

Not to mention the tablets: Vindolanda's other inscriptions

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SUMMARY

Ever since the first ink-written tablets were discovered in 1973, Vindolanda has been the richest source of Roman documents from Britain. The tablets overshadow the fort's conventional epigraphy, but by ordinary standards this too is considerable. It is summarised here, first with an eye to coincidences between the tablets found in the sequence of timber forts and the inscribed personal belongings [Instrumentum Domesticum] that were also found, and then to the information provided by inscriptions on stone about the succeeding stone forts, their construction and occupation, and the religious practices of their occupants. The whole is intended to be, not comprehensive, but an introduction to the wealth of Vindolanda's 'other inscriptions'.

WHEN WE THINK OF THE ROMANS WRITING AT VINDOLANDA, we think of the famous writing-tablets, but the fort has produced many other inscriptions. Counting only those on stone, 75 or so are published in *RIB* I and III, ranging in size from squared rubble facing-stones to large altars and tombstones. Roman Britain has produced fewer than 3,000 altogether, so Vindolanda is responsible for one-fortieth of the total.

When we think of Vindolanda we also think of Eric Birley, who bought the site in 1929 and initiated its modern excavation, which was continued by his elder son Robin after the formation of the Vindolanda Trust in 1970, and now by his grandson Andrew. When I was a graduate student interested in the late-Roman army, I studied for a term in Durham under Eric Birley's supervision, and he inspired me with his passion for applied epigraphy which I marked years later by dedicating the *Addenda and Corrigenda* (1995) of *RIB* I to him. His epigraphic mantle was inherited by his younger son Anthony, whose *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (1981), revised as *The Roman Government of Britain* (2005), has been my constant work of reference.

The excavations by the Vindolanda Trust are the largest single contributor of stone inscriptions to *RIB* III, but the peak of Romano-British epigraphy has been the discovery since 1973 of wooden leaf-tablets inscribed in ink, and their brilliant decipherment and elucidation by Alan Bowman and David Thomas, with contributions by others including Jim Adams, Anthony Birley, John Pearce and Richard Tapper.¹ It was my own privilege to contribute to the latter end of this long achievement, by helping to publish the texts found in 2001–2003.² Thus I saw at first hand the skill and scholarship of two great papyrologists, whose work (if I may quote my own review) has 'cast a flood of light — or at least a galaxy of pinpoints of light — upon a Dark Age in northern Britain, upon the Roman army, its logistics, organisation and social structure, and upon the spoken and written Latin of the time and milieu'.³

The stone inscriptions are almost all later than the tablets. Robin Birley, in comparing the stone-built commandant's house with its timber predecessor, justly notes that 'the few stone inscriptions, although very welcome, add little to the historical record compared with the hundreds of writing tablets from the archive of Flavius Cerialis'.⁴ So it is appropriate to begin

with *Instrumentum Domesticum* — Vindolanda's informal inscriptions on personal possessions of all kinds — and to concentrate on those that coincide in date or content with the tablets, before turning to inscriptions on stone.

The most appealing coincidence is a gold ring whose gemstone reads *anima mea*, 'my darling soul'. Although much later in date, this is the same endearment as Claudia Severa uses in writing to her 'dearest sister' Sulpicia Lepidina, the wife of Flavius Cerialis.⁵ A more pedestrian coincidence is a black jar inscribed with CORS and a large numeral, which probably means '1,884 coriander seeds'.⁶ It came from a context contemporary with the tablets, and recalls their lists of commodities which include pepper, spices, anise, caraway, and thyme. One even carries an exact total: '263' of them, whatever they were.⁷ But most coincidences are only of personal names, since graffiti tend to be the 'signatures' of owners. The prime example is the junior cavalry officer (*vexillarius*) Tagamas or Tagomas: the tablet which calls him Tagomas was actually found in the same room as the handle of a south-Spanish oil amphora scratched with his name.⁸

The name is very rare, but it warns us to be careful with coincidences: a tablet from an earlier context refers to a craftsman (*faber*) also called Tagomas, who is explicitly someone else.⁹ Another problem is the name *Veget[us]* scratched on a samian sherd found in a second-century context.¹⁰ Even if it is early enough, there are two persons of this name in the tablets: Vegetus, who writes from somewhere else to Genialis his 'lord' (*dominus*), and Cocceius Vegetus, who is the recipient of two letters; intriguingly, he may even be a promoted imperial slave previously attested in London.¹¹ The Romans themselves were well aware of homonyms; thus the owner of a pre-Hadrianic flagon was Genialis '(son) of Nonnus'.¹² *Genialis* is quite a common name: it was also borne by one Flavius Genialis in the tablets, and in contemporary Carlisle by two of the sixteen troop-commanders (*decuriones*) of its cavalry regiment, the *ala Sebosiana*. Both were called Genialis, and the first was distinguished as Genialis 'senior'.¹³ So the flagon's owner was careful to specify *which* Genialis he was.

Flavius Genialis, his distinguished homonym, fragments of whose correspondence survive, was probably prefect of the Ninth Cohort of Batavians.¹⁴ At least four pieces of leather have been found marked with the cohort's abbreviated title CIXB, presumably to identify their hides in the tannery.¹⁵ This cohort may have built the temple which produced a small inscribed altar, but unfortunately it is illegible.¹⁶ A later prefect, the now-famous Flavius Cerialis, probably owned the branding-iron found in his official residence which carries the ligatured letters CE.¹⁷ Cerialis' friend and fellow-prefect Aelius Brocchus, Claudia Severa's husband, visited Vindolanda at least four times, so it is tempting to associate him with a patera handle found in an early second-century context, which is inscribed in punched dots: BRO for *Bro(cchus)*.¹⁸ One of the cohort's officers, the centurion Felicio, is also well-attested in the tablets.¹⁹ By coincidence the sherd of a south-Spanish oil amphora was found in an early second-century context; it is scratched with a soldier's name now illegible, who belonged to the (*centuria*) FEL, 'the century of Fel(icio)'.²⁰

Another such coincidence is the name *Nigrin[us]* scratched on a cooking-vessel found in an early second-century context; it too occurs in one of the tablets.²¹ More unusual coincidences are the two oak planks, probably chest-lids, which carry a name carefully cut in capital letters. One is *Atto*, which occurs in other Vindolanda graffiti of the period, so it was certainly current there, even if none of these instances can be identified with the cavalry troop-commander (*decurio*) called Atto, who is named in a letter written to the prefect at Vindolanda by a colleague. The implication is that he belonged to another unit, and like Aelius Brocchus was

only a visitor to Vindolanda.²² The other plank is apparently inscribed IANVARI, '(the property) of Januarius'. This too is quite a common name, but is also found in the tablets.²³

However, it is unusual names like *Tagomas* which are more interesting. Thus an early (South-Gaulish) samian sherd is scratched with the name *Andangiu[s]*. This occurs in the Rhineland as the father of one Gamuxperus, whose unique name should now be restored in the tablet where we only have the name-ending, *lxperus*.²⁴ Another example is the sherd of a grey mortarium found in an early second-century context which belonged to MINC[. . .]. His name is not the conjectural *Minc[ius]*, as originally suggested, but *Minc[o]*, since this has now been read for the first time in a tablet recently published.²⁵ The same tablet also records the Celtic name *Carantus* or *Carantius*, which is apparently scratched on a boxwood comb found in a contemporary context (95–105), as well as being punched in dots on a copper-alloy strip, perhaps part of a helmet visor, found in a somewhat later context (probably Antonine).²⁶

One of the best-preserved letters from Vindolanda is the string of clichés with which Chrauttius asks his 'old colleague and brother' Veldeius for a pair of castrating shears.²⁷ Veldeius' duties as groom to the governor (*equisio consularis*) were probably not performed at Vindolanda, but he is surely to be identified with the 'Veldedius' whose name appears on a leather off-cut found nearby in association with a horse's chamfron.²⁸ Most likely he was a soldier of the cohort seconded for special service at provincial headquarters, in the way that others were seconded to the governor's bodyguard, notably the 46 *singulares leg(ati)* itemised in the best-preserved of the Vindolanda strength reports.²⁹

Another bodyguard who certainly returned to Vindolanda, although at a somewhat later date, is the *s(ingularis) c(onsularis)* Corn(elius) Victor who was buried there by his widow.³⁰ His tombstone cannot be closely dated, but another may be the earliest stone inscription yet found at Vindolanda. It is the left-hand portion of a large ansate slab commemorating the centurion Titus Annius or Annaeus [cognomen lost] of the First Cohort of Tungrians, which alludes tantalisingly to the 'war' in which he was killed. This, to judge by the epitaph's early second-century formulation, was the fighting that occurred at Hadrian's accession 'when the Britons could hardly be kept under Roman control'.³¹ Until the other portion is found, it remains uncertain whether he was a centurion in the cohort, which is the more economical restoration of the text, or was actually a legionary centurion in acting-command (*praepositus*). Another problem is the enigmatic letter T which precedes *in bell[o]*; it was evidently a symbol or abbreviation, and it is tempting to expand it as *t(itulum)* ('monument') with the implication that he was literally lost in battle like the centurion of Varus' army in Germany who had to be commemorated with a cenotaph.³²

The Tungrians are the cohort in the strength reports already mentioned, but they are also named on two more personal items. One is an iron spear-head found in a somewhat later context which is inscribed in punched dots: TVNG, for (*cohors I*) *Tung(rorum)*.³³ The other is a fragment of the military diploma issued to a veteran of the cohort in 146, when it had already left Vindolanda. The implication is that he retired to his previous station because of local associations or connections.³⁴

The date at which the series of timber forts (where the tablets were found) was replaced in stone is not certain, but Paul Bidwell has shown that it is likely to have been early in the reign of Hadrian, when work started on the Wall itself; this had already been deduced by Hodgson from the fragment of a slab dedicated to Hadrian by the Second Legion *Augusta* which Hedley discovered in the 'ruins' of Vindolanda. It closely resembles the pair of inscriptions from milecastle 38, as *RIB* comments, but Hodgson's note of provenance is explicit; and he is

careful to distinguish it from the two milecastle inscriptions (a 'perfect counterpart'), while attributing all three to the Barcombe quarries above Vindolanda.³⁵

Another fragment names Marcus Aurelius' second governor Calpurnius Agricola, and may be taken as evidence of the Hadrianic frontier being recommissioned when the Antonine Wall was abandoned.³⁶ None of Vindolanda's 'centurial' stones is dated, but two at least look post-Hadrianic and may belong to this recommissioning: one names the legionary centurion Caessenius Faustus, the other the Second Legion *Augusta*, with a detachment-flag (*vexillum*) between the legion's emblems of Pegasus and Capricorn.³⁷ Two other building-stones are worth mentioning, but their date is unknown: a small slab recording a detachment of the Twentieth Legion *Valeria Victrix* with a boar in high relief, and another inscribed TIRONES PROB for *tirones prob(ati)*, 'Approved recruits (built this)'.³⁸

The Antonine garrison can now be identified as the Second Cohort of Nervians. This was open to question when they were attested not at Vindolanda itself, but on an altar to Cocidius found 3 km away in the foundations of a cottage.³⁹ It might have come from a local shrine, but the question was resolved in 2009 when the stump of another altar dedicated by a prefect of this cohort was found *in situ* at Vindolanda.⁴⁰ Coincidentally a fragmentary stamped tile was found in the same year, which can also be attributed to the cohort.⁴¹

The Antonine stone fort was replaced by the second Stone Fort, but the first epigraphic evidence is no more than a small triangular fragment found in a field-wall. It comes from the bottom of a dedication-slab, and was illegible until by chance it was moistened to make a paper impression (an epigraphic 'squeeze') and traces of red paint suddenly appeared.⁴² They read [*S*]enecio, for Septimius Severus' governor Alfenus Senecio, who directed extensive reconstruction of the northern frontier and its hinterland forts. The garrison's name is lost, and first appears in its expression of loyalty to Caracalla; a large fragment was found in 1933, and two more fragments in 2009. It was the Fourth Cohort of Gauls.⁴³

Excavation and consolidation of the west wall in 2006 revealed the building-difficulties caused by the remains of the first stone fort, and provide a context for the long-lost slab which recorded the cohort's rebuilding of 'a gate with towers' in the reign of Severus Alexander.⁴⁴ Robin Birley has convincingly seen this as the west gate of Stone Fort II which was 'built', he says, 'on highly insecure foundations'.⁴⁵

The Fourth Cohort of Gauls is best known from the three large altars found by Hedley in the commandant's house in 1831; they are dedicated by different prefects, at least two of whom are Italian, to various deities and the presiding spirit of the building, the *genius* of the *praetorium*.⁴⁶ A fourth altar was found there in the excavations of 1998, likewise dedicated to Jupiter and the *genius* of the *praetorium*, but unfortunately the rest of the text is largely illegible.⁴⁷

The cohort also erected a superb altar which was found in 2009, just too late for inclusion in *RIB* III, which has been amply published by Anthony Birley and its excavator, Andrew Birley.⁴⁸ This is dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus (his name unusually spelt *Dolochenus*), and was found *in situ* in a building just inside the northern rampart, which can thus be identified as a Dolichenum. The god is carved in high relief on one side, holding his axe and thunderbolt, standing on a bull. The dedicator is the prefect Sulpicius Pudens, two entries for the price of one, since his name can now be restored on the altar dedicated by the same cohort which was found at Staward Pele, 6.5 km from Vindolanda. After sixty years of weathering, this is now illegible, and its reading depends on Richard Wright's drawing of 1950. He could not read the prefect's name, but he faithfully recorded the traces from which it can now be restored, a vindication of his objectivity and observation.⁴⁹

These altars are the most imposing monuments of the cohort, but still more interesting — and certainly more unusual — is the statue-base found in 2006 during the excavation and consolidation of the west wall. This is dedicated to the previously unknown goddess *Gallia*, the personification of Gaul, by 'the men of Gaul' and — in smaller letters, almost as an afterthought — 'the men of Britain in harmony with them'.⁵⁰ The context has been elucidated by Anthony Birley: these 'men of Gaul' are third-century recruits drawn from the cohort's original catchment area in Gallia Lugdunensis, who were thus advertising their attachment to their homeland. But touchingly, they claimed this feeling was shared by other members of the 'Gaulish' cohort, whatever their origin.⁵¹

This statue-base rebuts the assumption that Roman auxiliary units, when they settled down as frontier garrisons, were no longer recruited from their homeland, but only from the province where they were stationed. The same question is raised by the sherd of a samian cup found in a third-century context at Vindolanda, which belonged to a man called *Neuto*.⁵² His name is otherwise found in Britain only at Housesteads, a later station of the First Cohort of Tungrians, and its survival is intriguing since there is Continental evidence that it was a Tungrian personal name.⁵³ Does this mean that it had entered the local name-stock, or were Tungrians still being recruited for 'Tungrian' cohorts?

The Fourth Cohort of Gauls is still named as Vindolanda's garrison by the enigmatic *Notitia Dignitatum* in the early fifth century, but its list of units 'along the line of the Wall' is a bureaucratic fossil.⁵⁴ The last epigraphic evidence of the cohort is probably the fragmentary slab dedicated by an acting-commander in the reign of Probus (276–82).⁵⁵

These stones are the most striking evidence of religious cults at Vindolanda, but others may be mentioned. Two other altars dedicated to Jupiter may have been 'official', but the dedicators' names are lost.⁵⁶ A centurion of the Sixth Legion *Victrix* dedicated an altar to 'the Fortune of the Roman People' in the bath-house west of the Stone Fort.⁵⁷ A Cohort of Nervians, probably the Second again, dedicated an altar to Victorious Mars; and one of the finest pieces of jewellery from Vindolanda is the silver brooch with a figure of Mars which was found on the floor of a Hadrianic workshop.⁵⁸ It belonged to the legionary Quintus Sollonius of a century which he abbreviated to CVPI, conjecturally that of Claudius Cupitus in the Second Legion *Augusta*.⁵⁹ This is actually the only legion named in the tablets, in a letter from its Eagle-bearer (*aquilifer*) to his 'little brother' Cassius Saecularis.⁶⁰ The god Mercury is represented by a silver ring, and by a carved relief now lost.⁶¹ The gods Neptune and Silvanus receive altars, the latter dedicated by an official of the central government (*beneficiarius consularis*) in the third century.⁶² Socially the most interesting of these 'Roman' dedications is an altar dedicated to the Imperial House and the Divinities of the Emperors, coupled with the god Vulcan, by 'the villagers of Vindolanda', the *vicani Vindolandenses*.⁶³ When this was found in 1914, it was the first instance of the name at Vindolanda itself, which is now so frequent in the tablets; and it is one of four altars from Britain dedicated by the civilian population of a fort organised as a *vicus*, a 'village' with local self-government.⁶⁴

The cult of Cocidius has already been mentioned. Other 'non-Roman' cults include the goddess SAIADA (her exact name is uncertain), who may be local since she is otherwise unknown.⁶⁵ There is a silver pendant dedicated to another Celtic god, Maponus.⁶⁶ To an altar dedicated to the Mother Goddesses (*Matres*) may be added a silver ring dedicated to the *Matres Parcae*, 'the Mothers the Fates'.⁶⁷ One of Vindolanda's many small altars is dedicated to 'Moguns and the local *genius*'.⁶⁸ These are typical of Vindolanda, and most of them are dedicated to the god 'Veteres': there are so many variants of this name that we do not know

whether the deity was masculine or feminine, singular or plural. It sometimes begins with an aspirated 'u', which is un-Roman and suggests a German origin, but except for outliers at York and in Rutland, there is no evidence of the cult outside the central Wall area. In fact, Vindolanda seems to be its epicentre, but this may only be an accident of survival.⁶⁹

The most successful 'non-Roman' cult was Christianity, of course, and two or three stones have been found at Vindolanda incised with patterns which the excavators understand as Christian. Since, however, they can be paralleled in non-Christian contexts, scepticism is possible.⁷⁰ But there was certainly a Christian presence by the end of the fifth century, attested by the sub-Roman tombstone of Brigomaglos with its Christian formula of *hic iacit* ('here lies'). This encourages the hope that Vindolanda one day will produce that elusive object, a Romano-British Christian tombstone.⁷¹

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NOTES

¹ *Tab. Vindol.* I, II and III.

² *Tab. Vindol.* IV.1 and IV.2.

³ *Britannia*, 27 (1996), 463.

⁴ Birley 2009, 149.

⁵ *RIB* II.3, 2423.4. Compare *Tab. Vindol.* II, 291.ii.12, *soror anima mea*; 292.b.back 2, *soror karissima et anima desideratissima*, which is probably to be restored in 293.i.2.

⁶ *RIB* II.8, 2503.1, *CORS MDCCCLXXXIII*.

⁷ Commodities are tabulated in *Tab. Vindol.* III, pp. 15–16; the annotation '263' is *Tab. Vindol.* IV.1, 865.14, but unfortunately the rest of the entry is lost.

⁸ *Tab. Vindol.* II, 181.14–15; IV.1, 861.25, with *Britannia*, 34 (2003), 377, No. 37.

⁹ *Tab. Vindol.* IV.1, 862.11–12.

¹⁰ *Britannia*, 36 (2005), 493, No. 54.

¹¹ *Tab. Vindol.* III, 614 (Vegetus). *Tab. Vindol.* III, App. 352.back 1 with note (Cocceius Vegetus). Cocceius Vegetus seems also to have received a stilus tablet (Inv. no. 87.689) which the published photograph (VRR II, pl. XXII Top) suggests was addressed to him at Vindolanda by one Sestius Optatus (*Vindolande | Cocceio Vegeto | a Sestio Optato*).

¹² *Britannia*, 34 (2003), 378, No. 39.

¹³ *Tab. Luguval.* 16.9–10 with note. But the distinction is not made in 1A.4 and 46.

¹⁴ *Tab. Vindol.* II, 217–224, but 'the coherence of this group of texts and the identity of the person or persons concerned is problematical'.

¹⁵ VRR II, 92; *RIB* II.4, 2445.2 and 24.

¹⁶ *RIB* III, 3343, noting 'perhaps *deo | Ma[g] | u[sa]no* Birley'.

- ¹⁷ C is reversed. *VRR II*, 91, Iron No. 6 (found in the Period III *praetorium*).
- ¹⁸ *Britannia*, 36 (2005), 492, No. 39; for his visits see *Tab. Vindol.* III, 581.
- ¹⁹ The century: *Tab. Vindol.* II, 138; 166.1; III, 578. The centurion: II, 182 i.6; 193.1.
- ²⁰ *Britannia*, 36 (2005), 495, No. 70.
- ²¹ *Britannia*, 36 (2005), 494, No. 63. Compare *Tab. Vindol.* II, 312 back. 2.
- ²² *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 440, No. 32 (the plank). Compare *RIB II.6*, 2492.79, *Atto* (on a vessel dated c. 80–110); *Britannia*, 40 (2009), 350, No. 82, [A]tto (samian sherd); *Britannia*, 40 (2009), 353, No. 93, *Att[o]* (grey bowl). For the decurion, see *Tab. Vindol.* II, 345.i.1–2, ii.3, and compare 308.1.
- ²³ *VRR II*, 83, but taking the reading from Pl. XXVI.6. Compare *Tab. Vindol.* III, 580.4; 598.c.5; and perhaps II, 343, line 42 n.
- ²⁴ *Britannia*, 34 (2003), 379, No. 40 with note. Compare *Tab. Vindol.* II, 184.23.
- ²⁵ *Britannia*, 36 (2005), 494, No. 62 with *Britannia* 42 (2011), 463, corrigendum (l). Compare *Tab. Vindol.* IV.2, 875.ii.21.
- ²⁶ *Tab. Vindol.* IV.2, 875.ii.16. *Britannia* 42 (2011), 41, No. 16 (the comb). *Britannia*, 39 (2008), 384, No. 19 (the bronze strip). The name is also found at High Rochester (*RIB* 1266, *Carantius*) and in a quarry near Haltonchesters (*RIB* 1442, *Carantinus*).
- ²⁷ *Tab. Vindol.* II, 310 with note.
- ²⁸ *VRR II*, 94, No. 12.
- ²⁹ *Tab. Vindol.* II, 154.5. There is apparently the same entry in *Tab. Vindol.* IV.1, 857.6.
- ³⁰ *RIB* 1713.
- ³¹ *RIB* III, 3364; Birley 1998, citing *Hist. Aug.* Hadrian 5.2.
- ³² *ILS* 2244.
- ³³ *Britannia*, 19 (1988), 502, No. 70. The context is second-century, but after 120.
- ³⁴ Roxan, in Bidwell 1985, 93–102 = *RIB II.1*, 2401.9. The Tungrians are likely to have left Vindolanda for the newly-built Wall fort of Housesteads (Birley 2009, 112), where it may be conjectured that a fragmentary inscription (*RIB* III, 3325) is not only Hadrianic but was dedicated by them.
- ³⁵ *RIB* 1702 (compare *RIB* 1637 and 1638, from milecastle 38). Hodgson 1840, 200–1 and 314–5; Bidwell 1985, 9–10 (noting also that *RIB* 1702 is in the dative, while *RIB* 1637 and 1638 are, exceptionally, in the genitive case); Birley 2009, 112 and 123.
- ³⁶ *RIB* 1703.
- ³⁷ *RIB* III, 3347 (with discussion of date). *RIB* 1707 (stylistically close to *RIB* 1341, 1342 and 1344, and probably Antonine; see further Hodgson 2011, 67–8)
- ³⁸ *RIB* III, 3354 and 3355.
- ³⁹ *RIB* 1683.
- ⁴⁰ *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 445, No. 5; *RIB* 1691 (see below, n. 58) is probably also relevant.
- ⁴¹ *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 462, No. 67: CIINII[.] for *c(ohors) II Ne[rv(iorum)]*.
- ⁴² *RIB* III, 3348.
- ⁴³ *RIB* 1705 with *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 467, Addendum (b).
- ⁴⁴ *RIB* 1706, *por[tam cum tu]rribus*.
- ⁴⁵ Birley 2009, 144.
- ⁴⁶ *RIB* 1685 (the gentilicium of the dedicator is unique to Reate: see *PME P* 37); 1686 (the dedicator is explicitly *ex Italia domo Brixia*); 1687 (now incomplete).
- ⁴⁷ *RIB* 3333. The text contains a unit-title ending in]ORVM, but there is no sign that it was preceded by GALL[.]
- ⁴⁸ Birley and Birley 2010; *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 444, No. 4.
- ⁴⁹ *RIB* 1688 with *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 467. Anthony Birley (see previous note) observes that D for *D(olicheno)* has probably been lost at the end of the first line, which would mean that this altar too was dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus.
- ⁵⁰ *RIB* III, 3332, *cives Galli de(ae) Galliae concordisque Britanni*.
- ⁵¹ Birley 2007, 104–12. In something of the same spirit, George MacDonald Fraser has remarked (1976, 45) that Highland Regiments, being strongly national institutions, are sensitive as to their

composition (hence the old music-hall joke on the lines of: 'Isaacstein?' 'Present, sir.' 'O'Flaherty?' 'Present, sir.' 'Woinarowski?' 'Present, sir.' 'Right — Cameron Highlanders present and correct, sir.').

⁵² *Britannia*, 36 (2005), 494, No. 61.

⁵³ *RIB* II.8, 2503.355 with note.

⁵⁴ *Not. Dig. Occ.* 40.32, *item per lineam ualli*; 41, *tribunus cohortis quartae Gallorum, Uindolana*.

⁵⁵ *RIB* 1710, where the cohort's name has been restored.

⁵⁶ *RIB* 1689, 1690.

⁵⁷ *RIB* 1684.

⁵⁸ *RIB* 1691. This altar was found in (or before) 1757, and is now illegible; the cohort's numeral was read as III, but this was surely a mistake for II. The silver brooch is Birley 2007, 102–4 (with cover illustration); *Britannia*, 38 (2007), 361, No. 28.

⁵⁹ *RIB* 344 (Caerleon), abbreviated to CL CVP.

⁶⁰ *Tab. Vindol.* II, 214.2.

⁶¹ *RIB* II.3, 2422.29, MER (silver ring). *RIB* 1693, *deo Mercurio* (carved relief).

⁶² *RIB* 1694 (Neptune). *RIB* 1696 (Silvanus), after the division of Britain into two provinces since it was dedicated by a *b(ene)ficiarius co(n)s(ularis) pr(ovinciae) superioris leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)*. Much earlier *beneficiarii* are attested in the tablets (*Tab. Vindol.* II 180.18, 344.10, III 643 a.i.5) and by a contemporary amphora sherd (*Britannia*, 36 (2005), 495, No. 68).

⁶³ *RIB* 1700.

⁶⁴ The others are *RIB* 899 (Old Carlisle); *RIB* III, 3117 (Leintwardine); *RIB* III, 3503 (Carriden).

Compare *RIB* 1616 (Housesteads), the fragment of a dedication-slab, reading: *d(ecreto) vica[norum]*, 'by decree of the villagers'.

⁶⁵ *RIB* 1695, found 3 km from Vindolanda, so perhaps from a local shrine.

⁶⁶ *RIB* II.3, 2431.2.

⁶⁷ *RIB* 1692. *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 440, No. 31. Another ring inscribed MATRI PATRI (*Britannia*, 40 (2009), 348, No. 68) might also represent the *Matres*, but is more easily taken as a dedication 'to Mother (and) Father'.

⁶⁸ *RIB* III, 3334.

⁶⁹ *RIB* 1697–1699. *RIB* III, 3335–42. The outliers are *RIB* 660 (York) and *RIB* II.3, 2431.3 (Thistleton).

⁷⁰ *RIB* III, 3370, 3371 and illustrated at 3448; but see also Birley 2007, 112–3.

⁷¹ The best candidates are *RIB* 955 (Carlisle) and 1828 (Carvoran), but the Christianity of both is uncertain. Brigomaglos is noted after *RIB* 1722. Jackson (1953, 448) dates his tombstone to the late fifth or early sixth century, but the archaism of the name is puzzling. Not only does it apparently retain the Celtic nominative in *-os* (despite Jackson 1953, 192 n. 2), it shows no sign of the lenition of [g] to [y] which was already current in the Roman period. In its feminine form, it is already *Brigomalla* in *Tab. Sulis* 30.1, which by its handwriting is second-century; lenition is also marked in a Leicester tablet not much later in date (Tomlin 2008, 207–15). The name *Brigomaglos* ultimately became *Briamail* (Redknap and Lewis 2007, 185–90, B 16), but since the context is tenth-century, this is no evidence of when the change occurred.

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