

ART. XIV.—*The Beaumont Inscription, the Notitia Dignitatum, and the Garrison of Hadrian's Wall.*  
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(1) *The Beaumont inscription*:\* Three years ago I devoted several pages of these *Transactions*† to the discussion of an inscription found at Beaumont in 1934, whose text seemed to present various difficulties of interpretation, which I fancied that I was able to solve. As it happens, most of my ingenuity was wasted, for the inscription has recently been shown by Dr. Herbert Nesselhauf, of Berlin, to be at the same time far simpler and far more informative than I had realised. Dr. Nesselhauf has set forth his reading of the inscription—that it is the correct reading, there can be no doubt—together with certain observations upon its significance, in a recent number of *Germania*‡; for the benefit of those members of this Society who do not read German, I propose to give here his reading, to mention the various points of interest which he shows to arise from it, and then to pursue a little further a point which he indicates in passing, namely the bearing of the Beaumont inscription on one section of the *Notitia Dignitatum*§: that leads me to a consideration of the character and value of the *Notitia* as a whole, and of its British sections in particular, and to a survey of the changes in the composition of the garrison

\* The following abbreviations are employed: AA<sup>4</sup> = *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fourth series; C = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VII; CW<sup>2</sup> = these *Transactions*, new series; EE = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*; ILS = Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*; JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*; RE = Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*.

† CW<sup>2</sup> XXXVI, pp. 61-8 (illustration facing p. 64).

‡ 23 (1939), pp. 33-35.

§ Ed. Seeck (1876): hereafter Occ. = *Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Occidentis*, pp. 103-225 of that edition.

of Hadrian's Wall and its attached forts. Such a survey has long been needed,\* and it seems appropriate that one should be published in time to be in the hands of members of the Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, which is to be held immediately before the Seventh Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall in the summer of 1940.

As far as the reading of the Beaumont inscription is concerned, all difficulties disappear as soon as one disabuses oneself of the assumption, which Professor Collingwood† and I‡ both made, that the stone-mason has perpetrated a number of ludicrous mistakes. His only real mistake was the substitution of a stop for an O in the fourth line, though his inconsistency in the use of stops elsewhere is rather marked; when note has been taken of these facts, the correctness of Dr. Nesselhauf's reading is self-evident:

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) e]t numinibus Aug(ustorum duorum), g(enio) n(umeri) Maur(o)rum Aur(elianorum) Valeriani Gallieniq(ue), Cael(ius) Vibianus trib(unus) coh(ortis) [p(rae)]p(ositus) n(umeri) s(upra)s(crypti), i(n)st[a]nte Iul(io) Rufino principe—"To Jupiter Best and Greatest and the Majesty of our two Emperors, to the Genius of the *numerus* of Aurelian Moors, Valerianus' and Gallienus' Own, Caelius Vibianus, cohort-tribune in charge of the above-mentioned *numerus*, (set up this altar) through the agency of Julius Rufinus, senior centurion."

Instead of Caelius Vibianus being described as tribune of a named cohort (*I Nervana*), as I assumed, he turns out to have been commander of an unnamed one, entrusted in addition with the charge of a *numerus*—that is to say, one of the regiments of the type introduced early in the second century, and increasingly common in the following two hundred years, which ranked below the *alae* and cohorts of the *auxilia*. It is probable that both units,

\* The sketch which I gave in JRS XXII, pp. 55-59, has obvious shortcomings, and in any case further evidence has come to light since it was written.

† JRS XXV, pp. 223-224.

‡ CW<sup>2</sup> XXXVI, p. 62.

cohort and *numerus*, shared the same fort as well as the same commander; witness the cases of High Rochester, Risingham and Birdoswald, where third-century inscriptions attest the subordination of *numeri* to cohort-commanders, and there is evidence for a suitable increase in the barrack-accommodation over that which had been provided in the previous period.\* What the cohort's name may have been, we cannot say for certain; it seems probable, however, that it was in fact *coh. I Nervana Germanorum*, as I assumed three years ago.† As far as the *numerus* is concerned, I shall be dealing with it presently, for it provides the essential link with the *Notitia Dignitatum*; but first it is necessary to refer to the point made by Dr. Nesselhauf, that this was not the first unit of that type to have shared the fort at Burgh-by-Sands with a cohort.

As I pointed out in my first discussion of the inscription, Mr. I. A. Richmond's identification of *Aballava* with Burgh-by-Sands‡ must be taken as certain; and a pair of inscriptions§ from Papcastle (identified by Mr. Richmond as *Derventio*), dated to the time of Philip—that is to say, several years earlier than the Beaumont text—mention a *cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium*. The precise interpretation of the Papcastle texts is beset with difficulties which no writer has attempted to surmount, but one thing, as Dr. Nesselhauf points out, is certain: namely, that the *cuneus Frisionum* had preceded the *numerus Maurorum* in garrison at the fort of Burgh-by-Sands—from the name of which it had obtained, before moving to Papcastle, its additional title *Aballavensium*.|| The

\* The evidence of inscriptions and structures at High Rochester and Risingham is collected and discussed by Mr. I. A. Richmond in the forthcoming vol. XV of the *Northumberland County History*; for Birdoswald cf. the inscription CW<sup>2</sup> XXX, pp. 199-200 = JRS XIX, p. 214 and the structural evidence set forth in CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI.

† Cf. p. 219 below.

‡ In his discussion of the Rudge Cup, AA<sup>4</sup> XII, pp. 334-342.

§ C 415 and 416, cf. EE III p. 130.

|| Cf. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte usw.* (1920), p. 29 for the custom,

occasion for its transfer to Papcastle remains quite uncertain; on our present evidence, it does not seem possible to suppose that the Frisiones can have been stationed at Burgh-by-Sands before the time of Severus, under whom the brigading of cohorts and *numeri* in single forts is first attested in Britain: otherwise, it might have seemed simplest to suggest that the change occurred as part of the large-scale reorganisation following on the first overthrow of Hadrian's Wall and its associated forts.

Whenever the change took place, it is certain that the *numerus Maurorum* was not a new formation when it came to Burgh-by-Sands. That is a point which is proved by a consideration of its sub-title, *Aur(elianorum)*—a permanent part of the regiment's name, in contrast to the following titles, derived, in the way customary from the time of Caracalla onwards, from the names of the ruling Emperors. In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Occ. XL 47 reads: *praefectus numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum, Aballaba*—"prefect of the *numerus* of Aurelian Moors, at Aballava." Here the sub-title might have seemed to denote that the regiment owed its establishment to Aurelian (Emperor A.D. 270-275), who can be shown to have been responsible for raising a number of the units only known to us through their appearance in the *Notitia*.<sup>\*</sup> But the present inscription, on which the same title occurs in abbreviated form, was set up at least twelve years before Aurelian became Emperor, so that the title must be connected, not with him, but with an Emperor Aurelius: and that, as Dr. Nesselhauf points out (noting that Anton von Premierstein had conjectured as much more than a quarter of a century ago),<sup>†</sup> must be Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180). Under Marcus, there was an unbroken series of wars on one or more frontiers of the Empire, in characteristic of the third century, of attaching a place-name to the territorial title of a *numerus*.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Grosse, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22.

<sup>†</sup> *Klio*, 12 (1912), p. 173.



the course of which many units must have been destroyed, and it was necessary to replace them by raising several fresh regiments, including two new legions and a number of cohorts. Britain, it is true, seems to have come off relatively lightly—at least, Hadrian's Wall shows no signs of damage at that time; but there are records of the imminence, if not the actuality, of warfare there,\* whilst Cassius Dio refers to the despatch by Marcus of 5,500 Sarmatian cavalry to that province†—which might seem to demonstrate that the army of Britain was in need of reinforcements. There can be no question that the *numerus Maurorum Aureliianorum* must be added to the list of units raised by Marcus in that period of crisis, but it would be going beyond our evidence to assume that the regiment was sent off to Britain at once: it might very well have begun its career in the army of the Danube, and have reached Britain first with Severus himself, in A.D. 208.

(2) *The Notitia Dignitatum*: It will have been seen, from the extract quoted above, that the *Notitia Dignitatum* places the *numerus Maurorum Aureliianorum* at Aballava, which on other grounds Mr. Richmond had identified with Burgh-by-Sands, the fort from which the Beaumont inscription must have come. The new reading of the inscription provides the final proof of the correctness of Mr. Richmond's identification; and now that it is possible to identify one, and therefore several, of the *Notitia* stations west of Birdoswald, it seems worth while attempting a fresh examination of the list in Occ. XL, from the point at which it has long been recognised that something has gone wrong with the order.

From Wallsend = Segedunum to Birdoswald = (C)amboglanna inclusive, we have twelve forts, of which all but nos. 2 (Newcastle = Pons Aelius), 4 (Rudchester =

\* Script. Hist. Aug., *vita Marci* 8, 7 and 22, 1.

† LXXI, 22, 1.

Vindobala) and 10 (Greatchesters = Aesica), have produced inscriptions of the regiments assigned to them in the Notitia: all these inscriptions, incidentally, may be dated to the third century.\* But after Birdoswald, confusion sets in: the next fort *per lineam Valli* is Castlesteads, where the garrison in the third century was *coh. II Tungrorum*, two other cohorts being attested there in the previous century;† but the Notitia gives as the next station Petrianae, with the *ala Petriana* as its garrison. Now that *ala* was 1,000 strong, and could not on any showing have been squeezed into so small a fort as Castlesteads (indeed, it is difficult to believe that more than half of *coh. II Tungrorum*, likewise 1,000 strong, could have been quartered there‡—and a cavalry regiment always required considerably more space than a cohort of the same strength); moreover, the fact that the title of the regiment superseded or was substituted for a place-name must mean that the regiment had been stationed at that fort without change for a very considerable period—perhaps from as early as the time of Hadrian.§

The whereabouts of Petrianae is a problem which has cried for solution once the former identification with Old Carlisle had been disproved||; though we cannot attain certainty without fresh evidence, it seems impossible for it to have been anywhere but in the immediate vicinity of Carlisle = Luguwallium: (a) none of the known forts in the neighbourhood, either on the Wall or off it, was large enough to hold an *ala milliaria*; (b) yet it is known that the *ala Petriana milliaria* was stationed in the neighbourhood (in addition to the entry in the Notitia, there is part of a dedication by a commander of the regiment found in Carlisle itself,¶ and the tombstone of a

\* Cf. pp. 211 f. below.

† For the evidence cf. p. 218 below.

‡ Cf. CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI, p. 147 and XXXV, p. 56.

§ Cf. CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI, pp. 146-147.

|| CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI, p. 146.

¶ C 929.

former trooper, found in the *vicus* of Old Penrith = Voreda,\* points in the same direction); (c) it follows that we must look for an unknown site—and the likeliest place for it on all grounds is right under our noses, or rather, hidden by the modern city of Carlisle. If the fort was just outside the Roman town, we can understand why it should have been given a separate name, to avoid confusion with the pre-existing Luguwallium; the discovery of the dedication by a prefect of the *ala* in Carlisle itself is obviously no hindrance to this proposed identification of the site of Petrianae: let us assume the justice of the identification, and consider what happens next in the Notitia list.

We will disregard the names of the units for the moment, and concentrate on the place-names, which continue as follows: 47 Aballaba, 48 Congavata, 49 Axeloduno, 50 Gabrosenti, 51 Tunnocelo and 52 Glannibanta—after which, the remainder of the list need not concern us at present. If we take as our basis of identification Mr. Richmond's paper, to which reference has already been made so frequently,† it appears that we get the following equation: 47 Burgh-by-Sands, 48 Stanwix, 49 Castlesteads, 50 Moresby, 51 St. Bees' Head and 52 Ravenglass. In other words, instead of continuing steadily westwards to the end of Hadrian's Wall, and then down the Cumberland coast, the list jumps from Birdoswald to the important cavalry-fort alongside Carlisle,‡ after which it completes the chain of forts on the Wall from west to east, instead of from east to west, omitting the terminal fort,

\* C 323.

† AA<sup>4</sup> XII, pp. 334-342.

‡ It seems worth noting that the *praefectus equitum* in command of an *ala milliaria* was senior to all other officers in the *militiae equestres*: thus, the commander of the *ala Petriana* may well have been in general control of the stations from Castlesteads westwards, and his command introduced out of its topographical order for that reason. For the grouping of a number of auxiliary regiments under a *praefectus equitum*, cf. the Dacian inscription CIL III 1343.

Bowness-on-Solway = Maia.\* Then it returns to the Cumberland coast, leaving out the first two forts beyond Bowness, namely Beckfoot and Maryport = Alauna, and only resuming the series more than thirty miles beyond Burgh-by-Sands.

There can be no doubt that the omission of Bowness, Beckfoot and Maryport, must be assigned to a copyist's error rather than to any historical event; it is inconceivable that the line of the Wall and the southern links in the coastal chain should have been retained with key-points like Bowness or Maryport given up. But it will not have escaped notice that there are other stations which we might have felt justified in seeking in a list with so strong a third-century complexion: I refer to the outpost forts to the north of Hadrian's Wall.

Mr. Richmond's excavations in 1935 proved (what I myself had surmised in 1930†) that the outliers at High Rochester and Risingham were held by the Romans throughout the third century and well into the fourth‡; in 1937, Mr. Richmond was able to show that the situation had been similar at Bewcastle too,§ and my own excavations at Birrens in Dumfriesshire (in 1936 and 1937) produced a comparable result.|| We can now say that occupation at High Rochester and Birrens came to an end shortly before A.D. 343, while Risingham and Bewcastle—to which, no doubt, we may add Netherby¶—were reoccupied in that year, and not finally abandoned until A.D. 367. The absence of Bowness, Beckfoot and Maryport, may well be explicable as a copyist's error—the chance omission of three consecutive links in the frontier

\* I assume that the site at Drumburgh was not a fort at all, as has generally been supposed, but a large milecastle (no. 76) such as that at Poltross Burn (no. 48) and those to the west of it.

† CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI, pp. 137-140.

‡ AA<sup>4</sup> XIII, pp. 170-198.

§ CW<sup>2</sup> XXXVIII, pp. 195-237.

|| *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXXII, pp. 275-347.

¶ Cf. CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI, p. 139.

chain; but it is difficult to suppose that the absence of the outpost-forts can be explained in the same way; for comparison with the list of names on the Rudge Cup\* suggests that Bremenium and Habitancum should have followed 37 Hunnum, Banna coming after 44 (C)amboglanna, and Netherby = Castra Exploratorum and Birrens = Blatobulgium succeeding 48 Congavata.

In other words, it looks as though the outliers have been struck from the list, on ceasing to be occupied; yet we are now able to show that the only period in which they were not occupied was Wall period IV, from A.D. 368 onwards: and the regiments retained in the list cannot well have remained in existence at so late a date.

Perhaps it will be as well to put the problem rather differently. In the case of ten Wall-forts, we have inscriptions of the third century attesting the presence of units assigned to those forts in Occ. XL. If that were all, it would no doubt be fair to suggest that the list of stations and garrisons given by this section of the Notitia is a third-century list,† from which some forts have dropped out through chance, and others have been struck off on ceasing to be held. Just because the earliest possible date for the compilation of the Notitia as a single document is at the very close of the fourth century,‡ it is clear that the incorporation of an early list of this kind could only have been for what may be termed its antiquarian interest: it could be useful as a record of what forts there were, and of the type of regiment that each fort had held. But it seems clear that the list must be later than the third century, and yet anterior to the only period when the outpost forts, which it ignores, were not occupied.

We will take the latter point first. At the opening of

\* AA<sup>4</sup> XII, p. 334, C 1291.

† So Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* VI, p. 117, assigns it to *circa* A.D. 300.

‡ The evidence is referred to below, p. 207.

Wall period II under Severus, every Wall fort for whose garrison we have clear evidence was occupied by a regiment other than that which had served there previously \*: the casualties sustained in the battle of Lugdunum, A.D. 197, and the damage caused by the Maeatae while the frontier was left unguarded, must have made it necessary to effect a complete reorganisation of the northern command. That period (to which, as has been seen, belong the inscriptions which attest the presence of Notitia units in ten of the forts) ended in a comparable disaster: while Allectus in the south of Britain, was vainly attempting to ward off the troops of the central government, Hadrian's Wall was once more overthrown—this time, by the new confederacy known to the Romans as the Picts. On that occasion, it was not found necessary to provide new garrisons at more than one or two of the forts, as we shall see; but the next destruction, which brought period III to a close, was a very different matter. The account given by Ammianus Marcellinus† makes it plain that the great break-through of A.D. 367 resulted in the complete disintegration of the army in Britain: the disaster must have been comparable to that which, *circa* A.D. 260, led to the disappearance of every single *ala* and cohort of the Upper German command.‡ The Wall was certainly garrisoned afresh by Count Theodosius, but it must have been a totally new series of regiments which took the place of those whose names are preserved in the Notitia Dignitatum.§

\* Cf. pp. 211 f. below.

† XXVII 8, XXVIII 3.

‡ Cf. Nesselhauf, *Die spätrömische Verwaltung der gallisch-germanischen Länder* (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1938, Phil.-hist. Klasse, no. 2), p. 47.

§ One scrap of evidence seems worth repeating: among the pottery of period IV from the excavations at Birdoswald in 1929 there were several pieces which seem only explicable as imports from the Rhineland, while the vessels of period III could all be assigned to British potteries (CW<sup>2</sup> XXX, pp. 194-195); it seems justifiable to infer a fresh unit in garrison.

A question which it seems necessary to consider in some detail is, whether the Notitia list, while anterior to the reoccupation of A.D. 368, need be so very much earlier in composition. It has been seen that a large number of units on Hadrian's Wall, attested in that list, have left inscriptions in the appropriate forts at some time or other in the third century. But there is at least one fort\* where the situation is different: I mean Castlesteads. The equation of that fort with Uxellodunum† cannot be questioned; yet the Notitia gives as its garrison *coh. I Hispanorum*,‡ whilst inscriptions of the third century show us that in that period it was occupied by *coh. II Tungrorum*, or a portion of that regiment.§ Unless we assume a change of garrisons during the third century, but after the time of Gordian (when *coh. II Tungrorum* is attested at Castlesteads), it seems necessary to suppose that the list which gives the garrison of Castlesteads as *coh. I Hispanorum* must represent an arrangement of the third Wall period. And that that is the period to which the list must be assigned may, I think, be shown by a further study of the units comprised in the Duke's command, Occ. XL.

It has usually been the custom, in studying those units, to take separately the section *per lineam Valli*, and the list of fourteen regiments which precedes that section. In the former case, we have the army of the Early Empire represented in startling strength: four out of five *alae*, fourteen and perhaps all sixteen|| of the cohorts, the single *cuneus*¶ and, we may now add, the single *numerus*, can be

\* But cf. also the case of Greatchesters, considered in detail below, p. 216.

† The correct spelling of the corrupt Axeloduno, as Mr. Richmond points out (AA<sup>4</sup> XII, p. 335).

‡ As Mr. L. P. Wenham points out in Art. III (p. 25 above), this is probably the same regiment as *coh. I Aelia Hispanorum*, which was at Netherby in the third century; cf. p. 223 below. § Cf. p. 218 below.

|| Assuming, as it seems justifiable to do, that 34 *coh. I Cornoviorum* is an Old Army unit (so, most recently, Nesselhauf, *Die spätromische Verwaltung*, p. 47), and that 36 *coh. I Frixagorum* is merely a mis-spelling of *Frisiavonum*.

¶ Cf. Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* VI, p. 117.

shown to have existed in the second century or even earlier; and the latest unit of all, 55 *ala I Herculea*, is shown by its title to have been raised by Maximian, so that it might just have come into existence before the close of the third century, while it must in any case have been formed before A.D. 305. When we turn to the other group of units, the picture is a very different one: the Early Empire is represented solely by the sixth legion (18); apart from that, there are regiments of two classes, the first described merely as *equites* (19 *Dalmatae*, 20 *Crispiani*, 21 *Catafractarii*) and the second as *numeri* (22 *Barcariorum*, 23 *Nerviorum Dictensium*, 24 *Vigilum*, 25 *Exploratorum*, 26 *Directorum*, 27 *Defensorum*, 28 *Solensium*, 29 *Pacensium*, 30 *Longovicanorum* and 31 *Supervenientium Petueriensium*). It has sometimes been assumed that these two groups, *equites* and *numeri*, represent a very much later period than that from which the list *per lineam Valli* is a survival; and in his recent book on Roman Britain,\* Professor Collingwood goes so far as to suggest that the list in which they occur gives us a picture of the military organisation of the north of Britain after the abandonment of Hadrian's Wall and the Cumberland coast, in the closing years of the fourth century. That suggestion is presumably based on an equation of Notitia stations with modern place-names, which it will be convenient for me to set forth, with the help of Mr. Richmond's recent study, before proceeding further:†

19 Praesidium	=	?
20 Danum	=	Doncaster
21 Morbium‡	=	Binchester
22 Arbeia	=	South Shields
23 Dictae	=	(Wearmouth?)

\* *Oxford History of England*, I, 2nd ed. (1937), p. 289.

† Cf. AA<sup>4</sup> XII, pp. 334-342; doubtful equations are indicated by brackets and question-marks.

‡ Recognised by Seeck as an explicable copyist's error for *Vinovium* (Polaschek in RE XVII, col. 1104).



24	Concangium	=	Chester-le-Street
25	Lavatrae	=	Bowes
26	Verterae	=	Brough-under-Stainmore
27	Braboniacum	=	Kirkby Thore
28	Maglonaë	=	(Greta Bridge?)
29	Magae	=	(Piercebridge?)
30	Longovicium	=	Lanchester
31	Derventio*	=	Malton

We need not concern ourselves with the order in which these posts are set forth, beyond noting that, as Mr. Richmond has shown to have occurred in the compilation of the Ravenna List, the names have been taken from a road-map, so that we have a number of instances of forts following each other in their correct sequence on consecutive lengths of one road or another. What is more to our present purpose is, that to north and north-west the furthest points occupied are South Shields, Chester-le-Street, Lanchester, Binchester, Bowes, Brough-under-Stainmore and Kirkby Thore; and when we note the absence of units of the Old Army, the unusual names of some of the units in the present list, and the fact that one of them is a *numerus exploratorum*—one of a type which it is customary to find on or even across a Roman frontier, rather than many miles within it—it might seem that there is ample justification for accepting Professor Collingwood's suggestion. All the same, it cannot be allowed to stand, in view of the titles of the regiments concerned.

First of all, it should be observed that some, at least, of the units in this section can be shown to have existed before the close of the third century. The *equites Dalmatae* must be one regiment of the large series raised by Aurelian, A.D. 270-275†; the *equites Catafractarii*, too, seem to

\* There were several places, named after rivers, so called; this one is shown by its garrison to belong to the Parisian Derventio, rather than to Papcastle or (as might have been suggested) Ebchester.

† Cf. Ritterling, *Zum römischen Heerwesen des ausgehenden dritten Jahrhunderts* in the Hirschfeld Festschrift (1903), pp. 345-349.

belong to a third-century series\*; the *numerus Barbariorum* is attested by an inscription, assignable to that century, from Lancaster†; the *numerus Nerviorum* may well represent a cohort of the Early Empire in a new guise‡; and the *numerus Exploratorum* might very well be the same as one of the units attested by third-century inscriptions from High Rochester and Risingham,§ and to be inferred from the Roman name of Netherby—*castra Exploratorum*. But however that may be, there is an even more striking feature common to the list which we have been discussing and to that which sets forth the units controlled by the Count of the Saxon Shore (Occ. XXVIII): I mean the very appearance of regiments described as *numeri*.

The general practice in the Notitia and on late inscriptions|| is to use the term *numerus* in its original military sense, meaning any regiment, whatever its particular type. Thus, in Occ. VII we get the heading: *qui numeri ex praedictis per infrascriptas provincias habeantur*—“which of the aforementioned units are stationed in the following provinces”; and there follows a list which comprises regiments variously described, in Occ. V and VI, as *legiones palatinae*, *auxilia palatina*, *legiones comitatenses* or *pseudocomitatenses*, *vexillationes palatinae* or

\* I shall be dealing with this point elsewhere.

† C 285, cf. EE VII 942.

‡ The appearance of Batavi, Mattiaci, Menapii, Nervii and Tungri among the regiments of the field-army seems best explained by assuming that they are old cohorts re-styled: the *equites Batavi* who appear as *vexillationes palatinae* in Or. VI 30 and Occ. VI 47, 51 = VII 167, 169 might represent either the old *ala I Batavorum milliaria*, or the mounted contingents from *cohortes milliariae equitatae*. The question deserves fuller discussion than can be accorded to it here.

§ Cf. Northumb. Co. Hist. XV (forthcoming).

|| Cf. ILS 2791 f. and 9205 f., which show Lanciararii (*legio palatina*, *comitatensis* or *pseudocomitatensis*), Ursarienses (*legio comitatensis*), *equites Brachiati* (*vexillatio palatina*), *equites VIII Dalmatae* and *Catafractarii* (*vexillationes comitatenses*), *Heruli seniores*, *Batavi seniores*, *Mattiaci seniores*, *I Theodosiani* and *I Sagittarii* (*auxilia palatina*) all described as *numeri*, regardless of their official descriptions—here added from the Notitia list. The point did not, of course, escape Mommsen: *Ges. Schr.* VI, p. 104, footnote 3.

*vexillationes comitatenses*—the last two categories including formations whose particular style is in three cases *comites*, in one *cuneus equitum*, and in the rest plain *equites*. These cavalry regiments retain their particular designations in Occ. VII, but in that list all the infantry units appear without such titles. In the subsequent chapters, which detail the garrisons of individual frontier-provinces, we meet with Old Army *legiones*, *alae* and *cohortes*; there are also units of a newer type, described as *cunei*, *equites* or *auxilia*; but *numeri*, attested by a host of inscriptions of the second and third centuries, are confined with one exception (a *numerus Barcariorum* at Bregenz on the Lake of Constance, Occ. XXX 32) to Britain, where four of them are under the Count of the Saxon Shore (Occ. XXVIII 13, 15, 20 and 21) and eleven, as we have seen, are in the Duke's command (Occ. XL 22-31 and 47). The significance of that fact does not seem to have received sufficient emphasis:\* it means that among the regiments other than those *per lineam Valli* there are many with just such an antiquarian flavour—to a student of late fourth-century conditions—as the *alae* and cohorts in that section.

It seems too great a strain upon our credence to suppose that fifteen old-style *numeri* could have survived the troubles of A.D. 367, not to mention the adventure of Magnus Maximus half a generation later, to appear in a list accurately reflecting the disposition of troops in Britain at the close of the fourth century. On the contrary, it seems necessary to assume that the list of units under the Duke in its entirety, and the series on the Saxon Shore as well, must represent the state of things prior to the great disaster of A.D. 367.

At the same time, the latter list cannot well be earlier than *circa* A.D. 300. Granted that Mr. Bushe-Fox's

\* It is noted by Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 28, who however fails to draw the obvious conclusion from it, contenting himself with leaving open the question of what really happened in Britain.

excavations at Richborough have established the probability that that fort was built by Carausius,\* it is difficult to suppose that Richborough and the other forts of the Saxon Shore could have been left with garrisons unchanged when Constantius Chlorus recovered Britain for the Central Government in A.D. 297; and indeed it seems possible that Pevensey may not have been built until shortly before A.D. 340.† As for the Duke's command, it includes at least one unit which is not likely to have reached Britain before the expedition of Constantius Chlorus, namely *ala I Herculea* (Occ. XL 55) which, as we have seen, owes its title to Maximian.

As far as the lower limit is concerned, it may be added that there is not a single unit in Occ. XXVIII and XL which can be shown to have been raised after A.D. 367; and it seems justifiable, therefore, on all counts to suppose that the two lists represent the state of affairs in the first half of the fourth century—with the proviso that, in any case, both are incomplete: it has already been pointed out that the outlying forts of Hadrian's Wall have been struck off, and that Bowness, Beckfoot and Maryport are missing; in addition, various forts on the western side of Britain (for example, Cardiff) do not appear, and we know of more Saxon Shore forts than those specified in Occ. XXVIII.

The question arises whether it is possible to arrive at a still closer dating, apart from the *terminus post quem* which the evidence from Pevensey seems to indicate; and here I have a suggestion to put forward, even though the evidence is not decisive. To me it seems noteworthy that the Old Army units are concentrated on the line of the Wall and the coastal chain which continues the same frontier-system, while the forts guarding the lines of communication to the Wall are assigned—with the single

\* H.M. Office of Works, *Official Guide* (1936, pp. 7, 21).

† JRS XXII, p. 67.

except of York, where the sixth legion remains—to units of an inferior class (although, as we have seen, it is not necessary to suppose that they were necessarily newly-raised formations); and I suggest that this distribution of units is a result of the army reforms of Constantine. It is well known that a cardinal feature of those reforms was the transfer of units from the frontier commands to the mobile field-armies; and if that transfer, in so far as it related to Britain, had been uniform, we should have expected to find a proportion of newer formations on the line of the Wall, rather than the solid series of *alae* and cohorts which the Notitia list shows. It looks, therefore, as if, instead of a regular sifting of units, the place of such *alae* and cohorts as were taken from the frontier was filled by transferring to their stations such other Old Army regiments as were left in Britain;\* so that, instead of an equal admixture of units of different types, the newer formations were distributed only to the south of the frontier proper.

Even if that was the case, it must be admitted that the proportion of Old Army units left on the Wall, in stations which they had occupied in the third century, is surprisingly high; but, as Cheesman has pointed out,† there are parallels to such a survival on one or two other frontiers.

It remains for me to add some general observations on the credibility of the Notitia Dignitatum. During the last year or two, there has been a welcome reaction from the standpoint reached by Bury,‡ Ernst Stein§ and others, who saw in it a coherent official document, setting forth the state of affairs in the Roman Empire about the year 430. Two recent studies deserve particular mention: the first is Dr. Erich Polaschek's comprehensive article in

\* For example, *coh. II Tungrorum*, *coh. I Asturum*, and perhaps *coh. I Cornoviorum*; cf. below, pp. 212, 216, 218.

† *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (1914), pp. 141-142.

‡ JRS X, pp. 131-154.

§ Röm.-Germ. Kommission, *XVIII Bericht* (1929), pp. 92-100.

RE XVII, cols. 1077-1116, published in 1936, and the second a study by Dr. Nesselhauf of the evidence relating to Gaul and the Rhineland,\* which appeared early this year. Dr. Polaschek analyses and refutes the arguments of Bury and Stein, and concludes that the Notitia may be regarded as an official document of *circa* A.D. 395, which has been modified by various additional notes being inserted (the latest addition being assignable to the period A.D. 433-437) by some official, for his own convenience.† Dr. Nesselhauf comes to a similar conclusion, though not always by the same route; and he is able to elaborate convincingly the evidence for what we may call a series of stratified deposits in the text, showing that the arrangement of regiments province by province is the earliest; Occ. VII gives a later stage, in which some of the units concerned have been transferred to the field-army from provincial commands whose defences had been overwhelmed; and Occ. V gives a still later list of field-army regiments, from which some of those included in VII have dropped out, while others have undergone a change of status. When we add to that striking evidence of stratification, the remarkable differences in date between the lists of frontier armies in different provinces, it seems questionable whether we should allow the Notitia to retain the description of an official document—for the information which it presents is nothing better than a patchwork, whose different pieces are joined together without any regard for their wide variation in accuracy at the time when the document assumed its present form. It seems difficult indeed to see what purpose any official could have had in compiling a list of this order, most of whose military details were already out of date, some sections by half a century or more.

The solution of the problem, here put forward, may

\* *Die spätromische Verwaltung* cit.

† RE XVII cit., esp. cols. 1081, 1097.

seem drastic; but at least it has the merit of simplicity. I suggest that the Notitia Dignitatum is not an official document at all. By that, I do not mean to deny that it incorporates official information—it is full of such information, of first-rate importance for the study of later Roman history, including much of a comprehensive list made *circa* A.D. 395; but the question which must be answered is, how such a farrago of documents of different dates came to be united so clumsily in the form which it assumes. In this connection, I revert to a point which I threw out tentatively seven years ago,\* namely the fact that the Speyer manuscript (on which our knowledge of the Notitia ultimately depends) contained, as well as a number of other works, the tract known as the *Anonymus de Rebus Bellicis*. That is a very curious little work; it takes the form of a memorandum submitted by a student of military matters to joint emperors, who have been identified variously with Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius,† or with Valentinian and Valens.‡ Nobody has ever claimed this memorandum for an official document, though an ingenious editor§ has attempted to deny its antiquity, because he could find no evidence for any of the author's recommendations having been put into effect by any Roman emperor, or for the inventions proposed by the Anonymus having been practicable in ancient times. But such cavalier treatment of the worthy Anonymus is quite unjustifiable. We have the best possible evidence for the interest which was taken among enlightened Romans, in that late period, in military matters, namely the *Epitoma Rei Militaris* whose author, Flavius Vegetius Renatus, was a *vir illustris* and a *comes*.

Just as Vegetius thought it proper to submit to his

\* CW<sup>2</sup> XXXII, p. 139.

† Cf. R. Schneider, *Anonymi de rebus bellicis: Text und Erläuterungen* (1908), p. 25.

‡ Otto Seeck in RE I, col. 2325.

§ R. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-40.

Emperor a precis on the training of recruits (Book I) and was then requested to add the further survey which is given in the following books (II-IV), so our Anonymus, whatever his name or walk in life,\* thought it proper to compile his memorandum; his ingenious ideas for reducing the expense or for increasing the efficiency of the Roman army may not have commended themselves to Authority (if the memorandum was ever submitted); but neither does Vegetius seem to have met with any great success. The object of the latter's study was to bring back into favour the systematic training and firm discipline which had given Rome her Empire; but there is no evidence that the Emperor concerned, even though he was sufficiently interested in Book I to ask for more, did anything to apply the principles which Vegetius had charged himself to set forth. If we take note of the difference in stature between Vegetius and the Anonymus—one a student whose seriousness is self-evident, the other a somewhat superficial inventor—we shall nevertheless recognise the kinship which their interest in military matters demonstrates.

The question arises whether it is possible to provide a link between the Anonymus and the *Notitia Dignitatum*. I do not think that any direct connection is likely, though the fact that both works occur in the Speyer manuscript, and that both are illustrated in a strikingly similar way, may be worth noting.† What at least seems fair to emphasise is, that the compilation of the *Notitia*, so as to give a fairly complete picture of the organisation, and in particular the military organisation, of the Roman

\* It may be noted that Seeck considered, on what seems sufficient evidence, that the Anonymus lived somewhere in the eastern half of the Empire (RE I, cit.).

† For the illustrations, cf. the appendix below, p. 226. It has been mentioned, in the previous footnote, that the Anonymus lived in the eastern half of the Empire; it seems worth noting that Dr. Polaschek's detailed study in RE XVII, cit., demonstrates that the *Notitia*, too, was composed in that part of the Roman world. But the Anonymus, to judge by his tract, was not in such close touch with public affairs as the compiler of the *Notitia*.



Empire early in the fifth century, while its very irregularities, contradictions and omissions, deprive it of the claim to be an official document, is consistent with it having been composed for his own edification by a man such as Vegetius or the Anonymus.

The origin of the Notitia Dignitatum, I suggest, is to be sought not in the official activities of a public department, but in the private enterprise of an amateur of military matters (whatever his name may have been) who had obtained possession of official documents of various kinds; some of them were up to date in the thirties of the fifth century, when he was at work; others were already obsolete, and for some districts or subjects he was not able to secure documents of any kind. Only such an explanation, I think, will get over the difficulties presented by the unevennesses and irregularities with which it abounds.

It must be admitted that the above view of the Notitia Dignitatum is one which does not seem to have occurred to any of the great scholars who have devoted their energies to its study; yet it seems to me the only explanation which will allow us to suppose that there were rational men in the Roman Record Offices. I only wish that I had had leisure to work out my argument in greater detail; but perhaps the present note may lead to a better appreciation of the dating-value of Occ. XXVIII and XL, and I hope that it may induce some English students to turn to the brilliant studies by Dr. Polaschek and Dr. Nesselhauf to which reference has been made.

(3) *The garrison of Hadrian's Wall*.\* In the course of the preceding section, it has been necessary to make frequent reference to the evidence for the movement of

\* The following additional abbreviations are employed in this section: Dip. = military diploma, the numbers following being those of CIL XVI, in which the whole series is collected; NCH = *Northumberland County History*; Rav. = Geographus Ravennas, ed. Parthey & Pinder (1860); Stein = Ernst Stein, *Die Reichsbeamten und Truppenkörper usw* (1932).

regiments from fort to fort in the north of Britain; I think it will be an advantage if I add a detailed study of such movements, in so far as they affected the forts of Hadrian's Wall, its flanking stations, and the outposts to the north of it. First I give a list of the forts in topographical order, noting under each the evidence relating to the regiments attested there; then, for clarity's sake, I append a table of regiments in alphabetical order, showing the different forts at which they were stationed.

*A. Hadrian's Wall.\**

1. WALLSEND = Segeduno (Occ. XL 33), Serduno (Rav., p. 432, 12).

⟨I⟩. *coh. II Nerviorum*: EE IX 1159 (undated; the style of the inscription is suitable for this period. In II, the cohort was at Whitley Castle: C 310 + EE IX p. 566—assignable to A.D. 213, cf. AA<sup>4</sup> XI, p. 129. C 701, usually attributed to Chesterholm and dated to the second century, seems, on consideration, to have no bearing on its place of garrison, while the vexillation at Carrawburgh, EE III 103, certainly came from elsewhere; this, or another of the *coh. Nerviorum*, sent a vexillation to Risingham at some period—C 1349, cf. NCH XV, p. 131. *Other records of the cohort*: Dip. 43, 69, 70, 93; lead seals at Brough under Stainmore, CW<sup>2</sup> XXXVI, p. 118.)

⟨II⟩. *coh. IIII Lingonum*: C 493, EE IX 1157 and 1158 (the absence of *praenomina* accords with a third-century date: the prefect Ael. Rufus in C 493 may perhaps be identified with Aelius Rufus Ianuarius, *v(ir) e(gregius)*, a *militis*, of Lambaesis, CIL VIII 2757, cf. *Prosop. imp. Rom.*<sup>2</sup> I, A 244; the centurion Iul. Honoratus, attested as interim commandant of the cohort in EE IX 1157, might be the same as the man who appears as *proc. Aug. ex p. p.* on an inscription of A.D. 213 from Gallia Narbonensis,

\* In this list I follow the example of Occ. XL and include Chesterholm, Carvoran, Castlesteads and Petrianae, though they were not structurally in contact with the Wall; and I omit Drumburgh, which I do not now believe to have been a fort at all (cf. p. 197 above). The numerals I, II and III refer to the first three Wall-periods (c. A.D. 122-196, c. A.D. 205-297 and c. A.D. 300-367—cf. CW<sup>2</sup> XXX, pp. 200-201); subdivisions of those periods are indicated by a, b and c if there is reason to place one or another regiment first. If there is no direct evidence for dating, the numerals are given within angular brackets thus ⟨ ⟩, and a note is added to justify the attribution to the period in question. For inscriptions from Benwell, High Rochester and Risingham, reference is usually confined to the ultimate publication in NCH.

CIL XII 5430. The whereabouts of this cohort in the second century are not known, though it was already in Britain: Dip. 48, 69, 93. *Other record*: ILS 1092, a commander in the time of Hadrian, *circa* A.D. 130).

III. *coh. IIII Lingonum*: Occ. XL 33.\*

2. NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE = Ponte Aeli(o) (Occ. XL 34).

(I). *coh. I Thracum*: C 501 (a building-record best assignable to the time of Hadrian, though it does not necessarily prove that the cohort formed the garrison of the fort. In the first century it had been at Wroxeter, C 158 + EE VII 864 + EE IX p. 534—my own examination of the stone confirms that the numeral I must be restored; in II it was at Bowes, C 273 and JRS XVIII, p. 212, under Severus, with C 274, and EE VII 941 + EE IX, p. 564, where it replaced *coh. IIII Breucorum*.† *Other records*: Dip. 69; CIL XIV 3625 "in Britann.")

II. There is no evidence for the garrison at this period.

III. *coh. I Cornoviorum*: Occ. XL 34. (It has been noted already that this regiment must surely have been raised in the Early Empire, though there is no other evidence for its history.)

3. BENWELL = Conderco (Occ. XL 35), Condecor (Rav. p. 432, 13).

I a. *An ala quingenaria* (as is proved by the original lay-out of the barrack-accommodation, as yet unpublished).

(I b). *coh. I Vangionum milliaria*: EE IX 1164 + C 515, and an unpublished inscription, found in 1938 (the style of the latter points unmistakeably to the second century, to which there are reasons to assign the former as well. In II the cohort was in garrison at Risingham: C 1003, of A.D. 205-207, and several other inscriptions, now collected in NCH XV, pp. 130-139; its earlier stations are not known, though it was in Upper Germany in A.D. 50, Stein p. 221, and in Britain at least from A.D. 103; Dip. 48, 69, 70 and perhaps 82. *Other evidence*: tombstones from Colchester, EE VII 845, and Chesters, C 588.)

[I c. I exclude C 504, mentioning a *praefectus equitum* here under Ulpius Marcellus, since it seems likely that this is not the governor attested under Commodus, Cassius Dio LXXII 8, 2, but a later governor, perhaps under Macrinus—cf. AA<sup>4</sup> XVI, p. 244.]

II. *ala I Asturum*: NCH XIII, pp. 557 f. including inscriptions of c. A.D. 205 and A.D. 238. (The *ala* was probably stationed at

\* In view of the discussion in section 2 above, it seems justifiable to assign all the Notitia entries to period III.

† Cf. JRS XXII, p. 56.

South Shields at one period in the second century: EE VII 1002.

*Other evidence:* Dip. 43, 69, 70, 82 and 93; ILS 2712.)

III. *ala I Asturum*: Occ. XL 35.

4. RUDCHESTER = Vindobala (Occ. XL 36).

I. An *ala quingenaria* (to judge by the close similarity of its plan to that of Benwell).

II. A *cohors quingenaria* (C 541 and 542, both mentioning *praefecti*—not *praefecti equitum*—seem assignable to this period, though neither man can be identified elsewhere).

III. *coh. I "Frixagorum,"* probably = *I Frisiavonum*: Occ. XL 36. (The latter unit has left inscriptions at Manchester, C 213, 214 and probably 215, and at Melandra Castle in Derbyshire, C 178, and it appears in Dip. 51, 69 and 70).

5. HALTONCHESTERS = Hunno (Occ. XL 37), Onno (Rav., p. 432, 15).

I. An *ala quingenaria* (cf. the evidence for the original lay-out, AA<sup>4</sup> XIV, p. 164).

(II). *ala (I Pannoniorum) Sabiniana*: C 571 (compatible with an early third-century date. In I, the *ala* seems to have been stationed for a time at South Shields: EE III 202, a tile and EE IV 706, a lead seal; the earliest record of its presence in Britain is Dip. 69 of A.D. 122. *Other evidence:* the name of this *ala* or *I Pannoniorum Tampiana* must be restored in Dip. 93; EE VIII Sp. 128 shows that it was in Spain in the first century, and CIL VI 3249 gives an *eques singulqris Aug.* in Rome, *adlectus ex [ala Sab]inia[na]*—the inscription is of the third century, when the *ala Longiniana*, the only other unit which might have filled the gaps, no longer existed; an unpublished lead seal comes from Corbridge).

III. *ala Sabiniana*: Occ. XL 37.

6. CHESTERS = Cilurno (Occ. XL 38), Celunno (Rav., p. 432, 16).

I a. An *ala quingenaria* (since the fort is of the same type as Benwell, Rudchester, and Haltonchesters).

(I b). As I point out in AA<sup>4</sup> XVI, p. 238, two building-inscriptions of the sixth legion, C 584 and EE VII, 1019 may indicate that a *cohors milliaria* (or a legionary detachment ?) took the place of an *ala* at Chesters under Antoninus Pius.

I ? *ala Augusta (Gallorum Proculeiana)\**: EE VII 1152.3 (a lead seal which need not, however, indicate that the regiment was stationed at Chesters, or belong to this period. The *ala* was included in the list of regiments in Dip. 93 of A.D. 146, found at

\* Cf. CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI, p. 146.

Chesters, but it is not known to which of the units included in that document the recipient had belonged, and it cannot be used as evidence one way or another. By A.D. 185, the *ala Augusta* was at Old Carlisle, C 185, where it is also attested on a number of third-century inscriptions, the latest being of Valerianus and Gallienus, JRS XII, p. 278, on EE IX 1224. *Other evidence*: Dip. 69, 82 and 88.)

II. *ala II Asturum*: cf. AA<sup>4</sup> XVI, pp. 237 f., where the evidence for the history of the *ala* is collected. (In the second century, it had been at Ribchester: C 221 + EE IX, p. 559. I assign to this period, and not to the time of Commodus, the aqueduct inscription EE IX 1171, mentioning a governor Ulpian Marcellus.)

III. *ala II Asturum*: Occ. XL 38.\*

7. CARRAWBURGH = Procolitia (Occ. XL 39), Brocoliti (Rav., p. 432, 17).

(I a). *coh. I Aquitanorum*: C 620a (by its style assignable to the time of Hadrian, though it is not the governor Platorius Nepos but a cohort-prefect — ius Nepos whose name appears on it. The cohort had been moved south to Brough in Derbyshire by *circa* A.D. 158: EE IX 1108, cf. also C 176, from Haddon Hall; ILS 7173, where it seems best to read *I Aquet.* rather than *Aq. vet.*, † shows that it was still in existence in the third century, and still in Britain. *Other evidence*: Dip. 69, 70, 88; *Inscr. Graec. ad res Rom. pert.* III 396.)

(I b). *coh. I (Ulpia Traiana) Cugernorum*: EE III 186 (not earlier than the closing years of the century, since the dedicator is Aur. Campester; he seems to describe the local goddess Coventina as the goddess of the cohort, which in that case was presumably in garrison there. In the early years of Pius it had been in Scotland: C 1085, really a milestone, giving the distance from Trimontium = Newstead, where, perhaps, it was stationed. *Other evidence*: Dip. 48, 69, 70; ILS 8866).

II. *coh. I Batavorum*: C 621, A.D. 237, cf. EE III 185 = ILS 4725, C 617 = ILS 2549, EE III 106 and 107. (The cohort was presumably one of the four in Agricola's force at Mons Graupius; for its whereabouts in the second century cf. below, under Carvoran and Castlesteads. *Other evidence*: Dip. 69, 70 and 82; the lead seals from Brough under Stainmore, CW<sup>a</sup> XXXVI, pp. 120-121, refer either to this cohort or to *coh. I Baetasiarum*.)

\* c 588, the tombstone of the daughter of a *trib. coh. I Vangionum*, need not indicate that that cohort was ever stationed at Chesters.

† Cf. JRS. XXII, p. 57 for the difficulties involved in the latter interpretation of the text.

III. *coh. I Batavorum*: Occ. XL 39.

8. HOUSESTEADS = Borcovicio (Occ. XL 40), Velurton (Rav., p. 432, 18).

I a. A *cohors milliaria* (as is shown by the accommodation provided).

⟨I b⟩. A detachment of *leg. II Augusta*? : EE IX 1177 (not dated, but in the period from Hadrian to Severus there is evidence for much of the legion being absent from Caerleon, and it seems reasonable to suppose that detachments of it were placed in auxiliary forts in the north while Scotland was occupied: in that case, at Housesteads between A.D. 140 and 196).

⟨II⟩. *coh. I Tungrorum milliaria*: C 638 etc. (no dated inscriptions, but all are assignable with probability to the third century; for the regiment's earlier stations, cf. below under Birdoswald).

II. *cuneus Frisiorum*: EE VII 1041, under Severus Alexander, and cf. 1040.

⟨II⟩. *n(umerus) Hnaudifridi*: JRS XI, p. 237. (Not dated, but assignable to the same period.)

III. *coh. I Tungrorum*: Occ XL 40.

9. CHESTERHOLM = Vindolana (Occ. XL 41), Vindolande (Rav., p. 431, 11).\*

I a. Left unoccupied from *circa* A.D. 122-161 (cf. AA<sup>4</sup> VIII, p. 210).

⟨I b⟩. *coh. III Nerviorum*? : C 706 (the reading is not certain; the cohort is stationed *Alione* in Occ. XL 53, and appears in Dip. 69, 70, 82 and perhaps 88; it has left a lead seal at Newstead, CW<sup>2</sup> XXXVI, p. 125, correcting EE IX 1296e, but is not attested otherwise: this seems the only period available for its presence here. C 701, as has been noted above, p. 211, seems best dissociated from this site.)

II. *coh. IIII Gallorum*: several inscriptions, ranging from A.D. 213, JRS XXIV, p. 218, perhaps to the time of Probus, C 719. (Before the time of Hadrian, the cohort was at Templebrough near Rotherham: May, *Templebrough* (1922), pp. 127, 129 and cf. EE IV 697; its inscriptions at Castlesteads, q.v., seem best assigned to the time of Hadrian, while the fine building-inscription at Risingham, C 1001, should belong to the time of Lollius Urbicus† rather than twenty years later, as I once supposed.‡ From there it was transferred to Castlehill on the Antonine Wall: C 1129.

\* Cf. *vicani Vindolandenses*, Haverfield, *Roman Britain* in 1914, p. 31.

† Compare the style of the sculptured slabs from Corbridge and from the Antonine Wall, comparison with which does it no discredit.

‡ AA<sup>4</sup> VIII, p. 192.

*Other records:* Dip. 69, 93; the tombstone of a soldier at High Rochester, C 1058 with JRS XVII, p. 218; a dedication by a prefect, find-spot unrecorded—now at the Black Gate Museum in Newcastle, AA<sup>4</sup> II, p. 60, no. 22.)

III. *coh. IIII Gallorum:* Occ. XL 41.

10 GREATCHESTERS = Aesica (Occ. XL 42), Esica (Rav., p. 432, 19).

(1 a). *coh. VI Nerviorum\**: C 726 (undated, but very close in style to C 1092, to be mentioned presently: presumably under Hadrian. The cohort was moved to Rough Castle *circa* A.D. 140: EE IX 1241, cf. C 1092. Under Severus, it was at Bainbridge in Wensleydale, and Occ. XL 56 gives it stationed at *Virosidum*. *Other records:* Dip. 69, 70, 82, 88? and 93.)

I b. [*coh. V*] *I Raetorum*: C 731, with AA<sup>4</sup> XII, p. 199, A.D. 166-169. (Formerly in Raetia, Stein, p. 208; the only other evidence for its presence in Britain is provided by four lead seals from Brough, CW<sup>2</sup> xxxvi, p. 118. The prefects known from CIL III 5202 and XIII 5382 may have commanded it after it left Raetia.)

(1 c). [*coh. I*] *Pan(noniorum)*: C 692† not dated, but the *nomen* has been abbreviated to its first three letters, which suggests a date late in the second century at earliest; the inscription is the tombstone of a soldier, so that it need not prove that the regiment was stationed at Greatchesters. Its only other record is an Italian inscription, ILS 2732, "in Brittania.")

II. *coh. II Asturum*: C 732, dated A.D. 225, and a tile, C 1228; ILS 2762, of the third century, assigns it to "prov. Britt. infer." (Up to the close of the Flavian period, it was in Lower Germany: cf. Stein p. 165. It was in Britain by A.D. 105, Dip. 51, and in this province is only attested elsewhere at Llanio in Wales, EE IX 1025 and 1026. *Other evidence:* Dip. 69 and 70; ILS 1885, 2711, 2740; CIL V 539, XI 1437; in the Notitia, Or. XXVIII 36 shows a cohort of the same name, not otherwise attested, in Egypt, and in view of the following paragraph it seems conceivable that our regiment may have been transferred from Britain in a late period.)

(II). *Raeti gaesati*: EE IX 1191. (Undated, but perhaps referable to this period, as at Risingham; cf. p. 223 below).

III. *coh. I Asturum*: Occ. XL 42. (It is usual to suppose that the numeral *I* is a copyist's mistake for *II*, but that explanation is unnecessary: *coh. I Asturum* is shown by ILS 2767, of A.D. 260,

\* In JRS XXII, p. 57, I gave the numeral as VII (cf. AA<sup>4</sup> II, p. 70, no. 54), but autopsy reveals that the second upright stroke is modern.

† Cf. Bang, *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst* (1906), p. 46.

to have been in Britain a few years before that date.\* It had previously been in Upper Germany, appearing in all the diplomas, from A.D. 74 to 134, and has left records of its presence on the Outer Limes, established by Antoninus Pius: cf. Stein, pp. 164-165; so that it was probably brought to Britain by Severus.)

II. CARVORAN = Magnis (Occ. XL 43; Rav., p. 431, 9).

I a. *coh. I Hamiorum*: C 748, A.D. 136-138; C 758, 773, 774, circa A.D. 161. (The cohort was later moved to Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall, where it must have replaced *coh. I Baetasiurum*, transferred southwards to Maryport: C 1110 and EE IX 1242, undated, but consistent with a date in the latter part of the second century. *Other records*: Dip 69, 70 and 82; C 759 at Carvoran, dedicated by a cohort-commander to the Syrian Goddess, patron deity of this regiment,† must be assigned to *coh. I Hamiorum*, and therefore dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius at latest, rather than to the period of Severus, to which it is commonly assigned.)

⟨I b⟩. We must suppose that some other unit took the place of the Hamii when they were moved to Bar Hill; there is no evidence for its name.

I? *coh. I Batavorum*: C 777 and EE VII 1065. (These are simple building-records, which may either record building of the fort or of the Wall—their exact find-spot is not recorded. Unless the cohort was at Carvoran from circa A.D. 122-136, giving place to *coh. I Hamiorum* before the general rearrangement of garrisons for which Lollius Urbicus was responsible, we must conclude (a) that these records are earlier than the time of Hadrian, (b) that they relate to the Wall and not the fort, or (c) that the cohort built but never occupied the fort. For its other records, cf. Carrawburgh above and Castlesteads below.)

⟨II⟩. *coh. II Delmatarum*: C 760 (undated, but suitable in style for this period. The unit is also attested in Dip. 51, 69 and 82, the latter issued to a former private in the regiment, who retired to Wroxeter.)

III. *coh. II Delmatarum*: Occ. XL 43.

\* On that inscription it is described as "pr(ovincia) Brittaniae," and not "pr. Brit. inferioris": it might seem possible that it was then stationed in the Upper province, whose consular governor took precedence of the praetorian governor of Lower Britain, and might on occasions be described as governor of Britain (cf. the affair of the unnamed governor under Probus, Zosimus I 66). But it should be noted that Claudius Paulinus is described as *leg. Aug. pr. pr. in Brit.* on the inscription from Vieux, CIL XIII 3162, even though it adds the definition *ad legionem sextam* which proves that he was praetorian governor of Lower Britain.

† Cf. Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (1895), p. 52.



12. BIRDOSWALD: = Amboglanna (Occ. XL 44), Gabaglanda (Rav., p. 431, 10), Camboglans (Rudge Cup).

(I a). *coh. I Tungrorum*: EE IX 1279. (This is a tile found at Hare Hill, to the west of Birdoswald, to which fort it seems necessary to assign it: (a) that is the nearest fort of sufficient size to take a *cohors milliaria*, and (b) period I was the only occasion when the barracks at Birdoswald were roofed with tiles. The cohort had been with Agricola at Mons Graupius, *Agric.* 36; under Pius, it was the first garrison of Castlecary on the Antonine Wall, C 1099, moving from there to Cramond, C 1084; in II and III, as we have seen, it was at Housesteads. *Other records*: Dip. 48, 69, 70 and perhaps 82.)

(I b). Some other unit, on the transfer of *coh. I Tungrorum* to Castlecary *circa* A.D. 140; perhaps a legionary detachment, as at Housesteads?

II. *coh. I Aelia Dacorum*: dated inscriptions ranging from *circa* A.D. 205, CW<sup>2</sup> xxx, p. 199 = JRS XIX, p. 214, to the time of Tetricus, C 823—Birdoswald has produced altogether some thirty-three inscriptions of this cohort. (It took part in the construction of the Vallum near Denton under Hadrian, AA<sup>4</sup> XIV, p. 235 = JRS XXVII, p. 248; it appears in I, without the title *Aelia*, not far away from here, at Bewcastle, C 957. *Other record*: Dip. 93.)

*n(umerus) Ac*—: CW<sup>2</sup> xxx, p. 199 = JRS XIX, p. 214.

III. *coh. I Aelia Dacorum*: Occ. XL 44.

13. CASTLESTEADS = Axeloduno (Occ. XL 49), Uxelludamo (Rav., p. 433, 1), Uxelodum (Rudge Cup).

(I a). *coh. IIII Gallorum*: C 877 + JRS XVI, p. 240, and 878. (The inscriptions are undated, but in view of the other evidence for the cohort's history, summarised under Chesterholm above, the only period available is that of Hadrian.)

(I b). *coh. I Ba[tavorum]*: C 886 = ILS 4724b + EE IX, p. 604. (The second century is the only time available—cf. under Carrawburgh and Carvoran above—and since *coh. IIII Gallorum* requires I a, I b must be assigned to this regiment if, as seems to be the case, the inscription indicates its presence at Castlesteads in garrison, and not merely in passage.)

II. *coh. II Tungrorum*: C 882, A.D. 241, cf. 879, 880, perhaps 888, and 894. (The cohort was at Birrens in I b: cf. below, p. 224, where its earlier history is also discussed.)

III. *coh. I (Aelia) Hispanorum*: Occ. XL 49.

14. STANWIX = Congavata (Occ. XL 48).

I. A *cohors equitata quingenaria*. (The space available for the fort shows that it was a cohort of this strength, rather than an *ala*, which was stationed here; the bronze discs, dateable to this period, CW<sup>2</sup> xxxi, p. 69 f., mention *turmae* and therefore show the cohort to have been *equitata*. It is uncertain whether the tombstone of an *eques*, C 919, belongs to this period or to II.)

II. Garrison unknown (but cf. *coh. II Lingonum* under Moresby, p. 221 below.)

III. *coh. II Lingonum*: Occ. XL 48.

15. (CARLISLE) = *Petrianæ* (Occ. XL 45).

I, II and III. *ala Petriana milliaria*: Occ. XL 45. (Before the time of Hadrian, the regiment was probably stationed at Corbridge, whence no doubt comes the tombstone EE VII 995 = ILS 2520 now at Hexham. It appears in Dip. 43, 69, 70 and 82; it was probably commanded under Augustus or Tiberius by T. Pomponius Petra: cf. CIL XI 969; in the Julio-Claudian period it was stationed in Upper Germany: cf. ILS 2491<sup>add.</sup> of A.D. 56 from Mainz, and ILS 9136 from Strasbourg. It played a part in the events of A.D. 69—Tacitus, Histories I, 70 and 4, 49—and was perhaps transferred to Britain under Petilius Cerialis a couple of years later, though Dip. 43 of A.D. 98 is its earliest British record. Reference has already been made to C 929 from Carlisle and C 323 from Old Penrith; lastly, ILS 2728 gives the career of a man who commanded the *ala* in the time of Trajan.)

16. BURGH-BY-SANDS = Aballaba (Occ. XL 47), Avalana (Rav., p. 433, 2), Aballava (Rudge Cup).\*

⟨I⟩. *ala (I) Tungrorum*: C 941. (The inscription is not dated, but may well be assigned to a date in the second century; the *ala* also left a record near Mumrills on the Antonine Wall, C 1090, and appears in Dip. 43, 51, 69 and 82. Even if it was not stationed at Burgh, the fort is of the same type as Benwell, Rudchester, Haltonchesters and Chesters, and therefore likely to have been intended for an *ala quingenaria*.)

⟨II⟩. *coh. I Nervana Germanorum*: C 937, cf. 936 (assignable to the third century: cf. CW<sup>2</sup> xxxvi, p. 65. In I a the cohort was probably at Birrens: cf. p. 223 below; C 953, which I do not now think it necessary to date later than the second half of the third century,† might show it to have been moved to Netherby, but it need represent nothing more than a visit by the cohort-commander to pay his tribute to the local god Cocidius.)

II a. *cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium*: C 415, 416, and cf. pp. 192-193 above.

\* Cf. *Aballavensium*, C 415 and 416.

† Cf. CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI, p. 139.

II b. *numerus Maurorum Aurelianosorum*: cf. pp. 191-194 above.  
 III. *numerus Maurorum Aurelianosorum*: Occ. XL 47.

17. BOWNESS-ON-SOLWAY = Maia (Rav., p. 433, 3),  
 Mais (Rav., p. 430, 19), Mais (Rudge Cup).

⟨I⟩. A *cohors milliaria (equitata)*?. (This is shown by the size  
 of the fort: CW<sup>2</sup> xxxi, p. 143, nearly seven acres.)

II. A *cohors milliaria*: C 949, 949a—A.D. 252. (Both are dedi-  
 cations by Sulpicius Secundianus *trib(unus) coh(ortis)*, thus  
 indicating the presence of a milliary cohort, properly commanded  
 by a tribune.)

III. No evidence. (Omitted from Occ. XL.)

B. *The Cumberland coastal forts*.\*

18. BECKFOOT.†

⟨I⟩. *coh. II Pannoniorum*: C 417 + EE VII 978. (The  
 dedication by a prefect whose name is missing, while of his *origo*  
 only *lia* remains; the fact of the *origo* having been mentioned  
 can hardly be used as dating-evidence: Prof. Collingwood,  
 judging by the style of the lettering, suggests the time of Hadrian  
 or Antoninus Pius.‡)

II and III. No evidence.

19. MARYPORT = Alauna (Rav., p. 430, 17).§

I a. *coh. I Hispanorum*: the many inscriptions include C 379,  
 380, 381 and 382, all mentioning the Maenius Agrippa who is  
 shown by ILS 2735 to have commanded the cohort in the early  
 years of Hadrian. (Cf. also under Stanwix, Netherby, and Mr.  
 Wenham's article above.)

I b. *coh. I Delmatarum*: the inscriptions include two, C 400 and  
 EE III 93 = ILS 3009, which are dated to the time of Pius.  
 (Later in the same period the regiment seems to have been moved  
 to High Rochester, C 1055.)

⟨I c⟩. *coh. I Baetasiorum*: five inscriptions, of which C 386, 390  
 and 394 mention the same prefect as the undated *cursus honorum*  
 from Solva in Noricum, ILS 2734. (As Mr. Wenham shows, p.  
 28 above, the closing years of the second century seem to be the  
 likeliest period for these inscriptions. Under Pius the cohort was  
 at Bar Hill: EE IX 1244, 1245; its whereabouts in II are not

\* Since they are connected by a similar chain of signal-stations to the mile-  
 castles and turrets of Hadrian's Wall proper, I continue these forts in the same  
 numerical series.

† Cf. Prof. Collingwood's survey of the evidence for this fort in CW<sup>2</sup> XXXVI,  
 pp. 76-84.

‡ CW<sup>2</sup> XXXVI, p. 83.

§ Cf. the full discussion of the evidence by Mr. L. P. Wenham, Art. III, pp.  
 19-30 above, to which reference may be made for most of the details.

known, but in III it was at Reculver on the Saxon Shore: Occ. XXVIII 18.)

II and III. No evidence.

20. MORESBY = Gabrosenti (Occ. XL 50); Gabrocentio (Rav., p. 430, 16).

I a. Garrison unknown; C 362 shows that the site was occupied in the time of Hadrian, in or after A.D. 128 (since Hadrian is described as *pater patriae*).

⟨1 b⟩. *coh. II Lingonum*: C 359, cf. EE VII 969 from Harrington, not far away. (Not dated, but C 359 in particular seems assignable to the second century; the cohort was previously at Ilkley, C 208 and cf. 209 — a dedication for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus by a cohort-prefect: if this was his cohort, its transfer to Moresby will have occurred after A.D. 161, and I place it in I b rather than I a for that reason. Its whereabouts in II are not known, but it may well have been at Stanwix, where it is attested in III: cf. p. 219 above. *Other evidence*: CIL XI 6123; lead seal at Brough under Stainmore, CW<sup>2</sup> xxxvi, p. 120: C II L.)

⟨II⟩. *coh. II Thracum*: C 363 and 364, EE VII 967. (These inscriptions are not dated, but as the cohort was here in III, II seems the best period for them; yet a date in I must not be regarded as impossible. The cohort was in Germany in the Julio-Claudian period: cf. ILS 9090 and Stein, p. 215. *Other evidence*: Dip. 48, 69.)

III. *coh. II Thracum*: Occ. XL 52.

21. (ST. BEES' HEAD\*) = Tunnocelo (Occ. XL 51), Iulio-cenon (Rav., p. 430, 15).

I and II. No evidence.

III. *coh. I Aelia Classica*: Occ. XL 51. (The cohort appears in Dip. 93, for A.D. 146; otherwise, CIL XIV 5347 is the only additional evidence for its existence—giving the career of a man who commanded it *circa* A.D. 135.)

22. RAVENGLASS = Glannibanta (Occ. XL 52), Cantiventi (Rav., p. 430, 14), Clanoventa (Itin. Ant., p. 481, 1).

I and II. No evidence.

III. *coh. I Morinorum*: Occ. XL 52. (*Other records*: Dip. 48, 69; CIL III 2049.)

*C. The eastern flank.*

1. SOUTH SHIELDS = Arbeia (Occ. XL 22).

⟨I a⟩. *ala Sabiniana*: EE III 202, a tile, and EE IV 706, a lead seal. (The tile suggests that this regiment occupied the fort at

\* For the assumption of a fort here cf. CW<sup>2</sup> XXIX, p. 163 and AA<sup>4</sup> XII, p. 338.

the beginning of a structural period, and II is otherwise accounted for; for the *ala* cf. under Haltonchesters above).

(I b). *ala I Asturum*: EE VII 1002. (This is the tombstone of one Victor, freedman of a trooper in the *ala*, and so not necessarily evidence for its having been stationed at South Shields.)

II. *coh. V Gallorum*: EE IX 1140, A.D. 222, EE VII 1003 and to be restored on EE VII 1000. (EE VII 1001 probably refers to a commander of this cohort; cf. also the tiles, EE III 122, and lead seals, AA<sup>4</sup> XI, p. 102. The cohort had been at Cramond in I: C 1083. *Other evidence*: Dip. 69, 82.)

III. *numerus Barcariorum Tigrisiensium*: Occ. XL 22. (The unit was at Lancaster in the third century, C 285 cf. EE VII 942.)

D. *The outposts to the North.*

I. HIGH ROCHESTER = Bremenium\*.

I a. Not occupied.

I b. *coh. I Lingonum*: C 1041, circa A.D. 140. (The cohort was at Lanchester in II, C 446 and 445—under Gordian; C 450, 432, probably 433, and EE IX 1136. *Other evidence*: Dip. 51, 69; CIL XI 6033.)

(I c). *coh. I Dalmatarum*: C 1055. (The tombstone of a soldier, whose name, Aurelius, is written out in full, and suggests a date in the second half of the second century. For the earlier history of the regiment cf. under Maryport above, p. 220).

II. *coh. I fida Vardullorum milliaria*: cf. NCH XV, pp. 144 f. (The cohort was at Lanchester in the closing years of Marcus Aurelius, C 440 †; cf. also C 431, 435. At some time in I it left records at Castlecary on the Wall of Pius, C 1096 + JRS XIX, p. 216, and at Jedburgh, JRS. XI, p. 238; the vexillation at milecastle 19 in the same period, JRS XXII, p. 224, has no bearing on its place of garrison. *Other evidence*: Dip. 43, 51, 69, 70, 82, 93 and 130; CIL VIII 5532, XI 5038.)

*numerus Exploratorum Brem(eniensium) Gor(dianus)*: C 1030, cf. 1037 and NCH XV, p. 96.

III a. The garrison in the last period here, circa A.D. 300-340, is unknown.†

III b. Not occupied after circa A.D. 340.

2. RISINGHAM = Habitancum (C 996§).

Ia. Not occupied.

I b. *coh. IIII Gallorum*: C 1001. (For the movements of this cohort, cf. under Chesterholm above, p. 215).

\* For the name, cf. NCH XV, p. 66.

† Cf. *Prosop. imper. Roman.*<sup>2</sup> I, A 754.

‡ Cf. NCH XV, p. 106 f.

§ Cf. NCH XV, p. 66.

I c. Some other unit must have replaced *coh. IIII Gallorum* on its transfer to Castlehill.

II. *coh. I Vangionum milliaria*: cf. NCH XV, pp. 130 f. (Cf. under Benwell above, p. 212, for the other evidence relating to this cohort.)

*Raeti gaesati*: cf. NCH XV, pp. 132 f, and under Greatchesters above, p. 216.

*numerus Exploratorum*: cf. NCH XV, pp. 131 f.

III a and III b. Garrison unknown; cf. NCH XV, p. 106 f.

3. BEWCASTLE = Banna (Rudge Cup and Rav., p. 432, 20; cf. C 830, *venatores Banne(n)s(es)*).

I. *coh. I (Aelia) Dacorum*; C 975. (Undated, but the cohort has not yet received the title *Aelia*, which Dip. 93 shows it to have obtained by A.D. 146; C 978 shows the fort to have been occupied under Hadrian. For the later history of the regiment, cf. under Birdoswald above, p. 218.)

II. A *cohors milliaria*: C 974 EE IX 1227. (Two *tribuni*, indicating a cohort of this size. The latter inscription can hardly be later than the first half of the third century, since the *praenomen* is mentioned; I no longer think it necessary or even possible to assign these inscriptions to the fourth century, as I did some years ago.\*) III a and III b. Garrison unknown.

4. NETHERBY = *Castra Exploratorum* (Itin. Ant., p. 467, 1).

I. Garrison unknown. (C 961 shows that the site was occupied under Hadrian; C 962 is a fragment dated to A.D. 177, 179, 181, 183, 186, 190 or 192. Haverfield took C 967 to refer to Julius Verus, governor under Antoninus Pius, but it really records C. Julius Marcus, governor A.D. 213.)

I? *numerus Exploratorum*. To judge by the name of the place in Itin. Ant., this may have been the first garrison; if so, probably in I a, when Netherby was an advanced post, beyond the frontier.

II. *coh. I Aelia Hispanorum milliaria*; C 967, c. A.D. 213, and 965, A.D. 222; cf. also C 954, 963, 964. (For the earlier history of the cohort, cf. under Maryport, p. 220 above, and Castlesteads, p. 218 above; its identification with *coh. I Hispanorum* is established by Mr. L. P. Wenham in Art. III, p. 25 above.)

III. No evidence.

5. BIRRENS = *Blatobulgium* (Itin. Ant., p. 467, 1).

(I a). *coh. I Nervana Germanorum milliaria*: C 1063 and 1066 + EE IX p. 614. (Not dated, but assignable to the second century;

\* CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI, pp. 138-139; the dating is to be obtained by a study of military careers, which I hope to publish elsewhere.

I a seems the only period available. Occupation under Hadrian is shown by pottery evidence: *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXXII, p. 310.) I b. *coh. II Tungrorum milliaria*: EE IX 1230, A.D. 158, marking the beginning of period I b at this fort: cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, LXXII, p. 345; several other inscriptions, including C 1068 and 1072, EE IX 1228. (The cohort had been with Agricola at Mons Graupius, *Agric.* 36, and a vexillation from it was stationed in Raetia in A.D. 147 and following years\*; in II it was at Castlesteads—cf. p. 218 above. It does not appear in any of the British diplomas, though it may have been included in the fragmentary Dip. 82.)

II. No evidence for the units, but the accommodation provided suggests that there may have been a *numerus* as well as a *cohors milliaria* at Birrens in this period.

III a. No evidence.

III b. Not occupied after *circa* A.D. 340.

*E. The movement of regiments.†*

1. *Alae*.

	I	II	III
1. <i>I Asturum</i> .	b? South Shields.	Benwell.	Benwell.
2. <i>II Asturum</i> .	Ribchester.	Chesters.	Chesters.
3. <i>Petriana</i> .	Carlisle?	Carlisle?	Carlisle?
4. <i>Augusta (Proculeiana)</i> .	a? Chesters.	Old Carlisle.	?
	b Old Carlisle, 185.		
5. <i>Sabiniana</i> .	a? South Shields.	Haltonchesters.	Haltonchesters.
6. <i>Tungrorum</i> .	a? Burgh-by-Sands.		
	b? Mumrills?		

2. *Cohorts*.

1. <i>I Aquitanorum</i> .	a Carrawburgh	?	?
	b Brough, Derbys., c. 158.		
2. <i>I Asturum</i> .	Germania Superior.	Brit. Sup.?	Greatchesters.
3. <i>II Asturum</i>	Llanio?	Greatchesters.	?
4. <i>I Baetasiorum</i> .	a ?	?	Reculver.
	b Bar Hill, c. 140.		
	c Maryport, c. 180?		
5. <i>I Batavorum</i>	a? Carvoran?	Carrawburgh.	Carrawburgh.
	b Castlesteads.		
6. <i>I Aelia Classica</i> .	?	?	St. Bees Head.
7. <i>I Cornoviorum</i>	?	?	Newcastle.
8. <i>I Cugernorum</i>	a ?	?	?
	b Newstead? c. 140.		
	c Carrawburgh.		

\* Cf. CW<sup>2</sup> XXXV, pp. 56-58.

† For the evidence in individual cases, cf. the preceding sections; where sequence within a period is attested, a date is added whenever possible, to indicate the beginning of the time at the new station. A query is added to the figure or to the place-name, in cases where the period or the place is not certain; a query without a place-name shows that the place of garrison is not known.

	I	II	III
9. <i>I Aelia Dacorum.</i>	Bewcastle.	Birdoswald.	Birdoswald.
10. <i>I Delmatarum.</i>	a ? b Maryport c. 140. c ? High Rochester.	?	?
11. <i>II Delmatarum.</i>	?	Carvoran.	Carvoran.
12. <i>I Frisiavonum.</i>	Melandra ?	?	Rudchester.
13. <i>III Gallorum.</i>	a Castlesteads. b Risingham, c. 140. c Castlehill.	Chesterholm.	Chesterholm.
14. <i>V Gallorum.</i>	a ? b Cramond, c. 140 ?	South Shields.	?
15. <i>I Nervana Germanorum.</i>	a ? Birrens. b ?	Burgh-by-Sands ?	?
16. <i>I Hamiorum.</i>	a ? b Carvoran, by 136-8. c Bar Hill, after c. 161.	?	?
17. <i>I (Aelia) Hispanorum.</i>	a Maryport. b ?	Netherby.	Castlesteads.
18. <i>I Lingonum.</i>	a ? b High Rochester, c. 140. c ?	Lanchester.	?
19. <i>II Lingonum.</i>	a ? Ilkley. b ? Moresby.	?	Stanwix.
20. <i>III Lingonum.</i>	?	Wallsend.	Wallsend.
21. <i>I Morinorum.</i>	?	?	Ravenglass.
22. <i>II Nerviorum.</i>	Wallsend.	Whitley Castle.	?
23. <i>III Nerviorum.</i>	a ? b ? Chesterholm ? c ? Newstead ?	?	<i>Alionis.</i>
24. <i>VI Nerviorum.</i>	a Greatchesters. b Rough Castle, c. 140.	Bainbridge.	<i>Virosido.</i>
25. <i>I Pannoniorum.</i>	c ? Greatchesters ?	?	?
26. <i>II Pannoniorum.</i>	Beckfoot.	?	?
27. <i>VI Raetorum.</i>	b Greatchesters 166-169.	?	?
28. <i>I Thracum.</i>	Newcastle ?	Bowes.	?
29. <i>II Thracum.</i>	?	Moresby ?	Moresby.
30. <i>I Tungrorum.</i>	a ? Birdoswald ? b Castlecary. c Cramond.	Housesteads.	Housesteads.
31. <i>II Tungrorum.</i>	a ? b Birrens.	Castlesteads.	?
32. <i>I Vangionum.</i>	a ? b Benwell.	Risingham.	?
33. <i>I fida Vardullorum.</i>	Lanchester.	High Rochester.	?
3. Numeri and similar units.			
1. n. Ac——.	—	Birdoswald.	—
2. n. Barcariorum.	—	Lancaster.	South Shields.



	I	II	III
3. <i>n. Exploratorum</i> ,*	Netherby?	High Rochester	Portus Adurni †
		Risingham.	Bowes. ‡
4. <i>cuneus Frisiorum</i> .	—	Housesteads.	—
5. <i>cuneus Frisionum</i> <i>Aballavensium</i> .	—	a Burgh-by-Sands.	—
6. <i>n. Hnaudifridi</i> .	—	b Papcastle.	—
7. <i>n. Maurorum Aur-</i> <i>elianorum</i> .	—	Housesteads.	—
		a ?	Burgh-by-Sands.
8. <i>Raeti gaesati</i> . §	—	b Burgh-by-Sands.	—
		Greatchesters.	—
		Risingham.	—

*Appendix: The illustrations of the Notitia Dignitatum and the de rebus bellicis.* It is to be regretted that good reproductions of the illustrations of these works are so hard to come by. The line-drawings given in the editions of Boecking and Seck (for the *Notitia*) or of Schneider (for *de rebus bellicis*) are a poor substitute for the originals. There is only one manuscript from which a complete series of reproductions, in collotype, is available: "Notitia Dignitatum imperii Romani: Réproduction réduite des 105 miniatures du manuscrit Latin 9661 de la Bibliothèque Nationale," Paris, n. d. From that publication I take fig. 1 (no. 101) to contrast with fig. 2, Boecking's rendering of the Duke's insignia, and fig. 3 (no. 7) to contrast with fig. 4, Schneider's cut (taken from the sixteenth-century edition, and not from a manuscript) of the *currus drepanus*, a two-horse scythed chariot which represents one of the least ingenious inventions of the Anonymus. The comparison suggests the need for further study of all the manuscript illustrations.

It should be noted that in her book 'The Saxon Shore' (1924), pl. 2, Miss Jessie Mothersole gives, in full colour, a reproduction from the Oxford MS. of the insignia of the Count of the Saxon Shore, Occ. XXVIII; this version differs considerably in its minor details from that of the Paris MS (no. 88).

\* Comparison of the details in II and III makes it clear that there must have been at least two such *numeri* in Britain.

† Occ. XXVIII 21.

‡ Occ. XL 25.

§ It is not clear whether we have one or two units of this name represented.

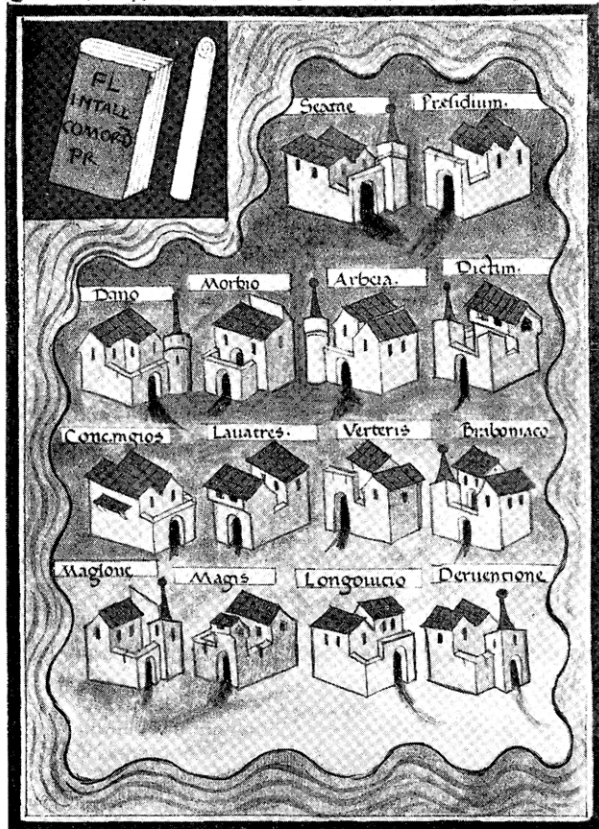


FIG. 1.—The Duke's insignia (Paris MS.).

To face p. 226.

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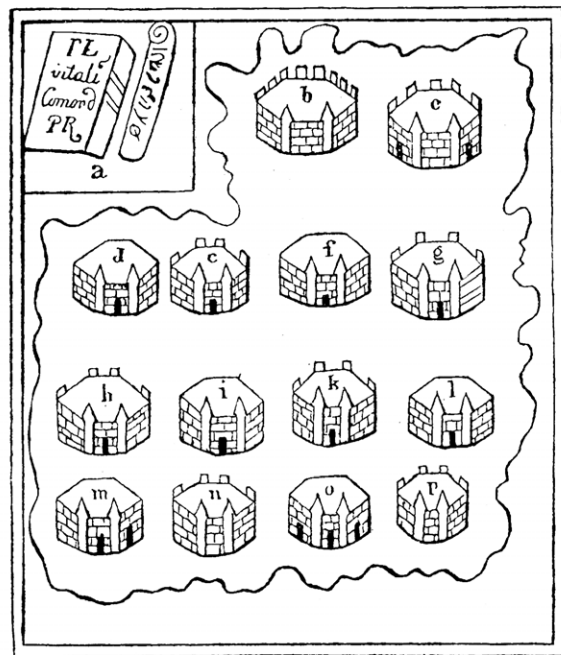


FIG. 2.—The Duke's insignia (after Boecking).

C V R R V S D R I P A N V S

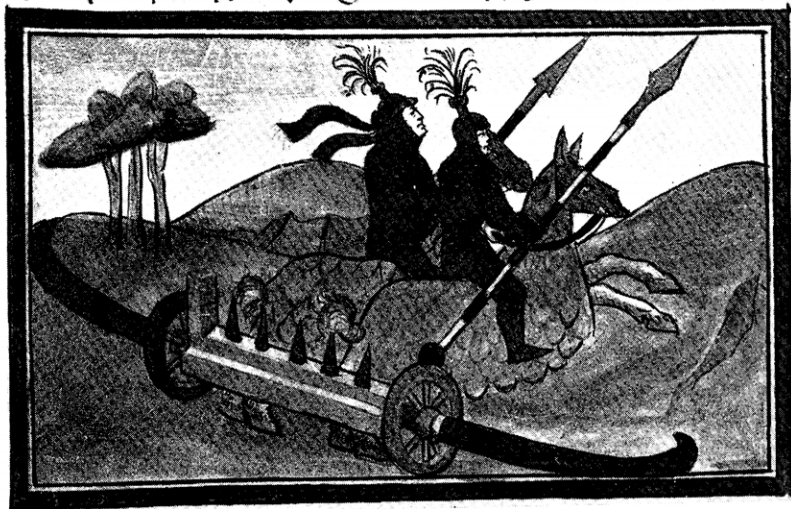


FIG. 3.—*Carrus drepanus* (Paris MS.).



FIG. 4.—*Carrus drepanus* (after Schneider).

To face p. 226.