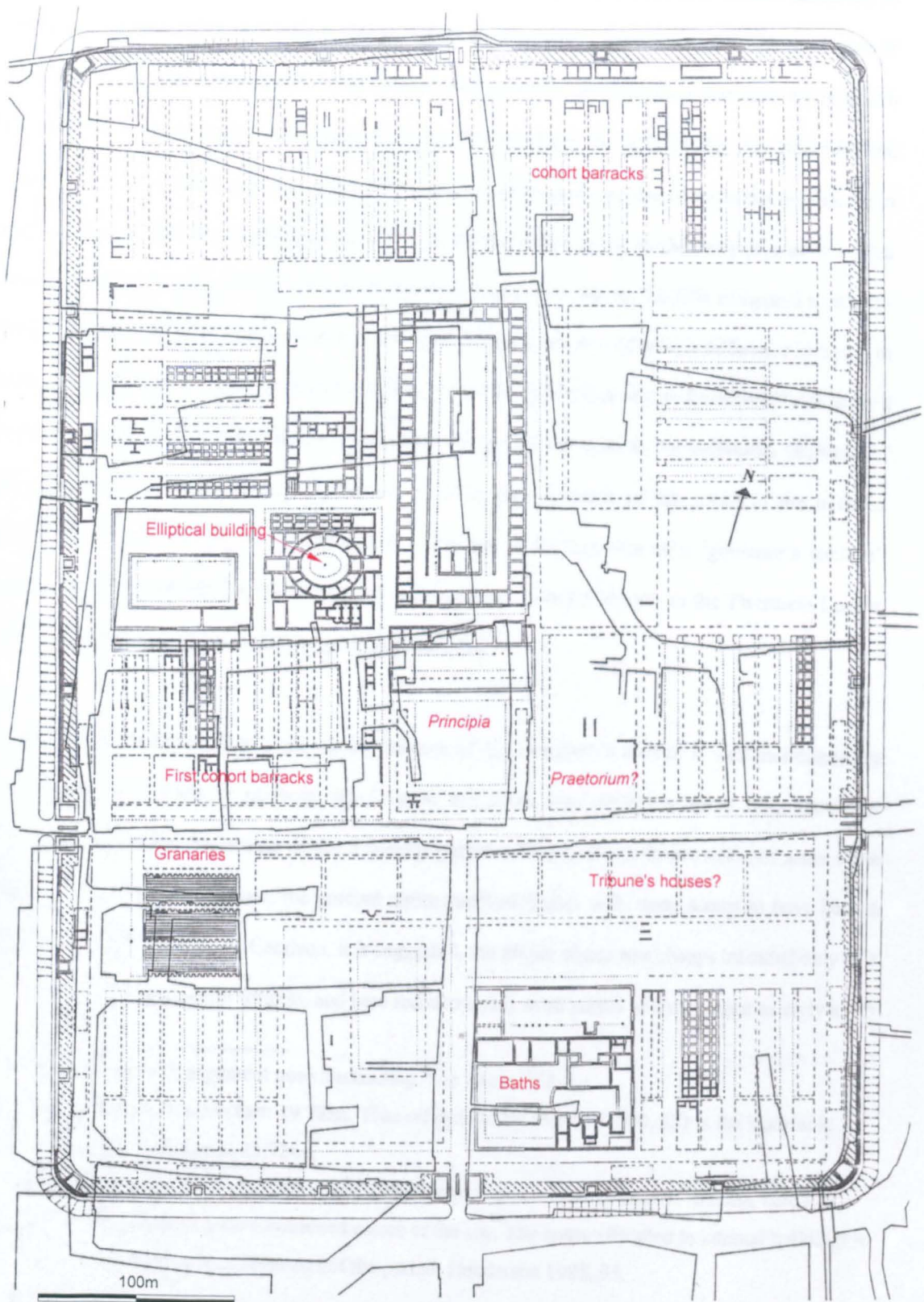


Fig. III.3.1 The Roman fortress at Chester (after Mason 2000 fig. III 2)

Since the layout was determined by the Second Adiutrix²²⁷, it might be argued that any peculiarities were merely due to the preferences of that legion and its architects. However, the first fortress attributed to them after their removal from Britain is that at Aquincum (Budapest), which was no larger than York or Caerleon²²⁸. Moreover, although Chester is unusual within Britain, there are plenty of other fortresses on the continent of similar scale: e.g. Novaesium 24.9ha, Novae 23.8ha, Brigetio 23.2ha, Aquincum 25.9ha, Bonna 27.5ha. The difference in size is not merely due to a more generous use of space throughout, for in all of these, as at Chester, we find that the legionary barracks take up much the same area as in a 20ha fortress (and therefore proportionately less of the fortress area as a whole: 32-35% compared to the 42-45% of the other British fortresses). Chester also shares with the first two of these a difference in layout in having only two cohorts accommodated in the *praetentura* instead of four, a plan form which makes for a more elongated shape²²⁹. These differences, if they are not entirely due to the individual decisions of legions, may repay further study as indicators of differences in status or the nature of the intended garrison²³⁰, but could hardly all be claimed as being due to the presence of a 'governor's enclave'. Whatever the truth behind these decisions, the argument has limited relevance to the Twentieth Legion, except in the way they chose to use the space they inherited.

The fortress was perhaps fifteen years old by the time of the Twentieth's arrival. If well maintained, its fabric should have been in perfectly good repair but there was doubtless some renovation and readjustment to suit the preferences of the incoming garrison. Despite the early provision of some stone structures, such as the bath-house, the gradual replacement of timber with stone seems to have been a surprisingly slow process²³¹. At Caerleon, it is suggested, the timber phase was always intended only as a precursor to a fully stone-built fortress, and here reconstruction work seems to have begun as early as 85

²²⁷ Mason's (2000, 169) argument notwithstanding. See above 358-9.

²²⁸ Wilkes 2000, 114. Flavian fort: 19.78ha. That referred to by Mason (2000, 85) is the Hadrianic fortress, larger than Chester at 25.92ha.

²²⁹ This plan form is also seen at Exeter where it has been adopted within an area of 16.53ha, here it would seem largely owing to the constrained nature of the site. The space allocated to internal buildings in this case is smaller than in other fortresses of the period: Henderson 1988, 95.

²³⁰ Carrington 1985, 45-6.

²³¹ The older view (e.g. Frere 1987, 109) that decaying timber buildings were replaced in stone only once it became clear that further movements of the legions was unlikely has been challenged by the

and been completed on some sites by the end of the century²³². Even at Inchtuthil, a stone wall fronting the rampart was begun within four years of the founding of the fortress, while the unusually small proportions and placement of the timber *principia* are taken to imply an intention to replace in stone as an early priority²³³. At Chester most of the barrack accommodation examined shows evidence of at least one rebuild in timber before replacement in stone, and in some areas this had only just begun before the legion, or a large part of it, was moved north to take part in the construction of Hadrian's Wall²³⁴. Work apparently also stopped on other buildings within and without the fortress, at this stage²³⁵. Reasons for this are difficult to determine. Shirley addresses only in passing the manpower requirements for the conversion of Inchtuthil to a fully stone-built fortress²³⁶, but even a conservative estimate would suggest that 10 years was ample time, even allowing for other commitments. It appears that this was done at Caerleon. If it was not done at Chester we would have to ask why, and what the men of the legion were doing instead. A large contribution to the construction of the *colonia* at Gloucester is a possibility (but why were soldiers of the Second Augusta not involved in equal degree?), but our knowledge of events does not suggest an easy explanation.

The legionary legate T. Pomponius Mamilianus (1.4) is the only commander of the legion to be attested whilst in that post. He is recorded at Chester on a dedication to Fortuna Redux, Aesculapius and Salus, set up by his freedmen and slave household, and perhaps commemorating a safe return from campaigning elsewhere in the province. He is identified with the suffect consul of 100 and would therefore have held his legionary command in the early 90s under Domitian in the early days of the legion's occupation of Chester²³⁷. If he was indeed involved in campaigning at this date, then the historical sources offer us little in the way of context. However, continuing unrest is implied in other records. The *bellum Britannicum* in which C. Iulius Karus won his decorations has been placed in the latter years of Domitian's reign²³⁸ and

suggestion that these dispositions were always intended to be permanent and reconstruction in stone began as soon as time and manpower allowed (Zienkiewicz 1991).

²³² Zienkiewicz 1993, 85.

²³³ Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 60, 86.

²³⁴ Mason 2001, 132, 157.

²³⁵ Strickland 2003, 13.

²³⁶ Shirley 2001, 147.

²³⁷ A.R. Birley 1981, 235.

²³⁸ Birley 1953, 23-4 (preferring Trajan); Mann and Jarrett 1970, 181; Frere 1987, 109.

the honours awarded to the *cohors I Cugernorum – Ulpia Traiana civium Romanorum*²³⁹ – suggest conflict also in Trajan's reign. Other indications of trouble in the province come rather later, at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian in 117²⁴⁰. The scale of this is uncertain – Fronto put the losses on a par with those of the Bar Kochba revolt in Judaea²⁴¹ – but it was put down the following year. Legionary forces might have been involved in any or all of these episodes and continued deployment of the legion elsewhere might account in some part for the slow pace of redevelopment at the fortress.

The fortress wall at Chester was constructed of large, finely dressed, blocks of sandstone laid without mortar in the style known as *opus quadratum*. In this it differs from those of Caerleon and York, which were stone-faced with a cemented rubble core, although probably rendered in such a way as to suggest monumental masonry²⁴². None were intended as free standing, all being cut back into the face of a pre-existing turf rampart which was heightened where necessary to support the rampart walkway. The finished appearance of each was doubtless quite similar. Zienkiewicz argues that the choice of materials and technique was governed by what was easily available and that no special significance pertains to the high quality of the work at Chester²⁴³. The style is closely paralleled at Gloucester, where freestone is also easily available, and where the walls were perhaps also the work of the Twentieth Legion, at least in part²⁴⁴. Quite when the walls at Chester were constructed, however, remains a matter for debate. Mason's observations on the settling of the rampart after the addition of the stone facing would imply a relatively early date, but deduction of an early Flavian date from late 19th and early 20th century descriptions of concrete foundations seems optimistic²⁴⁵. The dating evidence presented by LeQuesne on the other hand suggests an early third-century date for parts of the east wall²⁴⁶. It may be that this section had been rebuilt. The argument that there is no stylistic difference between this and the primary phases at the Kaleyards or in the North Wall is as relevant to third-century rebuilding as it is to the suggested third-

²³⁹ XVI 69; *RIB* II¹ 2401.6. Birley 1953, 24; Jarrett 1994b, 58.

²⁴⁰ *SHA Hadrian* 5.

²⁴¹ Fronto *de Bello Parthico* 2.

²⁴² *RCHME* 1962, 8; Zienkiewicz in LeQuesne 1999, 133. *cf.* also Inchtuthil: Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 61-8.

²⁴³ Zienkiewicz *loc. cit. contra* Mason 2000, 85-7.

²⁴⁴ Hurst 1986, 119.

²⁴⁵ Mason 2000, 87.

²⁴⁶ LeQuesne 1999, 140.

century completion²⁴⁷. No evidence has been forthcoming of any earlier walling of different form. Whichever interpretation we choose – completion, reconstruction or repair – the wall seems to have conformed to one style throughout so that distinguishing between these in the limited areas available for investigation might prove difficult. That the walls could have remained unfinished at the time of the legion's departure for the north, only to be completed in the early third century, might seem unlikely given that the wall at Inchtuthil had been begun within four years of the foundation of the fortress. However, a similar sequence of events has been suggested at York²⁴⁸, and although this presents a very different picture of the nature of the fortress in this period, little of the internal fabric appears to have been completed in stone before the third century.

Stone was available near at hand, from either side of the gorge through which the Dee makes its final exit into the estuary. Timber for renovation and repair was perhaps harder to come by in the immediate vicinity given the large quantities consumed by the construction of the original fortress. Tile, too was required in large quantities, but could be produced wherever there was a suitable supply of clay and fuel to fire the kilns. Much may have been produced in temporary clamps. Whether or not timber-phase buildings were provided with a tiled roof, the baths of the Second Adiutrix would have required tens of thousands of hypocaust, roofing and flue tiles. Where these were produced we do not know. However, a more permanent establishment was set up by the Twentieth Legion at Holt (possibly *Bovium*²⁴⁹) 12km south of the fortress²⁵⁰. Here, on the west bank of the River Dee, kilns and workshops were constructed together with a walled compound accommodating barracks and a separate bath-house and a more comfortably appointed house, presumably for the officer in command²⁵¹. These kilns produced a wide variety of tiles – including water pipes, hypocaust and flue tiles as well as roofing tiles and antefixes – and also pottery, largely coarse wares of utilitarian form, but including some finer fabrics and vessels imitative

²⁴⁷ LeQuesne 1999, 144-5.

²⁴⁸ Buildings partly in stone, partly in timber; defences largely timber and earthwork until the late second / early third century: Ottaway 1993, 62; 1996, 292-3.

²⁴⁹ Thus Rivet and Smith 1979, 274. The roadside settlement at Grafton to the southeast is now seen as a better candidate: Petch 1987, 213; Mason 2001, 151.

²⁵⁰ The results of excavations undertaken by T. Arthur Acton in 1907-15 were published by Grimes 1930. It remains the best known such legionary tiler in Britain: Nash-Williams 1969, 42-4; Frere 1987, 216; Mason 2001, 151-3.

²⁵¹ The house has alternatively been interpreted as a second, later, bath-house: Mason 2001, 153.

of Samian forms. Given the location of the site immediately adjacent to the Dee, these were undoubtedly transported by river downstream to the fortress. Of the 33 different stamps of the legion identified on the products of the kilns, the vast majority have been discovered at Chester. However, some eighteen stamps have been identified at Chester which do not appear at Holt and some of these may have been manufactured elsewhere, like the tiles produced by Aulus Viducus at Tarbock for the legion²⁵². Production at Holt seems to have begun soon after the arrival of the legion at Chester and to have been in decline by the late Hadrianic period, ceasing completely by about AD 150²⁵³.

A number of centurial stones record the involvement of legionaries in the construction of the complex, including men of the century of the *primus pilus* (*RIB* 440) and those under the command of Cesonius (6.17) and Rufius Sabinus (6.58), who is found somewhat later in charge of a century working on the construction of Hadrian's Wall. Inscriptions on items such as bread stamps and quernstones, as well as graffiti on some of the kiln products, identify some of those who undertook production on site. These include the centuries of Arab[ius] (6.6), Sui[lius] (6.61), Varenius Proculeianus (6.71) and [...]elius Aquilinus (6.75), as well as the individuals Cocceius Verus (7.25), Iulius Victor (7.49), the African Macrinus²⁵⁴ (7.57), and possibly Sextus (7.121*). Production at some stage may have been under the direction of Logus (6.44), described as *princeps*. A further graffito records the expenses of three individuals, Iunius, Maternus and Bellettus²⁵⁵. These may have been legionaries, but products of the Holt kilns are found at a number of forts in the north-west – e.g. at Caernarvon, Caerhun, Caerws, Oakenholt, Prestatyn, Manchester and Wilderspool²⁵⁶ – and it may be that working parties of auxiliaries undertook production for their own use. This might be the interpretation of the graffito of Iulius Aventinus of the

²⁵² *RIB* II⁴ 2463.59; Swan and Philpott 2000. See 383 below.

²⁵³ An antefix *RIB* II⁴ 2458.3 (xxii) produced there was found in a late first-century context at Chester. The coin series and Samian assemblage indicate a late first to early second-century *floruit*: Ward 1997, 140-2. Resumption of production is assumed as part of third-century reconstruction at the fortress (Mason 2001, 192 and see below 391-2) but the *LEGXXANTO* tiles, *RIB* II⁴ 2463.51-2, are not recorded at Holt. On the expansion of the *De(ciana)* and *V(ictoriniana)* tiles, *RIB* II⁴ 2463.54-7, see below 415 and n. 72.

²⁵⁴ The graffito was cut into the side of a bowl of a form characteristic of North African types (Swan 1992, 4). A number of other such vessels are known here and at Chester (Swan 1999b, 425) perhaps suggesting an influx of men from the North African provinces at some point. See further 377 below.

²⁵⁵ *Britannia* 26 (1995), 387 no.28, see above II.7 *incerti*.

²⁵⁶ *RIB* II⁴, 175.

*cohors I Sunicorum*²⁵⁷, unless he was merely laying claim to a shipment he had been sent to collect (but if so, he was clearly present before the batch was fired). The tile was stamped LEG XX VV nonetheless.

The earliest tombstones of the Twentieth Legion at Chester can be defined through the formulae used in the epitaphs (see above Chapter I.2.3). This form of epitaph was used by all of the serving soldiers of the Second Adiutrix recorded at Chester and can be seen in use on the continent up to the end of the first century. Six individuals are known with tombstones of this style on which the name of the legion does not survive. Some of these might therefore have served with the Second, but other details suggest service with the Twentieth as more probable.

Table III.6: The Earliest Tombstones at Chester

See above I.4.2. Criteria: nominative, filiation, tribus, origo, centuria, annorum, stipendiorum, hse

		nom.	fil.	trib.	origo	cent	ann.	stip.	hse	
Q. Postumius Solus	7.69	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	XX
C. Iulius Quartus	7.44	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	XX VV
L. Caiatius Sextinus	7.18	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	...	XX VV
C. Louesius Cadarus	7.55	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	XX VV
Q. Vibius Secundus	7.94	(Dis Manibus) ✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	XX VV
L. Licinius Valens <i>veteranus</i>	7.54	(DM) ✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	(hfc) ✓	XX VV
L. Antestius Sabinus	7.113*	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	...	-
L. Camulius Albanus	7.115*	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	...	-
Q. Domitius Optatus	7.118*	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	...	-
Q. Longinius Laetus	7.120*	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	...	-
Sex. Simil...	7.122*	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	...	-
M. Valerius Martialis	7.123*	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	...	...	-

²⁵⁷ *RIB II*⁴ 2491.96

Frontinius Aquilo (7.36), named as the heir of C. Louesius Cadarus (7.55), will also have served at Chester in this early period, as it seems did the anonymous *optio* (7.108) who drowned in a shipwreck. There are doubtless others among the surviving records who might be placed in the first two decades of the second century (see Tables II.7.8, II.7.9 above), but these are more difficult to detect as the stylistic distinctions are less clear. *Origines* are discussed further at II.7.1, but despite the growing preponderance of men from Hispania, Gaul and Noricum, a significant number from Italian sources remain.

The centurions T. Flavius Pro(culus) (6.30), Lucilius Ingenuus (6.45), Octavianus (6.52) and Cornelius Severus (6.117*) are named on the above monuments. Those recorded on centurial stones from Chester (Table I.2.8) probably also fall into this period, although as we have seen the scale of construction in stone at this time is uncertain. Ferronius Vegetus (6.26) is also recorded on Hadrian's Wall, so that the centurial stone from Chester probably records some earlier involvement in construction works. Q. Albius Felix (6.5), Ti. Claudius Vitalis (6.20) and L. Valerius Proculus (6.70) all record awards of *dona* in Trajanic (or perhaps earlier) campaigns, and their subsequent transfers may have brought them to Chester in the early years of Hadrian's reign. Felix' second set of awards, from the emperor Hadrian, were gained during his service with the Twentieth. The career of Ti. Claudius Fatalis (6.19) shows similarities and may belong to much the same period, as perhaps does that of M. Tuccius [... (6.68).

Of the senior officers we know little. Apart from the legate Mamilianus (1.4) there is an equestrian tribune Rufus (3.12) who served with the legion before 105/122, in which period he was *procurator* to Plotina Augusta, the wife of the emperor Trajan; and the *praefectus castrorum* M. Pompeius Asper (4.2), who had been decorated for prior service as centurion, probably in Domitian's Dacian wars of 86-92.

III.4

The Twentieth Legion in the north of Britain (123-196)

For the majority of the second century the legion seems to have been active elsewhere than at its ostensible base. On one reading of the available evidence it could be argued that the fortress at Chester was all but abandoned²⁵⁸. The grand circuit of walls had not been completed²⁵⁹ and barrack accommodation was abandoned still in the process of reconstruction, with some of it even demolished²⁶⁰. Other buildings were left to decay and the disused plots overlain with soil and dumped refuse. Cremations, and even an infant burial, were inserted through these remains²⁶¹. However, some activity continued at the *fabrica*, for debris was disposed of on adjacent plots, and an administrative presence at the fortress is presumed. Supporting evidence for the latter is to be found in the dedication to Jupiter Tanarus set up by L. Elufrius Praesens (6.24) in 154. He is described as *pri(nceps)*, which is to say *princeps prior* of the first cohort, and as such was in charge of the *tabularium principis*, the administrative office charged with processing the orders of the legion. This officer would normally have been assisted by the *optiones* of the first cohort amongst others²⁶², but the first cohort barracks is among those showing evidence of dereliction at this time, so that neither the men of Praesens' own century nor other members of the first cohort seem to have been accommodated in their usual place, if present at all.

This widespread dereliction poses significant problems. None of the barrack blocks examined thus far show evidence for full occupation in this period and even if some of the remainder continued to house a full complement, it would seem that the vast majority of the legion was elsewhere. Although there was much to occupy the legion in the north of the province, as we shall see, this apparent failure even to return to winter quarters at Chester is something of a mystery. It suggests more than a campaigning season spent in temporary camps while engaged in construction work (or indeed warfare). A permanent presence over many years would seem to require more accommodation in the north than is readily recognisable. If even

²⁵⁸ Strickland 1981, 415-9 considers the possibility that it was essentially demilitarised between the 120s and 160s.

²⁵⁹ LeQuesne 1999, 145.

²⁶⁰ Strickland 1999, 108-9; Mason 2001, 157.

²⁶¹ Mason 2001, 158.

²⁶² Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 50; *ILS* 2446 = VIII 2555, 18072.

an administrative presence at Chester is unclear until 154 then we could in effect be looking for another legionary fortress to accommodate them. On the other hand, it may be that the legion was considerably under strength throughout this period, either through general attrition or through the detachment of vexillations for service elsewhere, which either never returned, or were not replaced for some considerable time. Surviving examples of duty rosters, particularly for auxiliary units²⁶³, suggest that it was not unusual for units to be divided between a number of bases, or operating at well below their paper strength. The duty roster of a century of *legio III Cyrenaica* at Nicopolis in the late first century²⁶⁴ lists only 44 soldiers on the books of the century, and other documents show that even individual soldiers could regularly be detached for long periods elsewhere²⁶⁵.

Possible contexts for the detachment of vexillations will be explored further below. It is of course likely that other similar events remain unrecorded. It should not surprise us if the surviving record represents only a small proportion of such movements. The transfers of some of the centurions of the Twentieth seem to suggest contact between legions ostensibly stationed at the opposite ends of the Empire²⁶⁶. If the Twentieth and the other British legions contributed regularly and largely to such detachments then it might be that the anomalously large garrison of Britain was not quite so anomalous in reality as it was on paper. The evidence from the legionary fortress at York is not so wide-ranging as at Chester, but the failure to complete the walled circuit until the third century might similarly suggest a legion largely occupied elsewhere in this period²⁶⁷. Only the fortress of the Second Augusta at Caerleon seems to show evidence for something like full occupation throughout the second century²⁶⁸.

²⁶³ *Tab. Vind.* II.154, *coh I Tungrorum* at Vindolanda; Fink 1971, No. 63, *coh I Veterana Hispanorum eq.* at Stobi.

²⁶⁴ *CPL* 106

²⁶⁵ Fink 1971, No. 10.

²⁶⁶ It was the argument of Birley 1965, followed by Summerly 1991, that this was one of the principal motors for such transfers. See Table II.6.3.

²⁶⁷ Ottaway 1993, 62; 1996, 292-3. The change of garrison under Hadrian may have been a major additional factor here.

²⁶⁸ Zienkiewicz 1993, 85 nonetheless suggesting something of a hiatus under Hadrian.

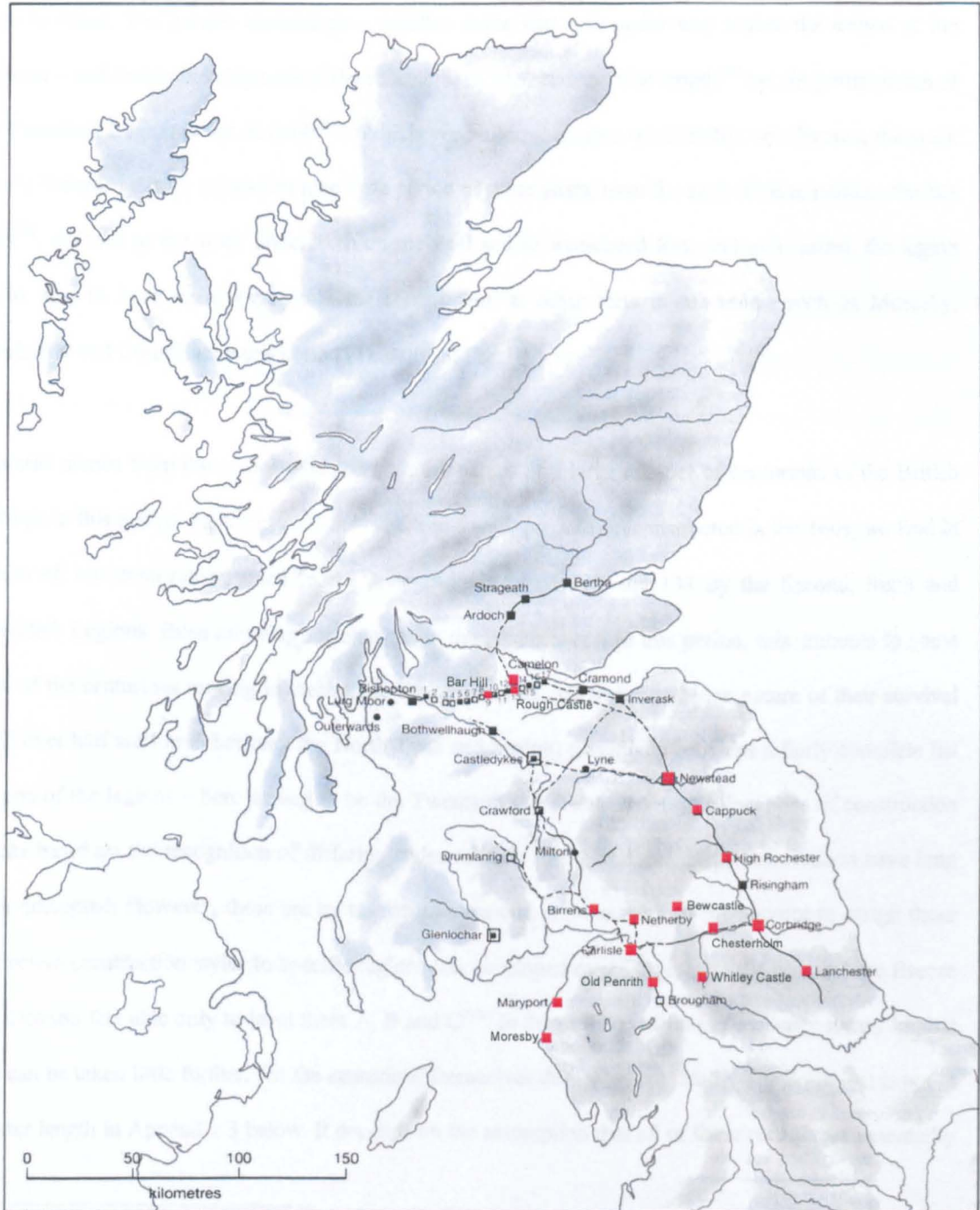


Fig. III.4.1 Evidence for the Twentieth Legion in the north of Britain
 (after Jones and Mattingly 1990 Map 4:55)

Hadrian's Wall

The first years of Hadrian's reign opened with warfare as we have seen. This may already have drawn elements of the legionary garrison to the north but the arrival of the emperor in the province in 122 and the decision to build a wall from the Solway to the Tyne ensured that they would remain there for some years to come. The precise chronology – whether some part was under way before the arrival of the emperor – and further development of the scheme have been addressed at length²⁶⁹ but the participation of the Twentieth Legion is not in doubt²⁷⁰. Whichever building scheme or timetable one favours, the work clearly occupied a large number of men for a period of some years, from the early 120s to perhaps the late 130s²⁷¹. As well as the work undertaken on the wall and its associated forts and milecastles, the legion seems also to have been responsible for construction at other forts in the north, such as Moresby, Lanchester and Corbridge in this period (Table III.8; Fig. III.4.1).

Centurial stones from the wall provide us with the names of a large number of centurions of the British garrison in this period. Leaving aside the rebuilt turf wall, probably reconstructed in the 160s, we find in excess of 140 centurions named in the areas built between 122 and 138 by the Second, Sixth and Twentieth Legions. Even allowing for changes in the centurial roll in this period, this amounts to some 60% of the centurions serving in these three legions at the time, and the uneven nature of their survival (well over half are found between the North Tyne and Irthing) potentially provides a fairly complete list for one of the legions – here argued to be the Twentieth (see Table II.6.10). Allocations of construction blocks based on the recognition of differing styles of wall, turret, and milecastle construction have long been attempted. However, these are by no means clear-cut, and the story of the attempt to assign these distinctive construction styles to specific legions has developed over 70 years to the point where Breeze and Dobson feel able only to label them A, B and C²⁷². In the absence of further evidence it may be that this can be taken little further, but the centurions themselves deserve closer study. The argument is put at greater length in Appendix 3 below. It depends on the assumption that all of these records are essentially

²⁶⁹ Stephens 1966, 39; Breeze and Dobson 2000, 65-6; Bennett 2002.

²⁷⁰ Breeze and Dobson 2000, 66 and see below Appendix 3.

²⁷¹ The date range for later Hadrianic dedications is rather wide, the appearance of *p(ater) p(atriciae)* only allowing activity to be placed 128/138. It may be that much or all of this was completed by 130 or not many years after.

²⁷² Collingwood 1931, 86-7; Breeze and Dobson 2000, 68.

contemporary, which might be disputed²⁷³, but stands independent of the rather confused structural evidence in suggesting a grouping based on the close association of repeated records of individuals. The conclusions are supported by Bennett's arguments on the chronology and sequence of construction²⁷⁴, which would suggest that one legion was allocated the whole sector between the North Tyne and the River Irthing, if not ultimately responsible for all of the work in that zone.

If virtually all of the cohorts, perhaps even all of the centuries, of the legion were involved in construction, it does not follow that all of the men were necessarily involved. As already noted, surviving fragments of legionary duty rosters suggest that the number of men available for duty at any one time might be as little as half the nominal strength, whether this be through ill health, detachment for service elsewhere, or a more long-term shortage of new recruits. Moreover, many might claim exemption from such labours – the *immunes*: clerical staff and other specialists, veterans in their final years of service – for all that it was an imperially inspired project of exceptional nature. Temporary camps sufficient to house working parties of several thousand men have been identified adjacent to the Antonine Wall, but camps of such a scale are not known in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall and the size of detachments here is more difficult to estimate. The presumed involvement here of at least some representatives of most of the centuries of the legion has implications for any postulated large scale transfer of detachments, but the earliest clear second-century context would fall in the later phases, or indeed at the end of, construction.

The Bar Kochba revolt of 132 in Judaea was a grave threat to Rome's interests in the east and Hadrian selected Sex. Iulius Severus, then governor of Britain, and one of his ablest generals, to lead the suppression of the revolt. Birley long argued that such men on receiving a new posting would seek to have transferred with them junior officers of proven ability (or over whom they exercised patronage)²⁷⁵. Thus M. Staius Priscus who had been prefect of the *cohors IIII Lingonum* in Britain was transferred to a

²⁷³ Those for which a later date has been argued are different in form and content: see e.g. Mann 1992. The nomenclature can be compared to other well-dated centurial lists: e.g. III 7449 of AD 155, VIII 18065 of AD 162, III 6580 of AD 194. The relative frequency of Iulii and Flavii, and complete lack of Aurelii, mark out the Hadrian's Wall corpus from these later lists.

²⁷⁴ Bennett 2002. His 1998 suggestions as to the sequence from Wallsend to Newcastle are countered by Bidwell 1999, 97 but the argument elsewhere deserves consideration.

²⁷⁵ Birley 1957, 5.

tribunate with *legio III Gallica* in Syria at this time and received decorations for his service in the war²⁷⁶. It was Birley's further argument that some transfers of centurions could be explained in much the same way, through the movement of vexillations subsequently incorporated into the legions of the province at the end of the campaign. He places in this period the career of C. Ligustinius Disertus (6.42), who transferred from the Twentieth to the Fourth Scythica and then back again to the Twentieth²⁷⁷, implying that Severus took with him a detachment of experienced men from the Twentieth Legion. This suggestion has also been raised in the case of Q. Albius Felix (6.5) who was decorated by the Emperor Hadrian in an unspecified campaign²⁷⁸. As a senior centurion, and ex-Praetorian, with distinguished service in the East, he might seem a good candidate for such a posting, but warfare in Britain in Hadrian's reign perhaps provides an easier context. However, a number of further careers may provide some support, for M. Septimius Magnus (6.59) was also transferred from the Twentieth to the Fourth Scythica (or vice versa), whilst the anonymous prefect of the Twentieth (4.3) had earlier served with the Fourth in an otherwise wholly western series of postings. Two other centurions, Pon[...] Magnus (6.102) and Vesuius Rufus (6.112), recorded on Hadrian's Wall, have been tentatively identified with the *primus pilus*, Pontienus Magnus, and centurion, Veruius Rufus, of *legio X Fretensis* in 150. A similar context for their transfer in the 130s might be argued. The career of the tribune C. Sempronius Fidus (3.13) must also be added to this picture, for he served successively in the three Syrian legions *IIII Scythica*, *VI Ferrata*, *III Gallica* and then *XX Valeria Victrix* (although the sequence of posts might be read in the reverse direction). A legionary tribune would not normally be expected to accompany a vexillation on active service, but the career is unusual however one looks at it – four successive tribunates is virtually unparalleled – and is perhaps also rooted in the unusual circumstances of AD 132-34.

The Antonine Wall

Whether or not the legion had lost men to campaigns in the east, the construction of Hadrian's Wall had not finally settled the question of the northern frontier of Britain and the legions were soon called upon again. The decision to advance the frontier of the province some 70 miles from the Tyne-Solway line to

²⁷⁶ A.R. Birley 1981, 124. After promotion to the Senate he later returned to Britain as governor.

²⁷⁷ Birley 1988, 216: but temporary reinforcement of the army of Syria by a vexillation would not seem to fit this case, for it must have retained its identity if it later returned. Disertus' post as centurion of *IIII Scythica* must surely have been an individual appointment.

²⁷⁸ Maxfield 1981, 195.

the Forth-Clyde isthmus coincides with the accession of the emperor Antoninus Pius and his appointment of a new governor to the province, Q. Lollius Urbicus, in 139. The reason for this advance is uncertain. Trouble in the north of the province may be reflected in Pausanius' statement that Antoninus had deprived the *Brigantes* in Britain of much of their territory because of their invasion of the Genounian district²⁷⁹. However, these 'Genounians' are unknown in Britain, whereas the *Genauni* of Raetia occupied territory immediately adjacent to a tribe known as the *Brigantii* and may have been introduced into the account through textual or geographic confusion²⁸⁰. Antoninus certainly accepted acclamation as *imperator* for a victory in Britain also celebrated on a series of coin issues²⁸¹, but perhaps the advance and conquest of 'new' territory was victory enough. The Brigantes appear to have been the only tribe of northern Britain well known to literary Rome²⁸², so that allowing for the obvious confusions in Pausanius²⁸³, perhaps no more than a general indication of trouble in the north should be assumed²⁸⁴. Whatever the true cause – and a desire to cement his newly held position with a military victory may have been reason enough – Antoninus' decision ensured that the Twentieth Legion would continue to be occupied on the northern frontier, and for decades to come.

The Second, Sixth and Twentieth Legions are all attested building along the line of the Wall by finely sculpted slabs indicating the amount constructed by each legion and set up, apparently in pairs, to mark each end of the sectors built by each legion²⁸⁵. Nineteen such slabs are known all told, with eight (or perhaps nine) belonging to the Twentieth Legion (Table III.7; Fig. III.4.2), and these allow a division of the work between the three legions to be suggested in a construction scheme extending from c. 142-

²⁷⁹ Pausanius *Descr. Graeciae* 8.43.

²⁸⁰ Hind 1977, 232; Rivet and Smith 1979, 49.

²⁸¹ X 515; *RIC* 3, 121.743-5.

²⁸² Tacitus *Agricola* 17.2, 31.5; *Annals* 12.32, 36, 40; *Histories* 3.45, but also Seneca *Apocol.* 12.3 and Juvenal *Satires* 14.196.

²⁸³ His wording seems further to imply an attack from outside of the province on a people subject to Rome. This would not fit the Raetian any better than the British context. The argument that a small portion of Brigantian territory in the west lay to the north of the line chosen for Hadrian's Wall (Birley 1953, 36) seems hardly enough to allow a rising by the Brigantes to be characterised as an attack on Roman-held territory from without.

²⁸⁴ Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 60-3; Frere 1987, 133.

²⁸⁵ Keppie 1998, 51-6.

144²⁸⁶. The recurrence of distances such as the 3666.5 paces of the Second and Sixth legions, i.e. $3\frac{2}{3}$ Roman miles, has led to attempts to discern a scheme based on divisions into thirds of a mile²⁸⁷. This is to push analogy with Hadrian's Wall too far. Even there divisions between working parties at the scale of a third of a mile are highly conjectural (if they can any longer be supported at all). The reason for such fractional distances might perhaps be sought in an attempt to divide a whole number of miles equally between three legions. It is supposed that the whole of the Second Legion was involved in construction whilst the records of the Twentieth and the Sixth are specific in their reference to vexillations. Hanson and Maxwell suggest some 4000 men of the Second involved in construction, and something like 1500-2000 from each of the Sixth and Twentieth²⁸⁸. However, the postulated divisions into legionary sectors would not involve the Second in significantly more work than the other two legions²⁸⁹ so these differences in the formulation of the text may merely be stylistic. Temporary camps identified adjacent to the line of the wall seem sufficient to house working parties of the order of 1000-2000 men. Their positions appear to relate to the suggested divisions into legionary sectors and they were presumably therefore occupied in succession by elements of the legion working in different sectors at different times.

Table III.7: Antonine Wall distance slabs of the Twentieth Legion

CSIR i 4.84 [<i>leg XX?</i>]	Arniebog	-
RIB 2173 = CSIR i 4.158	nr Auchendavy?	3000 paces
RIB 2184 = CSIR i 4.123	Eastermains	3660.8 paces
RIB 2197 = CSIR i 4.146	Castlehill	3000 feet
RIB 2198 = CSIR i 4.148	Hutcheson Hill	3000 feet
Britannia 1 (1970), 309.19 = CSIR i 4.149	Hutcheson Hill	3000 feet
RIB 2199 = CSIR i 4.157	Duntocher?	-

²⁸⁶ Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 121-36; Jones and Mattingly 1990, Map 4:52.

²⁸⁷ Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 121-2.

²⁸⁸ Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 133-4; followed by Breeze and Dobson 2000, 98.

²⁸⁹ Hanson and Maxwell, 1983, 130 Table 6.6. This would give *leg II* 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ miles; *leg VI* 12 $\frac{2}{3}$ miles; *leg XX* 15 $\frac{1}{3}$ miles as planned. The eventual subdivision of the westernmost sector between the three legions increases the share of *legio II* at the expense of the Twentieth but not to a significant extent.

<i>RIB 2206 = CSIR i 4.155</i>	Old Kilpatrick	?4411 feet
<i>RIB 2208 = CSIR i 4.156</i>	Ferrydyke	4411 feet

The final western sector, perhaps originally intended for the Twentieth Legion, was ultimately subdivided between all three legions, presumably in order to swiftly complete the last outstanding section. The distance slabs here show differences in layout and execution from those found on the eastern half of the wall, not least in the choice of units of measurement: paces in the east and feet in the west. The apparent employment of a different craftsman by the Twentieth²⁹⁰ suggests a marked break with the work in the east. An effort to bring work to a speedy conclusion at the close of the season perhaps seems a less likely interpretation than a concerted effort to get the work over and done with at the start of the new. Why the Twentieth should have fallen behind is unclear. Hanson and Maxwell's postulated division of building sectors between the legions allocates more work to the Twentieth²⁹¹ in terms of length of rampart, but the degree of responsibility for other works on forts, fortlets and roadways, and on forts constructed in newly occupied areas to the south, or outposts to the north, is unknown. The legion may have been under strength through earlier troop withdrawals, if these had not been made good in the intervening ten years. Further detachment of men in the 140s has been posited and is considered further below, but would appear to fall too late in the decade to have affected construction in this way.

An intriguing aspect of legionary activity on the Antonine Wall is the identification of distinctively North African ceramic styles among the pottery assemblage from a number of sites. Locally produced pottery with close parallels in North Africa and the western Mediterranean has been identified at Croy Hill, Bar Hill, Balmuildy, Bearsden and Duntocher²⁹². The pottery kiln at Bar Hill was producing a complete suite of vessels in these styles and it has been suggested that the potters were of North African origin²⁹³. Some of the pottery found at Bearsden has been linked with the works depot of the Twentieth Legion at Holt where products with North African affinities have also been identified, and at least one individual working there, Macrinus (7.57), was clearly of North African origin. Similar products have also been

²⁹⁰ Keppie 1998, 51.

²⁹¹ See n. 289. Jones and Mattingly 1990, 121 and Map 4.52 suggest an equal division.

²⁹² Swan 1997, 291.

²⁹³ Anderson in Keppie 1985, 77; Swan 1992, 4.

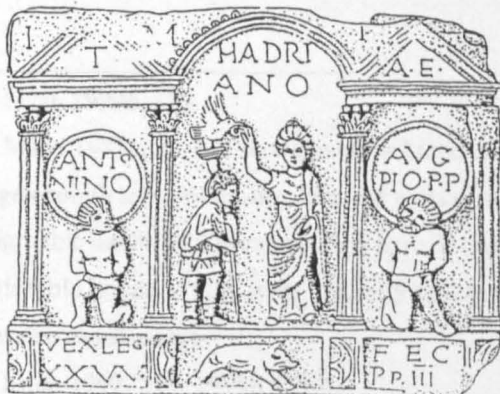


Fig. III.4.2 Antonine Wall distance slabs of the Twentieth Legion (after Keppie 1998)

found at the Chester fortress, and Swan has suggested that these indicate a significant draft of men of North African origin into the ranks of the legion²⁹⁴. African recruitment into the British legions was not apparently usual²⁹⁵ and this has led to a search for a specific context for drafts from that source.

The career of Sextus Flavius Quietus (5.1), *primus pilus* of the Twentieth, has suggested just such a context, for he proceeded from the Twentieth Legion to the command of an expeditionary force sent to Mauretania in AD 149-150 before returning to take up command of the British fleet²⁹⁶. However, a scenario in which Quietus took a vexillation of men from the Twentieth with him as part of his expeditionary force and then brought African legionaries back as he returned to take up his next post does not fit well with the normal progression of such careers, as Swan concedes. Such commissions were generally filled at Rome from the members of the *numerus primipilarius*, those who had completed their term as *primus pilus*. None are known to have undertaken such a role during that term of office²⁹⁷. A particularly pertinent parallel might be seen in the career of T. Pontius Sabinus, former *primus pilus* of *legio III Augusta*, who commanded a vexillation sent to Britain drawn from legions *VII Gemina*, *VIII Augusta* and *XXII Primigenia*²⁹⁸. No soldiers of the Third Augusta were involved. Even if Quietus' expedition could be seen as providing a context for the transfer of these men, the further suggestion that it is the withdrawal of men of the Twentieth for service elsewhere that led to the subdivision of the final western sector of the wall would require construction to extend much later in the 140s than is usually supposed. The fact that pottery in North African styles also appears at Caerleon and York would suggest a more general reinforcement of the British garrison with men raised in Africa and this need not be tied directly to the Twentieth Legion at all. More to the point, it might be argued that we need only envisage the presence of a small number of African potters, rather than a large number of African soldiers, even if

²⁹⁴ Swan 1999b, 423.

²⁹⁵ Mann 1983a, 23-4. The argument is based on epigraphic record of origin. The sample may not be large enough to support other than the most general conclusions (see II.7.1). However, the prolific epigraphic habits of African soldiers in their own province might be expected to have had some noticeable impact if they were normally sent elsewhere (if they continued to follow such habits in those circumstances).

²⁹⁶ Swan 1997, 291; 1999b 423-4.

²⁹⁷ Dobson 1978, 251.

²⁹⁸ X 5829 = *ILS* 2726; Dobson 1978, 235-6.

the range of vessels would seem to imply the adoption of a North African style of cookery²⁹⁹. Ideas and fashions travel more easily than people. The 'legionary' wares of the first century derived from styles prevalent well to the east of the invading legions' previous stations. The potters may have travelled, but the preferences of the legionaries did not necessarily depend on the origins of the soldiers themselves³⁰⁰.

If men of African origin were indeed present in significant numbers, we might hope that they would be epigraphically visible. Few are to be found. Macrinus, who inscribed his name in a neo-Punic script, represents one such, the anonymous soldier from Oea in Tripolitana (7.100) buried at Chester another³⁰¹. None can be identified amongst the soldiers of the other legions of Britain, but these are perhaps as much as we might expect to see among the meagre British corpus.

Whether legionaries were present at the forts of the completed Wall is uncertain. Detachments have been suggested as forming the garrison at some forts, but the existing records most likely relate either to their initial construction or to the presence of legionary centurions in temporary command of auxiliary units³⁰². The three distance slabs of the Twentieth, evidently buried on the withdrawal of forces from the Castlehill-Hutcheson Hill sector³⁰³, could suggest the presence of legionaries taking care that their own records not be left where they might be defaced, but even if such sentiment can be inferred this might imply no more than the presence of a centurion of the legion commanding auxiliaries in that sector.

A detachment of the Twentieth Legion may well have formed part of the garrison of the fort at Newstead (Trimontium), however. Positioned where Dere Street crossed the River Tweed, the fort occupied a central and strategic position in southern Scotland. Barrack accommodation for two legionary cohorts was provided in the fort, perhaps alongside auxiliaries of the *ala Augusta Vocontiorum*³⁰⁴. The centurions L. Maximius Gaetulicus (6.48) and C. Arrius Domitianus (6.7) are both known from altars they erected there, perhaps whilst in command of their respective centuries, if not of the garrison as a whole.

²⁹⁹ The assemblage at Bar Hill represents the work of a single potter, perhaps no more than a single failed kiln load: Anderson in Keppie 1985, 77.

³⁰⁰ Greene 1977, 126.

³⁰¹ Iulius Victor (7.50) is in all likelihood another such, but his career falls in the early third century.

³⁰² Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 166-7 and *cf.* Flavius Betto (6.27) at Rough Castle.

³⁰³ Keppie 1998, 52.

Gaetulicus is also known from an altar to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* at Great Chesters, where he was presumably in command of an auxiliary unit. He is later found at Novae in Moesia Inferior, having risen to the rank of *primus pilus* of *legio I Italica* by 184. He is known to have enrolled initially in the Twentieth in 128 and his first command as centurion of the legion is likely to have fallen in the later 140s or 150s. The period of occupation at Newstead stretches from c. 140 to 160, after which date the fort was remodelled to hold a milliary *ala*³⁰⁵, and this would account for the absence of two cohorts from the legionary fortress throughout that period.

Table III.8: Evidence for the Twentieth Legion in the north of Britain (Hadrian's Wall excepted)

Corbridge (*Coria*)

Boar reliefs and sculpture	<i>CSIR</i> i 1.90 = <i>RIB</i> 1167, <i>CSIR</i> i 1.97-102, 158-163
Building stones	<i>RIB</i> 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167 century of Tullius Capito (6.69)
Dedication slabs	<i>RIB</i> 1125 to the concord of legions VI and XX <i>RIB</i> 1130 for the welfare of the vexillations of VI and XX <i>RIB</i> 1149 to the emperors AD 163
lead sealing	<i>RIB</i> 2411.77 initials QVR (7.98)

Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*)

building stone	<i>RIB</i> 593 = 6.66 century of Titi(an)us ; <i>RIB</i> 592
altar	<i>RIB</i> 588 set up by anonymous centurion (6.81)

Moresby

dedication slab	<i>RIB</i> 801 AD 128-38
-----------------	--------------------------

Maryport (*Alauna*)

dedication stone	<i>RIB</i> 852 vexillations of legions II and XX <i>RIB</i> 854 ...G]ord(iana)? AD 238-44
bulding stone	<i>RIB</i> 853

³⁰⁴ Richmond 1950a, 21; Jarrett 1994, 45.

³⁰⁵ Richmond 1950a, 23-5; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 196.

Old Penrith (*Voreda*)

dedication slab	<i>RIB</i> 940
-----------------	----------------

Carlisle (*Luguvalium*)

boar relief	<i>CSIR</i> i 6.526
boar's head	<i>CSIR</i> i 6.524, 525
building stone	<i>Britannia</i> 17 (1986), 437.11
dedication slab	<i>Britannia</i> 20 (1989), 331.4 to the concord of legions II and XX <i>Britannia</i> 20 (1989), 331.5 M Aurelius Syrio , tribune (3.2) 213/222
writing tablets	Q Cassius Secundus (7.22), C Geminus Mansuetus (7.40) and their centurions Calvius Priscus (6.15), Vettius Proculus (6.74) AD 83 Albanus (7.112*)

Netherby (*Castra Exploratum*)

boar relief	<i>CSIR</i> i 6.278
dedication slab?	<i>RIB</i> 980

Bewcastle (*Fanum Cocid*)

dedication slab	<i>RIB</i> 995 c. AD 126
-----------------	--------------------------

Lanchester (*Longovicium*)

building stone	<i>RIB</i> 1093 + add., <i>RIB</i> 1095 century of Oppius Proculus (6.53)
----------------	--

Whitley Castle

(re)building stone	<i>RIB</i> 1204 vexillation of the legion
--------------------	---

High Rochester (*Bremenium*)

Dedication slab	<i>CSIR</i> i 1.297 = <i>RIB</i> 1284
-----------------	---------------------------------------

building stone	<i>CSIR</i> i 1.300
----------------	---------------------

Newcastle (*Pons Aelius*)

dedication slab	<i>RIB</i> 1322 vexillations to (or from) the army of Germany AD 155-9
-----------------	--

Chesterholm (*Vindolanda*)

building stone	<i>CSIR</i> i 6.250 = <i>RIB</i> 1708, <i>CSIR</i> i 6.251 = <i>Britannia</i> 12 (1981), 380.14
Boar reliefs	<i>CSIR</i> i 6.253, 259 <i>CSIR</i> i 6.390 quarry on Barcombe Down

Birrens (*Blatobulgium*)

sculptured stone	<i>RIB</i> 2114
------------------	-----------------

Cappuck

dedication slab	<i>RIB</i> 2119
-----------------	-----------------

Newstead (*Trimontium*)

boar reliefs	<i>CSIR</i> i 4.49-51
altars	<i>RIB</i> 2120 L Maximius Gaetulicus (6.48) <i>RIB</i> 2122-2125 C Arrius Domitianus (6.7)

Rough Castle

altar	<i>RIB</i> 2144 Flavius Betto in command of <i>coh VI Nerviorum</i>
-------	---

Bar Hill

commemorative slab	<i>RIB</i> 2171 vexillations of legions II and XX
inscribed column	<i>RIB</i> 2312 + add. vexillations [leg II and XX?]

Camelon

building stone	<i>RIB</i> 2210
----------------	-----------------

The later 2nd century

The gradual withdrawal of forces from the Antonine Wall from about 161 will have caused some redistribution of units but may not have affected the legions as much as the auxiliaries. However, the attendant recommissioning of Hadrian's Wall certainly involved legionaries and the Twentieth may have played a major part in the reconstruction of the Turf Wall in stone between the Irthing and the Solway³⁰⁶. A dedication recovered from the River Tyne at Newcastle (*RIB* 1322) is a further indication of where legionary forces were most required in this period. Whichever way it is read – as a record of reinforcements for the British legions from the armies of Germany, or vice versa, of British legionaries reinforcing the German army³⁰⁷ – it indicates a significant concentration of legionaries in the north in the mid 150s. Their continuing presence is indicated by records of building by the Twentieth Legion at Corbridge in the 160s³⁰⁸, although whether this indicates a longer legionary presence prior to the establishment of the legionary depot in the third century is unclear³⁰⁹. At Carlisle the character of the military presence within the civilian town in the later second century is not well defined, but here too elements of the Twentieth Legion are to be found in the early third century, and this may reflect earlier dispositions on and behind the northern frontier³¹⁰. On either interpretation of *RIB* 1322, it would seem clear that the legions had once again been operating below strength, and with soldiers of the Twentieth perhaps divided between Newstead, Carlisle, Corbridge and even elsewhere, it is not surprising that little more than an administrative presence can be detected at Chester. The wars on the Danube under Marcus Aurelius may have continued to draw on reserves in Britain. M. Gargilius Secundus (7.39), who was

³⁰⁶ A stone records work of *coh V* of the Twentieth (*RIB* 2035) near to MC70. See also Mann 1992 on the identification of building stones – not 'centurial' stones – relating to this reconstruction: one stone of the Sixth Legion (*RIB* 1389) is explicit *legio VI refecit*; for the Twentieth see also *RIB* 1385, 1390, 1391.

³⁰⁷ *RIB* 1322: *vexillationes... contributi EX GER(MANIIS) DUOBUS* or *EX(ERCITIBUS) GER(MANICIANIS) DUOBUS*. *RIB* has the former; *RIB I*², after Speidel 1987, 235-6, prefers the latter. The gloss 'and now returning' seems unnecessary. The governorship of Iulius Verus gives a date range of 155-158 but events in this period are not so precisely dated as to prevent commemoration of a departure in 155 with return by 158 or soon after.

³⁰⁸ *RIB* 1149: dating to 163 if the restoration of the inscription is correct.

³⁰⁹ Richmond 1943; Bishop and Dore 1988, 140.

³¹⁰ McCarthy 2002, 72-4; see below Chapter III.5.

buried at Tarvisium in north-eastern Italy, was described as having died *sub vexillo*, whilst under the standard of a vexillation. He perhaps served in the campaigns of 170-172 against the incursions of the Quadi and Marcomanni³¹¹. Later still we yet find centurions of the Twentieth in command of units in the north, as for example Aelius Vibius (6.4) at Benwell in the period 176-80 in command of the *coh I Vangiorum milliaria eq.*

At what date the fortress at Chester began to be reoccupied on a larger scale is uncertain. Rebuilding, or at least re-roofing, of some structures is indicated by the purchase of tiles from the civilian contractor Aulus Viducus. The consular date on the stamped products of his tilery, *tegula(ria) A Vidu(ci) Vero III cos leg XX*, has since their discovery been read as indicating the third consulship of L. Aurelius Verus in 167³¹². This would seem to chime well with a gradual disengagement from the north, but it is not clear that this can be assumed. Withdrawal from the Antonine Wall had begun from about 161/2 but occupation, of whatever form, continued at Newstead, Carlisle and Corbridge. If rebuilding of the Turf Wall from the Irthing to the Solway was allotted, at least in some part, to the Twentieth, then the completion of that work and other building projects perhaps gradually eliminated the need for their presence in the north and a return to Chester might be proposed. However, the two tile fragments recovered at Chester were residual in post-Roman contexts, and independent dating for either this proposed reconstruction or indeed for the episode of production at Tarbock is far from clear³¹³. The consular date might in fact be read as that of M. Annius Verus *cos III* in 126³¹⁴, and although this might seem a less likely context with the bulk of the legion in the north, one need only posit some low-level continuing maintenance or refurbishment better served, in the absence of available manpower, by the external purchase of roofing materials. Even if the later context is preferred, the work need not indicate wholesale reconstruction, for the return of a single cohort from long-term absence might be all that is indicated³¹⁵.

³¹¹ Jarrett 1968, 84. Other contexts might perhaps be sought from the later first to the third centuries, and other readings of *sub vexillum* (see 7.39). There is no evidence of date other than the supposition that he was in the field in that area. His commemoration by a brother might indicate only that Treviso was his home town, although it would not be unusual for brothers to serve together.

³¹² *Britannia* IX (1978) 476 no.16; *RIB II*⁴ 2463.59; Swan and Philpott 2000, 56.

³¹³ Swan and Philpott 2000, 55.

³¹⁴ Salomies in *AE* 2000.831 citing VI 32516; *AE* 1994.1670a.

³¹⁵ *cf.* the restoration of the *cohors VII* barracks at Caerleon: *RIB* 334; Casey 2002, 167.

During the reign of Commodus warfare is once again reported in the north. Although this was successfully concluded by the governor Ulpus Marcellus in 184, subsequent events indicate a mutinous state within the British garrison, the reason for which is unclear. It was perhaps on this account that Marcellus himself came close to being put to death by Commodus, despite his military successes³¹⁶. One possible catalyst for dissent may have been the replacement of the senatorial legates of the British legions with equestrian officers by Perennis, Commodus' praetorian prefect³¹⁷. This may have been in response to their attempt to persuade the legate Priscus, about whom we know no more, to assume the purple³¹⁸. However it came about, Dio tells us that in 185 1500 men of the British army marched on Rome and persuaded Commodus that Perennis was plotting against him. Perennis was turned over to them and killed. P. Helvius Pertinax, who was later to become emperor, if briefly, on the death of Commodus, was next sent as governor but still found the legions mutinous. His removal two years later, at his own request, suggests that these matters were not entirely resolved even then³¹⁹.

One further incident that has been linked to these events is L. Artorius Castus' command of a force drawn from the legions, and perhaps cohorts and *alae*, of the British army sent to suppress a rising in Brittany, probably that of Maternus in 185/186³²⁰. Pflaum indeed suggests that this was the catalyst for the mutiny, with the equestrian Castus having been placed in command of two of the British legions. However, it seems most unlikely that this force could have comprised two entire legions, with or without auxiliaries, and that Castus' command was therefore in any way unusual. Castus had been *primus pilus* of *legio V Macedonica* and *praefectus* of *legio VI Victrix*³²¹. The command of an expeditionary force would be perfectly standard in such a career³²². The identity of the legions involved is not specified but the Twentieth may well have contributed.

³¹⁶ A.R. Birley 1981, 142.

³¹⁷ *SHA* Commodus 6.2.

³¹⁸ Dio 73.9; A.R. Birley 1981, 260-1. The two events are not directly linked in the surviving sources.

³¹⁹ A.R. Birley 1981, 145.

³²⁰ Pflaum 1960, 535-7: *CIL* 1919 *duci legg [coh alaru]m Britanicianarum adversus Armor[icano]s* or *ILS* 2770 add. *duci legg [duaru]m Britanicianarum*.

³²¹ Dobson 1978, 267.

³²² *cf.* the case of Sex. Flavius Quietus (5.1) discussed above 377-8.

On the death of Pertinax in March 193, the British governor Clodius Albinus laid claim to the throne. Septimius Severus, however, was in a much stronger position with the armies of the Danube and the Rhine behind him, and Albinus was moved to come to an early accommodation which left him in charge of his province with the title of *Caesar*. This state of affairs did not outlast the defeat of Severus' rival in the east, Pescennius Niger, and in 196 Albinus crossed to Gaul with a large army, presumably containing the greater part of his legions. Having inflicted a defeat on Virius Lupus and the army of the lower Rhine, he seized Lugdunum and it was near there that he faced Severus on 19 February in the following year. Despite great losses on both sides, it was Severus who prevailed, and Albinus, having fled the battlefield, took his own life³²³. One indication of the presence of the Twentieth Legion at Lugdunum at this time is the lead seal of a Marcus V(alerius) or Marcus U(lpius) (7.96) who was perhaps *speculator* on the staff of Albinus himself³²⁴. This battle marks probably the most significant defeat in the history of the legion. Although some of the campaigning in Germany in AD 15 and 16 seems to have been of doubtful success, it is only in their previous championing of an unsuccessful Imperial claimant in AD 69 that the legion had faced such a reverse, and they had been present on that occasion at much less strength³²⁵.

This period, in which the legion was largely absent from Chester and occupied in the north of the province, coincides with an increase in the habit of epigraphy throughout the Empire generally. Thus, as we lose the deceptively coherent historical narrative of the first century, we gain in evidence for those who commanded and served in the legion. The majority of the senatorial and equestrian officers known to us served with the legion in the second century (see Table II.1.2). Q. Cassius Agrippa (1.5) commanded the legion in the 120s, while it was involved in the construction of Hadrian's Wall; M. Aemilius Papus (1.6) between about 128 and 131 while the legion continued largely in the north. C. Curtius Iustus' (1.7) tenure fell a little later in the 140s, while the legion, or parts of it, were building on the Antonine Wall; that of L. Cestius Gallus (1.8) later still, in the last quarter of the century. All of these men rose to become consul, and Aemilius Papus and Curtius Iustus to the governorships of Dalmatia and of Dacia and Moesia

³²³ Dio 76.6, 7.

³²⁴ Alternatively, the letters SP may represent the *cognomen*. Other lead seals from the town appear to relate to transactions in the provisioning of the Rhine legions and are perhaps of earlier date: XIII 10029.45-47 (this marked LXX), 49-51. The legion appears as LXXV on XIII 10029.48 and the presence of Albinus at Lugdunum seems the most likely context.

³²⁵ Above Chapter III.1, III.2.

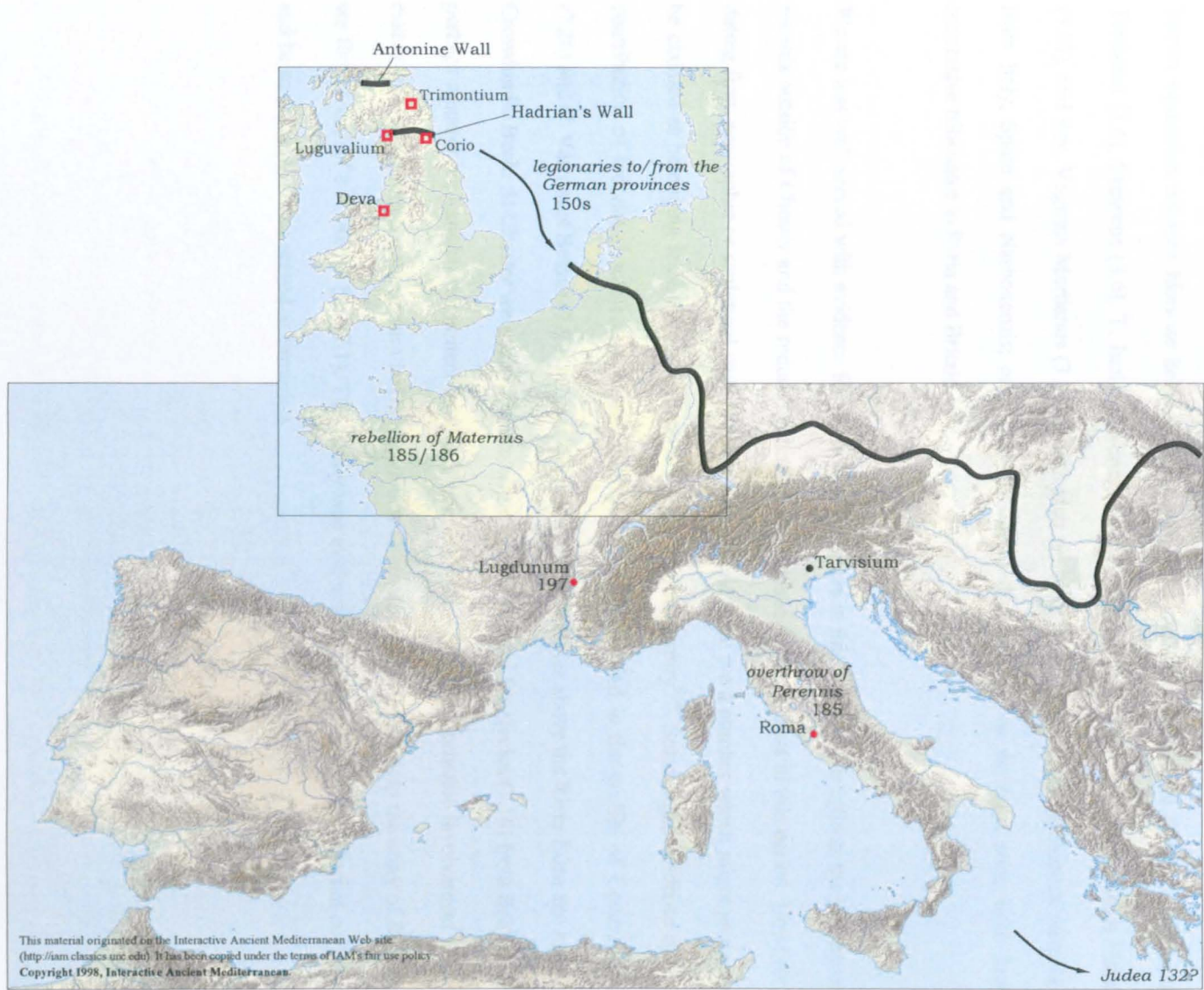


Fig. III.4.3 The Twentieth Legion in the second century

respectively, but none led careers of any great distinction. The senatorial *tribuni laticlavii* M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa (2.1), L. Aemilius Naso Fabullinus (2.2), M. Caelius Flavius Proculus (2.3) and An. Satrius Sal[... (2.4) cannot be precisely dated but fall in the same general period from Hadrian's reign onwards. Although Proculus managed to attract some Imperial patronage, these men were if anything less distinguished. None is known to have attained the consulship, or even command of a legion. Seven of the known equestrian tribunes likewise belong to this period: M. Antonius Modianus (3.1), C. Calcinius Tertianus (3.4), Crescens (3.6), T. Iunius Severus (3.9), Q. Planius Felix (3.11), C. Sempronius Fidus (3.13), and Sex. Vagirus Martianus (3.14). These men were for the most part solid provincial worthies from Italy, Spain and Narbonensis; only Fidus is out of the ordinary, as we have seen, with four successive tribunates in Syria and Britain.

We are less well served with evidence for the ordinary soldiers in this period. This reflects the paucity of records outside of Chester and the reduced nature of the garrison at the fortress in this period. However, dating from epigraphic or sculptural style is rarely precise, and there are a number which might as easily be claimed as belonging later, rather than earlier, in the second century³²⁶. Some small evidence of the contribution of individual soldiers to construction in the north is found in the graffiti of Condrausius (7.26) and C. Varronius Bessus (7.91) cut into the rock-faces of quarries above the River Eden and beside Crowdundle Beck. At Chester we might note the origin of M. Apronius [Sen]jecius (7.10) from Beirut and perhaps connect his transfer/recruitment into the Twentieth with the legion's possible involvement in the east in the 130s. From Sarmizegetusa in Dacia, another unusual source of recruits to the army of Britain, we find record of a P. Aelius [... (7.1). The family was evidently of some status in the *Dacian colonia*, and he may perhaps have served as centurion.

³²⁶ See above Chapter I.2.3 and Table II.7.9.

III.5

The Twentieth Legion in the third century (AD 197-296)

The third century represents a period of dramatic change in the nature and deployment of the Imperial legions but presents us with little evidence for the detailed nature of these changes in the case of the Twentieth Legion or for their effects on the men in the ranks. It opens in the aftermath of defeat in support of one imperial claimant, Clodius Albinus, and ends similarly in the crushing of the rather less ambitious 'British Empire' of Carausius and Allectus. Events in the intervening years are obscure. To what degree the legion was reconstituted after the defeat at Lugdunum is uncertain. Refurbishment of the fortress at Chester in the early third century suggests a restoration to full strength and the transfer of a number of experienced senior centurions into the legion might be indicative of an overhaul of the officer corps in order to reinforce loyalty. It seems likely that the legion was sufficiently restored for it to play a part in Severus' campaigns in the north of the island in 208-211, but by the end of the century it would hardly have been recognisable when compared with its first arrival at Chester two centuries before. Although doubt remains about the strength of the legions in the late third and fourth centuries, it is clear that even if the complement remained at 5000-6000 men, these were differently distributed in bodies perhaps little more than 1000 strong. The Twentieth Legion is known to have contributed detachments to continental field armies during the third century. If these detachments were ever intended to return, political considerations conspired to ensure that some remained permanently detached, and by the end of the third century the remaining garrison at Chester would have been very different from that of the heyday of the legionary fortress.

Although the defeated remnants of the British legions were returned to Britain by Septimius Severus, there is little evidence for any immediate renewed occupation at Chester, and the legion may once again have been largely active in the north until the close of Severus' campaigns there³²⁷. The very large camps of this period in the north of Scotland give an indication of the size of the forces involved³²⁸, boosted by Praetorian cohorts and legionary and auxiliary detachments brought over by Severus. Now, as later, the legion probably had a considerable presence at Carlisle and/or Corbridge. On its return to Chester,

³²⁷ Mason 2001, 156.

³²⁸ Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 205-6.

however, a programme of major reconstruction seems to have begun. Mason contends that it is only in this rebuilding after *c.* 210 that the Chester fortress finally attained its full complement of buildings³²⁹, and the assumption would be that the legion had been restored to full strength, even if it were not to remain so. All of the areas examined within the fortress show reconstruction in this period, and it is only now that the enigmatic 'elliptical building' was finally completed.

What defeat meant for the men of the legion as individuals is difficult to say. The turbulent history of the Empire presents many cases of legions supporting the rival claims of emperors and usurpers. Although in the normal run of events desertion, and particularly defection to the cause of an enemy, would attract a penalty of death³³⁰, it seems that in these circumstances it was not necessarily the men who bore the brunt of any repercussions. They followed their commanders, and it was their commanders who paid the price for disloyalty. Disbandment of an entire legion was an option, however, the best attested case being the disbandment of *legio III Augusta* in 238 by Gordian III for its part in the overthrow of his grandfather, Gordian I, and uncle, Gordian II³³¹. The Praetorian Guard similarly was dismissed wholesale in 197, not being trusted by the incoming emperor Severus³³². Such may have also have been the fate of *legio I Germanica* for its part in the revolt of Iulius Civilis in Gaul in 70³³³. The legions *IV Macedonica* and *XVI* were equally implicated and were presumably also cashiered, although these it seems were reconstituted as *IV Flavia felix* and *XVI Flavia firma*, while the First disappears³³⁴. The legions of the defeated factions in AD 69 seem not to have suffered any such fate, although the Vitellian forces were redeployed in Moesia, and the British contingents may never have returned to their parent units. This does not necessarily mean that all was forgiven, by either side. The Twentieth Legion made a show of defiance on the accession of Vespasian, or at least enough of one for it to be commented on by Tacitus. The Fourteenth too was famously recalcitrant, although it was with Vitellius that they had their quarrel. If there was displeasure on the part of the new emperor, this is difficult to detect. In 197 as much as in 69, the loss of manpower concomitant on the disbandment of the legions that had supported rival claimants

³²⁹ Mason 2000, 109.

³³⁰ Campbell 1984, 303.

³³¹ Le Bohec 1989, 451-3. The legion was reformed in 253.

³³² Dio 74.1; but it may be that here some of the officers were retained see II.6.64.

³³³ Keppie 1984, 214, but not perhaps *XV Primigenia* which was destroyed by the rebels at Vetera: Tacitus *Hist.* 4.60; Ritterling 1925, 1760.

would have been unsupportable. Although we know little of the scale of the Twentieth Legion's losses at Lugdunum, new recruits³³⁵, or drafts from other units, would have been required to return it to full strength, and this dilution of the disloyal core may have been deemed sufficient. A new legate would certainly have been appointed and it is possible that L. Cestius Gallus (1.8) owes his command to Severus in this period.

Other changes are likely to have been made to the officer corps, perhaps exemplified in the careers of a number of senior centurions and tribunes of the Twentieth Legion, apparently promoted from Severus' Danubian legions into the Praetorian Guard and thence to senior positions with the provincial legions. These careers reflect developments in the nature of the legion and its command structure from the reign of Septimius Severus. Throughout the third century the influence of the Senate in the government of the Empire gradually diminished, and equestrians came more often to be promoted to the formerly senatorial posts of legionary legate and *tribunus laticlavus*³³⁶. Exclusion from such posts was evidently not total until the reign of Gallienus (253-68)³³⁷, however, and it seems that senators continued to command troops within the Gallic Empire, including Britain, until its reconquest by Aurelian in 274³³⁸. With the exception perhaps of L. Cestius Gallus (1.8), who might have held his post as late as 209, none of the third-century commanders of the Twentieth Legion are known to us, but this changing nature of the legionary command is reflected in those careers of which a record has survived. M. Aurelius Syrio (3.2), tribune in command of a detachment at Carlisle in the period 212/222, came from Ulpia Nicopolis and had probably been a soldier in the army of Severus transferred into the Praetorian Guard and promoted ultimately to a legionary tribunate³³⁹. The tribune Flavius Longus (3.8), from Samosata on the Euphrates, who made a dedication to the welfare of joint emperors at Chester in the third century, may have followed a similar path. Such careers are not seen before the third century, but from the time of Severus onwards we find a number of cases of praetorian *evocati* advancing to the tribunate where once they would have become

³³⁴ Parker 1928, 145.

³³⁵ Mann 1983a, 24 suggesting that two soldiers from Narbonensis (7.14, 7.48) were recruited at this time.

³³⁶ Campbell 1984, 404-7; Southern and Dixon 1996, 8.

³³⁷ Zosimus 1.14.2; Campbell 1975 11-31; A.R. Birley 1981, 34; Le Bohec 1994, 38.

³³⁸ A.R. Birley 1981, 35.

³³⁹ Tomlin and Annis 1989.

legionary centurions³⁴⁰. However, a number of ex-praetorians did serve as centurion with the Twentieth Legion in the early third century. M. Tillius Rufus (6.64) had received his *evocatio* from the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and was already a centurion in the Guard by the time of Severus' accession. He was transferred to a senior centurionate with the Twentieth Legion in 208. Cornelius Ca[...] (6.21) also attained his centurionate after service in the Guard, but the precise details are lost (*evocatio* was not necessary: the *beneficarii* of the Praetorian Prefect could expect transfer to a legionary centurionate). Varius Quintus Gainus (6.72) as *trecenarius* had probably followed a similar career path through the Guard and Rome centurionates as Rufus, taking up a senior centurionate with the Twentieth thereafter. Although it is suggested that these latter careers also belong to the third century, all of these represent normal second-century routes of promotion, and little influence of Severus' reforms can be detected.

If the surviving core of the legion was diluted by new recruits and transferred officers, there is little to tell of any difference between the two, although we must suppose that they could have been distinguished in army records. T. Flavius Virilis (6.31), was probably serving in the ranks of the Second Augusta at the time of the Battle of Lugdunum. By the time of Severus' campaigns in Caledonia 209-11, he may well have already been promoted to the centurionate. A period of active campaigning might perhaps account for his series of transfers between the three British legions (*cf.* C. Iulius Maritimus (6.37), who also served as centurion in the three British legions and was also later transferred to *III Augusta*). Virilis' subsequent transfers took him to Lambaesis as centurion of *III Augusta* and ultimately of *III Parthica Severiana* in the reign of Severus Alexander (222-253). It would be possible to argue either way: that transfer was a privilege that indicates no lasting disgrace; or that transfer was intended to dilute the influence of centurions of questionable loyalty. His recorded final post, in the apparently 'junior' position of *hastatus posterior* of the ninth cohort, might support the latter, but the subtleties of the centurial hierarchy remain elusive (see II.6.6). A number of other experienced centurions were transferred into the Twentieth Legion in or around this period – e.g. C. Iulius Lepidus (6.36) – but the dating is not precise enough to argue for a specific context.

³⁴⁰ Birley 1969, 76.

If large parts of the legion had been absent – on the continent in support of Albinus, and then perhaps in northern Britain and Caledonia – significant refurbishment and rebuilding at the fortress from about 213³⁴¹ onwards would suggest a return to full strength at the legionary base at Chester. Wherever the sites of barracks have been examined there is evidence for reconstruction in the first half of the third century³⁴², and this evidence is widespread enough for it to be suggested that the entire barrack accommodation was rebuilt in this period³⁴³. Indeed all of the major buildings examined, including the *principia* and the intramural baths, show evidence for reconstruction in this period along with renewal of streets and sewers and work on the defences, interval towers and rampart buildings³⁴⁴. One interpretation of the sequence of defences would even suggest that the full circuit of stone defences was only completed in this period³⁴⁵. Such early third-century reconstruction is also in evidence at Caerleon, which seems to have been similarly refurbished, if not perhaps on the same scale³⁴⁶. At York, which was apparently the base for the emperor and his sons, one might have supposed comparable renovation but the evidence suggests continued maintenance rather than wholesale reconstruction³⁴⁷.

This overhaul of the fortress also extended to areas in the *latera praetorii* which had long lain vacant or where the nature of the earlier occupation is not well understood (Fig. III.3.1). The large ‘stores’ building to the rear of the *principia* was extensively refurbished, and to the west the ‘elliptical building’ was finally completed, together with further ranges of rooms in the *insula* to the north whose function is equally uncertain. The elliptical building, with its oval central courtyard and portico, surrounded by a range of twelve rooms, offers no easy parallel, and the use to which this imposing structure was put remains

³⁴¹ The start date is suggested by the widespread appearance of tiles bearing the *leg XX Anto(niniana)* and *leg XX VV A(ntoniniana)* stamps of AD 213-222: Mason 2000, 140; *RIB* II⁴ 2363.51-53.

³⁴² Ward and Strickland 1978, 24; McPeake *et al* 1980; Petch 1987, 156.

³⁴³ Strickland 1981, 424; Mason 2000, 140. The areas examined are not large and investigations of the cohort blocks at the north-west and south-west corners minimal, but only that lying beneath the cathedral has gone wholly unexamined.

³⁴⁴ Mason *loc. cit.*; Strickland 1981, 419-27 and note *RIB* 455 ... *opus quod | [conlapsum in rui]nam restitutum est*.

³⁴⁵ LeQuesne 1999, 144 and see above 364-5.

³⁴⁶ Nash-Williams 1969, 31-2. The demolition of some buildings around 200 has suggested an initial intention to abandon the fortress. Even with refurbishment elsewhere, some areas close to the centre of the fortress were left vacant thereafter: Zienkiewicz 1993, 85-6.

³⁴⁷ Phillips and Heywood 1995, 7.

unclear. The building was laid out afresh, with only minor modifications to the original design, and without reusing the foundations of the abandoned Flavian structure, which would clearly imply that the original plans were available to the architect charged with the work. This retrieval of structural plans from archive after some 150 years has rightly been noted as an important insight into the working of the legionary *tabularium*³⁴⁸, the more so because the original had been planned and laid out by the Second Adiutrix, and these plans, along with much other documentation perhaps, must have been handed over when control of the fortress passed from the Second to the Twentieth Legions. Some official, perhaps administrative, role might be suggested for a building of this scale, but if so it would not seem to be something for which an urgent need had been felt in the previous 150 years. Something in the changed conditions of the third century may have dictated the necessity for such a structure, but it did not lead to construction in similar form at either York or Caerleon. We must either suppose something specific to Chester, or else perhaps a conscious sense of tradition in choosing this design for something which may exist elsewhere in a more utilitarian form.

Interpretation as a *macellum*, a market, within the fortress, is not perhaps such an unlikely idea, for even in the early third century it is perhaps a mistake to think in terms of a purely military establishment. The abandonment of the marriage ban may have had a significant effect on the nature of the communities occupying forts and fortresses in the third century. Indeed, the finds assemblage from the fortress baths at Caerleon suggests large scale, and continuing, access by 'civilians'³⁴⁹. Strickland notes that some of the renovations to the barrack blocks at Chester are strikingly reminiscent of the converted barrack blocks of the *colonia* at Gloucester³⁵⁰, and more generous accommodation for the men, and very possibly their families, might perhaps be presumed. If the fortress was now fully occupied for the first time in decades, the nature of that occupation, and therefore the size of the occupying force, may have been somewhat different.

The *praefectus castrorum* M. Aurelius Alexander (4.1) was probably at Chester in this period of early third-century reconstruction and may have had a key role in the rebuilding and renovation. It was in this period also that M. Porcius Iasucthan (6.54) received his transfer as centurion from *legio III Augusta* at

³⁴⁸ White 2003, 390.

³⁴⁹ Zienkiewicz 1986 and see below 399 n. 385.

Lambaesis to the Twentieth. With his manifestly African *cognomen*, it would seem likely that Iasuchan had been promoted up through the ranks of the Third Augusta. By the beginning of the year 222 he was centurion in charge of the small desert garrison at Gholaiia. Some time thereafter he erected an altar at the legionary fortress at Lambaesis on which he recorded his position as centurion of the Twentieth. C. Sulgius Caecilianus (5.4), who was *primus pilus* of the Twentieth a few years before 231, may also have transferred from a centurionate with the Third Augusta and would very likely have been a contemporary of Iasuchan in one or other unit. These are the latest officers of the legion known to us.

Among the men serving at Chester in this period were Titinius Felix (7.80), *beneficiarius* in the office of the legionary legate, who was commemorated by his wife Iulia Similina, and C. Valerius Iustus (7.86), *actarius* or record clerk, perhaps in the same office, who set up a dedication to his wife Cocceia Irene. Record of the post in which a soldier served is commoner on third-century memorials and a number of others also record posts in the *officium* of the legate: Iulius Victor (7.50), *beneficiarius*, who it seems was from North Africa and set up a dedication there to his sister Iulia; and Mommius Cattianus (7.65), whose tombstone supplies us with detail of a succession of posts as *beneficiarius* and *cornicularius* to the legate before promotion to *optio* in the first cohort. The *imaginifer* Aurelius Diogenes (7.12) and *signifer* Aurelius Valetinus (7.14) doubtless also belong to the third century, as also Aurelius Lucius (7.13), *eques*; the *optio* Caecilius Avitus (7.16), perhaps; and Aelius Optatus (7.3), *magister ballistariorum*, who was perhaps a praetorian detached for service with the legion as a trainer of artillery. Iulius Valerianus (7.48), whose mother set up a memorial to him in his home town of Nemausus, was detached from the legion as *beneficiarius* in the office of the provincial procurator.

The province of *Britannia* was divided into two parts, *Inferior* and *Superior*, by Caracalla c. AD 213³⁵¹, in a move perhaps aimed at limiting the military responsibilities of the provincial command generally (and therefore the forces available to a potential usurper). In Britain this had the strange effect of placing the Twentieth and Second Legions under the command of the Consular governor of *Britannia Superior* in London, whilst the less senior Praetorian governor oversaw the much more militarily sensitive *Britannia Inferior* with only the Sixth Legion under his command (but a much larger complement of auxiliary

³⁵⁰ Strickland 1981, 424.

units). However the division was intended to work, the documented presence of *beneficarii* of the Consular governor in the north suggests that the senior partner retained some responsibilities over Inferior³⁵². A fragmentary inscription recovered from Southwark appears to record members of a legionary detachment seconded to the governor's staff in London in the third century³⁵³. These may in fact have been the *beneficarii*³⁵⁴, but whether they were drawn from *legio XX VV* or *legio II Aug* we cannot tell.

Even if the fortress should now be seen now as fully occupied, detachments remained in the north (if not further afield). Considerable significance has been placed on the appearance of vexillations of the Twentieth and Second Legions in the north of Britain after the division of the province. It has been taken as indicating that Chester and Caerleon were now being used as reserve bases from which troops could be drawn at need for service outside of their province (if for the most part still within the island of Britain). Third-century building work by such detachments is recorded at Netherby and at Maryport³⁵⁵, and a dedication to the Concord of the two legions is known from Carlisle, perhaps while under the command of the tribune M. Aurelius Syrio (3.2) who was present in the period 213/222³⁵⁶. However, similar detachments were already in use at an earlier date – at Bewcastle and at Bar Hill in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods³⁵⁷ for example – and are by no means exclusive to the Second and Twentieth: cf. *RIB* 2146, Second and Sixth at Castlecary; *RIB* 1130, Twentieth and Sixth at Corbridge, plus *RIB* 1125 to the Concord of these two legions. However anomalous it might seem for these two legions to inhabit a

³⁵¹ Herodian 3.8.2 credits this to Severus in 197, but A.R. Birley 1981, 168-72 convincingly argues for a later date.

³⁵² A.R. Birley 1981, 172 and n. 30; *RIB* 745, perhaps 747, 1696.

³⁵³ *Britannia* 16 (1985), 317-22.

³⁵⁴ *Britannia* 16 (1985), 322 no.7. The *beneficarii consulares* represent the largest group of seconded legionaries in the *officium*: Jones 1949, 44.

³⁵⁵ Netherby, perhaps: *RIB* 980 + add. Maryport: *RIB* 852. But not so late at Bewcastle, *pace* Jarrett 1968, 86: see A.R. Birley 1981, 105 n. 1; *CSIR* i.6, 109 no. 3.

³⁵⁶ *Britannia* 1989, 331 no. 4; Tomlin and Annis 1989, 87.

³⁵⁷ Bewcastle: *RIB* 995 + add. Bar Hill: *RIB* 2171, *RIB* 2312 + add. Jarrett (1968, 85) supposed that the former might record third century construction. However, there is little evidence for any reoccupation of forts on the Antonine Wall in this period (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 126) and Keppie proposes that the vexillations responsible for the dedication to the emperor Antoninus Pius are those same *vexillationes leg II Aug et leg XX VV* (Keppie 1983b, 397).

province 'without an open frontier'³⁵⁸, the use of detachments from them in the north seems hardly different to the situation in the second century. Political expediency may have drawn the boundaries where it did, but military necessity may have ensured that this made little difference to the uses to which troops were put.

Even where soldiers of the Twentieth and Second operated together, the nature of these detachments may have varied greatly. A vexillation, composed perhaps of one cohort from each legion and with a large cavalry element, might be at home in the continental field army of Gallienus. The joint force apparently at or near Milecastle 52 on Hadrian's Wall in the period 262/266³⁵⁹ must have been very different. If it indeed occupied the milecastle, it could hardly have comprised even a century apiece. Whatever reason we seek for the combination of troops in this way, the epigraphic evidence may represent units of quite different character, and we should be wary of generalisation from these particular events. Birley held that it had long been normal for vexillations to comprise detachments of equal strength from all of the legions of a province and that after 214, when no provincial army comprised more than two legions, the norm would be for a joint vexillation of the two available³⁶⁰.

The use of these combined vexillations on the Continent is suggested by the bronze roundel of uncertain, but apparently continental, provenance belonging to Aurelius Cervianus³⁶¹. This bears representations of the *vexilla* and boar and Capricorn emblems respectively of LEG XX VV and LEG SECVNDA AVGVS and clearly belonged to a man serving with, or perhaps even commanding, just such a vexillation. However, this remains the only evidence that such a combined unit might have been operating outside of Britain. Some part of the Twentieth Legion, it seems, was at Mainz in 255, but the supposition that this should be restored as a record of a dual vexillation remains no more than that³⁶². Vexillations of the British (and German) legions are attested somewhat later at Sirmium in Pannonia Inferior during the reign

³⁵⁸ Tomlin and Annis 1989, 87.

³⁵⁹ Jarrett 1968, 88. Two dedications to Cocidius by the *milites leg II Aug*: *RIB* 1955; and *milites leg XX VV*: *RIB* 1956.

³⁶⁰ Birley 1965, 31-2.

³⁶¹ 8.2 below: XV 7164 = *RIB* II³ 2427.26.

³⁶² XIII 6780; *pace* Birley 1965, 31-2.

of Gallienus (260-268)³⁶³. It may well be that these included the men formerly at Mainz, now transferred to the Danube. Britain was by this time part of the Gallic Empire of Postumus and these detachments must have been withdrawn from the province before 258. However, there is nothing in the wording of the dedication to suggest any formal dual vexillation, rather than a more general levy of all three of the legions and the *auxilia* of the British provinces.

If compelling evidence for such combined units is slight, one further indication has been suggested in the legionary coinage of Gallienus which contains a number of examples struck with the legend LEG IIXX³⁶⁴. This clearly could not represent the Eighteenth Legion, which was not re-formed after the *clades Variana*. Okamura has suggested that this might be a representation of the combined vexillation of the Second and the Twentieth, supposed to have been at Mainz, and perhaps operating closely alongside *legio XXI*³⁶⁵. That the LEG IIXX form outnumbers the 'correct' LEG XXII, it is suggested, argues against it merely being a die-cutter's error, and the use of a joint vexillation, already brigaded together outside of its province of origin, might account for the distinctive representation. However, the similar appearance of the Twenty-second, with *cognomen* Primigenia, on the coinage of Carausius, LEG IIXX PRIMIG³⁶⁶, would suggest that the legend is nothing out of the ordinary. Moreover, the *duoetvicensima legio* is thus represented even on inscriptions in stone³⁶⁷ so that we need not suppose that the coinage of Gallienus requires any special explanation.

The presence of some part of *legio XX* has nonetheless been suggested by its possible individual inclusion in Gallienus' coin series³⁶⁸. This was issued to the units serving in the field army in northern Italy and adjacent areas, all probably present only as vexillations³⁶⁹. However, the reading of the coin is not

³⁶³ III 3228 = *ILS* 546; Saxer 1967 No. 101.

³⁶⁴ *RIC* 5 (i) 96 nos 362, 363.

³⁶⁵ Okamura 1991, 387-8.

³⁶⁶ *RIC* V ii, 469-70 nos 80-81

³⁶⁷ The form IIXX clearly reflecting the Latin *duoetvicensima* 'twenty-second': cf. X5398, *legatus* *l[eg II] | et vicensim(ae) Pri[mi]g*; VI 1551, *legatus leg] ILXX Pri*; III 14207.7, *miles leg ILXX*; and III 10471-3, a vexillation drawn from four German legions including 'XVIII PR' – surely here the stonecutter's hypercorrection for IIXX PR.

³⁶⁸ *RIC* 5 (i) 96.364; Jarrett 1968, 87.

³⁶⁹ M. Alföldi 1959, the coins are not found at the bases of the legions involved; Drinkwater 1971, 325-6.

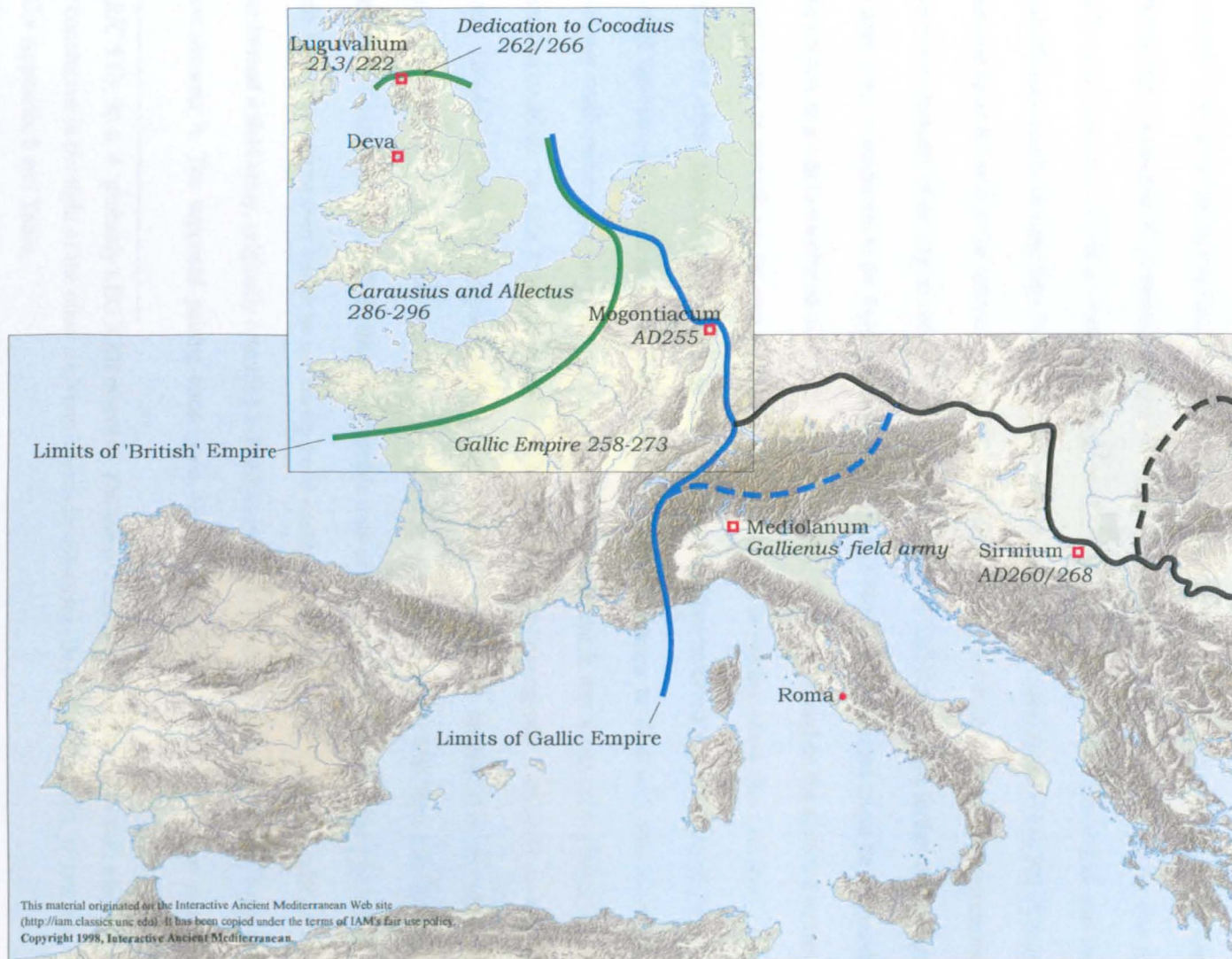


Fig. III.5.1 The Twentieth Legion in the third century

certain³⁷⁰, no further examples of the Twentieth Legion seem to have come to light³⁷¹, and we would have to conclude with Tomlin that none of the British legions is included in this series³⁷² despite their contribution to the army at Sirmium.

The various crises of the later third century appear to have had little direct impact on the British provinces³⁷³, but if the legion had little to contend with within the province, the detachment of vexillations to bolster the continental field armies doubtless involved many more such movements than the few of which record survives. Much of *legio II Augusta* was absent from its base from about 230 and the Twentieth may also have contributed to the campaigns of the following decades. From 258 to 273 Britain, Spain and Gaul fell within the sphere of influence of the Gallic Empire of Postumus and his successors. Even if the elements of the legion recorded at Mogontiacum in 255 had been moved further east before this date, some contribution to the fight against incursions of the Franks and Allamanni might be supposed. If the Empire as a whole weathered these crises along the Rhine and Danube and on the eastern frontiers, Britain began to experience its own problems with an increase in raiding along the east coast. The development of the 'Saxon shore' system of forts seems not to have involved legionary troops, but the eventual appointment of Carausius as prefect of the *classis Britannica* to deal with this threat had significant consequences for the province as a whole. Whether or not it was action of his that allowed Diocletian to adopt the title *Britannicus Maximus* in 285, by the following year Carausius was out of favour, accused of abusing his position to enrich himself. To forestall capture and execution he proclaimed himself Augustus and was able to carry the army of the province with him. His influence extended into northern Gaul with a centre and possible mint at Rouen³⁷⁴. His legionary coinage includes issues for seven legions over which he can hardly have wielded complete control, and the suggestion that these formed a field army, originally operating in Gaul, comprised of vexillations of these units, has much to recommend it. The supposed pairing once again of the Second and Twentieth in these issues is

³⁷⁰ *RIC* 5 (i), 96 n. 4 'probably LEG XXII misread'. The use of a capricorn symbol rather than a boar is not conclusive in the light of the other such confusions in the series: Domaszewski 1885, 55 and see below Appendix 2 and Table.

³⁷¹ Okamura 1991, 388: of 70 hoards listed (containing 676 specimens) none contains a coin of the Twentieth.

³⁷² Tomlin 2000, 165.

³⁷³ Frere 1987, 172-3.

³⁷⁴ Casey 1994, 90.

undermined by the subsequent discovery of coins of *legio VI Victrix*³⁷⁵. The Twentieth appears as *leg(io) XX VV*, *leg(io) XX Val Victrici*, *leg(io) XX Victri(x) Aug(usta)* and *leg(io) XX Aug(usta)* on these coins³⁷⁶, the latest issues apparently dating to 289-290 and representing the latest direct evidence for the survival of the legion. Carausius was killed in 293 and his successor Allectus finally overthrown by Constantius in 296. With what forces Allectus sought to resist the re-imposition of Roman authority we do not know. Use of the available legionary troops seems hardly to be doubted, but the scale of the defeat, or losses suffered by the Twentieth if present, remains uncertain.

The increasing use of detached vexillations as part of mobile field groups had one obvious effect on the composition of the classical legion in the increase of the legionary cavalry from about 120 men to some 720, now divided into *turmae*³⁷⁷. The three *equites* recorded at Chester, Aurelius Lucius (7.13), C. Iulius Severus (7.46) and Sextus Similis (7.122*), perhaps belong to this period and reflect the increasing significance of this element of the legion. Specialisation is also evident in the creation of the *lanciarrii*, more lightly armoured and armed with javelins rather than the heavy *pila* of the traditional legionary³⁷⁸. Both elements, *equites* and *lanciarrii* (for which it must be said we have no evidence in the case of the Twentieth), would ultimately become detached from their parent bodies as military necessity led to the increasing development of mobile field armies very different in character to the classical legionary infantry of the early Empire. The time of the *antiqua legio*, for the re-establishment of which Vegetius would later argue in vain³⁷⁹, was passing.

³⁷⁵ Lyne 2001, 291-2: *leg VI victrici Aug*. The newly attested LEG XX VICT II AUG (Lyne 2000, 290) seems a doubtful reading in the light of the Sixth Victrix legend and of the legend *leg VIII victri Aug* (Williams 2004, 68). LEG XX VICTRI AUG is perhaps to be preferred.

³⁷⁶ RIC5 (ii) 470.82,83; 488.275. Lyne 2000, 290; Williams 2004, 68.

³⁷⁷ Southern and Dixon 1992, 30. In this context, the anonymous RIB 557 might be considered a legionary: Mason 2001, 167.

³⁷⁸ Casey 2002, 169.

³⁷⁹ Vegetius *Epitoma Rei Militaris* II.3, writing at the end of the fourth century.

Postscript: The end of the Twentieth Legion.

We do not know when *legio XX Valeria Victrix* ceased to exist. It disappears from the record some time between the reign of Carausius and the compilation of the *Notitia Dignitatum* c. 395³⁸⁰. In this period all of the ancient legions became split into smaller contingents, often stationed at widely separated bases³⁸¹, and it becomes difficult to track the fate of those that disappear from the record. For the Twentieth, in the absence of any epigraphic or literary documentation, we are left only with the evidence of continued occupation of the fortress at Chester, and a series of fourth-century historical episodes which might have accounted for the loss or final disbandment of a legion.

That the fortress at Chester continued to be occupied is clear, even if the nature of that occupation is less so. Extensive repairs to the walls were undertaken³⁸² and there is evidence for repair and maintenance of many of the major buildings, together with much of the barrack accommodation, in the early fourth century³⁸³. Mason contends that the scale of the building works and the lack of any major changes to the layout imply continued military use rather than a handover to civil authority in the fourth century, and that 'at least half the legion' was still present in the opening years of the century³⁸⁴. On the other hand, we might equally argue that this indicates that half of the legion was elsewhere, and probably never to return. It is possible that by this date, if not considerably earlier, wives and families would have been accommodated within the fortress, so that a proportionately larger amount of accommodation might be kept up even if the legion was reduced to much less than half its original size³⁸⁵. Whatever its character,

³⁸⁰ With corrections and additions down to about 420-5: Frere 1987, 218; Jones 1964 iii, 347-80; Goodburn and Bartholomew 1976.

³⁸¹ Casey 2002, 172-3.

³⁸² Perhaps now incorporating the many re-used tombstones of soldiers of the legion: Mason 2001, 204. LeQuesne 1999, 146-7 prefers a 10th-century context, although one might ask whether a further six centuries exposed to the elements is consistent with their state of preservation.

³⁸³ Strickland 2003, 15.

³⁸⁴ Mason 2001, 199.

³⁸⁵ For the presence of women and children at Caerleon, at least at the fortress baths: Zienkiewicz 1986 II, 17. van Driel Murray 1995, 16-17 notes their presence at Vindolanda from the early second century and suggests that some *contubernia* may have served as married quarters. Bidwell 1989, 14 counters the suggestion that the later 'chalet' style of auxiliary barrack housed a family unit: *cf.*

this evidence for fourth-century occupation at Chester stands in marked contrast to the lack of such activity at Caerleon where many of the major buildings, including some barrack accommodation, were demolished *c.* 300 and the fortress was apparently closed³⁸⁶.

The Twentieth is one of four of Severus' 33 legions absent from the *Notitia*³⁸⁷. However, neither Chester nor any of the Welsh forts are listed therein, despite evidence for fourth-century occupation at many of these sites³⁸⁸. It may be that this represents a deficiency in the transmitted text, for the third-century distribution of coastal defences would not suggest that the north Wales coast or the Severn estuary were at significantly less threat than elsewhere. On the other hand, the archaeological evidence is seldom detailed enough to suggest what form such later fourth-century occupation may have taken, nor closely dated enough to indicate whether it extended beyond a putative removal of troops by Magnus Maximus (383-388)³⁸⁹. *Legio II Augusta* similarly appears on the coinage of Carausius³⁹⁰, and by 395 was no longer at Caerleon. If not for its record in the *Notitia* its fate would be as obscure as that of the Twentieth. That the commander (*praefectus*) of the Second Legion was at that time listed at Rutupiae (Richborough), whilst detachments of that legion were also listed at three other places on the Continent³⁹¹, is sufficient to indicate the radically changed nature of the legions and their deployment. Their changed nomenclature merely provides another veil of confusion, and it may be after all that the comitatensian unit the *Victores Iuniores Britannici*³⁹² derives from one of the British *legiones victrices*, the Twentieth perhaps as likely as the Sixth³⁹³.

Allason-Jones 1989, 60-61 who notes fewer finds associated with women from Hardian's Wall forts in the fourth than in the second and third centuries.

³⁸⁶ Nash-Williams 1969, 32; Zienkiewicz 1986 I, 49-50.

³⁸⁷ Tomlin 2000, 159 (but not, it seems, *legio II Parthica* = *ND Or.* 36.30): *XXII Primigenia* and *I Minervia* are absent from the Rhine; *VI Ferrata* from Syria.

³⁸⁸ See (graphically) Jones and Mattingly 1990, 139 Map 4:70.

³⁸⁹ Nash-Williams 1969, 28.

³⁹⁰ *RIC Carausius* 57-9.

³⁹¹ *ND Oc.* 28.19 *Rutupiae*; 5.241; 7.85; 7.156.

³⁹² *ND Oc.* 7.154.

³⁹³ Casey 2002, 172. The Sixth Legion is recorded as amongst the forces of the *dux Britanniarum*, but not necessarily located: *ND Oc.* 40.18 and see Rivet and Smith 1979, 219 n. 1.

There are a number of historical episodes which might have contributed to the gradual depletion or final disbandment of the legion, from Constantius' recovery of Britain from the usurper Allectus in 296³⁹⁴, through the various disturbances recorded in the province in the fourth century³⁹⁵. The scale of these troubles is uncertain, but the generally disturbed conditions of these times might have accounted for the loss of a legion or its remnants. Amongst these, one of the more notable is the rebellion of Magnus Maximus, who took an army from Britain to the Continent in 383 in support of his imperial ambitions. It is generally held that this largely comprised those forces from Wales and the western Pennines later absent from the *Notitia*, and including perhaps the remnant of the Twentieth³⁹⁶. One interpretation of the coin series at Chester would suggest that soldiers were being paid from imperial mints up to this time, but not thereafter³⁹⁷. Casey, however, in his consideration of the coins recovered at Segontium (Caernarfon), shows that the sequence there extends down to 393 or 394. Pointing to the absence of coins of Honorius from forts in North Wales and Chester alike (this in contrast to South Wales, the South-East and Hadrian's Wall), he identifies a 'zone of non-supply' suggesting withdrawal of military forces from this region in or about 393, at the time of the rebellion of Eugenius and his *magister militum* Arbogastes³⁹⁸. If these troops, including perhaps the Twentieth Legion in whatever form, were withdrawn to the Continent, then they might have formed part of the army that faced Theodosius at the River Frigidus in 394. If any survived this defeat, they may never have returned. Whatever had happened in the aftermath of previous such episodes, it may already have come to the point where the restoration of the British garrison to its former strength was neither a priority, nor even possible. If the defeated units were redistributed this might account for the later presence of the *auxilia palatina Seguntienses* in the field army of Illyricum³⁹⁹. If anything survived of the Twentieth Legion to this late date, it too would have found itself redeployed, by now in a very different form and, it would seem, under a different name⁴⁰⁰.

³⁹⁴ Casey 1994, 136-8.

³⁹⁵ Jarrett 1968, 90; Frere 1987, 336-42.

³⁹⁶ Salway 1981, 404; Frere 1987, 354.

³⁹⁷ Strickland and Davey 1978, 41-4.

³⁹⁸ Casey and Davies 1993, 131-2.

³⁹⁹ i.e. from Segontium: *ND Oc.* 7.49; 5.213.

⁴⁰⁰ It is worth noting that Casey, in his calculations of the scale of the monetary supply to Segontium (Casey and Davies 1993, 129), suggests the presence there of a legionary detachment in the mid/late fourth century and, noting the detachment of *legio XXII Primigenia* at Divitia, styled *Divitenses*, draws our attention back to these *Seguntienses*.

Appendix 1

The *cognomina* of *Legio XX*

The two *cognomina* *Valeria* and *Victrix* appear on records of *Legio XX* from some time in the later first century AD until our last record of the legion on the coinage of Carausius at the close of the third century¹, but the precise circumstances, date and meaning of the award remain elusive². The earliest appearances, in the first century, are not dateable with any precision. Nor can we be sure that usage was consistent at this time. The possibility that the titles were awarded for the legion's part in the suppression of the Boudican revolt has long been recognised, but the suggestion that the two elements of the title reflected two separate awards was likewise long held. This latter point is no longer considered likely and although the events of AD 61 continue to hold the field, later contexts for the award have begun to be put forward and will be considered here. As for the meaning of the names, *Victrix* is not in question, but *Valeria* stands out among legionary titles. The literal 'Valerian', 'of the Valerii', suggests one obvious candidate and context in the command of Valerius Messalinus and the events of AD 6, but political considerations, and lack of such an early appearance of the title, would seem to rule out this explanation. Other translations have been suggested, but the mere fact of their variety only serves to point up the lack of clear parallels³.

All of the readily interpretable occurrences of the legion's name have been collected together here and are arranged below according to the form of the legionary title and as far as possible by date. The awarding of legionary titles is reviewed and the possible contexts for the award to the Twentieth Legion explored. Consideration is given once again to the question of the earliest appearance of the title, to the consistency or otherwise of usage, and to the dating of tombstones in the later first

¹ None of the earliest occurrences are securely dated, they are discussed further below; the latest is 287-293, *RIC* 5 (ii) 470.82,83; see Catalogue.

² Ritterling (1925, 1780-1) addressed the 'Benennungen der Legion' and remained the source of most later comment until McPake (1981) drew attention to deficiencies in the prevailing view of both the origin and the meaning of the names. Subsequent discoveries, discussed by Tomlin (1986), have raised some further possibilities but leave matters unresolved.

century. Comparisons are drawn with the usage within other legions with particular reference to inscriptions mentioning more than one legion, where direct comparisons can perhaps be drawn. The meaning of the titles is also considered, with reference to their treatment in Greek language epigraphic and historical sources in addition to those in Latin, and the implications for the date and context of the award explored.

The ways in which legions acquired, or were awarded, names were delineated by Ritterling⁴, followed with minor differences by Parker, Webster and Keppie⁵. The essential division is between those names arising out of the formation of the legion, which might therefore be in place from the first; those reflecting a characteristic of the legion, such as geographical origin or posting, which might be applied at some later date; and those awarded for valour or conspicuous loyalty in a specific historical context. In the first category we find those names derived from the founding emperor – *legio IV Flavia*, *legio XXX Ulpia*, *legio II Traiana* – and those reflecting the circumstances of the foundation – *legio VII Gemina*, ‘twin’, formed by the amalgamation of two legions; legions *I* and *II Adiutrix*, ‘assistant’, raised from the fleet by Nero and Vespasian to supplement the strength of the army. Geographical titles might also arise in this way, e.g. legions *I*, *II* and *III Parthica* raised by Septimius Severus for his eastern campaigns, but more often reflect the origin or posting of the legion (*III Cyrenaica*, *IX Hispana*, *V Macedonica*) and might arise only after long association with that region. In the third category we find such epithets as *Augusta*, *Victrix*, *Felix*, *Fortis* awarded for conspicuous bravery, or *pia fidelis* awarded for, or intended to reinforce, loyalty. Imperial titles might also be used in this way, e.g. the legions *VII* and *XI Claudia pia fidelis* which had refused to support an attempted rebellion against Claudius by the governor of Dalmatia in AD 42. Similarly, in the third century we find frequent use of imperial addenda to the legionary titles, *Severa*, *Antoniniana* etc which were current only while the emperor reigned. Titles derived from the name of a deity cut across these categories. It is suggested that *legio XV Apollinaris* was so named because of Augustus’ reverence for that deity⁶, in which case the title might arise from the

³ ‘valiant and victorious’: Keppie, 1984, 139 (after McPake 1981); Mason 2001, 127. ‘valorous and victorious’: Webster 1988, 136; Frere and Tomlin *RIB* II⁴, 175. ‘strong and victorious’: Webster 2002, 80.

⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1368.

⁵ Parker 1928, 260-3; Webster 1969, 109-13; Keppie 1984, 136-9.

⁶ Parker 1928, 270.

initial foundation of the legion. On the other hand, *legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix* received the epithet *Martia* in recognition of its martial qualities. Other epithets – *legio VI Ferrata*, *legio XII Fulminata* – could be seen as reflecting a characteristic of the legion, a reputation earned over time, but might also be considered as divine attributes – ‘iron-clad Mars’, ‘Jupiter, lightning-bringer’ – and therefore arise out of an initial dedication to that deity⁷.

The titles of the Twentieth Legion do not fit readily into this classification. *Victrix* is clear enough and well paralleled⁸ and can only cause us to search the historical record for a suitably victorious occasion (and hope that that historical record is not so deficient as to omit the relevant event entirely). *Valeria* is more difficult and has been the cause of some debate.

Ritterling, in his general article on the ‘Beinamen’, included *Valeria* among the divine attributes⁹, albeit tentatively, here following Domaszewski who identified the term as a characteristic of Nerio, the consort of Mars¹⁰. Within his article on the Twentieth Legion¹¹, however, he suggested a connection with Valerius Messalinus, under whom the legion served with distinction during the Pannonian revolt of AD 6-9¹², at the same time raising the possibility that the titles were awarded after the suppression of the Boudican revolt in Britain in AD 60¹³. This has led to the suggestion that the legion was styled *XX Valeria* after AD 9 and gained the additional epithet *Victrix* after AD 60¹⁴, thus reading *Valeria* as

⁷ Domaszewski 1909, 106; Ritterling 1925, 1368.

⁸ e.g. *VI Victrix*; *XIV Gemina Martia Victrix*, above; *XXX Ulpia Victrix* after service in Trajan’s Dacian wars (Ritterling 1925, 1746, 1829); *ala Taurorum victrix*, *ala I Thracum victrix* (Cichorius 1893), and *cohors I Breucorum val victrix* (Cichorius 1900) - on this cohort see further below and Addendum.

⁹ Ritterling 1925, 1368.

¹⁰ Domaszewski 1893, 265; 1909, 106. The *tubilustrium*, the purification of the war trumpets, and the dances of the *Salii* which took place on March 23 (*x Kal Apr*) were in honour of Mars and Nerio (Lydus *de Mensibus* 4.60). Nerio eventually became identified with Minerva (Irby-Massie 1999, 37 n. 133). *Contra* this Fowler 1911, 150-1 who argues that the pairings in Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 13.23 represent qualities of the gods named and that the phrase *nerio Martis* implies the virtue or fortitude of Mars, *nerio* being a Sabine word for strength or courage.

¹¹ Ritterling 1925, 1780.

¹² Velleius 2.112; Dio 55.30; see above Chapter III.1.

¹³ Although he had his doubts: see further below.

¹⁴ Parker 1928, 261, 133; Jarrett 1968, 79; Webster 1979, 112; Maxfield 1981, 233; Frere 1987, 73.

'Valerian', 'of the Valerii', as seen in e.g. the *via Valeria* and by analogy with *Claudia, Flavia, Ulpia*. However, such a coinage, from the name of a leading, and possibly rival, senator would seem out of character given Augustus' proprietorial attitude towards his legions¹⁵ and the naming of an Imperial legion after its commander remains unparalleled. *Legio VII*, raised by Galba in his pursuit of the Imperial throne, is referred to as *Galbiana* by Tacitus¹⁶, but if he, and the name, had survived the year 69 then this would have become just another example of Imperial nomenclature. *Legio XXII Deiotariana* likewise fails to offer a true parallel being named after the late King of Galatia who bequeathed his armies to Rome¹⁷. The *legiones Valerianae* of the Mithridatic Wars were named for their former commander, L. Valerius Flaccus, and at first sight do offer a tempting parallel, but these units did not long survive these wars. Moreover, the designation is inconsistently applied within the literary sources and cannot be seen as in any way official¹⁸.

Political considerations aside, and perhaps more tellingly, there is in fact no instance whatever of *XX Valeria* as the sole title among the records of the legion. Two fragmentary inscriptions might conceivably be read thus¹⁹, but where there is clearly only a single cognomen it is *Victrix* that appears²⁰ and this was perhaps the official short title²¹. No title appears on any of the inscriptions of the legion from the Rhine, nor are they present on the earliest records of the legion within Britain, and more to the point they are conspicuously absent on the tombstone of P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis (V 533 = 5.2), quondam *primus pilus* of the Twentieth who died in AD 56, where the unadorned *leg*

¹⁵ Keppie 1984, 138-9.

¹⁶ Tacitus *Hist.* II.86, III.7, 10, 21.

¹⁷ Parker 1928, 271 considers this nomenclature 'unofficial'.

¹⁸ Sallust *Historiarum Fragmenta* V.13. These are the *Ούαλερίειοι* of Dio 36.14-16, 46; the *Φιμβριανων* of Plutarch *Lucullus* 7.1, 34.2-3 after their rival commander Fimbrius.

¹⁹ XIV 4059, *AE* 1950.251.

²⁰ III 1472, XIV 2523, VI 3584, II 4162; *RIB* 2028, 2114; *AE* 1939.157; *ILS* 9200 and particularly VI 3492= *ILS* 2288 the list of legions compiled in the mid second century (see below Table A1); Ptolemy *Geography* II.3.11; Antonine Itinerary 469₂.

²¹ Ritterling 1925, 1781 and see below. Certainly such readings as *RIB* 2411.76 and 2463.44, *legio XX V(aleria)* have little to recommend them.

XX lies in contrast to *leg VII C p f*. All of which adds to the likelihood that the two *cognomina* arose together in the latter half of the first century²².

In the absence of an earlier context, the defeat of Boudica remains one of the more likely candidates. The apparent parallel between the titles *Martia Victrix* awarded to *XIV Gemina* and the *Valeria Victrix* of the Twentieth, in conjunction with the naming of the refounded *colonia* at Camulodunum ‘*colonia Victricensis*’, all seems to point to this conclusion²³. Ritterling, however, was firmly of the opinion that such honorifics were bestowed upon the *aquila* as the personification of the legion and could not be won by a mere vexillation, but only if the entire legion had earned the glory and the Eagle was present²⁴. Only *legio XIV Gemina* was present at full strength and its renown was still remarked upon 40 years later by Tacitus²⁵. The separate existence of a *cohort I Breucorum Valeria Victrix* in Raetia²⁶ weakens the argument from the parallel with *legio XIV*, although Birley regarded the titles *Valeria Victrix* as indicating the presence of this cohort in Britain in AD 60²⁷. There are, however, no parallels for such a joint award²⁸ even if the restoration of the titles is accepted.

In considering the possibility of a parallel award to the two legions it is instructive to compare the usage where they are both mentioned in a single inscription (see Table A1). *ILS 9200* recording the composition of the expeditionary force of C. Velius Rufus (8.5) lists vexillations of *XIII Gem(ina)* and *XX Vic(trix)*; *X 7587* records Rufus (3.12), tribune of the legions *XIII Gemin(a)* and *XX*

²² Consistency of usage remains an issue and will be discussed further below.

²³ *leg XIV G M V* by AD 66: XI 395. *colonia victricensis*: Rivet and Smith 1979, 312. The pairing of the titles also harks back to Domaszewski’s coupling of Mars and Nerio. On the other hand, the *colonia* may have been so named from the first in commemoration of the conquest: Frere 1987, 63; Crummy 1997, 51-2.

²⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1776.

²⁵ Tacitus *Hist.* II.11, II.32; the late arrival of the legion at Bedriacum, its obstinate refusal to admit defeat despite having chosen the losing side, the mutual antagonism between it and the Batavian cohorts and the tale of its despatch back to Britain all perhaps allowed that Tacitus would comment at length.

²⁶ The full title is restored as *cohors I Breucorum valeria victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata* but the reading is not beyond doubt: see Addendum.

²⁷ Birley 1980, 263.

²⁸ Cichorius 1900, Maxfield 1981, 218-35.

*Victrix*²⁹. Both of these cases mirror the usage of VI 3492, the list of the legions of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, which has *XX Victrix* and *XIII Gemina*. XI 1059 is of an anonymous prefect (4.3) of the Twentieth Legion. *XIII Gemina* appears in the list of his prior centurionates, his senior post is spelled out in full: *praefectus legionis XX Valeriae Victricis*. Ti. Claudius Fatalis, *AE* 1939.157 (6.19), records centurionates in, among others, *legio XX Victrix* and *legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix*. All date from the end of the first century and after, none gives the full title of both legions, and it would be difficult to discern from these examples that *Martia Victrix* and *Valeria Victrix* were regarded as in any way parallel by those who used them.

Table A1: Inscriptions mentioning both the Twentieth and Fourteenth Legions

<i>(leg) XX Vic</i>	<i>leg XII Fulm</i> <i>leg I Adiut</i> <i>II Adiut</i> <i>II Aug</i> <i>VIII Aug</i> <i>VIII Hisp</i> <i>XIII Gem</i> <i>XXI Rapac</i>	<i>IGLS VI 2796</i> <i>= ILS 9200</i>	L90s-E2
<i>(leg) XV Vict</i>	<i>leg XIII Gemin</i>	<i>X 7587 = ILS</i> <i>1402</i>	120s+
<i>leg XX Vic</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i> <i>leg XI C p f</i> <i>leg XIV G M V</i> <i>leg XII Ful</i> <i>leg X Fr</i>	<i>AE 1939.157</i>	E2
<i>leg XX Valer Victr*</i>	<i>leg X Gemin piae fidel</i> <i>legion III Scythic</i> <i>XI Claud</i> <i>XIII Gem</i> <i>VII Gemin</i>	<i>XI 1059</i>	EM2
XX VICTR	II AVG II ADIVT III SCYTH VI VICTR III FLAV XVI FLAV XX VICTR VII CLAVD VI FERRAT VIII AVG I ITALIC X FRETE	<i>VI 3492</i>	160+

²⁹ The inscription reads '...XV VICT...', no such title is known for the fifteenth, XX VICT appears to be intended.

	XXII PRIM I MINERV XXX VLP I ADIVT X GEM XIII GEM I PARTH	V MACED XI CLAVD XIII GEM XII FVLM XV APOL III GALLIC II PARTH	III CYREN II TRAIAN III AVG VII GEM II ITALIC III ITALIC III PARTH		
<i>leg] XX VV</i>	<i>leg X[III] Gem pf</i> <i>leg I Adiut</i> <i>leg X Gem pf</i> <i>leg VII? Ge]m pf</i>			II 4463	E3

*senior post

The recent discovery of a precisely dated document from Carlisle in which the *cognomina* are omitted³⁰ has allowed Tomlin to put the case for a later context, for it is possible that as at 7 Nov 83, *legio XX* had not yet been awarded the *cognomina*. No other occurrence in the second half of the first century is so clearly dateable and it is a tempting conclusion: *legio XX*, taking the leading part in the campaigns under its one-time legate Agricola, becomes *Valeria Victrix* after the final victory at Mons Graupius and begins construction of the new fortress *Victoria*³¹ at Inchtuthil.

However, the *argumentum ex silentio* is difficult, and if the ‘casual omission’ of the *cognomina* is rare in monumental inscriptions, as Tomlin argues³², it is not unprecedented. Two tombstones from Chester have LEG XX only³³ as do a number of second-century and later stones from the continent³⁴ and just such an omission is also seen in some of the tombstones of other legions in Britain and elsewhere³⁵. Moreover, the *cognomina* are also omitted from the numerous terracotta antefixes found at Holt and

³⁰ The record of a loan between two soldiers of the legion on a writing tablet: Tomlin 1992, 146-58 and see II.7.22.

³¹ Rivet and Smith 1979, 499; but the identification of places in Scotland from Ptolemy’s survey continues to generate debate: see Mann 1990, Jones and Keillar 1996, Strang 1997.

³² Tomlin 1992, 155.

³³ *RIB* 502, 507 and see catalogue below.

³⁴ XII 678, V 6632, III 5577, XIII 6780.

³⁵ *legio VI*: *RIB* 670, 675, 1131 (altar), 1175, 1398 (altar), 1779 (altar); *legio IX*: *RIB* 254, 255, 256, 257, 673; *legio II* in Germany: XIII 1122, 1864, 5975-8.

Chester as well as some tile-stamps, a lead sealing and a silvered disc, all of which date from after *c.* AD 87³⁶. The point in question must be the frequency or otherwise of their omission from the class of documents to which this 'note of hand' belongs. Of the ten examples quoted by Tomlin³⁷ most are fragmentary and only one³⁸ provides an exact parallel in recording a loan between two members of the same legion. Here a *cognomen* is given (LEG X FRE), and there we might stop if a sample of one be deemed sufficient, but one does not have to look far for documents recording transactions between legionaries and other soldiers, or even civilians (where official nomenclature might be thought all the more necessary), where a full title is not used or a *cognomen* does not appear³⁹.

In attempting to distinguish between these possible contexts it will be useful to turn again to the question of the earliest appearance of the titles. It is difficult to date tombstones with any precision on purely stylistic grounds. However, changes do occur towards the end of the first century which may provide some assistance⁴⁰. Throughout much of the first century a distinctive style of military tombstone can be observed, exemplified by the tombstones of C. Iulius Quartus (*RIB* 498 = 7.44) and Q. Postumius Solus (*RIB* 502 = 7.69) at Chester. The characteristics are: the use of the nominative case; inclusion of details such as filiation, *tribus* and *origo*; the naming of the century in which the soldier served⁴¹; inclusion of the age, *annorum*, and length of service, *stipendiorum*; and the closing formula *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*. This style was current before the invasion of Britain – it is seen on the tombstones of *legio II* at Argentorate for example⁴² – and still in use up to AD 88, for all of the tombstones of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester

³⁶ Antefixes, *RIB* 2458.2-8; tile-stamps, *RIB* 2463.28,46; lead seal, *RIB* 2411.80; disc, *RIB* 2427.14.

³⁷ Tomlin 1992, 148 n. 33.

³⁸ *P.Mich* vii 445 = *CPL* 194.

³⁹ *CPL* 186 records the sale of a horse between C. Valerius Longus *eques* of the *ala Apriana* and C. Iulius [Ruf]us, centurion of 'LEG XX[I]'; a note of hand of the *signifer* of *ala I Thracum Mauretaniae* to a priest deems *ala Mauretana* sufficient identification – *ZPE* 51 (1983) 65-70.

⁴⁰ On chronological indicators in tomb-formulae see Le Bohec 1989, 55-65 and Chapter I.2.3 above.

⁴¹ Usage varies in this particular. The remarkably coherent collection of tombstones of *legio XIV* at Mainz (XIII 6884–6887, 6889–6910, 6912–6914, 7236, 7255, 7288) are entirely of this style but include only a single example naming the *centuria*; the majority of those of *legio XI* at Vindonissa (XIII 5207, 5209–5217, 5240–5241) do include the *centuria*. The two examples of *legio XX* from Cologne (XIII 8287) and Neuss (XIII 8553) omit this detail, but those of this type from Chester include it.

⁴² XIII 1122, 5976–5978, 11628.

conform to this style⁴³. The tombstones of serving soldiers at Mainz and Vindonissa perhaps carry this down to AD 92, after which date legions *XIV* and *XI* were transferred to the Danube frontier. The beginnings of a change in style may be observable among the tombstones of *legio XI Claudia*, two of which use the dative⁴⁴. But it is notable that *legio XIV* continued to use this style at Carnuntum⁴⁵ and records of *legio X Gemina*, although sparse, also hint at a slightly longer time-span. The normal first century style is observed at Noviomagus⁴⁶, but is also seen at Aquincum, Carnuntum and Vindobona⁴⁷ after the transfer of the legion *c.* AD 101–2. The formula *D(is) M(anibus)* would seem to be firmly second century on these grounds, at least among serving soldiers on the Rhine and Danube, although it appears earlier spelled out in full⁴⁸.

The earliest tombstones (or records of the legion) within Britain are those of M. Favonius Facilis at Colchester (*RIB* 200 = 6.25), which predates the Boudican destruction of the *colonia*; that of a further soldier at Gloucester (*RIB* 122 = 7.101) and that of C. Mannius Secundus at Wroxeter (*RIB* 293 = 7.58) which dates to the late 60s or 70s. None of these give any titles for the legion. Two tombstones at Bath are arguably early, *RIB* 156 = 7.51 which includes the titles and *RIB* 158 = 7.87, which uses the formula *Dis Manibus* in full, and omits them. A centurial stone at Gloucester includes the titles *VV*⁴⁹, but although Hurst has argued for a reoccupation of the fortress *c.* AD 86⁵⁰ it is possible that military personnel might have been used to construct the *colonia* wall, and this need not date to before AD 96/97. The earliest tombstones of the Twentieth at Chester on the above grounds are *RIB* 493 = 7.18, 498 = 7.44, 501 = 7.55, which include the legionary titles, and 502 = 7.69 and 508 = 7.94 which do not. The Chester tombstones must date to after *c.* AD 88 – after the date of the Carlisle document therefore – but

⁴³ *RIB* 475–477, 479–485 see above 19 n. 35. *RIB* 478, the tombstone of a veteran is in the dative and does not use this style which seems confined to serving soldiers.

⁴⁴ XIII 5209, 5212.

⁴⁵ Vorbeck 1980 nos 87, 88, 93, 96–99, 105 with variations on *hse tñ hfc* as closing formulae.

⁴⁶ XIII 8732–8734, 8736.

⁴⁷ III 10517, 4463a, 4577.

⁴⁸ XIII 6304 a *miles* of *legio XIV* commemorated at Aquae (Wiesbaden), presumably before AD 92. The tombstone otherwise conforms to the first-century type. Compare *RIB* 158 = 7.87 from Aquae Sulis, which also begins *Dis Manibus* and continues as a fine example of the early type. Is the invocation of the *manes* particularly relevant at these sacred springs?

⁴⁹ *Britannia* 17 (1986) 429 no.3 = 6.22.

⁵⁰ Hurst 1988.

none of these early occurrences of the titles need date before the last decade of the first century or even perhaps before the end of that century. For the moment it would seem that the earliest appearance of the title may be in the form XX VIC on the tombstone of C. Velius Rufus, commemorating an expedition of the mid 80s, but not perhaps set up until after AD 96⁵¹.

Ultimately these questions of dating are undermined by the inconsistent usage of those who set up epitaphs. Keppie has pointed out that even long-standing legionary titles seem to go out of use under the Julio-Claudian emperors and usage did not become universal until after the civil war of AD 68-69⁵². Legions *VI Victrix* and *IX Hispana* are several times attested in Britain without *cognomina*⁵³. Both had received their titles before transfer to the province. Likewise *II Augusta*, although consistent in its usage within Britain, is less so during its presence in *Germania Superior* even though the title was current before AD 9⁵⁴. This lack of consistency together with the paucity of early records of the Twentieth Legion means that the negative evidence cannot be taken as conclusive. There are a number of contexts from AD 6 onwards which *might* have been the basis of the award, but we have no way of distinguishing between them. We cannot prove that the legion was *not* named *Valeria* or even *Valeria Victrix* from AD 6, only that the titles did not come into general use until late in the first century (although the tombstone of P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis, which does give the titles of the Seventh *Claudia pia fidelis*, would seem to make a reasonable case for a context later than 56). It would be possible even to suggest that the titles were awarded for the legion's role in the conquest of Britain, as indeed does A.R. Birley (reported by Webster⁵⁵): 'just as Claudius gave the title Britannicus to his son, so he named the Twentieth Legion after his wife Valeria Messalina'. This contains the kernel of an interesting idea, despite the *non sequitur* (and may not be entirely as improbable as Keppie suggests⁵⁶). Valeria Messalina was indeed related to Valerius Messalinus, as the nomenclature indicates. Allowing the legion to regularise a title derived from a family outside of the Imperial house might perhaps be something that Claudius would countenance as a favour to his wife. If the reference were in fact to Valerius Messalinus and the events

⁵¹ ILS 9200; Kennedy 1983.

⁵² Perhaps *because of* the civil war and a desire to stress battle honours and a distinguished lineage: Keppie 1984, 139.

⁵³ See above note 34.

⁵⁴ Keppie 1984, 205; ILS 6948.

⁵⁵ Webster 1979, 112 n. 7. The suggestion is also to be found in Musgrave 1719 trans. Post 1848, 56.

of AD 6, then it might be that the title would have survived her disgrace, especially if it were not perhaps considered entirely 'official'. In the end arguing from absence can only take us so far – as we have seen it is always possible that the cognomen has been omitted, for whatever reason. A closely dated first appearance will provide a *terminus post quem* but beyond that we cannot go.

If *Valeria* is not to be derived from Valerius Messalinus, then a meaning remains to be found. A derivation in the 'well-omened' cognomen Valerius, harking back to *valere* and translated as 'valiant' or 'valorous', has gained favour⁵⁷. However, Birley's suggestion after Festus and Cicero⁵⁸, that the name was of particular significance to the army, requires some amendment. Cicero and Festus both record that when a military levy was held those with an auspicious name were called first. Festus gives several examples (Valerius, Salvius, Statorius), Cicero gives none (and cannot in that context be credited with calling Valerius an 'especially lucky, well-omened name'). Elsewhere, Cicero does indeed allude to the good omen of the name Valerius, but there in a purely civil context (of a freedman testifying at a trial)⁵⁹ and it is difficult to conclude that the name Valerius represents the qualities of strength and good omen 'in a particularly military sense'⁶⁰.

Certainly Greek writers were at a loss to find an equivalent, for it is notable in Greek inscriptions and literary texts, that *Valeria* is merely transcribed (Ούαλερία), whereas *Victrix* is translated (Νικηφόρος). The general practice can be seen in the inscriptions collected in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (IGR), in the list of legions given by Dio (55.23-24) and in those legions mentioned at their fortresses in Ptolemy's Geography. Names formed from places and peoples were transliterated – 'Ιταλική, Κυρηναϊκή, Σχυθική, Μακεδονική, and especially Τραιανή, Κλαυδία, Φλαυία, Ούλπια, but qualities, such as *Ferrata*, *Fortis*, *Victrix*, *Fulminata*, *Adiutrix* were translated – Σιδηρά, 'Ισχυρά, Νικηφόρος, Κεραυνοφόρος, 'Επικουρικόν. Thus we get Τραιανή 'Ισχυρά – Traiana Fortis, Ούλπια Νικηφόρος – Ulpia *Victrix* as well as Ούαλερία Νικηφόρος. There are some

⁵⁶ Keppie 1984, 139.

⁵⁷ Despite the existence of the perfectly serviceable adjective *valens*: Keppie 1984, 139 after McPake 1981, 294.

⁵⁸ McPake 1981, 294 and n. 51 quoting Festus 121 and Cicero *de Divinatione*, i.102.

⁵⁹ Cicero *pro Scauro* XIII.

⁶⁰ McPake 1981, 294.

variations. Replacing a Roman god with a Greek equivalent gives us 'Αρέα for *Martia*, 'Αθηναία for *Minervia*, although the latter also appears transliterated (*Μινερουία*). *Gemina* can be Γεμίνη as well as Διδύμη; *Augusta* appears occasionally as Σεβαστή; and *Flavia Firma* is given frequently as Φλαυία Φίρμη but the general practice is clear and does seem to indicate that Greek speakers did not recognise the title *Valeria* as a descriptive term for which they had a ready equivalent. Dio particularly comes up with no Greek equivalent to mean 'valiant' or to name some divine attribute, he seems to have regarded it, precisely as many modern writers, as a name. The Twentieth appears towards the end of his list of Augustan formations as 'οί είκοστοί οί και Ούαλερίειοι και νικήτορες'. The word chosen is precisely that he uses to describe the *legiones valerianae* of the Mithridatic Wars, Ούαλερίειοι, Valerius' legion⁶¹.

However we construe *Valeria* it seems unlikely that the connotations can have gone entirely unnoticed or unremarked. Indeed it is difficult to see how the choice of epithet could be entirely fortuitous, unless we suppose that whoever chose it was completely ignorant of the legion's history⁶². Valerius is indeed an auspicious name and has connotations of vigour, but it may have been chosen because the legion had been known as the 'Valerians' for many years. It might have been politically impossible for a legion to be officially named after someone outside the imperial house during the reign of Augustus, but if that were still a consideration later, we would have to ask whether *Valeria* would have been allowed at all, whatever other meaning might be claimed for it. Perhaps it is significant in this context to return to the records of *legio XX Victrix* and the further comment of Dio: 'the legion I have entitled Valeria is not given that name by all, and in fact no longer uses that designation'⁶³. On the inscribed slabs, CIL VI 3492, set up in the 160s in the Capitol at Rome, and still

⁶¹ Dio 36.14-16, 46.

⁶² It might of course be argued that it is we who are ignorant of the legion's history and that it is only the vagaries of the historical record that recommend the events of AD 6 to us as significant. However, Valerius Messalinus received triumphal ornaments for his actions (Velleius 112.2) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.42), writing at the beginning of the second century, makes reference to battles fought and rewards won under Tiberius (from whom L. Antonius Quadratus (7.9) received his *dona*) presumably in Illyricum.

⁶³ Dio 55.23, Trans. Scott-Kilvert 1987 *The Roman History of Cassius Dio*. The passage is corrupt and presents some difficulties. At the end of Dio's list of the surviving legions of Augustus, after the Twentieth 'called both Valeria and Victrix', Cary's Loeb translation concludes 'along with the Twenty-

extant when Dio was writing (having recently been updated with the names of Severus' Parthian legions), the legion appears as XX VICTR. It is the only legion to lose the first part of its name in this way and stands in particular contrast to XXX VLP⁶⁴. That there was some sense in which 'official' Rome viewed *Victrix* as the proper name of the legion is perhaps supported by the usage of the Antonine Itinerary which refers to DEVA LEG XX VICT; Ptolemy likewise has *Δηοῦα λεγίων κ' Νικηφόρος*⁶⁵. Those inscriptions on which this designation occurs range widely in space – from Tarraco to Sarmizegetusa, from Birrens to Jerusalem – and across most of the second century, so that it is difficult to divine any common thread. However, it can be noted once again that *VII Cl(audia) p(ia) f(idelis)*, *XI Cl(audia) p(ia) f(idelis)* and *XIV G(emina) M(artia) V(ictrix)* receive their full designation on these stones, however abbreviated, whereas *Valeria* can be dropped with ease and if Dio was incorrect in his assertion that *legio XX* 'no longer uses' the designation *Valeria*, it does seem that the legion 'is not given that name by all' and that *legio XX victrix* was seen by some, perhaps by those at Rome, as the official title of the legion.

Table A2: Occurrences of *legio XX Victrix*

ILS 9200 (8.5)	C Velius Rufus	Heliopolis	L1-E2
XIV 2523 (4.2)	M Pompeius Asper	Latium	E2
VI 3584 (6.20)	T Claudius Vitalis	Rome	E2
X 7587 (3.12)	Rufus	Cagliari	E2
RIB 2028	-	Stanwix	120s+

second which is on the Rhine, and this in spite of the fact that they were by no means called Valerians by all and do not use that name any longer'. This is lacking in sense, but the fact that the Greek text has 'Twentieth' rather than 'Twenty-second' only confuses further. Although the Twenty-second was not a foundation of Augustus, the emendation must be correct for *legio XXII* was clearly in existence at the time, and if we do read 'Twenty-second' then all of the legions listed on VI 3492 are accounted for in the lists at Dio 55.23 and 24.

⁶⁴ McPake 1981, 295 views this as confirmation that the double honorific marked a single award and whereas the Thirtieth was *legio XXX Ulpia* before it became *Ulpia Victrix*, the single award of the Twentieth is not separable in the same way, *Victrix* being the significant part and *Valeria* only an additional embellishment. However, the example of *legio XIV*, which is recorded as *legio XIII Martia* (III 2029, 4578, 10610) as well as *legio XIII gemina victrix* (X 6555) would not seem to bear this out.

⁶⁵ Antonine Itinerary 469₂; Ptolemy Geography II.3.11.

RIB 2114	-	Birrens	150?
VI 3492	-	Rome	160s
III 1472 (7.1)	[P Aelius]	Sarmizegetusa	ML2nd
II 4162 (6.50)	L Numerius Felix	Tarraco	ML2
AE 1939.157 (6.19)	Ti Claudius Fatalis	Jerusalem	2nd
VI 3359 (7.75)	T Sempronius Pudens	Rome	2nd
Lyne 2000, 290	coinage of Carausius		289-290

Finally we should note some of the variant forms of the titles that appear throughout the history of the legion. Most of these were short-lived, are rarely recorded, and are easier of explanation. The *legio XX Siciliana* whose veterans were granted land at Beneventum⁶⁶ must represent a civil war legion, the name indicating either an origin in Sicily or perhaps involvement in the campaign of Octavian against Sextus Pompeius on that island in 36 BC⁶⁷. It may represent an early incarnation of the Imperial *legio XX*, but if so the *cognomen* did not survive. The appellation *legio XX Britannica*⁶⁸ likewise describes the legion by a geographical (or rather, provincial) situation. The title may be an honorific akin to that awarded to *legio VI victrix* in AD 210 for service in the northern campaigns of Septimius Severus⁶⁹, but it is a unique example and the evidence of the tile stamps of *legio VI* would not indicate that the title supplanted existing nomenclature. *Legio XX Antoniniana* appears on some tile stamps of the third century⁷⁰ but others give the title in full as *legio XX Valeria Victrix Antoniniana*⁷¹ so there appears to be no significance in the omission of the pre-existing titles. *Severa*, *Gordiana*, *Deciana* and possibly *Victoriniana* are likewise found appended⁷². The single, late example of LEG XX AUG on the coinage of

⁶⁶ AE 1988.396 = 7.59 perhaps in 14 BC see Keppie 1983, 160; cf. also IX 1625.

⁶⁷ See above Chapter 1.

⁶⁸ XII 3182 = 7.48.

⁶⁹ RIB 2460.71-75; see Jarrett 1965, 521.

⁷⁰ RIB 2463.51-2, AD 213-222.

⁷¹ RIB 2463.53. This is also paralleled in stone: *Britannia* 20 (1989), 331 no.5 = 3.2.

⁷² *Severa*, AD 222-235, VIII 2638. *Gordiana*, AD 238-244, perhaps optimistically from the fragment ...]ORD RIB 854; if accepted ...LEG XX VV G]ORD would seem the preferable reading. *Deciana*, AD 249-251, RIB 449, RIB 2463.54-5. Tomlin (at 2463.54) prefers the geographical *Devensis* (or

Carausius may be a misreading⁷³ or an error by the moneyer at Camulodunum but recent finds suggest that both the Sixth and the Twentieth received the additional title *Augusta* from Carausius sometime between 287-289. The form *leg(io) XX Victr(ix) Aug(usta)* perhaps represents the latest record of the legion to survive⁷⁴.

In conclusion, we have seen that no occurrence of the titles need date before the last decade of the first century and this provides support for Tomlin's suggestion that the award might have been gained for service in Agricola's Caledonian campaigns. Moreover, the use of the form *legio XX Victrix* in the earliest such record outside of the province, and its continued appearance in official, and officially derived, sources may indicate that this was the more significant of the two titles. It might even indicate that *Valeria* was not countenanced by 'official' Rome, that it might in fact be an irregular coinage, harking back to an illustrious past, with the meaning apparently given to it by Greek speakers. However, records of the legion before its arrival at Chester are scarce. Those few which could be placed after AD 60 do not include the titles, but they are rather *too* few. In the absence of further discoveries, the question must remain open.

Table A3: Inscriptions mentioning the Twentieth and other legions

[<i>leg</i>] XX	[<i>leg</i>] I V XXI	XIV 3602 = ILS 950	14x28
<i>leg</i> XX	<i>leg</i> VII C p f	V 533 = ILS 2702	56+
(<i>leg</i>) XX	<i>leg</i> VI (<i>leg</i>) (II) Aug	RIB 1779	2nd+
<i>leg</i> XX	<i>leg</i> VI Vi p f	RIB 1125	2nd+
<i>leg</i> XX Victr	<i>leg</i> XV Apollinar <i>leg</i> III Cyren	XIV 2523 = ILS 2662	L1-E2
XX VICTR	II AVG II ADIVT IIII SCYTH	VI 3492	160+

Devana). *Victoriniana*, AD 265-267, RIB 2463.56-7; considered questionable therein and see now Swan and Philpott 2000, 60-1.

⁷³ It is 'a poor coin': RIC 5(ii) 470 n. 1.

⁷⁴ The recognition of the issue to LEG VI VICTRICI AUG (Lyne 2001, 291-2 and Pl. 51,1) suggests that LEG XX VICT II AUG (Lyne 2000, 290-1 and Pl. 45, 1) should in fact be read LEG XX VICTR AUG. See further 398 and n. 375 above.

	VI VICTR <--- VIII AVG XXII PRIM I MINERV XXX VLP I ADIVT X GEM XIII GEM I PARTH	III FLAV VII CLAVD I ITALIC V MACED XI CLAVD XIII GEM XII FVLM XV APOL III GALLIC II PARTH	XVI FLAV VI FERRAT X FRETE III CYREN II TRAIAN III AVG VII GEM II ITALIC III ITALIC III PARTH		
<i>(leg) XV Vict</i>	<i>leg XIII Gemin</i>			X 7587= ILS 1402	120s+
<i>leg XX Vict</i>	<i>leg V Ma[c</i> <i>leg I Ital</i> <i>leg I Miner</i> <i>leg IX [Hi]sp</i> <i>leg VII Cl p f</i>			VI 3584 = ILS 2656	120s
<i>leg XX Vict</i>	<i>leg VII G f</i> <i>leg III Cyr</i> <i>leg XXII Pr</i> <i>leg III Italic</i>			II 4162 = RIT 181	166 x 197
<i>(leg) XX Vic</i>	<i>leg XII Fulm</i> <i>leg I Adiut</i> <i>II Adiut</i> <i>II Aug</i> <i>VIII Aug</i> <i>VIII Hisp</i> <i>XIII Gem</i> <i>XXI Rapac</i>			IGLS VI 2796 = ILS 9200	L90s-E2
<i>leg XX Vic</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i> <i>leg XI C p f</i> <i>leg XIV G M V</i> <i>leg XII Ful</i> <i>leg X Fr</i>			AE 1939.157	E2
<i>leg XX Valeriae</i> <i>Victricis*</i>	<i>leg III Aug</i> <i>Septimae Geminae</i> <i>Primae Parthicae</i> <i>XVI Fl F</i> <i>XIII G</i>			VIII 1322 = ILS 2764	230s
<i>leg XX Valer Victr*</i>	<i>leg X Gemin piae fidel</i>			XI 1059	EM2

	<i>legion IIII Scythic</i> <i>XI Claud</i> <i>XIII Gem</i> <i>VII Gemin</i>		
<i>leg XX Val</i> <i>Victricis</i>	<i>leg XVI Fla</i>	II 1262	2nd
<i>leg XX Val V[ict</i>	<i>leg I or II A]diutr[</i> <i>leg III Au[g</i>	<i>RIB 203 + add.</i>	
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg II[I] Aug</i>	II 1283	128
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg VIII Aug</i>	X 3722	160+
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg IIII Scythic</i> <i>leg VI Ferr</i> <i>leg III Gall</i>	II 4245 = <i>RIT 306</i>	L1-E2
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg XXII D[ei]ot</i>	<i>AE 1965.215</i>	E2
<i>leg] XX VV</i>	<i>leg X[IIII] Gem p f</i> <i>leg I Adiut</i> <i>leg X Gem p f</i> <i>leg VII? Ge]m p f</i>	II 4463	E3
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg I Adiut</i> <i>leg XI Cl</i> <i>leg I Ital</i>	VIII 3005	E2
<i>(leg) XX VV</i>	<i>leg III Au</i> <i>VII Cl</i> <i>I Ital</i>	VIII 2786 = <i>ILS</i> 2659	L2
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg I Itali</i>	<i>AE 1985.735 =</i> <i>IGLNovae 46</i>	184
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg V M</i> <i>leg I Ital</i> <i>leg XI Cl</i> <i>leg VIII Hisp</i>	III 12411 = <i>ILS</i> 2666b	E2
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg [III Ga]l</i> <i>leg IIII Sy[thi]cae</i> <i>leg I Miner</i> <i>leg X Fr</i>	III 186 + add = <i>ILS 2657</i>	L2
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i> <i>leg VI Vic</i> <i>leg III Aug</i> <i>leg III Parth Sever</i>	VIII 2877 = <i>ILS</i> 2653	E3
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg VI Vic</i>	VIII 2907	L2-E3

	<i>leg II Aug</i> <i>leg III Aug</i>		
<i>(leg) XX VV</i>	<i>leg V Macid</i> <i>VIII Aug</i> <i>II Aug</i>	<i>RIB 509</i>	88+
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg IIII Scythicae</i>	XI 5960	E2
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg VI Vic</i>	<i>RIB 754 + add</i>	E3
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i>	<i>RIB 998 + add</i>	120s+
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg Secunda Augus</i>	XV 7164 = <i>RIB</i> II 2427.26	3rd
<i>(leg) XX VV</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i>	<i>RIB 852</i>	3rd
<i>(leg) XX VV</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i>	<i>RIB 999</i>	120s
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i> <i>leg VI Vic</i>	<i>RIB 1322</i>	155-159
<i>leg XX VV</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i>	<i>RIB 2171</i>	140s
<i>leg [XX] VV</i>	<i>leg V[I] Vic</i>	<i>RIB 1430</i>	120s+
<i>(leg) XX V [V]</i>	<i>le]g II Aug</i>	<i>RIB 995</i>	3rd
<i>leg XX [VV?]</i>	<i>(leg) VI Vic</i>	<i>RIB 1130</i>	
<i>(leg) XX V [V]</i>	<i>leg II Aug</i>	<i>Britannia 20</i> <i>(1989) 331.4</i>	3?
<i>leg XX [...]</i>	<i>le[g] I Ital</i> <i>leg II Aug</i> <i>le[g] VIII Hispan</i>	XII 2601	E2

*most senior post

The *cognomina* of *legio XX*: Catalogue

1 *legio XX*

<i>leg XX</i>	II 22	Augustan L1BC
	II 662	Augustan L1BC
	II 719	Augustan?
	<i>AE</i> 1991.658	Augustan L1BC
	III 2836	Augustan
	IX 1608	Augustan
	V 939	Augustan
	<i>AE</i> 1977.314	Augustan
	V 948	Augustan
	X 5059	Augustan
	V 4923	Augustan/E1
	III 2030	Augustan/E1
	III 2911	Augustan/E1
	V 2838	Augustan/E1
	V 4365	Augustan E1
	<i>Inscr. It.</i> X 4.50	Augustan E1
	XIII 8288	E1
	III 7452	E1
	XIII 8553	35-43
	XIII 8737	before 43
	XIII 8287	before 43
	<i>AE</i> 1954, 160	before 43
	<i>AE</i> 1966, 124	50+
	V 533	56+
	<i>RIB</i> 160 + add.	M1
	<i>RIB</i> 293 + add.	ML1
	<i>RIB</i> 158	ML1
	<i>RIB</i> 200	before 60
	<i>Britannia</i> 23, 146	7 Nov 83
	<i>RIB</i> 502	L1 (88+)
	<i>RIB</i> 2427.14	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 2458.2-8	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 2463.28	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 1125	120s+
	V 6632	M2-3
	XII 678	L2-E3

	<i>RIB</i> 507 + add.	2-3
	<i>RIB</i> 835	2-3
	<i>RIB</i> 2404.72b	197-211?
	XIII 6780	255
	III 5577	3rd
	<i>Britannia</i> 32, 392.18	?
<i>(leg) XX</i>	XIV 3602	E1
	<i>RIB</i> 1779	ML2
	<i>Britannia</i> 19 492.11	
<i>l]eg XX [...?</i>	<i>RIB</i> 515	88+
<i>l]eg XX</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2411.80	L1+
	<i>RIB</i> 2442.11	L1+
<i>le]g XX</i>	<i>AE</i> 1924, 78	60s
<i>le]g XX[...</i>	XIII 8554	35-43
	<i>RIB</i> 2078	2+
<i>leg] XX</i>	<i>RIB</i> 122	50s-70s
	<i>RIB</i> 2463.46	88+
<i>leg X]X</i>	XI 623	L1BC
	XIII 8555	35-43
<i>leg XX[...</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.33,60	88+
	XII 164	E1?
	XII 2601	E2 [if XX]
	<i>RIB</i> 2463.60	3
<i>leg X[X...</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2127	120s+
L XX	XIII 10029.47	E1?
2 legio XX victrix		
<i>λεγίων κ' Νικηφόρος</i>	Ptolemy	
	<i>Geography</i> II.3.11	140-150
<i>leg XX Victric[is</i>	III 1472	M-L2nd
<i>leg XX Victr</i>	XIV 2523	L1-E2
<i>(leg) XX Victr</i>	VI 3492	160s
<i>legio XX Vict</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2114	140-160

<i>leg XX Vict(r Aug?)</i>	Lyne 2000, 290 ⁷⁵	coinage of Carusius 289-90
<i>leg XX Vict</i>	VI 3584	early 2nd
	II 4162	L2
	<i>AI</i> 469 ₂	3/4?
<i>leg XX Vic</i>	<i>AE</i> 1939.157	L1-E2
	<i>RIB</i> 2028	120s+
<i>(leg) XX Vic</i>	<i>ILS</i> 9200	L1-E2
<i>[leg XX Vi p vi f victrix pia vindex fidelis?]</i>	<i>RIC</i> 5(i) 96.364	?coinage of Gallienus 258
<i>leg XX V</i>	VI 3359	2+
	<i>RIB</i> 2463.44	88+
<i>L XX V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2411.76	?2
<i>XV Vict</i>	X 7587	after 122
<i>legio vicesima victrix</i>	<i>EE</i> vii 1125	17th century record of tile stamp; considered dubious: <i>RIB</i> II ⁴ 2463
3 legio XX Valeria Victrix		
<i>leg XX Valeriae Victricis</i>	VIII 1322	230s
<i>λεγ κ' Οὐαλερίας Νεικηφόρου</i>	III 186	before 218
<i>Οὐαλερίειοι καὶ νικητορες</i>	Dio 55.23	E3rd
<i>λεγ]ιῶνος κ' Οὐαλε[ρίας Νικηφόρου</i>	<i>AE</i> 1950. 251	130s
<i>leg] XX Valeriae [Victricis</i>	XIV 4059	[fragmentary]
<i>leg XX Vale]riae Vi]ctricis</i>	<i>AE</i> 1980.445	?
<i>leg XX Valeriae Victric</i>	II 3583	EM2
<i>leg XX Valer Victr</i>	XI 1059	EM2

⁷⁵ Lyne's reading *leg XX vict II Aug* seems doubtful, especially in the light of Lyne 1999 *leg VI victr Aug*.

	XI 6734	2
<i>leg XX] Valer Vict</i>	VI 32902c	
<i>leg XX Val Victricis</i>	II 1262	2
	<i>AE</i> 1935, 25	2?
<i>leg XX Val Victrix p f</i>	<i>RIC</i> 5(ii) 389.21	268-270
<i>leg XX [Val] Victricis</i>	XII 1868	2?
<i>leg XX Val Victr</i>	VI 3504	E2+
<i>leg XX Val Vict</i>	VI 29684	2+
	X 5064	208
<i>leg X[X] Val Vict</i>	III 1458	140s
<i>leg XX Val V[ict</i>	<i>RIB</i> 203 + add.	
<i>leg XX Va[l] Vict</i>	VIII 2080	E3
<i>leg XX Val Vic</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2173	140s
<i>leg X]X [Val] Vic?</i>	<i>RIB</i> 940	72+
<i>leg XX Val Vi</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2035	2+
<i>leg XX Va V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.20	88+
<i>leg XX V V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 156 + add.	L1?
	<i>RIB</i> 498	L1 (88+)
	<i>RIB</i> 501	L1
	<i>Britannia</i> 17, 429.3	L1
	<i>RIB</i> 460	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 2411.77	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 2463.4-7, 9-13, 15-18, 21-23, 26-27, 29-32, 34-43, 47-49, 58	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 493	L1-E2
	<i>RIB</i> 13	L1-E2
	<i>RIB</i> 495	L1-?E2
	<i>RIB</i> 508	L1-E2
	<i>RIB</i> 1826 + add.	L1-E2
	<i>RIB</i> 503	E2
	III 12411	E2
	<i>AE</i> 1965.215	E2

<i>AE</i> 1951, 194	E2
VIII 3005	E2
XI 5960	E2
III 5184	E2+
III 11746	E2+
<i>RIB</i> 2463.1-3	120+
<i>JRS</i> 50 237, 11a	120s
<i>RIB</i> 998 + add.	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 1005	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 1014	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 1385	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 1391	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 1390	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 1645	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 1708	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 1852	120s+
<i>RIB</i> 451	2
<i>RIB</i> 492	2
<i>RIB</i> 511	2
<i>RIB</i> 513	2
<i>RIB</i> 1093	2
<i>RIB</i> 1166	2
III 186	2
XIII 8707	2
<i>RIB</i> 1204	2
<i>RIB</i> 1284	2
II 4245	?2
VI 3663	?2
XIII 1900	?2
<i>RIB</i> 512	?2
<i>RIB</i> 592	?2
<i>RIB</i> 2411.78	?2
<i>Britannia</i> 14, 347.39	?2
<i>RIB</i> 497	2+
<i>RIB</i> 499	2+
<i>RIB</i> 494	2+
<i>RIB</i> 500 + add.	2+
VI 3357	2+
VI 3916	2+
XII 679	2+

VI 29683	2+
<i>RIB</i> 2077 + add.	M2
<i>RIB</i> 801	128-138
<i>RIB</i> 1431	120s+
XI 3108	EM2
<i>RIB</i> 2171	140s
<i>RIB</i> 2184	140s
<i>RIB</i> 2197	140s
<i>RIB</i> 2198	140s
<i>RIB</i> 2199	140s
<i>RIB</i> 2208	140s
<i>Britannia</i> 1 309.19	140s
<i>Britannia</i> 8, 433.32	140s
<i>RIB</i> 2122	140s-150s
<i>RIB</i> 2123	140s-150s
<i>RIB</i> 2124	140s-150s
<i>RIB</i> 2144	140s-150s
<i>RIB</i> 1725	140s-150s
<i>RIB</i> 2135 + add.	140s-150s
II 1283	150s
II 1371	150s
<i>AE</i> 1960.28	150s+
<i>RIB</i> 2411.78	M2
XI 3883	M2+
<i>RIB</i> 452 + add.	154
<i>RIB</i> 1322	155-159
<i>RIB</i> 1338	ML2?
X 3722	L2
<i>RIB</i> 1327	L2
<i>Britannia</i> 12, 380.14	L2?
<i>AE</i> 1985.735	184
VIII 2907	L2-E3
VIII 2877	E3
<i>RIB</i> 491	E3
<i>RIB</i> 754 + add.	E3
<i>RIB</i> 505	3
<i>RIB</i> 980	3
XV 7164	3
<i>RIB</i> 1956	262-266
<i>RIC</i> 5 (ii) 470.82	287-293

	<i>RIC</i> 5 (ii) 470.83	287-293
	<i>RIB</i> 1166	
	<i>JRS</i> 55 (1965), 221.5	
<i>leg</i> <i>XX</i> <i>V</i> [<i>V</i>]	<i>RIB</i> 2463.14	88+
	VI 33033	E3
	<i>Britannia</i> 15, 333.1	3
	<i>Britannia</i> 20, 331.4	3?
	XI 6165	
<i>l[e]g</i> <i>XX</i> <i>V</i> [...]	<i>RIB</i> 2463.8	88+
<i>(le)g</i> <i>XX</i> <i>V</i> [...]	<i>RIB</i> 995	3
<i>leg</i> <i>XX</i> <i>V</i> [<i>V</i>]	<i>RIB</i> 1165	2
<i>leg</i> <i>XX</i> [<i>V</i> <i>V</i>]	<i>RIB</i> 18 + add.	?
	<i>RIB</i> 1130	120s+
	<i>RIB</i> 450	E3
	<i>RIB</i> 490	E3
<i>leg</i> <i>X</i> [<i>X</i>] <i>V</i> [<i>V</i>]	<i>RIB</i> 489	100+
<i>leg</i> <i>X</i> [<i>X</i>] <i>V</i> <i>V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 496	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 588	72+
	<i>RIB</i> 2463.59 i-ii	167
<i>l[eg]</i> <i>X</i> [<i>X</i>] <i>VV</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2119	140s-150s
<i>l]eg</i> <i>XX</i> <i>VV</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.50	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 2206	140s
<i>leg</i> [<i>XX</i>] <i>VV</i>	<i>RIB</i> 1430	120s+
<i>le]g</i> [<i>XX</i>] <i>VV</i>	<i>RIB</i> 516	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 1164	2
<i>leg</i>] <i>XX</i> <i>V</i> <i>V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 513	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 514	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 2463.9	88+
	<i>RIB</i> 1762	120s
	<i>RIB</i> 1020	120s+
	<i>RIB</i> 2210	140-160
	II 4463	E3
<i>leg</i> <i>X</i>] <i>X</i> <i>VV</i>	<i>Britannia</i> 17 437.11	L1+
<i>leg</i> <i>XX</i>] <i>V</i> <i>V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 510	L1-E2
	<i>RIB</i> 1149	163
<i>(leg)</i> <i>XX</i> <i>V</i> <i>V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 509 + add.	L1-E2
	<i>RIB</i> 999	120s+

	VIII 2786	L2
	<i>RIB</i> 852	3
<i>L XX V V</i>	XIII 10029.48	2
	<i>RIB</i> 2411.77	?2
	<i>RIB</i> 2411.79	M2

4 Imperial cognomina

<i>leg XX V V Antoninianae</i>	<i>Britannia</i> 20 331.5	213-22
<i>leg XX V V A</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.53	213-22
<i>leg XX Anto</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.51	213-22
<i>leg] XX Anto</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.52	213-22
<i>leg XX Val V Severae</i>	VIII 2638	222-35
<i>[leg XX V V G]ord</i>	<i>RIB</i> 854	238-44
<i>leg XX V V De</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.54	249-51*
<i>leg XX V De V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.55	249-51*
<i>leg XX] V V D[</i>	<i>RIB</i> 449	249-51*
<i>leg XX V V V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.56	265-67
<i>leg] XX V V V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.57	265-67
<i>leg XX Victr Aug?</i>	Lyne 2000, 290	coinage of Carusius 289-90
<i>leg XX Aug</i>	<i>RIC</i> 5 (ii) 488.275	287-93
	reading suspect? but see Lyne 2003, 162	

* if not geographical

5 Geographical cognomina

<i>legione XX Sici</i>	<i>AE</i> 1988.396	Augustan
<i>leg] XX Britannic</i>	XII 3182	3rd
<i>leg XX V V De</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.54	
<i>leg XX V De V</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2463.55	
<i>leg XX] V V D[</i>	<i>RIB</i> 449	

Addendum: Cohors I Breucorum D (quingenaria) Val(eria) Vi(ctris)

(Cichorius 1900, 257; Spaul 2000; 317-9)

The attribution of these titles to the *cohors I Breucorum* rests on two poorly preserved inscriptions:

III 11931: *Imp(eratori) C]aes(ari) [divi Hadri]ani fi]l(i) T(ito) Ae(lio) Ha[driano | Anto]nino
Aug(usto) P[io c]oh(ors) I Breuc[or(um) | ...] V V bis to[r]]quat(a) ob v[irt(utem) |] appella[ta*

III 11932: interpreted as a variant on the same text

...]ALVI[...|...]VAT O[...|...]PE LA[... = coh I Breucor val victr bis torquat ob virtutem appellata

There are other possible interpretations of ...]ALVI[... The name Salvius is very common, and *cf.* also VIII 21560, a dedication placed by the decurion Aelius Servandus, *praepositus coh II Breucorum* 'SALVIS AUGG'. However, it has to be admitted the argument appears to have some force. Even though fragmentary, the coincidence of letters appears to demand the same text and therefore imply that the VV of 11932 is indeed VAL VI[C]. However, some doubt remains. One might perhaps suggest ...C]OH I BREVC[OR]]VM BIS TO[R]]QVAT..., or even propose a more variant reading. Of the three records of the cohort at III 5918a and 11931 none appears to convincingly read BREVC and ...c]OH I BRE C[...|...]V V might connote some other phrase entirely. The balance of the lettering (as far as it can be deduced from the layout of the *CIL* entry, and as far as any such balance can be assumed) might indeed require a letter in front of the first V.

Spaul accepts the interpretation of *CIL* without presenting further argument. Birley⁷⁶ takes the titles as evidence that the cohort was in Britain in AD 60, and not therefore an entirely separate occurrence. This would suppose that *coh I Breucorum* was involved in the defeat of the Iceni, perhaps even attached to *legio XX*, and received the same honorific. There are no parallels for such a joint award however⁷⁷ and we might be forced to conclude therefore that *Valeria Victrix* was a perfectly understandable honorific, suitable for a military unit.

⁷⁶ Birley 1980, 263

⁷⁷ Cichorius 1900; Maxfield 1981, 218-35 preferring the reading *val(ens) vic(trix)*.

Appendix 2

The Boar

The boar symbol appears on records of the Twentieth Legion throughout Britain from the later first to the end of the third century, appearing on building stones, commemorative slabs and terracotta antefixes, amongst other things, and as designs on coins issued to the legion (see catalogue below). The Twentieth is not alone in its symbolic use of the boar, as we shall see, but the origin of this emblem and its significance remain obscure. The explanation offered for the majority of known legionary emblems is that they are zodiacal in origin, symbolic either of the founding emperor, the date of foundation of the legion, or of a connection with a presiding deity⁷⁸ (Table A4). Thus Taurus, the bull, is seen as indicative of a formation by Julius Caesar, through its association with Venus; Capricorn is taken to imply foundation by Augustus (it was the star sign of the date of his conception and adopted by him as a symbol⁷⁹). Leo, and others such as Sagittarius, Pisces, and Gemini, might imply a foundation during the month of that star sign, or perhaps, like Aries, an association with a presiding deity such as Minerva. The Pegasus has been linked with the emperor Vespasian⁸⁰, although Keppie prefers a general association with Greek mythology, perhaps with Pegasus' role as guardian of Zeus' thunder and lightning⁸¹.

Table A4: Legionary symbols from constellations zodiacal and otherwise (after Ritterling 1925, 1375-1376)

Leo	Jupiter	<i>III Flavia</i>	<i>dies natalis</i> (20 July-29 August)
		<i>XIII Gemina</i>	
		<i>XVI?</i>	
[Sagittarius]	Diana	<i>II Parthica</i>	if the centaur can be taken as representing Sagittarius
		<i>II Traiana</i>	from Hercules?
Capricorn	Vesta	<i>I Adiutrix</i>	associated with Augustus
		<i>II Augusta</i>	(or Galba in the case of <i>I Adiutrix</i> ; unclear in the case

⁷⁸ Ritterling 1925, 1371-6.

⁷⁹ Keppie 2002, 13-14.

⁸⁰ Parker 1928, 106.

⁸¹ Keppie 2002, 14. *cf.* Le Bohec 1989, 556 positing an Augustan connection.

		<i>III Augusta</i> ⁸²	of <i>XXII Primigenia</i>)
		<i>III Macedonica</i>	
		<i>III Scythica</i> ⁸³	
		<i>XIII Gemina</i>	
		<i>XXI Rapax</i>	
		<i>XXII Primigenia</i>	
[Pisces]	Neptune	<i>XI Claudia</i>	if the use of Neptune can be taken as connected with Pisces
		<i>XXX Ulpia</i>	
Aries	Minerva	<i>I Minervia</i>	
Taurus	Venus	<i>III Gallica</i>	indicating a Caesarian origin
		<i>III Macedonica</i>	
		<i>VII Claudia</i>	
		<i>VIII Augusta</i>	
		<i>X Gemina</i>	
[Gemini]	Apollo	<i>II Italica</i>	from the wolf and twins
		<i>VI Ferrata</i>	
Pegasus		<i>II Adiutrix</i>	linked to Vespasian?
		<i>II Augusta</i>	
		<i>III Augusta</i> ⁸⁴	

Other symbols seemingly refer to events in the past history of the legion, e.g. the elephant of *legio V Aludae*, recalling an incident at the battle of Thrapsus⁸⁵, and the maritime symbols of legions *X Fretensis* and *XI Claudia*, perhaps recalling naval actions during the civil wars. The thunderbolt of *legio XII Fulminata* is a more direct reflection of the legion's name. The boar, however, seems to have no obvious source except as a reflection of the strength, aggressiveness and courage of that animal. Domaszewski sought a link with the Sabine god, Quirinus, or with some Asiatic zodiac⁸⁶ but the use of the boar as a martial symbol was common in Celtic Europe⁸⁷ and it had earlier been used as

⁸² Le Bohec 1989, 555-6.

⁸³ Keppie 1984, 206.

⁸⁴ Le Bohec 1989, 556.

⁸⁵ Appian *Bell. Civ.* II 96.

⁸⁶ Domaszewski 1895, 119; 1892, 192.

⁸⁷ Forster 1977; Green 1992, 46-7. Displayed on standards of the Gauls: Amy *et al.* 1962 pls 75, 76, 82a; Pobé and Roubier 1961 pl.188.

a standard of the republican legion⁸⁸. In the absence of anything else to link the three, its adoption by legions *XX, X Fretensis*⁸⁹ and *I Italica* perhaps reflects nothing more than these obvious martial qualities.

That all legions had, or were expected to have, some symbolic representation seems clear from the legionary coin issues of the later third century, i.e. those of Gallienus, Victorinus and Carausius. All of the legions included in these issues were supplied with an emblem. However, different issues for the same legion sometimes show different emblems, and even where a single emblem appears, in a number of cases these are at variance with those recorded elsewhere (see Table A5). In some cases this may reflect the use of more than one emblem by a legion – e.g. the Capricorn and Pegasus of *legio II Augusta* – but in others an emblem is supplied which appears nowhere else and would seem clearly to be incorrect – e.g. the Bull given to *legio X Fretensis*⁹⁰. Whether this represents a weakening of the traditions associated with such emblems among the detachments of the third century field armies, or merely ignorance on the part of those who designed or produced the coins, is not clear but it would seem nonetheless that they knew that a legion should have an associated symbol, even if they were unsure what it was.

Table A5: Legionary emblems⁹¹ and their depiction on third century coin issues

<i>legio</i>	emblem <i>dies natalis</i> ⁹²	Gallienus (c.258)	Victorinus (268- 270)	Carausius(287- 293)
<i>I Adiutrix</i>	Capricorn <i>V I Iun?</i>	Capricorn Pegasus	-	-
<i>I Italica</i>	Boar <i>XII K Oct</i>	Boar Bull Capricorn?	-	-

⁸⁸ Along with the eagle, the wolf, the minotaur and the horse. All except the eagle were abolished by C. Marius in 104BC: Pliny *Natural History* 10.16.

⁸⁹ The boar was the main insignia of *X Fretensis*, appearing on coins and brick stamps along with the dolphin and Neptune: Barag 1967, 245-7.

⁹⁰ Barag 1997, 246.

⁹¹ After Ritterling 1925, 1371-6; Parker 1928, 261-3; Keppie 1984, 205-12. Coins in *RIC* except where noted.

⁹² From the dedications *honori Aquilae* and *genio legionis* collected by Dobson 1978, 155-160.

<i>I Minervia</i>	Ram	Minerva	Ram	Ram
<i>I Parthica</i>		-	-	-
<i>II Adiutrix</i>	Pegasus	Pegasus Boar	-	-
<i>II Augusta</i>	Capricorn Pegasus <i>VIII K Oct</i>	-	-	Capricorn
<i>II Italica</i>	<i>XIII K Oct?</i>	Wolf with twins Capricorn	-	-
<i>II Parthica</i>	Centaur	Centaur	-	Centaur
<i>II Traiana</i>	Hercules	-	-	Hercules
<i>III Augusta</i>	Capricorn ⁹³ Pegasus	-	-	-
<i>III Cyrenaica</i>		-	-	-
<i>III Gallica</i>	Bull	-	-	-
<i>III Italica</i>	Stork	Stork	-	-
<i>III Parthica</i>		-	-	-
<i>III Macedonia</i>	Bull Capricorn	-	-	-
<i>IV Flavia</i>	Lion	Lion	Lion	Lion
<i>IV Scythica</i>	Capricorn	-	-	-
<i>V Alaudae</i>	Elephant	-	-	-
<i>V Macedonia</i>	Bull	Eagle	Bull	-
<i>VI Ferrata</i>	Wolf and twins	-	-	-
<i>VI Victrix</i>	[Bull?]	-	-	Boar ⁹⁴
<i>VII Claudia</i>	Bull	Bull	-	Bull
<i>VII Gemina</i>		-	-	-
<i>VIII Augusta</i>	Bull	Bull	-	Bull
<i>IX Hispana</i>		-	-	-
<i>X Fretensis</i>	Boar Dolphin Tireme	-	Bull	-
<i>X Gemina</i>	Bull	Bull	-	-
<i>XI Claudia</i>	Neptune	Neptune Boar ⁹⁵	-	-

⁹³ Le Bohec 1989, 555.

⁹⁴ Lyne 2001, 291: it seems possible that the boar was copied from the similar issue to the Twentieth.

⁹⁵ Scafile 1976, 56-82: as LEG IX CL.

<i>XII Fulminata</i>	Thunderbolt	-	-	-
<i>XIII Gemina</i>	Lion	Lion	Lion	-
<i>XIII Gemina</i>	Capricorn	Capricorn	Capricorn	-
<i>XV Appolinaris</i>		-	-	-
<i>XVI Flavia</i>	[Lion?]	-	-	-
<i>XX Victrix</i>	Boar	-	Boar	Boar
<i>XXI Rapax</i>	Capricorn	-	-	-
<i>XXII Deiotariana</i>		-	-	-
<i>XXII Primigenia</i>	Capricorn Bull? <i>V K Apr</i>	Capricorn	Capricorn	Capricorn
<i>XXX Ulpia</i>	Capricorn Neptune	Neptune	Capricorn	Neptune

If all legions indeed had an associated emblem – and it will be seen from the above table that the evidence is lacking in a number of cases – how they were used is not entirely clear. They can be seen on military equipment⁹⁶, and in relief sculpture but how much they permeated the everyday consciousness of the soldiers themselves remains unclear, although we might here offer the representation of a boar on a seal-box lid from Usk and that on the bronze roundel of Aurelius Cervianus some two centuries later⁹⁷. If small personal items bearing these designs are lacking, the boar of the Twentieth nonetheless makes frequent appearance in both official and, perhaps, unofficial carving (see Catalogue below). Moreover, at Chester virtually every roofed building in the fortress might have displayed some version of the symbol⁹⁸. Traditions of use may have varied between legions, however. One has only to compare the inscribed stones erected by the three British legions on the Antonine Wall to see that the approach of *legio VI Victrix* was different to that of the Second and Twentieth Legions. The Capricorn, Pegasus and boar abound⁹⁹, the Sixth makes do with classical

⁹⁶ Catapult shield of *legio IIII Macedonica*: Baatz 1980; Keppie 1984, 228-9 and Plate 13.

⁹⁷ Manning 1995, 136.8 but the iconography need not be military *cf.* Forster 1977 and see Brewer 2002b. Cervianus: XV 7164 = *RIB* II³ 2427.26.

⁹⁸ *RIB* II⁴ 2458.2-8: terracotta antefixes.

⁹⁹ *II Aug*: *CSIR* i 4.137 = *RIB* 2193; 152 = 2203; 154 = 2204. *XX VV*: 123 = 2184; 146 = 2197; 148 = 2198; 149; 156 = 2208; 157 = 2199.

representation of gods, goddesses and winged victories¹⁰⁰. Its legionary emblem, if indeed it used one, remains uncertain.

However else such emblems were used, their official role is nonetheless unclear. Webster allowed that they probably appeared on ceremonial standards but did not feel that they played any great part in organisation or drill formation¹⁰¹. On the other hand, the relief carving on the tombstone of Q. Luccius Faustus, signifer of *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* at Mainz in the later first century, indicates that the emblem, here a Capricorn, might appear on the legionary *signum* displayed by each century¹⁰². The standards depicted on the coin issue of Septimius Severus to this legion suggest that this was still the case over a century later¹⁰³. Whether this was universal practice is not clear, however. The standard of *XIII Gemina* is the only such stone-carved representation collected by Domaszewski in his study of legionary standards¹⁰⁴ and it is the Fourteenth once again that accounts for the clear examples on the Severan coinage¹⁰⁵. However, it might be noted that several of the designs of the terracotta antefixes from Chester combine the legion's name (or at least number) with a *signum* and the boar emblem in a way which recalls the apparent use on the *signa* of *legio XIII*.

¹⁰⁰ *CSIR* i 4.91 = *RIB* 2165; 150 = 2200.

¹⁰¹ Webster 1979, 137-8: that they might have appeared 'more often as decorative motifs on antefixes' would seem to understate the case.

¹⁰² XIII 6898; Domaszewski 1885, 35-6 and Fig.12; Le Bohec 1994 Plate V, 8.

¹⁰³ *RIC* 4 i, 93.14; 137.358 with plates.

¹⁰⁴ Domaszewski 1885, 35-56. A Capricorn standard also appears on a funerary monument found near Brescia, but the legion is unnamed: Franzoni 1987, 74-6 Tav 25.1; Keppie 2002, 14.

¹⁰⁵ *RIC* 4 i, 92-93. The *signa* are similarly depicted with Capricorns on some coins of *leg III Italica* (*RIC* 4 i, 92.7) and *leg XI Claudia* (*RIC* 4 i, 93.12), but as with some of the third century issues we are here faced with symbols different to those depicted elsewhere and the design was perhaps copied from the more numerous issue to *legio XIII*.

Catalogue

late Neronian-early Flavian

Manning 1995, 136.8¹⁰⁶ Usk seal-box lid charging boar

1st-2nd century

<i>RIB</i> 1093	Lanchester	dedication slab	relief of boar (right)
<i>RIB</i> 2458.2 i-xiii	Holt, Chester	terracotta antefixes	moulded boar (right)
<i>RIB</i> 2458.3 i-xxiv	Holt, Chester	terracotta antefixes	moulded boar (right)
<i>RIB</i> 2458.4 i-iv	Holt	terracotta antefixes	moulded boar (right)
<i>RIB</i> 2458.5 i-ii	Holt	terracotta antefixes	moulded boar (right)
<i>RIB</i> 2458.6 i-viii	Holt, Prestatyn, Chester	antefixes	moulded boar (right)
<i>RIB</i> 2458.8 i-iii	Holt, Chester	terracotta antefixes	moulded boar (left)

Hadrianic

<i>CSIR</i> i 6.245 = <i>RIB</i> 1645	HW 41b-42	building stone	head of boar – frontal
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.261	Great Chesters	building stone	relief – vexillum, 2 boars, 2 eagles, 2 victories, trees: lost
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.390	Barcombe Down		relief of boar (right) in quarry

Antonine

<i>CSIR</i> i 1.297 = <i>RIB</i> 1284	High Rochester	dedication slab	relief of boar (right) between trees
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.300	High Rochester	building stone	relief of boar (right) among trees
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.44 = <i>RIB</i> 2119	Cappuck	commemorative slab	relief of boar (right) presumably one of pair
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.49	Newstead	commemorative slab fragment	relief of boar (left) presumably one of pair?
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.50	Newstead	building stone	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.51	Newstead	impost capital	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.123 = <i>RIB</i> 2184	Eastermains	distance slab	relief of boar (right) facing tree
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.146 = <i>RIB</i> 2197	Castlehill	distance slab	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.148 = <i>RIB</i> 2198	Hutcheson Hill	distance slab	relief of boar (left) facing tree
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.149 = <i>Britannia</i> 1 1970, 309.19	Hutcheson Hill	distance slab	relief of boar (right)
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.156 = <i>RIB</i> 2208	Ferrydyke	distance slab	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 4.157 = <i>RIB</i> 2119	west of Castlehill	distance slab	relief of boar (left)

AD 153

CSIR i 6.140 = *RIB* 1956 HW MC52 altar relief of boar (left) facing (?between) tree(s)

¹⁰⁶ Not perhaps a legionary symbol. See now Brewer 2002b, 181.

2nd or 3rd century

<i>CSIR</i> i 1.90 = <i>RIB</i> 1167	Corbridge	inscribed slab	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.97	Corbridge	building stone	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.98	Corbridge	building stone	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.99	Corbridge	building stone	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.100	Corbridge	building stone	relief of boar (right)
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.101	Corbridge	building stone	relief of boar (right)
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.102	Corbridge	unfinished	relief of boar (right)
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.158	Corbridge	sculpture	boar (incomplete)
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.159	Corbridge	sculpture	boar ? hindquarters
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.160	Corbridge	sculpture	boar? forepart
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.161	Corbridge	sculpture	boar's head
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.162	Corbridge	sculpture	hoof of a boar
<i>CSIR</i> i 1.163	Corbridge	sculpture	hoof of a boar
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.253	Chesterholm	building stone	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.259	Chesterholm	building stone	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.250 = <i>RIB</i> 1708	Chesterholm	building stone	relief of boar (right)
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.251	Chesterholm	building stone	relief of boar (right)
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.278	Netherby	building stone	relief of boar (right) facing tree
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.524	Carlisle	corbel	relief of boar (left)
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.525	Carlisle	sculpture?	head of boar: lost
<i>CSIR</i> i 6.526	Carlisle	?building stone	relief of boar (left)
<i>RIB</i> 1020	Cumberland	dedication slab	relief of boar (left) + tree?

3rd century

XV 7164

= *RIB* II³ 2427.26 unprovenanced bronze roundel boar (right)**AD 238-44***RIB* 854 Maryport building stone relief of boar (left)**AD 265-67***RIC* 5 (ii) 389.21 coinage of Victorinus boar stg. left**AD 287-93***RIC* 5 (ii) 470.82 coinage of Carausius boar stg. right*RIC* 5 (ii) 470.83 coinage of Carausius boar stg. right*RIC* 5 (ii) 488.275 coinage of Carausius boar stg. left

Appendix 3

The Twentieth Legion and the Building of Hadrian's Wall

It is clear that the Second, Sixth and Twentieth Legions were all involved in construction and re-construction, at various times and in various places, along the line of Hadrian's Wall¹⁰⁷. Some 150 centurions are known from building stones found along the wall but only in very few cases is the legion in which they served recorded¹⁰⁸. For the rest, various attempts have been made in the past to discern and apportion 'legionary blocks' into which construction can be divided and thus to allow the allocation of many of the attested centurions to their respective legions. However, the division of labour among the three legions is neither clear-cut nor beyond doubt¹⁰⁹, and as we shall see some doubt must remain over many of these attributions. That said, there are observations that can be made regarding their distribution which might nonetheless allow the recognition of groups of centurions, if not always the legion to which they belonged. At its simplest, we would not be surprised if none of the centurions rebuilding the turf wall in stone after 158 were found on the original stone wall to the east begun some 35 years earlier¹¹⁰. Going further it is possible to discern some patterns within those centurions presumed to have been involved in the building programme of 123-128 which elucidate some aspects of the wall's construction independent of the rather confused structural evidence.

There are a number of immediate problems in considering the Hadrian's Wall centurions as a group. First and foremost we must ask to what extent they can be considered a group at all. The vast majority of centurial stones are known from the central sector, between Chesters and Birdoswald, with a

¹⁰⁷ The occurrences of 'legionary' stones are collected in Goodburn and Waugh 1983, 89 Index 10.3. Mann 1992 has argued convincingly that certain records naming only a legion relate to later rebuilding.

¹⁰⁸ See Fig. A3 and Index A3, with reference to *RIB* and reports in *JRS* and *Britannia*.

¹⁰⁹ See the reversal of the allocations to *legio XX* and *legio VI* between Breeze and Dobson 1978 and Breeze and Dobson 1987, based on the discovery of a single inscription re-used in a wall-turret and their later admission of uncertainty: Breeze and Dobson 2000.

¹¹⁰ In fact the ... *assi* | [...] *riso*? [...] of *RIB* 1415, near MC16, is suggested as identical with the Cassius Priscus of *RIB* 1869, from near Birdoswald, and *JRS* 53 (1963), 161 no.9 (MC59-T59a). Thirty-five years' service as centurion would not be impossible, but the combination of names is not perhaps so uncommon for the identity to be pressed.

further concentration to the east on the primary stone wall. However, they were also inserted when the turf wall west of MC54 was reconstructed in stone and given the complex history of the wall as a whole one would have to ask whether centurial stones were inserted in later stages of repair and reconstruction. The practice of dividing schemes of construction among centuries is described by Vegetius, although he does not describe any method of recording such allocations¹¹¹, and stones recording the contribution of a particular century to a scheme of construction are known from other large building schemes at forts and fortresses elsewhere. However, they would seem particularly suited to substantial construction programmes where large numbers of centuries are working sided by side and perhaps in different areas at different stages. Smaller scale repair work would perhaps be kept track of in different ways – see for example the distinctive stones recording rebuilding by specific legions, presumably from 158 onwards¹¹². There are no such stylistic differences to suggest that groups of the simpler centurial stones could also be ascribed to later periods¹¹³. The Severan rebuild, apparently on a relatively large scale¹¹⁴, might seem a better candidate for any series of later records, but although it seems some existing centurial stones were reinserted in the rebuild, there is no evidence for the provision of any new ones. Considerations of nomenclature would also seem to rule out any large scale provision of such stones at a late date. The relative frequency of *Iulii* and *Flavii*, and complete lack of *Aurelii*, among those listed in Appendix A3 mark out the Hadrian's Wall corpus from other well-dated centurial lists¹¹⁵. However, the scale of this third-century rebuild does bear on the question of provenance. As we shall see, earlier efforts to disentangle the processes of construction often involved deductions from the placement of, and intervals between, centurial; stones. That some may have been removed and reinserted makes it difficult to uphold the conclusions of such studies. Here it is assumed that stone which was reused would not be transported over large distances, but nonetheless locations of

¹¹¹ Vegetius *Epitoma Rei Militaris* 3.8 'singulae centuriae...accipiunt pedaturas' but cf. XIII 6548 *ped(atura) (centuriae) Iul(i) Silvani...*

¹¹² Mann 1992.

¹¹³ A small number of stones enumerating lengths in feet might be considered a separate group; e.g. RIB 1575, JRS 48 (1958), 152 no.10e, JRS 49 (1959), 136 no.5a; but these latter two are part of the group, many *in situ*, found west of MC49 and apparently of the same date. Hill 2004, 112 suggests that stones less than 3" in thickness would have been unsuitable for insertion in the wall face and may have come from the vallum.

¹¹⁴ Crow, 1991, 55.

¹¹⁵ e.g. III 7449 of AD 155, VIII 18065 of AD 162, III 6580 of AD 194.

stones have generally been considered only in terms of the wall-mile in which they fall and rarely any smaller interval.

'Legionary blocks'

It is a commonplace to suppose that during the original construction of the wall the centuries of the three legions involved were not scattered randomly along the length of the wall, but would have built in coherent legionary blocks¹¹⁶. The identification of stylistic differences in the construction of mile-castles, turrets and curtain wall¹¹⁷ has allowed attempts to be made to discern and apportion such blocks¹¹⁸ and raised the possibility of allocating the many attested centurions to their respective legions. The most concerted attempt in this regard remains that of Stevens¹¹⁹ who allocated thirty-nine centurions to *legio II*, four to *legio VI* and seventy-six to *legio XX*. This figure of 76 appears to remain more or less current. We are still told that 'some 70...centurions come from the XXth legion'¹²⁰ or that 'in the central sector' they are 'mostly...drawn from XX Valeria Victrix'¹²¹. Hassall produces a table of *legio XX* centurions, accepting some 66 in all¹²². But however much such a body of men would add to the corpus presented here, Stevens' attributions ultimately rely on his building-scheme of eight 'cohort-equivalents' working in 16-structure blocks¹²³, a unit of building not recognised by later writers¹²⁴. Since, in any case, his division of the wall west of Chesters between legions II and XX does not amount to any more than 'pure guess-work'¹²⁵ his centurial lists must be treated with care and a reassessment of the evidence would seem overdue.

¹¹⁶ Horsley 1732, 130: though the available evidence led him to suppose that *legio XX* took no part in the construction. See now Breeze and Dobson 2000, 75-79.

¹¹⁷ Simpson *et al.* 1936, 266-8; Birley 1939, 227.

¹¹⁸ Stevens 1948, 1966; Hooley and Breeze 1968; Breeze and Dobson 1987.

¹¹⁹ Stevens 1966 101-3, 138-9.

¹²⁰ A.R. Birley 1980, 74.

¹²¹ Mann 1992, 236.

¹²² Hassall 1984, 271 and 272 Table 1.

¹²³ Stevens 1966, 13, 100. Cohorts IV and VII of the Twentieth are assumed to take no part. Some special pleading about the alternation of cohorts II and IX is required to arrive at this figure of eight (cohort I is assumed to be present in double strength).

¹²⁴ Hooley and Breeze 1968, 98; Hill 2004, 124.

¹²⁵ Stevens 1966, 75.

The further recognition that the distances between repeated records of the same century might represent a 'legionary length' within the 'legionary block'¹²⁶ or that such records might mark either end of the length allocated to one century or cohort led also to attempts to discern the division of legionary blocks among cohorts and centuries¹²⁷. To have any hope of success this would require a much larger body of precisely located stones than we truly possess and the elaborate scheme presented by Stevens relies on precisely such a rigid arrangement of cohorts and centuries, and unlikely uniformity of progress, as he warns against in his own introduction¹²⁸. It is presumably for such reasons that Hooley and Breeze in reaching their 'entirely different conclusions'¹²⁹ as to how the wall was built chose not to consider individual centurions or the division of labour between their centuries. Breeze and Dobson too refrain from commenting on this aspect of the construction¹³⁰, but as I hope to demonstrate something can yet be discerned.

The 15-mile stretch from MC7 to MC22 forms the basis for the division into legionary blocks. Here, it is claimed, three 5-mile blocks can be distinguished in which the different types of milecastle, turret and curtain-wall construction can be grouped together to provide the signature types of the three legions. Direct evidence for their attribution is lacking, however, and the allocation of these blocks depends largely on inscriptions from further to the west where the division of building is much less clear cut. Dedication slabs of *legio II* from mile-castles 37, 38 and 42 provide the evidence for one mile-castle type¹³¹; the only other direct evidence is RIB 1852 of *legio XX*, apparently from MC47. Unfortunately this mile-castle does not clearly fit the typology defined within the initial three blocks (a fact which lies at the root of later revisions) but nonetheless served as proof of a *legio XX* 'type', the third falling to *legio VI* by default (with some support from MC50SW and RIB 1933 and 1934; but we are now onto turf-wall forts and far from our primary and defining types). That Breeze and Dobson should reverse these last two allocations based on the discovery of a single inscription from a

¹²⁶ Collingwood 1928, 388; Birley 1939, 224ff.

¹²⁷ Stevens 1948; 1966.

¹²⁸ Stevens 1966, 5.

¹²⁹ Hooley and Breeze 1968, 98.

¹³⁰ Breeze and Dobson 2000, 74.

¹³¹ MC37, RIB 1634; MC38, RIB 1637, 1638; MC42, RIB 1666

wall-turret and a further reinterpretation of MC47 only underlines the fragility of the evidence¹³². Moreover, the status of MC7-MC22 is not itself beyond doubt. The simplicity may be more apparent than real. The 'slightly unusual'¹³³ north gate of the long-axis MC18 is clearly of the type otherwise associated with short-axis milecastles (and *legio II*), as indeed is the north gate of MC19¹³⁴. The assumption that the inscriptional evidence can be directly tied to the form of the final structure is also challenged by Hill¹³⁵ who points to horizontal differences in the quality of construction and raises the possibility that a structure begun by one legion might be completed by a second. His further point¹³⁶ that single-respond gates might in fact have internal gate-piers, flush with the wall, and that this type can be linked to *legio II* at Caerleon again underlines the uncertainties¹³⁷.

This may seem a counsel of despair, but all is not lost for the centurial stones recovered from east of the Irthing can be seen to form a self-consistent and coherent group independent of the confused, and confusing, structural evidence and if they can tell us little about the origins of the structures in this area of dislocation they can still shed light on other aspects of the construction.

MC41 – R. Irthing

The eight miles of wall between MC41 and the River Irthing have proved particularly fruitful of centurial stones. Seventy-five are known, among which should especially be noted the 47 records of just 17 multiply attested individuals. These appear throughout this stretch of the wall and overlap to such an extent that it would seem perverse to suggest that they did not belong to the same legion, and that this one legion was not responsible for the construction of this section of the wall. The point is perhaps more easily seen in the accompanying Figure A1, which indicates the groups of 2, 3 or 4

¹³² Breeze and Dobson 1987, 68-9 (Wall-turret 33b: Miket and Maxfield 1972).

¹³³ Hooley and Breeze 1968, 102.

¹³⁴ The appearance of projecting inner responds is a result of the wall here only being 8'0" thick – as opposed to 9'3" at MC18 and 9'7" at MC20 – the dimensions otherwise match the gates of MC17 and MC18 (Hunneysett 1980, fig.1).

¹³⁵ Hill 1991, 36.

¹³⁶ Hill and Dobson 1992, 36.

¹³⁷ See Breeze and Dobson 2000, 68, 77 where structure types and legionary blocks can now only be labelled A, B and C and also Bennett 2002, 826-8 and 833 fig. 3 who presents a different view of the programme of construction and division of labour.

centurions found recurring together at different points along the wall. For example, Iulius Florentinus, Valerius Maximus, Soccelius and Maximus all occur together between MC44-MC45 and in the section MC42-Great Chesters; similarly, Soccelius, Lousius Suavis and Gellius Philippus are all seen in MC42-Great Chesters and in MC48-MC49; Lousius Suavis, Cocceius Regulus and Olcinius Libo, together in MC48-MC49 are also seen in MC46-MC47 along with Laetinius and Valerius Verus who are also seen together in MC45-MC46 along with Maximus and Marius Dexter; thus bringing us full circle, for Maximus, Marius Dexter and Valerius Verus all occur together with the others in our first stretch, MC44-MC45.

Twenty-five other centurions are also attested along this stretch of the wall and are here assumed to belong to this same legion (see figs A2, A3 and Table A6 below). It remains possible that some of them belong to a different legion, but short of supposing a large element of horizontal building¹³⁸ with another legion completing the upper courses of the wall, then the attribution of these 42 centurions to the same legion seems the most likely hypothesis. The question of the legion to which they belonged seems easily answered. Iulius Florentinus (6.35) and Flavius Noricus (6.29), with five occurrences between them, are both directly attested as members of the Twentieth Legion¹³⁹; Rufius Sabinus (6.58) is probably to be identified with the centurion known from the legionary works-depot at Holt¹⁴⁰; and Claudius Augustanus (6.18) and Ferronius Vegetus (6.26) are perhaps to be identified with centurions recorded at Chester¹⁴¹. There is also the 'terminal' stone of *legio XX* from MC41-MC42¹⁴² and the stone, recorded by Gordon and Horsley, but now lost, showing a *vexillum* flanked by winged victories, eagles and boars, found west of Great Chesters (MC43-44)¹⁴³, both of which attest to activity by the Twentieth Legion in this area.

¹³⁸ Stevens 1966, 17; Hill 2004, 127-9, the suggestion here driven by more practical considerations.

¹³⁹ *RIB* 1762; *JRS* 50 (1960), 237 no.11a.

¹⁴⁰ *RIB* 441 + add.

¹⁴¹ *RIB* 2409.4, 468; though an element of circular reasoning might seem evident in the reading of these last two.

¹⁴² *RIB* 1645.

¹⁴³ *CSIR* i 6.261. The use of the boar motif is sufficient to identify the legion: see Appendix 2.

The cohort to which the centurion belonged is also recorded for thirty-two of these forty-two individuals so that we can begin to reconstruct the centurial roll of *c.* AD 125 (three other possible members appear further to the east and are considered below):

Table A6: Centurions of legio XX VV 125-128

I	II	III	IV	V
Serenus pp Flavius Crescens Iulius Candidus Olcus Libo Opsilius Valerius Sabinus [Nas. Bassus]†	Laetianus Olcus Libo Pon... Magnus	Claudius Augustanus Ferronius Vegetus Maximus Max. Tern. Senilis Socellus O...		Gellius Philippus Iulius Valens Ostorianus Sextius Proculus Valerius Maximus Valerius Rufinus ?M]ax N[... [Caecilius Proculus]† [Maximus]†
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Caledonius Secundus Gellius Philippus Lepidus (> Lepidiana) Liberalis Lousius Suavis		Seccius Valerius Verus	Flavius Noricus	Flavius Noricus Iulius Florentinus Munatius Maximus Vesuvius Rufus

† possibilities only, see further below

The remaining centurions are unassigned to cohorts:

Caecilius Monimus	Regulus
Cocceius Regulus	Romuleius Iustus
Iulius Ianalis	Rufius Sabinus
Marius Dexter	Victorinus
Petta Dida	Ulpus Volusenus

For the Twentieth Legion to be found building the narrow curtain here (roughly MC41 to the River Irthing) would cause us to identify them as the Legion B of Breeze and Dobson 2000¹⁴⁴, and lead us

¹⁴⁴ Breeze and Dobson 2000, 68, 77 Table 5, but see Bennett 2002 for an alternative view of the division of responsibilities.

to revert to the building scheme presented in Breeze and Dobson 1978. However, as we have seen, the mile-castle and turret typologies may tell us only that the same legion laid the foundations for structures in specific areas. The superstructure might have been built by any of the legions involved.

Distributions elsewhere

Such considerations aside, the identification of this group of forty-two centurions of *legio XX* can serve as a starting point for further analysis of the centurions distributed along the line of the wall. Put simply, if we know the names of two-thirds (or more) of the centurions of the legion, then in other areas of the wall supposed to have been built by the Twentieth we ought to find names recurring. Indeed we should expect a ratio of 2:1 between centurions already known and those not previously recorded¹⁴⁵.

In order to test the observed distributions against predicted ratios between known and unknown individuals the chi-squared test has been employed¹⁴⁶. This test is a simple way of establishing the likelihood (or otherwise) of observed distributions for a given initial hypothesis (the 'null hypothesis'). For example, if two stretches of wall are claimed to be the work of the same legion, then we might expect the centuries of that legion to have been represented more or less equally in both areas (our null hypothesis). If we already know the names of half of our centurions (from Area 1 say), then for 20 discoveries in Area 2 we would expect a 10:10 split between known and unknown. An 11-9 distribution would not surprise us, nor would 12-8 very much. 20-0 would clearly suggest something was wrong with our assumptions, but how unlikely is 15-5? Or 17-3? At a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$ (i.e. with only a 5% likelihood of the distribution arising by chance), both of these would fail the test and we would have to reject the null hypothesis.

What this might mean in individual cases will be discussed further below, but we must not lose sight of the fact that the many factors influencing survival and discovery will never equate to a truly random selection. For the most part we would not expect these factors to operate selectively in favour

¹⁴⁵ A large number of assumptions are inherent here. Work is spread over a number of years, so how does the centurial role change over time? Are all the centuries involved in construction? Do different parties operate in different areas?...etc. These will be addressed further below.

¹⁴⁶ Shennan 1997, 104-9.

of specific individuals, but if some centuries were more lax in their provision of centurial stones (supposing they could get away with it) or merely produced less durable records than others, then the force of the argument would be weakened. Nor do we know how many stones of each centurion we should expect before we begin to exhaust the supply – but although this might affect the probability of new discoveries where several are already known, it should not affect the likelihood of that individual being represented in other stretches of the wall. It might also be that some centuries did considerably more work than others (the first cohort – if of double strength – might produce twice as many records as the others, or might build longer stretches of wall) or that some centuries, or indeed whole cohorts, took no part in construction of the curtain, but if this could be demonstrated these would be interesting results in themselves.

If we are to look at expected numbers of centurions, some account must also be taken of changes in the centurial roll over the period of construction. Dobson suggests that there were some 90 posts as centurion available each year across the legions¹⁴⁷. This equates to roughly 3 per legion per year and might suggest a rate of changeover of centurions of something like this 3 per year. This figure has been used in the calculations below. However, it should be pointed out that this only takes into account the provision of new recruits filling the gaps left by death, retirement or promotion through the rank of *primus pilus*. Complications arise if there is any significant element of transfer between legions involved in the process.

An average tenure in post of just 3½ years is often suggested¹⁴⁸. The career of Ti. Claudius Fatalis (6.19) here fits this pattern with 7 posts in 23 years. However, others such as that of T. Flavius Virilis (6.31) less obviously conform (6 posts plus service in the ranks in 45 years) and that of Ti. Claudius Vitalis (6.20) must either involve 6 posts in 11 years or an 11-year posting in his 6th centurionate (which would still not allow as much as 3 years in each of his preceding posts unless we are to suppose direct commission to the centurionate at the age of 15). An average duration of 3-4 years would involve some 500 movements of centurions every year throughout the Empire – seventeen each

¹⁴⁷ Dobson 1974, 427.

¹⁴⁸ Birley 1965, 24 (= 1988, 208) commenting on the career of Petronius Fortunatus (VIII 217) and the 3½-year average duration of his thirteen centurionates. Other careers quoted therein (*AE* 1937.101 – 7 posts in 20 years; XIII 6728 – 8 or 9 in 32 years) also support a duration of between 3 and 4 years.

year for each legion – though many, perhaps most, would have been internal. In fact, if there were three new posts in each legion each year, with the departure of the *primus pilus* and retirement or transfer (or death) of two others, then the concomitant reshuffling and promotions might easily account for 17 such movements¹⁴⁹.

Birley argues that the transfer of centurions between legions was not usual and was driven by transfers along with vexillations, by transfers due to patronage in parallel with the postings of legates or governors, and by the need to fill the gaps left by these first two processes¹⁵⁰. As such, the frequency of such transfers is difficult to estimate and has been here assumed to form only a minor role. It may indeed have just been one of the ways by which our three vacancies each year might arise. If, on the other hand, such transfers were argued to be a significant and common occurrence then we might find several more than 3 movements out of the legion each year (which would have implications for what follows). The movement of centurions is evident in two ways in the epigraphic record provided by the centurial stones. Firstly there are those individuals for whom multiple records exist showing them to have served in different cohorts of the legion during the course of construction; and secondly we have a number of centurial stones where the use of the adjectival form of the name indicates that a centurion had been transferred but the post remained vacant, the century still being referred to by the name of the previous incumbent¹⁵¹. From among the 13 (or 14) centurions of the Twentieth working between MC41 and the R. Irthing for whom we have more than one record indicating their cohort, we find three who have transferred (possibly four if we can accept the identity of the Maximus of cohorts III and V from the rather colourless name)¹⁵². The second category supplies another two or three individuals in this same area¹⁵³. The sample size is not large enough to press the point about the proportion of centurions so represented, but the numbers would not be inconsistent with

¹⁴⁹ And further suggest a hierarchy of something like 6-7 posts within the centurial career for in such a case, the removal of three people from the top (or near the top) of the tree each year would be sufficient to account for that number of promotions.

¹⁵⁰ Birley 1965.

¹⁵¹ Birley 1953, 128-9.

¹⁵² Flavius Noricus (6.29), Gellius Phillipus (6.86), Olc. Libo (6.98) (taken to be identical with Libo); perhaps Maximus (6.95).

¹⁵³ Lepidus (6.91), Socellus (6.107); perhaps Hortensius (6.33). Nine examples are known from among the entire corpus of c. 150 centurions.

the working hypothesis unless arising in a much shorter period of time than is usually allowed for construction in this area.

Contribution of cohorts

Looking again at the table of centurions of the Twentieth Legion assigned to cohorts, the first thing we can note is the uneven distribution of centurions among those cohorts (transferred individuals are counted in their higher posting – the result is unaffected whichever we chose):

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
6	2	7	0	7	4	0	2	1	3

Against a null hypothesis of equal representation of each cohort, this distribution fails the chi-squared test for $\alpha = 0.025$. The observed distribution would be an unlikely outcome if all cohorts contributed equally. A variety of explanations might be put forward, but one that can be explored is the possibility that cohorts IV and VII did not in fact contribute to the construction of the wall in this area.

In part, this result would confirm Stevens' observations¹⁵⁴ (although the second cohort is well represented and we would need a strong reason to argue away the presence of the stone of cohort IX) and might support in some degree his suggested division between wall/structure-and-foundation/vallum parties, *pace* Hooley and Breeze who saw no evidence for such a division¹⁵⁵. Birley's ingenious suggestion after Vegetius – that cohorts II, IV, VII and IX contained the least experienced men and might have been engaged in training¹⁵⁶ – is not clearly borne out however. Only two cohorts are absent here, different cohorts seem to be under-represented in other legions, and

¹⁵⁴ Stevens 1966, 13, 99-100, 138 and see above 439 n. 123. However his 'statistical analysis' (1966, 7) seems no more than the observation that certain cohorts appear to be under-represented or absent.

¹⁵⁵ Hooley and Breeze 1968, 98.

¹⁵⁶ Birley 1960, 57; 1961, 257. Vegetius II.6 states only that cohorts I, III, V, VI, VIII, X – those on the flanks and in the centre when drawn up in two lines – should contain the best men: 'strong soldiers...recruits of proven ability...good warriors'.

across the wall as a whole the distribution of cohorts does not vary significantly from chance¹⁵⁷. If the 4th and 7th cohorts were indeed absent here, it would also imply that the 42 known individuals here represent almost all of the centuries involved in the construction of this stretch of the wall.

The Wall east of MC41

Nine of our 42 centurions of *legio XX* are also recorded on twelve stones between MC41 and Chesters (Fig. A2). Nowhere in this 14-mile stretch do we have quite the same concentration of multiply-attested individuals, however, so certainty is difficult to come by, and we cannot, finally, claim any of these other areas for the Twentieth with any degree of confidence.

Iulius Candidus of the first cohort is found just west of Housesteads, and between here and Cawfields quarry (just west of MC 41) there are 16 more stones, recorded without any closer provenance. Iulius Candidus appears again amongst these, along with Cocceius Regulus and Olc. Libo but there are 12 new individuals here (on 13 stones). Assuming this stretch to have been built within a year or so of that immediately to the west, some 40 of our known centurions would have been on the legionary roll. If the Twentieth Legion as a whole were engaged in this area we would expect something like an 11:6 split between known and unknown. The observed 4:13 is clearly unlikely if the face of this hypothesis¹⁵⁸. We might perhaps suppose a division into separate parties, with the Twentieth Legion not being represented in its entirety (it might be noted that Claudius Cleonicus and Pompeius are of the 4th and 7th cohorts respectively). However, if our known centurions happened to come from one end or the other of this stretch, it might equally be felt that a gap of 3 or 4 miles could have been filled by another legion entirely and we lack a strong reason for supposing that all of these individuals in fact belong to the Twentieth.

In the next seven miles east, from Housesteads to MC30, the finds are sparse. Only ten stones are known. Three centurions of the Twentieth occur between MC34 and MC36: Munatius Maximus, Gellius Philippus and Maximus (if we can accept identity from this colourless name – the cohort is

¹⁵⁷ Taking the cohorts listed in Goodburn and Waugh 1983 Index 10.3. The hypothesis of equal distribution must be accepted for $\alpha = 0.05$.

¹⁵⁸ It would fail the chi-squared test for $\alpha = 0.001$

different and although transfers between cohorts are in evidence on other records in this area, we would need to be sure of the identification before suggesting it, rather than using transfer to excuse the disparity between the stones); but Florianus, also found in this area, might be identified with the centurion of the Sixth Legion recorded west of Birdoswald¹⁵⁹. Caecilius Proculus, here seen with Gellius Philippus and Maximus and found also with Lousius Suavis and Nas... Bassus (another possibility) adjacent to Chesters, has been included in the catalogue as a possible member of the legion (6.115*). In the intervening four miles, there are only five stones, widely scattered, and representing just four individuals (if Avidius and Avidius Rufus can be taken as the same). Avidius Rufus, a rare link back to the first season and the eastern end of the wall, would be a member of the Twentieth on the basis of the allocations in Breeze and Dobson 1978 (but see further below), but even on optimistic identifications, the presence of 5 centurions within seven miles (from MC30-Housesteads) is insufficient to claim this stretch with certainty for the Twentieth.

There is clearly some contribution by the Twentieth to construction west of Chesters. Serenus (the *primus pilus*), Lousius Suavis (twice), Liberalis and Gellius Philippus (all of cohort VI) are attested in the 3 miles west of the fort (some of those from the fort should also be brought into consideration here – they are virtually all nineteenth-century discoveries, the exact provenance is not always clear, and most may be ‘carries’ from the wall). The first three of these centurions occur together in MC28-MC29, but whether these few stones can be taken as proof that the Twentieth constructed all of the wall here is open to question. These 3 miles are relatively rich in centurial stones – 21 other centurions are named (on 24 stones) – but to find 21 different centurions in a stretch of wall presumably built within a couple of years of that from MC41-Irthing is distinctly curious. They would have to represent, essentially, the rest of the centurions of the legion (or almost; if this central sector was indeed constructed over 4 years¹⁶⁰, we would have some 70 centurions involved all told). If that were the case, the minimal degree of overlap would again seem to betoken a division into separate parties: a 5:24 split is more than chance would allow. If the whole legion had been engaged in both areas, we would expect something like 17:12¹⁶¹; this fails a chi-squared test for $\alpha = 0.001$. However,

¹⁵⁹ If this stone *RIB* 1575 is not of a different type – see above 438 n. 113.

¹⁶⁰ Breeze and Dobson 2000, 79.

¹⁶¹ If the two episodes of construction were as much as 4 years apart, 34 of our known centurions ought to have been involved, the expected ratio of known to unknown then being 34:25.

the case for such a division is not supported by the recorded cohorts of these centurions – VI, VIII, VIII, X x3 – and if we were to argue that the Twentieth Legion was fully represented in both areas we would have to account for either a much greater interval between these two episodes of construction, or a far greater turnover of centurions. It might equally be that they in fact belong to a different legion. Nas(...) Bassus alone of these 21 occurs more than once and is three times found with members of the Twentieth (twice in association with Lousius Suavis and once with Gellius Philippus). He is also included in the catalogue (6.116*) as a possible member of the legion.

Although it has often been said that the Twentieth Legion (or the same legion, whichever it happened to be) constructed most of the curtain in the central sector between Chesters and the R. Irthing we can see that, separated from the rather ambiguous structural evidence, there is not a strong case to suppose that all of these centurions belong to the same legion. Only in the area west of MC41 is there such a concentration of overlapping multiply-attested individuals to allow a case to be made. Elsewhere we find only hints of divisions into separate parties which might equally allow for the presence of centurions from another legion entirely. However, this phenomenon of lack of overlap between groups of known centurions can also be seen in other areas and across the wall as a whole.

River Irthing-Birdoswald

Fourteen centurions, recorded on 16 stones have been recovered in this short stretch of wall (Fig. A5). That none of these are known between the River Irthing and MC41 is sufficient to demonstrate that they must belong to a different legion or different building party (individuals of cohorts IV and VII are present but the other recorded cohorts – VI x 4, VIII x 2 and two stones of the century of the *primus pilus* – would support the former interpretation¹⁶²). Equally notable is the minimal overlap with other areas of the wall. Iulius Primus could be identified with the Iulius Pri(...) from near to MC8, but the nomenclature is not distinctive. Cassius Priscus might be identified with the C]assius

¹⁶² Even allowing the best possible interpretation – that cohorts I and IV of the Twentieth took no part in construction immediately to the east and only cohorts I, IV, VI, VII and VIII were present here – the observed distribution would fail the chi-squared test ($\alpha = 0.001$) against the null hypothesis of equal contribution by these 5 cohorts. 13 of the centurions of I, VI and VIII are known from the wall to the east; allowing for construction within a year or two we would expect at least 12 of the known

[P]ris(cus?) from close to MC16 (if this is the same Cassius Priscus as also found west of MC59 when the turf wall was reconstructed in stone, then a centurial career of at least 35 years would be indicated¹⁶³).

With the possible exception of Cassius Priscus, we find that none of the centurions recorded west of MC54 are recorded further to the east, but given the timescales involved this is not surprising. More to the point, only one of the centurions between MC54 and the R. Irthing is found between the Irthing and the North Tyne (MC27) and only Iulius Primus might be identified among those east of MC27. Of the 75 centurions known between the River Irthing and the North Tyne, 3 only can be seen further to the east. However, these divisions are less quantifiable because of the lack of any other large body identifiable to one legion.

MC7-27

East of the North Tyne, the wall is less well preserved and there have been correspondingly fewer discoveries. Twenty-nine stones, of twenty-seven individuals are scattered over 27 miles (with a further seven placed at forts; see Fig. A4). Only three of these individuals (Pompeius Rufus, Hellenius and Avidius Rufus) are found west of the North Tyne. Two other possibilities (C]assius [P]ris[cus] and Iulius Pri(...) may be identifiable with individuals from west even of the Irthing.

The potential dislocation between milecastle/turret typologies and legions completing the building of structures and curtain wall has already been noted, so that no easy case can be made for assigning any of these centurions to a legion. However, it can be noted that none of the centurions identified as members of the Twentieth are represented in this area, so it may be possible to narrow down the possibilities (in fact Pompeius Rufus, Hellenius and Avidius Rufus *could* be identified as members of the Twentieth on the basis of proximity and this best case scenario is used in the calculation).

centurions to have been involved, i.e. a ratio of 12:18 known:unknown; 6.5:9.5 against the observed 0:16.

¹⁶³ An alternative, uncomfortable for the theories presented here, might be to allow that repair work c. 158 did indeed lead to the insertion of new centurial stones along the line of the existing stone wall.

Caecilius Clemens, Paulius Aper, Pompeius Rufus, Statilius Solon and Volusius are found in MC22-27 (just east of Chesters). The sample is too small for us to draw any detailed conclusions. Pompeius Rufus is also found in MC29-30 (there seen to belong to cohort I) where only Gellius Philippus is definitely of the Twentieth. *RIB* suggests he is to be identified with the Pompeius (of cohort VII) seen west of Housesteads, but the *nomen* provides the only link and, if rare generally, the discovery of Pompeius Aemilianus and Pompeius Albinus building just west of the Irthing provides two other candidates with an equal claim on the name.

Hellenius alone occurs between MC17 and MC22, but twelve centurions are attested in MC12-MC17. The fifteen-mile stretch of wall from MC7-MC22 is taken to encompass the first full season of work on the wall in AD 123. Over the whole period 123-128 (which covers the initial 5-mile block in 123, building east of the North Tyne in 124 and then completing structures and building curtain over much of the distance from the North Tyne to the Irthing 125-128¹⁶⁴) we might have 18 new centurions introduced. Thus our 42 known centurions (something over two-thirds of the roll) should include 12 or more newly promoted over that period. This still leaves 30 individuals who would have been involved in the first season of work. The observed 0:12, known:unknown against an expected 6:6 fails the chi-squared test ($\alpha = 0.001$) for the hypothesis that these centurions are part of the same group. Likewise, the nine centurions, recorded on eleven stones in MC7-MC12 fail the test. Even allowing that Avidius Rufus might be a member of the Twentieth, the observed 1:10 split would fail at $\alpha = 0.01$, i.e. with a less than 1% possibility of this distribution happening by chance.

If our null hypothesis is not correct, then we must look for alternative explanations which might account for the observed distribution. The result implies that our centurions are not equally likely to be represented and we may feel that the vagaries of survival and discovery are sufficient to account for this (the sample is not large after all). Otherwise, we can consider four alternatives:

1. None of these centurions belong to the Twentieth Legion, which might therefore place them building between MC17-MC22 – i.e. accepting the allocations of Breeze and Dobson 1987 for this area. From North Tyne to Irthing the complications remain.

¹⁶⁴ Breeze and Dobson 2000, 86 Table 7.

2. There is a significantly greater turnover of centurions than our estimate (a potentially interesting result in itself).
3. The time-lag between the construction in these two areas is much larger than we have supposed (again giving us a larger body of centurions to draw from).
4. The legion is split into two parties and those centuries found building during the first season are not involved in the construction east of the Irthing. This accords with the suggestion that the legions were split between construction of the stone wall and construction of the turf wall¹⁶⁵ but would have to imply that those initially assigned to the turf wall are later found building in stone east of the Irthing while the centuries from MC7-12 if not on the turf wall must be elsewhere from 124-127. Either way, the presence of seven or eight cohorts west of MC41 would imply a rather uneven division (though it might be argued that the centuries were not necessarily all at full-strength).

¹⁶⁵ Breeze and Dobson 2000, 75

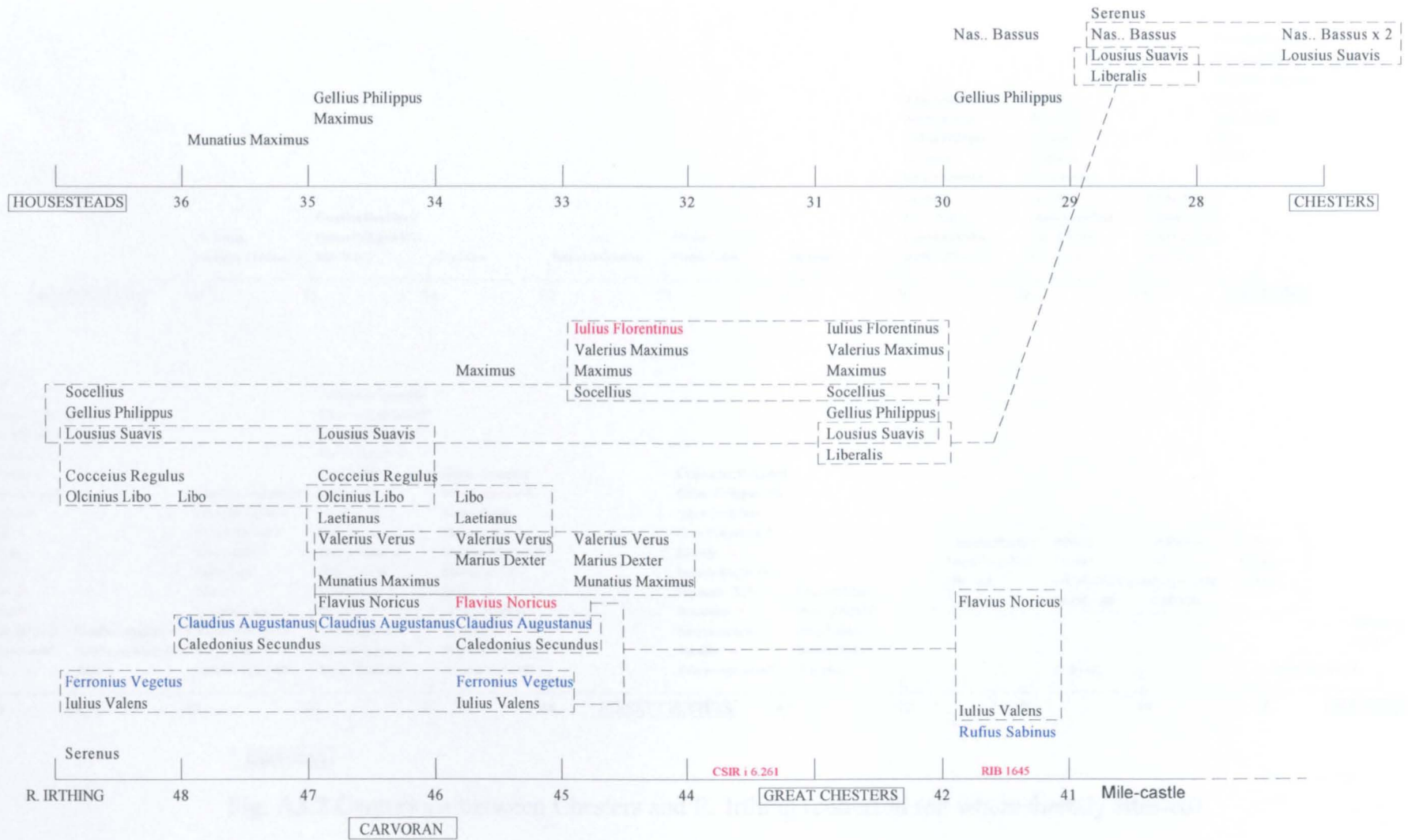


Fig. A3.1 Multiply-attested centurions (red = legio XX: blue = attested at Chester/Holt)

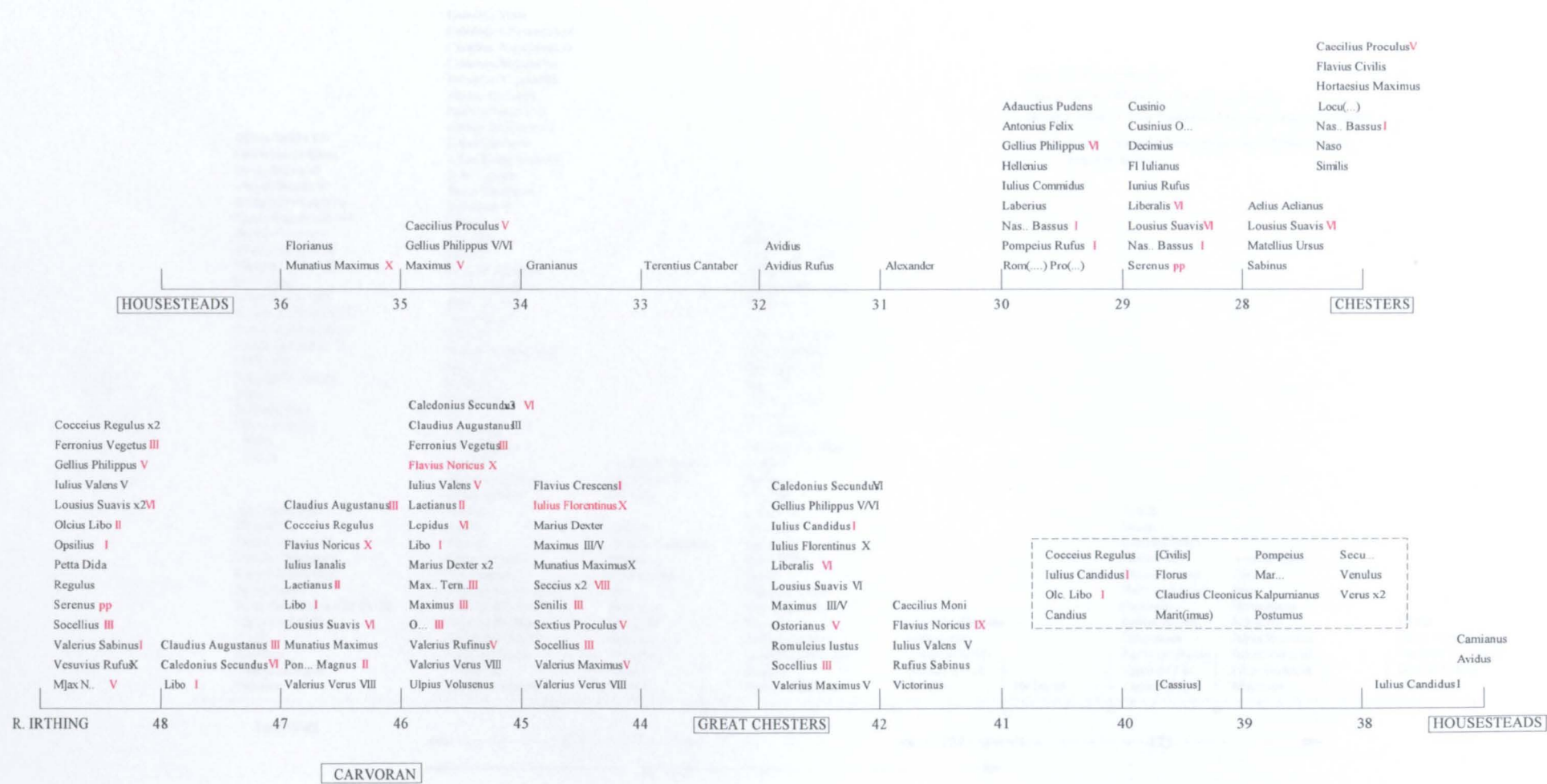


Fig. A3.2 Centurions between Chesters and R. Irthing (cohort in red where directly attested)

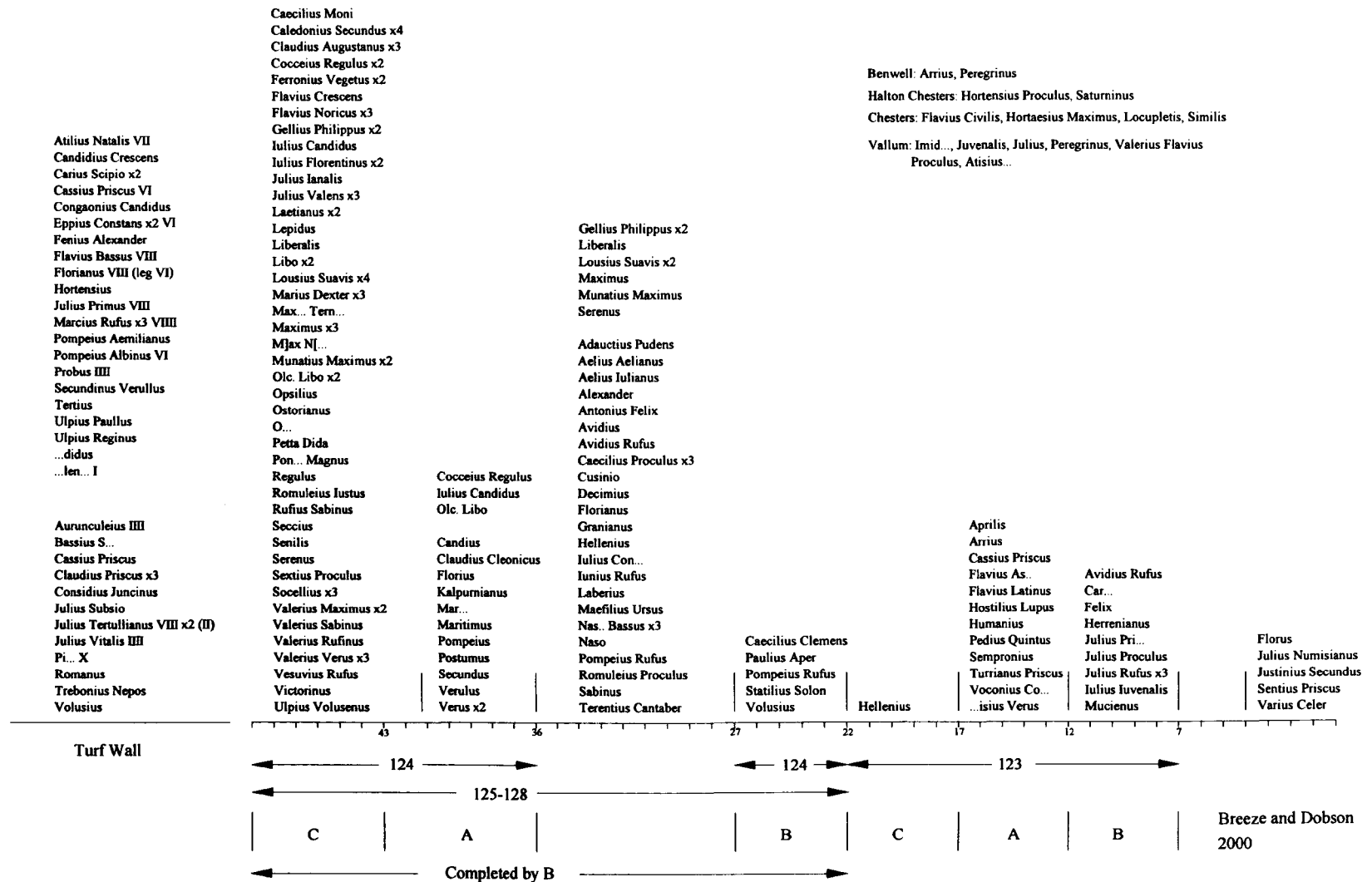


Fig. A3.3 Hadrian's Wall centurions divided according to proposed building scheme

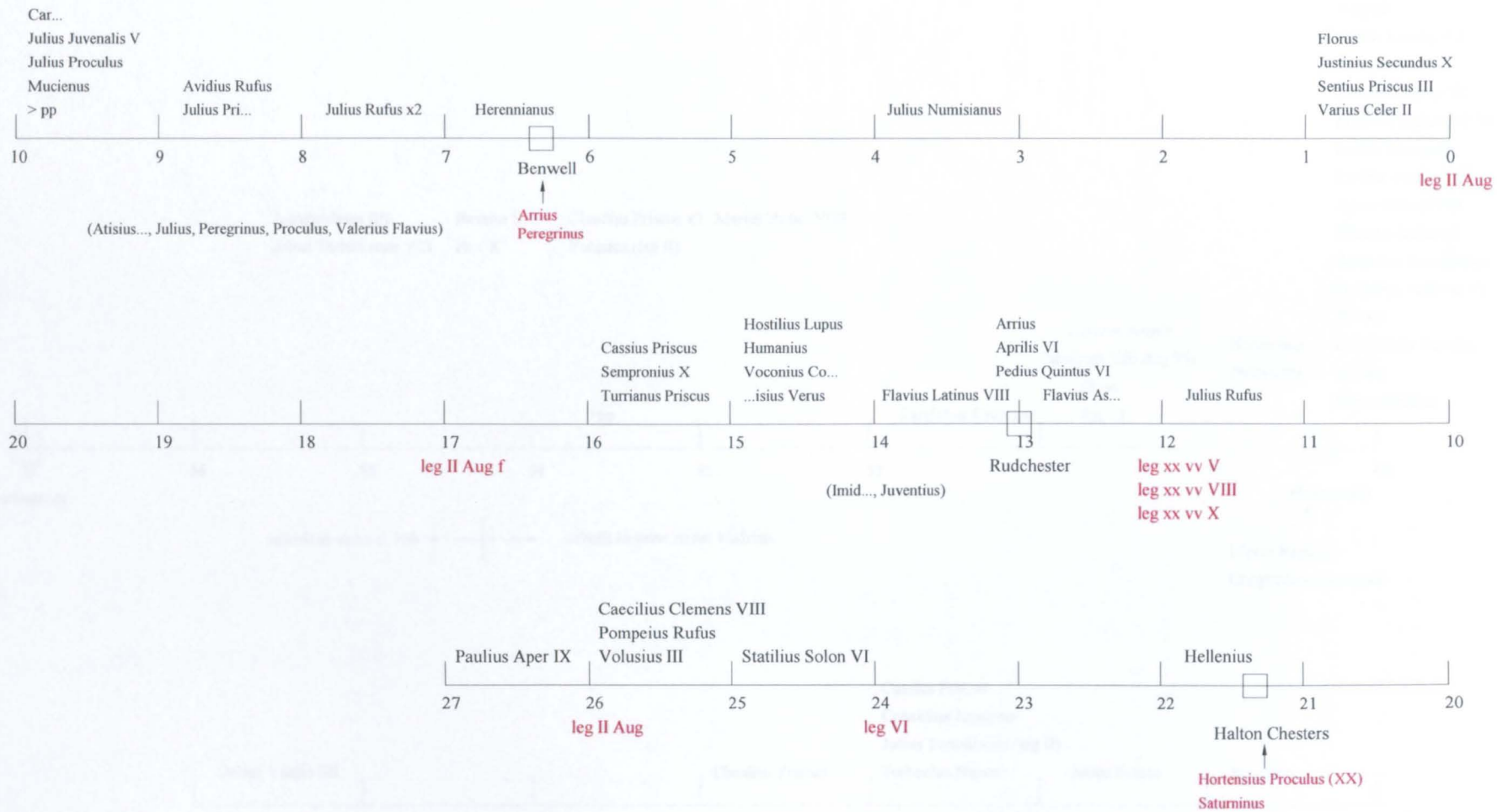


Fig. A3.4 Centurions attested in Wall-miles 1 to 27 with other evidence for the activities of legions (red)

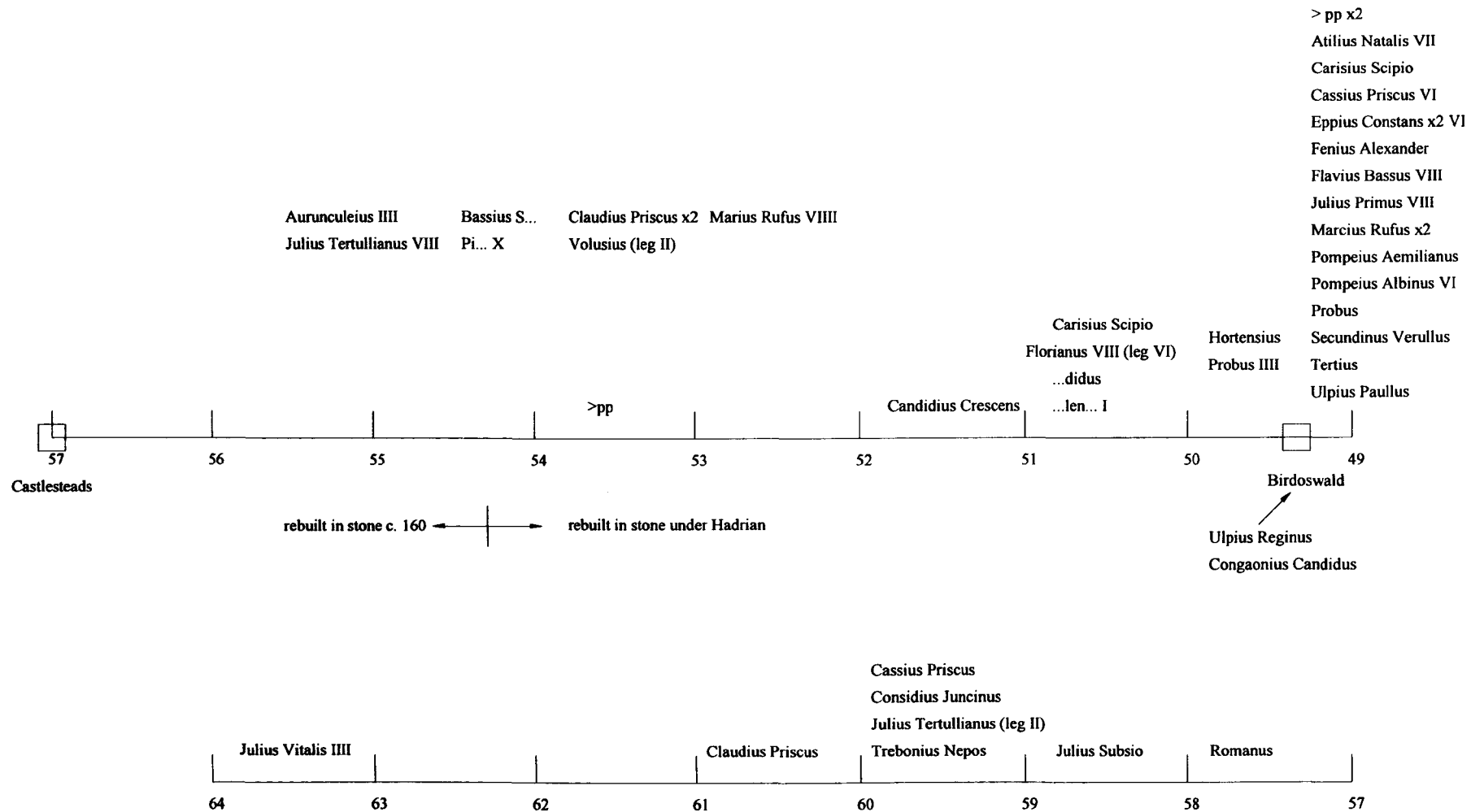


Fig. A3.5 Centurions attested in Wall-miles 49-64

Index A3

Hadrian's Wall Centurions

(*RIB* unless otherwise stated)

- Adauctius Pudens 1512
Aelianus 1847; (leg. II Aug.) 2024
Aelius Aelianus (VIII) 1498
Alexander 1554
Antonius Felix 1513
Antonius Rusticus 1555
Ap(...) 1946
Aprilis (VI) 1401
Arrius 1345, 1346, 1402
Atilius Natalis (VII) *JRS* 1959, 136 no. 5e
Auidius 1564, 1565
Auidius Rufus 1368; 1567
Aurunculeius (III) 1969
- Bassius S[...] 1974
- C[...] ([V]II[II]) 1504
Caecilius Clemens (VIII) 1440, 2081
Caecilius Monimus 1657
Caecilius Proculus (V) 1570; (V) 1475; (V) 1476
Caledonius Secundus (VI) 1679; (VI) 1854; (VI) *JRS* 1960, 237 no. 11b; *JRS* 1962, 194 no. 19b
Candidus Crescens *Britannia* 2 (1970), 292 no. 13
Candius (cent. Candiana) 1653
Car[...] (?) 1380
Carisius Scipio 1936; *JRS* 1959, 136 no. 5d
Cassius Priscus (VI) 1869; *JRS* 1963, 161 no. 9
C[assius] [P]ris[cus?] 1415
Claudius Augustanus 1770; (III) 1811; (III) 1855
Claudius Cleonicus (III) 1648
Claudius Priscus 1972, 1973, 2021
Cocceius Regulus 1652; 1860, 1862
Congaonius Candidus 1917
Considius Iuncinus 2018
Cusinius O[...] 1511
- Decimius (?) (cent. Decimiana (?)) (VI) 1505
- Eppius Constans (VI) *JRS* 1958, 152 no. 10b; *JRS* 1967, 206 no. 20
- Fenius Alexander (VI) *JRS* 1958, 152 no. 10a
Ferronius Vegetus (III) 1769; (III) 1867
Flavius(?) As[...] (?) 1387
Flavius Bassus (VIII) *JRS* 1958, 152 no. 10g
Flavius Civilis 1474
Flavius Crescens(?) (I) 1763
Flavius(?) Iulianus 1507
Flavius(?) Latinus (VIII) 1409
Flavius Noricus (IX) 1664; (X) 1812; (X) *JRS* 1960, 237 no. 11a
Flavius S[...] *JRS* 1957 229 no. 13
- Florianus 1575; (VIII(?)) (leg [VI]) 1937
Florus (I) 1309; 1654
- Gellius Philippus 1572; 1668; (VI) 4 (1973) 329 no. 8; (V) *Britannia* 18 (1987), 369 no. 11
Granianus *Britannia* 2 (1970), 291 no. 11
- Hellenius 1515; (VIII) *Britannia* 31 (2000), 436 no. 5
Herennianus 1354
Hortaesius Maximus 1477
Hortensius (cent. Hortensiana) 1815; 1931
Hortensius Proculus (leg XX VV) 1431
Hostilius Lupus 1410
[H]uman[ius] (?) 1413
- I[...] 1864, 1865
Iulius Candidus 1632; (I) 1646; (I) 1674
Iulius Commidus (X) 1514
Iulius Florentinus 1677; (X) ([leg] XX VV) 1762
Iulius Iuu(enalis?) (V... ?) 1375
Iulius Numisianus 1315
Iulius Primus (VIII) *JRS* 1958, 152 no. 10f
Iulius Pri[...] 1369
Iulius Proculus 1374
Iulius Rufus 1356, 1357; 1386
Iulius Subsio 2013
Iulius Tertullianus (VIII(?)) 1970; (leg II Aug) 2016
Iulius Valenus (V) 1774; *JRS* 1967, 206 no. 19
Iulius Vitalis (III) 2023
Iulius Val[...] 1658
Iunius Ru[fus(?)] (X) 1509
Iustinius Secundus (X) 1312
Iuu(entius) 1407
- Kalpornianus 1655
- Lab(e)rius *Britannia* 5 (1974), 462 no. 7
Laetianus (II) 1851; (II) *JRS* 1961, 194 no. 11g
Lepidius or Lepidus (cent. Lepidiana) (VI) 1772
Liberalis (VI) 1508; (VI) 1678
Libo (I) 1849; (I) 1857; (I) *JRS* 1961, 194 no. 11a
Locu[...] 1478
Lousius Suauis 1681; (VI) 1499; (VI) 1506; (VI) 1859; (VI) 1861; *Britannia* 12 (1981) 380 no. 18
- Magnio[...] (?) 1845
Mar[...] (VIII) 1650
[Mar]cius (?) ([cent. (?) Mar]ciana) (III) 2001
Marcius Rufus *JRS* 1959, 136 no. 5b, c

Marit[imus]	1656	Sentius Priscus	(III) 1311; 1819
Marius Dexter	1760; 1771; <i>JRS</i> 1961, 194 no. 11e	Sextius Proculus	(V) 1754
Marius Rufus	(VIII) 1943	Similis	1479
Matellius(?) Vrsus	(X) 1500	Serenus (pp) 1510; (pp) <i>JRS</i> 1962, 194 no. 200	
Maximus	(V) 1571	Serio	1821
Maximus	1669, 1758	Socellius (III) <i>JRS</i> 1964 178 no. 5c; (cent. Socelliana) (III) 1675; (III) 1768	
Maximus (III) <i>JRS</i> 1962, 194 no. 19c		M. Sollius Iulianus (III) <i>Britannia</i> 7 (1976) 381 no. 14	
Max(...) Tern(...) (III) <i>JRS</i> 1961, 194 no. 11c		Statilius Solon	(VI) 1439
Mucius [...]en[...]	1377	Terentius Cantaber	(I) 1568
Munatius Maximus 1765, 1846, <i>JRS</i> 1959, 135 no. 4a		Tertius	<i>JRS</i> 1957 229 no. 16a
Nas(...) Bassus (I) 1473; (I) 1501; (I) <i>Britannia</i> 4 (1973), 329 no. 9		Trebonius Nepos	2019
Naso	1516	Turrianus Priscus	1416
O[...]	(III) <i>JRS</i> 1961, 194 no. 11d	Valerianus	1711
Olc(...) Libo (I) 1647; (II) <i>JRS</i> 1964 178 no. 5a		Valerius Maximus	1682; (V) 1766
Opsilius	(I) 1856	Valerius Rufinus (V) <i>Britannia</i> 12 (1981), 380 no. 17	
Ostorianus	(V) 1676	Valerius Sabinus (I) <i>JRS</i> 1964 178 no. 5b	
Paulius Aper	(IX) 1444	Valerius Verus 1761; 1853; <i>JRS</i> 1961, 194 no. 11f; (VIII) 2083	
Pedius Quintus	(III[I]) 1400	Varius Celer	(II) 1310
Peregrinus	1347	Venulus	1663
Petta Dida (?) <i>JRS</i> 1963, 161 no. 8c		Verus	1661, 1662
Pi[...] (?)	1971	Vesnius Viator	2031
Pompeius	(VII) 1649	Vesuius Rufus	1858; (X) 2084
Pompeius Aemilianus <i>JRS</i> 1959, 136 no. 5a		Victorinus	1671
Pompeius Albinus (VI) <i>JRS</i> 1961, 194 no. 13		Vlpius Paullus <i>JRS</i> 1958, 152 no. 10h	
Pompeius Rufus 1447; (I) <i>Britannia</i> 3 (1971), 354 no. 12		Vlpius Volusenus <i>JRS</i> 1962, 194 no. 19a	
Pon(..) Magnus	(II) 1845+add.	Voconius Co[...]	1412
Postumus	(VIII) 1651	Volusius (cent. Volusiana) (III) 1441; leg II Aug) 1965	
Probius or Probus (cent. Probiana) 1868; (III) 1930		...]ax n[...]	(V) <i>JRS</i> 1967, 206 no. 18
Regulus	<i>JRS</i> 1963, 161 no. 8b	[...]didus	1940
Rom(...) Pro(...)	1519	...I inana	(VII) <i>JRS</i> 1960, 237 no. 13a
Romanus	2010	...]isius V[e]rus	1408
Romuleius Iustus	1670	...]ius Priscus	2085
Rufius Sabinus	1659	[...]len[...]	(I) 1941
Sabinus or Sabinus (cent. Sabiniana)		[...]sac[...]sis	<i>JRS</i> 1960, 237 no. 10
	(VIII) 1497		
Saturn[i]n[us]	1432		
Seccius	(VIII) 1757, 1764		
Secu[...]	1660		
Secundinus Verullus <i>JRS</i> 1958, 152 no. 10e			
Sempronius	(X) 1418		
Senilis	(III) 1755		

Appendix 4

Distributions of *nomina* and *cognomina*

The Tables appended here are derived from the figures given in the *Onomasticon* and detail the distribution of selected *nomina* and *cognomina* in the European provinces. Table A7 gives the distribution of the imperial *gentilicia* Iulius, Claudius, Flavius, Cocceius, Ulpus, Aelius and Aurelius; Table A8, the distribution of other common *nomina*, and many less so, referred to in Chapter II. Table A9 lists the distributions of the eighteen commonest *nomina* recorded by Kajanto (1965): it can be seen that many are not strikingly common in the provinces in question. Table A10 gives distributions for other *cognomina* considered in Chapter II.

In each case the first line gives the observed distribution. Names of military personnel, separately enumerated in the *Onomasticon*, have been excluded since it is the local distribution that interests us in attempting to discern origins. The second line gives the figures that might be expected were the names in question equally distributed around the provinces – i.e. according to the proportions suggested by Mocsy (1983). Comparing the two allows an assessment of how far a particular *nomen* or *cognomen* is over- or under-represented in a particular province. Italic and bold faces have been used to emphasise those where the observed figure is less than half, or more than twice, the expected figure, but this is an arbitrary distinction and no further attempt has been made to quantify the variation from expectation. The many, and unknown, variables embodied in the observed distributions, and inherent in the estimated proportions against which they are judged, preclude detailed statistical analysis. At the least a chi-squared test (Shennan 1997, 104-109) will show that these figures do not merely represent chance variation in an otherwise even distribution. Only Donatus, Martialis, Messor and Nepos, of those collected here, show anything like an even distribution (names with very few examples, or more even distribution, have largely been excluded, the purpose of these tables being to quantify those examples where a distribution might be informative). If nothing else, this technique will allow us to see that the 132 examples of the *nomen* Aelius in Moesia Superior merit greater remark than the 137 in Hispania; or that the 193 *Pompeii* from Narbonensis, against 9 from the Rhineland, represent something significant in the distribution of the *nomen*.

Table A7: Distributions of Imperial nomina, observed (upper line) against expected (based on overall distributions of Mocsy 1983)

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Iulius	368	590	417	719	478	400	192	183	204	106	156	183	121	75
	817	713	503	503	461	293	147	147	147	126	126	84	84	21
Claudius	132	79	81	29	101	163	56	41	28	17	51	50	42	41
	178	155	109	109	100	64	32	32	32	27	27	18	18	5
Flavius	118	134	95	60	208	228	33	51	10	46	26	84	81	29
	235	205	144	144	132	84	42	42	42	36	36	24	24	6
Cocceius	10	9	3	1	0	19	7	4	4	0	1	26	17	1
	20	17	12	12	11	7	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
Ulpius	32	29	30	5	60	219	47	102	2	11	7	57	81	4
	134	117	82	82	75	48	24	24	24	21	21	14	14	3
Aelius	101	137	35	43	236	309	62	296	3	28	29	85	132	17
	295	257	182	182	166	106	53	53	53	45	45	30	30	8
Aurelius	221	119	84	83	615	717	110	337	11	78	37	145	254	52
	558	487	344	344	315	200	100	100	100	86	86	57	57	14

Table A8: Distributions of nomina

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Aemilius	76	224	22	92	46	22	3	3	8	1	25	12	7	0

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
	105	92	65	65	60	38	19	19	19	16	16	11	11	3
Annius	74	97	8	4	12	20	24	2	6	4	6	6	3	0
	52	45	32	32	29	19	9	9	9	8	8	5	5	1
Antonius	60	139	26	49	41	57	21	51	10	9	20	40	17	2
	106	92	65	65	60	38	19	19	19	16	16	11	11	3
Atilius	153	56	13	49	27	19	14	2	1	1	4	3	5	1
	68	59	42	42	38	24	12	12	12	10	10	7	7	2
Attius	66	34	17	109	18	12	15	3	7	2	7	6	5	1
	59	51	36	36	33	21	11	11	11	9	9	6	6	2
Caecilius	116	165	8	64	14	10	0	5	1	7	2	0	3	0
	77	67	47	47	43	28	14	14	14	12	12	8	8	2
Calvius	12	1	3	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	6	5	4	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Cassius	233	57	35	60	60	23	17	15	3	4	10	12	15	2
	106	93	66	66	60	38	19	19	19	16	16	11	11	3
Cornelius	240	337	30	205	56	27	15	13	3	6	16	14	11	0
	190	165	117	117	107	68	34	34	34	29	29	19	19	5
Domitius	115	63	24	76	27	21	8	15	4	3	12	7	10	2
	75	66	46	46	43	27	14	14	14	12	12	8	8	2
Furius	23	10	1	4	2	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
	9	8	5	5	5	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Iunius	59	156	31	40	25	12	22	5	3	3	4	5	1	0
	71	62	44	44	40	26	13	13	13	11	11	7	7	2
Iustus	1	0	11	2	0	0	3	3	0	0	2	0	0	0
	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Licinius	69	186	20	101	29	22	10	9	3	3	9	3	8	1
	92	80	57	57	52	33	17	17	17	14	14	9	9	2
Livius	47	8	4	13	9	3	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	0
	19	16	12	12	11	7	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	0
Lucilius	39	6	8	11	10	9	1	7	0	1	2	2	4	0
	20	17	12	12	11	7	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
Maximius	59	12	3	6	17	2	2	5	0	3	2	7	1	0
	23	20	14	14	13	8	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	1
Naevius	22	6	2	7	14	7	2	0	2	0	0	3	0	0
	13	11	8	8	7	5	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Numerius	2	11	0	8	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
	5	4	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Oppius	24	4	0	8	15	1	0	1	0	2	2	4	0	0
	12	10	7	7	7	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Pompeius	44	111	9	193	16	12	13	2	21	6	11	6	1	2
	87	76	54	54	49	31	16	16	16	13	13	9	9	2
Porcius	6	90	3	19	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	0
	25	21	15	15	14	9	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	1

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Postumius	50	44	3	1	2	3	9	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	22	19	14	14	13	8	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
Publilius	65	46	19	11	30	5	12	4	3	0	0	3	1	0
	39	34	24	24	22	14	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	1
Rustius	6	0	2	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Sempronius	39	184	4	17	18	16	5	1	1	7	1	2	5	0
	59	51	36	36	33	21	11	11	11	9	9	6	6	2
Septimius	49	18	8	8	23	100	5	15	0	2	8	2	6	4
	48	42	30	30	27	17	9	9	9	7	7	5	5	1
Sextius	35	4	13	11	1	1	5	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
	14	12	9	9	8	5	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	0
Terentius	104	85	6	55	24	6	10	7	1	2	3	2	1	0
	60	52	37	37	34	21	11	11	11	9	9	6	6	2
Titius	66	5	5	61	48	25	16	5	0	2	12	4	1	0
	49	43	30	30	28	18	9	9	9	8	8	5	5	1
Tullius	55	9	1	10	19	14	4	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
	22	20	14	14	13	8	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
Valerius	461	409	69	310	134	106	19	40	26	10	41	85	69	5
	348	303	214	214	196	125	62	62	62	54	54	36	36	9
Varronius	3	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	0

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
	3	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vettius	103	18	16	29	21	8	4	1	0	2	1	1	1	0
	40	35	25	25	23	14	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	1
Vibius	140	71	5	38	40	15	15	4	0	3	6	10	3	0
	68	60	42	42	39	25	12	12	12	11	11	7	7	2

Table A9: Distributions of commonest cognomina recorded by Kajanto 1965

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Crescens	51	44	24	10	28	22	8	8	1	4	3	10	16	1
	45	39	28	28	25	16	8	8	8	7	7	5	5	1
Faustus	69	43	9	31	14	8	4	1	8	0	2	4	1	1
	38	33	23	23	21	14	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	1
Felix	73	53	21	46	46	24	11	113	4	10	12	17	10	3
	86	75	53	53	49	31	16	16	16	13	13	9	9	2
Fortunatus	61	57	8	40	60	20	13	9	3	5	13	3	6	3
	59	51	36	36	33	21	11	11	11	9	9	6	6	2
Hilarus	54	19	3	29	27	8	12	2	0	0	5	0	3	1
	32	28	20	20	18	11	6	6	6	5	5	3	3	1
Ianuarius	64	34	48	21	52	34	27	17	6	7	14	9	9	5
	68	59	42	42	38	24	12	12	12	10	10	7	7	2
Maximus	252	105	15	76	174	90	50	48	4	15	5	33	25	2
	174	152	107	107	98	63	31	31	31	27	27	18	18	4
Primus	231	58	68	80	66	27	30	15	13	10	8	6	8	2
	120	105	74	74	68	43	22	22	22	18	18	12	12	3
Priscus	147	63	27	38	22	26	18	9	9	6	9	6	7	1
	76	66	47	47	43	27	14	14	14	12	12	8	8	2
Proculus	91	102	16	14	91	41	10	7	5	9	0	10	12	1
	80	70	49	49	45	29	14	14	14	12	12	8	8	2

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Rufus	137	153	17	37	49	30	8	12	13	9	7	15	12	1
	97	85	60	60	55	35	17	17	17	15	15	10	10	2
Sabinus	111	59	34	46	32	53	33	13	30	6	15	18	6	3
	90	78	55	55	50	32	16	16	16	14	14	9	9	2
Saturninus	55	91	64	52	48	33	30	28	8	10	13	20	6	6
	90	79	56	56	51	32	16	16	16	14	14	9	9	2
Secundus	362	89	73	130	96	57	78	9	23	9	9	9	11	7
	197	172	121	121	111	71	35	35	35	30	30	20	20	5
Severus	205	186	72	110	54	55	21	15	22	9	23	17	15	5
	158	138	97	97	89	57	28	28	28	24	24	16	16	4
Tertius	195	15	39	69	42	37	62	6	5	2	3	5	2	3
	95	82	58	58	53	34	17	17	17	15	15	10	10	2
Victor	41	38	80	26	31	42	14	13	5	11	16	18	9	12
	69	61	43	43	39	25	12	12	12	11	11	7	7	2
Vitalis	37	23	42	33	23	43	18	11	9	12	9	19	16	3
	58	51	36	36	33	21	10	10	10	9	9	6	6	1

Table A10: Distributions of cognomina

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Albanus	16	9	12	12	4	2	7	0	0	1	2	2	1	0

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
	13	12	8	8	7	5	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Avitus	5	162	26	41	4	36	39	5	6	1	4	0	2	3
	65	57	40	40	37	23	12	12	12	10	10	7	7	2
Bassus	36	22	6	13	9	20	6	10	2	5	4	8	7	0
	29	25	18	18	16	10	5	5	5	4	4	3	3	1
Bellicus	3	2	8	9	1	4	7	3	1	2	7	0	1	0
	9	8	6	6	5	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0
Candidus	16	12	28	2	11	20	23	7	4	11	2	0	6	1
	28	24	17	17	16	10	5	5	5	4	4	3	3	1
Certus	7	1	6	8	8	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
	7	6	4	4	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Cinna	2	3	0	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	3	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Claudianus	4	1	1	3	3	9	1	4	0	1	1	1	0	1
	6	5	4	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Donatus	27	12	13	6	9	8	4	6	2	3	3	1	2	2
	19	17	12	12	11	7	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	0
Exoratus	31	5	2	15	2	7	5	0	4	0	0	0	0	1
	14	12	9	9	8	5	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	0
Flaccus	8	51	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0
	14	12	8	8	8	5	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Florentinus	10	7	17	2	5	22	7	6	1	3	6	0	2	2
	18	15	11	11	10	6	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	0
Fronto	48	63	15	38	15	16	5	7	5	1	5	10	2	0
	45	39	28	28	25	16	8	8	8	7	7	5	5	1
Gaetulicus	4	2	7	2	2	5	0	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
	6	5	4	4	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Gellius	19	8	5	8	10	4	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
	11	10	7	7	6	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Hortensius	5	0	0	18	2	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
	6	5	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Ingenuus	39	6	25	25	22	44	56	19	15	6	7	15	17	1
	58	50	36	36	33	21	10	10	10	9	9	6	6	1
Iullus	0	1	8	8	2	1	0	0	6	0	3	0	0	0
	6	5	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Iustus	60	18	39	18	11	39	19	8	6	7	1	4	6	4
	47	41	29	29	26	17	8	8	8	7	7	5	5	1
Lucius	10	18	16	11	16	18	6	10	2	3	2	9	8	2
	26	22	16	16	14	9	5	5	5	4	4	3	3	1
Macrinus	36	8	9	24	5	4	1	2	2	1	7	1	1	2
	20	18	12	12	11	7	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
Magnus	12	4	7	3	8	11	3	3	4	2	3	3	1	0
	12	11	8	8	7	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Maior	7	0	10	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	0
	5	4	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Mansuetus	23	4	23	28	0	11	3	2	4	2	4	2	0	0
	21	18	13	13	12	7	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
Maritimus	3	8	1	4	14	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0
	7	6	4	4	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Martialis	31	37	27	22	13	15	10	5	6	4	4	9	5	1
	37	32	23	23	21	13	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	1
Marullinus	0	4	3	3	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Messor	12	4	12	11	9	7	5	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
	12	11	8	8	7	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Nepos	15	15	5	2	18	3	3	4	0	2	1	0	0	0
	13	12	8	8	7	5	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Optatus	87	66	10	64	8	24	27	2	3	2	3	1	3	0
	59	51	36	36	33	21	11	11	11	9	9	6	6	2
Quadratus	23	10	0	9	1	5	4	1	2	0	0	4	1	0
	12	10	7	7	7	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Quartus	63	9	10	37	23	18	42	1	2	0	0	0	3	2
	41	36	25	25	23	15	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	1
Regulus	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	2	0	5	3	0	0	1

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
	4	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Romanus	12	14	16	3	8	15	9	4	3	6	4	4	2	2
	20	17	12	12	11	7	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
Rufinus	49	128	12	25	38	20	7	19	13	4	12	6	11	1
	67	59	41	41	38	24	12	12	12	10	10	7	7	2
Rufius	7	3	6	7	0	1	14	1	0	1	10	0	0	0
	10	9	6	6	6	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Sextinus	1	0	6	13	1	2	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	1
	6	5	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Sextus	13	6	20	9	8	7	18	2	0	0	3	1	3	0
	18	15	11	11	10	6	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	0
Super	19	1	17	1	12	11	5	7	0	1	1	1	4	0
	16	14	10	10	9	6	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	0
Titianus	5	0	4	8	13	13	2	3	1	0	1	3	2	0
	11	9	7	7	6	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Valens	44	23	19	6	40	39	8	20	2	5	0	68	69	1
	67	58	41	41	38	24	12	12	12	10	10	7	7	2
Valerianus	68	34	2	41	15	28	4	19	1	2	5	12	10	3
	48	41	29	29	27	17	9	9	9	7	7	5	5	1
Vegetus	4	42	8	12	0	3	3	0	1	1	2	0	0	0
	15	13	9	9	8	5	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	0

	ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LVG	MIN	MSV	RAE
	19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5
Verus	113	13	31	58	29	30	25	10	5	4	12	2	4	1
	66	57	40	40	37	24	12	12	12	10	10	7	7	2
Vibius	11	3	0	2	0	9	24	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
	10	9	6	6	6	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
Victorinus	16	20	55	21	41	51	11	23	3	8	6	11	14	11
	57	49	35	35	32	20	10	10	10	9	9	6	6	1
Vindex	9	4	4	2	3	11	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	0
	8	7	5	5	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Ursulus	9	5	21	4	16	17	19	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
	19	16	11	11	10	7	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	0

ITA Italy (Cisalpine Gaul)
 HIS Hispania
 BEG Gallia Belgica and the Germaniae
 NAR Gallia Narbonensis
 DAL Dalmatia
 PAN Pannonia
 NOR Noricum
 DAC Dacia
 AQV Gallia Aquitania
 BRI Britannia
 LVG Gallia Lugdunensis
 MIN Moesia Inferior
 MSV Moesia Superior
 RAE Raetia

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana: AA⁴ Fourth Series; AA⁵ Fifth Series</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Epigraphique, 1888- , Paris</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports: BAR Int Ser International Series</i>
<i>BCTH</i>	<i>Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques</i>
<i>CBA</i>	<i>Council for British Archaeology: CBA Res Rep Research Reports</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, 1862- , Berlin</i>
<i>CPL</i>	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum, R. Cavenaile (ed.) 1958, Wiesbaden</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>CSIR</i>	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, I Great Britain vols 1-9, 1977-2004, Oxford; CSIR Deutschland 3.1 Germania Inferior, G. Bauchhenss (ed.), Bonn</i>
<i>Digesta</i>	<i>Digesta; Corpus Iuris Civilis, T. Mommsen (ed.) 1872, Berlin</i>
<i>EE</i>	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica i-ix, 1872-1913, Roma</i>
<i>IGLNovae</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie inférieure), 1997, Bordeaux</i>
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Jalabert, Mouterde et al. (eds) 1929, Paris</i>
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, 1911-27, Paris</i>
<i>ILLPRON</i>	<i>Inscriptionum Lapidariarum Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices, 1986, Berlin</i>
<i>ILLRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, A. Degrassi (ed.) 1957-63, Firenze</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, H. Dessau (ed.) 1892-1916, Berlin</i>
<i>Inscr. Aq.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae, G. Brusin (ed.) 1991-93, Udine</i>
<i>Inscr. It.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae i-xiii, 1936-47, Roma</i>
<i>IRC</i>	<i>Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne, 1984- , Paris</i>

- JCAS* *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*
- OLD* *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, P.G.W. Glare (ed.) 1996, Oxford
- Onomasticon* *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol i, B. Lörincz and F. Redö (eds) 1994; vol. ii Lörincz (ed.) 1999; vol. iii Lörincz (ed.) 2000; vol. iv Lörincz (ed.) 2002
- PIR*² *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* 2nd edn, E. Groag, A. Stein and L. Petersen (eds) 1933- , Berlin
- P. Mich* *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, C.C. Edgar, A.E.R. Boak, J.G. Winter *et al.*(eds) 1931- , Ann Arbor
- PSAS* *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
- RE* *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll
- RIB* *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain: I Inscriptions on stone*, 1965, Oxford; *RIB I*², 2nd edn 1995; *RIB II*¹⁻⁸, individual fascicules 1-8 of Volume II *Instrumentum Domesticum*, 1990-95, Stroud
- RIC* *Roman Imperial Coinage*, H. Mattingly *et al.* (eds) 1923-1994, London
- RIT* *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, G. Alföldy (ed.) 1975, Berlin
- RIU* *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, 1972-84, Budapest
- RSK* *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*, 1975, Köln
- SHA* *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
- SupIt* *Supplementa Italica*. E. Pais (ed.) 1888, Rome: *SupIt-04* 1988; *SupIt-10* 1992
- Tab. Vind.* *Tabulae Vindolandeses II*, A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas 1994, London
- Trans. C&WAAS* *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Bibliography

- Absil M. 2000. 'Legio I Italica', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 227-38
- Agnati, U. 1999. 'About Quantitative Epigraphy: Statistical Prolegomena', *Epigraphica* 61, 123-36
- Alföldi, M. 1959. 'Zu den Militärreformen des Kaisers Gallienus', in *Limes-Studien: Vorträge*, 3rd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Basel, 13-18
- Alföldy, G. 1965. 'Epigraphisches aus dem Rheinland I', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 165, 177-91
- Alföldy, G. 1966. 'Le droit de cité et la nomenclature dans l'empire Romain' *Latomus* 25, 39-57
- Alföldy, G. 1967. 'Epigraphisches aus dem Rheinland II', *Epigraphische Studien* 4, 1-43
- Alföldy, G. 1968. *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior*, Epigraphische Studien 6, Dusseldorf
- Alföldy, G. 1969. *Fasti Hispanienses*, Wiesbaden
- Alföldy, G. 1970. 'Die senatorischen Kommandeure der legio VII Gemina', in Gonzalez (ed.), 383-99
- Alföldy, G. 1972. *Flamines provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, Madrid
- Alföldy, G. 1974. *Noricum*, London
- Alföldy, G. 1975. *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin
- Alföldy, G. 1985. 'Bellum Mauricum', *Chiron* 15, 91-109 = Alföldy 1987, 463-81
- Alföldy, G. 1987. *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985*, Amsterdam
- Alföldy, G., Dobson, B., and Eck, W. (eds) 2000. *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart
- Allason-Jones, L. 1988. 'Small finds from turrets on Hadrian's Wall', in Coulston (ed.), 197-233
- Allason-Jones, L. 1989. *Women in Roman Britain*, London
- Allason-Jones, L. 1999. 'Women and the Roman Army in Britain', in Goldsworthy and Haynes (eds), 41-51

- Allason-Jones, L. 2001. 'Material culture and identity', in S. T. James and M. J. Millett (eds), *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*, York, 19-26
- Allen, J.R.L. and Fulford, M.G. 1996. 'The distribution of south-east Dorset black burnished category I pottery in south-west Britain', *Britannia* 27, 223-81
- Amy, R. et al. 1962. *L'Arc d'Orange*, Supplément à *Gallia* 15, Paris
- Anderson A.C. and Anderson A.S. (eds) 1981. *Roman Pottery Research in Britain and North-West Europe*, BAR Int Ser 123, Oxford
- Ashby, T. and Baillie-Reynolds, P. 1923. 'The Castra Peregrinorum', *JRS* 13, 152-67
- Austin, N.J.E. and Rankov, N.B. 1995. *Exploratio*, London
- Ayrton 1885 'Sketches of old Chester', *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society*, 1st Series III, 471-89
- Baatz, D. 1980 'Ein Katapult der Legio IV Macedonica aus Cremona', *Römische Mitteilungen* 87, 283-99
- Baillie-Reynolds, P. 1923. 'The troops quartered in the Castra Peregrinorum', *JRS* 13, 168-89
- Balsdon, J.P.V.D. 1934a. 'Notes concerning the principate of Gaius', *JRS* 24, 13-24
- Balsdon, J.P.V.D. 1934b. *The Emperor Gaius*, Oxford
- Balsdon, J.P.V.D. 1979. *Romans and Aliens*, University of North Carolina
- Barag, D. 1967. 'Brick stamp-impressions of the legio X Fretensis', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 167, 244-67
- Bechert, T. and Willems W.J.H. 1995. *Die römische Reichsgrenze*, Stuttgart
- Bennett, J. 1998. 'The Roman frontier from Wallsend to Rudchester Burn reviewed', *AA^s* 26, 17-37
- Bennett, J. 2002. 'A revised programme and chronology for the building of Hadrian's Wall' in Freeman et al. (eds), 825-34.
- Bertrand F. and Rémy, B. 2000. 'Legio XII Fulminata', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 253-57
- Bicknell, P. 1968. 'The emperor Gaius' military activities in AD40', *Historia* 17, 496-505
- Bidwell, P.T. 1985. *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda*, London

- Bidwell, P.T. 1989. 'Later Roman barracks in Britain', in Maxfield and Dobson (eds), 9-15
- Bidwell, P.T. 1999a. 'Hadrian's Wall 1989-1997', in Gudea (ed.), 55-65
- Bidwell, P.T. 1999b. *Hadrian's Wall 1989-1999*, Carlisle
- Bidwell, P.T. and Boon, G.C. 1976. 'An antefix type of the Second Augustan Legion from Exeter', *Britannia* 7, 278-80
- Bird, D.G. 2000. 'The Claudian invasion campaign reconsidered', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19 (1), 91-104
- Birley, A.R. 1971. *Septimius Severus*, London
- Birley, A.R. 1979. *The People of Roman Britain*, London
- Birley, A.R. 1981. *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford
- Birley, A.R. 1987. *Marcus Aurelius. A Biography*, Revised edition. London
- Birley, A.R. 1990. *Officers of the Second Augustan Legion in Britain*, The Third Annual Caerleon Lecture, Cardiff = Brewer (ed.) 2002, 103-24
- Birley, A.R. 1991. 'Vindolanda: notes on some new writing tablets', *ZPE* 88, 87-102
- Birley A.R. 1993. 'Nomenclature as a guide to origin', in W. Eck (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte*, Köln-Wien, 35-50
- Birley, A.R. 2000. 'Senators as generals', in Alföldy et al. (eds), 97-119
- Birley, A.R. 2002. 'Officers of the Second Augustan Legion in Britain', in Brewer (ed.), 103-24
- Birley, E. 1939. 'Building records from Hadrian's Wall', *AA⁴* 16, 219-36
- Birley, E. 1952. 'Noricum, Britain and the Roman army', in G. Moro (ed.), *Beiträge zur älteren europäischen Kulturgeschichte*, Festschrift für R. Egger, Klagenfurt, 175-88
- Birley, E. 1953. *Roman Britain and the Roman army : collected papers*, Kendal
- Birley, E. 1954. 'Senators in the Emperor's service', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39, 197-214
- Birley, E. 1955. 'A Roman inscription from Watercreek', *Trans C&WAAS* 2nd series 55, 46-53

- Birley, E. 1957. 'Promotion and transfers in the Roman army: Senatorial and Equestrian officers', *Carnuntum Jahrbuch*, 3-20 = Birley 1988, 93-114
- Birley, E. 1960. 'Hadrian's Wall: some structural problems', *AA*⁴ 38, 39-60
- Birley, E. 1961. *Research on Hadrian's Wall*, Kendal
- Birley, E. 1965. 'Promotion and transfers in the Roman army II: the centurionate', *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 1963/64, 21-33 = Birley 1988, 206-20
- Birley, E. 1966. 'Review and discussion of *RIB*', *JRS* 56, 226-31
- Birley, E. 1969. 'Septimius Severus and the Roman army', *Epigraphische Studien* 8, 63-82
- Birley, E. 1971. 'The fate of the Ninth Legion', in R.M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire*, Leicester, 71-80
- Birley, E. 1976. 'An inscription from Cramond and the *Matres Campestres*', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 4, 108-10
- Birley, E. 1978. 'The Religion of the Roman army: 1895-1977', *ANRW* II.16.2, 1506-541
- Birley, E. 1980. 'Raetien, Britannien und das römische Heer', *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 45, 77-89 = Birley 1988, 259-71
- Birley, E. 1983a. 'A Roman altar from Old Kirkpatrick and interim commanders of auxiliary units', *Latomus* 42, 73-86 = Birley 1988, 221-31
- Birley, E. 1983b. 'Veterans of the Roman army in Britain and elsewhere', *Ancient Society* 13/14, 265-76
- Birley, E. 1986a. 'Some military inscriptions from Chester (Deva)', *ZPE* 64, 201-8
- Birley, E. 1986b. 'The Flavian Colonia at Scupi', *ZPE* 64, 209-216
- Birley, E. 1988. *The Roman Army. Papers 1929-1986*, Amsterdam
- Birley, E. 1989. 'Some legionary centurions', *ZPE* 79, 114-28
- Birley, R. 1994. *Vindolanda Vol. 1 The Early Wooden Forts*, Hexham
- Bishop, M.C. 1987. 'The evolution of certain features', in M. Dawson (ed.), *Roman Military Equipment. The Accoutrements of War*, BAR Int Ser 336, Oxford, 109-39
- Bishop, M.C. and Coulston, J.C.N. 1993. *Roman Military Equipment*, London

- Bishop, M.C. and Dore, J.N. 1988. *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman fort and town, 1947-80*, London
- Black, E.W. 2000. 'Sentius Saturninus and the Roman invasion of Britain', *Britannia* 31, 1-10
- Blagg, T.F.C. and King A.C. (eds) 1984. *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain: Cultural Relationships in a Frontier Province*, BAR 136, Oxford
- Bollini, M. 1975. 'C. Baebius praefectus orae maritimae di Ottaviano', *Studi Romagnoli* XXVI, 339-46
- Boon, G.C. 1972. *Isca: The Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon*, Cardiff
- Boon, G.C., 1983. 'Potters, oculists and eye-troubles', *Britannia* 14, 1-12
- Bowman, A.K. and Thomas, J.D. 1994. *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses II)*, London
- Breeze, D.J. 1969. 'The organization of the legion: the first cohort and the *equites legionis*', *JRS* 59, 50-5
- Breeze, D.J. 1971. 'Pay grades and ranks below the centurionate', *JRS* 61, 129-35
- Breeze, D.J. 1974a. 'The career structure below the centurionate', *ANRW* II.1, 435-51
- Breeze, D.J. 1974b. 'The organisation of the career structure of the *immunes* and *principales* of the Roman army', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 174, 245-92
- Breeze, D.J. 1976. 'A note on the use of the titles *optio* and *magister* below the centurionate during the principate', *Britannia* 9, 127-33
- Breeze, D.J. 1982. *The northern frontiers of Roman Britain*, London
- Breeze, D.J. 1989. *The Second Augustan Legion in North Britain*, The Second Annual Caerleon Lecture, Cardiff = Brewer (ed.) 2002, 67-82
- Breeze, D.J. and Dobson, B. 1978. *Hadrian's Wall*, revised edition. London
- Breeze, D.J. and Dobson, B. 1987. *Hadrian's Wall*, 3rd edition, London
- Breeze, D.J. and Dobson, B. 1993. *Roman Officers and Frontiers*, MAVORS X, Stuttgart
- Breeze, D.J. and Dobson, B. 2000. *Hadrian's Wall*, 4th edition, London
- Brewer, R.J. (ed.) 2000. *Roman Fortresses and their Legions*, London

- Brewer, R.J. (ed.) 2002. *The Second Augustan Legion and the Roman Military Machine*, Cardiff
- Brewer, R.J. 2002b. 'Zoomorphic seal boxes: Usk and the Twentieth Legion', in M. Aldhouse-Green and G. Webster (eds), *Artefacts and Archaeology. Aspects of the Celtic and Roman World*, Cardiff, 174-89
- Brunt, P.A. 1971. *Italian Manpower 225BC – AD14*, Oxford
- Brunt, P.A. 1975. 'The administrators of Roman Egypt', *JRS* 65, 124-47
- Brunt, P.A. 1983. 'Princeps and Equites', *JRS* 73, 42-75
- Burnand, Y. 1973. 'Deux carrières contrastées de duumvirs Lyonnais: Ligurius Marinus et Vagirus Martianus', *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est* 24, 331-40
- Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and Ripollès, P.P. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Volume 1, London
- Cagnat, R. 1909. 'Les 2 camps de la Legion IIIe à Lambèse d'après les fouilles récentes' *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. 38 (1), 219-77
- Cagnat, R. 1913. *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, Paris
- Calderini, A 1930. *Aquileia Romana: ricerche di storia e di epigrafia*, Milano
- Campbell, J.B. 1975. 'Who were the "Viri Militares"', *JRS* 65, 11-31
- Campbell, J.B. 1978. 'The marriage of soldiers under the empire', *JRS* 68, 153-66
- Campbell, J.B. 1984. *The Emperor and the Roman Army, 31BC-AD235*, Oxford
- Campbell, J.B. 1994. *The Roman Army, 31BC-AD337: A Sourcebook*, London
- Canto, A.M. 1990. 'Las tres fundaciones de Augusta Emerita', in W. Trillmich and P. Zanker (eds), *Stadtbild und Ideologie. Die Monumentalisierung hispanische Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit*, Abhandlungen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 103, 289-97
- Carrié, J.-M. 1993. 'The Soldier' in A. Giardina (ed.), *The Romans*, Chicago and London, 100-

- Carrington, P. 1985. 'The plan of the legionary fortress at Chester: a reconsideration', *JCAS* 68, 23-51
- Carrington, P. 1986. 'The plan of the legionary fortress at Chester: further comparisons', *JCAS* 69, 7-17
- Carrington, P. (ed.) 2002. *Deva Victrix: Roman Chester Re-assessed*, Chester
- Carroll-Spillecke, M. 1999. 'New excavations at the base of the *classis Germanica* in Cologne (Alteburg)' in Gudea (ed.), 317-24
- Carroll, M. 2001. *Romans, Celts and Germans: The German Provinces of Rome*, Stroud
- Caruana, I.D. 1992. 'Carlisle: excavation of a section of the annexe ditch of the first Flavian fort, 1990', *Britannia* 23, 45-109
- Casey, P.J. 1994. *Carausius and Allectus*, London
- Casey, P.J. 2002. 'The legions in the later Roman empire' in Brewer (ed.) 2002, 165-78 = Casey 1991 The Fourth Annual Caerleon Lecture, Cardiff.
- Casey, P.J. and Davies, J.L. 1993. *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort 1975-1987*. CBA Res Rep 90, London.
- Castillo, C. 1995. 'Primipilares (1978-1992)', in Le Bohec (ed.), 211-20
- Chantraine, H. (ed.) 1984. *Das römische Neuss*, Stuttgart
- Charlesworth D. 1977. 'The turrets on Hadrian's Wall', in M.R. APTED, R. Gilyard-Ber and A.D. Saunders (eds), *Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation: Essays Presented to A.J.P. Taylor*, 13-26
- Charlesworth D. 1980. 'The south gate of a Flavian fort at Carlisle' in Hanson and Keppie (eds), 201-10
- Cheesman, G.L. 1914. *The Auxilia of the Roman Army*, Oxford
- Chilver, G.E.F. 1941. *Cisalpine Gaul*, Oxford
- Cichorius, C. 1893. 'Ala', in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie* IA, 1223-70
- Cichorius, C. 1900. 'Cohors', in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie* IV, 231-356
- Clauss, M. 1973. *Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletien: cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii*, Diss. Bochum

- Clay, P. 1980. 'Seven inscribed leaden sealings from Leicester', *Britannia* 11, 317-20
- Coello T. 1996. *Unit sizes in the late Roman army*, BAR Int Ser 645, Oxford
- Cohen, H. 1930. *Médailles Impériales*, 2nd edn, Leipzig
- Collingwood, R.G. 1926. 'Roman inscriptions and sculptures belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne', *AA⁴* 2, 52-124
- Collingwood, R.G. 1928. 'The centurial inscription', in F. G. Simpson 'Excavations on Hadrian's Wall, in the Gilsland-Birdoswald-Pike Hill sector 1927', *Trans C&WAAS* 2nd series 28, 387-88
- Collingwood, R.G. 1931. 'Ten years work on Hadrian's Wall, 1920-1930', *Trans C&WAAS* 2nd series 31, 87-110
- Comfort, H. 1960. 'Some inscriptions near Rome', *American Journal of Archaeology* 64, 273-76
- Coulston, J.C. (ed.) 1988. *Military equipment and the identity of Roman soldiers*, BAR Int Ser 394, Oxford
- Crow J.G. 1991a. 'A review of current research on the turrets and curtains of Hadrian's Wall', *Britannia* 22, 51-63
- Crow, J.G. 1991b. 'Construction and reconstruction in the central sector of Hadrian's Wall', in Maxfield and Dobson (eds), 44-7
- Crummy, P. 1977. 'Colchester: the Roman fortress and the development of the colonia', *Britannia* 8, 65-106
- Crummy, P. 1984. *Excavations at Lion Walk, Balkerne Lane, and Middleborough, Colchester, Essex*, Colchester Archaeological Reports 3, Colchester
- Crummy, P. 1988. 'Colchester (*Camulodunum/Colonia Victricencis*)', in Webster (ed.), 24-47
- Crummy, P. 1992 *Excavations at Culver Street, the Gilberd School, and other sites in Colchester 1971-85*, Colchester Archaeological Reports 6, Colchester
- Crummy, P. 1997. *City of Victory*, Colchester

- Cunliffe, B. (ed.) 1968. *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough*,
Oxford
- Cunliffe, B. 1969. *Roman Bath*, Society of Antiquaries Research Report 24, London
- Cunliffe, B. 1971. *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969. Volume I: The Site*, Leeds
- Cunliffe, B. and Davenport, P. 1985. *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. II The Site*,
Oxford
- Curchin, L.A. 1990. *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*. Toronto
- Dąbrowa, E. 1993. *Legio X Fretensis : a prosopographical study of its officers (I-III c. A.D.)*, Stuttgart
- Dąbrowa, E. 2000. 'Legio III Gallica', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 309-15
- Daris, S. 2000. 'Legio XXII Deiotariana', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 365-67
- Darling, M.J. 1981. 'Early red-slipped ware from Lincoln', in Anderson and Anderson (eds),
397-415
- Darling, M.J. 1988. 'The Pottery' in M. Darling and M. Jones 'Early settlement in Lincoln',
Britannia 19, 9-37
- Davies, J.L. 1980. 'Roman military deployment in Wales and the Marches from Claudius to
the Antonines', in Hanson and Keppie (eds), 255-77
- Davies, R.W. 1966. 'The "abortive invasion" of Britain by Gaius', *Historia* 15, 124-28
- Davies, R.W. 1968. 'The training grounds of the Roman cavalry', *Archaeological Journal*
125, 73-100 = Davies 1989, 93-124
- Davies, R.W. 1969a. 'The medici of the Roman armed forces', *Epigraphische Studien* 8, 83-99
- Davies R.W. 1969b. 'The supply of animals to the Roman army and the remount system',
Latomus 28, 429-59
- Davies, R.W. 1972. 'Some more military medici', *Epigraphische Studien* 9, 1-11
- Davies, R.W. 1981. 'Some military commands from Roman Britain', *Epigraphische Studien*
12, 183-214
- Davies, R.W. 1989. *Service in the Roman Army*, Edinburgh

- Davison, D.P. 1989 *The Barracks of the Roman Army from the First to the Third Centuries AD*, vols i-iii, BAR Int Ser 472, Oxford
- Dean, L.R. 1916. *A study of the cognomina of soldiers in the Roman legions*, Princeton university thesis
- Degrassi, A. 1952. *I fasti consolari dell'Impero dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Roma
- Degrassi, A. 1965. 'Epigraphica II', *Memorie atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 11 (1962-63), 233-58
- Demougin, S. 1988. *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, Paris
- Demougin, S. 1992. *Prosopographie des Chevaliers Romains Julio-Claudiens*, Rome
- Demougin, S. 2000. 'Iteratio Militiae', in Alföldy et al. (eds), 122-38
- Desanges, J. 1976-78. 'Un princeps gentis à Sétif', *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques*, XII-XIV, 123-29
- Dessau, H. 1912. 'British centurions', *JRS* 2, 21-4
- Devijver, H. 1970, 'Suétone, Claude, 25 et les milices équestres', *Ancient Society* I, 69-81
- Devijver, H. 1972. 'The career of M. Porcius Narbonensis (CIL II 4239)', *Ancient Society* 3, 165-92
- Devijver, H. 1989. *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army I*, MAVORS VI, Amsterdam
- Devijver, H. 1976-1993 *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* (5 vols), Leuven
- Devijver, H. 1992. *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army II*, MAVORS IX, Stuttgart
- Dietz, K. 2000. 'Legio III Italica', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 133-43
- Dixon, K.R. and Southern, P. 1992. *The Roman Cavalry*, London
- Dobson, B. 1965 'The praefectus fabrum in the early principate', in Jarrett and Dobson (eds), 61-84

- Dobson, B. 1970. 'The centurionate and social mobility during the principate', in C. Nicolet (ed.), *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'Antiquité classique*, Paris, 99-116
- Dobson, B. 1972. 'Legionary centurion or equestrian officer? A comparison of pay and prospects', *Ancient Society* 3, 193-208
- Dobson, B. 1974. 'The significance of the centurion and 'primipilaris' in the Roman army', *ANRW* II.1, 339-91
- Dobson, B. 1978. *Die Primipilares*, Köln
- Dobson, B. 2000. 'The *primipilares* in army and society', in Alföldy et al. (eds), 139-52
- Dobson, B. and Breeze, D. 1969. 'The Rome cohorts and the legionary centurionate', *Epigraphische Studien* 8, 100-24
- Dobson, B. and Mann, J.C. 1973. 'The Roman army in Britain and Britons in the Roman army', *Britannia* 4, 191-205
- Domaszewski, A. von 1885. 'Die Fahnen im römischen Heere', *Abhandlungen des Archäologisch-Epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien*, Heft V, Wien = Domaszewski 1972, 1-80
- Domaszewski, A. von 1892. 'Die Tierbilder der Signa', *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* XV, 182-93 = Domaszewski 1909, 1-13
- Domaszewski, A. von 1894. 'Die Heere der Bürgerkriege in den Jahre 49 bis 42 vor Christus' *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* iv, 157-88
- Domaszewski, A. von 1895. 'Die Religion des römischen Heeres', *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst* 14, 1-124 = Domaszewski 1972, 81-209
- Domaszewski, A. von 1903. 'Die Eigenschaftsgötter der altrömischen Religion', *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstage*, Berlin, 243-48 = Domaszewski 1909, 104-10
- Domaszewski, A. von 1909. *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Leipzig und Berlin
- Domaszewski, A. von / Dobson, B. 1967. *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, (2nd edition revised by B. Dobson), Köln

- Domaszewski, A. von 1972. *Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte*, Darmstadt
- Drinkwater, J. 1971. 'A new inscription and the legionary issues of Gallienus and Victorinus', *Numismatic Chronicle* 11, 325-26
- Dudley, D. and Webster, G. 1965. *The Roman Conquest of Britain*, London
- Durry, M. 1938. *Les cohortes prétoriennes*, Paris
- Duval, N. (ed.) 1977. *L'Onomastique Latine*, Paris
- Earwaker, J. P. 1888. *The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains in the North Wall of the City of Chester*, Manchester
- Eck, W. 1974. 'Beförderungskriterien innerhalb der senatorischen Laufbahn dargestellt an der Zeit von 69 bis 138 n. Chr.', *ANRW* II.1, 158-228
- Eck, W. 1984. *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1.-3. Jh.*, Bonn
- Eck, W. 1994. 'Prosopographia', *ZPE* 101, 227-28
- Esdaille, G. 1886. 'Evidence of the occupation of Bath by the XX Legion', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* xxxii., 48-58
- Etienne, R. 1958. *Le culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Paris
- Evans, E. 1994. 'Military architects and building design in Roman Britain', *Britannia* 25, 143-64
- Fellmann, R. 2000. 'Die 11. Legion Claudia Pia Fidelis', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 127-31
- Filtzinger, P. 1980. 'Der westliche Umfassungsgraben und das rückwärtige Lagertor (porta decumana) des Zweilegionenlagers der 1. und 20. Legion 'apud aram Ubiorum' in der Richmodstrasse in Köln' *Kölner Jahrbuch* XVII, 59-75
- Fink, R.O. 1953. 'Centuria Rufi, centuria rufiana in the ranking of centuries', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 84, 210-15
- Fink, R.O. 1971. *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Cleveland
- Fink, R.O., Hoey, A.S. and Snyder, W.F. 1940. 'The Feriale Duranum', *Yale Classical Studies* 7, 1-222
- Fishwick, D. 1991. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, Leiden

- Fitz, J. (ed.) 1977. *Limes: Akten des XI Internationalen Limeskongress*, Budapest
- Fitz, J. 1983. *Honorific Titles of Roman Military Units in the Third Century*, Budapest-Bonn
- Fitzpatrick, A. 1986. 'Camulodunum and the early occupation of the south-east. Some reconsiderations', in Unz (ed.), 35-41
- Forni, G. 1953. *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Roma
- Forni, G. 1974. 'Estrazione etnica e sociale dei soldati delle legioni nei primi tre secoli dell'Impero', *ANRW* II.1, 339-91
- Forni, G. 1977. 'Il ruolo della menzione della tribù nell'onomastica romana', in Duval (ed.), 73-99
- Forni, G. 1985. *Le tribù romane. III.1: Le pseudo-tribù*, Rome
- Forster J. 1977, *Bronze Boar Figurines in Iron Age and Roman Britain*. BAR 39, Oxford
- Fowler, W. Warde 1911. *The religious experience of the Roman people, from the earliest times to the age of Augustus*, London
- Franke, T. 2000. 'Legio XIV Gemina', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 191-202
- Freeman, P., Bennett, J., Zbigniew, T.F. and Hoffmann, B. 2002. *Limes XVIII Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, BAR Int Ser 1084, Oxford
- Franzoni, C. 1987. *Habitus atque Habitudo Militis*, Rome
- Frere, S.S. 1986. 'RIB 1322', *Britannia* 17, 329
- Frere, S.S. 1967. *Britannia*, London
- Frere, S.S. 1987. *Britannia*, 3rd edn, London
- Frere, S.S. and Fulford, M. 2001. 'The Roman invasion of A.D. 43', *Britannia* 32, 45-55
- Freis, H. 1967. 'Die Cohortes Urbanae', *Epigraphische Studien* 2, Köln
- Fulford, M.G. 1996. *The Second Augustan Legion in the West of Britain*, The Ninth Annual Caerleon Lecture, Cardiff = Brewer (ed.) 2002, 83-102
- Fulford, M.G. 1993. 'Silchester: the early development of a civitas capital', in S. J. Greep (ed.), *Roman Towns: the Wheeler inheritance*, CBA Res Rep 93, York, 16-33

- Fulford, M.G. 2000. 'The organization of legionary supply: the Claudian invasion of Britain', in Brewer (ed.), 41-50
- Fulford, M.G. and Timby, J. 2000. *Late Iron Age and Roman Silchester. Excavations on the site of the Forum Basilica 1977, 1980-86*, London
- Furneaux, H. and Anderson, J.G.C. (eds) 1922. *Cornelii Taciti De Vita Agricolae*, Oxford
- Gechter, M. 1979. 'Die Anfänge des niedergermanischen Limes', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 179, 1-138
- Gerov, B. 1980. 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des mösischen Limes in vorclaudischer Zeit', in Gerov, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzen moesien und thrakien*, 147-67
- Gervasio, M. 1910. 'Per la storia delle legioni XV Apollinaris e XX Valeria Victrix', in J. Beloch (ed.), *Saggi di storia antica e di archeologia*, Roma, 353-64
- Gibson, J.P. and Simpson, F.G. 1911. 'The milecastle on the wall of Hadrian at the Poltross Burn', *Trans C&WAAS* 2nd series 11, 390-461
- Gillam, J.P. 1973. 'Sources of pottery found on northern military sites', in A. Detsicas (ed.), *Current Research in Romano-British Coarse Pottery*, CBA Res Rep 10, London, 53-62
- Gillam, J.P. and Greene, K. 1981. 'Roman pottery and the economy' in Anderson and Anderson (eds), 1-24
- Gilliam, J.F. 1986. *Roman army papers*, Amsterdam
- Goldsworthy, A. K. 1996. *The Roman army at war, 100 BC-AD 200*, Oxford
- Goldsworthy, A.K. and Haynes, I. (eds) 1999. *The Roman Army as a Community*, JRA Supplementary Series 34, Portsmouth R.I.
- Gómez-Pantoja, J. 2000. 'Legio X Gemina', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 169-90
- Gonzalez, A.V. (ed.) 1970. *Legio VII Gemina*, Leon
- González, J. 1985. 'Corrigenda Epigraphica: de cursu honorum et patria Aemilii Papi', *ZPE* 60, 144-46

- Goodburn, R. and Bartholomew, P. 1976. *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum*, BAR Supplementary Series 15, Oxford
- Goodburn, R. and Waugh, H. 1983. *The Roman inscriptions of Britain by R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright. - 1: Inscriptions on stone. - Epigraphic indexes*, Gloucester
- Grimes, W.F. 1930. 'Holt, Denbighshire, the works-depôt of the Twentieth Legion at Castle Lyons', *Y Cymmrodor* 41
- Green, M.J. 1982. 'Tanarus, Taranis and the Chester altar', *JCAS Series 2*, 65, 37-44
- Green, M.J. 1992. *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth*, London
- Greene, K. 1977. 'Legionary pottery, and the significance of Holt' in J. Dore and K. Greene (eds), *Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond*, BAR Int Ser 30, Oxford, 113-32
- Groenman-van Waateringe W., van Beek, B.L., Willems, W.J.H. and Wynia, S.L. (eds) 1997. *Roman Frontier Studies 1995*, Oxford
- Grueber H.A. 1910. *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, London
- Gudea, N. (ed.) 1999. *Roman Frontier Studies 1997. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Zulu
- Haalebos, J.K. 2000. 'Romische Truppen in Nijmegen', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 465-89
- Haalebos, J.K. and Willems, W.J.H. 1999. 'Recent research on the *limes* in the Netherlands', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12, 247-62
- Hanel, N. 1999. 'Neue Forschungen zu den Grabungen im Flottenlager Köln-Alteburg der Jahre 1927-1928', in Gudea (ed.), 309-16
- Hanson, W. S. 1987. *Agricola and the conquest of the north*, London
- Hanson, W.S., Daniels, C.M., Dore, J.N. and Gillam, J.P. 1979. 'The Agricolan supply-base at Red House, Corbridge', *AA⁵* 7, 1-97
- Hanson, W.S. and Keppie, L.J.F. (eds) 1980. *Roman Frontier Studies 1979: Papers presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, BAR Int Ser 71, Oxford

- Hanson, W.S. and Maxwell G.S. 1983 *Rome's north-west frontier: the Antonine Wall*,
Edinburgh
- Hardy, E.G. 1909. *Studies in Roman History II*, London
- Hassall, M.W.C. 1970. 'Batavians and the Roman conquest of Britain', *Britannia* 1, 131-36
- Hassall, M.W.C. 1973. 'Roman soldiers in Roman London', in D.E. Strong (ed.)
Archaeological Theory and Practice, London, 231-37
- Hassall, M.W.C. 1979. 'Military tile-stamps from Britain', in McWhirr (ed.), 261-66
- Hassall, M.W.C. 1982. 'The Inscriptions and Graffiti' in Manning (ed.), 47-58
- Hassall, M.W.C. 1984. 'Epigraphy and the Roman army in Britain', in Blagg and King (eds),
265-77
- Hassall, M.W.C. 1999. 'Homes for heroes: married quarters for soldiers and veterans', in
Goldsworthy and Haynes (eds), 35-40
- Hassall, M.W.C. 2000a. 'Pre-Hadrianic legionary dispositions in Britain', in Brewer (ed.), 51-
67
- Hassall, M.W.C. 2000b. 'The location of legionary fortresses as a response to changes in
military strategy: the case of Roman Britain AD43-84', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds),
441-57
- Hassall, M.W.C. and Hurst H.R. 1999. 'Soldier and civilian: a debate on the bank of the
Severn', in H. Hurst (ed.), *The coloniae of Roman Britain: New Studies and a Review*,
JRA Supplementary Series 36, 181-89
- Hassall M.W.C. and Tomlin, R.S.O. 1984. 'Roman Britain in 1983. II Inscriptions', *Britannia*
15, 333-56
- Hassall M.W.C. and Tomlin, R.S.O. 1988. 'Roman Britain in 1987. II Inscriptions', *Britannia*
19, 485-508
- Hatt, J.-J. 1951. *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris
- Haverfield, F. 1900. 'Catalogue of the Roman inscribed and sculpted stones in the Grosvenor
Museum, Chester', *JCAS* vii
- Hawkes, C.F.C. and Hull, M.R. 1947. *Camulodunum*, Society of Antiquaries Res Rep XIV

- Hawkes, C.F.C. 1961. 'The Western Third C Culture and the Belgic Dobunni', in E.M. Clifford, *Bagendon: A Belgic Oppidum*, Cambridge, 43-74
- Helgeland, J. 1978. 'Roman Army Religion', *ANRW* II.16.2, 1470-505
- Helm, K. 1913. *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, Heidelberg
- Henderson, C. 1988. 'Exeter (*Isca Dumnoniorum*)', in Webster (ed.), 91-119
- Henig, M. 1999. 'Chester and the Art of the Twentieth Legion', in A. Thacker (ed.), *Chester: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, 1-15
- Henig, M. 2004. *Roman Sculpture from the North West Midlands*, *CSIR* i. 9, Oxford
- Herz, P. 1975. 'Honos aquilae', *ZPE* 17, 181-97
- Hill, P.R. 1991. 'Hadrian's Wall: some aspects of its execution', *AA*⁵ 19, 33-9
- Hill, P.R. and Dobson, B. 1992. 'The design of Hadrian's Wall and its implications', *AA*⁵ 20, 27-52
- Hill, P.R. 2004. *The Construction of Hadrian's Wall*, BAR 375, Oxford
- Hind, J.G.F. 1977. 'The 'Genounian' part of Britain', *Britannia* 8, 229-34
- Hind, J.G.F. 1989. 'The invasion of Britain in A.D. 43 - an alternative strategy for Aulus Plautius', *Britannia* 20, 1-21
- Hind, J.G.F. 2003. 'Caligula and the Spoils of Ocean: a Rush for Riches in the Far North-West?', *Britannia* 34, 272-3
- Hobley, A.S., 1989. 'The numismatic evidence for the post-Agricolan abandonment of the Roman frontier in northern Scotland', *Britannia* 20, 69-74
- Hoffmann, B. 1995. 'The quarters of legionary centurions of the principate', *Britannia* 26, 107-52
- Hoffmann, B. 2002. 'Where have all the soldiers gone? Some thoughts on the presence and absence of soldiers in fourth-century Chester', in Carrington (ed.), 79-88
- Holder, A. 1896. *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig
- Holder, P. A. 1982. *The Roman army in Britain*, London
- Hooley, J. and Breeze, D. 1968. 'The building of Hadrian's Wall: A reconsideration', *AA*⁴ 46, 97-114

- Hornum, M. 1993. *Nemesis, the Roman State and the Games*, Leiden
- Horsley, J. 1732. *Britannia Romana; or, The Roman antiquities of Britain*, reprinted 1974,
Newcastle upon Tyne
- Hübner, E. 1890. 'The Roman inscriptions of Deva (Chester)', *JCAS New Series III*, 120-50
- Hunneysett, R. 1980. 'The milecastles of Hadrian's Wall - an alternative identification', *AA⁵* 8,
93-107
- Hurst, H.R. 1985. *Kingsholm*, Gloucester Archaeological reports, Vol.1, Gloucester
- Hurst, H.R. 1986. *Gloucester, the Roman and Later Defences*, Gloucester Archaeological
reports, Vol.2, Gloucester
- Hurst, H.R. 1988. 'Gloucester (*Glevum*)', in Webster (ed.), 48-73
- Hurst, H.R. 1999. 'The walls of Chester and Gloucester', in LeQuesne (ed.), 124-26
- Irby-Massie, G.L. 1999. *Military Religion in Roman Britain*, Leiden
- James, S. 2002. 'Writing the Legions: The development and future of Roman military
studies in Britain', *Archaeological Journal* 159, 1-58
- Jarrett, M.G. 1964. 'Early Roman campaigns in Wales', *Archaeological Journal* 121, 23-39
- Jarrett, M.G. 1965. 'Sepimius Severus and the defences of York', *Yorkshire Archaeological
Journal* 42, 516-23
- Jarrett, M.G. 1968. 'Legio XX Valeria Victrix in Britain', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 117,
77-91
- Jarrett, M.G. 1994a. *Early Roman campaigns in Wales*, The Seventh Annual Caerleon
Lecture, Cardiff = Brewer (ed.) 2002, 45-66 (revised by P. Webster)
- Jarrett, M.G. 1994b. 'Non-legionary troops in Roman Britain: Part one, the units', *Britannia*
25, 35-78
- Jarrett, M.G. and Dobson, B. 1965. *Britain and Rome*, Kendal
- Jones, A.H.M. 1949. 'The Roman civil service (clerical and sub-clerical grades)', *JRS* 39,
38-55
- Jones, A.H.M. 1964. *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602*, Oxford
- Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain*, Oxford.

- Jones, M.J. 1980. 'The early military occupation of the Lincoln area: recent research', in Hanson and Keppie (eds), 279-89
- Jones, R.F.J. 1976. 'The Roman military occupation of north-west Spain', *JRS* 66, 48-52
- Kabakcieva, G. 1996. 'Frührömische Militärlager in Oescus (Nordbulgarien)', *Germania* 74, 95-117
- Kabakcieva, G. 2000. *Oescus. Castra Oescensia, rannorimski voenen lager pri ustieto na Iskur*, Sofia
- Kajanto, I. 1965. *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki
- Kennedy, D. 1983. 'C. Velius Rufus', *Britannia* 14, 183-96
- Kenworthy, J. 1980. *Agricola's Campaigns in Scotland*, Scottish Archaeological Forum 12, Edinburgh
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1971. 'Legio VIII Augusta and the Claudian invasion', *Britannia* 2, 149-55
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1973. 'Vexilla Veteranorum', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 41, 8-17
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1980. 'Mons Graupius: The search for a battlefield', in Kenworthy (ed.), 79-88
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1983. *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47-14BC*, London
- Keppie L.J.F. 1983b. 'Roman inscriptions from Scotland: some additions and corrections to *RIB I*', *PSAS* 113, 391-404
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1984. *The making of the Roman army : from Republic to Empire*, London.
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1985. 'Excavations at the Roman Fort of Bar Hill, 1978-82', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 12, 49-81
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1986. 'Legions in the east from Augustus to Trajan', in Freeman, P. and Kennedy, D. (eds), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, BAR Int Ser 296, Oxford, 411-29
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1997a. 'The Changing face of the Roman legions (49 BC - AD 69)', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65, 89-102
- Keppie, L.J.F. 1997b. 'Legiones XVII, XVIII, XIX: Exercitus Omnium Fortissimus', in Groenman-van Waateringe et al. (eds), 393-97

- Keppie, L.J.F. 1998. *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow*, London
- Keppie, L.J.F. 2000a. *Legions and Veterans. Roman Army Papers 1971-2000*, Mavors XII, Stuttgart
- Keppie, L.J.F. 2000b. 'Legiones II Augusta, VI Victrix, IX Hispana, XX Valeria Victrix', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 25-37
- Keppie, L.J.F. 2000c. 'Legio VIII in Britain: the beginning and the end', in Brewer (ed.), 83-100
- Keppie, L.J.F. 2002. 'The origins and early history of the Second Augustan Legion', in Brewer (ed.), 11-26 = Keppie 1993, The Sixth Annual Caerleon Lecture, Cardiff
- Keppie, L.J.F. and Walker, J.J. 1981. 'Fortlets on the Antonine Wall at Seabegs Wood, Kinneil and Cleddans', *Britannia* 12, 143-62
- Klinkenberg, J. 1902. 'Die römischen Grabdenkmäler Kölns', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 108-109, 80-184
- Knapp, R.C. 1992. *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain*, Berkeley
- Le Bohec, Y. 1989. *La troisième Légion Auguste*, Paris
- Le Bohec, Y. 1994. *The Imperial Roman army*, London
- Le Bohec, Y. (ed.) 1995. *La Hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'Armée Romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15-18 septembre 1994), Paris
- Le Bohec, Y. 2000. 'Legio I Minervia (Ier-IIe siècles)', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 83-5
- Le Bohec, Y. and Wolff, C. 2000. 'Legiones Moesiae Superioris', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 239-45
- Le Bohec, Y. and Wolff, C. (eds) 2000. *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon
- Le Glay, M. 1972. 'Le commandement des cohortes voluntariorum de l'armée romaine', *Ancient Society* 3, 209-21
- LeQuesne, C. 1999. *Excavations at Chester. The Roman and Later Defences, Part 1: Investigations 1978-1990*, Chester

- Le Roux, P. 1972. 'Recherches sur les centurions de la legio VII Gemina', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velasquez* VIII, 89-147
- Le Roux, P. 1982. *L'armée Romaine et l'organisation des provinces Ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409*, Paris
- Le Roux, P. 1985. 'L'Hispania et L'Imperium. Réponse à Géza Alföldy', *Gerión* 3, 411-22
- Le Roux, P. 2000. 'Legio VII Gemina (pia) felix', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 383-96
- Lesquier, J. 1918. *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Cairo
- Levick, B. 1999 *Vespasian*, London
- Lörincz, B. 1985. 'Zu den Kaiserbeinamen der römischen Truppen im 3. Jahrhundert', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37, 177-89
- Lörincz, B. 2000. 'Legio II Adiutrix' in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 159-68
- Luttwak, E. 1976. *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*, London
- Lyne, M. 2000. 'Two new coin types for Carausius and Allectus and their implications', *Numismatic Chronicle* 160, 290-2
- Lyne, M. 2001. 'Two notes on the coinage of Carausius', *Numismatic Chronicle* 161, 291-2
- Lyne, M. 2003. 'Some new coin types of Carausius and Allectus and the history of the British provinces AD286-296', *Numismatic Chronicle* 163, 147-68
- MacMullen, R. 1984. 'The legion as a society', *Historia* 33, 440-56
- Macnab, John Munro 1883. 'On the origin and significance of the legionary symbol of the Twentieth Legion of the Roman army in Britain', *PSAS* 17, 400-13
- Manley, J. 2002. *AD43 The Roman invasion of Britain: a reassessment*, Stroud
- Mann, J.C. 1963. 'The raising of new legions during the principate', *Hermes* 91, 483-9
- Mann, J.C. 1983a. *Legionary recruitment and veteran settlement during the Principate*, London
- Mann, J.C. 1983b. 'Trecenarius', *ZPE* 52, 136-40
- Mann, J.C. 1985. 'Epigraphic Consciousness', *JRS* 75, 204-06
- Mann, J.C. 1988a. 'The Castra Peregrina and the "Peregrini"', *ZPE* 74, 148
- Mann, J.C. 1988b. 'The organization of the Frumentarii', *ZPE* 74, 149-50

- Mann, J.C. 1990. 'The "turning" of Scotland', *PSAS* 120, 61-2
- Mann, J.C. 1992. 'A note on *RIB* 2054', *Britannia* 23, 236-38
- Mann, J.C. 1993. 'Cavalry promotion at Kirkby Thore', *Britannia* 24, 261-64
- Mann, J.C. 1996. *Britain and the Roman Empire*, Aldershot
- Mann, J.C. 2000. 'Honestia missio from the legions', in Alföldy et al. (eds), 153-61
- Mann, J.C. and Jarrett, M.G. 1970. 'Britain from Agricola to Gallienus' *Bonner Jahrbücher* 170, 178-210
- Manning, W.H. 1981. *Report on the Excavations at Usk 1968-1976. The Fortress Excavations 1968-71*, Cardiff
- Manning, W.H. (ed.) 1982. *Report on the Excavations at Usk 1968-1976. The Coins, Inscriptions and Graffiti*, Cardiff
- Manning, W.H. 1988. *Early Roman Campaigns in the South-west of Britain*, The First Annual Caerleon Lecture in honorem aquilae legionis II, Cardiff = Brewer (ed.) 2002, 27-44
- Manning, W.H. 1989. *Report on the Excavations at Usk 1968-1976. The Fortress Excavations 1972-74*, Cardiff
- Manning, W.H. 1995. *Report on the Excavations at Usk 1968-1976. The Roman Small Finds*, Cardiff
- Manning, W.H. 2000. 'The fortresses of *legio XX*', in Brewer R. (ed.), 69-81
- Marvell, A.G. 1996. 'Excavations at Usk 1986-1988', *Britannia* 27, 51-110
- Mason, D.J.P. 1988. 'Prata Legionis in Britain', *Britannia* 19, 163-90
- Mason, D.J.P. 2000. *Excavations at Chester. The Elliptical Building: An Image of the Roman World? Excavations in 1939 and 1963-9*, Chester
- Mason, D.J.P. 2001. *Roman Chester: City of the Eagles*, Stroud
- Mason, D.J.P. 2002. 'The foundation of the legionary fortress: Deva, the Flavians and imperial symbolism', in Carrington (ed.), 33-52
- Mattern, M. 1989. 'Die Reliefverzierten römischen Grabstelen der Provinz Britannia. Themen und Typen', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 22, 707-801

- Maxfield, V.A. 1981. *The military decorations of the Roman Army*, Berkeley
- Maxfield, V.A. 1986. 'Pre-Flavian forts and their garrisons', *Britannia* 17, 59-72
- Maxfield, V.A. 1995. *Soldier and civilian: life beyond the ramparts*, The Eighth Annual Caerleon Lecture, Cardiff = Brewer (ed.) 2002, 145-64
- Maxfield, V.A. and Dobson, M.J. (eds) 1991. *Roman Frontier Studies 1989: Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Exeter
- Maxwell, G.S. 1980 'Agricola's campaigns: the evidence of the temporary camps', in Kenworthy (ed.), 25-54
- Maxwell, G.S. 1985. 'Fortlets and distance slabs on the Antonine Wall', *Britannia* 16, 25-8
- McAlindon, D. 1957 'Entry to the senate in the early empire', *JRS* 47, 191-95
- McCarthy, M.R. 1984. 'Roman Carlisle', in D.R. Wilson, R.J.F. Jones and D.M. Evans (eds), *Settlement and Society in the Roman North*, Bradford, 65-74
- McCarthy, M.R. 1991. *Roman Waterlogged Remains and Later Features at Castle Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1981-2*, C&WAAS Res Ser No. 5
- McCarthy, M.R. 2002. *Roman Carlisle and the lands of the Solway*, Stroud
- McPake, R. 1981. 'A note on the cognomina of Legio XX', *Britannia* 12, 293-95
- McPeake, J.C., Bulmer, M. and Rutter, J.A. 1980. 'Excavations in the garden of no 1 Abbey Green, Chester, 1975-77: interim report', *JCAS* 63, 5-14
- McWhirr, A. (ed.) 1979. *Roman Brick and Tile: Studies in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire*, BAR Int Ser 68, Oxford
- McWhirr, A. 1979. 'Origins of legionary tile-stamping in Britain', in McWhirr (ed.), 253-59
- Meid, W. 1980. 'Altbritannisch gnat, fecit', *Indogermanische Forschungen* 85, 188-95
- Mellor, R. 1993. *Tacitus*, London
- Miket R. and Maxfield V. 1972. 'The Excavation of Turret 33b (Coesike)', *AA*⁴ 50, 145-78
- Millar, F. 1989. "'Senatorial" provinces: an institutionalised ghost', *Ancient World* 20, 93-7
- Milner, N.P. 1993. *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, Liverpool
- Mócsy, A. 1974. *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London
- Mócsy, A. et al. 1983. *Nomenclator Provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*

- cum indice inverso*, Dissertationes Pannonicae III.1, Budapest
- Mócsy, A. 1985. *Beiträge zur Namenstatistik*, Dissertationes Pannonicae III.3, Budapest
- Monaghan, J. 1993. *Roman Pottery from the Fortress: 9 Blake Street*, The Archaeology of York 16/7, York
- Morgan, T. 1887. 'On the Twentieth Legion as illustrated by consular denarii', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 43, 267-74
- Mosser, M. 2003. *Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris*, Wiener Archäologische Studien 5, Wien
- Mowat, R. 1890. 'Notes on the tombstone of M. Aurelius Alexander, in Chester', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological and Historical Society New Series* III, 114-19
- Mrozewicz, L. 1984. 'Victoria Aug(usta) Panthea Sanctissima', *ZPE* 57, 181-84
- Mrozewicz, L. 1986. 'Legio I Italica i legio XX Valeria Victrix: związki wzajemne', *Eos*, LXXIV, 303-8
- Musgrave, W. 1719. *Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicae*, Exeter: of which Vol.iii = *Iulii Vitalis Epitaphium*, Exeter 1711 with H. Dodwell
- Nash-Williams, V.E. 1969. *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, 2nd edn revised by M. Jarrett, Cardiff
- Nock, A.D. 1952. 'The Roman Army and the Roman religious Year', *Harvard Theological Review* 45, 187-252
- Nutton, V. 1968. 'A Greek Doctor at Chester', *JCAS* 55, 7-14
- Ogilvie, R.M. and Richmond, I.A. 1967. *Cornelii Taciti de vita Agricolae*, Oxford
- Okamura, L. 1991. 'The flying columns of Emperor Gallienus: 'legionary' coins and their hoards', in Maxfield and Dobson (eds), 387-91
- Olmsted, G.S. 1979. *The Gundestrup Cauldron*, Collection Latomus 162, Bruxelles
- Ott, J. 1995. *Die Beneficiarier*, Historia Einzelschriften 92, Stuttgart
- Ottaway, P. 1993. *Roman York*, London
- Ottaway, P. 1996. *Excavations and Observations of the Defences and Adjacent Sites, 1971-90*, Archaeology of York: The Legionary Fortress 3/3, York

- Päffgen, B. and Zanier, W. 1995. 'Überlegungen zur Lokalisierung von Oppidum Ubiorum und Legionslager im frükaiserlichen Köln' in W. Czysz *et. al.* (eds) *Provinzialrömische Forschungen*, München, 111-29
- Parker, H.M.D. 1926. 'A note on the promotion of centurions', *JRS* 16, 45-52
- Parker, H.M.D. 1928. *The Roman Legions*, Cambridge; 1958 = reprint with minor corrections
- Parker, S.T., 2000. 'Roman Legionary Fortresses in the East', in Brewer (ed.), 121-38
- Passerini, A. 1939. *Le Coorti Pretorie*, Roma
- Passerini, A. 1950 *Dizionario epigraphico di antichità romane*, Roma
- Patterson, J. 1987. *Sanniti, Liguri e Romani*, Circello
- Peddie, J. 1987. *Invasion: the Roman Conquest of Britain*, Gloucester
- Petch, D.F. 1987. 'The Roman Period', *Victoria County History of Cheshire*, Vol. I, 115-236
- Petolescu, C.C. 1995. 'Q. Trebellius Maximus, [e]x trecenario', in Le Bohec (ed.), 245-48
- Petrikovits, H. von 1957. *Novaesium: Das römische Neuss*, Köln
- Petrikovits, H. von 1961. 'Die Ausgrabungen in Neuss', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 161, 449-85
- Petrikovits, H. von 1975. *Die Innenbauten römischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatszeit*, Opladen
- Pflaum, H.-G. 1960-61. *Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Vols 1-4. Paris
- Pflaum, H.-G. 1970. 'Les officiers équestres de la Légion VII Gemina', in Gonzalez (ed.), 353-81
- Pflaum, H.-G. 1978. *Les Fastes de la Province de Narbonnaise*, XXX^{ème} supplément à Gallia, Paris
- Pflaum, H.-G. 1982. *Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Supplément, Paris
- Phang, S.E. 2001. *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C. – A.D. 235)*, Leiden
- Phillips, D. and Heywood, B. 1995. *Excavations at York Minster. Volume 1: From Roman fortress to Norman cathedral*, RCHME, London

- Phillips, E.J. 1975. 'The gravestone of M. Favonius Facilis at Colchester', *Britannia* 6, 102-5
- Picard, G. Ch. and Le Bonniec, H. 1937. 'De nombre et des titres des centurions légionnaires sous the Haut-Empire' *Revue de Philologie* 11, 112-24
- Piso, I. 1993. *Fasti Provinciae Daciae I*, Bonn
- Piso, I. 2000. 'Les légions dans la province de Dacie', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 205-25
- Pitts, L.F. and St. Joseph, J.K. 1985. *Inchtuthil*, Gloucester
- Pobé, M. and Roubier, J. 1961. *The Art of Roman Gaul*, London
- Post, Rev. B. 1848. 'Historical Memoranda relating to the Twentieth Roman Legion' *Trans. of the Gloucester Congress of British Archaeological Association*, 43-57
- Radnóti, A 1961. 'Neue rätische Militärdiplome aus Straubing und Eining', *Germania* 39, 93-117
- Rankov, B. 1990. 'Frumentarii, the Castra Peregrina and the provincial officia', *ZPE* 80, 176-82
- Rankov, B. 1999. 'The governor's men: the officium consularis in provincial administration', in Goldsworthy and Haynes (eds), 15-34
- Raybould, M.E. 1999. *A Study of Inscribed Material from Roman Britain*, BAR 281, Oxford
- RCHME 1962. *The City of York: Volume 1. Eburacum, Roman York*, London
- Rebuffat, R. 1972. 'Nouvelles recherches dans le sud de la Tripolitaine', *CRAI*, 319-39
- Rebuffat, R. 1995. 'Le centurion M. Porcius Iasucthan à Bu Njem' *Libya Antiqua new series* 1, 79-124
- Rebuffat, R. 2000. 'L'armée romaine à Gholoia' in Alföldy et al. (eds), 227-59
- Reddé, M. 2000. 'Legio VIII Augusta', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 119-26
- Reece, R. 2002. 'The Future of Roman Military Archaeology' in Brewer (ed.), 179-91 = The Tenth Annual Caerleon Lecture, Cardiff, 1997 (revised)
- Ricci, C. 2000. 'DOMO ROMA. Il contributo della capitale all'esercito di confine e alle milizie urbane (età imperiale)', in Alföldy et al. (eds), 193-205

- Richier, O. 2004. *Centuriones ad Rhenum. Les centurions legionnaires des armées romaines du Rhin*, Paris
- Richmond, I.A. 1943. 'Roman legionaries at Corbridge, their supply-base, temples, and religious cults', *AA*⁴ 21, 127-224
- Richmond, I.A. 1950a. 'Excavations at the Roman fort at Newstead 1947', *PSAS* 84, 1-37
- Richmond, I.A. 1950b. 'Hadrian's Wall, 1939-49', *JRS* 40, 43-56
- Richmond, I.A. and Birley, E. 1937. 'Centurial stones from the vallum west of Denton Burn', *AA*⁴ 14, 227-42
- Riese, A. 1914. *Das rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften*, Berlin
- Ritterling, E. 1904. 'Zu den Germanenkriegen Domitians an Rhein und Donau', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* vii, 23-8
- Ritterling, E. 1925. 'Legio', in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll *Real-Encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft* XII, 1211-829; 'Legio (XX valeria victrix)', 1769-81
- Ritterling, E. 1932. *Fasti des römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat*, Vienna
- Rivet, A.L.F. 1988. *Gallia Narbonensis*, London
- Rivet, A.L.F. and Smith, C. 1979. *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, London
- Roach Smith, C. 1850. 'Notes on Roman remains at Chester', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* V, 207-33
- Robinson D.J. 1999. 'The Romans and Ireland again: some thoughts on Tacitus' Agricola chapter 24' *JCAS* 75, 19-31
- Roldan Hervas, J.M. 1974. *Hispania y el ejército romano*, Salamanca
- Ross, A. 1961. 'The Horned God of the Brigantes', *AA*⁴ 39, 63-85
- Rüger, C.B. 1984 'Eine kleine Garnisonsgeschichte des römischen Neuss' in Chantraine (ed.), 9-42
- Saddington, D.B. 1973. 'Towards the dating of early inscriptions recording Roman auxiliary regiments', *Akten des VI internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik, München = Vestigia* Vol 17, 538-40

- Saddington, D.B. 1985. 'Praefecti fabrum of the Julio-Claudian period', in von Weber, E. and Dobesch, G. (eds) *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik*, Wien, 529-46
- Saddington, D.B. 1990. 'Praefecti Classis and Praefecti Castrorum in the Julio-Claudian period', in Vetters, H. and Kandler, M. (eds) *Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum*, Wien, 67-70
- Saddington, D.B. 1991. 'Tacitus and the Roman Army', *ANRW* II.35.5, 3484-555
- Saller, R.P. 1980. 'Promotion and Patronage in Equestrian Careers', *JRS* 70, 44-63
- Saller, R.P. and Shaw, B.D. 1984. 'Tombstones and Roman family relations in the principate: civilians, soldiers and slaves', *JRS* 74, 124-55
- Salway, P. 1981. *Roman Britain*, Oxford
- Sander, E. 1959. 'Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: der Duplicarius', *Historia* 8, 239-47
- Sander, E. 1962. 'Der praefecus fabrum und die Legionsfabriken', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 162, 139-61
- Sauer, E. 2000. 'Alchester, a Claudian 'vexillation fortress' near the western boundary of the Catuvellauni: new light on the Roman invasion of Britain', *Archaeological Journal* 157, 1-78
- Sauer E. 2002. 'The Roman invasion of Britain (AD 43) in Imperial perspective', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21 (4), 333-63
- Saxer, R. 1967. *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Epigraphische Studien 1, Köln
- Scafile, F. 1976. 'Un tesoretto monetale rinvenuto a Pombia' *Ad Quintum* 4, 56-82
- Scheidel, W. 1992. 'Inskriptenstatistik und die Frage des Rekrutierungsalters römischer Soldaten', *Chiron* 22, 281-97
- Scheidel, W. 1996. 'The demography of the Roman imperial army', in Scheidel *Measuring Sex, Age, and Death in the Roman Empire: Explorations in Ancient Demography*, Ann Arbor, 93-138

- Schlüter, W. (ed.) 1993. *Kalkriese – Römer im Osnabrücker Land: Archäologische Forschungen zur Varusschlacht*, Bramsche
- Schlüter, W. 1999. 'The battle of the Teutoburg Forest: archaeological research at Kalkriese near Osnabrück', in J.D. Creighton and R.J.A. Wilson (eds), *Roman Germany: Studies in Cultural Interaction*, JRA Supplementary Series 32, 125-59
- Schmitthenner, W.C.G. 1958. *The Armies of the Triumviral Period: a Study of the Origins of the Roman Imperial Legions*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford
- Schönberger, H. 1969. 'The Roman frontier in Germany: an archaeological survey', *JRS* 59, 144-97
- Schulze, W. 1904. *Zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Eigennamen*, Berlin
- Seeck, O. 1876. *Notitia Dignitatum*, Berlin (repr. Frankfurt 1962)
- Shirley, E.A.M. 2000. *The Construction of the Roman Legionary Fortress at Inchtuthil*, BAR 290, Oxford
- Shirley, E.A.M. 2001. *Building a Roman Legionary Fortress*, Stroud
- Shotter, D.C.A. 1996. *The Roman Frontier in Britain*, Preston
- Shotter, D.C.A. 1999. 'Chester, the evidence of Roman coin loss', *JCAS* 75, 33-50
- Shotter, D.C.A. 2002. 'Chester: Early Roman Occupation', in Carrington (ed.), 25-32
- Shrubsole, G.W. 1890. 'On the recent find of a centurial stone in Chester', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological and Historical Society New Series* III, 45-47
- Simpson, F.G., Richmond, I.A., Birley, E., Keeney, G.S. and Steer, K.A. 1936. 'Milecastles on Hadrian's Wall explored in 1935-36', *AA⁴* 13, 258-73
- Smallwood, E.M. 1966. *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, Cambridge
- Solin, H. 1977. 'Die innere Chronologie des römischen Cognomens', in Duval (ed.), 103-45
- Solin, H. 1982. *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch*, Berlin
- Solin, H. and Salomies, O. 1994. *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, 2nd edition, Hildesheim

- Spaul, J. 2000. *Cohors²: The evidence for and a short history of the auxiliary infantry units of the Imperial Roman Army*, BAR Int Ser 841, Oxford
- Spaul, J. 2002. *Classes Imperii Romani*, Andover
- Speidel, M.A. 2000. 'Legio IV Scythica', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 327-37
- Speidel, M.P. 1973. 'The pay of the Auxilia', *JRS* 63, 141-147
- Speidel, M.P. 1977. 'Pannonian troops in the Moorish war of Antoninus Pius' in Fitz (ed.), 129-35
- Speidel, M.P. 1978. *The Religion of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army*, Leiden
- Speidel, M.P. 1981. 'Princeps as a Title for *ad hoc* Commanders', *Britannia* 12, 7-13
- Speidel, M.P. 1982. 'Legionary cohorts in Mauretania. The role of legionary cohorts in the structure of expeditionary armies', *ANRW* II.10. 2, 850-60
- Speidel, M.P. 1983a. 'The centurion's titles', *Epigraphische Studien* 13, 43-62
- Speidel, M.P. 1983b. 'Severiana as the title for army units and the three Legiones Parthicae of Septimius Severus', *Proceedings of African Classical Association* 17, 118-23
- Speidel, M.P. 1984. *Roman army studies*, Vol.I, Amsterdam
- Speidel, M.P. 1987. 'The Chattan War, the Brigantian Revolt and the loss of the Antonine Wall', *Britannia* 18, 233-37
- Speidel, M.P. 1989a. 'The soldier's servants', *Ancient Society* 20, 239-48 = Speidel 1992, 342-52
- Speidel, M.P. 1989b. 'Work to be done on the organization of the Roman army', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, London* 26, 99-106 = Speidel 1992, 13-20
- Speidel, M.P. 1990. 'The names of legionary centuriae', *Arctos* 24, 135-37
- Speidel, M.P. 1992a. *Roman army studies*, Vol. II, Stuttgart
- Speidel, M.P. 1992b. *The Framework of an Imperial Legion*, The Fifth Annual Caerleon Lecture, Cardiff = Brewer (ed.) 2002, 125-44
- Speidel, M.P. 1994a. *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites singulares Augusti*, Köln
- Speidel, M.P. 1994b. *Riding For Caesar*, London

- Speidel, M.P. and Dimitrova-Milčeva, A. 1978. 'The cult of the Genii in the Roman army',
ANRW II.16.2, 1542-55
- Starr, Chester G. 1960. *The Roman Imperial Navy, 31 B.C.-A.D.324*, 2nd edition, Cambridge
- Stephens, G.R. 1989. 'The tile graffito from Holt', *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies* 36, 223-6
- Stevens, C.E. 1948. 'The building of Hadrian's Wall', *AA⁴* 26, 1-46
- Stevens, C.E. 1966. *The Building of Hadrian's Wall*, Kendal
- Stolte, B.H. 1986. 'Die religiösen Verhältnisse in Niedergermanien', *ANRW* II.18.1, 591-671
- Strang, A. 1997 'Explaining Ptolemy's Roman Britain', *Britannia* 28, 1-30
- Strickland, T.J. 1981. 'Third Century Chester', in A. King and M. Henig (eds), *The Roman West in the Third Century*, BAR Int Ser 109(ii), Oxford, 415-44
- Strickland, T.J. 1982. 'The defences of Roman Chester: a note on discoveries made on the north wall, 1982', *JCAS* 65, 25-35
- Strickland, T.J. 1983. 'The defences of Roman Chester: discoveries made on the east wall, 1983', *JCAS* 66, 5-11
- Strickland, T.J. 1996. 'Recent research at the Chester legionary fortress: the curtain wall and the barrack veranda colonnades', in P. Johnson and I. Haynes (eds), *Architecture in Roman Britain*, CBA Res Rep 94, York, 104-19
- Strickland, T.J. 1999. 'What kind of community existed at Chester during the hiatus of the 2nd c.?', in Goldsworthy and Haynes (eds), 105-10
- Strickland, T.J. 2003. 'Roman Chester', in C.P. Lewis and A.T. Thacker (eds), *A History of the County of Chester V (i): The City of Chester*, London, 9-15
- Strickland T.J. and Davey, P.J. (eds) 1978. *New Evidence for Roman Chester*, Liverpool
- Strobel, K. 1986a. 'Zu den Vexillationsziegelstempeln von Mirebeau bei Dijon', *ZPE* 64, 257-64
- Strobel, K. 1986b. 'Zur Rekonstruktion der Laufbahn des C. Velius Rufus', *ZPE* 64, 265-86
- Strobel, K. 1987. 'Bemerkungen zur Laufbahn des Ti. Claudius Vitalis', *Tyche* 2, 203-9
- Strobel, K. 1988. 'Ein weiteres Zeugnis zur Rangordnung im römischen Legionscenturionat der Kaiserzeit.' *Epigraphica Anatolica* 12, 43-5

- Summerly, J.R. 1991. 'Studies in the Legionary Centurionate', Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham
- Suolahti, J. 1955. *Junior Officers of the Roman Army. A study on social structure*, Helsinki
- Swan, V.G. 1992. 'Legio VI and its Men: African Legionaries in Britain', *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 5, 1-33
- Swan, V.G. 1997. 'Vexillations and the garrisons of Britannia in the second and early third centuries', in Groenman-van Waateringe et al. (eds), 289-94
- Swan, V.G. 1999a. 'Legio XX Valeria Victrix and the Antonine Wall: new perspectives in the history of Northern Britain', in Gudea (ed.), 539-45
- Swan, V.G. 1999b. 'The Twentieth Legion and the history of the Antonine Wall reconsidered', *PSAS* 129, 399-480
- Swan, V.G. and Philpott, R.A. 2000. 'Legio XX VV and tile production at Tarbock, Merseyside', *Britannia* 31, 55-67
- Syme, R. 1928. 'Rhine and Danube legions under Domitian', *JRS* 18, 41-55
- Syme, R. 1933. 'Some notes on the legions under Augustus', *JRS* 23, 14-33
- Syme, R. 1934a. 'Lentulus and the origins of Moesia', *JRS* 24, 113-37: Appendix 'Legio XX on the lower Danube' 134-37
- Syme, R. 1934b. 'The Northern Frontiers under Augustus', *Cambridge Ancient History X*, Cambridge, 340-81
- Syme, R. 1958. *Tacitus*, Oxford
- Syme, R. 1970. 'The conquest of north-west Spain', in Gonzalez (ed.) 79-107
- Syme, R. 1978. 'Donatus and the like', *Historia* 27, 588-603
- Syme, R. and Collingwood, R.G. 1934. 'The northern frontiers from Tiberius to Nero', *Cambridge Ancient History X*, Cambridge, 781-807
- Szilágyi, M. 1986. 'Zur Rangordnung der rheinischen Legionen im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.' in Unz (ed.), 787-91
- Thomasson, B.E. 1996. *Fasti Africani. Senatorische und ritterliche Amtsträger in den römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Stockholm

- Thompson, F.H. 1976. 'The excavation of the Roman amphitheatre at Chester' *Archaeologia* 105, 127-239
- Todisco, E. 1999. *I veterani in Italia in età imperiale*, Bari
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 1979. 'Graffiti on Roman bricks and tiles found in Britain', in McWhirr (ed.), 231-51
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 1992. 'The Twentieth Legion at Wroxeter and Carlisle in the first century: The epigraphic evidence', *Britannia* 23, 141-58
- Tomlin, R.S.O. and Annis, R.G. 1989. 'A Roman altar from Carlisle Castle', *Trans C&WAAS* 89, 77-91
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 2000. 'The legions in the late Empire', in Brewer (ed.), 159-81
- Unz C. (ed.) 1986. *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen roms III. Vorträge des 13. Internationaler Limeskongress Aalen 1983*, Stuttgart
- van Driel Murray, C. 1995. 'Gender in Question', in Rush, P. (ed.) *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings*, Aldershot, 3-21
- Varon, P. 1997. 'The *heredes* of Roman army soldiers', in Groenman-van Waateringe et al. (eds), 565-70
- Vismara, C. and Caldelli, M.L. 2000. *Epigrafia Anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano V*, Roma
- Vorbeck, E. 1980. *Militärinschriften aus Carnuntum*, Wien
- Wacher, J. and McWhirr, A. 1982. *Early Roman Occupation at Cirencester*, Cirencester
- Ward, M. 1997. 'A collection of samian from the legionary works-depot at Holt', in J. Bird (ed.), *Form and Fabric: Studies in Rome's Material Past in Honour of B.R. Hartley*, Oxbow Monograph 80, Oxford, 133-43
- Ward, M. 1998. 'Some finds from the Roman works-depot at Holt', *Studia Celtica* 32, 43-84
- Ward, S.W. 1988. *Excavations at Chester, 12 Watergate Street 1985: Roman headquarters building to medieval Row*, Chester
- Ward, S.W. and Strickland, T. 1978, *Chester Excavations, Northgate Brewery 1974/5: a Roman centurion's quarters and barrack*, Chester

- Watkin, W. Thompson, 1886. *Roman Cheshire*, Liverpool
- Watson, G.R. 1962. 'Discharge and resettlement in the Roman army. The *praemia militiae*',
in E.C. Welskopf (ed.) *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt, römisches Reich 2*, 147-52
- Watson, G.R. 1965. 'Immunis Librarius' in Jarrett and Dobson (eds), 45-55
- Watson, G.R. 1969 *The Roman soldier*, London
- Webster, G. 1970. 'The military situation in Britain between AD 43 and 71', *Britannia* 1,
179-97
- Webster, G. 1978. *Boudica : the British revolt against Rome, AD60*, London
- Webster, G. 1979. *The Roman Imperial Army of the first and second centuries A.D.*, 2nd
edn, London (1985 3rd edition)
- Webster, G. 1980. *The Roman invasion of Britain*, London
- Webster, G. 1981. *Rome against Caratacus: the Roman campaigns in Britain AD 48-58*,
London
- Webster, G. (ed.) 1988. *Fortress Into City*, London
- Webster, G. 1991. 'The defences of the legionary fortress at *Viroconium* (Wroxeter) c.
AD55-90' in Maxfield and Dobson (eds), 125-31
- Webster, G. 2002. *The Legionary Fortress at Wroxeter. Excavations by Graham Webster
1955-85*, edited by J. Chadderton, London
- Webster, P. 1995. *Roman Samian Pottery in Britain*, York
- Wegeleben, T. 1913. *Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen*, Diss. Berlin
- Welfare H. and Swan, V. 1995. *Roman camps in England: the field archaeology*, London
- Wellesley, K. 1969. 'Tacitus as a military historian', in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Tacitus*, 63-98
- Welles, C. Bradford, Fink, R.O. and Gilliam, J.F. 1959. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos.
Final Report V. Part 1: The Parchments and Papyri*, New Haven
- Wells, C. 1972. *The German Policy of Augustus*, Oxford
- Wells, C. 1998. 'What's new along the Lippe: recent work in north Germany', *Britannia* 29,
457-64

- Welwei, K.-H. 1988. *Unfreie im antiken Kriegsdienst, III: Rom*, Stuttgart
- Wiegels, R. 1974. 'Zum Territorium der augusteischen Kolonie *Emerita*', *Madridische Mitteilungen* 17, 258-84
- Wilkes, J.J. 1969. *Dalmatia*, London
- Wilkes, J.J. 1977. 'Augustan *limes* in Illyricum', in D. Haupt and H.G. Horn (eds) *Studien zu den Militargrenzen Roms II*, Köln, 245-46
- Wilkes, J.J. 1985. '*RIB* 1322: A note', *ZPE* 59, 291-6
- Wilkes, J.J. 1999. 'The Roman army as a community in the Danube lands: the case of the Seventh Legion', in Goldsworthy and Haynes (eds), 95-104
- Wilkes, J.J. 2000. 'Roman legions and their fortresses in the Danube lands', in Brewer (ed.), 101-19
- Wilkes, J.J. 2002. 'The legions in the Principate: updating Ritterling', *JRA* 15, 528-35
- Williams, H.P.G. 2004. *Carausius. A consideration of the historical, archaeological and numismatic aspects of his reign*, BAR 378, Oxford
- Woodman, A.J. 1998. *Tacitus Reviewed*, Oxford
- Wright, R.P. 1963. 'Roman Britain in 1962: Inscriptions', *JRS* 53, 160-67
- Wright, R.P. and Richmond, I.A. 1955. *Catalogue of the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester*, Chester
- Yébenes, S. Perea 2000. 'Hispania y la legio XX', in Le Bohec and Wolff (eds), 581-87
- Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker, S. and Kandler, M. 1979. *Burnum I, Erster Bericht über die Kleinfunde der Grabungen 1973 und 1974 auf dem Forum*, Vienna
- Zienkiewicz, J.D. 1986. *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon*, vols I-II, Cardiff
- Zienkiewicz, J.D. 1991. 'The early development of the legionary fortress at Caerleon-Isca and consequences for Flavian policy in Britain' in B. Burnham and J.L. Davies (eds), *Conquest, Co-existence and Change: Recent Work in Roman Wales*, Trivium 25, 19-27
- Zienkiewicz, J.D. 1993. 'Excavations in the *Scamnum Tribunorum* at Caerleon: the Legionary Museum site 1983-5', *Britannia* 24, 27-140

Indices

- 1: *Nomina***
- 2: *Cognomina***
- 3: *origo***
- 4: Settlement**
- 5: *Tribu***
- 6: Ranks**
- 7: Cohorts (*legio xx*)**
- 8: Dedications**
- 9: Units other than *legio XX***
- 10: Posts held in units other than *legio XX***
- 11: Dedicators, heirs etc.**
- 12: Findspots**
- 13: Places**
- Primary sources**

Index 1: *Nomina*

M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa	2.1	C. Cestius Teurnicus	7.23
C. Acilius M...	7.incerti	Claudius Augustanus	6.18
Aconius	7.99	Ti. Claudius Balbillus	3.5
P. Aelius...	7.1	Ti. Claudius Fatalis	6.19
P. Aelius Bassus	6.2	Ti. Claudius Vitalis	6.20
Aelius Claudianus	7.2	M. Cluvius Valentius	7.24
Aelius Optatus	7.3	Cocceius Regulus	6.84
P. Aelius Romanus	6.3	Cocceius Verus	7.25
Aelius Vibius	6.4	Q. Cornelius	7.27
L. Aemilius Flaccus	7.4	Q. Cornelius Q.f.	7.116*
L. Aemilius Naso Fabullinus	2.2	Q. Cornelius Q.f.Ani.	7.117*
M. Aemilius Papus	1.6	Cornelius Ca...	6.21
Q. Albius Felix	6.5	L. Cornelius Cinna	7.28
C. Allius	7.5	Cornelius Crescens	6.22
Annius Cesti(anus?)	7.6	L. Cornelius Macer	7.29
Annius Felix	7.7	Cornelius Severus	6.117*
L. Antestius Sabinus	7.113*	C. Curtius Iustus	1.7
M. Antonius Modianus	3.1	C. Deccius	7.30
L. Antonius Quadratus	7.9	Q. Domitius Optatus	7.118*
M. Apronius [Sen?]jecius	7.10	L. Domitius Severus	3.7
C. Arrius Domitianus	6.7	T. Domitius Vindex	6.23
Atilius Maior	6.8	Q. E(...) F(...)	7.31
Attius Celer	6.9	L. Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis	7.32
C. Attius Rufinus	7.114*	L. Elufrius Praesens	6.24
Audacius Romanus	6.10	M. Favonius Facilis	6.25
Aurelius	6.11	Ferronius Vegetus	6.26
M. Aurelius Alexander	4.1	L. Festinius Probus	7.incerti
T. Aurelius Certus	7.11	Flavius Attius	7.incerti
Aurelius Cervianus	8.2	Flavius Betto	6.27
Aurelius Diogenes	7.12	T. Flavius Cicatricula	6.28
Aurelius Lucius	7.13	Flavius Crescens	6.85
M. Aurelius Nepos	6.12	Flavius Longus	3.8
M. Aurelius Syrio	3.2	Flavius Noricus	6.29
Aurelius Valetinus	7.14	T. Flavius Pro(culus)	6.30
C. Axonius	7.15	Sex. Flavius Quietus	5.1
Q. Axonius	7.15	T. Flavius Titullus	7.33
C. Baebius	3.3	T. Flavius Valerianus	7.34
Blandius Latinus	6.13	T. Flavius Virillis	6.31
Caecilius Avitus	7.16	Sal. Frebranus Baculus	6.32
Caecilius Donatus	7.17	Frontinius Aquilo	7.36
Caecilius Monimus	6.82	T. Fuficius	7.37
Caecilius Proculus	6.115*	Furius Maximus	7.38
M. Caelius Flavius Proculus	2.3	M. Gargilius Secundus	7.39
C(a)esonius	6.17	Gellius Philippus	6.86
L. Caiatius Sextinus	7.18	C. Geminius Mansuetus	7.40
C. Calcinus Tertianus	3.4	L. Hermelius	7.41
Caledonius Secundus	6.83	Hortensius Proculus	6.33
Calvius Priscus	6.15	Cn. Iulius Agricola	1.3
L. Camulius Albanus	7.115*	Iulius Aquila	6.34
Candidius Pistor	6.16	Iulius Candidus	6.87
D. Capienius Urbicus	7.19	Iulius Candidus	7.42
T. Carsius Certinus	7.20	Iulius Florentinus	6.35
C. Cassius Agrippa	1.5	Iulius Ianalis	6.88
Cassius Secundus	7.21	C. Iulius Lepidus	6.36
Q. Cassius Secundus	7.22	C. Iulius Maritimus	6.37
L. Cestius Gallus	1.8	C. Iulius Marullinus	7.43

	Iulius Peculiaris	6.38		Postumius...	6.55
C.	Iulius Quartus	7.44	Q.	Postumius Solus	7.69
	Iulius Quintilianus	7.45	C.	Publilius Mi[nicianus?]	7.70
	Iulius Sedatus	6.39		Quint(ius?)†	6.56
C.	Iulius Severus	7.46		Refidius	6.57
	Iulius Valens	7.47		Romuleius Iustus	6.103
	Iulius Valens	6.89	M.	Roscius Caelius	1.2
	Iulius Valerianus	7.48		Rufius Sabinus	6.58
	Iulius Victor	7.49		Rusius Mo[...]	7.71
	Iulius Victor	7.50	P.	Rustius Crescens	7.72
	Iulius Vitalis	7.51	An.	Satrius Sal...	2.4
L.	Iunius Abenus	7.52	T.	Saufeius...	7.74
Q.	Iunius November	7.119*		Seccius	6.104
T.	Iunius Severus	3.9	C.	Sempronius Fidus	3.13
	Iustus Super	6.40	L.	Sempronius Probianus	7 <i>incerti</i>
M.	Liburnius Fronto	6.41	T.	Sempronius Pudens	7.75
C.	Licinius...	7.53	M.	Septimius Magnus	6.59
L.	Licinius Valens	7.54		Serenus†	5.3
C.	Ligustinius Disertus	6.42		Setinus†	7.76
	Livius Saturninus	6.43	M.	Sextius Bellicus	7.77
Q.	Longinius Laetus	7.120*		Sextius Marcianus	6.60
C.	Louesius Cadarus	7.55		Sextius Proculus	6.106
	Lousius Suavis	6.93	Sex.	Simil...	7.122*
	Lucilius Ingenuus	6.45	L.	Sper(atius) Ursulus	7.78
	Lucilius Sabinianus	7.56		Sui[lius]	6.61
	Malius Crassus	6.46	C.	Sulgius Caecilianus	5.4
C.	Manlius Valens	1.1	M.	Sulpicius	7.79
C.	Mannius Secundus	7.58		Terentius Magnus	6.62
Sex.	Marcianus	7 <i>incerti</i>	Q.	Terentius N...	6.63
L.	Marcus [Ma]xi[mus]	7 <i>incerti</i>	M.	Tillius Rufus	6.64
C.	Marius	7.59		Titinius Felix	7.80
	Marius Dexter	6.94		Titinius Pines	6.118*
Q.	Maximius	6.47		Titius	6.66
L.	Maximius Gaetulicus	6.48		Titius	6.67
	Max(imius?) Tern(icus?)	6.96		Torquatus Novellius Atticus	8.4
Q.	Memonius Exoratus	7.60	M.	Tuccius...	6.68
C.	Mestrius	7.62		Tullius Capito	6.69
P.	Mestrius	7.63	M.	Ulpianus Januarius	7.97
L.	Metilius	7.64		Ulpianus Volusenus	6.114
	Mommius Cattianus	7.65	Sex.	Vagirius Martianus	3.14
L.	Mu(...)P(...)	7.66	C.	Valerius...	7.81
	Munatius Maximus	6.97	C.	Valerius C.f.	7.82
	Naevius†	6.49	L.	Valerius Aurelius	7.83
	Nas(...) Bassus	6.116*	M.	Valerius Cotta	7.84
L.	Numerius Felix	6.50	C.	Valerius Iullus	7.85
	Ocratius Maximus	6.51	C.	Valerius Iustus	7.86
	Olc(ius?) Libo	6.98	M.	Valerius Latinus	7.87
	Oppius Proculus	6.53	M.	Valerius Martialis	7.123*
	Opsilius	6.99		Valerius Maximus	6.108
	P]aconius?	7.99	L.	Valerius Proculus	6.70
	Petta Dida	6.101	L.	Valerius Pud[ens]	7.88
P.	Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis	5.2		Valerius Rufinus	6.109
Q.	Planus Felix	3.11		Valerius Sabinus	6.110
L.	Plinius	7.68	L.	Valerius	7.89
M.	Pompeius Asper	4.2		Valerius Verus	6.111
	Pompeius Optatus	7 <i>incerti</i>	C.	Valerius Victor	7 <i>incerti</i>
T.	Pomponius Mamilianus	1.4	L.	Vanius	7.90
	Pon(tius?) Magnus	6.102		Varenius Proculeianus	6.71
M.	Porcius Iasuctan	6.54		Varius Quintius Gaianus	6.72

C. Varronius Messus	7.91
C. Velitius	7.92
C. Velius Rufus	8.5
Vers(inius?)	6.73
Vesuvius Rufus	6.112
T. Vet[...]	8.6
Vettius Proculus	6.74
Q. Vetuleius	7.93
Q. Vibius Secundus	7.94
Q. V(...) R(...)	7.98
M. V(...) Sp(...)	7.96
...]elius A[q]uilinus	6.75
...]nius	7.109
...]us Q.f.Arn. ...]nus	1.9

† if not *cognomen*

Index 2: *Cognomina*

Abenus	7.52	Fabullinus	2.2
Abucinus	6.1	Facilis	6.25
Agricola	1.3	Fatalis	6.19
Agrippa	1.5, 2.1	Felix	3.11, 6.5, 6.50, 7.7, 7.80
Albanus	7.112*, 7.115*	Fidus	3.13
Alexander	4.1	Flaccus	7.4
Antigonus	7.8	Florianus	7.35
Antiochus	8.1	Fronto	6.41
Aq(uila)	6.34	Gaetulicus	6.48
A[q]uilinus	6.75	Gaianus	6.72
Aquilo	7.36	Gallus	1.8
Arab[...]	6.6	Hermogenes	8.3
Asper	4.2	Ianalis	6.88
Atticus	8.4	Ianuaris	7.97
Attius	7. <i>incerti</i>	Iasuctan	6.54
Augustanus	6.18	Ingenuus	6.45
Aurelianus	6.11	Iullus	7.85
Aurelius	7.83	Iustus	1.7, 6.103, 7.86
Avitus	7.16	Laetianus	6.90
Baculus	6.32	Laetus	7.120*
Balbillus	3.5	Latinus	6.13, 7.87
Barrus	6. <i>incerti</i>	Lepidus	6.36, 6.91
Bassus	6.2, 6.116*	Liberalis	6.92
Bellicianus	7.32	Libo	6.98
Bellicus	7.77	Logus	6.44
Betto	6.27	Longus	3.8
Burricus	6.14	Lucius	7.13
Ca[...]	6.21	M[...]	7. <i>incerti</i>
Cadarus	7.55	Macer	7.29
Caecilianus	5.4	Macrinus	7.57
Caelius	1.2	Magnus	6.59, 6.62, 6.102
Candidus	6.87, 7.42	Maior	6.8
Capito	6.69	Mamilianus	1.4
Cattianus	7.65	Mansuetus	7.40
Celer	6.9	Marcianus	6.60, 7. <i>incerti</i>
Certinus	7.20	Maritimus	6.37
Certus	7.11	Martialis	7.123*
Cervianus	8.2	Martianus	3.14
Cesti[anus?]	7.6	Marullinus	7.43
Cicatricula	6.28	Marus	3.10
Cinna	7.28	Maximus	6.95, 6.97, 6.51, 6.108, 7.38, 7. <i>inc.</i>
Claudianus	7.2	Messor	7.61
Compitalicus	7. <i>incerti</i>	Mi[nicianus?]	7.70
Condrau{si}sus	7.26	Mo[...]	7.71
Cotta	7.84	Modianus	3.1
Crassus	6.93	Monimus	6.82
Crescens	3.6, 6.22, 6.85, 7.72, 6.76?, 7.100?	N[...]	6.63
Dexter	6.94	Naevius†	6.49
Dida	6.101	Nepos	6.12
Diogenes	7.12	Noricus	6.29
Disertus	6.42	November	7.119*
Domitianus	6.7	Ocellio	7.67
Donatus	7.17	Octavianus	6.52
Exoratus	7.60	Optatus	7.3, 7.118*, 7. <i>incerti</i>
F(...)	7.31	Ostorianus	6.100
		P(...)	7.66

Papus	1.6	Verus	6.111, 7.25
Peculiaris	6.38	Vibius	6.4
Philippus	6.86	Victor	7.49, 7.50, 7.95, <i>7. incerti</i>
Pines	6.118*	Victorinus	6.113
Pistor	6.16	Vindex	6.23
Praesens	6.24	Virilis	6.31
Priscus	6.15	Vitalis	6.20, 7.32, 7.51
Probianus	<i>7. incerti</i>	Volusenus	6.114
Proculeianus	6.71	...]ecius	7.10
Proculus	2.3, 6.33, 6.53, 6.106, 6.70, 6.74, 6.115*	...]ens	7.100
Pro(culus)	6.30	...]essus	7.91
Pud[ens	7.88	...]nus	1.9
Pudens	7.75	...]ns	6.76
Quadratus	7.8	...]stus	7.102
Quartus	7.44		
Quietus	5.1	† if not <i>nomen</i>	
Quint(us?)†	6.56		
Quintilianus	7.45		
Quirinalis	5.2		
R(...)	7.98		
Regulus	6.84		
Romanus	6.3, 6.10		
Rufinus	6.109, 7.114*		
Rufus	3.12, 6.64, 6.112		
Sabinianus	7.56		
Sabinus	6.58, 6.110, 7.113*		
Sal[...]	2.4		
Sat]urni]nus	7.73		
Saturninus	6.43		
Secundus	6.83, 7.21, 7.22, 7.39, 7.58, 7.94		
Sedatus	6.39		
Senilis	6.105		
Serenus†	5.3		
Setinus†	7.76		
Severus	3.7, 3.9, 6.117*, 7.46		
Sextinus	7.18		
Sextus	7.121*		
Socellus	6.107		
Solus	7.69		
Suavis	6.93		
Super	6.40		
Syrio	3.2		
Tern(icus?)	6.96		
Tertianus	3.4		
Teurnicus	7.23		
Titianus	6.65		
Titullus	7.33		
Urbicus	7.19		
Ursulus	7.78		
Valens	1.1, 6.89, 7.47, 7.54, 6.76?, 7.100?		
Valentius	7.24		
Valerianus	7.34, 7.48		
Valetinus	7.14		
Vegetus	6.26		

Index 3: *origo*

Ara colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis

Aradus	6.37
Arelate	6.59 [†]
Atina	7.14 [†] , 7.20 [†] , 7.54
Augusta Taurinorum	6.64 [†]
Bedaium	7.115*
<i>natione Belga</i>	6.21 [†]
[Berber	7.51
[Bery]tus	6.54]
<i>Bessus natione</i>	7.10
Bononia	7.17
Brixia	7.60, 7.92
Calagurris	7.9 [†] , 7.72, 7.122*
Carales	3.13
Cart(h)ago (Nova?)	3.12 [†]
Celeia	7.99
Cemenelum	7.44, 7.77, 7.103
[Cl]unia	7.11
Corduba	6.24
Cremona	7.113*
Danium	7.94
Emerita Augusta	3.9
Ephesus	7.16, 7.55, 7.69
Falerii	3.5
Firmum Picenum	6.5 [†]
Forum Iuli	7.15
Geneva	7.24
Iessos - Aeso	6.13 [†]
Luca	6.36
Lucus Augusti	7.5, 7.29 [†]
Lugdunum	7.120*
Minturnae	3.14 [†] , 7.18
[Mursa]	3.11 [†]
Mutina	6.2
<i>ex Mysia</i>	7.28
Nemausus	6.3
Nicaea	7.48 [†]
Nicopolis	6.78
<i>Noricum</i>	7.8
Novaria	7.84 [†]
Noviodunum	7.3 [†]

colonia Julia Equestris

Oia	7.100
Parma	4.3 [†]
Patavium	7.74 [†] , 7.79
Pitinum Mergens	6.42 [†]
Pollentia	7.58, 6.67
Roma	3.1 [†] , 6.19
Salaria	7.88
Samosata	3.8
Sarmizegetusa	7.1 [†]
<i>natione Syrus</i>	4.1
Tarvisium	7.39 [†]
<i>Taurini</i>	7.115*
Tergeste	5.2 [†]
Teurnia	7.23

Theveste	7.50 [†]
Ticinum	7.30
<i>Trumplia</i>	7.62 [†] , 7.68
Tuccabor	5.4 [†]
Tusculum	4.2
Vercellae	7.89
Verona	3.7
Vienna	3.6, 6.48, 7.19,
	7.85
Virunum	7.118*
Viviscus	7.78 [†]
Ulpia Nicopolis	3.2
Ulpia Traiana	7.97
<i>Umbria</i>	3.3

[†]inferred *origo* from place of commemoration and/or tribe

4: Settlement

Aquae Sulis	7.8
Ara Ubiorum	7.64
Arelate	7.14 [†]
Arelate	7.20
Beneventum	7.33 [†] , 7.59 [†]
Brixia	7.9 [†]
Deva	7.7, 7.21, 7.32,
	7.53, 7.54
Emerita	7.15 [†]
Glevum	7.83
Iader	7.5
Noviomagus	7.28
Patavium	7.74
Ravenna	7.60
Salonae	7.37
Tarvisium	7.39 [†]
Tergeste	7.92 [†] , 7.110
<i>Trumplia</i>	7.62
Turgalium	7.41

[†] not explicitly described as veterans but presumed settled or returned to home town

Index 5: Tribus

Aniensis	4.2, 7.24, 7.89, 7.94, 7.117*
Arniensis	1.9
Claudia	6.30, 6.37, 7.11, 7.39, 7.44, 7.71, 7.77, 7.82, 7.118*, 7.123*
Clustumina	3.3, 6.42
Fabia	6.59, 7.5, 7.9, 7.10, 7.29, 7.62, 7.64, 7.68, 7.72, 7.74, 7.79, 7.122*
Galeria	1.4, 1.6, 2.1, 2.2, 3.9, 3.13, 3.14, 6.20, 6.24, 6.36, 7.18, 7.81
Horatia	6.5
Lemonia	2.4, 7.92
Maecia	5.2
Palatina	7.100
Papiria	5.4, 7.1, 7.15, 7.30, 7.36, 7.41, 7.55, 7.69, 7.110
Publilia	3.7, 6.19, 6.77 (Publilia)
Pollia	1.7, 6.25, 7.28, 7.37, 7.58, 7.93
Pomptina	7.120*
Publilia	6.77
Quirina	3.5, 3.12, 5.1
Sergia	6.2, 7.8, 7.70, 7.113*
Stellatina	7.33, 7.59, 7.115*
Teretina	6.64, 7.20, 7.54
[Ulpia]	3.2, 7.97
Voltinia	3.6, 6.13, 6.48, 7.19, 7.85

Index 6: Ranks

Legati legionis

M. Aemilius Papus	1.6
C. Cassius Agrippa	1.5
L. Cestius Gallus	1.8
C. Curtius Iustus	1.7
Cn.Iulius Agricola	1.3
C. Manlius Valens	1.1
T. Pomponius Mamilianus	1.4
M. Roscius Caelius	1.2
(...)us Q.f.Arn. (...)nus	1.9

Tribunus laticlavius

M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa	2.1
L. Aemilius Naso Fabullinus	2.2
M. Caelius Flavius Proculus	2.3
An.Satrius Sal[...]	2.4
<i>ignotus</i>	2.5

Praefectus castrorum

M.Aurelius Alexander	4.1
M.Pompeius Asper	4.2
<i>ignotus</i>	4.3
<i>ignotus</i>	4.4

Tribunus militum

M. Antonius Modianus	3.1
M. Aurelius Syrio	3.2
C. Baebius	3.3
C. Calcinius Tertianus	3.4
Ti. Claudius Balbillus	3.5
... Crescens	3.6
L. Domitius Severus	3.7
Flavius Longus	3.8
T. Iunius Severus	3.9
... Marus	3.10
Q. Planus Felix	3.11
... Rufus	3.12
C. Sempronius Fidus	3.13
Sex.Vagirius Martianus	3.14
<i>ignotus</i>	3.15

Medicus (castrorum?)

Antiochus	8.1
Hermogenes	8.3

Primus pilus

Sex.Flavius Quietus	5.1
P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis	5.2
Serenus	5.3

C. Sulgius Caecilianus	5.4
------------------------	-----

Princeps

L. Elufrius Praesens	6.24
Logus	6.44
Maximus	6.95

Princeps prior

unidentified	6.79
--------------	------

Hastatus prior

Sal.Frebranus Baculus	6.32
-----------------------	------

Centurio

Abucinus	6.1
P. Aelius Bassus	6.2
P. Aelius Romanus	6.3
Aelius Vibius	6.4
Q. Albius Felix	6.5
Arab[...]	6.6
C. Arrius Domitianus	6.7
Atilius Maior	6.8
Attius Celer	6.9
Audacius Romanus	6.10
Aurelianus	6.11
M. Aurelius Nepos	6.12
Blandius Latinus	6.13
Burricus	6.14
Caecilius Monimus	6.82
Caecilius Proculus	6.115*
Caledonius Secundus	6.83
Calvius Priscus	6.15
Candidius Pistor	6.16
C(a)esonius	6.17
Claudius Augustanus	6.18
Ti. Claudius Fatalis	6.19
Ti. Claudius Vitalis	6.20
Cocceius Regulus	6.84
Cornelius C...	6.21
Cornelius Crescens	6.22
Cornelius Severus	6.117*
T. Domitius Vindex	6.23
M. Favonius Facilis	6.25
Ferronius Vegetus	6.26
Flavius Betto	6.27
T. Flavius Cicatricula	6.28
Flavius Crescens	6.85
Flavius Noricus	6.29
T. Flavius Pro(culus)	6.30
T. Flavius Virilis	6.31
Gellius Philippus	6.86
Hortensius Proculus	6.33
Iulius Aq(uila)	6.34
Iulius Candidus	6.87

Iulius Florentinus	6.35	Valerius Maximus	6.108
Iulius Ianalis	6.88	L. Valerius Proculus	6.70
C. Iulius Lepidus	6.36	Valerius Rufinus	6.109
C. Iulius Maritimus	6.37	Valerius Sabinus	6.110
Iulius Peculiaris	6.38	Valerius Verus	6.111
Iulius Sedatus	6.39	Varenius Proculeianus	6.71
Iulius Valens	6.89	Varius Quintus Gaianus	6.72
Iustus Super	6.40	Vers(inius?)	6.73
Laetianus	6.90	Vesuvius Rufus	6.112
Lepidus	6.91	Vettius Proculus	6.74
Liberalis	6.92	Victorinus	6.113
Libo	6.98	[...]elius A[q]uilinus	6.75
M. Liburnius Fronto	6.41	[...]ns	6.76
C. Ligustinius Disertus	6.42	<i>ignotus</i>	6.77
Livius Saturninus	6.43	<i>ignotus</i>	6.78
Lousius Suavis	6.93	<i>ignotus</i>	6.79
Lucilius Ingenuus	6.45	<i>ignotus</i>	6.73
Malius Crassus	6.46	<i>ignotus</i>	6.80
Marius Dexter	6.94	<i>ignotus</i>	6.81
Maximus	6.95		
Q. Maximius	6.47	Actarius	
L. Maximius Gaetulicus	6.48	C. Valerius Iustus	7.86
Max(...) Tern(...)	6.96		
Munatius Maximus	6.97	Armatura	
Naevius	6.49	Vers(inius?)	6.73
Nas(...) Bassus	6.116*		
L. Numerius Felix	6.50	Beneficiarius legati praetorii	
Ocratius Maximus	6.51	C. Mannius Secundus	7.58
Octavianus	6.52		
Olc(...) Libo	6.98	Beneficiarius legati legionis	
Oppius Proculus	6.53	Iulius Victor	7.50
Opsilius	6.99	Mommius Cattianus	7.65
Ostorianus	6.100	Titinius Felix	7.80
Petta Dida	6.101		
Pon(...) Magnus	6.102	Beneficiarius procuratoris? Augusti	
M. Porcius Iasuctan	6.54	Iulius Valerianus	7.48
Postumius	6.55		
Quint(...)	6.56	Beneficiarius tribuni	
Refidius	6.57	C. Iulius Marullinus	7.43
Regulus	6.84	L. Sper(atius) Ursulus	7.78
Romuleius Iustus	6.103		
Rufius Sabinus	6.58	Cornicularius	
Seccius	6.104	Mommius Cattianus	7.65
Senilis	6.105		
M. Septimius Magnus	6.59	Eques	
Sextius Marcianus	6.60	Aurelius Lucius	7.13
Sextius Proculus	6.106	C. Iulius Severus	7.46
Socellus	6.107	Sextus Simil...	7.122*
Sui[llius]	6.61		
Terentius Magnus	6.62		
Q. Terentius N...	6.63		
M. Tillius Rufus	6.64		
Titianus	6.65		
Titinius Pines	6.118*		
Titius	6.66		
Titius	6.67		
M. Tuccius...	6.68		
Tullius Capito	6.69		
Ulpus Volusenus	6.114		

<i>Fabricsiensis</i>					
	Iulius Vitalis	7.51		Iulius Quintilianus	7.45
<i>Fruentarius</i>				Iulius Valens	7.47
L.	Aemilius Flaccus	7.4		Iulius Victor	7.49
T.	Aurelius Certus	7.11		L. Iunius Abenus	7.52
T.	Sempronius Pudens	7.75		Q. Iunius November	7.119*
<i>Imaginifer</i>				Q. Longinius Laetus	7.120*
	Aurelius Diogenes	7.12		C. Louesius Cadarus	7.55
<i>Optio</i>				Lucilius Sabinianus	7.56
	Aelius Claudianus	7.2		Macrinus	7.57
	Caecilius Avitus	7.16		C. Marius	7.59
	Mommius Cattianus	7.65		Q. Memonius Exoratus	7.60
	unidentified	7.108		Messor	7.61
<i>Magister ballistariorum</i>				L. Mu(...) P(...)	7.66
	Aelius Optatus	7.3		Ocellio	7.67
<i>Miles</i>				L. Plinius	7.68
P.	Aelius...	7.1		Q. Postumius Solus	7.69
	Annius Cesti[anus?]	7.6		C. Publilius Mi[nicianus?]	7.70
L.	Antestius Sabinus	7.113*		Rusius Mo...	7.71
L.	Antonius Quadratus	7.9		P. Rustius Crescens	7.72
M.	Apronius ...ecius	7.10		Sat]urni[nus	7.73
C.	Attius Rufinus	7.114*		Setinus	7.76
C.	Axonius	7.15		M. Sextius Bellicus	7.77
Q.	Axonius?	7.15		Sextus	7.121*
	Caecilius Donatus	7.17		Sex.Simil...	7.122*
L.	Caiatius Sextinus	7.18		M. Sulpicius	7.79
L.	Camulius Albanus	7.115*		M. Ulpius Ianuarius	7.97
	Cassius Secundus	7.21		C. Valerius...	7.81
Q.	Cassius Secundus	7.22		C. Valerius C.f.Cl.	7.82
C.	Cestius Teurnicus	7.23		L. Valerius	7.89
M.	Cluvius Valentius	7.24		M. Valerius Cotta	7.84
	Cocceius Verus	7.25		C. Valerius Iullus	7.85
	Condrau{si}suis	7.26		M. Valerius Latinus	7.87
Q.	Cornelius	7.27		M. Valerius Martialis	7.123*
Q.	Cornelius Q.f.	7.116*		L. Valerius Pud[ens	7.88
Q.	Cornelius Q.f.Ani.	7.117*		L. Vanius	7.90
L.	Cornelius Macer	7.29		C. Varronius ..essus	7.91
Q.	Domitius Optatus	7.118*		C. Velitius	7.92
Q.	E(...) F(...)	7.31		Q. Vetuleius	7.93
T.	Flavius Titullus	7.33		Q. Vibius Secundus	7.94
	Florianus	7.35		Victor	7.95
	Frontinius Aquilo	7.36		Q. V(...) R(...)	7.98
	Furius Maximus	7.38		M. V(...) Sp(...)	7.96
M.	Gargilius Secundus	7.39		<i>ignotus</i>	7.101
C.	Geminus Mansuetus	7.40		<i>ignotus</i>	7.103
	Iulius Candidus	7.42		<i>Pequarius</i>	
C.	Iulius Quartus	7.44		C. Deccius	7.30
				<i>Seplasiarius</i>	
				Albanus	7.112*
				<i>Signifer</i>	
				L. Antonius Quadratus	7.9
				Aurelius Valetinus	7.14
				D. Capienius Urbicus	7.19

T. Flavius Valerianus	7.34
<i>ignotus</i>	7.102

Speculator?

M(...) V(...)	7.96
---------------	------

Veteranus

C. Allius	7.5
Annius Felix	7.7
T. Carsius Certinus	7.20
L. Cornelius Cinna	7.28
L. Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis	7.32
T. Fuficius	7.37
L. Hermelius	7.41
C. Licinius ...	7.53
L. Licinius Valens	7.54
Q. Memonius Exoratus	7.60
C. Mestrius	7.62
L. Metilius	7.64
T. Saufeius ...	7.74
L. Valerius Aurelius	7.83
anonymous	7.111

Emeritus

Antigonus	7.8
-----------	-----

missus honesta missione

Cassius Secundus	7.21
------------------	------

Uncertain

Aconius	7.99
P. Mestrius	7.63
T. Vet[...]	8.6
<i>ignotus</i>	7.100
<i>ignotus</i>	7.104
<i>ignotus</i>	7.105
<i>ignotus</i>	7.106
<i>ignotus</i>	7.107
<i>ignotus</i>	7.108
<i>ignotus</i>	7.109
<i>ignotus</i>	7.110

Index 7: Cohorts (*legio xx*)

Coh I	6.85
	6.87 ²
	6.51
	6.98 ⁴
	6.99
	6.110
	6.116* ³
	7.65
Coh II	6.8
	6.90 ²
	6.49
	6.102
Coh III	6.18 ²
	6.26 ³
	6.95
	6.96
	6.105
	6.107 ³
Coh IV	6.41
Coh V	6.86
	6.89
	6.95
	6.100
	6.106
	6.108
	6.109
	6.115* ³
Coh VI	6.83 ³
	6.86
	6.91
	6.92 ²
	6.93 ⁵
	6.69
Coh VII	-
Coh VIII	6.53
	6.104 ²
	6.111
Coh IX	6.29
	7.76
Coh X	6.29 ²
	6.35
	6.97
	6.66
	6.112
	6.79

multiple occurrences are indicated by
superscript numerals

Index 8: Dedications

<i>Aesculapio</i>	1.4	<i>Πανακεΐ</i>	8.1
<i>Ἄσκληπιόν ἠπιόχειρα</i>	8.1	<i>numinibus Aug(ustorum)</i>	6.41
<i>deae Nemesi</i>	6.60	<i>numinib(us) Augustor(um)</i>	6.4
<i>deo Apollini</i>	6.48	<i>Pantheae Sanctissimae</i>	6.48
<i>deo Antenocitico</i>	6.4	<i>pro Salute Domini Nostri</i>	6.54
<i>deo Herculi</i>	3.10	<i>pro Salute Dominorum Nostrorum</i>	3.8
<i>deo Silvano</i>	7.78, 6.7	<i>pro Salute Imperatoris</i>	6.48
<i>Dianae Reginae</i>	6.7	<i>Saluti</i>	1.4
<i>dis Manibus</i> 2.3, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.3, 6.12, 6.21, 6.31, 6.37, 6.52, 6.55, 6.70, 7.1, 7.3, 7.4, 7.6, 7.7, 7.10, 7.11, 7.12, 7.13, 7.14, 7.16, 7.17, 7.19, 7.20, 7.21, 7.23, 7.24, 7.27, 7.32, 7.38, 7.43, 7.46, 7.48, 7.53, 7.54, 7.60, 7.72, 7.75, 7.77, 7.80, 7.81, 7.82, 7.87, 7.88, 7.94, 7.97, 7.102, 7.104		<i>[Θεοῖς σωτῆ] ἡρσιν ὑπερμενέσιν</i>	8.3
<i>dis Manibus Sacrum</i>	6.2, 6.72, 7.50, 7.65	<i>Victoriae</i>	3.2, 6.27
<i>dis Mauris</i>	6.54	<i>Victoriae Augustae</i>	6.48
<i>Fortunae</i>	6.10		
<i>Fortunae Reduci</i>	1.4		
<i>genio (centuriae)</i>	6.11, 7.45		
<i>genio sancto centurie</i>	7.2		
<i>genio legionis</i>	8.6		
<i>genio loci</i>	3.8		
<i>genio signif(eratorum)</i>	7.34		
<i>honori Aquilae</i>	6.64		
<i>Ἵγεί</i>	8.1		
<i>Iovi Optimo Maximo</i>	3.2, 3.4, 6.7, 6.118*		
<i>Iovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno</i>	6.48		
<i>Iovi Optimo Maximo Tanaro</i>	6.24		
<i>Iunoni Reginae</i>	3.2		
<i>Marti Halamardo</i>	6.23		
<i>Marti Patri</i>	3.2		
<i>matribus Alateruis</i>	6.73		
<i>matribus campestribus</i>	6.73		
<i>Minervae Augustae</i>	3.2		

Index 9: Units other than *legio XX*

<i>legio I Adiutrix</i>	6.36, 6.68, 6.78
<i>legio I Italica</i>	6.3, 6.13, 6.20, 6.48, 6.68, 6.70
<i>legio I Minervia</i>	6.20, 6.59
<i>legio I Parthica</i>	5.4
<i>legio II Augusta</i>	6.10, 6.13, 6.19, 6.31, 6.37, 6.41, 6.77, 7.91, 8.2
<i>legio III Augusta</i>	5.4, 6.3, 6.31, 6.37, 6.68, 6.76, 6.78
<i>legio III Italica</i>	6.50
<i>legio III Cyrenaica</i>	4.2, 5.4, 6.50
<i>legio III Gallica</i>	3.13, 6.59
<i>legio III Parthica</i>	6.31
<i>legio IIII Scythica</i>	3.13, 4.3, 6.42, 6.59
<i>legio V Macedonica</i>	6.20, 6.70, 6.77
<i>legio VI Ferrata</i>	3.13
<i>legio VI Victrix</i>	6.2, 6.10, 6.31, 6.37
<i>legio VII Claudia</i>	5.2, 6.3, 6.20
<i>legio VII Gemina</i>	4.3, 5.4, 6.36, 6.50
<i>legio VIII Augusta</i>	1.6, 1.8, 6.77
<i>legio IX Hispana</i>	6.13, 6.70, 6.20
<i>legio X Fretensis</i>	6.19, 6.102, 6.59, 6.112
<i>legio X Gemina</i>	4.3, 6.36
<i>legio XI Claudia</i>	4.3, 6.19, 6.68, 6.70
<i>legio XII Fulminata</i>	6.19
<i>legio XIII Gemina</i>	5.4, 6.36
<i>legio XIV Gemina</i>	3.12, 4.3, 6.19

<i>legio XV Appollinaris</i>	4.2
<i>legio XVI Flavia</i>	2.1
<i>legio XVI Flavia Firma</i>	5.4
<i>legio XXII Deiotariana</i>	4.4
<i>legio XXII Primigenia</i>	6.50, 6.64
<i>coh III Praetoria</i>	4.2
<i>coh IIII Praetoria</i>	6.64
<i>coh I Vigilum</i>	6.64
<i>coh XII Urbana</i>	6.64
<i>coh Campana</i>	3.7
<i>coh I Commagenorum</i>	3.1
<i>coh II Tungrorum</i>	6.73
<i>coh III Bracaraugustanorum</i>	6.68
<i>coh IIII Dalmatarum</i>	3.9
<i>coh VI Nerviorum</i>	6.27
<i>ala Aureana Hispanorum I</i>	3.7
<i>classis Britannica</i>	5.1
<i>classis Misenensis</i>	5.4
<i>classis (Ravenna)</i>	5.1

Index 10: Posts held in units other than *legio XX*

- beneficiarius legati* 6.70
beneficiarius praefecti praetori 6.42
- centurio* 4.2, 4.3, 5.4, 6.3, 6.10, 6.13, 6.19, 6.20, 6.31, 6.36, 6.37, 6.42, 6.50, 6.59, 6.68, 6.70, 6.76, 6.77, 6.78
 secundus princeps posterior 6.20
 tertius hastatus 6.19
 nonus hastatus posterior 6.31
- centurio cohortis* 4.2, 6.64, 6.68
- cornicularius praefecti praetori* 6.5
- exercitator militum frumentariorum* 5.4
- evocatus Augusti* 6.42, 6.64
- miles* 6.70
miles praetorius 6.21
- navarchus* 5.4
- optio ad spem ordinis* 6.70
optio peregrinorum 5.4
- praefectus alae* 3.7
praefectus classis 5.1, 5.2
praefectus cohortis 3.1, 3.7, 3.9, 3.12
praefectus legionis 5.4
praefectus orae maritimae 3.3
- praepositus reliquationi classis* 5.4
- primus pilus* 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 6.36, 6.48, 6.64
- princeps castrorum* 6.64
- trecenarius* 6.64, 6.72
- tribunus laticlavus* 1.8, 2.1
tribunus legionis 3.12
tribunus militum 1.6, 3.13, 5.2

Index 11: Dedicators, heirs etc.

C. Acilius M...	7.73	Groma h.	7.72
soldier?		probably freed(wo)man	
M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa f.	2.1	Iulia Iuliana m.	7.48
Aelia m.?	7.1	Iulia Similina con. et h.	7.80
Aelius Candidus	7.53	Iulia Thegu... s.	7.50
soldier?		Iulius...	7.83
Aelius Lucanus	7.91	soldier?	
cornicen? leg II Aug		Iulius Liberalis	7.119*
P. Aelius Seneca fr.?	7.1	Iulius Severus h.	7.11
Aelius Surinus	6.2	frumentarius?	
> leg VI vic		Lollia Bodicca con. et h.	6.31
P. Aelius Themes p.?	7.1	Longinus f.	3.8
Agathopus l. et h.	6.36	Mamilia Prisca (ux.)	6.50
Allia Mete l.	7.5	Sex. Marcianus h.	7.64
C. Allius Priscus f.	7.5	soldier?	
C. Allius Vitalis f.	7.5	Novicius l.	6.25
M. Antonius Carpophorus l. et h.	3.1	Optatus f. et h.	7.3
M. Antonius Carpophorus h.	3.1	Petronia Tertia ux.	3.4
M. Antonius Modianus h.	3.1	Polycarpus l. et h.	6.36
Aristio l. et h.	6.77	M. Pompeius Asper f.	4.2
Atimetus l.	4.2	M. Pompeius Asper f. minor	4.2
Avillia Soteris m.	6.5	Prima con.	7.28
Aurelius Sempronius h.	7.11	Prisca ux.	7.3
frumentarius?		Privatus	6.2
Q. Axonius fr.	7.15	Pupius Vernianus h.	7.75
soldier?		frumentarius?	
Caesia Senilla	1.6	Quintius Paulinus l. et h.	6.72
amico optimo		Romana f.	6.3
Carsia Titia f.	7.20	Rufus fr.	7.3
Cincia Saturnina ux.	4.2	Rusius Mo[...] (h.)	7.44
Claudia Ionice l. et h.	6.19	Salvienna Metiliana con.	6.37
Cocceia Irene coniunx	7.86	Salvienus Trophimus l.	6.37
Cornelius Euprepes l.	6.21	M. Sappinus	3.3
Cornelius Niceforus l.	6.21	C. Saufeius f.	7.74
L. Cornelius Primus f.	7.29	Secundus l.	7.68
T. Cutius...	3.12	L. Sempronius Enipeus	3.9
Cutius Euplu	7.75	amico optimo	
minist. Spec.		Secunda ux.	7.110
Esdronia Cangina ux.	7.62	L. Septimius Marcellus fr.	6.59
Eutyches l.	6.42	Sulgia con.?	5.4
Faustus l.	7.59	Sulgius Aper p.?	5.4
L. Festinius Probus f.	7.inc	C. Tiberinus h.	7.8
Flavius Attius h.	7.47	soldier?	
soldier?		Trophimus l. et h.	6.36
T. Flavius Faustus l.	7.33	Tubero f.	6.3
Flavius Quietus f.	5.1	M. Tuccius Proculus f.	6.68
Flavius Victor f. et h.	6.31	M. Tuccius Urbicus f.	6.68
Flavius Victorinus f. et h.	6.31	Tullia Secunda ux.	7.74
Flavius Vindex f.	5.1	Valen...	7.60
Frontinius Aquilo h.	7.55	Valeria Ingenua con.	6.3
Gaiani?	6.72	Valeria Ingenua con.	6.72
Galla l.	3.3	Valerius Paternus	7.75
M. Gargilius fr.	7.39	speculator exerc. Brit.	
Garinia Emerita con.	7.14	Varinia Crispinilla con.	5.1
Germanus l.	7.3	Verecundus l.	6.25
Gratina ux.	3.6	Victor fr.	7.3
		Vitalis fr.	7.3

Pater					
P. Aelius Themes <i>p.</i> ?	7.1		Sulgia <i>con.</i> ?	5.4	
Sulgius Aper <i>p.</i> ?	5.4		Tullia Secunda <i>ux.</i>	7.74	
Mater			Valeria Ingenua <i>con.</i>	6.3	
Aelia <i>m.</i> ?	7.1		Valeria Ingenua <i>con.</i>	6.72	
Avillia Soteris <i>m.</i>	6.5		Varinia Crispinilla <i>con.</i>	5.1	
Iulia Iuliana <i>m.</i>	7.48		<i>ignota</i>	6.12	
Frater			Alumnus		
P. Aelius Seneca <i>fr.</i> ?	7.1		M. Antonius Carpophorus <i>h.</i>	3.1	
Q. Axonius <i>fr.</i>	7.15		M. Antonius Modianus <i>h.</i>	3.1	
M. Gargilius <i>fr.</i>	7.39		Liberti		
Rufus <i>fr.</i>	7.3		Agathopus <i>l. et h.</i>	6.36	
L. Septimius Marcellus <i>fr.</i>	6.59		Allia Mete <i>l.</i>	7.5	
Victor <i>fr.</i>	7.3		M. Antonius Carpophorus <i>l. et h.</i>	3.1	
Vitalis <i>fr.</i>	7.3		Aristio <i>l. et h.</i>	6.77	
Soror			Atimetus <i>l.</i>	4.2	
Iulia Thegu... <i>s.</i>	7.50		Claudia Ionice <i>l. et h.</i>	6.19	
Filia			Cornelius Euprepes <i>l.</i>	6.21	
Carsia Titia <i>f.</i>	7.20		Cornelius Niceforus <i>l.</i>	6.21	
Romana <i>f.</i>	6.3		Eutyches <i>l.</i>	6.42	
Filius			Faustus <i>l.</i>	7.59	
M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa <i>f.</i>	2.1		T. Flavius Faustus <i>l.</i>	7.33	
C. Allius Priscus <i>f.</i>	7.5		Galla <i>l.</i>	3.3	
C. Allius Vitalis <i>f.</i>	7.5		Germanus <i>l.</i>	7.3	
L. Cornelius Primus <i>f.</i>	7.29		Novicius <i>l.</i>	6.25	
L. Festinius Probus <i>f.</i>	7. <i>inc</i>		Polycarpus <i>l. et h.</i>	6.36	
Flavius Quietus <i>f.</i>	5.1		Quintius Paulinus <i>l. et h.</i>	6.72	
Flavius Victor <i>f. et h.</i>	6.31		Salvienus Trophimus <i>l.</i>	6.37	
Flavius Victorinus <i>f. et h.</i>	6.31		Secundus <i>l.</i>	7.68	
Flavius Vindex <i>f.</i>	5.1		Trophimus <i>l. et h.</i>	6.36	
Longinus <i>f.</i>	3.8		Verecundus <i>l.</i>	6.25	
Optatus <i>f. et h.</i>	7.3		Heres		
M. Pompeius Asper <i>f.</i>	4.2		Aurelius Sempronius <i>h.</i>	7.11	
M. Pompeius Asper <i>f. minor</i>	4.2		Flavius Attius <i>h.</i>	7.47	
C. Saufeius <i>f.</i>	7.74		Frontinius Aquilo <i>h.</i>	7.55	
Tubero <i>f.</i>	6.3		Groma <i>h.</i>	7.72	
M. Tuccius Proculus <i>f.</i>	6.68		Iulius Severus <i>h.</i>	7.11	
M. Tuccius Urbicus <i>f.</i>	6.68		Sex. Marcianus <i>h.</i>	7.64	
Uxor, coniunx			Pupius Vernianus <i>h.</i>	7.75	
Cincia Saturnina <i>ux.</i>	4.2		Rusius Mo... (<i>h.</i>)	7.71	
Cocceia Irene <i>con.</i>	7.86		C. Tiberinus <i>h.</i>	7.8	
Esdronia Cangina <i>ux.</i>	7.62		Amici		
Garinia Emerita <i>con.</i>	7.14		Caesia Senilla	1.6	
Gratina <i>ux.</i>	3.6		L. Sempronius Enipeus	3.9	
Iulia Similina <i>con. et h.</i>	7.80				
Lollia Bodicca <i>con. et h.</i>	6.31				
Mamilia Prisca	6.50				
Petronia Tertia <i>ux.</i>	3.4				
Prima <i>con.</i>	7.28				
Prisca <i>ux.</i>	7.3				
Salvienna Metiliana <i>con.</i>	6.37				
Secunda <i>ux.</i>	7.110				

Index 12: Findspots

Acqualagna	6.42	Iader	6.75, 7.25, 7.49, 7.57, 7.121*
Aquileia	7.89, 7.93	Isona	7.5
Aradus	6.59	Jerusalem	6.36
Arles	7.14, 7.20	Köln	6.19
Atina	6.64	Ksar el Birsgaun	7.30, 7.64
Bath	7.8, 7.51, 7.87	Lambaesis	7.50
Bedaium	6.21		6.3, 6.31, 6.37, 6.54, 6.68
Beneventum	7.33, 7.59	Lanchester	6.53
Benwell	3.10, 6.4, 6.41, 6.80	Leicester	6.34
Brixia	7.9	London	7.47, 7.73
Burnum	6.32	Lugdunum	3.14, 7.96
Cagliari	3.12	Mainz	6.64
Callenses	1.6	Minturnae	3.11
Capena	2.3	Neuss	6.67, 7.79, 7.99
Carlisle	3.2, 6.15, 6.74, 7.22, 7.40, 7.112*	New Kilpatrick	6.56
Carvoran	6.10, 6.18, 6.29, 7.85	Newstead	6.7, 6.48, 7.109
Castelmadama	7.65	Nicaea	1.5
Celeia	3.4	Nimes	7.48
Chester	1.4, 3.8, 4.1, 4.4, 6.1, 6.8, 6.9, 6.11, 6.12, 6.14, 6.16, 6.18, 6.24, 6.26, 6.28, 6.30, 6.39, 6.44, 6.45, 6.46, 6.47, 6.49, 6.51, 6.55, 6.57, 6.60, 6.63, 6.65, 6.77, 6.117*, 7.2, 7.6, 7.7, 7.10, 7.12, 7.13, 7.16, 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.21, 7.23, 7.24, 7.27, 7.32, 7.34, 7.35, 7.38, 7.42, 7.43, 7.44, 7.45, 7.46, 7.52, 7.53, 7.54, 7.55, 7.56, 7.66, 7.67, 7.69, 7.70, 7.71, 7.72, 7.76, 7.77, 7.80, 7.81, 7.82, 7.86, 7.88, 7.90, 7.94, 7.95, 7.97, 7.102, 7.103, 7.100, 7.104, 7.106, 7.108, 7.113*, 7.114*, 7.115*, 7.116*, 7.117*, 7.118*, 7.119*, 7.120*, 7.122*, 7.123*, 8.1, 8.3, 8.6	Noricum	7.84
Chesters	6.115*, 6.116*	Novae	6.48
Colchester	6.25, 6.40, 6.78	Novara	7.3
Corbridge	6.69, 7.98	Nymwegen	7.28
Cramond	6.73	Oescus	7.68
Danium	3.9	Oriculum	2.2
Dorfe Nedan	6.70	Parma	4.3
El-Kantara	6.76	Patavium	7.74
Elvas	7.15	Ravenna	7.60
Ephesus	3.5	Ribchester	6.66
Falerii	6.5	Roermond	6.23
Fidenae	2.5	Rome	2.2, 3.1, 3.15 5.1, 6.20, 6.72, 7.4, 7.11, 7.75
Forum Livi	3.3	Rough Castle	6.27
Geneva	6.13	Rusellae	1.9
Gloucester	6.22, 6.43, 7.83	Salona	7.37
Godmanstone	6.118*	Salpensa	1.6
Great Chesters	6.48	Sarmizegetusa	1.7, 7.1
Grottaferrata	4.2	Suasa	2.4
Halton Chesters	6.33	Tarraco	3.13, 6.50
Hispalis	2.1	Treviso	7.39
Holt	6.6, 6.17, 6.44, 6.53, 6.61, 6.71,	Trieste	5.2, 7.92, 7.111
		<i>Trumplia</i>	7.62
		Tukaber	5.4
		Turgalium	7.110
		Usk	7.61
		Vallecchia	7.22
		Verona	3.7
		Vevey	7.78
		Vienne	3.6
		Villamejia	7.41
		Vindolanda	7.31
		Volturnum	1.8
		Watercrook	6.2
		Wroxeter	7.58

Hadrian's Wall 5.3, 6.82, 6.83, 6.18, 6.84,
6.26, 6.85, 6.29, 6.86, 6.87, 6.35, 6.88, 6.38,
6.89, 6.90, 6.91, 6.92, 6.41, 6.93, 6.94, 6.95,
6.96, 6.97, 6.98, 6.99, 6.100, 6.101, 6.102,
6.103, 6.53, 6.104, 6.105, 6.106, 6.107, 6.62,
6.108, 6.109, 6.110, 6.111, 6.112, 6.113,
6.114, 6.79, 6.115*, 6.116*, 7.26, 7.91

Index 13: Places

Aelia Capitolina	Jerusalem ISR	Forum Livii	Forli ITL
Aesica	Great Chesters UKG	Forum Novum	Fornovo Taro ITL
Alavana	Watercreek UKG	Geneva	Geneva SWI
Altinum	Quarto di Altino ITL	Gholaia	Bu Njem LBY
Ancyra	Ankara TKY	Glevum	Gloucester UKG
Apulum	Alba Julia ROM	Heliopolis	Ba'albek LEB
Aquae Sulis	Bath UKG	Hispalis	Seville SPN
Aquileia	Aquileia ITL	Iader	Zadar CRO
Aquinum	Aquino ITL	Iessos	Guissona SPN
Ara Ubiorum	Köln GER	-	Ksar el Birsgaun ALG
	<i>colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium</i>	Lambaesis	Lambèse ALG
Arados	Rouad SYR	Legio	León SPN
Arelate	Arles FRA	Londinium	London UKG
Argentorate	Strasbourg FRA	Longovicium	Lanchester UKG
Atina	Atina ITL	Luca	Lucca ITL
Augusta Taurinorum	Turin ITL	Lucus Augusti	Lugo SPN
Bedaium	Seebruck GER	Lugdunum	Lyon FRA
Beneventum	Benevento ITL	Luguvalium	Carlisle UKG
Berytus	Beirut LEB	Magnis	Carvoran UKG
Bonna	Bonn GER	Minturnae	Minturno ITL
Bononia	Bologna ITL	Misenum	Miseno ITL
Bovium	Holt UKG	Mogontiacum	Mainz GER
Bremetenacum	Ribchester UKG	Mursa	Osijek CRO
Brigetio	Szőny HUN	Mutina	Modena ITL
Brixia	Brescia ITL	Nemausus	Nîmes FRA
Burnum	Ivoševci CRO	Nicaea	Iznik TKY
Burrium	Usk UKG	Nicopolis	Palaio-Preveza GRE
Calagurris	Calahorra SPN	Nisibis	Nusaybin SYR
[Calceus Herculis?]	El Kantara TUN	Novae	Svishtov BUL
Callenses	Cortijo de Moguejero SPN	Novaesium	Neuss GER
Camulodunum	Colchester UKG	Novaria	Novara ITL
Capena	Civitucola ITL	Noviodunum	Nyon FRA
Carales	Cagliari ITL		<i>colonia Julia Equestris</i>
Carnuntum	Petronell AUS	Noviomagus	Nijmegen NET
Carthago Nova	Cartagena SPN	Ocriculum	Otricoli ITL
-	Castelmadama ITL	Oea	Tripoli LBY
Celeia	Celje SVN	Oescus	Gigen BUL
Cemenelum	Cimiez FRA	Onnum	Halton Chesters UKG
Clunia	Peñalba de Castro SPN	Parma	Parma ITL
	<i>colonia Clunia Sulpicia</i>	Patavium	Padua ITL
Condercum	Benwell UKG	Peltuinum Vestinum	civita Ansidonia ITL
Corduba	Cordoba SPN	Pitinum Mergens	Pian di Valeria ITL
Corio	Corbridge UKG	Pollentia	Pollenzo ITL
Cremona	Cremona ITL	Raphanaea	Rafniye SYR
Ctesiphon	al-Ma'aridh IRQ	Ratae	Leicester UKG
Deva	Chester UKG	Ravenna	Ravenna ITL
Dianium	Denia SPN	Roma	Rome ITL
-	Dorfe Nedan BUL	Rusellae	Roselle ITL
Durostorum	Silistra BUL	Salaria	Úbeda la Vieja SPN
-	Elvas POR	Salona	Solin CRO
Emerita Augusta	Mérida SPN	Salpensa	Cortijo de la Coria SPN
Ephesus	Ephesus TKY	Samosata	Samsat TKY
Falerii	Civita Castellana ITL	Sarmizegetusa	Sarmizegetusa ROM
Fidenae	Borgata Fidene ITL	Singara	Balad Sinjar IRQ
Firmum Picenum	Fermo ITL	Suasa	nr Castelleone di Suasa ITL
Forum Druentinum	- ITL	Tarraco	Tarragona SPN
<i>colonia Forum Iulii</i>	Fréjus FRA	Tarvisium	Treviso ITL
		Tergeste	Trieste ITL
		Teurnia	St Peter in Holz AUS

Theveste	Tébessa	ALG
Tibur	Tivoli	ITL
Ticinum	Pavia	ITL
Tilurium	Gardun	BOS
Trimontium	Newstead	UKG
<i>Trumplini</i>	in Valle Trompia	ITL
Tuccabor	Toukabeur	TUN
Tusculum	Tuscolo	ITL
Turgalium	Trujillo	SPN
Vercellae	Vercelli	ITL
Vercovicium	Housesteads	UKG
Verona	Verona	ITL
Vienna	Vienne	FRA
Viminacium	Kostolac	YUG
Vindobona	Vienna	AUS
Vindolanda	Chesterholm	UKG
Viroconium	Wroxeter	UKG
Virunum	Zollfeld	AUS
Visisco	Vevey	SWI
Ulpia Nicopolis		
(Nicopolis ad Istrum)	Nikiup	BUL
Ulpia Nicopolis		
(Nicopolis ad Nestum)	Gârmén	BUL
<i>colonia</i> Ulpia Traiana	Xanten	GER
Volturnum	Castel Volturno	ITL
Zeugma	Kavunlu (Belkis)	TKY

Primary sources:		20 (1989) 331 no. 5	3.2
		22 (1991) 299 no. 24	7.112*
		23 (1992) 146	6.15, 6.74
Literary			7.22, 7.40
		32 (2001) 392 no. 18	3.10
Tacitus <i>Agricola</i> 7.5-9.1	1.3		
Tacitus <i>Annales</i> 12.40	1.1		
Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 1.60	1.2		
Dio 55.23			
Ant. Itiner. 469 ₂			
Velleius 2.112			
Ptolemy Geography II.3.11			
		CIL	
		II 22*	7.15
		II 662	7.41
		II 719	7.110
		II 1262	2.1
		II 1283	1.6
		II 1371	1.6
		II 3583	3.9
		II 4162	6.50
		II 4245	3.13
		II 4463	6.36
		III 186 + add	6.59
		III 1458	1.7
		III 1472	7.1
		III 2030	7.37
		III 2836	6.32
		III 2911	7.5
		III 5184	3.4
		III 5577	6.21
		III 7452	7.68
		III 11746	7.84
		III 12411	6.70
		V 533	5.2
		V 939	7.89
		V 948	7.93
		V 2838	7.74
		V 4365	7.9
		V 4923	7.62
		V 6632	7.3
		VI 2060 = 32364	1.2
		VI 2083	1.5
		VI 3357	7.4, 7.75
		VI 3358	7.75
		VI 3359	7.75
		VI 3492	
		VI 3504	3.1
		VI 3584	6.20
		VI 3663	3.15
		VI 3916 = 32872	7.11
		VI 29683	2.2
		VI 29684 = XI 4083	2.2
		VI 32364 = 2060	1.2
		VI 32872 = 3916	7.11
		VI 32902c	
		VI 33033	6.72
		VIII 1322 = 14854	5.4
		VIII 2080 = 27966	7.50
		VIII 2638	6.54
		VIII 2786	6.3
		VIII 2877	6.31
		VIII 2907	6.37
		VIII 3005	6.68
		VIII 14854 = 1322	5.4
Epigraphic			
<i>L'Année Epigraphique</i>			
1924.78	3.5		
1934.146	1.6		
1935.25	3.11		
1939.157 = <i>QDAP</i> 8, 1938:54	6.19		
1950.251	1.5		
1951.194	7.65		
1954.160	7.39		
1960.28	5.1		
1965.215	4.4		
1966.124	3.7		
1977.334	7.92		
1980.445	1.9		
1985.735	6.48		
1988.396	7.59		
1991.658			
= <i>Epigr. liii</i> (1991) 259, 4	7.29		
1998.454	1.9		
<i>BCTH</i>			
1930-31 (1934) 381.7	6.76		
<i>Britannia</i>			
1 (1970) 309 no. 19			
4 (1973) 329 no. 8	6.86		
4 (1973) 329 no. 9	6.116*		
8 (1977) 432 no. 27	6.84		
8 (1977) 432 no. 28	6.88		
8, (1977) 433 no. 32	6.56		
12 (1981) 380 no. 14			
12 (1981) 380 no. 17	6.109		
12 (1981) 380 no. 18	6.93		
12 (1981) 395 no. 106			
14 (1983) 347 no. 39			
15 (1984) 333 no. 1	7.83		
16 (1985) 317 no. 1	7. <i>inc</i>		
17 (1986) 429 no. 3	6.22		
17 (1986) 437 no. 11			
17 (1986) 440 no. 29			
18 (1987) 369 no. 11	6.86		
19 (1988) 492 no. 11			
20 (1989) 331 no. 4			

VIII 27966 = 2080	7.50	2666b = III 12411	6.70
IX 1608	7.33	2667 = X 5064	6.64
X 3722	1.8	2672 = XI 623	3.3
X 5064	6.64	2702 = V 533	5.2
X 5059		2764 = VIII 1322	5.4
X 7587	3.12	4561 = XIII 8707	6.23
XI 623	3.3	7025 = XIII 1900	3.14
XI 1059	4.3	9200	8.5
XI 3108	6.5	9293 = VIII 2638	6.54
XI 3883	2.3		
XI 4083 = VI 29684	2.2	<i>Inscr. Aq.</i>	
XI 5960	6.42	2800	7.89
XI 6165	2.4	2801	7.93
XI 6734	7.60		
XII 164	7.78	<i>Inscr. It.</i>	
XII 678	7.14	X 4.32	5.2
XII 679	7.20	X 4.50	7.111
XII 1868	3.6	X 4.397	5.2
XII 2601	6.13	X 5.154	7.9
XII 3182	7.48	X 5.1148	7.62
XIII 1900	3.14		
XIII 2612b (= RIB 2404.72b)		<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>	
XIII 6780		49 (1959) 135 no. 4	6.97
XIII 8287	7.30	50 (1960) 237 no. 11a	6.29
XIII 8288	7.64	50 (1960) 237 no. 11b	6.83
XIII 8553	7.79	51 (1961) 194 no. 11a	6.98
XIII 8554	6.67	51 (1961) 194 no. 11c	6.96
XIII 8555	7.99	51 (1961) 194 no. 11d	6. inc
XIII 8707	6.23	51 (1961) 194 no. 11e	6.94
XIII 8737	7.28	51 (1961) 194 no. 11f	6.111
XIII 10029.47		51 (1961) 194 no. 11g	6.90
XIII 10029.48	7.96	52 (1962) 194 no. 19a	6.114
XIV 2523	4.2	52 (1962) 194 no. 19b	6.83
XIV 3602	8.4	52 (1962) 194 no. 19c	6.95
XIV 4059	2.5	52 (1962) 194 no. 20	5.3
XV 7164	8.2	53 (1963) 161 no. 8c	6.101
		54 (1964) 178 no. 5a	6.98
<i>IGLNovae</i>		54 (1964) 178 no. 5b	6.110
46	6.48	54 (1964) 178 no. 5c	6.107
		55 (1965) 221 no. 5	4.4
<i>ILLPRON</i>		57 (1967) 203 no. 5	6.60
1257	7.84	57 (1967) 206 no. 18	6. inc
1539	6.21	57 (1967) 206 no. 19	6.89
1645	3.4	58 (1968) 208 no. 9	6.57
		58 (1968) 208 no. 11	6.14
<i>ILS</i>		59 (1969) 235 no. 3	8.1
930 = X 5059			
950 = XIV 3602	8.4	<i>RIB</i>	
1402 = X 7587	3.12	13	7.47
2270 = III 7452	7.68	18 + add.	7.73
2271 = XIII 8553	7.79	122	6.43,
2288 = VI 3492		7.101	
2651 = III 2836	6.32	156 + add.	7.51
2653 = VIII 2877	6.31	158	7.87
2656 = VI 3584	6.20	160 + add.	7.8
2657 = III 186	6.59	200	6.25
2659 = VIII 2786	6.3	203	6.78
2662 = XIV 2523	4.2	293 + add.	7.58

439	6.17	529	7.116*
441	6.53	530	7.117*
445	1.4	531	7.118*
447 + add.	6.11, 7.45	532	7.43
448	7.2	533	7.119*
449	8.6	534	7.53
450	3.8	535	6.117*, 7.120*
451	7.34	536	7.70
452 + add. = ILS 4622	6.24	537	7.inc
460		538	7.122*
461	8.3	539	6.55, 7.81
467	6.51, 7.66	540	7.82
468	6.26	541	7.123*
469	6.1	542	7.88
470	6.1	543	7.inc
471	6.9	544	6.45,
472	6.28	7.108	
473	6.47	560	7.inc
474	6.63	588	6.81
489	7.6	592	
490	4.1	593	6.66
491	6.12	754 + add.	6.2
492	7.16	801	
493	7.18	852	
494	7.23	853	
495	7.32	854	
496	7.35	940	
497	7.38	995	
498	6.30, 7.44	998 + add.	7.91
499	7.46	999	
500 + add.	7.54	1005	7.26
501	7.36, 7.55	1014	6.38
502	7.69	1020	
503	7.72	1093	
504	7.77	1095	6.53
505	7.80	1125	
506	7.97	1130	
507 + add.	7.86	1149	
508	6.52, 7.94	1164	
509 + add.	6.77	1165	
510	7.102	1166	
511	7.103	1167	6.69
512	7.100	1204	
513	7.104	1284	
514	7.105	1322	
515	7.106	1327 = ILS 4714	6.4
516	7.107	1338	6.80
517	7.7	1385	
518	7.113*	1390	
519	7.10	1391	6.79
520	7.114*	1430	
521	7.12	1431	6.33
522	7.13	1473	6.116*
523	7.17	1475	6.115*
524	7.115*	1476	6.115*
525	7.19	1499	6.93
526	7.21	1501	6.116*
527	7.24	1506	6.93
528	7.26	1508	6.92

1510	5.3	1861	6.93
1570	6.115*	1862	6.84
1572	6.86	1867	6.26
1577	6.95	1956	
1632	6.87	2028	
1645		2035	
1646	6.87	2077 + add.	6.92, 6.62
1647	6.98	2078	
1652	6.84	2083	6.111
1657	6.82	2084	6.112
1659	6.53	2114	
1664	6.29	2119	
1668	6.86	2120	6.48
1669	6.95	2122	6.7
1670	6.103	2123	6.7
1671	6.113	2124	6.7
1674	6.87	2127	7.109
1675	6.107	2135 + add.	6.73
1676	6.100	2144	6.27
1677	6.35	2171	
1678	6.92	2173	
1679	6.83	2184	
1681	6.93	2197	
1682	6.108	2198	
1708		2199	
1725	6.48	2206	
1754	6.106	2208	
1755	6.105	2210	
1757	6.104	2404.72b	
1758	6.95	2409.3	6.75
1760	6.94	2409.4	6.18, 7.95
1761	6.111	2409.6	6.46, 7.57
1762	6.35	2409.9	6.71
1763	6.85	2409.20	6.8
1764	6.104	2410.1	6.16
1765	6.97	2410.6	6.8
1766	6.108	2410.7	6.65
1768	6.107	2410.8	7.76, 7.90
1769	6.26	2411.76-80	
1770	6.18	2411.77	7.98
1771	6.94	2411.79	6.34
1772	6.91	2427.15	7.42
1774	6.89	2427.28	8.2
1779	6.10	2427.16	7.52
1811	6.18	2428.4b	6.inc,
1812	6.29	7.inc	
1826 + add.	7.85	2437.1	7.121*
1845	6.102	2442.11	
1846	6.97	2449.4	6.6
1849	6.98	2449.8	6.49
1851	6.90	2458.2-8	
1853	6.111	2463.1-64	
1854	6.83	2463.59	
1855	6.18	2491.88	7.25
1856	6.99	2491.199	6.61
1857	6.98	2491.103, 104, 232 (i)*	
1858	6.112	2496.2	6.40
1859	6.93	2496.3	7.60
1860	6.84	2501.2	

2501.3	6.39, 7.67	Suplt	
2502.14	7.57	04 - T031	7.65
		10 - T008	7.92
		Numismatic	
RIT			
181	6.50	RIC	
306	3.13	5 (i) 96.364	
		5 (ii) 389.21	
		5 (ii) 470.82	
RSK		5 (ii) 470.83	
222	7.30	5 (ii) 488.275	
223			
224	7.64		

