

ART. VII.—*Roman officers at Maryport*. By MICHAEL G.
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The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

AC	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i> .
AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> .
Birley, RBRA	E. Birley, <i>Roman Britain and the Roman Army</i> (Kendal, 1953).
EE	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i> .
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (Berlin, 1892-1916).
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> .
Pflaum, CP	H.-G. Pflaum, <i>Les carrières procuratoriennes</i> <i>équestres</i> (Paris, 1960-1).
SHA	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i> .

Inscriptions in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are denoted by volumes number (Roman) and individual number (Arabic) without any prefix.

IN 1939 Mr L. P. Wenham published an important study of the well-known find of buried altars made at Maryport in 1870.¹ He showed that it was the custom for the commander of the auxiliary cohort in garrison at the fort to erect a new altar to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* on the annual renewal of vows of loyalty to the emperor; the old altar was reverently buried beside the parade-ground. It is the aim of this paper to discuss the careers of the cohort-commanders recorded on those altars and on others found at Maryport, and some of the implications; it is hoped that a more general discussion will be published elsewhere.

One point which Mr Wenham failed to note was that

¹ "Notes on the garrisoning of Maryport", CW2 xxxix (1939) 19-30.

where more than one altar was buried in a pit, the latest altar was not necessarily the highest. J. B. Bailey² states that altars of *cohors I Baetasiorum* were found under altars of *cohors I Hispanorum* and *cohors I Delmatarum*, even though *cohors I Baetasiorum* must be the last of the three units to reach Maryport.³ This suggested to Bailey that the altars had been subjected to burial *en masse* by the Baetians, perhaps when Clodius Albinus withdrew the northern garrisons for his continental expedition of 196-7. A plan by the excavator, Mr H. P. Senhouse, now at Netherhall, Maryport, where I saw it through the kindness of Mr Roger Senhouse, makes it clear that Bailey's statement is correct; Bruce's plan in *Lapidarium Septentrionale*⁴ is an incomplete and inaccurate version of this plan. The altars were in fact found in the order shown in Bruce's earlier publication.⁵ Specifically, VII 394 of *I Baetasiorum* was found below VII 387 of *I Delmatarum*; VII 391 under VII 382 of *I Hispanorum* and VII 395 under VII 380 and 374, set up by different tribunes of *I Hispanorum*.

At first sight this suggests that Bailey's idea of mass burial must be accepted. However, if we accept that idea, together with the suggestion of an annual dedication, we find that we must contemplate a parade-ground with some seventy or eighty altars beside it, all of which were buried at the same time. There are two points in favour of such a solution. It has recently been suggested that in the 3rd century the Maryport parade-ground was moved to a new site immediately south of the fort, the original parade-ground beside which the altars were buried being given over to civilian buildings⁶; such a

² J. B. Bailey in *T. Cumberland Ass. for the Advancement of Literature and Science* xii (1886-7) 16.

³ R. G. Collingwood, *CW2* xxxvi (1936) 96-97. The stylistic reasons for dating the altars to the late 2nd century are acceptable, but not the association with Ulpian Marcellus.

⁴ J. C. Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (London and Newcastle upon Tyne, 1875), facing p. 429.

⁵ *CW1* i (1874) 175-188=AA2 vii (1876) 184-195.

⁶ E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal, 1961) 218, 222.

move might provide a suitable occasion for burial, and might well mean that some later altars found their way to the bottom of pits in which earlier stones lay above them; the pit-burial of dedication slabs from the *tribunal* would support this suggestion.⁷ Further evidence in support comes from Birdoswald. This fort also has yielded a series of altars to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, comparable with those from Maryport but of 3rd-century date. Many of them were found built into the medieval priory of Lanercost and other post-Roman structures. This suggests that they are more likely to have been left standing than carefully buried.

Against this there are various arguments. In the first place the Maryport altars are little weathered; they are usually of the soft local sandstone, and the absence of weathering seems to indicate that they were not exposed to the elements for a long period. Moreover, common sense suggests as a corollary to an annual dedication some method of disposal each year. The evidence from Maryport seems to confirm what reason might suggest, that this method was burial. After a fort had been occupied for some time the site where the altars were buried would become crowded, and it is likely that in digging pits for their burials the Baetasians struck earlier burials. When this happened they would appear to have lifted the earlier altars and reburied them above their own.

One further problem raised by the altars seems to have been ignored since Bruce noted it.⁸ The second, third and fourth lines of VII 382 have been worn away, apparently by sharpening tools or weapons. It seems unlikely that such use of an official dedication would be permitted, but it is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation of the observed phenomenon.

Before embarking on our main theme, it is essential to outline what is already known of the garrison of Mary-

⁷ EE iii 93; cf. VII 400, a companion dedication.

⁸ *Lapidarium Septentrionale* 431.

port, in order to provide a framework for the discussion. I have shown elsewhere⁹ that the earliest Roman occupation of Maryport must be assigned to Agricola, and that it must have been his base for the invasion of Galloway in his fifth year in Britain. Of its garrison at that period nothing is known. The earliest recorded garrison is *cohors I Hispanorum equitata*; this unit, originally 500 strong, was doubled in size while it was at Maryport, for some of its known commanders are prefects, others tribunes. One of its tribunes, M. Maenius Agrippa, served on a British expedition under Hadrian,¹⁰ and it is to that reign that most of the unit's service at Maryport must belong. Under Antoninus Pius *cohors I Delmatarum* is recorded as the garrison, and the most likely occasion for the change is at the beginning of his reign, when southern Scotland was being occupied and the Antonine Wall built by Lollius Urbicus. The fact that *I Hispanorum* received the battle-honour *Aelia* under either Hadrian or Pius, but at a date later than the latest surviving altar at Maryport, strengthens the case for its leaving Maryport c. 138, at the beginning of the reign of Pius, for the most likely occasion for it to win this honour is in the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus, which constituted the only fighting for which Antoninus Pius accepted an acclamation as *imperator*. Since two tribunes are recorded on a total of eight of the annual altars, the unit must have been doubled in size about 130 at latest — and possibly much earlier. Eight dedications by prefects carry the occupation by *I Hispanorum* back to 122 or earlier, and it is reasonable to infer that the series is not complete.¹¹ It therefore seems clear that the unit must have been at Maryport before that reorganization of garrisons in the north of which the forts on Hadrian's Wall are the most striking monument; and it is by no means improbable

⁹ "The pre-Hadrianic occupation of Roman Maryport", CW2 lviii (1958) 63-67.

¹⁰ XI 5632=ILS 2735.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* in note 9, 65.

that it was present before the death of Trajan in 117. Professor Birley has shown¹² that there were two cohorts with the title *I Hispanorum* in the army of Britain, and further that early in the reign of Trajan one was in the area command based on Caerleon and the other in that based on Chester; as I hope to demonstrate elsewhere, neither of these commands can have contained Maryport at that date. *Cohors I Hispanorum* must therefore have been transferred to Maryport at a date after 103 but before 122.

Under Pius (138-161), as we have already seen, the only garrison recorded at Maryport is *cohors I Delmatarum*. Unfortunately we have only two of its prefects recorded, and there is no means of telling how long it remained. The same is true of the only other unit known at Maryport, *cohors I Baetasiorum c. R.* It was presumably in garrison at some period in the late 2nd century, but when and for how long remain unanswered questions. The next record of the cohort is at Reculver, early in the 3rd century.¹³

In addition to the three named cohorts, two other cohorts are attested at Maryport, one a milliary cohort, the other a *cohors quingenaria equitata*. We shall see that there are reasons for placing both of them in the 3rd century or at the very end of the 2nd.

With this background, we may now study in more detail the evidence relating to the careers of the equestrian officers recorded on the altars found in 1870, and on comparable altars found at other dates.

A. COHORS I HISPANORUM EQUITATA.

(i) *Prefects*. (The title, on the lowest rung of the equestrian *militiae*¹⁴ indicates that at this date the cohort was of a nominal strength of 500.)

¹² *AC* cii (1952-3) 9-19.

¹³ *JRS* li (1961) 196, no. 30a.

¹⁴ Birley, *RBRA*, 138.

1. *L. Antistius L.f. Quirina Lupus Verianus*. VII 373. A native of Sicca Veneria, in Africa. Like many Africans he has two *cognomina*. Nothing further is known of him, and there is nothing to connect him with the Antistii of Thibilis in Numidia who were prominent later in the 2nd century, producing *inter alios* a governor of Britain, Q. Antistius Adventus.

2. *Helstrius Novellus*. VII 378, 398. The dedication of VII 398 is to Vulcan. Nothing further is known of this man. Schulze¹⁵ thought his *nomen*, which occurs nowhere else, was Etruscan, but this appears to be in default of any better suggestion. Dr J. B. Wilkins, with whom I have discussed this, thinks that the evidence for regarding the name as Etruscan is slender. The name is perhaps more likely to be Italian than anything else, and may be Etruscan, but beyond this we cannot go.

3. *M. Censorius M.f. Voltinia Cornelianus*. VII 371. A native of Nîmes, in Gallia Narbonensis. The reading of the inscription is not entirely certain, but it seems clear that in lines 5 and 6 we should read *prae[fec]tus* rather than *prae[posi]tus*, which will not fit the spacing so well. The distinction is between the regular commander of the unit (*praefectus*) and a temporary commander. The same inscription records Cornelianus as centurion of *legio X Fretensis*, which was stationed in Judaea, so that the reading *praepositus* would make it necessary to assume that he was moved between two of the most widely separated provinces of the empire for a merely temporary appointment.

However, the reading *praefectus* leads to other difficulties, since the posts of legionary centurion and prefect of an auxiliary cohort do not normally occur in the same career. Theoretically the prefect was of higher rank than the centurion, but after the mid-1st century promotions

¹⁵ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1933) 75.

from the centurionate to the cohort prefecture are not known; the two careers are normally separate. We should, however, note that the equestrian *militiae* (of which *praefectus cohortis* was the lowest) and the centurionate had a common recruiting ground. Professor Birley has shown that the majority of holders of the equestrian *militiae* had previously seen service as magistrates in their home towns,¹⁶ and also that a number of centurions received direct commissions *ex equite Romano*, that is on the grounds of their equestrian status.¹⁷ This would usually mean that they also came from the municipal aristocracies. The point is illuminated by an episode in the career of P. Helvius Pertinax, who was to become emperor for a brief period in 193. Tiring of the low income of a teacher, he applied for a commission as a centurion; he failed to obtain this, but was soon given the prefecture of a cohort.¹⁸ The distinction was important. Although junior in rank, the centurion had an assured career before him; by contrast the equestrian officer was employed for only one tour of duty at a time. When his successor was appointed the emperor was not bound to employ him further, or to pay him any compensation for loss of employment.¹⁹ Consequently the centurionate had considerable attractions for a man seeking a permanent career, despite its inferior status.

Another career connected with Roman Britain illustrates this point dramatically. T. Pontius Sabinus, who commanded three thousand legionaries from Spain and Germany sent as reinforcements for a British campaign in the reign of Hadrian, started his career in the emperor's service with two appointments in the equestrian *militiae*, and was decorated for his part in Trajan's Parthian War.²⁰ He then became a legionary centurion, presum-

¹⁶ Birley, *RBRA*, 139-140.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 122-123.

¹⁸ SHA *Pertinax* i 5-6.

¹⁹ Birley, *RBRA*, 145, 153.

²⁰ X 5829=ILS 2726. Cf. Pflaum, *CP* 286-288 and 973 for a discussion of the career.

ably accepting the lower rank for the permanency it offered, and accepted for it on the basis of his proven military ability. He must have reached the rank of *primus pilus* within about ten years of receiving his commission as centurion, as Dr Dobson points out to me. It seems clear that, on any showing, he was an outstanding man. A similar career is that of L. Terentius Rufus,²¹ who became a centurion after serving as prefect of a cohort; again the period is the reign of Trajan. We may suggest that a similar change took place in the career of M. Censorius Cornelianus, and that on proving his military abilities with *I Hispanorum* he was offered a centurion's commission with *X Fretensis*. The Maryport altar would then have been set up after his new appointment was announced but before his transfer to the east.

It would be tempting to assign this transfer to c. 132, when Sex. Iulius Severus, governor of Britain, was moved to the east to take command in Hadrian's Jewish War. We might expect him to seek a centurion's commission for a man who had served under him in Britain. However, it seems unlikely that *cohors I Hispanorum* remained a quingenary unit, commanded by prefects, as late as this. Almost certainly it had by now been doubled in size and was commanded by tribunes. In this case the command of Cornelianus must be placed earlier than c. 130, and we no longer have any obvious occasion for his transfer to Judaea. However, this does not mean that such a transfer could not have taken place; at all times the Roman Empire must have seen relatively junior officers moved over considerable distances, even when no more senior man was making the same move.

We are then left in uncertainty about the date of this career, though it appears that service at Maryport must fall within the period 103 (the earliest date that *I Hispanorum* could have been in Cumberland) to c. 130 (the latest date at which it is likely to have been doubled in size).

²¹ II 2424.

4. *L. Cammius Maximus*. VII 383, 384, 385. VII 383 is presumably the latest of the three dedications by this man, since it records the post of *tribunus cohortis XVIII Voluntariorum*, to which we assume that he had recently been gazetted at the time of dedication. This unit is recorded in diplomas for Pannonia Superior between the years 138 and 154.²² Like some, but not all, cohorts of "Volunteers" this unit had a commander with the title of tribune, even though the unit was only 500 strong; such a tribunate seems to have ranked no higher than the prefecture of a cohort of comparable size.²³

A man called *L. Cammius Maximus* is recorded as a decurion at Aquileia,²⁴ and Professor E. Birley has shown that he is probably the man attested at Maryport.²⁵ *L. Cammius Secundinus*, who rose to be procurator of Noricum early in the reign of Antoninus Pius, was probably his brother; if he was, his career must have begun with a direct commission as centurion *ex equite Romano*.²⁶ For one brother entering the equestrian *militiae* and another the legionary centurionate we may compare the case of *Iulius Fidus Aquila* and *Q. Iulius Aquila*.²⁷

(ii) *Tribunes*. (The title presumably indicates that the cohort had been doubled in size; most of the men holding the tribunate will previously have served as commanders of quingenary cohorts.)

5. *C. Caballius Priscus*. VII 374, 375, 376, EE vii 970. Nothing further is known of this man. He was presumably a relative of the man of the same names who served as *miles* in the first praetorian cohort at Rome, and there

²² XVI 84, 96, 97, 104, 178.

²³ Pflaum, *CP* 185-186, 361, 417-418.

²⁴ V 961.

²⁵ *Beiträge zur älteren europäischen Kulturgeschichte=Festschrift für Rudolf Egger* i (Klagenfurt, 1952) 187-188.

²⁶ III 5328. For a discussion of this man, and a different interpretation of his career, see Pflaum, *CP* 259-262 and 972.

²⁷ VIII 15872; for other references see Pflaum, *CP* 297-298.

is a good case for suggesting that his home may have been Verona.²⁸

6. *M. Maenius C.f. Cornelia Agrippa L. Tusidius Campester*. VII 379, 380, 381, 382. An inscription recording the whole career of Agrippa has been found at Camerinum,²⁹ which was apparently his home town. A friend of Hadrian, his career began as prefect of *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*, stationed in Moesia Inferior in 99.³⁰ He was then selected by Hadrian for service on a British expedition — perhaps the same as the one in which T. Pontius Sabinus commanded three thousand legionaries from Upper Germany and Spain³¹ — and made commander of *I Hispanorum*. His next appointment, as prefect of an *ala*, was on the Danube. The unit in question, the *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum catafractariorum* was in Moesia Inferior in 134³² and in Dacia Porolissensis by 159.³³ Agrippa's son became a senator, as did the sons of many prominent equestrians, and was consul in 161 or 162.³⁴

This provides one of the small pointers to the date at which Agrippa was at Maryport. The other items are the presumed transfer of *I Hispanorum* on the occasion of the northern campaigns of Lollius Urbicus, c. 138-140, and the fact that *I Hispanorum* cannot have reached Maryport earlier than 103, and must have been quin-genary for at least ten years thereafter, in view of the number of dedications by prefects. The earliest possible date for Agrippa's command is therefore c. 114-117, and the latest c. 136-139. There is nothing to indicate that his son will have reached the consulship before his early forties, which means that he must have been born c. 120

²⁸ Birley, *RBRA*, 90-91.

²⁹ XI 5632=ILS 2735. Cf. Pflaum, *CP* 292-295.

³⁰ XVI 45.

³¹ See above, pp. 121-122. Presumably there were a thousand men from *VII Gemina* (in Spain) and from each of the two legions in Upper Germany.

³² XVI 78.

³³ XVI 110.

³⁴ AE 1945, 37 with Pflaum, *CP* 294.

or earlier. Since we do not know how old Agrippa was when his son was born this scarcely helps us much. Nor does the reference to a British expedition. Professor Birley has used this career, with that of Pontius Sabinus, as indications of serious trouble in Britain in the early 130s — further suggested by numismatic evidence and by the presence in Britain of Sex. Iulius Severus (c. 130-132), one of the most able generals of the period. Certainly a date c. 130-135 would well fit all the known facts about Agrippa, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the British expedition occurred earlier.

One possible occasion would be the visit of Hadrian himself in 121 or 122, which, although no campaigning is known, might well have been described as an *expeditio*. The reorganization which that visit involved might well have included the doubling of the garrison at Maryport. The other known occasion for this expedition is the governorship of Q. Pompeius Falco, c. 118-122. We are told that the beginning of Hadrian's reign was marked by troubles in Britain,³⁵ and it was presumably to deal with them that Falco was sent. He came to Britain from Moesia Inferior. This may lead us to favour the period 118-121 for the service of Agrippa at Maryport, since he was in that province immediately before his promotion to *I Hispanorum*, and might well have been brought by Falco. While such a dating has obvious attractions, we should note one consequence of accepting it: the *cohors I Hispanorum* which was at Maryport is attested either on a diploma of the Caerleon command of January 103³⁶ or on one for the Chester command of 105.³⁷ If *I Hispanorum* was at Maryport under the command of a tribune in about 118, it must have been moved to that fort about the year 108 at latest — not very long after its latest attestation elsewhere. This is by no means impossible,

³⁵ SHA *Hadrian* v 2.

³⁶ XVI 48.

³⁷ XVI 51.

and some sort of Trajanic occupation at Maryport does seem to be indicated by the pottery which has been found on the site of the fort.

B. COHORS I DELMATARUM.

This unit was of a nominal strength of 500 men, and was commanded by prefects; the problem of the use made of surplus space in the fort at Maryport has been discussed elsewhere.³⁸

7. *L. Caecilius Vegetus*. VII 387. Nothing further is known of this man, and his names give no clue to his origin.

8. *Paulus Postumius P.f. Palatina Acilianus*. VII 367, 388, 400; EE iii 93 = ILS 3009; EE vii 976. Of the inscriptions listed, VII 388 is an altar in the normal form to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and EE vii 976 is the bottom half of an altar which may be of the same series; its fragmentary text need not refer to this man, though it certainly seems to mention someone with the *cognomen* Acilianus. VII 367 is an altar to *dis deabusq(ue)* and EE iii 93 is a votive slab dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus for the good-health of Antoninus Pius. It was found in a pit near those of the 1870 discovery. VII 400 is a similar slab, also set up for the good-health (*salus*) of Pius. Sir Ian Richmond has suggested to me that it may have come from the side of the *tribunal* at the edge of the parade-ground, and one might think that EE iii 93 came from the same place. This suggests that the *tribunal* may have been rebuilt under Acilianus. The slabs were presumably buried when the parade-ground was moved to a new site immediately south of the fort³⁹ where the mound known as Pudding Pie Hill (removed in 1921) was presumably the *tribunal*. The stones buried above EE iii 93⁴⁰ may have come from the superstructure of the Antonine *tribunal*.

³⁸ Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall*, 222-223.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, 449, no. 888.

VII 400 is important because it is the only inscription in the series which records the unusual *praenomen*, which on the other inscriptions is abbreviated to P., the normal abbreviation for Publius. In view of this it is possible that the father's *praenomen* was also Paulus. The voting-tribe *Palatina* indicates that the *origo* of Acilianus was Rome, but he must be related in some way to two people from Baetica (southern Spain). One of the them, P. Postumius A.f. Papiria Acilianus,⁴¹ held the ducenarian procuratorship of Syria in 102, and presumably began his career under Domitian. The other is a woman, Postumia Aciliana Baxo.⁴² Professor H-G. Pflaum has suggested⁴³ that the prefect recorded at Maryport may be the grandson of the procurator. While not impossible, this implies that a family which had reached high equestrian rank in 102 was still only equestrian forty or more years and two generations later. As an alternative we may suggest that our prefect was possibly the son of a freedman of the procurator. In favour of this is the tribe *Palatina*, restricted to those whose *origo* was Rome, but often given to freedmen on receiving the citizenship; we may note, without volunteering a reason, that it is different from the tribe of the procurator. Against the proposed interpretation is the *praenomen* Paulus, which is uncommon, and which we should normally expect to find used in a family with pretensions to antiquity. Cagnat⁴⁴ records the Postumii as one of the families using this name. A descendant may be P[] Post[], recorded as governor of Moesia Inferior in 249/50.⁴⁵ It seems possible that his *praenomen* was Paulus.

⁴¹ Pflaum, *CP* 145-147 and 966 gives full reference and discussion.

⁴² II 2060.

⁴³ *CP* 147.

⁴⁴ R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (4th ed., Paris, 1914) 43.

⁴⁵ III 12515.

C. COHORS I BAETASIORUM.

Another quingenary cohort, commanded by prefects.

9. *Ulpus Titianus*. VII 391, 395. Nothing further is known of this man, and his names afford no clue to his origin.

10. *T. Attius Tutor*. VII 386, 390, 394. His *cursus honorum* has been found at his home town of Solva in Noricum.⁴⁶ After being a decurion there he received his first appointment with *I Baetasiorum*. He was then successively tribune of *legio II Adiutrix* in Pannonia Inferior, prefect of *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, probably in Dacia and prefect of the *ala I Batavorum milliaria*, also in Dacia. This is his last recorded post, but we should expect a man who reached the *militia quarta* to have a distinguished career thereafter.⁴⁷ Two inscriptions record the partial careers of two men whose names are now lost. One of them⁴⁸ after the command of a milliary *ala* became a *commentariis praefecti praetorio*, and rose ultimately to the senior post of procurator of Gallia Belgica and the Two Germanies, and possibly to even higher rank. The other⁴⁹ received decorations in the German War of Marcus Aurelius (169-175) on a scale appropriate to the prefect of a milliary *ala*, before becoming procurator of Moesia Superior and holding at least one further post. Either of these inscriptions could indicate the later career of Tutor, but we have no certain evidence. If either of these careers were that of Tutor he will have been at Maryport not later than the early 160s.

D. UNCERTAIN UNITS.

11. *G. Cornelius Peregrinus*. VII 370 = ILS 3657. A decurion of *Saldae, Mauretania Caesariensis* (modern Bougie) before entering the *militiae*.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ III 5331 = ILS 2734.

⁴⁷ Birley, *RBR*, 148-149. Pflaum, *CP* 415.

⁴⁸ III 14195³⁷. Cf. Pflaum, *CP* 415-416.

⁴⁹ VIII 9372. Cf. Pflaum, *CP* 541-2.

⁵⁰ *JRS* xliv (1954) 105.

This inscription, a dedication to the *Genius loci*, Fortune the home-bringer, eternal Rome and gracious Destiny (*Fatum bonum*), seems best assigned to the 3rd century. Pointers to this are the absence of any record of the voting tribe and filiation of Peregrinus. More important is the use of a *signum* or personal name (Volantius) on the reverse of the altar; *signa* do not normally occur before the 3rd century.

Since Peregrinus is recorded as *tribunus*, the unit he commanded must have been a milliary cohort. The only such unit attested at Maryport is *cohors I Hispanorum*, and Peregrinus can scarcely have commanded this unit; *I Hispanorum* does not appear to have been in garrison later than the reign of Hadrian, and I know of no instance of the use of a *signum* as early as this.

12. *P. Cornelius P.f. Gaius*. VII 377. This inscription is an altar to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. It is now lost, and the text, which presents several problems, is only recorded in a MS. of Sir William Dugdale now in the College of Arms⁵¹; the inscription was first published by the Lysons brothers in 1816.⁵² All that remains of the title of the cohort of which Gaius was prefect are the letters EQ (an abbreviation for *equitata*), indicating that a proportion of the men in the unit were mounted infantry. Of the units known to have been at Maryport only *cohors I Hispanorum* falls into this category. Professor Birley has suggested that Gaius "may possibly be identifiable with the 2nd-century jurist, Gaius".⁵³ Gaius was working as a lawyer in the middle of the 2nd century, presumably after any military career. The name is unusual as a *cognomen*, so there may be some grounds for equating the prefect with the lawyer; they are, however, inadequate, when compared with the evidence for a later date given by the Maryport inscription. The words

⁵¹ "Description of Cumberland".

⁵² Lysons, *Magna Britannia* IV (1816) cxli-cxlii.

⁵³ E. Birley, *The Centenary Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal, 1949) 83.

cui praeest are abbreviated to *c.p.* and this is normally an indication of 3rd-century date, as Professor Birley has shown.⁵⁴ It is difficult to imagine that this abbreviation was current as early as the reign of Hadrian.

It therefore follows that we have two distinct units at Maryport whose titles are unknown. One is a *cohors milliaria* and the other a *cohors quingenaria equitata*. While the evidence points to both of them being at Maryport in the 3rd century, it is conceivable that one of them was there in the latter years of the second, perhaps moved there as a result of changes made by Ulpian Marcellus after his victories of 181-4; we may note in passing that there is no evidence to connect the dedications to *Victoria Augusta* and *Mars Militaris* by *cohors I Baetasiorum* with those victories. This in turn means that there is no need for *I Baetasiorum* to be at Maryport as late as the 180s.

In addition to the inscriptions to which we have already referred, a number of other altars from Maryport appear to be official dedications, and are likely to have included the names of the unit and of its commander; but since these details are now lost there is nothing to be gained by discussing them.

The careers we have analysed offer a certain amount of evidence for the *origines* and backgrounds of equestrian officers, and it will be worth summarizing this. Of ten equestrian officers certainly assignable to the 2nd century (Cornelius Peregrinus and Cornelius Gaius are excluded) three were certainly and another probably from Italy. Yet another appears to have been registered at Rome, though he is probably connected with a family from Spain. The others for whom we can postulate an origin are from Africa, Gallia Narbonensis and Noricum. Two men may be from anywhere in the western part of the empire. Only one of the ten men can be shown to have held a procuratorship after his equestrian military service (though it is fair to assume that the career of T. Attius

⁵⁴ CW2 xlvi (1948) 55-56.

Tutor continued beyond the command of an *ala milliaria*), but this reflects only the lack of evidence, since in none of the other cases have we any record of the career after the post at Maryport. Two of the ten men had certainly served on the councils of their home towns before entering the emperor's service, though here again the principal difficulty is lack of evidence; G. Cornelius Peregrinus would make a third in this group.

Two other points arise from the study of these altars. Buried with the annually dedicated altars to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus were two to *Mars Militaris* and two to *Victoria Augusta*. The importance of these cults to the army is immediately apparent, and the find-spot of these altars, together with the form of their dedications, makes it clear that these altars had a place beside the parade-ground. However, the evidence does not point to an annual dedication, but rather to an occasional renewal. As each known prefect of *I Baetasiarum* dedicated an altar to each of these deities, it may have been the custom to renew them on the arrival of a new commander.⁵⁵

The other point which emerges is that the five altars of *I Baetasiarum* were the latest in the 1870 discovery, and, as far as we know, the latest to be found anywhere near the parade-ground to the north of the fort. Professor Birley has shown that the parade-ground was later moved to an area immediately to the south of the fort,⁵⁶ the northern area being given over to civilian buildings. Such a move will account for the absence of altars of the 3rd-century garrison in the 1870 find; but there is no reason to assign the move to the 3rd century. We have seen that either VII 370 or VII 377 may refer to the garrison of the latter years of the 2nd century, and it may be to that period that we should assign the abandonment of the original parade-ground.

⁵⁵ As Mr Wenham suggested, CW2 xxxix (1939) 29.

⁵⁶ *Research on Hadrian's Wall*, 222.

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