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Britons abroad : the mobility of Britons and the circulation of British-made objects in the Roman Empire

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3 – British auxiliary and *numeri* units

This chapter aims to reconstruct the history and the ethnic composition of British auxiliary and *numeri* units in the Roman Imperial army. The chronological limits are AD 43 – 212/260, as has been explained in the introduction to the thesis.

The aim of the chapter is threefold: to reconstruct the history of British auxiliary and *numeri* units, to catalogue the soldiers, ranging from equestrian commanders to infantry and cavalrymen, and to examine the employment of Britons in the British *auxilia* in order to understand the extent to which the Roman Empire relied on manpower from the British tribes.

The chapter starts with a brief discussion of the *Forschungsgeschichte* followed by the main study of the units is divided in two large parts: auxiliary and *numeri* units raised from Britain. Each part is subsequently divided into smaller sections, where each unit is analysed individually, starting with the two *alae* and 13 cohorts, followed by the *numeri Brittonum* units. In the end there are two conclusions: first one regarding the formation, development, distribution and recruitment policy of the British auxiliary units, second one regarding the *numeri* units.

The discussion starts with the reconstruction of a unit's history, outlining awards a unit received during its service, followed by the description of posts in various provinces and listing the soldiers' names. The discussion ends with the ethnic composition of a particular unit over time. Material culture is also analysed, though considerably limited, since the evidence available varies from site to site: some military installations have been extensively published and had hundreds of artefacts unearthed, while for other sites the publication and excavation history is somewhat problematic. The preference is given to the occurrence of British-made objects with the purpose to collect and analyse the evidence for the possible presence of Britons on a site when epigraphy provides no evidence. The author understands that such choices limit the discussion on the ethnic composition of the units and social interaction of the soldiers with the locals as seen from the contrasted evidence of epigraphy and archaeology¹²⁹, but hopes that this study will motivate scholars to look into this issue in the future, when more archaeological evidence becomes available.

3.1 Forschungsgeschichte

The number of works published on the study of the Roman Imperial army in any modern language is hard to count, though the major studies such as those by Le Bohec (1994), Webster G. (1998), Southern (2006), and the *Companion to the Roman army* edited by Erdkamp (2011) deserve a special mention. When it comes to studies of Roman *auxilia* the number of books decreases, though every aspect of the auxiliary units has been thoroughly covered by many scholars. While it is impossible to mention all publications on this subject (the best summary is that of Roxan 1995), some of the most influential (i.e. not only descriptive but raising important issues and collecting various evidence) will be discussed in some detail. The scope has been limited to English-language scholarship alone, thus, the review cannot claim to be truly representative of the total Roman army studies.

The earliest compilation of all auxiliary units of the Roman army known at that point in time must be that of Cichorius (1894 for *alae* and 1900 for cohorts), published in the first and fourth volume of the Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll *Real-encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*. The next, more substantive, account of the *auxilia* was that of

¹²⁹ Cf. Stoffels (2009) on the idea of local recruitment and the occurrence of locally-produced pottery at the site of a legionary fortress on the Hunerberg, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

Cheesman (1914), confined to the development of the auxiliary units from the time of Augustus with the focus on the first two centuries. His area of coverage was much wider than that of Cichorius. Cheesman (1914) discusses the origins of infantry and cavalry regiments in general, poses some questions on recruitment policy based on his studies of the military diplomas, and, for the first time, discusses, though briefly, the units with the title *numeri*.

More than eighty years of archaeological and epigraphic discoveries expanded knowledge of the Roman *auxilia* and led to the appearance of two major studies, those of Holder (1980) and Saddington (1982). Holder's work provides an introduction to the structure, development and distribution of auxiliary units across the Roman Empire with explanations on the units' various titles, epithets and numerals, and providing the information on the dating of epigraphic evidence. One of the major outcomes of his studies was the realisation that from the Flavian period onwards auxiliary units stopped receiving recruits from their home provinces and local recruitment was practiced everywhere (Holder 1980, 180).

Saddington's research, though chronologically limited, provides a detailed account of all known auxiliary units, their origins and developments from the time of Caesar to Vespasian. The analysis of the units' titles and the discussion of the role of the *auxilia* in the Roman Imperial army are two of the main contributions of his study (Bowman 1985, 137).

More recent studies are those written by Spaul (1994; 2000), which are detailed studies of individual units arranged by the provinces from where these units were raised, using many references for the first time. What makes his work stand out from that of Holder and Saddington is that he provides essential information about the names, status and titles of the various officers and soldiers who served in the *auxilia*. Although his work is now out of date, some of the references to the primary sources, i.e. military diplomas, and *AE* and *CIL* volumes, are misleading and some of entries can be criticised, it is nevertheless a good collection of the evidence for the history, distribution and prosopography of the auxiliary units and their servicemen.

General studies on the other type of auxiliary unit, the *numerus*, are few. Only three surveys have appeared, though they are profoundly detailed and cover all the then known *numeri* units posted in the various provinces (e.g. Southern 1989; Németh 1997; Reuter 1999). While Southern and Németh list all known *numeri* formations and reconstruct their histories, Reuter tries to establish a theoretical basis for the study of these units and provide an explanation for the units' various titles.

Apart from the general studies on the auxiliary units, detailed regional surveys, which focus on the auxiliary units posted over period of time in a particular province, and studies on auxiliary deployment during the reign of a particular Emperor have also appeared in contemporary scholarship. Basically each province, which had military installations and frontiers has been subject to research: Britain (Jarrett 1994), Germania Superior (Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983), Germania Inferior (Alföldy 1968; Polak 2009), Raetia (Kellner 1971), Noricum (Ubl 2005), Dalmatia (Alföldy 1962, 1987) Pannonia (Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951; Lörincz 2001), Pannonia Superior (Lörincz and Visy 1987), Dacia (Russu 1974b; Beneš 1970; Petolescu 1997, 2002; Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002 – 2003; Németh 2005, 2009), Moesia (Beneš 1978), Moesia Inferior (Matei-Popescu 2001 – 2002; Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002 – 2003), Thracia (Roxan and Weiss 1998), Egypt (Maxfield 2000), Mauretania Caesariensis (Benseddik 1979), Mauretania Tingitana (Roxan 1973), Syria (Dabrowa 1979; Weiss 2006); for the provinces Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia in general see Wagner (1938), the North African provinces in general see Le Bohec (1989) and Hamdoune (1999), the Near Eastern provinces in general see Speidel (1984a, 1984b). As for surveys of auxiliary deployment during the reigns of particular Emperors, scholars have mostly concentrated

on the Emperors who reigned in the late first-early second century, because of the availability of good epigraphic evidence (see Saddington 1975, 1982; Le Roux 1986; Knight 1991; Haalebos 2000a; Holder 2003, 2005, 2006a)

Detailed studies of individual units are numerous; however, studies focussing on units raised from one particular ethnic entity are few. Not every entity, from which the Roman army raised auxiliary units, has been covered by contemporary scholarship. The following studies stand out: Santos Yanguas (1979) on *cohortes Lusitanorum*; Drioux (1940, 1946) on *cohortes Lingonum* and *Nerviorum*; Bogaers (1969) on *cohortes Breucorum*; Devijver (1982) on *cohortes Cilicium*; Dabrowa (1986) on *cohortes Ituraeorum*; Graf (1994) on *cohortes Petraeorum*; Smeesters (1977) on *cohortes Tungrorum*; Strobel (1987) on *cohortes Batavorum* and Zahariade (2009) on *cohortes Thracum*¹³⁰.

Studies of the British auxiliary units in general are even fewer, though the work of Romanian scholars on the presence of some British cohorts in Dacia must be praised (Gudea 1977a, 1983; Németh 1984, 1995; Isac 1987; Isac and Marcu 1999; Benea 1997; Marcu 2002 – 2003). Two studies, from where this work takes its lead, are those of Dobson and Mann (1973), and Saddington (1980). While the first one discusses processes of recruitment into the army of Roman Britain and the recruitment of Britons in units stationed elsewhere, the second work attempts to establish the possible period when particular British auxiliary units were raised and to explain differences in the naming pattern. Since their publications archaeological and epigraphic discoveries have added considerably to our knowledge of British auxiliary units and the purpose of this chapter is to provide the analysis of the new and contemporary evidence, revising the ideas as proposed in Dobson and Mann, and Saddington.

3.1.1. *Theoretical aspects of the Roman army and the issue of identity*

Recent scholarship tries to focus more on the social make-up of the Roman army and on auxiliary identities in particular, which vary from the cultural and ethnic identities of units and their servicemen to the cultural interactions in the frontier zone and in the forts themselves. The increasing prominence of this theme, which has not previously received proper attention from scholars of the Roman army, can be connected with the growing number of studies with a focus on identity, “the unifying theme in the humanities and social science since the 1990s” (Pitts 2007, 693).

Four major approaches are now dominant in theoretical studies of the Roman army: investigating the cultural identity of the various auxiliary units (the discussion either on particular ethnic units, such as Batavians, e.g. Roymans 2004; Clay 2007; general considerations on the nature and the forging of regimental identity, e.g. Saddington 1997, 2009; Haynes 1999b; Gardner 1999, 2001, 2007a, 2007b); gender issues (mainly concerning the presence of women in the forts, e.g. van Driel-Murray 1994, 1995, 1997, 2009; Allison 2006); interaction between military and civilians (e.g. Alston 1999; James 2001; Haynes 2001) and the army as a community (Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999; James 1999; Collins 2006; 2008). A more prominent role is being given, thanks to the research of late Vivian Swan (2009a; 2009b), to the pottery and small finds, objects that have been less commonly studied in association with the Roman military.

The recognition that the army can no longer be regarded as a simple war machine, but was a community which shared similar values, social and moral codes, as well as the same ethnic consciousness, was promoted in the proceedings of a conference held in 1997 (Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999). This military community was bonded by similarities and collective identities, but it was also distinct in its differences where

¹³⁰ Cf. also studies covering the units raised from particular provinces, i.e. Gayet (2006) on *cohortes Gallorum* and Petolescu (1980) on *cohortes Dacorum*; or Holder (1998) on the units with title *Aelia*.

various communities existed within the larger military one (Haynes 1999a, 7; Collins 2008, 48). One auxiliary unit was similar to another in a sense that the soldiers had the same clothes, lived in the similar buildings, used similarly divided the space in their fort, but the units were different in their ethnic composition and cultural backgrounds. These differences were emphasised through various media such as dress, use of space, display on monuments or depictions on insignia (Haynes 1999a, 4; Saddington 2009, 87). Such usage of ethnic emblems “enhanced a sense of regimental identity promoted to a certain degree of ethnic continuity among *auxilia*” (Saddington 2009, 88). Moreover, such communities not only encompassed the soldiers, but also included civilians of various sorts, such as the dependants and families of soldiers, traders and individuals who provided services to support the military communities (Collins 2008, 49).

In general, as Pitts (2007, 697) puts it, the focus “has shifted away from charting troop movements and identifying historically attested units to more anthropologically informed studies of the Roman army as a diverse community” (cf. also Gardner 2002, 325). This more holistic approach is beginning to offer a broader view of the social impact of the Roman army on the native population, on the projection of cultural (dis)continuity in the ethnic auxiliary units and the formation of soldierly communities, brotherhoods, within the *auxilia*. There, however, remains an underlying emphasis on the expression of cultural and ethnic identities or on differences between soldiers from various backgrounds in one unit. The identity was not only limited to origin, though a crucial factor (Saddington 2009, 87), but also included status and rank in the military, family relations, personal experiences such as temper or physical appearance (Collins 2008, 47). Rather than focusing on the identities and their differences solely, future research needs to focus on looking through ethnicity as one aspect of identity, since soldiers and their followers might have been more concerned with other identities, such as status, i.e. legionary versus auxiliary, or class, i.e. infantries versus sign-bearers.

3.2. British auxiliary units: history, prosopography and archaeology

3.2.1. *Ala I Britannica*

History

The *ala* was mentioned for the first time in Tacitus’ *Histories* (III 41) in his description of the events in AD 69, the Year of Four Emperors. Tacitus (*Hist.* III 15, 22) tells us that before the second battle at Cremona, in the autumn of AD 69, the forces of Vitellius consisted of “reinforcement from Britain, Gaul and German” and “detachments from three British legions” (the 2nd, 9th and 20th). Moreover, after the battle, Vitellius’ general Valens “asked for help and received three cohorts together with the cavalry regiment from Britain” (Tacitus *Hist.* III 41; Morgan 2006, 220). This cavalry regiment is considered to be *ala I Britannica*, a British unit that took the side of Vitellius in the Civil wars. Moreover, it is known that a British unit was in Rome for the suppression of the revolt of Vindex in AD 68 (Tacitus *Hist.* I 6; Murison 1993, 13), which culminated with the battle at *Vesontio*, modern Besançon, in the same year (Murison 1993, 21; Morgan 2006, 22-24).

Tacitus writes (*Hist.* I 6) that after the death of Nero, the newly proclaimed Emperor Galba, on entering Rome in AD 68, noticed that “[...] the capital was crowded with a quite unusual garrison. In addition, there were numerous drafts from Germany, Britain and the Balkans”. The British draft was the very same unit that had taken part in the battle of *Vesontio* in the previous months (Tacitus *Hist.* I 6). What happened with the unit after the assassination of Galba in the first month of AD 69 is unknown. It would be logical to think that the unit joined the forces of Otho in Rome and during the battle at Cremona fought on the side of Otho’s generals. However, the *ala* is mentioned as being

part of Vitellius' forces in late AD 69, which suggests that it joined Vitellius' army. Was this ala in the forces of Vitellius the same unit/detachment as the one in the army of Nero and later Galba? I would argue that this is highly unlikely. According to Tacitus (*Hist.* I 60-61), when Vitellius was proclaimed the new Emperor in Lower Germany after the assassination of Galba he received support from the legions and units stationed in Britain, although "the detachments would arrive only after the campaign against Otho had been won" (Morgan 2006, 81). Probably this was when, after Vitellius had gained power in April AD 69, "the cavalry regiment from Britain" was formed. What happened with the British detachments in Rome Tacitus does not tell us, but it is likely that they joined Otho's forces as did other units in Rome (Murison 1993, 105; Morgan 2006, 101-102). This actually mean that there were two cavalry regiments: one, which was raised ca AD 68 or before that; another – specially for Vitellius' forces in AD 69.

What happened with the British regiment(s) after the Vitellian forces were defeated Tacitus does not tell us. Both units would have had a choice of either joining once more Otho's forces (Murison 1993, 105; Morgan 2006, 101-102), or Cerialis, Vespasian's general (Kennedy 1977, 252). The latter is more likely due to the presence of the (joined?) unit in Upper Germany in the 70-80s transferred there together with Cerialis' forces who had fought against Civilis during the Batavian revolt of AD 69 – 70 (Lörincz 1979, 357-358; 2001, 16). This can be supported by evidence for the service of two soldiers whose origins lay in this province (II.1 – *Sequanus* soldier; II. 3 – a soldier from Mainz)¹³¹. The Batavian revolt of AD 69 – 70 might have triggered the relocation of forces previously stationed in northern Italy in the aftermath of the Civil wars to the lands of Upper and Lower Germany (Strobel 1988, 178).

After the Batavian revolt the unit could have been transferred for some time back to Britain as is evident from the occurrence a military diploma found in Britain (I. 2), plausibly issued for the army of Pannonia. Tully (2005, 380-381) has convincingly argued that this diploma was issued to a Briton, who, after 25 years of serving in the unit, preferred to return after AD 102 from Pannonia, where the unit was located at that time, to his home in Britain. Following this line of arguments, this Briton must have been recruited ca AD 77. This further suggests that between the years of ca AD 70 – 80 the ala was indeed relocated to Britain for some time and that at that period it accepted local, i.e. British-born, recruits. The archaeological evidence (discussed below) in a way also points to the same conclusion, though it must be emphasised that, at present, the conclusion is too tentative to be considered in its own right.

The unit was probably back once more to Upper Germany during the campaigns of Domitian in this area, i.e. the Chattian Wars of AD 82 – 83 (Kennedy 1977, 252). This can be supported by the imperial *gentilicia* of the three soldiers, who were plausibly granted citizenship in the aftermath of these wars (*Titi Flavii* - II. 1-3)¹³².

¹³¹ The tombstone of Draccus from the tribe *Sequani* was erected during the years of AD 85 – 96 (II.1). Draccus died after completing 22 years of the service which indicates that he was recruited ca AD 63 – 74. Another soldier, Verecundus, died after 19 years of military service (II.3). As epigraphic formulae on his tombstone suggest, he died somewhere between the years of AD 96 – 110, which places his recruitment in the years of AD 77 – 91. Draccus and Verecundus were most likely recruited between the years of AD 70 – 79, i.e. Draccus not later than AD 74 and Verecundus not earlier than AD 77. Kennedy (1977, 252) suggests that these recruits were replacements for the heavy losses in the ala in AD 69, which places their recruitment in AD 70 – 71.

¹³² That three soldiers were granted citizenship in the aftermath of this campaign is evident through the service of Caelius, son of Saco, who died in AD 96 the latest. On his monument the unit's title still carries the epithet *Domitiana*, which ceased to exist after the Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*. Since Caelius was recruited ca AD 86, when the unit was in Pannonia (he died at the age of 30 in AD 96 and was plausibly recruited at the age of 20 in ca AD 86, i.e. 96 – 10 = 86) and at the time of his death did not have citizenship or an imperial *gentilicium*, this suggests that his comrades in the unit with the imperial *gentilicium* were granted the citizenship before AD 86.

In the early 80s Domitian started to strengthen the frontiers of the Danube after the attacks of the Dacians on Moesia and ordered additional troops into the area (Jones B. 1992, 137 mentions three diplomas of AD 80, 84 and 85). In the preparations for the upcoming war, the ala was also transferred to Pannonia, but after AD 85, since it is not mentioned on the diplomas issued between the years of AD 80 – 85 from the army of Pannonia¹³³ and due to the unit's participation in the Chattian Wars. The epigraphic record indicates that, while being stationed in Pannonia, the unit took part in *expeditio Germanica*, AD 89 – 96 (Lörincz 2001, 16; Tully 2005, 379).

The ala was part of the support troops during the first Dacian War, AD 101 – 102, since it is attested as being part of the army of Pannonia in AD 102 (I. 1-2), and probably took an active service¹³⁴ in the second, AD 105 – 106 (II. 6 Lörincz 1979, 358, 2001, 16; Tully 2005, 379; Ilkić 2009, 150). It is unknown if the unit returned to Pannonia immediately after the wars ended or was for sometime stationed in the new province, because on diplomas issued on the same day in AD 110 (I. 3-4) the ala is attested as being part of the army of Dacia and Pannonia Inferior at the same time. Spaul (1994, 71) suggests that this was either a mistake of the engraver or an indication for the relocation of the unit from one province to another. Some researchers, following up on the ideas of Radnóti and Barkóczy (1951, 195) and Lörincz (1977b, 363; 2001, 157), believe that there were two alae with the title *I Britannica* (Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002-2003, 263; Holder 2006a, 144; Matei 2006, 57). Indeed, on the diploma issued for the army of Dacia the unit appears without the title *milliaria* and the epithets *Flavia Augusta* (I. 3), while on the Pannonian diploma it has all these designations (I. 4). It is therefore suggested that the later unit was stationed in Pannonia, took part in the Dacian Wars and after they ended, returned to Pannonia Inferior (Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002-2003, 263; Holder 2005, 82, 2006a, 144 supposes that this ala was mentioned for the first time on the diploma issued for the army of Pannonia in AD 71 and mistakenly recorded as *ala I Brittonum*, RMD V 324). The former unit was also in Pannonia, took part in the Dacian Wars and was still present in Dacia as late as AD 123 (here I. 10-11; RMD 21, 22; Lörincz 1977b, 366; Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002-2003, 263; Holder 2005, 82). What happened with this unit after AD 123 is unknown, but it was no longer mentioned as part of the army of Dacia or any other provinces (Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 210). The absence of any further evidence for the service of the second ala with the title *ala I Britannica civium Romanorum* casts doubt that there were two alae with a similar title.

What is certain is that the *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria* was recruiting in Pannonia Inferior in AD 110: an *Eravisci* soldier was discharged in AD 135 after 25 years of service, which places his recruitment in AD 110 or earlier (Roxan 1999, 254).

In AD 114 the unit was sent on a mission, but returned to the province by AD 123 at the latest (I. 10-11). This period coincides with the Parthian War of Trajan, AD 114 – 117, and two inscriptions from Turkey (II. 7-8) support an idea that the ala took part in this war (Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 195; Kennedy 1977, 252; Mitford 1980, 1197; 1997, 143, note 34; Maxfield 1983, 148; Roxan 1999, 254; Lörincz 1979, 358; 2001, 16; Tully 2005, 380). Roxan (1999, 254) was convinced that the ala returned to Pannonia Inferior in the early 20s of the second century AD, since the unit accepted local, *Eravisci* and *Azali*, recruits around that date (I. 19 and 20). Lörincz (1979, 358; 2001, 16), however, suggests that the ala returned immediately after the war came to an end, i.e. in AD 117/118 (Tully 2005, 380 also follows this idea).

¹³³ This also coincides with the period when the soldier Caelius was recruited, after AD 86 (contra Strobel 1988, 179, who proposes that he died shortly before the ala was decorated by Domitian for its participation in the Pannonian wars, i.e. ca AD 89 – 92, placing therefore his recruitment on ca AD 79 – 82).

¹³⁴ As is evident by the granting of '*bis torquata*' award, but see below.

The ala was afterwards stationed in Pannonia Inferior until the mid third century AD. A detachment of the unit was sent in the mid second century to Mauretania Caesariensis to take part in the Moorish wars of Antonius Pius, in AD 149 (I. 23; II. 9-11; Benseddik 1979, 27, 196; Spaul 1994, 70; Lörincz 1979, 358; 2001, 16; Tully 2005, 380; Ilkić 2009, 150). Probably another detachment or possibly the whole unit was relocated to Syria in the mid third century to prevent the attacks of the Sassanid king Shapur in AD 252 in the so-called Persian War of Trebonianus Gallus (II. 18-22; Balty 1987, 229; 1988, 102; Balty and van Rengen 1993, 14; Lörincz 1979, 358; 2001, 16, 177; Tully 2005, 380). According to the date of the recruitment of the soldiers, who died as a result of this war, the ala was still in Pannonia Inferior as late as ca AD 250¹³⁵.

Table 3.1 Position of *ala I Britannica*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Northern Italy	Britain (ca AD 70 – 80) ? Germania Superior (ca AD 70 (?) – 86) Pannonia (AD 86 – 105)	Pannonia (until AD 105) Dacia (AD 105 – 106)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – 252)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – 252)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – 252) Syria (AD 252 - ?)	Parthian Wars (AD 114 – 117) Mauretania Caesariensis / Moorish wars (AD 149)

Awards

Milliaria - the discussion is ongoing as to when the unit was doubled in size and received the title *milliaria*. The period before or after AD 69 has been proposed (Strobel 1988, 180 and Kennedy 1977, 252; Spaul 1994, 70 respectively). Tacitus does not mention the size of the unit (Tacitus *Hist.* III 41: “*venere [...] cum ala Britannica*”).

Domitiana / Flavia Augusta (after *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian in AD 96) – for service to Domitian during one of his campaigns (Spaul 1994, 70; Tully 2005, 379 names the Danubian campaigns as one of the possibility).

Civium Romanorum – Kennedy (1977, 252) calculates that the title was awarded for battle honours between AD 70/1 – 92/3. Since the soldier Caelius (II. 4) was not awarded with citizenship during his service (AD 86 – 96), but the ala at the time of his death had the honorific title *civium Romanorum*, which it probably had at the time when Caelius entered the unit, this, then, dates the award to before AD 86. The Chattian wars of Domitian, AD 82 – 83, can be proposed as one possibility (Maxfield 1983, 149 names three more: the Batavian revolt, AD 69 – 70; the trans-Rhine expedition, AD 74; the campaign against the *Bructeri* in AD 77 – 78). *Expeditio Germanica* in AD 89 is also named as a campaign that resulted in the awarding of citizenship to the unit’s soldiers (Lörincz 1979, 358; 2001, 145; Tully 2005, 379), though, based on the calculations proposed here, this argument is unsound.

Bis torquata – was awarded to the unit for participation in the Dacian Wars (Lörincz 2001, 16), but it is uncertain if the award was received for participation in two wars or was given twice for taking part in the same one, that of AD 105 – 106 (Maxfield 1981, 172, 221; Tully 2005, 379 implies the former idea).

¹³⁵ One soldier was recruited from the Pannonian town of *Mursa* in AD 244 (II.18); a decurion - from the Pannonian *Savaria* in AD 232 (II.19). Other soldiers were possibly Thracians, recruited ca AD 241/2 (II. 20-21). It is likely that all these soldiers were recruited into the ala when it was still stationed in Pannonia.

Maxfield (1983, 150) notes that it is impossible to precisely date when the ala was awarded with particular titles, because of the unit's involvement in various wars over a period of three decades.

Forts

The whereabouts of the unit when it was serving in northern Italy, and later in the Upper Germany, are unknown. Spaul (1994, 70) places the unit in Rimini at the time of Civil wars, probably because Vitellius stationed his forces there before advancing to meet the army of Vespasian at Bevagna. The occurrence of British-made brooches in the region of northern Italy and Switzerland invites the suggestion that the unit was garrisoned somewhere there (as will be further discussed in the chapter 5).

There is no indication where the unit was stationed in Upper Germany, though the occurrence of British brooches on the line of the Lower Germany forts from Xanten to Bonn might indicate the movement of *ala I Britannica* (i.e. from Lower to Upper Germany). The occurrence of two British brooches, identified as mid first-century productions, at Moers-Asberg and Bonn forts might indicate the movement of the ala prior to AD 69. At other forts the British brooches found are dated to the early Flavian period, which suggests that they could have been brought when the unit was relocated once more from Britain to Upper Germany somewhere in 80s of the first century¹³⁶.

The unit was positioned in Pannonia at two forts during the late first century period: ca AD 86 – 97 in *Vindobona*, modern Vienna in Austria (Genser 1986, 502; Börner 1997, 243; Lörincz 2001, 16; Harl 2003, 53; Visy 2003a, 144; Kronberger 2005, 27), and between the years AD 97 – 101 at *Odiavum*, modern Almasfüzitő in Hungary (Horvath 2003, 82; Visy 2003a, 146; Wilkes 2005, 200).

After its participation in the Dacian Wars, the unit, though returned to Pannonia Inferior, was placed at different forts, first at *Intercisa*, modern Dunaújváros in Hungary, until AD 114 (Lörincz 1977b, 367 places there the *ala Britannica civium Romanorum*; Visy 2003a, 146; 2003e, 118; Wilkes 2005, 205 places the unit presence between AD 101 – 105), then later at fort *Bononia - Malata*, modern Banoštor in Serbia (Lörincz 2001, 16; Kemkes *et al.* 2002, 52; Visy 2003a, 149; Vasić 2003, 144; Wilkes 2005, 207).

The whereabouts of the ala, when it was taking part in the Parthian Wars, can be proposed to be around the ancient *Amaseia* and *Nicopolis*, both of which lie on the road towards the Euphrates frontier area¹³⁷ (Maxfield 1983, 148; Wagner 1985, 13, abb. 18; Marek 2003, 183, karte V).

During the unit's detachment mission in Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 149, *vexillatio* was supposedly garrisoned in Tipasa, where two inscriptions mentioning this detachment were found (II. 9-10).

The location of the unit in the mid third century, when it was serving in Syria, is thought to have been the military fortress of the town *Apamea* (Balty 1991, 22; Balty and Van Rengen 1993, 14).

¹³⁶ In this way supporting the theory of Kennedy and Tully that the ala returned to Britain after the Batavian revolt to be relocated on the Continent for a second time after ca AD 80 to the Upper Germany.

¹³⁷ In the reconstruction of the Trajanic army movements in the first year of Parthian War, AD 114, it has been proposed that the main objective was to reach Satala, "where [Trajan] was to be met by reinforcements from Cappadocia and the Danube" (Lightfoot 1990, 117). Both *Nicopolis* and *Amaseia* lie on route to Satala, the road that Trajan and his army most likely took (Lightfoot 1990, 117).

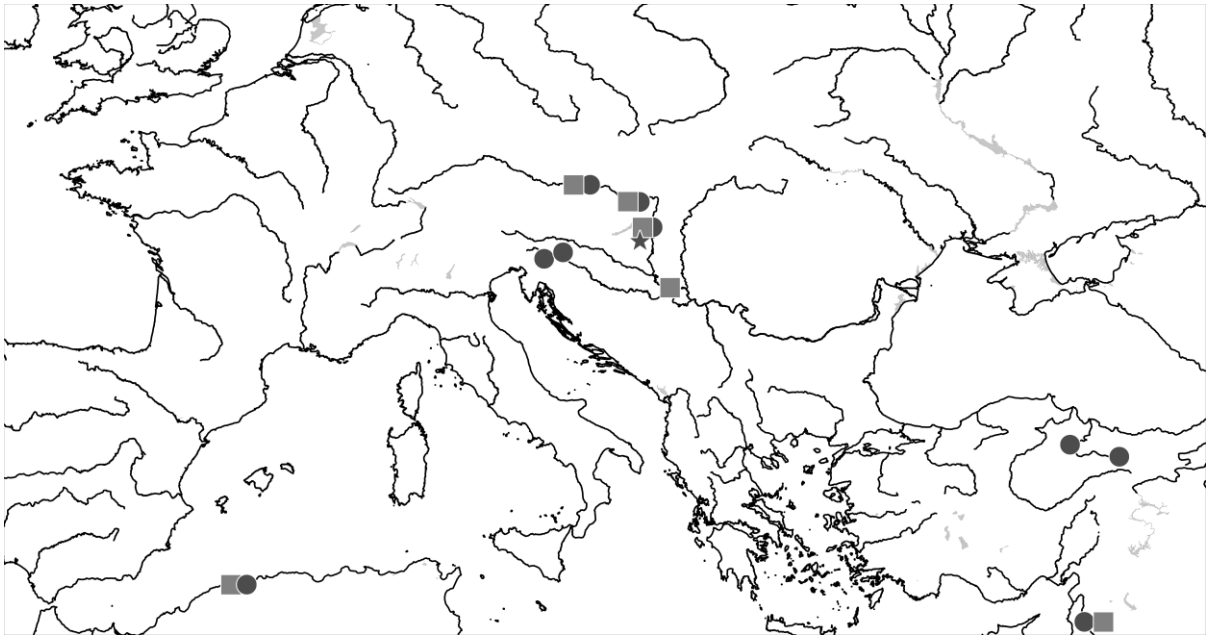


Figure 3.1 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of *ala I Britannica*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Italicus: decurion, ca AD 96/97, II. 3

Publius Cassius Secundus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 105 – 106/107, II. 6

Quintus Stadius, son of Quintus (...): prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 114 – 117 (?), II. 7

(...) us Bon(...): prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 114 – 117 (?), II. 8

Quintus Porcius Potitus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 135, I. 14

Marcus Licinius Victor: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 148, I. 19, 20

(...) Festus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 157/158, I. 34

Titus Varius Clemens, son of Titus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 146 – 148, II. 12 – 17

Aelius Valerius: decurion, ca AD 232/233 – 252/253, II. 19

Dio(n): decurion, serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 20

Principales:

(Titus Flavius) Proculus: standard-bearer, ca AD ? – 96/97, II. 3

(Titus Flavius) Priscinus: standard-bearer, ca AD ? – 96/97, II. 3

Ulpus Eubico: *sesquiplicarius* / commander receiving pay and a half, ca AD 99/106 – 114 the latest¹³⁸, II. 5

(...), son of Atti(...): *duplicarius* / double paid commander, ca AD 102 – 127, I. 13

Fuscus, son of Luco: *sesquiplicarius* / commander receiving pay and a half, ca AD 123 – 148, I. 19

Marcus Ulpus Faustianus: *librarius* / scribe or clerk, ca AD 137 – 149, II. 11

Iulius Martialis: *duplicarius* / double paid commander, serving in the unit in ca AD 149, II. 9

¹³⁸ The *ala* was garrisoned at *Intercisa* until AD 114, after which it was relocated to Pontus. Hence, Ulpus Eubico's should be placed at the latest before AD 114. Taking into account his imperial *gentilicium* Ulpus, i.e. he gained citizenship during the reign of Trajan, he must have taken part in the Dacian Wars together with his unit, meaning that his year of enlistment must have been in the period before AD 101 – 106.

Soldiers:

- Titus Flavius Draccus: cavalryman, ca AD 60/71 – 85/96, II. 1
Titus Flavius Bardus: veteran, ca AD 71/72 – 96/97, II. 2
Titus Flavius Verecundus: cavalryman, ca AD 71/72 – 96/97, II. 3
Ignotus: cavalryman, ca AD 77 – 102, I. 2
Caelius, son of Saco: soldier, ca AD 86 – 96, II. 4
Atressus, son of Ressimarus: soldier, ca AD 110 – 135, I. 14
Reidomarus, son of Siuppo: soldier, ca AD 110 – 148, I. 20
Aelius Publius: veteran, ca AD 114 – 149, II. 10
(...), son of (...)ntus: soldier, ca AD 132/133 - 157/158, I. 34
Aurelius Disas: horn-blower, ca AD 241 – 252, II. 21
Aurel(ius) Firminianus: cavalryman, ca AD 229 – 252, II. 22
Aurelius Maximianus: *strator praefecti* / groom to a prefect, ca AD 244 – 252, II. 18
Aurelius Mucatralis: trumpeter, ca AD 242 – 252, II. 20
Aurelius Passer: horn-blower, serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 20
Aurelius Pimetaica: cavalryman (?), serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 21
Aurelius Probinus: cavalryman, serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 22
Septimius Lutacianus: cavalryman, serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 18

Relatives (in alphabetical order)

- Ingenus: possibly son of T. Fl. Verecundus, II. 3
Licinius Memor: brother of T. Fl. Bardus, II. 2
Numpidia: wife of Aelius Publius, II. 10
Ressa(tus): brother and an heir of Ulpus Eubico, II. 5
Saco: father of Caelius, II. 4
Succo: brother and an heir of Ulpus Eubico, II. 5
(...)lina: daughter of (...), son of Atti(...), I. 13

Origin of personnel

Known origin:

The soldier and citizen Draccus, probably enlisted in the aftermath of the Civil war of AD 69, came from the *Sequani* (north-east France). The origin of the cavalryman Verecundus, who served in the ala during the reign of Domitian, was recorded, but only three letters have survived, MAG, which were restored as *Mogontiacum*, modern day Mainz in Germany (Lörincz 2001, 174). Fuscus, son of Luco, from the tribal entity *Azali*, Reidomarus, son of Siuppo, and Atressus, son of Ressimarus, both from the tribal entity *Eravisci*, were enlisted from local Pannonian tribes, when the unit was garrisoned there in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars.

The soldier whose name did not survive (hence, *ignotus*), was probably a Briton who, after serving 25 years in this unit, returned back to his homeland (for the discussion see Tully 2005, 380-381).

The unit's prefects stated their origin directly either on their monuments or on the diplomas issued to the soldiers of their ala. A prefect of the ala in the second quarter of the second century, Quintus Porcius Potitus, hailed from the tribe *Codurci*, in the Roman province Aquitania, in modern south-east France. Titus Varius Clemens was from the town of *Claudia Celeia* in Noricum, present-day Celje in Slovenia (Šašel 1983). Marcus Licinius Victor hailed from the capital of Pannonia Superior, *Savaria*, present day Szombathely in Hungary, as did Aelius Valerius, decurion in the ala in the mid third century. Publius Cassius Secundus probably came from *Emona*, present-day Slovenian capital Ljubljana (for the discussion see Šašel and Šašel 1977). A groom to a prefect in the mid third century, Aurelius Maximianus, hailed from *Aelia Mursa*, a Pannonian *municipium* and present day Osijek in Croatia.

Table 3.2 Known origin of soldiers of *ala I Britannica*

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britannia	1
Gallic tribes / Gallia:	
<i>Sequani</i>	1
<i>Codurci</i>	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia:	
<i>Azali</i>	1
<i>Eravisci</i>	2
Town of <i>Savaria</i>	2
Town of <i>Emona</i>	1
Town of <i>Aelia Mursa</i>	1
Noricum:	
Town of <i>Claudia Celeia</i>	1
Germania Superior:	
Town of <i>Mogontiacum</i>	1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Titus Flavius Bardus The cognomen *Bardus* suggests that he might belong to a Celtic-speaking tribe, since *bardo-* is a Celtic name element (Alföldy 1969, 162; Mócsy 1983, 44; Minkova 2000, 122; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 18). The cognomen as *Bardo* is mentioned on three inscriptions from Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 44) and on *CIL* XVI 5 the person named *Bardus* indicated his origin as *Helvetus* (OPEL I 112). *Bardus* served for 25 years and died as a veteran around AD 96 – 110, making the likely date for his recruitment between AD 71 – 85. The earlier date, i.e. ca AD 70/71, seems likely taking into consideration the enlistment of Sequanian soldier(s) (one of whom was *Draccus*) ca AD 70/71 in the aftermath of the events of AD 69¹³⁹. Adjacent to the tribal territories of *Sequani* are the lands of the tribe *Helvetii*, where we do know the cognomen *Bardus* occurred. It seems reasonable to suggest that members of both tribes supplied recruits to the unit to replace the soldiers died in AD 69, pointing to *Bardus*' origin as Sequanian or Helvetian. Moreover, according to the text on the tombstone, *Bardus* had a brother called *Licinius Memor*. It is hard to say whether *Memor* was also a soldier in the same *ala* or whether he just happened to live with *Bardus* after he was discharged. The last suggestion seems most likely for another reason: *Memor* did not have any *praenomen* or *nomen* to show that he had been discharged from the army; *Licinius* is a typical civilian name and was popular everywhere, especially in southern Gaul (Mócsy 1983, 164; OPEL III 26-27; Minkova 2000, 194). His cognomen *Memor* was widespread, but well presented in Italy and the Gallic provinces (Mócsy 1983, 185; OPEL III 75).

Caelius, son of Saco *Caelius* died at the age of 30 and was buried by his father *Saco*; he was recruited ca AD 86, when the *ala* arrived in Pannonia. Since the father was able to bury his son, it means that the *ala* cannot have been stationed very far away from his home. Moreover, the father's name of this soldier, *Saco*, is a personal Celtic name widespread in Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 249; OPEL IV 42). This therefore invites the suggestion that *Caelius* was a Pannonian.

Ulpus E nubico *Ulpus E nubico* died at the age of 35 and was buried by his two brothers who probably did not serve in the Roman army. This means that the *ala* must have been stationed close to *E nubico*'s homelands as well, somewhere in Pannonia. The names of the brothers are typical Celtic personal names and are widespread in Pannonia and Noricum (*Ressa(us)*, see Alföldy 1969, 115; Mócsy 1983, 242; OPEL IV 27;

¹³⁹ Cf. Kennedy (1977, 252), who points out that the *Sequani* were most likely subjected to a levy in order to recover from the losses the unit had received during AD 69.

Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 70; Succo, see Alföldy 1969, 302; Mócsy 1983, 276; OPEL IV 97; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 78). Notably, the similarly sounding name to the soldier's cognomen was found on an inscription from Noricum (Enobux: *CIL* III 4725, OPEL II 118). The soldier's cognomen itself is a compound name, containing the Gaulish elements *eni-* and *bogio-* (Delamarre 2001, 136; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 20 and Delamarre 2001, 70; Evans 1967, 152 respectively). His *nomen gentilicium*, Ulpus, was especially widespread after Trajan's reign in the Danube provinces and indicates that he gained the citizenship in time of Trajan (Mócsy 1983, 317; OPEL IV 179-181; Minkova 2000, 91). In addition, the time of recruitment – before AD 101 – suggests that his origin should be searched for in one of the Pannonian tribes.

Aurelii: Disas, Mucatralis, Passer, and Pimetaica The *cognomina* Disas (a variation of *Dizas*), Mucatralis and Passer are frequent in names of Thracian origin (Minkova 2000, 152-153, 225). The cognomen Pimetaica is probably a variation of another frequent Thracian name – Roimetalca (Dana 2005, 295 argues convincingly that the name on the inscription *AE* 1993, 1595 should be read Roimeta(1)ca instead of the proposed Pimetaica). That these soldiers with the same imperial *gentilicium* were of Thracian descent is supported by the service of the *ala* in Pannonia Inferior the mid third century, the period when the soldiers were enlisted.

Table 3.3 Origin of the soldiers of *ala I Britannica* based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Borderland Germania Superior / Gallia Belgica	1 (+ a brother) = 2
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia	2 (+ one father, and two brother) =5
Thracian tribes	4

Questionable origin:

The names of fellow soldiers of Verecundus - Priscinus and Proculus -, are said to be widespread everywhere in the Empire, making their origin hard to identify (Mócsy 1983, 232 and OPEL III 162 for Priscinus; Mócsy 1983, 233 and OPEL III 166 for Proculus). However, the following points need to be taken into account. The majority of soldiers serving in the unit ca AD 96 were enlisted when the *ala* was garrisoned in Germania Superior or was on move from northern Italy to this province. Since both standard-bearers had popular names, this implies a relatively long exposure of their families to Roman culture and the Latin language. In contrast, the soldiers recruited when the *ala* was in Pannonia, all had typical and widespread Pannonian names, a further indication that both Priscinus and Proculus were enlisted before the unit was relocated to this province.

Following this logic, the same can be proposed for the two soldiers serving in the *ala* in the mid third century, Aurelius Firminianus and Aurelius Probinus. At that point in time the *ala* was brought up to strength with recruits of Thracian origin. Notably, both soldiers, Firminianus and Probinus, had the same imperial *gentilicium* as their fellow Thracian soldiers, an indication of a citizenship grant at the same time, thus, of the service or the enlistment in the same period. In addition, the decurion of one of the *turmas* in this period, Dio, originated from a Greek speaking family, thus possibly Thracian, since the cognomen was widespread within the Greek speaking population (Alföldy 1969, 188).

A veteran Aelius Publius had a wife, Numpidia. Her origin is hard to identify since a name with the same spelling does not appear in any onomastic studies, except the name Nymphidius, which is well attested in various Roman provinces such as Hispania,

Dalmatia, Moesia and Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 205; OPEL III 108). It seems reasonable to see in the name Numpidia a female equivalent of the name Nymphidius. The origin of Aelius Publius was not recorded on the tombstone and his name does not give a clue to his origin, except that his citizenship was given to him during the reign of Hadrian. His recruitment falls at the time, when the unit returned from the Parthian expedition. Plausibly after the ala's return to Pannonia, to compensate for war losses, local recruitment started to take place. Taking this into account a Pannonian origin for both Publius and Numpidia can be proposed.

The year of enlistment is known for three soldiers, (...), son of Atti(...), Marcus Ulpus Faustianus and (...), so of (...)ntus. Following up the general idea that the local recruitment was taking place *en masse* in the second century, the origin of these three soldiers should be searched in Pannonia.

Table 3.4 Questionable origin of the soldiers of *ala I Britannica*

Origin	Numbers
Borderland Germania Superior and Gallia Belgica	2
Pannonia	4 (+wife of Aelius Publius) = 5
Thracia	3

Unidentifiable origin The origin of three prefects, Quintus Stadius, (...)us Bon(...), (...) Festus, one decurion, that of Italicus, a *duplicarius* Iulius Martialis, and cavalrymen Septimius Lutacianus remains obscure.

Children On the tombstone of T. Fl. Verecundus there is another name – Ingenuus. It has been suggested that this was his son since there is no indication what rank this person had or that he served in the unit (Spaul 1994, 70). The name Ingenuus means freeborn and was very widespread, especially in Celtic-speaking provinces (Alföldy 1969, 222; Mócsy 1983, 151; OPEL II 194). Perhaps his father Verecundus wanted to emphasise that his son had been born free and had Roman citizenship at birth. Another soldier, (...), son of Atti(...), had also given his daughter a Latin sounding name, (...)lina (Weiss 2009, 241).

Table 3.5 Origin of soldiers in *ala I Britannica*: total summary¹⁴⁰

Origin	Numbers
Britannia	1
Gallia	2
Borderland Germania Superior and Gallia Belgica	4
Pannonia	12
Noricum	1
Thracia	7
Unknown	6
	Totals: 33

¹⁴⁰ The possible origin of Faustianus was not included into the final table, since it is unknown in which ala he served, i.e. this one or ala I Brittonum (for discussion see below), thus, making the ideas proposed here less certain.

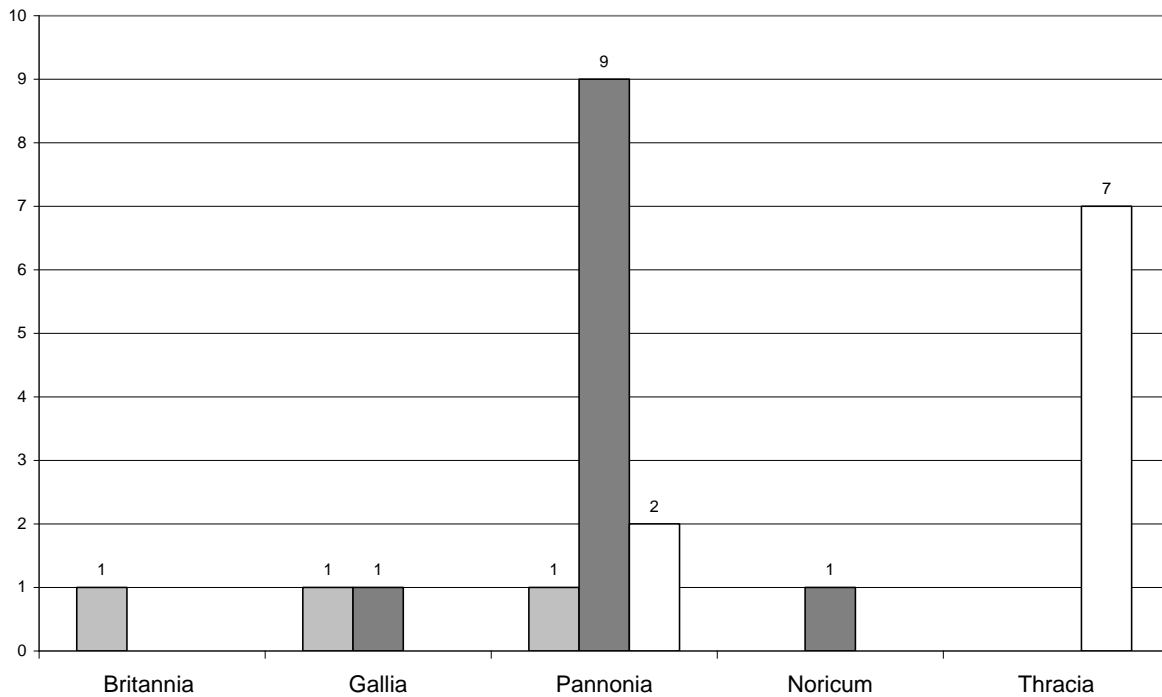


Figure 3.2 Origin of the soldiers of *ala I Britannica* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century; white for the third century

Archaeology

It has been suggested that the *ala I Britannica* was part of the army of Vitellius in AD 69 and was taken directly from Britain overseas. This makes it plausible that the members of this unit brought British brooches with them on the transfer. There is no direct evidence where the unit might have been positioned, though the occurrence of brooches dated to the mid-first century in the lands of the *Helvetii* and two small Roman provinces in the Alps, *Graiae* and *Poeninae*, can be used as an indication that the unit had passed these lands (for the discussion see chapter 5, section 5.4.2.1).

The unit's destiny after AD 69 is unknown. Two possibilities have been proposed: the unit was sent back to Britain; the unit was relocated to Germania Superior, where it was stationed until ca AD 86. Where the *ala* was garrisoned between the years of AD 69 – 86 remains obscure, though the occurrence of British brooches dated to the Flavian period on the line of the *limes* forts from Xanten to Bonn and in the Wetterau-Taunus frontier region can be considered as an indication of the unit's position (for the discussion see chapter 5, sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.2.4).

Only two British brooches were reported from two military installations in Pannonia: Győr, and Szöny, both in Hungary. At the places where the *ala* was located in the late first – mid second centuries, no finds related to Britain have been located (for Vienna see Harl 1979; Neumann 1967, 1968, 1972; Kronberger 2005, 122-124; for Dunaújváros see Lőrincz and Szabó 1990; Lőrincz *et al.* 1986; some publications on the forts next to Almásfüzítő and Dunaújváros (for a full bibliography see Visy 2003b, 246 and 250) were not available to the author; excavation reports on the fort *Bononia-Malata* have not been published (Vasić 2003, 144; Wilkes 2005, 207)). However, *Odiavum* fort is located westwards from the legionary and auxiliary fortress *Brigetio*, Szöny, where a British headstud brooch was found. There is no epigraphic indication that any other British auxiliary unit was posted at Szöny, although Hungarian archaeologists have suggested that around AD 80 *cohors I Britannica* garrisoned the auxiliary fort (Számadó and

Borhy 2003, 78). The context where the headstud brooch was found was not recorded by Kovrig (1937, 71, no 140); it could have come from the cemeteries, legionary fortress, *canabae legionis* or auxiliary fort. Although it is uncertain whether either soldiers of *ala I Britannica* or *cohors I Britannica* can be considered likely candidates for bringing this brooch to *Brigetio*, the relation between a British brooch and the service of a British unit seems to exist. Regarding another site where another British brooch was found, Győr, none of the units epigraphically attested there ever served in Britain (e.g. *alae I Ulpia Contariorum*, *I Augusta Ituraeorum*, *Pannoniorum* and *Aravacorum*; Jarrett 1994); yet it is tempting to suggest that some members of the British units stationed at *Brigetio* or *Odiavum* helped in the construction of the *Arrabona* fort¹⁴¹ sometime in the 80s AD.

The fortress Tipasa (Algeria), where the detachment of the *ala* was presumably stationed in the mid second century, has been excavated to some extent. The major features of the fort, i.e. its gates, ramparts and turrets, have been excavated, as well as the necropolis in the western side of the site (Duval 1946; Bouchenaki 1975)¹⁴². The results of these excavations have been published, though no small finds have been reported.

The small finds from the military fortress in the town of *Apamea* (Syria) have not been published (Balty and Balty 1972 with main focus on the monuments and pottery; Balty 1987, 2000 main focus on the various monuments).

The site of the ancient city of *Amaseia* is a part of the contemporary city with the similar name, Amasya in Turkey. Various ancient monuments are known at present, dating from the Hellenistic to Roman period, such as a royal palace, memorials of the Pontic kings and Roman arches (MacDonald and Stillwell 1976, 47; Marek 2003, 28-29, abb. 38 and 39). No finds, except coins, are known from this site (Ireland 2000; cf. also Anderson *et al.* 1910).

The site of *Nicopolis* in Armenia Minor (the Roman provinces of Pontus and Bithynia) is an extensive ruined field with a small circuit of walls of Late Antique date (MacDonald and Stillwell 1976, 626). It is uncertain whether the site has been excavated and to what extent, though it was visited in the early 20th century and described in detail (Cumont and Cumont 1906, 296-317).

3.2.2. *Ala I Brittonum*

History

The unit might have been raised by Domitian, but refused to use its title *Flavia* not to show its Domitianic origin (Spaul 1994, 72; Lörincz 2001, 17; Eck 2003, 223 summarises this idea). The diploma from AD 71 (I. 1) indicates that the unit might have been already in existence in ca AD 45/46, since in AD 71 it discharged a soldier of Thracian origin, although it is doubtful that the *ala* was raised within three years of the Claudian invasion of Britain (Eck 2003, 224; Holder 2006b, 713). It is plausible that the unit was indeed raised before AD 70, because of its active service in AD 71: the reign of Nero has been suggested as a plausible period (Eck 2003, 224; Holder 2006b, 713). The Thracian recruit could have served in another unit, prior to his transfer to the *ala I Brittonum*, where he might have taken a job training the men of the newly raised *ala* (Holder 2006b, 713).

The location of the unit prior to the start of the Dacian wars was proposed by Eck (2003, 224) to be Pannonia¹⁴³, supported by the fact that the soldier enlisted in AD 98 was from the Pannonian town *Sirmium* (I. 6-7; Lörincz 2001, 17), though when the unit

¹⁴¹ This fort lies first to west of *Brigetio* fort.

¹⁴² The publication of Briggs and Stearns (1963) was not available.

¹⁴³ Contra Holder (2005, 80-81; 2006b, 713), who warns that it is not at all clear from the evidence of diploma.

was relocated to Pannonia is uncertain. It is plausible that it was there as early as AD 86, when it took part in the Pannonian wars of Domitian. The unit is absent from the military diploma issued for the army of Pannonia in AD 102 (*ala I Britannica I. 1*), but it does not mean that the unit was not there. It might not have had men eligible for the citizenship grant.

There is no direct evidence that the *ala* participated in the Dacian Wars (contra Lörincz 2001, 17), though it might have been in Dacia in AD 110 (I. 2). In the previous section the possible presence of the *ala I Britannica* in Dacia in AD 110 has been discussed. The general idea is that there might have been two *alae* with a similar title, i.e. *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica* and *ala I Britannica civium Romanorum*. Was this twin *ala I Britannica civium Romanorum* actually *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* (Russu 1973, 34)? In other words, did the engraver of the diploma make a mistake? The former *ala* disappears from military diploma records as early as AD 123, while the latter was still ‘in existence’ in AD 161/163 (I. 13-16).

The location of the unit between the end of the Dacian Wars until AD 123 is considered to be the province of Dacia Superior (Matei 2006, 58), though it is uncertain for how long the unit was positioned there before being relocated elsewhere (Lörincz 2001, 17 suggests that the *ala* took part in the Sarmatian campaigns in AD 117/118 and returned to Pannonia Inferior).

The military diploma issued in April AD 123 (I. 3) indicates the position of the unit in the province of Dacia Porolissensis, although the two diplomas issued later this year, in August (I. 4-5) record two units: *ala Brit c R* located in Dacia Porolissensis and *ala Britann c R* located in Pannonia Inferior. Which of two *ala Brit* is our *ala*? Pferdehirt¹⁴⁴ (2004, 68) convincingly proves that the first *ala Brit c R* is our unit. For the diploma issued in April AD 123 Matei (2006, 58) notes that the phrase “*translatis in Dacia Porolissensi*” (I. 3) might indicate two things. The first is the actual relocation of the unit from one Dacian province to another, i.e. from Dacia Superior to Porolissensis. The second is the territorial reorganisation of Dacia Superior, parts of which were assigned to the new Dacia Porolissensis. The units stationed in this particular part of Superior were also assigned to Porolissensis.

The *ala* left Dacia Porolissensis, although when and to where is uncertain, due to the problems with the reading of diplomas (I. 6-12). Firstly, on the diploma issued for the army of Pannonia Inferior for the year AD 146 (I. 7-8) *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* is clearly recorded, but on the diploma issued for the same province seven years earlier, AD 139 (I. 6), this is not the case. Only in one publication, that of *CIL XVI* 175, was the reconstruction proposed that *I pr* stands for *I Br(ittonum)*, while in following publications it was identified as *ala I praetoria civium Romanorum* or as *ala civium Romanorum*. Secondly, on the diplomas issued between the years of AD 135 – 145 and AD 157 *ala I civium Romanorum* is mentioned as the third *ala* serving in Pannonia Inferior, although on the diplomas issued for the army of Pannonia Inferior for the period of AD 146 – 148 and AD 162, the third place is occupied by the *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* omitting the *ala I civium Romanorum* (Roxan 1999, 269-271). On the diplomas issued for AD 159 the *ala I Brittonum* is recorded fifth in line. In general, the following situation seems to occur: whenever the *ala I civium Romanorum* is mentioned, the *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* is absent from the record and vice versa (cf. table 3.6).

¹⁴⁴ She also discusses various ideas proposed by different authors (Pferdehirt 2004, 65-69).

Table 3.6 The troops stationed in Pannonia Inferior and discharging soldiers from AD 135 – 159 according to the information from military diplomas (after Roxan 1999, 269-272)

AD 135 (RMD IV 251)	AD 139 (CIL XVI 175)	AD 143 (RMD IV 266)	AD 146 (ZPE-166-285; 135-195)	AD 148 (CIL XVI 179 and 180)	AD 157 (RMD II 102-103)	AD 159 (CIL XVI 112-113)
Alae: 5 1. I Thr. Vet. 2. I Fl. Aug. Britannica 3. I c. R. 4. I Aug. Itur. 5. Pr. c. R.	Alae 5: 1. I Fl. Britannica 2. – 3. I c. R. 4. Pr. c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur	Alae 5: 1. I Fl. Aug. Britannica 2. I Thr. veter. 3. I c. R. 4. Pr. c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur.	Alae 5: 1. I Flav. Britannica 2. I Praet. c. R. 3. I Britton. c. R. 4. I Thrac. vet. 5. I Aug. Itur.	Alae 5: 1. I Flav. Britannica 2. I Thr. vet. 3. I Britton c. R. 4. I Praet. c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur.	Alae 5: 1. I Thr. vet. 2. I c. R. 3. I Praetor. c. R. 4. I Fl. Aug. Britt. 5. I Aug. Itur.	Alae 5: 1. [I Fl. Britann] 2. I Thr. vet. 3. I Aug. Itur 4. [I Pr. c. R. or I c. R.] 5. I Brit. c. R.

There are several possible explanations for this situation: 1) both units were located in Pannonia Inferior simultaneously, but were discharging the soldiers in different years, i.e. when the soldiers from the *ala I c. R.* were eligible for grants, soldiers of the *ala I Brittonum c. R.* were not, and vice versa; 2) *ala I c. R.* and *ala I Brittonum c. R.* is the same unit, the omission of the epithet *Britton* from the diplomas AD 135, 139, 143 and 157 is a mistake of the engraver; 3) *ala I c. R.* and *ala I Brittonum c. R.* is the same unit, the occurrence of the epithet *Britton* in the diplomas AD 146, 148 and 159 is a mistake of the engraver; 4) both alae served in Pannonia Inferior, but were constantly transferred in and out of the province. Suggestions two and three are the most feasible, though contradictory. It should be taken into account that *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* has been recorded on two diplomas issued for the army of Pannonia Inferior in AD 162 (I. 13-14), an indication that by that time our unit was indeed serving there. Epigraphic evidence supports the idea of the unit's service in Pannonia Inferior (II. 2-3 and 5), but the epigraphic formulae do not give the possibility to date them precisely, roughly dating them to the late first – late second centuries AD. This poses a problem, since we do know of the unit's service in Pannonia prior to the Dacian Wars, preventing to ascribe particular inscriptions to particular periods (e.g. before or after Dacian Wars).

On the basis of the proposed here analysis, it seems reasonable to suggest two following scenarios:

1. The ala was relocated to Pannonia Inferior ca AD 162 in preparation for the Marcomannic wars of Antoninus Pius. The whereabouts of the unit prior to AD 162 are uncertain, but can be proposed to be Mauretania Caesariensis. There an inscription was found erected for Marcus Ulpus Faustianus (II. 4), the scribe of *ala Britt[...]* *veteran(orum)*. The epithet *veteranorum* indicates that either two units with a similar title were posted in the same province, or that one of the units was stationed long enough in a particular province (Holder 1980, 18-19); therefore the epithet *veteranorum* on the tombstone of Faustianus indicates the presence of two 'British' alae in Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 149. From the epigraphic record of the previously discussed *ala I Britannica* it is known that its detachment was sent there during the Moorish wars of Pius, i.e. ca AD 149 (*ala I Britannica*, I. 23; II. 9-11). It seems reasonable to suggest that another unit, our *ala I Brittonum c. R.*, was also posted there from ca AD 123 until ca AD 162 and was the oldest

unit garrisoned in Mauretania Caesariensis at the time when the *ala I Britannica c. R.* was transferred from Pannonia Inferior¹⁴⁵. Also, this means that the engraver on the diplomas for AD 146, 148 and 159 made a mistake.

2. The *ala* was relocated to Pannonia Inferior ca AD 146. The omission of this unit from diploma for AD 157 is an engraver's mistake. The whereabouts of the *ala* are uncertain, but can be proposed to be Dacia Porolissensis for some time in the second quarter of the second century.

As it can now be seen, the reconstruction of the unit's history is fraught with difficulties and omissions. In general, it can be proposed that the unit was raised before AD 70, making the participation of the *ala* in the events of the Civil wars plausible. Before AD 98 the unit was stationed in Pannonia, though it is uncertain when it was relocated there. Evidence tells us that in the early second century the unit was garrisoned in Dacia Superior, later in Dacia Porolissensis, ca AD 162 in Pannonia Inferior.

Table 3.7 Position of *ala I Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Northern Italy (?)	Pannonia (AD ? until 98)	-	Dacia Superior (AD ? until 123) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – ?)	Pannonia Inferior (ca AD 162)	-	-

Awards

Civium Romanorum – Lörincz (2001, 145) believes that the unit got this title before the end of the 90s AD. Petolescu (1997, 80), on the other hand, suggests that the *ala* got its award for participating in the Dacian Wars. If three monuments (II. 2-3 and 5) were made before the end of the first century, then the citizenship was indeed granted to the *ala*'s soldiers for participation in the Dacian Wars because this award is not recorded on these inscription, but it is on the diplomas¹⁴⁶ for AD 123 and 162 (I. 4-5, 13-14).

Forts

The findspot of two dedicatory altars (II. 2-3) suggests that the *ala* was garrisoned at the *Alta Ripa* fort in Pannonia Inferior (Lörincz 2001, 17; Visy 2003a, 148; 2003c, 126), though it is uncertain when. Visy (2003a, 146; 2003c, 126) and Lörincz (2001, 17) place the unit there in the period from AD 118/119 up to the Marcomannic wars, but it is possible that the *ala* was not in Pannonia in this period, but was there earlier, before the start of the Dacian Wars (as indicated in the scenario 1).

¹⁴⁵ This would also mean that Faustianus would have served in our *ala* rather than *ala I Britannica*.

¹⁴⁶ The only diplomas where it is certain which unit was meant.

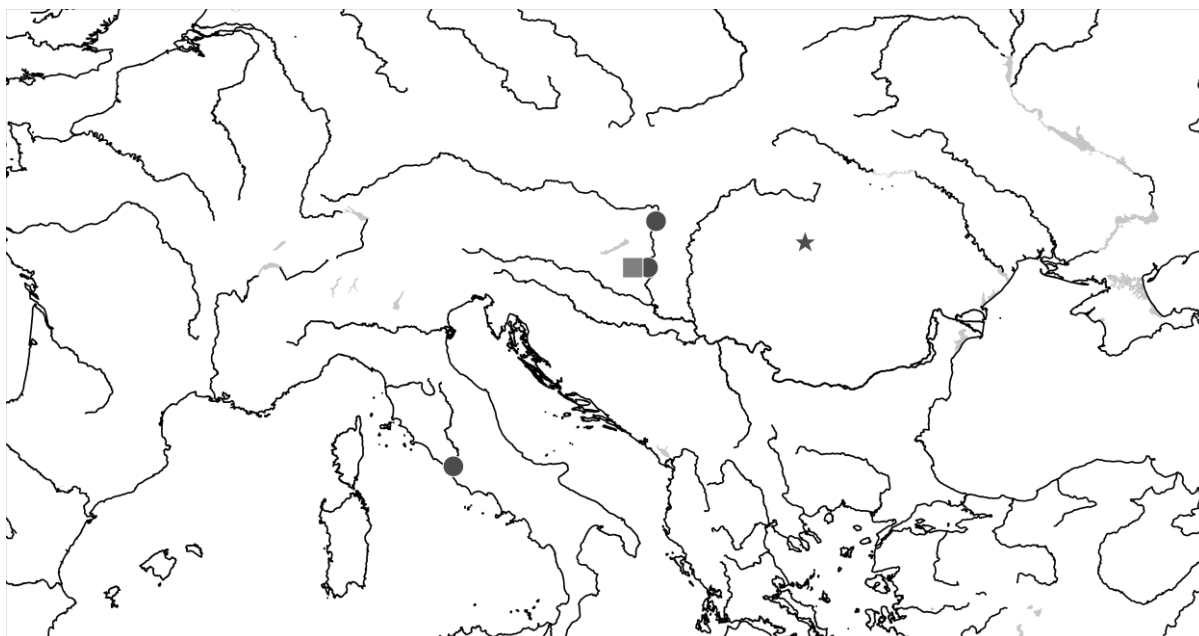


Figure 3.3 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of *ala I Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Marcus Coelius Honoratus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 71, I. 1

Marcus Minicius Marcellinus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 123, I. 4

Marcus Domitius Secundinus: decurion, serving in unit either ca AD 70 – 100 or ca AD 120 – 150, II. 3

Principales:

Marcus Ulpius Faustianus: *librarius* / scribe or clerk, ca AD 137 – 149, II. 4

Soldiers:

Cersus, son of Denturasadus: soldier, ca AD 46 – 71, I. 1

Glavus, son of Navatus: soldier, ca AD 98 – 123, I. 4

Marcus Ulpius Crescentinus: cavalryman (?), early second century, I. 1

Claudius Celer: veteran, ca AD 70 – 100 or ca AD 120 – 150, I. II

Caius Cominius Cominianus: cavalryman, ca AD 70 – 100 or ca AD 151 – 153, II. 5

Relatives (in alphabetical order)

Cominius Celer: brother of C. Cominius Cominianus, II. 5

Flavius Quintinianus: relative (?) to M. U. Crescentinus, I. 1

Iubena, daughter of Bellagentus: wife of Glavus, son of Navatus, I. 4

Iulius: relative (?) to M. U. Crescentinus, I. 1

Origin

Known origin:

Two of the unit's soldiers stated their origin directly on the diplomas issued to them. One, Cersus, was a Thracian; another, Glavus, came from the town of *Sirmium* in Pannonia Inferior. A cavalry man, Marcus Ulpius Crescentinus, was by birth from Pannonia Inferior.

The origin of the prefect Marcus Coelius Honoratus is not indicated on the diploma (I. 1), but it was suggested that he hailed from the town *Italica* in Baetica, since he belongs to the Sergian voting tribe (*Tribus Sergia*) and his *gentilicium*, Coelius, is widespread in this region (Eck 2003, 225).

The origin of the prefect Marcus Minicus Marcellinus is also not indicated on the diploma (I. 4); however, another Marcus Minicus Marcellinus from the *legio XXII Primigenia* stated his origin as the town of *Lindum*, modern day Lincoln in the UK (Russu 1974a, 174). This legionary's votive inscription was found in Mainz (*CIL XIII* 6679). If we consider that the prefect of the *ala* and the senior centurion from the legion is the same person, it means that Marcellinus' first appointment was in Mainz as centurion, then he was a commander of the unknown cohort *quingenaria* and cohort *milliaria*, and, as a third equestrian *militia*, he held the position of prefect of the *ala* (Russu 1974a, 174). The appointment of a Briton over the British *ala* seems logical. This might also indicate that British recruits were still serving in the *ala*, since the appointment of a Briton, who knew the language and fighting style, was required.

Table 3.8 Known origin of soldiers of *ala I Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britannia: Town of <i>Lindum</i>	1
Thracian tribes / Thracia	1
Baetica	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia: Town of <i>Sirmium</i> Pannonia Inferior	1 1

Questionable origin:

The origin of the cavalryman Cominianus and his brother¹⁴⁷ Celer is uncertain, but it is possible that they were Pannonians. Cominius Celer was able to bury his serving brother four years after he was enlisted in the army, an indication the *ala* was garrisoned not far away from homelands of the soldier Cominianus. The cognomen of this soldier gives no indication as to his origin: it appeared once on the inscriptions of Gallia Narbonensis and Lugdunensis (Mócsy 1983, 85; OPEL II 70), while the cognomen from which the name Cominianus derived, Cominius, prevailed in Celtic speaking areas (Mócsy 1983, 85; OPEL II 70).

In the preceding section the origin of Marcus Ulpius Faustianus has been identified as Pannonian, since he was recruited at the time when the *ala I Britannica* was stationed in that province. Taking up the idea proposed in this section that Faustianus actually served in the *ala I Brittonum*, his origin, then, needs to be searched for in Mauretania Caesariensis, where the latter *ala* was probably garrisoned at the time of his enlistment.

Table 3.9 Questionable origin of soldiers of *ala I Brittonum*

Origin	Numbers
Mauretania Caesariensis	1
Pannonia	1 (+ 1 brother) = 2

Unidentifiable origin:

The cognomen of Marcus Domitius Secundinus was widespread everywhere, particularly in Celtic speaking provinces (Mócsy 1983, 258; OPEL IV 58; Minkova 2000, 249), which makes it difficult to place his origin.

The origin of Claudius Celer remains uncertain.

¹⁴⁷ That they were blood related is supported by their identical *praenomen* – Cominius.

Wives:

The origin of Iubena, wife of Glavus, was recorded on the military diploma: she hailed from the Pannonian tribe, *Eravisci*.

Table 3.10 Origin of soldiers in *ala I Brittonum*: total summary¹⁴⁸

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britannia	1
Thracian tribes / Thracia	1
Baetica	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia	3
Unknown	2
	Total: 8

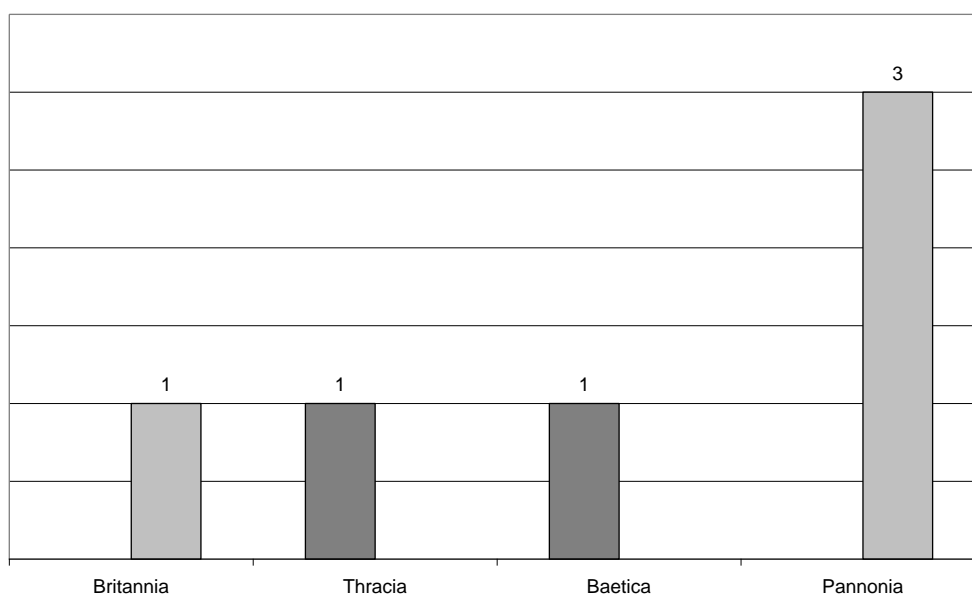


Figure 3.4 Origin of soldiers of *ala I Brittonum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century

Archaeology

The whereabouts of *ala I Brittonum* in various provinces remain uncertain, except when the unit was garrisoned in Pannonia Inferior. The fort *Alta Ripa*, modern Tolna in Hungary, is considered to be the unit's fort, though it is uncertain in what period the *ala* was located there. The remains of the fort are virtually non-existent, since the fort was probably "swept away by the Danube over the centuries", although up to 18th and 19th century the remains of the stone structure could be seen and were identified as being located "in the old arm of Danube just north of the town [Tolna]" (Visy 2003c, 126). The only finds reported from the presumable fort location are "walls, several coins and other Roman remnants" (Visy 2003c, 126).

¹⁴⁸ The possible origin of Faustianus was not included into the final table, since it is unknown in which *ala* he served, thus, making the ideas proposed here less certain.

3.2.3. *Cohors I Belgarum*

History

The cohort was likely raised from the British tribal entity the *Belgae*, in southern Britain rather than in Gallia Belgica. The main argument here is the name of the unit: *Belgarum* is the genitive of *Belgae*. If this cohort had been raised from some tribes of Gallia Belgica, the name would have been *Belgicarum* (Spaul 2000, 191).

The unit was already in existence by AD 72, since it discharged soldiers in AD 97 (I. 1). It is unknown how long the unit stayed in Britain but at the end of the first century AD it appeared in Germania Superior (II. 1; Alföldy 1962, 266). At that time the cohort already had lost some of its original members somewhere, since it welcomed local recruits¹⁴⁹. The appearance of the unit in Germania Superior can be connected with the Chattian wars of Domitian, AD 82 – 83.

Archaeological evidence also points to the possibility that the cohort might have been garrisoned for some time in or was moving through Germania Inferior, where British brooches of late first century date were reported from the forts situated on the line starting from Xanten and ending at Bonn (for the discussion see chapter 5, sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.2.4). The size of the unit is unknown, but it had mixed cavalry and infantry regiments (*eques* – II. 3, 6, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 and 24; *miles in centurio* – II. 1, 4, 5, 10, 11-13, 21 and 22). On the basis of this, the unit can be considered the likely candidate to have been garrisoned at the forts where cavalry regiments are known to have been stationed. The same conclusion was, however, given in regard of the possible service of *ala I Britannica* in Germania Inferior, hence, making it difficult to make any distinctions as to the sites where one or the other unit was stationed.

How long the unit was in Germania Superior is unknown, but by AD 97 it was relocated to Dalmatia. The unit is not mentioned on the diplomas issued for the army of Dalmatia in the previous years (Alföldy 1962, 266; 1987, 248; Eck and Pangerl 2007b, 233), an indication that it was transferred in this very same year.

The inscriptions found in Dalmatia indicate that the cohort stayed in this province for the whole second century AD (II. 2-26; Alföldy 1962, 266; 1987, 276). It might have been transferred to Germania Superior again in the aftermath of battle of *Lugdunum* in AD 197¹⁵⁰. The reason for such a move came from Septimius Severus who, in his fight with Clodius Albinus, needed additional troops from Pannonia and Illyricum. It is highly probable that the unit fought at the battle at *Lugdunum* in AD 197 on the side of Severus: on the building inscriptions dated to AD 231 and 241 the epithet *Septimia* appeared in the unit's title (II. 27-28; Spaul 2000, 191). These inscriptions are also used as an indication of the building activities of the unit in Germania Superior in the mid-third century.

¹⁴⁹ The soldier's origin is referred to be the tribal designation *Lingauster*. Spaul (2000, 192) suggests that this tribe needs to be searched for either in Gallia Narbonensis, where Pliny puts the tribe *Ligauni*, or in Gallia Lugdunensis, where the ancient sources place a river *Liger*, the modern Loire. Either way, Aprilis, was of local descent.

¹⁵⁰ Contra to Wilkes (1969, 141), who proposes that the unit left the province during the reign of Gallienus, which cannot be true, since the cohort was reconstructing the aqueducts in the area around Öhringen in AD 231 and 241 (II. 27-28).

Table 3.11 Position of *cohors I Belgarum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Germania Superior (until AD 97)	-	Dalmatia (AD 97 – ca AD 197)	Dalmatia (AD 97 – ca AD 197)	Germania Superior (ca AD 197 - ?)	-

Awards

Septimia - the unit probably received this title after its participation in the battle at *Lugdunum* at AD 197 on the side of Septimius Severus (Spaul 2000, 191).

Forts

It has been proposed that the unit might have been stationed for some time in Germania Inferior. The fort at Moers-Asberg, where two British brooches were discovered, can be proposed as a likely candidate for the the unit's base. The fort was built during offensive campaigns into Germany by Drusus and was in use until AD 83/85, after which it was abandoned until Late Antiquity (Horn 1987, 562). Between the years AD 41 – 83/85 cavalry regiments garrisoned the fort. From inscriptions two units are known: *ala I Tungrorum Frontiana* and *ala Moesica Felix torquata* (Bechert 1974, 162; Horn 1987, 563), both arrived in Germania Inferior from elsewhere than Britain. The date of the abandonment of the fort fits the timeline for the cohort's service proposed here: it might have been stationed there for a short period of time before the start of the Chattian wars, i.e. until AD 82.

The whereabouts of the unit in Germania Superior are uncertain. The occurrence of a tombstone of a soldier of the unit in Mainz, who probably died during the Chattian campaigns, might indicate where the cohort was located during the campaigns, although it does not mean that the unit was garrisoned there at all times.

The numerous inscriptions from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina place the unit at the military camp *Bigeste* (II. 4, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20 and 26; two monuments were located in the proximity of this fort, II. 11 and 22; Alföldy 1962, 266), modern Ljubuški, and at *Tilurium* (II. 2-3), modern Gardun (Wilkes 1969, 470, 472; Alföldy 1987, 249, 268-269; Matijević 2008, 192). Some of the unit's soldiers also served in the consul's office at Salona, modern Solin (II. 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15 and 18; Wilkes 1969, 470, 472; Alföldy 1962, 266; 1987, 249, 268-269; Matijević 2008, 192). It is notable that the majority of inscriptions with second century epigraphic formulae, that of *D.M.*, were located in *Bigeste*, while at *Tilurium* the epigraphic formulae points to the direction that the monuments were erected according to the earlier epigraphic tradition (a name of the deceased in the nominative). While Wilkes (1969, 472), Alföldy (1962, 266; 1987, 249) and Matijević (2008, 192) suggest that a detachment of this cohort was located at *Tilurium*, it is quite possible that the whole unit was stationed there first, i.e. prior to its relocation to *Bigeste*¹⁵¹. At *Bigeste* this unit stayed until the end of the second century and, compared to the five other cohorts known to have been garrisoned there, left the majority of epigraphic monuments there (Dodig 2007, 144). It also left the biggest number of tile stamps found in *Bigeste*, 10 to be precise (Dodig 2007, 144, 160; Tončinić 2009, 1455).

There are also some records of the unit stationed at Dobož (II. 9), *Burnum*, modern Ivoševci near Kistanje (II. 19), Kadina Glavica (II. 21), the island of Brač (II. 23), *Andetrium*, modern Muć (II. 24) and Tihaljina (II. 25). Apart from the inscription found

¹⁵¹ Cf. also Periša (2008, 510-511), who indicates that the *cohors I Belgarum* garrisoned first the auxiliary fort at *Tilurium* ca AD 100, and then relocated to the fort at *Bigeste* in the second century

on the island of Brač¹⁵², it has been claimed that the places, where these inscriptions were found, were stations of the unit or its detachments at the end of the second or beginning of the third century (Wilkes 1969, 472; Alföldy 1962, 266; 1987, 249, 268-269). It should be taken into account that some of these monuments are votives (II. 19, 21, 24 and 25), so it is possible that the unit was stationed elsewhere, and that the cohort's officials and soldiers came to these places for various reasons and erected the monuments as fulfillment of the vows at the end of their business there. The funerary inscription from Doboj (II. 9) was erected by the wife of a veteran who might have returned to his native village upon retirement.

In the third century the unit was stationed at the second fort at Öhringen, the so called *Bürgkastel*, in Germania Superior (II. 27-28; Baatz 2000, 236).

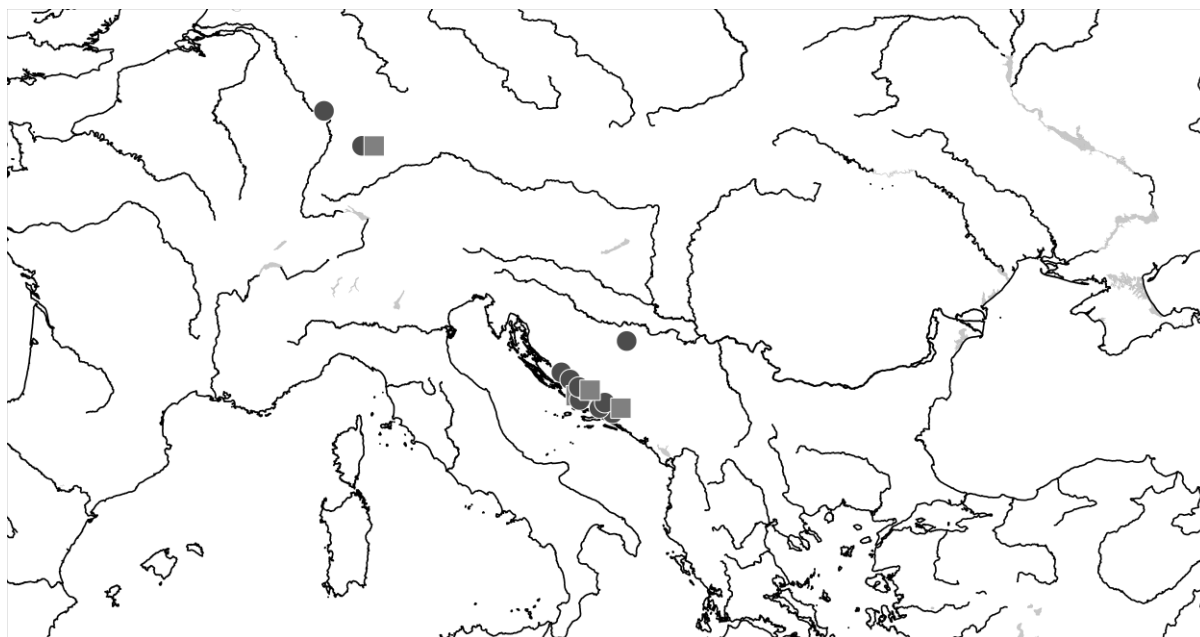


Figure 3.5 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of *cohors I Belgarum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Aprilis, son of Sous: centurion, before AD 97¹⁵³, II. 1

Caius Valerius, son of (...), Proculus: standard-bearer, decurion, serving in the late first century, II. 3, 6

Restitutus: centurion, serving in the late first century, II. 4

Vi(...) Severus: centurion, serving in the late first century, II. 5

Caius Iulius Verecundus: centurion, serving in the second century, II. 13

Maximus: decurion, serving in the late first - second century, II. 14

Quintus Servilius Statianus: centurion, serving in the second century, II. 10

Claudius Maximus: centurion, serving in the late first - second century, II. 21

Claudius Peregrinus: decurion, serving in the late first - second century, II. 19

Flavius Aurelianus: decurion, serving in the late second century, II. 17

¹⁵² This soldier was posted there for special services, i.e. to be in charge of the construction of a theatre (Alföldy 1987, 249).

¹⁵³ If we are right to assume that Aprilis died at Mainz as a result of the Chattian wars then the date of his recruitment can be placed ca AD 80 (died in AD 82 – 83 aged 22, recruited at the age of 20, thus, ca AD 80).

Quintus Silvius Speratus: centurion, serving in the late first - second century, II. 23
Sulpicius Calvio: commanding officer, serving in the late first - second century, II. 22
Flavius Victor: commanding officer, legionary centurion, serving in the unit in AD 173, II. 26

Lucius Valerius Optatus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 231, II. 27

Gaius Iulius Rogatianus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 241, II. 28

Principales / immunes:

Dassius, son of Bastarnus: standard-bearer, serving in the late first century, II. 4

Marcus Septimius Dasius: quaestor, serving in the late first century, II. 7

(...)emans (...)platoris: standard-bearer, serving in the late first century, II. 3

Victorius, son of Scenobarbus: trumpeter, serving in the second century, II. 11

Rusticus (?) Pines: *immunes*, serving in the late first - second century, II. 25

Turranius Fir(...): standard-bearer, serving in the late first - second century, II. 24

(...) ag (...)a: a cavalry man, a keeper of weapons, serving in the late first - second century II. 14

Soldiers:

Licinius Ca(pito?): soldier, serving in the late first century, II. 5

Statilius Pulcher: soldier, groom to a consul, serving in the late first century, II. 8

Unknown: soldier, serving in the late first century, II. 2

(...), son of (...)stus: soldier, serving in the late first - second century, II. 15

(...)tus: cavalryman, serving in the late second century, II. 16

Caius Iulius Maximus: veteran, serving in the second century, II. 9

Mercuius: soldier, serving in the second century, II. 12

Aurelius Hilarianus: soldier, groom, serving in the late second century, II. 18

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Apulea Sabina: wife of C. V. Proculus, II. 6

Aurelia Marina: aunt / grandmother to (...)stus, cavalryman, II. 16

Avilia Amabilis: wife of C. I. Maximus, II. 9

Caesia Panthera: wife of M. S. Dasius, II. 7

Calpurna Nympha: wife of Q. S. Statianus, II. 10

Candidus: mentioned on tombstone of A. Hilarianus, relationship uncertain, II. 18

Iulia B(...): wife of Fl. Aurelianus, II. 17

Iulia Ves(...): wife of (...)emans (...)platoris, II. 3

Gentius: an heir to Victorius, son of Scenobarbus, II. 11

Munnius: an heir to Victorius, son of Scenobarbus, II. 11

Postimia Restituta: a wife of C. I. Verecundus, II. 13

Valerius Maximinus: an heir to Dassius, son of Bastarnus, II. 4

Zosime: wife of Statilius Pulcher, II. 8

Soldiers without rank on II. 29 as they appear on the inscriptions:

Claudius Valerius

Gentilius Augustus

Similius Paternus

Senecionis F(...)inus

Hibernius Agilis

Iunianus Rogatus,

S(...)i(...)m(...)s

Restitutius Patruinus

Gentius Verinus

Senurius Maternus

Publius Aelius Moderatus

Aquinius M(...)nus

Aelius Lupionis

Decemius Florinus

Phantom officer:

Caius Iulius Victorius, son of Congonnetodubnus, grandson of Agedomopatis: military tribune, late first century (*CIL* XIII 1042-1045)

Origin

Known origin:

The origin of 6 officers and soldiers are known. Three hailed from Dalmatia: (...)emans Platoris was of the Dalmatian *Daesitiae* tribe; Dassius, son of Bastarnus, from the Dalmatian *Maezaei* tribe, and Mercuius from *Iadia / Iader*, the contemporary Croatian town of Zadar. Two were Pannonians: Flavius Aurelianus mentions his birth land as Pannonia and Caius Valerius Proculus indicates his native tribe *Azina*, which was considered by Spaul (2000, 192) to be a Pannonian tribal entity called *Azali*. A centurion Aprilis, son of Sous, hailed from the tribe *Lingauster*, probably one of tribes living in Roman Gaul.

Table 3.12 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors I Belgarum*

Origins	Numbers
Gallic tribes / Gaul: <i>Lingauster</i>	1
Illyrian tribes / Dalmatia: <i>Daesitae</i>	1
<i>Maezaei</i>	1
Town <i>Iadia / Iader</i>	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia: Pannonia	1
<i>Azinas / Azalus</i>	1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Marcus Septimius Dasius: his cognomen gives a clue as to his possible origin. His cognomen resembles the name of the unit's standard-bearer, Dassius, son of Bastarnus, who indicated his origin as one of the *Maezaei* tribe, an Illyrian tribal entity. On the basis of this it was suggested that the quaestor was of local descent, though not necessarily from the same tribe (Alföldy 1987, 258, no 24).

Illyrian names: Gentius, Munnius, Pines, Pulcher, Scenobarbus and Turranius: the names of four soldiers and two heirs indicate their Illyrian ancestry.

The the name of the father of Victorius, Scenobarbus, was widespread but limited to Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969, 289; Wilkes 1969, 477; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 22). The names of this soldier's heirs, Gentius and Munnius, are typical Illyrian personal names (Alföldy 1969, 249, 210).

The cognomen of the soldier Rusticus, Pines, was also limited to Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969, 264; Wilkes 1969, 478; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 14). Original homeland of Turranius lies most likely in the province of Dalmatia as well: it is well attested in Dalmatia, especially in the area around *Salona* (Wilkes 1969, 477; Alföldy 1987, 283, no 3, see also note 26). The same can be said about the soldier Statilius Pulcher, whose *nomen* and cognomen was widespread but prevailed in Dalmatia (for Statilius see Alföldy 1969, 122; Mócsy 1983, 273; OPEL IV 93; Minkova 2000, 257; for Pulcher see Alföldy 1969, 277; Mócsy 1983, 235; OPEL III 171).

People from Salona Quintus Servilius Statianus: the *gentilicium* of this centurion was heavily present in the area around *Salona* (Alföldy 1987, 283, no 8, note 30). Aurelius

Hilarianus: both *gentilicium* and cognomen were widespread in the area around *Salona* (Alföldy 1987, 283, no 6, note 28).

(...)tus, grandson / nephew of Aurelia Marina Aurelia Marina, despite the popularity of her name across the Empire (Alföldy 1969, 238-239; Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 58), might be of Illyrian origin since she was able to bury her nephew who served not far away from his home (Alföldy 1987, 284, no 20).

Table 3.13 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Belgarum* based on the prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Dalmatian tribes / Dalmatia	8 (+ two heirs, one aunt)= 11

Questionable origin:

Gaius Iulius Verecundus's family received citizenship in the time between Caesar and Tiberius. Most likely, Verecundus came from a family of Celtic speakers, since his cognomen prevailed in Celtic speaking territories (Mócsy 1983, 307; OPEL IV 157-158; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 18).

It can be speculated that aspects of the nomenclature of other servicemen can give some indication as to their origin. The cognomen of the prefect Optatus was especially popular among Celtic speakers, as was the nomen and cognomen of the centurion Quintus Silvius Speratus and the cognomen of another centurion Restitutus (for Optatus see Mócsy 1983, 209; OPEL III 115; Minkova 2000, 223; for Silvius see Mócsy 1983, 267; OPEL IV 83; for Speratus see Mócsy 1983, 272; OPEL IV 91; Alföldy 1987, 283, no 12; Minkova 2000, 256; for Restitutus see Mócsy 1983, 243; OPEL IV 27-28; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 19; Minkova 2000, 242).

The cognomen Candidus, a possible heir to A. Hilarianus, was popular everywhere but prevailed in the Danubian provinces (Mócsy 1983, 64; OPEL II 30-31; Minkova 2000, 131).

The cognomen Capito of one of the soldier prevailed in Moesia Inferior and might therefore indicate his native land (Mócsy 1983, 66; OPEL II 33; Minkova 2000, 131).

The origin of a veteran was not recorded, but both his *gentilicium* and cognomen were heavily present in the southern Dalmatia region (Alföldy 1987, 284, no 23, note 39).

Table 3.14 Questionable origin of soldiers of *cohors I Belgarum*

Origin	Numbers
Celtic speaking regions	4
Dalmatia	1
Danube provinces	(1 – a heir)
Moesia	1

Unidentifiable origin:

The origin of two centurions, two decurions, three commanding officers, one keeper of weapons and two soldiers remain uncertain.

Origin of soldiers without rank on II. 29

The meaning of this undated inscription is unknown. It presents the names of 14 men without any indication of their rank. There is also no clear indication that they served in *cohors I Septimia Belgarum*, although the unit's name is inscribed at the beginning of the inscription text. However, analysis of their names revealed that two of them were most likely of Gallic origin since their names are Gaulish personal names: Senecionis

and Senurius Maternus (for Senecionis see Mócsy 1983, 60 and Minkova 2000, 251, as Seneca in Alföldy 1969, 293; for Senurius see Alföldy 1969, 240; Mócsy 1983, 261; OPEL IV 68; for Maternus see Mócsy 1983, 181; OPEL III 65). Four of the cognomina were extremely popular in the Celtic provinces: Gentius Verinus, Similius Paternus, Gentilius Augustus (for Verinus see Mócsy 1983, 307; OPEL IV 158-159; for Paternus see Mócsy 1983, 216; OPEL III 127-128; for Augustus see Mócsy 1983, 38; OPEL I 95-96) and Restitutus Patruinus (Alföldy 1969, 261); two were popular everywhere but especially in Celtic speaking provinces: Publius Aelius Moderatus and Aelius Lupionis (for Moderatus see Mócsy 1983, 191; OPEL III 84; Lupionis attested as Lupio in Alföldy 1969, 234; Mócsy 1983, 169; OPEL III 38; Minkova 2000, 197). The elements of the nomenclature of the other six do not allow speculation about their origin. The inscription was found in Mainz, which was the provincial capital of Germania Superior, where the cohort was on service in the late first and, then, mid-third centuries AD. The inscription might have been a dedicatory and its appearance in the capital of the province would not, therefore, be surprising. Soldiers of the cohort might have it ordered to be made to commemorate some special event during their service and positioned it in the place, the provincial capital, where it could most easily be observed by everyone.

Phantom officer:

The undated¹⁵⁴ dedicatory inscription found in Saintes, France, records Caius Iulius Victorius, a military tribune probably serving in the *cohors I Belgarum* (CIL XIII 1042-1045). The reconstruction of the unit's name presents a problem, since only last four letters, **arum*. There is no other record of this military tribune or of his service in any other military units.

On the inscription it was mentioned that he was of Voltinian voting tribe and that he held an office as chief engineer (*praefecto fabrum*), which suggests that he was of the equestrian order (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007b, 15). The names of his father and grandfather, Congonnetodubnus and Agedomopatis, are classical examples of compound Celtic personal names (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007b, 15; 2009, 7-8, 11).

Because the funerary monument was found in Saintes, it can be suggested that this military tribune was of local ancestry, who returned after the end of his service to his homeland (his service as priest of the cult of Roma and Augustus at Koblenz was recorded on the inscription). That he was a military tribune of the *cohors I Belgarum* is questionable due to the unreliable restoration of the inscription, thus, it has been omitted from the general description of the unit's soldiers.

Wives:

The names of eight wives of the officers and soldiers from this cohort have survived, which is quite a rare occurrence. Their origins are difficult to identify since it was not mentioned on the inscription but their nomenclature can shed some light. The wife of M. S. Dasius most likely came from the same province as her husband, since her name, Panthera, is supposed to be some kind of Illyrian name (Alföldy 1969, 259). The wife of G. Iulius Verecundus might had the same provincial origin as her husband. Her nomen and cognomen, Postimia Restituta, prevailed in Celtic speaking areas, and her cognomen is a Latinised Celtic name (for Postimia see Alföldy 1969, 112; for Restituta see Mócsy 1983, 243; Minkova 2000, 242). Two soldiers of Pannonian and Illyrian origin (Flavius Aurelianus and (...)emans Platoris) chose to marry women with Roman citizenship. Their wives were called Iulia, which indicates they came from families with Roman citizenship granted some time in the period between Augustus and Caligula. The origin of Avilia Amabilis, wife of G. I. Maximus, Apuleia Sabina, wife of C. V. Proculus,

¹⁵⁴ But see Raybould and Sims-Williams (2007b, 15), who date it to AD 31 – 50.

Calpurna Nympha, wife of Q. S. Statianus and Zosime, wife of Statilius Pulcher are hard to identify because their names were popular everywhere (for Avilia see Mócsy 1983, 38, OPEL I 96; Apuleia recorded as Apulia in Mócsy 1983, 25; OPEL I 70; Minkova 2000, 115; for Sabina see Mócsy 1983, 248; OPEL IV 40-41; Minkova 2000, 246; for Calpurna see Mócsy 1983, 62; OPEL II 25; for Nympha see Mócsy 1983, 205; OPEL III 107; Minkova 2000, 222).

Table 3.15 Origin of soldiers in *cohors I Belgarum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Gallic tribes / Gaul:	1
Illyrian tribes / Dalmatia:	12
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia:	2
Moesia	1
Celtic speaking regions:	12
Unknown:	16
	Total: 44

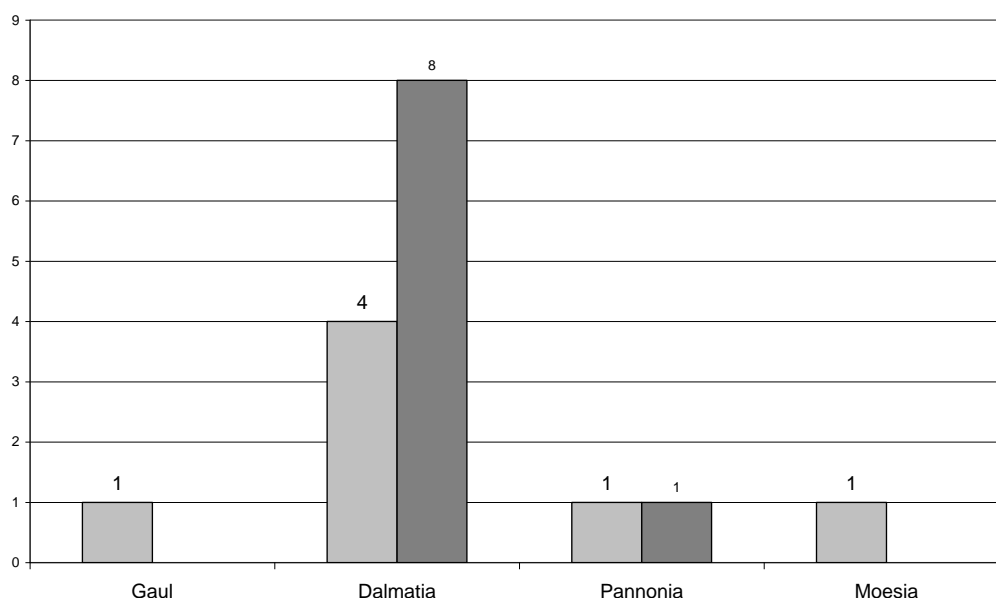


Figure 3.6 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Belgarum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

It has been proposed that the unit might have been stationed for some time, probably prior to AD 82, in Germania Inferior. Where the cohort was garrisoned remains uncertain, though the occurrence of British brooches dated to the Flavian period on the line of the limes forts from Xanten to Bonn can be considered an indication of the unit's whereabouts. Here the fort at Moers-Asberg was proposed as a likely candidate.

When the unit was in Germania Superior, the position of the unit was likely to be in the Wetterau-Taunus frontier region (an area of the active military campaigns of the Chattian wars), where another concentration of British brooches were found.

The British-made brooch was reported from Croatia: the exact findspot was recorded as unknown but the region, northern Dalmatia, was noted (Batović *et al.* 1981, 174, no 270; Morris 2010, 189, no 171 mistakenly indicates Zadar as a findspot). In this region, which stretches from the Kvarner Riviera down to Split, epigraphy attests the presence

of two British cohorts, *cohortes I Belgarum* and *I Flavia Brittonum*. Moreover, there is evidence that at *Salona*, which lies on the same stretch, soldiers from both units served in the consul's office. It has also been recorded that the *cohors I Belgarum* recruited people from the region around modern Zadar, Roman *Iader*, which also lies on the same stretch. It seems reasonable therefore to assume that the brooch might have belonged to one of the soldiers from either British cohorts, who was either on a recruitment mission or was serving at the consul's office at *Salona*.

Excavations of the Roman military camp at Trilj/Gardun were undertaken in the season of 2000 and 2004, although prior to the excavations Croatian archaeologists were able to analyse small collections of Roman finds held by the local villagers (Sanader 1998, 2001; Sanader *et al.* 2004). The site has produced vast amounts of material, though only a small fraction of it has been published and only a few artefacts have found their way to museums (Tončinić 2004, 148-149). What has been analysed and published, including some brooches, was not identified as British-made (Bekić 1998; Ivčević 2004, 2010).

Another military camp, where the *cohors I Belgarum* was garrisoned in Dalmatia, is *Bigeste*, from where military stamps of our cohort have been reported (Dodig 2007). Various archaeological reports are known to me, which cover the excavations of this fort (esp. works of Bojanovski), but, unfortunately, it was not possible to inspect them (see Dodig 2007, 161-163 for bibliography).

The collection of Roman period brooches found in Dalmatia have been published in two works by Ivčević (2005; 2006), though neither had mentioned British-made brooches. Another similar work (Koščević 1998) was not available for inspection.

The western fort at Öhringen, Germany, where the unit was located in the third century, now lies under the building of a hospital (Baatz 2000, 236), though some parts of the site were uncovered in the excavations of 1909 – 1911 by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* and in the excavations of 1959, 1961 and 1970 (Schönberger 1972, 233-237). In the latter excavations numerous artefacts came to light, the majority being pottery assemblages (Schönberger 1972, 248-279). From the area of the fort itself only a few bronze artefacts were uncovered, none identified as brooches (Schönberger 1972, 280).

3.2.4. *Cohors I Britannica*

History

The cohort was already in existence by AD 55, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 80 (I. 1; Tully 2005, 380, note 67). Of the unit's participation in the events of AD 69 nothing is known, but considering that the forces of Vitellius consisted of "reinforcement from Britain, Gaul and Germany" (Tacitus *Hist.* III 15, 22), it is possible that the cohort was part of these forces together with the *ala I Britannica*, as discussed above.

The presence of two British recruits, Lucco¹⁵⁵, enlisted in AD 80 (I. 6), and Virssuccius (II. 2), suggests that the unit was actually in Britain prior to AD 80 and was relocated overseas immediately after these soldiers' recruitment¹⁵⁶, since in June AD 80 it was recorded as part of the army of Pannonia (I. 1). Between the years AD 69 – 80, the cohort might have returned to Britain, as was the case with the *ala I Britannica* (Kennedy 1977, 252).

¹⁵⁵ His direct British origin was doubted by Kennedy (1977, 253-254), though, as will be discussed below, this appears to be true.

¹⁵⁶ Contra Lörincz (2001, 31), who proposes that the cohort was actually in Pannonia at the beginning of Vespasian's reign.

In the early 80s Domitian started to strengthen the frontiers of the Danube after the attacks of the Dacians on Moesia and ordered additional troops into the area (Jones B. 1992, 137). The cohort was transferred to Pannonia possibly as a result of these preparations, since it is attested on the diplomas issued in AD 80, 84 and 85 for the army of Pannonia (I. 1-3).

The cohort was one of the units transferred from Pannonia to Dacia and formed part of the support troops during the Dacian Wars (I. 4-6; Beneš 1970, 172; Petolescu 1997, 92; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 135; Holder 2006b, 156). Its location was the province Moesia Superior, though Matei-Popescu and Tentea (2006, 129) make a case that the unit merely passed under the command of the governor of Moesia Superior, while actually being garrisoned somewhere in Dacia. The unit was there until the end of the wars, though immediately after them it formed the garrison of the newly established province Dacia (I. 7-12; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 135; Holder 2003, 132; 2006b, 158). Later it formed part of the newly established Dacia Superior (I. 13, diploma dated to AD 119), and since AD 123 – Dacia Porolissensis¹⁵⁷ (I. 14-27; Beneš 1970, 172; Petolescu 1997, 92; Isac 2003, 43; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 135; Holder 2003, 132; 2006b, 18; Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 210, 212). The cohort was still in Dacia Porolissensis as late as AD 216 / 217 (II. 9-10), and probably until the abandonment of the Dacian province by the Roman army in AD 275 (Isac 2003, 41).

Table 3.16 Position of *cohors I Britannica*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Northern Italy (?)	Britain (AD 69 – 80?) Pannonia (AD 80-101)	Moesia Superior (AD 101 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 106 – 118) Dacia Superior (AD 118 – AD 123) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	-

Awards

Civium Romanorum – this title was granted to this unit for its participation in the first Dacian War: this epithet appeared on the diplomas issued for the army of Moesia Superior dated to AD 103 – 106 (I. 4-6; Petolescu 1997, 92; Isac 2003, 38; Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 212). The unit did not hold this title for long: this epithet is absent already on the diplomas issued from AD 133 onwards (I. 18-27). Its place was taken by the epithet *equitata*, an indication that this thousand-man strong unit was a mixed cavalry and infantry cohort.

Antoniana – this honorific epithet was granted to the cohort in the time of Caracalla (II. 10), though it is unknown for what reason. The participation of the unit, or a detachment of it, in the Parthian War of Caracalla, AD 216, cannot be supported.

¹⁵⁷ Tentea and Matei-Popescu (2002-2003, 274) include this unit on the diploma issued for the army of Dacia Porolissensis in AD 124/128 (I. 15). The diploma did not fully survive and only the name of one British unit, probably the *cohors II Britannorum*, is readable. Since our cohort is attested on the diplomas for AD 123 and AD 128 (I. 13-14 and 16), it is highly plausible that it also appeared on the diploma I. 15.

Forts

The whereabouts of the cohort, when it was in Pannonia, varies from scholar to scholar: Vasić (2003, 147) places it at *Acumincum*, the contemporary Stari Slankamen in Serbia, while Lörincz (2001, 31, 51) suggests *Rittium*, the modern Serbian town of Surduk, where the unit might have been placed until AD 89, and *Brigetio*, modern Szöny in Hungary, the possible location of the unit from AD 89 until 101; Számadó and Borhy (2003, 78) place this unit in *Brigetio* around AD 80; Visy (2003a, 145, 149) - *Acumincum* during the period of Vespasian/Domitian and at *Brigetio* during the reign of Domitian. The reason behind such dissension is the contradictory evidence from the surviving epigraphic sources: one funerary monument, found in *Acumincum*, was made for a soldier of this cohort, who probably died as a result of the second, or third, Pannonian wars of Domitian, AD 92 – 95 (II. 2) and a military diploma (I. 6) issued to a soldier of this cohort married to an *Azali* woman, whom he probably met, when his cohort was positioned in the vicinity of the lands of this tribe, near the Roman fort *Solva*. The author of this thesis is more convinced that the cohort was first positioned in *Brigetio* auxiliary camp, which can also be supported by archaeological evidence discussed below, and was later transferred to *Acumincum*, although the exact dates of these relocations are open to discussion.

There is no direct evidence for the whereabouts of the unit between the years AD 106 – 118, though Isac (2003, 40-42) argues for various locations. Since it has been widely acknowledged that during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian troops were moved constantly between various forts, the *cohors I Britannica* might have been placed at different forts in a period of less than a year (Isac 2003, 39). The tile stamps attributed to the *cohors I Britannica* found in Cășeiu, abbreviated as *CIB*, are similar to those from the fort Slăveni, Romania, located in layers dated to the time of Trajan (Isac 2003, 41). Moreover, another tile stamps abbreviated as *COH I BR* were located in the fort Dierna, Romania, which lies in the territory occupied by the Roman army in the aftermath of the first Dacian war (Marcu 2004, 573-574). It is, thus, possible that the unit was located here and there for a while, where it took jobs of construction, though Isac (2003, 42) warns that *CIB/COHIB* can stand for other British units stationed in Dacia and Moesia Superior in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars.

It is notable that one of the unit's soldiers recruited in AD 108 (I. 18) originated from either the Pannonian tribal entity, the *Cornacates* or from *Cornacum*, modern Sotin, Serbia, which lies between *Acumincum* and *Teutoburgium*, near modern Vukovar, Croatia (Daicovicu and Protase 1961, 70; Lörincz 2001, abb. 1). Considering that, in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars, the cohort needed to be replenished with new recruits and the likelihood that these recruits came from adjacent territories, the station of the unit ca AD 108 should be searched for in the *Cornacates* tribal territory.

Since the time of Hadrian the cohort was located in Cășeiu, where it stayed until AD 275 (II. 3, 5, 6, 10 and 11; Isac 2003, 41-47).

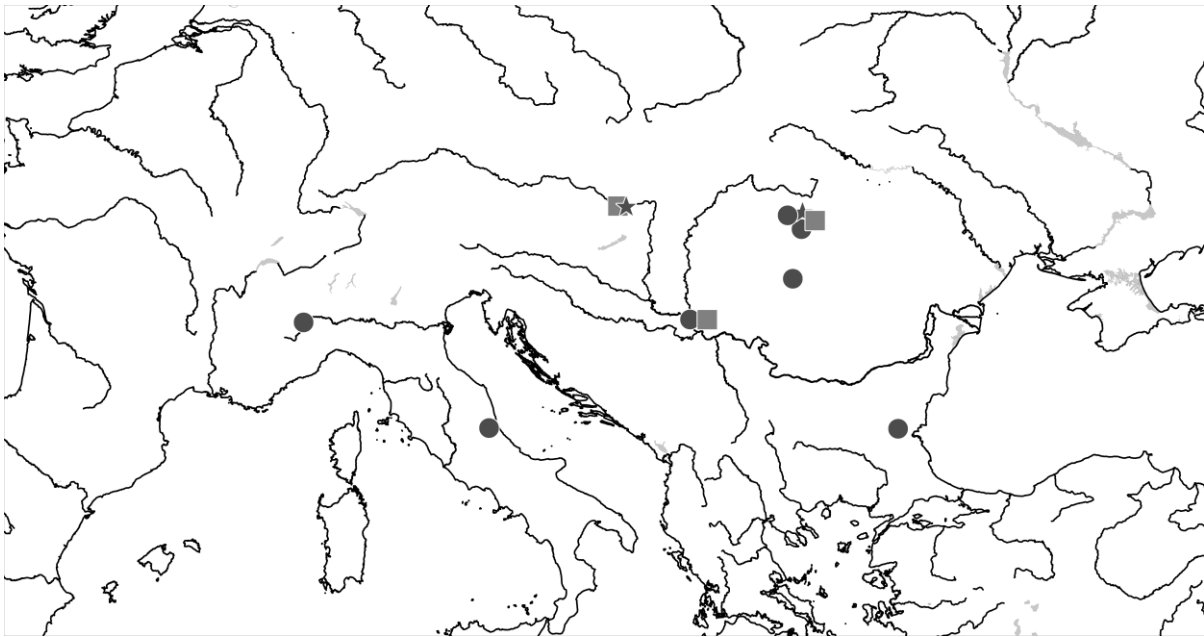


Figure 3.7 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors I Britannica*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Lucius Alfius Restitutus: tribune, serving his second *militia* before AD 79 – 81, II. 1

Montanus: decurion, serving in the unit ca AD 95/96, II. 2

Quintus Caecilius Redditus: prefect, serving in the unit in AD 105, I. 6

Tiberius Claudius Fortis: prefect, serving in the unit in AD 133, I. 18

Publius Aelius Tertius: veteran, former centurion, serving in the late second century AD, II. 7

Caius Iulius Corinthianus: tribune, serving his second *militia* ca AD 160 but before AD 161 – 166, II. 9

Unknown: military tribune, serving his second *militia* in the second century AD, II. 12

? (...), son of Crepereios: prefect, II. 13

Principales / immunes:

Bodiccus: standard-bearer, serving in the unit ca AD 95/96, II. 2

Virssuccius, son of (E?)sus: cavalryman and standard-bearer, ca AD 80/81 – 95/96¹⁵⁸, II. 2

Soldiers:

Lucco, son of Trenus: infantryman, ca AD 80 – 105, I. 6

Sepenestus, son of Rivus: infantryman, ca AD 108 – 133, I. 18

Aurelios Mouchichnos: soldier, late second century AD, II. 8

Aurelius Respectus: soldier, late second century AD, II. 3

Aur(elius) R Ran(us?): veteran, late second century AD, II. 5

Marcellus: soldier (?) or veteran (?), late second century AD, II. 4

(Mucatra)lus, son of Bithus: soldier (?), late second century AD, II. 6

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Aelia Aestiva: wife of P. A. Tertius, II. 7

¹⁵⁸ This soldier was probably of British descent (discussed below). Considering that he might have been recruited ca AD 80 at the same time as Lucco, son of Trenus, and served for 15 years, he must have died ca AD 95, which fits precisely in the timeframe of the third Pannonian war, AD 95/96.

Aelius Iunianus: son of A. R Ranus, II. 5
 Aelius Viator: son of A. R Ranus, II. 5
 Albanus: heir to Virssuccius, II. 2
 Aurelius / Aurelia: mentioned on the tombstone of Marcellus, relationship and sex unknown, II. 4
 Claudia Paulina: wife of L.A. Restitutus, II. 1
 Iulius Clinias: heir to C.I. Corinthianus, II. 9
 Lucca: daughter of Lucco, son of Trenus, I. 6
 Marcus Arrianus: heir to C.I. Corinthianus, II. 9
 Pacata: daughter of Lucco, son of Trenus, I. 6
 Pisonianus: heir to C.I. Corinthianus, II. 9
 Similus: son of Lucco, son of Trenus, I. 6
 Titus Crepereios Fronto: father of (...), son of Crepereios, II. 13
 Tutula, daughter of Breucus: wife of Lucco, son of Trenus, I. 6
 (...).aria (...).ix: wife (?) of Marcellus, II. 4

Possible units' soldiers mentioned by Isac (2003, 44-47) on account of their monuments being found in Cășeiu or in Vad and dated to the late second century

Aurelia Tsinta: wife of (...) Blasa, *CIL* III 7635
 Aurelius (...): veteran, *ILD* 787
 (...) Blasa: cavalryman, *CIL* III 7635
 Iulius Cres(cens): veteran, *ILD* 781 = *AE* 1932, 74 = *AE* 1980, 759
 Lucius Cilius Aelianus¹⁵⁹: *principales*, *CIL* III 830 = *CIL* III 7631
 Tiberius Aurelius Ro(...) Iulianus¹⁶⁰: *principales*, *CIL* III 830 = *CIL* III 7631
 (...)uscianus: cavalryman, *CIL* III 6245
 (...)us: veteran, *CIL* III 7636
 Unknown: mentioned in Isac (2003, 47)

Origin of personnel

Known origin:

Lucco, son of Trenus, discharged in AD 105, indicated his origin as *Dobunno*, the British tribal entity who lived around modern Cirencester in the west of England. However, it was proposed that the names of the soldier and his father were typical of the Celts living in central Europe, in provinces such as Noricum, Raetia and Pannonia (Kennedy 1977, 254). Lucco was, in this case, the son of a Dobunnian woman married to a soldier from Noricum who had at one time served in Britain, but, having been transferred with his unit back to the Continent, died in service. In such cases, the children, if born before citizenship was granted, would take the origin of their mother. Yet, the names of both father and son are well attested in the British epigraphical record (Russell and Mullen 2009). It must also be noted that the element *luc-* is the third most commonly attested element in Roman Britain (Mullen 2007, 50). Hence, it seems reasonable to suggest that Lucco was indeed a Briton, from the *Dobunni* tribe. The time of his recruitment is AD 80 which corresponds with the previously proposed idea that around that time the cohort was still in Britain, recruiting locals.

The origin of another soldier, Sepenestus, son of Rivus, was indicated on his military diploma, but the reading of it is dubious. The letters of the soldier's origin were corrected by the engraver from PANNON to COR(I)NON (Daicoviciu and Protase 1961, 64). COR(I)NON might have stood for the British town *Corinium Dobunorum*, modern Cirencester in the UK, the capital of the *Dobunni* tribe, from where Lucco, son of Trenus

¹⁵⁹ In Isac (2003, 46) this person is written down as Caecilius Aelianus.

¹⁶⁰ In Isac (2003, 46) this person is written down as Aurelius Iulianus.

hailed, or for a Pannonian tribe *Cornacates* or for a town in Pannonia Inferior, *Cornacum* (Daicovicu and Protase 1961, 70). When Sepenestus was enlisted, the unit was on service in Moesia Superior. The tribal entity *Cornacates* lived in southeast Pannonia, bordering Moesia Superior, and it seems reasonable to suggest that Sepenestus was actually from this very tribe. The confusion in the correction of the origin might derive from the practice of Pannonian recruits, who, when “serving inside Pannonia were given their proper *origo* [...] those serving outside [...] appear only as *Pannonio*” (RMD I 35). Probably, the recipient of the diploma tried himself to correct his origin, intending to write more precise origin COR(I)NON rather than simply stating the provincial one.

The origin of three officers is recorded: Tiberius Claudius Fortis was from Capua in Italy, Publius Aelius Tertius was from *Claudium Virunum*, in Noricum, modern Zollfeld in Austria, and Caius Iulius Corinthianus originated from North African *Theveste* in Numidia, modern Tébessa in Algeria.

Table 3.17 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors I Britannica*

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britain: <i>Dobunni</i>	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia: <i>Cornocates</i>	1
Italy Town of Capua	1
Noricum: Town of <i>Claudium Virunum</i>	1
Numidia: Town of <i>Theveste</i>	1

Origin based on prospographical and onomastic analysis:

Virssuccius, son of Esus The name Virssuccius is a compound name consisting of such Gaulish elements as *viro-*, *su-* and probably *cci-*, the later being an adaptation of the element *cico-* (For the element *viro-* see Evans 1967, 286-288, Delamarre 2001, 270; *su-* Evans 1967, 257, Delamarre 2001, 239-240; *cico-* Delamarre 2001, 97-98). His father’s name has also common Gaulish name element *esu-* (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 16). While on the Continent it appears mostly in compound names (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 11, 13 names such as Esumagius, Esumopas and Esunertus), in Britain itself it is quite popular in one-element names (Russell and Mullen 2009, under the name element *esu-*, names such as Aesu(s) and Esico¹⁶¹). That this soldier was most likely of British descent can be supported by the date of his recruitment. Virssuccius served 15 years and died probably as a result of the third Pannonian war, ca AD 95/96. Calculations show that he was recruited ca AD 80, probably at the same time as Lucco, son of Trenus, when the cohort was still in Britain.

Bodiccius The name of Virssuccius heir and fellow, Bodiccius, is also a compound one consisting of Gaulish elements such as *boudi-* and *ico-* (For *boudi-* see Evans 1967, 136-158, Delamarre 2001, 71-72; *ico-* Delamarre 2001, 158 and Russell and Mullen 2009; the element *ico-* is attested in their database as suffix *iko-*). Since it is highly plausible that this soldier was recruited at the same time as his fellow Virssuccius, his British descent is likely.

¹⁶¹ This name is attested on a coin minted in the Icenian territory (Mullen and Russell 2009, under the name element *esu-* and name Esico, accessed on 29. 06. 2011). It is notable that another soldier serving at the same time as Virssuccius, son of Esus also had a name that sounded similar to that of the Icenian queen Boudicca. He was called Bodiccius.

(Mucatra)lus, son of Bithus This soldier's parental name – Bithus – is Thracian, so the son of Bithus must be of Thracian descent (Paki 1998, 132, no 18; Minkova 2000, 126).

Aurelios Mouchichnos This soldier erected a monument with an inscription in Greek to the god Aularchenos, an epithet or name of the so-called Thracian rider (for the discussion on Thracian rider see Dimitrova 2002, 210). Moreover, the stone itself bears a typical depiction of this Thracian rider - a horseman galloping and attacking a boar - the theme which is extremely present on monuments erected in Thrace and in the areas “characterized by Thracian presence” (Dimitrova 2002, 210). Taking this into account and the fact that this votive monument was ordered to be inscribed in the Greek language, it can be suggested that Mouchichnos most likely hailed from Thrace.

(...), son of Crepereios It is uncertain, whether (...), son of Crepereios, was indeed the prefect of this cohort. Devijver (2001, 58) sees him as a prefect of the *cohors III Britannorum*, while Spaul (2000, 204) as the prefect of *cohors VI Brittonum*. However, on his inscription it is clearly stated that he was a prefect of a cohort with the title *Britannica*, the numeral was omitted. Because there was only one cohort with such a title, *cohors I Britannica*, it is more than plausible that he was prefect of this particular unit, rather than of another. He might have been a native to *Attaleia* in Lycia and Pamphylia, Antalya in Turkey, since he was buried and commemorated there by his father, Titus Crepereios Fronto (Devijver 2001, 58), although the name appeared in a slightly different spelling as Crepereius in Danube provinces Dalmatia, Moesia Inferior and Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 92; OPEL II 83).

Table 3.18 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Britannica* based on the prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Britain	2
Thracia	2
Lycia et Pamphylia	1

Questionable origin:

The cognomen of the prefect, Quintus Caecilius Redditus, is very rare in the Roman Empire and appears on only two inscriptions found in Dalmatia, one in Pannonia, Noricum, Moesia Inferior and Superior (Alföldy 1969, 281; Mócsy 1983, 241; OPEL IV 24). Devijver (2001, 58) suggests that his origin should be searched for in the East; however, the appearance of this cognomen in Danubian provinces might point to his origin.

The name of the decurion of the unit – Montanus – was very popular in Celtic-speaking regions on the Continent (Mócsy 1983, 192; OPEL III 87). He served in the unit around the end of the first century and would have commanded Virsuccius and Boddicius. If at that time the unit was filled with British recruits, he too could be of British origin, due to policy of the Roman army to have commanders that could speak the language of the recruits (Holder 1980, 80-86). Such practice was still in use in the late first century AD (Holder 1980, 88), when Montanus was appointed the unit's decurion.

The cognomen of the veteran, Aurelius Ranus, is unlisted anywhere, except in Minkova who doubted the spelling of the name (Minkova 2000, 240, as Aeranus). Names starting with *ran-* appear in Noricum, Pannonia and Dalmatia, which would suggest the origin as from the Danubian provinces (OPEL IV 22 as Rania in Noricum, Rannius in Italy, Ransaius in Pannonia, Rantius in Italy, Hispania, Dalmatia and Pannonia).

Table 3.19 Questionable origin of soldiers of *cohors I Britannica*

Origin	Numbers
Celtic speaking regions	1
Danube provinces	2

Unidentifiable origin:

The origin of two tribunes and two soldiers remains uncertain. Lucius Alfius Restitutus, who served in two British units, had a widespread cognomen, which prevailed in Celtic regions and was a Latinised Celtic name (Mócsy 1983, 243; Minkova 2000, 242). Devijver¹⁶² (2001, 58) suggests that his origin was the Italian town of Turin, where he was buried, though tribune might have settled there with his wife upon his retirement from the military service and originated from elsewhere. As for Aurelius Respectus, it is difficult to place his origin since he had a typically Roman name that prevailed in Celtic speaking regions (Mócsy 1983, 242, OPEL IV 26-27, Minkova 2000, 242).

Origin of possible unit's soldiers

Isac (2003, 44-47) suggests that the soldiers, whose funerary and votive monuments were found in the vicinity of the Cășeiu fort and dated to the late second century AD, served in the *cohors I Britannica*. The monuments of 8 soldiers have survived, of which the names of 4 males and one female are clearly visible, though the origin can only be identified for one soldier and his wife: Blasa and his wife Aurelia Tsinta were probably of Thraco-Dacian descent (Isac 2003, 46).

Wives and children:

Lucco, son of Trenus, was married to a woman from the *Azali* tribe in Pannonia; they probably met while his cohort was stationed in the tribal territory of the *Azali* around AD 80. At the time of his being discharged they already had three children: a son and two daughters. Their children had typical Roman cognomina prevailing in Celtic speaking regions: Similis, Lucca and Pacata. Interestingly enough, these names have, as translated directly from Latin, 'a peaceful meaning': Similis means "similar", the name Pacata derives from the Latin word – "pax" meaning peace (Minkova 2000, 254, 223 respectively). It is very tempting to suggest that Lucco wanted his children to be 'similar' to the Romans and live their lives 'peacefully'. Only the name of the second daughter – Lucca – has the Gaulish element *luc-* which was widespread in Roman Britain (Mullen 2007, 50). It seems that her father wanted his name to be preserved in one of the children's.

The origin of the wife of L. A. Restitutus, Claudia Paulina, is obscure, though her cognomen is rare, but appeared on couple of the inscriptions in Gallia Belgica and Gallia Lugdunensis (OPEL III, 129).

The origin of the wife of Publius Aelius Tertius is obscure. Her first name Aelia, as well as the nomen of her husband, shows that they both received citizenship at the time of Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius, probably jointly when P. A. Tertius was discharged. Her cognomen Aestiva in its male variation, Aestivus, is found in abundance in Spain and in some Celtic speaking regions including Belgica, Noricum and Gallia Lugdunensis, once in Dalmatia and Dacia; the female variant has been found on one inscription in Spain (Alföldy 1969, 143; Mócsy 1983, 7; OPEL I 31).

¹⁶² Devijver (2001, 58) also, probably mistakenly, assumes that L. Alfius Restitutus was a military tribune of the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum*, and not the *cohors I Britannica*.

On the tombstone of Aurelius Respectus two figures are depicted: a woman, most likely his wife, and a male child. The woman is wearing what appears to be a Norican hat of type “*Norische Haube H 4*” (Garbsch 1965, 16). This type was worn by women living in the region around *Virunum* and *Flavia Solva* in Noricum (Garbsch 1965, 16). That this woman preferred to be depicted on the tombstone wearing the traditional Norican hat, might indicate her origin, though one might ask how she, a Norican, had met a soldier who had served on the Dacian limes.

The identity of the third person mentioned on the tombstone of Virsuccius, son of Esus, Albanus, is obscure. It has been suggested that, since there is no indication on the tombstone who this person might be, but there is an indication as to who Bodiccus is, Albanus may well be the son of Virsuccius (Spaul 2000, 194). Virsuccius has decided to give his son a popular cognomen, which referred to his having blonde hair (Mócsy 1983, 11; OPEL I 38).

The sons of A. R. Ranus, Aelius Iunianus and Aelius Viator, with the imperial *gentilicium* Aelii, were given names that were quite widespread in the Danube regions (for Iunianus see OPEL II 207; for Viator see OPEL IV, 164-165).

Table 3.20 Origin of soldiers in *cohors I Britannica*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britain	3
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia:	1
Noricum	1
Thracia	2
Numidia	1
Italy	1
Lycia et Pamphylia	1
Danube regions	2
Celtic speaking regions	1
Unknown:	4
	Total: 17

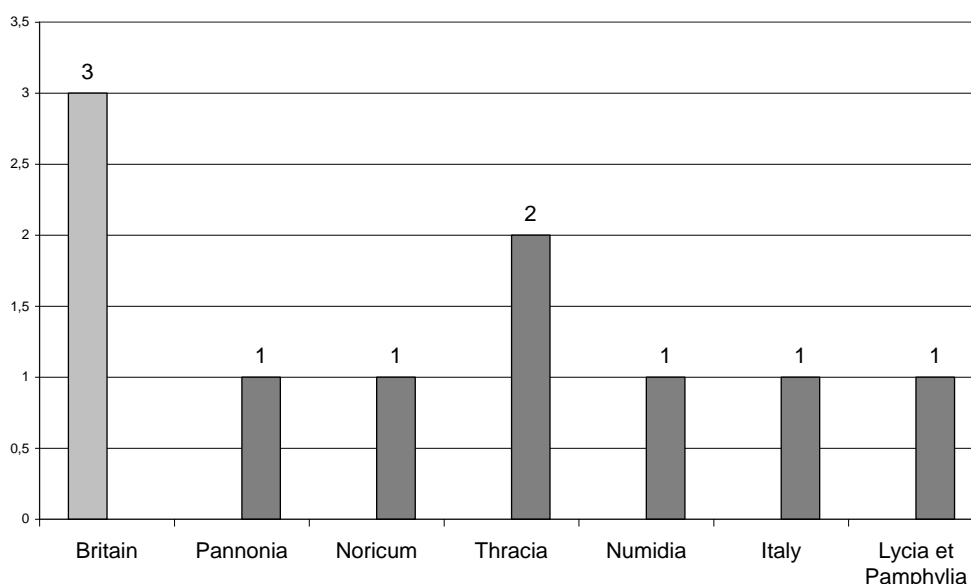


Figure 3.8 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Britannica* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey – for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

A British brooch has been reported from a military installation near Szöny, in Hungary, where *cohors I Britannica* might have been garrisoned in the auxiliary fort around AD 80 (Számadó and Borhy 2003, 78). The context in which this brooch was found was not mentioned (Kovrig 1937, 71, no 140), thus, it could have come from the cemeteries, legionary fortress, the *canabae legionis* or the auxiliary fort. If we are right to assume that our cohort was positioned on the *ripa Pannonica* in this fort, then the British soldiers in this unit can be held responsible for bringing this brooch there.

Acumincum fort was excavated in 1995, and it was established that it was a multi-layered site: the Roman fortress sat atop an Iron Age *oppidum* (Vasić 2003, 147). From the oldest layers some ceramics and tiles have been recorded. The full report of the excavation was not available to the author to inspect, though the fort has been briefly discussed in Vasić (2003, 147) and Wilkes (2005, 207).

A British-made brooch was found in the layer datable to phase II of the barrack blocks situated on *praetentura dextra* in the fort Cășeiu (Isac 2003, 257, pl. XIX, no 9). Two building phases of the barracks correspond to the period when two British cohorts were posted here: phase I - *cohors II Britannorum* and phase II - *cohors I Britannica* (Isac 2003, 179). However, the phases overlap archaeologically. Thus, in spite of the fact that the brooch was found in the layer datable to the phase II, it could have reached the fort with a member from either unit.

Three following *cohors I Brittonum* has generally been considered to be one unit (cf. Spaul 2000, 195-197), although Romanian archaeologists distinguish three cohorts with the same name, but with different titles (Marcu 2002 – 2003). In my analysis I follow the latter distinction.

3.2.5. *Cohors I Aelia Brittonum*

History

This unit with the epithet Aelia is known only from two inscriptions, one dated to the reign of Hadrian, the other to AD 238 (II. 3 and 6 consequently), and from various stamped tiles excavated in the forts Wallsee and Mautern on the Norican frontier and dated to the mid second century (*AE* 1949, 1; *AE* 1997, 1227; *AE* 2000, 1148a/b; Genser 1986, 292, note 189; Jilek 2000b, 356, 259, 340-342, abb. 247). The title Aelia usually implies that a unit was created by Hadrian or was distinguished by Hadrian for particular service (Holder 1998, 253). While there is no indication that cohort with this epithet existed prior to the reign of Hadrian, it seems reasonable to assume that the unit was established earlier rather than by Hadrian and possibly started its life as *cohors I Brittonum*. The unit with the title *cohors I Brittonum milliaria* has been recorded on the diplomas issued for the army of Pannonia in AD 85 (I. 1), of Moesia Inferior in AD 111 and 116 (I. 2-4) and of Pannonia Inferior in AD 125/126 and 135 (I. 5 and 6). It is disputed which unit hides behind this title (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 227). In the diploma for Pannonia issued in AD 85 it might have been either a future cohort with the title Aelia or the future cohort designated by Trajan with the title Ulpia (discussed in detail below). In the Moesian diplomas for the years AD 111 and 116 the unit is considered to be either the future *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* or *cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum* (discussed below; RMD IV p. 434, no 7). In the diploma for AD 135 for the army in Pannonia Inferior the unit recorded might have been the one with the title Aelia or another one with the title Flavia (the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* discussed below; Roxan 1999, 253).

Marcu (2002 – 2003, 228, esp. note 82) suggests a tentative solution: originally there was one *cohors I Brittonum* which at a later stage was split into two. One detachment

went to Moesia Superior and Dacia where it participated in the wars and afterwards stayed in Dacia. For its bravery in Dacian Wars this detachment was awarded with honorific titles such as *Ulpia*, *civium Romanorum* and *pia fidelis*. Second detachment was sent to Moesia Inferior where, during the Dacian Wars, it was used as a part of the support troops; afterwards it was transferred to Pannonia and later to Noricum where it remained for the whole second century. The unit was then enlarged by Hadrian to *milliaria* and granted the title *Aelia* for the battle honour when “minor disturbance took place in the province of Pannonia” (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 220, esp. note 12). Overall, if we follow Marcu’s suggestion on the division of the *cohors I Brittonum* into two detachments of ca 500 men strong during the Dacian Wars, the occurrence of two units with the same ethnic name and the same numeral but with different honorific titles no longer has to be regarded as problematic.

The service of *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* in Noricum after AD 136 has been established from the archaeological and some epigraphic evidence (Alföldy 1974, 147-148; Genser 1986, 195; Gassner 1997, 210; Ubl 1997, 198; Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385-386; Jilek 2000b, 357-360; Fischer 2002, 42; Holder 2003, 124, 135, tab. 6). The state of the military diplomas issued for the army of Noricum, however, does not give possibility to determine when the cohort was transferred to Noricum and how long it was stationed there (cf. partially survived diplomas RMD II 93, RMD III p. 245, *AE* 1953, 128; cf. also Jilek 2000b, 355, abb. 254). Only one diploma dated to AD 133 – 190 (I. 7) was recognised to be a diploma issued for a soldier of this cohort (cf. Ubl 2005, 107, esp. note 15 for the detailed discussion).

Table 3.21 Position of *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Pannonia (AD 85 – 101)?	Moesia Inferior (AD 101 – probably AD 116)?	Moesia Inferior? Pannonia Inferior (until AD 136?)	Noricum (after AD 136 – after AD 238)	Noricum (after AD 136 – after AD 238)	-

Awards

Aelia – the title *Aelia* might have been given to this unit as a battle honour by Hadrian.

Antoniniana – this title was recorded on tile-stamps located in the fort and vicus of Mautern on Norican frontier and was plausibly awarded to the unit during the reign of Caracalla (Jilek 2000b, 341).

Forts

The unit is known to have been posted in the fort Mautern – *Favianis* on the Norican frontier, in the mid second century and was still there as late as the reign of Caracalla (Alföldy 1974, 148; Gassner 1997, 210; Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385-386; Jilek 2000b, 357-360; Fischer 2002, 45; Ubl 2005, 112). How long the unit was in Mautern is unknown, but the occurrence of the votive inscription in *Virunum* (II. 6) might indicate the cohort’s position there in the mid third century. Jilek (2000b, 342) doubts it, since the votive inscription does not indicate the location of a unit but only the presence of the cohort’s *summus curator / singularis consularis* in *Virunum*. She concludes that the unit was in Mautern until the reign of Diocletian.

It has been previously assumed that the unit was relocated to Mautern ca AD 140 – 150 from the fort at Wallsee, where numerous tile stamps with the abbreviation CIAB, expanded as *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*, were found (Alföldy 1974, 147; Ubl 1997, 198;

Genser 1986, 195; Jilek 2000b, 358; Fischer 2002, 42). However, recent finds from the Wallsee fort suggest that the abbreviation should be expanded as *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum* because other tile stamps with the abbreviations CO.I.AU.B and C.PR.AU.BR, and the text on one inscription from a soldier of the latter unit came to light (Ubl 2005, 112).

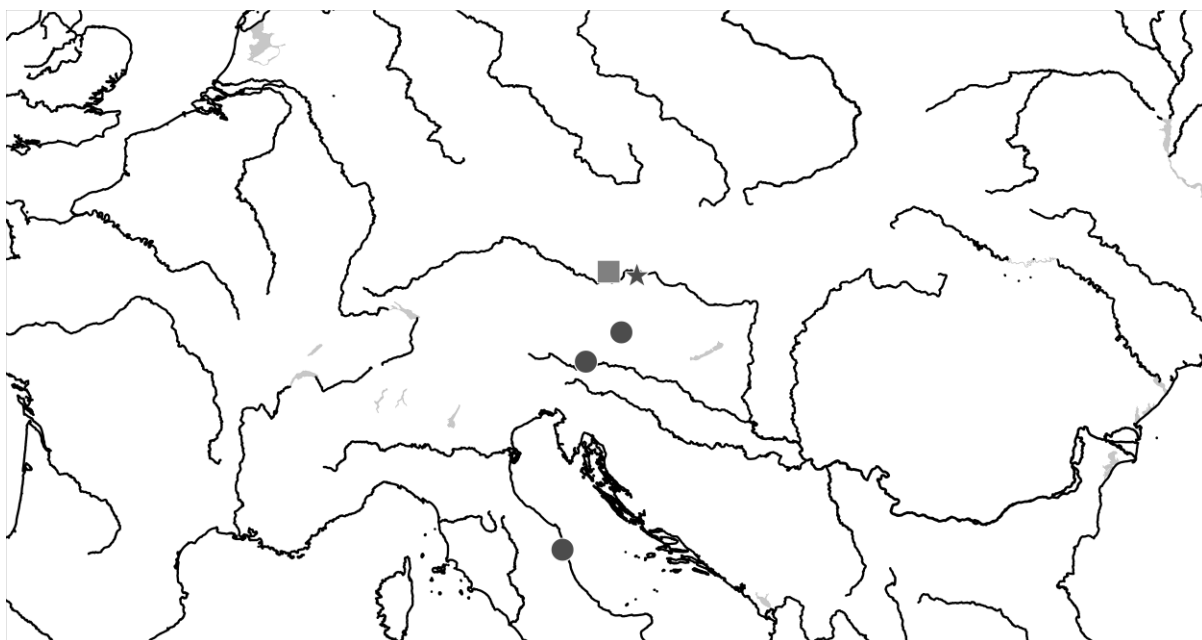


Figure 3.9 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

- ? Lucius Alfius Restitutus: tribune, serving his second *militia* before AD 79 – 81, II. 2
- ? Lucius Iulius Pansa: former centurion, veteran, late first century AD, II. 1
- ? Allinus: *praepositus*, serving in the unit in the first quarter of the second century AD, II. 4
- Aelius (...): prefect, serving in the unit after AD 133, I. 7
- Titus Appalius Alfinus Secundus: tribune, Hadrian reign, II. 3
- Aelius Martius: *summus curator* or *singularis consularis*, serving in the unit ca AD 238, II. 6

Soldiers:

- Mogetius, son of Ursus: soldier, Severan, II. 5

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

- ? Caius Iulius Proculus: heir to L. I. Pansa, II. 1
- ? Claudia Paulina: wife of L.A. Restitutus, II. 2
- Marcus Mogetius Valentinus, son of Vibius: relative to Mogetius, son of Ursus, II. 5
- Mogetia Iustina: relative (sister?) to Mogetius, son of Ursus, II. 5
- (...)L: father of Allinus (?), II. 4

Origin of personnel

Note: at the outset it must be emphasised that it is uncertain whether L. A. Restitutus, L. I. Pansa and Allinus were commanding officers of this unit. The decision has been taken to include them among the serving members of this cohort, but not to discuss their

origin here, since they will be discussed with the units for which evidence is more or less indicative of their service there.

Known origin: Titus Appalius Alfinus Secundus was from one of the Roman voting tribes, the Velina, and probably hailed from *Firmum Picenum*, modern Fermo in Italy, where he was buried and commemorated with a monument (Devijver 2001, 58).

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Mogetius, son of Ursus Mogetius, son of Ursus was buried by two people, Marcus Mogetius Valentinus, son of Vibius, and his wife Mogetia Iustina. The relationship between him and Marcus Mogetius Valentinus and his wife is uncertain. He might have been the brother of Mogetia Iustina, since he was not the son of her husband (the name of his father is Ursus, and not Valentinus). It is also possible that Mogetia Iustina was his mother, who had remarried, and that Mogetius was the child from the first marriage. The woman depicted on the tombstone wears a typical Norican hood which strongly suggests that she was of Norican descent (Garbsch 1965, 16, taf. 11, no 1 and 4, *Norische Haube H 4*). If Ursus was her son or brother, he could have been Norican as well. This can be supported by the findspot of the funerary monument, Pfannberg, which lies deep into the Norican territory, and the soldier's cognomen, Ursus, which prevailed in Pannonia and Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 321; OPEL IV 187-188; Minkova 2000, 269). It must be noted that it is uncertain in which unit this soldier served. The *cohors I Brittonum* on the monument might be either the *cohors Aelia* or *cohors Ulpia*, although *cohors Aelia* seems more plausible, since the soldier died while serving and was buried by his relatives in Noricum, where the *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* was positioned in the late second century.

Unknown origin: The origin of Aelius Martius is uncertain: his *gentilicium* only indicates his being granted citizenship by one of the *Aurelii* and his cognomen prevailed in Celtic speaking areas, particularly in Gaul and Gallia Belgica (OPEL III 17). The origin of the unit's prefect, Aelius, is hard to identify.

Table 3.22 Origin of soldiers in *cohors (Aelia) I Brittonum*: total summary¹⁶³

Origins	Numbers
Noricum	1
Italy	1
Unknown	2
	Total: 4

Archaeology

One British-made brooch, a penannular brooch type Fowler A3i, was located in Mautern (Sedlmayer 2006, 424). It was found in an area of a vicus in a pit 3(1), roughly dated to AD 130/140 – 170 (Groh 2006, 63), which is contemporary with period 3 of the stone fort Mautern-*Favianis* (Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385). Period 3 started when the *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* was transferred to the fort (Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385). Thus, the occurrence of the penannular British brooch in the vicus of the Mautern fort can be connected with the arrival of the British cohort.

¹⁶³ Since only four military service men are known to have served in this cohort, it seemed redundant to produce a separate table for the origin of each man.

3.2.6. *Cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

History

It has been suggested that the cohort was named after the area from where the unit's original soldiers were recruited, namely from the territory of *Colonia Nervia Glevum*, modern Gloucester in the UK (Holder 1980, 40; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 222). Probably, the colony had an additional title *Pacensis*, which was rarely used. However, the cohort was already in existence as early as AD 80 (it was discharging the soldiers in AD 105, I. 1), while the colony was granted with the title *Nervia* during the reign of the Nerva, i.e. between the years AD 96 – 98. Possibly the cohort was in existence before the Nerva's reign and "initially without the title *Nervia*" (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 222), although why the cohort might have received an additional set of epithets during the reign of Nerva is uncertain. It might have been decorated by Nerva for bravery in battle. It might have changed its name, i.e. from the original 'British' name of the area to the name imposed by Nerva on the newly established colony, in the same way that units with the title *Domitiana* were renamed with the more or less neutral *Flavia*.

The unit was present in Moesia Inferior in AD 105 being part of the support troops during the Dacian Wars (I. 1). It might have been, however, present in this province before AD 105, but was not mentioned on the diplomas issued in previous years because the cohort did not have soldiers eligible for receiving the grant of citizenship (Holder 2006a, 142).

How long the unit was in Moesia Inferior is unknown, but three military diplomas of AD 111 and 116 were used as an indication that the cohort was still there as late as AD 116 (I. 2-4; Holder 2006a, 155). These diplomas did not mention this particular unit but rather the *cohors I milliaria Brittonum* recognised as the *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* (Eck and Pangerl 2006, 101; cf. also RMD IV 222). The problem is the absence of a clear indication why the cohort on these three diplomas was recorded without the additional title, while on other diplomas issued for the army of Dacia Inferior starting from AD 119 (I. 5-10, esp. I. 5, 8-10) the unit was always recorded with *Augusta Nerviana Pacensis*. The author of the present thesis follows the suggestion that *cohors I milliaria Brittonum* on the aforementioned diplomas is the future *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*, while discussed in this particular section cohort is not attested on them. This leads to a further question: where was the cohort located in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars until its appearance in Dacia Inferior in AD 119 – 129? On the known diplomas issued for the army of undivided Dacia (see the list in Eck and Pangerl 2011a, 231; esp. RMD III 148 and RMD IV 226) the cohort is not listed, nor is it listed on the diplomas issued for the army of Dacia Inferior and Superior prior to AD 119 – 129 (see the list in Eck and Pangerl 2011a, 231-232), though this might be due to the poor survival of these diplomas (most of them are badly damaged and only partially readable). It is possible that ca AD 108 our unit accepted recruits from Asia Minor (I. 7 – soldier's origin was indicated as *Aradus*, Arwad island situated ca 3 km from the coast of Syria), which can be used as an indication of the position of the unit after the Dacian Wars¹⁶⁴.

The cohort served in Dacia Inferior from AD 119/129 until 146 (I. 5-10). The later destiny of the cohort is unknown.

¹⁶⁴ Weiss (2009, 244) concludes that the diploma issued in AD 133 could have been given to a soldier who served either in the *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* or *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*, the latter being a Syrian raised unit. The Syrian units, with the title *Ituraeorum*, were brought by Trajan to Dacia in the aftermath of the wars (Weiss 2009, 244). In this sense, the recruitment of the Syrian born soldier falls precisely in the period when Trajan brought units from Syria, an indication that the diploma might have belonged to such a soldier serving in a Syrian rather than a British unit.

Table 3.23 Position of *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	-	Moesia Inferior (slightly before AD 105 – ?)	Dacia Inferior (AD 119/129 – AD 146)	-	-	-

Awards

None are known

Forts

It is uncertain where the unit was stationed in Dacia Inferior. A tile-stamp found at Stolniceni in Dacia Inferior has the abbreviation CORSMB, though it can be expanded either as *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* or *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* (CIL III 14216; Bichir 1985, 100-102; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 222; Gudea 2005, 495, no B5). The Stolniceni fort is, however, too small and could not have been occupied by a complete and strong *milliaria* unit such as *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 223)¹⁶⁵, although a detachment of this cohort might have been garrisoned there (Bichir 1985, 104).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

(...), son of (...), Flo(...): prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 119/129, I. 5

? Caius Catellius: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 133, I. 7

Soldiers:

(...), son of Asclepiades: infantry soldier, AD 94/104 – 119/129, I. 5

?Ignotus: soldier, AD 108 – 133, I. 7

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

(...)sius: son of (...), son of Asclepiades, I. 5

(...)ria: daughter of (...), son of Asclepiades, I. 5

Origin

Known origin:

The origin of the soldier, whose name did not survive, was recorded: he stated that he hailed from *Aradus*, contemporary island of Arwad, situated ca 3 km from the coast Syria.

The name and the origin of the prefect survived partly: Flo(...), which could be read as Florentinus, Florinus or Florus (Eck *et al.* 2001, 41), and Ulpia, short name for either *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* in Germania Superior or for *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Samizegetusa* in Dacia Inferior¹⁶⁶. The latter seems likely, since the cohort was stationed in Dacia Inferior at the time the soldier was granted Roman citizenship, it was obvious from which town the prefect was, so it was shortened to Ulpia.

¹⁶⁵ See Marcu (2002 – 2003, 222-223; 2009, 237-238) for an expanded discussion of the unit's possible location in Dacia based on the various tile-stamp associations.

¹⁶⁶ Contra Eck *et al.* (2001, 41), who proposes that it was a pseudo-*tribus* that did not exist in reality.

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

(...) son of Asclepiades The name of the soldier's father, Asclepiades, indicates the Greek origin of the family: the soldier might have been recruited from either the Greek colonies in Moesia Inferior or from a town in Asia Minor ca AD 94/104 (Eck *et al.* 2001, 41). Considering that the cohort needed new recruits for the Dacian Wars, it is plausible that it accepted locals, i.e. from Moesia Inferior, as early as the start of the Dacian Wars. In the military diploma, parts of the names of his son and daughter survive. It is most likely that they both had typically Roman names since the endings of the names are (...)sius and (...)ria (Eck *et al.* 2001, 41).

Unknown origin:

The origin of the prefect, Caius Catellius or Catelius, was recorded on the military diploma, but the letters that are visible, *VCISIN*, do not given a clue as to his descent (Weiss 2009, 244). The similar combinations of letters appeared on some names recorded on inscriptions in Gallia Belgica - *Balatulla Matucisi* (*CIL* XIII 5496), in Gallia Transpadana - a person named **ucisi* (*AE* 1994, 737), in Dalmatia - Eugenius, son of Eucisus (*CIL* III 9735). Taking into account that the combination of letters *VCISIN* appeared in some personal names, it seems reasonable to suggest that they stood not for the prefect's origin, but for the name of his father, though Eck *et al.* (2001, 41) point out that after AD 124/129 prefects were recorded on the diplomas without their affiliation. The cognomen Catellius/Catelius was widespread, but prevailed in North Africa (Claus and Slaby, under the search word *Catell-*, accessed on 17.01.2012).

Table 3.24 Origin of soldiers in *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*: total summary¹⁶⁷

Origins	Numbers
Moesia Inferior	1
Dacia: Colonia Ulpia Trajana Samizegetusa	1
	Total ¹⁶⁸ : 2

Archaeology

The small scale excavations were conducted on a site of the Stolniceni fort in the 1950s and 60s, and these campaigns were followed up by excavation of a small part of the Roman bath houses in the 80s (Bichir 1985, 1988; Iosifaru 2009, 248-249). In 2005 – 2008 preventive excavations were begun, which helped to gather information relating to the first period of occupation after the Dacian Wars (Iosifaru 2009, 350). As a result of these excavations various objects came to light, including brooches (Iosifaru 2009, 348), though they are not published¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁷ Since two military servicemen are known to have served in this cohort, it seemed redundant to produce a separate table for the origin of each man.

¹⁶⁸ The soldier and prefect recorded on the diploma issued in AD 133 were not counted in the present table, since it is uncertain in which unit either of them served, i.e. either in the *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* or *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*.

¹⁶⁹ One brooch found on the site of *Buridava-Dacica*, the native settlement that developed in the proximity of the Roman fort *Buridava*, is probably a British umbonate, although there are problems with the reliability of the source. The author of this work has seen this potentially British umbonate on the website of Wikipedia, where it was described as an artefact of Dacian art and recorded as having been found at *Buridava-Dacica*, though the original publication was not mentioned (<http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buridava> as checked on 10.03.2011). I have been able to check most of the reports on the excavation of this native settlement, but this particular brooch was not mentioned in any of them (Berciu *et al.* 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993). Due to the unreliability of the internet resource, the decision was taken not to include this brooch in the description.

3.2.7. Cohors I Flavia Brittonum

History

The cohort was already in existence by AD 70, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 95 (I. 1). The evidence suggests that its first place of station might have been Germania Superior: one of the unit's soldiers might be from the *Sennones*, a tribe living on the border of Germania Superior (II. 3)¹⁷⁰.

The cohort is attested in Dalmatia in the late first century (II. 1; Wilkes 1969, 472; Alföldy 1962, 267; 1987, 250), from where it was relocated to Noricum, where it was already in AD 95 (I. 1; II. 3-5; Holder 2003, 135, tab. 6; 2006a, 147, 159, tab. 5). The unit might have stayed in Noricum until the second half of the third century (Ubl 2005, 112), though the occurrence of the votive inscription in *Virunum* (II. 5) does not indicate that the cohort was still there (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 224, note 56). This inscription indicates only the presence of the tribune of the cohort, who erected the votive altar with his family.

The occurrence on one of the inscriptions of the title *Malvensis* (II. 6) has led some scholars to suggest that the unit was relocated, somewhere in the late second-third century, to southern Dacia (Ubl 2005, 112; for discussion see Marcu 2002 – 2003, 224, note 53). However, there is no reason to believe that the cohort was transferred there, since the title *Malvensis* was used to designate an area of financial administration rather than a military province and therefore wouldn't have been used in the name of a military unit (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 224, note 53). In other words, if the unit was in southern Dacia, it would have been named after Dacia Inferior rather than after Dacia Malvensis to designate its military connections.

Table 3.25 Position of *cohortes I Flavia Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Germania Superior ? Dalmatia (until ca AD 95) Noricum (ca AD 95)	-	Noricum	Noricum	Dacia Malvensis ? Noricum ?	-

Awards

Flavia - this epithet might have been granted to the cohort as a battle honour (Holder 1980, 14). If the unit was indeed in Germania Superior at the time of one of the Flavian emperors it is most likely that this title was granted for service to Domitian during one of his campaigns, the Chattian Wars being the likely candidate. The unit might have received the designation *Domitiana*, but was renamed after the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian in AD 96. The diploma issued for the army of Noricum in AD 95 is so

¹⁷⁰ The word *filius* / son is omitted from this inscription. Hence, it is uncertain whether *Sennonis* stood for a father's name, i.e. Senno, or for the origin, i.e. Sennones, or it was part of the soldier's name, i.e. Tertius Sennonis (Genser 1986, 243).

damaged that it is impossible to consider how the unit was named there, i.e. *Domitiana* or *Flavia*.

Forts

It is uncertain where the unit was stationed in Dalmatia. There is evidence of the service of some soldiers of the unit at the *officium* at Salona (II. 1). Dobož, where another tombstone was found (II. 2), can hardly be used as an indication of the unit's garrison, since it was only the place of commemoration of the unit's tribune.

Two forts have been suggested as candidates for the unit's station in Noricum: Melk and Pöchlarn (II. 3 and 4; Genser 1986, 243-244, 257; Fischer 2002, 44), though it is still disputed which one of these forts should be considered the unit's main station. Alföldy (1974, 148) proposes that a detachment of this cohort was garrisoned at Pöchlarn; Genser (1986, 243-244) and Ubl (2005, 112) see Pöchlarn as the main unit's station.

If this cohort formed part of the army of Dacia Inferior, it might have been stationed in Stolniceni, where a tile stamp, with the abbreviation CORSMB, has been located (*CIL* III 14216), though Marcu (2002 – 2003, 224) notes that this abbreviation might have stood for another British unit, namely *cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis*.

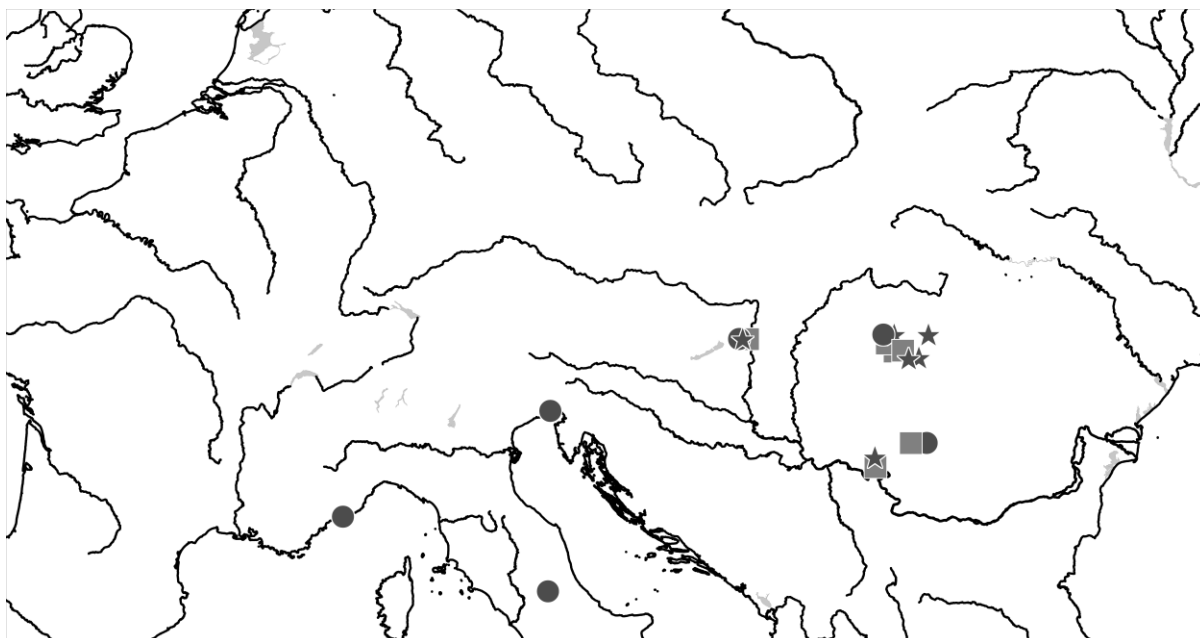


Figure 3.10 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Tiberius Claudius Zeno Ulpianus: tribune, serving his second *militia* in the late first-second century AD, II. 2

Marcus Bellicius Saturninus: tribune, serving his second *militia* ca AD 267, II. 5

Marcus Aurelius Philippus¹⁷¹: tribune, serving his second *militia*, II. 6

Marcus Aurelius Cassianus: tribune, serving his second *militia*, II. 6

¹⁷¹ It is uncertain whether this person was the unit's tribune. In all reconstructions the word *trib* is expanded as *tribunus*, thus, in singular. However, it is entirely possible that both brothers served as tribunes in the same unit.

Soldiers:

Fidelis, son of Saturio: soldier, late first-second century AD, II. 1

Tertius, (son of Senno?): soldier, after AD 95, II. 3

Pompeius Celer: soldier, second century AD, II. 4

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Bellicia Saturnina: daughter of M.B. Saturninus, II. 5

Bellicia Finitiana / Bellicius Finitianus¹⁷²: child of M.B. Saturninus, II. 5

Finitia Verbicia: wife of M.B. Saturninus, II. 5

Lucius Baebius Buttus: an heir to Tertius, II. 3

Marcus Aurelius Cassianus: father of M.A. Philippus and M.A. Cassianus, II. 6

Maximus: an heir to Pompeius Celer, II. 4

Origin of personnel

Known origin: There is only one person whose origin can be determined. Tertius was likely from the tribe of the *Senrones* in Gallia Lugdunensis (for other readings of the word Senrones, see above). He was buried by his heir, Lucius Baebius Buttus, and his parents. The *gentilicium* Baebius was very popular in Italy but also in the provinces that the Romans occupied early, such as Spain and Dalmatia, and was usually adopted by freeborns (Paki 1998, 126). Names such as Butto, Buttura, Butus appeared in the Celtic speaking provinces (OPEL I 132; Minkova 2000, 128), especially in Pannonia Superior (AE 1929, 219; CIL III 3801; CIL III 10598).

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Marcus Bellicius Saturninus He did not indicate from where he hailed, but the elements of the nomenclature of his daughters and wife can give some indication as to the family origins. His daughters' names are Bellicia Saturnina and Bellicia Finitiana. The nomina of all three, Bellicius/a, is widespread but well represented in Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 47; OPEL I 117). The cognomen of one of the daughters, Finitianus/a, is most common in Noricum and Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 126; OPEL II 141). The mother's nomen and cognomen, Finitia Verbicia, are widespread in Noricum and appears only in this province (For Finitia see Mócsy 1983, 126; OPEL II 141; for Verbicia see Mócsy 1983, 306; OPEL IV 156). It seems reasonable to suggest that we are dealing here with a family from Noricum.

Questionable origin:

Wilkes (1969, 478) sees the origin of Fidelis, son of Saturio as 'British'. Indeed the name of his father, Saturio, is a Celtic personal name that probably derives from the Gaulish element sat(t)- (Minkova 2000, 247). Yet, neither of the personal names, Fidelis or Saturio, occur in Britain; rather they appear everywhere, except Britain (for Saturio see Alföldy 1969, 288; Mócsy 1983, 255; OPEL IV 51; Minkova 2000, 247; for Fidelis see Mócsy 1983, 126; OPEL II 140). This can be considered an indication that this person was not of British descent (contra Wilkes 1969, 478).

¹⁷² In all reconstructions of this inscription this child is considered to be male, though there is no reason for this. In the first place, this child bears a combination name: the *gentilicium* comes from the father and the cognomen comes from the mother. It was rare for a male child to be named after the mother: usually females were given names that were variations of male names and not vice versa. In the second place, this child is second in line on the inscription, the name is not transcribed fully, probably for the reason that the child's sex should be regarded as the same as the sister's. Thus, Marcus Bellicius Saturninus plausibly had two daughters, rather than a daughter and a son.

Unknown origin:

The origins of Marcus Aurelius Philippus and Marcus Aurelius Cassianus, remain unknown. It has been proposed that Philippus and Cassianus were brothers since another person mentioned, Marcus Aurelius Cassianus, who was the governor of the province Dacia Malvensis, is called ‘the most beloved father’ and was most likely their real father (Petolescu 1997, 95). Their names shed no light on their origin: they were popular everywhere (for Philippus see Mócsy 1983, 221; OPEL III 138; Minkova 2000, 228; for Cassianus see Alföldy 1969, 172; Mócsy 1983, 70; OPEL II 40; Minkova 2000, 133).

The origin of Pompeius Celer is hard to identify, since the name was popular everywhere (Mócsy 1983, 228; OPEL III 150).

Where Tiberius Claudius Zeno Ulpianus hailed from, was not recorded on his tombstone. His third name, Zeno, is a personal name popular everywhere, especially among freedmen (Alföldy 1969, 332). His cognomen, Ulpianus, derives from the *gentilicium* Ulpus that was widespread in the Danube provinces (Minkova 2000, 91, 267-268).

Table 3.26 Origin of soldiers in *cohors (Flavia) I Brittonum*: total summary¹⁷³

Origins	Numbers
Gallia (Lugdunensis)	1
Noricum	1
Unknown	5
	Total: 7

Archaeology

As mentioned above the British-made brooch was reported from Croatia in the region of northern Dalmatia, which stretches from the Kvarner Riviera down to Split and where epigraphy attests the presence of the *cohortes I Belgarum* and soldiers of *I Flavia Brittonum*. It seems reasonable to assume that the brooch might have belonged to one of the soldiers from either British cohort.

The fort at Pöchlarn is not archaeologically visible: one part has been washed away by Danube, another part is covered by buildings, though small part of the southern area of the fort has been excavated (Genser 1986, 233-235; Kuttner 2007a www.limes-oesterreich.at/php/site.php?ID=233). Pottery, coins and some bronze objects, but not brooches, were recorded (Ladenbauer-Orel 1948); the finds from excavation of 2002 – 2003 have not been published. The fort at Melk has had a similar destiny: it is not visible archaeologically and there are problems in localising the fort itself (Genser 1986, 252-253; Kuttner 2007b www.limes-oesterreich.at/php/site.php?ID=236). The finds from the small scale excavation in 1969 – 1970 have not been published.

3.2.8. *Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

History

This cohort was probably recorded for the first time on the diploma issued for the army of Pannonia in AD 85 (I. 1; Benea 1997, 53; Lörincz 2001, 32; Holder 2006a, 143, 156, tab. 2), though it remains uncertain which one of the *cohors I Brittonum* was actually meant, i.e. with the epithet Aelia or Ulpia (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 227). If we are right to assume that our unit was part of the *cohors I Brittonum* mentioned on the diploma for AD 85, then the cohort was already in existence as early as AD 60.

¹⁷³ Since seven military servicemen are known to have served in this cohort, it seemed redundant to produce a separate table for the origin of each man.

The unit was in Britain as late as AD 85, since in AD 106 and AD 110 (I. 5 and 8) it discharged soldiers recruited respectively in the years AD 81 and 85 from one of the tribes of Britain: the *Belgae* and the *Coritani*. It is likely that the relocation of the unit to the Continent occurred in AD 85, as a result of the preparations for the military campaigns of Domitian on the Danube.

The next diploma where *cohors I Brittonum* appears is the one issued for the army of Moesia Superior in AD 103 – 107 (I. 3-4), and probably in AD 105 (I. 2 - there is no indication to which province the unit belonged, but Lörincz 1999, 200, 202 considers it to be also Moesia Superior), though it does not mean that the unit was stationed in Moesia Superior. Matei-Popescu and Tentea (2006, 129) make a case that the unit only passed under the command of the governor of Moesia Superior, while continuing to be garrisoned somewhere in Dacia. The unit was part of the support troops during the Dacian Wars and participated in major battles for which it gained its complex and prestigious title (Beneš 1970, 172; Benea 1997, 54; Lörincz 2001, 32; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 131, tab. 1).

After the wars it was in Dacia and stayed there for the whole of the second century AD. At first it was placed in the undivided Dacia (I. 5-8), then it belonged to the army of Dacia Superior (I. 9), and was later assigned to Dacia Porolissensis, as military diplomas for AD 128 – 164 show (I. 10-23; Beneš 1970, 172; Benea 1997, 55; Lörincz 2001, 32; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 225; Holder 2003, 132, tab. 1; Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 210)¹⁷⁴.

Probably at the end of the second century AD or in third century AD the unit was stationed in Dacia Superior (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 226). The inscription from Bumbești records a certain *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria Antoniniana* and is dated to AD 200 – 201 (II. 7). It is possible that it was the same *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*, but with the changed title since on the diplomas issued for the army of Dacia Porolissensis in AD 164 (I. 16-23), the unit is recorded without the honorific epithet Ulpia, though there is no doubt that this is our cohort. Marcu (2002 – 2003, 226) argues that the title Aurelia was received by the unit as a battle honour for its involvement in the conflicts at the end of AD 160 – 170 and was relocated to Dacia Superior as a consequence of the Marcomannic wars.

There is some evidence that the unit was transferred from Dacia Superior to Noricum in the third century, probably during or slightly after the reign of Caracalla (Ubl 2005, 112). At the fort on the Norican frontier, Wallsee, various tile stamps have been found, carrying the abbreviations CIAB, CO.I.AU.B and C.PR.AU.BR, which were expanded as *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum*, the unit's official title in the late second century. Moreover, an inscription of a soldier with the name of the cohort, i.e. *cohors I Aurelie (sic!) Brittonum*, has been recorded in excavations of the Wallsee fort (Ubl 2005, 112).

Table 3.27 Position of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Britain (AD 60 – 85?) Pannonia (AD 85-101)	Moesia Superior (AD 101 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 106 – 119 ?) Dacia Superior (AD 119? – AD 128?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128 – after AD 164)	Dacia Superior (after AD 164 – after AD 201) Noricum (from AD 217 onwards?)	-

¹⁷⁴ The exact dates when the cohort belonged to the army of Dacia, Dacia Superior or Dacia Porolissensis are uncertain.

Awards

Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum - this title was granted to this unit for its participation in the Dacian Wars (Beneš 1970, 172; Benea 1997, 54; Petolescu 1997, 93; Lörincz 2001, 146; Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 212).

Aurelia - this title was probably given as a battle honour for the units' participation in the conflicts of AD 160s - 170s (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 226).

Forts

The unit might have been positioned in Pannonia at the fort *Vetus Salina*, modern Adony in Hungary between the years AD 85 – 101 (Lörincz 2001, 32, 65, tab. 7, 104; Visy 2003a, 147, but in 2003f, 112 he does not mention that this unit garrisoned this fort), where one funerary stele on which a soldier of this unit was commemorated (II. 2) and a military diploma issued to a soldier of this unit (I. 2) were found.

The unit's fort in Dacia Porolissensis is thought to be *Porolissum* – Pomēt where tile-stamps and inscriptions recording this unit have been found (II. 4 and 5; Gudea 1997c, 27, 100, fig.12; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 225; 2004, 574). However, a few tile-stamps were also found in Dierna and Bologna, and at Buciumi one button with an inscription, abbreviated as COHIBR or CIB, and expanded as *cohors I Brittonum* (Gudea 1997a, 18, 81, fig. 13, 1997b, 26; Marcu 2004, 591, no 6).

Gudea (1997a, 18-19) argues that the unit was positioned in Bologna in the first earth-and-timber phase of the fort for some time after the end of the Dacian Wars, before its relocation to *Porolissum*-Pomēt, while a unit's detachment might have been positioned in the fort at Buciumi (Gudea 1997a, 20; 1997b, 26). Another suggestion comes from Marcu (2002 – 2003, 225-226; 2004, 574; 2009, 35), who sees the tile stamps recorded in Bologna and the button from Buciumi¹⁷⁵ not as an indication of the presence of the unit but as an indication of the presence of the soldiers from our cohort, who were either there on business (bringing the tiles for construction) or as a result of a personnel transfer to participate in the construction or repairs of the forts. Moreover, he suggests that the tile-stamp from Dierna should be dated not to the time of the Dacian Wars, but to the late second–third centuries AD when the cohort was restoring the ramparts of the Bumbești fort (II. 7; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 226; 2004, 574). The service of the cohort in *Porolissum*-Pomēt is placed somewhere in the reign of Trajan and Hadrian (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 225; 2004, 574).

Overall, the main unit's fort in the second century was *Porolissum*-Pomēt in Dacia Porolissensis. Where the unit was stationed in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars is uncertain, but two forts, Bologna and Buciumi, are likely candidates. In the late second-third centuries, when the unit was in Dacia Superior, the cohort was probably garrisoned in Bumbești, with a small detachment in Dierna (probably for the restoration work)¹⁷⁶, although Marcu (2002 – 2003, 226) is uncertain if the unit was indeed garrisoned at Bumbești, because the inscription records the participation of the unit in the construction of a stone enclosure of a fort rather than indicating the unit's long-term stay.

In Noricum the unit might have been garrisoned at Wallsee, where tile stamps abbreviated with the unit's name and one inscription were recorded. The evidence suggests that the cohort was relocated there during, or slightly after, the reign of Caracalla and stayed there until the end of the third century (Ubl 2005, 112).

¹⁷⁵ Marcu (2002 – 2003, 225-226, also note 68) notes that this button was located in layers dated to the earlier period of the fort's existence, somewhat after the Dacian Wars, but warns that the abbreviation can be expanded to *cohors I Britannica*, which is also known to have been garrisoned in this area.

¹⁷⁶ The period ca AD 170 – 270 can be proposed, where the first date is the end of the Marcomannic wars when the units posted in Dacia Porolissensis were relocated to the south, to Dacia Superior; the second date is the approximate date of the Roman withdrawal from Dacia.

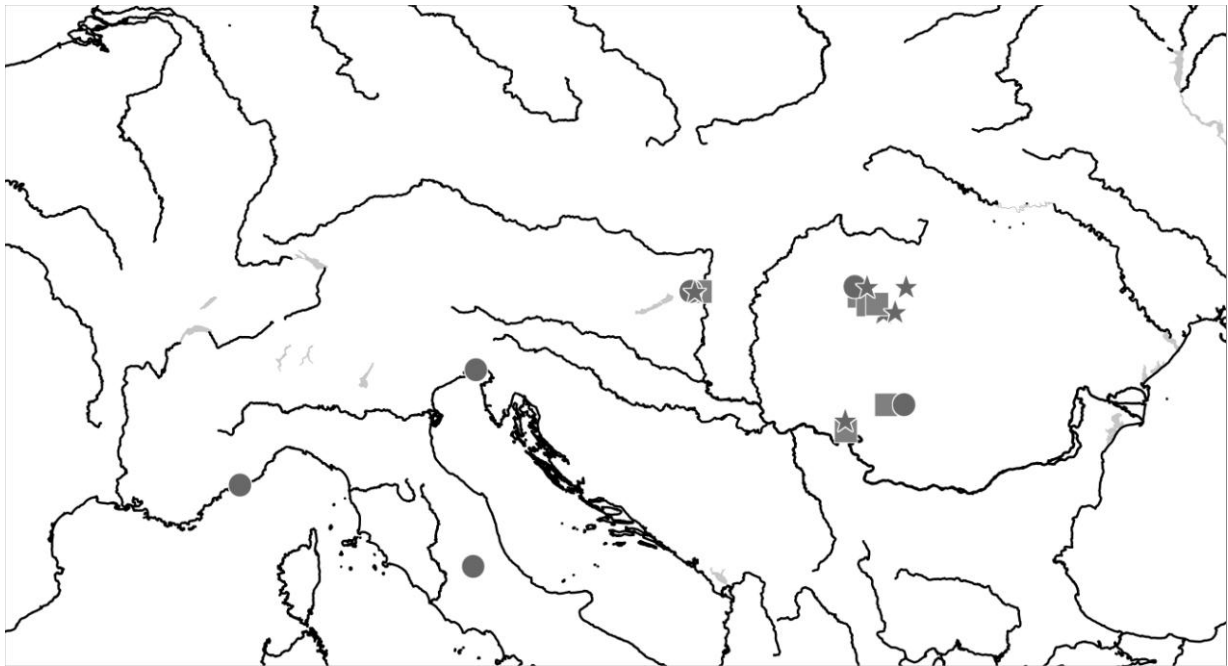


Figure 3.11 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Lucius Iulius Pansa: former centurion, veteran, late first century AD, II. 1

Arte(midorius/misus): centurion, early second century, Gudea 1997b, 26

Plautius: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 105, I. 2

Marcus Aemilius Bassus: military tribune, serving his second *militia* ca AD 110, I. 8, II. 3

Antonius Carus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 128, I. 10

? (...) Super: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 135, I. 12

Titus Iulius Arrianus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 151, I. 13

Lucius Nonius Bassus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 154, I. 14

(...)eius Pe(...)tus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 161 / 162, I. 15

Laecanius Sc(...): prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 164, I. 16

Aelius Firmus: centurion, Antonine-Severin, II. 5

Cludius: prefect, Antonine-Severin, II. 4

Unknown: tribune, serving his second *militia* in mid second century, II. 6

Soldiers:

Unknown, son of (...)marus: soldier, ca AD 80 – 105, I. 2

Marcus Ulpus, son of Adcobrovatus, Novantico: foot soldier, ca AD 81 – 106, I. 5

Marcus Ulpus, son of Sacc(i)us, Longinus: foot-soldier, ca AD 85 – 110, I. 8

(...)sus: cavalryman, late first century AD, between years AD 85 – 101, II. 2

(...)relius, son of Aurelius: foot-soldier, ca AD 103 – 128, I. 10

? (...) son of (...P)alladus: soldier, ca AD 110 – 135, I. 12

Prosostus, son of Ianuarius: foot-soldier, ca AD 126 – 151, I. 13

Ivonercus, son of Molacus: foot-soldier, ca AD 129 – 154, I. 14

Marcus Ulpus(?), son of Ulpus, N(...): cavalryman, ca AD 136/137 – 161/162, I. 15

Mucatralis, son of Bithus: cavalryman, ca AD 139 – 164, I. 16

Julius Julianus: soldier, third century, II. 8

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Caius Iulius Proculus: heir to L. I. Pansa, II. 1

Vitalis: son of M.U. Longinus, I. 8

(...): daughter of A. Firmus, II. 5

? (...)us: son of (...) son of (...P)alladus, I. 12

? (...)us: son of (...) son of (...P)alladus, I. 12

Origin of personnel¹⁷⁷

Known origin:

The origin is known for at least four soldiers of this unit. M. U. Novantico indicated that he hailed from *Ratae Coritanorum*, modern-day Leicester in the UK, M. U. Longinus was from the the *Belgae* tribe, which lived in Hampshire and Somerset in southern England (Dobson and Mann 1973, 199; Birley 1980, 102). Another foot soldier, Prosoctus, was Pannonian by birth, as indicated on his military diploma.

A soldier recruited in ca AD 129, Ivonercus, indicated his origin as *Britto*, i.e. British by birth. While it is questionable that the unit recruited Britons in the second quarter of the second century, it seems possible to assume that this soldier might have been a second generation Briton. Since he was granted citizenship for his service in this unit, it is likely that his father was not a military serviceman and could have arrived in Dacia not as a soldier, but possibly as the slave of a centurion¹⁷⁸. Why Ivonercus' chooses for such a provincial origin is uncertain, but comparison with other inscriptions where the same origin was recorded has shown that such pattern was relatively widespread in the second century (for the discussion see chapter 6, section 6.1).

From the various military diplomas, the origin of the prefects and the unit's military tribunes are also known. Marcus Aemilius Bassus was from one of the Roman voting tribes, the Falerna, and probably hailed from *Albintimilium*, modern Vintimille in Italy, where he was buried and commemorated with a monument (Devijver 2001, 59); T. Iulius Arrianus stated that he hailed from Rome; Lucius Nonius Bassus came from the Italian district of *Picenum* between the Adriatic coast and the Appennines.

Table 3.28 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britain:	
Town of <i>Ratae Coritanorum</i>	1
<i>Belgae</i>	1
Britto	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia:	
Pannonia	1
Italy	
City of Rome	1
<i>Albintimilium</i>	1
District <i>Picenum</i>	1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Marcus Ulpius, son of Ulpius, N(...) This soldier was recruited ca AD 136/137, and already at the time of his recruitment had Roman citizenship, which had been granted to his ancestors by Trajan. Since this soldier served in the unit, soldiers of which received the citizen rights from Trajan for their participation in the Dacian Wars, it is likely that he was the son or grandson of a soldier who had served in this very same unit ca AD 101

¹⁷⁷ Origin of (...) Super and (...), son of (P)alladus is discussed in the section on *cohors II Britannorum*.

¹⁷⁸ Contra A. Birley (1980, 103), who suggests that Ivonercus was recruited for some special needs and was transferred from Britain to Dacia with other British recruits.

– 106. His case is an example of hereditary military service, whereby recruitment was from among the sons of veterans who had settled in the proximity of a fort (Dobson and Mann 1973, 202). This soldier may have been a son or grandson of M. U. Novantico, due to the similarity in the names (Spaul 2000, 197). In any case his ancestor served in the unit ca AD 101 – 106, when the cohort had British recruits, so his ancestor might as well be of British origin. Following this line of argument, it seems reasonable to suggest that this Marcus Ulpian might have been a second generation Briton.

Ignotii Two soldiers, whose names do not survive, were recruited in AD 80 and 85, when the unit was, possibly, in Britain and might have been recruited from one of the British tribes (Lörincz 1999b, 201). The father’s name of one of these soldiers, (...)marus, has a common suffix in Celtic personal names (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 16, no 55) and also appeared in some Celtic British names (Russell and Mullen 2009, under the element *maro-*).

Mucatralis, son of Bithus This soldier’s personal and parental names, Mucatralis and Bithus, are Thracian (Paki 1998, 132, no 18; Minkova 2000, 126, 216), which might indicate his native land.

Laecanius Sc(...) While the origin of this prefect did not survive on the military diploma, his *gentilicium* shows that he might have hailed from the *Laecanii* family from Pula, Istria, Croatia (Devijver 2001, 59).

Unknown tribune While the name of this person, as well as his origin, do not survive, the fact that he was buried in *Amiternum*, San Vittorino in Italy, and commemorated by the citizens, invites the suggestion that this town was actually his birth place (Devijver 2001, 59).

Table 3.29 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Britain	3
Thracia	1
Italy / Italian regions	2

Questionable origin:

The cognomen of Lucius Iulius Pansa, suggests that he could be from the Danube region (Alföldy 1969, 258; Mócsy 1983, 214; OPEL III 122; Millett 2005, 75).

The name of the prefect Cludius appeared in the exact same spelling on an inscription found in Moesia Inferior and is dated to the period from AD 151 – 230 (*CIL* III 7532b). The person mentioned on that inscription is Cludius Secundus from *Abonutichus*, a town on the coast of Paphlagonia in modern Turkey. It is hard to say whether Cludius, the prefect of the cohort, and Cludius Secundus are the same person, however, there is a slight possibility that he might be. The cognomen Cludius is rare on inscriptions and was found, apart from in Moesia Inferior, in Hispania, Gallia Narbonensis and Dacia (Mócsy 1983, 82; OPEL II 66). Another soldier of the same unit, Mucatralis, who served in the unit around the time when Cludius was prefect, was of Thracian origin. If we conclude, that Cludius and Cludius Secundus are the same person, we have a man of Near Eastern origin who supervised the nominally British unit with Greek speaking recruits in the second quarter of the second century AD.

Table 3.30 Questionable origin of soldiers of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

Origin	Numbers
Greek speaking regions	1
Danube provinces	1

Unidentifiable origin:

The origins of three prefects, two centurions and one foot soldier remain uncertain. The origin of Julius Julianus is obscure, since his cognomen was popular everywhere, but prevailed in Celtic speaking provinces (Minkova 2000, 187-188).

Children:

M. U. Longinus gave his son the typically Roman name Vitalis, which was also very popular in the Celtic speaking provinces (Mócsy 1983, 316; OPEL IV 176-177; Minkova 2000, 278).

Table 3.31 Origin of soldiers in *cohors (Ulpia) I Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britain	6
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia	1
Thracia	1
Italy	5
Danube regions	1
Greek speaking regions	1
Unknown:	7
	Total: 22

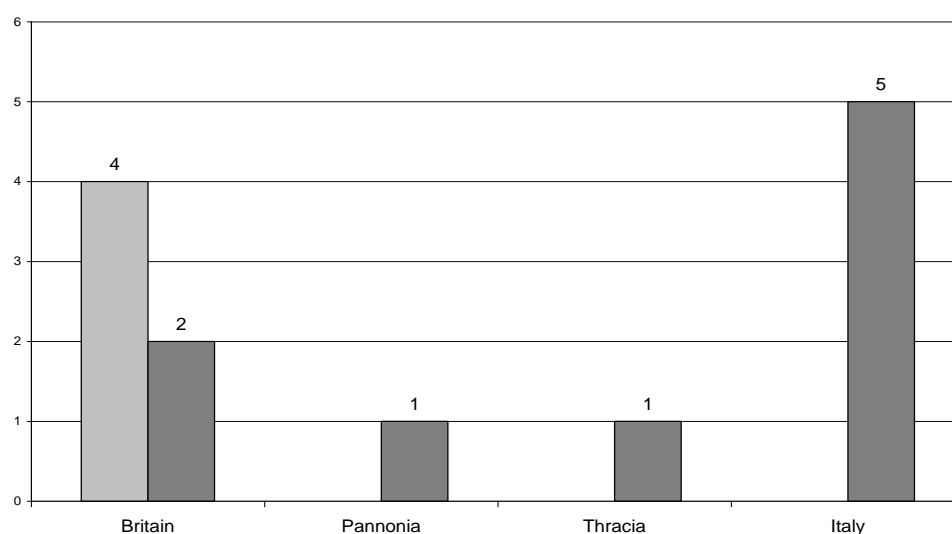


Figure 3.12 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

One British-made brooch was found in the excavations on the site of the civilian settlement at the military fort at Bumbești, Romania. It appears to be a dragonesque brooch of a mid-first century type mainly attested in the northern England (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 171-172). It was found in the vicus inside one of the buildings and together with coins, but the chronological context was not recorded. The epigraphy evidences the presence of our cohort in Bumbești in the late second-third century AD and it might appear that the brooch was brought to the site by one of the soldiers of this British cohort. That the brooch of the mid-first century date was still perfectly preserved

and in use in the late second century might indicate that it was a valuable object, possibly an heirloom.

At the other forts where the unit was stationed, no British brooches have so far been identified. A large part of the fort *Vetus Salina* was washed away by the Danube, though the parts that survived have been excavated (Barkózi and Bónis 1954; Visy 2003f, 111, esp. figure on 112). A brooch was located in the 1954 excavation, identified as a Pannonian one (Barkózi and Bónis 1954, 163, 164, abb. 15, no 7). The forts in Dacia, Bologa, Buciumi and *Porolissum*-Pomet, were extensively excavated by Romanian archaeologists (Gudea and Cociş 1995; Gudea 1997a, 1997b, 1997c; Marcu 2009, 26-52, 88-101) and brooches were found on these sites, though none can be identified as British-made. The fort at Wallsee was partially excavated and some small finds have been recorded (Tscholl 1977 – 1978). Brooches were found on the site, though only two examples (Tscholl 1977 – 1978, 173-174), neither of which can be identified as British made¹⁷⁹.

3.2.9. *Cohors II Britannorum*

History

The cohort is mentioned for the first time in the diploma issued for the army of Germany dated to AD 81 – 84 (I. 1; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 172; Marcu 2004, 574; Holder 2006a, 160, tabl. 7). This suggests that the unit was in existence as early as AD 56 – 59, thus, making earlier assumptions that the formation of the unit should be dated to the reign of Vespasian untenable (Gudea 1983, 154; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 81; Petolescu 1997, 94; Polak 2009, 950, fig. 3). The cohort had probably been created a decade earlier and was relocated to Germania Inferior during the reign of Vespasian who required the presence of large military forces in Germania Inferior after the Batavian revolt in AD 69 – 70. The last year of the cohort's presence in Germania Inferior is AD 98 (I. 2; Haalebos 2000a, 54; Holder 2006a, 148, 160, tab. 7; Polak 2009, 950, fig. 3).

In preparation for the Dacian Wars the cohort was moved to Moesia Superior, where it is attested on diplomas for the year AD 100 (I. 3-4; Gudea 1983, 154; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 82; Petolescu 1997, 94; Spaul 2000, 198; Marcu 2004, 574; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 172; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 127, 131, tab. 1; Eck and Pangerl 2008, 326-329).

The unit stayed in Dacia and was part of the army, first of undivided Dacia (I. 5-7), then of Dacia Superior (I. 8), and from AD 119 until 164 it formed the garrison of Dacia Porolissensis (I. 9-22; Gudea 1983, 154; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 82; Holder 2003, 132, tab. 1; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 131, tab. 1, 135; Holder 2006a, 143, 156, tab. 2). The cohort might have been still in Dacia in the third century, since in *Porolissum* – Moigrad tile-stamps were located abbreviated as COH II BRTS and expanded as *cohors II Britannorum Severiana* (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 86, 168, taf. X).

The cohort was recorded differently on different diplomas (Isac 2003, 35). On the ones issued for the army of Germania Inferior and Moesia Superior the unit was named as “*cohors II Brittonum*” and on the diplomas for the army of Dacia it was usually recorded as “*cohors II Britannorum*”. Though it is likely that the units mentioned are the very same cohort (contra Matei and Bajusz 1997, 90), it is uncertain why the cohort was referred to differently. It can be suggested that the unit was initially named after recruits, i.e. cohort of Britons = *cohors Brittonum*. Later, when locals from the province of Dacia replaced some of the initial recruits, the unit was renamed to take account of the recruitment situation. It was called the *cohors II Britannorum* to indicate the provincial

¹⁷⁹ The recent publication, that of Tscholl (2000 – 2001), which covers the excavations at this fort from 1979 to 1999 was not available.

origin of the unit, i.e. Britain, rather than the *cohors II Brittonum* to indicate the origin of the recruits. This hypothesis is hard to prove, especially when other units, such as *cohortes I Aelia* and *I Flavia Brittonum*, in which the locals replaced the initial soldiers as early as the second century AD, were never renamed or, on contrary, when units were renamed, but the renaming went the other way round: the unit such as *ala I Britannica* was called as *ala I Brittonum* on the diplomas issued in AD 162 (*ala I Britannica*, I. 37-38).

Table 3.32 Position of *cohors II Britannorum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Britain?	Germania Inferior (AD 70? – AD 98/100)	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 100 – 119?) Dacia Superior (AD 119? – AD 125/8 ?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 125/8? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 125/8 – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis	-

Awards

The unit is recorded on the military diplomas for the army of Moesia Superior (I. 3-4) with two honorific titles¹⁸⁰. Since these diplomas were issued in AD 100, thus, before the start of the Dacian Wars, the cohort must have been granted the honours during the reign of the Flavian dynasty while it was in Germania Inferior (Isac 2003, 35).

Civium Romanorum - this title was probably given to the unit for its participation in suppressing the Batavian revolt (Gudea 1983, 154; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 81; Haalebos 2000a, 55).

Pia fidelis - this title was likely awarded for the unit's role in putting down the revolt of Saturninus in AD 89 for Domitian (Gudea 1983, 154; Petolescu 1997, 94; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 81; Haalebos 2000a, 55).

Antoniniana – this title appeared on tile stamps discovered in the fort Romita (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 87) and was possibly granted to the cohort during the reign of Caracalla.

Severiana - this title appeared on tile stamps discovered in *Porolissum* - Moigrad (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 86) and was possibly granted to the cohort during the reign of Septimius Severus. Matei and Bajusz (1997, 90), however, suggest that S stood for another abbreviation, probably *S(agittariorum)*.

Forts

The cohort's name is recorded on tile-stamps located in two forts of Germania Inferior: Vechten, the Netherlands, and Xanten, Germany (*AE* 1903, 280e; *CIL* XIII 12424, 12425 and one tile stamp conserved in the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, inv. no VF 51; Haalebos 2000a, 54-55, abb. 18). Since the frequency of the occurrence of the tile stamps with the unit's name is quite low in both forts, it should not be regarded as a firm indication of the station of the unit it mentions and one might consider that the cohort was stationed elsewhere rather than in Vechten or

¹⁸⁰ On the diploma published in Chiron-38-326 the second title, that of *pia fidelis*, is absent from the surviving text on the outer side, though the restorers of the diploma add this missing title on the reconstructed inner side.

Xanten (Polak and Wynia 1991, 145). Possibly the cohort or a detachment thereof participated in constructing these two forts or sent its brick tiles there to be used.

Numerous tile-stamps abbreviated with the unit's name were found on the sites of military forts in Cășeiu, Ilișua, Moigrad, Românași and Romita (Gudea 1983, 155; Isac 1987; 2003, 240, pl. II; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 85, esp. 162-167, taf. IV – IX). The stamps located in Cășeiu and Ilișua are similar (Isac 1987, 180, esp. fig. 1 and 2; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 83; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 172-173), while the ones found in Romita, Moigrad and Românași are different in the abbreviations they feature. Based on analysis of the stratigraphic layers in which the tile-stamps were located in Cășeiu and Ilișua, it has been suggested that the cohort built the first phases of both forts during the reign of Trajan (Isac 1987, 178; 2003, 33, 37; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 83; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 173; Marcu 2009, 111-112). The cohort built the earlier fort at Cășeiu and maybe also participated in the construction of the earth and timber fort at Ilișua (Isac 1987, 178-179; 2003, 33-34), though the higher frequency of tile-stamps of this cohort in the fort of Cășeiu can be used as an indication of the unit's garrison in the aftermath of Dacian Wars (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 83; Isac 2003, 34; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 173; Marcu 2004, 575; 2009, 111-112).

The unit was transferred to Romita in the second quarter of the second century where it erected the stone fort and remained for the whole second century AD (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 84; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 173; Marcu 2009, 112). This interpretation is supported by the occurrence of 75 tile stamps found inside the fort and bath complex which strongly suggest that this unit built the stone fort, stayed there and took an active part in the fort's reconstruction over the years (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 91).

The tiles found in Românași and Moigrad are regarded as the dispatch and construction material and were sent to these forts by the cohort, when it was garrisoned at Romita (for the detailed discussion see Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 174; Marcu 2004, 575-576; Marcu 2009, 112)¹⁸¹.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Marcu (2004, 585-586), who convincingly shows that in a situation where similar types of tile stamps were found in two neighbouring forts, this can indicate that one of these forts was the unit's garrison from where the tiles were dispatched to the neighbouring fort.

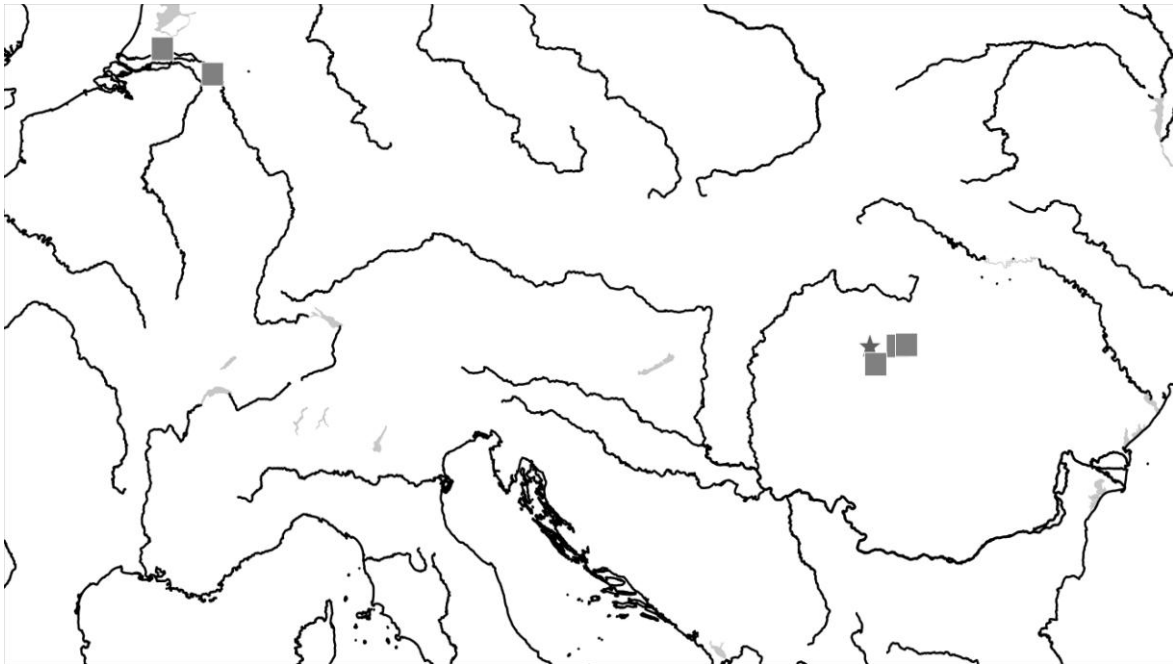


Figure 3.13 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star) and forts (square) of the *cohort II Britannorum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

(...) Super: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 135, I. 11

Soldiers:

(...) son of (...P)alladus: soldier, ca AD 110 – 135, I. 11

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

(...)us: son of (...) son of (...P)alladus, I. 11

(...)us: son of (...) son of (...P)alladus, I. 11

Origin:

Questionable origin: The origin of the commander of the unit has been recorded as *Noviomagus*, but it is hard to identify which *Noviomagus* was meant: *Noviomagus Regnenses* (modern-day Chichester) in southern Britannia, *Noviomagus Batavorum* (modern-day Nijmegen) in Germania Inferior or *Noviomagus* (modern-day Speyer) in Germania Superior. In RMD IV 248, note 5 the origin of the (...) Super was identified as the *Noviomagus* in Germania Inferior without giving an explanation why this *Noviomagus* has been chosen.

The origin of the soldier recruited ca AD 110 is unknown: only the first letter of his tribe name survived, D(...), making it impossible to determine his origin. His father's name, Palladius, is widespread one (Minkova 2000, 224), and appeared in most provinces of the Roman Empire, including Dalmatia (*CIL* III 9062, 9252, 9607a) and Gallia Belgica (*AE* 1931, 45) and Germania (*CIL* XII 2630; *CIL* XIII 2129, 6746, 8558 to name a few)¹⁸². This soldier had two children who were given Roman names as indicated by the surviving endings (the whole names do not survive).

¹⁸² Contra RMD IV 248, note 6, where it was mentioned that the name Palladi was especially widespread in the area around *Porolissum*, the findspot of the diploma

Table 3.33 Origin of soldiers in *cohors II Britannorum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Town of <i>Noviomagus</i> ; province uncertain	1
Unknown	1
	Total: 2

Archaeology

British-made objects were located on sites in Germania Inferior, where tile-stamps of the *cohors II Britannorum* were recorded: at Vechten - a pendant for a horse (Morris 2010, 191, no 5)¹⁸³ and at Xanten - four British-made brooches. The occurrence of the pendant can be seen as evidence for the presence of a cavalry regiment, but in the available epigraphic evidence our unit does not seem to appear with the title *equitata*, and the rank of the soldiers known to have served in the cohort suggests that it was an infantry unit. The British-made objects found in Xanten and Vechten, thus, may have reached the site not with a member of a British auxiliary unit but by different means (for the detailed discussion see chapter 5, section 5.2.1.1).

A British-made brooch was found in the layer datable to phase II of the barrack blocks situated on *praetentura dextra* in the fort Cășeiu (Isac 2003, 257, pl. XIX, no 9). Two building phases of the barracks correspond to the period when two British cohorts were posted here: phase I - *cohors II Britannorum* and phase II - *cohors I Britannica* (Isac 2003, 179). However, the phases overlap archaeologically. Thus, in spite of the fact that the brooch was found in the layer datable to the phase II, it could have reached the fort with a member from either unit.

The fort and vicus of Ilișua have been excavated by a team of Romanian archaeologists on various occasions and reports have been published (Gaiu 2001, 2002; Protase and Gaiu 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999a and 1999b; Protase *et al.* 1997; 2003; see also Marcu 2009, 79-86). Brooches were found in the excavations of 1994, 1997, 1998 and 2002 and have appeared in the publications by Protase *et al.* (1993) and Gaiu and Cociș (2001), but these publications were not available for me to inspect.

The fort of Romita, where the cohort was garrisoned in the second quarter of the second century is relatively well researched (Matei and Bajusz 1997; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005; Marcu 2009, 101-114), and various artefacts have been discovered there, including brooches, though none can be identified as British-made (see Matei and Bajusz 1997, 62, 64, 66, esp. 126-127).

3.2.10. *Cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

History

As in the case of the *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* this unit was probably raised from the population living in the area of the lower Severn territory around the colony *Nervia Glevum*, or *Nervia Pacensis Glevum*, modern day Gloucester (Holder 1980, 40). The unit was already in existence in AD 80, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 105 (I. 2). By AD 99/110 and 105 the cohort was garrisoned in Moesia Inferior, probably relocated there ca AD 100 in preparation for the Dacian Wars (I. 1 and 2; Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002 – 2003, 277; Holder 2006a, 142, 155, tab. 1) Most likely the unit was part of the support troops.

Where the unit was stationed between AD 80 and 100 is uncertain: no evidence has survived that would allow any ideas to be advanced.

¹⁸³ In the excavations conducted in 1996 at Vechten-Bunnik one British-made brooch has been reported (Laurens van der Feijst photos, catalogue de Bruin, van der Feijst and Heeren). This information has been received upon the completion of the thesis and is therefore not included into the database.

How long the unit was in Moesia Inferior is unknown, but in AD 114 it was part of the army of Pannonia Inferior, probably relocated there to replace the units sent to take part in the Parthian War of Trajan, AD 114 – 117 (I. 3-7; Beneš 1970, 173; Lőrincz 2001, 32; Holder 2003, 134, tab. 4; Holder 2006a, 155, tab. 1). By AD 123 the cohort formed part of the garrison of Dacia Porolissensis (I. 8). Lőrincz (2001, 32) suggests that the unit was relocated from Pannonia Inferior to Dacia as early as AD 118/119, thus, after the end of the Parthian Wars, when most of the units that had served in Parthia returned to Pannonia Inferior.

The cohort was stationed in Dacia Porolissensis during the whole of the second century (I. 8-23; Beneš 1970, 173; Petolescu 1997, 95; Holder 2003, 132, tab. 1). It was still there during the reign of Caracalla (II. 1-2).

Table 3.34 Position of *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	-	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – ?)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 114 – 119?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128 – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis	-

Awards

Civium Romanorum - on a military diploma issued ca AD 133 – 140 the title *civium Romanorum* was added by the restorers of the diploma (I. 12), without giving explanations of when and how the cohort was granted with this title (Eck *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 46-48). On the other diplomas, where the name of the cohort has survived fully (I. 2, 3-7, 8, 14), this honorific title does not appear and it seems that the unit was never granted the title *civium Romanorum*.

Antoniniana - this title was granted to the cohort during the reign of Caracalla, probably as a result of his visit to Dacia in AD 213.

Pia Fidelis – it is more than likely that this title was bestowed upon the unit by Caracalla, though for which particular action is uncertain (Gudea 1997b, 52). It might have been granted with the hope of gaining the support and sympathy of the troops after Caracalla's orders to kill his brother Geta or given as a result of Caracalla's visit to Dacia in AD 123.

Forts

It has been suggested that in Pannonia Inferior the unit was placed at *Alisca* (modern day Ócsény in Hungary) between the years AD 113/114 – 118/119, since stamped tiles abbreviated COHIIBR were found there and in the adjacent Roman cemetery near Szekszárd (RHP 279a and 279b; Lőrincz 1977c, 16, 56-57; 2001, 104). The abbreviations on the stamps have been expanded as *cohors II Brittonum* and might, therefore, indicate the presence of the *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* since no other British units with the numeral 'two' are known to have served in Pannonia Inferior. However, Visy (2003a, 148) does not place this cohort there, but suggests *cohors I Noricorum equitata* instead. That two cohorts were garrisoned in this fort is not possible since, according to surveys conducted in the area, the fort was of a size suitable for accommodating a *cohors quingenaria* (Visy 2003d, 127). There might have been, however, another fort adjacent to *Alisca*, that is in Szekszárd, which might

have played a role in the accommodating the soldiers from *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* (Visy 2003d, 127).

In Dacia Porolissensis, the cohort was located in the second quarter of the second century until the mid third century in Buciumi as indicated by two tile stamps (AE 1977, 709; Chirilă *et al.* 1972, 116, no 6; Gudea 1997b, 30-31, 52, 94, abb. 12; Marcu 2009, 53) and two dedications (II. 1 and 2), though it is uncertain whether or not it had occupied another fort prior to this one.

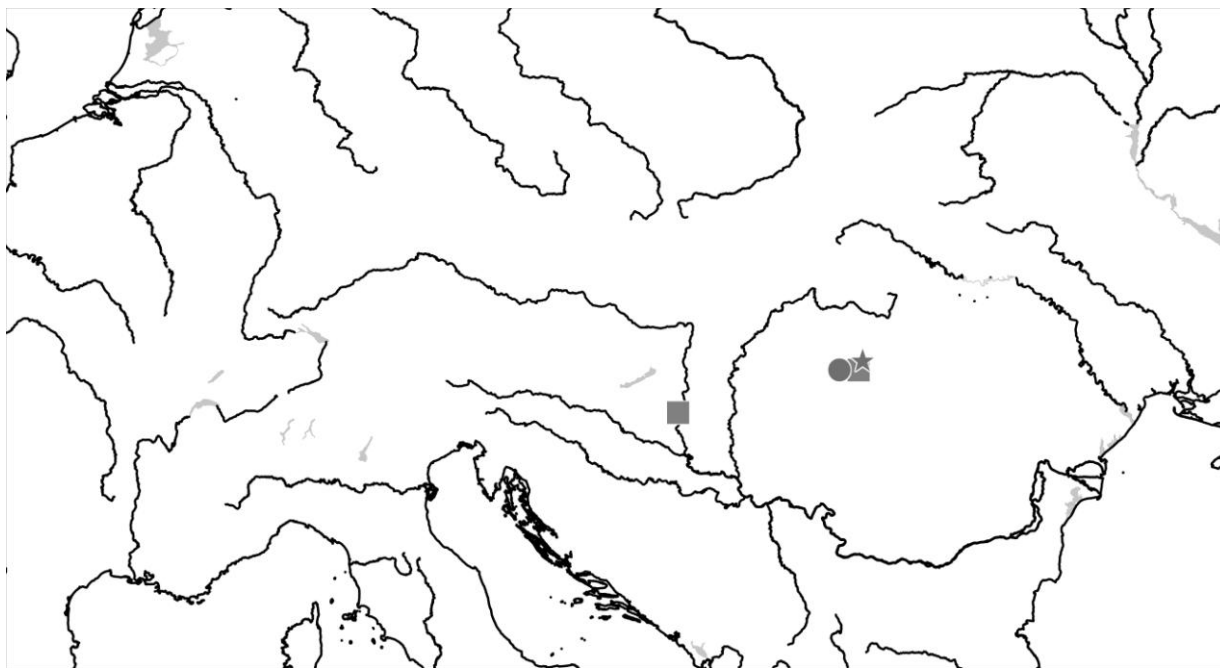


Figure 3.14 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

*Prefects/commanding officers*¹⁸⁴:

Lucius Secundinius: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 135, I. 11

Lucius Volusius: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 133 – 140, I. 12

(Furius) or (...)ivius Felix: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 138 – 142, I. 13

Soldiers:

Didaecuttius, son of L(...): foot soldier, ca AD 108/115 – 133/140, I. 12

(...), son of (...)igus or A(...)r(...), son of I(i)me(...): foot-soldier, ca AD 113/117 – 138/142, I. 13

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Dimidusa: daughter of Didaecuttius, son of L(...), I. 12

Diurpa, daughter of Dotu(...): wife of Didaecuttius, son of L(...), I. 12

Iulius: son of Didaecuttius, son of L(...), I. 12

Senecia, daughter of Rellectei: wife of (...), son of (...)igus or A(...)r(...), son of I(i)me(...), I. 13

¹⁸⁴ Gudea (1997b, 32) notes the existence of the unit's prefect, a certain Titus Antonius Claudius Alphenus Arignotus. He is mentioned on an inscription from *Thyatira*, present day Akhisar in Turkey. On the inscription itself (CIG 3497), there is no indication that he was a prefect of this particular unit.

Origin

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

(...), son of (...)*igus*, or A(...)*r*(...), son of I(i)*me*(...) The reading of the name of the recipient on the military diploma I. 13 is uncertain. It has been suggested that *-(...)*igus** is the patronymic and the next three letters stood for the soldier's origin (Paki 1998, 140). Paki (1998, 140) suggests various places starting with *Ime*(...), concluding that this soldier's origin should be searched for in a Celtic-speaking area.

Another reading of the diploma was provided in RMD V, p. 917, where *I(i)*me*(...)* is taken to stand for the patronymic. This name included either the Latin element *-mens* or the Greek element *-menos/-menus* (Holder 2006b, 918, note 5).

Taking into account the period when this soldier might have entered the cohort, i.e. between the years AD 113 – 117, this soldier can be proposed to have rather contradictory origins: a Pannonian Celt or a Greek-speaking Thracian.

Didaecuttius, son of L(...) The name Didaecuttius equally does not appear in Minkova (2000), Alföldy (1969), Mócsy (1983) or the OPEL, although names starting with the element *did-* are known in the lands of Moesia Inferior and Superior (OPEL II 990). Based on this, it has been suggested that he was of Thracio-Dacian origin (Eck *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 47).

Table 3.35 Origin of soldiers of *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Thracio-Dacian	1
Pannonian Celt / Thracian	1

Unknown origin:

The origin of the prefects did not survive on the military diplomas. Their names also do not give any clue as to their origins. The name combination *Lucius Volusius*, for instance, was popular everywhere, especially in Rome (*CIL* VI 7319, 7320, 7323, 7333 to name a few). *Lucius Secundinius*' cognomen prevailed in the Danube region (Noricum – *CIL* III 5382; 5631; Raetia – *CIL* III 5779). The cognomen of the third prefect, *Felix*, was widespread (OPEL II 138; Minkova 2000, 166).

Wives and children:

One of the recipients' wives was called *Senecia*. This name, mostly in its male variation, spelled as *Senecianus/Senecius*, is recorded everywhere, but prevailed in the Celtic-speaking regions (OPEL IV 65-66). Her father's name *Rellecteus* is probably a compound name; *relli-* was seen by Holder (1896-1919, bd. II, 1115) to be a Celtic element, which is attested in two place names called *Rillé* (regions *Indre-et-Loire* and *Jouhet*), in France, though in Evans (1967), Delamarre (2001), Raybould and Sims-Williams (2007a, 2007b, 2009) this name or its elements are not considered to be Celtic. Paki (1998, 141) suggests that it belong to the category of names derived from the *participium* of a Latin verb: *relictus* is a *participium* of the verb *relicear*. Taking into account that *Senecia* might have met her husband while he was with his unit in Pannonia, it seems possible to suggest that she was of the local descent. Paki (1998, 140-141) suggests, however, that, if the name was found in Pannonia, it was usually carried by a person of North Italian or Rhineland origins, and, after the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, was especially prevalent in the area around *Carnuntum* (Paki 1998, 140-141).

The name of the wife of the second recipient, *Diurpa*, is Dacian, as is his daughter's name, *Dimidusia* (Eck *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 47). His elder son had the typically Roman name *Iulius*. The name of the second son did not survive.

Table 3.36 Origin of soldiers in *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Thraco-Dacian	1
Pannonian Celt / Thracian	1
Unknown	3
	Total: 5

Archaeology

The *Alisca* fort has not been excavated, though some aerial research and field-walking have been done on the site (Visy 2003d, 127). Roman finds have been found in the surrounding area, but include only coins and stamped tiles.

The fort at Buciumi has been excavated on various occasions (Gudea 1997b, 13-18). Most of the internal buildings are known, and it has been possible to establish the development the fort (Gudea 1997b; Marcu 2009, 36-53). During these excavations small finds, including brooches, were located on the site (Gudea 1997b, 26-28, 37-40, esp. 38; 55- 57, esp. 56; 94, abb. 11, 103, abb. 20). So far, none of these brooches can be identified as British-made.

3.2.11. *Cohors II Flavia Brittonum*

History

It is highly probable that this cohort was established at the same time as the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* and was given the numeral two in order to distinguish it from the first unit. Both units were already in existence by ca AD 70, since the first cohort was discharging soldiers in AD 95 (*cohors I Flavia Brittonum*, I. 1) and the second in AD 96/97 (I. 1).

The unit is attested in Moesia Inferior as early as AD 96/97, though the reading of the diploma is uncertain. By AD 99 it was definitely in Moesia Inferior, probably as part of the troops relocated to this province in preparation for the Dacian Wars (Holder 2006a, 142, 155, table 1). Where the cohort was garrisoned prior to the transfer to Moesia Inferior is unknown.

The cohort was part of the army of Moesia Inferior for the whole of the second and the first half of the third centuries (I. 1-8, 10-19, 21-27; II. 4, 6 and 7; Holder 2003, 133, table 2).

There is evidence that the cohort might have been stationed in Mauretania Caesariensis in the second century (I. 9 and 20; II. 2; Benseddik 1979, 51; Holder 2003, 138, table 11), though at the very same time when the cohort was deployed in Moesia Inferior. Possibly it was a part of the unit, a detachment on a recruitment mission, while the actual unit was stationed in Moesia Inferior (Spaul 2000, 199). However, on the diploma issued for the army of Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 107 (I. 9)¹⁸⁵ and on the tombstones found in Turin (II. 1) and Berrouaghia (II. 2), the name of the cohort is recorded without the epithet Flavia, which has prompted some researchers to suggest that we are dealing here with a different British cohort which also had the numeral two (Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002 – 2003, 276). It should be taken into account that another British unit, namely *cohors II Britannorum*, until AD 109 was recorded on diplomas as the *cohors II Brittonum*, but starting from the diploma issued in AD 109

¹⁸⁵ The reading of the second diploma dated to ca AD 128/131 (I. 20) is uncertain. The text has been restored based on the diplomas issued in the previous years (Weiss 2002a, 502; Holder 2003, 138, table 11), thus, the lettering *-on* was restored as (Britt)on, though it is uncertain if this restoration is correct.

(cohors II Britannorum, I. 4), the unit appeared as the *cohors II Britannorum*. Both *cohortes II Britannorum* and *Brittonum* were positioned in one province throughout the whole of the second century, in respectively Dacia Porolissensis and Moesia Inferior, but it is possible that either unit sent a detachment outside the province on a mission, be it for military or recruitment purposes. The existence of another British cohort named *cohors II Brittonum* cannot be supported by the evidence.

Table 3.37 Position of *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Mauretania Caesariensis (ca AD 107)

Awards

Flavia - this epithet might have been granted to the cohort as a battle honour (Holder 1980, 14), though for participation in which war is uncertain. The *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* may have received it for service to Domitian during one of his campaigns, the Chattian Wars are the likely candidate. There is no evidence, however, if the *cohors II Flavia Brittonum* also took part in these wars.

Alexandriana - the unit received the honorary title *Alexandriana* from Severus Alexander, probably as a battle honour, in the third century (II. 7).

Forts

There is evidence that this cohort was deployed at two military forts in Moesia Inferior: *Durostorum* and *Sexaginta Prista* (Ivanov 1997, 582; Gudea 2005, 382, abb. 30; Wilkes 2005, 214-215). At *Durostorum*, modern Silistra in Bulgaria, the cohort was probably positioned before and during the Dacian Wars (Damian and Băltăc 2007, 62), though Gudea (2005, 434) argues for a more precise dating of AD 86 – 101. The unit's service in Silistra is attested on one tombstone of a centurion (II. 4) and may indicate the presence of the centurion rather than the whole unit. This military fort served as an auxiliary and legionary camp, and as a tax station. A centurion of the *cohors II Flavia Brittonum* might have been serving there, while his own cohort may have been stationed somewhere else.

The unit was repairing the infrastructure of Moesia Inferior in the late second century: there is evidence that the cohort was resurfacing the roads in the proximity of Ruse, *Sexaginta Prista*, between the years AD 162 – 164 (Spaul 2000, 199-200, note 3)¹⁸⁶. The unit was possibly there as well during the reign of Commodus, as evident from one unpublished inscription (II. 6). In the third century, the unit was repairing the baths at the auxiliary fort *Sexaginta Prista*, which could have been the cohort's garrison in the same period (II. 7; Ivanov 1997, 582; Gudea 2005, 428).

In the early third century the unit may have been garrisoned in the *Aegysus* fort, at modern Tulcea in Romania, where one tile-stamp COHIIFBR was located (Gudea 2005, 460-461, abb. no 52; Wilkes 2005, 217, no 81), though this tile-stamp may represent dispatched material. The presence of one tile stamp should not be regarded as a firm indication of the station of the unit it mentions.

¹⁸⁶ The author of this work has not been able to find the original publications in which these milestones were first published. Ivanov (1997, 515) mentions these milestones dated to AD 162, but he fails to provide the reference to the original publication.

It is possible that in Mauretania Caesariensis a part of the unit was stationed in the proximity at *Thanaramusa Castra* (modern Berrouaghia, Algeria) where the tombstone of a decurion was found (II. 2; Benseddik 1979, 51). There is archaeological evidence for a rectangular structure suggesting the existence of a small military base there, where the cohort's detachment might have been placed (Salama 1977, 583, no 11, 594, carte 3, no 11; Benseddik 1979, 51). It has been suggested that this small base was built to protect the southern approach to the *Thanaramusa Castra* fort (Benseddik 1979, 51; Spaul 2000, 199). The fort itself formed part of the Roman frontier and probably protected the important port, *Caesarea*, modern Cherchel in Algeria (MacKendrick 1980, 241, 245, fig. 9.5).



Figure 3.15 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order):

Prefects/commanding officers:

Lucius Alfius Restitutus: prefect, serving his first *militia* before AD 79 – 81, II. 1

Ignotus: decurion, serving in the unit in the beginning of the second century AD, II. 2

Marcus Maenius Agrippa Lucius Tusidius Campester: prefect, serving his first *militia* before ca AD 122, II. 3

Antonius Valerius: centurion, serving in the unit in the second century AD, II. 4

Celsianus Antiochianus: prefect, serving in the unit between the years ca AD 185 – 192, II. 6

Septimius Agathonicus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 230, II. 7

Soldiers:

? Mucatralis, son of Sita: soldier, serving in the unit in the second century AD, II.

Origin of personnel

*Known origin*¹⁸⁷: Marcus Maenius Agrippa is known not only as a prefect of this particular cohort, but also as a commander of a unit stationed in Britain. Over the course

¹⁸⁷ The origin of Lucius Alfius Restitutus has already been discussed in the section on the *cohors I Britannica* and will not be repeated here.

of his life he was appointed to serve in Britain on various occasions, receiving his highest promotion as procurator of this province (II. 3; Birley A. 1980, 50; 2005, 307; Frere 2000, 24). Agrippa was native to the Italian *Camerinum*, modern Camerino (Birley, A. 1980, 50; Devijver 2001, 59).

The only recorded soldier of this unit, Mucatralis, hailed from the Thracian tribe *Bessi*.

Table 3.38 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
Thracian tribes / Thracia: <i>Bessi</i>	1
Italy Town of <i>Camerinum</i>	1

Questionable origin: The origin of the prefect Celsianus Antiochianus was not recorded, though his cognomen might provide some clue. Minkova (2000, 23 and 111) points out that the cognomen Antiochianus might have derived from the name of Near Eastern town, Antioch, pointing to an origin in Asia Minor.

Unidentifiable origin: The origins of another unit's prefect, Septimius Agathonicus, and its centurion, Antonius Valerius, are unknown. Both cognomina were widespread everywhere (for Agathonicus see OPEL I 34; Minkova 2000, 106; for Valerius see Minkova 2000, 272). The origin of the decurion cannot be identified.

Table 3.39 Origin of soldiers in *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Thracia	1
Italy	1
Asia Minor	1
Unknown	4
	Total: 7

Archaeology

Sexaginta Prista fort has only been partially excavated, mostly through rescue excavations (Ivanov 1997, 582; Gudea 2005, 428; Varbanov and Dragoev 2007, 228, 229), the latest being in the summer of 2009, which reached the late third century levels (Varbanov and Dragoev 2009). The finds from the fort are preserved at the Regional Historical Museum in Ruse (Varbanov and Dragoev 2007, 228). Amid the finds brooches were recorded, though the authors of the reports failed to provide a detailed description of types or to publish illustrations (Varbanov and Dragoev 2007, esp. 231 and 233).

The *Durostorum* camp had a similar destiny: only rescue excavations have been possible (Ivanov 1997, 587, 589; Gudea 2005, 434; Damian and Băltăc 2007, 63, note 12; Donevski 2009, 105). While the fortress wall on the bank of Danube river was always visible, the rescue excavations helped to uncover a couple of towers, a centurion's house and two barracks inside the legionary fortress; various buildings in the *canabae*; and necropolis in the proximity of the fort, in which some burials were excavated (Damian and Băltăc 2007, 63, 65; Donevski 2009, 105, 108, 110). The civilian settlement in the proximity of the fortress has been investigated in recent years (Damian and Băltăc 2007, esp. 65-67). Unfortunately, in neither Damian and Băltăc (2007) or Donevski (2009) were finds from the excavated areas mentioned or recorded.

The *Aegysus* fort has been only partially excavated in various campaigns (Gudea 2005, 460 mentions campaign of 1974 – 1975; excavation of a vicus – Paraschiv and Stănică 2003; 2004). Most of the finds are kept in the local museum (Gudea 2005, 460) and the collection mainly consists of sherds of pottery (Paraschiv and Stănică 2003; 2004).

The fort at Berrouaghia is known to researchers but has not been excavated.

3.2.12. *Cohors III Britannorum*

History

The earliest known diploma, attesting this cohort, has been dated to AD 86 (I. 1). This suggests that the cohort was in existence prior to AD 69 and was accepting recruits as early as AD 61. It has generally been accepted that *cohors III Britannorum* was sent to Raetia somewhere in the 60s of the first century (Faber 1994, 33; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 96). It is uncertain when exactly the unit was relocated to the Continent. The British origin of one of the unit's soldiers, the year of his death and the number of the service years indicate that he was recruited ca AD 63¹⁸⁸. This suggests that, at least before AD 63, the unit might still have been in Britain. The unit took part in the suppression of the Helvetian uprising in AD 69 and later joined the forces of Caecina, Vitellius' general during the tumultuous years of the Civil war.

From historic sources it is known that Caecina's army marched from Germania Superior through the Alps towards Cremona (Tacitus, *Hist.* I 67-70). Caecina's forces consisted of soldiers from *legio XXI Rapax*, whose main base was the legionary fortress *Vindonissa*, modern Windisch (Murison 1993, 90; Morgan 2006, 84). On his way to northern Italy, Caecina met with a Helvetian uprising and had to suppress it with help from the army of Raetia (Tacitus, *Hist.* I 67.2; Murison 1993, 90; Morgan 2006, 88). Archaeologists are still finding remains of the devastation by Caecina's army in the main Helvetian town *Aquae Helveticae*, modern Baden (Czysz *et al.* 2005, 95; Morgan 2006, 87). Tacitus further informs us (*Hist.* I 70) that, after the revolt was suppressed, Caecina sent "ahead cohorts of Gauls, Lusitanians and Britons" to help the *ala Siliana*, which declared its loyalty to Vitellius. In the "cohort of Britons" the *cohors III Britannorum* is usually assumed, which is seen as an indication that the unit participated in the Year of the Four Emperors on the side of Vitellius.

The presence of a British unit in northern Italy is also supported by the evidence of epigraphy and archaeology. The tombstone of Catavignus found at Cuneo, northern Italy is considered to be a reminder of the unit's connection with the army of Vitellius (Czysz *et al.* 2005, 96). Moreover, on the sites of the civilian settlements and legionary fortresses, which were passed by the army of Caecina¹⁸⁹, such as Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterthur and Aime, five British-made Colchester derivatives were discovered, datable to ca AD 43 – 60. A brooch reported from Oberwinterthur was found in a context datable to AD 50 – 70/80, which can be seen as an indication of when all five Colchester brooches are likely to have reached the aforementioned sites.

¹⁸⁸ Catavignus' origin will be discussed later. He died probably ca AD 69 and before that time he had served six years, which makes the year of his recruitment ca AD 63.

¹⁸⁹ The towns which the 'cohorts of Gauls, Lusitanian and Britons' were supposed to hold by order of Caecina are situated north of the river Po, such as Ivrea, Vercelli, Novara and Milan (Morgan 2006, 88). Moreover, they all lie on the road running from Aime and Martigny to Italy (Rémy *et al.* 1996, 85). On their way to the cities north of the Po, the cohorts, called from Raetia to suppress the uprising, most likely passed *Augusta Raurica* (modern Augst in Switzerland), *Forum Claudii Vallensium* (modern Martigny in France) and *Forum Claudii Ceutronum* (modern Aime in France) (Murison 1993, 90: the reconstruction of the movement of Caecina's army was deduced from the known Roman roads in the area).

If we are right in assuming that the *cohors III Britannorum* took part in the suppression of the Helvetian uprising in AD 69 and then joined Caecina's forces, then the presence of the British Colchester derivatives at the sites of Augst, Martigny and Aime can be attributed to this event. The occurrence of one British brooch at Oberwinterthur, which lies away from the route of Caecina's army, can also be connected with this event. Oberwinterthur lies on the road running from Raetia to Germania Superior (Czysz *et al.* 2005, 79, fig. 10). This route could have been used by the Raetian troops when in AD 69 Caecina called their help to suppress the uprising (Tacitus [*Hist.* I 67] informs us that the auxiliaries from Raetia were supposed to attack from the rear, i.e. from the Raetian side, which means that the cohort must have passed Oberwinterthur; see also Morgan 2006, 87).

After the defeat of Caecina the cohort was most likely returned to Raetia, where it is attested on the diploma issued in AD 86 (I. 1). The Raetian province became the home for this unit: the cohort was garrisoned there for the whole of the second and third, possibly even the fourth and fifth, centuries (I. 2-24; II. 2-11; Faber 1994, 33; Holder 2003, 136, tab. 7; Gschwind 2004, 275; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 134-135; Holder 2006a, 146, 158-159, tab. 5 Czysz *et al.* 2008, 6; Baatz 2000, 323).

Table 3.40 Position of *cohors III Britannorum*

Prior to AD 69	AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
AD 61? – 69 Raetia	Northern Italy	Raetia	Raetia (?)	Raetia	Raetia	Raetia

Awards

Antoniniana – The cohort was granted this honorific title somewhere in the early third century, probably by Caracalla (II. 7-9; Gschwind 2004, 271).

Forts

The unit was stationed in the auxiliary fort of the legionary fortress *Castra Regina*, modern Regensburg-Kumpfmühl, in the late first – mid second centuries AD (Faber 1994, 33; Baatz 2000, 327; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 134, 503). Its presence there is supported by the occurrence of tile stamps¹⁹⁰, a tombstone erected to commemorate a wife and a daughter of the unit's decurion (II. 2) and a small inscription on a chamfron (II. 3).

The cohort is attested in *Abusina*, modern Eining, starting from AD 153 at the latest (II. 4-11; IBR 506; possibly *CIL* III 11996 a and b; Faber 1994, 33; Baatz 2000, 323; Gschwind 2004, 275). After an Alemannic assault on this territory in AD 233, the camp was abandoned, but shortly afterwards was re-occupied by Roman forces. It has been claimed that the same unit returned, our cohort, and that it continued to garrison it until the fifth century (Baatz 2000, 323; Gschwind 2004, 275, 279; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 434).

¹⁹⁰ Faber (1994, 33) mentions two types of tile stamps found in Regensburg, but fails provide a reference to the original publication. These stamps were located not in the fort itself, but “in the northern part of the medieval town”.

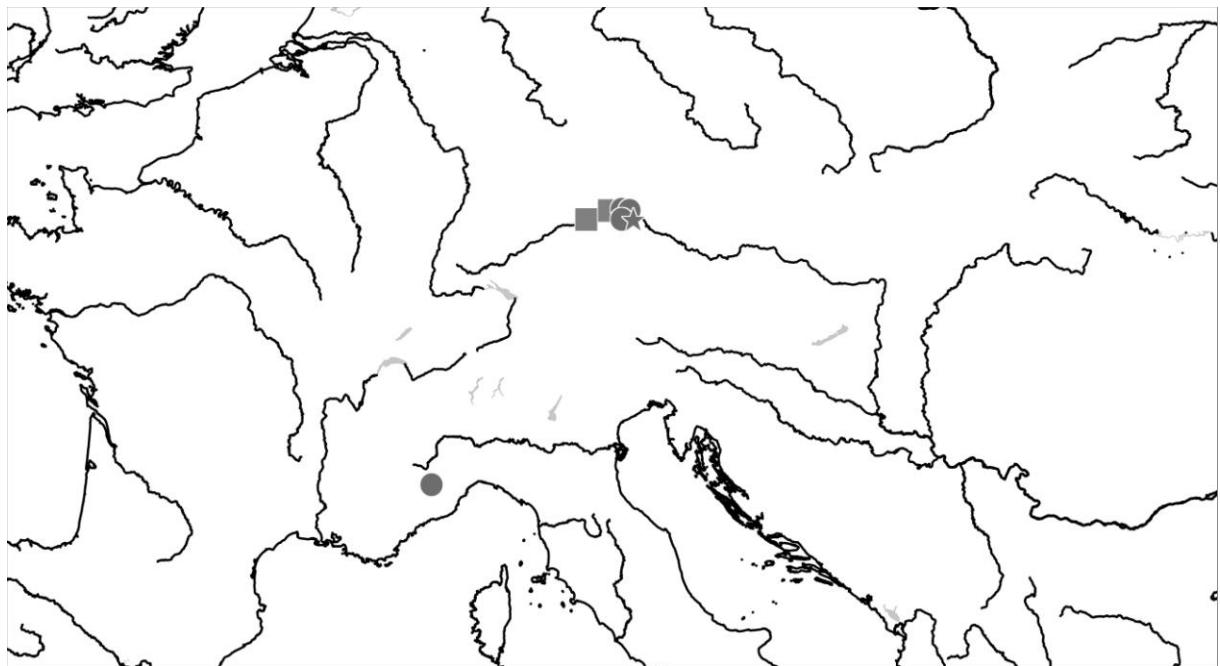


Figure 3.16 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors III Britannorum*

Personnel (in chronological order):

Prefects/commanding officers:

Gesatus: centurion, serving in the unit ca AD 69, II. 1

Claudius Marcus: decurion, serving in the unit in the late first-mid-second centuries, II. 2

Casc(...): prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 156/157, I. 12

(...)nius Iunior: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 161/168, I. 20

Fabius Faustianianus: prefect, serving in the unit in the late second century AD, II. 4 and 5

Titus Flavius Felix: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 211, II. 6

Clementianus: prefect?, serving in the unit second-third centuries AD, II. 11

? (...), son of Crepereios: prefect¹⁹¹, II. 12

Soldiers:

Catavignus, son of Ivomagus: foot-soldier, ca AD 63 – 69, II. 1

Paternus: soldier, heir to Catavignus, serving in the unit ca AD 69, II. 1

Lucius Veter: cavalry man, serving in the unit in the late first-mid-second centuries, II. 3

(...), son of (...)simnius: foot soldier, ca AD 136/143 – 161/168, I. 20

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Titus Crepereios Fronto: father of (...), son of Crepereios, II. 12

Unknown: wife of Cl. Marcus, II. 2

Vindmarcia: daughter of Cl. Marcus, II. 2

¹⁹¹ (...), son of Crepereios was considered to be prefect of the *cohors III Britannorum* by Devijver (2001, 58), while Spaul (2000, 204) sees him as a prefect of the *cohors VI Brittonum*. This person was not added to the serving members of this unit, because it is uncertain in which unit he served.

Names on the personal possessions found during the excavations of Abusina auxiliary fort (Gschwind 2004, 323-324, nos C 273 – 290; taf. 42)

Vitalis: decurion
 Flavius Primit(i)us: decurion
 Iuvenius
 Rustus Adiutorix
 Gattinus Crispinus
 Val(...)ulm Gallius Secronix
 (...)a Secund(?inus) Nonus(?)
 Sextilus Statutus P(...)
 (...)ninius Firmus
 Attila(...)a
 Manticus
 Silvestrix Arcustorix
 Quinarix

Origin of personnel

Known origin: The origin of only one soldier was recorded: (...), son of (...)simnius came from the *Condrusi* tribe which lived in present-day Belgium between Namur and Liège.

Table 3.41 Known origin of the soldier of *cohors III Britannorum*

Origins	Numbers
Germanic tribes / Gallia Belgica: <i>Condrusi</i>	1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Catavignus, son of Ivomagus: His and his father's names are compound names comprised of two Celtic elements: *cato-* and *gno-*, and *iuos-* and *magu-* respectively (For *catu-* see Evans 1967, 171-175, Delamarre 2001, 94-95; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 15, no 22; for *gnos-* see Delamarre 2001, 153; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 16, no 43; for *iuos* see Delamarre 2001, 163; for *magu-* see Evans 1967, 221-222, Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 103; 2009, 16, no 53; Delamarre 2001, 180-181 as *magos* and *magus*¹⁹²). Evans (1967, 209) notes that the element *gno-* “is well attested in the early inscriptions of the British Isles”. Sims-Williams (2004, 155, note 921) indicates the difference between the Continental Celtic element *-icn* and Insular *-ign*, where the former is more common in Continental, the latter in British names. It thus seems reasonable to suggest that the name Catavignus is a British insular Celtic name.

Paternus: The name of Catavignus' fellow soldier and heir – Paternus – was very popular in the Celtic speaking provinces (Alföldy 1969, 261; Mócsy 1983, 216; OPEL III 127-128, Minkova 2000, 225). This person may also have been British since he was recruited at the same time as Catavignus and was chosen to be his heir, and it is known that men of the same origin “sometimes banded together” (Haynes 1999b, 166).

Gesatus: The name of the unit's earliest centurion, Gesatus, is rare in Roman onomastics: in the exact same spelling it appears only once, on an inscription from Germania Inferior (*CIL* XIII 8320), though a similar sounding name, Gesatius/a, appeared in Germania Inferior, Raetia, Gallia Lugdunensis and Narbonensis as well as in northern Italy (OPEL II 166 under Gesatius). The name element *gesa-* might represent

¹⁹² There are two different forms of the element *magu-*: *magos* meaning field and *magus* meaning servant (Delamarre 2001, 180-181).

the Vulgar Latin spelling of the word *gaesum*, which meant ‘sword’ and the soldiers and the units¹⁹³ named Gaesatae “were called after their special weapons”, which they used in fighting (Looijenga 2003, 321)¹⁹⁴. The cognomina *Gesatus* and *Gaisionis* are relatively common in the names of the Celtic and Germanic mercenaries, who hailed respectively from Vindelica and Lower Germany (Looijenga 2003, 321, note 7). *Gesatus* was probably one such mercenary appointed to be a centurion in our unit. He might have taken a job of training the men of the newly raised unit of un-skilled Britons. In general, the origin of *Gesatus* should be searched for in Raetia or in adjacent Lower Germany¹⁹⁵.

Lucius Veter¹⁹⁶: The cognomen of this person probably derives from the old Germanic stem *(H)veter-* (Clay 2007, 57). This stem represents the archaic spelling of the modern English word ‘weather’ (for a detailed discussion, see Clay 2007, 57). It should be noted that the same name appeared on various altars on Hadrian’s Wall praising the god ‘*(H)veteres*’ (Clay 2007, 57). It has been argued that the cult of this god was mostly practiced by ‘Germanic’ groups stationed on Hadrian’s Wall, though not necessarily restricted to this group (Clay 2007, 58). In general, it seems that the stem was likely to have been used by Germanic speakers. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that *Lucius Veter* was of Germanic descent.

Table 3.42 Origin of soldiers of *cohors III Britannorum* based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Raetia	2
Britain	2

Questionable origin

One of the unit’s prefects, *Casc(...)*, might have been from a Celtic speaking family, since his name element *cass-* is a Celtic one (Evans 1967, 167; Delamarre 2001, 93; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 15, no 21).

Unidentifiable origin

Other prefects’ names, such as (...)*nius Iunior*, *T. F. Felix* are typically Roman and were very popular everywhere (For *Iunior* see Mócsy 1983, 155; OPEL II 207-208; Minkova 2000, 188; for *Felix* see Mócsy 1983, 125; OPEL II 138; Minkova 2000, 166). The cognomen of *Claudius Marcus* was used mainly in the Celtic speaking areas (Mócsy 1983, 178; Minkova 2000, 204).

The nomen and cognomen of *Fabius Faustianianus* were widespread in Italy and Pannonia, but everywhere else were rare (for *Fabius* see Mócsy 1983, 123; OPEL II 132; Minkova 2000, 48; for *Fausti(a)nianus* see Alföldy 1969, 200; Mócsy 1983, 124; OPEL II 135-136; Minkova 2000, 164-165).

¹⁹³ *Cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum* and *vexillatio Gaesatorum Raetorum*.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Alföldy (1968, 106), who indicates that “the name *Gesatus* is a cognomen, referring to the man’s weapons”.

¹⁹⁵ It must be noted that the element *gesa-* is known in both Celtic and Germanic speaking areas (Delamarre 2001, 146-147 as *gaiso-*; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 20, no 58 as *gaeso-*).

¹⁹⁶ The name on the chamfron was recorded as *L Veter* and can be expanded as *Luci Veteris*, in the genitive case, used to express possession. It has been pointed out to me that the actual name of this soldier was *Lucius Vetus*, where *Veteris* is a genitive form of *Vetus* (3rd declension, *r-* stems where the nominative singular ends in *s*). However, the majority of words with *r-* stems are neutral in gender. I believe that *Veteris* is a genitive for *Veter* (3rd declension, stems without *s* in the nominative singular e.g. *amor* (love) in the genitive is *amoris*). Taking into account the possible origin of the soldier as discussed here, this reconstruction seems more likely.

Clementianus' origin is uncertain. This cognomen was widespread, but quite popular in the Danubian provinces (OPEL II 63). The name Clemens, from which the name Clementianus derives, was especially widespread in Dalmatia (OPEL II 63).

Children

The name of the decurion's daughter, Vindmarcia, is a compound one: part of it was formed from the father's name, that of Marcus, and part of it from the Celtic name element *vindo-*, probably formed from the mother's name (Dietz *et al.* 1979, 410; for the Celtic element *vindo-* see Delamarre 2001, 269). It should be noted that names with the element *vindo-* are quite widespread in Britain¹⁹⁷ (Sims-Williams 2004, 166 as *vend-*; Russell and Mullen 2009, under element *vindo-*).

Names on the personal possessions found during the excavations of Abusina auxiliary fort (Gschwind 2004, 323-324, nos C 273 – 290; taf. 42)

In *Abusina*, where the unit was stationed in the second and third centuries AD, several owners' marks were found on buttons (Gschwind 2004, 323-325). In most cases they belonged to soldiers from cavalry regiments, from different *turmas*. *Cohors IV Gallorum*, also a cavalry unit, was stationed in the fort in AD 79 – 81 and actually built the camp. It is hard to date the buttons and to state confidently to which unit they can be ascribed. Gschwind (2004, 323-325) mentions only that these finds were found in layers spanning the middle of the first to the second century AD. They could have been lost by members of either the *cohors IV Gallorum* or our *cohors III Britannorum*. If we assume that they belonged to soldiers from a British unit, we have the names of the cavalry regiments and its soldiers.

One regiment name could be identified: *Vitalis*, most likely derived from the name of the decurion. The name of another could be reconstructed as *turma Marcus* although only two letters have survived: 'TM'. Soldiers' names can be read with varying degrees of confidence. Four names have the Celtic ending *-rix*, meaning that these soldiers hailed from Celtic speaking families (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 104). The name *Manticus* has the Gaulish element *man(t)o-* (Delamarre 2001, 182). Three other names, *Primitius*, *Crispinus* and *Secundinus*, were widespread everywhere, but prevailed in the Celtic speaking areas (for *Primitius* see Mócsy 1983, 232; OPEL III 159-160; Minkova 2000, 235; for *Crispinus* see Mócsy 1983, 93; OPEL II 85; Minkova 2000, 144; for *Secundinus* see Mócsy 1983, 258; OPEL IV 58-59; Minkova 2000, 249). *Iuvenius* and *Attila* might be of Germanic descent: *Iuvenius*' cognomen was popular in *Raetia*, that of *Attila* in *Gallia Belgica* (for *Iuvenius* see Mócsy 1983, 156; *Attila* as *Attilus* in Mócsy 1983, 35, OPEL I 90). Two other persons had names that were popular everywhere (for *Sextilus* see Mócsy 1983, 265; OPEL IV 79; Minkova 2000, 86; for *Statutus* see Mócsy 1983, 274; OPEL IV 94; for *Firmus* see Mócsy 1983, 127; OPEL II 142-143; Minkova 2000, 168). In general, the names tell us that the people who inscribed their personal possessions here were on the whole of Celtic speaking descent, and most likely recruited into one of the units locally. However, the cohorts to which

¹⁹⁷ It is highly speculative, but nevertheless possible, that *Claudius Marcus* was of British descent. His name does not give a clue as to his ancestry; however, it is suggestive that he was granted Roman citizenship during the reign of Julio-Claudian dynasty. He gave his daughter a name with a Celtic element in it, an element that was quite widespread in Britain not only in the personal names, but also in the names of forts on or in proximity of Hadrian's Wall: *Vindolanda* (Chesterholm), *Vindobala* (Rudchester) and *Vindomara* (Ebchester), though one should not forget the two Continental legionary fortresses, *Vindobona* (Vienna, Austria) and *Vindonissa* (Windisch, Switzerland). Taking into account that he was appointed as decurion in the British unit and served there after AD 69, but before the unit's transfer to Eining fort, one might suggest that he belonged to the first generation of the British servicemen in the British unit. *Claudius Marcus* might have taken the decision to give his child a name that was widespread in his home province, i.e. Britain.

these buttons belonged cannot be identified and the soldiers who lost these buttons could just as likely have served in either unit. It is therefore impossible to prove that the named soldiers served in *cohors III Britannorum*. For that reason their names are excluded from the table of origin.

Table 3.43 Origin of soldiers in *cohors III Britannorum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Britain	2
Gallia Belgica	1
Raetia	2
Celtic-speaking areas	1
Unknown	5
	Total: 11

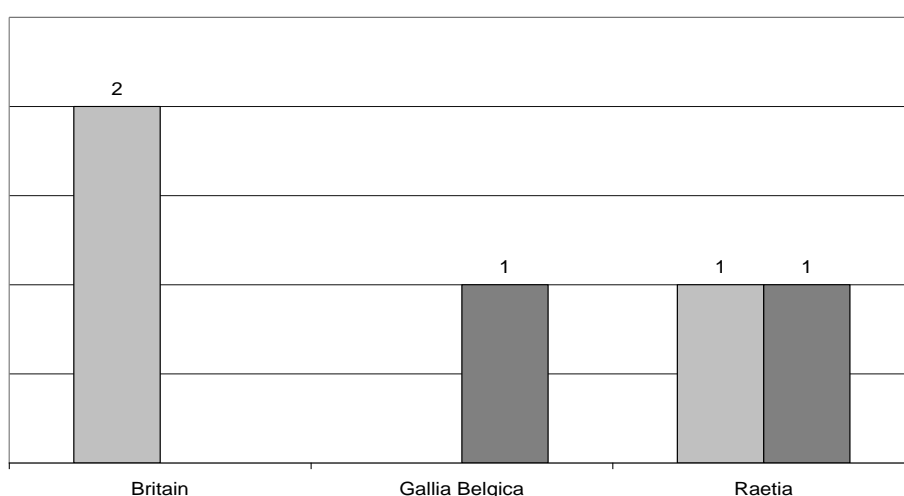


Figure 3.17 Origin of soldiers of *cohors III Britannorum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

It has been suggested that the *cohors III Britannorum* was part of the army of Vitellius in AD 69 and was taken directly from Britain overseas. If this is right, then it is possible that the members of this unit brought British brooches with them on their transfer. There is no direct evidence where the unit might have been stationed, though the occurrence of five British-made Colchester derivatives, discovered on the sites of the civilian settlements and legionary fortresses, which were passed by this cohort in AD 69, such as Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterthur and Aime, can be used as an indication that the unit had passed these lands¹⁹⁸.

The cohort was stationed after AD 69 in the auxiliary forts Regensburg and Eining; however, British brooches have not been reported from either fort (see Faber 1994 for Regensburg; Jütting 1995 and Gschwind 2004 for Eining). Only in one burial, at the Regensburg Late Roman cemetery, was a British late second-century specimen found, but this can be considered as being out of context, since the unit was garrisoned there

¹⁹⁸ The same conclusion was reached in the *ala I Britannica* case, since both units participated in the conflict of AD 69. The present evidence does not allow the possibility to argue which brooches were brought by the members of which unit.

much earlier. Having said that, British brooches are not wholly absent from the forts on the Raetian limes: three were found in Straubing and four at Burghöfe. Moreover, a British-made enamelled belt plate was reported from Straubing (Walke 1965, 148, taf. 97, no 8; Morris 2010, 193, no 7). These objects will be discussed further in chapter 5, section 5.4.1.

3.2.13. *Cohors III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

History

As in the case of the *cohortes I and II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* this unit was probably raised from the population living in the area of the lower Severn territory around the colony *Nervia Glevum*, or *Nervia Pacensis Glevum*, modern day Gloucester (Holder 1980, 40). The unit was already in existence by AD 77/78, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 102/103 (I. 1).

This particular unit was part of the army of Moesia Superior in AD 102/103 (I. 1), possibly relocated there ca AD 100 in preparation for the Dacian Wars to fulfill the role of the support troops (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 140). The location of the unit between AD 77/78 and 100 is uncertain: no evidence has survived that would allow any ideas to be advanced (Eck and Pangerl 2008, 367).

It was probably still in Moesia Superior after the Dacian Wars, though the evidence is indirect: the reading of the diploma issued in AD 112 is dubious (I. 3).

The cohort was recorded “as sent to the expedition” on the diploma issued ca AD 115; the Parthian War, AD 114 – 117, is assumed as a reason for the transfer (I. 4; Eck and Pangerl 2008, 367).

It has been suggested that the unit was annihilated in the Parthian War, since after AD 115 it is not recorded on any surviving diplomas (Eck and Pangerl 2008, 367). There is a possibility that the unit stayed after the war in one of the provinces in Asia Minor, but, because “the epigraphic evidence is scant” for these provinces (Holder 2003, 117), this cannot be supported. It is certain however that the cohort did not return to Moesia Superior after AD 117 (Eck and Pangerl 2009b, 571).

Table 3.44 Position of *cohortes III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
-	-	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – 114)	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – 114) Parthian War (AD 114 – 117)	-	-

Awards

None are known.

Forts

None can be identified through epigraphic or tegular evidence.

Personnel

None have been recorded on military diplomas or inscriptions.

Archaeology

Since no forts can be identified, no archaeological record has survived about this cohort.

3.2.14. *Cohors III Brittonum*

History

It is highly likely that this cohort was established at the same time as the *cohortes I* and *II Flavia Brittonum* and was given the numeral three in order to distinguish it from the other ones. Both units were already in existence by ca AD 70, since the first cohort was discharging soldiers in AD 95 (*cohortes I Flavia Brittonum* I. 1) and the second in AD 96/97 (*cohortes II Flavia Brittonum* I. 1). Our unit was already in existence by AD 75, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 100 (I. 1-4). This third cohort is missing the honorific title Flavia, which might have been granted to both the first and second cohorts by Domitian. The absence of the honorific title Flavia in the name of the third cohort suggests that it most likely did not take an active part in one of the Domitianic wars, but this is no an indication that it was not serving at that time. That it was active is supported by an inscription on a monument erected to commemorate the achievements of the unit's prefect: Novatus participated in a Germanic expedition, most likely the first Pannonian War of AD 89 and in the Dacian War of Domitian of AD 84/5 (I. 1; for the discussion see Kelemen and Lörincz 1994, 140-141). It is uncertain¹⁹⁹, however, whether the cohort also participated in both conflicts under the command of Novatus, though the findspot of two inscriptions (II. 1 and 2) indicates that the unit was stationed on the Pannonian frontier during this period (Lörincz 2001, 32).

Ca AD 100 the cohort was already part of the army of Moesia Superior, though it is uncertain when it was relocated there from Pannonia. AD 92/93 and 97 have been proposed as the possible years (Matei-Popescu 2006 – 2007, 37 and Lörincz 2001, 32 respectively).

The cohort was part of the army of Moesia Superior during the Dacian Wars (I. 5-6; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 129, 131, tab. 1; Holder 2006a, 156, tab. 2). Later it is attested in this province for the whole of the second century (I. 7-20; Holder 2003, 134, tab. 3).

Table 3.45 Position of *cohortes III Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
-	Pannonia (ca AD 84/5 – ca 97)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	-

Awards

Veterana – this title was usually given to a unit in order to distinguish it from other unit with the same name and numeral, and which was also located in the same province (Holder 1980, 18). There are some exceptions, however, and our cohort is one of them. In Moesia Superior there are no other units named *III Brittonum*, indicating that the title *veterana* was given to the unit for other reasons. Holder (1980, 19) suggests that this epithet was granted to the unit because it was situated in the province for a longer time in order “to distinguish it from a unit brought in only to participate in a campaign”. This might be the case, since *cohortes I Britannica*, *I Ulpia Brittonum*, *II Britannorum* and *II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* were brought to Moesia Superior to take part in the Dacian Wars, after the end of which the units left the province. It is also supported

¹⁹⁹ Kelemen and Lörincz (1994, 141) are quite sure of the unit's participation in both wars.

by the evidence: on the diplomas issued in AD 100 – 101 (I. 1-4) this title is missing, while on the diplomas starting from AD 112 onwards (I. 8) this epithet was always recorded.

Forts

It has been suggested that the cohort was positioned in the fort *Solva* (modern day Esztergom, Hungary) in the late first century, ca AD 89 – 98 (Kelemen and Lörincz 1994, 142; Lörincz 2001, 32, 51, no 15; Kelemen 2003, 87), though Wilkes (2005, 200, no 40) and Visy (2003a, 146) do not place the cohort there. The occurrence of one votive monument and one tombstone²⁰⁰ made by and for the soldiers of this cohort are the indications for the scholars who do believe that the unit was stationed there in late first century. There are no other finds from the fort, such as tile-stamps, which might add a support to the idea of the unit's location in *Solva*. However, there are so far no other finds from the whole of Pannonia that might indicate the location of the unit prior to the Dacian Wars, making *Solva* the only candidate.

No funerary monuments or dedicatory stones have been found in Moesia Superior, which might help to identify the location of the cohort. There are, however, tile-stamps from Corabia, Kleinschenk/Cincșor, one, without provenance, in the museum of Bucharest, Romania (*CIL* VIII 8074, 12a, 12c (sic!) and 12b consequently; Spaul 2000, 203 as Korabia and Leinschenk); Kostol, Serbia (Gudea 1977b, 886, no 13; Wilkes 2005, 210, no 49), and Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Romania (*CIL* III 1703,3; Gudea 1977b, 886, no 14; Wilkes 2005, 210, no 50).

Tile-stamps, reported from the Romanian town Corabia, ancient *Sucidava*²⁰¹, which lies on the northern side of Danube, just opposite the Roman legionary fortress and town *Oescus*, modern Gingen, Bulgaria, might be defective evidence: the first excavators of the site did not find tile stamps with the abbreviation COHIIIBRIT, but with stamps abbreviated COHIII (Tudor 1938, 414-415). The Bucharest Museum of Antiquities has no tile stamps abbreviated as *cohors III Brittonum* coming from Corabia, but does have stamps from Drobeta-Turnu Severin (Tudor 1938, 415). The tile stamps therefore attest the presence of an unknown *cohors III*, rather than *cohors III Brittonum*.

The tile-stamps reported from Kleinschenk/Cincșor might also be defective evidence. Spaul (2000, 203 following up on *CIL* VIII 8074, 12c) expands the abbreviation on the tile-stamp COHIIIB as *cohors III Brittonum*, but in IDR-03-04-181 and *AE* 1994, 1501 the abbreviation was expanded as *cohors II Flavia Bessorum*. The latter unit is attested on other tiles from this fort (Wilkes 2005, 222, no 42; Marcu 2009, 199). All in all, the aforementioned abbreviation should be read as COHIIIFB rather than COHIIIB (Isac and Isac 1994, 104, esp. note 5, see also fig. 5).

The tile-stamps' evidence is therefore only available for the forts of Kostol and Drobeta. Both forts are located on the left and right banks of the river Danube, connected by a Roman bridge built by the orders of the Trajan (Wilkes 2005, nos 49 and 50). Our unit or its detachment might have been placed in one of these forts to supervise the river crossing or to participate in the construction of the bridge in the early second century (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 132)²⁰².

²⁰⁰ On the tombstone erected for Prosostus there is no indication of the unit in which this soldier had served. Lörincz and Kelemen (1997, 182) consider that Prosostus might have served in *cohors III Brittonum*, since he was a cavalry soldier who died in the late first century (based on the epigraphic formulae – the name of the deceased in the nominative and the abbreviation *t(itulum) m(emoriae) p(osuit)*). The fort at that time had three units stationed successively, of which only one was a cavalry one, *cohors III Brittonum*.

²⁰¹ Not to be confused with the fort with the same ancient name in Moesia Inferior, but located in the proximity of the modern village Izvoarele, Romania (see Gudea 2005, 441; Wilkes 2005, 215, no 54).

²⁰² But see Marcu 2009, 138-140, who does not place this cohort at the Drobeta fort.

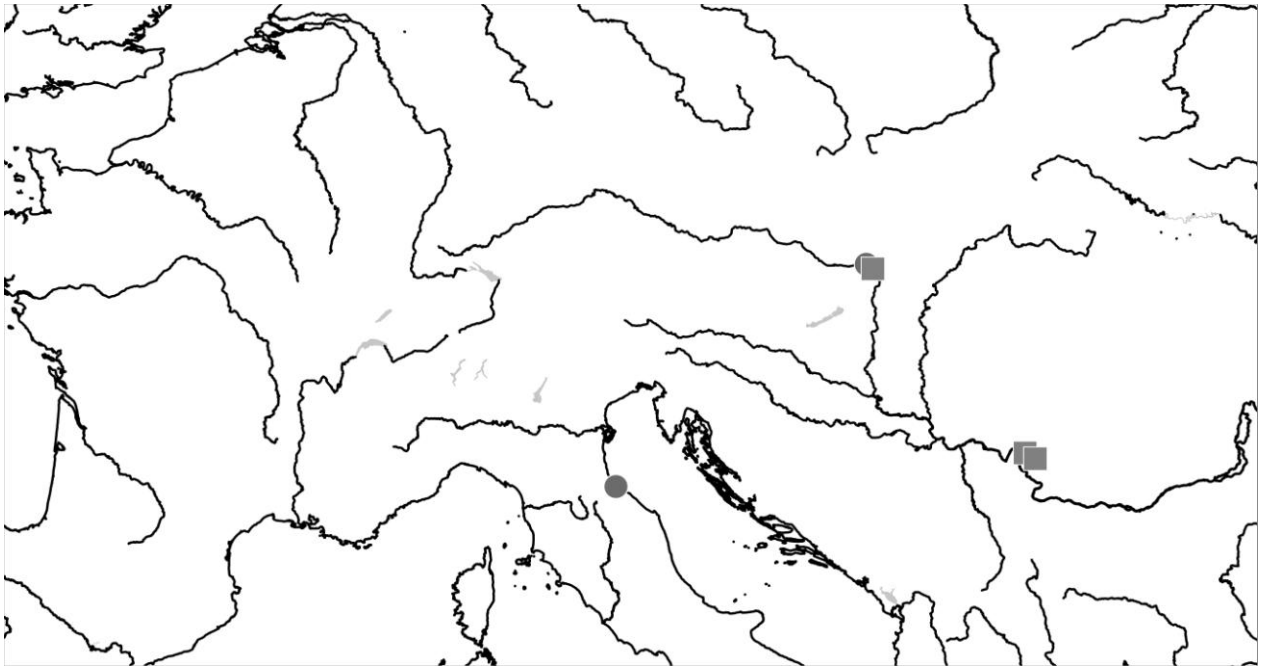


Figure 3.18 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors III Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order):

Prefects/commanding officers:

(...) son of (...)idius, Novatus: prefect, serving his first *militia* ca AD 85 – 89, II. 1

Marcus Blossius Vestalis: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 151 – 153, I. 12 and 13

Quintus Clodius Secundus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 157, I. 15

(?) Allinus: *praepositus*, serving in the unit in the mid-second century, II. 4

Caius Nonius, son of Caius, Caepianus: prefect, serving his first *militia* in the mid-second century, II. 3

Soldiers:

Prosostus, son of Couco: cavalryman, serving in the unit ca AD 90 – 100, II. 2

Siasus, son of Decinaeus: foot-soldier, ca AD 126 – 151, I. 12

Sentius, son of Sentus, Valentus: foot-soldier, ca AD 128 – 153, I. 13

Himerus, son of Callistratus: foot-soldier, ca AD 132 – 157, I. 15

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Couco, son of Blecissa: father of Prosostus, II. 2

Prisca, daughter of Dasmenus: wife of Siasus, son of Decinaeus, I. 12

Origin of personnel

Known origin:

Siasus, son of Decinaeus indicated his origin on the military diploma as Moesian from the town *Caecom*(...), though it is uncertain where to locate this place in Moesia. It has been noted by Dana (2004 – 2005, 73) that, based on the onomastics of his name, he was of Dacian origin.

The origin of Sentius, son of Sentus, Valentus was recorded. He hailed from *Sirmium* in Pannonia Inferior, modern day Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia.

The origin of the unit's prefect, Marcus Blossius Vestalis, was also recorded: he hailed from Capua in Italy.

Caius Nonius, son of Caius, Caepianus was from one of the Roman voting tribes, the Aniensis, and probably hailed from *Ariminium*, modern Rimini in Italy, where he was buried and commemorated with a monument (Devijver 2001, 60).

Table 3.46 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors III Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
Pannonia Inferior: Town of <i>Sirmium</i>	1
Moesia: <i>Caecom(...)</i>	1
Italy Town of <i>Ariminium</i> Town of Capua	1 1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Prosostus, son of Couco: The soldier's name Prosostus was particularly common in Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 234, OPEL III 168; Lörincz and Kelemen 1997, 182). He was buried by his father Couco, son of Blecissa, who was probably not a soldier in the unit since there is no such indication on the funerary stele. The name of his father indicates that he was of Celtic ancestry: Coucus and Blecissa, the latter usually recorded as Blegissa, are widespread Celtic names (*AE* 1997, p. 419-420). It has been proposed that both father and son originated from the Pannonian tribe *Azali*, the population of which was of mixed ancestry, a combination of both Celtic and indigenous peoples (*AE* 1997, p. 419-420).

Questionable origin:

Himerus also indicated his origin, from which only the first four letters have survived – *Laud(...)*. Since the soldier and his father had Greek names, it seems reasonable to look for *Laud(...)* somewhere in the Near East where place names such as Laudicea can be found or in the regions with high percentage of the Greek-speaking population, such as Moesia or Thracia (RMM 37).

Novatus' origin was not recorded, though he mentioned that he belonged to the voting tribe *Quirina*. On this basis it has been suggested that he most likely hailed from Baetica (Kelemen and Lörincz 1994, 138).

Table 3.47 Questionable origin of soldiers of *cohors III Brittonum*

Origin	Numbers
Baetica	1
Greek speaking regions	1

Unidentifiable origin

The origin of Quintus Clodius Secundus, prefect, and Allinus, *praepositus*, is uncertain. It has been proposed that the name of *praepositus* can be read as Allinus, but such a name is not listed anywhere, except the similar spelled name Allianus, which is attested in single number in Dalmatia, Dacia and Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 13, OPEL (I 43).

Wives:

The wife of Siasus, Prisca, came from a tribe called Dard(ana), a Thraco-Illyrian entity (Dana 2004 – 2005, 73).

Table 3.48 Origin of soldiers in *cohors III Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Moesia	1
Pannonia	2
Baetica	1
Italy	2
Greek speaking areas	1
Unknown	2
	Total: 9

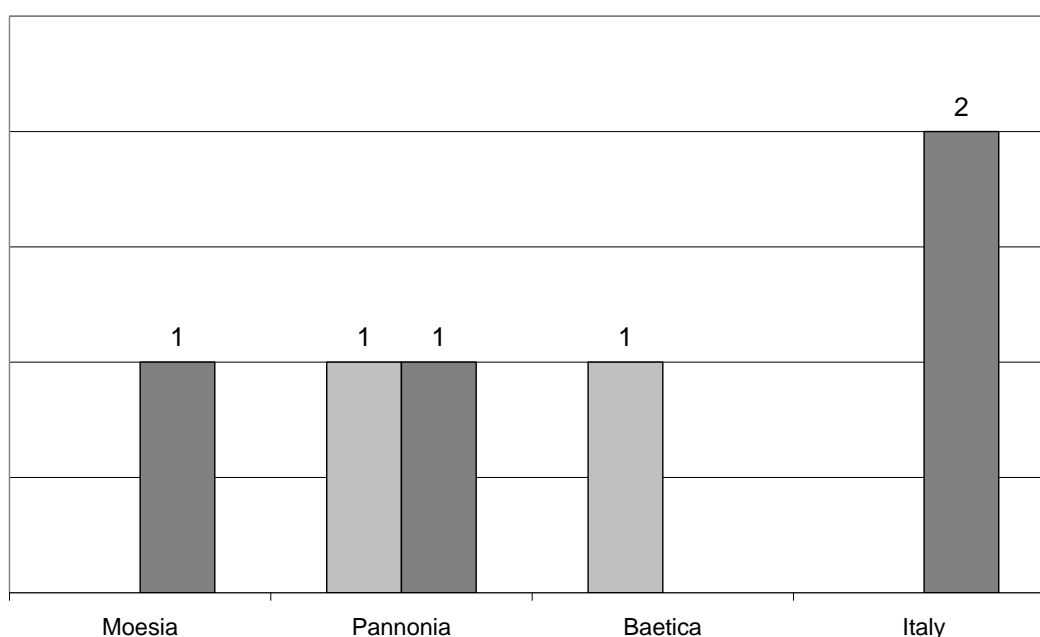


Figure 3.19 Origin of soldiers of *cohors III Brittonum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

The site of the *Solva* fort has been excavated on numerous occasions (cf. Soproni 1990): a small part of the fort has been uncovered: “a 20 m long section of the west wall, [...] a part of *horreum*, and certain wall sections of varying size of several buildings from the interior” (Kelemen 2003, 86). As a result of such excavations “a rich ensemble of late Celtic and Roman finds” has been found (Kelemen 2003, 86). The *vicus* of the fort has also been partially excavated, and numerous graves from various Roman periods, Late Roman in particular, have been uncovered (Kelemen 2003, 87; 2006; 2008). Some finds have been published, though the majority of the publications have concentrated on the inscriptions (e.g. Lörincz and Kelemen 1997) and finds from the cemeteries (e.g. Kelemen 2006; 2008). British-made brooches have so far not been reported.

The fort of Drobeta-Turnu Severin and its adjacent areas were also excavated on various occasions (Stîngă 2007; Cantacuzino *et al.* 1999; cf. Marcu 2009, 129-140 on the internal planning of this fort), though work has mainly concentrated on the first Trajanic Roman bridge over the river Danube (Garašanin and Vasić 1980; Gušić 1996; Karović *et al.* 2007; Serban 2009). Roman finds have been reported, as well as some bronze artefacts, though none were identified as brooches.

The fort and part of the Trajanic Roman bridge of Kostol, situated on the other shore of Danube river, opposite the Drobeta-Turnu Severin fort, was also excavated on numerous occasions by Bulgarian archaeologists (Garašanin and Vasić 1980; Garašanin *et al.* 1984; Garašanin and Vasić 1987). The northern and western gates of the fort were excavated and the physical relation between the western gate and the bridge was established (Garašanin and Vasić 1980, 34-38). The finds were mostly recorded from a front ditch of the fort and included a number of ceramic sherds and tile stamps of *cohors I Hispanorum* and *legio V Macedonicae* (Garašanin and Vasić 1980, 39; in Bulgarian version of this article the tile stamps were attributed to *cohors II Hispanorum*, e.g. Garašanin and Vasić 1980, 23). No brooches have been reported.

There is no surviving evidence for the *cohors IV* and *V Brittonum*.

3.2.15. *Cohors VI Brittonum*

History

It is highly plausible that this cohort was established at the same time as the *cohortes I, II* and *III Brittonum*, as well as the cohorts with the numerals four and five, which have not left any traces of their existence. All three cohorts were in existence by the first half of 70s of the first century AD: the first cohort - by AD 70 (*cohors I Flavia Brittonum* I. 1), the second - by AD 71/72 (*cohors II Flavia Brittonum* I. 1), the third - by AD 75 (*cohors III Brittonum* I.1-4). The sixth cohort was in existence by AD 73, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 98 (I. 1).

The first documented appearance of the unit is AD 98 when the cohort was in Germania Inferior (I. 1). It is highly likely that the cohort was in the province somewhere at the end of 80s of the first century. On the diplomas issued in AD 98 and 127 (I. 1-3) the honorific title *pia fidelis* was inserted between the standard formula “*equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt*”. The units serving in Germania Inferior were granted this title after the revolt of Saturninus in AD 89 for their loyalty (RMD IV, p. 468, no 2; Eck and Pangerl 2004, 264). That the title was inserted here, and not in the main body of the diploma, indicates that all units recorded in the constitution had this epithet, since it was redundant to repeat it each time (RMD IV, p. 468, no 2). Since our cohort was mentioned in the line of the units granted with this title and since this epithet was recorded on the *cursus honorum* of the unit’s prefect (II. 1), we can be sure that the unit participated in the suppression of Saturninus’ revolt of AD 89 and, therefore, was present in Germania Inferior in that year (Holder 2006a, 147). The absence of the honorific title *Flavia* in the name of the sixth cohort, though recorded in the titles of the first and second cohorts, might indicate that the unit did not take an active part in any of the Domitianic wars, for which this particular epithet was in most cases granted. The cohort was most likely patrolling the borders of Germania Inferior during the reign of Domitian, which is supported by another piece of evidence. The unit was under the command of Lucius Terentius Rufus prior to his transfer some time in AD 90/100 to the *legio I Minervia*, stationed in Bonn (II. 2). Such a transfer would have been logical if the unit was part of the army of Germania Inferior (Haalebos 2000a, 59).

It is also unknown if the unit participated in the Dacian Wars (Holder 2006a, 148), but it is more than likely that the cohort never left Germania Inferior. The diplomas

dated to the period of the wars and their aftermath did not record the presence of the unit in Dacia or Moesia, though it might be that the cohort did not have soldiers eligible for the grant of citizenship. By AD 127 and 152 the cohort was part of the army of Germania Inferior (I. 2-6). A graffito from Ockenburgh, the Netherlands, recording this unit, was found in the late second century context which indicates that the cohort was still in Germania Inferior around that period (II. 4).

Table 3.49 Position of *cohors VI Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
-	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	Germania Inferior ?	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	-

Awards

Pia Fidelis – granted for loyalty to the Emperor Domitian during the revolt of Saturninus in AD 89. Probably the grant was repeated by the Emperor Trajan in AD 97 (for the discussion, see Eck and Pangerl 2004, 264).

Forts

So far there is no direct epigraphic or archaeological evidence to suggest where the unit was positioned on the frontier of Germania Inferior. The tile stamps carrying the abbreviation ‘CVIBr’ found at Xanten most likely belonged to the sixth cohort of the *Breuci* and not to this cohort, as is sometimes thought (Haalebos 2000a, 59).

A graffito from a fortlet at Ockenburgh (II. 4) indicates that a detachment of the unit might have been stationed here in the mid second century AD. The fortlet lies behind the limes and the nearest frontier forts such as Leiden and Valkenburg-De Woerd lay approximately 20 km north of the tower.

Ockenburgh was first considered to be a small post for soldiers whose main duty was to patrol and control the road running to *Forum Hadriani* (Voorburg, The Netherlands) and *Praetorium Agripinae* (Valkenburg, The Netherlands) (Kersing and Waasdorp 1994, 6)²⁰³, although Dutch archaeologists now tend to see it as a fortlet that was part of the coastal defence system (Ab Waasdorp, pers. comment)²⁰⁴. The fortlet was in use from AD 150 – 185, while the adjacent civilian settlement continued well into the third century. The U-shaped fortlet is similar in its layout to the milecastles of Hadrian’s Wall and fortlets known from the Odenwald-Neckar limes frontier in Germany (Ab Waasdorp, pers. comment). Finds on the site indicate that this military settlement was inhabited by a small cavalry unit (Kersing and Waasdorp 1995, 17). It is possible that the unit’s detachment was stationed in this fortlet, while the major unit was located in a larger fort nearby (Waasdorp 1999, 172), though there is no direct evidence of its whereabouts. A graffito on one pot can hardly be seen as a clear indication that there was a detachment of a British unit here. However, the occurrence of three British brooches at Naaldwijk, Spijkenisse and in the region of Rotterdam increases the possibility that the unit or a detachment of it was indeed garrisoned at Ockenburgh or somewhere nearby. Furthermore, the place where the entire unit may have been stationed can be proposed.

²⁰³ Cf. Feijst *et al.* 2008, 10, afb. 1.3, where Ockenburgh is considered to be an observation fortlet connected with the frontier posts by the road which the soldiers were supposed to patrol.

²⁰⁴ This system was probably similar to the Cumbrian coastal defense system of Hadrian’s Wall running from Bowness to Ravenglass (Ab Waasdorp, pers. comment).

One brooch was located at Naaldwijk²⁰⁵, a Roman settlement. This vicus was situated ca 10 km south of Ockenburgh on the presumed Roman road (see the map in Feijst *et al.* 2008, 10, afb. 1.3). Unfortunately, it is unknown what kind of vicus it was (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 208). It could have been a military vicus which grew in the proximity of a Roman fort or fleet station or a civilian vicus which grew on a major Roman crossroad (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 208). It was noted that the settlement showed more signs of being civilian than military: it was positioned on the crossroads and most artefacts were imported pieces (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 209). However, it cannot be ruled out that somewhere in the mid second century the settlement had some kind of military installation that has not yet been found, or that it existed only for a short period (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 209). If Naaldwijk did indeed have some kind of military installation in the mid second century AD, then it can be proposed as a candidate for the unit's fort. The presence of a British detachment at Ockenburgh and the possible military installation at Naaldwijk correspond chronologically. The cohort could have sent its soldiers to patrol the road leading to and from the watchtower.

Naaldwijk, however, might also have been a fleet station, as noted above. On the site at Naaldwijk, tile stamps of the German fleet were found in abundance (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 209) which may indicate the presence of the fleet or a small harbour on, or in the proximity of, the site. It has been suggested that this harbour was used by the fleet to transport goods and men from various provinces through the *Corbulo* channel all the way up to the frontier zone and to the Rhine (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 208-209). The German fleet played an active role during the invasion of Britain in AD 43 and was the major transportation resource between Britain and the Continent from the invasion until AD 85 (Konen 2000, 373-375). If Naaldwijk was indeed a harbour, then the presence of British brooches there and in Spijkenisse can be connected with the activity of the German fleet in this region, and not with the service of *cohors VI Brittonum*.

The speculative nature of the evidence does not give a clue as to the location of the fort of this particular cohort, although its service in the southwest corner of Germania Inferior is plausible.

²⁰⁵ Another British-made brooch was reported from Naaldwijk-Heultje (de Bruin, Feijst and Heeren database). This information was received upon the completion of this PhD thesis and is therefore not included in the database.



Figure 3.20 Geographical location of the inscriptions (circle) and possible fort (square) of the *cohors VI Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order):

Prefects/commanding officers:

Marcus Gavius Bassus: prefect, serving his first *militia* ca AD 96, II. 1

Lucius Terentius Rufus: prefect, serving in the unit in the late first century AD, II. 2

Quintus Domitius Victor: prefect, serving in the unit in the late first century AD, II. 3

Tinilus: centurion, serving in the unit in the late second century AD, II. 4

Decimus Aelius Menecratianus: prefect, serving in the unit in the beginning of the third century AD, II. 5

? (...), son of Crepereios: prefect, II. 6

Soldiers:

Cae(lianus): foot-soldier, serving in the unit in the late second century AD, II. 4

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Titus Crepereios Fronto: father of (...), son of Crepereios, II. 6

Origin

Known origin:

The origin of one prefect has been recorded on a monument: Marcus Gavius Bassus hailed from Rome.

Decimus Aelius Menecratianus was a member of an extended family living in the North African *municipum Lambaesis* (Lambese, Algeria), where he was also probably born (Marcillet-Jaubert 1987, 211). While exact blood relations of the people recorded on the monument (II. 5) are hard to determine, but it has been proposed that P. Aelius Procles Menecratianus Florius Fortunatus is the father. P. Maevus Saturninus Honoratianus and that D. Aelius Menecratianus are his grandchildren and sons of P. Aelius Menecraten Florius (Marcillet-Jaubert 1987, 212).

Pitillas Salañer (2005) convincingly argued that the origin of Lucius Terentius Rufus lies in Braga, Portugal.

Quintus Domitius Victor was from one of the Roman voting tribes, the Quirina, and probably hailed from *Calama*, modern Guelma in Algeria, of which he was a patron, and where he was also buried and commemorated with a monument (Devijver 2001, 60).

Table 3.50 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors VI Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
Italy: City of Rome	1
Numidia: Town of <i>Lambaesis</i>	1
Hispania Citerior: Town of <i>Bracara Augusta</i>	1
Africa Proconsularis: Town of <i>Calama</i>	1

Unidentifiable origin

The origin of centurion Tinilus is hard to identify. The name in the different spelling, Tineius, appears once in Britain, but names starting with the element *tin-* were widespread in Celtic speaking regions (Mócsy 1983, 290; OPEL IV 122).

The name of the soldier has been reconstructed as Caelianus, but there are many other names, which also start with the element *cae-* (cf. OPEL II 16-21). If the name of the soldier is indeed Caelianus, this does not give any indication as to his origin, since this name was popular everywhere (Mócsy 1983, 58; OPEL II 18).

Table 3.51 Origin of soldiers in *cohors VI Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Italy	1
Numidia	1
Africa Proconsularis	1
Hispania Citerior	1
Unknown	2
	Total: 6 ²⁰⁶

Archaeology

Only one graffito found on a cooking vessel at Ockenburgh indicates the possible presence of a detachment of the *cohors VI Brittonum*. The site has been excavated by Dutch archaeologists, first from 1931 until 1936, then from 1993 until 1997 (Kersing and Waasdorp 1994, 1995 and 1996). Brooches were found on the site (Waasdorp and Zee 1988, 26-27; Kersing and Waasdorp 1994, 12; 1996, 19), although only a small number of them was described (none are British-made). The recent *Odyssee* grant from the Dutch funding body NWO will allow the Dutch researchers to analyse, date and publish the finds from this site (<http://www.erfgoednederland.nl/odyssee/projecten/19.-den-haag-ockenburgh/item10668> accessed on 02.06.2011), but, unfortunately, after this thesis has been completed²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁶ (...), son of Crepereios, the prefect, is not included into the table, since it is uncertain whether he was indeed a prefect of the *cohors VI Brittonum*.

²⁰⁷ The leaders of the project, Ab Waasdorp and Jeroen van Zoelingen, were kind enough to invite me to look at the brooches (ca 40) found on both the military and civilian part of Roman Ockenburgh. One brooch appears to have similarities with British-made brooches of type T162, known as Alcester. This information was received upon the submission of this thesis and is, therefore, not included into the database.

As was already mentioned, three British-made brooches²⁰⁸ were found on sites nearby (Naaldwijk, Spijkenisse and region Rotterdam), though their occurrence might be related to the activities of the German fleet in the region.

3.2.16. *General conclusions*

3.2.16.1. Naming pattern

The nomenclature of the British regiments falls into the four categories: *ala* and *cohors I Britannica*, a series of units named *Britannorum*, six series of *cohors Brittonum* and units named after the tribe and area from where they were raised, i.e. *cohors Belgarum* and three series of units raised from *Colonia Glevum* (Saddington 1980, 1072 with updated information). It has been generally assumed that the title *Britannica* refers to the province (Saddington 1980, 1073; Spaul 2000, 189); the title *Brittonum* indicates that the original recruits were natives to the province, while the title *Britannorum* implies that the soldiers were recruited from Britain, though they were not necessarily of British ancestry (Spaul 2000, 189).

With regard to the difference between the terms *Britannus* and *Britto*, an interesting proposal came from Matthews (1999, 25), who argues that both ethnonyms were coined and used by the outsiders and intruders, the Romans, to name the local inhabitants of the province of Britannia. He establishes that while the ethnic name *Britannus* was given to the population by outsiders and, subsequently, used mostly by the local Roman authorities, the ethnonym *Britto* derived “from the self-awareness of what it was to be an inhabitant of Roman Britain” (Matthews 1999, 29-30). Although both terms were alien to the indigenous population of Britannia, pressure from the Roman administration meant that they were gradually adopted by the inhabitants (Matthews 1999, 26).

It is notable that the majority of British auxiliary units were described by a label associated with the pan-tribal community. As for the other auxiliary units raised from various Continental tribes, in the majority of the cases units were named after the tribes they were raised from²⁰⁹. In the British case, one needs to take into account that there were “no such social groups as ‘Britons’, the peoples were an assortment of tribes” (Mattingly 2004, 10). The label *Britannus/Britto* was imposed by the Roman government in order to speed up the process of inclusion of the natives into the Roman orbit as well as to prevent further inter-tribal warfare, the process that has been called “superficial homogenisation” (Matthews 1999, 29). Such homogenisation, though not artificial as in the British case, is recorded in other communities who supplied recruits for the Roman army. The main purpose was the promotion of a special type of identity - a military one. For instance, the Romans continuously cultivated tribal associations in the Batavians from Germania Inferior, placing an emphasis on their militaristic nature (van Driel-Murray 2003, 201; Roymans 2004, 223). The Batavians, being a Roman creation as well, formed at least eight cohorts, though it has been argued that these regiments would not necessarily “have consisted exclusively of soldiers from the Batavian homeland” (van Rossum 2004, 128). The constant manipulation of the group’s military vocations bound up with the group’s own ethnic identity resulted in the formation of a special community, called ‘ethnic soldiers’ by van Driel-Murray (2003, 201). The Dacians are another similar case in point. After the Dacian Wars, “the Roman army reinvented rather than destroyed Dacian ethnic identity and provided the environment for the formation of a new Dacian military identity” by recruiting locals to serve in various auxiliary units called *Dacorum* (Oltean 2009, 99). The Romans might

²⁰⁸ They will be further discussed in chapter 5, section 5.2.1.2.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Spaul (2000, 9), who provides a list of the units raised from the various Roman provinces, where the majority were named after a single tribe, and a handful - named with a generic, i.e. provincial, term.

have also reinvented and manipulated British ethnic identity by consistently referring to the people who originated from, or were born in, the province of Britannia as ‘Britons’²¹⁰. Forming various auxiliary units in which British-born recruits served and naming them with the group label, might have been a conscious decision to enhance the formation of a new pan-British military identity. The creation of artificial cultural identity and to some extent the invention of new ‘ethnic’ boundaries for the peoples of Britain gave the Roman administration the power “to form a new and partly unified military identity among the formerly fragmented groups”, in this way creating a new cultural unity that served its needs (Hingley 2009, 69 commenting on the formation of artificial Batavian ethnicity). Of course, one might argue about the success of this attempt. All in all, the formation of ethnic soldiery is “a deliberate construct of Empire used for purely strategic purposes”, where “military service itself can be seen as an active factor in shaping these [traditional ethnic] attachments and creating new ethnicities which answer the stereotypes demanded by state security” (van Driel-Murray 2003, 202)²¹¹.

In that sense, one might ask why the *Belgae* tribe - their cohort was named after the tribe - was given such an exclusive status.

This discussion on the imposition and usage of the artificial labels does not explain, however, the differences in the naming of units. It is possible that the nomenclature is connected to the period when individual units were raised or to the events that triggered their recruitment. This can be tested by taking a closer look at when and how the troops were established.

3.2.16.2. Origin

The origin of the British auxiliary units was discussed by Saddington (1980), though his conclusions were based on the evidence available at that time. He stated that the origin of the British troops can be traced rather easily, since they have “a fixed *terminus post quem* – AD 43” (Saddington 1980, 1071). He concluded that while the evidence for the British units “cannot be dated earlier than the principate of Nero (...) it is likely that [they] were raised soon after the invasion under Claudius” (Saddington 1980, 1073).

Based on the evidence available now, the following summary of the units’ first appearance can be reconstructed²¹².

²¹⁰ Cf. Dio Cassius 62.4, who puts the following phrase in Boudicca’s mouth prior to the major battle between Roman and British forces in AD 60/61: “for I (Boudicca) consider you all my kinsmen inasmuch as you inhabit a single island and are called by one common name”. Clearly, an obvious example of Roman rhetoric and propaganda rather than an exhibition of pan-tribal British identity; such notions of artificial ethnicity may not have had much relevance for the peoples of Britain.

²¹¹ Cf. Hingley 2009, 69 who emphasises the asymmetrical nature of such relationships, where “ethnic soldiers’ represented an aspect of the deliberate creation of unequal imperial relations”.

²¹² It is of course not entirely so that a unit must be in existence for 25 years before a diploma was issued. There are cases when experienced soldiers were seconded to newly formed units, cf. Cersus, son of Denturasadus from *ala I Brittonum*, who might have served in another unit prior to the transfer to this *ala* in order to train recruits of the newly raised unit (Holder 2006b, 713). This should be taken into consideration, although, based on the evidence available now, only one British auxiliary unit might have had soldiers seconded from other troops.

Table 3.52 First recorded evidences for the British auxiliary units

Name	Earliest known date of the soldiers recruitment	Ruling Emperor
Ala I Britannica	AD 69	Nero
Ala I Brittonum	AD 45/46	According to the date – raised by Claudius, Eck (2003, 224) and Holder (2006b, 713) argued for the reign of Nero
Cohors I Belgarum	AD 72	Date points to Vespasian
Cohors I Britannica	AD 55	Nero
Cohors I Aelia Brittonum	As part of cohors I Brittonum – AD 60	Nero
Cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum	AD 80	Date points to Titus, but the third cohort was raised under Vespasian. Logically the first, second and third must have been raised at the same time.
Cohors I Flavia Brittonum	AD 70	Vespasian
Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum	As part of cohors I Brittonum – AD 60	Nero
Cohors II Britannorum	AD 56 – 59	Nero
Cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum	AD 80	Date points to Titus, but the third cohort was raised under Vespasian. Logically the first, second and third must have been raised at the same time.
Cohors II Flavia Brittonum	AD 71/72	Vespasian
Cohors III Britannorum	AD 61	Nero
Cohors III Augusta Nervia Pacensis	AD 77/78	Vespasian
Cohors III Brittonum	AD 75	Vespasian
Cohors VI Brittonum	AD 73	Vespasian

If this table is summarised according to the ruling Emperor, the following appears.

Table 3.53 Emperors and the units, (possibly) established during the reign

Emperor	Units	Units	Units	Units	Units
Nero	Ala Britannica I	Ala I Brittonum	Cohors Britannica I	Cohors I Brittonum	Cohortes II and III Britannorum
Vespasian	Cohors Belgarum I	Cohortes I, II Flavia and III, VI Brittonum	Cohortes I, II and III Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum		

This table does not contradict the conclusion proposed by Saddington, that the evidence points to the reign of Nero, though his general idea that the units were raised soon after the Claudian campaigns is questionable. If the units are divided according to the earliest known date when they were on service, a pattern seems to appear.

Table 3.54 The earliest known date of the service of the British auxiliary units

AD 45/46	Ala I Brittonum
AD 55	Cohors I Britannica
AD 56 – 59	Cohors II Britannorum
AD 60	Cohors I (Aelia and Ulpia) Brittonum
AD 61	Cohors III Britannorum
AD 69	Ala I Britannica
AD 70	Cohors I Flavia Brittonum
AD 71/72	Cohors II Flavia Brittonum
AD 72	Cohors I Belgarum
AD 73	Cohors VI Brittonum
AD 75	Cohors III Brittonum
AD 77/78	Cohors III Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum
AD 80	Cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum
AD 80	Cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum

The cohorts with the titles *Britannica* and *Britannorum* seem to have been in existence prior to AD 69, while those with *Brittonum* and with the tribal and regional epithets – after AD 69. Both *alae* were also raised prior to, or exactly in, AD 69. Only one cohort breaks this pattern – *cohortes I Brittonum*, though I suspect that it was raised together with *cohortes II* and *III Britannorum* for reasons discussed below. In general, it seems reasonable to discuss the formation of the units according to the discussed here pattern.

3.2.16.2.1. Ala and cohortes I Britannica

It has been generally assumed that the title of both ala and cohort indicates that these regiments were part of the British garrison, but did not necessarily have their origins in Britain (Kennedy 1977, 250, 254).

The ala was recorded for the first time²¹³ with its full title on the diploma issued in AD 102 (*CIL XVI 47*) as *Britanniciana*, which implies “troops of the British garrison” and indicates that it was a unit composed of soldiers of various origins from numerous regiments stationed at that time in Britain (Kennedy 1977, 250). This interpretation was further used to suggest that the unit was actually from the beginning a detachment of the British regiments and was raised especially for the Vitellian forces in AD 69 (Kennedy 1977, 252).

The cohort, however, might have been raised from the local population of the province in AD 69 “for immediate ‘export’ to the Vitellian expeditionary forces and only took shape and name on the continent” (Kennedy 1977, 254-255). This argument, however, fails to persuade, since the unit was already in existence by AD 55, because it was discharging soldiers in AD 80 (*CIL XVI, 26*).

Kennedy (1977, 250), while pleading for the separation, when discussing the origin of these two units, suggests, nevertheless, that the establishment of both units fell in AD 69. This could not certainly be true for the cohort and possibly for ala; although the first record of the ala falls in AD 69, it cannot be concluded that it was raised in that year and not earlier, i.e. together with the cohort.

It seems that both units were made up of soldiers from various units stationed in Britain some time around ca AD 55. This year falls in the period when Nero was thinking of abandoning Britain. The death of Emperor Claudius in AD 54 and the unresolved military problems with regard to the further conquest of Britain prompted Nero to doubt the necessity of further campaigns and he “even thought of withdrawing

²¹³ On the inscriptions of earlier dates (*CIL III 15797*; *CIL III 4575*; *CIL III 4576*) the title was abbreviated as ‘*Brit*’ and, thus, it is unknown how the title should be expanded.

the army from Britain” (Suetonius *Nero*, 18). It is believed that this happened in the first years of Nero’s reign (Birley 1953; Salway 1993, 80; Jarrett 2002, 52; Webster G. 2003, 97-98; Mattingly 2007, 104). The appointment in AD 57 of the new governor of Britain, Quintus Veranius, indicates that a decision had been made to retain Britain (Jarrett 2002, 52; Webster G. 2003, 98; Mattingly 2007, 104).

The withdrawn units might have been a mix of various auxiliary vexillations, which had lost the majority of their soldiers in the active fighting in the aftermath of the AD 43 campaigns. The heavy casualties that the units in Britain suffered for nearly 12 years in the aftermath of AD 43 might have reduced the units to far below their original strength. They might have become so small that they were not able to function as proper 1000 or 500 strong units. This problem could have been solved by merging different units under required strength. While it is possible that Britons were also recruited to serve in such combined units at that time, it is likely that they made up another set of units, which will be discussed in the following section.

3.2.16.2.2. *Ala I Brittonum* and *cohortes I Brittonum*, II and III *Britannorum*

The formation of these units falls in the period between the years AD 59 – 61. While the Thracian recruit in the *ala I Brittonum* entered the army in AD 45/46, this does not mean that the *ala* was in existence by this period: the soldier might have been transferred to the British *ala* to train new recruits at the moment of the units’ establishment. It seems reasonable to suggest that both *ala* and *cohortes I Brittonum* were raised at the same time, and taking into account that the *cohortes I Brittonum* was in existence by AD 60, the establishment of the *ala* should be dated to the same period (Eck 2003, 224; Holder 2006b, 713).

That *cohortes II* and *III Britannorum* were established at the same time as *ala* and *cohortes I Brittonum* can be supported by the fact that the second unit was referred to differently on different diplomas (Isac 2003, 35). On the ones issued for the army of Germania Inferior and Moesia Superior the unit was named as “*cohortes II Brittonum*” and on the diplomas for the army of Dacia, issued later than the ones from Germany and Moesia, it was usually recorded as “*cohortes II Britannorum*”. Such a transformation has been explained here as resulting from changes in the recruitment system. It is possible that the unit was initially composed of members of the native population of the province and was named after them, i.e. cohort of Britons = *cohortes Brittonum*. Later, when locals from the province of Dacia replaced the initial recruits, the unit was renamed to take account of the recruitment situation²¹⁴. It was then called the *cohortes II Britannorum* to indicate the provincial origin of the unit. Moreover, there is no evidence of the existence of *cohortes I Britannorum*, except one diploma (RMD I 64, dated to AD 164), though this is likely to reflect a mistake, i.e. it should record instead *cohortes I Britannica*.

I would like to suggest that *ala I Brittonum* and *cohortes I Brittonum* (later divided into two units with titles Aelia and Ulpia), *II* and *III Brittonum* (later renamed to *Britannorum*) were raised in the same period. It seems likely that all four troops could have been established prior to AD 60, since *cohortes II Britannorum* was already in existence by AD 59 at the latest.

The following events can be proposed that have triggered the units’ establishment. First one is the indecision of Nero as to whether or not to abandon Britain in ca AD 55 – 56 (discussed above). The possibility of the withdrawal of the army could also have resulted in hasty recruitment of suitable manpower and, thus, the establishment of one *ala* and three *cohortes* from among the Britons. In this sense, the distinction between *ala* and *cohortes I Britannica* and *ala* and *cohortes Brittonum* lies in that the former was

²¹⁴ The similar situation might have happened with *cohortes III Britannorum*, renamed from *Brittonum* to *Britannorum* at the moment when the recruits from Raetia were introduced to the unit.

raised from various regiments stationed in Britain, the latter was made up of natives of the province. The establishment of *Britannica* and *Brittonum/Britannorum* units than falls around the year AD 55 and was the result of the indecisive policy of the Roman administration.

The two other possible events are the appointments of Quintus Veranius in AD 57 and Suetonius Paulinus in AD 59 as governors of Britain. From the historic sources it is known that both governors paid a lot of attention to the conquest of the *Silures* tribe, living in the territory of what is now Wales, as well as to preparing an assault on the population of the island of Anglesey, though the campaign was halted by the Boudiccan revolt in AD 60 (Tacitus *Agricola* 14 and *Annales* XIV 29; Webster G. 1970, 192; 2003, 105; Salway 1993, 81; Jarrett 2002, 52-53).

It seems that by AD 60 some British southeast tribes might have established a particular set of arrangements with new power, resulting from the support given at the time of the invasion and in the following years (Salway 1993, 82; Webster G. 1999, 87). One might assume that the tribes sent out available manpower to be part of the Roman army to acquire first-hand knowledge of Roman fighting methods²¹⁵ or in exchange for the future promise of Roman citizenship. Romans might have exploited the loyalty of this people to their advantage and co-operation between the Roman government and the southeastern tribes was defined on their, i.e. the intruders', terms. The tribes were given the possibility of enhancing elements of their prestige: for their service in the army they were granted citizenship. Such practice, recruitment by agreement, is attested: Batavians before the revolt of AD 69 were commanded to serve in the auxiliary units by their own chieftains, and were also granted Roman citizenship (Saddington 2009, 85 citing Tacitus *Hist.* IV 12 and *Germ.* 29.1).

The archaeological evidence gives the possibility of suggesting that at least one cohort discussed in this section was raised from the southeastern tribes. British-made Colchester derivative brooches were found on the sites that were passed by the *cohors III Britannorum* and the *ala I Britannica*, when both were part of the army of Vitellius in AD 69. Colchester derivatives are found on the majority of the sites in East Anglian Britain (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 157). If we are right to assume that the members of the *cohors III Britannorum* brought British brooches across the Channel, then one might consider the possibility that the cohort was raised from the population of the tribes living in the region of East Anglia. Considering the occurrence of East Anglian brooch types on the route of the cohort's movements in AD 69, this suggestion seems theoretically possible. One could go even further and consider the reason behind the joining of Vitellius and his general Caecina's forces. One of the generals who defeated Caecina's army near Cremona was Gaius Suetonius Paulinus, the very same man who as governor of Britain had quashed the rebellion of Boudicca, queen of the *Iceni*, in AD 60 (Murison 1993, 98, 105). Was the decision to join Caecina's forces a personal revenge by the soldiers raised from among others the *Iceni*? Unfortunately, this is impossible to know.

In general, the evidence points to the rather tentative conclusion that ca AD 59 the *Iceni* and other tribes living in the south-east of Britain supplied recruits to the Roman army, though one might argue as to whether or not this was voluntarily. From the

²¹⁵ A similar process has been noted for the period between 55 BC and AD 43: Roman armour was found in 'native' burials and Roman-style military armour was depicted on some British coins (Creighton 2006, 48-49). Possibly some Britons were able to serve in Roman military units and a "selected [few] dressed up in the Roman [army] fashion", although the archaeological record for this period is incomplete (Creighton 2006, 49-50). The reason for the service of Rome's former enemies in her army is a tightening of "the personal bonds of power between the elite of the Roman world and her periphery" (Creighton 2006, 24). Because most of these servicemen are likely to have been hostages of elite origin, this also provided a sort of security: being educated by the Romans, they were responsible for the spread of the Roman culture and a Roman way of life; this programme was rather successful, as can be seen from the archaeological record (Creighton 2006, 24).

available manpower at least one ala and three cohorts were raised. It is possible, though the scarcity of the evidence halts any further discussion, that one cause of the Boudicca rebellion in AD 60 might have been the large scale recruitment of the youth of the *Iceni* and other adjacent tribes, although many other causes of the rebellion are known (Webster G. 1999, 86-89).

3.2.16.2.3. Cohortes I, II (Flavia) and III, VI Brittonum

Four cohorts are known with the title *Brittonum*, though it is likely that six were originally raised, with the numerals four and five disappearing from the record as a result of some unidentifiable event(s). The establishment of the units falls in the period between the years AD 70 – 75, the early reign of Vespasian and the governorships of Marcus Vettius Bolanus and Quintus Petillius Cerialis. The logical interpretation is that all six units were raised in the same year. Since the *terminus post quem* is AD 70, the likelihood is that this year can be regarded as the year of the establishment.

Several events can be proposed that might have triggered the establishment of these units.

It is known that in AD 69 British legions sided with Vitellius, a rival to Vespasian's claim to throne. The legions sent detachments to Vitellius forces, but were defeated by Vespasian. It is unknown, however, which side the Britons themselves took. If it would appear that the natives of Britain also sought alliances with Vitellius, the raising of six cohorts could be regarded as a punishment by Vespasian, who could be seen as imposing a massive forced recruitment on a people who had not shown loyalty. Such forced recruitment is recorded after the Batavian revolt, when the majority of the former Roman enemies were incorporated into a new set of nine Batavian cohorts (Spaul 2000, 206; Saddington 2009, 85; though argued against by van Rossum 2004, 118). Britons did have reasons to dislike Vespasian: he had served in the province as a commander of the *legio II Augusta* at the time of the invasion in AD 43 and had led campaigns against the British *Durotriges* and *Dumnonii* tribes (Suetonius, *Vespasianus* IV).

Another event is the withdrawal of *legio XIV Gemina* in AD 70 from Britain to the Lower Rhine to crush the Batavian revolt (Tacitus *Hist.* IV 79). The six units might have been raised from the provincial population in order to reinforce the strength of this army, though Tacitus (*Hist.* IV 76) informs us that the summoned troops were not newly raised levies, but veteran soldiers, experienced in war.

A tentative date for the establishment is AD 69 itself. The units might have been raised in Britain to join the forces of Vitellius on the Continent. From the historical sources it is known that Vitellius appointed Vettius Bolanus as governor of Britain in AD 69, who was asked by Vitellius to summon extra reinforcements from Britain. Bolanus, however, hesitated: sending more legionary reinforcements to Vitellius would mean that Britain, "insufficiently pacified", would have been open for any enemy attack (Tacitus, *Hist.* II 97). Bolanus, while trying to follow the command, might have raised six full strength cohorts from the Britons. By summoning the troubled population to military service he might have secured the presence of a strong Roman army and at the same time have avoided the possibility of another native revolt. As pointed out above, Britons could have been persuaded to join Vitellius forces by their dislike for Vespasian and Otho's general Gaius Suetonius Paulinus.

These interpretations suggest that the units were raised as a set, meaning that a total of ca 6000 young men would have had to have been available, which is rather doubtful. Raising one unit at a time makes more sense: each unit could have been raised in different levies held in different years, plausibly two to three years apart. In the case for these particular units (taking into account the earliest date of the recruitment, cf. table 3.54) the cohort with numeral one was raised in ca AD 69/70, with numerals two and three ca AD 70/71, the fourth and fifth in ca AD 71/72 and the sixth ca AD 73. This

would mean the raising of two units each year over a period of at least four years. The subjugation of new territories would reduce the pressure on the population, from which the cohorts were raised. Such interpretation can be supported by the evidence: the tribal confederation of the *Brigantes* might have had such manpower available after the subjugation of their territory during the governorship of Cerialis in ca AD 70/71 – 73/74 (Tacitus, *Hist.* III 45; *Agricola* 17).

One principal conclusion emerges: nothing allows us to establish the precise event(s) that might have triggered the formation of the units called *Brittonum*. However, there is no obstacle to conclude, as the evidence suggests, that the units were raised either in AD 69 for Vitellius' army or immediately after by order of Vespasian.

3.2.16.2.4. Cohortes I, II and III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum

The period when these units were raised falls around AD 77/78. While the first and the second cohort accepted recruits in AD 80, it seems reasonable to suggest that they were in existence by AD 77/78, when the third unit was accepting soldiers. The period coincides with the governorship of Sextus Julius Frontinus, who is more famous for his technical and military treatises, in particular his books on aqueducts, *De aqueductu*, and on military science, *Strategemata*.

Sextus Julius Frontinus governed Britain between the years AD 73/74 – 77/78. During his governorship the attention of the Roman military was turned to the conquest of the territory that is now Wales (Tacitus *Agricola* 17; Salway 1993, 99; Manning 2004, 70; Mattingly 2007, 116). The campaigns were probably triggered by a revolt of the native population somewhere at the beginning of his governorship (Jarrett 2002, 45). It is known that Frontinus moved the *legio II Augusta*, which had previously been stationed in *Glevum*, modern Gloucester to a new legionary base in Wales, at *Isca*, modern Caerleon. From the historical and archaeological sources it is evident that Frontinus also established some auxiliary forts and was operating with his army against the tribes living in this territory, the *Silures* and *Ordovices* (Salway 1993, 99; Manning 2004, 70-72; Mattingly 2007, 116). The military campaigns in Wales ended in AD 77 with the formation of the *respublica civitatis Silurum* (Salway 1993, 99).

The subjugation of Wales falls in the period when military forces on the Continent were facing campaigns in Germany and on the Danube and the forces, previously involved in the conquest and pacifying of the territories in Britain, started to be withdrawn overseas. This might have had disastrous consequences for the newly conquered territory. The Roman administration might have tried to find the ways to neutralise the possible opposition recruiting and sending away troubled youths or any men who were capable of holding a sword into the Roman army with the promise of citizenship. Taking into account that the legionary force was moved from Gloucester to Caerleon, the transfer overseas of a large and armed contingent of men of the *Silures* became more than a necessity.

The formation of the *cohortes I, II and III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* can be connected to the cessation of campaigns in Wales in AD 77/78. The recruits to the three cohorts might have come from the area around the *Colonia Glevum*, renamed in ca AD 96 – 98 with the epithet Nervia, and the adjacent tribes such as *Dobunni* and *Silures*²¹⁶. The epigraphic record indicates the recruitment of ca AD 80 of a Dobunnian soldier into a British cohort, *cohors I Britannica*, which chronologically corresponds with the ending of the campaigns in Wales. It is known that the Romans practiced large scale recruitment of people from those tribes that had recently revolted against Roman

²¹⁶ It is possible that all these cohorts initially had different names, but were renamed during the reign of Nerva. They might have changed their names, i.e. from the original 'British' name of the area to the name imposed by Nerva on the newly established colony, in the same way that the units with the title Domitiana were renamed with the more or less neutral Flavia.

rule (Saddington 2009, 84). Examples include the Breucian cohorts raised after the revolt in AD 9 in Pannonia (Spaul 2000, 315), the Raetian units raised “following the removal from their homeland after the conquest in AD 15” (Spaul 2000, 274; Saddington 2009, 84) and the Batavian units raised for the second time after Civilis’ uprising in AD 69 (Spaul 2000, 206; Saddington 2009, 85; though argued against in van Rossum 2004, 118). The service of a Dobunnian soldier in a British cohort, as well as the formation of the three units discussed above, suggests that the pacification of Welsh territory in ca AD 77/78 – 80 involved the active recruitment of natives into the Roman army.

3.2.16.2.5. Cohors I Belgarum

The cohort was in existence by AD 72, which is a *terminus post quem* for when the cohort was in operation, although it could have been established much earlier.

This cohort was named after, and raised from, a specific British tribe, an unique situation considering the practice of naming other British auxiliary units with a group label²¹⁷. The question is what made the *Belgae* special that they were granted with a cohort carrying their own name?

A tentative suggestion is that this singling out of the cohort might lie in the loyalty of the *Belgae* tribe during the Roman conquest, occupation and revolts. The *Belgae* formed part of the southern client kingdoms that submitted to Roman rule possibly within a couple of years of the campaigns of AD 43 and remained loyal for a long time (cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 14 on the reign of the king Cogidubnus, who also “remained faithful”). It is notable that from the historic sources the tribe of the *Belgae* does not come across as a force to be feared: it seems it was one of the tribes that accepted Roman rule without much fighting (cf. Mattingly 2007, 97-98, tab. 2). The formation of the cohort from the *Belgae* tribe might be considered as a reward to a tribe that had sought its personal advantage in making peace with the Roman administration. After all, the soldiers in the cohort were granted with Roman citizenship.

While the scarcity of the evidence does not allow further comment on the unit’s establishment, it seems reasonable to tentatively propose the period when the cohort might have been raised. Taking into account the possibly positive relationship between the Roman invading forces and the *Belgae* tribe, this community might have been granted a cohort of their own at the end of Claudius’ reign. It might even have acted as a local militia. After the campaigns in the southeast and west of England ca AD 43 – 47 the Roman army was advancing forward into British territory. The move forward required the removal of a large army from the south and it would have stripped the newly acquired areas of their garrisons (Webster G. 2003, 24). The Romans could not afford such a risk and probably took measures to improve the security of the area by imposing a local militia.

3.2.16.2.6. Conclusion on units’ origins

Saddington (1980, 1073) was right that the establishment of the units “cannot be dated earlier than the principate of Nero”, although a distinction can be made between units raised during the time of Nero and those in the reign of Vespasian. The establishment of the units can be connected to various events in the early history of

²¹⁷ This cohort was not the only unit recruited from a British tribe: *cohors I Cornoviorum* was called after the tribal entity *Cornovii*, which inhabited the Midland region of Britain. The unit probably recruited among the members of the tribe. The cohort is recorded on *Notitia Dignitatum*, a late fourth-century document, which listed all military forts and their units of all provinces in the Roman Empire. The unit is not mentioned in the present thesis because there is no evidence that it was sent out of Britain and because the unit might have been a late-fourth century creation, a period which falls outside the chronological boundaries of the research.

Roman Britain, in particular to the advancement of the Roman army and the subjugation of different territories and peoples. Archaeological evidence hints at the possibility that particular units were raised from particular tribes, since the units' nomenclature does not allow such conclusion to be arrived at.

A question, however, remains regarding the difference between the units' nomenclature, where two distinct epithets are known – *Britannica* and *Brittonum/Britannorum*. From the available evidence it seems that the naming pattern depended on the period when particular units were raised and the origin of the recruits. *Ala* and *cohors I Britannica* were probably combined units from various auxiliaries stationed in Britain raised between AD 55 – 60, while *ala I Brittonum* and *cohortes I Brittonum, II* and *III Brittonum/Britannorum*, possibly raised at the same time as the previous units, were composed of the natives of the province. Another set of six *cohortes Brittonum* was established at AD 69 or slightly thereafter, also from the natives of the province. This interpretation leads to the following consideration that there were two sets of British auxiliary units: one batch might have been raised by the orders of Nero, when he weighed the decision whether or not to abandon Britain and the second - either to aid the Vitellian forces on the Continent or by the orders of Vespasian in the years AD 70 – 75. Such a practice is known in the Roman army: there were two series of *cohors Batavorum* (Spaul 2000, 206; Saddington 2009, 85; though this is argued against in van Rossum 2004, 118) and two series of *cohortes Asturum* (Jarrett 1994, 53; Spaul 2000, 71, though he doubted that the units were raised at the same time suggesting instead that they were raised in different levies). I would like to suggest that initially the set of three cohorts, named *Brittonum*, were over the time 'renamed' either to avoid confusion with the second set of *cohortes Brittonum* or to adjust to the recruitment pattern (the soldiers were of other than British origin). If the latter interpretation is right then the question remains why this did not happen with the second set of *cohortes Brittonum*, which, in the second century, also practiced local recruitment or with other units known to have had two series, such as *Batavorum* or *Asturum*.

3.2.16.3. Deployment

This section will briefly discuss the deployment of the British auxiliary units through various periods and their participation in various military conflicts.

The deployment of all units is summarised in the following table.

Table 3.55 General overview of the British auxiliary units' deployment

	AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Ala I Britannica	Northern Italy	Britain (ca AD 70 – 80) ? Germania Superior (ca AD 70 (?) – 86) Pannonia (AD 86 – 105)	Pannonia (until AD 105) Dacia (AD 105 – 106)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – ca 252)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – 252)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – ca 252) Syria (AD 252 – ?)	Parthian Wars (AD 114 – 117) Mauretania Caesariensis / Moorish Wars (AD 149)
Ala I Brittonum	Northern Italy	Pannonia (AD ? until 98)	-	Dacia Superior (AD ? until 123) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – ?)	Pannonia Inferior (ca AD 162)	-	-
Cohors I Belgarum	-	Germania Superior (until	-	Dalmatia (AD 97 – ca AD	Dalmatia (AD 97 – ca	Germania Superior (ca	-

		AD 97)		197)	AD 197)	AD 197 – ?)	
Cohors I Britannica	Northern Italy (?)	Britain (AD 69 – 80 ?) Pannonia (AD 80-101)	Moesia Superior (AD 101 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 106 – 118) Dacia Superior (AD 118 – AD 123) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/ 217)	-
Cohors I Aelia Brittonum	-	Pannonia (AD 85 – 101) ?	Moesia Inferior (AD 101 – probably AD 116)?	Moesia Inferior? Pannonia Inferior AD ? – until AD 136?	Noricum (after AD 136 – after AD 238)	Noricum (after AD 136 – after AD 238)	-
Cohors I Aug Nerv Pacensis Brittonum	-	-	Moesia Inferior (slightly before AD 105 – ?)	Dacia Inferior (AD 119/129 – AD 146)	-	-	-
Cohors I Flavia Brittonum	-	Germania Superior ? Dalmatia (until ca AD 95) Noricum (ca AD 95)	-	Noricum	Noricum	Dacia Malvensis? Noricum?	-
Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum	-	Britain (AD 60 – 85?) Pannonia (AD 85 – 101)	Moesia Superior (AD 101 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 106 – 119 ?) Dacia Superior (AD 119? – AD 128?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128 – after AD 164)	Dacia Superior (after AD 164 – after AD 201) Noricum (from AD 217 onwards?)	-
Cohors II Britannorum	Britain?	Germania Inferior (AD 70? – AD 98 /100)	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 100 – 119?) Dacia Superior (AD 119? – AD 125/8?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 125/8? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 125/8 – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis	-
Cohors II Aug Nerv Pacensis Brittonum	-	-	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – ?)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 114 – 119?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128 – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis	-
Cohors II Flavia Brittonum	-	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Maureatania Caesariensis (ca AD 107)
Cohors III Britannorum	AD 61 (?) – 69 Raetia Northern	Raetia	Raetia	Raetia (?)	Raetia	Raetia	-

	Italy						
Cohors III Aug Nerv Pacensis Brittonum	-		Moesia Superior (AD 100 – 114)	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – 114) Parthian War (AD 114 – 117)	-	-	-
Cohors III Brittonum	-	Pannonia (ca AD 84/5 – ca 97)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	-	-
Cohors VI Brittonum	-	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	Germania Inferior ?	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	-	-

From the table it is evident that the units that belonged to the first set of troops raised prior to AD 69, as discussed in the previous section, took part in the Civil Wars of AD 69: the ratio is four to three²¹⁸. Only one unit, *cohors II Britannorum*, might have been sent overseas after these wars to aid the Roman army in the suppression of the Batavian revolt in AD 69/70.

In the next, Flavian, period the units were sent to key provinces for the deployment of the auxiliary forces: Germania Superior, the main battlefield during the Chattian Wars, AD 82 – 83, and Pannonia, i.e. the Pannonian wars of AD 92 – 95. Having said that, at least four units were not relocated to either province: *cohortes II Britannorum* and *VI Brittonum* were still in Germania Inferior; *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* was in Dalmatia, though it might have been in Germania Superior for some time prior to its relocation; *cohors III Britannorum* was returned to Raetia and stayed there until the third century. The location of *cohortes I, II* and *III Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum*, and *II Flavia Brittonum* is uncertain.

During the Dacian Wars, most British auxiliary units were summoned to Dacia, except the two, which were left at the places where they were previously stationed (the location of three others is uncertain). The majority of the units came from the Danube region (the ratio is one to five)²¹⁹ and formed part of the provincial armies of Moesia Inferior and Superior, possibly performing as support troops, except for *ala I Britannica*.

In the aftermath of the Dacian Wars, four units, that participated in the wars and were stationed in Moesia Inferior or Superior, became part of the newly established province Dacia. Out of these four, three had a similar transfer: while during the Dacian Wars they served in Moesia Superior, in the aftermath they formed a garrison of, firstly, Dacia Superior and then of Dacia Porolissensis. Three units formed the garrison of the provinces where they served during the Dacian Wars, i.e. Moesia Inferior or Superior. Only one unit was relocated back to the province where it had been prior to the wars: *ala I Britannica* returned to Pannonia Inferior. *Cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum* formed a garrison of Dacia Inferior ca AD 119/129, though it is uncertain where it had served prior to that. Another *cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum* is attested in Dacia Porolissensis ca AD 123, though it or a detachment of it was garrisoned before that in Pannonia Inferior for some years. Only two units changed their station in the late second century: *ala I Brittonum* is attested in Pannonia Inferior from AD 162 onwards;

²¹⁸ *Cohortes I Aelia* and *I Ulpia Brittonum* are regarded as one cohort. It was divided during or after the Dacian Wars.

²¹⁹ Contra Matei-Popescu and Tentea (2006, 128), who argue that Trajan prepared the Dacian Wars by redeploying auxiliary troops trained in the battles on the Rhine limes to Pannonia and Moesia Superior, but this is true for one British auxiliary unit.

cohors I Aelia Brittonum might have been part of the garrison of Pannonia Inferior and later of Noricum. The location of units that did not participate in the Dacian Wars remained unchanged.

Information on the location of British auxiliary units in the third century is rather sparse: it is, for instance, completely absent for at least five troops, and uncertain for one. The epigraphic evidence only allows to date the presence of nine units. In six cases, the units were left in the province in which they had served in the late second century. One, *cohors I Belgarum*, was returned to the province where it had been stationed under the Flavian dynasty, Germania Superior. There is evidence that *ala I Britannica* went to Syria to take part in the wars there in the middle of the third century, but before that it was still in Pannonia Inferior, the province it had been in since the Flavian dynasty. *Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* was relocated to Dacia Superior and then possibly to Noricum.

3.2.16.3.1. Detachments

There is evidence that at least two units had detachments sent to participate in various military conflicts on other Roman frontiers and provinces. The first detachment formed from *ala I Britannica* was sent Parthian Wars of AD 114 – 117 and the second detachment was formed to take part in Moorish wars of Antoninus Pius in Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 149. *Cohors II Flavia Brittonum* sent a detachment to Mauretania Caesariensis as well, ca AD 107, probably for some special mission or for recruitment.

Table 3.56 The location of the British auxiliary units' detachments

	Detachments
Ala I Britannica	Parthian Wars (AD 114 – 117) Mauretania Caesariensis / Moorish Wars (AD 149)
Cohors II Flavia Brittonum	Mauretania Caesariensis (ca AD 107)

3.2.16.3.2. War participation

Apart from serving in the Dacian Wars and sending detachments to other military conflicts elsewhere in the Empire, at least one cohort is known to have been transferred to take part in the Parthian War of Trajan, ca AD 114 – 117. *Cohors III Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum* was “sent to the expedition” there, never to return: it might have been annihilated in this war or have been posted elsewhere in the Near East, an event for which no record has yet been found (Chiron-35-50).

3.2.16.3.3. Conclusions

The majority of British auxiliary units formed part of the garrisons of the Roman provinces on the Danube, in particular in Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia (cf. figure 3.21). However, other Roman provinces also had one or two units of British troops: Dalmatia, Raetia and Noricum or Germania Inferior and Superior are such examples.

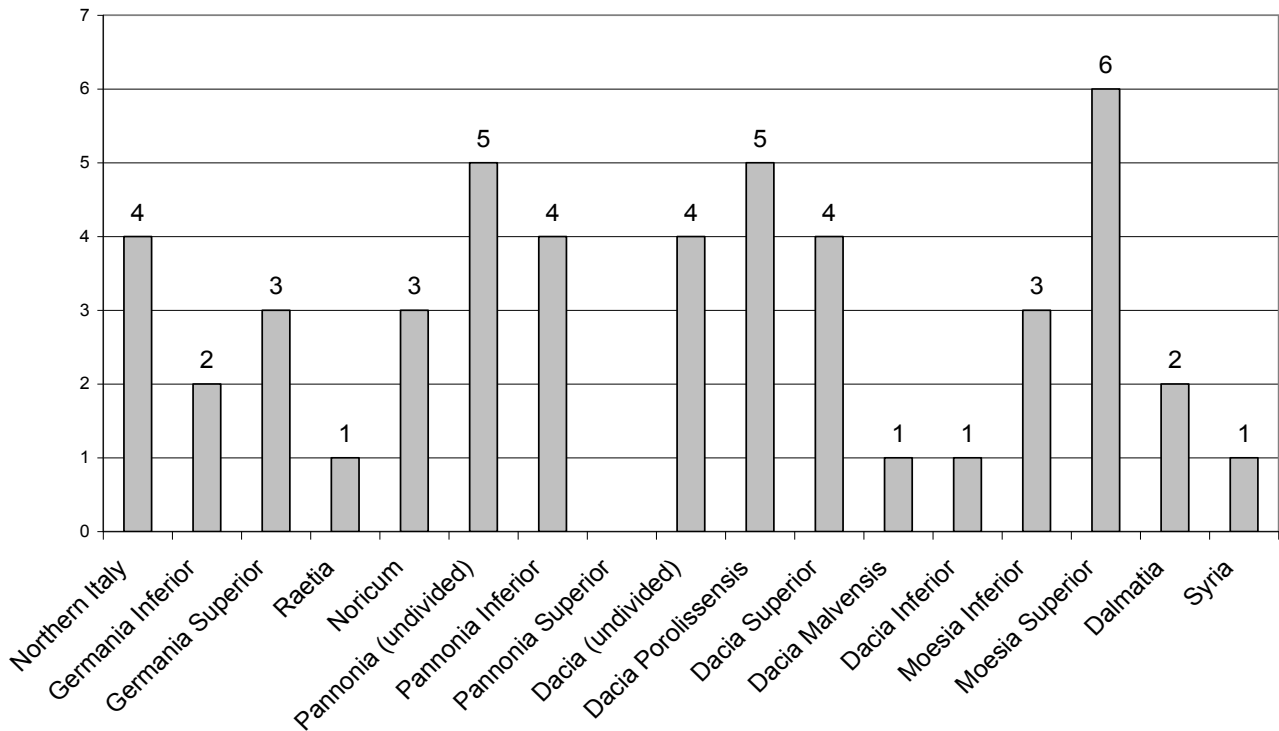


Figure 3.21 Distribution of British auxiliary units across the Roman provinces

When the same information is divided chronologically, we can speak of the high mobility of the troops in the mid to late first century, and the low mobility of the units in the second and third centuries (cf. table 3.22). The units established prior to AD 69 were trained in the battles of the Civil war and some of them returned to their home province, Britain. Together with the British auxiliary units established after AD 69, they were gradually transferred from Britain to the areas of Germania Superior and then to Pannonia under the Flavians. After their participation in the Dacian Wars as part of the support troops stationed in Moesia Superior and Inferior, they were relocated to form a garrison in the newly established provinces on Dacian soil. The majority of them stayed in the Danube region and in Dacia. They were not transferred to other places, which can be related to the overall pacification of the Roman Empire and the halting of the conquests of other territories, though sporadically detachments of British-raised troops were sent to military expeditions (Parthian or Moorish Wars). There are units that were stationed in particular provinces for the whole period until AD 260 when the majority of the territories conquered by the Flavians and by Trajan in continental Europe were abandoned. Such units formed the garrisons of relatively stable Raetia, Noricum and Dalmatia.

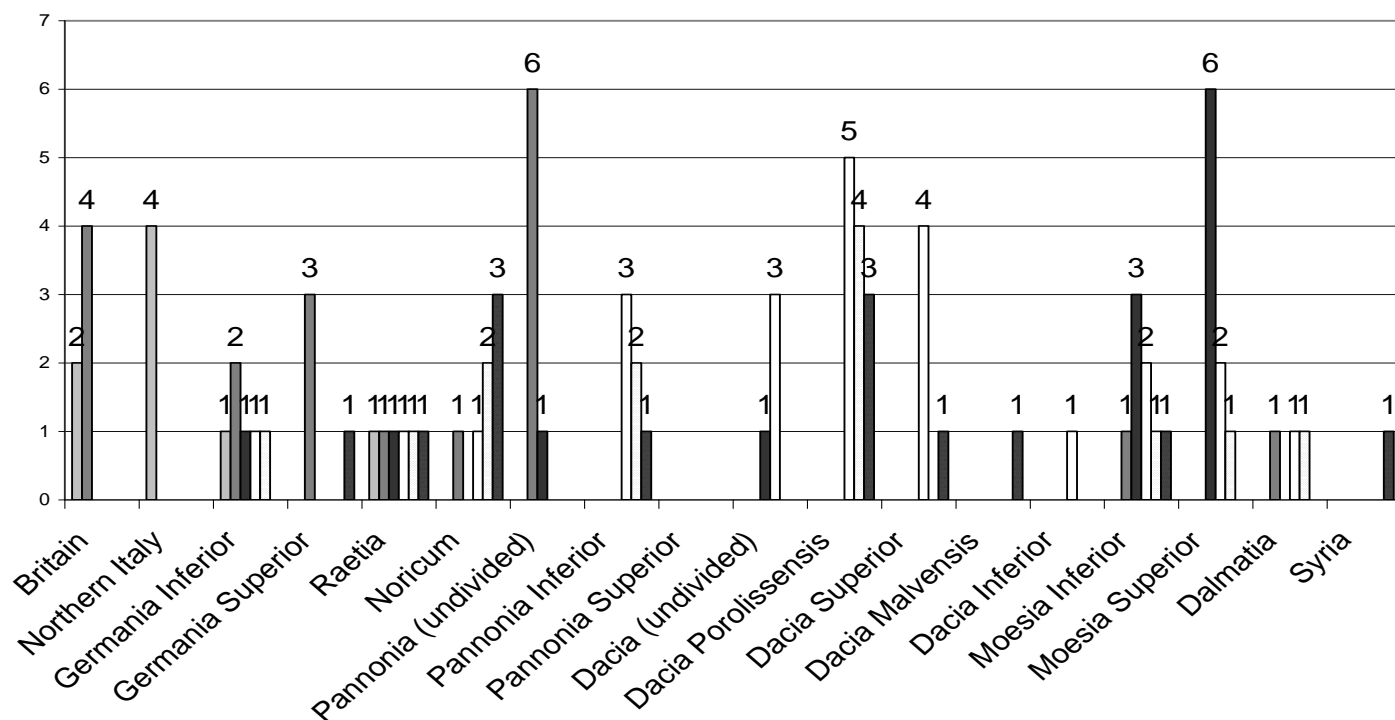


Figure 3.22 Chronological distribution of the British auxiliary units (Note: light grey stands for AD 69; dark grey for Flavian period; black for Dacia wars; white for the early second century; white with dots for the late second century; black with dots for the third century)

Such moving around and settling down of the troops is a common development in the Roman army in the late first and second centuries: cf. examples of *ala I Asturum* and *cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum*, who were criss-crossing the Empire until finally settling in Britain and North Africa respectively (Santos Yanguas 2007 and 2004, esp. 271, mapa 3 respectively).

Units remaining in service in a single province, as was the case for *cohors III Britannorum* in Raetia or *cohors VI Brittonum* in Germania Inferior, was also relatively common: cf. the service of three cohorts raised from the *Breuci*, an Illyrian tribe from Pannonia Inferior, who were on service in one province for the whole of the second and third centuries (Bogaers 1969).

British auxiliary units were not the only ones, who were left to be garrisoned in Dacia in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars, other units, especially the ones on service in Moesia Superior, were also left to form the garrison on the newly established province (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 132). Moreover, the relocation of British troops from Dacia Superior to Dacia Porolissensis after the establishment of the latter province in the reign of Hadrian is also attested for other auxiliary units which had taken part in the wars (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 132).

3.2.16.4. Recruitment and origin of the soldiers

3.2.16.4.1. General pattern of recruitment

A total of 177 soldiers are known at present whose service in British auxiliary units is documented in military diplomas and various inscriptions²²⁰. Of this number the origin has been identified only for 94 soldiers on the basis of their *ethnikon* given in a diploma or on an inscription, or through prosopographic or onomastic analysis²²¹. These findings are presented in figure 3.23.

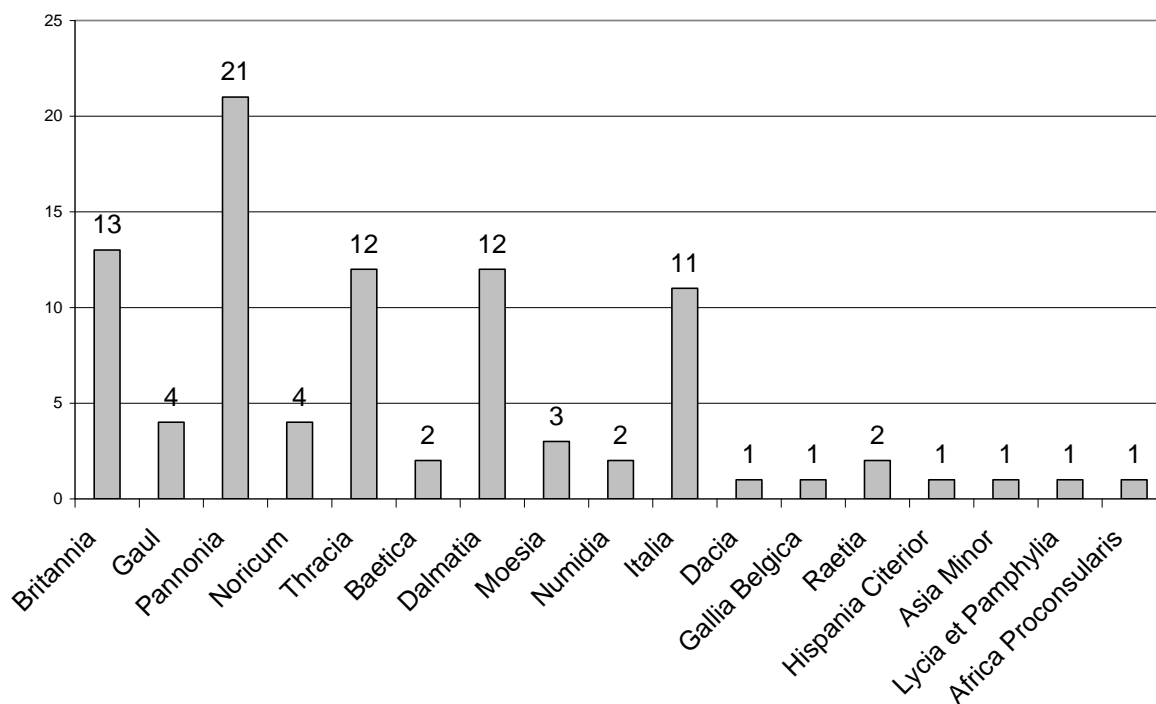


Figure 3.23 The origin of soldiers serving in the British auxiliary units²²²

A total of 13 British soldiers has been identified, though they constitute a minority of all soldiers serving in British units. Pannonians are the largest group represented in the troops, followed by Thracians, Dalmatians and Italians. It should be noted that this figure was calculated on the basis of the surviving information and combines the data for all units. This figure only gives an overall and broadly generalised impression of the recruitment pattern. First, it does not show inequalities at the level of individual units: 44 names of the soldiers have survived who served in *cohors I Belgarum*, while for *cohortes I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* and *II Britannorum* the amount is only two. Second, regional differences do not show up in these calculations. Such an imbalance, of course, has its own implications and makes any further detailed discussions difficult. This and other figures presented in this section are rather simple outlines and allow the following statement to be made: while the units were called British, British-

²²⁰ Four people are not counted here, since their service in British auxiliary units is questionable.

²²¹ This is origin identified with some degree of confidence, therefore, excluding such entries as 'Danube regions', 'Celtic-speaking regions', 'borderland territories', or the placenames, the province of which cannot be identified (such as city *Noviomagus*).

²²² The provincial origin presented in this table is for 92 soldiers: the origin recorded as 'Thracico-Dacian' and 'Pannonian Celt/Thracian' was not counted, since it is uncertain to which province this can be attributed.

born recruits were outnumbered by other nationalities. Yet it does give us a sense of the varying levels of the recruitment and its development over time (fig. 3.24).

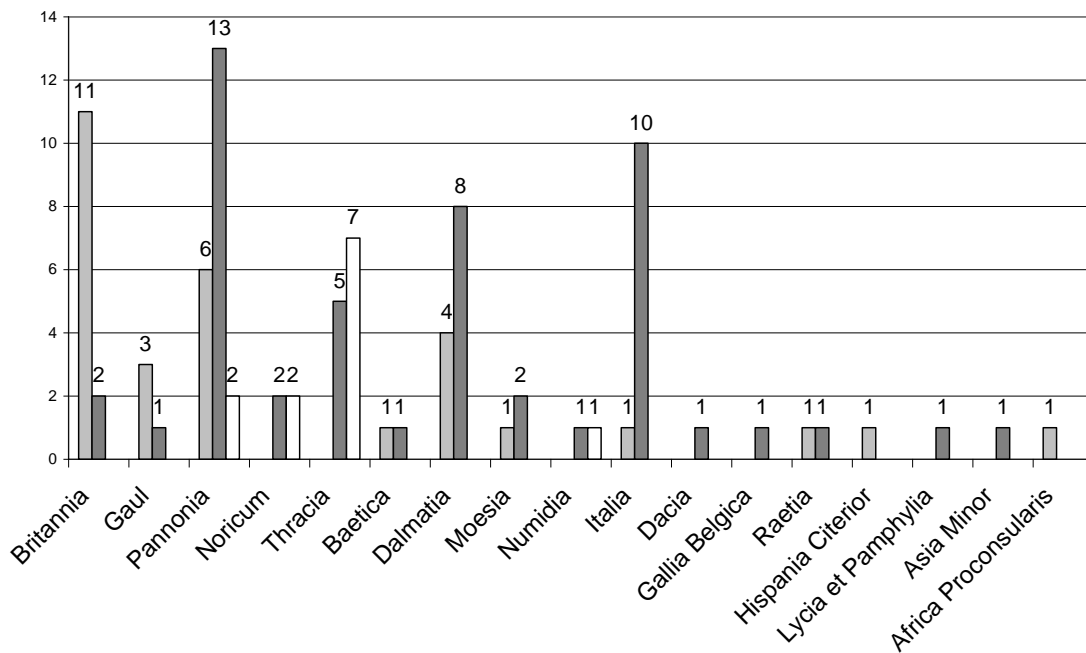


Figure 3.24 Origin of soldiers in British auxiliary units per century: light grey stands for the late first; dark grey for the second; white for the third centuries.

The evidence shows that while British-born recruits in the late first century constituted the largest single source, in the second century there was an influx of Pannonian-borns and in the third century Thracians into the units. Italians, who also constitute the majority in the units in the second century AD, were all officers of high rank or prefects of units (fig. 3.25).

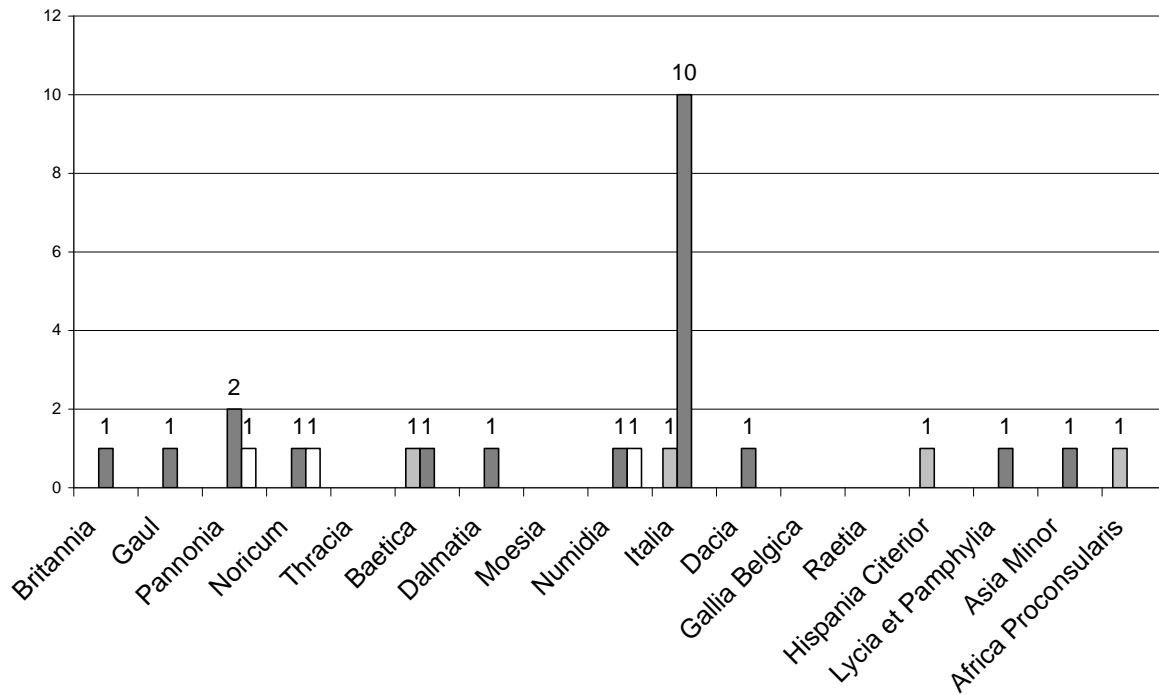


Figure 3.25 Origin of units' prefects and tribunes of British auxiliary units per century: light grey stands for the late first, dark grey for the second, white for the third centuries.

The situation does not change if we calculate the origin of the ordinary soldiers: British-born recruits would still be present in the unit in the late first century, while in the second Pannonians would be the largest group and in the third Thracians (fig. 3.26). Such patterns, however, are derived from the available evidence, which constitute less than one percent of the evidence that would have been available if it had survived²²³. While the available documented evidence is striking low, the outline of the recruitment presented in the figure 3.24 corresponds by and large with the general patterns of deployment of the British units overseas over centuries: first they were in Britain, then they were relocated to Germania Superior and Pannonia and later positioned in the Danube provinces (cf. fig. 3.22). All in all, the formation of the units and their transfer overseas, on the one hand, and the supply of recruits as well as the soldier's ethnic origin, on the other, is a parallel development and in most cases went hand in hand.

²²³ The identification of origin of only 64 soldiers have been possible, while the number of soldiers serving at any one time in all British auxiliary units, if we count their nominal strength, would have been ca 12000.

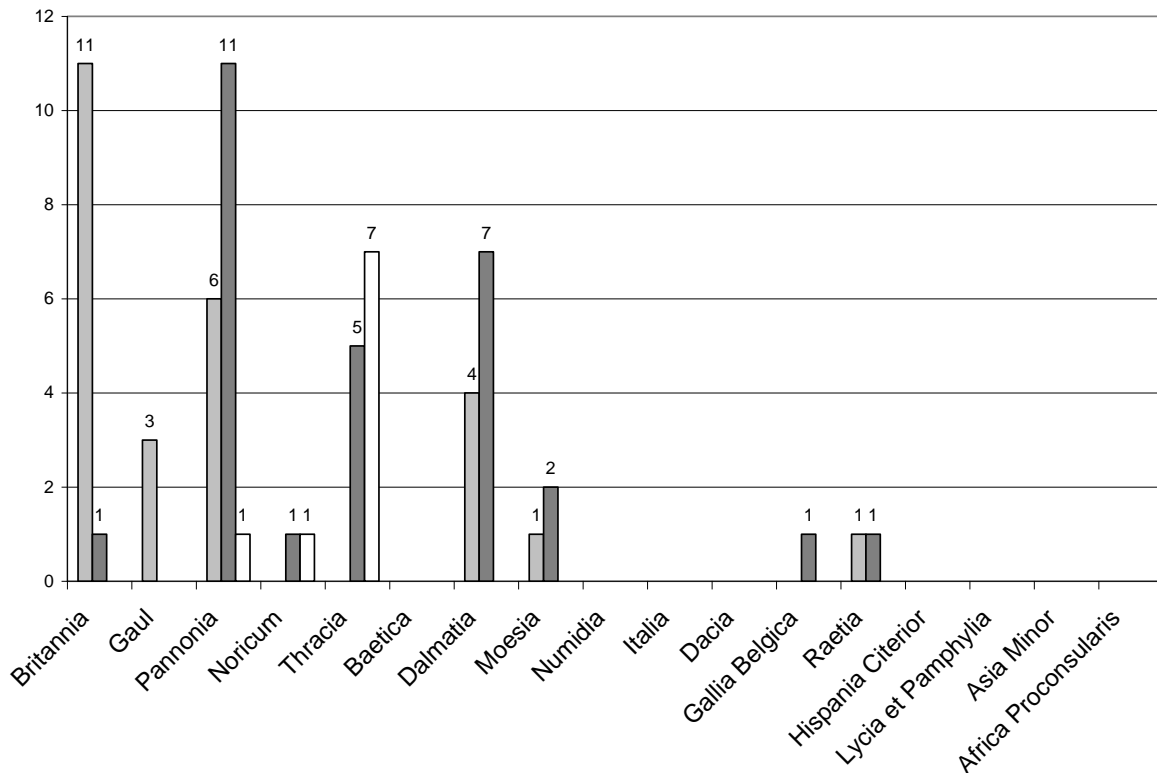


Figure 3.26 Origin of ordinary soldiers in British auxiliary units: light grey stands for the late first, dark grey for the second, white for the third centuries.

3.2.16.4.2. Recruitment of British-borns

All British units at the outset had British-born recruits, though one might argue about the percentage (Saddington 1980, 1073). It has been proposed here that some units may have been combined from other auxiliaries stationed in Britain, though it is likely that they would also have included a few British-borns at the very beginning. Regarding the tribal origin of the British-born recruits, the evidence is insufficient to present a detailed picture, though an outline can be made.

The epigraphic evidence provides us with the following picture (table 3.57).

Table 3.57 Origin and date of recruitment of British-born soldiers

Origin and number of soldiers	Date of recruitment
Southern England (1)	ca AD 77
Town of <i>Lindum</i> (1)	Unknown, he was a unit's prefect
<i>Dobunni</i> (1)	ca AD 80
Town of <i>Ratae Coritanorum</i> (1)	ca AD 81
<i>Belgae</i> (1)	ca AD 85
Britto (1)	ca AD 129
<i>Iceni</i> ? (2)	ca AD 63 – 69
Second/third generation emigrant (1)	ca AD 136 / 137
Unknown (3)	ca AD 80
(1)	ca AD 85

Archaeological and historical evidence, as discussed in the previous section, indicates that prior to AD 69 the southeastern tribes may have supplied recruits into British units. Under the Flavians the recruitment continued from the tribes of southern England (*Dobunni* and *Belgae*), and there is an evidence that *Coritani* also supplied

soldiers in this period. The evidence is absent for the four soldiers recruited ca AD 80 – 85, but taking into account that they were all recruited into the same units and at the same time as the *Dobunni*, *Belgae* and the soldiers from *Ratae Coritanorum*, it seems that they also hailed from southern tribes, probably from the very same ones. The years of AD 77 – 85 in the military history of Roman Britain are the period when the Welsh and northern British tribes were subjugated by the Roman army: in AD 77/78 campaigns took place in Wales against the *Silures* and *Ordovices* (discussed above); in AD 79 were the Brigantian campaign of the British governor Agricola (Tacitus *Agricola* 20); in AD 80 – 83/84 the campaigns in southern Scotland, culminating in the battle at *Mons Graupius* (Tacitus *Agricola* 22-23, 25-27, 29-38). The levies (hostages) were sent to the Romans in the aftermath of the Brigantian campaign, though not only from the *Brigantes*, but from “many states, which up to that time had been independent” (“*quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus*” Tacitus *Agricola* 20). Moreover, Tacitus (*Agricola* 29) informs us that prior to the battle at *Mons Graupius* Britons from various tribes summoned their forces to join the Roman army as a result of treaties and embassies. The territories of the subjugated tribes, the *Silures*, *Brigantes* and *Ordovices* bordered those of the *Dobunni* and *Coritani*, the very same tribes that had provided recruits to the British units between the years AD 77 – 85. Probably as a result of various treaties and embassies recruitment took place in phases to reduce the pressure on the population; after all, the tribes living in Wales may have required to summon 3000 soldiers for the newly established *cohortes I-III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*.

The calculations based on the surviving evidence show that British-born soldiers constituted the largest source in the late first century (i.e. when the units were raised), but the proportion had shrunk by the end of the first-beginning of the second century, when the units were relocated to the Continent. The recruitment started to be practiced at the places where the units were positioned, drafting soldiers from the local population rather than sending for the recruits to the provinces from which the units were raised. Such practice appears to have been the preferred strategy for most military units in the second century AD and is not exceptional (Holder 1980, 118; Saddington 2009, 86). This policy arose from the stabilisation of the frontier line and the fact that there was no point in sending recruits far away (Dobson and Mann 1973, 196). Recruitment most likely came from the nearest available source: drafts were summoned from the nearby provinces, although in times of war, or in the aftermath of war, recruitment would have been on much larger scale and would have taken place further afield (Haynes 2001, 66).

There are many examples, when soldiers were serving alongside recruits from different ethnic background (Haynes 2001, 66). In the British units there was a similar situation: *ala I Britannica* had British soldier serving alongside Pannonian and Sequanian ones in the period between the years AD 70 – 96; *cohort III Brittonum* had Moesians and Pannonians serving together between the years AD 125 – 150. In this way ethnic or tribal name of units became meaningless within one generation when regiments were moved out from the area in which they were initially raised (Haynes 1999a, 7).

While recruitment from the nearest available source of manpower was the preferred strategy in the second century AD, it did not spread to all Roman army auxiliary units. Some regiments might have continued to receive recruits from the initial area of recruitment (Saddington 2009, 83): examples include the Thracians (cf. Zahariade 2009, though Davenport (2010) critically challenged Zahariade’s conclusions); Syrian archers (Saddington 2009, 83 but see Kennedy 1980 disproving the case); Dacians (cf. Wilmott 2001) and recruits from the Germanic provinces and Gallia Belgica serving in the vicinity of Hadrian’s Wall in the second and third centuries (cf. Clay 2007 and 2008). The practice of continuous recruitment might have been dependant on the amount of available manpower from particular provinces: Thrace, Dacia and the Germanies

produced large numbers of recruits and some of these inevitably found their way into Thracian, Dacian and German units (Ian Haynes, pers. comment). This can explain the absence of the British-born recruits in the British troops in the second century: Britain was the source of the available manpower in the Flavian period during the Roman army expansion into the Wales and Northern territories (Ian Haynes, pers. comment). The question of course is whether Britain stopped being a source of available manpower in the second century, while other provinces continued to be a producer of the recruits? In other words, was Britain so special as to be excluded from the recruitment or were Britons simply bad at arms? The answer is of course not: Britain might have still produced recruits, but may be on much lower scale. That there is no evidence for their service in the British auxiliary units might be connected with the irrelevance of naming an individual origin when a particular soldier served among his own countrymen or in a unit which was raised from his province of birth (cf. van Driel-Murray 2009, 814; Oltean 2009, 97).

There is evidence that some British units might have practiced such continuous recruitment, though at the outset it should be stated that such evidence should be treated with much caution. At least two Britons were present in British units in the second century (cf. table 3.57): one of the soldiers might have been a second or third generation of an emigrant and another one, serving in the *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*, was recruited in the second quarter of the second century AD and indicated his origin as British. The latter soldier might have been recruited for some special needs and transferred from Britain to Dacia with other British recruits in the late second century (A. Birley 1980, 103, but see Dobson and Mann 1973, 201). The problem with this interpretation is that the soldier's father, as indicated by his name Molacus, was not a former soldier himself, otherwise he would have had a *tria nomina*, i.e. as indication of citizenship. He may have arrived in Dacia in the late first century, for instance, as a slave of a centurion, and have been granted freedom for his services. In this case, his son, who was still living in the vicus of the fort, could have been enlisted to the unit upon reaching the age of recruitment.

Other evidence for the continuous recruitment of British-born men into British auxiliary units comes from archaeology. A British-made brooch, of a type that developed in the early second century, was reported from the fort Cășeiu, Romania, and was found in the layers dated to the second century AD (Isac 2003, 257, pl. XIX, no 9). Two British cohorts are known to have been stationed at the fort in this period. Taking into account the chronological aspect, it can be suggested that this brooch belonged to a person who was recruited in the early second century, most likely after the Dacian Wars. The occurrence of this unique find can be therefore seen as an indication that there may have been a new wave of recruitment of Britons into the units posted in Dacia and Moesia, who had lost their original members in the Dacian Wars. However, other explanations, such as the replica of the brooch by a local craftsman, are equally possible and will be discussed further in chapter 5, section 5.5.2.

In general, the evidence for the continuous recruitment of British-born men into British auxiliary units is sparse and can only be supported by one, rather dubious, brooch and the rather insufficient documentary evidence.

3.2.16.4.3. Veterans

Epigraphic evidence provides examples of 34 veterans, discharged from British auxiliary troops. For the whole Roman Empire the general trend was that the majority of discharged soldiers chose to remain in frontier areas and to live in the proximity of military installation, while some of them opted to live in cities or in the countryside, and a few left the province where they had been stationed to live elsewhere or to return to

their homelands (Roxan 1997c, 483; Mann 2002, 183; Derks and Roymans 2006, 121; cf. also Lenz 2006).

Veterans discharged from British auxiliary units seem to follow the general trend detected for other auxiliaries: the veterans of non-local origin preferred to settle down in the proximity of their former garrisons or in the main towns of the province in which they had served (cf. fig. 3.27)²²⁴. Two local-born veterans returned to the countryside, probably to the places (villages) where they were born.

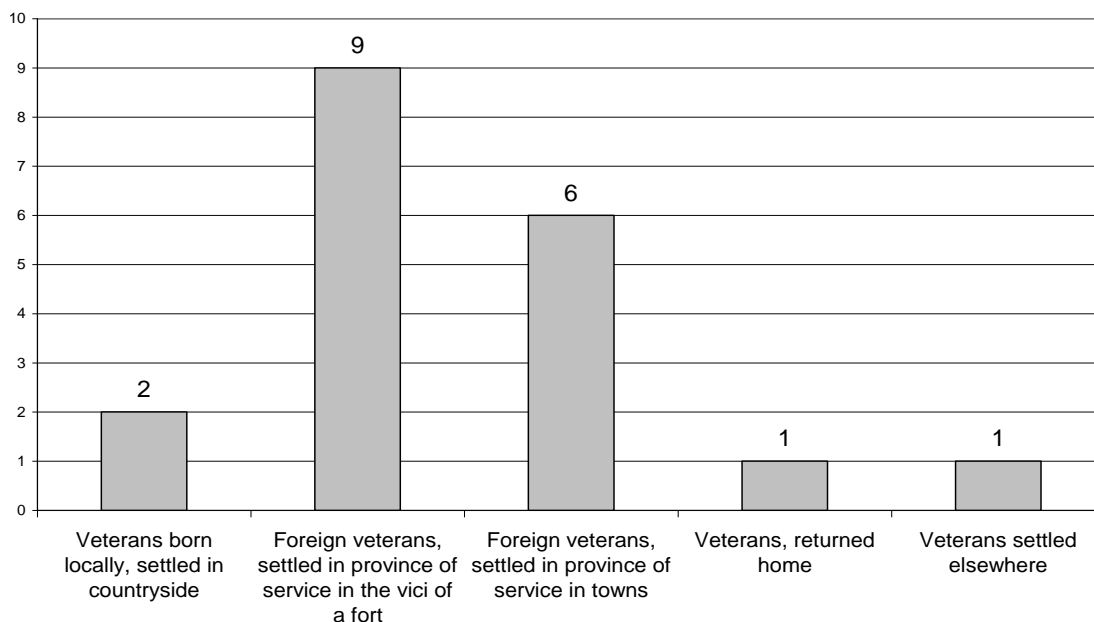


Figure 3.27 The settlement pattern of veterans of British auxiliary units

One former soldier returned home and it has been assumed that he was of British descent: this person travelled from Pannonia back to Britain (for the discussion see Tully 2005). The wish to return home sometimes depended not on the proximity of the station to the native province, but on the cultural links a soldier had with his native land: possibly some soldiers had remained in touch with their families back home and this must have prompted their desire to return home from wherever they were posted (Derks and Roymans 2006, 132). For instance, the Batavians, known to have kept in touch with their families, seem to have returned home more frequently than soldiers recruited from other parts of the empire (cf. Derks and Roymans 2006).

3.2.16.4.4. Regimental identity and social relations

Some auxiliary units continued to stress their regimental ethnic identity for a relatively long period. The continuity of the social norms and practices related to the soldiers' cultural and ethnic identities was a rather common feature of auxiliary units in spite of the units' regionalisation over the time (cf. Haynes 1999a; James 1999). The continuation of cultural (among many other kinds of) identity in the auxilia's can be detected in the use of various 'symbols' – experiences, values or ideas soldiers of same ethnic background shared between themselves such as participation in religious cults venerated in their homelands; the continuation of the usage of the language; the formation of a special 'ethnic' community within a particular unit. For instance, some

²²⁴ The pattern of settlement has been established for 19 veterans, while for 15 such information was not available, either because the provenance of diplomas or inscriptions were not recorded or because their origin was uncertain or unrecorded.

Dacians stationed on Hadrian's Wall continued to give their children Dacian name (Wilmott 2001). Soldiers serving in the units raised in Germanic provinces and redeployed to Britain were more than familiar with the Germanic language and probably still spoke it, while living on Hadrian's Wall (Clay 2007, 55-58; 2008, 143). The formation of ethnically similar communities within a larger and more diverse community is attested for one unit on Hadrian's Wall by three altars discovered in the Birrens fort (RIB 2100, 2107 and 2108; Haynes 1999b, 166). Each altar was made by a different ethnic group and indicates the existence of such groups within a single regiment (Haynes 1999b, 166).

In the case of British auxiliary units the recruitment pattern provides us with a picture of dissipation of 'Britishness' in the troops: while in the second century the units were nominally called British, there were no Britons in them. At the outset, however, the 'Britishness' of the troops might have been consciously cultivated by the Roman administration: by forming various auxiliary units in which men recruited from different British tribal entities were serving and naming them with the group label, the Romans might have been trying to strengthen the forging of the regimental identity of British auxiliaries. How did British-born recruits react to this reinforcement of their ethnicity, especially once the troops were transferred overseas?

Evidence for the continuation of the British cultural identity in the British auxiliary units is not that rich: so far there is no documented evidence on the usage of exclusively British symbols on the epigraphic monuments, though one may ask whether such symbols even existed in Britain itself. Language aspect is hard to determine, since all inscriptions were in Latin, without any indication on the usage of exclusively British Celtic words or phrases. Religion is another obstacle, since no votive monuments survive on which British-born members of the British units venerated their own gods or goddesses, though there are two continental examples of the veneration of *Matres Brittae* in Xanten, Germany (*CIL* XIII 8631, 8632). The aspects that can be examined are the social relations within units and with the local community, the formation of families and naming children with typical British names.

There is no doubt that some sort of social networks existed between the members of individual units and that men of a common ethnic background banded together (Haynes 1999b, 167). The inscriptions can provide insight into this: when someone is mentioned on a funerary inscription as an heir, this is strong evidence that this person played an important role in the life of the deceased.

A total of 67 funerary monuments of soldiers serving in British auxiliary units were found, out of which it is mentioned on 36 that they were commissioned by heirs, fathers, wives and brothers²²⁵.

²²⁵ The word 'brother' should not be taken literally in all cases. Soldiers used to refer to their colleagues as brothers even though they were not blood-related.

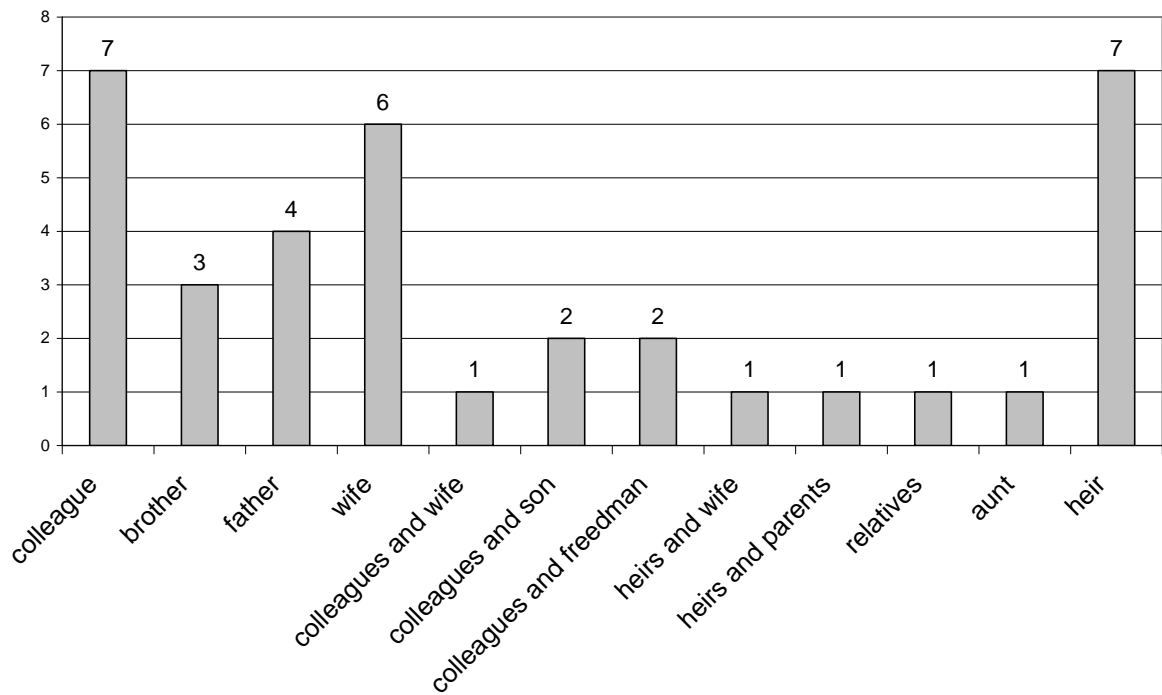


Figure 3.28 Persons who erected funerary monuments for deceased soldiers

Of these 36 inscriptions, 19 specifically mention that they were erected by the soldier's heir and comrade; this was the usual practice in commemoration, especially when a soldier died in service (Carroll 2006, 132). Such commemorations give us the possibility to consider community relations within units. In no case do these heirs mention their origin, which makes it difficult to establish whether or not they were of the same origin as the deceased, though prosopographical and onomastic analysis of their names provides some insights. It has been established that in at least eight cases we are dealing with an heir of the same origin as the deceased; in one case the heir and the deceased were most likely blood-related; for 10 cases the identification of the origins of heirs were not possible or uncertain.

Table 3.58 Comparison between the origins of the deceased soldiers and their heirs

Deceased	Heir	Origin
Titus Flavius Bardus	Licinius Memor, his brother	Relatives; Borderland Germania Superior / Gallia Belgica
Titus Flavius Verecundus, from <i>Mog(ontiacum)</i>	Proculus and Priscinus, standard-bearers, and Ingenuus, his heirs	Borderland Germania Superior / Gallia Belgica
Ulpus Eubico	Ressa(tus?) and Succo, brothers and heirs	Pannonians
(...) of (...)mus	Iulius Martialis, receiving a double pay, his heir, and Primitius, his freedman	Unknown
Aurelius Maximianus from <i>Aelia Mursa</i>	Septimius Lutacianus, cavalryman, heir and tent-mate	Unknown
Aelius Valerius from the town of <i>Savaria</i>	his colleagues and true freedman as a heir	Unknown
Aurelius Mucatralis	Aurelius Passer, horn blower, his colleague	Thracians
Aurelius Firminianus	Aurelius Probinus, a cavalry man, trainee	Probably Thracians
Aurelius Disas	Aurelius Pimetaica, colleague	Thracians
Marcus Ulpus Crescentinus by birth from Pannonia Inferior	Iulius (...) and Flavius Quintinianus (...), his wife (and) heirs	Unknown
Dassius, son of Bastarnus, from Maezaeus' tribe	Valerius Maximinus, his heir	Unknown
Victorius, son of Scenobarbus	Munnius and Gentius, his heirs	Illyrians
Virssuccius, son / of (E?)sus	Bodiccius, the image-bearer, and Albanus, his heirs	Britons
Publius Aelius Tertius, from the town <i>Claudium Virunum</i>	Aelia Aestiva, his wife and his heirs	Unknown
Caius Iulius, son of Caius, from (the town of) <i>Theveste</i> , Corinthianus	Marcus Arrianus and Iulius Clinias and Pisonianus	Unknown
Tertius, of <i>Senones</i> tribe or son of Senno	Lucius Baebius Buttus, (his) heir, and (his) parents	Unknown
Pompeius Celer	Maximus	Unknown
Lucius Iulius Pansa	Caius Iulius Proculus	Unknown
Catavignus, son of Ivomagus	Paternus, fellow-soldier	Probably Britons

The evidence for friendships between men of a common ethnic background within units is extremely scant, but there are some examples of communities existing at a unit level. For instances, six Thracians were recruited to *ala I Britannica*, when the unit was still in Pannonia, and served alongside Pannonian-born recruits ca AD 240 – 250. Evidence shows that the Thracians buried Thracians in a unit that also accepted Pannonian recruits. This can be considered as an indication that within *ala I Britannica* ca AD 240 – 250 at least two communities of soldiers existed side by side: locals, i.e. Pannonians, and Thracians, though other communities formed from different nationalities of whom no information has survived, may have also existed.

The evidence for British communities within British units is even rarer: there are only two examples, though one is by no means certain. Virssuccius, from *cohors I Britannica*, was recruited at the same time as two other Britons in the unit: Bodiccus and Lucco, the former becoming his, i.e. Virssuccius, heir. The same is true for another British recruit in *cohors III Britannorum* Catavignus, buried by Paternus, whose provincial origin is still open to question. There is no documented evidence that around the same time these units accepted recruits of other provincial origins, making it impossible to speculate about relations within these units.

3.2.16.4.5. Family relations

Another aspect that can be studied in order to detect the seemingly elusive 'Britishness' in British units is the formation of families and the preservation of ethnic ties within emigrant families.

In discussing the families of the servicemen of the British auxiliary units we again have to face challenges arising from the amount of documented evidence. The number of the inscriptions and military diplomas on which women and children are mentioned is relatively low: 28 have been recorded at present. Of these 6 mention both the names of the wives and children, 14 only wives, 7 only children and one monument has the portraits of both wife and a child, but the inscription is so badly damaged that their names did not survive (cf. table 3.59).

Table 3.59 Soldiers' families

Soldier and his origin	Wife / partner	Children	Period
Lucius Alfius Restitutus	Claudia Paulina		AD 79 – 81
Claudius Marcus	(...)	Vindmarcia	ca AD 79/80 – 153
Titus Flavius Verecundus, from <i>Mag(ontiacum)</i>		Ingenuus	AD 96 – 101
Virsuccius, son / of (E?)sus		Albanus	Late first century AD
(...)emans (...)platoris, of <i>Daesitia</i>	Iulia Ves(...)		Late first century AD
Caius Valerius, son of (...), Proculus, an <i>Azina</i>	Apuleia Sabina		Late first century AD
Marcus Septimius Dasius	Caesia, freedwoman of Caius, Panthera		Late first century AD
Statilius Pulcher	Zosime		Late first century AD
Lucco, son of Trenus, <i>Dobunni</i>	Tutula, daughter of Breucus, <i>Azala</i>	Similis Lucca Pacata	AD 105
Marcus Ulpius, son of Saccus, (Longi)nus, <i>Belgae</i>		Vitalus	AD 110
(...), son of Asclepiades		(...)sius (...)ria	AD 119 – 129
(...) son of (...)igus or A(...)r(...) Ime(...) or IImen(...)	Senecia, daughter of Rellecteus		ca AD 120 – 140
Glavus, son of Navatus, <i>Sirmium</i>	Iubena, daughter of Bellagentus, <i>Eravisca</i>		AD 123
(...)I, son of Atti(...)	Recorded, but did not survive	One son (...)lina	AD 127
(...) son of (...), <i>Aradus</i>		Two sons and one daughter	AD 133
Didaecuttius, son of L(...)	Diurpa, daughter of Dotu(...)	Iulius Unknown Dimidusa	ca AD 133 – 140
(...), son of (P)alladus	D(...)	(...)us (...)us	AD 135
Aelius Publius	Numpidia		ca AD 149
Siasus, son of Decinae, <i>Caecom(?) ex Moesia</i>	Prisca, daughter of Dasmenus, <i>Dard(ana)</i>		AD 151
Caius Iulius Maximus	Avilia Amabilis		Second century AD
Quintus Servilius Statianus	Calpurna Nympha		Second century AD
Caius Iulius Verecundus	Postimia Restituta		Second century AD
Flavius Aurelianus, by birth Pannonian	Iulia B(...)		Late second century AD
Aurelius Respectus	His wife is depicted on a family portrait on the funerary monument. She is wearing a typical Norican head cover	His son is depicted on a family portret.	Late second century AD
Aur(elius) R Ran(us?)		Aelius Viator Aelius Iunianus	Late second century AD
Publius Aelius Tertius, from the town <i>Claudium Virunum</i>	Aelia Aestiva		Late second century AD
Aelius Firmus		Daughter	Antonine-Severin
Marcus Bellicius Saturninus	Finitia Verbicia	Bellicia Saturnina Bellicia Finitiana or Bellicius Finitianus	ca AD 267

The origin for both husband and wife appears uncertain for at least eight couples (Restitutus and Claudia Paulina; Maximus and Avilia Amabilis; Stianus and Calpurna Nympha; Pulcher and Zosime; (...), son of Atti(...) and his unknown wife; (...), son of (P)alladus and his D(...); Senecia and (...) son of (...)igus OR A(...)r(...) Ime(...) OR Ilmen(...); Marcus and his unknown wife). For four couples origin is known only for the husband ((...)platoris and Iulia Ves(...); Proculus and Apuleia Sabina; Aurelianus and Iulia B(...); Tertius and Aelia Aestiva). For one couple origin of the wife is known: the partner of Respectus was of Norican descent. It has been determined that at least seven couples shared the same provincial origin (M. S. Dasius and Panthera; Iulius Verecundus and Postimia Restituta; Didaecuttius and Diurpa; Iubena and Glavus; Siasus and Prisca²²⁶; M. Bellicius Saturninus and Finitia Verbicia; Publius and Numpidia). One couple was of different provincial descent: a Briton married a local woman, from the Pannonian *Azali* tribe; they probably met when Lucco was stationed with his cohort in the *Azali* tribal lands (Lucco and Tutula).

Some women followed their partners to posts in other provinces, which was relatively common practice in general for families to accompany their military men (Allason-Jones 1999, 48; Haynes 1999b, 167; Brandl 2008, 65-69). The wife of Respectus, of Norican descent, had followed him to the Dacian limes, where she probably died. Iubena, an *Eravisci* from Pannonia Inferior, and Glavus, from *Sirmium* in Pannonia Inferior, met when Glavus was a recruit or a soldier in the *ala I Brittonum*, stationed in Pannonia Inferior prior to AD 98; they were both granted citizenship at the time when the unit was in Dacia. Both Numpidia and Aelis Publius may have been of Pannonian descent; in any case she hailed from one of the provinces in the Danube region. Publius was sent with his cohort on an expedition to Mauretania Caesariensis, where he died and was buried by his wife, i.e. Numpidia, who followed him to this North African province.

Regarding the naming of the children, one encounters a variety of scenarios. Two couples gave their children names that were compounds of the parents' names: Claudius Marcus called his daughter Vindmarcia, a compound of Marcus and probably his wife's Vind(...); M. Bellicius Saturninus and Finitia Verbicia called their first child after the father, i.e. Bellicia Saturnina, and the second – after the mother, i.e. Bellicia/us Finitiana/us. Both couples chose names that were common and widespread in their home provinces.

Three British fathers, Virsuccius, Lucco and Longinus, gave their children typical Latin names, though ones widespread in Celtic-speaking provinces. It is notable that their children's names, when translated from Latin, have rather peaceful connotations. Lucco's children, for instance, were called: Similis, which means 'similar', and Pacata, which derives from the Latin word – *pax* meaning 'peace'. His second daughter was named after the father, probably in order to keep the name in the family. Lucca/o was also a widespread British name. Virsuccius called his son Albinus, probably to emphasise that his son had blond hair, since *albus* means 'white' in Latin. Longinus wanted his son to be of a good health, since his name, Vitalis, is a Latin word, which means vital or energetic.

British fathers are not the only ones who chose to give their children Latin names that stood for something else and were widespread in their home province: Verecundus called his son Ingenuus, a typical Roman name popular in Celtic-speaking regions, but which translates from Latin as 'native or 'indigenous'; Aurelius Ranus had two sons

²²⁶ Siasus identified his place of birth as somewhere in Moesia, Prisca hailed from the Thraco-Illyrian tribe, the *Dardani*, who lived on the borders of Moesia Superior and Thracia. He was recruited to the unit ca AD 126, when it was stationed in Moesia Superior. That both Siasus and Prisca might have shared the same provincial origin, i.e. Moesia Superior, is, hence, more than likely.

who died young, Aelius Viator and Aelius Iunianus, the former name translates from Latin as ‘traveller’.

The father Didaecuttius named his children with a mixture of Latin and native names: his son was given the typical Latin name, Iulius, while his sister was called Dimidusa, a typical Dacian name, reflecting that her parents were Thraco-Dacians.

In general, the epigraphic evidence is silent about British women who followed their partners overseas and about the continuation of British cultural identity in British families within British auxiliary units.

3.2.16.4.6. Conclusions

The picture that emerges from the documented evidence is of an existence of plurality of cultural and ethnic identities among British troops. The epigraphic evidence shows a variety of responses in relation to recruitment, social and family relations, though general trends have also been detected. A high degree of locally-based recruitment became evident in the second and third centuries. Yet one needs to take into account that the recruits were not necessarily summoned from one region, but might have come from nearby provinces, creating mini-communities in the units as late as the Severan period (cf. Pannonians and Thracians as in *ala I Brittonum* in the third century). The interaction of soldiers and civilians constituted one feature of the formation of frontier families, yet there is evidence of families that existed prior to the military career of the soldier. The female partners were in the majority of these cases of the same provincial origin as the soldiers and followed their men to various posts on the Roman fringes. That the units were stationed in particular provinces for a long period of time and accepted recruits from nearby regions may have eased the soldiers’ integration with the locals, though examples from Hadrian’s Wall show that the primary ethnic and cultural identities of the troops did not dissipate in time. Such examples are available for British units (Ivonercus, son of Molacus, *Britto* in the mid second century), yet they are strikingly low in number in comparison to the evidence available for other auxiliary units.

In general for the Roman army the relations between the soldiers and, soldiers and civilians, were of a dynamic nature (Alston 1999, 194). This dynamism can be found in the British auxiliary units and can be associated with the social evolution that the British troops experienced while being moved around the Roman Empire. The ethnic and personal identities and cultural values that may have been carried by the units are not easily detectable in the documented evidence, though a few observations can and have been made. Soldiers as individuals were able to operate both as part of military society and as members of local societies (Alston 1999, 194); the various identities of soldiers (military men, fathers, partners, friends or colleagues, *etc.*) were therefore tied up with the social relations they practiced within the unit and outside the army. This integrative and dynamic nature of the relationships and personal identities constituted the social make-up of the British auxiliary units.

3.2.16.5. Archaeological evidence

In total 242 British-made brooches have been found on 102 sites across the Empire. Of these eight brooches were recorded on six sites (two brooches without provenance) associated with British auxiliary units (cf. table 3.60).

Table 3.60 Sites associated with the presence of British auxiliary units

British unit	Sites (context of the finds specified when known)
<i>Ala I Britannica</i> and <i>cohors I Britannica</i>	Szöny, Hungary
<i>Cohors I Belgarum</i> and <i>cohors I Flavia Brittonum</i>	Croatia, exact location not recorded
<i>Cohors I Aelia Brittonum</i>	Mautern (vicus of a fort), Austria
<i>Cohors I (Ulpia/Aurelia) Brittonum</i>	Bumbești (vicus of a fort), Romania
<i>Cohors I Britannica</i> and <i>cohors II Britannorum</i>	Cășeiu (fort), Romania
<i>Cohors VI Brittonum</i>	Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse (native settlement), region Rotterdam (exact location not recorded), all in the Netherlands

Five brooches have also been found on sites associated with the *cohors III Britannorum* and detachments of British legions and auxiliary units transferred for participation in the Civil wars of AD 69: Aime, France; Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterhur, all in Switzerland. Moreover, one brooch has been found on a site associated with British auxiliary unit(s) posted to aid in construction work: Győr, Hungary. The occurrence of two brooches from Moers-Asberg has been connected with the possible short presence of either *ala I Britannica* or *cohors I Belgarum*. All these brooches have been excluded from the table 3.60, since their occurrence abroad cannot be related to any particular British unit(s) that were garrisoned there for a short period of time.

Clearly the occurrence of British-made brooches on six sites out of 102 is an extremely small percentage. When the brooches' distribution map is laid over the distribution map of inscriptions and military diplomas mentioning British troops and forts known to have been home for the British units, no correlation between the presence of units raised in Britain and the location of British brooches overseas seems to exist at all (fig. 3.29). The majority of the brooches is concentrated on the Rhine frontier and in the provinces of Germania Inferior, Superior and Gallia Belgica, while a small percentage of brooches has been detected on the Danube frontier, in Noricum and Pannonia, and very few in Dacia and Moesia. A totally different picture is seen in the distribution of the epigraphic evidence and the spread of the British auxiliary units: most of the inscriptions are concentrated in Dacia and Moesia, a few in Pannonia and hardly any on the Rhine frontier.

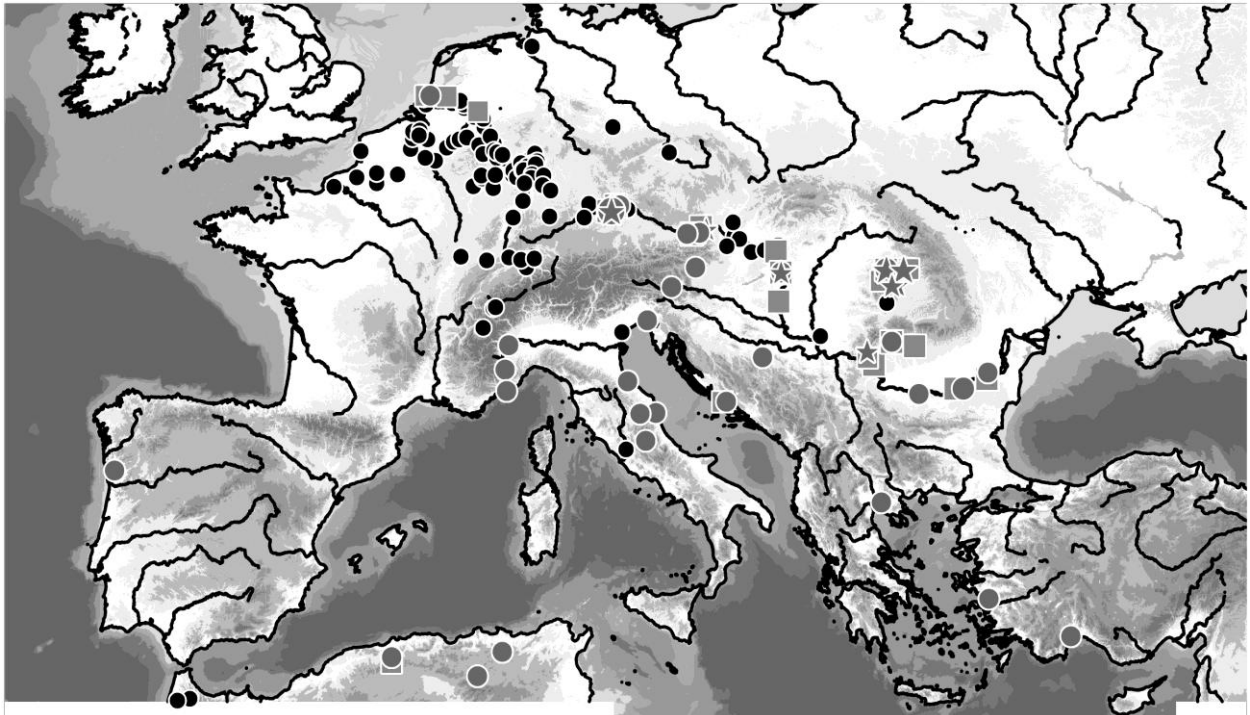


Figure 3.29 Relation between the distribution of British brooches (in black) and inscriptions, military diplomas and forts of British auxiliary units (in gray, circle, star and square respectively)²²⁷.

Considering the number of units raised from Britain, some of which initially consisted completely of Britons, it is likely that the newly recruited soldiers would have worn locally produced brooches during their transfer. There are four possible factors that could explain the absence of British-made brooches on other sites where British units are known to have been stationed (fig. 3.30):

a) the number of published archaeological reports and the depiction of brooches in them. For instance, in some reports only a fraction of the brooches was depicted and their descriptions in the reports do not allow for the identification of brooch types;

b) the recruitment process for units raised originally in Britain, where preference was given to local recruitment once the unit was stationed overseas (Dobson and Mann 1973, 205). This could result in the low occurrence outside Britain of the British brooches that began to be produced in the mid second/third centuries;

c) the ‘sex’ of the brooches: brooches with headloops, used for the attachment of chains, could have been worn by females (Croom 2004, 294) who did not follow their military partners to their new postings, although it has been considered that some brooches with headloops were an element of male military or civilian dress (the ‘sexless’ nature of brooches as proposed by Allason-Jones 1995);

d) the service in the Roman *auxilia*, where the preference was given to the standardised Roman military uniform, might have influenced against wearing brooches brought from home (Ian Haynes, pers. comment). This might have resulted in the brooches’ destiny of being thrown away or used as scrap metal and melted down.

²²⁷ This figure does not take into the account the date when the units were in garrison at particular location or the period when particular monuments were made or military diplomas were issued. This figure is used here to emphasise the striking difference between the absence of brooches on the Danube frontier and the abundance of them in the Rhine forts, whilst the evidence for the service of British units shows that they were posted in the Danube forts and rarely on the Rhine frontier.

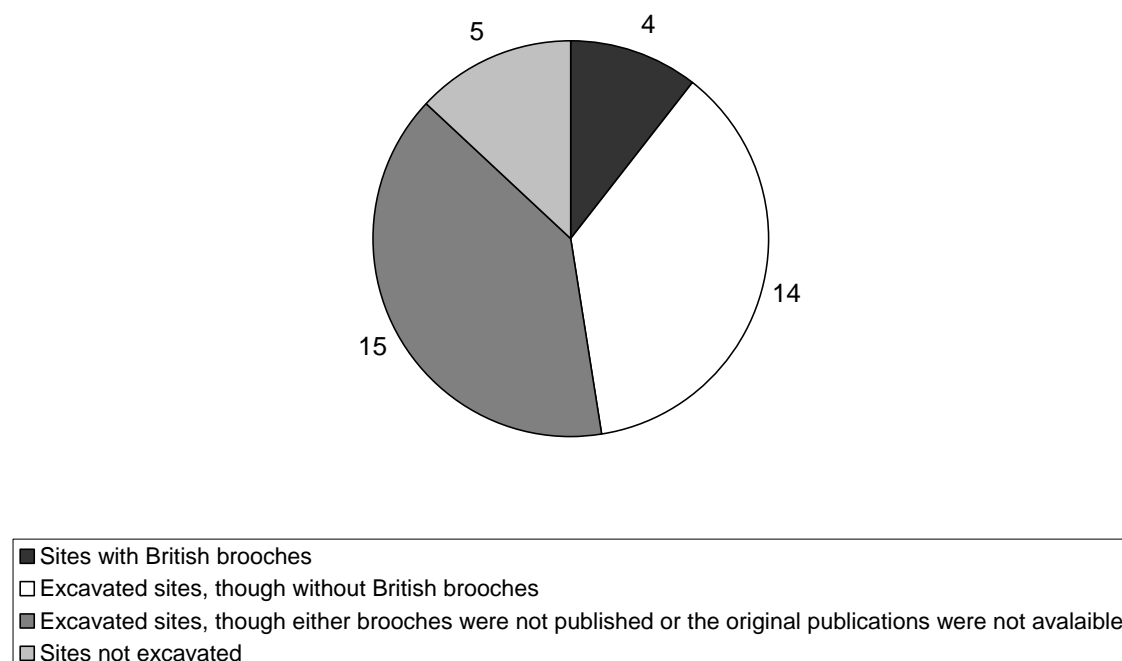


Figure 3.30 The relation between the occurrence of British brooches and British auxiliary units on sites where British units are known to have been stationed²²⁸.

Although the occurrence of British-made brooches on four military forts and two unrecorded locations does not constitute a pattern, it is nevertheless possible that these brooches arrived overseas with soldiers serving in British troops raised from the British population. All these brooches are of mid/late first century date, which coincides with the pattern of recruitment of British-borns into British auxiliary units. This may explain the absence of second century brooches on sites where units were garrisoned in this period: Britons simply stopped being sent to British auxiliary units from the second century onwards and recruitment from nearby provinces was practiced (the trend is detected in recruitment development as well). In general, the occurrence of British brooches on military sites associated with British auxiliary units generally supports the epigraphic evidence.

The documented evidence is silent about the presence of British women who may have gone overseas with their British-born partners. As has already been mentioned, British brooches with headloops may have been worn by females, thus, their occurrence on the Continent can be taken as an indication of the presence of British women. Of the six locations mentioned above brooches with headloops were located at: Szöny and Cășeiu (T-shaped with raised stud on a bow for enamel); a brooch from an unrecorded location in Croatia is also a headstud with headloop; Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse (trumpet 2A).

²²⁸ The sites, which were included in this figure, are the military forts, where British auxiliary units were garrisoned or are assumed to have been stationed. In total 38 sites have been identified; of these British-made brooches were present at four (Szöny, Cășeiu, Mautern and Bumbești).

A significant distinction between some brooches with headloops has been made: on some brooches the loop appears too small to have been able to support a chain, suggesting that they were most likely used by men; others had a much bigger headloop, suggesting they were indeed worn with a chain, which is considered to be a female tradition (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 214). Notable for present purposes is that brooches with small headloops were located at the military forts of Szöny and Cășeu, while those with a headloop suitable for holding a chain were found at the civilian settlements of Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse.

Clearly such a small percentage of brooches cannot be considered to provide any form of detailed picture, yet it is indicative that a distinction can be made between female and male-associated brooches, where the former were located at civilian, the latter at military sites. This discussion will continue in chapter 5, where other British-made brooches found overseas will be analysed in greater detail.

3.3. British *numeri*: history, prosopography and archaeology

This section explores the history and archaeology of the British *numeri*²²⁹ and starts by outlining the accepted theory regarding the formation and establishment of these units followed by parts in which the history, development and recruitment policy of each *numeri* unit is presented and discussed. The reconstruction of the history of each unit follows the same scheme as in case of the British auxiliary units and is done in alphabetical order to avoid the confusion that a chronological order might cause because of an absence of direct evidence regarding when particular units were formed.

3.3.1. *Development of the British numeri*

It has been long been accepted that the British *numeri* appeared for the first time after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland in ca AD 141 – 142 (Southern 1989, 95; Reuter 1999, 385). This theory was based on the appearance of the British *numeri* on inscriptions in Upper Germany after AD 145 – 146 and in a part of the *Historia Augusta* concerned with the reign of Antoninus Pius, which was interpreted as referring to “the wholesome removal of the population of the southern Scotland to [Germania Superior frontier at] Odenwald” (Hist. Aug. *Antoninus Pius* 5.4; Southern 1989, 95; Reuter 1999, 385). This theory has now been dismissed in light of the following new evidence.

The excavation at the fort at Hesselbach, where a British *numerus* unit is known to have been positioned in the mid second century, revealed that the fort was built earlier than previously thought and was already occupied by ca AD 110/115 (Reuter 1999, 385; Schallmayer 2010, 104-106). The results of this excavation have had a significant impact on the studies of the whole Odenwald-Neckar limes. It was proposed that they were established much earlier than have been previously thought, i.e. the mid second century, namely during the reign of Domitian, or at the latest by the time of Trajan (Southern 1989, 95). It was not disputed that the first builders and occupants of the forts on Odenwald-Neckar frontier were Britons and the search has begun for the possible date, preferably in late first-early second centuries AD, when British drafts were relocated to this limes. At present it is agreed that there were two phases for the recruitment and deployment of Britons in Germania Superior frontier. The first phase is usually dated to the reign of Domitian, though scholars still dispute when exactly.

The first theory is based on the passage in Tacitus, where he describes the battle between Roman troops under the command of governor Agricola and the British army at the place called Mons Graupius somewhere in northern Scotland ca AD 83/84. The

²²⁹ For the history of studies of the *numeri*, please consult the detailed analysis of Reuter (1999, 365-373).

commander of the British troops Calgacus “complains that there were Britons in the [Roman] army at Mons Graupius” (Tacitus, *Agricola* 29). This passage has been interpreted to mean that some Britons had been accepted into service in the Roman army as early as the Flavian dynasty and that after the battle these forces may have been drafted to units later relocated to Germania Superior (Southern 1989, 95). First they were positioned on the Taunus limes, at forts such as Saalburg and Zugmantel, where British objects have been found. Later they were transported to the Odenwald-Neckar limes where they participated in the construction of the frontier zone. According to this theory the organisation of the British *numeri* falls in the period after AD 83/84.

Another date that has been proposed is AD 86 – 87: the abandonment of southern Scotland by the Roman troops. In order to prevent an uprising or to secure the peace a levy may have been imposed on the native population: they were drafted to units without formal organisation and sent by orders of Domitian to the Continent (Southern 1989, 96).

The second recruitment phase is usually placed after the suppression of the revolts during the reign of Hadrian or after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus (Southern 1989, 97).

In general, it has been proposed to place the first recruitment phase somewhere during the reign of Domitian, when Britons were deployed first on the Taunus limes and were later redeployed to the forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier which they also built; the second recruitment phase occurred after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland.

3.3.2. *Numerus Brittonum at Deutz*

History

One inscription (no 1) found in the proximity of the fort *Divitia*, Cologne-Deutz in Germany, records the presence of the *numerus Brittonum* there in the late second – early third centuries AD. Two other inscriptions found on the site (nos 2 and 3) survive only partially and scholars have interpreted the missing parts based on the Cologne inscription (no 1). The only indication that these two inscriptions record a British *numerus* unit is the letter ‘*n*’ that probably stood for ‘*numerus*’ and the ending ‘*num*’ that may have stood for the ending of the word ‘*brittonum*’²³⁰. Moreover, one of these monuments records a veteran and centurion in command of a unit, although there is no direct evidence that soldiers of *numeri* ever reached the status of veterans (Reuter 1999, 463). This inscription may therefore record an auxiliary veteran who had received a post as centurion in command in the provincial capital of Germania Inferior (Reuter 1999, 463).

There is therefore only one inscription that records the presence of a British *numerus* unit at Cologne, although it indicates the presence of an official in the provincial capital rather than the whole unit (Reuter 1999, 463). The unit’s centurion may have been posted there for some administrative business or have been on his way through the city, where he had a chance to erect the votive altar (Reuter 1999, 463). This *numerus Brittonum* may never have been garrisoned in Cologne-Deutz, although nothing stands against thinking that the unit might have served at other places in Germania Inferior or Superior (Carroll-Spillecke 1993, 388; Reuter 1999, 464). The *numerus Brittonum* recorded on various inscriptions from the fort Niederbieber in Germania Superior (nos 4-7, discussed below) might have been identical to the unit record at Cologne-Deutz.

²³⁰ Cf. Reuter (1999, 464), who casts doubt that, even if the inscription indeed records a *numerus* unit, the name of it is unknown.

In general, nothing is known about this unit except that probably one of its members erected a votive altar in Cologne in the late second – early third centuries.

Forts

The station of this unit is uncertain. It is more than likely that the unit was never garrisoned in Cologne and never stayed in the fort at Deutz, although it is possible that the unit was part of the army of Germania Inferior or Superior (Carroll-Spillecke 1993, 388).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

? (...)stis Dirmesus: veteran; centurion in command, serving in the unit in the late second – third centuries AD, no 2

Subordinate officers:

Aurelius Verecundus: centurion, serving in the unit in the late second – third centuries AD, no 1

? Similinius (...)nus: courier, serving in the unit in the late second – third centuries AD, no 2

? (...)ninus: post unknown, serving in the unit in the late second – third centuries AD, no 3

Origin of personnel

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Similinius (...)nus and (...)stis Dirmesus Both officers' cognomina were limited to the province of Germania Inferior (for Similinius see Mócsy 1983, 267; OPEL IV 83; for Dirmesus see Mócsy 1983, 104; OPEL II 102). Moreover, the altar was dedicated to gods and goddesses that were probably part of the local pantheon of Germania Inferior: *Hercules Magusanus*, the principal deity of the Batavians (cf. Roymans 2004, 242), *Matronae Abirenae*, also known as *Ambiorenenses* (AE 1981, 660 from Cologne) and *Mahalinae*, also known as *Nehalennia* on numerous inscriptions from Domburg and Colijnsplaat, the Netherlands (Stuart and Bogaers 2001).

Unidentifiable origin:

The cognomen of Aurelius Verecundus, a centurion, was widespread but mostly prevailed in Celtic speaking provinces (Mócsy 1983, 307; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 18; OPEL IV 157-158; Minkova 2000, 275). He dedicated his votive inscription to two gods *Malvisae* and *Silvanus*, popular native deities recorded on numerous inscriptions from the Lower Rhineland (Dorcey 1992, 60).

Origin of (...)ninus is impossible to identify.

Table 3.61 Origin of soldiers in *numerus Brittonum* at Deutz: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Germania Inferior	2
Unknown	2
	Total: 4

Archaeology

The site of the Roman fort *Divitia*, at Cologne-Deutz, has been excavated and the finds recorded were identified as mostly produced locally (Carroll-Spillecke 1993). The jewelery items found there are believed to have been worn by German women and to be part of the traditional native German costume (Carroll-Spillecke 1993).

3.3.3. *Numerus Brittonum at Niederbieber*

History

Another *numerus Brittonum* is attested at Niederbieber on four inscriptions dated to the third century AD (nos 4-7; Heising 2010, 61). There is also one unpublished inscription, dated to the first years of the reign of Septimius Severus, ca AD 193/194 (Reuter 1999, 465, note 545).

Actually, one inscription does not record this particular unit but it has been proposed that it was erected by officers of the British *numerus* (no 6; Reuter 1999, 466). This votive altar was found on the right side inside a temple situated near the fort at Niederbieber, where another altar erected by the members of the same unit was also found (no 5). On the left side inside the temple only altars made by the soldiers of a *numerus Germanicianorum* were found. The left side of the temple was therefore possibly used to erect altars by members of the German *numeri* and the right by the soldiers of British *numeri* (Reuter 1999, 466).

It is possible that this unit came to Niederbieber from Öhringen where another British *numerus* with the epithet *Aurelianensium* was garrisoned in the late second century AD (Reuter 1999, 466; discussed below). The epithet of the unit stationed at Öhringen starts with the letter 'A', the same letter as the epithet of the unit from Niederbieber. This was seen as an indication that the *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium* was relocated in the late second – early third centuries from Öhringen to Niederbieber, where it was renamed as *numerus Brittonum Antoniniana* (Reuter 1999, 466).

Another possibility is that the Niederbieber *numerus* is actually identical to the unit stationed at Welzheim, which is attested there on an inscription dated to the late second century AD (Reuter 1999, 466). The Welzheim *numerus* had no epithet and it is possible that in the early third century it was relocated from Welzheim to Niederbieber, where it was granted the title *Antoniniana* for some actions.

The inscriptions erected by the servicemen of *numeri* known from Cologne-Deutz and Niederbieber correspond chronologically. It is possible the whole unit was actually stationed at Niederbieber, while some of its members served in the provincial capital of Germania Inferior in the late second – third centuries.

It is also uncertain how long the *numerus* garrisoned the fort: the archaeological evidence points to a reduction in the troop's size after AD 233, when, possibly, the second unit, *numerus Germanicianorum*, stationed at Niederbieber was sent to the Danube region (Heising 2010, 68). The *numerus Brittonum* was possibly stationed in the fort alone until AD 260, when the fort was abandoned and completely destroyed after a violent attack (Heising 2010, 62-64).

Award

Antoniniana - the *numerus* had an epithet starting with the letter 'A', which might have stood for 'Antoniniana' and may have been granted for some deeds during the reign of Caracalla or Elagabalus (Reuter 1999, 465). The possibility that 'A' stood for something else, e.g. the place-name where the unit was garrisoned, is not excluded (Reuter 1999, 465).

Fort

The unit was garrisoned at the fort at Niederbieber in the period from AD 193/194 and was still present there as late as AD 239 (no 6; Heising 2010, 60). The unit shared the fort with *numerus Germanicianorum exploratorum Divitiensium*: the size of the fort, 5.2 ha, indicates that it was more than big enough for two small *numeri* (Batz 2000, 95; Heising 2010, 60). It has therefore been proposed that the *numerus Germanicianorum*

had ca 1000 men in service and was actually an ala, since finds from the fort indicate the presence of a large cavalry unit (Baatz 2000, 95). *Numerus Brittonum* may have been a large unit as well, since it was probably a mixed unit comprising two small British units from either Öhringen or Welzheim (Reuter 1999, 466).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Subordinate officers:

(Aelius/Aulus?) Ibliomarius Opeius: a soldier? /a granary keeper?, serving in the unit ca AD 211 – 222, no 4

Titus? Um(...) Quintanensis?: a soldier? / a soldier of the fifth unit?, serving in the unit ca AD 211 – 222, no 4

Vibius Mercurialis: a scribe, serving in the unit ca AD 211 – 222, no 5

Attianus, son (?) of Coresus: a standard-bearer, serving in the unit ca AD 239, no 6

Fortionius Constitutus: an image-bearer, serving in the unit ca AD 239, no 6

Origin of personnel

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

(Aelius/Aulus?) Ibliomarius Opeius The name Ibliomarius was limited to the area of *civitas Treveri* and there are at least two inscriptions in which a person with the name Ibliomarus (sic!) indicated his origin as *Treveri* (*CIL* XIII 2839; *AE* 1975, 653; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 62-63).

Questionable origin:

The origin of three other servicemen (Vibius Mercurialis, Fortionius Constitutus and Attianus, son of Coresus) should be searched for in Gallia Belgica or in Germania's provinces (Reuter 1999, 467, note 556). Their names were widespread, but mostly prevailed in Gallia Belgica (Vibius was especially popular in Noricum, see Mócsy 1983, 310; OPEL IV 165-166; Minkova 2000, 276; for Mercurialis see Mócsy 1983, 187, OPEL III 77; for Attianus see Mócsy 1983, 35; OPEL I 89; for Fortionius see Mócsy 1983, 128; OPEL II 150; for Constitutus see Mócsy 1983, 87; OPEL III 73; for Coresus see Mócsy 1983, 88; OPEL II 75).

Unidentifiable origin:

The origin of Titus? Um(...) Quintanensis is impossible to identify, since it is uncertain whether Quintanensis was an actual cognomen or denoted that this soldier served in the fifth unit.

Table 3.62 Origin of soldiers in *numerus Brittonum* at Niederbieber: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Gallia Belgica:	3
<i>Civitas Treveri</i>	1
Unknown	1
	Total: 5

Archaeology

Parts of the fort and vicus were excavated on various occasions and the results have been published (Heising 2010, 58, esp. note 12 listing the bibliography).

In the excavation report issued by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 13 brooches were mentioned as having been found at the site of the fort, but descriptions and illustrations were omitted (Ritterling 1912, 67). Another publication, cataloguing

and depicting 61 brooches found at the fort Niederbieber, did not have any British-made brooches (Gechter 1980). In another publication, where the artefacts made from bone were studied, it was concluded that the majority of finds from the fort were made locally (von Carnap-Bornheim 1994), suggesting that whoever lived on the site used locally-made products.

3.3.4. *Numerus Brittonum at Walldürn*

History

An inscription found at Walldürn (no 8) is the most discussed epigraphic monument found on the Upper German limes (Reuter 1999, 550, esp. note 911 and 912; cf. also Southern 1989, 97). It records either one or two British *numeri*, depending on the interpretation (Southern 1989, 133); it is uncertain if *Brittones gentiles*²³¹ and *officiales Brittones dediticii*²³² *Alexandriani* were separated in the text by the small word ‘*et*’ meaning ‘and’: this part of the stone appears to be broken and is impossible to restore.

If there was no ‘and’ between the two elements, then we are dealing with Britons who were officials in charge of a British *dediticii* unit (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 606; Southern 1989, 133). If there was indeed an ‘and’ then the inscription records two British units: *gentiles* and officials in charge of the *dediticii Alexandriani*. In the first scenario the inscription records only persons of high rank, in the second two units, where probably one was in charge of the other (i.e. *Brittones gentiles* in charge of *dediticii*, see also the position of the units’ name on the inscription - *gentiles* precedes *dediticii*).

Moreover, there may have been another ‘and’ between *officiales Brittones* and *dediticii Alexandriani*, which would imply that there were actually three units: British *gentiles*, officials in charge of Britons and *dediticii* (Lemosse 1981, 352).

A discussion goes on as to who were *dediticii*. One suggestion favours with the idea that “*gentiles* were Britons from outside the province, serving as officers of the *dediticii*, who were also Britons [but] of a lower status” (Southern 1989, 97). Another suggestion is that the *dediticii* might have been Britons captured during the Severan campaigns in Scotland: in this case the term *dediticii* would have been used in its strict sense, i.e. surrendered (Benario 1954, 194, note 21; Southern 1989, 97). *Dediticii* may have been Germans or any other tribal entity and were distinct from the Britons by their name (Southern 1989, 97).

The inscription also records another unit named *exploratores Stu(...)*. It could have been at first called the *numerus Brittonum Stu(...)* and later renamed the *exploratores Stu(...)* retaining only the epithet from its original title (Planck and Beck 1987, 47; Southern 1989, 133 after Baatz 1973, 69, note 3). Something similar happened to the *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* which became *exploratores Triputiensium* once they were transferred from Odenwald-Neckar to the outer limes. The epithet could, however, have stood for *Sturii* – the Germanic tribe that lived in the proximity of the Rhine in what is now the Netherlands (Plinius Naturalis Historia 101; Lemosse 1981, 351), which would therefore mean that the unit of *exploratores* was raised from Sturians.

The fort Walldürn at 0.8 ha is suitable to accommodate one *numerus*, which means that the *exploratores*, *gentiles* and/or *dediticii* must have numbered ca 160 men in total.

²³¹ *Gentiles* understood to refer to the freeborn members of the barbarian nations, as opposed to Roman citizens, i.e. *civitates* (Lemosse 1981, 352). They were subjects to Roman authority and accepted Roman laws, yet they were considered non-Romans.

²³² Under the name *dediticii* one may differentiate three groups: barbarians who had surrendered to Rome, freedmen under special law and freeborn settlers in the Empire (Benario 1954, 191). Yet this name appeared on the inscription of AD 232 when “no free-born provincials should have been *dediticii*”, although people or tribes of doubtful loyalty in service in the Roman army might have been referred to in this way (Southern 1989, 97).

If the interpretation that *dediticii* were levies imposed on the population of Scotland after the campaigns of Severus or after peace was arranged under Caracalla is right, this would mean that more than 100 men must have been sent from Scotland to Upper Germany. I would like to suggest that these British formations were actually remains of a unit previously stationed in the Odenwald and were part of another unit, as opposed to an independent entity.

It is usually assumed that the *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium*, garrisoned the forts from Eulbach to Schlossau, consisted of more than 150 men (Reuter 1999, 459 and also note 508). This unit, in order to provide better protection and control of the area, may have been divided into smaller units positioned at various forts. When the frontier was moved to the outer limes, the main unit with the epithet *Triputiensium* was relocated to the fort at Miltenberg, while the smaller units were transferred to Walldürn and the other fortlets between Miltenberg and Walldürn. The soldiers of the *numerus* and their offspring might have been considered as of higher rank in contrast to the soldiers drafted in to replenish those who had died. The former probably received the name *Brittones gentiles* to denote their long standing relationship with Rome, as a unit of British natives with status, while the latter were called *dediticii* to indicate a special relationship between Roman officials and the ‘not-so-trustworthy’ tribes from *Barbaricum*.

Awards

Alexandriana – this title was erased from the inscription because of the *damnatio memoriae* of the Emperor Severus Alexander (AD 222 – 235), who granted this award.

Fort

These formations recorded on the inscription found at Walldürn rebuilt the bath house of this fort. The monument itself has been found in the layer belonging to the period when the bath house was rebuilt and expanded (Planck and Beck 1987, 47; Baatz 2000, 224). While it is possible that the whole unit was placed at Walldürn, small detachments of it might have been garrisoned the smaller fortlets located between Miltenberg and Walldürn (Baatz 2000, 224).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Titus Flavius Romanus: centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, commanding officer in AD 232, no 8

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin: The commanding officer of the unit in AD 232 had a widespread and popular name (Mócsy 1983, 244; OPEL IV 31; Minkova 2000, 242), therefore, his origin is impossible to identify.

Archaeology

The main layout of the fort is known, though there have been no excavations inside the fort itself (Planck and Beck 1987, 46; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 74-75). The bath house and parts of the vicus near the fort have been excavated and various phases identified (Planck and Beck 1987, 46-48; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 75-76).

In the excavation report issued by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* the only bronze find depicted was a buckle; the description of the bronze and iron finds itself had no mention of the brooches (Conrady 1904, 14-15; taf. III, fig. 4). In the publications on the excavations in the bath house and vicus area, no British-made objects were identified (Baatz 1978; Schallmayer 1983).

3.3.5. *Numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*

History

This unit is attested on two inscriptions dated to AD 175 – 177 and on tile stamps found at one of the two forts near Öhringen, Germany (nos 9 and 10; *CIL* XIII 12497 tile with stamp *B Aure* expanded as (*numerus*) *B(rittonum) Aure(lianensium)*; Herzog 1897, 20, no E5; 23, no F17). At the bath house of the eastern of these two forts tiles were also found stamped with abbreviations expanded as *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* and as *numerus Brittonum Murrensium* (nos 12 and 23; Herzog 1897, 20, nos B2 and D4; 23, nos D15 and E16). Both *numeri Brittonum Cal(...)* and *Murrensium* were probably first garrisoned at forts on the Odenwald limes (it will be discussed later). Taking into account that, after the construction of the outer limes, the units garrisoned on the Odenwald were transferred to forts on the outer limes, it is possible that both *numeri*, i.e. *Cal(...)* and *Murrensium*, were also relocated to these eastern limes. After the move, both units were never heard of again and it seems that these two units may have been mixed together to form a new unit with a new epithet *Aurelianensium* (Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 443). This epithet derives from the name of the vicus adjacent to the fort at Öhringen, named *Aurelianus*, which itself was named after the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (Reuter 1999, 443).

The *cursus honorum* of the unit's commander, found in Italy (no 11), indicates the unit's existence well into the third century, although it is uncertain whether it was still stationed on the limes of Upper Germany (Reuter 1999, 444).

Awards

None are known.

Forts

It is possible that the unit in the last quarter of the second century AD was stationed at Öhringen, which has two large forts, both of which could have been garrisoned by a rather large, probably mixed, *numerus* (Reuter 1999, 443). Since the tile stamps of two amalgamated units were discovered in the bath house of the eastern, so called Rendel, fort, it has been suggested that this was the place where the unit was garrisoned (Baatz 2000, 236)²³³.

The location of the unit in the third century is uncertain, yet the forts on the Upper German limes are likely candidates (Reuter 1999, 444). A British *numeri* unit without the epithet has been recorded at the fort at Niederbieber and possibly it was another example of a unit formed by merging units previously stationed on the outer limes. The amalgamated *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium* seems a suitable candidate (Reuter 1999, 444).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Gaius Valerius Titus: a legionary centurion, in charge of the unit in AD 175 – 177, nos 9, 10 and 23

Ignotus: a legionary centurion, in charge of the unit in the third century, no 11

²³³ But see Reuter (1999, 443), who proposes another fort, which lies 3 km from Öhringen: the fort at Westernbach had a size of 1 ha and was also able to accommodate two joined *numeri*

Origin of personnel

Questionable origin: A name of the legionary centurion in the third century did not survive, yet his origin may have been *Falerii Novi*, modern Civita Castellana in Italy, where his *cursus honorum* was erected.

Unidentifiable origin: The origin of the legionary centurion Gaius Valerius Titus is impossible to identify, since his *gentilicium* and cognomen were widespread, but are well represented in Celtic-speaking areas (for Valerius see Mócsy 1983, 300; OPEL IV 142-146; Minkova 2000, 93-96; for Titus see Mócsy 1983, 291; OPEL IV 125-126; Minkova 2000, 265).

Table 3.63 Origin of soldiers in *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Italy: <i>Falerii Novi</i>	1
Unknown	1
	Total: 2

Archaeology

The forts of Öhringen or at least some parts of them have been uncovered in various excavations (Planck and Beck 1987, 66-67; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 85-86). The bronze finds from the so called Rendel fort, where presumably the *numerus* was garrisoned, have been reported but no brooches were found there (Herzog 1897, 17 and 21). Brooches have also not been reported from the areas around either of the forts (Herzog 1897, 25-26).

3.3.6. *Numerus Brittonum Cal(...)*

History

This unit is recorded on tile stamps found in the bath complex of the so called Rendel fort at Öhringen (no 12). It has already been mentioned that this unit may have been garrisoned first on the Odenwald limes and later relocated to the outer limes, where it was joined to another *numerus* to form the *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*. Yet there is no evidence for where the unit may have been posted while serving on the Odenwald frontier. The epithet was abbreviated on the tile stamps as *Cal(...)* and scholars up to now have argued about how it should be expanded.

This epithet may have stood for the name of a village or a river in the proximity of which the fort of this unit was located (as was the case for other *numeri* units garrisoned on the Odenwald; for a discussion see below). It has been suggested that this village or river starting with the *Cal(...)* should be searched for in the proximity of the fort at Heilbronn-Böckingen (Reuter 1999, 445). This idea is based on the occurrence of tile stamps of this *numerus* in association with the tiles of a certain *cohors I Helvetiorum*, a unit which is also attested as in Heilbronn-Böckingen as in Öhringen. The general policy of the Roman army on the Odenwald and outer limes was to relocate *numeri* together with the cohort they were attached to: examples include *cohors III Aquitanorum* with *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* and *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum* with *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* (Schallmayer 2010, 26). In other words, when the *cohors I Helvetiorum* was moved from its fort at Heilbronn-Böckingen to Öhringen, *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* could have followed it.

Another theory is that the epithet actually denotes the place where the unit's original soldiers came from. Since this unit was a British *numerus*, the tribal entity in question

must have come from Britain. The closest fitting name of tribal confederacy which might be hidden behind the abbreviation *Cal(...)* is *Caledoni*.

The words *Caledones* or *Caledonia* are used in the account of Tacitus to denote the region, or all the people living, north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus (where the Antonine Wall would come to be placed), while in later accounts, especially in Ptolemy, the *Caledones* are a people and a single large tribe (Tacitus *Agricola* 11 and 25; Ptolemy Geography, II, 3, 5-7; Mann and Breeze 1987, 90). Modern scholarship usually locates the *Caledones* on “the Great Glen [which] runs from Loch Linnhe to the Beaully Firth” (Mann and Breeze 1987, 90). As has already been mentioned, the occurrence of British *numeri* in Upper Germany is usually connected to the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland, after which levies may have been imposed on the population. After the Severan campaigns in Scotland, treaties are known to have been established between the Romans and the Caledonians, as a result of which the latter sent a “few captives” (Cassius Dio, 75.5.4). Captives might have also been provided after the Urbicus campaigns and men were drafted to serve in the *numeri*, of which one may have been named after the region where they hailed from. The question is why was the unit then not simply called *Caledoniansium*? It is possible that the word *Caledoni* might have still been used as a generic term to denote all people living north of Hadrian’s Wall or the Antonine Wall, implying that this unit might have been drafted, not only from the *Caledones*, but from all the northern tribes of the province Britain.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit may have been garrisoned at Heilbronn-Böckingen prior to its relocation to the fort at Öhringen, although the Heilbronn-Böckingen fort might have been not the first, but the second fort of this unit. The *numerus Brittonum Murrensium*, which was later amalgamated with our unit, was also stationed at the Heilbronn-Böckingen fort, but before that it was garrisoned at the Benningen fort, meaning that Heilbronn-Böckingen was the units’ secondary post. If we assume that both *numeri* had already been joined before the relocation to the outer limes, i.e. to the fort at Öhringen, then the fort at Heilbronn-Böckingen hosted three units in the mid second century: a cohort and two *numeri*, one coming from Benningen.

The station of the *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* prior to its amalgamation and relocation to Heilbronn-Böckingen may have been the small earth and timber fort of 0.6 ha, situated in the proximity of the cohort fort at Walheim. This small fort was built somewhere at the end of the first century AD and was already abandoned ca AD 100 (Baatz 2000, 209). Walheim lies just between Heilbronn-Böckingen and Benningen, making it the best candidate for the *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* station.

Personnel

None have been recorded on inscriptions.

Archaeology

Heilbronn-Böckingen has been excavated in part by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (Steimle 1898; Schleiermacher 1935, 9-10; Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 332), although no finds from the fort can be identified as British-made. Other excavations in the 1960s established the location and the development of the north and west gates of the fort (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 333).

For the Öhringen fort see *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*

3.3.7. *Numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium*

History

This unit is recorded on a single votive inscription found not on the Odenwald frontier, but in the capital of *civitas Taunensium*, *Nida*, modern Frankfurt-Heddernheim in Germany (no 13). Yet it has been rejected that the *numerus* was garrisoned in the proximity of Heddernheim where this votive offering was found (Reuter 1999, 450). As with other British *numeri*, its location should be searched somewhere on the Odenwald frontier (Southern 1989, 133).

The unit's epithet, starting either with the letter *C* or *G*, may have originated from the name of a place or river in the vicinity of where this *numerus* was serving. Yet neither at Odenwald nor on the outer limes have scholars been able to find a place name which resembles the epithet *C/Gurvedensium*. It is also uncertain whether this epithet derives from the first or second station of the unit (Reuter 1999, 450).

It is uncertain to what onomastic tradition the name '*C/Gurvedensium*' belongs. It may have been of Latin origin. There is a similar word in Latin denoting water, the word *gurgēs* which can be translated as 'water, stream, sea, whirlpool or gulf'. In the genitive case it is pronounced as *gurgitis*²³⁴. If derived from this word a loose translation of *Gurvedensium* would therefore be 'unit of Britons from the sea' or 'unit of Britons from (or near?) a whirlpool'. Yet, phonetically, the transition from *gur-gitis* to *gur-vedes* is not possible.

The first stem of the word, *gur*, might possibly have been related to the Old Welsh word *gur*, Breton *guor*, Gaulish *gwr*, Anglo-Saxon *wer* and, worth noting, Latin *vir* meaning 'man' (Delamarre 2001, 270). The meaning of the second stem *veden* remains unresolved: the closest parallels are the Old High German *wetan* meaning 'to join', 'to bind' (Hoops and Beck 1998, 51), the Gothic word *ga-widan* meaning 'to join together' (Wright 1966, 324). Most of the Roman *numeri* forts in Odenwald were positioned on the river Neckar, near its tributaries: the *numerus* fort at Neckarburken was, for instance, located near the Elzbach tributary of the Neckar, after which the British *numerus* was named, i.e. *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium*. If the stem *veden* is indeed the earliest form of *wetan/widan*, a loose translation of *gurvedensium* would be '[where the river] Gur joins [name of another river]'. On the limes only one river name can be related to the river Gur: the river Gersprenz, a left tributary of the river Main. It is noteworthy that next to a military fort (modern Stockstadt), positioned between this tributary and the Main, a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus was found (Batz 2000, 177; Steidl 2008, 158), a god to whom the unit's centurion gave a votive offering. Moreover, a British-made brooch of mid second-century type has been reported from the area (Drexel 1910, 11, taf. VII, fig. 20; Exner 1939, 79, no 23, tab. 7, no 10.I23).

This epithet might denote the place where the unit's original soldiers came from, i.e. somewhere in Britain. The closest parallel is in the name of a tribe living before Hadrian's Wall in the Eden valley – the *Carvetii*. However, the area of this tribal entity was not under attack from the army of Lollius Urbicus in AD 141 – 142, which means that there was no need for them to send levies.

The question what the unit's centurion was doing in *Nida* also remains. It has been proposed that the centurion was a commander of a detachment rather than of a unit itself. He calls himself *centurio* and not *praepositus*, the usual name for the commanders of such units (Reuter 1999, 450). This may indicate that a small detachment was indeed stationed in *Nida* for some time.

²³⁴ If the epithet denotes a place or river name, it must have been used in the genitive case, as in '*numerus Brittonum ex*' = 'unit of Britons from [place or river name]'.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The exact location of this unit is uncertain. The theory proposed here is that a small detachment might have been garrisoned for some time in *Nida*, while the unit itself may have been stationed at the fort at Stockstadt.

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Subordinate officers:

Gaius Iulius Marinus: a centurion of a detachment, serving in the unit probably in the late second century AD, no 13

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin: The origin of the centurion is uncertain. His cognomen, Marinus, is widespread but prevailed in Gallia Belgica, Gallia Narbonensis and Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 58). It is noteworthy that the cognomen Marinus often appears on dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus (Schwertheim 1974, 308).

Archaeology

The possible unit's fort Stockstadt and the area around it is one of the most intensively researched areas on the Main limes (Drexel 1910; Baatz 2000, 176). Various forts have been identified and different archaeological layers have been established (Drexel 1910; Baatz 2000, 176), although nothing is now visible of the main cohort's fort itself: it is completely covered by a paper factory (Baatz 2000, 176; Steidl 2008, 157). During the excavations of the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* one British-made object was found: a British-made disk-and-trumpet brooch, type T166C (Drexel 1910, 49, no 11, taf. VII, fig. 20). Its occurrence there can be connected to the possible service of the *numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium* in the mid second century²³⁵ (this object will be discussed in the chapter 5, section 5.1.1).

3.3.8. *Numerus Brittonum Elantiensium*

History

The *numerus* is attested on two building inscriptions found in the eastern, so-called *numerus*, fort and in a bath house near the cohort fort at Neckarburken (nos 14 and 17). Another inscription was found at the eastern gate of the fortlet Trienz (no 15), located north of the Neckarburken fort. These inscriptions record the presence of the unit on the Odenwald limes at the Neckarburken fort in the years AD 145 – 161.

The unit received its epithet *Elantiensium* after a tributary of the river Moselle – the Elzbach (also known as Elz), which flows in the vicinity of the fort at Neckarburken (Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 446).

After the limes were pushed forward 25 km eastward ca AD 159/161, the units garrisoned on the Odenwald frontier were transferred to the new forts there. From the

²³⁵ Another unit attested in Stockstadt in the late second century is *cohors I Aquitanorum veterana* (CIL XIII 11780, 11782, 11783 and 11785; Baatz 2000, 177; Steidl 2008, 157). A unit with a similar name is also known from Britain: *cohors I Aquitanorum* is recorded on military diploma issued for the army of Britain (CIL XVI 69) and some inscriptions (RIB 2401.6; 2401.7; AE 1990, 577; Jarrett 1994, 52). It is usually thought that they were two separate units, one with the title *veterana* which served in Germania Superior; another – without the title – in Britain (Holder 1980, 111). Spaul (2000, 143), on the contrary, sees them as one unit, which divided its time between two provinces.

epigraphic record it is known that *cohors III Aquitanorum* garrisoned at Neckarburken was then stationed at a fort on the outer limes at Osterburken (*CIL* XIII 6493 and 6494 from Neckarburken; *CIL* XIII 6566, 6568, 6577 and 11767 from Osterburken). Since the *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* was a support unit of this cohort, they should have moved together; yet the epigraphic record does not provide us with direct evidence (Reuter 1999, 44). Only one inscription is considered to be an indication of such a move: the votive monument (no 18) found in Osterburken was erected by a commander of the unit Veranius Saturninus, known to us from another inscription, this time from the Neckarburken fort (no 17). Reuter (1999, 447) questions whether the *numerus* was relocated immediately after the move of the limes: the building inscription from Neckarburken (no 17) records the reconstruction of a bath house in AD 158, a couple of years before the move. Such renovations would have been unnecessary if the *numerus* was supposed to be transferred to another fort (Neumaier 1991, 33). It is thought that the unit was still in Neckarburken up to the reign of Commodus (Reuter 1999, 448; Baatz 2000, 227), considering that the annex fort at Osterburken, presumably the station for the *numerus*, may have been built in AD 185 at the earliest (Neumaier 1991, 31).

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit was garrisoned at the eastern, so called *numerus*, fort at Neckarburken²³⁶ (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 282; Baatz 2000, 205). After the abandonment of the Odenwald limes the fort became a *villa rustica* and it is thought that the owner may have been a former soldier of a cohort or of our unit (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 282; Baatz 2000, 205; Schallmayer 2010, 137).

North of Neckarburken lies a fortlet at Trienz, built and garrisoned by a small detachment of the *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* (Schallmayer 2010, 129). The fortlet had room for 80 men and it was probably from here, rather than from the fort itself, that the unit sent its soldiers to observation towers on the limes (Baatz 2000, 202).

Whether the unit was relocated to the Osterburken fort is uncertain. The fort itself was divided into two spaces: one, the largest, was occupied by the *cohors III Aquitanorum*, while the smaller fort annexed to it may have been home to the *numerus*' soldiers (Planck and Beck 1987, 50-51; Baatz 2000, 228). The internal buildings of this annex are unknown: the excavations undertaken there revealed only a couple of skeletons and some weaponry, which is thought to indicate the abandonment of the fort somewhere in the middle of the third century AD (Neumaier 1991, 29; Baatz 2000, 229). It is also unknown whether the buildings in the annex were constructed of wood or stone. Another rather significant problem with the annex fort has to do with its location. It was positioned on the hill slope facing away from the frontier palisade. If there would be an attack, the soldiers in the fort would not have been able to see the attackers and the fort could easily have been overtaken by the enemies. In other words, it was a mistake to build the annex at this location (Neumaier 1991, 28; Baatz 2000, 229).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Veranius Saturninus: a centurion of the *legio VIII Augusta*, in charge of the unit ca AD 158 – 160, nos 17 and 18

²³⁶ Neckarburken had two forts: one, western, was occupied by the *cohors III Aquitanorum*, the second one – eastern, by our unit.

Subordinate officers:

Adventus: keeper of armoury, serving in the unit ca AD 150 – 200, no 16

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin:

Adventus is thought to have served in this *numerus* unit because of the location of a votive altar²³⁷ he erected: it was found in the bath house of the Neckarburken fort, rebuilt by our unit (Reuter 1999, 447). The name of this soldier was not widespread: it occurs three times on inscriptions from the German provinces, twice in Italy and Hispania, and only once on the inscriptions recorded from Gallia Narbonensis and Aquitania (Mócsy 1983, 6; OPEL I 24).

The nomen of the centurion, Veranius, was limited to German-speaking provinces, while his cognomen was popular everywhere, especially in Celtic speaking areas (for Veranius see Mócsy 1983, 306; OPEL IV 156 prevalence in Belgica and both Germania; for Saturninus see Mócsy 1983, 255; OPEL IV 51-53; Minkova 2000, 247-248).

Archaeology

Both forts at Neckarburken are known, but have only been partially excavated: the west gates of the *numerus* fort have been conserved for the public; of the internal buildings the location of the principia is known (Baatz 2000, 205).

Both forts at Osterburken have been excavated on various occasions but only partially: the walls, towers and some intramural buildings are known from the cohort fort, while only the gates and walls of the *numerus* fort have been excavated and conserved (Planck and Beck 1987, 49-51; Neumaier 1991, 10-13, 28).

In the excavation report of the Neckarburken fort issued by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* four bronze brooches were reported (Schumacher 1898, 29, nos 2-5), but none can be identified as British-made. In the finds from the fort at Osterburken, however, one brooch is more than likely a British-made of type T271 (Fabricus *et al.* 1931 – 1935, 234, no 48, taf. 24, no 48). Brooches of this type are usually dated to the third-fourth centuries, but the type itself is thought to originate long before the end of the third century (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 178, 205). The problem here is that this particular frontier of Germania Superior was given up ca AD 260 and the fort was abandoned around that time as well (Schönberger 1969, 176, 183; Neumaier 1991, 34; Planck 2005, 245). Therefore, the presence of the British-made object at Osterburken must be out of chronological context (for the detailed discussion on this and other brooches of the same type found in Germany see chapter 5, sections 5.1.1. and 5.1.6.).

²³⁷ The votive inscription was dedicated to the god Mars Exalbix, recorded on another inscription found during the excavation of the beneficiary station at Osterburken (*AE* 1985, 692 as Mars Exalbiovix). It is uncertain to what onomastic tradition the god's second name can be related. It may have derived from the Latin verb *exalbesco* meaning 'to become white, to turn pale'. A locally venerated goddess, recorded on the same inscription as Marx Exalbiovix, is Candida Regina, known from other monuments found in the region (*AE* 1985, 685, 695; *AE* 1978, 535). Her name can be loosely translated from the Latin as 'white/bright queen'. The worshipping of two gods with epithets to do with 'whiteness' in one particular region is noteworthy.

3.3.9. *Numerus Brittonum Gr(inarionensium)*

History

The only available epigraphic material on the existence of this *numerus* consists of three tile stamps found in Welzheim (no 19). The stamps were abbreviated either as NBGR or NBCR, thought to expand as *numerus Brittonum Gr(...)*.

It has been suggested that the epithet *Gr(...)* stood for the place name of the unit's fort. A possible location has been found in the name of a fort *Grinario*, contemporary Köngen (Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 449). Another interpretation suggests that the unit was named after the river Rems, which flows in the vicinity of the fort at Lorch, a military post considered to have been a unit's station in the late second century AD. The name of this river in Roman times started with the letters *Hr*, in Latin - *Gr* (Fabricus *et al.* 1933, 192, note 2).

It has been noted that the NBGR stamps were most likely made from the clay found near the fort at Lorch, although no chemical analysis of the stamps has been made in order to clarify this (Fabricus *et al.* 1933, 192, note 2; Reuter 1999, 449). Because the unit's name may have been derived from the fort's name *Grinario*, while the material of the tiles show they were produced in Lorch, it has been suggested that both forts were places where the unit was stationed, Köngen being the first, Lorch the second (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 372; Reuter 1999, 499; Baatz 2000, 211, 250). *Grinario*, moreover, was positioned on the Neckar limes, while Lorch was a fort on the outer limes: such a transfer of a *numerus* from one frontier to another, i.e. from Odenwald-Neckar to the outer limes, is recorded for other units stationed on both frontiers. The tiles with the NBGR stamp could have ended in Welzheim when the *numerus Brittonum Grinarionensium* participated in the construction of the tile ovens at Welzheim or in supplying building materials while stationed at Köngen.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

It is thought that this unit was first positioned at the fort Köngen on the Odenwald-Neckar limes and after at the fort Lorch on the outer limes. Yet Reuter (1999, 449) claims that there is not enough evidence to support the position of this unit at either forts. The main reason is that at neither fort have signs of a *numerus* fort been found: both Köngen and Lorch are of a size 2.4 ha, enough to garrison a cohort *quingenaria* (Baatz 2000, 211, 250), but not suitable for both a cohort of ca 500 men and a *numerus* of ca. 150. While south of the Köngen fort a small fortlet of 0.2 ha size have been discovered, it was most likely used for control, rather than for defence (Baatz 2000, 212). The absence of a *numerus* fort at Lorch can be explained through the nature of the region: erosion of the land north of the river Rems has contributed to the poor preservation of the fort buildings in the region (Bender and Thiel 2010, 124-125). The *numerus* fort at Lorch may simply not yet have been discovered, especially taking into account that stones of the cohort fort were taken to construct the nearby monastery.

Personnel

None have been recorded on inscriptions.

Archaeology

Köngen fort has been described in the report issued by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (Mettler 1907). In the next excavations conducted in the 20th century one British-made brooch was found but the exact findspot was not recorded (Luik 1996, 132,

taf. 37, no 11). This type, T162, was in use in the mid second century, which coincides with the presence of the *numerus Brittonum Grinarionensium* at Köngen.

Lorch fort had been located on the ground by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* and in the 1960s the western gate was conserved (Steimle 1897; Planck and Beck 1987, 104-105). Small scale excavation followed in 1986/87, during which the locations of the inner buildings were established (Planck and Beck 1987, 104-105). At present most of the fort area lies beneath the city centre of Lorch.

3.3.10. *Numerus Brittonum L(unensium)*

History

The unit is recorded on tile stamps, abbreviated as NBL and expanded as *numerus Brittonum L(...)*, found at the tile ovens of a fort at Welzheim on the outer limes (no 20). Another *numerus Brittonum et exploratorum* has been recorded on a votive inscription found in a bath house of the *numerus* fort near Welzheim (no 21). It is usually thought that both tile stamps and the inscription record the same unit (Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 451). Dropping the epithet in a unit's name, when it was positioned on the outer limes, was a common practice (see *numeri Brittonum Cal(...)* and *Murrensium*) and may explain its absence on the votive monument.

This *numerus* may have been relocated from Odenwald-Neckar to the outer frontier, following *ala I Scubulorum*, known to have garrisoned Welzheim as well as the Bad Cannstatt fort on the Neckar limes (Reuter 1999, 452; Baatz 2000, 210).

As in the case of other British *numeri*, this unit's epithet probably derived from the name of a place or river in the vicinity of where it was stationed. The best candidate is the river Lein, which flows near the fort at Welzheim, although there is no record what this river was called in the Roman period (Fabricus *et al.* 1933, 192, note 3; Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 451-452)²³⁸.

The archaeological investigations of the fort Welzheim showed that the *numerus* fort was abandoned ca AD 200 (Reuter 1999, 452; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 94), which suggests that the unit was moved again some time in the third century. A good candidate is the fort at Niederbieber, where a *numerus Brittonum* was garrisoned from AD 193/194 onwards (Reuter 1999, 452).

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit was possibly stationed at two forts: the first one was on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier, probably Bad Cannstatt, the second the *numerus* fort near Welzheim on the outer limes.

Two follow-up forts are known from Bad Cannstatt, the first one – a wooden fort of 3.1 ha built before AD 90, the second one a stone fort of 3.7 ha built ca AD 120 (Baatz 2000, 210). No *numerus* forts have been identified in the vicinity, although the size of the main fort suggests that both *ala* and *numerus* were garrisoned together in one fort.

The *numerus* fort at Welzheim lies east of the cohort fort and had a size of 1.6 ha, suitable for accommodating a *numerus* and a unit of scouts (*exploratores*) (Fabricus *et al.* 1933, 190; Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 613; Baatz 2000, 247).

²³⁸ Another candidate is the fort near Urspring, known as *Ad Lunam* in the Roman times, although it did not have a *numerus* fort and it was situated not on the Odenwald-Neckar or outer limes, but on the so called 'Alplimes' (Alpine frontier), running in the Schwabian Alps.

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Marcus Octavius Severus: a centurion of the *legio VIII Augusta*, commanding officer of *numerus Brittonum et exploratorum*, serving in the unit ca AD 198 – 211 (ca AD 161 – 169 after Reuter 1999, 452), no 21

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin: The origin of the centurion is hard to identify. His *gentilicium*, *nomen* and cognomen were widespread but limited to the Celtic-speaking areas (for Marcus see Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 57; Minkova 2000, 66; for Octavius see Mócsy 1983, 206; OPEL III 110; Minkova 2000, 222; for Severus see Mócsy 1983, 264, OPEL IV 76-78; Minkova 2000, 252-253).

Archaeology

The fort at Bad Cannstatt, a district of the modern day city of Stuttgart, has been researched by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* and no British-made finds have been identified (Barthel and Kapf 1907). Nowadays the fort has been completely overbuilt and is not visible on the ground (Baatz 2000, 211).

The Welzheim fort has been excavated on various occasions, with features such as gates, a wall and wells having been identified (Planck and Beck 1987, 92-98). The excavations at the *numerus* fort at Welzheim by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* revealed 6 bronze and 9 iron items (Mettler and Schultz 1904, 14-15), none identified as British-made. The publications of the excavations of wells at the Welzheim forts do not discuss the bronze finds (Körper-Grohne *et al.* 1983; Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 615; van Driel-Murray and Hartmann 1999). The recent excavation campaign in Welzheim concentrated on the western, i.e. *ala*, fort (Kortüm 2008).

3.3.11. *Numerus Brittonum Murrensium*

History

The *numerus* is recorded on one votive inscription recovered from the Odenwald-Neckar fort at Heilbronn-Böckingen and, probably, on one tile from the Öhringen bath house (nos 22 and 23).

Its epithet derives from the place name *vicani Murrenses* attested on the inscription found in the vicinity of the fort at Benningen, also positioned on the Odenwald-Neckar line (*CIL* XIII 6454). The word itself probably designated the name of the river which flows near both the vicus and Benningen fort: nowadays the river is called the Murr (Southern 1989, 134; Reuter 1999, 453). Therefore, the fort Heilbronn-Böckingen was the secondary garrison: the unit was first stationed at Benningen. This has rather interesting implications for the service of British *numeri* on the Upper German frontier: units were not only transferred from Odenwald-Neckar to the outer frontier, but were also shuffled from one fort to another on the Odenwald-Neckar limes.

The relocation from Benningen to Heilbronn-Böckingen occurred in the mid second century, when the new *cohors I Helvetiorum* was transferred to Upper Germany (Southern 1989, 134; Reuter 1999, 453). The *numerus Brittonum Murrensium* became this cohort's support unit: its place in Benningen was taken by *exploratores Boiorum et Tribocorum* (Southern 1989, 134; Reuter 1999, 453)

When the frontier was moved eastward ca AD 159 – 161, the unit followed its cohort to Öhringen. There it was amalgamated with another British *numerus*, the one with the

epithet starting with *Cal(...)*, and renamed as *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*. A sign of the merger is the service of the unit's commander as a centurion in charge in *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*: Caius Valerius Titus is attested as on an inscription of *Brittonum Murrensium*, as well as on inscriptions of *Brittonum Aurelianensium* (nos 9, 10 and 23)²³⁹.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit was first stationed at Benningen, then at Heilbronn-Böckingen, both on the Odenwald-Neckar line, and finally at Öhringen, on the outer limes. It is uncertain whether the unit had its own forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier: forts suitable to accommodate a *numerus* have not been found near Benningen or Heilbronn-Böckingen (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 333; Baatz 2000, 209-210). At Öhringen, however, the unit was stationed at the so-called Rendel *numerus* fort.

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Gaius Valerius Titus: a legionary centurion, in charge of the unit in AD 175 – 177, nos 9, 10 and 23

Subordinate officers:

Cassius Troianus: a centurion of a small division²⁴⁰, serving in the unit in the last quarter of the second century, no 22

Origin of personnel

For the discussion of the origin of the legionary centurion Gaius Valerius Titus, see *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*.

Unidentifiable origin: The name of the centurion Cassius Troianus may provide some clues as to his origin. His *nomen* Cassius, though derived from the Celtic element *cass-* and adopted by the Celtic-speaking population (Evans 1967, 167; Delamarre 2001, 93; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 15, no 21), was popular and widespread everywhere (Mócsy 1983, 70; OPEL III 41). The cognomen Troianus, however, is rare and is recorded on one inscription from Germania Superior and on one from Britain (Nesselhauf 93 and RIB 2029 respectively). A person called Troianus (sic!) is also known from Rome (*CIL* VI 2754): his origin was stated as *Lucus Augusti*, either contemporary Luc-en-Diois in France or Lugo in Spain. Clearly the name Troian(i)us was relatively popular among the Celtic-speaking population.

Archaeology

The *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* report on the excavation at the fort at Benningen does not contain any photos of the five bronze items found, one of which was a brooch (Mettler 1902, 11). According to the brooch's description, it was not a British type.

For the Heilbronn-Böckingen fort see *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)*

For the Öhringen fort see *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*

²³⁹ The inscription catalogued as number 23 records the unit's commander's initials and not his full name, i.e. *C[...]* *V[...]*. It is usually thought that *CV* stood for Caius Valerius [Titus] (Reuter 1999, 453).

²⁴⁰ Reuter (1999, 453-454) sees him as a centurion of a small division rather than of a whole unit, because the *numeri* were divided into *centuri* under the charge of centurions. If he would have been the unit's commander, he would have called himself *praepositus*.

3.3.12. *Numerus Brittonum Nemaningsium*

History

The unit is recorded on two inscriptions found near Aschaffenburg (nos 24 and 26) and one near the fort at Obernburg (no 25). All inscriptions have been dated to the last quarter of the second century, one have been made ca AD 178.

The unit's epithet, *Nemaningsium*, derives from the river name Mümling, a tributary of the Main, which flows between the Obernburg and Würth forts. From historical sources it is known that this river was called Mimelinga, Mimingum and Mimilingum in the ninth, eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively (Reuter 1999, 455; Steidl 2008, 97). Probably in Roman times the river was called *Nemaninga*, which was later transformed to Memaninga – Mimenga, etc.

It is usually thought that this unit was garrisoned at Obernburg, because this fort lies close to the place where the river Mümling flows into the Main and because of the findspot of the inscriptions. Yet archaeological research conducted in the area showed that Obernburg did not have a *numerus* fort and the cohort fort was only suitable for accommodating *cohors IV Aquitanorum*, which was stationed there (Reuter 1999, 455). It has been proposed that the unit was actually stationed at the fort at Würth, which lies 4.5 km north from Obernburg and the river Mümling (Reuter 1999, 456; Klee 2009, 182). Another indication that the unit might have been placed there is the findspot of inscription no 25: it was discovered on the right side of the river Main, just opposite Würth (*CIL* XIII 6622; Reuter 1999, 456); other altars built into a city wall of Aschaffenburg were most likely brought from Würth (Steidl 2008, 99). The dated inscription from Aschaffenburg places the unit in the region in the last quarter of the second century AD and this is probably when the unit appeared at Würth. This poses the question whether the unit was garrisoned somewhere else prior to the transfer. The Obernburg fort is still the best candidate, especially if one takes into account that a British-made brooch dated to Flavian period was discovered there (Steidl 2008, 162, no 163). It can be suggested therefore that the unit was first placed at Obernburg, being transferred to Würth sometime later.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

Two forts on the Main frontier are considered as having served as the unit's station: Obernburg and Würth. Obernburg may have been the first post, from where, probably in the mid second century, the unit was relocated to Würth (Schallmayer 2010, 70).

Obernburg had a size of 2.9 ha in its latest, stone, phase: when the fort was constructed is uncertain, but, possibly, it was first built in earth and timber by the members of our cohort at the same time as the fort at Würth was constructed. The fort was rebuilt in stone ca AD 144, at the same time that forts on the Odenwald-Neckar limes were enlarged and rebuilt in stone as well (Jae 2004, 98; Schallmayer 2010, 69).

Würth had a size of 0.8 ha, enough to accommodate two units, and certainly enough for a *numerus* and *exploratores* (Rabold *et al.* 2000, 69; Klee 2009, 182; Schallmayer 2010, 72, 74). Analysis of the inner buildings in the fort showed that it was built some time during the reign of Domitian in earth and timber, yet the precise dating of the fort's establishment is not yet available (Klee 2009, 182).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Titus Aurelius Firminus²⁴¹: a centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*; in charge of the unit ca AD 178, no 24

Quintus B(...)ius Br(...)us: a centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*; in charge of the unit in the mid/late second century AD, no 26

Subordinate officers:

Caius Ati(...) or Arrius Utilis²⁴²: the chief clerk, serving in the unit in the mid/late second century AD, no 25

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin: The origins of the legionary centurions in charge of the unit remain uncertain: their names do not give any clue, because of their overall popularity (for Titus see Mócsy 1983, 291 with prevalence in Gallia and Germania; OPEL IV 125-126; for Aurelius see Mócsy 1983, 40; OPEL I 99-105; Minkova 2000, 120; for Firminus see Mócsy 1983, 126; OPEL II 142 with prevalence in the Danube region; Minkova 2000, 168 under Firmina; for Quintus see Mócsy 1983, 239 as cognomen; OPEL IV 20; Minkova 2000, 80).

The origin of the chief clerk is also uncertain. While it is usually thought that the cognomen Utilis has been recorded on only four inscriptions from the German provinces and Gallia Narbonensis (Mócsy 1983, 321; OPEL IV 188), the epigraphic database of Clauss and Slaby lists more than 22 inscriptions with this cognomen from all over Roman Empire, with significant prevalence in Spain and northern Italy (accessed on 09.08.2011).

Archaeology

The *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* reports on the excavations at the forts of Wörth and Obernburg (Conrady 1900; Conrady 1903) do not contain pictures of the bronze finds recovered from the either fort's areas; neither are there descriptions of any brooches or other jewelery items that may have been found.

Recent analysis of the inner buildings at Wörth has helped to date the construction of the fort to the late Flavian period, i.e. ca AD 90, but which finds led to such a conclusion was not clarified (Rabold *et al.* 2000, 69; Klee 2009, 182; Schallmayer 2010, 72). In 2002 geophysical research was undertaken inside area of the fort, helping to establish the location of the major buildings, barracks and *fabrica* (Fassbinder and Lüdemann 2002; Steidl 2008, 98, abb. 85; Schallmayer 2010, 73, abb.).

The fort at Obernburg is no longer visible: it is covered by the modern city (Schallmayer 2010, 68). Small scale, and sometimes rescue, excavations were undertaken in various areas of the fort in 1985/86 and 2004; the station of *beneficiarii consularis* near the fort was also discovered during research in 1954 and excavated between the years 2000 and 2007 (Jae 2004; 2006; Steidl 2005; 2007; 2008, 109; Schallmayer 2010, 69). The finds from the excavations have not been published.

²⁴¹ This centurion is known from three other inscription found in Aschaffenburg (*CIL* XIII 6630, 6644 and 6645). Although they do not record the *numerus Brittonum et exploratores Nemaningsium*, Reuter (1999, 454-456) relates them to this unit, because of the centurion's service in it.

²⁴² There is no indication that this clerk served in the *numerus Brittonum et exploratores Nemaningsium*, but he did serve in a *numerus Brittonum*. Because of the inscription's findspot (Obernburg), it is usually thought that a *numerus Brittonum* had an epithet *Nemaningsium*, but that this was not recorded on the stone for some unknown reason.

In a publication discussing the Main frontier, a photo of a British-made brooch was provided, without an indication on the brooch's exact findspot and location, apart from mentioning that it was found in Obernburg (Steidl 2008, 162, no 163). The brooch's occurrence could be related to the presence of British *numeri* on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier at the beginning of the second century.

3.3.13. *Numerus Brittonum Triputiensium*

History

This *numerus* unit is recorded on eight inscriptions, the highest overall number of inscriptions mentioning British *numeri* (nos 27-34). Five of them were building inscriptions, found in the vicinity or direct proximity of watchtowers on the Odenwald line (nos 29-33). Two votive inscriptions were located in the region near the fort at Schlossau positioned on the Odenwald frontier (nos 27 and 28). The last inscription comes from the fort Miltenberg on the outer limes (no 34).

Some of these inscriptions can be precisely dated to AD 145/6, other to the period from AD 145 to 161. This neatly dates the appearance of the *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* in Odenwald to AD 145 – 161. The occurrence of the inscription at Miltenberg indicates the relocation of the unit to the outer limes ca AD 159/161. The findspots of the monuments also indicate the position of the unit between the years AD 145 – 161. It is usually thought that the *numerus* was garrisoned at the Schlossau fort, while small detachments were patrolling the area between watchtowers nos 19-35 and were probably positioned in the small *numeri* forts of Hesselbach, Würzburg and Eulbach (Southern 1989, 134; Reuter 1999, 458). That the unit was able to supply soldiers to patrol the area and to provide enough manpower for the watchtowers and fortlets, can be seen as an indication that it was not of the size of a normal *numerus*, i.e. 150 men, but must have had ca 1000 soldiers²⁴³.

It is noteworthy that the *numerus'* epithet *Triputiensium* has not been touched upon in any of the discussions of this unit. This epithet may have been a combination of the two Latin words *tres* and *puteus*, meaning 'three' and 'well', in which case the epithet could be loosely translated as 'three wells'. Of the geographic names found in the region the name of one particular city stands out: Vielbrunn, which can be translated from the German as 'many wells' (*viel brunnen*). This city lies in between two forts, Hainhaus and Eulbach, the precise area where *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* was operating. The element *brunn-* has survived in the names of a village called Brunthal and a valley of the same name, near Vielbrunn. A tile stamp with an abbreviation TRP, considered to stand for *Tr(i)p(utiensium)* was located in Vielbrunn, in a grave (*CIL* XIII 6519): it had probably been brought there from one of the forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier. The unit was therefore probably named after a geographic feature of the *numerus* fort, i.e. near (natural?) wells, since there are no rivers which flow in direct proximity to the forts situated on Odenwald line from Hainhaus until Schlossau. This leads to the suggestion that the main fort of the unit was situated somewhere on the line between or at Hainhaus or Eulbach rather than at Schlossau.

Around AD 159/161 the unit may have been moved to the outer limes fort Miltenberg: there, an inscription recording a certain *exploratores Triputiensium* was found (no 34); also the *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum*, to which our *numerus* provided support, and which was stationed in Oberscheidental, was transferred to the cohort's fort at Miltenberg (Schallmayer 2010, 46). The absence of the name *numerus Brittonum* in this unit's title might signify the dissolution or shrinking in size of the unit

²⁴³ The fort at Hesselbach was able to accommodate ca 160 people at one time (Reuter 1999, 459, note 508).

(Reuter 1999, 460), although another scenario can be proposed. When the frontier was moved to outer limes, the main unit with the epithet *Tripitiensium* could have been relocated to the new fort Miltenberg from Hainhaus/Eulbach, while the smaller units stationed on the line Hesselbach-Schlossau were transferred to Walldürn and other fortlets between Miltenberg and Walldürn, where we encounter *Brittones gentiles et? officiales Brittones dediticiorum Alexandrianorum* (no 8). This would have been logical, since the cohorts and their auxiliary *numeri* were transferred to outer limes forts, which lay exactly 25 km east of their forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier. So *cohors XXIV Voluntariorum* was relocated from the fort Benningen to Murrhardt; *cohors I Helvetiorum* with *numerus Brittonum Murrensium* from Heilbronn-Böckingen to Öhringen; *cohors III Aquitanorum* with *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* from Neckarburken to Osterburken (for the full list see Schallmayer 2010, 26). Miltenberg on the outer limes lies exactly 25 km east of the Eulbach fort, while Schlossau is exactly 25 km from Walldürn.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit of ca 1000 men was possibly divided into small detachments, which were positioned on the Odenwald-Neckar line starting at the fort at Hainhaus and ending at Schlossau. The main fort may have lain in the region of the forts of Hainhaus and Eulbach, as proposed above.

All five *numeri* forts on the line are 0.5 – 0.6 ha in size, while the two fortlets are of 0.2 ha (Klee 2009, 188-199; Schallmayer 2010, 85-119), suitable for accommodating ca 960²⁴⁴ men between them at a time.

After AD 159/161 the unit may have been dissolved or divided, where one part, renamed as *exploratores Tripitiensium*, went to Miltenberg, and another, under the name *Brittones gentiles et? officiales Brittones dediticiorum Alexandrianorum*, went to Walldürn.

There are two forts located in Miltenberg: cohort and *numerus*, although the latter fort was a station of the *numerus exploratorum Seiopensium* (Planck and Beck 1987, 38-40; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 72). The *exploratores Tripitiensium* were probably stationed in the cohort fort, whose size of 2.72 ha allowed the garrison of *cohors quingenaria* and scouting unit of ca 80 men (Rabold *et al.* 2000, 72). The earliest excavators of Miltenberg noticed the ditches on the shore of the river Mudau, just next to Miltenberg, and identified them as a possible third fort (Leonhard 1911, 34). The terrain was suitable for the smaller fort which was probably destroyed by the construction of a bridge for a train-line in the late 1890s (Leonhard 1911, 34). Contemporary scholars identify these ditches as part of the vicus and bath house area (Rabold *et al.* 2000, 71; Baatz 2000, 216).

For the fort at Walldürn see *numerus Brittonum* at Walldürn.

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Titus Manius Magnus: a centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, in charge of the unit ca AD 145 – 161, no 27

Marcus Ulpius Malchus: a centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, in charge of the unit ca AD 145 – 161, no 28

²⁴⁴ Forts of ca 0.5 – 0.6 ha can be used by 160 men at a time, while fortlets can house ca 80 men.

Subordinate officers:

Marcus Aelius Titus: a scribe, serving in the unit after AD 161; no 34

Origin of personnel

Known origin:

A centurion Titus Manius Magnus indicated his origin as the city *Sinope*, contemporary Sinop on the Black Sea coast in Turkey.

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Marcus Ulpius Malchus: the cognomen of this centurion is suggestive of Syrian ancestry (Reuter 1999, 460, note 513), yet names spelled as Malchianus, Malchias and even Malchus were present in Pannonia and Dacia (Mócsy 1983, 175).

Unidentifiable origin: The origin of the clerk is uncertain: his *gentilicium*, *nomen* and cognomen are well represented in all provinces of the Roman Empire (for Marcus see Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 57; Minkova 2000, 66; for Aelius see Mócsy 1983, 6; OPEL I 26-28; Minkova 2000, 18-20; for Titus - Mócsy 1983, 291; OPEL IV 125-126; Minkova 2000, 265).

Table 3.64 Origin of soldiers in the *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium*: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Pontus et Bithynia: City <i>Sinope</i>	1
Syria?	1
Unknown	1
	Total: 3

Archaeology

Not all forts on the Odenwald-Neckar line from Hainhaus to Schlossau have been excavated, while all of them were observed and noted by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (Kofler 1897 for Hainhaus; Kofler 1896a for Eulbach; Kofler 1896b for Würzberg; Kofler 1896c, Baatz 1973 for Hesselbach; Schumacher 1900 for Schlossau; Fabricus *et al.* 1935; Klee 2009, 188-199; Schallmayer 2010, 85-119). The ruins of the forts at Eulbach and Würzberg have been reassembled and reconstructed to become part of an open-air museum: now there is a park, with various buildings and Roman-style monuments (Göldner 2001; Schallmayer 2010, 90-93). Hainhaus, Würzberg and Schlossau have been surveyed by laser scanning to establish the position of their inner buildings (Schallmayer 2010, 86, 97 and 116 respectively, *abb.*).

One of the best excavated *numerus* forts on the limes is the fort at Hesselbach (Baatz 1973). Excavations have helped to establish various phases of the fort's construction (there were three in total), the inner and outer buildings, walls and ditches, and gates. During this research a British-made brooch, of the 'Polden Hill' type was found, which is thought to signify the presence of British *numeri* on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier in the early second century AD (Frere 1974, 495).

In the excavations at the fort at Schlossau by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* one bronze and one iron find, an armband and knife respectively, were found (Schumacher 1900, 6). Since 2003 large scale excavations have been undertaken in the vicus of the fort (Rabold 2006; Schallmayer 2010, 116).

In the fort at Miltenberg, excavated by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 15 bronze finds have been recorded, out of which six were identified as brooches (Leonhard 1911, 43, nos 1-6). None were identified as British-made. The publication, following the

excavations in 1970 – 1976 and 1990, records 10 brooches, of which none can be identified as British-made (Beckmann 2004, 182-183).

For the Walldürn fort see *numerus Brittonum* at Walldürn

3.3.14. *Numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum*

History

The unit is recorded on ten military diplomas dated from AD 103/106 until 179, and on eight inscriptions dated from AD 186 until 245 (nos 35-52). The military diplomas show that between the years AD 103/106 – 103/107 the unit formed part of the army of Moesia Superior, probably fulfilling the role of the support troop (nos 35 and 36; Petolescu 1997, 123; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 129, 131, tab. 1); between the years AD 110 – 114 it formed the garrison of the undivided Dacia (nos 37-41), from AD 123 onwards it served in Dacia Superior (nos 42-44; Petolescu 1997, 123; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 133, tab. 2). The inscriptions indicate the presence of the unit in Dacia Superior in the third century (nos 35-52).

The unit was possibly relocated to Moesia Superior to take part in the Dacian Wars (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 140); where it was garrisoned prior to this is uncertain, but Britain has been proposed (Beneš (1970, 202).

It has been considered that it may have been part of the *vexillatio Britannica* raised by Trajan, specially for his first Dacia war (Strobel 1984, 99-102, esp. 101, note 13; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 140). This *vexillatio Britannica* was formed from three legionary detachments of British legions and various auxiliaries; *pedites singulares Britannicorum* were then ‘elite infantry unit’ raised at the same time as the *vexillatio* to fulfill the role of the support and convoy unit for the commander of the British expeditionary force (Davies 1976, 143; Strobel 1984, 100-101, note 13; 148). Yet the unit may already have been in existence by AD 78 – 82, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 103 – 107 (nos 35 and 36). In this sense, the establishment of this elite unit from Britain can be connected to the abandonment of the Scottish Highlands by the Roman army and to the systematic withdrawal from the region of southern Scotland in the late first century AD, especially the withdrawal of a legion in AD 85 (Strobel 1984, 101-102, note 13)²⁴⁵. However, because the unit might have been a detachment formed from the drafts of auxiliary units, its soldiers may have been enrolled to other units prior to their transfer to the *pedites singulares Britannicorum*. This means that the soldiers discharged ca AD 103 – 107 may have started their military careers in other troops and have been relocated to our unit upon its formation. The establishment of the British elite infantry falls therefore not between AD 78 – 82, but probably later.

It is noteworthy that *pedites singulares Britannicorum* appeared on the Danube at the same time as British units on the German frontier, i.e. the early second century AD. Probably the foundation of units, which later became custodians of the German and Dacian frontier, is connected.

The name of the unit is recorded differently on military diplomas than on the inscriptions.

²⁴⁵ Another theory was proposed by E. Birley (1953, 20-22), who connected the transfer of troops from Britain with Sallustius Lucullus’ execution, described by Suetonius (*Domitian* 10.3). See *contra* arguments of Strobel (1984, 148, note 15).

Table 3.65 Naming of the *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum* on diplomas and inscriptions, divided chronologically

AD 103/106 – 110	AD 113/114 – 123	AD 157	AD 179	AD 186	AD 208 onwards
Pedites singulares Britanniciani	pedites Britanniciani	Pedites singul Britannic	vexillatio(!) peditum singular Britannicianorum	n(umeri) Brit(tonum)	Numeri peditum singularium Britannicorum or as numerus singulares Britannicorum

As can be seen from the table, there was a general shift in the naming pattern between the years AD 179 and AD 186, when the unit started to be called *vexillatio* (detachment) and then later *numerus*. This is usually thought to signify a reduction in the unit's size and has been detected in other units stationed in Dacia (Piso *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 198, esp. note 22 *contra* Birley E. 1953, 20-22; Davies 1976, 143).

Table 3.66 Position of *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum*

Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
Britain?	Moesia Superior (AD 103/106 – 103/107)	Dacia (ca AD 110 – 114) Dacia Superior (AD 123 – 245)	Dacia Superior (AD 123 – 245)	Dacia Superior (AD 123 – 245)

Awards

Antoninianus – this title was probably granted to the unit: the part of the inscription where it may have been recorded was too severely damaged to allow any form of reconstruction. Piso *et al.* (2002 – 2003, 200) argue that because the commander in charge of the unit was also a centurion in the *legio XIII Gemina* granted with the title *Antoninianus*, the *numerus* may have been awarded with it as well.

Philippianus – the title was awarded by the Emperor Philip the Arab for some unknown deeds.

Forts

The whereabouts of the unit in Moesia Superior is unknown, yet Beneš (1970, 202) places it near *Viminacium*, Kostolac in Serbia.

In Dacia Superior the unit was garrisoned at *Germisara*, the modern city of Cigmău in Romania. It is not only attested there through various inscriptions but also on numerous tile stamps abbreviated as NB, NSB, NPS, SPB (*CIL* III 1633, 14a, 14b; 8076, 32c, 32d, 32e, 32f; Petolescu 1997, 123; Pescaru *et al.* 2001). The unit shared this fort with another unit, probably a support unit of *legio XIII Gemina*: the fort's size, 2.2 ha, would have allowed two units to be stationed together (Pescaru *et al.* 2001, 88). When the unit arrived there is uncertain, but it was already there by AD 186 (no 45).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Titus Fabius Aquileiensus: a legionary centurion, in charge of the unit ca AD 208, nos 46-47

Caius Valerius Valentinus: a legionary centurion of the *legio XIII Gemina*, in charge of the unit ca 212 – 217, no 48

Ulpus Maximinus: a centurion of the *legio V Macedonica Gordiana*, in charge of the unit ca AD 238 – 244, no 49

Subordinate officers:

Publius Aelius Marcellinus: a standard bearer and a questor, serving in the unit ca AD 186, no 45

Marcus Aurelius Calpurnianus: a centurion; serving in the unit in the third century, no 51

Ignotus: a soldier (?), serving in the unit in the third century, no 52

Origin of personnel

Known origin: Titus Fabius Aquileiensus was a son of a certain Titus Fabius Ibliomarus, a Treveran by birth, serving as a *decurio canabis* of the legionary fortress *Apulum*, Alba Iulia in Romania (*CIL* III 1214). His funerary monument was set up by his children, Pulcher, Romana and the commander of the *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum* Aquileiensus. Aquileiensus was probably born in Dacia, but he was a second generation emigrant.

Questionable origin: Caius Valerius Valentinus may have hailed from *Sarmizegetusa* or *Apulum*, both in Romania, where “numerous C. Valerii of the aristocratic rank” are known (Piso *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 200).

Unidentifiable origin:

Ulpus Maximinus’ *nomen gentilicium* was especially widespread after the reign of Trajan in the Danube provinces (Mócsy 1983, 317; OPEL IV 179-181; Minkova 2000, 91); his cognomen was common, especially in Celtic-speaking areas (Mócsy 1983, 183; OPEL III 69-70; Minkova 2000, 209).

The cognomen of Marcellinus was quite popular in the Danube provinces (Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 53-54; Minkova 2000, 202)

Marcus Aurelius Calpurnianus family was probably granted citizenship during the reign of Marcus Aurelius for his participation in the Marcomannic wars. His cognomen was popular everywhere, with a slight prevalence in the region of Dalmatia (Mócsy 1983, 62; OPEL II 25). A certain Marcus Aurelius Calpurnianus was recorded on a funerary monument in Aquino, Italy (*CIL* X 5443); although there is not enough evidence to suggest that this person and the centurion of the *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum* are identical.

The origin of *Ignotus* cannot be identified.

Table 3.67 Origin of soldiers in the *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum*: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Dacia	2
Unknown	4
	Total: 6

Archaeology

The fort of *Germisara* has been systematically excavated since 2000. The excavations have mostly concentrated on the location of the internal buildings, especially *principia* and *horreum*, gates and corner towers (Pescaru *et al.* 2001, Pescaru and Pescaru 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007 and 2008). The brief excavation reports mentioned the finds located on the site, yet their description is rather generalised (Pescaru *et al.* 2001: “in general the material is fragmented and consists of regular ceramics, fragments of *tegulae* with the inscription NSB, fragments of glass, bronze coins, nails and cramp irons, hinges and keys, etc.”).

3.3.15. General conclusions

3.3.15.1. Origin

The origins of the British *numeri* stationed in Germany can be traced to ca AD 110/115 by the evidence of archaeology²⁴⁶ and to ca AD 145/146 by the evidence of epigraphy. For British *numeri* in Germania Superior both dates coincide with the (re)construction of the frontier section Odenwald-Neckar: the earth-and-timber forts were raised ca AD 110/115 and reconstructed in stone ca AD 145/146 (Klee 2009, 25; Schallmayer 2010, 25). The forts known to have been garrisoned by *numeri Brittonum* in the mid second century might have also been posts for British units ca AD 110/115: the most obvious examples are the forts at Hesselbach and Obernburg.

The *pedites singulares Britannicorum*, future *numerus*, were present on the Continent prior to the start of Dacian Wars of Trajan, i.e. ca AD 100 or slightly earlier.

While there is chronological gap of 10 years between the occurrence of British units in Dacia and Germania Superior, it is more than likely that their establishment is connected.

Various *vexillatio Britannica* are known to have been present on the Continent at the start of the second century: one in Germania Superior for participation in the Chattian Wars, AD 83 – 85 (Schönberger 1969, 158; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 311; Birley A. 2005, 282); another one in Dacia, ca AD 100 (Strobel 1984, 99-102); a third one in Nijmegen, ca AD 104 (Bogaers 1965 – 1966; Swan 2009b, 83-84). All were raised as detachments of the legions and auxiliary units stationed in Britain: the detachment fought in the Chattian Wars is thought to have been composed from *legio IX Hispana* (Schönberger 1969, 158; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 311; Birley A. 2005, 282); the Dacian from *legiones II Augusta, XX Valeria Victrix* and *IX Hispana* (Strobel 1984, 100), the Nijmegen detachment from *legio IX Hispana* (Haalebos 2000b, 26-28).

It has already been pointed out that *pedites singulares Britannicorum* was a support unit for a commander of the legionary detachment drawn from Britain to Dacia before the start of the Dacian Wars (Strobel 1984, 100-101, note 13; 148). Following this line of argument it can be suggested that other *vexillatio Britannica* may have been similar units, drafted especially to be guardians for a detachment's commander. It is noteworthy that in the mid second century the *pedites singulares Britannicorum*, as well as other non-regular troops²⁴⁷, were given the title of *numerus*, at the same time when British units on Odenwald-Neckar frontier were recorded on inscriptions as *numeri*. This division of the legionary, auxiliary and *numeri* units in the Imperial army was probably a measure of Antoninus Pius, or Hadrian at the earliest (Reuter 1999, 423). Before that units known as ‘*numeri*’ probably did not have an ‘official’ name, or even an ethnic identification; instead, other terms might have been used. It should also be taken into

²⁴⁶ The construction of the forts and the occurrence of two Colchester derivative brooches at Hesselbach and Obernburg.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Piso *et al.* (2002 – 2003, 198, esp. note 22): “*Palmyreni sagittarii – vexillationes Palmyrenorum – numeri Palmyrenorum; equites Illyrici – vexillatio equitum Illyricorum – numerus equitum Illyricorum*”.

consideration that no inscriptions have survived for the period AD 110/115 – 145/146 from the Odenwald-Neckar section. It is thus impossible to know what the units with British contingent were called then. Yet the service of *pedites singulares Britannicorum* in Dacia may provide a clue.

Singulares in the strict sense of the term were guards of high ranking persons, be they governors of a province (*equites et pedites singulares*) or the Emperor himself (*equites singulares Augusti*). On some occasions, especially in Roman Britain, *singulares* “were posted to forts in frontier areas or key road-posts [and] were concerned primarily with ensuring that lines of communication and supply-routes were supervised and secure” (Davies 1976, 138). *Singulares* in Britain may have also been involved in carrying messages between provincial governors as well as from *beneficarii* stations to a governor (Davies 1976, 138-139). The main task of the *beneficarii* was to supervise the frontier crossing and their stations were usually positioned on major road-junctions. Such involvement of *singulares* has only been detected in Britain, although there are similar examples found on the Continent (Davies 1976, 140).

The fact that *pedites singulares Britannicorum* were an elite and support force for the *vexillatio Britannica* in Dacia may help to solve the problem of the foundation of the future *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior. The best explanation is that originally the *vexillatio Britannica* that took part in the Chattian Wars had a support unit which later was sent to provide supervision on frontier lines. The connection of the eastern Wetterau limes with that on the Main and down to the Odenwald-Neckar line was strategically important: forts, fortlets and towers built there enabled the patrolling of the region and the control of movement of personnel between Upper Germany and Raetia (Klee 2009, 25). Archaeological finds on the Wetterau-Taunus frontier, the first frontier line to be constructed after the Chattian Wars, show that a small contingent of British-borns was positioned at two forts, Saalburg and Zugmantel, ca AD 85 – 90²⁴⁸. The occurrence of two British-made brooches at the forts in the Odenwald–Neckar region points to the possibility that once the service of British contingent was no longer needed on the Taunus frontier, the soldiers were redeployed to construct the new section of Roman frontier that connected the forts on the Main with the Raetian ones. Needless to say, once the forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier had been built, the units’ main function may have been the provision of communication between *beneficarii* posts and provincial governors, and policing work. That the former may have constituted the primary job of the *numeri* servicemen is revealed by the examples of two centurions of the *numeri Brittonum*, who erected votive altars in the provincial capital of Germania Inferior (no 1) and the capital of the local *civitas* (no 13). It is noteworthy that *beneficarii* stations are known at Obernburg and Stockstadt on Main limes and Miltenberg and Osterburken on the outer limes in the mid second century (Steidl 2008, 111). The former may have been posts for the *numeri Brittonum et exploratores Nemaningenses* and *C/Gurvedensium*, the latter for the *numeri Brittonum et exploratores Triputiensium* and *Elantiensium*.

The theory outlined here suggests therefore that the future *numeri Brittonum* were part of a *vexillatio Britannica* known from the Chattian Wars (cf. table 3.68) and may have had a similar role to the *pedites singulares Britannicorum* known in Dacia.

²⁴⁸ This will be further discussed in chapter 5, section 5.12.

Table 3.68 Timeline of the presence of British units in Germania Superior prior to AD 145/146

AD 83 – 85	Participation of <i>vexillatio Britannica</i> in the Chattian Wars; this detachment may have had a unit whose main task was to provide a convoy and to protect a detachment's commander
AD 85 – 90	<i>Vexillatio Britannica</i> left Germania Superior; a part of it stayed and participated in the construction of two forts on Taunus frontier
AD 90 – 110/115	British units' participation in construction of forts on the Main and Odenwald-Neckar lines; after the forts were constructed, its main task had to do with communications and police work

As the *pedites singulares Britannicorum* were probably of *milliaria* size²⁴⁹, i.e. 1000 men, the detachment of *vexillatio Britannica* in Germania Superior might also be having 1000 men in charge. If we were to calculate how many recruits served in British *numeri* on the Odenwald-Neckar limes, we would arrive at the figure of ca 2000 recruits²⁵⁰. However, we also need to take into account that local recruitment was practiced as well, which suggests that only half of this number would have been needed.

3.3.15.2. Naming pattern

The origin and development of the term *Brittonum* has already been discussed section 3.2.16.1 of this chapter²⁵¹.

The nomenclature of British units stationed in Germania Superior falls into the three categories: a series named after the rivers which flow near the post or geographical features (five examples and one questionable); a series named after the vici near the forts or forts themselves (three examples); a series probably named after the units' original recruits (two questionable examples).

²⁴⁹ It has usually been thought that the unit had 500 men, since on military diplomas the unit is listed after the quingenary cohorts (Davies 1976, 140; Strobel 1984, 149). The recent find of two inscriptions recording tribunes of this unit (nos 47 and 48) suggest that the unit was of 1000 men size (Piso *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 198).

²⁵⁰ The calculation is based on the assumption that, on average, a *numerus* unit consisted of 150 men, with the exception of *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* which probably had 1000 men in service. The number of *numeri* units established before the mid-second century is 7: *Cal(...)*, *Gurvedensium*, *Elantiensium*, *Grinarionensium*, *Lunensium*, *Murrensium*, *Nemaningensium*. 150 x 7 is 1050 plus 1000 men from *Triputiensium* makes 2050 men.

²⁵¹ The conclusion in a nutshell: the term was most often applied to units established after AD 70 – 75 and signified units raised directly from the British population.

Table 3.69 The nomenclature of the *numeri Brittonum*

Units' names	Epithets' origins
<i>numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium</i>	After vicus <i>Aurelianus</i> near the fort Öhringen
<i>numerus Brittonum Cal(...)</i>	After unit's original recruits: <i>Caledones</i> ?
<i>numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium</i>	After the river Gersprenz near the fort at Stockstadt? or after the unit's original recruits: <i>Carvetii</i> ?
<i>numerus Brittonum Elantiensium</i>	After the river Elzbach (Elz) near the fort at Neckarburken
<i>numerus Brittonum Gr(inarionensium)</i>	After the fort's name <i>Grinario</i> (Köngen)
<i>numerus Brittonum L(unensium)</i>	After the river Lein, near the fort at Welzheim
<i>numerus Brittonum Murrensium</i>	After the vicus <i>Murrenses</i> and river Murr near the fort at Benningen
<i>numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium</i>	After the river Mümling between the forts at Obernburg and Wörth
<i>numerus Brittonum Triputiensium</i>	Loosely translated from Latin as 'three wells', probably a geographical feature near the forts at Hainhaus and Eulbach

It is worth noting that the majority of the *numeri Brittonum* was positioned near rivers and their tributaries, after which the troops were named. The *pedites singulares Britannicorum* were also stationed near the important spa and religious centre at *Germisara* (Oltean 2007, 154, fig. 5.25; 219). Rivers were important routes of transportation, lines of communication and supply rather than simply being natural frontiers (Whittaker 1997, 56). The positioning of small mobile infantry²⁵² units near such lines would have been suitable for guarding rivers and supervising the transportation of goods in and out the Roman Empire.

3.3.15.3. History and forts of the *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior²⁵³

The chronological development of the British *numeri* and the development of the Odenwald-Neckar and outer limes went hand in hand: 1) ca AD 110/115 the construction of the first earth and timber forts; 2) the reign of Hadrian – building of the palisade, widening and rebuilding of the forts; 3) ca AD 145 – 146 reconstruction of earth and timber forts, fortlets and towers in stone; 4) ca AD 159/161 advancement of the frontier and construction of the forts, fortlets and towers on the outer limes (Batz 2000, 180; Klee 2009, 25-27; Schallmayer 2010, 25-27, 35-36). *Numeri Brittonum* were present in all phases.

While the first phase has already been discussed (see above, section 3.3.15.1), it seems reasonable to pay attention here to the other phases.

It has been generally accepted that in the third and fourth phases the units were relocated from their posts on Odenwald-Neckar frontier to the outer limes. At least three British units, however, are known to have been relocated before that. During the second phase, i.e. the reign of Hadrian, there is evidence of their transfer from one fort to another on the Odenwald-Neckar and Main frontiers: *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* may have been relocated from a small fort near Walheim to Heilbronn-Böckingen; *numerus Brittonum Murrensium* was transferred from Benningen to Heilbronn-Böckingen; *numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium* from Obernburg to Wörth. It is uncertain whether such shuffling of units was a one time event applied to particular troops, or if this also happened with other units. That the latter may have been the case is seen in the example of *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium*. This unit may have primarily been stationed at the fort at either Hainhaus or Eulbach, while in the later period it was probably divided: one

²⁵² All British *numeri* were infantry: a Dacian unit is called '*pedites*' and the commanders of the units in Germania Superior were all centurions.

²⁵³ The history and location of *pedites singulares Britannicorum* in Dacia is self explanatory.

part may have been moved to Schlossau, where, as usually thought, it was positioned until AD 159/161. In general, it is proposed here that prior to the movement of the frontier to the outer limes units stationed on the Odenwald-Neckar had already changed their positions once. When their locations were recorded by the means of the epigraphy in ca AD 145 – 146, these were already their secondary posts.

Table 3.70 Locations on the *numeri Brittonum*²⁵⁴ in the first and second phases

Units' names	Primary location	Secondary location
<i>numerus Brittonum Cal(...)</i>	a small fort near Walheim	Heilbronn-Böckingen
<i>numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium</i>	Stockstadt on the Main limes	Unknown fort on Odenwald-Neckar limes
<i>numerus Brittonum Elantiensium</i>	Unknown	Neckarburken
<i>numerus Brittonum Gr(inarionensium)</i>	Köngen?	Köngen
<i>numerus Brittonum L(unensium)</i>	Unknown fort on Odenwald-Neckar limes	Bad Cannstatt ?
<i>numerus Brittonum Murrensium</i>	Benningen	Heilbronn-Böckingen
<i>numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium</i>	Obernburg	Wörth
<i>numerus Brittonum Triputiensium</i>	Hainhaus or Eulbach	Schlossau

If we are to agree that the first British units arrived at the Odenwald-Neckar frontier ca AD 110/115, it is highly unlikely that some 45 years later, i.e. during the third phase, it would have been remembered that the original members came from Britain and that a decision was then made to name the units after them. The units probably contained soldiers of mixed origins: locals and the offspring of the initial British recruits. They would therefore have been named after the peoples living along this stretch of the frontier or after the geographical features in the vicinity of the forts. However, the decision was made to name them 'British'. Moreover, after one of these very units had been relocated to the newly built stretch, the so-called outer frontier running from the fort at Trennfurt to Welzheim, in ca AD 162, it lost its 'ethnic' name *Brittonum* and shrank in size: *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* became *exploratores Triputiensium*. This, though a single example, shows the 'ethnic' label of a *numerus* unit does not survive for less than 20 years after the unit's establishment.

In the introduction to this section it was indicated that the second recruitment phase to British *numeri* units fell in the period after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland in ca AD 141 – 142 (Southern 1989, 95; Reuter 1999, 385). Yet it has long been disputed if there was indeed an overseas transfer of the troubled population inhabiting this region. The occurrence of two British brooches of the mid-second century date at the forts at Köngen and Stockstadt lends some credence to the idea of the second recruitment phase from Britain to the limes of Germania Superior. Clearly, not everyone would agree with this hypothesis, considering that only two British brooches were recorded from the limes. It must be noted here that British archaeologists disagree with the idea that some peoples who inhabited southern Scotland at that time were relocated to the Continent between AD 142 and 145 (Dobson and Breeze 2000, 94). The excavations and extensive surveys have shown "the existence of a substantial population in the area between Hadrian's and the Antonine walls at this time" (Dobson and Breeze 2000, 94). On the basis of this, it was concluded that "the barbarians stayed at home",

²⁵⁴ The units recorded in this table are the only ones known to have been in existence by AD 145 – 146; for that reason units at Cologne-Deutz, Niederbibier, Walldürn and *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium* were excluded.

because “it is impossible that entire tribes of barbarians were transported to the Continent” and “the population in the second century was increasing” (Dobson and Breeze 2000, 94). However, if we were to calculate how many recruits would have been needed, we would arrive at the figure of ca 2000 recruits. Local recruitment might have been practiced as well, which suggests that only half of this number would have been needed, although we need to take into account that families might have been relocated rather than single recruits. In the end we would still arrive at a figure of ca 2000 people (one partner or a family member and one soldier). It has been suggested that the population of southern and northern Scotland in Roman times would have been ca 1 million (Hingley 2004, 330). Hence, only ca 1.5 percent of the total population would have been transferred, which can hardly be visible in the archaeological record. Similar ‘invisible’ mass relocation of a population, this time to Britain itself, can be proposed: after the Marcomannic wars, AD 166 – 180, Antoninus Pius ordered 5000 Iazyges to be sent over to Britain in ca AD 175 (Dio 71.16.2; Kerr 1995, 203). The epigraphic record only evidences for the existence of two auxiliary units, the *ala Sarmatarum* (RIB 594, 595) and the *numerus equitum Sarmatarum* (RIB 583; Jarrett 1994, 43), in total ca 1500 people. In the archaeological record, i.e. from excavations on Hadrian’s Wall and the Antonine Wall, where these recruits were sent, there is no indication of the presence of 5000 foreigners (Tony Wilmott, pers. comment). If the presence of 5000 people cannot be traced, then the absence of a mere 2000 will not be visible at all. Moreover, the population increase in the second century mentioned above could also have been influenced by the relocation of the 5000 Iazyges.

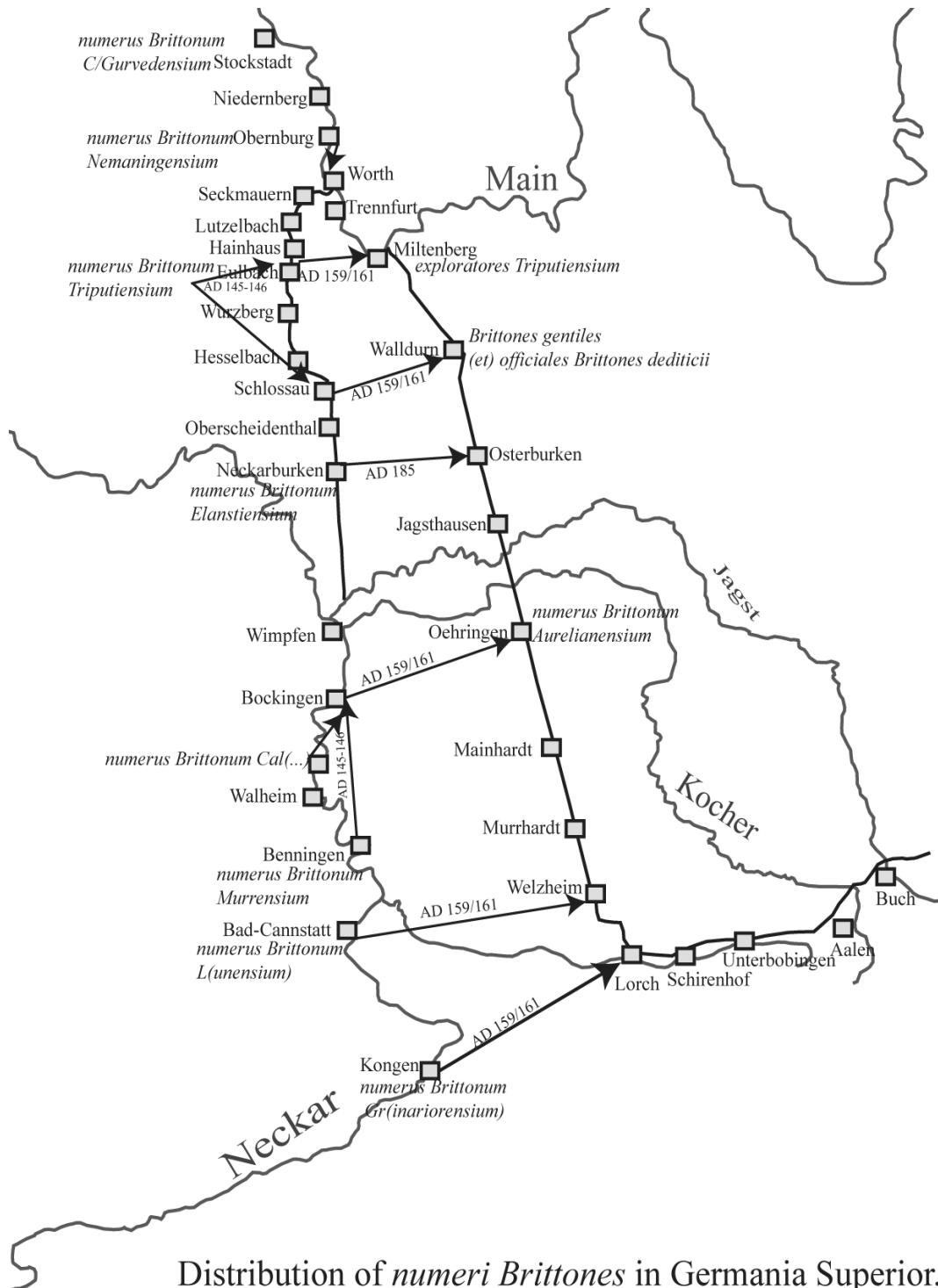
The mid-second century British brooch types are not the only British specimens found on the frontier: three more mid-second century British brooches, reported from the *Agri Decumates* area, were found at sites along the Roman road. This road, running from Gernsheim to Dieburg via Bickenbach and Darmstadt, connected the legionary fortress of Mainz with the Odenwald-Neckar forts and may have been used to transport goods and recruits to the frontier (Batz and Herrmann 1982, 243). The occurrence of two mid second-century British brooches along the route to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier can be seen as an indication that their owners used this road to get to their posts on this stretch of the Germania Superior limes (will be discussed in detail in chapter 5, section 5.1.1).

In general, it is proposed here that during the third phase of the construction of the Odenwald-Neckar frontier the new batch of British recruits arrived: the origin of these recruits can be placed in the area of southern Scotland.

During the fourth phase, ca AD 159/161, the forts and frontier line were moved eastward and the *numeri Brittonum*, probably for the third time, settled in the new forts (cf. table 3.71 and fig. 3.31).

Table 3.71 Locations of the *numeri Brittonum* after AD 159/161

Units’ names	Location on Odenwald-Neckar frontier	Location on the outer limes
<i>numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium</i>	-	Öhringen
<i>numerus Brittonum Cal(...)</i>	Heilbronn-Böckingen	Öhringen
<i>numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium</i>	Unknown fort on Odenwald-Neckar limes	?
<i>numerus Brittonum Elantiensium</i>	Neckarburken	Osterburken
<i>numerus Brittonum Gr(inarionensium)</i>	Köngen	Lorch
<i>numerus Brittonum L(unensium)</i>	Bad Cannstatt ?	Welzheim
<i>numerus Brittonum Murrensium</i>	Heilbronn-Böckingen	Öhringen
<i>numerus Brittonum Nemaningsium</i>	Wörth	?
<i>numerus Brittonum Triputiensium</i>	Hainhaus or Eulbach Schlossau	Miltenberg Walldürn



Distribution of *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior. (Map after Baatz 2000)

- = legionary fortress
- = auxiliary fortress
- = civilian settlement (civitas capital, vicus, etc.)

Figure 3.31 Deployment of *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior

It is uncertain whether the units were relocated immediately to the outer lines. Example of *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* shows that at least this one unit was still in Neckarburken until the reign of Commodus (Reuter 1999, 448; Baatz 2000, 227) and was transferred to Osterburken the in AD 185 at the earliest (Neumaier 1991, 31).

After the transfer to the outer limes, some units were amalgamated: the *numeri Brittonum Cal(...)* and *Murrensium* formed the *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*; although it can be argued that the fusion had taken place prior to AD 145 – 146.

In the third century AD epigraphic evidence attests British *numeri* at Niederbieber on the Rhine and Walldürn on the outer limes. The British unit recorded in Cologne-Deutz may never have been stationed there: possibly a member of this unit was visiting the capital of Germania Inferior in the late second – early third centuries. Both troops were probably remnants of the *numeri* garrisoned on the outer limes: British unit from Niederbieber could have been either the *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium* from Öhringen or British *numeri* from Welzheim (Reuter 1999, 444).

3.3.15.4. Recruitment pattern and origin of the soldiers

A total of 29 servicemen in British *numeri* are known at present. Of this number the origin has been identified for only 11 soldiers on the basis of prosopographical and onomastic analysis (figure 3.32).

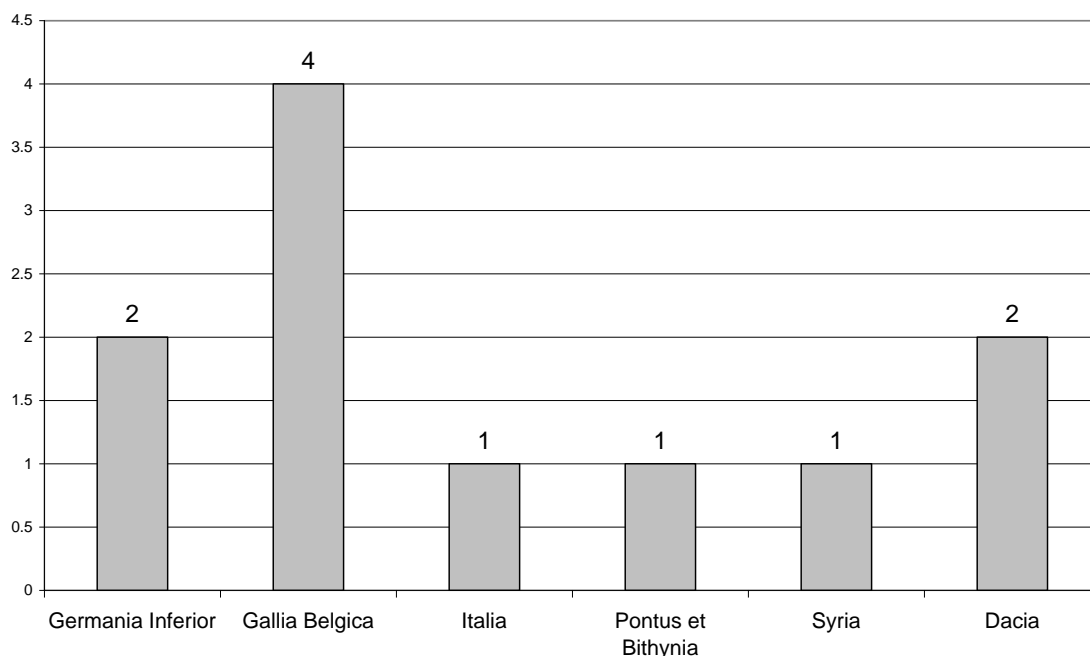


Figure 3.32 General figure showing the origin of servicemen in the British *numeri*

Clearly this figure is not representative for the overall recruitment to the British units: all the inscriptions record only the high ranking personnel: 13 people were legionary centurions; 16 – subordinate officers and centurions of small divisions. The origin of the ordinary soldiers was not recorded, although the archaeological evidence and the fact that the units were, after all, raised from the British population, point to the presence of a rather large contingent of British-borns on the Germania Superior frontier ca AD 110/115 and ca AD 145 – 146 and in Dacia ca AD 100/103. A figure of ca 2000 people (1000 men and 1000 women) for Germania Superior was already proposed earlier in this section. For Dacia, the unit may have counted ca 1000 British-born men in the earlier stage.

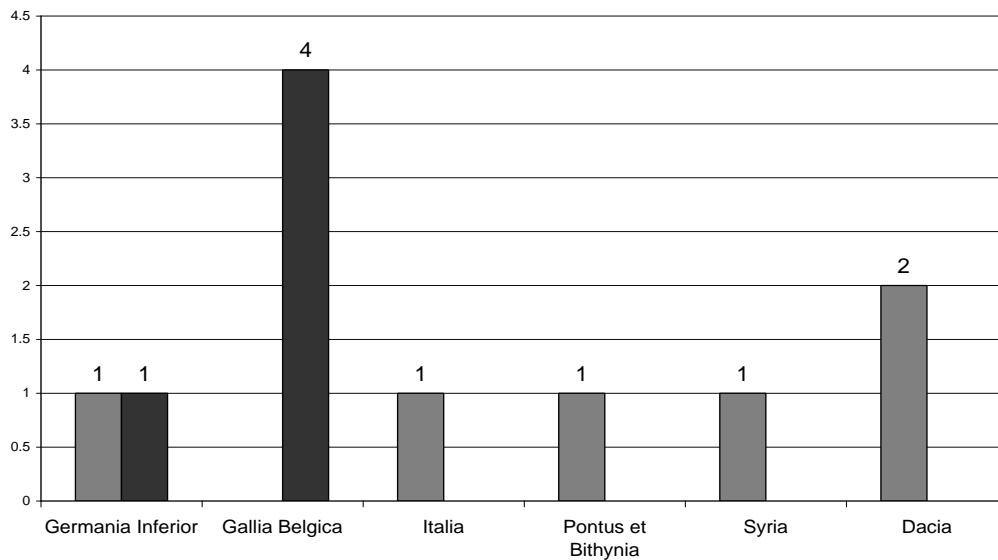


Figure 3.33 Origin of servicemen in the British *numeri* per rank: grey stands for legionary centurions and officers-in-charge, black for subordinate officers (centurions of division, clerks, soldiers, etc.).

Thirteen legionary centurions in charge of the units record their titles on the inscriptions as ‘*centurio legiones*’ (no 26), tribune (nos 47 and 48), ‘*curator*’ (no 2), ‘*curam agente*’ (nos 8, 17 and 24), ‘*sub cura*’ (nos 9, 10, 18, 23, 27 and 28) and ‘*praepostii*’ (nos 11, 21, 46 and 49); the latter becoming the norm in the late second – third centuries AD (Reuter 1999, 388).

Sixteen subordinate officers are known from the inscriptions: their ranks varied from scribes to image- and standard-bearers (four centurions of small divisions; one courier; two scribes; three image- and standard-bearers; one granary and one armoury keeper; one chief clerk; probably three soldiers).

The ranks of all officers point to the *numeri Brittonum* having been supervised in an administratively similar fashion to regular troops (Reuter 1999, 388).

3.3.15.5. Archaeological evidence

A total of five British brooches were found on five sites in Germania Superior associated with British *numeri*. Out of these, two are of late first century, two of the mid second century and one of the mid third century²⁵⁵.

Table 3.72 Sites in Germania Superior associated with the presence of British *numeri*

Unit name	Site (date of the find specified)
<i>numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium</i>	Stockstadt (mid second century)
<i>numerus Brittonum Elantiensium</i>	Osterburken (mid third century)
<i>numerus Brittonum Grinarionensium</i>	Köngen (mid second century)
<i>numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium</i>	Obernburg (late first century)
<i>numerus Brittonum Triputiensium</i>	Hesselbach (late first century)

Their appearance at the sites is connected to the service of the British units: the late first-century specimens indicate the garrisoning of troops on the frontier in the years ca AD 110/115, while the mid second-century ones have to do with the second transfer of recruits from Britain to Germania Superior and the participation of these British-born recruits in the reconstruction of the frontier line in stone. The mid third-century specimen is of particular interest, since it postdates the service of the British *numeri*: the Osterburken fort was given up ca AD 260. Its occurrence there may be related to other

²⁵⁵ The occurrence of British brooches on the Wetterau-Taunus frontier, especially in two forts at Saalburg and Zugmantel, and in *Agri Decumates* area will be discussed in chapter 5, sections 5.1.2. and 5.1.5).

factors than the presence of British troops and will be discussed in the chapter 5, section 5.1.5.

That only five British-made brooches were recorded from the forts on the Main, at Odenwald-Neckar and the outer frontiers and none from the *Germisara* fort in Dacia could be related to (fig. 3.34):

a) the number of excavated sites in the region;

b) the number of published archaeological reports and the depiction of brooches in them. For instance, in the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* reports not all finds are illustrated; when objects are described, the descriptions do not allow the identification of brooch types;

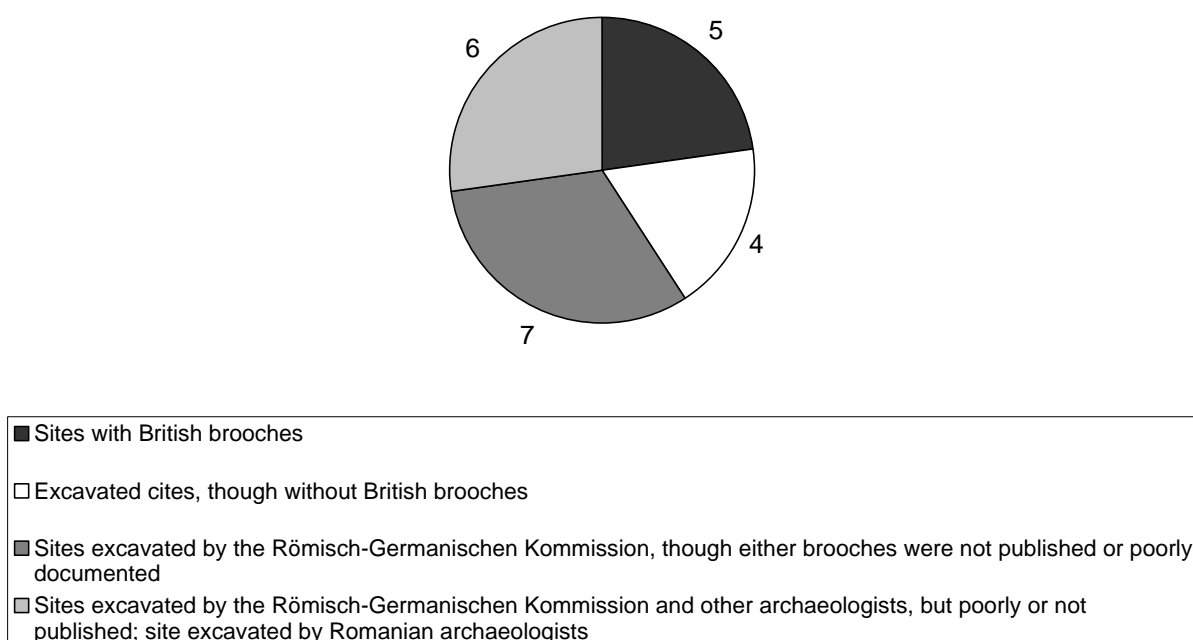


Figure 3.34 The relationship between the occurrence of British brooches and British *numeri*

3.3.16. Did Britons build the Odenwald-Neckar limes?

Already during the excavations of the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* in the late nineteenth – early twentieth centuries it was noticed that the military structures on the Odenwald part of the Odenwald-Neckar limes stand out from other stretches of the German frontier. The difference lay in the overall architectural and artistic style, because “the stone inscriptions, sculptured images and architectural ornaments on the forts and towers along this stretch are the only known finds of ornamentation or inscriptions on the limes towers” (Thiel 2009, 138). The whole Odenwald section was regarded by the early scholars as consisting of “an independent group” (*selbständige Gruppe*) of the buildings to which, according to them, a specific form of decorative technique was applied (Drexel 1922, 31-32). This group consisted of the forts built on a stretch starting from Obernburg and ending at Heilbronn-Böckingen, divided into two major sections: the first consisted of the so called *numeri*-forts from Wörth until Schlossau, the second, mainly of the cohort forts from Neckarburken to Heilbronn-Böckingen (Drexel 1922, 31; Thiel 2009, 136). The forts, fortlets and towers were constructed and decorated as follows:

1. The walls of the forts were constructed using equally layered stones of the same size. The walls on both sides were covered with mortar (Drexel 1922, 32).
2. The façade of every fort was decorated with ornate cornices, lunettes and window openings (Drexel 1922, 32).
3. The pillars, found in and around some watchtowers, were probably used to support the window openings on the upper floors (Drexel 1922, 32; Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 15, nos 2a-m).
4. Distinctive sculptural decorations on some of the stone inscriptions found near forts, fortlets and towers:
 - Motif of peltae, the horns of which terminating in either griffins' heads or rosettes. Such ornamentation, which flanked both sides of an inscription, was found on the following monuments: two building inscriptions, one mentioning *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* found in the Neckarburken *numerus* fort (*CIL* XIII 6490; here no 14) and another, found in Obernburg, *cohors III Aquitanorum* (*AE* 1923, 30; Hock 1922, 25, abb. 3); a stone block without an inscription decorated with peltae and a figure of the god Mars in military uniform found at the bath complex at the fort Oberscheidental (Hock 1922, 27, abb. 4; Schallmayer 2010, 122, fig.); a votive inscription to the goddesses *Maiiae* found in Germersheim (*CIL* XIII 6095; Cüppers 1990, 373, abb. 272).
 - Figure(s) of Victory with two wings and with one foot poised on a globe. This image was found on the previously mentioned inscription from Obernburg and on a stone block found in the fortlet at Roborn (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 12, no 4c; Schallmayer 2010, 125, fig.).
 - An inscribed panel framed by figures of soldiers: found on a sandstone block from the fortlet at Zwing (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, 70, tab. 6); on an inscription from fortlet Trienz (*CIL* III 6498; here no 15; Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 13, no 2c; Schallmayer 2010, 129, fig.).
 - An inscription set within a (laurel) wreath ('*Kranz*'): found near watchtower 29 on the Odenwald limes (here no 33; Baatz 1966, 85-89, taf. 4, nos 2 and 3) and in the fortlet at Zwing (Baatz 2000, 194).
 - An inscribed panel set within a moulding, decorated either with zigzag or cable patterns (Drexel 1922, 35). These ornaments were found on various inscriptions mentioning *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* found near watchtower 33 (*CIL* XIII 6514; here no 32) and the watchtower 35 (*CIL* XIII 6511; here no 31); also on the aforementioned inscription from Germersheim.
 - An inscription set within lunettes. This unusual form for placing inscriptions was found on: the aforementioned inscription of *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* from watchtower 33; a lunette without an inscription and decorated with a rosette, findspot not recorded (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 8, nos 2d and 2e); a lunette without an inscription from watchtower 34 (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 9, no 3g); stone blocks probably found on sites of forts at Eulbach, Würzberg or Hesselbach (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 16, nos 6, 8 and 9).

These decorative techniques applied during the construction of the forts, fortlets and towers, and sculptural decorations on inscribed stones have forced scholars to look for an explanation and as early as the second decade of the 20th century a solution was proposed. It was argued that this novelty came from the fact that this part was manned

by soldiers from Britain, i.e. *numeri Brittonum* (Drexel 1922). The argument was based on the appearance of similar forms of decorations on the forts and inscriptions of the Antonine Wall (Drexel 1922, 33). Because the construction of the Antonine Wall in Scotland coincided with the rebuilding of the Odenwald-Neckar military installations in stone and because British *numeri* arrived after Lollius Urbicus' campaigns, it was suggested that stone cutters and craftsmen were brought over from Britain in order to build this new part of German limes (Drexel 1922, 36). Moreover, since no similar parallels had been recorded on other frontiers, it was seen as an extra indication that they were typical decorative techniques from the northern military zone of Roman Britain (Drexel 1922, 33, 35).

Indeed, distance slabs from the Antonine Wall, which record the work of legionary detachments from three British legions, were decorated with the same motifs as the building inscriptions recorded on Odenwald. Eight out of 17 distance slabs of the Antonine Wall were decorated with peltae, the horns of which terminating in either griffins' heads or rosettes (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, nos 1, 2, 6, 11, 12 and 13; see also RIB 2139, 2194). Three had figures of soldiers or cupids, flanking both sides of the slabs (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, nos 8, 11 and 15). One had two Victories, winged and standing with one foot on a globe (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, no 11). Four inscribed panels were set within a moulding, decorated with cable patterns (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, nos 7, 10 and 17; see also RIB 2139). Although inscriptions positioned within a wreath appeared only twice on the Antonine Wall (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, nos 9 and 16), they were popular on inscribed stones throughout Britain (Baatz 1966, 87; Keppie 1998, 114, no 49; 115, no 50; RIB 844, 1093, 1159, 1164, 1167, 1234, 1398, 1410, 1428, 1888, 2061, 2111, 2163, 2208, 2209).

The theory, that the Odenwald limes were constructed in the same manner and by the same people as the Antonine Wall, was repeated by later scholars such as Baatz (1966) and Schönberger (1969, 167), but in 1970s, after the excavations of the Hesselbach fort, Drexel's idea was began to be questioned. The major problem was that the archaeological data had proven that the Odenwald limes were built during the reign of Trajan, probably by people from Britain, while the reconstruction of the frontier buildings in stone was possibly done by local recruits. This made the excavator of the Hesselbach fort, Baatz, doubt Drexel's theory, which he, Baatz, deconstructed in a section of his book on the excavations at Hesselbach entitled "Were the stone buildings at Odenwald limes 'British' buildings?" (Baatz 1973, 128-134, "*Waren die Steinbauten am Odenwaldlimes 'Brittonenbauten'?*"). The comparison was made between the building technique used for the construction of these limes and the one used to build the limes in Lower Germany and Raetia; in addition analysis was undertaken of the overall usage of architectural ornaments by craftsmen in Greece and Italy. The conclusion was reached that the Odenwald limes were not so different from other frontiers in terms of their overall architectural and sculptural style²⁵⁶. These are the arguments:

1. The walls of forts were constructed in the same manner as the walls of local dwellings and other military installations on the Upper German frontier in Taunus (Baatz 1973, 129). Moreover, the same architectural style was applied across all provinces of the Roman Empire, not at least in Italy, from where it probably originated (Baatz 1973, 129).

²⁵⁶ However, it should be noted that this conclusion should not be applied to all military forts of the Roman Empire, i.e. that they were built in the same fashion and according to the same technique. Some forts, be they timber or stone built, may have differed from each other in the way they were constructed. The study of Chorus (2007) has shown that the timber ramparts of forts on the Germania Inferior frontier were constructed by soldiers of different origins, who employed the construction style they practiced in their homelands. It gave the possibility for Chorus to argue on the basis of analysis of the construction techniques, that the 'ethnic' garrison of the forts can be established in the absence of epigraphic evidence.

2. The decoration of towers with cornices and sculptured window openings was not peculiar to the Odenwald limes. Similar forms were found on other towers in Upper Germany and were frequently used on military installations other than towers already in the mid/late first century AD (Batz 1973, 130).
3. Pillars, used to support window openings, were not used to decorate military installations in Britain (Batz 1973, 131).
4. Lunettes are completely absent from Roman Britain, yet they were occasionally used for window decorations in Italy (Batz 1973, 129, esp. note 129).

In general, nothing indicates that the building technique used in the Odenwald limes originated in Britain and was similar to the one used on the Antonine Wall (Batz 1973, 131).

Sculptural decorations on the inscribed stones were also considered. It has been assumed that prior to the construction of any stretch of frontier the general plan was drawn by a so-called ‘building office’ of a legion (*Baubüro*), which also supervised the execution of work done by auxiliary units (Batz 1973, 132). Because legions had some freedom of choice, such ‘offices’ had the possibility to develop particular styles (Batz 1973, 132). In that sense, *numeri* cannot be regarded as ‘inventors’ of a special style, since they simply followed orders from above (Batz 1973, 132). A similar situation was observed on the Antonine Wall, where all distance slabs were made in legionary workshops; the legions and their detachments participated and supervised the construction. The detailed analysis of the slabs made it possible to establish that different styles were preferred by each legion and the works of individual sculptors were identified (Keppie 1998, 51). Summarising the findings, it was concluded that the sculptural decorations on the inscribed stones were the responsibility of the legionary sculptors, who used ‘pattern books’, which offered “a range of motifs to be drawn on” (Keppie 1998, 63). Regarding the Odenwald limes, if the inscribed stones were ordered to be done in auxiliary workshops, auxiliary units’ sculptors probably copied the style preferred by the legion they were summoned to (Batz 1973, 134). Soldiers and stonemasons of *numeri* only carried out the work.

This does not, however, answer the question from where these sculptural decorations originated. It has been suggested that parallels can be found “at a similar date in Rome’s frontier provinces on and beyond the Danube, that is in Pannonia, Moesia and Dacia” (Keppie 1998, 63) as well as in the Mediterranean (Batz 1973, 134). From Hungary, Roman Pannonia, an inscribed panel held by two winged Victories (UEL 10146 from Budapest) and a slab within three mouldings framed by inverted peltae terminating in rosettes (UEL 13734 from Almásfüzitő) were reported, both dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The inverted peltae²⁵⁷ terminating with griffins’ heads and rosettes appeared on a building inscription dated to the Antonine period from the Hunedoara region, Romania, (IDR 03-02, 11) and on another undated building inscription from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, Romania (IDR 03-02, 7). Peltae emblems were a familiar device, carved on numerous building inscriptions dated to the reign of Commodus (*Tituli Romani* 2005, no 239 from Budapest; *AE* 1910, 145 = RIU V 1135 from Dunaujvaros, all from Hungary) and to the reign of Septimius Severus (IDR-03-03, 47 from Deva, Romania; *AE* 1968, 429 = RIU V 1059 from Budapest, Hungary). Moreover, peltae are familiar in other contexts including tombstones and sarcophagi (*AE* 1972, 376; *CIL* III 14349, 3; UEL 6074; UEL 10645; UEL 10757; all from Budapest; UEL 2670 from Zollfeld, Austria; *AE* 1971, 341 from Dunaujvaros, Hungary; UEL 5918 from Vienna,

²⁵⁷ The horns of these peltae were usually facing the inscriptions, in contrast to peltae depicted on the distance slabs of the Antonine Wall and the inscriptions from the Odenwald limes, where horns are turned towards the mouldings.

Austria; UEL 6332 from Pförring, Germany; *CIL* III 5851 from Augsburg, Germany; *CIL* III 3356 = RIU VI 1511 from Székesfehérvár, Hungary).

It is noteworthy that figures of peltae and winged Victories were used as sculptural elements on Pannonian building inscriptions dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, the same period when the Antonine Wall and the inscribed stones from the Odenwald frontier were made as well. Decorations similar to those on the building slabs are absent from the monuments dated to the earlier periods -, at least the author of this work was not been able to find them. It is probable, therefore, that such forms of decoration became widely used from the reign of Antoninus Pius onwards and their appearance on the building inscriptions of the frontiers is not coincidental. When approaching the Roman border, people from the *Barbaricum* would get a clear message from the sculptural scenes recording or symbolising Roman victory (Keppie 1998, 62). That the choice to introduce these elements occurred on the Antonine Wall and at the Odenwald limes is not surprising either: the nature of these two frontiers demanded the exhibition of Roman authority.

Both frontiers were positioned “between two sections of water boundary”: Odenwald between the Main and Neckar, the Antonine Wall between the mouths of the Forth and Clyde (Thiel 2009, 138, 140). They were lines of communication rather than barriers, between the north and the south, for the Antonine Wall, or between *Barbaricum* and Germania Superior, for Odenwald (Schönberger 1969, 161; Thiel 2009, 138, 140). The Odenwald limes had a feature that was never constructed on other frontier stretches in the region: a road, used “for supplies and reinforcement that served to connect two areas”, those of Upper Germany and Raetia (Thiel 2009, 139, 140). The Antonine Wall was itself used as a military road “running from the main battlefield in the east coast of Scotland west to the Clyde estuary, where safe harbors were available to provide supplies to troops” (Thiel 2009, 140). Since both roads were of major importance for military and civilian traffic, richly adorned forts and fortresses with inscribed stones proclaiming the glory of Rome and Roman power were of necessity for the goals of propaganda (Thiel 2009, 140).

The depiction of Victory on such inscriptions was therefore an obvious choice, but what about the peltae? It is usually thought that the peltae emblem originated in Thracia, deriving from “the side view of a crescentic [Thracian] shield” and was adopted by “Greek and Hellenistic mercenary troops in the eastern Mediterranean” (Keppie 1998, 62). The griffins’ heads, which adorned the horns of the peltae on some inscriptions, derived from Egyptian and Greek art forms (Keppie 1998, 62). Both symbols were later widely used in Graeco-Roman art in different contexts (Keppie 1998, 62). It is tempting to suggest that the appearance of Greek art forms on inscriptions celebrating Roman power came into existence because of the philhellenic predecessor of Antoninus Pius, Hadrian. Another reason for the adoption of the peltae and its development from a device on Thracian shields to its use in sculptural decoration on Roman building inscriptions probably lies its symbolism: it stood for everything military. Being a symbol of war, peltae may have come to represent Roman military power. Its usage on inscribed stones of the frontier regions would therefore be a conscious choice. It is possible that, starting from the reign of Antoninus Pius, the emblem was adopted by various strata of the population, being used widely as decoration for funerary monuments.

In summary, the construction and decoration of the Odenwald limes was not dependant on people from, or on the style ‘invented’, in Britain. More probably the usage of familiar motifs and imagery was adopted by the stonemasons as a response to the growing necessity of the exhibition of the Roman power in the frontier regions.

3.3.17. *Concluding remarks*

The epigraphic and archaeological record combined has made it possible to establish the development of the British *numeri* in both Upper Germany and Dacia. It is likely that both groups of units, i.e. *numeri Brittonum* and *pedites singulares Britannicorum*, were raised in the mid/late first century as a result of particular events in Britain. The triggers were, of course, the wars conducted by the Roman Emperors on the Continent, when British legions and their detachments were transported overseas. That both groups were the remnants of legionary or auxiliary detachments is a good possibility.

The occurrence of British brooches evidences that the units stationed in Dacia were not replenished with Britons²⁵⁸, while the ones in Germany had a second wave of British recruits, coming in the mid second century.

²⁵⁸ However, the absence of British brooches on the site of a unit's station in Dacia cannot be regarded as final: the archaeological reports from that the sites that were available for me to consult do not provide the necessary information on the jewellery finds.