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Batavi in the Roman Army of the Principate

An Inventory of the Sources

Part II. The cohortes Batavorum

In a previous issue of this journal we deal with Batavi who served in the cavalry units of the Roman army as well as on the Rhine fleet, in the imperial horseguard, in the legions and in the praetorian cohorts¹. In this second study, Batavi in the auxiliary cohorts are in the spotlight. This paper focuses on the cohortes Batavorum and the individual soldiers who served in them, as well as on soldiers of Batavian descent who served in other auxiliary cohorts.

To start with the latter category, whereas several Batavi from cavalry regiments other than the ala Batavorum are known², we know of only two men (one certainly a Batavian and the other probably), who may have served in a cohort other than one of the cohortes Batavorum. In both cases, however, the evidence for their belonging to such a cohort, CIL III 5918b = 11936 and RMD IV 248, is weak.

The first piece of evidence is the fragment of a votive inscription dedicated by Titus Flavius Romanus, a Batavian from Ulpia Noviomagus (modern Nijmegen), found in Walting in Bavaria in 1857. The text is as follows: »--- sacr?]um T(itus) Fl(avius) Rom[a]nus Ulpia Noviomagi Batav(u)s dec(urio) al[ae] I Flaviae praepositus [---«³. As Jules Bogaers argues⁴, Romanus had probably belonged to the ala I Flavia Gemelliana (and not the ala I Flavia civium Romanorum), which was stationed in Kösching, some twenty kilometers south-east of the site where the stone was found at Walting. In Pfünz, at approximately five kilometers south-west of Walting, the cohors I Breucorum was stationed (cf. CIL III 11929–11936), and Romanus therefore may have been praepositus of this cohort⁵.

We owe many thanks to Raphael Brendel for his valuable advice, and to Ines van de Wetering for her correction of our English. We further thank Alison Cooley and Ingrid Weber-Hiden for answering our questions on some specific points. If a military diploma that we cite does not show any trace of the name of one of the cohortes Batavorum (in dubio pro reo) and its restoration is therefore fully conjectural, we have indicated this by an asterisk. – If not otherwise stated, dates refer to the Christian era.

¹ Derks/Teitler, *Batavi*. For the sake of convenience and clarity, some sections of our 2018 article are repeated or paraphrased here.

² Derks/Teitler, *Batavi* 71–76.

³ Cf. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 278 no. B 31 [date: 98–180]; J. E. A. Th. Bogaers, *Ber. ROB* 10/11, 1960/1961, 278–281 (drawing on p. 278).

⁴ Bogaers (previous note) 279 note 105.

⁵ On praepositi as interim (?) commanders of auxiliary units see E. Birley, *Latomus* 42, 1983, 73–83, esp. 82 no. b 4; Southern, *Numeri* esp. 98–102; Biancardi, *Cavalleria* 21.

RMD IV 248 is a fragmentary military diploma issued in A. D. 135 and found near Porolissum in Dacia (now Moigrad-Porolissum in Romania)⁶. The name of its recipient is not known, nor is the name of the recipient's unit, but part of the name of his father as well as the cognomen of his commander have come down to us. The relevant passage reads thus: »[coh(ortis) ...] c(ivium) R(omanorum) cui prae(est) [... S]uper Noviomag(o) [ex ped?]ite [... P?]alladi f(ilio) D[...] [...]o f(ilio) e[ius et] [...]o f(ilio) [eius]«⁷. Super's origo was Noviomagus, which, as Haalebos plausibly argues⁸, must refer to Ulpia Noviomagus, modern Nijmegen, rather than to another Noviomagus⁹. If so, then Super was a Batavian, like Titus Flavius Romanus just mentioned and Simplicinius Serenus, who had served in the imperial horseguard: »[- Si]mplicinio Sereno eq(uiti) sing(ulari) Aug(usti) natione Ulp(ia) Novimagi Bata(v)us« (CIL VI 32869bb)¹⁰. Since RMD IV 248 was found near Porolissum, the fort where the cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria was probably stationed at the time¹¹, it has been suggested by Nicolae Gudea, who published the editio princeps of the diploma¹², that Super may have been the commander of this cohort.

Let us now turn to the cohortes Batavorum. It should be stressed at the outset that not all soldiers serving in these cohorts were ethnic Batavians. When the Batavian auxiliary forces were founded in the first century, the majority of the soldiers no doubt consisted of ethnic Batavians, who, as part of the peace treaty with the Romans, were drafted into the Roman army. There are, however, good reasons to believe that, from the earliest days on, men from other tribes which were attributed to the Batavians and which were part of their client network were also enlisted in the units. Cases in point are the Marsaci and the Can(n)anefates. A recently discovered fragment of a military diploma (provenance unknown) from A. D. 152 or 153 for the first time lists the First Cohort of Batavians (quingenaria) garrisoned in Britannia as »I Bataavor(um) Marsac(or)um«, pointing to the presence of a contingent of Marsaci in this unit¹³.

As is well known, regimental names of auxilia enumerated in the list of troops of Roman military diplomas are often either abbreviated or partly left out for reasons of space, particularly when the list of troops is long. The latter is usually the case with diplomas for the army of Britannia, but not with the new discovery which constitutes a special case. The new diploma documents the honourable discharge of soldiers from a selected group of auxiliary forces from

⁶ For the date see Holder's Further Notes on the Chronology 16* †248 in RMD V.

⁷ Cf. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 278 no. B 33.

⁸ J. K. Haalebos, *Westerheem* 48, 1999, 200.

⁹ Der Neue Pauly VIII (2000) 1032–1035 lists eight places of that name.

¹⁰ Cf. Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 211.

¹¹ Cf. O. Tentea / F. Matei-Popescu, *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 39–40/1, 2002/03 [2004], 259–296, esp. 275 and Roxan ad RMD IV 248.

¹² N. Gudea, *Acta Mus. Porolissensis* 19, 1995, 77–80.

¹³ *Année Épigr.* 2016 no. 2021, cited below note 92. See further for the ethnic composition of the cohortes Batavorum Appendix I.

¹⁴ It was under Domitian that the province Moesia was divided into Moesia Inferior and Moesia Superior, cf. e.g. Der Neue Pauly VIII (2000) 331 (J. Burian).

¹⁵ See for the Marsaci in the first place Plin. nat. 4, 101. Members of this German tribe served in various units of the Roman army, cf. e.g. CIL XIII 8303 = ILS 2508 = IKoeln² 354, CIL XIII 8317 = IKoeln² 384, CIL VI 3221 = Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 691.

¹⁶ Tac. Hist. 4, 19, 1, cited below note 31.

¹⁷ Tac. Hist. 4, 15, 1.

¹⁸ For the Canninefians/Can(n)anefatians see J. E. A. Th. Bogaers, *Bonner Jahrb.* 172, 1972, 310–333 and J. de Bruin, *Border Communities at the Edge of the Roman Empire* (Amsterdam 2019) esp. 2–4. The latter considers the Cananefates to have provided the men for one of the eight Batavian cohorts: »the Cananefates are named as instigators of the rebellion and as one of the eight mutinous Batavian cohorts«. However, the one and only epigraphically known Cohors I Cannanefatium (cf. e.g. RMD 1.64, *Année Épigr.* 2007 no. 1764) most likely was raised after the Batavian revolt, when the Can(n)anefatians split off from the Batavians and, in the western part of the »insula Batavorum«, formed their own civitas. If the above reconstruction is adopted, the Cohors I Cannanefatium improbably had a pre-Flavian precursor. For the demographic problem resulting from a recruitment of eight quingenary cohorts from the community of the Batavians alone see Van Rossum, *Auxiliaries* 126–128 and N. Roymans, *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power. The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire* (Amsterdam 2004) 207f.

¹⁹ Kraft, *Rekrutierung* 62: »Die sog. lokale Conscriptio beginnt nicht erst seit Hadrian, sondern schon in

two provinces (!), Moesia Inferior¹⁴ and Britannia, which had been sent on a special mission to Mauretania Tingitana. The limited number of troops which constituted this expeditionary force allowed for the mentioning of the cohort's full official name instead of the abbreviated form which is systematically used in all other diplomas issued for the exercitus Britannicus. We may conclude from this that the quingenary Cohors I Batavorum, rather than being an ethnically homogeneous cohort of Batavians as suggested by the name by which it is conventionally known, must have had a mixture of different peoples right from the start¹⁵.

With this new evidence in mind one might ask whether the Tacitean designation of the eight units which, at the outbreak of the Batavian revolt (for which see below), were summoned from Mayence to Rome, as »Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes« may be read in much the same vein¹⁶. Given the fact that these units must be identical with the eight cohorts which elsewhere in Tacitus' Histories are referred to as simply »Batavorum cohortes«¹⁷, we may conclude that the eight cohorts which are conventionally known as »Batavian« were not ethnically homogeneous, but, as early as the pre-Flavian period, incorporated a substantial contingent of Canninefatians. Since scholars have considered the size of the Batavian community having been too small for supplying the men needed for a levy of eight cohorts, the assumption of the presence of substantial numbers of soldiers from Batavian client groups such as the Marsaci and Canninefatians would also solve an old demographic problem¹⁸.

If the recruitment base for the Batavian cohorts was from the outset broader than just the community of the Batavians themselves, the cohorts were ethnically heterogeneous right from the start. In the course of time, however, ethnic plurality was further reinforced as vacancies in the ranks of these units were filled with new recruits from the areas in which they were stationed. The main reason for this was the fact, that shortly after being established most units were transferred from their recruiting areas to other provinces, where from as early as the beginning of the first century¹⁹, local recruiting became the standard practice²⁰ except in emergency situations when fresh recruits could be brought in from afar²¹.

The regimental names of the units, referring to the recruiting grounds at the time of their first conscription, thus gradually lost their ethnic connotation²². It has often been argued that

der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jh.« Cf. recently W. Eck, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 143, 2003, 220–228, Eck, *Auxiliareinheiten* 114 f., and Haynes, *Blood* 128 with regard to the Pannonian garrison: »local recruitment was well under way by the early 1st century A. D.« The oldest epigraphic evidence of a soldier with an ethnic identity other than the unit in which he served concerns Dasens, son of Dasmenus, who belonged to the Cornacates, a Celtic tribe which migrated to Pannonia, and served in the cohorts II Hispanorum; he was discharged from service before A. D. 54. *CIL* XVI 2, cf. *RMD* V p. 681.

²⁰ The term »local recruitment« was coined by Mommsen, *Conscriptionsordnung* 42: »örtliche Aushebung«. Note that the term needs qualification. See for this the discussion by Haynes, *Blood* 124–129 and the remark of Eck, *Auxiliareinheiten* 117: »Für die Organisation der Truppenergänzung ist es [...] notwendig, schärfer zwischen lokaler, regionaler und provinzüberschreitender Rekrutierung zu unterscheiden«.

²¹ Eck, *Friedenssicherung* shows, on the basis of military diplomas, »dass weit häufiger innerhalb einer Provinz Zwangsaushebungen anstelle von Freiwilli-

genrekrutierung durchgeführt wurden, um die Truppen anderer Provinzen mit den nötigen Rekruten zu versorgen, als dies üblicherweise angenommen wurde« (p. 110). Cf. for the practice of recruitment of auxiliary forces e.g. T. Derks / N. Roymans, *Returning Auxiliary Veterans*. *Journal Roman Arch.* 19, 2006, 121–135; M. A. Speidel, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 163, 2007, 281–295 (reprinted in id., *Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der hohen Kaiserzeit* [Stuttgart 2009] 213–234); W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Beobachtungen zu den diplomata militaria für die Provinz Germania Inferior*. In: *Zwischen Orient und Okzident*. *Festschrift für Hansgerd Hellenkemper* (= *Köln Jahrb.* 43) (Berlin 2010) 181–195; Roselaar, *Mobility* 150 f.; Haynes, *Blood* 121–134; Eck, *Auxiliareinheiten* 113–121; D. Dana in: *Wolff/Faure, Auxiliaires* 155–169, and the special issue on recruitment of the *Rev. Internat. d'Hist. Militaire Ancienne* 6, 2017, and especially the contributions of Speidel (35–50) and Cosme (83–93).

²² Mommsen, *Conscriptionsordnung* 41 f. Cf. Eck, *Auxiliareinheiten* 114: »Die ethnischen Beinamen blieben den Einheiten, auch wenn die Mannschaften im Laufe der Zeit multiethnisch gemischt waren«.

auxiliary units with special military skills such as Syrian archers or, for that matter, the Batavian units, did not accept recruits from outside the original recruiting area²³, but this is no longer tenable²⁴. The principle is exemplified by the case of Sextus, son of Busturio, soldier in the First (milliary) Cohort of Batavi, which had its base in Dacia Porolissensis at the time Sextus left the army after twenty-five years of service²⁵. Originally located in Germania (Inferior)²⁶, the cohort was transferred from its homeland to Britain, and from there via Germany to Pannonia, Moesia and Dacia²⁷. Sextus, although serving in a *cohors Batavorum*, is explicitly called a Pannonian on the diploma he received when he retired in A. D. 164.

Soldiers like Sextus are often mentioned in this article, but we meet ethnic Batavians as well. In other words, in this as in our previous paper we use the term *Batavi* not only for soldiers and officers of Batavian descent²⁸, but also in a wider sense, that is, for all those (Pannonians, Spaniards, Italians et ceteri) who served in one of the *cohortes Batavorum*. The sources do not allow us to distinguish between ethnic Batavians and soldiers recruited from their client tribes such as the Marsaci and Canninefatians: no diploma handed out to a soldier of one of the Batavian cohorts is designated as Marsacus or Can(n)anefas and no other inscription mentions such tribesmen as soldiers of a Batavian cohort.

The personal biographies of soldiers and officers of the *auxilia*, glimpses of which we see in inscriptions, were strongly linked up to the history of the units they served in and the imperial strategies of the Roman army at large. Therefore, the regimental histories of the units are the main focus of this study; they provide the framework for the 'petites histoires' of the soldiers and officers who served in these units. Before turning to the individual cohorts a few words need to be said about the place of these units in the Roman army and their development over time.

²³ I. P. Haynes in: A. Goldsworthy / I. P. Haynes (eds.), *The Roman Army as a Community* (Portsmouth, RI 1999) 166 note 3.

²⁴ See for this change in the case of the Batavi in the first place Van Rossum, *Auxiliaries and Derks, Ethnic Identity*; cf. further A. Kakoschke, 'Germanen' in der Fremde (Möhnesee 2004) 226; M. D. de Weerd, *Westerheem* 55, 2006, 5–26.

²⁵ CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19 of A. D. 164, found in Palatovo in Bulgaria: »a(n)te d(iem) XII K(alendas) Aug(ustas) Ti(berio) Haterio Saturnino Q(uinto) Caecilio Avito co(n)s(ulibus) cohort(is) I Batavor(um) (milliariae) cui prae(e)st Galeo Bellicus ex pedite Sexto Busturionis f(ilio) Pann(onio)«. Published by D. Dečev, *Klio* 30, 1937, 187–199. Cf. for Galeo (Tettienus) Bellicus PME T 15 (where is noted: »sc. tribunus cohortis«; cf., however, our Appendix II) and see further e.g. Van Rossum, *Auxiliaries* 123; Dana, *Identité* 222; Eck, *Friedenssicherung* 107.

²⁶ The formal designation as *Germania Inferior* and *Germania Superior* did not come until the reign of Domitian. Cf. e.g. W. Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit* (Cologne 2004) 214–218; M. Polak / L. I. Kooistra, *Jahrb. RGZM* 60/2, 2013, 355–458, esp. 356 note 3, 446 f., and G. Raep-saet, *Ant. Class.* 82, 2013, 111–148, esp. 129 f., 144.

²⁷ See below with notes 51–91 for the whereabouts of the cohorts I *Batavorum* (milliaria).

²⁸ A list of Batavians mentioned in inscriptions, soldiers as well as civilians, can be found in Derks, *Ethnic Identity*, which may be updated with the following omissions and new discoveries: F. Wagner, *Ber. RGK* 37/38, 1956/1957, 234 no. 72; *Année Épigr.* 2012 no. 1128; 2012 no. 1945;

Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 199, 2016, 234–236 and perhaps (see note 160 below) CIL III 10330 = RIU VI 1456.

²⁹ Whether or not the Batavian units of pre-Flavian date should be considered as proper auxiliary regiments is disputed and depends on the criteria considered decisive for the issue. For most scholars, the main reason to consider the Batavian units as irregular or not fully integrated has been the fact that they were commanded by their own nobles instead of imperial officers of equestrian rank (thus, for example, Cheesman, *Auxilia* 91 f.; Holder, *Auxilia* 110; D. J. Knight, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 85, 1991, 189–208, esp. 195 note 12). In addition, and in line with this, the drafting of the units was seen as a matter of the Batavian civitas rather than the result of a true Roman *dilectus* (W. J. H. Willems, *Ber. ROB* 34, 1984, 227–280), while a lack of evidence for the payment of *stipendia* has also been adduced. We follow D. B. Saddington, *The Development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Caesar to Vespasian* (Harare 1982), who imagined different trajectories and degrees of professionalization for *auxilia* of the Roman army across time and space. This allows for the Batavian units to be regarded as deviating from standard practice in one aspect, i.e. the appointment of their commanders (cf. also S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens* [43 av. J.-C. – 70 ap. J.-C.] [Paris 1992] 578 f. »Pour ces praefecti, la carrière habituelle, avec des promotions dans diverses unités, restait fermée. Assimilés à des chevaliers romains, les princes locaux devenus officiers ne jouissaient pas de leurs privilèges effectifs«), whilst acknowledging that they had become fully

Irregular units and regular auxiliary forces

Fighting as irregular troops in the first years of the Principate, the units of Batavi had been transformed into regular auxiliary forces by the mid first century at the latest²⁹. Their soldiers were then, as well as later, known to be good swimmers and excellent horsemen³⁰. The cohorts mainly consisted of foot soldiers, but they also had cavalry, and were then called *cohortes equitatae*, as is evidenced by among others Tacitus and many inscriptions³¹. They served under praefecti (sometimes: tribuni)³², such as the famous Iulius Civilis³³. In conformity with an ancient custom, which allowed the Batavian units to be commanded by their own chieftains³⁴, these praefecti originally were Batavian noblemen (Civilis was even of royal descent)³⁵, who, as their names indicate, were granted Roman citizenship and were received among the ranks of the *equites Romani*³⁶. While cohorts of Batavi played a prominent role during the Batavian revolt in the Year of the Four Emperors, this role did by no means end after the revolt had been put down.

The Batavian revolt and its aftermath

No fewer than eight Batavian cohorts were stationed in Britain probably from its annexation by Claudius in A. D. 43 onwards³⁷, but certainly in the time of Nero; in the Year of the Four Emperors we find them back on the Continent³⁸. In the civil war which broke out after Nero's death they showed a remarkable lack of discipline³⁹, and finally revolted openly under the leadership

integrated in the Roman army in all other respects (cf. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 86–91). See Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 46: »Wir sind der Ansicht, daß die cohortes Batavorum als reguläre Infanterietruppen bereits spätestens am Anfang der claudischen Zeit aufgestellt wurden«, Kraft, *Rekrutierung* 40: »Desgleichen wäre es falsch, in Gallien und am Rhein erst nach dem Aufstand des Civilis an eine Änderung der Auxiliengestellung zu denken«, and Cosme, *Préfets bataves* 114, according to whom the Batavian units operated as regular auxiliary regiments already under Tiberius or Caligula.

³⁰ Tac. Agr. 18, 4; Ann. 2, 8, 3; 2, 11, 1–3; Hist. 2, 43, 2; 4, 12, 3, cf. 5, 21, 2; Plut. Otho 12, 4–5; Cass. Dio 55, 24, 7; 69, 9, 6; CIL III 3676 = ILS 2558; cf. Cass. Dio 60, 20, 2. For swimming see G. Horsmann, *Untersuchungen zur militärischen Ausbildung im republikanischen und kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (Boppard am Rhein 1991) 129–132.

³¹ Tac. Hist. 4, 19, 1 »Isdem diebus Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes [...] missus a Civile nuntius adsequitur. intumescere statim [...] et [...] augeri equitum numerum [...] postulabant«. For the term *cohortes equitatae* see e.g. Hyg. *mun. castr.* 25–27, *Année Épigr.* 2003 no. 1440; 1441. Cf. in general for such cohorts R. W. Davies, *Historia* (Stuttgart) 20, 1971, 751–763 (reprinted in id., *Service in the Roman Army* [Edinburgh 1989] 141–151; 271–274); Biancardi, *Cavalleria* 18; 22 f.; A. Becker in: *Lege artis. Festschrift für Hans-Markus von Kaenel* (Bonn 2014) 1–8 and note 46 below. As to the *cohortes Batavorum*, it is only for the Third and the Ninth Cohort that we have concrete information that it was a *cohortes equitatae*; see for the Third the following notes: 157 (RIU VI 1441 = *Année Épigr.* 1935 no. 163), 161 (*Année Épigr.* 1944 no. 97 = RIU VI 1440), 165 (*Année Épigr.* 2003 no. 1441 = Bölske 34 and RIU-S 200 = Bölske

35), 170 (RIU V 1238 = *Année Épigr.* 1906 no. 116) and cf. note 160 (CIL III 10330 = RIU VI 1456) and note 179 (*Année Épigr.* 2010 no. 1862); for the Ninth note 260 (CIL III 11918 = ILS 9152). The supposed evidence for the Second (note 138: *Année Épigr.* 2009 no. 994) and the Ninth Cohort (note 237: *Année Épigr.* 2005 no. 1149, and note 238: *Année Épigr.* 2005 no. 1150) is merely conjectural.

³² See Appendix II.

³³ Tac. Hist. 4, 32, 3 »praefectus unius cohortis«, cf. 4, 16, 1. See PME I 45, Y. Burnand, *Primores Galliarum II* (Brussels 2006) 107 E 87 and for Tacitus' representation of Civilis C. Trzaska-Richter, *Furor teutonicus* (Trier 1991) 203–211. Further cf. J. A. van Rossum, *Lampas* 25, 1992, 184–197. Civilis had a brother: »Iulius Civilis et Claudius Paulus regia stirpe multo ceteros anteabant« (Tac. Hist. 4, 13, 1). Tacitus does not mention it, but it has been plausibly suggested by e.g. D. Timpe, *Arminius-Studien* (Heidelberg 1970) 39 and Alföldy, *Equites* 1, that Paulus too had served as the prefect of a Batavian unit.

³⁴ Tac. Hist. 4, 12, 3.

³⁵ Tac. Hist. 4, 13, 1 (just cited, note 33).

³⁶ Cf. note 29 above.

³⁷ M. W. C. Hassall, *Britannia* 1, 1970, 131–136, esp. 131: »This is an inference derived from the known methods of fighting employed by the Batavians, and the descriptions of auxiliaries in action in Britain given by Tacitus and Dio«. P. A. Holder, *The Roman Army in Britain* (London 1982) 15: »The presence [sc. in A. D. 43] of the eight Batavian cohorts which were later in the forefront of the revolt of Julius Civilis in AD 69 is reasonably certain«.

³⁸ Tac. Ann. 14, 38, 1; Hist. 1, 59, 1; 2, 27, 2; 4, 12, 3; 4, 15, 1. Cf. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 45 f.

³⁹ Tac. Hist. 1, 59, 1; 1, 64, 2; 2, 27, 2.

of the prefect of another, a ninth⁴⁰, Batavian cohort⁴¹, the Batavian prince Iulius Civilis⁴² – the revolt under Civilis (which some scholars prefer to regard as no more than an, admittedly important, episode in the civil war rather than as an indigenous revolt against the Roman empire) is described at length in the fourth and fifth book of Tacitus' *Historiae*⁴³.

The revolt was crushed in A. D. 70. Unfortunately, the text of the codex Laurentianus 68.2 (or Mediceus II), the only copy of Tacitus' *Historiae* which survived the Middle Ages, breaks off in chapter 26 of the fifth Book, so that we do not know what the precise outcome was of the peace talks between Civilis and the Roman general Petilius Cerialis. However, it is clear that the end of the revolt did not mean the end of the service of Batavians in the Roman army. After Civilis' revolt had been suppressed, Batavian cohorts were employed again in Britain. Four of them fought against the Caledonians at Mons Graupius⁴⁴ in A. D. 84. Whether or not these units were the direct successors of the nine pre-Flavian cohorts is disputed⁴⁵.

Equally unknown is the numerical strength of these four cohorts. Were they *cohortes quingenariae* (nominally five hundred men) or *cohortes milliariae* (one-thousand men)⁴⁶? Subsequently we hear of one quingenary cohort, which was (almost) permanently stationed in Britain, whereas the other (post-) Flavian *cohortes Batavorum*, four in number, eventually all reached milliary strength. From about the end of the first century onwards they left Britain and became active in Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia. En route to their new destinations some of these cohorts may have stayed for a while in Germania Inferior, as did the *ala Batavorum*, which served in Pannonia and Dacia in the second century, but operated in Germania at the end of the first⁴⁷.

⁴⁰ We follow e.g. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 47f. (cf. notes 45 and 48 below) and Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 283. Cf., however, Cosme, *Préfets bataves* 120f., who argues that Civilis was commander of one of the eight cohorts already mentioned. Bellen, *Leibwache* 98 suggested that Galba, when he disbanded the *Germani corporis custodes*, »die Germanen alle Auxiliarkohorte dem Civilis als Präfekten unterstellte und ihre Stationierung im Bataverland anordnete«.

⁴¹ Tac. Hist. 4, 16, 1; 4, 32, 3.

⁴² See for Civilis note 33 above.

⁴³ For some modern studies see G. Walser, *Rom, das Reich und die fremden Völker in der Geschichtsschreibung der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Baden-Baden 1951); P. A. Brunt, *Latomus* 19, 1960, 494–517, reprinted in id., *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990) 33–52, 481–487; R. Urban, *Der ›Bataveraufstand‹ und die Erhebung des Iulius Clasicus* (Trier 1985); E. Flaig, *Den Kaiser herausfordern* (Frankfurt a. M. 1992) 525–547 (with Urban in *Bonner Jahrb.* 195, 1995, 699f.); O. Schmitt, *Bonner Jahrb.* 193, 1993, 141–160; D. Timpe in: T. Schmitt / W. Schmitz / A. Winterling (eds.), *Gegenwärtige Antike – antike Gegenwart* (Munich 2005) 151–187. Of special interest are P. Cosme in: O. Hekster / T. Kaizer (eds.), *Frontiers in the Roman World* (Leiden 2011) 305–320, who not only takes into account the Batavians, who during the revolt served in the auxiliary units, but also those who, as former members of the imperial guard, had returned to their homeland, and B. Turner in: T. Howe / L. L. Brice (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Insurgency and Terrorism in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Leiden 2016) 282–311, who rejects the term »revolt« and argues that a »network-centric insurgency model provides a means for reassessment of ancient conflicts that have been so easily described as revolts or insurgencies« (p. 286).

⁴⁴ Tac. Agr. 36, 1. For the role of the cohorts in the battle see C. M. Gilliver, *Greece & Rome* 43, 1996, 54–67, esp. 59–62, for the date K. Strobel, *Historia* (Stuttgart) 36, 1987, 198–212 and I. G. Smith, *Historia* (Stuttgart) 64, 2015, 156–204, esp. 170–173. The much debated location of Mons Graupius is unknown. D. B. Campbell, *Class. Quarterly* 65, 2015, 407–410 shows that the recent attempt of J. E. Fraser, *The Roman Conquest of Scotland. The Battle of Mons Graupius A. D. 84* (Stroud 2005) 72–74, to locate the site of the battle in Perthshire, is built on shaky foundations.

⁴⁵ According to W. J. H. Willems / H. van Enckevort, *Nijmegen. Vlpia Noviomagus. Roman Nijmegen. The Batavian Capital at the Imperial Frontier* (Portsmouth, RI 2009) 23 it is »more likely that the Batavian auxiliary troops that played an important rôle during the revolt were dissolved and replaced by new units made up of young recruits«. So already RE IV (1900) 250 (C. Cichorius); E. Ritterling, *Bonner Jahrb.* 114/115, 1906, 183 note 1; Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten* 167; Cheesman, *Auxilia* 72 note 2 and Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 54: »The cohorts taken from Britain [...] joined the revolt of Civilis in 69, and were presumably disbanded«. See, however, Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 47: »Nach allgemeiner Ansicht hat Vespasian die Bataverkohorten nach der Niederwerfung des Aufstandes aufgelöst, und die später bekannten Bataverkohorten sollen mit den vorflavischen Kohorten nichts zu tun haben. Jedoch ist es viel wahrscheinlicher, daß diese neuen Truppen aus den früheren neun cohortes Batavorum gebildet wurden«. In this sense already Mommsen, *Conscriptionsordnung* 42 (who, however, supposed that all nine cohorts had become milliary, including the five for which evidence is lacking) and Bang, *Germanen* 36. Cf. also below, note 48.

It is more than likely that both the nine pre-Flavian cohorts and the four cohorts which fought at Mons Graupius were distinguished from each other by a numeral⁴⁸, but the available sources are silent on this. From the end of the first century onwards, however, there is positive evidence that the then five cohortes Batavorum had a numeral. Remarkably, there were two First Cohorts, the cohors I Batavorum (quingenaria) and the cohors I Batavorum (milliaria); which of these was the elder, is disputed⁴⁹. We further hear of the Second, Third and Ninth Cohort⁵⁰.

The cohors I Batavorum (milliaria)

The first reliably dated document which mentions the (milliary) First Cohort concerns Pannonia (still undivided at the time)⁵¹, as is evidenced by a diploma found in Felsőnána in Hungary⁵². In this diploma of A. D. 98 the cohort is recorded as ›∞‹, that is, as ›milliaria‹⁵³, while it is also designated ›p(ia) f(idelis)‹. This title suggests that the unit, before it came to Pannonia⁵⁴, had served in Germany, for the honorific formula ›pius fidelis‹ (which originally was ›pius fidelis Domitianus‹), had been awarded by the emperor Domitian to the army of Germania Inferior for its loyalty during the revolt of Saturninus in A. D. 89 (after Domitian's death in A. D. 96 ›Domitianus‹ was dropped)⁵⁵.

⁴⁶ See for the difference in size of cohortes equitatae milliariae and cohortes equitatae quingenariae Hyg. mun. castr. 25–26; cf. Birley, Alae and G. Cupcea / F. Marcu, *Dacia* 50, 2006, 175–194, esp. 183–186. See further M. W. C. Hassall, *The auxiliaries*. In: *CAH² XI. The High Empire*, A. D. 70–192 (Cambridge 2000) 332–338, Haynes, *Blood* 53 and for the size of Agricola's cohorts below, note 49.

⁴⁷ See for the ala Batavorum in Germania Inferior Derks/Teitler, *Batavi* 66 f.

⁴⁸ Cf. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 48: »So besteht auch die Möglichkeit anzunehmen, daß man bereits die vorflavischen Bataverkohorten numeriert hatte, und zwar mit den laufenden Nummern I–IX«, and, for the cohorts which fought at Mons Graupius, Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 282: »können die vier Bataverkohorten zu Recht mit den Cohortes I, II, III, IX Batavorum milliariae gleichgesetzt werden«.

⁴⁹ Some scholars, e.g. Bang, *Germanen* 37 and Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 55 f., assume that (1) Agricola's Batavian cohorts were quingenary and that the Cohors I Batavorum (quingenary) was one of them, and that (2) after their withdrawal from Britain the Second and Third Cohort were made up to milliary strength and a new milliary First Cohort was added to complete the series. Others, e.g. M. W. C. Hassall, *Britannia* 1, 1970, 135 f., assuming that Agricola's cohorts were milliary and arguing that the quingenary cohors I Batavorum was attested in Britain not before A. D. 122 (CIL XVI 69, cf. note 94), think that the quingenary cohort was a creation of the second century. As to the latter theory (which we endorsed in Derks/Teitler, *Batavi* 58), it has been proved to be wrong by the fact that, thanks to *Année Épigr.* 2014 no. 1627 (cited below, note 93), we now know that the date of the first attestation in Britain of the quingenary cohort is not A. D. 122, but A. D. 98.

⁵⁰ There is no evidence at all for the existence of Batavian cohorts with the numerals IV, V, VI, VII or VIII, which

can be explained by assuming »daß sie nach dem Bataverkrieg überhaupt nicht existierten« (Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 47). Note that in older publications the number of the Ninth (VIII) is sometimes mistakenly read as the Eighth (VII); cf. note 200 below.

⁵¹ Pannonia was divided in Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior around A. D. 103/106; cf. *Der Neue Pauly* IX (2000) 254 (J. Burian).

⁵² CIL XVI 42: »et I Batavor(um) (milliaria) p(ia) f(idelis) et I Lusitanor(um) et I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um) et II Batavor(um) (milliaria) et sunt in Pannonia sub Cn(aeo) Pinaro Aemilio Cicatricula Pompeio Longino«. Cf. Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien* I, no. 7. Note that on the same date (February 20, A. D. 98) a constitution for the troops in Britain was also issued which mentions the (quingenary) First Cohort, see *Année Épigr.* 2014 no. 1627 (cited below, note 93), and another one for the troops in Germania Inferior which mentions the ala Batavorum, see *RMD* IV 216 (cf. Derks/Teitler, *Batavi* 66).

⁵³ See for the development of ∞ and other signs G. Gundermann, *Die Zahlzeichen* (Giessen 1899), esp. 30–33.

⁵⁴ Some scholars think that the First Cohort went from Britain straight to Pannonia. Cf. e.g. Alföldy/Lőrincz, *Solva* 262: »Die cohors I Batavorum miliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis war in Pannonien bisher nur durch Militärdiplome bezeugt. Sie wurde um 85 aus Britannien hierher verlegt«, and the commentary in *Année Épigr.* 2004 no. 1267: »Dès 85/86 p. C., la cohors I milliaria Batavorum est présente en Pannonie«.

⁵⁵ Thus, plausibly, Dietz, *Das älteste Militärdiplom* 244 f. and T. Derks in: L. Swinkels (ed.), *De Bataven* (Amsterdam 2004) 40–69; 317–319, esp. 318 note 24, pace Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 276 (cf. 282), who argues that the title »mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit auf ihre Teilnahme am Suebenkrieg Nervas zurückgeht«. See for ›pius fidelis‹ Holder, *Auxilia* 37 f.; Holder, *Exercitus*, esp. 238 f. and 247; W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 148, 2004, 259–268, esp. 264.

It was in Pannonia (Superior)⁵⁶ that the First Cohort stayed until at least A. D. 116, as we shall see below, but, as has been suggested⁵⁷, the unit may temporarily have been stationed in Moesia. The argument goes as follows. Whereas the cohort is mentioned among the troops of Pannonia on the diplomas of A. D. 98⁵⁸ and later⁵⁹, it is missing on the diploma⁶⁰ for Pannonia of A. D. 102, issued, that is, during Trajan's First Dacian War, so that it is possible that the cohort had been sent to Moesia to participate from there in this war. This is an *argumentum e silentio*, of course, and therefore not strictly cogent⁶¹, but it can perhaps be supported by taking into consideration the six fragments of bricks which were found in a small Roman auxiliary camp near the Bulgarian village Dolno Rjahovo, a few kilometers south of the Danube, bricks stamped with the abbreviation »COH I ∞ B«, which, according to Lyudmil Vagalinski stands for »cohors I milliaria Batavorum«⁶². This interpretation, however, adopted by EDCS and EDH, is not certain. Constantin Petolescu, for example, thinks that not the First Cohort of Batavi, but the »cohors I milliaria Brittonum« is meant⁶³. If we had no other evidence, the question whether the First Cohort stayed in Moesia for a while and participated in Trajan's Dacian war(s) should be answered with a *non liquet*. But, fortunately, there is more. As is clear from the designation »c(ivium) R(omanorum)« on military diplomas given to soldiers of the troops in Pannonia Superior dating from A. D. 112⁶⁴, 113 (given to a former soldier of the First Cohort, Marcus Ulpius Fronto, an ethnic Batavian)⁶⁵, 115⁶⁶ and 116⁶⁷, the First Cohort had at a given moment acquired a block grant of citizenship, an honour

⁵⁶ See for the division of Pannonia above, note 51.

⁵⁷ By e.g. W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus* (Berlin 1938) 92 f.; cf. V. Wollmann, *Germania* 50, 1972, 250.

⁵⁸ CIL XVI 42 (cited in note 52) is the diploma of A. D. 98. Another diploma, *Année Épigr.* 1987 no. 853; 1991 no. 1357, this time of A. D. 100–101, found in Viminacium in Moesia (Kostolac in Serbia), of which only tiny fragments are preserved, may be relevant in this respect, if the reading »[...]VORVM[...]« is correct (and not »[...]AEORVM[...]«, as read in the editio princeps of M. Mirković / M. Vasić, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 64, 1986, 221 f., and by K. Strobel, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 68, 1987, 277–281, and if with this »[...]VORVM[...]« the First Cohort is meant, as B. Lőrincz, *Acta Class. Univ. Debreceniensis* 27, 1991, 101 proposes. Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 11 gives the restored text: »[...] et I Bata]vorum [(milliaria) p(ia) f(idelis) [...] et sunt]n Pann[onia] s]ub Q(uinto) Glit[io] Atilio Agricola...«. Lőrincz's restoration is accepted by M. M. Roxan ad RMD III 144 note 6, EDCS and EDH.

⁵⁹ I. e. the diplomas of A. D. 112, 113, 115 and 116, cited below in notes 64, 65, 66 and 67, respectively.

⁶⁰ CIL XVI 47 of A. D. 102; cf. Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 12.

⁶¹ Dietz, *Das älteste Militärdiplom* 203: »Zwingend war diese Folgerung allerdings nicht, weil sowohl die Truppenliste von 98 wie die von 102 nur sehr wenige Einheiten aufführt (98 n. Chr.: 2 Alen, 5 Kohorten; 102 n. Chr.: 3 Alen, 5 Kohorten). Es könnte sich also um Teilentlassungen gehandelt haben.«

⁶² L. F. Vagalinski, *Novensia* 15, 2004, 39–45, esp. 42–44. Vagalinski rejects the interpretation »COH I ∞ B« = »cohors I Bracarum (Bracarorum)« or »cohors I Bracaraugustanorum«, and instead regards the abbreviation as a reference to the »cohors I milliaria Batavorum«: »Its major

advantage is the fact that it was milliaria. All data that the other two cohorts were also of this type is missing, and they would never have failed to mention this characteristic« (p. 43). She does not take into consideration the possibility that the cohors I milliaria Brittonum is meant, as Petolescu does (see the next note). The common abbreviations of »Batavorum« on tiles or bricks are »BA« (Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 253c–d), »BAT« (Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, nos. 259 and 265b), »BATA« (CIL III 3760b = 10671b) and »BAV« (CIL III 3760a = 10671a), but we also find a single »B« (Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, nos. 265a and 265c). Vagalinski, for that matter, sees a connection, not with Trajan's, but with Domitian's wars against the Dacians, which in view of the other evidence cited by us seems less likely.

⁶³ C. C. Petolescu ad *Année Épigr.* 2004 no. 1267; cf. F. Matei-Popescu in: H. Pop et al. (eds.), *Local and Regional Cultural Identities in European Context. Archaeology and Historical Anthropology* (Cluj-Napoca 2010) 395 f.; CIL III 14216, 25 = IDR II 560, a tile with a stamp found in Buridava in Dacia (Râmnicu Vâlcea in Romania), is cited as parallel: »CORSMB«, interpreted as »Co(ho)rs m(i)liaria B(rittonum)«. Cf. C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane* (Bucharest 2002) 90 no. 25. »Brittonum« on tiles and bricks is usually abbreviated as »BR« (e.g. Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 279b, *Année Épigr.* 1978 no. 692 = ILD 737, CIL III 8074, 10) or »BRIT« (e.g. CIL III 1703, 3 = IDR II 105, CIL XIII 12424, 1 and 12557). N. B. »CIB« in *Année Épigr.* 2011 no. 1133 b 1–3, 5–6 stands for »C[ohors] I B[rittonum]«, according to EDCS, but cf. the sceptical remarks of S. Torbatov in: L. Vagalinski, N. Sharankov, S. Torbatov (eds.), *The Lower Danube Roman Limes (1st–6th c. AD)* (Sofia 2012) 450 f.

⁶⁴ RMD IV 223 = RMM 15 of A. D. 112, findspot unknown: »et I Bosporanor(um) et I et II Batavor(um) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) [...] et sunt in Pannonia Superiore sub L. Minicio Natale«. Published by M. M. Roxan, *Electrum* 1, 1997, 161–173. See Eck/Pan-

which is not yet recorded on the diploma of A. D. 98. It follows that this «civium Romanorum» was acquired between A. D. 98 and A. D. 112, which makes it more than likely that the unit had earned this honour by its participation in Trajan's Dacian war(s)⁶⁸.

Where in Pannonia the First Cohort had its base is not known. Perhaps it was in Solva (Esztergom in Hungary)⁶⁹, where the gravestone of Marcus Ulpius Inam[nus?] is found, erected by his son Marcus Ulpius Aeb[utianus?], both ethnic Batavians who had served in the First Cohort⁷⁰. Anyhow, soon after A. D. 116 the unit was moved. Its new province of residence was Dacia Porolissensis (in modern Romania), where it remained until at least A. D. 164, as we will show below, but, just as in the case of Pannonia, where precisely in Dacia Porolissensis the First Cohort was stationed is not known⁷¹.

It is clear, however, that at a certain point in time the unit, or at least some of its soldiers, stayed in the settlements of Potaissa (Turda)⁷² and Certi(n)ae (Romita)⁷³, because some pertinent funeral inscriptions have been discovered there. In Turda/Potaissa the gravestone was found which the standard-bearer Aelius Certus set up for his wife Ulpia Claudia and her son Ulpius

gerl, Natalis for this and other diplomas concerning Pannonia superior under gouverneur Lucius Minicius Natalis.

⁶⁵ RMD II 86 of A. D. 113, found in Bavarian Regensburg (Castrā Regina in Raetia): »I Batavor(um) mil[liariae] c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(iae) f(idelis) cui prae(este) Tullius Secundus ex ped(ite) M(arco) Ulpio Peronis [f(ilio) F]rontoni Batav(o) et Mattuae Silvani [f(ilia) U]xori eius Batav(ae) et Vagatrae fil(iae) eius et Sureiae fil(iae) eius et Satae fil(iae) eius«. Published by K. Dietz, *Der Bismarckplatz in Regensburg (Regensburg 1978) 44–48* and idem et al. (eds.), *Regensburg zur Römerzeit (Regensburg 1979) 63–66; 430 f.; cf. e.g. Dietz, Das älteste Militärdiplom; K. Strobel, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 70, 1987, 259–270; Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 38; C. van Driel-Murray in: Th. Grünwald / S. Seibel (eds.), *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität (Berlin 2003) 210 f.; Van Rossum, Auxiliaries 114, 116; Derks, Ethnic Identity 278 no. B 28; Eck/Pangerl, Natalis. – Note that Fronto's wife and daughters were Batavian too; cf. O. Stoll, *Jahrb. RGZM 53, 2006, 217–344, esp. 279. See for other Ulpia below, notes 70 and 160.***

⁶⁶ *Année Épigr. 2012 no. 1128 of A. D. 115, found in Pér, near Arrabona (Győr in Hungary): »cohortibus tribus quae appellantur ... I et II Batavor(um) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) [...] quae sunt in Pannonia superiore sub L(ucio) Minicio Natale«. Published by Z. Mráv / I. Vida, *Folia Arch. 55, 2011/2013, 91–112*. Its recipient was Marcus Ulpius Celsi filius Victor, a Batavian, who had served in the ala I Batavorum milliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis; cf. Eck/Pangerl, Natalis and Derks/Teitler, *Batavi 68*.*

⁶⁷ *CIL XVI 64 of A. D. 116, found in the Hungarian village of Écs, some 25 km south of Arrabona, modern Győr: »et I Bos[poranorum] et I et II Batavorum] mil[liariae] c(ivium) [R(omanorum) (...)] quae sunt in Pa[nnonia] superiore sub L(ucio) Minicio] Natale«. The corrupt text has been restored by Dietz, *Das älteste Militärdiplom 250–252*. We accept this restoration, as does K. Strobel, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 70, 1987, 259–270, esp. 260*, Strobel, *Batavikohorten 275 note 29* and EDCS; cf. Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 39; Eck/Pangerl, Natalis.

⁶⁸ Cf. CIL XVI 160, dating from A. D. 106: »pie et fideliter expeditione Dacica functis ante emerita stipendia civi-

tatem Romanam dedit« and V. A. Maxfield in: W. Eck / H. Wolff (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik (Cologne and Vienna 1986) 26–43*.

⁶⁹ »Vielleicht lag sie in Solva wie ihre Nachfolgerin, die cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum« (Dietz, *Das älteste Militärdiplom 245 note 517*); »Spätestens am Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts war sie in Solva stationiert, was von mehreren Forschern schon früher vermutet wurde und jetzt durch die hier veröffentlichte Inschrift [cited in the next note] bestätigt wird« (Alföldy/Lőrincz, *Solva 262*).

⁷⁰ *Année Épigr. 2003 no. 1373 = RIU-S 126: »M(arco) Ulp[i]o Inam[no(?) O?]ramni [f(ilio) Bata]vo an(norum) [...] coh(ortis) I Ba[t(avorum) (milliariae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(iae) f(idelis)] M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Aeb[utianus] mil(es) coh(ortis) eiusdem fil(ius) p(osuit) t(itulum) m(emoriae)«. Published by Alföldy/Lőrincz, *Solva* and dated by the editors in the years between A. D. 102/106 and 118. Now in the Balassa Bálint Múzeum in Esztergom (Hungary). Cf. Derks, *Ethnic Identity 278 nos. B 25 and 26*. See above note 65 for another Batavian named Marcus Ulpius, who served in the First Cohort, and cf. further note 160 below.*

⁷¹ »Son camp doit avoir été d'abord à Turda (Potaissa), et après 168–[169] à Romita«, according to C. Daicoviciu / D. Protase, *Journal Roman Stud. 51, 1961, 65*, but there is no conclusive evidence for this statement. Cf. Dana, *Identité 221 »Le lieu de garnison (...) de la cohorte reste encore inconnu«.*

⁷² Potaissa, modern Turda, some 30 km south of Cluj-Napoca, was originally a Dacian town. It became Roman after Trajan had conquered Dacia. »Die Bed. von P. bestand in seiner mil. Besatzung, die seit dem Ausbruch der Markomannenkriege 168/9 n. Chr. von der legio V Macedonica gebildet wurde«, *Der Neue Pauly X (2001) 229* (J. Burian). Cf. N. Gudea, *Jahrb. RGZM 44/2, 1997, 109**; M. Bărbulescu, *Castrul legionar de la Potaissa (Turda) (Zalău [1997])*; Bărbulescu, *Inscriptiile*.

⁷³ Certinae (or Certiae, or Cersiae) was an auxiliary fortress in the territory of the modern village Romita, some 25 km south of the city of Zalău. Cf. N. Gudea, *Jahrb. RGZM 44/2, 1997, 45**; A. Matei / I. Bajusz, *Castrul roman de la Romita-Certiae (Zalău [1997])*; P. Franzen / A. V. Matei / F. Marcu, *Acta Mus. Napocensis 41/42, 2004/2005 [2007], 161–177*.

Festus. Its epitaph says: »D(is) M(anibus) Ulpia Cla(ud)ia vix(it) an(nos) XXXV Ulp(ius) Festus vix(it) an(nos) XVIII Ael(ius) Certus sig(nifer) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) coni(ugi) pient(issimae) f(aciendum) c(uravit)«⁷⁴. Also found in Potaissa was a stela (now lost) with an inscription which probably (the text is rather difficult to read) refers to the First Cohort: »AREATINO [... co] h(orte)(?) I Ba<t>(avorum)(?) v[ix(it) an(nos) ...] Cl(audia)(?) Actav[...] soro[r] «⁷⁵. So much for Potaissa (Turda)⁷⁶. As to Certi(n)ae (Romita), on the front of a well-preserved funerary altar, which was found there and is now in the Cluj-Napoca National Historical Museum, the following text is inscribed: »D(is) M(anibus) C(ai) Campani Vitalis (centurionis) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) (milliariae) stip(endiorum) VIII vix(it) an(nos) XXVII Florius Virilis vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) nepoti p(ientissimo) p(onendum) c(uravit)«⁷⁷.

As was noted above, soon after A. D. 116 the First Cohort was transferred from Pannonia to Dacia Porolissensis. It remained in this province until at least A. D. 164. This can be concluded from the following military diplomas, the first of which was a copy of a constitution issued by Hadrian in A. D. 123:

- (1) Année Épig. 2011 no. 1792 (A. D. 123)⁷⁸.
- (2) RMD V 378 = ILD 29 (A. D. 131)⁷⁹.
- (3) Ephemeris Napocensis 30, 2020, 295–305 (A. D. 131)⁸⁰.
- (4) RMD I 35 (A. D. 132/133)⁸¹.

⁷⁴ CIL III 13760, dating from the 2nd half of the 2nd century, according to EDH. Cf. for the function of »signifer« Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker* esp. 309 no. SIG 403 and S. Zehetner, *Der Signifer* (Saarbrücken 2011). Cf. for a signifer of the cohorts I Batavorum (quingenaria) below, note 117 (RIB I 1560).

⁷⁵ CIL III 13766. The reading we give is that of EDH. – Țeposu Marinescu, *Monuments* 130 no. 114, combines the inscription under discussion with CIL III 13768 (she means no doubt 13767). CIL III 13767 reads: »...]birsi mil(iti) III co(hortis) [...] an(norum) XXX mar(ito) [...]jas f[r]ater A [...]r() P() C() fratri« (EDCS), »...]birsi mili<t>i co(hortis) [...] an(norum) XXX M(arcus) (?) A[u]r(elius) / [...]jas f[r]ater A/[ur(elia)? ... soro[r] p(onendum) c(uraverunt) fratri« (EDH). The reading of Țeposu Marinescu of CIL III 13766 + 13767: »Meatino (?) Birsi militi c[o]h(ortis) I Ba(tavorum) (v)ix(it) an(nos) XXX Aur(?) Sataras et (?) Atasa soror p(onendum) c(uraverunt) fratri«. O. Țentea / F. Matei-Popescu, *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 39–40/1, 2002–2003, 273 call the soldier Aur(elius) Reatinus Birsi. Since the monument is lost, it is impossible to verify the various readings. As to the date, the suggestion of EDH, viz. A. D. 107–270, seems to be based on the assumption that, after the Second Dacian war, the First Cohort of Batavi remained in Dacia and that the military diploma issued in A. D. 116 for the army of Pannonia (above, note 67) provides no compelling evidence for a return of the unit to that province. Țeposu Marinescu's »2nd century A. D.« seems more appropriate.

⁷⁶ Interestingly, in Potaissa (Turda) two inscriptions are found (AE 2012 nos. 1215 and 1216; date: A. D. 253) which mention a praefectus alae I Batavorum, Marcus Publicianus Rhesus. Cf. Bărbulescu, *Inscriptiile* nos. 22 and 23; I. Piso, *Tyche* 29, 2014, 125–146 with figs. 1a and 1b; T. Varga, *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 55, 2018, 63–94, esp. 78.

⁷⁷ CIL III 839 = ILS 2598. Cf. G. Florescu, *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 4, 1930, 108 no. 55 and Țeposu Marinescu, *Monuments* 168 no. 34. G. Cupcea, *Professional Officers*

387 plausibly argues that not only the deceased centurion Gaius Campanius Vitalis, but also the former decurion Florius Virilis had belonged to the First Cohort. As to the date, Țeposu Marinescu suggests the end of the 2nd century A. D., EDH proposes A. D. 171–250 (cf. note 75). Situated at a distance of some 5 km from Romita/Certi(n)ae is the village of Romănași, to be identified, presumably, with ancient Largiana; cf. D. Tamba, *Castrul roman de la Romănași-Largiana* (Zalău [1997] and N. Gudea, *Jahrb. RGZM* 44/2, 1997, 43*. In Romănași in 1854 an inscription was found which perhaps refers to the son of a soldier of the First Cohort: »prima]c(?) Bat(avorum) [...]o vix(it) an(nos) IIII et [...]otum ei Castia [...]OH vicinidem / [...]FELO[...] [...]es Quantine [« (CIL III 841), but obviously the text is too corrupt to be sure

⁷⁸ Findspot unknown: »in coh(ortibus) quinque quae appellat(ur) I Flavia Hispan(or)um) (milliaria) et I Batavor(um) (milliaria) [...] quae sunt in Dacia Poroliss(ens)ensi sub Livio Grato«. Published by W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 176, 2011, 234–240. Cf. D. Grbić, *Tribal communities in Illyricum* (Belgrade 2014) 174; P. A. Holder, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 208, 2018, 256–262, esp. 258.

⁷⁹ See for the date the next note. Findspot unknown: »[et ... et I Bata]vor(um) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) [...] et sunt [in Dacia Po]rolis(s)ens(i) sub Flavio Italico«. Published by P. Weiß, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 141, 2002, 241–251, esp. 248–251, who inter alia correctly (see the next note) notes: »Es handelt sich eindeutig um die I Batavor(um) ∞« (p. 249).

⁸⁰ Found in the Roman fort at Porolissum: »et I Batav(orum) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) (...) et sunt in Dacia Porolissensi sub Flavio Italico«. Published by C. H. Opreanu / V.-A. Lăzărescu. This is a better preserved copy than RMD V 378 = ILD 29 (see the previous note) of the same constitution, which was issued »a(n)te d(iem) XVII k(alendas) Mai(as) M(arco) Antonio Rufino Serg(io) Octavio Laenate Pontiano co(n)s(ulibus)«, i. e. April 15, 131.

(5) Année Épigr. 2014 no. 1640 (A. D. 142)⁸², given to the son of Crispus, veteran of the First Cohort, of the tribe of the Boii.

(6) RMD V 404 = ILD 38 (A. D. 151)⁸³.

(7) *RMD I 47 = IDR I 17a = III 98a = CIL XVI 110 = ILD 7 (A. D. 154)⁸⁴.

(8) *RMD III 177 = ILD 39 (A. D. 161/162)⁸⁵.

(9) CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19 (A. D. 164), given to Sextus, son of Busturio, veteran of the First Cohort, a Pannonian⁸⁶.

(10) RMD I 64 (A. D. 164)⁸⁷.

(11) Année Épigr. 2007 no. 1764 (A. D. 164)⁸⁸.

(12) RMD IV 287 = ILD 40 (A. D. 164)⁸⁹.

⁸¹ Found in Gherla (Romania) in 1960: »et I Batavor(um) (milliaria) et [...] et sunt in Dacia Porolis(sensi) sub Flavio Italico«. Published by C. Daicovicu / D. Protase, *Journal Roman Stud.* 51, 1961, 63–70 (the authors wrongly say on p. 65 that the cohort »participe aux guerres daciques, après lesquelles elle ne quitte plus le Nord de la Dacie«). Also found in Gherla was *Année Épigr. 2011 no. 1073, the fragment of a diploma dating from A. D. 143–153 according to its first editors (but EDH gives A. D. 153): »[...] et I Batav(orum) [...] c(ivium) R(omanorum) [...] et sunt in Dacia Porolissensi...].«. The fragment was published by C. Ciongradi / R. Zăgreanu, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 179, 2011, 295–298, who argue that the cohort meant with »c(ivium) R(omanorum)« could only be the cohorts I Batavorum milliaria (p. 297).

⁸² Findspot unknown: »[coh(ortis) I Ba]tav(orum) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(iae) f(idelis) cui prae(e) st [...] ius Cominianus Roma ex equite [...] Crispi f(ilio) Boio [et ...] Je Septimi fil(iae) uxori eius Azal(ae) [...] [...] et sunt in Dac(ia) Por[ol]ol[issensi] sub Clodio Gal[lo]«. Published by W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 191, 2014, 269–277, esp. 272–277, with on 275: »Dass die als erste Kohorte genannte Einheit die I Batavorum milliaria p(ia) f(idelis) sein muss, ergibt sich zwingend daraus, dass das Diplom an einen Veteranen dieser Einheit ausgegeben wurde: [COH I BA]TAV ∞ C R P F. Der Name des Soldaten, der aus dem Stamm der Boier stammte, ist freilich verloren, nur der (römische) Name seines Vaters Crispus ist erhalten. Verloren ist auch der Name der Frau, die der Soldat in die Privilegierung einschloss: Sie war Tochter eines Septimus oder Septimius, die aus der civitas der Azaler kam. Sowohl die civitas der Boii als auch die der Azali lagen in Pannonien. [...] Die cohorts I Batavorum stand damals unter dem Kommando eines Tribunen [but see our Appendix II], dessen Namen wir nur noch als [...] ius Cominianus Roma dem Diplom entnehmen können. Ein Auxiliarkommandeur mit dem Namen Cominianus ist bisher nicht beim Heer bezeugt«. (Several commanders are known, whose origo was Rome, like that of Cominianus; Eck/Pangerl list some ten examples). See for the Boii P. Kovács in: F. Humer et al. (eds.), *Akten der 3. Österreichischen Römersteintagung* (Vienna 2016) 59–70.

⁸³ An almost complete diploma, found in the fort of Samum (Cașeu in Romania) in 1992: »et I Batav(orum) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) [...] et sunt in Dacia Porolis(s)ens(i) sub Macrinio Vindice proc(uratore)«. Published by D. Isac, *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 38, 2001, 49–60.

⁸⁴ Found in Ad Mediam (Mehadia in Romania): »[et I Batav(orum) (milliaria) [...] et sunt [in Dacia Porolis-

s]en(s)i sub Macrinio [Vindice proc(uratore...)]«. Published by I. I. Russu, *Dacia și Pannonia inferior* (Bucharest 1973) 95 f.; part of tabella II of the same diploma as CIL XVI 110. Although the name of the First Cohort of Batavi is restored by conjecture, a comparison with RMD V 404 = ILD 38 makes the restoration reasonably certain.

⁸⁵ The restoration of »I Batav(orum)« in this inscription, found in the fort at Gilău (area of Cluj in Romania) in 1985 is very plausible: »et cohortibus X(?) I Ulp(ia) Brit(tonum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) (milliaria) et I B[rit(annica) (milliaria) et I Hispan(orum) (milliaria) et I Batav(orum)] (milliaria) et I Ael(ia) G(a)e[satorum] [...] [...] et sunt in Dacia P[orolis(sensi) sub Volu[sio] (?) proc(uratore)]«. Published by W. Eck / D. Isac / I. Piso, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 100, 1994, 577–591; see esp. 579: »∞ sollte am ehesten zur coh. I Batavorum ∞ gehören, die in den [...] Diplomen IDR I 18 und 19 jeweils vor der coh. I Aelia Gaesatorum genannt ist«.

⁸⁶ Cited in note 25 above. This diploma is one of several copies of a constitution which was issued by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus on May 21, 164 for the troops of Dacia Porolissensis under procurator Sempronius Ingenius (cf. Eck/Pangerl, *Neue Diplome* 205). The remains of three other copies also attest to the presence of the First Cohort among these troops, viz. RMD I 64 = IDR I 18, Année Épigr. 2007 no. 1764 and RMD IV 287 = ILD 40 (nos. 10, 11 and 12 of our list), whereas the unit's name can be restored with some confidence in *RMD I 63 = IDR I 20, *RMD I 66 = IDR I 21, *RMD II 115 = IDR I 22, *RMD II 116 = ILD 42, *RMD II 117 = IDR I 1 and *RMD IV 289 = ILD 41.

⁸⁷ Cf. the previous note. Found in Gilău in Romania: »et I Batavor(um) (milliaria) et [...] et sunt in Dacia Porolis(s)ensi sub Sempronio Ingenio proc(uratore)«. Published by I. I. Russu, *Mat. și Cerc. Arh.* 2, 1956, 703–713.

⁸⁸ Cf. note 86 above. Findspot unknown: »et I Batav(orum) [...] et sunt in Dac[ia] Porolissen[si] sub Sempronio Ingen[io] proc(uratore ...)«. Published by Eck/Pangerl, *Neue Diplome* 203–206 no. 6.

⁸⁹ Cf. note 86 above. Findspot unknown: »et I Batav(orum) (milliaria) [...] [...] et sunt in Dacia Porolissensi sub Sempronio Ingenio proc(uratore) [...]«. Published by W. Eck / M. M. Roxan in: G. Precht (ed.), *Grabung – Forschung – Präsentation, Xantener Berichte* 8 (Xanten 1999) 347–352. The name of the First Cohort can be read, the rest of the text is reconstructed by means of a comparison with CIL XVI 185 (cited in note 25 above), RMD I 64 (cited in note 87 above), *RMD I 66 and *RMD II 116.

There is no evidence concerning the First Cohort beyond A. D. 164. It has been argued, however, that the third-century *τριβουνοῦ Βαταόνων* Aurelius Valentinus, mentioned in *Année Épigr.* 1900 no. 169 = IG X 2.1, 151⁹⁰, may have belonged to this unit⁹¹.

The cohors I Batavorum (quingenaria)

The milliary cohort of Batavi with the numeral I should not be confused with the quingenary cohort with the same numeral, the cohors I Batavorum (quingenaria). As we mention in the introduction, in a military diploma from A. D. 152 or 153, issued for troops of Moesia Inferior and Britannia which had been sent on a special mission to Mauretania Tingitana, the unit is uniquely listed as »I Batavor(um) Marsac(orum)«. The precise wording of the diploma makes clear that, while their honourable discharge was granted by the governor of Mauretania, the units from which soldiers were dismissed were formally still part of the garrison of the province from which they were sent out, which in the case of our cohort was Britannia⁹².

Apart from the short stay in Northern Africa, the unit apparently never left the island (it is not attested in any other province). The cohort's earliest trace is found in a diploma from the year 98 for the troops in Britain⁹³. The next time we find the unit mentioned is in a diploma⁹⁴ for the year 122. As it happens, A. D. 122 is also the year in which the emperor Hadrian came to Britain and started the building of the wall named after him, which took at least six years to complete⁹⁵. It has been suggested that two undated building stones mentioning the First Cohort of Batavi, found in Magnis (Carvoran) near the Wall⁹⁶, may be Hadrianic⁹⁷. An altar, found in the foundation of Hadrian's Wall at Old Wall, west of milecastle 59, which Martius, centurion of

⁹⁰ From Thessaloniki, date: »eher 269 als 276« according to I. Piso, *Göttinger Forum Alt.wiss.* 18, 2015, 199–215, esp. 213: *Αὐρήλιον Οὐαλεντεῖνον τὸν διασημώτατον τριβουνοῦ Βαταόνων καὶ διέποντα τὰ μέρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸν κτίστην ἢ λαμπροτάτη Θεσσαλονεικέων {ἡ} πόλις*. For the spelling of Batavi in Greek inscriptions see L. Robert, *Mnemosyne* 5, 1937, 302, reprinted in id., *Opera minora selecta, épigraphie et antiquités grecques I* (Amsterdam 1969) 575.

⁹¹ Thus e.g. Ch. Edson ad IG X 2, 1, 151, *PME A* 259 and Piso (as in the previous note) 213f. For other suggestions and further literature see Derks/Teitler, *Batavi* 61 note 50. We do not think that in *Année Épigr.* 2002 no. 1684 »Batavorum« should be read instead of »Bathanonum«; see for this inscription M. Khanoussi in: idem / P. Ruggeri / C. Vismara (eds.), *L'Africa romana* (Rome 2002) 2357–2365, esp. 2363 f.

⁹² *Année Épigr.* 2016 no. 2021: »et sunt in Moes(ia) infer(iore) sub Flavio Longino et I Batavor(um) Marsac(or)um et I Baetasi(or)um quae sunt in Britann(ia) sub Caesare N>nio Statio legatis (...) dimissis honesta missione [per Flavium Flavianum proc(ur)atorem] Mauretaniae Tingitanae«. Published by W. Eck / P. A. Holder / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 199, 2016, 187–197, esp. 189 (with an appendix by P. A. Holder, *ibid.*, 198–201). Holder in the appendix (p. 200f.) argues that perhaps in *RMD V* 405 should be read »coh. I Batav. Marsac (?)«, and not »coh. I Baetasi(or) (?)«. If so, our cohort had operated, before it went to Mauretania Tingitana, in Mauretania Caesariensis in A. D. 151. For the disturbances in Mauretania under Antoninus Pius see most recently Eck/Holder/Pangerl, *op. cit.* 187–201 and M. A. Speidel in: Ch. Michels / P. Mittag

(eds.), *Jenseits des Narrativs* (Stuttgart 2017) 255–268, esp. 262–264.

⁹³ *Année Épigr.* 2014 no. 1627: »[...]et cohortibus VIII (?) quae appellantur ([...])m et I Batavorum [et ...] (...) [etVIII Batavorum m]il[ia]ria et sunt in Bri[tann]ia sub T[ito] Avidio Quietio item dimissis [honesta missione] a Metilio Nepote«. Published by W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 189, 2014, 233–240. Cf. above, note 52, and remember that on the same date (February 20, A. D. 98) a constitution for the troops in Pannonia was also issued which mentions the (milliary) First Cohort: *CIL XVI* 42 (cited above, note 52).

⁹⁴ *CIL XVI* 69, a military diploma found in Brigetio (Komárom in Hungary) in 1930, now in the British Museum in London: »et cohortibus tr[igint]a et septem(m) quae appell[antur] (...) et I Batavor(um) (...) quae sunt in Brit[ann]ia sub A[ulo] Platorio Nepote (...) dimissis honesta missione per Pompeium Falcone(m)«. Published by F. N. Pryce, *British Mus. Quart.* 5, 1930, 13. Cf. Tomlin, *Britannia* 87–90 no. 5.04.

⁹⁵ Cf. in general D. J. Breeze, *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (14th ed., Newcastle upon Tyne 2006).

⁹⁶ *CIL VII* 777 = *RIB I* 1823: »coh(ors) I Batavorum f(ecit)«, now in the Great North Museum, Hancock, and *RIB I* 1824: »coh(ors) Ba[ta]vorum«, now lost.

⁹⁷ E. Birley, *Transact. Cumberland and Westmorland* 50, 1950, 175–178, esp. 176; cf. Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 56.

⁹⁸ *RIB I* 2015, now privately owned: »[D]eo Marti [C]ocidio [...] Martius [centurio] [c]oh(ortis) I Ba[tavorum] [et] Genio [Lugu?]vali [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito)«. N. B. The original reading of *CIL VII* 886 and *ILS* 4724b was, erroneously: »Da[corum]«.

the First Cohort, dedicated to Mars Cocidius and the Genius of [Lugu?]valium seemingly also dates from the reign of Hadrian⁹⁸.

The following diplomas attest to the unit's presence in Britain in the second century:

- (1) Année Épigr. 2008 no. 800 (A. D. 122)⁹⁹.
- (2) CIL XVI 70 = RIB II 2401, 6 (A. D. 124)¹⁰⁰.
- (3) CIL XVI 82 = RIB II 2401, 8 (A. D. 135)¹⁰¹.
- (4) RMD III 184 = IDRE II 474 (A. D. 178)¹⁰².
- (5) RMD IV 293 (A. D. 178)¹⁰³.
- (6) RMD IV 294 (A. D. 178)¹⁰⁴.

The cohort was still stationed in Britain when the Notitia Dignitatum was written¹⁰⁵. Its base according to this document of the Late Empire was the auxiliary fort of Procolita = Brocolitia, modern Carrawburgh, on Hadrian's Wall, and indeed, several stones with inscriptions referring to the First Cohort have been found there¹⁰⁶. Among these is the fragment of a dedication slab from the third century which mentions the name of a prefect and refers to the consulate of Lucius Marius Perpetuus and Lucius Mummius Felix Cornelianus in A. D. 237: »... coh(ors) I B[a]tavorum [fecit cur]ante Burrio [...]sto prae[f(ecto)] [Perpetuo et C]orneliano [co(n)s(ulibus)]«¹⁰⁷.

Cf. Jarrett, Non-Legionary Troops 56. See for Mars Cocidius E. Birley, *Transact. Cumberland and Westmorland* 51, 1952, 67–72; K. J. Fairless in: R. Miket / C. Burgess (eds.), *Essays in the prehistory and history of North Britain in honour of George Jobey* (Edinburgh 1984) 224–242. Of dubious authenticity according to its publishers, R. S. O. Tomlin / M. W. C. Hassall, *Britannia* 33, 2002, 358f. (= Année Épigr. 2002 no. 896), is a votive plaque of unknown provenance and date, said to have been found close to Hadrian's Wall in ca. 1950, with the following inscription: »Deo Invicto coh(ors) I Batavor(um) fecit Aulo Maximo«. Also uncertain is the relevance of the inscription »HBAT« on an altar, now lost, found at Castlecary, a fort on the Antonine Wall (CIL VII 1101 = RIB I 2154). RIB notes ad loc. that the inscription has been interpreted as a reference to the »co]h(ors) I Bat(avorum)«, »but the omission of the numeral is unusual and throws doubt on the accuracy of the reading«.

⁹⁹ Found in Brompton in 2007: »et I Sunu[c(or)um] et I Betas(iorum) et I B]atav(or)um (...) quae sunt in Britan[nia sub A(ulo) Platorio Nepote ...]«. Published by R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 39, 2008, 381–384, who notes on p. 383 f. note 43: »The restored (and conflated) text is essentially that of the outer face of the Brigetio diploma [i. e. CIL XVI 69, quoted in note 94 above] (...). The diploma evidently belongs to the same issue as the great Brigetio diploma which lists 13 alae and 37 cohorts on 17 July 122, but there are minor differences«.

¹⁰⁰ Found near Stannington in 1760: »et] coh(ortibus) XXI quae ap[p(ellantur)] (...) et I Bata[v(or)um] (...) quae sunt in Brit[anni]a sub Platorio Nepote«. Cf. Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 55.

¹⁰¹ Found in Viroconium (Wroxeter): »et coh(ortibus) XXXI quae app(ellantur) (...) et I Bat(avorum) (...) et [sunt in Britan(n)ia sub Mummi]o Sisenna«. Published by D. Atkinson, *Class. Review* 42, 1928, 11–14. Cf. Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 55f.

¹⁰² Found in Bulgaria, now privately owned: »et cohortibus XVI I Aug(usta) Nerv(iorum) (...) et I Batavor(um) (...) et sunt in Br[ita]nnia sub Ulpio Mar-

cello leg(ato)«. Published by M. M. Roxan in *RMD III* (1994).

¹⁰³ Also found in Bulgaria and now privately owned: »et cohorti(bus) XVI I Aug(usta) Ner(viorum) (...) et I Batavor(um) (...) et sun[t] in [Bri]tannia sub Ulpi(o) Marc(e)ll(o) leg(ato)«. Published by M. M. Roxan / P. A. Holder in *RMD IV* (2003). »This diploma is part of the same issue as *RMD III* 184« (p. 550). Cf. Tomlin, *Britannia* 165 no. 7.09.

¹⁰⁴ Findspot not mentioned by M. M. Roxan / P. A. Holder, who published the diploma in *RMD IV* (2003): »et cohort(ibus) XVI I Aug(usta) Nerv(iorum) (...) et I (B)atavor(um) (...) et sunt in Brit[anni]a (sub) Ulpio Marcel(l)o leg(ato)«. *RMD IV* 294 belongs to the same issue as *RMD III* 184 and *RMD IV* 293. Fragmentary copies of the same constitution as *RMD III* 184, *IV* 293 and *IV* 294 stem from, on which the cohorts I Batavorum can be restored conjecturally, are: *Année Épigr. 2004 no. 1901 (published by W. Eck / D. MacDonald / A. Pangerl, *Rev. Études Militaires Anciennes* 1, 2004, 63–101, esp. 68–72); *Année Épigr. 2004 no. 1902 (published by Eck/MacDonald/Pangerl [just cited] 72–75); *Année Épigr. 2006 no. 1837 (published by P. Weiß, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 156, 2006, 245–254, esp. 251–254) and *Année Épigr. 2007 no. 1770 (published by W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 162, 2007, 223–234, esp. 226–231).

¹⁰⁵ Not. Dign. Occ. 40.39 mentions a »tribunus cohortis primae Batavorum«, who was stationed in »Procolita« = Brocolitia (Carrawburgh).

¹⁰⁶ For Brocolitia cf. in general D. J. Breeze, *Arch. Aeliana* 50, 1972, 81–114.

¹⁰⁷ CIL VII 621 = RIB I 1553, now in Chesters Museum. Cf. Birley, *Prefects* 184, who suggests that »[...]sto« may stand for »Modesto«, and that Burrius [?]Modes]tus perhaps hailed from Italy; Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 56. See for the consulate of Marius Perpetuus (PIR² M 312) and Mummius Cornelianus (PIR² M 703) N. Hächler, *Kontinuität und Wandel des Senatorenstandes im Zeitalter der Soldatenkaiser* (Leiden 2019) no. 184, no. 194 and p. 600 note 1175.

No less than seven other prefects are attested by inscriptions found in Brocolitia (Carrowburgh). Three of them dedicate an altar to Mithras¹⁰⁸, viz. Aulus Cluentius Habitus¹⁰⁹, Lucius Antonius Proculus¹¹⁰ and Marcus Simplicius Simplex¹¹¹. Two prefects set up an altar with a dedication to the local goddess Coventina¹¹², viz. Titus D(omitius?) Cosconianus¹¹³ and Aelius Tertius¹¹⁴, whereas prefect Marcus Flaccinius Marcellus honoured Fortune by setting up an altar with inscription¹¹⁵, and his colleague Marcus Hispanus Modestinus dedicated one to the Nymphs and the Genius of the place¹¹⁶.

Not only prefects are attested by inscriptions from Brocolitia (Carrowburgh). The fragment of a funerary inscription found in 1873 seems to refer to a standard-bearer of the First Cohort whose father's name was Milenus: »[D(is)] M(anibus) [...]s Mileni [signi]fero coh(ortis) I Bat[avorum]«¹¹⁷, while another fragment can be interpreted as mentioning a trumpeter of this regiment: »D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)] Longi[ni ...] buc(inatoris) c[oh(ortis) I Bat(avorum)]«¹¹⁸. A certain Hilario (or Hilarius?), whose function is unknown, is mentioned on another, very fragmentarily preserved epitaph: »[...] coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) [...] et] Hilario heredes f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)«¹¹⁹.

The cohors II Batavorum

The first securely dated document which mentions the Second (as well as the First) Cohort is a copy of a constitution issued by the emperor Trajan in A. D. 98 to the troops stationed in Pannonia¹²⁰. Before this date the unit had been elsewhere, notably in Moesia, as we shall argue.

On the left side of an altar which served as a war memorial »[in honorem et] memoriam fortis[simorum virorum qui bello Dacico] pro re p(ublica) morte occubu[erunt] ...]«, erected in what is now Adamclissi in Romania, near the remains of ancient Tropaeum Traiani in Moesia

¹⁰⁸ In general cf. I. A. Richmond / J. P. Gillam / E. Birley, *The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh* (Newcastle upon Tyne 1951) and L. Allason-Jones in: M. Martens / G. de Boe (eds.), *Roman Mithraism* (Brussels 2004) 183–189.

¹⁰⁹ *Année Épigr.* 1951 no. 125b = RIB I 1545, found in 1949, now in the Great North Museum, Hancock: »D(eo) In(victo) M(ithrae) s(acrum) Aul(us) Cluentius Habitus pra(e)fectus coh(ortis) I Batavorum domu Ultin(i)a colon(ia) Sept(imia) Aur(elia) L(arino) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)«. Published by R. P. Wright, *Journal Roman Stud.* 40, 1950, 114 f. no. 2, cf. e.g. Birley, *Prefects 178–180*, who inter alia notes that the prefect was a namesake and presumably a descendant of the man from Larinum who was defended by Cicero in 66 B. C., and that his dedication is to be dated to A. D. 198–211, in view of the fact that Larinum is called ›colonia Septimia Aurelia›; Vermaseren I 846; PME C 210; Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 48 f. no. 123; Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 56; Tomlin, *Britannia* 366 no. 12.77 (photo).

¹¹⁰ *Année Épigr.* 1951 no. 125a = RIB I 1544, also found in 1949 and now in the Great North Museum, Hancock: »Deo Inv(icto) M(ithrae) L(ucius) Antonius Proculus praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) Antoninianae v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)«. Published by R. P. Wright, *Journal Roman Stud.* 40, 1950, 114 no. 1, cf. e.g. Birley, *Prefects 180 f.*, who argues for a date between A. D. 213 and 222, in view of the epithet ›An-

toniniana« (cf. for this epithet below, note 197); Vermaseren I 845; Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 48 f. no. 121; Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 56; Tomlin, *Britannia* 367 no. 12.78. The prefect's name is rather common, and an identification with namesakes (cf. e.g. CIL VIII 12160 and Bull. Soc. Arch. Alexandrie 7, 1931, 284, with PIR² A 867 and PME A 142) is dubious.

¹¹¹ *Année Épigr.* 1951 no. 125c = RIB I 1546, also found in 1949 and now in the Great North Museum, Hancock: »Deo Invicto Mit(h)rae M(arcus) Simplicius Simplex pr(a)ef(ectus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)«. Although the First Cohort of Batavians is not mentioned, there can be no doubt that Simplicius Simplex was prefect of this unit, since the name of the cohort had already been mentioned by Aulus Cluentius Habitus and Lucius Antonius Proculus on their altars in the same mithraeum. Published by R. P. Wright, *Journal Roman Stud.* 40, 1950, 115 no. 3. Date: A. D. 201–250 (EDH). Cf. e.g. Birley, *Prefects* 181 f.; Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 48 f. no. 122; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 D 13; Vermaseren I 848; PME S 55; Tomlin, *Britannia* 367 f. no. 12.79.

¹¹² Cf. in general L. Allason-Jones / B. McKay, *Coventina's Well. A Shrine on Hadrian's Wall* (Oxford 1985) and I. P. Haynes, *Britannia* 24, 1993, 155.

¹¹³ ILS 4725 = RIB I 1534, found in 1876, now in Chesters Museum: »Deae Coventinae T(itus) D(...) Cosconianus pr(aefectus) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) l(ibens)

(Inferior), many names of deceased auxiliary soldiers are mentioned, often with the addition of their tribe or place of origin. Among them we find twice an anonymous ›Batav(us)‹ (the unit in which they served is not known), whereas the heading of the ›coh(ors) II Bat(avorum)‹ is followed by the names of five victims who belonged to this unit: »Naso Cres[centis(?)], Saurnus Co[...], Martial[is ...], Mar[...], Via[tor(?)]«¹²¹. It is reasonably certain that the monument honours soldiers who had died in battle(s) against the Dacians (but note that in the dedication just quoted the words »bello Dacico« are conjectural). It is disputed, however, in which war this battle (or these battles) occurred and at what time the altar was erected (the first words of the inscription on the monument, with the name of the emperor, are not preserved). Until recently many scholars were of the opinion that the battle(s) in question took place during the reign of the emperor Trajan in the winter of A. D. 101/102 and that it was Trajan in A. D. 108/109 who ordered the memorial¹²². In 2009, however, Alexandre Stefan with strong arguments breathed new life into an interpretation already proposed in 1904 by Conrad Cichorius¹²³. Stefan convincingly argued that it was the emperor Domitian who built the memorial, in honour of the soldiers who had lost their lives in his wars against the

m(erito)«. Cf. e.g. Birley, *Prefects* 183 f., who dates the inscription to the third century (EDH: A. D. 201–230); Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 61 no. 150; Tomlin, *Britannia* 329 no. 12.29.

¹¹⁴ RIB I 1535, also found in 1876 and now in Chesters Museum: »Covven[ti(nae)] Aelius Te[r]tius p[raef(ec]tus) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)«. Cf. e.g. Birley, *Prefects* 184 f., who dates the inscription to the third century (EDH: A. D. 122–300).

¹¹⁵ CIL VII 617 = ILS 2549 = RIB I 1536, now in the Museum of Archaeology, Durham: »Fortunae coh(ors) I Batavor(um) cui praeest M(arcus) Flaccinius Marcellus praefectus«. Cf. e.g. Birley, *Prefects* 183, who thinks that it is likely that this third-century prefect (EDH: A. D. 201–230) came from Spain; Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 6 no. 10.

¹¹⁶ *Année Épig.* 1962 no. 261 = RIB III 3316, found in 1957 and excavated in 1960, now in the Museum of Antiquities in Newcastle upon Tyne: »Nymphis et Genio loci M(arcus) Hispanum Modestinus praefectus coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) pro se et suis l(ibens) m(erito)«. First published by R. P. Wright, *Journal Roman Stud.* 51, 1961, 193 no. 9. Cf. e.g. Birley, *Prefects* 182–184, who dates the prefecture of this Spaniard between that of Cluentius Habitus and that of Lucius Antonius Proculus; Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 34 no. 92; Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 55; PME H 20; Tomlin, *Britannia* 328 no. 12.28.

¹¹⁷ RIB I 1560, now in Chesters Museum. RIB ad loc.: »the stone is presumably to be dated between the restoration of Hadrian's Wall, starting about 205, and the constitutio Antoniniana, 212«. This date is adopted by Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker* 309 no. SIG 402. Cf. Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 81 f. no. 196. Cf. for a signifer of the cohorts I Batavorum milliaria above, note 74. – K. M. Töpfer, *Signa militaria* (Mayence 2011) 442 incorrectly includes RIB I 1560 under the heading »Cohors I Batavorum milliaria«. Töpfer 143 and 384 f. with pl. 115 points to another gravestone found in Carrawburgh and now in Chesters Museum

(Inv. CH 234). On it is the picture of a soldier bearing a standard with a bull, who, as Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 80 f. no. 193 suggest, possibly belonged to the First Cohort. However, since there is no inscription, the hypothesis cannot be proved.

¹¹⁸ RIB I 1559, found in 1873 and now in Chesters Museum. RIB ad loc.: »the restoration COH. I. BAT is supported by RIB I 1560, found similarly reused in the same building. The stone will thus belong to the third century«. Cf. Coulston/Philips, *Hadrian's Wall* 81 no. 195; Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker* 265 no. BUC 37.

¹¹⁹ RIB I 1562, found in 1873 and now in Chesters Museum. From sites other than Brocolitia (Carrawburgh) stem some inscriptions which may or may not be relevant. For the sake of completeness, we list them here. Among the many examples of lead sealings from Verteris (modern Brough under Stainmore; cf. I. A. Richmond, *Transact. Cumberland and Westmorland* 36, 1936, 104–125 and M. C. W. Still, *Roman Lead Sealings I* [London 1995] 104–109) there is one, RIB II 2411.99, which reads: »C(ohortis) I B() Iul(ius) C Mar«, a reference, according to Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 56, to the cohorts I Batavorum. Jarrett, *ibid.*, also refers for »C.I.B.« to a stamp from Bravoniacum (modern Kirkby Thore), RIB II 2411.98.

¹²⁰ CIL XVI 42, cited in note 52.

¹²¹ CIL III 14214 = ILS 9107. For a photo and a drawing see Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 250 fig. 3, for the twoonyms *ibid.* 278 B 23 f.

¹²² Cf. e.g. Th. Mommsen ad CIL III 14214; K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans* (Bonn 1984) 35, 237–239; G. Amiotti in: M. Sordi, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (Milan 1990) 207–214, esp. 209–212; V. M. Hope, *World Arch.* 35, 2003, 79–97, esp. 92; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 250.

¹²³ C. Cichorius, *Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobrudscha* (Berlin 1904) 25 f. Cichorius' view was endorsed by e.g. J. Colin, *Latomus* 15, 1956, 57–82, esp. 63–65 and E. Dorutiu-Boila, *Dacia* 5, 1961, 345–363.

Dacians¹²⁴. Seemingly, then, Domitian had transferred the Second Cohort straightaway from Britain to Moesia.

Early in Trajan's reign the Second Cohort belonged to the Roman army in Pannonia (still undivided at the time), as we have seen¹²⁵. It is noteworthy that the diploma of A. D. 98 not only mentions the Second, but also the First Cohort of Batavi, and that it records both units as millitary. In contrast to the Second Cohort, however, the First bears the honorific title ›p(ia) f(idelis)‹, which it had earned, presumably¹²⁶, when the emperor Domitian awarded this formula to the army of Germania Inferior for its loyalty during the revolt of Saturninus. A few years after A. D. 98 the Second Cohort too had been awarded the epithet ›p(ia) f(idelis)‹ (and a block grant of citizenship at that), as is evidenced by a constitution issued by Trajan for the troops in Pannonia Superior¹²⁷ in A. D. 112. It has been plausibly suggested that it may have won these honours for its conduct during Trajan's Second Dacian War (A. D. 105/106)¹²⁸.

In Pannonia Superior the Second Cohort came to be stationed at the auxiliary fortress of Klosterneuburg in Austria¹²⁹ (of which the ancient name is not known)¹³⁰, as is evidenced by tiles found there bearing the stamp »[Co]h(ortis) II Ba[t(avorum)]«, »Coh(ortis) II Ba(-tavorum)«, »Coh(ortis) [II Bat(avorum)]« and »Coh(ortis) [II Bat(avorum)]«¹³¹, as well as by the gravestone of one of its veterans, Aelius Festus, who after his retirement took up residence in the village next to the fortress in the first half of the second century¹³². Its presence in this province is also attested by a military diploma¹³³ of A. D. 115 and another¹³⁴ of A. D. 116 (in the latter case the restoration of the damaged text is undoubtedly correct)¹³⁵.

¹²⁴ A. S. Stefan in: C. Marangio / G. Laudizi (eds.), Παλαιά Φιλία (Galatina 2009) 613–634, expanding the view he set forth in id., Les guerres daciques de Domitian et de Trajan (Rome 2005). Stefan is followed by e. g. B. Turner, Am. Journ. Philol. 134, 2013, 277–304, esp. 285 f., L. Trenkler, Caiete ARA 7, 2016, 281–295 and A. Cooley in: P. Low et al. (eds.), Cultures of Commemoration. War Memorials Ancient and Modern (Oxford 2012) 63–88, esp. 67–71. F. Matei-Popescu in: A. Avram / I. Bîrzescu (eds.), Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire à la mémoire de Petre Alexandrescu (Rome 2013 [2014]) 207–230, esp. 218 leaves the question open. Chr. Witschel in: P. Lohman (ed.), Archäologie und Politik (Heidelberg 2021) 27–49, esp. 47 and D. Soria Molina, Bellum Dacicum. Geopolítica, estrategia y conflicto en el Danubio bajo Domitiano y Trajano (85–106) (Madrid and Salamanca 2016) 462 f. opt for Trajan. For the Dacian wars of Domitian in A. D. 84–89 see in the first place E. L. Wheeler, Journal Military Hist. 74, 2010, 1185–1227 and 75, 2011, 191–219.

¹²⁵ CIL XVI 42, cited in note 52.

¹²⁶ See above, note 52.

¹²⁷ RMD IV 223 = RMM 15, cited in note 64 above.

¹²⁸ Holder, Exercitus 247–249. Strobel, Bataverkohorten 275 note 29 opts for Trajan's First Dacian War (A. D. 101–102).

¹²⁹ Sometimes Vetus Salina (Adony) in Hungary is named as the Second Cohort's base (see e. g. Der Neue Pauly XII 2 [2002] 157 [J. Burian]), but there is no evidence for this assumption.

¹³⁰ Cf. e. g. M. Pollak in: Gassner/Pülz, Limes II: »Klosterneuburg, dessen antiker Name bis heute nicht geklärt werden konnte«. The following names have been suggested: Arrianis, Asturis, Cannabiaca, Citium, Quadriburgium. Cf. e. g. K. Genser, Der öster-

reichische Donaulimes in der Römerzeit (Vienna 1986) 407–412; K. Holubar (ed.), Römerlager Arrianis (Klosterneuburg 2018).

¹³¹ Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen Pannonien I, no. 253c (cf. Ubl, Klosterneuburg I, 31 no. 46), 253d, 253a and 253b, respectively. As to the date, Lőrincz says: »trajanisch«, Ubl: »ca. 98–128 n. Chr.«

¹³² Année Épigr. 1988 no. 928: »D(is) M(anibus) Ael(io) Festo vet(erano) coh(ortis) II Bat(avorum) et Ul(piae) Iaiiae(!) parentib(us) et Coc(ceio) Festivo filio Ael(ia) Festa f(aciendum) c(uravit)«. The veteran's daughter, Aelia Festa, had the tombstone made for her parents Aelius Festus and Ulpia Palla (note the new reading of the cognomen, which we owe to Ingrid Weber-Hiden), but also for her son Cocceius Festus. Daughter and grandson are named after the veteran. Cf. Ubl, Klosterneuburg I, 103 f. and 128 fig. 7. See for the date ibid. 103: »Anfang 2. Jh. n. Chr.«, Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen Pannonien I, no. 254: »frühhadrianisch« and EDH: »101–150 n. Chr.« Cf. further E. Specht in: F. Beutler / W. Hameter (eds.), »Eine ganz normale Inschrift« (Vienna 2005) 409–415, esp. 412 and I. Weber-Hiden in: K. Holubar (ed.), Römerlager Arrianis (Klosterneuburg 2018) 55–63, esp. 57. Année Épigr. 1992 no. 1445 from Klosterneuburg possibly mentions another veteran who served in the Second Cohort: »D(is) M(anibus) M(arcus) [C]oc(ceius) Ann[ianus(?) vet(eranus)] c[o]h(ortis) [II Batav(orum?)] ann(orum) LXXX [3] Bounis [3] f(ilia) con(iux) eius v(iva) [f(ecit) sibi et] M(arcus) Coc(ceius) Tutor [...] her(es?) Coc(ceius) Cresce[ns ...]«. »Leider ist der Name der Truppe nur mit Vorbehalt zu ergänzen« (Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen Pannonien I, no. 255: »spättrajanisch–hadrianisch«; EDH gives: A. D. 121–130).

¹³³ Année Épigr. 2012 no. 1128, cited in note 66 above.

¹³⁴ *CIL XVI 64, cited in note 67 above.

Before A. D. 132/133 the Second Cohort was transferred from Pannonia Superior to Noricum, as we know from a copy of a constitution of that date, issued by the emperor Hadrian and found in Favianis (Mautern on the Danube)¹³⁶. Another military diploma, from the last years of Hadrian's reign, which was found in Stein near Lauriacum (modern Enns in Austria), also mentions the unit among the troops stationed in Noricum¹³⁷, as does a diploma found in Stein which goes back to a constitution of A. D. 138 of Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius¹³⁸. Two more diplomas dating from the reign of Antoninus Pius mention the Second Cohort among the troops stationed in Noricum, one¹³⁹ from an unknown findspot and issued in A. D. 157, the other¹⁴⁰ found in Asturis (Zwentendorf on the Danube) and issued in A. D. 158. The first of these diplomas mentions a ›vexillatio‹, the second some ›vexillarii‹. This probably means that in A. D. 157 the unit was split into several parts: whereas one detachment stayed in Noricum, other soldiers of the unit participated in expeditions elsewhere¹⁴¹.

So much for the military diplomas. We can further point to two inscriptions, which, unfortunately and unlike the diplomas, cannot be dated precisely¹⁴². There is, in the first place, the rather damaged gravestone of a soldier, found in Bad Sankt Leonhard im Lavanttal in Austria, with the text: »[Sp]ectat[ae ...] [Ter]tullina matr[i(?) et ...] [Ma]cri f(ilio) mil(iti) c(o)h(ortis) II

¹³⁵ Remarkably, although the diplomas of A. D. 112 (RMD IV 223 = RMM 15), A. D. 115 (Année Épigr. 2012 no. 1128) and A. D. 116 (*CIL XVI 64) all mention both the First and the Second Cohort of Batavi among the troops of Pannonia Superior under the command of Lucius Minicius Natalis, on RMD II 86 of A. D. 113 only the First, not the Second, is cited among the forces under this governor (see for him PIR² M 619, D. Erkelenz, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 123, 1998, 257–269 and Eck/Pangerl, *Natalis*). Possibly the Second Cohort was at that time temporarily in the East, as part of Trajan's Parthian expedition (so Eck/Pangerl, *Natalis* 292 with note 9), but see Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 158: »Das Fehlen der 2. Kohorte im oberpannonischen Diplom vom 16.12.113 dürfte auf Zufall beruhen [...]. Hinweise auf eine kurzzeitige Abberufung – etwa im Rahmen der expeditio Parthica – liegen im Diplomtext nicht vor«.

¹³⁶ CIL XVI 174: »coh(ortis) II Batavor(um) [(milliaria) cui prae(e)st] L(ucius) Vitellius«. Cf. e.g. M. Pietsch, *Fundber. Baden-Württemberg* 15, 1990, 247–263, esp. 256–258; J. Ott, *Riv. Stor. Antichità* 25, 1995, 91–110, esp. 98–102; K. Genser in: C. Ertel et al. (eds.), *Römermuseum Favianis (Mautern 1998)* 61–70; W. Lugs, *Ripa (Steyr 2002)* 145f. 148f. For Favianis (Mautern) see S. Groh / H. Sedlmayer in: Gassner/Pülz, *Limes 204–209*, for the date of A. D. 132–133 A. Birley, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 116, 1997, 209.

¹³⁷ RMD II 93: »et I Fl(avia) Brit[itu]m et II Batav(orum) [...] et sunt in N[orico] [...] sub Lisin[io] Sabino [...]«. Date: A. D. 135–138. Published by H. Stiglitz, *Jahresh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 56, 1985, 137–141 no. 1. Cf. e.g. E. Weber / R. Selinger, *Röm. Österreich* 19/20, 1991/1992, 221 no. 280; Ott 1995 (previous note) 102–104 no. 4; Lugs, *Ripa (Steyr 2002)* 147–149.

¹³⁸ Année Épigr. 2009 no. 994: »et I Ast[urum] eq[ui]tata?) [...] II B[atav]orum (milliaria) eq[ui]tata?) [...] sunt in Norico«. Found in 1987, now privately owned. Published by H. Ubl, *Röm. Österreich* 32, 2009, 113–121 no. 5.

¹³⁹ Année Épigr. 2015 no. 1892 (published by W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 52, 2015, 73–83, esp. 79–83 and *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 214, 2020, 261–265, esp. 261–264): »et II] Bat(avorum) (milliaria) vex(illatio) c(ivium) R(omanorum) [...] et s]unt in Norico sub Usenio [Secundo] p[ro]c(uratore)«. See for a fragment of another diploma from the time of Antoninus Pius (or perhaps Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) mentioning the Second Cohort and probably from Noricum W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 59/I, 2022, 83–96, esp. 86–88.

¹⁴⁰ Année Épigr. 2012 no. 1080: »II Batav(orum) (milliaria) vex(illiariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) ... et] II Thrac(um) et II Ba[tav]orum (milliaria) [...] et sunt in Nor(ico) sub] Usenio Secun[do] p[ro]c(uratore)«. Published by E. Weber, *Röm. Österreich* 34/35, 2011/2012, 207–213, esp. 207–211 no. 1. Cf. W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 214, 2020, 261–265, esp. 264 f.; for Asturis (Zwentendorf) see S. Groh in: Gassner/Pülz, *Limes* 224–229.

¹⁴¹ Possibly, as perhaps in the case of the Third Cohort (see below, note 192), the splitting up of the Second Cohort was related to the disturbances in Mauretania under Antoninus Pius, for which see the literature cited in note 92.

¹⁴² Not to be included among these inscriptions is Année Épigr. 1936 no. 111, on a tile found in Traiectum (Utrecht in the Netherlands), published by C. W. Vollgraaf / G. van Hoorn, *Opgravingen op het Damplein te Utrecht (Haarlem 1938)* 149: »C(ohors) II B(ata)b(orum) (!) vi(ctrix)«, pace e.g. A. Roes, *Rev. Études Anciennes* 37, 1935, 459 f., esp. 460 (»En voici une [cohorte] qui se place sûrement entre 150 et 250«), Spaul, *Cohors²* 212 and Biancardi, *Cavalleria* 104, for the reading is surely wrong. Cf. H. Brunsting / S. L. Wynia in: L. R. P. Ozinga et al. (eds.), *Het Romeinse castellum te Utrecht (Utrecht 1989)* 143–146, esp. 146 no. g, who present the corrected reading »GIIRIN-FR« (in retrograde), referring to the exercitus Germanicus inferior.

Bat(avorum)«¹⁴³, and, secondly, the fragment of an altar found built in a wall of the church of Saint Martin in Linz (Austria), which reads: »coh(ortis) II Bata[vo]rum pro se [et] suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)«¹⁴⁴.

The cohors III Batavorum

The Third Cohort of Batavi is mentioned twice on wooden writing tablets found at Vindolanda (Chesterholm), a Roman auxiliary fort near Hadrian's Wall in northern England¹⁴⁵. One of these documents is a letter from the decurion Vitalis to Cerialis, prefect of the Ninth Cohort of Batavians¹⁴⁶, the other, also a letter, is written by Sollemnis to Paris – Paris and Sollemis were both slaves, presumably¹⁴⁷. In Vitalis' letter a certain Equester is mentioned, centurio of the Third Cohort: »epistulas [...]s quas acceperas ab Equestre centurione coh(ortis) III Batavorum«, whereas in the other letter reference to the Third Cohort is made in the address: »Paridi [...] luc[...]or[...] [...] [coh]ortis III Batavorum a Sollemni [...]o«. Both documents were excavated in Vindolanda's period 3 contexts, that is, they were written between A. D. 97 and 105. The Third Cohort may therefore have been at Vindolanda during that period¹⁴⁸.

In A. D. 107, as is evidenced by a military diploma found in Biriciana (Weißenburg in Bavaria)¹⁴⁹, the Third Cohort was in Raetia, where at that time Tiberius Iulius Aquilinus was governor. The diploma records the unit as »milliaria«¹⁵⁰. Presumably, it had been transferred from Britain during the preparations for the second campaign by the emperor Trajan against the Dacians, which started in A. D. 105. It is not known where in Raetia it was garrisoned¹⁵¹. Nor is known how long it stayed in this province before it was transferred to Pannonia Inferior, but in A. D. 116/117 it was still in Raetia¹⁵². In its new province of residence, Pannonia, we find the first precisely dated reference to the Third Cohort in a diploma¹⁵³ of A. D. 135, but of course, it may

¹⁴³ ILLPRON 714. Date: A. D. 101–150 (EDH). Cf. R. Egger, *Carinthia I*, 149, 1959, 464 no. B 9; A. Gerstl, *Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III für Kärnten und Osttirol 1902–1961* (Diss. Vienna 1961) 66 f. no. 149; P. S. Leber, *Die in Kärnten seit 1902 gefundenen römischen Steininschriften* (Klagenfurt 1972) 149 no. 281.

¹⁴⁴ ILLPRON 952 = *Année Épigr.* 1982 no. 757. Date: A. D. 151–250 (EDH). For photos see <http://lupa.at/8107>. Cf. H. Ubl, *Pro Austria Romana* 29, 1979, 21. The inscription was first published by E. M. Ruprechtsberger, *Pro Austria Romana* 28, 1978, 34, who, however, reads »coh(ortis) Dal[mata]rum« instead of »coh(ortis) II Bata[vo]rum«.

¹⁴⁵ See for Vindolanda e.g. A. K. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier* (London 1994); Birley, *Garrison life*; R. Birley, *Vindolanda* (Chalford 2019).

¹⁴⁶ *Tab. Vindol.* I, 23 = II, 263.

¹⁴⁷ *Tab. Vindol.* II, 311. In their commentary the editors of the tablet note: »It is possible that Paris was a slave of the commander or another officer of the unit and this would make it likely that Sollemnis was also a slave«.

¹⁴⁸ There is perhaps a third document which testifies to the Third Cohort's presence in Vindolanda. On side B of *Tab. Vindol.* IV 1, 860 we read: »]m coh(ortis) III«. This might be seen as a reference to the Third Cohort: »]m coh(ortis) III [<Batavorum>«. However, since *Tab. Vindol.* IV 1, 860 is attributed to Vindolanda's period 4, that is, was written between A. D. 104 and 120,

and the Cohort was in Raetia in A. D. 107 (CIL XVI 55), the conjecture is far from certain.

¹⁴⁹ CIL XVI 55. Cf. Steidl, *Veteranen* 415: »Von allen aus Raetien stammenden Militärdiplomen ist allein das aus Weißenburg vollständig erhalten geblieben«.

¹⁵⁰ CIL XVI 55: »et III Batavorum ∞«. See for the sign ∞, Gundermann's study, cited in note 53 above.

¹⁵¹ Wolff, *Heer Raetiens* 165–169, suggests as possible locations the forts at Ruffenhofen, Dambach and Sorviodurum (Straubing); Farkas, *Dislocation* 29 f.; 42, opts for the fort at Rißtissen and that at Moos-Burgstall.

¹⁵² RMD IV 229: »et III Batavor(um) (milliaria) (...) et VIII Batavorum (milliaria) quae sunt in Raetia sub L. Cornelio Latiniano«. Two joining fragments of this diploma found at Sorviodurum (Straubing) cf. H. Wolff, *Ostbair. Grenzmarken* 41, 1999, 9–16. For the date see W. Eck, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 185, 2013, 235–238, for the Ninth Cohort below, note 210. It is almost certain that *RMD III 155, found at Quintana (Künzing) in 1992, also testifies to the Third Cohort's presence in Raetia in A. D. 116/117, but it should be noted that the words »et III Batavor(um)« in »III Britannor(um) [et III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et III Batavor(um)] (milliaria) et III Gallor(um) et V Braca[raugustanor(um)]« are conjectural, restored by comparison with CIL XVI 55. Cf. *Année Épigr.* 2011 no. 1803, cited in note 236 below.

¹⁵³ RMD IV 251 = RMM 27, findspot unknown: »et III Batav(orum) (milliaria) [...] et sunt in Pannon(ia) in-

have left Raetia before this date, possibly already early in Hadrian's reign¹⁵⁴. Another possibility is that the diploma of A. D. 135 concerns a detachment of the Third Cohort, that the core of the unit at that time was still in Raetia, and that it was only under Antoninus Pius that the cohort as a whole moved to Pannonia.

Whatever the case may be (we will return to this below), its base in Pannonia was the fort of *Vetus Salina* (Adony in Hungary)¹⁵⁵. Several finds in the ruins of this fort testify to the presence of the Third Cohort. We can refer, for example, to tiles bearing the stamp »Coh(ors) III Ba(ta)v(orum)«, »Coh(ors) III Bata(vorum)«, »Coh(ors) III B[at(avorum)]«¹⁵⁶, and to an altar dedicated to the goddess *Vagdavercustis* by Marcus *Simplicius Quietus*, who was »trib(unus) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum)«¹⁵⁷. Moreover, some funeral inscriptions have been found on or near the spot, one for *Claudius Tyrannus*, »trib(unus) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum)«¹⁵⁸, another for the wife of *Valerius Timotheus*, who was, like *Tyrannus*, »tr[i]b(unus) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum)«¹⁵⁹, and still another for the veteran *Titus Aelius Karus*¹⁶⁰. The gravestone which »Seve[rus(?)] pra[e-

fer(iore) sub Nonio Muciano«. Published by M. M. Roxan, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 127, 1999, 249–255.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Wolff, *Heer Raetiens 171* (cf. 159), who states that »die coh. III Batavorum ∞ zwischen 116 und 119/120 bzw. 122/24 Raetien verlassen hatte«.

¹⁵⁵ *Der Neue Pauly* XII 2 (2002) 157 (J. Burian): »Als Besatzung von V[etus] S[alina] kennt man die cohors II [but see above, note 129] und cohors III Batavorum sowie die cohors II Alpinorum«; B. Lőrincz in: M. Mirković (ed.), *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau* (Belgrade 2005) 53–66, esp. 59.

¹⁵⁶ *CIL* III 3760a = III 10671a; III 3760b = *CIL* III 10671b; *Année Épigr.* 1976 no. 556c with *Année Épigr.* 1977 no. 637). Cf. Lőrincz, *Hilfsstruppen Pannonien I*, nos. 259, 265a, 265b and 265c.

¹⁵⁷ *RIU* VI 1441 = *Année Épigr.* 1935 no. 163: »Deae Vagdavercusti M(arcus) S(implic)ius Quietus trib(unus) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum) (milliariae) eq(uitatae) An[toninian(ae)]«. Now in the *Szent István Király Múzeum* in Székesfehérvár (Hungary). For photos see <http://lupa.at/5178>, for *Vagdavercusti* *RE* VII A (1948) 2072 f. (H. Schmitz), and for the suggestion that this goddess was especially venerated by the Batavians *Derks/Teitler*, *Batavi* 76 note 162. See for the date below, note 197. Cf. further *PME* S 54, Lőrincz, *Hilfsstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 264, *Derks*, *Ethnic Identity* 281 no. D 14 and P. Kovács / B. Lőrincz, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 179, 2011, 270.

¹⁵⁸ *CIL* III 10329 = *RIU* VI 1454: »D(is) M(anibus) Cl(audius) Tyrannus trib(unus) leg(ionis) XVI F(laviae) F(irmae) trib(unus) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum) Ulp(ia) Saturnina coniugi pientissimo et Cl(audius) Concordianus eq(ues) R(omanus) patri desid(es)is(eratissimo)«. Now in the *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum* in Budapest, see M. Nagy, *Guide to the Archaeological Exhibitions in the Hungarian National Museum. Roman Stones* (Budapest 2012) 51 no. 42. For photos see <http://lupa.at/3869>. The date is disputed: A. D. 101–200, according to most scholars (Lőrincz, *Hilfsstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 260; *EDH*, *PME* C 190), but Strobel, *Batavkohorten* 288 with n. 97 opts for the third century (»Die Datierung in das 2. Jh. n. Chr. ist ohne Grundlage«). *Birley*, *Alae* 360 sug-

gests that *Claudius Tyrannus* was a man who at first only sought a single posting and was given the legionary tribunate, but he found military life congenial, and was reported on so favourably that he was judged worthy to command a milliary cohort.

¹⁵⁹ *Année Épigr.* 2003 no. 1453 = *RIU-S* 156, found in the Danube near *Vetus Salina* (Adony), now in the *Intercisa Múzeum* in Dunaújváros: »D(is) M(anibus) Val(eria) Aemil[ia] usu stolae exornata trium lib[er]orum equitum Romanorum mater vixit ann(os) XXXVII Val(erius) Timotheus tr[i]b(unus) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum) con[i]ugi pientissimae«. First published by *Pongrácz/Kovács*, *Steindenkmäler* 369–373, who date the inscription to the time of the Severi and point at a namesake in *CIL* VI 31844 (»Die Identität beider Timotheus ist nicht auszuschließen, aber mangels Angaben auch nicht zu beweisen, 370«). Photos and drawing in *RIU* ad loc.

¹⁶⁰ *Année Épigr.* 2003 no. 1454 = *RIU-S* 157, found in the Danube near *Vetus Salina* (Adony), now in the *Intercisa Múzeum* in Dunaújváros: »D(is) M(anibus) T(ito) Ael(io) Karo v[et(erano)] c(o)ho(rtis) III B[at(avorum)] d(omo) [m(unicipio?)] Bata(vorum) ann(orum) [...] [...]ianu[s]«. First published by *Pongrácz/Kovács*, *Steindenkmäler* 373–378. *Derks*, *Ethnic Identity* 278 no. B 38 instead of »d(omo) [m(unicipio?)] Bata(vorum)« reads »d(omo) Bata(vus)«, by analogy with *CIL* III 3577, *CIL* III 4368 and *Année Épigr.* 1938 no. 125. Photos: <http://lupa.at/3869>. Date: A. D. 131–166 (*EDH*); cf. Lőrincz, *Militärgeschichte* I, 262 with note 60). Cf. further the following two inscriptions on stones also found in *Vetus Salina* (Adony), *CIL* III 10330 = *RIU* VI 1456: »...? / [...] /to mil(iti) c<oh>(ortis) [III] B[at]avorum [(milliariae) eq(uitatae)] [a]n[n]orum [...] <M>(arcus) U<l>p(ius) [...] ta[...] et M(arcus) Ulp(ius) / Ma<te>rnu[s] fecer(unt) <f>r<a>(tri...)« (we adopt the reading of G. Alföldy, *Specimina Nova Diss. Inst. Hist.* (Pécs) 16, 2000 [2002], 59), and *RIU* VI 1448: »coh(ors) III] Bat(avorum) [milliaria« (for a photo: <http://lupa.at/12846>). Like *Marcus Ulp(ius) Fronto* (note 65 above), *Marcus Ulp(ius) Inam[us]* and *Marcus Ulp(ius) Aeb[utianus]* (note 70), the *Ulp(ius)* of *CIL* III 10330 = *RIU* VI 1456 were perhaps ethnic Batavians.

fect(us) [coh(ortis) III (milliariae) B]atavo[rum] eq(uitatae)« set up for his wife, comes from Pustaszabolcs, some ten kilometres to the west of Adony¹⁶¹.

Besides, we can also point to a military diploma¹⁶² found in *Vetus Salina* in 1830. Its text is only fragmentarily preserved and its relevance for the history of the Third Cohort is not immediately clear (in line 6 we only read »Batav«, and in line 18–19 »cui praeest [...] Miles«), but by comparison with inscriptions from Bölcske the pertinent parts of the diploma can be restored, as Barnabás Lőrincz has shown¹⁶³ – Bölcske is a Hungarian village not far from the Danube; during excavations in 1988–1994 of a bridgehead in the riverbed near this village more than forty stones with inscriptions were discovered which are supposed to have been brought in as spolia from Aquincum (Budapest), Campona (Nagytétény) and *Vetus Salina* (Adony). Among the stones from *Vetus Salina* are three altars dedicated by Marcus Flavius Miles, prefect of the Third Batavian Cohort. One of these has the following inscription: »G[e]nio coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum) mil(liariae) eq(uitatae) cui praeest M(arcus) Fl(avius) [M]il[is] praef(ectus)«¹⁶⁴. Lőrincz's inference that in the military diploma under discussion the same prefect and the same cohort must have been mentioned as in this and the two other inscriptions¹⁶⁵ is convincing.

Less cogent is the suggestion of some scholars that the famous metrical inscription which opens with »Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris / inter mille viros primus fortisque Batavos, / Adriano potui qui iudice vasta profundi / aequora Danuvii cunctis transnare sub armis«¹⁶⁶ concerns »an eques of cohorts III Batavorum milliaria equitata, which was at that time

¹⁶¹ Année Épigr. 1944 no. 97 = RIU VI 1440: »[D(is)] M(anibus) [...] R]omanae [Ulpia Nov]iomagi [...]us Seve[rus(?)] praefect(us) [coh(ortis) III (milliariae) B]atavo[rum] eq(uitatae) [coniugi] pien(tissimae) [posui]t«. Spaul, *Cohors*² 212 note 1 wrongly (see note 142 above) writes: »This fragment was attributed to cohorts III, but in view of the tiles from Utrecht, it seems better attributed to cohorts II Batavorum«. Now in the Szent István Király Múzeum in Székesfehérvár. For photos: <http://lupa.at/4024>. Note the origo of Severus' wife: Ulpia Noviomagus, which makes it likely that she was an ethnic Batavian (see for this notes 3 and 6–9 above) and that Severus himself was also a Batavian (thus Alföldy, *Equites* 18 no. 26). Date according to EDH: A. D. 201–230, but K. Matijević in: D. Boteva-Boyanova / L. Mihailescu-Birliba / O. Bounegru (eds.), *Pax Bölcske* (Kaiserslautern 2012) 108 n. 89: »Die Inschrift dürfte (...) aus dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. stammen«. Cf. Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 288 n. 95; Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 262; Alföldy, *Specimina* (as in the previous note) 64; PME S 54; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 no. D 12.

¹⁶² CIL XVI 113. The date of this diploma is disputed. G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (Bonn 1977) 172f. opts for A. D. 159, but Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 29 and idem, *Offiziere* 470 with note 38 argues for A. D. 157–158. There is a similar chronological problem with reference to *CIL XVI 112, a diploma found in Alsószentiván (Hungary) and first published by Z. Visy, *Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múz. Évk. 10/11, 1979/1980* [1982], 71–75; it is pretty certain that the Third Cohort belonged to the cohorts listed on this diploma and that, accordingly, the restoration by conjecture of »[III Batavor(um) et I Th]r(acum)« is correct. We refer for another case to *Specimina Nova Diss. Inst. Hist. (Pécs) 18, 2004, 156–158 no. 3, published by B. Lőrincz (reprinted in Lőrincz, *Militärgeschichte II*, 410f.), the fragment of

a diploma found in Viminacium (Kostolac in Serbia) in 1987, now in the Narodni Muzej, Požarevac: »et coh(ortibus) XIII (...) [I Th]r(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Alp(inorum) eq(uitata) et III Bat(avorum) [milliaria] et (...) et su[nt] in Pann(onia) [in]f(eriore) sub Geminio Capelliano leg(ato)«. M. Mirković, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 126, 1999, 249–254, esp. 252 no. 5 suggests that »III Bat(avorum)« should be restored in the text, which RMD V 448 printed without this conjectural addition.

¹⁶³ B. Lőrincz in: Szabó/Tóth, *Inschriften Bölcske 465–476* (reprinted in Lőrincz, *Militärgeschichte I*, 233–239). Cf. already B. Lőrincz, *Acta Class. Univ. Scien. Debreceniensis* 33, 1997, 241–247, esp. 242.

¹⁶⁴ Année Épigr. 2003 no. 1440 = Bölcske 33. Cf. P. Kovács / B. Lőrincz, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 179, 2011, 269.

¹⁶⁵ Année Épigr. 2003 no. 1441 = Bölcske 34: »I(ovi) O(p-timo) M(aximo) coh(ors) III Bat(avorum) mil(liaria) eq(uitata) cui prae[est] M(arcus) Fl(avius) Miles praef(ectus)« and RIU-S 200 = Bölcske 35: »I(ovi) O(p-timo) M(aximo) M(arcus) Fl(avius) Miles praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum) mil(liariae) e[st] q(uitatae)«. Cf. Kovács/Lőrincz (previous note) 270. Date: A. D. 155–159 (EDH), 157–158 (Ubi erat Lupa).

¹⁶⁶ CIL III 3676 = ILS 2558.

¹⁶⁷ So R. W. Davies, *Arch. Journal* 125, 1968, 73–100 [reprinted in id., *Service in the Roman Army* (Edinburgh 1989) 93–123; 259–269], esp. 89 [= 111], but we find the suggestion already in RE IV (1900) 252 (C. Cichorius).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. for references Derks/Teitler, *Batavi* 68 n. 106. It is also not certain that the inscription on the gravestone for a soldier hailing from Ulpia Noviomagus, found in Budapest in 1937 or 1938, *TitAq II* 766, refers the Third Cohort, as has been suggested: »..... / [miles coh(ortis) ...] / [...] Ulpia Novio[ma]/[gi] B]atav[um] [...] / [ann(orum) ...] VIII h(ic) s(it)-[] / [...] miles coh(ortis) [ei]/[usdem? he]res sibi P V / [t(itulum)] m(emoriae) p(ouit)«. Date: A. D. 101–200 (EDH). The inscription

[i. e. during the reign of Hadrian] stationed at Adony (Vetus Salina)«¹⁶⁷. Admittedly, the possibility that the Batavian immortalized by this inscription belonged to the Third Cohort cannot be ruled out, but there are other units which should be considered, viz. the ala I Batavorum and the equites singulares Augusti¹⁶⁸.

Not in Vetus Salina itself, but some twenty kilometers south of it, in or near the ruins of the fort and vicus of Intercisa (Dunaújváros), four stones with inscriptions relevant to our inquiry have been found. There can be no doubt that two of these texts refer to former members of the Third Cohort, the veteran Titus Flavius Ato¹⁶⁹ and the »eques« Lentinus, son of Prudens¹⁷⁰. The third inscription mentions Aurelius Romanus, supposedly »miles cohortis III Batavorum«¹⁷¹, while the fourth is so badly damaged that its text is very hard to read¹⁷². It has been suggested that the provenance of these stones was not Intercisa, but some other fort on the Pannonian limes¹⁷³. If that is the case, then there is a good chance that this fort was Vetus Salina.

The Third Cohort was stationed in Pannonia Inferior during a large part of the second and at least the first part of the third century, as can be deduced from military diplomas and a votive inscription which, like the greater part of the diplomas, can be dated with precision. Let us first have a look at the relevant second-century diplomas:

- (1) RMD IV 266 = RMM 30 (A. D. 143)¹⁷⁴.
- (2) Année Épigr. 2008 no. III6 (A. D. 146)¹⁷⁵.

was first published by J. Szilágyi, *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 8, 1941, 1–3, who conjectured that the text refers to the First Cohort. Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 491 prefers to associate the inscription with the Cohors III Batavorum. If that were correct, then either the burial monument must have been erected at Budapest or the stone must have been transported as spolia from Adony upstream to Budapest, both of which seem unlikely to us. Cf. further e.g. J. E. A. Th. Bogaers, *BER. ROB 10/11*, 1960/1961, 281–283, no. 2 with figs. 8 and 9 (who rightly was reserved: »Het staat geenszins vast dat beide militairen deel hebben uitgemaakt van een cohors Batavorum«, 283 note 122) and J. Fitz, *Alba Regia 2/3*, 1961/1962, 35 no. 41. For a photo see <http://lupa.at/2868> and for »Ulpia Noviomagus« above, notes 3, 6–9 and 161.

¹⁶⁹ RIU V 1231, now in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum in Budapest: »T(itus) Fl(avius) Ato vet(eranus) ex summ[o] curato(re) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum) vi[xit] ann(os) L T(itus) Fl(avius) Atticin[us] (centurio) volu(n)tariu[s]«. Date: A. D. 150–200 (EDH, after Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 258). For photos see <http://lupa.at/3566>. Cf. e.g. G. Erdélyi / F. Fülepp in: L. Barkóczy et al. (eds.), *Intercisa I* (Budapest 1954) 279 no. 12; J. Fitz in: M. Praznovszky (ed.), 2. Internationales Kolloquium über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens (Veszprém 1991) 56; 61 note 41.

¹⁷⁰ RIU V 1238 = Année Épigr. 1906 no. 116, now in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum in Budapest: »D(is) M(anibus) Lentinus Prudentis eq(ues) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum) an(norum) XLV stip(endiorum) XX Germanus vex(illarius) [...].« Date: A. D. 131–200 (EDH). For photos see <http://lupa.at/3569>. First published by E. Mahler, *Arch. Ért.* 26, 1906, 158. Cf. e.g. Erdélyi / Fülepp (as in the previous note) 279 no. 11; Fitz (as in the previous note); Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 256; K. M. Töpfer, *Signa militaria* (Mayence 2011) 453 note 816: »Da der Verstorbene als eques bezeichnet wird und der Steinsetzer nur als vexillarius, legt es nahe, auch ihn als Reiter anzusehen.«

¹⁷¹ RIU V 1198, now in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum in Budapest: »... / [... a latroni]bus interfe[cto ...] illa viva po[suit sibi et] Aur(elio) Romano [mil(iti) coh(ortis) III] Bat(avorum) mil(liariae) cogna[to ...] tande fieri [iussit]«. Date: A. D. 201–250 (EDH, after Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 266). For photos see <http://lupa.at/3547>. Cf. Erdélyi / Fülepp (as in note 169) 297 no. 127; Fitz (as in note 169).

¹⁷² *CIL III 10322 = RIU V 1266, now in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum in Budapest: » [...] VI[...] / [...] coh(ortis) II[I Bat(avorum)] / [...] st[ri]p(endiorum) XV[...] / [...] rio fr[at]ri t(itulum)] / [m(emoriae)] p(ossuit)«. Date: A. D. 101–200 (EDH). For a photo see <http://lupa.at/6051>. Cf. Erdélyi / Fülepp (as in note 169) 280 no. 13; Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 261.

¹⁷³ EDH ad RIU V 1198, 1231, 1238: »Herkunft der Stele nach Fitz nicht Intercisa, sondern eine der Limesfestungen«.

¹⁷⁴ From an unknown findspot in Eastern Europe: »et III Batav(orum) (milliaria) et [...] et sunt in Pannon(ia) inferior(iore) sub Pontio Laeliano«. Published by M. M. Roxan, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 127, 1999, 255–267. Pontius Laelianus is also mentioned as governor of Pannonia Inferior on the fragments of a diploma found in Viminacium (Kostolac in Serbia) in 1992, viz. *RMD V 397 (first published by S. Dušanić, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 135, 2001, 209–219). The number of cohorts recorded on this document, which dates from A. D. 144, is uncertain (the usual number on diplomas concerning Pannonia Inferior during the reign of Antoninus Pius was thirteen; cf. W. Eck / P. Weiß, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 135, 2001, 201 with note 36) and the Third Cohort is not mentioned, but the editors suggest that the unit list might have comprised this cohort (or a vexillatio of it).

¹⁷⁵ Found in Putinci in Serbia: »et III Batavor(um) (milliaria) vexill(atio) e[st] [...] et su[n]t in Pannon(ia) inferior(e) sub [Fuficio Corn]uto«. First published by M. Mirković, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 166, 2008, 285–290 (the correction of W. Eck, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u.*

- (3) CIL XVI 179 (A. D. 148)¹⁷⁶.
- (4) CIL XVI 180 (A. D. 148)¹⁷⁷.
- (5) Acta Mus. Napocensis 55, 2018, 34–38 (A. D. 151)¹⁷⁸.
- (6) Année Épigr. 2004 no. 1923 (A. D. 154)¹⁷⁹.
- (7) RMD V 415 (A. D. 154/156)¹⁸⁰.
- (8) RMD II 102 (A. D. 157)¹⁸¹.
- (9) RMD II 103 (A. D. 157)¹⁸².
- (10) Année Épigr. 2009 no. 1079 (A. D. 157)¹⁸³.
- (11) Année Épigr. 2010 no. 1854 (A. D. 162)¹⁸⁴.
- (12) RMD V 446 (A. D. 192 or 193)¹⁸⁵.
- (13) RMD V 447 (A. D. 192 or 193)¹⁸⁶.
- (14) CIL XVI 131 (late second century)¹⁸⁷.

In all but five of these diplomas the Third Cohort is recorded as »milliaria«¹⁸⁸, as it was in those of A. D. 107 and A. D. 116/117, when it was in Raetia¹⁸⁹, and in that of A. D. 135, when it (or part of it) was already in Pannonia¹⁹⁰. Interestingly, in the diplomas of A. D. 146, 148, 151, 154 and 154/156 the word »vexill(atio)« is added to the designation »milliaria«¹⁹¹. This probably

Épigr. 171, 2009, 229 f. is not relevant for the Third Cohort). This diploma is a copy of a constitution which is already known from another fragmentarily preserved diploma, *RMD V 401 (first published by Eck/Weiß [as in the previous note] 195–208). On it the name of the Third Cohort does not occur, but it is restored by the editors by comparison with CIL XVI 179 and 180.

¹⁷⁶ Found in Regöly, Hungary: »et III Batav(orum) (milliaria) vex(illatio) [...] et sunt in Pannon(ia) infer(iore) sub Cominio Secundo«. First published by J. Csalog / A. Alföldi, Arch. Ért. 4, 1943, 100–107.

¹⁷⁷ Found in Regöly, Hungary: »et III Batav(orum) (milliaria) vex(illatio) [...] et sunt in Pannon(ia) inferior(e) sub Cominio Secundo«. First published by J. Csalog / A. Alföldi, Arch. Ért. 5/6, 1944/1945, 198–200. Both CIL XVI 179 (previous note) and CIL XVI 180 are almost complete copies of one and the same constitution. A fragment of a third copy, found in 1994, was published by Margaret Roxan as *RMD IV 272 (the part which mentions the Third Cohort is missing). Cf. P. A. Holder, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Épigr. 203, 2017, 250–254.

¹⁷⁸ Findspot unknown?: »et III Ba[tav(orum)] (milliaria) vexill(atio) [...] [...] et sunt in Pan[non(ia) infer(iore) sub Nonio] Macr[i]no leg(ato)«. First published by W. Eck / A. Pangerl, Acta op. cit. 35 note 11: »Der Text wurde soweit komplettiert, wie dies auf Grund eines anderen Diploms mit Nonius Macrinus in Niederpannonien möglich ist«.

¹⁷⁹ »et coh(ortibus) XIII III Batavor(um) (milliariae) vex(illatio) [...] et sunt in Pannon(ia) infer(iore) sub Iallio Basso leg(ato)«. This copy of a constitution of Antoninus Pius was published by P. Weiß, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Épigr. 146, 2004, 247–254. Perhaps the diploma whose recipient was a certain Soba and of which two tiny fragments are preserved (*Année Épigr. 2013 no. 2198) stems from the same constitution, as argued by W. Eck / A. Pangerl, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Épigr. 187, 2013, 292–294. A fragmentary copy of another constitution of Antoninus Pius, to be dated to A. D. 153/154, is *Année Épigr. 2010 no. 1862, published by W. Eck / A. Pangerl in Tyche 25, 2010, 31 f.; the conjectural res-

toration of »Batav(orum)« in the last preserved line seems plausible: »et coh(ortibus) XI [quae appellatur...] eq(uitata) et III [Batav(orum) et ... et sunt in Pannon(ia) infer(iore) sub ...]«.

¹⁸⁰ Found in the southern part of Transdanubia in Hungary: »et coh(ortibus) XI]II III Bat(avorum) [(milliaria) vex(illatio) et I Alpin(orum) equit(ata) et I T]hra(cum) Ger(manica)«. This fragment of a diploma for Pannonia inferior, issued by Antoninus Pius, was published by B. Lőrincz, Tyche 14, 1999, 173–175, who, comparing on the one hand CIL XVI 179, CIL XVI 180 and RMD IV 272 of A. D. 154 and on the other RMD II 102 and II 103 of A. D. 157, concludes that the diploma was issued between A. D. 154 and 156.

¹⁸¹ Found in Lussonium (Dunakömlöd near Paks in Hungary), found in 1969: »et III Bat(avorum) et [...] et sunt in Pannonia infer(iore) sub Iallio Basso leg(ato)«. Published by Z. Visy, Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múz. Évk. 10/11, 1979/1980 [1982], 62–65.

¹⁸² Found in Lussonium, cf. previous note: »et III Batav(orum) et [...] et sunt in [Pan]nonia inf(eriore) sub Iallio Basso leg(ato)«. This diploma is a companion to RMD II 102, cf. Visy, *ibid.* (previous note).

¹⁸³ Found in Cornacum (Sotin in Croatia) in 2001: »et III Bata[vo]r(um) et sunt [in Pan]n(onia) inf[er(iore)] sub Geminio [Ca]pelliano [leg(ato)«. The many fragments of this diploma were published by M. Ilkić, Prilozi 26, 2009, 143–163.

¹⁸⁴ Findspot unknown: »III Batavor(um) milliari(ia) et [...] et sunt in Pannonia inferiore sub Haterio Saturnino leg(ato)«. This complete diploma was published by W. Eck / A. Pangerl, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Épigr. 173, 2010, 223–233. Cf. *Année Épigr. 2010 no. 1855 = Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Épigr. 173, 2010, 234–236, and *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Épigr. 211, 2019, 215–220 (both published by the same scholars), fragmentary copies of the same constitution as the one Année Épigr. 2010 no. 1854; in the fragments of these diplomas the part where the Third Cohort is mentioned is missing.

¹⁸⁵ Findspot unknown: »et cohortib(us) X et VII III Batav(orum) et (...) sunt in Pannonia inferiore sub Pom-

means, that during those years the unit had been divided into parts. If that is the case, there are two possibilities: (1) whereas a detachment stayed in Pannonia, the rest participated in expeditions elsewhere¹⁹², or (2) the main part of the unit still had its base in Raetia, while a detachment was stationed in Pannonia¹⁹³.

There are no third-century copies of imperial constitutions concerning veterans which mention the Third Cohort (which is not surprising)¹⁹⁴, but a votive inscription found in Székesfehérvár in Hungary proves that the unit was still stationed in Pannonia Inferior in A. D. 211, when Hedi- us Lollianus Terentius Gentianus and Pomponius Bassus were consuls: »[Genio] templ(ensium) [Do]mitius Niger [mi]l(es) (?) coh(ortis) III B(atavorum) et [A]ur(elius) Victor [sa]cerd(otes) temp(li) Divi Marci Kal(endis) Mais Gen(tiano) et Basso co(n)s(ulibus) d(ederunt)«¹⁹⁵. To this positively dated inscription we can add some other pieces of evidence. Although they cannot be dated as precisely, they do certainly stem from the third century. To begin with, there is the altar, already mentioned¹⁹⁶, which Marcus Simplicius Quietus dedicated to the goddess Vagda- vercustis. Simplicius Quietus was »trib(unus) coh(ortis) III Bat(avorum (milliariae) eq(uitatae) An/[toninian(a)e]«. The honorific title »Antoniniana« of the cohort refers to the time of the Severi¹⁹⁷, and the fact that this word was erased from the inscription is most probably an indi- cation that the altar was put up during the reign of Elagabal (A. D. 218–222)¹⁹⁸. Secondly, the

ponio Basso leg(ato)«. First published by D. MacDo- nald / A. Pangerl, Arch. Korrb. 33, 2003, 259–271. For the date of this diploma (and of *CIL XVI 132 and RMD V 447 = RMM 44), A. D. 192 or 193, see B. Pfer- dehirt, Arch. Korrb. 32, 2002, 247–256; W. Eck, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 140, 2002, 257–261, esp. 258 note 9; B. Pferdehirt ad RMM 44; M. M. Roxan / P. A. Holder ad RMD V 446 and V 447.

¹⁸⁶ Found in Viminacium (Kostolac in Serbia), now in Mayence, RGZM: »et cohort(ibus) X et VII III Bat(avorum) II et Au[r(elia)] Dacor(um) et (...) sunt in Pannonia inferi(ore) sub [C(aio)] Pomponio Basso leg(ato)«. Published by B. Pferdehirt, Arch. Korrb. 32, 2002, 247–260. See for the date the literature cited in the previous note.

¹⁸⁷ Findspot unknown: »et III Batavor(um) et [...] et sunt in Pannonia inferi(ore) sub [...]«. Published by J. Fitz, Acta Ant. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae 7, 1959, 421–442, esp. 429 f.; the date proposed by Fitz, ca. A. D. 186, is rejected by Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien I*, no. 35. Lőrincz suggests: »um 200«, M. M. Roxan, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 127, 1999, 272: »178/203«.

¹⁸⁸ Not in RMD II 102, II 103, V 446, V 447, *Année Épigr.* 2009 no. 1079 and CIL XVI 131.

¹⁸⁹ CIL XVI 55 (above, notes 149 and 150) and RMD IV 229 (above, note 152).

¹⁹⁰ RMD IV 251 = RMM 27 (above, note 153).

¹⁹¹ *Année Épigr.* 2008 no. 1116 (above, note 175), CIL XVI 179 (above, note 176), CIL XVI 180 (above, note 177), Acta Mus. Napocensis 55, 2018, 34–38 (above, with note 178) and *Année Épigr.* 2004 no. 1923 (above, note 179).

¹⁹² Cf. e.g. Strobel, *Bataverkohorten 287* (and before him R. Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian* [Cologne 1967] 31 no. 58 and M. Christol, *Ant. Africaines* 17, 1981, 133–141, esp. 139, where one should read »coh. III Batavorum« instead of »ala III Batavorum«) who suggests that the Third Cohort was divided up on account of the unrest under Antoninus Pius in Maure-

tania (for which see the literature cited in note 92; cf. also note 141).

¹⁹³ So e.g. Biancardi, *Cavalleria 104* note 216. If this theory is adopted, one has to assume that in the diploma of A. D. 135 (RMD IV 251 = RMM 27, cited in note 153 above) the term »vexillatio« has been left out.

¹⁹⁴ »Die Ausstellung von [Militär]diplomen für auxilia kam aus unklaren Gründen seit ca. 180 nahezu zum Erliegen (letzter bekannter Beleg von 203)«, *Der Neue Pauly VIII* (2000) 183 (P. Weiß).

¹⁹⁵ CIL III 3345 = RIU VI 1498, but the reading adopted here is that of G. Alföldy, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 115, 1997, 239 no. 6. For the consuls see PIR² H 37 and PIR² P 700. Now in the Gorsium Szabadtéri Múzeum in Gorsium (Tácz). It originated probably from that place, pace Alföldy, loc. cit.: »M. E. könnte das Monument angesichts der Beteiligung eines Soldaten der cohors III Batavorum an der Widmung am ehesten vom Standort dieser Truppe, Vetus Salina (Adony), stammen«. See for this Alföldy's »Nachtrag« (p. 240) and D. Fishwick, *Phoenix* 54, 2000, 309–331, esp. 316–318.

¹⁹⁶ RIU VI 1441 = *Année Épigr.* 1935 no. 163 (see note 157 above).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. B. Lőrincz, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 48, 1982, 142–148, esp. 148: »Es steht also aufgrund dieser Inschriften [inter alia CIL III 14485a] fest, daß die Auszeichnung »Antoniniana« bereits unter Septimius Severus ver- lichen wurde«. For a later date, viz. the reign of Caracalla (cf. note 110 above), opts e.g. J. Fitz, *Alba Regia* 17, 1979, 351 and 18, 1980, 359. Cf. R. Haensch, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 95, 1993, 163–178, esp. 165 note 4.

¹⁹⁸ So G. Alföldy, *Specimina Nova Diss. Inst. Hist. (Pécs)* 16, 2000 [2002], 64, but the possibility that the name had already been erased immediately after Caracalla's reign should not be ruled out, as Raphael Brendel remarks in a letter to the authors. P. Simelon, *Latomus* 69, 2010, 792–810, esp. 808–810 observes that, although Caracalla's memory was not officially damned, here and there inscriptions with his name were dam- aged.

epithet ›Antoniniana‹ was also inscribed on some tiles, found in *Vetus Salina*, which bear the stamp of the Third Cohort¹⁹⁹.

The cohors VIII Batavorum

The Ninth Cohort²⁰⁰ of Batavi is mentioned on several wooden writing tablets found at the fort of *Vindolanda* (*Chesterholm*)²⁰¹, where the unit was stationed from about A. D. 92 to about A. D. 104/105 as successor of the cohors I *Tungrorum*²⁰². In footnotes 204 and 205, we list some of these tablets²⁰³, notably those which relate to its commander *Flavius Cerialis* and his wife *Sulpicia Lepidina*²⁰⁴, and with *Flavius Genialis*²⁰⁵, »probably immediate predecessor of *Flavius Cerialis* as prefect of the Ninth Batavians«²⁰⁶, whereas in note 207 we give a survey of the other documents found in *Vindolanda* which refer to the Ninth Cohort²⁰⁷. *Vindolanda* is also the site where two cow hide off-cuts with the stamp »C(ohors) IX B(atavorum)« were found plus a small sandal with the stamp »[Cohors] IX B(atavorum)«²⁰⁸. The editors of a copy of a constitution issued by the emperor *Trajan* in A. D. 98 for the troops stationed in Britain conclude, correctly in our opinion, that among the troops on the diploma the Ninth Cohort of Batavi must have been listed, although only the letters »m]il[li]aria« of its designation have been preserved²⁰⁹.

From Britain the cohort was transferred to the continent early in the second century, never to return. In A. D. 116/117, as is evidenced by a military diploma found in *Sorviodurum* (*Straubing* in *Bavaria*), the unit was stationed in *Raetia*²¹⁰. As we shall see, it remained in that province during the rest of the second century. It is not known for what reason the Ninth Cohort had been removed from Britain, nor do we know whether its permanent stay in *Raetia* began immediately after it had left Britain. It has been suggested that the moving of the unit to the continent had something to do with the campaigns of the emperor *Trajan* against the *Dacians* and that from a base in *Moesia Inferior* it was active in *Dacia* for a while before it came (back) to *Raetia*²¹¹. In itself that is not implausible, but the adduced evidence is scant.

¹⁹⁹ Lőrincz, *Hilfstruppen Pannonien* I, no. 265a: Coh(ors) III B(atavorum) A(ntoniniana), 265b: Coh(ors) III Bat(avorum) A(ntoniniana), 265c: Coh(ors) III B(atavorum) Ant(oniniana). Cf. B. Lőrincz in: G. Hajnóczy (ed.), *La Pannonia e l'impero romano* (Milan 1995) 115–138, esp. 124.

²⁰⁰ The numeral of the Ninth Cohort was regularly written as ›VIII‹ (in older literature often rendered with ›VIII‹, a mistake we silently correct). We find ›IX‹ only in RIB II 2445.2, RIB II 2445.24, CIL III 11918, CIL XVI 121 and RMD IV 278. For the reading and interpretation of ›CIX‹ and ›IXB‹ on tiles found in Romanian *Stolniceni/Râmnicu Vâlcea* and *Bârsești*, respectively (IDR II 563 and IDR II 572 = *Année Épig.* 1964 no. 229bis), see below, with notes 212 and 213.

²⁰¹ For *Vindolanda* see the literature cited in note 145 above.

²⁰² Cf. for the date Tab. *Vindol.* III, p. 11 f., 23–26, the commentary ad III 581, and Birley, *Garrison Life* 62.

²⁰³ To one of these we have already referred (note 146 above), Tab. *Vindol.* I, 23 = II, 263, a letter from the decurion *Vitalis* to *Cerialis*, prefect of the Ninth Cohort.

²⁰⁴ See for the correspondence of *Flavius Cerialis* (PME F 43 bis; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 no. D 5) and the documents pertaining to his household, apart from the letter cited in the previous note: Tab. *Vindol.* I, 25 = II, 247; I, 37 = II, 225; II, 166–171, 226–246, 249–262, 264–270,

272–276, 278, 280, 288 and 291–293; III, 619–642 and 669. We should perhaps also include into this series Tab. *Vindol.* I, 28 = II, 290; II, 172, 190, 283–287, 289, 347, 362 and 430; III, 581, 659, 802 and 824; IV 2, 872.

²⁰⁵ Letters which relate to *Flavius Genialis* (PME F 49 bis; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 no. D 4): Tab. *Vindol.* I, 34 = II, 218; I 36 = II, 223; II, 217, 219–222, 224 and 301; III, 611–614. Perhaps the following documents should be added to this list: Tab. *Vindol.* II, 256 and 444; III, 654.

²⁰⁶ Birley, *Garrison Life* 95. See, however, the reservation of the editors ad Tab. *Vindol.* III, 581: »there is no actual proof in the tablets that *Flavius Genialis* was the predecessor of *Cerialis*«.

²⁰⁷ Tab. *Vindol.* I, 2 = II, 151; I, 12 = II, 127; II 134, 135, 137, 143, 151, 281 and 282; III, 574, 575, 577 and 579. In the documents cited so far in this note the Ninth Cohort is either explicitly mentioned or it is practically certain that there is a reference to it. In the following texts it is less certain, but still likely that the latter is the case: Tab. *Vindol.* II, 130, 133, 139, 140, 144, 248, 396 and 453; III, 690. In the case of Tab. *Vindol.* II, 300 the numeral ›viii‹ is fairly clear, but »Bat(avorum)« is insecure. Cf. further Tab. *Vindol.* II, 361 which contains, according to the editors, »certainly a reference to Batavians«, II, 369, 479 and 511.

²⁰⁸ RIB II 2445.2 and II 2445.24. Cf. R. Birley in: id. et al. (eds.), *The Vindolanda Research Reports II* (Hex-

To prove its presence in Dacia and Moesia Inferior attention has been called to the inscriptions on some tiles found in Buridava (now Stolniceni/Râmnicu Vâlcea in Romania) and Bârsești (three kilometers west of Stolniceni/Râmnicu Vâlcea)²¹². However, the reading and interpretation of »CIX« and »IXB« on these tiles (now lost) are disputed and cannot be accepted as reliable evidence²¹³.

The presence of the Ninth Cohort in Moesia Inferior has also been assumed on account of two military diplomas, one of which was found in Vallatum (Oberstimm in Bavaria)²¹⁴. The name of our cohort, however, is not preserved on the fragments which we have of this document (nor, for that matter, is the name of any other cohort), and its conjectural restoration²¹⁵ is far from certain²¹⁶. It is also not certain that the name »Faustin[o]« of the Oberstimm diploma is a reference to Aulus Caecilius Faustinus²¹⁷, governor of Moesia Inferior in A. D. 105. It is not even clear whether »Faustin[o]« refers to a governor of Moesia. Some scholars think, in view of the site where the fragments were found, that Faustinus must have been governor of Raetia²¹⁸. In other words, like the tiles of Buridava and Bârsești, it is wiser to discard the Oberstimm diploma as evidence.

ham 1993) 73–102, esp. 92 nos. 1–3 with fig. II.1–3; C. van Driel-Murray in: ead. et al. (eds.), *The Vindolanda Research Reports III* (Hexham 1993) 1–75, esp. 64 f., 69 nos. 7–8, 17 with figs. 26.5 and 27.1, 27.3; G. Baratta in: M. Hainzmann / R. Wedenig (eds.), *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina II* (Klagenfurt 2008) 1–23, nos. 25, 37 and 40; Jarrett, *Non-Legionary Troops* 56.

²⁰⁹ *Année Épig. 2014 no. 1627, cited in note 93.

²¹⁰ RMD IV 229, already cited in note 152 above, when we discussed the Third Cohort: »et III Batavor(um) (milliaria) ... et VIII Batavorum (milliaria) quae sunt in Raetia sub L. Cornelio Latiniano«. Cf. RMD III 155, found in Quintana (Künzing) in 1992, published by H. Wolff, Museumsverein Künzing, June 1993, 2–7 and id., *Ostbair. Grenzmarken* 35, 1993, 11–13, which mentions, like RMD IV 229, the Ninth Cohort: »[... et III Batavor(um)] (milliaria) [... et VI Lusita] nor(um) et VIII Batavor(um) (milliaria) [et sunt in Raetia sub Iulio?] Frontone (...) dimissis honest[a missione per Cornelium] Latinianum«. This Trajanic diploma also dates from A. D. 116/117, but it mentions another governor, not Cornelius Latinianus (PIR² L 122), but (Iulius?) Fronto (cf. for them Faoro, *Statthalter* 22 f. and 26 no. 10–11). It is a copy of a constitution which was sent out to the troops in Raetia (the name of the province is not preserved, but its conjectural restoration is no doubt correct) shortly after the Straubing issue (see for the date Roxan ad RMD IV 229 and W. Eck, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 185, 2013, 237 f.). Note that on the diplomas of A. D. 116/117 both the Ninth and the Third cohorts are mentioned (on the Künzing document the Third per coniecturam), whereas on the Weißenburg diploma of A. D. 107 (XVI 55, cf. notes 149 and 150 above) the name of the Ninth does not occur.

²¹¹ Thus e.g. Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 275 (»Wir können somit wohl zu Recht davon ausgehen, daß beide Bataverkohorten [sc. the Third and the Ninth] für den 1. Dakerkrieg Trajans von Britannien an die Donau gekommen sind, wo wir die IX Batavorum 103/105 n. Chr. bereits im Bereich des untermoesischen Heeres finden [...]. Die Truppe dürfte bereits im Zusammenhang mit den schweren Abwehrkämpfen im Herbst 101 n. Chr. zu diesem Provinzheere [i. e. the army of

Moesia Inferior] gestoßen sein«), Dietz, *Beitrag Rätien* 189: »Die cohors IX Batavorum milliaria wurde offenbar zwischen 103 und Mai 105 aus Rätien nach Moesia Inferior versetzt«, and M. Biancardi, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 140, 2002, 245–251, esp. 247 f.

²¹² IDR II 563 and IDR II 572 = *Année Épig.* 1964 no. 229bis.

²¹³ See for an overview of different opinions Dietz, *Beitrag Rätien* 185–189 (Dietz himself accepts the reading »C(ohors) IX [Batavorum]« and »[C(ohors)] IX B(atavorum)«, as do Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 275 with note 28, K. Strobel, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 68, 1987, 282–284, esp. 284 with n. 19 and M. Biancardi, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 140, 2002, 245–251, esp. 247 with note 16). N. Gostar, *Arh. Moldovei* 4, 1966, 184 and Matei-Popescu, *Presence* 55–57 argue that the letter »B« does not stand for »Batavorum«, but for »Brittonum«. Cf. further Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 154 f., who speaks of »den umstrittenen Ziegelstempeln« (p. 155).

²¹⁴ *RMD I 10, first published by H.-J. Kellner, *Bayer. Vorgeschbl.* 38, 1973, 124–131: »[et conubium cum uxoris] quas tunc habu[issent cum est civitas iis data] aut si qui ca[eli]/[bes essent cum iis quas postea] duxis[erunt] [...]M[...] // [...]VNE[...] / [...] quae est [...] [...]o Faustin[o] quinis et] [vicinis pluribusue] stipendii[s emeritis dimissis honesta] missione qu[orum nomina] [subscripta sunt] ipsi[s] Iberi[s] posterisque«.

²¹⁵ Proposed by Dietz, *Beitrag Rätien* 190; cf. Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 278–280.

²¹⁶ See the sceptical remarks of e.g. Wolff, *Heer Rätien* 155 and Matei-Popescu, *Presence* 55–57.

²¹⁷ PIR² C 43; cf. for this man, *consul suffectus* in A. D. 99, W. Eck, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 281–362, esp. 339 f. with notes 243 and 246. For the identification argue e.g. Dietz, *Beitrag Rätien* 184 and Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 278. Matei-Popescu, *Presence* 57 rejects this view.

²¹⁸ Thus e.g. Kellner (as in note 214), and the commentary ad *Année Épig.* 1973 no. 383. – W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 163, 2007, 245 n. 12 reject the view that RMD I 10 relates to the exercitus Raeticus and consequently do not list RMD I 10 among the diplomas for Raetia in *Kölnler Jahrb. Vor- u. Frühgesch.* 43, 2010, 192 fig. 7. Faoro, *Statthalter* does not mention Faustinus either.

The second diploma which is sometimes cited as evidence was found in or near the Roman fort at the village of Dambach in Bavaria; it dates from A. D. 112 and differs from the Oberstimm diploma in that it is quite clear that this fragmentarily preserved document relates to Batavi, for its recipient belonged to one of the Batavian units: »co(?)[(hortis) ...] Batavo[rum ...]« (Some editions print: »Batavo[rum cui praeest«²¹⁹.) Unfortunately, however, the numeral of the unit is missing, whereas the first editor of the diploma, Hans-Jörg Kellner, is not even sure whether an ala (the ala I Batavorum) or a cohort was involved²²⁰. He opts for a cohort, like everyone else (as far as we know)²²¹, and he conjectures that the recipient of the diploma belonged to the Ninth Cohort of Batavi²²². Strong arguments in support of this view have recently been put forward by Bernd Steidl²²³. However, Steidl rejects Kellner's hypothesis that the Ninth Cohort had belonged to the troops stationed in Moesia Inferior²²⁴. He also disagrees with the scholars who think that the Dambach diploma was a copy of a constitution for the troops in Raetia²²⁵. Instead, although he is aware of the fact that there is no really hard evidence, he argues that the diploma most probably should be allocated to Dacia, but that the Ninth Cohort stayed in Dacia only for a short period, and was hereafter stationed in Raetia²²⁶.

We referred above²²⁷ to a military diploma found in Sorviodurum (Straubing) which dates from A. D. 116/117. Its text makes absolutely clear that at that time the Ninth Cohort was part of the army of Raetia: »et VIII Batavorum (milliaria) quae sunt in Raetia sub L. Cornelio Latiniano«. Three more diplomas also clearly testify to this fact, one from an unknown site, issued during Hadrian's reign, in A. D. 126/127 at the earliest²²⁸: »... et VIII Ba[tavor(um) (milliaria) et sunt] in Raetia sub Petro[nio ...]«, the other two both dating from A. D. 157, one found in the vicus east of the fort at Abusina (Eining in Bavaria)²²⁹, the other from an unknown site²³⁰: »et VIII Batavor(um) (milliaria) et sunt in Raetia sub Vario Clemente proc(uratore)«²³¹. The

²¹⁹ RMD II 85, first published by H.-J. Kellner, Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 50, 1985, 239–243, now in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich: »[et cohort(ibus) decem et] duab(us) (...) a(n)te d(i)em V K(alendas) Oct(obres) T(ito) Iulio [Maximo] P(ublio) Stertinio Quart[o co(n)s(ulibus)] co(?)[(hortis) ...] Batavo[rum ...]« (EDH reads, incorrectly, it would seem: »[co[(hortis) IX Batavo[rum ...]«).

²²⁰ Cf. Roxan ad RMD II 85: »H.-J. Kellner remarks that it is just possible that an ala is involved, in which case ala I Batavorum (milliaria?) is a possibility«.

²²¹ Cf. Strobel, Bataverkohorte 272 note 14: »Die Lesung ç[hort(is)] dürfte durch die erhaltenen Buchstabenreste gesichert sein, insbesondere ist die Lesung A zu Beginn der Zeile kaum möglich«. In the same vein Steidl, Militärdiplom 157.

²²² Cf. Roxan ad RMD II 85: »H.-J. Kellner suggests that if the letters CO have been correctly restored at the beginning of line 9 (ext.) cohorts IX Batavorum is the likeliest candidate for the unit of the recipient«. Kellner proposes »IX«, but Strobel, Bataverkohorte 272, though agreeing that the Ninth Cohort must be meant, rightly remarks in note 14 that we have to reckon »mit der Schreibweise VIII statt IX« (see note 200 above).

²²³ Steidl, Militärdiplom 155–159.

²²⁴ In his rejection of the view that the Ninth Cohort had belonged to the troops stationed in Moesia Inferior Steidl, Militärdiplom 154 f. concurs with Matei-Popescu, Presence, esp. 57–59, P. A. Holder, Dacia 50, 2006, 146 and W. Eck / A. Pangerl, Chiron 39, 2009, 578 note 102.

²²⁵ Steidl, Militärdiplom 155 f., contra Matei-Popescu and Holder, mentioned in the previous note.

²²⁶ Steidl, Militärdiplom 159: »Nicht allzu lang nach der Ausstellung des Dambacher Diploms muss die cohorts VIII Batavorum die Provinz verlassen haben. Am 16.8.116 gehörte sie definitiv zum Heer Raetiens, wie aus dem Diplom RMD IV 229 aus Straubing [cf. note 210 above] hervorgeht. Durch diesen Wechsel erklärt sich auch der Fundort des Diploms in Raetien«. ²²⁷ See above with note 210 for this (RMD IV 229) and another document, also dating from A. D. 116/117 (RMD III 155).

²²⁸ Bayer. Vorgeschichtsbl. 86, 2021, 59–62, published by W. Eck and A. Pangerl.

²²⁹ RMD III 170, first published by J. Garbsch, Bayer. Vorgeschichtsbl. 53, 1988, 157–166, now in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung in Munich.

²³⁰ RMM 38.

²³¹ Apart from RMD III 170 and RMM 38 at least three more diplomas were issued during the governorship of Varius Clemens (they are cited in notes 233–235 below). To these documents RMD IV 275 (below, note 249) can be added per analogiam, but note that of the relevant words of this diploma only »tav(o)r(um) (milliaria) et sunt in« are preserved. Cf. further *RMD III 175 with Roxan's note (below, note 247), and *Année Épig. 2014 no. 974 (below note 248). See for Titus Varius Clemens (PIR¹ V185) e.g. H.-G. Pflaum, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres I (Paris 1960) 368–373 no. 156, J. Šašel, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 51, 1983, 295–300, and Faoro, Statthalter 27 no. 21.

text of most other relevant diplomas is not preserved well enough to make it immediately clear that they relate to both the Ninth Cohort and to Raetia – often only one of these terms can be (partly) deciphered –, but in the case of the following four documents there are enough clues to fully warrant this conclusion: CIL XVI 94 (A. D. 147)²³², 117 (A. D. 154–161)²³³, 183 (A. D. 156)²³⁴ and RMD I 51/II 104 (A. D. 156/157)²³⁵.

We now list a number of diplomas which, although their text is very fragmentary, have been regarded as copies of constitutions for the troops in Raetia including the Ninth on account of a comparison with better preserved diplomas.

(1) Année Épigr. 2011 no. 1803 (Trajanic/early Hadrianic)²³⁶.

(2) *Année Épigr. 2005 no. 1149 (A. D. 128/133)²³⁷.

(3) *Année Épigr. 2005 no. 1150 (A. D. 129/136)²³⁸.

(4) *Année Épigr. 2016 no. 1180 (Hadrianic)²³⁹.

(5) *RMD II 94 (A. D. 138/140)²⁴⁰.

(6) RMD III 164 (A. D. 139)²⁴¹.

(7) *RMD V 387 (A. D. 140)²⁴².

(8) *RMD III 166 (A. D. 140/147?)²⁴³.

²³² Found in Abusina (Eining): »[eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus) q(ui) m(ilitaverunt) in al(is) IV et coh(ortibus) XIV q(uae) appell(antur) (...)] VIII Batavor(um) et s[unt in Raetia sub] Iulio Rufo«.

²³³ Found in Ma'rāb (in ancient Syria, now Lebanon): »et VIII Batav(orum) [(milliaria?) et sunt in Raetia] sub Vario Cl[emente proc(uratore) ...]«. Cf. F. Wagner, Ber. RGK 37/38, 1956/1957, 252–264, esp. 253 f. no. 146.

²³⁴ Found in Sorviodurum (Straubing) in 1952: »et VIII Batavor(um) [(milliaria?) et sunt in Raetia] sub Vari(o) Clemente proc(uratore)«. Cf. K. Kraft, Germania 30, 1952, 338–348, esp. 344 f. and Wagner (as in the previous note) 254 f. no. 147.

²³⁵ Found in Abusina (Eining), now in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich. First published by H.-J. Kellner, Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 32, 1968, 95–98 and 48, 1983, 171 f.: »et VIII Batavor(um) (milliaria) et sunt in R[aetia sub] V[ar]io Clemente proc(uratore)«. Cf. U. Schillinger-Häfele, Ber. RGK 58, 1977, 580 f. no. 250.

²³⁶ Now privately owned, findspot unknown, published by W. Eck, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 178, 2011, 247–251, esp. 247–249: »et V[. et VI]II Bata[vor(um) (milliaria)] et sun[t in Raetia sub ...]«. The editor leaves open the possibility that the Third and not the Ninth cohort is referred to: »und wohl eine cohors Batavorum, deren Ordnungszahl mindestens eine III sein musste, da der Zahlstrich über den vor dem Namensrest BATA erhaltenen zwei senkrechten Hasten so verläuft, dass vor der II auf jeden Fall noch ein weiteres Zahlzeichen stand. Das können die Ziffern zwischen III und VIII<I> gewesen sein. Einheiten mit diesen Namen und in dieser Reihenfolge stehen in der Provinz Raetia, wie sich aus zahlreichen Diplomen für diese Provinz ergibt« (p. 247 f.).

²³⁷ Found in Bavarian Pfatter. Published by B. Steidl, Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 70, 2005, 134–140 no. 1: »et [VIII Batavor(um) eq(uitata) (milliaria) expl(oratorum) et sunt in Raetia sub ...]rio [R...]«.

²³⁸ Found in Bavarian Pfatter. Published by Steidl (as in the previous note) 140–145 no. 2: »et VI L[usitan(o-

rum) et VIII Batavor(um) eq(uitata) (milliaria) expl(oratorum) et s[unt in Raetia sub] Scri[bonio]...«.

²³⁹ Found in Abusina (Eining), now in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich. Published by W. Eck, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 197, 2016, 217–226, esp. 220 f.: »et [VII Lusitan(orum) et IX Batavor(um) (milliaria) et sunt in R]aetia [sub ...]«. The editor restores the numeral of the cohort thus: »IX«. See however note 200 and note 222 above.

²⁴⁰ Found at Oberschneiding in Bavaria, now in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich. Published by H.-J. Kellner, Arch. Jahr Bayern 1981, 132 f.; Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 48, 1983, 165–171: »[... VIII Batav(orum) (milliaria) et s[unt in Raetia sub] C[...]. Cf. Steidl, Veteranen 417 with note 12.

²⁴¹ Found in the vicus of fort Celeusum (Pfförring in Bavaria), now privately owned. Published by K. Dietz, Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 53, 1988, 139–146: (intus) »et VIII I Bat(avorum) (milliaria)«, (extrinsecus) »VIIII Bat(avorum) (milliaria) v[er]o ex(illatio)«. Cf. K. Dietz, Beitr. Arch. Oberpfalz 3, 1999, 225–256, esp. 248–251 and Wolff, Heer Raetiens 160 f.

²⁴² Found at the auxiliary fort of Mertingen-Burghöfe (Bavaria) in the 1970s, now in the Zweigmuseum Neu-Ulm der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung. Published by H. Wolff, Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 63, 1998, 293–299: »et V[IIII Batav(orum) (milliaria) et sunt in Rae]tia sub Semp[ronio Libera]le«. Cf. Steidl, Veteranen 417 note 12.

²⁴³ Found in Quintana (Künzing) in 1978, »this exceptionally difficult fragment« (Roxan ad loc.) is now in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich. The diploma was first published by K. Dietz, Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 53, 1988, 146–152: »[VI Lus(itanorum)...et IX Bat(avorum) [ia] et sunt in...] Ra<e>[ia]« (so Dietz and EDH); EDCS (apparently after Wolff, cf. Roxan ad loc.) offers an alternative reconstruction: »[Brac(arau-gustanorum) et VIII Batav(orum) (milliaria)] et sunt in] Rae[tia]«. See for »IX« and »VIII« notes 200 and 222 above and note Roxan's remark: »With such a damaged fragment any reconstruction must be very tentative«. Cf. Steidl, Veteranen 416 with notes 7 and 8.

- (9) *CIL XVI 187 (A. D. 140/150)²⁴⁴.
 (10) *RMD I 59 (A. D. 149/161)²⁴⁵.
 (11) RMD I 46 (A. D. 153)²⁴⁶.
 (12) *RMD III 175 (A. D. 154–161)²⁴⁷.
 (13) *Année Épigr. 2014 no. 974 (A. D. 156)²⁴⁸.
 (14) RMD IV 275 (A. D. 157)²⁴⁹.
 (15) RMD V 434 (A. D. 157/161)²⁵⁰.
 (16) *Année Épigr. 2005 no. 1153 (A. D. 159/160)²⁵¹.
 (17) *Année Épigr. 2016 no. 1178 (A. D. 160)²⁵².
 (18) RMD IV 278 (A. D. 160)²⁵³.
 (19) RMD II 112/III 178 (A. D. 161)²⁵⁴.
 (20) *Année Épigr. 2014 no. 976 (A. D. 164/166)²⁵⁵.
 (21) CIL XVI 121 (A. D. 166)²⁵⁶.
 (22) RMD I 68 (A. D. 167/168)²⁵⁷.

Some of the diplomas mentioned above offer a legible text of the numeral of the Ninth Cohort. On two of these we read »IX«²⁵⁸, while seven have »VIII«²⁵⁹. We find the numeral »IX« also on a different epigraphical text from Raetia which mentions the Ninth Cohort, a

²⁴⁴ Found in Castra Regina (Regensburg) in 1951, published by K. Kraft, *Germania* 30, 1952, 338–348, esp. 345–348 (the date as given by Kraft is A. D. 150/175; EDH proposes A. D. 140/150): »[...]et VI Lusit(anorum) et IX Batav(orum) (milliaria) et sunt in Raetia sub [...]llo proc(uratore)«. Kraft, followed by EDCS and EDH, conjectures as numeral of the cohort »IX«, but see our notes 200 and 222. F. Wagner, *Ber. RGK* 37/38, 1956/1957, 252–264, esp. 255 f. no. 148 reads »VIII«.

²⁴⁵ Found in Mediana (Gnotzheim in Bavaria), privately owned (there is a copy in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich). First published by H.-J. Kellner, *Bayer. Vorgeschbl.* 31, 1966, 90–92: »... et VI Lus[it(anorum) et VIII Batav(orum) (milliaria)...«. The date is disputed. Roxan ad loc. gives A. D. 149/161 (cf. Roxan ad RMD III 170: perhaps issued during the governorship of Varius Clemens [see for him note 231 above]); EDH has A. D. 138/141 and Dietz, *Beitrag Raetiens* 184 n. 14 proposes A. D. 153/157. Cf. H. U. Nuber, *Germania* 47, 1969, 181–183; U. Schillinger-Häfele, *Ber. RGK* 58, 1977, 578 f. no. 246.

²⁴⁶ Found in Owen, near Nürtingen (in Baden-Württemberg); now in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart. Published by H. Nesselhauf, *Fundber. Schwaben* N.F. 15, 1959, 73–77: »e[t V Brac(ar)aug(ustanorum) et VI Lusitanorum [et VIII Ba]tav(orum) (milliaria) et s[unt in Raet(ia)] sub Ulpio [Vi]c[tore] proc[ur]atore«. Cf. H. U. Nuber, *Germania* 47, 1969, 184 note 35; U. Schillinger-Häfele, *Ber. RGK* 58, 1977, 560 f. no. 219 and Steidl, *Veteranen* 417 note 12.

²⁴⁷ Found in Birciana (Weißenburg in Bavaria) in 1989, privately owned. Published by J. Garbsch in: id. (ed.), *Spurensuche. Festschrift für Hans-Jörg Kellner zum 70. Geburtstag* (Kallmünz 1991) 121–124: »et III Brita[nn]orum ... et VI Lusitanorum et VIII Batav(orum) (milliaria) et sunt in Raetia [...]«. Roxan ad loc.:

»It is possible that this diploma was part of the same issue as RMD I 51 / II 104 [note 235 above] and RMD III 170 [note 229 above] and belongs to 157«.

²⁴⁸ Found in Nördlingen in Bavaria. Published by B. Steidl, *Bayer. Vorgeschbl.* 79, 2014, 61–86, esp. 69–72 no. 5: »et III Thrac(um) [...] VIII Batavor(um) (milliaria) et sunt in Raetia sub Vario Clemente]«. Steidl's conjectural restoration is not adopted in EDCS. Cf. Steidl, *Veteranen* 417 note 12.

²⁴⁹ Found in Phoebiana (Faimingen in Bavaria) in 1994. Published by K. Dietz, *Arch. Jahr Bayern* 1995, 113–114: »... et IX Ba]tav(o)r(um) (milliaria) et sunt in [Raetia sub Vario Clemente proc(uratore) qui]nis«. Roxan ad loc.: »The diploma belongs to the same issue as one published by Jochen Garbsch in *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 53, 1988, 157–166 = RMD III 170 [above note 229]«. For the conjectural numeral »IX« see notes 200 and 222 above. Cf. Steidl, *Veteranen* 417 note 12.

²⁵⁰ Found in the fort of Abusina (Eining in Bavaria) in 2000, privately owned. Published by H. Wolff, *Ostbair. Grenzmarken* 43, 2001, 9–12: »et VIII] Batav[or(um) (milliaria) et sunt in Raetia...]«. Cf. Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 150.

²⁵¹ Found in Sorviodurum (Straubing). Published by H. Wolff, *Jahresber. Hist. Ver. Straubing* 105, 2003, 59–67: »e[t VIII Batav(orum) (milliaria) et] sunt in Raetia sub [Vario Prisco proc(uratore?)]«. Cf. Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 150.

²⁵² Found in Ruffenhofen (Bavaria) in 2014. Published by Steidl, *Militärdiplom*, who notes on 150: »Bis zum Beweis des Gegenteils ist deshalb in dem Fragment die cohors VIII Batavorum milliaria als Empfänger-einheit zu rekonstruieren«, and reads: »VIII Batav]-or(um) (milliariae) cui prae(e)st [...] Modestus [ex e] quite [...] f(ilio) Villmo Helve[t(io)]«. Cf. Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 150.

²⁵³ Found in Quintana (Künzing in Bavaria). Published by H. Wolff, *Ostbair. Grenzmarken* 41, 1999, 22–31 and 42, 2000, 14–16: »et IX [Batavor(um) (millia-

dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus inscribed on an altar which was found in Biriciana (Weißenburg in Bavaria): »I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) sacrum coh(ors) IX Bat(avorum) eq(uitata) (milliaria) expl(oratorum) cui praest M(arcus) Victorious Provincialis praef(ectus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aeta) l(ibens) m(erito)«²⁶⁰. Interestingly, in this inscription the cohort added »expl(oratorum)« to its title²⁶¹, an addition which is not found in any other document regarding the Ninth (nor, for that matter, the First, Second or Third) Cohort²⁶². It is not possible to determine whether the absence of the title in other sources is due to the defectiveness of our tradition²⁶³, or if it is a sign that the addition »expl(oratorum)« was used only in a specific period²⁶⁴. It is also not clear what relationship, if any, there was between a »cohors Batavorum exploratorum« and a »numerus exploratorum Batavorum«²⁶⁵, but it does not seem

ria...] et VI Lusi]tanorum et sunt in Raetia [sub ...] o proc(uratore)«. For the numeral »IX« see note 200 above. Cf. Wolff, *Heer Raetiens* 163, K. Dietz, *Chiron* 32, 2002, 395–400 and Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 150.

²⁵⁴ Found in Abusina (Eining in Bavaria), now in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich. Three fragments of the same diploma, published by H.-J. Kellner, *Arch. Jahr Bayern* 1982, 105, K. Dietz, *Bayer. Vorgeschbl.* 53, 1988, 152–155 and J. Garbsch, *Mitt. Hist. Ver. Pfalz* 91, 1993, 29–32: »et IX] Batav(orum) mill(iaria) et sunt in Raetia«. For the numeral »IX« (thus RMD and Dietz; Kellner conjectures »VIII«) see notes 200 and 222 above.

²⁵⁵ Found in Ruffenhofen (Bavaria). Published by B. Steidl, *Bayer. Vorgeschbl.* 79, 2014, 61–86, esp. 76–79: »[...] et IX Batavor(um) (milliaria) et sunt in Raetia sub Desticio] Sev[er]o proc(uratore)«. For the numeral »IX« see notes 200 and 222 above.

²⁵⁶ Found in Castra Regina (Regensburg): »e[t] IX Batav(orum) (milliaria) et sunt in [Rae]tia sub [De]stici[o Severo pr[oc(uratore)]«. For the numeral »IX« see note 200 above.

²⁵⁷ Found in Abusina (Eining), now in the Museum des Historischen Vereins Niederbayern, Landshut. Published by A. Radnóti, *Germania* 39, 1961, 103–109: »et IX B]atav(orum) et sunt in Raet[ia sub]o proc(uratore)«; cf. U. Schillinger-Häfele, *Ber. RGK* 58, 1977, 581f. no. 251. For the numeral »IX« see our notes 200 and 222.

²⁵⁸ RMD IV 278 (note 253 above) and CIL XVI 121 (note 256).

²⁵⁹ RMD IV 229 (note 210), III 155 (note 210), III 170 (note 229), RMM 38 (note 230), CIL XVI 94 (note 232), 117 (note 233), 183 (note 234). Perhaps RMD III 164 (note 241) and *RMD V 387 (note 242) should be added to this list.

²⁶⁰ CIL III 11918 = ILS 9152.

²⁶¹ Pace Th. Mommsen in: CIL III 11918, M. Biancardi, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 140, 2002, 245–251, esp. 246 and Farkas, *Dislocation* 385, who want to read »ex p(rovincia) B(elgica)« (Mommsen) or »ex p(rovincia) B(ritannica)« (Biancardi, Farkas), we adopt the reading »expl(oratorum)«, as do e.g. ILS 9152, EDCS and EDH (»in Z. 4 ist sicher am Ende L zu lesen und nicht B«).

²⁶² In *Année Épigr. 2005 no. 1149 (above, note 237) and *Année Épigr. 2005 no. 1150 (note 238) the reading »expl(oratorum)« is conjectural.

²⁶³ Cf. Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 150: »Der spezifizierende Zusatz »exploratorum« bei der Batavervkohorte entfällt in den Militärdiplomen regelmäßig«.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Southern, *Numeri* 111: »Cohors IX Batavorum did not seem to have this title [sc. exploratorum] throughout its life and it is possible that it applied only to the period when the cohort was performing reconnaissance duties«.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten* 168: »Besondere Beachtung verdient der Beiname expl(oratorum) (...). An irgendeinen Zusammenhang mit dem numerus exploratorum Batavorum (...) ist schwerlich zu denken; am nächsten liegt es vielmehr, den Beinamen durch die Annahme zu erklären, daß unsere Doppelkohorte in besonders starkem Maß zu demjenigen Dienste herangezogen wurde, den in anderen Provinzen numeri exploratorum versahen«. For the »numerus exploratorum Batavorum« we can point to two inscriptions, in the first place CIL XIII 8825 = ILS 9186, found in Matilo, modern Roomburg in the Netherlands (date: A. D. 198/205): »numero expl(oratorum) Bat(avorum) Antonin[i]janorum cur(ante) co(nsulari) Q(uinto) Ven(i)dio Ruf[o fecerunt?]]« with W. Eck, *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 59/1, 2022, 79–82, esp. 80, and, secondly, Année Épigr. 1990 no. 728, found in Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, modern Cologne (A. D. 239): »In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Larib(us) et Sedib(us) et Genio loci Audacius Qu(i)etus mil(es) n(umeri) exp(loratorum) Bat(avorum) barc(arius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) d(edicavit) d(ie) XVIII Ian(uarii) Gordiano (et) Avi(o)la co(n)s(ulibus)«. Cf. further CIL VIII 21668 = ILS 9187a, found in Albulae in Mauretania, modern Aïn Temouchent in Algeria: »D(is) [M(anibus) s(acrum)] Iulius Adventus splorator Batav(orum) vixit an(n)is XXXX h(ic) e(st)«. »There can be no doubt«, according to Speidel, *Exploratores* 66, »that the numerus exploratorum Batavorum of Lower Germany is meant here«. For the »numeri exploratorum« in the German provinces and Raetia see A. Ezov, *Klio* 79, 1997, 161–177, for »numeri« in general e.g. H. Th. Rowell, *Yale Class. Stud.* 6, 1939, 71–108; F. Vittinghof, *Historia* (Stuttgart) 1, 1950, 389–407; J. C. Mann, *Hermes* 82, 1954, 501–506; H. Callies, *Ber. RGK* 45, 1964, 130–227; Speidel, *Exploratores*; Southern, *Numeri*; S. Kerneis-Poly, *Riv. Stor. Antichità* 26, 1996, 69–94; M. Reuter, *Ber. RGK* 80, 1999, 357–569. B. Rossignol in: Wolff/Faure, *Auxiliaires* 251–292.

too far-fetched to postulate that intelligence gathering was the main task of both these types of units²⁶⁶.

As mentioned above, the altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by the cohorts IX Batavorum under prefect Victorius Provincialis was found in Biriciana (Weißenburg in Bavaria)²⁶⁷. Some scholars claim that it was precisely in this Raetian town that the Ninth Cohort had its base during a certain period in the second century²⁶⁸, but there is no irrefutable evidence. It can also not be proven with absolute certainty that the Ninth Cohort built the fort of Ruffenhofen or was stationed there in the second century, as has been suggested²⁶⁹. The theory, finally, that during the Principate the unit had been garrisoned in one of the forts which the Romans built at Passau²⁷⁰, is not unanimously accepted either. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are taken from the combination of two late antique sources: (1) Passau is called »Batavis« and »oppidum Batavinum« in Eugeippius' *Vita sancti Severini*²⁷¹, and (2) we find in the *Notitia Dignitatum*²⁷² a reference to a »tribunus cohortis novae/nonae Batavorum« whose station was »Batavis«. The reliability of these late sources is doubtful²⁷³, especially of the second one: »nonae« is Mommsen's conjecture for »nova(e)« of the manuscripts²⁷⁴.

Although the precise date of the Weißenburg altar dedicated by the Ninth Cohort is not known, it probably stems from the second century, like all the diplomas which have been discovered until now²⁷⁵. Dating from the early third century is an inscription in Greek, now lost, honouring a certain Titus Porcius Cornelianus from Massilia (Marseilles) who, before becoming a procurator, held six military appointments and was inter alia tribune of the Ninth Cohort of Batavians: $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda(\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\chi\omega)\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\tau(\eta\varsigma)\ \theta' \ \text{Βαταο}[\acute{\upsilon}]\omega\nu$ ²⁷⁶.

Epilogue. The vicissitudes of the cohortes Batavorum

In the above we present a fresh approach to the history of the cohortes Batavorum, which incorporates new material collected over the past twenty years. We can follow the tracks of these cohorts from about the mid-first century till the time of the Severi. When these units were founded in the first century, they served as auxiliary troops in the Roman army. Eight of these cohorts, stationed in Britain in the time of Claudius and Nero, returned to the continent in the year of the Four Emperors and revolted under the leadership of Iulius Civilis, prefect of another, a ninth cohort.

²⁶⁶ Apart from the »numeri exploratorum Batavorum« mentioned in the previous note there is perhaps a reference to a »numerus Batavorum« without the title »exploratorum«, if, as is generally thought, »NB« stands for »numerus Batavorum«, viz. in CIL XIII 8053 = M. Reuter, *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* (Darmstadt 2012) 119–121 no. 77, a list of names of soldiers inscribed on bronze tablets found in Mayence (?), now in Bonn (LVR-LMB): »[Val(erius) Fel]jiciss(imus) n(umeri) B(atavorum) ... [Refid(ius) V]ictori(nus) n(umeri) B(atavorum)«. Cf. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten* 262; Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 220–223 no. 186; Speidel, *Exploratores* 75. For »Miunnio miles numeri Batauorum« see *Année Épigr.* 2010 no. 1053, found in Tolsum in the Netherlands (date: A. D. 29), published by A. K. Bowman / R. S. O. Tomlin / K. A. Worp, *Journal Roman Stud.* 199, 2009, 156–170 (a new reading of *Année Épigr.* 1919 no. 51); cf. K. A. Worp, *It Baeken* 71, 2009, 199–210 and M. C. Galestin, *Palaeohistoria* 51/52, 2009/2010, 9–26.

²⁶⁷ Cf. notes 260 and 261 above.

²⁶⁸ So e.g. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten* 168; Spaul, *Cohors*² 215f., who implausibly adds that »in the third century it seems to have moved to Stolniceni where it was probably engaged in rebuilding« (see above, with notes 212 and 213); Farkas, *Dislocation* 62. Cf. Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 163–166.

²⁶⁹ So e.g. A. Aign, *Ostbair. Grenzmarken*, 17, 1975, 102–157, esp. 127f.; Dietz, *Beitrag Rätien* 184; K. Dietz, *Beitr. Arch. Oberpfalz* 3, 1999, 225–256, esp. 253f. note 96; Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 159–161, esp. 159: »Die cohort VIII Batavorum als Erbauerin und Besatzung des Kastells Ruffenhofen«. Otherwise e.g. C. S. Sommer in: A. Thiel (ed.), *Forschungen zur Funktion des Limes II* (Stuttgart 2007) 123–131, esp. 127: »Überlegungen, für Ruffenhofen eine cohort, z. B. die Cohors IX Batavorum milliaria equitata exploratorum (...) anzunehmen, entbehren (...) jeglicher Grundlage«; cf. Farkas, *Dislocation* 66.

²⁷⁰ So e.g. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten* 168 with note 72 (»Spätestens seit der Mitte des II. Jahrhunderts stand die Kohorte jedenfalls nicht mehr in

After Civilis' revolt had been suppressed, Batavian cohorts were employed again in Britain. We hear of their presence in the battle of Mons Graupius in A. D. 84 (whether or not these units were the direct successors of the nine pre-Flavian cohorts is disputed). Subsequently we hear of one quingenary cohort, which was (almost) permanently stationed in Britain, and of four other cohortes Batavorum, the First, Second, Third and Ninth, eventually all of milliary strength, which operated elsewhere in Europe from about the end of the first century onwards.

The cohors I Batavorum (quingenaria) remained in Britain, except for a short stay in Mauretania during the reign of Antoninus Pius; it was still stationed there in the time the *Notitia Dignitatum* was written. A cohort with the same numeral, the cohors I Batavorum (milliaria), served in Germany, where it assisted in the suppression of the revolt by the governor Saturninus in A. D. 89; before A. D. 98 it was transferred from there to Pannonia, where it stayed until at least A. D. 116. While in Pannonia it was sent on expedition to Moesia to participate in Trajan's second war against the Dacians (A. D. 105/106), from which it returned with a block grant of Roman citizenship. Soon after A. D. 116 the unit was moved to Dacia Porolissensis, where it remained until at least A. D. 164.

The first reliably dated document which mentions the Second Cohort of Batavi is a military diploma of A. D. 98. At that time, the unit was stationed in Pannonia, but before this date it had probably been in Moesia to fight the *bellum Dacicum Domitiani*. Together with the milliary First Cohort of Batavi it was sent to Moesia to take part in Trajan's second Dacian war (A. D. 105/106), where it received a block grant of Roman citizenship and earned the title *p(ia) f(idelis)*. Before A. D. 132/133 it was transferred from Pannonia to Noricum. It seems that in A. D. 157 only a detachment stayed in Noricum, whereas other soldiers of the unit participated in expeditions elsewhere.

The Third Cohort of Batavi may have been at Vindolanda between A. D. 97 and 105. It was in Raetia in A. D. 107, and it still was in this province in A. D. 116/117. From Raetia it was transferred to Pannonia Inferior, possibly already early in the reign of Hadrian (but the first precisely dated reference to the unit is in a diploma of A. D. 135). The Third Cohort remained in Pannonia during the rest of the second and at least the first part of the third century. A votive inscription found in Székesfehérvár in Hungary proves that the unit was still stationed in this province in A. D. 211.

The cohors VIII (or IX) Batavorum was stationed at the fort of Vindolanda from about A. D. 92 to about 104/105. From Britain the cohort was transferred to the continent early in the

Weissenburg, sondern in dem nach ihr benannten Passau [Castra Batava], dessen Garnison sie noch im V. Jahrhundert bildete«); R. Christlein in: J. Werner / E. Ewig (eds.), *Von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen 1979) 98; Speidel, *Exploratores* 73 f.; Farkas, *Dislocation* 43. Note the comment of Anna and Jaro Šašel in their edition of *ILJug* 3.2102 = *Année Épigr.* 1914 no. 73: »D(is) M(anibus) Aelia Messiana Aurel(io) Saturnino ex (centurione) ex Castris Batavum (...) qui militavit annos XXVIII et mecum vixit anno(s) XXXVII arcam posuit et sibi« – »Cur miles Salonis conserider, clarum non est; Stipendia meruit in cohorte IX Batavorum in hodie oppido Passau. Titulus prioris parti saec. III assignandus est«.

²⁷¹ Eugipp. V. Severini 19, 1 »Batavis appellatur oppidum inter utraque flumina, Aenum videlicet atque Danuvium, constitutum«, and 22.1 »Basilicae extra muros oppidi Batavini in loco nomine Boiotro trans Aenum fluvium constitutae«; cf. 22, 4; 24, 1; 27, 1.

²⁷² *Not. Dign. Occ.* 35, 24.

²⁷³ A. Aign, *Ostbair. Grenzmarken*, 17, 1975, 102–157, esp. 127 f., for example, argued that the Ninth Cohort of the Principate is not identical with the cohors nova Batavorum of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Cf. Steidl, *Militärdiplom* 166.

²⁷⁴ Th. Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigr.* 5, 1884, 92: »Inde porro colligitur in *Notitia Dign. Occ.* 35, 24 scribendum esse tribunus cohortis nonae (libri noua) Batavorum Batavis et ex huius cohortis castris stativis oppidum quod est Passau originem ducere«.

²⁷⁵ Wolff, *Heer Raetiens* 167 dates the inscription »eher in das späte als in das frühe 2. Jahrhundert«. Cf. Strobel, *Bataverkohorte* 288: »ca. 162–180 n. Chr.« and Matei-Popescu, *Presence* 59, who believes that it »could date from the beginning of the 2nd century«, but thinks that »it is virtually impossible to date the inscription from Weissenburg«.

²⁷⁶ ILS 8852 = CIG 6771 = IG XIV 2433. Cf. in the first place J.-C. Decourt, *Inscriptions Grecques de la France* (Lyon 2004) no. 8 and see further e. g. Birley, *Alae* 361; Speidel, *Exploratores* 73 f.; PME P 95.

second century. In A. D. 116/117 it had its base in Raetia, where it remained until at least A. D. 167/168 – whether its permanent stay in Raetia began immediately after it had left Britain is not clear; it has been suggested that the transferral of the unit to the continent had something to do with the campaigns of the emperor Trajan against the Dacians and that from a base in Moesia Inferior it was active in Dacia for a while before it came (back) to Raetia. There is an inscription dating from the early third century which honours a certain Titus Porcius Cornelianus who held six military appointments and was *inter alia* tribune of the Ninth Cohort of Batavi.

It is possible that the Batavi *seniores* serving as *auxilia palatina*²⁷⁷ in the reorganised army of the Late Roman Empire were descendants of the *cohortes Batavorum* of the Principate in one way or another²⁷⁸, but their history falls outside the scope of this article.

Postscript

At the end of this paper we would like to return briefly to a topic which we discussed in the first part of our diptych on Batavi in the Roman army, *viz.* the position of Batavi who served as imperial bodyguards²⁷⁹.

This special troop has recently been the subject of a renewed investigation which *inter alia* reassesses their legal status²⁸⁰. Starting from the observation that the onomastics of the guardians generally consist of single names without mentioning filiation which is so typical of peregrini, the authors conclude that originally, that is in the Augustan-Tiberian period, these bodyguards had had servile status. This is corroborated by the fact that quite a few of them bore a Greek name and that most of them found a last resting place in a columbarium amidst other imperial slaves. In Claudian-Neronian times the status of the guardians was improved: some of them were freed and adopted the *tria nomina*, others were probably recruited from freeborn peregrini but kept the custom of bearing single personal names.

If we accept this attractive re-interpretation, the oldest epigraphically known Batavian bodyguard, Valens, mentioned on an inscribed marble tabella found in a columbarium on the Via Appia, must have come to Rome as a slave, perhaps as a prisoner of war of Germanicus²⁸¹. His example may serve as a reminder, that the valour of martial races such as the Batavi may have been appreciated, but in the end was blatantly exploited purely for the glory of imperial power.

Appendix I. The ethnic composition of the *cohortes Batavorum*

As far as the ethnic composition of the *cohortes Batavorum* is concerned, the discovery of a new diploma fragment mentioning a cohort »I Batavor(um) Marsac(orum)« has important implications²⁸². We can now conclude that from the outset the recruitment base for the *cohortes*

²⁷⁷ Not. Dign. Or. 5, 8 = 49, Occ. 5, 163, cf. e.g. Amm. Marc. 20, 1, 3.

²⁷⁸ Cf. e.g. C. Zuckerman in: F. Vallet / M. Kazanski (eds.), *L'armée romaine et les barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècles* (Paris 1993) 17–20; M. P. Speidel, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50, 1996, 163–170; M. J. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire* (Amsterdam 1998) 54–56.

²⁷⁹ Derks/Teitler, *Batavi* 59–62, esp. 59 f.

²⁸⁰ K. Geluk / G. L. Gregori, *The German corporis custodies. A »unit in motion«?* In: C. Wolff / P. Faure (eds.), *Corps du chef et gardes du corps dans l'armée romaine* (Lyon 2020) 235–260. This publication appeared after the text of Derks/Teitler, *Batavi* had been completed.

²⁸¹ CIL VI 4341 = ILS 1717 (cf. Bellen, *Leibwache* 106 no. 4, Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 277 no. B 1, Geluk/Gregori [previous note] 254 no. 7): »Valens Germanus Germanicianus Tib(eri) Caesaris Augusti (servi) natione Ataeus [> Batavus] v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXV«, to be dated between A. D. 19 and 37. The slave was formerly owned by Germanicus and, probably after the prince's death in A. D. 19, transferred to Tiberius. Theoretically, it is even possible that he was part of the booty shown in the triumphal procession held in Rome in A. D. 17 to celebrate the successful conclusion of the German campaigns.

²⁸² *Année Épigr.* 2016 no. 2021. Above with notes 13, 15, 16 and 92.

Bataavorum was broader than just the community of the Batavians themselves. The cohorts were ethnically heterogeneous right from the start and contained, apart from ethnic Batavians, also recruits from other groups in the area such as the Marsaci and the Canninefatians. This solves the problem, highlighted by scholars in the past, that the community of the Batavians was too small to supply and keep up to full strength no less than eight (or rather nine) cohorts all by themselves.

It has often been claimed that, given the special treaty the Batavians had concluded with the Romans and the exceptional abilities of their auxiliaries, vacancies in the ranks of Batavian auxilia were filled by new men drawn from the original recruiting grounds in the Lower Rhine area²⁸³. The practice of the so-called ›local recruitment‹, that is, conscripting recruits from the nearest convenient source, which according to recent research was the general policy as early as the beginning of the first century²⁸⁴, would not have been applied in their case. However, the example of the Pannonian Sextus, son of Busturio²⁸⁵, clearly shows that there were exceptions to this rule. Hans van Rossum advances the hypothesis that supplementary local recruitment became the norm for the cohortes Bataavorum from the time of Trajan onwards, because under this emperor the special treaty between Romans and Batavians had come to an end²⁸⁶.

Unfortunately, the available sources are too limited to decide the issue. We can only say that pertinent evidence is not found before the first half of the second century. A diploma given to Marcus Ulpius Fronto, a soldier of a Batavian cohort in the year A. D. 113 (RMD II 86)²⁸⁷, was (still?) handed out to an ethnic Batavian, while the first attested non-Batavian auxiliary soldier serving in a cohort Bataavorum is the anonymous son of Crispus, of the tribe of the Boii, mentioned in a recently found diploma (Année Épig. 2014 no. 1640)²⁸⁸. The son of Crispus, a veteran of the First Cohort, was discharged in A. D. 142, which implies that he must have entered the ranks at least twenty-five years before, that is, before A. D. 117, at a time the cohort was in garrison in Pannonia²⁸⁹.

The following men who served in one of the cohortes Bataavorum were certainly or almost certainly (in the case of Seve[rus]) ethnic Batavians:

- (1) Iulius Civilis (cf. for him and for his brother Claudius Paulus note 33 above).
- (2) and (3) Two anonymi mentioned on the altar of Adamclissi (cf. note 121).
- (4) Marcus Ulpius Fronto (cf. note 65).
- (5) Marcus Ulpius Inam[nus] (cf. note 70).
- (6) Marcus Ulpius Aeb[utianus] (cf. note 70).
- (7) Titus Aelius Karus (cf. note 160).
- (8) Seve[rus] (cf. note 161).

²⁸³ This assumption is based by some on Tacitus' report (Hist. 4, 12, 3; cf. Germ. 29, 1) that, in conformity with an ancient custom, the Batavian units were commanded by their own chieftains, and the associated idea that these chieftains recruited their soldiers from among their own tribe (cf. e.g. Roselaar, Mobility 150). Others (e.g. Dietz, Das älteste Militärdiplom 206) point to the special way the Batavians operated while campaigning; cf. e.g. Kraft, Rekrutierung 59 and Roselaar, Mobility 151: »The Batavians were famous for their skills with horses; they were able to swim across rivers, including the Rhine and Danube, with their mounts [cf. above, notes 30 and 166]. It has long been assumed that these skills were so valuable that the Batavian units, in contrast to

other auxiliaries, did not recruit locally from the areas in which they were stationed, but recruited only Batavians, so as to ensure their skills were maintained«.

²⁸⁴ Above with notes 19 and 20.

²⁸⁵ CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19, above with notes 25 and 86.

²⁸⁶ Van Rossum, Auxiliaries suggests that the change may be related to the change of status of the Batavian ›civitas‹, which under Trajan became a ›municipium«.

²⁸⁷ Above, note 65. Note that RMD IV 216, dating from A. D. 98, was also given to an ethnic Batavian, in this case to an anonymous soldier who belonged to the ala Bataavorum (see Derks/Teitler, Batavi 66f.)

²⁸⁸ Above, note 82.

²⁸⁹ Above with notes 52, 56, 64–67 and 69–71.

Of probable Batavian descent are:

- (1) Marcus Ulpius (cf. note 160).
- (2) Marcus Ulpius Maternus (cf. note 160).
- (3) Hostilius Flavianus (cf. note 306).
- (4) Vettius Severus (cf. note 306).
- (5) Flavius Genialis (cf. notes 205–206, 298).
- (6) Flavius Cerialis (cf. notes 203–204).
- (7) Flavius Similis (cf. note 306).
- (8) Veranius (cf. note 306).
- (9) Marcus Simplicius Simplex (cf. note 111).

Appendix II. Praefecti and tribuni

Iulius Civilis and more than twenty other commanders of cohortes Batavorum are known by name²⁹⁰. Twelve (or thirteen²⁹¹) of them bore, like Civilis, the title praefectus²⁹², while four (or five²⁹³) were tribuni. Of five commanders the title is unknown; in their case we only know by the formula »cui praest« in the relevant source that they had been in charge of a cohort²⁹⁴.

(A) Eight of the praefecti referred to here had commanded a quingenary cohort, viz. the cohors I Batavorum (quingenaria)²⁹⁵, which is in line with the general rule that the cohorts of the auxilia, which consisted of nominally five hundred men, served under prefects²⁹⁶. Four (or five) of the praefecti known by name had been in command of a milliary cohort, that is, two had commanded the Third²⁹⁷ and two (or three) the Ninth Cohort²⁹⁸. This is remarkable, for the greater part of the milliary cohorts had a tribunus as commander²⁹⁹. However, there are exceptions to this rule³⁰⁰, and these cases relate to so many different cohorts (II Hispanorum, I Tungrorum, II Tungrorum, I Fida Vardullorum, I Vangionum, II Aurelia Nova, Maurorum) that it makes Strobel's plea for a »Sonderstatus« of the milliary cohortes Batavorum (and Tungrorum)³⁰¹ unappealing.

²⁹⁰ See for them Appendix III.

²⁹¹ Thirteen, if Flavius Genialis is included; see for him note 206.

²⁹² Because conclusive evidence is lacking, we did not include Civilis' brother Claudius Paulus in our list, although it is not unlikely that he, too, had served as prefect of a cohors Batavorum in the Roman army; see above, note 33.

²⁹³ Five, if Aurelius Valentinus is included; see for him notes 90, 91 and 303.

²⁹⁴ Galeo (Tertienus) Bellicus (CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19, cf. note 25), Tullius Secundus (RMD II 86, cf. note 65), Cominianus (Année Épig. 2014 no. 1640, cf. note 82), Lucius Vitellius (CIL XVI 174, cf. note 136), (Modestus, *Année Épig. 2016 no. 1178, cf. note 252).

²⁹⁵ Aulus Cluentius Habitus (Année Épig. 1951 no. 125b = RIB I 1545, cf. note 109 above), Marcus Hispanius Modestinus (Année Épig. 1962 no. 261 = RIB III 3316, cf. note 116), Lucius Antonius Proculus (Année Épig. 1951 no. 125a = RIB I 1544, cf. note 110), Titus D(omitius?) Cosconianus (ILS 4725 = RIB I 1534, cf. note 113), Marcus Flaccinius Marcellus (CIL VII 617 = ILS 2549 = RIB I 1536, cf. note 115), Marcus Simplicius Simplex (Année Épig. 1951 no. 125c = RIB I 1546, cf. note 111), Aelius Tertius (RIB I 1535, cf. note 114), Burrius (CIL VII 621 = RIB I 1553, cf. note 107).

²⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. The Oxford Classical Dictionary (3rd. ed., Oxford 1999) s.v. cohors (H. M. D. Parker / G. R. Watson / J. C. N. Coulston).

²⁹⁷ Marcus Flavius Miles (CIL XVI 113; Année Épig. 2003 no. 1440 = Bölske 33; Année Épig. 2003 no. 1441 = Bölske 34 and RIU-S 200 = Bölske 35; cf. notes 162 and 163) and Seve[rus(?) (Année Épig. 1944 no. 97 = RIU VI 1440, cf. note 161).

²⁹⁸ Flavius Cerialis (passim, e.g. Tab. Vindol. I, 25 = II 247; cf. notes 204 and 205), Marcus Victorius Provincialis (CIL III 11918 = ILS 9152; cf. notes 260 and 261) and perhaps Flavius Genialis, but it is not certain that Genialis was Cerialis' predecessor as prefect of the Ninth Cohort (cf. note 206).

²⁹⁹ Oxford Classical Dictionary, as in note 296.

³⁰⁰ So e.g. CIL II 2213 (cf. S. Dardaine, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 91, 1992, 185–191); CIL III 14537 = ILS 9174; CIL VII 635 = RIB I 1580; CIL VII 640 = RIB I 1586; CIL VII 879 = RIB I 1981; CIL VII 880 = RIB I 1982; CIL VII 1071 = RIB I 2014; CIL VII 1096 = RIB I 2149; RIU VI 1427; Tab. Vindol. II, 154; Année Épig. 1998 no. 282; Année Épig. 2015 no. 771.

³⁰¹ Strobel, Batavkohorten 290f.: »Nach den vorliegenden Befunden ist es wohl erlaubt, für die Cohortes Batavorum milliariae bis in (spät-)severische Zeit die Besonderheit anzunehmen, daß sie nicht wie ande-

(B) Three of the commanders known to us by their name who bore the title *tribunus* had been in charge of the Third Cohort³⁰², one had (perhaps) commanded the First³⁰³ and another the Ninth³⁰⁴ – of the cohorts II *Batavorum* (*milliaria*) neither *praefecti* nor *tribuni* are known.

(C) In view of what is said under (A) and (B) we are less confident than other scholars that in the case of the five commanders whose title is unknown³⁰⁵ we are dealing with *tribunes*. It cannot be ruled out that they were *praefects*.

Appendix III. Commanders of the post-Flavian cohorts *Batavorum*

Cohors I *Batavorum* (*quingenaria*):

- (1) Aelius Tertius (*praefect*, cf. note 114).
- (2) Lucius Antonius Proculus (*praefect*, cf. note 110).
- (3) Burrius (*praefect*, cf. note 107).
- (4) Aulus Cluentius Habitus (*praefect*, cf. note 109).
- (5) Titus D(omitius?) Cosconianus (*praefect*, cf. note 113).
- (6) Marcus Flaccinius Marcellus (*praefect*, cf. note 115).
- (7) Marcus Hispanius Modestinus (*praefect*, cf. note 116).
- (8) Marcus Simplicius Simplex (*praefect*, cf. note 111).

Cohors I *Batavorum* (*milliaria*)

- (9) [...]ius Cominianus (? , cf. note 82).
- (10) Galeo (Tettienus) Bellicus (? , cf. note 25).
- (11) Tullius Secundus (? , cf. note 65).
- (12) Aurelius Valentinus (*tribune*, cf. notes 90–91 and 303).

Cohors II *Batavorum*:

- (13) Lucius Vitellius (? , cf. note 136).

Cohors III *Batavorum*:

- (14) Claudius Tyrannus (*tribune*, cf. note 158).
- (15) Marcus Flavius Miles (*praefect*, cf. notes 164–165).
- (16) Seve[rus] (?) (*praefect*, cf. note 161).
- (17) Marcus Simplicius Quietus (*tribune*, cf. notes 157, 196–197).
- (18) Valerius Timotheus (*tribune*, cf. note 159).

re Cohortes *milliariae* von *Tribunen*, sondern von *Präfekten* geführt wurden (...). Wir werden diese *Eigenheit* wohl zu Recht auf einen Sonderstatus der *Bataver-* und *Tungrekerkohorten* im römischen Heere nach dem Jahre 70 n. Chr. zurückführen dürfen, auf eine besondere Stellung, die aus den zwischen Rom und ihren *Heimatcivitates* bestehenden Sonderkonditionen resultierte. Für die *Civitas Batavorum* wurde von *Civilis* offenkundig eine erneute Anerkennung ihrer privilegierten Bundesgenossenstellung erreicht«. Strobel's suggestion, accepted by e.g. Birley, *Garrison Life* 61, is rejected by R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 27, 1996, 461 (»this involves special pleading«), but Tomlin's own proposition: »that the (...) cohorts were each regularly divided between two stations

in charge of, respectively, a *praefect* (the formal commander) and a *praepositus*« is not very illuminating either.

³⁰² Claudius Tyrannus (CIL III 10329 = RIU VI 1454, cf. note 158), Valerius Timotheus (Année Épigr. 2003 no. 1453 = RIU-S 156, cf. note 159) and Marcus Simplicius Quietus (RIU VI 1441 = Année Épigr. 1935 no. 163, cf. note 157).

³⁰³ The third-century *τριβοῦνος Βαταίωνων* Aurelius Valentinus (Année Épigr. 1900 no. 169 = IG X 2.1, 151), if indeed he had commanded the First Cohort, which is not certain (cf. notes 90 and 91).

³⁰⁴ Titus Porcius Cornelianus (ILS 8852 = CIG 6771 = IG XIV 2433, cf. note 276).

³⁰⁵ See for them note 294.

Cohors VIII Batavorum³⁰⁶:

- (19) Flavius Genialis (prefect, cf. notes 205–206; 298).
- (20) Flavius Cerialis (prefect, cf. notes 203–204).
- (21) Titus Porcius Cornelianus (tribune, cf. note 276).
- (22) Modestus? (cf. note 252).
- (23) Marcus Victorius Provincialis (prefect, cf. notes 260–261).

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³⁰⁶ It is possible that the following men should be added to the list, but the evidence to prove this is not unequivocal: Hostilius Flavianus (Tab. Vindol. II, 172 and 261; cf. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 D 2, Birley, *Garrison Life* 122 f.), Vettius Severus (Tab. Vindol. II, 305; cf. PME V 80 bis, Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 D 3,

Birley, *Garrison Life* 123), Flavius Similis (Tab. Vindol. II, 235, 254, 286 and 347; cf. PME F 74 bis, Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 D 6), Veranius (Tab. Vindol. II, 319; cf. PME V 65a, Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 D 7, Birley, *Garrison Life* 122).

Summary. Eight cohortes Batavorum were stationed in Britain around the middle of the first century A. D. In the Year of the Four Emperors they were back on the continent and revolted openly under the leadership of Iulius Civilis, prefect of a ninth Batavian cohort. The revolt was crushed in A. D. 70, but this did not mean the end of the service of cohortes Batavorum in the Roman army of the Principate. We hear of one quingenary and four milliary cohorts, which were active as auxiliaries in Britain, Upper and Lower Germany, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia. Not only ethnic Batavi served in these cohorts.

Resümee. In der Mitte des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts waren acht Cohortes Batavorum in Britannien stationiert. Im Vierkaiserjahr waren sie wieder auf dem Kontinent und revoltierten offen unter der Führung von Iulius Civilis, Präfekt einer neunten batavischen Kohorte. Dieser Aufstand wurde 70 n. Chr. niedergeschlagen, doch bedeutete das nicht das Ende aktiver Cohortes Batavorum in der römischen Armee der Prinzipatszeit. Bezeugt sind eine Cohors quingenaria und vier Cohortes milliariae, die als Auxiliartruppen in den Provinzen Britannien, Ober- und Niedergermanien, Raetien, Noricum, Pannonien, Dakien und Moesien tätig waren. Nicht nur ethnische Batavi dienten in diesen Kohorten.

Samenvatting. Acht cohortes Batavorum waren omstreeks het midden van de eerste eeuw na Chr. gestationeerd in Britannia. In het Vierkeizerjaar waren zij terug op het vasteland, waar zij in opstand kwamen onder leiding van Iulius Civilis, prefect van een negende cohort. In het jaar 70 werd de opstand neergeslagen, maar dit betekende niet dat er een einde kwam aan het dienen van Bataafse cohorten in het Romeinse leger van het Principaat. We horen van één cohort van 500 man, en van vier cohorten die elk bestonden uit 1000 man. Zij waren actief als hulproepen in Britannia, Germania, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia en Moesia. Het waren niet alleen ethnische Bataven die in deze cohorten dienden.

Abbreviations

- Alexandrescu, Blasmusiker C.-G. Alexandrescu, Blasmusiker und Standartenträger im römischen Heer (Cluj-Napoca 2010).
- Alföldy, Hilfstruppen G. Alföldy, Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania inferior (Düsseldorf 1968).
- Alföldy, Equites G. Alföldy, Les equites romani et l'histoire sociale des provinces germaniques de l'empire romain, *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 24, 1977, 7–19.
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- Biancardi, Cavalleria M. Biancardi, La cavalleria romana del principato nelle province occidentali dell'impero (Bari 2004).
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