

The flag of legion II Augusta on the Bridgeness distance slab¹

David J Breeze*

ABSTRACT

It is usually considered that the appearance of a vexillum (flag) on the Bridgeness distance slab on the Antonine Wall, the main text of which records the legion at full strength, was in some way erroneous. It is argued here that the vexillum may have been one of each legion's normal standards and was therefore correctly used on the stone.

INTRODUCTION

The Bridgeness distance slab, the largest such stone ever to have been found on the Antonine Wall, was unearthed in 1868 (*RIB* 2139; *CSIR* I, iv, 68). It has generally been presumed to have been the eastern terminus slab of the Wall being erected about AD 142. Recent excavations, however, have failed to locate the eastern end of the Antonine Wall at Bridgeness and it has been argued that the reports of early antiquarians, who ended the Wall further east at Carriden, may be correct (Bailey & Devereux 1987). This problem does not affect the present discussion.

The inscription recording the construction of 4652 paces of the Antonine Wall by soldiers of legion II Augusta is flanked, left, by a scene of a Roman cavalryman riding down four barbarians and, right, by a depiction of the *souvetaurilia*, the ritual cleansing of the legion (illus 1 & 2). One of the figures behind the priest and the altar is holding a *vexillum* bearing the inscription LEG II AUG.

There have been several studies of the stone, one of the most recent detailed treatments appearing in this journal (Philips 1974; useful bibliographies relating to the stone appear in the apparatus in *RIB* and *CSIR*). Most discussions have been concerned either with the main inscription and its implications, or the sculpture; most have ignored the problem of the *vexillum*. This problem is simply expressed: according to conventional wisdom a *vexillum* should not appear on the stone as the flag was the standard of a detachment of a legion, and this particular legion was present building on the Antonine Wall at full strength, as all the relevant inscriptions confirm. My aim is to argue that it is possible that the flag was correctly placed on the stone.

LEGIONS ON THE ANTONINE WALL

All three British legions are recorded building on the Antonine Wall. Legion VI Victrix appears on all its distance slabs as a vexillation (detachment), and legion XX Valeria Victrix as a vexillation on all but one (presumably a mistake or an omission owing to lack of space on a cramped stone), but

* Historic Buildings and Monuments, 20 Brandon Street, Edinburgh



ILLUS 1 The Bridgeness distance slab. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Museums of Scotland

legion II Augusta is not described as a vexillation on any of its distance slabs (respectively, *RIB* 2185, 2194, 2196, 2200 and 2205; *RIB* 2173, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2206, 2208 and *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 309–10, no 19; *RIB* 2184 is the legion XX stone without vexillation on it; *RIB* 2139, 2186, 2193, 2203 and 2204). All three legions, where comparison is possible, are recorded as building the same length of Wall (eg 3666 ½ paces; 3000 ft, 4141 ft). It might thus be argued that legion II was present on the Antonine Wall at the same strength as its sister legions, but, for one reason or another, preferred to refer to itself as *legio* rather than *vexillatio*, the *vexillum* indicating that in reality only a detachment of the legion was serving on the Wall. Reference to detachments as legions and not vexillations seems to occur from the time of Marcus (161–80), but is not attested as early as the reign of Antoninus Pius (*RE* 12.1.1305–6). Further, it has been suggested that one group of soldiers from legion II Augusta similar in size to the detachments of the other two legions constructed the rampart and ditch, thus accounting for the identical building lengths, while the remainder of the legion operated elsewhere, building for example the fort at Balmuildy, which has produced a legion II building stone (*RIB* 2191; Breeze & Dobson 1987, 110). Finally, it might be expected that all three legions would use the same terminological rules. Thus, the most straightforward assumption is that legion II was not represented on the Antonine Wall by a detachment, but was present at full, or nearly full, strength.

EARLIER COMMENTARIES

The problem was noted by earlier commentators. Gibb (1901, 23) stated:

from this [the appearance of the standard] we infer that the legion had not brought with it the eagle as its standard, and that therefore the whole legion was not present, but only a detachment or vexillation.

Haverfield a few years later considered the problem at greater length (1912, 128–30). He argued that only a vexillation of legion II was present on the Antonine Wall. He pointed out that some inscriptions from the Wall did record a vexillation of legion II Augusta, though it 'is possible and, indeed, in view of the events of AD 158–162, not absolutely impossible' that these 'were set up on a campaign different in time from that devoted to the building of the Wall'. He also pointed out that

it is difficult to see what happened to the second legion's fortress at Caerleon if the whole force were drafted off to Scotland, and not merely two or three thousand men. It seems best, therefore, to conclude that the use of the plain title LEG II AUG was a habit of the stone-cutters attached to that corps, and does not imply that the legion was present as a whole at the building of the Wall.



ILLUS 2 The right-hand panel on the Bridgeness distance slab. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Museums of Scotland

The only subsequent comment which I have been able to discover is by Professor J C Mann, who has recently suggested that the appearance of the *vexillum* on the stone 'is merely artistic licence – or ignorance' (Mann 1986, 192, n 2).

THE VEXILLUM

The *vexillum* was a flag. It was usually a square (or nearly square) cloth which was hung from a transverse bar which in turn was attached to a vertical pole. The cloth was often about 50 cm square and red in colour being decorated, usually in gold. There were usually tassels along the bottom, and tassels often hung from the ends of the cross bar. One example of the cloth survives and is now in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Art in Moscow (Rostovtzeff 1942). This was acquired, and therefore presumably found, in Egypt. A painting of a *vexillarius* carrying a flag was executed on a wall in the city of Dura Europos, where cohorts XX Palmyrenorum milliaria equitata was stationed in the first half of the third century (Rostovtzeff 1942, pl V). Many other depictions of *vexilla* appear on military sculpture throughout the Roman empire (the British examples can be consulted in the pages of the various fascicules of *CSIR* I).

The flag was a standard of great antiquity in the Roman state (cf Domaszewski 1885, 24–8, 76–80; Rostovtzeff 1942; *RE* 8.A.2446–2454). It had several uses. A red flag was hung on a general's tent as a sign for march or battle (Macrobius, *Saturn* 1, 16; cf Caesar, *Civil War*, 2, 20). The emperor seems to have had his own flag (Rostovtzeff 1942, 93). Flags might be used as religious banners (Rostovtzeff 1942, 97–105). Flags were also used as standards by military units (eg Caesar, *Gallic War* 6, 36), and as a military decoration (Maxfield 1981, 82–4). It was a military standard that came to be adopted as his special Christian banner by the Emperor Constantine after his victory at the battle of Milvian Bridge in 312, and it remains to this day a banner in everyday use by the Church. (By a delightful coincidence there is also in Edinburgh, in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, a tapestry woven between 1660 and 1670 depicting Constantine's vision of the cross before the battle, with, on the right hand side, a soldier holding a *vexillum* in his left hand and the bridle of the emperor's horse in his right: *illus* 3: Swain 1988, 38–9.)

The *vexillum* is attested as a military standard from the last years of the Republic. It usually appears to have been used in connection with a special group of men, ie not a complete legion, but a detachment or another special force (cf Saxer 1967). It came to be primarily associated, at least in modern eyes, with the vexillation or detachment, but in the first century AD it served as the standard of a variety of special groups of soldiers. These included the *vexillum veteranorum*, the group of old soldiers in each legion who had served over 20 years service but had not yet retired (Keppie 1973). Old soldiers serving *sub vexillo* are recorded by Tacitus (*Annals*, 1, 36; 3, 21; 14, 34). References to other special groups operating under a *vexillum* appear elsewhere in Tacitus and also in Caesar. In one passage in *The Gallic War* (6, 36) convalescing soldiers marched under a *vexillum*, and in another (6, 40) veterans marched out of camp together under a flag. Tacitus refers to a *vexillum tironum*, a body of recruits (*Annals*, 2, 78), the *aquila* (eagles) of four legions and the *vexilla* of other legions (*Histories*, 2, 89), and elsewhere to *vexilla* (detachments) of legions (*Histories*, 2, 100). Auxiliaries also could operate under a flag (Tacitus, *Histories*, 1, 70).

Modern commentators usually associate the *vexillum* with cavalry. It is certainly carried by cavalrymen on Trajan's Column, the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius and the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and is frequently linked with cavalry officers on inscriptions (cf Webster 1986, 106). Examination of the epigraphic sources, however, reveals that the bearer of the *vexillum*, the *vexillarius*, is attested in a number of army units, both cavalry and infantry. These are listed below:



ILLUS 3 Tapestry in the Palace of Holyroodhouse depicting the Emperor Constantine before the battle of Milvian Bridge: the *vexillum* is to the right. Reproduced by kind permission of His Grace, the Duke of Hamilton

Praetorian guard: here the *vexillarius* replaces the *signifer* in the career of a cavalryman. Cf *CIL* VI 32709a=37191=*ILS* 9190 (Rome): . . . *optio equitum, vexillarius equitum, fisci curator, evocatus, centurio*.

Vigiles (the fire brigade in Rome): *vexillarius* is the infantry equivalent of *signifer* in other units (Domaszewski 1967, 10–11, 15). Cf *CIL* IX 1438=*ILS* 2166 (Pisa).

Legions: the post is associated with cavalry on inscriptions. Cf *CIL* III 4061 (Poetovio), dating not much later than 70: *C Rufius*. Cf *Ouf Med mile[s] leg XIII Gem an XXXVI stip XVI fratre pos h s c*; the soldier holds a *vexillum* containing the inscription: *vex equitae CIL* VIII 2562+N *Heidelb. J 9, 150* (Lambaesis), dated to 222–235: *eq leg III [Aug]* . . . a list follows including: *2 vex, tess, mag k, hast, cur sco. CIL* VIII 16549 (Theveste): *Sex. Valerius Attcinus vexillarius eq leg III Aug. AE* 1957, 341 with Speidel 1984, 185, n 5 (Montana): *Dianae Reginae Aurel Titus vexill eq leg I Ital Gordianae Au [ag] reg mont . . . CIL* XIII 6948 (Mainz): *Leg XVI eq[]xsillar an[] JV stip XV. CIL* V 899 with Pais 1884, no 72 (Grado) is the tombstone of a veteran of IV Flavia; the inscription is flanked by two soldiers, each holding a *vexillum*.

Auxilia: the post is attested in four out of the six different types of auxiliary units and in the

equites singulares Augusti (the emperor's horseguards):

ala: cf *CIL* III 4576; 4834; 11081.

cohors milliaria equitata: most of the known references to this post appear in the rosters of cohors XX Palmyrenorum dating to 219 and 222: P Dura 100 xxiii 12, xxxii 21, xxxvi 18, xxxviii 23, xxxix 9, 13, 16; 101 xviii 19, xxxviii 8, xl 9, 19, xliii 3. In two cases the title is indicated as *vex in 7* (century): P Dura 101 xviii 19, xxxviii 8. The post also appears in P Dura 96 a 3.

cohors quingenaria equitata: *CIL* III 2012; 8762; 9739; *AE* 1957, 193.

cohors quingenaria (it is not clear whether these examples definitely refer to peditate cohorts): *CIL* V 4896; *AE* 1964, 243; *CIL* XIII 7705 with *Zangemeister Westd Z*, xii 206 (Brohl):

. . . *Gemellus im[a]ginif coh [III]I Asturum p D et vexil coh eiusdem.*

equites singulares Augusti: *CIL* VI 2263; 3203; 3239; 3253. (Cf Speidel 1965, 38–40).

numeri: *CIL* XIII 7753 (Niederbieber) dated to 246, is a dedication by a *vexillarius* and an *imaginifer* to the genius of *vexillarii* and *imaginiferi*. The *imago* was one of the standards of the unit and thus the *vexillum* may also have been a unit standard. Cf *CIL* XIII 7754; *AE* 1897, 147.

Veterans: *CIL* V 4903: this *vexillarius veteranorum* is usually presumed to have been the standard bearer of the group of veterans (Keppie 1973, 12), but it is not impossible that he was merely a member of the *vexillum veteranorum*.

It is clear that the *vexillum* is used in a variety of capacities. It is often associated with cavalry (as in the praetorian guard and the legions), but is also connected with infantry (*vigiles* in Rome, the cohort at Dura, and probably in a *numerus*). It appears to be the standard of one *numerus*, but in the *vigiles* was the standard of a sub-division of the unit, the century.

In some units there was more than one *vexillarius*. There were two *vexillarii* at Lambaesis (there must have been two in legion I Italica when one was outpostted to Montana: *AE* 1957, 341; cf Speidel 1984, 167, n 21); at least five in cohors XX Palmyrenorum in 219 and seven in the same unit in 222; at least two in the *numerus* at Niederbieber in 246 and, as the 14 names of the college of *baioli* and *vexillarii* are listed in two groups of seven, possibly as many as seven (*CIL* XIII 7754).

THE LEGIONS

In the legion, on inscriptions, the *vexillarius* is associated with cavalry in every case. The 120 legionary cavalry do not seem to have been organized into *turmae*, but were carried on the books of the centuries (Breeze 1969). The *vexillarius equitum* seems to have been an officer associated with that group of soldiers (cf Speidel 1986, 165–7). It is not impossible that the flag on the Bridgeness distance slab is the *vexillum* of the legionary cavalry, the soldier holding the standard being dismounted for the ceremony. However, this group of men was only 120 strong and there seems to be no reason why it should be specially represented on the stone (it is not possible to draw a connection with the cavalryman riding down the barbarians in the left-hand panel of the distance slab, as this was a regular scene in Roman military iconography). It is more likely that the standard of the unit would be represented on the stone rather than the flag of a sub-division of the legion. The flag ought therefore to be the standard of the whole legion.

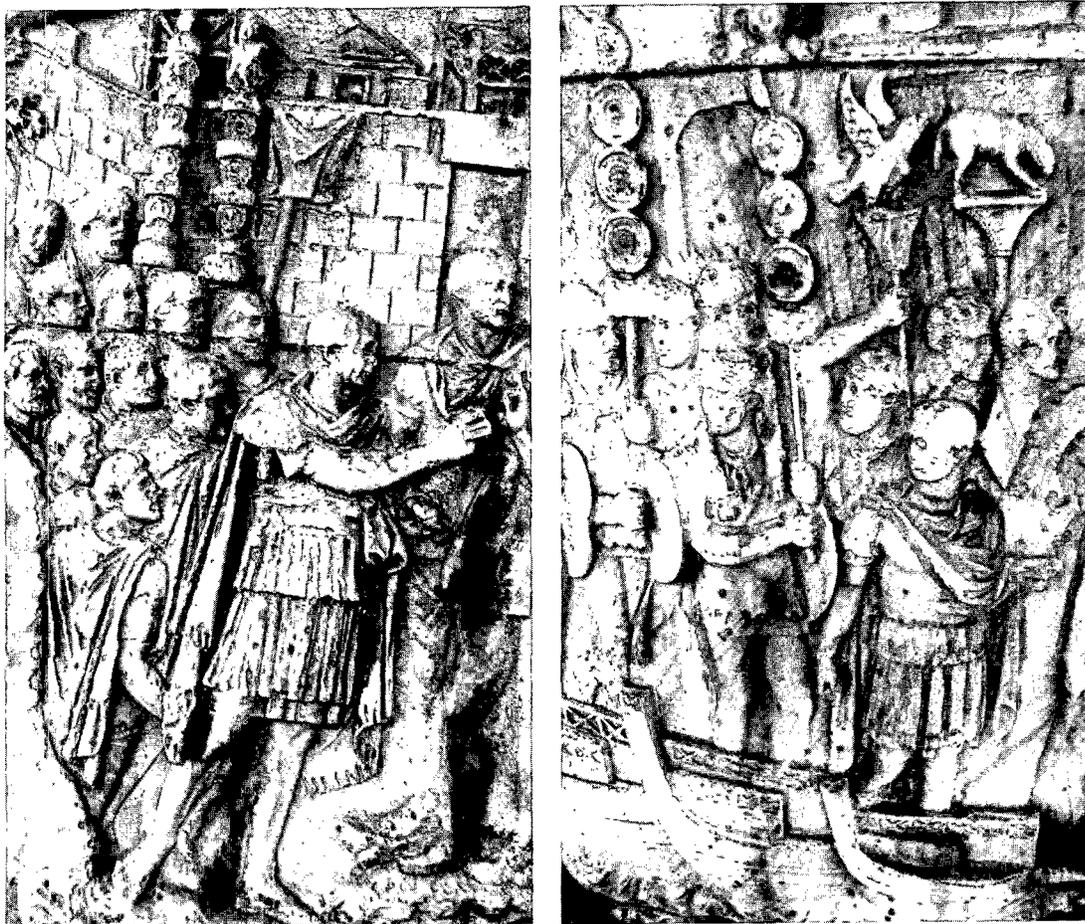
It could be argued that the *vexillum* on the Bridgeness distance slab was the standard of the *vexillum veteranorum*, the soldiers retained with the colours after the completion of 20 years service. There is, however, no definite evidence for the continuing existence of this group of soldiers after 69, and Keppie (1973, 16) argues that it disappeared in the army reforms of Vespasian. Professor J C Mann, however, has suggested to me that this may not have been the case. Veterans with less than 25 years service are known after the time of Vespasian. Two appear on *laterculi veteranorum* (*AE* 1925,

109, dating to 160; VIII 2744=18272, dating to 176; cf Forni 1953, 143–4, who also notes eight other veterans with less than 25 years service). Mann has suggested to me that while many men stayed on for 25 years, or even more (as Forni's tables demonstrate), they may nevertheless have retained a theoretical right to discharge after 20 years if they so wished. A law of Caracalla, dating to 212–217 (*Cod Just* 12.35.2), addressed to *militibus cohortis primae* (presumably the first cohort of a legion) confirms that those who had served 20 years were exempt from *sordida munera militiae*. This is similar language to the statement of Tacitus (*Annals* 1.36) about the freedom from the general fatigues the soldiers kept on after 16 years service in AD 14. Two laws (*Cod Just* 7.64.9 and 10.55.3) of the time of Diocletian and Maximian (286–305) refer to *honesta missio*, honourable discharge, for those who had served in a legion or a *vexillatio equitum*, after 20 years. The Brigetio Table (*AE* 1937, 232), dating to 311, demonstrates that *honesta missio* was obtained after 20 years service. But while Mann may be correct in his assertion that discharge was theoretically possible after 20 years, there remains no evidence for the *vexillum veteranorum* after the time of Vespasian, and thus it is possible that the formation was disbanded as Keppie argues. Its continued existence, however, in spite of the lack of later evidence, must remain a possibility. Yet even if the *vexillum veteranorum* had continued in existence, its appearance on the Bridgeness distance slab, represented by its flag, is still problematic. As soldiers exempt from fatigues, men with over 20 years service would not have taken part in the building of the Antonine Wall, but they could have been involved in any fighting. The question is: would they have then appeared in the *suovetaurilia* scene on the *building stone*? This is impossible to answer, and it may be safer to place the whole matter of the representation of the *vexillum veteranorum*, if it still existed at this time, to one side.

The *vexillum* appears frequently on Trajan's Column, carried by soldiers (*illus* 4). At the beginning of the Column a group of legionaries crossing a bridge of boats are led by two *signa* (century standards), an eagle and a *vexillum* (IV=14; cf CVI=283 for a column of legionaries led by a *signum*, *vexillum* and eagle), while the praetorians are led by three *signa* and a *vexillum*. A little later on, two soldiers appear each carrying a *vexillum* and each leading a horse (VI=20). There seems to be no reason to assume that the soldier bearing the *vexillum* on the first scene has to be a dismounted cavalryman (*pace* Webster 1986, 106). It seems to me to be perfectly possible for this soldier to be carrying one of the standards of the legion. The *vexillum* appears elsewhere on Trajan's Column in situations which are not explicitly associated with cavalry. These include a scene where two *signa*, an eagle and a *vexillum* appear together in a camp (VIII=24), and others where the flag is with two *signa* (XL=103; LI=127; LIV=136; CII=269 with three *signa*). It is possible that the artists intended these *vexilla* to represent cavalry, but that is not necessarily the case.

On the monument at Adamklissi in Romania a *vexillum* appears associated with cavalry (metope III on the numbering of Florescu 1965), but more frequently held by infantry (X and XXIX: in each case two *vexillarii* stand flanking a standard-bearer, all in mail; XLV shows two *vexillarii* in field service kit side by side, interpreted by Richmond 1967, 36 as representing vexillations of legionaries and praetorians). The *vexillum* appears often on the Column of Marcus held by infantry, but as this emperor's armies were composed of legionary vexillations I am passing over this evidence. It may be noted, however, that there is no hint of any connection of M Aurelius Sossius, veteran of legion IV Flavia, whose tombstone is flanked on each side by a *vexillarius*, with cavalry (*CIL* V 899 with Pais 1884, no 72; cf Franzoni 1988, 20–21).

The main standards of the legion are well known, the eagle (*aquila*), the image of the emperor (*imago*) and the legion's emblem or totem animal (cf Trajan's Column IV=14). The *vexillum* could have served as another standard. Tacitus (*Annals*, 1, 38) may be referring to such a standard when describing the events of the mutiny of 14, when it was agreed that soldiers with over 16 years service should be retained *sub vexillo* but it is also possible that he is using the word *vexillum* to mean



ILLUS 4 Standards on Trajan's Column. a, a flag is one of three standards behind the Emperor Trajan, who stands with his soldiers before a fort (Scene LI=127/8); b, soldiers of legion I Minerva led by the legion's animal totem, a ram, its eagle and two standards of the centuries (Scene XLVIII=122; Lepper and Frere 1988, 98). Photographs: A Lamb

legionary standards generally, for in considering the year 68 he (*Histories*, 1, 41) refers to the *vexillarius* of the cohort, but the *vexillum* had on it Galba's portrait and, while the terminology may have been correct (Webster 1986, 105, n 2), it is possible that it was the *imago* that was being discussed. In short, as usual, we cannot be certain that Tacitus is using military terminology correctly.

When there was a requirement for a special detachment, that body of men would have to march behind a standard (Professor Speidel points out to me that the detachment may have required a standard to indicate the position of the commanding officer in battle rather than stand for the legion as such). The standard of a detachment obviously could not be either the eagle or the legion's emblem as these were directly relevant to the legion and would remain with the parent body. The *imago*, on the other hand, was a standard more relevant to the emperor than any particular group of men. The *vexillum*, however, was a wholly neutral standard and thus it may be for that reason that it came to be chosen as the standard of a special group of men; it was thus that the *vexillum* gave its name to the detachment, the *vexillatio*.

The *vexillum* may have had one further advantage as a standard: the flag was available for a message. This might be Victory, as on the Egyptian *vexillum*, or the emperor's name, but it could be the name of the unit, as in so many inscriptions (cf *CSIR*). This could be useful for distinguishing the different elements in a task force made up of groups from various units.

Thus, it is suggested that the *vexillum* was chosen as the standard of special groups of soldiers because it was a neutral symbol. There is one basic flaw in this suggestion. This is that no post of *vexillarius* in connection with legionary infantry has been recorded on inscriptions. To balance this lack of epigraphic evidence, there is, though, the appearance of the *vexillarius* among the legionary standard bearers on Trajan's Column and the legionary flag on the Bridgeness distance slab. The role of the *vexillum* as one of the legionary standards together with the eagle, *imago* and legionary totem would explain the appearance of the *vexillum* on the distance slab: the *vexillum* would not have been carved in error.

VEXILLARII AT DURA

If the above suggestion is correct, there may have been not just one *vexillarius* (or two as is attested in the legions), but several, so that soldiers would be available to service not only the parent body but also however many detachments were in being at any one time. This might help to account for the plurality of *vexillarii* in the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum at Dura Europos. These soldiers did not serve as a corps to protect the flag (Webster 1986, 108), but as the 'reserve' *vexillarii*. This explanation admittedly will not explain the two *vexillarii* in a century nor the fact that at least three of the *vexillarii* of 219 no longer held the post in 222, but nor will any other suggestion. The editors of the papyri proposed that the post was a temporary one (Welles *et al* 1959, 33). Dr Keppie has suggested to me that soldiers were created *vexillarii* only when a detachment was required. The difficulty I have in accepting this suggestion is that the *vexillarius* was a promoted post held by a soldier with the status of a *principalis* receiving double pay (Breeze 1971): it seems unlikely that soldiers would be temporarily promoted to such a rank.

CONCLUSION

It is suggested that the *vexillum* was chosen from amongst the military standards to head detachments because it was more neutral than the eagle, *imago* or legionary emblem. The name for such a detachment seems to have been *vexillum* at first, but it came to be *vexillatio*; the name was thus derived from the standard. At the same time the *vexillum* may have continued in use as a legionary standard, and this might account for its regular appearance on Trajan's Column. As there might have been more than one detachment from a unit operating at any one time, it might be expected that each unit would carry a number of *vexillarii* on its books so that each vexillation could have its own *vexillum*. This might account for the multiplicity of *vexillarii* in cohorts XX Palmyrenorum, though it must be admitted that no explanation is wholly satisfactory for either the peculiarity of the position of the *vexillarii* in this unit, or the lack of *vexillarii* attested epigraphically in the legions (other than in connection with cavalry) as opposed to sculpturally. If the above argument that the *vexillum* remained one of the legionary standards, seeing duty with the main body of the legion as well as with vexillations, is accepted, then the *vexillum* was correctly used on the Bridgeness distance slab.

NOTE

1 This paper is based upon a lecture delivered at the Anniversary Meeting on 30 November 1988.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am pleased to acknowledge the stimulation for this paper provided by Dr Graham Webster's article on 'Standards and Standard-bearers in the Alae'. I would like to thank Mr G Bailey, Dr B Dobson, Dr L J F Keppie, Professor J C Mann and Professor M Speidel for reading earlier drafts of this paper: their helpful comments have been gratefully incorporated into the published article, though this does not imply that any or all of them concur with the conclusions offered here.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AE* *l'Annee Epigraphique*.
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
CSIR *Corpus Sculpturum Imperii Romanorum*.
ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.
RE *Real Encyclopaedia*.
RIB *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*.

REFERENCES

- Bailey, G B & Devereux, D F 1987 'The eastern terminus of the Antonine Wall: a review', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 117 (1987), 93–104.
 Breeze, D J 1969 'The organisation of the legion: the first cohort and the *equites legionis*', *J Rom Stud*, 59 (1969), 50–5.
 Breeze, D J 1971 'Pay grades and ranks below the centurionate', *J Rom Stud*, 61 (1971), 130–5.
 Breeze, D J & Dobson, B 1987 *Hadrian's Wall*. Harmondsworth.
 Domaszewski, A von 1885 *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*. Vienna.
 Domaszewski, A von 1967 *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, 2 ed by B Dobson. Köln.
 Florescu, F B 1965 *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi Tropaeum Traiani*. Bukarest and Bonn.
 Forni, G 1953 *Il Reclutamento delle Legioni da Augusta a Diocleziano*. Milan and Rome.
 Franzoni, C 1988 *Habitus atque Habitus Militis*.
 Gibb, A 1901 'The Wall of Antoninus Pius', *The Scottish Antiquary or Northern Notes and Queries*, 15 (1901), 15–26.
 Haverfield, F 1912 'Some representative examples of Romano-British sculpture', *J Rom Stud*, 2 (1912), 121–52.
 Keppie, L J F 1973 'Vexilla Veteranorum', *Pap Brit School Rome*, 41 (1973), 8–17.
 Lepper, F & Frere, S 1988 *Trajan's Column*. Gloucester.
 Mann, J C 1986 'The construction of the Antonine Wall', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 116 (1986), 191–3.
 Maxfield, Valerie A 1981 *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London.
 Pais, E 1884 *Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementa Italica*. Roma.
 Philips, E J 1974 'The Roman distance slab from Bridgeness', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 105 (1974–4), 176–82.
 Richmond, I A 1967 'Adamklissi', *Pap Brit School Rome*, 35 (1967), 29–39.
 Rostovtzeff, M 1942 'Vexillum and Victory', *J Rom Stud*, 32 (1942), 92–106.
 Saxer, R 1967 *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationem des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Epigraphische Studien, 1.
 Speidel, M 1965 *Die Equites Singulares Augusti*. Bonn.
 Speidel, M 1984 'Regionarii in Lower Moesia' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 57 (1984), 185–8.
 Speidel, M 1986 'Centurions and Horsemen of Legion II Traiana', *Aegyptus*, 66 (1986), 163–8.
 Swain, M 1988 *Tapestries and Textiles at the Palace of Holyroodhouse*. Edinburgh.
 Webster, G 1986 'Standards and Standard-bearers in the Alae', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 186 (1986), 105–15.
 Welles, C B, Fink, R O & Gilliam, J F 1959 *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report V, 1, The Parchments and Papyri*. New Haven.

This paper is published with the aid of a grant from the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate (SSD).