

ART. II. — *Cohors I Hispanorum and the Garrisons of Maryport*. By R. W. DAVIES,  
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THE cohors I Hispanorum, the unit in garrison at Maryport on the Cumberland coast, has provided a series of altars of considerable importance. As L. P. Wenham acutely observed, they showed that on the 3rd of January each year the cohort, under the direction of its commanding officer, ceremoniously dedicated an altar to Iupiter Optimus Maximus, to commemorate the renewal of the oath of loyalty of the troops.<sup>1</sup> As the title of the commanding officer changes, it has been argued that the cohort was increased from 500 strong (*quingenaria*) under the command of a *praefectus* to 1,000 strong (*milliaria*) under the command of a *tribunus*.<sup>2</sup> Five of these altars are known to have been set up by three prefects and eight by two tribunes.<sup>3</sup> One of these officers was the tribune M. Maenius Agrippa; an inscription from Camerinum in Italy gives his career and records that he was "selected by the Deified Hadrian and sent on the British Expedition, Tribune of the First Cohort of Spaniards Part-Mounted."<sup>4</sup> Examination of pottery found at Maryport is described as Trajanic-Hadrianic;<sup>5</sup> hence it is normally assumed that Maryport was occupied in the reigns of Trajan (98-117) and Hadrian (117-38) by cohors I Hispanorum.<sup>6</sup>

Most scholars have placed the *expeditio Britannica* early in Hadrian's reign. However, Professor Eric Birley has argued from a coin issue, a passing mention in the Roman writer Fronto, two career inscriptions, and the presence of the distinguished general S. Julius Severus in Britain as governor, that the expedition was "after rather than before 130."<sup>7</sup> However, both individually and collectively this evidence for the later date is weak.<sup>8</sup> There were additional reasons for assigning the expedition to c. 130; one, for example, was to show that *legio IX Hispana* was not destroyed, as commonly supposed, in c. 117 but survived to c. 130; however, new evidence strongly suggests that the legion had been transferred to the Continent by the time of Hadrian.<sup>9</sup> The other main reason was the need to fit into the later years of Hadrian's reign the eight altars of the tribunes before the cohort left Maryport at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161) and the altars of the various prefects in the earlier part of the reign, so that Agrippa could be the commander of the enlarged unit. However, re-examination of the pottery has led Dr M. G. Jarrett to put the foundation of the fort in the reign of Hadrian.<sup>10</sup> Dr Robert Saxer has recently restudied the dating of the evidence for the *expeditio Britannica* and has concluded that it should belong to the beginning of the reign.<sup>11</sup>

It would now appear that Agrippa must be one, if not the first, of the commanders attested at Maryport. But how is one to explain the apparent paradox that Agrippa is the tribune of the enlarged cohort when there are so many altars of the prefects to be accounted for? Another point that must be taken into account is the size of Maryport; the area of the fort is slightly larger than that of the forts for the milliary cohorts at Housesteads and Birdoswald, yet it must have been built at a time when the cohort was

only quingenary. Professor Birley discusses this point and quotes with approval a solution:<sup>12</sup>

The long axis is about 525 feet and the short axis 490 feet, giving an area of just over 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  acres – ample for a milliary cohort, but excessive for the quingenary cohorts attested here by inscriptions of the period from Antoninus Pius to the end of the 2nd century; Dr Jarrett has suggested that some of the accommodation may have been reserved for granaries, like those in the 3rd century layout at South Shields.

However, this solution must raise doubts. If the surplus area was full of granaries and storebuildings, where were the extra men and horses put when the unit's size was doubled?<sup>13</sup> Would the Romans have built a new fort for a unit, especially one twice the area needed, and then a few years later altered the size and status of the cohort?<sup>14</sup> Such a solution does not fit the renowned efficiency of the Roman military organisation and seems a rather desperate attempt to make the known facts fit theories.

There is a very simple explanation that seems to fit all the facts of the size of the cohort and the fort, the dating of the finds and careers, and which is in accordance with attested Roman military practice in Britain and other provinces. When cohors I Hispanorum built the fort at Maryport, it was already milliary;<sup>15</sup> subsequently, but still in the reign of Hadrian, it set a detachment for service elsewhere, while the rump cohort at Maryport reverted to the size and status of a quingenary cohort and was consequently commanded by the prefects. There is good supporting evidence for this practice of dividing milliary cohorts temporarily into a quingenary cohort and a detachment. Seven milliary cohorts are attested in Britain but only five of them appear on diplomas. Both cohors I and cohors II Tungrorum are known to have despatched a detachment to the Continent to Noricum and Raetia respectively and been reduced, as the diplomas show clearly, to the size and status of quingenary cohorts;<sup>16</sup> the fort constructed for the detachment of the Second Cohort at Eining was appreciably (21%) smaller than the average area for contemporary forts for a quingenary cohort in Raetia.<sup>17</sup> Inscriptions from Castlecary and Thibilis show that cohors I Fida Vardullorum was reduced to quingenary status, as it was commanded by prefects instead of tribunes.<sup>18</sup> All these examples are dated to the first half of the second century. In the third century cohors II Tungrorum may have been divided into two halves on a more permanent basis at Castlesteads and perhaps Old Church.<sup>19</sup> The same practice is attested in other provinces with other milliary cohorts, including a milliary cohort of Spaniards. A very obvious occasion for the transfer of the detachment of the Maryport cohort would be in c. 131, when Severus was despatched from Britain to deal with the Bar Cochba rebellion in Judaea; he may well have taken some battle-tried troops with him.<sup>20</sup>

Attention may be drawn to a unique altar to Iupiter Augustus dedicated by M. Censorius Cornelianus.<sup>21</sup> His rank is described on the altar, according to Mr R. P. Wright's reading, as *c(enturio) leg(ionis) [X Fr]jetensis praef[os]itus coh[ortis] I Hisp(anorum)*. A praefositus was an acting-commander, not the regular commander of a regular unit. Thus it may be that he was responsible for the part of the cohort actually stationed at Maryport, that is the de facto quingenary cohort after the detachment left. This legion was stationed in Judaea at the other end of the Empire; the temptation to link this fact with the sending of Severus to Judaea is obvious. It might well be that Cornelianus was transferred by Severus from his command at Maryport to a centurionate in Judaea, a post lacking the glamour of an independent equestrian

command of an auxiliary unit but having the attraction of permanency and greater prospects of military life; the pay in both cases was the same.<sup>22</sup> However, it might also be that at the end of the Jewish Revolt Cornelianus, a legionary centurion, was sent as officer in charge of the detachment to escort it on the long journey back to Cumberland.<sup>23</sup> One may wonder whether the altar to Iupiter Optimus Maximus set up by cohors I Baetasiorum at Old Kilpatrick under the direction of a prefect and a centurion of a non-British legion similarly indicates the use of a transit officer, perhaps on the journey between the forts of Old Kilpatrick and Maryport.<sup>24</sup> It should be noted that the reading is not as certain as could be hoped; Dr Jarrett has suggested that it is *praefec[t]us* and the present writer independently has suggested that the traces are such that *praeflectus* can be read;<sup>25</sup> if correct, Cornelianus would be one of the rare examples of officers changing from one career pattern to the other. As the altar is dedicated to Iupiter Augustus, it is not one of the standard Iupiter Optimus Maximus series. One altar simply reads *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Num(ini) Aug(usti) coh(ors) I Hispa(norum) pos(uit)*; this is thus an officially dedicated altar by the cohort, yet surprisingly it lacks the name of the commanding officer.<sup>26</sup> Conceivably the unit was temporarily without a tribune or prefect on the 3rd of January one year and the dedication consequently had to be made without reference to him;<sup>27</sup> perhaps it was made at the time of the change of size and status.

Cohors I Hispanorum will have moved out in the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius in the large scale reorganisation resulting from the invasion and reoccupation of Scotland. The replacement garrison was cohors I Delmatarum. A dedication-slab, perhaps from the tribunal on the parade ground, set up by this new garrison was to Iupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus for the welfare of Antoninus Pius. This does not give the emperor the title pater patriae, which he reluctantly accepted in 139;<sup>28</sup> if this omission is not accidental, it means that cohors I Hispanorum must have left in 138 or early in 139.<sup>29</sup> Another commanding officer of cohors I Delmatarum set up an altar to Iupiter Optimus Maximus on behalf of his cohort.<sup>30</sup> Later on in the second century this unit in turn was replaced by cohors I Baetasiorum civium Romanorum.<sup>31</sup> It is clear that this cohort set up parallel altars to Mars Militaris and Victoria Augusta as well as to Iupiter Optimus Maximus;<sup>32</sup> perhaps the reason was that the men had been awarded Roman citizenship en bloc for distinguished service, presumably in the invasion of Scotland, and hence made the triple dedication to commemorate also their valour and the emperor's victory.<sup>33</sup>

Dr Jarrett, following Professor Birley, has argued that in the third century the garrison was an unknown milliary cohort, commanded at one time by G. Cornelius Peregrinus, a tribune. The only evidence for such dating is two assumptions.<sup>34</sup>

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 third century.

However, it should be noted that all four commanding officers of cohors I Hispanorum (Priscus, Agrippa, Novellus, and Maximus), all securely dated to the reign of Hadrian, give neither filiation nor tribe on any of the twelve official Iupiter Optimus Maximus altars nor do any of the commanders of the other two second century cohorts on such dedications. In a more recent study Dr Jarrett has concluded:<sup>35</sup>

The use of a signum is unlikely before ca. 180, and is characteristic of the third century. This inscription provides the only evidence for a milliary cohort at Maryport in that century.

The evidence for this unit as the third-century garrison is thus extremely doubtful. One might add that only seven milliary cohorts are attested in Britain and after the third-century reorganisation they are all firmly attested in the outpost forts or on Hadrian's Wall;<sup>36</sup> it is undesirable to postulate another unknown and otherwise unattested unit to explain what can be explained more readily. Conceivably Peregrinus could have commanded one of the known milliary cohorts in a reorganisation of the forts in Cumberland in c. 155, c. 158, c. 163, c. 184, or during the frequent changes of frontier policy under Severus (197-211).<sup>37</sup> The inscription is fulsome but Peregrinus fails to mention his unit's name; perhaps he was merely passing through Maryport on his way to some post. The *signum* Volantius on the reverse is probably but not necessarily contemporary with the dedication on the front; as the top of the altar was subsequently adapted and as the stone was moved inside the fort, it must remain a possibility that the *signum* was added later. Both Sir Ian Richmond and Professor Duncan Fishwick have separately stated that this altar and the not dissimilar votive pillar are second century in date.<sup>38</sup> Dr Joyce Kewley has examined the stylistic features and decorations on altars from Roman Britain and agrees with this date.<sup>39</sup>

Professor Birley and Dr Jarrett have also argued that an altar dedicated by P. Cornelius Gaius belongs to the third century:<sup>40</sup>

The words *cui praest* are abbreviated to *c.p.* and this is normally an indication of 3rd century date.

However, there seems to be no fixed rules on third-century examples from Birdoswald, where they can be written out in full or partially or completely abbreviated.<sup>41</sup> It should be noted that the altar has *praenomen*, *filiation*, and probably *tribe*, which would be expected in a second but not necessarily in a third-century context. Indeed, Professor Birley has elsewhere suggested that this man may possibly be the distinguished jurist Gaius of the second century and in command of cohors I Hispanorum.<sup>42</sup> Mr Wright, on the other hand, has read the name as Cornelius Ur— and identified the unit without comment as cohors I Hispanorum.<sup>43</sup> It thus seems that the case for either of these two officers to have commanded an unknown cohort at Maryport in the third century is extremely weak and may be considered very dubious. It has been claimed that a recently discovered inscription shows that cohors III Nerviorum was stationed at Maryport in the third century and that the Notitia Dignitatum records this unit at Alione; however, this depends on a reading now known to be false and there is no case for this cohort at Maryport.<sup>44</sup>

Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest a third-century garrison. The Notitia assigns a cohors I Hispanorum to Axelodunum; the sequence of forts is Aballava (Burgh-by-Sands), Congavata (Drumburgh), Axelodunum, Gabrosentum (Burrow Walls), Tunncoculum (Moresby).<sup>45</sup> It will be noted that the unit is not given the title *Aelia*, though the units stationed at Birdoswald and Moresby are. It was long ago argued persuasively by Professor Birley from the evidence of auxiliary units grouped under legionary commands in the diplomas, that there were in fact two units stationed in Britain called cohors I Hispanorum.<sup>46</sup> It has been argued that Axelodunum is in fact Castlesteads, although cohors II Tungrorum is attested there by several third-century inscriptions.<sup>47</sup> However, such a thesis demands that the copyist confused Axelodunum and Uxelodunum, misplaced the entry by several lines, omitted the title *Aelia*, and that the Roman authorities at some time changed this but not any of the other units in the

northern frontier, or that the place name is corrupt and must be emended to Fanum Cocidii. All these assumptions are necessary to support a desperate case; it is surely far simpler to believe that what the copyist wrote is correct: in the third century the garrison of Maryport was cohors I Hispanorum and the name of the fort was Axelodunum.<sup>48</sup>

This cohort is not the former Hadrianic garrison, for that had earlier acquired the title Aelia, presumably in the campaigns in the reconquest of Scotland under Pius; moreover, in the third century it was in garrison at Netherby.<sup>49</sup> This is the other cohors I Hispanorum, which was always quingenary.<sup>50</sup> One may note an altar on which most of the text is unfortunately worn off; the first two lines were *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / pro* and the last two *praef(ectus) coh(ortis) / fecit.*<sup>51</sup> There are two points of interest here about this altar: firstly, the line I O M is carved not on the shaft but on the capital, and in this respect it is unique among the Maryport altars; recent statistical analysis of this phenomenon has shown that it is very rare before the third century but quite common from the time of Severus onwards.<sup>52</sup> Secondly, it is unique among the Maryport altars in linking Jupiter Optimus Maximus with someone's welfare; this might be, for example, the welfare of the dedicator.<sup>53</sup> However, the altars dedicated by ala Augusta at Old Carlisle in the second century show that they were set up only to I O M, but in the third century to I O M pro salute and the name of the emperor.<sup>54</sup> These two facts very strongly suggest that this altar was set up by the garrison of the third century, a cohors quingenaria.<sup>55</sup>

Dr Jarrett has also pointed out that on the altar to Jupiter Augustus dedicated by Cornelianus the letter 'G' is similar to third century examples; this altar has various unique features and it must remain a possibility that it too was set up by an officer in the third century.<sup>56</sup> The same possibility must remain open for the altar dedicated by Gaius or Ur-, which also has unique features, especially if the point about the abbreviation c(ui) p(raeest) is correct.<sup>57</sup> One might also note that the altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Numen Augusti set up by cohors I Hispanorum but which does not mention any commander, would statistically fit a third rather than a second-century date.<sup>58</sup>

The problem of the garrisons at Maryport may now seem, paradoxically, more complex and simple. Cohors I Hispanorum milliaria constructed the fort in the early years of Hadrian's reign, but subsequently lost a detachment, either to some other fort in Britain or to another province. If the latter, then the province of Judaea or Syria is the most likely place;<sup>59</sup> if the former, one of the later companion forts on the Cumberland coast is perhaps the most likely possibility, especially Beckfoot and Burrow Walls; both of these with an area of only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres are appreciably smaller than the normal  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres for a quingenary cohort (as at Carvoran and Chesterholm) and may, as at Eining, have housed the detachment.<sup>60</sup> The unit left Maryport in the opening years of Pius's reign, fought well and distinguished itself in the Scottish campaign, and was awarded the imperial title Aelia as a battle honour; presumably it had recovered its missing detachment at this time. The replacement garrison was cohors I Delmatarum and subsequently cohors I Baetasiorum replaced this cohort; presumably either in between these latter two or at a date later in the second century the anonymous milliary cohort of Peregrinus was stationed here.<sup>61</sup> In the third century the other cohors I Hispanorum became the garrison and is still attested there in the time of the Notitia; at some time legionary troops are attested there<sup>62</sup> and conceivably a member of the governor's bodyguard and men from Germany.<sup>63</sup>

It would now seem that Maenius Agrippa was probably the first commander of cohors I Hispanorum at Maryport and was succeeded by Caballius Priscus, each commanding for four years. Conceivably Agrippa was sent in the opening years of the reign, and it is worth remembering that he was stationed in Lower Moesia, the governor of which province, Pompeius Falco, was sent by Hadrian to be his first governor of Britain in 118.<sup>64</sup> However, he may have come a few years later in 121 or 122, when legio VI Victrix was brought from Lower Germany by the governor of that province, Platorius Nepos, another friend of the emperor, to replace Falco and construct the new frontier system.<sup>65</sup> Thus Maryport would have been built in c. 118 or c. 122; the latter date would seem preferable, as it is unlikely that major troop movements and rebuilding would take place before the arrival of the emperor, who was to make his own survey of the situation at first hand; it would also seem probable that the expeditio Britannica is to be dated to the time of the emperor's visit. It is not impossible that Hadrian in the early years of his reign gave instructions for the ala Petriana, cohors I Fida Vardullorum, and cohors I Hispanorum to be increased in size to occupy key sites in his new frontier system.<sup>66</sup>

Maryport has produced a fragmentary dedication of Hadrian's reign, another set up by cohors I Hispanorum, and also a tile bearing the unit's name.<sup>67</sup> Mr Richard Bellhouse has made the very attractive suggestion that Maryport was the hub for the Cumberland coast defence system, which was measured from the corner-towers of the fort;<sup>68</sup> if so, it must be a primary fort, while the other three in the system all seem to occupy the sites of watch-towers and must be secondary (or even tertiary) in the development of the frontier; Moresby, a 3½ acre fort of the right size for the quingenary cohorts attested there, was not built earlier than 128.<sup>69</sup> If construction of the new frontier system started in 122, then the Jupiter Optimus Maximus altars of the cohort will have been set up in the Januaries of 123–6 under Agrippa and 127–30 under Priscus; this would fit perfectly the loss of a detachment taken by Severus to fight in Judaea or its posting to nearby Beckfoot or Burrow Walls in the minor additions and improvements made to the frontier system in the later years of the reign.<sup>70</sup> The prefects Lupus, Novellus, and Maximus will have commanded in the 130s; they are collectively attested for a minimum of five years; if the first two served for the normal triennium,<sup>71</sup> they would take the series up to the January of 139, when Postumius Acilianus and cohors I Delmatarum were sent as a replacement garrison and made whatever alterations to the fort and its installations were necessary. We thus have almost all of the Jupiter Optimus Maximus altars set up by cohors I Hispanorum at Maryport under Hadrian, the names of their commanders and their dates in Britain, as well as the identity of the third-century garrison.

Professor Birley has kindly drawn my attention to a recently published inscription from Cagliari in Sardinia.<sup>72</sup> This records the career of an equestrian officer who, after serving as commander (tribune) of a cohors [ ] Hispanorum tironum, became praefectus alae Gallorum Petrianae civium Romanorum milliariae. The command of the ala Petriana must be later than 98, when it was still quingenary, and before Hadrian separated the command of an ala into a *tertia* and *quarta* militia.<sup>73</sup> This cohors Hispanorum tironum is not attested elsewhere by that title; it is milliary as it is commanded by a tribune, and newly created as the tironum shows; its anonymous commander may well be the first commander and the immediate predecessor of Agrippa and Priscus, when it dropped the title tironum and became simply cohors I Hispanorum milliaria. This anonymous officer must have been a close contemporary to C. Camurius

Clemens in command of the newly enlarged ala Petriana milliaria, soon to occupy the key site of Stanwix on Hadrian's Wall;<sup>74</sup> both commanded newly created milliary cohorts before Britain's elite and only milliary ala, and may well have been expert military organisers.

## Notes and References

The following abbreviations are used:

AA4-5	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> (fourth-fifth series).
AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> .
Birley, RBRA	Eric Birley, <i>Roman Britain and the Roman Army</i> (1953).
Birley, RHW	Eric Birley, <i>Research on Hadrian's Wall</i> (1961).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
Davies, "Carrawburgh"	R. W. Davies, "A Note on a Recently Discovered Inscription from Carrawburgh", <i>Epigraphische Studien</i> 4, 1967, 108-111.
Davies, "Commands"	"Some Military Commands from Roman Britain", forthcoming.
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892-1916).
Jarrett, ROM	Michael G. Jarrett, "Roman Officers at Maryport", CW2 lxxv (1965) 115-132.
Jarrett, BR	Michael G. Jarrett, "The Garrison of Maryport and the Roman army in Britain", <i>Britain and Rome: Essays Presented to Eric Birley</i> (1966), edited by M. G. Jarrett and B. Dobson, 27-40.
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> .
RIB	R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, volume I: Inscriptions on Stone</i> (1965).

<sup>1</sup> CW2 xxxix (1939) 19-30. The altars were subsequently deliberately buried in pits, perhaps as part of the quinquennial lustrum; Jarrett, ROM 116-117 suggests that the occasion was the moving of the site of the parade ground from the northeast to the south of the fort, cf. Birley, RHW 218, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrett, ROM 118, 122; BR 34; Birley, RHW 216.

<sup>3</sup> They are fully discussed by Jarrett, ROM; prefects:- Antistius Lupus (RIB 816), Helstrius Novellus (RIB 822), Cammius Maximus (RIB 827-829); tribunes:- Maenius Agrippa (RIB 823-826), Caballius Priscus (RIB 817-820).

<sup>4</sup> CIL xi 5632=ILS 2735.

<sup>5</sup> CW2 xxxvi (1936) 98.

<sup>6</sup> See note 2. Birley, RBRA 137, 155, however, assumes a Hadrianic foundation. Jarrett (CW2 lviii (1958) 63-67) has postulated a first century (Agricolan) foundation on two very slender pieces of evidence; however, Tacitus, *Agri* 24 surely refers to the Rhinns of Galloway (cf. R. M. Ogilvie & I. A. Richmond, *De Vita Agricolae* (1967) 236); RIB 859's formula, as he himself admits, "need not necessarily be pre-Hadrianic".

Excavation in 1966 failed to produce any evidence for first century occupation; JRS lvii (1967) 177. Excavation at Watercrook in 1974 suggested that the Lake District had been by-passed by Agricola; CBA Regional Group 3 *Archaeological Newsbulletin* no. 10, May 1975, 4-6; cf. *Britannia* VI, 1975, 233-234.

<sup>7</sup> Birley, RBRA 37-38. For the traditional date RIB 824 apparatus.

<sup>8</sup> R. W. Davies, "Fighting and Frontiers in the North of Roman Britain", H. Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II Prinzipat, 12 (1977).

<sup>9</sup> *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* (1967) 54-76; *Bonner Jahrbücher* 167, 1967, 268-279; AE 1968, 323.

<sup>10</sup> *Epigraphische Studien* 9, 1972, 159; cf. *Britannia* V, 1974, 287, note 12; full report forthcoming in CW2.

<sup>11</sup> *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationem des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian* (1967) 27.

<sup>12</sup> Birley, RHW 222-223.

<sup>13</sup> The complete plan of Housesteads shows that there were no extra granaries for supplying the milecastles and turrets. South Shields is the conversion of an existing fort and soon scrapped, Maryport is a new fort; if such a larger base is needed, Bowness at 7 acres is a far better possibility, cf. Birley, RHW 213.

- <sup>14</sup> The sizes of the other forts in the Cumberland Coast system are instructive: Beckfoot (perhaps with extra accommodation for stores?) and Burrow Walls are  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , Moresby  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres; Birley, RHW s.v.
- <sup>15</sup> According to the diplomas, cohors I Fida Vardullorum was quingenary in 98 and 105 and ala Petriana was quingenary in 98 but both had been made milliary by 122 (CIL xvi 43, 51, 69). A quingenary cohors I Hispanorum is attested in 98, 103, 105, 122, 124, and 146, but as there were two such units, it is not possible to identify the Maryport one in every case.
- <sup>16</sup> Davies, "Carrawburgh" 108–11. Cf. also CW2 xxxv (1935) 56–60; *Epigraphische Studien* 9, 1972, 249; *Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda Dedicata* (1966) 61.
- <sup>17</sup> Davies, "Carrawburgh" 111.
- <sup>18</sup> RIB 2149; CIL viii 5532 (presumably the commission was granted by Lollius Urbicus); a vexillation of this cohort is attested in a second century context at Milecastle 19 (RIB 1421) and perhaps at Corbridge (RIB 1128). For a possible rump cohort at Castlecary subsequently brought back to full strength Davies, "Carrawburgh" 110 on RIB 2155.
- <sup>19</sup> CW2 xxxi (1931) 147; cf. Birley, RHW 139, 204.
- <sup>20</sup> Dio 69, 13, 2. Birley has made the attractive suggestion that CIL xi 5960 shows a centurion of legio XX Valeria Victrix taking "a battle-tried contingent from the army of Britain" to Syria and then back to Britain at this time; *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 1963/64, 1965, 29–30.
- <sup>21</sup> RIB 814; Jarrett, ROM 120–122, no. 3; Fishwick points out that Jupiter Augustus is unparalleled in Britain (*Phoenix* 15, 1961, 220).
- <sup>22</sup> *Ancient Society* 3, 1972, 193–207.
- <sup>23</sup> For such an officer AE 1933, 214; *Syria* 49, 1972, 495–7; Davies, "Commands" no. 24.
- <sup>24</sup> *Britannia* I, 1970, 310, no. 20, pl. XXXVIB = AE 1971, 226; Davies, "Commands" no. 15.
- <sup>25</sup> Jarrett, ROM 120; Davies, "Commands" no. 17.
- <sup>26</sup> RIB 815; none of the other IOM altars lacks the commander's name.
- <sup>27</sup> For official dedications made by a cohort under an acting-commander RIB 1299, 1880, 1876, 2144, and probably 1710 and 991; Davies, "Commands" nos. 1–10.
- <sup>28</sup> RIB 832 = ILS 3009. The title occurs on another dedication-slab set up by this prefect, RIB 850. For dedications made by him cf. RIB 810, 847, 833; the last is probably not one of the official military dedications (*contra* Jarrett, ROM 126–127). Cf. Jarrett, BR 36–37.
- <sup>29</sup> Pater patriae does not appear on the Corbridge granary dedication of 139 but it does on the one of 140 (RIB 1147–1148); it appears on twenty-five other examples from the Hadrianic and Antonine Walls and Scotland.
- <sup>30</sup> Caecilius Vegetus, RIB 831; Jarrett, ROM 126.
- <sup>31</sup> Jarrett, BR 37–39; ROM 128.
- <sup>32</sup> They are clearly parallel as they are buried with the IOM altars. IOM (RIB 830), Mars (RIB 837–8), Victoria (RIB 842–843).
- <sup>33</sup> It seems most unlikely that the dedications to Victoria have anything to do with the campaigns of Ulpius Marcellus, cf. Jarrett, BR 37. If Jarrett, ROM 128 is correct on the later career of Tutor, then "he will have been at Maryport not later than the early 160s"; these three altars would thus be some two decades earlier than the rule of Marcellus.
- Cohors I Baetasiorum, the only unit at Maryport with the award of Roman citizenship, did not have it in 135 (CIL xvi 82) but did c. 142 (RIB 2169–2170) ob virtutem et fidem. Over a score of IOM altars are known from Birdoswald but none to Mars Militaris or Victoria Augusti.
- <sup>34</sup> RIB 812 = ILS 3657; Jarrett, ROM 128–129; BR 39; cf. Birley, RHW 217.
- <sup>35</sup> *Epigraphische Studien* 9, 1972, 175.
- <sup>36</sup> Netherby, Bewcastle, Risingham, High Rochester, Housesteads, Birdoswald, Castlesteads; Birley, RHW s.v.
- <sup>37</sup> Cf. for the most recent discussions of the changes in frontier policy *Bonner Jahrbücher* 170, 1970, 178–210; AA4 xlvi (1970) 1–44; AA4 1 (1972) 179–189; AA5 ii (1974) 1–16.
- <sup>38</sup> AA4 xxi (1943) 173; *Phoenix* 15, 1961, 224; RIB 840.
- <sup>39</sup> I am indebted to Dr Kewley for discussion on the stylistic dating of various of these altars. She kindly writes on RIB 812: "A very elaborate and unusually-shaped altar. The elaboration and general style would seem to point to a date in the second century."
- <sup>40</sup> RIB 821; Jarrett, ROM 129–130; BR 40; Birley in CW2 xlvi (1948) 55–56.
- <sup>41</sup> Cf. Davies, "Commands" no. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Birley, RBRA 57: "The Maryport inscription seems datable to the time of Hadrian or conceivably the closing years of Trajan."

<sup>43</sup> RIB 821.

<sup>44</sup> JRS lvii (1967) 204-205, no. 14 = AE 1967, 257; JRS lviii (1968) 214, cor. (a) = AE 1968, 278; *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. O. Seeck), Occ. XL 53; Alione is perhaps more likely to be Watercrook. Note with this equation and the correction of the Castlesteads/Maryport problem (see below) how a smooth frontier line along the Wall and west coast is achieved; cf. *Roman Frontier Studies* 1969 (1974) 102-105.

<sup>45</sup> *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. O. Seeck), Occ. XL 47-51.

<sup>46</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis* CII, 1953, 19; cf. Jarrett, ROM 119; BR 27-28.

<sup>47</sup> Birley, RHW 203, 257; CW2 xlvi (1949) 48-49, 54; *Latomus* XIII, 1954, 589; cf. Jarrett, BR 35-36. For cohors II Tungrorum at Castlesteads RIB 1981-1983 and 1999 with Davies, "Commands" no. 23; above, note 19.

<sup>48</sup> One may note that the Ravenna Cosmography gives the reverse sequence Iuliocenon, Gabrocenti, Alauna, where the connection between the last and the River Ellen is clear; Uxelludamo is given in its correct sequence at Castlesteads separately; Ravennas 116-118 and detailed commentary in *Archaeologia* xciii (1949) 1-50, especially 10, 22; Birley, RHW 265-267.

It is not impossible that there may have been two names for Maryport in Roman times; Netherby seems originally to have been called Brocara but subsequently renamed Castra Exploratorum and Stanwix may well have had another name before taking Petriana as a result of its garrison; cf. Birley, RHW 205, 230. London was officially renamed Augusta instead of Londinium (Ammianus 27, 8, 7; 28, 3, 1) and York probably changed from Eburacum to Legio or Legio Sexta (cf. CIL xiii 3162; *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. O. Seeck), Occ. XL 18; R. M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (1971) 91, 96, and note 99).

<sup>49</sup> E.g. RIB 968, 976-980.

<sup>50</sup> On the assumption that Aelia was granted to the former Hadrianic unit from Maryport in c. 142 (cf. note 33), then the cohors I Hispanorum mentioned on the diploma of 146 will belong to the other unit (CIL xvi 93). If the Hadrianic Maryport unit was made milliary in late Trajanic or early Hadrianic times (see note 15), then the diplomas of 122 and 124 will have referred to the other cohors I Hispanorum also.

<sup>51</sup> RIB 834.

<sup>52</sup> AA5 i (1973) 129-131. Of the seven 'pre-Severan' altars of Dr Kewley the Old Kilpatrick one is according to Birley best dated to the Severan campaigns, to which time the Cramond one may be assigned with confidence as the prefect is known elsewhere; the two Newcastle ones may also belong to this time as coins and literary evidence commemorate dedications to these deities and bridges.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. RIB 1589 with muddled Latin but having IOM on the capital and for the welfare of the dedicator (prefect).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. RIB 893 (188) and 894 (191) with 895 (197), 896 (198-211), 897 (242 with IOM on the capital), and 898.

<sup>55</sup> The traces of letters at the beginning of line 3 may be part of IMP(ERATOR) or the emperor's names e.g. M(ARCUS) or IVL(IVS).

<sup>56</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis* cxiii (1964) 58; RIB 814; see above, notes 21-25. However, Dr Kewley points out to me that this altar was probably carved by the same mason responsible for those of Maximus (RIB 827-829); this would strongly suggest that the governor Severus was responsible.

<sup>57</sup> RIB 821; see above, notes 40-43.

<sup>58</sup> RIB 815; see above, note 26. Of 13 definite IOM altars set up by Hadrianic commanders (see note 3) of cohors I Hispanorum only 2, both dedicated by Agrippa, have this combination though another 2 do not; this may well be explained by the fact that he had a special personal relationship with the emperor (hospes). The combination does not occur on any of the altars set up by the other two second century cohorts, but it does at Housesteads in the third century (RIB 1584-1588) and also Castlesteads (1983) and Newcastle (1317, if military); Fishwick lists no second-century examples apart from the few at Maryport (*Phoenix* 15, 1961, 214-215). However, Dr Kewley points out to me that stylistically it is in the same group as those of Novellus and Agrippa and "certainly strikes me as second century and early at that"; in which case the latter's friendship with Hadrian and especially the time of the emperor's visit to Britain would be appropriate.

<sup>59</sup> See above, note 20. Note, however, that the ala Tampiana was transferred from Britain to Noricum c. 130; cf. CIL xvi 69 with 174.

<sup>60</sup> See above, notes 14 and 17. Burrow Walls was not reoccupied c. 160, when Hadrian's Wall once more became the frontier line; it and all the Cumberland coast system (except mile-fortlet 5 (Cardurnock) which was reduced in size) were abandoned. Beckfoot has a highly unusual layout and it is possible that its six barrack-blocks contained the four centuries of infantry and the four turmae (two per block) of cavalry of the detachment.

<sup>61</sup> However, it should be noted that even if a third-century date is still required for this stone, that does not prove the presence of a milliary cohort. During the course of the third century the commanders of quingenary cohorts were often upgraded from prefect to tribune; hence in the entry item per lineam valli in the Notitia all the cohorts are listed commanded by tribunes, although some are quingenary and earlier are correctly attested under the command of prefects (cf. RIB 1075 with 1091-1092; Davies, "Commands" no. 11; A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (1908) 108).

<sup>62</sup> RIB 854 (238-244); RIB 852 as dated by Jarrett (*Archaeologia Cambrensis* cxiii (1964) 58).

<sup>63</sup> RIB 865 and apparatus for a possible s(ingularis) c(onsularis); the next word is Germa-, perhaps the name Germanus or conceivably a reference either to irregular Germanic troops or to a detachment of the German armies known to have been in Britain in 217; cf. *Britannia* IV, 1973, 201; *Epigraphische Studien* 4, 1967, 103-107.

<sup>64</sup> *Epigraphische Studien* 4, 1967, 69.

<sup>65</sup> See previous note. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1960-1) 292-295, following Birley (see note 7), dated Agrippa's career in Britain at Maryport to relatively late in Hadrian's reign; however, he assumed a Hadrianic foundation for the fort, although Birley postulated a Trajanic. Pflaum has more recently dated the expeditio to "vers 124" on information about the rebellion of 117 from Sir Ronald Syme (but see my article cited in note 8); if correct, it is probable that the sequence of commands of Agrippa and Priscus should be reversed (*Legio VII Gemina* (1970) 362, cf. 377).

<sup>66</sup> The first two were made milliary by 122 at latest; see above, notes 15 and 50. Hadrian seems to have established the equestrian militiae on a revised basis; Birley, RBRA 149.

<sup>67</sup> RIB 851 and 855; CIL vii 1232; the first was not known to Birley when he dated the occupation.

<sup>68</sup> CW2 lxx (1970) 42; cf. A. R. Birley, *The Ninth Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall* (1969) 5-7.

<sup>69</sup> Birley, RHW 126-131, 214-226; RIB 801.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. B. Dobson and D. J. Breeze, *The Building of Hadrian's Wall* (fifth edition, 1974) *passim*, especially 26-29; Birley, RHW 248-249.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Birley, RBRA 137-138; *Legio VII Gemina* (1970) 355.

<sup>72</sup> *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge 1967 (1971) 243; the inscription is reproduced as AE 1972, 226.

<sup>73</sup> See above, notes 15 and 66.

<sup>74</sup> CIL xi 5669 = ILS 2728.