II

CONQUEST AND ITS EFFECTS

BRITAIN 71-105: ADVANCE AND RETRENCHMENT¹

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There was long a consensus about British history from 71, when Petillius Cerialis launched a new expansion to the north. After Vespasian took power, 'there came great generals and outstanding armies, and the enemies' hopes dwindled. Petilius Cerialis at once struck them with terror by attacking the state of the Brigantes, said to be the most populous in the whole province. There were many battles, some not without bloodshed; and he embraced a great part of the Brigantes within the range of either victory or of war. ... Julius Frontinus ... took up and sustained the burden; and he subjugated the strong and warlike people of the Silures ...' (Tacitus, *Agricola* 17.1-2). Agricola was thought to have completed the conquest of Brigantian territory, i.e. northern England, in his second season.²

But dendrochronology now shows that the first fort at Carlisle (*Luguvalium*), in the extreme north-west of England, was built 72-3.³ Petilius, and Frontinus, must have penetrated southern Scotland before Agricola.⁴ New interpretation is also possible for Agricola's last two seasons; and

¹ It is impossible to give a complete bibliography for Agricola in the context of this paper. See e.g. A.R. Birley, *Tacitus, Agricola and Germany* (Oxford 1999). See also id., 'The life and death of Cornelius Tacitus', *Historia* 49 (2000), 230-247, at 237 f., for the conjecture that Tacitus served as military tribune under Agricola, perhaps from 77-79. Whether or not this conjecture is valid, the observations offered below are based on the premise that Tacitus' account – including the speeches – is basically authentic. He had plenty of opportunity, during the years 84-90, to hear Agricola's version of events. This paper is based partly on a revised version of A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (Oxford 1981), in preparation.

² Thus e.g. R.M. Ogilvie and I.A. Richmond, eds., *Cornelii Taciti de Vita Agricolae* (Oxford 1967), 53 ff., 217 ff.

³ I. Caruana, 'Carlisle: excavation of a section of the annexe ditch of the first Flavian fort, 1990', *Britannia* 23 (1992), 45-109, at 104f.; id., 'Maryport and the Flavian conquest of North Britain', in R.J.A. Wilson, ed., *Roman Maryport and its Setting. Essays in Memory of M.G. Jarrett* (Kendal 1997), 40-51, at 40 f., with further references.

⁴ As argued long ago: E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (Kendal 1953), 40f. See now D.C.A. Shotter, 'Petillius Cerialis in Northern Britain', *Northern History* 36 (2000) 186-198.

convincing textual emendation has clarified what followed the battle of Mons Graupius.⁵

The short first season, 77,⁶ was spent reconquering North Wales and Anglesey (18.1-6). Agricola had participated in the original conquest, abandoned because of the rebellion of Boudica (14.3 ff., cf. 5.5; *Annales* 14.29.1 ff.): he turned his attention first to unfinished business. In 78 he harried the enemy 'by sudden plundering raids'. There was no serious fighting: 'no new part of Britain ever came over with so little damage', and he covered a large area with forts (20.2-3). It can be inferred that he was in southern Scotland, encountering peoples that his two predecessors had engaged but not subdued: 'many states which had previously held their own [*ex aequo egerant*, sc. against Rome] put aside their anger and handed over hostages'.⁷

In 79, 'he opened up new peoples with the ravaging of territories up to the Tay (*Taus*)' (22.1-4). Dio-Xiphilinus (66.20) concentrates on this season, as shown by the reference to Titus' fifteenth imperatorial acclamation, datable after 8 September 79.⁸ It was presumably in this year that Britain's true shape was discovered. Tacitus contrasts its shape reported by Livy and Fabius Rusticus, 'this side of Caledonia', with what 'those who have gone past this point' found (10.3-4).⁹ A Caledonian boar killed in the Colosseum in summer 80 (Martialis, *De spectaculis* 7.3) was probably supplied by Agricola.

⁵ A.A.R. Henderson, 'Agricola in Caledonia: the sixth and seventh campaigns', *Classical Views* 29 (1985), 318-335; S. Wolfson, 'Tacitus, Thule and Caledonia: a critical re-interpretation of the textual problems', myweb.tiscali.co.uk/fartherlands.

⁶ The earlier chronology, 77-84, is here followed, as argued in A.R. Birley 1981, op. cit. (n. 1), 77 ff.; supported by D.B. Campbell, 'The consulship of Agricola', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 63 (1986), 197-200, and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, 'Cn. Iulius Agricola: Mise au point prosopographique', in H. Temporini and W. Haase, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 33.3 (Berlin-New York 1991), 1808-1857, at 1824 f., 1842 ff.

⁷ On *ex aequo egerant* see A.R. Birley, 'Petillius Cerialis and the conquest of Brigantia', *Britannia* 4 (1973), 179-190, at 190, criticizing the interpretation of Ogilvie and Richmond 1967, op. cit. (n. 2), 219.

⁸ In CIL 16, 24, 8 September 79, Titus was still *imp. XIII*; he was *imp. XV* in ILS 98 and 262, both datable to 79. Dio-Xiphilinus also writes that Agricola was awarded triumphal honours by Titus, which conflicts with *Agricola* 40.1, which seems to attribute the grant to Domitian. Perhaps the text is corrupt, *παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου* instead of e.g. *παρὰ τοῦτου*.

⁹ Perhaps Tacitus was among those 'who have gone past this point'—on the hypothesis of Birley 2000, op. cit. (n. 1).

Agricola's report evidently led not only to Titus' acclamation but also to a decision to stop: his fourth season, 80, was devoted to securing the Forth-Clyde line as a frontier (23). In his fifth, 81, he turned west: his 'crossing in the first ship' must have been across the Clyde,¹⁰ mentioned in the previous chapter along with the Forth: it took him to face Ireland, presumably from the Mull of Kintyre (24-1-3). Titus died on 13 September 81.¹¹ Domitian, anxious for military glory and planning his own German campaign, reversed Titus' decision. It was Domitian, not the 'glory of the Roman name' (23), that did not permit a halt at the Forth-Clyde line.

Agricola, resuming the advance in his sixth season, 82, went beyond the Forth (25.1-27.2). His marching camps have been identified as far north as Bellie (Fochabers) on the flood-plain of the Spey, near the Moray Firth.¹² Since he had already reached the Tay in 79, there is much to be said for the view that he penetrated at least this far in 82. His soldiers' eagerness, after repulsing an attack on the Ninth legion, to 'go deep into Caledonia and ... find the end of Britain at last' (27.1), surely indicates that the real *Britanniae terminus* was within reach. As Henderson comments, 'no Roman commander on reaching the mouth of the Spey (where the [known] camps end) ... could long remain under the impression that this was the veritable end of Britain. He would soon learn of, if he could not already perceive, another wedge of land waiting for him on the other side.'¹³ As an intermezzo between the sixth and seventh seasons Tacitus reports the mutiny of the Usipi and their voyage round Britain (28).¹⁴ Then comes the final season, with the long account of the battle at Mons Graupius (29.2-38.4).

No details are given in chapter 29, but it can be inferred from Agricola's speech that the army had crossed 'marshes or mountains and rivers' (33.4) in 'a long march ... through forests ... and across estuaries' (33.5). As to the debated location of Mons Graupius, remarks in the Caledonian leader Calgacus' speech surely indicate that it was within sight of the north coast: *nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum imminente nobis classe Romana* ..., 'There is no land beyond us and even the sea is no safe refuge when we are threatened by the Roman fleet' (30.1) and *nos*

¹⁰ N. Reed, 'The fifth year of Agricola's campaigns', *Britannia* 2 (1972), 143-8.

¹¹ *PIR*² F, no. 399.

¹² B. Jones and D. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (Oxford 1990), 76 ff.

¹³ Henderson 1985, op. cit. (n. 5), at 320 ff. (quotation from p. 327).

¹⁴ The mutiny and voyage of the Usipi is placed by Dio-Xiphilinus 66.20.1-3 in 79: Raepsaet-Charlier 1991, op. cit. (n. 6), 1853 f., discusses varying solutions.

terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet, atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est, sed nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus ac saxa, ‘We are the last people on earth and the last to be free: our very remoteness in a land known only to rumour has protected us up till this day. Today the furthest bounds of Britain lie open – and everything unknown is given an inflated worth. But now there is no people beyond us, nothing but tides and rocks’ (30.3). This theme recurs in Agricola’s speech (33.3) ‘the end of Britain’, and (33.6) ‘the very place where the world and nature end’.

The currently favoured location is the Mither Tap of Bennachie in Aberdeenshire, close to the exceptionally large Roman camp at Durno.¹⁵ This is hard to reconcile with the passages quoted, stressing that the battle was at the very end of the island, with nothing beyond except sea and rocks. As Henderson comments, ‘[t]he very lateness of the season when the battle was fought constitutes a strong argument for its very high latitude’.¹⁶ An ideal site might be between Ben Loyal (the ‘Queen of Highland peaks’, 764 m. high) and the sea.¹⁷

The account of what happened next has been clarified by Wolfson’s convincing textual emendations.¹⁸ The *Boresti*, not attested by any other source, can be dispensed with: *Borestorum* dissolves into *bore<o>s totum* (*exercitum*). *Trucculensem*, also unattested and frequently emended, *trutulensem* in the version of *E*^{2m}, refers to the demeanour of the fleet, *trux*, and the harbour of *T(h)ule*, Shetland (Mainland), *Tulensem portum*:

38.2-4: *proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obuius. quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat,*

¹⁵ G. Maxwell, *A Battle Lost. Romans & Caledonians at Mons Graupius* (Edinburgh 1990), discusses possible sites, as do Jones and Mattingly 1990, op.cit. (n.12), 76 f. (with map 4:14).

¹⁶ Henderson 1985, op. cit. (n. 5), 330.

¹⁷ A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London 1979), 370f., summarise theories about the name *Graupius*, noting that many believe that the true form was *Craupius*, comparing *crup*, Old Welsh, modern Welsh *crwb*, ‘hump’, and a postulated Pictish form **crub*, pronounced *crüb*. One might diffidently note the hill (310 m.) on the north side of Ben Loyal, now called by the Gaelic name *Meall Leathad na Craoibhe*, ‘sloping hump of the trees’. *Craoibhe* has at any rate a close resemblance to **crub*.

¹⁸ Wolfson, op. cit. (n. 5), esp. at his nn. 108-251 and his Appendix on the ‘Boresti’, at nn. 364-413.

in finis bore<o>s totum exercitum deducit. 3 ibi acceptis obsidibus praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecepit. datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. 4 et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama tru<x> Tulensem portum tenuit; {un}de proximo Britanniae latere praevecta omnis re<s a>dierat.

E, Teubner, Oxford, etc: *in finis Borestorum exercitum deducit.*

Wolfson: *in finis bore<o>s totum exercitum deducit.*

E, A: *classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit* (as in all edd.)

E^{2m}: *trutulensem*

Smith: *truxelensem* (corr. of *fl(umen) Uxelum*)

Hind: *Tunocelensem* (citing *Itunocelum* in Rav.)

Hübner, Furneaux, Reed: *Ugrulentum* (citing *Ugrulentum* in Rav.)

Lips., Ogilvie-Richm., Borzsák, Murgia: *Rutup(i)ensem* (=Richborough)

Wolfson: *tru<x> Tulensem*

MS (E): *unde proximo Britanniae latere prelecta omnis redierat.*

(*Britanniae* E²; *lecto* E^{2m}; *omni* ABE²)

editions: *unde proximo Britanniae latere praelecto omnis redierat.*

Wolfson: *{un}de proximo Britanniae latere pr(a)evecta omnis re<s a>dierat*

(*un* by dittography from end of preceding word, *tenuit*: in codex *un* is very similar to *uit* here).

Translation of Agicola 38.2-4 as emended by Wolfson:

At dawn next day the scale of the victory was more apparent: the silence of desolation on all sides, homesteads smouldering in the distance, not a man to encounter the scouts. They were sent out in every direction and reported that the fugitives' tracks were random and that the enemy were not massing at any point. And as the summer was already over and the war could not be extended further, he led **the entire army down into the northern extremities**. 3. There he took hostages and instructed the prefect of the fleet to sail round Britain: forces were allocated for the purpose and panic had gone before. He himself, marching slowly, to intimidate new peoples by the very delay with which he traversed their territory, settled the infantry and cavalry in winter quarters. 4. And at the same time the fleet, **its ruthlessness enhanced by rumour** and by favourable weather, held **the Thule harbour; having sailed on from the nearest side of Britain, it had tackled all eventualities**.

Cf. 10.4: *hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circum-
vecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus
insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. dispecta est Thule, quia
hactenus iussum et hiems appetebat.* ‘It was then that a Roman fleet for the
first time sailed around this coast of the remotest sea and established that
Britain is in fact an island. Then too it discovered the islands, hitherto
unknown, which are called the Orcades, and subjugated them. Thule was
thoroughly examined because its order had been to go this far; and winter
was approaching.’

The emphasis given to Thule by Tacitus, as can now be seen, helps to
explain its prominence in the Flavian poets, also interpreted convincingly by
Wolfson.¹⁹ First Silius Italicus, *Punica* 3.594-598: *exin se Curibus virtus
caelestis ad astra/ efferet et sacris augebit nomen Iulis/ bellatrix gens baci-
fero nutrita Sabino;/ huic pater ignotam donabit vincere Thylen/ inque Cale-
donios primus trahet agmina lucos*, ‘Thereafter shall godlike excellence rise
up from Cures to the stars, and the warrior family reared on the Sabine berry
shall enhance the name of the deified Julii; to this family the father shall
present unknown Thule to conquer’;²⁰ 17.417 f.: *caerulus haud aliter cum
dimicat incola Thylen/ agmina falcigero circumvenit arta covinno*, ‘just so
the blue-painted native of Thule, when he fights, drives round the close-
packed ranks in his scythe-bearing chariot’. Then Statius, *Silvae* 5. 88-89, on
the duties of the *ab epistulis* Abascantus, among them to learn *quantum
ultimus orbis/ cesserit et refugo circumsonat gurgite Thule*, ‘how far the
furthest limit of the world has surrendered, and Thule, around which the
ebbing floodtide roars’. One may also note Juvenal, not naming Thule but
clearly alluding to it with *minima nocte*, *Saturae* 2.159-61: *arma quidem
ultra/ litora Iuvernæ promovimus et modo captas/ Orcadas ac minima
contentos nocte Britannos*, ‘To be sure, we have moved forward our arms
beyond the shores of Ireland and the recently captured Orkneys and the
Britons content with a minimal night’. Then, in 15.112-13: *Gallia causidicos
docuit facunda Britannos,/ de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle*,
‘Eloquent Gaul has been teaching British lawyers, Thule now talks of hiring

¹⁹ These remarks are based on Wolfson, op. cit. (n. 5), at his nn. 252-363.

²⁰ As pointed out by Wolfson, op. cit. (n. 5), at his n. 305, no MS of Silius is earlier than
the fifteenth century. At 3.597 all editors follow those that read *hinc*; but F G Z (cf. ed. of J.
Delz 1987) have *huic*, favoured by Wolfson: meaning ‘to this (sc. *bellatrix gens*=*gens
Flavia*) family’.

a rhetor'.²¹ Apart from the implication of *Agricola* 21.2, *Agricola* fostering liberal studies for the sons of the British *principes*, he surely had with him in the far north, if not a rhetor, a Greek grammarian, Demetrius of Tarsus. As portrayed by Plutarch, in his dialogue on the decline of oracles, dramatic date 83-84 (*Moralia* 410A, 419E), Demetrius had just returned from Britain, where he had sailed around the islands. Two silvered bronze plaques found at York (*Eburacum*) were dedicated, in Greek, surely by this man: 'To Ocean and Tethys, Demetrius' and 'To the gods of the governor's headquarters, Scrib(onius) Demetrius'.²²

Wolfson notes that 'Agricola's expedition to Shetland may have taken its origin from his earlier years, when ... as a young student at Massilia (*Agricola* 4.2) ... he would have imbibed not only traditional philosophy, but also the seafaring aura of the town, the four hundred years of Pytheas' legacy and the works of Pytheas, the "Massaliot philosopher" [Cleomedes, *De motu circulari* 1.7, p. 68, 21 Ziegler].' Agricola had completed the conquest of Britain, *Agricola* 10.1. This conquest was the more impressive because it included the outermost limit of the world, *ultima Thule*. The vast victory monument at Richborough was probably erected under his supervision to commemorate this. The archaeological evidence fits a date early in Domitian's reign.²³

From a modern, politically correct point of view, Agricola was an oppressive colonialist general. *Terror* and related terms crop up repeatedly – 'shock and awe' one might say nowadays. Agricola followed the example of

²¹ One should add here Statius, *Silvae* 5.2.54 ff., seeming to claim that Vettius Bolanus, governor of Britain from 69 to 71, had reached Thule: *quantusque negantem/ fluctibus occidiuis fesso usque Hyperione Thulen/ intravit mandata gerens*, 'how great he was, as, bearing his orders, he entered Thule that bars the western waves, where Hyperion is ever weary', cf. ib. 142, *quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos*, 'what glory will excite the Caledonian plains'. This contrasts, of course, with Tacitus' very negative portrayal of Bolanus' *inertia* as governor, *Agricola* 8.1, 16.5; cf. *Historiae* 3.45, where the Roman rescue of the friendly Queen of the Brigantes, Cartimandua, is described, without naming Bolanus, with *Silvae* 5.2.149, where he is said to have 'seized a breastplate from a British king'. Cf. E. Birley 1953, op. cit. (n. 4), 13 f. Bolanus may have done more than he is credited with by Tacitus, but to claim that he had reached Thule was a case of a poet exploiting a name that was much in vogue when he wrote.

²² RIB 662.

²³ Wolfson, op.cit. (n. 5), at his nn. 133 ff. Richborough: S.S. Frere, *Britannia* (London 1987³), 104 n. 21; cf. J.P. Bushe-Fox, *Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough* (London 1949), 38 ff.; fragments of the inscription, RIB 46.

Petillius Cerialis, who began by striking *terror* into the Brigantes (*Agricola* 17.1). At the start of his own governorship, after 'wiping out almost the entire people' of the Ordovices in N. Wales, Agricola attacked *Mona* 'to inspire terror among the rest' (18.3). In the next year, 'when he had inspired enough fear', *ubi satis terruerat*, 'he showed them the attractions of peace' (20.2). His third campaign, sweeping up to the Tay, 'terrified the enemy', *qua formidine territi hostes* (22.1). Three years later, the Britons were terrified, *territi*, at the Roman response to their attack on the Ninth legion (26.2), and the Roman army became 'ferocious', *ferox*, after this success (27.1). The last season began with the despatch of the fleet to induce *magnum et incertum terrorem* (29.2). At Mons Graupius, Calgacus is made to denounce *metus ac terror* (32.2). After the great battle, '*terror* had preceded' the fleet on its final mission, and the infantry, led by Agricola, was to 'terrorise new peoples' by its slow and deliberate traversing of their territory (38.3).

The Britons against whom Agricola fought in 79 and 82-83 were Caledonians (Tacitus avoids the word, preferring 'inhabitants of Caledonia', *Agricola* 11.2, 25.3), the builders of the 'brochs' and the ancestors of the Picts. The brochs are concentrated in Caithness and the islands, especially Orkney and Shetland.²⁴ The northern isles shared a common culture with mainland Scotland, explaining why the fleet was so important to Agricola and why he was determined to crown his conquest by sending it to take Orkney and Shetland.

It was evidently after the last campaign that the construction of a new legionary fortress was inaugurated, at Inchtuthil on the Tay, 'the key site from which the penetration and pacification of the Highlands would have

²⁴ See S.M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots* (London 1996), 13: 'we can be confident that [the Picts] were simply the descendants of the native Iron Age tribes of Scotland'; 15: 'brochs ("Pictish towers"; but in fact built by the inhabitants of north and west Scotland from whom the historical Picts were descended)'. For a distribution map of brochs and other fortifications, see Jones and Mattingly 1990, op. cit. (n. 12), 62, Map 3:19, omitting Orkney and Shetland, for which see I. Armit, *Celtic Scotland* (London 1997), 39 ff. One of the best preserved brochs, some 7 m. high, is Dun Dornadilla in Strathmore, not far from Ben Loyal. See further D. Harding, 'The classification of brochs and duns', in R. Miket and C. Burgess, eds., *Between and Beyond the Walls. Essays on the Prehistory of North Britain in Honour of George Jobey* (Edinburgh 1984), 206-220; B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (London and New York 1991³), 297 ff.; I. Armit, 'The Iron Age', in K.J. Edwards and I.B.M. Ralston, eds., *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8000 BC-AD 1000* (Chichester 1997), 170 ff., 183 ff.

taken place ... if Agricola's victory ... had been followed up'. It is generally supposed that it was for legion XX Valeria Victrix, but this is only a guess. It could well have been II Adiutrix.²⁵ For one thing, men of the Twentieth were at Carlisle on 7 November 83, as shown by a writing-tablet; this could have been Agricola's winter-quarters – another writing-tablet there reveals the presence of one of his horse-guardsmen.²⁶

Agricola's conquest was not followed up. In the introduction to the *Histories*, 1.2.1, Tacitus repeats the claim in *Agricola* 10.1, *perdomita Britannia* – with the angry addition, *et statim missa*, 'and at once let go'. It was probably in 87 that the Inchtuthil fortress, not quite complete, was abandoned, and northern Scotland evacuated, followed before long by much of the rest of Scotland.²⁷ In effect, the territory overrun by Agricola was given up. Troops were withdrawn on a considerable scale to reinforce the threatened Danube frontier, including II Adiutrix and two (I and II) of the four crack Batavian cohorts that had played an important part at Mons Graupius, *Agricola* 36.1.²⁸

Agricola's successor is not named by Tacitus (*Agricola* 40.3). The only other Domitianic governor known is Sallustius Lucullus, named in Suetonius' list of Domitian's victims: *complures senatores, in iis aliquot consulares, interemit; ex quibus ... 3 Sallustium Lucillum Britanniae legatum, quod lanceas novae formae appellari Luculleas passus esset*, 'He put a

²⁵ II Adiutrix is favoured by M. Hassall, 'Pre-Hadrianic legionary dispositions in Britain', in R.J. Brewer, ed., *Roman Fortresses and their Legions* (Cardiff 2000), 51-67, at 62 f., and id., 'The location of legionary fortresses as a response to changes in military strategy: the case of Roman Britain AD 43-84', in Y. le Bohec, ed., *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire* (Paris 2000), II, 441-457, at 446 f., with reference to earlier theories. The quotation above is from p. 446. L.F. Pitts and J.K. St. Joseph, *Inchtuthil. The Roman Legionary Fortress* (London 1985), 267, date the establishment of the fortress to autumn 83.

²⁶ AE 1992.1139; 1998.852, [*eq(uiti) al]ae Sebosianae, sing(ulari) Agricolae*.

²⁷ For the date, A.S. Hopley, 'The numismatic evidence for the post-Agricolan abandonment of the Roman frontier in northern Scotland', *Britannia* 20 (1989), 69-74. See for further details Frere 1987, op.cit. (n. 23), 106f.; W.S. Hanson, *Agricola and the Conquest of the North* (London 1987), 158 ff.; D.J. Breeze, 'The frontier in Britain, 1989-1997', in N. Gudea, ed., *Roman Frontier Studies. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Zalău 1999), 37-44, at 38 f.

²⁸ II Adiutrix: K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians* (Bonn 1989), 57, puts the withdrawal of II Adiutrix from Britain in summer 86; similarly B. Lörincz, 'Legio II Adiutrix', in Y. le Bohec 2000, op. cit. (n. 25), I, 159-167, at 161f. Cohh. I-II Batavorum: K. Strobel, 'Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Batavikohorten in der hohen Kaiserzeit', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70 (1987), 271-292, at 276 f., 282.

number of senators to death, including several former consuls, among them ... Sallustius Lucullus, legate of Britain, on the grounds that he had allowed spears of a new shape to be called "Lucullean" (Suetonius, *Domitianus* 10.2-3). Ingenious attempts have been made to identify this man. Syme conjectured that he 'may be identical with P. Sallustius Blaesus', *cos. suff.* 89 ..., perhaps 'polyonymous, with (e.g.) "Velleius" for his second *gentilicium*', because of 'the rich consular', Velleius Blaesus, preyed on shortly before his death by Aquillius Regulus (Pliny, *Epistulae* 2.20.7 f.). Champlin enlarged and adapted this idea, producing a composite figure, P. Velleius Lucullus Sallustius Blaesus.²⁹

Conole and Jones offered an alternative. The Elder Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 9.89-93) reports 'information learned about octopuses when L. Lucullus was proconsul of Baetica ... made known by Trebius Niger, one of his *comites*'. He adds tall stories about a giant octopus at Carteia, and elsewhere cites Trebius on the *murex* (9.80), on swordfish and flying fish (32.15). The proconsul has generally been supposed to be Republican and Trebius to have written in the second century BC. But the name 'Baetica' did not exist until Augustan times. The proconsulship must have been held between Augustus and 77, when Pliny published. L. Lucullus could then be the future governor of Britain, as already suggested by Cichorius. A dating to the mid-70s is supported by Cichorius' observations about Pliny's use of Trebius.³⁰ Further, the *cognomen* was extremely rare among the senatorial order and the higher échelons of the equestrians in the principate.³¹ The

²⁹ R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958), 648, no. 34 (and elsewhere); E. Champlin, 'Hadrian's heir', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 21 (1976), 78-89, at 79 ff.

³⁰ P. Conole and B.W. Jones, 'Sallustius Lucullus', *Latomus* 42 (1983), 629-633. They overlooked C. Cichorius, 'Die Zeit des Schriftstellers Trebius Niger', *Römische Studien* (Leipzig 1922), 96 ff., also commenting that a proconsul of Baetica should belong to the imperial period, 98 f., and identifying L. Lucullus with Sallustius Lucullus, 99f. Cichorius eliminated a fourth ostensible citation of Trebius, on woodpeckers (10.40), 97 f.; but identified, 100 ff., as deriving from Trebius other passages on amazing sea-creatures off SW Spain, 9. 10-11, including one for which Pliny had 'distinguished members of the equestrian order as authorities'. Cichorius concluded that Trebius was a contemporary of Pliny, who inserted recent items from him just before publishing the *Natural History*.

³¹ Cichorius 1922, op. cit. (n. 30), made this point, 99, although his information was slightly defective. See *PIR*² L, p. 108: apart from our governor, a procurator of Belgica, and the proconsul of Baetica, there are only two senatorial women, second and third century, and one equestrian, an *epistrategus* from the year 173 (*PIR*² J, no. 387).

proconsul of Baetica and the governor of Britain can plausibly be amalgamated as L. Sallustius Lucullus.

The date and circumstances of his death can likewise only be conjectured. Presumably he had indeed named a new spear after himself, but was also suspected of treason. There is a choice of crises with which this might be connected. Sacrifices were made by the Arvals on 22 September 87 'because of the detection of the crimes of nefarious men'.³² This was the same year as Inchtuthil and other northern bases were abandoned. Had Lucullus objected? Another possibility is soon after January 89, when Antonius Saturninus attempted a *coup* in Upper Germany. His colleague in Britain might have been accused of involvement.³³ A third possibility is after late summer 93: 'the slaughter of so many men of consular rank' began after Agricola's death on 23 August that year (*Agricola* 44.1, 5, 45).³⁴

The latest date can perhaps be eliminated in the light of a writing-tablet from Vindolanda, a strength report of the First Cohort of Tungrians, from the innermost western ditch of the first known fort, datable by pottery to c. 85-92. On 18 May in an unnamed year 456 men were absent, only 296 present: among the absentees, 46 were 'guards (*singulares*) of the legate, on the staff (*officio*) of Ferox'.³⁵ Since other tablets call the governor *consularis* not *legatus*,³⁶ Ferox was surely legate of a legion – but also acting-governor: normal legionary legates had guards from their own legion, not from auxiliary units.³⁷ In view of the dating of Vindolanda's period I, the end of 93 is too late for Ferox to have been acting-governor.³⁸ The fairly rare name³⁹ is at-

³² J. Scheid et al., *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt* (Rome 1998), no. 55.

³³ *PIR*² A, no. 874.

³⁴ B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (London 1993), 133 ff., 141f., 144 ff., 182.

³⁵ A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets. Tabulae Vindolandesenses* II (London 1994)=TV II, no. 154.

³⁶ TV II (op. cit., n.35), nos. 223, 225, 248, 295, 404(?); A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets. Tabulae Vindolandesenses* III (London 2003)=TV III, no. 581.

³⁷ Convincingly argued by M.A. Speidel, 'Ferox: legionary commander of governor? A note on Tab. Vindol. 154', in R. Frei-Stolba and M.A. Speidel, eds., *Römische Inschriften—Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen. Festschrift für Hans Lieb* (Basel 1995), 43-54. However, he follows the editors' dating of TV II (op. cit., n.35), no. 154, c. 92-97, which is incorrect, see next note.

³⁸ See for the date of period I A.R. Birley, *Garrison Life at Vindolanda* (Stroud 2002), 60 f., 168 f. n. 9, pointing out that the editors of TV II (op. cit., n.35), no. 154 are mistaken in writing that '[i]t now appears much more likely that the material in this [Period I] ditch was produced by the occupants of Period 2 [sc. c. 92-97]'. The discovery of a further, frag-

tested for only two senators. Either could have commanded a legion under Domitian. Nothing is known about Cn. Pompeius Ferox Licinianus (*cos.* 98) apart from his consulship. Ti. Julius Ferox (*cos.* 99), a correspondent of Pliny (*Epistulae* 7.13), could be the legate in the strength report: Pliny refers to him *c.* 112 as a former governor of a military province (*Epistulae* 10.87.3).⁴⁰

At any rate, the appointment of an acting-governor suggests the sudden elimination of the governor, for which September 87 seems a plausible date. If Lucullus were Agricola's successor, he could have had four seasons in Britain. In 84-86 he might have been taking further the construction of the Inchtuthil fortress and modifying the line of signalling posts along the Gask Ridge, between the Forth and Tay.⁴¹ He could also be responsible for new forts being built at Vindolanda and at Corbridge (*Coria*), both dated to the mid-80s.⁴² Then, in 87, came the order to retrench.

A possible consequence of the governor's downfall is revealed by an auxiliary unit with a surprising name, *pedites singulares Britannici*, 'infantry guardsmen from Britain', i.e. ex-guards of a governor of Britain, in Upper Moesia in 103. The removal of the British governor's personal guards to another province is best explained in connection with the Lucullus affair.⁴³

mentary strength report of *coh. I Tungrorum* (with the same prefect in command) in an outer ditch of the period I fort confirms the dating of TV II, no. 154 to period I, *c.* 85-92: Anthony and Robin Birley, in Andrew Birley, *The Excavations of 2001-2002* (Greenhead 2003), 90ff., on T 01-15; on the newly found outer ditches of the period I fort see *ibid.* 3 ff.

³⁹ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965), 267, found just over fifty men called Ferox. B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum* II (Vienna 1999), 139, lists twenty in the Latin European provinces and Cisalpinga.

⁴⁰ *PIR*² P, no. 606 (mentioning the Vindolanda legate); J 306: W. Eck, 'Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139', *Chiron* 13 (1983), at 210, suggests that he might have been governor of Germania superior, Moesia superior, or Britain in the period between 104 and 110.

⁴¹ Opinions differ on the precise dating within the Flavian period of the Gask line: D.J. Woolliscroft, *The Roman Frontier on the Gask Ridge, Perth and Kinross* (Oxford 2002). On the hypothesis here put forward the date of the Vindolanda tablet, TV II (op. cit. n. 35), no. 154, should be 18 May 88; six soldiers listed as wounded might, but need not, have been involved in recent fighting.

⁴² R. Birley, *Vindolanda: The Early Wooden Forts* (Bardon Mill 1994), 15 ff.; M.C. Bishop and J.N. Dore, *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman Fort and Town, 1947-80* (London 1988), 140 f.

⁴³ CIL 16, 54: see E. Birley 1953, op. cit. (n. 4), 22; M.P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Armies* (Bonn 1978), 127; B.W. Jones 1993, op. cit. (n. 34), 134.

It is also conceivable that the procurator of Britain Cn. Pompeius Homullus served here at this time and gained accelerated promotion as a reward for loyalty.⁴⁴

After the Lucullus affair, apart from references in the poets and in Tacitus, there is no further mention of Britain in the surviving literary sources until the accession of Hadrian – except for a poem of Martial. In 98 he greeted his elderly friend, Q. Ovidius: *Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos/ et viridem Tethyn Oceanumque patrem*, ‘Quintus Ovidius, about to see the Caledonian Britons and green Tethys and Father Ocean’ (10.44.1–2). Ovidius, who was to ‘accompany a dear friend’ to Britain (ib. 8), had gone into exile long before in the aftermath of the Pisonian conspiracy and was probably a Stoic (7.44–5).⁴⁵ It seems likely that his friend was the governor of Britain, T. Avidius Quietus (*cos.* 93), another elderly Stoic, newly in office in 98.⁴⁶ The ‘Caledonian Britons’ were topical when Martial wrote: Tacitus had just published his *Agricola*. It seems unlikely that Avidius went anywhere near Caledonia, or had any fighting to do. But he had at least been a legionary legate about fifteen years earlier. That is more than can be said for the next known governor, L. Neratius Marcellus (*cos.* 95), whose only military experience had been as a military tribune in the east in the 70s. At this time tried military men were needed for the Dacian Wars. A senatorial career, which must be that of Marcellus, includes the governorship of Britain as legate of Trajan on two acephalous inscriptions at Saepinum in Samnium, his family’s home.⁴⁷ A diploma show him in office in January 103,⁴⁸ and he is named on a Vindolanda writing-tablet, a draft letter evidently composed by the prefect of the Ninth Batavians, Flavius Cerialis. Cerialis asks his correspondent to ‘greet [Neratiu]s Marcellus, the Right Honourable man (*clarissimum virum*), my consular’.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ CIL 6, 1626= ILS 1385, Rome. See H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris 1960–61) (CP), no. 86+add.: he was promoted straight from Britain to Lugdunensis and Aquitania; *PIR*² P, no. 617.

⁴⁵ *PIR*² O, no. 178, lists the passages in Martial referring to Q. Ovidius.

⁴⁶ CIL 16, 43. See A.R. Birley 1981, op. cit. (n. 1), 85f. for Avidius. He had been an intimate of Thrasea Paetus, Pliny, *Epistulae* 6.29.1.

⁴⁷ *PIR*² N, nos. 55 (Marcellus), 51–4, 56–68.

⁴⁸ CIL 16, 48=RIB 2.1, 2401.1, Malpas (Cheshire).

⁴⁹ TV II (op. cit., n. 35), no. 225; see also A.R. Birley, ‘The commissioning of equestrian officers’, in J.J. Wilkes, ed., *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in honour of Margaret Roxan* (London 2003), 1–18, at 9 f., 16 ff.

Another equestrian officer who probably served under Marcellus was T. Haterius Nepos.⁵⁰ Haterius began with posts in each of the equestrian *tres militiae*, units not specified. The third, as prefect of cavalry, was probably coupled with the role of census-officer, *censitor*, 'of the Anavion[ensian] Britons'. Thereafter he became procurator of Greater Armenia, only a Roman province between 114, when annexed by Trajan, and 117, when Hadrian abandoned it.⁵¹ He went on to several posts at Rome and became prefect of Egypt, attested 120-124.⁵² The British census has been dated c. 110-112, on the assumption that Haterius went to Armenia straight after it.⁵³ But Pflaum postulated an interruption before what became 'une très belle carrière'.⁵⁴ Evidence from Vindolanda indicates that his inference was correct: Haterius was in Britain over a dozen years before Greater Armenia was annexed. A letter from him to Flavius Genialis reads: *tanto magis venturum Coris sicut constituisti spero. scripsi isdem verbis et Proc[ulo?...]'*, 'the more so do I hope that you will come to Coria, as you decided; I have written in the same words to Proc[ulus?]'. It is addressed *FLAVIO GENIALI PRAEF COH ab Haterio Nepot[re]*.⁵⁵ Haterius was no doubt prefect of the *ala Petriana*, based at Corbridge (*Coria*) at this time.⁵⁶ Genialis, evidently the predecessor of Flavius Cerialis, is datable c. 100. The name *Anavion[enses]* clearly derives from the River Annan, *Anava*, in Dumfriesshire; it is also attested in another Vindolanda tablet. It seems probable that this people, after Haterius had counted heads in his census, had to supply conscripts, who, after training, were sent in *numeri Brittonum* to serve in southern Germany. A fragmentary letter at Vindolanda contains derogatory remarks about the weapons skills of the Britons, labelled *Brittunculi*.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ ILS 1338, Fulginiae; *PIR*² H, no. 29.

⁵¹ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor* (London 1997), 68f., 78.

⁵² B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum* I (Gothenburg 1984), 348.

⁵³ E.g. by Rivet and Smith 1979, op. cit. (n. 17), 249; Birley 1981, op. cit. (n. 1), 302; A.L.F. Rivet, 'The Brittones Anavionenses', *Britannia* 13 (1982), 321-2.

⁵⁴ Pflaum, *CP* (op. cit., n. 44), no. 95, cf. no. 79.

⁵⁵ Inv. 93/1379=TV III, op. cit. (n. 35), no. 611.

⁵⁶ E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal 1961), 149 f., an inference from the tombstone of its *signifer*, RIB 1172, taken from Corbridge to Hexham Abbey.

⁵⁷ On the location of this people see Rivet and Smith 1979, op. cit. (n. 17), 249, and Rivet 1982, op. cit. (n. 53); and A.R. Birley, 'The Anavionenses', in N.J. Higham, ed., *Archaeology of the Roman Empire. A tribute to the life and works of Professor Barri Jones* (BAR International Series 940, Oxford 2001), 15-24, at 20 ff., comparing Inv. 93/1475=TV III, op. cit. (n. 35), no. 594, an account mentioning the *Anavion[enses]* and TV II, no. 164,

As well as the letter in which the writer calls Marcellus ‘my consular’, other texts from Vindolanda’s third period refer to an unnamed governor, *consularis*. In a letter to Cerialis his colleagues Niger and Brocchus wrote *consulari n(ostro) utique maturius occures*, ‘you will certainly meet our consular quite soon’. A letter from Cerialis’ *praetorium* was from a man called Chrauttius to Veldedeius, *equisitioni co(n)sularis*, ‘consular’s groom’. In a list of *expensa* from the *praetorium*, one entry, probably from 105, refers to ‘lunch on the arrival of the consular’, *adventu consu[laris] in prandio*. This is followed by *item Coris*, ‘likewise at Coria (Corbridge)’, which hints that the prefect then accompanied the governor for the fifteen miles journey east. Perhaps the governor was reorganizing the garrisons and had summoned a meeting. At all events, the Ninth Batavians left Vindolanda at this time, never to return. The fort was reconstructed for a new garrison, the First Cohort of Tungrians, which had already been there under Domitian.⁵⁸

The Batavians were sent to reinforce Trajan’s army in the Second Dacian War. Other regiments left Britain for the same destination, including the Third Batavians, who had been based somewhere near Vindolanda.⁵⁹ As well as Vindolanda, the forts at Corbridge and Carlisle were rebuilt at this time;⁶⁰ new forts were added along the Stanegate line; and the remaining garrisons in Scotland were withdrawn, notably Newstead (*Trimontium*).⁶¹ There is no reason to suppose that there had been serious warfare. This was once inferred, not least, from the remarkably generous *dona* awarded *bello Brittannico*, to C. Julius Karus, prefect of *cohors II Asturum equitata* – in the belief that this cohort could not have been in Britain before 89, when it was

Brittunculi, identifiable with the Anavionenses, under training. Note also TV II, no. 304, a fragment with the words [...] *census administret...*

⁵⁸ TV II, op. cit. (n. 35), nos. 248 (Niger and Brocchus), 310 (the *equisio*), III 581 (*expensa*). The date of III no. 581 is given as 1 May, *k. Maiarum*, perhaps a slip for 1 June; the year is probably 105, see Birley 2002, op. cit. (n. 38), 128 ff., 172 f. nn. 13–14. Evacuation of forts in Scotland, departure of the Batavians from Vindolanda and return of the Tungrians there: *ibid.* 51, 69 f. and next two notes.

⁵⁹ Strobel 1989, op. cit. (n. 28), 275 f. (whose dating requires slight modification).

⁶⁰ See the convenient table in P. Bidwell, *Hadrian’s Wall 1989–1999. A Summary of Recent Excavations and Research prepared for the Twelfth Pilgrimage of Hadrian’s Wall, 14–21 August 1999* (Carlisle 1999), 13, with further references.

⁶¹ Frere 1987, op. cit. (n. 23), 107 ff.; Hanson 1987, op. cit. (n. 27), 163 ff.

apparently still in Germany. It can now be seen that there were two Second Cohorts of Asturians: Karus was probably decorated for Mons Graupius.⁶²

It is not known whether Marcellus was still in office in 105, when two British diplomas were issued: neither preserves the governor's name.⁶³ It is *a priori* likely that he was replaced at latest in this year; but he might have stayed on into 106, when the Second Dacian War ended. One other Trajanic governor is known, M. Atilius Metilius Bradua (*cos. ord.* 108), his governorship recorded only on an inscription at Olympia. Bradua had previously governed one of the Germanies and can hardly have moved to Britain until c. 111.⁶⁴ He had probably left before Trajan's death, when trouble flared up at once, with heavy Roman losses. To discuss this and what followed would require much more space than is allowed here: Hadrian's visit and the building of his Wall, reoccupation of southern Scotland and withdrawal again under Antoninus, 'barbarian' invasion and army mutinies under Commodus, civil war between the British army and the rest, 196-7, the Severan expedition and the division of Britain.

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⁶² AE 1951, 88, Cyrene. Birley 1953, op. cit. (n. 4), 20 ff., who first published the inscription, and others, e.g. Frere 1987, op. cit. (n. 23), 109, took Karus to have commanded this cohort later, because it was thought that it was still based in Germany when Agricola was governor of Britain. Hence the inference that there was a serious British war under Trajan. But it is now clear that there were two *cohortes II Asturum* all the time, one in Germany (CIL 16, 158, AD 80; AD 98, RMD 4, 216; RMD 4, 239, 20 August, AD 127) and one in Britain (CIL 16, 51, AD 105; 69, AD 122; RMD 4, 240, 20 August AD 127), as already conjectured by M.M. Roxan, 'Pre-Severan *auxilia* named in the *Notitia Dignitatum*', in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford 1976), 59-82, at 63 f. M.G. Jarrett, 'Non-legionary troops in Roman Britain: Part one, The units', *Britannia* 25 (1994), 35-77, at 53, convincingly concluded that Karus won his *dona* at Mons Graupius.

⁶³ CIL 16, 51=RIB 2.1, 2402.2; RMD 8=RIB 2.1, 2401.3.

⁶⁴ ILS 8824a, Olympia. His provincial governorships are often assigned to the reign of Hadrian, who is mentioned in the genitive immediately before them on the stone; but there is a gap before Hadrian's name, and it is virtually certain that this must have recorded something else, e.g. Bradua's role as *comes* of that emperor: see A.R. Birley 1981, op. cit. (n. 1), 92 ff. There is, in any case, it now appears, no space for him in Britain in Hadrian's reign.