

A ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMA FROM RAVENGLASS, CUMBRIA

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The bronze fragments described here form part of what is nowadays called a diploma, but the Roman name is unknown. This is a legal document in the form of a diptych which records the award of citizenship and the legal right of marriage to an honourably discharged auxiliary soldier of the Roman army. His personal copy was proof of his status in law; a valuable piece of evidence in an area where Roman citizens were infrequent.

Findspot and Description

The first piece to be discovered, the larger part of Tabella I, was found on the beach in front of the fort site at Ravenglass below the high water mark on 10 June 1995. The finder, believing he could see writing on one side, reported it to Manchester Museum as a possible Roman diploma. This was confirmed, and, because of the different types of corrosion on the outer and inner faces and because of the presence of the binding wires, albeit broken, it was suggested that more might still be found. On a subsequent search two weeks later with the aid of a metal-detector two adjoining fragments of Tabella II were found. Because all the pieces were found on Crown Estate land they had to be presented to a museum. With the agreement of Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, which houses the Ravenglass excavation archive, the Manchester Museum has added the diploma to its collection (Accession No. 1996.201).¹

¹ I should like to thank Tristram Besterman, Director, and John Prag, Keeper of Archaeology, for making the diploma available for publication so rapidly. They arranged the agreed reward for the finders, James and Howard Meadowcroft from Mytholmroyd, with the aid of a grant from the Purchase Grant Fund of the Museums and Galleries Commission and the Victoria and Albert Museum. I should also like to thank Velson Horie and Christine Murray of the Museum's Conservation Department for their skill and patience in cleaning and conserving the diploma. The report by the latter is included as Appendix 3. All the photographs were taken by the Museum's Photographer, Geoff Thompson. Yvonne Watson and Chrissie Alsop, Superintendent Radiographers in the Department of Diagnostic Radi-

Much of Tabella I survives apart from the lower corners and parts of the upper half. It had been broken and bent while buried. More particularly, just below the binding holes there is a dent and hole caused by an object pushed from the inner to the outer face. The adjacent edge is also badly bent, but the other way. Despite this the binding wire is still in place although it is broken where Tabella II was once joined. Indeed, it seems that shortly before their discovery the two fragments of Tabella II were still in place, because when laid against Tabella I the binding holes and the dent match exactly.

Tabella I	Height 11.6cm; width 9.6cm; thickness 1.1–1.3mm; weight: 55.82gm.
Tabella II	Upper fragment height 5.0cm; width 6.1cm; thickness 0.75–0.77mm; weight 9.44gm. Lower fragment height 4.8cm; width 5.3cm; thickness 0.75–0.77mm; weight 6.74gm. Combined maximum height: 8.6cm.

Text

The text presented here is based on what can be seen after cleaning, together with the evidence from photographs and radiographs which were made before, during and after the conservation process. The latter are crucially important for readings of parts of the outer and inner faces of Tabella I which were not cleaned because of the nature of the corrosion as explained in Appendix 3. These readings, based solely on radiographs, are indicated by italics. Hatching represents spaces for letters which are not visible either on the surface or on the radiographs, but which are likely to exist under the corrosion or which may have been destroyed.

Extrinsecus

The text of the outer face of Tabella I is contained within a single framing line. It is reasonably well formed and cut although there are variations in the shape of most of the letters. This is most noticeable in those letters with curves like S, C and G. It is very difficult to tell the latter two apart because the expected tail on the G is virtually non-existent. Instead G has a more angular shape than a C. The uprights of letters have tails at the bottom which can vary from very

ology at Manchester University, kindly took the radiographs. Margaret Roxan has given me much sound advice in preparing the text and has commented on earlier versions of this article. Abbreviations are those used in R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman inscriptions of Britain*, i. Addenda and corrigenda by R.S.O. Tomlin (Stroud: Sutton, 1995) with one exception. This is RMD = M.M. Roxan, *Roman military diplomas*, I–III (London: Institute of Archaeology, 1978–94).

short to long oblique strokes. This can make the bottoms of E, F, I, L, T similar and can be confusing where the top of the letter has been lost. A further problem is that the letter T is not always crossed. The letter A does not have a crossbar. Q has an elongated tail and is easily recognizable. The letter heights on the outer faces are 2.5–3mm.

Tabella I

]VŞ POM[
]OS IV PP
]T̄ IN ALIS IV
]ÇVL ET I TVNGR
5]ÇALI ET COH XVII
]ALI ET II LING EI I AEL
]EI T AEL CLASS EI I HA
]T̄ L CELTIBER EL IV LING
]ON̄ ET I AVC NER GERM ∞ ET
10] VII THRAC EI L VANG EI I VA //
]R̄ ∞ EI T THRAC ET SVNT IN BRITANN
SVB IVLIO VERO LEC QVIN EI VICEN PLV
RIBVE STIP EMERIT DIMISS HONESTA
MISSION QVOR NOMIN SVBSCRIPTA
● ●

15 SVNT CIVITAT ROMAN QVI EOR NON H[
BER DED EI CONVB []VM VXORIB QVAS T[
HABVISS CVM E[]T̄ CIVIT IIS DAT AVT CV[
IIS QVAS POSTEA DVXISS DVMTAX SIN
GVLIS A D III K MAR
20 ŞEX SVLPICIO TERTVLLO
Q TINEIO SACERDOTE COS
]QHORT T AEL CLASS CVI PRAEEST
] CAEDICIVS SEVERVS
EX EQVITE
25] ÇASSI E HLLI[
] RECOCNIT EX TABVLA [
]OM IN MVR POST TE[
] AD MINERV[

Tabella II

m servili	getae
l pulli	CH[resimi
	●
m sentili	I[asi
ti iuli	FELIC[is
	●
5 c belli	VRBA[ni
c pomponi	STATI[ANI
p ocili	prisci

Notes to Tabella I

5 CALI for GALL.

6]ALI inscribed, hence [G]ALL is to be restored. The numeral to be restored is likely to be V rather than IV based on an average line length of 28–30 of letters. EI for ET.

7 EI T for ET I; EI for ET.

8 L for I; EL for ET.

9]ON just visible in the crack, hence the restoration [FRISIA-V]ON is suggested. AVC for AVG.

10 EI L for ET I; VANG EI I VA// seems the most likely reading. VANG is definite and radiographs suggest EI I instead of ET I. The following V is relatively certain, but little survives of the A. There is space for two letters after this, but nothing is visible even on radiographs.

11 Possible traces of the bottom parts of letters survive along the break, but the corrosion is very bad. The traces on the radiographs suggest R and also a milliary sign. EI T for ET I.

The average line length is 28–30 letters and by comparing the lettering on the other side, the cohort list can be restored as follows:–

<i>iii bracaug et v gall et ii ling et i ael</i>	31
<i>dacor et i delmat et i ael class et i ha</i>	30
<i>m et ii gall et i celtiber et iv ling</i>	28
<i>et i frisiavon et i aug ner germ ∞ et</i>	28
<i>iv gall et vi thrac et i vang et i vard</i>	30
<i>ullor ∞ et i thrac et sunt in britann</i>	29

12 LEC for LEG; EI for ET.

16 EI for ET.

- 22 T for I. PRAEEST is definite, but PRAEST would be expected at this time. The next known occurrence is on the diploma of A.D. 161/2 (RMD III 177). By the 170s *praest* ceases to be used.
- 23 CAEDICIVS is read but there is a gap between the C and A probably because the former letter is on the bent edge and has been stretched. The letter between the D and C is read as I although there are faint marks which might suggest it was an E. The radiographs only show an upright.
- 25 The surface is badly pitted and, unfortunately, the radiographs do not help much either. Of the father's name only the final I is definite. The two preceding letters are both most likely to be S. Preceding these is what might be an A. The remaining traces of the first surviving letter are curved which in this context would be a C. Hence it is suggested the name is CASSI. For filiation there is an E for F. For the home of the soldier the first letter is H and the fourth letter is an upright stroke with a small foot which is likely to be I. Each of the other two upright strokes also has a foot. The first upright has a bar at the top for an F or E but no middle bar. The second one may have a bar at the top, but the surface is badly broken here. Therefore the tentative suggested reading is HELI[OP].
- 26 RECOCNIT for RECOGNIT.

Notes to Tabella II

Only parts of the *cognomina* of five of the witnesses survive and these are only visible on the radiographs. From this evidence the full names of the expected witnesses can be restored.

Intus

The text on the inner faces is different from that on the outside and was obviously inscribed by a different person who took less care with the lettering. The letters are less deeply incised and less regularly formed which makes the text more difficult to decipher. This is also the case in other diplomas of similar date.² Curved letters like O, Q, B, R, P, are open at the top. The tops of the oblique strokes in the letter A do not join and the oblique strokes in M and N do not always meet the relevant upright. As on the outer face uprights have tails of varying lengths which can cause problems. Often the letter I is very much shorter than other letters with

² For example:— RMD II 102 of A.D. 157 for Pannonia Inferior: the text is complete, very carelessly cut, but just decipherable. RMD III 170 of A.D. 157 for Raetia: the text is very carelessly cut, but just decipherable.

uprights which can aid in distinguishing which letter is meant. Another letter which is mostly smaller than others is G which appears more as two short oblique stroke meeting at an angle. The letter heights on the inner faces are 2.5–4mm.

Tabella I

] // RIANI F / IVI[
] / ERVAE PRONEP[
]N̄TONINVS AVG PIV[
]XI IMP II COS IV [
 5]V̄ / MIL IN AL IV QVAE AP[
] /// I TVNGR ET I HISP A[
] /// OH●XVII III BRACAVG [
] //// I AE[] ACOR ET I DELM
] /// I HAM ET II GALL ET I CELT
 10]N̄G ET I FR // IAV ET I AVG NER GER ∞
]LI LT VII TH //// T I VANG ET I VARDVL
] / RAC ET SVNT● IN BRITAN SVB IVLIQ
] / E / XXV PLVE // // ND EMER DIMISS
] / M /// QY // N /// N SVBS // // T SVNT CIV
 15] QVI E // NON HABER DED ET C // VB / VM
] XORIB QVAS TVNC HABVIS / VM[
] A // V /// M I /// QVAS POST // DVX[

Tabella II

]OTE C[
]CVI PRA[
 ●
]SEVERVS
 EX EQVITE
 ●
 5 F HII[
]COGNIT IX T[
] ROM IN MVR[
]VC AD M[

Notes to Tabella I

- 6 The letters HISPA survive with possible traces of another letter after the A. Thus HISPA[N AST] or HISP A[ST] might be what was inscribed, but the spacing, allowing an average of 31–33 letters per line would suggest the latter.
- 8 A is definite, with E partially surviving on the edge of the hole, hence AE[L D]ACOR. After ET near the end of the line is a numeral. There seem to be two upright strokes after the T, but the first is more of a scratch. The radiographs certainly do not pick up this first stroke. This suggests the numeral was I rather than II.
- 9 HAM is definite with M spread out. On the other side of the hole are traces of the E to make ET. There may have been one letter lost unless there was more space allowed between the letters here. After ET there are two short upright strokes, slightly obscured, for the numeral II. At the end of the line the scribe cut only the bottom of the letters of CELT.
- 10 Again the end of the line is not very well cut. GER can be read. After this there seems to be an incompletely cut milliary sign.
- 11 The first surviving letter is right on the edge. The traces suggest L. The next letter is I, probably for L. Hence the restoration [GA]LL. Using an average of 31–33 letters per line the numeral to be restored would be IV. LT for ET.

Based on an average of 31–33 letters per line, and in comparison with the remains on the other side, the cohort list can be restored as follows:–

<i>et ..c5.. gall et coh xvii iii bracaug et</i>	32
<i>v gall et ii ling et i ael dacor et i delm</i>	31
<i>et i ael class et i ham et ii gall et i celt</i>	32
<i>et iv ling et i frisiav et i aug ner ger ∞</i>	31
<i>et iv gall et vii thrac et i vang et i vardul</i>	34
<i>l ∞ et i thrac et sunt in britan sub iulio</i>	32

Note to Tabella II

- 5 The letter H is followed by two upright strokes with no feet. The first is short and is partially obscured by corrosion pits. It could have been meant for E as on the line below.
- 6 IX for EX.

Conflated text

[Imp(erator Caesar, divi Had]riani f(ilius), [divi Traiani Part(hici) nepos, divi N]ervae pro[n(epos), T Aelius Hadrianus A]ntoninus

Aug(ustus) Pius, pon[t(یفex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) X]XI, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IV, p(ater) p(atriciae), [equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) q]u[i] mil[i]t(averunt) in alis IV quae ap[pel(lantur) (1) Aug(usta) Gall(or)um Pro]cul(eiana) et (2) I Tungr(or)um et (3) I Hisp(anorum) A[st(ur)um] et (4) ?Sebos(iana)] Gall(or)um et coh(ortibus) XVII (1) III Brac(ar)aug(ustanorum) [et (2) V G]all(or)um et (3) II Ling(onum) et (4) I Ael(ia) [D]acor(um) et (5) I Delm(atarum) et (6) I Ael(ia) class(ica) et (7) I Ham(iorum) et (8) II Gall(or)um et (9) I Celtiber(or)um et (10) IV Ling(onum) et(11) I Fr[is]iavon(um) et (12) I Aug(usta) Ner(viana) Germ(anorum) (milliaria) et [(13) IV Ga]ll(or)um et (14) VII Thrac(um) et (15) I Vang(ionum) et (16) I Vardul[lo]r(um) (milliaria) et (17) I Thrac(um) et sunt in Britann(ia) sub Iulio Vero leg(ato) quin(is) et vican(is) plurib(us)ve stip(endis) emerit(is) dimiss(is) honesta mission(e), quor(um) nomin(a) subscripta sunt, civitat(em) Roman(am), qui eor(um) non haber(ent) ded(it), et conub(ium) [c]um uxorib(us) quas tunc habuiss(ent) cum e[s]t civit(as) iis dat(a), aut cu[m] iis quas postea duxiss(ent) dumtax(at) singulis.

a.d. III K. Mar(tias) Sex. Sulpicio Tertullo Q. Tineio Sacerdote cos. [c]ohort(is) I Ael(iae) class(icae) cui praeest [.] Caedicius Severus, ex equite [. . .] Cassi f. ?Heli[op(oli)].

[Descript(um) et] recognit(um) ex tabula [aerea quae fixa est] Rom(ae) in mur(o) post te[mpl(um) divi A]ug(usti) ad Minerv[am]

[M Servili Getae; L Pulli] Ch[resimi; M Sentili] I[asi; Ti Iuli] Felic[is; C Belli] Urba[ni; C Pomponi] Stati[ani; P Ocili Prisci]

Date

Enough of his titulature survives to show that Antoninus Pius was in his twenty-first year of *tribunicia potestas* which ran from 10 December A.D. 157 to 9 December A.D. 158. The exact date is provided by the naming of Sex. Sulpicius Tertullus (PIR¹ S736) and Q. Tineius Sacerdos (PIR¹ T172). They were the ordinary consuls of A.D. 158 and the grant was made on 27 February during their consulship.³

This date is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the governorship of Julius Verus who is named on the diploma. Prior to the discovery of this document he was only recorded as governor some time in A.D. 158.⁴ With this constitution dating so early in the year

³ They are also recorded on a fleet diploma of 6 February A.D. 158 (RMD III 171).

⁴ A.R. Birley, *The fasti of Roman Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Pr., 1981), 118–121.

it should mean that Verus was in Britain in A.D. 157, if not earlier, because the sailing season across the Channel finished in the Autumn.

The Units

Much of what is known about the units recorded on this diploma during their stay in Britain is derived from other diploma attestations. Therefore full references are given here of the relevant ones with the findspot for those found in Britain; thereafter only the date of issue will be recorded in the text. The diplomas are:—

A.D. 98 (XVI 43);	A.D. 103 (RIB 2401.1), Malpas;
A.D. 105 (RIB 2401.2), Sydenham;	ante A.D. 114 (RMD III 151);
A.D. 122 (XVI 69);	A.D. 124 (RIB 2401.6), Stannington;
?A.D. 126 (RIB 2401.7) Walcot;	A.D. 135 (RIB 2401.8), Wroxeter;
A.D. 146 (RIB 2401.9), Vindolanda;	A.D. 145/6 (RIB 2401.10), Chesters;
?A.D. 146/154 (RMD III 168);	?A.D. 159 (RIB 2401.12), Colchester;
A.D. 178 (RMD III 184 + unpub.). ⁵	

ALAE

(1) *Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana*

The ala is known from the diplomas of ?A.D. 126, 135, and 145/6 with this name. The last part of the title is preserved on this diploma of A.D. 158. However, there are no other records of an ala with this name in Britain. Rather there is an *ala Augusta* recorded on the diploma of ante A.D. 114 and an *ala Augusta Gallorum* on that of A.D. 122. On inscriptions an *ala Augusta* is recorded at Lancaster (RIB 606 + add.) and an *ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata* at Chesters in Hadrian's reign (*Brit.*, x (1979), 346 no. 7) and at Old Carlisle from A.D. 188 (RIB 893). There is no reason to doubt that these texts refer to only one ala.⁶

⁵ Here it is suggested that the Walcot diploma dates to ?A.D. 126 rather than A.D. 117/126 on advice from Margaret Roxan. The most recent discussion of the evidence for the auxiliary garrison of Britain is M.G. Jarrett, 'Non-legionary troops in Roman Britain: Part one, the units', *Britannia*, xxv (1994), 36–77.

⁶ M.G. Jarrett, 'Non-legionary', 40 and 41.

There are other instances of auxiliary units recorded with more than one version of their name. A very close parallel is provided by *ala I Augusta Gallorum* in Mauretania Tingitana. On a diploma of A.D. 88 (XVI 159) for that province it is called *ala I Augusta*; on those of A.D. 109 (RMD II 84) and A.D. 114/7 (XVI 165) it is called *ala I Augusta CR*; but on those of A.D. 156/7 (XVI 181, 182) it is called *ala I Augusta Gallorum*. On inscriptions it is called *ala Augusta* from as early as A.D. 40 (ILS 6102).

The answer for these differences would seem to lie in the fact that the names of units on diplomas were based on official records kept at the *officium* of the provincial governor and would therefore reflect the full official title. In the case of this *ala* its official name was only standardized in the reign of Hadrian after the diploma of A.D. 122.⁷ Other inscriptions like tombstones and dedications might, on the other hand, represent the name by which the unit was commonly known.

(2) *I Tungrorum*

This is recorded on the diplomas of A.D. 98, 105 and 122. It is most probably to be restored on that of A.D. 124 and possibly that of A.D. 135. There is an inscription from Mumrills (RIB 2140) on the Antonine Wall which apparently dates to the Antonine occupation. The mention on the Ravenglass diploma is the latest datable information for its presence in Britain.

(3) *I Hispanorum Asturum*

This *ala* is recorded on the diplomas of A.D. 98, 122, 124, 135 and 145/6. Inscriptional evidence places it at Benwell in the third century (RIB 1337) and probably from the governorship of Ulpius Marcellus which started *c.* A.D. 177 (RIB 1329) although it is not named on that dedication. It was still at Benwell according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Not. Dig. Occ.* XL, 35).

(4) [. . .] *Gallorum*

A number of *alae* named after commanders which could be identified with this unit formed part of the garrison of Britain at the time this diploma was issued. These are *ala Gallorum Picentiana*; *ala Gallorum Sebosiana*; and *ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana CR*. The lack of a symbol for a military regiment should preclude *ala Gallorum Petriana milliaria CR*. Comparison with how these *alae* are usu-

⁷ *Cohors I Augusta Nerviana Germanorum milliaria* is a similar example. See cohort (12).

ally named on diplomas would suggest that *ala Gallorum Sebosiana* is the most likely candidate. On the diploma of A.D. 178 it is the only ala where its descriptive title precedes its ethnic. All other diploma references to alae of Gauls have the descriptive title after the ethnic. If the identification is correct the ala is recorded on the earlier diplomas of A.D. 103 and 122. In the third century it is attested at Lancaster (RIB 605).

COHORTS

(1) *III Bracaraugustanorum*

This cohort was previously attested on the diplomas of A.D. 103, 122, 124 and 145/6. The mention here as the first of the cohorts is the latest recorded date of its stay in Britain. It is otherwise only known from stamped tiles found at Manchester and nearby Melandra Castle (RIB 2469). One tile stamp has been found at the latter in the bath-house. Altogether seven have been found at Manchester of which three have been published. Four of these were found re-used in the vicus and one was found re-used in the extended Phase III fort.⁸ All of the surviving Manchester stamps belong to the same die as the Melandra example. This would suggest that *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum* was responsible for tile production for both forts. From the find spots this production took place during the life of the Period 2 fort at Manchester which is thought to have been in existence c. A.D. 90–160, although the closing date could be different.

(2) *V Gallorum*

Cohors V Gallorum is recorded on the diplomas of A.D. 122, 124 and 135. It is attested at Cramond on an inscription which either dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius or to that of Septimius Severus (RIB 2134). During much of the third century it formed the garrison of South Shields where it is first attested in A.D. 213 (*Brit.*, xvi (1985), 325 no. 11).

(3) *II Lingonum (equitata)*

The cohort is recorded on the diplomas of A.D. 98, 122, 124 and 178. An inscription places it at Ilkley (RIB 635) probably in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. An inscription belonging to that reign was set up by a prefect who did not name his command, but it was most likely this cohort (RIB 636). Inscriptions at Moresby (RIB 798, 800)

⁸ P.A. Holder, 'The Roman garrisons of Manchester', in J. Walker (ed.), *Roman Manchester: a frontier settlement* (Manchester: Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit, 1986), 139.

would therefore antedate the arrival of *cohors II Thracum* there in the second half of the second century. It is mentioned on two lead seals from Brough-under-Stainmore (RIB 2411.106; 2411.108) which should place it in the north in the third century. According to the *Notitia Dignitatum* it was stationed at Congavata (*Not. Dig. Occ.* XL, 48).

(4) *I Aelia Dacorum milliaria*

This cohort is first recorded on the diploma of A.D. 145/6 and was presumably raised by Hadrian.⁹ It is recorded without its honorific title on a building stone connected with the building of the Vallum (RIB 1365) and on one from Birdoswald (RIB 1918). It is also apparently named without its title on an inscription at Bewcastle (RIB 991). Otherwise it is only attested at Birdoswald, having arrived there by A.D. 205/8 (RIB 1909). It was still there according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Not. Dig. Occ.* XL, 44). While it is known to have been commanded by tribunes on neither diploma attestation is it denoted as milliary. But there is now a diploma of 20 August A.D. 127 for Britain, where it is named as *cohors I Aelia Dacorum milliaria*.¹⁰

(5) *I Delmatarum*

This cohort was previously recorded on the diplomas of A.D. 122, 124 and 135 which makes its listing on this issue the latest dated reference to it in Britain. On the diploma of A.D. 135 it is called *cohors I Dalmatarum* and this spelling is also used on a number of inscriptions. There is though a tombstone from High Rochester which records a centurion of *cohors I Da[. . .]* with Aurelius as his *gentilicium* which should be later in date than A.D. 158 (RIB 1289). The cohort in question is more likely to be this one rather than *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* because the epithet *Aelia* is omitted. The cohort is recorded at Maryport on six altars, five of which were set up by the prefect P. Postumius Acilianus (RIB 810, 832, 833, 847, 850) and the sixth by Caecilius Vegetus (RIB 831). Two specifically mention Antoninus Pius as emperor (RIB 832, 850). The final record of this cohort is a building stone found at Chesters on Hadrian's Wall (*JRS*, 47 (1957), 229 no. 14) which is identical in design

⁹ See P.A. Holder, 'Auxiliary units entitled *Aelia*' (forthcoming) for a full discussion of the origin of this cohort.

¹⁰ J. Nollé, *Militärdiplom für einen in Britannien entlassenen Daker*, *ZPE*, 117 (1997), 269–74.

to a building stone of *legio VI Victrix* also dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius (RIB 1460).

(6) *I Aelia classica equitata*

Raised from the fleet, this cohort is first recorded on a diploma in A.D. 145/6 although it was in existence before the death of Hadrian being commanded by L. Volusius Maecianus as prefect c. A.D. 135 (Devijver, *PME* V 133).¹¹ Where it was based in Britain has been a matter for debate. The discovery of this diploma at Ravenglass issued to a soldier of the cohort indicates that *cohors I Aelia classica* was the garrison in the middle of the second century and probably for some time before. This is because discharged soldiers who stay in the province they served in usually retire to live in the settlement of the fort in which they had been stationed. A lead seal of the cohort was found at Ravenglass in a third-century context which indicates it was still there (RIB 2411.94).¹²

This brings into question the identity of the Roman name for Ravenglass. There are few certainties in trying to locate the places listed in the Ravenna Cosmography, the Antonine Itinerary and the Notitia Dignitatum especially because spelling is not consistent across these three sources. The fullest recent discussion of the evidence equates Ravenglass with Glannoventa.¹³ This is the suggested correct form of the Glannibanta of the Notitia Dignitatum whose garrison was *cohors I Morinorum* (*Not.Dig.Occ.* XL, 52). *Cohors I Aelia classica* was based at Tunnocelum according to the Notitia (*Not.Dig.Occ.* XL, 51). The correct form of this name has been assumed to be Itunocelum.¹⁴ This would presumably locate the site at Eden Head, but no fort is known there.¹⁵ However, if the combined evidence of the diploma and the lead-seal is taken into account then *cohors I Aelia classica* was the garrison of Ravenglass into the third century and, by comparison with other garrisons, would still have been there when the Notitia was compiled. Thus the Roman name could be the Notitia's Tunnocelum, a perfectly

¹¹ Ibid., for a full discussion of the cohort's origin.

¹² Other forts which have produced lead seals of the unit in garrison are:— Chesters, *ala Augusta* (RIB 2411.81); Stanwix, *ala Petriana* (RIB 2411.84); Lancaster, *ala Sebosiana* (RIB 2411.88); South Shields, *cohors V Gallorum* (RIB 2411.100–105); Wallsend, *cohors IV Lingonum* (RIB 2411.109). See also the discussion by D. Shotter in T.W. Potter, *Romans in north-west England* (Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1979), 35.

¹³ A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith, *The place-names of Roman Britain* (London: Batsford, 1979), 367.

¹⁴ Ibid., 380–1.

¹⁵ J.C. Mann, 'Birdoswald to Ravenglass', *Brit.*, xx (1989), 75–9.

acceptable name form,¹⁶ or another version of that name. The Glan-nibanta of the same document would then be located at Ambleside whose position would suit the location of the 'market' implied by the suffix far better than Ravenglass.¹⁷

(7) *I Hamiorum sagittariorum*

Before the finding of this diploma this cohort of archers was attested on the issues of A.D. 122, 124 and 135. In the reign of Hadrian the cohort is attested at Carvoran (RIB 1778) and it is recorded there again in the governorship of Sex. Calpurnius Agricola, c. A.D. 163–166 (RIB 1792). Between these stays it is recorded at Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall (RIB 2167, 2172).

(8) *II Gallorum equitata*

The cohort was previously known from the diplomas of A.D. 122, 145/6 and A.D. 178. A cavalryman of this cohort was the recipient of the second copy of the A.D. 178 issue.¹⁸ This also reveals that the commander was the Domitius Hiero(n) recorded on an altar from Old Penrith (RIB 917). Thus *cohors II Gallorum* was in garrison there in the second century and continued to be there until at least A.D. 244–9 (RIB 915).

(9) *I Celtiberorum (equitata)*

Previous to its mention on this diploma this cohort's presence in Britain was known from the diplomas of A.D. 105, 122, 145/6 and 178. There are tiles from Caersws in Wales stamped C.I.C.F. (RIB 2471.1) which can be read as *c(ohortis) I C(eltiberorum) f(iglina)*. These are apparently third century in date, but they might date from the later second century.¹⁹

(10) *IV Lingonum (equitata)*

Dated mentions of this cohort in Britain are the diplomas of ante A.D. 114, 122 and 145/6. To this sequence can be added its appearance on the Ravenglass diploma of A.D. 158. There is also a building stone from near Milecastle 59 (RIB 2014) which probably relates to the construction of the Vallum.²⁰ In the third century it is

¹⁶ A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904), 1992–3.

¹⁷ See D. Shotton, *Romans and Britons in north-west England* (Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 1993), 105–9 for this and other implications for the identity of forts in this part of the country.

¹⁸ M. Roxan, *Brit.*, xxvi (1995), 390 note (g).

¹⁹ G.R. Stephens, 'The stamped tiles from Roman Caersws', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, lxxiv (1986), 32–7.

²⁰ E. Birley note, *CW*², 1 (1950), 175–6.

recorded on inscriptions at Wallsend on Hadrian's Wall (RIB 1299–1301) and was still there according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Not. Dig. Occ.* XL, 33).

(11) *I Frisiavonum*

On diplomas for Britain this cohort was previously known from those of A.D. 105, 122, 124, and 178. There is a centurial stone from Melandra Castle (RIB 279) which should relate to the rebuilding in stone at the fort. There are three centurial stones from Manchester (RIB 557–579) which present something of a problem for dating. In general auxiliaries are recorded on building stones from the reign of Hadrian rather than earlier.²¹ At Manchester the only major rebuilding carried out after the reign of Hadrian (apart from the rebuilding in stone in the reign of Septimius Severus) was the construction of the extended Period 3 fort which is dated *c.* A.D. 160.²² The building stones of the cohort at Manchester are therefore likely to belong to Period 3 rather than earlier as has been suggested.²³ There is also a dedication from Coventina's Well (RIB 1523) which may relate to its occupation of Rudchester. It was definitely there in the third century (RIB 1395, 1396) and it is also placed there by the *Notitia Dignitatum* although with the name *cohors I Frixagorum* (*Not. Dig. Occ.* XL, 36).

(12) *I Augusta Nerviana Germanorum milliaria equitata*

This is the first time that all the elements of this cohort's name have been recorded together. On the diploma of A.D. 122, its first attestation, it is called *cohors I Nervia Germanorum milliaria*. Inscriptions from Birrens belonging to the period A.D. 142–*c.* A.D. 156 record it as *cohors I Nervana Germanorum milliaria equitata* (RIB 2093, 2097). It is listed as *cohors I Aug(usta) Nerv.* on the diploma of A.D. 178. Combining all the evidence it seems that its full official name was *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Germanorum milliaria equitata*.²⁴

After the cohort was replaced at Birrens by *cohors II Tungrorum milliaria equitata cl* before A.D. 158 (RIB 2100) it probably became the garrison of Burgh-by-Sands on Hadrian's Wall (RIB 2041). In

²¹ G.R. Stephens, 'Roman inscribed building-stones from Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, cxxxvii (1988), 99–107.

²² J. Walker, 'Summary of the development of early Manchester', in J. Walker (ed.), *Roman Manchester: a frontier settlement*, 141–3. During Period 2 at Manchester tiles were being produced by *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum*. See cohort (1).

²³ P.A. Holder, 'The Roman garrisons', 139–40.

²⁴ See Appendix 2 for a discussion of the title *Nervia/Nervana/Nerviana*.

the third century it is named on an altar ascribed to Netherby (RIB 966), but the known garrison there is *cohors I Aelia Hispanorum milliaria equitata*. The altar may therefore belong to Bewcastle where there are third century inscriptions recording an unnamed unit (RIB 988, 989).

(13) *IV Gallorum equitata*

This is recorded on the diplomas of A.D. 122, 145/6 and 178. During the occupation of the Antonine Wall it was stationed at Castlehill (RIB 2195). An altar to *numinibus Augustorum* from Risingham (RIB 1227) shows the cohort was there in the joint reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or Marcus and Commodus. There is also a tombstone from Risingham (RIB 1249) and a dedication slab at nearby High Rochester of a vexillation of the cohort assisting a vexillation of *cohors II Nerviorum* (*Brit.*, xiv (1983), 337 no. 2). It formed the garrison of Vindolanda in the third century where its earliest attestation is A.D. 213 (RIB 1705).

(14) *VII Thracum equitata*

This cohort is recorded on the diplomas of A.D. 122, 135 and 178. The latter was issued to an *eques* of this cohort. Apart from the diplomas the only evidence for its presence in Britain are the lead seals from Brough-under-Stainmore, probably of third century date (RIB 2411.159–240), which suggest it was the garrison of that fort.

(15) *I Vangionum milliaria equitata*

This cohort is recorded as milliary on the diplomas of A.D. 103, 122, 124, 135, but not on its attestation in 178. The latter is not too surprising as *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Germanorum milliaria*; *cohors I Aelia Hispanorum milliaria*; and *cohors I fida Vardullorum milliaria* are also not denoted as such. It is also not denoted as milliary on its appearance here. In this case it would suggest that a vexillation had been withdrawn to serve elsewhere because *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Germanorum milliaria* is recorded as milliary on this diploma. That the cohort was not at full strength at this time would fit with evidence from Benwell. Inscriptions record the cohort there (RIB 1328, 1350) before the governorship of Ulpian Marcellus who was in post by A.D. 178 as proven by the diploma of that year (RMD III 184 + unpub.). A prefect rather than a tribune is recorded in command on one text and the unit is not denoted as milliary (RIB 1328). Later, and certainly by

the reign of Severus, it was the garrison of Risingham (RIB 1234). There is a tombstone to the daughter of one of its tribunes from Chesters on Hadrian's Wall (RIB 1482). This is unlikely to indicate that it was based at the fort since the inscription belongs, at earliest, to the late second century when *ala II Asturum* is known to have been the garrison (RIB 1462, 1465, 1466).²⁵

(16) *I fida Vardullorum milliaria CR equitata*

Diploma records of this cohort in Britain are A.D. 98, 105, 122, 124, 135, 145/6, ?159, and 178. It is not recorded as *milliaria* on those for 98 and 105 which has led to the suggestion that it was enlarged to become a *cohors milliaria* between A.D. 105 and A.D. 122. The cohort is also not recorded as milliary in A.D. 145/6 and it has therefore been suggested that a vexillation had been detached by the time of the issue of this diploma which had returned by the issue of the diploma of ?A.D. 159 where it is called *milliaria*.²⁶ Since the cohort is denoted as milliary on the Ravenglass diploma the vexillation had returned by A.D. 158. The inscription from Castlecary on the Antonine Wall where it is recorded as milliary would therefore belong to a similar date (RIB 2149). Soldiers from the unit are recorded at Corbridge making a dedication to joint emperors who are most likely to have been Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (RIB 1128 + add.). It probably built the fort at Lanchester in the 160s (RIB 1076, 1083), and then moved to High Rochester early in the third century (RIB 1272).

(17) *I Thracum equitata*

The earliest record of this cohort in Britain is a pre-Flavian tombstone from Wroxeter (RIB 291). It is recorded on the diplomas of A.D. 122 and 178. There is an inscription from near Newcastle which most likely refers to the construction of the Vallum of Hadrian's Wall (RIB 1323).²⁷ Later inscriptions place it at Bowes from the reign of Septimius Severus (RIB 730, 732–734, 740, 741).

The Commander

Because this copy of the diploma issue of A.D. 158 belonged to a member of *cohors I Aelia classica* the name of the commander

²⁵ The likely date is provided by the mother being called Aurelia Eclectiana.

²⁶ M.G. Jarrett, 'Non-legionary', 51.

²⁷ E. Birley note, CW², 1 (1950), 176.

is known. His name survives as Caedicius Severus. It is possible his *praenomen* is missing, but no surviving diplomas after July A.D. 158 (XVI 108) record the commander's *praenomen* so it is feasible that it was not recorded here. The prefecture of a quingenary cohort formed the first military appointment in the emperor's service as the *militia prima*. Caedicii feature infrequently in the epigraphic record. At the end of the Republic and into the early Empire two branches of the family gained entry into the senate. They came from the long established colonies of Sinuessa and Minturnae of Regio I in Italy.²⁸ Also of first century date is C. Caedicius Flacceianus, a legionary tribune (Devijver, *PME* C 30), whose tribe, the *Falerna*, shows he came from elsewhere in Italy.²⁹ This is because both Sinuessa and Minturnae belonged to the *Teretina*. Another branch of the family is known in the second century who are recorded at Ostia and Rome. The earliest known is A. Caedicius Successus (AE 1987 n91) who was a *sevir* and *quinquennalis* at Ostia as well as a *curator naviculariorum maris Hadriatici*. In the reign of Commodus among the priests of the *domus Augustae* is A. Caedicius Priscianus *e(gregius) [v(ir)]* (VI 2010, II, 23) who, on another inscription from Rome, also makes it clear he was an *eques Romanus* (AE 1980 n48).

It is therefore certain that the commanding officer was from Italy and it is probable he was a member of the Ostia/Rome branch of the family because only they were prominent in the later second century. If so his *praenomen* would have been A(ulus).

The Recipient

The name of the recipient does not survive, but that of his father does which reveals he was called Cassius. Although this is a Roman name the status of both father and son is clearly peregrine because of the lack of the *tria nomina*. During the second century auxiliary recruits were normally obtained either from the province in which a unit was based or from an adjacent province.³⁰ In this

²⁸ Sinuessa: M. Cebeillac-Gervasoni, 'Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine Italia: Regio I (Campania: la zona di Capue e Cales)', *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio* II, Tituli 5 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1982), 85–6; Minturnae: A. Licordari, 'Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine Italia: Regio I (Latium)', *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio* II, Tituli 5 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1982), 34.

²⁹ J.W. Kubitschek, *Imperium romanum tributim discriptum* (Vindobonae: Tempsky, 1889), 270.

³⁰ M.P. Speidel, 'The soldiers' homes', in *Heer und Integrationspolitik: die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*. Herausgegeben von W. Eck und H. Wolff (Köln: Böhlau, 1986), 467–81.

particular instance the traces of the name of the recipient's home do not readily suggest a location in the western part of the Empire. Rather the traces are suggestive of Heliopolis, the name of the Roman colony in Syria (modern Baalbek).

In general, the identification of a colony of Roman citizens as the home of a non-citizen auxiliary soldier would not be expected. However, there are factors which might support this identification. There are examples of peregrines recruited to auxiliary units who give a colony as their home.³¹ Each example reveals that the soldier was recruited in time of war. For example Domitius Domiti f., from Philadelphia in Syria, was recruited to *cohors II Syrorum* by Corbulo in A.D. 62/3 (XVI 159).³² The circumstances are similar with regard to the recipient of the Ravenglass diploma. Because the man had served at least twenty-five years in the army and had been discharged in A.D. 158 it is clear he was recruited c. A.D. 133. If he did come from Heliopolis then the obvious reason for him to have been recruited at this time is in response to the Jewish rebellion led by Bar-Kochba which had broken out in A.D. 132. Further Hadrian had chosen his best general, Sex. Julius Severus, to crush the revolt and he had been governing Britain when selected.³³ It therefore seems that Severus had selected units, or at least vexillations from units, from the garrison of Britain to accompany him to the war one of which was *cohors I Aelia classica*.

The recipient was a cavalryman which means the cohort was *equitata*. This should not cause too much surprise although the origin of the unit was the fleet. By the reign of Hadrian recruits to the *auxilia* were being trained to be cavalrymen.³⁴ Therefore when the cohort was being organized a contingent of 120 newly trained cavalrymen was added.

Rather than return to his home province after discharge, the recipient decided to stay in Britain and to settle in the civil settlement next to the fort where he had been stationed.

³¹ B. Isaac, 'Military diplomata and extraordinary levies for campaigns', in *Heer und Integrationspolitik: die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*. Herausgegeben von W. Eck und H. Wolff (Köln, Böhlau, 1986), 258-64.

³² See B. Isaac, 'The Decapolis in Syria, a neglected inscription', *ZPE*, 44 (1981), 72-3 for a discussion.

³³ A.R. Birley, *The fasti*, 106-9.

³⁴ This is shown in the surviving parts of Hadrian's speech to the army of Africa in A.D. 128 (ILS 2487, 9133, 9134).

TABLE: GARRISON OF BRITAIN – ANTONINUS PIUS TO MARCUS AURELIUS

DIPLOMAS

C = Chesters (RIB 2401.10)	A.D. 145/6	al 3 coh 11
V = Vindolanda (RIB 2401.9)	A.D. 146	al ?3 coh 8
S = Spain (RMD III 165)	A.D. 146/154	al ?3 coh ?8/9
R = Ravenglass	A.D. 158	al 4 coh 17
B = Bulgaria (RMD III 184 + unpub)	A.D. 178	al 5 coh 16

ALAE		
II Asturum		Gall Sebosiana
Agrippiana		I Hispan Asturum
Gall et Thrac Classiana	B	Hispan Vettonum
Aug Gall Petriana mill		I Pannon Sabiniana
Gall Picentiana		I Tungrorum
Aug Gall Proculiana	R, C	Aug Vocontiorum

Omitted:–

Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana in Noricum by A.D. 128/38 XVI 174)

Ala I Thracum in Germania Inferior by A.D. 127 (unpub. diploma)³⁵

COHORTS		
I Aquitanorum eq	S	I Lingonum eq
II Asturum eq		II Lingonum eq
I Baetasiurum		III Lingonum eq
I Batavorum eq	B	IV Lingonum eq
III Bracaraugustanorum	R, C	I Menapiorum
III Breucorum		I Morinorum
I Celtiberorum eq	B, R, C	I Nerviorum
I Aelia classica eq	R, C	II Nerviorum CR
I Ulp Traiana Cugern		III Nerviorum
I Aelia Dacorum mill	R, C	IV Nerviorum
I Delmatarum eq	R	VI Nerviorum
II Delmatarum eq		II Pannoniorum eq
IV Delmatarum		VI Raetorum [By A.D. 166]
I Frisiavonum	B, R	I Sunucorum
II Gallorum eq	B, R, C	I Thracum eq
IV Gallorum eq	B, R, C	II Thracum eq
V Gallorum	R	VII Thracum
I Aug Nerv Germ mill eq	B, R	I Tungror mill
I Hamiorum sag	R	II Tungror mill eq
I Hispan eq	C	I Vangion mill eq
II Hispan [By A.D. 178]	B	I Vardull mill eq
I Ael Hispan mill eq	B	II Vasconum eq

Cohors II Hispanorum is recorded on the second copy of the diploma of A.D. 178 and it seems clear that this cohort should be restored on the first copy where the numeral is missing.³⁶

Cohors VI Raetorum is recorded on the unpublished diploma for Germania Inferior of A.D. 127.³⁷ It is first attested in Britain in A.D. 166/9 (RIB 1737).

Cohors I Afrorum CR; *cohors I Alpinorum*; *cohors I Pannoniorum*; and *cohors V Raetorum* have been left out of the list because there is no evidence that they were still in Britain in this period.

³⁵ Information from Margaret Roxan.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Interpretation and Discussion

The diploma lists four alae and seventeen cohorts of the garrison of Britain which at this time was twelve alae and about forty-four cohorts strong. (See TABLE.) The names of nearly all of the units survive complete, but with the cohorts not listed in numerical order. This is the earliest occasion in Britain for this phenomenon which is first seen on the Hadrianic diplomas for Mauretania Tingitana.³⁸ But non-numerical order does not become common until the reign of Antoninus Pius.

For Britain, the other example of non-numerical order is the issue of A.D. 178 to five alae and sixteen cohorts which survives in two copies. With regard to alae there is only one overlap, but ten cohorts are recorded on both diplomas, an overlap of 62%. (See TABLE.) This brings the total number of units recorded for the period A.D. 158–178 to eight alae and twenty-three cohorts. But this means that four alae and twenty-one cohorts are not yet represented on diplomas. (See TABLE.)

The other diplomas for Britain in the post-Hadrianic period list units in numerical order. The Chesters diploma of A.D. 145/6 was issued to three alae and eleven cohorts; the Vindolanda diploma of A.D. 146 was issued to ?three alae and eight cohorts; and from Spain there is the fragment of ?A.D. 146/154 which appears to have been issued to ?three alae and eight/nine cohorts. (See TABLE.) None are complete although the Chesters issue only lacks the name of one ala but this can be deduced. From the available evidence there is only one possible overlap known. This could mean the lists were not identical at all or just partially overlapped. Either way, the total number of cohorts recorded on the three documents was at least fifteen short of those known at the time. The small number of units on each document, eleven to fourteen, means that at least one, possibly two, diplomas would be needed to complete the recording of the known garrison at this time.

The cumulative results of these surviving diplomas for Britain in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius is that four alae and fifteen cohorts of the known garrison are not recorded. There are a number of possible explanations for this phenomenon:—

1) The surviving diplomas were all issued in even numbered years. If the missing units were listed on diplomas issued in odd numbered years this would imply that units only discharged men every two years.

³⁸ A.D. 122 (XVI 169, 170); A.D. 124 (XVI 171); A.D. 129/132 (XVI 173); but not A.D. 131 (RMD III 157). Later ones are A.D. 154 (RMD I 48); A.D. 156/7 (XVI 181, 182); A.D. 159 (RMD I 53); A.D. 161 (RMD II 107); A.D. 162/170 or 180/203 (RMD III 186).

2) However, the Chesters diploma could have been issued late in A.D. 145 (10–12/31–12) or early in A.D. 146 (1–1/1–3). If it had been issued late in A.D. 145 this would not support the previous argument. BUT the possibility then is that each diploma lists units up to a maximum number. Then another constitution was drawn up for the next set of units again up to a target number. This process would then have been repeated until all eligible men had been discharged during the year either side of the campaigning season. Thus the Chesters diploma is late December or probably before March; the Vindolanda issue is January/March; Ravenglass is 27 February and the issue of A.D. 178 is 23 March. None happen to survive from the Autumn when diplomas are known to have been issued in other provinces.³⁹

3) A further possibility is that the diplomas are related to legionary commands in Britain. This question is also connected with whether the non-numerical listing of cohorts in A.D. 158 reflects a topographical distribution. The problem is knowing where the units were at any time. The picture is reasonably clear for the Severan period, but is much less so in the second century because of the advance into and retreat from Scotland. A.D. 158 has been assigned great significance in the history of this occupation in connection with the proposed second occupation of the Antonine Wall. However, it has recently been suggested that there was only one occupation of that Wall with its abandonment taking place around A.D. 158, though there was not a complete retreat from Scotland with forts like Newstead being maintained.⁴⁰

If the Antonine Wall was not occupied when this diploma was issued then enough is known of unit movements for them to be assigned to the forts listed here:–

1) Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana	Old Carlisle
2) I Tungrorum	?
3) I Hispanorum Asturum	?
4) I [?Sebosiana] Gallorum	?Lancaster
1) III Bracaraugustanorum	?
2) V Gallorum	South Shields
3) II Lingonum	Ilkley
4) I Aelia Dacorum	Birdoswald
5) I Delmatarum	Chesters

³⁹ For example Pannonia Inferior 9 October A.D. 148 (XVI 179, 180); 28 September 157 (RMD III 170, RMD II 51/104, XVI 16). Occasionally diplomas were issued in the summer, for example Dacia Porolissensis 21 July A.D. 164 (XVI 185, RMD I 64).

⁴⁰ N. Hodgson, 'Were there two Antonine occupations of Scotland?' *Brit.*, xxvi (1995), 29–49.

6) I Aelia classica	Ravenglass
7) I Hamiorum	Carvoran
8) II Gallorum	Old Penrith
9) I Celtiberorum	?Caersws
10) IV Lingonum	Wallsend
11) I Frisiavonum	?Manchester
12) I Aug Nerv Germanorum M	Burgh-by-Sands
13) IV Gallorum	Vindolanda
14) VII Thracum	Brough-under-Stainmore
15) I Vangionum	Benwell
16) I Vardullorum M	Corbridge/Lanchester
17) I Thracum	Bowes

Allowing for the fact that not all locations are definite then the order does not appear to be topographical. This is further confirmed by comparing the order and position of the cohorts which are also listed on the diploma of A.D. 178:—

A.D. 158	Cohort	A.D. 178
(3)	II Lingonum	(12)
(8)	II Gallorum	(10)
(9)	I Celtiberorum	(5)
(11)	I Frisiavonum	(2)
(12)	I Aug Ner Germ M	(1)
(13)	IV Gallorum	(13)
(14)	VII Thracum	(15)
(15)	I Vangionum	(14)
(17)	I Thracum	(8)

If *cohors IV Gallorum* was cohort (2) on the Ravenglass diploma and not *cohors V Gallorum* as restored here then the order would be further disturbed.

If legionary commands are considered then most units can be assigned to *legio VI Victrix*. But this would be expected because most forts occupied in Britain in the second century were in the north where that legion was based. The argument would fall down if it was certain that *cohors I Frisiavonum* was at Manchester and *cohors I Celtiberorum* was at Caersws. Both forts were within the command of *legio XX Valeria Victrix*.

The preceding discussion concerning the order of units on the diploma highlights the difficulties. However, there may be a simpler explanation which is related to how a provincial governor's *officium* collected the information for granting honourable discharge.⁴¹ For many years the units which were to be included on a grant were put

⁴¹ M. Roxan, 'Roman military diplomata and topography', *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongress, Aalen, 1983: Vorträge* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1986), 775-7.

into a numerical order, but from the reign of Hadrian clerks began not to make numerical listings which would save themselves work. This was not an official decision applying to all provinces because the diplomas of Raetia always have numerical listings. In addition, diplomas for Pannonia Superior have numerical listings in A.D. 146 (XVI 178); 149 (XVI 97); and 154 (XVI 104), but not in A.D. 148 (XVI 96); 160/61 (RMD III 176); and 163 (RMD I 62). A non-numerical listing is simply achieved by using the order in which unit reports were received by the *officium*. For most provinces the units are in a similar order each time because the diplomas list all the auxiliary units in that province.

This is not the case with Britain because of the size of the garrison which was twelve alae and about forty-four cohorts in the reign of Antoninus Pius. However, there is little likelihood that most of these units could have been listed on a single diploma because these documents were now at their smallest in size (See Appendix 1). Instead there seems to have been a maximum number of units permitted on a single diploma. On that of A.D. 158 there are twenty-one units listed which is the same number as in A.D. 178. This may be coincidence, but it fits with the evidence from the two provinces with garrisons larger than twenty-one units which were Germania Inferior and Syria. The diploma of A.D. 158 for the former province lists four alae and between fifteen and eighteen cohorts (RMD I 52) while that of A.D. 157 for Syria lists four alae and sixteen cohorts (XVI 106). Certainly there would have been a need for a second constitution in A.D. 158 for all those eligible in the garrison of Britain to have been discharged. Then, depending on the order in which their reports were received by the governor's *officium*, the units listed would vary from year to year. That few diplomas are known for Britain in the Antonine period would explain why not all the units in the garrison are listed.

Appendix 1: Auxiliary Diplomas - Measurements in Centimetres

Diploma	Date	Measurements	Comments
RMD I 35	133	14.7 × 11.7	
XVI 80	134	15.3 × 12.4	
RIB 2401.8	135	15.4 × 12.4	
RMD III 160	136/7	15.1 × 12.4	
XVI 83	138	14.0 × 12.0	
RMD III 161	3/7-138	14.0 × 11.0	
XVI 87	22-11-139	13.0 × 11.8	
RMD I 39	13-12-140	14.3 × 11.5	

RIB 2491.10	10-12-145/3-146	× 10.8	
XVI 178	19-7-146	14.0 × 10.8	
XVI 95	29-2-148	12.4 × 10.3	
XVI 96	9-10-148	12.6 × 10.6	
XVI 179	9-10-148	14.0 × 10.5	
XVI 180	9-10-148	14.2 × 10.5	
RMD II 100	9-9/12-148	14.4 × 11.1	
XVI 97	5-7-149	13.0 × 10.5	
XVI 99	1-8-150	14.0 × 10.8	
RMD I 47/XVI 110	27-9-154	12.0 × 9.5	Ht.Restored
XVI 104	3-11-154	11.8 × 9.8	
XVI 107	13-12-156	× 10.2	
RMD I 50	157	12.2	Restored
RMD II 102	8-2-157	13.1 × 10.0	Tab2 13.1×9.9
RMD II 103	8-2-157	12.8 × 9.6	Tab2 13.0×9.5
XVI 106	28-9-157	× 9.7	
RMD III 170	28-9-157	12.8 × 10.0	Ht.Restored
RMD II 51/104	28-9-157	12.4	Restored
XVI 181	156/157	× 10.0	
Ravenglass	27-2-158	12.6 × 9.6	Ht.Restored
XVI 108	8-7-158	12.0 × 9.5	
XVI 112	27-12-159	× 9.0	
RMD III 173	7-3-160	12.8 × 10.0	Ht.Restored
XVI 111	159/160	× 9.6	
RMD I 55	8-2-161	13.2 × 10.1	
RMD III 112/178	7-3/9-161	× c.10.2	Restored
XVI 185	21-7-164	13.6 × 11.0	
RMD I 64	21-7-164	14.0 × 10.0	Tab2 14.2×10.2
XVI 121	3/4-166	15.0 × 12.0	
RMD II 120	23/28-3/7-160/7	14.2 × 11.2	
XVI 128	23-3-178	13.0 × 11.5	
RMD III 184	23-3-178	14.5 × 11.3	
RMD III 185	23-3-179	14.5 × 11.2	
RMD II 123	1-4-179	14.3 × 11.5	

While the sample is relatively small and, in the middle group, many measurements are restored there is enough evidence to show that there were a number of changes to the size of auxiliary diplomas in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

In the latter part of the reign of Hadrian the normal size was about 15.1/15.4cms × 12.4cms. On surviving evidence, from A.D. 138 the size started to be reduced reaching a norm of 14.0/14.4cms × 10.5/10.8cms in the A.D. 140s, although there were variations in height to as little as 12.4cms (XVI 95). In the A.D. 140s there was introduced the labour saving device of not listing the units on the inner face. In addition, in the case of Britain, fewer units were listed.

Between A.D. 154 and A.D. 161 the size was further reduced. The norm was about 12.8cms × 9.5/10.0cms. Again the height could vary between 12.0cms (XVI 108) and 13.2cms (RMD I 55).

However, it was also in A.D. 154 that the practice of listing units on the inner face was restored with the exception of the diploma of A.D. 158 for Dacia Superior (XVI 108). As if to compensate, the inscribing of the inner face became very careless to the point of becoming illegible as in the case of the diploma of A.D. 161/2 for Dacia Pololissensis (RMD III 177). The scribes perhaps reasoned that, since nobody would see the inner faces it would not really matter what was inscribed. The maximum number of units listed on a diploma between these dates is the twenty-one of the Ravenglass issue.

This change did not last long and the auxiliary diplomas issued after A.D. 164 are normally 14.0/14.5cms × 11.0/11.5cms with the diploma of A.D. 166 even larger (XVI 121). Obviously someone had decided that standards in the production of diplomas had slipped too much and therefore the size was increased to provide more room to inscribe the text so that less abbreviation would be used. At the same time the text on inner faces was to be made more legible.⁴²

Appendix 2: Nervia, Nervana, or Nerviana

Emperors might bestow honours on towns, colonies and army units. These usually took the form of titles based on an adjectival form of the *gentilicium* or sometimes the *cognomen* of the Emperor. Thus in Trajan's reign the titles bestowed were Ulpia from Ulpus or Traiana from Traianus. Thus the derivation of an honorific epithet or a *cognomen* from the name Nerva would follow a set pattern.⁴³ In Latin the most common suffix used for forming adjectives from personal names or for forming new *cognomina* was *-ianus/na*, but the original and correct form was *-anus/na*. The former had originated through false analogy with *cognomina* derived from *gentilicia*. The original form was still used by Cicero, but was replaced thereafter.⁴⁴

Examples of *cognomina* derived from Nerva are the following:-
 Claudia Nerviana (PIR² C n1109; ILS 1356) wife of Licinius Hierocles, reign of Severus Alexander.

Coelia Nerviana (PIR² C n1252; ILS 4935) sister of Coelia Claudiana, recorded as a Vestal Virgin in A.D. 286.

C Aelius Nervianu[s] (AE 1906 n124) soldier in *legio III Augusta* in A.D. 225.

⁴² Information from Margaret Roxan.

⁴³ Dr P. Fleury of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae kindly checked their files for examples of names derived from this emperor's *cognomen*.

⁴⁴ I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1965), 107.

The one example known of a person called Nervius refers to a slave who died in A.D. 16 (ILS 7228). The name is thus more likely to derive from the tribe of the Nervii.⁴⁵

Turning to the adjectival imperial epithet a clear example is represented by the titlature of the colony of Sitifis:—

col. Nerviana Aug. Mart. veteranor. Sitifens. (ILS 557)

On the earliest dated inscription of the colony's titles of A.D. 98 the imperial epithet is abbreviated to *Nerv.* (AE 1949 n42).

However, a problem is revealed in the titlature of another colony. An inscription dated to A.D. 143 from Squillace, ancient Scolacium in Calabria reads (X 103):—

*Imp. Caesar T. Aelius Hadri
anus Antoninus Aug. Pius pontif.
maxim. trib. potest. VI cos IIII pp imp. II
coloniae Minerviae Nerviae Aug.
Scolacio aquam dat.*

This inscription had been considered spurious and it was suggested that it had also been recut in a later period. Mommsen argued for its authenticity based on content without seeing the stone.⁴⁶ The publication of the text by Ch. Hülsen based on a squeeze of the original showed that the text had not been recut.⁴⁷ Thus, if there is a mistake in the name of the colony it would have been a stone-cutter's error with the AN in NERVIANAE missed out through confusion with the previous word MINERVIAE. But there is another example of the use of this epithet.

There is a collection of inscriptions from the reign of Septimius Severus naming many of the *curiae* of Lepcis Magna. These reveal that their names were mainly derived from Trajan's titlature and members of his family.⁴⁸ Two name a *curia Nervia* (IRT 411, 414).

There are five auxiliary units known which have a title given by Nerva derived from his *cognomen*.

The diploma for Mauretania Caesariensis of A.D. 107 (XVI 56) clearly shows the full titlature of two of these units:—

⁴⁵ I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina*, 201.

⁴⁶ T. Mommsen, 'Über zwei römische Colonien bei Vellejus Paterculus', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Classe*. Bd. 1 (1849), 51–4.

⁴⁷ Ch. Hülsen, 'Inscription von Squillace', *Römische Mitteilungen*, v (1890), 68–9.

⁴⁸ M. Torelli, 'Le Curiae di Leptis Magna', *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*, 6 (1971), 105–11.

- A) *ala I Nerviana Aug f (milliaria)* (Int Tab I)
ala I Nerviana Augusta fidelis (milliaria) (Ext Tab I)
- B) *cohors I Aug Nerviana velox* (Int Tab I)
cohors I Aug Nerviana velox (Ext Tab I)

There are two cohorts of Britons which have similar honorific titles recorded on diplomas:—

- C) RMD I 39, A.D. 140
coh I Aug Pac Brit (milliaria) (Int Tab I)
coh I Aug Nerv Pac Britt (milliaria) (Ext Tab I)
 RMD I 47/XVI 110, A.D. 154
coh I Aug Nerv [Pac Britt (milliaria)] (Int Tab I)
- D) XVI 61, A.D. 114
coh II Nerv Britt (milliaria) (Int Tab I)
coh II Nerv [Britton (milliaria)] (Ext Tab I)
 XVI 185, A.D. 164
coh II Nerv Britt (milliaria) (Int Tab I)
coh II Nerv [Britton (milliaria)] (Ext Tab I)
 RMD I 64, A.D. 164
coh II Nerv Brit[to]n (milliaria) (Int Tab I)
coh II Nerv Britt (milliaria) (Ext Tab I)

In these cases the honorific name is not given in full. Nervia might be the honorific title as with the *curiae* at Lepcis, but it might also have been an abbreviation for Nerviana which is the title recorded on the diploma for Maruetania Caesariensis. A rereading of a fragmentary diploma of A.D. 129/154 (RMD I 40 = IDR I n23) supports the latter interpretation. This was awarded to an infantryman of the second cohort but the full name of the unit is not preserved. It has been read as:—

IDR I n23 = [*cohort II*] *Vlp Nerv [Britt (milliaria)]*
 RMD I 40 = [*cohort II A*] *jug Nerv Pac [Britt (milliaria)]*

The photograph accompanying the original publication permits a different reading:—

[*cohort II A*] *jug Nervian[ae Britt (milliaria)]*

The letters NERVIA are certain. The next letter is incomplete because the diploma breaks off. The traces consist of an upright with a small foot, with, at the top what seems to be the start of a diagonal. Together they suggest the letter N rather than anything else.

Finally there is the cohort of Germans which is recorded on diplomas from Britain:—

E) XVI 69, A.D. 122

coh I Nervia Germanorum miliaria (Int Tab I)

coh I Nervia German (milliaria) (Ext Tab I)

RMD III 184, A.D. 178

coh I Aug Nerv (Ext Tab I)

Ravenglass, A.D. 158

coh I Aug Ner Ger (milliaria) (Int Tab I)

coh I Aug Ner Germ (milliaria) (Ext Tab I)

The expansion to Nerviana is basically supported by the evidence for the other units which would suggest that the official name of the cohort was *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Germanorum milliaria equitata*. However, the inscriptional evidence produces yet another variant:—

RIB 2093 *coh I Nervana Germanor (milliaria) eq*

RIB 2097 *coh I Nervana Germanor (milliaria) eq*

RIB 2041 *coh Nervan Germanorum mil eq* [LOST]

RIB 966 *coh I Nervane*

This suggests that variations were permitted on inscriptions set up by commanding officers.

In addition to a name awarded by Nerva the units also have the honorific name Augusta. In the case of the units in Mauretania Caesariensis they most likely already had this as part of their name.⁴⁹ The cohorts of Britons and Germans seem likely to have been raised late in the reign of Domitian. On his assassination in A.D. 96 the epithet he would have given them was changed to Augusta and Nerva then also bestowed his name on them.⁵⁰ The cohorts of Britons are also attested with the additional title Pacensis which is short-lived. This might also have been bestowed by Nerva to mark a break with the regime of his predecessor. It may be that the cohort of Germans was also given this title, but it has not yet been attested because it was utilized for so short a time.

Appendix 3: Conservation Report **Christine C. Murray, B.A.(Hons), Dip.Cons.**

The copper alloy Roman military diploma was brought to the Manchester Museum conservation laboratory for examination and cleaning shortly after being found. This object was unusual for the conservators involved because the text held within the copper alloy

⁴⁹ P.A. Holder, *Studies in the auxilia of the Roman army from Augustus to Trajan*, BAR International Series, 70 (Oxford, 1980), 18.

⁵⁰ P.A. Holder, *Studies*, 15 and 18.

diploma was considered to be of greater value than the object itself. After discussion with the archaeologists several ethical problems therefore arose regarding the conservation treatment of the diploma. These problems are highlighted and discussed in this report.

The fragments (Tabella I and II) looked to be in good condition generally with small amounts of corrosion products and dirt visible. The inner face of each fragment is better preserved than the outer one. This is probably due to burial conditions; these faces would have been pressed together and therefore would have been more protected from damage and corrosion.

The fragments were mechanically cleaned using a scalpel and glass bristle brush under a microscope. Chemical cleaning was not considered as a conservation treatment as these methods tend to soften and dissolve all the corrosion products. In the case of archaeological metals, the original surface of the object is often preserved in the corrosion layers. Details of the text could therefore have been lost, as could any surface coatings.

Due to the great importance of the text, the fragments were cleaned by the conservators to a much greater degree than would normally be considered necessary or acceptable for archaeological copper alloy objects. However, to obtain as much information as possible from the text such comprehensive cleaning was deemed to be essential.

Several areas of organic material were present on the outer face of Tabella I. This was mostly charred wood. Under normal circumstances any organic material which appears to be associated with the object would be left in place. However, in this case, the wood was thought to obscure important details of the text. It was therefore decided to remove the majority of it, as the information beneath it was potentially of more value.

The small fragments of wood were removed and placed in sample tubes to be kept for future reference. A large piece of charred wood at the top of Tabella I was impregnated with paraffin wax and ceresin (mp 49°C) and then removed with a razor blade. This was done so that this fragment could be kept intact for identification and for future reference. However, corrosion products from the copper alloy made it difficult for the wax to penetrate the wood structure and so its removal was not as successful as was hoped. A sample of the wood was sent for identification to Ivan Hradil at the Palaeoecology Research Unit (P.E.R.U.) at Manchester University. Although very degraded and fragmentary the wood was identified as *Pinus sylvestris* (Scots Pine).

Cleaning of the lettering on the outer faces of Tabella I and II

was stopped when it was considered that any further mechanical cleaning would result in the loss of the original surface. Corrosion products had formed beneath this surface in several areas, making it very weak and prone to disintegration which would remove all trace of the surface detail.

During the cleaning of the inner face of Tabella I a white powder was discovered in the lettering beneath the corrosion products but above the original surface. After discussion with Paul Holder it was decided to selectively clean key areas of the text and leave the white deposit in place in other areas. Analysis of this deposit needs to be carried out before further work is done in the areas affected. The white deposit may reveal important information about the object, such as the use of a surface coating or the use of paint to highlight the text.

Although the text has not been revealed as fully as was hoped by the archaeologists, there is scope for more work on the diploma in the future. It is probable that further cleaning will be carried out on the inner face of Tabella I once we have identified the white deposit. A conservation treatment such as laser cleaning may also be a possibility to reveal more of the text. However, the copper alloy may be too corroded in the areas where the text has not been revealed for this treatment to be successful.



Figure 1
Tabella I, outside face as found

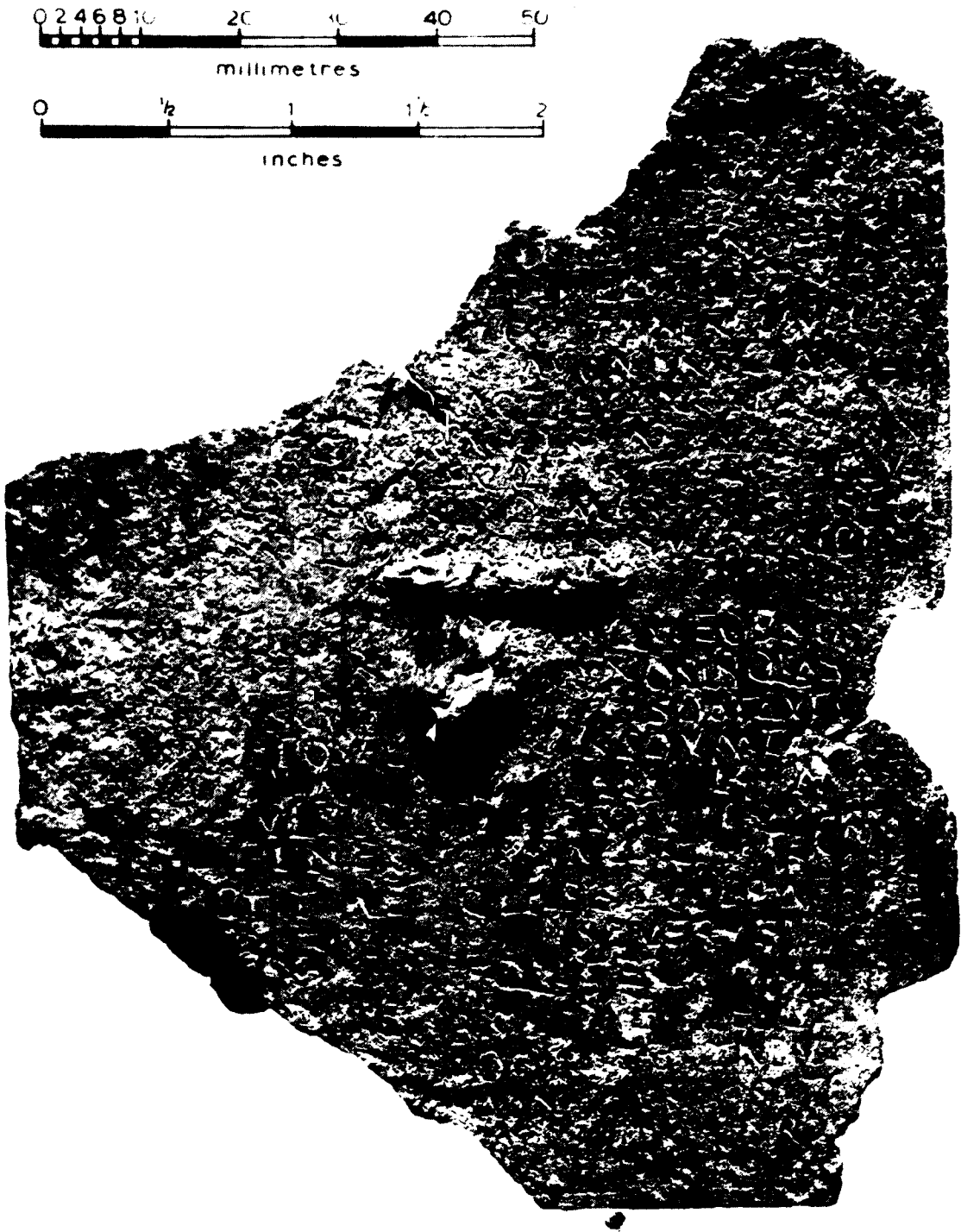
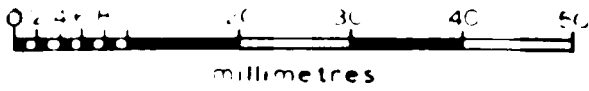


Figure 2
Tabella I, outside face after cleaning



millimetres



inches

Figure 3
Tabella I, inside face after cleaning

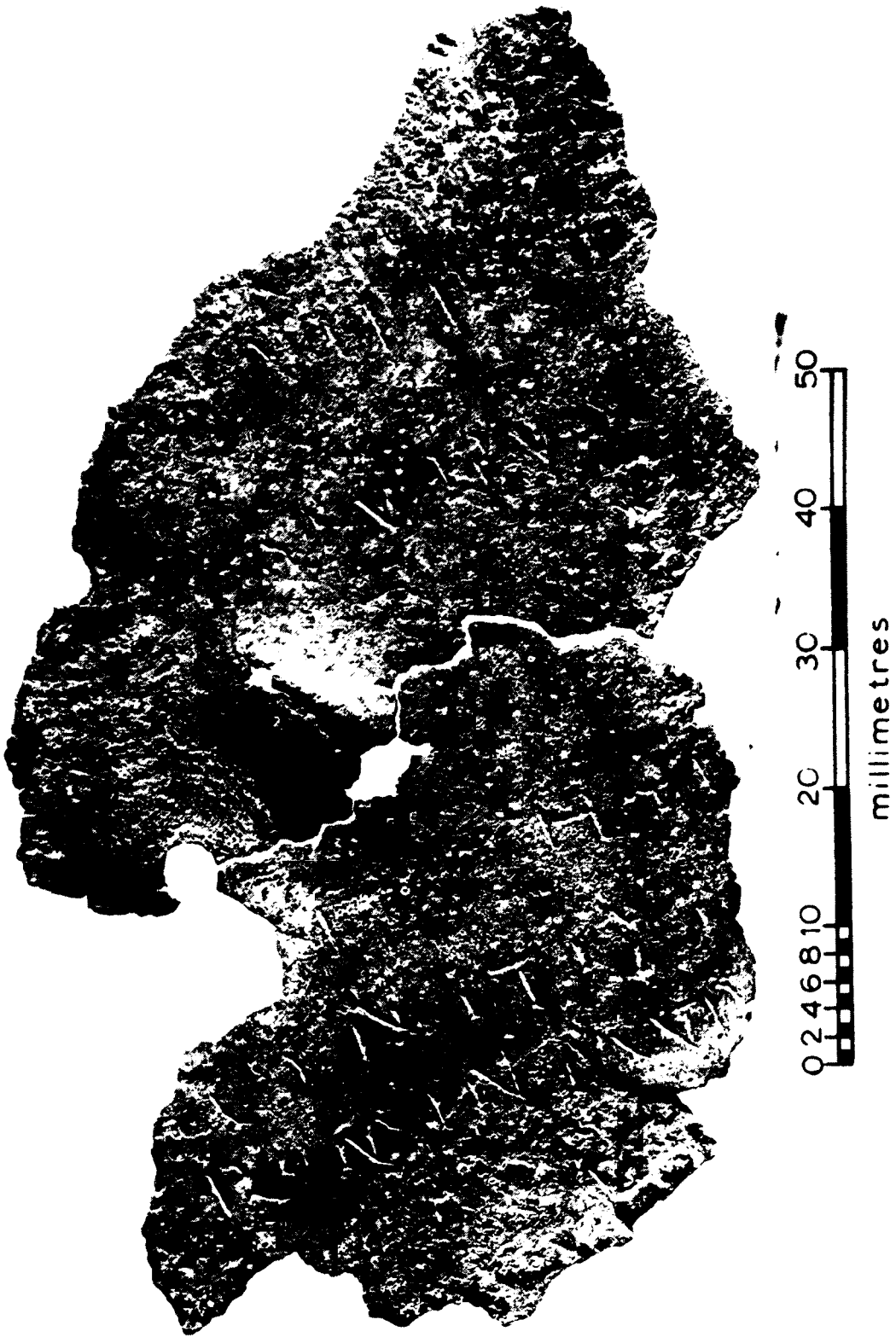


Figure 4
Tabella II, inside face after cleaning

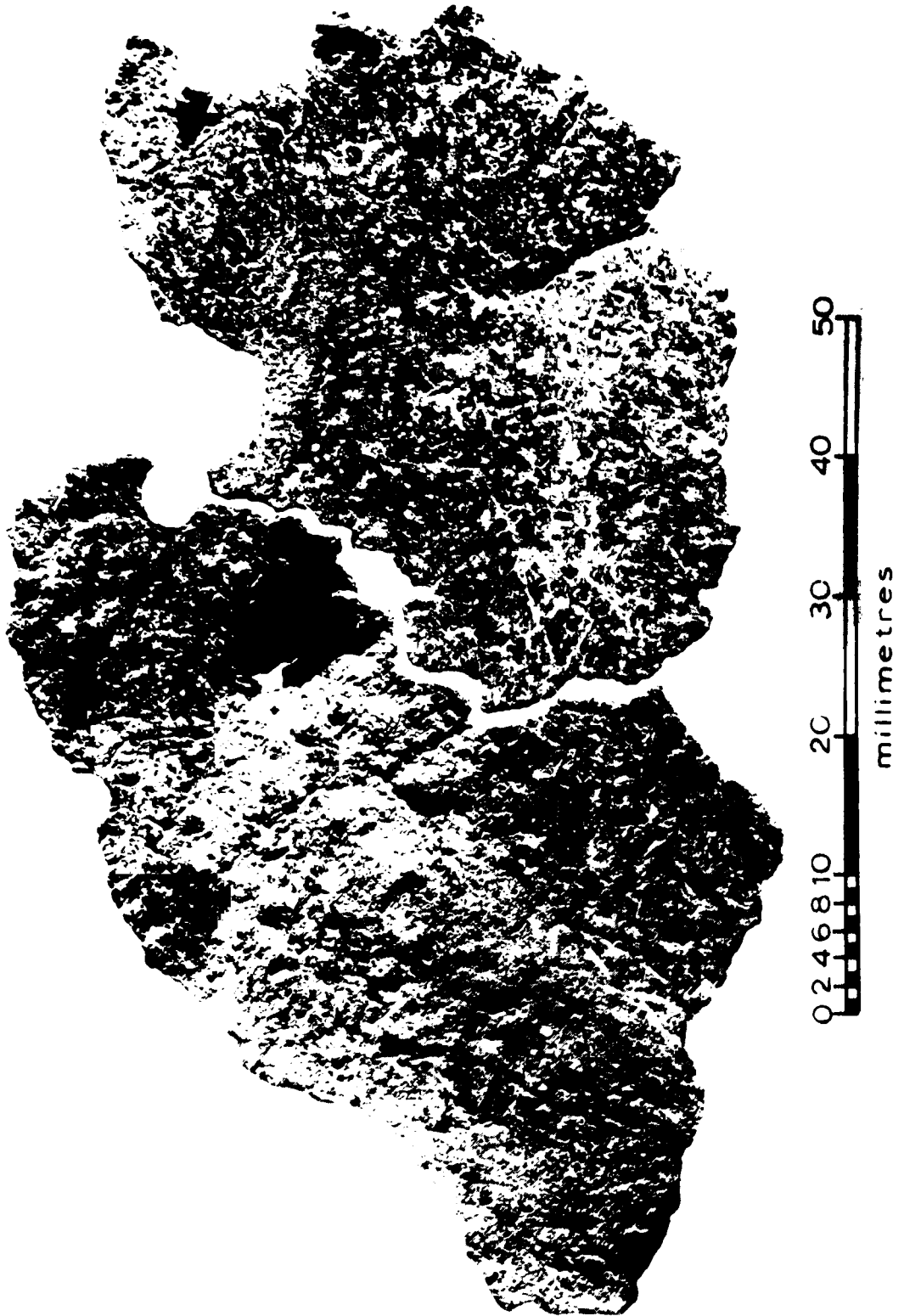


Figure 5
Tabella II, outside face after cleaning

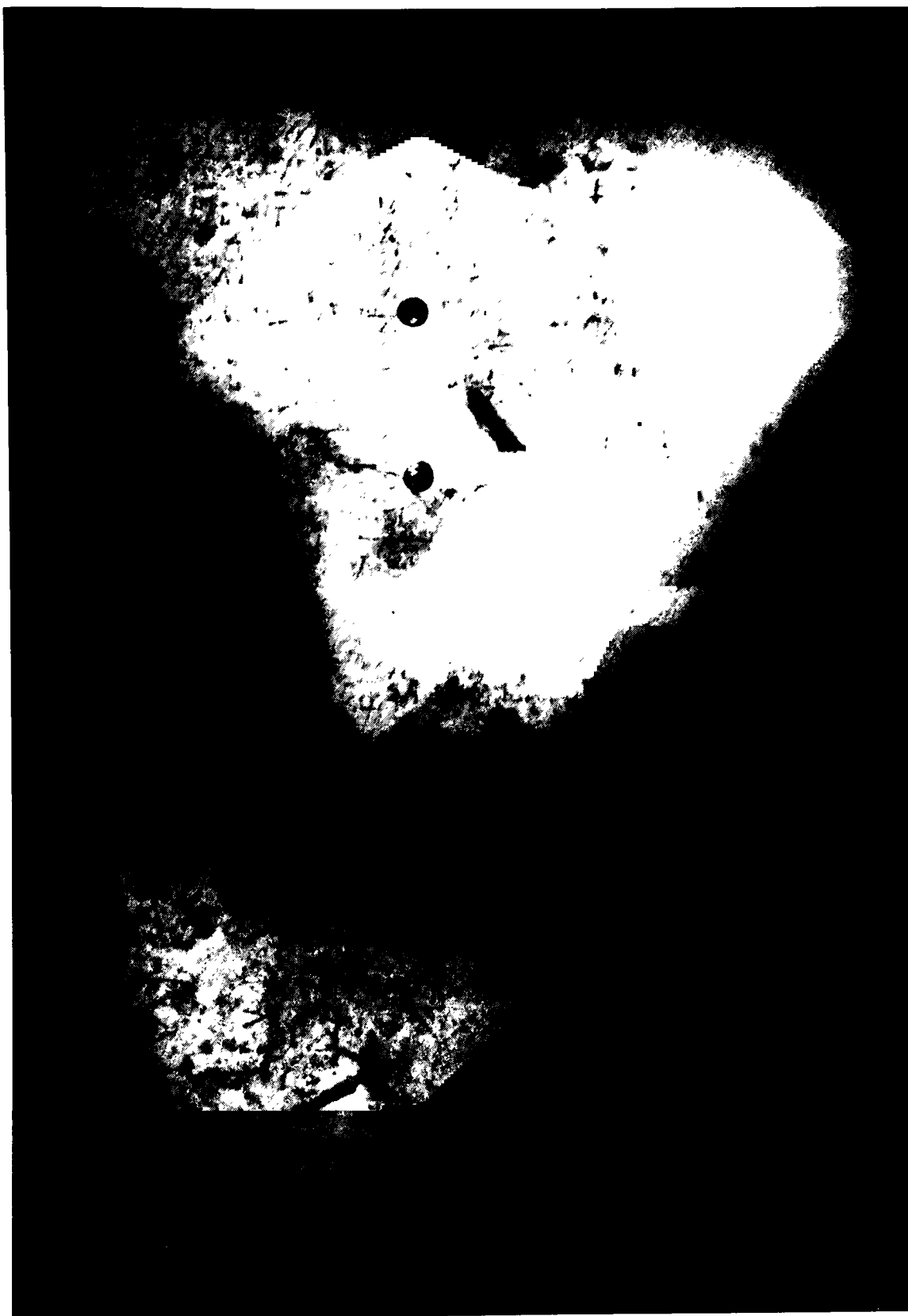


Figure 6
Radiograph of Tabella I and II

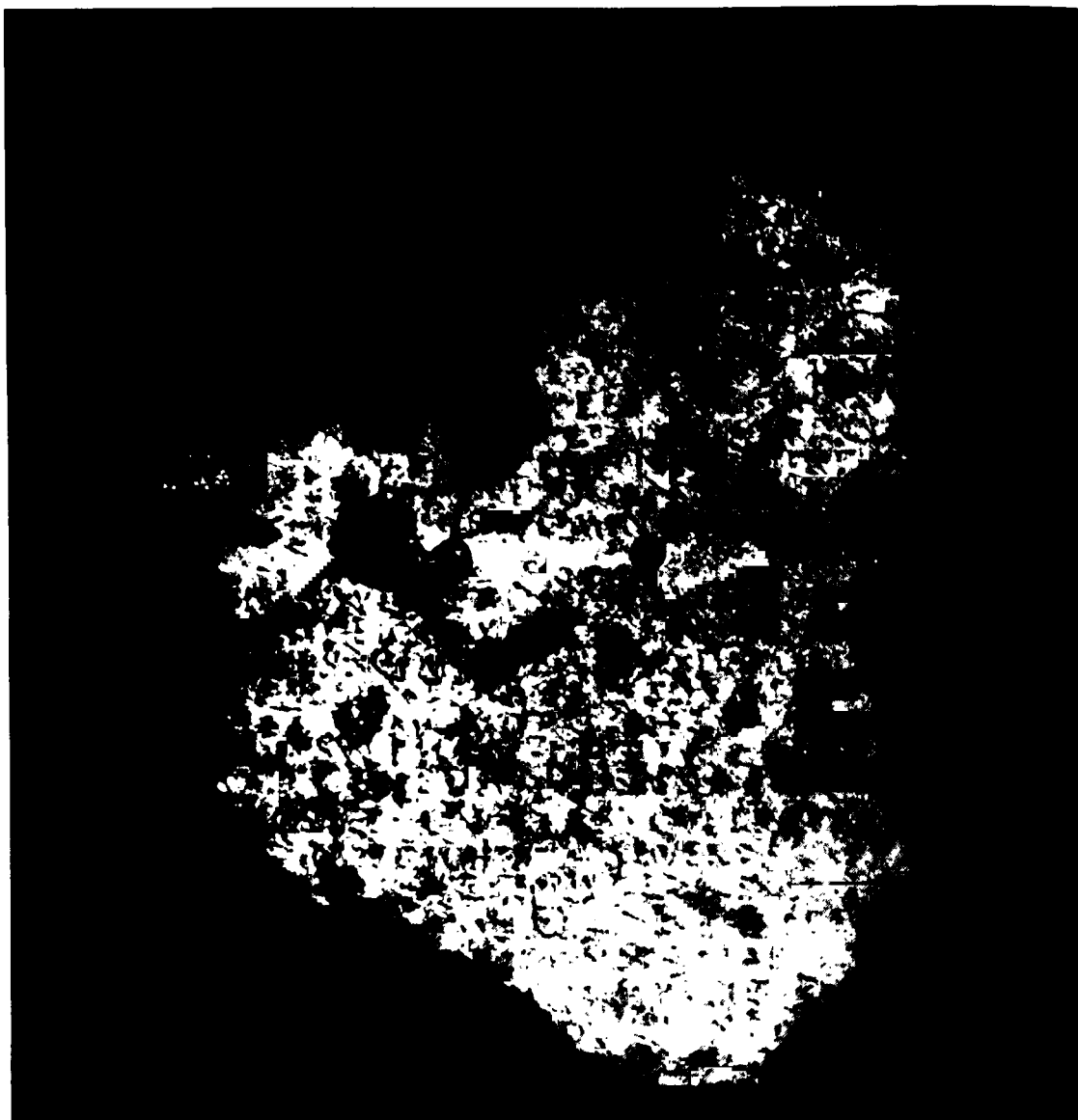


Figure 7
Radiograph of Tabella I, outside face



Figure 8
Radiograph of Tabella I, inside face

