ART. V.—" *Also, along the Line of the Wall,*"
By J. P. GILLAM.

Communicated at Kendal, April 10th, 1948.

THE purpose of this paper is to re-examine one of the
ancient sources for the history of Hadrian's Wall,
to consider the evidence for the date of the document,
and to see what new light may be thrown on Roman-
British place-names in Cumberland.

During the successive reigns of Diocletian and
Constantine (A.D. 284-337) the whole administrative
system of the Roman Empire was re-organised; the
division between East and West was made effective, and
sweeping changes were brought about both in the Army
and in the Civil Service. A document known as the
Notitia Dignitatum has long been used by historians as
a source of information about the organisation and
administration of the later Roman Empire. Its full title,
" An account of the officials and staffs, both civil and
military, in the East and West," is the best summary
of the apparent nature of the document. In the latest
and best edition, that of Otto Seeck (Berlin, 1876) the
complete text fills 225 octavo pages. There are roughly
four thousand entries, excluding headings, each of from
one to five words. The text is entirely in Latin, but as
it is made up largely of technical terms and proper names
it cannot be satisfactorily translated. The book is pro-
fusely illustrated. There are about ninety reproductions
of the insignia of various civil and military officials or
of series of unit badges. These are all coloured in the
manuscripts; in the printed editions they are reproduced

in black and white, but conventional shading is used to convey the colours of the unit badges. Some of the insignia are mere groups of castellate structures with their names, conventionally represented against the background of an outline map or landscape. Thirty-five of the illustrations are of this general type, though Seeck reproduces only twelve, presenting the rest in diagrammatic form. There are detailed marks of difference between the several insignia of this type, some of which are rather delightful. Three serpents and two large birds make their way among the forts of Arabia; wild animals creep in and out of the Taurus mountains; the fact that Britain is an island is brought out on the insignia of the British officials. Insignia of other types are equally pleasing. On those of treasury officials appear iron-bound chests, money-bags and dishes of coins; on others appear weapons, vehicles, or personifications of countries and provinces; unit badges provoke comparison with modern formation signs. A coloured reproduction of one of the illustrations may be found in Miss Jessie Mothersole's book *The Saxon Shore* (1924) together with an excellent general account of the document.

The text of the *Notitia* exists in a group of four manuscripts, three of fifteenth-century and one of sixteenth-century date. They are independent of each other, but all are based on a single earlier manuscript, lost since the sixteenth century. The style of the lettering on the illustrations in the existing manuscripts suggests that the lost manuscript had not travelled far from the original. Seeck's critical edition is based on the four extant manuscripts, and—except that a few spelling mistakes common to them have been corrected—must be almost identical with the lost manuscript. The book is divided into two parts; the first is the Notitia of the Eastern Empire, and the second that of the

Western Empire. Though the eastern and western portions are separate there is a general similarity in layout. Each portion is divided into sections. There are forty-five sections in each portion, and the first, in each case, is the index. The sections which relate specifically and exclusively to Britain (according to Seeck's numbering) are XXIII, XXVIII, XXIX, and XL of *Notitia Occidentis*. At first sight the document appears to be a published account of the complete civil and military administrative machinery of the whole Empire. Closer study reveals that it must have been a collection of documents once used by the civil service in the course of its work, and not originally intended for publication.

Each section deals with a single important official and though the treatment is by no means uniform, it normally presents, first his insignia, then a list of the officials under his command, and finally the establishment or organisation table for his personal staff. Heads of departments in the central government have sections to themselves, but at lower levels no official of humbler rank than Governor-General (*vicarius*) or General Officer Commanding (*dux*) has a separate section. The subordinates of the Generals (*comites* and *duces*) are the commanding officers of units (*praefecti* and *tribuni*). Generally speaking the name of the unit and the name of the place where it is stationed are both recorded along with the rank of the commanding officer. The document, in its military aspect, is a collection of orders of battle and war establishment tables rather than an army list.

It will be seen then that in addition to supplying information about administration, the *Notitia* will provide us with evidence for Roman place-names, and materials for military history. Though the value of the document as a historical source in these two ways has been recognised since it began to be studied at the

time of the renaissance, no scientific approach was made in England until the great John Horsley tackled the problem early in the eighteenth century. His partial solution, successful as far as it went, still holds the field, for in spite of new evidence it has proved impossible completely to remove the obstacles which confronted Horsley. What he succeeded in doing was to ascertain the names of the first twelve forts on Hadrian's Wall, reading from the East, and to demonstrate that the *Notitia* is not a homogeneous document. His method of arriving at the names of the forts will be discussed below, for it is proposed to make use of it and to extend its application. His other conclusion was based on the facts, firstly, that a commentator had attempted to date the *Notitia* to not earlier than A.D. 446, secondly, that the *Notitia* contains four sections which relate specifically and exclusively to Britain and a further six which contain references to Britain, giving together a picture of a well organised group of provinces (*diocesis*), and thirdly, that the ancient historians inform us that Britain was lost to the Empire and in a state of confusion by the first quarter of the fifth century. Horsley neither rejected the testimony of the historians nor questioned the date of compilation, but suggested that the *Notitia* " might not possibly be all written by the same person nor at one time." As we shall see, Horsley was right, as almost invariably when in possession of the facts.

In recent years the identical problem has risen once more. Bury decided on good evidence that certain portions of the *Notitia* could not well have been written before A.D.428; from this he argued that Britain as a whole was still held by the Empire in that year. R. G. Collingwood pointed out that this conclusion contradicts the findings of archæology, and though he subsequently changed his views to some extent his original arguments

retain their validity. Horsley's observation once more provided the answer and this time it was given, in England, by Salisbury, Birley, Stevens and Douglas Simpson — to the effect that the *Notitia* consists of a number of deposits of material of different dates. At present it is accepted by most English and Continental scholars that while the *Notitia* could not well have reached its final form before A.D. 433, it nevertheless contains material of earlier date, for instance some which cannot be later than A.D. 383, as is demonstrated by Salisbury, and some which is conceivably earlier than A.D. 367, as is demonstrated by Birley. The question that now needs to be asked and if possible answered is " what are the dates of the various sources?"

In order to begin to answer this question it is necessary to work on the basis of some conception of the method by which the *Notitia* was compiled. It is not necessary to ask who compiled it, or for what reason, or at whose instigation — though these are interesting questions to which a careful sifting of the evidence will doubtless one day give an answer. For the purpose of the present enquiry it is proposed to use the following working hypothesis, based on a study of the document in the light of modern military office routine; (1) that the sources of the *Notitia* were lists used by successive clerical staffs of the head of a department of the central government in either the East or the West; (2) that from the time of composition each list was kept up to date by amendments, the information being drawn from official returns; (3) that when a list became out of date as a whole, as the result of an event with widespread repercussions, it was sometimes retained indefinitely but " frozen " in the form it had reached, without further amendment; (4) that sections still of value continued to be amended or replaced until after A.D. 433; (5) and finally that the document as it has come down to us was

compiled and edited, unofficially perhaps, from a collection of the above documents, many by then out of date. This hypothesis is quite other than the old "official optimism" theory, about which Schulze was so scathing.

Using this as a basis it is proposed to apply Horsley's methods to a particular section of the *Notitia*, making use of information that was not available to him. Section XL of the *Notitia Occidentis* is that of a general officer known as the Duke of the provinces of Britain (*Dux Britanniarum*). It begins with his insignia, on which there are pictures and names of fourteen castellate structures, Sextae, Praesidium and so on to Derbentio. This is followed by a list of fourteen commanders with their units—the Sixth Legion, given no station, and thirteen other units—all *numeri* or *equites*—stationed in the same places and in the same order as on the insignia. It may be noted that a letter giving the address *ad Legionem Sextam* was reproduced on a third-century inscription, as if already the number of the legion was sufficient without the place-name: Sextae on the insignia may then be equivalent to Eboracum = York. The first order of battle in the section is then followed by a group of twenty-three entries under the heading *Item per lineam valli*, each comprising the rank of the commander of a named auxiliary unit—usually a *cohors* or an *ala*—in a named station. Finally the section ends with the establishment for the Duke's personal staff. None of the stations in the second group is represented on the Duke's insignia.

Editions of the *Notitia* are rare, but the essential part of the text of section *Occidentis XL* is reproduced by Collingwood in his history of the problem of Hadrian's Wall. The portion headed *Item per lineam valli*, translated into English, is reproduced in all editions of the Handbook to the Roman Wall; in the tenth edition the

latest amended spellings of proper names are used. We will refer to this portion of *Occidentis XL* as the Wall subsection.

The striking thing about the Wall subsection is that the units shown as occupying stations on the line of the Wall are in many cases the same which can be proved, by the use of inscriptions, to have occupied forts on the line of the Wall at some time about the middle of the third century; this may be illustrated by a reference to the table pp. 57-58 below.   This can only mean that the garrison of the Wall remained substantially unchanged from the first half of the third century until the date when the Wall subsection received its last amendment (that is, was frozen), whenever this was. Archæology tells us that forts, milecastles and turrets of Hadrian's Wall were overwhelmed by a disaster towards the end of the third century. The damage was restored, in one of the forts at least, between A.D. 297 and A.D. 305. On general grounds it seems highly improbable that such a destruction could have taken place while the Wall was fully garrisoned, and equally improbable that when the garrison returned to the Wall so many units should have returned to their old stations as though nothing had. happened. Almost exactly one hundred years before, the Wall and its supporting stations had been destroyed during the absence of its garrison, and only one unit of Albinus' army is known to have returned to its old station under Septimius Severus; this is the *ala Augusta* which returned to Old Carlisle.

The onus of proof would then seem to fall on those who would maintain that the garrison did remain substantially the same before and after the destruction of the Wall and its reconstruction under Constantius Chlorus, rather than on those who would maintain that it probably did not remain the same. Nothing at all is known of the garrison of Hadrian's Wall between

A.D. 297 and A.D. 366, or between A.D. 367 and A.D. 383, unless the Wall subsection is itself evidence. If it can be demonstrated that the order of battle in the Wall subsection and the actual order of battle in the third century are not merely similar but (insofar as evidence allows us to test them one against the other) identical, then it must follow that the subsection may not be used as evidence for fourth-century conditions. We shall be compelled to believe that the Wall subsection must have been composed before A.D. 297, unless evidence can be adduced to prove that it could not have been, or to prove that it was amended down to a date later than this. Four arguments may be advanced against the proposition that the Wall subsection was composed before A.D. 297, and that it was frozen when it became out of date about this time. We must examine each of these arguments in turn to see if any is conclusive. A single conclusive argument would be sufficient to disprove the proposition, whereas four inconclusive arguments would leave it holding the field. The arguments may be stated as follows: —

1. " If the *Notitia* is a homogeneous document, reflecting the actual conditions in the Empire at some given period, and if it was composed in the fifth century, then the Wall subsection could not have been composed in the third, or even in the fourth century."

Once the point, made by Horsley, Salisbury and others, that neither the *Notitia* as a whole nor, in some cases, its separate sections are homogeneous documents, is admitted, this first argument begins to lose much of its force. If the suggestion be allowed that completely out of date documents were not further amended, were in fact frozen, then this first argument loses all its force. The *Notitia* is not like a single occupation deposit, to be dated by the latest coin or piece of pottery, but a series of sealed levels.

2. " The Wall subsection cannot be earlier than the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, because the Wall garrison is shown under command of the Duke of the provinces of Britain, an office which did not exist before the reforms.''

A comparison between columns two and four in the table (pp. 57-58) will reveal that the third-century order of battle for auxiliary troops, as it is obtained from inscriptions, is in conflict with the first part of the Duke's command at the two points where it is possible to test one against the other with confidence, and that the two nowhere correspond: whereas, on the other hand, the Wall subsection corresponds precisely with the third-century order of battle at fourteen of the seventeen points at which they can be tested. One of the three exceptions concerns merely the number of the unit at Aesica which, as Richmond remarks in the Handbook, is " probably a blunder.'' The other exceptions, which concern the units at Olenacum and Uxellodunum, remain to be considered. The fact that the Wall subsection corresponds more or less accurately with third-century conditions, while the rest of the Duke's command does not, is of itself enough to show that the former portion of the Duke's list is not necessarily of the same date as the Wall subsection. If the two parts of section XL formed one contemporary command at any time after the third century, it is strange that one part of the same command should have been drastically revised and the other have remained almost completely unchanged. It begins to appear as though the two parts must be of different dates. If the subsection is taken bodily out of the Duke's section it does not injure it in any way.   The fact that the stations along the line of the Wall are omitted from the Duke's insignia must surely be significant, as must be the fact that all the units in the former part of *Occidentis*

XL are *numeri* and *equites,* whereas those in the sub-
section are, all but two, *cohortes* and *alae.* In general,
though there is much overlapping, *cohortes* and *alae* are
earlier types of units than *numeri* and *equites.* It is
then highly probable that the Wall subsection is not an
integral part of *Occidentis XL* and that the particular
garrison of Hadrian's Wall was not under command of
the Duke. The mere possibility is enough to rob this
second argument of conclusive force.

3. '' The *ala Herculea* must have been named
in honour of Maximian and therefore have been raised
or re-named after the recovery of Britain by the
Empire, that is after A.D. 297. Therefore the subsection
cannot have been composed before A.D. 297 or must have
continued to be amended until after that date.''

In A.D. 285 Maximian was chosen by Diocletian as
his colleague and Caesar, and in A.D. 286 he was raised
to the status of Augustus with rule over the West, while
Diocletian assumed the title of Jovius, and conferred on
his colleague that of Herculius. In A.D. 286 Carausius
revolted and formed a separate empire of Britain and
the Channel ports. In about A.D. 289 coins were issued
by Carausius from the London mint, bearing on the
obverse the heads of himself and the two Emperors, with
the legend *Carausius et fratres sui,* and on the reverse
PAX AVGGG. This proves that, whether or not he
was recognised by Diocletian and Maximian as a
colleague, he considered himself so recognised. There
is then nothing inherently improbable in a suggestion
that a cavalry unit, re-named *by Carausius,* should be
styled *Herculea* as a compliment to Maximian, whom
Carausius regarded as his western colleague, whatever
were the feelings of Maximian. It follows from this
that the *ala I Herculea* could have received this name
between A.D. 289 and A.D 293. Thus the third argu-
ment becomes inconclusive.

4. "In the subsection the *cohors I Hispanorum* is shown as stationed at Uxellodunum, wherever that may be, while an inscription shows that in the time of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235) this unit was stationed at Netherby."

This is a difficulty which cannot readily be overcome; at Chesters an inscription of precisely the same period mentions the unit that the subsection places at Cilurnum, and many of the inscriptions on which we rely are of roughly the same period. It appears at first as if the problem could be solved by equating Netherby and Uxellodunum. Dr. Richmond has pointed out to me, however, that the two roots of the word Uxellodunum both occur in various related forms in several ancient and modern Celtic languages, and that their meanings are certainly known: *Uxello* means high, while *dunum* means a fort, and "High fort" is quite inappropriate as a name for Netherby, which lies on flat ground in the valley of the lower Esk. The equation of Castlesteads with Uxellodunum raises no such philological difficulty. However, when we accept it we are forced to admit that the name is out of its place in the subsection. The list gives the stations in a straightforward topographical order as far as Camboglanna, and then, omitting Castlesteads it continues in order by way of Petriana, Aballava and Congavata; after leaping unaccountably back to Uxellodunum it continues in order along the coast, omitting Bowness, Beckfoot and Maryport. The list then is in general in topographical order, with omissions, except that Uxellodunum is misplaced. It is in fact only slightly less straightforward than Horsley believed it to be, and much more straightforward than was believed at the time when the current edition of the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain was designed.

If the compiler or an early copyist made an error in

the placing of Uxellodunum — and we are bound to believe that he did if we accept the identification with Castlesteads—then he may also have made another mistake and assigned to Uxellodunum the unit which was stationed at Netherby. He would be writing after A.D. 433, and dealing with material which was on any showing between 50 and 220 years old, and material which probably originally contained references to the outpost forts, which were not completely abandoned as a system until the time of the Picts War; some small degree of confusion is not then inconceivable. I do not much like postulating a compiler's error in order to smooth the way for a hypothesis, but I think it will readily be agreed that at this particular point something has gone wrong with the list as it stands.

Horsley would have extricated himself from the difficulty by stating that he was of the opinion that the *cohors I Hispanorum* removed from Netherby, at some time between that of Severus Alexander and that of Carausius, to Castlesteads, and that this is the Uxellodunum at which the *Notitia* places the cohort. For it was in this way that he dealt with a very similar difficulty.

Thus, while the difficulty of Uxellodunum remains, it is not absolutely fatal to the proposed reconstruction.

It will appear from the table that the *ala I Herculea,* which as we have already seen may well have received its new name from Carausius, is the same unit that we have already met in the second and early third centuries as the *ala Augusta.* It is now known that the *numerus Maurorum Aurelianorum* was in existence by A.D. 258, could not then have received its title from Aurelian, who came later, and must therefore have received it from Marcus Aurelius before A.D. 180. Almost every unit in the subsection can be demonstrated to have been in existence before the time of Septimius Severus, while it

E

can be said of none that it could not have been in exist-
ence before that time. It is therefore open to us to claim
that the subsection was first compiled shortly after
Caracalla's reorganisation of the northern frontier, that
it was amended in one particular between A.D. 289 and
A.D. 293, and finally frozen in A.D. 297; after this it re-
ceived no further amendment, except perhaps at the
unskilful hands of the fifth-century compiler of the
Notitia.

It is not proposed to enter in detail into the question
of the date of the remainder of section XL. It has
already emerged that it must be of a different date from
the Wall subsection, and that it is without doubt later
than the early fourth-century reorganisation. It is also
self-evident that at the time that the arrangements in
the section were in force Britain as a whole still formed
part of the Empire, though this need not have been so
late as the date of compilation of the whole *Notitia*. It
is possible to date the section more closely, within these
wide limits. The arguments of Stevens and others that
the Duke's command — without the Wall subsection—
represents Stilicho's arrangements for the frontier, are
impressive. If this is really the case then the list was
presumably frozen in A.D. 402, when Stilicho himself
caused a frontier " legion " to be withdrawn from
Britain; the " legion " would appear not to have been
the stump of XX Valeria Victrix, but the Duke's frontier
army, including *inter alia* what was left of VI Victrix—
still stationed until then at Sextae, which equals
Eboracum, as it had been for 280 years.

Stevens has suggested that at the time the Duke's
command was in being the western part of the northern
military zone was in the hands of *foederati*—barbarians
serving under their own chieftains. This suggestion
raises an interesting question which it is not yet possible

to answer. The stylistic development of Romano-British pottery between A.D. 367 and A.D. 402 is not yet traceable in detail. Pottery of the latter part of the fourth century as a whole is quite distinctive and can readily be recognised. Much of it was made at Cram-beck, which is within the area of the command of the Duke of the provinces of Britain. Pottery of this kind is found in the western as well as the eastern forts. Crambeck ware may have reached the western forts long before the time of Stilicho, for it reached Birdoswald, Housesteads and Rudchester presumably before A.D. 383, and certain types were in use before A.D. 367. We are bound however to ask whether the garrisons at South Shields, Lanchester, Binchester, Piercebridge and Malton continued to obtain pottery from Crambeck for longer than the garrisons of the forts of Brough-by-Bainbridge, Ambleside and Manchester, and if so whether a re-examination of the pottery would reveal any differ-ences, or whether on the other hand the *foederati* were treated as Roman troops for purposes of supply but not for purposes of record. It might perhaps be simpler to regard the Duke's list as one survivor of a pair of complementary lists covering between them the whole of the north of England.

As much of the argument in this paper has depended on the table the method of its compilation must be explained. It is a comparative table of the third-century order of battle and section XL made up as follows. The first column is a list of stations from *Notitia Occidentis* XL with a number of additional stations which are distinguished by square brackets; the spelling of the names from the *Notitia* has to some extent been assimilated to that of other documents, and the names are given in the nominative. In five instances, where the nominative form of the name is in doubt, it is shown in the singular. The second column is a list

of units opposite their respective stations, taken from
Notitia Occidentis XL, again with some changes of spell-
ing.   The third column is a list of identifications with
the English names of known Roman forts.   The fourth
and final column shows the units which garrisoned the
forts of the third column in the third century.   Except
for Stanwix, where the great size of the fort is the reason
for our placing the *ala Petriana* there (that was the only
cavalry unit a thousand strong in the British provinces,
and thus the largest auxiliary unit in the Army
of Britain), all these units are taken from inscriptions;
most of them are attested by inscriptions dated directly
or by internal evidence to the first half of the
third century, one, the *numerus Maurorum* at Burgh-
by-Sands, by an inscription of the second half of the
third century, and four by inscriptions which are
assigned to some date in the third century on grounds
of style: attention is drawn to these four entries in a
footnote.   A question-mark preceding any entry means
that there is some doubt about the correctness of the
particular entry, while a question-mark in the middle of
an otherwise empty panel means that there is no
evidence.

The full-page sketch map, drawn by Mr John Bell,
illustrates the places shown in the table; that is,
all forts mentioned in section XL, together with nine
which appear to have been omitted from the Wall
subsection.

The equation of the twelve stations from Segedunum
to Camboglanna with the twelve forts from Wallsend to
Birdoswald is taken from Horsley and is absolutely
certain.   Horsley's method was to collate the names of
regiments mentioned in inscriptions found at various
Wall forts with the units given in the subsection.   He
established the fact that the list begins at the east coast
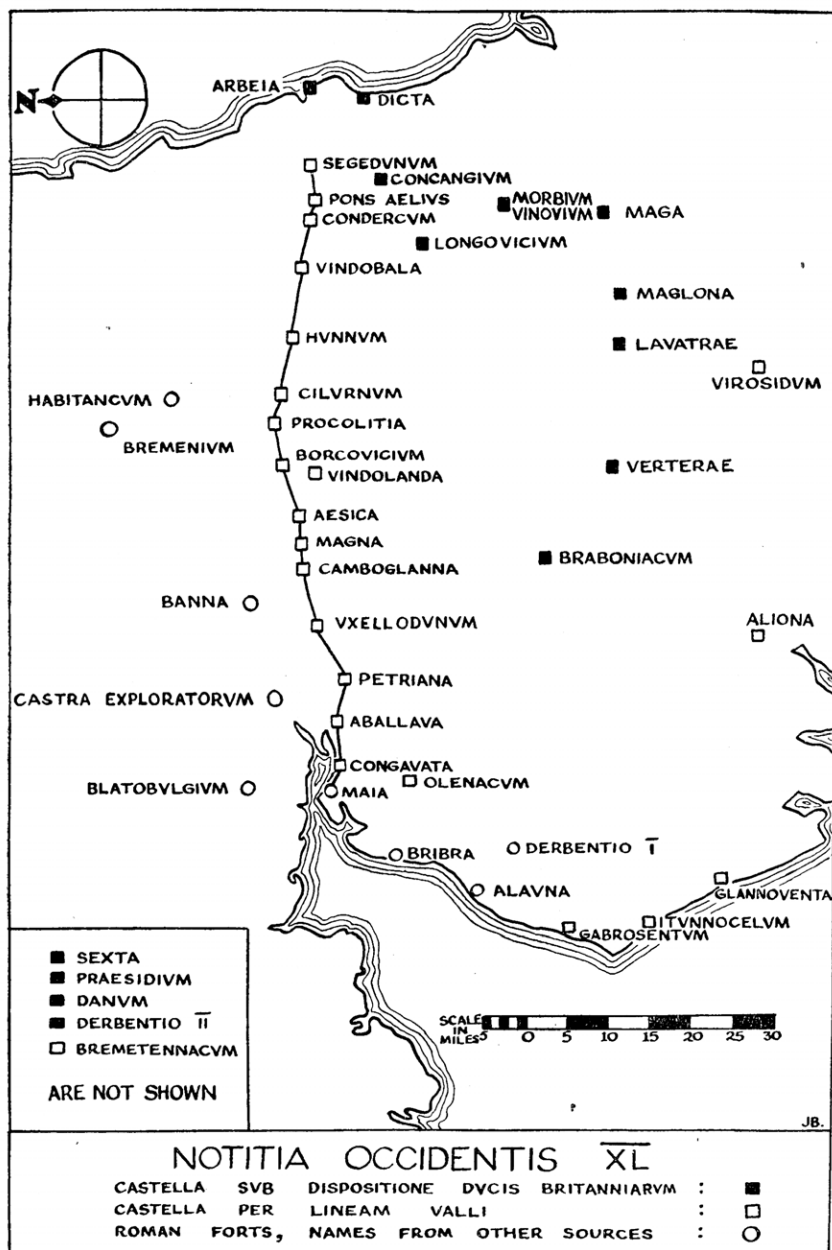and gives the stations inland to Birdoswald; after this

N

ARBEIA

DICTA

SEGEDVNVM

CONCANGIVM

PONS AELIVS

MORBIVM

CONDERCVM

VINOVIVM

MAGA

LONGOVICIVM

VINDOBALA

MAGLONA

HVNNVM

LAVATRAE

VIROSIDVM

HABITANCVM

CILVRNVM

BREMENIVM

PROCOLITIA

BORCOVICIVM

VINDOLANDA

VERTERAE

AESICA

MAGNA

CAMBOGLANNA

BRABONIACVM

BANNA

VXELLODVNVM

ALIONA

CASTRA EXPLORATORVM

PETRIANA

ABALLAVA

CONGAVATA

OLENACVM

BLATOBVLGIVM

MAIA

BRIBRA

DERBENTIO Ī

ALAVNA

GLANNOVENTA

GABROSENTVM

ITVNNOCELVM

SEXTA
PRAESIDIVM
DANVM
DERBENTIO ĪĪ
BREMETENNACVM

ARE NOT SHOWN

SCALE
IN
MILES   5   0   5   10   15   20   25   30

JB.

NOTITIA OCCIDENTIS XL

CASTELLA   SVB   DISPOSITIONE   DVCIS   BRITANNIARVM   :
CASTELLA   PER   LINEAM   VALLI   :
ROMAN   FORTS,   NAMES   FROM   OTHER   SOURCES   :

FIG. I. Notitia stations in the frontier district.

he went astray — though simply because he mistook Watchcross for a Wall fort. The important point, and what makes the identifications certain, is that the names of forts fall in the same order on the ground as in the list. In some cases where Horsley worked from the known to the unknown, subsequent discoveries have confirmed his deductions, thus confirming the logic of his inductive reasoning. The dates of inscriptions and the date of the subsection do not enter into the method, but once the identifications have been made it is seen that the method only produces a consistent result when third-century inscriptions are used. No fourth-century inscriptions are known which mention a unit by name, and second-century inscriptions for the most part give different units from those in the *Notitia*. The identification of Uxellodunum with Castlesteads follows Richmond's article on the Rudge Cup. Petriana is equated with Stanwix because of the great size of the fort. Congavata is best identified with Drumburgh; it cannot be Stanwix or Burgh-by-Sands as this would conflict with the names now fixed on good authority for each of them; it cannot be Bowness which is known from the Rudge Cup and Ravennas to be Maia; it can hardly be Beckfoot or Maryport which also appear to have other names in Ravennas; in the right region only Drumburgh is left, and as excavation has shown this site to be, like Carrawburgh, a small additional fort and not merely a large milecastle as was once suggested, the identification is feasible. Aballava, Gabrosentum, Bremetennacum and Virosidum are identified by extending Horsley's method. Glannoventa may be identified with Ravenglass with the aid of the Antonine Itinerary; Itunnocelum thus becomes, as Birley pointed out, an undiscovered fort between Moresby and Ravenglass (which the spacing of the known forts will allow). The Antonine Itinerary also aids in the identification of Aliona with Watercrook.

Olenacum suggests both Ptolemy's Olicana, Ilkley, and the Olerica of Ravennas. Palaeographically Olerica is the more likely to have the same parentage as Olenacum: the change from N to R is a common one, and may be illustrated from the Wall subsection where Lingonum · becomes Lergorum and Bremetennacum becomes Bremetenracum in the manuscripts. Olerica immediately follows Maia in Ravennas in a list which works northwards up the Cumberland coast and then turns inwards and southwards. The only unnamed fort in the right area is Old Carlisle, and it is a cavalry fort; the only other unidentified cavalry fort in the region, Lancaster, is too far distant to be Olenacum: the identification of Olenacum with Old Carlisle is then fairly certain.

The identification of the stations in the first part of the Duke's section with forts given in the table, and on the Cumberland coast (omitted from the *Notitia*), has been taken from the works of Birley and of Richmond, where it has been worked out with the aid of inscriptions, the Antonine Itinerary, Ravennas, Ptolemy and name survival. Some are still far from certain and are indicated as doubtful in the table.

Our argument may be summarised as follows. The order of battle in the Wall subsection is almost identical with one which was actually in being in the third century. It is unlikely that this order of battle should have survived the troubles at the end of that century; therefore, though we are not logically bound to do so, we may decide that the Wall subsection was in all probability composed in the third century; no absolutely conclusive argument can be brought against the hypothesis. Even if we chose to believe that the third-century order of battle remained substantially unchanged after the Constantian reorganisation, it is in the highest degree

unlikely that it should have survived the Picts' War, and impossible that it should have survived the adventure of Magnus Maximus. The later the subsection is dated the greater the difficulties, and we really do seem to be bound to the conclusion that *Item per lineam valli* is, like much else in the *Notitia,* an intruder in its context.

I have had the welcome opportunity of discussing this subject with Mr Eric Birley, Dr I. A. Richmond and Mr C. E. Stevens, and have taken advantage of their criticism and direct assistance without detailed acknowledgment; I do not wish, however, to imply that they severally endorse all my arguments. The main works of reference which I have used are as follows: —

1. *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. Seeck, 1876).
2. Horsley, *Britannia Romana* (1732).
3. J. B. Bury, "The Notitia Dignitatum" (JRS x, 131 f.)
4. R.. G. Collingwood, "Hadrian's Wall: A History of the Problem" (JRS xi, 37 f.).
5. R. G. Collingwood, "The Roman Evacuation of Britain" (JRS xii, 74 f.).
6. F. S. Salisbury, "On the Date of the Notitia Dignitatum" (JRS xvii, 102 f.).
7. M. Stefan Schulze, "The Roman Evacuation of Britain" (JRS xxiii, 36 f.).
8. F. S. Salisbury, "The Notitia Dignitatum and the Western Mints" (JRS xxiii, 217 f.).
9. C. E. Stevens, "The Coin of Arcadius from Heddon-on-the-Wall" (JRS xxvi, 71 f.).
10. J. D. Cowen and I. A. Richmond, "The Rudge Cup" (AA4 xii, 310 f.).
11. Eric Birley, "The Beaumont Inscription, the Notitia Dignitatum and the Garrison of Hadrian's Wall" (CW2 xxxix, 190 f.).
12. C. E. Stevens, "The British Sections of the Notitia Dignitatum" (Arch. Journ. xcvii, 125 f.).
13. *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (10th ed., by I. A. Richmond, 1947).

I	II	III	IV
Notitia station	Notitia unit	Modern place-name	Unit A.D. 212-297
[Sexta]	legio sexta	? York	leg. VI Victrix
Praesidium	equites Dalmatae	?	?
Danum	equites Crispiani	? Doncaster	?
Morbium	equites catafractarii	? Binchester	ala Vettonum
Arbeia	numerus barcariorum	South Shields	coh. V Gallorum
Dicta	numerus Nerviorum	? Wearmouth	?
Concangium	numerus vigilum	Chester-le-Street	an ala
Lavatrae	numerus exploratorum	Bowes	coh. I Thracum*
Verterae	numerus directorum	Brough-under-Stainmore	? a cohort
Braboniacum	numerus defensorum	Kirkby Thore	? an ala
Maglona ⎤	numerus Solensium ⎤	⎧Greta Bridge	?
Maga ⎦	numerus Pacensium ⎦	⎩Piercebridge	? not yet built
Longovicium	numerus Longovicianorum	Lanchester	coh. I Lingonum
Derbentio (II)	numerus supervenientium	Malton	?
Segedunum	coh. IV. Lingonum	Wallsend	coh. IV Lingonum
Pons Aelius	coh. I Cornoviorum	Newcastle upon Tyne	?
Condercum	ala I Asturum	Benwell	ala I Asturum
Vindobala	coh. I Frisiavonum	Rudchester	a cohort
Hunnum†	ala Sabiniana	Halton	‡ala Sabiniana
Cilurnum	ala II Asturum	Chesters	ala II Asturum
Procolitia	coh. I Batavorum	Carrawburgh	coh. I Batavorum
Borcovicium	coh. I Tungrorum	Housesteads	‡coh. I Tungrorum
Vindolanda	coh. IV Gallorum	Chesterholm	coh. IV Gallorum

"ALSO, ALONG THE LINE OF THE WALL".

57

Aesica	coh. I Asturum	Greatchesters	coh. II Asturum
Magna	coh. II Dalmatarum	Carvoran	‡coh. II Dalmatarum
Camboglanna	coh. I Aelia Dacorum	Birdoswald	coh. I Aelia Dacorum
Petriana	ala Petriana	Stanwix	ala Petriana
Aballava	numerus Maurorum	Burgh-by-Sands	numerus Maurorum
Congavata	coh. II Lingonum	Drumburgh	?
Uxellodunum	coh. I Hispanorum	Castlesteads	coh. II Tungrorum
[Maia]	?	Bowness-on-Solway	a cohort
[Bremenium]	?	High Rochester	coh. I Vardullorum
[Habitancum]	?	Risingham	coh. I Vangionum
[Banna]	?	Bewcastle	a cohort
[castra explor-atorum]	?	Netherby	coh. I Hispanorum
[Blatobulgium]	?	Birrens	a cohort
[Bribra]	?	Beckfoot	a cohort
[Alauna]	?	Maryport	a cohort
Gabrosentum	coh. II Thracum	Moresby	‡coh. II Thracum
Itunnocelum	coh. I Aelia Classica	? St. Bees	?
Glannoventa	coh. I Morinorum	Ravenglass	?
Aliona	coh. III Nerviorum	Watercrook	?
Bremetennacum	cuneus Sarmatarum	Ribchester	numerus Sarmatarum
[Derbentio (I)]	?	Papcastle	numerus Frisionum
Olenacum	ala I Herculea	Old Carlisle	ala Augusta
Virosidum	coh. VI Nerviorum	Brough-by-Bainbridge	coh. VI Nerviorum*

* This unit was at the station concerned before A.D. 212.   † Onnum is probably the correct form of the name: cf. p.   below.   ‡ Datable on grounds of style.