

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

Stephen James Malone, BSc.

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

August 2005



Abstract

This study of *legio XX Valeria Victrix* combines a prosopographical and historical approach to the study of the legion as a whole. Epigraphic and historical evidence is presented for all those individuals known to have served with the Twentieth Legion in their various capacities. Sources are quoted, with translation, for each of these and significant details of the careers discussed. Further aspects of careers generally are considered at the end of the relevant sections. This corpus is supported by a number of indices – of nomenclature, origins, ranks, service and posts held in other units etc., as well as an index of primary sources. Other inscriptions attesting to the presence of the Twentieth legion and its activities in various quarters of the Empire are also collected and presented. This epigraphic evidence is drawn together with that of the archaeological and historical sources, along with the copious modern literature on the subject of the Roman Army, to present a history of the Twentieth Legion from its formation out of the legions of the civil wars of the late Republic, to its uncertain end in the changing conditions of the late third and fourth centuries. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of individuals and the light that their careers can shed on the history and activities of the legion. Studies on a number of other aspects of the history and organisation of the legion are appended.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Roger Wilson, for valuable advice and assistance (not to mention the editing of this large manuscript), along with those other members of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Nottingham who contributed comments and suggestions over the course of my research. The staff at the Nottingham University Library and at the Library of the Institute of Classical Studies were unfailingly helpful in searching out references and sourcing the more obscure journal articles and publications. I should also like to acknowledge the forbearance of my employers, Archaeological Project Services, for their flexibility in allowing time off when required and for the use of printing and binding facilities. Completion of the thesis would have been much harder were it not for the support and encouragement of friends and family.

Except where otherwise stated, base-mapping for figures is derived from the Interactive Ancient Mediterranean web-site (<http://iam.classics.unc.edu>) and copied and reused under the terms of IAM's fair use policy.

Legio XX Valeria Victrix

A Prosopographical and Historical Study

S.J. Malone



Introduction: *Forschungsgeschichte*

Part I The Nature of the Evidence

I.1	Ancient Sources	5
I.2	Epigraphic evidence	8
	1. Monumental Inscriptions.....	8
	2. Dedications; Altars	10
	3. Tombstones.....	13
	4. Centurial Stones.....	20
	5. Instrumentum domesticum	24
	6. Numismatic.....	25
I.3	Archaeological evidence	27
I.4	Prosopography and Onomastics	33

Part II Prosopography

II.1	Legatus Legionis	40
	Careers of <i>legati</i>	53
II.2	Tribunus laticlavius	57
	Careers of senatorial tribunes	61
II.3	Tribunus Angusticlavius	64
	Careers of <i>tribuni militum</i>	79
II.4	Praefectus Castrorum	85
II.5	Primus pilus	92
	<i>primus pilus</i> – <i>praefectus castrorum</i>	99

II.6	<i>Centurio</i>	101
	1. <i>Origines</i>	186
	2. Entry to the centurionate.....	189
	3. Age / length of service.....	195
	4. Relationships	196
	5. The centurial roll	199
	6. Promotion and transfer	203
II.7	<i>Miles</i>	211
	1. Ranks and pay-scales.....	286
	2. <i>Origines</i>	290
	3. Age / length of service.....	296
	4. Relationships	299
II.8	<i>varia</i>	304
	Irregular commands and uncertain ranks	
II.9	Catalogue of other inscribed material	310

Part III A History of Legio XX

III.1	The Early History of <i>Legio XX</i> (31 BC-AD 43)	317
III.2	<i>Legio XX</i> and the conquest of Britain (AD 43-88).....	336
III.3	<i>Legio XX Valeria Victrix</i> at Chester (AD 87-122).....	360
III.4	The Twentieth Legion in the north of Britain (AD 123-196).....	369
III.5	The Twentieth Legion in the third century (AD 197-296).....	387
	Postscript: The end of the Twentieth Legion	399

Appendices

Appendix 1	The <i>cognomina</i> of <i>legio XX</i>	402
	Catalogue.....	420
Appendix 2	The Boar	429
	Catalogue.....	435
Appendix 3	The Twentieth Legion and the Building of Hadrian's Wall	437
	Index A3: Hadrian's Wall Centurions.....	459
Appendix 4	Distributions of <i>nomina</i> and <i>cognomina</i>	461

Bibliography	474
---------------------------	-----

Indices	511
----------------------	-----

Tables

Part I

<i>Table I.1: Literary references</i>	5
<i>Table I.2: Monumental inscriptions</i>	8
<i>Table I.3: Altars to Jupiter Optimus Maximus</i>	11
<i>Table I.4: Individual dedications to the Emperor(s)</i>	12
<i>Table I.5: Dedications to Genii</i>	12
<i>Table I.6: Tombstones of serving legionaries</i>	15
<i>Table I.7: Changes in tomb formulae over time (AD 1 - AD 300)</i>	17
<i>Table I.8: Military tomb formulae at Mainz, Chester and Carnuntum</i>	18
<i>Table I.9: Centurial stones from Chester</i>	21
<i>Table I.10: Records of individuals on instrumentum domesticum</i>	24
<i>Table I.11: Coin issues to the Twentieth Legion</i>	26

Part II

<i>Table II.1.1: The legati of the Twentieth Legion</i>	52
<i>Table II.1.2: Officers of legio XX Valeria Victrix</i>	56
<i>Table II.2.1: Tribuni laticlavii of the Twentieth Legion</i>	61
<i>Table II.3.1: Equestrian officers of the Twentieth Legion</i>	80
<i>Table II.4.1: Praefecti of the Twentieth Legion</i>	91
<i>Table II.5.1: Primpili and praefecti of the Twentieth Legion</i>	99
<i>Table II.6.1: Origins of centurions of the Twentieth Legion</i>	187
<i>Table II.6.2: Origins of centurions (suggested by nomenclature)</i>	188
<i>Table II.6.3: Careers of the centurions of the Twentieth Legion</i>	191
<i>Table II.6.4: Age/length of service</i>	196
<i>Table II.6.5: Blood relatives</i>	197
<i>Table II.6.6: uxor/coniunx</i>	198
<i>Table II.6.7: filii</i>	198
<i>Table II.6.8: liberti</i>	199
<i>Table II.6.9: Chronological list of centurions</i>	200
<i>Table II.6.10: Centurions of legio XX VV 125-128</i>	202
<i>Table II.6.11: Centurial careers including indication of grade</i>	204
<i>Table II.7.1: Posts held within the ranks of the legion</i>	289
<i>Table II.7.2: The Republican legion</i>	291
<i>Table II.7.3 Legio XX in Spain</i>	291

<i>Table II.7.4: Legio XX in Italy and Illyricum</i>	292
<i>Table II.7.5: Legio XX in Germany</i>	293
<i>Table II.7.6: Legio XX in Britain (AD43-87)</i>	294
<i>Table II.7.7: Legio XX in Britain (AD88 – EM2nd)</i>	294
<i>Table II.7.8: EM2nd – 3rd century</i>	295
<i>Table II.7.9: Third Century</i>	296
<i>Table II.7.10: Stipendia</i>	297
<i>Table II.7.11: Age on enlistment</i>	298
<i>Table II.7.12: Age at death</i>	299
<i>Table II.7.13: Blood relatives</i>	300
<i>Table II.7.14: Uxor, Coniunx</i>	301
<i>Table II.7.15: Filii</i>	301
<i>Table II.7.16: Heredes/dedicators</i>	302
<i>Table II.7.17: Liberti</i>	303

Part III

<i>Table III.1: The Republican legion(s)</i>	321
<i>Table III.2: Legio XX in Spain</i>	322
<i>Table III.3: Legio XX in Italy and Illyricum</i>	326
<i>Table III.4: Legio XX in Germany</i>	335
<i>Table III.5: The legion in Britain in the first century</i>	353
<i>Table III.6: The Earliest Tombstones at Chester</i>	367
<i>Table III.7: Antonine Wall distance slabs of the Twentieth Legion</i>	375
<i>Table III.8: Evidence for the Twentieth Legion in the north of Britain (Hadrian's Wall excepted) ...</i>	379

Appendices

<i>Table A1: Inscriptions mentioning both the Twentieth and Fourteenth Legions</i>	407
<i>Table A2: Occurrences of legio XX Victrix</i>	414
<i>Table A3: Inscriptions mentioning the Twentieth and other legions</i>	416
<i>Table A4: Legionary symbols from constellations zodiacal and otherwise</i> <i>(after Ritterling 1925, 1375-1376)</i>	429
<i>Table A5: Legionary emblems and their depiction on third century coin issues</i>	431
<i>Table A6: Centurions of legio XX VV 125-128</i>	443
<i>Table A7: Distributions of Imperial nomina, observed against expected</i>	462
<i>Table A8: Distributions of nomina</i>	462
<i>Table A9: Distributions of commonest cognomina recorded by Kajanto 1965</i>	466
<i>Table A10: Distributions of cognomina</i>	467

Figures

<i>Fig. II.3.1 Origins of equestrian tribunes of the Twentieth Legion.....</i>	<i>82</i>
<i>Fig. II.5.1 Origins of primipili and praefecti of the Twentieth Legion</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Fig. II.6.1 Origins of centurions of the Twentieth Legion.....</i>	<i>188</i>
<i>Fig. II.7.1 Origins of soldiers of the Twentieth Legion.....</i>	<i>294</i>
<i>Fig. III.1.1 The early history of the Twentieth Legion</i>	<i>325</i>
<i>Fig. III.1.2 Campaigns in Germany.....</i>	<i>330</i>
<i>Fig. III.2.1 Roman Britain showing legionary fortresses and other bases</i>	<i>345</i>
<i>Fig. III.3.1 The Roman fortress at Chester</i>	<i>361</i>
<i>Fig. III.4.1 The Twentieth Legion in the north of Britain</i>	<i>370</i>
<i>Fig. III.4.2 Antonine Wall distance slabs of the Twentieth Legion.....</i>	<i>376</i>
<i>Fig. III.4.3 The Twentieth Legion in the second century</i>	<i>385</i>
<i>Fig. III.5.1 The Twentieth Legion in the third century.....</i>	<i>396</i>
<i>Fig. A3.1 Multiply-attested centurions.....</i>	<i>454</i>
<i>Fig. A3.2 Centurions between Chesters and R. Irthing.....</i>	<i>455</i>
<i>Fig. A3.3 Hadrian's Wall centurions divided according to proposed building scheme</i>	<i>456</i>
<i>Fig. A3.4 Centurions attested in Wall-miles 1 to 27</i>	<i>457</i>
<i>Fig. A3.5 Centurions attested in Wall-miles 49 to 64</i>	<i>458</i>

Introduction

Forschungsgeschichte

As with so many of the legions of the Roman Imperial army, the origin of the Twentieth Legion lies in the turbulent last years of the Roman republic and the vast armies raised in support of opposing factions (Brunt 1971; Keppie 1984). The imperial army that emerged was the creation of the emperor Augustus and although we cannot pinpoint the precise date of the legion's formation, it is clear that the Twentieth was a part of this army from an early date. But for the few hints to be gleaned from epigraphic evidence, its earliest history remains obscure, and although we know precisely where it was in AD 6, we do not know for how long it had been there or in which quarter it might have served before that. From AD 6 onwards, however, we can trace its movements with increasing certainty to Siscia and Burnum during the suppression of the Pannonian revolt; to the Rhine at Cologne and Neuss; to Britain at Colchester, perhaps Kingsholm and Usk, at Wroxeter, Inchtuthil and, more certainly, Chester. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence illuminates the later history of the legion in considerable detail but sheds little light on its ultimate end. By the later third century the role and form of the legion had altered considerably and in this age of usurpers, secessionist empires and civil war it disappears from sight.

The earliest substantive account of the legion would appear to be that of Musgrave 1719 (trans. Post 1848), like other sketches of the legion's history (Horsley 1732, 83-85; Morgan 1887) lacking in materials relating to its early history (Watkin 1886, 125-128 is rather better). However, the point from which this study proceeds, as indeed must all such, is the '*Legio*' of Emil Ritterling, published in Volume XII of the Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll *Real-Encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft* 1925 (1211-1829; '*Legio (XX valeria victrix)*' 1769-1781). Seventy-five years and more of fresh archaeological and epigraphic discoveries have added considerably to our knowledge. Much of this was brought to bear on the history of the legion within the province of Britain by Jarrett '*Legio XX Valeria Victrix in Britain*' in 1968. The Lyon congress of 1998, *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire* (papers collected in Le Bohec and Wolff 2000), sought specifically to address material accumulated since 1925 and more recent discoveries can be found reviewed in Keppie's article on the *Legiones Britanniae* therein.

Detailed studies of individual legions are few, prosopographical studies fewer. Le Bohec's study of *legio III Augusta* stands out (Le Bohec 1989). The Caerleon Lectures, now published together, amount to a considerable study of *legio II Augusta* (Brewer 2002); A.R. Birley presents us therein with a study of the Officers of the Second Augustan Legion. Mosser's study of the stone monuments of *legio XV Apollinaris* has a slightly different focus, but achieves something similar for the *milites* and *centuriones* of that legion (Mosser 2003). Other studies contribute to our understanding of the officers of *legio VII Gemina* (senatorial commanders: Alföldy 1970; equestrian officers: Pflaum 1970; centurions: Le Roux 1974) and of *legio X Fretensis* (Dąbrowa 1993). For the British legions, all of the *legati* and *tribuni laticlavii* are admirably dealt with by A.R. Birley (1981) and the exposition of individual careers in sections II.1 and II.2 below is heavily indebted to him. There is nonetheless a difference in emphasis. It is my purpose here to show how these individuals figure in the history of *legio XX*, rather than to demonstrate how *legio XX* figures in their careers. To that end some background is given, careers are outlined, sequences of postings followed, but some of the temptations of prosopography are resisted. Illustrious antecedents or descendants among the senatorial classes are not germane. For these one is referred back to Birley's account.

The study of equestrian tribunes is greatly assisted by the five volumes of Devijver's *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium* (1976-1993), but although some here fall within the purview of Pflaum (1960) and Demougin (1992) detailed studies of the careers of the equestrian officers of Roman Britain are few and these are considered afresh. For centurions, Summerley (1991) is a valuable study of aspects of multi-centurionate careers and contributes a considerable number of individual studies. The *primipili* have been considered in depth by Dobson (1978) and individual careers are likewise considered at length. By contrast, the *milites* are generally to be approached *en masse* in studies of social origin, recruitment and settlement – Forni (1953, 1974), Mann (1983a) – although the strength of such approaches in shedding light on the experiences of individuals should not be underestimated, e.g. Scheidel (1996).

The framework of individual careers is set throughout by Domaszewski's *Rangordnung* (1908, rev. Dobson 1967), supplemented (and on occasions corrected) by studies such as Clauss (1973) and Breeze (1974a, b) on the *immunes* and *principales*; by Birley (1957, 1965) on the promotion and transfer of senatorial and equestrian officers and centurions; Dobson (1978) on the *primipili*; Devijver (1989, 1992)

on the equestrian officers; by the provincial *fasti* of Alföldy (1969), Pflaum (1987), A.R. Birley (1981), Eck (1984) and Piso (1993) amongst others. The proceedings of the 1994 conference *La Hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'Armée Romaine sous le Haut-Empire* (Le Bohec ed. 1995) present a wide range of further studies on the subject as do the papers collected by Alföldy, Dobson and Eck (2000).

This study of *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* is divided into three parts:

Part I outlines the sources of evidence: literary, epigraphic, archaeological and numismatic and considers the contribution of prosopographical and onomastic approaches. These different classes of evidence are summarised and their reliability and relevance as a background to the subsequent studies considered.

Part II presents the evidence, epigraphic and historical, for those individuals who served with the Twentieth Legion in their various capacities. Sources are quoted, with translation¹, for each of these and significant details of the careers discussed. Further aspects of careers generally are considered at the end of each section. This corpus is supported by a number of indices – of nomenclature, origins, ranks, service and posts held in other units etc., as well as an index of primary sources. The many other inscriptions of the Twentieth attesting to their presence and activities in various quarters of the Empire are also collected here. This section is divided into chapters according to ranks. Cross-references to the corpus of individuals are by chapter and item number: e.g. the legate M. Aemilius Papus (1.6), the tribune T. Iunius Severus (3.9), the centurion L. Numerius Felix (6.50). Less certain attributions are indicated by an asterisk: e.g. Q. Domitius Optatus (7.118*).

Part III draws the evidence collected in Part II together with that of the archaeological and historical sources, and the copious modern literature on the subject of the Roman Army, to present a history of the Twentieth Legion from its formation out of the legions of the civil wars of the later Republic, to its uncertain end in the changing conditions of the late third and fourth centuries. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of individuals and the light that their careers can shed on the history and activities of the legion. Studies on a number of other aspects of the history and organisation of the legion are appended.

A note on referencing. The Harvard system of referencing has been used, in footnotes, throughout. Direct references to primary texts, corpuses, or cross-references to the catalogue of individuals occasionally appear within the text where this seems more straightforward. Although conventions such as *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.* are largely redundant within this system they have been used here on occasion where referring to an immediately preceding footnote. *CIL* references appear throughout by reference to volume and item number, e.g. XI 5653.

A note on place names. It can be argued that the ancient names of places are by far the most relevant and these have been used wherever possible. However, the ancient names of minor places are not always known, or identifications secure even where they have been suggested, so that consistency is difficult. Findspots have therefore been quoted as in the original documentary source – essentially ancient names from *CIL*, modern names otherwise. Indices, based on identifications given in the Barrington Atlas, are supplied as an aid to translation from the one to the other.

¹ For inscriptions from Britain, translations are derived from those given by *RIB*, *JRS* and *Britannia*. Otherwise translations, and expansions of abbreviated text (except where noted), are the work of the author whose indifferent Latin can be blamed for any errors.

PART I

The Nature of the Evidence

I.1

Ancient Sources

Surviving literary sources provide considerable information on the major historical events in which the Twentieth Legion took part, and provide the basis for the historical narrative in Part III below. Indirect references to the *legiones* or *exercitus* of Britain and other provinces abound, but direct references to the Twentieth Legion are largely confined to the first century and the events of AD 6, AD 14-16, AD 60 and AD 69 (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Literary references

Reference		Date
Velleius 2.112	<i>semiterna legione vicesima</i>	AD 6
Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 1.31	<i>prima quoque ac vicesima legionibus</i>	AD 14
Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 1.37	<i>primam et vicesimam legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit</i>	
Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 1.39	<i>legiones, prima atque vicesima....hiemabant</i>	
Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 1.42	<i>primane et vicesima legiones</i>	
Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 1.51	<i>vicesima legio terga firmavit</i>	AD 15
Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 1.64	<i>deliguntur legiones ...vicesimanus adversum secuturos</i>	AD 16
Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 14.34	<i>quarta decima legio cum vexillariis vicesimanis</i>	AD 60
Tacitus <i>Ann.</i> 14.37	<i>quartadecimanorum vicesimanorumque prosperis rebus</i>	
Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 1.60	<i>Roscius Caelius legatus vicesimae legionis</i>	AD 69
Tacitus <i>Hist.</i> 3.22	<i>vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicesimae Britannicarum legionum</i>	
Tacitus <i>Agr.</i> 7.5	<i>vicesimae legioni</i>	AD 70
Dio 55.23	<i>οἱ εἴκοστοι οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερίειοι καὶ νικητορες</i>	c. 220

Velleius Paterculus (2.112) records an exploit of the legion in Illyricum under the governor Valerius Messalinus in AD 6². They are next to be found on the Rhine during the mutiny of AD 14 (Tacitus *Ann.* 1.31, 37, 39, 42) and in the ensuing campaigns in Germany (Tacitus *Ann.* 1.51, 64). A speech attributed to Germanicus by Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.42) refers to the legion's prior service, and awards won, under Tiberius' command, presumably during the revolt of AD 6-9, but possibly earlier³. The part played by the legion in the suppression of the Boudican revolt in AD 60 is also recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.34, 37), as is its role in the events of AD 69 (*Hist.* 1.60, 3.22) and its eventual command by Cn. Iulius Agricola (*Agr.* 7.5). Later reference is confined to the comments of Dio (55.23) who listed the legions of Augustus still surviving in the first decades of the third century.

M. Roscius Coelius (1.2) and Cn. Iulius Agricola (1.3) are the only commanders of the legion mentioned in the literary sources, although that role might be inferred for C. Manlius Valens (1.1) (Tacitus *Ann.* 12.40). A *miles*, Calusidius (who offered Germanicus a sharper sword when he threatened suicide), and two centurions, Septimius and Cassius Chaerea (later the assassin of the emperor Caligula: *PIR*² C 0488), are named by Tacitus in the camp of the First and Twentieth Legions during the mutiny of AD 14 (*Ann.* 1.32, 35), but we cannot say in which of these two legions they served.

The surviving narrative histories of Tacitus inevitably inform the first-century history of the legion strongly and are made much use of here. Narrative history, especially where populated by named individuals, speaks to us more than the history of general trends in impersonal institutions. Although there is the undoubted danger that archaeological evidence might be used to illuminate a predetermined picture⁴, there is little choice. The evidence may accumulate to support an entirely different picture (see, for example, the debates over the invasion of Britain, its cause, its purpose, its route⁵), but until that point it would be perverse to jettison the only near contemporary account we have. It has to be accepted, however, that the historical account here becomes somewhat unbalanced in consequence. A semblance of certainty is imbued by the more coherent narrative of the first three chapters. Thereafter the development

² Dio 55.30 on the same events does not mention the legion by name.

³ See below Chapter III.1

⁴ Reece 1997, 3-4.

⁵ Frere and Fulford 2001; Manley 2002; Sauer 2002.

of impersonal institutions (the Empire, the late Roman army) comes more to the fore, but nonetheless, I would hope, populated by those individuals of whom we have record.

Two further references should also be mentioned here:

<i>Δηοῦα λεγίων κ' Νικηφόρος</i>	<i>Ptolemy Geography II.3.11</i>	140-150
<i>Deva leg XX Vici</i>	<i>Antonine Itinerary 469.2</i>	Third century

These place the legion at Deva, but the diversity of sources apparently used in their compilation⁶ limit their usefulness except as *termini ante quos*. The significance of the legion's nomenclature, i.e. *victrix* only, is considered further in Appendix 1.

⁶ Rivet and Smith 1979, 114-6, 150-3.

I.2

Epigraphic Evidence

1. Monumental Inscriptions

The senatorial officers of the legion are largely attested on monumental inscriptions resulting from their activities in civil and municipal contexts. Thus, the legionary legates, all of whom later achieved the rank of consul, are for the most part known through dedications set up by them, or in their honour, in their home-towns or by communities over which they exercised patronage. Indeed, T. Pomponius Mamilianus (1.4) is the only legate of the legion attested in Britain in that capacity. Senatorial and equestrian tribunes are likewise known to us in large part through such monuments, as are some of the *praefecti* and *primipili* who were also of equestrian rank. As well as their patronage of such communities as the *coloniae* at Sarmizegetusa in Dacia, Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis, Volturnum, Parma and Minturnae in Italy; and *municipia* at Suasa, Forum Novum and Forum Druentum, these dedications record the patronage of various guilds: of *fabri*, craftsmen; *centonarii*, firemen; *dendrophori*, timber workers; and *tignarii*, carpenters.

Table 1.2: Monumental inscriptions

<i>Legati</i>		
1.5	Nicaea	<i>cursus</i>
1.6	Callenses	Imperial dedication
	Salpensa	Caesia Senilla <i>amico optimo</i>
1.7	Sarmizegetusa	<i>colonia Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa patrono</i>
1.8	Volturnum	<i>patrono coloniae decreto decurionum</i>
1.9	Rusellae	fragmentary <i>cursus</i>
<i>Tribuni laticlavii</i>		
2.2	Roma/Oriculum	<i>publice decreto decurionum</i>
2.3	Capena	<i>cursus</i>
2.4	Suasa	<i>patrono municipi</i>
2.5	Fidenae	<i>patrono</i> fragmentary

<i>Tribuni angusticlavii</i>		
3.5	Ephesus	<i>cursus</i>
3.6	Vienna	<i>patronus coloniae</i>
3.7	Verona	dedication by <i>ala Aureana Hispanorum I</i>
3.9	Dianium	L. Sempronius Enipeus <i>amico optimo</i>
3.11	Minturnae	<i>patrono coloniae, collegium fabrum tignariorum posuit</i>
3.12	Carales	<i>cursus</i>
3.13	Tarraco	<i>cursus</i>
3.14	Lugdunum	<i>publice decreto decurionum</i>
3.15	Roma	<i>patrono fragmentary</i>
<i>Praefecti / primipili</i>		
4.3	Parma	<i>patrono coloniae... municipiorum... collegiorum collegium centonariorum (posuit)</i>
5.2	Tergeste	<i>dedit</i>
6.64	Atina	<i>patrono municipi liberti - locus datus decreto decurionum</i>

Despite giving us considerable detail of individual careers and a window onto the part played by the command structure of the legions in the wider affairs of the Empire, these monumental inscriptions rarely shed much light on specific activities of the legion. Attempts have been made to define a class of *viri militares*, military specialists among the senatorial order, but patterns of promotion within such careers are difficult to discern if the notion of such specialists be accepted at all⁷. None of the career records of senators here can suggest any specific aptitude lying behind their appointment to the Twentieth. The four tribunates held by C. Sempronius Fidus (3.12) might lead us to suggest reasons behind the particular sequence of appointments as might the career of the centurion M. Tillius Rufus (6.64). The tribunate of Ti. Claudius Balbillus (3.5), although entirely honorary, falls at a significant moment in the history of the legion. However, for the most part these inscriptions detail unremarkable careers with no long association with the legion.

⁷ Campbell 1975; 1984, 325-47 *contra* Birley 1954; McAlindon 1957, 193 and see Chapters II.1, II.2.

The legion has also left its mark in the form of dedicatory inscriptions and building records on the Hadrianic and Antonine Walls and at other forts in the north of Britain where it undertook construction (see II.9 and Table III.8). These form a valuable source for the activities of the legion in the second and third centuries. The distance slabs from the Antonine Wall (Table III.7, Fig III.4.2) are of especial interest and have been the subject of much study since the first discoveries in the early 18th century⁸.

One other monumental inscription deserves particular mention. At some stage early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius a list of the legions of the Empire was compiled and inscribed, in geographical order from west to east, on two columns on the Capitol at Rome (VI 3492). The reason for its erection is unknown, but it must have stood for 30 years or more, being first augmented with the names of Marcus' two *legiones Italicae* and, somewhat later, with those of Septimius Severus' three *legiones Parthicae*. The Twentieth appears in the form XX VICTR(IX), an abbreviation whose significance is explored further in Appendix 1 below.

2. Dedications, Altars

It was the duty of the officers of units from the legion down to the individual auxiliary cohort to undertake sacrifices and erect altars according to the dictates of the Roman religious calendar⁹. Thus altars in honour of the Capitoline triad, Jupiter, Juno and Mars, were erected as part of the annual *vota*, renewal of vows to the emperor, on January 3rd¹⁰. Other occasions would call for similar commemoration¹¹, but these are not represented amongst the surviving records of the legion.

⁸ See now Keppie 1998, 51-6 and also Henig 1999, 9-11.

⁹ Nock 1952; Helgeland 1978.

¹⁰ Helgeland 1978, 1495-6.

¹¹ Either to *IOM* e.g. on the discharge of veterans (*ILS* 2300, 2301), or the birthday of the legion (*ILS* 2293) or to other divinities.

Table 1.3: Altars to Jupiter Optimus Maximus

	Other deities	Dedicator	Command	Ref.
<i>Iovi Optimo Maximo</i>	<i>Iuno Regina</i> <i>Minerva Augusta</i> <i>Mars Pater</i> <i>Victoria</i>	tribune	detachment of legion at Carlisle 213/222	3.2
		tribune	<i>no longer serving</i>	3.4
		centurion	detachment at Newstead	6.7
		centurion	unit at Dorchester?	6.118*
	<i>Dolichenus</i>	centurion	cohort at Great Chesters	6.48
	<i>Tanarus</i>	centurion	Chester 154	6.24

That some of the dedications *I(ove) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* might be individual rather than corporate is clear from that of C. Calcinus Tertianus (3.4) who, as *conductor publici portorii*, was collecting taxes in Noricum and clearly no longer serving. Likewise, the context of the dedication by a possible centurion of the legion (6.118*) in Dorset is unclear. L. Elufrius Praesens (6.24), *princeps* of the legion at Chester in 154, was unlikely to have been the most senior officer present at the time, but might perhaps have been charged with the task nonetheless. The dedication of the tribune M. Aurelius Syrio (3.2) at Carlisle does seem to relate to his command of a detachment of the legion in the period 213/222 as do those others erected by centurions of the legion in temporary command of detachments or auxiliary units in the north of Britain.

One further dedication of particular significance to the legion was that *honori Aquilae*, to the honour of the Eagle, undertaken by the *primus pilus* on the *dies natalis*, the birthday of the legion¹². Sadly this date remains unknown in the case of the Twentieth¹³, although the centurion M. Tillius Rufus (6.64) was responsible for such a dedication after his promotion to *primus pilus* of *XXII Primigenia*.

¹² Herz 1975.

¹³ As indeed for most legions, but see *RIB* 327 for *II Augusta* and below Table A5.

Dedications denoting adherence to the official imperial cult also frequently appear¹⁴, and are represented here by invocations of the *Numen*, the Divine Majesty, of the living and deified emperors, and by dedications to the welfare, *salus*, of the emperor.

Table I.4: Individual dedications to the Emperor(s)

	Titles	Emperor(s)	
<i>numinibus Augustorum</i> ¹⁵		M. Aurelius and Commodus 176-180	6.4
<i>pro Salute</i>	<i>Imperatoris</i>	Commodus 184	6.48
	<i>Dominorum Nostrorum Invictissimorum Augustorum</i>	Septimius Severus and Caracalla 198-211	3.8
	<i>Domini Nostri</i>	Severus Alexander 222-235	6.54

Almost every division and unit of the Roman Imperial Army also had its own *genius*¹⁶, or presiding spirit, and these too are represented among the records of the Twentieth. Within the legions dedications to the *genius* of the century are by far the most common. The *optio*, *signifer* or *armorum custos* are most often responsible¹⁷, and Iulius Quintilianus (7.45) doubtless held some such post although this is not explicitly stated. Dedications to the *genius legionis* might be made by a wide variety of ranks and that of T. Vet[...] (8.6) therefore remains unclear¹⁸. All six examples were found at Chester where chapels to the *genii* were probably established within, or close to, the barracks of the centuries¹⁹.

Table I.5: Dedications to Genii

	Dedicator	Location	
<i>genio legionis</i>	unknown rank	Chester	8.6

¹⁴ Fishwick 1991, 388-96 (*numen*).

¹⁵ See also 6.41: dedication whilst centurion of *legio II Augusta*.

¹⁶ Speidel and Dimitrova-Milceva 1978.

¹⁷ Irby-Massie 1999, 45-7.

¹⁸ See II.8.6 below.

¹⁹ *cf.* Lambaesis: Cagnat 1909, 269.

<i>genio (centuriae)</i>	-	Chester	<i>RIB 446</i>
<i>genio (centuriae)</i>	<i>optio?</i>	Chester	7.45
<i>genio sancto centurie</i>	<i>optio</i>	Chester	7.2
<i>genio signif(eratorum)</i>	<i>(signifer)</i>	Chester	7.34
<i>genio loci</i>	<i>tribunus militum</i>	Chester	3.8

Individual dedications (Index 8) might be undertaken for many reasons, the commonest perhaps being summed up in the closing formula *v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. L. Maximius Gaetulicus (6.48), particularly, had good reason to fulfil his vow, taken on first enrolling in the Twentieth Legion and fulfilled by the erection of an altar 57 years later to a startling variety of deities. Few others give much insight into the reason for the dedication, but individual offerings to such as Apollo, Diana, Fortuna, Victoria, Hercules and Silvanus are known. The dedications to Fortune and to Victory might be linked to successful military actions, the dedication to *Fortuna redux* set up by the household of the legate T. Pomponius Mamilianus (1.4), perhaps commemorating his safe return to Chester. Other perhaps are more prosaic. The centurion C. Arrius Domitianus (6.7), outposted at Newstead in the mid-second century, erected altars to Silvanus and Diana, the huntress, ‘on account of favourable results’. It may be wondered how he spent his spare time. Some are more particular. Antenociticus is known only from dedications at Benwell, where a shrine existed outside the fort²⁰. Moorish gods are invoked by a centurion of African origin; Mars, in conjunction with the Germanic deity Halamardus, by another centurion. The *matres campestris Alatervae* were probably favoured by the ethnic unit under the charge of the legionary centurion responsible for the dedication. Nemesis makes an apt appearance in the shrine at the Chester amphitheatre. Aesculapius, Hygieia and Panacea are invoked by doctors of Greek origin.

3. Tombstones

Inscribed tombstones form the largest class of record for the ordinary soldiers, and have the potential to tell us a great deal about the individuals who served in the legion. The common first-century military formula²¹ includes not only the name of the deceased – useful in itself since aspects of nomenclature can

²⁰ Breeze and Dobson 2000, 286.

²¹ See below 19 and n. 35.

be geographically, culturally or socially determined²²; but also details such as filiation, tribe and origin – from which we can deduce much about legionary recruitment patterns²³; and age at death and length of service – which can be used, with care, to examine aspects of enlistment and life-expectancy²⁴. Other individuals may be mentioned – family members, colleagues, freedmen or slaves²⁵ – as dedicators or heirs, or in the case of serving soldiers the centurion under whom they served. The geographical distribution of tombstones of serving soldiers adds to our picture of the movements of the legion; that of veterans is key in the study of the settlement of discharged soldiers²⁶. Detail of specific posts, promotions or transfers is also to be found, less commonly among the ordinary soldiers, more often for centurions and above, and allows consideration of hierarchy and career structure²⁷. These aspects are all considered further in the relevant sections of Part II.

The earlier history of the legion is illuminated by the tombstones of veterans found in Italy, at or near to Beneventum (2), Brixia, Luca, Patavium, Ravenna, Trieste and *Trumplia*; in Spain, at Turgalium (2); in Dalmatia, at Iader and Salona; in Noricum; or on the Rhine at Nijmegen. Seven veterans only are recorded in Britain, at Bath, Gloucester and five at Chester itself. Later records from Arles (2) and Nimes seem likely also to be those of veterans, although only one is described as such.

By far the largest collection of tombstones of the legion, however, is that from the fortress at Chester. A large number were recovered in the late 19th century during renovation works on the fortress walls into which they had been built²⁸. A number are recorded at other fortresses occupied by the legion throughout its history, but these are few in comparison.

²² Schultze 1904; Dean 1916; Kajanto 1965; *Onomasticon*. See I.4 below.

²³ Forni 1953; 1974.

²⁴ Scheidel 1992; 1996.

²⁵ See Index 11.

²⁶ Mann 1983a.

²⁷ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967; Le Bohec (ed.) 1995; see Tables III: 5.1, 6.3, 7.1.

²⁸ Earwaker 1888. The date of this re-use remains in question: LeQuesne 1999, 114-21, 146-8. See below 399 n. 379.

Table 1.6: Tombstones of serving legionaries

Findspot	<i>centurio</i>	<i>miles</i>	
Aquileia		2	possible base
Oescus		1	possible base
Burnum	1		possible base
Ara Ubiorum		2	
Neuss		2	
Colchester	2		
Gloucester		1	
Wroxeter		1	
Chester	2	47	10 with name of Legion no longer extant
London		2	on governor's staff?
Rome		3	<i>frumentarii</i> at Rome
elsewhere		4	Bath (2), Carvoran, Treviso (if serving)

Tombstones of centurions of the legion are found further afield, either because of transfer into other units, or return to, or at least commemoration at, a home town. They are to be found at Iessos and Tarraco in Spain, at Geneva, at Bedaium in Noricum, Dorfe Nedan in Moesia Inferior, Lambaesis in North Africa (4), at Jerusalem, at Rome itself (2), and one *quondam centurio*, rather less exotically, at Watercrook in Cumbria.

Responsibility for the erection of a memorial to a serving soldier would as like as not fall on one of his colleagues, who would probably also be named as heir²⁹. A number of such instances are recorded here, and it is likely therefore that some of the individuals so named were also members of the Twentieth Legion.

²⁹ Speidel 1992a, 130; Varon 1997, 565.

Heirs of serving soldiers at the permanent bases of the legion are the most likely to be colleagues, but the names of only two such survive. Frontinius Aquilo was the heir of C. Lovesius Cadarus (7.55) who died at Chester at the age of 25 after only 8 years service; Rusius Mo[...], the heir of C. Iulius Quartus (7.44) who died aged 30 after similarly short service. These are included in the catalogue. The tombstones of Iulius Valens (7.47) and Saturninus (7.73) were set up by Flavius Attius and C. Acilius M[...] respectively. However, both of these men were at London at the time of their deaths and, if still serving, were probably on detached duty at the headquarters of the provincial governor³⁰. It is perhaps more likely that a close colleague would have had the care of arranging their commemoration, but men of many different units would probably have been present and the case cannot be made as strongly. The brother of M. Gargilius Secundus (7.39) may have been a soldier himself if the former was indeed in the field at the time of his death, but commemoration at his home town is by no means ruled out.

Iulius Severus and Aurelius Sempronius are both named as the heirs of T Aurelius Certius (7.11), a *frumentarius* of the Twentieth Legion at Rome. These two may also have served as *frumentarii* – cf. T. Sempronius Pudens (7.75) who set up a memorial to his colleague L. Aemilius Flaccus (7.4) – as indeed might Pupius Vernianus who was the heir of Sempronius Pudens himself. However, even were this the case, the legion to which they would have been attached cannot be known with certainty, for the *frumentarii* were all quartered together at Rome. The epitaph set up jointly by Pudens and Cutius Eplu[...], director of the *speculatores*, to Valerius Paternus, *speculator exercitus Britannici*, demonstrates how the *esprit de corps* could encompass all of the inhabitants of the *castra peregrina*.

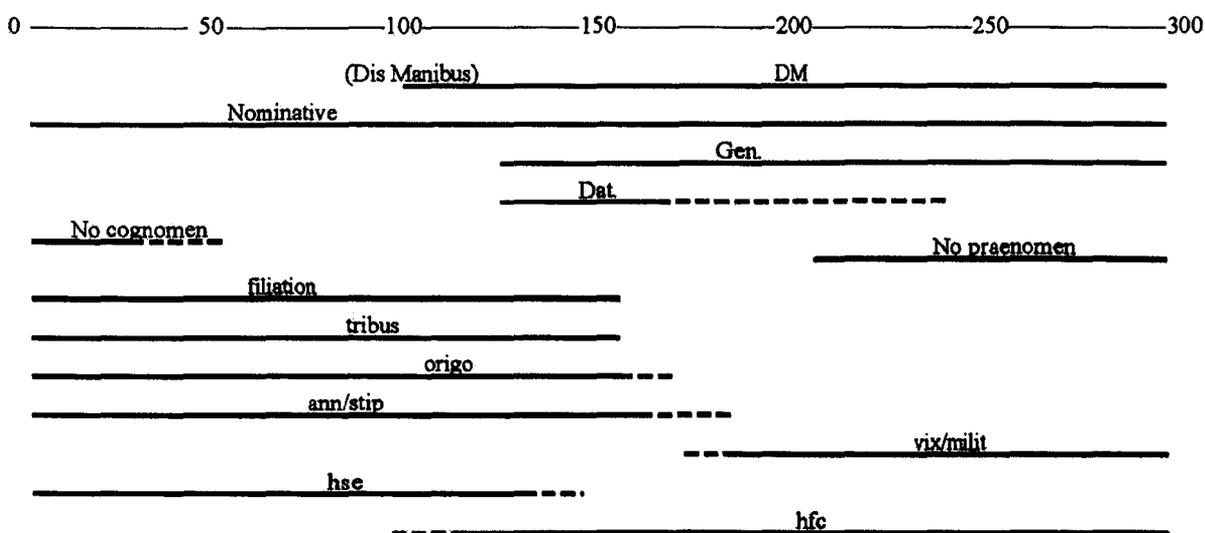
Veterans were more likely to name civilian brothers, sisters, wives, children or freedmen and freedwomen. Thus Iulius, named on the stone of a veteran at Gloucester (7.83); Aelius Candidus, who set up the stone at Chester to a veteran aged 80+; Sextus Marcianus, heir to a veteran at Cologne (7.64); and G. Tiberinus, heir to the *emeritus* (7.8) at Bath might indeed have been soldiers, but we cannot know for certain in which unit they might have served.

³⁰ Hassall 1973, 233–4.

Dating

Fashions changed with time and elements in the formulation of the epitaph can assist in the dating of these monuments. However, these fashions varied considerably between provinces and between social groups, so that the evidence from the better documented provinces is not always directly applicable elsewhere³¹. Certain general patterns can be observed, nonetheless, in such factors as the grammatical case of the dedication, the presence or absence of opening or closing formulae, or the way in which age at death or length of service were recorded (Table 7). Nomenclature also changed with time, both in the names that were chosen and in the way they were expressed. This provides another aid to dating, discussed further in Chapter I.4 below.

Table I.7: Changes in tomb formulae over time (AD 1 - AD 300)



Epitaphs of the later first century BC and first century AD are generally expressed in the nominative and open with the name of the deceased without any introduction. In the earliest tombstones of the Twentieth Legion, length of service is sometimes expressed by the term *aerum*, but *stipendiorum* is also found and becomes universal until the mid/late second century when *militavit* begins to take over. At the same time the use of *annorum* to describe age at death is replaced by *vixit (annos)*, the two combinations *annorum/stipendiorum* - *vixit/militavit* being almost mutually exclusive. The closing formula *hic situs est* 'he lies here' is a particular characteristic of first-century dedications, although it continues in use into the

³¹ Hatt 1951, 9-19 (Gaul); Knapp 1992, 357 n. 32 (Spain); Le Bohec 1989, 64.

second century. The first-century military style is exemplified by the tombstones of *legio XIV Gemina* at Mainz³² and of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester (see below), and is seen among the earliest tombstones of the Twentieth Legion in Britain.

The invocation of the *manes*, the spirits of the dead, begins to be seen, spelt out in full, at the end of the first century³³. In this form it is often found in conjunction with the dative case, or later the genitive, although use of the nominative remains the most common throughout. From the early second century onwards the abbreviated form *D(is) M(anibus)* becomes omnipresent. Indication of the responsibility of the heirs for the erection of the monument, *h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*, becomes a common closing formula in the Chester epitaphs in this period. Other expressions for the welfare of the deceased e.g. *s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)* ‘may the earth sit lightly upon you’, also begin to be used in this period, although these are not seen among the corpus at Chester.

Table 1.8: Military tomb formulae at Mainz, Chester and Carnuntum

	<i>leg XIV</i>	<i>leg II Aduit</i> at Chester	<i>leg XX</i> at Chester
1st century (<i>leg XIV</i> at Mainz < 92) (<i>leg II Adiut</i> < 88) (<i>leg XX</i> 88-100)	nominative filiation <i>tribus</i> <i>origo</i> <i>annorum</i> <i>stipendiorum</i> <i>h s e</i>	nominative filiation <i>tribus</i> <i>origo</i> <i>centuria</i> <i>annorum</i> <i>stipendiorum</i> <i>h s e</i>	nominative filiation <i>tribus</i> <i>origo</i> <i>centuria</i> <i>annorum</i> <i>stipendiorum</i> <i>h s e</i>
late 1st century	(<i>Dis Manibus</i> at Wiesbaden)		<i>Dis Manibus</i> (also at Bath)
early 2nd century	nom. fil. trib. origo ann stip <i>hse (t(ibi) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit))</i> at Carnuntum DM Nominative (dative) <i>annorum</i>		<i>DM</i> nominative (dative or genitive) filiation <i>tribus</i> <i>origo</i>

³² And widespread elsewhere on the Rhine and Danube. See below 409 and n. 40-46.

³³ In a military context, at least (see further at 410 below). The tombstone of the procurator Classicianus at London (*RIB* 12) uses the formula as early as c. AD 65.

	<i>stipendiorum</i> <i>h s e or h f c</i>		<i>annorum</i> <i>stipendiorum</i> <i>h s e or h f c</i>
Later 2nd century			<i>D M</i> nominative (dative or genitive) <i>vixit</i> <i>militavit</i> <i>h s e or h f c</i>

These factors enable us to address those inscriptions from Chester on which the name of the legion cannot be read. The use of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)* on sixteen of these allows us to attribute them to *legio XX*, for that formula can be taken as indicating a post first-century date³⁴ and is not seen on any of the known tombstones of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester. Others remain more intractable, for none of the chronological indicators tabulated above could help us clearly distinguish a soldier who died in AD 80 from one who died ten years later. However, the defining characteristics of the tombstones of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester are clear: a rounded headline, nominative case, filiation, voting tribe, *origo* and in most cases *centuria*, *annorum*, *stipendiorum*, *HSE*³⁵. None is so perfectly preserved as to present all of these characteristics (*RIB* 482 comes closest), but only *RIB* 478, the tombstone of a veteran, diverges

³⁴ See 268 below.

³⁵ Tombstones of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester:

<i>RIB</i>	Rounded headline	Nom.	Fil.	<i>tribus</i>	<i>origo</i>	<i>centuria</i>	<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Stip</i>	<i>HSE</i>
475	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
476	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			...
477	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓
478	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
479	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	...
480	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
481	...	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
482	...	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓
483	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
484	✓	✓	...	✓	✓
485	✗	✗	✓	✓
487*	✓	✓	✓	✓

significantly from this pattern. Of the tombstones known to be of *legio XX VV*, only five are in the nominative. None of these have a rounded headline, but *RIB* 498 (7.44) and 502 (7.69) otherwise match the formula of the *legio II Adiutrix* stones in almost every detail. It is this correspondence – unsurprising, for we may be dealing with epitaphs erected only a few years apart – which makes it difficult to assign these final stones which do not mention the legion (or on which the legion’s name does not survive). Forni implicitly accepts *RIB* 518, 524, 531, 535, 538, for their *origines* appear listed under *legio XX VV*³⁶. They are here listed out of the main sequence (7.113*, 115*, 118*, 120*, 122*) as unproven, if not rejected out of hand given the much longer occupation of Chester by *legio XX*.

Mason argued that all of the tombstones from Chester were either Flavian-Trajanic or third-century in date³⁷, but such a distinction could not be made purely on the basis of the epigraphy. Many would stand as easily in the middle and later second century. Consideration of sculptural style lends some support, placing most such examples in either the first or third centuries³⁸. However, this approach seems to lend itself to later dating than might otherwise be suggested – e.g. *CSIR* i 9.32 = 7.16 ‘middle or second half of the 3rd century’ – and places a number of tombstones in the second century nonetheless.

4. Centurial Stones

Stones recording the contribution of a particular century to a scheme of construction³⁹ provide another source of named individuals if they can be confidently ascribed to a legion. Such stones are well known from Hadrian’s Wall but also occur on other large building schemes at forts and fortresses. Claiming such individuals for a specific legion, however, often demands a greater knowledge of the course of construction than we truly possess. At Corbridge, for example, building is attested by three legions (*II Augusta*: *RIB* 1155-1158; *VI Victrix*: *RIB* 1159-1163; *XX Valeria Victrix*: *RIB* 1164-1166), so that the records of individual centurions cannot easily be allocated. Even at Lanchester or Ribchester where work by *legio XX* is clearly attested (*RIB* 1095 = 6.53; *RIB* 593 = 6.66), we cannot be certain that there was no

³⁶ Forni 1953, 233-4. Mann, working to similar ends is more circumspect: 1983a, 90 Table 9.

³⁷ Mason 2000, 108 n. 12.

³⁸ Henig 2004 = *CSIR* i 9.

³⁹ The principle of dividing construction work between centuries is described by Vegetius *Epitoma Rei Militaris* 3.8. No method of recording these *pedaturae* is described but cf. XIII 6548 *ped(atura) (centuriae) Iul(i) Silvani...*

contribution from another legion, and once we get to Hadrian's Wall the complications multiply. It is not clear whether smaller-scale renovation and repair would be marked in the same way. There are a large number of stones recording building or rebuilding which name only the unit or vexillation responsible⁴⁰. It may be that 'centurial stones' were only deemed necessary on large-scale schemes of construction *ab initio* with much, if not all, of the legion involved, and that they are therefore largely a second-century phenomenon. The question is explored further in respect of Hadrian's Wall in Appendix 2, but it might be noted that no distinctively third-century nomenclature can be seen on these or any other such stones from within Britain⁴¹.

Chester

Ten centurial inscriptions are known from Chester (*RIB* 467-474; *JRS* 58 (1968), 208 nos 9, 11). One only has been found *in situ*⁴². For the most part they appear to come from the circuit of walls⁴³ with two known from the amphitheatre. Two, one of those of Abucinus (6.1) and that of B]urricus (6.14), appear on carved pieces of masonry and may represent work done by masons of the respective centuries. The others appear to be 'centurial stones' as these are usually understood.

Table 1.9: Centurial stones from Chester

6.1	Abucinus	
6.9	Attius Celer	
6.14	B]urricus	
6.26	Ferronius	coh III

⁴⁰ *RIB*: see Goodburn and Waugh 1983, Index 10.3. Those of the Twentieth Legion are collected at II.9 below.

⁴¹ See Index to Appendix 3 and Goodburn and Waugh 1983, Index 6.4. The lack of Aurelii is striking.

⁴² *JRS* 58 (1968) 208 no.9 in the amphitheatre. It is suggested that *RIB* 474 may be the stone noticed by Roach Smith in the East wall (1850, 224). However, he describes the stone as 'similar to' the stone of Ocratius Maximus (*RIB* 467) but 'never inscribed'. This would suggest a stone with an ansate panel but with no legible inscription. It is difficult to equate this with *RIB* 474.

⁴³ Thus *RIB* 467, 470-474, although it would not seem that such could be inserted into the outer face of a wall of such monumental masonry (see 364 below). Interval towers, and perhaps also the parapet, were constructed of smaller mortared blocks: LeQuesne 1999, 96-8. Only a drawing now survives of *RIB* 469. It would appear to be a moulded block similar to those forming the wall cornice.

6.28	T. Flavius Cicatricula	
6.47	Q. Maximius	
6.51	Ocratius Maximus	coh I
6.57	Refidius	
6.63	Q. Terentius	

Rebuilding in stone at the legionary fortress has generally been ascribed to the Trajanic period⁴⁴, but may have begun considerably earlier and not been completed until much later. The Flavian defences at Inchtuthil included a stone wall fronting a turf rampart⁴⁵ so that early provision of stone defences at Chester is not impossible. Nor was all internal building necessarily of timber before the second century. The bath-house and granaries, unsurprisingly, seem to have been stone from the start, as also the *praetorium* and the 'elliptical building', so that construction in stone must have started at an early date in at least some areas⁴⁶. How much was carried through to completion is uncertain, however, and the history of the second century is one of dereliction across a surprising proportion of the fortress with final completion of many stone structures only occurring later⁴⁷. On the whole it seems unlikely that any of these centurial records belong to the brief period of occupation of the Second Adiutrix, and all have here been taken to belong to the Twentieth.

The reconstruction of the amphitheatre in stone is more securely placed in the second century⁴⁸ and the centurions B]urricus (6.14) and Refidius (6.57) can be taken as belonging to *legio XX*. The precise status of other individuals recorded on stones from within the amphitheatre is less clear. The amount of seating could have accommodated many more than just the legionaries from the fortress, and use of the amphitheatre may have continued into the fourth century, when military activity at Chester is less certain⁴⁹. A coping-stone inscribed MET FEL, Mettius (or Metilius) Felix, need not be seen as a building

⁴⁴ Nash-Williams 1969, 37; Frere 1987, 109; Wachter 1998, 33.

⁴⁵ Pitts and St.Joseph 1985, 61-71.

⁴⁶ Petch 1987, 136 and see below 362-364.

⁴⁷ See further 369 below and *cf.* Ottaway 1996, 292-3 for a similar situation at York.

⁴⁸ Thompson 1976, 181-2; Strickland 2003, 13.

⁴⁹ Petch 1987, 165; Mason 2001, 195; Hoffmann 2002.

record; '*Serano locus*' on a second coping stone records 'a place for Seranus'⁵⁰. Neither individual need necessarily be a legionary.

Holt

The legionary tiler at Holt is not thought to have begun production until the close of the first century. The evidence from the finds implies a date towards the end of the first century, and it is assumed that the start of production is linked to the rebuilding in stone of the original timber fortress and the occupation of Chester by *legio XX*⁶¹. The bath building at Chester is Vespasianic, and would have required the production of a large number of tiles by *legio II Adiutrix*. It must be presumed that they were manufactured elsewhere. At least one auxiliary is attested on a tile graffito from Holt (*RIB* 2491.96), so some doubt must remain over the identity of those others attested working at the site (6.6, 6.61, 6.71, 6.75, 7.25, 7.49, 7.57, 7.121*). The construction of the complex, however, is assumed to be due to, or under the command of, *legio XX*, so that the centurial stones of Cesonius (6.17) and Rufius Sabinus (6.58) are likely to relate to that legion. The centurion Rufius Sabinus recorded on Hadrian's Wall is assumed to be the same man, so that whatever work *RIB* 441 records, it is unlikely to have taken place much before the beginning of the second century.

Hadrian's Wall

The centurial stones of Hadrian's Wall present us with a different problem. It is clear that the Second, Sixth and Twentieth Legions were all involved in the construction of the wall⁵² but the division of labour between the three legions is neither clear-cut nor beyond doubt⁵³, so that although some 150 centurions are known from building stones found along the line of the wall⁵⁴, assigning these men to a legion is not always possible. Lists of centurions belonging to the Twentieth vary from the parsimonious (four offered by Goodburn and Waugh) to the optimistic (seventy-six allocated by

⁵⁰ Mettius Felix: *JRS* 57 (1967) 203 no.6; Seranus: 203 no.7.

⁵¹ Grimes 1930, 49-50; Nash-Williams 1969, 44.

⁵² Building stones of the three legions are indexed in Goodburn and Waugh 1989 Index 10.3.

⁵³ Exemplified by the reversal of the allocations to *legio XX* and *legio VI* between Breeze and Dobson 1978 and 1987, based on the discovery of a single inscription re-used in a wall-turret, and the subsequent admission of uncertainty, Breeze and Dobson 2000.

⁵⁴ Goodburn and Waugh 1983, Index 10.3 and reports in *JRS* and *Britannia* from 1955; gathered together in the Index to Appendix 3 below.

Stevens⁵⁵). The former is based strictly on the epigraphic evidence, the latter on a complicated building-scheme which has gained little support from later writers⁵⁶, although this figure appears to retain some currency⁵⁷. Between these two extremes, a body of 40 centurions of the Twentieth Legion can perhaps be identified (Appendix 3) and these are included as a group in the catalogue below.

5. Instrumentum domesticum

By their very nature – graffiti, indications of ownership etc., often without any named unit – this class of inscriptions relies crucially on provenance for the attribution of individuals to a specific legion, and most of the examples collected here come from Chester and Holt. Names are found as indications of personal ownership, or of common ownership by a named century, on such items as lead labels and seals, bread stamps, bronze discs and quernstones, and as graffiti on pottery and tile (Table).

Table I.10: Records of individuals on instrumentum domesticum

Item	Findspot	Reference
lead label	Chester	6.8, 6.65, 7.76, 7.90
lead seal	Leicester	6.34 (LXX)
	Lugdunum	7.96 (LXXVV)
	Corbridge	7.98 (LEGXXVV)
lead cap	Holt	7.121*
bone label	Chester	6.16
bread stamp	Chester	6.18, 6.46
	Holt	6.71, 6.75
pottery stamp	Holt	7.49
tile stamp	Chester, Holt	6.44
bronze disc	Chester	7.42 (silvered), 7.52
inscription on quernstone	Chester	6.49
graffiti on pottery	Colchester	6.40 (pre-Flavian)

⁵⁵ Stevens 1966 101-3, 138-9.

⁵⁶ See Hooley and Breeze 1968, 98.

⁵⁷ A.R. Birley 1980, 74; Hassall 1984.

	Usk	7.61 (Neronian)
	Chester	6.39
	Holt	7.57
graffiti on brick/tile	Holt	7.25, 7.88

Some attributions are easier to argue than others but where the context and date is clear we can have reasonable confidence. Others will remain less clear cut. When precisely was the *contubernium* of Messor active at Usk? In which years did the century of Iustus Super serve at Colchester?

Writing Tablets

The note of hand (IOU) issued by Q. Cassius Secundus (7.22) to C. Geminius Mansuetus (7.40) at Carlisle in AD 83 is a remarkable find, naming not only the two parties to the loan but also the centurions under whom they served; it is precisely dated to 7 November 83⁵⁸. A further writing tablet from the same context names the *seplasiarius* (pharmacist) Albanus (7.112*), who may well be a soldier, but the mixed nature of the garrison precludes certainty as to unit. A stylus tablet⁵⁹ addressed to M. Iulius Martialis 'Trimontio aut Lugu(v)alio', at Trimontium (Newstead) or Luguvalium (Carlisle), is known from elsewhere in the city. Martialis' unit is not identified and although the Twentieth had men at both places, so might other legions. Some of those mentioned on writing tablets from Vindolanda appear to be legionary centurions, but identification with centurions of specific units can only be tentative⁶⁰.

6. Numismatic

The Twentieth Legion appears on a number of legionary coin issues of the late third century: those of Gallienus (260-268), perhaps; but more certainly those of Victorinus (268-270) and Carausius (286-293) (Table 11). At the time of Gallienus' coin issue Britain was part of the Gallic Empire of Postumus, but vexillations drawn from the British and German legions are recorded at Sirmium in Pannonia during his reign⁶¹. Soldiers of the Twentieth might well have been available to him, therefore, but the reading of this

⁵⁸ Tomlin 1992, 146-50.

⁵⁹ McCarthy 1991, 216 No. 812.

⁶⁰ A.R. Birley 1991, 93-102 and see 6.19 below.

⁶¹ III 3228 = *ILS* 546.

coin is uncertain⁶². The issues of Victorinus and Carausius likewise include some legions over which it would seem unlikely that they held authority. Their inclusion may merely have been for propaganda purposes, but might again reflect the extent to which vexillations were detached for service far from their nominal base. In these latter cases, however, the main headquarters of the Twentieth Legion fell within the usurper's sphere of authority and its inclusion in these issues is to be expected. The coins issued by Carausius represent the latest evidence for the existence of the legion, and include some interesting variants on the usual nomenclature (see below Appendix 1).

Table 11: Coin issues to the Twentieth Legion

Reference	Legend	Date
<i>RIC 5 (i) 96.364</i>	LEG XX VI P VI F	Gallienus 258? (capricorn rather than boar, perhaps XXII misread)
<i>RIC 5(ii) 389.21</i>	LEG XX VAL VICTRIX P F	Victorinus 268-270
<i>RIC 5 (ii) 470.82</i>	LEG XX VV	Carausius 287-290
<i>RIC 5 (ii) 470.83</i>		
<i>RIC 5 (ii) 488.275</i>	LEG XX AUG	Carausius 287-290
Lyne 2000, 290 ⁶³	LEG XX VICTRI AUG	Carausius 289-90
Williams 2004, 68	LEG XX VAL VICTRICI	Carausius 289-90

⁶² *RIC 5 (i) 96 n. 4*; no examples are quoted from among the 70 hoards listed by Okamura 1991, 388.

⁶³ Lyne's reading *leg XX vict II Aug* seems doubtful, especially in the light of Lyne 2001, 291: *leg VI victrici Aug* and Williams 2004, 68: *leg VIII victri Aug*. *RIC 5 (ii) 488.275* would also indicate the award of the title *Augusta* to the Twentieth.

I.3

Archaeological Evidence

Before the legion's documented appearance on the Rhine we have little in the way of archaeological evidence for its activity. The legion on the march leaves little trace. Temporary camps are identifiable in the right circumstances, but yield little that might identify their occupants⁶⁴. The archaeological evidence can greatly illuminate the history of individual sites and the accumulated knowledge allows us to write history on a larger scale, but for the individual unit it is in essence the epigraphic evidence which allows us to place them at a specific site. It is often only once that unit becomes established at an identifiable base that the archaeological evidence can really begin to contribute to our understanding. Away from these sites it is difficult still to define what constitutes a 'military' assemblage⁶⁵; at the level of the individual unit it is harder still.

The earliest suggested base of the Twentieth Legion is at Aquileia, but this rests solely on the discovery there of the tombstones of two serving soldiers; the nature of the military establishment is unclear⁶⁶. A presence at Oescus in Moesia is similarly indicated, but the known legionary fortress is perhaps too late⁶⁷. Burnum in Dalmatia is likewise suggested as an establishment of the legion from the presence there of the tombstone of the centurion Sal. Frebranus Baculus (6.32). Excavations here have not greatly illuminated the history of the Augustan fortress⁶⁸. At Cologne, on the Rhine, evidence for a legionary fortress beneath the later *colonia* has not been forthcoming, and attention has shifted to Cologne-Alteburg, some 3km to the south, the later headquarters of the *classis Germanica*⁶⁹. Here too, it is only the literary and epigraphic evidence that reveals the legion's presence. At Neuss extensive post-war excavation by von Petrikovits revealed a long sequence of military occupation⁷⁰. The establishment of a single legionary fortress, in contrast to the larger multiple-unit camps of the Augustan era, is attributed to

⁶⁴ Welfare and Swan 1995, 21.

⁶⁵ James 2002, 47.

⁶⁶ Calderini 1930, 196; Chilver 1941, 12; Wilkes 2000, 114; and see 323 below.

⁶⁷ Kabakcieva 2000, 19, 120.

⁶⁸ Wilkes 1969, 75; Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger and Kandler 1979, 9.

⁶⁹ Paffgen and Zanier 1995; Carroll 2001, 126.

⁷⁰ von Petrikovits 1961; *Novaesium* vols i-ix (1967-83) in *Limesforschungen* series; Chantraine 1984.

Tiberius, and a candidate identified for this period of occupation among the site's many phases. However, the evidence is fragmentary, and the sparse epigraphic evidence is again all that truly ties the legion to this position.

In Britain, excavations directed by Crummy at Colchester (Crummy 1984, 1992 and, more generally, 1988, 1997) have identified the legionary fortress underlying the later *colonia*. Hurst at Gloucester (Hurst 1985, 1986, 1988), Manning at Usk (Manning 1981, 1995; see also Marvell 1996), Webster at Wroxeter (Webster 1988; 2002), and Richmond and St Joseph at Inchtuthil (Pitts and St Joseph 1985) have each contributed greatly to our knowledge of the legionary fortresses of Britain and to the evolving picture of the movements of the legions (Hassall 2000a; Manning 2000). Once again, however, the argument for occupation of these sites by the Twentieth derives largely from the historical record (a seal-box lid bearing the image of a boar from Usk is the only item that might conceivably provide independent confirmation⁷¹). The form and scale of a legionary fortress is well known and identifiable, but epigraphy, it seems, remains the key in the study of individual units.

Once we do have an identifiable permanent base, we are on a better footing, and the continuing analysis of the work of many years, and many people, at Chester is throwing up interesting questions (and some interesting answers). The antiquarian observations of Shrubsole, Watkin, de Gray Birch *et al.* and excavations over many years by Newstead, Petch, Webster, Thompson, Mason and Strickland, amongst others⁷², have elucidated the chronology and character of the occupation of the fortress. Much of the layout is now clear to us; barrack blocks have been investigated, at least in part, throughout the fortress; the major fortress buildings located and largely characterised; episodes of construction, abandonment and rebuilding can be identified and dating offered (Mason 2001; Strickland 2003); the form and development of the defensive circuit has been studied in detail (LeQuesne 2000) as has the question of the large proportion of the fortress taken up by structures of no clear military function (Mason 2000). These help provide the framework in which the history of the legion unfolds.

⁷¹ But see Brewer 2002.

⁷² See particularly *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* 72 (1992-3) on the development of archaeological research in Chester.

Although this archaeological evidence can inform us of the duration and nature of occupation of sites, as we have seen it can but rarely supply us with information that would identify a specific unit in the absence of supporting literary or epigraphic evidence. Reece indeed has argued that the individual named unit is a textual concept rather than a material reality, and that the study of such from an archaeological viewpoint has little future⁷³. It might seem to be going too far to assert that material studies cannot distinguish even categories of unit, but the work is perhaps lacking⁷⁴. Although the poverty of the material remains from turrets on Hadrian's wall has been used to draw inferences on the nature of the men posted there⁷⁵, for example, differences in the material culture of legionaries and auxiliaries have largely tended to revolve around matters of arms and armour. However, even here the significance, or otherwise, of finds of *lorica segmentata* continues to be debated⁷⁶. For the rest more in-depth study is required. The distribution of embossed belt plates of the first-century AD hints at a specificity of equipment, for their distribution in Britain matches closely the known sphere of activity of *legio II Augusta* in that period⁷⁷. They are rather more widespread in Germania Superior and Inferior, however, and attribution to a single legion on that basis would seem harder. Nothing similar has yet been identified which might identify the Twentieth Legion.

The products of the legionary potteries ought to allow some inferences to be drawn, were the defining factors in their production and distribution better known. On the whole they seem not to be long lasting, nor to travel far beyond the legionary fortresses, if they travel with the legions at all. Strong similarities between wares produced at Longthorpe and at Lincoln do suggest movement of potters along with the Ninth Legion, but the subsequent pottery at York is quite different, indeed more akin to that produced at Holt than that at Lincoln⁷⁸. There is no strong resemblance between the pottery at Usk, Wroxeter and Inchtuthil which might allow us to suggest the presence of 'Twentieth Legion' potters, be these soldiers, civilians or slaves⁷⁹. Although Swan has identified products of the Holt

⁷³ Reece 2002, 185.

⁷⁴ Coulston (ed.) 1988.

⁷⁵ Allason-Jones 1988.

⁷⁶ Maxfield 1986; Bishop and Coulston 1993, 206-9.

⁷⁷ Bishop 1987, 122-3; Bishop and Coulston 1993, 197, Fig. 139.

⁷⁸ Darling 1981, 404-5; Monaghan 1993, 706.

⁷⁹ Greene 1977; Darling 1981, 406-7.

kilns on the Antonine Wall⁸⁰, it seems that distinctive ‘legionary’ fine wares might be made where required by only one or two potters⁸¹ and the variations from site to site too large to allow the recognition of a signature type. The question of legionary tile-stamps and antefixes (*RIB* 2458-2463) is germane here, for we could hardly require much more of a material difference than that different legions identified their property with different stamps. But again, this is epigraphy (or in the case of the boar, iconography) and it should be noted that these products appear to travel further than the legionaries themselves⁸². The distribution of legionary wares, if not made to a specific and identifiable preference, might be equally misleading. Production begins to wane in the early second century, and with the expansion of the civilian pottery industry even this signifier is lost, although wares such as the BB1 from the Dorset kilns appear to have been favoured by the military⁸³. Attempts to link this distribution to the movements of the Second Augusta have been found lacking, however⁸⁴. Work on identifying culturally distinctive wares and forms within pottery assemblages has thrown up a number of interesting results⁸⁵. But although material culture might identify men from Upper Germany at Wilderspool, or of African origin at Chester, as things stand we could not demonstrate that they were members of the Twentieth Legion in the same way⁸⁶. Representations of the legionary emblems in ceramic and stone provide us with a further clue to the identity of an occupying force, but the image of the boar has more general associations in the contemporary iconography and by itself may be of limited use (see further Appendix 2 below).

If the material culture of the legionaries as yet provides little that might identify the legion in which they served, then one further approach lies in the recognition of distinctive building practices. These might be identifiable at sites known to have been founded by a specific unit or even at existing sites where a change of garrison might be evidenced by rebuilding, renovation, or a change of layout⁸⁷. Such characteristic practices are difficult to identify, however, for the lack of complete plans means

⁸⁰ Swan 1999a; 1999b.

⁸¹ Greene 1977, 126.

⁸² *RIB* II⁴, 125-7 and especially 126 Fig. 1.

⁸³ Gillam 1973; Gillam and Greene 1981; Allen and Fulford 1996, 267-9.

⁸⁴ Reece 2002, 183-4.

⁸⁵ Swan 1992; 1997; 1999b.

⁸⁶ The point is made of *legio II Augusta* by Reece 2002, 186.

⁸⁷ Evans 1994, 147-8.

that variations within and between fortresses are neither well defined nor well understood⁸⁸. One possibility noted for the Twentieth is the distinctive layout of the barrack blocks at Inchtuthil and Chester, and of some of those at Gloucester and Wroxeter, which incorporate an alley between the *contubernia* and the centurion's quarters⁸⁹. However, this characteristic is not apparent at Colchester, nor in all cases at Gloucester and Wroxeter, and is seen even in the timber phase of the barracks at Chester which would not normally be attributed to the Twentieth⁹⁰. Although this feature might be seen as characteristic of early cohort barracks in *Britannia*⁹¹, it cannot perhaps be tied directly to the Twentieth Legion, even if its continued use at Chester is unusual. For all their general standardisation, details of barrack blocks, even of the number of *contubernia*, are hugely variable between fortresses, and such traits are as yet not well enough defined for us to attribute them to specific units. The stone walls of Chester are likewise distinctive, and can be paralleled in Britain only by the walls at Gloucester, but here too the arguments continue over what this might mean⁹². The large number of legionary bases now known in Britain are confidently allocated to the various legions, and, from time to time, reallocated with no less confidence⁹³. Without the literary and epigraphic evidence, it seems, we would simply be unable to recognise differences between the garrisons.

The case of Hadrian's Wall is also instructive, for here distinctive building practices would seem to allow the best hope of recognising the work of individual legions. Three different styles have been noted in the construction of mile-castles, turrets and curtain-wall⁹⁴. These different styles, evident in a single piece of construction over a relatively short period of time, where the work is known to have been divided between three different legions, offer us our best hope of identifying signature styles. However, even here we find that not all structures fall easily into our three categories and, worse, that a foundation may have been laid by one legion, which therefore dictated the form, but the superstructure completed by another and ultimately adorned with an inscription identifying it as

⁸⁸ Carrington 1985, 23-5. On the layout of legionary fortresses generally: von Petrikovits 1975.

⁸⁹ Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 155; Davison 1989, 24-5.

⁹⁰ Mason 2001, 59 and see further below 359 and n. 220.

⁹¹ von Petrikovits 1975, 62; Davison 1989, 25.

⁹² Hurst 1999; Hassall and Hurst 1999.

⁹³ Hassall 2000a.

⁹⁴ Hooley and Breeze 1968 and see further Appendix 3 below.

theirs⁹⁵. For all the effort put into these classifications, Breeze and Dobson in the most recent edition of their work on the Wall (2000) have to concede that they cannot as yet be attributed to specific legions.

⁹⁵ Hill 1991, 36.

I.4

Prosopography and Onomastics

Prosopographical studies have largely focused on the Senatorial classes and the holders of the higher equestrian procuratorships. Such is the scope of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, for example, and of provincial *fasti* (*Germania*: Ritterling 1932; *Hispania*: Alföldy 1969; *Narbonensis*: Pflaum 1978; *Britannia*: A.R. Birley 1981; *Dacia*: Piso 1993; amongst others). This might be seen as an outmoded concentration on the ruling classes at the expense of the *plebs*, but in truth it merely represents the balance of the available data. The lives of the senatorial aristocracy furnish us with a wealth of historical and epigraphic data from which to reconstruct careers, familial and social relationships. The lives of those lower down the social scale are rarely so well documented. The equestrian class comes closest and is well served by the extensive catalogue of Devijver (5 vols, 1976-1993) and his associated studies (1988; 1992), as well as those of Pflaum (1960; 1970; 1982) and Demougin (1988; 1992). Much further it is rarely possible to go. The many records of ordinary citizens, freedmen and slaves illuminate the daily lives of the people of the Empire, but variations in the 'epigraphic habit' (Mann 1985), geographically and through time, limit the scope for any general conclusions. It would be a senator of rare modesty who never saw his name and achievements commemorated in stone. For studies of the plebeians, however, we might find our conclusions applicable only to those who chose to erect stone monuments, and this might tell us nothing of the lives of those who chose otherwise.

In the military sphere, however, we find ourselves with a framework which allows us to quantify and assess better the nature of the evidence available to us, for the epigraphic habit was more strongly ingrained, and our knowledge of unit sizes, command structures and career paths allows us to make more of the limited evidence available. Thus Dobson (1978) on the *primipilares*; Le Roux (1974) and Summerly (1991) on centurions; Ott (1995) on the *beneficarii*; Clauss (1973) on the *principales*; Dąbrowa (1993) on the officers of *legio X Fretensis*; and Le Bohec (1989) on the officers and men of *legio III Augusta* have all drawn much out of the available data. Despite the sparser evidence, details of family and class structure are still to be gleaned, and wider questions of demography (Scheidel 1996) and recruitment and settlement (Forni 1953; 1974; Mann 1983a) can be approached.

The method behind such study is rarely stated. Where there is sufficient documentation, quite extensive networks of family relationships can be established. Where there is less, it comes down to matters of nomenclature and social class and a rarely, if ever, quantified likelihood (or otherwise) that there could be two people of the same name following similar career paths at the same time and place⁹⁶. Thus the legate T. Pomponius Mamilianus (1.4) might be the consul of AD 100, and therefore perhaps the Mamilianus to whom Pliny wrote some years later, or perhaps the son of that man and consul himself in 121. One or other of the two known *primipili* named M. Aurelius Alexander may have gone on to be the *praefectus castrorum* of that name at Chester (4.1). M. Tillius Rufus (6.64) might be the only *trecenarius* from Atina serving in the period 208-213, and identifiable therefore with the *primus pilus* at Mainz. Whether nomenclature and rank alone are enough to connect the centurion Pon[...] Magnus (6.102) with the Pontienus Magnus *pp leg X Fretensis*, or Vesuius Rufus (6.112) with the Veruius Rufus of the same legion, is less clear, but the names are uncommon. We might similarly deem it likely that L. Maximius Gaetulicus (6.48), centurion of the Twentieth Legion, was the same man as the *primus pilus* of *legio I Italica*, even were it not directly stated. However, the nomenclature of L. Valerius Proculus (6.70) is so colourless that had we only separate records of him as *beneficiarius* in *legio V Macedonica* and centurion in the Twentieth, no connection could confidently be proposed. Neither might we suppose that the Q. Cornelii (7.27, 7.116*, 7.117*) at Chester were in any way related, nor that the two Cassii Secundi (7.21, 7.22) were necessarily the same person. P. Aelius [... (7.1), whatever his rank, was related to, perhaps in fact the son of, a man of some standing, one of the chief magistrates of the *colonia Sarmizegetusa* in Dacia, but the ubiquitous nature of the Aelian nomenclature leaves little scope for more in-depth study of his background.

As these examples demonstrate, matters of origin and nomenclature can be key in allowing us to propose connections between individuals of known rank and social class. In the absence of a direct record of

⁹⁶ See Watson 1965, 51 on two records from Potaissa of Aurelius Sedatus, *immunis librarius*: but *cf.* XIII 6801, two centurions of *cohors I*, both named Val(erius) Alexand(er), AD 204; the various centurions named Iulius Candidus, 6.87 below and Summerly 1991, 165-6; also Fink 1971, 108.9, two men named C. Iulius Longus in the same century; Dean 1916, 25-7, for the multiple appearances of the very common Iulius Felix.

origo, or inferred *origo* from place of commemoration (see Index 3), what we are left with falls largely within the sphere of onomastics, the study of the distribution of names throughout the Empire.

Onomastics

The huge work of the *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum* (4 vols; 1994-2000) provides an invaluable key to the distribution of *nomina* and *cognomina* in the European provinces, and is particularly useful here, given the normal patterns of recruitment into the legion (see below Chapter II.7 2; Tables of distributions are presented in Appendix 4). The sample size is large enough in many cases for us to conclude that the distributions presented are meaningful; but that is not to say that the meaning is necessarily clear. Its principal failing is the lack of any detailed chronological framework. We may readily accept that nomenclature has a varied geographical distribution, but that this distribution should remain fixed for a period of centuries seems considerably less likely. Some names might have had a shorter *floruit*⁹⁷, but it might still be unwise to conclude that a name prevalent in one area in the late first century could not be commoner in some other place by the end of the second; the *Onomasticon* can only give us its relative frequency in both areas.

Throughout most of the period under consideration here, we are dealing with the *tria nomina* of the Roman citizen, in fully developed form including *praenomen*, *nomen*, filiation, voting-tribe, and *cognomen*; e.g. from Chester

7.44 *C. Iulius C. f. Cl(audia) Quartus*

Gaius Iulius Quartus, son of Gaius, of the Claudian voting tribe

The derivation of these various elements can tell us something about the origin of an individual, even where that is not explicitly stated, and along with the changing conventions of nomenclature can also provide some aid in dating. The *cognomen* only becomes common in Roman nomenclature from the late Republic onwards. Few appear on records of the legion prior to AD 43; thereafter they become virtually

⁹⁷ See Solin 1977 comparing *cognomina* in use in the late Republican period with those of the third and fourth centuries onwards. Of 1945 names only 196 appeared in both lists. The stock had almost completely changed in 400 years.

ubiquitous⁹⁸. Record of filiation and *tribu* on tombstones becomes less frequent in the second century and eventually disappears, along with the *praenomen* which by the third century was no longer in general use (see above Table 7).

In provincial nomenclature the *praenomen* and *nomen* can often be linked through a grant of citizenship to the nomenclature of the emperor responsible: thus the frequent appearance of *C. Iulii*, *Ti. Claudii*, *T. Flavii*, *M. Ulprii*, *P. Aelii* and *M. Aurelii*. As well as providing a *terminus post quem* in these cases, the regional distribution can also be informative, *Iulii* being particularly common in the Gallic provinces, *Ulprii* especially so in Dacia and on the Danube. The extension of the citizenship to all free-born men by Caracalla (M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius) in 212 ensured that *Aurelii* became very common in the third century. Likewise, other relatively common *nomina*: e.g. *Aemilius*, *Antonius*, *Cornelius*, *Domitius*, *Pompeius* and *Valerius*, whilst perhaps ‘colourless and suggestive of recent citizenship’⁹⁹ nevertheless exhibit an uneven distribution allowing some inferences to be made. Rarer *gentilicia* can point more directly to origins in specific regions of Italy, or elsewhere, and the formation of others from Celtic or Germanic roots can be equally distinctive¹⁰⁰. The voting-tribe, something of an anachronism throughout most of the period under consideration, can also indicate an origin or specific grant of citizenship. *Quirina* is often indicative of a citizenship grant in the period 41-96, *Papiria* similarly so under Trajan; *Galeria* is especially common in Spain, *Voltinia* in Narbonensis¹⁰¹.

Cognomina are many and varied – Kajanto listed more than five and a half thousand – but some are very common indeed. Eighteen names occurred more than a thousand times each in Kajanto’s corpus and these eighteen accounted for one in four of the total collection¹⁰². However, even amongst these, there are observable distributions – they are not equally common everywhere, nor necessarily at all times (Appendix 4, Table A9) – and the many rarer examples give us some further hope. Dean specifically addressed the *cognomina* of Roman legionaries, and provides detailed studies of the fifty-six commonest

⁹⁸ Kajanto 1965; Dean 1916, 108. But *cf.* the absence of *cognomina* on four tombstones of *legio VIII* at Lincoln: Keppie 2000c, 88. Either this legion retained different habits, or a rather slower adoption of *cognomina* by soldiers in the province might be presumed.

⁹⁹ Birley 1953, 107.

¹⁰⁰ Alföldy 1967.

¹⁰¹ A.R. Birley 1993, 42, 48.

names in his corpus (those with at least twenty examples), including assessment of geographical and chronological distribution¹⁰³. However, there are perhaps too few well-dated examples for the chronological variations to be much help. Dean supposed a large element of men gaining citizenship on enlistment, and hence choosing a name at that point (or having one chosen for them). This initial assumption guides his approach. He thus considers such subsets as ‘*cognomina* denoting qualities suited to men in military service’¹⁰⁴, whilst in truth these include names otherwise perfectly common, such as Felix, Fortunatus and Victor (all among Kajanto’s eighteen commonest).

Some *cognomina* have been seen as particularly ‘African’, popular because of their closeness in meaning to an established Punic name. They fall outside of the scope of the *Onomasticon* and some of the commonest such listed by Kajanto are not so strikingly prevalent when only the European material is considered (see Table A9). Kajanto noted especially the preponderance of the names *Martialis* and *Saturninus* – 42% of known examples of the former, and 46% of the latter, are recorded in Africa¹⁰⁵, here perhaps through association with names including divine elements such as Baal, the Punic equivalent of Saturn¹⁰⁶. However, this by itself is not enough as an indicator of origin, for that province is particularly rich in surviving epigraphic texts. Adjusting for the relative abundance of surviving records (see further below), we could come up with an estimate of the probability that a randomly selected individual of that name came from Africa. The key here is ‘randomly selected’. Our *Saturninus* would have to be equally likely to come from anywhere in the Empire for this to have any validity, and this is not the case when considering records of the Twentieth Legion. What we know of normal patterns of recruitment (Forni 1956, Mann 1981) would in fact render it most unlikely that men of African origin would be recruited into the legion¹⁰⁷, and the nomenclature itself is not sufficient to outweigh that.

As has been intimated, neither *nomina* nor *cognomina* are evenly distributed around the provinces and the material collected and arranged in the *Onomasticon* allows some attempt to be made to quantify this

¹⁰² Kajanto 1965, 29.

¹⁰³ Dean 1916, 13-62.

¹⁰⁴ Dean *op. cit.*, 65-7.

¹⁰⁵ Kajanto 1965, 212-3.

¹⁰⁶ Dean 1916, 114-5.

geographical distribution. In order to make use of this information, however, we need to take into account the unequal distribution of epigraphic material throughout these provinces. Mócsy gives the following estimates for numbers of inscriptions recovered from the European provinces¹⁰⁸: Cisalpine Gaul 8600; Hispania 7600; Gallia Belgica and the Germaniae 5300; Narbonensis 5200; Dalmatia 4900; Pannonia 3200; Noricum 1600; Dacia 1500; Aquitania 1500; Britain 1300; Lugdunensis 1300; Moesia Inferior 900; Moesia Superior 800; Raetia 300. Following the abbreviations used in the *Onomasticon* we can translate this into approximate percentage terms:

ITA	HIS	BEG	NAR	DAL	PAN	NOR	DAC	AQV	BRI	LUG	MIN	MSV	RAE
19.5	17	12	12	11	7	3.5	3.5	3.5	3	3	2	2	0.5

If a name were equally common across these provinces, these then would be the percentages which we would expect to find. Tables are presented in Appendix 4 below (A7-10) contrasting the observed against the expected figures for *nomina* and *cognomina* referred to here and throughout Chapter II. It can be seen that, even allowing for some random variation, even distribution is rarely the case¹⁰⁹. The question of whether any significant inference is to be drawn from these observed distributions is another matter. A marginal increase in the frequency of a name in a distant province might not outweigh the greater likelihood of more local recruitment. Some examples may illustrate the point.

L. Aemilius Flaccus (7.4). Both elements of the name show a clear Spanish bias. It can be noted that the legate M. Aemilius Papus (1.6) was from Salpensa and the tribune L. Aemilius Naso Fabullinus (2.2), who was enrolled in the tribe Galeria, probably also came from Spain. Flaccus' colleague T. Sempronius Pudens (7.75) likewise bears a *nomen* strongly represented in Spain. The tribune C. Sempronius Fidus (3.13) came from Tarraco.

Caecilius Avitus (7.16) also exhibits nomenclature strongly represented in Spain. In his case the origin, at Emerita Augusta, is explicit. But *cf.* Caecilius Donatus (7.17), a Bessian from Thrace. The *cognomen*,

¹⁰⁷ But see the arguments of Swan (1992, 1997) from ceramic styles and *cf.* Macrinus (7.57) and the *ignotus* from Oia (7.100).

¹⁰⁸ Mócsy 1983, iv.

¹⁰⁹ *cf.* the distribution graphs presented in Mócsy 1985.

uncommon in the European provinces (but much commoner in Africa¹¹⁰), is very evenly distributed, and the *nomen* by itself might mislead.

L. Caiatius Sextinus (7.18): distribution of the *cognomen* matches his *origo* at Lugdunum. **L. Licinius Valens** (7.54) from Arles: his *nomen* would suggest Spain or Narbonensis, but the *cognomen* is surprisingly rare in Narbonensis. In the absence of additional data we might suggest Spain as his most likely *origo*.

C. Valerius Iullus (7.85) was from Vienne. The *cognomen* is unusual and the few examples appear in the Gallic and German provinces. However, **M. Sextius Bellicus** (7.77) from Celeia in Noricum might be placed in the same region purely on the basis of the distribution of that *cognomen* (considered together with its derivatives – Bellicinus, Bellicianus, Bellicius – the distribution tends more towards this latter province).

M. Porcius Iasuctan (6.54): the *nomen* would clearly suggest Spain, but his *cognomen* is of Numidian origin, and earlier service in the *III Augusta* give us the truth of the case.

Cornelii are over-represented in Spain and Narbonensis, but the two examples of known origin (7.28, 7.29) come from Italy. Both are of early date when recruitment from such sources was more usual.

It is clear that in some cases nomenclature alone would lead us to incorrect conclusions, and that *nomina* or *cognomina* by themselves rarely suffice. Alföldy, in his revision of an earlier study of the *auxilia* in Dalmatia, concluded that prosopography of the soldiers did not work well¹¹¹. In essence, the same thing is attempted here. If it works any better it may be that the higher social standing of legionaries and their origin in citizen communities allows a greater insight into background, given the often limited onomastic evidence. However, the suggestion of origin based on nomenclature alone can founder on our imperfect understanding of the distribution of names and the changes in such distributions over time. In the end the majority of these can only be taken as tentative.

¹¹⁰ Dean 1916, 112; Syme 1978.

¹¹¹ Alföldy 1987, 278-91 with Nachtrage 297 and see Speidel 1989b, 101.

II.1

Legatus legionis

1. C. Manlius Valens

Tacitus *Annales* 12.40 ...*adversa interim legionis pugna, cui Manlius Valens praeerat...*

‘...meanwhile a Legion commanded by Manlius Valens had suffered a reverse...’

Valens¹ was legate of a British legion which suffered a reverse during campaigning in Wales against the Silures in AD 52. Current thought places *legio XX* in that quarter, at Kingsholm and/or Usk². Valens is later found in command of *legio I Italica* with Vitellius at Lugdunum in AD 69³ and did not become consul until very late in life in AD 96, dying the following year at the age of 90⁴.

2. M. Roscius Coelius

1. Tacitus *Historiae*.1.60: *Praeerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam ac sordis contemptus exercitui invisusque. Accendebat odium eius Roscius Caelius legatus vicensimae legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperat. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Caelio, spoliatas et inopes legiones Caelius Trebellio obiectabat, cum interim foedis legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta eoque discordiae ventum ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus et adgregantibus se Caelio cohortibus alisque desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit. Quies provinciae quamquam remoto consulari mansit: rexere legati legionum, pares iure, Caelius audendo potentior.*

‘The (British) governor was Trebellius Maximus, whose greed and miserliness had earned him the contempt and dislike of his army. His unpopularity was enhanced by the attitude of the commander of the Twentieth Legion, Roscius Coelius. The two men had long been on bad terms, but the convenient

¹ *PIR*² M 163; Birley 1981, 230. *Fasti Ostienses = Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 195, 223.

² Manning 1981, 34-9; Frere 1987, 66; and see Chapter III.2.

³ Tacitus *Hist.* 1.64.

⁴ Dio 67, 14.5.

accident of civil war had intensified the quarrel. Trebellius accused Coelius of disloyalty and disrespect towards his superior. Coelius replied by pointing to the despoiled and impoverished state of the legions. Meanwhile, this scandalous feud between two senior officers prejudiced the discipline of the army. The situation became so bad that the auxiliaries in their turn denounced Trebellius and refused to have anything to do with him. The cohorts and the cavalry regiments went over to Coelius' side, and the discomfited governor had to take refuge with Vitellius. Despite his removal, the province carried on quietly. It was administered by the legionary commanders, theoretically on an equal footing, though Coelius' lack of scruple gave him greater pull.' (Wellesley)

2. Tacitus *Agricola*.7.5: *...vicesimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum ..., ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio.*

'...the Twentieth Legion had been slow to transfer its allegiance, and its retiring commander (Coelius) was reported to be disloyal. Actually, since even governors of consular rank found this legion more than they could manage and were afraid of it, the fact that a praetorian commander lacked sufficient authority to control it may well have been the soldier's fault rather than his.' (Mattingly)

M. Roscius Coelius⁵ is recorded by Tacitus as legate of the Twentieth in AD 69, during the outbreak of civil war in the empire. The governor of Britain at the time, Trebellius Maximus⁶, was unpopular with the army and Coelius had long been on bad terms with him. Trebellius accused Coelius of disloyalty and disrespect – Coelius pointed to the despoiled and impoverished state of the legions. The advent of civil war intensified the quarrel and with the auxiliaries also siding with Coelius, Trebellius fled to join Vitellius in Gaul, possibly taking with him the 8000 men drawn from the garrison of Britain by Vitellius⁷. It is tempting to conclude that it was the raising of this force that was the source of the friction with Coelius, but the feud was reportedly of long standing, and the 'despoiled and impoverished' state of the legions is in deliberate balance to Tacitus' earlier description of the 'greed and miserliness' of Trebellius.

⁵ *PIR*² R 94; A.R.Birley 1981, 231-2.

⁶ A.R.Birley 1981, 59-62.

⁷ Trebellius' difficulties with the forces under his command are described elsewhere by Tacitus (*Agricola* 16.4-5) presumably referring to the same events.

In any event, if there was disagreement on this score, the army of Britain nevertheless remained firmly on the side of Vitellius and in the absence of Trebellius, was administered by the legates (Coelius taking the lead) until the arrival of the new governor Vettius Bolanus. Roscius still seems to have been a cause of some concern, and the Twentieth was late in swearing allegiance to the new emperor, Vespasian, though Tacitus seems inclined to put the blame as much on the truculence of the legionaries as on Coelius himself⁸.

Coelius' initial appointment was probably due to Nero for he had apparently been in post for some time by 69. The province had been reduced to three legions in 67 by the withdrawal of *legio XIV Gemina*, and Coelius' legateship may have encompassed the transfer of the Twentieth from Gloucester to Wroxeter. Coelius was replaced early in 70 by Agricola and though details of his later career are lost, the fact that he eventually attained the consulship in 81⁹ implies no lasting disgrace.

3. Cn. Iulius Agricola

Tacitus *Agricola passim*. (7.5-9.1 as legate): *is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integre ac strenue vicesimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur ... ita successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.*

'He (Mucianus) sent Agricola to enrol recruits, and when he had performed that task with conscientious zeal put him in command of the Twentieth Legion. It had been slow to transfer its allegiance, and its retiring commander (Coelius) was reported to be disloyal. ... Appointed, therefore, not merely to take over command, but also to mete out punishment, Agricola took disciplinary measures, but, with rare modesty, did his best to give the impression that no such measures had been necessary.' (Mattingly)

⁸ Tac. *Agric.* 7.5: as with many of Tacitus' comments, this may only have been intended to show Agricola in a better light.

⁹ VI 2060.

Cn. Iulius Agricola¹⁰ (AD 40-93) is by far the best known of the legates of *legio XX*, owing to the survival of the biography written by his son-in-law Tacitus. Unusually, he held all three of his military posts in Britain, as tribune, legate and governor. He served as *tribunus laticlavius* from 58 to 61 and performed sufficiently well to be co-opted onto the staff of the governor, Suetonius Paulinus¹¹. This term in Britain coincided with the rebellion of Boudica, and although we have no precise indication of his involvement, his presence on the staff of the governor might indicate involvement in the campaigns in Anglesey and in the subsequent rout of the British under Boudica. The account in Tacitus' *Annals*¹² of the actions (or rather lack of action) of the *praefectus castrorum* Poenius Postumus must imply that both the legate and the *tribunus laticlavius* of *legio II Augusta* were absent at the time, and it has been suggested that it was to this legion that Agricola was attached¹³.

Returning to Rome he continued on a career progress through the usual stages of the Senatorial *cursus*. He was elected to the quaestorship in 62, and appointed to the province of Asia in 63-64; he was tribune of the plebs in 66 and praetor in 68. During the turbulent events of AD 69 Agricola was quick to throw in his lot with the party of Vespasian and early in 70, after a period spent levying troops in northern Italy, he was sent to Britain by the new emperor to replace the troublesome Roscius Coelius as legate of the Twentieth. His first job was to restore discipline to this unruly legion, but it appears that there was little campaigning until the arrival of Petilius Cerialis as governor in 71. Thereafter Agricola was involved in a series of campaigns against the Brigantes (for which again we lack detail) before returning once more to Rome in 73. He was raised to the rank of patrician and appointed governor of Aquitania for the period 74-76. The following year he was appointed suffect *consul* and then sent back to Britain as governor, a post he held for at least 7 years, encompassing campaigns in North Wales, northern England and Scotland¹⁴. It is probable that his old legion the Twentieth played a large part in these campaigns and seems the most likely candidate for the intended occupation of the new legionary fortress at Inchtuthil¹⁵.

¹⁰ *PIR*² I 126; A.R.Birley 1981, 73-81.

¹¹ Thus Furneaux and Anderson 1922, 50. A.R.Birley 1981, 74 suggests that the phrase at Tacitus *Agr.* 5.1 may mean only that he had been given commission as a tribune.

¹² Tacitus *Ann.* 14.37.

¹³ Syme, 1958, 764.

¹⁴ Hanson 1987; see Chapter III.2, 350 and n. 174 for discussion of the chronology which retains some difficulties.

Agricola's uniquely specialised military career (his is the only recorded instance of a senator serving in all three military ranks, tribune, legionary legate, and governor, in the same province) and unusual length of service as governor perhaps owes much to the interest in British affairs shown by Vespasian and Titus, both of whom had served there. After the accession of Domitian, however, a close association with the old regime was a positive disadvantage. In 84 Agricola returned to Rome quietly and was prevailed upon to retire from public life. His conquests in Scotland were abandoned soon after.

4. T. Pomponius Mamilianus

1. RIB 445 (Chester): *Fortunae Reduci | [A]esculap(io) et Saluti eius | libert(i) et familia | [T(iti)] P[o]mponi T(iti) f(ili) Gal(eria) Mamilian[i] | Rufi Antistiani Funisulan[i] | Vetton[i]ani leg(ati) Aug(usti) | d(ederunt) d(edicauerunt)*

'To Fortune the Home-Bringer, to Aesculapius and to his health, the freedmen and slave-household of Titus Pomponius Mamilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus, son of Titus, of the Galerian voting-tribe, imperial legate, gave and dedicated this.'

2. Pliny *Ep.* 9. 25: *C. Plinius Mamiliano Suo S. Querereis de turba castrensium negotiorum et, tamquam summo otio perfruare, lusus et ineptias nostras legis, amas, flagitas meque ad similia condenda non mediocriter incitas...*

'Gaius Plinius to Mamilianus. You grumble about being beset with military affairs, and yet you can read my bits of nonsense as if you had all the leisure in the world – you even enjoy them, clamour for them, and are insistent that I produce more like them...' (Radice)

The legateship of T. Pomponius Mamilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus¹⁵, to give him his full name, probably falls in the 90s during the early years of the Twentieth's occupation of Chester.

¹⁵ Pitts and St. Joseph 1985, 279. Hassall 2000, 62 suggests that *legio II Adiutrix* as the junior legion might have been intended for such an 'unpopular' posting. It might as easily be argued that such a forward position would require troops of greater experience.

¹⁶ *PIR*² P 734; A.R. Birley 1981, 234-5.

He became suffect consul in 100¹⁷, and may well be the Mamilianus, evidently the governor of a military province, to whom Pliny wrote *c.* 107-8, but no other details of his career survive. The altar, to *Fortuna Redux*, Aesculapius and *saluti eius* 'to his health'¹⁸, set up by his freedmen and family is the only direct evidence for any of the legates of the legion at Chester¹⁹. Ritterling preferred an identification with the consul of 120, T. Pomponius Antistianus, dating his period as legate to *c.* 116 and suggested that the dedication to *Fortuna Redux* might have been set up in commemoration of a safe return from campaigning²⁰. The reported troubles at the beginning of Hadrian's reign²¹ provide a possible context, and might support this later date, but the historical record is not so complete as to rule out earlier contexts.

5. C.] Cassius Agrippa

AE 1950. 251 (Iznik): [Γάιον? Κάσσιον ['Αγρίππαν Γαίου? | Κασσίου 'Αγρίππου υἱὸν [ὑπατον? ἀνθύπατον 'Ισπα|νίας] Βαιτικῆς πρεσβευτὴν Αὐτοκράτορος | λεγιῶνος κ' Οὐαλερίας Νικηφόρου στρατηγὸν] | πρεσβευτὴν και ἀντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχίας] | Κρήτης και Κυρη[νης δῆμαρχον δ(ῆμου) Ρ(ωμαίων) ? ταμίαν] | ἐπαρχείας [..χειλίαρχον] | λεγιῶν[ος...]

'[Gaius] Cassius Agrippa, son of Gaius (Cassius Agrippa), [consul?], proconsul of Hispania Baetica, legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, [praetor] and propraetorian legate of Crete and Cyrene, [tribune of the plebs?], quaestor [for the province of ... tribune? of the] ... Legion...'

The career of Cassius Agrippa²² is described only in a fragmentary Greek inscription from his probable home town of Nicaea in Bithynia. There are gaps in the *cursus* but enough survives to discern the order of the posts. A position with an unknown legion is mentioned (presumably a military tribunate), followed

¹⁷ XVI 46.

¹⁸ CSIR i 9.3. Fortuna: Irby-Massie 1999, 54; Salus: *ibid.* 48.

¹⁹ But see below *incerti*. Agricola is recorded in his later capacity of Governor: RIB 2434.1-3.

²⁰ Ritterling 1925, 1773 followed by Smallwood 1966, No. 233. *Fortunae reduci* : *cf.* also RIB 812, 840 (Maryport), 1212 (Risingham). Had he perhaps been wounded, or fallen ill on campaign?

²¹ Frere 1987, 111.

by a provincial quaestorship. Thereafter he was legate in Crete and Cyrene and held a post, which can only have been as legate, with the Twentieth Legion. This was followed by the proconsular governorship of Baetica, during which time this inscription seems to have been erected. He is generally identified with the consul of 130, [Ca]ssius Agri[ppa]²³, which would place his legateship with the Twentieth in the early 120s when the legion was involved in the building of Hadrian's Wall.

6. M. Aemilius Papus

1. *CIL* II 1371 (Callenses): *Imp(eratori) Caesari divi | Traiani Aug(usti) co(n)s(ulis) VI f(ilio) divi | Nervae co(n)s(ulis) III trib(uniciae) p(otestatis) II nepoti Traiano | Hadriano Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(imo) | tribunic(iae) potest(atis) XII p(atri) p(atriciae) co(n)s(uli) III | M(arcus) Messius Rusticus | Aemilius Papus Ar[r]ius Proculus | Iulius Celsus, sodal(is) augustal(is), iiiivir | viarum curandarum, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VIII²⁴ Aug(ustae) | q(uaestor) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Africae, trib(unus) pleb(is) | pr(aetor) peregrinus, curator viae Aureliae, | leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | optimo principi*

'To the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, twelve times invested with tribunician power, father of his country, three times consul; son of the divine Traianus Augustus, six times consul; grandson of the divine Nerva, three times consul, twice invested with tribunician power; Marcus Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arrius Proculus Iulius Celsus, priest in the cult of the Emperor, *IIIvir* with responsibility for the City streets, tribune of the Eighth Legion Augusta, quaestor for the province of Africa, tribune of the plebs, praetor with authority over peregrines (non-citizens), commissioner for the via Aurelia, legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, (set this up) to a most worthy ruler.'

2. *CIL* II 1283 + González 1985 (Utrera): *M(arco) Cutio M(arci) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Prisco Messio | Rustico Aemilio Papo Ar[r]io Proculo | Iulio Celso, co(n)s(uli), sodal(i) augustal(i), | leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratori) caes(ari) [T(iti)] Aelii Hadriani | [Antonini] Aug(usti) Pii provinc(iae) D[a]lmat(iae),*

²² *PIR*² C 481; Alföldy 1969, 168; A.R. Birley 1981, 241-2.

²³ VI 2083. The identification is 'possible, if less than certain': A.R. Birley *op. cit.* 242.

²⁴ González 1985, from rereading of II 1283 below.

curator[i] | operum publicorum, praefecto | aerarii saturni, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), | curator(i) viae Aureliae, pr(aetori) peregrino, | trib(uno) pleb(is), q(uaestori) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Africae, | trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), | iiiivir(o) viarum curandarum, | Caesia Senil[l]a amico | optimo

‘To Marcus Cutius Priscus Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arrius Proculus Iulius Celsus, son of Marcus, of the Galerian voting-tribe, consul, priest in the cult of the Emperor, propraetorian legate of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius for the province of Dalmatia, commissioner for public works, prefect of the state Treasury, legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, commissioner for the via Aurelia, praetor with authority over peregrines (non-citizens), tribune of the plebs, quaestor for the province of Africa, tribune of the Eighth Legion Augusta, *IIIIVir* with responsibility for the City streets; Caesia Senilla (set this up) to a most worthy friend.’

Two inscriptions set up in Callenses and Utrera in Baetica detail the career of M. Aemilius Papus²⁵ who hailed from a senatorial family of Spanish origin. The first, a dedication to the emperor Hadrian, gives his career up to his legateship with the Twentieth and was perhaps occasioned by receipt of the appointment. The second, set up perhaps twenty years later, details his full career. His father was a friend of Hadrian²⁶, but this does not seem to have marked the son out for any particular favour. After his vigintivirate, Papus served as tribune of *legio VIII Augusta* at Argentorate in Germania Superior²⁷, probably towards the end of Trajan’s reign. He was then successively quaestor of Africa, tribune of the plebs, praetor, and curator of the *via Aurelia* before taking up the legateship of the Twentieth in or before 128 (the constitutional titles accorded the emperor date the erection of this dedication to that year). The legion was at this stage probably still largely in the north involved in construction projects. After his return from Britain, Papus became prefect of the *aerarium Saturni*, the state treasury; was consul *c.* 136 or 137; then held the office of curator of public works at Rome, 138²⁸; and finally, was governor of Dalmatia *c.* 147²⁹.

²⁵ *PIR*² M 526; A.R.Birley 1981, 242-4; LeBohec 1989, 128-9.

²⁶ *HA Had.* 4.2

²⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1652-1653; Reddé 2000.

²⁸ *AE* 1934.146; VI 998.

²⁹ Wilkes 1969, 85.

7. C. Curtius Iustus

CIL III 1458 (Sarmizegetusa): *C(aio) Curt[io] C(aii) f(ilio) | P]oll[ia (tribu)] Iust[o] c[o](n)s(uli) [iiii]viro | v]iarum curandarum [trib leg? ...] | quaestori urbano, [adlecto] | inter tribunicios a div[o] Had[riano], | praetori peregrino, iiiiviro [eq(uitum)] R(omanorum) | turmis ducendis, praef(ecto) [fr]umen[t(i)] da[n]di, | curatori via[r(um)] Clodiae Anniae Cassiae | [C]iminiae, leg(ato) Imp(eratoris) Antonini Augusti Pii | leg(ionis) X[X] Val(eriae) Vict(ricis), proco[(n)s(uli)] provinciae | [Si]ciliae, leg(ato) pr(o) [pr(aetore)] Imp(eratoris) Anton(ini) Aug(usti) Pii | provinciae Daciae, | col(onia) Ulp(ia) Traiana Dacic(a) | Sarmizegetusa patrono*

‘To Gaius Curtius Iustus, son of Gaius, of the Pollian voting-tribe, consul, *IIIvir* in charge of the City streets, [tribune of a legion?] quaestor with administrative duties at the Treasury, elected to the tribuniciate by the divine Hadrian, praetor with authority over the Peregrines (non-citizens), president of a division of Roman knights, prefect responsible for the corn dole, commissioner for the *viae* Clodia, Annia, Cassia and Ciminia, legate of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius for the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, proconsular governor of the province of Sicily, propraetorian legate of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius for the province of Dacia; the *colonia* Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa (set this up) to its patron.’

C. Curtius Iustus³⁰ served as consul c. 150. No record of a military tribunate survives although the inscription from Sarmizegetusa otherwise gives a detailed description of his career. He may have managed to omit this part of the *cursus*; the later posts show a certain amount of preferment. He served as *quaestor urbanus* in Rome and was adlected *inter tribunicios* by Hadrian, allowing him to take up his praetorship. A series of posts at Rome followed: as *VIvir equitum Romanorum*, an honorary post at the annual review of Knights; as prefect responsible for the corn dole; and as curator for several roads, the *viae Clodia, Annia, Cassia* and *Ciminia*. His term as Legate with the Twentieth would fall in the early or mid-140s and may have coincided with the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus and the movement of the frontier to the Antonine Wall. Thereafter he was proconsul of the Senatorial³¹ province of Sicily,

³⁰ *PIR*² C 1613; A.R.Birley 1981, 251-3; Piso 1993, 58-61.

³¹ Properly *provincia populi Romani*, a ‘province of the Roman people’: Millar 1989, 93-7.

governor of the Imperial province of Dacia Superior and consul c. 149-51. A discharge list of veterans of *legio VII Claudia* places him as governor of Moesia in 155/6³².

8. L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis

CIL X 3722 (Vulturnum): *L(ucio) Cestio Gallo Cerrin|nio Iusto Lu[t]atio Natali | iiiiviro viar(um) curand(or)um, trib(uno) | laticlavio leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), | quaestori urbano, ab | actis [se]natus, aedil(i) curul(i), | praetori, leg(ato) Aug(ustorum) leg(ionis) | XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), proco(n)s(uli) provin|ciae Narbonensis, praef(ecto) | aerar(i) saturn(i), co(n)s(uli) [d(esignato)], | patrono colo[ni]ae | d(ecreto) d(ecurionem)*

‘To Lucius Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis, *IIIIVir* in charge of the City streets, wide-stripe (senatorial) tribune of the Eighth Legion Augusta, quaestor with administrative duties at the Treasury, responsible for the Senatorial records, curule aedile, praetor, legate of the Emperors for the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, proconsular governor of the province of Narbonensis, prefect of the state Treasury, consul elect, patron of the *colonia*, (given) by decree of the town-councillors.’

L. Cestius Gallus³³ appears to have lived in the latter half of the second century. He is described as *legatus Augustorum* and his tenure of the post must therefore fall not earlier than 161-9 (Marcus and Verus), although 177-180 (Marcus and Commodus) or 198-209 (Severus and Caracalla) are also possible. He held his military tribunate with *legio VIII Augusta* on the Rhine. In Rome he served as *quaestor urbani* with administrative duties in the *aerarium Saturni* and was *ab actis senatus*, responsible for the Senatorial records. After his period as legate of the Twentieth he was appointed governor of Gallia Narbonensis³⁴ and then returned to the *aerarium Saturni* as Prefect before attaining his Consulship. He is the latest of the legates of the Twentieth Legion known to us.

³² III 8110 = *ILS* 2302. Earlier readings restored the names of the *ordinarii* of 134 and 135 giving a date of 158/9 for the discharge, but there does not seem to be a vacancy for another governor of Moesia so late and A.R. Birley’s argument for an earlier date is persuasive.

³³ *PIR*² C 692; A.R. Birley 1981, 258-9.

³⁴ Pflaum 1978, 26 n. 16.

9. (...)us Q.f. Arn (...)nus

AE 1980.445 = 1998.454 (Rusellae): ...]o Q(uinto) f(ilio) Ar[n(iensi)...|...]no co(n)s(uli)
[...|...exe]rcitus Br[it(annici)|...pro]v Narbone[nsis | leg(ato) leg(ionis) XX Vale]riae Vi[ctricis]...

‘...son of Quintus, of the Arniensian voting-tribe, consul, ... in the army of Britain ... (of the province of Gallia) Narbonensis, legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix...’

A fragment only of this *cursus* survives and presents some difficulties. After the record of the consulate, *AE* 1980 (*ad loc.*) suggests ascending order: a post in the vigintivirate, *tribunus laticlavus* of a legion in the *exercitus Britannicus*, quaestor of Narbonensis, legate of the Twentieth and eventually consul. The formulation *exercitus Britannicus* rarely occurs, and Birley contends that it is used of a post within the army of the province only in the careers of junior officers, otherwise indicating command of a force drawn from that army for use elsewhere³⁵. However, the examples are too few perhaps for certainty on this point and if the career were read in descending order, something like:

cos

leg aug pr pr exercitus Britannici

procos provinciae Galliae Narbonensis

leg aug leg XX Valeriae Victricis

would be possible. It is suggested that the inscription is of first-century date, and although the majority of the governors of Britain are known in this period, only one can be suggested for the reign of Domitian³⁶, leaving two vacancies to be filled. Against this it should be pointed out that the description ‘*leg aug pr pr exercitus Britannici*’ is not otherwise known among governors of Britain, although such a formulation is recorded in Africa, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior³⁷.

³⁵ A.R. Birley 1981, 434-5.

³⁶ Apart from the last couple of years of Agricola’s tenure. Only Sallustius Lucullus (A.R. Birley 1981, 82) can otherwise be suggested.

³⁷ Africa: VIII 17891, *ILS* 989, *ILS* 991, *AE* 1989, 263; Germania Inferior: *ILS* 979; Germania Superior: *ILS* 5957.

A first-century date would make this one of the earliest examples of the legionary *cognomina* and it is thus recorded by Keppie³⁸. Were we to read the junior post in the *exercitus Britannicus* as implying involvement in the invasion, then this would imply an early date indeed. The interval between the post of *tribunus laticlavus* and legionary legate would be in the order of 10 years, which would make this by far the earliest appearance of the titles. However, even if this were the case, the monument need not have been erected until much later, very likely after AD 60, since he had by this time attained the consulship, and conceivably not until many years later (see Appendix 1 on the legionary titles).

Incerti

CIL VI 37083 ...*procos provinciae Bit]hynia[e et Ponti...leg Aug leg XX Valer]iae Vict[ricis...Ce]ioniu[s...*

A tribunate or legateship are possible here. However, *leg XXX Ulp]iae Vict[ricis* or *leg XIV Geminae Mart]iae Vict[ricis* might as easily be read³⁹.

CIL VI 41088 ...*leg(ato) Au]g(usti) pro pr(aetore) [prov(inciae)... | ... ?desi]g(nato) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) [... | ... l]eg(ionis) XX [V(aleriae) v(ictricis)...*

Anonymous legate (or perhaps tribune). The survival of the crossbar over the numeral confirms the identity of the legion.

CIL XIV 4059 (Fidenae): ...*leg(ionis)] XX Valeriae [Victricis | ...]nares ex pr[...] patr[ono...*

A tribunate is perhaps more likely: see below 2.5.

RIB 449 from the *principia* at Chester is a fragment of a dedication to the *genius legionis*, apparently set up by one T. Vet[.... Such dedications might be set up by the legionary legate (*cf.* II 5083 = *ILS* 2289), but might equally be the work of other officers from the *primus pilus* and tribunes downwards, and the rank of this man must therefore remain uncertain (see 8.6 below).

³⁸ Keppie 1984, 211.

Legatus Legionis

Table II.1.1: The legati of the Twentieth Legion

		<i>origo</i>	<i>cursus</i>	<i>date</i>
1.1	C. Manlius Valens		<i>leg leg XX VV?</i> <i>leg leg I Italica</i> <i>cos</i>	52 69 96
1.2	M. Roscius Caelius		<i>leg leg XX VV</i> <i>cos</i>	69 81
1.3	Cn. Iulius Agricola	Gallia Narbonensis	<i>tribunus laticlavus leg II?</i> <i>quaestor provinciae Asiae</i> <i>tribunus plebis</i> <i>praetor</i> <i>leg leg XX VV</i> <i>procos provinciae Aquitaniae</i> <i>cos</i> <i>leg Aug pr pr provinciae Britannicae</i>	58-61 63-64 66 68 70-73 74-76 77 77-83
1.4	T. Pomponius Mamilianus	Spain?	<i>leg leg XX VV</i> <i>cos</i> <i>leg pr pr provinciae ...?</i>	90s 100 c.107
1.5	C. Cassius Agrippa	Bithynia?	<i>tribunus laticlavus</i> <i>quaestor ...</i> <i>[tribunus plebes?]</i> <i>leg? Crete-Cyrene</i> <i>[praetor]</i> <i>leg leg XX VV</i> <i>procos provinciae Baeticae</i> <i>cos</i>	120s 130
1.6	M. Aemilius Papus	Spain	<i>IIIvir viarum curandorum</i> <i>tribunus laticlavus leg VIII Aug</i> <i>quaestor provinciae Africae</i> <i>tribunus plebis</i> <i>praetor peregrinus</i> <i>curator viae Aureliae</i> <i>leg leg XX VV</i> <i>praefectus aerari saturni</i> <i>cos</i>	128 136/7

³⁹ A.R. Birley 1981, 285-6; but not perhaps *leg VI Victricis*.

			<i>curator operum publicorum</i>	138
			<i>leg pr pr provinciae Dalmatiae</i>	147
1.7	C. Curtius Iustus	Italy	<i>IIIvir viarum curandorum</i> [<i>tribunus laticlavus?</i>] <i>quaestor urbanus</i> <i>adlectus inter tribunicios</i> <i>praetor peregrinus</i> <i>VIvir equitum Romanorum</i> <i>praefectus frumenti dandi</i> <i>curator viae Clodiae, Anniae,</i> <i>Cassiae, Ciminiae</i> <i>leg leg XX VV</i> <i>procos provinciae Siciliae</i> <i>leg pr pr provinciae Daciae</i> <i>cos</i> <i>leg Aug pr pr provinciae Moesiae</i>	140s c. 150 155/6
1.8	L. Cestius Gallus	Italy	<i>IIIvir viarum curandorum</i> <i>tribunus laticlavus leg VIII Aug</i> <i>quaestor urbanus</i> <i>ab actis senatus</i> <i>aedilis curulis</i> <i>praetor</i> <i>leg Augg leg XX VV</i> <i>procos provinciae Narbonensis</i> <i>praefectus aerari saturni</i> <i>cos designatus</i>	after 161
1.9	(...)us Q.f.Arn. (...)nus	Italy	<i>quaestor provinciae] Narbone[nsis</i> <i>legatus leg XX Vale]riae Vi[ctricis</i> <i>cos</i>	

Careers of legati:

The vigintivirate. Three of the known legates of the Twentieth Legion have left us fairly full details of their career including their initial magistracy. Other careers are more fragmentary, although that of Cn. Iulius Agricola is well known from other sources. M. Aemilius Papus, C. Curtius Iustus and L. Cestius Gallus all held the post of *IVvir viarum curandarum*. Although the post of *IIIvir monetalis*, largely

reserved for members of patrician families, was clearly the most prestigious and that of *Illvir capitalis* the least favoured, the other two posts are difficult to separate⁴⁰. *Xviri* may have enjoyed higher social standing, but it has been suggested that the post of *IVvir* had particular significance among senators in the emperor's service, marking out those who were earmarked for a military career⁴¹. However, the number of careers on which such conclusions are based is not large and the distributions are of doubtful significance.⁴²

The military tribunate. It is unclear how far the military tribunate was of significance in influencing the further course of a senatorial career⁴³. A significant proportion of senators appear to omit this stage of the *cursus* entirely without any detrimental effect⁴⁴. This may be the case with C. Curtius Iustus here (although there is a lacuna in the inscription at the relevant point). It is not known to which legion C. Cassius Agrippa was posted. M. Aemilius Papus held his tribunate in Africa with *legio III Augusta*, L. Cestius Gallus in Germania Superior with *legio VIII Augusta*. It is known that Cn. Iulius Agricola held his tribunate with a British legion, possibly *legio II Augusta*.

The quaestorship. C. Curtius Iustus and L. Cestius Gallus both held their quaestorships at Rome. M. Aemilius Papus returned to Africa as provincial quaestor. Agricola was appointed to the province of Asia. The details of the quaestorship of C. Cassius Agrippa are again unknown. The fragmentary record of *Quinti filius* may indicate a provincial quaestorship in Narbonensis. Subsequent posts as tribune or aedile between the quaestorship and the praetorship are recorded in four cases. M. Aemilius Papus and Agricola both served as tribune of the plebs. C. Curtius Iustus was able to omit the office by *adlectio inter*

⁴⁰ A.R. Birley 1981, 5.

⁴¹ Birley 1954, 202.

⁴² A.R. Birley 1981, 7 and n. 13.

⁴³ In conjunction with the post of *IVvir* it formed one of Birley's signifiers of those selected for the 'emperor's service' i.e. for a military career: Birley 1954, 202; McAlindon 1957, 193.

⁴⁴ A.R. Birley (1981, 8 and n. 17) suggests six to eight out of the twenty *XXviri*. Fourteen *tribuni* proceeding to a legion each year would allow a two-year term of service in the second century AD. A three-year term would require that less than half of each year's vigintivirate held the post (unless we allow more than one *tribunus laticlavus* per legion).

tribunicios. L. Cestius Gallus held the post of *ab actis senatus*, supervising the proceedings of the Senate, and was thereafter *aedilis curulis*.

The praetorship. The post of legionary legate was one of those open to the ex-praetor and all of these men will have progressed from that position. A number of other posts might first be held and these are detailed in a few cases. C. Cassius Agrippa was propraetorian legate in Crete and Cyrene, his command of the Twentieth Legion falling in the 120s. M. Aemilius Papus was *praetor peregrinus* and *curator* of the *via Aurelia* before taking command of the Twentieth in or before 128. C. Curtius Iustus was also *praetor peregrinus* and thereafter *Vivir* at the annual review of the knights⁴⁵, *praefectus frumenti dandi* and *curator* for the *viae Clodia, Annia, Cassia* and *Ciminia* before going on to command *legio XX* in the early or mid-140s. Four of the returning legates then held proconsular governorships: Iulius Agricola in the imperial province of Aquitania; C. Curtius Iustus in the ‘senatorial’ province of Sicily and then the Imperial province of Dacia Superior; C. Cassius Agrippa in Baetica, and L. Cestius Gallus in Gallia Narbonensis, both ‘senatorial’ provinces. Gallus then went on to hold the post of prefect of the *aerarium Saturni* at Rome, a post also held by M. Aemilius Papus and one which assured direct passage to the consulship.

The consulship. All of the known legates of the Twentieth Legion attained the consulship, although the consulship of C. Manlius Valens at the age of 90 was far from usual and that of M. Roscius Caelius was also somewhat delayed. A subsequent career is known in only four cases. M. Aemilius Papus was *curator* of public works at Rome and thereafter governor of Dalmatia around the year 147. C. Curtius Iustus was governor of Moesia Superior c. 158/9. T. Pomponius Mamilianus also seems to have become governor of a military province⁴⁶. The subsequent career of Cn. Iulius Agricola as governor of Britain is well attested.

Little can be discerned from this small sample. The earlier legates include some notable individuals with unusual careers, especially the British specialist Cn. Iulius Agricola. For the rest, the careers are solid but not outstanding, although M. Aemilius Papus and perhaps L. Cestius Gallus would fall within Birley’s

⁴⁵ A post normally held by quaestors: Eck 1974, 177.

⁴⁶ If he is the Mamilianus to whom Pliny wrote (*Ep.* 9.25) c. AD 107-8.

category of *viri militares*, those selected early on for ‘the Emperor’s service’⁴⁷. Election to the post of *IVvir* and service as a tribune with a legion are posited as early signifiers of those thus selected, leading to a ‘rapid path’ to the consulship, with command of a legion and of a praetorian imperial province the only two significant posts held between praetorship and consulship. However, as we have seen, there is little to separate the *IVviri* from the *Xviri* among the later holders of consular imperial positions, and doubt has been cast on such attempts to detect promotion patterns and on the notion of *viri militares* altogether⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Birley 1954.

⁴⁸ Campbell 1975; 1984, 325-47.

		<i>Legatus legionis</i>	<i>Tribunus laticlavus</i>	<i>Tribunus militum</i>	<i>Praefectus castrorum</i>	<i>Primus pilus</i>
30				[C Baebius]		
20	SPAIN?					
10						
0	ILLYRICUM					
10						
20	COLOGNE					
30						
40	NEUSS			Ti Claudius Balbillus		P Palpellius Clodius
50	COLCHESTER	C Manlius Valens		L Domitius Severus		Quirinalis
60	KINGSHOLM (USK?)	M Roscius Coelius				
70	WROXETER	Cn Julius Agricola				
80						
90	INCHTUTHIL CHESTER	T Pomponius Mamilianus		C Sempronius Fidus	M Pompeius Asper	
100				Rufus		
110				M Antonius Modianus		
120		C Cassius Agrippa		C Calcinus Tertianus		Serenus
130	Hadrian's Wall	M Aemilius Papius		Crescens	anon 4.3	
140			M Acenna Helvius Agrippa	T Iunius Severus	anon 4.4	
150	Antonine Wall	C Curtius Iustus	L Aemilius Naso Fabullinus	Q Planius Felix		Sex Flavius Quietus
160			An Satrius Sal...			
170			M Caelius Flavius Proculus			
180		L Cestius Gallus				
190						
200						
210				Flavius Longus		
220				M Aurelius Syrio	M Aurelius Alexander	
230						C Sulgius Caecilianus
240						
250						

Table 1.2: Officers of Legio XX Valeria Victrix

II.2

Tribunus laticlavus

1. M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa

CIL II 1262 (Hispalis): *M(arcus) Accenna M(arci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Helvius | Agrippa praetorius trib(unus) pleb(is) | leg(atus) provinciae Africae dioecesis | Carthaginiensium item quaestori provinciae Africae IIIviro capitali trib(unus) laticl(avius) Syriae leg(ionis) XVI Fla(viae) | item trib(unus) laticl(avius) Britanniae leg(ionis) XX | Val(eriae) Victricis curio minor vixit annis XXXIII mensibus tribus diebus XXIII | M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa [fil(ius)] patri dul(cissimi) fecit*

‘Marcus Accenna Helvius Agrippa¹, son of Marcus, of the Galerian voting-tribe, praetor, tribune of the plebs, legate for the diocese of Carthage in the province of Africa, likewise quaestor for the province of Africa, *IIIvir* in charge of capital sentences, wide-stripe (senatorial) tribune of the Syrian Sixteenth Legion Flavia, likewise wide-stripe tribune of the British Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, minor *curio*, lived 34 years, 3 months and 23 days; Marcus Accenna Helvius Agrippa, his son, made this to a most dear father.’

Legio XVI Flavia was not in Syria before the reign of Hadrian². Other details of the inscription, including the description of the tribunate as *laticlavus*, also suggest a second-century date³. Service as tribune prior to the vigintivirate was rare, as indeed was the holding of two such posts. A.R. Birley lists thirty-four such cases, several of which might be due to transfer alongside a promoted commander⁴. However, there is no clear candidate among governors of Britain to explain the move from the Twentieth in Britain to the Sixteenth in Syria. After his tribunate Agrippa was *quaestor* for the province of Africa and later proconsular legate for the diocese of Carthage in that province. The term *curio minor* is not often used⁵ and perhaps merely stands in contrast to the *curio maximus*, the head of the college of *curiones*. The

¹ *PIR*² H 65; A.R. Birley 1981, 279; Thomasson 1996, 118 No. 59.

² Ritterling 1925, 1765.

³ A.R. Birley 1981, 279.

⁴ A.R. Birley *op. cit.* 8, 9 (n 18) and 10, (Table 2).

⁵ *cf.* VI 2169, AE 1990.438.

curio presided over a *curia*, one of the ancient divisions of the Roman people, and had responsibility for sacred rites. The inscription records Agrippa's early death at 34 years, 3 months and 23 days. He is commemorated at Hispalis in Baetica, presumably his home town.

2. L. Aemilius Naso Fabullinus

1. CIL VI 29683 (Roma): *L(ucio) Aemilio | L(ucii) f(ilio) Gal(eria) | Nasoni Fabullino | tribuno laticlavio | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | triumviro capitali | d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) publice*

2. CIL VI 29684 = XI 4083 (Ocriculum): *L(ucio) Aemilio | L(ucii) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Naso|ni Fabulli|no trib(uno) lat(iclavio) | leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) | Vict(ricis) Illvir(o) capit(ali) | d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) publ(ice)*

'To Lucius Aemilius Naso Fabullinus, son of Lucius, of the Galerian voting-tribe, wide-stripe (senatorial) tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *triumvir* in charge of capital sentences, (given) at public expense, by decree of the town-councillors.'

L. Aemilius Naso Fabullinus is known only from two dedications found in Italy erected early in his career. They perhaps commemorate his attaining his military tribunate with the Twentieth, but if he ever returned, we hear no more of him. The nomenclature, including the tribe and the rare *cognomen* derived from Fabullus, suggest that this man was of Spanish origin⁶. As with Helvius Agrippa above, the usage *laticlavus* would suggest a second-century or later date.

3. M. Caelius Flavius Proculus

CIL XI 3883 (Capena): *D(is) M(anibus) | M(arci) Caeli Flavi Proculi | Xviri stlitibus iudicandis | tribuni laticlavi leg(ionis) XX V(aleria) V(ictricis) | V(iri) turmae equitum roman[or(um)] | quaestoris tribuni [plebis] | candidati prae[toris candidati] | curator[is] rei publicae] | Aq[ui]natium]*

‘To the spirits of the departed, (and) of Marcus Caelius Flavius Proculus⁷, *Xvir* for the determination of law-suits, wide-striped (senatorial) tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, president of a division of Roman knights, quaestor, candidate (of the Emperor) for the post of tribune of the plebs, candidate for the praetorship, commissioner of public works for Aquinum.’

We have no firm dating for this career, but it is probably later than the reign of Hadrian. His career involved a degree of imperial patronage, for he was *candidatus* for post of tribune of the plebs and for the praetorship. His vigintivirate was in the post of *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, after which he served his tour in Britain as *tribunus laticlavus* of the Twentieth (apparently his only post outside Italy). Thereafter he held the office of *Vivir equitum Romanorum*, was quaestor and tribune of the plebs, and then proceeded to his praetorship and the post of *curator rei publicae* for Aquinum.

4. An. Satrius Sal(vius?)

CIL XI 6165 (Suasa): An(nio) Satr[io] | Lem(onia) Sal[vio?...] | Xvir(o) stlit(ibus) i[udic(ands)] | trib(uno) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) [V(ictricis)] | q(uaestori) urb(ani) q(uaestori) prov(inciae) [...] trib(uno) pl(ebis) pr(aetori) de[sig(nato)] | patrono mun[icipi]

‘Annius⁸ Satrius Salvius (or Salvianus), of the Lemonia voting-tribe, *Xvir* for the judging of law-suits, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, quaestor with administrative duties at the Treasury, quaestor for the province of ... tribune of the plebs, praetor elect, patron of the *municipium*.’

Annius Satrius Salvius⁹ (or Salvianus) began his career as *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis* and tribune of the Twentieth, held two quaestorships, as *quaestor urbani* then quaestor for an unidentified province. He was tribune of the plebs and was praetor designate at the time of this dedication to him as patron of the

⁶ *PIR*² A 386; A.R.Birley 1981, 279-80. The *nomen* Aemilius is strongly represented in Spain as also is Fabullus: *Onomasticon* I, 40; II, 133.

⁷ *PIR*² C 133; A.R.Birley 1981, 280.

⁸ A *nomen* here used as a *praenomen* as seen in a few other inscriptions from Italy: Schulze 1904, 519 and n. 1.

⁹ *PIR*¹ S 146; A.R.Birley 1981, 282.

municipium of Suasa. Nothing more is known of him, and we have nothing to date his time with the Twentieth other than the presence of the legionary *cognomina* (see Appendix 1).

5. Anonymous

CIL XIV 4059 (Fidenae): ...leg(ionis)] XX Valeriae [Victricis | ...]naris ex pr[...] | patr[ono...

‘...of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix ... naris ex pr...patron...’

A.R. Birley suggests that as this man was being honoured by the community of which he was patron, he was probably therefore of senatorial rank¹⁰. His post with the Twentieth would then be as tribune, if the *cursus* is in descending order, though it is not impossible that he was legate. The legionary *cognomina* are again the only clue as to date (see Appendix 1). However, equestrians could equally act as patrons to communities¹¹, as might those raised to equestrian status, such as M. Tillius Rufus (6.64), *evocatus* and later legionary centurion. Indeed, *patronus* is also used in the sense of ‘former-master’ (of a freedman) and appears also in the inscriptions of centurions and *militēs*¹², so that it is only the quality of the marble tablet and the lettering that support the argument for higher rank.

Incerti

See II.1 *Incerti* above for two fragmentary senatorial careers VI 37083, 41088, possibly legates of the legion, but perhaps tribunes.

¹⁰ A.R. Birley 1981, 285. *EE VII 1267* offers the restoration [*Reii Apolli*]naris ex pr[ovincia *Narbonensi*] but Birley considers this highly conjectural.

¹¹ See *Crescens*, 3.6; *Sex. Vagirus Martianus*, 3.14 and the anonymous 3.15.

¹² 6.21, 6.42, 7.5, 7.33.

Tribunus Laticlavus

Table II.2.1: Tribuni laticlavii of the Twentieth Legion

		origo	cursus	date
2.1	M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa	Spain	<i>tribunus laticlavus leg XX VV</i> <i>tribunus laticlavus leg XVI Flavia</i> <i>Illvir capitalis</i> <i>quaestor provinciae Africae</i> <i>leg provinciae Africae diocesis Carthaginensium</i> <i>tribunus plebis</i> <i>praetor</i>	C2
2.2	L. Aemilius Naso Fabullinus	Spain	<i>Illvir capitalis</i> <i>tribunus laticlavus leg XX VV</i>	C2
2.3	M. Caelius Flavius Proculus	Italy	<i>Xvir stlitibus iudicandis</i> <i>tribunus laticlavus leg XX VV</i> <i>VIvir turmae equitum Romanorum</i> <i>quaestor</i> <i>tribunus plebis candidatus</i> <i>praetor candidatus</i> <i>curator rei publicae Aquinatium</i>	C2
2.4	An. Satrius Sal(vius?)	Italy	<i>Xvir stlitibus iudicandis</i> <i>tribunus leg XX VV</i> <i>quaestor urbanus</i> <i>quaestor provinciae...</i> <i>tribunus plebis</i> <i>praetor designatus</i>	C2
2.5	ignotus		... <i>tribunus? leg XX VV</i> ...	

Careers of senatorial tribunes:

The vigintivirate. Of the four senatorial tribunes of the Twentieth Legion for whom we have any career details, two began their career with the post of *Xvir stlitibus iudicandis* and two with the post of

Illvir capitalis. As noted above¹³, the precise relationships between the posts in the vigintivirate is unclear, but that of *Illvir capitalis* seems to have been the least favoured. It is here held by two men of Spanish origin. Their Italian counterparts secured posts among the *Xviri*, more numerous but not notably more prestigious.

The military tribunate. We have no clear evidence for the dates at which any of these men undertook their tour of duty with the Twentieth Legion, although they appear to fall generally within the mid-second century. The case of M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa is unusual. Not only did he hold two military tribunates but, if the order of the *cursus* is as given, he also held them prior to his post in the vigintivirate. The former is not common, but is recorded in a number of other cases¹⁴; the latter is very rare after the Julio-Claudian period¹⁵.

The quaestorship. Only three of the surviving *cursus* progress beyond the tribunate. M. Caelius Flavius Proculus held an intervening post as *Vlvir* at the annual review of the knights, but we have no further details of his quaestorship, which was presumably held at Rome. An. Satrius Salvius held two quaestorships, initially at Rome as *quaestor urbanus*, followed by a provincial quaestorship probably in a senatorial province, the name of which has not come down to us. M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa also held a provincial quaestorship, in his case as assistant to the consular legate in Africa.

The praetorship. Each of these three individuals held the post of tribune of the plebs between their quaestorship and the praetorship. Helvius Agrippa then returned to Africa as legate for the diocese of Carthage. Flavius Proculus received imperial backing as *candidatus* for the post of tribune, and only he is known to have progressed beyond the praetorship, for which he was also *candidatus*, acting subsequently as *curator rei publicae* for the town of Aquinum. Despite the imperial favour, neither he nor any other of

¹³ Chapter II.1, 53 and n. 42.

¹⁴ A.R. Birley 1981, 10 Table 2.

¹⁵ McAlindon 1957, 191; A.R. Birley 1981, 8.

these individuals is known to have progressed further. In contrast to the general run of tribunes in British legions, none is known to have subsequently commanded a legion or to have attained the consulship¹⁶.

¹⁶ Twelve of the twenty-eight British tribunes are known to have commanded legions; sixteen ultimately became consul: A.R. Birley 1981, 419.

Chapter II.3

Tribunus angusticlavius



3.8: *Flavius Longus*

II.3

Tribunus angusticlavius

1. M. Antonius Modianus

CIL VI 3504 (Roma): D(is) M(anibus) | M(arci) Antoni Modiani praefecti | coh(ortis) I Commagenor(um) trib(uni) leg(ionis) | XX Val(eriae) Victr(icis) M. M. M. Antonii | Carpophorus lib(ertus) et Modia|anus et Carpophorus alumni | heredes arbitrato ipsius de (sestertiis) | XII n(ummis) et sibi lib(ertis) libertab(us) post(eris)q(ue) eor(um) | h(oc) m(onumento) d(olus) m(alus) a(besto)

‘To the spirits of the departed (and) to Marcus Antonius Modianus, prefect of the First Cohort of Commagenes, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; the Marci Antonii, Carpophorus, freedman, and foster-sons Modianus and Carpophorus, his heirs (had this set up) by their free-will, (at a cost of) 1200 sestercii, to him and to his freedmen, freedwomen and their descendants; may evil come to any who defile this monument.’

M. Antonius Modianus¹ held his first post as prefect of the *cohors I Commagenorum* in Dacia Inferior² and then served as tribune with the Twentieth. No other posts are recorded on his tombstone in Rome. As Birley points out³ we should expect something like 270 prefects of auxiliary cohorts, 180 equestrian tribunes and 90 prefects of *alae* at any one time, and thus we need not expect that all would move on to the later stages of the equestrian *cursus*. The tribunate with *legio XX* may therefore have been the end of Modianus’ career whether or not it was brought to a premature end by his death. His commemoration at Rome by his freedmen and heirs may suggest that he came from that city. A second-century date can be suggested, but the inscription is not more closely dateable.

¹ Devijver 1976, A 138.

² Spaul 2000, 403. The cohort was stationed in Moesia Inferior until at least 105.

³ Birley 1969, 72, based on the mid-second century disposition of units.

2. M. Aurelius Syrio

Britannia 20 (1989), 331 no. 5 (Carlisle): *I(oui) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] | Iunon(i) Reginae] | Miner(vae Aug(ustae)) | Marti P(atris Vic)toriae c(eteris) | diis dae(a)busque] | omnibus [M(arcus) Aur(elius)] | M(arci) f(ilius) Ulp(ia) Syrio [Nico]poli ex [p]rov(incia) Thr(ac)ia] | trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) Antoninianae | [...?]*

‘To Jupiter Best and Greatest, to Queen Juno, to August Minerva, to Father Mars, to Victory, to all the other gods and goddesses, Marcus Aurelius Syrio, son of Marcus, of Ulpia Nicopolis from the province of Thrace, military tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix Antoniniana...’

M. Aurelius Syrio is known from a dedication found reused as a lintel in Carlisle Castle⁴. He was commanding a detachment of the Twentieth Legion at Carlisle, possibly alongside a similar detachment from the Second as is paralleled elsewhere in northern Britain in the third century⁵. The title *Valeria Victrix Antoniniana* given for the Twentieth dates his presence to the reign of Caracalla, AD 213-17. He was from Nicopolis ad Istrum, originally in Thrace but having been transferred to Lower Moesia by the time the dedication was made. The restoration M. Aur(elius) is suggested by the use of the ‘pseudo-tribe’ Ulp(ia), a practice common among newly-enfranchised soldiers of Danubian origin (he could equally have been the son of an auxiliary veteran enfranchised after 161). He would have enlisted initially in one of the Danubian legions, probably *legio I Italica* at Novae, the nearest to his home town. If he was in that legion in 193, he would have taken part in Septimius Severus’ invasion of Italy and might well have been promoted into Severus’ newly constituted Praetorian Guard, being perhaps retained as *evocatus* before gaining promotion to the tribunate⁶. The promotion of former other ranks to such equestrian posts is a feature of the third century and is attributed to the reforms of Severus⁷. The form of the dedication suggests the *vota* ceremony of 3 January, when the commanding officer dedicated an altar on behalf of

⁴ This inscription is discussed at length by Tomlin (Tomlin and Annis 1989, 77-89). The main points only are summarised here.

⁵ Chapter III.5.

⁶ Tomlin and Annis 1989, 88-9; cf. *RIB* 966, 988, 989, 1896.

⁷ Birley 1969, 76.

his unit⁸. Jupiter *optimus maximus*, Juno, Minerva and Mars are all accorded sacrifices on that date in the *Feriale Duranum* (i.2-6)⁹.

3. C. Baebius

CIL XI 623 = ILS 2672 (Forum Livi): C(aius) Baebius T(iti) f(ilius) Clu(stamina) | tr(ibunus) mi[l(itum) leg(ionis) ?X]X, praef(ectus) | ora[e] marit(imae) Hi]span(iae) | citer[ioris b]jello | Actiens(i), IIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) | arb(itratu) M(arci) Sappini L(ucii) f(ili) et Gallae l(ibertae)

‘Gaius Baebius, son of Titus, of the Clustumina voting-tribe, tribune of the Twentieth Legion, prefect of the coasts of Hispania Citerior for the war of Actium, *IIIvir* for applying the law (lies here); (set up) at the discretion of Marcus Sappinus, son of Lucius, and Galla, freedwoman.’

The career of C. Baebius¹⁰ dates to the time of Actium when he was *praefectus orae maritimae* for Octavian with authority over the coast of *Hispania Citerior* and possibly also *Gallia Narbonensis*¹¹. His tribunate, therefore, was held sometime before 31BC in a republican Twentieth Legion, possibly – but not necessarily – the ancestor of *legio XX VV*¹². Dessau reads ...*leg. JXX*¹³ and the restoration *leg XJXX* cannot be wholly excluded, although it would be a tight fit within the lacuna¹⁴. It does not appear that Octavian’s forces ever included a *legio XXX* and the Caesarian *legio XXX* was probably disbanded in 41BC when veterans were settled at Beneventum¹⁵. Whilst a longer interval cannot be ruled out, it is more likely that Baebius’ service as tribune was only a short time before his role as prefect of the Spanish shore – somewhat less than ten years in any case – which strengthens the case for reading *legio XX*. The

⁸ Helgeland 1978, 1495-6; Irby-Massie 1999, 55.

⁹ Welles *et al.* 1959, 191-212.

¹⁰ Devijver 1976, B 4; Demougin 1992, No. 37.

¹¹ Bollini 1975, 343-4; reading l. 4 *citer(ioris) [Galliae b]jello* by analogy with Q. Pomponius Rufus *praefectus orae marit(imae) Hispan(iae) citer(ioris) Gallia[e] Narbone(nsis) bello* in AD 68-69.

¹² see Chapter III.1, 318-9.

¹³ *ILS 2672*.

¹⁴ Bollini 1975 presents various possible restorations for lines 3 and 4 but can fit no higher number than XX in line 2.

¹⁵ Keppie 1983, 28, 156.

question of the early presence of a *legio XX* in Spain need not arise¹⁶, for the posts of *tribunus militum* and *praefectus* are separate appointments. However, the Twentieth *does* have a possible connection with Spain in this period¹⁷, and it may be that familiarity with the province would have been seen as an advantage in the holder of this post. Bollini¹⁸ goes further, suggesting that Baebius might have been recommended for the post of prefect by the Spanish governor having distinguished himself as tribune of the Twentieth in that province. Baebius' enrolment in the tribe *Clustumina* suggests an origin in Umbria. His municipal appointment as *IIIvir* may have been undertaken in his home town, or in Forum Livii where he is commemorated¹⁹.

4. C. Calcinus Tertianus

CIL III 5184 = *ILLPRON* 1645 (Celeia): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | C(aius) Calcin[ius] | Tertian[us] | cond(uctor) p(ublici) p(ortorii) tr[ib(unus) mil(itum)] | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) c[um] | Petronia Terti[a] | uxore [pro] | se et filis vot(um) [solv(it)]*

'To Jupiter Best and Greatest, Gaius Calcinus Tertianus, collector of state taxes, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, with Petronia Tertia, his wife, (set this up) for himself and his sons in fulfilment of a vow.'

C. Calcinus Tertianus²⁰ made this dedication to Jupiter at Celeia in Noricum (also the home town of three soldiers buried at Chester), presumably while *conductor*, after returning from his period of service in Britain. His origin is uncertain, for he may well have been present in Celeia only in his official capacity²¹. Birley suggests a date in the first half of the second century 'when it was still not uncommon for municipal worthies to hold a single military tribunate and no other post in the Roman army'²². We have no indication of any subsequent career.

¹⁶ Le Roux 1982, 59 n. 197.

¹⁷ See Chapter III.1, 321-2.

¹⁸ Bollini 1975, 345.

¹⁹ Bollini *op. cit.*, 344.

²⁰ Devijver 1976, C 46.

²¹ Alföldy 1974, 276.

²² Birley 1952, 186.

5. Ti. Claudius Balbillus

AE 1924, 78 (Ephesus): [Ti(berio) Claud]io Ti(berii) Claudi|i f(ilio) Quir(ina) | [Ba]lbillo [... | proc(uratori) Asiae et a]edium divi Aug(usti) et | [magni Sarapidis? e]t lucorum sacro|rumque omnium qu]ae sunt Alexan|[dreae et in tota Aegypt]o et supra mu|[s]eu[m] e[|]t ab Alexandri]na bybliothece | et archi[feri] et ad Herm]en Alexan|[dreon pe[r annos...]] et ad legati|ones et res[pon]sa Graeca Ca[es]aris Aug(usti) | divi Claud[i] e[|]t trib(uno) milit(um) le]g(ionis) XX et prae[|]fecto]] | fabr(um) divi Cla[udi] et donato ab I]m[p] divo] | Claudio [ob bellum Britannicum hasta] | pura [corona aurea? ... ²³

‘To Tiberius Claudius Balbillus, son of Tiberius Claudius, of the Quirina voting-tribe ... (procurator for Asia?) and for the Temples of the Divine Augustus (and great Sarapis?) and of the sacred places in Alexandria (and in all of Egypt?); director of the Museum and the Library of Alexandria, High Priest (of Alexandria and of?) Alexandrine Hermes for (... years); receiver of Greek embassies for the divine Caesar Augustus Claudius, military tribune of the Twentieth Legion, prefect of works to the divine Claudius, decorated by the Emperor the divine Claudius (for service in the British war?) with the sacred spear (and the gold crown ...)’

Ti. Claudius Balbillus²⁴ came from an illustrious family of Ephesus. His father was the celebrated astrologer Thrasyllus, confidant of the Emperor Tiberius, and he himself may have practised that science²⁵, perhaps even for the Emperor Claudius whose favourite he was. His was not a military career²⁶, and it is unlikely that he ever actually served with the Twentieth. One of Claudius’ reforms to the equestrian career was to introduce a ‘supernumerary’ army service which could be performed *in absentia*²⁷, and the post of *praefectus fabrum* was likewise used by Claudius as an honorary position²⁸.

²³ Pflaum 1960, 34 suggests ...*d(onis) d(onatus) in triu]m[pho a divo] | Claudio [corona murali et vexillo et hasta] | pura...* but Maxfield 1981, 160-1 shows that this scale of award is anomalous; her suggested reading is followed here.

²⁴ *PIR*² C 813; Devijver 1976, C 124; Pflaum 1960, No. 15; Demougin 1992, No. 538.

²⁵ He can perhaps be identified with the Balbillus of Suetonius *Nero*, 36.2 and Dio 66.9.2.

²⁶ Saddington 1985, 539. He should perhaps be excluded from Birley’s checklist (1969, 79-82) of equestrian officers from Eastern and Danubian provinces.

²⁷ Suetonius *Claudius* 25.

²⁸ Dobson 1965, 72-3.

However, it would seem probable that he accompanied Claudius to Britain in AD 43, as did C. Stertinius Xenophon²⁹, the emperor's doctor, who was also *praefectus fabrum* and *tribunus legionis*. Both received decorations on the usual equestrian scale for their pains³⁰.

Balbillus' true course was the career of the intellect. Claudius appointed him to the post of *ad legationes et responsa graeca*, a post given to persons of Greek origin celebrated for their intellectual activities, dealing with embassies from the Greek east. He then held a string of posts in Alexandria: as Archiereus (Chief Priest); as director of the Museum and the Library; as procurator for the Temples of the Divine Augustus and Sarapis and of the sanctuaries in Alexandria and in all of Egypt. Finally, under the Emperor Nero, he became prefect of Egypt³¹, probably from AD 55 to 59³².

6. ...Crescens

CIL XII 1868 (Vienna): ...filius [...] Voltinia Cre[scens?] | Ilvir a[erari] tr[ib(unus) milit]um leg(ionis) XX [Va]l(eriae) Victricis patronus colonia[e eius | sibi et...] Gratinae flamin[ic]ae Viennae ux[ori]...

'... Crescens, son of ..., of the Voltinian voting-tribe, *Ilvir* with responsibility for finances, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, patron of the *colonia*, (set this up) himself, to himself and to Gratina his wife, priestess of Vienna, ...'

The only military post held by Crescens³³ was as tribune with the Twentieth, perhaps during the first half of the second century³⁴. He had been *Ilvir aerari* of the *colonia* (Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis), and after his tribunate presumably retired and devoted himself to local affairs. It is a dedication as patron of the *colonia*, presumably from some public work he had erected, which preserves this much of his career.

²⁹ IGR IV 1086.

³⁰ Maxfield 1981, 161.

³¹ Tacitus *Ann.* 13.22; Pliny *NH* 19.1.3.

³² Brunt 1975, 143 n. 23.

³³ Devijver 1976, C 282; Pflaum 1978, 216.

³⁴ *cf.* 3.4 above.

Ritterling³⁵ suggests the reading *leg XX[X V]l(piae) Victricis*, but the abbreviation VL for Ulpiae would be unusual in the extreme³⁶.

7. L. Domitius Severus

AE 1966, 124 (Verona): *L(ucio) Domitio M(arci) f(ilio) | Pob(lilia) Severo | praef(ecto) coh(ortis) Camp(anae) | praef(ecto) alae Aurean(ae) | Hispan(orum) I tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XX | IIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) flam(ini) design(ato) | ala Aurean(a) Hispan(orum) (prima)*

‘To Lucius Domitius Severus, son of Marcus, of the Poblilian voting-tribe, prefect of the *cohors Campanorum*, prefect of the *ala Aureana Hispanorum I*, tribune of the Twentieth Legion, *IIIvir* for applying the law, *flamen* elect; *ala Aureana Hispanorum I* (had this set up).’

L. Domitius Severus³⁷ provides a clear example of the *tres militiae*, as established by Claudius³⁸. His career began with a magistracy as *IIIvir iure dicundo*, and he was then successively prefect of the *cohors Campana* in Dalmatia³⁹, prefect of the *ala Aureana Hispanorum I* in Pannonia or Noricum⁴⁰, and tribune with the Twentieth Legion, perhaps during its operations in South Wales. The order in which the equestrian *militiae* were held was swiftly adjusted to place the tribunate with a legion before the prefecture of an *ala*⁴¹, but even were he one of the first of the *ordo Claudii*, it is unlikely that he could have served as tribune with the Twentieth before or during the invasion, unless he passed very swiftly through the previous posts. As *flamen* he was a priest of the cult of the Emperor. This dedication may mark his receipt of the legionary commission, since it appears to have been erected (presumably in his home town) at the expense of the *ala Aureana Hispanorum*, his former command.

³⁵ Ritterling 1932, 137.

³⁶ It is not observed among any of the stones of that legion in *CIL* XIII or among the careers recorded in *ILS*.

³⁷ Devijver 1976, D 33; Demougin 1992, No. 497.

³⁸ Suetonius *Claudius* 25; Devijver 1970.

³⁹ = *coh I Campanorum voluntariorum c.R.*; Cichorius 1900, 260; Le Glay 1972, 217 n. 19; Spaul 2000, 22-3.

⁴⁰ Chichorius 1893, 1248.

⁴¹ By the time of Nero this had become the norm: Devijver 1970, 73.

8. Flavius Longus

RIB 450 (Chester): Pro sal(ute) Domin[oru]m N(ostrorum) Invi|ct[i]ssimorum | Aug(ustorum) Genio loci | Fl[av]ius Long[us] | trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XX [V(aleriae) V(ictricis)] | [et] Longinus fil(ius) | eius domo Samosata | v(otum) s(olverunt)

‘For the welfare of our lords, the most invincible Emperors, to the Genius of the place, Flavius Longus, military tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, and Longinus his son, from Samosata, fulfilled their vow.’

Flavius Longus⁴² was from Samosata on the Euphrates in Commagene. A finely carved altar⁴³ from Chester records his presence as *tribunus militum*. We know no more of his career. The formula and the dedication to two emperors suggest the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, 198-211⁴⁴, from which period onwards promotion to the tribunate was no longer reserved for equestrians. Longus may have followed a career path more akin to that of M. Aurelius Syrio (3.2) than to those of second-century municipal worthies from the western provinces.

9. T. Iunius Severus

CIL II 3583 (Dianium): T(ito) Iunio T(iti) f(ilio) | Gal(eria) Severo | Dianensi | omnibus hono|ribus in re p(ublica) sua | functo praef(ecto) | cohortis IIII | Dalmatarum | tribuno leg XX | Valeriae Victric(is) | L(ucius) Sempronius | Enipeus amico | optimo

‘To Titus Iunius Severus, son of Titus, of the Galerian voting-tribe, from Dianium, who had performed all his public offices in his home town, prefect of the Fourth Cohort of Dalmatae, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; Lucius Sempronius Enipeus (set this up) to a most worthy friend.’

⁴² Devijver 1976, F 55; other Flavii Longi (III 6838-39, III 6840) are suggested as in some way connected but coincidence of time and place is not strong and the name is not sufficiently rare as to accept the identification.

⁴³ *CSIR* i 9.7.

⁴⁴ *RIB ad. loc.*; Devijver 1976, 371; Birley 1969, 74 and n. 83.

T. Iunius Severus⁴⁵ came from the *municipium* Dianium in Hispania Tarraconensis. The phrase ‘*omnibus honoribus...functo*’ indicates that he had served the round of the local magistracies in his home town – aedile, quaestor, *Ilvir*, perhaps a priesthood also – and reached the top of the local ladder⁴⁶. Thereafter he held two military posts, as prefect of the *cohors IV Dalmatarum* in Britain or in Germania Superior⁴⁷, and then as tribune with the Twentieth. He had presumably failed to progress to the more sought-after post of prefect of an *ala*. The formula ‘*omnibus honoribus*’ is not apparently recorded before 120⁴⁸, but the *cohors IV Dalmatarum* was merged with a Pannonian cohort by 127⁴⁹, and if Severus is indeed the father or uncle of the T. Iunius Severus, suffect consul in 154⁵⁰, then he cannot have held these posts much after 120 (a matter of years rather than decades), and may indeed have held them earlier.

10. ...Marus

Britannia 32 (2001), 392 no. 18 (Benwell area?): *Deo | Herculi(i) | Marus trib(unus) | leg(ionis) XX | fec(it)*

‘For the god Hercules, Marus, tribune of the Twentieth Legion, made (this)’

Copper alloy plaque in form of an ansate panel. Tomlin points out a number of anomalies⁵¹: the *cognomen* is rare and distinctive, but it is unusual to find a tribune identified (or, more to the point, identifying himself) only by his *cognomen*; legionary tribunes did not command detachments and would normally be found at the legion’s main base (unless the whole legion were in the field); and the omission

⁴⁵ Devijver 1976, I 15; Curchin 1990, 204 No. 682.

⁴⁶ Curchin 1990, 39.

⁴⁷ Ritterling 1932, 142; Alföldy 1968, 57. The cohort is recorded in Britain in 103 (*RIB* 2401.1) probably then part of the Caerleon command in South Wales (Nash-Williams 1969, 15). An inscription to the Emperor Hadrian (*JRS* lv 1965, 222 No. 7) perhaps places it at the fort at Hardknott sometime in the period 117/138, although this could be read as *cohors II* (Jarrett 1994b, 59 Nos 25, 26). It would be unusual for Severus to have served both as prefect and tribune in the same province. The cohort was in Germany until the late first century and after 127: Spaul 2000, 307-8.

⁴⁸ Alföldy 1975, 253.

⁴⁹ Spaul 2000, 308.

⁵⁰ Curchin 1990, 204; *PIR*² I 820.

⁵¹ *Britannia ad loc.* and n. 27.

of the legionary *cognomina* would be unusual if a second-century context, when the legion was in northern Britain, were to be supposed. The latter two points lead Tomlin to doubt the declared provenance and suggest that this object may have come from one of the earlier bases of the legion, perhaps from Colchester, or even from outside of Britain. However, although it is unusual for the legion's *cognomina* to be omitted after the late first century, it is not unprecedented. Two tombstones from Chester have LEG XX only⁵², as do a number of second-century and later stones from the Continent⁵³. Other objects from Chester (after *c.* AD 87 therefore) show a similar omission⁵⁴. Pressure of space (as on the silvered disc *RIB* 2427.14) may be the simple explanation, although Tomlin feels there was space enough, if at the same time suggesting lack of space as a possible reason for the abbreviated nomenclature. If a later date be allowed, the presence of a tribune away from the legion's base need not be so unusual: *cf.* 3.2.

11. Q. Planius Felix

AE 1935, 25 (Minturno): *Q(uinto) Planio | Felici | patron(o) col(oniae) | trib(uno) leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) | Victricis | colleg(ium) fabr(um) tign(ariorum) posuit | quib(us) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) c(oire) l(icet) | l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

‘To Quintus Planius Felix, patron of the *colonia*, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; the Guild of Carpenters, which had been permitted to form itself by decree of the (local) senate, (put this up); space given by decree of the town councillors.’

This dedication to Q. Planius Felix⁵⁵ was set up by the Guild of Carpenters in the *colonia* at Minturnae, of which he was patron and from where he presumably originated. His tribunate with the Twentieth appears to be his only military post. There is no mention of a cohort prefecture, so it may be that Felix

⁵² *RIB* 502, 507.

⁵³ XII 678, V 6632, III 5577, XIII 6780, *AE* 1954.160.

⁵⁴ Antefixes: *RIB* 2458.2-8; tile-stamps: *RIB* 2463.28,46; lead seal: *RIB* 2411.80; disc: *RIB* 2427.14.

⁵⁵ Devijver 1976, P 39.

had not entered on the *tres militiae* proper and that this was the only post held, a practice commoner before the mid-second century than after⁵⁶.

12. ...Rufus

CIL X 7587= ILS 1402 (Carales): [...]*i m*[...] | [...]*v*[.] *L(ucii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) | Rufo praef(ecto) coh(ortis) | sub curatori viae | Aemiliae trib(uno) leg(ionum) | XIII Gemin(ae) et XV Vict(ricis) | proc(uratori) Plotinae Aug(ustae) | proc(uratori) Caes(aris) Hadriani | ad ripam pontific[i] | IIIvir(o) i(iure) d(icundo) q(uin)q(uen)nali) | T. Cutius [...] Iul...*

‘...Rufus, son of Lucius, of the Qurina voting-tribe, prefect of a cohort, sub-curator of the via Aemilia, tribune of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina and of the Twentieth Legion Victrix⁵⁷, procurator to Plotina Augusta, procurator to Caesar Hadrian for the shores (banks of a river?), *pontifex*, *IIIvir* for applying the law, responsible for the 5-yearly census; Titus Cutius ... Iul...’

Rufus⁵⁸ came from Carales (Cagliari), in Sardinia and rose far, having attracted imperial patronage along the way. He was *IIIvir iure dicundo quinquennali*, with responsibility for the five-yearly census in the *municipium* and held a post as prefect of an unnamed cohort and as sub-curator involved in the upkeep of the *via Aemilia* in the Po valley. He then held two tribunates, first with *legio XIV Gemina* at Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior⁵⁹, and then with the Twentieth at Chester. Thereafter he was at Rome as procurator to Plotina, the wife of Trajan (she received the title Augusta in AD 105 and died AD 122). He then held a further procuratorship under Hadrian, responsible for unspecified riverside estates, perhaps those

⁵⁶ Birley 1952, 186; *cf.* 3.4, 3.6.

⁵⁷ *Legio XV Apollinaris* is not known to have used the title *Victrix* (Ritterling 1925, 1758), and this has been assumed by editors to be an error on the part of the stonecutter: possibly omission of an X in XX V VICT, (but this is not otherwise attested); more likely, misreading/miscutting of V for X in XX VICT which appears on two other stones (see Appendix 1).

⁵⁸ Devijver 1976, R 25; Pflaum 1960.101.

⁵⁹ Unless this first post falls before the transfer of *legio XIV* from Mainz which may have been as late as 100/101: Franke 2000, 198-9.

inherited from Plotina⁶⁰. He also attained the prestigious position of *pontifex*, member of the college of priests overseeing public religion in Carales.

13. C. Sempronius Fidus

CIL II 4245 = *RIT* 306 (Tarraco): *C(aio) Sempronio | M(arci) filio Gal(eria) Fido | Calagorrit(ano) | trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII | Scythic(ae) trib(uno) mil(itum) | leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) trib(uno) | mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae) | trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XX | V(aleriae) V(ictricis) fl(ami)ni | p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) C(iterioris)*

‘To Gaius Sempronius Fidus, son of Marcus, of the Galerian voting-tribe, from Calagurris, tribune of the Fourth Legion Scythica, tribune of the Sixth Legion Ferrata, tribune of the Third Legion Gallica, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; *flamen* for the province of Hispania Citerior.’

C. Sempronius Fidus⁶¹ was from Calagurris Nassica in Hispania Tarraconensis. He entered directly into the legionary tribunate, serving successively with three Syrian legions: *IIII Scythica* at Zeugma, *VI Ferrata* perhaps at Caparcotna, *III Gallica* at Raphanaea⁶², before transfer to *legio XX Valeria Victrix*. The reiteration of posts within the equestrian *cursus* is unusual but reasonably well attested⁶³. However, four successive tribunates is almost unparalleled⁶⁴, and must indicate exceptional ability or unusual circumstances. Similar transfers between British and Syrian legions in the careers of centurions have been taken to imply proximity, if only of supporting detachments, and a context sought in the transfer of the British governor Sex. Iulius Severus, sent by Hadrian to put down the Bar Kochba revolt⁶⁵. Equestrian tribunes were not usually given command of detachments and such a post would surely merit mention on

⁶⁰ Mommsen, *CIL ad loc.*

⁶¹ Devijver 1976, S 19.

⁶² *IV Scythica*: M.A. Speidel 2000, 331; *VI Ferrata*: Parker 2000, 124; *III Gallica*: Dąbrowa 2000, 313. These are the dispositions from the early second century, but the career may be earlier (see below n. 68).

⁶³ Demougin 2000.

⁶⁴ Demougin 2000, 129 can quote one other example: II 2029 = *ILS* 1405, if this is the correct interpretation of TR MIL IIII PROC AVG XX.

⁶⁵ Birley 1965, 29-30; see 6.5, 6.42, perhaps 6.59.

the dedication⁶⁶. It might remain the best context for such a sequence of posts, nonetheless. The administrative role of the tribune might perhaps stretch to detached groups and there is ample evidence of service in the field⁶⁷. Of magistracies within his local community we have no record, and Fidus may have led a wholly military career. It was a career of some prestige, nonetheless, for on his return to Tarraco he was elected to the position of *flamen*, priest of the imperial cult, for the province of Hispania Tarraconensis⁶⁸.

14. Sex. Vagirus Martianus

CIL XIII 1900 = ILS 7025 (Lugdunum): Publice d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) | [S]ex(to) Vagurio Sex(ti) fil(io) | Gal(eria) Martiano | q(uaestori) aedili Ilviro patrono | omnium corpor(um) summo | curat(atori) c(ivium) R(omanorum) provinc(iae) Aqui[t(aniae)] | praefect(o) fabr(um) Roma[e] | tribuno milit(itum) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | quam statuam cum ordo | [s]anctissim(us) ob eius erga|rem p(ublicam) suam eximiam | operam et insignem | [a]bstinentiam ex aerario | [p]ublico poni censuisse[t | S]ex(tus). Vagirus Gratus | [f]rater impendio remisso | [p]ecunia sua constituit

‘At public expense, by the decree of the town-councillors, to Sextus Vagirus Martianus, son of Sextus, of the Galerian voting-tribe, quaestor, aedile, duumvir, patron of all guilds, highest curator for the Roman citizens of the province of Aquitania, prefect of works at Rome, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; for which statue, the most sacred *ordo*, in consideration of his regard for the public good, his outstanding works and temperate characteristics, would have agreed to the outlay from the public treasury; Sex. Agirus Gratus his brother sent money out of his own funds to set this up.’

Sex. Vagirus Martianus⁶⁹ was evidently an eminent member of his local community. The inscription that survives records the erection of a statue in his honour in Lugdunum. He had held the usual round of local magistracies as quaestor and aedile, rising to hold the post of *Ilvir*, one of the two elected chief magistrates of the local senate (*ordo sanctissimus*), and acting as patron of all the guilds of the town.

⁶⁶ Saxer 1967, 120-1.

⁶⁷ Birley 1953, 144.

⁶⁸ Alföldy 1972, No. 63; Étienne 1958, 131, 137 suggesting a Flavian-Hadrianic date.

⁶⁹ Devijver 1976, V 1.

Thereafter he attained the prestigious position of curator for the *cives Romani* of the province of Gallia Aquitania, and acted as *praefectus fabrum* for an unnamed magistrate at Rome⁷⁰. The tribunate with the Twentieth Legion is his sole military post, probably held at some time in the mid-second century⁷¹.

15. Anonymous

CIL VI 3663 (Roma): ...praef(ecto) coh(ortis)?... | Dalmat(arum) [trib(uno)?] | mil(itum) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | patrono[...

‘To...] prefect of a cohort of Dalmatians?, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, patron of...’

It is possible that line 3 should be read only as recording a *miles*, an ordinary soldier of the Twentieth Legion, with line 2 indicating an origin in Dalmatia, or perhaps some surviving element of the name such as the *cognomen* Dalmatius⁷². However, the presence at Rome of an ordinary *miles* would be unexpected, unless he were an inhabitant of the *castra peregrina*, in which case we would expect some further indication of rank (*cf.* 7.75.3 *mil(es) frum(entarius) leg XX VV*). More to the point, the indication of patronage in line 4 might imply an individual of at least equestrian status and the dedication may have been on a statue to him⁷³, in which case a sequence of posts as expanded above would be quite usual.

⁷⁰ Perhaps for the consul: Dobson 1965, 65. Burnand 1973, 336 suggests Martianus might have come to the notice of a governor of Lugdunensis and received the post from him, or at his recommendation.

⁷¹ Burnand *loc. cit.* Direct entry to the legionary tribunate is rarely attested much later: Pflaum 1950, 174-5.

⁷² *Onomasticon* II, 92.

Incertus

RIB 937 Cl(audius) Severus trib(unus) milit(um) at Old Penrith. Tomlin feels that the most reasonable explanation for his presence is that he was commanding a detachment of *legio XX VV* stationed there⁷⁴. The evidence of the poorly preserved, and long lost, *RIB 940* is not perhaps sufficient to place the legion there, or Severus as its commander.

Falsum

XIV 369* (Tivoli): ...*M. Statilius M. f. Claud | Sabinus | tribunus leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) F(elicis)*

⁷³ But see 2.5 above.

⁷⁴ Tomlin and Annis 1989, 46.

Tribunus Angusticlavius

'Nothing does so much honour to the abilities and application of the Tribune as the appearance and discipline of the soldiers, when their apparel is neat and clean, their arms bright and in good order, and when they perform their exercises and evolutions with dexterity.' Vegetius 2.12

Ranking below the senatorial legate and tribune within the legion were the equestrian tribunes. Five such served with the legion at any one time for periods of up to three years⁷⁵. These posts were usually held after one or more local magistracies and, from the time of Claudius onwards, could form part of a military career progressing through posts within the legions and the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry units⁷⁶.

The recorded equestrian tribunes of the Twentieth Legion provide examples of the various careers available to the equestrian officer: there are those who held a single post with a legion after their initial magistracies and then returned to a civil career; those who entered into the *militia equestris* pursuing a longer military career; those whose tribunate fell later in their career after more significant achievements in their home town and at Rome; and those who advanced further into procuratorial posts. Falling between these criteria are those equestrians who sought direct commission as centurions⁷⁷, and those *primipilares* who, having attained equestrian status, moved on to procuratorial posts themselves⁷⁸. These are considered further in Chapters II.5 and II.6 below.

The majority of equestrian officers were men between 35 and 45 years who had served the round of local magistracies within the *municipium* or *colonia*⁷⁹ and could hope, through embarking on the *militia equestris*, to rise to some of the more prestigious equestrian procuratorships. However, the legionary tribunate, with its mainly administrative role, was sometimes occupied by those with administrative experience in their home town who, it would seem, had no great desire for a military

⁷⁵ Birley 1953, 138; Devijver 1989, 398.

⁷⁶ Devijver 1970.

⁷⁷ Dobson 1972; see below 6.19, 6.20, 6.36, possibly 6.13, 6.59.

⁷⁸ Dobson 1978, 92-114.

⁷⁹ Birley, 1953, 139; Devijver 1989, 410.

3.7	L. Domitius Severus	Verona	<i>IIIvir iure dicundo</i> <i>praefectus coh Campanae</i> <i>praefectus alae Aureanae</i> <i>Hispanorum I</i> <i>tribunus militum leg XX VV</i>	before Nero
3.8	Flavius Longus	Samosata	<i>tribunus militum leg XX VV</i>	198/211
3.9	T. Iunius Severus	Danium	<i>omnibus honoribus</i> <i>praefectus coh IIII Dalmatarum</i> <i>tribunus leg XX VV</i>	before 127
3.10	... Marus		<i>tribunus leg XX</i>	
3.11	Q. Plinius Felix	Minturnae	<i>tribunus leg XX VV</i>	EM2
3.12	... Rufus	Carales	<i>IIIvir iure dicundo</i> <i>quinquennialis</i> <i>praefectus cohortis</i> <i>subcurator viae Aemiliae</i> <i>tribunus leg XIII Geminae</i> <i>tribunus leg XX Victrix</i> <i>procurator Plotinae Augustae</i> <i>procurator Caesaris Hadriani ad</i> <i>ripam</i> <i>pontifex</i>	105/122
3.13	C. Sempronius Fidus	Calagurris	<i>tribunus militum leg IIII Scythica</i> <i>tribunus militum leg VI Ferrata</i> <i>tribunus militum leg III Gallica</i> <i>tribunus militum leg XX VV</i> <i>flamen provinciae Hispaniae</i> <i>Citerioris</i>	C2
3.14	Sex. Vagirus Martianus	Lugdunum	<i>quaestor</i> <i>aedile</i> <i>IIvir</i> <i>patronus omnium corporum</i> <i>summus curator c R provinciae</i> <i>Aquitaniae</i> <i>praefectus fabrum Romae</i> <i>tribunus militum leg XX VV</i>	C2
3.15	ignotus		<i>praefectus coh ...] Dalmatarum</i> <i>tribunus] militum leg XX VV</i>	

Careers of *tribuni militum*

Magistracies. The magistrates of provincial towns were decurions, members of the *ordo decurionum*, the local senate, and responsible for public works and municipal finance⁸². The magistracies most normally held were the posts of quaestor, aedile and duumvir. The financial duties of the quaestor could be held at any stage, but the aedileship normally preceded election as duumvir, one of the two chief magistrates of the community. Within some communities we find the chief magistrates referred to as *quattuorviri*, possibly because they formed part of a joint board of the two *duoviri* and two aediles⁸³. This *cursus* is most clearly demonstrated here by Sex. Vagirus Martianus, a member of the *ordo* of Lugdunum. In the case of T. Iunius Severus it is disguised by the phrase *omnibus honoribus*, but the usual round of magistracies at Dianium, and possibly a priesthood also, are to be assumed. In other cases junior magistracies have not been recorded: C. Baebius and L. Domitius Severus record posts as *IIIvir* at Forum Livi and Verona respectively before their military careers; Crescens served as *IIvir* of the *colonia* at Vienne; Rufus held the post of *IIIvir* at Carales and acted as *quinquennalis* responsible for the five-yearly census there.

The Equestrian Cursus. Prior to the time of Claudius, posts as legionary tribune or prefect of a cohort or *ala* were filled on a fairly *ad hoc* basis. This was regularised by Claudius who established a sequence of posts leading from prefecture of a cohort, to prefecture of an *ala*, to a tribunate with a legion⁸⁴. The career is epitomised by L. Domitius Severus, who served as prefect of the *cohors Campana* and of the *ala I Aureana Hispanorum* before serving with the Twentieth Legion. From the reign of Nero onwards, however, the order of these posts was altered so that the prefecture of an *ala* had seniority over the legionary tribunate. M. Antonius Modianus, T. Iunius Severus and the anonymous (3.15) all record posts as prefect of a cohort before their posting to Britain. None describes any subsequent position, but the number of posts available decreases with seniority – there were some 270 prefects of auxiliary cohorts, 180 equestrian tribunes and 90 prefects of *alae* – so that not all could hope to gain the most senior post.

⁸² Curchin 1990, 58-9.

⁸³ Curchin 1990, 34.

⁸⁴ Devijver 1970.



Fig. II.3.1 Origins of equestrian tribunes of the Twentieth legion

C. Calcinus Tertianus, Crescens, Q. Plinius Felix and Sex. Vagirus Martianus all record only one military post, their tribunate with the Twentieth Legion, despite giving other details of municipal offices or honours, and they probably entered directly into this position rather than pursuing the regular *militiae equestres*. C. Sempronius Fidus also entered directly into the post of *tribunus militum*, but held that position in four legions, presumably through his demonstrated competence and willingness to continue serving⁸⁵. A number of other individuals – M. Aurelius Syrio, Flavius Longus, Marus – are recorded only in their capacity as tribune, so that it is unclear whether this was the only military post held. However, Syrio and Longus, at least, served under the changed conditions of the early third century, and may have obtained their tribunates after advancement to senior positions within the legions or the Praetorian guard⁸⁶.

Further advancement

The ultimate aim for the equestrian officer would be to advance to procuratorial posts in Rome or in the provinces and eventually to the great prefectures, the post of *praefectus praetorii* being the ultimate prize. Few of the tribunes of the Twentieth Legion show any significant advancement, however. Ti. Claudius Balbillus, after a string of high offices at Alexandria, did ultimately attain the post of prefect of Egypt, but he was a favourite of the emperor Claudius, and his single military post entirely honorary. In only one case do we have a clear example of advancement to procuratorial posts. Rufus, who had been *IIIvir* at Carales, had already obtained the prefecture of a cohort before his two legionary tribunates and would seem to have acquired Imperial patronage, serving as procurator to Plotina, the wife of Trajan and thereafter holding a further procuratorship for the emperor Hadrian.

As a group there is little to be said about this small sample. The known equestrian officers of the Twentieth Legion demonstrate a diverse range of origins and career paths, but few patterns emerge. Leaving aside C. Baebius, who served perhaps in a Republican antecedent, we can note that the tribunes from Italy and Sardinia fall rather earlier in date than those from the provinces of Gaul, Hispania and Noricum, whose careers date to the second century. The two third-century individuals are drawn from

⁸⁵ Demougin 2000, 126-9. Four successive tribunates is unusual in the extreme.

⁸⁶ Birley 1969, 76.

further afield, from the lower Danube and the Euphrates, and reflect the changing nature of the post after the reforms of Septimius Severus.

Chapter II.4

Praefectus castrorum



4.2: M. Pompeius Asper

II.4

Praefectus castrorum

1. M. Aurelius Alexander

RIB 490 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | M(arcus) Aurelius Alexand(er) | praef(ectus) cast(rorum) leg(ionis) XX | [V(aleriae) V(ictricis)] nat(ione) Syrus Os[r(hoenus) | vi]x(it) an(nos) LXXII [...] c[...|...]yces et S[*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Marcus Aurelius Alexander, camp-prefect of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, a Syrian tribesman from Osrhoene, lived 72 years [......]yces and S[...], his heirs, set this up].’

M. Aurelius Alexander was a Syrian from Osrhoene, or perhaps Commagene¹. The imperial *gentilicium* suggests that he had gained his citizenship on enlistment during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (not before 161, therefore), presumably in an eastern legion. The scant details of his tombstone disguise a career in excess of 50 years, beginning in the ranks and rising to the centurionate, and through further long service to the primipilate, the pinnacle of the centurial career. His subsequent position as *praefectus castrorum* of the Twentieth Legion ranked only below the senatorial posts of legate and tribune and was the most senior permanent post in the legionary establishment². His service with the Twentieth must fall after c.211, though perhaps not decades after, for the title *praefectus castrorum* gives way to *praefectus legionis* in the third century, along with the changing nature of the post. By the time of Gallienus (253-68) the Senatorial classes had become excluded from army commands and the *praefectus legionis* was the commanding officer of the legion³. Two *primipilares* of this name are known, the one responsible for

¹ Birley 1986a, 207 points out that Osrhoene in Mesopotamia was never part of Syria and prefers *Cof(magenus)*. However, although the O might be read as C, Wright and Richmond (1955, 23) feel that the S is certain.

² Dobson 1974, 414 on the other hand suggests a 3-year tenure.

³ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 119-20; XXXI-II.; Dobson 1974, 413. In Britain, not until after the suppression of the Gallic Empire in 274.

setting up a monument at Brigetio to his brother, M. Aurelius Valens, centurion of *legio I Adiutrix*⁴, the other recorded on an inscription from Rome commemorating the establishment of a burial ground for his family and household⁵. Either of these men might be identified with the *praefectus castrorum* at Chester. The latter perhaps has the better claim, for his wife, Aurelia Antiochiana, was clearly of Syrian origin and he himself may also have been.⁶

2. M. Pompeius Asper

CIL XIV 2523 = ILS 2662 (Tusculum): M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Aspro | (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is) (centurioni) coh(ortis) III Pr(aetoriae) | primop(ilo) leg(ionis) III Cyren(aicae) praef(ecto) castr(or)um | leg(ionis) XX Victr(icis) | Atimetus lib(ertus) pullarius | fecit et sibi et | M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) | Col(lina) Aspro | filio suo et | M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(lina) | Aspro filio minori | et Cinciae | Saturninae | uxori suae

‘To Marcus Pompeius Asper, son of Marcus, of the Aniensian voting-tribe, centurion of the Fifteenth Legion Apollinaris, centurion of the Third Praetorian Cohort, *primuspilus* of the Third Legion Cyrenaica, *praefectus castrorum* of the Twentieth Legion Victrix, Atimetus, freedman, keeper of the sacred chickens, made this; and to himself and to Marcus Pompeius Asper, son of Marcus, of the Collina voting-tribe, his son and to Marcus Pompeius Asper, son of Marcus, of the Collina voting-tribe, his younger son⁷ and to Cincia Saturnina his wife.’

M. Pompeius Asper⁸ is commemorated in a fine inscription from the area of Tusculum in Latium⁹. His appears to be an example of an equestrian career in the centurionate¹⁰, beginning with direct commission

⁴ III 4315 = *RIU*-03, 636; Dobson 1978, 119.

⁵ VI 3554 = *ILS* 8233.

⁶ Mowat 1890, 117-8. His further contention, that the first of Alexander’s heirs can be restored [*Polyn*]ices, and therefore identified with the notorious chariot-driver M. Aurelius Polynices (VI 10049), is an interesting aside, but the number of other candidates for this man’s former master must be considerable.

⁷ The two sons have the same name. Had one perhaps died young?

⁸ Dobson 1978, No. 101; Mosser 2003, 232 No. 128.

⁹ See Maxfield 1981, plate 12.

as centurion of *legio XV Apollinaris* at Carnuntum in Pannonia¹¹, followed by transfer to Rome as centurion of the Third Praetorian cohort. He was then promoted to *primus pilus* of *legio III Cyrenaica* at Alexandria¹², and finally to the post of prefect of the Twentieth in Britain. The sculptured relief indicates the award of *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae* at some stage in his career, probably during Domitian's Dacian wars, 86-92, while serving with either the Fifteenth Legion or the Praetorian Guard¹³. His service with the Twentieth would therefore fall at the close of the first, or beginning of the second, century¹⁴. The cognomen given for the legion is one of the rare, but perhaps significant, occurrences of *XX Victrix* (see Appendix 1).

3. Anonymous

CIL XI 1059 (Parma): ...] praefecto legionis XX Valeriae | Victr(icis) primop(ilo) legionis | X Gemin(ae) piae fidel(is) | cent(urioni) legion(um) IIII Scythic(ae) XI Claud(iae) XIII Gem(inae) | VII Gemin(ae) | patr(ono) col(oniae) Iul(iae) Aug(ustae) Parm(ensis) | patr(ono) municipiorum | Forodruent(inorum) et Foro|novanor(um) patron(o) col|legior(um) fabr(um) et cent(onariorum) et | dendrophor(orum) Parmens(ium) | colleg(ium) cent(onariorum) merenti

'...prefect of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *primuspilus* of the Tenth Legion Gemina Pia Fidelis, centurion of Legions Four Scythica, Eleven Claudia, Fourteen Gemina and Seven Gemina, patron of the *colonia* Iulia Augusta Parma, patron of the *municipia* of Forum Druentinum and Forum Novanum, patron of the guilds of craftsmen, and of firemen, and of *dendrophori*; the Parma guild of firemen (set this up) to him as deserving of it.'

The title *pia fidelis* given for the Tenth Gemina dates this inscription to after 96¹⁵. The use of *praefectus legionis* in place of *praefectus castrorum* appears at the beginning of the second century but becomes

¹⁰ Dobson and Breeze 1969, 110; Summerly 1991, 55.

¹¹ Ritterling 1925, 1752; Wilkes 2000, 112.

¹² Ritterling 1925, 1507.

¹³ Maxfield 1981, 192.

¹⁴ Lesquier 1918, 62 n. 3; Durry 1938, 198 date the inscription to the beginning of the second century.

¹⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1690: prior to that it had been *pia fidelis Domitiana*.

more common later¹⁶. Promotion and transfer in the centurionate is discussed further below, but Summerly¹⁷ prefers to see proximity, in station or during campaign, as a significant factor and suggests transfer from *legio XIV* to *XI* while both were stationed in Germany (c.70-92) or Pannonia (c.101-106); and from *legio XI* to *III* while a vexillation of the Eleventh was in Judaea during Hadrian's Jewish war (132-134)¹⁸. The latter seems a reasonable context for this posting in an otherwise wholly western career, but cannot be easily reconciled with a transfer into *legio XI* even as late as 106, which would still require 26 years in that single post.

Accepting the later rather than earlier date, the career path of this unnamed prefect would include centurionates with *legio VII Gemina* at Legio in Hispania Tarraconensis¹⁹; *XIII Gemina*, at Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior²⁰; *XI Claudia*, at Durostorum in Moesia Inferior²¹; posting east with a vexillation in 132 and transfer into *IV Scythica*, usually stationed at Zeugma in Syria²²; return to Pannonia Superior as *primus pilus* of *legio X Gemina pia fidelis* at Vindobona²³; and finally posting to the Twentieth, which was operating largely in North Britain, although the prefect may still have been based at the Chester headquarters²⁴. He retired to Parma, which may have been his home town²⁵, and is recorded as patron of the *colonia* as well as of the nearby *municipia* of Forum Novanum and Forum Druentinum. He was also patron of the guild of craftsmen, the guild of *dendrophori* (timber workers associated with the cults of Cybele and Attis), and the guild of firemen who had arranged the erection of this monument. His evident status in the *colonia* may suggest a directly-commissioned equestrian, as does the progress of his career²⁶,

¹⁶ Dobson 1974, 413; it replaces the older title in the early third century.

¹⁷ Summerly 1991, 198 following Birley 1965.

¹⁸ Ritterling 1925, 1699.

¹⁹ Ritterling 1925, 1632; Le Roux 1972, 136 No. 33; Le Roux 2000, 383.

²⁰ Ritterling 1925, 1738; Wilkes 2000, 112.

²¹ Ritterling 1925, 1697-8; Wilkes 2000, 111.

²² Ritterling 1925, 1560; Parker 2000, 123-4; MA Speidel 2000, 331.

²³ Ritterling 1925, 1683; Wilkes 2000, 110; Gomez-Pantoja 2000, 188.

²⁴ See Chapter III.4.

²⁵ Dobson 1978, 276 No. 164.

²⁶ Le Roux 1972, 113; 1982, 301; Summerly 1991, 198.

although the rank of *primus pilus* itself conferred equestrian status²⁷ and there was Italian recruitment into the ranks of *legio VII Gemina* in the late first century²⁸.

4. Anonymous

JRS 55 (1965), 221 no. 5 = AE 1965.215 (Chester): ...*p(rimus) p(ilus)] leg(ionis) XXII D[eiot(ariana) | pr]aef(ectus) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)[...*

‘...*primuspilus* of the Twenty-second Legion Deiotariana, prefect of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix...’

Like M. Pompeius Asper (4.2 above) this man held his primipilate in an Egyptian legion before appointment as prefect of the Twentieth Legion²⁹. The use of *praefectus legionis* (for *praefectus castrorum*) appears at the beginning of the second century³⁰, and it is generally supposed that *legio XXII Deiotariana* disappeared during the Jewish war of Hadrian (132-34)³¹, which would place the inscription somewhere in the first third of the second century.

Other records

RIB 2463.60 (Holt): ...] *pr(a)ef(ectus) leg(ionis) XX [...*

Either a *praefectus castrorum*, or if third-century (as the ligatures might suggest) perhaps the commander of the legion. Of course a stamp to the effect that the object was produced under the authority of an unnamed prefect refers in effect to the office rather than the office-holder. There is always a prefect, and this is no aid to the identification of a specific individual. However, RIB 2463.61: ...] *Iulius [...* has lettering

²⁷ Dobson 1970, 106; 1978, 115.

²⁸ Mann 1983a, 85.

²⁹ Dobson 1978, 259 No. 140.

³⁰ Dobson 1974, 413.

³¹ Ritterling 1925, 1795; Daris 2000, 365.

of the same height and similar style and might supply the name of this particular *praefectus*, if it indeed belongs to this or another similar die.

Praefectus castrorum

The *praefectus castrorum* ranked only below the senatorial officers of the legion and was the most senior permanent member of the staff. Until the reforms of the third century, this was the highest post within the legion to which a man rising from the ranks through the centurionate could aspire. However, it could be attained only after service as *primus pilus* and represented just one of the routes of advancement available from that post. As such is considered as part of that career structure in Chapter II.5 below. Summary details only are presented in the table here.

Table II.4.1: Praefecti of the Twentieth Legion

		origo	cursus	date
4.1	M. Aurelius Alexander	Osrhoene	<i>praef cast leg XX VV</i>	>211
4.2	M. Pompeius Asper	Tusculum	> <i>leg XV Apollinaris</i> > <i>coh III Pr</i> <i>pp leg III Cyrenaica</i> <i>praef castr leg XX Victrix</i>	L1-E2
4.3	<i>ignotus</i>	Parma	> <i>leg VII Gemina</i> > <i>leg XIII Gemina</i> > <i>leg XI Claudia</i> > <i>leg leg III Scythica</i> <i>primop leg X Gemina p f</i> <i>praef leg XX Valer Victr</i>	M2
4.4	<i>ignotus</i>		<i>pp leg XXII Deiot</i> <i>praef leg XX VV</i>	E2

II.5

Primus pilus

1. Sex. Flavius Quietus

AE 1960.28 (Roma): *D(is) M(anibus) | Sex(to) Flavio Sex(ti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Quieto | p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) misso cum | exer(citu) in exp(editione) Maur(etanica) ab Imp(eratore) | Antonino Augusto praef(ecto) classis | Brit(annicae) Varinia Crispinilla coni(u)g(i) | pientissimo et Fl(avii) Vindex et Qui|etus fil(ii) piissimi*

‘To the spirits of the departed, (and) to Sextus Flavius Quietus, son of Sextus, of the Quirina voting-tribe; *primuspilus* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; sent with an army on a Mauretanian campaign by the Emperor Antoninus Augustus; prefect of the British Fleet; Varinia Crispinilla, to a most dutiful husband, and Flavius Vindex and Flavius Quietus his most pious sons (set this up).’

The career record of Sextus Flavius Quietus begins only with his primipilate in the Twentieth, for he moved on to higher things as commander of an expeditionary force in North Africa, returning to the north-west thereafter as Prefect of the British fleet, the headquarters of which were at Boulogne. Pflaum considered him to have risen from the ranks to the post of *primus pilus*¹. However, the origin suggested by Dobson, at Peltuinum Vestinum in Umbria², would not be a usual source of recruits into the legions even as early as the beginning of the second century³, and it may be that Quietus had served in the Rome cohorts or begun his career with direct commission into the centurionate. Keppie notes the similarity in style of the monument to those of *equites singulares Augusti* at Rome and suggests prior service in that corps⁴. Promotion would then be via the posts of *beneficiarius* of the tribune, and *decurio* in command of

¹ Pflaum 1960, No. 156; Dobson 1978, 251 No. 130; A.R. Birley 1981, 308.

² Although the *nomen* Flavius is common, the *praenomen* Sextus is unusual in this context. Dobson 1978, 251 notes a freedman Sex. Flavius from that town, which was enrolled in Quirina.

³ Forni 1953, 177-9; Mann 1983a, 54.

⁴ Keppie 2000, 31: see Comfort 1960, 274 and Plate 76, Fig. 2. The parallel is striking, although the flanking legionary standards mark this example out. Is the choice of iconography an allusion to the boar-

a *turma*, to the legionary centurionate⁵. However, service among the *equites singulares* would imply provincial origin, while the nomenclature, with *tribus*, would argue against, and although there are many *T. Flavii* amongst known *equites*, there are no other *Sexti*⁶.

The Mauretanian expedition will have taken place during campaigns in the period AD 144-149⁷ in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and Quietus' term with the Twentieth perhaps falls during the advance forward to the Forth-Clyde isthmus and the beginning of construction of the Antonine Wall. Although Swan has identified this command of Quietus as a possible context for the introduction of men of African origin into the army of Britain, and into the Twentieth in particular⁸, there is in fact no reason to suppose that any members of *legio XX* were involved in the expedition, or that some returning vexillation therefore required reinforcing with African recruits⁹. After his term as *primus pilus*, Quietus would have returned to Rome and, as a member of the *numerus primipilarius*, been available for just such commissions. Dobson points out that in no case do we find a *primus pilus* commanding such a vexillation during his term of office¹⁰. The example of T. Pontius Sabinus, *primus pilus* of *legio III Augusta*, provides a pertinent parallel, for after his primipilate he commanded a vexillation sent to Britain, drawn from legions *VII Gemina*, *VIII Augusta* and *XXII Primigenia*¹¹.

motif of the Twentieth? (Comfort *loc. cit.* See below Appendix 2 and *cf. RIB* 2184) If so, this might weaken any proposed connection with the *equites*.

⁵ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 50-1; Speidel 1994b, 90-1.

⁶ Speidel 1994a, 446-7. But for provincial nomenclature *cf. Sex Flavius Successus XIII* 1857 from Lugdunum.

⁷ Thus Dobson 1978, 251. Frere 1987, 135 has AD 145-147; Speidel 1977, 133 prefers AD 149.

⁸ Swan 1997, 291; 1999b, 423-4. Comfort 1960, 274; Frere 1987, 135 take the career as evidence of British forces being involved in the campaign.

⁹ Several centurions of *legio XX VV* did in fact serve with *legio III Augusta* (6.3, 6.31, 6.37, 6.68, 6.76, 6.78), but only in the case of 6.31 and 6.78 (possibly) was transfer direct. The career of the former falls some 50 years later; the anonymous 6.78 transferred from Africa to Britain (if no other post intervenes), but is not clearly dated.

¹⁰ Dobson 1978, 251.

2. P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis

1. *CIL* V 533 = *ILS* 2702 = *Inscr.It.* X.4.32 (Tergeste): *P(ublius) Palpellius P(ublili) f(ilius) Maec(ia) Clodius | Quirinalis p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) XX trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) VII | C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) proc(urator) Aug(usti) praef(ectus) classis dedit*

‘Publius Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis, son of Publius, of the Maecia voting-tribe, *primuspilus* of the Twentieth Legion, tribune of the Seventh Legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, procurator of the Emperor and prefect of the (Ravenna) Fleet, gave (this).’

2. *Sup. It.* 474 = *Inscr.It.* X.4.397 (Altinum): *P(ublio) Clo[di]o P(ublili) f(ilio) Qui[rinali] pr[im(o)]pil(o) leg(ionis) XX] trib(uno) [mil(itum) leg(ionis) VII] Cla[ud(iae) p(iae) f(idelis)] procu[r(ator)] Aug(usti)...]*

‘Publius Clodius Quirinalis, son of Publius, *primuspilus* of the Twentieth Legion, tribune of the Seventh Legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, procurator of the Emperor

3. Tacitus *Ann.* 13.30: *Clodius Quirinalis, quod praefectus remigum, qui Ravennae haberentur, velut infimam nationum Italiam luxuria saevitiaque adflctavisset, veneno damnationem anteit*

‘The fleet-commander at Ravenna, Clodius Quirinalis, who had inflicted his savagery and debauchery on Italy as if it were the humblest of subject territories, poisoned himself to forestall condemnation.’

P. Clodius Quirinalis¹² came to an ignoble end in AD 56, having risen far, but having perhaps overstepped the mark in his conduct of the position of *praefectus* at Ravenna and incurred the wrath of the Emperor Nero. It is difficult to estimate the length of time that had passed since his service as *primus pilus* of the Twentieth, but it is likely to have fallen in the early years of the conquest of Britain, and participation in the invasion would not be impossible. His career prior to the primipilate is not recorded. If he is in fact the son of the *miles* of *legio XV Apollinaris*, of the same *tria nomina*, also from Trieste¹³,

¹¹ X 5829; Dobson 1978, 235-6.

¹² *PIR*² P 72; Suolahti 1955, 379 n. 180; Pflaum 1960 No. 28; Devijver 1976, P.9; Dobson 1978, No. 62; Eck 1994, 227.

¹³ V 540.

then he might well have enrolled as *miles* himself. However, if the additional *nomen* Palpellius does derive from adoption by some branch of the family of Sex. Palpellius Hister, consul AD 43¹⁴, then he might have had the necessary patronage to attain a direct commission into a legionary or a Rome centurionate. If he had in fact risen through the ranks, then service with the Rhine legions and a part in the invasion of Britain perhaps as centurion of the Twentieth, would be possible.

After his term as *primus pilus* of the Twentieth, Quirinalis held a tribunate with the Seventh Legion *Claudia pia fidelis* at Tilverium in Dalmatia¹⁵ before his appointment as prefect of the Ravenna fleet¹⁶. The post of legionary tribune more typically belongs to the equestrian *cursus* and argues for the early nature of this career¹⁷, *contra* Degrassi¹⁸ who dates the dedication V533 to after AD 80 and proposes that the *primuspilus* must be a descendant (perhaps the son) of the man condemned in the reign of Nero. The absence of the legionary cognomina *Valeria Victrix* would also argue for an earlier rather than a later date (but not necessarily earlier than AD 83: see Appendix 1).

3. Serenus

1. *RIB* 1510 + add. (HW 29a-30b): (*centuria*) *p(rimi) [p(ili)] | Sere[ni]*

2. *JRS* 52 (1962), 194 no. 20 (HW 48a-48b): (*centuria*) *p(rimi) p(ili) | Sereni*

One other *primipilaris* is known bearing this *cognomen*¹⁹: Amullius Serenus, but he was present in Rome in AD 69²⁰ and can have no connection with this individual (or none that is now discoverable). See Appendix 3 for the detailed argument as to the attribution of centurions from Hadrian's Wall.

¹⁴ Pflaum 1960, 68.

¹⁵ Wilkes 2000, 109.

¹⁶ The term *procurator Augusti* forms part of the titles of the post rather than being a separate appointment: Saddington 1990, 67.

¹⁷ Dobson 1978, 195.

¹⁸ Degrassi 1965, 233-58.

¹⁹ Dobson 1978, 340-50.

²⁰ Tacitus. *Hist* 1.31.

4. C. Sulgius Caecilianus

CIL VIII 1322 = 14854 = ILS 2764 = ILTun 1287 (Tuccabor): C(aio) Sulgio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pap(iria) Caeciliano praef(ecto) leg(ionis) III Cyrenai|cae p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XX Valeriae Victricis praeposito reli|quationi classis Praetoriae Misenatium Piae | Vindicis et thensauris domini[cis e]t bastagis copia|rum devehendar(um) (centurioni) leg(ionibus) III Aug(ustae) et Septimae Geminae | et Primae Parthicae et XVI Fl(aviae) F(irmae) et XIII G(eminae) in provincia Daci|a nauarch(o) classis Praetoriae Mise[n]atium Piae | Vindicis optioni peregrinorum et ex[er]c[itu]m mil[itu]m frumentarior(um) et Sulgiae [- - -]ae et Sulgio | Apro [- - -] et S]ulgio[- - -]IO[- - -]IRSI | PICI[- - -]FS[- - -]LA[- - -] patri et coniugi.

‘To Gaius Sulgius Caecilianus, son of Lucius, of the Papirian voting-tribe, prefect of the Third Legion Cyrenaica, *primuspilus* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *praepositus* in charge of the dispatch of the Imperial treasury and supplies and in command of the remaining part of the fleet of Misenum (the *classis Misenatium Praetoria Pia Vindex*); centurion of the Third Legion Augusta, and of the Seventh Gemina, and of the First Parthica, and of the Sixteenth Flavia Firma, and of the Thirteenth Gemina in the province of Dacia, *nauarchus* in the *classis Misenum Praetoria Pia Vindex*, *optio peregrinorum*, trainer of the *frumentarii*; and to Sulgia ... and to Sulgius Aper ... father and wife.’

C. Sulgius Caecilianus²¹ was probably originally from Tuccabor (Takaber) in North Africa where he is commemorated, and to where he may have returned²². How he began his career is not recorded, for we first meet him in a rather specialised post as *optio peregrinorum* at the *Castra Peregrina*²³, the base of the *frumentarii* in Rome, where he was involved in training. The post is infrequently attested, but promotion after 16 years service in the Praetorian Guard is suggested²⁴, and this may also have been Caecilianus’ route to that position. Thereafter he held several posts as an officer, as *nauarchus* in the fleet at Misenum,

²¹ Dobson 1978, 301 No. 205; Le Roux 1972, 141-2; Le Bohec 1989, 180; Summerly 1991, 216-7.

²² Caecilianus is commonest in Africa (Kajanto 1965, 142); Takaber was enrolled in the tribe Papiria (Dobson 1978, 301).

²³ Mann 1988a.

²⁴ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 28; VI 3328.

and as centurion in five legions: *XIII Gemina* at Apulum in Dacia²⁵, *XVI Flavia Firma* at Samosata in Syria²⁶, *I Parthica* at Singara in Mesopotamia²⁷, *VII Gemina* at Legio in Hispania Tarraconensis²⁸ and *III Augusta* at Lambaesis in Numidia²⁹. The role of the *nauarchus* is far from clear. Starr thought them commanders of squadrons (of uncertain size), ranking above both the *trierarchus*, the ship's captain, and the centurion who commanded the century nominally formed by the ship's crew³⁰. Spaul, on the other hand, views the term as essentially interchangeable with that of centurion, the *nauarch* having command of a ship and holding centurial rank³¹. In the latter case transfer from *nauarch* to legionary centurion would certainly be seen as promotion, and the progression to centurion of the Third Augusta and *primus pilus* of the Twentieth the most likely career path. The post of *praepositus reliquationi classis Misensis* probably dates to 231 with Caecilius in charge of the dispatch of the Misenum fleet with funds and supplies assembled for the emperor Severus Alexander's war with the Persians³². The remainder of the fleet at Misenum would have been under his command.

The order of the senior posts is not entirely clear cut, for the position of *praepositus reliquationi* seems generally to have been reserved for *primipilares*³³. It may be that the prestigious offices of *praefectus* and *primus pilus* have been mentioned first and the commission as *praepositus reliquationi* given out of sequence. If so, Caecilianus' service with the Twentieth Legion would fall immediately prior to 231, the post as *praefectus* of the Third Cyrenaica in Arabia at some point after.

²⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1717-8; Wilkes 2000, 111; Piso 2000, 221.

²⁶ Ritterling 1925, 1765-6.

²⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1436, Parker 2000, 124.

²⁸ Ritterling 1925, 1632; Le Roux 2000, 383.

²⁹ Ritterling 1925, 1497; Le Bohec 1989, 407.

³⁰ Starr 1960, 39.

³¹ Spaul 2002, 54. Centurions frequently record the name of the ship which they commanded, *op. cit.* 51-2; only one *nauarch* does likewise (*AE* 1951.99) but this would seem sufficient to show that the command of a squadron was not implied (unless Roman usage of the Greek term differed from that on this Greek epitaph).

³² Le Bohec 1989, 180; X 3342 from Misenum records building works undertaken by Caecilianus in the reign of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander.

³³ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, XXX; *AE* 1981.134; X 3345.

If the Praetorian route to the post of *optio peregrinorum* be accepted then this would probably have to be placed prior to 197 and Septimius Severus' dismissal of the Guard (*cf.* M. Tillius Rufus 6.64). Even if Caecilianus were one of the first members of the reformed Guard, all of the posts mentioned would then have to be fitted into about 18 years. The alternative, some 50 years service to the primipilate, is more in accord with other recorded careers.

Other records

Dobson 1978, 358 lists 'T. Elupius Praesens' as a possible *primus pilus*. It is more probable that he held the rank of *princeps* – see below 6.24

RIB 440 (Holt): (*centuria*) *p(rimi) p(ili)* records work done by the century of an unnamed *primus pilus*.

Primus pilus – praefectus castrorum

Career paths leading to the primipilate are considered in detail in Chapter II.6 below. Of those who attained that rank in *legio XX* only C. Sulgius Caecilianus gives any detail of his previous career and in his case this includes unusual positions as trainer of the *frumentarii* at the *castra peregrinorum* and as *navarchus* in the Misenum fleet before the more usual legionary centurionates. M. Pompeius Asper and the *ignotus* from Parma, who held their primipilates in *legio III Cyrenaica* and *legio X Gemina* respectively before advancement to the post of *praefectus castrorum* with the Twentieth, both list prior service as legionary and praetorian centurions but both may have been directly commissioned equestrians.

The primipilate itself was the culmination of the centurial career, but also opened up further opportunities which are evident in the three surviving career records of the *primipili* of the Twentieth Legion. The *praefecti castrorum* of the legions, and the tribunes of the *vigiles*, the urban cohorts, the *equites singulares Augusti* and the Praetorian cohorts in Rome, were all supplied by the *numerus primipilarium*. Equestrian procuratorships and prefectures were also open to them³⁴. Caecilianus' detailed career record includes command of the naval base at Misenum during Severus Alexander's Persian war of 231 and the post of prefect of *legio III Cyrenaica* subsequent to his primipilate with the Twentieth. P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis also leaves record of a subsequent career, at a much earlier date, as *tribunus militum* of *legio VII Claudia*, procurator to the Emperor and prefect of the Ravenna fleet. The *primipilares* were also available for special commissions such as that given to Sex. Flavius Quietus who commanded an expedition in Mauretania before attaining the prefecture of the British fleet. The post of *praefectus castrorum* on the other hand often seems to have been given to those who were at the end of a long career. None of the *praefecti* of the Twentieth record any subsequent post.

Table II.5.1: Primipili and praefecti of the Twentieth Legion

		origo	cursus	date
4.1	M. Aurelius Alexander	Osrhoene	<i>praef cast leg XX VV</i>	>211
4.2	M. Pompeius Asper	Tusculum	> <i>leg XV Apollinaris</i> > <i>coh III Pr</i>	L1-E2

³⁴ Dobson 2000, 147.

			<i>pp leg III Cyrenaica</i> <i>praef castr leg XX Victrix</i>	
4.3	<i>ignotus</i>	Parma	> <i>leg VII Gemina</i> > <i>leg XIII Gemina</i> > <i>leg XI Claudia</i> > <i>leg leg III Scythica</i> <i>primop leg X Gemina p f</i> <i>praef leg XX Valer Victr</i>	M2
4.4	<i>ignotus</i>		<i>pp leg XXII Deiot</i> <i>praef leg XX VV</i>	E2
5.1	Sex. Flavius Quietus		<i>pp leg XX VV</i> <i>missus cum exercitu in expeditione</i> <i>praef classis Brit</i>	144/149
5.2	P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis	Trieste?	<i>pp leg XX</i> <i>trib mil leg VII C p f</i> <i>proc Aug praef classis (Ravenna)</i>	>56
5.3	Serenus		<i>pp</i>	125-128
5.4	C. Sulgius Caecilianus	Tuccabor	<i>optio peregrinorum et exercitator</i> <i>militum frumentariorum</i> <i>navarchus classis Praetoriae Misenatium</i> <i>Piae Vindicis</i> > <i>leg III Aug</i> > <i>leg VII Gemina</i> > <i>leg I Parthica</i> > <i>leg XVI Flavia Firma</i> > <i>leg XIII Gemina</i> <i>pp leg XX Valeria Victrix</i> <i>praepositus reliquationi classis</i> <i>praef leg III Cyrenaica</i>	231



Fig. II.5.1 Origins of primipili and praefecti of the Twentieth legion

Chapter II.6

Centurio



6.25: *M. Favonius Facilis*

II.6

Centurio

1. Abucinus

1. *RIB* 469 (Chester): (*centuria*) *Abucin[i]*

2. *RIB* 470 (Chester): [(*centuria*) *Ab]ucini*

The second of these two stones was found near to the line of the south wall of the fortress and is probably a ‘centurial stone’ as these are normally understood¹. The location of the other inscription is not so precisely recorded and it is less usual in appearing on a piece of moulded cornice. The stone was long ago lost and the surviving drawing does not show the profile with any clarity, but if not from some other stone building, this could have been a piece of the cornice from the parapet-walk level of the stone defences, examples of which are still extant in the north wall². Names ending in ...*ucinus* are rare³ and the attribution of these two stones to the same century, and to the same episode of wall construction, is likely. The *portus Abucini* appears in the *Notitia Galliarum* IX.10 and may be the source of the name⁴. Holder identifies it with Port-sur-Saône, near Langres⁵. The *cognomen* is only otherwise attested at Aventicum in Helvetia⁶.

2. P. Aelius Bassus

RIB 754 + add. (Watercrock): [*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)*] *P(ublius) Ael(ius) P(ublii) f(ilius) Serg(ia) Bass[us | Mursa] q(uon)d(am) (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) vix(it) an[n(os)...|...]s et Privatus lib(erti) et her(edes) [per Ael(ium) | Surin]um (centurionem) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis)*

¹ See Chapter I.2.4.

² Le Quesne 2000, 110-14; Mason 2001, 90.

³ Six other possibilities can be found in Kajanto 1965, but only with a handful of instances.

⁴ Seeck 1876, 268. But *cf. Abusina*, Eining, on the Danube in Raetia.

⁵ Holder 1896.

⁶ XIII 5102, 5103, 5104.

*f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) si q[ui]s | in hoc] sepulc(rum) alium mort[uum] | intul]erit infer(at) f(isco)
D(ominorum) N(ostrorum) [HS...] | ins(tante) Ael(io) Surino [...]*

‘[Sacred to the spirits of the departed;] Publius Aelius Bassus, son of Publius, of the Sergian voting-tribe, [from Mursa?], once centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, lived ... years.[...] and Privatus, his freedmen and heirs, through Aelius Surinus, centurion of the Sixth Legion Victrix, had this erected. If anyone brings another corpse into this tomb, let him pay to the treasury of our Lords [...]; set up under the direction of Aelius Surinus, [...]

Aelius Surinus, who set up this memorial to P. Aelius Bassus, was presumably detached from the Sixth Legion and in command of the auxiliary unit at Watercreek. They share the imperial nomenclature but this is widespread and they need not be related. They might nonetheless share an origin in one of the colonies established by Hadrian. This is the basis for the suggested origo, the *colonia* at Mursa in Pannonia⁷, but there were other cities enrolled in Sergia from which he may have hailed. Birley suggests a date early in the third century, perhaps in the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla⁸. Bassus might then be the grandson of one of the original Hadrianic colonists.

3. P. Aelius Romanus

*CIL VIII 2786 = ILS 2659 (Lambaesis): D(is) M(anibus) | P(ublio) Aelio P(ublil) f(ilio) Ro|mano ex
My|sia, (centurioni) leg(ionum) III Au(gustae)| et VII Cl(audiae), XX | V(aleriae) V(ictricis), et I
Ital(icae)| donis do|nato, de|bellatori | hostium | prov(incia) His(pania) | et Mazicum | Reg(ianorum)
Mon|tens(ium); Vale|ria Inge|nua con|iunx cum | Tub(e)rone | et Roma|na filis fec(it)*

‘To the spirits of the departed (and) to Publius Aelius Romanus, son of Publius, from Moesia; centurion of the Third Legion Augusta, and the Seventh Claudia (and) the Twentieth Valeria Victrix and the First Italica; decorated conqueror of the enemy in the province of Hispania and of the Mazices of the *regio Montensis*; Valeria Ingenua his wife, with Tubero and Romana his children, had this set up’

⁷ cf. P. Aelius Magnus, *RIB* 894, who was probably also the grandson of one of the original colonists. The *cognomen* Bassus is relatively well attested in this region: *Onomasticon* I, 275 and 276 fig.

⁸ Birley 1955, 46.

Recruited into *I Italica* at Novae in Moesia Inferior, Romanus may have gained his citizenship on enlistment during the reign of Hadrian⁹ or have been the son of such a man. Rising through the ranks to the post of centurion, he was then posted to Britain as centurion with the Twentieth, before returning to Moesia to serve with the Seventh Claudia; he was finally transferred to the Third Augusta in North Africa where he died. A detachment of *legio III Augusta* was involved in campaigns against the Marcomanni on the Danube in 171-174 and this may provide the context for this final transfer¹⁰. While serving with the Third Augusta he was decorated for action in Hispania and against the *Mazices* of the *regio Montensis*¹¹. Conflict is known in Baetica (177) and Mauretania (180-182) for which men might have been drawn from north Africa¹². Alföldy's suggestion of a *bellum Mauricum*¹³ against Moorish incursions into southern Spain c. 172-174 would be difficult to fit into this chronology unless the transfer to Africa occurred earlier; the interpretation of the dedication of 174 on which this is based is disputed¹⁴. The context for his transfer to and from Britain is less clear, but conditions were unsettled throughout the reign of Marcus Aurelius¹⁵ and he may have been with the Twentieth Legion in north Britain in the 160s.

4. Aelius Vibius

RIB 1327= ILS 4714 (Benwell): *Deo | Antenocitico | et Numinib(us) | Augustor(um) | Ael(ius) Vibius | (centurio) leg(ionis) XXV(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

'To the god Antenociticus and to the Deities of the Emperors, Aelius Vibius, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.'

⁹ Birley 1965, 25; Holder 1983, 46. Summerly 1991, 146-7 argues otherwise.

¹⁰ ILS 2747; Maxfield 1981, 137; Le Bohec 1989, 143. This would probably also demand enlistment later than the reign of Hadrian.

¹¹ Maxfield 1981, 113. The tribe is Moorish but the *regio* cannot be clearly identified, see Desanges 1976-78, 126 n. 25.

¹² Le Bohec 1989, 170.

¹³ Alföldy 1985.

¹⁴ Le Roux 1985, 419.

¹⁵ Frere 1987, 146.

Aelius Vibius was evidently in command of the auxiliary garrison at Benwell when he made this dedication, perhaps of the *cohors I Vangionum milliaria equitata*, another of whose commanders also made such a dedication¹⁶. A temple to Antenociticus stood outside the south-east angle of the fort at Benwell¹⁷. The joint emperors referred to are probably M. Aurelius and Commodus, 176-180¹⁸. Antenociticus is attested only in Britain and only positively at Benwell¹⁹. Ross suggests that Antenociticus might have been imported from Spain or Southern Gaul since Spanish garrisons were stationed at Benwell²⁰ but it may be that the deity was simply local and popular with the officers stationed here²¹. Vibius is normally used as a *nomen*; as a *cognomen* it is especially common in Noricum²².

5. Q. Albius Felix

CIL XI 3108 (Falerii): Q(uinto) Albio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Hor(atia) Felici | (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | corniculario pr(aefecti) pr(aetorii) | donis donato ab divo | Traiano Aug(usto) | torquibus armillis | phaleris bello Parthico et ab | Imp(eratore) Caesare Traiano | Hadriano Aug(usto) hasta pura | et corona aurea | Avillia Soteris mater | filio optimo pientissimo | l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

‘To Quintus Albius Felix, son of Quintus, of the Horatian voting-tribe, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *cornicularius* of the Praetorian Prefect; decorated by the divine Trajan Augustus with *torques*, arm-bands and medallions in a Parthian war and by the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus with the ceremonial spear and golden crown; Avillia Soteris, his mother, (set this up) to a most dutiful and good son; place given by decree of the town-councillors’

¹⁶ *RIB* 1328. For centurions commanding auxiliary units Birley 1953, 92 and *cf.* 6.41, 6.80 below.

¹⁷ Breeze and Dobson 2000, 286; *RIB* 1327-1329.

¹⁸ *cf.* *RIB* 1329, from the same shrine, dating to AD 180. However, the dedication *numinibus Augustorum* can refer to reigning and past, deified, emperors so that the plural may be no guide here: Fishwick 1991, 388-96; *RIB* 152 with note; and *cf.* 6.41 No. 2 of the reign of Antoninus Pius.

¹⁹ Irby-Massie 1999, 111-2.

²⁰ Ross 1961, 81; but the *coh I Vangionum* of *RIB* 1328 were of German origin (Jarrett 1994b, 50); the *ala I Hispanorum Asturum* formed the garrison from the late 170s at the earliest (Jarrett 1994b, 39).

²¹ Irby-Massie 1999, 112 n. 54.

Q. Albius Felix, from Falerii in Etruria, joined the Praetorian Guard early in the second century. He attained the post of *cornicularius* to the Praetorian Prefect, a position which ensured an early promotion to a legionary centurionate²³, held with the Twentieth in Britain. He was twice decorated, receiving *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae* from the Emperor Trajan in the Parthian wars of 114-117 during his service with the Praetorian Guard and then a further award of the *hasta pura* and *corona aurea* in an unspecified Hadrianic campaign. The scale of this latter award implies a rank as centurion at least, and probably as one of the *primi ordines*²⁴. It must therefore relate to his legionary service with the Twentieth. A context in the campaigning in Britain in the early years of Hadrian's reign would seem most straightforward²⁵, but it has been suggested that vexillations from the British army accompanied the governor Sex. Iulius Severus when he was transferred to Judaea to put down the Bar Kochba revolt in 132²⁶. As a senior centurion with Praetorian service and experience of campaigning on the eastern frontier, Felix might have been chosen to accompany him, perhaps in charge of a vexillation drawn from the Twentieth Legion, and might have earned these latter awards there²⁷.

6. Arab[...]

RIB 2449.4 (Holt): (*centuria*) Arab[...]

This inscription was found on the lower part of a quernstone which presumably belonged to a century posted out to work at the Holt tilery. The likely expansions of Arab[...] – the *nomina* Arabius, Arabonius or *cognomina* Arabus or Arabicus²⁸ – are all rare. They need not indicate an Arabian origin.

²² Schultze 1904, 102; Kajanto 158; *Onomasticon* IV, 165.

²³ Dobson and Breeze 1969, 101.

²⁴ Maxfield 1981, 194-5.

²⁵ HA *Hadriani* 5.2; Frere 1987, 111.

²⁶ Birley 1965, 29-30; Maxfield 1981, 195-6; A.R. Birley 1981, 107.

²⁷ cf. C. Ligustinus Disertus (6.42), who may similarly have accompanied Severus, and M. Septimius Magnus (6.59) whose transfer from eastern to western legion and back may also point to the presence of a vexillation of the Twentieth in the east at this time.

²⁸ Solin and Salomies 1994; *Onomasticon* I, 160; and cf. AE 1978.580, the (*centuria*) Arabi of *legio XVI*.

The works depot at Holt was apparently manned by legionaries²⁹, but at least one auxiliary is known to have worked there³⁰ so that some doubt must remain over the identity of this centurion and his men. The works depot was in operation from the late 80s. Activity began to decline towards the end of the Hadrianic period, presumably with the removal of much of the legion to northern Britain, and had apparently ceased by c.150³¹. Individuals attested at Holt most probably belong to this period. Although the fortress at Chester was completely rebuilt in the early third century, after the end of Severus' campaigns in Caledonia³², the source of tiles used in this reconstruction is unclear. Evidence for production at Holt in the third century is limited. The coin evidence would not indicate any significant activity in this period and Swan and Philpott suggest that there was virtually no military activity at Holt after 150, with any production thereafter confined to short-term episodes undertaken by civilian contractors, as in the case of the tiles manufactured at Tarbock in 167³³. Although there seems no case for rejecting the expansion of ANTO on tile stamps of the legion to *Antoniniana* (213-222) (*pace* Swan and Philpott; the title is after all attested also for *legio II Augusta* and *legio VI Victrix*³⁴), this title is not clearly attested at Holt³⁵. The expansions DE = *Deciana* (249-251) and V = *Victoriniana* (265-267) are less compelling and have been disputed³⁶. Only the former is in fact found at Holt.

²⁹ See Chapter I.2.4; III.3.

³⁰ *RIB* 2491.96; Stephens 1989.

³¹ Swan and Philpott 2000, 62; Mason 2001, 153.

³² Mason 2001, 161.

³³ Swan and Philpott 2000, 62; for the coins citing Shotter in Ward 1998, 70-1.

³⁴ *RIB* II 2459.54-60; *RIB* II 2460.70.

³⁵ Although Newstead 1928, 65-6 reported this class of stamp as present at Holt and Chester, they were not recorded at Holt by Grimes 1930, 142. All of the recorded examples at *RIB* II 2463.51-52 are from Chester. The LEGXXVVA, *RIB* II 2463.53, of which a single fragmentary example is recorded by Grimes 1930, 142 No. 25, is less readily expandable.

³⁶ *Deciana*: *RIB* 2463.54-5. Tomlin (at 2463.54) prefers the geographical *Devensis* (or *Devana*). *Victoriniana*: *RIB* 2463.56-7; considered questionable therein and see now Swan and Philpott 2000, 60-1.

7. C. Arrius Domitianus

RIB 2122 (Newstead): *Dianae Regi|nae o[b] pros|pero[s] eventus | G(aius) Arrius | Domitianus | (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)*

‘To Diana, the Queen-goddess, on account of favourable results, Gaius Arrius Domitianus, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled his vow.’

2. RIB 2123 (Newstead): *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | G(aius) Arrius | Domitianus | (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)*

‘To Jupiter, Best and Greatest, Gaius Arrius Domitianus, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled his vow.’

3. RIB 2124 (Newstead): *Deo Silua|no pro sal|ute sua et | suorum G(aius) Ar|rrius Domiti|anus (centurio) leg(ionis) XX | V(aleriae) V(ictricis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)*

‘To the god Silvanus, Gaius Arrius Domitianus, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, for the welfare of himself and his family gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled his vow.’

4. RIB 2125 + add. (Newstead): *...] G(aius) A[r|rrius Domit]ian(us) | (centurio) l[eg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)] | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) [l(ibens) m(erito)]*

‘...Gaius Arrius Domitianus, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled his vow.’

A detachment of the Twentieth Legion appears to have formed the garrison at Newstead in the early Antonine period, c. 142-155, perhaps in conjunction with the *ala Augusta Vocontiorum*³⁷. C. Arrius Domitianus may have been in command, but see also L. Maximus Gaetulicus (6.48) who is also attested here. The dedication to Jupiter, *optimus maximus*, suggests the *vota* ceremony of January 3rd when the

³⁷ *ala Vocontiorum* - RIB 2121; Jarrett 1994b, 45. Garrison at Newstead - Richmond 1949-50, 19-21; Chapter III.4, 378-9 below.

commanding officer dedicated an altar on behalf of his unit³⁸. The further dedications to Diana and to Silvanus, the hunter-warrior, may give some indication of how he occupied his time when not on duty. Neither element of nomenclature is common. Domitianus is infrequently found but is seen more often in Pannonia and on the Rhine³⁹.

8. Atilius Maior

RIB 2410.6 (Chester): obverse *co(hortis) II | (centuria) Atili | Maioris*

reverse *co(hortis) II | (centuria) Atili | Maioris*

'From the second cohort, century of Atilius Maior'

Inscription on lead label from Chester: nineteenth-century find, no clear context or date. The *nomen* Atilius is reasonably common and widespread. The *cognomen* Maior is infrequently attested but is commoner in the Rhineland than elsewhere⁴⁰.

9. Attius Celer

RIB 471 (Chester): *(centuria) Atti | Cele| ris*

Found re-used within the north wall of the fortress, presumably displaced during rebuilding. The *nomen* Attius may suggest an individual of Celtic/Germanic background⁴¹.

³⁸ Helgeland 1978, 1495-6; Birley 1983a, 73 suggests that the closing formula *vsllm* is here an acknowledgement of the god's fulfilment of the contract made with him 12 months earlier *cf.* 6.48 below.

³⁹ *Onomasticon* I, 174; II, 105.

⁴⁰ Atilius: *Onomasticon* I, 199. Maior: *Onomasticon* III, 47.

10. Audacius Romanus

RIB 1779 (Carvoran): *Fortun[ae] | Audac(ius)⁴² Ro|manus (centurio) | leg(ionum) VI XX | (II) Aug(ustae)*

‘To Fortune, Audacius Romanus, centurion of the Sixth, Twentieth, and (Second) Augusta Legions, (set this up).’

Romanus may have been *praepositus* in command of the auxiliary garrison at Carvoran⁴³, having served as centurion in the British legions, the Sixth and the Twentieth and perhaps also the Second. The abbreviation *(II) Aug* posited by RIB is extreme and unparalleled⁴⁴. Both the Sixth and the Twentieth may have received the title *Augusta* from the usurper Carausius⁴⁵, but despite the lack of *praenomen* the dedication is not perhaps so late. A further possibility may be that the first and last lines are intended to be read *Fortunae Aug(ustae)*⁴⁶.

11. Aurelianus

RIB 447 + add. (Chester): *Genio | (centuriae) Aurelia(ni) | Iul(ius) Quin|tilianus*

‘To the Genius of the century of Aurelianus; Iulius Quintilianus (set this up).’

The reading *Aurelian(i)* for *A(ureli) Verin(i)* is due to Birley 1966. RIB I² prefers *Aurelia(ni)*⁴⁷. The *nomen* Aurelius is far more common than the derivative *cognomen* Aurelianus and it is possible that this could be an example of a century, awaiting its new centurion, being referred to by the name of the

⁴¹ Alföldy 1967, 10-16. There is a particular concentration in Narbonensis: *Onomasticon* I, 212.

⁴² RIB follows Birley 1939, 236 in reading Audac(ilius). *Onomasticon* I, 220 prefers Audac(ius).

⁴³ Summerly 1991, 220 and *cf.* Aelius Vibius (6.4) at Benwell; L. Maximus Gaetulicus (6.48) at Great Chesters; Flavius Betto (6.27) at Rough Castle.

⁴⁴ Although RIB 2411.66 goes further in suggesting a similar reading for the lead seal LEGA.

⁴⁵ Lyne 2001, 291-2 and see 416 below.

⁴⁶ *cf.* RIB 1778.

⁴⁷ Which is the reading given in Birley 1986a, 208.

previous incumbent⁴⁸, i.e. ‘the Aurelian century’, in which case the reading might be *Genio (centuriae) Aurelia(nae)*. For dedications to the *genius centuriae* see *RIB* 446 and below 7.2 and 7.45. There is no evidence of date here to rule out definitively *legio II Adiutrix*, but both the *nomen* and the derived *cognomen* would suggest a date from the later second century onwards, as do the ligatures in the inscribed text. Hübner⁴⁹ considered the several dedications to *genii* at Chester to be second century.

12. M. Aurelius Nepos

RIB 491 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | M(arcus) Aur(elius) Nepos (centurio) leg(ionis) | XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) coniu(n)x | pientissima f(aciendum) c(uravit) | vix(it) annis L*

‘To the spirits of the departed: Marcus Aurelius Nepos, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, lived 50 years; his most devoted wife had this set up.’

The nomenclature suggests that Nepos was either the descendant of a man granted citizenship during the reign of M. Aurelius (161-180), or had perhaps received the grant himself on enlistment (*cf.* 4.1, M. Aurelius Alexander). The presence of a wife, depicted on the monument but not named, may indicate a date after 197 and Septimius Severus’ reforms to the marriage laws, although it is not clear whether the ban in fact applied to centurions⁵⁰. Details of her hairstyle suggest an early third-century date⁵¹.

13. Blandius Latinus

CIL XII 2601 (Geneva): *Blandio C(aii) [f(ilio)] | Vol(tinia) Latino (centurioni) le[g(ionis)] | I Ital(icae) (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) (centurioni) le[g(ionis)] | VIII Hispan(ae) (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX[–] | d]onis dona[to]*

⁴⁸ Fink 1953; Birley 1953, 128-9; *cf.* 6.17, 6.66, 6.91, 6.107.

⁴⁹ Hübner 1890, 125.

⁵⁰ Phang 2001, 129-32.

⁵¹ Wright and Richmond 1955, 24; *CSIR* i 9.33.

‘To Blandius Latinus, son of Gaius, of the Voltinian voting-tribe, centurion of the First Legion Italica, centurion of the Second Legion Augusta, centurion of the Ninth Legion Hispana, centurion of the Twentieth(?) Legion ... decorated...’

The commemoration of Latinus at Geneva, which was enrolled in the tribe Voltinia, suggests that this was his home town. He may have enlisted initially in *legio I Italica* while it was present at Lugdunum at the beginning of 69 (and perhaps earlier)⁵², although recruitment from Narbonensis to the legion in Moesia in the period 70-117 was not unknown⁵³. A later date may be more consistent with the details of his subsequent career. His transfer from Moesia to Britain is paralleled by the transfers of Ti. Claudius Vitalis (6.20), L. Valerius Proculus (6.70) and M. Tuccius (6.68) who, it is suggested, had fought in Trajan’s Dacian wars and been sent with reinforcements to Britain soon after 108⁵⁴. Latinus’ *dona* would probably then relate to service in Dacia as did those of Vitalis and Proculus. His continued service in Britain, with the Second and the Ninth would suggest that the Twentieth should be read as the final post, but the Ninth Legion was removed from the province in the 120s, perhaps initially to Germania Inferior⁵⁵, and a transfer into the Twenty-second or Thirtieth Legion, cannot be ruled out.

14. Burricus

JRS 58 (1968), 208 no. 11 (Chester): [(centuria) B]urrici

⁵² Summerly 1991, 51 quoting Tacitus *Hist.* I.59; Pflaum 1978, 274. Ritterling 1925, 1407 puts the formation of the legion in 67. Dobson 1978, 204 suggests 66 at the latest; Absil 2000, 227 perhaps before August 66.

⁵³ Mann 1983a, 132.

⁵⁴ Birley 1971, 75-6.

⁵⁵ And thence perhaps to the east and a presumed destruction by the Parthians in 161, Birley 1971; *contra* this Keppie 2000b, 92-4 for whom the question remains open.

Inscription on a sandstone column-drum from the amphitheatre, presumably recording construction by the century of Burricus⁵⁶. The stone amphitheatre was constructed by the Twentieth Legion, replacing the earlier timber *ludus*⁵⁷. See also Refidius (6.57).

15. Calvius Priscus

Britannia 23 (1992), 146 (Carlisle): *Imp(eratore) Domitiano VIII co(n)s(ule) | VII Idus Novembres Q(uitus) Cassius | Secundus, miles leg(ionis) XX (centuria) Calvi | Prisci, scripsi me debere | G(aio) Geminio Mansueto, militi | leg(ionis) eiusdem (centuria) Vetti Proculi, | denarios centum quos [tibi?]*

This remarkable, precisely-dated writing tablet places the individuals involved at Carlisle, in winter quarters, in AD 84 towards the close of Agricola's campaigns in Caledonia, and perhaps soon to be sent north to engage in the construction of the new fortress at Inchtuthil (for further commentary and translation see 7.22 below). The centurion Calvius Priscus may well have served with the legion through operations in Wales and northern Britain before embarking on the campaigns into Caledonia. He probably came from Cisalpine Gaul or Narbonensis⁵⁸.

16. Candidus Pistor

RIB 2410.1 (Chester): *(centuria) Candidi [...] | Pistoris (centuria?)[...]*
'Century of Candidus Pistor; century [of]'

⁵⁶ The *cognomen* is attested only once elsewhere, XII 2525. Other possibilities – Mauricus, Muricus, Rauricus – are equally rare: Solin and Salomies 1998, *Onomasticon*.

⁵⁷ Thompson 1976, 181-2.

⁵⁸ Normal recruitment sources in this period: Mann 1983, 24. The *nomen* Calvius is unusual but better represented in those areas: *Onomasticon* II, 27. The *cognomen* would incline more towards the former: *Onomasticon* III, 163.

Inscription on a bone label from Chester, found sealed beneath road metalling between two workshop/store buildings. A second century was probably also mentioned but the name does not survive. The nomenclature is unusual: Candidius well represented on the Rhine; Pistor hardly seen⁵⁹.

17. C(a)esonius

RIB 439 + add. (Holt): *(centuria) Cesoniana*
 ‘The Cesonian century (built this)’

Building stone found re-used in the wall of a tile-kiln. For legionaries at Holt, see above Chapter I.2.4. The peak activity of the works depot lay in the late first and early second centuries (see further 6.6 above). This is a further example of a century awaiting its new centurion being referred to by the name of the previous incumbent⁶⁰. The name Cesonius is otherwise unattested⁶¹; Caesonius is presumably intended, but this is itself rare⁶². If not merely accidental, the omission may reflect vulgar pronunciation. A centurion of this latter name served with *legio III Augusta* at Theveste in the period 75-117⁶³.

18. Claudius Augustanus

1. RIB 2409.4 (Chester): *(centuria) Cl(audi) Aug(ustani) | Vic(toris?)*
 ‘Century of Claudius Augustanus, (product) of Victor’
2. RIB 1770 (HW45-45a): *(centuria) Cl(audi) Au|gus[t]a(ni)*
3. RIB 1811 (Carvoran): *coh(ortis) III (centuria) Cl(audi) Aug|ustani*
4. RIB 1855 (HW47-48): *coh(ortis) III | (centuria) Cl(audi) Augu[s(tani)]*

⁵⁹ *Onomasticon* II, 30; III 143; Kajanto 1965, 322.

⁶⁰ Fink 1953; Birley 1953, 128-9; cf. 6.11, 6.66, 6.91, 6.107.

⁶¹ It does not appear in Solin and Salomies 1994.

⁶² XI 3847; III 24 (Greek); Le Bohec 1989, 157, 306.

⁶³ *ILS* 9089; Le Bohec 1989, 157.

Augustanus is an uncommon name, deriving from one of the many *coloniae* or *municipia Augustae*⁶⁴. Identification of the centurion on Hadrian's Wall with the individual attested on the bread stamp from Chester is by no means certain, however. *Claudii* are not uncommon in Roman Britain and there are seventeen other possible expansions of *Aug(...)* to be found in Kajanto (1965) of which Augendus, Augurius, Augustus, Augustianus and Augustinus are equally common; Augustalis and Augurinus considerably more so. However, the combination is uncommon enough to lend the suggestion some probability.

19. Ti. Claudius Fatalis

AE 1939.157 (Jerusalem): Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Ti(beri) f(ilius) Pop(lilia) Fatalis | (domo) Roma, (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), leg(ionis) XX | Vic(tricis), leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis), | leg(ionis) XIV G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis), leg XII Ful(minatae), | leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis) III hast(atu)s vix(it) an(nis) | XLII mil(itavit) ann(is) XXIII, Cl(audia) | Ionice lib(erta) et heres ob me|rita eius, o(ssa) t(ibi) b(ene) q(uiescant) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) s(it)

'Tiberius Claudius Fatalis, son of Tiberius, of the Poblilian voting-tribe, from Rome; centurion of the Second Legion Augusta, of the Twentieth Legion Victrix, of the Second Legion Augusta, of the Eleventh Legion Claudia pia fidelis, of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina Martia Victrix, of the Twelfth Legion Fulminata, of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, *hastatus* in the third cohort, lived 42 years, served 23 years; Claudia Ionice, his freedwoman and deserved heir (set this up); may your bones rest well, may the earth lie lightly upon you.'

Ti. Claudius Fatalis⁶⁵ was from Rome, an origin rarely seen among legionary centurions⁶⁶. The number of centurionates held, seven in just twenty-three years, would suggest that he was directly commissioned and

⁶⁴ Kajanto 1965, 208.

⁶⁵ Dąbrowa 1993, 84.

⁶⁶ Ricci 2000, 196 Tabella II lists only 2 others, plus 3 *primipili* (but Fatalis has escaped notice in this table).

perhaps of equestrian origin⁶⁷. His centurial career begins in the army of Britain, serving first with *legio II Augusta*, then with *legio XX Victrix*⁶⁸, and then once again with *legio II*. Thereafter he held four more centurionates: in Germania Superior or Pannonia with *XI Claudia* and *XIV Gemina*⁶⁹; in Cappadocia with *XIII Fulminata*⁷⁰; and finally, in Jerusalem, where he served as *tertius hastatus* (i.e. *hastatus* in the third cohort) of *legio X Fretensis*. It is here that he died, probably in post, at the age of 42.

We cannot date his career with any precision. The form of the dedication, without burial formula and in the nominative case, would suggest a date in the first or early second century. The use of the honorific *Martia Victrix* for *legio XIV Gemina* would place it after AD 61⁷¹. The use of the title *Victrix* for *legio XX* may place it even later, after AD 83⁷². Birley sees similarities to other centurial careers of the Hadrianic period⁷³ but an earlier context for transfer from Britain to the Danube might be seen in Trajan's Dacian wars, perhaps placing his service with the Twentieth during the early years of the occupation of Chester.

A.R. Birley⁷⁴ posits an identification of this man with the *Fatalis* of *Tab. Vind. II.343*, but the coincidence of date is not firmly established and if 'the name is rare in general' with only 4 specimens otherwise known in the northern and western part of the empire, then we must surely follow the editors in identifying the *Fatalis* of II.343 with the ?*Iul]ius Fatalis* of *Tab. Vind. II.349*⁷⁵.

⁶⁷ If so he is one of the youngest centurions known, along with *Sex. Pilonius Modestus* (*ILS* 2654 = III 1480) who received a direct commission at 18 years of age: Summerly 1991, 90-1.

⁶⁸ The use of this form of the title is notable; see Appendix 1.

⁶⁹ Both were in Germania Superior up to 100/101 when *legio XIV* was transferred to Pannonia; Franke 2000, 198-9. *legio XI* was also briefly in the latter province from 100-106 before a further move to Moesia; Ritterling 1925, 1697-8; Fellmann 2000, 129-30.

⁷⁰ Ritterling 1925, 1707; Bertrand and Rémy 2000, 254.

⁷¹ Ritterling 1925, 1731. The earliest dated inscription using the titles is AD 66, XI 395

⁷² Tomlin 1992, and see Appendix 1.

⁷³ Birley 1953, 115.

⁷⁴ A.R. Birley 1991, 93.

⁷⁵ Although ... *Claud]ius* would seem perfectly possible at first sight, it is the opinion of the editors that 'the traces of the antepenultimate letter of the *gentilicium* do not favour d'.

20. Ti. Claudius Vitalis

CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656 (Roma): Ti(berio) Claudio Ti(berii) f(ilio) [G]a[l(eria)] Vitali ex equ[i]te R(omano) | ordinem accepit in leg(ione) V [Mac(edonica)], successione | promotus [ex] leg(ione) V Ma[c(edonica)] in leg(ionem) [I It]al(ica), donis d(onatus) | torquib(us) armill(is) phaler(is) corona val[l(ari)] bello | Dacico, successione promotus ex leg(ione) I Ital(ica) in leg(ionem) | I Miner(viam), [it]er(um) donis d(onatus) torquib(us) armil[l(is)] phaler(is) | corona val[l(ari)] bello Dacico, successione pro[mot(us)] ex leg(ione) I Miner(via), in leg(ionem) XX Vict(ricem), item prom(otus) | in leg(ione) ead(em), item successione promotus ex leg(ione) XX | Vict(rici) in leg(ionem) IX [Hi]sp(anam), succ(essione) promot(us) ex leg(ione) IX [Hi]sp(ana) | in leg(ionem) VII Cl(audiam) p(iam) f(idelem), item successit in leg(ione) ead(em), | milit(avit) (centurio) in II(secundo) pr(incipi) post(eriore) annis XI, vixit annis XLI

‘To Tiberius Claudius Vitalis, son of Tiberius, of the Galerian voting-tribe, from the equestrian class, admitted into the centurionate in the Fifth Legion Macedonica; by succession (by taking another’s place) promoted (moved forward) from the Fifth Legion Macedonica into the First Legion Italica, decorated with *torques*, arm-bands, medallions and the mural crown in a Dacian war; by succession promoted out of the First Legion Italica into the First Legion Minervia, again decorated with *torques*, arm-bands, medallions and the mural crown in a Dacian war; by succession promoted out of the First Legion Minervia into the Twentieth Legion Victrix, again promoted in that same legion; again by succession promoted out of the Twentieth Legion Victrix into the Ninth Legion Hispana; by succession promoted out of the Ninth Legion Hispana into the Seventh Legion Claudia pia fidelis, again succeeded (to another post) in that same legion; served as *secundus princeps posterior* for(?) 11 years, lived 41 years.’

Ti. Claudius Vitalis was of the equestrian order but pursued a career in the centurionate which offered opportunities for longer military service whilst allowing comparable pay and prospects⁷⁶. Although he is commemorated at Rome the imperial nomenclature suggests a provincial origin, perhaps Spain, where the

⁷⁶ Dobson 1972.

tribe Galeria is common⁷⁷. The career has been the subject of some comment both for the nature of the transfers/promotions and for their timing.

Vitalis' first post was with the Fifth Macedonica at Oescus on the Danube⁷⁸. Thereafter he served with legions *I Italica* and *I Minervia* in Dacian wars, being decorated for his actions in both legions. He was then transferred to Britain, serving with the Twentieth and Ninth Legions, before his final posting to *legio VII Claudia* at Viminacium in Moesia Superior⁷⁹. Internal promotions mean that he served in eight different posts during his career, the length of which is not as clear as could be hoped. Neither interpretation of the last line accords well with what we know of the centurial career: either he held eight posts in 11 years, a remarkably swift progression; or seven posts in 10-12 years followed by 11 years in his final post⁸⁰, which merely combines the remarkably swift with the remarkably prolonged. An error might perhaps be suspected.

Parallels have been sought with the career of L. Valerius Proculus (6.70) which included service in the Fifth Macedonica and First Italica; award of *dona*, presumably in the same Dacian wars; and transfer to the Twentieth and Ninth Legions in Britain. Birley suggested a context for the transfers to Britain in the reported trouble at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian or late in Trajan's reign⁸¹ and service therefore in Trajan's Dacian wars of 101-2 and 105-6. A Hadrianic date appears to be ruled out by the length of service required. On either interpretation of the last line of the inscription (that he served as a centurion for 11 years, or that he served 11 years as *princeps posterior* in *legio VII Claudia*), it is not possible for Vitalis to have served even in Trajan's Dacian wars of 105-106 and to have been transferred to Britain at

⁷⁷ Birley 1953, 114.

⁷⁸ The legion was stationed there until removed for Trajan's Dacian wars: Ritterling 1925, 1576; Piso, 2000, 213; Wilkes 2000, 108-9.

⁷⁹ Ritterling 1925, 1619; Wilkes 2000, 109; Le Bohec and Wolff 2000, 242.

⁸⁰ Assuming direct commission as early as the age of 18: see above note 67.

⁸¹ Hadrianic: Birley 1965, 30. Trajanic: 1971, 76 suggesting the period 108-117. Confirmation of some degree of conflict in the Trajanic period is provided by career of C. Iulius Karus and by the titles awarded to *coh I Cugernorum* which by 122 had become *coh I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum c.R.*: Birley 1953, 23-24.

the beginning of the reign of Hadrian⁸². A transfer of experienced centurions to Britain at the close of the Dacian campaigns would fit the timescale better⁸³. Maxfield prefers a Domitianic context since neither Vitalis nor Proculus recorded the name of the awarding Emperor – those given *dona* by Domitian tended to avoid using the Emperor's name after the *damnatio memoriae* – and the scale of the award to Proculus is unusually low for the Trajanic period⁸⁴. *Legio I Minervia*, usually stationed at Bonn in Germania Inferior, was involved in both Domitian's war of AD 92 and the second Dacian war of Trajan in 105-106⁸⁵, so that this earlier context is equally possible. However, the number of known Trajanic awards to centurions is perhaps too low for any certainty as to what was usual at that date. Moreover, as Summerly has noted, the campaigns of 92 are nowhere else referred to as a *bellum Dacicum*, being directed rather against the Marcomanni, Quadi and Sarmatae⁸⁶. Trajan's Dacian war may remain the better context.

The career is unusual in the detail which it gives of transfers between, and promotions within, legions. It is one of a very few to characterise such moves in this way: *successione*, by succession, by taking another's place; *promotus*, moved forward⁸⁷. Domaszewski used this career as an example for his proposed centurial hierarchy⁸⁸. According to his scheme Vitalis would have begun his career in the tenth cohort of the Fifth Legion Macedonica as *decimus hastatus posterior* and progressed through the ninth and eighth cohorts of succeeding legions to *VII hastatus posterior* in the Twentieth Legion. Promotion within that legion is assumed to take him to *III hastatus posterior*, two more external moves bringing him to *II hastatus posterior* in the Seventh Claudia before the final promotion to *II princeps posterior*. Domaszewski's complex scheme is largely out of favour⁸⁹ and it need only be pointed out here that the few detailed careers known to us include men whose first centurionates were held in cohorts six (*AE*

⁸² Maxfield 1981, 191-2; Summerly 1991, 93. He would need to have spent at least 11 years as centurion in *legio I Minervia*, after his second award of *dona* and before his transfer to the Twentieth.

⁸³ *cf.* also Blandius Latinus (6.13) and M. Tuccius (6.68) whose transfers took them from Moesian to British legions.

⁸⁴ Maxfield 1981, 191-2.

⁸⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1426; Le Bohec 2000, 83-4.

⁸⁶ Summerly 1991, 94.

⁸⁷ See II.6.6 below.

⁸⁸ Domaszewski 1908, 94-6.

1988.1044, *AE* 1990.896) and eight (V 7004) as well as ten (XIII 6728) and in the grades of *hastatus prior* and *pilus prior* as well as *hastatus posterior*, so that neither assumption, as to Vitalis' initial cohort or post, need hold.

The expansion in *secundo principe posteriore* is due to Speidel⁹⁰, who argues that usages such as *primus hastatus posterior*, *octavus pilus prior* etc. are perfectly usual, and that there is no necessity to interpolate the word cohort (i.e. in *(cohorte) secundo princeps posterior*) – the distinction being along the lines of ‘served as centurion in (the post of) *secundus princeps posterior*’ as opposed to ‘served as centurion in the second cohort as *princeps posterior*’. See also 6.31 below.

21. Cornelius Ca...

CIL III 5577 = *ILLPRON* 1539 (Bedaium): *D(is) M(anibus) | et perpetu(a)e s[ecuritati] | Cornelio Ca[...]| (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX mil[iti] in] | pretorio an(nos) [...(centurioni)] | an(nos) IIII vixit a[n(nos)...fe]|cerunt Co[rneli] | Niceforu[s et Eu]|prepes libe[r]ti eius] | patrono b[ene me]|renti mem[oriam] | posterun[t] | o[ptamus] t[erra] s[it] | l[evis] t[ibi]*

‘To the spirits of the departed and to the everlasting calm (of) Cornelius Ca... centurion of the Twentieth Legion, served in the Praetorian Guard ... years, (served as centurion?) 4 years, lived ... years; Cornelius Niceforus and Cornelius Euprepes, his freedmen, had this memorial set up to their well-deserving former master; we pray that the earth lie lightly upon you.’

Cornelius was commemorated at Bedaium in Noricum, presumably his home town. He began his career in the Praetorian Guard before proceeding to a legionary centurionate with the Twentieth. There were a number of routes to a legionary centurionate via service in the Praetorian cohorts⁹¹, but the details here are lost. A period of 4 years as *evocatus* might perhaps be read, this being the usual route to a legionary centurionate, but it seems more likely that this records the length of his service as centurion. Birley suggests that the style of the dedication and the nature of the career point unmistakably to the third

⁸⁹ But see Strobel 1987.

⁹⁰ Speidel 1983a; specifically 53 No. 8.

⁹¹ Dobson and Breeze 1969. See below II.6.2 and cf. 6.5, 6.42, 6.64, 6.72.

century, after Septimius Severus' reforms to the Guard⁹². This represents one of the latest examples of the omission of the legion's titles⁹³.

22. Cornelius Crescens

Britannia 17 (1986), 429 no. 3 (Gloucester): *leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) c(o)ho(rtis) [...] | (centuria) Corneli(i) Cresc[entis]*

'From the...cohort of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, the century of Cornelius Crescens (built this).'

The presence of the century of Cornelius Crescens engaged in construction at Gloucester is not as straightforward as it might appear. Although the Twentieth Legion may have been responsible for construction of the city centre fortress to replace that at Kingsholm, the only substantial stone structure likely at this stage would have been the bath-house. Hurst argues that this stone dates to his second-period fortress – i.e. to AD 87-88 or later, on the return of the Twentieth Legion from Scotland, but before its move to Chester⁹⁴. The timescale seems tight if the legion is held to have completed the circuit of stone defences as well as some, if not all, internal buildings. Legionary assistance in the construction of a later *colonia* wall remains a possibility⁹⁵.

23. T. Domitius Vindex

CIL XIII 8707= *ILS* 4561 (Roermond): *Marti | Halamard(o) | sacrum | T(itus) Domit(ius) Vindex | (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

'To sacred Mars Halamardus, Titus Domitius Vindex, centurion of the Twentieth Legion⁹⁶ Valeria Victrix, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.'

⁹² Birley 1952, 182.

⁹³ See Appendix 1.

⁹⁴ Hurst 1988, 70.

⁹⁵ Hassall and Hurst 1999.

⁹⁶ *RE* VII 2228-9 quotes this dedication as by a centurion of *leg XX[X] VV*.

Neither the date nor context of the erection of this altar are clear, although the use of the legionary titles indicates that it dates to after the transfer of the legion to Britain, and perhaps not until the second century when use of the titles becomes all but universal. Vexillations of the Twentieth Legion are recorded on the Rhine at various dates⁹⁷ and Vindex may have accompanied one of these, or (perhaps more likely) some other unrecorded movement of troops. The dedication to Mars Halamardus may merely indicate the erection of an altar in the local style at the sanctuary of the deity, which appears to be of Germanic origin⁹⁸, or may indicate such an origin for Vindex himself. The *cognomen* is too uncommon for the distribution to be particularly informative but several individuals bearing the name, including one Batavian, are recorded from the Rhineland⁹⁹.

24. L. Elufrius Praesens

RIB 452 + add. = *ILS* 4622 (Chester): *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Tanaro | L(ucius) Elufrius Galer(ia) | Praesens [Cl]unia | pri(nceps) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | Commodo et | Laterano co(n)s(ulibus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

‘To Jupiter Tanarus, Best and Greatest, Lucius Elufrius¹⁰⁰ Praesens of the Galerian voting-tribe, from Clunia, *princeps* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow in the consulship of Commodus and Lateranus.’

Praesens hailed from Clunia in Hispania Tarraconensis. He may have been recruited into the legion directly and risen through the ranks, although his relatively elevated position might have entailed a long career of varied postings. The consular date places him at Chester in AD 154, at which date much of the legion appears to have been in the north of Britain and large parts of the fortress no longer

⁹⁷ 155-159 (*RIB* 1322 + add.; Saxer, 1967.62); 255 (XIII 6780).

⁹⁸ Helm 1913, 365-6; Stolte 1986, 634-5. This is the only known dedication, although the fragmentary *AE* 1987.777 ...] | *H*[...] | *T*[...] | > [...] has been advanced as another such.

⁹⁹ *Onomasticon* IV, 171.

¹⁰⁰ *RIB* had Brutius, still followed by e.g. Mason 2001, 155. *RIB* I² follows Birley 1966, 229; 1986, 208 in reading Elufrius since the emendation is too drastic and the transmitted Elupius unparalleled. See also *CSIR* i 9.20.

maintained¹⁰¹. Dobson lists Praesens as a possible *primus pilus*¹⁰², but *pri(muspilus)* would be an extreme abbreviation. More probably he was the *princeps*, which is to say *primus princeps prior*, the centurion ranking immediately below the *primus pilus*, in charge of the *tabularium principis* and responsible for processing the orders of the legion and keeping records¹⁰³. As such his presence at the headquarters of the legion would be expected, even if much of the legion was absent.

Tanarus, a Celtic wheel-god¹⁰⁴, is attested by name in Britain only on this stone. However, wheel motifs appear on other dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and wheel and swastika brooches are common finds in the military zones of Roman Britain, perhaps associated with a military Tanarus cult¹⁰⁵.

25. M. Favonius Facilis

RIB 200 (Colchester): *M(arcus) Favoni(us) M(arci) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Faci|lis (centurio) leg(ionis) XX
Verecund|us et Novicius lib(erti) posu|erunt h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*

‘Marcus Favonius Facilis, son of Marcus, of the Pollian voting-tribe, centurion of the Twentieth Legion, lies buried here; Verecundus and Novicius, his freedmen, set this up.’

This stone, found in 1886 in direct association with a cylindrical leaden container probably containing the ashes of Facilis himself, represents the only certain evidence for the presence of the Twentieth Legion at Colchester at an early date. A date before AD 49 and the transfer of the Twentieth to Kingsholm might be suggested, but a pottery cup found with the burial has been dated to the period AD 50-60¹⁰⁶ and there might be many reasons why a legionary centurion would find himself at the provincial capital without

¹⁰¹ Mason 2001, 157-8.

¹⁰² Dobson 1978, 358.

¹⁰³ Speidel 1981, 7.

¹⁰⁴ The wheel as symbol for the sky or sun and hence associated with Jupiter (Green 1982, 37-44).

¹⁰⁵ Irby-Massie 1999, 59-61.

¹⁰⁶ Hawkes and Hull 1947, 18 n. 8.

implying the presence of the entire legion¹⁰⁷. The unweathered nature of the sculpture has led to the suggestion that the tombstone was overturned during the Boudican rebellion¹⁰⁸. The earlier the date, the more likely it is that Facilis served in the invasion of AD 43. If he had risen through the ranks of the legion to the centurionate then it is very likely that he would have begun his service on the Rhine. Neither element of the nomenclature is common. Combined with the tribe Pollia, they would suggest Italian origin¹⁰⁹.

26. Ferronius Vegetus

1. *RIB* 468 (Chester): *c(o)hort(is) III | (centuria) Ferro(ni)*
 2. *RIB* 1769 (HW45-45a): *coh(ortis) III | (centuria) Ferroni | Vegeti*
 3. *RIB* 1867 (HW48-49): *(centuria) Ferron[i] | Vegeti | coh(ortis) III*
- ‘The century of Ferronius (Vegetus) of the third cohort (built this)’

The argument for the identity of these two centurions, from Chester and Hadrian’s Wall, is dangerously circular. The letter following the centurial sign on *RIB* 468 is damaged and the name was initially read as *Ter(enti) Ro(mani)*¹¹⁰. The discovery of the two Hadrian’s Wall stones in 1940 led to the adoption of the current reading. However, the attribution of centurial stones from the Wall is not without its difficulties¹¹¹ and the two assumptions become self-supporting. The added coincidence of cohort and the rarity of the name can be raised in support, but some doubt must remain over whether the Chester centurion is the same individual. The cognomen *Vegetus* may suggest a Spanish origin¹¹².

¹⁰⁷ *cf.* the later tombstones of soldiers found in London: *RIB* 13 = 7.47, *RIB* 18 = 7.73. The anonymous, seven times centurion, *RIB* 203 = 6.78, found later at Camulodunum, presumably settled there.

¹⁰⁸ Phillips 1975, 102.

¹⁰⁹ *Nomen: Onomasticon* II, 135. *Cognomen: II*, 133. Forni 1953, 233.

¹¹⁰ *EE* vii 881; Shrubsole 1890, 47.

¹¹¹ See Appendix 3. The attribution of *Vegetus* to the Twentieth Legion is arrived at independently.

¹¹² Kajanto 1965, 247; *Onomasticon* IV, 151.

27. Flavius Betto

RIB 2144 (Rough Castle): *Victoriae | coh(ors) VI Ner|viorum c(uius) c(uram agit) | Fl(avius) Betto
(centurio) leg(ionis) | XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aeta) l(ibens) m(erito)*

‘To Victory the Sixth cohort of Nervians, under the acting command of Flavius Betto, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled its vow.’

Flavius Betto was stationed at Rough Castle on the Antonine Wall in temporary command of the *cohors VI Nerviorum*, presumably after the death in office or transfer of the commander and before another prefect had arrived to succeed him¹¹³. It can only be dated to the period of occupation of the Antonine Wall, c. 138-61. Betto may be a Germanic name¹¹⁴. The Flavian nomenclature suggests descent from a man given citizenship in the later first century.

28. T. Flavius Cicatricula

RIB 472 (Chester): *(centuria) T(iti) Flavi | Cicatricul(ae)*

Centurial stone found in debris at the foot of the north wall at Chester from which it doubtless came. The phasing and date of the construction of the stone walls at Chester remains a matter of some debate¹¹⁵, but the Flavian nomenclature suggests that this stone dates from the earlier phases of construction before the removal of much (or most) of the legion to northern Britain in the 120s. The *cognomen* is unusual and distinctive¹¹⁶: it means ‘a small scar’. Dean thought that such must clearly point to a personal feature¹¹⁷.

¹¹³ Davies 1981, 186; Spaul 2000, 223.

¹¹⁴ Wright, *RIB ad loc.* It is not recorded elsewhere, the nearest equivalent being Bettonius recorded in Gallia Lugdunensis: Solin and Salomies 1994; *Onomasticon* I, 290.

¹¹⁵ Le Quesne 1999, 138-45; Mason 2001, 89-93; see Chapter III.3, 364-5.

¹¹⁶ Kajanto 1965, 246 lists only two examples: XI 6344 = *ILS* 2693 and XVI 25 = *ILS* 1994.

29. Flavius Noricus

1. *RIB* 1664 (HW41-42): *coh(ortis) IX | (centuria) Flavi | Norici*
2. *RIB* 1812 (Carvoran): *coh(ortis) X (centuria) Flavi | Norici*
3. *JRS* 50 (1960), 237 no. 11a (HW45a-45b): *Leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | c(o)ho(rtis) X | (centuria) Fl(avi) | Norici*

‘The century of Flavius Noricus of the ninth (tenth) cohort (of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix) (built this)’

Stevens takes the change of cohort as evidence that the wall was being built west-east in this area¹¹⁸. Further support can be found in the case of Olcius Libo (6.98) where the move from the second to the first cohort is clearly a promotion, but the assumption that a post in cohort IX must necessarily follow one in cohort X does not hold¹¹⁹. The *cognomen* may indicate an origin in the province of Noricum¹²⁰.

30. T. Flavius Pro(culus)

RIB 498 (Chester): *G(aius) Iulius G(ai filius) Cl(audia) | Quartus Cel(eia) | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | (centuria) T(iti) Flavi Pro(...) | an(norum) XXX st(ipendiorum) VII | Rusius Mo[.JN*

‘Gaius Iulius Quartus, son of Gaius, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Celeia, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, in the century of Titus Flavius Pro(...), aged 30, of 7 years’ service; Rusius Mo[...had this set up].’

The style of the dedication – in the nominative with filiation, tribe, *origo*, the naming of the centurion under whom he served, *annorum*, *stipendiorum* – suggests that this is one of the earliest of the Chester

¹¹⁷ Dean 1916, 76.

¹¹⁸ Stevens 1948, 15; Birley 1952, 182 concurs.

¹¹⁹ Birley 1965, 21; see below 6.31.

¹²⁰ Birley 1952, 182: but he can name several cases of brothers with differing, even if apparently geographical, *cognomina* (e.g. Germanus/Italicus, Britto/Gallicus).

tombstones, dating to the late first century¹²¹. Proculus is by far the commonest possibility for the cognomen.¹²²

31. T. Flavius Virilis

CIL VIII 2877= ILS 2653 (Lambaesis): *D(is) M(anibus) | T(itus) Fl(avius) Virilis (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) | (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) | (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) | (centurio) leg(ionis) III Parth(icae) Sever(iana) | VIII hast(atus) poster(ior) | vixit annis LXX | stip(endiorum) XXXXV Lollia | Bodicca coniu(n)x | et Flavi(i) Victor et | Victorinus fili | heredes ex (sestertium) | ICC n(ummum) faciendum | curaver(unt)*

‘To the spirits of the departed; Titus Flavius Virilis, centurion of the Second Legion Augusta, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, centurion of the Sixth Legion Victrix, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, centurion of the Third Legion Augusta, centurion of the Third Legion Parthica Severiana, *nonus hastatus posterior*, lived 70 years, served 45; Lollia Bodicca, his wife, Flavius Victor and Flavius Victorinus his sons and heirs had this set up at a cost of one thousand two hundred sestericii.’

Virilis, in his long career, served as centurion with all of the legions of the British garrison, in the Second, Twentieth, Sixth, and then again in the Twentieth before transfer to the Third Augusta at Lambaesis in North Africa and a final posting with the Third Parthica, based at Nisibis in Mesopotamia¹²³. *Legio III Parthica* was raised by the emperor Septimius Severus¹²⁴ and this final centurionate must therefore date to after 197. The additional title *Sever(iana)* might also point to the reign of Severus, but it was still in use under Severus Alexander 222-235¹²⁵. Virilis’ initial recruitment, presumably into *legio II Augusta* at Caerleon, would have fallen in the latter part of the second century and his centurionates in the British

¹²¹ see Chapter I.2.3.

¹²² Kajanto 1965, 29.

¹²³ Parker 2000, 124.

¹²⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1539.

¹²⁵ *Severus*: Speidel 1983b, 118-23 and Lőrincz 1985, 178. *Severus Alexander*: Ritterling 1925, 1540; 1480; Fitz 1983, 124 and see ILS 484 (also of *leg III Parthica*) and ILS 2295, where the title clearly belongs to this reign; cf. also 6.54 below, where the form used is *Severae*.

legions at the close of that century or the beginning of the third. By the late second century local recruitment provided the bulk of the new intake into the legions and this man was probably British¹²⁶. That his wife was so seems more than likely given the probable length of his service in Britain and of course the resonance of the name Bodicca. The *nomen* Lollia also points to such an origin, probably deriving from enfranchisement of an ancestor during the governorship of Q. Lollius Urbicus, 139-142¹²⁷.

If the earlier date is accepted for the career, then Virilis might already have been a centurion of the Third Augusta by AD 197. Otherwise his service in British legions would coincide with Clodius Albinus' ill-fated attempt on the purple and his defeat by Severus at the battle of Lugdunum. He might well have reached the centurionate by the time of Septimius Severus' campaigns in Caledonia, 208-211 and such a period of active campaigning could provide some context for the series of transfers within the army of Britain. His service with the Twentieth might then coincide with the substantial restoration and rebuilding of the Chester fortress in the decades after c. 210¹²⁸.

His final post in *legio III Parthica* has been a cause for some discussion, given that he was commemorated at Lambaesis. Birley's suggestion was that this new legion was raised in Numidia and that Virilis 'ended his active service at the training base at which *III Parthica* was formed, and may have retired from the army without ever accompanying that legion into the field in Mesopotamia'¹²⁹. A dating to the reign of Severus Alexander, by which time the legion was well established, would not be compatible with this thesis, and although a training role would seem appropriate for a centurion who may well have been in his 60s by this time, it might simply be that his family had made their homes at Lambaesis and did not accompany him on this final posting. This is perhaps more straightforward than the suggestion that he died after the new appointment had been made and before he could take it up¹³⁰.

¹²⁶ Mann 1983a, 64. The *cognomen* is strongly represented in Germany and Gaul and is apparently of Celtic origin: Kajanto 1965, 257; *Onomasticon* IV, 174. One example only occurs on a monumental inscription from Britain, and that of a man of German origin (*RIB* 1102) but graffiti attest to its usage within Britain (*RIB* II Index 2.1).

¹²⁷ Dessau 1912, 23; Summerly 1991, 210.

¹²⁸ Mason 2001, 161.

¹²⁹ Birley 1965, 24 and *cf.* VIII 2891.

¹³⁰ Dessau 1912, 22; Le Bohec 1989, 174.

Moreover, despite his championing of Wegebelen's thesis (i.e. that the centurions in cohorts II-X were equal in rank and differed only in seniority), Birley's 'training' hypothesis still seems to owe something to the expectation that career paths moved upwards through the cohorts and that a 45-year multi-centurionate career ending with a post in *cohors IX* must demand some special explanation. The particular explanation offered, after Vegetius 2.6, is ingenious. However, Vegetius merely states that for a line of battle thus

V	IV	III	II	I
X	IX	VIII	VII	VI

a legion would want its best men in the cohorts on the flanks and in the centre. It is entirely Birley's gloss that recruits were therefore most likely to start their training in cohorts VII and IX, or II and IV 'in that order' and that it was from the other six cohorts 'that vexillations for active service in the field would normally be drawn'. It might, in any case, be argued that this places too great a faith in Vegetius, whose subject was an idealised re-formation of the *antiqua legio* and who was clearly in error on many points¹³¹. Nor was the battle formation in two lines of cohorts the only possibility. More commonly observed was the *triplex acies* of three lines, four cohorts in the front rank and three in each of the lines behind¹³², an arrangement in which it is less easy to identify four 'training' cohorts.

32. Sal. Frebranus Baculus

CIL III 2836= *ILS* 2651 (Burnum): *Sal(vius) Frebranus T(iti) f(ilius) | Quir(ina) Baculus has(tatus) | pri(or) leg(ionis) XX*

'Salvius Frebranus Baculus, son of Titus, of the Quirina voting-tribe, *hastatus prior* of the Twentieth Legion.'

The presence of Baculus at Burnum is the only evidence placing the legion at that fortress before its transfer to Germany in the aftermath of the *clades Variana*¹³³. A later date might be allowed if Baculus perhaps settled or returned there after service on the Rhine. Otherwise, it is likely that Baculus served

¹³¹ Milner 1993, xviii.

¹³² Goldsworthy 1996, 137-8.

¹³³ Wilkes 1969, 75; Zabehlicky-Scheffeneegger and Kandler 1979, 9.

with the Twentieth Legion during its part in the suppression of the Pannonian revolt and might have been involved in the abortive Bohemian campaign of Tiberius and the legion's subsequent exploits under Valerius Messalinus¹³⁴. The nomenclature is unusual, the *nomen* Frebranus and *cognomen* Baculus being equally rare¹³⁵.

33. Hortensius Proculus

RIB 1431 (Halton Chesters): leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | [(centuria)] Hortens(i) | Procul(i)

'From the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix the century of Hortensius Proculus (built this)'

Two further records of a *centuria Hortensiana* are known, both long lost. One (*RIB 1815*) is supposed to have come from Carvoran. The *nomen* is unusual and the Twentieth is otherwise attested at, or in the vicinity of, the fort¹³⁶, so this may be the same man. The other (*RIB 1931*) was recorded west of Birdoswald. However, those centurions known from west of the River Irthing form an almost wholly exclusive group with only marginal overlap with those to the east¹³⁷. If this record is not misplaced – it was found *ex situ* 'in a field dyke half a mile west of the fort' – it may not be the same individual. The use of the adjectival form in these two other records indicates that the post of centurion was vacant at this point, Hortensius having yet to be replaced¹³⁸. The *nomen* Hortensius, whilst relatively uncommon generally, is better represented in Narbonensis than elsewhere¹³⁹.

34. Iulius Aq(uila)

RIB 2411.79 (Leicester): L(egio) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix)

Iu(lius) Aq(uila)

¹³⁴ See Chapter III.1, 324.

¹³⁵ Solin and Salomies 1994, 82 (this is the sole example of Frebranus); Kajanto 1965, 344 lists only three other *Baculi*.

¹³⁶ See 6.29.

¹³⁷ See Appendix 3.

¹³⁸ Fink 1953; Birley 1953, 128.

¹³⁹ *Onomasticon* II, 185.

Lead seal found in a mid-second century context. A number of leaden sealings have been discovered at Leicester, suggesting a role as a distribution (or re-distribution) centre for consignments to and from military units¹⁴⁰. Compare the seals of the legions of the Rhine (including the Twentieth) found at Lugdunum (see 7.96 below). The letters on the reverse of this seal can be expanded to read Iulius Aquila, the name of the centurion in charge of the consignment¹⁴¹.

35. Iulius Florentinus

1. RIB 1677 (HW42-42a): *(centuria) Iuli | Florentini*

2. RIB 1762 (HW44b): *[leg(ionis)] XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | [c(o)h]o(rtis) X | [(centuria) Iul]i Flo|[ren]tini*

‘From the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, tenth cohort, the century of Iulius Florentinus (built this)’

The *cognomen* may indicate a connection with Florentia in north Etruria, but it is unusually common and found more often in provinces outside Italy, so is perhaps more likely related to *Florens* (‘blooming’, ‘in one’s prime’)¹⁴².

36. C. Iulius Lepidus

CIL II 4463 (Iessos): *C(aio) Iulio Gal(eria) | Lepido Iesson(e) | p(rimi)p(ilari) centur(ioni) leg(ionis) X[III] | Gem(inae) P(iae) F(idelis) (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis) | (centurioni) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) P(iae) F(idelis) [... | (centurioni) leg(ionis)] XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) [(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII? | Ge]m(inae) P(iae) F(idelis) | adlecto in numerum | decurion(um) ab ordine | Barcinonensium | heredes ex testament(o) | cura Agathopi | Trophimi Polycarpi | libertorum | locus d(atus) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

¹⁴⁰ Clay 1980.

¹⁴¹ AE 1976.367; Clay *op. cit.*, 318.

¹⁴² Kajanto 1965, 189, 233; *Onomasticon* II, 148.

‘To Gaius Iulius Lepidus, of the Galerian voting-tribe, from Iessos, *primipilaris*; centurion of the Thirteenth Legion Gemina Pia Fidelis, centurion of the First Legion Adiutrix, centurion of the Tenth Legion Gemina Pia Fidelis, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, centurion of the Seventh Legion (or *primuspilus* of the Tenth Legion) Gemina Pia Fidelis, coopted into the ranks of the town-councillors by the *ordo* of Barcino; in accordance with the will, his heirs, Agathopus, Trophimus and Polycarpus, freedmen had the care (of setting this up); place given by decree of the town-councillors.’

Lepidus served as centurion with the Thirteenth Gemina at Apulum in Dacia¹⁴³; the First Adiutrix, at Brigetio¹⁴⁴, and the Tenth Gemina, at Vindobona¹⁴⁵, both in Pannonia Superior; the Twentieth¹⁴⁶ in Britain; and in one further legion, eventually attaining the rank of *primus pilus* in either the first or last of these depending on the direction in which the career is read. He came from Iessos in Hispania Tarraconensis. His election onto the local senate of the coastal town of Barcino might indicate an equestrian origin and direct commission into the centurionate, unless this post was held once he had attained the status of *primipilaris*. Hübner in *CIL* restored the final listed post as (*centurio*) *leg VII Gem p f*, assuming enlistment into the ranks of the legion in Spain, advancement to centurion in that legion, and progression to the post of *primuspilus* in *legio XIII*. Dobson, however, suggests that the final legionary post must record the legion in which Lepidus was *primuspilus* and that there is not room for [PP LEG VII | GE]M; instead [PP LEG X | GE]M is posited¹⁴⁷ – i.e. returning from Britain to Pannonia Superior to take up the post of *primuspilus*. The emendation would require recruitment into the Dacian *legio XIII* from Spain – not otherwise usual¹⁴⁸ – and may support the alternative hypothesis of direct commission¹⁴⁹. If *legio VII* is read, then an early third century date would be indicated by the titles *gemina pia fidelis*¹⁵⁰. If not, a date

¹⁴³ Ritterling 1925, 1717-8; Wilkes 2000, 111; Piso 2000, 221.

¹⁴⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1392-3; Wilkes 2000, 105; Lőrincz 2000, 155.

¹⁴⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1683; Wilkes 2000, 110; Gomez-Pantoja 2000, 188.

¹⁴⁶ A recent edition of the inscriptions of Catalonia prefers LEG X]XX VV (*IRC-02,025*), placing Lepidus on the Rhine with *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*.

¹⁴⁷ Dobson 1978, 331.

¹⁴⁸ Mann 1983a, 39, 142 Table 23.

¹⁴⁹ Summerly 1991, 213.

¹⁵⁰ Ritterling 1925, 1642.

after 180 would nevertheless be indicated by the titles given for *legio XIII*¹⁵¹. Transfer of an experienced centurion from the Danube to Britain might fit well with the campaigns of Septimius Severus, 208-211 – cf. M. Tillius Rufus (6.64) who seems to have gone to Britain at this time, albeit from the Rome cohorts, and who also returned to take up a primipilate.

Lepidus is recorded on a further stone from Aeso, set up by him in honour of a colleague, P. Aemilius Paternus *p(rimi)p(ilaris)*¹⁵². The suggested identification with the *primipilaris* L. Aemilius Paternus¹⁵³, also of Aeso, would have serious implications for the chronology, for the latter was decorated for service in Trajan's Dacian and Parthian wars, and the dedication could hardly be much later than 140. Taking the recorded *praenomina* at face value, we would seem to have two Aemilii Paterni, both *primipilaris*, some 50 years apart. Otherwise the numbers and titles of the legions as restored on II 4463, which are the only real indications of date, must be somewhat awry.

37. C. Iulius Maritimus

CIL VIII 2907 (Lambaesis): D(is) M(anibus) | C(aio) Iulio C(aii) filio | Cl(audia) Maritimo | Ara (centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) | (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) (centurioni) leg(ionis) | II Aug(ustae) (centurioni) leg(ionis) III | Aug(ustae) vixit | ann(is) XXXXV | men(sibus) V d(iebus) XIII | Salviena | Metiliana | coniu(n)x ma|rito pient|issimo | b(ene) m(erenti) d(e) s(uo) f(ecit) | cura(m) agente | Salvieno Tro|phimo lib(erto) | qui legis dic sit tibi terra levis

'To the spirits of the departed (and) to Gaius Iulius Maritimus, son of Gaius, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Ara, centurion of the Sixth Legion Victrix, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, centurion of the Second Legion Augusta, centurion of the Third Legion Augusta, lived 45 years 5 months 13 days; Salviena Metiliana, his wife, had this made at her own expense to a most dutiful, well-deserving husband; Salvienus Trophimus, freedman, had charge (of setting this up); whoever reads (this) affirm, may the earth sit lightly upon you.'

¹⁵¹ Ritterling 1925, 1721; Piso 2000, 222-3. The appearance of the titles on VI 1523 = *ILS* 1092 apparently as early as the 160s is considered erroneous.

¹⁵² *AE* 1987, 728: *P. Aemilio | [L] f. Gal Paterno | pp | C(aius) Iulius Lepidus | pp | amic(c)o optimo.*

¹⁵³ II 4461 = Dobson 1978, 231 No. 111. Identity suggested by Castillo 1995, 215 No. 4.

Maritimus came from the *colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis* in Germania Inferior and began his legionary career in the Sixth Victrix. Elements of the dedication – for example the presentation of the age at death in terms of *annis, mensibus, diebus* – suggest a later second-century or third-century date¹⁵⁴. Recruitment from Gaul and Germany to the Sixth Legion in Britain was in evidence at this date¹⁵⁵, perhaps due to continuing links with its former station. Maritimus' advancement to the centurionate and transfers to the Second and the Twentieth Legions would then have taken place in Britain. His career shows similarities with that of T. Flavius Virilis (6.31) who also held centurionates in the three British legions – probably in the early third century – before transfer to *legio III Augusta* in North Africa.

The cause of this latter transfer is unknown, but may have been to provide experienced centurions to bring the legion up to strength after detachment of a vexillation for service elsewhere¹⁵⁶. Birley provides one such context in the detachment of men to supplement either *III Gallica* or *III Cyrenaica* in 126¹⁵⁷. Other similar events which did not happen to be recorded in an Emperor's speech¹⁵⁸ are likely. If this date is not seen as too early, however, it provides an interesting alternative, with recruitment into *legio VI victrix*, and advancement to the centurionate, before 122 while the legion was still in Germania Inferior; transfer with the legion to Britain in that year¹⁵⁹; and participation in the construction of Hadrian's Wall. The centurionates with the Second and Twentieth then have to be fitted into a short timespan, but with large parts of the three legions stationed and working in close proximity in North Britain, a certain amount of fluidity might be suggested. It can be noted that a centurion Maritimus is recorded on a

¹⁵⁴ Le Bohec 1989, 166. Keppie 1991, 107.

¹⁵⁵ Mann 1983a, 90 Table 9.

¹⁵⁶ The reconstitution of the legion in 253, after dissolution in 238 (Le Bohec 1989, 463), provides an interesting alternative context, but is perhaps too late.

¹⁵⁷ Birley 1965, 27.

¹⁵⁸ Hadrian's address *ad legionem suam III Augustam ILS 9133 + ILS 2487*.

¹⁵⁹ This is the preferred chronology of Dessau 1912, 24; Summerly 1991, 171. A.R. Birley 2002, 113 also suggests recruitment into *VI Victrix* in Lower Germany.

building stone from Hadrian's Wall between Housesteads and Cawfields¹⁶⁰ and the *cognomen* is not common¹⁶¹.

38. Iulius Peculiaris

RIB 1014 (River Gelt quarries): (*centuria*) *Iul(i) Peculiaris* | *uexil(l)atio leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)*

'The century of Iulius Peculiaris; detachment of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix.'

Inscription cut into the rock-face of the quarry on the north side of the River Gelt presumably recording the actions of a working party under Peculiaris. The *cognomen* is uncommon but widespread¹⁶².

39. Iulius Sedatus

RIB 2501.3 (Chester): [...] (*centuria*) *Iuli Sedati* | [...] *Ocell[io]nis*

Graffito on part of a Dr. 27 Samian bowl. No clear context is recorded. The form went out of production c. AD 150-160¹⁶³, so there is a much greater likelihood of it relating to the period of the Twentieth Legion's occupation than that of the Second Adiutrix. Summerly suggests identification with a namesake serving as centurion in *legio XIII Gemina* at Mainz before 92¹⁶⁴. Although the *nomen* Iulius is very common, the *cognomen* is less usual and might support the identification¹⁶⁵.

40. Iustus Super

RIB 2496.2 (Colchester): (*centuria*) *Iusti Superi*

¹⁶⁰ RIB 1656: (*centuria*) *Marit(im)i*.

¹⁶¹ *Onomasticon* III, 58.

¹⁶² *Onomasticon* III, 130.

¹⁶³ Webster 1995, 38.

¹⁶⁴ Summerly 1991, 54 citing XIII 6929.

Graffito cut into the rim of a pre-Flavian mortarium before firing. This mortarium, marked as the property of the century of Iustus Super, most likely dates to the period of occupation of the legionary fortress by the Twentieth. The nomenclature might suggest an origin in Germany or Gaul¹⁶⁶. If the suggested dating is correct, this centurion would have initially served with the legion in Germany and been involved in the invasion of Britain.

41. M. Liburnius Fronto

1. *RIB 2077 + add. (Hadrian's Wall): leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | c(o)ho(rtis) IIII | (centuria) Lib(urni) Fro(ntonis) | (centuria) Tere(nti) Mag(ni)*

'From the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix and from the fourth cohort the century of Liburnius Fronto and the century of Terentius Magnus (built this).'

2. *RIB 1330 (Benwell): I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo) Dolic]he|no et N[u]minibus | Aug(ustorum) pro salute imp(eratoris) | Caesaris T(iti) Aeli Hadr(iani) | Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae) | et leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) | M(arcus) Liburnius Fron|to (centurio) leg(ionis) eiusdem | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

'To Jupiter Best and Greatest, Dolichenus, and to the Deities of the Emperors for the welfare of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of his country, and of the Second Legion Augusta; Marcus Liburnius Fronto, centurion of the same legion, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.'

The *vexillum* sculptured on *RIB 2077* implies that a formal detachment made up of (or from) these two centuries is in operation here. Vexillations of this form do not appear to have been the norm during initial

¹⁶⁵ 34 examples only are recorded in *Onomasticon* IV, 61 with more than half in Gaul and Germany.

¹⁶⁶ *Nomen*: *Onomasticon* II, 210 and see Frere and Tomlin at *RIB* II⁶ 2496.2. *Cognomen*: *Onomasticon* IV, 100.

construction of the wall and this may in fact record later rebuilding¹⁶⁷. Mann identifies a group of such records recording works by *legio II Augusta* in the vicinity of Benwell and further to the west. These he dates to the period of the re-occupation of the Hadrian's Wall frontier line *c.* 158 and links the presence of Fronto at Benwell with this rebuilding¹⁶⁸. Birley, on the other hand, considered Fronto to be in place as acting commander of the auxiliary unit at the fort¹⁶⁹. However, the inclusion of the Second Legion itself as an object of the dedication may suggest that Mann's interpretation is the more likely. The dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius, 138-161 (*pater patriae* after 139), is certainly consistent with such an interpretation. The combination of names is unusual enough to suggest that these two records do in fact relate to the same centurion. If *RIB 2077* does have a context in refurbishment after 158 then the transfer (in whichever direction) may have occurred close to this date.

The dedication to Dolichenus suggested to A. R. Birley that Liburnius might originate in the east, perhaps in Galatian Ancyra where legionaries of that name are also known¹⁷⁰. However, the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, with its associations with the forging of iron for weapons, was strongly represented among the military¹⁷¹.

42. C. Ligustinius Disertus

CIL XI 5960 (Pitinum Mergens): C(aio) Ligustinio | C(aii) filio Clu(stumina) Diserto | (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae | item (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | evocato Aug(usti) | beneficiario praef(ecti) praet(orio) | Eutyches lib(ertus) | patrono optimo | ob merita | cuius dedicatione | decu[ri]onib(us) et plebei | crus[tul]um et mulsum | dedit

¹⁶⁷ *RIB 2011* is explicit *vexillatio leg II Aug refecit*; *RIB 1566 vexil(l)at(io) legion(is)* is suggested as third century; *RIB 1933 vex]sil(latio) [leg VI vi]c* may also record later rebuilding.

¹⁶⁸ Mann 1992, 238.

¹⁶⁹ Birley 1983a, 81; *cf.* 6.4, 6.80.

¹⁷⁰ A.R.Birley 1979, 75.

¹⁷¹ Speidel 1978; Helgeland 1978, 1498; Irby-Massie 1999, 63-71; and *cf.* L. Maximius Gaetulicus, 6.48 below, who was from Gallia Narbonensis.

‘To Gaius Ligustinius Disertus, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, centurion of the Fourth Legion Scythica, again centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *evocatus Augusti*, *beneficiarius* to the Praetorian Prefect; Eutyches freedman (set this up), to a most worthy former master; because of his merits, at the dedication of which (statue?) he gave to the town-councillors and the people honey-wine and confectionery’

Disertus was an Italian, presumably from Pitinum Mergens, who enrolled initially with the Praetorian cohorts in Rome. During his sixteen years service in the ranks, he rose to a relatively prestigious position as *beneficiarius* on the staff of the Praetorian Prefect, and after the expiry of his normal term of service, was retained as *evocatus Augusti*. This post could be held for as much as twelve years¹⁷² but was often a stepping stone to the centurionate, either with the Rome cohorts or with one of the legions¹⁷³. The *evocati* fulfilled a number of specialist roles, deploying the skills that had brought them continued service. Apart from administrative roles they most often seem to have been engaged in training¹⁷⁴, a role which might have seen attachment to a legion before receipt of the centurial commission¹⁷⁵.

Disertus’ period of service with the Twentieth Legion is not clear. Birley suggests that the sequence of posts as centurion, *legio XX – legio IIII – legio XX*, could have a context in a temporary reinforcement of the army of Syria, perhaps by transfer of a vexillation from Britain accompanying the governor Sex. Julius Severus who was sent by Hadrian to put down the Bar Kochba revolt¹⁷⁶. The return to Britain could then fall later in the reign of Hadrian when there was trouble in the province. Compare the career of Albius Felix (6.5), whom Maxfield suggests won his *dona* in the same eastern war¹⁷⁷, and who also began his career in the Praetorian cohorts. M. Septimius Magnus (6.59) and the anonymous prefect (4.3) also

¹⁷² VI 2758 = *ILS* 2143 a soldier of the Fifth Praetorian cohort who served 19 years in the ranks and 12 years as *evocatus*.

¹⁷³ Dobson and Breeze 1969. Intervals of up to 7 years are known even so: *AE* 1990.896.

¹⁷⁴ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 76-7.

¹⁷⁵ Davies 1989, 120; this would appear to be the sense of XIII 6728 (as restored), but perhaps not of *AE* 1990.896.

¹⁷⁶ Birley 1965, 29-30; Summerly 1991, 110.

¹⁷⁷ Maxfield 1981, 195.

served as centurions in *legio III Scythica* and their transfers from one quarter of the empire to the other may share the same context.

43. Livius Saturninus

RIB 122 (Gloucester): ... *miles legionis] XX (centuria) Livi Saturnini stipendiorum XIII ann(or)um XXXX*
 ‘...soldier of] the Twentieth [Legion], from the century of Livius Saturninus, of 13 years’ service,
 aged 40.’

This stone appears to confirm the presence of the Twentieth Legion at Kingsholm and Gloucester in the period 48 - c. 78¹⁷⁸. The style of the dedication is early and the absence of the legionary titles is noteworthy¹⁷⁹. An early date might suggest that the unnamed *miles*, and probably Saturninus also, had served during the invasion.

Saturninus is a very common name, especially so in Africa which accounts for 46% of the examples encountered by Kajanto. Punic names including divine elements, especially Baal, were very popular in Africa and Saturninus seems to have been used as a direct Latin equivalent¹⁸⁰ (the *cognomen* *Martialis* shows a similar distribution: cf. 7.123*). African recruitment into the army of Britain, or of the Rhine, is largely unknown¹⁸¹, however, and the name well enough represented in the more usual recruiting areas¹⁸². On the other hand, a centurial career involving a number of transfers, perhaps originating in the Third Augusta, would not be unusual¹⁸³.

¹⁷⁸ Hurst 1988, 49-56; Hassall and Hurst 1999; and see Chapter III.2, 342-3 and n. 133.

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix 1.

¹⁸⁰ Dean 1916, 115. Kajanto 1965, 213: 1163 out of 2507 examples are from Africa. Saturn was the Roman equivalent of Baal.

¹⁸¹ Mann 1983a, 23-8; Tables 9, 11.

¹⁸² *Onomasticon* IV, 51 and see above Chapter I.4. The *nomen* *Livius* is commonest in Italy: *Onomasticon* III, 39.

¹⁸³ cf. 6.3, 6.31, 6.37, 6.68, 6.76, 6.78 all of whom served with that legion at one stage. The question of recruitment areas is of more significance in the case of the *miles* Saturninus 7.73.

Le Bohec's objections to the concept of 'cognomina africains'¹⁸⁴, essentially that those proposed as such are found widely throughout the empire, would only apply if it were argued that a name were exclusively African. The suggestion that a common Roman name attained a disproportionate local popularity through specific cultural affinities is a rather different case. It has the virtue of providing a possible explanation for the observed distribution.

44. Logus

RIB 2463.58 (Holt and Chester): *leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) | sub Logo pr(incipe?)*

'The Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, under Logus, *princeps*'

Tile stamp on products of the Holt workshop. The *cognomen* is Greek and more usual among slaves and freedmen than as the name of a soldier¹⁸⁵. The title *princeps*, if not indicating the centurial rank of Logus, is perhaps to be understood in the sense of an *ad hoc* commander of a detachment¹⁸⁶, presumably here the men charged with the production of these tiles. As such he is more likely to be a centurion in any case. The peak activity of the works depot lay in the late first and early second centuries (see further 6.6 above).

45. Lucilius Ingenuus

RIB 544 (Chester): ...] | *opt(i)onis ad spem | ordinis (centuria) Lucili | Ingenui, qui | naufragio perit | s(itus) e(st)*

'...an *optio*, serving in the century of Lucilius Ingenuus, and awaiting promotion to centurion, who died by shipwreck. He is buried [].'

¹⁸⁴ Le Bohec 1989, 516-7.

¹⁸⁵ RIB II⁴; Solin 1982, 1243 has 14 examples of which 8 (or 9) are slaves/freedmen, the other five are uncertain.

¹⁸⁶ Speidel 1981, 13.

Gravestone (or rather, cenotaph) with incised decoration¹⁸⁷. A space was left to complete the formula *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)* apparently in case the body was ever found. This stone is difficult to date. The identification of the man by his century is a first-century practice, but not necessarily so early as to preclude use by men of *legio XX* at Chester¹⁸⁸. The use (or intended use) of the formula HSE might also imply an earlier rather than a later date (at least where used with the nominative¹⁸⁹) but is nonetheless found on two stones of the Twentieth from Chester¹⁹⁰. The case here, however, is genitive, not found on tombstones of serving soldiers of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester¹⁹¹ and on balance it would seem likely that the centurion Ingenuus, and his unknown charge, belonged to the Twentieth Legion.

46. Malius Crassus

RIB 2409.6 (Chester): (*centuriae*) *Mali(i) Cras|si | Lucilius Sa|binianus*

‘Lucilius Sabinianus of the century of Malius Crassus’

Bread stamp from Chester, from an early third-century layer in the area of barracks on the site of Hunter Street school. Both elements of the nomenclature are rare. Crassus is commoner in Spain than elsewhere¹⁹².

47. Q. Maximius

RIB 473 (Chester): (*centuria*) *Q(uinti) Max(im)i*

Found *ex situ* beneath the Lady Chapel of Chester cathedral; it presumably came from the east wall of the fortress. The *nomen* Maximius is not common¹⁹³. The alternative reading *Q(uintius) Max(imus)* might be suggested. The abbreviation of the *nomen* would be extreme but not unparalleled¹⁹⁴.

¹⁸⁷ CSIR i 9.55.

¹⁸⁸ RIB 498, 502, 508 (7.44, 7.69, 7.94); see Chapter I.2, 17-19.

¹⁸⁹ Le Bohec 1989, 64.

¹⁹⁰ RIB 500, 502 (7.54, 7.69); the latter, nominative + HSE.

¹⁹¹ RIB 475-487; nominative except for the tombstone of a veteran (RIB 478) in the dative.

48. L. Maximius Gaetulicus

1. RIB 1725 (Great Chesters): *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | D[ol]ic(h)eno Lu|cius Maxim|ius Gaetulic|us (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito)*

‘To Jupiter, Best and Greatest, of Doliche, Lucius Maximius Gaetulicus, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, (willingly and) deservedly (fulfilled) his vow.’

2. RIB 2120 (Newstead): *Deo | Apollini | L(ucius) Maximius | Gaetulicus (centurio) | leg(ionis)*

‘To the god Apollo, Lucius Maximius Gaetulicus, centurion of the legion, (set this up).’

3. AE 1985.735 = IGLNovae 46 (Novae): *Pro salut[e] I[mp(eratoris)] | Victoriae Aug(ustae) | Pantheae Sanctis|simae L(ucius) Maximius | L(ucii) f(ilius) Voltinae Gaetu|licus Viennae, quod | tiro apud leg(ionem) XX V(aleriam) V(ictricem) | voveram nunc | p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) I Itali(icae), stip(endiorum) | LVII (votum) s(olvi) | Marullo et Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus)*

‘For the welfare of the Emperors, and to Victoria Augusta Panthea Sanctissima, Lucius Maximius Gaetulicus, son of Lucius, of the Voltinian voting tribe, from Vienna, who made his vow when enrolled in *legio XX Valeria Victrix*, now *primus pilus* of *legio I Italica*, having served for 57 years, fulfilled his vow; Marullus and Aelianus consuls’

The consulships date this last dedication to AD 184, when Gaetulicus, having reached the elevated position of *primus pilus* in *legio I Italica* at Novae in Moesia Inferior, set up this dedication in fulfilment of the vow made 57 years earlier on his enlistment into *legio XX Valeria Victrix*. The name Gaetulicus is relatively unusual and derives from the *Gaetuli*, a tribe of Africa, where the name was common¹⁹⁵. L. Maximius Gaetulicus, who gives his *origo* as Vienna, is the only example known from Gallia Narbonensis. Enrolling in AD 127, Gaetulicus would probably have attained centurial rank in the late 140s or 150s, and his presence at Newstead most likely falls in the early Antonine occupation by the

¹⁹² *Onomasticon* III, 48; II, 82.

¹⁹³ *Onomasticon* III, 70.

¹⁹⁴ cf. XIII 2589, II 5747, III 2546, RIT 370.

¹⁹⁵ Kajanto 1965, 206 lists 52 men, 2 women and 1 slave/freedman, 50% of these from Africa.

Twentieth in conjunction with the *ala Augusta Vocontiorum*¹⁹⁶. Whether his posting at Greatchesters falls before or after this is unknown. He may have been *praepositus* in command of the auxiliary garrison at that fort. The dedication to Jupiter *optimus maximus* suggests the *vota* ceremony of January 3rd when the commanding officer dedicated an altar on behalf of his unit¹⁹⁷, although here the dedication incorporates the eastern deity Dolichenus. His cult was associated with the forging of iron for weapons¹⁹⁸ and was strongly represented among the military¹⁹⁹. The attributes appended to Victoria Augusta in the latest dedication are unusual and indicative of the orientalisation of Roman religion amongst soldiers on the lower Danube²⁰⁰.

49. Naevius

RIB 2449.8 (Chester): (*centuria*) Naev[i]

Inscription incised on the circumference of the upper stone of a handmill, once the property of the named century. Naevius is frequently attested as a *nomen* but also appears, if rarely, as a *cognomen*²⁰¹. Either might be used to designate the century.

50. L. Numerius Felix

CIL II 4162 = RIT 181 (Tarraco): *L(ucio) Numerio | L(ucii) f(ilio) Felici | (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) F(elicis) | (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX Vict(ricis) | (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) | (centurioni) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) | (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Italic(ae) | Mamilia | Prisca marito | optimo*

'To Lucius Numerius Felix, son of Lucius, centurion of the Seventh Legion Gemina Felix, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Victrix, centurion of the Third Legion Cyrenaica, centurion of the Twenty-second

¹⁹⁶ Richmond 1949-50, 19-21; Jarrett 1994b, 45; cf. 6.7 above.

¹⁹⁷ Helgeland 1978, 1495-6; cf. 6.7 above.

¹⁹⁸ The supply depot at Corbridge was a rich source of Dolichean material: Richmond 1943.

¹⁹⁹ Speidel 1978; Helgeland 1978, 1498; Irby-Massie 1999, 63-71; cf. 6.41 above.

²⁰⁰ Mrozewicz 1984, 184.

Legion Primigenia, centurion of the Third Legion Italica; Mamilia Prisca (set this up) to her most worthy husband.'

Legio VII was based in Hispania Tarraconensis, so the sequence of posts ought to be read in reverse order, final transfer to the Seventh Gemina being the reason for his presence in Spain²⁰². The career falls between 166, the year in which *legio III Italica* was raised²⁰³, and 197 when the Seventh Gemina became *legio VII Gemina pia felix* for its support of Septimius Severus during the rebellion of P. Clodius Albinus²⁰⁴. Alföldy thought him Italian, perhaps among the earliest recruits of *legio III Italica*²⁰⁵; attaining the centurionate in that legion and then being transferred from Raetia²⁰⁶ to legions *XXII Primigenia* at Mainz in Germania Superior²⁰⁷; *III Cyrenaica* at Bostra in Arabia²⁰⁸; *XX Victrix*²⁰⁹ in Britain; and finally *VII Gemina* at Leon. The sequence of posts seems difficult to square with Birley's picture of transfers driven by the movement of vexillations as reinforcements²¹⁰.

51. Ocratius Maximus

RIB 467 (Chester): *coh(ortis) I (centuria) Ocrati | Maximi L(ucius) Mu(...) P(...)*

'From the first cohort, the century of Ocratius Maximus (built this); Lucius Mu(...) P(...) did this.'

²⁰¹ *Onomasticon* III, 94.

²⁰² Le Roux 1972, 135 No. 30 and Appendice II, supposing an Italian origin but see LeRoux 1982, 297, now preferring Spanish origin and presumably retirement and a return to that province. The *nomen* is relatively common in Spain: *Onomasticon* III, 106.

²⁰³ Ritterling 1925, 1532; Dietz 2000, 133.

²⁰⁴ Ritterling 1925, 1314, 1637; Summerly 1991, 179.

²⁰⁵ Alföldy 1975, 181.

²⁰⁶ The legion was at Regensburg from c. 175: Dietz 2000, 135.

²⁰⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1804.

²⁰⁸ Ritterling 1925, 1510; Parker 2000, 124-5.

²⁰⁹ This form of the title is notable, see Appendix 1.

²¹⁰ Birley 1965, but see Birley 1980, 79-80.

Building stone found between Newgate Street and the East Wall from which it probably came. The phasing and date of the construction of the stone walls at Chester remain a matter of some debate²¹¹, but construction is likely to have been the responsibility of the Twentieth Legion. The *nomen* is unusual with only a handful of recorded instances in provincial nomenclature²¹².

52. Octavianus

RIB 508 (Chester): Dis Mani|bus Q(uintus) Vib|ius Secun|dus Annie(n)s|is Cremon|a miles leg(ionis) XX | V(aleriae) V(ictricis) (centuria) Octavia[ni] | [...

‘To the spirits of the departed, Quintus Vibius Secundus, of the Aniensian voting-tribe, from Cremona, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, in the century of Octavianus, ...’

The spelling out in full of *Dis Manibus* and other elements of the style of the dedication – use of the nominative, inclusion of *origo*, identification of the century in which Secundus served – mark this out as among the earlier tombstones of the legion at Chester²¹³.

53. Oppius Proculus

RIB 1095 (Lanchester): [co]h(ortis) VIII | (centuria) Oppi Proculi

‘From the eighth cohort the century of Oppius Proculus (built this).’

A fine dedication slab, *RIB 1093*, records building by the Twentieth Legion at Lanchester. This building stone conforms to the usual legionary style and it is probable that Oppius Proculus and the eighth cohort were involved in this work, although some otherwise unrecorded episode of construction by another legion cannot be ruled out. Oppius is uncommon, but better represented in Dalmatia than elsewhere. Proculus is much more common but also occurs with unexpected frequency in that region²¹⁴.

²¹¹ Le Quesne 1999, 138–45; Mason 2001, 89–93; see Chapter III.3, 364–5.

²¹² *Onomasticon* III, 110.

²¹³ See also 7.18, 7.44, 7.55; see Chapter I.2.3.

²¹⁴ *Onomasticon* III, 114, 166.

54. M. Porcius Iasuct(h)an

1. Rebuffat 1995, 79-124 (Gholaia = Bu Njem): *Porcius Iasucthan cent(urio) leg(ionis) f(ecit) c(um) mag(istro)*

Acrostic in verse inscription (the first letters of each line form the above) commemorating the reconstruction of a gateway at the fort by a vexillation of *legio III Augusta pia vindex Antoniniana* in the last few months of the reign of the emperor Elagabalus (*trib pot v cos iii*: after Jan 1st 222; before his death 11th or 12th March that year).

2. *CIL VIII 2638 = ILS 9293 (Lambaesis): Pro Salute D(omini) N(ostri) | Severi Alexan|dri Pi(i) Felicis Aug(usti) | dis mauris | M(arcus) Porcius Ia|suctan (centurio) leg(ionis) | XX Val(eriae) V(ictricis) Severae | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo)*

‘For the welfare of our Lord Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus (and) to the gods of the Moors, Marcus Porcius Iasuctan, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix Severa, with willing mind fulfilled his vow.’

Iasuctan²¹⁵ was clearly African, as is indicated by his *cognomen* which is Berber in origin²¹⁶ and by the dedication to the Moorish gods. He had presumably enrolled originally in *legio III Augusta*, attaining the centurionate in that legion by 222, for it is in that year that he is found in command of the vexillation in garrison at Gholaia²¹⁷. The verse inscription, although more ‘African’ than classical, indicates a high degree of literacy and an education that encompassed the study of Virgil at least²¹⁸. The later dedication to the welfare of the emperor Severus Alexander (222-235) may have been occasioned by the receipt of the transfer to the Twentieth in Britain, although Dessau suggested that he may have had the dedication erected on his behalf whilst in Britain²¹⁹.

²¹⁵ Le Bohec 1989, 181.

²¹⁶ Balsdon 1979, 151; Rebuffat 1995, 98.

²¹⁷ Bu Njem in Libya: Le Bohec 1989, 441; Rebuffat 2000.

²¹⁸ Rebuffat 1995, 106, 110.

²¹⁹ Dessau 1912, 24.

55. Postumius

RIB 539 (Chester): *D(is) [M(anibus)] | G(aius) Valeri[us...]| mil(es) l[eg(ionis)...]| (centuria) Postu[mi...]| Galeri[a ...] | an[n(orum)...]| st(i)pen[d(iorum)]...*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Gaius Valerius ... soldier of the ... Legion, in the century of Postumius (or Postumus) ... of the Galerian voting-tribe ... aged ... served ... (years)...’

The use of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)*, not seen among the tombstones of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester, makes this likely to commemorate a soldier of the Twentieth. The style of the dedication suggests a date in the late first or early second century²²⁰.

56. Quint(...)

Britannia 8 (1977), 433 no. 32 (New Kilpatrick): *Leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | (centuria) Quint(...) fec(it)*

‘From the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix the century of Quint(...) made (this).’

From the Antonine Wall fort at New Kilpatrick (Bearsden), either recording the initial construction in the 140s or possibly in a later phase after a hiatus *c.* 145/147²²¹. The *nomen* Quintius or *cognomen* Quintus are the most likely possibilities for the name²²².

57. Refidius

JRS 58 (1968), 208 no. 9 (Chester): *(centuria) Refidi*

Centurial stone from the west part of the arena wall of the amphitheatre. The stone amphitheatre was constructed by the Twentieth Legion, replacing the earlier timber *ludus*²²³. The *nomen* is very rare²²⁴ so

²²⁰ See Chapter I.2.3.

²²¹ Swan 1999, 430-1.

²²² *Onomasticon* IV, 19-20.

that family connection with the centurion L. Refidius Bassus of *legio XVI* (XIII 11837) might be suggested²²⁵.

58. Rufius Sabinus

1. *RIB* 441 + add. (Holt): (*centuria*) *Rufi Sabi(ni)|GNATLV*

‘The century of Rufius Sabinus GNATLV’

2. *RIB* 1659 (HW42): (*centuria*) *Rufi Sabi|ni*

GNATLV has been interpreted as ‘built 55 (feet)’, *gnat* being taken as a British Celtic equivalent to *fecit*²²⁶, and as such would stand as one of the few pieces of direct evidence for the presence of Britons in the army. The *cognomen* is relatively common, but the *nomen* Rufius is unusual²²⁷, so that the identification of the centurion from Holt with the one recorded on Hadrian’s Wall seems probable in this case (*cf.* 6.18, 6.26).

59. M. Septimius Magnus

1. *CIL* III 186 + add = *ILS* 2657 = *IGR* III 1016 = *IGLS* VII 4016 (Arados): *M(arco) Septimio, M(arci) f(ilio) Fab(ia), Magno (centurioni) | leg(ionis) [III Ga]l(licae) iter(um) et leg(ionis) IIII Scy[thi]cae e[ti] | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) iter(um) et leg(ionis) I Miner(viae) et leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis) II | L(ucius) Septimius Marcellus fratri optimo*

Μάρκω Σεπτίμιοι Μάρκου υιῶι Φαβ(ίω) Μάγνοι (ἑκατοντάρκω) | λεγεῶνος γ' [Γαλατ]ικῆς τὸ β' καὶ λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς καὶ | λεγεῶνος κ' Οὐαλερίας Νεικηφόρου τὸ β' καὶ λεγεῶνος

²²³ Thompson 1976, 134; Mason 2001, 142.

²²⁴ Six examples only recorded by *Onomasticon* IV, 24.

²²⁵ But probably not identity. The style of epitaph is first century and the Sixteenth only at Mainz until AD 43.

²²⁶ Meid 1980.

²²⁷ *Onomasticon* IV, 40 (Sabinus); 34 (Rufius).

α' Μινερ|ουίας καὶ λεγ(εῶνος) ι' Φρετηνσίας τὸ β' | Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Μάρκελλος ἀδελφῶν
ἀγαθῶν

'To Marcus Septimius Magnus, son of Marcus, of the Fabian voting-tribe, centurion twice of the Third Legion Gallica and of the Fourth Legion Scythica and twice of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix and of the First Legion Minervia and twice of the Tenth Legion Fretensis; Lucius Septimius Marcellus (set this up) to his most worthy brother.' – repeated in Greek

2. IGR III 1017 (Arados): ' Η β[ουλη] καὶ | ὁ δή[μος] ὁ Αραδίων | Μᾶρκον [Σεπτίμιον] |
Μάρκου υἱὸν Φαβίᾳ | Μάγνον ἑκατοντάρχην | λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυ[θη]ικῆς | τὸν ἑαυτῶν πολίτην |
εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς χάριν

'The Council and the people of Arados; to Marcus [Septimius] Magnus, son of Marcus, of the Fabian voting-tribe, centurion of the Fourth Legion Scythica, himself citizen (of this town?), freely and out of good-will honoured him.'

M. Septimius Magnus appears to be a native of Arados in Syria where these inscriptions were found²²⁸. His career as a centurion begins in *legio III Gallica*, which was stationed in that province, and continues through four other legions including the Twentieth. In legions *III Gallica*, *XX Valeria Victrix* and *X Fretensis* he was centurion twice, holding eight posts in all. After service with two Syrian legions, the Third Gallica at Raphanaea and the Fourth Scythica at Zeugma²²⁹, he was transferred to the Twentieth and thereafter to *legio I Minervia* stationed at Bonn in Germania Inferior²³⁰. He held his final commissions as centurion with the Tenth Legion at Jerusalem²³¹. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the erasure of the name *legio III Gallica* in both the Latin and the Greek parts of the inscription. In AD 218 the legate of this legion, supported by his soldiers, attempted to make himself emperor. The attempt

²²⁸ Dąbrowa 1993, 95. Summerly 1991, 122 prefers origin at Berytus or Heliopolis on the basis of the tribe.

²²⁹ *III Gallica*: Ritterling 1925, 1523; Dąbrowa 2000, 313. *IV Scythica*: Ritterling 1925, 1560; Parker 2000, 123-4; M.A. Speidel 2000, 331.

²³⁰ *I Minervia*: Ritterling 1925, 1421; Le Bohec 2000, 83.

²³¹ *X Fretensis*: Ritterling 1925, 1673; Dąbrowa 1993, 14. The reverse sequence remains possible.

failed, and the emperor Elagabalus dissolved the legion and decreed a *damnatio memoriae*²³². The style of the dedication suggests the beginning of the second century at the earliest, but we cannot date his service with the Twentieth more closely.

The apparent transfer from east to west and back again is unusual. Transfers in the other direction have been linked to the Judaeian war of Hadrian and the supposed part of the Twentieth (or of vexillations of the legion) in it²³³. If a similar contribution by *legio I Minervia* could be assumed then it might be that these were all field transfers. The number of posts involved in a short period might tell against such an interpretation although it might equally be argued that service in the field would provide just the context for such a series of iterated appointments and unusual transfers²³⁴.

60. Sextius Marcianus

JRS 57 (1967), 203 no. 5 (Chester): *Deae Nemesi | Sext(ius) Marci|anus (centurio) ex visu*

‘To the goddess Nemesis, Sextius Marcianus centurion (set this up) after a vision’

Altar²³⁵ found in a room behind the arena wall of the amphitheatre adjacent to the main north entrance. The room was presumably the shrine of Nemesis²³⁶. The stone amphitheatre was constructed by the Twentieth Legion, replacing the earlier timber *ludus*²³⁷. The altar, although remaining upright until the final abandonment of the amphitheatre, had been moved from its original plinth in the later third century. Whether it was set up as early as the second century reconstruction in stone, or at some later date, is unclear, although the lack of *praenomen* might suggest a later rather than earlier date²³⁸.

²³² Dio. 70.7.1; Ritterling 1925, 1323; Dąbrowa 2000, 313.

²³³ Birley 1965, 29-30; cf. 4.3, 6.5, 6.42.

²³⁴ See below 208-9.

²³⁵ *CSIR* i 9.13.

²³⁶ Thompson 1976, 166-70. Hornum 1993, 170. For another British invocation of Nemesis, at Caerleon amphitheatre: *RIB* 323.

²³⁷ Thompson 1976, 134-44; Mason 2001, 142.

²³⁸ Vismara and Caldelli 2000, 154 No. 88.

61. Sui[llius]

RIB 2491.199 (Holt): .v (or n) v.[...] | (*centuria*) Sui[lli?]

Graffito on a brick found at the works depot. The name of the soldier responsible is not preserved but the century in which he served can be read, Suillius being the likely *nomen*²³⁹. The peak activity of the works depot lay in the late first and early second centuries (see further at 6.6).

62. Terentius Magnus

RIB 2077 + add. (Hadrian' Wall): *leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | c(o)ho(rtis) IIII | (centuria) Lib(urni) Fro(ntonis) | (centuria) Tere(nti) Mag(ni)*

'From the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix and from the fourth cohort the century of Liburnius Fronto and the century of Terentius Magnus (built this).'

See further under Liburnius Fronto (6.41) above. The *nomen* is relatively common and widespread, the *cognomen* much less so²⁴⁰

63. Q. Terentius N...

RIB 474 (Chester): (*centuria*) Q(uinti) Ter(enti) N[...]

Building stone. Watkin concluded that this was the stone noticed by Roach Smith in the East wall 'opposite the Rope Walk'²⁴¹. However, Roach Smith described a stone 'similar to' the stone of Ocratius Maximus (6.51) but 'never inscribed', which would suggest a stone with an ansate panel but with no

²³⁹ *Onomasticon* IV, 98; Solin and Salomies 1994: the variant Suillus is also known.

²⁴⁰ *Onomasticon* IV, 113; III, 46 unlike the related Maximus which is very common indeed.

²⁴¹ Watkin 1886, 124; Roach Smith 1850, 224.

legible inscription. It is difficult to equate this with *RIB* 474 even if Ayrton thought the stone still visible in 1870 (which may well be this one) was the same as that seen by Roach Smith²⁴².

64. M. Tillius Rufus

1. *CIL* X 5064= *ILS* 2667 (Atina): *M(arco)Tillio M(arci) f(ilio) | Ter(etina) Rufo (centurioni) leg(ionis) | XX Val(eriae) Vict(ricis) ex (trecenario) | coh(ortis) IIII Pr(aetoriae) P(iae) V(indicis) prin|cipi castror(um) eq(uo) p(ublico) | exor(nato) et donis do|nato ab imp(eratoribus) Seve|ro et Antonino Aug(ustis) | hasta pura corona au|rea (centurioni) coh(ortis) XII Urb(anae) et I Vig(itum) | evoc(ato) Aug(ustorum) divor(um) M(arci) Anto|nini et Commodi patrono | municipi liberti l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

(on the reverse)

Dedicavit ipse | X kal(endas) Iun(ias) | Imp(eratori) Antinino III cos | et dedit sportulas | dec(urionibus) (sestertios) XII n(ummos) plebei | urb(anae) (sestertios) VI n(ummos)

‘To Marcus Tillius Rufus, son of Marcus, of the Teretine voting-tribe, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *trecenarius* in the Fourth Praetorian Cohort Pia Vindex, *princeps castrorum*, raised to Equestrian status and decorated by the Emperors Severus and Antoninus Augustus with the ceremonial spear and the gold crown; centurion of the Twelfth Urban Cohort and of the First Cohort of Vigiles, *evocatus* of the divine Augusti Marcus Antoninus and Commodus; patron of the *municipium* (Atina); his freedmen (set this up); space given by decree of the town-councillors.

He dedicated (this) himself, the 10th day before the Kalends of June (23rd May) in the third consulship of the Emperor Antoninus (AD 208) and gave a gift of 12 *sestertii* (each) to the town-councillors and 6 *sestertii* (each) to the people of the town.’

2. *CIL* XIII 6762 (Mogontiacum): *[H]ono|ri Aquilae l]eg(ionis) XXII | [Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) Antoni]nian(ae) | [M(arcus) Tillius M(arci) f(ilius)] Tere|tina Rufus A]tinae | [p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) ex] | CCC(trecenario) d(onum) [d(edit) ...]r A]vito [leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o)*

²⁴² Ayrton 1885, 472.

pr(aetore) G(ermaniae) s(uperioris)] | d(omino) n(ostro) Im[p(eratore) Antonino] | Aug(usto) [IIII et] | Balbin[o II co(n)s(ulibus)]

‘To the Honour of the Eagle of the Twenty-second Legion Primigenia Pia Fidelis Antoniniana, Marcus Tillius Rufus, son of Marcus, of the Teretine voting-tribe, from Atina, *primuspilus* of the above-mentioned legion, *trecenarius*, gave this...(in the governorship of) Avitus, governor of Germania Superior and the consulships of our lord the Emperor Antoninus Augustus, consul for the fourth time, and Balbinus, consul for the second time (AD 213).’

The career of Marcus Tillius Rufus²⁴³ as preserved in the epigraphic record is remarkable not only for the detail in which it has come down to us, but also for the clear chronological indications which it contains. It is a career of some 50 years, encompassing a period of civil war and great turmoil, not least among the Rome cohorts in which he spent most of his service.

Rufus was from the town of Atina, some 100 miles east of Rome. He began his career in the Praetorian Guard in the early 160s. After 16 years in the ranks, during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (176-180), he was retained as *evocatus*. Such men could serve a number of years in this post even if they proceeded thereafter to a centurionate²⁴⁴ which might be held in one of the legions or, as in the case of Rufus, with the Rome cohorts²⁴⁵. The years 167-180 saw almost continuous warfare on the Danube frontier against the Marcomanni, Quadi and others. Much of it was under the personal direction of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and it is probable that Praetorian cohorts were in the field for much of this time²⁴⁶. Rufus’ promotion to the centurionate probably falls in the mid-180s after the conclusion of these wars. He held his first post with the Vigiles, as was usual, followed by centurionates in the Twelfth Urban Cohort and the Fourth Praetorian Cohort, in the latter case probably attaining the rank of *princeps castrorum*²⁴⁷ and qualifying for the designation *trecenarius*. This latter term, as Mann points out²⁴⁸,

²⁴³ Dobson 1978, 285 No. 177.

²⁴⁴ cf. M. Caesius Verus, *AE* 1990.896, who served 7 years before gaining a centurionate with *leg V Macedonica*.

²⁴⁵ Dobson and Breeze 1969, 101.

²⁴⁶ A.R. Birley 1987, 159 *et seq.*

²⁴⁷ The post is only attested once otherwise, also in the career of a *trecenarius* (L. Velius Prudens XI 7093a), and is unsurprisingly little understood: v. Dobson and Breeze 1969, 119.

appears to denote the rank (which is to say status) of the man who had passed through the three grades of the Rome centurionates rather than being a specific office in itself. It was a prestigious title nonetheless, for the *trecentarius* could expect to move on to a legionary centurionate, probably among the *primi ordines*²⁴⁹, and thence the primipilate.

Rufus was serving in the Rome cohorts during the turbulent events of 193 following the murder of the emperor Commodus. Septimius Severus, the governor of Upper Pannonia, with the weight of the Danubian legions behind him, ultimately emerged as his successor, but not before Pertinax and Didius Iulianus had briefly occupied the Imperial throne²⁵⁰. The Praetorian Guard had been complicit in the murder of Pertinax and the elevation of Didius Iulianus and was not trusted by Severus. According to Cassius Dio, who was an eye-witness to events in Rome, the entire guard was dismissed and reconstituted with men drawn from the legions²⁵¹. That the newly reconstituted and enlarged Rome cohorts were not wholly provincial is convincingly argued by Birley²⁵², and many of the officers may have been retained for it is likely that the co-operation of some at least would have been necessary in the dismissal of the rank and file²⁵³. Certainly, the career of Rufus shows no sign of interruption²⁵⁴ and if he was not already serving as a centurion in the Guard, then his Italian origin was no bar to his transfer soon after. The scale of his decorations and their probable context seem to indicate that he was a centurion of the Praetorian cohorts by 197²⁵⁵.

Rufus' elevation to equestrian status²⁵⁶ and award of the *hasta pura* and *corona aurea* falls under the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla (198-211), presumably in recognition of service in the Parthian wars of 197-8 which resulted in the fall of the Parthian capital Ctesiphon and the annexation of Mesopotamia.

²⁴⁸ Mann 1983b.

²⁴⁹ Mann 1983b, 139. Only in the case of Q. Trebellius Maximus, III 7354, is this explicit: see Petolescu 1995.

²⁵⁰ A.R. Birley 1971, 144-71.

²⁵¹ Dio 74.1; Passerini 1939, 171-4.

²⁵² Birley 1969.

²⁵³ ARBirley 1971, 164.

²⁵⁴ cf. Laelius Fuscus (VI 32709a) – 42 years to > LEG; Trosius Maximus (VI 2755) – 33 years to > VRB.

²⁵⁵ Maxfield 1981, 248.

It is not until ten years later that his dedication as Patron of his home town was erected, by which time he was, or had been, centurion with *legio XX Valeria Victrix*. Where this record stands in his career is not immediately clear. As indicated above, the *trecenarius* normally proceeded, via a legionary centurionate, to the rank of *primus pilus*. A dedication from Mainz (XIII 6762) has been restored to suggest that he held that post in *legio XXII Primigenia* in 213. The dedication *Honori Aquilae*, to the honour of the Eagle of the legion, was normally made by the *primus pilus*²⁵⁷; the identification with Rufus depends on his being the only *trecenarius* originating from Atina in this period (which we can perhaps allow, for the post was not common²⁵⁸).

What we do not know, for there are no other examples in which the chronology is even this clear, is whether this career path normally involved continuous service or whether an interval might be allowed between the final two posts. Dobson and Breeze view his case as atypical, arguing that conditions were not so favourable for guardsmen under and after Severus²⁵⁹. However, there is nothing about the length of the career that marks it out as different from the 52-year career of the *primus pilus* Sextilius Marcianus twenty years earlier²⁶⁰. Nor does it seem likely that a man so far advanced in his career, and with distinguished service in the Parthian wars for which he had been honoured by the emperor, could be in any way disadvantaged by his Praetorian connections. Either he received his centurionate in the Guard from Severus directly, or he was already serving, retained his post, and was decorated for that service thereafter.

If we allow Rufus, the decorated senior Praetorian centurion and equestrian, to act as Patron of his home town while still serving in Rome, then we might suppose the dedication of 208 to arise out of the receipt of the legionary centurionate. This is a tempting proposition, for it coincides (perhaps too neatly) with Severus' British expedition of 208-211, allowing us to envisage Rufus, the long-serving, experienced and

²⁵⁶ He is one of only three centurions known to have been so rewarded: Summerly 1991, 218.

²⁵⁷ Dobson 1978, 160; *cf.* also from Mainz XIII 6679, 6690, 6694, 6708, 6752.

²⁵⁸ Dobson and Breeze 1969, 120-1 list twenty-one such; Dobson 1978, 285 and Maxfield 1981, 245 accept the identification.

²⁵⁹ Dobson and Breeze *op. cit.* 107.

²⁶⁰ XIII 6728 ; Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 274; Dobson 1978 No. 155; Speidel 1983a, 54 No. 12; and see further below.

decorated *trecenarius* being promoted to a senior centurionate with the Twentieth Legion for the purposes of that expedition and the campaigns into Caledonia, and proceeding to the primipilate not long after the close of those campaigns²⁶¹. The alternative would seem to imply a return from Britain in or before 208 and a period of semi-retirement before final appointment to the primipilate. This seems less likely, for no such gap is evident in the careers of the other *trecenarii* known to us²⁶². Three *trecenarii* commemorated in Italy having only attained the legionary centurionate might be interpreted as individuals awaiting a final appointment which came too late, if it came at all²⁶³. However, it is likely that men of such status would be commemorated by their families in Italy at whatever far-flung outpost they perished and it may be that all were in service at the time of their deaths.

It is interesting to note that the route to the primipilate via the Rome centurionates was in no sense a fast-track. Sixteen years in the ranks of the Guard were followed by a further period as *evocatus*, perhaps as much as 7 years; at least 20 years in Rome centurionates; and perhaps 5 years as centurion with the Twentieth Legion in a 50-year career culminating in the primipilate with the Twenty-Second.

<i>miles praetorius</i>	160-4
<i>evocatus Augusti</i>	176-180
<i>centurio coh I Vigilum</i>	180s
<i>centurio coh XII Urbanae</i>	
<i>centurio coh III Praetoriae</i>	197
<i>princeps castrorum</i>	
<i>centurio leg XX VV ex CCC</i>	208
<i>pp leg XXII Pr pf</i>	213

²⁶¹ Dobson 1978, 286 suggests service in Severus' British campaigns, appointment as Patron, and then the primipilate, but does not elucidate the chronology. May 23rd, the date of the dedication, was late in the year to still be in Italy, but navigation was not deemed safe until May 27th, 6 days before the Kalends of June (Vegetius *Epitome* 4.39) and as campaigning did not begin until 209, preparations may have been spread over much of the previous year: see A.R. Birley 1971, 177-80.

²⁶² Dobson and Breeze 1969, 120-2.

²⁶³ XI 7093a, VI 32709a and VI 33033 = 6.72 below. The advanced age of the latter might allow retirement in the centurial grade.

It can be compared with the (heavily restored) earlier career of Sextilius Marcianus (XIII 6728), a former praetorian who also rose to be *primus pilus* of legio XXII Primigenia²⁶⁴.

<i>miles in coh VII? Praetoria</i>	
<i>probatus</i>	140
<i>principalis</i>	146
<i>exactus, t[esserarius, optio, sig]nifer</i>	
<i>bf [praefectum praetorio?]</i>	
<i>factus in leg XXII Pr p f evocatus</i>	157
<i>ab Imp o[r]dinibu[s] adscriptus] in X pil pr[iore]</i>	
<i>centurio x 6</i>	
<i>[p p leg XXII Pr p f]</i>	192

Although taking the different route of service in legionary centurionates, the length of career is remarkably similar.

65. Titianus

RIB 2410.7 (Chester): obverse *(cohortis) viii (centuria) Titiani*

reverse *(centuria) Titiani*

'From the eighth cohort, century of Titianus'

Lead label from Chester, found in an Antonine deposit on the floor of a barrack-room in the Deanery field. The *cognomen* is commonest in Dalmatia and Pannonia²⁶⁵. See 6.66 below for a possible namesake with whom this centurion might be identified.

²⁶⁴ Also recorded at Mainz; the fixed points in his career are given by consular dates.

66. Titi(an)us

RIB 593 + add. (Ribchester): *coh(ortis) X | (centuria) Titiana | o(peris) p(edes) XXVII*

‘From the tenth cohort the century of Titius (Titianus?) (built) 27 feet of the work.’

A building stone, *RIB* 592, with boar carved in relief on the side, records work by the Twentieth Legion at Ribchester; an altar set up by a centurion whose name does not survive (6.81) providing further evidence of their presence. However, building works may have taken place at various dates throughout the life of the fort and it may be that Titius and the tenth cohort belonged to some other legion. The adjectival form of the centurion’s name is used, indicating a century awaiting its new centurion and still referred to by the name of the previous incumbent²⁶⁶. This form might derive from either the *nomen* Titius or the *cognomen* Titianus. In the latter case this centurion might be identified with the Titianus (6.65) recorded at Chester, although the coincidences of time and place are not so striking as in the case of Libo/Olc(ius) Libo (6.98) or Regulus/Cocceius Regulus (6.84).

67. Titius

CIL XIII 8554 (Novaesium): ...] *Titius* [...] *Pol(l)entia* [...] *(centurio) le]g(ionis) XX* [...

The accompanying sculpture, though fragmentary, shows Titius grasping the *vitis*, the vine-rod, of the centurion²⁶⁷, allowing us to restore the rank here. The common *nomen* Titius is the most likely, but there are other possible restorations, e.g. Betitius, Cantitius, Potitius²⁶⁸. The Twentieth Legion was apparently based at Neuss from c. AD 35 until the invasion of Britain in AD 43. The tombstones of Titius and of two

²⁶⁵ *Onomasticon* IV, 123: also well represented in Narbonensis.

²⁶⁶ Fink 1953; Birley 1953, 128-9; cf. 6.11, 6.17, 6.91, 6.107.

²⁶⁷ *CSIR Deutschland* 3.1, 25 no. 4.

²⁶⁸ Solin and Salomies 1994. All are very rare in comparison to Titius: *Onomasticon* (which records this inscription as an example of Titius, although the reference is erroneously quoted as XIII 8534). *CSIR Deutschland* 3.1.4 reads [An]tist[i]us but the traces of letters before vs are very slight.

others (7.79, 7.99) represent the only clear evidence for its presence. Like most of the known members of the legion at this date, Titius originated in northern Italy²⁶⁹, in his case from Pollentia.

68. M. Tuccius...

CIL VIII 3005 (Lambaesis): ...M(arcus) Tuccius...(centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)] | (centurio) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis) (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) (centurio) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) | (centurio) coh(ortis) III Bra(caraugustanorum) vix(it) an(nis) LXII | ex (sestertium) VIII (millibus) CC n(ummum) M(arcus) Tuccius | Urbicus et M(arcus) Tuccius | [Pro]culus fili pient(issimi)

'[Marcus Tuccius ... centurion of the Third Legion Augusta,] centurion of the First Legion Adiutrix, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, centurion of the Eleventh Legion Claudia, centurion of the First Legion Italica, centurion of the Third Cohort of Bracaraugustans, lived 62 years; Marcus Tuccius Urbicus and Marcus Tuccius Proculus, his most devoted sons, (set this up, at a cost of) nine thousand two hundred *sestertii*.'

Tuccius' first recorded post is as centurion of *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum*. Two such cohorts are known, in Raetia and Britain²⁷⁰, but there is little to choose between them. The subsequent promotion into a legionary centurionate with *legio I Italica* in Moesia Inferior led Birley to conclude that the cohort in question was in fact stationed in that province²⁷¹, in which case we might also look for his origins in that region. The argument from the *cohors tertiae Valeria Bacarum* of the *Notitia Dignitatum* to the existence of a third such cohort in the second century does not seem strong and such a unit is not recorded by Spaul²⁷². However, a *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum* is recorded on a diploma of 139 for

²⁶⁹ See below II.6.1.

²⁷⁰ Cichorius 1900; Spaul 2000, 92-4.

²⁷¹ Birley 1965, 26. It is Birley's claim that 'in every other case' promotion from decurion/centurion in an auxiliary unit to a legionary centurionate occurs within the same province but Summerly 1991, 128 can provide one counter-example, so the case may not be so clear cut.

²⁷² Spaul 2000. *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. XL.49, a Moesian/Thracian *cohors tertiae Valeria Bacarum* perhaps to be read as *Bracarum*: Seeck 1876, 91 n. 6. See Summerly 1991, 129 who here follows Birley.

Syria Palaestina and this may indeed represent a third such unit. The evidence of the *diplomata* would suggest that the Raetian unit remained in its province throughout the second century and Spaul suggests that it is the British unit that was transferred to Syria²⁷³. However, that cohort is recorded in Britain in 103, 122, 124, 127 and again in 145/6 and 158. The cohort recorded in Syria Palaestina in 136/7 and 139 was apparently still there in 160, so that unless we suppose a return to Britain and then a second transfer to Palestine we might allow that another such cohort did indeed exist, and was perhaps later to be found in Moesia. Even so, its whereabouts or even existence in the early second century remain to be determined.

Tuccius' subsequent career saw transfer into the Eleventh Claudia, after 106 also in Moesia²⁷⁴; the Twentieth, in Britain; the First Adiutrix in Dacia or Pannonia²⁷⁵; and finally, it would seem, the Third Augusta at Lambaesis in Numidia, since it is there that he is commemorated²⁷⁶. Birley suggests that the sequence of transfers *legio I Italica* – *legio XI Claudia* – *legio XX Valeria Victrix* occurred at the same time as those of L. Valerius Proculus (6.70) and the similar moves of Ti. Claudius Vitalis (6.20). A context is posited in the reported trouble in Britain at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian or late in Trajan's reign²⁷⁷, and service in Trajan's Dacian wars of 101-2 and 105-6 would therefore be likely. After a period of service in Britain he returned to the Danube before his final transfer to Africa. A later context is possible, however. The *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum* recorded in Syria Palaestina had presumably been transferred, from whatever quarter, for Hadrian's Judaeac war of 132-135. Since the legions of Moesia Inferior all sent vexillations to Judaea²⁷⁸, and it is suggested that the Twentieth Legion did also²⁷⁹, some or all of the transfers could have taken place in the east at this later date²⁸⁰.

²⁷³ Spaul 2000, 93.

²⁷⁴ At Durostorum: Ritterling 1925, 1698; Wilkes 2000, 111.

²⁷⁵ Apulum in Dacia up to 118/119, Brigetio on the Danube in Pannonia thereafter: Ritterling 1925, 1392; Wilkes 2000, 105.

²⁷⁶ Le Bohec 1989, 160.

²⁷⁷ Hadrianic: Birley 1965, 30. Trajanic: 1971, 76 suggesting the period 108-117. See 6.20 above.

²⁷⁸ Ritterling 1925, 1413; Absil 2000, 229.

²⁷⁹ Accompanying the governor Sex. Iulius Severus transferred to put down the Bar Kochba revolt in 132: Birley 1965, 29-30; Maxfield 1981, 195-6; AR Birley 1981, 107; cf. 6.5, 6.42 above.

69. Tullius Capito

RIB 1167 (Corbridge): *(centuria) Tu(lli) Cap(it)tonis | coh(ortis) VI | ... de(dit)*

‘The century of Tullius Capito of the sixth cohort... gave this.’

Building is attested at Corbridge by *legio II Augusta* (RIB 1155-1158) and *legio VI Victrix* (RIB 1159-1163) as well as *legio XX Valeria Victrix* (RIB 1164-1166). The building stone recording the activities of the century of Tullius Capito includes a boar among the decoration, indicating their membership of the Twentieth Legion.

70. L. Valerius Proculus

CIL III 12411= ILS 2666b (Dorfe Nedan): *D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucius) Val(erius) L(ucii) f(ilius) Proc(u)lus | mil(es) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) b(ene)ff(iciarius) lega(ti) | opt(io) ad spe(m) ordin(is) | (centurio) leg(ionis) eiusd(em) d(onatus) tor(quibus) ar(millis) | pha(le)r(is) bel(lo) Dac(io), (centurio) leg(ionis) I | Ital(icae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), (centurio) leg(ionis) | XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII H(is)panae | mis(sus) h(onesta) mis(sione), vix(it) an(nos) LXXV | h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*

‘To the spirits of the departed; Lucius Valerius Proculus, son of Lucius, soldier of the Fifth Legion Macedonica, *beneficiarius* of the legate, *optio* awaiting promotion, centurion of that same legion, decorated with *torques*, arm-bands and medallions in a Dacian war, centurion of the First Legion Italica, centurion of the Eleventh Legion Claudia, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, centurion of the Ninth Legion Hispana, honourably discharged, lived 75 years, he lies here.’

The tombstone of Proculus is unusual in giving so much detail of the career prior to the centurionate. He was most likely from Moesia, to where he returned after his discharge. He enlisted in *legio V Macedonica* at Oescus²⁸¹, secured a post as *beneficiarius* on the staff of the legionary legate and then a position as *optio*, second in command to the centurion of a cohort, before attaining the centurionate himself. This

²⁸⁰ Summerly 1991, 129.

was the normal path to the centurionate involving a combination of administrative (*signifer*, *beneficiarius*, *cornicularius*) and military posts (*optio*) and might take up to 20 years²⁸². He was decorated for service in a Dacian war while serving as centurion in that legion²⁸³. The subsequent transfers take place within Moesia (unless before 106: *legio XI Claudia* was in Germania Superior up until 101 and then in Pannonia, and was involved in Trajan's Dacian wars before moving to Durostorum in Moesia²⁸⁴) before the transfer to Britain where he served with the Twentieth and the Ninth Legions.

The career has been seen as a parallel to that of Ti. Claudius Vitalis (6.20), which included service in the Fifth Macedonica and First Italica; award of *dona*, presumably in the same Dacian wars; and transfer to the Twentieth and Ninth Legions in Britain. The argument is given in detail at 6.20. Maxfield prefers a Domitianic date²⁸⁵, but Birley sees a context for the transfers to Britain in the reported trouble at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian or late in Trajan's reign²⁸⁶, and service therefore in Trajan's Dacian wars of 101-2 and 105-6. This latter seems to fit better in the case of Vitalis at least²⁸⁷.

71. Varenius Proculeianus

RIB 2409.9 (Holt): ...] (*centuria*) *Vareni Proc(u)leiani*[...

'...century of Varenius Proculeianus...'

Circular clay die with retrograde inscription. Probably a bread stamp: *cf.* 6.75, a further example from Holt, and 6.46 and 7.95 from Chester. The peak activity of the works depot lay in the late first and early

²⁸¹ Ritterling 1925, 1575; Wilkes 2000, 108.

²⁸² Breeze 1974b, 270-2.

²⁸³ Maxfield 1981, 191.

²⁸⁴ Summerly 1991, 130. Ritterling 1925, 1697-8; Wilkes 2000, 111.

²⁸⁵ Maxfield 1981, 191-2.

²⁸⁶ Hadrianic: Birley 1965, 30. Trajanic: 1971, 76 suggesting the period 108-117.

²⁸⁷ *cf.* also Blandius Latinus (6.13) and M. Tuccius (6.68) whose transfers took them from Moesian to British legions.

second centuries (see further at 6.6). Both elements of the nomenclature are unusual in the provinces²⁸⁸ and an Italian origin might perhaps be suggested.

72. Varius Quintius Gaianus

CIL VI 33033 (Roma): D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) | Vario Quintio Gaiano (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) [V(ictricis)] | ex trecenario qui militavit an[nis] | LV m(ensibus) II d(iebus) XV et vixit an[n]is LXXXV m(ensibus) II d(iebus) XV [et] Valer[i]ae Ingenuae coniugi ei[us] | quae vixit annis XXX | m(ensibus) II d(iebus) XV | Quintius Paulinus l[ib(ertus)] | et heres eiusdem Gai[a]ni Secundum verba t[es]tamenti fecit [.] praet[ere]a secundum praecept[um] | eiusdem Gaiani ut liberti l[iber]t[us]taeq(ue) posteri[us] eorum ad solem[nia] | celebranda quodquod annis [prae]sto sint

‘To the sacred spirits of the departed (and) to Varius Quintius Gaianus, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *ex trecenarius*, who served 55 years 2 months 15 days and lived 85 years 2 months 15 days, and to Valeria Ingenua, his wife, who lived 30 years 2 months 15 days; Quintius Paulinus, freedman and heir of the same Gaianus, made this according to the words of the will; in addition according to the instructions of the same Gaianus, that his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants should be at hand to celebrate with the customary ritual each year’

Gaianus served as centurion with the Twentieth *ex trecenario*, that is having attained the status of *trecenarius*. Such men had previously served in the three grades of the Rome centurionate, as centurion of a cohort of the *vigiles*, centurion in an Urban cohort and centurion in one of the Praetorian cohorts²⁸⁹. A centurionate of the *statores* was sometimes held in addition to that with the *vigiles* although both could be omitted by those who had already held one or more legionary centurionates and transferred thereafter to an Urban cohort²⁹⁰. In the majority of these careers, and most probably in the case of Gaianus also, the centurionate was reached after 16 years’ service in the ranks of the Praetorian guard followed by further

²⁸⁸ *Onomasticon* IV, 147; III, 165.

²⁸⁹ Dobson and Breeze 1969; Mann 1983b; cf. M. Tillius Rufus, 6.64 above.

²⁹⁰ Mann 1983b, 137-8.

service as *evocatus Augusti*, which could be 7 years or more²⁹¹. As much as twenty years might be spent in the Rome centurionates, but thereafter the *trecentarius* usually held a single legionary centurionate, probably among the *primi ordines*, and could expect promotion to *primus pilus*. Gaius did not achieve this final advancement, and presumably retired after his centurionate with the Twentieth. He would have been about 70 by this time, unless we suppose a career begun at 30 and an 85-year-old centurion dying in service (he might nonetheless be commemorated in Rome). Two other *trecentarii* failed to move beyond their legionary centurionate and are commemorated in Italy²⁹² (not necessarily in service, therefore). It might also be suggested that M. Tillius Rufus' (6.64) appointment as patron of his home town indicates a return to civilian life after his legionary centurionate and that the (presumed) *primus pilus* of XIII 6762 is in fact someone else entirely. The age measurements given, with their inclusion of figures for months and days suggest the third century²⁹³.

73. Vers(inius?)

RIB 2135 + add. (Cramond): *Matrib(us) Ala|tervis et | Matrib(us) Cam|pestrib(us) coh(ors) I[I] | Tungr(orum) ins(tante) | VERSC arm(atura?) | [(centurione)] leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)*

'To the Mother Goddesses the Alatervae (?) and the Mother Goddesses of the Parade-Ground, the Second Cohort of Tungrians (set this up) under the direction of..., weapon-instructor? (and) centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix.'

This stone was recorded by Horsley in 1732. It was last seen in 1794 and is now lost. Line 6, as recorded, presents difficulties of interpretation. Heubner (*CIL* VII 1084) suggested *Ulp(ius) Scarm(...)* as the name of the centurion, but *arm(atura)* has now been advanced as a partial reading of that line, supposing this individual to be a weapons-instructor, perhaps a praetorian *evocatus* elevated to the centurionate²⁹⁴.

²⁹¹ M. Caesius Verus (*AE* 1990.896) served 7 years as *evocatus* before gaining a centurionate with *leg V Macedonica*; C. Iulius Ingenuus (*ILS* 2143) who did not go on to a centurionate, served 12 years.

²⁹² XI 7093a, VI 32709a.

²⁹³ Keppie 1991, 107. Here perhaps nominal figures with astrological significance since all are given the same number of months and days.

²⁹⁴ Davies 1989, 119-20.

Various *nomina* are possible – Versinius, Versenus, Versenius²⁹⁵ – reading l.6 therefore as something along the lines of *Vers(inio) (centurione) arm(aturis)*²⁹⁶. The *nomen* Vescarius, though rare²⁹⁷, might be noted as a possible alternative for the entire line. Spaul suggests for lines 5 and 6 *Iu(lius) S[e]ver[us] (centurio) arm(atura)*²⁹⁸ although the nominative case here would not match the usual form of such dedications. The *cohors II Tungrorum* was present at Cramond from the mid-140s until c. 157/8²⁹⁹ and the secondment of this centurion would fall within a period when much of the legion appears to have been present in northern Britain.

The cult of the *matres*, mother goddesses, seems to be native to the Germanies, and Germans recruited for the army probably imported them to Britain³⁰⁰. The *campestres* were associated with the exercise ground (*campus*) and associated almost exclusively with cavalry units³⁰¹. Their worship, originating in Gaul, spread with the auxiliary cavalry recruited there³⁰².

74. Vettius Proculus

Britannia 23 (1992), 146 (Carlisle): *Imp(eratore) Domitiano VIII co(n)s(ule) | VII Idus Novembres. Q(uintus) Cassius | Secundus, miles leg(ionis) XX (centuria) Calvi | Prisci, scribsi me debere | G(aio) Geminio Mansueto, militi | leg(ionis) eiusdem (centuria) Vetti Proculi, | denarios centum quos [tibi?]*

See under Calvius Priscus (6.15) and Q. Cassius Secundus (7.22) for translation and commentary.

²⁹⁵ Solin and Salomies 1994; *Onomasticon* IV, 160.

²⁹⁶ Davies 1989, 120 rejects *c(ustos) arm(orum)* as such would not be found in command of a cohort.

²⁹⁷ Solin and Salomies 1994, 490.

²⁹⁸ Spaul 2000, 230 n. 1.

²⁹⁹ Jarrett 1994b, 49.

³⁰⁰ Irby-Massie 1999, 146-9.

³⁰¹ Hence the emendation from *cohors I Tungrorum*, which was not mounted, to *cohors II Tungrorum*, which was.

³⁰² Birley 1976, 108; Irby-Massie 1999, 152-3.

75. [...]elius A[q]uilinus

RIB 2409.3 (Holt): (centuria) A (or M)[...]eli A[...]uilini

‘Century of [...]elius A[q]uilinus’

Circular clay die with retrograde inscription. Probably a bread stamp: cf. 6.71, a further example from Holt, and 6.46 and 7.95 from Chester. There are a large number of candidates for *nomina* ending ...*elius*³⁰³. Aurelius would be the most common by far, but the lacuna perhaps requires more than two missing letters. Aquilinus would seem the clear reading of the *cognomen*. The ‘Vilinus’ suggested by RIB II is otherwise unattested³⁰⁴. The peak activity of the works depot lay in the late first and early second centuries (see further at 6.6).

76. ...Cresce]ns or ...Vale]ns

BCTH 1930-31 (1934) 381.7 (El-Kantara): D(is)] M(anibus) | [...]ntis (centurionis) leg(ionis) [III Augustae... | ...] (centurionis) [l]eg(ionis) [... | ...] (centurionis) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) [...

This centurion, most probably named either Crescens or Valens³⁰⁵, was presumably serving as centurion in *legio III Augusta* at the time of his death. He had served in at least two other legions, the Twentieth being the only one for which the name has survived.

77. Anonymous

RIB 509 + add. (Chester): [...] Pub(lilia) (centurio) leg(ionum) V Macid(onicae) et | VIII Aug(ustae) et II Aug(ustae) et XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | vixit annis LXI Aristio | lib(ertus) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

³⁰³ Solin and Salomies 1994.

³⁰⁴ Solin and Salomies *op. cit.*

³⁰⁵ 72 candidates for ...]ns can be found in Solin and Salomies 1994, but only Crescens and Valens are at all common.

'...of the Publilian voting-tribe, centurion of the Legions Fifth Macedonica, Eighth Augusta, Second Augusta, and Twentieth Valeria Victrix, lived 61 years. His freedman and heir Aristio had this set up.'

JRS 56 (1966), 225 (b) argues for ...*eq(uo)] | pub(lico)*... 'of equestrian status' – see also Birley 1986, 201-3.

The apparent absence of a *cognomen* after the name of the voting-tribe led Haverfield to suppose a very early date for this stone, c. AD 50³⁰⁶, but on present archaeological evidence, the foundation of the fortress at Chester is dated to the reign of Vespasian and the presence of the Twentieth therein not until after the withdrawal from Britain of *legio II Adiutrix*, c. AD 88³⁰⁷. However, the tombstone of D. Capienus Urbicus (7.19), also at Chester, provides a clear example of the voting-tribe following the *tria nomina* (if there coupled with his *origo*), so that the *cognomen* may just have been lost in the lacuna. There is little else to indicate date. The transfer from *V Macedonica* to *VIII Augusta* could have taken place when the two legions were based together in Moesia before c. 69³⁰⁸ and the transfer to Britain after the outcome of the civil war, when the garrison of Britain was brought back up to strength (*legio VIII Augusta* had fought on the Flavian side, the British legions had supported Vitellius and were of doubtful loyalty). However, even with a career of 40-43 years this would require long service in the final two posts (or rather, in the final two legions, for a number of posts might be involved) and would imply either a swift rise to the centurionate, or rapid progression through the first two posts.

Birley suggested the alternative reading '*equo publico*' for the beginning of line one, supposing this individual to have been an equestrian receiving direct commission as a centurion with *legio V Macedonica*³⁰⁹. A similar formulation appears on two stones of the mid-late second century and on these grounds Birley assigns the Chester stone to the same general period. However that may be, we have here

³⁰⁶ Haverfield 1900, 42 No. 54.

³⁰⁷ Mason 2001, 127 and see Chapter III.3.

³⁰⁸ Summerly 1991, 57. *V Macedonica* was stationed in the Danube area throughout its existence: Ritterling 1925, 1575; Wilkes 2000, 108. *VIII Augusta* was in Moesia from c. 46 until 69: Ritterling 1925, 1652; Wilkes 2000, 110. From AD 70 it was stationed at Mirebeau before its later move to Argentorate in Germania Superior: Reddé 2000, 122.

³⁰⁹ Birley 1986a, 201-3; accepted by Tomlin in addendum to *RIB* 509.

a centurion who had served with *V Macedonica*, possibly in Lower Moesia or Dacia; *VIII Augusta* in Moesia or Germania Superior; *II Augusta* at Caerleon; and finally *XX Valeria Victrix* at Chester, where he died at the age of 61. This age itself might suggest a career soldier risen from the ranks rather than a late starting equestrian who had served in only four legions. Iulius Quadratus (*AE* 1957, 249), cited by Birley, had also held four centurionates but died much earlier at the age of 38. Ti. Claudius Vitalis (6.20), who was certainly *ex equite Romano*, had held eight posts before his death at 41.

78. Anonymous

RIB 203 + add. (Colchester) ...*leg(ionis) I or II A]diutricis...|...]ae bis (centurio)[...|...] bis (centurio) leg(ionis)[...|...] (centurio) leg(ionis) III Au[g(ustae)...|...(centurio)] leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) V[ict(ricis) | oriu]ndus Nicaea [in Bi|thyn]ia militavi[ft ann(os) |...] vixit ann(os) [...|...] obitum [...*

‘...centurion of the First (or Second) Legion Adiutrix, twice centurion ... twice centurion of the ... legion ... centurion of the Third Legion Augusta, (centurion) of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, born at Nicaea in Bithynia, served ... years, lived ... years ...death ...’

This centurion originated in the eastern province of Bithynia. The first centurionate surviving on his fragmentary tombstone was with one of the *legiones Adiutrices* and he went on to hold at least five other posts before his transfer to the Twentieth. He had perhaps chosen to settle in the *colonia* at Colchester on retirement, unless present there in some official capacity at the time of his death. A second-century date can be suggested, but the use of the legionary titles *Valeria Victrix* give the only direct evidence, these coming into use only in the late first century³¹⁰. His penultimate post (unless a further centurionate can be fitted into the lacuna) was with *legio III Augusta* in Numidia³¹¹. Several other centurions of the Twentieth served at one time with the Third Augusta³¹², but this is the only case of transfer from Africa to Britain. Swan has identified the career of Sex. Flavius Quietus (5.1), who commanded an expedition into Mauretania c. 144-149, as a possible context for Africans recruited into

³¹⁰ See Appendix 1.

³¹¹ Le Bohec 1989, 163.

³¹² 6.3, 6.31, 6.37, 6.68, 6.76.

the army of Britain, and into the Twentieth in particular³¹³. Any such drafts accompanying the returning expeditionary force might well have included transferred centurions. However, it is unlikely that Quietus undertook command of the expeditionary force until after his term of service as *primus pilus* of the Twentieth³¹⁴ and there is no reason to suppose that any members of the legion were involved.

79. Anonymous

RIB 1391 (HW12): *leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | coh(ortis) X (c(enturia)) prin(cipis) prioris*³¹⁵

‘From the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix and the tenth cohort, (the century of) the *princeps prior* (built this).’

The *princeps prior* of the tenth cohort is unnamed and is only referred to by implication (it might be argued that the post of *decimus princeps* was in existence for as long as the legion, and it is the post only which is in fact recorded here). Four of the centurions of the tenth cohort are recorded further to the east between Great Chesters and the River Irthing³¹⁶, but this stone is different to the simple centurial records associated with the original construction of the wall, and Mann suggests that this, along with RIB 1385 and RIB 1390, records rebuilding, perhaps in 158³¹⁷.

80. Anonymous

RIB 1338 (Benwell): *...J (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

‘...centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.’

³¹³ Swan 1997, 291; 1999b, 423-4; after Comfort 1960, 274. Frere 1987, 135 also takes this as evidence of British forces being involved in the campaign.

³¹⁴ Dobson 1978, 251.

³¹⁵ Speidel 1983a, 47 gives *coh(ortis) X(decimae) prin(cipes)*: but the argument, that the interpolation of *cohorte* in, for example, *II pr(incipe) post(erior)* 6.20 above, rather strains to explain the omission of *centuria* here.

³¹⁶ 6.29, 6.35, 6.97, 6.112.

³¹⁷ Mann 1992, 238; see also 6.41.

This centurion, like Aelius Vibius (6.4), was presumably in command of the auxiliary garrison at Benwell. A similar late second century date might be assumed, but there is no direct evidence of date.

81. Anonymous

RIB 588 (Ribchester): ...] | . (centurio) leg(ionis) X[X V(aleriae) V(ictricis)] | cum suis v(otum) | s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

‘...centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, with his own willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.’

See above (6.66) for possible further evidence of soldiers of the Twentieth at Ribchester.

Centurions from Hadrian’s Wall

Few of the centurial stones from Hadrian’s Wall name the legion in which the centurion served (see above 6.29, 6.35). The arguments for attribution are considered in Appendix 3 below, but certainty is not possible and further evidence may alter the picture. Three centurions, also attested at Chester and Holt (6.18, 6.26, 6.58), are included above but the remainder are collected here. Individual translations of these formulaic texts, ‘the century of so-and-so (from such-and-such a cohort) (built this)’, are not offered.

82. Caecilius Monimus

1. *RIB 1657 (Hadrian’s Wall 41-42): (centuria) Caecili | Moni(mi)*

The *nomen* is strongly represented in Hispania³¹⁸. The *cognomen* is unusual and of Greek origin³¹⁹.

³¹⁸ *Onomasticon* II, 16 and cf. Caecilius Avitus (7.16) from Emerita.

³¹⁹ Solin 1982, 762. Dean 1916, 236 has three further examples of legionaries bearing the name in Moesia, Pannonia and Africa.

83. Caledonius Secundus

1. *RIB* 1679 (HW42-42a): Primary *coh(ors)*; Secondary *coh(ortis) VI* | (*centuria*) *Caledon(i)* | *Secun(di)*
2. *RIB* 1854 (HW47-47b): *coh(ortis) VI* | (*centuria*) *Caledo|ni Secund(i)*
3. *JRS* 50 (1960), 237 no. 11b (HW45a-45b): *coh(ortis) VI* | (*centuria*) *Caledo[ni]* | *Secundi*
4. *JRS* 52 (1962), 194 no. 19b (HW45a-45b): (*centuria*) *Caledon(i)* | *Secundi*

The *nomen* Caledonius, despite its resonances, indicates an Italian origin for this man³²⁰.

84. Cocceius Regulus

1. *RIB* 1652 (HW37-41): [(*centuria*)] *Coccei* | [*R*]*eguli*
2. *RIB* 1860 (HW48-48a): (*centuria*) *Coccei* | *Reguli*
3. *RIB* 1862 (HW48-49): (*centuria*) *Coccei* | *Reguli*
4. *Britannia* 8 (1977), 432 no. 27 (HW46-47): (*centuria*) *Coccei Reguli*
5. *JRS* 53 (1963), 161 no. 8b (HW48a-48b): (*centuria*) *Reguli*

Wright³²¹ suggests the identification of Regulus with Cocceius Regulus. The *cognomen* is relatively uncommon³²² and the coincidence of time, place and rank argues in favour of the identification. The consistency with which the full name is otherwise recorded might tell against this, but *cf.* also Olcius Libo (6.98) (although here the name is more unusual and there is the added coincidence of cohort). The *nomen* Cocceius could derive from a grant of citizenship by the emperor M. Cocceius Nerva³²³, either to his father, or perhaps to Regulus himself on enlistment some 25 years previously.

³²⁰ Birley 1939, 236.

³²¹ Wright 1963, 161 n. 11.

³²² Kajanto 1965, 316 records 37 instances (+12 senators).

³²³ Birley 1953, 108.

85. Flavius Crescens

RIB 1763 (HW44b): *coh(ortis) I (centuria) | Fl(avi) Cre(scentis)*

The *cognomen* is relatively common³²⁴ and combined with the Flavian nomenclature (presumably derived from enfranchisement of an ancestor) does not make for a very distinctive name.

86. Gellius Philippus

1. RIB 1572 (HW34-35): *(centuria) Gelli | Philipp[i]*

2. RIB 1668 (HW42-42a): *(centuria) Gelli Philip|pi*

3. *Britannia* 4 (1973), 329 no. 8 (HW29a-29b): *coh(ortis) VI | (centuria) Gelli P(h)ilippi*

4. *Britannia* 18 (1987), 369 no. 11 (HW48a-48b): *c(o)ho(rtis) V | (centuria) G(elli) P(h)ilippi*

The change of cohort represents a transfer, or perhaps promotion, but the direction in which it occurred is not clear – it is not necessarily the case that a centurionate in the fifth cohort is senior to one in the sixth³²⁵. The *cognomen* is of Greek origin. Dean lists four other examples of legionaries bearing the name, at Aquincum and Troesmis on the Danube³²⁶.

87. Iulius Candidus

1. RIB 1632 (Housesteads-HW37): *(centuria) Iuli | Candid(i) | f(ect)*

2. RIB 1646 (HW36b-42a): *coh(ortis) I (centuria) Iu|li Candid(i)*

3. RIB 1674 (HW42-42a): *coh(ortis) I | (centuria) Iuli | Candidi*

Candidus, as a member of the *primi ordines*, was one of the most senior centurions of the legion. A namesake (7.42) is recorded at Chester, without indication of rank, and may be the same individual, for

³²⁴ *Onomasticon* II, 83.

³²⁵ See further 6.29, 6.95, 6.98 and II.6.6 below.

³²⁶ Dean 1916, 247.

although Iulii are common the *cognomen* Candidus is less so³²⁷. One C. Iulius Candidus was *primuspilus* of *legio XIII Gemina*³²⁸, a post to which this centurion might have aspired. A.R. Birley cites the centurion of the Twentieth as a possible candidate for identity with the Candidus of *Tab. Vind. II.343*³²⁹.

88. Iulius Ianalis

Britannia 8 (1977), 432 no. 28 (HW46a): (*centuria*) Iul(i) Ianal(is)

The *cognomen* is not otherwise recorded³³⁰, but is presumably formed from the name of the god Janus³³¹.

89. Iulius Valens

1. *RIB* 1774 (HW45a-45b): *coh(ortis) V | (centuria) Iuli Vale(ntis)*
2. *JRS* 57 (1967), 206 no. 19 (HW48a-48b): (*centuria*) Iuli Valen(t)i(s)
3. *RIB* 1658 (HW42): (*centuria*) Iulli Val(entis)

The slightly variant forms might allow that these centurial stones in fact represent three different individuals: Iulius Valens, Iulius Valenus and Iulius Val... However, the 'Valenus' of *JRS* is not recorded in Solin and Salomies 1994 and seems better read as Valens, whilst Iulius is very rare³³². It is more likely that these three represent the same individual, although the nomenclature is not distinctive³³³.

³²⁷ *Onomasticon* II, 30; but relatively well represented in Britain and on the Rhine. The combination is not uncommon: Summerly 1991, 165-6 lists four centurions bearing the name. Iulius Candidus, centurion of *legio I Italica*, appears in command of the *cohors I Baetasiorum* at Old Kirkpatrick on the Antonine Wall: *Britannia* 1 (1970), 310 No. 20; Birley 1983a. Another served with *legio III Augusta*: VIII 2593 = *ILS* 2326; Le Bohec 1989, 172.

³²⁸ Dobson 1978, 345; III 267.

³²⁹ A.R. Birley 1991, 93.

³³⁰ It is not recorded by Solin and Salomies 1994 and does not appear in *Onomasticon*.

³³¹ Hassall and Tomlin in *Britannia* 1977, 433 n. 46; cf. Ianilla, III 9031.

³³² Four occurrences only are listed in *Onomasticon* II, 207.

³³³ 'Valens' is relatively common. It is more frequently attested in the Danube provinces than elsewhere: *Onomasticon* IV, 139.

90. Laetianus

1. *RIB* 1851 + add. (HW47): *coh(ortis) II | (centuria) Laetia[ni]*
2. *JRS* 51 (1961), 194 no. 11g (HW45a-45b): *coh(ortis) II | (centuria) Laetiani*

An uncommon name, this being the sole example recorded in the *Onomasticon*³³⁴.

91. Lepidus

RIB 1772 (HW45a-45b): *c(o)hortis VI (centuria) | Lepidiana*

This centurial stone uses the adjectival form indicating a century awaiting its new centurion and still referred to by the name of the previous incumbent³³⁵. The *cognomen* is uncommon but widespread³³⁶.

92. Liberalis

1. *RIB* 1508 (HW29-30): *coh(ortis) VI | (centuria) Libe[r]alis*
2. *RIB* 1678 (HW42-42a): *c(o)ho(rtis) VI | (centuria) Libera[li]s*

The *cognomen* is uncommon but widespread³³⁷. One Iul(ius) Lib(eralis) appears as dedicator of the memorial to Q. Iunius November (7.119*) at Chester but nothing is known of his status.

93. Lousius Suavis

1. *RIB* 1499 (HW27b-28): *coh(ortis) VI | (centuria) Lousi | Suavis*
2. *RIB* 1506 (HW28-30): *coh(ortis) VI | [(centuria)] Lous[i] | Suavis*

³³⁴ *Onomasticon* III, 17.

³³⁵ Fink 1953; Birley 1953, 128-9; cf. 6.11, 6.17, 6.66, 6.107.

³³⁶ *Onomasticon* III, 23.

³³⁷ *Onomasticon* III, 25.

3. *RIB* 1681 (HW42a-42b): (*centuria*) *Lousi* | *Suavis*
4. *RIB* 1859 (HW48-48a): *coh(ortis) VI* | (*centuria*) *Lousi* | *Suavis*
5. *RIB* 1861 (HW48a-48b): *coh(ortis) VI* | (*centuria*) *Lousi Su|avis*
6. *Britannia* 12 (1981), 380 no. 18 (HW46a-46b): *coh(ortis) VI* (*centuria*) *Lo|usi Suav|is*

This man is the best represented of the Hadrian's Wall centurions. The *nomen* *Lousius* suggests a Gaulish or more likely a Spanish origin³³⁸. The *cognomen* is also uncommon but is more widely distributed³³⁹.

94. Marius Dexter

1. *RIB* 1760 (HW44): (*centuria*) *Mari Dex(tri)*
2. *RIB* 1771 (HW45-45a): (*centuria*) *Mar|i Dext(ri)*
3. *JRS* 51 (1961), 194 no. 11e (HW45a-45b): (*centuria*) *Mari* | *Dext(ri)*

The *nomen* is common, the *cognomen* rather less so, but both are widespread³⁴⁰.

95. Maximus

1. *RIB* 1571 (HW34a-35): *coh(ortis) V pr(incipis)* | (*centuria*) *Max(imi)*
2. *RIB* 1669 (HW41b-43): (*centuria*) *Maxi(mi)*
3. *RIB* 1758 (HW44): (*centuria*) *Maxi(mi)*
4. *JRS* 52 (1962), 194 no. 19c (HW45a-45b): *coh(ortis) III* | (*centuria*) *Maximi*

Maximus is a common name. The *princeps* of the fifth cohort (without any qualification, presumably *princeps prior*) may not be the same as the *Maximus* of the third cohort³⁴¹.

³³⁸ Gaulish: Birley 1939, 235. But the related *Loucius*, *Louesius* and *Louesus* are predominately Spanish: *Onomasticon* III, 32 and cf. C. *Louesius Cadarus* (7.55).

³³⁹ Kajanto 1965, 283; *Onomasticon* IV, 96.

³⁴⁰ *Onomasticon* III, 59; II, 98.

³⁴¹ cf. also *JRS* 57 (1967) 206 No. 18: *co[h] V* | [...*M*]ax *N*[...]

96. Max(imius?) Tern(...)

JRS 51 (1961), 194 no. 11c (HW45a-45b): *coh(ortis) III | (centuria) Max() Tern()*

Maximius would be the most likely *nomen* here. The sole candidate for the *cognomen* would be the very uncommon Ternicus³⁴², perhaps a variant of Teurnicus (*cf.* 7.23), and possibly indicating an origin in Teurnia in Noricum.

97. Munatius Maximus

1. *RIB* 1765 (HW44b-45): *(centuria) Mu|nati | Max(im)i*

2. *RIB* 1846 (HW46-46b): *(centuria) Mun(ati) | Maxsu(mi)*

3. *JRS* 49 (1959), 135 no. 4 (HW35-35a): *c(ohortis) X (centuria) Mu(nati) | Maximi*

Munatius is an uncommon but fairly widespread *nomen*³⁴³.

98. Olc(ius?) Libo

1. *RIB* 1647 (Housesteads-HW39a): *coh(ortis) I (centuria) Olc(...) Libon[is]*

2. *RIB* 1849 (HW46a-46b): *coh(ortis) I (centuria) Libon(i)s*

3. *RIB* 1857 (HW48): *coh(ortis) I (centuria) Libonis*

4. *JRS* 51 (1961), 194 no. 11a (HW45a-45b): *coh(ortis) I (centuria) | Libonis*

5. *JRS* 54 (1964), 178 no. 5a (HW48b-Willowford Bridge): *coh(ortis) II (centuria) Olc(...) Libon[is]*

The *cognomen* is sufficiently unusual to indicate that these are records of the same individual³⁴⁴. The *nomen* is even less common, Olcius or Olcinius being the possible expansions³⁴⁵. The transfer from

³⁴² *Onomasticon* IV, 113 citing XIII 5720 and *Terni[...]* V 2041. Not recorded in Solin and Salomies 1994.

³⁴³ *Onomasticon* III, 90.

³⁴⁴ *Onomasticon* III, 25.

cohort II to cohort I must surely be a promotion, even if other such transfers were not necessarily so³⁴⁶, and would imply wall construction proceeding east from the River Irthing in this central sector.

99. Opsilius

RIB 1856 (HW48): *coh(ortis) I | (centuria) Opsili*

This is the sole example of the *nomen* recorded by Lörincz³⁴⁷.

100. Ostorianus

RIB 1676 (HW42-42a): *coh(ortis) V (centuria) | Ostoria|ni*

One other man of this name is known at Ostia, but this is a straightforward derivative of Ostorius³⁴⁸. A. R. Birley raises the possibility that he derived the name from a British mother whose ancestor had been enfranchised by the governor Ostorius Scapula³⁴⁹. A further fragmentary record: *coh III | > O[...]*³⁵⁰ might belong to either this individual or to Opsilius (6.99). If not of some other individual entirely, this stone would be a further indication of transfers between cohorts during the course of construction.

101. [Petta] Dida

JRS 53 (1963), 161 no. 8c (HW48a-Willowford Bridge): *Petta | (centuria) Dida(e)*

The stone is unusual and should not perhaps be considered a legionary centurial stone at all. The *cognomen* Dida is of Thracian origin and is known elsewhere, but although auxiliaries of that name

³⁴⁵ XI 1449; III 14402b; Schultze 1904, 99.

³⁴⁶ See 6.29 above.

³⁴⁷ *Onomasticon* III, 114.

³⁴⁸ Kajanto 1965, 152. Ostorius is nonetheless rare: *Onomasticon* III, 117.

³⁴⁹ A.R.Birley 1979, 76.

are known, including one from Britain, no legionaries bear the name³⁵¹. Petta is otherwise unattested. Although Wright suggested a derivation from the Greek πίττας³⁵², it does not make a very convincing *nomen*. Perhaps this should be better read ‘Petta in the century of Dida’. However, two individuals of such non-Latin nomenclature hardly help the case for considering this a legionary stone³⁵³.

102. Pon(tius?) Magnus

RIB 1845 + add. (HW46-46b): [co]h(ortis) II (centuria) Pon(...) | Magni

Pontius is the most likely *nomen*, but Pontienus is also possible³⁵⁴. Hassall and Tomlin note the ‘attractive possibility’ that this man may be the Pontienus Magnus, *primus pilus* of *legio X Fretensis* in 150³⁵⁵. Twenty-five years’ service as a centurion before attaining the primipilate would not be unusual³⁵⁶. If we accept the identity, then Magnus may have gone to Judaea as part of a vexillation accompanying the governor Sex. Iulius Severus c.132, perhaps alongside C. Ligustinius Disertus (6.42), M. Septimius Magnus (6.59) and Vesuvius Rufus (6.112). The stone *Britannia* 8 (1977) 431 no. 19 (HW29-29a): (centuria) Pont[...] may be a further record of this centurion. The *nomen* Pontienus would suggest an Italian origin³⁵⁷.

103. Romuleius Iustus

RIB 1670 (HW41b-Great Chesters): (centuria) Romu|lei | Iusti

³⁵⁰ *JRS* 51 (1961), 194 No. 11d (HW45a-45b).

³⁵¹ Birley 1939, 235. *ILS* 9142; V 624, 1958; *RIB* 1365.

³⁵² Wright in *JRS ad loc.* note 11; πίττας Solin 1982, 1103.

³⁵³ Stevens 1966, 141 n. 30 does not consider Petta Dida a legionary.

³⁵⁴ *Onomasticon* III, 153.

³⁵⁵ Hassall and Tomlin 1988, 507-8 and n. 114. Pontienus Magnus: CPL 117 (Caesarea); Dąbrowa 1993, 94 No. 32. Neither element of the nomenclature is common: *Onomasticon* III, 153; III, 46.

³⁵⁶ Dobson 1978, 60-1; cf. 6.48 above.

³⁵⁷ Birley 1953, 109; Dobson 1978, 27 n. 76.

This is the sole example of this *nomen* in Solin and Salomies and in *Onomasticon*³⁵⁸.

104. Seccius

1. RIB 1757 (HW44): *coh(ortis) VIII | (centuria) Secci*
2. RIB 1764 (HW44a-45): *coh(ortis) VIII | (centuria) Secci*

The *nomen* is uncommon but relatively widespread³⁵⁹.

105. Senilis

RIB 1755 (HW44): *coh(ortis) III [(centuria)] | Seni[li]s*

The *cognomen* is uncommon but relatively widespread³⁶⁰.

106. Sextius Proculus

RIB 1754 (HW44): *coh(ortis) V | (centuria) Sexti Proc(uli)*

Both elements of the nomenclature are relatively common and widespread³⁶¹.

107. Socellus

1. RIB 1675 (HW42-42a): *coh(ortis) III | (centuria) Socell|iana*
2. RIB 1768 (HW45): *coh(ortis) III | (centuria) Socelliana*

³⁵⁸ Solin and Salomies 1994; *Onomasticon* IV, 31.

³⁵⁹ *Onomasticon* IV, 56.

³⁶⁰ *Onomasticon* IV, 66.

³⁶¹ *Onomasticon* IV, 79; III, 166. Proculus is disproportionately common in Dalmatia: cf. 6.53, there in conjunction with a similarly distributed *nomen*.

3. *JRS* 54 (1964), 178 no. 5c (HW48b-Willowford Bridge): *coh(ortis) III | (centuria) Socelli*

The first two records use the adjectival form indicating a century awaiting its new centurion and still referred to by the name of the previous incumbent³⁶². The third record was set up while Socellus was still in command and indicates that this western sector was constructed first³⁶³. Birley read here the *nomen* Socellius and suggested Italian origin, but use of the *cognomen* is commoner in these records and this is the form recorded by *Onomasticon*³⁶⁴.

108. Valerius Maximus

1. *RIB* 1682 (HW42a-42b): *(centuria) Val(eri) | Maxi(mi)*

2. *RIB* 1766 (HW45): *coh(ortis) V | (centuria) Val(eri) | Maximi*

The nomenclature is extremely common³⁶⁵ and no connection with the centurion of the Second Augusta (*RIB* 351, 352) can be assumed.

109. Valerius Rufinus

Britannia 12 (1981), 380 no. 17 (HW45a): *coh(ortis) V | (centuria) Val(eri) | Rufini*

The *cognomen* Rufinus is strongly represented in Hispania but not uncommon elsewhere³⁶⁶. A namesake is recorded as centurion of *legio III Augusta* but approaching 50 years later³⁶⁷.

³⁶² Fink 1953; Birley 1953, 128-9; cf. 6.11, 6.17, 6.66, 6.91.

³⁶³ cf. 6.98.

³⁶⁴ Birley 1953, 109; *Onomasticon* IV, 86. Kajanto 1965, 156 has only Socellianus from the *nomen*.

³⁶⁵ *Onomasticon* IV, 143. Kajanto 1965, 29.

³⁶⁶ *Onomasticon* IV, 33.

110. Valerius Sabinus

JRS 54 (1964), 178 no. 5b (HW48b-Willowford Bridge): *coh(ortis) I | (centuria) Val(eri) Sabini*

The nomenclature here is unremarkable.

111. Valerius Verus

1. *RIB* 1761 + add. (HW44): *(centuria) Valeri | Veri*
2. *RIB* 1853 (HW47-47a): *(centuria) Valeri | Veri*
3. *RIB* 2083 (Hadrian's Wall): *coh(ortis) VIII | (centuria) Val(eri) Veri*
4. *JRS* 51 (1961), 194 no. 11f (HW45a-45b): *(centuria) Val(eri) | Veri*

The *cognomen* Verus is strongly represented in Cisalpine Gaul, Narbonensis and Noricum³⁶⁸.

112. Vesuvius Rufus

1. *RIB* 1858 (HW48): *(centuria) Vesui | Rufi*
2. *RIB* 2084 (Hadrian's Wall): *coh(ortis) X | (centuria) Vesuvi | Rufi*

Birley has suggested an identification with a centurion of *legio X Fretensis*, Vervius Rufus, recorded in a document of AD 150³⁶⁹, and suggests from the *nomen* an Italian origin³⁷⁰. Service of 25 years or more as centurion would thus be indicated³⁷¹. See also Pon(tius?) Magnus (6.102), who might be identified with a

³⁶⁷ Le Bohec 1989, 170.

³⁶⁸ *Onomasticon* IV, 160.

³⁶⁹ *CPL* 117 discharge of veterans of *X Fretensis* (Caesarea): *(centuria) Verui Rufi*; Dąbrowa 1993, 99 No. 40. Rufus is one of the commonest of *cognomina* (Kajanto 1965, 29); Vervius is not otherwise known (Solin and Salomies 1994).

³⁷⁰ Birley 1939, 235; 1953, 109.

³⁷¹ By no means unusual. See appendix in Birley 1988, 219-20, but note that the durations given (40-61 years) include service in the ranks, separately listed in only a few cases.

primus pilus in the same list. If we accept the identity, then Rufus – along with C. Ligustinius Disertus (6.42), M. Septimius Magnus (6.59) and perhaps Pontius Magnus – may have gone to Judaea as part of a vexillation accompanying the governor Sex. Iulius Severus, who was sent by Hadrian to put down the Bar Kochba revolt c. 132³⁷².

113. Victorinus

RIB 1671 (HW41a-42): (*centuria*) *Victori|ni*

The *cognomen* is particularly common on the Rhine and in other Celtic provinces³⁷³.

114. Ulpus Volusenus

JRS 52 (1962), 194 no. 19a (HW45a-45b): (*centuria*) *Ulpi Vo|luseni*

Volusenus is an Etruscan *nomen*, here in use as a *cognomen*³⁷⁴.

115*. Caecilius Proculus

1. RIB 1475 (Chesters): *coh(ortis) V | (centuria) Caecili | Procul(i)*

2. RIB 1476 (Chesters): *coh(ortis) V | (centuria) Caecil[i] | Procu[li]*

3. RIB 1570 (HW34a-35): *coh(ortis) V | (centuria) Caecili | Procli*

Proculus is recorded twice at the fort at Chesters, and once further to the west (34a-35), in both cases in proximity to a number of the centurions listed above. Unlike those centurions he is not found in the section between MC 41 and the River Irthing which represents the most coherent block of centurions, including many multiply-attested individuals. The picture is less clear at Chesters and immediately to the

³⁷² A.R. Birley 1981, 107.

³⁷³ *Onomasticon* IV, 168.

³⁷⁴ Schultze 1904, 104; A.R. Birley 1979, 76; cf. V 4511.

west, where there are a number of individuals attested only by single records, and the association may not be strong enough for a confident attribution of this centurion to the legion³⁷⁵. The *nomen* is strongly represented in Hispania³⁷⁶.

116*. Nas(...) Bassus

1. *RIB* 1473 (Chesters): *coh(ortis) I | (centuria) Nas(...) Ba(ssi)*
2. *RIB* 1501 (HW28-28a): *coh(ortis) I (centuria) Na(s...) | Bassi has(tati) p(osterioris)*
3. *Britannia* 4 (1973), 329 no. 9 (HW29a-29b): *coh(ortis) I | [(centuria)] Nas(...) Ba(ssi)*

Bassus is found three times in proximity to centurions listed above in the three miles west of Chesters on Hadrian's Wall. Like Caecilius Proculus (6.115*) he is not found in the section between MC 41 and the River Irthing and the association may not be strong enough for a confident attribution³⁷⁷. Nassius, Nasidius and Nasonius are the most likely *nomina*, but all are rare³⁷⁸. For the *cognomen* see above 6.2.

117*. Cornelius Severus

RIB 535 (Chester): *Q(uintus) Longinius | Pomentina | Laetus Luco | stip(endiorum) XV | (centuria) Corneli Seueri | [...]*

'Quintus Longinius Laetus, of the Pomentina voting-tribe, from Lucus, of 15 years' service, in the century of Cornelius Severus...'

See 7.120* for argument as to the unit in which Laetus and his centurion Severus might have served.

³⁷⁵ See Appendix 3.

³⁷⁶ *Onomasticon* II, 16 and *cf.* Caecilius Avitus (7.16) from Emerita.

³⁷⁷ See Appendix 3.

³⁷⁸ Solin and Salomies 1994; *Onomasticon* III.

118*. Titinius Pines

JRS 55 (1965), 220 no. 2 (Godmanstone): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] | Tit[inius] | Pine[s (centurio)] | L[eg...]* | *V [...]* | *v(otum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)]*

‘To Jupiter Best and Greatest, Titinius Pines, centurion of ... Legion ... willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.’

Wright feels from the elaborate dedication that ‘it is highly probable that the dedicator was a centurion’³⁷⁹. In fact the supposed *hedera* before *L[eg...]* appears (in the plate: xvii, 2) perfectly acceptable as a centurial symbol. Wright prefers ‘from the balance of the lettering’ *L[EG XX] | V[V]* over *L[EG VI] | V[IC]*, but the lack of space on the right hand side would seem to leave little chance of balancing this either way. In fact

> *L[EG]*

V[II]

VS [LM]

would seem the most ‘balanced’ solution.

Incerti

1. P. Aelius... (7.1) comes of a family of some status in Sarmizegetusa. His rank is unclear and he has been included among the *milites*. However, recruitment into the ranks from Dacia would not be usual and it is possible that he was able to enter the Twentieth Legion as centurion, or attained that rank prior to transfer.

2. L. Bruttius Pudens *RIB* 452 still appears (e.g. Mason 2001, 155). See 6.24.

³⁷⁹ Wright *JRS ad loc.* n. 3.

3. A.R. Birley 2002, 113 states that C. Caesius Silvester (XI 5696), *evocatus* and centurion of *legio II Augusta*, served also with *legio XX Valeria Victrix*, amongst others, before rising to the primipilate. XI 5696 in fact records a centurionate in *legio XXX U(lpia) V(ictrix)*. This is followed by Dobson 1978, 248 no. 128 and Summerly 1991, 84-85.
4. Cassius Chaerea and Septimius are named as centurions in the camp of the First and Twentieth Legions in AD 14 (Tac. *Ann.* 1.32, 35) but we cannot say in which they served.
5. A.R. Birley 1979, 85 suggests that one Compitalicus 'is known to have served in the detachment at Newstead in the second century'. The mark of ownership (*RIB* II.2428.4b: > *Barri Compitalici*) would place Compitalicus, and the centurion Barrus, at Newstead, but the iron axe in question was recovered from a pit of Flavian date and the identity of the legion involved is uncertain.
6. *JRS* 57 (1967), 206 no. 18 (Hadrian's Wall): *co[h(ortis)] V | [...]AXN[...]*
JRS 51 (1961), 194 no. 11d (Hadrian's Wall): *coh(ortis) III | (centuria) O[...]*

These records can be grouped with the others of *legio XX* from MC 41 - River Irthing. Max(imius) N[...] seems the most likely expansion for the first record, but identity with one of the other attested Maximii (see 6.95) is possible. The centurion O[...] might be identical with either Opsilius (6.99) or Ostorianus (6.100). A transfer between cohorts would be indicated if either of these were the case.

7. *RIB* 2501.2 (Chester): *(centuria) Ma(...)*
 Graffito on Samian ware vessel of form Dr. 29, which largely went out of production c. 85. More likely therefore to be *legio II Adiutrix*.
8. *CIL* XI 1602 (Florentia) ...*evo]C > leg XX[vv...donatus donis...|... mil coro]n(a) aur(ea) hasta [pura bello Britannico ...|... ab Imp Caes] divi Vespasiani f [Domitiano aug...*

The restoration > LEG XX [VV is suggested by *CIL* but the assumption of awards in *bello Britannico* need not hold (the alternative *a divo Vespasiano et divo Tito] divi Vespasiani f. [bello Iudaico* is also offered)

and legions XXI or XXII cannot be ruled out. Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 264 offers the sequence *trecenarius-centurio-primus pilus*:

...CC]C > leg XX[... pp leg ... donatus coro]n(a) aur(ea) hasta [pura ab Imp ...] divi Vespasiani f [...

followed by Maxfield 1981, 203 who accepts *leg XX [VV*.

Addendum

Richier 2004 became available only after submission of the thesis. From this might be added:

Q. Cornelius Iustus (AE 1928.90) centurion at Cologne, if the *miles* M. Sulpicius can be identified with his namesake (7.79) at Neuss, which seems probable.

Perhaps Pritonius (XIII.219) and Lupulus (XIII 8296) on centurial stones at Cologne.

He also has some different opinions on the identity of 6.26 (Richier 2004, 209-10) and careers of 6.50 (Richier 2004, 373); and 6.59 (Richier 2004, 403-5).

Centurio

'They do not desire them so much to be men who will initiate attacks and open the battle, but men who will hold their ground when worsted and hard-pressed and be ready to die at their posts.' Polybius 6.24.9

1. *Origines*

Birley, in studying the origins of legionary centurions, concluded that since the bulk of legionary centurions were always promoted legionaries, their origins would be essentially the same as those of the soldiers in the same legions³⁸⁰. In the case of the Twentieth Legion, we have only twenty-four individuals for whom an origin is known, or can be suggested with some confidence (Table II.6.1), and a further twenty-five where aspects of their nomenclature can give some indication as to origin (Table II.6.2). Among the first group, at least eighteen have their first posting in some other unit before later transfer, and it is probable that in other cases the simple mention of rank disguises a lengthy and complex career, so detailed comparison with recruitment patterns into the Twentieth Legion is not possible.

The origins suggested in Table II.6.2 are fairly typical of recruitment patterns into the western legions. Four possible Italians (6.71, 6.83, 6.102, 6.112) are seen up to the early second century along with men of Celtic/Germanic (6.8, 6.9, 6.27, 6.33, 6.40, 6.111, 6.113) and Spanish (6.26, 6.82, 6.93, 6.109, 6.115*) origin, as well as men from Noricum (6.4, 6.29, 6.96) and further east on the Danube (6.65, 6.89). An Arabian origin (6.6), if such it be, would be unusual, but soldiers of eastern origin are found in the ranks of the legion (7.8, 7.10, 7.14). African origin might be suggested in one case (6.43), and some men of such origin seem to have found their way into the ranks of the legion (7.57, 7.100 and perhaps 7.73, 7.123*), but transfer from *legio III Augusta* is also in evidence in a number of centurial careers (Table II.6.3).

Among those who may have enrolled first in the Twentieth, the Italian origins of Titius (6.67), and probably also M. Favonius Facilis (6.25), would sit well with early first-century recruitment into the

³⁸⁰ Birley 1953, 105. See 2 below on career paths leading to the centurionate.

legion. Second-century origins in Germany (6.23), Spain (6.24) and Narbonensis (6.48) would be equally unsurprising. A third-century origin in Panonnia (6.2) would not appear out of the ordinary, although recruitment is assumed to be largely local by that time³⁸¹. Two others, leaving aside the directly commissioned Ti. Claudius Fatalis (6.19), began their careers in British legions: a centurion of *leg VI Victrix* (6.37) who originated in Germany; and a centurion of *legio II Augusta* (6.41) who was perhaps from Galatia.

Among those whose careers began elsewhere, there are again too few for detailed comment. A number of men begin their careers in Moesian units – *legio I Italica* (6.3), *legio V Macedonica* (6.70), *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum* (6.68) – and are, or are presumed to be, of local origin. A further man from Narbonensis (6.13) may have enrolled in *legio I Italica* before its transfer east. Likewise a centurion of *legio III Italica* (6.50) who ended up in Spain may have been an Italian and among the earliest recruits to that legion. The Syrian serving first in *legio III Gallica* (6.59) is clearly a case of local recruitment. The man from Bithynia (6.77) may have served first in some other legion, for recruitment directly into legions *I* or *II Adiutrix* would be unusual, if not perhaps unprecedented³⁸². The Spaniard (6.36) who seems first to serve with *legio XIII Gemina pia fidelis* in Dacia would not represent normal recruitment and he was perhaps directly commissioned. Of the four men who progressed to legionary centurionates from the ranks of the Praetorian cohorts, three are from Italy (6.5, 6.42, 6.64), as would be expected in the second century, and the fourth (6.21) was presumably recruited from Noricum after Severus' third-century reforms.

Table II.6.1: Origins of centurions of the Twentieth Legion

	<i>centurio</i>	<i>origo</i>	Province	First recorded post (d = direct)	Date
6.67	Titius	Pollentia	Cisalpine Gaul		E1
6.25	M. Favonius Facilis		Italy?		M1
6.5	Q. Albius Felix	Falerii	Etruria	<i>coh pr</i>	E2
6.13	Blandius Latinus	Geneva	G. Narbonensis	<i>leg I Ital</i>	E2

³⁸¹ Mann 1983a, 65.

³⁸² Two men of eastern origin, from Ancyra in Galatia, are recorded in the ranks of *legio II Adiutrix*: Mann 1983a, 121-2 Table 17.4

6.19	Ti. Claudius Fatalis	Rome		<i>leg II Aug (d)</i>	E2
6.20	Ti. Claudius Vitalis		Spain?	<i>leg V Mac (d)</i>	E2
6.68	M. Tuccius...		Moesia?	<i>coh III Brac</i>	E2
6.70	L. Valerius Proculus		Moesia?	<i>mil leg V Mac</i>	E2
6.42	C. Ligustinius Disertus	Pitinum Mergens	Umbria	<i>coh pr</i>	EM2
6.48	L. Maximius Gaetulicus	Vienna	G. Narbonensis	<i>mil leg XX VV</i>	127-184
6.24	L. Elufrius Praesens	Clunia	H.Tarraconensis		154
6.41	M. Liburnius Fronto	[Ancyra]	[Galatia]	<i>leg II Aug</i>	M2
6.3	P. Aelius Romanus		Moesia	<i>leg I Ital</i>	ML2
6.50	L. Numerius Felix		[Italy]	<i>leg III Ital</i>	ML2
6.59	M. Septimius Magnus	Arados	Syria	<i>leg III Gal</i>	ML2?
6.31	T. Flavius Virilis		British	<i>leg II Aug</i>	L2
6.23	T. Domitius Vindex		German?		2nd?
6.78	anon.	Nicaea	Bithynia	<i>leg I (or II) Adiut?</i>	2nd
6.36	C. Iulius Lepidus	Iessos	H.Tarraconensis	<i>leg XIII G p f</i>	L2-E3
6.37	C. Iulius Maritimus	Ara	G. Superior	<i>leg VI Vic</i>	L2-E3
6.64	M. Tillius Rufus	Atina	Italy	<i>coh pr</i>	L2-E3
6.2	P. Aelius Bassus	Mursa	Pannonia		E3
6.54	M. Porcius Iasuctan		Africa	<i>leg III Aug?</i>	222-235
6.21	Cornelius Ca[...]	Bedaium	Noricum	<i>coh pr</i>	3rd

Table II.6.2: Origins of centurions (suggested by nomenclature)

	<i>centurio</i>	?origin	Date
6.40	Iustus Super	Germany/Gaul	M1
6.43	Livius Saturninus	Italy (Africa?)	ML1
6.1	Abucinus	Gaul/Germany	L1
6.9	Attius Celer	Celtic/German	L1
6.6	Arab[...]	[Arabia?]	L1-E2
6.71	Varenius Proculeianus	Italy	L1-E2
6.82	Caecilius Monimus	Spain?	125-128
6.83	Caledonius Secundus	Italy	125-128
6.26	Ferronius Vegetus	Spain	125-128
6.29	Flavius Noricus	Noricum	125-128
6.33	Hortensius Proculus	Narbonensis	125-128
6.89	Iulius Valens	Danube?	125-128



Fig. II.6.1 Origins of centurions of the Twentieth legion

6.93	Lousius Suavis	Spain (Gaul?)	125-128
6.96	Maximius Ternicus	Noricum	125-128
6.102	Pon(tienus?) Magnus	Italy	125-128
6.109	Valerius Rufinus	Spain	125-128
6.111	Valerius Verus	Rhine/Narb.?	125-128
6.112	Vesuvius Rufus	Italy	125-128
6.113	Victorinus	Gaul/Germany	125-128
6.115*	Caecilius Proculus	Spain	125-128
6.27	Flavius Betto	Germany	138-161
6.65	Titianus	Dalm./Pann.	M2
6.4	Aelius Vibius	Noricum	176-180
6.8	Atilius Maior	Rhine	2nd?
6.16	Candidius Pistor	Rhine?	2nd?

2. Entry to the Centurionate

Few of the known centurions of the Twentieth Legion have left us any detail of their careers, the majority being recorded only in their role as centurion of the legion. However, the twenty-four centurial careers that have come down to us in any detail (Table II.6.3) illustrate most of the available routes to that post:

Service in the ranks. Both L. Maximus Gaetulicus and L. Valerius Proculus began their careers as *militēs* and rose through the ranks. Proculus enrolled in *legio V Macedonica* and secured a position as *beneficiarius*, an administrative post, on the staff of the legionary legate. He then obtained a post as *optio*, second in command to the centurion of a cohort, before attaining the centurionate himself. Gaetulicus began his service in *legio XX Valeria Victrix* and rose to be centurion of that legion. Although we have no evidence of intervening posts in his case, the normal path was via a combination of administrative (*signifer*, *beneficiarius*, *cornicularius*) and military posts (*optio*) as in the case of Proculus³⁸³. This was probably the most usual route to the centurionate at most times and might take up to 20 years³⁸⁴, although those described as *evocatus* before advancing to the centurionate had presumably served a full term in the ranks, with perhaps further service before promotion³⁸⁵. Both of these individuals went on to serve

³⁸³ Breeze 1974b, 270-2.

³⁸⁴ Breeze *op. cit.* 273.

³⁸⁵ e.g. III 11129 > *leg XIII g ex evocato leg X g p f.*

as centurion in other legions, Proculus' centurionate with the Twentieth Legion being his fourth such post. Gaetulicus finally attained the heights of *primus pilus* of *legio I Italica* after 57 years' service. Intervening service as centurion in other legions is likely.

Direct commission. Entry to the centurionate provided an alternative option for those equestrians who sought a full-time military career with comparable pay and prospects to the equestrian *cursus*³⁸⁶, and is seen in a number of cases among the centurions of the Twentieth Legion. Ti. Claudius Vitalis is explicitly described as *ex equite Romano* and served as centurion in six different legions. Ti. Claudius Fatalis, from Rome, who held seven centurionates in a 23-year career, could hardly be otherwise. C. Iulius Lepidus, who was a member of the local senate at Barcino in Hispania Tarraconensis, was probably another such (unless his involvement in local politics falls after his retirement in the rank of *primus pilus*). Others with multi-centurionate careers might be suggested as directly commissioned³⁸⁷, but posts below the centurionate are infrequently mentioned in any case and without supporting evidence these remain uncertain.

Service in the Praetorian Guard. There were a number of routes to the legionary centurionate via service in the Praetorian cohorts³⁸⁸. After sixteen years service in the ranks, those retained as *evocatus Augusti* could expect to proceed to a legionary centurionate after this further service. C. Ligustinus Disertus, and probably also Cornelius Ca(...), reached the Twentieth Legion through this route. Disertus had also held a post as *beneficiarius* in the office of the Praetorian Prefect and may have been retained in this administrative role. In neither case do we have any indication of the extent of this additional service, but it could be as much as 7 years (and perhaps more)³⁸⁹. Q. Albius Felix on the other hand, as *cornicularius*

³⁸⁶ Dobson 1972.

³⁸⁷ e.g. Blandius Latinus, M. Septimius Magnus: Summerly 1991, 51, 122.

³⁸⁸ Dobson and Breeze 1969.

³⁸⁹ cf. *AE* 1990.896 – seven years before advancement to centurionate; VI 2758 – twelve years without further advancement (that such advancement was by no means guaranteed is clear from the number who died in that rank: Dobson and Breeze 1969, 106 n. 17). The *an(nos) IIII* recorded on Cornelius' tombstone might represent his period as *evocatus* but it more likely indicates the length of his service as centurion with the Twentieth.

to the Praetorian Prefect, the most senior position in the *officium*, qualified directly for a legionary centurionate without further service.

Trecenarius. A further route open to the *evocatus Augusti* was via centurionates in the Rome cohorts³⁹⁰. The *trecenarius*, who had held centurionates with a cohort of the *vigiles* (sometimes also the *statores*), an Urban cohort and a Praetorian cohort, could then proceed to a senior legionary centurionate and thereafter to the post of *primus pilus*. Varius Quintius Gaianus leaves no details of previous posts held, but merely records his status as *trecenarius* and centurion of the Twentieth. M. Tillius Rufus gives considerable detail of his career as centurion, successively of the First cohort of *vigiles*, the Twelfth Urban cohort and the Fourth cohort of Praetorians. After his service with the Twentieth it seems he was *primus pilus* of *legio XXII Primigenia* at Mainz. Despite the manifest advantages of service at Rome and the greater possibilities for patronage and advancement, this route to the primipilate nonetheless involved in excess of 50 years' service, no great advance on the 57 years taken by L. Maximius Gaetulicus who began his career in the ranks of the legion.

Transfer. It was also possible, though not usual, for the holder of a centurionate in an auxiliary cohort to transfer into the legionary centurionate³⁹¹ and this is the case with M. Tuccius whose first recorded post is as centurion of the *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum*. From there he attained a post of centurion in *legio I Italica*, followed by further transfer into a number of other legions, the Twentieth among them.

Table II.6.3: Careers of the centurions of the Twentieth Legion

	<i>centurio</i>		Age (service)	Date
6.3	P. Aelius Romanus	> <i>leg I Ital</i> > <i>leg III Aug</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg VII Cl</i>		ML2
6.5	Q. Albius Felix	<i>cornicularius praefecti</i>		E2

³⁹⁰ Dobson and Breeze 1969; Mann 1983b.

³⁹¹ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 56.

		<i>praetore</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i>		
6.10	Audacilius Romanus	> <i>leg II Aug</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg VI</i>		ML2
6.13	Blandius Latinus	> <i>leg I Ital</i> > <i>leg II Aug</i> > <i>leg VIII Hisp</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i>		E2
6.19	Ti. Claudius Fatalis	> <i>leg II Aug</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg II Aug</i> > <i>leg XI Cl pf</i> > <i>leg XIV GMV</i> > <i>leg XII Fulm</i> > <i>leg X Fret</i>	42 (23)	E2
6.20	Ti. Claudius Vitalis	> <i>leg V Mac (direct)</i> > <i>leg I Ital</i> > <i>leg I Minerv</i> > <i>leg XX VV (2)</i> > <i>leg IX Hisp</i> > <i>leg VII Cl pf (2)</i>	41 (11?)	E2
6.21	Cornelius Ca...	<i>miles pretorius</i> <i>evocatus?</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i>		3rd
6.31	T. Flavius Virilis	> <i>leg II Aug</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg VI Vic</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg III Parth</i> > <i>leg III Aug</i>	70 (45)	E3
6.36	C. Iulius Lepidus	> <i>leg XIII G p f</i> > <i>leg I Adiut</i> > <i>leg X G pf</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> <i>pp leg X G pf</i>		L2-E3

6.37	C. Iulius Maritimus	> <i>leg VI Vic</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg II Aug</i> > <i>leg III Aug</i>	45	L2-E3
6.41	M. Liburnius Fronto	> <i>leg II Aug</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i>		M2
6.42	C. Ligustinus Disertus	<i>benef praefecti praetori</i> <i>evocatus Augusti</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg III Scyth</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i>		EM2
6.48	L. Maximus Gaetulicus	<i>miles leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> <i>pp leg I Ital</i>	(57)	127 184
6.50	L. Numerius Felix	> <i>leg III Ital</i> > <i>leg XXII Prim</i> > <i>leg III Cyr</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg VII G f</i>		ML2
6.102	Pon(tienus?) Magnus	<i>leg XX VV</i> <i>pp leg X Fret?</i>		M2
6.54	M. Porcius Iasuctan	> <i>leg III Aug p v Ant</i> > <i>leg XX Val V Severae</i>		222-235
6.59	M. Septimius Magnus	> <i>leg III Gal (2)</i> > <i>leg III Scyth</i> > <i>leg XX VV (2)</i> > <i>leg I Minerv</i> > <i>leg X Fret</i>		ML2?
6.64	M. Tillius Rufus	<i>evocatus Augusti</i> > <i>coh I Vig</i> > <i>coh XII Urb</i> <i>CCC coh III Pr p v</i> <i>princeps castrorum</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> <i>pp leg XXII</i>		L2-E3

6.68	M. Tuccius...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > <i>coh III Brac</i> > <i>leg I Ital</i> > <i>leg IX Claud</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg I Adiut</i> > <i>leg III Aug</i> 	62	E2
6.70	L. Valerius Proculus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>miles leg V Mac</i> <i>bf legati</i> <i>optio ad spem ordinis</i> > <i>leg V Mac</i> > <i>leg I Ital</i> > <i>leg XI Claud</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg VIII Hisp</i> 	75	E2
6.72	Varius Quintius Gaianus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CCC > <i>leg XX VV</i> 	85 (55)	3rd
6.112	Vesuvius Rufus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg X Fret?</i> 		M2
6.76	[...]ns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ... > <i>leg XX VV</i> > <i>leg ...</i> > <i>leg [III Aug]</i> 		2-E3
6.77	ignotus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > <i>leg V Mac</i> > <i>leg VIII Aug</i> > <i>leg II Aug</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> 		L1-E2
6.78	ignotus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ...? > <i>leg I (or II) Adiut (2)</i> > <i>leg ... (2)</i> > <i>leg ...</i> > <i>leg III Aug</i> > <i>leg XX VV</i> 		2nd

3. Age / Length of service

Records supplying details of age and/or length of service are tabulated below. These are few and are largely of interest only where they indicate particularly long service, or particularly early enlistment. There seems to have been no set term of service for the centurion who could continue in post as long as the army continued to have use for him, and service in excess of 50 years is attested in a number of cases³⁹². L. Maximius Gaetulicus (6.48) had served for 57 years from his enlistment in the Twentieth to his ultimate promotion to *primus pilus*. The 55-year career of Varius Quintius Gaianus (6.72), on the other hand, was probably mostly spent in the Rome cohorts, as also was that of M. Tillius Rufus (6.64), who may have served for up to 53 years (if his identification with the *primus pilus* at Mainz is correct). T. Flavius Virilis (6.31) had served 45 years, having presumably progressed through the ranks to the post of centurion which he held in six legions. In the remaining two cases for which we have information, premature death has brought a close to the careers. In both cases the number of centurionates held in a relatively short period suggests direct commission.

Age on enlistment is less easy to evaluate since in a number of cases the recorded ages at death appear to be subject to age rounding³⁹³ (even where expressed with the ostensible accuracy of *annis, mensibus, diebus*), and this will affect such calculations. Thus, the ages of 25 and 30 derived for T. Flavius Virilis and Varius Quintius Gaianus respectively may only be approximate. The former would be relatively late for enlistment into the ranks, but not unusually so³⁹⁴, and the length of service quoted and number of post held would suggest this route. Gaianus, if his age at death is not exaggerated, may well have been retired for some time. Thirty would certainly seem somewhat delayed for entry into the Praetorian Guard. The length of the career is comparable to others rising through the ranks to centurionates at Rome and then with a legion (*cf.* M. Tillius Rufus here). Ti. Claudius Fatalis was apparently able to obtain a direct commission at the unusually early age of nineteen³⁹⁵; Ti. Claudius Vitalis at the more typical age of thirty (if the eleven years recorded do indeed encompass his entire career).

³⁹² Birley 1965, 33.

³⁹³ Scheidel 1996, 97-116.

³⁹⁴ See below 296-8.

³⁹⁵ Only one younger centurion is recorded, directly commissioned at 18 years; *ILS* 2654 = III 1480.

Table II.6.4: Age/length of service

	<i>centurio</i>	Age at death	length of service	Number of posts
6.12	M. Aurelius Nepos	50		1
6.19	Ti. Claudius Fatalis	42	23	7
6.20	Ti. Claudius Vitalis	41	11?	8
6.31	T. Flavius Virilis	70	45	6
6.37	C. Iulius Maritimus	45 (5m 13d)		4
6.48	L. Maximius Gaetulicus		57 to <i>pp</i>	2+
6.64	M. Tillius Rufus		44-48 (49-53 to <i>pp</i>)	5 to <i>pp</i>
6.68	M. Tuccius...	62		6
6.70	L. Valerius Proculus	75		5
6.72	Varius Quintius Gaianus	85 (2m 15d)	55 (2m 15d)	4?
6.77	<i>ignotus</i>	61		4

4. Relationships

If few of the records of the ordinary soldiers of the Twentieth Legion have left us any indication of relationships with others (see below Chapter II.7), then fewer still are in evidence among the records of centurions of the legion. This would seem unexpected given the roughly equivalent numbers of both within the corpus collected here. The higher social standing and greater personal wealth of the centurions would lead one to suppose that more would have both the inclination and the means to erect substantial memorials. However, this apparent disparity is largely a reflection of the large number of centurial records which present us with no more than a name – the forty-five centurial stones from Hadrian's Wall being a prime example. In fact, although there are indeed few mentions of family members – one mother, one brother, six offspring (for three men) – the number of wives recorded is proportionately large, as indeed is the number of freedmen.

With one exception – the unnamed wife of M. Aurelius Nepos at Chester – all of the records tabulated below containing reference to family relationships were found outside of Britain. The dedication to Q. Albius Felix was set up by his mother in his home town in Etruria; that to M. Septimius Magnus by his brother in their home town of Arados in Syria.

Table II.6.5: Blood relatives

	<i>centurio</i>		
6.5	Q. Albius Felix	Avilla Soteris	<i>mater</i>
6.59	M. Septimius Magnus	L. Septimius Marcellus	<i>frater</i>

References to wives are more widespread. The unnamed wife of Nepos set up a memorial to him at Chester. Mamilia Prisca, the wife of L. Numerius Felix, was likewise responsible for his memorial at Tarraco. Valeria Ingenua, the wife of Varius Quintius Gaianus, is commemorated alongside him on his memorial at Rome. The remaining three – another Valeria Ingenua, Salviena Metiliana, and the probable Briton, Lollia Bodicca – are all recorded at Lambaesis erecting memorials to their husbands. With the exception of the memorials to P. Aelius Romanus and L. Numerius Felix, all might be seen as dating to the third century after the relaxation of the prohibition on the marriage of serving soldiers. However, it is unclear whether this prohibition applied to centurions. There is no direct evidence in the ancient sources which either refer to soldiers in general or treat only with specific cases among the lower ranks³⁹⁶. There has been a general presumption that they were in fact able to contract a legal marriage, given their often very lengthy service and the numerous epitaphs on which wives are recorded³⁹⁷. Hoffmann has further suggested that the more generous accommodation allotted to centurions in the barracks of the fortress might be seen as married quarters³⁹⁸. Phang, however, argues that centurions did indeed come under the ban, that the larger quarters were no more than would be expected for individuals of their status, and that the terminology employed on epitaphs may reflect custom more than legal status³⁹⁹. Whatever the precise status of those described as *coniuges*, less official relationships would undoubtedly have been common: one such may be apparent in the case of Ti. Claudius Fatalis (6.19), whose freedwoman Claudia Ionice was also his heir.

³⁹⁶ Phang 2001, 129.

³⁹⁷ Phang 2001, 130 n. 54 summarizes recent opinion: see especially Hassall 1999, 35; Allason-Jones 1999, 43.

³⁹⁸ Hoffmann 1995, 110-11.

³⁹⁹ Phang 2001, 129-132.

Table II.6.6: *uxor/coniunx*

6.3	P. Aelius Romanus	Valeria Ingenua	<i>coniunx</i>
6.12	M. Aurelius Nepos	<i>ignota</i>	<i>coniunx</i>
6.31	T. Flavius Virilis	Lollia Bodicca	<i>coniunx (et heres?)</i>
6.37	C. Iulius Maritimus	Salvienna Metiliana	<i>coniunx</i>
6.50	L. Numerius Felix	Mamilia Prisca	<i>'marito optimo'</i>
6.72	Varius Quintius Gaianus	Valeria Ingenua	<i>coniunx</i>

Children are mentioned on only three memorials of centurions of the Twentieth, all discovered at Lambaesis. Tubero and Romana are named along with their mother as responsible for the erection of the memorial to P. Aelius Romanus. The *Tuccii*, Urbicus and Proculus, likewise appear as dedicators to their father, as also do the *Flavii*, Victor and Victorinus, dedicators and heirs.

Table II.6.7: *filii*

6.3	P. Aelius Romanus	Tubero Romana	<i>filii</i>
6.31	T. Flavius Virilis	Flavius Victor Flavius Victorinus	<i>filii et heredes</i>
6.68	[M. Tuccius...]	M. Tuccius Proculus M. Tuccius Urbicus	<i>filii</i>

Records of freedmen or freedwomen, although sparse, are here more common than records of other relationships. It is assumed that many legionaries would have owned slaves⁴⁰⁰, and centurions, with their greater wealth and status, would almost certainly have done so. Their relatively substantial quarters would certainly have afforded accommodation for personal servants, if not for family members also⁴⁰¹. Few of the examples here are recorded at legionary bases, however, and in the case of some retirement and a return to a home town might be suspected, so that it unclear whether those named were present at the legionary fortress. Cornelius C..., C. Iulius Lepidus and C. Ligustinus Disertus are all commemorated by their freedmen, in what were presumably their home towns in Noricum, Hispania Tarraconensis and Italy. Lepidus, having risen to the rank of *primus pilus*, was

⁴⁰⁰ Welwei 1988; Speidel 1989a.

⁴⁰¹ Hoffmann 1995, 111.

clearly a man of some status in his community. The former Praetorian, Varius Quintus Gaianus, is recorded at Rome, which may or may not have been his original origin. After long service in the city he had presumably made it his home and returned there. The remaining four dedications are made by freedmen/freedwomen at or near the legionary base of the centurion so commemorated. The freedmen of M. Favonius Facilis set up the memorial to him at Colchester; Aristio, freedman and heir to a centurion whose name is lost, set up a memorial at Chester; Ti. Claudius Fatalis is commemorated in Jerusalem by his freedwoman and heir, who was presumably also his concubine, if not legal wife. The memorial to C. Iulius Maritimus at Lambaesis, however, was set up by his wife, Salviena Metiliana, through the agency of *her* freedman, Trophimus.

Table II.6.8: *liberti*

6.19	Ti. Claudius Fatalis	Claudia Ionice	<i>liberta et heres</i>
6.21	Cornelius C...	Cornelius Euprepes Cornelius Niceforus	<i>liberti</i>
6.25	M. Favonius Facilis	Novicius Verecundus	<i>liberti</i>
6.36	C. Iulius Lepidus	Agathopus Polycarpus Trophimus	<i>liberti et heredes</i>
6.37	C. Iulius Maritimus	Salvienus Trophimus	<i>libertus</i>
6.42	C. Ligustinus Disertus	Eutyches	<i>libertus</i>
6.72	Varius Quintus Gaianus	Quintius Paulinus	<i>libertus et heres</i>
6.77	<i>ignotus</i>	Aristio	<i>libertus et heres</i>

5. The centurial roll

The centurions of the Twentieth Legion are tabulated below as far as possible by date. The operation of promotion and transfer within the centurial career is imperfectly understood (see 6 below). Those for whom we have detailed career records (Table II.6.3) must, in many cases, be assumed to have served for only a few years with the legion. Others may have spent their entire career within its ranks. Although Calvius Priscus and Vettius Proculus clearly served together, we have little indication otherwise of the degree of overlap between centurions serving in the same general period. However, the

centurial stones recovered from Hadrian's Wall do allow us to reconstruct much of the centurial roll of the legion in the 120s AD.

Table II.6.9: Chronological list of centurions

6.32	Sal. Frebranus Baculus	<AD 9
6.67	Titius	<43
6.25	M. Favonius Facilis	M1
6.15	Calvius Priscus	83
6.74	Vettius Proculus	83
6.40	Iustus Super	M1
6.43	Livius Saturninus	ML1
6.1	Abucinus	L1
6.9	Attius Celer	L1
6.22	Cornelius Crescens	L1
6.117*	Cornelius Severus	L1
6.30	T. Flavius Pro(culus)	L1
6.45	Lucilius Ingenuus	L1
6.47	Q. Maximius	L1
6.52	Octavianus	L1
6.6	Arab[...]	L1-E2
6.17	C(a)esonius	L1-E2
6.28	T. Flavius Cicatricula	L1-E2
6.51	Ocratius Maximus	L1-E2
6.55	Postumius	L1-E2
6.63	Q. Terentius N...	L1-E2
6.71	Varenius Proculeianus	L1-E2
6.75	[...]elius A[q]uilinus	L1-E2
6.5	Q. Albius Felix	E2
6.14	Burricus	E2
6.19	Ti. Claudius Fatalis	E2
6.20	Ti. Claudius Vitalis	E2
6.57	Refidius	E2
6.61	Sui[llius]	E2
6.68	M. Tuccius...	E2
6.70	L. Valerius Proculus	E2
6.39	Iulius Sedatus	EM2
6.42	C. Ligustinius Disertus	EM2

6.69	Tullius Capito	EM2
6.44	Logus	EM2?
<i>centurions attested on Hadrian's Wall are tabulated separately Table II.6.10</i>		
6.48	L. Maximius Gaetulicus	140s (127-184)
6.7	C. Arrius Domitianus	142-155
6.27	Flavius Betto	138-161
6.24	L. Elufrius Praesens	154
6.34	Iulius Aq(uila)	M2
6.41	M. Liburnius Fronto	M2
6.53	Oppius Proculus	M2
6.56	Quint[...]	M2
6.65	Titianus	M2
6.73	Vers(inius?)	M2
6.3	P. Aelius Romanus	ML2
6.10	Audacilius Romanus	ML2
6.50	L. Numerius Felix	ML2
6.59	M. Septimius Magnus	ML2?
6.4	Aelius Vibius	176-180
6.8	Atilius Maior	2nd?
6.16	Candidius Pistor	2nd?
6.23	T. Domitius Vindex	2nd?
6.78	anon.	2nd
6.66	Titius	2nd
6.11	Aurelianus	L2+
6.36	C. Iulius Lepidus	L2-E3
6.37	C. Iulius Maritimus	L2-E3
6.64	M. Tillius Rufus	L2-E3
6.2	P. Aelius Bassus	E3
6.12	M. Aurelius Nepos	E3
6.31	T. Flavius Virilis	E3
6.46	Malius Crassus	E3
6.54	M. Porcius Iasuctan	222-235
6.60	Sextius Marcianus	3rd?
6.21	Cornelius Ca[...]	3rd
6.72	Varius Quintius Gaianus	3rd

Table II.6.10: Centurions of Legio XX VV 125-128

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

† possibilities only

The remaining centurions from Hadrian's Wall are unassigned to cohorts:

Caecilius Monimus	6.82
Cocceius Regulus	6.84
Iulius Ianalis	6.88
Iulius Peculiaris	6.38 (quarry)
Marius Dexter	6.94
Petta Dida	6.101
Romuleius Iustus	6.103
Rufius Sabinus	6.53
Victorinus	6.113
Ulpus Volusenus	6.114

6. Promotion and transfer

Promotion and transfer within the legionary centurionate remains imperfectly understood. The elevated status of the chief centurion, the *primus pilus*, is clear, and the *primi ordines*, whoever they may have been⁴⁰², are also frequently singled out, but for the rest the relative seniority of posts within the centurionate is a matter which remains unresolved. However, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there must have been some distinction between the man elevated from the ranks, the transferred auxiliary centurion, the equestrian entrant, the Praetorian *evocatus*, the career centurion arriving with a string of other posts behind him, and the *trecenarius* who could expect to be awarded with the primipilate. How this was reflected within the legion is not known, for although we might distinguish fifty-nine separate centurial posts within the legion, evidence for relative seniority is elusive.

There were six centurial posts within each of cohorts II-X of the imperial legion:

pilus prior
princeps prior
hastatus prior
pilus posterior
princeps posterior
hastatus posterior

Within the first cohort there were only five, there being no *pilus posterior*. The hierarchy thus defined, in conjunction with a presumed ordering of the cohorts, allowed Domaszewski to propose an interlocking series of promotions both up through the cohorts and through the grades of centurion, from *decimus hastatus posterior* to *primus pilus*⁴⁰³. He used as example the career of Ti. Claudius Vitalis (6.20), whose final post was *II princeps posterior*, supposing an initial post as *X hastatus posterior*, advancement through the cohorts to *II hastatus posterior*, and finally promotion of one grade within the cohort to *II princeps posterior*⁴⁰⁴.

⁴⁰² Goldsworthy 1996, 15 and see further below.

⁴⁰³ Domaszewski 1908, 80-112; Parker 1926 elaborates – equestrians or *evocati* advance through the cohorts in the same grade, the ranker moves in slow steps through the grades of the cohort.

⁴⁰⁴ Domaszewski *op.cit.* 94-6.

Wegeleben⁴⁰⁵ on the other hand, proposed that all the centurions of cohorts II-X were essentially of the same rank (except for seniority) and that promotion only came with entry to the *primi ordines*. This scheme was championed by Birley⁴⁰⁶ and remains more or less current⁴⁰⁷, although Speidel and Strobel have recently begun to challenge the notion⁴⁰⁸.

Sadly, few centurial inscriptions give us a full list of transfers, fewer still include any reference to the post in which the centurion served (some 21 only are collected here: Table II.6.11), and only one gives the grades of two successive posts⁴⁰⁹. Their small number and chronological spread (over most of the second and early third centuries) rule out any general conclusions, but they do allow us to point up some possible career paths.

Table II.6.11: Centurial careers including indication of grade⁴¹⁰

			vix (stip)
ILTun 778 = AE 1923.28	Q. Geminius Sabinus	7 centurionates to <i>hastatus prior</i> ⁴¹¹ <i>leg I Adiu</i> <i>pp et principi peregrinorum</i> <i>praef leg X Fr</i>	
VIII 2938		> <i>leg VII Gem fel</i> > <i>leg III Aug IX hastatus prior</i>	30
III 3846		<i>ex corn Pr Pr</i> 3 centurionates to <i>hastatus in coh I leg II</i> <i>Traiana</i>	
VIII 14698		<i>ex Eq R</i> 4 centurionates to > <i>leg X Gem pf V princeps</i> <i>posterior</i>	

⁴⁰⁵ Wegeleben 1913 cited by Birley 1965, 21.

⁴⁰⁶ Birley *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰⁷ Watson 1969, 88; Webster 1985, 114; Le Bohec 1989, 147; Campbell 1994, 46.

⁴⁰⁸ Speidel 1992, 11; Strobel 1987.

⁴⁰⁹ AE 1988.1044.

⁴¹⁰ Attested examples of the centurial grades within cohorts are to be found in Speidel 1983, supplemented by Speidel 1990, Petolescu 1995, 247 n. 13 and AE 1991.385, 1356, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1581-1585, 1588, AE 1994.1770.

⁴¹¹ LeBohec 1989, 159 assumes *primus hastatus prior*.

III 1480		<i>ex Eq R</i> 5 centurionates to > <i>leg III Fl F III hastatus posterior</i>	37 (>18)
AE 1977.467 = RIT 177	M. Aurelius Iustus	<i>ex Eq R</i> 6 centurionates to > <i>leg III Cyr II hastatus prior</i>	42
VI 3584	Ti. Claudius Vitalis 6.20	<i>ex Eq R</i> 8 centurionates to <i>II princeps posterior</i>	41 (11?)
AE 1939.157	Ti. Claudius Fatahis 6.19	7 centurionates to <i>III hastatus</i>	42 (23)
VIII 2877	T. Flavius Virilis 6.31	6 centurionates to <i>VIII hastatus posterior</i>	70 (45)
AE 1981.158	M. Aurelius Claudianus	11 centurionates to > <i>leg XVI Fl II princeps prior</i>	
AE 1988.1044	P. Turranius Severus	> <i>leg III Fl V princeps posterior</i> > <i>leg XV Apol VI hastatus prior</i>	41
AE 1990.896	M. Caesius Verus	<i>mil coh IX Praet – ordinatus tubicen – optio ad carcerem 16; evocatus 7</i> > <i>leg V Mac VI hastatus posterior 4</i>	41 (27)
XIII 6728		<i>mil coh VII? Pr ... evocatus</i> <i>ordinibus adscriptus in X pllo p[riore]</i> 6 centurionates then [<i>pp leg XXII Pr pf</i>]	
IGLS 9187		<i>ex evocato Augusto</i> 3 centurionates to <i>IV hastatus posterior</i>	39 (21)
II 4147		<i>ex singularibus imp</i> 6 centurionates to <i>III hastatus prior</i>	60 (40)
Petolescu 1995	Q. Trebellius Maximus	... > <i>coh III Praet</i> <i>ex CCC > leg V Mac I hastatus posterior</i>	
III 13360		<i>evocato leg XI Cl; > leg eiusdem...</i> 6 centurionates to > <i>leg III Fl coh V hastatus posterior</i>	85 (55)
V 7004		<i>mil leg XXII Pr pf; bf legati; a commentariis praefecti?; optio</i> <i>centurio legionis eiusdem octavus pilus prior</i>	

AE 1993.1577		<i>mil leg III Scyth – exactus, librarius, frumentarius, speculator, evocatus; centurio centurio frumentarius hastatus prior</i>	36 (21)
AE 1997.1303	M. Aur. Glyconianus	> <i>leg (VII or XI) Clau(dia) ex decempilo leg III F</i>	70 (52)
AE 1997.1522		> <i>leg XV Apol, XIII Gem, I Adiut, XVI F F hast(atus), I Miner princ(eps) et pp</i>	

The point of entry

Leaving aside the *trecenarii*, whose career path led directly to senior centurionates and the primipilate⁴¹², we have four careers which mention the first post held. Only one of these is a soldier promoted from the ranks⁴¹³, who entered the centurionate as *octavus pilus prior*. Two ex-Praetorian *evocati* entered as *VI hastatus posterior* and *X pilus prior* respectively⁴¹⁴. P. Turranius Severus began with a direct commission as *V princeps posterior*⁴¹⁵. Clearly the notion that all centurions began in the ‘lowest’ grade, that of *X hastatus posterior*, cannot be supported. Nor is this possible logistically. Working on a career length of some 20 years, each legion must, on average, have lost three centurions per year and likewise gained three⁴¹⁶. They cannot all have begun as *X hastatus posterior*. Some such as the directly commissioned, or *evocati Augusti*, or simply the well-connected, might perhaps gain entry at a higher grade, but we would not expect these to account for two-thirds of recruits each year⁴¹⁷ and nor do our problems end there, for these three new centurions are appointed *each* year and unless the post of *X hastatus posterior* were to be a one-year appointment, it would not be available to any of the entrants the following year.

⁴¹² See above 192.

⁴¹³ V 7004.

⁴¹⁴ AE 1990.896; XIII 6728.

⁴¹⁵ AE 1988.1044; Strobel 1988.

⁴¹⁶ This is essentially the same calculation as that of Dobson 1974, 427.

⁴¹⁷ Numbers are difficult to estimate, however: Dobson *op. cit.*, 404.

Average time in post in fact appears to be in the order of 3–4 years⁴¹⁸ which would mean that there were 9–12 new entrants before the post of *X hastatus posterior* became vacant again – i.e. there must have been at least 9–12 posts in which a new centurion could serve. If we follow Wegebelen’s thesis, there were of course 54, which disposes of the problem entirely, but although a rigid hierarchy is out of the question, advancement of a sort seems evident nonetheless.

Advancement

As already noted, few attested centurions give detailed career descriptions – it may be that only those who had risen far, or whose equestrian status ensured an illustrious career, could afford such expansive monuments. We should not, however, suppose therefore that only a very few careers involved multiple appointments. Dobson has suggested that the centurion had a one in three chance of becoming *primus pilus*⁴¹⁹. The *primus pilus*, almost by definition, has a multiple-centurionate career for the post could not be gained directly and often involved long service and a number of previous posts. It is clear, therefore, as Summerly points out⁴²⁰, that at least one in three centurions pursued a multi-centurionate career and probably many more – for there must have been those who failed to make the grade as *primus pilus* despite a similar career path⁴²¹. This is somewhat contrary to Birley’s 1965 thesis that transfers of centurions can be explained by movements due to patronage; movements accompanying vexillations sent to reinforce legions; and concomitant movements to fill the gaps left in the process. The argument is intended to counter the suggestion that such movements were deliberate policy, aimed at preventing the build up of too close local affinities, and the implication is that such movement was not usual. However, cases such as those of Audacilius Romanus (6.10), Ti. Claudius Fatalis (6.20), T. Flavius Virilis (6.31) and C. Iulius Maritimus (6.37), who held three or more successive centurionates in British legions, seem difficult to explain if transfers between legions are to be considered unusual.

⁴¹⁸ Birley 1965, 24; Le Roux 1972, 98.

⁴¹⁹ Dobson 1970, 102.

⁴²⁰ Summerly, 1991, 12.

Whether all such transfers actually constituted a step up in some hierarchy of posts is not clear. That such transfers could be considered promotions is clear in the case of Ti. Claudius Vitalis (6.20) and M. Sabidius Maximus (*AE* 1937.99), who use the term *promotus*⁴²² to describe their movements. The number of posts held, eight and seven respectively, must indicate that some of the movements involved transfer into a different cohort. Indeed there would be nothing to prevent the conclusion that all were moves between cohorts and that only such moves were thus characterised⁴²³. Strobel would argue that transfer from a post amongst the *posteriores* to one amongst the *priores* represented a promotion, but this rests on a single example⁴²⁴ and perhaps the only thing that can be offered from Table II.6.11 is that those mentioning their first grade as centurion appear in cohorts V, VI, VIII and X; those recording the final post of a longer career appear in cohorts I-V. The case of T. Flavius Virilis (6.31), who held six posts as centurion yet ended his career as *VIII hastatus posterior*, would seem to require some special explanation, but the number of instances where such grades is recorded is too few for any certain conclusions.

The primipilate

The route to the primipilate is usually stated to run via the other centurionates of the first cohort – i.e. promotion to the *primi ordines* was a necessary step in the process⁴²⁵. Once there, some would discern a ladder of promotion through the posts of *hastatus posterior*, *princeps posterior*, *hastatus prior* and *princeps prior*⁴²⁶; others are less rigid about the progression within the first cohort⁴²⁷. Q. Trebellius

⁴²¹ It could be argued that the prospective *primus pilus* was in fact identified early and the multi-centurionate career was intended to fit him for the post. Even so, there must have been those who did not succeed.

⁴²² Its use elsewhere would certainly seem to imply promotion as we would understand it: e.g. Octavius Secundus III 7334 = *ILS* 2080 = Dobson 1978, 244.123 *promotus succes in leg prim[a]m [I]ta[li]c [p]rimipil*; *AE* 1993, 1363 *promotus ex opt trib inpositus in ordinem leg I Ital*; XIII 6823 *promotus > ex bf praefectorum*.

⁴²³ *contra* Speidel 1992, 11 and n. 10: in neither case quoted (the same two quoted here) can a transfer within a cohort be presumed.

⁴²⁴ Strobel 1988.

⁴²⁵ Birley 1953, 104; Mann 1983b, 136.

⁴²⁶ Le Bohec 1989, 150 implies such a ladder in the case of T. Pontius Sabinus (X 5829), who began with an equestrian career but transferred to the centurionate with an apparently accelerated route: >

Maximus (III 7354), *trecenarius*, held a single centurionate as *hastatus* before advancement to the primipilate⁴²⁸; the anonymous *AE* 1997.1522 held a succession of centurionates and does appear to have advanced through a series of posts in the first cohort, his final three being *hastatus leg XVI F F*, *princeps leg I Miner* and *pp*; Q. Geminius Sabinus (*AE* 1923.28) was *hastatus prior* in *legio I Adiutrix* (presumably in the first cohort; this penultimate centurionate is the only one for which a grade is given) before advancement to *primus pilus* (here, unusually, not apparently with a legion but in conjunction with the post of *princeps peregrinorum* at Rome); the anonymous III 3846, *ex cornicularius* to the Praetorian prefect, had held three centurionates prior to the post of *hastatus coh I* in *legio II Traiana*, advancement to the primipilate would seem the likely next step had he survived⁴²⁹.

There remain problems with any such ladder of promotions, however few rungs it might be taken to entail. If it were necessary to hold the post of *princeps prior* immediately before the primipilate, then in order to supply one *primus pilus* per year for each legion, that post too would have to be held for one year only⁴³⁰. The same consideration would apply if it were necessary to be *hastatus prior* before *princeps prior*, and we would have to envisage a procession of centurions moving in lock-step through successive one-year appointments. This does not accord with what we know of the centurial career⁴³¹. Nor does it clearly account for such as the *trecenarius* who, having held three senior centurionates at Rome, normally held a single legionary centurionate followed by the primipilate⁴³². The interval

leg XXII Primig, > *leg XIII Gem*, *pp leg III Aug*; Le Bohec assumes direct entry into the first cohort as *hastatus*, then *princeps* then *pp*.

⁴²⁷ Dobson 1974, 407; 'promotion ... [was] a matter of getting into the *primi ordines* and then working up to the primipilate through the two junior centurionates, and then *hastatus*, *princeps*, *primuspilus*, though it does not seem that all had to be held.'

⁴²⁸ Petolescu 1995.

⁴²⁹ *cf.* II 2664, V Suppl 1253, VI 1645, IX 5358, XI 6055, *ILS* 2743 and v. Dobson 1978, 41-44.

⁴³⁰ This point has been made by Frank Gilliam to Brian Dobson (2000, 143).

⁴³¹ But does appear to be how Maxfield 1981, 244 envisages progress through the first cohort.

⁴³² Dobson and Breeze 1969, 107.

between these last two posts is uncertain. In the case of M. Tillius Rufus (6.64) it appears to have been something like five years⁴³³.

The advanced age to which one would have to serve in order to attain the post of *primus pilus* is often stressed⁴³⁴. The corollary of a promotion route wholly within the first cohort would be that the first cohort was staffed entirely by centurions of advancing years. The most experienced such men in the legion, to be sure, but at an age when they would perhaps be expected to be employed in an administrative or training capacity⁴³⁵. This does not seem to chime in with the image of the first cohort as the double-strength shock-troops of the legion⁴³⁶.

It seems more likely that there were a number of posts from which one could be promoted to this position, and Goldsworthy has championed the proposition that the *pilus prior* of each cohort II-X was included among the *primi ordines*⁴³⁷. If promotion from any one of these posts to *primus pilus* were possible then we would have ten possible routes from within the legion to the primipilate (including here the *princeps prior* of *cohors I* who had a special role in any case). With the 30% success rate proposed by Dobson, three of these men might perhaps succeed, which would equate to an average 3 years in this penultimate post. Of course, it is probable that once promoted to the *primi ordines* a centurion was in fact quite likely to achieve the primipilate, a rather arbitrarily chosen 50% figure (for there were those who attained a post in the *primi ordines* but advanced no higher) would suggest that five of these men might succeed, and that they might spend 5 years in their penultimate post.

⁴³³ The identification with the holder of the primipilate is not certain, moreover Dobson and Breeze *loc. cit.* feel that this career, dating to the time of Severus, may be unusual. It might be added that the centurionate in the legion could in fact conceal successive posts therein.

⁴³⁴ Dobson 1974, 396 quoting Juvenal 14.197.

⁴³⁵ *cf.* Birley 1988, 210.

⁴³⁶ Those drawn up on the right of the front line (Vegetius 2.6) and perhaps incorporating the *veterani*, the most experienced men in the ranks (Keppie 1984, 176).

⁴³⁷ Goldsworthy 1996, 15 (*cf.* Parker 1928, 201): the chain of command would seem to demand that a representative of each cohort was involved in tactical discussions; Tacitus' comment re 'six of the *primi ordines*' being killed (*Hist.* 3.22); the epigraphic evidence seems to point otherwise '*primi ordines et centuriones*'.

Chapter II.7

Miles



7.30: *C. Deccius*

II.7

Miles

1. P. Aelius...

CIL III 1472 (Sarmizegetusa): *D(is) M(anibus) | P(ublio) Ael(io) P(ubl(i)) fil(o) Pap(iria) Themeti ve[ti(erano)...] | et II virali col(oniae) Sarm[izegetusae] vix(it) an(nos)] | LXXXVIII et Aeliae [...] | vix(it) an(nos) LXXI et P(ublio) [Ael(io)...] | leg(ionis) XX Victric[is...]* | *P(ubk(ius)) Ael(ius) Senec(a) gener[is]...?*

‘To the spirits of the departed (and) to Publius Aelius Themetus, son of Publius, of the Papirian voting-tribe, veteran ... and *duumvir* of the *colonia* Sarmizegetusa, lived 89 years; and to Aelia ... lived 71 years and to P. (Aelius) ... of the Twentieth Legion Victrix ... Publius Aelius Seneca (dedicated this) to his son-in-law’

The Aelian nomenclature of the family is consistent – ultimately deriving from enfranchisement by the emperor Hadrian – so that the individual who served in the Twentieth Legion, however related to Themetus or Seneca, must also have been Publius Aelius. The patriarch, Themetus, a veteran perhaps of one of the Dacian legions (*legio IIII Flavia* or *XIII Gemina*), had attained some status as *Ilvir*, one of the chief magistrates of the *colonia*. Although sons of *Ilviri* at Sarmizegetusa are recorded serving in the ranks¹, recruitment from Dacia to the British legions was not usual², and it is possible that P. Aelius was able to enter the Twentieth Legion as centurion, or attained that rank prior to transfer. This inscription belongs to a small, but possibly significant, group in which the legion appears as *legio XX Victrix* (see Chapter III.3).

¹ III 7979; *AE* 1933.248.

² Mann 1983a, 23-4 and Table 9: one individual from Sarmizegetusa served as *frumentarius* of *legio VI victrix* – no others are recorded (but see 7.97).

2. Aelius Claudianus

RIB 448 (Chester): *Genio | sancto | centurie | Aelius | Claudian(us) | opt(io) v(otum) s(olvit)*

‘To the holy Genius of his century Aelius Claudianus, *optio*, fulfilled his vow.’

For dedications to the genius of the century see above Chapter I.2.2. The *optio* was frequently responsible for such dedications³. It is suggested that at Lambaesis chapels to the genius were located right next to the living quarters of the units⁴. The findspot of this altar suggests that it was set up close to, or within, the cohort barracks adjacent to the east gate of the fortress. There is no direct evidence of date here and service with *legio II Adiutrix* might not be entirely ruled out, but the *nomen* Aelius and lack of *praenomen* would suggest a date in the mid/late second or early third century⁵.

3. Aelius Optatus

CIL V 6632 (Novaria): *viv(us) fecit | d[is] manib(us) | Aelius Optatus | mil(es) in leg(ione) XX m|agister ballista|ri(or)um pr(o) duplo sibi | et suis parentibus s|uccessit Adgenno|ni ux(ori) Prisc(i) f(iliae) fr(atr)i Vita|li Rufo Victori fr(atribus) O|ptate(?) f(ilio) successori | et Germano liber|to suo*

‘Aelius Optatus, soldier in the Twentieth Legion, master of artillery, on double-pay?, had this made in his lifetime, to the spirits of the departed, on behalf of himself and his parents; he succeeded?... and to Adgenno? (Adgenna)⁶ his wife, daughter of Priscus; Vitalis, Rufus (and) Victor, his brothers; Optatus his son (and) inheritor; and to Germanus his freedman’

The Aelian nomenclature suggests descent from a man enfranchised by Hadrian, but the absence of a *praenomen* and appearance of a wife and family on this monument would suggest a date after the Severan

³ See also RIB 446 and 7.45 below.

⁴ Cagnat 1913, 505-7.

⁵ CSIR i 9.5. Hübner 1890, 125 considered the dedication to be second century.

⁶ Adgennus, Adgennius: *Onomasticon* I, 21.

reforms of the early third century⁷. Novaria in Cisalpine Gaul was presumably his home town. Recruitment from this area to the legion in Britain would not be usual at this date⁸. Mann suggests that this man was a Praetorian detached for service with the legion as *magister ballistariorum*⁹.

4. L. Aemilius Flaccus

CIL VI 3357 (Roma): *D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucii) Aemili Flacci | fr(umentarii) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | T. Sempronius | Pudens(s) frum(entarius) | leg(ionis) eiusdem | amico optimo*

‘To the spirits of the departed and of Lucius Aemilius Flaccus, *frumentarius* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, Titus Sempronius Pudens, *frumentarius* of the same legion, (set this up) to a very great friend’

The *frumentarii*, as their title suggests, may have originally been concerned with corn-supply and the provisioning of the legion, but under the principate a quite different role developed. They are found posted out at *stationes* under the *beneficiarii consulares* and are recorded making arrests and escorting prisoners. Their chief employment, however, was as couriers, particularly between the provincial governor and the emperor at Rome, a role also filled by the *speculatores* with whom they seem to be linked¹⁰. From the early second century, possibly under Trajan, they were formed into a unit, the *numerus frumentariorum* and provided with a base at Rome, the *castra peregrina*¹¹. Operating directly for the emperor, their role began to take on political overtones, including espionage and assassination¹². By the time of Diocletian they had become distrusted and unpopular and were disbanded, to be replaced by the no less notorious *agentes in rebus*.

⁷ Severan reforms: Birley 1969, 63; Phang 2001, 2-3. Forni 1974, 375 suggests a dating from the reign of Hadrian to the end of the third century.

⁸ Mann 1983a, 23.

⁹ Mann 1963, 487.

¹⁰ Rankov 1999, 29; See 7.75 below. *Stationes*: Austin and Rankov 1995, 195-6.

¹¹ Ashby and Baillie Reynolds 1923; Mann 1988; Rankov 1990; see 5.4 above.

¹² Austin and Rankov 1995, 136-7.

As a *frumentarius*, therefore, Flaccus may have spent little or no time with the legion in which he was technically enrolled. Whilst in Britain he would probably be attached to the governor's staff and may never have remained in the province long. His commemoration in Rome by a colleague, also enrolled in this legion (7.75 below; and see also 7.11, another *frumentarius* at Rome), would seem to indicate that Rome was their primary posting. In provincial nomenclature, the *cognomen* Flaccus shows a clear Spanish bias, and Aemilius is likewise common there¹³. This may be the region from which Flaccus hailed¹⁴.

5. C. Allius

CIL III 2911 (Iader): C(aio) Allio T(iti) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Luc(a) | veter(ano) leg(ionis) XX | C(aio) Allio Prisco f(ilio) | ann(is) X Allia C(aii) l(iberta) Mete | patrono et filio | viva b(e)ne merenti | in fronte p(edes) X in agr(o) p(edes) XVI | et C(aio) Allio Vitali filio

'To Gaius Allius, son of Titus, of the Fabian voting tribe, from Luca, veteran of the Twentieth Legion (and) to Gaius Allius Priscus his son aged 10 years; Allia Mete freedwoman of Gaius set this up in her lifetime to her former master and (his?) son, well-deserving; (the burial plot) ten feet in breadth, sixteen feet in depth; and to Gaius Allius Vitalis his son.

C. Allius from Luca, in Etruria, was settled in Iader on the Adriatic coast of Dalmatia, perhaps as part of a settlement of veterans before AD 6. The Pannonian revolt and disasters on the Rhine led to the suspension of normal discharge after this date¹⁵. Settlement from the Rhine legions to Dalmatia is not known so a later date seems unlikely¹⁶. The activities of the Twentieth Legion in the decades prior to AD 6 are not well attested, but it may have been in Pannonia and Illyricum since the wars of 13-9BC

¹³ *Onomasticon* II, 143; I, 40.

¹⁴ *Frumentarii* of the army of Britain are found with widely scattered *origines*. *Leg II Aug*: Cemenelum, VI 3339 (cf. 7.11). *Leg VI victrix*: Solva, V 3362; Sarmizegetusa, III 1474; Glevum, VI 3346; [Lin]do?, VI 3343.

¹⁵ Wilkes 1969, 111. The retention of men long past their due discharge was one of the main grievances in the mutiny of AD 14, see below Chapter III.1, 328.

¹⁶ Mann 1983a, 97, 107.

under Tiberius¹⁷ and Allius may have spent all of his service in that quarter, prior to discharge and settlement on the Dalmatian coast.

6. Anni(us) Cesti(anus?)

RIB 489 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | Anni[us....] | Cesti[us?...] | mil(es) leg(ionis) X[X] | V(aleriae) [V(ictricis)] an(norum) X[.]III | [...*

‘To the spirits of the departed: Anni[us] ... Cesti[us?...], soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria [Victrix], aged 18 (or 23 or 43) years...’

Fragmentary remnants of ‘VS’ on the grave-altar¹⁸ suggest the reading Cestius, although this is a *nomen*¹⁹. The corresponding *cognomen* would be Cestinus or Cestianus²⁰, for which there is ample room. Of the possibilities for *Anni[...]*, *Annius* if far and away the most common²¹ although the size of the lacuna would seem to require something more. The formulation and lack of *praenomen* would suggest a date in the later second century²².

7. Annus Felix

RIB 517 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | An(ni) Felicis vet(erani) | vix(it) [a]n(nos) LX[X]X | [...*

‘To the spirits of the departed, (and) of Annus Felix, veteran, (who) lived 80 years...’

¹⁷ See below Chapter III.1, 323-4.

¹⁸ *CSIR* i 9.22.

¹⁹ *Onomasticon* II, 52 records this as CESTI[]. However, cf. 2.4 for use of *Annius* as a *praenomen*, if in abbreviated form.

²⁰ Kajanto 1965, 144.

²¹ *Onomasticon* I, 119.

²² See above I.2.3. The use of *annorum* suggests that it is not as late as the third century.

An example of a veteran settled at Chester (see also 7.32, 7.54). The form of the dedication suggests a later second-century or third-century date²³, so that although he clearly lived many years after discharge service with the Twentieth is most probable.

8. ...Antigonus

*RIB 160 + add. (Bath): ...] | Ser(gia) A[nt]igonus | Nic(opoli) emeritus ex | leg(ione) XX an(norum) XLV
| h(ic) s(itus) e(st) | G(aius) Tiberinus heres | f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

‘...Antigonus, of the Sergian voting-tribe, from Nicopolis, *emeritus* from the Twentieth Legion, aged 45, lies buried here; Gaius Tiberinus, his heir, had this set up.’

Antigonus, the bearer of a Greek name, probably came from Nicopolis in Epirus which belonged to the Sergian voting-tribe²⁴. Along with other soldiers commemorated at Bath²⁵, Antigonus may have been visiting there for the sake of his health, apparently without success, although an earlier military presence in the area to the north of the town has been postulated²⁶. The initial development of the temple/baths complex is dated to the late Neronian or early Flavian period which would sit happily with the tomb formulae²⁷. If the tombstone were to date to this slightly later period then the omission of the legionary titles might be of significance (see Appendix 1). Aged 45, he had probably not been long discharged and may have settled in the area. It is probable that he was involved in the fighting on the Welsh frontier during his term of service and even possible that he had participated in the invasion in AD 43. Recruitment from the Greek-speaking east to either the German or British army was most unusual²⁸ and this short text may disguise a more complex and unusual career. Gaius Tiberinus, his heir, may well have been another soldier or veteran.

²³ *CSIR* i 9.39 suggests a third-century date.

²⁴ *RIB ad loc.*

²⁵ M. Valerius Latinus 7.87 = *RIB* 158; Iulius Vitalis 7.51 = *RIB* 156; *RIB* 157, 159.

²⁶ Cunliffe 1969, 1-3; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 9-10.

²⁷ HSE and nominative case, see Chapter I.2.3.

9. L. Antonius Quadratus

CIL V 4365 = Iscr. It. X.5.154 (Brixia): L(ucius) Antonius L(ucii) f(ilius) | Fab(ia) Quadra|tus donatus | torquibus et | armillis ab | Ti(berio) Caesare bis | leg(ionis) XX

‘Lucius Antonius Quadratus, son of Lucius, of the Fabian voting-tribe, twice awarded *torques* and *armillae* by Tiberius Caesar; of the Twentieth Legion’

Quadratus probably came from Brixia in northern Italy where he is commemorated. The reference to awards received from Tiberius probably relates to service during the Pannonian uprisings of AD 6-9, perhaps even to a part in the celebrated exploits under Valerius Messalinus²⁹. His career provides the only corroboration of the statement given by Tacitus to Germanicus, addressing the ‘men of the Twentieth who have shared with him [Tiberius] so many battles and have been enriched with so many rewards’³⁰. The sculptured relief shows *phalerae* as well as the *torques* and *armillae* mentioned in the text, these three being the normal level of award for the ordinary soldier in this period³¹. The inclusion of the legionary *signum* among the relief decoration may indicate that he had held the rank of *signifer* responsible for the standard of the century among other duties³².

10. M. Apronius [Sen]jecius

RIB 519 (Chester): D(is) M(anibus) | M(arco) Apronio | M(arci) f(ilio) Fabia (tribu) | [Sen]jecio | [Bery]to | [...] | S[...]

‘To the spirits of the departed, (and) of Marcus Apronius [Sen]jecius, son of Marcus, of the Fabian voting-tribe, from Berytus...’

²⁸ Mann 1983a, 49-56. See also 7.10 and 7.12 below, though of a later period.

²⁹ See above Chapter III.1, 324, but there may have been ample opportunity for the gaining of *dona* during the earlier wars of conquest; Keppie 1984, 167 prefers ‘Augustus’ northern wars’.

³⁰ Tacitus *Ann.* 1.42.6.

³¹ Maxfield 1981, 213-7.

³² Watson 1969, 79. See also 7.14, 7.19, 7.34, 7.102.

Fragments of rectangular pillar monument³³. Berytus in Phoenicia is suggested as the origin of this man³⁴. Although such recruitment would not be usual³⁵, there is no obvious alternative candidate among towns and cities of the western half of the empire. Birley supposed that he had joined a vexillation of the Twentieth sent east for Hadrian's Jewish war, which then returned to Britain perhaps along with the centurion C. Ligustinius Disertus (6.42)³⁶. The cognomen might be read as Senecius, or perhaps Retecius³⁷.

11. T. Aurelius Certus

CIL VI 3916 = 32872 (Roma): D(is) M(anibus) | T(iti) Aureli | Cl(audia) Certi | Cemeneli | fr(umentarii) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | Iulius Severus | et Aurelius | Sempronius | h(eredes) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

'To the spirits of the departed and to Titus Aurelius Certus, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Cemenelum, *frumentarius* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; Iulius Severus and Aurelius Sempronius his heirs had this set up'

Certus came from Cemenelum, the chief town of the province of Alpes Maritimae³⁸. He was enrolled as *frumentarius* and as such was normally stationed at Rome. Although nominally on the legionary roll he may never have served with the legion in Britain (see further L. Aemilius Flaccus, 7.4 above; also 7.75 below). His heirs may also have been *frumentarii*, but it was the nature of the *castra peregrina* that soldiers from many different provinces were quartered together³⁹ and we cannot say to which legion they might have belonged.

³³ *CSIR* i 9.23.

³⁴ Birley quoted by Wright and Richmond 1955, 32 No. 63.

³⁵ Mann 1983a, 49-56. See also 7.8 (of a much earlier period) and 7.12.

³⁶ Birley 1986a, 206.

³⁷ Solin and Salomies 1994. Neither is common; the latter does not appear in *Onomasticon III*.

³⁸ Rivet 1988, 341.

³⁹ Austin and Rankov 1995, 136.

12. Aurelius Diogenes

RIB 521 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | Au[re]lius Diogen[es] | ima]ginifer | [...M...*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Aurelius Diogenes, *imaginer*...’

The Greek name coupled with the imperial *gentilicium* suggests that Diogenes had gained his citizenship on enlistment during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (some time after 161, therefore). Recruitment from the Greek-speaking east directly into the Twentieth Legion would not be usual⁴⁰. If the Twentieth had contributed vexillations to the emperor M. Aurelius’ campaigns on the northern frontier, or even in the east, then Diogenes and perhaps others of similar origin may have arrived as reinforcements with the returning vexillations, having been initially enrolled into eastern legions. The *imaginer* was responsible for carrying the standard bearing the image of the emperor⁴¹. Diogenes is represented in relief on his tombstone holding the *imago* in his right hand⁴².

13. Aurelius Lucius

RIB 522 (Chester) : *[D(is)] M(anibus) | Aureli Luci | equitis | h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

‘To the spirits of the departed, (and) of Aurelius Lucius, horseman; his heir had this erected.’

A contingent of cavalry, the *equites legionis* was present within each legion. These numbered about 120 men⁴³. They appear to have been enrolled in the centuries just as the ordinary *miles*, at least for

⁴⁰ See 7.8 and 7.10 above. The Syrian *praefectus castrorum*, M. Aurelius Alexander (4.1), was presumably enrolled in similar circumstances, but his advancement to the centurionate and beyond will have involved a number of transfers and his presence at Chester is more easily understood.

⁴¹ Domaszewski 1885, 69; Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 4.

⁴² CSIR i 9.53 suggesting a mid third-century date.

⁴³ Parker 1958, 210; Webster 1985, 116 after Josephus *Bell. Jud.* 3.6.2. Dixon and Southern (1992, 27-30) point out that the circumstances described by Josephus may not reflect usual practice but the alternative figures given by Vegetius (*Eptoma* 2.6) in all probability describe much later practice, even if they are taken as correct.

administrative purposes, and may not have been housed separately⁴⁴. A number of other possible *equites legionis* are known from Chester, although only C. Iulius Severus (7.46) is explicitly described as such. The tombstones of Sextus Similius (7.122*) and M. Valerius Martialis (7.123*) are fragmentary but the remains of the relief decoration indicate mounted figures. *RIB* 550 and 551 likewise commemorate horsemen but fragments only of the first lines of the text can be discerned. A further fragmentary example with no surviving inscription is known⁴⁵. Mason proposes that the anonymous member of a *turma* of cavalry, *RIB* 557, might have belonged to the later third century legionary cavalry which was of greater strength and organized into *turmae*⁴⁶. However, the statement of Vegetius (2.14) apart, there is little evidence for the existence of such *turmae*⁴⁷ and it is perhaps more likely he was an auxiliary. A date in the second quarter of the third century has been suggested here⁴⁸.

14. Aurelius Vale(n)tinus

CIL XII 678 (Arelate): *D(is) M(anibus) | Aur(elio) Valetino si|gnifero legio|nis XX qui vixit | ann(os) L Garini|a Emerita co|niugi merent|issimo | posuit*

‘To the spirits of the departed and to Aurelius Vale(n)tinus, signifer of the Twentieth Legion who lived 50 years. Garinia Emerita put this up to her most deserving husband’

The *cognomen* is perhaps intended to be the relatively common *Valentinus*⁴⁹. The transmitted ‘*Valetinus*’ does not appear among those collected in Solin and Salomies 1994. The use of the tomb-formula DM, the imperial nomenclature and the omission of the *praenomen* combine to suggest a late second or early third-century date despite the absence of the legionary title. If death in service can be assumed, then the fact of his marriage would support a third-century date⁵⁰. However, his commemoration at Arelate might argue for discharge and return perhaps to his town of origin, in which case his marriage may postdate

⁴⁴ Pitts and St Joseph 1981, 169-70.

⁴⁵ *CSIR* i 9.58.

⁴⁶ Mason 2001, 167.

⁴⁷ Dixon and Southern 1992, 28.

⁴⁸ *CSIR* i 9.43 quoting Mattern 1989, 763 No. 53.

⁴⁹ Kajanto 1965, 209; 247; *Onomasticon* IV, 140.

⁵⁰ Watson 1939, 167.

his term of service. Mann suggests that Valentinus may have been transferred into the legion by Septimius Severus as part of a draft of men to make good the losses of his defeat of Clodius Albinus at Lugdunum in AD 197⁵¹. For *signiferi* see 7.9, 7.19, 7.34, 7.102.

15. C. Axonius

CIL II 22* (Elvas): *C(aius) Axonius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Pap(iria) | leg(ionis) XX nat(us) col(onia) | Fir(mo) Piceno se vivo | moniment(um) fec(it) sibi et | fr(atr)i Q(uinto) Ax(onio) Q(uinti) f(ilio)*

‘Gaius Axonius, son of Quintus, of the Papirian voting-tribe, (soldier) of the Twentieth Legion, born in the *colonia* at Firmum Picenum, made this monument while he lived, to himself and to his brother Quintus Axonius, son of Quintus’

This stone has been regarded with some suspicion because Firmum Picenum was not enrolled in the tribe *Papiria* but in *Velina*. However, Ritterling seems content to admit this man and allow him to adopt the tribe of the *colonia* at Emerita in Spain where he was settled⁵². The colony at Emerita was founded in 25BC⁵³. Coinage of the city has been taken to indicate that the Fifth and Tenth Legions were the founding units, but these coins do not appear until AD 2⁵⁴ and several phases of settlement might be postulated with veterans of *legio XX* being settled in 25BC at the close of Augustus’ campaigns in Spain⁵⁵. Axonius’ brother Quintus was perhaps also a legionary settled in Spain and may also have served in the Twentieth Legion. However, we have no clear knowledge of the constitution of the colony prior to AD 2 and other units may also have been involved.

⁵¹ Mann 1983a, 24; *cf.* 7.48.

⁵² Ritterling 1925, 1769; followed by Le Roux, 1982, 59 and v. Forni 1953, 58. For veterans of the Twentieth in Spain see also L. Hermelius 7.41 and the anonymous 7.110.

⁵³ Dio 53.26; but see Chapter III.1, 321-2.

⁵⁴ Canto 1990, 292; Burnett *et al.* 1992, 70-1. The coinage of P. Carisius, Augustus’ legate in 25BC, does not name the legions and omits the title *Augusta*; Grueber 1910, II 374-7.

⁵⁵ Canto 1990, 290-2. Ritterling 1925, 1770 proposed a phase of settlement by *legio XX* earlier than 25BC; Wiegels 1974, 272 allowed that veterans of all three legions could be involved in 25BC; Roldan

16. Caecilius Avitus

RIB 492 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | Caecilius Avit|us Emer(ita) Aug(usta) | optio leg(ionis) XX | V(aleriae) V(ictricis) st(i)p(endiorum) XV vix(it) | an(nos) XXXIII | h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

‘To the spirits of the departed: Caecilius Avitus, of Emerita Augusta, *optio* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, of 15 years’ service, lived 34 years; his heir had this erected.’

Caecilius Avitus⁵⁶ originated in the *colonia* at Emerita Augusta, the capital of Lusitania. Veterans of the Twentieth Legion may have had a role in the foundation of the colony early in Augustus’ reign⁵⁷ and it remained a prime source of recruits into the armies of Britain and Spain⁵⁸. The lack of *praenomen* and use of *stipendiorum* along with the formula *vixit annos* combine to suggest a later second-century date⁵⁹. Avitus had enrolled at the age of 19 and died in service after 15 years in Britain. He had attained the rank of *optio*, second in command to the centurion of a cohort. Had he lived, further advancement to the post of centurion would have been open to him, though the process might take up to 20 years all told⁶⁰. Both elements of the nomenclature are strongly represented in Spain, to the extent that such an origin would be deemed probable even without the supporting evidence⁶¹.

17. Caecilius Donatus

RIB 523 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | C(a)ecilius Donatus B|essus na|tione mili|tavit ann|os XXVI vix|it annos XXXX*

1974, 208 suggests settlement of veterans at Norba to the north. See also 7.41, 7.110. Yébenes 2000 disputes this interpretation, supposing these men to all be Spanish recruits returning to Spain.

⁵⁶ Le Roux 1982, 218-9 No. 165.

⁵⁷ See Chapter III.1 and 7.15 above.

⁵⁸ Mann 1983a, 22-4; 84-6 Table 7; 89-90 Table 9. See 7.55, 7.69 below.

⁵⁹ Above Chapter I.2.3 but *cf.* CSIR i 9.32 suggesting mid/late third century on the basis of the hair style.

⁶⁰ Breeze 1974b, 270-2.

⁶¹ *Onomasticon* II, 16; I, 231 and 233 fig. See above Chapter I.4.

'To the spirits of the departed, Caecilius Donatus, a Bessian tribesman, served 26 years and lived 40 years.'

Gravestone with relief carving⁶². The Bessi were a Thracian tribe⁶³. The lack of *praenomen*, voting-tribe or father's name and the fact of his tribal origin make a third-century date most likely and point to service with the Twentieth Legion. If the figures quoted for length of service and age at death are correct, then he was enrolled at the very young age of 14⁶⁴.

18. L. Caiatius Sextinus

RIB 493 (Chester): *L(ucius) Caiatius | L(ucii) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Sex|tinus Lug(duno) | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | [...]*

'Lucius Caiatius Sextinus, son of Lucius, of the Galerian voting-tribe, from Lugdunum, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, ...'

Sextinus originated in the *colonia* at Lugdunum. The *cognomen* is distinctive and commonest in the Gauls and Germany⁶⁵. The style of the dedication suggests a late first-century or very early second-century date.

19. D. Capienius Urbicus

RIB 525 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | D(ecimi) Capieni | Urbici Vol|tina Vienn(a) | signiferi sti|pend(iorum) XXIII | annor(um) XLIII | h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

'To the spirits of the departed, (and) of Decimus Capienius⁶⁶ Urbicus, of the Voltinian voting-tribe, from Vienna, standard-bearer, of 24 years' service, aged 44. His heir had this erected.'

⁶² CSIR i 9.44.

⁶³ From the region around Trimontium: RE III, 329 *Bessoi*.

⁶⁴ Forni 1953, 135 lists only four others so young, but the age given here may be a round figure: Scheidel 1996, 97-116 and see further below 296-8.

⁶⁵ Kajanto 1965, 162, 174 (21 out of 27 examples recorded in CIL XII, XIII); *Onomasticon* IV, 79.

⁶⁶ *Onomasticon* II, 33 prefers Capienus; Solin and Salomies 1994 give both, but this is sole example of Capienius.

Urbicus held the rank of *signifer* responsible for the standard of the century among other administrative duties⁶⁷. This was a prestigious post, which might be held by a soldier of some seniority approaching discharge, as apparently in this case. Where held earlier, it formed part of the progression of posts *tessararius – signifer – optio* which might lead to a centurial post⁶⁸. He came from Vienna, now Vienne, a *colonia* on the River Rhône south of Lugdunum. An early to mid second-century date is probable.

20. T. Carsius Certinus

CIL XII 679 (Arelate): *D(is) M(anibus) | T(iti) Carsi Teret(ina) | Certini | veter(ani) leg(ionis) XX
V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | Carsia Titia | filia patri | piissimo*

‘To the spirits of the departed and to Titus Carsius Certinus, of the Teretine voting-tribe, veteran of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; Carsia Titia, daughter, (set this up) to her most pious father’

Text repeated on other side, but last line = *pietissimo* ‘...to her most devoted father’

Certinus⁶⁹ was probably from Arelate (Arles) and returned there after his discharge. Aurelius Valentinus (7.14) apparently did likewise (though probably at a later date). L. Licinius Valens (7.54), also originating in Arelate, chose to remain at Chester.

21. Cassius Secundus

RIB 526 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | Cassius Secun|dus missus ho|nesta missione | vix(it) an(nos) LXXX
| ...]us con|[iunx...*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Cassius Secundus, honourably discharged, lived 80 years; [...]us his wife [set this up...’

⁶⁷ Watson 1969, 79. See also 7.9, 7.14, 7.34, 7.102.

⁶⁸ Breeze 1974b, 270-2. Staff posts as *beneficiarius* or *cornicularius* were frequently also held.

⁶⁹ The sole example of this *cognomen* in Kajanto 1965, 254 and *Onomasticon* II, 51, The *nomen* is equally rare: *Onomasticon* II, 38.

The lack of a *praenomen* suggests a later second-century or third-century date. A few feminine names ending in *-us* are known and thus *RIB* suggests ...]us conf[ugi... ‘...]us to her husband’ for line 6. *Conf[iunx* might be better in this case, but other alternatives can be suggested – e.g. *conf[sobrinus*, cousin.⁷⁰ The phrase *missus honesta missio* may merely refer to normal discharge after 25 years, but shorter terms of service are known⁷¹ and it was possible for legionaries to obtain *honesta missio* after 20 years, thus omitting the further 5 years service *sub vexillo*, relieved from menial tasks⁷². The identification of this man with the Q. Cassius Secundus (7.22) of AD 83 is attractive, although AD 143 (allowing the passage of 60 years) might still seem early for the appearance of epitaphs lacking a *praenomen*. The *cognomen* *Secundus* is of no assistance in identification⁷³, and although Cassii are uncommon in Roman Britain the *nomen* is common generally⁷⁴.

22. Q. Cassius Secundus

Britannia 23 (1992), 146 (Carlisle): *imp domitiano uiiii cos*

uii idus novembres q cassius

secundus miles leg xx) calui

prisci scribsi me debere

c geminio mansueto militi

leg eiusdem) uetti proculi

denarios centum quos...[.]

[...]

Imp(eratore) Domitiano VIII co(n)s(ule) | VII Idus Novembres Q(uintus) Cassius | Secundus, miles leg(ionis) XX (centuria) Calvi | Prisci, scribsi me debere | G(aio) Geminio Mansueto, militi | leg(ionis) eiusdem (centuria) Vetti Proculi, | denarios centum quos [tibi?] | [...]

⁷⁰ *RIB ad loc.* quoting Wright and Richmond 1955, 34 No. 69.

⁷¹ Forni 1953, 142-4; only one case of less than 20 years' service is recorded.

⁷² Mann 2000, 155.

⁷³ It is, aptly, the second most common recorded by Kajanto 1965, 29.

‘In the ninth consulship of the Emperor Domitian, on the 7th day before the Ides of November (7 Nov 83). I, Quintus Cassius Secundus, soldier of Legio XX, century of Calvius Priscus, have written that I owe Gaius Geminus Mansuetus, soldier of the same legion, century of Vettius Proculus, one hundred denarii which [I will repay you....due date and interest]’

Secundus can be placed at Carlisle towards the close of Agricola’s campaigns in Caledonia (and perhaps soon to be sent north to engage in the construction of the new fortress at Inchtuthil) by this remarkable, precisely-dated, writing tablet. He had borrowed a large sum from his colleague, amounting to a third of a year’s pay at the newly increased pay rate. Tomlin suggests that the 100 *denarii* due on the 7th January 84 might have been the first such instalment at the new rate, and that 7 November may have been chosen for exact reckoning of the interest over the two months to the next pay-day⁷⁵. A veteran of the same name (7.21; no praenomen is recorded) is recorded at Chester having lived to the age of 80, but the interval of time might be too large to allow identification and the nomenclature is not uncommon. See also 6.15, 6.74, 7.40.

23. C. Cestius Teurnicus

RIB 494 (Chester): D(is) [M(anibus)] | G(aius) Ces[ti]us Teurnic[us] | an(norum) XXX mi[les] | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) s[tip(endiorum)] | X h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

‘To the spirits of the departed, Gaius Cestius Teurnicus, aged 30, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, of 10 years’ service. His heir had this erected.’

The *cognomen* Teurnicus perhaps derives from Teurnia, a *colonia* in Noricum⁷⁶. For the question of recruitment from that region see further at 7.44 and 2 below.

⁷⁴ Goodburn and Waugh 1983, Index 1 *Nomina*; six individuals, all apparently soldiers. *Onomasticon* II, 41.

⁷⁵ Tomlin 1992, 154.

⁷⁶ Birley 1952, 179 but this is the sole example in *Onomasticon* IV, 117.

24. M. Cluvius Valentius

RIB 527 (Chester): D(is) M(anibus) | M(arcus) Cluvi(us) M(arci filius) | Ani(ensi) Valentius | Foro Iuli |
[...]

‘To the spirits of the departed, Marcus Cluvius Valentius, son of Marcus, of the Aniensian voting-tribe, from Forum Juli...’

The tomb-formula and style of the dedication indicate an early second-century date and service in the Twentieth Legion. Valentius originated in Forum Juli, now Fréjus, a *colonia* in south-east Gaul. Both elements of the nomenclature are unusual and distinctive⁷⁷ but the distribution is not informative.

25. Cocceius Verus

RIB 2491.88 (Holt): Cocceius Verus | AG...M...

graffito on tegula stamped [LEG] XX VV = *RIB 2463.29* (xii)

Auxiliaries are recorded working at Holt, but the *nomen* implies a citizen, a descendent of someone enfranchised in the reign of Nerva (AD 96-98) and as such probably belonging to a legionary working party. The peak activity of the works depot lay in the late first and early second centuries (see further at 6.6).

26. Condrau{si}sus

RIB 1005 (Cumberland quarries): leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) Condrau{si}sus

‘Condrausius of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix.’

Inscription cut into the rock-face above the River Eden near to Corby Castle. It presumably records the activities of a working party cutting stone for use in the construction of Hadrian’s Wall or its associated

⁷⁷ *Onomasticon* II, 66; IV, 141; Kajanto 1965, 247.

structures. The *cognomen* is distinctive, suggesting a probable origin in the Rhineland and certainly in a Celtic province⁷⁸.

27. Q. Cornelius

RIB 528 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | Q(uinus) Cornelius | [...*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Quintus Cornelius...’

The use of the formula *Dis Manibus* distinguishes this individual from his two namesakes at Chester. RIB 529 = 7.116*, with its rounded headline, is perhaps more likely to be of *legio II Adiutrix*. For RIB 530 see 7.117*. Perhaps early third century in date⁷⁹.

28. L. Cornelius Cinna

CIL XIII 8737 (Noviomagus): *L(ucius) Corneliu[s] | L(ucii) f(ilius) Poll(ia) Cinna | Mut(inenses) vet(eranus) ex leg(ionis) | XX ann(or)um LXV | h(ic) s(itus) e(st) | Prima con(iunx) (posuit)*

‘Lucius Cornelius Cinna, son of Lucius, of the Pollian voting-tribe, from Mutina, veteran of the Twentieth Legion (lived) 65 years; here he lies. Prima, his wife (set this up)’

A legionary base at Ulpia Noviomagus was constructed shortly before 12BC and given up in AD 9/10 to be replaced by a new base on the Kops Plateau to the east, occupied AD 10-20 and not re-established until the late Flavian period⁸⁰. Soldiers of the Twentieth Legion might have formed part of the early garrison but settlement of veterans in the area need not be closely linked to that establishment and Cinna may have served with the legion elsewhere on the Rhine.

⁷⁸ AR Birley 1979, 85; *Onomasticon* II, 72 gives *Condrausius*.

⁷⁹ *CSIR* i 9.46.

⁸⁰ Bechert and Willems 1995, 65-7; Haalebos and Willems 1999, 247.

29. L. Cornelius Macer

Epigraphica liii (1991) 259, 4 = *AE* 1991.658 (Vallecchia): *L(ucius) Cornelius L(ucii) f(ilius) Fa[b(ia)] | Macer leg(ione) XX? | L(ucius) Cornelius L(ucii) f(ili) f(ilius) | Primus*

‘Lucius Cornelius Macer, son of Lucius, of the Fabian voting-tribe, from the Twentieth Legion (and) Lucius Cornelius Primus, son of the son of Lucius (lie here)’

There is a fracture at the end of line 2, so that *legio XXI* cannot be ruled out here, although there does not seem to be room for anything higher⁸¹. The inscription was found close to the *colonia* of Luca in Etruria and is dated to the late first century BC when the Twentieth Legion was operating in northern Italy and Illyricum.

30. C. Deccius

CIL XIII 8287 = *RSK* 222 (colonia Agrippinensium): *C(aius) Deccius L(ucii) f(ilius) | Papiria Ticini | miles leg(ionis) XX | pequarius anno(rum) | XXXV stipendioru(m) | XVI hic s(itus) est*

‘Gaius Deccius, son of Lucius, of the Papirian voting-tribe, from Ticinum, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, *pequarius*, (lived) 35 years, served 16 (years); here he lies’

Deccius, from Ticinum in northern Italy, served with the Twentieth Legion before *c.* AD 35 while it was still stationed at Cologne. He was a *pequarius*, a grazier⁸². A variety of posts dealing with the legion’s livestock are attested: *ἰππωιατρός*, *veterinarius*, *pequarius*. Davies posits a division of responsibilities (the duties of the first of these must clearly have related to the legion’s horses) and suggests that the *miles pequarius* may have looked after the cattle on the *prata* of the legion, perhaps as assistant to the *medicus pequarius*, a skilled and qualified veterinary surgeon⁸³.

⁸¹ Keppie 2000a, 265 thought the name of the legion added as an afterthought and prefers LEG XXVI – admitting it would be a tight fit – since settlement of veterans of that legion is known here.

⁸² Passerini 1950, IV 609 No. 70 quoting 12 examples.

⁸³ Davies 1969a, 88.

31. Q. E(...) F(...)

Britannia 19 (1988), 492 no. 11 (Chesterholm): *Q(uintus) E(...) F(...) | mil(es) (legionis) XX*

‘Quintus E(...) F(...), soldier of (Legion) XX (built this).’

Building stone from the east wall of the fort of Vindolanda, presumably dating to late Hadrianic or early Antonine reconstruction in stone, if not later⁸⁴.

32. L. Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis

RIB 495 (Chester): *Dis M(anibus) | L(ucius) Ecimius | Bellicianus | Vitalis vet(er)anus | leg(ionis) XX*

V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | hic sep(e)l(itus)

‘To the spirits of the departed: Lucius Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis, veteran of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, lies buried here.’

A veteran settled at Chester. The formulation *hic sepelitus* appears on only two other legionary tombstones in Britain, both of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester⁸⁵. Together with the partial abbreviation of *Dis Manibus* this might suggest a late first-century date. A.R. Birley concluded that the nomenclature, including the ‘fabricated gentilicium’ Ecimius, indicated a Celtic origin⁸⁶. Mann goes further in suggesting that he may have been a Briton⁸⁷. However, the *cognomina* Bellicus / Bellicius / Bellicinus / Bellicianus show a marked concentration in Noricum⁸⁸ and Vitalis may after all derive from that province. Birley was of the opinion that Noricum did not form a normal source of recruits to the army of Britain and that we should look to transfers of vexillations sent to reinforce the legions of the province⁸⁹. A context in the aftermath of the civil wars of AD 69 might have seen this man transferred *c.* AD 70,

⁸⁴ Bidwell 1985, 9-10; R. Birley 1994, 3.

⁸⁵ *RIB* 481, 485.

⁸⁶ AR Birley 1979, 85; Forni 1953, 234 suggests *Gallia* generally. This is the sole example of Ecimius quoted in *Onomasticon* II, 113.

⁸⁷ Mann 1983a, 24.

⁸⁸ *Onomasticon* I, 283 and 284 Map; *cf.* M. Sextius Bellicus 7.77.

⁸⁹ Birley 1952, 185.

retiring to settle at Chester late in the first century (*cf.* 7.118*). Mann, on the other hand, considered the Italian communities of Noricum a normal source of recruits at this date⁹⁰.

33. T. Flavius Titullus

CIL IX 1608 (Beneventum): T(ito) Flavio T(iti) f(ilio) Ste(llatina) | Titullo leg(ionis) XX | T(itus) Flavius T(iti) l(ibertus) Faustus | sibi et patrono

‘To Titus Flavius Titullus, son of Titus, of the Stellatine voting-tribe, (soldier) of the Twentieth Legion; Titus Flavius Faustus, freedman of Titus (set this up) to himself and to his former master’

Beneventum, in southern Italy, received veteran colonists in 41BC after the battle of Philippi. The vast majority of these are of legions VI and XXX, and of the more fragmentary records found in the town or the *ager Beneventanus*, all would support restoration to one or the other of those legions⁹¹. This might argue in favour of a later date, taking the ‘Flavian’ nomenclature at face value, although Italian recruitment was by this time in decline⁹². However, Keppie is of the opinion that the formulae and format require an Augustan dating⁹³, and the discovery of a further early record of a Twentieth Legion at Beneventum⁹⁴ provides support for the argument that there was some settlement here of veterans of that legion in the Augustan period.

34. T. Flavius Valerianus

RIB 451 (Chester): Genio signi[f(eratorum)] | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | T(itus) Fl(avius) Valerianus | collegis d(ono) d(edit)

⁹⁰ Mann 1983a, 23 and see also 7.44.

⁹¹ Keppie 1983, 155-61.

⁹² Mann 1983a, 54.

⁹³ Keppie 1983, 160 n. 45. The use of a *cognomen* might be seen to provide a counter argument (see above I.4) but such use is not infrequent among those listed by Keppie *op. cit.* 212-23 and Dean 1916, 110 thought this example of a *cognomen* ‘undoubtedly early’.

⁹⁴ *AE* 1988.396 = 7.59.

‘To the Genius of the standard-bearers of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, Titus Flavius Valerianus gave this as a gift to his colleagues.’

Dedications were made to the *genius* of most divisions and units of the Roman army⁹⁵ and also to the *genii* of *collegia* or *scholae*, associations which met for religious purposes among other things⁹⁶. T. Flavius Valerianus who set up this dedication to the *Genius* of the standard-bearers of the legion was undoubtedly *signifer* himself. The Flavian nomenclature here probably indicates descent from someone given citizenship in the last third of the first century. For *signiferi* in the legion see 7.9, 7.14, 7.19, 7.102. The grave-relief from the tomb of another *signifer* at Chester is known, but no inscription survives⁹⁷.

35. ...Florianus

RIB 496 (Chester): ...] | Flor[i]anus [...] | mil(es) leg(ionis) X[X Valeriae] V(ictricis)] | an(norum) XXX[...] | h(eres) f(aciendum) [c(uravit)]

‘...Florianus...soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, aged 30....His heir had this erected.’

The *cognomen* Florianus is uncommon generally but is better represented in Pannonia than elsewhere⁹⁸.

36. Frontinius Aquilo

RIB 501 (Chester): G(aius) Lovesius Papir(ia) | Cadarus Emerita mil(es) | leg(ionis) XX Valeriae] V(ictricis) an(norum) XXV stip(endiorum) IIX | Frontinius Aquilo h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

‘Gaius Louesius Cadarus, of the Papirian voting-tribe, from Emerita, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, aged 25, of 8 years’ service. Frontinius Aquilo, his heir, had this set up.’

⁹⁵ See above 7.2.

⁹⁶ Speidel and Dimitrova-Milceva 1978, 1548.

⁹⁷ CSIR i 9.80.

⁹⁸ *Onomasticon* II, 148: 9 examples in Pannonia, elsewhere odd single occurrences; in Britain this man plus a centurion on Hadrian’s Wall.

As the heir to a serving soldier, C. Lovesius Cadarus (7.55), it is very likely that Aquilo was a colleague of the deceased⁹⁹ and also serving in the Twentieth Legion in the late first century. Both elements of the nomenclature are rare. Frontinius is most often attested in the Gallic provinces and on the Rhine¹⁰⁰.

37. T. Fuficius

CIL III 2030 (Salona): *T(itus) Fuficius C(aii) f(ilius) Pol(lia) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XX | T(itus) Fuficius T(iti) l(ibertus) Privatus | Fuficia (Gaii?) l(iberta) Prisca Fuficia T(iti) l(iberta) Prim(a)*

‘Titus Fuficius, son of Gaius, of the Pollian voting-tribe, veteran of the Twentieth Legion; Titus Fuficius Privatus, freedman of Titus; Fuficia Prisca, freedwoman of Gaius(?); Fuficia Prima, freedwoman of Titus; (lie here)’

The style of dedication and lack of *cognomen* indicate an early date. Fuficius had presumably served with the legion in Illyricum and been discharged in the years before AD 6, settling in Dalmatia¹⁰¹. Recruitment in northern Italy seems likely as with other members of the legion at this period¹⁰². Forni takes the *tribus* Pollia as indicating an Italian origin¹⁰³.

38. Furius Maximus

RIB 497 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | Furi Maxi|mi | mil(itis) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | st(ependiorum) XXII | h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

‘To the spirits of the departed and of Furius Maximus soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, of 22 years’ service. His heir had this erected.’

⁹⁹ Varon 1997, 565; Speidel 1992a, 130.

¹⁰⁰ *Onomasticon* II, 152. Aquilo: *Onomasticon* I, 159.

¹⁰¹ Wilkes 1969, 111. Normal discharge was suspended during the crisis of AD 6-9.

¹⁰² See below 291-2.

¹⁰³ Forni 1953, 233. But veterans might adopt the tribe of their place of settlement: Forni *op. cit.* 58 and *cf.* C. Axonius 7.15.

The formulation *DM* indicates a second-century or later date. The use of *stipendiorum*, an early feature, is slightly at odds with the lack of *praenomen*. Although there is a fracture at the start of line 2, the rest of the text is reasonably well preserved and the layout would not seem to allow for the presence of such. A later second-century or perhaps early third-century¹⁰⁴ date would seem likely therefore.

39. M. Gargilius Secundus

AE 1954, 160 (Treviso): [*M(arco) G]argilio Q(uinti) f(ilio) | Cla(udia) Secvndo | militi leg(ionis) XX | qui sub vexsill(o) | decessit | M(arcus) Gargilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) frat(er)*

‘To Marcus Gargilius Secundus, son of Quintus, of the Claudian voting-tribe, soldier of the Twentieth Legion who died while serving in a detachment; Marcus Gargilius, son of Quintus, his brother (set this up)’

1.5 ...*qui sub vexsill(o) | decessit*... who died while serving in the *vexillum* (*veteranorum*)

Jarrett interpreted line 5 as indicating service in a *vexillatio* detached from the legion and suggested the campaigns of 170-172 against the incursions of the Marcomanni and Quadi as a context for his death and burial in north-eastern Italy¹⁰⁵. However, the style of the dedication does not suggest the late second century – it might particularly be noted that Secundus’ brother lacks a *cognomen*. The term *sub vexillo* might perhaps indicate that Secundus was one of the *vexillarii* of the legion, i.e. those who had served 20 years and were now relieved of manual duties and required only to fight under the *vexillum veteranorum*¹⁰⁶. Mann includes Secundus among the complement of *legio XX* in Germany, with Tarvisium as his *origo*¹⁰⁷ in which case it might be that this was a monument set up in his home town, rather than one recording his death far from the normal base of the legion. Alternatively an explanation for his presence, and death, in Italy might be sought in the events of AD 69¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁴ *CSIR* i 9.35.

¹⁰⁵ Jarrett 1968, 84.

¹⁰⁶ Mann 2000, 153. This was not the view of Keppie 1973, 10.

¹⁰⁷ Mann 1983a, 93 Table 11.

¹⁰⁸ Keppie 2000, 26 n. 19.

40. C. Geminus Mansuetus

Britannia 23 (1992), 146 (Carlisle): *Imp(eratore) Domitiano VIII co(n)s(ule) | VII Idus Novembres. Q(uintus) Cassius | Secundus, miles leg(ionis) XX (centuria) Calvi | Prisci, scripsi me debere | G(aio) Geminio Mansueto, militi | leg(ionis) eiusdem (centuria) Vetti Proculi, | denarios centum quos [tibi?]*

Mansuetus is recorded at Carlisle in this document of AD 83 loaning a large sum (amounting to a third of a year's pay at the newly increased pay rate) to his colleague Secundus (7.22); *qv* for translation and further commentary. For the centurions see 6.15, 6.74. The *cognomen* is commonest in the Gallic provinces¹⁰⁹, a regular source of recruits in the later first century¹¹⁰.

41. L. Hermelius

CIL II 662 (Villamejia): *L(ucius) Hermelius L(ucii) f(ilius) Pap(iria) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XX*

'Lucius Hermelius, son of Lucius, of the Papirian voting-tribe, veteran of the Twentieth Legion (lies here)'

This epitaph of Hermelius was found near to the town of Turgalium (Trujillo). Settlement of veterans of the Twentieth Legion in the region dates to the Augustan period, perhaps in 25BC or at the close of Augustus' campaigns in Spain¹¹¹. A second, anonymous, veteran of *legio XX* (7.110) is also known from near to Turgalium, but it has been suggested that the major settlement was at the *colonia* of Emerita, some 50 miles to the southwest¹¹².

¹⁰⁹ *Onomasticon* III, 51.

¹¹⁰ Mann 1983a, 24.

¹¹¹ See above 7.15.

¹¹² Ritterling 1925, 1769; followed by Le Roux, 1982, 59. Roldan 1974, 208 prefers Norba, 30 miles to the west.

42. Iulius Candidus

RIB 2427.14 (Chester): *Leg(ionis) XX | Iuli Ca|ndidi*

‘(Property of) Iulius Candidus of the Twentieth Legion’

Silvered bronze disc, possibly a *phalera*, from Chester. A centurion of the same name (6.87 *qv*) is attested from Hadrian’s Wall. The combination of names is not uncommon, however.

43. C. Iulius Marullinus

RIB 532 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | G(ai) Iul(i) Marul|lini b(ene)ff(iciari) trib|uni vixit | annis XXXXV | h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

‘To the spirits of the departed, (and) of Gaius Iulius Marullinus, *beneficiarius* of a military tribune, lived 45 years; his heir had this set up.’

The tomb formulae indicate a mid second-century date at the earliest and membership therefore of the Twentieth Legion. Marullinus was *beneficiarius* on the staff of one of the legionary tribunes. The holding of such administrative posts, in combination with military duties in the post of *optio*, formed the usual path of advancement to the centurionate¹¹³, but these administrative posts might be an end in themselves for some men. The *cognomen* is uncommon but widespread in Celtic provinces¹¹⁴.

44. C. Iulius Quartus

RIB 498 (Chester): *G(aius) Iulius G(ai filius) Cl(audia) | Quartus Cel(eia) | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | (centuria) T(iti) Flavi Pro(...) | an(norum) XXX st(ipendiorum) VII | Rusius Mo[.]N*

¹¹³ Breeze 1974b, 270-2 and cf. L. Valerius Proculus 6.70.

¹¹⁴ *Onomasticon* III, 62.

‘Gaius Iulius Quartus, son of Gaius, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Celeia, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, in the century of Titus Flavius Pro(...), aged 30, of 7 years’ service; Rusius Mo[...had this set up].’

The form of the dedication – in the nominative with filiation, voting tribe, *origo* and indication of the *centuria* in which he served – suggests that this is one of the earliest tombstones of the Twentieth Legion at Chester¹¹⁵. Celeia, a *municipium* in Noricum, was the origin of three legionaries of the Twentieth at Chester (see also 7.77, 7.103). Birley was of the opinion that Noricum did not form a normal source of recruits to the army of Britain and that we should look to transfers of vexillations sent to reinforce the legions of the province as a source for such men (although he did concede that Quartus might have come as an individual recruit)¹¹⁶. Mann, however, considered the Italian communities of Noricum a normal source of recruits into the early second century¹¹⁷ and the *origines* of those known serving at Chester would seem to bear this out¹¹⁸. Quartus’ heir Rusius Mo... (7.71) was doubtless also a serving soldier.

45. Iulius Quintilianus

RIB 447 + add. (Chester): *Genio | (centuriae) Aurelian(i) | Iul(ius) Quin|tilianus*

‘To the genius of the century of Aurelianus; Iulius Quintilianus (set this up)’

Dedications to the genius of the century were frequently made by the main non-commissioned officers, the *optio*, *signifer* or *armorum custos*¹¹⁹ and Iulius Quintilianus may have held some such rank himself (*cf.* the similar dedication by Aelius Claudianus, *optio*, 7.2 above). There is no clear indication of date here to rule out *legio II Adiutrix*. However, the nomenclature of the centurion, Aurelius or the derivative Aurelianus (see 6.11), would suggest a later second or third-century date¹²⁰.

¹¹⁵ See above Chapter I.2 and *cf.* 7.18, 7.55, 7.69, 7.94.

¹¹⁶ Birley 1952, 179, 185.

¹¹⁷ Mann 1983a, 23.

¹¹⁸ See 7.77, 7.103, 7.118* and also 7.23, 7.32, 7.103.

¹¹⁹ Speidel and Dimitrova-Milceva 1978, 1546.

46. C. Iulius Severus

RIB 499 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | G(aius) Iul(ius) Severus | eq(ues) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | vixit an(nos) | XXXX | [...]*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Gaius Iulius Severus, horseman of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, lived 40 years....’

A contingent of cavalry, the *equites legionis* was present within each legion and a number of *equites* are known from Chester¹²¹. Severus is the only one explicitly described as *eques legionis* but it is probable that all are legionary. The nomenclature is very common. Namesakes can be found serving in *legio III Augusta*, one also as *eques*, in the early third century¹²². Severus himself probably served in the later second to early third century.

47. Iulius Valens

RIB 13 (London): *D(is) M(anibus) | Iul(ius) Valens | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | an(norum) XL h(ic) s(itus) e(st) | c(uram) a(gente) Flauio | Attio her(ede)*

‘To the spirits of the departed; Iulius Valens, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, aged 40, lies here, his heir Flavius Attius having the matter in charge.’

The staff of the provincial governor was made up in large degree of men seconded from the legions of the province¹²³ and this may account for the presence of Valens in London. As well as the main administrative posts in the *officium – cornicularii, speculatores, beneficiarii consulares* etc. – there were also *librarii* and *stratores*, more junior clerical and administrative staff who also served as a legionary

¹²⁰ Hübner 1890, 125 suggested a second-century date.

¹²¹ See further at 7.13. Indication of rank does not survive for 7.122* and 7.123* but, as here (*CSIR* i 9.36), relief decoration indicates mounted figures.

¹²² Le Bohec 1989, 242.

¹²³ Jones 1949, 44.

bodyguard for the governor¹²⁴. If Valens' presence in London was not merely transitory (or at least intended as such), his simple designation as *miles* might imply a role in one of these junior grades. It is probable that his heir Flavius Attius was also a serving soldier, but without knowing the context for Valens' presence in London we cannot be certain to which unit he belonged. The combination of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)* with *hic situs est* and use of *annorum* might suggest a date earlier in the second century but the absence of praenomen is unusual and a later date might be argued.

48. Iulius Valerianus

CIL XII 3182 (Nemausus): *[D(is) M(anibus)? | Iu]l(ii) Valeriani mil(itis) [... | leg(ionis)] XX Britannic(ae) ben(eficarii) [proc(uratoris) | ..] Aug(usti) militavit ann(os) X[.. | ..] mens(es) VII dies XXV | vixit ann(os) XXXI mens(es) V[?.. | ..] dies XXVI Iulia Iul[iana]? | ..] filio sanctissimae | [...] pietatis et sibi viva p(osuit) [...*

'To the spirits of the departed and of Iulius Valerianus, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Britannica, *beneficiarius* of the imperial procurator, served 10+ years 7 months 25 days, lived 31 years 5+ months 26 days; Iulia Iuliana, while living, dutifully set this up to a most upright son and to herself'

Valerianus presumably came originally from Nemausus where he was commemorated. He had attained the post of *beneficiarius*, seconded to the staff of the provincial procurator¹²⁵ based in London, and apparently died in service. The formula used for age and duration of service – *annos, menses, dies* – suggests a third century date¹²⁶. Mann suggests that Valerianus may have been transferred into the legion by Septimius Severus as part of a draft of men to make good the losses of his defeat of Clodius Albinus at Lugdunum in AD 197¹²⁷. The title *Britannica* was awarded to *legio VI* during the north British campaigns of Severus AD 208-11, probably in 210, the year Severus and his sons took this title

¹²⁴ Austin and Rankov 1995, 149-55. See also 7.73 below. Another inscription records members of a legionary detachment, drawn from either the Twentieth or the Second Augusta, at London in the third century: *Britannia* 16 (1985) 317 No. 1.

¹²⁵ Or perhaps the governor, were we to read *ben(eficarii) leg(ati) Aug(usti)*; although the fuller title *leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* might be expected in that case.

¹²⁶ Keppie 1991, 107.

¹²⁷ Mann 1983a, 24; cf. 7.14.

themselves¹²⁸. It is possible that the title was extended to other legions involved in the campaign. However, this was clearly an *additional* title; the omission of *Valeria Victrix* here is unusual nonetheless. It may be that *Britannica* was merely intended as geographical and descriptive¹²⁹.

49. Iulius Victor

RIB 2409.20 (Holt): *Iuli Victoris*
 '(Product) of Iulius Victor'

Pottery die intended as a stamp for some product of the potteries at Holt, but apparently never used. It resembles a mortarium stamp, but none of the mortaria produced at Holt carry names and some other use must be presumed¹³⁰. The works depot at Holt was manned by legionaries, but at least one auxiliary is known to have worked there¹³¹ so that some element of doubt remains over the identity of this man. The peak activity of the works depot lay in the late first and early second centuries (see further at 6.6).

50. Iulius Victor

CIL VIII 2080 = 27966 (Ksar el Birsgaun): *[D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)] | Iul[iae] Thegu[...] | vix(it) annis [...] | [Iuliu]s Vi[ctor] | bene[ff]iciarius legati | leg(ionis) XX Va[l(eriae) Vict(ricis)] | ex provincia | Britannia | Super(iore) sorori | carissim(a)e mo|nument(um) fecit*

'To the sacred spirits of the departed and of Iulia Thegu..., lived ... years; Iulius Victor beneficiarius to the legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix out of the province of Britannia Superior set up this monument to his very dear sister'

¹²⁸ Jarrett 1965, 521; see RIB 2460.71-75.

¹²⁹ cf. III 6241 *l(egio) V Moes(ica)*, VI 2759 *legione Moesicae*.

¹³⁰ Hartley quoted in RIB II *ad loc.*

¹³¹ Iulius Aventinus, RIB 2491.96; Stephens 1989.

The reference to the province of Britannia Superior indicates a date after the division of the province in the early third century¹³². Victor presumably originated in the *colonia* at Theveste (Tebessa) near to where this inscription was found. His continuing connections with his homeland are indicated by this epitaph erected to his sister. Although Africa did not form a normal source of recruits to the British army¹³³, the meagre epigraphic evidence is supplemented by the identification of distinctive North African pottery types produced by or for men of *legio VI* at York¹³⁴. Similar products have also been identified at the works depot of the Twentieth Legion at Holt and on the Antonine Wall at Bearsden and other forts¹³⁵. These would seem to indicate a significant draft of African legionaries into the army of Britain in the 140s¹³⁶. More were perhaps transferred under Septimius Severus to make good the losses incurred in the defeat of Albinus at the battle of Lugdunum in 197. Mann has suggested that Victor's return to Africa might be explained by his having been transferred only a short time before his discharge was due¹³⁷, but one might suppose it as likely that he arranged for the erection of the memorial by letter from his new posting.

51. Iulius Vitalis

RIB 156 + add. = ILS 2429 (Bath): *Iulius Vita|lis fabricie(n)s|is leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | stipendior|um IX an(n)or(um) XX|LX natione Be|lga ex col(l)egio | fabricie(nsium) elatu|s h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*

'Iulius Vitalis, armourer of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, of 9 years' service, aged 29, a Belgic tribesman, with funeral at the cost of the guild of armourers; he lies here.'

¹³² A.R. Birley 1981, 168-72 rejecting the date 197 implied by Herodian 3.8.2 and preferring 213, under Caracalla.

¹³³ Mann 1983a, 23-4.

¹³⁴ Swan 1992, 2-3.

¹³⁵ Swan 1992, 4-5; Swan 1999b, 430-7.

¹³⁶ See also 5.1, 6.78, 7.57, 7.100.

¹³⁷ Mann quoted in Swan 1992, 27 n. 9.

Vitalis was one of the *fabricienses* in the workshops of the legion. His burial was undertaken at the expense of the *collegium fabricensium*, the guild of armourers. Like M. Valerius Latinus (7.87), also recorded at Bath, Vitalis was a serving soldier at the time of his death and if he was not visiting (unsuccessfully) for the sake of his health, then this record may indicate some larger presence by the legion in the area during its operations in the south-west¹³⁸.

The origin of Iulius Vitalis has occasioned some discussion as it might be taken to lie among either the British *Belgae*, in the Winchester area, or in *Gallia Belgica*. Earlier commentators assumed the latter¹³⁹, but the idea of a British origin has gained ground¹⁴⁰. The dating of his career has some bearing here, for the earlier it is placed the less likely it is that local recruitment into the British legions would have had time to develop¹⁴¹. The style of the dedication would appear to indicate a first century date, although the absence of a *praenomen* is unusual¹⁴². Vitalis' membership of a *collegium* has been taken to indicate a later date, for membership of such clubs was forbidden the rank and file¹⁴³. However, *principales* were permitted to associate in this way, and although there is a proliferation of records from the reign of Septimius Severus, it does not appear that the right of association was due to him¹⁴⁴. On balance, a first century date, and origin among the *Belgae* of north-eastern Gaul, seems more likely. The *cognomen* is widespread but well represented in the Gallic provinces¹⁴⁵.

52. L. Iunius Abenus

RIB 2427.15 (Chester): *L(uci) (I)un(i) Abeni*

‘(Property) of Lucius Iunius Abenus’

¹³⁸ See above Antigonus 7.8 and n. 26.

¹³⁹ Mommsen *EE* v, 228; Forni 1953, 190; 1974, 375; Birley quoted in *RIB ad loc.*

¹⁴⁰ Dobson and Mann 1973, 202, *Briton/Gaul*; A.R. Birley 1979, 85 ‘pretty certainly from the British *Belgae*’; Mann 1983a, 24 assuming Severan or later date.

¹⁴¹ Mann 1983a, 55.

¹⁴² Tomlin in *RIB I*² addenda and *cf.* 7.18, 7.55, 7.69, 7.94.

¹⁴³ *Digesta* 47.22.1.

¹⁴⁴ Cambell 1994, 136 *contra* Le Bohec 1994, 192; Birley 1969, 63.

¹⁴⁵ *Onomasticon* IV, 176.

Bronze disc from the back of fortress rampart at Abbey Green, Chester, probably residual in a late or post-Roman context. The *tria nomina* would suggest a citizen and therefore a member of the legion. The bronze disc is collected under military equipment in *RIB* II. The *cognomen* is not otherwise recorded. *Aben(t)i* = Abentius might be suggested, but this is equally rare¹⁴⁶. The *nomen* Iunius is widespread and not uncommon, but is strongly represented in Spain¹⁴⁷.

53. C. Licinius...

RIB 534 (Chester): *D(is) [M(anibus)] | G(aius) Liciniu[s... | veteranu[s... | vix(it) an(nos) LXXX[... | cura(m) a(gente) Ael(io) | Candi(do]*

'To the spirits of the departed, Gaius Licinius...veteran...lived 80 (and more) years; Aelius Candidus had charge (of setting this up).'

A veteran of 80 years might conceivably have received discharge from the Second Adiutrix before its removal from Chester and lived well into the early second century. However, the Aelian nomenclature of the man charged with setting up the memorial would suggest a later second-century date at least, and service with the Twentieth remains most likely. Aelius Candidus was quite probably another veteran, but the development of a civilian community around the fortress¹⁴⁸ would have attracted others, such as merchants and traders, from whose ranks he might be drawn. The *nomen* Licinius is common in Narbonensis and Spain¹⁴⁹ a regular source of recruits into the army of Britain in the first and second centuries¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁶ Kajanto 1965, 116; *Onomasticon* I, 3.

¹⁴⁷ *Onomasticon* II, 208; *cf.* 3.9 above.

¹⁴⁸ Mason 2001, 101.

¹⁴⁹ *Onomasticon* III, 26 and *cf.* 7.54 below.

¹⁵⁰ Mann 1983a, 23, 89-90 Table 9.

54. L. Licinius Valens

RIB 500 + add. (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucius) Licinius L(ucii filius) | Ter(etina) Valens | Are(ate) veteran(us) | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | an(norum) VL | h(eres) f(aciendum) <f> c(uravit) | h(ic) s(itus) est*

line 7 possibly *h(eres) f(ilius) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Lucius Licinius Valens, son of Lucius, of the Teretine voting-tribe, from Arelate, veteran of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, aged 45, lies buried here; his (son and?) heir set this up.’

Valens came from Arelate, a *colonia* near the mouths of the River Rhone, one of three soldiers of the Twentieth recorded from that town. Unlike Aurelius Valentinus (7.14) and T. Carsius Certinus (7.20), who returned there, he remained in Chester probably dying not long after his discharge.

55. C. Lovesius Cadarus

RIB 501 (Chester): *G(aius) Lovesius Papir(ia) | Cadarus Emerita mil(es) | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) an(norum) XXV stip(endiorum) IIX | Frontinius Aquilo h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

‘Gaius Louesius Cadarus, of the Papirian voting-tribe, from Emerita, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, aged 25, of 8 years’ service. Frontinius Aquilo, his heir, had this set up.’

One of three soldiers of the Twentieth Legion recorded from Emerita Augusta in Spain¹⁵¹. The *nomen* Lovesius derives from the distinctively Spanish *cognomen* Lovesus¹⁵². A late first century date is suggested by the epigraphy¹⁵³. Cadarus died in service and his heir Frontinius Aquilo (7.36) was doubtless also a serving soldier.

¹⁵¹ See further 7.16, 7.69.

¹⁵² Le Roux 1982, 220.169; *Onomasticon* III, 32.

¹⁵³ Le Roux *loc. cit.* suggests a Flavian date but this must be after c. AD 88.

56. Lucilius Sabinianus

RIB 2409.6 (Chester): *(centuria) Mali(i) Cras|si | Lucilius Sa|binianus*

‘Lucilius Sabinianus of the century of Malius Crassus’

Bread stamp from Chester, from an early third-century layer in the area of barracks on the site of Hunter St. school. Neither element of the nomenclature is very common, but they are widespread. Mócsy notes a concentration in the Gallic provinces¹⁵⁴.

57. Macrinus

RIB 2502.14 (Holt): M'QRYN'

Macrinu(s)

Graffito on a pot from Holt, in neo-Punic script. Swan notes that the form of the vessel is characteristic of North African bowls one of a number of products of the Holt kilns best paralleled by second century utilitarian vessels in North Africa¹⁵⁵. Macrinus was presumably one among a number of legionaries originating in North Africa, either as recruits or as part of drafts of men to reinforce the legion¹⁵⁶. Swan's preferred context for the transfer of such men would place this after 149¹⁵⁷, but activity at the works depot had ceased by c.150¹⁵⁸ and the proposed connection with the career of Sex. Flavius Quietus (5.1) cannot perhaps be maintained.

¹⁵⁴ *Onomasticon* III, 35; IV 39-40; Mócsy 1984, 51, fig. 9.

¹⁵⁵ Swan 1992, 4.

¹⁵⁶ *cf.* 7.50, 7.100. Africa did not form a normal source for recruits to the British legions (Mann 1983a, 23-4), but Swan 1992 and 1999b identifies a potentially significant contribution from that region.

¹⁵⁷ Swan 1997, 291; 1999b, 423-4.

58. C. Mannius Secundus

RIB 293 + add. (Wroxeter): *G(aius) Mannius | G(ai) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Secu|ndus Pollent(ia) mil(es) leg(ionis) XX | an(n)oru(m) LII | stip(endiorum) XXXI | ben(eficiarius) leg(ati) pr(aetorii) | h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*

'Gaius Mannius Secundus, son of Gaius, of the Pollian voting-tribe, from Pollentia, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, aged 52, of 31 years' service, *beneficiarius* to the legionary legate, lies here.'

As Tomlin has argued convincingly, this man was *beneficiarius* to the legionary legate, rather than to the governor of the province as had been previously held¹⁵⁹. His presence, and indeed death, at Wroxeter might then be seen likely to coincide with the occupation of the fortress by the Twentieth Legion c. AD 67-84, the absence of the legionary *cognomina* then lending further weight to suggestions of a later context for the award of the titles *Valeria Victrix*. However, Tacitus in his account of the rebellion of Boudica tells us that a vexillation of the Twentieth was serving alongside the Fourteenth Legion¹⁶⁰. If, as is generally assumed, these were the forces previously ranged against Anglesey, then the presence of some of the headquarters staff of the Twentieth Legion at Wroxeter might perhaps be expected¹⁶¹. On the other hand, the tight window of a few months in which we must then assume this man to have died, as opposed to the period of 17 years otherwise allowed, perhaps renders this a less likely explanation.

Secundus came from Pollentia in Liguria on the north-western borders of Italy. If the context for his death and burial at Wroxter be taken as earlier rather than later then he would have joined the legion while it was still in Germany and taken part in the invasion of Britain. Otherwise, he could have spent all of his career in Britain. His long service may well have been voluntary, having attained a relatively prestigious position on the staff of the legionary legate. However, the strain on manpower caused by continued

¹⁵⁸ Swan and Philpott 2000, 62; Mason 2001, 153.

¹⁵⁹ Tomlin 1992, 141-5.

¹⁶⁰ Tacitus *Ann.* 14.34. The term *vexillarii* perhaps refers specifically to the experienced men of the *vexillum veteranorum*: Mann 2000, 153-4.

¹⁶¹ Manning 2000, 75-6.

warfare, and especially in the aftermath of the Boudican revolt, may have led to the retention of men beyond their normal term.

59. C. Marius

AE 1988.396 (Beneventum): C(aio) Mario C(aii) f(ilio) Ste(latina) | legione XX Sici(liana) | Faustus l(ibertus) | in f(ron)te p(edes) XVI | in a(gro) p(edes) XVI

‘To Gaius Marius, son of Gaius, of the Stellatine voting-tribe, from the Twentieth Legion Siciliana; Faustus his freedman (set this up); (the grave plot) 16 feet in breadth, 16 feet in depth’

C. Marius was probably settled at Beneventum as part of Augustus’ general settlement of the veterans of the civil wars¹⁶². He had served in a Twentieth Legion named either for action in Sicily during the civil wars or perhaps owing to its recruitment in that island¹⁶³. This might be an entirely separate civil war unit, or could represent an early incarnation of the later imperial legion.

60. Q. Memonius Exoratus

CIL XI 6734 (Ravenna): D(is) M(anibus) | Q(uintus) Memonius | Exoratus | vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XX | Valer(iae) Victr(icis) | domo Bonon(ia) | annor(um) [...|...] | H[...] | Valen[...]

‘To the spirits of the departed; Quintus Memonius Exoratus, veteran of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, from Bononia, lived...(lies here?)...Valen...’

The career of Exoratus is probably to be dated to the late first or early second century. He was recruited from Bononia in northern Italy and later returned to that region to settle near to Ravenna, further to the east. Recruits from Italy to the army of Britain are evident down to the end of Trajan’s reign but are not in

¹⁶² Keppie 1983, 155-61; 2000a, 250-1. *cf.* 7.33 above and A. Silanus (IX 1625) who was *signifer* in an unknown legion. The designation SICIL might be read as an *origo* and could indicate some recruitment there.

¹⁶³ see Keppie 1984, 203-4. The campaign of Octavian against Sextus Pompeius took place in 36BC.

evidence thereafter¹⁶⁴. The use of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)*¹⁶⁵ along with the presence of the legionary *cognomina* would not suggest service at a much earlier date.

61. Messor

RIB 2496.3 (Usk): *[pe]lv<e>is contub(e)rnio Messoris*

‘Mixing-bowl for the *contubernium* of Messor’

Graffito cut before firing on discarded mortarium waster found in a Neronian context. The Twentieth Legion appears to have occupied the fortress at this date¹⁶⁶ but there is evidence for the conversion of some barrack blocks to accommodate a mounted unit before the fortress was fully occupied¹⁶⁷. If the garrison was mixed, then the identity of Messor becomes less certain, but the terminology used causes RIB II to index him as a probable member of the legion. A number of other named individuals are known at Usk from graffiti, largely on samian vessels¹⁶⁸: Capito, Iucundus, Maximus, Mestrius, Rufus (RIB II 2501.125, 251, 834, 385, 474) and Niceforus (RIB II 2503.358), amongst others less easily decipherable, but their status is unclear.

62. C. Mestrius

CIL V 4923 = *Inscr. It. X 5.1148* (Zanano): *C(aius) Mestrius | C(ait) f(ilius) Fabia | veteranus leg(ionis) XX | t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) | et Esdroni Canginai | quem habuit pro | uxore vivos vivae fier(i) | rogavit*

¹⁶⁴ Mann 1983a, 23.

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter I.2, 17-19. Compare 7.72, 7.94, also from northern Italy, and commemorated at Chester. Usage varies between provinces, however. The style prevalent in northern Italy may have been different from that in use at Chester.

¹⁶⁶ Manning 1981, 38-9.

¹⁶⁷ Marvell 1996, 77-9.

¹⁶⁸ Hassall 1982.

‘To Gaius Mestrius, son of Gaius, of the Fabian voting-tribe, veteran of the Twentieth Legion¹⁶⁹, (who) left instructions in his will for this to be erected; and to Esdronia Cangina whom he had as a wife while alive requested that it be erected’

C. Mestrius was probably recruited from among the Trumplini in the territory of Brixia, to which region he returned after the completion of his term of service. His recruitment may have occurred not long after the annexation of these Alpine regions to Rome in 15BC, as in the case of his compatriot, L. Plinius (7.68), who had served 17 years before his death in Moesia at some date prior to AD 6. One P. Mestrius (7.63), also recorded on that stone, might well have had some family relationship¹⁷⁰. A similar date for this career might be suggested; if slightly later it would perhaps entail service through the Pannonian revolt of AD 6-9 and transfer to Germany, with discharge delayed until AD 14 at the earliest. However, a later date still, and a career spent with the legion on the Rhine, is not to be ruled out¹⁷¹.

63. P. Mestrius

CIL III 7452 = *ILS* 2270 (Oescus): *L(ucius) Plinius Sex(ti) f(ilius) | Fab(ia) domo | Trumplia | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX | annorum XLV | stipendiorum XVII | hic situs est | testamento fieri | iussit | Secundus | L(ucii) Plini et P(ublili) Mestri | libertus fecit*

The record of P. Mestrius on the epitaph of L. Plinius (below 7.68), a serving soldier of *legio XX*, at Oescus before AD 6-9, strongly suggests that this man was a colleague. That they had apparently held the former slave Secundus in common strengthens the connection. A family relationship with C. Mestrius (7.62), a compatriot of L. Plinius, is perhaps to be suspected.

¹⁶⁹ Both edges of the stone are trimmed close to the lettering. As presented in *CIL*, LEG XX seems the most likely reading (although it is not there indexed as such). Ritterling (1925, 1770), Forni (1953, 233), Mann (1983a, 110 Table 15) and Todisco (1999, 150 no.135) all include this man among those of *legio XX*.

¹⁷⁰ And *cf.* the Mestrius *RIB* II 2501.385 recorded at Usk (see 7.61). Might the family still be supplying soldiers to the legion some 50 years later?

64. L. Metilius

CIL XIII 8288 = RSK 224 (colonia Agrippinensium): L(ucio) Metilio | P(ublili) f(ilio) Fab(ia) veter(ano) | leg(ionis) XX Sex(tus) | Marcianus | T(iti) f(ilius) Lem(onia) heres | faciendum | curavit

'To Lucius Metilius, son of Publius, of the Fabian voting-tribe, veteran of the Twentieth Legion; Sextus Marcianus, son of Titus, of the Lemonia voting-tribe, his heir, had this set up'

The Twentieth was stationed with the First Legion at the double legionary fortress at Cologne from AD 9 until c. AD 35. The *colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* was established in AD 50 by Claudius¹⁷², presumably on the site of the former legionary establishment. However, some sort of veteran establishment clearly existed prior to this. Metilius' heir, Sextus Marcianus, was almost certainly another soldier¹⁷³ and probably also of the Twentieth, but the mixed nature of the garrison precludes certainty. Enrolment in the *tribus* Fabia suggests an Italian origin¹⁷⁴ as is the case with the majority of the soldiers of the Twentieth recorded on the Rhine¹⁷⁵.

65. Mommius Cattianus

SupIt-04 T031 = AE 1951, 194 (Castelmadama): D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) | Mommius Cattianus | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | benefic(iarius) leg(ati legionis) | cornicularius leg(ati legionis) | optio coh(ortis) I | h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

'To the sacred spirits of the departed; Mommius Cattianus, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *beneficiarius* to the legionary legate, *cornicularius* to the legionary legate, *optio* in the first cohort, he lies here'

¹⁷¹ See Chapter III.1, 326-335.

¹⁷² Tacitus *Ann.* 1.57.

¹⁷³ Speidel 1992a, 130; Varon 1997, 565.

¹⁷⁴ Forni 1953, 233; and *cf.* 7.5, 7.9, 7.29, 7.62, 7.68, 7.72, 7.74, 7.79, 7.122*.

¹⁷⁵ Mann 1983a, 93 Table 11 and see below 292-3.

The tombstone of Cattianus is unusual in supplying us with detail of a succession of posts below the centurionate¹⁷⁶. He was well advanced towards that position himself, having held administrative posts in the office of the legionary legate as well as the military duties of *optio*, second in command to the centurion¹⁷⁷. The position of *cornicularius* to the legionary legate was the most senior non-commissioned post within the *tabularium legionis*, the administrative office of the legate, and would normally lead to the centurionate via the position of *optio ad spem ordinis* if a post as *optio* had not already been held¹⁷⁸. Cattianus' designation as *optio coh I* is unusual¹⁷⁹. However, the *optiones* of the first cohort are elsewhere referred to as a group¹⁸⁰, themselves forming part of the *tabularium principis*, the office responsible for the day to day administration of the legion¹⁸¹. It is clear that prestige would adhere to such a position, as was usually the case for positions as adjutant to senior officers, and this may account for the specific designation here.

This use of this term *optio cohortis*, on the other hand, led Speidel to group Cattianus with five other legionaries who were described by cohort and not by century and who died far from the permanent garrison of their units¹⁸². His thesis is that these men were part of mobile detachments formed around cohorts as the basic unit, and this seems a reasonable inference in most cases. However, in all of the other examples quoted, the cohort appears immediately after the name of the legion – e.g. *mil(es) leg II Italic coh VIII*; *mil(es) leg I Adiutr coh VI*; *sig(nifer) leg III Ital coh I et coh II*¹⁸³ – and the whole phrase might be read as the name of the unit in which the soldier served. Here it seems clearly to form part of the list of positions held. The administrative nature of the first cohort post would further argue against service in a detached unit. A context for the presence of a vexillation of the Twentieth Legion at Castelmadama, twenty miles east of Rome, is in any case difficult to offer. Cattianus may have originated in that place,

¹⁷⁶ It is the only such among the records of the *milites* of the Twentieth Legion, but cf. L. Valerius Proculus (6.70) who similarly details his career in *legio V Macedonica* prior to attaining the centurionate.

¹⁷⁷ Dobson 1974b, 270-2.

¹⁷⁸ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 38; Breeze 1971, 132.

¹⁷⁹ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, XIII.

¹⁸⁰ VIII 18072 = *ILS* 2446.

¹⁸¹ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 50.

¹⁸² Speidel 1982.

but he must surely have died in office (a centurionate being within reach) rather than retired there, which might be implied if *hic situs est* is to be taken literally. However, recruits from Italy to the army of Britain are not generally evident after the reign of Trajan¹⁸⁴ whilst the tomb formulae, absence of a *praenomen*, and the detail given of posts held would rather suggest a date in the third century (when, it must be said, the use of mobile detachments was more prevalent¹⁸⁵).

The nomenclature is unusual. This man is the sole example of Mommius recorded in Solin and Salomies 1994. Cattianus is a rare variant of the only marginally commoner Catianus¹⁸⁶.

66. L. Mu(...) P(...)

RIB 467 (Chester): coh(ortis) I (centuria) Ocrati | Maximi L(ucius) Mu(...) P(...)

‘From the first cohort, the century of Ocratius Maximus (built this); Lucius Mu(...) P(...) (made the inscription).’

Building stone found between Newgate Street and the East Wall from which it probably came. See Chapter III.3 for arguments as to the dating of wall construction. Mucius and Munatius are the commonest of the possible *nomina* listed in Solin and Salomies 1994¹⁸⁷.

67. Ocellio

RIB 2501.3 (Chester): [...] (centuria) Iuli Sedati | [...] Ocell[io]nis

‘(Property) of...Ocellio (in the) century of Iulius Sedatus’

¹⁸³ *AE* 1972.709; III 7396; III 11221; *Bonner Jahrbucher* 176 (1976), 132; *AE* 1972.710.

¹⁸⁴ Mann 1983a, 23.

¹⁸⁵ Birley 1965, 31-2; Saxer 1967, 131-2.

¹⁸⁶ Kajanto 1965, 144; *Onomasticon* II, 44.

¹⁸⁷ *Onomasticon* III, 89, 90.

Graffito on part of a Dr. 27 Samian bowl. No clear context is recorded. The form went out of production c. AD 150-160¹⁸⁸, so there is a much greater likelihood of it relating to the period of the Twentieth Legion's occupation than that of the Second Adiutrix.

68. L. Plinius

CIL III 7452 = *ILS* 2270 (Oescus): *L(ucius) Plinius Sex(ti) f(ilius) | Fab(ia) domo | Trumplia | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX | annorum XLV | stipendiorum XVII | hic situs est | testamento fieri | iussit | Secundus | L(ucii) Plini¹⁸⁹ et P(ublili) Mestri | libertus fecit*

'Lucius Plinius, son of Sextus, of the Fabian voting-tribe, from Trumplia, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, lived 45 years, served 17, lies here; he left instructions in his will for this to be erected; Secundus, freedman of Lucius Plinius and Publius Mestrius had this made'

The tombstone of L. Plinius was found at Reselec on the river Oescus in Moesia¹⁹⁰. From AD 6 until its removal to the Rhine the activities of the Twentieth Legion would not seem to allow its presence so far east, and an earlier context has been argued, perhaps in the activities of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus against the Dacians and Sarmatians between 6BC and AD 4¹⁹¹. The precise dating and even the nature of his command remain unclear, but Lentulus may have been legate of Illyricum and the Twentieth then, as later, part of the armies of that province. The *origo* and length of service of L. Plinius suggest a closer dating for these events, for he was from the tribe of *Trumplini* in the territory of Brixia, annexed to Rome only in 15BC. His length of service, 17 years, would therefore place him at the earliest c. AD 2 even had he been enrolled immediately after the conquest of the Alps¹⁹². P. Mestrius (7.63), who apparently owned

¹⁸⁸ P. Webster 1995, 38.

¹⁸⁹ *CIL* has L PLIN but the photograph of this stone in Gerov 1980, 152 Plate 2 clearly shows two 'i's ligatured to the 'N'; cf. Ritterling 1925, 1770.

¹⁹⁰ The legionary fortress at Oescus dates from the early first century AD. It is assumed to have been founded by *legio V Macedonica* stationed there from about 14 BC: Kabakcieva 1996; 2000, 120.

¹⁹¹ Syme 1934a, 134-7; Gerov 1980, 152 posits a date in the period AD 6-9.

¹⁹² Syme 1934a, 136; Chilver 1941, 76-7; Syme *op. cit.* 137 suggests an alternative possibility, for Gaius Caesar may have taken a legion from the Danube when he was sent east in 1BC (Dio 55.10), leaving a gap to be filled from the legions of Illyricum.

the slave Secundus in common with L. Plinius, must surely have been a colleague and may have had a family connection with C. Mestrius (7.62), a compatriot of L. Plinius and probably more or less contemporary.

69. Q. Postumius Solus

RIB 502 (Chester): *Q(uintus) Postu|mius Q(uinti) f(ilius) | Papir(ia) [S]olus | Emerita mil(es) | leg(ionis) XX (centuria) p(rimi) p(ili) | ann(or)um XXXV | stip(endiorum) XXI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*

‘Quintus Postumius Solus¹⁹³, son of Quintus, of the Papirian voting-tribe, from Emerita, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, in the century of the *primuspilus*, aged 35, of 21 years’ service, is buried here.’

One of three soldiers of the Twentieth Legion recorded from Emerita Augusta in Spain¹⁹⁴. A late first-century date is suggested by the epigraphy¹⁹⁵. Indeed this must be among the earliest records of the Twentieth Legion at Chester and the omission of the legionary *cognomina* is notable, although there are other tombstones with an equal claim to be early which do include them¹⁹⁶. If the age and length of service are correctly recorded then Solus is among the youngest known legionary recruits¹⁹⁷. Solus belonged to the century of the *primus pilus*, selection for which may have been a matter of some prestige. As is usual, the *primus pilus* is not named. This is in contrast to the normal form for soldiers in other centuries and may reflect the short time in post of the senior centurion¹⁹⁸. The men of the century were attached to the post, but served a number of different individuals.

¹⁹³ The *cognomen* is only otherwise known from a sole, feminine, example: *Onomasticon* IV, 88. It is not recorded in Solin and Salomies 1994, but there is not space for an alternative from among those listed therein (e.g. Piolus, Aniolus, Lepolus etc.).

¹⁹⁴ See further 7.16, 7.55.

¹⁹⁵ Le Roux 1982, 220 No. 171; cf. 7.44.

¹⁹⁶ 7.18, 7.44, 7.55; see Chapter I.2, 17-19 and Table III.6 below.

¹⁹⁷ Forni 1953, 135 lists only 3 others enrolled at the age of 14 (and only 2 others younger), but the age given may not be exact – see Scheidel 1996, 97-116 and see further below 396-8.

¹⁹⁸ Dobson 2000, 143-4 reaffirming the case for a one-year appointment.

70. C. Publius Mi[nicianus?]

RIB 536 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | G(ai) Publil[i] | Ser(gia) Mi[...*

‘To the spirits of the departed, (and) of Gaius Publius Mi[...], of the Sergian voting-tribe...’

Indication of rank does not survive, but that of *miles* is most likely¹⁹⁹. Use of the formula *Dis Manibus* suggests a second century date and service in the Twentieth Legion. There are a number of *cognomina* beginning Mi[...], of which Minicianus is perhaps the most likely, but none are common²⁰⁰.

71. Rusius Mo[...]

RIB 498 (Chester): *G(aius) Iulius G(ai filius) Cl(audia) | Quartus Cel(eia) | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | (centuria) T(iti) Flavi Pro(...)| an(norum) XXX st(ipendiorum) VII | Rusius Mo[.]N*

‘Gaius Iulius Quartus, son of Gaius, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Celeia, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, in the century of Titus Flavius Pro(...), aged 30, of 7 years’ service; Rusius Mo[...had this set up].’

As the heir to a serving soldier (C. Iulius Quartus, 7.44) and charged with setting up this epitaph, it is very likely that Rusius was a colleague of the deceased²⁰¹, and also serving in the Twentieth Legion. Modestus or Montanus are the most likely *cognomina*²⁰² (the N in l.6 is considered secondary).

¹⁹⁹ The tombstone is included among ‘soldiers with name extant, legion unknown’ in RIB, but cf. C. Valerius Victor (RIB 543; below *incerta*) whom Mason (2001, 183) considers a civilian.

²⁰⁰ *Onomasticon* III, 82.

²⁰¹ Speidel 1992a, 130; Varon 1997, 565.

²⁰² *Onomasticon* III, 84, 87.

72. P. Rustius Crescens

RIB 503 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) P(ublio) Rustio | Fabia Crescen(ti) Brix(ia) | mil(iti) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | an(norum) XXX stip(endiorum) X | Groma heres | fac(iendum) cur(avit)*

‘To the spirits of the departed and to Publius Rustius Crescens, of the Fabian voting-tribe, from Brixia, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, aged 30, of 10 years’ service. Groma, his heir, had this erected.’

Gravestone with fragments only of relief decoration remaining²⁰³. Crescens came from Brixia in north Italy²⁰⁴. The tomb formulae suggest an early second-century date as does the origin. Recruits from Italy to the army of Britain are not generally evident after the end of Trajan’s reign²⁰⁵. Crescens died in service and we might normally expect his heir to be a colleague²⁰⁶ but the nomenclature would suggest rather a servile origin.

73. ...Sat]urni[nus

RIB 18 + add. (London): *...Sat]urni[no...] | leg(ionis) XX[V(aleriae) V(ictricis)] | G(aius) Aci[lius] | M[...*

‘Sat]urni[nus of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; Gaius Acilius M[...set this up.’

No indication of rank survives. The staff of the provincial governor was made up in large degree of men seconded from the legions of the province, largely in administrative posts²⁰⁷, and this may account for the presence of Saturninus in London. If Saturninus was a serving soldier then it is likely that his heir C. Acilius M... was also, but the mixed nature of the establishment at London means we cannot be certain to which unit he belonged.

²⁰³ CSIR i 9.34.

²⁰⁴ cf. also 7.9 (of much earlier date), 7.122*.

²⁰⁵ Mann 1983a, 23.

²⁰⁶ Speidel 1992a, 130; Varon 1997, 565.

²⁰⁷ Jones 1949, 44; see also Iulius Valens (7.47).

The *cognomen* Saturninus is very common and seems the most likely reading here (although the much less common Calpurnianus would also be possible). Kajanto noted a strong African bias in the distribution of Saturninus²⁰⁸ but as noted in Chapter I.4 above this may have little bearing given the known patterns of recruitment to the legion. For Le Bohec's objections to the concept of 'cognomina africains' see further at 6.43 above and *cf.* also 7.123*.

74. T. Saufeius

CIL V 2838 (Patavium): T(itus) Saufeius... | Fab(ia) veteranus leg(ionis) XX | sibi et C(aio) Saufeio T(itii) f(ilio) filio | Tulliae Q(uinti) f(iliae) Secundae | uxori v(ivus) f(ecit)

'Titus Saufeius...] of the Fabian voting-tribe, veteran of the Twentieth Legion, had this made while living, for himself and for Gaius Saufeius, son of Titus, his son; (and) for Tullia Secunda, daughter of Quintus, his wife'

The nomenclature can be restored with confidence from the *nomen* and filiation of his son. Lack of a *cognomen* (probable since his son lacks one) and retirement to Patavium in north-eastern Italy would suggest a date no later than the early first century. His service with the Twentieth Legion probably took place in Illyricum or on the Rhine: *cf.* his compatriot M. Sulpicius (7.79) who is commemorated at Neuss.

75. T. Sempronius Pudens

1. *CIL VI 3357 (Roma): D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucii) Aemili Flacci | fr(umentarii) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | T(itus) Sempronius | Pudens(s) frum(entarius) | leg(ionis) eiusdem | amico optimo*

'To the spirits of the departed (and) of Lucius Aemilius Flaccus, *frumentarius* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix; Titus Sempronius Pudens, *frumentarius* of that (same) legion (set this up) to a best friend'

²⁰⁸ Kajanto 1965, 213.

2. CIL VI 3358 (Roma): *D(is) M(anibus) | Val(eri) Paterni | specul(atoris) exercit(us) | Brittan(ici) | cura agentibus | Semp(ronio) Pudente | mil(ite) frum(entario) | et Cutio Euplu(?) | ministro spec(ulatorum) | b(ene) m(erenti) fecerunt | in fr(onte) p(edes) VII in ag(ro) p(edes) V*

‘To the spirits of the departed (and) of Valerius Paternus *speculator* in the army of Britain; under the care of Sempronius Pudens soldier (and) *frumentarius* and Cutius Euplu... director of the *Speculatores* (this was) set up to the well-deserving; (the grave plot measures) 7 feet in breadth, 5 feet in depth’

3. CIL VI 3359 (Roma): *D(is) M(anibus) | T(ito) Sempronio | Pudenti mil(ite) | frum(entario) leg(ionis) XXV(ictricis) | Pupius Vernianus heres | b(ene) m(erenti)*

‘To the spirits of the departed (and) to Titus Sempronius Pudens, soldier (and) *frumentarius* of the Twentieth Legion *Victrix*; Pupius Vernianus, his heir (set this up) to the well-deserving’

Sempronius Pudens was a *frumentarius* and may have spent little or no time with the legion in which he was technically enrolled²⁰⁹. The *frumentarii* were chiefly employed as couriers, particularly between the provincial governor and the emperor at Rome, a role also filled by the *speculatores* with whom they seem to be linked²¹⁰. Whilst in Britain they would be attached to the governor’s staff and may never have remained in the province long. From the early second century, possibly under Trajan, they were formed into a unit, the *numerus frumentariorum* and provided with a base at Rome, the *castra peregrina*²¹¹. The fact that Rome was their primary posting is emphasised by the fact that all of the known *frumentarii* of the Twentieth Legion are commemorated there. The mixed nature of the establishment at the *castra peregrina* means that the identity of the other men mentioned in the above records remains uncertain. Although Pudens set up an epitaph to his colleague L. Aemilius Flaccus (7.4), we cannot be certain to which of the legions of Britain the *speculator* Valerius Paternus was attached, nor can we be certain of the rank or posting of Pudens’ heir, Pupius Vernianus.

²⁰⁹ Rankov 1990; see 7.4 and 7.11 above.

²¹⁰ Austin and Rankov 1995, 136-7; Rankov 1999, 29. The connection on a personal level is amply demonstrated by the dedication 7.75 No. 2.

²¹¹ Ashby and Baillie Reynolds 1923; Mann 1988; Rankov 1990; see 5.4 above.

The nomenclature of L. Aemilius Flaccus suggests a Spanish origin and Sempronius is likewise a strong indicator of such an origin²¹² so that these two colleagues may also have been compatriots.

76. Setinus

RIB 2410.8 (Chester): C(o)ho(rtis) viiii | L(ucii) Van(i)i Se|tino, doss(u)|ario (i)um(ento)...

‘(Property) of Lucius Vanius of the ninth cohort for Setinus, by baggage-animal...’

Lead label, found above the north *intervallum* street of the fortress at Abbey Green. Since the label ended up at Chester, one would suppose Setinus to be a member of the garrison. Wherever L. Vanius (7.90) was at the time, the absence of any identifier other than the cohort would seem to imply membership of the same unit. Setinus appears as both a *nomen* and a *cognomen*²¹³.

77. M. Sextius Bellicus

RIB 504 (Chester): D(is) M(anibus) | M(arcus) Sextius M(arci) [f(ilius)] | Clau(dia) Bellic[us] | Clau(dia) Celeia a[n|n]orum XX[...] | [sti]pend[iorum]...

‘To the spirits of the departed, Marcus Sextius Bellicus, son of Marcus, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Claudia Celeia aged 20 (or more), of...years’ service...’

The use of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)* would favour a second-century date for this tombstone and membership of the Twentieth Legion. Celeia, a *municipium* in Noricum, was the origin of three legionaries of the Twentieth commemorated at Chester²¹⁴. The *cognomen* Bellicus is distinctive of that region²¹⁵. For the question of recruitment from Noricum see further at 7.44 and 2 below.

²¹² *Onomasticon* IV, 64 and *cf.* 3.14 above.

²¹³ Schultze 1904, 231; Kajanto 1965, 183.

²¹⁴ See also 7.44, 7.103. One soldier of the Second Adiutrix at Chester (*RIB* 479) also hailed from the town.

²¹⁵ *Onomasticon* I, 283 and 284 Map; *cf.* 7.32.

78. L. Sper(atius) Ursulus

*CIL XII 164 (Vivisco): Deo Silvano | L(ucius) Sper(atius) Ursulus | benefic(iarius) leg(ionis) XX | [...]
ded(icavit?)[/...]*

‘To the god Silvanus, Lucius Speratius Ursulus, *beneficiarius* in the Twentieth Legion ... made this dedication’

Ursulus set up this dedication to *Silvanus*, the hunter-warrior²¹⁶, at Vivisco on the *Lemanus lacus* (Vevey on Lake Geneva). He was *beneficiarius* with administrative duties on the staff of one of the officers of the legion. The holding of such administrative posts, in combination with military duties in the post of *optio*, formed the usual path of advancement to the centurionate²¹⁷, but these posts might be an end in themselves for some men. If the legionary titles are in fact absent (and not merely lost in the lacuna), then a context in the first half of the first century would be most likely. The nomenclature would suggest a Celtic/Germanic origin²¹⁸ so that, if not stationed there or merely passing through, it may be that Viviscus was Ursulus’ home town.

79. M. Sulpicius

*CIL XIII 8553 = ILS 2271 (Novaesium): M(arcus) Sulpicius | P(ublili) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Pat(avio) | mil(es)
leg(ionis) XX | anno(rum) XXXVII | stip(endiorum) XVII | h(ic) s(itus) est*

‘Marcus Sulpicius, son of Publius, of the Fabian voting-tribe, from Patavium, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, lived 37 years, served 17, lies here’

The Twentieth Legion was apparently based at Neuss from *c.* AD 35 until the invasion of Britain in AD 43. The tombstone of Marcus Sulpicius and the fragmentary remains of two others (6.67, 7.99) represent

²¹⁶ Domaszewski 1909, 58; Irby-Massie 1999, 111.

²¹⁷ Breeze 1974b, 270-2 and *cf.* L. Valerius Proculus 6.70.

²¹⁸ *Onomasticon* IV, 91 (Speratius); IV, 187 (Ursulus).

the only clear evidence for its presence. Like most of the known members of the legion at this date, Sulpicius originated in northern Italy²¹⁹, from Patavium in Venetia in his case.

80. Titinius Felix

RIB 505 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | Titinius Felix b(eneficarius) | leg(ati) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) mil(itavit) an(nos) | XXII (?) vix(it) an(nos) XLV | Iul(ia) Similina co|niux et heres | [...]*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Titinius Felix, *beneficiarius* of the legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, served 22 (?) years, lived 45 years. His wife and heir, Iulia Similina, [set this up]’

Gravestone with relief carving²²⁰. The lack of a *praenomen* and the fact that Felix was married while still serving indicates a date after the Severan reforms of 197²²¹. He was *beneficiarius* in the office of the legionary legate. Such administrative posts, when combined with service as *optio* in the century, were part of the normal progression to the centurionate, but some men appear to have advanced no further than the administrative posts for which they were perhaps best suited²²². Felix, who had served 22 years, may be one such. The *cognomen* of his wife Similina might indicate a Celtic, and perhaps local, origin²²³.

81. C. Valerius...

RIB 539 (Chester): *D(is) [M(anibus)] | G(aius) Valeri[us... | mil(es) l[eg(ionis)... | (centuria) Postu[mi... | Galeri[a (tribu)... | an[n(orum)... | st(i)pen[d(iorum)..]*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Gaius Valerius..., soldier of the... Legion, in the century of Postumius..., of the Galerian voting-tribe, ..., aged..., of..years’ service...’

²¹⁹ See below 291-2.

²²⁰ CSIR i 9.37.

²²¹ Phang 2001, 2-3.

²²² Breeze 1974b, 270-2 and *cf.* 7.58.

²²³ The related Similis, Similinius, Similius are frequent in eastern Gaul: *Onomasticon* IV, 83 but *cf.* 7.122* from Brixia.

The tomb formula *DM* becomes more common in the second century, but the mention of the century in which Valerius served is an early practice and may indicate a late first-century date. Inclusion of the *centuria* is prevalent on the tombstones of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester²²⁴. Among those of the Twentieth there are only three, or possibly four, examples: 7.44, 7.69 without *DM*; 7.94, with *Dis Manibus* in full; and possibly 7.104, which begins *DM*. Use of the nominative case would be in keeping with the early date of the inscription. However, if there is to be space on line 2 for a *cognomen*, one might perhaps prefer *G(aii) Valeri...* and the genitive (cf. 7.82). The placement of the tribe is distinctly odd. The *nomen* Galerius might perhaps be read, but it seems equally badly placed for interpretation as the name of a dedicator or heir.

82. C. Valerius ...

RIB 540 (Chester): D(is) M(anibus) | G(ai) Valeri | G(ai) fili) C[la]u(dia) mil(i)t(is) | ...

‘To the spirits of the departed, (and) of Gaius Valerius, son of Gaius, of the Claudian voting-tribe, soldier...’

The use of the formula *DM* and the genitive case would argue for a second century date here. The apparent lack of a *cognomen* would be unusual at this date. Wright and Richmond argue for a possible placement after the name of the legion²²⁵, but the full sense of the fragmentary line 3 perhaps remains in doubt.

83. L. Valerius Aurelius

Britannia 15 (1984), 333 no. 1 and 17 (1986), 454e (Gloucester): D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucius) Val(erius) Aurelius | vet(eranus) Leg(ionis) XX | V(aleriae) [V(ictricis)] | Iul(ius) [...

‘To the spirits of the departed, Lucius Valerius Aurelius, veteran of the Twentieth Legion Valeria [Victrix], Iulius ... (set this up).’

²²⁴ See Chapter I.2, 19 n. 35.

Aurelius, a veteran of the legion, had presumably settled at the *colonia* at *Glevum*. Discharged legionaries would have formed the principal source of settlers in the foundation of the *colonia* and it is perhaps surprising that more such are not known at Gloucester (although the total number of surviving inscriptions is very small). A late second-century to third-century date is suggested by the nomenclature, the ligatured lettering and the style of the clothing²²⁶.

84. M. Valerius Cotta

CIL III 11746 = *ILLPRON* 1257 (Kugelstein): ...*JNIN*[...]| *M(arci) Valeri | Cottae mil(iti) | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)* | [...

‘...Marcus Valerius Cotta, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix...’

Noricum is the source of a number of recruits to the Twentieth Legion in Britain²²⁷. For the question of recruitment from that region see further at 7.44 and 2 below. Cotta had presumably returned to his home town on the River Murus on discharge (unless the tombstone was set up in his honour by his family).

85. C. Valerius Iullus

RIB 1826 + add. (Carvoran): *G(aius) Valerius G(ai filius) Vol(tinia) | Iullus Vian(na) mil(es) | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)*

‘Gaius Valerius Iullus, son of Gaius, of the Voltinian voting-tribe, from Vienne, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix’

Iullus’ death and commemoration at Carvoran indicate the presence of some part of the legion in the vicinity. Birley considered the stone Flavian from its style²²⁸ with a probable context therefore in the

²²⁵ Wright and Richmond 1955, 38 No. 86 followed by *RIB*.

²²⁶ Hassall and Tomlin 1984, 333; Aurelius as *cognomen* rather than *nomen* may not be such a clear indicator of third century date, *op. cit* 349 n. 4.

²²⁷ 7.44, 7.77, 7.103 all from Celeia; 7.23 possibly from Teurnia; 7.118* from Virumum; perhaps also 7.32 from his nomenclature.

northern campaigns under Frontinus and Agricola. However, a second century date has also been put forward²²⁹ which would place it in the context of the Twentieth's presence in northern Britain during and after the construction of Hadrian's Wall. Iullus came from Vienne in *Gallia Narbonensis* and bears a distinctively Celtic *cognomen*²³⁰.

86. C. Valerius Iustus

RIB 507 + add. (Chester): Cocce[iae] | Irene | coniugi | castis[s]im(a)e | [e]t sanctis|[s]imae vix(it) | an(nos) XXX m(ensem)? | G(aius) Val(erius) Iu[s]tus | actar[i]us | leg(ionis) XX p[os]uit

'To Cocceia Irene, his most chaste and pure wife, (who) lived 30 years and a month, Gaius Valerius Iustus, *actarius* of the Twentieth Legion, set this up.'

Iustus was *actarius*, or record-clerk, presumably within the office of the legionary legate. Mann notes that the lettering looks second century and that the wife must therefore be 'informal'²³¹ but such stylistic considerations are rarely as clear-cut as might be hoped. The use of superlatives would tend to favour a later second-century or third-century date²³², however, and the dedication might be taken at face value as third-century. The omission of the legionary *cognomina* is notable in either case.

87. M. Valerius Latinus

RIB 158 (Bath): Dis Manibus | M(arcus) Valerius M(arci) | fil(ius) Latinus c(ivis) Eq(uester) | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX an(norum) | XXXV stipen(diorum) XX | h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

'To the spirits of the departed; Marcus Valerius Latinus, son of Marcus, citizen of Equestris, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, aged 35, of 20 years' service, lies buried here.'

²²⁸ Birley 1961, 194.

²²⁹ *CSIR* i 6.222 from 'the form of the G and the incidence of the *hederae* in the inscription'.

²³⁰ *Onomasticon* II, 207. It appears, rather differently, in the nomenclature of Iullus Antonius (*PIR*² A 0800), the son of Mark Antony.

²³¹ quoted in *RIB* I² addendum.

Like Iulius Vitalis (7.51), also recorded at Bath, Latinus was a serving soldier at the time of his death. If not visiting (unsuccessfully) for the sake of his health, his commemoration here may bear on the activities of the legion in the area in the first century. However, the formula *Dis Manibus* is not generally found much before the end of the first century, although it appears earlier spelled out in full than in its later ubiquitous abbreviated form²³³, and it does not seem likely that this could date to much before the arrival of the legion at Chester. There is some indication that usage of tomb formulae might differ away from the fortress. Among the remarkably coherent collection of tombstones of *legio XIV* in Germania Superior prior to its transfer to the Danube c. AD 92, one only (XIII 6304) appears with the formula *Dis Manibus*, and that at the springs at Aquae (Wiesbaden). The dedication otherwise conforms to early usage – in the nominative, with filiation, *tribus* and *origo*, and the closing formula *hse* – and the absence of the legionary *cognomina* may be significant. Latinus came from Noviodunum, the *colonia* Iulia Equestris (now Nyon). If his service can be dated to the presence of the Twentieth Legion on the lower Severn or in South Wales, then he may have enrolled in the legion in Germany and taken part in the invasion of Britain.

88. L. Valerius Pud[ens]

RIB 542 + add. (Chester): *Dis Man(ibus) | L(ucius) Valerius L(ucii filius) | [S]ala[r]ia Pud[....]III|[...]*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Lucius Valerius Pud[ens], son of Lucius, of Salaria...’

Gravestone with relief carving²³⁴. The use of the formula *Dis Manibus* is not generally found much before the later first century. It appears somewhat earlier spelled out in full²³⁵. This partial abbreviation may stand somewhere between, although other aspects of the text – i.e. use of the nominative, with filiation, *tribus* and *origo* – point to a relatively early date. Pudens is by far the commonest of the possible

²³² Knapp 1992, 368.

²³³ See above Chapter I.2.

²³⁴ CSIR i 9.49.

²³⁵ See 7.87.

*cognomina*²³⁶. Salaria in Hispania Baetica is assumed to be a more likely origin than Salapia, in Apulia (Regio II)²³⁷.

89. L. Valerius

CIL V 939 = Inscr. Aq. 2800 (Aquileia): L(ucius) Valerius L(ucii) f(ilius) | Aniensis Verc(ellis) | miles leg(ionis) XX | annorum XXX | ae[r(um)] IX hic situs

‘Lucius Valerius, son of Lucius, of the Aniensian voting-tribe, from Vercellae, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, lived 30 years, served 9, lies here’

Two serving members of the Twentieth Legion are recorded at Aquileia (see also Q. Vetuleius, 7.93), which seems to have served as a military base on the north-eastern frontier of Italy, although a full-fledged legionary fortress has not been identified²³⁸. In the last two decades of the first century BC, the Twentieth Legion appears to have been engaged in campaigns in the north and east: first perhaps against the Alpine tribes; thereafter in Illyricum. Aquileia may have been a winter base for some of this time. The term *aerum* is used by both L. Valerius and Q. Vetuleius to denote their years of service. This term is used more commonly in Spain and perhaps reflects some service by the legion in that province²³⁹.

90. L. Vanius

RIB 2410.8 (Chester): C(o)ho(rtis) viiii | L(ucii) Van(i)i Se|tino, doss(u)|ario (i)um(ento)...

‘(Property) of Lucius Vanius of the ninth cohort for Setinus, by baggage-animal...’

²³⁶ *Onomasticon* III, 171.

²³⁷ Birley 1986a, 205.

²³⁸ Calderini 1930, 196; Syme 1933, 23 n. 62; Wilkes 1969, 109. Chilver 1941, 12 disputed the possibility of a legionary fortress, but his contention that only detachments were present leaves open the possibility of a military base of whatever description.

²³⁹ Ritterling 1925, 1770; Le Bohec 1994, 12 and *cf.* its continued use by soldiers (largely not of Spanish origin) of *legio X Gemina* during its brief sojourn at Carnuntum *c.* AD 63-68 after transfer from Spain: Vorbeck 1980, 19-23. See further Chapter III.1.

Lead label, found above the north *intervallum* street of the fortress at Abbey Green. Since the label ended up at Chester, one would suppose Setinus (7.76) to be a member of the garrison. Wherever L. Vanius was at the time the absence of any identifier other than the cohort would seem to imply some sort of internal transaction and membership of the same unit. The *nomen* is only recorded otherwise in Italy²⁴⁰.

91. C. Varronius [?B]essus

RIB 998 + add. (Cumberland quarries): *G(aius) Varronius | [?B]essus leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | Ael(ius) Lucanus | [co]r(nicen) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) C[...]*

‘Gaius Varronius ?Bessus, (soldier) of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix. Aelius Lucanus, *cornicen* of the Second Legion Augusta...’

Inscription on the lower quarry face beside Crowdundle Beck, presumably recording the activities of a working party cutting stone for use in the construction of Hadrian’s Wall or its associated structures. The *cognomen* Bessus might suggest an origin among the Bessi in Thrace²⁴¹, and the uncommon *nomen* might also support a Danubian origin²⁴². However, there are a number of other possible, if uncommon, restorations for ...]essus²⁴³.

92. C. Velitius

Suplt-10, T008 = AE 1977.314 (Trieste): *C(aius) Velitius | M(arci) f(ilius) Lemo(nia) | Bononia miles | leg(ionis) XX stipendi(orum) | XXIV l(ocus) m(onument) p(edum) q(uadratorum) XII*

‘Gaius Velitius, son of Marcus, of the LEMONIA voting-tribe, from Bononia, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, served 24 years; the site of the tomb (is) 12 feet on all four sides’

²⁴⁰ Another L. Vanius at Interamna, XI 4314. Vannius is also known but is equally rare: XIV 283; *Onomasticon* IV, 147.

²⁴¹ From the region around Trimontium: *RE* III, 329 *Bessoi*. cf. 7.17. But see above 6.29 and n. 120 on the question of geographical *cognomina*.

²⁴² *Onomasticon* IV, 148.

The style of dedication and lack of *cognomen* (and legionary *cognomina*) indicate an early date. Velitius had presumably served with the legion in Illyricum. He was perhaps posted out at Tergeste from Aquileia, which may have been the legion's winter base (see 7.89, 7.93). However, given his quoted length of service, it is as likely that he had been settled there on his discharge in the years before AD 6²⁴⁴. He came from Bononia in northern Italy.

93. Q. Vetuleius

CIL V 948 = *Inscr. Aq.* 2801 (Aquileia): *Q(uitus) Vetuleius M(arci) f(ilius) | mil(es) leg(ionis) XX | Pollia aer(um) XVII*

'Quintus Vetuleius, son of Marcus, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, of the Pollian voting-tribe, served 17 years'

Vetuleius is one of two serving members of the Twentieth Legion recorded at Aquileia (see also L. Valerius, 7.89), which may have served as winter quarters for the legion during its activities on the north-eastern frontier of Italy in the last two decades of the first-century BC²⁴⁵. As with L. Valerius the use of the term *aerum* to denote length of service is indicative of some early connection with Spain²⁴⁶. Enrolment in the *tribus* Pollia suggests an Italian origin²⁴⁷ as seems to be the case with all of the soldiers of the Twentieth recorded at this date.

94. Q. Vibius Secundus

RIB 508 (Chester): *Dis Mani|bus Q(uitus) Vib|ius Secun|dus Annie(n)s|is Cremon|a miles leg(ionis) XX | V(aleriae) V(ictricis) (centuria) Octavia[ni] | [...*

²⁴³ Solin and Salomies 1994 list *Concessus*, *Processus*, *Pressus*, *Recessus* among others.

²⁴⁴ Wilkes 1969, 111. Normal discharge was suspended during the crisis of AD 6-9.

²⁴⁵ See above n. 238.

²⁴⁶ *cf.* 7.89 and n. 239.

²⁴⁷ Forni 1953, 233; and *cf.* 7.28, 7.37, 7.58.

‘To the spirits of the departed, Quintus Vibius Secundus, of the Aniensian voting-tribe, from Cremona, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, in the century of Octavianus,...’

Gravestone with relief carving²⁴⁸. The use of the formula *Dis Manibus* is not generally found much before the later first century, but spelled out in full it appears somewhat earlier than in its later ubiquitous abbreviated form²⁴⁹. Other aspects of the dedication – the use of the nominative, *tribus, origo* and mention of the century in which Secundus served – mark this out as among the earlier tombstones at Chester²⁵⁰. Secundus’ origin, from Cremona in northern Italy, is another indication of early date, as recruits from Italy to the army of Britain are not generally evident after the end of Trajan’s reign²⁵¹.

95. Victor

RIB 2409.4 (Chester): *(centuria) Cl(audi) Aug(ustiani) | Vic(toris?)*

‘Century of Claudius Augustanus, (product) of Victor’

Lead die, used to stamp bread manufactured at the fortress for the century (*cf.* 6.71, 6.75, 7.56). The centurion Claudius Augustanus (6.18) is generally identified with the namesake attested on centurial stones from Hadrian’s Wall, suggesting an early second-century date for this artefact.

96. M. V(...) Sp(...)

CIL XIII 10029.48 (Lugdunum): *M(arcus) V(...) | Sp(...) [...] | L(egio) XX | V(aleria) V(ictrix)*

Lead seal from Lyon. The *nomina* Valerius or Ulpus would be the most likely expansions. *Cognomina* in *Sp(...)* are uncommon. Only Spurius, Speratus and Spectatus occur in more than a handful of cases²⁵² and

²⁴⁸ CSIR i 9.38.

²⁴⁹ See 7.87.

²⁵⁰ *cf.* 7.18, 7.44 (which also names the centurion), 7.55, 7.69 and see Chapter I.2.3.

²⁵¹ Mann 1983a, 23.

²⁵² *Onomasticon* IV, 90-2.

this may support the alternative reading, *M(...)* *V(...)* *speculator*. Ritterling posits a connection with the Battle of Lugdunum (AD 197) when the legion supported the Imperial ambitions of Clodius Albinus²⁵³. If this man was indeed *speculator*, then he would have been on the staff of Albinus²⁵⁴. A number of other lead seals have been found in the town, including one of *legio VIII* (10029.45), one of *legio XIV* (10029.46), a second of *legio XX* (10029.47; without the *cognomina*), three or four of *legio XXII* (10029.49 i-iii; 51) and one of *legio XXX* (10029.50). All were, at one time or another, stationed on the Rhine and an earlier context in transactions for the provisioning of those legions can be suggested. This example, with its use of the legionary *cognomina*, must be later.

97. M. Ulpus Januarius

RIB 506 + add. (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | M(arcus) Ulp(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) | Ulp(i)a Ianuarius | Traia(na) s[ti]pendiorum] XVIII | an(norum) XXXVII | [h(eres)] f(aciendum) [c(uravit)]*

‘To the spirits of the departed, Marcus Ulpus Januarius, son of Marcus, from Ulpia Traiana, of 19 years’ service, aged 37. His heir had this set up.’

The imperial nomenclature indicates descent from an ancestor who received the grant of citizenship from the emperor Trajan. This epitaph also contains one of the few examples from Britain of a ‘pseudo-tribe’, with the imperial *gentilicium* of the city of origin, in this case Ulpia Traiana, appearing in place of the voting-tribe²⁵⁵. This practice was favoured by soldiers of Danubian origin from the late second century and is rarely seen otherwise²⁵⁶. RIB, however, prefers the *colonia Ulpia Traiana* at Xanten in Germania Inferior over that at Poetovio or Sarmizegetusa²⁵⁷. These latter would fit the distribution better, but are always explicitly named on the examples collected by Forni. A further parallel might be seen in VI 32640.37: *[M] Aurel M f Ulp Ianuarius Trai(ano)p(oli)*, who was from Traianopolis in Thrace.

²⁵³ Ritterling 1925, 1775.

²⁵⁴ In his capacity as provincial governor: Domaszkeski-Dobson 1967, 32.

²⁵⁵ See 3.2 above; perhaps also RIB 671, 1292. A comprehensive list is to be found in Forni 1985.

²⁵⁶ Of the 74 (out of 99) *Ulp(i)* recorded with clear origins in Forni 1985, only six are from elsewhere – five from Numidia and this example listed as from Germania Inferior.

98. Q. V(...) R(...)

RIB 2411.77 (Corbridge): obverse *Leg(io) XX | V(aleria) V(ictrix)*

reverse *Q(uintus) V(...) R(...)*

Lead sealing found at Corbridge. Building work by the Twentieth Legion is attested at the fort in the 160s²⁵⁸ and vexillations of the Twentieth and the Sixth were later stationed there²⁵⁹.

99. Aconius or P]aconius

CIL XIII 8555 (Novaesium): ...?P]acon() | [...Car]t(h)agine | [mil() leg(ionis) X]X (centuria) | [...s]tip(endiorum) XI[...|...]G

‘...?P]aconius ... from Carthago, soldier of the Twentieth Legion in the century of ... served 11+ years...’

The Twentieth Legion was apparently based at Neuss from c. AD 35 until the invasion of Britain in AD 43. Three tombstones represent the only clear evidence for its presence²⁶⁰. Aconius and Paconius are the commonest of the possible *nomina*²⁶¹. An origin in Carthago Nova in Spain is more likely than Carthago in Africa. The latter supplied copious recruits to the Third Augusta but Africans are not found in the Rhine legions at this date (or indeed later)²⁶².

100. Cresc]ens or Val]ens

RIB 512 (Chester): ...] | Pal(atina) [...] | ens Oia[...] | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) m[ilitavit...

²⁵⁷ Followed by Forni 1985; Tomlin and Annis 1989, 84.

²⁵⁸ See 6.69 and also *RIB* 1149, 1164-6.

²⁵⁹ *RIB* 1125, 1130 and see Chapter III.4, 382.

²⁶⁰ See also 6.67, 7.79.

²⁶¹ Solin and Salomies 1994 and *Onomasticon*. *RSK* prefers Aconius, but Paconius is marginally more common.

²⁶² Mann 1981, 25-7 and Table 11. Le Bohec 1989, 508, on the other hand, lists this man as African.

‘...of the Palatine voting-tribe [...]ens from Oia, [...] of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, served....’

Oia is apparently Oea (Tripoli) in Tripolitana. This man may have been one among a number of legionaries originating in North Africa, either as recruits or as part of drafts of men to reinforce the legion²⁶³. The commonest possibilities for the cognomen would be Crescens or Valens²⁶⁴.

101. Anonymous

RIB 122 (Gloucester): ...miles legionis] XX (centuria) Livi Saturnini stipendiorum XIII ann(or)um XXXX
 ‘...soldier of] the Twentieth [Legion], from the century of Livius Saturninus, of 13 years’ service, aged 40.’

This stone appears to confirm the presence of the Twentieth Legion at Kingsholm and Gloucester in the period 48 - c. 78, or possibly later²⁶⁵. The name of the centurion (6.43) under whom this man served survives, but his own name is lost. The style of the dedication is early and the absence of the legionary titles is noteworthy²⁶⁶.

102. Anonymous

RIB 510 (Chester): [Dis M]an[i]b(us) | [.....]stus | [...]g(...) sig(nifer) | [leg(ionis) XX] V(aleriae) V(ictricis) sti(pendiorum) | [...] annor(um) | [...] h(eres) c(uravit)
 ‘To the spirits of the departed, [...]stus of..., standard-bearer of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, of .. years’ service, aged .. years; his heir had this set up.’

²⁶³ cf. 7.50, 7.57 above. Africa did not form a normal source for recruits to the British legions (Mann 1983a, 23-4), but Swan 1992 and 1999b identifies a potentially significant contribution from that region.

²⁶⁴ cf. 6.76.

²⁶⁵ Hurst 1988, 49-56; Hassall and Hurst 1999; and see Chapter III.2.

The use of the formula *Dis Manibus* is not generally found much before the later first century, but spelled out in full it appears somewhat earlier than in its later ubiquitous abbreviated form²⁶⁷. This partial abbreviation may stand somewhere between (cf. 7.88). For *signiferi* in the legion see 7.9, 7.14, 7.19, 7.34. Augustus or Iustus are common possibilities for the *cognomen*.

103. Anonymous

RIB 511 (Chester): ...] | *Celeia miles* | *leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)* | *anno(rum) XL stip(endiorum) XX* | *h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

‘...from Celeia, soldier of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, aged 40, of 20 years’ service; his heir had this set up.’

Celeia, a *municipium* in Noricum, was the origin of three legionaries of the Twentieth at Chester²⁶⁸. For the question of recruitment from that region see further at 7.44 and 2 below.

104. Anonymous

RIB 513 (Chester): [*D(is)*] *M(anibus)* | ...] *sarco* | ... *leg(ionis)* | *XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)* | [*(centuria)? ...*] *mi* | [...

‘To the spirits of the departed...] *sarco* [...of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, in the century of...’

Gravestone with relief carving²⁶⁹. Mention of the century in which the soldier served is an early trait, not often seen on tombstones of members of the Twentieth (cf. 7.44, 7.94; 7.69 records the *centuria p(rimi)p(ili)*). Of these only 7.94 uses the formula *Dis Manibus*, and there spelled out in full. The name of

²⁶⁶ See Appendix 1.

²⁶⁷ See 7.87.

²⁶⁸ See also 7.44, 7.77. One soldier of the Second Adiutrix at Chester (RIB 479) also hailed from the town.

²⁶⁹ CSIR i 9.41.

the century is otherwise absent from epitaphs beginning *DM*, and some other explanation may have to be sought for the fragmentary fourth line.

105. Anonymous

RIB 514 (Chester): ... | leg(ionis)] XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) ann(orum) | ..]I stip(endiorum) XVII | h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

‘... of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, aged ... years, of 17 years’ service. His heir had this erected.’

106. Anonymous

RIB 515 (Chester): ...]s Su[. |...l]eg(ionis) XX | [...

‘...of the Twentieth Legion.’

107. Anonymous

RIB 516 (Chester): ...le]g(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | ...vi]x(it) ann(os) | [...]I h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

‘... of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, lived ... years. His heir had this set up.’

108. Anonymous

RIB 544 (Chester): ...] | opt(i)onis ad spem | ordinis (centuria) Lucili | Ingenui, qui | naufragio perit | s(itus) e(st)

‘...an *optio*, serving in the century of Lucilius Ingenuus, and awaiting promotion to centurion, who died by shipwreck. He is buried [].’

This anonymous victim of a shipwreck, was *optio*, second in command to the centurion Lucilius Ingenuus (6.45). The military duties of the position of *optio*, in combination with administrative posts such as

signifer (within the cohort) or *beneficiarius* or *cornicularius* (in the office of a tribune or the legate) were part of the normal path to the centurionate²⁷⁰. The process might take up to 20 years but the use of the phrase *ad spem ordinis* indicates that this man had fulfilled the necessary conditions for promotion and was awaiting a suitable vacancy²⁷¹. A space was left on the tombstone to complete the formula *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, apparently in case the body was ever found.

The absence of the name of the legion introduces some uncertainty as to the identity of the unit in which this man served (and given the stated cause of his death, the naval origin of *legio II Adiutrix* may be significant). However, although the use (or intended use) of the formula HSE, and the identification of the century in which he served, would imply an earlier rather than a later date, both are nonetheless found on tombstones of the Twentieth at Chester²⁷². Moreover, the genitive case is not otherwise found on tombstones of soldiers of *legio II Adiutrix* at Chester²⁷³, and might here be taken to indicate a dedication *Dis Manibus*, ‘To the spirits of the departed, and of...’. Attribution to the long period of occupation by the Twentieth Legion seems preferable over the brief presence of the Second.

109. Anonymous

RIB 2127 (Newstead): ...]nius III[I... |...]leg(ionis) X[X... |...]M[...
 ‘...nius...of the Twentieth Legion.’

For the Twentieth Legion at Newstead see also 6.7, 6.48 and Chapter III.4.

²⁷⁰ Breeze 1974b, 270-2.

²⁷¹ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, XIV; Breeze 1971, 132.

²⁷² HSE: 7.54, 7.69 (with nominative). Centurion named: 7.44, 7.69, 7.94.

²⁷³ RIB 475-487; nominative except for the tombstone of a veteran (RIB 478) in the dative. See above 19 n. 35.

110. Anonymous

CIL II 719 (Aldiguelo nr Cácares): ...*Pa]piria (tribu [...|...] leg(ionis) XX [...|...]ETVO[...|...]LALXA[...]* | *h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) | et uxor | Secunda*

‘... of the Papiria voting tribe...of the Twentieth Legion...he lies here; may the earth lie lightly upon him: and his wife *Secunda*’

For veterans of the Twentieth in Spain, see above 7.15, 7.41 and Chapter III.1.

111. Anonymous

Inscr. It. X 4.50 (Tergeste): ...] | *veteran(us) | leg(ionis) XX | [...*

A veteran of the legion, like C. Velitius (7.92), apparently settled at Trieste, probably also in the period before AD 6.

112*. Albanus

Britannia 22 (1991), 299 no. 24 (Carlisle): *Albano | seplasiario*

‘To Albanus, *seplasiarius*’

Stylus writing-tablet. A *seplasiarius* (pharmacist) could be a civilian, but might equally serve in a military hospital²⁷⁴. In view of the context of the find, along with the note of hand of Q. Cassius Secundus (7.22), dated 7 November 83, it is possible that this man served with *legio XX* (see also 7.115* one L. Camulius Albanus recorded at Chester).

²⁷⁴ *ILS* 7606 (civilian); XIII 6778 *seplasiar(ius) in leg(ione) I Ad(iutrice)*.

113*. L. Antestius Sabinus

RIB 518 (Chester): *L(ucius) Antesti|us L(ucii filius) Serg(ia) | Sabinus | [C]ordub(a) | [...*

‘Lucius Antestius Sabinus, son of Lucius, of the Sergian voting-tribe, from Corduba...’

Gravestone with relief decoration²⁷⁵. The style of this dedication presents the possibility of an early date, and membership of *legio II Adiutrix* cannot be ruled out on those grounds. The legion is an unusual case, however. Raised from among sailors of the fleet at Ravenna during the civil wars of AD 69, it was sent to Britain two years later and remained there until c. AD 88²⁷⁶. Although it will have received a number of recruits in that period (assuming time served as at AD 69 to count towards discharge), its composition will have largely reflected patterns of recruitment into the fleet at Ravenna²⁷⁷ and its later recruitment may not have drawn from the same sources as the longer established British legions. This man is from a Spanish colony, Corduba in Baetica. Men from this province are almost unknown in the Second Adiutrix²⁷⁸, and it would seem best to follow Le Roux and assign this man to the Twentieth Legion²⁷⁹.

114*. C. Attius Rufinus

RIB 520 (Chester): *...] G(aius) Attius [...|...] R(u)finus [...|...] a(nn)orum [...|...|...]n[...|...|]au[...|...|]st[...*

‘Gaius Attius Rufinus...age...’

²⁷⁵ CSIR i 9.40.

²⁷⁶ Frere 1987, 83, 106.

²⁷⁷ The earliest known members come from Thrace (6), Dalmatia (4), Pannonia superior (4), Noricum and Asia: Forni 1953, 217. Those recorded at Chester come from Thrace (4), Noricum, Pannonia superior and Augusta Praetoria in Cisalpine Gaul.

²⁷⁸ Forni 1953, 217-8 lists none, but see II 2639 recording a father and son both of whom served in the legion.

²⁷⁹ Le Roux 1982, 218 No. 163: but his suggested date range would still encompass the occupation of Chester by *legio II Adiutrix*.

What can be discerned of the text of this epitaph does not clearly conform to the consistent formula of the known tombstones of the Second Adiutrix, so that if this man is a soldier it is perhaps more likely that he served with the Twentieth Legion. However, although *RIB* includes Rufinus among its ‘soldiers with name extant, legion unknown’, there is little distinctively military about the text or the tombstone fragment itself and it may belong to a member of the civilian community at Chester²⁸⁰. The *nomen* Attius may suggest an individual of Celtic/Germanic background. The *cognomen*, however, is most often seen in Spain²⁸¹.

115*. L. Camulius Albanus

RIB 524 (Chester): *L(ucius) Camulius L(ucii) f(ilius) | Stel(l)atina (tribu) A|lbanus Tau|rinus | [...*
 ‘Lucius Camulius Albanus, son of Lucius, of the Stellatine voting-tribe, from the Taurine district...’

Albanus has been linked with his namesake (7.112*), the *seplasiarius* recorded on a writing tablet at Carlisle. Tomlin notes that the ‘mason’s tools roughly outlined’ (*RIB ad loc.*) on the tombstone are not clearly identifiable and suggest only that Albanus was a specialist of some sort²⁸². The style of the dedication is early, so that membership of the Second Adiutrix cannot be ruled out, but Wright thought it likely that Albanus served in the Twentieth Legion and Tomlin also attributes the tombstone to the Twentieth Legion ‘in the Flavian period’²⁸³. However, the *cognomen* is not so uncommon for the identification to be pressed²⁸⁴, even if the coincidence of time be accepted. Albanus originated among the Taurini of north-western Italy around Augusta Taurinorum (Turin). The *nomen* derives from the name of the Celtic god Camulus²⁸⁵.

²⁸⁰ Mason 2001, 183.

²⁸¹ *Onomasticon* I, 212 (Attius) commonest in Narbonensis, but not unusual in Spain. *Onomasticon* IV, 33 (Rufinus).

²⁸² *Britannia* 22 (1991) 300 n. 35. These are not noted by *CSIR* i 9.45 (which also suggests a rather later date) and are perhaps not to be considered primary.

²⁸³ Wright and Richmond 1955, 34; Tomlin in *Britannia* 1991 *ad loc.*

²⁸⁴ Kajanto 1965, 181.

²⁸⁵ Wright and Richmond 1955, 33 No. 67.

116*. Q. Cornelius Q. f.

RIB 529 (Chester): *Q(uitus) Co[rneliu]s | Q(uiti) f(ilius) [...*

‘Quintus Cornelius, son of Quintus, ...’

The die for the inscription shows a variant on the rounded headline which is such a distinctive feature of tombstones of the Second Adiutrix at Chester. There seems little to choose between that legion and the Twentieth²⁸⁶. However, the remarkable coherence of the group of *legio II Adiutrix* tombstones, set up after all over a relatively short timescale, means that any variation should give us pause. The much longer presence of the Twentieth at Chester would after all lead us to suppose it more likely that unattributed stones should belong to the latter.

117*. Q. Cornelius Q. f. Ani.

RIB 530 (Chester): *Q(uitus) Corn|elius Q(uiti) f(ilius) | An[i(ensi)]...*

‘Quintus Cornelius, son of Quintus, of the Aniensian voting-tribe...’

The gabled tombstone with rectangular die is more akin to the Twentieth Legion types than to the distinctively rounded headlines of the Second Adiutrix tombstones²⁸⁷.

118*. Q. Domitius Optatus

RIB 531 (Chester): *Q(uitus) Domitius | Q(uiti) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Optat|us Viruno | [...*

Quintus Domitius Optatus, son of Quintus, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Virunum...’

Virunum (now Mariasaal, near Klagenfurt, Austria) was a *municipium* in Noricum. The province is the source of a number of recruits to the Twentieth Legion in Britain²⁸⁸. For the question of recruitment from

²⁸⁶ CSIR i 9.29 suggests probably *legio II Adiutrix*.

²⁸⁷ CSIR i 9.31 nonetheless suggests he perhaps served in *legio II Adiutrix*.

²⁸⁸ 7.44, 7.77, 7.103 all from Celeia; 7.23 possibly from Teurnia; 7.84; perhaps also 7.32.

that region see further at 7.44 and 2 below. Noricum also provided men to the Second Adiutrix, including one man recorded at Chester (*RIB* 479). Since the form of the dedication is early, there is little to choose between the two legions.

119*. Q. Iunius November

RIB 533 (Chester): *Q(uintus) Iun[ius]... | Novem[ber]... | vix(it) an(nos) LXX[... | Iul(ius) Lib[er]alis...*

‘Quintus Iunius November lived 70 (and more) years; Iulius Liberalis...’

The use of the phrase *vixit annos* distinguishes this epitaph from those of the Second Adiutrix which consistently use the formula *annorum – stipendiorum*, and a dating to the period before the arrival of the Twentieth at Chester seems unlikely. However, November was in excess of 70 years old at the time of his death and might be presumed to have settled at Chester on discharge from whichever legion²⁸⁹. The recorded age would suggest the passage of some 25 years since discharge and a date no earlier than the first decade of the second century. The absence of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)* would suggest an earlier rather than later second-century date, but this is in any case somewhat at odds with the use of *vixit annos* (see above Chapter I.2.3). Although *RIB* includes this individual among its ‘soldiers with name extant, legion unknown’, there is little, apart from the conflicting dating evidence, to rule out an origin among the civilian community at Chester (*cf.* 7.114* and below *Incerti* 4-6). The *cognomen* is unusual, this being the sole example quoted in the *Onomasticon*; Iunii are rather commoner in Spain than elsewhere²⁹⁰.

120*. Q. Longinius Laetus

RIB 535 (Chester): *Q(uintus) Longinius | Pomentina | Laetus Luco | stip(endiorum) XV | (centuria) Corneli Severi | [...*

‘Quintus Longinius Laetus, of the Pomentine voting-tribe, from Lucus, of 15 years’ service, in the century of Cornelius Severus...’

²⁸⁹ *cf.* *RIB* 478 for a veteran of the Second Adiutrix at Chester.

Laetus was from Lucus Augusti (Lugo) in Hispania Tarraconensis. This was enrolled in the *tribus* Galeria and the adoption here of Pomentina (properly Pomptina) suggested to Birley a man owing his citizenship to Servius Sulpicius Galba, probably on enlistment into the newly formed *legio VII Galbiana* in AD 68²⁹¹. This would place his death in AD 83, before the arrival of the Twentieth at Chester. However, although the form of the dedication is undoubtedly early, the use of a rectangular ground is at odds with the general practice among known tombstones of the Second Adiutrix at Chester²⁹², whereas the form of the dedication can as easily be matched among known records of the Twentieth (*cf.* 7.18, 7.44, 7.55, 7.69). Spanish origin is also more usual among soldiers of the Twentieth than those of the Second, where it is hardly known²⁹³. Birley's further comment on the lack of filiation (i.e. that it might imply a grant of citizenship prior to and separate from his enrolment) leaves open the possibility that that grant and enrolment in a legion were separated by some time. Enrolment five or more years after 68 would allow the possibility that this man, and the centurion Cornelius Severus (6.117*), in fact served in the Twentieth.

121*. Sextus

RIB 2437.1 (Holt): reverse *Sex(tii)*

'(Property) of Sextus'

Lead cap from Holt. The works depot appears to have been manned by legionaries, but at least one auxiliary is recorded there²⁹⁴ and there were doubtless others. Civilians might also have had some role. The 'lead cap' is not clearly identified and cannot be claimed as distinctively military. The peak activity of the works depot lay in the late first and early second centuries (see further at 6.6). The *cognomen* Sextus is most frequently recorded on the Rhine and in Noricum²⁹⁵.

²⁹⁰ Kajanto 1965, 219; *Onomasticon* III, 105; II, 208.

²⁹¹ Birley 1986a, 204-5.

²⁹² see Chapter I.2, 19 n. 35.

²⁹³ see 7.113* and n. 277.

²⁹⁴ RIB 2491.96; Stephens 1989.

122*. Sex. Simil[...]

RIB 538 + add. (Chester): *Sextus Sexti filius | Fab(ia) Brix[ia] | Simil[...*

‘Sextus Simil[...], son of Sextus, of the Fabian voting-tribe, from Brixia...’

Presumably *eques* to judge by the sculptured relief of the tombstone²⁹⁶. A number of *equites* are known from Chester²⁹⁷. C. Iulius Severus (7.46) is the only one explicitly described as *eques legionis* but it is probable that all are legionary. Possible expansions of the *nomen* are Similius, or Similinius²⁹⁸.

123*. M. Valerius Martialis

RIB 541 (Chester): *M(arcus) Valer(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) | Claud(ia) Martialis | [...*

‘Marcus Valerius Martialis, son of Marcus, of the Claudian voting-tribe...’

The surviving fragment of the relief decoration shows the hind legs of a horse and it is probable that Martialis was a member of the cavalry, the *equites legionis*, present within each legion²⁹⁹.

The *cognomen* is very common, but especially so in Africa which accounts for 42% of the examples encountered by Kajanto³⁰⁰. The *cognomen* Saturninus shows a similar distribution and an explanation in a Punic preference for names based on divine elements has been proposed for both. However, this may have little bearing here given the known patterns of recruitment to the legion: see further Chapter I.4 (and *cf.* 6.43 and 7.73 above).

²⁹⁵ *Onomasticon* IV, 79.

²⁹⁶ *CSIR* i 9.54 suggesting a second or third-century date.

²⁹⁷ See further at 7.13 above; also 7.46, 7.123*.

²⁹⁸ Schulze 1904, 232; Solin and Salomies 1994, 171.

²⁹⁹ *CSIR* i 9.48 and see further at 7.13 and 7.122* above.

Incerti

1. AE 2001.1177 = CIL II 864 (Vrunia): *L(ucius) Marcius | [L(ucii) f(ilius) Ma]xi[mus] Gal(eria) | [m]i[l(es) leg(ionis)] XX V[a]l[er]iae | [Vi]c[tr]icis [d(onis) d(onato)] in Gal(lia) | [tor]quibus arm(illis) phal(eris) | Victoriae | ...*

Rereading of inscription, already lost by the time of its record in *CIL*. The formulation might encourage restoration as a legionary epitaph, in which case *XX Val Vic* seems a good candidate. However, one might as easily suggest *[v]i[x(it) ann(is)] XXVII* for line 3 as presented in *CIL*. The restoration of *dona* and suggestion of a role in the suppression of the revolt of AD 21 are highly conjectural.

2. A.R. Birley 1979, 85 states that one Compitalicius 'is known to have served in the detachment [of the Twentieth] at Newstead in the second century'. The mark of ownership *RIB* II.2428.4b: > *Barri Compitalici* would place Compitalicius, and the centurion Barrus, at Newstead but the iron axe in question was recovered from a pit of Flavian date and the identity of the legion involved in that period is uncertain.

3. *RIB* 13 (London): See above 7.47. Flavius Attius, the *heres*, was probably a serving soldier commemorating an immediate colleague, but the mixed nature of the establishment at London introduces uncertainty as to the unit in which he served.

4. *RIB* 18 (London): See above 7.73. Gaius Acilius M[...], the dedicator, was probably a serving soldier, but his unit is likewise uncertain: *cf. RIB* 13.

5. *RIB* 537 (Chester): *D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucio) F[e]stini[o] Probo f[il]l(io) | vix(it) an(nos) II d(ies) XXVIII | L(ucius) Sem(pronius) Probianus | pater f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

'To the spirits of the departed, (and) to his son Lucius Festinius Probus, (who) lived 2 years and 29 days, his father, Lucius Sempronius Probianus, had this set up.'

³⁰⁰ Kajanto 1965, 212: 324 out of 771 examples are from Africa.

Probianus has the *tria nomina* of the citizen, but the community at Chester in the third century may well have contained civilian inhabitants who were nonetheless citizens (Mason 2001, 183). *RIB* includes him among its 'soldiers with name extant, legion unknown'.

6. *RIB* 543 (Chester): *Voconia* | *Nigrina* beneath a female figure

G(aius) Val(erius) Victor beneath a male figure

RIB includes him among its 'soldiers with name extant, legion unknown'. He is depicted in civilian dress along with his wife. Mason (2001, 183) considers him a civilian.

7. *RIB* 560 (Chester): *Dis Manibus* | *Atil[i]an(us) e[st] An[tiat[i]lianus an(norum) X* | *Protus an(norum) XII* | *Pompeius Optatus do[minus] f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

or *RIB* 560 add. *Atiliane [a]n(norum) | I At[i]lianus an(norum) X*

'To the spirits of the departed, Atilianus and Antiatilianus, aged 10, Protus, aged 12: their master, Pompeius Optatus, had this set up.'

The use of the tomb formula *Dis Manibus* spelled out in full would suggest a late first-century or very early second-century date for this memorial and perhaps indicate that Optatus was, or had been, a member of the garrison at Chester (thus AR Birley 1979, 146 'a military man'). However, some sort of extramural community clearly existed from an early date and Mason (2001, 103) suggests that the owner of these slaves might well have been a merchant. That role would not be incompatible with his being a legionary veteran, but if so he could, like C. Valerius Crispus (*RIB* 478), have served with *legio II Adiutrix*.

8. *Britannia* 16 (1985) 317 no. 1. Fragmentary list of 15 members of legionary detachment at London in the third century. At this date the governor's staff would be drawn from the two legions of Britannia Superior, *legio XX* and *legio II Augusta*.

9. *CIL* XIII 8288 (*colonia Agrippinensium*); See above 7.64. Sextus Marcianus, the *heres*, was probably another veteran, or soldier, perhaps also of the Twentieth, but the mixed nature of the garrison precludes certainty.

Errata

CIL XIII 8286: *vet(eranus) leg X[X] = RSK 223 (colonia Agrippinensium): vet(eranus) leg [XX]*. The reading of Alföldy 1965, 184: *leg X | [G(emina) p(ia)] f(idelis)* is to be preferred.

Riese 1914, 118 no. 1038 allocates *CIL* XIII 8275 to *legio XX*, but the reading *legeoni I (RSK 206)* is to be preferred.

Mann 1983, 4: V 7459 = *ILS* 2337 records a soldier of *legio VIII* not *legio XX*.

Mann 1983, 8: X 7349 is a dedication by *legio XII* (perhaps by confusion with the dedication to a tribune: X 5059).

AE 1988.396 quotes Patterson 1987, 179 as identifying M. Albius (*CIL* IX 1603 = *ILS* 2235 = Keppie 1983, sylloge 30) as a veteran of *legio XX*. He served in *legio XXX*. This is perhaps an error for IX 1608 (7.33 here) who was a veteran of *legio XX*.

Miles

1. Ranks and pay-scales

Within the ranks of the legion a large number of specialist posts and occupations are recorded marking the distinction between the *immunis*, who was exempt from fatigues and general duties, and the *munifex*, who was not. Paternus³⁰¹ lists forty-three such posts; many more are known from epigraphic sources³⁰². Further distinctions exist with some, the *principales*, receiving higher pay³⁰³, whether that be the pay-and-a-half of the *sesquiplicarius*, the double pay of the *duplicarius* or even perhaps the triple pay of the *triplicarius*³⁰⁴. All *principales*, it must be assumed, were *immunes*, but it may not be that all with specialist duties received higher pay³⁰⁵.

Only twenty-three of the soldiers known to have served in the ranks of the Twentieth Legion show any evidence of advancement beyond the level of *munifex*, and in only one case do we have evidence for a succession of posts (see Table II.7.1). Of the others, three men served as *beneficiarius* with administrative duties in the office of the legionary legate, a prestigious position (7.50, 7.58, 7.80); one served as *beneficiarius* on the staff of a tribune (7.43) and one served as *beneficiarius* seconded to the staff of the provincial procurator (7.48); five are known to have attained the post of *signifer*, the standard bearer, also responsible for certain administrative duties within the century (7.9, 7.14, 7.19, 7.34, 7.102); three served as *optio*, second in command to a centurion (7.2, 7.16, 7.108); and one held the post of *imaginifer*, the bearer of the image of the emperor (7.12). Of the large number of other specialised posts attested, there are here only four: an *actarius* or clerk (7.86); a *fabriensis*, in the workshops of the legion (7.51); a *magister ballistariorum*, master of artillery (7.3); and a *pequarius*, or animal doctor (7.30). One further might be added if Albanus (7.112*), the *seplasiarius* (pharmacist), be accepted as a legionary.

³⁰¹ *Digesta* 50.6.7.

³⁰² Over 100 are indexed in Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, Register A1. The more elaborate hierarchy of posts seems to have developed throughout the second and third centuries: Watson 1969, 79.

³⁰³ Sander 1959.

³⁰⁴ Only one of the latter is known, and the interpretation tentative: *AE* 1976.495.

³⁰⁵ Watson 1969, 77-8, 92.

Two others (or perhaps four to judge from the surviving relief decoration of tombstones) are distinguished as *equites* (7.13, 7.46; perhaps 7.122*, 7.123*). A contingent of cavalry, the *equites legionis* was present within each legion. These numbered about 120 men³⁰⁶. They appear to have been enrolled in the centuries just as the ordinary *miles*, at least for administrative purposes, but may have received higher pay, perhaps because of the added burden of feeding and equipping their horses³⁰⁷.

Mommius Cattianus (7.65) is the only man to record a succession of posts within the legion, serving as *beneficiarius* in the office of the legionary legate and then *cornicularius*, the most senior position in that office. His subsequent post as *optio* in *cohors I* would have led to further advancement to the centurionate, but he died in that grade. This path to the centurionate was the normal route involving a combination of administrative (*signifer*, *beneficiarius*, *cornicularius*) and military posts (*optio*), and might take up to 20 years³⁰⁸. It is clearly demonstrated in the case of L. Valerius Proculus (6.70) who, unusually, leaves us a list of posts prior to attaining the centurionate which brought him eventually to the Twentieth Legion. He enlisted originally in *legio V Macedonica*, secured a post as *beneficiarius* on the staff of the legionary legate and then a position as *optio*, second in command to the centurion of a cohort, before attaining the centurionate himself. Proculus is described as *optio ad spem ordinis*, a phrase also used of the anonymous 7.108, indicating that he had fulfilled the necessary conditions for promotion and was awaiting a suitable vacancy. Those who had held the post of *optio* before an administrative post in the *officium* are not generally so described³⁰⁹.

A further three men are recorded serving as *frumentarii* at Rome (7.4, 7.11, 7.75). The *frumentarius*, as the title suggests, may have originally been concerned with corn-supply and the provisioning of the

³⁰⁶ Parker 1958, 210; Breeze 1969, 53-5; Webster 1985, 116 after Josephus *Bell. Jud.* 3.6.2. Dixon and Southern (1992, 27-30) point out that the circumstances described by Josephus may not reflect usual practice but the alternative figures given by Vegetius (*Epitoma* 2.6) in all probability describe much later practice, even if they are taken as correct.

³⁰⁷ Pitts and St Joseph 1981, 169-70. Dixon and Southern 1992, 87 (higher pay) – if this is the correct interpretation of the *faenaria*, ‘hay-money’, of Fink 1971, no. 68. Speidel 1973, 144 casts doubt over the legionary status of these men.

³⁰⁸ Breeze 1974b, 270-2.

³⁰⁹ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, XIV; Breeze 1971, 132.

legion, but under the principate a quite different role developed. *Frumentarii* are found posted out at *stationes* and are recorded making arrests and escorting prisoners, but were chiefly employed as couriers, particularly between the provincial governor and the emperor at Rome, a role also filled by the *speculatores* with whom they seem to be linked³¹⁰. From the early second century, possibly under Trajan, they were formed into a unit, the *numerus frumentariorum*, and provided with a base at Rome, the *castra peregrina*³¹¹. Operating directly for the emperor, their role began to take on political overtones, including espionage and assassination³¹². By the time of Diocletian they had become distrusted and unpopular and were disbanded. These three *frumentarii* may therefore have spent little or no time with the legion in which they were technically enrolled. Whilst in Britain they would probably be attached to the governor's staff and may never have remained in the province long. The fact that all three were commemorated at Rome, would seem to indicate that this was their primary posting.

Amongst the soldiers of the legion, those who had completed 20 years' service were thereafter relieved of manual duties and required only to fight³¹³. These *vexillarii* could be organised, and operate, as a separate formation under the *vexillum veteranorum* but in normal circumstances were perhaps, like the equites, to be found on the books of their respective centuries³¹⁴. Although a number of legionaries of the Twentieth served for periods in excess of 20 years (see 3 below), none are described as such (but *cf.* the *vexillarii vicesimani* of AD 61³¹⁵). Only M. Gargilius Secundus (7.39) '*qui sub vexillo decessit*' might be counted among their number³¹⁶.

³¹⁰ Rankov 1999, 29; See T. Sempronius Pudens (7.75) who made dedications both to a fellow *frumentarius* and to a *speculator* of the army of Britain.

³¹¹ Ashby and Baillie Reynolds 1923; Mann 1988; Rankov 1990; see 5.4 above.

³¹² Austin and Rankov 1995, 136-7.

³¹³ Keppie 1973, 8; Mann 2000, 153. 20 years with a further 5 *sub vexillo* after 5BC; prior to that 16 years plus 4.

³¹⁴ Keppie 1973, 16; Mann 2000, 154.

³¹⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 14.34; see Chapter III.2.

Table II.7.1: Posts held within the ranks of the legion

7.2	Aelius Claudianus	<i>optio</i>
7.3	P. Aelius Optatus	<i>magister ballistariorum</i>
7.4	L. Aemilius Flaccus	<i>frumentarius</i>
7.9	L. Antonius Quadratus	<i>[signifer]</i>
7.11	T. Aurelius Certius	<i>frumentarius</i>
7.12	Aurelius Diogenes	<i>imaginifer</i>
7.13	Aurelius Lucius	<i>eques</i>
7.14	Aurelius Valentinus	<i>signifer</i>
7.16	Caecilius Avitus	<i>optio</i>
7.19	D. Capienius Urbicus	<i>signifer</i>
7.30	C. Deccius	<i>pequarius</i>
7.34	T. Flavius Valerianus	<i>signifer</i>
7.43	C. Iulius Maritimus	<i>beneficiarius tribuni</i>
7.46	C. Iulius Severus	<i>eques</i>
7.48	Iulius Valerianus	<i>beneficiarius procuratoris Augusti</i>
7.50	Iulius Victor	<i>beneficiarius legati</i>
7.51	Iulius Vitalis	<i>fabriciensis</i>
7.58	C. Mannius Secundus	<i>beneficiarius legati pr</i>
7.65	Mommius Cattianus	<i>beneficiarius legati legionis cornicularius legati legionis optio coh I</i>
7.75	T. Sempronius Pudens	<i>frumentarius</i>
7.78	L. Sper... Ursulus	<i>beneficiarius</i>
7.80	Titinius Felix	<i>beneficiarius legati</i>
7.86	C. Valerius Iustus	<i>actarius</i>
7.102	ignotus	<i>signifer</i>
7.108	ignotus	<i>optio ad spem ordinis</i>
7.112*	Albanus	<i>seplasarius</i>
7.122*	Sex. Simil[...]	<i>(eques)</i>
7.123*	M. Valerius Martialis	<i>(eques)</i>

³¹⁶ But this was not the view of Keppie 1973, 10 and n. 19.

2. *Origines*

Patterns of recruitment into the Roman legions have been well established by the studies of Forni (1953, 1974) and Mann (1983a). The legions of the Republic relied almost wholly upon Italian manpower (Brunt 1971) but with the establishment of a large standing army recruitment began to develop from other sources. In the eastern provinces local recruitment soon came to form the principal source of new men. In the west, Italian entrants began to be supplemented by men from the Roman communities of Narbonensis, Spain and Africa. Under the Flavians and Trajan, Italian recruitment began to decline and other sources became more important. Narbonensis, Spain and Africa remained key sources but men were also drawn from Noricum and from Roman communities within the frontier provinces and their neighbours. From the reign of Hadrian onwards recruitment from Italy virtually ceased³¹⁷ (although new legions continued to be raised in Italy). The number of recruits from other sources in the heart of the empire also declined and the legions came increasingly to rely on veteran colonies within the frontier zone.

Although the number of inscriptions in Britain is not large, the evidence bears out these general patterns. Down to the end of Trajan's reign recruits from the colonies of northern Italy continue to appear but these are increasingly overshadowed by men from Narbonensis and Spain and from Roman communities in Noricum and Germany. From the reign of Hadrian onwards Italians cease to appear among the normal recruits to the British legions but Narbonensis, Spain, Germany and Noricum continue to be drawn upon. Unlike other provinces, however, the evidence for local recruitment is scant. For the third century we would expect local recruitment to predominate but the evidence is hard to find³¹⁸. Of three inscriptions from Britain from this period, two are perhaps Britons, providing some slight evidence for the development of such recruitment. Mann suggests that the three men from

³¹⁷ Forni 1953, 187-8 lists just 17 Italians out of nearly 1900 recruits for the period Hadrian-Diocletian and Mann 1983a, 64 argues that as few as 5 can be taken as genuine Italian recruits to the provincial legions.

³¹⁸ Forni 1953, 88-9 suggests that Britain was too sparsely populated to provide the necessary manpower for three legions.

Narbonensis may have been transferred into the legion by Septimius Severus as part of a draft of men to make good the losses of his defeat of Clodius Albinus at Lugdunum in AD 197³¹⁹.

The pattern seen amongst the soldiers of the Twentieth Legion is broadly consistent with this overall distribution although there are some minor points of difference. The sample is not large however, and the deficiencies of the epigraphic record in Britain might lead one to different conclusions, were the overall patterns not otherwise reasonably clear.

For the republican legion we have very few records all told, and even fewer which identify the origin of the men involved. It is likely that all were of Italian origin, but only in the case of C. Axonius (7.15) is this explicit.

Table II.7.2: *The Republican legion*

	Name	Rank	<i>origo</i>	Findspot
7.59	C. Marius	<i>(veteranus)</i>		Beneventum
IX 1625	A. Silanus?	<i>signifer</i>		Beneventum
7.33	T. Flavius Titullus?	<i>(veteranus)</i>		Beneventum

Table II.7.3 *Legio XX in Spain*

		Rank	<i>origo</i>	Findspot
7.15	C. Axonius	<i>(veteranus)</i>	Firmum Picenum	Elvas
7.41	L. Hermelius	<i>veteranus</i>		Turgalium
II 719	...			Turgalium

The pattern of recruitment into the Twentieth Legion during the last two decades of the first century BC and the first half of the first century AD is consistent with the generally observed distribution. After the legion's return from Spain, through its service on the borders of northern Italy and in Illyricum and its transfer to the Rhine, the vast majority of the known soldiers of the legion originate in Cisalpine Gaul. Eleven out of the seventeen men listed below come from towns in northern Italy, whilst the recorded

³¹⁹ Mann 1983a, 24; *cf.* 7.48.

voting tribes of three others would sit easily with such an origin. Only three can be clearly seen to originate elsewhere: C. Allius (7.5), later settled at Iader in Dalmatia, came from Luca a little further south in Etruria; Aconius (7.99) probably came from Carthago Nova in Spain; and L. Speratus Ursulus (7.78), if he served on the Rhine, may have originated in Viviscus in Germania Superior. This accords well with the patterns of Italian recruitment in the Julio-Claudian period: out of 253 ascribed to this period by Forni, 213 originated in Transpadana, Aemilia, Liguria, Venetia and Histria³²⁰. The main contrast with other legions on the Rhine in the period AD 9-43 is the limited evidence for recruitment in Narbonensis and Spain, clear for legions I, V and XXI in Germania Inferior and for legions XIII, XIV and XVI in Germania Superior³²¹. Only the Second Augusta in Germania Superior shows a similar lack of men from such sources, but in both cases the number of recorded individuals is small. The evidence of the relatively large collection of tombstones of *legio XIV Gemina* at Mainz – 33 out of 40 soldiers with origins in Italy (and all but 2 in northern Italy) – would suggest that the legions on the Rhine were still predominately Italian and the slight evidence for men from other sources in the smaller collection of the Twentieth is not unexpected³²².

Table II.7.4: *Legio XX* in Italy and Illyricum

		Rank	<i>origo</i>	Findspot
7.89	L. Valerius	<i>miles</i>	Vercellae	Aquileia
7.93	Q. Vetuleius	<i>miles</i>	(Pollia)	Aquileia
7.92	C. Velitius	<i>miles</i>	Bononia	Trieste
7.68	L. Plinius	<i>miles</i>	'Trumplia'	Reselec
7.62	C. Mestrius	<i>veteranus</i>	'Trumplia'	Zanano
7.9	L. Antonius Quadratus	(<i>signifer</i>)	(Brixia)	Brixia
7.5	C. Allius	<i>veteranus</i>	Luca	Iader

³²⁰ Forni 1953, 159-63 Tabella 1; 169-72 Tabella 2; excluding those possible Italians identified only from their *tribus*.

³²¹ Mann 1983a, 93, Table 11; 100-1 Table 13.

³²² In the same period a slightly different pattern can be seen for legions VII and XI in Illyricum/Dalmatia which the Twentieth left in AD 9. Both draw heavily on Italy for recruits, while also showing some contribution from Narbonensis and Spain, the Danube provinces and the east (Forni 1953, 225, 229; Mann 1983a 110-11 Table 15: 20/28 Italian for *legio VII*; 26/35 for *legio XI*). Their Italian recruitment shows less of a northern bias, however, with 9 of the recruits into *legio VII* coming from Etruria, Umbria and Apulia; 8 of those into *legio XI* coming from Etruria.

7.37	T. Fuficius	<i>veteranus</i>	(Pollia)	Salona
7.74	T. Saufeius	<i>veteranus</i>	(Patavium)	Patavium
7.29	L. Cornelius Macer	<i>(miles)</i>	(Fabia)	Vallechia

Table II.7.5: *Legio XX* in Germany

		Rank	<i>origo</i>	Findspot
7.30	C. Deccius	<i>miles pequarius</i>	Ticinum	Cologne
7.64	L. Metilius	<i>veteranus</i>	(Fabia)	Cologne
7.79	M. Sulpicius	<i>miles</i>	Patavium	Neuss
7.99	...Aconius	<i>(miles)</i>	Carthago Nova?	Neuss
7.28	L. Cornelius Cinna	<i>veteranus</i>	Mutina	Noviomagus
7.39	M. Gargilius Secundus	<i>(vexillarius)</i>	(Tarvisium)	Tarvisium
7.78	L. Speratius Ursulus	<i>beneficiarius</i>	(Viviscus)	Viviscus

Once the legion appears in Britain the pattern of recruitment is seen to change. C. Mannius Secundus (7.58), who may well have enrolled while the legion was still on the Rhine, came from Pollentia and others from these sources continue to be seen into the early second century: Q. Vibius Secundus (7.94) from Cremona; P. Rustius Crescens (7.72) and Sex. Similis (7.122*) from Brixia; L. Camulius Albanus (7.115*) of the *Taurini*; and Q. Memonius Exoratus (7.60) from Bononia. However, although other sources become more prominent – 5 men are recorded from Hispania; 4 (and perhaps 2 others) from Gaul/Rhineland; 3 (or 4) from Noricum, one from Nicopolis in Epirus – recruitment from northern Italy remains as significant as that from any other single source. Again, this can be clearly seen in the better attested legions in this period. The Fourteenth Gemina at Mainz received men from Narbonensis, Spain, Noricum and from the *colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (Cologne) but Italy remained the largest single source. Records of the Eleventh Claudia at Vindonissa include 13 Italians and only 4 from other sources. On the Danube, for *legio II Adiutrix* at Aquincum there are records of 9 Italians, 6 from other sources; for *legio XV Apollinaris* at Carnuntum there are 12 from Danube provinces (Pannonia/Noricum), 9 from other sources but still 6 from Italy³²³. It can be seen that the decline of Italian recruitment in the Flavian-Trajanic period, although marked in comparison to the first half of the first century, still allowed for significant drafts of such men. In many legions Italian recruitment remains as significant as that from

³²³ Forni 1953, 213-237 Appendice C.

any other single source and in most western legions it seems clear that a strong Italian presence remained among the soldiers into the early second century.

Table II.7.6: *Legio XX in Britain (AD 43-87)*

		Rank	<i>origo</i>	Findspot
7.8	Antigonus	<i>emeritus</i>	Nicopolis	Bath
7.40	C. Geminus Mansuetus	<i>miles</i>	(Gaul?)	Carlisle
7.58	C. Mannius Secundus	<i>bf legati</i>	Pollentia	Wroxeter
7.87	M. Valerius Latinus	<i>miles</i>	Noviodunum	Bath

Table II.7.7: *Legio XX in Britain (AD 88 – EM2nd)*

		Rank	<i>origo</i>	Findspot
7.18	L. Caiatius Sextinus	<i>miles</i>	Lugdunum	Chester
7.19	D. Capienius Urbicus	<i>signifer</i>	Vienna	Chester
7.24	M. Cluvius Valentius		Forum Juli	Chester
7.32	L. Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis	<i>veteranus</i>	(Noricum)	Chester
7.36	Frontinius Aquilo		(Rhineland?)	Chester
7.44	C. Iulius Quartus	<i>miles</i>	Celeia	Chester
7.51	Iulius Vitalis	<i>fabricensis</i>	<i>Belgae</i>	Bath
7.55	C. Louesius Cadarus	<i>miles</i>	Emerita	Chester
7.60	Q. Memonius Exoratus	<i>veteranus</i>	Bononia	Ravenna
7.69	Q. Postumius Solus	<i>miles</i>	Emerita	Chester
7.72	P. Rustius Crescens	<i>miles</i>	Brixia	Chester
7.77	M. Sextius Bellicus		Celeia	Chester
7.88	L. Valerius Pud(ens)		Salaria	Chester
7.94	Q. Vibius Secundus	<i>miles</i>	Cremona	Chester
7.113*	L. Antestius Sabinus		Corduba	Chester
7.115*	L. Camulius Albanus		<i>Taurini</i>	Chester
7.118*	Q. Domitius Optatus		Virunum	Chester
7.120*	Q. Longinius Laetus		Lucus	Chester
7.122*	Sextus Simil(...)	<i>(eques)</i>	Brixia	Chester

From the Hadrianic period onwards, however, the situation changes markedly and recruitment from Italian sources all but disappears. For the Twentieth Legion we find 4 men from Narbonensis, 3 from



Fig. II.7.1 Origins of soldiers of the Twentieth legion

Noricum, 1 from Spain, 2 from Africa and others from Panonnia, Moesia, Dacia and Phoenicia. One man in this period perhaps hails from Italy: Mommius Cattianus, from the vicinity of Tibur, if his presence there is not due to some reason other than a return to, or commemoration at, his home town. Birley was of the opinion that Noricum did not form a normal source of recruits to the army of Britain and that we should look to transfers of vexillations sent to reinforce the legions of the province as the explanation for the presence of such men³²⁴. Mann, however, considers the Italian communities of Noricum a normal source of recruits into the second century³²⁵ and this would seem to be borne out by the number attested serving in the Twentieth Legion.

Swan has argued for the presence of men of African origin among the legionaries at Holt, Chester and on the Antonine Wall based on the appearance of distinctive North African pottery forms at these sites in the mid-second century. A significant draft of African legionaries into the army of Britain in the 140s is proposed³²⁶. If accepted, we might wonder whether such men would be represented in the epigraphic record, and indeed some such do appear. One man (7.100) records Oea in Tripolitania as his *origo* and the graffito of Macrinus (7.57) is in a neo-Punic script. Arguments from nomenclature might be made but are less clear cut (see 7.123*, 7.73 and *cf.* 6.43).

The small number of individuals known from the third century precludes much comment. Narbonensis is again represented, by 2 men; others hail from Moesia, Africa and the Greek east. Aelius Optatus, from Novaria in Transpadana is attested on a family monument at his home town. Mann suggests that this *magister ballistariorum* may have been a Praetorian detached for specialist service with the legion³²⁷. Of the expected predominant local recruitment we have no trace.

Table II.7.8: EM2nd – 3rd century

7.1	P. Aelius...	<i>miles, centurio?</i>	Sarmizegetusa	Sarmizegetusa
7.10	M. Apronius [Sen]ecius		Berytus	Chester

³²⁴ Birley 1952, 185.

³²⁵ Mann 1983a, 23.

³²⁶ Swan 1992, 4-5; Swan 1999, 430-7.

³²⁷ Mann 1963, 487.

7.16	Caecilius Avitus	<i>optio</i>	Emerita Augusta	Chester
7.20	T. Carsius Certinus	<i>veteranus</i>	(Arlelate)	Arelate
7.23	C. Cestius Teurnicus	<i>miles</i>	(Teurnia)	Chester
7.26	Condrausius		(Celtic - ?Rhineland)	Cumberland
7.35	Florianus	<i>miles</i>	(Panonnia?)	Chester
7.53	C. Licinius...	<i>veteranus</i>	(Narbonensis?)	Chester
7.54	L. Licinus Valens	<i>veteranus</i>	Arelate	Chester
7.57	Macrinus		N. Africa?	Holt
7.65	Mommius Cattianus	<i>optio</i>	(Italy?)	Castelmadama
7.84	M. Valerius Cotta	<i>miles</i>	Noricum	Noricum
7.85	C. Valerius Iullus	<i>miles</i>	Vienna	Carvoran
7.91	C. Varronius Bessus		(Dalmatia/Moesia?)	Cumberland
7.97	M. Ulpius Ianuarius		Xanten?	Chester
7.100	...ens		Oea	Chester
7.103	ignotus	<i>miles</i>	Celeia	Chester

Table II.7.9: Third Century

		Rank	origo	Findspot
7.3	Aelius Optatus	<i>magister ballistariorum</i>	Novaria	Novaria
7.12	Aurelius Diogenes	<i>imaginifer</i>	(Greek east)	Chester
7.14	Aurelius Vale(n)tinus	<i>signifer</i>	(Arlelate)	Arelate
7.17	Caecilius Donatus		Bessi	Chester
7.48	Iulius Valerianus	<i>bf proc Aug</i>	Nemausus	Nimes
7.50	Iulius Victor	<i>bf legati</i>	Theveste?	(Theveste)

3. Age / Length of service

Records supplying details of age and/or length of service are tabulated below. Since *stipendia* are not recorded by any discharged veterans of the Twentieth Legion but only given in the case of death in service, the recorded lengths of service are relatively uninformative. Only longer than usual service can be the cause of any comment and only C. Mannius Secundus (7.58) greatly exceeds the normal 25 years. His long service may well have been voluntary, having attained a relatively prestigious position on the staff of the legionary legate. However, the strain on manpower caused by continued warfare, especially in

the aftermath of the Boudican revolt, may have led to the retention of men beyond their normal term, and records of 30 or more years' service are not uncommon in the first century³²⁸.

Age on enlistment can be calculated in a number of cases, although it is clear that rounded figures were often recorded for age at death – ages of 30, 35, 40 and 45 account for half those appearing on epitaphs of the legion³²⁹. The *stipendia* are presumably correct, however, for even if precise age at death was not known, one would suppose the length of service to be accurately recorded within the records of the legion and this information available to the compiler of the epitaph. Enrolment at the age of 14 (7.17, 7.69) places these two individuals among the youngest known entrants to the legions (if the age at death – 40 and 35 respectively – can be taken at face value), whereas 27 (7.101) and 28 (7.68) are rather late. Ages of 17-25 are the most frequently attested across the legions as a whole with an age of 20 being twice as common as any other recorded age³³⁰.

Table II.7.10: *Stipendia*

7	7.44
8	7.55
9	7.51, 7.89
10	7.23, 7.72
10+	7.48
11+	7.99

³²⁸ Forni 1953, 142-3 Tabella II.

³²⁹ cf. Scheidel 1996, 97-111 and 99, fig. 3.1.

³³⁰ Forni 1953, 135-41 Tabella 1 gives the following totals:

Age		Age	
13	2	24	21
14	4	25	23
15	10	26	8
16	12	27	6
17	29	27	6
18	54	28	8
19	54	29	3
20	125	30	2
21	63	31	4
22	41	34	2
23	41	36	2

It would seem that a conventional age of 20 years on enlistment was sometimes assumed in cases where this was not exactly known: Scheidel 1996, 106-9.

13	7.101
15	7.16, 7.120*
16	7.30
17	7.68, 7.79, 7.93
19	7.97
20	7.87, 7.103
21	7.69
22	7.38, 7.80
24	7.19, 7.92
26	7.17
31	7.58

Table II.7.11: Age on enlistment

14	7.17, 7.69
15	7.87
17	7.55
18	7.97
19	7.16
20	7.19, 7.23, 7.51, 7.72, 7.103
20 or less	7.48
21	7.58
23	7.44, 7.80
27	7.101
28	7.68

Table II.7.12: Age at death

20+	7.77
23	7.6
25	7.55
29	7.51
30	7.23, 7.44, 7.72
30+	7.35
31	7.48
34	7.16
35	7.69, 7.87
37	7.97
40	7.17, 7.46, 7.47, 7.101, 7.103
44	7.19
45	7.8, 7.43, 7.54 (veteran), 7.68, 7.80
50	7.14
52	7.58
65	7.28 veteran
70+	7.119*
80	7.7, 7.21 veterans

4. Relationships

Few of the records of the soldiers of the Twentieth Legion have left us any indication of relationships with others, be they family members, wives or offspring, dedicators and/or heirs, or freedmen. Within Britain this is in large degree due to the military nature of the records. The tombstones of serving soldiers rarely record any person other than the deceased except for the heir charged with setting up the memorial who would usually be a colleague³³¹. Few records survive from the province of veterans, who might be commemorated by members of their family. Nor do we find the more expansive tombs/monuments which can record several generations of one family³³². All of the records tabulated below containing reference to a mother, father, brother or sister were found outside of Britain. The two Aelii are recorded on monuments set up in their home towns (Sarmizegetusa and Novaria

³³¹ Varon 1997; Speidel 1992, 129-30.

³³² Saller and Shaw (1984) suggest that the low level of family commemoration is indicative of continuing external recruitment.

respectively), as it seems were M. Gargilius Secundus (Tarvisium) and Iulius Valerianus (Nemausus). Iulius Victor himself set up a monument to his sister in North Africa near Theveste which was presumably his origin. The tombstone of C. Axonius dates from the Augustan period. He had originated in Italy and been settled in Spain. His brother Quintus is also the subject of the dedication and was presumably another soldier.

Table II.7.13: Blood relatives

	<i>miles leg XX</i>		
7.1	P. Aelius...	P. Aelius Themes Aelia P. Aelius Seneca	<i>pater</i> <i>mater</i> <i>frater?</i>
7.3	Aelius Optatus	Rufus Victor Vitalis	<i>frater</i> <i>frater</i> <i>frater</i>
7.15	C. Axonius	Q. Axonius	<i>frater</i>
7.39	M. Gargilius Secundus	M. Gargilius	<i>frater</i>
7.48	Iulius Valerianus	Iulia Iuliana	<i>mater</i>
7.50	Iulius Victor	Iulia Thegu...	<i>soror</i>

Serving soldiers were forbidden to contract a legal marriage until the reforms of Septimius Severus in AD 197, although informal liaisons were doubtless common³³³. It has been suggested that the wife of C. Valerius Justus was indeed 'informal'³³⁴ although it may be that this monument dates to the third century. Of the others recorded all but two are the wives of veterans. Titinius Felix was apparently still serving at the time of his death and Aelius Optatus would also appear to have had his monument made whilst serving, but in both cases a third-century date is probable. Likewise mention of sons or daughters is found only on the monuments of veterans, or on records of third-century date, as in the case of Aelius Optatus.

³³³ Phang 2001, 2-3; Watson 1969, 133-7.

³³⁴ *RIB* I² 507 addendum.

Table II.7.14: *Uxor, Coniunx*

	<i>miles leg XX</i>	Rank		
7.3	Aelius Optatus	<i>magister ballistariorum</i>	Prisca	<i>uxor</i>
7.14	Aurelius Valentinus	<i>signifer</i>	Garinia Emerita	<i>coniunx</i>
7.28	L. Cornelius Cinna	<i>veteranus</i>	Prima	<i>coniunx</i>
7.62	C. Mestrius	<i>veteranus</i>	Esdronia Cangina	<i>uxor</i>
7.74	T. Saufeius ...	<i>veteranus</i>	Tullia Secunda	<i>uxor</i>
7.80	Titinius Felix	<i>bf legati</i>	Iulia Similina	<i>coniunx</i>
7.86	C. Valerius Justus	<i>actarius</i>	Cocceia Irene	<i>coniunx</i>
7.110	Sequnda	<i>uxor</i>

Table II.7.15: *Filii*

7.3	Aelius Optatus	Optatus	<i>filius</i>
7.5	C. Allius	C. Allius Priscus	<i>filius</i>
		C. Allius Vitalis	<i>filius</i>
7.20	T. Carsius Certinus	Carsia Titia	<i>filia</i>
7.29	L. Cornelius Macer	L. Cornelius Primus	<i>filius</i>
7.74	T. Saufeius ...	C. Saufeius	<i>filius</i>

The names of dedicators/heirs are recorded in rather more cases, but still infrequently. The heirs of serving soldiers are likely to have been colleagues³³⁵ but only three such are recorded at Chester (7.44, 7.55, 7.72) and in the latter case the nomenclature would suggest a servile origin for the heir (Groma). Others are known from London (7.47, 7.73) but here the soldiers were part of a mixed establishment and we cannot be sure who might have been charged with the erection of the tombstone. Five are heirs of veterans (7.8, 7.53, 7.64, 7.83, 7.119*) and need not have been soldiers themselves. The heirs of the *frumentarii* T. Aurelius Certinus and T. Sempronius Pudens may also have been *frumentarii*, but it was the nature of the *castra peregrina* at Rome that soldiers from many different provinces were quartered together³³⁶, and we cannot say to which legion they might have belonged. Two others are family members of third-century soldiers (7.3, 7.80).

³³⁵ Varon 1997; Speidel 1992, 129-30.

³³⁶ Austin and Rankov 1995, 136; hence the name of the camp.

Table II.7.16: *Heredes/dedicators*

7.3	Aelius Optatus	Optatus	<i>filus et successor</i>
7.8	Antigonus	C. Tiberinus	<i>heres</i>
7.11	T. Aurelius Certus	Iulius Severus Aurelius Sempronius	<i>heres</i> <i>heres</i>
7.44	C. Iulius Quartus	Rusius Mo...	(h.)
7.47	Iulius Valens	Flavius Attius	<i>heres</i>
7.53	C. Licinius...	Aelius Candidus	<i>curam agente</i>
7.55	C. Louesius Cadarus	Frontinius Aquilo	<i>heres</i>
7.64	L. Metilius	Sex. Marcianus	<i>heres</i>
7.72	P. Rustius Crescens	Groma	<i>heres</i>
7.73	Sat]urni[nus	C. Acilius M...	
7.75	T. Sempronius Pudens	Pupius Vernianus	<i>heres</i>
7.80	Titinius Felix	Iulia Similina	<i>coniux et heres</i>
7.83	L. Valerius Aurelius	Iulius...	
7.119*	Q. Junius November	Iulius Liberalis	

There are very few records of freedmen. All except Aelius Optatus belong to the Augustan period. Three are tombstones of veterans settled at Bononia (7.33, 7.59) and Iader (7.5). That of Optatus appears on a family monument set up in his home town, Novaria in Northern Italy. It is assumed that many legionaries would have owned slaves, but where they were quartered and what their role might have been in the day to day life of the legion is uncertain³³⁷. L. Plinius, commemorated at Reselec on the river Oescus in Moesia, was on active service at the time of his death and his slave/freedman³³⁸ was clearly with him. Tombstones of serving soldiers of the Twentieth Legion are elsewhere almost silent as regards slaves or freedmen, although the nomenclature of Groma, the heir of P. Rustius Crescens (7.72) at Chester, might suggest a servile origin.

³³⁷ Welwei 1988; Speidel 1989a, arguing for a military role, especially as grooms to *equites*; Le Bohec 1994, 55 suggests that some slaves or freedmen may have undertaken administrative duties within the *officium* of the legate and other officers.

³³⁸ Freedom may have been granted in Plinius' will.

Table II.7.17: *Liberti*

7.3	Aelius Optatus	Germanus	<i>libertus</i>
7.5	C. Allius	Allia Mete	<i>liberta</i>
7.33	T. Flavius Titullus	T. Flavius Faustus	<i>libertus</i>
7.59	C. Marius	Faustus	<i>libertus</i>
7.68	L. Plinius	Secundus	<i>libertus</i>

II.8

Varia: Irregular Commands and Uncertain Ranks**1. Antiochus**

JRS 59 (1969), 235 no. 3 (Chester): Πανυπέροχα|ς ἀνθρώπων | σωτήρας ἐν ἀθά|νατοισιν |
 Ἀσκληπιόν ἢ|πίόχειρα Ὑγεί| ην Πανακεί| αν ἔιητρος Ἀντιό|χος| ετιμησα

‘I Antiochus, the doctor, have honoured the saviours of men, pre-eminent among the immortals, Asclepius of healing hand, Hygeia, Panacea...’

The spelling ἔιητρος (*cf.* ἰατρος 8.3 below) suggests that Antiochus may have come from Asia Minor¹.

This altar, like that dedicated by Hermogenes (8.3), was found within the large building to the rear of the *principia*. The function of this building is uncertain, but Mason does not consider it likely that this was the legionary hospital and supposes both altars to have been brought from some neighbouring building for re-use². It is possible that Antiochus (as also Hermogenes) could have been the personal physician of the legionary legate³ but Davies finds no strong evidence that it was a widespread practice for legates to take such men on posting with them⁴ and prefers to attribute both to the staff of the legion.

There were various grades of medicus – *miles medicus*, *medicus ordinarius* and *medicus castrorum* are all attested⁵. The Greek *medici*, generally thought to be better qualified, probably fall under this latter heading and were perhaps equivalent to an Equestrian officer in status, similarly engaged on short-service commissions⁶. Boon, on the other hand, suggests that these two Greeks, who give only their cognomina,

¹ Nutton 1969, 9.

² Mason 2001, 75.

³ Nutton 1969, 12.

⁴ Davies 1972, 3.

⁵ Domaszewski 1967 45, 50; Davies 1969a.

⁶ Davies 1969a, 91, 93.

were ‘doubtless servile’⁷ concluding (*contra* Davies 1969a) that there is no evidence that the Roman army had ‘commissioned surgeons or physicians’. He makes the contrast with *RIB* 808, a dedication to Asclepius by Α(υλοϛ) Εγνατιοϛ Παστορ, but although the inscription is rendered in Greek, the nomenclature here is entirely Roman and does not perhaps offer a true parallel.

2. Aurelius Cervianus

XV 7164 = *RIB* II 2427.26 (unprovenanced):

leg(io) XX | V(aleria) V(ictrix) – leg(io) Se|cunda | Augus(ta)

Aurelius | Cervianus

utere felix

Bronze roundel with engraving of the *vexilla* of the legions flanking an eagle. The boar of the Twentieth and the Capricorn of the Second are also represented. Aurelius Cervianus was apparently an officer in, and perhaps in command of, a force comprising vexillations of legions II and XX, the two legions of Britannia Superior. Such combined detachments are recorded undertaking building works in the north of Britain in the third century (*RIB* 852, 980, 995) and this bronze roundel would seem to confirm that they were also utilised on expeditions outside the province (the precise provenance is unknown, but a continental origin is likely). Vexillations of the British legions were certainly involved in campaigns on the Danube under Gallienus (III 3228 = *ILS* 546; AD 259 at the earliest) and the Twentieth is perhaps represented on Gallienus’ coin issue to his legions⁸, again possibly in conjunction with *legio II^p*. Some part of the Twentieth Legion was at Mainz only a few years earlier (XIII 6780, AD 255). This may be a record of the same detachment prior to transfer further east¹⁰.

⁷ Boon 1983, 7 n. 36.

⁸ *RIC* 5 (i) 96.364.

⁹ Okamura 1991, 387-8 but see Chapter III.5 on the usage *leg IIXX* which probably does not bear such an interpretation.

¹⁰ Birley 1965 = 1988, 218 suggests the restoration ...*vex leg II Aug et] | leg(ionis) XX...*

3. Hermogenes

RIB 461 (Chester): [Θεοῖς | σωτ]ῆρσιν | ὑπερμενέσιν | Ἑρμογένης | ἰατρὸς βωμὸν | τὸνδ
'ἀνέθηκα

'To the mighty Saviour Gods I, Hermogenes, a doctor, set up this altar.'

Found, like the altar erected by Antiochus (8.1), on the site of the large building of uncertain function to the north of the *principia*. Hermogenes¹¹ may have been a doctor on the staff of the legion, perhaps even the *medicus castrorum*, although the status of these two Greek doctors is disputed (see 8.1 above).

4. Torquatus Novellius Atticus

XIV 3602 = ILS 950 (Tibur): *Memoriae | Torquati Novelli(i) P(ublilii) f(ilii) | Attici Xvir stl(itibus) ivd(icandis) | [tr(ibuni)] mil(itum) leg(ionis) I trib(uni) vexillar(iorum) | [leg(ionum) q]uattuor I V XX XXI q(uaestoris) aed(ilis) | [praet(or)is] ad hast(am) cur(atoris) loc(or)um public(or)um | [leg(ati) a]d cens(us) accip(iendos) et dilect(us) et | [proco(n)]s(ulis) provinciae Narbon(ensis) | [in cu]ius honoris fine | [annum] agens XXXXIII | [For]o Iulii decessit*

'To the memory of Torquatus Novellus Atticus¹², son of Publius, *Xvir* for the determination of lawsuits, tribune of the First Legion, tribune in command of a detachment (of the *vexillarii*) of the four legions I, V, XX and XXI; quaestor, aedile, praetor in charge of the centumviral court, curator for public places, legate with responsibility for the census and enlistment, proconsul for the province of Narbonensis; at the end of his appointments, he died at Forum Iulii, aged 44.'

The four named legions formed the army of Germania Inferior between AD 9 and AD 43. Atticus' command of this detachment has been variously attributed to the known historical events of that period: the campaigns of Germanicus east of the Rhine in AD 14-16; the Gallic revolt of AD 21; or the Frisian revolt of AD 28¹³. These all seem equally probable though we cannot rule out some other

¹¹ Davies 1969a, 97 No. 39.

¹² Pflaum 1978, 5-6.

¹³ Tacitus *Ann.* 1.50-71, 2.5-26; 3.41-46; 4.72-74.

unrecorded event as a context. The use of the term *vexillarii*, indicating the men serving in the detachment, generally seems interchangeable with *vexillatio*, the term for the detachment itself¹⁴. However, Mann would contend that the *vexillarii* of the legion were the members of the *vexillum veteranorum*, the most experienced men of the legion, no longer required to undertake manual duties but required only to fight¹⁵. Certainly such men would seem the natural choice for the complement of such detachments.

5. C. Velius Rufus

IGLS VI 2796 = ILS 9200 (Heliopolis): C(aio) Velio Salvi f(ilio) Rufo, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XII fulm(inatae), praef(ecto) vexillariorum leg(ionum) VIII: I adiut(ricis) II adiut(ricis) II Aug(ustae) VIII Aug(ustae) VIII Hispanae XIII gem(inae) XX vic(tricis) XXI rapac(is), trib(uno) coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae), duci exercitus Africi et Mauretanicus ad nationes quae sunt in Mauretania comprimendas, donis donato ab imp(eratore) Vespasiano et imp(eratore) Tito bello Iudaico corona vallar(i), torquibus, fa[le]ris, armillis, item donis donato corona murali, hastis duabus, vexillis duobus et bello Marcomannorum Quadorum Sarmatarum adversus quos expeditionem fecit per regnum Decebali regis Dacorum corona murali, hastis duabus, vexillis duobus; proc(uratori) imp(eratoris) Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici provinciae Pannoniae et Dalmatiae, item proc(uratori) provinciae Raetiae ius gladi. Hic missus in Parthiam Epiphanem et Callicinum, regis Antiochi filios, ad imp(eratorem) Vespasianum cum ampla manu tributariorum reduxit. M. Alfius M. f. Fab(ia) Olympiacus aquilife(r) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is)

‘To Gaius Velius Rufus, son of Salvius, *primus pilus* of *legio XII Fulminata*, prefect of the *vexillarii* of nine legions: *I Adiutrix*, *II Adiutrix*, *II Augusta*, *VIII Augusta*, *VIII Hispana*, *XIII Gemina*, *XX Victrix*, *XXI Rapax*, tribune of the Thirteenth Urban cohort, *dux* of the forces of Africa and Mauretania (sent) to subdue the peoples of Mauretania, decorated by the emperor Vespasian and the emperor Titus in the Jewish War with the mural crown, *torques*, *phalerae* and *armillae*, decorated a second time with the mural crown, two spears, and two *vexilla* and, in the war against the Marcomanni, Quadi

¹⁴ See the examples collected in Saxer 1967.

and Sarmatians against whom he undertook an expedition across the kingdom of Decebalus king of the Dacians, (decorated) with the mural crown, two spears, and two *vexilla*: procurator of the emperor Caesar Augustus Germanicus for the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, procurator for the province of Raetia with the right to punish capital crimes. Sent into Parthia by the emperor Vespasian, he brought back Epiphanes and Callicinus, the sons of the king Antiochus, with abundant tributes. M. Alfius Olympiacus son of Marcus, of the tribe Fabia, *aquilifer* and veteran of *legio XV Apollinaris* (set this up).’

The detailed (and eventful) career of C. Velius Rufus has been much studied¹⁶. His connection with the Twentieth Legion lies in his command of a force composed of vexillations (or *vexillarii* – see 8.4) drawn from eight (or nine) legions, including all of the legions of Britain¹⁷. On the basis of Ritterling’s ‘daring’ reconstruction of tile stamps from Mirebeau¹⁸, it is supposed that the force was mustered in Germania Superior (or based there prior to dispersal), but neither the date nor the context of this deployment are precisely known. Dobson places it in AD 83 during Domitian’s wars against the Chatti¹⁹. Kennedy prefers to link the prefecture of this large force with the expedition across Dacia in AD 89²⁰ (which must then have originated on the Danube). An earlier withdrawal of the vexillations from the British legions might seem difficult given the demands of Agricola’s campaigns in Scotland. However, the legions were not called upon in the final battle in any case, and the weakness of one of the legionary columns was a cause for comment by Tacitus²¹. Withdrawal of the vexillations in 85 or 86, after the conclusion of Agricola’s campaigns, followed soon after by the transfer of the bulk of the Second Adiutrix, has the attraction of providing a ready explanation for the abandonment of Caledonia and the Twentieth Legion’s withdrawal from Inchtuthil before its completion of the fortress.

¹⁵ Mann 2000, 153.

¹⁶ Syme 1928, 42-5; Pflaum 1960, 114-7; Dobson 1978, 216 No. 94; Kennedy 1983; Strobel 1986b.

¹⁷ Saxer 1967, 22-3, Nos 39, 40.

¹⁸ Ritterling 1904, 25-6 based on XIII 12539.4-7; Syme 1928, 47. Strobel 1986a disputes the reconstruction.

¹⁹ Dobson 1978, 217; thus also Saxer 1967, 22-3.

²⁰ Kennedy 1983, 195; Strobel 1986b.

²¹ Tacitus *Agricola* 35-37 (final battle); 26 (weakness).

6. T. Vet[...]

RIB 449 (Chester): *Genio [leg(ionis) XX] | V(aleriae) V(ictricis) D[ecianae] | T(itus) Vet[...]*

‘To the Genius of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix Deciana, Titus Vet[...(set this up)].’

Dedications to the *genius legionis*²² might be made by any number of individuals, from an *optio* in a century, to the legionary legate²³. This inscription occurs on the moulded right jamb from the edge of a door or niche found within the headquarters building of the fortress and was perhaps set up by one of the more senior officers. However, the *principia* was home to various offices – the *tabularium legionis*; the *scholae*, the meeting rooms of *collegia*; the *aedes signorum*, which housed the standards; the *armentaria*, or armoury – and the incomplete nature of the inscription would allow other expansions, e.g.:

genio [signif(eratorum) leg XX] | V V D [...] | T Vet[...]

genio [tabulari leg XX] | V V D [...] | T Vet[...]

The D following the normal legionary *cognomina* appears to have been intentionally erased in which case the expansion *Deciana* (relating to the emperor Decius, 249-51) seems likely. However, see further the argument under RIB 2463.54 re tile stamps bearing an additional *cognomen*, where the geographical *Devana* is preferred (and see below Appendix 1).

²² Speidel and Dimitrova-Milceva 1978; Irby-Massie 1999, 46.

²³ *Optio*: III 6577 = ILS 2290 *genio sancto legionis et commanipulorum bonorum*; *Tribune*: III 995 = ILS 3920 *daciis tribus et genio leg XIII G*; *Primus pilus*: III 15208 = ILS 9082 *genio leg II Ital*;
Legate: II 5083 = ILS 2289 *genio leg VII G f*; *Praefectus leg*: III 1646 + ILS 2292 *genio leg IIII F F*.

II.9 Catalogue

Inscriptions which do not name an individual (or in which no name is recoverable) or which otherwise touch on the history and activities of the Twentieth Legion are collected here:

CIL

III 9909, 9910 (Burnum) read LEG XX[...] and ...LEG] XX[...] but III 14321.6,7 are amendments which do not read leg xx in either case.

VI 3492 (Rome):	II AVG	II ADIVT	IIII SCYTH
	VI VICTR	IIII FLAV	XVI FLAV
	XX VICTR	VII CLAVD	VI FERRAT
	VIII AVG	I ITALIC	X FRETE
	XXII PRIM	V MACED	III CYREN
	I MINERV	XI CLAVD	II TRAIAN
	XXX VLP	XIII GEM	III AVG
	I ADIVT	XII FVLM	VII GEM
	X GEM	XV APOL	II ITALIC
	XIIII GEM	III GALLIC	III ITALIC
	I PARTH	II PARTH	III PARTH

VI 3493 = 32902 (Rome): a)...*leg x* ... c) ..*val]er vict leg xv a*... b) ...*pol*... Gervasio 1910 supposed that these fragments from the *forum Traiani* originated in some monument to the legions involved in Trajan's Dacian wars. Ritterling 1925, 1777 was sceptical, but some record of *leg(io) XX Valer(ia) vict(rix)* in conjunction with *XV Apol(linaris)* seems probable.

VI 32873a (Rome): ...*]V II T V?*[...]\ *frum(entarius) l[eg...]* | *Victr(icis)* [...

VI 37083 (Rome): ...*Bit]hynia* [... | ...*leg ? ...]iae Vict[ricis]*... | ...*?Ce]ioniu[s]*...

VII 1209a,b LEG XX on margin of lead pig. Not now so read *RIB 2408.28*

IX 1625 (Benevuntum): A SILANUS | I STE SICIL | SIGNIFER SIBI | ID SILANO ET | FRATRI
SVO IN | FR XII IN AGR XII | P P

cf. 7.59 ...*Ste(latina) | legione XX Sici(liana)* | ...

X 5059 (Atina): *P. Tettio P. f. Rufo | Tontiano | q(uaestori) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) pr(aetori) Legio XX*
X 5060 (Atina): *P. Tettio P. f. Rufo Tontiano q(uaestori) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) pr(aetori) Atinates urbano*
patrono dd

XIII 6780 (Mainz): *...leg(ionis) XX pro sal(ute) | canabe(nsium) ex v[er]o]to pos(uerunt) [rev(ersi)*
ad?] | can[abae...]tian[as ab epedit]ione VI kal[... | Vale]riano iii et G[allieno ii cos] = AD 255

Birley 1965, 31-2 presents the following expansion

...vex leg II Aug et] | leg(ionis) XX pro sal(ute) | canabe(nsium) ex v[er]o]to pos(uerunt) [rev.
ad.] | can[abam . . .]tian[am ab | expediti]one VI Kal(endas) [. . .] |[Vale]riano III et
G[allieno II] | co(n)s(ulibus)

...for the welfare of the canabenses, placed in accordance with a vow on their return to the
canabae...from the expedition?

[I can see nothing that demands the expansion. Could not an individual *veteranus legionis xx*
set up a dedication for the welfare of the canabenses? Might he not even originate therein?]

ILS 2474=III6166 ...VET ET C R CONS AD CANAB LEG V M

XIII 10029.48 (Lyon): L XX

XIII 12539.4 (Mirebeau): *vexil legion[um | II Ad II A]ug VII[II XX]*

XIII 12539.7 (Mirebeau): *vexil le|gionum | II VII[II XX]*

the restoration is due to Ritterling 1904, 25 and depends on an assumed connection with the
expeditionary force of C. Velius Rufus (8.5) q.v.

RIB

RIB 446 (Chester; altar): *Genio | c(enturiae)*

RIB 460 (Chester; altar): Front: *Nymphis et Fontibvs leg V V*

Back: *Nymphis et Fontibvs leg XX V V*

RIB 550 (Chester; tombstone): *D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum) | ...*

RIB 551 (Chester; tombstone): *D(is) [M(anibus) | ...]liu[...]*

RIB 592 (Ribchester): *leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) | fecit*

RIB 801 (Moresby): *Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) | Traian(i) Hadr|iani Avg(usti) p(atris) p(atriciae) | leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix)*
date: 128-38

RIB 852 (Maryport): *vexil(lationes) leg(ionum) II Avg(ustae) | et XX V(aleria) V(ictricis) | fecervnt*

RIB 853 (Maryport): *leg(io) XX*

RIB 854 (Maryport): *... leg(io) XX G]ord(iana) leg XX VV G]ord* is to be preferred
date: 238-44

RIB 940 (Old Penrith): *[Num(inibus) A]ug(ustorum) vex(illatio) | [leg(ionis) X]X [V(aleriae)] Vic(tricis) | [...*

RIB 995 (Bewcastle): *[Imp(eratori)] Caes(ari) Tra]iano | Hadriano Avg(usto) | le]g(iones) II Aug(usta) et XX V(aleria) [V(ictrix) | ...] IICNC.IR[... | leg(ato) A]u[g(usti)] pr(o) pr(aetore)*
date: c. 126

RIB 999 (Cumberland quarries): *c(enturiae) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) [..] XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | co[...*

RIB 1020 (Cumberland): *...|... leg(io)] XX V(aleria) V(ictrix)*

RIB 1093 + add. (Lanchester): *leg(io) | XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) | fecit*

RIB 1125 (Corbridge): *Concordi|ae leg(ionis) VI | Vi(ctricis) p(iae) f(idelis) et | leg(ionis) XX*

RIB 1130 (Corbridge): *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | [p]ro salvt[e | v]exillatio|nvm leg(ionum) XX [V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | e]t VI Vic(tricis) mi[lites | a]ge[n]t(es) in p[...*

RIB 1149 (Corbridge): *Imperato]ribvs Caesaribvs] | M Avrelio A[ntonino Avg(usto) tribvniciae] | potestati[s XVII] co(n)s(uli) [III et L(ucio) Avr]elio Vero Avg(usto)] A[rmeniaco trib]vniciae potestati[s I[III] co[(n)s(uli)] II | [vexillatio leg(ionis) XX] V(aleriae) V(ictricis) fecit sv[b c]vra | [Sexti Calpvrni] Agrico[l]ae | [legati Avgvstorv]m pr(o) pr(aetore)*
date: 161-9 (RIB restores all imperial titles more precisely to 163)

RIB 1164 (Corbridge): *[le]g(io) | XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) | [fec]it*

RIB 1165 (Corbridge): *[le]g(io)] | XX V(aleria) [V(ictrix) | fec]it*

RIB 1166 (Corbridge): *leg(ionis) XXX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | coh(ors) VII*

(X has been inserted in line 1, during antiquity. XX must be meant)

RIB 1204 (Whitley Castle): *vex(illatio) leg(ionis) | XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | refec(it)*

RIB 1284 (High Rochester): *vexillatio | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | fecit*

RIB 1322 (Newcastle): *Imp(eratori) Antoni|no Avg(usto) Pio p(atri) | pat(riae) vexil(l)atio | leg(ioni)*

II Avg(ustae) et leg(ioni) | VI Vic(trici) et leg(ioni) | XX V(aleria) V(ictrici) con(t)r(i)|bvti ex

Ger(maniis) dv|obvs svb Ivlio Ve|ro leg(ato) Avg(usti) pr(o) p(raetore)

date: 155-9

RIB 1385 (Hadrian's Wall): *leg(ionis) XX | V(aleria) V(ictricis) | coh(ors) IV*

RIB 1390 (Hadrian's Wall): *leg(ionis) XX V(aleria) V(ictricis) | coh(ors) VIII*

RIB 1430 (Halton Chesters): *leg(io) V[I] | Vic(trix) et | leg(io) [XX] | V(aleria) V(ictrix) | [f]ec(erunt)*

RIB 1645 (Hadrian's Wall): *leg(io) XX | V(aleria) V(ictrix)*

RIB 1708 (Chesterholm): *leg(io) XX | V(aleria) V(ictrix)*

RIB 1956 (MC52; altar): *Deo | Cocidio | milites | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum)*

s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito) | Apr() et Rvf() co(n)s(ulibus)

date: 262-6

RIB 2028 (Stanwix): *leg(ionis) XX Vic(tricis) | coh(ors) I fec(it)*

RIB 2035 (Hadrian's Wall): *leg(ionis) XX | Val(eriae) Vi(ctricis) | [c]oh(ors) V*

RIB 2078 (Hadrian's Wall): *le]g(io) XX[...|...] IL ET[...*

RIB 2114 (Birrens): *legio XX Vict(rix)*

RIB 2119 (Cappuck): *l[egio] | X[X V(aleria) V(ictrix) | f]ec(it)]*

RIB 2171 (Bar Hill): *vexillationes | leg(ionis) II Avg(ustae) et | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)*

f(ecerunt)

RIB 2173 (Bar Hill): *Imp(eratori) Caesari | T(ito) Aelio Hadri|ano Antonino | Avg(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) | vexillatio | leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) Vic(tricis) fec(it) | per mil(ia) p(assuum) III*
date: 139-61

RIB 2184 (Eastermains): *leg(io) XX | V(aleria) V(ictrix) fec(it) | m(ilia) p(assuum) III p(edum) III*
IIICCCIV

RIB 2197 (Castlehill): *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) | T(ito) Aelio | Hadriano | Antonino | Avg(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) | vex(illatio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | p(er) p(edum) III (milia)*
date: 139-61

RIB 2198 (Hutcheson Hill): *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) T(ito) | Ael(io) Hadriano An|tonino Avg(usto) | Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) vex(illatio) | leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | fec(it) | p(er) p(edum) III (milia)*
date: 139-61

RIB 2199 (Duntocher?): *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) | T(ito) Ae(li)o Hadriano | Antonino Avg(usto) | Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) vex(illatio) leg(ionis) | XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) fec(it) | p(...*
date: 139-61

RIB 2206 (Old Kilpatrick): *[I]mp(eratori) C(aesari) T(ito) Ae(li)o | [H]adriano | [A]ntonino | [A]vg(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) | [vex(illatio) l]eg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | [p(er) p(edum) III (milia) C]DXI | [fec(it)]*
date: 139-61

RIB 2208 (relief of Victory holding wreath) (Ferrydyke): *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) | T(ito) Ae(li)o Hadria|no Antonino Avg(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) | vex(illatio) | leg(ionis) XX | V(aleriae) V(ictricis) fec(it) | p(er) p(edum) IIII (milia) CDXI*
date: 139-61

RIB 2210 (Camelon): *[vex(illatio) leg(ionis)] | XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) fec(it)*

RIB 2312 + add. (Bar Hill): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) | T(ito) Ae[l(io)] Hadri(ano) | Antonino | Avg(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) | vexillation[es] | [leg II Aug | et leg XX VV?]*

RIB II

RIB 2404.72b (Alouettes east of Chalons-sur-Saone; lead pig): LEG XX (twice) BFLIDOC (retrograde, twice) DOC(retrograde) – *b(ene)ff(iciarius)?*

2411.76 (Corbridge; lead tag): *l(egio) XX | V(ictrix)* preferable to the RIB reading *V(aleria)*

2411.77 (Corbridge; lead tag): *l(egio) XX | V(aleria) V(ictrix)* reverse *QVR*

2411.78 (Rudchester; lead tag): *leg(io) | XX V(aleria) V(ictrix)*

2411.79 (Leicester; lead tag): *l(egio) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix)* reverse *IVAQ*

2411.80 (Carlisle; lead tag): *[l]eg(io) XX* reverse *L > I*

2442.11 (Carlisle; wooden bung, re-use of branded piece): *...]leg(io)[...|...l]eg(io) XX [...*

2458.2-8 (Chester, Holt and Prestatyn; terracotta antefixes): *LEG XX*

Tile stamps of legio xx

2463.1-3 (Carlisle, Scalesceugh, Old Penrith, Stanwix; brick and tegulae manufactured at Scalesceugh):
leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix)

2463.4-27, 29-43, 47-50 (Holt, Chester, Manchester, Oakenholt, Ffrith, Heronbridge, Caersws, Caernarvon, Caerhun, Silchester, Whittlesbury, Prestatyn, Wroxeter ; bricks and tegulae manufactured at Holt) *leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix)*

2463.28, 46 (Holt, Wilderspool): *leg(io) XX*

2463.44 (Holt, Caerhun, Caersws, Chester; bricks and tegulae manufactured at Holt): *leg(io) XX V(ictrix)*

2463.51-52 (Chester; tegulae): *leg(io) XX Anto(niniana)*

2463.53 (Holt, Chester): *leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) A(ntoniniana?)*

2463.54-55 (Holt, Chester; bricks and tegulae manufactured at Holt): *leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) De(vensis?)*

2463.56-57 (Chester; tegulae): *leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) V(ictoriniana?)*

2463.58 (Holt, Chester): *leg(io) XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) | sub Logo pr(incipe?)*

RIB 2463.59 i-ii (Chester): *[T]egula(m) A(ulus) Vidu[c(ius?) f(ecit) (?)] | [V]ero III co(n)s(ule) Leg(ioni) X[X V(aleria) V(ictrix)]*

‘Aulus Viducius made this roofing-tile for Legion XX in the third consulship of Verus.’

Swan and Philpott 2000: the source of these tiles has recently been discovered at Tarbock, north of the Mersey. It is suggested that the site is not military (despite the presence of many tiles with much plainer LEGXXVV stamps) – for why would they not use Holt? – and that Viducius is a civilian contractor, perhaps related to the L. Viducius Placidus, a pottery merchant, known on inscriptions from York (*Britannia* 8 (1977) 430 no. 18) and the Rhine (*AE* 1975.651), although this Viducius *floruit* AD 221. The precise dating, AD 167, ties in closely with suggested phasing within Chester and supports the idea of major rebuilding after the legion returned from the North.

2463.60 (Holt; tegula): ...] *pr(a)efectus leg(ionis) XX* [...

2463.61 (Holt, Chester): ...] *Iulius* [... lettering is same height as 2463.60 and the name may belong to this die or another similar

2491.103 (Chester; tegula): *leg(io) X[X VV]*

2491.104 (Holt; tegula): [*leg(io)*] *XX VV*

JRS

JRS 57 (1967), 203 no. 6 (Chester): *Met(tius?) Fel(ix)*

JRS 57 (1967), 203 no. 7 (Chester): *Serano locus*

Britannia

Britannia 1 (1970), 309-10, no. 19 (Hutcheson Hill): *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) T(ito) Ae(lio) Hadriano Antonino Avg(usto) Pio p(atri) [p(atriciae)?] vex(illatio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) f(ecit) p(er) p(edum) III (milia)*

Britannia 12 (1981), 380 no. 14 (Chesterholm; with boar): *vex(il)la(tio) | leg XX V|V fec(it)*

Britannia 16 (1985), 317 no. 1 (London) list of soldiers at London: *leg II or leg XX*

Britannia 17 (1986), 437 no. 11 (Carlisle; building stone): [...]*X VV*

Britannia 20 (1989), 331 no. 4 (Carlisle): *C(o)ncord[iae] | leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) et XX V(aleriae) [V(ictricis)]*

