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The Legionary Tillery of Brigetio and the Late Roman Watchtower at Kurucdomb

The 1934–1935 Excavation of István Paulovics at Komárom/Szőny-Kurucdomb with a Catalogue of the Brick Stamps

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Abstract: Modern excavations have been going on with increasing intensity for three decades in the Roman settlement complex of Brigetio (Komárom/Szőny, Hungary). Through these investigations, our knowledge about the topography and the building phases of the legionary fortress and the civil town has multiplied. However, new information can also be acquired by revisiting unpublished or poorly published past excavations. The Komárom/Szőny-Kurucdomb (Hungary) archaeological site was first explored by István Paulovics in 1934 when he found the legionary tillery of Brigetio and a Late Roman watchtower. He only published two contradictory short reports about his findings which left us with more questions than answers. By looking into the original documentation of the excavations and assessing the descriptions, drawings, and photos, valuable new data was gained about the watchtower and the legionary tillery. The study's key results are the following: contrary to former belief, tile production had not ceased before the watchtower was built but continued in the kilns beside it. Besides the two published rectangular tile kilns, another three kilns were found on the site, a rectangular and two circular ones. The more than four hundred brick stamps collected but left unpublished indeed represent all phases of the Roman settlement complex, from the end of the first century to the end of the fourth century AD. Some of them were formerly unknown, the most important of which reads VEXIL II K, probably meaning *Vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)* and refers to the vexillations of the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* and the *legio XV Apollinaris*.

Keywords: Late Roman watchtower, brick manufacturing workshop, tillery, Brigetio legionary fortress, Pannonian legions, brick stamps

Introduction

In the autumn of 1934, after finishing his excavations in the legionary fortress of Brigetio, István Paulovics decided to search for the Roman watchtower nearest to Brigetio (Fig. 1; Fig. 2). Looking closely at the landscape, he concluded that the watchtower must have stood on the small hill

called Kurucdomb¹ 1,200 m east of the legionary fortress, near the shore of the Danube. The hill had been almost completely flattened by modern ploughing by then; nevertheless, field walking in the area produced large numbers of Roman tile, stone, and mortar fragments. To verify the existence of the Roman watchtower, he opened a 2 m wide and ca. 30 m long north-south directed test trench cutting through the hill of Kurucdomb. During the excavation between 27 September and 6 October 1934, he found not only a Late Roman watchtower from the time of Valentinian I but also the remains of a legionary tilery and a pottery workshop. Unfortunately, he only published a short report of his findings,² mentioning two rectangular tile kilns and hundreds of stamped tiles from several centuries. The publication contained a map of the excavation area made by Aladár Radnóti; however, Trench B is missing from the published drawing (Fig. 3).³ According to his description, the Late Roman watchtower was built on top of the workshop's debris. South of the tile kilns, he found a large number of local pottery sherds and moulds, the waste of a pottery workshop. Apparently, he continued his research in 1935 because, in a 1938 publication, he alluded to four large kilns instead of two. In the second paper, he also published the drawings of nine tile stamps, including some found in the legionary fortress and not at Kurucdomb.⁴

When making a catalogue of the Pannonian tile kilns in the late 1970s, Barnabás Lőrincz found a photo with the drawings of 46 brick stamps from the Kurucdomb tilery, made by I. Paulovics in the Historical Photo Department of the Hungarian National Museum (Fig. 4).⁵ Based on this photo



Fig. 1. Photo of the 1934 excavations in the Brigetio legionary fortress. From left to right: Aladár Schusztter, Ödön Kállay, István Paulovics, Géza Supka and Aladár Radnóti; September 20, 1934. (Photographer unknown)



Fig. 2. Photo of the 1934 excavations in Brigetio legionary fortress. From left to right: Ödön Kállay, Aladár Schusztter, István Paulovics, Géza Supka and Aladár Radnóti; September 20, 1934. (Photographer unknown)

1 Also mentioned as “Kurvadomb” in informal papers, i.e., letters. It is also the name given on the documentation of the excavation. According to I. Paulovics, the name of the hill was given during the Middle Ages: women accused of adultery were tied with a rope and thrown into the Danube in Komárom (today: Komárno, Slovakia), and a current of the Danube used to wash the corpses ashore at the foot of this hill (see excavation documentation). HNM Central Database, Archaeological Documentation Collection, no. 76.B.II. (MNM Régészeti Adattár 76.B.II. “Paulovics-hagyaték, vegyes leletek, Szöny, 1934–35. évi római ásatások”).

2 PAULOVICS 1934, 139–140.

3 PAULOVICS 1934, 138, 100. kép.

4 PAULOVICS 1938, 7. The drawing includes a stamp of the *legio XI Claudia* found in the legionary fortress: see below.

5 HNM Central Database, Historical Photo Department, no. 10732.

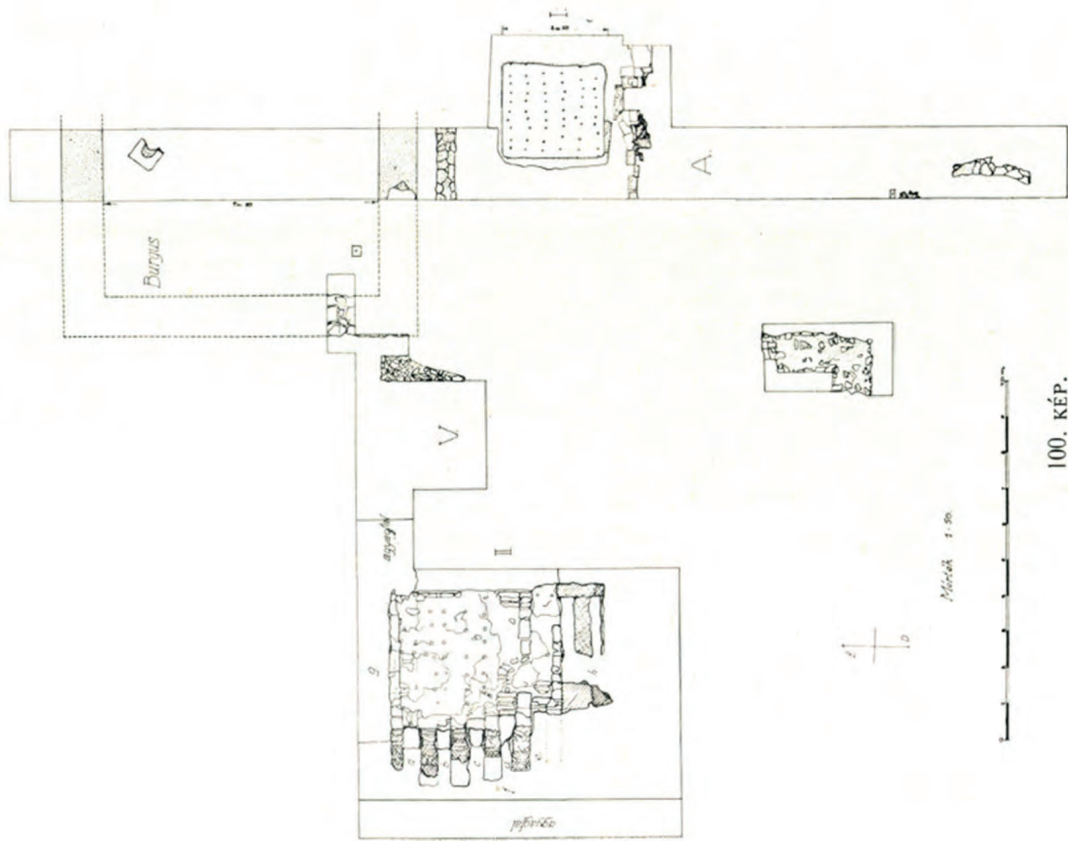
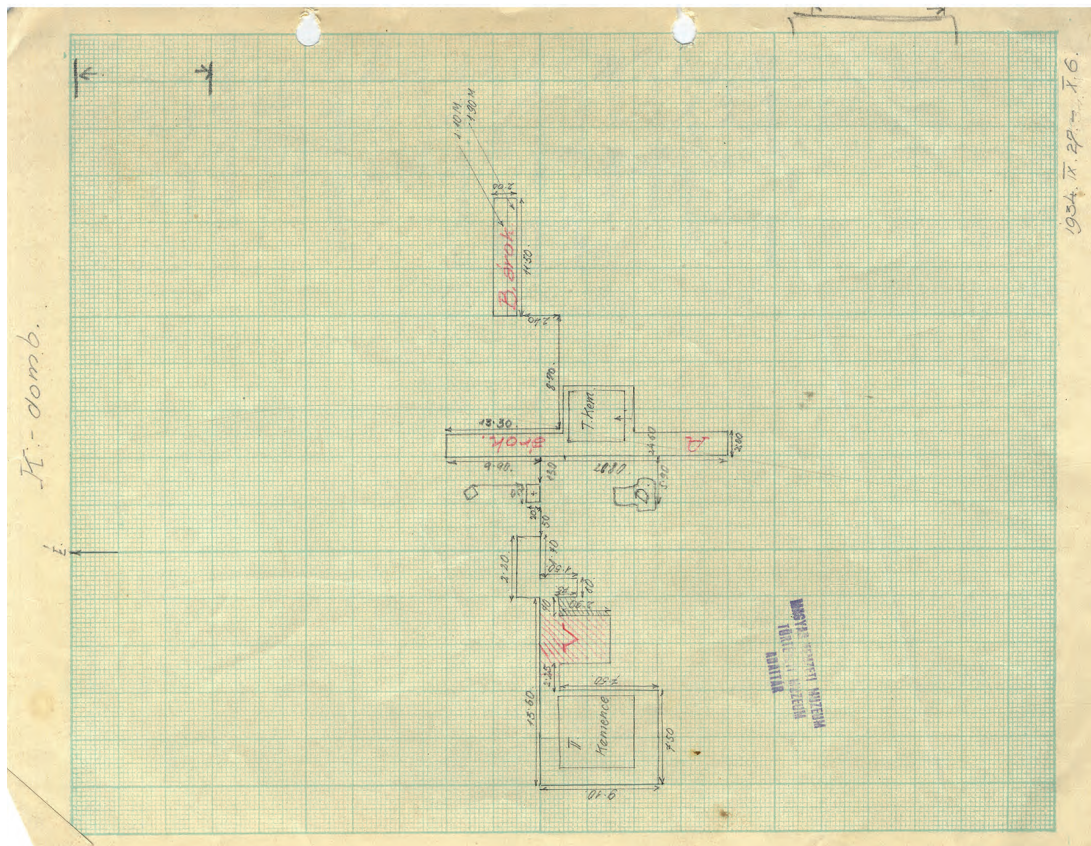


Fig. 3. Published survey map of the Kurucdomb excavation (PAULOVICS 1934, 100. ábra, drawing by A. Radnóti). Unpublished survey map of the Kurucdomb excavation with dates 27 September 1934 – 6 October 1934 (HNM Central Database, Archaeological Documentation Collection, no. 76.B.II.)

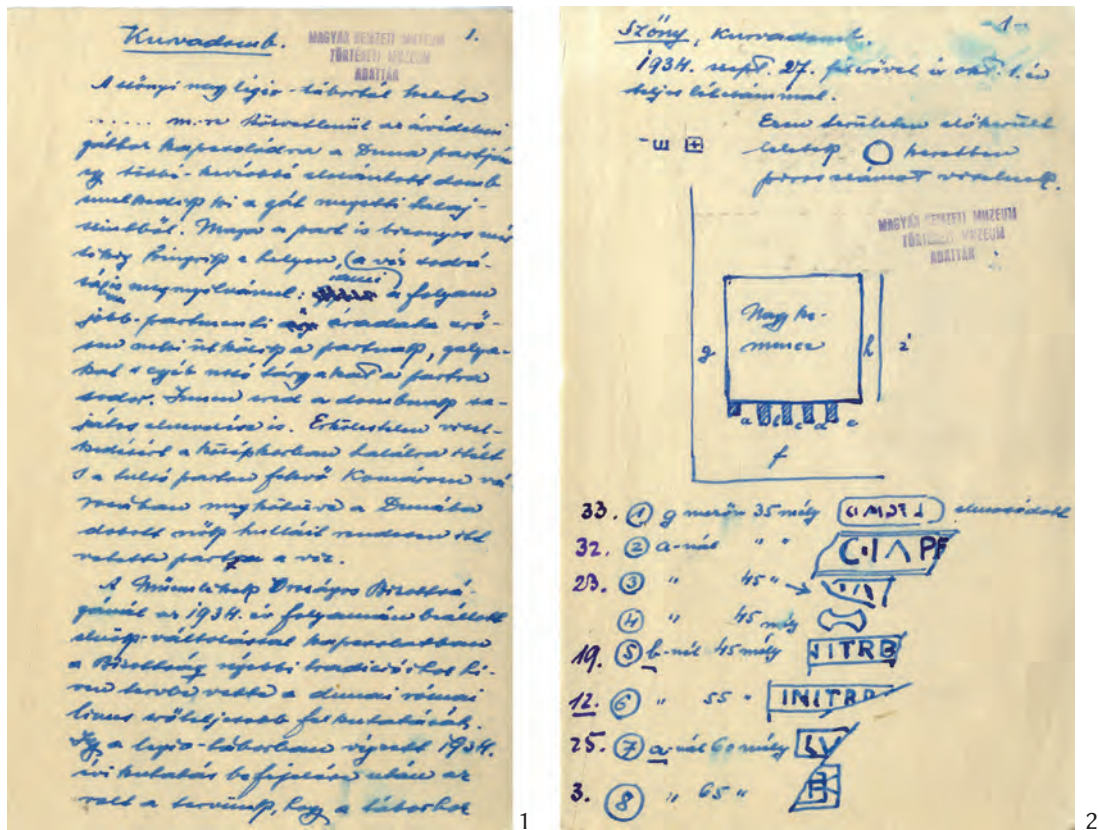


Fig. 5. 1 – First page of Paulovics’s hand-written description of the Kurucdomb site, 2 – A page of Paulovics’s documentation of the brick stamps

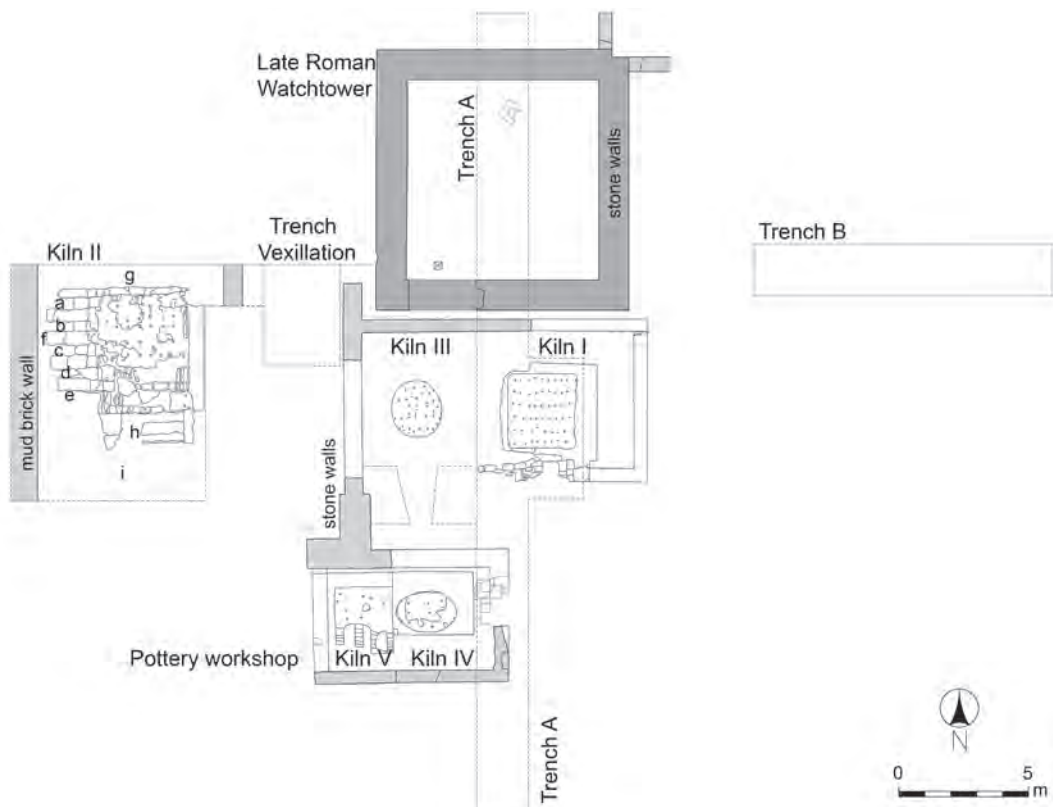


Fig. 6. Survey map of the Kurucdomb tiliary site based on PAULOVICS 1934, Fig. 100, and two plans in the documentation of the excavation (drawing by L. Dobosi)



Fig. 7. Kiln I from the south



Fig. 8. Kiln I from the south-west



Fig. 9. Kiln II from the west



Fig. 10. Kiln II from the south-west

and the published short report, he suggested the following dating for the tiler and the watchtower: as the latest tile stamps in the workshop belonged to *Lupicinus tribunus*, a *tribunus* in *Valeria provincia* between AD 369–376, and the watchtowers on this segment of the *ripa Pannonica* were mainly built between AD 370–372, *Lupicinus* must have been making tiles in Brigetio until 370 at the latest when the tiler was closed down and the watchtower was built on top of it, probably in AD 371.⁶

It was high time that we studied the complete original documentation of the legionary tiler of Brigetio, after nearly a hundred years since its excavation by I. Paulovics. The documents are stored in the Central Database of the Hungarian National Museum; going through the files considerably enhanced our scant knowledge of the Kurucdomb tile workshop.⁷



Fig. 11. Mud brick wall on the western side of Kiln II

6 LŐRINCZ 1981a, 78; LŐRINCZ 2006, 108–109.

7 HNM Central Database, Archaeological Documentation Collection, no. 76.B.II. (MNM Régészeti Adattár 76.B.II. “Paulovics-hagyaték, vegyes leletek, Szőny, 1934–35. évi római ásatások”). All information and photos in this paper are published with the permission of the HNM Central Database. I hereby thank Szilvia Komiszár for all her help.



Fig. 12. Kiln III from the south

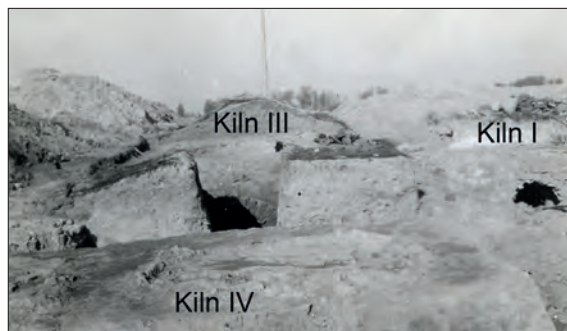


Fig. 13. Kilns I, III and IV from the south



Fig. 14. Kilns IV and V from the south-west

The documentation of the excavation

The excavation documentation by I. Paulovics contains a short, hand-written description of the site, several ground plans in different scales, a list of most stamped tiles⁸ with hand-drawn sketches of some of them, and a few photos (Fig. 5). Drawings and photos from other 1934–1935 Brigetio excavations were also found in the file,⁹ mostly without any kind of label enabling identification. Based on the short reports I. Paulovics published in the 1930s, the documentation of the different excavations could be set apart with great certainty. The short, hand-written documentation in the file seems to cover only the 1934 excavation of the Kurucdomb site because it only mentions the watchtower and two of the kilns. No description of the 1935 excavation at Kurucdomb has been found. A detailed ground plan made in scale 1:20 provides the most information about the layout of the workshop. Although no date is written on the drawing, it was probably made at the end of the 1935 excavation because five kilns are depicted on it. Stamped bricks were collected during all excavation seasons at Kurucdomb.

We also know that the excavation trenches at Kurucdomb were still open two years later because, on 8 September 1937, Ödön Kállay wrote a letter to I. Paulovics mentioning that it would be good to cover the pits at Kurucdomb, but it would be even better to continue the excavations of the brick and pottery workshop.¹⁰

8 The words “brick” and “tile” are used as synonyms in this paper.

9 For example, the documentation of the 1935 development-led excavation of A. Radnóti in Komárom-Szőny, Vásártér.

10 “Ha a kurvadombi gödrök betakarására gondolsz, igazad van; de százszor inkább igazad lenne, ha a faze-kastelep további feltárására is gondólnál, mert ott még csodákat rejtegethet a bélai talaj.” The letter of Ödön Kállay in the HNM Central Database, Archaeological Documentation Collection, no. 107.Sz.II. (MNM Régészeti Adattár 107.Sz.II. “Paulovics-hagyaték, levelezés és újságcikk”).

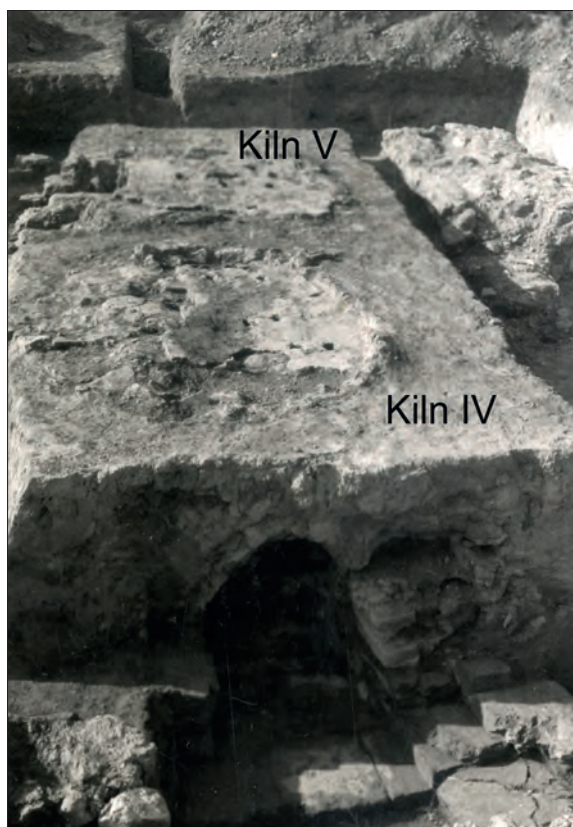


Fig. 15. Kilns IV and V from the east

According to the documentation, I. Paulovics got the remains of the small, rectangular watchtower and five kilns unearthed, with three rectangular and two circular kilns among them (Fig. 6).

The watchtower

No detailed description of the watchtower survived (if there was any to begin with). All information we have is the comprehensive ground plan mentioned above. According to this, the small, rectangular watchtower measured 9.75×10.05 m. Its stone walls were about 1.15 m thick, and the foundation was set 1.2 m below ground level. The walls were partly robbed but seemed to have survived to a height of 0.55 m in the south-western corner of the watchtower. The two thin walls at the north-eastern corner were about 0.5–0.55 m thick, and their foundation level was 0.6 m below that of the walls of the watchtower. The thin walls survived to a height of 0.9 m.

The walls of the watchtower have the same orientation as the kilns and the walls around them. In his hand-written description, I. Paulovics emphasized the fact that the kilns and the watchtower were contemporaneous, and the brick production had not ceased before the watchtower was built. This observation of his, however, was—unfortunately—not published in his short excavation reports, thus B. Lőrincz worked out his dating of the tiliary and the watchtower without this information (see above).

Kiln I

In the documentation by I. Paulovics only Kiln I was recorded in any detail (see Fig. 6; Fig. 7; Fig. 8). The oven floor of the rectangular kiln measured 2.60×2.80 m and was 0.6 m below ground level. The mud brick oven walls were still *in situ* up to a height of about 0.4 m, meaning that the walls' top was only 0.2 m below ground level. The walls were plastered with mud. The *praefurnium* was 0.6 m wide and 0.85 m high, and its vaulted entrance faced south. The oven floor was apparently not demolished during the excavation, so the structure of the combustion chamber and the number of the main and cross flues is unknown.

The most interesting part, however, was that the kiln was fully stacked with unfired *imbrices*. The green tiles were separated from each other with a fine layer of sand, which made it possible to recognize the shape of the *imbrices* in the large block of clay into which the green tiles turned during the sixteen centuries spent underground. According to Paulovics, this proves that the kiln is of a very late date and that the tiliary still produced bricks and tiles even after the watchtower had been built, i.e., during the AD 370s. The stamped tiles found in Kiln I were all stamped by the *legio I Adiutrix* (see Catalogue).

Kilns I and III were surrounded by a stone wall. On the northern and eastern sides, it was 0.45 m thick, while on the western side, 0.7 m. In the south-western corner, where the wall was 1.15 m thick, it survived as high as 1.5 m. The top of the wall was only 0.3 m below ground level. Kilns I and III were most probably operated from the same stokehole.

Kiln II

The largest of the five kilns was the rectangular Kiln II (see Fig. 6; Fig. 9; Fig. 10). Its oven floor was about 5.5×6.2 m, and its surface was only 0.15 m below ground level. The combustion chamber was equally large, and its floor lay 1.6 m below ground level. It had five vaulted cross walls and probably two main flues, but only the vault of one of them can be seen in the photo.

A mud brick wall accompanied the western side of the kiln (Fig. 11) and another one ran along the eastern side. The western mud brick wall was roughly 1.0 m high at the time of the excavation.

The stamped tiles found in or around the kiln bore various stamps: *cohors VII, legio I Adiutrix, Terentianus tribunus, Lupicinus tribunus, cohors VII Breucorum Antoniniana*, and *vexillationes III* (see Catalogue).

Kiln III

Kiln III stood on the western side of Kiln I (see Fig. 6; Fig. 12; Fig. 13). It was circular, and the diameter of its oven floor measured ca. 2.2 m. The oven wall survived to a height of about 0.2–0.3 m, and its inner side was covered with mud plaster. The vaulted *praefurnium* faced south.

Kiln IV

Another circular kiln, Kiln IV, lay south of Kiln III (see Fig. 6; Fig. 13; Fig. 14; Fig. 15). Its oven floor had a similar size to Kiln III, ca. 2.2 m in diameter, but its oven wall did not survive. The vaulted *praefurnium* was on the eastern side of the kiln.

Kilns IV and V were surrounded by another wall, although they must have been fuelled from opposite sides of the building because they stood back-to-back.

Kiln V

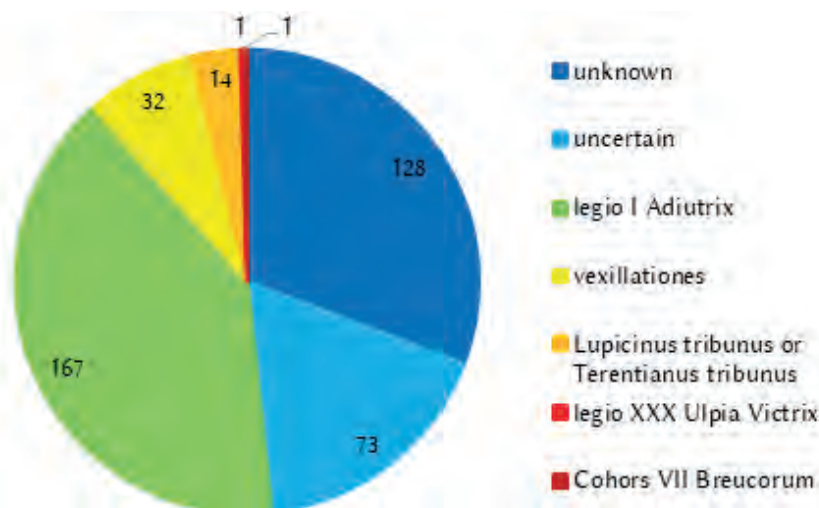
A small, rectangular kiln, Kiln V, lay on the western side of Kiln IV (see Fig. 6; Fig. 14; Fig. 15). Its oven floor was roughly 2.2×2.6 m. The oven walls had already perished by the time of the excavation, but the remains of four cross walls and three cross flues were visible on the southern side of the combustion chamber, meaning that the *praefurnium* must have been on the western side of the kiln.

The stamped tiles

Paulovics listed 408 numbered tiles on 29 postcard-sized sheets in his hand-written catalogue of stamped tiles from Kurucdomb. Besides the numbered tiles, a few unnumbered pieces also appear in the catalogue, together with four unstamped floor tiles. Not one of these tiles, however, can be found at present. They are not in the inventory of either the Hungarian National Museum¹¹ or the Kuny Domokos Museum of Tata.¹² All we know is that after the excavation, they were stored in the

11 I thank Zsolt Mráv and Tamás Szabadváry from the Hungarian National Museum for this information.

12 I thank Anna Pórszász from the Kuny Domokos Museum of Tata for this information.

Table 1. Brick stamps collected at the legionary tilery at Kurucdomb

Komárom City Hall for a while because they were mentioned in a letter from Ö. Kállay to I. Paulovics, written on 20 February 1935. In this letter, Kállay asked Paulovics to remove the numerous tiles he had stacked on the second floor of the City Hall before the ceiling collapsed.¹³ Unfortunately, Paulovics's answer to this request, or the present whereabouts of the tiles, are unknown.

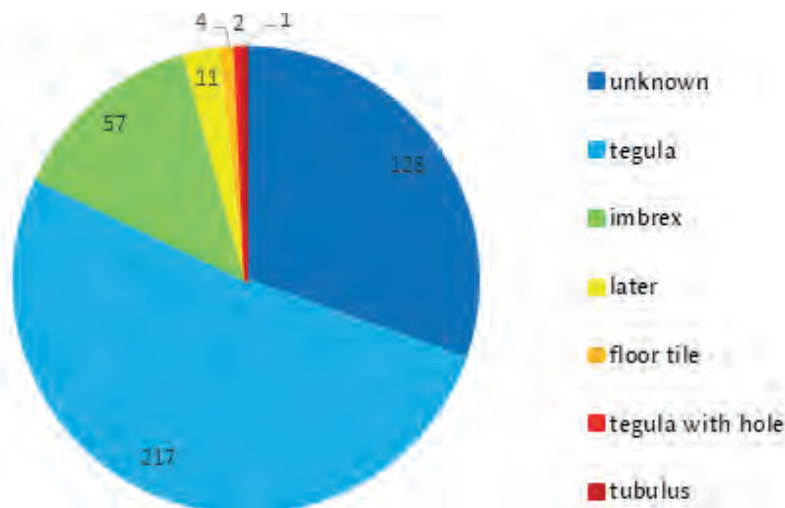
Stamped tiles were collected from five locations during the excavation: Trench A, Trench B, Trench Vexillation, the area around Kiln II, and the area of the pottery workshop (for the locations, see Fig. 8). Paulovics had reached a depth of more than 2.0 m from the surface during the excavation before getting to the earliest layers.

As a rule, Paulovics recorded the following pieces of information in the catalogue for each stamped tile: catalogue number, find spot, a small sketch of the stamp, one dimension of the tile fragment (either the length or the width, and sometimes the thickness), as well as the type of the brick or tile when not *tegula*. However, for most tiles, only some of this information was recorded.

Based on the hand-written notes and photos of Paulovics, we were able to compile a catalogue comprising 417 stamped tiles and four additional unstamped floor tiles (see Appendix). Of the stamped tiles, we only have some information on 289 (69%), while none (apart from their number) on 128 (31%). Photographs are available for 176 stamps (42%). In our catalogue, we included all available information on each tile and a sketch of the stamp (when available). We drew the black sketches based on the photos, while the blue ones are the original drawings by Paulovics of the tiles that were not photographed. We used the catalogue numbers of Paulovics; however, he gave two numbers for some tiles. In this case, the second number is indicated in brackets. Any additional note made by Paulovics is written between quotation marks. These notes mainly concern the colour of the tile (red, yellow, etc.). All photographs of the brick stamps found in the documentation are included in this paper in Figs 16–29. In most cases, Paulovics wrote the catalogue number of the tiles on the photo with blue ink, while in other cases, the catalogue number was written on the surface of the tile.

There are 289 brick stamps with enough information to work with. These represent six or seven different units that produced tiles in the known part of the workshop for a time of roughly three

13 “Minél előbb szoríts rá időt, hogy azt a sok ronda téglát, amit felhordattál a városház emeletére, feldolgozhassuk, mert a polgármester reábecsülteti a városházát, ha leszakad az emelet.” The letter of Ödön Kállay in the HNM Central Database, Archaeological Documentation Collection, nr. 107.Sz.II. (MNM Régészeti Adattár 107.Sz.II. “Paulovics-hagyaték, levelezés és újságcikk”).

Table 2. Brick types produced by the legionary tillery at Kurucdomb

hundred years: the first stamps were made by legionary vexillations that started the construction of the legionary fortress of Brigetio at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, and the last ones were made by Lupicinus *tribunus* and Terentianus *tribunus* at the end of the 4th century AD. The vast majority of the tiles were stamped by the *legio I adiutrix* stationed in Brigetio from the early 2nd to the early 5th century AD. We also have stamps from the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, the *cohors VII Breucorum*, a *cohors VII* without further specification, and, as mentioned already, several legionary vexillations, as well as Lupicinus and Terentianus *tribuni* (Tab. 1).

Tile types

The workshop produced different bricks and tiles. Most stamped tiles collected by Paulovics were *tegulae* and *imbrices*, but there were *lateres*, a *tubulus*, two *tegulae* with a large circular hole, and four small floor tiles (Tab. 2). None of the *tegulae* or *imbrices* were complete, and their exact size was not measured.¹⁴

From the eleven *lateres* collected, ten were rectangular and one circular. The extensions of the four complete *lateres* are 200×200×75 mm, 200×200×80 mm, 200×200×80 mm, and 265×275×95 mm.¹⁵ The 200-mm square *lateres* were called *lateres bessales*; the 265×275-mm-large tile could be a small version of the *later pedalis*.¹⁶ The circular *later* is only known from a photo with no dimensions.¹⁷ These *lateres* were primarily used in hypocaust heating systems. *Suspensurae pilae* made of *lateres bessales* are known from the civil town of Brigetio,¹⁸ while *suspensurae pilae* from both rectangular and circular *lateres* were found in the *canabae* and the legionary fortress.¹⁹

14 The *tegulae* and *imbrices* collected in Brigetio's civil town were probably mainly produced at Kurucdomb. *Tegulae* came in two sizes: 325–340/452–470 mm and 394–410/505–525 mm. The length of the *imbrices* was 440–457 mm, largest width: 160–200 mm, smallest width: 147–166 mm (DOBOSI 2022, 321).

15 Under nos 186, 217, 283, and 190 in the catalogue.

16 BRODRIBB 1987, 3. The size of the bricks was not very consistent due to the shrinkage of clay during drying and firing.

17 Catalogue no. 315.

18 DOBOSI – BORHY 2015, 190–192. The hypocaust heated the large representative hall, Room I/4 in House I/b. Excavation units A15–B15.

19 BARTUS et al. 2015, Figs 5–14; BARTUS et al. 2023.

Only one *tubulus* fragment was found in the material. These hollow bricks, also called box-flue tiles, box-tiles, or *tubi*, were mainly used as air pipes in the hypocaust heating system and were invented in the middle of the 1st century AD.²⁰ An interesting use of *tubuli* could be documented in the civil town of Brigetio and the legionary fortress.²¹ Under no. 13 Vásártér, the *suspensurae pilae* of the hypocaust were made of *tubuli* filled with mortar.²²

Two stamped *tegulae* had a large, circular hole with a 10–20 mm high flange in the middle.²³ These holes were vent holes, and chimney pots were attached to them.²⁴ The chimney pots typically came in the form of small lighthouses with window-like openings.²⁵ Paulovics did not collect any chimney pots from the workshop waste, but several pieces are known from the so-called Gázgyár pottery workshop in Aquincum, where they were apparently produced.²⁶

The floor tiles are not stamped, and Paulovics did not give them numbers, nor did he record their size. The rectangular and three dog-bone-shaped floor tiles are only known from photos.²⁷ Nineteen very similar dog-bone-shaped floor tiles were found during the excavations of the civil town in Komárom/Szőny-Vásártér, scattered over the whole surface of the Vásártér.²⁸ Small ceramic floor tiles are said to be a characteristic of Northern Italy and the Danube provinces.²⁹

Vexillation stamps

Based on stamp texts, three vexillation stamp types can be distinguished in the material. The first type reads VEXIL II K, which can probably be read as *Vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)*.³⁰ This stamp represents a new, previously unknown stamp type in Brigetio.

Altogether 30 specimens in different states of preservation of the VEXIL II K stamp were collected by Paulovics. The best-preserved pieces are Cat. nos 97, 109, 127, and 131. It is evident that the thirty tiles were stamped with different dies because there are small variations in the text: the VEXIL is sometimes written as VIXIL, and there can be an interpunction between the VEXIL/VIXIL and the II or between the II and the K, but sometimes one or the other or even both are missing. Even when the interpunction is missing, there is a larger space in its place. In some cases, only an I is visible in the place of the K, but even then, there is a larger space between the II and the I: it is written as “II I” and not as “III”. This is the case with a brick stamp from the collection of the Hungarian National Museum, recorded by Szilágyi.³¹ The end of the stamp is missing, and it reads VEXIL II I. This stamp was interpreted as *vexil(lationes) III (tres)*; however, it is the exact same stamp type as the VEXIL II K stamps from Kurucdomb.

20 BRODRIBB 1987, 70–71.

21 BARTUS et al. 2023.

22 DOBOSI – BORHY 2015, 190–192; for more about the context, see DÉVAI – GELENCSÉR 2012, 62.

23 Catalogue nos 212, 213.

24 BRODRIBB 1987, 19–21, and 32.

25 BRODRIBB 1987, 31–33. The function of the lighthouses has extensive literature; for some recent papers, see: ADLER-WÖLF – SAUER 2000; DYCZEK 2015; KIRCH 2015.

26 KUZSINSZKY 1932, 316–320.

27 See end of catalogue.

28 DOBOSI – BORHY 2015, 189–190; DOBOSI 2022, 321.

29 BRODRIBB 1987, 53–54.

30 These are nos 96–113, 117–121, and 127–133 in the catalogue.

31 SZILÁGYI 1933, Tab. 22,1.

Were it not fragmentary, the second type would name two legionary vexillations; it reads V L XIII.³² Luckily, there is an intact specimen of this exact same type in the Hungarian National Museum, which reads: V L XIII ET XV, *v(exillationes) l(egionum) XIII et XV*.³³ Another piece was found in the legionary fortress during the 1934 excavation by Paulovics. This piece is also fragmentary: V L XIII ET...³⁴ All this means that these stamps belonged to the vexillations of the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* and the *legio XV Apollinaris*. The VEXIL II K stamp type probably refers to the same two legions.

The third type is represented by a fragmentary stamp which, according to Paulovics, reads IL III, *[Vex]il(lationes) III*.³⁵ Unfortunately, the tile was not photographed, so it cannot be ruled out that this stamp also belonged to the VEXIL II K type.

Two other vexillation stamp types are known from Brigetio; they read VEXIL TRES and VEXILATIO III.³⁶ These were not recorded by Paulovics at the Kurucdomb tillery, but we know that he did not document all vexillation stamps he found.³⁷

According to the widely accepted theory of L. Barkóczi and B. Lőrincz, the construction of the Brigetio legionary fortress began in AD 97 when the *legio I Adiutrix* arrived there. Based on the *vexil(lationes) III (tres)* stamps, they hypothesised that the construction work went on with the participation of the *legio I Adiutrix* and three legionary vexillations in AD 97–101. The vexillations were assumed to be the detachments of the *legio XIII Gemina*, the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix*, and the *legio XV Apollinaris* because these were stationed on the *limes* section between Vindobona and Brigetio. The dating to AD 97–101 was based on the fact that the stamps came from the lowest layers of the legionary fortress, together with the stamps of the *legio I Adiutrix*, and in AD 101 both the *legio XIII Gemina* and the *legio I Adiutrix* were sent to the Dacian war.³⁸ It follows that the V L XIII ET XV stamp type could be dated between AD 101–114/118 when only the vexillations of the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* and the *legio XV Apollinaris* were left in Brigetio. During this time (AD 101–114/118), the *legio XV Apollinaris* was garrisoned in Carnuntum and the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* in Vindobona. In AD 101, the *legio XI Claudia* arrived at Brigetio in the place of the *legio I Adiutrix* and stayed until ca. AD 105, when it was replaced by the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*. In AD 114/118, the *legio I Adiutrix* returned to Brigetio for good, and the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* left for Xanten. By this time, all vexillations left Brigetio as well.³⁹ The *legio XV Apollinaris* might have left earlier because brick stamps of the *legio XIII* were found in Brigetio.⁴⁰

All this means that according to our present knowledge, the 14th and the 15th legions were not both in Carnuntum between 101–114/118; therefore, the dating of the *v(exillationes) l(egionum) XIII et*

32 Catalogue no. 383.

33 SZILÁGYI 1933, Tab. 22,4.

34 See excavation documentation, HNM Central Database, Archaeological Documentation Collection, no. 76.B.II.

35 Catalogue no. 35.

36 SZILÁGYI 1933, Tab. 22,2–3.

37 See catalogue nos 143–183.

38 BARKÓCZI 1951, 19–20; SOPRONI 1965, 124; LŐRINCZ 1975, 349; BORHY 2012, 23; MOSSER 2014, 201. On the other hand, Saxer suggested that the three vexillations could have belonged to the *legio XIII Gemina*, the *legio XV Apollinaris* and the *legio XI Claudia* (if made between AD 101–105) or the *legio X Gemina*, the *legio XV Apollinaris* and the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* (if made between AD 105–118), SAXER 1967, 88. Other researchers generally reject this idea because the *legio XI Claudia* and the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* were based in Brigetio and had their own stamps.

39 BARKÓCZI 1951, 19–20; SOPRONI 1965, 124; LŐRINCZ 1975, 349; BORHY 2012, 23; MOSSER 2014, 201.

40 BARKÓCZI 1951, 19–20; SOPRONI 1965, 124.

XV and the *vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)* stamps to AD 101–114/118 needs a thorough examination and possibly an adjustment.

M. Mosser recently summarized the history of the *limes* section between Vindobona and Brigetio. Based on his research, only the legionary fortress of Carnuntum was completed by AD 97, whereas the *legio XV Apollinaris* had been staying in the area since AD 71.⁴¹ In AD 97, three more legions arrived at the region: the *legio XIII Gemina*, the *legio I Adiutrix*, and the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix*. These four legions were distributed into three locations: Carnuntum, Vindobona, and Brigetio, where they were entrusted with the construction works of the legionary fortresses and several auxiliary fortresses.⁴² Each legion seems to have had a base camp but sent building vexillations to the other fortresses.⁴³ The *legio XV Apollinaris* was based in Carnuntum in AD 71–114/118, the *legio XIII Gemina* in Vindobona in 97–101 (then left Pannonia), the *legio I Adiutrix* in Brigetio in AD 97–101 and after AD 114/118, and the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* in Vindobona between AD 101 and 114/118.⁴⁴ Between AD 97 and 101, the exact location of the *legio XIII Gemina* is uncertain: earlier research placed it to Ad Flexum (Mosonmagyaróvár, Hungary).⁴⁵ According to recent studies, it is more likely that the legion was stationed in Carnuntum or Vindobona at the time, where the presence of the *legio XIII Gemina* is corroborated by inscriptions and brick stamps.⁴⁶ During AD 97–114/118, Carnuntum probably functioned as the logistic centre of the construction works of the nearby legionary and auxiliary fortresses (Tab. 3).⁴⁷

The evidence above outlines two periods when the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* and the *legio XV Apollinaris* could have stayed together in Carnuntum. Firstly, in AD 97–101, when the 14th legion possibly spent at least some time in Carnuntum together with the *legio XV Apollinaris*. And secondly, around 114/118, when the *legio XV Apollinaris* was replaced by the *legio XIII Gemina* in Carnuntum, and there might have been a transitional period when both legions stayed in Carnuntum for a while. It must be kept in mind that during both periods, several building vexillations of both legions might have been working at other legionary or auxiliary fortresses, and not two full legions had to be accommodated within the walls of the same fortress.

This also means that the *v(exillationes) l(egionum) XIII et XV* and the *vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)* stamps can be dated either to somewhere during AD 97–101 or to around 114/118. Finally, the *vexil(lationes) tres* type can be dated to either AD 97–101 or 97–114/118.

Legio XXX VV stamp

An intact stamp of the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* came to light at Kurucdomb.⁴⁸ This stamp is not similar to any of the *legio XXX VV* stamp types listed by Szilágyi.⁴⁹ According to Barkóczi, stamped

41 LŐRINCZ 1975, 345; MOSSER 2014, 205.

42 MOSSER 2014, 102. Auxiliary fortresses where stamps of these legions were found are Ad Statuas (Ács-Vaspuszta), Ad Flexum (Mosonmagyaróvár), and Quadrata (Lébény-Barátföldpuszta) GABLER 1977, 167–170.

43 MOSSER 2014, 111–112.

44 LŐRINCZ 1975, 343–345; MRÁV – HARL 2008, 48–52; MOSSER 2014.

45 LŐRINCZ 1975, 345.

46 MOSSER 2014, 103, 109–110.

47 MOSSER 2014, 110–111.

48 Catalogue no. 314.

49 See SZILÁGYI 1933, 82–83, Tab. 22,1–7.

Table 3. Legions of the legionary fortresses of Vindobona, Carnuntum and Brigetio between AD 97 and 118, according to different researchers (*the paper has no data on the *legio XI Claudia* and the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*)

	Vindobona	Carnuntum	Brigetio
LŐRINCZ 1975	92/97–101 <i>leg XIII Gemina</i> 101–118 <i>leg XIII Gemina</i>	71–114 <i>leg XV Apollinaris</i>	97–101 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i> 97–101 <i>vex XIII, XIII, XV</i> 101–105 <i>leg XI Claudia</i> 105–118 <i>leg XXX Ulpia Victrix</i> 101–118 <i>vex XIII, XV</i> from 118 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i>
STROBEL 1988	97–100 <i>leg XIII Gemina</i> 100/101–117/118 <i>leg XIII G</i> from 118/119 <i>leg X Gemina</i>	81–117/118 <i>leg XV Apoll</i> from 118/119 <i>leg XIII G</i>	93–100 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i> 100/101 <i>leg XI Claudia</i> 101/102–102/103 <i>vex XIII, XV</i> 103–117/118 <i>leg XXX Ulpia V</i> from 118/119 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i>
BRANDL 1999	97–100/101 <i>leg XIII Gemina</i> 100–117/118 <i>leg XIII Gem</i> from 118 <i>leg X Gemina</i>	71–117/118 <i>leg XV Apoll</i> from 117/118 <i>leg XIII G</i>	97–100/101 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i> 100/101 <i>leg XI Claudia</i> 103/118 <i>leg XXX Ulpia Victrix</i> from 117/118 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i>
MRÁV – HARL 2008	97–101 <i>leg XIII Gemina</i> 101–114/118 <i>leg XIII Gem</i>	<i>leg XV Apollinaris</i> <i>leg XIII Gemina</i>	97–101 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i> 97–101 <i>vex XIII, XIII, XV</i> 101–105 <i>leg XI Claudia</i> 101–105/118 <i>vex XIII, XV</i> 105–117/118 <i>leg XXX Ulpia V</i> from 118 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i>
MOSSER 2014	97/98–101 <i>leg XIII Gemina</i> 97–101 <i>leg XIII Gemina ?</i> 101–114/118 <i>leg XIII Gem</i> from 118 <i>leg X Gemina</i>	71–116/118 <i>leg XV Apoll</i> 97–101 <i>leg XIII Gemina ?</i> from 118 <i>leg XIII Gemina</i>	97–101 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i> 97–101 <i>vex XIII, XIII, XV</i> 101–114/118 <i>vex XIII, XV</i> <i>leg XI Claudia*</i> <i>leg XXX Ulpia Victrix*</i> from 118 <i>leg I Adiutrix</i>

tiles of the legion were found in the legionary fortress⁵⁰ and during his 1941 Kurucdomb excavation as well.⁵¹ Further brick stamps of the legion came to light during the modern excavations in the *praetentura*.⁵² Two more stamps were found at the civil town of Brigetio at the so-called Komárom/Szöny-Vásártér site.⁵³ Both specimens found in the Vásártér are fragmentary; however, it can be stated that they were not stamped with the same die as the specimen from Kurucdomb but seem

50 In the *retentura* of the legionary fortress. BARKÓCZI 1949, 173–174; BARKÓCZI 1951, 20; LŐRINCZ 1975, 347.

51 BARKÓCZI 1951, 20. No stamped tiles from the 1941 excavation by Barkóczi can be found in the Hungarian National Museum at present. Personal communication of Zsolt Mráv.

52 Personal communication of David Bartus, lead archaeologist of the excavations in the legionary fortress.

53 Klapka György Museum of Komárom, Inv. no. 2008.K40.083.10. (unpublished) and 2011.001.80. BARTUS et al. 2014, 14.

to be similar to a stamp collected by Szilágyi in Carnuntum.⁵⁴ This also means that the assumption that Carnuntum-type stamps cannot be found in Brigetio and vice versa,⁵⁵ can no longer be held.

The *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* arrived at Brigetio between AD 103 and 105 and left between AD 114 and 118.⁵⁶ Brigetio was its first base camp, as the legion was raised in Italy by Emperor Trajan (AD 98–117), together with the *legio II Traiana*, probably after the first Dacian war in AD 103–105.⁵⁷ The *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* was relocated to Germania Inferior in AD 114–118⁵⁸ and arrived at Xanten legionary fortress Vetera II in AD 120 at the latest.⁵⁹ Its stay in Brigetio is attested by an altar inscription, although the inscription itself cannot be securely dated to the early 2nd century AD.⁶⁰

Only a few stamped tiles of the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* are known from Pannonia, which is not surprising, considering that it only spent roughly fifteen years in the province. However, most of its stamps are known not from Brigetio but Carnuntum and its surroundings, including Vindobona,⁶¹ Carnuntum,⁶² the Roman villa of Bruckneudorf-Parndorf⁶³ and Apetlon.⁶⁴ This picture may change in the future due to the ongoing excavations in the Brigetio legionary fortress, where hundreds of brick stamps have come to light.

Legio XI Claudia

Not one brick stamp of the *legio XI Claudia* was collected by Paulovics during his Kurucdomb excavations. This fact is worth noting for two reasons. Firstly, there is a *legio XI Claudia* stamp in Fig. 7 of Paulovics's 1938 publication about the legionary tiler.⁶⁵ The details in this publication are, evidently, imprecise; for instance, he writes about four kilns instead of the five he unearthed. The *legio XI Claudia* stamp must have been found during his other Brigetio excavation in 1934, where he unearthed the baking oven of the *legio XI Claudia* near the northern walls of the legionary fortress built of stamped tiles of the legion.⁶⁶ And secondly, brick stamps of the *legio XI Claudia* were found

54 SZILÁGYI 1933, 83/2, Tab. 22,2.

55 SZILÁGYI 1933, 83; REUTER 2012, 11.

56 BORHY 2012, 27; BRANDL 1999, 233–234; LŐRINCZ 1975, 351; MÓCSY 1962, 615; BARKÓCZI 1951, 20.

57 REUTER 2012, 5.

58 BORHY 2012, 27; BRANDL 1999, 233–234; LŐRINCZ 1975, 351; MÓCSY 1962, 615; BARKÓCZI 1951, 20.

59 BRANDL 1999, 234.

60 RIU 383 = CIL III 10974. BARKÓCZI 1951, 20; BORHY 2012, 25; REUTER 2012, 127, Kat. Nr. 88. The inscription reads: [F]ortu[nae] / sacrum / Priscin[ius] / Hilario / mil(es) leg(ionis) XX[X] / V(lpiae) V(ictricis) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) [M(erito)].

Another inscription of the legion from Brigetio is the tombstone of Aelius Carus *tribunus militum* of the *legio XXX VV*. RIU 658 = CIL III 15188. This inscription can be dated to the 3rd century AD. It reads: D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(io) Caro tr- / ib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXX / Vlp(iae) Germ(aniae) in- / fer(ioris) qui vix(it) annis LIII / Aelia Statu- / ta coniugi/ b(ene) m(erenti) (REUTER 2012, 64–65, Kat. Nr. 16).

61 BRANDL 1999, 233–239. A stamp is even known from the legionary tiler of Vindobona: MOSSER 2018, 177.

62 SZILÁGYI 1933, 83; BRANDL 1999, 233–239.

63 LŐRINCZ 1989, 246; SARIA 1966, 256.

64 BRANDL 1999, 238–239.

65 PAULOVICS 1938, 7, Fig. 7.

66 PAULOVICS 1938, 6; PAULOVICS 1941, 158; BARKÓCZI 1951, 9.

at several points in the legionary fortress,⁶⁷ two specimens even at the civil town of Brigetio.⁶⁸ There are several different types among the published stamps, making it all the more probable that they were produced in Brigetio and not shipped from elsewhere. The fact that none was found at the Kurucdomb tillery can be explained in two ways: either they were overlooked by the excavators or illegible, or the *legio XI Claudia* fired its bricks in another, yet unidentified, kiln.

Legio I Adiutrix stamps

Most stamps belonged to the *legio I Adiutrix*, which is not surprising, considering that the legion was stationed in Brigetio for about three centuries. Altogether 167 stamps can be attributed to them without any doubt and probably most of the fragmentary *leg(io) [- - -]* stamps also belong to this legion. There is a great variety of different texts, letter and stamp shapes, although, without the original tiles, it is impossible to tell just how many different dies are, in fact, represented in the material. Based on the photos, about 120–150 different stamps can be estimated.

Imperial epithets were used in twelve cases: ten stamps included an abbreviation of the epithet *Antoniniana*⁶⁹ and two of the epithet *Severiana*.⁷⁰ *Antoniniana* stamps can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD, while the *Severiana* stamps to the first half of the 3rd century AD.

Another interesting stamp reads *leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) / Bomm[i(us) _ _]*. According to B. Lőrincz, brick stamps with the name Bommus were produced sometime during the 4th century AD. Several different stamps by Bommus are known: *leg(io) I Adi(utrix) / Bommi(us) f(ecit)*,⁷¹ *leg(io) I Adiutr(ix) / Bommi(us) f(ecit)*,⁷² *leg(io) I (Ad(iutrix) / Bom(m)i(us) Cresc.*⁷³ These stamps were found in Brigetio,⁷⁴ Carnuntum,⁷⁵ and Vetus Salina.⁷⁶ These brick stamps were listed under the heading “*laterculi centuriarum*” in a paper by Augustus Jünemann.⁷⁷ While Jünemann thought Bommus to be a *centurio* of the *legio I Adiutrix*, in B. Lőrincz’s opinion, person names appearing on military tiles usually indicated *immunes*, i.e., soldiers specialised in brick production in this case.

A few ligature types frequently appear on the stamps, like the AD ligature in the *Adiutrix*,⁷⁸ ANT ligature in *Antoniniana*,⁷⁹ PF ligature in *Pia Fidelis*.⁸⁰ Two solutions are particularly interesting. In a

67 PAULOVICS 1941, 157–158; BARKÓCZI 1949, 70; BARKÓCZI 1951, 20; LŐRINCZ 1975, 347; BORHY 2012, 28; a large number of *legio XI Claudia* stamps were found in the bath of the legionary fortress: see BARTUS et al. 2023 in this volume.

68 They were found during the Komárom/Szőny-Vásártér excavations in 2005 and 2014: 2005.F17.048.129. Almost complete stamp, DOBOSI 2020, 320–322, unlike any of the stamps listed by Borhy (BORHY 2012, 32) or Szilágyi (SZILÁGYI 1933, Tab. 14) and 2014.P18-P19. 058.420. Fragmentary stamp: *leg(io) X [- - -]* (BARTUS et al. 2016, 114–115). Based on the photos, it is the exact same stamp that Paulovics found in the legionary fortress (PAULOVICS 1941, Taf. 26,1; BARTUS et al. 2016, 5. tábla 4).

69 Catalogue nos 21, 199, 217, 221, 222, 226, 302, 317, 381, and those without number at the end of the list.

70 Catalogue nos 211 and 236.

71 SZILÁGYI 1933, Tab. 4,107; BUORA – JOBST 2002, 252.

72 SZILÁGYI 1933, Tab. 4,106.

73 SZILÁGYI 1933, Tab. 4,104; MATHÉDESZ 2015, 92, Fig. 1.

74 SZILÁGYI 1933, 18.

75 BUORA – JOBST 2002, 252.

76 LŐRINCZ 1979, 10.

77 JÜNEMANN 1894, 121.

78 Catalogue nos 62a, 246, 308.

79 Catalogue nos 199, 221, 226, and those without number at the end of the list.

80 Catalogue nos 316, 389.

few cases, the PF ligature forms an E; thus, the stamp reads LEGIADIE.⁸¹ These stamps are all retrograde. In another case, a DP ligature appears, where the PF is turned upside down, so the P looks almost like a ‘d’ in cursive Latin writing.⁸²

Another characteristic of some stamps is “spelling mistakes”. Often an I stands in the place of an E, an I instead of an L, or a C in the place of a G (VIXIL / VIXII instead of VEXIL⁸³ or LEC(io) / LIC(io) instead of LEG(io).⁸⁴ This must be partly caused by the aging or deterioration of the dies.

Some letters tend to appear mirrored in the stamped texts; especially D and N are prone to this phenomenon.⁸⁵ In one case, the whole stamp is retrograde except the D.⁸⁶ Text always poses a problem where the creation of an object involves making a mirror image first, like in the case of engravings, woodcuts, linocuts, or any kind of stamping and casting from a reverse mould. The nineteenth-century cast relief portrait of Heinrich Rose at the Eötvös Loránd University, where the N in Heinrich is written mirrored (Fig. 31), illustrates this phenomenon well.

Cohors VII Breucorum Antoniniana stamp

One fragmentary tile stamp can be attributed to the *cohors VII Breucorum* with an *Antoniniana* epithet.⁸⁷ The *cohors* is known to have used several imperial epithets⁸⁸ which makes these stamps easy to date.

According to B. Lőrincz, the *cohors VII Breucorum* arrived at Pannonia in AD 85. After AD 92, it was relocated to somewhere near Viminacium. During the Antonine dynasty, the *cohors* returned to Pannonia, probably to Lugio, where it was garrisoned during the 3rd century AD.⁸⁹ Brick stamps of the *cohors* are known from numerous locations in Pannonia Inferior, based on which B. Lőrincz concluded that the *cohors* was specialised in brick production and shipped its stamped tiles along the Danube.⁹⁰ The workshop of the *cohors* was in Lugio (Dunaszekcső-Halena, Hungary), where a small part of a kiln was unearthed in 2012.⁹¹ This stamp from the legionary tiler of Brigetio means that the *cohors* not only sent finished tiles but also specialists to other locations.

Cohors VII? stamp

The attribution of the stamp of a cohort VII with no specification is uncertain. It might be a stamp of the *cohors VII Breucorum*, but the stamps of this *cohors* never end with the number VII; they always contain at least a BR after the VII.

81 Catalogue nos 214, 218, 224, 225, 259, 386.

82 Catalogue nos 239, 293, 301, 378.

83 Catalogue nos 99, 105, 106, 109, 111, 118, 127, 128, 129, 130.

84 Catalogue nos 86, 241, 294, 314, 321, 380, 381, 388, 400, 403.

85 Catalogue nos 56, 184, 206, 208, 213, 223, 230, 231, 235, 262.

86 Catalogue no. 49.

87 Catalogue no. 31.

88 KOVÁCS 2005; HAVAS 2008; FARKAS 2013, 120. The imperial epithets used by the *cohors* are *An(toniniana)/Ant(oniniana)* AD 211–222, *Sev(eriana)/Sever(iana)/Severian(a)* AD 222–235, *Ale(xandriana)/Alex(andriana)* AD 222–235, *Max(iminiana)* AD 235–238 *Gord(iana)/Gordi(ana)* AD 238–244, *Phil(ippiana)/Philipp(iana)* AD 244–249.

89 LŐRINCZ 2001, 31.

90 LŐRINCZ 2001, 31.

91 GÁBOR 2020.

Lupicinus and Terentianus *tribuni* stamps

Fourteen stamps can be attributed to either Lupicinus or Terentianus *tribunus*, all fragmentary. Ten stamps belong to Lupicinus *tribunus*, one to Terentianus *tribunus*, and three can belong to either.

Lupicinus was *tribunus* in Valeria *provincia* sometime between AD 369 and AD 372.⁹² His brick stamps are well-known from several locations along the Danube *limes*.⁹³ Terentianus was *tribunus* roughly the same time as Lupicinus, in the late 360s and early 370s AD. Their brick stamps are frequently found together.⁹⁴ Two stamped tiles of Terentianus *tribunus* were found at the 4th century tillery at Solva (Esztergom, Hungary)⁹⁵ and one near the tile kilns at Lugio (Dunaszekcső-Halena, Hungary),⁹⁶ indicating that his tiles were produced at several workshops in different locations along the Danube *limes* in Valeria.

The Kurucdomb and Gerhát pottery workshops

The excavated part of the legionary tillery of Brigetio was part of a huge pottery workshop on the eastern side of the legionary fortress. Archaeological research distinguishes between the Kurucdomb and Gerhát pottery workshops, but the two were probably parts of the vast complex that manufactured an array of products: different kinds of bricks and tiles, household pottery, coarse and tableware, as well as imitations of Samian ware. Both the Kurucdomb and Gerhát pottery workshops were only excavated sporadically between the 1930s and 1980s, and the documentation of some early excavations got lost during and after World War II. Therefore, the exact size and topography of the workshop are still unknown.⁹⁷

The other tillery of the *legio I Adiutrix*: the Dömös workshop

Another military tillery of the *legio I Adiutrix* was discovered in the 1980s in Dömös, approximately 70 km east of Komárom/Szőny. According to the lead archaeologist Márta H. Kelemen, the two large, rectangular kilns were in operation in the second half of the 2nd century AD.⁹⁸ Both kilns were larger than Kilns I and II of the Kurucdomb tillery⁹⁹ and produced a variety of building ceramics: *tegulae*, *imbrices*, *lateres*, and *tubuli*. All 18 stamped tiles recovered during the excavation bore the stamp of the *legio I Adiutrix*.

92 LŐRINCZ 2006, 108–109. Or between AD 368–374, KOVÁCS 2018, 92.

93 LŐRINCZ 1981b, 46–49. Lőrincz mentions the following locations: Koppánymonostor, Komárom-Brigetio, Tokod, Esztergom-Solva, Pilismarót-Castra ad Herculem, Dömös-Hajóállomás, and Pécs-Sopiana. Besides these, Soproni listed Iža-Leányvár-Celamantia, Milanovce, Lábatlan, Kisoroszi-Hosszúrét, Nógrádverőce, Dunabogdány-Cirpi, Balhávár, Horány and Dunakeszi (SOPRONI 1958, 53).

94 LŐRINCZ 2006, 109. Terentianus' stamps were found in Koppánymonostor, Komárom-Brigetio, Tokod, Esztergom-Solva, Dömös-Hajóállomás and Pilismarót (LŐRINCZ 1981b, 48–49). Besides, Soproni listed Intercisa and Paks. Several more stamps were found in Iža-Leányvár-Celamantia published by L. Mathédesz (MATHÉDESZ 2015, 70–72), and I. G. Farkas published an additional one from Dunaszekcső-Lugio (FARKAS 2013, 127).

95 H. KELEMEN 2011, 141.

96 FARKAS 2013, 127.

97 About the research history of pottery workshops in Brigetio, see DELBÓ 2020, 21–23. For more information about the Kurucdomb and Gerhát pottery workshops, see DELBÓ 2019 and DELBÓ 2020.

98 H. KELEMEN 1995.

99 For a size comparison, see DOBOSI 2021, Fig. 6.

Brick and tile kilns in Pannonia

Until 2021, 62 tile kilns were discovered in Pannonia in thirty settlements; fourteen of these belonged to seven military workshops. Of the four legionary bases (Vindobona, Carnuntum, Brigetio, and Aquincum), the legionary tilerly of three is known; only the location of the Carnuntum workshop is still undiscovered. Apart from these, military brick manufacturing workshops were discovered in Solva (4th century AD, Esztergom, Hungary), Dömös (2nd century AD, *legio I Adiutrix*, Hungary), Lugio (2nd–3rd centuries AD, *cohors VII Breucorum*, Dunaszekcső, Hungary), and Progar (2nd–3rd centuries AD, *classis Flavia Pannonica*, Progar, Serbia).¹⁰⁰

All Pannonian legionary tileries were located outside the legionary fortresses and were in operation for centuries, from the end of the 1st century to the 4th century AD. All occupied a large area and had several rectangular kilns. Based on the brick stamps found in the workshop waste, not only the base legion of the fortress used the kilns for firing ceramic building material but also other military units or vexillations, probably helping out at major construction works.¹⁰¹

Conclusions

The results of the 1934–1935 excavations at the Komárom/Szőny-Kurucdomb site, led by István Paulovics, mostly remained unpublished until now. The thorough examination of the original documentation of the excavations stored in the Archaeological Documentation Collection in the Central Database of the Hungarian National Museum yielded interesting new data about the Late Roman watchtower and the legionary tilerly of Brigetio, both found at Kurucdomb.

Based on a hand-written report by Paulovics, the legionary tilerly started production at the very end of the 1st century AD and was still operating when the watchtower was built in the 370s. The 9.75×10.05 m rectangular watchtower was erected beside the kilns, its walls oriented in the same direction as the walls belonging to the tile manufacturing workshop. One of the kilns, Kiln I, was found fully stacked with unfired *imbrices*.

Altogether five kilns were excavated by Paulovics, three rectangular and two circular ones, only two of which were published in his excavation report. He found hundreds of stamped tiles in and around the kilns. Unfortunately, the bricks and tiles apparently got lost since the 1930s but, based on his notes and photos, a catalogue of 417 stamped tiles and four additional unstamped floor tiles could be compiled. Of the 417 tile stamps, 216 could be securely linked to a military unit. Most of these were stamped by the *legio I Adiutrix* (167 pieces and probably most of the uncertain ones), 32 by military vexillations, 14 by either Lupicinus *tribunus* or Terentianus *tribunus*, one by the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, and one by the *cohors VII Breucorum*. Paulovics did not record any brick stamp of the *legio XI Claudia* at the tilerly.

Most interesting are the previously unknown vexillation stamps that read VEXIL II K, probably meaning *Vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)*. Another vexillation stamp of the V L XIII ET XV, *v(exillationes) l(egionum) XIII et XV* type was also found at the site, and one is inclined to think that the *Vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)* stamp refers to the same two legions, the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* and the *legio XV Apollinaris*. According to our present knowledge, these two legions were not stationed in Carnuntum contemporaneously; there were two brief periods (between AD 97 and 101 or around AD 114/118), however, when these two legions could

100 DOBOSI 2021, with extensive literature about tile production in Pannonia.

101 DOBOSI 2021.

have stayed at the same time in Carnuntum. Consequently, the stamped tiles can be dated to either of these periods.

The vast majority of the workshop's products were *tegulae* (217 pieces), but other types of bricks and tiles were also found at the site: 57 *imbrices*, 11 *lateres*, four floor tiles, two *tegulae* with circular holes in the middle, and a *tubulus*.

The excavated part of the legionary tillery of Brigetio was part of a huge pottery workshop on the eastern side of the legionary fortress, known as Kurucdomb and Gerhát pottery workshops. The exact size and topography of the workshop complex are still unknown, but valuable information could be gained by assessing available data from past excavations or by conducting new on-site research in the area.

Intensive archaeological research in the legionary fortress of Brigetio has been going on since 2016. The excavations revealed a hitherto unknown quantity of stamped tiles. More than a thousand brick stamps were collected, including those of the *legio XI Claudia*, *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, *legio I Adiutrix*, *cohors VII Breucorum*, *Lupicinus tribunus*, and *Terentianus tribunus*. The combined results of the old and new excavations will rewrite our understanding of the brick production of Brigetio and the construction phases of the legionary fortress.

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Fig. 16. Photo "A.1." Brick stamps cat. nos 184–194

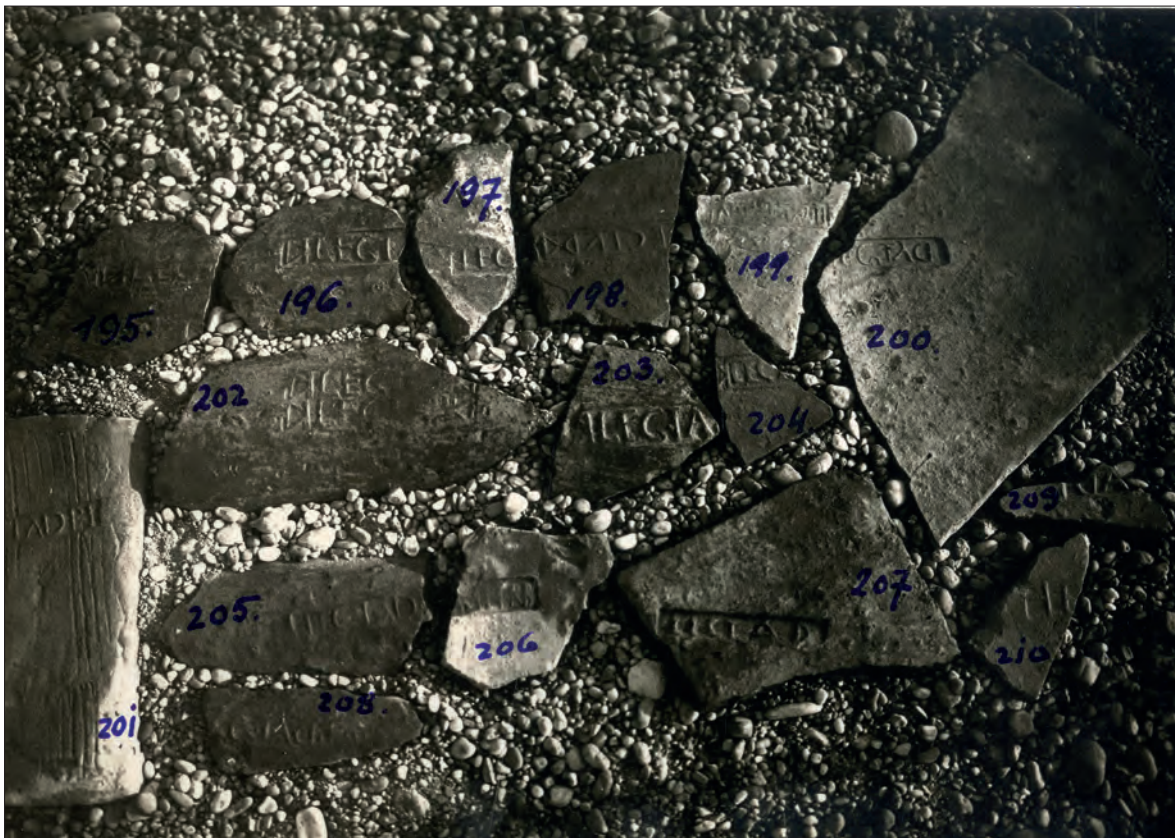


Fig. 17. Photo "A.2." Brick stamps cat. nos 195–210

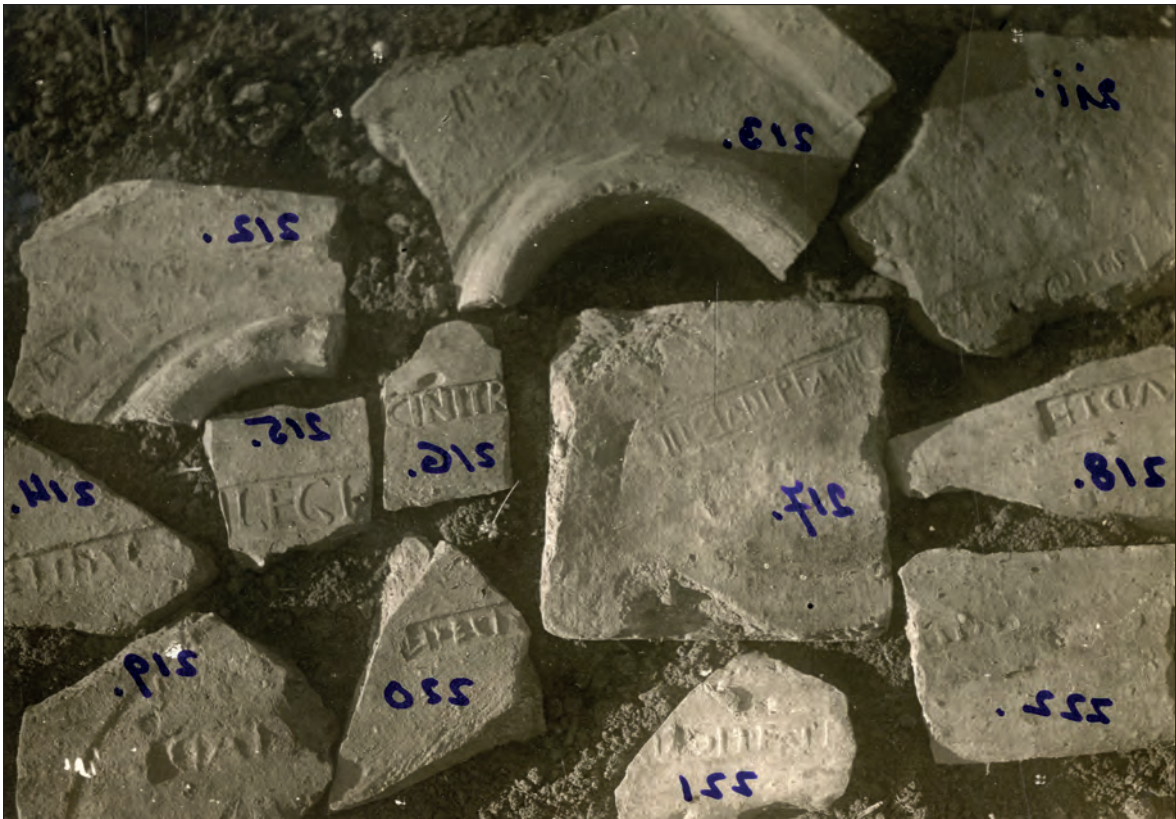


Fig. 18. Photo "A.3." The photo was developed in reverse; therefore, "rossz" [bad] has been written on the frame above. The photo is now flipped. Brick stamps cat. nos 211–222

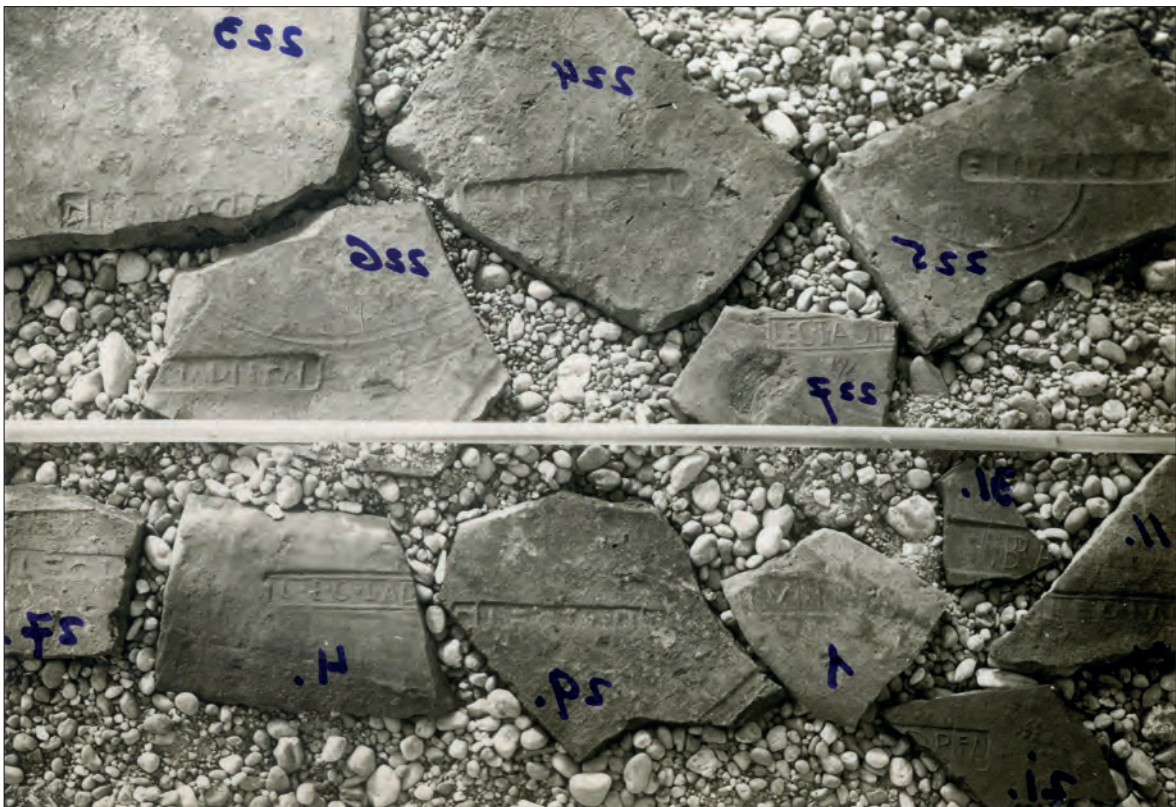


Fig. 19. Photo "A.4." The photo was developed in reverse; therefore, "rossz" [bad] has been written on the frame above. The photo is now flipped. Brick stamps cat. nos 1, 4, 11, 21, 27, 29, 31, and 223–227



Fig. 20. Photo “A.5.” Brick stamps cat. nos 62a, 64, 69, and 240–248



Fig. 21. Photo “Vex. 1.” Brick stamps cat. nos 82–113



Fig. 22. Photo “Vex. 2.” Brick stamps cat. nos 114–121 and one without a number (see after no. 114 in the catalogue)



Fig. 23. Photo “Vex. 3.” Brick stamps cat. nos 122–134, 228–239, and three floor tiles (see end of catalogue)

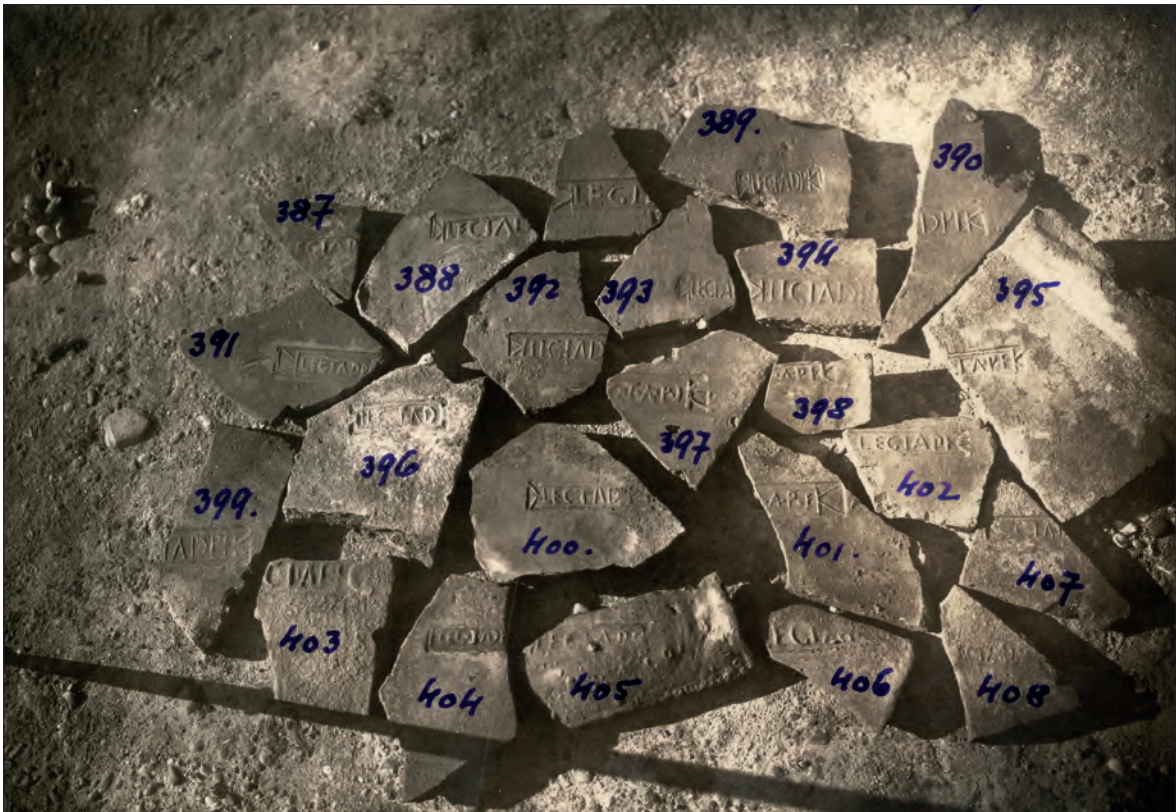


Fig. 24. Photo “Fazekastelep 1.” Brick stamps cat. nos 387–408, and one without number (see end of catalogue)

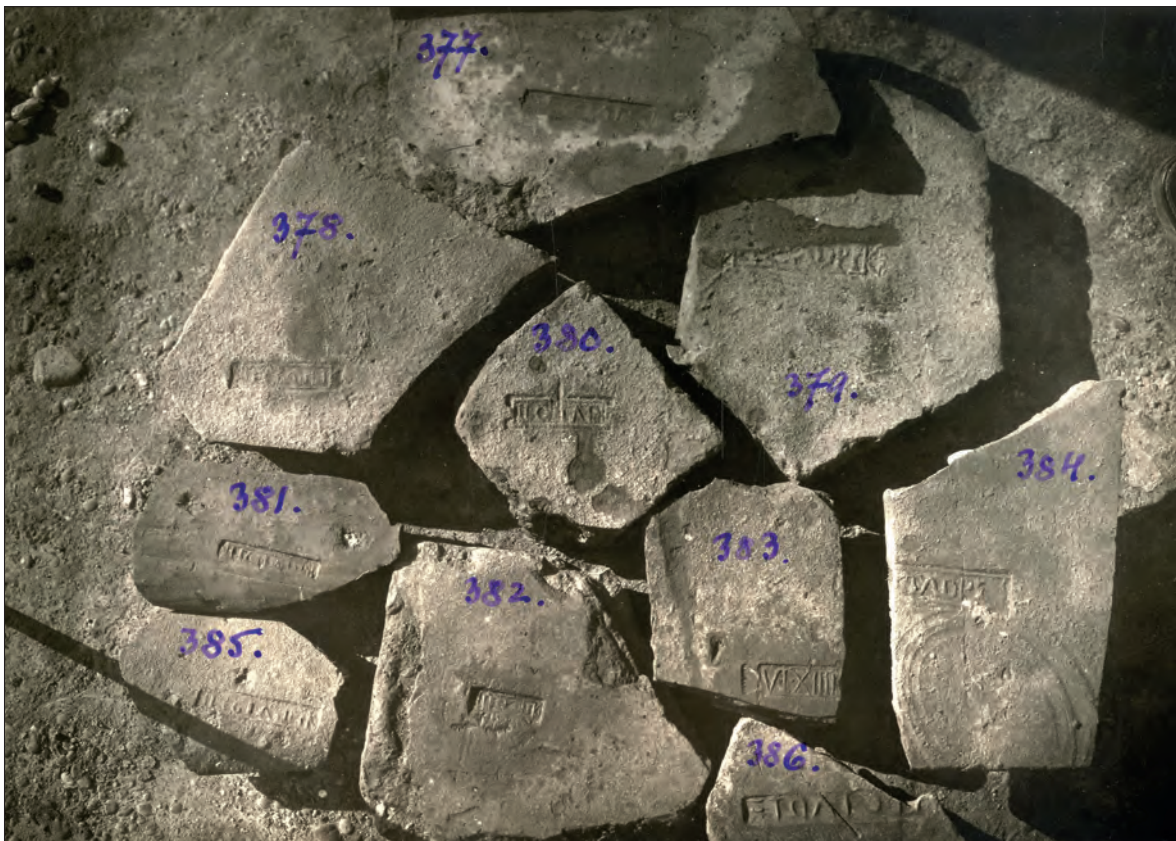


Fig. 25. Photo “Fazekastelep 2.” Brick stamps cat. nos 377–386



Fig. 26. Brick stamps cat. nos 293, 297, 304, and 312



Fig. 27. a – Brick stamps cat. nos 2 (with number 19 on photo), 9, 10, 16, 21, 22, and the without number (above right, see end of catalogue), b – Brick stamps cat. nos 4, 53, and 55, c – Brick stamps cat. no. 321, and two pieces without number (see end of catalogue), d – Brick stamps cat. nos 308, 310, 316, 317, and without number (below left; see end of catalogue)



Fig. 28. a – Brick stamps cat. nos 44, 45, 54, and 64, b – Brick stamps cat. nos 294 and 303, c – Brick stamps cat. nos 315 and 311 (the latter upside down), d – Brick stamps cat. nos 301, 309, and 318



Fig. 29. a – Brick stamp cat. no. 60, b – Brick stamp cat. no. 302, c – Brick stamp cat. no. 305 (upside down), d – Brick stamp cat. no. 306



Fig. 30. a – Brick stamp cat. no. 314, b – Brick stamp cat. no. 319, c – Brick stamp cat. no. 320, d – Brick stamp cat. no. 324











Fig. 31. Nineteenth-century cast relief portrait of Heinrich Rose at the Eötvös Loránd University (photo by L. Borhy)










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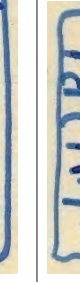

Appendix

No.	text	Notes	Size of tile (mm)	Type of tile	Find spot	Depth (m)	Photo	Sketch
1 (i.2)	[Co]h(ors) VII ?			<i>imbrex</i>	Kiln II		Fig. 19	
2 (19)	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'i'	0.25	Fig. 27.a in middle with nr. 19	
3 (8)	[<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis) ?</i>]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'a'	0.65	no photo	
4 (i.4)	<i>L ° e ° g(io) ° I ° Ad(iutrix)</i> [---]			<i>imbrex</i>	Kiln II		Fig. 19 and Fig. 27.b middle	
5 (i.10)	<i>Leg(io) [- -]</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II		no photo	
6 (13)	[<i>Leg(io) I A]d(iutrix)</i>	retrograde D		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'g'	0.4–0.5	no photo	
7 (9)	<i>l[eg(io) - - -]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'h'	1.3	no photo	
8 (22)	[<i>L]eg(io) I Ad(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'i'	0.4	no photo	










9 (11)	[Teren]tianuș Trī(bunus)			<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'f'	0.6	Fig. 27.a bottom left	
10 (20)	[L]eg(io) / Ad(iutrix)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'i'	0.3	Fig. 27.a bottom right	
11 (i.3)	Leg(io) ° / ° Aq(iutrix)xx	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II		Fig. 19	
12 (6)	[Lupic]ini tr(i)b(uni)			<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'b'	0.55	no photo	
13 (16)	Leg(io) / Ad(iutrix) [- - -]			<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'g'	0.4–0.5	no photo	
14 (18)	Lupi[cini] tr(i)b(uni)]			<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'g'	0.3	no photo	
15 (21)	[Leg(io) /] Ad(iutrix)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'i'	0.4	no photo	
16 (12)	Leg(io) / Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F[(idelis)]	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , AD ligature		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II, spot 'f'	1.1	Fig. 27.a middle left	
17 (i.)	no documentation				Kiln II		no photo	-
18 (i)	Leg(io) / A(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Kiln II		Fig. 27.a top right	










19 (5)	[Lupici]ni tr(i)b(uni)				tegula	Kiln II, spot 'b'	0.45	no photo	
20 (i.7)	[Leg(io) / A]d(iutrix)				tegula	Kiln II		no photo	
21 (i.5)	[Leg(io) / A]d(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis) A(ntoniniana)				tegula	Kiln II		Fig. 19 and Fig. 27.a bottom	
22 (15)	Leg(io)° I° A[d(iutrix) ---]		in tabula ansata		tegula	Kiln II, spot 'g'	0.4–0.5	Fig. 27.a top middle	
23 (3)	[Leg(io) / A]d(iutrix) ---]				tegula	Kiln II, spot 'a'	0.45	no photo	
24 (i.8)	Leg(io) [---]				tegula	Kiln II	–	no photo	
25 (7)	Lu[picini tr(i)b(uni)]				tegula	Kiln II, spot 'a'	0.6 m	no photo	
26 (23)	[Le]g(io)° I° Ad(iutrix)		in tabula ansata		tegula	Kiln II, spot 'i'	0.6 m	no photo	
27 (i.12)	Leg(io) / [Ad(iutrix) ---]		in tabula ansata, “yellow”		tegula	Kiln II	–	Fig. 19	
28 (i.9)	Leg(io) / [Ad(iutrix) ---]		retrograde		tegula	Kiln II	–	no photo	
29 (i.6)	Leg(io) / Aq(iutrix)		in tabula ansata		tegula	Kiln II	–	Fig. 19	











30 (14)	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) ?	retrograde					0.4–0.5 m	no photo	
31 (i.1)	[coh(ors) VI]j B̄r(eucorum) A[(ntoniniana)]	BR ligature					–	Fig. 19	
32 (2)	[Le]g(io)° I A(diutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)						0.35 m	no photo	
33 (1)	Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)	retrograde, “faint”					0.35 m	no photo	
34 (10)	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix)						–	no photo	
35 (17)	[Vex]il(lationes) III		I=350				1.6 m	no photo	
36 (i.11)	no documentation	“nothing!”					–	no photo	
37	[L]eg(io) I A[d(iutrix) - - -]	retrograde					–	no photo	
38	Leg(io) [I] A(d(iutrix)	in tabula ansata					–	no photo	
39	Lup[icini tr(i)b(uni)]						–	no photo	
40	[Lupicini t]r(i)b[(uni)] ?						–	no photo	
41	Lup[icini tr(i)b(uni)]						–	no photo	

42	[Lu]picini tr(i)b(uni)					Trench B	–	no photo	
43	[---] P ? ITR Lupicini tribuni?	“grey, flat”				Trench B	–	no photo	
44	Leg(io) I Ad[(i)utrix] [---] / Bom[m] [---]					Trench B	–	Fig. 28.a left	
45	Leg(io) ° I [Ad(i)utrix] [---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>				Trench B	–	Fig. 28.a middle	
46	[Leg(io) I] A(di)utrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>				Trench B	–	no photo	
47	Leg(io) I [Ad(i)utrix] [---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>				Trench B	–	no photo	
48	Leg(io) I Ad(i)utrix) [---] or Leg(io) I Ad(i)utrix) P(ia) [F(idelis)]					Trench B	–	no photo	
49	Leg(io) I Ad(i)utrix)	retrograde in <i>tabula ansata</i>				Trench B	–	no photo	
50	[Le]g(io) I Ad(i)utrix) P(ia) F(idelis)					Trench B	–	no photo	
51	Leg(io) [---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>				Trench B	–	no photo	


52	[Leg(io) I] Adj(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)				<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	no photo	
53	Leg(io) ° I Adj(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	AD ligature, “thick”			<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	Fig. 27.b left	
54	Leg(io) I Adj(iutrix) – – –]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	Fig. 28.a top	
55	Leg(io) I Adj(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , “thick”			<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	Fig. 27.b top right	
56	Leg(io) I Adj(iutrix)	retrograde D			<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	no photo	
57	Leg(io) I Adj(iutrix)	retrograde, in <i>tabula ansata</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	no photo	
58	Leg(io) I Adj(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	no photo	
59	Leg(io) ° [– – –]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	no photo	
60	Leg(io) I Adj(iutrix)				<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	–	Fig. 29.a	
61 (B.1)	[Le]g(io) I Adj(iutrix) – – –]			l=105	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench B	“deeper layer”	no photo	
62 (B.2)	Leg(io) ° I ° Adj(iutrix)	in <i>tabula ansata</i> with animal foot- print		w=170	<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	“deeper layer”	Fig. 20 but stamp not visible on photo	


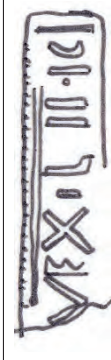







62.a (B.3)	[Le]g(io) / Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	AD ligature, “missing”	l=135	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench B	“deeper layer”	Fig. 20	
63 (B.4)	[Leg(io) / Adj(iutrix) ?	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	w=165	<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	“deeper layer”	no photo	
64 (B.5)	Le[eg(io) / Ad(iutrix) [- - -]		l=165	<i>tegula</i>	Trench B	deeper layer	Fig. 20 and Fig. 28.a bottom right	
65 (B.5.1)	L[eg(io) - - -]	retrograde	l=135	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench B	deeper layer	no photo	
66	Leg(io) / [Ad(iutrix) - - -]		l=110	<i>tegula</i>	“Above the watchtower walls, near Kiln II”	-	no photo	
67	Le[g(io) - - -]		l=135	<i>tegula</i>	“Above the watchtower walls, near Kiln II”	-	no photo	
68	[L]eg(io) [/ A]d(iutrix)	in <i>tabula ansata</i> “red”	l=225	<i>imbrex</i>	“Above the watchtower walls, near Kiln II”	-	no photo	
69	Lup[icini tr(i)b(uni)]	“missing”	l=70	<i>tegula</i>	“Above the watchtower walls, near Kiln II”	-	Fig. 20	
70–81	“poor stamps” no documentation				Trench B	upper layer	no photo	
82	Le[eg(io) / A]d(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	w=170	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench Vexillation	“under the layer” 1.6 m	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	

83	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=190	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
84	[Le]g(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	“yellow”	l=155	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
85	Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) ---]		l=90	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
86	[L]eg(io) I Ad(iutrix)		w=150	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4 as nr. 98	
87	Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) ---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i> “yellow”	w=110	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
88	[Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	PF ligature, “yellow”	l=185	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
89	[Leg(io) I A]d(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=140	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
90	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	w=250	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
91	[Le]g(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)]		w=195	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	











92	<i>Leg(io)</i> [---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i> “yellow”	w=185	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
93	<i>Leg(io) I° Ad(iutrix)</i> [---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=135	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
94	<i>Leg(io)</i> [---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i> “yellow”	l=140	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
95	<i>Leg(io) I° Ad(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
96	<i>Vex]il(lationes) II (duae)</i> <i>K(arnuntinenses)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
97	<i>Vexil(lationes)° II (duae)</i> <i>K(arnuntinenses)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
98	<i>V]exil(lationes)° II (duae)</i> <i>K(arnuntinenses)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
99	<i>Vexil(lationes) II (duae)</i> <i>K(arnuntinenses)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
100	<i>Vex]il(lationes) II (duae)</i> <i>K(arnuntinenses)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
101	<i>Vexil(lationes)</i> [---]			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	











102	[Vexil(lationes)] II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
103	[V]exil(lationes)° II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
104	Vexil(lationes) II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
105	Vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
106	Vexil(lationes)° II (duae) [K(arnuntinenses)]			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
107	[Ve]xil(lationes)° II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
108	[Ve]xil(lationes) II (duae) [K(arnuntinenses)]			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21	
109	Vexil(lationes)° II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
110	Ve[xil(lationes)] II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
111	Vexil(lationes)° II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	

112	[Ve]xil(lationes)° II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
113	Vexil(lationes)° II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>imbrex</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 21 and Fig. 4	
114	L° ē° g(io) [- - -]		I=110	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22 and Fig. 4	
no nr.	[Le]g(io)° Ī A[d(iutrix) - - -]		I=80	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22	
115	Leg(io)° Ī° Ad(iutrix) [- - -] [Leg(io)° Ī°] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	double stamp in <i>tabula ansata</i>	I=130	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22 and Fig. 4	
116	[Leg(io)] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)		I=90	<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22 and Fig. 4	
117	Vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses) [Ve]xil(lationes) II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)	double stamp		<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22 and Fig. 4	
118	Vexil(lationes)° II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22 and Fig. 4	
119	[V]exil(lationes)° II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22	










120	[Ve]xi(lationes)° II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>imbrex</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22 and Fig. 4	
121	Vexil(lationes) II (duae)° K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 22 and Fig. 4	
122	L° e g(io)° I Adi(utrix) [---]			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23 and Fig. 4	
123	L° e [g(io) ---]			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23 and Fig. 4	
124	[L]eg(io) [---]			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23 and Fig. 4	
125	[---] tr(i)b(uni)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23 and Fig. 4	
126	[Leg(io) I A]d(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23 and Fig. 4	
127	Vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)	“broke after photo was taken”		<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23 and Fig. 4	
128	Vexil(lationes)° II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23 and Fig. 4	

129	<i>Vexil(lationes) II (duae) K(arnuntinenses)</i>			<i>imbrex</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23	
130	<i>Vexil(lationes) [- - -]</i>			<i>imbrex</i>	Trench Vexillation	–	Fig. 23	
131	<i>Vexil(lationes) II (duae) ° K(arnuntinenses)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation		Fig. 23	
132	<i>Vexil(lationes) ° II (duae) [K(arnuntinenses)]</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation		Fig. 23	
133	<i>[V]exil(lationes) ° II (duae) [K(arnuntinenses)]</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation		Fig. 23	
134	<i>[Le]g(io) ° I Ad(iutrix)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Trench Vexillation		Fig. 23	
135– 142	“Stamps of the <i>legio I adiutrix</i> ” with no documentation				Trench Vexillation		no photo	
143– 183	“Vexillation stamps” with no documentation and “some illegible short stamps”				Trench Vexillation		no photo	
184	<i>Leg(io) ° I Ad(iutrix) [- - -]</i>	retrograde D		<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		Fig. 16	
185	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) [- - -]</i>		w=125	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		Fig. 16	

186	<i>Leg(io) / Aq(iutrix)</i>			200×200×75	complete <i>later</i>	Trench A	Fig. 16	
187	<i>L̄eg(io) / [Ad(iutrix) ---]</i>			l=150	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 16	
188	<i>Leg(io)° / A[d(iutrix) ---]</i>			l=200	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 16	
189	<i>Leg(io) / [Ad(iutrix) ---]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde			<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 16	
190	<i>Leg(io) / Adj(utrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>			265×275×95	complete <i>later</i> with one corner broken off	Trench A	Fig. 16	
191	<i>[Leg(io)] / Aq(iutrix) [--- -]</i>			w=100	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 16	
192	<i>[Le]g(io) / Ad(iutrix)</i>	retrograde		w=310	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 16	
193	<i>L̄-ypic(ini) t[r(i)b(uni)]</i>			l=110	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 16	
194	<i>L[eg(io) ---]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		l=235	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 16	
195	<i>Leg(io) / [Ad(iutrix) ---]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , "red"		l=155	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	







196	<i>Leg(io) I [Ad(iutrix) - - -]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , “red”	l=200	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
197	<i>Leg(io) [- - -]</i>		l=200	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
198	<i>[L]eg(io) I Ad(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> retrograde	l=200	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
199	<i>[Le]g(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>[F(idelis)] Ant(oiniana)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , NT ligature	w=160	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
200	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)</i>	retrograde D		“very large brick”	“1.1 m east of Kiln I”	Fig. 17	
201	<i>[Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>			<i>tubulus</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
202	<i>Leg(io) I [Ad(iutrix)]</i> <i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)</i>	double stamp in <i>tabula ansata</i> “red”	l=345	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
no nr.	<i>[Leg(io) I] Aq(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	no photo	
203	<i>Leg(io) ° I Aq(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , “red”	w=135	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
204	<i>Leg(io) I [Ad(iutrix) - - -]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	w=125	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	

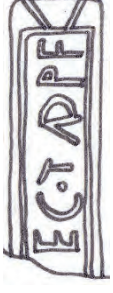



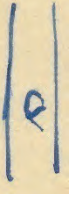




205	$\dot{L}eg(io) \circ I \circ Ad(iutrix) [- - -]$			I=230	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
206	$[L]upic]ini tr(i)b(uni)$			I=165	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
207	$Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)$			I=280	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
208	$[L]eg(io) I Ad(iutrix)$	retrograde D		I=175	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 17	
209	$[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix)$	retrograde			<i>tegula</i>	"1.1 m east of Kiln I"	Fig. 17	
210	$Le[g(io) - - -]$				<i>tegula</i>	"1.1 m east of Kiln I"	Fig. 17	
211	$Leg(io) I [A]d(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis) S(everiana)$			I=280	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
212	$[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix)$	retrograde D			<i>tegula with large, circular hole</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
213	$Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)$	retrograde D			<i>tegula with large, circular hole</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
214	$[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)$	retrograde			<i>tegula</i>		Fig. 18	



215	<i>Leg(io) I [Ad(i)utrix] -- -]</i>				l=95	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
216	<i>[Lup]icini tr[(i)b(uni)]</i>				w=110	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
217	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(i)utrix) P(ia) F(idelis) Ant(oniniana)</i>				200x200x80	complete <i>later</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
218	<i>[Leg(io) I Ad(i)utrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	PF ligature			l=200	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
219	<i>[Leg(io) I Ad(i)utrix)</i>	retrograde				<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
220	<i>Leg(io) I A[d(i)utrix] -- -]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde			l=175	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
no nr.	<i>Leg(io) I A[d(i)utrix] -- -]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> retrograde			l=195	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	no photo	
221	<i>[Le]g(io) I Ad(i)utrix) P(ia) F(idelis) Ant(oniniana)</i>	ANT ligature			l=145	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	
222	<i>[Leg(io) I Ad(i)utrix) P(ia) F(idelis) Ant(oniniana)</i>	ANT ligature			l=175	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 18	

223 (K.3)	$L\grave{e}g[io] / Ad(iutrix)$	in <i>tabula ansata</i> retrograde D	l=285 t=80	<i>later</i>	Trench A “at the <i>prae-furnium</i> in the southern wall of Kiln I”	Fig. 19	
224 (K.5)	$Leg(io) / Ad(iutrix) P(ia)$ $F(idelis)$	retrograde, PF ligature	l=265 t=80	<i>later</i>	Trench A “at the <i>prae-furnium</i> in the southern wall of Kiln I”	Fig. 19	
225 (K.7)	$Leg(io) / Ad(iutrix) P(ia)$ $F(idelis)$	retrograde, PF ligature	l=270 t=75	<i>later</i>	Trench A “at the <i>prae-furnium</i> in the southern wall of Kiln I”	Fig. 19	
226 (K.2)	$[Le]g[io] / Ad(iutrix) P(ia)$ $F(idelis) / \hat{A}n\hat{t}(oniniana)$	ANT ligature	l=250	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “at the <i>prae-furnium</i> in the southern wall of Kiln I”	Fig. 19	
227 (K.1)	$Leg(io) \circ \bar{I} \circ Ad(iutrix) P(ia)$ $F(idelis)$		l=60	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “at the <i>prae-furnium</i> in the southern wall of Kiln I”	Fig. 19	
228	$[L]eg(io) / Ad(iutrix) [- - -]$	retrograde	w=190	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	Fig. 23	
229	$Leg(io) / Ad(iutrix)$	“light colour”	l=195	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	Fig. 23	

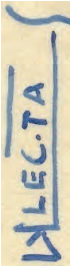



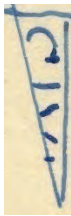


230	[L]eg(io) Ad(iutrix)	retrograde D	l=230	imbrex	Trench A	Fig. 23	
231	Leg(io) Ad(iutrix)	retrograde D	l=225	imbrex	Trench A	Fig. 23	
232	Leg(io) Ad(iutrix) [- - -]	retrograde	l=155	imbrex	Trench A	Fig. 23	
233	Leg(io) Ad(iutrix)	retrograde "yellow"	l=185	imbrex	Trench A	Fig. 23	
234	Leg(io) A(diutrix) P(ia) [F(idelis)]	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , "light colour"	w=225	tegula	Trench A	Fig. 23	
235	Leg(io) Ad(iutrix) [- - -]	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde D, "bright red"	w=220	tegula	Trench A	Fig. 23	
236	[Leg(io) Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis) S(everiana)]		w=170	tegula	Trench A "deeper layer"	Fig. 23	
237	[- - -]eg(io) Ad(iutrix)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	w=235	tegula	Trench A	Fig. 23	
238	Leg(io) [Ad(iutrix) - - -]		w=170	tegula	Trench A	Fig. 23	
239	[Leg(io) Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)]	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , PF upside down, DP ligature, "light colour"	w=200	tegula	Trench A	Fig. 23	


240	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=225	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “between the outer and inner walls of the watchtow- er”	2.3 m	Fig. 20	
241	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , Gl ligature, “red”	l=230	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A “between the outer and inner walls of the watchtow- er”	2.3 m	Fig. 20	
242	<i>[Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia)]</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=220	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “between the outer and inner walls of the watchtow- er”	2.3 m	Fig. 20	
243	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=290	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “near Kiln I, over the thick brick slabs”	0.9 m	Fig. 20	
244	<i>Leg(io) I A[d(iutrix) - - -]</i>		l=250	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “near Kiln I, over the thick brick slabs”	0.9 m	Fig. 20	
245	<i>Leg(io) I A[d(iutrix) - - -]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=250	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	c. 2.0 m	Fig. 20	






246	[L]eg(io)° ĪĀd(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , AD ligature	l=175	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	c. 2.0 m	Fig. 20	
247	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	w=125	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	c. 2.0 m	Fig. 20	
248	Leg(io) [---]	“red”	l=140	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	c. 2.0 m	Fig. 20	
249	Leg(io) I A[d(iutrix) ---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde	l=165	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “near the Danube”	2.2 m	no photo	
250	[Leg(io) I] Ād(iutrix) [---]	AD ligature	l=185	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A “near Kiln I, over the thick brick slabs”	0.9 m	no photo	
251	[Le]g(io) I Ad(iutrix)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
252	no documentation				Trench A		no photo	-
253	Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) [---]	retrograde		<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “at 7.30 m”	1.6 m	no photo	
254	no documentation				Trench A		no photo	-
255	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix)	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde	l=140	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
256	Leg(io) I [Ad(iutrix) ---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=205	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	









257	[Le]g(io) / Ad(iu)trix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=205	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A “at 7.50 m”	1.6 m	no photo	
258	Leg(io) ° I ° Ad(iu)trix)	“first letters are faint”		<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A “at 7.10 m”	1.5 m	no photo	
259 (K.4)	Leg(io) / Ad(iu)trix) P(ia) F(idelis)	retrograde, PF ligature	l=270 t=80	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A “at the <i>prae-furni-</i> <i>um</i> in the southern wall of Kiln I”		no photo	
260	[Leg(io) / Ad(iu)trix)			<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
261	[L]e[g](io) / Ad(iu)trix) [- - -]	retrograde D	l=360	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
262	[Leg(io) / Ad(iu)trix)	retrograde D	l=285	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
263	no documentation				Trench A		no photo	-
264	Le[g](io) - - -]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=165	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	c. 2.0 m	no photo	
265	Leg(io) / [Ad(iu)trix) - - -]		l=170	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A		no photo	
266	Leg(io) / Ad(iu)trix) [- - -]	retrograde	w=265 t=80	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
267	[Le]g(io) / Ad(iu)trix) P(ia) F(idelis)	“dark red”	l=205	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A		no photo	






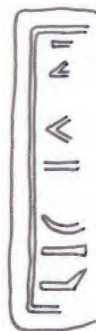
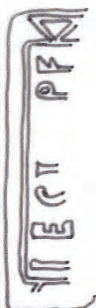


268	$\text{Leg}(io) / A[d(iutrix) - - -]$	retrograde	l=125	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	c. 2.0 m	no photo	
269	$\text{Le}[g(io) - - -]$		l=150	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A		no photo	
270	$\text{Leg}(io) / A[d(iutrix) - - -]$	retrograde		<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A "at 6.40 m"	1.4 m	no photo	
271	$\text{Leg}(io) / Ad(iutrix) P(ia)$ <i>F(idelis)</i>	retrograde, PF ligature, "red"	l=140	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A "near the Danube"	2.2 m	no photo	
272 (K.6)	$[\text{Leg}(io) /] Ad(iutrix)$	in <i>tabula ansata</i> retrograde D		<i>tegula</i>	Trench A "at the <i>praeurni-</i> <i>um</i> in the southern wall of Kiln I"		no photo	
273	$\text{Leg}(io) / A[d(iutrix) - - -]$	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
274- 275	no documentation	"not identified"			Trench A		no photo	-
276	$\text{Leg}(io) / [Ad(iutrix) - - -]$		l=175	thin walled <i>imbrex</i>	Trench A		no photo	
277	$[\text{Leg}(io) /] Ad(iutrix)$	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde	l=195	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
278	$\text{Leg}(io) / A[d(iutrix) - - -]$	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde	l=100	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A	c. 2.0 m	no photo	










279	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) ?				<i>tegula</i>	"1.1 m east of Kiln I"	0.5 m	no photo	
280	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)			l=130	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
281	Leg(io) ° I Ad(iutrix) - - -]		in <i>tabula ansata</i>	l=120	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A	c. 2.0 m	no photo	
282	L[eg(io) - - -]		in <i>tabula ansata</i>	w=130	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A "near the Danube"	2.2 m	no photo	
283	Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)			200×200×80	complete later	Trench A		no photo	
284	Le[g(io) - - -]		retrograde	l=145	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A "near the Danube"	2.2 m	no photo	
285	Leg(io) [- - -]		retrograde		<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
286	[Leg(io) I A]d(iutrix) ?		retrograde D	l=120	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A "near the Danube"	2.2 m	no photo	
287	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) [- - -]			l=150	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A "near the Danube"	2.2 m	no photo	
no nr.	[Le]g(io) I Ad(iutrix)		retrograde, "red"	l=140	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A "near the Danube"	2.2 m	no photo	
288	Leg(io) [- - -]		retrograde		<i>tegula</i>	Trench A "at 7.30 m"	1.6 m	no photo	
289	Leg(io) I [Ad(iutrix) - - -]			w=145	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	






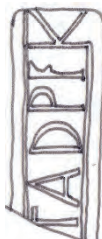


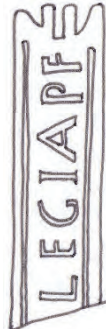
290	<i>Leg(io) / Adi(utrix) [- - -]</i>	“red”	l=245	<i>imbrex</i>	Trench A “near the Danube”	2.2 m	no photo	
291	<i>Leg(io) [- - -]</i>		w=215	<i>tegula</i>	Trench A		no photo	
292	<i>Leg(io) / Adi(utrix) P(ia) [F(idelis)]</i>	retrograde	l=270 t=85	<i>later</i> one side broken	Trench A		no photo	
293	<i>[Leg(io)] / Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , PF upside down, DP ligature		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 26	
294	<i>Leg(io) / Ad(iutrix) [- - -]</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 28.b end missing from photo	
295– 296	no documentation				Pottery workshop		no photo	
297	<i>Leg(io) / Ad(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 26	
298– 300	no documentation				Pottery workshop		no photo	
301	<i>Leg(io) / A(diutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , PF upside down, CI ligature, DP ligature		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 28.d top	
302	<i>Leg(io) / Adi(utrix) P(ia) F(idelis) Ant(oniniana)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 29.b	











303	<i>Leg(io) ° I ° A[d(iutrix) - - -]</i>				<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 28.b left	
304	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) [- - -]</i>	GI ligature			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 26 end missing from photo	
305	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , retrograde			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 29.c number upside down	
306	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , GI ligature			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 29.d	
307	no documentation					Pottery workshop	no photo	
308	<i>Leg(io) ° I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	AD ligature			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 27.d top left	
309	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 28.d bottom right	
310	<i>Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 27.d bottom right	
311	<i>Leg(io) I [- - -]</i>				<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 28.c upside down	
312	<i>Leg(io) ° I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 26 top left	

313	no documentation				Pottery workshop		no photo	
314	<i>Leg(io) XXX U(lpia) V(ictrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , dog footprint above stamp		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 30.a	
315	<i>Leg(io) [I A]d(iutrix)</i>			circular <i>later</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 28.c left	
316	<i>Leg(io) ° I ° Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , PF ligature		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 27.d top middle	
317	<i>[L]eg(io) ° I ° Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis) A(ntoniniana)</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 27.d top right	
318	<i>PIADP?</i>	retrograde		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 28.d left	
319	<i>Leg(io) ° I Ad(iutrix)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 30.b	
320	<i>Leg(io) I A(diutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)</i>	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 30.c	
321	<i>Leg(io) I A[d(iutrix) - - -]</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 27.c right	
322–323	no documentation				Pottery workshop		no photo	

324	Leg(io) ° I ° A(diutrix) ° P(ia) F(idelis)	in tabula ansata		tegula	Pottery workshop		Fig. 30.d	
325-376	no documentation				Pottery workshop		no photo	
377	Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)			tegula	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
378	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in tabula ansata, PF upside down, DP ligature		tegula	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
379	[Leg(io) I] Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	in tabula ansata		tegula	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
380	Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)			later?	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
381	Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix)] Anf(oniniana)			imbrex	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
382	Leg(io) I [Ad(iutrix)] P(ia) F(idelis)	in tabula ansata		tegula	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
383	V(exillationes) ° l(egionum) ° [---]	in tabula ansata		tegula	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
384	[Le]g(io) I Ad(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)	GI ligature		tegula	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	

385	<i>Leg(io) Adj(iutrix)</i>	<i>in tabula ansata</i>		<i>imbrex</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
386	<i>Leg(io) Adj(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>	retrograde, PF ligature		<i>imbrex</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 25	
387	<i>L̄eg(io) Ad(iutrix) [- - -]</i>			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
388	<i>L̄eg(io) Ad(iutrix) [- - -]</i>	<i>in tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
389	<i>L̄eg(io) ° Ad(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>	<i>in tabula ansata</i> , PF ligature		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
390	<i>[Leg(io) A]d(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis)</i>	<i>in tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
391	<i>Leg(io) Ad(iutrix) P(ia)</i> <i>F(idelis) [- - -]</i>	<i>in tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
392	<i>Leg(io) Ad(iutrix) [- - -]</i>	<i>in tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
393	<i>L̄eg(io) Ad(iutrix) [- - -]</i>	<i>in tabula ansata</i> , GI ligature		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	

394	$Leg(io) \bar{I} Ad(iu)trix) P(ia)$ [F(idelis)]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	
395	$[Leg(io)] \bar{I} \circ A(di)u)trix) \circ P(ia)$ ° F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	
396	$Leg(io) \circ \bar{I} Ad(iu)trix)$	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , GI ligature	<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	
397	$[Le]g(io) \circ \bar{I} \circ A(di)u)trix) \circ P(ia)$ ° F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	
398	$[Leg(io)] \bar{I} \circ A(di)u)trix) \circ P(ia)$ F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	<i>imbrex</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	
399	$[Leg(io)] \bar{I} Ad(iu)trix) P(ia)$ F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	
400	$Leg(io) \bar{I} Ad(iu)trix) P(ia)$ F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	
401	$[Leg(io)] \bar{I} \circ A(di)u)trix) \circ P(ia)$ ° F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	
402	$Leg(io) \bar{I} A(di)u)trix) P(ia)$ F(idelis)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>	<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop	Fig. 24	

403	[Le]g(io) A <i>di</i> (utrix)	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
404	Leg(io)° A(<i>di</i> utrix) P(<i>ia</i>) [F(<i>idelis</i>)]			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
405	Leg(io) A(<i>di</i> utrix) P(<i>ia</i>) F(<i>idelis</i>)			<i>imbrex</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
406	Leg(io) A <i>di</i> (utrix) [---]			<i>imbrex</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
407	[Le]g(io) A <i>di</i> (utrix) [---]			<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
408	[L]eg(io) A <i>di</i> (utrix) [---]			<i>imbrex</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24	
no number	Leg(io) A[<i>d</i>](utrix) [---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop		Fig. 24 top middle	
no number	Leg(io) A <i>di</i> (utrix) P(<i>ia</i>) F(<i>idelis</i>) <i>Ânt</i> (<i>oniniana</i>)	in <i>tabula ansata</i> , <i>ANT</i> <i>ligature</i>		<i>tegula</i>	Pottery workshop?		Fig. 27.d bottom left	
no number	Leg(io)° A(<i>di</i> utrix)° P(<i>ia</i>) [F(<i>idelis</i>)]			<i>tegula</i>			Fig. 27.c bottom	
no number	Leg(io) A <i>di</i> (utrix) [---]	in <i>tabula ansata</i>		<i>tegula</i>			Fig. 27.c top left	

no number	no stamp	dog-bone shape		floor tile	Kiln II	0.45 m	no photo	
no number	no stamp	dog-bone shape		floor tile	Trench Vexillation		Fig. 23	
no number	no stamp	dog-bone shape		floor tile	Trench Vexillation		Fig. 23	
no number	no stamp	rectangular		floor tile	Trench Vexillation		Fig. 23	

