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PANNONIANS IN ROMAN BRITAIN

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In memory of András Mócsy

For the Claudian invasion of Britain in A.D. 43, Aulus Plautius brought with him from Pannonia legio IX Hispana, and it is reasonable to suspect that it was accompanied by some of the auxilia from that province. But there is no evidence for more than two alae and at most five cohorts raised in Pannonia, and at one time or another serving in Britain - and the earliest British evidence for one of them is in January 103 (XVI 48). Although the total number of relevant texts is small, and the number of Pannonians identifiable by name is smaller still, there are enough items of interest, whether on Order of Battle grounds or on nomenclature, to warrant a brief survey of the evidence.

(a) ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana: The diploma for 17 July 122, XVI 69, was issued to one of its men, the Pannonian Gemellus Breuci filius; and, since it records discharges granted to men of exactly 25 years' service, it follows that he had been enlisted in 97. Now it happens that there is a tombstone from Carnuntum, III 4466 = ILS 2515, commemorating a trooper ala Tam. vex. Brit., which implies that the ala needed at least one replacement when a detachment of it was serving in Pannonia; it seems proper to infer that Gemellus joined that part of the unit while it was serving in his home province, and that he had not been sent as a recruit to join the ala in Britain. It may be noted that the man buried at Carnuntum was a Gaul, from Durocortorum Remorum, and the decurion to whom the diploma of 19 January 103 was issued, XVI 48, was a Spaniard; that is to say, the ala was in Britain by that year (no doubt far earlier too), and had been drawing its intake from western provinces and not from its original Pannonian home. In other words, we must not take Gemellus as an example of a tendency for units to be kept up to strength by drafts from their province of origin. Nevertheless, he gives us the earliest clear instance of a Pannonian serving in Britain. It must be added that the ala had been transferred from Britain to Noricum within a few years of 122, as is shown by XVI 174, assignable to the last ten years of Hadrian's reign.

(b) The first ala of the thirteen listed on XVI 69 is I Pannonjor. Sabianian., which is probably to be restored on the diploma for 146, XVI 93, as I [Pann.Sabin.]. The only evidence for its personnel is on an inscription from Haltonchesters/Onnum on Hadrian's Wall, RIB 1433, to be assigned to the first half of the third century, giving us two men from Noricum; that fort is the one to which, per lineam valu, it is assigned in the Notitia Dignitatum. Occ. XL 37; it is attested by a lead seal and a stamped tile at South Shields, on the North Sea coast, but there is no evidence that it was ever stationed there. It may well be that, like the ala Tampiana, it was part of the army

of invasion in 43, but we have no evidence to show that it continued to receive Pannonian recruits thereafter. A fragmentary inscription from Ostia, XIV 4467, giving four posts in the militia equestris, leading to a procuratorship, gives us (if I am right) [praef. alae Sabinia]nae in B[ritannia] followed by [praef. alae II Fla]viae oo in R[aetia], probably late in the second century (cf. my briefdiscussion in *Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda Dedicata*, 1966, 66ff.)

(c) Coh. I Pannoniorum in Britain is attested only by a career record from Aesernia, IX 2649 = ILS 2732: P.Septimio P.f.Tro. Paterculo praef. coh. I Pannoni[or.] in Brittaniam, praef.coh. [II] Hispanor. in Cappadoc., flamini divi Traiani. . . The dating is evidently Hadrianic or later; but the fact of his move from Britain to Cappadocia, for his second posting in the militia prima, suggests to me the possibility that he was moved to the East by M. Staius Priscus, to take part in the Parthian war. There is no other evidence for the cohort's presence in Britain, unless indeed its number is to be restored on an inscription from Hadrian's Wall, discussed under (f), below; nor can we say whether it should be identified, for example, as the unit of the same name and number attested in Upper Germany by three or four evidently early inscriptions (XIII 7510, 7511, 7582 and probably 7046), or a couple of inscriptions from Aquileia (V 885 = ILS 2564 and A.E. 1926, 110). Other coh. I Pannoniorum are known in Mauretania Caesariensis, and in Upper Moesia and Dacia (this last with the title veterana, perhaps to distinguish it from coh. I Ulpia Pannoniorum).

(d) Coh. II Pannoniorum is to be restored on the diploma for 105, XVI 51, and it occurs on that for 124, XVI 70 (though it is not among the 37 cohorts of 122, XVI 69). One of its prefects, whose name and part of his origo are missing, set up an altar at the coastal fort at Beckfoot in Cumbria, RIB 880; and a lead seal, COIIP, has been found in the vicus at Chesterholm/Vindolanda, which was certainly not its station (Britannia III 360). Otherwise it is only attested by the career of an equestrian officer from Beneventum, C.Oclatius Modestus (IX 1619 = ILS 5502), who in Hadrian's day had served first in it, then as prefect of coh. III Itryaeorum (in Egypt) and then as trib. mil. leg. IIII Scythic. (in Syria) - unless indeed we were to suppose that this was a different coh. II Pannoniorum, otherwise unrecorded but maybe in an eastern province).

(e) Coh. V Pannoniorum seems indicated by a lead seal from Brough-under Stainmore/Verterae CVP (Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions n.s. XXXVI, 1936, p.118): admittedly a suprascript reading CVP would have been decisive proof, but that symbol is lacking on several other Brough seals - CVIITR, CIINER and CHIINER. It should be noted that a series of five coh. Pannoniorum is not inherently improbable: coh. III Pannoniorum is attested by III 3752, from Vetus Salina in Lower Pannonia, and coh. IIII Pannoniorum by a

tile from Apulum in Dacia, COH IIII P (III 12631) as well as by an inscription from Alba Fucens (IX 3924).

(f) A fragmentary tombstone, found re-used as a paving-stone at Milecastle 42, Cawfields, on Hadrian's Wall (RIB 1667) may be read as follows: d. m. / [--] Dagvalda m[i]l. / [coh.-] Pan., vixit an[---] / [] Pusinna [con/iu]x titulu[m pos.]. A Pannonian cohort is evidently in question, but we cannot say whether its number was I, II or even V. Neither husband nor wife can be taken for Pannonian. The name Dagvalda is otherwise unknown (Nomenclator, ed. Mócsy etc., 1983, lists only this case), but compare the Chariovalda, dux Batavorum, in Tacitus, Annals II 11: this man may well have been a Bata-vian. As to his wife, Pusinnus/a occur too widely for there to be any clue to her origin (cf. Nomenclator p.236).

(g) Coh. I Breucorum is only attested in Raetia, where it has left numerous inscriptions, mainly at Pfünz; on two of them, IBR 277 = III 11932 and 276 = 11931, it carries the titles Valeria Victrix, and I have suggested (in BVbl. 45,1980,81) that it had earned those titles for service alongside leg. XX against Boudicca in 60, when the legion itself acquired them. But this is evidently a very long shot!

(h) Coh. IIII Breucorum is first attested in Britain in 122 (XVI 69); it has left tiles at various sites in West Yorkshire, presumably all pre-Hadrianic, and is to be restored on RIB 739 at Bowes/Lavatrae: a building-inscription honouring Hadrian, already p(ater) p(atriciae), under a governor restorable as Sex. Iulius Severus, therefore circa 130-132 (cf. A.R.Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain, 1981, 106f.); by the third century it was at Ebchester/Vindomora in County Durham, RIB 1101 being a dedication to Minerva by an actarius of the cohort, which carries the title Antoniniana, assignable in Britain to the period 213-222 and most probably 213-217, under Caracalla; the dedicator is a Iul(ius) Gr[----], whose origin is evidently indeterminate. The site has also produced several of the cohort's tiles.

(i) An altar from Old Carlisle near Wigton in Cumbria, RIB 894, gives us a praefectus equitum, P. Ael(ius) Pub. f. Sergia Magnus d(omo) Mursa ex Pannon. Inferiore, commanding the ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata in A.D. 191. There is no other equestrian officer, on the register for Roman Britain, for whom Pannonian origin can be shown.

(j) RIB 754 from Watercrock, near Kendal in Cumbria, comes from a funeral monument, with an incomplete text that mentions two centurions; Mr R.P. Wright's reading is not completely satisfactory, and there is too much room for conjecture for a better one to be attempted here. But there is enough to show that two men from Pannonia are in question. The dead man was P. Aelius P. f. Serg(ia) Bassus, and Mr Wright has assumed that his origo, needed to be restored, was Mursa: here, it seems to me, he has been influenced by the

case of the equestrian officer, just discussed in (i), above. But I may be allowed to refer to my discussion of the case in Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions, n. s. LV, 1956, 46-53). Bassus is described as q(uon)d(am) 7 Leg. XX V. V.; citing the paper by U.Kahrstedt, "Defunctus - Obitus: Beobachtungen an lateinischen Grabinschriften" (Trierer Zeitschrift 22,1954,212-217), I pointed out that the formula only occurs in quantity in Lower Pannonia, with its greatest concentration at Brigetio and Aquincum, and its presence on a military tombstone should at least suggest that the dead man, or his heir, or both, come from Lower Pannonia and had previously served in one of its legions (I or II Adiutrix) from the time of Caracalla onwards; I therefore suggested that the origo should be restored as [Aquincum] - since the inscription mentions dd. nn., presumably referring to the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, when only II Adiutrix was in the Lower province. The man's heir was a centurion of leg. VI Vic., Aelius Surinus; the presumption that he, too, came from Lower Pannonia can now be supported by reference to A.E. 1973, 445, with the definitive publication by A. and J.Šašel in Situla 25,1986, no.3108: I. O. M. f(ulguratori), C. Aelius Surinus dec. col. M(ursensium), IIviral. q.q. des., v. s. l. m. Here we surely have, if not identity, close kinship: the magistrate at Mursa was perhaps the son of the centurion at Watercreek - unless indeed the centurion was a son of the magistrate, perhaps commissioned ex equite Romano. Reference to the Watercreek text will show that the monument, set up by two of the dead man's freedmen, carried the cautionary formula si q[uis in hoc] sepulchrum alium mort[uum intul]erit, infer(at) f(isco) dd. nn. - the amount of the fine unfortunately lost; as I pointed out, there is no other British example of one of these multae, while the practice of including such formulae on tombstones seems to be of relatively late origin, concordant with the reference to joint emperors - and indeed with the type of G used in Serg. Altogether, the Watercreek stone gives us welcome evidence for two Pannonian centurions in Britain, early in the third century.

(k) There is another centurion of leg. VI Victrix for whom a Pannonian origin may be suspected: as I pointed out in ZPE 57, 1984, 230ff., Flavius Verecundus, centurion of that legion, attested by an altar found at Westwood on the Aritoriine Wall in Scotland, JRS 54, 1964, 178 f., may very likely be identified, at a different stage in his career, as the T. Flavius Verecundus, from Claudia Savaria, who is recorded as a centurion of leg. XIV Gemina Martia Victrix on an altar to Mithras at Carnuntum, III 4416.

(1) RIB 1713, from Chesterholm/Vindolanda, was found in 1818, re-used in a repair to the east gateway of the stone fort. It reads as follows: d. m. / Corn. Victor s. c. / mil. ann. XXVI civ. / Pann., fil. Saturni/ni p. p., vix. an. LV d. XI, / coniux procuravi. The dead man, Cornelius Victor, had been summus curator (so M.P.Speidel interprets the abbreviation s. c. in his Guards of the Roman Army, pp.70 and 126) or singularis consularis (the

standard interpretation, favoured by the late R.W.Davies in *Britannia VII*, 1976, 134ff.): in either case, he was at best a warrant officer, below the rank of centurion. That may seem surprising, for we have long learnt from Arthur Stein's *Römischer Ritterstand* that the sons of primipilares could be expected to be upwardly mobile (to use a convenient modern term), rising higher than their parents in the social scale. That is a point made very clearly by Brian Dobson in his monograph *Die Primipilares*, 1978, 116 f f.: "Ihre Nachkommen stiegen in der zweiten und manchmal sogar in der ersten Generation in den Senat. . ." But he notes the present case, and only one other, in which sons of primipilares are found serving in the ranks; and he can only explain these cases by supposing that the men had begun their military careers before their fathers had reached the primipilate. All the same, it is remarkable that Cornelius Victor, perhaps the latest in date of the handful of Pannonians that we have been discussing, should have served for 26 years without ever profiting from his father's high rank. As to the father, the conjunction Cornelius Saturninus is too common for us to locate him elsewhere: there is indeed a centurion of leg. II Aug., M. Cornelius Ti. f. Saturninus attested by an inscription from Rome, VI 3585, as one of the heirs of what seems to have been his stepfather, M. Iulius Hiero; but he is evidently not a Pannonian.

Carvoran

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