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R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright

THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF BRITAIN

Volume II

Instrumentum Domesticum

(Personal Belongings and the like)

Fascicule 1

The Military Diplomata; Metal Ingots; Tesserae; Dies; Labels; and Lead Sealings

(*RIB* 2401–2411)

Edited by S.S. FRERE, MARGARET ROXAN and R.S.O. TOMLIN

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RIB 2401. THE DIPLOMATA

The Roman name for the bronze documents we call military diplomas is unknown. The final section of the formula engraved on them in each case states that it is a certified copy of a bronze tablet set up in a public place in Rome. Gaius *Institutes* i, 57, suggests that the Roman tablets were themselves publications of *constitutiones*, which granted certain privileges to veterans of the praetorian guard, the fleets, and the auxilia. In the early period some of these grants were made to serving soldiers (eg RIB 2401.1, 2401.2, 2401.3), which in itself indicates that diplomas were not discharge certificates (cf. *Britannia*. xix (1988) 341-7). Grants made to former *praetoriani*, which, on present evidence, were first issued in the Flavian period, conferred only the right of legal marriage with a peregrine woman after discharge; any children born of such a union were treated in law as if born of a marriage between Roman citizens. So far no example of a praetorian diploma has been found in Britain, perhaps unsurprisingly since the distribution of find-spots reflects in general the areas from which the guards were recruited (see *Epigraphische Studien* 12 (1981), 269-73, fig. 2).

Diplomas of the fleets and the auxilia had similar formulae. They granted Roman citizenship to the recipients and *ius conubii* with present or future 'wives', but this latter privilege could only be exercised once. Existing and future children, and descendants, became citizens, but the status of non-citizen wives remained unchanged. Qualification for these privileges came through twenty-five (or more) years service for auxiliaries (twenty-six or more for sailors, and by 209 at latest this had become twenty-eight or more). Both serving and veteran recipients are recorded in the first century; but from early in the second century (with the possible exception of *CIL* xvi 72, of A.D. 127) only veterans received the normal grant. In a few exceptional cases a special grant, restricted to citizenship only, was made for valour in battle and recorded in diploma form. (For an analysis of variations in formula see the Alföldy-Mann Types).

In or about A.D. 140 the formula of auxiliary diplomas changed to exclude existing children from the grant. By A.D. 158 at latest, fleet recipients, who were still able to claim citizenship for children born during their service, had to prove that the wives named were the mothers of such children. In similar vein, some time before 159, a clause was inserted into the diplomas of junior officers of the auxilia, at least some of whom retained the right to name existing children, insisting that proof was presented of their paternity.

No fleet diplomas have so far been discovered relating to the *classis Britannica*, and of the 13 diplomas found in Britain none may be identified as an issue to sailors, although three are such tiny fragments that certainty in this matter is impossible (RIB 2401.4, 11, and 13).

Known diplomas range in date from c. A.D. 72 to 306 for praetorians, 52-250 for fleets, and c. 54-203 for the auxilia; but there are diplomas of the *equites singulares Augusti* of 230, 223-235, and 237, and since these imperial guards were drawn from auxiliary units, it is probable that auxiliary diplomas also continued to be issued after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. The reasons for this continuance are unclear, but it is arguable that the right of *conubium* was still of importance to certain veterans (cf. *Epigraphische Studien* 12, loc. cit.).

Diplomas are of particular significance for both military and civil history since they are (when intact) precisely dated both by imperial titles and consuls (including *suffecti*), and give both day and month. Fleet diplomas name prefects of the fleet of the recipient, auxiliary diplomas the governor of the named province (and in a few instances the previous governor). All diplomas name the recipient of the individual tablet with filiation and home, and/or tribe. Praetorian and auxiliary diplomas specify the unit in which the recipient served, fleet diplomas the *classis*; fleet and auxiliary diplomas give the status of the recipient and sometimes include the names of wives and children (some men were either unattached or unwilling to acknowledge a 'wife' and family): auxiliary diplomas provide the names of commanders of units of recipients and they also list the units of the province with men eligible for the grants.

The diplomas of Britain total 15, two having been found outside the province. All but three may be identified as relating to the auxilia of Britain with reasonable certainty. They fall within the date range of A.D. 98 to c. 161. One of the two from outside Britain (*CIL* xvi 69, of A.D. 122, found at O-Szöny (*Brigetio*) in Hungary, but now in the

British Museum) with a total of 50 units, has the longest list of auxilia found in any diploma and may represent a nearly complete tally of the British garrison. The other British diplomas have shorter lists and it has been suggested that there may be links between certain lists and legionary command-areas (E. Birley, *AC cii* (1952-3) 17-19; cf. Roxan, *Stud. Mil. Roms III*, (1986) 773-8).

Problems remain concerning the significance of certain aspects of diplomas. A useful discussion of some of these may be found in *Heer und Integrationspolitik: Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, ed. W. Eck and H. Wolff (1986).

The bronze tablets themselves were fairly standard in size and shape, at least in those British examples where enough has been preserved to make an estimate feasible. They were *c.* 160 by 130 mm on average and about 1-1.5 mm thick. Each diploma originally consisted of two tablets. The copy of the *constitutio* was engraved on the inner faces of the two tablets, and an exact counterpart was inscribed on the outer face of the first tablet. The remaining (outer) face was inscribed with the names of seven witnesses to the authenticity of the copy and the two tablets were fastened together with twisted wire strands. These passed through two holes punched along a central line running parallel to the shorter side of each tablet and it is thought that the seals of the witnesses were impressed on these wires, although no seals have actually been found. A small metal box was luted over the seals, presumably to protect them. Up to the beginning of the reign of Hadrian two further holes in the upper and lower right-hand corners of the outer face of the first tablet were matched on corners of the second, and metal rings through these acted as hinges to the tablets. Early in the 120s one of these fastenings was dispensed with. Although the inner faces of the diplomas bore the first (and legal) copy of the formula, they were increasingly poorly engraved from the latter part of the reign of Trajan, and from A.D. 114 abbreviations become common, particularly on inner faces. Abbreviation became most marked in the reign of Pius, particularly in the period 146-153, and is visible in the later British examples. The significance of specific abbreviations or changes in spelling (e.g. *stipendis* or *stipendiis*) will be explained in an Appendix to *RMD* iii, forthcoming.

2401.1 Malpas, Cheshire. Two bronze tablets (156 × 127 × 1 mm; 156 × 133 × 1.5 mm) (½). The upper and lower left-hand corners and the left edge of the first tablet have been partially destroyed through corrosion; the upper and lower edges of the second tablet have been similarly affected. There is some surface flaking, most markedly on the outer face of the first tablet. Two holes for bronze hinging-rings are preserved in the right upper and lower corners of the first tablet, but the corresponding holes are lost from the second. In both tablets the central binding holes are intact. The first tablet is broken transversely into nearly equal parts; the second tablet is cracked and buckled along a line matching that on the first, beginning at the top of the outer face.

Found in 1812 'in the parish of Malpas in Cheshire, on a farm belonging to Lord Kenyon' (Lysons); 'in a field on the Barhill (or Barrel) Farm, in Bickley about two miles E.S.E. of Malpas' (Watkin). British Museum. Drawn by Karen Hughes, 1989.

Lysons, *Rel. Brit. Rom.* i, 4, pl. 2. Bruce, *LS*, 3-4 (chromolithographs). Mommsen, *CIL* iii pars II, p. 864, XXI = *Suppl.* pars I, p. 1972, XXXII. Huebner, *CIL* vii 1193, Watkin, *Rom. Chesh.* 287-91 (plates). Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi 48.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

[Imp. Caesar, d]ivi Nervae f., Nerva Traian[us Aug]us[tu]s Germanicus¹ Dacicus, pontifex maximus, tribun[ic]ia potestat(e) VII, imp[er]ator IIII, co(n)s(ul) V, p[ater] p[at]riae²

[e]quitibus et peditibus, qui militant in alis quattuor et cohortibus decem et una, quae appellantur (1) I Thracum et (2) I Pannoniorum Tampiana³ et (3) Gallorum Sebosiana⁴ et (4) Hispanorum Vettonum c(ivium) R(omanorum); et (1) I Hispanorum et (2) I Vangionum milliaria⁵ et (3) I Alpinorum et (4) I Morinorum et (5) I Cugernorum⁶ et (6) I Baetasiurum et (7) I Tungrorum milliaria et (8) II Thracum et (9) III Bracaraugustanorum et (10) III Lingonum⁷ et (11) IIII Delmatarum, et sunt in Britannia sub L. Neratio Marcello,⁸ qui quina et vicena plurave stipendia meruerunt, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit⁹ et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data, aut, siqui caelibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.

a. d. XIII k. Febr. M. Laberio Maximo II,

first tablet: inner face

F NERVA TRAI
 MAN DA C I C V S P O N T I F E X M A X I M V
 V N I C P O T E S T A T V I I I M P I I I I P P C O S V
 Q V I T I B V S E T P E D I T I B V S Q V I M I L I T A N T I N A L I S
 5 Q V A T T V O R E T C O H O R T I B V S D E C E M E T V N A Q V A
 P P E L L A N T V R I T H R A C V M E T I P A N N O N I O R V M
 (!) A M P I A N A E T G A L L O R V M E B O S I A N A E T H I S
 P A N O R V M V E T T O N V M C R E T I H I S P A N O R V M
 (!) E T I V A I C I O N V M M I L L I A R I A E T I A L P I N O
 10 R V M E T I M O R I N O R V M E T I C V G E R N O P W
 E T I B A E T A S I O R V M E T I T V N G R O R V M M I L
 L I A R I A E T I T H R A C V M E T I I B R A C A R A V
 G V S T A N O R V M E T I I I L I N G O N V M E T I I I I
 D E L M A T A R V M E T S V N T I N B R I T A N N I A
 15 S V B L N E R A T I O M A R C E L L O Q V I Q V I N A E T
 V I C E N A P L V R A V E S T I P E N D I A M E R V E
 O R V N T Q V O R V M N O M I N A S V B

first tablet: outer face

I V I N E R V A E F N E R V A T R A I A N
 V S S G E R M A N I C V S D C P O N T I F E X
 S T R I B V N I C P O T E S T A T I I C O S V P
 I T I B V S E T P E D I T I B V S Q V I M I L I T A N T I N A L I S
 5 T V O R E T C O H O R T I B V S D E C E M T V N A Q V A E A P
 A N T V R I T H R A C V M E T I P A N N O N I O R V M T A M
 A E T I I G A L L O R V M E T S E B I A N A E T H I S P A
 V M V E T T O N V M C R E T I H I S P A N O R V M E T I
 N G I O N V M M I L L I A R I A E T I A L P I N O R V M E T I
 10 R I N O R V M E T I C V G E R N O R V M E T I B A E T A S I
 R V M E T I T V N G R O R V M M I L L I A R I A E T I I T H R
 M E T I I I B R A C A R A V G V S T A N O R V M E T I I I
 N G O N V M E T I I I I D E L M A T A R V M E T S V N T
 I N B R I T A N N I A S V B L N E R A T I O M A R C E L L O
 15 Q V I Q V I N A E T V I C E N A P L V R A V E S T I P E N D I A
 M E R V E R V N T Q V O R V M N O M I N A S V B S C R I P T A
 S V N T I P S I S L I B E R I S P O S T E R I S Q V E E O R V M C I V I T A
 E M D E D I T E T C O N V B I V M C V M V X O R I B V S Q A S
 T V N C H A B V I S S E N T C V M E S T C I V I T A S I I S D A T A
 20 V T S I Q V I C A E L I B E S E S S E N T C V M I I S Q V A
 P O S T E A D V X I S S E N T D V M T A X A T S I N G V L I S I N
 G V L A S A D X I I I I K F E B R
 M L A B E R I O M A X I M O I I
 Q G L I T I O A T I L I O A C R I C O L A I I C O S (!)
 25 A L A E I P A N N O N I O R V M T A M P I A N A E C V I P R A E S T
 C V A L E R I V S C E L S V S
 D E C V R I O N I
 R E B V R R O S E V E R I F H I S P A N
 R I P T V M E T R E C O G N I T V M E X T A B V L A A E N A E (!)
 30 F I X A E S T R O M A E I N M V R O P O S T T E M P L V M
 V G A D M I N E R V A M

second tablet: inner face

S C R I P T A S V N T I L I B E R I S P O S T E
 R I S Q V E E O R V M C I V I T A T E M D E D I I E T C O N
 20 B I V M C V M V X O R I B V S Q V A S T V N C H A B V I S
 S E N T C V M E S T C I V I T A S I I S D A T A A V T S I
 Q V I C A E L I B E S E S S E N T C V M I I S Q V A S P O S T E A
 D V X I S S E N T D V M T A X A T S I N G V L I S I N G V L A S
 A D X I I I I K F E B R
 25 M L A B E R I O M A X I M O I I
 Q G L I T I O A T I L I O A G R I C O L A I I C O S
 A L A E I P A N N O N I O R V M T A M P I A N A E C V I P R A E S T
 C V A L E R I V S C E I S V S
 D E C V R I O N I
 30 R E B V R R O S E V E R I F H I S P A N
 D E S C R I P T V M E T R E C O G N I T V M E X T A B V
 L A A E N A Q V A E F I X A E S T R O M A E

second tablet: outer face

Q P O M P E I H O M E R I
 C P A P I E V S E B E T I S
 T F L A V I S E C V N D I
 P C A V L I V I T A L I S
 35 C V E T T I E N I M O D E S T I
 P A T I N I H E D O N I C I
 T I C L A V D I M E N A N D R I

ACTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS
 NIC. POTESTAT. VII. IMP. III. P. P. COS.
 VITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITANTINA
 VATTVORE COHORTI • BVSDCEAM ET VNADV
 PELLANTVR I THRACVM ET PANNONIORV
 AMPIANA ET GALLORVM • EBOSIANA ET HIS
 PANORVM VETONVM AQRETTI HISPANORVM
 ET TVBI CLONVM MILLIARIA ET TALPINO
 RVMA ET TAMORINORVM ET ICVNERNOVM
 ET BAETASIORVM ET TVNGRORVM MLI
 LIARIA ET I THRACVM ET III BRACARV
 CVSTANORVM ET III LINGONVM ET III
 DELMATARVM ET SVNT IN BRITANNIA
 SVB INERATIO MARCELLO QVI QVINAE ET
 VICENA PINRAVE STIPENDIA MERVE
 RVNFOVORVM IN OMNIA SVB

VI NERVAE FENESTRAE
 S. SEVERIANICVS PONTIFEX
 S. RIVNIC POTESTAT. III. COS. N. P.
 TIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITANTINA
 VATTVORE COHORTI BVSDCEAM ET VNADV
 ANVRITHACVM ET PANNONIORVM
 AETI GALLORVM ET SES. ANAETHISA
 LA VETONVM AQRETTI HISPANORVM
 GONVM MILLIARIA ET TALPINO
 RINORVM ET TVNGRORVM AQRETTI
 RVMA ET TAMORINORVM ET TALPINO
 MENTIVRACARVM ET TANORVM ET III
 CLONVM ET III DELMATARVM ET SVNT
 IN BRITANNIA SVB INERATIO MARCELLO
 QVI QVINAE ET VICENA PINRAVE STIP.
 ENDA
 MAERVI NTONORVM IN NVBIA SVSCRITA
 SVNT I S. LIBERIS TOSTERIS QVI QVI
 EADE DIE CONVINACVM VORIBVS QVI
 VINC HARVISENCEVA EST CIVITAS I S. DATA
 TSI QVI CAELIBES ESSENT CVM I QVI
 DVXISSENT DVN TAXAT SINGVLIS IN CVLAS
 CVLAS. A. D. XIII. K. FEBR.
 M. LABERIO MAXIMO TIG.
 Q. GLITIO ATILIO AGRICOLA II C.
 ALAET PANNONIORVM TAMCIANAECVIPRAEST
 C. VALERIVS CELSVS
 DECVRIONI
 REBVRRO SEVERI F. HISPAN
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABV
 LA. AENEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMA
 VC AD. MALNERVIA

SCRIPTA
 XISQVE FORVM CIVITATEM DEDI ET CON
 BIVM CVM VORIBVS QVI VINC HABVIS
 SENT CVM EST CIVITAS I S. DATA AVT SI
 QVI CAELIBES ESSENT CVM I S. QVI
 DVXISSENT DVN TAXAT SINGVLIS IN CVLAS
 A. D. XIII. K. FEBR.
 M. LABERIO MAXIMO TIG.
 Q. GLITIO ATILIO AGRICOLA II C.
 ALAET PANNONIORVM TAMCIANAECVIPRAEST
 C. VALERIVS CELSVS
 DECVRIONI
 REBVRRO SEVERI F. HISPAN
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABV
 LA. AENEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMA

Q. POMPEI	TIOMERI
C. PATI	EVSEBETIS
T. FLAVI	SECVNDI
P. CAVLI	VITALIS
C. VETIENI	MODESTI
P. ATINI	HEDONICI
TI. CLAVDI	MENANDRI

Q. Glitio Atilio Agricola II co(n)s(ulibus).¹⁰ alae Pannoniorum Tampiana, cui praest C. Valerius Celsus,¹¹ decurioni Reburro Severi f., Hispan(o).

Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea,¹² quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum [divi A]ug(usti) ad Minervam.¹³

Q. Pompei Homeri; C. Papi Eusebetis; T. Flavi Secundi; P. Cauli Vitalis; C. Vettieni Modesti; P. Atini Hedonici; Ti. Claudii Menandri.

The Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, conqueror of Germany, conqueror of Dacia, son of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his seventh year of tribunician power, four times acclaimed Imperator, five times consul, father of his country, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who are serving in four alae and eleven cohorts called: (1) I Thracum and (2) I Pannoniorum Tampiana and (3) Gallorum Sebosiana and (4) Hispanorum Vettonum, Roman citizens; and (1) I Hispanorum and (2) I Vangionum, a thousand strong, and (3) I Alpinorum and (4) I Morinorum and (5) I Cugernorum and (6) I Baetasiurum and (7) I Tungrorum, a thousand strong, and (8) II Thracum and (9) III Bracaraugustanorum and (10) III Lingo- num and (11) IIII Delmatarum, and are stationed in Britain under Lucius Neratius Marcellus, who have served twenty-five or more years, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship was granted to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each.

19 January, in the consulships of Manius Laberius Maximus and Quintus Glitius Atilius Agricola, both for the second time (A.D. 103)

To Reburus, son of Severus, from Spain, decurion of ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana, commanded by Gaius Valerius Celsus.

Copied and checked from the bronze tablet set up at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus, near (the statue of) Minerva.

[Witnessed by]: Quintus Pompeius Homerus; Gaius Papius Eusebes; Titus Flavius Secundus; Publius Caulius Vitalis; Gaius Vettienus Modestus; Publius Atinius Hedonicus; Tiberius Claudius Menander.

¹ 1.2 int. *germ]AN[icus* Huebner (following Mommsen); *ge]R- M[anicus* Nesselhauf; *ger]MAN[icus* was read by R. P. Wright, and the MA was also noted by Lysons.

² The order of *co(n)s(ul) V* and *p(ater) p(atriciae)* is reversed on the inner face.

³ The T of *Tampiana* was omitted by the scribe on the inner face,

but is incorrectly restored in *CIL* xvi, following Mommsen and Huebner.

⁴ Cf. *CIL* xvi 69 for the correct title *Gallorum Sebosiana*. Lysons, who saw the tablets shortly after their discovery, commented 'In the inscription on the tablet' (outer face) 'et appears to have been obliterated; in the same place in the transcript' (inner face) 'a blank space is left'. This observation provides a possible link between the two forms of error exhibited over the title of the ala. The scribe partially corrected the first mistake (*et* is still legible on the outer face) but the emendation was left incomplete on the inner face.

⁵ *VAI CIONVM* incorrectly engraved on the inner face. Space had been left to complete the N. The letter G had either been misread as C or had not been completed.

⁶ *CVGERNOPW* inner face.

⁷ *III Lingo- num* outer face, *IIII Lingo- num* inner face. In general, the outer faces of diplomas are more likely to be correct. The inner face of this diploma is relatively careless, showing eight engraving errors compared with two or three on the outer face. The restoration *III* has been adopted although some doubt remains, since both the third and fourth cohort of Lingones were stationed in Britain in the second century; cf. *CIL* xvi 69 and *CIL* xvi 93 (= *RIB* 2401.10), the latter listing the fourth cohort only.

⁸ See A.R. Birley, *Fasti* 87-91.

⁹ *DEDII* inner face.

¹⁰ *ACRICOLA* outer face.

¹¹ See Devijver, *PME* 2, v 5, 811.

¹² *AENEAE* outer face. The extra E was noted by Mommsen but omitted by Nesselhauf.

¹³ *in muro post Minervam* omitted on the inner face. This is normal in this period. Lines 24-30 on the inner face (the date, details of the recipient, his unit and commander) are engraved in marginally larger letters than the rest of the inner face. Lines 22-28 on the outer face, which record the same information, show signs of slight cramping, the letters being more uneven here than elsewhere on this face. These two observations suggest that the tablets had been prepared with the main formula and provincial particulars and that space had been left for the addition of details concerning the recipient. The recipient was still serving and the formula is Alföldy-Mann Type I.

The siting of letters on both faces makes it clear that the binding-holes were punched into the tablets before the engraving.

2401.2 Sydenham, Kent. Fragments of two bronze tablets (58 × 130 × 1.5 mm; 38 × 91 × 1 mm) (½). Approximately the upper third of the first tablet has been preserved, almost to the full width of the outer face. The left edge has suffered more corrosion than the right. Only a narrow strip of the second tablet has survived. It contains the middle section of the upper edge and includes one of the central binding-holes. The outer face bears the marks of the luting on of the cover for the seals of witnesses, but no part of the witness names remains. Found in 1806 in a gravel pit on Sydenham Common, 'they were in the possession of Mr. Kerval of Sydenham and have been presented by him to the British Museum' (Lysons). British Museum. Drawn by Karen Hughes, 1989.

Lysons, *Rel. Brit. Rom.* 1, 4, pl. 1. Bruce, *LS*, 5 (chromolithographs). Mommsen, *CIL* iii, pars II, p. 866, XXIII = *Suppl.* pars I p. 1972, XXXIV. Huebner, *CIL* vii 1194. Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi 51. Birley, *AC* cii (1952-3), 17-19.

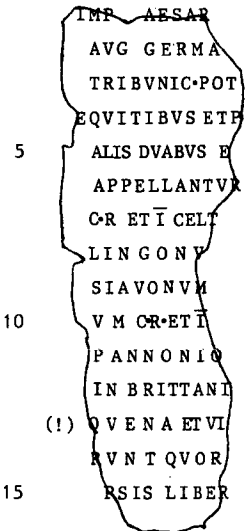
Conflation of inner and outer faces:

Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traia[nus] Augustus Germanic(us) Dacicus, pontif(ex) max[i]mus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) VIII, imp(erator) III, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) [p(at)riae] equitibus et peditibus qui militant in alis duabus et cohortibus decem et una, quae appellantur (1) I Tungrorum et (2) Classiana c(ivium) R(omanorum)¹ et (1) I Celtiberorum et (2) I Hispanorum et (3) I Lingonum et (4) I fida Vardullo[r]um et (5) I Frisiavonum et (6) I Nerviorum et (7) II Vasconum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (8) I[I Lingo]num² e[st] (9) II A]sturum et (10) [II] Pannonio[rum]³ et (11) . . Del]mata[rum],² et sunt] in Britanni[a⁴ sub c.15 ,⁵ qui] quina⁶ et vi[cena plurave stipendia merue]runt, quor[um nomina subscripta sunt, i]psis liber[is posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et co]nubium [cum uxoribus, quas tunc hab]uissent, [cum est civitas iis data, aut,

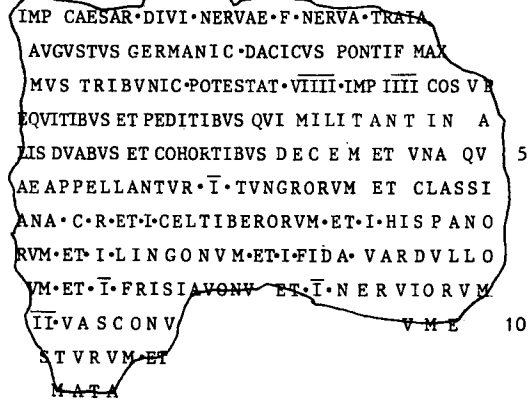
siqui ca]elibes es[sent, cum iis quas postea duxissent du]mtaxat [singuli singulas.] [a. d.] III[.⁷ C. Iulio] B[asso, Cn. Afranio] D[extro cos.]⁸ [coh(ortis)]num, [cui praest] I.,⁹]rioni¹⁰[.]nis [f.,] [Descriptum et recognitum etc.]

The Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, conqueror of Germany, conqueror of Dacia, son of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his ninth year of tribunician power, four times acclaimed Imperator, five times consul, father of his country, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who are serving in two cavalry and eleven infantry regiments called: (1) I Tungrorum and (2) (Gallorum et Thracum) Classiana, Roman citizens; and (1) I Celtiberorum and (2) I Hispanorum and (3) I Lingonum and (4) I fida Vard-

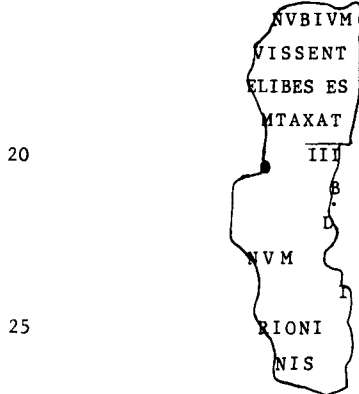
first tablet: inner face



first tablet: outer face



second tablet: inner face



second tablet: outer face

Only the central portion where the seals of the witnesses were affixed remains.

ullorum and (5) I Frisiavonum and (6) I Nerviorum and (7) II Vasconum, Roman citizens, and (8) II Lingonum and (9) II Asturum and (10) II Pannoniorum and (11) II (or III) Delmatarum, and are stationed in Britain under . . . , who have served twenty-five or more years, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship was granted to them, or if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each.

Three (or four) days before . . . , in the consulships of Gaius Julius Bassus and Gnaeus Afranius Dexter. (A.D. 105, 4 May-13 July)

To . . . , son of . . . nis, (genitive) from . . . , decurion (or centurion) of cohort . . . num, under the command of

[Copied and checked etc.]

¹ Cf. *CIL* xvi 69 for the full title of this ala - *Gallorum et Thracum Classiana c.R.* A cavalryman from this unit was the recipient of the Middlewich diploma which was also issued in A.D. 105 (see *RIB* 2401.3).

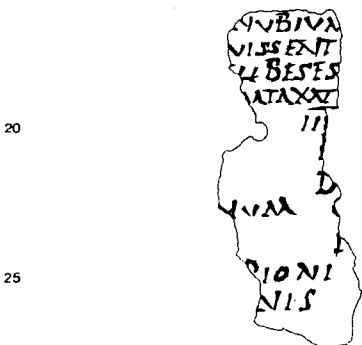
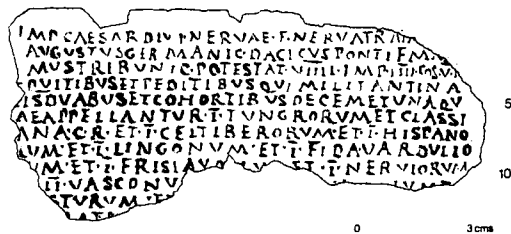
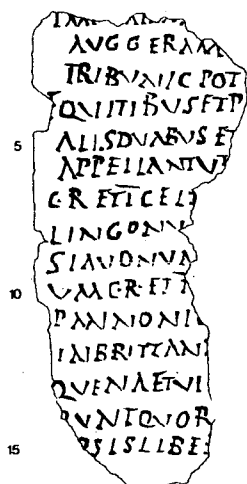
² Lysons suggested that there was a letter with a rounded top before *JVM* (line 10 outer face). R. P. Wright disputed this as the result of his autopsy in 1963 and thought that there was an upright stroke in that position, which he suggested was the last stroke of an N. Recent cleaning and conservation in the British Museum has verified Wright's identification. The position of the cohort in the list makes it virtually certain that this was the second cohort in a series, but the only cohort available in the British lists which would fulfill these two conditions (a second cohort whose title ended with an N before *JVM*) is *cohors II Lingonum*. The name of this cohort has therefore been restored. Birley considered that this diploma and *CIL* xvi 43 (of A.D. 98) list units in the command-area of *legio XX V. V.*, whereas *CIL* xvi 48 (of A.D. 103) lists units in the area of *legio II Augusta*; indeed he thought that *cohors II Lingonum* should be attributed to the former command. In this case *II Delmatarum* is likelier to be the last cohort listed, since the fourth cohort of that title appears in *CIL* xvi 48 (cf. Roxan, *Stud. Mil. Roms III*, 774).

³ The first, second, and perhaps the fifth Pannonian cohorts are attested in Britain, but units in this diploma are listed in numerical order so that the number 11 may be restored here with certainty (see Roxan, *loc. cit.*). This gives further support to Birley's suggestion.

⁴ Britannia with two T's occurs on the inner faces of *CIL* xvi 69, 70, and 93. Similar uncertainties over the spelling of the provincial name are found in the titles of auxiliary units raised in Britain.

⁵ The identity of the governor at this date is unknown. A.R. Birley, *Fasti*, 90, comments 'it is a *prion* likely' that Neratius Marcellus, the governor named in A.D. 103 (*RIB* 2401.1), had been replaced by 105.

⁶ *QVENA* rather than *QVINA* (inner face).



2401.2

⁷ Confirmation that *ante diem III*, or perhaps *IIII*, should be restored comes from the Middlewich diploma (*RIB* 2401.3) which is almost certainly part of the same issue as this diploma. The date therefore lies between 4 May and 13 July, since Bassus and Dexter were suffect consuls from 1 May to 16 July, 105. (See *RIB* 2401.3 notes 3 and 4, for further comments on this dating).

⁸ Restoration of the consular names has been verified through the Middlewich diploma.

⁹ From its position this letter should be the first stroke in the cognomen of the commander of the unit of the recipient. It looks like an I, as there are no additional bars that would suggest a T, F, or P, but could possibly be the first stroke of an N, if the fragment has fractured along the line of the second stroke.

¹⁰ Bruce noted that the best restoration for the status of the recipient was *[DECV]RIONI*, but Mommsen, Huebner and Nesselhauf failed to comment on this. *[CENTV]RIONI* is a possible alternative as the recipient was serving in a cohort. Neither of the two alae named terminates in -]NVM; possible units are *cohortes I* or *II Lingonum*, *I Frisiavonum* or *II Vasconum c. R.* The formula is Alföldy-Mann Type I.

2401.3. Middlewich (*Salinae*), Cheshire. Part of the second tablet of a bronze diploma, 96 × 131 mm (3/8). Part of the left-hand edge of the outer face and its full height are preserved but it is broken off about 10 mm to the right of the two central binding-holes: see PL.1. Its original size would have been c. 164 × 131 mm. Two grooves running parallel to the shorter edge on either side of the binding-holes mark where a metal box had been attached to cover the seals of witnesses. Fragments of the metallic flux for fixing this box still adhere to these grooves.

Found in 1939 during the building of houses on the west side of King Street, Middlewich together with fragments of samian ware and Roman coarse pottery. Grosvenor Museum, Chester. Drawn by Karen Hughes, 1989

Thompson, *JCAS* xlvii (1960), 33. Wright, *JRS* 1 (1960), 238 No. 14. Roxan, *RMD* i, No. 8.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

[Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f(i)lius), Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, pontif(ex) maximus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) VIII, imp(erator) III, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(at)riae] equitibus et peditibus qui militant in alis . . . et cohortibus . . . quae appellantur Classiana c(ivium) R(omanorum) et et sunt in Britannia¹ sub² qui quina et vicena etc.

[quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est] civitas i(i)s data, a[ut, siqui caelibes] e[ss]e[nt], cum i(i)s quas post[ea] duxissent dumtax[a]t s[inguli] singulas.

[a. d.] II[.]³ C.] Iulio [Basso], Cn. Afranio [Dextro] cos.]⁴

a[la]e Classianae c(ivium) R(omanorum),⁵ [cui] praest]nicus⁶ [.], gregali⁷ [.]o Rammi f., [.]⁸ et A[m]abili Firmi [fil(iae),⁹ uxori eius].

[Descr]iptum et recogn[itum ex tabula aenea] quae fixa est R[omae].¹⁰

[Ti. Iu]li [Urbani]; [Q. Po]mpei [Homeri]; [P. C]auli [Restituti]; [P. At]ini [Amerimni]; M. [I]uli [Clemens]; Ti. Iuli [Euphemi]; P. Cauli [Vitalis]¹¹

The Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, conqueror of Germany, conqueror of Dacia, son of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his ninth year of tribunician power, four times acclaimed Imperator, five times consul, father of his country, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who are serving in . . . alae and . . . cohorts called: (ala) Classiana, Roman citizens and, and are stationed in Britain under, who have served twenty-five or more years, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship was granted to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each.

Three or four days before, in the consulships of Caius Julius Bassus and Gnaeus Afranius Dexter (A.D. 105, 4 May–13 July).

Tous, son of Rammio (?) from (?), and Amabilis, daughter of Firmus, his wife.

Copied and checked from the bronze tablet set up at Rome.

[Witnessed by]: Tiberius Julius Urbanus; Quintus Pompeius Homerus; Publius Cauius Restitutus; Publius Atinius Amerimnus; Marcus Julius Clemens; Tiberius Julius Euphemus; Publius Cauius Vitalis.

¹ The find-spot and unit of the recipient identify this fragment as part of a diploma of Britain. (See *RIB* 2401.2, note 1).

² See *RIB* 2401.2, note 5.

³ The Middlewich and Sydenham diplomas should carry the same date, but both are fractured in such a way that the numeral could be incomplete. The Sydenham diploma makes III a certainty, but IIII is possible. Wright pointed out that the date was either three or four days before the Nones or Ides of May, the Kalends, Nones, or Ides of June or July. He thought it likely that the two British diplomas were issued on the same day as *CIL* xvi 50 of Moesia inferior (13 May 105) because the same consuls were named. This is possible but cannot be proved. There are at least nine instances of diplomas issued on the same day but to recipients serving in different provincial armies or categories of unit, but an equal number were issued while the same consuls were in office with differing day dates.

⁴ C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus and Cn. Afranius Dexter were suffect consuls from 1 May 105. Dexter died in office on 24 June (a.d. VIII k. Iul. Vidman, *Fasti Ost.*² cf. Pliny *Ep.* viii, 14, 12) but is only

second tablet: inner face

CIVITAS IS DATA A
 E NT CVM • IS • QVAS • POST
 INGVLI • SINGVLA S
 A • D • II
 5 IVLIO
 CN • AFRANIO
 A E CLASSIANAE • C • R
 M NICIUS
 GREGALI •
 10 O • RAMMI • F •
 MABILI • FIRMI
 PTVM • ET • RECOGN
 QVAE FIXA EST R

second tablet: outer face

I
 MPEI
 IVLI
 INI
 M • VLI
 5 TI IVLI
 P CAVLI

CIVITAS IS DATA
 E NT CVM • IS • QVAS • POST
 INGVLI • SINGVLA S
 A • D • II
 5 IVLIO
 CN • AFRANIO
 A E CLASSIANAE • C • R
 M NICIUS
 GREGALI •
 10 O • RAMMI • F •
 MABILI • FIRMI
 PTVM • ET • RECOGN
 QVAE FIXA EST R

I
 MPEI
 IVLI
 INI
 5 M • VLI
 TI IVLI
 P CAVLI

2401.3

recorded as having been replaced by Q. Caelius Honoratus on a.d. XVI kalendas Aug. (17 July); Vidman, op. cit. 46, 99. The outside limits for this diploma are therefore 4 May–16 July, if it is assumed that Dexter's name would still be used for dating-purposes until his replacement had been named; but see note 3 above for the latest possible day date of three or four days before the Nones of July, i.e. 13 or 12 July.

⁵ See RIB 2401.2 note 1 concerning the title of this ala.

⁶ A search of Solin and Salomies (*Repertorium*) for a possible

completion of the nomen of the commander of *ala Classiana c. R.*, –*nicus*, revealed 26 attested names with that ending. Most of these may be eliminated on grounds of length or rarity. The likeliest restorations remain those suggested by E. Birley, namely *Ajnicus*, *Vijnicus* or *Mijnicus*. The last cited is most probable. It is the commonest of the three, and an apparently tooled mark in the upper broken edge to the right of line 8 resembles the upper join of the first and second strokes of an M.

⁷ The diploma was issued to a serving soldier and therefore has

been restored as Alföldy-Mann Type I, although it could also have been Type IID or E.

⁸]o *Rammi* f. Perhaps a Germanic name like *Ramio* in *RIB* 2063; cf. Holder, *Alt-celt. Sprach.* 2 (1904) col. 1072. This is an interesting possibility as both Kraft (*Rekrutierung* 148, Nos. 300 and 301) and Stein (*Beamten*, 127) believed that *ala Classiana* had been stationed in Germania inferior before coming to Britain perhaps as late as the Flavian period. Alföldy has disputed this (*Hilfstruppen*, 17-19, No. 6), and if he is correct the recipient may represent part of a contingent from Germany brought in, c. 78-80, to replace losses in the Agricola campaigns. If the recipient was from Germania the find-spot shows that he elected to remain in the province where he had spent the major part of his service.

⁹ *Amabilis* and *Firmus* are both Latin cognomina (Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 282 and 258). This diploma belongs to the rather rare category of auxiliary diplomas in which the recipient names a wife but no children.

¹⁰ *in muro post* *Minervam* omitted. See *RIB* 2401.1, note 13.

¹¹ The names of the witnesses may be restored through a comparison with *CIL* xvi 50 and *RMD* No. 9, both of A.D. 105.

2401.4. York (*Eboracum*). Fragment of the second tablet of a bronze diploma, 40 × 41 mm (½). It is part of the lower left-hand side but does not extend to the left edge of the tablet on the outer face. Part of the lower binding-hole is preserved on the right-hand fracture of the fragment, and two grooves mark the frame of the outer face along its bottom edge. It was obtained from a dealer who claimed that it had been found in York. The exact circumstances of the find are unclear. British Museum. Drawn by Karen Hughes, 1989.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

[*Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, pontifex maximus, tribunus potestatis XII, imp(erator) VI, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriciae)*¹

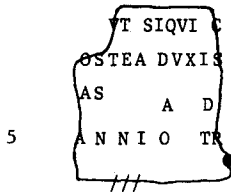
equitibus et peditibus ?²
quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, a]ut, siqui c[aelibes essent, cum iis, quas p]ostea duxis[sent dumtaxat singuli singul]as.

a.d. [. Ap.] *Annio Tr[ebonio Gallo, M. Atilio Metilio Bradua co(n)s(ulibus)*³]

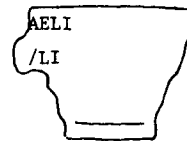
[. C?]aeli [.]; [. . .]li [.]⁴

The Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, conqueror of Germany, conqueror of Dacia, son of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his twelfth year of tribunician power, six times acclaimed Imperator, five times consul, father of his country, has granted to the cavalymen and infantrymen (?) who are serving or served in whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship was granted to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each. in the

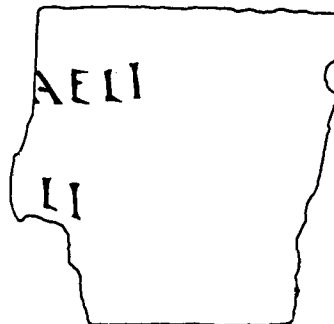
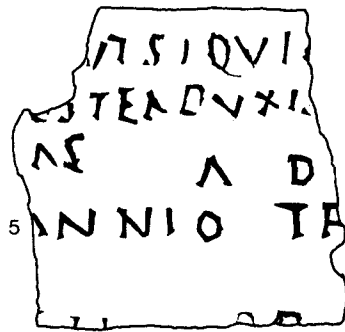
second tablet: inner face



second tablet: outer face



2401.4



consulships of Appius Annius Trebonius Gallus and Marcus Atilius Metilius Bradua (January–May 108).

[Witnessed by]: [Five names]; [. C?]aelius [.]; [. . .]li [.]

¹ The date of the diploma is given by the fragmentary name of the consul and Trajan's titles have been restored accordingly.

² The find-spot, if correct, suggests that this may be a diploma of the auxilia of Britain; but this remains uncertain. If the fragment had been brought in from outside Britain, in antiquity or at a later date, it could either refer to a grant made to auxilia of another province or to one of the fleets, since the formula of fleet and auxiliary diplomas was identical in the section preserved down to c. A.D. 140.

³ In spite of the fragmentary nature of the evidence there is little doubt that Appius Annius Trebonius Gallus consul ordinarius is named with his partner in office M. Atilius Metilius Bradua. They were succeeded probably on 1 May by the future emperor Hadrian and M. Trebatius Priscus. About three years later Bradua was governor of Britain, cf. A. R. Birley, *Fasti*, 92–4.

⁴ The position of part of the binding-hole makes it clear that the letters on the outer face belong to the nomina of the sixth and seventh of the witnesses to the authenticity of the copy of the Rome tablet.

There are at least 12 nomina with the ending *-jaelius* (cf. Solin and Salomies *Repertorium*, 237) but of these *Caelius* is the most common, and in this case likeliest. No witness of this name has, so far, been attested. (*Aelius* is unlikely and is in any case only found among witness-names once, in *RMD* 123 of A.D. 176). The other witness who occupied the last (seventh) place in the list is likely, from the position of the letters, to have had a short name such as *Iulius*; see *RMD* i, p. 106 for a list of possible candidates.

2401.5. London (*Londinium*). Fragments of two bronze tablets (†) cemented together by fire (59 × 51 × 1.85 mm; 59 × 40 × 1.23 mm). They represent parts of two tablets of a diploma. The fragment of the first tablet belongs to its central and lower half, viewed from the outer face; that of the second tablet lies to the right

of centre on its outer face. No binding holes are preserved, but a vertical line scored on the outer face may mark the place where a metal box was luted on, which would have covered the seals of named witnesses to the authenticity of the copied script. As the second tablet is smaller than the first, a few letters of the text on its inner face are visible. Other letters were seen through radiography.

Found in 1978 during excavation of a house in Watling Court, Nos. 41–53 Cannon Street (south of Cheapside). The house was erected probably in the late first century and destroyed by fire in the Hadrianic period. Museum of London. Drawn by Nicholas Griffiths, 1983.

Hassall and Tomlin, *Britannia* xiv (1983), 344–5. Roxan and Ganiaris, *T. Lond. Middl. AS* xxxiv (1983), 67–72. Roxan, *RMD* ii, No. 83.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

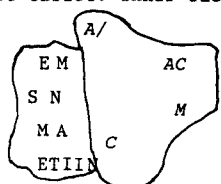
[*Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) .., co(n)s(ul)*]¹

*equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt*² *in alis .. et cohortibus sept]em (?) {or nov]em or dec]em (?)}* [*quae appellantur* . . .SN?MA?*et II N[er- viorum (?)*]³ . . . *et sunt in Britannia*⁴ *sub*

*quinis et vicens pluribusve*⁵ *stipendiis emeritis dimi]s[is ho]nest[a missione,*⁶

quorum nomina su]bscripta sunt, [ipsis liberis posteris- que] eorum civitate[m dedit et conubium cum] uxoribus quas tu[nc habuissent, cum est c]ivitas iis data, au[t, siqui caelibes essent, cu]m iis, quas pos[tea duxissent dumtaxat sing]uli singu[las].

first tablet: inner face



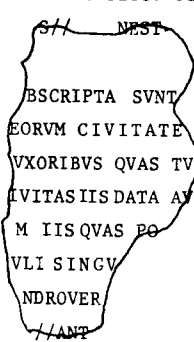
5

Letters shown in *italic* script were seen through radiography.

second tablet: inner face

Illegible even with the aid of radiography.

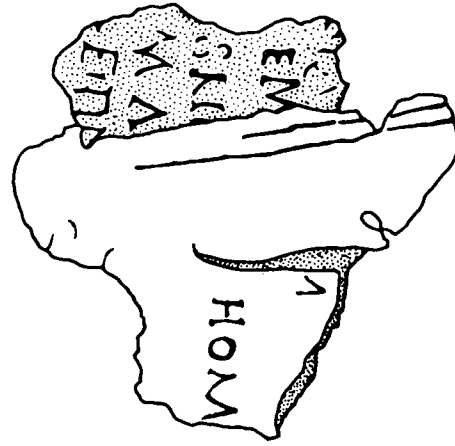
first tablet: outer face



5

second tablet: outer face





2401.5

[a.d.]ndro Verfo
 (?)⁷.]ANT[.]
 [Descriptum et recognitum etc. . .]

[Q. Pompei] Hom[er]i⁸

The Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, etc. has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in . . . alae and 7? (or 9? or 10?) cohorts called and are in Britain? under, who have served twenty-five or more years and have been honourably discharged, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship was granted to them or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each.

.in the consulships of]DRO
 VER[. . . . and] A?NT?[. . . .]

[Witnessed by]: Quintus Pompeius Homerus;

¹ Both the archaeological context of the find and the internal evidence of the diploma formula and abbreviations support a late first-century or early second-century date. Inclusion of existing children in the citizenship grant places its issue before A.D. 140; the lack of abbreviated words on the outer face suggests a date before A.D. 114; for the date-range 96–108 indicated by the name of the witness see note 8. Trajan's titles have therefore been restored, but the reign of Nerva, or even late in the reign of Domitian cannot entirely be excluded as the time of issue.

² Alföldy-Mann Type III formula has been restored; but in the period suggested Type II may not be ruled out, in which case the recipient could still have been serving at the time of issue of the diploma. (See note 6).

³ Hassall and Tomlin suggested possible restorations of the inner face based upon letters visible on the exposed section or seen in radiographs. They argued that the letters —EM (line 2 inner face) could be the ending of a numeral denoting the number of cohorts listed, pointing out that there would not be space enough for seven or more alae to have been followed by a list of cohorts if their interpretation was correct. They also inferred that the letters —ETIIN (line 5) belong to the list of cohorts and could indicate the presence of *cohors II Nerviorum*, which is known to have been stationed in Britain from A.D. 98 (CIL xvi 43) until the third century (RIB 1203) — but see note 4.

⁴ As the diploma was found in Britain there is a strong presumption that it was issued for an auxiliary soldier (or veteran) serving in the province. From the find-spots of diplomas it may be calculated that less than 20% of diploma recipients moved out of the province in which they had served upon retirement. However, the possibility that this fragment was the property of a native Briton who had elected to return home after service in another province must be noted.

⁵ The Latin used to denote 25 years varied in the pre-Hadrianic period, but there are only two known examples of the omission of *pluribusve*, or a variant, before the beginning of Hadrian's reign (CIL xvi 33 and 62). *Pluribusve* has therefore been restored here.

⁶ The presence of *dimissis honesta missione* in the formula means that the diploma was Alföldy-Mann Type II or III. The earliest known example of Type II is CIL xvi 26 of A.D. 80; see notes 2 and 8.

⁷ The letters —]ANDROVER[— appear in the position where the names of the consuls in office at the time of issue of the diploma normally appear. There is room for up to 18 letters before the broken left edge of the fragment, which would allow room for praenomen (normally one letter) and nomen before two further names such as [Alex]andro Ver[fo] (in the ablative). Although fairly rare, polyonymous consuls continue to be named in full in second-century diplomas, and since a search in Solin and Salomies (*Repertorium*) failed to reveal a listed cognomen ending in —overus or —roverus the proposed division appears reasonably likely. No consul [—] Alexander Verus has been identified for the period concerned, but Hassall and Tomlin suggested that C. Iulius Alexander Berenicianus may be meant, assuming the substitution of a v for B at the beginning of the second cognomen. Berenicianus, however, was suffect consul in 116 with L. Statius Aquila, and the completion of his name in line 8 would allow no room for that of his colleague, which would be given in line 9. The letters —]JANT[—, in line 9 are fairly certain (the N being

quite sure) so that unless Aquila may be shown also to have possessed a second nomen or cognomen incorporating these letters this suggestion must remain very speculative. See also note 8.

⁸ Q. Pompeius Homerus appears as witness in ten extant diplomas between 12 July 96 (*RMD* 6) and the early part of 108 (*RMD* Appendix p. 103). No other witness with the initial letters *HOM*- for his cognomen is known in any period. This observation confirms the likelihood of a Trajanic date for the diploma. Homerus may have continued to act as witness for some years after 108; spans of two decades or more are recorded for a few witnesses, and the suggestion made by Hassall and Tomlin (note 7) may not be ruled out because of his known dates.

2401.6. Stannington, Yorkshire. One fragmentary bronze tablet 159 × 133 × 1 mm ($\frac{1}{2}$), the first of two, the second being recorded but now lost or destroyed. Approximately one quarter of the first tablet has been lost or is illegible, the second tablet survives only as a transcript published in Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*; apparently this transcript was prepared by John Watson, curate of Ripponden, afterwards Rector of Stockport. 'In the month of April 1760, a countryman one Edward Nichols, ploughing a piece of common land called the Lawns on the Stannington side of the Riveling, discovered two thin plates of copper about six inches by five inches, both bearing inscriptions of which the greater part was perfectly legible' (Hunter). The first tablet was presented to the British Museum in 1857 by the heirs of William Yonge of Sheffield. British Museum. Drawn by Karen Hughes, 1989.

Camden (Gough), ed. 2, vol. iii, 262-5. Lysons, *Rel. Brit. Rom.*, notes to vol. i, 4, pl. 2. Hunter, 1819, 18-24. Bruce, *LS*, 6 (chromolithograph). Mommsen, *CIL* iii, pt. II, xxx = *Suppl.* pars I, 1976, XLIII. Huebner, *CIL* vii, 1195. Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi 70 *Suppl.* p. 215. E. Birley, *JRS* xxviii (1938), 228. Wright, *JRS* liv (1964), 150-1. Holder, *Rom. Army in Brit.*, III.

Foreword to the conflation of inner and outer faces:

Version of first 8 lines of outer face based on Gough's transcript. Line lengths given are based upon the reading suggested in *CIL* xvi and adapted in *JRS* liv (1964), 150 by R.P. Wright.

IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI F DIVI NER	[36]
VAE [NEPOS TRAIANVS] HADRIANVS AVG PONTIF	[34]
MAXIM TRIBVNIC [POTEST] VIII COS III PROCOS	[35]
[E]QVITIB E[T PEDITIB QVI MIL]IT[A]VER IN ALIS VI ET	[38]

[COH XXI QVAE APPELLANTVR] (1) HISP ASTVR ET (2) I [T]V[N]	[37]
[GR? ET (3) I THRAC ET (4) PICENTIAN ET (5) (5-6 letters)ET (6) PETRIAN	[37]
[ET (1) I VLPIA CR ET (2) I] HISP ET (3) I FRISIAV ET (4) I	[30]
[HA]M SAGITT ET (5) I SVNVC ET (6) I VANG M ET (7) I BAETASIOR	[37]

Lines 2-8 inner face, from the fragmentary plate in the British Museum:

[EQ ET PED QVI MIL IN ALIS VI ET] COH XXI QVAE A[P]P	[36]
[(1) I HISP AST ET (2) I TVNGR? ET (3) I THR]AC ET (4) PICENT[1]AN	35]
E[T (5) ca. 19 letters] ET (6) PETRIAN E[T (1) I] VLP	[36?]
CR E[T (2) I HISP] ET (3) [I FRISI]AVON ET (4) I HAMIOR	[30]

Clearly this reading creates difficulties:

The first problem concerns the fifth ala. Leaving on one side the reading of the name of the first cohort as suggested by Wright, the average line length in the unit list section of the Gough transcript is 37 letters; on the preserved inner face it is 34-37. A margin of one or two letters either way may be allowed, but whereas the Gough version leaves room for 5-6 letters for the name of the fifth ala the extant tablet allows for 18-20 letters. A possible solution to this problem is that the ala in question is one with both an ethnic and additional title (cf. the list in *CIL* xvi 69). The ethnic part of the title may have been included on the inner but omitted on the outer face. It may be noted that if this were so it is difficult to see why *ala Picentiana* and *ala Petriana* lack their ethnic titles (*Gallorum* in both instances), although diploma scribes were not always consistent in their treatment of unit titles. Generally, after A.D. 114 (see *CIL* xvi 61), unit titles show greater abbreviation on inner rather than on outer faces of the tablets, but again there are examples of inconsistency. For example in *CIL* xvi 69, in the list of alae, *I Hispan Astur*; *I Tungror*; *II Astur*; *Gallor Picentiana*; *Gallor et Thrac Classiana c. R.*; *Vetton Hispan c.R.*; and *Aug. Vocontior c. R.* shown on the outer face, may be compared with less abbreviated versions on the inner face (where in addition *c. R.* is written out in full as *civium Romanorum* in every case, although *Gallorum Petriana (milliaria) c. R.* and the ethnic part of *Gallorum Sebosiana* have been omitted intus). Thus it would not be surprising to find for example [*Aug P*]r[oc] on the outer

DIPLOMATA : STANNINGTON

first tablet: inner face

H I C I
 NVS AVG PO
 COS III P
 COH XXI QVAE APP
 AC ET PICENTIA/
 ET PETRIAN / V CO
 AVON ETI HAMIOR
 OO ET I BET
 MENAP ET I VLP
 CRE ET I BATA
 ETI TVNGR ET II LING ET TVR ET II P A N
 ET IINERV ET III BRACAV III NERV ET VI NE
 QVAE SVNT IN BRITANNIA SVB PLATORIO NE
 POTE QVINIS ET VICEN PLVRIBVSVE STIPEND
 EMERITIS DIMISSIS HONESTA MISSION
 QVORVM NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS
 LIBERIS POSTERQVE EORVM CIVITATEM DED

second tablet: inner face (Gough)

[CVM VXORIBVS

EX PEDITE
ALBANI]


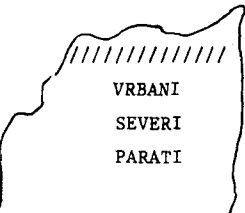
second tablet: outer face (Gough)

IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI F DIVI NER
 VAE HADRIANVS AVG PONTIF
 MAXIM TRIBVNVS VIII COS III PRO COS
 QVI TIBE O IT VERIN ALIS VI ET
 T HISPA IIVR ET I QV RV 5
 R ET PETRIAN
 HISP ET I M FRI SAV ET I
 M SALIN ET I SVNVC ET I VANG ET I BAETASIOR
 ET I DELM ET I AQVIT ET I MENAR ET I VIP TRAIANA
 VG CR ET II IDANSDRI R ET I SATQV ET ITVN 10
 GR ET II LINC ET II ASTVR ET II DONGON ET II NERV
 ET III BRACAVGVSTANOR ET III NE M ET VI NERV
 QVAE SVNT IN BRITANN SVB PRETORIO NEPOTE
 QVIN ET VICENTIVRIBVS T RITIS DIMISSIS
 HON MISSIONE QVOR NOMINI SVBSCRIPTASVN 15

IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERISQ EORVM CIVITATEM
 DEDT ET CONVBIVM CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC
 HABVISSENT CVM EST CIVITAS EIS DAT AVISI
 QVI SEA RESSENT CVM EISQVAS POSTEA DVXIS
 SENT DVM TAXAT SINGV LI SINGVLAS 20
 A D XVI PONT
 CIVLIO GALLO C VALERIO SEVERO COS
 COH I SVNATOR CVI PRAESI
 AVLVNTVS CLAVDIANVS

EX PEDITE 25
 CNTITENT ALBANI NVEO
 SCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA
 EA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN MVRO PA
 TEMPLVM DIVI RO MINIS

first tablet: outer face


 TINI 30

 VRBANI
 SEVERI
 PARATI 35

The execution of the inner face is extremely careless, as is often the case in second-century diplomas. The chances that officials would need to examine the supposed first (inside) copy were perhaps thought to be slight. Unfortunately this has resulted in puzzling anomalies for future scholars. The transcript offered takes cognisance of these factors, albeit with less than absolute certainty (Gough's reading has been amended where necessary):

Alternative version of Gough's transcript:

IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI F DIVI
NER [36]
VAE [NEPOS TRAIANVS] HADRIANVS AVG
PONTIF [34]
MAXIM TRIBVNIC [POTEST] VIII COS III
PROCOS [35]
[EQVITIB E[T PEDITIB QVI MIL]IT[A]VER IN
ALIS VI ET [38]
[COH XXI QVAE APPELLANTVR] (1) I HISP
ASTVR ET (2) I [T]V[N] [37]
[GR? ET (3) I THRAC ET (4) PICENTIAN ET (5)
AVG P]R[OC]? ET (6) PETRIAN [39]
[M C.R. ET (1) I CELTIBEROR ? ET (2) I] HISP ET
(3) I FRISIIV ET (4) I [36]
[HA]M SAGITT ET (5) I SVNVC ET (6) I VANG M
ET (7) I BAETASIOR [37]

Lines 4-8 inner face:

[EQ ET PED QVI MIL IN ALIS VI ET] COH XXI
QVAE A[P]P [36]
[(1) I HISP AST ET (2) I TVNGR? ET (3) I
THR]AC ET (4) PICENT[I] A[N] [35]
E[T (5) AVG GALLOR PROCVLEIAN?] ET (6)
PETRIAN[A GA]L? ∞ [35?]
CR E[T (1) I CELT?] ET (2) [I HISP ET (3) I
FRISI]AVON ET (4) I HAMIOR [37]

Imp. Caesar, divi Traiani Parthici f., divi Nervae [nepos, Traianus] Hadrianus Aug(ustus), pontif(ex) maxim(us), tribunic(ia) [potest(ate)] VIII, co(n)s(ul) III, proco(n)s(ul)

[e]quitib(us) est peditib(us) qui mil]it[a]ver(unt) in alis VI et coh(ortibus) XXI, quae a[p]p(ellantur) (1) I Hisp(anorum) A[s]tur(um)¹ et (2) I [. . .]² et (3) I Thr]ac(um)³ et (4) Picent[i]a[n(a)] et (5) . . .]r[. . .]⁴ et (6) Petrian[a Ga]ll(orum)? (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum)⁵; est (1) I Celtiberor(um) (?)⁶ et (2) [I] Hisp(anorum) et (3) I Frisiavon(um) et (4) I Hamior(um) sagitt(aria) et (5) I Sunuc(or)um et (6) I Vang(ionum) (milliaria) et (7) I Baetasi(or)um⁷ et (8) I Delm(atarum) et (9) I Aquit(anorum) et (10) I

Menap(iorum) et (11) I Ulp(ia) Traiana Cuger(norum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (12) I fida Va[r]d[ull(or)um] (milliaria)] c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (13) I Batav(or)um et (14) I Tungr(or)um et (15) II Ling(onum) et (16) II Astur(um) et (17) II Pan[n(ori)um]⁸ et (18) II Nerv(iorum) et (19) III Brac(ar)augustanor(um) et (20) III Nerv(iorum) et (21) VI Nerv(iorum), quae sunt in Britannia sub Platorio Nepote,⁹ quin(is) et vicenis pluribusve stipend(iis) emeritis dimissis honesta missione, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem ded[i]t et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis dat(a) aut, siqui [caelib]es essent, cum iis¹⁰ quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.

a.d. XVI [k?] O[c]t(?) . C. Iulio Gallo, C Valerio Severo cos.¹¹

coh(ortis) I Sun[uc]or(um), cui praes[er]t M. I]un[i]us Claudianus,¹² ex pedit[er]e [. . .] Albani [f., Su]n[c]o.¹³ [De]scriptum et recognitum ex tabula [aen]ea, quae fixa est Romae in muro p[ost] templum divi [Aug(usti) ad] Min[ervam].

[. . .]; [. . .]; [A]tini(?) [. . .]; [. . .]; [Ti. Iuli] Urbani; [. . .] Severi; [C. Iuli] Parati.¹⁴

The Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the deified Traianus conqueror of Parthia, grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his eighth year of tribunician power, three times consul, proconsul, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in six alae and twenty-one cohorts called: (1) I Hispanorum Asturum and (2) I Tungrorum(?) and (3) I Thracum and (4) Picentiana and (5) . . . and (6) Petriana, a thousand strong, Roman citizens; and (1) I Celtiberorum (?) and (2) I Hispanorum and (3) I Frisiavonum and (4) I Hamiorum, archers, and (5) I Sunucorum and (6) I Vangionum, a thousand strong, and (7) I Baetasiorum and (8) I Delmatarum and (9) I Aquitanorum and (10) I Menapiorum and (11) I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum, Roman citizens, and (12) I fida Vardullorum, a thousand strong, Roman citizens, and (13) I Batavorum and (14) I Tungrorum and 15) II Lingonum and (16) II Asturum and (17) II Pannoniorum and (18) II Nerviorum and (19) III Bracaraugustanorum and (20) III Nerviorum and (21) VI Nerviorum which are in Britain under Platorius Nepos, who have served twenty-five or more years and have been honourably discharged, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship

was granted to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each.

16(?) September in the consulships of Gaius Julius Gallus and Gaius Valerius Severus. (A.D. 124).

To . . . , son of Albanus of the Sunuci, ex infantryman of cohors Sunucorum commanded by Marcus Iunius Claudianus.

Copied and checked from the bronze tablet set up at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus near (the statue of) Minerva.

Witnessed by: . . . ; . . . ; . . . Atinius? . . . ; . . . ; Tiberius Julius Urbanus; . . . Severus; Gaius Julius Paratus.

¹ Listed third in *CIL* xvi 69. Proposed restoration by Borghesi accepted by Mommsen.

² *I Tungrorum* restored by Nesselhauf, although the suggestion of E. Stein that *I Quadorum* is possible is noted in *CIL* xvi *Suppl.* p. 215. *Ala I Quadorum* is not otherwise attested in Britain. Holder points out that an auxiliary unit recruited from the Quadi is unlikely to have been in existence so early in the second century. He suggests *ala I Cugernorum* as another candidate, but this too is so far unattested.

³ Restored by Nesselhauf.

⁴ See foreword for a possible restoration..

⁵ See foreword for the argument that *ala Petriana* was given its additional titles.

⁶ This is a likely restoration for first place in the cohort list. Some reservations remain, see foreword to conflation.

⁷ *I Bet.* on inner face.

⁸ Restored by Nesselhauf and accepted by Wright.

⁹ See A. R. Birley, *Fasti*, 100–105.

¹⁰ *EIS* according to Gough and accepted by Nesselhauf but *eis* rather than *iis* is so far only found on the outer face of one diploma – *CIL* xvi 26 – and the more usual form has therefore been adopted.

¹¹ For the little that is known of the previous careers of these two consuls see R. Syme, *Historia* xviii (1969), 365–6 and *JRS* xlviii (1958), 3.

¹² M. Iunius rather than Auluntus was proposed by Mommsen *XXX*, p. 873.

¹³ Gough amended the reading to *NVCO*, Mommsen reasoned that this should be *[SV]NVCO*. The Sunuci were a tribe of Lower Germany, cf. Tacitus *Hist.* iv, 66.

¹⁴ This is one of the very few diplomas where the witnesses' names are placed on the back of the first tablet.

2401.7. Walcot, near Bath, Avon [Somerset]. Fragment of a bronze tablet ($\frac{1}{2}$), measuring $47 \times 49 \times 1.5$ mm. The fragment represents the lower right section, but does not include the corner, of the first tablet of a diploma (PL. II). No edges are preserved and space for at least five letters and a minimum of four lines has gone from the right and lower sides of the outer face. 'When the late Dr. J. R. Garrod became curator of Huntingdon Literary and Scientific Institution in 1925 the Walcot diploma had already lost a small fragment from the upper left-hand corner of the internal face by good fortune our

epigraphic files contain a photograph taken for Haverfield about 1903' (Wright). The Haverfield photographs of both faces have been used to complete the text below. A small hole bored through the tablet in the lower right corner, between the V and I of the penultimate line on the outer face, seems likely to have been made soon after finding. A label was placed on a string threaded through this hole. The fragment comes from below the medial line of the tablet (on the outer face) and thus no traces of binding-holes are visible.

'Lately found with great quantities of Roman pottery, at Walcot, near Bath, in the possession of a Mr. John Cranch' (Lysons, 7 Dec. 1815). Walcot lay to the north-east of the Roman town and a number of burials and cremations have been recorded in the area. Two stone coffins were found there in 1815, together with samian sherds, and coins ranging in date from Claudius to Constantine. Haverfield also noted a bronze fibula found with many other remains in Walcot in the summer of 1815. It seems likely that the diploma fragment came from a Roman cemetery which bordered the road running north and east from Bath. Norris Museum, St. Ives, Cambridgeshire. Drawn by R. P. W., 1954.

Lysons, *Arch.* xviii (1818), 438–9. Watkin, *Arch. J.* xxxiii (1876), 250–2; xxxiv (1877), 318–9; xxxv (1878), 72; xxxvii (1880), 141–2. Bruce, *AA²* viii (1880), 219 (lithograph). Mommsen, *CIL* iii *Suppl.* pars I, p. 1981, LV. Haverfield, *VCH Somerset* (1906), 280–1. Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi 88 and *Suppl.* p. 215. E. Birley, *JRS* xxviii (1938), 228. Wright, *JRS* liv (1964), 150. Roxan, *RMD* i p. 24. Dietz, *Chiron* 12 (1982), 208–9. Roxan, *RMD* ii p. 129 n. 39.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

[*Imp.*]

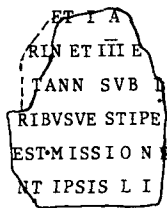
[*coquitibus' et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis et cohortibus , quae appelluntur Aug(usta) Gallorum Procleiana et ?; et] et I A[quitano(um)]¹ et et I Mo[rin(or)]² et III e[st] IIII et VI Nervio(um)³ et⁴ sunt in Bri]tann(ia) sub [l.c. 10–12. . . .⁵ quin(is) et vic(enis)]⁶ plu]ribusve stipe[ndis emeritis dimissis hon]est(a) missione, [quorum nomina subscripta su]nt, ipsis li]beris posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium c]um ux[or]ibus, quas tunc habuissent, cum] est civitas i]s data, aut, siqui caelibes essent, c]um iis quas post[ea duxissent dumtaxat sing]uli singulas.*

[a. d.] XVII k. Octobr. [.], Ti. Lartidio Cele[re] cos.]⁷

[alae Aug(ustae) Gallo]r(um) Procleian(ae) cui p[ro]raest Pro]pinquos,⁸ [ex grega]le [.]⁹

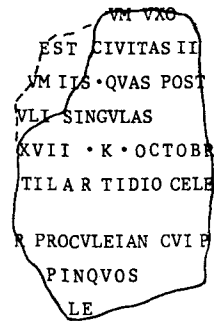
[Descriptum et recognitum etc.]

first tablet: inner face

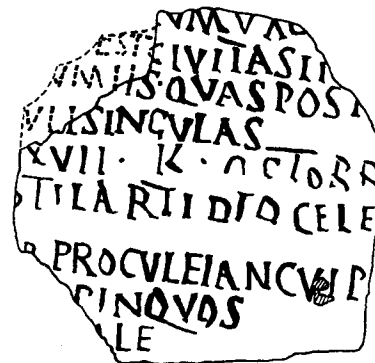
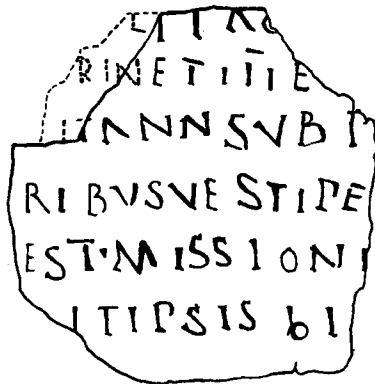


5

first tablet: outer face



5



2401.7

The Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus etc. has granted to the cavalymen and infantrymen who have served in . . . alae and . . . cohorts called: Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana and; and and I Aquitanorum and and I Morinorum and III and IIII and VI Nerviorum (?), and are stationed in Britain under, who have served twenty-five or more years and have been honourably discharged, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship was granted to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one. 15 September, in the consulships of and Tiberius Lartidius Celer. To ex cavalryman of ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana, commanded by Propinquos Copied and checked etc. .

¹ Nesselhauf restored the name of this unit as (*cohors*) *I Aquitanorum* on the basis of a semicircular nick in the broken edge of the fragment following the letter A, which he took as a Q. Diploma

fragments are occasionally fractured along the line of a letter, but in this instance close inspection of the edge failed to reveal any engraved depression. Neither Haverfield nor Wright included a Q, or any other curved letters, in their readings. On the other hand *cohors I Aquitanorum* is known to have been in Britain during the reign of Hadrian (*CIL* xvi 69 and 70) and is further recorded at Carraburgh, Bakewell, Brough-on-Noe and Brancaster, the latter site producing tile-stamps of a third-century date (*Britannia* vi (1975), 288 No. 25; x (1979), 354 No. 44), whereas the other known first cohorts with the initial letter A have left relatively few records. *Cohors I Afrorum c. R.* is only certainly listed in *CIL* xvi 69 of A.D. 122, and *I Alpinorum* in *CIL* xvi 48 of 103. Nesselhauf's suggestion is therefore noted as probable but unproven.

² Read by Wright, *JRS* liv.

³ No unit stationed in Britain has E as its initial letter. Nesselhauf drew upon parallels in other diplomas for the listing of a numbered series of units with the same ethnic title in this fashion (e.g. the Wroxeter fragment - *CIL* xvi 82 = *RIB* 2401.8). The line length fits well with his suggestion, which has therefore been provisionally accepted.

⁴ A number of diplomas of the early Hadrianic period used *quae sunt* rather than *et sunt*. If *quae* had been used in this instance the line length may be supposed to be slightly longer on the inner face thus adding a possible two extra spaces for the restoration of the name of the governor. (See note 5).

⁵ To judge by the two lines which may be restored with reasonable certainty, the line length on the inner face averaged 33 letters (assuming abbreviations in keeping with those of the preserved section). On this basis the combined names of the governor are unlikely to exceed 12-13 letters (even if *quae sunt* rather than *et sunt* is assumed - see note 4). Haverfield thought that the last extant letter

of line 3 on the inner face was P. A careful check, including radiography, of the fragment revealed that the appearance of this letter was given by two indentations in its right-hand edge. These nicks go through to the other side of the fragment and may have been caused by the character of the break, or the effects of corrosion. There is therefore no certainty that this last letter is a P. It could be an I. No additional strokes are visible, so that it is very unlikely that a B, D, E, F, H, L, N or T is in question.

The names of the two known governors of the early Hadrianic period both have 14 letters when shown in the appropriate case: *PLATORIO NEPOTE, POMPEIO FALCONE*. Although neither can be ruled out entirely on grounds of space, other factors (see note 7) make their restoration unlikely. An unknown governor with perhaps a nomen such as *Iulius* would allow 7–8 letters for a cognomen.

⁶ The maximum abbreviation used in this period here on inner faces is *quin. et vic.* (e.g. *CIL* xvi 169/73 and *RMD* 21). This form has been adopted to allow for the greatest possible space for the name of the governor.

The year of office of this suffect consul is uncertain. The present evidence for the date depends upon the significance of internal signs in the Walcot fragment and the possibility that Lartidius Celer was named as governor of Germania superior in a diploma from Köngen in 129/130 (*RMD* 90). The inclusion of existing children of the recipient in the citizenship grant places the date of issue before A.D. 140. Other dating pointers are:

i) The size of the fragment and its position in a complete tablet suggest that, at most, the inner face will have had two more lines of script. Most (though not quite all) diplomas issued after 129 complete the formula down to *singuli singulas* on the first tablet of the inner face. With the suggested space available this is clearly impossible in this diploma, so that it is likelier than not to pre-date 129.

ii) The name of the province is abbreviated on the inner face – *BRITANN*. The first abbreviation of a provincial name on an inner face appears in *CIL* xvi 4 of A.D. 114 (apart from a Neronian diploma – *CIL* xvi 4 – which differs markedly from all other first-century diplomas). The name of the province is not then abbreviated in any diploma until the 120s (*CIL* xvi 169/73 of A.D. 122 and *RMD* 21 and 22 of 123). After this the recorded abbreviations belong to 133 and 134 (*RMD* 35 and *CIL* xvi 78).

iii) The general lack of abbreviations in the extant part of the inner face argues for a relatively early date in the second century, i.e. after 114 but before the 130s, although dating on the use of abbreviation must always be used with caution.

iv) On the outer face the cognomen of the commander is positioned so that it ends under the last letters of the name of his ala. This leaves a free space under *CVI P[raest]*. Normally, though not inevitably, the name of the commander is positioned on the outer face so that the cognomen, if not followed by an *origo*, extends to the end of the line in which it lies. This makes possible the inference that an *origo* was stated for *Propinquos*. The first known instance of a commander's *origo* in a diploma belongs to November 122 (*CIL* xvi 169/73). Thereafter the evidence is sparse until 129, after which *origines* appear in almost every case until 157. If an *origo* is inferred from the spacing it would lend support to a probable date after November 122.

v) The years 122 and 124 are almost certainly excluded for the Walcot fragment since it is extremely rare for two diplomas to be issued for the same province within the same year, and neither *CIL* xvi 69 nor 70 names Lartidius Celer as consul.

vi) K.-H. Dietz argues strongly that Ti. Lartidius Celer was consul in 126 (*Chiron* 12), also pointing out that there is no vacancy for a further pair of suffect consuls in September of 127 or 128. But W. Eck notes other ex-consuls with the cognomen Celer who are possible candidates as governor of Germania superior in 130 (*Chiron* 13 (1983), 165–6, n.398). The balance of probabilities therefore places Lartidius Celer as consul c. 126; but nevertheless the date of the diploma remains uncertain pending further evidence.

⁸ Devijver, *PME*, P135 adopts the more usual spelling *Propinquos*. Kajanto (*Cognomina*, 18) refers to the 'frequency of cognomina obtained from terms of relationship in Celtic areas', which is borne out for this particular name in Mócsy's lists (*Nomenclator*, 234). This suggests an *origo* in the northern, Celtic provinces.

⁹ The veteran status of the recipient, combined with the formula, identifies this as *Alföldy-Mann* Type III.

Examination of the fragment shows that lines 5–9 on the outer face were added to the tablet after the main formula had been inscribed. These lines show slightly more careless lettering, and the layout is less regular than in the standard text. Line 5 is not quite horizontal and the cross-stroke of the T in *Octobr.* runs up into the line above. A wide gap, almost sufficient for the insertion of another line of script, runs between lines 6 and 7. This phenomenon is observable in other diplomas. A striking example is found in *CIL* xvi 69, of A.D. 122, which relates to the auxilia of Britain, although found in Hungary, cf. the explanation offered in *RIB* 2401.1, note 13.

2401.8. Wroxeter (*Viroconium*), Shropshire. Fragment of the first tablet of a diploma (127 × 82.5 mm) (3). Found in 1927 during excavation of the forum at Wroxeter, in a small room in the north-west corner of the building, among debris of the destruction of the building by fire. Rowley's House Museum, Shrewsbury. Drawn by R.P.W., 1954.

Taylor and Collingwood, *JRS* xvii (1927), 215, No. 20; *CI. Rev.* xlii (1928), 11–14. E. Birley, *JRS* xxviii (1928), 228. Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi 82 and *Suppl.* p. 215. Atkinson, *Wroxeter*, 185–93 with figs. 35A and M. Roxan, *RMD* ii, p. 130. n. 47.

Congflation of inner and outer faces:

[*Imp. Caes(ar), divi Traian(i) Parth(ici) f., divi Nerv(ae) nepos, Tra[ian]us [Hadrianus Aug(ustus), pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate)] XVIII, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae)¹ [eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus) qui mil(itaverunt) in al(is) ..² et coh(ortibus)] XXXI³ quae app(ellatur) (1) Aug(usta) Gal(lorum) [Proc(uleiana)]³ et . . . et . . . et . . .] et Petr(iana) (milliaria) et I Ast(urum) et [I Tun(grorum)? [et]r(um)?] et I Vard(ullorum) (milliaria) et I et II⁴ [. . . . et . . .]ng(. . .) (milliaria)⁵ et I Ham(iorum) et I et II Dal(matarum) [et]n(. . .)naut(arum)⁶ et I B(a)et(asiorum) et I Bat(avorum) [et] et III et IIII et VI Nerv(iorum) [et] et (30) V Gal(lorum) et (31) VII Thr(acum)⁷ et [sunt in Britann(ia) sub Mummio] Sisenna,⁸ quin(is) et vicen(is) [plu(ribus)ve⁹ stip(en-dis) emer(itis) dimiss]is honest(a) missione, [quo]r(um) nom(ina) subscript(a) sunt, ipsis liberis pos[teris]q(ue) eor(um) civit(atem) dedit et conub(ium) cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civit(as) iis data, aut siqui caelib(es) essent, cum iis quas post(ea)¹⁰ duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.*

DIPLOMATATA : WROXETER

first tablet: inner face

NERV NEPOS TRA VS
 XVIII COS III PP
 XXXI QVAE APP AVG GAL
 ET PETR OO ET IAST ET TVN
 R ET I VARD OO ET I ET II
 G OET I HAM ET I ET II DAL
 N NAVT ET I BET ET I BAT
 ET III ET III ET VI NERV
 ET V GALE ET VII THR ET
 SISENNA QVIN ET VIC
 R NOM SVBSCR SVNT IPS
 CON CVM VX QVAS TVNC
 T AVT SIQ CAELESS CVM
 TAX SIN SING

first tablet: outer face

T VICENT
 HONEST MISSIONE
 RIPT SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POS
 Q EOR CIVIT DEDIT ET CONV CVM VXORIBVS
 QVAS TVNC HABVISSENT CVM EST CIVIT IIS DATA
 AVT SIQVI CAELIB ESSENT CVM IIS QVAS POST DV (!)
 XISSENT DVMTAXAT SINGVLISINGVLAS
 A D XVIII K MAI
 L TVTILIO PONTIANO PCALPVRNIO ATILIANO COS
 COH II DALMATARVM CVI PRAEST
 IVLIVS MAXIMVS ROMA
 EX PEDITE
 NSVETO LVCI F TREVER
 CRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX TABVLAENEA QVAE FIXA EST
 ROMAE IN MVRO POST TEMPLVM DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM

NERV NEPOS TRA VS
 XVIII COS III PP
 XXXI QVAE APP AVG GAL
 ET PETR OO ET IAST ET TVN
 R ET I VARD OO ET I ET II
 G OET I HAM ET I ET II DAL
 N NAVT ET I BET ET I BAT
 ET III ET III ET VI NERV
 ET V GALE ET VII THR ET
 SISENNA QVIN ET VIC
 R NOM SVBSCR SVNT IPS
 CON CVM VX QVAS TVNC
 T AVT SIQ CAELESS CVM
 TAX SIN SING

HONEST MISSIONE
 RIPT SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POS
 Q EOR CIVIT DEDIT ET CONV CVM VXORIBVS
 QVAS TVNC HABVISSENT CVM EST CIVIT IIS DATA
 AVT SIQVI CAELIB ESSENT CVM IIS QVAS POST DV
 XISSENT DVMTAXAT SINGVLISINGVLAS
 A D XVIII K MAI
 L TVTILIO PONTIANO PCALPVRNIO ATILIANO COS
 COH II DALMATARVM CVI PRAEST
 IVLIVS MAXIMVS ROMA
 EX PEDITE
 NSVETO LVCI F TREVER
 CRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX TABVLAENEA QVAE FIXA EST
 ROMAE IN MVRO POST TEMPLVM DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM

2401.8

*a.d. XVIII k. Mai. L. Tutilio Pontiano, P. Calpurnio Atiliano cos.¹¹
 coh(ortis) II Dalmatarum cui praest [.] Iulius Maximus, Roma, ex pedite [Ma]nsueto Luci f. Trever(o)¹²
 [Des]cript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabul(a) aenea, quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.*

The Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the deified Traianus conqueror of Parthia, grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his

nineteenth year of tribunician power, three times consul, father of his country, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in . . . alae and thirty-one cohorts called: (1) Augusta Gallorum Procu- leiana and . . . and Petriana, a thousand strong, and I Asturum and [I] Tungrorum; (?) and . . . rum (?) and I Vardullorum, a thousand strong and I and II . . . and I Vangionum (?), a thousand strong and I Hamio- rum and I and II Dalmatarum and . . . n(. . .) nau- tarum and I Baetasiorum and I Batavorum and . . . and III and IIII and VI Nerviorum and . . . and (30) V

Gallorum and (31) VII Thracum and are in Britain under Mummius Sisenna, who have served twenty-five or more years and have been honourably discharged, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship was granted to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each.

14 April in the consulships of L. Tutilius Pontianus and P. Calpurnius Atilianus (A.D. 135)

To Mansuetus son of Lucius, of the Treveri, ex infantryman of cohorts II Dalmatarum, commanded by Julius Maximus, from Rome.

Copied and checked from the bronze tablet set up at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus near (the statue of) Minerva.

¹ Hadrian was acclaimed *imperator* for the second time in 135, after the conclusion of the Jewish War. Nesselhauf pointed out that the omission of *IMP II* from Hadrian's titles suggests that this acclamation took place after 14 April of that year.

² Atkinson restored the names of eight alae, but this is probably too high a total. Although names of units listed on the inner face are very abbreviated (a feature of diplomas issued late in the reign of Hadrian and early in that of Pius) with an average line length of approximately 40-41 letters, it is difficult to envisage that more than six, or at most seven, alae could have been listed.

³ *Proculeiana* is probably to be restored here; cf. *RIB* 2401.10, from Chesters.

⁴ The likeliest restoration here is *I et II [Ling(onum)]*, although *[Nerv(ionum)]* or *[Thr(acum)]* are also possible.

⁵ Nesselhauf suggested either *cohors I Tungrorum milliaria* or *I Vangionum milliaria*. In view of the uncertainty over the strength of the Tungrian cohort (see *RIB* 2401.9, note 8) and also the possibility cited in note 7 below, *I Vangionum* is perhaps more likely.

⁶ The suggestion that perhaps this is *cohors [I Morin(orum) naut(arum)]* (Atkinson, *Wroxeter*, 193 n. 1) is now made unlikely through the discovery of *AE* 1972, 148 where the full title of the cohort is shown as *Morinorum et Cersiacorum*. It may, however be that *[I Me]n[apionum]* is meant, as Atkinson suggested.

⁷ If the solitary R at the beginning of line 5 on the inner face is discounted, the names of fifteen cohorts may be partly or wholly restored. If the remaining sixteen cohorts are thought of as fitting into the missing section of the inner face, which represented just over half of each line in question, it is probable, as Atkinson suggested, that several of the units were listed as successive numerals with the ethnic title of the series reserved for the last and highest numeral; cf. *III et IIII et VI Nerv* in line 8. It is also possible that the Tungrian unit, at the end of line 4, was in fact the first cohort, with its number mistakenly omitted, rather than *ala (I) Tungrorum* as both Atkinson and Nesselhauf supposed. This would make it easier to envisage a total of 31 cohorts fitting the available space.

⁸ See A. R. Birley, *Fasti*, 109-10.

⁹ See *RMD* ii, 130, n. 47 concerning the argument for and against the presence of *pluribusve* in the formula. Atkinson's version has been accepted here as his reading came from the bronze in its original state rather than from a photograph or an autopsy after some loss at the broken edge had occurred.

¹⁰ *POSTT* in error, line 6 outer face.

¹¹ *Consules ordinarii* for 135. For Atilianus see *PIR*² C 49, No. 250; for Pontianus see *PW* VII A2.

¹² *Mansuetus*, originally restored by Atkinson, has been verified as a cognomen which appears with relative frequency in Gallia Belgica (Mócsy, *Nomenclator* 177).

2401.9. Chesterholm (*Vindolanda*), Northumberland. Two joining fragments of bronze, together 58.5 × 41 × 0.6 - 0.8 mm. Part of the first tablet of a diploma (PL. III). Found during excavations in the fort carried out by P. T. Bidwell in 1980. The fragments came from a mid third-century rubbish-deposit dumped over a demolished building on the east rampart of the fort, about 20 m from the north-east corner. *Vindolanda* Museum.

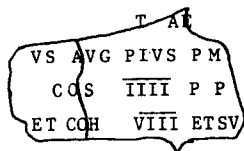
Hassall and Tomlin, *Britannia* xiv (1983), 347-8. Roxan in Bidwell, *Rom. fort Vindolanda*, 93-102. Roxan, *RMD* ii, No. 97.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

[*Imp. Caes(ar), divi Hadriani f., divi Traiani Parth(ici) nep(os), divi Nerva(e) pronep(os)*], *T. Ae[lius Hadrianus Antonin]us Aug(ustus) Pius, p(ontifex) m(aximus), [tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VIII, imp(erator) II], co(n)s(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(atriciae)*¹ [*eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus) q(ui) m(ilitaverunt) in al(is) ..] et coh(ortibus) VIII et su[nt] in Britannia*³ *sub P[apirio Aeliano]*⁴ *quinque et viginti*⁵ *stipend(is) emerit(is) dimis(sis) honest(a) mission(e), quor(um) nomin(a) subscript(a) sunt, civit(atem) Roman(am), qui eor(um)] non ha[berent dedit, et conub(ium) cum uxor(ibus)] quas tun[c habuiss(ent), cum est civit(as) is d]ata, aut cum [is quas postea duxiss(ent) du]ntaxat sing[ulis]. a. d.]*⁶ [*Sex.] Eruc[io] Claro II, Cn.] Claud[io] Severo Arabiano cos.]*⁷ [*co]h(ortis) I Tun[gror(um) (milliariae) (?),⁸ cui praest] Paterniu[s , ,⁹ ex¹⁰ A]mandio [. f.;].*¹¹ [*Desc]ript(um) et [recognit(um) ex tabul(a) aerea] quae fi[xa est Romae in muro post templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam].*

The Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, son of the deified Hadrianus, grandson of the deified Trajanus, conqueror of Parthia, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his ninth year of tribunician power, twice acclaimed Imperator, four times consul, father of his country, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in . . . alae and eight cohorts and are stationed in Britain under Papirius Aelianus, who have served twenty-five years and have been honourably dischar-

first tablet: inner face



2401.9

ged, whose names are written below, Roman citizenship to those who do not possess it, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had at the time citizenship was given to them, or with those they later marry, but only one each.

. in the consulships of Sextus Erucius Clarus (for the second time) and of Gnaeus Claudius Severus Arabianus (January–March, 146).

To . Amandius, son of from, ex infantryman (?) of cohorts I Tungrorum (a thousand strong?), commanded by . Paternius,

Copied and checked from the bronze tablet set up at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus, near (the statue of) Minerva.

¹ Pius was consul for the fourth and last time in 145. His other titles have been restored in accordance with the date given by the consular names (see note 6).

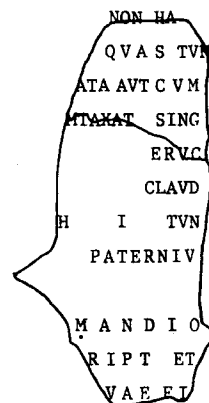
² Between 19 July 146 (*CIL* xvi 178) and the last months of 153 (*RMD* i, No. 46) there is no extant diploma of the auxilia which carries a list of units on its inner face. The replacement of *quae appellatur* by *et su[n]t* indicates that this diploma is clearly of this type and the first known occurrence of this temporary omission may be placed in the first three months of 146.

³ The find-spot of the fragment and the naming of *cohors I Tungrorum* suggest that this diploma refers to the auxilia of Britain. For a discussion of the arguments that the diploma could conceivably relate to the auxilia of Noricum see *RMD* ii, No. 97, note 4. The balance of probability, however, favours the retention of the fragment in the British lists.

⁴ Papirius Aelianus is named as governor of Britain in *CIL* xvi 93 = *RIB* 2401.10 of 10 Dec. 145/9 Dec. 146; his name has been restored here on the assumption that the two diplomas were either issued on the same day, or at least within twelve months of each other. The restoration is made more probable if the possibility is accepted that there was a governor of Britain who held office between Lollius Urbicus and Aelianus but who was transferred to Tarracoenensis in 145. For comments on this see A. R. Birley, *Fasti*, 115–6. For a discussion of the relationship between the two diplomas see *RMD* ii, No. 97, note 4.

⁵ The exact term *quinque et viginti* is used in *CIL* xvi 93 and it has been restored here tentatively in accordance with the suggestion

first tablet: outer face



5

10

of D. Breeze that prompt release of surplus auxiliary soldiers may have followed the completion of the Antonine Wall (see *RMD* ii, No. 97, note 6).

⁶ The formula of auxiliary diplomas changed c. A.D. 140 and existing children and descendants were no longer included in the grant.

⁷ Sextus Erucius Clarus was consul for the second time, as *ordinarius*, in 146. He died in office as *praefectus urbi* in March of that year, which dates the issue of the diploma grant to early March at latest (cf. *PIR*² E96). For Claudius Severus Arabianus see *PIR*² C 1027.

⁸ *Cohors I Tungrorum* was a milliary unit like several others in the series of Tungrian units. Diploma evidence suggests that it was split into two some time between 103 and 122. *CIL* xvi 48 (= *RIB* 2401.1) of A.D. 103 lists it with a milliary sign; but in *CIL* xvi 69 and 70 (= *RIB* 2401.6) of 122 and 124 respectively, this sign is lacking. Cf. E. Birley, *Alae and cohortes milliariae*, 61. It was reintegrated by the Antonine period as it has a milliary sign on a building-stone from Castle Cary on the Antonine Wall (*RIB* 2155). It is uncertain whether this stone belongs to the first or second period of the Antonine Wall, so that the strength of the cohort shown on this diploma remains unclear. For further remarks on this problem see *RMD* ii, No. 97, note 9.

⁹ This commander has a *gentilicium* of a type formed from a cognomen which Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 48, considered to indicate a relatively recent acquisition of citizenship, a custom which was particularly favoured in Celtic areas. Paternius cannot be equated with any known equestrian commander; cf. Devijver, *PME*, under P.

¹⁰ A line on the right-hand edge of the fragment, visible only in the radiograph, may represent the first stroke of an E, and line 9, here left blank, would have contained the rank of the recipient, probably *ex pedite*, as the unit was almost certainly a *cohors peditata*. An alternative is that the veteran had held a junior rank, in which case, for example, *ex centurione* would have been engraved; cf. *RIB* 2401.2.

¹¹ The M of *Jmandio* has been restored from the radiograph. Amandius is suggested as the likeliest restoration of the name of the recipient. Mócsy (*Nomenclator*, 14) cites 5 examples of this nomen, three of these being located in the Gallo/Germanic area. It is possible that the veteran, or his father, was Tungrian.

2401.10. Chesters (*Cilurnum*), Northumberland. Two fragments of the first tablet of a diploma ($\frac{2}{3}$), together c. 108 × 67 × 1 mm, see PL. IV; larger fragment 83 × 67 mm, smaller fragment 46 × 29 mm. Found with *RIB* 2401.13 in the south gateway of the fort, 'in the

eastern guardroom among the debris, about four feet above the level of the original floor', during excavations carried out by John Clayton in 1879. A small triangular fragment of the upper left (broken) edge (outer face) has broken away and been lost, but its portion of the text is restored in the transcript from photographs of the original state of the tablet. British Museum. Drawn by Karen Hughes, 1989.

Collingwood Bruce, AA² viii (1880), 213-17. Mommsen, *CIL* iii, *Suppl.* pars I, LVII. Budge, *Chesters Catal.*, 129-35. Collingwood, *Chesters Guide*, 48-52. Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi 93, *Suppl.* p. 215. E. Birley, *JRS* xxviii (1938), 228. Roxan, *RMD* ii, No. 97, notes 4-6.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

[Imp. C]aesar, divi Hadriani f., divi [Traian]i Part(hici) nepos, divi Nervae pron(e)pos, T. A[e]lius Hadrianus Antoninus [Aug(ustus)] Pius, [p]ont(ife)x max(imus), tr(ibu)nicia pot(estate) VIII, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(at)riae, eq(uitibus) et pedit(ibus) qui militaver(unt) in alis III [et coh(ortibus) XI, qu]ae appell(antur) (1) Aug(usta) Gall(or)um Procul(e)iana et (2) I [Pannon(iorum) Sabin(iana)?]¹ et (3) I Hisp(anorum) Astur(um); et (1) I Celtib(erorum) et (2) I Hisp(anorum) et (3) [I] Aelia Dacor(um)² et (4) I Aelia classica et (5) I fid(a) [V]ard(ullorum)³ et (6) II Gallor(um) et

first tablet: inner face

HAD
ONTA
PIVS
S IIII

5 EQ ET PED
GAL PROC ET
(1) CLLT ET I HISP ET
ET I FID ET II GALL
BRAC ET IIII LING
10 BRITTAN SVB PAPIR
EMER DIM HON MIS
SVNT C R QVI EORV
CONVB CVM VXOR
● CVM EST CIV IIS

first tablet: outer face

AE[CAESAR] DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI
PART NEPOS DIVI NERVAE PRO
LIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS
ONT MAX TRPOT VIII IMP II COS IIII PP
EDIT QVI MILITAVER IN ALIS III
AE APPELLAVG GALL PROCVL ET I
ET I HISP ASTVR ET I CELTIB
(1) AELIA DACOR ET I AELIA
CLASSICA ARDET II GALLOR ET II ET
VI NERVAE CET IIII LING ET IIII GALL
ET SVNTINB NNIA SVB PAPIRIO AELI
ANO QVINO ENTI STIPEND EMERIT

Dotted lines indicate fragments now lost. These areas and certain letters near broken edges have been restored from photographs published by Collingwood in 1926.

HAD
ONTA
PIVS
S IIII

5 EQ ET PED
GAL PROC ET
(1) CLLT ET I HISP ET
ET I FID ET II GALL
BRAC ET IIII LING
10 BRITTAN SVB PAPIR
EMER DIM HON MIS
SVNT C R QVI EORV
CONVB CVM VXOR
CVM EST CIV IIS

AE[CAESAR] DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI
PART NEPOS DIVI NERVAE PRO
LIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS
ONT MAX TRPOT VIII IMP II COS IIII PP
EDIT QVI MILITAVER IN ALIS III
AE APPELLAVG GALL PROCVL ET I
ET I HISP ASTVR ET I CELTIB
(1) AELIA DACOR ET I AELIA
CLASSICA ARDET II GALLOR ET II ET
VI NERVAE CET IIII LING ET IIII GALL
ET SVNTINB NNIA SVB PAPIRIO AELI
ANO QVINO ENTI STIPEND EMERIT

(7) II et (8) VI Nerv(iorum) e[st] (9) III] Brac-
c(araugustanorum)⁴ et (10) IIII Ling(onum) et (11)
IIII Gall(orum), et sunt in Britannia sub Papirio
Aeliano,⁵ quinq[ue] et viginti⁶ stipend(is) emerit(is)
dim(issis) hon(esta) mis[s(ione)],
[quor(um) nomin(a) subscri(pta)] sunt, c(ivitatem)
R(omanam), qui eoru[m] non haber(ent) ded(it) et]
conub(ium) cum uxor(ibus) [quas tunc habuiss(ent),]
cum est civ(itas) iis d[at(a)]

The Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, son of the deified Hadrianus, grandson of the deified Traianus, conqueror of Parthia, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his ninth year of tribunician power, twice acclaimed Emperor, four times consul, father of his country, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in three alae and eleven cohorts called: (1) Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana and (2) I [Pannoniorum Sabiniana?] and (3) I Hispanorum Asturum; and (1) I Celtiberorum and (2) I Hispanorum and (3) I Aelia Dacorum and (4) I Aelia classica and (5) I fida Vardullorum and (6) II Gallorum and (7) II and (8) VI Nerviorum and (9) III Bracaraugustanorum and (10) IIII Lingonum and (11) IIII Gallorum, and are stationed in Britain under Papirius Aelianus, who have served twenty-five years and have been honourably discharged, whose names are written below, Roman citizenship to those who do not possess it, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had at the time citizenship was given to them

A.D. 145 (Dec. 10)/146 (Dec. 9)

¹ Nesselhauf remarked that among the alae which were normally distinguished by the numeral 1 only *Pannon(iorum) Sabin(iana)* or *Pannon(iorum) Tampian(a)* would fill the available space. But *ala Tampiana* had left Britain during the reign of Hadrian cf. Birley, *JRS* and Nesselhauf, *Suppl.* p. 215, referring to *CIL* xvi 174 of Noricum.

² *AETIA DACOR* line 8 outer face.

³ *Vard(ullorum)* was omitted on the inner face. Neither face registers the cohort with its customary milliary sign. The precise significance of this is open to debate. It could mean that the cohort had been split and a vexillation stationed elsewhere, reducing the parent cohort to quingenary status, or the omission could simply be due to carelessness on the part of the scribe, who has also failed to indicate that the cohort had the additional title of *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*. The milliary sign for *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* was also omitted.

⁴ The list is in numerical order, apart from the space-saving linkage of the Nervian cohorts. The cohort styled *III Bracaraugustanorum* is otherwise attested in Britain (see *RIB* 2401.1, *CIL* xvi 69, *RIB* 2401.6).

⁵ See A. R. Birley, *Fasti*, 116-18.

⁶ See *RIB* 2401. 9, for a suggestion of D. Breeze concerning the significance of an exact term of service for recipients of this issue.

2401.11. Cirencester (*Corinium*), Gloucestershire. A bronze disc (†) 53 mm in diameter. Part of the second tablet of a diploma. Said to have been found during building-operations at the corner of Church Street and Watermoor Road in 1926, and presented to Corinium Museum in 1937 together with a group of nine mirrors. This association led to the assumption that it had been re-used as a disc mirror. G. Lloyd-Morgan has shown that the accompanying mirrors are of widely differing dates and provenances and suggests that the so-called find was really 'part of an antiquarian collection which had been put together from various sources'. The find-spot at Cirencester is therefore suspect, and the attribution of the diploma to the province of Britannia is uncertain. The association of the fragment with a group of mirrors offers no good reason for suggesting that it had a similar function, and Lloyd-Morgan has produced arguments against its re-use in that capacity. Among the many diploma fragments that appear to have been deliberately fractured in antiquity, perhaps for re-use in some way, there is only one near parallel to the present example. A fragment found at Volubilis, in Morocco, had been cut into a circle of 70 mm diameter, with its centre pierced by a hole. Here the suggested re-use was as a lid (*IAMaroc* 2, No. 808, with photograph = *RMD* 41 and *RMD* ii p. 131, note 53). Corinium Museum. Drawn by R. P. W., 1957.

Atkinson, *JRS* xlvii (1957), 196-7, fig. 7. Wright, *JRS* xlviii (1958), 152 No. 11. *AE* 1958, No. 89 (outer face only); *AE* 1959 No. 162 (both faces). Roxan, *RMD* i, No. 41; Roxan in J.S. Wachter and A. McWhirr, *Cirencester Excavations i* (1982), 117 No. 136, fig. 40. Lloyd-Morgan, *Britannia* xiv (1983), 266-7. Roxan, *RMD* ii, p. 131, note 60.

Suggested restoration:

[Imp. Caesar, divi Hadriani f., divi Traiani Parth(ici) nepos, divi Nervae pronep(os), T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius, pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate). . . . , co(n)s(ul) . . . , p(ater) p(atris). . . .
equit(ibus) et ped(itibus)¹ qui militaverunt etc.
et sunt in Britannia(?)² sub
quorum nomina subscripta sunt.
ex]arcio Nab[. f.(?)].³
[P.] Atti [Severi]; L. Pulli [Daphni]; M. Servili [Getae].⁴

The Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, son of the deified Hadrianus, grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus etc. . . . has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen ? who

second tablet: inner face



second tablet: outer face



2401.II

served in. . . . and are in Britain ? under ,
 whose names are written below etc.
 ex]arcius, son of Nab[. . . ?

[Witnessed by]: Publius Attius Severus; Lucius Pullius
 Daphnus; Marcus Servilius Geta;

¹ Although the formula appropriate for a diploma issued to auxiliary troops has been adopted, the query raised about the provenance of the fragment makes it possible that it is really part of a fleet diploma. The same witnesses appear on both types of issue in this period.

² As part of a (presumed) antiquarian collection this fragment need not have been found originally in Cirencester, or indeed in Britain. In spite of these uncertainties it has been retained as a possible British diploma as further enquiries suggest that the donor may have acquired it in the Cirencester area.

³ Atkinson suggested either [M]arcius or [L]arcius for the nomen of the recipient and inferred that he was already a Roman citizen. See however, Mócsy (*Diplomempfänger*) on the difficulty of assessing status of soldiers through nomenclature alone.

⁴ The presence of a marginal groove above the name *Atti* indicates that the names preserved on the outer face are those of the first three witnesses.

From late in the reign of Hadrian witnesses normally affixed their names in strict order of seniority. As soon as the name of the first witness ceases to appear those following all move up one place. On 13 December 140 (*RMD* 39) Ti. Claudius Menander was first witness and the three named above were second, third and fourth, respectively. In 145 and 146 (*RMD* 44 and *CIL* xvi 178) the first three witnesses were Severus, Daphnus and Geta, but by 9 October 148 Daphnus had replaced Severus in first place (*CIL* xvi 96, 179 and 180). The probable date of issue of the diploma thus lies in the period 141-148.

2401.12. Colchester (*Camulodunum*), Essex. Fragment of a bronze tablet (†) measuring c. 51 × 50 × 1.3 mm. It

is the bottom right-hand corner of the first tablet and represents approximately 15-20% of the total area of the tablet (PL. I C, D). The binding-hole in the bottom right-hand corner was wholly preserved when found but has since been affected by corrosion. A border margin, created by firmly engraved lines, is extant on the bottom and right of the outer face.

Found in summer 1929 in the Colchester Union grounds in an area which regularly produced 'great numbers of coins, broken objects of metal and pottery of the Roman period' perhaps 'the refuse tip of the Roman town' (M. R. Hull). Castle Museum, Colchester. Drawn by R.P.W., 1943.

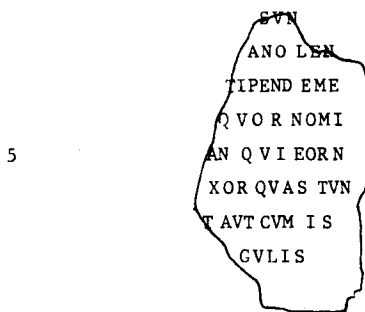
Hull, *T Essex AS* xx, pt. 1 (1933), 1-4. Taylor and Collingwood, *JRS* xix (1929), 216. Hull, *Colchester Museum Report 1930*, 9-14 with pl. Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi 130. E. Birley, *JRS* xxviii (1938), 228, and *DUF* (March 1947), 59 (= *RBRA* (1953), 51). Roxan, *Britannia* xi (1980), 335-7. A. R. Birley, *Fasti*, 121-3.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

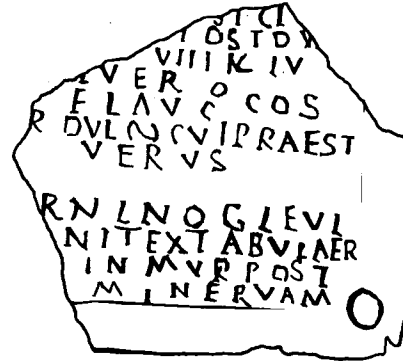
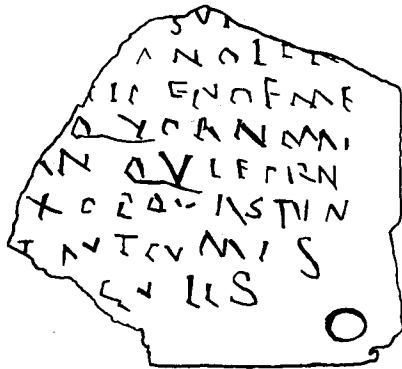
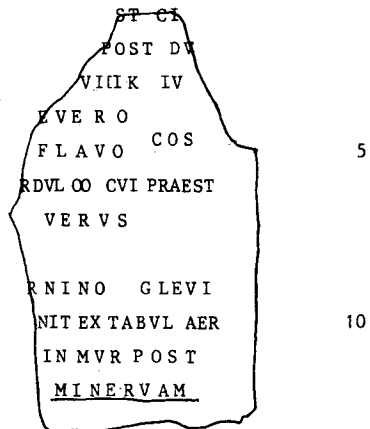
[*Imp.*¹ . . .]
 [*equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis .. et cohortibus*² et] *sun[t in Britannia*³ *sub*
 c.8-10 . . .]ano LEN [. . . . (? leg(ato)?)⁴ XXV pl(u-
 ribus)ve⁵ s]tipend(is) eme[rit(is) dimiss(is) honest(a)
 mission(e)],

quor(um) nomi[n(a) subscript(a) sunt, civit(atem) Rom]an(am), qui eor(um) n[on hab(erent), ded(it) et conub(ium) cum u]xor(ibus) quas tun[c habuiss(ent), cum e]st ci[vit(as) is da]t(a), aut cum is, [quas]

first tablet: inner face



first tablet: outer face



2401.12

post(ea) du[xiss(ent) dumtaxat sin]gulis.
 [a. d.] VIII k. Iu[.]⁶ [.] S]evero,
 [.] Flavo cos.⁷
 [coh(ortis) I fid(ae) Va]rdul(lorum) (milliariae), cui
 praest [.] Verus,⁸ [ex, f., Satu]r-
 nino, Glevi.⁹
 [Descript(um) et recog]nit(um) ex tabul(a) aer(ea),
 [quae fixa est Romae] in mur(o) post [templ(um) divi
 Aug(usti) ad] Minervam.

The Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius¹ etc., has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in and are stationed in Britain under [.]ano LEN[. . . . (?)] legatus, who have served twenty-five or more years and have been honourably discharged, whose names are written below, Roman citizenship to those who do not possess it and the right of legal marriage with the wives whom they had when citizenship was given to them, or with those they married subsequently, but only a single one each.

Eight days before the kalends of July (or June), in the consulships of [.] S]everus and [.] Flavius.
 A.D. 159(?), 24 June (or 25 May).
 To [.], son of, Satu]rninus, from Gloucester, ex cavalryman or infantryman of cohort I fida Vardullorum, a thousand strong, commanded by [.]Verus.

Copied and checked from the bronze tablet set up at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus, near (the statue of) Minerva.

¹ There is a high degree of probability that this diploma was issued in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

² There is no indication that this is other than a normal issue with a standard formula.

³ The find-spot of the fragment, and the home of the recipient, together with the name of his unit, which is attested in Britain from the late first to the mid third century, identifies this certainly as part of a diploma issue for the province of Britain.

⁴ On average the inner face of this diploma appears to have 29-32 letters per line. If the provincial name, Britannia, is unabbreviated, this would allow room for 8-10 letters before -ANO L., the only

certain letters of the governor's name, but it should be noted that the lettering of the line(s) identifying the province and governor are often more widely spaced, perhaps to give emphasis to these details. There is no known instance of the name of a governor being given in a polyonymous form in diplomas of the post-Hadrianic period, and the combined lengths of *nomina* and *cognomina* of governors in the second century vary between 12 and 17 letters. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the name of the governor could have been completed on line 2, but that it may have extended over 4-6 letters at the beginning of line 3 cannot be ruled out. From about A.D. 153 (see note 8) the names of governors are followed by an indication of their rank - *leg.* or *proc.* It is possible, as E. Birley has suggested, that the partially preserved letters at the end of line 2 are an indication of rank, in this case *leg.*, but photographs, taken by R. P. Wright in 1943 before corrosion had partially destroyed this area, make it difficult to see the last strokes as part of a G. Wright himself preferred to accept the alternative reading *LEN.* offered by E. Birley in 1947. There are thus two possibilities: either the governor's name consisted of nomen and cognomen of combined length 11-13 letters (in the ablative case) followed by *leg.* at the end of line 2 (in which case the cognomen of the governor would have the commonly found ending -ANVS), or the nomen, of about 9-11 letters, terminated in -ANVS in the nominative (which is feasible) and the cognomen, beginning with *LEN(?)* (perhaps Lentulus, as suggested by E. Birley) was completed in 3-5 letters at the beginning of line 3, followed by *leg.* See also note 5. The further point made by A. R. Birley that a suitable candidate should be sought among consuls known to have held office in the previous decade has not so far produced a likely restoration.

⁵ The majority of extant diplomas of the period 138-164 show the length of service on the inner face in the form of numerals (XXV or XXV *plve*). Either version would give, in this case, a very short line length (a maximum of 17 spaces), unless preceded by other letters. This lends support to the suggestion that the ending of the governor's cognomen, and his rank, were carried over to this line. However, two or three diplomas in the relevant period use *quinque et viginti* or *quinis et vicenis pluribusve*, on the inner face. The likeliest solution has been adopted in the transcript, but some uncertainties remain.

⁶ R. P. Wright observed that there is no clear letter following *lu-* for the month. This could be *Iul.* or *Iun.* Alternative dates have therefore been suggested.

⁷ In view of the uncertainty about the month in which the diploma was issued, the two unidentified consuls, [S]everus and Flavius, may belong to an earlier *nundinum* in the consular year than has been suggested hitherto.

For arguments about the year of issue see Roxan, *Britannia*, and A.R. Birley, *Fasti*.

⁸ Possibly this commander may be identified with Trebius Verus of *RIB* 2149; cf. A. R. Birley, *Fasti*, 122-3. His lack of an *origo* supports other internal factors which place this diploma after 154.

⁹ The apparent use of *tria nomina* and the fact that Gloucester was a *colonia* suggest that the recipient was already a Roman citizen. However, see Mócsy (*Diplomempfänger*) on the lack of significance of *tria nomina* as an indication of citizenship for auxiliary soldiers.

2401.13. Chesters (*Cilurnum*), Northumberland. A small fragment (†) of the first tablet of a diploma (28 × 39 mm). Found together with *RIB* 2401.10 in the eastern guardroom of the south gate of the fort at Chesters, during excavations by John Clayton in 1879. British Museum. Drawn by Karen Hughes, 1989.

Collingwood Bruce, *AA*² viii, (1880), 221. Mommsen, *CIL* iii, *Suppl.* pars I, LXXI. Watkin, *Arch. J.* xxxvii (1880), 144. Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi 115. Collingwood, *Chesters Guide*, 51.

Conflation of inner and outer faces:

[*Imp. Caesar, divi Hadriani f., di]vi Traiani Par[thic(i) nepos, divi Nervae pronepos], T. Aelius [Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius, po]nt(ifex) max(imus), [trib(unicia) pot(estate), imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IIII,¹ p(ater)] p(at)riae, [eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus) qui mil(itaverunt)² in etc. . . . , et sunt in Britannia³ sub? dim(issis)] ho[n(esta) mis(sione),] [quor(um) nom(ina) subscr(ipta) sunt, civ(itatem)] Rom(anam), [qui eor(um) non hab(erent), ded(it) et con(ubium) cum] ux(oribus) qu[as tunc hab(uissent) cum est civ(itas) is dat(a),] aut cu[m] is quas pos(tea) dux(issent) dumtax(at) sing(ulis).]*

The Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, son of the deified Hadrianus, grandson of the deified Traianus, conqueror of Parthia, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in the ..?th year of his tribunician power, twice acclaimed Emperor, four times consul, father of his country, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who have served in and are stationed in Britain (?) under (?) and have been honourably discharged, whose names are written below, Roman citizenship to those who do not possess it, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had at the time citizenship was given to them, or with those they married subsequently but only a single one each. [c. A.D. 140/161]

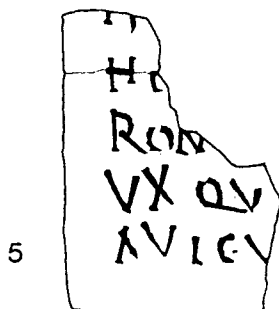
first tablet: inner face



first tablet: outer face



5



5

2401.13

¹ Although this fragment cannot be dated precisely, the style of abbreviations suggests that it is later than the other Chesters diploma fragments (*RIB* 2401.10). The titles of Pius have been restored accordingly.

² The wording used on the inner face makes it clear that this

fragment belongs to a diploma issued to the auxilia some time after the change in formula of c. A.D. 140. It is certainly not a fleet diploma.

³ The find-spot, and its association with another fragmentary diploma (*RIB* 2401.10), which was certainly issued to the auxilia of Britain, suggest that this probably related to the same province.

destination rather than their place of origin. Auxiliary units were liable to be moved from fort to fort in periods of reorganization and the dates of the various occupations are not always exactly known; while sealings are rarely recovered from securely-dated contexts. For this reason we have not burdened the texts below with lists of postings for every unit named; such information is conveniently available in P. A. Holder, *The Roman Army in Britain* (1982). However, an increasing number of military sealings comes from forts where the unit named is known to have been at some period in garrison, and these instances have been noted. It is possible, therefore, that the evidence of sealings may point to the identity of a garrison where other evidence is lacking.

The association of the Provincial sealing from Combe Down (*RIB* 2411.37) with a site of official procuratorial activity is to be noted. Those from London and York may fall in the same category although the examples from Binchester and Aldborough have less explicit contexts.

The rarity of sites yielding Imperial sealings in Britain and the association of a large group of Severan examples with South Shields (known to be a base for that emperor's Scottish campaigns) suggest that the unusual concentration of Imperial sealings at Ickham (*RIB* 2411.22, 25–28) may also have special significance. They fall into two chronological groups; the first (*RIB* 2411.22) is perhaps to be associated with the expedition of Constantine in 342/3 (and cf. *RIB* 2411.23), the second (*RIB* 2411.25–28) dating from the reign of Julian perhaps with that of Lupicinus in 360 or more probably (since Julian is already Augustus on the sealings) with one of the expeditions in 367. If so, Ickham would seem to have had some association with the field army of the mid fourth century; and it would also follow that the packages concerned had been sealed up some years previously in each case.

Some sealings from London (*RIB* 2411.18, 19, 39 and 304) with their analogies at Lyon and Arles hint at use of the trade-route which brought goods from the Mediterranean across Gaul via the rivers Rhône and Saône and then either the Rhine or Seine.

The presence of the *expeditiv* formula (cf. *RIB* 2411.44–50) on some legionary sealings shows that the name of the legion which they bear should be restored in the nominative case. We have accordingly restored all legionary names in that case. Some sealings of *alae*, however, imply the unit's name in the genitive case (cf. *RIB* 2411.83, 85, 87). We have followed this indication for all auxiliary sealings and have restored their names in the genitive case.

To show the nature of these objects a few complete sealings have been illustrated; but for the majority only the die-impressions on them have been drawn, following the practice initiated by Richmond (*CW*² xxxvi (1936)) and followed by R. P. W. in his first draft of this chapter.

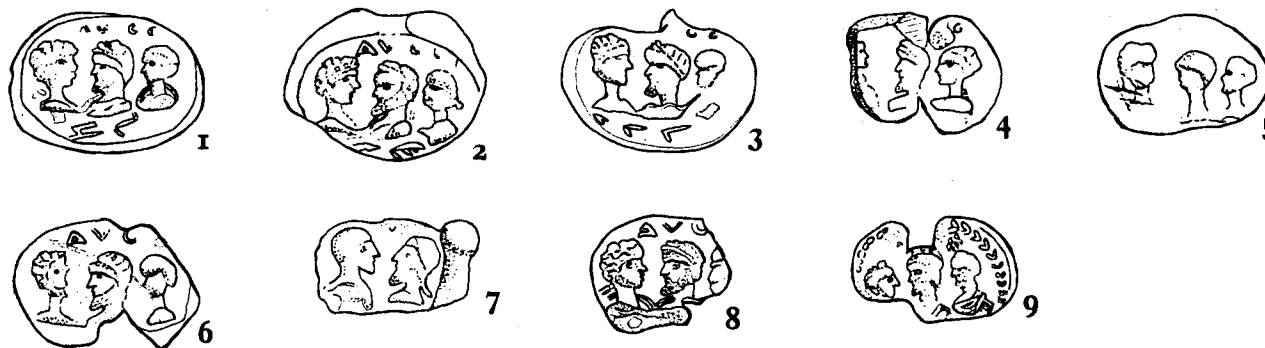
Not every sealing recorded in this chapter is illustrated. A few are too fragmentary for useful illustration. Some drawings made by R. G. C. in the thirties cannot be found: and a box of casts sent to Haverfield by R. Blair in 1890 is also now missing (although its contents were seen by R. P. W. in 1984), as also by now are some of the original sealings from which they were made (see *RIB* 2411.24, 108, 192 and 267). However, in most cases at least one example of each type of seal is published here, occasionally by using illustrations from old publications. The majority have been drawn by S. S. F. from plaster casts made in the 1940s and 1950s by R. P. W. The casts themselves are in the *RIB* archive at the Ashmolean Library, Oxford. Drawings received from other sources are acknowledged at the appropriate places; Miss Jean Mellor and Mr. Francis Grew are also thanked for their good offices.

(a) **Imperial Sealings:** *RIB* 2411.1–32

2411.1–15. South Shields (*Arbeia*). Group of fifteen lead sealings (†), found between 1875 and 1884 in the fort of South Shields, Tyne and Wear [Co. Durham]. The Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne, holds seven (Nos. 1–7), six of them acquired by R. Blair, the other by T. J. Bell (*PSAN*⁴ iv (1929), 106 No. 72). The South Shields Museum holds eight (Nos. 8–15), acquired by T. Vint and others. One was lost by 1877 (Hooppell, loc. cit., No. 5). Some in both collections are fragmentary. On the obverse all show, or once showed, three male imperial busts: centre, Severus, bearded and laureate, facing left; left, Caracalla

laureate facing right; right, Geta facing left. The legend AVGG above the heads is sometimes defective, sometimes absent: it dates the sealings to the period A.D. 198–209, before Geta became the third Augustus. Traces of a palm branch sometimes are visible below the busts. The border is normally plain, but one instance of a cabled border at South Shields Museum (No. 9) shows that more than one die was in use. It is not clear whether differences in the other sealings are due to the use of different dies or merely to faulty manipulation. Drawn by Alison Wilkins from casts by R.P.W.; see also PLS. VI and VII B.

EE iii 202 b without a reading; iv 706 b. Hooppell, *Northd. & Durh. N.H. Trans.* vii (1878), 162 Nos. 4, 5. Blair, *Arch. Ael.*²



viii (1880), 57 No. 3 (three examples), pl. facing p. 57. Bruce, *Arch. Ael.*² x (1884-5), 254 with pl. Nos. 1, 3, 7. Richmond, *Arch. Ael.*⁴ xi (1934), 101 Nos. 1-15. L. Allason-Jones and R. Miket, *Cat.*, 327-8 Nos. 8.8-8.21 with pl. X.

obverse: AVGG | three imperial busts
Aug(ustorum)
'(Property) of the (two) Emperors'

reverse: blank

It should be noted that, as well as other inscribed sealings (*RIB* 2411.24, 68, 70, 86, 100-105 and 296), South Shields has yielded some anepigraphic sealings of high quality: see L. Allason-Jones and R. Miket, *Cat.*, 326 Nos. 8.1-7.

For similar but not identical Severan sealings from Lyon see A. Grenier in J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie . . . gallo-romaine* vi.2 (1934), 649 fig. 228. They carry inscriptions (*p(atrimoni) r(ationis)(?)*, *r(ationis) c(astrensis)*, *anabo(lici)*) which more directly relate them to the supply of the court and army on campaign, and indicate exemption from import duties (S. J. de Laet, *Portorium* (1949), 164-5, 432-4; compare Tacitus, *Annals* xiii 51).

2411.16. Ibid. Lead sealing (†), found before 1882 at South Shields, Tyne and Wear [Co. Durham]. British Museum, presented by R. Blair. Drawn by Alison Wilkins, 1988, from cast by R. P. W. See PL. VII A.

Richmond, *Arch. Ael.*⁴ xi (1934), 101 No. 31.

obverse: three imperial busts, AV[G]G
Aug(ustorum)
'(Property) of the (two) Emperors'

reverse: blank

A.D. 198-209.



2411.17. Chesters (*Cilurnum*). Lead sealing (†), found in 1889 in the fort at Chesters, Northumberland. Chesters Museum. Drawn by Keith Bennett, 1988, from cast by R. P. W.

Blair, *PSAN*² iv (1889), 156; *Arch. Ael.*² xiii (1889), 362. Budge, *Cat.* (1903), 375 No. 625. Richmond, *Arch. Ael.*⁴ xi (1934), 101 No. 32.

obverse: Severus faces right but the sealing is slightly bent at this point. None of the figures is laureate. Faint traces of the A of AVGG are visible although the three imperial heads are twice the size of the South Shields examples (*RIB* 2411.1-16) and fill most of the field.

reverse: blank.

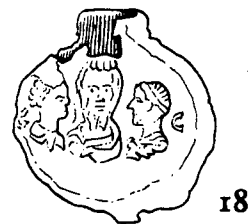


17

2411.18. London (*Londinium*). Lead sealing (†) found in 1983 during excavation of the Thames waterfront at Billingsgate Lorry Park. Museum of London. Drawn by Nicholas Griffiths, 1989.

Antiq. J. lxxvi (1986), 378 fig. 4, centre (but the drawing lacks the inscription).

obverse: bearded bust facing front, flanked by laureate busts facing inwards. [AV]GG
reverse: blank



18

Although of a design different from *RIB* 2411.1-17, this clearly also represents Severus, Caracalla and Geta.

2411.19. Ibid. Lead sealing (†) from the same context as *RIB* 2411.18. In private possession. Drawn by Nicholas Griffiths, 1989.

obverse: A V G G G | N N N | R N with (clockwise round the edge) R A T[. . .]
Aug(ustorum) | n(ostrorum) | R N | rat(io) [patrimoni ?]
 'Account of the *patrimonium* of our three emperors R(. . .) N(. . .).'

reverse: blank

cord: vertical

A.D. 209-11, later than *RIB* 2411.1-16. Geta became the third Augustus in A.D. 209. This sealing is closely paralleled by one found at Lyon (Grenier, *Manuel d'Archéologie . . . gallo-romaine* vi. 2 (1934), 649 fig. 228 No. 4), where PATRIMON(I)I is better preserved. The seal ensured exemption from import-duty (S. J. de Laet, *Portorium* (1949), 434).



19

2411.20-21. Richborough (*Rutupiae*). Two lead sealings (†), found a few years before 1868 in a rubbish-pit outside the fort at Richborough, Kent and presented to Mr. Mayer. They retained traces of the string which they had sealed. Sought in vain by Haverfield in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool. Reproduced from *Coll. Ant.*

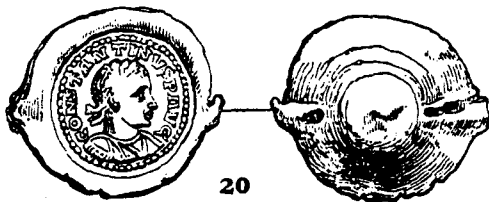
EE vii 1149. Roach Smith, *Coll. Ant.* vi, 120 with fig. Haverfield, *Arch. J.* xlvii (1890), 233. Richmond, *CW*² xxxvi (1936), 125 No. 4.

obverse: laureate head of Constantine I, when young, facing right.

Constantinus P(ius) Aug(ustus)

reverse: blank

The legend is positive and made from a die, not from a coin. Cf. *CIL* xiii 10029, 31 from Trier.



20

2411.22. Ickham. Lead sealing (†), found in 1977 with *RIB* 2411.25-27 and 41 by metal-detector near the Roman villa at Ickham, Kent. Property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners but at present in private hands. Drawn by M. W. C. H., 1978.

Britannia x (1979), 351 No. 33d. For the site see C.J. Young in A. Detsicas (ed.), *Collectanea Historica* (1981), 32-3.

obverse: laureate draped bust facing right within a circular border of pellets.

[Constantinus] Iun(ior) Nob(ilissimus) C(aesar)

Constantine II as Caesar (A.D. 317-37)

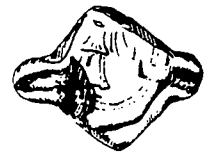
reverse: Victory facing left within a circular border of pellets

obv. cf. *RIC* vii Trier, 520, A.D. 324-37.

rev. cf. Victory on a prow on Constantinopolis coins *RIC* vii Trier, 523; *LRBC* pt. i, No. 71 (pl. II), A.D. 330-335.



22



2411.23. London (*Londinium*). Lead sealing (†), from the same context as *RIB* 2411.18. Museum of London. Drawn by Nicholas Griffiths, 1989.

obverse: head of emperor laureate, right.

CONSTANS PF AVG

reverse: blank

cord: vertical

A.D. 337-50. The sealing is perhaps to be associated with the imperial expedition to Britain in 342/3.



23

2411.24. South Shields (*Arbeia*). Lead sealing (†), found in 1875-6 in the fort at South Shields, Tyne and Wear [Co. Durham]. Acquired by R. Blair. In 1946 sought in vain by R. P. W. in the Black Gate Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. Drawn by R. P. W. from a cast taken by R. Blair.

EE iii 202 d without a reading; iv 706 f. Hooppell, *Northd. & Durh. N.H. Trans.* vii (1878), 162 No. 6. Blair, *Arch. Ael.*² viii

(1880), 57, pl. facing p. 57 No. 4. Roach Smith, *Coll. Ant.* vii 67, pl. XIV 4. Bruce, *Arch. Ael.*² x (1884-5), 255, pl. facing p. 254 No. 6.

obverse: head facing right]DN[*d(ominus) n(oster)*
or D]DN[N *d(omini) n(ostri)*
reverse: head

obv. D. .AV Hooppell; D. .AV Huebner;]DN[R. P. W.
from cast by R. Blair.

R. Blair sent a cast of this and 25 other sealings to F. Haverfield. R. P. W.



24

2411.25. Ickham. Lead sealing (†), found in 1977 with RIB 2411.22, q.v. for details. Drawn by M. W. C. H., 1978.

Britannia x (1979), 350 No. 33a with fig. 26.

obverse: laureate draped bust facing left, within circular border of pellets.

D(ominus) N(oster) Iulian[us] Aug(ustus)

reverse: horse standing on a ground-line facing right, left foreleg raised, within a circular border of pellets. Above the animal's back probably S|RVF

rev. alternative, less probable readings are RVE, RMF, or RME.



25



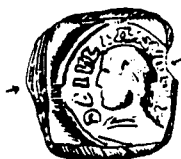
2411.26. Ickham. Lead sealing (†), found in 1977 with RIB 2411.22, q.v. for details.

Britannia x (1979), 351 No. 33b.

obverse: type as RIB 2411.22.

D(ominus) N(oster) Iulia[nus] A]ug(ustus)

reverse: type as RIB 2411.25. S|RVF



26



2411.27. Ickham. Lead sealing (†), found in 1977 with RIB 2411.22, q.v. for details.

Britannia x (1979), 351 No. 33c.

obverse: type as RIB 2411.22.

D(ominus) N(oster) Iulia[nus] A]ug(ustus)

reverse: type as RIB 2411.25. S|RVF



27



2411.28. Ickham. Lead sealing (†), found in 1979 during field-walking at Ickham, Kent, together with an uninscribed sealing. Property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners but at present in private hands. Drawn by M. W. C. H., 1979.

Britannia xi (1980), 413 No. 52. For the site see C.J. Young in A. Detsicas (ed.), *Collectanea Historica* (1981), 32-3.

obverse: laureate draped bust facing left within a circular border of pellets.

[D(ominus) N(oster) Iu]li[an]us Aug(ustus)

reverse: horse standing on a ground-line facing right, with left foreleg raised, within a circular border of pellets. Above the animal's back [S]RVF



28



2411.29. London (*Londinium*). Lead sealing (†), found in or before 1979 on the Thames shore at Blackfriars, London. In private possession. Drawn by Nicholas Griffiths, 1989. See also PL. VII C.

Britannia xvi (1985), 329 No. 35. M. Henig, *Antiq. J.* lx (1980), 331-2 with pl. LX B.



29

obverse: FOR AVGG
For(tuna) Aug(ustorum), 'the Fortune of the (two) Emperors'

Below the legend Fortuna standing, facing left with cornucopiae on left arm. In her right hand is a steering oar resting on a globe.

reverse: blank
 cord: horizontal

Dr. Henig suggests that the two emperors are Severus and Caracalla.

2411.30. Brough under Stainmore (*Verteris*), Cumbria [Westmorland]. Lead sealing (†), now in the British Museum. Drawn by R. P. W.

Richmond, *CW*² xxxvi (1936), 120.

obverse: *Imp(erator) N(oster)*
 'Our emperor. . .'



2411.31. Old Winteringham. Lead sealing (†), found in 1972 at Old Winteringham, Humberside [Lincs.]. In private possession. Drawn by S. S. F. from a rubbing by R. P. W., 1974, and a photograph.

R. Goodburn, *Britannia* v (1974), 377-9 with pl. XXXII a-c; Wright, *ibid.* vi (1975), 287 No. 14.

obverse: imperial head facing right.
 . . .]IN[. . .

reverse: blank

obv. a circular die with head facing right, traces of a radiate crown. A rectangular punch struck over the circular impression has deleted part of the legend.

The sealing instead of being traversed by a cord has an extension which was folded back over the cord at the back from the top left-hand side.

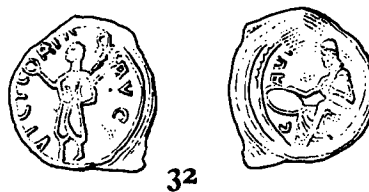


2411.32. Cirencester (*Corinium*). Lead sealing (†), found in or before 1980 by metal-detector in the region

of Cirencester, Gloucs. In private possession. Drawn by Nicholas Griffiths, 1982.

Britannia xiv (1983), 344 No. 26.

obverse: *Victoria Aug(usti)*, standing figure facing left
 reverse: CAV[. . .], seated figure facing left with shield.



(b) **Provincial Sealings:** *RIB* 2411.33-38

2411.33. London (*Londinium*). Lead sealing (†), found in 1984 at Billingsgate Lorry Park, London. Museum of London. Drawn by Nicholas Griffiths, 1989.

Britannia xvi (1985), 329 No. 34, with pl. XXV A

obverse: BRITA SANC

Brita(nnia) Sanc(ta). 'Holy Britannia'.

Britannia seated above a ground-line facing right, holding a spear in her right hand and with a shield at her right side. In her left hand she holds an (?) *aplustre* (stern-post of a galley). At her feet lies a (?) stag.

reverse: blank
 cord: vertical

obv. The stag was the badge of *Britannia Superior*, cf. *RIB* 2411.37



2411.34. Felixstowe. Lead sealing (†), given before 1847 to Roach Smith by W. S. Fitch of Ipswich with two unscripted sealings, one showing a diademed head, left, the other a trooper galloping right (cf. FIG. 1, p.87). Said to have been 'picked up at Felixstowe', Suffolk, and so probably from the vicinity of the Saxon Shore fort of Walton Castle. Although the fort itself had been washed away by coastal erosion during the eighteenth century, finds were still being made in the vicinity during the nineteenth: the British Museum possesses studs from a lead coffin found there in 1853. Finds from the area show evidence for a settlement from at least the second century (*VCH*), but

PLATE II



A. The Walcot Diploma, *RIB* 2401.7: inner face (f).

(Photographs: J.R. Garrood)



B. The same, outer face (f) (p. 17).

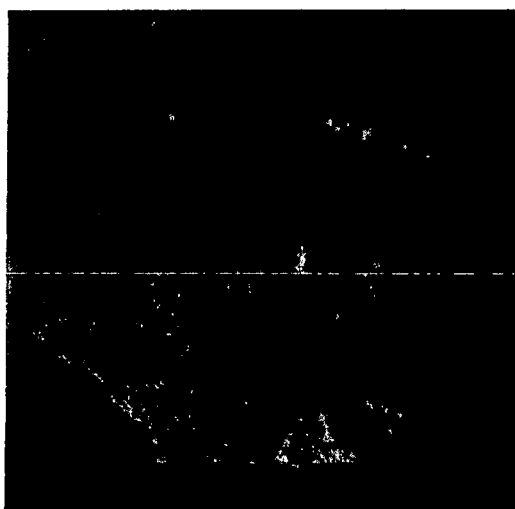


A. The Middlewich Diploma, *RIB*
2401.3: inner face ($\frac{1}{2}$).

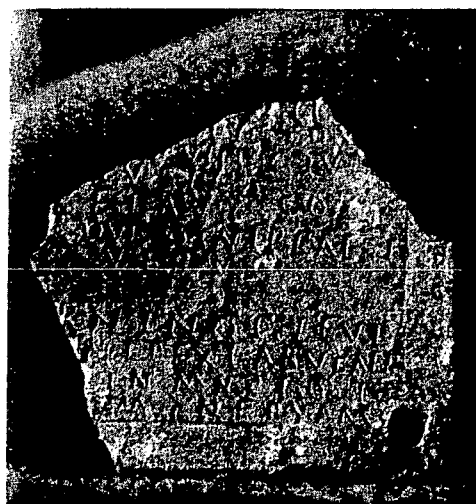


B. The same, outer face ($\frac{1}{2}$) (p. 9).

(Photographs: Grosvenor Museum, Chester)
(copyright reserved)



C. The Colchester Diploma, *RIB*
2401.12 inner face ($\frac{1}{2}$).



D. The same, outer face ($\frac{1}{2}$) (p. 25).

(Photographs: R.P. Wright)