

Roman Army Units in the Western Provinces (2)

3rd Century AD



Raffaele D'Amato • Illustrated by Raffaele Ruggeri

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Series editor Martin Windrow

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INTRODUCTION



Front of a copper-alloy helmet from Rodez (Segodunum) in Aquitania, 3rd century AD. (Note that alloys which are all today loosely referred to as 'bronze' were in fact of various compositions, with a bright brass appearance.) This is the face-piece of a two-part helmet, originally pierced in a 'T-shape' for the eyes and nose only, but now with a hole broken through at the chin. The embossed decoration includes busts of Hercules and Mars, and there was a spray of leaves across the chin; the flange below this formed a continuation of the rear neckguard. The rear part of the helmet would have resembled the example from the river Wensum in Norfolk, Britannia – see page 18. Robinson classifies this as 'Cavalry Sports Type H'; in fact, such expensive helmets may not have been limited to the Hippika Gymnasia, but may have been a distinction of officers, bodyguards and other elite soldiers. (Musée Fénaille, Rodez; ex D'Amato-Negin – see Bibliography)

The disastrous aftermath of the assassination of the Emperor Severus Alexander in AD 235 saw the relative peace, stability and prosperity achieved by the Antonine and Severan dynasties destroyed, as a long series of usurping military adventurers fought to gain the throne. The consequent civil wars lasted for 50 years, and with good reason modern historians have called the 3rd century AD a period of military anarchy.

Between 235 and the accession of Diocletian in 284, power was claimed by no fewer than 27 pretenders (some of them paired in alliances), of whom probably only three died natural deaths. The longest reign was that of Gallienus (15 years, AD 253–268); the shortest, those of the father and son Gordian I and Gordian II (both for three weeks, in 238). The inevitable consequences included the breakdown of internal commerce, increased localism, and in the army collapses of discipline and cohesion and an increased 'barbarization' of recruitment. Meanwhile the inhabitants of the Empire suffered a long agony of foreign invasions, internal uprisings, famines and pestilence. Order at last began to be restored under Diocletian (r. AD 284–305), the greatest of several humbly born soldier-emperors of Illyrian birth. (Illyricum originally included the 'Danubian' provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia; from AD 293, Diocletian created a Praetorian prefecture of Illyricum encompassing these and the whole western Balkans, including Greece.)

Despite the anarchic situation, however, the Roman Army remained the most effective and powerful in the known world. Developments in operational organization and technologies eventually contributed to a number of important victories over external enemies which saved the Empire from this first wave of Germanic invasions. Gallienus – although he controlled little more than Italy and its northern approaches, the Danubian provinces (intermittently) and North Africa – introduced reforms, particularly to cavalry, that enabled his successors to recover control of the Empire. Twenty years later, Diocletian's sweeping reorganizations created the basis for the strong and efficient army of the Late Empire.

At least in the first half of this period, the Roman West was the region most affected by the crisis, which was aggravated by natural calamities and already-evident failures of the monetary system. Incursions by Germanic peoples – who penetrated the frontier defences (*limes*) of the Rhine – ravaged Germania, Raetia, Gallia and

CHRONOLOGY (AD)

197 After defeating the usurper Clodius Albinus, proclaimed by legions in Britannia and Hispania, the Emperor Septimius Severus divides the *provincia* of Britannia into Superior and Inferior.

212 The Emperor Caracalla, son of Septimius Severus, divides Hispania Tarraconensis (northern and eastern Spain) into two administrative regions, Hispania Nova Citerior and Asturiae-Callacae.

214 The Danubian *limes* are strengthened.

217 Assassination of Caracalla; proclamation of Praetorian prefect Macrinus.

218 Eliogabalus, allegedly a bastard son of Caracalla, proclaimed by Syrian legions.

222 Eliogabalus assassinated by Praetorian Guard, who proclaim his cousin Severus Alexander.

235 Severus Alexander assassinated during a German campaign; beginning of military anarchy.

235–238 The Emperor Maximinus Thrax leads the last deep Roman offensive into Germania Magna for 50 years.

253 After brief reigns of 13 proclaimed emperors and co-emperors since 238, Valerian is installed by Rhine legions, and reigns for seven years as co-emperor with his son Gallienus.

257 Franks and Alamans invade Western provinces. The Franks penetrate the *limes* of Germania Inferior and raid as far as Hispania Tarraconensis, sacking Tarragona, Gibraltar and even the coasts of Roman Mauretania.

260 After defeat at Edessa, Valerian dies in Persian captivity; Gallienus succeeds him, but Postumus, governor of Upper and Lower Germany, is also proclaimed by his troops. Postumus rules 'Gallic empire' including Gallia, Britannia, Hispania and (briefly) Raetia, and defeats Germanic incursions. Gallienus retains power in Italia, Pannonia and Noricum, resisting both other usurpers and Gothic invaders.

268 Both Postumus and Gallienus are assassinated.

(270–290) Fortification in Britannia of the *Saxonici Litu* – 'the Saxon Shore' – to resist seaborne attacks from across the North Sea.)

270 Aurelian proclaimed by Danube legions.

274 Aurelian defeats last 'Gallic emperor', Tetricus the Younger, at Chalons, but this defeat of the Gallic army leads to Germanic invasion of Germania Inferior.

275 Aurelian assassinated by a conspiracy between his secretary Mucapor and senior officers of the Praetorian Guard. After two more brief usurpers, Probus is proclaimed by the Danube legions.

277 Probus (r. 276–282) defeats Franks in Gallia Belgica.

282 Probus assassinated and succeeded briefly by three more usurpers.

284 Diocletian, commander of the *Protectores* units, is proclaimed by army, and begins to restore imperial order.

(284–293) Diocletian divides the Empire into East and West, ruling the former himself and appointing a co-emperor or 'Augustus', Maximian, in the West. Western provinces are divided between seven *diocesis* – Hispaniae, Viennensis, Galliae, Britanniae, Italiae, Pannoniae and Africa; and three *praefecturae praetorianae* – Gallia, Italia and Illyria.)

286 Diocletian attaches Sardinia to the Italian diocese. Maximian, ruling from Milan, defeats Gallic peasant rebellion of the 'Bacaudae' led by Amandus and Elianus. Germanic raids across the Rhine. Naval commander Carausius proclaimed emperor of Britannia and northern Gallia.

288 Maximian defeats Frankish king Gennoboudes; negotiated settlement of Franks around Augusta Treverorum.

(290–300) Many complex administrative reorganizations of diocese, provinces and prefectures in Britannia, Gallia, Belgica, the Germaniae, the Alpes, Raetia, Illyria (Pannonia, Dalmatia and Greece), Hispania, Mauretania and Africa.)

293 Institution of the Tetrarchy, with the 'Augustus' of the West and East each seconded by a deputy (and presumed successor) titled a 'Caesar'; Diocletian appoints Galerius his deputy in the East. Maximian's deputy, Constantius Chlorus, defeats Frankish allies of Carausius, who is assassinated by his treasurer Allectus.

294 Settlement of Salian Franks in Germania Secunda.

296 While Maximian campaigns on the Rhine and in Hispania, Constantius Chlorus's army invades Britannia and defeats and kills Allectus.

Italia, and destroyed much of Roman rural society. The most obvious evidence can be seen in the fortification of urban centres; for the first time since the days of Furius Camillus in the 4th century BC, strong new walls were built around Rome itself, indicating that even the heart of the Empire was no longer secure from attack. Many other cities were transformed into military strongholds guarding the routes of access into Italy as part of an articulated defensive system created by emperors of this period. This was especially true at the time of the conflict between Gallienus and the breakaway 'Gallic empire' in the AD 260s, when, in just one example, the new logistical and strategic importance of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) is confirmed by the presence there of oriental troops. The wide deployment of Illyrian soldiers in many Western provinces also brought with it changes in military equipment.

THE WESTERN PROVINCES

Notwithstanding the chaos of these times, the basic military organization of the West remained effective.

The northern border of Britannia again briefly advanced to the Antonine Wall in AD 208–211, after the victories of Septimius Severus over the Caledonians (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, 5), but thereafter the garrisons were once more withdrawn to Hadrian's Wall. From 230, Severus Alexander moved several units from the northern frontier down to the east coast, building forts at Brancaster, Caister-on-Sea and Reculver to resist maritime raids by the Franks and Saxons. Under the command of a *Comes Saxonici Litoris* ('Count of the Saxon Shore'), additional coastal bases were built in 270–290.

From the beginning of the 3rd century the Raetian and German *limes* suffered Germanic incursions, and from AD 254 the Rhine defences of Germania Inferior came under heavy attack by the Franks. The barbarians reached Mogontiacum (Mainz), only to be defeated by Legio VI Gallicana, in which the future Emperor Aurelian was serving as a tribune (SHA, *Aurel.* VII, 1–2). Forces from Illyria (eastern Europe including the western Balkans), under direct command of the Emperor Gallienus, then cleared the whole west bank of the Rhine.

However, after the destruction of the rebel 'Gallic empire' by Aurelian in AD 274 the Rhineland fell under Frankish control, and the area between the Rhine and the main road stretching from Cologne all the way to Boulogne was essentially lost forever. This 'Gallic road' connected to the axis which ran through the Pianura Padana (the territories flanking the Po Valley in northern Italia), linking the western Alpine passes to the Adriatic region. This route grew in strategic, logistic and administrative importance during both civil wars and barbarian incursions, especially from AD 286, when Mediolanum (Milan) became the imperial capital of the West. Given the dangers of invasions from the north and east, and of rebellions by usurping generals, thenceforward the main nodes along this vital backbone had to be protected by detachments of provincial border troops (*limitanei*), with reserves nearby drawn from the mobile imperial field armies, which were termed the *comitatenses*.

The *miliarii* (inscribed milestones) along Roman roads are important sources, being erected during road improvements to ease the movements of armies around the Empire. As a single example, a stone bearing the name of Maximinus Thrax was found near the interchange between road and water transport at Comum (Como), which became an important defensive and logistic link with the Danubian *limes* in the second half of the century. The new and urgent needs of defensive organization led to a rationalization of the road network, and a consequent stimulation of the local economy to satisfy the needs of troops stationed beyond the Alps.

It was recognized that the formerly stationary frontier army of the Danubian *limes* could no longer block Germanic incursions, thus leaving the hinterland defenceless. Consequently, mounted units were



Detail of the gravestone of the cavalryman Aurelius Lucius from Deva (Chester), Britannia, second half of the 3rd century. Note the enveloping face-piece, and the tall 'Attic'-type plume with a rear horse-tail; this may represent a helmet of Worthing typology – compare with photos on pages 3 & 18. (Grosvenor Museum, Chester; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)



Fragment of a horse's face-protecting chamfron, 3rd century, from Cinquantenaire in Belgica. (Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels; ex D'Amato-Negin)

Representation of a bronze shield with an *imago* boss, in a detail of a fresco from the wall of a *triclinium* in Narbo Martius, Gallia Narbonensis, beginning of 3rd century; compare with Plate A2. (Clos de la Lombarde, 'House of the Porches', fragment K; Musée Archéologique, Narbonne; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

positioned on strategically important routes. Noricum had become a first line of defence against increasing numbers of attacks since the Marcomannic Wars of the AD 160s, and continued to be throughout the 3rd century. Finds at important military sites along the *Clastra Alpium Iuliarum* route, such as Ulaka, also attest to the permanent presence of Roman soldiers on the lower borders of Pannonia Superior throughout the century.

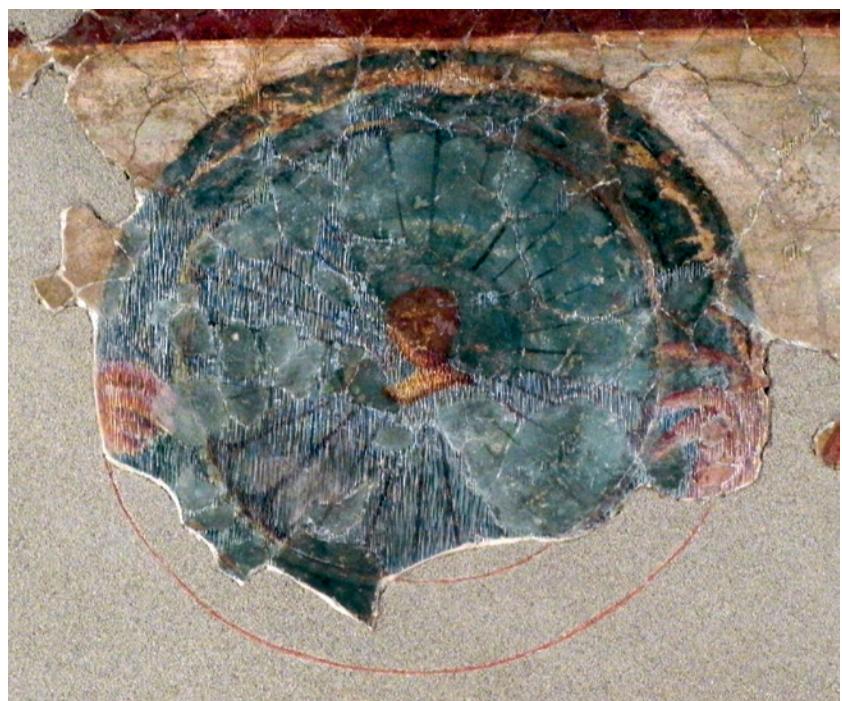
In Africa, after a last expansion in Numidia under the Severan emperors, the garrison of Africa–Numidia defended what is now eastern Algeria, southern Tunisia and western Libya. The defensive system of the Numidian Sahara was based on a 60km (37-mile) wall south of the Oued Djedi. Western Algeria was protected by the garrison of Mauretania Caesariensis, where evidence of two cavalry *alae*, three mixed *cohortes* (infantry and cavalry), four infantry *cohortes* and two *numeri* can be found. Less important forces were stationed in Carthage at the disposal of the proconsul of Africa.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF UNITS

See also MAA 506, *Roman Army Units in the Western Provinces (1): 31 BC–AD 195*, pages 8–12, 14 & 15 for basic information on the composition of Roman units in the early Empire.

Legiones

Legati and *tribuni* are still found commanding and officering the legions in the reigns of Eliogabalus, Severus Alexander and Maximinus Thrax (SHA, Al. Sev., XV, 5; L, 2; LIV, 7; Max, V, 1; V, 5; XV, 6), but alongside them, since the Severan period, the figure of the *dux* begins





to appear as military commander of a region or province (SHA, *Sev.*, IX, 8; *XVIII*, 9; *Eliog.*, VI, 2; *Ant. Diad.*, VIII, 4). The Roman Senate's letter of AD 238 informing military commanders of the uprising against Maximinus indicates a certain hierarchy: the *duces* are junior to legates, but senior to tribunes. Under Gallienus, after 260 the legionary legates formerly chosen from the senatorial socio-political order are seen no more, being replaced by *praefecti agentes vices praesidiis* selected from among the equestrian order. These prefects, entitled to the status of *vir egregii*, were later even promoted from the ranks.

In the early 3rd century all the historic ranks of 'commissioned and non-commissioned' soldiers are still found in the sources: i.e. the *ordinarii* and *principals*, the *primipilarius* and the *centuriones ordinarii* (SHA, *Al. Sev.*, L, 2), *primi, evocati* (CIL III, 11129), the *optiones legionis* and the *praefectus tironibus* (CIL III, 4114–10888). The internal organization of the legions remained unchanged, divided into *cohortes* (Herodian, *Rom. Hist.* V, III, 4, 4) and *centuriae* of *principes, hastati* and *triarii*. Centurions were now able to take up a wider range of command positions, however. The legionary detachments serving in the new field armies were led by *praepositi*; once a generic title for any small-unit commander, this was now formalized as a command position for senior centurions in the field armies. Gallienus created 1,000-strong *vexillationes* detached from each legion to form a more agile field army for operations against barbarians and usurpers alike. Following the emperor wherever the need arose, these units formed his *comitati* or *comitatus* (military 'retinue').

The subordinate ranks in the legions in Diocletian's day were probably quite similar to those of the earlier Empire. One of the senior centurion

Map showing the early Empire at its peak, in about AD 117. The basic eastern borders of the Western provinces were those of Pannonia and Dalmatia – very roughly, of 20th-century Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia – but the West also included Mauretania and Africa Proconsularis. For reasons of space we are unable to illustrate here Diocletian's very complex territorial reorganizations during the last 15 years of the 3rd century. (Map by JB Illustrations)



Helmets of 'Phrygian' shape are a type often neglected by scholars, but their use by the Roman Army of the 2nd-3rd centuries is confirmed by the iconographic record, e.g. sculptures on the Arch of Septimius Severus. This find from Rodez was perhaps used for both war and parade; only its upper part survives, measuring 25.9cm high by 17.5cm across the bottom (10in x 6.8in). (Reserve collection, Musée Archéologique Gallo-Romaine de la Fourvière, Lyon; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

Medallion shield boss of Minerva in copper alloy and silver, 2nd-3rd centuries, from Miltenburg-Altstadt in Germania Superior. (National Museum, Copenhagen; ex D'Amato-Negin)



or veteran positions, the drillmaster or *campiductor*, seems to have performed a similar role to the old *primus pilus* or *praefectus castrorum*; there were sometimes several of these men in a legion, who also functioned as leaders in combat. Better attested positions, some of them perhaps dating only from the later 3rd century, would include: *actuarius* (roughly, legionary quartermaster); *actarius*, *adiutor*, *canicularius*, *codicarius* and *librarius* (all grades and types of non-commissioned administrative clerks); and *draconarius*, *vexillarius* and *imaginarius* (bearers of, respectively, the 'windsock' *draco* standard, the legion's flag and the imperial portrait image). The *custos armorum* was responsible for the distribution of weapons within units.

From the time of Septimius Severus the conditions for soldiers in the Roman Army definitely improved. After AD 212 all of them were automatically granted Roman citizenship instead of having to await their discharge, but thereafter a military career remained attractive to those seeking social advancement. Their pay was increased and supplemented with donatives; their marriages were recognized as legal and their children as legitimate; and they could hope for access to positions, in the centurionate and beyond, previously reserved for members of the equestrian social order.

Units began to be differentiated between those of the static frontier army, and those of the mobile field army formed of detachments or 'vexillations' from frontier legions posted away to operate independently. For instance, vexillations of Legio II Parthica and Legio III Augusta, with their attached units of Auxilia, operated on the Pannonian borders, while detachments from Dacia Ripensis were located at Poetovio.

When Diocletian was reorganizing the army, he posted to the frontier the legions he duplicated, together with the vexillations of cavalry troops created by Gallienus. Two originally Illyrian legions, the Ioviani and the Herculiani (armed with the darts called *martiobarbuli*) were now attached to the emperor's mobile army or *comitatus*. Such field armies were smaller in numbers than was later the case, but they could be supplemented if necessary by drawing further upon the frontier armies.

Auxilia and cavalry

In the non-legionary forces, inscriptions still attest the existence of the mixed infantry-and-cavalry *cohortes equitatae* until the mid-3rd century, usually commanded by a *praefectus* (AE 1978, 530; CIL X, 6658).

The old rule that prefects only commanded quingenary units (i.e. 500 strong) was already changing at the turn of the 2nd/3rd centuries, when we also find this rank commanding *cohortes milliariae*. Under Gallienus the commanders of the most powerful cavalry units were termed *duces* or *praepositi*. Centurions and decurions still commanded some auxiliary *cohortes* and *alae*, as in the case of Valerius Martius, decurion of the Ala III Asturiae and simultaneously *praepositus* of a vexillation of Brittones in Mauretania Tingitana. Referring back to our period, the 4th-century writer Vegetius suggests that the cavalry *ala* was still divided into 16 sub-units called *turmae*, each consisting of some 30 men led by a *decurio*.

Legionary cavalrymen are mentioned in inscriptions (e.g. CIL VIII, 2568, 18, to an *optio equitum* of Legio III Augusta serving in

the 5th *centuria* of its 7th *cohors* in AD 220). Indeed, under Gallienus their number was greatly increased, to 726 men for each legion.

The great reforms of Gallienus gave birth to new standing contingents of cavalry: the Equites Mauri from North Africa and the Equites Dalmatae from Illyria, the Equites Promoti (detached legionary cavalry), and the Scutarii, based at Mediolanum, where gold coins were struck to honour the loyalty of what thereafter became a single formation commanded by a Magister Equitum. Gallienus also strengthened the units of mounted archers, and we find the Equites Stablesiani (which Tomlin suggests were mounted legionary bodyguards for provincial governors). Diocletian raised the first units of Guard cavalry known as Scholae, and used the Equites Promoti as crack cavalry alongside the Equites Comites.

Period sources still attest a remarkable mobility of deployment around the western corners of the Empire, for auxiliary units as well as legionary detachments. On Hadrian's Wall in Britannia we find archers from Syria, slingers from Crete and the Balearic Islands, light cavalry from Numidia, and heavier cavalry from Spain, Gaul and Thrace.

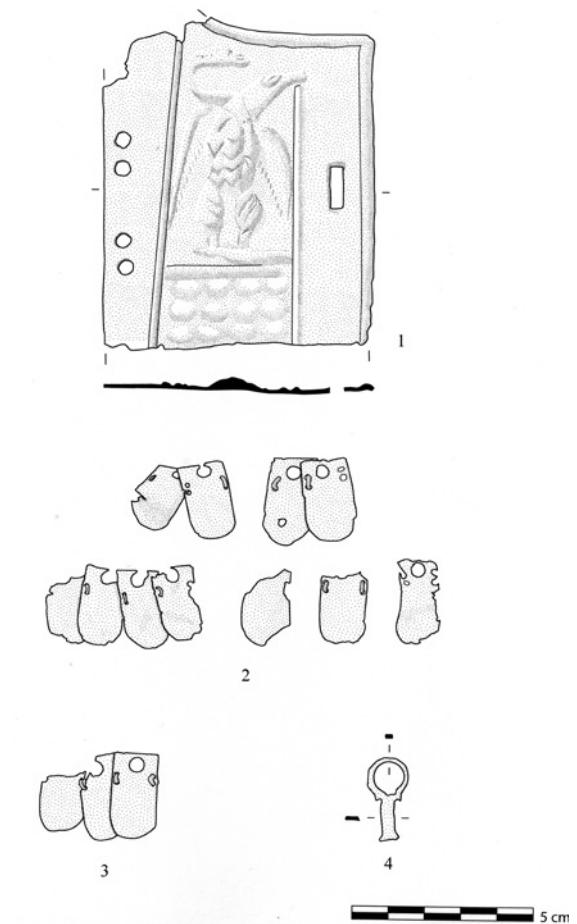
Minor foreign units

The titles *numerus* (generically, 'unit') and *cuneus* ('wedge') cover a wide variety of different smaller units, some drawn from the Auxilia and others recruited from peoples on the fringes of the Empire. *Limitanei* was a generic term for unspecified frontier troops. The *numeri* and *exploratores* (scouts) might include mounted elements; several inscriptions to Epona, the goddess revered by cavalrymen, suggest that the scouts at Walldurn on the Raetian frontier in AD 232 were among these. In the 2nd and early 3rd centuries, centurions could be transferred out of their legions and assigned to command *numeri* (CIL VIII, 2497–2498, 10949; AE 1926, 144–145 (Africa); CIL III, 1918, 8739 (Dalmatia), 11936, 14370.2 (Raetia); VII, 371 (Britannia), 21560).

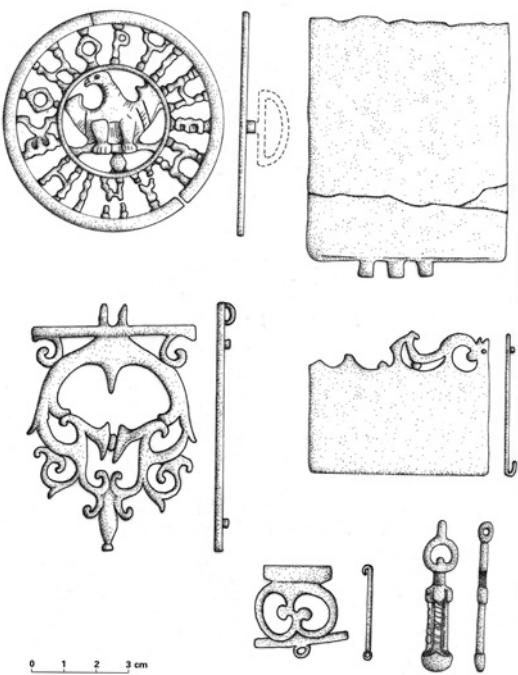
During the last quarter of the 3rd century, men of submitted Germanic tribes (termed *laeti*) were established by Diocletian and his colleagues in military settlements in the ruined territories of Gallia. Initially, such units retained at least some elements of their traditional equipment, before becoming Romanized or influenced by the customs of areas in which they were planted.

The garrison of Rome

Herodian (Rom. Hist., III, 13, 4) states that Septimius Severus had quadrupled the garrison, probably referring to the Illyrian army stationed outside the walls and to the settlement of Legio II Parthica on the Alban Hills near Rome (at Castra Albana). Severus created three new '*legiones Particae*', and the location of II Parthica was clearly



Fragments of copper-alloy armour from the Rue de Farges, Lyon (Gallia Lugdunensis), mid-3rd century. (1) One of a pair of pectoral plates; (2) scales; (3) attachment ring for pectoral plates. (Drawings by Andrea Salimbeni; ex Guillaud)



Elements of baldric and cingulum, 2nd-3rd centuries, from Mauretania Tingitana. (Left) Openwork phalera with eagle and invocation to Jupiter, from Thamusida, 6.8cm (2.7in) diameter; baldric terminal from Thamusida, 8cm x 3.2cm (3.15in x 1.25in).

(Upper right) Baldric terminals from Thamusida, 7.5cm and 4.3cm x 5.5cm (2.95in and 1.7in x 2.16in).

(Bottom right) Baldric terminal from Banasa, 2.5cm x 2.4cm (0.98in x 0.94in); belt pendant from Thamusida, 4.6cm x 1cm (1.8in x 0.39in). (Drawings by Andrea Salimbeti; ex Boube-Piccot)

Embossed early 3rd-century greaves with separate knee-pieces, from Straubing (Sorviodonum) in Raetia Secunda. Either made of or plated with copper alloy, these have been interpreted as equipment for the *Hyppika Gymnasia*, but this does not exclude their being used in battle. (Gäubodenmuseum, Straubing; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

intended to counterbalance the arbitrary power of the Italian-manned Praetorian Guard, which Severus dissolved in AD 193 and re-recruited with Illyrians from the Danube legions. The garrison of Rome then comprised 10,000 Praetorians (in ten milliary cohorts); 1,000 cavalry of the Equites Singulares; the Urbanici (SHA, Carac., IV, 6; Severus had added a fifth Urban Cohort); and presumably the 5,000 legionaries of II Parthica. The latter was commanded by a *praefectus* who had risen through the ranks, and was in simultaneous command of a select cavalry bodyguard of Extraordinarii Equites. The Castra Peregrina ('Foreigners' Camp') accommodated Moorish javelineers and Oshroenian archers from Mesopotamia. In AD 211–217 we also find reference in Rome to a unit of *Veterani Augusti Nostri*.

This Roman garrison, equivalent in number to three legions, formed the imperial mobile reserve. From the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus the II Parthica no longer fought as a complete legion but was dispersed in vexillations. Its manpower was reduced not only by casualties in the East, but also by detachment of the legion's *lanciarii* to form the new Guard unit of *Protectores* (perhaps during the reign of Gallienus), and Diocletian made further detachments.

To this total we should also add the city watchmen of the Cohortes Vigilum. The great inscription preserved in CIL VI, 1057, 1058, 31234, valuably records the names, ranks and functions of Cohors V Vigilum at the time of Septimius Severus. At the head of the list we find the *praefectus cohortium*, his deputy *subpraefectus*, a *tribunus*, the *centuriones*, and then a comprehensive list of 'non-commissioned' line and administrative officers, followed by rankers performing specialist functions.



DISTRIBUTION OF UNITS

The following table lists a considerable number of identified units stationed in the West, with locations and dates where known. Particularly under the circumstances of the 3rd century, no list can pretend to be comprehensive, and since many sources are fragmentary and inconsistent some duplications are inevitable (e.g. note multiple entries under Legio XIII/XIV, and the closely similar titles of some listed auxiliary units).

In the location column, the first unbracketed name is the Roman place name, if known; the modern name, if identified, is then bracketed; and the third is the province – though this may be the only identifiable location.

Legiones:

I Minervia (vex.)	Lugdunum (Lyon), Gallia Lugdunensis	198–211
Britannia		206–208
Bonna (Bonn), Germania Inferior		3rd century
Brigetio (Szóni), Pannonia		3rd cent
Mursa (Osijek), Pannonia		2nd–3rd cents
Castrum Rauracense (Kaiseraugst), Germ. Sup.		after 274
Aquincum (Budapest), Pannonia Inferior		until 269
Mursa (Osijek), Pannonia		3rd cent
(Carpow), Britannia		210–215
Magis (Piercebridge), Britannia		217
Isca Augusta/I. Silurum (Caerleon), Britannia		until 274 & 286–300
II Augusta	Rutupiae (Richborough), Britannia	274–286
II Italica	Celeia (Celje), Noricum	3rd cent
II Italica PF	Lauriacum (Lorch-Enns), Noricum	3rd cent
II Italica (vex.)	Vindobona (Vienna), Pannonia Sup.	April–May 268
II Parthica	Castra Albana, Italia	until 312
II Parthica (vex.)	Britannia	283–296
III Augusta	Lambaesis, Numidia	3rd cent
III Gallia	Africa Proconsularis	early 3rd cent
III Italica	Castra Regina (Regensburg), <i>limes</i> Raeticus	3rd cent
III Flavia Felix (vex.)	(Harzhorn, Germany), 'Barbaricum'	235
III Flavia Felix (vex.)	Galliae & Britannia	285–290
V Macedonica (vex.)	Poetovio (Ptuj), Pannonia	260
VI Gallicana	Mogontiacum (Mainz), Germania Sup.	257
VI Victrix	(Carpow), Britannia	2nd–3rd cents
VI Victrix (vex.)	Corstopitum (Corbridge), Britannia	2nd–3rd cents
VI Victrix	Eboracum (York), Britannia	3rd cent
VII Gemina	Legio (Léon), Hispania Tarraconensis	whole 3rd cent
VII Gemina (vex.)	Italica, Hispania Baetica	early 3rd cent
VII Gemina (vex. vet.)	Asturica Augusta (Astorga), Hisp. Tarraconensis	222–235
VIII Augusta (vex.)	Vindobona (Vienna), Pannonia Sup.	April–May 268
VIII Augusta	Argentoratum (Strasbourg), Germania Sup.	3rd cent
X Gemina PF	Gornioi, Pannonia	2nd–3rd cents
	Vindobona (Vienna), Pannonia Sup.	3rd cent
XI Claudia	Aquileia, Italia	3rd cent
XIII Gemina (vex.)	Poetovio (Ptuj), Pannonia Sup.	mid-3rd cent
XIII Gemina	Carnuntum, Pannonia	3rd cent
XIV Gemina Martia Victrix (vex.)	Mursa (Osijek), Pannonia	2nd–3rd cents
XIII Gemina (vex.)	Aquileia, Italia	246
XIV Gemina	Siscia (Nova Siska-Sisak), Pannonia	3rd cent
XIII Gemina	Carnuntum, Pannonia Sup.	3rd cent
XV Apollinaris	Pannonia Sup.	3rd cent
XX Valeria Victrix	Deva (Chester), Britannia	196–212 & from 296
XXII Primigenia (vex.)	Isca Augusta/I. Silurum (Caerleon), Britannia	200–300
XXII Primigenia	Italia	258
XXII Primigenia	Mogontiacum (Mainz), Germania Sup.	2nd–3rd cents
XXX Ulpia Victrix PF (vex.)	Lugdunum (Lyon), Gallia Lugdunensis	197
XXX Ulpia Victrix PF (vex.)	Pannonia	206–208
	Britannia	208–211
	Upper Rhine & Germania	213 & 235–238
Vexillatio	Magis (Piercebridge), Britannia	217
Vexillatio	Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), Pannonia Inf.	242 & 260–268
Vexillatio	North Italy	260
Vexillatio	Castra Vetera (Xanten), Germania Inf.	260–275
Vexillatio	Gelduba (Krefeld-Gellep), Germania Inf.	from 276
Vexillatio	Gesoriacum (Bononia), Belgica Secunda	287–296
Cohortes:		
Baetica	Bergomum (Bergamo), Italia Transpadana, Regio XI (Marköbel), Germania Sup.	200
Equitata (title unknown)		200
mil. nova Severiana (Antoniniana)		
Surorum eq. CR	Ulcisia Castra (Szentendre), Pannonia	3rd cent
Quin. eq. (title unknown)	Castellvicus (Rainau-Buch), Raetia	200–260
CR (x 4 – titles unknown)	Hispania Tarraconensis	3rd cent
I Aelia Brittonum mil. Antoniniana	Virunum (Tannenberg), Noricum	3rd cent
I Aelia Dacorum mil. Antoniniana		
Gordiana Postumiana	Banna (Birdoswald), Britannia	205–222
Tetricianorum Probiania	Camboglanna (Castlesteads), Britannia	205–300
Equitata (title unknown)	(Lorch), Germania Sup.	200
I Aelia Brittonum mil.	Favianis (Mautern), Noricum	until mid-3rd cent
I Aelia Hispanorum mil. eq.	Castra Exploratorum (Netherby), Britannia	222
I Aquitanorum	Britannia	early 3rd cent
I Aquitanorum vet. eq.	(Stockstadt), Germania Sup.	249

Abbreviations in table

When using the table, please note:

*Unless specifically identified as a *cohors* or *ala millaria* (i.e. nominally 1,000 strong), all auxiliary *cohortes* and cavalry *alae* ('wings', regiments) are assumed to be *quingenaria* (nominally 500 strong) – although only a minority specifically include this word in their title.

*Likewise, only a minority of cohort titles include the word *peditata* (infantry); most others, but perhaps not all, are assumed to be infantry unless they are specifically termed *equitata* (part-mounted).

*Abbreviations which we have used in unit titles are:

camp. = *campestris*, auxiliary unit enlisted from Roman citizens

CR = *Civium Romanorum*, honorific title marking former block award of Roman citizenship

eq. = *equitata*, cohort of mixed infantry and cavalry

mil. = *millaria*, unit nominally 1,000 strong

ped. = *peditata*, infantry

PF = *Pia Fidelis*, 'Pious and Loyal', honorific granted for distinguished service

quin. = *quingenaria*, unit nominally 500 strong

sag. = *sagittariorum*, unit of archers

vet. = *veterana*, unit formed of men nearing end of their service

vex. = *vexillatio*, detachment

vol. = *voluntariorum*, 'volunteers', perhaps foreigners resident in the Empire

I	Alpinorum eq.	Lussonium, Pannonia Inf.	252–253
I	Asturum eq.	(Mainhardt), Germania Sup.	200
I	Asturum	Britannia	260
I	Asturum et Callaecorum CR	(Ain Shokour), Mauretania Tingitana	before 222
I	Aurelia Dardanorum	Coracum, Pannonia Inf.	3rd cent
I	Aurelia Antoniniana nova	Pannonia Inf.	195
	Severiana		
I	Batavorum eq.	Brocolitia (Carrawburgh), Britannia	3rd cent
I	Baetasiorum (or Betasiorum) CR	Regulbium (Reculver), Britannia	3rd cent
I	Biturigum eq.	(Langenhein), Germania Sup.	200
I	Breucorum CR	(Pfünz), Raetia	until 260
I	Brittorum Aelia mil.	Noricum	267
I	camp. Vol. CR Antoniniana	Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), Pannonia Inf.	3rd cent
I	Celtiberorum	Cidadelia (Coruña), Hispania Tarraconensis	early 3rd cent–270
I	CR eq.	(Seligenstadt), Germania Sup.	until 260
I	Cugernorum Ulpia Traiana CR	Pons Aelius (Newcastle-upon-Tyne), Britannia	213
I	Dacorum Aelia mil.	Banna (Birdoswald), Britannia	3rd cent
I	Delmatarum eq.	Bremum (High Rochester), Britannia	3rd cent
I	Delmatarum mil.	Dalmatia	until 268
I	Fida Vardullorum Antoninianae eq. mil. CR	Bremum (High Rochester), Britannia	216–241
I	Flavia Brittonum mil.	Virunum (Sankt Veit An der Glan), Noricum	267
I	Flavia Canathenorum mil. Sag.	Sorviudorum (Straubing), Raetia	200–250
I	Flavia Damascenorum mil. eq. sag.	(Friedberg), Raetia	200
I	Flavia eq.	Rigomagus (Remagen), Germania Inf.	250
I	Frisiavonum quin.	Melandra, Mamucium (Manchester), Brocolitia (Carrawburgh), Vindobala (Rudchester), Britannia	
I	Germanorum CR	Jagsthausen), Germania Sup.	3rd cent
I	Helvetiorum	Vicus Aurelius (Öhringen), Germania Sup.	until 260
I	Lingonum eq.	Longovicum (Lanchester), Britannia	238–244
I	Ligurum et Hispaniorum CR	(Niedernberg), Germania Sup.	until 260
I	Nervana Germanorum mil. eq.	Banna (Birdoswald), Britannia	3rd cent
I	Pannionorum quin.	Aballava (Burgh-by-Sands), Britannia	253–258
I	Raetorum	(Schirrenhof), Raetia	until 260
I	Septima Belgarum	Vicus Aurelius (Öhringen), Germania Sup.	200–226
I	Ulpia Traiana camp. vol.	Mursa (Osijek), Pannonia	3rd cent
I	Sequanorum et Rauracorum eq.	Triputenses (Miltenberg-Altstadt), Germania Sup.	until 260
I	Thracum CR	Banna (Birdoswald), Britannia	205–208
I	Thracum eq.	(Bowes), Britannia	3rd cent
I	Treverorum eq. Maximiana	(Kastell Zugmantel), <i>limes</i> Germania Sup.	222–238
I	Tungrorum mil.	Vercovicium (Housesteads), Britannia	3rd cent
I	Ulpia Traiana Cugenorum CR	Pons Aelius (Newcastle-upon-Tyne), Britannia	213
I	Vangionum mil. eq.	Habitancum (Risingham), Britannia	205–208
I	Alpinorum eq.	Pannonia Sup.	200
II	Aquitanorum CR	(Kümpfmühl), Raetia	until 260
II	Asturum eq.	Aesica (Greatchester), Britannia	3rd cent
II	Aurelia Dacorum Antoniniana	Cornacum (Sotin), <i>limes</i> Pannonicus	3rd cent
II	Aureliae Dardanorum mil.	Cornacum (Sotin), <i>limes</i> Pannonicus	211–235
II	Breucorum	(Henchir Souki), Mauretania Caesariensis	243–283
II	Delmatarum (or Dalamatarum) eq.	Magnesia (Carvoran), Britannia	3rd cent
II	Gallorum vet. eq.	Voreda (Old Perith), Britannia	235/244–249
II	mil. Sag. CR	Mauretania Tingitana	208
II	Lingonum eq.	(Brough-under-Stainmore), Britannia	3rd cent
II	Nervia Brittonum mil. CR	Pannonia	early 3rd cent
II	Antoniniana PF	Segedunum (Wallsend), Britannia	3rd cent
II	Nerviorum CR	Epiacum (Whitley Castle), Britannia	3rd cent
II	Raetorum CR	(Saalburg), Germania Sup.	until 257
II	Raetorum	(Straubing-West), Raetia	until 260
II	Sardorum	Ad Rupidum (Sour Djouab) Altava, Altavista (Hadjar Roum), Mauretania Caesariensis	193–201
II	Thracum eq. PF	Cannabiacava (Zeilsemauer), Noricum	until end 3rd cent
II	Thracum eq.	Gabrosentum (Moresby), Britannia	3rd cent
II	Treverorum	(Holzhausen), Germania Sup.	3rd cent
II	Tungrorum mil. eq.	Camboglanna (Castlesteads), Britannia	241
II	Alpinorum eq.	Dalmatia	217–222
III	Alpinorum Dardanorum	Siscia (Sisak), Pannonia Sup.	from 223
III	Aquitanorum eq. CR	Pannonia	3rd cent
III	Philippiana	(Stockstadt), Germania Sup.	244–249
III	Bracaraugustanorum CR	(Kastell Osterburken), Germania Sup.	until 260
III	Brittanorum eq.	(Theilenhofen), Raetia	until 260
III	Dalmatorum PF	Abusina (Eining), Raetia	until 260
III	Thracum CR	(Kastell Rückingen), <i>limes</i> Germania Sup.	until 260
III	Thracum vet.	(Gnotzheim), <i>limes</i> Raeticus	until 260
III	Breucorum	(Rainau-Buch), Raetia	until 260
III	Aquitanorum eq. CR	Vindomora (Ebchester), Britannia	3rd cent
III	Breucorum	(Ingelheim), Germania Sup.	210
III	Gallorum	(Kastell Obernburg), Germania Sup.	260
III	Gallorum eq.	Vindomora (Ebchester), Britannia	3rd cent
III	Vindelicorum	(Ruffenhofen), Raetia	until 260
III	Sugambrorum	Vindolanda (Chesterholm), Britannia	3rd cent
III	Tungrorum Milliaria	(Großkrotzenburg), Germania Sup.	until 260
V	Bracaraugustanorum	Mauretania Caesariensis	255
V	Breucorum CR	near Volubilis (Ain Shokour), Mauretania Tingitana	222–235
V	Dalmatarum	(Kunzing), Raetia	until 260
V	Lingonum eq.	Boiodurum (Passau-Innstadt), Noricum	until mid-3rd cent
V	Gallorum	(Arnsburg), Germania Sup.	200
V	Nerviorum	Segedunum (Wallsend), Britannia	3rd cent
VI	Breucorum CR	Caromago (Cramond), Britannia	until 222
VI	Hispania	Arbela (South Shields), Britannia	front 222
VI	Ingeniorum CR	Virosidum (Brough-by-Bainbridge), Britannia	3rd cent
VI	Lusitanorum	Pannonia	early 3rd cent
		Aquileia, Italia	3rd cent
		Germania Inf.	mid-3rd cent
		(Unterböbingen), Raetia	200

VI Nerviorum CR	Virosidum (Brough-by-Bainbridge), Britannia	3rd cent
VI Raetorum	(Brough-under-Stainmore), Britannia	3rd cent
VII Raetorum eq.	(Niederbieber), Germania Sup.	259–260
VII Voluntariorum Philippiana	Tilurium (Gardun), Dalmatia	200–254
IX Batavorum eq. mil.	(Passau-Alstadt), Raetia	until 260
XV Voluntariorum CR	Matilo (Roomburg), Germania Inf.	3rd cent
XXVI Voluntariorum CR	(Heddesdorf), Germania Sup.	200
XXVI Voluntariae	Latium et Campaniae, Regio I, Italia	230
XXXII Voluntariorum CR	(Oberflorstadt), Germania Sup.	200
XXXIII Voluntariorum CR	(Murrhardt), Germania Sup.	200
Aiae:		
Augusta Gallorum Petriana bis		
torquata mil. CR		
Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana	Uxelodunum (Stanwix), Britannia	3rd cent
Augusta Vocontiorum CR mil.	Olenacum (Old Carlisle), Britannia	185–242
Gallorum et Thracum Classiana	Britannia	3rd cent
invicta bis torquata CR	Germania Inf.	early 3rd cent
Asturum	Cavillonum (Chalon-sur-Saône), Gallia	3rd cent
Hispanorum Vettorum CR	Vinovium (Birchester), Britannia	early 3rd cent
Indiana Gallorum	(Echzell), Germania Sup.	200
Miliaria	Altava, Altavista (Hadjar Roum), Mauretania	3rd cent
Moesica	Caesariensis	200
Parthorum	(Butzbach), Germania Sup.	3rd cent
Thracum	Altava, Altavista (Hadjar Roum), Mauretania	3rd cent
I Augusta ob virtutem appellate	Caesariensis	185–242
I Hispanorum Asturum quin.	Olenacum (Old Carlisle), Britannia	3rd cent
I Hispanorum Auriana	Segedunum (Wallsend), Britannia	from 200
I Canninefati	Condercum (Bennwell), Britannia	until 260
I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana	(Weissenburg), Raetia	3rd cent
I Comagenorum	Tipasa, Mauretania Caesariensis	233–235
I Flavia Singularium CR	Mauretania Caesariensis	3rd cent
I Pannoriorum	Comagena (Tuln), Noricum	until 260
I Pannoriorum Sabiniana	(Pörring), Raetia	early 3rd cent
I Pannoriorum Tampiana Victrix	Castellum Dimmidi, Africa Proconsularis	3rd cent
I Thracum sag. vet.	Onnum (Haltonchesters), Britannia	early-mid cent
I Scubulorum	Lentia (Linz), Noricum	200–253
II Asturum	Aquincum (Budapest), Pannonia	200
III Asturum	Campona (Nagyteteny), Pannonia	3rd cent
II Flavia Hispaniorum CR	(Welzheim), Germania Sup.	210
I Flavia Gemelliana	Cilurnum (Chesters), Britannia	early 3rd cent
II Flavia mil.	Thamusida, Mauretania Tingitana	until 260
II Gallorum Sebosiana	(Léon), Hispania Tarraconensis	262–266
II Pannoriorum	(Kösching), Raetia	2nd–3rd cents
II Pia Gemina Sebastena	(Aalen), Raetia	201
II Thracum Augusta	(Lancaster), Britannia	262
Auxilia Herculensis	Dura (Szombathely), Belegisa (Slankamen),	end 3rd cent
Brittones Aurelianenses	Pannonia	200
Brittones	(SW Ouarsenis), Mauretania Caesariensis	200
Brittones Elatienses	Caesarea (Cherchell), Mauretania Caesariensis	200
Brittones et exploratores	Castra ad Herculem (Pilismarót), Pannonia	200
Brittones Gentiles	(Ohringen), Germania Sup.	210
Brittones Stu...?	Vobulibus, Thamusida, Mauretania Tingitana	until 260
I Cohors Urbana	(Kastell Osterburken), Germania Sup.	200
Equites Dalmatae	(Welzheim), Germania Sup.	200
Numeri, cunei, etc.:		
Cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium	(Walldürn), limes, Germania Sup.	200
Cuneus Frisionum Ver	Triputenses (Miltenberg-Altstadt), Germania Sup.	200
Cuneus Frisionum Vinoviensium	Aesica (Greatchester), Britannia	200
Exploratores Sturi	Boiodurum (Passau-Innstadt), Noricum	200
Exploratores Tripuitenses	(Halheim), Raetia	200
Gaeasatorum Raetorum (vex.)	(Gunzenhausen), Raetia	200
Limitanei	(Oberhochstatt), Raetia	200
Numerus	(Böhming), Raetia	200
Numerus	(Ellingen), Raetia	200
Numerus	(Niederbieber), Germania Sup.	200
Numerus	(Kastell Obernburg), Germania Sup.	200
Numerus Brittonum	(Heitrich), Germania Superior	200
Numerus Cattharenium	Concangis (Chester-le-Street), Britannia	3rd cent
Numerus Concangisium	Habitancum (Risingham), Britannia	205–208
Numerus Exploratorum	Bremenium (High Rochester), Britannia	238–241
Numerus Exploratorum	(Niederbieber), Germania Sup.	200
Germanicanorum Divitiensium	Triputenses (Miltenberg-Altstadt), Germ. Sup.	until 260
Numerus Exploratorum	(Murrhardt), Germania Sup.	until 260
Seiopensium	Vercovicium (Housesteads), Britannia	3rd cent
Numerus Exploratores	Aballava (Burgh-by-Sands), Britannia	253–258
Tribocorum et Bolorum	(Kapersburg), Germania Sup.	200
Numerus Hnaudifridi	(Walldürn), Germania Sup.	until 260
Numerus Maurorum	Banna (Birdoswald), Britannia	3rd cent
Aurelianorum		
Numerus Nidensium		
Officiales Brittonum et		
Dediticiorum Alexandrianorum		
Venatores Bannienses		

Auxiliary unit titles

Cohortes and alae of the Auxilia (non-legionary) component of the army might bear numbered or unnumbered titles; a number is presumed to indicate the chronological order of raising in a particular province or from a particular tribal people – though occasionally both are indicated, (e.g. *Ala I Hispanorum Asturum*, '1st Cavalry Regiment of Asturian Spaniards').

Occasionally, titles indicate particular equipment (e.g. *sagittariorum*, 'of bowmen'; *gaesatorum*, 'of heavy spearmen'; *scutata*, 'with the legionary shield').

Apart from *Pia Fidei*, honorific titles awarded for distinguished service included *Fida* ('Faithful'), and *Invicta* ('Undefeated'). A collective decoration, such as Celtic torques added to the standard, was indicated by a suffix (e.g. *bis torquata*, 'twice decorated').

Many units also bore the name of the emperor or imperial dynasty under which they were raised (e.g. *Flavia* for Vespasian, Titus or Domitian; *Ulpia* or *Ulpia Traiana* for Trajan; *Aelia* for Hadrian or Antoninus Pius; *Antoniniana* for Antoninus Pius; *Aurelia* for Marcus Aurelius or Commodus; and *Severiana* for Septimius Severus).

That this practice continued during the chaotic mid-3rd century AD is proved by some unit names, e.g. *I Treverorum equitata Maximiniana*, a part-mounted cohort raised near Trier on the Rhine under Maximinus Thrax (r. 235–238); and *VIII Voluntariorum Philippiana*, a (foreign?) volunteer unit raised under Philip the Arab (r. 244–249). One Dacian double-size cohort, raised originally under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, is listed under an extraordinary compound title having been successively named for a whole string of usurpers between AD 238 and 282: *I Aelia Dacorum millaria Antoniniana Gordiana Postumiana Tetricianorum Probiiana*.

ARMS & EQUIPMENT

'BARBARICUM'

Paradoxically, some of the most striking Roman military equipment of this period has been discovered outside the borders of the Germanic provinces. Graves and ritual water-deposits in the marshes of Illerup Ådal, Thorsbjerg, Vimose and other localities included swords, spears, daggers, shield bosses, and some important helmets and armour. These were presumably either war booty, gifts, payment for mercenary service or trade goods.

A helmet typologically identical to that found at Heddernheim was unearthed on Thorsbjerg Moor; studied by Matešić, and digitally restored, it is dated to AD 230–260. Surviving parts include the neckguard, two ear-protectors, the browband, a crest-piece, two decorative 'snakes' and two medallions. Thorsbjerg also yielded a famous specimen of mask helmet of the 'Mater Castrorum' type, now preserved in the Schleswig-Holstein Landes-Museum, and perhaps associated with the heavy cavalry who served on the Rhine under Severus Alexander and Maximinus (see Elite 225, *Roman Heavy Cavalry (1)*, pages 30, 38 & Plate C). Six precious Roman mail shirts of the 3rd century were also found at Thorsbjerg. A specimen from Vimose, Denmark, is nearly complete to elbow- and knee-length, and shows decorative copper-alloy ('bronze') rings mixed with the iron rings. Some 3rd-century iron and copper-alloy shield bosses with flat flanges from Illerup Ådal show parallels with others from Pannonia and the Upper German frontier.

Long double-edged swords (*spathae*) from 'barbaric' regions along the Rhine and Danube *limes* have been typologically classified by e.g. Ulbert, Biborski and Miks, and dated to the first half of the century. The Straubing-Nydam type (blade 55–80cm/21.6–31.5in) has straight, convergent cutting edges and tapering width; the Lauriacum-Hromówka type, of the same length range but wider, has parallel edges and an ogival point. Among well-dated finds from Illerup Ådal and Ejbøl archaeologists have classified 12 different variants, some comparable to specimens from Gallia Lugdunensis. Shorter infantry 'semi-spathae' have also been found at Nydam, and at Pławniowice (Poland). Vimose has yielded many moulded scabbard-slides (belt-fastening loops).

Roman 'hyposandal', a tied-on protective iron cover for a horse's hoof, from the battlefield of Harzhorn in the German 'Barbaricum', c.AD 235. Finds of these items are not particularly rare, but their exact purpose and circumstances of use are still a matter of debate. They were presumably too cumbersome to be worn by cavalry mounts in action, but since this example was found on a battlefield we cannot absolutely exclude the possibility. (Photo courtesy Drs Petra Lönne & Michael Geschwind)



Recent discoveries on the battlefield of Harzhorn (AD 235/236) have revealed traces of the expedition into the heart of Germany under Maximinus Thrax. Subject to further investigation, about 1,700 of the artefacts found are of Roman origin and can be dated with relative safety. It seems that the Roman troops made a successful infantry attack strongly supported by catapults and archers, and a cavalry charge. Among others, Legio IIII Flavia Felix left on the battlefield pieces of helmets of Heddernheim and/or Niederbieber types, detachable iron hoof-protectors for horses (so-called 'hyposandals'), tools, coins, and items confirming the presence of carts and pack-mules. The 214 projectiles found include 43 arrowheads of which 24 are of 'three-winged' shape; *pila* and leaf-shaped spearheads; and numerous *ballista* bolts, many with tips deformed by impacts. Armour fragments include pieces of ringmail, scales, *lorica segmentata* ('laminated' armour) and greaves. A *dolabra* (pickaxe) blade is inscribed 'LEG IIII S A', interpreted by Günther Moosbauer and Rainer Wiegels as Legio IIII Flavia Severiana Alexandriana, an updated renaming of Legio IIII Flavia Felix. This is seen as evidence for the presence in this battle of at least a vexillation, notwithstanding the legion's main camp at this date being at Singidunum (Belgrade) in Moesia Superior. Recently Prof Geschwinden kindly informed the author that a fragmentary *baltheus*, similar to one found at Dura and published by Simon James, has been found in a water site near the battlefield, and was presumably booty taken by the Germans.

AQUITANIA

An important mask helmet – by Robinson's classification, 'Cavalry Sports Type H' – was found at Rodez. Its embossed decoration represents Hercules with his club (right side); a helmeted Minerva (left side); a Medusa head and serpents (lower front, beneath the chin); and a thick cable pattern around the outer rim of the roughly T-shaped face opening. A very fragmentary helmet from Poitiers (Limonum) is of Niederbieber shape but might be gladiatorial. (Since the publication of Robinson's seminal work in 1975, more recent scholars have questioned his classification of all helmets with extensive face protection as being for cavalry, and of highly decorated examples being necessarily for 'cavalry sports' only; but his system retains its value for cross-referencing finds, without excluding their possible use by both cavalry and infantry both for parade and battle.)

'Semi-spathae' of ring-pommel type include a 2nd or 3rd-century specimen found at Saint Goussaud near Augustomitum (Limoges).

BELGICA (PRIMA & SECUNDA)

One of the few specimens of long swords of Lauriacum-Hromówka type from France was found at Bavay (ancient Bagacum Nerviorum). It has been called a 'semi-spatha', but, although broken, it was still 59.5cm (23.4in) long. Small models of swords from Augusta Treverorum attest the use of disc scabbard-chapes. From Cinquantenaire near Brussels came an interesting specimen of a decorated horse chamfron.

Among many relevant sculptures preserved in the museum at Langres (Andematum Lingonum), one represents a Gallic woman desperately appealing to an implacable late 3rd-century legionary. This may be linked with the ruthless repression by the troops of Maximian following the peasant rebellions of the so-called Bacaudae (see page 19).



Leaf-shaped Roman spearhead from the battlefield of Harzhorn. Third-century spear shafts from Danish bogs show decorative carving below the socket. (Photo courtesy Drs Petra Lönne & Michael Geschwinden)



Specimen of ring-pommel sword from Saint-Goussaud-Lavaud, near Limoges (Augustoritum) in Aquitania, 2nd-3rd centuries. (Drawing by Andrea Salimbeni; ex Guillaud)

BRITANNIA (SUPERIOR & INFERIOR)

The *phalera* of Aurelius Cervianus, a military badge (probably for armour) of the second half of the 3rd century, gives us an idea of the appearance of Legio XX Valeria Victrix stationed at Deva (Chester) and Isca Augusta (Caerleon), as well as the soldiers of Legio II Augusta at the latter base. Also represented are the *vexillum legionis* (see Elite 221, *Roman Standards & Standard-Bearers (1): 112 BC-AD 192*), the boar *genius legionis* of Legio XX and the Capricorn of the II Augusta.

Cavalry helmets of pseudo-Attic typology include the example from Guisborough (Robinson's 'Cavalry Sports Type I'), which has the diadem decorated with snakes, and the rear of the bowl extended vertically down to a small, almost horizontal neckguard. That from Worthing in Norfolk ('Cavalry Sports Type H' – see page 18) has a large eagle 'comb' or metal crest; although missing from that example, the face-pieces of such helmets completely covered the wearer's chin (see page 3). Dated to the second quarter of the 3rd century, the stele of the cavalryman Aurelius Lucius from Chester shows a helmet with a T-pierced masked face; probably of the same style as the Worthing specimen, it is surmounted by a high feather or hair crest and a trailing 'tail'.

Another important find was a substantial portion of a scale-armour corselet complete with its textile backing – a rare find in the West – which was recovered from the Severan layers at the fortress of Carpow and restored in the laboratories of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. The small, quadrangular copper-alloy scales have rounded lower corners. Each is pierced with three pairs of holes, two on opposite sides and the third on the same alignment at the top. The scales were first laid out in rows, evidently mounted on the fabric 'shirt' starting at the lower hem. Each overlapped its neighbour to the left when seen from the front, with the side holes coinciding; a short piece of bronze wire was then pushed through these and bent over at the back. The individual rows of scales were then fastened to the textile backing. A linen cord was laid horizontally across the top of the scales in line with the third pair of holes; a fine linen yarn was then sewn from the back through the supporting fabric, through one hole in the scale, over the cord, and back through the other hole. This fastening was protected by the overlapping lower edge of each successive row of scales. The neck of the armour was reinforced with a thin leather binding, folded over and sewn in place with two superimposed leather thongs passed through holes alternately from front and back. As stated by Dr D. P. Wild, the method of securing the scales offers both strength and flexibility, and the care taken with the leather neck binding demonstrates a high standard of craftsmanship.

Remains of the articulated so-called *lorica segmentata* were found in Caerleon. Excavation of barracks at Segedunum recovered an apparently complete ringmail shirt of the late 3rd or early 4th century, together with a fragment of a decorated greave. The mail shows typical Roman construction, with four rings looped through each other one in alternating lines of riveted and solid welded links, respectively of 8mm and 7mm diameter; the shirt weighs c.5.44kg (12lbs).

Third-century images of the war-god Mars are useful evidence. For example, a sculpture from Birley today in Gloucester Museum shows a warrior with a *sagum* cloak and, under a typical ring-buckle belt, an armour with what at first appear to be hanging *pteryges* not separated

but continuous, suggesting a one-piece padded armour like a medieval gambeson. We cannot exclude the possibility that this represents the *thoracomacus* worn under other armour, but various Roman iconography shows soldiers in action wearing similar quilted garments; they can also be seen on a relief of Mars from Vercovicium, and perhaps on a cavalryman's tombstone from Whitcombe.

Third-century belt elements include a range of typologies including typical oval ring-buckles (e.g. from South Shields), and decorated belt plates of *millefiori* type were found in York and Corbridge, together with perforated belts. ('Millefiori' decoration involved melting fine glass rods of contrasting colours onto metal plates to form patterns.) Various strap ends from South Shields attest the last employment by early 3rd-century infantry of the 'aprons' hanging from the belt, echoing images on the Severan Arch of Argentarii in Rome. Interestingly, some Roman soldiers in Britannia used belt fittings with Celtic-style ornamentation, e.g. those from Chesters, where 'trumpet'-style brooches for fastening garments were also found. Literally hundreds of military shoes (*calcei*, *carbatinae* and *cothurni*) have been discovered at Chesterholm and Housesteads, and puttee-like leg bindings (*fasciae crurales*) at Carvoran.

The guard of a *spatha* resembling others found in Gallia Lugdunensis and Mauretania came from an excavation in Edinburgh. A rectangular bone scabbard chape (5.85cm x 4.2cm/2.3in x 1.6in), with a 'crenulated' upper edge, *pelta*-shaped cut-outs and a central rib, came from Colchester; with it was a copper-alloy bracket mount used to attach the scabbard to a baldric. Many sites on Hadrian's Wall, and the legionary fortress at Caerleon, have yielded such scabbard-slides, and typical 3rd-century baldric fittings come from Carlisle, Chesters and other sites.

Among shafted weapons, at least 55 *pilum* heads and shanks were found in a building backing a rampart at Caerleon, and others at Corbridge and Richborough; these 3rd-century weapons are longer and slimmer than earlier examples. Coulston and Bishop describe two main types of spearhead from Caerleon: one is narrow-shouldered, widest about halfway along the blade, so designed for throwing and penetration, while the other, for thrusting and withdrawal, is broad-shouldered and widest near the socket.

Horse harness fittings furnished with bells came from Chester (Deva), where Sarmatian cavalrymen served alongside Legio XX Valeria Victrix. A harness ring for a muzzle came from Doncaster, spurs from Corbridge, Chesters and York, and detachable hoof-protectors from Doncaster. Camp equipment is widely found, and defensive caltrops were recovered at Corbridge.

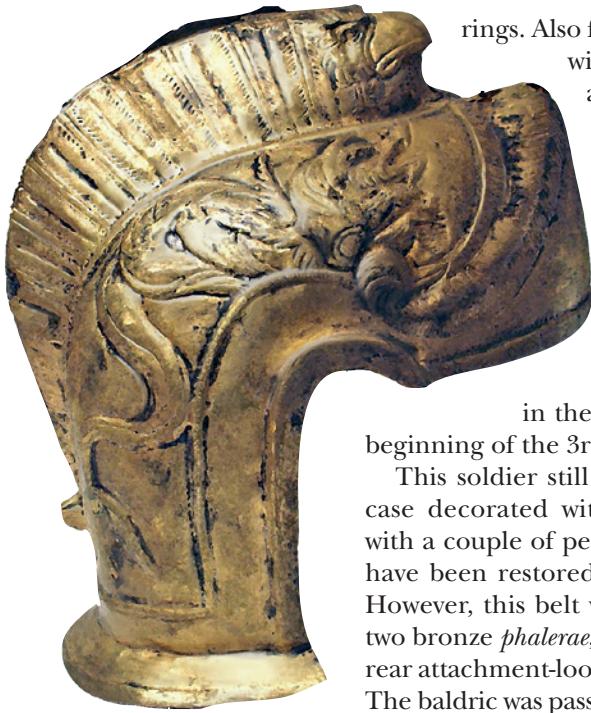
GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS

This territory is archaeologically rich in military equipment, not least because Lugdunum (Lyon) was the site of the battle between Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus at the very end of the 2nd century.

Fragments of the Niederbieber helmet type include a copper-alloy cheek-piece from a late 2nd–early 3rd century layer at la Montée de la Grande-Côte. Pseudo-Attic specimens of Guisborough type are attested among the wide range of military finds at Chalon-sur-Saône. Three different examples of Severan-period ringmail (from Place de Célestins, Verbe Incarné and Rue de Farges, all in Lyon) show 7mm unriveted



The criteria of distinction between 3rd-century *spatha* long-sabres, with blade lengths usually of roughly 55.8cm to 80cm (21.6in to 31.5in), and shorter blades termed by some scholars 'semi-spathae', are inconsistent. This example of the so-called Lauriacum-Hromówka variant *spatha*, with parallel cutting edges and an ogival point, was found at Bagacum Nerviorum (Bagay) in Belgica; its blade measures 59.5cm (23.4in) long. (Drawing by Andrea Salimbeni; ex Miks)



The 3rd-century 'Worthing helmet', classified by Robinson as 'Cavalry Sports Type H', was found in the river Wensum in Norfolk, eastern England; a faceguard from a similar example was found nearby shortly after its discovery (compare with photos on pages 3 & 5). The distinctive feature of this embossed copper-alloy headpiece is its raised metal 'comb' or crest with an eagle-head protome at the front. (Norwich Museum; photo ex D'Amato-Negin)

A 3rd-century stele of a cavalryman from Whitcombe in Dorset, south-west England, perhaps wearing padded 'soft armour' – note horizontal lines behind the upper arm, as well as the modelling of the left shoulder. (Courtesy of Dorset County Museum, Dorchester)

rings. Also from Severan layers come fragments of scale armour, with quadrangular copper-alloy scales 2.35cm (0.92in) across, with rounded bottom corners and connected with small copper-alloy rings, and a pectoral plate embossed with an eagle. Dated to the same period, but very similar to later examples, is a circular copper-alloy shield boss from Rue de Farges, measuring 19.5cm in diameter by 7cm high (7.66in x 2.75in), with four holes for copper-alloy rivets.

The Rue Des Fantasques Grave

This particularly rich find has confirmed the change in the method of carrying the sword by legionaries at the beginning of the 3rd century, from the right to the left side of the body.

This soldier still had the classic *cingulum militaris* waist belt, in his case decorated with impressive copper-alloy fittings and furnished with a couple of pendants 5.4cm (2in) long. Riveted-on cast characters have been restored to read FELIX VTERE ('Use it with good luck'). However, this belt was worn in combination with a baldric. This bore two bronze *phalerae*, one 4.6cm (1.8in) in diameter having a rectangular rear attachment-loop, and the smaller (1.5cm/0.6in) shaped as a rosette. The baldric was passed through a shaped and decorated bronze scabbard slide located on the upper part of the sheath, then wrapped around the sheath several times, terminating in a decorated rectangular plate 4.3cm (1.7in) long.

The dead man's long *spatha* sword (total 75.4cm/29.6in) is of the Lauriacum-Hromówka type as classified by Miks. The guard is a sheet of ellipsoidal shape, its outer face perforated with small rectangular holes. The blade is of rhomboidal section, 68.4cm long by 5.4cm wide (26.9in x 2.1in), with parallel cutting edges. The bronze scabbard chape is rounded at the end, and indented at the upper edge each side of a central protrusion.



Apart from the find in the Rue des Fantasques, five other *spathae* have been discovered in the city of Lyon: two of Lauriacum-Hromówka type, one ring-pommel ‘semi-spatha’, another decorated in niello with a Winged Victory, and one sword too fragmentary to identify. One of the long Hromówka-type swords has a shouldered blade 66cm (25.9in) long, with parallel cutting edges and a ‘blood-channel’ marked by two longitudinal grooves.

A sword of Lachmirowice-Apa type, dated to the turn of the 2nd/3rd centuries and preserved in the Musée de Fourvière, is attributed to local production; it is notably long, at 79.2cm with a 63.2cm blade (31in and 24.8in). A further sword, dated to AD 259/260, is one of the latest known weapons bearing the stylized stamp of a Winged Victory on the blade. Another *spatha* found at Pontoux in Saône-et-Loire is of Lauriacum-Hromówka type (Mainz–Canterbury variant), with a damascened blade stamped with a stylized lion; it may thus be connected with the Praetorian Guard, who were deployed during campaigns between the troops of Postumus and Gallienus.

GALLIA NARBONENSIS

Two right cheek-pieces from pseudo-Attic helmets (see below) can be dated to the time of Geta (co-emperor with Caracalla in AD 209). One still has the fastening hinge on the upper edge, and both are decorated with chiselled thunderbolts and wings; a third cheek-piece, now lost, showed an image of Geta on a decorative rosette.

An important helmet found at Vienne near the Rhône river confirms the diffusion of the new Niederbieber typology in Gallic territory. Of bronze, with iron fastening rivets for various parts and a rear carrying-handle, this find lacked cheek-pieces, and showed undoubtedly battle damage from frontal impacts. French archaeologists suggested an association with Septimius Severus’s legions fighting against the troops of Clodius Albinus in AD 197. An assumption that wide, enveloping cheek-pieces indicate cavalry use cannot be an absolute rule, given that fragments of such helmets have also been found in various infantry forts.



Statue of a late 3rd-century Roman miles legionarius with a captive woman, from Langres (Andematum) in Belgica/Lugdunensis Prima; compare with Plate A3. (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Langres; courtesy of the Museum)



Bucculae (helmet cheekguards) from Colonia Julia Viennensis (Vienne) in Narbonensis, c. AD 209. The complete left-hand piece is 12.2cm (4.8in) high. While these two finds clearly do not match exactly, it is striking that both bear the same motif: two opposed pairs of feathered wings, set against a thunderbolt between two lightning-flashes. (Reserve collection, Musée Archéologique Gallo-Romaine de la Fourvière, Lyon; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)



Decorated pectoral fastening plate for a scale-armour corselet, 2nd–3rd centuries, from Saalburg in Germania Superior. (Kastell Saalburg Museum; photo ex D'Amato-Negin)

GERMANIA SUPERIOR

The highly decorated bronze legionary helmet from Niedermörmlter (Robinson's 'Imperial Italic Type H'), with its enormous neckguard, represents the last evolution of Italic helmets of Weisenau typology at the turn of the 2nd/3rd centuries. Its inscription reveals its owner to have been Sollonius Super of Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix, and Klumbach, followed by Feugère, proposes that Sollonius may have been a trooper of the *equites legionis*.

The 3rd century saw mixed use of Niederbieber variant helmets by both infantry and cavalry, and the most complete specimens of these have been found in Germania Superior (Robinson calls the Niederbieber find itself 'Auxiliary Cavalry Type D'). The best-known is the example from Heddernheim (Robinson's 'Auxiliary Cavalry Type H'); the iron bowl is lavishly covered with copper-alloy elements, including a knob at the apex pierced for a plume. Other finds differ in details, including those from Friedberg-Heddernheim and fragments from the *limes*, e.g. at Kastell Saalburg.

Robinson's 'Cavalry Sports Type G' from Frankfurt-Heddernheim is in partly tinned bronze; it has a 'pseudo-Corinthian' bowl with the brow raised into a broad, shallow peak; a tall metal comb fronted with an eagle *protome*; and a large, separate face-piece covering the ears, its lower flange continuing the neckguard when the two sections of the helmet are united. The face is pierced in an approximate 'T-shape' but shows no evidence of ever being filled in with a mask. In contrast, Robinson's 'Cavalry Sports Type F' from Pfrondorf has the bowl and large pierced face-piece almost entirely embossed, including hair on the skull and an eagle on the brow, and has a smooth human mask hooked in place to fill the piercing. An Alexander-type mask and a complete bowl of Alexander typology came from Stuttgart Bad Cannstatt, and a mask was found at Welzheim.

Fragments of scale armour and ringmail found along the *limes* include important specimens from Kastell Saalburg, and plates from a so-called 'Newstead'-type *lorica segmentata* have been found at Zugmantel. Among much military material from the latter site was a star-shaped iron shield boss similar to specimens from Carnuntum and Nauportus. Other shield bosses in Germania Inferior are of the usual simple domed shape fastened with four rivets (e.g. from Saalburg, Köngen, Kastell Miltenberg-Altstadt, Burgheim and Kastell Öhringen), but a splendid decorated specimen from Kastell Miltenberg-Altstadt, in silvered copper alloy and 22.4cm (9.55in) tall, is embossed with the goddess Minerva. From the *castellum* of Niederbieber came one of the few examples we possess of the *draco* cavalry standard; the hollow, open-mouthed beast-head is of silvered copper alloy with the features picked out in gilding, and a hole for the shaft in the lower jaw (compare with Elite 221, *Roman Standards & Standard-Bearers (1)*, pages 46–47).

Late Rheingönheim types of *spathae* have been found in the Frankfurt area. From Zugmantel and Saalburg come guards of the same type as on the finds from Lyon (see above, 'Gallia Lugdunensis'). An interesting hoard of weapons from Augst (Augusta Raurica) includes a similar

sword of smaller dimensions, two others, a 'semi-spatha', chapes, eight spearheads and tips, two knives with ornamented sheaths, and arrowheads. Dated to AD 275–276, these were found in the debris of a room located above a bakery in the town which had been destroyed by fire – a rare concentration of military items to find on a Roman civilian site.

From Walldürn-Rheinardsachsen came a 'semi-spatha' stamped with a Winged Victory, again similar to a Lugdunum specimen; Miks proposes that its length (41cm/16in) suggests a post-manufacture reduction in Roman times. A *spatha* and shorter swords emerged from excavations at Geislingen-Hepsisau and Köngen; bone scabbard-slides and hilts, with bone or ivory pommels, came from Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt. Jagsthausen and Geislingen-Hepsisau yielded foliate bronze plates and baldric terminals, together with bronze scabbard-slides of dolphin shape, and round, *pelta*-shaped or 'box'-shaped chapes. Mainhardt furnished specimens of 3rd-century daggers in iron-framed scabbards, and 3rd-century *pila* were recovered at Saalburg, as well as spearheads. At Osterburken and Wiesbaden examples of decorative *beneficiarius* spearheads were found, the former still having copper-alloy rings attached.

Pieces of *cornu* and *tuba* musical instruments, highly decorated with snakes and Minerva heads, came from Waldmössingen and Murrhardt. Horse harness fittings, some with ornamentation recalling Celtic models, were found at Gräfenhausen, Köngen and Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, and iron spurs at Sulz and Mainhardt.

GERMANIA INFERIOR

Cavalry helmets of Heddernheim and Niederbieber typologies have been discovered at Noviomagus (Nijmegen) and Bodengraven, the latter marked as belonging to Quintus Salonius of a cavalry *turma*. Of silvered bronze, this had a substantial neckguard with a handle attached, and a triangular front peak. Another interesting specimen (probably infantry, although classified by Robinson as 'Auxiliary Cavalry Type F') came from Kalkar-Hönnepel; it is substantially intact, and 28.5cm (11.2in) high. The deep bronze bowl has a prominent triangular peak and (like the Niederbieber helmet) crossed reinforcing strips added, and the large neckguard shows holes for a carrying handle. From Kastell Vechten



Magnificently decorated greave, 2nd–3rd centuries, from Spira (Speyer), Germania Superior. (Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer; photo ex D'Amato-Negin)



Copper-alloy helmet frontal incorporating guards above ears and part of rear edging, from Noviomagus Batavorum, Germania Inferior, 2nd–3rd centuries. This comes from an iron and copper-alloy headpiece of Heddernheim typology – Robinson's 'Auxiliary Cavalry Type H' – of which complete and semi-complete specimens have been found at Heddernheim, Bodengraven and Nijmegen. (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)



'Box-shaped' bone sword scabbard chape from Noviomagus Batavorum, Germania Inferior, 2nd–3rd centuries. Note the indented edges, and the cut-outs in the shape of a *pelta* shield.
(Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

(Fectio) came two specimens of mask helmet; one (without mask) has the apex of the skull extended forward in an eagle shape, while the other has an upstanding peak, the usual T-shaped face-opening, and an unfinished mask. No less important is the fragment of a bronze embossed diadem from a cavalry helmet of Heddernheim type (Robinson's 'Auxiliary Cavalry Type H').

Interesting shield remains in the province include a pointed Germanic-type boss and a handle with punched decoration from 's-Hertogenbosch (AD 200). Two leather covers, one for a boss of 11–12cm (4.5in) diameter, and one for a rectangular shield, come from Alphen. The dates are unconfirmed, but the latter may prove that rectangular shields were still in use in this province in c.AD 260.

The grave of a Germanic ally in Nijmegen contained leaf-shaped spear and javelin heads. Apart from late examples of Rheingönheim type (Empel, late 2nd/early

3rd century), excavated swords are mostly of Straubing-Nydam type. 'Box-shaped' chapes in bone and bronze, typical of the 3rd century, are preserved in Nijmegen Museum.

RAETIA (PRIMA & SECUNDA)

Most of the finds from Buch indicate the presence of cavalry: a complete short ringmail shirt and parts of decorated armours and horse harness, a helmet, a decorated dagger and 'three-winged' arrowheads. Of extraordinary importance are the terminal parts and the bone grip-plates of a composite reflex bow, complete with the owner's inscription. The bronze Buch helmet is of Niederbieber typology; the face is almost completely enclosed by the cheek-pieces, which incorporate embossed stylized ears. A helmet of the same category comes from Soriodurum (Straubing) and is perhaps associated with horse-archers of Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittariorum. It presents a circular moulding soldered to the crown, with embossed cross-ribs, while a wide copper-alloy strip is applied around the ear openings; another edges the neckguard, pierced by two holes for attaching a handle. Both helmets have the rear of the bowl extended straight down to an angled neckguard at the base, and usually the cheek-pieces overlapped on the chin leaving only a T-shaped face opening. Fragments of such pieces in iron have also been found at Öhringen.

Fragments of Hyppika Gymnasia ('cavalry sports') helmets of 'Amazon mask' type have been excavated at Kunzing and Kastell Pfünz, although the best of such finds come from the Straubing hoard. This contained masks representing both female and male faces, suggesting equipment for two opposing teams in these theatrical cavalry tournaments. The three female masks all have the same high, conical hairstyle resembling that of Amazons in some iconographic sources. This feature shows a

transition from a classical representation of female masks, echoed by a similar find from Eining (Abusina) in Bavaria.

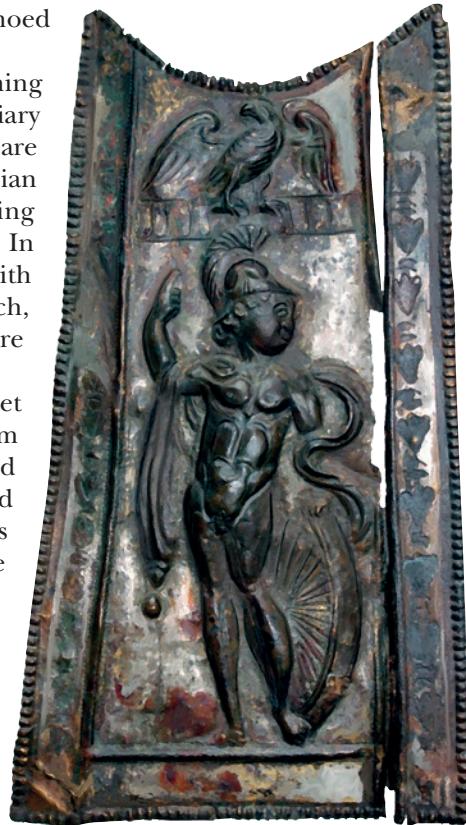
Numerous finds of decorated greaves from Straubing, Eining and Regensburg (Castra Regina) are usually classified as auxiliary cavalry 'parade armour'. A couple of bronze greaves (Straubing) are decorated with a relief of Mars in full armour: pseudo-Corinthian helmet, muscled cuirass, greaves and spear. One from Eining shows the bottom edge curved out to protect the anklebone. In addition, some examples have a separate hinged knee-piece with side loops for attaching a leather strap. According to J. Garbsch, protection of the knees and ankles proved that such greaves were cavalry equipment.

Muscled armour worn over a *subarmalis*, a pseudo-Attic helmet and a hexagonal shield are represented on a bronze from Lorch (Lauriacum?). Fragments of decorated armour found at Buch include the upper edges of a pectoral plate embossed with an eagle, as well as three fragments with punched plumes and related profiles. According to Garbsch, these plates are typical of 2nd–3rd century armours decorated with a central eagle, symbolizing Jupiter, together with facing busts of Mars or Minerva (e.g. from Mundelsheim). Such fragments from Buch, found in a workshop area and dated to the period post-c.AD 235, have the remains of fastenings to scale armour on the lower edge. A ringmail armour found in the region of Neuburg (Bertoldsheim, ancient Submontorium) was fitted with a similar plate in bronze, representing Mars surmounted by an eagle. The discovery near Manching (Vallatum) of a further pair of embossed bronze plates for fastening the upper part of a mail or scale armour show that such decorated equipment was available even in small cavalry units. Scales for such armours were found in Aalen, as was an intact iron internal grip for a shield, while a beautiful domed *umbo* in bronze was excavated at Rainau-Buch.

The rich finds of weapons in Rainau-Buch Kastellvicus are equalled by others from sites along the Raetian *limes* (e.g. *pila* at Eninig, and spears at Kunzing, among them a *beneficiarius* spearhead). The widespread discoveries of 3rd-century offensive weapons, especially spearheads and projectiles, point to serious military clashes in such locations, which include Aalen and Heidenheim. The dimensions of some spearheads from Aalen suggest that some cavalrymen of Ala II Flavia milliaria were *cataphractarii* or *contarii*, using the long lance called the *contus* (see Elite 225, *Roman Heavy Cavalry (1)*). Iron and bronze arrowheads also came from Aalen and Rainau-Buch.

Straubing yielded a *spatha* of Lauriacum-Hromówka typology similar to the Lyon and Opatow specimens, and another similar to the locally produced Lachmirowice-Apa example (see above, 'Gallia Lugdunensis'), though the blade varies in having oblique 'shoulders'. Scabbard-slides of moulded type were diffused over the whole province, and chapes of the usual round, *pelta* and 'box' shapes came from Rainau-Buch.

The Castellum Quintana (today's Kunzing) on the *limes* offered 3rd-century Roman metal objects, including weapons, in unprecedented number and variety; some show signs of fire, and they may date from the great Alamannic invasion after the mid-century. Among other finds were



Pectoral plate from an early 3rd-century ringmail armour, found at Bertoldsheim in Raetia Secunda; it bears an eagle above an image of Mars. (Neuburg An der Donau Museum; photo ex D'Amato-Negin)



The so-called 'Noricum warrior', a statue of a Roman commander recovered from the river Sava in the 19th century and over-enthusiastically restored. Below the edge of the cuirass are a very detailed *cymation* of lappets with dart-shaped motifs and a single range of long, fringed *pteryges*. A long scabbard with a disc chape hangs on his left from a baldric, and although badly damaged the sword hilt seems to recall examples from Thorsbjerg and Nydam. These details suggest a possible 3rd-century date, rather than earlier as suggested by a nearby inscription. (Lapidarium, Pokrajinski muzej Celje; photo courtesy of the Museum & Dr Harl Ortolf)

an important group of daggers and swords which showed the specialized nature of the local workshop. A hoard of partially melted bronze objects found at Künzing may equally date from the fall of the post. This is surely the explanation for a second find in the civil settlement, where a ringmail shirt, and the corner-and-lock fittings of a wooden box in which it had been kept, were found along with harness fittings.

NORICUM

This province, which suffered the incursions of the Alamans, Jutungi, Marcomans, Vandals and Suebi, was one of the most militarized provinces of the Empire. The statue of a senior officer was found near the Sava river in the 19th century, close to a dedicatory inscription of Titus Varius Clemens, a famous *procurator provinciarum* under Antoninus Pius. The statue was fancifully restored according to the tastes of the day, but interesting original details are still visible on the baldric, scabbard and sword, which (as my friend Damien Deryckère correctly suggests) recall depictions from Thorsbjerg and Nydam. The well-preserved disc chape and other elements allow

us to date the statue to the 3rd century. (For whatever it may be worth, original information linked with the find suggests that the helmet was decorated with the transverse crest of a centurion.)

The stele of Aurelius Iustinus, a soldier of Legio II Italica, is one of the few gravestones showing the rear of the 3rd-century oval shield, and the employment of a *pilum* with two weights by a legionary rather than a Praetorian.

The important military camp of Cannabiaca (Kastell Zeiselmauer) had a mixed garrison of cavalry and infantry. From the 3rd-century level came fragments of a statue with a painted *thorax stadios* (muscled armour), on which a shoulder guard is visibly decorated with the image of a *genius*. Fragments of helmets of Niederbieber typology have been found in the same area. From Pochlarn come part of the statue of a military commander with a beautiful rendering of the linen *pteryges* of the *subarmalis*, and a crest (i.e. metal comb) fragment from a pseudo-Attic helmet in copper alloy.

PANNONIA

A large number of finds are testimony to the turmoil afflicting Pannonia in the 3rd century, during both barbarian incursions and civil wars.

From Carnuntum, capital of Pannonia Superior, come small statuettes of Jupiter Dolichenus which show the evolution of the muscled armour of commanders during the century; early models lack the rounded shoulder guards visible in later examples. All such armours are worn over the *subarmalis* fitted with *pteryges*; some show decorated surfaces, and the *zona militaris*, the sash symbolic of rank and command, is invariably knotted on the breast.

This kind of armour is worn by a statuette from Povazie, with squared *pteryges* visible at both the shoulders and thighs. The figure was originally

(continued on page 33)

THE GALlic PROVINCES

(1) Legionary, Legio I Minervia; Lugdunensis,
AD 198-200

(2) Staff officer to Proconsul; Narbonensis, first half
3rd century

(3) Legionary, Legio Prima Maximiana Thebeorum;
Lugdunensis Prima, late 3rd century



THE GERMANIC PROVINCES

(1) Legionary, Legio IIII Flavia Severiana
Alexandrina; Harzhorn, AD 235

(2) Eques, Cohors II Raetorum CR Antoniana
Severiana; Germania Superior, AD 250

(3) Eques, Secunda Victrianorum equitata
CR PF; Gelduba, Germ. Sup., AD 257





BRITANNIA

(1) Miles, Cohors I Vardullorum; Bremenium,
first half 3rd century

(2) Eques, Ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana;
Olenacum, AD 242

(3) Centurio, Legio II Augusta; Glevum,
second half 3rd century

RAETIA, NORICUM & ALPES
(1) Aurelius Marcellinus, Dux Alpes Cottiae, mid-3rd century
(2) Eques, Cohors II Raetorum; Limes Raeticus, AD 260
(3) Decurio, Cohors II Thracum equitata PF; Cannabiaca, Noricum, AD 250-270





THE HISPANIC PROVINCES

(1) Eques Singularis; Baetica, first quarter 3rd century

(2) Legionary, Legio VII Gemina; Tarracoensis, mid-3rd century

(3) Sagittarius, Asturica, AD 298



PANNONIA & DALMATIA

(1) Eques, Cohors III Alpinorum equitata; Pannonia, mid-3rd century
(2) Vexillarius, Cohors I Delmatarum milliaria; Dalmatia, AD 260
(3) Legionary, Legio I Adiutrix PF; Pannonia, AD 275



THE AFRICAN PROVINCES

(1) Vexillarius, Cohors II Sardorum; Mauretania Caesariensis, AD 200
(2) Miles, Cohors IIII millaria Tungrorum; Mauretania Tingitana, AD 222
(3) Legionary, Legio IIII Augusta PF; Africa Proconsularis, AD 287-297



ITALIA

(1) *Lanciarius, Legio II Parthica Severiana; Castra Albana, first half 3rd century*
(2) *Eques of a Vexillatio Maurorum; Mediolanum, AD 268*
(3) *Tribunus, Cohors I Praetoria; Roma, AD 288*



Parts of a *squama* made of long, narrow copper-alloy scales, from Aquincum, Pannonia, 2nd–3rd centuries. The scales measure 2.9cm x 0.5cm (1.14in x 0.19in) each, and total 125 *squamae* arranged in six rows. (Museum of Aquincum, Budapest; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

identified as Jupiter Dolichenus, but it wears a 'cavalry sports' helmet fitted with a frontal peak, highly decorated in silver and bronze, and similar to specimens of the Brigetio type. The facial mask is identical to examples found in Dobjo (the borderland between Pannonia and Dalmatia), at Aschberg (Raetia), Worthing (Britannia) and Rodez (Gallia Aquitania), all of which are dated to the first half of the 3rd century. The statuette was found in an area which saw campaigns against the Goths, and it is not impossible that it represents Decius (r. 249–251). Iconography of the Danubian cavalry in this region clearly illustrates the transition to a long-sleeved tunic, trousers, and low *campagi* or *calcei* together with the *sagum* cloak.

Statuettes of the god of war from Komarno show realistic details of the baldric, sword, a short *subarmalis*, and a high 'Phrygian' helmet with a crest-plume divided into two rows; this is analogous with a Phrygian helmet from Tomi-Constantia in Moesia. A strikingly interesting example of the statues of such *loricati* or 'cuirass-wearers' came from Aquincum, representing a proconsul at the turn of the 2nd/3rd centuries. It uniquely shows a combination of the shoulder plates of the *lorica segmentata* with the breastplate of the muscled *stadios*; this is worn over a padded *subarmalis* fitted with a heavy range of *pteryges*, probably of linen lined with leather.

In Carnuntum the archaeology confirms the wide use of the Niederbieber and Hedderheim types of helmet, with crossed strips attached over the bowl to resist blows

Iron shield *umbo* from Carnuntum in Pannonia, first half of 3rd century. Measuring 21cm (8.26in) in diameter, it is of conical form terminating in a flat 'button' but set on an unusual star-shaped flange. (Museum Carnuntinum; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)





Tanged blade of an iron spatha of Straubing-Nydam typology, 3rd century, from the area around Sarajevo in Dalmatia. (Zemaljski Museum, Sarajevo; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

from above. Finds include eight fragments of cheek-pieces (one of them engraved with an image of Mars), two brow peaks, a handle, and various fragments of cross-strips with their conical rivets. A fragment of a pseudo-Attic helmet is attested, with a decorated metal comb and a single left cheek-piece showing an extraordinary gold-embossed image of Athena. A masked helmet, together with scale armour, was found at Cornacum (Sotin) and dated to the turn of the 2nd/3rd centuries.

Quadrangular iron scales were excavated at Straža; some scales from Carnuntum had been mounted on a plain-woven linen garment, which seems to have been standard practice, and the same site yielded fragments of *lorica segmentata* of both Corbridge C and Newstead types. Magnificent pectoral plates for scale and mail armours came from Aquincum and Brigetio (Szőni). Brigetio also revealed an interesting stele showing a completely armoured legionary apparently wearing a sort of coif – a style otherwise only attested for the period in the paintings at Dura Europos.

An unusual bronze shield boss from the Ljubljanica river appears to belong to a class probably datable to the 3rd century; similar to examples from Carnuntum, it has engraved rings, and at each corner of the flange an embossed dome. Other important shield finds from Pannonia include a *tabula ansata* from the inside of a shield with the inscription ‘CENTURIONIS CLAVI LONGI PI ...’ (‘belonging to the Centurion Clavus Longus, Primipilus ...’); a boss inscribed to one Aurelius Demostenos; and a rectangular boss from a polygonal shield.

A *spatha* found near Kupa matches the length of those classified by Ulbert as Lauriacum-Hromówka type, but detail differences suggest the rather earlier swords from Lyon. Grave 600 at Poetovio revealed a ring-pommel sword and its scabbard-slide. It had an unusually short blade; the hilt design recalls those in use between the 2nd and 3rd centuries, while the scabbard-slide shows connections with the Przeworsk culture. The importance of this sword is that it represents a type used both by and against the Roman Army, by either Germanic mercenaries or warriors. Other goods from this grave suggest a literate but low-ranking officer, perhaps of Germanic origin.

Many other finds prove the presence of Germanic warriors in the area in the 2nd/3rd centuries. Baldric *phalerae* for the typical suspension system have been recovered in Sisak (Siscia); double buttons for ring-buckle belts at many Pannonian sites (e.g. Veszprém); and a number of openwork *phalerae* and baldric mountings in Carnuntum. A nearly complete belt of the ‘FELIX VTERE’ type (see above, ‘Gallia Lugdunensis’), datable to AD 255–256 and probably belonging to a soldier of Legio XIII or XIV Gemina visiting Aquae Iasae (Varaždinske Toplice), was recently examined by Radman-Livaja. It was found with two trumpet-shaped pendants similar to examples from Lugdunum and identical to pieces found in Sisak.

Horse-harness fittings come from various localities, and precious information from the grave of two horses from Brigetio. Buried together with a war-dog still having an iron chain around his neck, the horses had all their many and varied harness fittings in place, allowing a reconstruction. Briefly, these finds show the dominant decorative motifs in 3rd-century harness to be a mixture of classical with Celtic elements. Small datable harness finds near Nauportus (Ulaka) include *pelta*-shaped buckle loops and bronze bells with iron clappers.

DALMATIA

The 3rd-century layers at the Roman fortification at Gradec near Velika Strmica yielded various finds, particularly fittings from horse harness. The double-button fastener (i.e. a sort of 'cufflink' arrangement of two overlapped buttons joined by a shank) is a fairly common element in Roman military equipment of this period. Large specimens with equal buttons 2.2cm (0.87in) in diameter from Oldenstein, mostly dated to the first half of the century, have been interpreted as for fastening a ring-buckle to a belt, but also for joining overlapping harness straps, e.g. those passing through the rings of the snaffle bit. A *psalia*, a more elaborate bar-fitting for the same purpose, was also found in the Bosanska Posavina (Bosnian Sava valley region); it is highly decorated, with openwork floral and geometric designs.

From the archaeological site of Makljenovac in Doboj, once the *castrum* of Canabea, excavators recovered a splendid though fragmentary specimen of bronze mask helmet with a T-shaped opening; datable to the turn of the 2nd/3rd centuries, it is preserved today in Sarajevo Museum. The left part of the protective face-piece bears an image of Athena, and the right-hand part one of Mars. It was found with large numbers of other various Roman items, including copper-alloy armour scales linked with wire.

Among finds from today's Bosnia-Herzegovina are a sword of Straubing-Nydam typology, and an interesting shield boss in copper alloy. The monastery of Tolisa in the Bosanska Posavina houses a fine collection of Roman military equipment. From the late 2nd century swords were worn in Dalmatia from a wide baldric, and among the 3rd-century artefacts at Tolisa are *phalerae* that are both decorative and functional, with rear loops for the narrower end of a strap. One found at Prud near the Sava river has a wide band-like frame with floral decoration in relief surrounding openwork floral decoration showing traces of metal inlay.

It is not known for certain if the Bosanska Posavina area was part of Dalmatia in Roman times or, more probably, of Pannonia Secunda. However, the striking similarity between finds from this area and from Pannonia reveals a local centre of production supplying the border troops in both provinces.

(HISPANIA) TARRACONENSIS

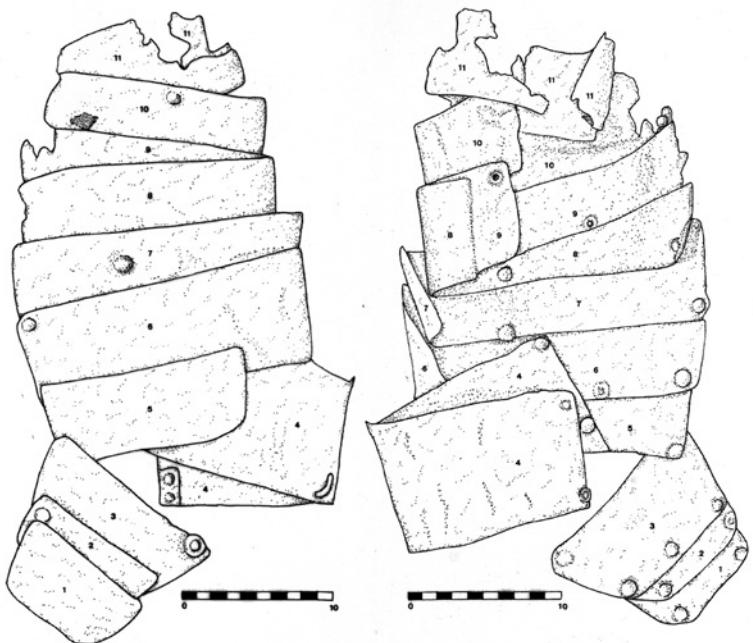
Nova Citerior & Asturiae-Calleciae

Helmets from the 3rd century are rare in Spain, but two fragments have particular importance. The carrying handle of a Wiesenu-type helmet was found at Iruña/Veleia in the Álava region, and dated by Dr



Detail of a relief with battle scenes from Tarraco, Tarragonensis, AD 230. The simple bowl of the helmet seems to anticipate the construction of the simplified two-part Romano-Sassanian 'ridge' helmet typology, with a central join from front to back of the skull. (Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

Drawing of the 3rd-century *manica* right arm armour found in the camp at León, Tarracensis, the base of Legio VII Gemina throughout the century. Obverse and reverse are illustrated; the first ten *laminae* from the hand upwards are substantially complete. (Drawings by Andrea Salimbeti; ex Aurrecochea)



Zubillaga to the beginning of the century. It represents a last example of this typology (Robinson's 'Imperial Gallic Type D'), probably still widely used in this relatively peaceful part of the Empire.

More important still is another find from near the early Christian site of Nuestra Señora de Uralde (Condado de Treviño, Álava). This is the fragmentary right cheekguard of an unidentified helmet; on the concave internal surface there are still fragments of leather and small holes, some of them still with the bronze rivets used to fix the lining inside the helmet. The fragment is too incomplete to allow clear identification of the type of helmet, but it seems to be pseudo-Attic, perhaps of Guisborough typology.

Excavations in the city of León (Legio) revealed a storehouse in the camp of Legio VII Gemina, where most of a *manica* or articulated arm-protector was found. Dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century, this consists of 11 iron plates: seven larger and roughly rectangular, and four smaller and trapezoidal for the protection of forearm and wrist. Although deformed by crushing, these *laminae* are still in a good state of conservation. Some remains of leather were also found, and archaeologists have interpreted a mounting system of internal straps both to join the plates flexibly and to fasten them to the arm. Legio was the site of a possible *fabrica* where the *manica* may have been made.

Most importantly, fragments of *lorica segmentata* from the same area (and especially from a workshop at Plaza del Conde Luna) attest Legio VII Gemina's continuing use of this armour throughout the 3rd century. A deposit datable to late in the last quarter of the century yielded remains of armours of both Corbridge and Newstead types, and parts of another of Corbridge A type were found in a collapsed building at Puerta Castillo-Santa Marina dated to AD 250–275.

Other finds from the late-century legionary workshop at Plaza del Conde Luna include two loose copper-alloy scales and a hoard of scales still joined by their wire links. A pectoral plate for a scale armour came



This 3rd-century copper-alloy chariot-fitting from Marchena in Baetica is a double bracket for the reins to pass through. It is decorated with the popular subject of a battle between Greeks and Amazons, showing a Hellenic hero in a crested helmet and muscle armour, with two ranges of pteryges. (Louvre, Paris; drawing by Andrey Negin)

from the Santa Marina location. From backfilling at the abandoned camp of Cohors I Celtiberorum in Cidadela (A Coruña) excavators have recovered fragmentary scales, some still joined by wire, and also various spearheads and *ballista* bolts.

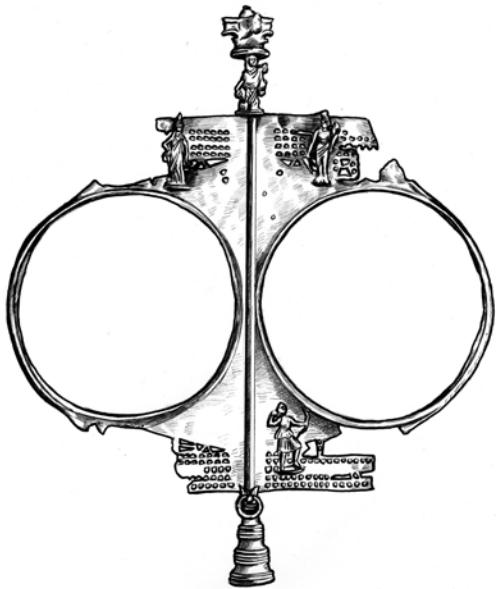
Many double buttons for ring-buckle belts from Spain have been illustrated by Aurrecoechea Fernandez. A beautiful rectangular belt plate decorated with *millefiori* work came from Saguntum; it is divided into seven panels with symmetrically distributed cross motifs in alternating blue and red, and green and red, mainly on a white background.

BAETICA & BALEARICA

The remains of a chariot, now in Seville Museum, include a bronze bracket mount for the passage of the reins decorated with figures of two saddled horses and a lion. The saddle depicted is not the usual four-horned type, but (see Plate E1) is apparently fitted with back-curving frontal horns only; since it lacks a cloth saddle-cover the fastening of the *antilena* and *postilena* straps is visible.

Pollentia, capital of the Balearic Islands, has yielded a splendid example of an openwork bronze standard belonging to a *collegium iuvenum* of the city – a youth group, probably organized along paramilitary lines.

This is not another reins bracket, but a standard head of a *Collegium Juvenum* from Pollentia, Balearica, first quarter of 3rd century. This specimen has parallels in Asia and Belgica, and would originally have been decorated with ribbons and tufts when carried in processions or parades. (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid; drawing by Andrey Negin)





Detail of an early 3rd-century mosaic from Sousse, Africa Proconsularis, representing Equites Mauri with their horses. Visible details include tunics decorated with stripes and patches, and, on the horses, wrapped tails and covered manes, with feathers and leafy twigs attached – see Plate G1. (Bardo Museum, Tunis; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

LUSITANIA

Although Lusitania was not much involved in the dramatic conflicts of the 3rd century, the production of items for military use is attested by many bronze fittings for chariots or other vehicles for the baggage trains of armies. Specialist workshops in the province produced splendid examples of rein-guides shaped like horses, panthers or lions, representing elaborate hunting scenes, or depicting heads of warriors or philosophers.

From the necropolis of Monte Molião, near Lagos, came the tip of an iron projectile. According to Nunes (1900) this is very similar to the end of a spear and may possibly be that of a *pilum catapultarium*, dated to the 2nd or 3rd century. Excavations at Conímbriga have revealed important elements of horse harness (bits and pendants) and ring buckles.

AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

At the beginning of the 3rd century, Legio III Augusta and garrisons at Carthago and Utica could field a 20,000-strong army. Unfortunately, the military forces in this province still await proper publication, but the iconography is rich.

The so-called Boglio stele of the late 3rd century bears the image of a cavalryman clad in an armour composed of wide ‘triangular’ scales (echoing specimens from Sotin) and worn over a *thoracomacus* fitted with a double layer of *pteryges*. He wears calf-high *cothurni* boots, and a *sagum* cloak fastened at the right shoulder.

It is clearly to this region that we must look for the costume of the Mauretanian cavalrymen who, alongside the Dalmatae, gave such effective service to 3rd-century emperors. Although dated to that century, a mosaic from Sousse shows horsemen clad in long-sleeved tunics already decorated with the *clavi* stripes and *orbiculi* appliqué patches so typical of Late Roman costume. The four ‘jockeys’ depicted are dressed in the colours of the four factions of the Circus – white, red, blue and green – and the same colours were probably those most used by military units. The mosaic of El-Djem shows a warlord and his followers in very elaborate tunics, while their accoutrements resemble the rich Tetrarchic costumes of the Piazza Armerina mosaics.

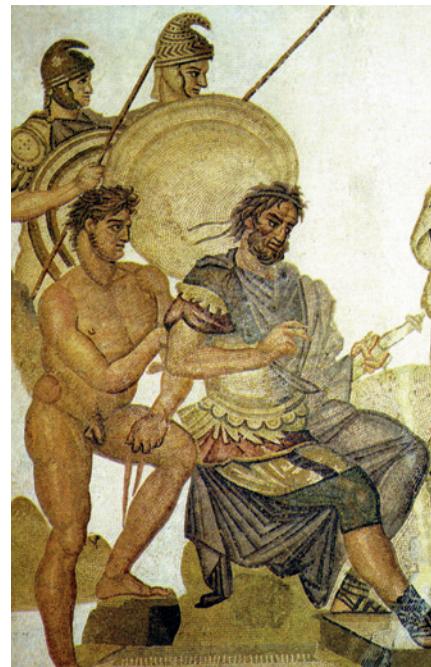
Some mosaics represent mythological scenes but show a definite taste among the local garrisons for the Hellenistic pseudo-Attic type of helmet, as well as for round shields, and linen armours often reinforced with scales. They probably illustrate the costume of senior commanders and their bodyguards.

MAURETANIA TINGITANA

Eight fragments of mask helmets have been recovered in Volubilis and Thamusida, two with female faces of Amazon typology. Their presence here, as at Straubing, supports the thesis that theatrical exhibitions of horsemanship and manoeuvre pitted teams representing the legendary fight between Greeks and Amazons. The fragments of one helmet from Volubilis recall, in the style of the embossed 'hair' effect, the Italian specimen from Nola now in the British Museum, and an example from Kunzing. Another is akin to the helmet from Frankfurt-Heddernheim, i.e. a bowl with a separate pierced face-piece but no facial mask. A third fragmentary helmet is reminiscent of the Amazon mask from Eining and the metal comb of the Worthing specimen, while another fragment representing a plumed crest recalls the Danubian specimen found at the Iron Gates. Those from Thamusida are more similar to the helmet fragments found in Castra Vetoniana (Kastell Pfünz), although one is decorated with a Winged Victory. Both localities also yielded elements of horse protection; one unfinished eye-protector was considered by Boube-Piccot to be a product of a local workshop.

Oval buckles of rectangular cross-section dated to the late 2nd–early 3rd centuries were found in Tamuda, as were others of rectangular shape and trapezoidal section. The rich finds of belt elements from the province include rectangular *cingulum* buckles from Banasa with a *pelta*-shaped motif. Fittings of rectangular shape, decorated in *millefiori*, present small white and blue dots on a yellow background on the frame. Banasa also provided specimens of D-shaped buckles, and rectangular plates sometimes bearing the image of a lion in openwork or gilding.

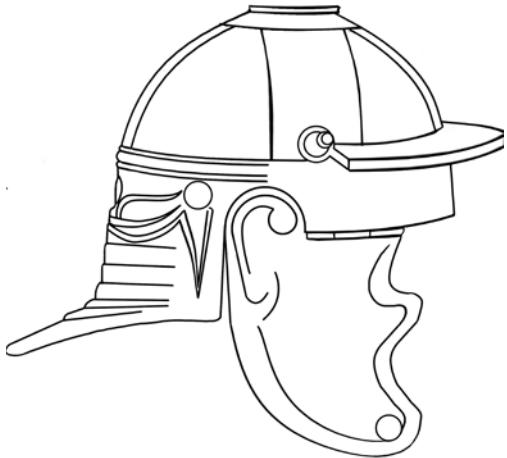
Interestingly, five sword-guard elements from Volubilis, Thamusida and Banasa all show the same ellipsoidal shape and openwork decoration as the Lyon specimen (see above, 'Gallia Lugdunensis'), probably to reinforce the wooden part of the guard. From Lixus came a typical triangular suspension-piece to allow the fixing of a sword or



Detail of an early 3rd-century mosaic from the 'House of the Nymphs' at Nabeul, Africa Proconsularis. Although representing Agamemnon in a scene from the *Iliad*, this dates from the reign of Caracalla, and may be a depiction of the famous units of phalangists recruited by that emperor for his campaign against Parthia. Note the pseudo-Macedonian 'Phrygian' helmets, the round *aspis* shields, and the long spear recalling the *sarissa*. (Bardo Museum, Tunis; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

Two separate finds from Ain Grimidi, Mauretania Caesariensis, turn of the 2nd/3rd centuries; both are 19cm (7.48in) high. The mask, of Alexander typology, was the detachable front part of a helmet whose top and back would usually be embossed with a wavy hair effect. The helmet illustrated is of late Weisenau type and of composite construction, with the bowl hammered in iron and reinforced and decorated with extensive applications of copper alloy, including a peak that is bent upwards here. (Musée National des Antiquités, Algiers; drawings by Andrey Negin)





Impression of the helmet from Ain Grimidi restored, with the lost cheekguards reconstructed from other examples. This find of an apparent late 'Imperial Italic' legionary type in the same burial site as elements of 'cavalry sports' equipment is puzzling. (Drawing by Andrey Negin)

Fragments of a decorated 3rd-century statue of a Roman senior commander from Industria in the Alpes Cottiae. (Museo di Antichità, Turin; drawing by Andrey Negin, ex D'Amato-Negin)



dagger scabbard, and an equivalent in bone was found at Banasa.

MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS

In 1872, Col Trumelet found splendid elements of decorated armour in graves at Ain Grimidi, a small cavalry outpost of the Severan *limes*. These included a mask, a near-complete helmet and fragments of a second, pieces of armour, a spearhead and a shield boss. Restored in 1959 by the research laboratory at Nancy, the helmets and the *umbo* are preserved today in the National Museum of Antiquities, Algiers. All the objects are dated to the first half of the 3rd century; their deposition in a necropolis is therefore notable, given that in the Severan period most Roman soldiers did not personally own their equipment even if their pay was

docked for its value. Similar finds have been made in the European *limes*, so they may suggest that foreign auxiliaries were preserving the customs of their people.

The finds from Ain Grimidi open, once again, the usual question about the employment of mask helmets in battle as well as for the *Hyppika Gymnasia*. In this context we might consider the valuable psychological impact on a wild Mauretanian tribesman of a glittering armoured cavalryman with a scarily dehumanizing masked helmet. Equally, we cannot exclude the possibility that these specimens were associated with a wealthy officer. One of the helmets is also something of a puzzle: while the other finds clearly belonged to a cavalryman, it is an evolution of the Weisenau typology (Robinson's 'Imperial Italic'), which is not associated with cavalry use in the European provinces.

Funerary monuments from Tipasa show that the cavalrymen of Ala I Canninefati were armed with the long *contus* lance. Their dress was typical of the century: long-sleeved tunic, long trousers, *calcei* and *sagum*.

ALPES: POENINAE, MARITIMAE & COTTIAE

From the locality of Industria comes a splendid horse pectoral showing a battle scene between barbarians and Romans. Dated to the second half of the 3rd century, it fittingly echoes the ferocious clashes between Romans, Franks and Alamans. The same area yielded fragments of a richly detailed statue of a Roman general.

Ring buckles and *fibulae* brooches of the 3rd century have been found in Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), and also the upper part of a pseudo-Attic helmet embossed with a lion's head, and fragments of *millefiori* belt plates. From a sanctuary of St Bernard came an *imago* of Jupiter in armour, probably a *signum-simulacrum* kept in the camp's *sacellum* together with the unit standards.

Numerous 3rd-century weapons, belt and scabbard elements, shield rivets and harness fittings have been recovered from the St Bernard Pass linked with Aosta, and are described by Deschler-Erb, although the work of



Typical 3rd-century ring buckle and staff fibula from Aosta, Alpes Poeninae. (Museo Archeologico, Aosta; author's photo, courtesy of the Museum)

classification is ongoing. So too were various fragments of standards of Pollentia typology.

ITALIA, SICILIA, SARDINIA & CORSICA

The equipment of the Praetorian Guard in this period is well known thanks to the stelae of guardsmen, like that of M. Aurelius Mucianus of Cohors VI Praetoria (see Osprey Warrior series 170, *Roman Guardsman* 62 BC–AD 324). Their appearance was typical of the century (*vestes et calciamenta*, HA, XXVIII, 8, 2): a long-sleeved *tunica militaris*, crossed on the breast by a baldric with a ring buckle (large Praetorian ring buckles seem to date to the later 3rd century), which is also visible on a monument of the Equites Singulares. Finds of double-button fasteners also confirm use of ring-buckle belts in the Italian peninsula. However, the Praetorians were clearly reluctant to give up the *cingulum* waist-belt that was the historical symbol of military identity, and which was still needed to support the *pugio* dagger. Herodian (Severus II-13, 2-10) speaks of Praetorians summoned by Septimius Severus presenting themselves before him equipped only with the military belt and dagger.

Anaxyrides (close-fitting trousers) were worn in combination with low felt shoes, open (*campagi*) or closed (*calcei*) on the instep (*calciamenta fortia*, HA, XXVI, 7, 6). A fringed *lacerna* cloak might often replace the usual military *sagum*. Similar clothing, with a *sagum*, is visible on what is left of the monument to Aurelius Eptecentius of Legio II Parthica from Albano; his shoes are sturdy *calcei* with a prominent seam running from the centre of the toes up the

Weathered stele of a soldier of Legio II Parthica, first half of 3rd century. Picozzi suggests that the legionary was an *optio* because of the staff he appears to have originally held in his right hand, but Cowan points out that he holds a rectangular box or stack of tablets suspended by a strap from his left hand, which might equally identify him as a *tesserarius*. Moreover, the presence of an eagle *vexillum* in the top right corner might even suggest the legion's flag-bearer. (In situ Termae Parvae, Albano Laziale; author's photo)





Part of a copper-alloy greave, late 2nd or early 3rd century, from the Castra Albana in the hills outside Rome. It shows the embossed figure of Mars armed with spear and shield, protected by a high-crested helmet, muscled cuirass and greaves, and wearing a cloak draped over both arms. (Museo di Albano Laziale; drawing by Andrey Negin, ex D'Amato-Negin)

instep to the ankle. It is noticeable that the skirt of his tunic extends only to mid-thigh, while those of Praetorians such as Mucianus and of a legionary *optio* from Albano fall to just above the knee. The *optio*'s tunic is not the usual long-sleeved legionary type but is short-sleeved – perhaps a concession to the summer heat in the Alban Hills. Eptecentius has two *lanceae* at his right side, so can be identified with reasonable certainty as a legionary *lanciarius*.

While dressed more or less the same as the men of II Parthica, the Praetorians are shown on monuments as being armed with the weighted *pilum*. A large, bulbous weight is represented between shaft and shank on stelae from Naples and Fiesole, while other gravestones (M. A. Lucianus in the Capitoline Museum, and a stele in Castel Sant'Angelo) have a second, smaller weight above the first. With few exceptions, the iconography suggests that from the Flavian period onwards this weapon had been characteristic of the Praetorian Guard only. A binding usually runs up the full length of these 3rd-century *pilum* shafts, and a pointed ferrule at the butt is also sometimes visible (e.g. stele of Lucius Septimius Valerinus, Museum of the Termae).

Scale armour may have been standard for the Praetorian Guard in the early 3rd century, and this is confirmed by 3rd-century Italian iconography, like the gravestone of c.225–250 to the brothers Maurus Dasius and Maurus Candidus, from Siscia, who served in Cohors V Praetoria. Cassius Dio (79, 37, 4) writes that during the civil war against Eliogabalus the perfect Macrinus would have sent the Praetorians into battle without their usual scale cuirass to allow them more agility and speed.

The scale cuirass was not reserved to the Praetorian infantry, however: the Chiaramonti relief shows two legionaries of the Tetrarchic period in scale- and mail-armour, fitted with sleeves of the same construction. In the defences along the Claustra Alpium Iuliarum on the borders of Italia and Pannonia, the fortress of Ad Pirum has yielded important fragments of late 3rd–early 4th-century armour, such as a pectoral plate showing the kind of punched rivet holes associated with scales, and bearing a representation of Minerva clad in ringmail armour. A greave in laminated bronze, perhaps originating with Legio II Parthica and formerly in the Axel Guttman collection, has since come home to the Civic Museum at Albano.

The shield of 3rd-century Italian guardsmen – whether Praetorians, Equites Singulares or legionaries of II Parthica – is invariably depicted on monuments as oval or round, and often as deeply concave. Various stelae from Aquileia datable to the end of the 3rd and early 4th centuries show similar equipment, e.g. that of Aurelius Sudecentius of Legio XI Claudia.

Italic helmets of the period are archaeologically well represented by the Nola specimen, a mask helmet of open-faced 'Mater Castrorum' typology. In the iconography the Praetorians are often represented with pseudo-Attic helmets, or the Heddernheim style with eagle *protomes*. In various Roman evolutions, the 'Phrygian' helmet was also used by Praetorians and other guardsmen. The splendidly detailed Palazzo Mattei sarcophagus shows a guardsman wearing one having an eagle *protome*, its shape recalling that in the Mougin Museum and one in the Axel Guttmann collection; a specimen of Phrygian typology is also known from Vienne.

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PLATE COMMENTARIES

A: THE GALlic PROVINCES

(1) Legionary, *vexillatio Legio I Minervia*; Lugdunum, Lugdunensis, AD 198–200

This *miles gregarius* of Septimius Severus's army is partly reconstructed from the rich finds in a soldier's grave in Rue des Fantasques, Lyon. These confirm that from late in the 2nd century a long *spatha* sword was becoming increasingly common for infantrymen, as was the new method of slinging it on the left side from a baldric. The *cingulum* waist belt might be retained, however, and in this case the latter is decorated with bronze letters 'FELIX UTERE' – 'Use it with good luck'. We have given the legionary a bronze helmet of Niederbieber typology (by Robinson's probably misleading



Reconstruction of a legionary of Legio II Italica, 2nd–3rd centuries. He wears a helmet of Hedderheim typology, with a *lorica segmentata* of Newstead type from finds at Cannabiaca (Zeilsemauer) in Noricum. (Schlossmuseum Linz; photo courtesy Manfred Beer)

classification, 'Auxiliary Cavalry Type D'), of which fragments have been found in Lyon; the ringmail armour is based on the specimen from Verbe Incarné and has bronze pectoral fastening-plates.

(2) Staff officer of Proconsul Caius Aemilius Berenicianus Maximus; *Colonia Narbo Martius*, Narbonensis, first half of 3rd century

This figure is basically copied from a fresco in Narbonne. We have reconstructed an all-enveloping bronze helmet of the type classified by Robinson as 'Cavalry Sports Type H', based on finds at Rodez in Aquitania and Worthing in Britain. He wears 'muscled' armour (the *thorax statos*), and carries a round *clipeus* shield with an *imago clipeata* on the boss. Note his splendid *ocreae* (greaves), based on the specimen from Fort Louis, Haguenau. Characteristic elements of his 'uniform' are the *sagum* cloak and the *campagi reticuli* shoes copied from the fresco.

(3) Legionary, *Legio Prima Maximiana Thebeorum; Andematumnum*, Lugdunensis Prima, late 3rd century

From the Langres sculpture, which has been interpreted as showing a soldier of the army of Maximian after the defeat of the 'Bacaudae' peasant rebellions in the AD 280s. The carving clearly shows an armour of substantial scale construction worn over *pteryges*. The head is badly damaged, but we have reconstructed an evolution of the pseudo-Attic helmet of a type visible on various monuments of the Tetrarchic period (and even on the Ghandara sculptures from the distant East). Based on Hellenistic models and widespread in the East, it is of two-part 'ridge' construction, and forms a hybrid with the new helmets of Intercisa-Dunapentele types. Evidence suggests that by this date the decoration of tunics and cloaks with stripes and 'medallions' of embroidery was already established.

B: THE GERMANIC PROVINCES

(1) Legionary, *Legio IIII Flavia Severiana Alexandrina*; Harzhorn, Germany, AD 235

Reconstructed mainly after the excavations of the battlefield of Harzhorn, this soldier wearing bi-metal ringmail armour

with pectoral plates carries a Niederbieber-type helmet, and the *dolabra* entrenching pickaxe marked to his legion which was found on site. Just visible is the embossed bronze covering of his narrow dagger sheath. The padded *galericum* worn under the helmet is copied from an Egyptian specimen; this legion detached vexillations widely, from the Balkans as far afield as Gaul and Britannia and also to the East.

(2) Eques, Cohors II Raetorum Civium Romanorum Antoniana Severiana; Germania Superior, AD 250

This soldier of a unit raised in (roughly) modern Switzerland is mainly reconstructed from finds in the Upper German *limes*, including at Saalburg and Speyer. We give him a helmet of Niederbieber type, as widely attested by archaeology in this province. He wears a corselet of *squama* construction, with a pair of larger bronze fastening plates let into the scales on the breast. His greaves are copied from a splendid find at Speyer. His tunic is decorated with narrow purple *loroi*, as described in the *Historia Augusta* (Severus, XXXIII, 4). The reconstruction of the shield decoration is hypothetical for this unit, but is based on contemporary patterns from Dura Europos. His spear has a long leaf-shaped head. Many finds at Harzhorn confirm the presence of vehicles of the army's baggage train.

(3) Eques, Secunda Varcianorum equitata Civium Romanorum Pia Fidelis; Gelduba, Germania Superior, AD 257

Finds in the destruction level at Gelduba hint at the equipment worn by the last defenders of the fort at the time of the great Frankish invasion, who are thought to have been this highly decorated part-mounted unit. We reconstruct this trooper with a helmet recalling (though in much simpler quality) both the Worthing and Frankfurt-Heddernheim finds, with a central metal 'comb' and all-enveloping cheek-pieces. He is armoured in ringmail, and has simple greaves copied from the Kunzing hoard. His equipment includes both a baldric and a waist belt fastened with a ring buckle. The former supports a *spatha* on his left side and the latter, possibly, a second weapon – a shorter 'semi-spatha' – on his right. The finish of the interior of his shield is an interpretation by German archaeologists.

C: BRITANNIA

(1) Miles, Cohors I Vardullorum; Bremenium, Britannia Inferior, first half of 3rd century

The troops in Britannia seem often to have used organic ('soft') or composite armours, like this soldier posed with a *carroballista* at High Rochester fort; about 20 miles north of Hadrian's Wall, this garrison was maintained from c. AD 216 until late in the century. A sculpture from Vercovicium represents Mars clad in a padded *lorica* of this type, and bronze greaves covering the knee. We have added a Niederbieber-type helmet, of which fragments have been found along the Wall, and a tunic of local cloth.

(2) Eques, Ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana; Olenacum, Britannia Inferior, AD 242

This is an attempted reconstruction based on a number of sources. A rather crude monument to a cavalryman from Deva (Chester) shows a long ringmail armour. The helmet is of Heddernheim type, but we give it cheek-pieces which survived at Newcastle-upon-Tyne from a cavalry helmet of Kalkar-Hönnepel type, decorated with Dioscuri images that may originally have been painted in natural colours. Note the



The early 3rd-century 'Straubing hoard' from ancient Sorviiodunum in Raetia Secunda included this 'Amazon mask' from a helmet designed for the Hyppika Gymnasia. (Gäubodenmuseum, Straubing; drawing by Andrey Negin)

long *contus* lance, and harness fittings based on those from Deva and other British localities. Local influence would probably be visible in clothing and items such as the saddle-cloth.

(3) Centurio, Legio II Augusta; Glevum, Britannia Superior, second half of 3rd century

This officer at Gloucester is based on the Aurelius Cervianus *phalera*. The 'pseudo-Corinthian' helmet, with its brow raised into a wide, shallow peak and its metal 'comb' with an eagle *protome*, is based on a skull in a private collection, integrated with elements from Frankfurt-Heddernheim and Brigetio finds. The shields depicted on the Cervianus *phalera* are all circular, showing Germanic influence; this legion's blazon is copied from the much later *Notitia Dignitatum*. We reconstruct a scale armour, suggested by a number of finds in Britain; under this he wears a padded *thoracomacus* with pendant *pteryges* to protect the belly, groin and thighs, and greaves. The scabbard 'slide' or bracket for suspension from a baldric is characteristic of long *spathae* swords; among many that have survived, those found in Britain are often cast in the shape of a dolphin.

D: RAETIA, NORICUM & ALPES

(1) *Aurelius Marcellinus as Dux Alpes Cottiae (?)*, mid-3rd century

The senior military commander of the province has an elaborate helmet of Heddernheim typology, reconstructed from a fragmentary find in the Teather area of Augusta Praetoria, which he would wear over a felt cap known as a *pilleus Pannonicus*. Fragments of a painted statue from Industria show a muscled *thorax statos*, which is plausible for an officer of this rank. An impressive detail is the *cymation* (lower border) with bronze lappets ornamented with figures of Silenus and satyrs; the use of bronze for such elements is confirmed by recent finds of actual armour in the Forum of Rome. The fringed *pteryges* bear images of Praetorian guardsmen and gods. The *parazonium* officers' sword is copied from bronze specimens added to the statues of commanders.

(2) *Eques, Cohors II Raetorum; 'cavalry sports', Sorviiodunum, Limes Raeticus, AD 260*

This unit, stationed at modern Straubing in Raetia together with Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittariorum,

was probably part-mounted. The rich hoard found at the site confirms the performance there of the Hyppika Gymnasia, but does not exclude the use of such equipment in battle. The several different mask finds also indicate that for these 'cavalry sports' entire teams re-enacted the legendary battle between Greeks and Amazons, with the 'male' team's helmet masks modelled on an image of Alexander the Great. There is evidence from Germany that some Roman weapon and tool shafts might have been decorated or painted.

(3) *Decurio, Cohors II Thracum equitata Pia Fidelis; Cannabiaca, Noricum, AD 250-270*

This cavalry officer is reconstructed from monuments in Noricum and the many 3rd-century finds from forts along that frontier. His decorated pseudo-Attic helmet is of Chalons/Guisborough typology (Robinson's 'Cavalry Sports Type I'). His body armour is an anatomical leather *lorica*, and he wears cavalry greaves. The *sagum* cloak was fastened at the right shoulder with a *fibula* – either round and sometimes enamelled, or of the 'staff' type. His weapons are a *spatha* of Straubing-Nydam type, and short javelins carried in a quiver.

E: THE HISPANIC PROVINCES

(1) *Eques Singularis; Baetica, first quarter of 3rd century*

This guardsman of the Praeses Provinciae Baeticae is reconstructed partly from a wonderful bridle-piece found at Marchena, which tells us that helmets with 'pseudo-Corinthian' bowls like the specimens from Brigetio and Heddernheim, characterized by high metal 'comb' crests, were also used in this province. The muscled cuirass might be metallic or might have shoulder guards made from stiffened leather, worn over the usual *subarmalis* fitted with *pteryges*. The harness fittings are copied from examples found in Baetica, where a horse statuette shows this interesting saddle with two front horns only.

(2) *Legionary, Legio VII Gemina; Lèon, Hispania Tarraconensis, mid-3rd century*

This heavily-armoured *miles gravis armatura* wears a *manica* articulated protector on his sword arm, as found on the site of this legion's base. Characteristic elements of the *lorica segmentata* of the 'Newstead' type have also been recovered in this area. The helmet (Robinson's so-called 'Auxiliary Cavalry Type E') and crest, as well as the *subarmalis*, are copied from the famous 'Labours of Hercules' mosaic from Liria (Valencia), preserved in the National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.

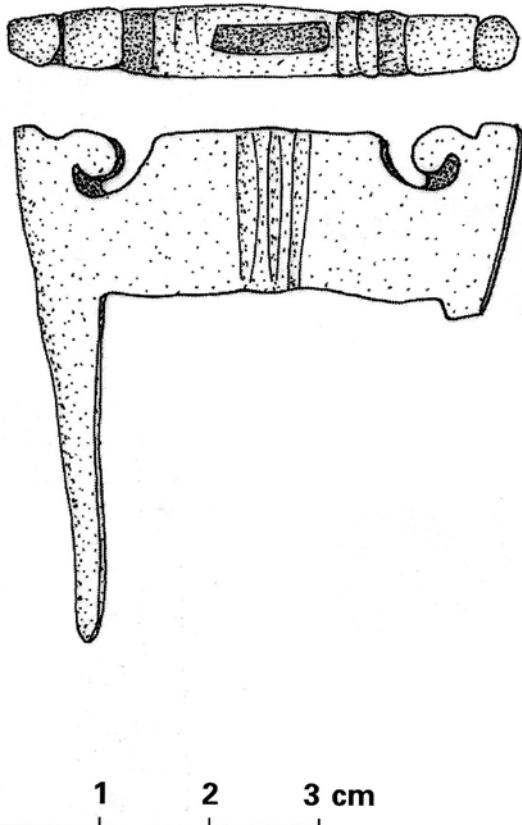
(3) *Sagittarius, Asturica, AD 298*

From a late-antique sarcophagus of uncertain date, this archer is wearing the typical costume of the Late Roman world: a *pilleus pannonicus* cap, and an off-white tunic decorated with embroidered *clavi* and *segmenta*. On the lower legs are *tibiales* worn in combination with *fasciae crurales*, and he has *campagi* shoes. His composite bow is similar to precious fragmentary examples found elsewhere in the Western provinces, notably in Britannia and on the Rhine *limes*.

F: PANNONIA & DALMATIA

(1) *Eques, Cohors III Alpinorum equitata; Siscia, Pannonia, mid-3rd century*

This cavalryman and his horse are recreated according to the rich finds from Sisak. He has a conventional helmet of Niederbieber typology, and is armed with a long *spatha* and several javelins. A belt with the motto 'FELIX UTERE' was



Gilded guard and scabbard fitting of a 2nd-3rd century dagger from Banasa, Mauretania Tingitana; these fragments are only 4.5cm and 4.7cm (1.77in & 1.85in) wide, indicating a very narrow weapon. (Drawing by Andrea Salimbeni; ex Boube-Piccot)

found at Aquae Iasae (Varaždinske Toplice) – see also Plate A1. The elaborate bit, and the peltate, spiral and trumpet-shaped harness fittings of Celtic influence, were found at Sisak and other Roman sites.

(2) Vexillarius, Cohors I Delmatarum milliaria; Dalmatia, AD 260

The Niederbieber helmet lacking neck- and cheekguards is speculative, but it is copied from a specimen now in the Archeological Museum, Florence, and seems to be confirmed by a sarcophagus from the same city. The detailed images on the sarcophagi of military commanders in Italy, Illyria and Dalmatia in this period offer depictions of the Equites Dalmatae who were raised under the cavalry reforms of Gallienus. Note the richness of this standard-bearer's garments (*tunica, bracae, sagum, tibiales* and *calcei*), and the fringed cavalry vexillum.

(3) Legionary, Legio I Adiutrix Pia Fidelis; Brigetio, Pannonia, AD 275

Again, this *miles legionarius* is an extra-heavy infantryman. His stele at Brigetio appears to show an armoured coif or hood and a combination of different-sized *squamae* for the armour, to which we have added the greaves. This corresponds with Vegetius's description of the *principales, ordinarii, principes* and *hastati* of a *legio* all being *gravis armatura*.

G: THE AFRICAN PROVINCES

(1) Valens, Vexillarius, Cohors II Sardorum; Ain Grimidi, Mauretania Caesariensis, AD 200

This standard-bearer's scale armour and boots are reconstructed from his gravestone, the so-called 'Broglie stele', and his helmet from the striking find at Ain Grimidi. The harness fittings are all based on examples found in Mauretania. Note the padded protection and decoration of his horse, copied from now-damaged mosaics at Cirta.

(2) Miles, Cohors IIII milliaria Tungrorum; Ain Shokour, Mauretania Tingitana, AD 222

His stele shows a tunic decorated with the usual vertical *clavi*, and although they are not evident on the monument other sources show that even in the heat of North Africa soldiers wore long trousers and closed *calcei* shoes. Off-white is the most common colour depicted for military dress in the 3rd century, with red-brown cloaks, but mosaics from Mauretania show military garments in a variety of other colours. He carries a round shield and a *lancea*.

(3) Legionary, Legio III Augusta Pia Fidelis; Carthago, Africa Proconsularis, AD 287–297

The sleeved ringmail armour, and the conical helmet based on a segmented example from Breda, are copied from the Chiaramonti relief. This may represent triumphant soldiers of this resident legion who restored order in Africa under Maximian, Augustus of the West, during this period. The legion's shield decoration is taken from the later *Notitia Dignitatum*, while the other elements of his arms and armour are all from finds in the African provinces.

H: ITALIA

(1) Aurelius Eptcensus, Iancarius, Legio II Parthica Severiana; Castra Albana, first half of 3rd century

This armoured soldier is taken from the representation of *Parthica* legionaires on the Arch of Severus in Rome. Those carvings show them wearing a 'Phrygian' helmet, which Dtinsis explains as a Roman evolution of the Macedonian

helmet; it is often visible in Italic monuments of the 3rd century. The greaves are restored from a specimen from Albano Laziale. Note the dolphin scabbard slide, the *deigmaton* shield blazon from the steles of Apamea, and the *carbatinae* boots.

(2) Eques of a Vexillatio Maurorum; Mediolanum, AD 268

The sarcophagi of 3rd-century generals represent two kinds of cavalry in their retinues: Equites Dalmati, and Equites Mauri. The highly decorated tunics of the Late Empire, originating from the East and Africa, characterized the 'uniforms' of these highly effective units. Note his impressive shield, with expensive embossing and a gilded *umbo*. The armament of these light cavalrymen was usually two javelins and a sword.

(3) Tribunus, Cohors I Praetoria; Roma, AD 288

The pseudo-Attic helmet and muscled armour worn by this Praetorian officer are taken from the Maxentian pedestals of the Arch of Constantine; note the side-fastening clasps of the armour, copied from late antique monuments, and the bronze lappets of the *cymation* based on a specimen recently found in the Roman Forum. A *paludamentum* cloak, expensive *cothurni* boots, and an eagle-pommel *spatha* from the Xavier Collection complete the tribune's handsome uniform.



Right side of a 3rd-century helmet of Niederbieber typology, re-employed in a later period; see Plate F2. (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence; author's photo, courtesy the Museum)

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to all who believe, as I do, that the glory of Rome will live forever

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Artist's Note

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