

Two inscribed Roman stones and architectural fragments from Scotland

G S Maxwell*

SUMMARY

The recent discovery, under widely differing circumstances, of two groups of Roman carved stones has cast light upon certain aspects of the Antonine occupation of Scotland. The additional knowledge about the Ingliston milestone permits a more accurate dating of the inscription, leading to a tentative identification of the governor who succeeded Lollius Urbicus and possible clarification of the processes by which the Antonine Wall was built. The recognition of the name of Q Lusius Sabinianus, the procurator of the province of Britannia, upon a twice-used altar from Inveresk raises important questions about the reasons for his presence in Scotland and the status of the fort and extramural settlement at Inveresk. The inscribed stone itself is a valuable addition to the national collection, at once a historical document in its own right and an interesting – in Scotland, unique – example of Roman epigraphy.

THE INGLISTON MILESTONE

The Roman milestone which is the first subject of this paper (fig 1) was first recorded at the close of the 17th century in a catalogue of donations made by the Scottish antiquary Sir Robert Sibbald (1697, 203) to the University of Edinburgh. According to the entry, it then consisted of two fragments, which had been found 'in Inglistons Ground in a plain field, near to which severall Obelisks are to be seen, some erected, others lying on the ground'. The approximate locus of the discovery is relatively clear, for the 'obelisks' referred to are the standing stones associated with the large round cairn at Newbridge, on the right bank of the River Almond (NGR NT 123 726) about 1.8 km to the W of Ingliston House. It is uncertain, however, whether the third stone, said by Sibbald to have been found together with the milestone and subsequently 'built into the wall' of a near-by 'Tennent's House' (cf Haverfield 1910, 321), is the same as that recently discovered by Dr E A Cormack (1969) in the farmsteading at West Ingliston; the latter bears the carved representation of a bird, which one feels could not have failed to draw a comment from Sibbald or his informant had it been the stone in question.

It is not clear whether Sibbald recognized that the two 'pillar' fragments belonged together, or that either formed part of a milestone. Most of his attention was naturally devoted to the part bearing the inscription, which he later noted (1707, 50) was contained within an ansate panel, although the *ansa* on each side was interpreted 'as a Roman *Securis*, the badge of Magistracy'; the other fragment, it was observed, had carved upon it 'the Figure of a Garland, with something like strings for tying it, hinging down'.

When Alexander Gordon saw the inscribed portion, some 20 years later, in the College

* Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 54 Melville St, Edinburgh

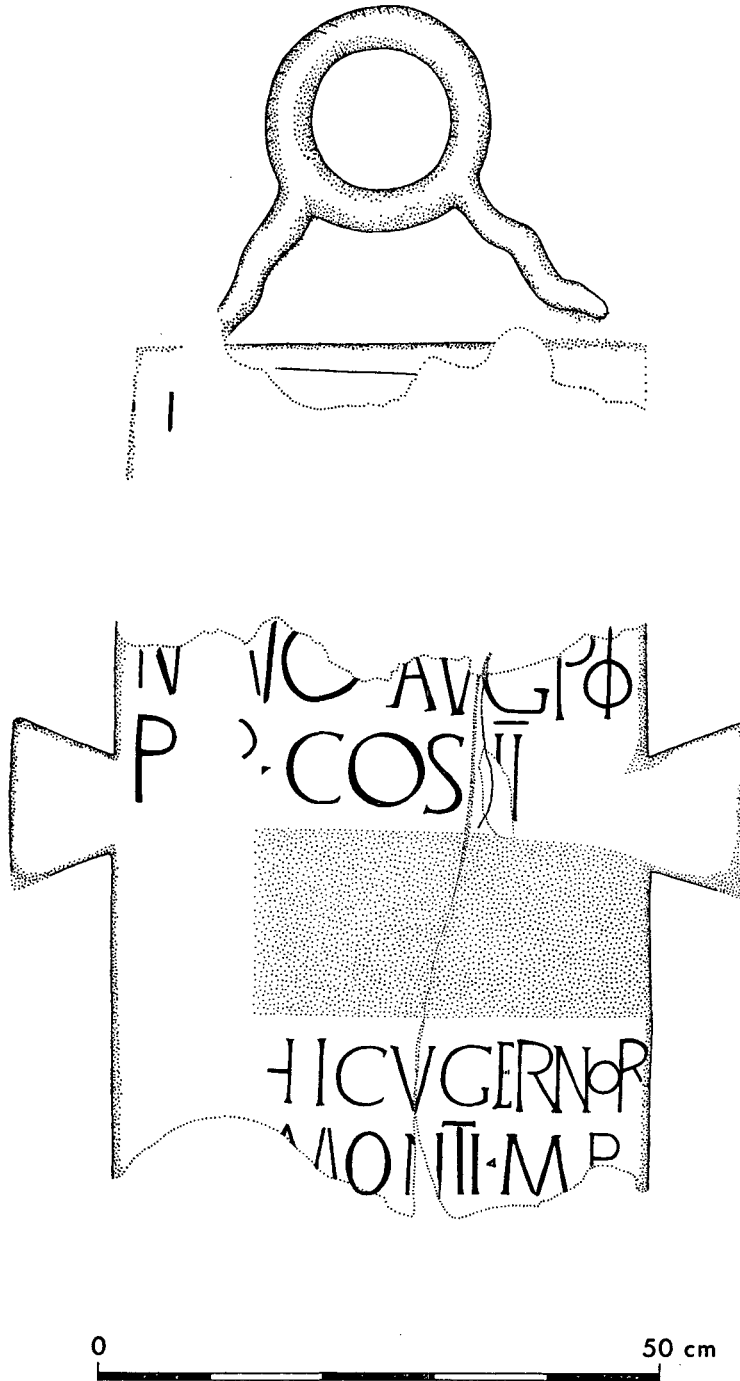


FIG 1 The text and decoration of the two milestone fragments from Ingliston brought into correct relationship

Library in Edinburgh, he correctly identified the *ansae*, but mistakenly assumed that the inscription recorded the completion of a length of work on the Antonine Wall (1726, 62, pl 12, 3), in other words, that it was a Distance Slab; of the second fragment there was no mention at this time, although it was obviously thought worthy of illustration (Gordon 1726, pl 14, 4). Both stones were probably transferred from the university to the safekeeping of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland about 1866, but only one, the inscribed fragment, was specifically listed in the earliest catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities (SAS 1892, 227). The other appears to have been laid aside, as being of less importance, and eventually seems to have sunk without trace in the lumber of the store-room. Accordingly, when attempts were made to read the inscription in modern times, it was recognized that the stone was not only severely mutilated but also truncated, since an unknown number of lines had to be supplied at the beginning of the inscription to complete the sense. It was generally agreed that the text of the surviving fragment should read: N[I]NO . AVG P[RO]T[ET]OR / PP . COS[UL]I / 2 lines erased / CO]H I . CVGERNOR / [TRI]MONTI . M[ILE]S .

The stone was thus identified as a milestone recording the distance from the Roman fort at Newstead (Trimontium), but its precise date was uncertain. Some scholars believed (eg Birley 1966, 230) that only two or three lines had been lost and that the emperor *RIB* mentioned in the dedication was Antoninus Pius, others (cf *RIB* 2313) that as many as four lines had to be supplied, on the assumption that the missing titles were those of Septimius Severus and his elder son. It may be worth recalling Birley's observation that the latter suggestion, involving the loss of a much larger part of the inscription, would have made the position of the *ansae* unusually low on the side of the panel; moreover, the tentative ascription to the Severan period might not have been so readily entertained had there not been a 3rd-century occupation at the nearby fort of Cramond. In favour of the later dating, however, it could be argued that it offered an explanation for the two-line erasure, since it might be interpreted as the obliteration of the name of Geta, Severus' younger son, who suffered virtual *damnatio memoriae* after his death in AD 212.

So the matter rested until 1971, when Dr Joanna Close-Brooks, Assistant Keeper at the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, learned from Dr E A Cormack of the discovery of the third stone at West Ingliston and instituted a successful search for the second part of the pillar mentioned by Sibbald. When recovered from the store-room of the museum it was seen to be exactly as described by Sibbald and as illustrated by Gordon (1726, pl 12, 3). Furthermore, it was realized that the parallel horizontal lines visible in the engraving, apparently at the lower edge of the stone, were in fact a rendering of the moulding and incised border at the top of the inscription panel, beneath which part of the initial letter of the text, 'I' could be identified. It now became necessary to see if the precise physical relationship of the two fragments could be established, and for this purpose (particularly to facilitate manipulation of the two pieces) a plaster cast was made of the lower portion of the newly recovered stone.

It quickly became obvious that, although considerable damage had been caused to the front of each stone, at the back they appeared to fit almost exactly. The closeness of this join was checked by reference to the correspondence in vertical alignment of the mouldings at each side of the inscription panel; in each case they were exactly in line (pl 24), and additional confirmation was provided by a flake-scar which extended conformably on either side of the line of fracture. Thus, when the stones were joined it was seen that no more than two lines had to be supplied at the beginning of the inscription. It is generally agreed (Wright & Hassall 1973, 336-7) that the complete text ran more or less as follows:

I[mp(erator) Caes(ari) T(ito) / Ael(io) Hadr(iano) Anto] / nino Aug(usto) Pio / P(atri) P(atriciae)

Co(n)s(uli) [I]II / 2 lines erased / [Co]h(ors) I Cugernor(um) / [Tri]monti(o) m(illia) p(assuum) / [. . .]

'For the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of his country, thrice consul, . . . , the first cohort of Cugerni (set this up). From Trimontium . . . miles.'

The milestone may therefore be assigned to the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius.

DISCUSSION

Three points, however, remain for discussion: (a) the original provenance of the stone, (b) the *precise* date, and (c) the explanation of the erasure.

Provenance

There is probably no way in which we can now ascertain the exact spot where the milestone originally stood. It has been suggested (RCAMS 1929, 40–1) that it was brought to Ingliston from Cramond which is the nearest known Roman installation, presumably by an early collector of Roman antiquities; but, although antiquarian collecting is not unheard of in Scotland during the 16th and 17th centuries, it is unlikely that a stone brought from Cramond by such a connoisseur would subsequently have been abandoned and lost to sight in the middle of the countryside before 1690. Sibbald (1707, 41; 1697, 203) is explicit in stating that the fragments were 'dugged out of the ground' . . . 'in a plain field'. Moreover, it is now thought quite possible that the nearest fort may be considerably closer to Ingliston than Cramond.

For many years now the most northerly trace of Dere Street to be generally recognized has been the straight stretch of modern minor road leading N from Ford, at the crossing of the Midlothian Tyne opposite Pathhead (Margary 1973, 487). The discovery of the Flavian fort at Elginhaugh, and the subsequent recognition of the 6 km sector of the A7 highway to the N as marking the course of the Roman road that led on towards the Forth (Maxwell 1983, 172–6) have given grounds for believing that in the 1st century the main line of communication between the River Esk and the Forth–Clyde isthmus lay farther inland than was previously thought. The forts at Cramond and Inveresk may thus be seen as Antonine foundations, designed to secure the coastal region on the E flank of the Antonine Wall; doubtless these later installations could have been served by spur-roads branching off Dere Street at appropriate points. In the case of Inveresk, the parallel cropmarks observed in the course of aerial survey on the right bank of the Esk below Dalkeith (eg on RCAMS/AP prints ML/3221–2) may well indicate the course of one such road. No structural evidence has so far been found to corroborate this hypothesis with regard to Cramond, but the recent discovery (AP nos ML/3901–4, 3923–6) of two Roman temporary camps at Gogar on the western outskirts of Edinburgh, some 500 m S of the main Edinburgh–Glasgow highway (A8) and only 2.8 km ESE of Ingliston House, strengthens the possibility that the continuation of Dere Street beyond Edinburgh crossed the River Almond in the vicinity of Newbridge or Kirkliston. At this point one might therefore expect to find a fort guarding the bridgehead; moreover, the distance from this stretch of the Almond to Elginhaugh is approximately 21 km, almost exactly the interval separating Elginhaugh from the fortlet of Oxtan at the head of Lauderdale—the next military post to the S. Whether this hypothetical fort was a member of the Agricola chain of *praesidia* constructed on the Forth–Clyde isthmus in AD 80/81 (Tacitus, *Agricola*, 23) is another question (cf Hanson 1981).

It may therefore be argued with some confidence that the Ingliston milestone was found at or near the position in which it was originally erected, beside a major Roman artery of communication. It is even possible that this route was still in use as late as the 14th century, for the

accounts of Edward I's progress through Scotland towards the fateful field of Falkirk in 1298 (Barrow 1976, 140) show that his army passed this way, the King perhaps lodging with the Master of the Templars at Hallyards Castle on the right bank of the River Almond opposite Kirkliston; popular tradition holds that his men encamped on the left bank of the river a little way to the SW of the same village.

Dating

It is most unfortunate that a deep transverse scar has caused severe damage to the inscription at the only point in the surviving lines of text where an explicit reference to the date occurs. As a result it is impossible to determine whether the text of line 4 originally contained the letters COS II, or COS III, ie whether the milestone was set up in Antoninus' second or third consulship – in other words, in AD 139–40, or 140–4.

Although it has been stated (Wright & Hassall 1973, 336–7) that the suprascript bar above the numerals in question extends farther to the left than would be required to cover only two upright strokes, and there appears to be ample space in the line for a third digit, the distinction is a very fine one, which it would be difficult to substantiate from the evidence of this inscription alone. Nevertheless, it seems inevitable that COS III should be accepted as the correct reading, for the implications of the alternative are so disturbing as to be generally unacceptable. Insistence on the earlier dating would mean that an auxiliary unit was engaged in road-building activities in central Scotland at least two years before Antoninus Pius was acclaimed *Imperator*, which honour is assumed to have been accorded on the completion of the army's successful re-conquest of the Scottish Lowlands. Inscriptions of an early Antonine date are known at Corbridge and High Rochester, where they record construction or repair work executed under the governor Q Lollius Urbicus, presumably in at least one case in preparation for the northward advance. If road-building squads were in operation near the Forth–Clyde isthmus at so early a stage, it would suggest not only that the opposition had been exceptionally light, but also that the campaign had been mounted with unusual swiftness. Indeed, it might give grounds for suspecting that the initiative for the abandonment of the frontier on the Tyne–Solway line had originated in the last days of Hadrian and not his successor – a situation comparable with that suggested by C E Stevens for the opening of the Hadrianic period (cf Breeze & Dobson 1978, 55). That such a suspicion can arise, even to be immediately rejected as improbable, indicates more clearly than a chapter of comment that the chronology of the Antonine period is still imperfectly understood. It is just possible, however, that consideration of the third problem relating to this inscription may serve to throw light upon the second.

The erasure

As long as it was held that the milestone recorded work undertaken in the reign of Septimius Severus, the erasure of lines 5 and 6 presented no insuperable problem. It could reasonably be interpreted as resulting from a purge of inscriptions on official monuments which took place after Geta, the emperor's younger son, had been liquidated by his brother Caracalla in AD 212. The appearance of Geta's name in association with military or public works would then have been politically unacceptable, particularly in Britain, where the army seems to have held him in some affection.

Yet if the stone belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius, it may be asked whose name could have merited obliteration; for there can be no doubt that the two lines in question were deliberately and effectively erased, with a neatness that suggests the hand of officialdom. Conceivably it might have been the officer commanding the regiment responsible for the road-building pro-

gramme to which the stone relates. However, even if the prefect's name had figured at this point in the inscriptions – a feature which would itself have been worthy of note – it seems most unlikely that any misdemeanour he might subsequently have committed would have earned such elaborate marks of Imperial disapproval.

We must therefore assume that the person so stigmatized held a more exalted position, and in that case there can be little doubt that, as with two examples from Hadrian's Wall (*RIB* 2298, 2299), the name would have been that of the propraetorian legate, the governor of the province. This would appear to present us with an even more unlikely situation, as it has often been assumed (eg Frere 1974, 165) that the governor to whom the initial Antonine advance into Scotland was entrusted, Q Lollius Urbicus (*SHA, Pius, 5, 4*), was retained in office for five or six years. Commemorative slabs (*RIB* 2191–2) recording construction work at the Antonine Wall fort of Balmuildy – one of the earliest installations to be built on the new frontier – indicate that Lollius Urbicus was still in Britain when the northern wall was taking shape; and this stage of the reconquest is unlikely to have commenced until the campaigning phase was over, an event probably signalled by the acclamation of Antoninus as *Imperator* in AD 142. Urbicus might then be presumed to have supervised the entire occupation programme from c 139 to 145, and thus have been nominally responsible for road-building operations in Antoninus' third consulship (AD 140–4). There is, however, nothing in the later career of Urbicus which would possibly have brought disgrace and consequently caused the defacement of monuments erected under his supervision. Nor is there any doubt that defacement was intended in this case, and not just a preparation of the stone for re-use as a milestone at a later period; epigraphic palimpsests are by no means uncommon amongst monuments of this category (*RIB* 2219–34 *passim*), but in no case can the effacement of the original text be shown to be so restricted in extent or so sweepingly effective in its recutting of the die. Nor is it possible to accept the suggestion that Urbicus' name has been removed because its insertion was considered to be a presumptuous act of self-advertisement (Davies 1977, 390–3). The author is therefore grateful for the suggestion, made to him by Professor A R Birley shortly after the missing milestone fragment was located, that a possible candidate exists for the role of peccant provincial governor in early Antonine times (see now Birley 1981, 115–16). According to the *Fasti Ostienses*, in AD 145 a certain Cornelius Priscianus was denounced as a *hostis publicus* because he had, with hostile intent, disturbed the peace of the province of Hispania (*quod provinciam Hispaniam hostiliter inquietaverit*). It is generally accepted that Priscianus was governor of Hispania Tarraconensis at the time, and it is possible that immediately prior to this he governed the province of Britain, holding the office from AD 142 until early 145. There is a reasonable probability, therefore, that the names and titles which suffered erasure on the Ingliston milestone were those of Cornelius Priscianus. However, the implications of such a solution go far beyond the significance of a single milestone, for they enable us to identify, at least tentatively, the governor responsible for the completion of the Antonine building programme. It would not only go some way to explaining why there are so few inscriptions on the Wall that mention Lollius Urbicus, but would also accord well with what is known of the early development of the Antonine frontier.

It is now generally accepted that the original conception of the Antonine Wall envisaged a mural barrier guarded by a regular series of milefortlets and an unknown number of primary forts, with an outside possibility that the earliest plan involved building the entire frontier in stone (Gillam 1975; Keppie & Walker 1981; Hanson & Maxwell 1983, 104–36); however, shortly after the construction work began, in turf for the most part, a decision was taken to increase the security of the frontier by adding sufficient forts to ensure that the average interval between garrisons approximated to two Roman miles. The effecting of such alterations, in both

materials and overall plan, although not necessarily the decision to do so, may thus have lain with Urbicus' successor, the completion of the Wall-building programme representing the main achievement of his governorship. It is curious, therefore, that no record of his association with the work has survived among the various inscriptions found along the line of the Wall. On the other hand, the appearance of his name on an official monument would not have been acceptable after 145, and some form of defacement, possibly even total destruction, could have been necessary. This being so, the low number of Distance Slabs recovered from the eastern half of the Antonine Wall might acquire a new significance, possibly even providing another basis for assessing how long the Antonine frontier took to build. However, it must be observed that a parallel situation appears to exist on Hadrian's Wall, where the name of Platorius Nepos alone figures in the early building records.

THREE CARVED STONES FROM INVERESK

In December 1976 two gravediggers, Mr Tom McPake and Mr Tom Crackett, preparing a grave in section F of the burial ground attached to St Michael's Kirk, Inveresk, came upon three shaped stones. Since the grave lay within the W portion of the Roman fort located by Sir Ian Richmond in 1946-7 (Richmond & Hanson 1980), it was realized that the find might be of archaeological significance, and the graveyard Superintendent, Mr David Robertson, sent immediate news of the discovery to the author.

THE UNINSCRIBED FRAGMENTS

From the outset, it was plain that the stones were probably all of Roman origin and that one was the lower portion of an altar bearing two separate inscriptions, one text cut on top of the other. Both of the uninscribed stones were fragments of a finely dressed pillar of irregular pentagonal section (pl 25): one appeared to be a capital, with about 0.16 m of the shaft; the other was a fragment of shaft of identical proportions but a little larger in cross-section. It seems most likely that they belonged to the same pillar, or series of pillars, which must have tapered slightly as they rose. It is unfortunately impossible to estimate the height of the complete pillar, but the fact that one of the sides of the shaft is almost half as wide again as all the others may suggest that, although freestanding, the pillar was not intended to be viewed from all sides, but probably stood close to a wall; the purpose of the curvilinear indentations at the top of each face of the capital is not immediately obvious and in all likelihood they are merely decorative. It may be significant that this was not the first occasion on which architectural fragments had come to light in grave-digging. In 1945 two pilasters (*Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 101 (1968-9), 293-4) with even more decorative capitals were retrieved from what was later found to be the site of an L-shaped, stone-founded building in the *retentura* of the fort (Richmond & Hanson 1980, 288, 299 n 1).

The provenance of the recently discovered pillar fragments is the *praetentura* of the fort, but there is no certain information about the Roman buildings in this area. In any case, it seems likely that the items were not found *in situ*, and in view of their superior quality it is possible that they derived from the headquarters building or commanding officer's residence. Given the importance of the unit presumed to be in garrison at Inveresk - a quingenary cavalry regiment - a certain degree of opulence might well have characterized the principal structures.

THE ALTAR

Peculiar interest, however, attaches to the discovery of the altar (figs 2-4, pls 25). Carved from a block of buff sandstone comparable with the sandstones used elsewhere in the fort and

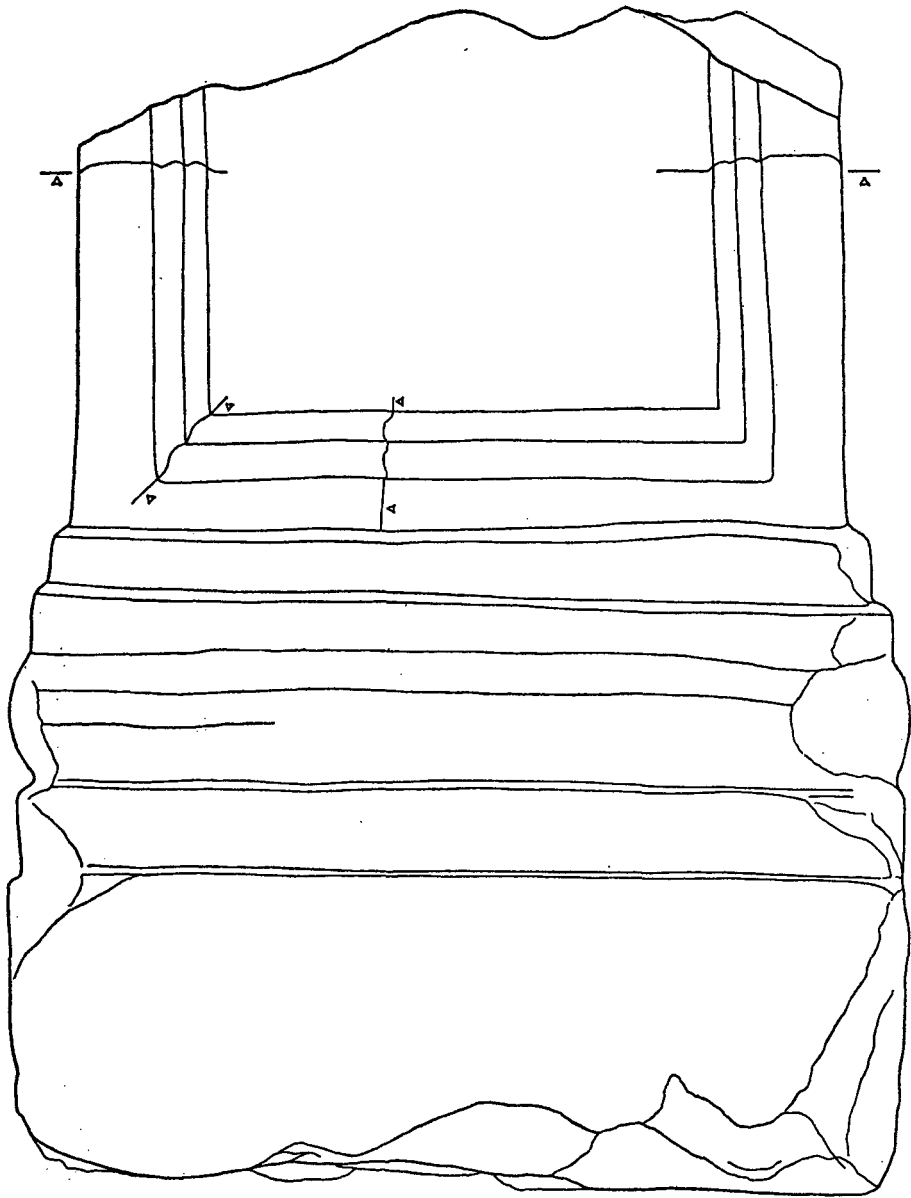


FIG 2 Outline drawing of the Inveresk altar fragment (front), scale 2:3

extramural settlement at Inveresk (Richmond & Hanson 1980, 303), the surviving portion represents the lower 0.45 m of an altar perhaps originally twice as high. At the base it measures 0.34 m in greatest width and 0.17 m in thickness, but at the shaft it is reduced to 0.28 by 0.09 m; the condition of the mouldings on the base and framing the die of the inscription, not to mention the state of the lettering itself, clearly indicates that it has not suffered lengthy exposure to the elements. Moreover, even the reuse of the stone for a second dedication has not grossly obscured

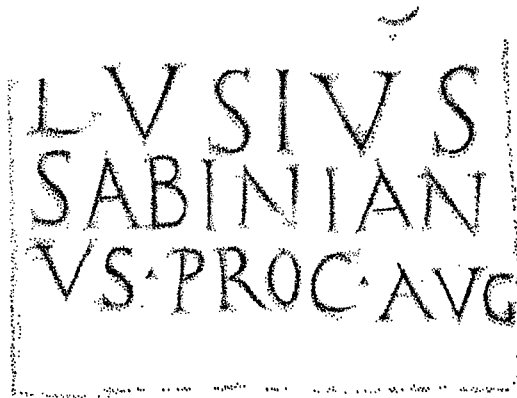


FIG 3 The primary text of the Inveresk altar, scale 2:3

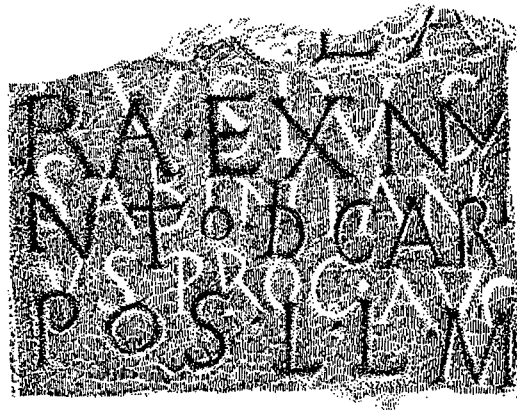


FIG 4 The secondary text superimposed on the primary text of the Inveresk altar, scale 2:3

the original inscription; indeed, the excellent state of preservation of the first text makes the second extremely difficult to read (pl 25), a point which will be considered later.

Of each text there survive only three complete lines and a few fragments of letters at the end of the preceding line. The later has been taken to read: . . .]LA / RA . EX . NV/NTIO . DIC AR. / POS . L . M, which may be expanded to . . .]l / ara ex nu / ntio dic(atam) ar(am) / pos(uit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

About the meaning of the last three lines there can be little doubt: someone, as yet unspecified, ‘as a result of a message (?from a god?) dedicated and set up this altar, gladly, willingly, and deservedly’. Though unique in Scotland, the formula *ex nuntio* is paralleled in several dedications made elsewhere in Britain: *ex iussu*, or simply *iussu*, ‘by (divine) precept’ appears on altars set up at Piercebridge and Corbridge (RIB 153 and 760); while *monitu*, ‘at the bidding of (a god)’, and *ex responsu*, ‘because of a reply (from the god)’ are recorded in inscriptions from Caerleon (RIB 320) and Ribchester (RIB 587).

The last two letters of line 1 and the first two of the succeeding line are not capable of

precise interpretation. While it is conceivable that together (*-lara*, or possibly *-eara*, if the first surviving letter is an E) they form the ending of a woman's name—the masculine form *Hilarus* is recorded as a cognomen on an altar, possibly from Chesterholm on Hadrian's Wall (*RIB* 2062)—it is also possible and, Professor A R Birley suggests (*in litt*), even likelier that the letters include a reference to the origin of the dedicator, ie *Ara*, the standard abbreviated form of *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis* (Cologne). Against the latter interpretation it may be observed that the *origo*, as distinct from nationality (eg *RIB* 2107 and 2142), does not appear on any other Roman inscription from Scotland and is rare in northern Britain generally.

Whoever was responsible for re-dedicating this altar, there can be little doubt that it was a personal transaction involving the reuse of a stone which no longer commanded any reverence, its original purpose having been fully served. In view of the identity of its former dedicator (see below) it may safely be presumed that an appreciable length of time had elapsed, or some radical alteration of circumstances had occurred, before the second use was contemplated. In the context of the history of the fort, as revealed by the 1946–7 excavations, it would not be unreasonable to assign the reuse of the altar to the second Antonine period (c 158–63), whose commencement is marked by considerable structural alterations, involving large-scale relocation of the original fabric.

Finally, it may be observed that the present, almost illegible, state of the inscribed panel on the altar would appear to make it an unsightly and surely unacceptable response to the divine communication which brought it into being. Consequently, one may imagine that, once the secondary text had been cut, the die would have been coated with a neutral shade of paint and the new letters picked out, as was common practice, in vermilion.

It is providential that the preparation of the altar to receive the later inscription did not involve, as it might easily have done, more drastic treatment, for the primary text is one of peculiar historical significance. It reads: . . .] Q . / LVSIVS / SABINIAN / VS . PROC . AVG, which may be expanded to *Q(uintus) / Lusius / Sabinian / us Proc(urator) Aug(usti)* . . . 'Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, Imperial Procurator (set up this altar)'.

We do not know precisely when Sabinianus held the procuratorship, exercising supreme financial control over the Roman province of Britannia (cf Birley 1981, 294), but the results of the 1946–7 excavations indicate, as we have already seen, that it would not be unreasonable to assign the altar to the first Antonine period (c 140–58). The presence of such an august official at a fort on the northern fringes of the military zone calls for comment, particularly as there are only five previous instances of procuratorial inscriptions in the entire province (*RIB* 12, 1234, 1462, 2066, 2132). Even more worthy of comment is the remarkable coincidence that one of the earliest accounts of Roman structures at Inveresk includes a reference to the discovery of an altar dedicated to Apollo Grannus by the same Q Lusius Sabinianus (Napier 1593). The earlier inscription (*RIB* 2132) appears to have been discovered in the ruins of a hypocaust in 1565, on which occasion it is recorded (*Archaeol Scot*, 2 (1823), 288–9, and *ibid*, 3 (1831), 294–5) that the authority of the Crown was used to commend the protection of the monument to the relevant department of local government; it will not surprise us in these enlightened days to learn that neither altar nor hypocaust can now be traced. When last seen (Sibbald 1707, 48), it was in the kirkyard of St Michael's, Inveresk, showing evident signs of damage as a result of exposure to the elements. For this reason alone it would be safe to accept that the 1565 altar was different from the recently discovered stone, whose unworn condition has already been described. Moreover, the absence of any reference to confusion of lettering or alternative readings in the earlier accounts makes it clear that the early antiquaries were not dealing with a palimpsest.

The indubitable presence on the same site of two altars dedicated by an Imperial procurator,

unparalleled in the archaeology of Roman Britain, gives grounds for considerable speculation. What was he doing in Inveresk, and what was the purpose of his dedications? In the case of the second question, our surmise must be limited to the earlier altar, devoted to Apollo Grannus. The epithet, meaning 'long-haired', is Germanic or Celtic in origin (Holder 1896, *sv*) and refers to one of the features of the god portrayed most frequently in classical art. It is naturally impossible to determine in which particular capacity the god was being venerated or supplicated—as a god of healing, perhaps, and as a result of the incidence of, or recovery from, some illness. The veneration of the deity in this particular form was practised widely on the Upper Danube from the 2nd century onwards, but it is doubtful if this fact casts any useful light on the origin or career of Sabinianus, about which nothing is known for certain, apart from the evidence of the Inveresk altars (cf Birley 1981, 294).

The answer to the first question is probably just as unattainable, but it may be significant that all save one of the other extant inscriptions mentioning provincial procurators were found on, or north of, Hadrian's Wall. In the early 3rd century, at least, it seems that it was possible, in times of emergency, for the Imperial procurator to assist the governor in the supervision of military works in the frontier zone; such apparently, was the role of M. Oclatinus Adventus at the forts of Risingham and Chesters (*RIB* 1234 and 1462), and possibly M. Cocceius Firminus in the Brampton area (*RIB* 2066). On the other hand, it has been argued (Salway 1965, 180–91) that the procurator's authority extended over the whole of the province and, even in time of peace, he might have ample reason to be operating on the frontier. The existence of imperial estates in these northern parts during the Antonine period is by no means impossible, whether or not they originated in a confiscation of territory, as the notorious passage in Pausanias (viii, 43, 1–6) describing Antoninus' treatment of the Brigantes has been taken to imply.

At Inveresk a quingenary *ala* fort was associated with what appears to have been one of the most extensive and developed extramural settlements anywhere N of Cheviot (Thomas 1979). Its position in the Roman road system, near a suitable harbour, and on the western fringe of the fertile coastal plain of Lothian, would have added significantly to its importance in the organization of the northern frontier. Of equal weight in Roman eyes, however, must have been the means of access it presented to the presumably philo-Roman local tribesmen, the Votadini, whose fields and settlements must form the bulk of the numerous cropmark sites recorded by air photography in the immediately surrounding countryside. To the native population the arrival of a Roman garrison would have provided an incentive to maximize the production of food-stuffs and raw materials, while the existence of an organized transport system would have facilitated an increase in trade. To the Romans, on the other hand, the forging of economic links would have been an invaluable bonus, greatly assisting them in their task of military and political control. In such a context, the presence of the provincial procurator may seem a little less remarkable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many colleagues and friends for advice and assistance in the composition of this paper: first and foremost to Dr Joanna Close-Brooks without whose persistence the Ingliston milestone might still be a headless corpse; and equally to Mr David Robertson, superintendent of St Michael's Graveyard, Inveresk, whose diligence has saved so many fragments of antiquity from destruction; to Miss E Helen Jackson and Mr Ian G Scott who have jointly produced the line-drawings that accompany this text; and to Messrs Geoffrey Quick and Ian Larner for the excellent photographs.

REFERENCES

- Barrow, G W S 1976 *Robert the Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- Birley, E 1966 Review of Collingwood, R G & Wright, R P, *The Roman inscriptions of Britain*, I, *J Rom Stud*, 56 (1966), 226–31.
- Birley, A R 1981 *The Fasti of Roman Britain*. Oxford.
- Breeze, D J & Dobson, B 1978 *Hadrian's Wall*. London.
- Cormack, E A 1969 'Three stones from Ingliston', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 101 (1968–9), 291–2.
- Davies, R W 1977 'Cohors I Cugernorum', *Chiron*, 7 (1977), 385–93.
- Frere, S S 1974 *Britannia: a history of Roman Britain*. London.
- Gillam, J P 1975 'Possible changes in plan in the course of the construction of the Antonine Wall', *Scottish Archaeol Forum*, 7 (1975), 51–6.
- Gordon, A 1726 *Itinerarium Septentrionale*. London.
- Hanson, W S 1981 'Agricola on the Forth-Clyde isthmus', *Scottish Archaeol Forum*, 12 (1981), 58–68.
- Hanson, W S & Maxwell, G S 1983 *Rome's North-west Frontier: the Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh.
- Haverfield, F J 1910 'Sir Robert Sibbald's "Directions for his honoured friend Mr Llwyd how to trace and remarke the vestiges of the Roman Wall betwixt Forth and Clyde,"' *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 44 (1909–10), 319–27.
- Holder, A 1896 *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*. Leipzig.
- Keppie, L J F & Walker, J J 1981 'Fortlets on the Antonine Wall at Seabegs Wood, Kinneil and Cleddans', *Britannia* 12 (1981), 143–62.
- Margary, I 1973 *Roman roads in Britain*. London.
- Maxwell, G S 1983 'Recent aerial discoveries in Roman Scotland: Drumquhassle, Elginhaugh and Woodhead', *Britannia*, 14 (1983), 167–81.
- Napier, J 1593 *A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John*. Edinburgh.
- RCAMS 1929 Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Inventory of monuments and constructions in the Counties of Midlothian and West Lothian*. Edinburgh.
- RIB Collingwood, R G & Wright, R P, *The Roman inscriptions of Britain*, I (1965). Oxford.
- Richmond, I A & Hanson, W S 1980 'A Roman fort at Inveresk, Midlothian', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 110 (1978–80), 286–304.
- Salway, P 1965 *The frontier people of Roman Britain*.
- SAS 1892 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*.
- SHA *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.
- Sibbald, R 1697 *Auctarium Musaei Balfouriani* . . . Edinburgh.
- Sibbald, R 1707 *Historical Inquiries concerning the Roman Monuments in the North Part of Britain called Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- Thomas, G 1979 'Inveresk Vicus excavations', in Breeze, D J (ed), *Roman Scotland: some recent excavations*, Edinburgh, 8–10.
- Wright, R P & Hassall, M W C 1973 'Roman Britain in 1972: II Inscriptions', *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 324–37.



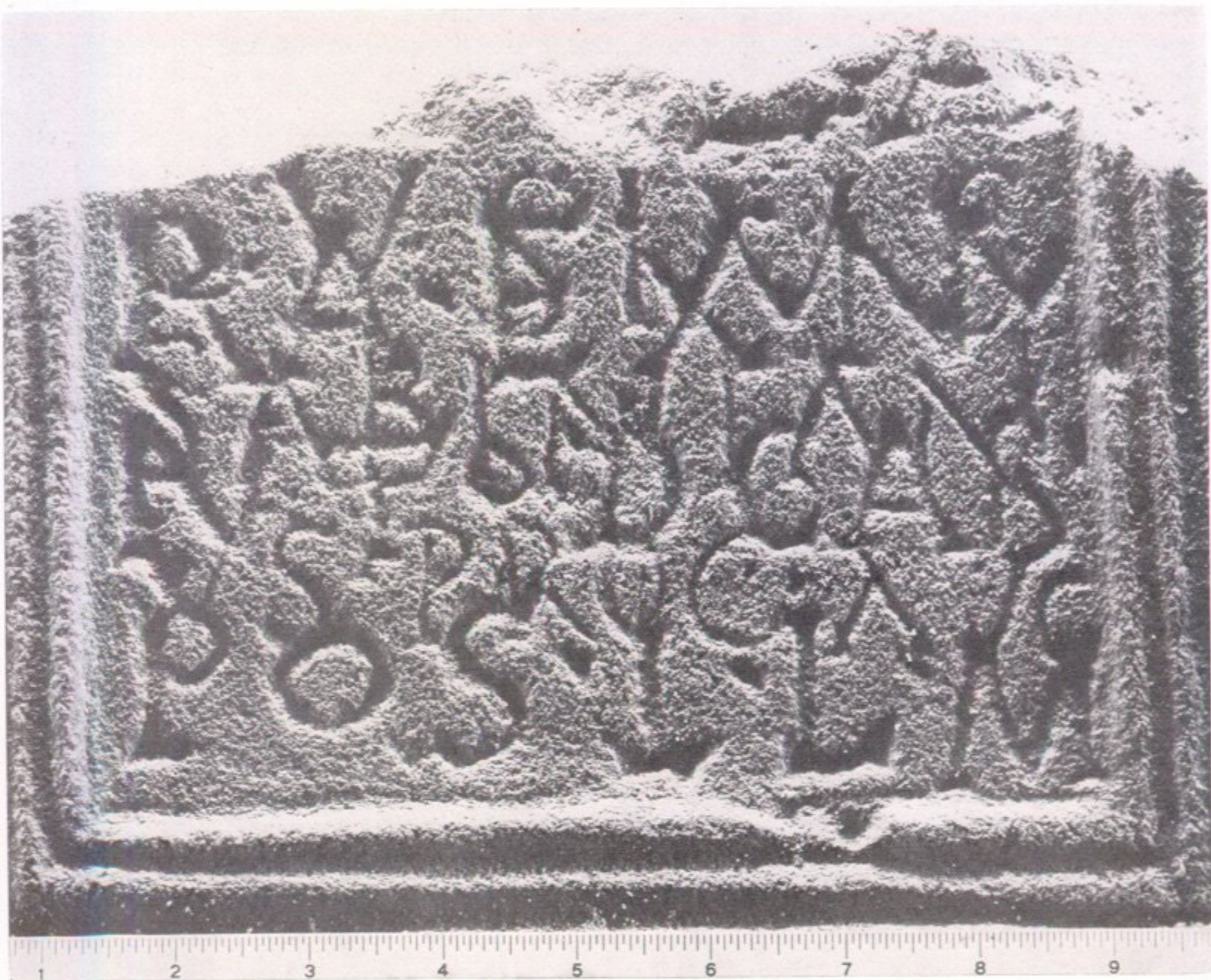
The two Ingliston milestone fragments re-united (front view)

Side view of re-united milestone fragments, showing *ansa* and flake scar

Side view of re-united milestone fragments, showing alignment of inscription-panel moulding



Pillar fragments and altar from Inveresk



Detail of superimposed inscriptions on altar