II

The Development of the Roman Site at Corbridge from the First to Third Centuries A.D.

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SUMMARY

This paper reviews the structural sequence at Corbridge in the second half of the second century, seeking to date and explore the possible historical contexts for the changes that occurred as the site was transformed from a conventional fort to a civil town housing a base for legionary detachments. An attempt is made to resolve the controversies that have surrounded the purpose of the ambitious courtyard building known as Site XI, and the character and date of the so-called 'Corbridge destruction deposit'. The paper arrives at the following conclusions: the fort, established c. 85, came to an end c. 163 when it was adapted to form a base for detachments of legions VI and XX. At some stage it was decided to replace this base with an open settlement which centred on Site XI, intended for the storage and marketing of commodities. Work on Site XI was suddenly abandoned with the building incomplete. Either precipitating this or occurring later, a fire (attested by the 'destruction deposit') destroyed the central area of Corbridge. The Site XI building programme and the subsequent fire are most likely to date between the later 160s and the early 180s. At some stage between the 170s/180s and the early-third century the currently visible layout of legionary compounds, granaries, fountain and finished parts of Site XI came into being, representing a base for detachments of (eventually) legions II and XX at the centre of a civil town. The paper considers the character, function, and duration of the legionary-detachment bases that existed at Corbridge from the 160s through to the third century.

INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT PAPER is to review the transition of Roman Corbridge from auxiliary fort (to give the conventional designation) to military base of special character, for legionary detachments, lying at the heart of a busy frontier town. An interest in this aspect of the history of the site has been stimulated by the study undertaken by the writer of a large group of architectural fragments from a sanctuary, associated with the religious cults of the legions as described by Richmond in his classic paper of 1943, *Roman legionaries at Corbridge, their temples, supply-base and religious cults*.[1] The present paper seeks to provide a clearer chronological context for the temples built by the legionaries stationed at Corbridge, by examining what kind of legionary base Corbridge was, and how and when it came into being. The paper may also be read as a straightforward account of the development of Corbridge as a military site up to the third century, and it is hoped that it will be useful as a simple synthesis of evidence and ideas, often scattered in disparate sources, and often obscure and contradictory. Corbridge may be one of the great legends of the northern frontier, but most of the older discussion assumes previous knowledge, and, except in guide-book accounts, no-one seems to have tried to bring it all together.[2]

Corbridge has a central place in modern archaeological research on the Roman northern frontier. In the summers leading up to the First World War it was the scene of a pioneering and extensive campaign of excavation, recorded in a series of classic reports in the third series of *Archaeologia Aeliana*, and documented in a remarkable series of photographs, several recently published by M. C. Bishop.[3] Between the wars, operating with more straitened resources, Richmond and Birley turned their attention to the central part of the site. In the years between 1947 and 1973 the annual training excavation at Corbridge became a workshop for forging techniques and interpretations in the study of the Roman frontier. The excavations of the 1930s onwards were reported almost every year in *Archaeologia Aeliana* from 1938 to 1955,[4] and more occasionally after that, but not fully published until the meticulous attempt by Bishop and Dore to assemble the surviving excavation records in 1989.[5] Their work, to which the present writer is much indebted, concentrated on the sequence of early forts, and did not treat at length the transition from the final fort to civil site and legionary base — which may be a justification for re-opening that question here.

THE EARLIEST MILITARY OCCUPATION

The earliest focus of Roman occupation at Corbridge was at Red House, 1km to the west of the main site, where an impressive set of baths, of later-first century date, was discovered and excavated in the 1950s.[6] The site to which they belonged was fragmentarily revealed during the construction of the new A69 dual carriageway in 1974. This was interpreted by the excavators as a 'vexillation fortress' or 'supply base', established in the later 70s for the invasion of Scotland by Agricola.[7] That the baths would turn out to be accompanied by a military base earlier than the main site had been brilliantly predicted by John Gillam. However, an acute suggestion by M. C. Bishop (pers. comm.) that the structures found in 1974 represent part of a civilian settlement, attached to an as yet undiscovered military base, should be given serious consideration. The excavated strip buildings, workshops and stores did not conform to any kind of known fort plan. Ditches marked the limits of the settlement, but no defensive rampart could be found. A single building of very substantial timber construction, seen only very fragmentarily, was identified as a barrack on inadequate grounds. The excavators conceded that its width was excessive for a legionary barrack. None of this alters the simple fact that somewhere close by there must have been an early campaign base. After a short life the Red House site was abandoned in favour of a fort on the familiar plateau immediately west of the modern town, overlooking the Roman bridge carrying Dere Street across the Tyne.

THE SEQUENCE OF FORTS ON THE MAIN SITE (FIG. 1)

Nowadays the foundation date of the first known fort on the main site at Corbridge is usually given as *c.* 85, on the evidence of the samian pottery.[8] This was the first in a series of forts that accumulated, to use John Gillam's phrase, 'one on top of the other' between the late-first and mid-second century, fragments of which were excavated between 1934 and 1973. The successive forts were reconstructed and described by Gillam, in a characteristically trenchant summary.[9] His scheme of periods was only slightly modified when Bishop and Dore published what they could glean from the details of the surviving excavation archive. The sequence of forts is as follows:

Fort IA: foundation after *c*. 85 on the evidence of samian pottery. Gillam believed that this fort had the same east and west defences as its successors, and interpreted the buildings as belonging to the central range of an auxiliary fort, underlying the central ranges of its successors. Bishop and Dore question the contiguity of Fort I with its successors, drawing attention to ditch systems north and east of the known fort, Flavian in date (recorded in the pre-first World War reports), which might suggest an enclosure some 5.2–6.5 ha in size.[10] The early reports had also noted that early material was most densely represented east of the known fort. Therefore Bishop and Dore suggest a 'vexillation fortress'. It is difficult to believe that the fort IA buildings recorded on the known site belong to such: although fragmentary, they seem an obvious predecessor to the later versions of the central range. The larger scale of the putative *principia* than that of its successors might nevertheless imply a somewhat larger fort. The outlying defences to the north and east, and the evidence of Flavian occupation east of the known fort, could be explained by reference to the complexes of annexes typical of the period. A coin of no earlier than 103 from the body of the east rampart of Fort II has been taken by Bishop and Dore to suggest that whatever rampart coexisted with the Period IA buildings will have had to have lain further out.[11] A fort of periods IA and IB extending only slightly further east and west than its successor — perhaps originally giving a square shape of some 3ha, seems a possibility. The earliest fort at Carlisle, garrisoned by an *ala* (and possibly a legionary detachment) had an area in the region of 3.20 ha and a square shape.[12]

The *ala Petriana*, still quingenary at this period,[13] may have been the garrison of Fort IA on the strength of the tombstone of Flavinus (RIB 1172) at Hexham. As there is reason to believe that the *ala Petriana* moved to Carlisle under Trajan, possibly occupying the fort rebuilt there *c*. 105,[14] its presence at Corbridge fits best with Fort I, unless the Flavinus tombstone relates to the Red House base. Too little is understood of the plan of Fort IA for it to imply anything about the type of garrison.

Fort IB: rebuilding and modifications within the life of Fort I was characterised by the use of beam slots rather than the post-in-trench construction of Fort IA.[15] The final destruction of fort IB was by fire.

Fort II: a south-facing fort whose east and west ramparts are known (giving the internal short axis dimension as some 121 m), but not those to north and south. Post in trench construction predominated. 'Almost everywhere the post-trenches of fort II had been cut through fired clay and charcoal . . .'[16]

A *terminus post quem* for the construction of Fort II is said to be provided by a coin from within the east rampart of a type first struck in 103.[17] On this basis the construction of Fort II has been circumstantially and plausibly connected with a withdrawal from Lowland Scotland to the Tyne-Solway Isthmus around *c*. 105. At around this date Carlisle and Vindolanda were also rebuilt.

The observations of some of the barracks in the *retentura*, published in schematic form in Gillam's 1977 paper, were assembled by Bishop and Dore from the original records.[18] The result is too fragmentary for certainty regarding numbers of *contubernia* and details of the barrack plans. The evidence, in the form of its projecting officer's house, that the barrack (E), immediately behind the western half of the central range, faced south, with its back towards its neighbour to the north, does seem quite good.[19] Gillam believed he could identify both infantry and cavalry barracks and that the fort would have held enough barracks for a *cohors milliaria equitata*.

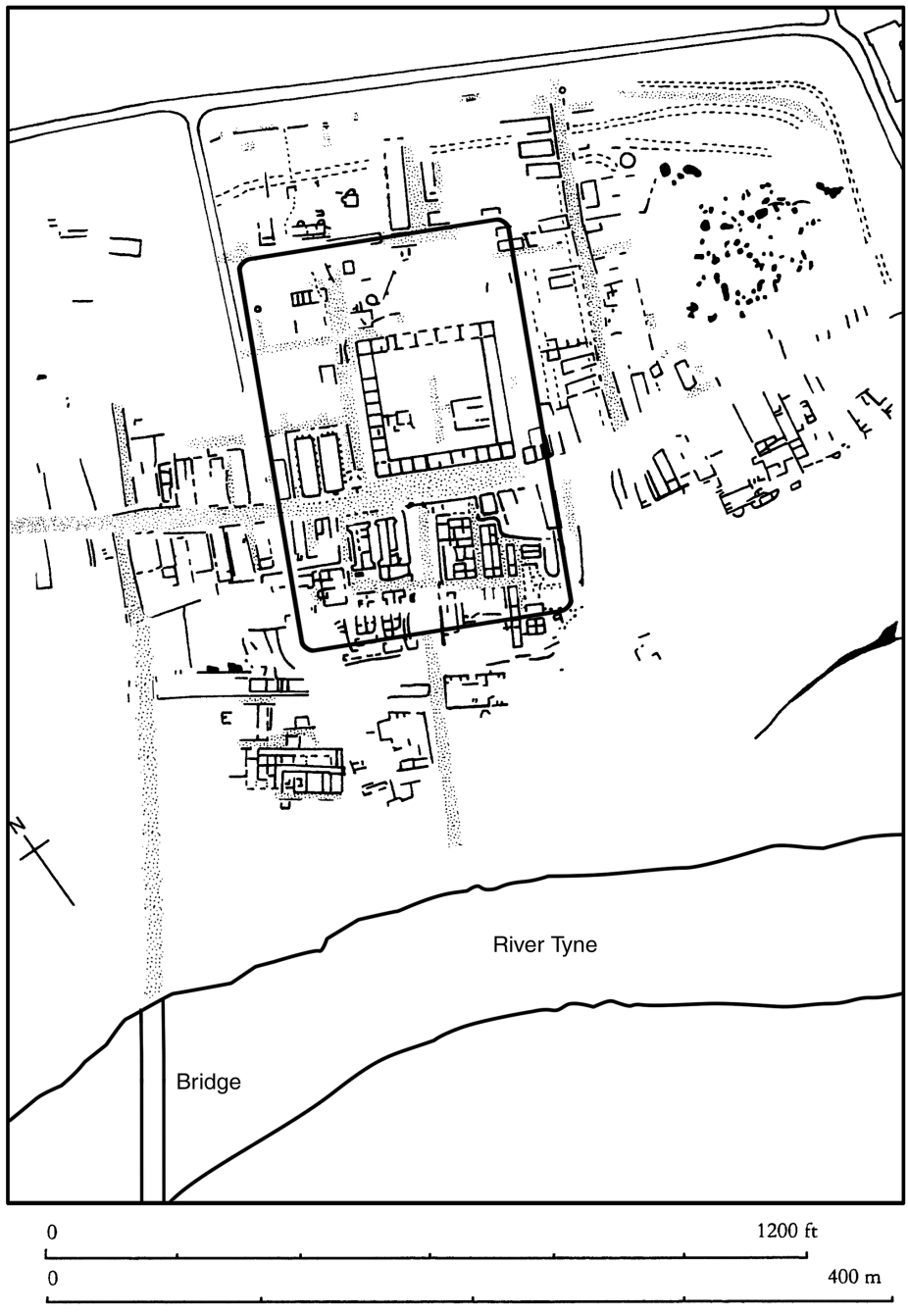

Fig. 1 General plan of the remains at Corbridge known from excavation and air-photography. The outline of the fort of Periods II–IV is shown superimposed over the visible streets, compounds and buildings of the later-Roman town under which it is buried. See close-up of centre of fort area on fig. 2.

Bishop has suggested that the bath-house excavated in 1909 at Site 17 was the extra-mural bath house for this fort. If so, it would have lain immediately outside the northern defences.[20]

Fort III: this represents a modification of Fort II, not a complete rebuild. Post-in-trench construction predominated. The east and west defences and *principia* were retained (with the addition of a stone *aedes*), the granaries transplanted to the east side of the fort, and the barracks in the *retentura* reconstructed. These seem to have retained the same basic arrangement of building plots. Again the assembled details are too fragmentary for us say what kind of unit occupied the fort.

Formerly it was assumed that the fort at Corbridge was abandoned in favour of Halton Chesters when forts were added to Hadrian's Wall only a year or two after the construction of the Wall (and Fort III) had commenced. It is no longer believed that Corbridge stood empty, perhaps with a caretaker garrison, until the Antonine advance into Scotland in *c.* 139. Bishop and Dore point out[21] that there is no evidence, either structural or in the pottery and coin records, for such a period of abandonment. There is no reason, therefore, to believe that Fort III did not continue in use throughout the reign of Hadrian. It is possible in fact that it was built around *c.* 122 specifically to function with the new Hadrianic frontier.

Fort IVA: the barracks were rebuilt in timber, using a variety of construction techniques; the central range was reorganised and the *principia*, granaries (now on the west side) and 'hospital' were built in stone. The date of Fort IVA is derived from two monumental building inscriptions of *Legio II Augusta*, dating respectively to 139 and 140 (RIB 1147–8), found re-used in the floors of the later granaries in the central area and therefore supposed to come from early Antonine predecessors of these buildings.[22] There is no guarantee that they did, but the granaries, as a pair of significant central range buildings, would be most likely to have produced the two inscriptions.[23] Once again the new barracks broadly follow the old building plots, with the barrack north of the west central range continuing to face southwards.

Fort IVB refers to the rebuilding of the barracks in stone, and limited alterations, notably the stone building or replacement of a *praetorium*, in the central range. Fort IVB has previously been associated with the 'second Antonine period' of the occupation of Scotland, commencing *c.* 158. 'The rebuilding of a fort, in part, to house a different type of unit is likely to have taken place when there were widespread unit moves, in other words, more probably at the beginning of Period II on the Antonine Wall, than in the course of Period I'.[24]

It has recently been shown that there is no structural evidence for a second general period on the Antonine Wall.[25] Rather than a full reoccupation of the Antonine Wall beginning in *c.* 158, it is now possible to envisage a recommissioning of Hadrian's Wall beginning then. It remains uncertain whether the Antonine Wall was totally abandoned in *c.* 158,[26] or whether, simultaneously with the re-commissioning of the southern wall, it continued to be manned in some way until the 160s. In either case, Corbridge Fort IVB could be seen as part of the work of recommissioning Hadrian's Wall and associated forts, such as Birrens, that was already taking place under Julius Verus about 158.

Under the governor Julius Verus, that is in the period immediately before or around 158 a dedication (RIB 1132), perhaps on a statue base (and therefore probably in the *principia*), was made by a vexillation of the VI Legion under a tribune. RIB 1128 (from Hexham) probably places *cohors I fida Vardullorum*, at least in part, at Corbridge somewhere in the period 161–9 — the only time when the unit is likely to have been at Corbridge when co-emperors, referred to on the stone, reigned. Gillam[27] used this to posit the arrival of that unit and the

reconstruction of the fort in *c.* 158. Part of the unit may still have been on the Antonine Wall in the later 150s.[28] One possibility, therefore, is that with the abandonment of the Antonine Wall the *Vardulli* were transferred to Corbridge from Castlecary.[29] They could therefore have been at Corbridge in the period following *c.* 158.

A BUILDING PROGRAMME IN THE 160S UNDER CALPURNIUS AGRICOLA

RIB 1149, which names the governor Calpurnius Agricola, can be reconstructed as a XX legion building inscription on an unusually large scale. The stone is firmly ascribed to 'autumn — 9 December 163' by RIB. This is because in Bulmer's convincing reconstruction of the inscription it seems inescapable that Lucius Verus bears the title *Armeniacus* (which he adopted by the end of 163) while Marcus Aurelius (who adopted the title during 164) does not.[30] On this evidence alone it will be clear that the text could just as well date to 164, as Bulmer in fact conceded in his original reconstruction of the text.[31] The only other extant indications of date are Verus' Trib. Pot. and Cos. The former begins with a I, not a V, so should pre-date Verus' fifth tribunician power (December 164). On the stone he seems definitely to be Cos. II. He became Cos. III in 167. RIB 1149 is therefore more accurately datable to 163 *or* 164, but as noted by Birley,[32] the restoration of the former year better fits the spaces available on the reconstructed inscription.

The other inscription naming Calpurnius Agricola (RIB 1137) is the dedication of a temple of Sol Invictus built by the VI legion. The question of where this temple was situated is discussed elsewhere. Taken together the two inscriptions show that by 164 a building programme was underway at Corbridge, linked to the presence of legionary vexillations.

John Gillam suggested long ago that these inscriptions mark the end of Fort IVB and the sequence of regular auxiliary forts at Corbridge, writing that: 'The replanning which converted a normal fort into an administrative and supply centre, and clearly reflects a major change in frontier policy, is dated by two inscriptions which mention Calpurnius Agricola'.[33]

PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE POST-FORT SEQUENCE

How the regular IVB fort was transformed into the third-century layout largely visible on the site today is the great problem of Corbridge. In the plan that ensued 'the Stanegate' (as it has been known since the Edwardian excavations), which perpetuated the *via principalis* of the old fort, was now the main east-west street. By the time of the Severan campaigns (208–11), much of the old fort on the north side of the street was overlain by the courtyard building known as Site XI. This had been projected on a massive scale (66 x 68 m) but had been left unfinished at an early stage in its building.[34] Only the range facing the Stanegate and parts of the east and west ranges ever went on to be completed and permanently used. On the intended purpose of Site XI more will be said later. Two granaries were also provided (on the same site as those of the old fort). These seem likely (though this is unprovable) to have been begun at the same time as Site XI, and they may have also been left unfinished. Unlike Site XI the granaries were completed at a later stage. Between granaries and courtyard complex an aqueduct running from the north brought water to a fountain with an ornamental facade to the Stanegate. On the south side of the main street were two compounds for the accommodation of legionary troops. These compounds were planned to respect, or leave space for, a number of buildings

which front onto the Stanegate. Richmond identified these as temples, almost certainly wrongly, as we shall see. The military compounds and associated buildings now formed the nucleus of a burgeoning civilian town which pressed close around; the defensive circuit of the old fort was levelled, invisible and built over.

To Richmond and Birley, it was canonical that the visible arrangement in the centre of Corbridge came into being in the Severan period, at the onset of Wall Period II. The two granaries, the great courtyard building on Site XI, the fountain, and the two legionary detachment compounds on the south side of the Stanegate were all seen as originating in a unified arrangement at the beginning if the third century (fig. 4). Even the supposed temples were included, the compounds being planned from the outset to leave room for the unofficial cults of the legionary troops. The implication of this view was that the fort at Corbridge was maintained until the end of the second century, although Birley in the guidebook account of the site described the fort as being 'drastically remodelled' after 161. It was implicitly accepted that the temple built under Calpurnius Agricola must have stood outside the central area.

Later, as knowledge of the second-century forts accumulated in the 1950s and 60s, the idea was considered that the end of the fort was marked by the Calpurnius Agricola inscriptions. John Gillam's ideas about the post-fort situation were never set out in detail — a promised sequel to his 1977 paper never appeared, and we have only the account in the thirteenth edition of the *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (Bruce 1978), in which Charles Daniels transmitted the views of John Gillam, and Bishop and Dore's assembly of the surviving excavation records in 1989. Gillam saw the regular fort ending *c.* 163, but thought that the site might have continued in military use. He suggested that the defences might have been retained for a time, but with 'new, original' stone structures and industrial activity in the former *retentura* and in parts of the much modified central range. He also suggested that there had been new stone building in the *praetentura*. Gillam used the terms Period VA and Period VB to refer to the period of these new structures, which he described as a 'depot', and the term Period VC for the beginning of Site XI. He implied that the 'VB' structures were destroyed by a fire (marked by the 'Corbridge destruction deposit') which interrupted the building of Site XI.[35] He did not state where he thought the Sol Invictus temple of the 160s (signified by RIB 1137) lay. He spoke of the temples in the central area as springing up after the abandonment of Site XI, which he suggested was under construction, following the final levelling of the defences, in the late 170s, only to be abandoned following the invasion attested by Cassius Dio around 180. The date of *c.* 180 for the building of Site XI is still proposed in the most recent guidebook account (Dore 1989).

Only one serious and sustained argument has been advanced for Site XI immediately succeeding the fort in the 160s under Calpurnius Agricola: that by Grace Simpson.[36] Bishop and Dore also rather indecisively consider this a possibility. Simpson ably pointed out that arguments formerly used to support a Severan date were far from conclusive, but was unable to prove the early dating she proposed.

STRUCTURAL EVIDENCE FOR A PHASE POST-DATING THE FORT BUT PRE-DATING SITE XI AND THE COMPOUNDS

There is sufficient evidence to show that the visible layout of Site XI and the compounds did not immediately succeed the fort in the early-160s, but that there was an intervening phase that began then(Gillam's Phase V). This is as follows (see fig. 2 for locations of structures):

1. Praetentura

The Edwardian excavation reports and Richmond's accounts show that there was a period of building in the area of the *praetentura* of the fort (that is, south of the Stanegate), intervening between the regular auxiliary fort and the visible compounds. Richmond attempted a synthetic plan of the pre-compound remains, known extremely fragmentarily.[37] He believed that all of the remains beneath the compounds must belong to successive Antonine forts, running on into the later-second century. Table 1 gathers the evidence for pre-compound activity that would not fit with the layout of the Antonine fort as we now understand it. This is not necessarily exhaustive.

Although it is impossible to reconstruct the overall arrangement, there is clearly a post-fort IVB phase (or phases) of building beneath the compounds. It is not clearly documented that these post-fort IVB phases were still accompanied by the standing fort rampart, but there is nothing to show that this was not the case. If representing a military phase (say the accommodation for the legionary detachments of RIB 1137 and 1149) it is hardly conceivable that it would not have been enclosed within a defensive circuit or compound, and the archaeological evidence for this phase is consonant with the retention of the fort defences. Richmond's conclusion that the buildings of this phase were arranged on either side of a street on the same line as the *via praetoria* of the former fort may very well be correct. Certainly 'Site 40' — perhaps a guild building — which predated the west compound, but cannot have belonged to the Antonine fort, would appear to front onto this street. Bishop and Dore note that successive street surfaces continued to use the line of the *via praetoria* in uninterrupted use through the post-fort period and into the time of the third-century compounds, when it served as the street between them.[38]

2. Retentura and central range

In the area of the fort *retentura* (north of the Stanegate), some structures have been recorded which apparently post-date the demolition of the fort but pre-date Site XI. Gillam gave an account of this post-fort phase which is only partly substantiated by the excavation records as assembled by Bishop and Dore (see Table 2, with the references).

These records show that over the stone *contubernia* of one of the barracks of Fort IVB were traces of stone foundations, following a different plan. Clay and cobble foundations of a rectangular building, maybe 12 m long, were found under the north-west corner of Site XI, some of whose partitions were deliberately laid on this structure. As they stand, the foundations observed beneath Site XI do not have the appearance of an overall building phase or re-planning of the entire site. They were fragmentary and scattered. The 'building' beneath the north-west corner stands in isolation. However, it must be remembered that the northern part of the Site XI courtyard was drastically levelled by the Office of Works in the 1930s. It must remain uncertain whether these remains represent the kind of uncompleted or abortive work that extensive area-excavation commonly reveals as a prelude to major Roman building projects, or whether there was indeed a substantial replanning of this area after Fort IVB and before Site XI.

The fact that the *principia* was not replaced by anything, but used for industrial activities consonant with a phase of site-reorganisation and construction, and that it was still standing

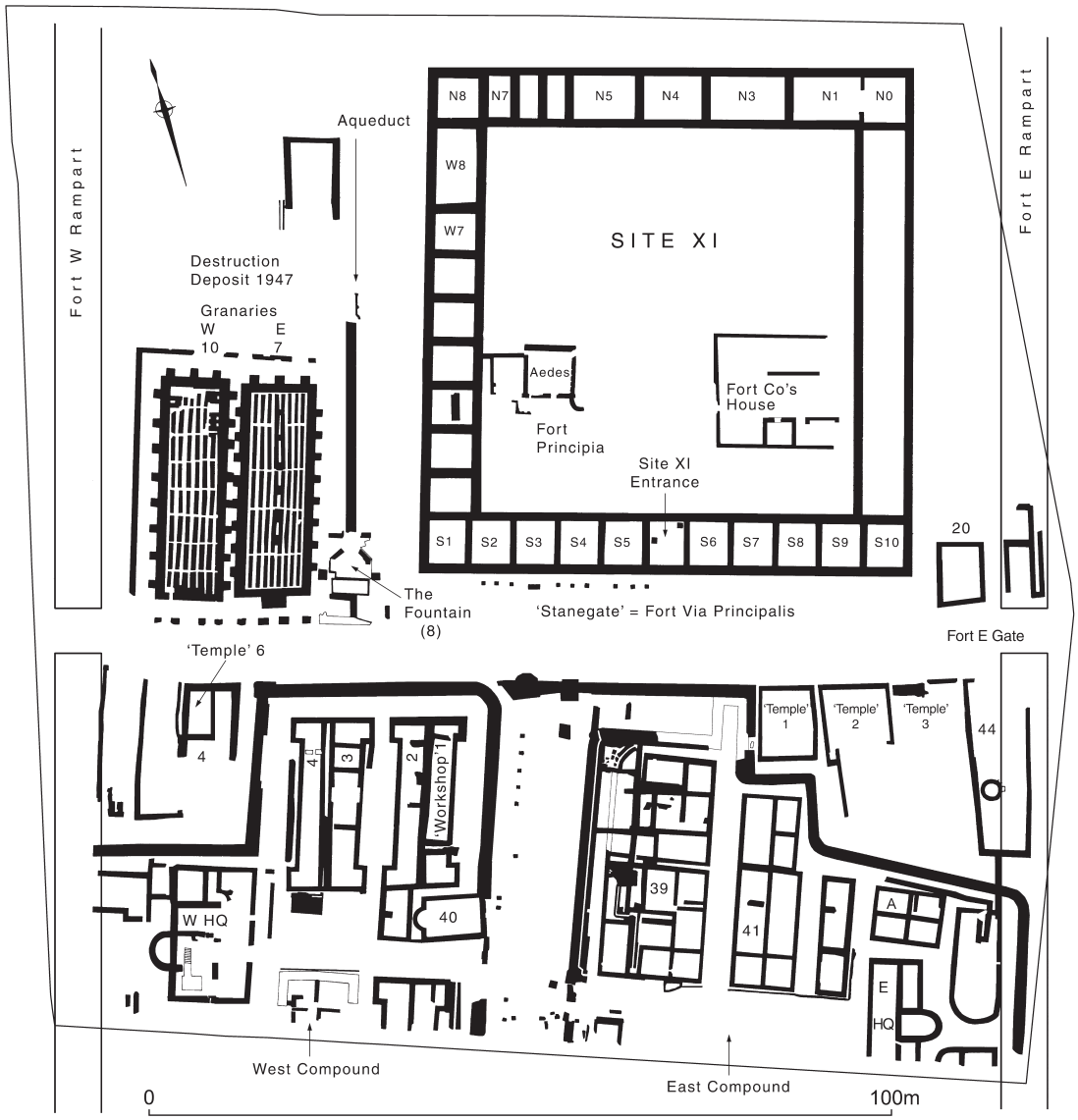

Fig. 2 The central 'guardianship' area of consolidated remains at Corbridge, showing the names and numbers of features discussed in the text.

when Site XI was begun, shows that nothing intervened between the central range of the fort (though its use might have changed) and the layout of Site XI. If there was a major replanning in the *retentura*, this must have accompanied the surviving central range and thus have represented some kind of continuation of the fort, concluding with an episode of industrial activity in the *principia*.

Table 1 Evidence for structural levels later than the plan of Fort IVB but earlier than the compounds.

Evidence	Source
1906 excavation (Site 1) involved S part of E compound: 'In block A [the S-quadripartite stores building] there were the remains of a hypocaust, belonging apparently to an earlier building … as it was not in line with the upper walls …'	1907 report, 170
1912 excavation: earlier levels contacted beneath Building 41 in the E compound — earliest of these sounds like a fort level. Above this there was clearly complex stratigraphy under the planned remains.	1913 report, 238–9
'intermediate levels' supposed to intervene between 'early fort' and compounds, including walling (perhaps of the IVB fort) overlain by a surface of cement and gravel, or masons' chippings under Site 39, producing later Antonine pottery, and a column and surfaces associated with the N-S street between the later compounds, but earlier than the compound layout.	Birley and Richmond 1938, 258–66; for the pottery, pp. 266–84, figs. 8–9.
Evidence for levels earlier than compounds but later than forts, including two phases of walling beneath the W compound *principia*.	Richmond and Birley 1940, 110; plan in Richmond 1943, 220, fig. 13.
1. Two phases of stone walling to different plans beneath the E compound.	Richmond 1943, 215–224 and plan at fig. 13.
2. Walls of a 'second Antonine period' incorporated into the foundations of the compound wall. There was nothing to show that these structures did not co-exist with the rampart , but they did not belong to the Fort IVB plan.	
Buildings and circular structure in area of Site 44 and Temple 3, including the walling described above in Richmond 1943. Building (8–11, 22–5), superseded by road and drain (7), and then 'Temple 3'. There was nothing to show that the structures under 'Temple 3' did not co-exist with the rampart fort rampart, but they did not belong to the Fort IVB plan.	Bishop and Dore 1989, 110–15; this Gillam's period V
Stone building above officer's quarters of stone (and therefore Fort IVB) barrack below HQ of E compound. Of quite different plan to barrack and ran over fort street to N. In Richmond's opinion this 'later Antonine' building co-existed with the *intervallum* street and rampart.	Richmond and Gillam 1950, 168–74 and plates XIII–XVI.
'Guild Room' or temple ('Site 40') incorporated into W compound wall and thus part of an earlier, but post-fort arrangement there.	Visible on ground

Table 2 Structures post-dating the plan of fort IVB but earlier than Site XI.

Gillam 1977, 73	Bishop and Dore 1989	Earlier Publications
Officer's house in barrack N of granaries cut through by post-pits	p. 139 mentioned in concluding discussion and associated with industrial activity — but apparently no description or illustration in main barracks chapter	Poss. those described in Richmond and Gillam 1953, 208 [???]. If so just a modification, not a whole new phase
Masonry of different plan over *contubernia* of stone	fig. 40: presumably barracks components 56–8, not discussed in text	
Not mentioned	68 and fig 40: 141–3: clay and cobble foundations of a rectangular building. Maybe 12 m long, under NW corner of Site XI some of whose partitions deliberately laid on this structure	
Alterations and industrial activities in HQ	See p. 22	Detailed in Richmond and Gillam 1952. Latest 'cabin'phase apparently cut through by Site XI
N-S running stone buildings on either side of *praetentura*	No mention?	

'THE CORBRIDGE DESTRUCTION DEPOSIT'

The 'Corbridge destruction deposit' refers to evidence for destruction by fire of parts of the site at Corbridge. Published information is as follows:

1. In 1950 Richmond and Gillam published a large group of coarse pottery and plain samian stamps from an area north of the granaries excavated in 1947.[39] This was not destruction *in situ*, but redeposited material. The pottery lay in '18 inches of black earth containing … animal bones, iron implements, boot soles preserved by the oxidation of the studs, bronze dross from smelting and … pottery …' Some 4,300 fragments, and at least 500 separate vessels were represented. Figured samian from this deposit was published by Grace Simpson.[40]

   In 1950 the formation of the group was attributed to the disaster of 197. The deposit lay above a gravel layer, attributed to 163 and sealing a sequence belonging to one of the barracks belonging to the Flavian-Antonine forts, and beneath flagging, attributed to the 'Severan reconstruction'. The association of the flags above this layer with the Severan period and the supposed construction of Site XI at that time seems to have been entirely circumstantial.
2. On the Edwardian 'Site 20', Richmond and Gillam described a layer of burnt wattle and daub, recorded in section, overlying 'remains of the second Antonine period' at the back

of the east rampart, and published a number of pottery vessels from the deposit. At the time this was interpreted as destruction of 197.[41]

3. Some figured samian found in 1952 in 'the destruction level' of Period V in the area of 'Temples I-III' was published by Grace Simpson in 1972.[42]
4. Birley published a selection from an assemblage of pottery in a make up deposit said to have been *under* the foundations of the north-east corner of Site XI. This was not an in-situ destruction deposit but was said by Birley to 'represent the destruction of 196' and described as contemporary with the 1947 assemblage.[43]

Two additional records of destruction described in the pre-First World War reports have often been associated with the above:

5. Site XI: '…this portion of the building [N of room W7], if it was ever completed, must have been destroyed and abandoned at a comparatively early period. In clearing the foundations to the north of court 7, two burnt layers were cut through, one about four feet below the surface, and the other a foot lower, each layer being from two to three inches thick and containing a large proportion of charred wood'. Two *denarii* of Mark Antony in the upper layer suggested to the excavators that the destruction did not date later than mid-C3 and was probably much earlier. 'Both layers run right across the foundation course of the west wall, the lower being only a few inches above it'. South of this area signs of reoccupation were clear, a later floor level being observed in almost every room.[44] A layer of burning about a foot above the original floor level in the southern part of the east range of Site XI is said to have contained a coin of Septimius Severus.[45] This has been taken as a *terminus post* quem for the 'destruction deposit'. Gillam (in the unpublished document cited below) pointed out that contradictory accounts are given in the old report as to the findspot: on p. 159 of the same report it is said to come from the bottoming of the floor subsequent to the 'burnt stratum'. Therefore no weight can be placed on this coin as dating evidence for the burnt layer.
6. The 'pottery shop': excavated in 1907 on the site of supposed Temple VI (Site 4), on the south side of the Stanegate, a burnt deposit contained much pottery.[46] From the contemporary description this was evidently destruction in situ; it was interpreted at the time as the contents of a pottery store or shop. Given the date of the pottery fourth-century coins associated by this deposit in the old reports are probably from an intruded hoard.

Relying on these published statements alone, a reader could be forgiven for questioning the assumption that the above observations were related to one another, or even doubting the existence of the Corbridge destruction deposit as representing a single event at all. In 1972 B. R. Hartley reconsidered the nature of the deposit, his main concern being to show that the pottery in the 'destruction deposit' could not all possibly have been in use at the end of the second century — much of the material would have been old by then. This was important, because the close match between much of the pottery in 'the deposit' (then dated to 196) and that in use on the Antonine Wall, was, when Hartley wrote, being used to argue for a later-second century occupation of northern Scotland. Hartley was sure that military sites in northern Scotland did not have samian dating to later than the 160s. In his discussion he accepts a dating of the Corbridge 'destruction' to after 198 (on the basis of the coin mentioned in the 1911 report), but denies that the pottery from it represents an assemblage in use at a single date, suggesting rather that rubbish from the entire second-century occupation has

been reimported and mixed with the destruction deposit in the process of levelling up the site for the next phase.

Others went further and questioned the very existence of the 'destruction deposit'. We can sense this from a paper circulated privately by John Gillam in 1974, which Dr Brian Dobson has kindly brought to my attention. This was apparently prepared after a conference in Newcastle on Hadrian's Wall, where some delegates had expressed doubts about the Corbridge deposit being a destruction layer. This document is of importance in the absence of any published discussion which draws together the evidence for the destruction deposit. It sets out the case for burnt layers excavated at Corbridge in the 1950s and 60s, particularly in the area of 'Temples' I–III and Site 44, being an *in situ* destruction deposit, and discusses their relation to the various published observations listed above and the possibilities as to the date of the event represented. It is a sad and curious fact that a coherent record of the deposits described has failed to survive (with the exception of the 1955 report cited above and other isolated observations). The destruction deposit is not traceable in a consistent way in the account assembled by Bishop and Dore,[47] but it can be seen as a consistent layer in the original field sections reproduced by them (see examples in our notes 56 and 57). In these sections, in the south-east part of Site XI, and the area of Site 44, the destruction deposit often occurs immediately below the turf/topsoil level of the 1950s/60s, exactly as Gillam describes it in his paper.

The unpublished Gillam account gives a convincing description of an in situ destruction deposit, where charcoal and ashes lay over blackened floor surfaces with a distinct layer of burnt daub on top, this occurring only in the areas of the Period VA and VB buildings, but not over the roads between them. The existence of the burnt deposits is also recalled by surviving participants in the Corbridge training excavation. Gillam's paper deserves publication with commentary. It makes the following important points:

1. The destruction deposit was consistently related to the buildings of 'Period V' , i.e. the phase between Fort IVB and the layout of the visible compounds. Gillam sees the deposit as deriving from the burning of timber buildings of Period V, earlier than Site XI but still standing in and around Site XI during its construction. In other words, he equates the cessation of work on Site XI with the destruction episode.
2. The numismatic *terminus post quem* for the destruction is *c.* 161[48] — the coin of 198 in the 1911 report is not to be relied on as providing a *terminus post quem*.
3. Of the deposits listed above, that published in 1950 represents destruction deposit material recycled and used as make-up.
4. The 1955 deposit, on Site 20, the eastern rampart, was *in situ* destruction.
5. The relationship of the material of 1959 from under Site XI to the destruction deposit is doubtful, and it is even doubtful whether the material was really deposited at a date earlier than the building of Site XI, 'as disturbance by levelling and consolidation made confident interpretation difficult'.
6. At least one of the burnt layers 'cut through' by the Edwardian excavators in reaching the unfinished walls of Site XI may be accepted as part of the destruction deposit — see 1. above.
7. Gillam is inclined to accept the 'pottery shop' deposit as part of the destruction deposit, but suggests that the burnt daub may belong to a building earlier than the visible stone buildings in which the early excavators thought the 'pottery shop' was housed.

8. Gillam quotes context details for some of the burnt samian vessels discussed by Hartley in his paper of 1972. These details do not seem to have found their way into Bishop and Dore. They confirm the existence of a burnt layer, which can in fact be traced on some of the original sections redrawn in Bishop and Dore.
9. Gillam produces a selective list of samian potters whose styles or signatures are represented in the deposit. This embraces three names found both in the Hadrianic period on Hadrian's Wall and on the Antonine Wall, two known only in Antonine Scotland, five known both on the Antonine Wall and on Hadrian's Wall as restored in the later-second century, and two known only on Hadrian's Wall in the later-second century.
10. Gillam cites joins and relationships between sherds found in the burnt deposit at points far from each other, and the consistent place of the deposit in the site sequence, as evidence that a single major conflagration was represented. On its cause: ' The widespread nature of the deposit, absent only where its absence is readily explicable, suggests that all the inflammable structures on the whole site were burnt down. If, as is likely, this happened on a single occasion, then it might well have been the result of enemy activity'.
11. As to the date, Gillam argues that the samian from the deposit would fit with a 'mid-Antonine' date, abandons 196 and tends to 180, implicitly connecting the destruction with the attested invasion of the early 180s. He suggests that the survivals that so exercised Hartley are acceptable at the earlier of the two dates.

In conclusion: Gillam's unpublished account describes an *in situ* deposit from the burning of wattle and daub building superstructures, most intensively investigated under the east compound, that was identical with the destruction layer on Site 20 published in 1955. The deposit published in 1950 probably originated in this event, but was redeposited or 'recycled'. The material found in 1959 at the north-east corner of Site XI is unlikely to be directly related, and cannot be confidently used to date the construction of Site XI.[49] The layer of burning recorded over the foundations of Site XI in the pre-First War reports may well represent the same destruction event as on Site 20. About the 'pottery shop' deposit doubts must remain. Gillam rightly states that the deposit could have represented the burning of a building earlier than the stone ones recognised on the site, but certain problems with the dating of the finds prevent us from automatically equating it with the rest of the destruction deposit.[50]

THE DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION DEPOSIT

The formal *terminus post quem* is 161. What more can we say about the date of the fire? A reconsideration of the samian dating would be a major undertaking, and is not attempted here. But if we follow Gillam in accepting that the bulk of the material, excepting the 1950 deposit, represents pottery that was in use and lost at the time of the fire, then a date at the end of the second century or later becomes unlikely given the degree of residuality or survival of earlier-second century types that Hartley documented. Gillam believed that the latest samian was material coming onto the market in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, so his date of 180 would fit the samian pottery, if we accept considerable survival of pieces from the early Antonine period, and this is obviously more acceptable at 180 than at 197. But an earlier date might fit even better. There are large amounts of BB2 in the 1950 deposit and it occurs in the 1955 group, but BB2 is absent from a large group of the period 170–200 recently excavated at South Shields. At South Shields, then, this ware characterises the Antonine Wall period and

the Severan period, but not the time in between. On the other hand Corbridge had been continuously occupied from the Antonine Wall period to the time of the fire, while at South Shields the group lacking BB2 lay on a part of the site newly developed in the post-Antonine Wall period, so there may be an explanation for the presence of the ware in quantity at Corbridge around 180 and its absence at South Shields.[51] The latest pieces in the 1950 group could actually be as late as the Severan period (see the Grey Ware cooking pots no. 37–42 and compare Bidwell 1985, 188 no. 49, from a context of *c.* 223–5 at Vindolanda). This suggests that some of the group was redeposited long after the Antonine Wall was abandoned; but being redeposited the group could contain stray elements later than the bulk of the assemblage. Hartley shows in his discussion that much of the samian is of Hadrianic-Antonine date. The 1955 group, which is the only group of coarse pottery from the *in situ* destruction deposit for which we have a record, also contains BB2 and would not be out of place on the Antonine Wall. On the basis of the pottery alone (leaving aside the 'pottery shop', which could represent a distinct and later fire), the date of the Corbridge destruction deposit cannot be placed long after the abandonment of the Antonine Wall.[52] The abandonment of Antonine Scotland, following Hartley's study of the samian found there, did not occur later than the 160s.[53] A date for the Corbridge fire in the very late-second century or the Severan period can surely be excluded, if not formally disproved.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE DESTRUCTION DEPOSIT FOR THE STRUCTURAL SEQUENCE

If some doubt must remain over the absolute date of the destruction deposit, What of its relative position in the archaeological sequence? When the deposit was connected with 197, it was necessarily seen as being earlier than Site XI (then thought Severan). Gillam came to state explicitly that the destruction occurred while the building of Site XI was in progress, the burnt daub coming from buildings pre-dating Site XI that had not yet been demolished when the great courtyard building was begun.[54] Support for this view comes from sections reproduced by Bishop and Dore which show layers of gravel overlain by masons' chippings, the whole overlying the Period IVB stores buildings in the south-east area of Site XI (presumably retained in Period V). A widespread deposit of gravel was observed in 1908 and stated to have been laid throughout the courtyard area of Site XI except where undemolished parts of the fort central range were still standing when Site XI was begun.[55] The sequence of gravel and masons' chippings can therefore be associated with the layout and commencement of Site XI, and will have overlain those of the Period V buildings that had been demolished when work began. The sections clearly show a consistent layer of burning, almost certainly the destruction deposit, overlying the gravel and chippings.[56] This of course is consonant with the old reports of burnt layers having to be cut through to reveal the unbuilt on foundations in the northern part of Site XI.

A second remarkable fact emerges about the place of the destruction deposit in the sequence. The part excavated in 1955 lay in the area of the east rampart of the fort. It actually overlay two phases of activity, first a timber building and industrial hearth, then a building with a stone flagged floor, which itself overlay rampart material. The explanation given at the time was that the rampart had been extended to the east — its front moved bodily outwards — allowing these activities to take place on the *levelled* back of the former rampart tail. However, Bishop and Dore convincingly show that there is no reason to think that the front

of the rampart was ever moved outwards; the rampart always lay somewhat to the east of the position claimed by Richmond, and an alignment of this section with one in a trench 33m further south confirms this. The structures described in 1955 actually overlay material spread from the levelled rampart, and therefore post-date the removal of the defences. The building with the flagged floor was in turn overlain by the destruction layer, quite clearly *in situ*: 'the deposit lies immediately on top of the flags of the second Antonine building, which are themselves blackened'.[57]

Taken together these observations indicate that the fort defences had been levelled and built over at some interval before the destruction of the site by fire. If the destructive fire caused the cessation of work on Site XI, as Gillam implies, in other words if the cessation of building and the fire are equated, then Site XI cannot possibly have been conceived to stand within the defensive circuit: its inception would have followed the levelling of the rampart. However, it is possible that the abandonment of the building project and the destructive fire were events separated by an interval, with the destruction deposit covering masons' chippings and unbuilt-on foundations that had been neglected for some time. In that case Site XI could have been commenced within the standing defences (within which it fits very neatly). After the project was abandoned, the defences might then have been levelled, and built over. Those buildings which had pre-dated the beginning of Site XI might now have been altered and supplemented, as presumably they would have different uses (they were no longer part of an enclosed military site with an functioning *principia* at its centre). This kind of sequence might explain the two phases of Period V, and why there was time for two phases of structures to overlie the levelled rampart before being sealed by the destruction deposit. It is of course possible that the industrial activity over the levelled rampart is contemporary with that which occurred in the former *principia*. In this second model, where there is a gap between building cessation and fire, the period of industrial activity could have been of some duration. Either way, the fire, post-dating the commencement of Site XI but pre-dating the inception of the compounds, shows that the layout of the former was the earlier.

The visible granaries were a continuation from the layout of Fort IVB. At some stage work began on rebuilding the buildings from the foundations. But the western granary displays a clear break in its style of construction. The lowest few courses are of different character from the rest, and the ventilators of the extant granary were reset at a higher level than originally planned. Richmond interpreted the two phases of construction in the western granary in terms of Wall periods, Severan and Constantian. It seems more likely that what we see is dislocation in the building programme rather than a wholesale destruction and re-erection. The straightforward conclusion reached by the pre-first war excavators was in each case a Severan rebuilding of a granary first built — or started — some time before the Severan period.[58] Brassington argued that the two phases in the western granary represent an aborted beginning and a later completion, suggesting a break in the construction programme linked to a cessation of work on Site XI in the 160s.[59] That the dislocation in the building of the new granaries is part of the same event as the interruption in the building of Site XI, whenever that occurred, is a reasonable but untestable hypothesis.

The two alternative sequences to emerge, therefore, are:

1. The retention of the fort defences and central range after the 160s, with newly planned *praetentura* and *retentura* (Gillam's Period VA and VB)
2. Defences levelled, rampart area and principia used for industrial activities

3. Site XI commenced, along with new granaries (?). Almost immediately destruction of site by fire and interruption in building of Site XI
4. Compounds built, granaries rebuilt or completed, rest of visible layout formed; south range of Site XI in use

1. The retention of the fort defences and central range after the 160s, with newly planned *praetentura* and *retentura* (Gillam's Period VA)
2. Site XI (and granaries?) commenced within the standing defences
3. Building of Site XI abandoned
4. Defences levelled. Buildings pre-dating Site XI modified and supplemented (Gillam's Period VB). Industrial activities
5. Destruction of much of site by fire
6. Compounds built, granaries rebuilt or completed, rest of visible layout formed; south range of Site XI in use

THE INTENDED FUNCTION OF SITE XI (FIG. 3)

Before embarking on a discussion of the possible historical context and interpretation of this sequence of events, it is necessary to discuss the purpose of Site XI, the great courtyard building. This problem has generated much discussion and controversy, but identifying the function of the building is a key to understanding the most probable historical context for its planning — and abandonment. One must of course stress *intended* purpose, for the building never achieved anything like its full planned extent. There is also no way of being certain that the purpose to which the incomplete building was eventually put was the same as that which had originally been intended.

Haverfield rejected the interpretation of the building as a civil forum loosely suggested by the Edwardian excavators and recognised its similarity to storehouses recently discovered in the legionary fortress at Carnuntum (Pannonia).[60] He concluded that Site XI was either a storehouse or an unfinished legionary *principia*, tending very much towards the former view. In 1959 Eric Birley argued against the storehouse interpretation, reviving the idea of a projected legionary *principia*. He cited larger foundation blocks at the north-west and north-east corners, implying to him an intention to build a *basilica* on the north side. However, the larger foundations visible at the northern corners project on both north and west sides, as if intended to support buttresses enclosing the corners of the building rather forming continuations of the side walls to the north. More importantly, the suggested plan would be of a type wholly unparalleled in any *principia*, with a range of rooms intervening between the putative *basilica* and the courtyard. The same objection applies to the suggestion of a forum: no parallel for a plan like this can advanced from the north-western provinces. For the garrison of the putative fortress, Birley claimed 'pointers towards the presence' of a complete legion at Corbridge in the early-third century. *Legio II Augusta* was his choice, the view being based on two inscriptions. One was the third-century *Legio II* altar from the western compound (RIB 1127), which, lacking a term such as *vexillatio*, implies dedication by the complete legion. The second was RIB 1138 from Hexham, which was probably dedicated by a legate of *II Augusta* while the legion was campaigning in the north, most likely in the Severan period.[61] Neither of these in itself provides a strong indication that a whole legion was ever intended to be permanently based at Corbridge.

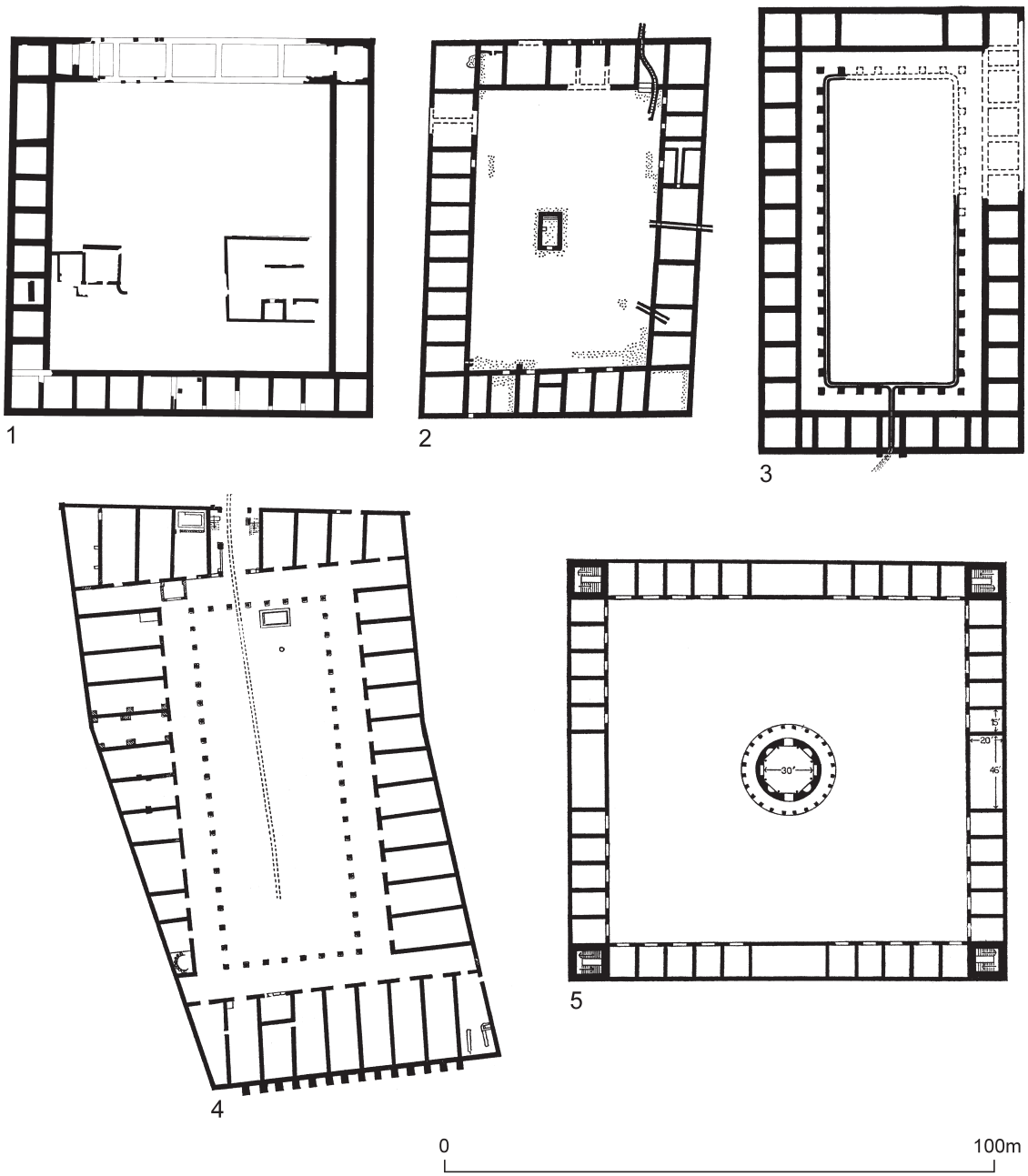

Fig. 3 Site XI and its parallels. 1. Site XI, Corbridge. 2. Carnuntum legionary fortress (after Rickman 1971). 3. Vindonissa legionary fortress (after Rickman 1971). 4. Horrea Lolliana, Rome (after Rickman 1971). 5. Reconstructed plan of Macellum Magnum of Nero (after Rainbird and Sear 1971).

In 1971 Rickman[62] re-opened the question, drawing attention to parallels for Site XI in the stores-buildings of legionary fortresses. Haverfield had counted both of the two courtyard buildings in Carnuntum published in 1909 as parallels for Corbridge. Rickman shows that only one of these Carnuntum buildings truly resembles Site XI. A courtyard building in the fortress at Vindonissa (Germania Superior), discovered in 1959, provided another good parallel.[63] Rickman noted the similarity of plan to those of *horrea* in Rome and Ostia such as the *Horrea Lolliana* on the Marble Plan, or the *Horrea di Hortensius* at Ostia.[64] Despite these indubitable analogies, there are difficulties with the interpretation of Site XI as a building constructed purely for storage. Why would a stores building sufficiently large for an entire legion be planned at Corbridge, a base for legionary detachments? Furthermore, Rickman's own study of *horrea* in Italy showed that sometimes the functions of these buildings went beyond simple storage and extended to distribution. In Ostia the *horrea* stored goods awaiting transhipment. As might be expected, security was a prime consideration — entrances to rooms were consistently narrow (2.40 m maximum in *Horrea Piccolo Mercato*, but elsewhere typically much less at 1.40–1.70 m) and could be closed with bolted doors.[65] In Rome, in contrast, the ground-floor rooms of the *Horrea Agrippiana* offer thresholds in excess of 3 m wide with slots for the removable shuttering that was a common feature of Roman shop fronts. Rickman concluded therefore that these indicate the use of the rooms for retail purposes.[66] Moreover, inscriptions indicate the presence of men and women selling goods from this and other *horrea* in the city, although their status remains uncertain.[67] It seems clear therefore that in the particular conditions of the capital, some stores buildings of the Site XI type, identifiable by their wide entrances, evidently had a distribution as well as a storage function. At Corbridge, although no thresholds survive, the entrances to the rooms at Site XI are almost 4 m wide. There is also evidence, in the form of marking out lines on the foundation, that the rooms in the completed south range may have originally had 4 m-wide openings onto the street. This is not the pattern of entrance provision, and narrowness of entrance, typical of *horrea* that performed a primarily storage function. On the contrary it suggests that the building was intended for the reception, storage and marketing of goods. It was perhaps intended to function as a kind of *macellum* (market) or *emporium*. In this connection a remarkable parallel is offered by a building recorded on the Caelian hill in Rome, and interpreted as being the *macellum magnum* of Nero.[68] The restored plan of the *macellum magnum* is illustrated at fig. 3 along with examples of *horrea* and storehouses that have some resemblance to Site XI. This illustration indicates that the best parallels for the building lie in the world of storehouses and *macella*, in which known plans of *fora* or *principia* would appear alien. The location of Corbridge at an intersection of road and river routes suggests a role for the Site XI complex: the reception, storage, marketing and distribution of goods brought from diverse sources to forts in the area, along Hadrian's Wall, in the hinterland, and the outposts along Dere Street. The scale of the building suggests official provision, but whether the distribution of goods was to be handled by civilian merchants or legionaries or some combination of both is unknown.[69]

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

We can follow the sequence of the conventional auxiliary forts down to the 160s. Of the end of this sequence Gillam wrote: 'Structures seal coins terminating with the date A.D. 161. The two inscriptions of Calpurnius Agricola ... almost certainly date the new construction'.[70] But how can we be sure that Fort IVB did not continue in use until *c.* 180, say, with the structures

that followed it being compressed into a period between 180 and the end of the century?[71] But this would make Site XI Severan and the fire the same date or even later, for a beginning for Period V around 180 would tend to push the date of the destruction deposit overlying it to the end of the second century. The date of the destruction deposit pottery makes this unlikely. In addition, had the defences still been in use beyond 180, it would become more and more surprising that they were never rebuilt in stone. That the original turf rampart of the Period II fort could survive in use without replacement is a strong argument that its levelling at the end of Period V cannot have occurred very much later than the mid-Antonine period. Absolute certainty is not possible, but it does seem most likely on these grounds that the 'drastic replanning' of the fort which opens Gillam's Period V, attributed to the 160s, did indeed take place at that time. Equally the date of the destruction deposit pottery makes it improbable that this Period V arrangement could have continued as such until Severan times, with the defences being levelled and Site XI built then.

It follows that the inception of Site XI and the subsequent destructive fire cannot have occurred before the *end* of a period (VA) which began in *c.* 163, or later than the early 180s. The most acceptable conclusion, then, is that these events, whether practically simultaneous or separated by an interval, occurred somewhere in the period between *c.* 167 and *c.* 182.

A case could still be made for Site XI being started and abandoned in the 160s. Grace Simpson interpreted the building as part of a supply-base for the second phase of the Antonine occupation of Scotland, and connected the abandonment of the building (dated by her to *c.* 163) with the final withdrawal from the Antonine Wall. But it is now generally agreed that the Antonine Wall was abandoned after a single period. As a process, the move back from the Antonine Wall had probably begun *c.* 158. It had perhaps been left until after the death of Pius in 161 to bury the distance-slabs proclaiming Pius as builder of the Wall, and to withdraw any troops that had been retained on the northern line while the southern was being restored. The building of Site XI, if signalled by the inscriptions of *c.* 163, would thus be too late to be relevant to Scotland.

The building of Site XI is now most often placed *c.* 180, and the cessation of the building programme linked with the invasion of the early 180s described by Dio.[72] In this view Site XI and the granaries might have been begun in the last years of Marcus Aurelius. The historical model for this developed in the 1960s and 70s and is succinctly given by Charles Daniels in the *Handbook*, where it almost certainly follows the ideas of John Gillam:

> The true purpose of the square building [Site XI] is uncertain. A storehouse and a legionary headquarters have both been suggested, but perhaps a third possibility is more likely: that it was the forum of a *civitas* capital forum-basilica complex. Eighty years later, Carlisle is attested as a *civitas* capital in the west. A plan for a tribal civitas in the east, based on Corbridge, is by no means an impossibility under the emperor Marcus, who is known to have fostered civil development in other provinces of the Empire, and to whose reign this building must date. Construction must have begun in the late 170s for the destruction of 180 to have provided the occasion for its abandonment, with its ground plan barely completed.[73]

The *civitas* capital idea now seems doubtful, as the analysis of the plan and parallels for Site XI must show. But a marketing centre, or centre of military storage and distribution, could have been decided on and might well explain the architectural character of Site XI. A great *macellum* might as well be the starting point of a new civil centre on the frontier as a *forum basilica* complex. The late 170s was a time of reorganisation on the northern frontier. Units

were being sorted into what would become their permanent third-century bases (at Chesters and Old Carlisle by the early 180s; at Old Penrith by 178); attention was perhaps being turned to Hadrian's Wall again after the long distraction of the Marcomannic Wars. This might have been the time to contemplate a supply-base and *emporium* at Corbridge. If the building programme is correctly ascribed to this time it will have taken place under the direction of Ulpius Marcellus, governor between 177 and 184.

The old view was that the fort defences stood until the third century, with Site XI and the rest of the visible arrangement succeeding them in the Severan period. In that view a change of policy on the death of Severus in 211 explained the abandonment of Site XI. Either it was intended to store supplies for the next stage of the war in Scotland, or (as Birley argued) it was the *principia* of an intended legionary fortress at Corbridge, never carried out because of the abandonment of the conquest of Scotland that followed Severus' death. Whatever the likelihood of this — and the function of Site XI as a *principia* is doubtful — such a chronology would entail placing the destruction deposit in the Severan period — not impossible, but unlikely for the reasons given above.

Gillam accepted that the destruction deposit could not be as late as 197, and felt prevented by the 163 inscriptions and 'Period V' from placing Site XI and the fire in the 160s. Splitting the difference led to 180, a date with obvious resonance in northern frontier studies. Can it really have been the attested invasion of the early 180s that led to the devastation of the site? Of course we cannot be sure. We know nothing for certain about the invasion of the 180s beyond what the source says. Nothing in the in the archaeological record of Corbridge can be tied with certainty to the 'events of 180', although it is one of the sites that is most frequently cited as showing evidence of destruction at this time.

The structural sequence examined above, and the evidence for the date of the destruction deposit, do allow other models to be considered. One could hypothesise further development of the site at Corbridge while Calpurnius Agricola was still in Britain, where he might have governed as late as 168, or perhaps under his unknown successor. Site XI could have been planned as a facility for the supply of the eastern zone of the newly reconstituted Hadrianic frontier. If so, the construction of Site XI might have been interrupted by the start of the first Marcomannic War in 166/7 and the crisis on the Danube frontier. This would be a possible context for withdrawal of troops from Britain, and the abandonment, or interruption, of building programmes there. In this model Gillam's Period V — the period marked by the inscriptions of 163 — would not have to be compressed into the period 163–167, because many of its buildings may have continued in use during and after the cessation of, the construction of Site XI.[74] This only works if we accept the possibility of an interval between the cessation of building and the destructive fire that brought Period V to an end.

One could thus envisage Site XI being abandoned around 167–8, the defences being subsequently levelled for civilian activity on the site (much of the army having left for more urgent theatres of war), and an industrial settlement then developing which was subsequently destroyed by fire. That fire might have occurred as early as *c.* 169 or as late as the attested invasion of the early 180s or at any unremarked date in between. There is literary evidence for disturbed conditions in Britain at the former of these dates as well as for invasion at the latter.[75] There may have been circumstances, unconnected with recorded history, which led to the inception and abandonment of the great project of Site XI.

If one were to insist that the fire and the cessation of work on Site XI were simultaneous and linked events, which is the view that Gillam took, the 180 date (or at least a date later in

the range of possibilities) would inevitably become more compelling. That is because the multi-phase existence of Period V, ended by the fire, would fit uncomfortably with the imposition of Site XI, and destruction by fire, as early as the 160s. The site would then have to have lain abandoned until the development of the visible layout. But I cannot see how one could be sure that the fire did not occur months or years after the builders of Site XI laid down their tools.

These problems in interpreting the archaeological evidence from Corbridge mean that at present it is impossible to arrive at a single most convincing chronology. The 'school solution' adopted by Gillam (Site XI commenced in later 170s and abandoned with destruction of site in early 180s), remains plausible and attractive, although that could change as our understanding of the dates of the pottery types in the destruction deposit changes or advances. The other possibilities must be borne in mind. The parallels for Site XI suggest a function connected with military supply or a marketing centre with military supply uppermost in mind. It seems to have been originally intended as a permanent fixture for the eastern Wall-zone and it is difficult to see how it can have been intended for long-distance supply into Scotland. The time around 180 would be a plausible context for this, but so might the 160s. Each provides historically attested explanations for sudden interruption to the process. Absolute dating of the sequence may be impossible at Corbridge, but there is an element of relativity. Essentially, if you try to put Site XI and the fire back into the 160s, it becomes difficult to see the compounds and the final layout as being later than *c.* 180 — there is simply no evidence that the site was abandoned for longer than that. If one was to insist on a Severan date for the compounds, it would be hard to see the destruction deposit as earlier than *c.* 180 — and so on.

Whichever chronology is accepted, we have several distinct phases of activity between Fort IVB and the visible layout, different in character. These comprise:

1. The replanned military site that followed Fort IVB within the retained defences
2. The projected site, whether civil or military, centred on Site XI
[3. The period following the abandonment of Site XI and the levelling of the defences — civilian use? This is only applicable if it is accepted that the destruction deposit could date to some time after the cessation of the Site XI project]
4. The period (if any) between the destructive fire and the visible layout
5. The visible layout with the compounds.

The essential conclusion is that we have two legionary bases: that of the 160s, and that signified by the compounds, beginning either around *c.* 180 or in the Severan period. Their occupations are separated by the abortive Site XI project and the destruction, simultaneously or subsequently, of the site by fire.

C. 163–?: A SECOND-CENTURY LEGIONARY BASE AND ITS CHARACTER

We are specifically told that Calpurnius Agricola was sent to Britain to deal with a threat of war in the province. It is generally believed that his policy to deal with the imminent invasion was to complete the withdrawal from Scotland and to recommission Hadrian's Wall and its outpost and hinterland forts. Now the consolidation of the restored frontier was urgently taken in hand, and the Calpurnius Agricola inscriptions indicate that this included a new role for Corbridge.

Although it is common enough to find legionaries building for others, such as auxiliary troops, concern with religious building is a sign that the legionaries themselves were based at the place. A legionary detachment outposted at Corbridge must have built the temple signified by RIB 1137 to satisfy its own religious needs. The Calpurnius Agricola inscriptions may therefore be taken to suggest that Corbridge was intended as a base for vexillations of legions VI and XX after the abandonment of the Antonine Wall. The layout of this legionary outpost is indicated by the poorly understood phase of activity that seemingly follows the regular fort in the 160s: the fort defences and central range retained, with newly planned *praetentura* and *retentura*.[76]

The temple indicated by RIB 1137 is most likely to have lain outside the defences and is unlikely to have stood in isolation. It is argued elsewhere[77] that the inscription may be associated with architectural fragments which signal a group of religious buildings. This need not automatically be identified with the collection of structures in the central part of the visible arrangement at Corbridge that Richmond believed were temples. Beneath 'Temple III' and Site 44 was a complex of walls, a road and a drain, that is described by Bishop and Dore as post-fort.[78] It represents Gillam's Period V. These structures overlie the very edge of the rampart and could have been in use in the period following *c.* 163/4. The walling of this period was incorporated into the foundations of the east compound. The fact that this phase is later than fort IVB, i.e. later than *c.* 163, but underlies the buildings identified as temples by Richmond, demonstrates that the latter buildings cannot be as early as the 160s. The origin of Richmond's 'temples' in the 160s is effectively disproved.[79] But wherever the true location, the temple of Sol Invictus and possibly others were building in the 160s, and the putative legionary detachment base supplies the context for this work.

The legionary detachments based at Corbridge in the 160s might not have remained there long, or may have been rapidly reduced in numbers, given the military crisis on the Danube in the later 160s. However, a continuing legionary presence of some kind, involved in the construction of Site XI and associated with the buildings of Period V that were in use until the fire, may be signalled by the Sol Invictus temple inscription of the 160s. This was found in association with religious sculpture and architectural fragments from temples which were no doubt maintained in the third century, and the Sol Invictus inscription itself remained undisturbed in place long enough to be defaced *in situ*, most probably under Elagabalus. So it looks as if a sanctuary area survived intact from the 160s through to the third century.

AFTER *C.* 167 AND BEFORE *C.* 182: REDEVELOPMENT AND DESTRUCTIVE FIRE

Although it remains possible that Site XI and the big new granaries were started within the standing defences, it is hardly credible that this was intended as a permanent arrangement. The probable function as a market demands open access and the intention was perhaps to replace the old fort defences with a defensive circuit further out, surrounding a newly defined civil site. The granaries and the plan of Site XI suggest that what was envisaged was the reception of foodstuffs and goods and their sale by merchants to agents from military units in the eastern part of the frontier zone, procuring their essentials from this *emporium*. If legionaries were intended to supervise the supply-base and market, it is hardly conceivable that there would not be a fort or a compound for them. There seem to be two possibilities: either Site XI was intended to sit in a purely civil site, or a new legionary compound was

planned, but had not been started by the time of the building project was interrupted. It would of course be unnecessary until the standing defences were removed, and these may still have been in existence when building was stopped.

THE SECOND LEGIONARY BASE: ARRIVAL AT THE VISIBLE LAYOUT

There are no records of stratified finds or inscriptions to give a direct *terminus post quem* for the creation of the visible layout of completed granaries (surrounded by enclosure wall), functioning south range of Site XI, and military compounds. So, for all their traditional ascription to the Severan period, they could in theory have come into being in the 170s or 180s. In terms of the meagre published record, there is nothing to indicate any building phase intervening between the destruction deposit and the final layout. On the other hand, the fire-devastated site may have lain abandoned for a period. The change in the building level of the granaries suggests that there may have been a considerable interval before builders returned to complete them, but we do not know for sure whether this dislocation in the building coincided with the fire, or had occurred long before. It was noted earlier that the apparent continuity of a sanctuary area with legionary associations suggests that the site was not totally abandoned by the military for very long.

Epigraphic evidence shows that Corbridge was the scene of renewed military building by the governorship of Virius Lupus (*c*. 197–*c*. 200) at the latest. [80] This inscription (of *Legio* VI) may indicate when the army returned, if there had been a period of abandonment. On the other hand, inscriptions dedicated to Commodus (180–92) will not have survived and may once have existed. The association of RIB 1163 with the west compound may suggest that the visible layout was being created at that time. Gillam considered the Virius Lupus inscription to be the absolute *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of the Period V buildings by fire.[81]

RIB 1151, of which the two fragments are in Hexham Abbey, almost certainly comes from Corbridge and records the building of a granary in the Severan period (198–209). For this stone to have been brought for use in the crypt at Hexham it is likely to have come from a building still standing and visible in the immediately post-Roman period and thus available for robbing (this seems to be the consistent pattern with the re-use of Roman stone in the Abbey). This could link the stone to the main granaries at the centre of Corbridge, which remained in use into the late-Roman period, and therefore indicate that it was indeed under Severus that they were finally completed. But this could be explained in another ways. One of the two granaries might have been finished or refurbished in time to receive this inscription, with the bulk of the building work having taken place at an earlier stage. Logically the wall that surrounds the granaries[82] would belong to the time of completion of the two stores buildings. Now no longer enclosed within defences, the granaries found themselves at the open centre of a civilian community.

The final element of the transformation of the site was the provision of the two military compounds. These non-defensive enclosures recognised the now-predominantly urban character of the site and the need to segregate the military personnel from the surrounding community. Their date can only be given in broad terms, late-second or early-third century. Certain novel features of the planning of the compounds, notably the *principia* without forecourt and the cruciform layout of streets in front of the *principia* in the east compound do not

find parallels before the third century.[83] This would allow a model of Severan reconstruction following, after some interval, a destructive fire in the early 180s, but we lack a firm *terminus post quem*.

THE SO-CALLED TEMPLES (FIG. 4)

Whenever the compounds were built, they were planned to respect some evidently important building plots fronting onto the Stanegate. These have always (since Richmond's paper of 1943) been identified as sacred enclaves containing temples, which Richmond believed were planned contemporaneously with the compounds. Richmond asserted the existence of seven temples in the classical tradition. The fact that architectural fragments found at Corbridge demonstrate the existence of a number of classical temples appears at first sight to offer a remarkable corroboration of Richmond's thesis.

Unfortunately the archaeological evidence for the buildings he identified as temples is not convincing. Two (Nos IV and V) probably did not exist. Clay and cobble platforms, revetted by rough blocks at temple sites I and II were interpreted as podia. But in fact this form of construction can be found in quite ordinary buildings elsewhere on the northern frontier. In Vicus 2 at Vindolanda, ordinary strip buildings certainly of third-century date were raised on identical foundations of massive split-faced blocks, and can be seen exposed on the site. The *cella* wall which Richmond claimed to have found in Temple I is also reminiscent of double front walling seen at the front of one of the Vindolanda examples, doubtless indicating different phases of construction. Richmond's reconstruction of a quite unclassical pentastyle colonnade was unconvincing: the features he described as 'seatings for columns' have the appearance of sockets for timber work. He described Temple I as a clearly defined platform with its sides laid out to a ratio of 4:3, in contrast to the usual elongated appearance of strip-houses. But buildings of such proportions may also be found in the *vicus* at Vindolanda.[84] The same construction technique is found in certain strip-buildings in the *canabae* of the legionary fortress at Caerleon, probably third-century in date, and undoubtedly of commercial or utilitarian character. Here the massive blocks forming the outer walls were interpreted by the excavator as a foundation for a mud-brick and timber superstructure.[85]

Richmond's evidence for the other supposed temples at Corbridge was even more doubtful and has been questioned in the past.[86] It is argued elsewhere that the Sol Invictus inscription and associated architectural fragments from classical temples, found in the late-Roman make-up of the Stanegate road in front of Site XI, were imported from a sanctuary area which lay outside the centre of the site.

One objection might be raised against the suggestion that the 'temples' of the central area have been incorrectly identified: the fact that the third-century legionary compound walls so carefully avoid the areas containing these buildings. Surely, the argument runs, only building plots of sacred importance would have been so carefully respected. Yet important commercial or storage buildings would require a main street frontage, and this could just as well have been the consideration behind the planning of the legionary compounds. The position of these buildings in close association with the granaries and the great market building Site XI may be noted. If the buildings were operated by civilian merchants, their separation from the military compounds would be further explained.

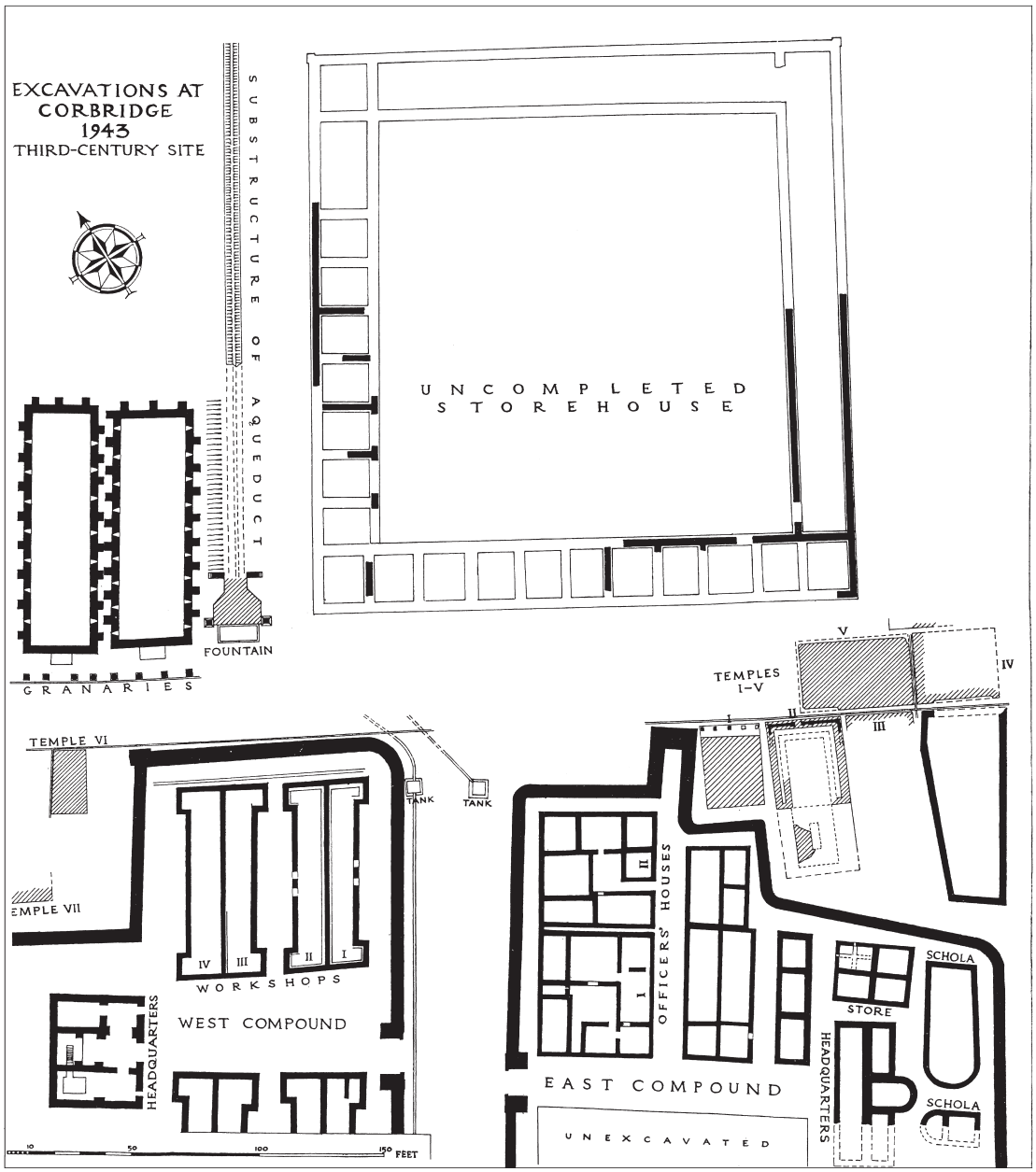

Fig. 4 Richmond's plan of 1943 showing the legionary compounds and the supposed sites of Temples I — VII.

OTHER ELEMENTS: NORTHERN GRANARIES, AQUEDUCT AND FOUNTAIN

Corbridge probably functioned as a supply-base during the British expedition of Septimius Severus (208–11). Granary-building under Severus has already been mentioned. RIB 1143, found re-used in the west granary, was dedicated by an officer proud to have been responsible for a granary or granaries at the time of the *expeditio felicissima Britannica*. In theory this could refer to a campaign other than that of Severus, such as the war of the 180s under Ulpius Marcellus.

Sites 17W (found 1909)[87] and Site 56 (1913)[88] almost certainly represent stone-built granaries, on a fairly massive scale (Site 56 was some 43 m long), lying some 50 m north of Site XI. Site 57 also exhibited a buttress, so perhaps there were others. Site 14, a stores-building with a raised floor, was probably part of the same group.[89] Forster and Knowles[90] thought the buildings short-lived despite their large scale and explicitly associated them with the Severan expedition. Certainly they appear to post-date the second-century fort and were out of use before the late-Roman period. It is easy to envisage vast stockpiles of foodstuffs collected in these buildings for distribution to Severus' great army as it crossed the Tyne at Corbridge and passed through the town to follow Dere Street into Scotland. Site 14 was overlain by the aqueduct channel leading to the fountain at the centre of the site. That the aqueduct runs across the defences and interior of the fort-area itself suggests that the aqueduct, and fountain or *nymphaeum* to which it leads,[91] are of necessity later than the levelling of the defences. That the aqueduct is very likely later than the northern group of stores buildings (Sites 17W, 56, 14) also suggests that the fountain was not inserted until after the time of the Severan expedition. Richmond and Gillam noted that 'an outfall drain from the east end of the front [of the earliest version of the fountain drawing-tank] . . . survives, and is linked with the main outfall channel feeding the pair of underground tanks associated with the two military compounds'. In other words, the earliest version of the fountain was linked to the visible compounds.[92] The Edwardian excavators (rather indecisively) associated the fountain with the second of their major road levels.[93] The position of the fountain in the roadway between Site XI and the central granaries also suggests that it was a later insertion: it encroaches on the drain surrounding the granaries and possibly suppressed part of the enclosure wall that surrounded those buildings.[94]

CORBRIDGE AS AN URBAN CENTRE AND THE QUESTION OF A TOWN WALL

The very existence of the compounds underlines the civil character of the urban site that surrounded them. It can be reasonably hazarded that Corbridge was given some kind of formal status as a civil centre, as was Carlisle, which was almost certainly the centre of the *civtitas Carvetiorum*, now known to have been constituted before 222–3.[95] The establishment of civil centres at Carlisle and Corbridge may have been a Severan initiative, but of course could have been earlier. Corbridge has no obvious public buildings, but given the likely elevation of a southern small town such as Ilchester, this can not be taken to show that it did not achieve *civitas* status. Unfortunately we know nothing in detail about the provision of public buildings in Carlisle (although their presence has been suggested), where the status of the town is not in dispute. At Carlisle the existence of defences around the town remains

uncertain. M. C. Bishop points out that there is no good evidence for a walled circuit around the civil town at Corbridge, at any time. The early excavators searched, and found only ditches of early date and military character (some no doubt connected with annexes or extra-mural defended areas attached to the early forts). The apparent circuit shown on Maclauchlan's survey passes through areas that have been excavated and which have shown no trace, and even runs over structures excavated in 1906–7.[96] Yet, given the apparent status of Corbridge and Carlisle, it would have been grossly untypical for them not to have had walls. Enclosed or not, the vibrant character of the town at Corbridge in the third century is striking. So is its continuing size and prosperity in the fourth, which contrasts with the military *vici* attached to forts in the region. The significance of Corbridge as an urban centre in the late-Roman period is a neglected and important topic, but beyond the scope of the present paper.

THE LEGIONARY COMPOUNDS

Richmond's study of 1938[97] was the first to recognise the real purpose of some meandering walls, so puzzling to the Edwardian excavators, had been to define a pair of military compounds. He suggested that the western compound had contained administrative and workshop buildings, while the eastern had housed accommodation. The buildings of the western compound were examined in more detail in the report for 1940.[98] By the time of Richmond's 1943 study it was realised that each compound possessed its own headquarters, and that they had therefore housed separate units.

Richmond nevertheless maintained that there was a functional difference between the two compounds, the western being devoted to the production from raw materials of iron weapons and implements; he confessed that 'The precise function of the east compound, in contrast with the iron-working west compound, is not yet clear'.[99] The familiar image of a legionary arms factory in the western compound can probably be discarded. This had been based on the discovery of a series of hearths and tanks, associated with iron slag and a range of finished and part-finished weapons and other iron objects, during the exploration of the buildings in the northern part of the west compound labelled 'workshops I-IV' by Richmond.[100] In the most recent guidebook, Dore has succinctly posited the more likely interpretation: '… it is clear that the buildings were used as workshops at some time, though their plan suggests that they were not originally intended as such. Three of them underwent considerable modification during their lifetime and the iron-working may belong to the later phases'.[101] These reservations are entirely borne out by the fact that one of the industrial features clearly cuts the foundations of one of the primary walls. Richmond probably anticipated these objections, for he was at pains to state that the industrial debris was found at 'the lowest level' of the building he wished to interpret as a workshop. But this is hardly credible, for the relevant deposit was immediately overlain by flagging which Richmond had no hesitation in ascribing to the fourth century.[102] The excavators of 1912 may have the last word: 'There was little to give any clue to the period at which the manufacture was carried on, but the coins seem on the whole to suggest the end of the third and early part of the fourth centuries'.[103]

It seems most likely, then, that only the building with most evidence for industrial activity (IV) was turned over to such use (when walls were built up between its projecting ends), and that that only occurred in the late-Roman period. The buildings, in a distinctive arrangement of back-to-back pairs fronting the HQ (and two more, facing each other, behind the HQ?), will

in fact have formed the accommodation of the legionary detachment based in the western compound.

That said, these buildings do not look like any known type of barrack. The closest parallel is supplied by building of unknown purpose that was used during the construction of the mid-Antonine stone fort at South Shields.[104] That building is exactly twice the length of those at Corbridge, but if the latter are regarded as buildings split in two and placed back to back, the size and layout of accommodation is exactly similar, right down to the area taken up by the projecting wings at the ends. There are other close similarities: timber partitions between rooms, with the exception of a major partition half way along the length of the range. Re-excavation has shown that the South Shields building was neither a workshop nor a cavalry barrack (previously favoured interpretations); it was subdivided into rooms containing hearths, while considerable amounts of pottery suggested occupation. There was also evidence, in the form of inkwell fragments, for a possible administrative function. After the completion of the fort the building was demolished. One possibility is that it housed soldiers of the Sixth Legion who were engaged in the construction of the fort. It is worth remembering that the barracks in the third-century legionary base at Carlisle were not of conventional type, also lacking clear officers' houses at their ends. In addition to its HQ the eastern compound contained, probably originally, two houses appropriate in size for legionary centurions, some possible accommodation which again does not resemble known barrack types, as well as stores, possible guild buildings, and other poorly understood structures.

The enclosure walls of both compounds were of sinuous and irregular plan because they had to respect buildings, extant or planned, on the Stanegate frontage. Despite this, the most remarkable aspect of the internal planning of the compounds is that they have clearly been laid out symmetrically at one time, their gates, and vistas leading to respective *principia*, facing each other along a common axis. The base for separate legionary detachments was clearly a carefully planned whole rather than an idea that developed piecemeal.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE LEGIONARY GARRISONS

Richmond[105] was the first to recognise that the two third-century compounds had belonged to vexillations of separate legions, and observed that the west compound 'at one time' housed a detachment of *Legio II*. This last attribution was on the basis of an inscription of *II Augusta* clearly from the *principia* of the west compound. But there is also from Corbridge a dedication to the Concord of the XX and VI Legions, as if at some time vexillations from those units dually garrisoned the site in the manner implied by the pair of compounds. Presumably because of this and because there are records of all three legions, Richmond counselled caution: 'Since … only detachments … of the legions are concerned, it is evident that these may have changed from time to time within, or even between, the units involved, and it would be idle to pretend that the story of these changes can now be recovered'.[106] Richmond wrote in the belief that any such changes had to be fitted into the third century, as he saw no legionary base existing before the Severan period. But it as been argued above that legionary occupation of Corbridge should be traced back to *c.* 163/4, and, it is worth re-examining what is known epigraphically of the legionary units present, to see whether distinct second- and third-century patterns emerge, or, if you like, pre-compound and compound-period patterns.

What fixed points do we have? Clearly legions XX and VI were active at Corbridge in the 160s. We know from the fountain that *Legio XX* was building in the later-second or early-third

century, probably the latter, while legion VI was responsible for building under Virius Lupus (*c*. 197–*c*. 200).

RIB 1127, the altar of II Augusta to the discipline of the emperors, seems certainly to have been in use in the *aedes* of the west compound at the end of its life, and so reflects the unit in residence in the main part of the third century. The altar probably derives from the final demolition of the *aedes* and infilling of the strongroom, at the end of a probably lengthy period in the third century when soldiers of *II Augusta* occupied the compound. The panel from an *aedes* decorated with a *vexillum* of II Augusta (RIB 1154), found in the nearby east granary, was probably taken from the *principia* for re-use at the same time. There is a possibility that RIB 1127 signals the presence of soldiers of *Legio II Augusta* as early as 176–80.[107] Even if the joint emperors referred to were the Severi, this would mean that the soldiers of *Legio* II had been emplaced in the west compound before 212 rather than following the later division of the province, perhaps effected *c*. 213–16.[108]

One possibility that this evidence suggests is that the suggested legionary base of the period following *c*. 163 was home to vexillations of legions VI and XX, while the compounds, originating around *c*. 180 or in the Severan period, housed by 212 vexillations of *II Augusta* and an unknown legion respectively. This suggestion receives some support from the decoration of rosettes on the Concord stone of legions XX and VI (RIB 1125); these are most easily paralleled on inscriptions of the Antonine period.[109]

The presence of legionary vexillations at Corbridge may be mirrored at Carlisle, where it is virtually certain that in the third century soldiers of the XX and II legions were based. A dedication there by a tribune of *Legio XX* dating to the period 213/22 has a clasped hands motif implying that he was in command of detachments from two different legions. There is also a dedication to the concord of legions XX and II. Although it could be argued, on analogy with Corbridge, that the latter might be second-century in date, there are also tiles of XX and II legions from stone barracks at Carlisle which were built in the third century.[110] As at Corbridge, a legionary presence at Carlisle might date from the 160s, when the conventional auxiliary fort apparently reached the end of it life, but there seems no doubt that the permanent third century legionary garrison was formed from vexillations of legions II and XX. Tomlin has conjectured that Corbridge, like Carlisle, held detachments of the two legions of Britannia Superior (II and XX) after the division of the province in *c*. 213.[111] This would provide an attractive symmetry with Carlisle. Unfortunately, while the evidence for the presence of soldiers of *II Augusta* in the west compound is strong, there is to date no clear indication of whether occupants of the east compound were drawn from legion XX or VI.[112] We have also noted the possibility that the units in the compounds were in place before the division of the province, and possibly as early as 176–80. Nevertheless, we might hypothesise as follows:

The legionary base of *c*. 163– ?	Vexillations of Legions VI and XX
The legionary compounds	Vexillations of Legions II and XX

If this is accepted, RIB 1130, dedicated by vexillations of the XX and VI legions, would have to be second century; this is discussed below, as it appears to shed light on the function of the legionaries. RIB 1136, on the other hand, dedicated by II Augusta and a *c(uneus … vanianorum)* ought to be third century, and it is in that period that irregular units such as *cunei* are usually attested.

Three altars to Apollo Maponus,[113] probably originally a contemporary group, are probably second century in date, as the office of *praefectus castrorum* had largely died out by the third century.[114] The legion in question is VI. The altars do not specify the term vexillation and although there could be a link with the legionary activity of the 160s they could have been dedicated by legionaries operating at Corbridge at any time in the second century, for example in the fort period before *c*. 163. With the exception of the great early-Antonine inscriptions of *II Augusta*, none of the other building records or tombstones mentioning legionaries at Corbridge is at present datable.

CORBRIDGE: A LEGIONARY DETACHMENT BASE AND ITS PARALLELS

What was the role of the legionaries at Corbridge, and how did it change through time? Under Calpurnius Agricola the legionary presence here was an important part of the reinstated Hadrianic frontier. The vexillations of the 160s were placed at the point where Dere Street ran north from the Wall towards Scotland, with outposts held in strength as far as Newstead on the Tweed. The legionaries thus held a rearward base at a time when the army was active in the recently evacuated area north of Wall.[115]

This may also be implied by RIB 1130, an altar to Jupiter by vexillations of XX and VI legions 'mi[lites] [a]ge[n]t(es) in p[…' (if the heavily restored reading is to be believed). The combination of legions, as proposed above, suggests the second century. What may be the same phrase, 'agente in praeten …' occurs on RIB 1152, a dedication made at Corbridge by one … untius Paulinus, whom Speidel has convincingly associated with a commanding officer at the Dere Street outpost fort of Risingham, 15 miles to the north.[116] 'Praeten …', he suggests, should be expanded as 'praetensio', in the sense of a line of manned posts linking a rearward base with an outpost fort projected forward from the main frontier zone or line.[117] 'Praetentura', an alternative restoration, might have the same sense. The stone should be relatively early, because on its back is a secondary text (RIB 1153) which, from its lavish use of ligatures, looks typically third century.[118] Rather than commanding the third-century unit *cohors I Vangionum* at Risingham, as Speidel imagines, Paulinus perhaps commanded *Cohors IV Gallorum*, who were based at this outpost in the period 161–9 on the evidence of RIB 1227. This inscription is dedicated to unnamed joint emperors, but its decoration is unmistakably Antonine. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161–69) are almost certainly in question — the decoration looks too early even for the later joint reign of 176–80. Paulinus will have made his dedication at Corbridge when making a visit to the rearward base.

We can build further on this picture of the operation of the chain of outposts projected from the legionary base at Corbridge. The same unit as at Risingham is attested at High Rochester, on a stone presumably of this period recording vexillations of both cohorts *IV Gallorum* and *II Nerviorum*.[119] A series of inscriptions[120] attests a detachment of *Legio* XX at Newstead in the Antonine period. It has been argued that these belong to the final phase at Newstead, which corresponds to the period *c*. 163–80 at Corbridge. So soldiers of the Chester legion, *agente in praetentura/praetensione*, were based both at Corbridge and at the furthest extent of the line of outposts.[121]

After the division of Britain *c*. 213, the northern frontier lay in Britannia Inferior. The detachments at third-century Carlisle, and very possibly Corbridge, were from the legions of Britannia Superior, II and XX. Tomlin has explained this in terms of a need to redress an

imbalance, there being more military need for legionaries in the north, and an over-stretching of *VI Victrix* requiring the presence of detachments from the legions of the Upper province.[122] But as we have seen, these arrangements may pre-date the division of the province.

The third-century situation at Corbridge needs to be considered alongside another legionary detachment base now to be recognised at Piercebridge, Co. Durham. A vexillation of *Legio VI* is attested at Piercebridge in 217, accompanied by legionary detachments from both Upper and Lower Germany.[123] What these troops were intended for at Piercebridge around 217 is unknown. The visible fort, which could well be of that period despite its traditional dating to the later-third century, combined with the presence of legionaries from Germany, suggests a greater concentration of military strength than provided by the detachments of II and XX at Corbridge. The 4.58 ha fort suggests that the legionary presence at Piercebridge was envisaged as being permanent. The large *vicus* alongside the fort probably developed in this period, and legionary cult activity of the sort well-known from Corbridge has also left its traces, notably the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus.[124] Piercebridge is well placed to send a force either north up Dere Street or west in the direction of Carlisle and south-west Scotland. The commitment of *Legio* VI to this concentration possibly helps explain why it was necessary to draw on legions II and XX for the smaller legionary groupings at Carlisle and Corbridge.

Richmond himself stressed that the key importance of Corbridge was that it was a rare example of a base for permanently outstationed legionaries. We have two other direct and contemporary parallels in Britain, at Carlisle and Piercebridge; to date these sites are alone in Britain in producing inscriptions indicating a *permanent* presence of legionary vexillations. But, despite the fact that few examples are archaeologically known in the Roman empire, the outposting of legionary detachments in permanently fixed and specially planned establishments of this kind, as happened at Corbridge and Carlisle in the later-second and third centuries, should not come as a surprise. The foundation of new legionary bases more or less ground to a halt under Hadrian (117–38), and henceforth the permanent legionary fortresses became reservoirs, from which detachments would be sent to whatever province or part of the frontiers where they were most urgently needed. These theatres of action were often distant from the mother fortresses, and often far advanced beyond the legionary dispositions that had fossilised under Hadrian.

We must distinguish between fortresses used during the conduct of particular military campaigns, such Eining-Unterfeld on the Danube, or planted in hostile territory, as Carpow in Severan Scotland,[125] and the permanent outstationing of legionary detachments in the day-to-day operation of a frontier, as we see at Corbridge. In the latter category we may cite the outposting from legions normally stationed along the Lower Danube in Moesia Inferior to various Greek cities on the on north-west coast of the Black Sea and on the Crimean peninsula. Here the site at Balaklava has recently produced a range of architectural fragments associated with a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus that is reminiscent of the material from Corbridge.[126] Other examples of distant legionary outposting of this kind can be cited from Dura Europos, on the Eastern frontier with the Parthian empire (where, just as at Corbridge, the legionary garrison occupied a walled enclave within the city),[127] and Tripolitania in North Africa. In this last area we find a number of permanent posts for detachments of Legio III Augusta, whose permanent base lay at Lambaesis, hundreds of kilometres to the west in a separate province.[128]

At first sight it is hard to find examples of legionary outposts of this type on the Rhine-Danube frontier of the Continental mainland. In part this may be because the legions were

generally on the actual frontier line (the rivers): rearward legionary bases were a rarity (Mainz; Strasbourg). But no doubt examples await discovery: the town of Faimingen (Phoebiana) in Raetia, a focus of activity during Caracalla's German campaign of 213 onwards, contains a stone fort of over 5 ha in area, in use in the first half of the third century. In size this fort recalls Piercebridge, and, distant from any full-size fortress, it would have been an obvious place to concentrate legionary detachments.[129]

CHANGES TO THE COMPOUNDS AND THE END OF THE LEGIONS AT CORBRIDGE

At some stage the compounds were linked together by means of new wall running along the Stanegate frontage which provided a common gateway providing access to the road running north-south between them.[130] Richmond dated this to the 'Constantian' period (296), but this was largely to conform to the Wall periods. He also suggested that the east compound lost its individual status, implying that its legionary detachment may have departed.[131] The wall linking the compounds could, of course, be much earlier than Richmond dated it, and it is doubtful whether it represents the end of the dual nature of the compounds. If that had been its primary purpose, one would expect the walls and gates of the compounds fronting onto the north-south street to be demolished. This was not done. The purpose of the joining wall may simply have been to restrict civilian access to the street between the compounds, and this could have been done at an early stage of the third-century legionary occupation of the site. Such a need would grow more urgent with the growth of the civil town in the first half of the third century.

It is most unlikely that there would still be legionary detachments of the type familiar from the Principate at Corbridge in the fourth century. The old legionary garrison of Britain underwent radical change in the course of the third century, in common with army units throughout the empire in this period of emergency reform. The baths at Caerleon, for example, were abandoned during the second quarter of the third century,[132] and this presumably reflects the departure of a large part of *Legio* II from Britain. At Corbridge the demolition of the west compound *aedes* and the filling of its underground strongroom is presumably to be placed somewhere in the third century, but we cannot know exactly when. The event probably marked the sundering of the link between Corbridge and the legions of the Principate.

On the other hand, there are strong grounds for suspecting that there was still a military presence at Corbridge in the late-Roman period, as we now know there was at Carlisle. There is no clue to the identity of any late Roman garrison. It was noted above that coin evidence may suggest that the manufacture and repair of military equipment in the west compound may have taken place in the fourth century. In this connection it is notable that the compound walls remained standing: alteration and rebuilding of the houses in the east compound involved thickening the compound wall and utilising it as the outer wall of the new arrangement.[133] There is evidence for late rebuilding of the compound wall.[134] This invites comparison with Carlisle, where the Millennium excavations have shown that the walled fort at the centre of the town continued in use to the end. At Corbridge the granaries were still in use in the late-fourth century, as they contained coins running down to the reign of Gratian.[135] The fountain seems to have still been standing at the end of the Roman period, as we can see from the plough marks deeply scored into the top of the eastern of its statue bases. Again this

recalls Carlisle, and the famous record of a fountain still playing there in 685 to be found in Bede's Life of St Cuthbert.

THE DATE OF THE SPOLIATION OF THE LEGIONARY *AEDES* AND CULTS

A large number of architectural fragments reused in the latest resurfacing of the Stanegate were derived from the temples that it is argued elsewhere stood in a sanctuary outside the centre of the site. Although some of the buildings in the compounds survived in use (with radical alteration), decoration and dedications linked specifically with the legionary garrison lost their significance and were dismantled, the material being reused both in the east-west road and in buildings, particularly the granaries.

When did this happen? If the provenances of the cult material are examined, we find that as well as the latest 'Stanegate' road make-up, the loading bays and floors of the granaries were another major destination of this material.[136] Fragments associated with Jupiter Dolichenus were used both in the granaries and the road in front Site XI, and fragments of reliefs showing legionary standards also occur in both contexts. The granaries were clearly refurbished at some time in the late-Roman period. This involved additions to the loading bays, the renewal of the flagged floors, and, possibly, the insertion of pillars in the east granary to support an upper floor. A burnt coin hoard of the 340s was found 'on' the loading bay of the eastern granary.[137] There is insufficent detail in the report about the find-spot for us to be sure that this provides a *terminus ante quem* for the incorporation of *spolia* into the loading platforms. The hoard might have been found underneath the relief of the *vexillum* of the second legion that, along with one of the inscriptions of Lollius Urbicus, had been re-used in the refurbishment of the eastern platform.

We might try to date the despoliation of the legionary images and cults by asking what we know of when the uppermost surface of the 'Stanegate', in which many of them were found, was formed. The Edwardian excavators found the main east-west road through the site to be composed of three principal stratigraphic levels (around one foot, three feet and five feet beneath the contemporary ground surface south of the fountain).[138] Most of the architectural fragments and religious sculpture associated with the temples of the legionary cults were recovered from the uppermost ('third') road level.

A section taken between Site XI and the compounds published by Richmond in 1938 shows the three levels. They are labelled thus: Severan, Constantian, and 'Theodosian road removed in 1911'.[139] The sequence of road surfaces, and the construction of buildings that could be linked with this sequence, was therefore interpreted rigorously in the light of the 'Wall Periods' current since 1929. The masons' chippings associated with Site XI lay under Richmond's 'Severan' level. He stated that this level was 'laid against the foundations of the west compound'.[140] In all subsequent interpretation Richmond and Birley saw the compounds, granaries, fountain and Site XI as originating in a unified building programme under Severus, all of this contemporary with the 'first' of the three Edwardian road levels.

Of the 'second' of the three 'Edwardian' surfaces Richmond wrote: 'its end is dated by the masses of small bronze coins thrown … onto the surface of the street … they contain coins up to Valentinian I, and therefore indicate that the destruction which befell this level was not earlier than 364: it is presumably the result of the *barbarica conspiratio* of 367–8'.[141] If we follow up his reference to the old excavation report, we find: 'A coin of Tetricus, one of Claudius

Gothicus, and one of Valentinian were found in the soil under the surface of the latest road: the last named may have found its way through the somewhat poor and damaged surface of the latest road'. Despite the lack of certainly about the Valentinianic coin being sealed, the report is inclined to accept it as such, and points to other indications that the site was restored under Valentinian.[142]

Finally there is unimpeachable evidence that ambitious engineering and refurbishment of the main Stanegate road as it leaves Corbridge to cross the Cor Burn to the west took place late in the second half of the fourth century.[143] The new road was of elaborate and heavily built character and the work is closely and confidently dated to the period after 364 by sealed Valentinianic coins and Crambeck pottery. This was clearly a major initiative on the part of a public body (whether the town or the army), and there must be a fair degree of probability that the remaking of the of the road surface in front of Site XI (part of the same east-west route) was undertaken at the same time. The various temples which provided the material could have been disused for some time; only now were they torn down and their remains carried into the centre of the town. Likewise legionary images which might have been long neglected or covered over were finally removed from the *principia*, perhaps as major alterations were being made to the buildings, and put to mundane use.

APPENDIX: THE VARIOUS CHRONOLOGIES SUGGESTED FOR CORBRIDGE

The following table sets out the chronology of the site arrived at by John Gillam in the mid-1970s. This is reflected in the account in the thirteenth edition of the *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, and in the unpublished paper by Gillam on the destruction deposit. The other columns show how earlier and later interpretations have deviated from this chronology. Note that as late as 1971 Gillam placed the destruction deposit and the building of Site XI in the Severan period.

Date	Gillam 1977/ HB13/Destruction deposit paper	Birley 1954	Gillam and Tait 1971	Simpson 1974	Bishop and Dore 1989/Dore 1989	Hodgson 2008
86+	Fort IA founded					
90s?	Fort IB					
c. 103	Fort IB destroyed					
c. 105	Fort II built					
c. 122	Fort III built Fort III 122–25 then abandoned for rest of Hadrian's reign				Fort III built and occupied 122–39	
c. 139–58	Fort IVa					
c. 158–63	Fort IVb					Fort contains vex. Leg VI (RIB 1132) Restoration of HW begins as response to warfare in N
c. 163	Gillam's Phases VA and VB: Defences and central range retained. Enclosure wall added to granaries. Barracks replaced with new stone structures, incl. Workshops.	Fort 'drastically remodelled' under Calpurnius Agricola shortly after 161	Phase VA Depot with legionary inscriptions	Fort dismantled and Site XI begun in *c.* 163 as support base for Antonine II occupation of Scotland, which had commenced *c.* 158+ Site XI suddenly left incomplete with withdrawal of builders and end of AWII, *c.* 163	Fort abandoned, and demolished in piecemeal fashion over number of years	Legionary base 1: vexillation base within retained defences. Vex Leg VI (RIB 1137) Vex Leg XX (RIB1149). Temple zone originates, probably some distance from fort
Late 170s	Gillam's Phase VC: Defences levelled now if not earlier; new granaries begun, aqueduct and fountain					Legionary base 2: Emplacement of II and XX legions in compounds possibly this early, this event preceded by Site XI
	supplied; Site XI begun (as civitas					inception and destructive fire. Also

	and fountain				preceded by Site XI
	supplied; Site XI begun (as civitas capital forum/ basilica?)				inception and destructive fire. Also earliest possible context for establishment of civil town
Early 180s	Destruction of 180 prevents completion of Site XI and granaries.	Phase VB Fresh building in 'depot'		Timber buildings which had been placed over Site XI foundations destroyed now or perhaps as late as 196	Latest possible context for Site XI project and destructive fire
180/90s	Period of stagnation: development of shops in Site XI and the Richmond 'temples' along the S side of the Stanegate				
c. 198	Gillam's Phase VI: Renewed military building, including (?) completion of granaries abandoned in 180; fountain house and water basin rebuilt; compounds constructed		Phase VC Site XI begun as forum (?), but site destroyed by fire; the destruction deposit still dated at this stage to 198+ on coin evidence		
208–11		Site XI, granaries built at time of Severan expedition and legionary fortress intended (Site XI its principia); idea abandoned after 211	Phase VI: building of the visible layout		Latest likely context for establishment of civil town (under Severus) Legionary base 2: II and XX legions in compounds by now if not earlier
211+		Visible layout arrived at			Watercourse and fountain inserted

NOTES

[1] Richmond 1943.

[2] Conventions and assumptions: the literature on Corbridge is extensive, and to reproduce every plan or piece of evidence necessary to support the arguments made here, or indeed to provide the full background to the issues discussed, would require a voluminous book-length work. I have tried through the notes to ensure that a reader with access to the major works of reference in an archaeological library (such as that of our Society) will be able to go to what published evidence there is to verify statements for himself. I have provided a plan (fig. 2) with the names and numbers of the principal structures in the central area of Corbridge. The pre-First War plans are conveniently collected, with the 'Site' or 'Building' numbers of those campaigns, in Bishop and Dore 1989. For economy I have used Arabic numbers to denote these 'Sites', except for Site XI, which is kept as Site XI in deference to convention.

I am grateful to the following for reading and providing detailed comment and criticism, on various versions of this paper: Dr Brian Dobson, Prof. David Breeze, Paul Bidwell, Prof. Anthony Birley, Dr M.C. Bishop, Georgina Plowright and Prof. Richard Bailey. None necessarily agrees with anything said here, and are not to be held responsible for any aspect of the interpretation that follows, although it has been vastly improved by the attention they have paid to it.

[3] Bishop 1994.

[4] See Birley 1959 for a retrospective and bibliography of work over that period.

[5] Bishop and Dore 1989.

[6] Daniels 1959.

[7] Hanson *et al*. 1979. Samian from construction levels of the Red House Baths dates to later than 75 (Daniels 1959, 160, nos 5–6).

[8] For the samian evidence, see Bishop and Dore 1989, 219.

[9] Gillam 1977.

[10] 1989, 94–5; 126–9.

[11] Bishop and Dore 1989, 129–32; 140. Gillam stated that this coin was not actually sealed by Fort II (1977, 60).

[12] Report on Carlisle Millennium Excavations by John Zant, in press.

[13] Birley 1966, 56.

[14] Jarrett 1994, 38; *cf*. Maxfield 1981, 224–6.

[15] Bishop and Dore 1989, 95–7 suggest that it was in this phase that a reduction in the area of the fort led to the construction of a set of southern defences which explain the depressions, still visible on the site, running beneath the later military compounds. The resulting plan, a fort with no *praetentura*, presents difficulties and the section reproduced by Bishop and Dore does not show a convincing ditch-profile. There is also a firm record of excavation disproving the existence of defences under the compounds: J. P. Gillam, 'The first fort at Corbridge: a reappraisal', *Roman Northern Frontier Seminar* 9 (unpub. typescript available in Durham University Library and Cowen Library, University of Newcastle), 177. Subsidence on either side of a road running east-west between building plots in the fort *praetentura* is the most satisfactory explanation for the effect visible on the site.

[16] Gillam 1977, 60.

[17] Bishop and Dore 1989, 88; 140; Richmond and Gillam 1955, 230–1.

[18] 1989, 67–86; 132–33.

[19] Richmond and Gillam 1953, which publishes an important group of pottery from the Fort II levels in this officer's house; cf. Bishop and Dore 1989.

[20] Bishop 1998. His identification of Site 17 as an extra-mural bath house belonging to Fort II causes him to reduce the estimate of the length of that fort from the 220 m given in Bishop and Dore 1989 to about 180–200 m. His suggestion that Site 14 represents a rampart back building of this fort seems implausible, as he admits it is not a recognisable type. The building has the appearance of a granary or store-house and as suggested below probably relates to other granaries, likely to be Severan in date, in the immediate vicinity.

[21] 1989, 135.
[22] See Birley and Richmond 1938, 266–84 for a sequence of stratified pottery from beneath the east compound used to support this dating. Bishop and Dore 1989, 137 recap the observations of the earlier granaries.
[23] I owe this observation to Brian Dobson.
[24] Gillam 1977, 72.
[25] Hodgson 1995.
[26] As suggested in Hodgson 1995.
[27] Gillam 1977, 72–3.
[28] The prefect Trebius Verus, under whose command *cohors I fida Vardullorum* dedicated an altar to Neptune at Castlecary, is probably to be identified with the commander of that unit on a diploma (RIB 2401.12) dated by A. R. Birley (2005, 151) to 160.
[29] It is conceivable that the unit was reintegrated at Corbridge. Only part of it had been in Scotland (commanded by prefect, not tribune; Castlecary too small for milliary unit). If Corbridge had been the original base of *coh I Vardullorum* before a detachment of the unit was moved to Scotland, the continuity of barrack building plots through periods II–IV would be explained, and with only part of the unit present in the Antonine period, there would be plenty of room for legionaries such as those attested under Julius Verus (RIB 1132).
[30] Bulmer 1943; cf. Birley 1981, 128, which leaves open the latest possible date. The revision of this, Birley 2005, 156, and n. 88, plumps much more unequivocally for 163. On the date of the title *Armeniacus* see Birley 1987, 129–31; 279, n. 35; 280, n. 42.
[31] Bulmer 1943, 245.
[32] 1981, 128.
[33] Gillam 1953, 364.
[34] It was obvious to the pre-1914 excavators that Site XI was never finished. Birley (1959) recapitulated the evidence, and it is still clear enough to see on the ground. The south range (fronting on to the Stanegate), and adjoining stretches of the east and west ranges were probably completed. Progressing northwards, however, it is possible to see how the tops of the uppermost courses of blocks have been left undressed, and incapable of accommodating any further courses, while further north still, the foundation slabs have not been dressed to receive even the first course of blocks. The sequence of building can be reconstructed, and it shows that different gangs must simultaneously have been obtaining and dressing stone, laying and dressing foundations, laying and dressing lower courses, dressing the ornamental plinth, laying upper courses, and so on. All work must have stopped suddenly and unexpectedly to produce the result that we have today. It was never to be resumed. The suddenness of the halt was underlined by the observation that 'a considerable number of stone-dressing tools were found close to various parts of the building' (Forster 1910). Although the Stanegate frontage of the building may have been completed, its courtyard was never levelled.
[35] Gillam and Tait 1971, 28. In 1971 Gillam placed this event later than 198. Later he moved it to around 180 because of Hartley's demonstration that the Antonine Wall was abandoned by the 160s, with the implication that pottery types from the Antonine Wall (common in the Corbridge destruction deposit) could not possibly be as late as 198. See further below.
[36] Simpson 1974.
[37] Richmond 1943, 215–224 and plan at fig. 13.
[38] 1989, 110.
[39] Richmond and Gillam 1950, 177–201.
[40] In Richmond and Gillam 1953, 242; 248–52.
[41] Richmond and Gillam 1955, 240–42. The section is at fig. 3, p. 225, with the field original at Bishop and Dore 1989, 92, fig. 45. 'The deposit as a whole is thoroughly typical of the late second-century destruction level at Corbridge' (Richmond and Gillam 1955, 242).
[42] Simpson 1972.
[43] Birley 1959, 20–31.
[44] Knowles and Forster 1909, 330–1.

[45] Forster and Knowles 1911, 165.

[46] Forster 1908, 247–58; Hartley 1972, 46; see also Brassington 1975, 69–74.

[47] Bishop and Dore 1989, 220–1: state that '... Site 44 and temple 3 where oral tradition reports that extensive burnt deposits were found ...' contained samian of the second half of the second century.

[48] The coin of *c*. 161 reported in Richmond and Gillam 1955, 239 and 252, coming from an industrial hearth lying over the levelled fort east rampart but under a subsequent building and then the destruction deposit.

[49] At first sight this assemblage should be of prime importance in offering a *terminus post quem* for the construction of Site XI. We have seen that Gillam thought the stratigraphy on this part of the site too confused for the context to be reliable. The description of the context is far from clear, and could be taken to imply that this pottery came from above some version of the foundations of the northeast corner of the building: 'In NR-1 and NR-0 we found a great depression ... over which the cobble foundation of the north range had been raised up as it were on an embankment: two or three blocks, identical to all appearances with those used in the foundation course (where it had been laid), lay on or close to the floor of the depression, which was filled by a mass of rubbish, including a very considerable deposit of pottery' (Birley 1959, 20). The earlier excavators had found a similar sounding area of disturbance further south in the east range, where it definitely post-dated the construction (1911, 157–9), and was presumably levelled and consolidated between the wars. In addition, a great deal of pottery was found in 1913 lying over the walls at the north-east corner of Site XI, described as a rubbish dump (*AA*[3], 11 (1914), 297).

[50] Even if the fourth-century coins are interpreted as an intruded hoard, the hammer-headed (Mancetter-Hartshill?) mortaria as described by Richmond, if contemporary with the samian, suggest a late-second or third century event, unless several different deposits have been confused in the excavation.

[51] It may seem odd to adduce a single comparator in this way, but in fact this is the only other securely stratified large group of coarse pottery of the second half of the second century yet available from Hadrian's Wall.

[52] 'If I had to produce the tracer elements of the destruction level, in the case of figured samian it would be Divixtus, in the case of mortaria Bellicus, and in the case of black-burnished the majority of BB2 over BB1. And BB2, and Bellicus and Divixtus all turn up on the Antonine Wall. It makes me wonder ...' (E. Birley, speaking in discussion in the unpublished *Roman Northern Frontier Seminar* 2 (1972), 52). This was when the Corbridge destruction deposit was still dated to 197.

[53] Hartley 1972.

[54] Gillam and Tait 1971, 28 and the unpublished paper.

[55] 1909, 341.

[56] E.g., Bishop and Dore 1989, 35, fig. 17, Section 10, contexts 1528, 1527, 1525, 1524* (in Room 6 of S range); fig. 19, Section 113, contexts 1354, 1326* (immediately north of east end of south range); fig. 20, Section 127, contexts 1602, 1601, 1600, 1599, 1598* and Section 128, contexts 1613, 1612, 1611, 1610, 1609* (in Room 7 of S range). An asterisk denotes the destruction deposit in each case. The sequence is discussed at Bishop and Dore 1989, 48.

[57] Richmond and Gillam 1955, 240. Compare this original report with the discussion at Bishop and Dore 1989, 87–8. Bishop and Dore reproduce the original field section at their fig. 45, Section 182; it differs in significant respects from the version published at fig. 3 of the 1955 report. In the field section the destruction deposit is context 3329=3337=3353, overlying flags and hearth (3341) which are in turn sitting on the spread of the levelled rampart 3332=3343). The true back of the rampart lay somewhere in the baulk between parts 1B and 1C of the section, and aligns with the turf cheek at the back of the rampart visible in a section 33m south, in trench HJ of Site 44 (Bishop and Dore 1989, fig. 43, Section 175). Here the heel of the rampart is marked by context 3145, and the destruction deposit (3117, 3119 etc.) is again seen directly above material spread from the levelling of the rampart. (3121).

[58] Richmond and Gillam 1950, 152–8.

[59] Brassington 1975, 66–8 and fig. 71. A pair of worn interior steps that lead to its original floor or basement level does not show that the east granary was necessarily completed at its earlier level; these could have been reused from an earlier building and placed to allow temporary access to the basement level during construction. As a permanent feature a sunken floor within the granary doors would have been most unusual. So *contra* Brassington both granaries could have been left unfinished, and completed at a later stage, to accompany a raised ground level.

[60] Haverfield 1910, 213: 'The so-called forum, in reality a storehouse (as a recently excavated parallel at Carnuntum seems to show)'; see also 1911, 482–5.

[61] Birley 1981, 265–6; Birley 2005, 266–7.

[62] Rickman 1971, 257–63.

[63] These and other examples are collected in Petrikovits 1975, 84, Bild 20.

[64] *Horrea* refers to store buildings of all kinds, including those on the large courtyard model, and not merely the buttressed grain stores to which northern frontier specialists usually apply the term.

[65] Rickman 1971, 15–86.

[66] Rickman 1971, 89–97.

[67] Rickman 1971, 173–6.

[68] Rainbird and Sear 1971. I owe this reference to M.C. Bishop.

[69] Despite Rickman's study the idea of a projected civil forum was still current in the 1970s, as we see from the account by Daniels in the 1978 *Handbook:* Bruce 1978, 94. This may have been written with John Gillam's then-current ideas in mind. In the current *Guidebook* it is retained as one possible option.

[70] Gillam 1977, 73.

[71] And how can we be sure that the Calpurnius Agricola inscriptions do not mark the *building* of Fort IVB?

[72] 'the tribes in the island crossed the wall that separated them from the Roman legions, did a great deal of damage, and cut down a general and his troops; so Commodus in alarm sent Ulpius Marcellus against them …' Dio 72.8.1.

[73] Bruce 1978, 94.

[74] Charles Daniels (1991) argued that under Calpurnius Agricola the Antonine Wall was still held, and that Site XI was part of the development of a civil town in the area of the 'previous (Hadrianic) frontier, from which the majority of the army had now been removed' (Daniels 1991, 49). In this view the Antonine Wall — and with it the new *civitas* capital being formed at Corbridge — was not abandoned until 168–9, when the crisis on the Danube frontier had become most acute and it was necessary to transfer troops from Britain. It is impossible to disprove this suggestion that the Antonine Wall was held so late. However, it fits very badly with the now generally accepted view that the Antonine Wall was of single period, and the fact that Hadrian's Wall was being rebuilt as early as 158 (RIB 1389). Furthermore, the *civitas* capital model rests on the identification of Site XI as a forum, which, as we have seen, the archaeological evidence does not support.

[75] David Breeze reminds me that war was threatening in Britain in 169: SHA Marcus 22.1.

[76] It is not clear whether anything like this was done in this period at Carlisle, like Corbridge a key communications node, and where we have an even more hazy picture of the arrangements intervening between the abandonment of a conventional fort (in the 160s?) and the establishment of a legionary detachment base in the third century.

[77] Hodgson forthcoming.

[78] 1989, 110–5.

[79] For this intermediate building phase, which corresponds to our putative second-century legionary base, see Table 1 and Bishop and Dore 1989, 115. Richmond of course saw his 'temples' as Severan in origin, and did not associate the inscription of the 160s with them. As argued in Hodgson (forthcoming) the discovery of RIB 1137 in the same context as the architectural fragments from several different temples suggests that the whole assemblage of material was brought from a zone of legionary cults that must have originated by the time of Calpurnius Agricola (the 160s).

[80] RIB 1163, of the VI Legion. This inscription was found in the west compound *aedes*, but could have been re-used there. A further VI legion inscription has an identical style of lettering and is therefore possibly from the same building programme.
[81] In the unpublished paper cited above.
[82] For which see Richmond and Gillam 1952, 238–41 and figs. 1 and 2.
[83] Paul Bidwell has suggested (Bidwell 1996; cf. Bidwell 1999, 28) that the east compound represents an early occurrence of a well-known late-Roman type of military planning, exemplified by the Diocletianic fortress at Palmyra. Such plans place special emphasis on the *principia*, in front of which accommodation is arranged in quadrants formed by a cruciform arrangement of streets.
[84] Birley 1977, 33, fig. 4, Buildings LXXII, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVIII.
[85] Evans 2000, 122–140; 469–70 (Buildings 13–17).
[86] Salway 1965, 49; Breeze and Dobson 1976, 302 and repeated in all subsequent editions.
[87] 1910, 40–1.
[88] 1914, 292–7.
[89] 1910, 18–26.
[90] 1914, 295.
[91] For which see Richmond and Gillam 1950, 158–168, with earlier references.
[92] Richmond and Gilliam 1950, 162–3.
[93] 1910, 216.
[94] The section of the aqueduct leading to the fountain was perhaps an extension to an original line that terminated at the bath-house at Site 17, identified by Bishop as the baths of the Period II (Trajanic) fort.
[95] As shown by the Langwathby milestone: *Britannia* 36 (2005), 482–3; Edwards and Shotter 2005.
[96] Forster 1908, plan at p. 217.
[97] Birley and Richmond 1938.
[98] Richmond and Birley 1940.
[99] Richmond 1943, 134.
[100] Richmond and Birley 1940, 105–9 and plan facing p. 84.
[101] Dore 1989, 16.
[102] Richmond and Birley 1940, 108.
[103] Forster and Knowles 1913, 250.
[104] For the most recent excavation plan see Burnham 2000, 385–6, and for the location within the fort plan, Bidwell and Speak 1994, 17, fig. 2.4
[105] Richmond 1943, 134–5.
[106] Ibid., 34.
[107] The use of the word *Augustorum* in full might be taken to suggest a second-century date for the inscription itself. But for the period 161–9 we already have legions VI and XX attested at Corbridge. Is it possible that it dates to 176–80 (this being the next available reign of joint emperors in the second century)? The 'third-century' occupation of the western compound by *Legio II Augusta* could then have begun with their emplacement there in 176–80, something that is paralleled in the permanent emplacement from this time of several auxiliary units in the north. Other possibilities: Severus and Caracalla or Caracalla and Geta, which would date it to 198–212; there were also joint emperors in 221–2.
[108] Birley 2005, 333–6.
[109] Occurring commonly on inscriptions from the Antonine Wall, e.g.: RIB 2196, Castlehill; RIB 2198, Hutcheson Hill; RIB 2203, Duntocher.
[110] The records of these two legions at Carlisle are collected in Hassall and Tomlin 1989 and Tomlin and Annis 1989.
[111] Hassall and Tomlin 1989, 331.
[112] Unless we link the construction of the fountain (by *Legio XX*) with the building of the compounds.
[113] RIB 1120–22; two found at Hexham, the third serving as base of the market cross in Corbridge village.

[114] Richmond 1943, 281. I am grateful to B. Dobson and A. R. Birley for pointing out that the office is attested as late as A.D. 201 (CIL XIII 8014). It has also been speculated that the tribune whose name ends '…rnius' on RIB 1121 may be the same as …nius Vic[tor?], who occurs occurs on RIB 1128 (discussed here under Fort IVB) as commander of *cohors I Vardullorum*, probably in the period *c*. 158–63.

[115] One might expect legionaries to have been based at Carlisle (on the other major route north) in this period, but evidence is lacking.

[116] Speidel 1998.

[117] Speidel 1987. In this article he discusses a Diocletianic inscription from Arabia which unambiguously refers to soldiers in a chain of outposts along the road projecting from the legionary base at Bostra, via an outpost at Azraq, over 335 miles to the oasis at Jawf. The outposted soldiers are said to be 'attached' (*colligata*) to the rearward base by means of a *praetensio* — clearly a term (derived from *praetendere*, to be stationed out in front) for units along a garrisoned road projected beyond a rearward base. The term is otherwise unattested, but Speidel cites the use of the term *protensio* in a similar sense in A.D. 238 (*L'Année Épigraphique* 1934, 230).

[118] 'Imperat. caesaribus' is spelled out in full on this stone, which leads RIB to consider it second century, but the style of lettering would be unparalleled in this period.

[119] Hassall and Tomlin 1983, 337, no. 12.

[120] RIB 2120, 2122, 2123, 2124.

[121] See Manning 2006 for the most recent discussion of the garrisoning of Newstead. Could the outposts have extended further? A detachment of Legio VI is attested on an altar at Castlecary on the Antonine Wall which has been dated to after *c*. 175 (Mann 1963), suggesting that this Antonine Wall fort might have been retained as an outpost after the abandonment of the rest of the northern wall: see Hodgson 1995, 39.

[122] Hassall and Tomlin 1989, 331–3, and Tomlin and Annis 1989.

[123] A much neglected discovery at Piercebridge in 1966 (therefore not in RIB) was a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus by a vexillation made up of soldiers of VI *Victrix* and the armies of both the German provinces (*L'Année Épigraphique* 1967, 259; *JRS*, 57 (1967), 205; Birley 1967). The vexillation was commanded by a centurion of II Augusta. The inscription is undated in itself, but that this combination of troops was current in 217 is shown by a companion Dolichene altar (RIB 1022) dedicated by a centurion from Upper Germany in that year.

[124] R. Brickstock, who has been re-examining the coin-list from the excavations of the 1970s, now being written up for publication, states that the coins are compatible with an early-third century foundation for the visible fort (pers. comm.). Pottery recovered in recent fieldwalking in the *vicus* by Richard Hingley and James Bruhn suggests a third century *floruit* (pers. comm. Paul Bidwell). For the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus, see the inscriptions cited in the previous note.

[125] Carpow: Dore and Wilkes 1999. Eining-Unterfeld: Schönberger 1985, 488.

[126] For the permanent outstationing of Lower Moesian legionaries on the northern shores of the Black Sea see Sarnowski and Savelja 2000.

[127] Dura Europos: James 2004, 16–20.

[128] The oasis forts of Gheria el-Garbia and Bu-Ngem: Goodchild 1954; Rebuffat 1989. A legionary post at Ain Wif: Goodchild and Ward Perkins 1949.

[129] Faimingen: Schönberger 1985, 488.

[130] Birley and Richmond 1938, 249–50.

[131] Richmond 1943, 136.

[132] Zienkiewicz 1986, 43.

[133] Birley and Richmond 1938, 248.

[134] Birley and Richmond 1938, 249; Richmond 1943, 128.

[135] Knowles and Forster 1909, 323.

[136] See the tabulation in Hodgson forthcoming.

[137] Knowles and Forster 1909, 361.

[138] Forster 1908, 246 and section at Plate III, facing p. 214; Forster and Knowles 1913, 232; cf. Brassington 1975.
[139] Birley and Richmond 1938, fig. 3 facing p. 254 and commentary on pp. 260–2.
[140] Birley and Richmond 1938, 252.
[141] Richmond and Gillam 1950, 154; see earlier statement in Birley and Richmond 1938, 260–2.
[142] Forster 1908, 247.
[143] Wright 1941.

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