

I. A. RICHMOND

**THE SARMATAE, *BREMETENNACVM VETERANORVM* AND
THE *REGIO BREMETENNACENSIS***

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The Roman fort at Ribchester¹ is one of the important strategic centres of Northern Britain (fig.1), where a Roman road² from south to north crossed the river Ribble, while another³ went eastwards to the legionary fortress at York through the Aire Gap and yet a third⁴ ran north-westwards to the Fylde. The Ribble, still tidal as far as Rochester, may well have been navigable⁵ in Roman times as far as the lower crossing by a north-south road at Walton-le-Dale, though nowadays even small ships do not come further up river than Penwortham, three miles away. High fells, in Bowland and Croasdale, lie to north and north-cast of the fort, which is itself situated in a deep valley. But the general formation of the neighbouring terrain is in wide sweeps of rolling plateau, suited to cavalry movements. In this respect the position has much in common

¹ For accounts of the fort, see Tom C. SMITH and J. SHORTT, *The History of the Parish of Ribchester* (London, 1899), 1-41 and 270; also W. T. WATKIN, *Roman Lancashire* (Liverpool, 1883), 125-163; and J. H. HOPKINSON, *The Roman Fort at Ribchester* (3rd edn., by D. ATKINSON, Manchester, 1928).

² For accounts of the roads: Manchester-Ribchester, *Trans. Lit. & Phil. Soc. Lanes. & Cheshire* vi-vii; Wigan-Walton-le-Dale, Baines, *Hist. Lanes.* iii, (1836) 573; Ribchester-Overborough, *Lanes. & Cheshire Antiq. Soc.* xxxi, 69-87; Ribchester-Lancaster, *op. cit.*, 221.

³ Ribchester-Likley, *Bradford Antiquary* vi, 44.

⁴ Ribchester-Fylde, T. D. WHITAKER, *History of Richmondshire* (1823) ii, 458; WATKIN, *op. cit.*, 70 ff.; JRS xviii, 198.

⁵ For Ribble navigation, see WHITAKER, *loc. cit.*, CVII *Lanes*, vii, 80, and Baines, *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836) iii, 377. STUKELEY, *Iter Boreale* 37, mentions 'Anchor Hill', just west of the fort, where there had been discoveries of 'anchors and great quantities of iron pins of all sizes for ships or barges'. Since it seems certain that the river was not navigable to sea-going vessels thus far, the ships must have been river-craft. For the site at Walton-le-Dale, see WATKIN, *Roman Lanes*, 202-205.

with Stanwix, Corbridge, Binchester, or Lancaster, where Roman cavalry garrisons lay⁶.

Ribchester does in fact appear to have been garrisoned by cavalry throughout the Roman occupation, and the name of the unit stationed there during the latter half of the period is well attested. In the third century, according to a well-known inscription⁷ of A.D. 238-244, considered in detail below, the garrison was the *numerus equitum Sarmatarum Bremetennacensium*, whose geographical title, formed from the place-name *Bremetennacum*, supplies the official version of the Roman name of the fort, less accurately transmitted in literature⁸. In the fourth century, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*⁹, the *numerus* had become the *cuneus Sarmatarum*, but whether the title 'ala', as yet known only upon two tombstones¹⁰, represents an intermediate official status, as Rowell¹¹ suggests, is less certain: the title may have been conferred¹² only by local usage, out of rivalry with the neighbouring *ala Sebosiana*, stationed at

⁶ For cavalry at these sites, see CIL, vii, 929 (Stanwix); *Eph. Ep.* vii, 995 (Corbridge); CIL vii, 423, 427, 429 (Binchester) and *ibid.* 287, 288 (Lancaster).

⁷ *ibid.*, 218: the credit for first noting that the regiment were Sarmatae goes to J. HORSLEY, *Brit. Rom.* 302. The name 'Bremetennacum' appears to be formed from an adjectival *bremeton* (cf. *nemeton*), connected with *Boruw*, with the common Celtic suffix in *-nn* (cf. Cebenna, Arduenna, Tarvanna, etc.) and the familiar addition in *-acum* denoting personal property. *Bremetenna* might well be a stream name.

⁸ The Antonine Itinerary gives *Bremetennacum*, see CUNTZ, *Itan. Rom.* i, 74, 481, 5; the *Ravenna Cosmography* (434, 3) *Bremetenaci veteranorum*; the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Oc. xi, 54, *Bremetennaco*.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ CIL, vii, 220, 230.

¹¹ *Yale Classical Studies* vi, 99, note 68; cf. E. STEIN, *Die haiserhehen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat* (Wien, 1932), 238.

¹² cf. MOMMSEN, *Gesammelte Schriften* vi, iii, n. 5, who considers the use as an abuse and compares the *ala exploratorum Pomarensium*, see *op. cit.* 109, n. i. Rowell P-W, s.v. 'numerus', remarks 'vielmehr können wir erst im 3 Jbdt. die Verwendung eines *numerus* in einer Truppe einer anderen Cattung feststellen', He then cites two instances, the *numerus* Palmyrenorum, which became on the one hand a cohort (CIL, iii, 908), and on the other an *ala* (ILS 9472), and the *numerus* Palmyrenorum at Coptos under Caracalla, which seems to be the *ala VIII Palmyrenorum* cited in *Not. Dign. Or.* xxi, as among the troops of the Duke of the Thenbaid. But the first change is so odd that Dessau (ILS, *ioc. cit.*) describes it as *mirum*, while the second is not of the third century. No support for the Ribchester phenomenon as normal practice can be derived from either example.

Lancaster. Another unit in garrison at Ribchester was *ala Asturum*¹³, and the light cavalry-man in typical West-European dress portrayed upon a tombstone¹⁴ now in Blackburn Museum must belong either to this or to yet another cavalry unit distinct from the Sarmatae, whose heavy equipment (see below) was not of West-European style¹⁵. There is, in fact, room for one or more such units in garrison during the late-first and early-second century, when inscriptions and other relics, such as the famous parade-helmet, bear witness to an occupation of the fort.

As has just been hinted, the Sarmatae were not from Western Europe or, indeed, from within the Empire. They are first known¹⁶ east of the Don, but in the third century B.C. they were pressing upon the Scythians of South Russia and two hundred years later they had reached the Dniester and even the Danube. About this time they appear to have split into two groups, the Roxolani, who pressed southward through what is now Rumania, and the Iazyges, who struck across the Carpathian passes into the Transylvanian plain, where they were accepted as the mounted arm of the Suebic kingdom and settled between the Danube and the Theiss. Mommsen¹⁷ long ago pointed out that the Ribchester Sarmatae are certainly to be identified with the western group, called by Tacitus¹⁸ the Sarmatae Iazyges, whose offer of troops Vespasian decided not to accept and who were later to defeat the armies of Domitian. These same Iazyges were harried and induced to sue for peace in 175 by Marcus Aurelius¹⁹, on

¹³ CIL, vii, 221.

¹⁴ Illustrated by WATKIN, *Roman Lanc*, 158, and found 200 yds upstream from the fort in the south bank of the river: see also *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.* ser. 2, vii, 30, with Watkin's illustration.

¹⁵ Rattenbary, CR lvi, 113; lvii, 67.

¹⁶ PTOLEMY, *Geogr.* iii, 7, I, puts the Iazyges northwest of Lake Maeotis (the sea of Azov) as does STRABO, *Geogr.* vii, 3, 17-30th C., based, however, upon sources of the second century B.C., though the name still lingered there, in the Portae Sarmaticae (*Ptol. Geogr.*, v, 9, 11) together with some of the people, allred to the Hiberi (*Tac. Ann.* vi, 33). Ovid, however, knew of them in west Sarmatia (*Ex Ponto* iv, 7, 9, and *Tridia* ii, 191) just as Roman generals met them north of the Danube (ILS 852, 853, 986), as Tacitus also records (*Hist.*, I, 79). But Tacitus also associates them with the Suebi (*Ann.* xii, 29-30, *Hist.* iii, 5), as do Pliny (*NH* iv, 80) and Ptolemy (*Geogr.* iii, 7), the last named calling them the Iazyged Metanastae. For a review of the whole evidence, see E. H. MINNS, *Scythians and Greeks* 120-121, and R. SYME, 'The Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus', *CQ* xxiii (1929), 130-133.

¹⁷ *Hermes* xix, 227 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vi, 111).

¹⁸ *Hist.* iii, 5; cf. Minns, *Inc.*

¹⁹ *Dio Cass.*, lxxi, 16, ol.

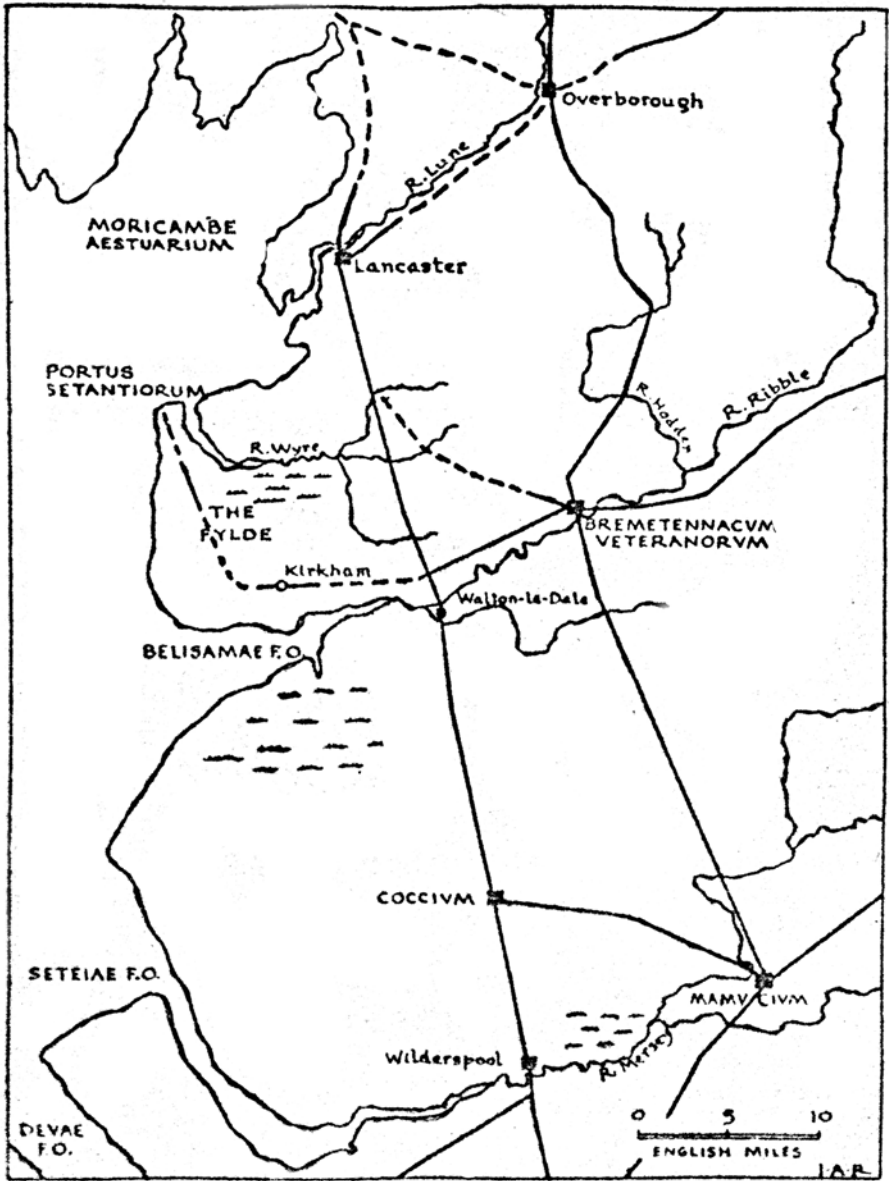


Fig. 1. Ribchester and the Roman road-system

which occasion Rome took a victor's share of the cavalry arm, which Tacitus had described²⁰ as their sole effective power. Eight thousand picked men were levied for the Imperial army, and 5,500 of them were sent to Britain.

Such were the people from whom Marcus was the first to take the victorious title of 'Sarmaticus'²¹ and whose land he had intended to incorporate within the Empire as the new province of Sarmatia²². They were remarkably equipped for war, men and horses being clothed from head to foot in mail after the manner of Persian *catafractarii*, and carried a heavy spear requiring the use of both hands. The type is not only described by Tacitus²³, but is depicted²⁴ upon Trajan's Column in Rome. It was without doubt these heavy cataphracts whom the Imperial staff, ever anxious to develop their cavalry arm, desired to acquire; for Roman experience had shown that, while the Sarmatian cavalry were at a disadvantage²⁵ when off their guard or hampered by snow or mud, no ranks could withstand their charge in the battle-line. In the Roman service many defects could be cured or remedied by drill and discipline, and it became the view of later Roman military experts²⁶ that cataphracts rendered the best service both in breaking a battle-line and in pursuing broken infantry.

²⁰ Tac. *Hist.* iii, 5, 'vim equitum qua sola valent'.

²¹ On the title 'Sarmaticus', see MATTINGLY-SYDENHAM, RIC iii, 304, 1154-1157.

²² SHA, Vita Marci, 27.

²³ Tac. *Hist.*, i, 79; cf. Vegetius, *de re mil.* ii, 23, quoted in n. 26 below.

²⁴ CICHORIUS, *Die Reliefs der Traianssaule*, Taf. 28, scene 37. To these illustrations should be added the Chester stone (*Cat. Grosvenor Museum*, no. 137, p. 69, illustrated p. 121), which shows a horseman in tightly, fitting scale armour (the scales being clear upon leg and arm) with a dragon-pennon. It may be remarked that, if the Chester stone had been a little more weathered, the trooper would have looked naked; and this explains the Ribchester stone, now lost, of a naked horseman, recorded by Camden (*Britania*, edn. 1607, 302), which must in fact have been the weathered figure of a mailed Sarmatian, since the inscription (CIL vii, 230) mentioned the unit.

²⁵ Tac. *Hist.* I, 79.

²⁶ VEGETIUS, *de re mil.* iii, 23, 'catafracti equites, propter munimina quae gerunt, a vulneribus tuti, sed propter impedimentum et pondus armorum capi faciles et laqueis frequenter obnoxii, contra dispersos pedites quam contra equites in certamine meliores; tamen aut ante legiones positi aut com legionariis mixti quando comminus ... pugnatur, acies hostium saepe rumpunt'.

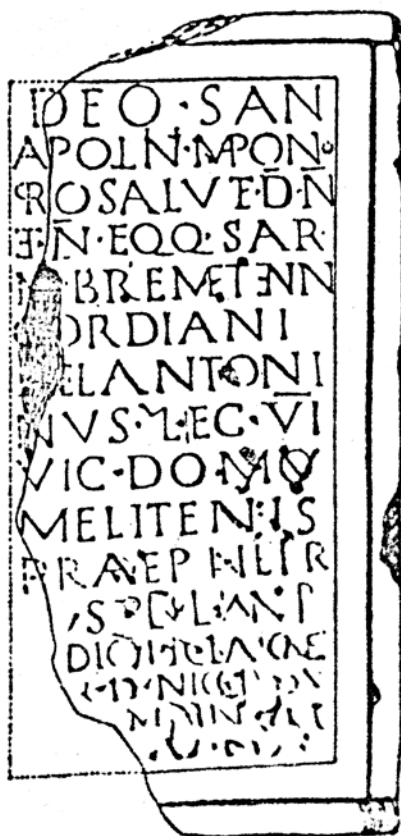


Fig. 2. Dedication to Apollo Maponus from Ribchester, now in St. John's College, Cambridge

The entire draft of 5500 Sarmatae allocated to Britain²⁷ cannot have lain at Ribchester, which is of a size²⁸ to hold an *ala* 500 strong. They were doubtless distributed throughout the frontier land for training, and the total strength of the contingent might suggest a subdivision into eleven units of 500 men apiece. If so, such groups are not immediately traceable elsewhere. The occurrence of an eye-shield²⁹ from a cataphract horse at Chesters on Hadrian's Wall

²⁷ See n. 19 above.

²⁸ The size of Ribchester is 597 by 443 feet over the ramparts, that is, slightly larger than the forts for *alae* of Hadrian's Wall (*Arch. Ael.*, xix, 6), where quarters were packed right. As for the size of *numeri*, ILS 2531 mentions one 600 strong, while *De mun. castr.* 330 notes analogous detachments of 500, 700, and 900 men.

²⁹ The significance of this piece was first observed by the late R. C. Bosanquet, to whose manuscript notes I owe my own knowledge of it. He never published it.

no doubt denotes the presence of some troops of this kind in that fort, where they were presumably attached to the regular garrison, *ala II Asturum*, just as the *cuneus Frisiavonum*³⁰ was seconded to the garrison at Housesteads. Again, the *Notitia Dignitatum*³¹ mentions cataphracts at the late fort of Morbium, under the *dux Britanniarum*, and these may be the descendants of others. It is worth while, then, to return to Ribchester and to see what more can be learnt of the Sarmatae there.

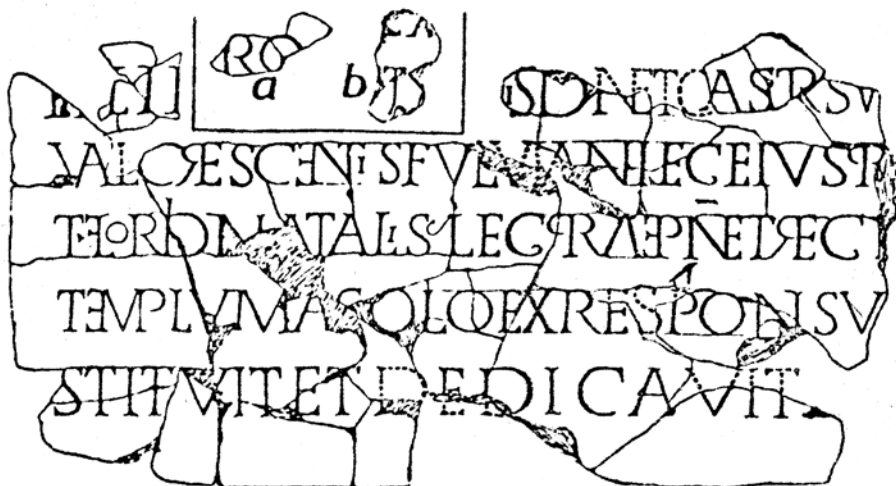


Fig. 3. Tablet commemorating the restoration of a temple at Ribchester, now in St. John's College, Cambridge

The two most notable inscriptions from Ribchester are now at St. John's College, Cambridge. The first³² is a dedication to Apollo Maponus (fig. 2) for the welfare of the Emperor and of the *numerus equitum Sarmatarum Bremetennacensium Gordianus*, of the years A.D. 238-44. The second³³ is a tablet commemorating the restoration of a temple (fig. 3), whose date is fixed below as A.D. 225-235. The dedication to Maponus was found at Ribchester in 1578 and was then walled into Salisbury Hall in such a way that the whole stone was not revealed until 1814, when the local historian Whitaker³⁴ detached it,

³⁰ *Eph. Ep.* vii, 1041.

³¹ *Not. Dign.* Oc. xi, 21, *praef. eqq. catafractariorum, Morbio*, under the *dux Britanniarum*. The position of Morbium is not known.

³² *CIL* vii, 218.

³³ *ibid.*, 223.

³⁴ WHITAKER, *History of Whalley* 17; *Hist. Richmondshire*, ii, 459.

later presenting it to the College. The left side of this stone has been trimmed away, probably when the walling-in took place (see fig. 2, and p. 27). The temple dedication³⁵ was found in the south-cast quarter of the fort, where it was disclosed in 1811 by an encroachment of the Ribble. It is an oblong slab (fig. 3), of which the left side and base still exhibit an original edge, while the top and right side have been removed. The top may have been lost by careless handling³⁶ on discovery, for three isolated fragments of it still exist. But the right side has been deliberately cut down by a series of blows which dressed off small segments at a time, as happens when a flagstone is broken across the grain. This is old damage, presumably done in ancient times and therefore supporting Haverfield's suggestion³⁷ that the stone had been used as building material in a later occupation. Neither this stone nor the dedication to Maponus have in fact any place in a fort; for while the stone of Maponus is a dedication to an unofficial deity, the other, as Haverfield³⁸ stressed, was the dedication-slab of a temple as opposed to a regulation military building. Both must be presumed to have come originally from extramural shrines or monuments.

The text of the temple dedication (fig. 3) has long been recognized to present difficulties, so much so that Haverfield, in drawing attention to the circumstances in which the stone was found, left the text³⁹ undiscussed. Little remains of the Imperial names and titles which filled the upper lines of the stone, except the reference to an Empress-Mother as *matris d(omini) n(ostrae) et castr(or)um*. Then follows the phrase *su[b cura] Val(erii) Crescentis Fulciani leg(ati) eius pr(o) [pr(actore)]* and a dedicator's name in the nominative, *T(itus) Floridi(us) Natalis*. It is the titles of the dedicator that constitute the crux. On the stone they appear as *leg praep n et regi...* the abbreviation *leg* being furnished with an initial flourish⁴⁰ of unusual form (fig. 4). *Leg* has, however, commonly been expanded as *legatus*, and the remainder of the phrase as either

³⁵ *ibid*, and HAVERFIELD, *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanes. & Cheshire*, liv, 198.

³⁶ It should be noted that, since there are reasons for thinking that the Imperial titles on the stone were erased (P. 24), the workmen may have been confronted by an inscription of which the initial lines were so largely erased as to seem unworthy of preservation. In any case, it is evident from Whitaker's account that they had already broken the stone before they realized that it was inscribed (*Hist. Richmondshire*, ii, 459).

³⁷ HAVERFIELD, l.c.

³⁸ *ibid*, 199.

³⁹ *ibid*, 197, where he describes the stone as 'fragmentary and in past obscure' and the dedicator as 'a high Roman military official', evidently taking *leg.* on the stone as *legatus*.

⁴⁰ The flourish is like the lower two-thirds of a pot-hook, with the hook upon the sinister side.

*praepositus numeris*⁴¹ *et rector* or *praepositus noster et rector*. These expansions are satisfactory neither singly, nor in combination; for the expansion as *legatus* takes no account of the initial flourish, while the epithets⁴² are not those of any kind of legate known to us, whether provincial or legionary. Finally, as Whitaker noted, the final letters of the text as preserved are not RECT but REGI⁴³. At this point, however, as has not hitherto been observed, the two stones complement one another. On the dedication to Maponus the abbreviation *leg* is also furnished with an initial flourish⁴⁴ (fig. 4), angular instead of round, but otherwise exactly similar to that on the temple dedication. Here, moreover, the significance of *leg*, being followed by VI Vic(trix), must be *legio*, declined in whatever case the context demands. The flourish, then, being preceded on both stones by a dedicator's name in the nominative, must indicate the rank held in the legion by the individual concerned. Commentators⁴⁵ on the dedication to Maponus have not, in fact, failed to observe this, though their interpretation has varied and they have not perceived that both stones were involved. They read the flourish either as a stop, which is impossible, since it is actually attached to the letter; or as the middle strokes⁴⁶ of the letter M, interpreting the whole sign as a ligatured abbreviation for *mil(es)*. But the initial upright of the postulated M is not present upon either stone, and this in itself is fatal to the second suggestion. The flourish (see fig. 4) is a non-alphabetic sign, and the only rank which is thus indicated in the Roman army is that of centurion, as Hübner⁴⁷ saw. It is the form of the flourish that is somewhat unusual; its interpretation, applicable to both stones, can no longer be in doubt.

The identification of Titus Floridius Natalis, the dedicator of the temple, as a legionary centurion affords an immediate clue to the remainder of his title. *Praep n* is at once explicable as *praepositus numeri*; with reference to the *numerus equitum Sarmatarum* attested as the Ribchester garrison by the dedication to Maponus. This title is the normal style⁴⁸ of centurions in charge of such

⁴¹ GIL vii, 222; Whitaker, o.c. 460, read *praepotenti numini et reginae*; Hübner *praepositus numeris et rector*; the proposal *rector* was apparently made by McCaul (see WATKIN, *Roman Lancashire* 147), and both he and Watkin read *noster* for *n*.

⁴² The correct title, as shown by *CIL* vii, 287, would have been *praeses noster*.

⁴³ See n. 35 above.

⁴⁴ This flourish is not a pothook, but a wide V-shaped attachment, with the top of the initial stroke slightly above the top of the L, to which it is attached.

⁴⁵ *CIL*, vii, 218, for collected references.

⁴⁶ e.g. MS. B.V. Cotton Julius, F x, fot. 137v, and Camden (ed. 1586), 431.

⁴⁷ *CIL* vii, 218.

⁴⁸ A. von DOMASZEWSKI, *Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, 108.

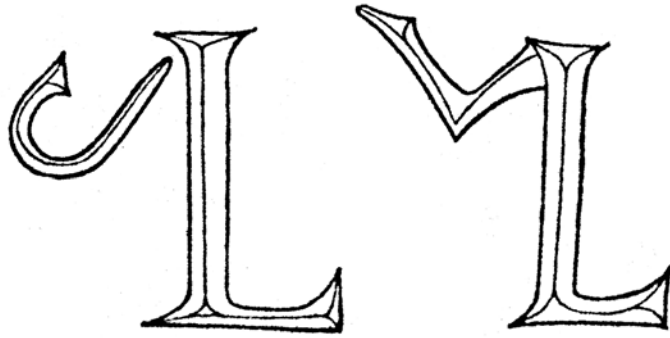


Fig. 4. Centurial sign ligatured to the L of *Leg(io)* on inscribed stones from Ribchester

bodies of troops and such a command itself was a normal stage in the centurion's *cursus honorum* of the day. The worn letters of the eleventh line of the dedication to Maponus (fig. 2) can also be read⁴⁹ as *praep n*, showing that the Ribchester *numerus* regularly had a centurion commandant. In the case of Natalis, however, *praep(ositus) n(umeri)* is followed by the conjunction *et*, introducing some further sphere of command which is now represented by the letters REGI. This fragmentary word was not a long one, and its place in the line indicates that not less than three letters and not more than five are needed to complete it. Whitaker's *regi[nae]*⁵⁰ must be rejected, as making here no sense. Collingwood⁵¹ has very suitably restored the word as *regi[onis]*, which not only makes sense but is very difficult to replace by a suitable alternative.

What kind of sense, then, does the word 'regio' here give? As employed in Roman literature and epigraphy, the term 'regio' is normally used to mean a district, in the geographical sense of that word, comprising several political organizations which it would be cumbersome to enumerate or inappropriate to describe by any other single word. This is well illustrated by two inscriptions

⁴⁹ This point was kindly confirmed by Mr. R. P. Wright, after making a squeeze of the lettering and scrutiny of the stone. The traces are clearly visible in a good raking light.

⁵⁰ Whitaker referred 'reginae' to Minerva or to the goddess to whom he supposed the stone to have been dedicated. But this is not the natural position in the dedication for such a title, which should come at its head.

⁵¹ Mr. Collingwood's restoration was very kindly communicated to me by Mr. R. P. Wright, with whom I have also discussed the stone, and I desire to make the fullest acknowledgment to my old friend and mentor's inspiration and to Mr. Wright's kindness. I would also mention with gratitude the helpful comments of the editorial committee, for which I am much indebted throughout.

from Italy, the first⁵² a laudatory tablet, in which the people of Canusium, the centre of the *tractus Apuliae, Calabriae, Lucaniae, Bruttiorum* render thanks to a legionary centurion described as *praepositus* for having kept the peace within the *regio* in question; the second⁵³, the tombstone of a centurion who had been *praepositus Vmbriae, Piceni et Apuliae*. It is, however, too far a cry from the highlands of Italy, devoid of military garrisons, to those of Britain, where troops abounded, to press, the parallel without detailed examination of the British evidence. But it can be said at once that there was at least one respect in which Ribchester differed from the other forts known to us in Northern Britain as regards its political environment. The *Ravenna Cosmography*⁵⁴, which not infrequently adds to the name of British towns or fortresses a designation defining their political status, names *Bremetennacum* as *Bresnetenaci Veteranorum*, thus classifying the fort as the centre of a veteran settlement.

That such a settlement should be mentioned at all in a geographical list is itself an abnormality of considerable interest. By normal practice veterans who were not members of *coloniae* received lands which remained part⁵⁵ of the territory of existing communities and were not differentiated from it except for taxation. The men themselves might, if sufficiently numerous, form a group of *velerani*, or *veterani consistentes*, with corporate status under a *curator*, normally a legionary of long service due for promotion to the centurionate. Groups of this kind are described on African stones, in such phrases as ‘*ex decreto paganorum pagi Mercurialis [et] veteranorum Medelitanor(um)*’⁵⁶ or ‘*cives Romani pagani veterani pagi Fortunalis*’⁵⁷ or, again, ‘*veterani et pagani consistentes apud Rapidum*’, further qualified as ‘*veterani et pagani intra eundem murum inhabitantes*’⁵⁸. But in these texts the emphasis is entirely upon political status, and the place-names of such mixed communities betray no hint of the presence of veterans there. Further, of the three places where allusion is made to the ex-

⁵² *ILS* 2768.

⁵³ *ILS* 2769.

⁵⁴ *Cosm. Rav.* 431, 3.

⁵⁵ KORNEMANN, *Klio* xi, 390 f. : ‘Bis jetzt ist wohl angenommen worden, dass in Agypten ebenso wie die κληροι der Ptolemäerzeit, so auch die Veteranengüter der Kaiserzeit mitten zwischen den anderen Aeckern zerstreut gelegen haben... Wenn wir in Römerreich nach Ähnlichem Umschau halten, gibt es, nur eine Parallele zu diesem Sachverhalt: die *coloniae*, die innerhalb der gallo-romischen Civitäten nachweisbar sind’. For the difficulties of veterans under this system in Egypt, see A. SEGRE, *JRS* xxx, 151-2.

⁵⁶ *ILS* 6803 ; see SCHULTEN, *Philologus* liii, 650-651.

⁵⁷ *ILS* 9400 from Sidi Soltan.

⁵⁸ *ILS* 6885.

istence of veterans in the geography of the Roman world, the first, Scenae Veteranorum, in the Egyptian Delta, owed its name⁵⁹ to the men of the *ala Veteranorum* on duty there and it is not a valid inference that Scenae was veterans' land. But at the second, Diana Veteranorum⁶⁰, a veteran settlement is certainly involved. Here inscriptions⁶¹ indicate that the whole district, of which the *municipium* of Diana was the centre, was settled by ex-soldier citizens, nearly all legionaries, though one man⁶² from an *ala* is mentioned. Again, Deultum Veteranorum, in Thrace, is specifically mentioned⁶³ by the elder Pliny, with its marsh, as a veteran settlement. It is plain that, to justify the qualification, a veteran settlement something like a *colonia* in size, without the chartered status, was required.

At Ribchester also there are special circumstances. The veterans can be brought into immediate connexion with the auxiliary garrison of the fort, the Sarmatae, for a particular reason of status which explains not only the settlement, but its rarity and the reason for the qualification 'veteranorum'. When these Sarmatae were transplanted to Britain by Marcus, they were *dediticii*⁶⁴, about to be brigaded in several *numeri equitum Sarmatarum*. The civic status accorded to such men upon their discharge from the army is not known, though a strong case has been propounded by Rowell⁶⁵ for supposing that they received the status of ordinary provincial *peregrini* in reward for working their passage home. But, whatever their precise status, the fact remains that, when their military service was over, these Sarmatae were not in a position to return, as auxiliary soldiers commonly did, to a native canton within the Empire, there to exert⁶⁶ the civilizing influence of men accustomed to disciplined life. For their homeland, Sarmatia, lay outside the Roman world. It was on the other hand, eminently in the Imperial interest that such trained men and their progeny

⁵⁹ O. CUNTZ, *Itin. Anton.*, i, 22 (163, 3), 23 (169, 4). For the origin of the name, see LESQUIER, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, 392, and, for the normal Egyptian arrangement of veteran land-grants, see KORNEMANN, l.c.

⁶⁰ CUNTZ, o.c., 5 (35, 4)

⁶¹ *CIL* viii, 4578, 4590, 4605, 4606, 4607; cf. CAGNAT, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique* (1913), 414.

⁶² GSELL and GRAILLOT, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'Histoire*, xiv, 526, no. 18.

⁶³ PLINY, *III* iv, 45.

⁶⁴ ROWELL, *Yale Classical Studies* vi, 100.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 106 f.

⁶⁶ Sec. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Storia economica e sociale dell'impero romano*, 250 ff., for a statement of the case. For Britain the two Yorkshire stones, *CIL* vii, 200, and *Eph. Ep.* vii, 920, may be taken as typical of the class.

should not be lost to the Roman world by allowing them to return to the uncertain welcome of a land outside the Empire. The Sarmatae in Britain thus presented a special case, important because they involved the veterans not merely of a single *numerus*, but of a huge levy of 5500 picked men. The natural solution of the difficulty would be to settle them in a single district in the province of their adoption; and what district would be more suitable than Ribchester, where they would be associated with one of their own regiments? A community of this size would very naturally, as at Diana Veteranorum, receive in the geography of the province the recognition of its special status implied by the title Bremetennacum Veteranorum. The difference between Diana and Bremetennacum is, however, as important as their similarity. Unlike Diana, Bremetennacum did not grow into a town. It always remained a fort⁶⁷, with the normal small extra-mural settlement or *vicus*. It is thus plain that the veterans at Bremetennacum were solely concerned with land development and knew nothing of urbanization.

The organization of such granted lands had a model to hand in the Imperial domain-lands, where farms (*praedia*) or ranches (*saltus*) were grouped for administrative purposes as a *regio*. If we substitute the word 'fort' for 'town' Schulten's definition of the African *regio*⁶⁸ will fit British case: 'ein Complex mehrerer angrenzender *saltus*, deren Centrum eine Stadt bildet, von der die *regio* den Namen führt'. For large areas of cultivable land (*praedia*) or rich meadowlands for horse-breeding (*saltus*), in which the Sarmatians must have specialized⁶⁹, were available not far from Ribchester in the Fylde⁷⁰ which is good champaign country and only requires drainage to develop its potentially fertile soil. Further, the fact that the Fylde was open to development in Roman times is attested by the Roman road⁷¹ which passes through it from Ribchester to Kirkham and thence north-westwards to the mouth of the Wyre. The area

⁶⁷ The bath-house, for example, continued throughout of the small military type, see *JRS* xvii, 193, fig. 16.

⁶⁸ SCHULTEN, *Die römischen Grundherrschaften*, 66 for general discussion, 68-9 for quotation.

⁶⁹ This follows from their exceptionally heavy equipment and armour, which the ordinary small native horse of Western Europe would have been unequal to carrying. The Fylde is very like the 'compos et plana' of their native land: see PLINY, *NH* iv, 80.

⁷⁰ CAMDEN, *Britannia* (1500), 'tota est campestris, unde THE FILD, PRO FIELD, appellatur'; cf. BAINES, *Hist. Lancs.* iv, 427. 'This tract is a champaign country, inclined to peat moss, but yielding excellent crops of wheat and other kinds of grain'. Also *VCH Lancs.* ii, 419-436, *passim*, for the fertility of the Fylde.

⁷¹ See p. 15. n. 4 above.

was thus accessible to exploitation, like the Fenland⁷² which it so much resembles; and it will be borne in mind that the *Codex Iustinianus*⁷³ lays stress upon marshlands in connexion with soldier cultivators. Their systematic training in field-work made them excellent organizers, as at Deultum, of ditching and draining, and a pregnant passage in Tacitus⁷⁴ reminds us that it was early an Imperial policy to develop such areas of potentially high productivity in this way. The Fylde therefore presents the most suitable land for settling the Sarmatae: there was hardly another area like it in Northern Britain, and its existence no doubt decided the site for the settlement. The date of establishment can hardly be in doubt. It must have been about A.D. 200, when the first discharge from service would be falling due⁷⁵ for men who had been levied in A.D. 175. The unsettled state of Britain at the time, with the huge undertaking of the Severan reconstruction of the Northern frontier well under way and the Caledonian campaigns still to come, may have delayed matters for a while, especially among men who were *dediticii*; but it can hardly have delayed the measure for more than ten to fifteen years, when the military activity was over.

The arrangement of this block settlement differed, it should be observed, considerably from the new Severan army policy. From the time of Severus onwards, the legionaries received new civil rights, which permitted marriage and living-out to serving soldiers and changed their relation to the land. This phenomenon is first evident at Carnuntum⁷⁶, where lands were being leased to individual serving legionaries by A.D. 205. But a generation later the same privilege had been extended to serving frontier soldiers, that is, to the auxiliaries, to whom Severus Alexander⁷⁷ was leasing lands taken from the enemy, ‘ita ut eorum essent, si heredes eorum militarent, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent’; and the practice is confirmed as extended to these auxiliaries by a third-century

⁷² *JRS* xxiv, 204-5, xxvi, 248-250; *Arch. Journ.* xci, 133, pi. xxvi; Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, 222-3.

⁷³ *Cod. Justin* xi, 60, 3.

⁷⁴ *Tac. Ann.* i, 17, ‘ac si quis tot casus vitae superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant’: cf. *PLINY, loc. cit.* on Deultum, n. 63, above.

⁷⁵ That is, after twenty-five years service, if this was the term applied to men in *numeri*: see ROWELL, *Yale Classical Studies*, vi, 102.

⁷⁶ BORMANN, *Römische Limes in Oesterreich* ii, 140-1, on *CH*, iii, 14336, 3a.

⁷⁷ *SHA Vit. Alex. Sev.*, 52, a passage whose significance is fully discussed by MOMMSEN in *Gesammelte Schriften* vi, 210-211.

Diploma⁷⁸ and by important rules in the legislation of the fifth century⁷⁹ which deal with a special class of old-established military lands styled ‘*terrae limitancae vel castellorum*’, whereof private ownership was rigorously forbidden, no matter what inconvenience might be involved. But it is evident, from the terms⁸⁰ in which all these measures are described, that such leases or grants were individual. The Ribchester settlement, on the other hand, is a block settlement. It is thus apparent that, while from the time of the Severi onwards legionaries and auxiliaries were officially enabled to obtain land as serving soldiers, this treatment was not accorded to the *dediticii* of the *numeri Sarmatarum*, who were covered by a special block grant on completion of service only. The less privileged treatment is no doubt connected with their status as *dediticii*, just as, for example, *dediticii*⁸¹ were under disabilities arising out of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* on citizenship. The state of affairs may usefully be compared with yet another aspect of Severan policy. The block grant is the system detected by Rostovtzeff⁸² as operative in Thrace and Africa, where large groups of peasants were settled on domain lands, partly to cultivate them and partly to supply the army with new and sturdy blood. When their army service was over, that was virtually the category into which the *Sarmatae dediticii* fell, supposing they then received ordinary peregrine status.

Having thus considered the evidence for the special political treatment of the Ribchester district implied by the qualification ‘*Veteranorum*’, we are now in a position to return to the matter of the *praepositus regionis* and his functions. The need for the office, as we have seen, may have arisen early in the third century. Specific evidence for its date is somewhat later. An approximate

⁷⁸ *CIL* iii, suppl. I, P. 2002, no xc, is restored by Mommsen as *practerea [liberis corundem] decurionum et centurion (um qui probatis filiit in) provine(ia) ex se procteat[is] [militis ibi castel]lani essent*, and this is accepted by NESSELHAUF, *CIL* xvi, P. 118, no. cxxxii. Both authorities date the *diploma* to the middle of the third century.

⁷⁹ *Cod. Iustin.* xi, 60, 2 (a.d. 423): ‘*quicumque castellorum loca quocumque titulo possident cedant atque deserant ... quod si ulterius vel privatae condicionis quispiam in his locis vel non castellanus miles fuerit detentor inventus, capitali sententia cum bonorum publicatione plectatur*’.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, ‘*quia ab his tantum fas est possideri castellorum territoria quibus adscripta sunt et de quibus indicavit antiquitas*’. A block grant by Vespasian to 800 soldiers at Emmaus is, however, recorded by JOSEPHUS, *Bell. Iud.* vii, 217.

⁸¹ *JRS* xxvi, 227-235, where the question is discussed by Mr. A. H. M. Jones.

⁸² ROSTOVITZEFF, *Storia economica e sociale dell'impero romano*, 494, on the African *castella*, quoting Carcopino, *Syria* vi, 40 ff., and *Rév. arch.* xx (1924), 316 ff.; and *ibid.* 495-6, on Thracian *ἱμῶτια*.

date for the stone of Natalis is given by the reference in the text to an Empress-Mother as ‘*mater domini nostri et castrorum*’, a title referable⁸³ either to Iulia Domna (A.D. 212-217) or to Iulia Mamaea (A.D. 222-235), and a fortunate chance enables us to reach the heart of the matter. One of the isolated fragments of the stone, from amid the initial Imperial titles, carries two letters which have been subjected to erasure in Roman times. This implies that they must have formed part of an Imperial name, or of an adjective derived from it, which had been obliterated after its owner’s fall from power. These letters, recognizable⁸⁴ as EX, must have formed the third and fourth letters of either *Alexandri* or, less probably, *Alexandrianus*, however declined. The choice thus falls upon Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea, Antoninus and Iulia Domna being definitely excluded⁸⁵, and the stone is thus dated to A.D. 222-235. Yet another consideration narrows the field a little further. As Atkinson⁸⁶ long ago observed, the list of British Governors from A.D. 219 to A.D. 225 can be completely reconstructed, but the Fulvianus mentioned as Governor upon this stone is not among them. His term of office is therefore to be placed in the decade A.D. 225-235, and the stone is accordingly dated within ten years. The office of *praepositus regionis* was thus already established at Bremetennacum not later than A.D. 235, its inception perhaps falling a generation earlier.

What, then, did the title imply? The possibility that a block of estates organized like an Imperial domain land might be called a *regio* in fiscal administration has already been noted. But, if the veterans’ estates were all that was involved, it seems much more likely that the *praepositus* would have been called *praepositus veteranorum*. If, however, the intention was to cover in one word the complex political sphere over which the *praepositus* held sway, the title becomes understandable. For there were not only the *veterani* to be con-

⁸³ HOEY, *Yale Class.* vii, 189, n. 906, points out that *mater castrorum* was part of the official titulature of these Empresses, though it had been borne by Faustina Junior, *ibid.* n. 811; cf. R. NOLL, *Carnuntum 1885-1935*, 13.

⁸⁴ There is no doubt on this point, small though the fragment is. The erasure has been made by rude pecking following the actual lines of the letters, and has broken off the original surface of the stone between the lower bars of the X. Only the lower halves of the letters survive.

⁸⁵ It will be realized that there is no part of their titles into which the letters EX could enter, except Caracalla’s pontificate, which is in turn excluded by the fact that the words are here in the genitive case.

⁸⁶ *JRS* xii, 70-71, no. 44; Fulvianus.

sidered, but the people of the *territorium* of the fort, probably called *vicani*⁸⁷, and the indigenous folk of the area in which the veterans' estates were planted. Complete control over this entire yet diverse area would be the necessary basis of the commandant's authority. His jurisdiction over the fort *territorium* is natural enough and needs no proof, but he could not effectively administer the veteran settlement, especially if the farms were scattered over the best land, without control of the whole region in which they were placed. Thus, his *regio* would in fact comprise the three political entities over which he ruled, and this explains the need for the shortened form of title, avoiding the full definition which would only be used, if at all, in the preamble of legal records.

The principal duty of the Ribchester *praepositus* was thus no doubt to keep the peace within his composite *regio*. In this respect his powers cannot have differed fundamentally from those of the *praepositi* in wilder civil districts. Two such officers⁸⁸ in the insecure Italian uplands have already been mentioned, and centurions styled 'regionarii'⁸⁹ were in charge of the police in civil districts in many provinces, one example having been identified by Mommsen in Southern Britain. Centurions had also been placed in charge of *civitates* in Illyricum⁹⁰ where the wild nature of the country and the lawlessness of its inhabitants appeared to call for military supervision. But in purely military areas, such as Northern Britain, such a regional command was wholly exceptional. The fact is emphasized by the absence of such a title from the many scores of official citations of fort-commandants known to us, the reason no doubt being that in normal circumstances each commandant was responsible for his respective garrison area only and that regional *praepositi* of the type known in civil districts were not required in lands almost wholly subject to military supervision. The highly exceptional Ribchester command is, in fact, connected with circumstances themselves unique, that is, the establishment in a

⁸⁷ See HAVERFIELD, *Roman Britain in 1914* (*Brit. Acad. Suppl. Papers* iii) 31; and *Cumb. and West. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (n.s.) xviii, 223 ff., for the *vicani* of Chesterholm, and BERLEY, *Arch. Ael.* xii, 208-211, for other examples. For *territoria* of auxiliary *castella*, see *ILS* 5969 and *Eph. Ep.* vii, 986, recently discussed in *Arch. Ael.* xxii, 83; cf. *JRS* xxxiv, 88. Legionary lands (*territoria* or *prala*) are more commonly mentioned: see *ILS* 2454-6, 5968.

⁸⁸ *ILS* 2768, 2769, discussed in MOMMSEN, *Staatsrecht* ii, 1975, n. 2.

⁸⁹ DESSAU *ILS* 4920=CIL vii, 45. MOMMSEN, l.c. compares with the cases cited in note 88, but in *Strafrecht* 312, n. i. he further cites PLINY, *Ep. ad Traj.* 97, 98, and HIRSCHFELD, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1891, 864, on a ἱππὸνταρχὸς ρεγκονάρτιος from Antioch in Pisidia and *BGU* 522, for an τῶν τόπων ἑκατόνταρχος.

⁹⁰ von DOMASZEWSKI, op. cit. 107, on *praefecti civitatum* (*CIL* ix, 2564, xiv, 2954), and 129 on a *praepositus et princeps Iapodum* (*CIL* iii, 14324).

military district of the large veteran settlement of the Sarmatae, exceptional for its size and for the status *pi* the men themselves.

Apart from keeping the peace within the *regio*, however, the commandant may well have had scope to exercise another of the many functions of the centurionate. In the legions, when serving soldiers were first permitted by Severus to hold lands upon lease within the *territarium legionis*, the higher-grade centurions⁹¹ became the *conductores*, or leasing authorities, and even, like the *duoviri quinquennales* in civil life, gave their names to the five-year terms (*lustra*) to which the leases were related. There was thus to be found among the legionary centurions a body of experience in land administration, just as there had long existed a skilled tradition⁹² in boundary rectification. Experience of either kind would be invaluable in dealing with the everyday problems of the veteran land settlement.

Thus far only the official status and responsibilities of the men who erected the stones which we are studying have engaged our attention, and, interesting though this inquiry has proved, it was not the question which most interested their dedicators. To them the matter of interest was the cult in whose worship they were taking part in their official capacity, and it is to this aspect of the stones that we must now turn.

On the stone of Natalis, which commemorates the restoration and dedication of a temple, the name of the deity invoked or honoured is not now preserved. The only point that is immediately plain is that, since the surviving titles of the Imperial personages are in the genitive, the work was also done for their welfare, prosperity or honour. The existing text does, however, also mention that the work had been undertaken *ex responsu*, that is, following the reply of a deity to consultation through his ministers. This is a highly significant detail, for the number of gods or goddesses who expressed their wishes in this way as a normal practice is small in the Roman military world. Indeed, the only one whose cult supplies evidence of a frequent and almost regular habit of thus communicating behests is Iuppiter Dolichenus⁹³, whose temples were of elaborate Mesopotamian type and whose worship was introduced into Britain in the second century and became especially popular among the soldiery in the third. Thus, while no part of the deity's name or epithets now appears on the stone as preserved, the fact that the temple was restored *ex responsu* constitutes a strong reason for thinking that the god favoured by Natalis was Dolichenus. It will not

⁹¹ See p. 23, n. 76, above.

⁹² *ILS* 5949, 5950, 5952, 5953. The work is quite distinct from that of *mensores*.

⁹³ See DESSAU, *ILS* 4306, 4314, 4315a, 4316, 4317, 4318, 4320, 4322.

remain unobserved that the reign of Severus Alexander marked the time⁹⁴ of the greatest pre-eminence in military circles of the cult of Dolichenus, after which a gradual decline began, apparently complete by the end of the century. The cult seems also to have remained always outside the sphere of official religions and did not take the place of Jupiter's worship⁹⁵ in the army, as was once thought. This agrees with the place of the cult at Ribchester, in an extra-mural temple.

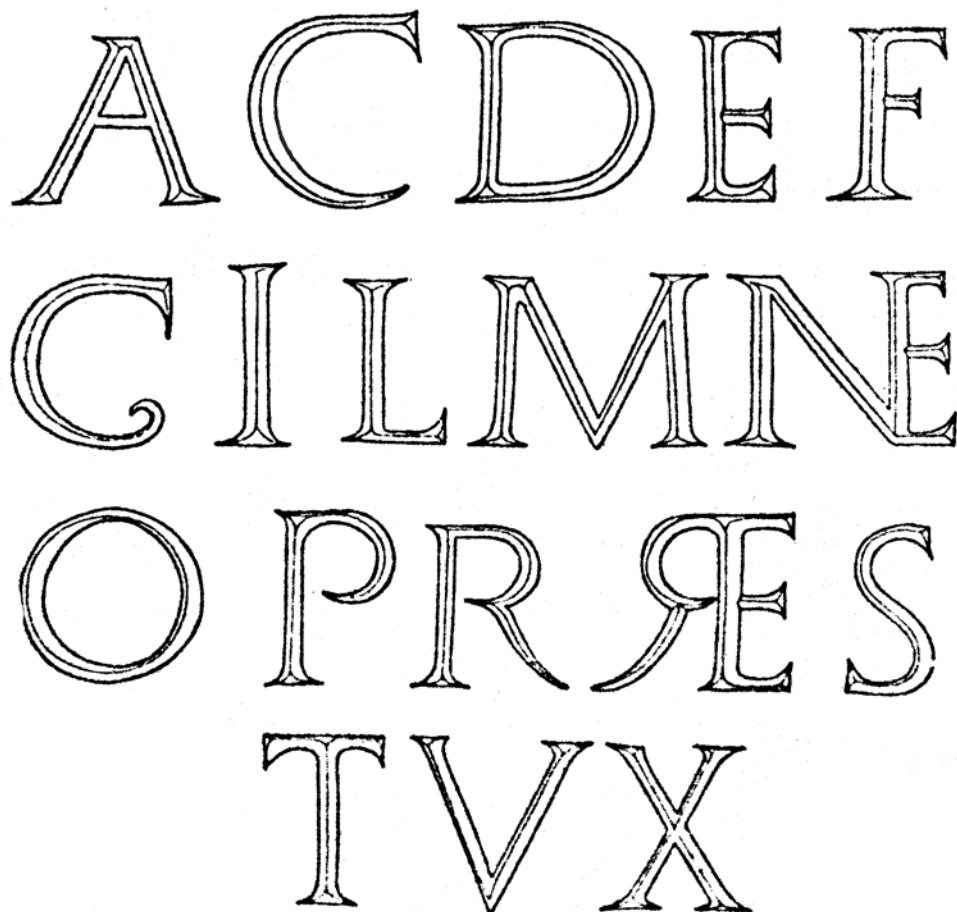


Fig. 5. Examples of letters, in alphabetic order, from the dedication of T. Floridius Natalis, Ribchester

⁹⁴ HOEY, *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* lxx, 478.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 459: cf. for the older view, von DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* 60 and LOESCHKE, *Bonner Jahrbücher* cvii, 66-72, followed by MACDONALD, *PSAS* lxvi, 276, and *Roman Wall in Scotland* (edn. 2), 416-417.

The size and the grace of the dedication give an impression of lavish expenditure, and its lettering is worthy of particular note. It displays not only individuality but an elegance (fig. 5) uncommon even in the stately lettering of official military inscriptions. This grace is due to two subtleties of execution. The downstrokes are cut V-shaped, and appear thick and massive, while the horizontal lines are cut with one side perpendicular. The strokes are also often designed in a delicate curve, culminating in a sweeping serif, with long and flourishing tail. These elegant lines, though cut with the chisel, are inspired by the pen. They represent an attempt to translate into mason's terms of light and shade the heavy or light strokes and the restrained curves of graceful and skilled penmanship. In other words, the mason who carved this inscription was copying, with ability and perception, a draft written in elegant monumental capitals, of the type seen in the best painted monumental inscriptions⁹⁶ of the third century at Dura, but hardly preserved elsewhere. The effect of such a tradition is seen in the fourth-century Vatican *codex Palatinus*⁹⁷ of Virgil, and is to be sharply distinguished from the script in rustic capitals which, as several documents and not a few inscriptions show⁹⁸, was the everyday official script of the military *tabularia*⁹⁹.

The impression of culture and resource which is thus conveyed by the stone of Natalis. is also afforded by the dedication to Maponus. Natalis himself affords no hint of his land of origin¹⁰⁰. But the centurion Aelius Antonianus, the worshipper of Maponus, states that he came from Melitene, the garrison-town of *legio XII Fulminata*, on the Upper Euphrates. Like Natalis, he was a

⁹⁶ cf. *Excav. Doura, Fifth Season*, 221, pls. xxix, xxvii.

⁹⁷ EHRLE und LIEBSERT, *Specimina codicum lat. Vat.*, p. vii: 'befariam dividitur haec scriptura in capitalem et uncialem; capitalis sutem in quadratam sive monumentalem et in rusticam sive actuariam'.

⁹⁸ The most readily accessible illustrations of normal documents from military *tabularia* are *Eph. Ep.* vii, 456-467, and pl. iii; *Amer. Acad. Rome* ix, pl. 3; *Yale Class. Stud.* vii, 23, nn. 16-17; *Excav. Doura, Fifth Season*, pl. xxxi, 2. Inscriptions based upon this type of writing are, in Britain, *CIL* vii, 1080 (Newstead), *ibid.* 739 (Carvoran), *Eph. Ep.* vii, 1001, *Eph. Ep.* ix, 1055; for Italian examples, cf. *Inscr. Italiae*, xiii, fasc. iii. nos. 85, 86, based upon written *elogia*.

⁹⁹ It must have been the script tradition of such a legionary *tabularium* that evolved the attached initial flourish to indicate a centurion of the legion, just as very different forms of flourish are used for the lead seals from Brough-under-Stainmore, see *CW* xxxvi, 119-121.

¹⁰⁰ SCHULTZE, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, 436-8, does not cite the name Floridius, but deals with the termination *-idius*. Floridus occurs as a *cognomen* in the Veneto, R.S. CONWAY and S. E. JOHNSON, *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* i (London, 1933), 293.

centurion and *praepositus numeri*: nor is it to be excluded that the inscription also mentioned his command of the *regio*, since, as will appear, his *connexion* with the district is graphically conveyed in another manner. The lettering is, however, weathered beyond hope of legibility (fig. 2). This heavy weathering has its own story to tell. It did not take place when the stone was serving as a quoin at Salesbury Hall, since all the ancient faces were not then exposed, while all are, nevertheless, equally weathered. The weathering had, then, completed its work long before the stone reached Salesbury, and it may be concluded that the monument had long been exposed to the elements in Roman times. It was, in short, a free-standing monument in the open. But it was not, as sometimes stated¹⁰¹, an altar. The top, which has never had either focus or bolsters, is dressed¹⁰² to receive a superincumbent stone, probably a coping, while the bottom, also wholly devoid of ornamental finish, must also be related to yet another stone, no doubt a monumental base. The stone was, then, not an altar but the pedestal of an open-air monument, either a column¹⁰³ like a Jupiter-column, or, less probably, a statue¹⁰⁴. In either case, the size of the base shows that the whole monument was an impressive and expensive work.

The base was not only inscribed but elaborately carved. Its right side, is devoted to a relief of Apollo Citharoedus, the classical type of Apollo Maponus, to whom the stone was dedicated. The left side no doubt exhibited the native type, Maponus himself, but the sculptured face has been trimmed right off, a loss much to be deplored, since this must have been one of the few representations¹⁰⁵ of this little-known deity, of a scale and quality which would have made it valuable. The back, corresponding to the dedication, is occupied (pl. i) by two tall and stately female figures, set in adjacent round-headed niches. Each wears a turreted crown, weathered but unmistakable, both being thus

¹⁰¹ WATKIN, *Roman Lancs*, 131, sqq.

¹⁰² The hole on the top of the stone is a lewis-hole, not a dowel-hole, and was doubtless employed in setting the stone in position when erecting the monument of which it formed part. The upper surface of the stone is then chisel-dressed at the margins, with a slight trace of anathyrosis to ensure a tightly hitting joint.

¹⁰³ cf. THIRSCH, *Jahrbuch d. k. d. Inst.* xxviii, 266-272, for a study of votive columns, illustrating the antiquity of the form and the fact that many other gods besides Jupiter were honoured in this way.

¹⁰⁴ A statue would be more likely to have a plain base, which would not detract attention from the statue itself: this, at least, was the normal practice.

¹⁰⁵ The only other probable example is that cited by Mr. R. P. WRIGHT; *JRS* xxxiii, 37 and pl. ii, righthand bottom illustration. The deity is discussed in *Arch. Ael.* xxi, 207-210. Hübner's suggestion, that there was here a third female figure, is pure guesswork, *CIL*, vii, 218.

indicated¹⁰⁶ as administrative or geographical entities. The right-hand figure is veiled and fully draped, and is emerging from her niche in order to exchange with the junior an object not unlike a box or a basket¹⁰⁷. Her seniority over the left-hand figure is shown by the different guise of the latter, whose hair flows loose and unveiled and whose drapery is so disposed as to display all her youthful charms: if it were not for the fact, that she wears a turreted crown, which indicates that she personifies an administrative division, and carries no emblem of wood or water, this girlish figure might pass for a nymph.

There can be little doubt that the scene had a local reference, without which personifications of administrative bodies not otherwise explained would have neither meaning nor relevance upon a Ribchester stone. This granted, the identification of the figures becomes possible. Neither figure can be the fort

¹⁰⁶ The turreted crown to indicate cities seems due to the Hellenistic sculptor Eutychedes in his statue of Antioch (P. GARDNER, *JHS* ix, 75-6, pl. v. = TOYNBEE, *Hadrianic School*, pl. xxx, 1-2, also figuring four derivative statues, pl. xxix). Comparison may be made with the B.M. statue of Alexandria, first published by TOYNBEE, *ibid.* 42 and pl. xxiii, 3; also the cities on the south wall of the passage-way of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum (STRONG, *Roman Sculpture*, pl. lxvi, upper figure, or *La sculptura romana*, ii, 198, fig. 114) and the Louvre relief assigned by Toynbee to the early second century (*op. cit.*, pl. xxi, 1; p. 21, n. 4). Turreted crowns for provinces soon followed, as on the Ince Blundell statue of Cappadocia (TOYNBEE, *op. cit.*, pl. xxiv) and, on coins of Hadrian, for Asia (*ibid.*, pl. iii, 2-4), Bithynia (iii, 5-9). Cappadocia (iii, 17-20) and Pannonia (vi, 6); on coins of Antoninus Pius for Asia (vii, 9), Cappadocia (vii, 12-15), Spain (viii, 4) and Syria (viii, 14); on coins of Severus for Britain (xii, 3-4) and on coins of Postumus for Gaul (xiv, 8). An earlier instance on coins is provided by the two companion Spanish provinces on Civil War issues of M. Minatius Sabinus of 46-44 B.C. (xv, 7-8). The standardization of the convention is well shown upon the African mosaic from Biregik, now in Berlin (JATTA, *Le rappresentanze figurate delle provincie romane*, figs. 1 (Britannia), 2 (Gallia), 3 (Hispania), and 5 (Raetia), while its persistence into later antiquity is shown by the figures of Insulae, Hellespontus, Palaestina and Septem Provinciae in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, comparable with the cities on the south face of the base of the Column of Arcadius in Constantinople (*Archeologia*, lxxii, pl. 17). The elderly veiled figure which we are identifying as Britain on the Ribchester stone might well have been copied from the type on the coinage of Severus (TOYNBEE, *op. cit.*, pl. xii, 5) of the province veiled but without a crown, combined with the normal turreted convention. It may also be noted that the subdivision of a province occurs thus attired on coins of Antoninus Pius, where Phoenice in Syria is thus shown (*op. cit.*, pl. vii, 8); for Phoenicia, though it had been distinguished from Syria as early as Augustan times (cf. Lapis TIBURTINUS, *ILS* 918), was not created an autonomous province until the time of Severus.

¹⁰⁷ WATKIN, *Roman Lancashire*, 133, says that the object is 'too worn to be recognizable'.

itself, for they are unarmed. But the junior figure may be readily accepted as the local sphere of administration, the *regio Bremetennacensis*, of which Ribchester was the centre, while the senior figure should represent the province of which the *regio* was a subdivision. What, then, was the object exchanged between the two figures? Not a grant of lands, for this would be conventionally represented by a roll¹⁰⁸, and veterans' lands of the kind were not a gift, but were leased upon terms¹⁰⁹ and were not negotiable. The form and size of the object is, on the other hand, highly reminiscent of the baskets, or *fisci*, in which the provinces offer, for example, their *aurum coronarium* to Antoninus Pius¹¹⁰. The gesture of exchange also requires qualification. The pose of the two figures gives the impression of the senior figure returning to the junior an offering which she is making, as if it were a scene of remission¹¹¹ rather than donation of which we are the spectators. This is in itself so likely a relationship between a province and a veteran settlement, that it may be accepted as the intention of the scene. An explanation of the event in words may well lie concealed in the final lines of the text on the stone, which are now illegible; for they have clearly reached the point in composition where the reason for the dedication is disclosed. Just as the two sides of the stone once complemented one another, so it is evident that the back and front are related.

As has been emphasized throughout this study, *Bremetennacum* itself was not a town. It may be compared in this respect with Brough-under-Stainmore (*Verterae*), which was a fiscal centre¹¹² for the contributions of numerous garrison commands but always remained a fort. It is, however, evident, and wholly in keeping with the Roman way of thinking, that the Ribchester *vicus* was the religious centre¹¹³ of the *regio Bremetennacensis* and that it contained monuments which are of exceptional rarity in military provinces and of exceptional interest to the student of the Roman army. For this interest is not exhausted by what the stones themselves state, through their text or through their carving, and its implications range further afield. It is of some importance

¹⁰⁸ See E. STRONG, *Roman Sculpture*, 217, pl. lxiv, or *La scultura romana* ii, 195. fig. iii, where Trajan, presenting land to veterans, carries a roll representing the grant.

¹⁰⁹ See p. 23, n. 80, above.

¹¹⁰ TOYNBEE, *op. cit.*, pls. vii, II and viii, 3 and 5.

¹¹¹ The action is wholly intelligible if the younger figure had handed her gift and as now having it pressed back into her possession.

¹¹² *CW* xxxvi, 113, 116; cf. also NEWSTEAD, *A Roman Frontier Post*, 309, pl. lxxxii, 19-20, and p. 2, quoting MILNE (1743), *A Description of the Parish of Melrose*, 6, for the statement 'a great deal of lead got and some curious seals'.

¹¹³ cf. *ILS* 6890, 7100.

to recall that the cult of Maponus is one patronized¹¹⁴ by legionary officers of the Sixth legion, from which Antonianus came, and, in particular, by so senior an officer as the *praefectus castrorum*¹¹⁵, since this stamps the cult as one centred in York rather than in the auxiliary torts. Again, if it is correct to surmise that the temple dedicated by Natalis was in fact a House of the Lord belonging to Dolichenus, it may be observed that this too was a cult¹¹⁶ which always attracted legionaries rather than auxiliaries. Accordingly, it becomes evident that the centurions in charge of the Ribchester garrison and veteran settlement were imparting to their administrative centre an atmosphere which was legionary in outlook and Roman in expression, if regional in emphasis and application.

The social significance of this evidence has some wide aspects. It is common knowledge that the creation of the 'Militärbauerntum', as Stein¹¹⁷ conveniently named the military land policy of Severus, led to the barbarizing of the Roman army by basing that army upon a peasant class drawn from the lowest cultural grades of provincial society or from the barbarians whom they so closely resembled. Nor will any historian of the Roman Empire deny that the barbarizing appears to have been a principal characteristic of third-century army development. But it is now becoming evident that it would be wrong to assume that this effect came about in default of official attempts to educate the army in Roman traditions. The great value of the recently published *Feriale Duranum* has been to demonstrate¹¹⁸ how the whole official life of the army was keyed to Roman religious festivals of Imperial and social significance: and, more recently still, it has been observed¹¹⁹ how the official cults of the Corbridge legionary supply-base for Hadrian's Wall in Britain graphically inculcated some of the choicest legends of ancient Rome. This evidence, however, concerns legionaries, still the *élite* of the army, even if now becoming increasingly provincial in composition. At *Bremetennacum*, on the other hand, we are in contact with a special settlement and garrison composed of those very barbarians whose failure to absorb Roman culture is considered to have sapped and weakened the Roman military virtue. It is thus particularly significant for official policy that successive commandants of the Ribchester fort and settlement, men of education and social standing, both could and did draw generous-

¹¹⁴ *CIL* vii, 423, 1345; *Arch. Ael.* xxi, 207-210.

¹¹⁵ *CIL* vii, 1345.

¹¹⁶ *Arch. Ael.* xxi, 194-5

¹¹⁷ E. STEIN, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, i, 90.

¹¹⁸ *Yale Classical Studies* vii, 202-210, especially 209.

¹¹⁹ *Arch. Ael.* xxi, 162-176 ; in particular, 174-5.

ly upon the resources of craftsmanship and religious allegory available or current at the York headquarters in order to establish the shrines and monuments of the regional centre upon the basis of the best conventions that they knew. Indeed, it must be admitted that the policy can hardly have been without direct official inspiration, since it continued over a period of some forty years or more. It is evident that both during their military service and after their settlement in the *regio* as veterans, the men of the Sarmatian *numeri*, soldiers of the lowest standing in the army, were subjected to the steady influence of Roman religious culture, always one of the most powerful media of social education in the ancient world. This Romanization can also be seen to have had its special character, reflective of the ecumenical ideals of its age. It was no longer the imposition of purely Mediterranean culture, a blend of Greek and Roman ideals. Asia and the Celtic world were there, represented by imagery which was moulded by classical convention yet which gave to the classical idiom new life and new content. Ultimately, the failure of the experiment may have illustrated that the old bottles would not hold new wine. But the failure itself was only a phase in the age-long Psychomachia of the humanities, and it would bode ill for our own confidence in their future if we refused to admit the courage and reality of the Severan effort in army education.