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ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS

IN

BRITAIN,

1888-1890.

BY

F. HAVERFIELD, M.A.

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EXETER:

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ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS IN BRITAIN 1888—1890.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A.

At the suggestion of many friends and by request of the Editor, I have undertaken to continue for this Journal the series of articles in which, year by year, the late Mr. W. T. Watkin collected new discoveries of Roman inscriptions made in Britain. It would be out of place here to discuss either the merits or the faults of Mr. Watkin's work, but I may say that his yearly collections were much prized by competent judges both in England and abroad, and I think that the discontinuance of his scheme would be generally regretted. For the delay in the appearance of the present article I am solely responsible. My time has been occupied in preparing a much longer contribution to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, forming a supplement to the *Corpus* and including all inscriptions found since 1879. In the execution of this I have been led to visit many museums and examine many inscriptions. I venture to think that some good results of this labour will be found in the following pages.

In the present article I have included, as I believe, all inscriptions which have been found or made public since the date of Mr. Watkin's last contribution (vol. xlv, p. 167), to which I have added a few corrections of previous readings. I omit only (1) a few unimportant fragments already edited in the *Ephemeris*, and (2) most of the inscriptions on pottery. The latter were regularly omitted by Mr. Watkin and very rightly. Of themselves they do not prove the presence of Romans or Romanized natives where they are found, and their real value lies in the light which, when collected together, they throw upon the extent and character of the ancient earthenware trade. I am, however, slowly collecting potters' marks, and hope

that, when I have a sufficient number, I shall be able to publish them in connected lists.

In arrangement of matter, I have to some extent followed the *Corpus*. I give first an account of the *provenance*, size and characters of the object, then the text, thirdly a statement of the source whence my reading comes, and lastly any notes which seem suitable. Where the inscription has been edited, rightly or wrongly, in the *Corpus* or *Ephemeris*, I give the reference at the head of the notice. The inscriptions are arranged in the same order as that of the *Corpus*, which is not unlike that used by Camden in his *Britannia*; they begin with Cornwall and work northwards. To facilitate reference, I have prefixed to each district-heading the number of the section in the *Corpus*. I hope that I may thereby promote the use of this work by English archaeologists. I am convinced that no real student of Roman epigraphy can dispense with it and the *Ephemeris*. In one point only have I not followed the Berlin editors. They place the milestones and all portable objects, rings, lamps, &c., at the end of the whole collection, grouping the portable objects by character, not by locality. This is right enough in a large work; in a short yearly article it seems unsuitable.

Abbreviations *C* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*: where no Roman numerals follow the British volume, vii, edited by Prof. Hübner (Berlin 1873) is meant.

Eph. = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, supplements to the above. The supplements to *C*. vol. vii, are in *Eph.* iii and iv (by Prof. Hübner), and in vii (by myself).

Arch. Ael. = *Archæologia Aetiana* the Journal of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

Arch. Journ. = Journal of the Archæological Institute.

Assoc. Journ. = " " Association.

In expansions of the inscriptions, round brackets denote the expansion of an abbreviation, square brackets the supplying of letters, which, owing to breakage or other cause, are not now on the stone, but which may be presumed to have been there.

I. CORNWALL, DEVON.

1. [C. n. 1; Eph. vii, n. 812.] The pewter cup found in 1756, at Bossens, West Cornwall, was given by William Borlase to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, where it

now is. The proper reading of the inscription, scratched on the bottom of the inside, is



Aelius Modestus Deo Marti

This was pointed out to me by my friend Mr. A. J. Evans, Keeper of the Museum, with whose assistance I copied it and to whom I am indebted for the drawing reproduced above. There is no word and very little space between *Modestus* and *Deo*, and Borlase's *Doiruli filius* is impossible. What the R in the centre means I do not know.

Cups similarly dedicated are by no means unknown, though they are usually of silver. One, inscribed *Deo Marti m(erito) U(aetus) U(ibens)*, was found in 1633 at Wettingen, in Switzerland, along with a pot of coins, dating from Hadrian to Constantine Junior (A. D. 120-340), and other inscribed silver vessels. It has been published by Mommsen in his *Inscriptiones Helveticæ* (Zürich 1854), and by Dr. F. Keller in his *Statistik der römischen Einsiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*. Other such dedications, again, are found on pottery; for instance, a small jug scratched with the words *DEO MARTI* was found with a Worms inscription quoted below (p. 253). The age of the Wettingen bowl is fixed by the coins to the fourth century, and Mr. Evans judges, from the character of the lettering, that the Bossen's cup is of third or early fourth century date.

2. [C. n. 1279; Eph. vii, 1156.] Borlase (p. 316) includes among the Roman objects found with the inscribed cup at Bossens, a stone weight, on which he read the number x. The weight is now in the Ashmolean Museum, and I think it is pretty plain that the x is only ornament.

3. On the rim of a *pelvis* or *mortarium*, found with (so-called) Samian ware and coins of Trajan and Vespasian, at Tregeare, near Bodmin :—

L E S B I V S F

Lesbius flectit

I am indebted to the Rev. W. Jago, for an excellent drawing of this. He has edited it, with a plate, in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall* (1890.) The *mortaria*, called by Professor Hübner *catini*, are now generally described as *pelves*, and by this name I propose to call them in the future.

4. [Eph vii, 1095]. Oblong stone, now forming the lychstone at the S.E. entrance of Tintagel churchyard, 59in. long, 12in. broad, 7in. high, much worn, inscribed at the top ;—

Reading of Mr. Jago.

Λ M P C C

V A F

L I C I N

My own reading.

Λ M P C C

V A

L I E I N

Mr. Jago was kind enough to send me his reading and some rubbings. I have since examined the stone myself.

His own interpretation is *Imp(erator) C(aesar) G(alerius) Val(erius) Lic(inianus) Licin(ius)*, that is, it is a milestone of the Emperor Licinius, colleague of Constantine the Great (A.D. 307-323). The chief objection to this is that Licinius, though credited by Dr. Smith in the *Dictionary of Biography* with the name Galerius, does not seem really to have borne it. The only evidence in literature, inscriptions, or coins, that I can discover for it is one coin type (Cohen (ed 2), vi, p. 194, n. 52), which is undoubtedly restamped from the coin of another Emperor who really was called Galerius. Prof. Mommsen suggested that possibly Galerius Valerius Maximianus (A.D. 292-311), and Licinius were mixed up by the stonecutter. Such confusion would not be impossible in such troubled times.

There are no letters visible beyond the third line ; one would expect the name of Constantine,¹ or at least the

¹ Constantine and Licinius were not friends, but their names do appear together on coins and inscriptions (Cohen

vii, p. 211). Licinius' name both on coins and inscriptions, and in literature is sometimes spelt with a double 'n,' Licinnius,

regular title AUG(*ustus*). To me, when I saw the stone, the third line seemed very uncertain, and I should prefer to leave the Emperor's name uncertain, while admitting that the stone may be a milestone. The lettering points to the fourth century, which is also the date of the St. Hilary milestone (C. n. 1147).

If the stone be a milestone, it will confirm the theory advanced by Borlase (*Cornwall*, p. 306), and Sir J. Maclean (*Trigg Minor* i, 484, and iii, 8), that a Roman road ran through N.W. Cornwall. The traces of such a road are not very substantial. The name of Stratton, though often quoted, proves little, but we have a 'Plain street' near St. Endellion, and pottery, glass, bronze ornaments, &c., near Padstow (*Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 311). At Tintagel itself no Roman remains seem to have been found; the masonry of the Castle is most certainly not Roman. The stone itself seems to be of local origin; at least, I understand from a high authority, Mr. F. W. Rudler, that there is no reason why it should not be so.

VI. KENT.

5. [Eph. vii, 1149.] Two lead seals found in a rubbish pit outside the Camp at Richborough. They closely resemble coins and bear on one side (the other is blank) the head of Constantine the Great with the inscription:—

CONSTANTINVS P AVG

P(ius) Aug(ustus)

Published with a plate by Mr. Roach Smith, *Coll. Ant.* vi, 120. Mr. Rolfe, who found them, gave them to Mr. Mayer; they are not now however in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. Fragments of string were visible on the back, so that they seem to have been used either for letters or as custom house seals.

Dr. Hettner lately shewed me two similar lead seals found at Trier, and now in the museum there. They are inscribed CONSTANTINVS P AVG and CRISPVS . . . (the last letters are illegible) round the corresponding heads. Marks of string are visible on the first across the front, on the second across the back. I also noticed two such seals in the Museum at Speyer, found at Rheinzabern, one illegible, the other inscribed CRISPVS NOB C.

6. *Pelvis*, found at Reculver, now in the possession of the Rev. E. Field, Petrockstow (N. Devon).

LVGV DV

Lugudu(ni) [*factus*]

Copied by myself.

Similarly inscribed *pelves* have been found in London (C. n. 1334, Roach Smith, *Roman London*, p. 89), Ewell and Maidstone (*Coll. Ant.* i, 149), Kinderton (Watkin *Cheshire* p. 248), and at East Bridgford (Notts), the last given as GVDV, but obviously broken. *Lugudunum* is the correct form of the Roman name of Lyons, not *Lugdunum*.

Such *pelves* were imported from France. One dredged up forty miles east of the North Foreland and inscribed C ATISIVS GRATVS (*Proc. Soc. Ant.* xiii (1890), 107), where it is printed GATISIVS by obvious error) may be a relic of such traffic, for the stamp has been often found in France (c. xii, 5685). For local potters, see No. 48.

7. [Eph. vii, 1160]. Silver spoon found in Kent, on the bowl:—

VIBIA VIVAS

Communicated by Mr. A. J. Evans. Compare a similar spoon found near Winslow and now in Aylesbury Museum, inscribed VENERIA VIVAS (Eph. iv, p. 211).

VIII. LONDON.

8. [Eph. vii, 816]. A piece of marble sculpture, 18in. high by 22in. wide, found in 1889, in Walbrook, near Bond Court, about 20ft. below the surface, along with two marble sculptures of a River God and a Genius, fragments of Samian ware and bronze pins, now in the private Museum of W. Ransom, Esq. F.S.A., Fairfield, Hitchin.

V L P I

V S ·

S I L V A

N V S

F A C

T V S



E M E R I

T V S · L E G

II · A V G

V O T V M

S O L V I T

A R A V

S I O N E

Ulpus Silvanus emeritus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) votum solvit, factus Arausione.

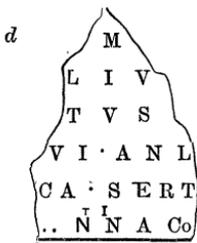
By the kindness of Mr Ransom, I was able to carefully examine this inscription. The whole find is a very remarkable one, of which I hope Mr. Ransom will himself publish a full description. The workmanship of the sculptures is excellent, far surpassing ordinary British work, and, but for the occurrence of smaller objects in the find, one would fancy that these pieces, like some of the Arundel marbles, had been brought in modern times to London, lost, and then rediscovered.

Emeritus legionis is a phrase used sometimes (e.g. on a Bath inscription, C. n. 51), to denote a veteran “honorably” discharged from the legion with a bounty. Ulpius Silvanus, the veteran who erected this marble, was discharged by the Emperor, while at Arausio (*Orange*), in the S. of Gaul. A similar inscription in Henzen’s collection (n. 7170), of the date 14 A.D., records the appointment of an officer by the Emperor, while staying at Alexandria. This explanation of the words *factus Arausione* I owe to Prof. Mommsen.

From the style of lettering and the use of the *nomen* Ulpius, I should suppose that this inscription was erected in, or soon after the reign of Trajan (A.D. 97-117), whose own name was Ulpius.

The Mithraic sacrifice represented is a good specimen of the ordinary type.

9. [Eph. vii, 822]. The subjoined inscription was edited by Mr. Watkin, in this *Journal* (xxxviii, 289). The following is a more correct reading:—



Dis] *M(anibus) liu[s], tus, vi(xit) an(nos) L ntina co[n]iux posuit*

Copied by myself.

The gravestone of a man whose name is lost, erected by his wife.

10. [Eph. vii, 1141.] Professor Zangemeister, to whom I sent some squeezes, has favoured me with the following letter on an inscribed tile found in 1886 in Warwick lane and published by Mr. Watkin in this *Journal* (xliv, 126). His letter may be translated as follows.

The tile reads :—

Austalis dibus xiii vagatur sib[i] cotidim

“Austalis wanders about to please himself for thirteen days, day by day.”

The forms of the words are of unusual interest.

(1) *Austalis* = *Augustalis*; compare *Aosta* in N. Italy, originally *Augusta Praetoria*, and the French *août* = *augustus* (mensis). So on a Spanish inscription (C. ii, 2705) *invicto deo Austo*; on an African one of A.D. 452, *Kalendas Austas* “the Kalends of August;” in the *Ravenna Geographer* (Ed. Parthey, p. 151, 16), *vicus Austi* for *Augusti*, and in one manuscript (codex B saec. ix) of the *Antonine Itinerary* (p. 353), *Austa Ramracum (sic)* for *Augusta Rauracum*.

(2) *dibus* = *diebus*.

(3) *cotidim* = *cotidie*. Neither of these seem to occur elsewhere. The latter is probably the accusative, used adverbially so that the man declined *dim dibus*, instead of *diem diebus*.

Similar playful inscriptions occur at Pompeii and elsewhere; for instance (1) *cave mahum si non raseris lateres DC; si raseris minus, mahum formidabis* (C. v. 8110, 176, *Bonner Jahrbücher* lxxvii, 75). (2) [*fac...*] *latercl[o]s... riane; [m]ale dor[mias, or-mies], si non feceris*, “make... bricks: if you don’t, may you sleep badly.”

(3) *cred[ere] v[er]ix d[u]bito, set amicum amittere [noli]m: si tibi credidero, non te tam s(a)epe vid[e]b[o]*.

“Neither a borrower nor a lender be:

For loan oft loses both itself and friend.”

To this exposition, by the first living authority on Latin *graffiti*, nothing need be added. The curious *dibus* may perhaps be made more intelligible by the fact that in “vulgar Latin,” as opposed to the literary language, the *i* was long: hence the Italian *di*, Roumanian *zi*, &c. (Seelmann *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 93; Wölfflin *Archiv*

ii, 101). With *Austalis* compare our English "Austin" for "Augustine." I should add that the reading of the second line, *dibus viii*, is the result of my own inspection and seems to me absolutely certain.

11. [Eph. vii, 1155.] On the bottom of a glass bottle in the Guildhall Museum—

V F

Copied by myself.

12. Fragment of inscription, in three concentric lines, on the bottom of a glass vessel in the British Museum (Roach Smith's Coll. 631), hardly legible—

.... I L L {
 C I N }
 .. I N I I V I S }

Copied by myself.

I give this because glass thus inscribed is rare, and someone may be able to supply me with a complete example of the same inscription.

13. [Eph. vii, 1163.] Iron chisel (?) 7 in. long, found by Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A. (with Nos. 14 foll.), in arranging the Guildhall Museum, London (Walker Bailey collection.)

A P R I L I S F

Aprilis f(ecit)

Copied by myself.

14. [Eph. vii, 1177, b.] Bronze stamp (Guildhall Museum).

S E C V N
 D I N I

'of Secundinus'

Copied by myself.

15. [Eph. vii, 1177, c.] Steel stamp, the handle shewing marks of hammer blows; in the Guildhall Museum.

M P B R

Mr. Price sent me a cast. The letters probably represent the initials of a man's three names.

16. Lamps 1-6 in the Guildhall Museum, 7-8 in Mr. Ransom's collection. (Copied by myself.)

1. ANNISEP	(The mould of) <i>Annius Se[r]</i> . . .
2. AVFFRON	. . . <i>Auf(idius) Fron(to?)</i>
3. LVC	<i>Luc(ius?)</i>
4. MARTIVS	<i>Martius f(ecit)</i>
F	
5. PHRO	
NIMVS	<i>Phronimus</i>
6. L·CAEC·SAE	<i>L. Cae(cilius) Sae . . .</i>
7. STROBILI	<i>Strobilus</i>
8. FORTIS	<i>Fortis [very indistinct]</i>

The inscribed lamps of the whole western empire came probably from Italy. Moulds for making them were supplied by Italian makers, some of which moulds have been found in Austria. Inscribed lamps are comparatively uncommon in England. See n. 72 below.

17. Castor Ware—(1) in the British Museum, from Oldford, near Bow; (2) in the Guildhall Museum, from the City.

(1) VITADA · (2) PIE

Copied by myself. PIE, the Greek *πιε* in a latin dress, occurs often on such vases, sometimes with ZESSES 'you shall live,' added. Similarly ZEITE 'live,' quoted by M. Vaillant (*Vases pastillés et epigraphiés*, Arras 1887), from an urn found in Picardy, and AEMILIA ZESSES on a ring found at Corbridge (C. n. 1300).

Mr. Price has also shewn or sent me some marks on keys e.g. LXXXI, but these, I imagine, are mere ornament.

18. [Eph. iv, n. 698, vii, 1189 a.] In 1871 the British Museum received among a number of objects, a brick inscribed D · N · V O C · Mr. Watkin interpreted this *decurio numeri Vocontiorum* and the interpretation was accepted or discussed abroad. It now appears that the tile is spurious. There are two forged tiles, perhaps of the same class, in the Guildhall Museum, inscribed VNDINIO and PVICNV. The former is perhaps a bad shot at Londinium.

IX. BATH.

19. [Eph. vii, 830.] Bottom corner of an altar found in the baths in 1880, and now there.

Copied by myself; doubtless the formual *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, regular at the end of dedications.

X. CIRENCESTER.

20. [Eph. vii, 839.] Stone 29in. square, found in 1887, at Siddington, on a Roman road near Cirencester, and now in the possession of J. Bowly, Esq., of Siddington Hall. Very uncertain, except the first line.

G E N	I O
. . .	
. . . .	E D I
. . T I V S T H	V S
. 5.	V . S . L

Mr. A. J. Evans and myself failed to make out more than the above. The stone is a dedication (*v.s.l.[m]*) to some genius. ^{vii}

21. [Eph. ~~iii~~, 838 c.] Fragment in Cirencester Museum, copied by myself.

A

XI. MIDLAND COUNTIES.

22. [Eph. vii, 842.] Two fragments, 18 in. long, 15 in. high, with large letters, found in 1888 in the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral. There are still traces of colour in the letters.

L O	E C
	N O

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent me a squeeze and drawings. A notice was published in the *Antiquary* xix (1889), 76.

This is part of a large inscription, which perhaps commemorated a building. Possibly the seven extant letters formed part of the date, expressed by the names of the

consuls, which is often added to such inscriptions. The only known consuls whose names suit are those of 184 A.D. : we might supply the missing parts thus:—

...*L. Eggio Marul]o et C[n. Papirio Aelia]no [cos...*

In some previous attempts to explain the inscription, the tied **E** was taken to be necessarily **TE**. The symbol stands for **TE** or **ET**. I have assumed that the last letter of line 1 is **c** : it might conceivably be a broken **o**, but I do not think it is.

Probably these fragments and an ornamented half column found near them came from either Castor (*Durobrivae*) or Chesterton. The two places are so near together that inscribed objects found at one have often been put down to the other, and in some cases it is impossible to decide between conflicting accounts.

23. Fragment of sandstone, 8 in. long, 5 in. wide, found at Sandy (Bedfordshire), about thirty miles south of Peterborough, in 1888, now in Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin : rough letters.

{ V D I }

Copied by myself; the object itself and its provenance seemed to suggest that it was Roman, possibly a walling-stone, certainly not a regular inscription.

A fair number of smaller Roman remains have turned up at Sandy, especially coins dating mostly from Valens to Arcadius (A.D. 364-400). See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1764, 60 ; 1787, ii, 952 (recording find of a coin of Pius, A.D. 145), *Academy*, May 24, 1890, p. 359. British coins have also been found there.

XII. COLCHESTER.

24. [Eph. vii, 845.] Fragment of Purbeck marble, 16 [not 8] in. by 5, found in 1889 in Balkerne lane.

	D	m	
	A R	}	
	R E		
	V A L		... cohortis
5	I . V A I		ngionum
	Q V I I		militavit annos ...
	D I		

Mr. H. Laver, F.S.A., sent it to me to inspect: I have published it in the *Archæologia Aeliana*, xiii, 289.

The tombstone—*dis Manibus*—of one or more soldiers, probably veterans of the *cohors I Vangionum*, a regiment deriving its name from a German tribe near Worms,¹ and stationed at *Habitancium* (Risingham). It resembles C. n. 91, 92, and like them may date from the second century.

The material, Purbeck marble, was a good deal employed by the Romans. C. n. 91, 92 are made of it, and so is the celebrated Chichester inscription of Cogidubnus. I cannot make out that there are any traces of Roman quarries in the Isle of Purbeck, but Roman remains are not uncommon there, *e.g.*, at Langton, Worbarrow, Creech (Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, pp. 281, 327) and two years ago a villa was found near Corfe Castle. Kimmeridge “coal” was used for bracelets and vases, and General Pitt Rivers’ museum at Farnham contains a Roman slate of Kimmeridge shale, found at Rushmore.

24a. Bronze stamp in Colchester Museum.

P · G · V

Copied by myself. Probably the initials of the owner.

25. [Eph. vii, 1147.] Flat round disks (*tesserae*) of clay inscribed on one side, about 2 in. in diameter, in Mr. G. Joslin’s Museum.

(1) VAK (2) B (3) X (4) I

Copied by myself. I cannot give any certain account of how these were used. They are quite different from the—as I believe—forged “theatre tickets” in the Colchester Museum.

26. Lamps (Colchester Museum)—

1. A T I M E T I	<i>of Atimetus.</i>
2. E V C A R P I	<i>of Eucarpus.</i>
3. . . E S T I	<i>of [F]estus.</i>

Copied by myself. No. 2 (found 1888 in an urn) was shewn me by Mr. F. Spalding, Curator of the Museum, to whom it belongs. All the names are well-known.

27. Urn of Upchurch ware 15 in. high, found with

¹ This does not by any means denote that the soldiers of this cohort were Germans. Probably the cohort was originally raised in Germany, but such troops

were afterwards recruited from anywhere. Thus we find Helvetians and Batavians in a *cohors Hispanorum* (C. iii, 3681, Brambach, 890).

bones inside in 1889. On the outside has been scratched, after baking :—

Thalius

vassv (?)

Mr. H. Laver, F.S.A., sent me a rubbing, from which the cut was prepared. I printed a note of the find in the *Archæological Review*, iii, 274.

The name *Thalius*, though uncommon, appears indubitable. Professor Zangemeister suggests—very doubtfully—for the second word *vass[a]v = vasa quinque*. The letters, he tells me, may date from any part of the first three centuries. I lately copied in the Museum at Stuttgart, a possible parallel, a fragment of a large jar found in Württemberg, with the letters scratched on it *VALFEN*. The fragment was broken immediately before and after the letters.

28. Castor ware, found 1889, now in Mr. Joslin's collection, black with bronze glaze, 4½ in. high, ornamented with white slip—

P I E "drink."

Mr. Laver sent me a tracing. See No. 7.

29. Scratched with a sharp point on a cinerary urn, found in building the Hospital (near C. n. 91), and now, as Mr. Laver tells me, in Mr. Joslin's collection.

F V I S T I "thou hast lived."

E. L. Cutts, *Colchester* (in the "Historic Towns" Series) p. 45, who says that none of the coins found in this cemetery are later than Hadrian. He says the lamps also are not later than Hadrian, but I do not know how this can possibly be proved. Or is "lamps" a misprint for "coins?" I may add here that Mr. Cutts' book contains two useful maps of Roman Colchester.

XIII. CAERLEON.

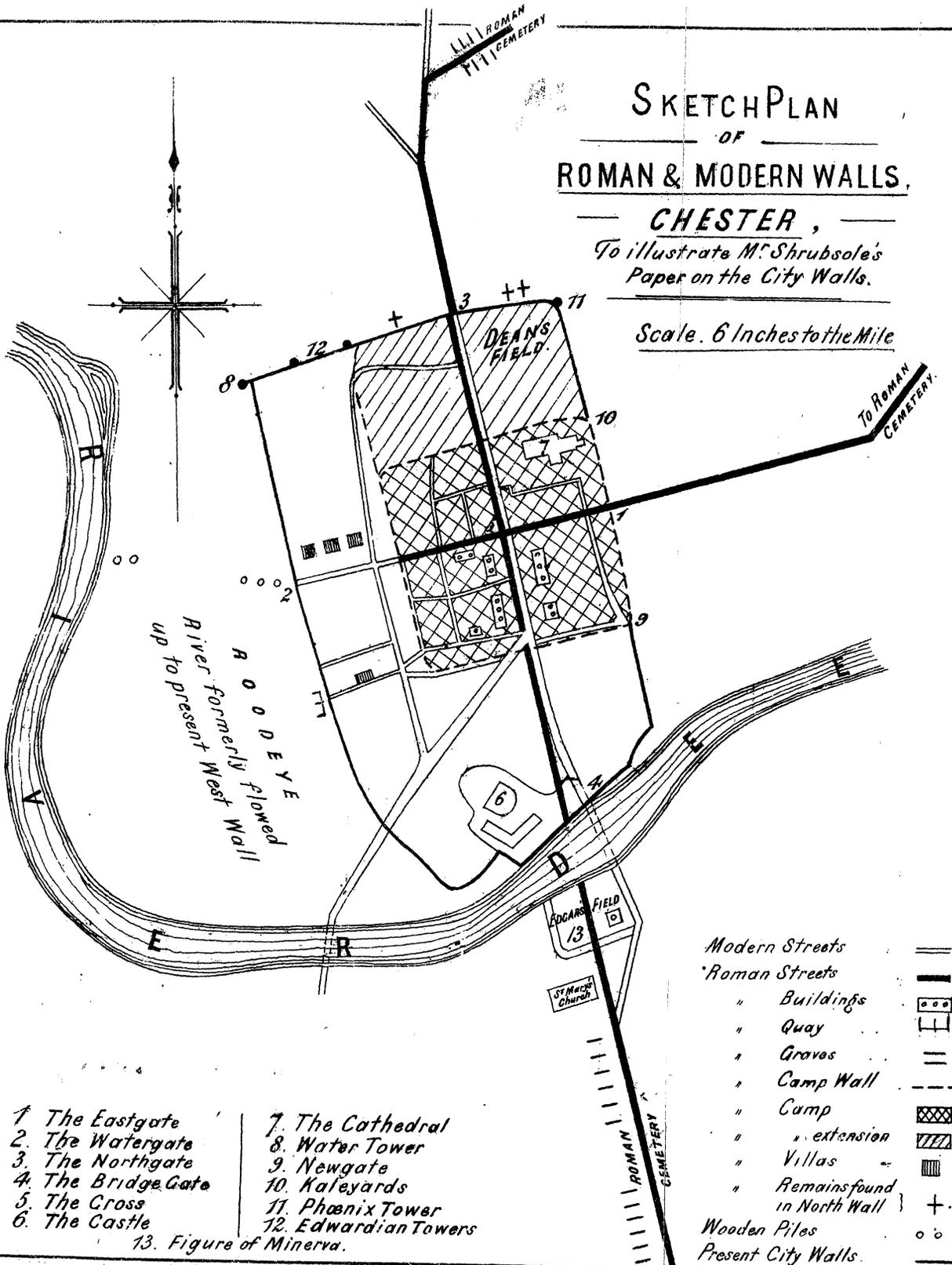
30. [Eph. vii, 848.] Thanks to the kindness of Mr. T. H. Thomas, who sent me a squeeze and drawings, I can (as I believe) give a correct reading of the curious stone washed out at Goldcliff, near Caerleon, in 1878, and now

SKETCH PLAN OF ROMAN & MODERN WALLS.

CHESTER,

To illustrate M^r. Shrubsole's
Paper on the City Walls.

Scale. 6 Inches to the Mile



- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. The Eastgate | 7. The Cathedral |
| 2. The Watergate | 8. Water Tower |
| 3. The Northgate | 9. Newgate |
| 4. The Bridge Gate | 10. Kaleyards |
| 5. The Cross | 11. Phoenix Tower |
| 6. The Castle | 12. Edwardian Towers |
| 13. Figure of Minerva. | |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| Modern Streets | — |
| Roman Streets | — |
| Buildings | □ □ □ □ |
| Quay | ⊥ ⊥ ⊥ ⊥ |
| Groves | — |
| Camp Wall | - - - - |
| Camp | ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ |
| extension | ▨ ▨ ▨ ▨ |
| Villas | ▣ ▣ ▣ ▣ |
| Remains found in North Wall | + + |
| Wooden Piles | ○ ○ |
| Present City Walls | — |

in Caerleon Museum (C. Roach Smith, *Assoc. Journ.*, xl, 186; W. T. Watkin, *Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii, 137). The stone is 36 in. high, 14 in. broad, the inscription being 6 in. high, and at the top: it is much worn,

C O H T
OSTATORI
MAXMI
II

coh(ors)i, c(enturia) Statori Max[i]mi. The stone may be centurial, but the shape is unusual, and we do not know how much is lost. In any case, it is of late date, and mentions a cohort. It is quite impossible that the third line can as was suggested by the Rev. C. W. King, have reference to Roman miles.

XVII. CHESTER.

A.—The North Wall.

When Mr. Watkin compiled his last yearly supplement for this *Journal*, he was able to publish only half of the inscriptions found recently in the north wall of Chester. Since that time, the whole series has been made accessible to the public in the Grosvenor Museum, and a complete account of the excavations and of the questions arising therefrom has been edited by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., under the title: *Recent discoveries of Roman remains found in repairing the North Wall of Chester* (Manchester: Ireland). The contents of this book (up to p. 131) have been re-issued in the second volume of the *Journal of the Chester Archæological and Historic Society*, the paging of both works being identical. In these books Mr. W. T. Watkin discussed the inscriptions which he edited in this *Journal* (pp. 11-24), and Mr. W. de G. Birch treated the rest (pp. 98-131), with the texts of which alone I am here concerned. I have elsewhere said my say about Mr. Birch's article (*Academy*, No. 894, June, 1889), and I need now only add that many of his readings and interpretations are most incorrect. The texts which follow are the result of my own inspection, aided by some excellent squeezes which Mr. G. W. Shrubsole sent me.¹

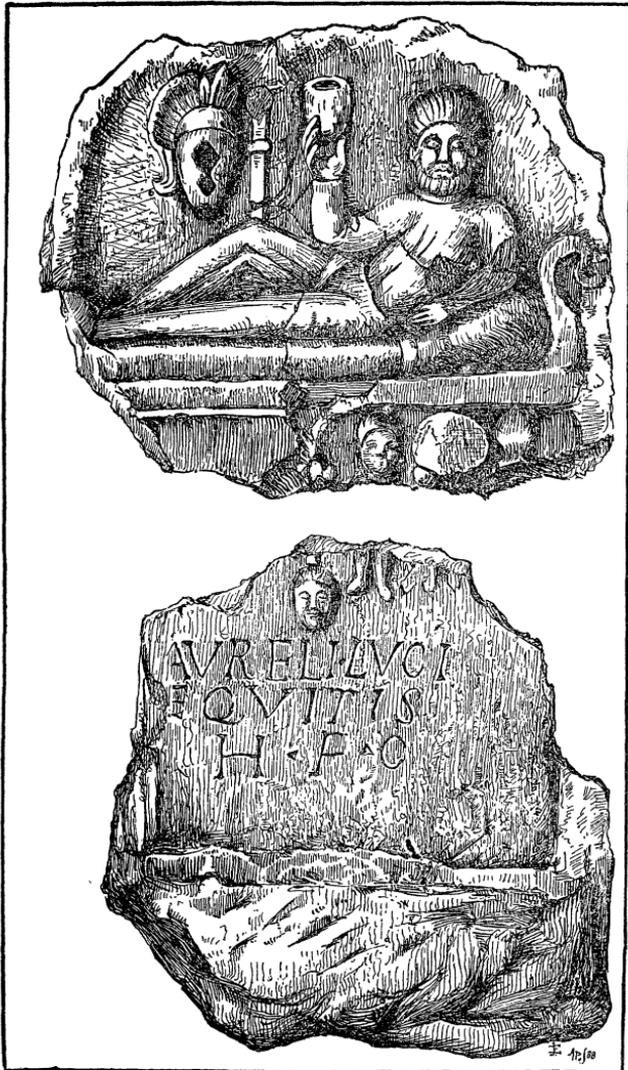
¹ The accompanying map of Chester, also due to Mr. Shrubsole's kindness, will, I hope, serve as an *Orientirungskarte*. In

using it, I do not wish to express here any opinion as to the areas of the Roman camp at Chester.

Nearly all the recent finds in the north wall come from the lower courses which are earlier than and differ very markedly from the superstructure. One or two, which seem to have been found higher up, were originally, I think, part of the older wall to which these lower courses belonged. When the upper part of this older wall was repaired, it was not unnatural that some of the stones in it should find their way into the newer superstructure. It is, therefore, not incorrect to say that all the Roman inscriptions and sculptures recently found in the north wall were probably built up by those who erected what are now the lower courses of the present wall. The date of these lower courses is a matter of notorious controversy. In the *Academy* (n. 894) I ventured to suggest that they belong to the age of Septimius Severus (say 200 A.D.), and I was much gratified to find that Professor Hübner, writing a little later in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1889, column 1087), had independently arrived at the same conclusion. Mr. Roach Smith (*Antiquary* xvii, 41, 242, and xix, 41) requires a later date, the fourth century A.D., though I venture to think that what we know of fourth century Britain is quite adverse to such a view, and that the masonry is not what one usually calls late Romano-British work. At the same time, it must be admitted that the examples of Roman walls containing sepulchral and other stones, are mostly of late date. The walls of Neumagen, for instance, from the foundation of which the Trier Museum has been enriched with such astonishingly fine statuary, etc., are of Constantinian date.¹ Mr. Watkin, lastly, Mr. Shrubsole, and others refer the lower courses to the middle ages.

In any case the stones found are all earlier than 200 A.D. I should not, indeed, venture to go so far as Professor Hübner does in a paper lately read before the Chester Archæological Society, and assign precise dates, on palæographical grounds, to various inscriptions. But, it is clear from the lettering that none of these inscriptions are later than Severus, and such actual evidence as we have points the same way. One inscription, for instance, mentions the *praefectus castrorum*, an officer who, at least under this title, ceased to exist about A.D. 200.

¹ It was at a late date, too, that tombstones were used for the foundations of the Roman road at Worms.



TOMBSTONE WITH BANQUETING SCENE.

Earwaker, pl. ix: (See No. 32.)

With two exceptions, the stones are of red sandstone, such as is found in abundance near the city. The two exceptions are a piece of sculpture and the inscription beginning P V B 7 L E G V M A C E D. These are seemingly made of a stone found some ten miles from Chester, and Mr. Shrubsole has ingeniously suggested that they may belong together.

31. [Eph. vii, 884.] Fragment 24 in. high, 12 in. wide, with large deep letters of an early date--



Shape and contents shew clearly that we have here part of an *epistylum*, recording some erection of buildings. In line 1 we have *et* joining two nouns, (say) *templu]m et [porticum*; line 2 shews that they were sacred; line 3 commences [*faciundum curavit*] or the like. Probably the letters were filled up with metal letters, such as have been found at Colchester and Lydney Park.

32. [Eph. vii, 888] Inscription 26 in. long, 20 high: above is the figure of a soldier lying on a couch, with a handleless cup¹ in the right hand, a sword and helmet² near, and a boy standing in front. The annexed illustration is reproduced from Plate ix in Mr. Earwaker's book.

A V R E L I · L V C I
E Q V I T I S
H · F · C

h(eres) faciundum) c(uravit).

The recumbent figure in the anaglyph above this inscription belongs to the class of funeral monuments in which the dead man is represented as reclined on a couch at a table. This class—with differences in detail—is very widely spread, and is to be found on Etruscan Lycian and Greek, as well as on Roman tombs. Mr. Earwaker's book includes plates of four others found in the north

¹ This cup on Roman monuments is usually if not always handleless.

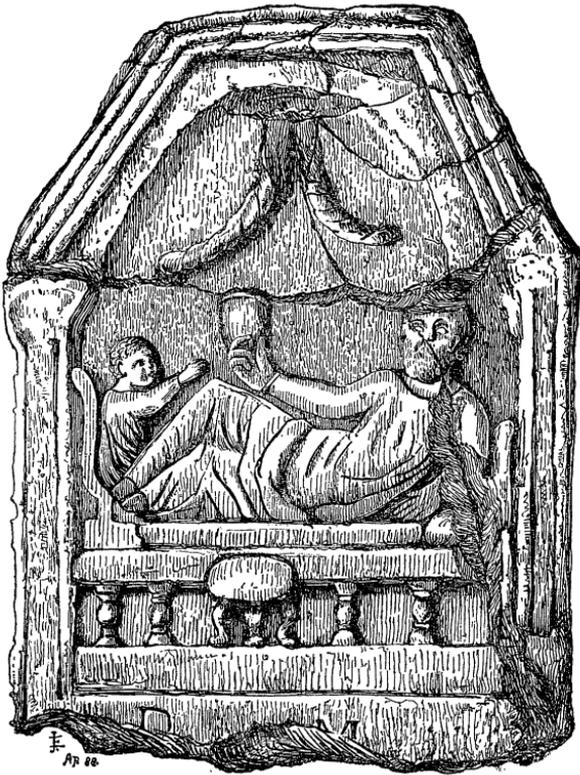
² The helmet seems to be represented full face in the vizor and side face in the crest.

wall (Plates iii, iv, viii, pp. 8, 18, 104). A fifth, from Chester, surmounts an almost illegible inscription in the Grosvenor Museum (C. n. 173). A sixth is on the stone of Callimorphus (Eph. iii, n. 69). The other British instances which I have been able to collect are one from Kirkby Thore (C. n. 303*a*); one from York (C. n. 1343); and one from Lanchester (Bruce *lapid. septentrionale* n. 705) uninscribed; and the bilingual inscription at South Shields (Eph. iv, n. 718*a*). Through the kindness of Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., I am able to give plates of some tombstones from the north wall of Chester.

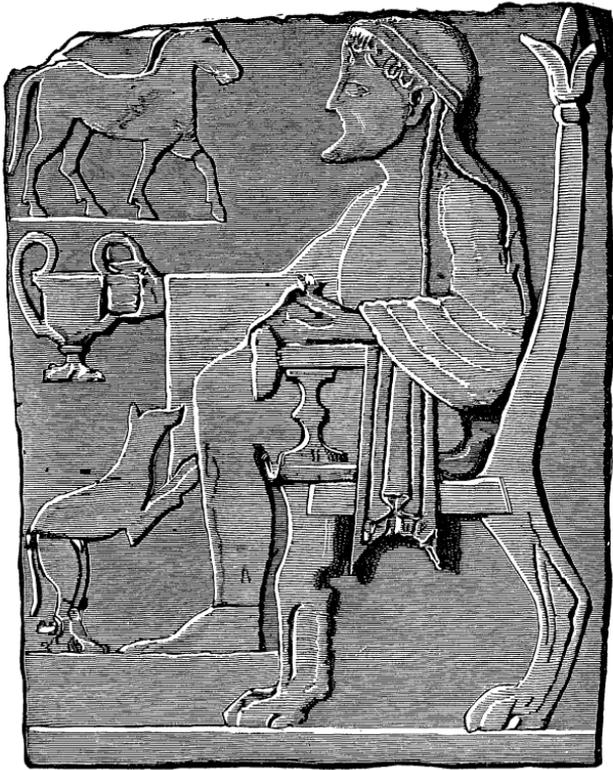
A banqueting scene seems out of place on a tombstone, and several theories have been invented to explain it. Some have thought that it is retrospective, representing the ordinary past enjoyment of the dead. Others consider it to refer to offerings brought by the family to the dead. A third view—that of the Russian archæologist, Stephani—holds that the scene sets forth the enjoyments of the dead in Hades. The true explanation, I think, is that given by Professor Percy Gardner, who has treated the subject exhaustively in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (v. pp. 105-139). He points out that the earliest types of “the banqueting scene” are to be found on certain early Attic and Laconian tombstones, on which the dead are represented as seated in state holding a wine-cup and pomegranate, to receive the worship of his descendants. The wine-cup reminds them to pour libations to him; the pomegranate is the peculiar food of the dead.¹ The annexed cut reproduced from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, by permission of the Council of the Society for Hellenic Studies, represents such an early Laconian tombstone. It may seem a far cry from these early Greek works to the Roman sculptures at Chester, but the gradual change and development of type can be minutely traced. Of course, many of the details visible on the later “banqueting scenes” are purely conventional. If we were to ask what the Romans themselves meant when they carved and erected them the answer would probably be that they copied their predecessors.

¹ Miss J. E. Harrison (*Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 587-592) tries to get further back than this, but, I think, without proving her case.

The Austrian scholars who have been exploring Lycia seem to uphold the first of the views quoted above.



TOMBSTONE WITH BANQUETING SCENE.
Earwaker, pl. iii. (See p. 246.)



EARLY LACONIAN TOMBSTONE.
Journal of Hellenic Studies, v. 123. (See p. 246.)



TOMBSTONE WITH BANQUETING SCENE.
Earwaker, pl. viii. (See No. 34.)

33. [Eph. vii, 893.] 50 in. high, 41 in. wide, with very large letters—

	(D I S M	<i>Dis M(anibus)</i>
	L · E C I M I V S	<i>L. Ecimius</i>
	B E L L I C I N V V	<i>Bellicianus</i>
	V I T A L I S V E T R	<i>Vitalis vet(er)anus</i>
5	L E G . X X . V . V	<i>leg(ionis) xx v(aleriae) v(ictricis)</i>
	H I C S E P L	<i>hic sep(e)l(itus)</i>

Tombstone of the veteran L. Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis. The name Ecimius does not seem to occur elsewhere; Bellicianus is already known from Caerleon (C. n. 133 and 1255), and elsewhere abroad. The suggestion of *sepelitus* (for *sepultus*) is due to Professor Mommsen. The form, I may add, occurs in a fragment of Cato and on a good many inscriptions.

34. [Eph. vii, 890.] A large stone, 45 in. high, 25 in. wide: above is an anaglyph similar to n. The lettering is rather indistinct but certain. Mr. Earwaker has kindly allowed me to reproduce the annexed illustration (Plate viii in his book).

	D M	
	CECILIVS DONATVS B	<i>D(is) M(anibus)</i>
	ESSVS NA	<i>C(a)ecilius Donatus</i>
	TIONEMILI	<i>Bessus natione</i>
5	TAVIT ANN	<i>militavit annos xxvi</i>
	OS XXVI · VIX	<i>vixit annos xxxc.</i>
	IT ANNOS XXXX..	

The Bessi were a Thracian tribe. Thrace was one of the great Roman recruiting grounds, and we find definite Bessians in particular mentioned as serving in the praetorian guard, the legions, the auxiliaries, and the fleets. There was also at one time a *cohors Flavia Bessorum*. The length of service, twenty-six years, is unusual, twenty years being the nominal limit. But inscriptions give us instances of thirty-three, thirty-eight, and forty years service (C. iii, 2014, 2818, 2710). The usual age of enlistment was about twenty.

35. [Eph. vii, 891]. 42 in. high, 15 in. wide : rather indistinct.

	D	
	G C E S	<i>D(is) [M(anibus)]</i>
	VS · TEVRNIC	<i>G(aius) Ces[ti ?]</i>
	AN · XXX · MI	<i>-us Teurnic[us ? (vixit)]</i>
5	LEG · XX · VV · S	<i>an(nos) xxx, mi[les]</i>
	X · H · F · C	<i>leg(ionis) xx v.v. s[tipendia]</i>
		<i>x.h(eres) f(aciundum) c(uravit)</i>

The text is a little uncertain, as the second line may read G C F S, but I think it is right. *Gaius Cestius* (?) *Teurnicus* will have got his name from Teurnia, a town in Noricum, on the upper course of the Drau, near the modern Gmünd. Possibly it was his birthplace. G for *Gaius* is not unknown, though C is far more usual.

36. [Eph. vii, 896.] Mutilated sculpture of two men, one apparently with a horn, 29 in. high, 21 wide. Beneath, in elegant letters—

HERMAGOR
ET FELICISS
FR (....) POM

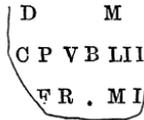
The fragment cannot be completed with certainty. The first line is clearly *Hermagor[as]*, not, as was at one time suggested, *Herma cor[nicen]*. See *Antiquary* xix (1889) pp. 44, 135.

37. [Eph. vii, ~~887~~⁸⁹⁷]. Stone 36 in. wide, by 24 long : fine lettering of a good date.

	Q L O N G I N V S	<i>Q(uitus) Longinius</i>
	P O M E N T I N A	<i>Pomentina</i>
	L A E T V S · L V C O	<i>Laetus Luco</i>
5	S T P · X V	<i>stip(endia) xv</i>
	> C O R N E L · S E V E R	<i>(centuria) Corneli Seneri</i>

“Q. Longinius Laetus, of the Pomptine tribe, from Lucus, served fifteen years in the century of Cornelius Severus [in the xxth Legion?].” There are two points of interest here: (1) *Pomentina* is a rare but perfectly well-known form of *Pomptina*, of which Kubitschek in his *De Rom. Tribuum Origine* quotes several instances (C. vi, 2577, 3884; Eph. iv, p. 221. (2) *Lucus* is a town in N.W. Spain, in a district which has yielded us several other citizens belonging to the Pomptine tribe. The fact is difficult to explain. The Pomptine tribe is very rarely met with outside of Italy, and, at the bestowals of franchise on various Spanish districts, other tribes were selected in which to enrol the new citizens. We know that the districts enfranchised by Augustus were placed in the Galerian tribe, and those enfranchised by Vespasian in the Quirine. It is probable that, at some time unknown, various individuals in N.W. Spain received the franchise with the Pomptine tribe. Kubitschek connects this with Galba (A.D. 67), but his theory is by no means proven.

38. [Eph. vii, 898.] 7 in. wide, 14 in. high; large letters—



D(is) M(anibus) C. Publi[lius] ?...signif]er mi[litavit] ?...
 Publius itself is not a *nomen*.

39. [Eph. vii, 899.] 33 in. broad, 27 in. high; fine lettering—

D · M · P · R · V S T O	<i>D(is) M(anibus) P(ublio) Rustio</i>
F A B A · C R E S C E N · B R X	<i>Fabia Crescen(ti) Brix(ia)</i>
M I L · L E G · X X V V	<i>mil(es) leg(ionis) xx . v . v .</i>
A N · X X X · S T P · X	<i>an(norum) xxx, stip(endiorum) x</i>
5 G R O M A · H E R E S	<i>Groma heres</i>
F A C C V R /	<i>fac(iundum) cur(avit)</i>

“To Publius Rustius Crescens, of the Fabian tribe, from Brixia, a soldier of the 20th Legion, aged 30, 10 years service. Groma his heir erected this.”

42. [Eph. vii, 906.] Fragment 30 in. square—

I N · X X V I
 I V R M A · V I I I X sic
 F R A T E R · F E C

Part of a tombstone put up by the dead man's brother. I can give no explanation of line 2. It has been thought that we should read *turma* and suppose the man to have served in the cavalry. If so, he can only have served in an auxiliary *ala*, since the legion had only 4 *turmae*, while the *ala* had sometimes 16 (500 men), sometimes 24 (1000 men). Professor Hübner supposes that the man was first in the 8th then in the 10th *turma*, but this is surely a counsel of despair. Besides, the invariable rule is to identify the *turma* by its decurion's, *i.e.*, commander's name, and not by a numeral at all.

43. [Eph. vii, 907.] 12 in. high, 14 in. long.

M I S S I C I ·
 V A · B T R
 X X · I I I · V I X I T
 V

missior

[*ex ala Claudia ? no*]va b[*eneficiarius*] tr[*ibuni*]

[*mil(itavit) ann(os) xxxiii, vivit . . .*]

“ [To the memory of . . .] discharged honorably from [the *ala Claudia no*]va, (?) beneficiary of the tribune, [served] 23 years, lived . . . ” *Missicius* is a term used both in literature (*e.g.* by Suetonius) and on inscriptions to denote “ men in the position of *honestæ missione missi*.” The word is formed like *dediticius*, “ one in position of subject or prisoner ” (*deditus*) or *deducticius*, “ one in position of a colonist ” (*deductus*). The *ala Claudia nova* is mentioned as being in Germany in A.D. 74, and three inscriptions have been found in Dalmatia erected (at uncertain dates) to soldiers in it. The conjecture that it was mentioned on this stone is due to Professor Mommsen.

A *beneficiarius* was a soldier who was given exemption from onerous duties by a superior officer, whose attendant or sentry he probably became. A complete list of all known—over 430—is given in the *Ephemeris* (iv, pp. 379-401). There are enumerated (1) 162 *beneficiarii con-*

sulares who received their privilege from *legati*, provincial governors of consular rank; (2) 16 *b. legati Aug. pro praetore*, where the governor was a praetorian; (3) 25 *b.* of commanders of legions (*legati legionum*); (4) 27 of procurators; (5) 57 of various *praefecti*; (6) 31 of tribunes, of legions, cohorts, or *alae*; (7) 2 of *praesides*. For the rest, we cannot determine the officer to whom they were attached.

44. [Eph. vii, 914.] Fragment—

<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;"> .. I N I V S I N V S ... R V I </div>	perhaps	[D. M.] ... Tere]ntius.. Sab]inus.. anno]ru[m]..
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This was not included in Mr. Earwaker's book; it was first pointed out to me by Mr. Shrubsole. The restoration of the names is, of course, pure guesswork.

I omit here, as wholly unimportant for the purposes of the present article, some smaller fragments (Eph. vii, 909-913), which have only a few letters on them and prove nothing.

B.—Other discoveries in Chester.

45. [Eph. vii, 878.] A thin plate of lead 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. long found in 1886 in Grey Friars, near the abutment of the city wall; a hypocaust was found at the same place. The accompanying wood-cut represents both sides of the object full size—



Co II.
 > Atili
 Maioris



Co II.
 7 Atili
 Maioris

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. C. Roeder, of Fallowfield, Manchester, for a loan of the plate and in-

formation as to the find. The object has been already described in this *Journal* (xliv, 125), but not, I think, correctly.

The inscription seems to resemble that of centurial stones, *co(hortis) II, (centuria) Atili Maioris*. I presume it was used for indicating some property or other of the century in question. I have never seen anything like it elsewhere. In size and shape it somewhat resembles the *Laminae Concordienses* edited by Pais (*Supplementa Italica ad C. v, n. 1090*), but these were apparently tickets to shew the amount and price of a private shopkeeper's goods.

46. [Eph. vii, 881.] Centurial stone, ansated, 12 in. long, 7 in. high, found in Eastgate street in 1888, now in the Grosvenor Museum: the second line is not quite certain—

C H O R I I I
O T E R R O

Copied by myself; edited in the *Proceedings of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries* iii, 387.

Possibly *c(o)hor(tis) iii, (centuria) Ter(entii) Ro(mani)*. The theory of some archaeologists that these stones had to do with land-tenure is quite incorrect. They simply mark the amount of wall built by the centuria which erected them.

I omit here, as unimportant, one fragment (Eph. vii, 883) found near the north wall. Instead, I may add an inscription found at Worms in Germany in 1888, and edited by Professor Zangemeister in the *Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt* vii, n. 76, col. 115-7.¹ The reading, supplying what is lost, is—

[*In honorem*] *domu[s] divinae, Marti Loucetio sacrum Amandus Velugni f(i)lius Devas.*

Devas here apparently means “of Deva,” indicating that the dedicator Amandus was an inhabitant or native of Roman Chester. The date of the inscription cannot be fixed. The letters are well formed; the *domus divina* is rarely mentioned before the end of the second century; other remains found near this stone are of much later date. The peculiar interest of the inscription to us is

¹ I was lately ble to take squeezes of the stone for the Chester Museum.

this—that it is the first mention, on any inscribed object, of the Roman name of the city. The name has, indeed, been read on a lead trough at Northwich (Eph. vii, 1184), but the reading is far too uncertain to prove anything. The coins supposed to be inscribed COL . DIVANA, are, no doubt, the result of error or forgery (Watkin's *Cheshire*, pp. 9-10). The very idea that Deva was a *colonia*, though shared by Mr. Watkin (*Cheshire*, p. 242) is erroneous. The place was an important military fortress, not a town with any sort of civil rights, and it owes its epigraphical importance to this fact. Had it been a *municipium* or *colonia* (the two are nearly identical), we should never have had the important inscriptions yielded by the north wall.

XVIII. LINCOLN.

47. [Eph. vii, 918.] Fragment, 5 in. wide, in the Cathedral cloisters—



Copied by myself. It is, of course, unintelligible.

48. On the rim of a *pelvis*, in the possession of Mr. Allis—

Q · S A S E R Q. *Saser*(na).

Sent me by Mr. Roach Smith, and edited by him in the *Journal* of the Archæological Association. It is a known stamp, a specimen on an amphora from Lincoln being in the British Museum (C. n. 1331, 110), but it does not seem to have been found elsewhere; we have therefore, a local potter's work.

49. I may add a word here as to the *Parcis Deabus* altar [Eph. vii, 916], now in S. Swithin's Church. The last two lines are C V R A T O R · T E R · | A R · D · S · D which Mr. Roach Smith explains as *curator terrarum*. The other explanation *curator ter*, "for the third time," he says, cannot be correct. However, the use of *curator* by itself, generally (it would seem) denoting "curator of the shrine," is certainly capable of parallel, and the use of the numeral adverb for the more usual number (TER for

III.) is quite well-known. We have, for instance, a *curator nautarum bis* on a Lyons inscription (Wilmanns 2235), a *legatus pro praetore ter* at Rome (Henzen 5368), and so forth. Mr. Roach Smith's own suggestion that the altar belongs to the age of Diocletian, is, I think, wrong. First, the lettering is that of at least sixty years earlier; secondly, the only evidence for the late date is a coin legend, *Fatis Victricibus*, and the *Fatae* (this, not *Fata*, seems to be the nominative plural) are frequently mentioned on inscriptions of the second century. (See further *Antiquary*, xxi, (1890) 257.)

XIX. SLACK, ILKLEY, SOUTH YORKSHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE.

50. [Eph. vii, 920.] The altar found in 1880 near Slack, now in the Greenhead Park at Huddersfield, is inscribed—

D E O	<i>Deo</i>
B ER G AT I	<i>Berganti</i>
TR · N · AVG ·	<i>et n(umini)bus Aug(ustorum)</i>
T · AR · QVINUS	<i>T. Aur(elius) Quintus</i>
5 D · D · P · TR · S · S ·	<i>d(onum) d(edit) p(ecunia) et s(umptu) s(uo)</i>

With the aid of Mr. G. W. Tomlinson, F.S.A., I was able to examine this stone. The text given by Mr. Watkin (*Arch. Journ.*, xl, 139 and elsewhere) is incorrect. The expansion of the fifth line was suggested by Professor Mommsen. Mr. Watkin's *decreto decurionum* is impossible, because the place was neither a *colonia* nor a *municipium*, and had therefore no *decuriones* (municipal magistrates). The God "Bergans" is no doubt connected with the *dea Brigantia* (C. n., 200, 203), Mr. Whitley Stokes, one of the highest authorities on Keltic philology, has been good enough to send me the following note on the name—"The words *Brigantes* and *Brigantia*, like the Gaulish *Brigiani* and the Irish *Brigit*, regularly descend from a root *bhrgh* (with the *r* vowel) whence also the Sanskrit *brhant*. *Berganti* cannot come from this root, but it may, and I think it does, come from another form of the same root, namely *bhergh*. Hence also the Zend *ber^zant* "great, high," the exact reflex of

Bergant-i. Hence also, probably, the Gaulish god *Bergimus* (Orelli, 1970, 1972) and *Bergomum* (now *Bergamo*, in north Italy), *Bergintrum*, *Bergusia*, *Bergion*, and others (see Zeuss *Grammatica Celtica*, ed. 2, pp. 770 and 1125, and Glück *Keltische Namen*, pp. 89, 95 note, 151, 153, 191).” I may add, by way of explanation, a parallel from Greek to the double roots *bhergh*, *bhrgh*. In Greek the vowel *r* becomes *ra*, and in the verb (for instance) *δέρκομαι* “I see,” we have exactly the same pair of roots—*δέρκ* in the present, *δρακ* in the second aorist, *ἔδρακον* (originally **ἔδρκον*).

51. [Eph. vii, 921.] An Ilkley inscription, now in the vestry of the church there, has often been misread. The text is—

P V D E	[D. M.]
T E S S E R	[praenomen and nomen]
L E G · II · A	Pude[ntis ?]
	Tesser[arii]
	Leg[ionis] II Aug[ustae]

Copied by myself. I owe to Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., the hint where to find the stone. “To ... *Pudens*, *tesserarius* of the *Legio II. Augusta* ...” The *tesserarius* was an inferior officer who distributed the watchword written on a small ticket or *tessera*: there was one in each century. The old reading *Pudentius Iesseius* is nothing less than absurd. I suppose the stone to be a tombstone, because the sketches, (as they seem to be) given by Whitaker and by Collyer shew the letters *DM* at the top. But the inscription is perfect at the bottom and on the left hand side, and *if* these sketches are not firsthand, the *DM* may be inaccurate and the stone a dedication to some god put up by the soldier.

52. [Eph. vii, 1181.] Found on Staincrossmoor, near Barnsley, in 1782; now lost—

D E O M A R	<i>Deo Mar[ti]</i>
P R O S A L V I	<i>Pro Salu[te]</i>
D D N N	<i>(dominorum nostrorum)</i>
I M P A V G	<i>imp[eratoris] Au[relii?]</i>

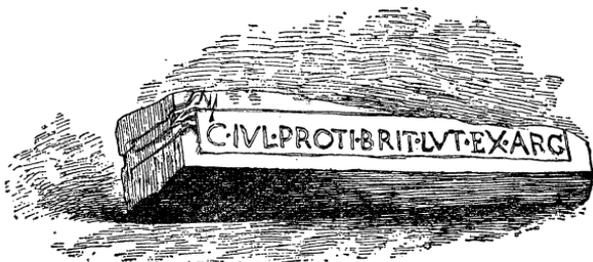
Published, from Mr. J. C. Brooke's papers, by R. Jackson, *History of Barnsley*, p. 233.

Probably the lower part of the stone is lost. The title *dominus noster* first appears about 200 A.D., and becomes common after A.D. 284. The last word may be wrong. If we read *Aurelius*, we may suppose the inscription to have commemorated any Emperor in the third century who bore that name and had a colleague.

53. Pig of lead weighing 135 lbs., 22 in. long, 4½ in. wide, 5½ in. deep, found in 1890 at South Cave, near Brough, Yorkshire, (where the Roman road from Lincoln crosses the Humber); the last letter is broken, thus :

A R G .

Now in the possession of C. E. G. Barnard, Esq., Cave Castle.



(Gaii) Iul(ii) Proti Brit'annicum) Lut(udense) ex arg(ento)

Mr. Barnard sent me a squeeze and full details; I am also indebted to Mr. W. Stephenson, of Beverley, for a reading. Published in the *Hull Express*, March 1 and 3, 1890, and in the *Eastern Morning News*, March 7, with a note by myself; afterwards in the *Illustrated London News*, No. 2664, p. 587, with a cut from a photograph (which, as I understand, was not taken direct from the original). I am obliged to the proprietors of the *Illustrated* for an electrotype.

The inscription is identical with that of a pig found near Mansfield (Notts) in 1848 (C. n. 1216), and now in the British Museum. Lutudae was somewhere in South Derbyshire, where Protus was lessee of a lead mine, probably state property. Another Lutudensian lead manufacturer is known to us, Tiberius Claudius Trophimus (C. n. 1215). The words *ex argento* imply that the silver had been extracted, as was always done and as analysis of actual Roman pigs has shewn. Silver being the more valuable metal, the lead is said to have been taken "from the silver."

Roman remains have been found at Brough, where Mr. Barnard tells me, coins are so common as to be called "cow farthings"—the "cow" being the rustic interpretation of the Wolf with Romulus and Remus. A fragment of another lead pig has been found here, some date before 1700, inscribed BR EX ARG. Possibly it was shipped on the Humber into trading vessels; otherwise Brough is off the direct line from Lutudae to anywhere.

I may add here an inscribed pig of British lead found in 1883 in France, in the bank of the old harbour of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme in 1883, and now in the museum of Saint-Germain. It weighs about 165 lbs., and is inscribed—

NERONIS AVG BRITAN L · II
Neronis Augusti Britan(nicum) ... ?

Published first by M. J. Vaillant *Un Saumon de Plomb Antique* (Boulogne); then, more correctly, by Professor Cagnat *L'Année Epigraphique* 1888 (n. 53, p. 10).

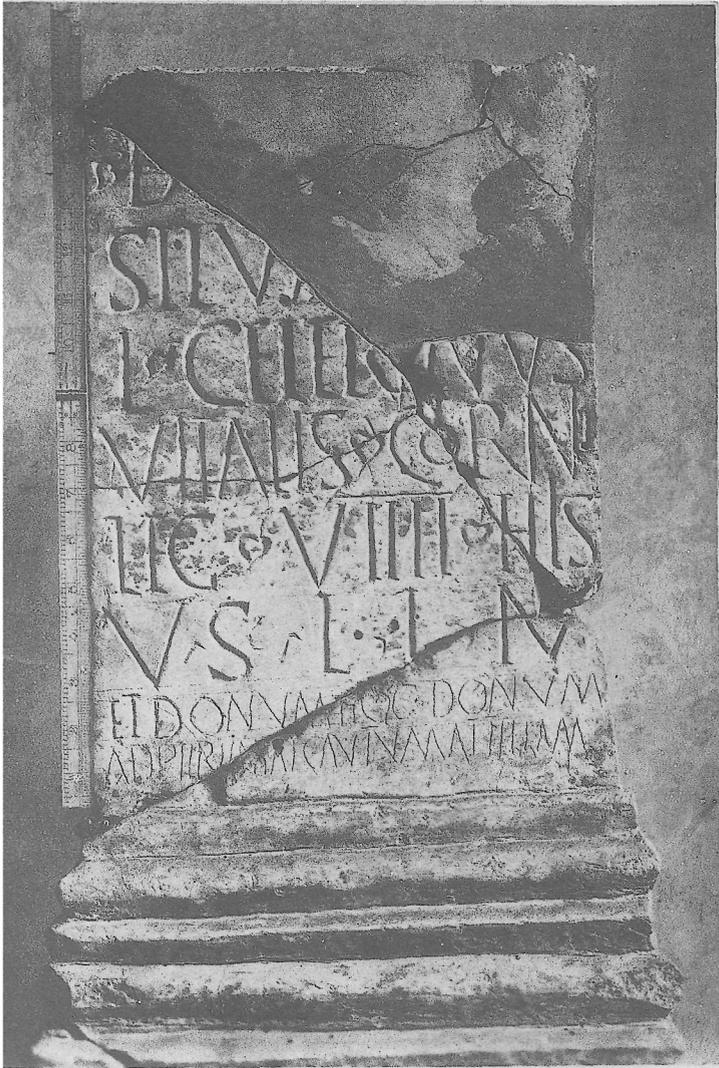
The expansion of L · II is doubtful. M. Cagnat proposes *Legio II* comparing a lead pig (C. n. 1209 *b*) found on the road from Shrewsbury to Montgomery, and said—no doubt correctly, though not on the best authority—to be inscribed LEG XX. There is no reason why a legion should not have provided workmen for the mines, which were State property, but the second legion, whether at Gloucester or at Caerleon, is rather far from the lead districts. If the lead be Mendip lead, the legion may have worked the mine before it went to Caerleon, though it was stationed there, as I believe, at a very early date.

Nero reigned A.D. 54-68, so this pig, like one found in Hampshire C. n. 1203) belongs to an early period of the Roman Conquest. Two earlier ones are known, both of the year A.D. 49.

54. On the brim of a *pelvis*, in an irregular cartouche of chocolate coloured pigment, moulded by hand, found at Little Chester, near Derby: the last letter is uncertain—

V I V I V I 2 .

Published by Mr. John Ward, *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, xi, 86, and *Reliquary*, April, 1889 (iii, 65) with a plate; hence in some foreign papers. If this has (as I presume) been rightly read, I can offer no explanation, for the letters look like an ornament, rather than a name.



ROMAN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT YORK, 1884.

The way in which they are done is curious, and may well be unique.

XXII. YORK.

55. [Eph. vii, 928.] I am able to give what I believe to be a somewhat better interpretation of part of a remarkable inscription found at the Mount in 1884, and now in the York Museum (*Archæological Journal*, xlii, 152). The annexed collotype plate, being prepared from a photograph, is as accurate, I hope, as a plate can be. The upper part of the inscription is quite plain.

D[eo Sancto] Silva[no sacrum] L. Celerin[i]us Vitalis, corni(cen [or corni(cularius)] leg(ionis) IX Hispanae v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Below this are two lines scratched rudely on—

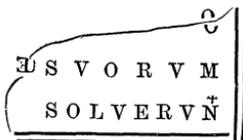
E T D O N V M H O C · D O N V M
A D P I I R T I N I A T C A V T V M A T T I G A M

Canon Raine and Professor H bner read this *Fido num(ini) hoc donum adpertineat: cautum attiggam*, “Let this gift belong to the faithful deity: let me take care how I touch,” comparing the old Latin *cave vestem attigas*. The reading *Fido* is possible, for though the stone has certainly E T, the letters have been recut deeper, and *may* have been cut wrong the second time. But Professor Hirschfeld suggests for the first part, *Et don(um) hoc do: num(ini) adpertineat*: “And I give this gift: let it belong to the deity.” Professor Mommsen remarks on the last two words, ‘*cautum attiggam* is *caute atti[n]gam*, words put into the mouth of a passer-by, “I will touch cautiously.’” The latter does not differ much from Canon Raine’s interpretation, but it seems to me to give a slightly better grammatical construction.

In the *Ephemeris*, the word *adpertineat* is accidentally misprinted AD.PIIRTNIAT.

56-57. [Eph. vii, 1182-1183.] Two fragments found (as Mr. F. A. Leyland tells me) at York, now in the Halifax Museum—

15 by 8 in.



10 by 14 in.



Copied by myself. Apparently votive inscriptions, erected "for the safety of themselves and their family." The concluding words in each case were *libenter solverunt*.

58. [Eph. vii, 1155.] Glass bottle inscribed round the bottom—

P A T R I M ...

Edited incorrectly by Mr. Watkin. The stamp is the same as one found in Gaul at Arles (C. xii, 5696) P A T R I M O N I V M, which Hirschfeld considers to be simply the Latin word *patrimonium* and not *P(ublii) Atri(i) Moni(mi)*. A fragment found in Sussex, at Densworth, had probably the same stamp (C. n. 1276)

59. [Eph. vii, 1160.] An eagle like the one found at High Rochester (C. n. 1290, Bruce *lapid*, n. 578) is in York Museum. The only letter remaining is

M

Copied by myself. The High Rochester specimen reads C O H O P T I M I M A X I M, or something like it. Meaning and use are unknown.

XLVI. CHESTERS.

60. [Eph. vii, 1016.] Two parts of an inscription which was probably 34 in. high by 40 long—



$$\begin{array}{l} \text{I O} \\ \text{ROSAL} \\ \text{GALVEE} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} m. \\ au \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{DOJ} \\ \text{GGNN} \end{array}$$

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dol(icheno)
pro sal(ute) [Au]g(ustorum) n(ostorum)
Gal(erius) Ver(ecundus ? posuit)

Published (wrongly) by Mr. Watkin (*Archaeological Journal* xlii, 1113, and xlv, 118) and others;¹ rightly in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xiii, 357, with a print. Mr. R.

¹ The cut is not quite accurate: the A in line 2 should be A J, i.e. A L.

Blair and myself corrected the reading and connected the fragments while on a visit at Chesters. The annexed cut and those to nos. 61, 62, 63, 66 are reproduced by permission from the *Arch. Aeliana*. They are drawn one-eighth of actual size, except no. 66, which is full size.

From the lettering, the inscription seems to belong to the early part of the third century. The Emperors are possibly Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, who appear to be commemorated on two other Chesters inscriptions (C. n. 585 ; Eph. iii, n. 100). Alexander was apparently raised to the title of Augustus before the murder of Elagabalus (A.D. 222), as Mommsen pointed out long ago (C. iii, p. 892) or *Augusti* may be put for 'Augustus et Caesar,' in flattering fashion, as sometimes happens (e.g. in a Roman inscription of A.D. 221). However, it is also possible that both this and Eph. iii, n. 100 refer to Septimius Severus and Caracalla who were *Augusti* between 198 and 211 A.D.

Jupiter Dolichenus is an Eastern god, so called from Doliche in Commagēnē (not from Doliche in Thessaly), who was worshipped very widely in the second and third centuries. At Rome he had a shrine on the Aventine and a *sodalitas* or brotherhood of priests, and is represented as standing on an ox, with a thunderbolt and an axe. Some connection with iron has been recently confirmed by a bronze tablet found at Pfünz in Germany, inscribed *I. O. M. Duliceno ubi ferum [exorit]ur* (*Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, 1889, p. 71). But it is not to be supposed that an inscription to him shews that the Romans found iron at the spot. The best account of the god is given by Dr. F. Hettner *de Iove Dolicheno* (Bonn, 8, 1877.)

61. [Eph. vii, 1018.] Small altar, 6 in. high, found in 1889 in the North Tyne, near the Roman bridge at Chesters—



B V S	
V E T E R I	[di]bus
B V S	veteribus

Sent to me by Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., who edited it afterwards in the *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 362. Altars to the *di veteres*, or *deus vetiris*, are common in the north of

England (there are over thirty known), but seem to occur nowhere else. There is no evidence to shew who they were; it has been plausibly conjectured that they are the "old (*i.e.*, heathen) gods," superseded by Christianity. The names of the dedicators, when given, afford no clue to any national worship. The conjecture that the Teutonic *Vidrir* (a name of Odin in the Edda) is the origin, seems impossible on phonetic grounds.

62. Eph. vii, 1019.] Fragment found in 1889, apparently in the N.E. angle of the camp—



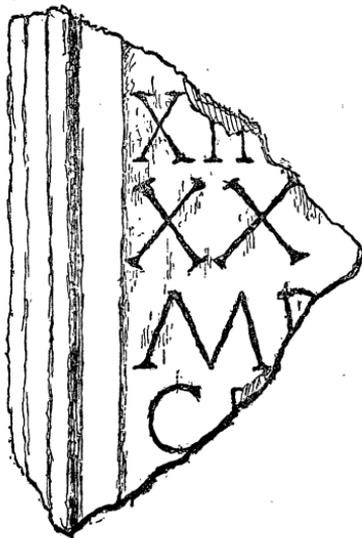
Ha]dr. *A*[ntonino Aug.

Pi]o *P*(atri) *P*(atriae) . . .

legio] *VI* [*victriae*]?

Sent me by Mr. Blair, edited by Dr. Bruce, *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 376. In Eph. vii, 1019, I printed the first line DR̄A, from a drawing, but it appears that the small ^r is really a stop. The expansion is not affected by this.

Inscription to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), set up possibly by soldiers of the sixth legion.



63. [Eph. vii, 1030.] Fragment 22 in high, in the yard of the schoolhouse at Wall, a hamlet a little to the east of Chester—

Edited by Mr. Blair, *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 360.

No certain sense can be made of this, possibly the numerals shewed the years of service and life of some soldier. At least, it is difficult to account for them otherwise.

64. [Eph. vii, 1145.] Graffito, 6 in. long, on a broken tile in Mr. Clayton's collection at Cheshers—

{ G E I T O }

Copied by myself. Edited by Mr. Blair, *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 363, along with other graffiti, mostly on pottery of various kinds.

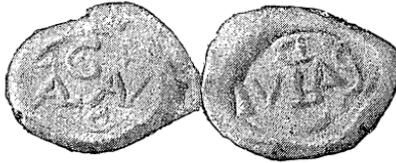
65. [Eph. vii, 1152.] Thin round lead plate, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, in Mr. Clayton's collection at Chesters—

I B I M V S

Copied by myself. Edited by Mr. Blair, *Arch. Ael.* xiii, 363.

66. [Eph. vii, 1152.] Lead seals found at Chesters, one bearing the head of Septimius Severus and his two sons (*Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* iv, 234), the other inscribed :—

+ G +	C I
on one side: AL AV	on the other: I V L A S
Q	C



Edited by Mr. Blair, with a photograph, *Arch. Ael.* xiii, 362. *Al(a) Au(gusta)* and *Iulius* have been suggested as expansions; the second, certainly, is most improbable. These seals resemble those found at Brough, *Bremenium*, South Shields, Felixstowe, &c., about which I hope to say more at another time. I may say here that the lead seal mentioned by Prof. Hübner as found in 1873 at York (Eph. iii, n. 129 and vii, 1153), is really medieval.

I may also add that these seals are not confined to Britain, as has been supposed. Several similar specimens were found some twenty-five years ago at Mainz, at a point on the Rhinebank where a Roman custom-house is thought to have stood. The originals are in the museum at Mannheim (ref. nos. D. 321 foll.) and there are casts in the Romano-Germanic Museum at Mainz (Nos. 4105, 4107, 4339 foll.)¹

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Veltke and Dr. Lindenschmit, of Mainz, for help in procuring access to these.

D. 321 L A T

I N I

D. 322 S O P A

T R I S
↳

These are all in oval frames, the reverses are blank but shew holes for string.

D. 324 I F D

D. 328 Mars to r. marching
with shield and spear.

Copied by myself; I print only those which can be easily deciphered.

Leaden seals have also been found at Rusicade (*Philippville*) in the Roman province of Africa and at Lyons. The former have devices, inscriptions such as QVINTIANI RVFINI, LCA, XCI, and stringholes. The latter have emperors' heads with AVGG DD NN, or LEG with a numeral, or various names, all with stringholes. Both are thought to be customhouse seals (*Cagnat Impôts Indirects* pp. 67, 72; C. viii, 10484; C. xii, 5699). I do not know how far they really resemble the British "seals," but there are some marked parallelisms. Emperors' heads with AVGG have been found at S. Shields, seals with LEG II at Brough.

67. Lamps in Mr. Clayton's collection: Mr. Blair tells me they probably come from abroad:—

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. $\overline{\text{A E I}}$ | <i>Atei</i> |
| 2. $\overline{\text{A V F I F R O N}}$ | <i>Auf(dii) Fron(tonis)</i> |
| 3. $\overline{\text{C V N B I T}}$ | |

Copied by myself.

X L V I I Carrawburgh.

68, [Eph. iv. n. 680, vii, 1032]. Altar, found at *Procolitia* preserved by Mr. Clayton at Chesters, 9in. by 4in., the lower part lost:—

M A T	<i>matribus</i>
R I B V	<i>com[munibus?]</i>
S · C o M	

Copied by myself. This is the right reading of an inscription published by Mr. Watkin in this Journal xxxiv 131.

The reading is interesting because it fits in with a Chesters inscription (*Arch. Journ.* xlii, 142, Eph. vii, 1017), beginning:—

—————|
R I B V S C O M | |

In the latter, Ihm (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, 83, p. 174) proposed to read *L]aribus Com[ptalibus*, although these "Crossway Lares" do not occur elsewhere in England. The inscription given above shews clearly that *ribus* is to be completed *mat]ribus*. The explanation of *COM* is less clear. The "Augustae Comedovae" have been suggested, but they are not *Matres* in the proper sense of the word, and are known only from an inscription in Southern France (C. xii, 2443). It seems simplest and best to read *com[munibus]*, as, indeed Dr. Bruce has done, in his *Handbook to the Wall* (ed. 3, p. 103) in dealing with Eph. vii, 1017.

69. [Eph. vii, 1037.] Altar 37 in. long, 15 in. high, with very faint lettering, found in 1889, near the well of Coventina—

M P H S	∓	C O V E N T I N A E		<i>ny]mphis et Coventinae</i>
.		T I A N V S D E C	<i>... tianus dec(urio)?</i>
.		V O R
.		M R

Sent me, with a squeeze, by Mr. Blair, who has edited it, *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 363; a somewhat different reading was forwarded to me through Mr. Wallis Budge.

The word *Coventinae* seems quite certain, and the word *dec* I thought very probable when I saw the squeeze. The stone was, therefore, put up to the goddess by the *decurio* - commander of a *turma*—of a cavalry squadron. The garrison of Procolitia was an infantry cohort, so the dedicator must have been a stranger.

Full accounts of the Well of Coventina have been published by Mr. Clayton (*Archæologia Aeliana*, 1878), and Professor Hübner (*Hermes* xii, 257 foll.) Some minor corrections which I have been able to make in Professor Hübner's readings may be omitted here (Eph. vii, 1033-6.)

XLIX. CHESTERHOLM.

70. [Eph. vii, ~~1189~~ foll.] In 1885 a group of milestones, five fairly perfect, and two fragments, were discovered on the Crindledykes farm, close to the "Stane-gate" and a little to the east of *Vindolana*. They were published in the *Archæologia Aeliana* (xi, 130) and in this

Journal (xliii, 277). Three of the readings require corrections. I have collated all myself.

The milestone of Severus (n. 1 in Mr. Watkin's list) had seven lines; line five, now illegible, which contained the legate's name, is not represented in the books as missing, and should be marked as between the lines COS PPCVR and .GAVG. There is space for it.

The true reading of Mr. Watkin's No. 5 is (I have pointed out in the *Proceedings of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries*, iv, 35)—

	IMP CAES	<i>Imp. Caes.</i>
	FLAV VAL	<i>Flav(io) Val(erio)</i>
	CoNSTANTINO	<i>Constantino</i>
	PIOF//NOB	<i>Pio F[el(ici)] Nob(ili)</i>
5	CAESARI	<i>Caesari</i>
	DIVI	<i>Divi</i>
	CoNSTANTI	<i>Constanti</i>
	PII AVG	<i>Pii Aug(usti)</i>
	FILO	<i>Filio</i>

The reading of line five is not quite certain; PIO.FEL. NOB would be the ordinary formula. The stone was put up while Constantine, afterwards the Great, enjoyed the inferior title of Caesar, *i.e.*, between 306 and 308 A.D., in which latter year he was created Augustus.

Thirdly, the fragment LI denotes probably not *leuga I.* but the number of miles, *M(illia) P(assuum)* being broken off above it, or perhaps omitted altogether.

II CAERVORAN.

71. [Eph. vii, 1057.] Altar, 9 in. high, found apparently at Caervoran, now at Chesters—seemingly unpublished—

DIBVS	<i>Dibus</i>
NIITIIIR	<i>Veteribus</i>
IBVS	<i>v(o)t(u)m</i>
VTM	

Copied by myself.

The abbreviation *vtm* for *votum* belongs to the later period of Roman contractions. In early times the initial letters were used PR *praetor*, L or LEG *legio*; in later times consonants were picked out, MCP *municipium*, GLRSMVS *gloriosissimus*.

LV. CARLISLE.

72. Lamp found in excavating the new markets—

I E C I D I

R. S. Ferguson, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xii, 424, and *Trans. of Cumb. Arch. Soc.* 1890, p. 101. The name has been found on lamps in Switzerland (Mommsen *Inscr. Helvet.* n. 350), in Southern France (C. xii, n. 5682), in various parts of Austria (C. iii, n. 6008 and 6286), and in Germany (Fröhner, p. 46, n. 1181). Mr. Roach Smith (quoted by Mr. Ferguson) calls it a potter's name, but I cannot find it recorded on any pottery, and, as Mommsen has pointed out (C. iii and v), one and the same maker seems not to have made both pottery and lamps.

LIX. NETHERBY.

73. [Eph. vii, 1087.] Altar found at Netherby in 1882, seemingly unpublished—

D E O	<i>Deo</i>
H · V E	<i>N(umini)</i>
T I R I	<i>Vetiri</i>

Sent by Mr. F. Graham to Dr. Bruce, and by him to me. The H in line 2 represents a late and bad form of N, of which other instances occur. See the engravings in Dr. Bruce's *Lapidarium* of n. 280 H · V I T E R I B V S (C. n. 502*b*) and n. 312 (C. n. 502*a*).

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[Where nothing is added in brackets after the name, the finds include inscribed stones; where a square bracket is added, the finds recorded above do *not* include stones.]

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS

IN

BRITAIN,

II.

1890-1891.

BY

F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

Reprinted from the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlix, pp. 176—201 and 215—234.

EXETER.

WILLIAM POLLARD & Co., PRINTERS, NORTH STREET.
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[NOTE.—This reprint differs from the original articles in the *Archæological Journal* in a few minor details, mostly those given as *ad.tenda* on p. 48.]

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS IN BRITAIN 1890—1891.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

I have to apologise for my delay in producing my annual article on recent discoveries of Roman inscriptions in Britain. Perhaps I may venture, in partial mitigation of my shortcomings, to plead the dislocation of arrangements inevitably consequent on a change of residence and occupation. I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to examine myself all the texts which I edit, and I may hope that, in one or two cases, such examination has proved itself beneficial. The inscriptions printed below include all the recent discoveries or improved readings of old texts which have come to my knowledge since my last article with the exception (1) of one or two recent finds belonging to my next article and (2) of the Chester inscriptions, my reasons for omitting which are given in Chapter XVII. The list comprises several inscriptions of very high interest, notably the Colchester dedication to "Mars Medocius Campesium," the Binchester altar to the *Matres Ollototae*, a Carlisle legionary tile, a milestone of Victorinus, and two west country inscriptions, which I was lucky enough to unearth in two local museums. The interest of these pieces must account for the somewhat unwieldy length of my commentaries on two or three of them, though I have reserved my notes on some of them for a separate article. I have lastly to thank many friends for assistance in procuring access to, in reading, or in understanding the inscriptions here edited, and to add that I shall, at all times, be very grateful for any account of any new find.¹ I think it is not wholly unfair to expect such assistance from other English archæologists.

¹ Letters should be addressed to *Christchurch, Oxford*.

As before, I have followed the *Corpus* in the arrangement of matter, and in the order of inscriptions. I begin with Cornwall and work upwards, prefixing to each district-heading the number of the section or chapter in the great Berlin collection. Where an inscription has been already edited in the *Corpus* or *Ephemeris*, I give the reference in square brackets at the head of the notice. For convenience I number consecutively with my last article.

Chief Abbreviations :—

C = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* : where no Roman numerals follow, the British volume, VII, edited by Prof. Hübner (Berlin 1873), is meant.

Eph. = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, supplements to the above. The supplements to *C.* vol. vii, are in *Eph.* iii and iv (by Prof. Hübner), and in vii (by myself).

Arch. Ael. = *Archæologia Aeliana* the Journal of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

Arch. Journ. = Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute.

Proc. Soc. Ant. = Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London (or, if Newcastle is added, of Newcastle).

In expansions of the inscriptions, round brackets denote the expansion of an abbreviation, square brackets the supplying of letters, which, owing to breakage or other cause, are not now on the stone, but which may be presumed to have been there.

I. CORNWALL.

74. Ingot of pure tin, 21 in. long by 6 in. wide, weighing 39½lbs. found at Carnunton, Mawgan in Pydar, Cornwall, now in Truro Museum. It has several stamps much obscured by “blistering” of the tin but apparently of two types :—

(a) Helmeted head, possibly with shield in front, resembling fourth century types.

(b) Inscription in label, possibly reading

I E NN

[? *d(ominorum)*] *n(ostrorum.)*

Noted and copied by myself; the Rev. W. Iago has since sent me photographs and the Curator of the Museum has sent me rubbings. Mr. A. J. Evans, to whom I have shewn these, agrees that the head is fourth century and goes so far as to put it either in the early or the very late part of that period. The lettering must, I fear, remain uncertain.

I give above only what at the time of copying seemed to me most likely; the *NV* is, perhaps, less uncertain than the *IE* (or *IF*.) It is probable that *DD NN* (*dominorum nostrorum*) may once have stood. A bar of lead found at Worms and now in the Museum there bears the letters *DDD NNN* (the three *N*'s are "tied" together) no doubt representing the government stamp, and it is common in the fourth century not to find any name added. The fourth century gold bars lately found in Transilvania are similarly stamped *DDD NNN* without the emperors' names.

Obscure as these stamps are, they possess real interest. They are the only proofs, yet discovered, that Cornish tin was seriously worked in Roman times. Hitherto, the best evidence had been that of the fourth century ingots found near Battersea (see No. 84), and these, besides being pewter, are by no means certainly of British production. Other evidence that the Romans mined or were ever permanently present in Cornwall was scarce, and Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., asserted last summer that there had never been any real Roman occupation of Cornwall (*Proceedings of the Devonshire Association*, xxiii, 49). The case, however, is not so bad as that. The truth, I believe to be, that the early Cornish tin trade, which Posidonius and Cæsar knew, died out about the beginning of our era, possibly because the Romans had just discovered the real site of the "Cassiterides" in N.W. Spain.¹ For two hundred years we know nothing about Cornwall. The Romans may have conquered it: they may have designedly "neglected" it, as they neglected certain unprofitable uplands in Dalmatia and elsewhere. Certainly it was not till the third and fourth centuries that we can say the tin trade revived, and to this period belong most of the datable Roman remains found in the county, the milestones at Tintagel and St. Hilary,² the hoards of coins, the tin vessel from Caerhayes, the Bossens cup (No. 1 = C. n. 1), and a few other objects.

The discovery of the stamps now published proves that

¹ The recent researches of Usener, Rhys, and others, have made it almost certain that—as Cornish antiquaries suggested many years ago (see e.g. *Journal R.I.C.* ii, 275. 343; iii, p. xv)—the Cassiterides were not near Cornwall, but off N.W. Spain. Cornish tin reached the Mediterranean across Gaul.

² The readings of these two stones are in some details uncertain. I doubt, for instance, if Licinianus is really named on the Tintagel stone. But they are ordinary road-stones, and there is not the slightest reason for supposing them to be anything else, as some recent writers appear to have done.

mining was officially recognised in the fourth century. Possibly it was of no great extent, but was pursued mostly by small diggers, like some of the Spanish mining in Roman times, or some of the modern coal-workings of the Donez in S. Russia. Certainly, so far as I could tell by personal inspection, no other tin ingot accessible in Cornwall¹ has any Roman stamp, though the Penzance Museum possesses a block inscribed with what may be a medieval trade-mark. But the tin mining has been carried on so industriously for six centuries that the survival of even one old ingot is matter for surprise and gratitude, and it may be rash to draw conclusions *ex silentio*. I must add that it is equally rash to reverse the process and argue that, because ingots would easily be melted down, therefore many of them *must* have met this fate: this assumes that there once were "many."²

75. ADDENDA.—The last (tenth) volume of the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* contains notes by the Rev. W. Jago on the Cornish inscriptions of my last article: p. 219 the *pelvis LESBIUS F*; p. 248 the bowl of *Aelius Modestus*; p. 262 the Tintagel stone.

DEVON.

76. In the *Proceedings of the Devonshire Association* (xxiii. [1891], p. 89) Mr. R. N. Worth, prints a copy, by Mr. J. M. Martin, of an inscription—*D. M. Camilius Saturnalis Camilie Natule patrone merentissime fecit*, which he says was found in Musgrave's Alley, Exeter; was then built up into the porch of Musgrave House with a bust of Julia Domna from Bath, and was finally lost when the porch was pulled down in 1877. Mr. Worth has apparently overlooked the fact that the same inscription has been published several times before, and does not belong to Exeter. It was found at Tarragona in Spain, and brought to Exeter by Musgrave, who wrote a pamphlet about it. Even Mr. Worth's misattribution has been anticipated: it was made by Shortt in his *Silva Antiqua Iscana* (p. 93), and duly corrected by Dr. Hübner (c. ii. 4346, vii. p. 13.).

¹ Five are mentioned by R. S. Poole *Journal R.I.C.*, pt. iv, p. 1, the one here discussed, the Penzance specimen, one from St. Mawes and two from St. Austell. Mr. R. N. Worth tells me there is also

an uninscribed tin pig in the Plymouth Museum, but I do not know its date.

² See further Addenda at the end of this pamphlet.

77. Seal of carnelian with a bearded head and inscribed, found in a garden near Musgrave's Alley, Exeter.

SEVERIVS POMPEYVS

R. N. Worth, *Proceedings of the Devonshire Assoc.* xxiii, 89, apparently from Shortt. A fairly certain forgery.

78. Tile found at Honey-ditches (Hanna-ditches), about a mile N. of Seaton, Devonshire : now in Taunton Museum. The letters are rudely but not badly made.

○ VA II ○ II λ

leg(io) ii Aug(usta)

Copied by myself : I believe it to be unpublished.

One or two other objects from this spot (*e.g.* a lead pipe) are at Taunton, some tiles, pottery, &c. are in the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter, and the books mention coins (one of Valens), pottery, a "lachrymatory," roof tiles, wrought stone, &c. (Lyson's *Britannia* vi., p. cccxi, *Proceedings of the Devonshire Association* xvii, 280 ; xxiii, 81. Traces of buildings have been found (marked "Roman Villa" in the Ordnance maps) and a Roman road, or something very like one, runs towards the spot from near Axminster, but some earthworks close by, no doubt the same as those which Stukely and Gough call "an oblong moated camp of three acres" (Gough's *Camden* i. 59), are said to be Danish. General Pitt Rivers, in the third volume of his *Excavations in Bokerly Dyke, etc.*, puts a villa at Seaton and the name Muridunum with a query, but marks no Roman road near it. Mr. J. B. Rowe's paper on "Roman Devon" in the Plymouth Institution Reports says nothing about Seaton.

The accounts given of the remains are unsatisfactory. Camden thought Seaton was the *Muriāunum* of the "Itinerary" and Musgrave, Gale, Stukely, followed him, but his conjecture, as he admits, was based solely on "the distance and the etymology" and is more characteristic of Camden than worth criticism in itself. On the other hand, Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., in his recent Presidential address to the Devonshire Association (*Proceedings* xxiii (1891) p. 48) says the place was "not much, if at all, beyond a farm place." This description obviously does not fit with a

legionary inscription and lead piping, and it is greatly to be regretted that, so far as I know, no adequate account exists in print of what really has been found on this spot. Unless the Taunton labels have misled me, a part, at least, of the *Legio ii Augusta* must have been stationed at Seaton, and this is remarkable. Throughout the larger portion of Romano-British history, that legion was quartered at Caerleon, and that fortress was occupied in the early years of the Roman Conquest (Tac. *Ann* xii, 34, 38; Mommsen *Röm. Gesch.* v, 162). It does not follow that it was at once occupied by this particular legion, but we have no contrary evidence and very slight traces of these troops in the west or elsewhere. A lead pig of Nero's reign mentioned in my last article (p. 258) may have come from the Mendip mines and may bear the mark of this legion, but both points are doubtful. We know, too, that Vespasian commanded this legion and that he conquered the Isle of Wight, subdued two powerful tribes, and took more than twenty fortified places (Tac. *Hist.* iii, 44, Suet. *Vesp.* 4), but we have no special authority for placing the conquests in the S.W. of our island. We have also the statement of Ptolemy (ii. 3, 13) that the second Augustan legion was stationed at or near Exeter, but it is uncertain what we are to make of it. It may be a simple confusion of *Isca Dumnoniorum* with *Isca Silurum*; it may also be drawn from an early source and preserve a trace of an arrangement which has ceased to exist long before Ptolemy wrote. There are traces in Ptolemy both of inaccuracy and of writing which is "not up to date," and it is difficult to choose.¹ We have also to reckon with the possibility—it is hardly more—of the central *depôt* at Caerleon supplying what garrisons were needed for the South-west, just as the Chester *depôt* supplied garrisons along the coast of N. Wales. On the whole, it is not impossible that some of these details may hang together and belong to the early years of the conquest. But till we know more of Honey-ditches, it is rash to decide. The energetic Devonshire Association will, I hope, take the matter in hand.

¹ Ptolemy's account of Dacia probably represents the province of Trajan, not under Hadrian and his successors (*Arch.*

Journ. xlvi, 6; *Oest. arch. epigr. mitth.* xiii, 144.)



Inscriptions from Silchester

IV. WINCHESTER.

79. "Julius Caesar does not seem to have been here . . . but some of his troops must have passed through it; a plate from one of his standards, bearing his name and profile, having been found buried in a sandbed in the neighbourhood."

W. Howitt *Visits to Remarkable Places*, First Series (1840) p. 414 = p. 272 ed. 1882. I reprint this, to keep it on record, but I do not know to what it refers. The Emperor's *imago* had certainly its place on certain standards.

V. SILCHESTER.

The recent excavations conducted by Mr. G. E. Fox and Mr. W. H. St John Hope for the Society of Antiquaries have resulted in several minor epigraphic discoveries—a marble fragment, a bronze roundel, a bit of glass, and several potters' marks and *graffiti* on Samian (pseudo-Arretine ware). I have to thank Mr. Fox and Mr. Hope for full information about, and access to, these objects.

80. Purbeck marble fragment, 10in. by 7in., forming the bottom left hand corner of an inscription.

I
I N I
A T

Copied by myself; the cut is reproduced, with leave, from Mr. Fox's report (*Archæologia* liii, 282). The last letter of line two is certainly I, not F; I do not know what was in line 1. Any guess as to sense would be idle, but the fragment may have belonged, with other Purbeck marble fragments (C. 9, 1338^a) found by Mr. Joyce, to some inscription connected with the Forum or its buildings. It is useless to attempt any piecing here, as the letters of such an inscription would naturally have varied in size, and the existing drawings known to me are not made to scale.

81. Bronze circular ornament of pierced work, 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in diameter; in the centre an eagle with a thunderbolt, and behind it a peg to attach the object (to wood or leather perhaps). Round is an inscription,

SCOHOPTIM3...M

Copied by myself; the illustration is reproduced, by leave, from Mr. Fox's report *Arch.* liii. 268; first published (with No. 80) *Builder* Jan. 16, 1892 (p. 41).

This object must be put beside two others found res-

pectively at High Rochester and York. The former, now at Alnwick, is perfect and is inscribed *SCOHOPTIM8MAXIM* (*Lapid* n. 578, C. n. 1290). The annexed cut, reproduced by leave from the "Lapidarium," will shew that we are justified in supplying *MAX* to the Silchester example, though a small variation in the *XIM* leaves a slight difference in detail between the two objects. The other roundel, found and preserved at York (*Eph.* vii. n. 1160; *Arch. Journ.* xlvii. 260) shews the same eagle, but the only letter I could make out was an *M*.

The meaning of the inscription is not at all clear. It must obviously be something applicable to a class of objects, and not merely to a single case or person. Its occurrence at High Rochester and York suggests that these objects were military ornaments of some sort, and it is easy to compare the eagles within circlets which appear on certain praetorian standards on Trajan's Column and other monuments,¹ though the resemblance is not very close. Moreover, the eagle, and the practical certainty that some case of *optimus maximus* occurs in the lettering, refer us to Juppiter. Unfortunately the remaining letters are obscure. The two which resemble '8' are perhaps stops, but the *COH*—possibly also *COM* or *CON*—does not provide us with *Iovis* or anything else desirable

82. On the bottom of a glass vessel, in raised letters, complete :—

FRO
Fro(ntinus)

Copied by myself. Glass stamped with some form or part of the name *Frontinus* is common in most parts of Western Europe, not least in France.

VI. SUSSEX.

83. Silver *patera* (saucepan), *trouvée près de Downton, dans une propriété appelée Caspet, située aux environs d' Hastings*: round the bottom outside in cursive characters

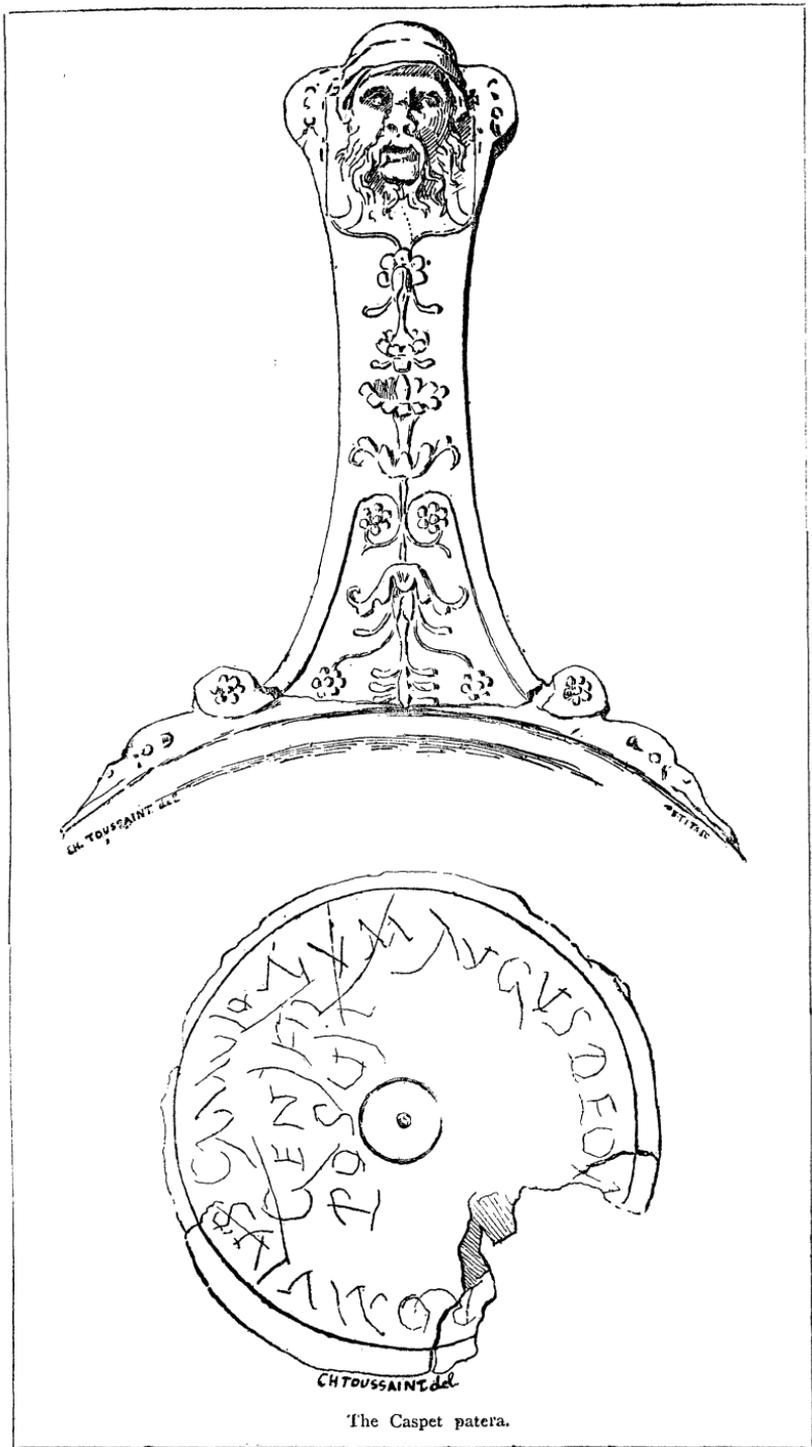
NVM AVGVS DEO M . . . ROMVLVS CAMVLO
GENI FIL
POSVIT

Num(inibus) Augus(torum), deo M[arti?] Romulus Camulogeni fil. posuit [or *Num(ini) Augus(ti), etc.*]

Domaszewski *Fahnen im römischen Heere* pp. 31, 41, 57 foll. Two ar figured in the new *Dict. of Antiquities* ii. 674.



Bronze Roundel from High Rochester.



The Caspet patera.

Exhibited by M. Héron de Villefosse to the Soc. Nationale des Antiquaires de France Febr. 8, 1888; described, with two cuts, *Bulletin des Antiq.*, 1888, p. 129, *Gazette Archéol.*, xiii (1888), Chronique, p. 4. I should be greatly obliged for further information about this remarkable find, which appears equally unknown in Sussex and at the British Museum. I have been unable also to discover the whereabouts of "Caspét." It is unknown even to the Post-office officials, as the Hastings Postmaster courteously informs me. M. Héron de Villefosse tells me that the name was written by the seller himself on the Louvre register. It is possible that the English law of "treasure trove" frightened the seller into a false *provenance*.

The dedicator's names are remarkable. Romulus is not uncommon. Despite the prevailing notion that it appeared only at the beginning and end of Roman history we find it borne by persons of very various classes in many of the western provinces. Camulogenus occurs two or three times elsewhere and is a genuine Keltic name formed from the name of the god Camulus the well known Keltic Mars, who gave his name to Camulodunum and was worshipped in Britain (C. n. 1103 = *Eph.* vii, n. 1093, Antonine's Wall.) The suffix-*genus* is a common one, regularly denoting descent from a mythical or unreal ancestor. The occurrence of the name here supports the idea of M. de Villefosse that the letters after *Deo M.* were as given, *M[arti]*, not *M[erc.]* for *Mercurio*. The combination of the two notable names is in itself curious, and the fact that the father had a Keltic name while the son had a Roman one shews that they lived in a period of transition. The Romanization of Britain seems to have proceeded so slowly that we can prescribe no special epoch for the lives of these men but they are worth noting if only because such examples of transition in nomenclature are rarer in Britain than abroad. I am particularly indebted to M. Héron de Villefosse for most kindly presenting two cuts to represent the handle and the inscription of the *patera*.

VIII. LONDON.

84. [C. n., 1221*a*] Some thirty years ago some flat inscribed blocks of pewter were dredged up in the Thames

near Battersea bridge, and found their way to the British Museum (*Arch. Journ.* xvi., 89., xxiii, 68; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1863, p. 235, 1865, p. 93). In the autumn of 1890 more were discovered in the Thames at Wandsworth, close to Battersea. I have seen three, perhaps all found, two in the York Museum (*Catal.*, p. 245), one in the British Museum. The two kinds of stamps on them are identical with those on one of the earlier finds, though (*a*) was at first misread :—

(*a*) SPES IN DEO round the monogram 

(*b*) SYAGRI *Syagri*

Of the York specimens, one weighs 17½lbs., is 8¾ × 10in. across, and bears stamp (*a*) twice, stamp (*b*) three times; the other, of 7½lbs., is 10 × 6¼in., and has the monogram and inscription each twice.

Copied by myself: I do not think there can be any doubt that the letters round the monogram in each are *spes in deo*; though not all are complete, they supplement each other, and one at least of the stamps in the British Museum is perfect and plain.

The metal of which these slabs are composed is lead and tin mixed, in proportion of about four parts tin to one part lead, and cannot be connected with any certainty with the Cornish tin mining (see No. 74). Canon Raine, using an analysis by Mr. J. F. Walker, suggests that it was used "to wash over Roman brass coins, to make them resemble silver." These "washed" coins must not be confounded with the debased silver, also current in the Lower Empire, which contained so little silver as to be really copper.

The following is a complete list of these pewter blocks :—

(*a*) With the monogram SPES IN DEO round it, and the stamp SYAGRI :—

(1) 7 in. by 5 in., each stamp twice, oval; incrustated with mud.

(2) 9¾ in. by 6¾ in., each stamp twice, oval.

(3) 6¾ in. by 4 in., monogram once, *Syagri* twice, oval; probably imperfect.

(4) 13¾ in. by 5 in., each stamp three times, oval; this is the new British Museum specimen mentioned above.

(5-6) The York specimens as described.

(b) With the monogram and something roughly resembling A Ω on it, and the stamp SYAGRIVS in two lines:—

(7) $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 5 in., monogram once, oblong stamp twice.

(8) $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., each stamp twice, oval; the name is not quite the same as in 7.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. F. Ll. Griffith for help in procuring these details, which, I believe, have not been fully given before.

85 ADDENDA.—In No. 8, p. 235, line 16, for “discharge of veteran” read “appointment of officer.” In No. 10, p. 236, for *dibus* = *diebus* compare an inscription found in South Italy *d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum), Iucunda vix(it) an(nis) ii, m(enses) vii dibus xi, pater fili(a)e dulcissim(ae)* (*Eph.* viii, 257, the reading is certain). With Austalis for Augustalis compare Hostedunum, medieval name (A.D. 1300) of Augustodunum, now Autun,

IX. SOMERSETSHIRE.

86. Leaden objects, perhaps weights, from the Roman lead workings above Cheddar, at Charterhouse on Mendip; now in Taunton Museum.

(1)	III	roughly	$2\frac{3}{4}$ oz.
(2)	S	„	$5\frac{3}{4}$ oz.
(3)	VI	„	11 oz.
(4)	II	„	$19\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

Copied by myself: they have not, I believe, been published before. I should be greatly obliged if any reader of this paper could put me in the way of the inscribed stones found at Charterhouse some years since. I have been told that they are still there, but I could learn nothing on the spot.

X. CIRENCESTER.

87. Iron ring, with *nicolo* (onyx), with a rudely cut horse and the letters

MA
↵

Communicated to me by my friend Prof. Middleton, who copied it. The letters, I presume, denote the owner's initials.

CORRECTION For J. Bowly, Esq., of Siddington Hall, read Chr. Bowly, Esq., of Siddington House.

XI. MIDLAND COUNTIES.

88. ADDENDVM—[Eph. vii. 842; *Arch. Journ.* xlvii. p. 239, n. 22]. I have lately had an opportunity of examining this fragment in the Restoration works office at Peterborough; to my former reading must be added the



end of an A or M over the E. I have thought it worth while to have a Meisenbach block made of the fragment. I have to thank Mr. J. T. Irvine for continued help in dealing with this stone.

89. Altar 1'8 in. broad, 36 in. high, in the garden of Mr. H. Parsons, Elsfield, near Oxford.

I · O · M
ET · DIS · PATRIS
L · SEP · NV CERIN
VS AEL · NV CER · F
5. B · COS
V · S · L · M

*U(ovi) o(ptimo) M(aximo)
et dis patri(i)s
L. Sep(timius) Nuc(er)inus
Ael(i) Nuc(er)ini f(ilius)
b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)
v. s. l. m.*

Copied by myself; I have to thank Professor Pelham for telling me of the stone. There can be, I fear, no doubt that the object is a forgery, and Dr. Mommsen, to whom I sent a squeeze, agrees. The lettering is bad, notably the M, which does not carry its central point down to the line (M, not M), and is wholly out of place in an

inscription which must belong to the 2nd or 3rd centuries. The change of *nomina*, *Septimius* to *Aelius*, is also suspicious, though not wholly unknown, and so, adds Dr. Mommsen, is the mention of the *di patrii* in this particular context. The stone has been in its present place for many years, and I suspect it was forged by or palmed off on Francis Wise, antiquary, friend of Johnson, and librarian of the Ratcliffe Library in Oxford, about 1754, who resided at Elsfield in the house where the inscription now is. I have vainly endeavoured, however, to find any reference to it in Wise's books and MSS. in the Bodleian and British Museum. There are two carved rosettes in relief on the sides which seemed to me also un-Roman.

XII. COLCHESTER.

90. Bronze tablet of an ordinary shape, oblong with *ansae* at the ends, measuring 8 in. in length by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in width, and inscribed with five lines of letters formed (as they often are on metal) by small points hammered in. A hole over the top line shews it was intended to be fastened to a wall. It was found in Dec., 1891, within the precincts of the Benedictine monastery of St. John on the south side of the town outside the Roman walls and was sent by Mr. Charles Golding to the Society of Antiquaries: it has since been purchased by Mr. A. W. Franks, P.S.A.

DEO . MARTI . MEDOCIO . CAMP
 ESIVM . ET VICTORIE ALEXAN
 DRI . PII FELICIS . AVGVSTI . NOSI
 DONVM . LOSSIO . VEDA . DE . SVO
 POSVIT . NEPOS . VEPOGENI . CALEDO

Copied by myself; see *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xiv (1892), 108. *Deo Marti Medocio Campesium et Victoriae Alexandri Pii Felicis Augusti nos[tr?]i, donum Lossio Veda de suo posuit—nepos Vepogeni Caledo.*

This, as it stands, must apparently be translated:

'To Mars Medocius, god of the Campeses, and to the Victory of the Emperor Alexander, a gift from his own purse from Lossio Veda, grandson of Vepogenus, a Caledonian,' that is the tablet was erected to a native god and to the reigning Emperor Severus Alexander (A.D. 222—235) by a dedicator whose names appear to be Keltic and possibly Caledonian. Unfortunately he has described the

god, the emperor, the dedication, and himself in very odd ways. I reserve the discussion for a separate article.

91. Urn with bones in it, containing another urn with bones; with an inscription scratched under the rim.

PVIIRORVM
puerorum

Sent to me by Mr. H. Laver, F.S.A., May 25, 1891.

92. ADDENDVM [See No. 27, p. 242]. Mr. Whitley Stokes has suggested to me that VASSV may be a Keltic word, either the Gaulish dative singular of Vassos, or the nominative singular of a stem in-*u*. The stem, of course, appears in many Keltic names, Vasso on a *pelvis* from the S. of France and an altar in Germany, Vassorix, Vassedo, Vassinus and others.

XIV. LYDNEY.

In looking through Mr. Bathurst's collection of remains discovered in the *Fanum Nodontis*, I made a few notes which may be worth reproducing.

93. A small fragment of lead, 3¼in. long, 1¼in. wide, inscribed

ABCDEF...

Copied by myself. Alphabets scratched or painted on small objects are extremely common, whether Greek, Roman (as at Pompei), or of mediæval date.

94. Piece of bronze 3½in. long, apparently a handle with a few undecipherable letters struck twice. Two appeared to be

7 A

Copied by myself: I mention only to avoid any confusion.

95. [C. n. 141 Eph. vii. 849]. The bronze letters now preserved at Lydney do not quite correspond to those given in Mr. C. W. King's *Antiquities of Lydney Park* (p. 51, Plate xxii), perhaps because Mr. King was able to piece letters now fragmentary. I noted the following, besides a number of small fragments:—

one A	two I
D	R
N	three L
O or Q	six A or V

It is of course idle to attempt to restore any inscription from these.

96. [C. n. 1218]. This is not a pig of lead but a bit 2 in. by 1 in. $\frac{1}{8}$ in thick, stamped with small letters very like those on Samian (pseudo-Arretine) ware twice over.

DOCCAISL

Copied by myself; Mr. Bathurst has since sent me a cast in sealingwax. The reading appears certain, but what exactly the final L means I do not know; it seems not to be an inverted F (*fecit*), and may be only part of the moulding round the word. Doccus is known as a potter's name (Schuermans 1962-6).

XVII. CHESTER.

The recent excavations carried on in the North City Wall at Chester (Nov., 1890—March, 1892) have produced a large number of inscriptions, nearly all tombstones, and, to a large extent, tombstones of soldiers. After considerable hesitation, I have decided to omit these inscriptions here, partly because this article is already too long, partly because I am still uncertain about the exact readings of certain stones, and I do not wish to break up the finds. I hope to be able to treat the discoveries connectedly before very long. Meantime, I print a few inscribed tiles.

97. [Eph. vii., 1138.] Fragment of tile found in 1891: now in possession of Mr. G. W. Shrubsole. The letters have been stamped twice, one over the other, but are clear.

G X X A N T O

leg(io) xx anto(niniana)

Copied by myself. This confirms the supplement proposed by Mr. W. T. Watkin for two fragmentary tiles found a few years earlier in Chester, and bearing the letters ANTO (*Arch. Journ.* xliii., 289). They shew that the twentieth legion, early in the third century, adopted the title *Antoniniana* in commemoration of the reigning emperors, and, incidentally, they prove (what indeed was not doubtful) that the headquarters of the legion were in Chester at this time. Similarly we find the additions *Sev(eriana)*, *Gor(diana)* on tiles of the Sixth Legion at York, *Ant(oniniana)* on a tile of the Second Legion at Caerleön (C. 1222, h), and titles borrowed from Gordian

Postumus and Tetricus on inscriptions of the cohort in garrison at Birdoswald. This form of title, which is very common, must be carefully distinguished from epithets like *Aelia, Flavia* (e.g. *Cohors Aelia Dacorum, Flavia Damascenorum, Claudia Sugambrorum*), which give no evidence of date except by bearing the emperor's name in whose reign they probably were formed.

98. Tiles inscribed with cursive lettering before baking ; (a) on a tile of the twentieth legion, (b) now in the Grosvenor Museum.

(a) FIDEL
 (b) R I T
 R I A Y
 S R A

Copied by myself. The first, no doubt, gave the proper name *Fidelis*. The decipherment of the second I owe to Dr. Zangemeister : I am afraid that, as he remarks, the object has very little value.

99. Curiously shaped pottery with inset label and raised letters made by hand, the property of Mr. F. Potts, found many years ago.

ΛΒΛΣCΛNTVS FE
Abascantus fe(cit)

Copied by myself. *Abascantus*, etymologically a Greek word, is a very common name.

XIX. SOUTH YORKSHIRE.

100. Altar of gritty sandstone, 15in. high by 18in. broad, dredged up in 1890 in the R. Calder at Wood Nook, near Castleford, by the Aire and Calder Navigation Company ; now in the Leeds Museum (see plate....)

DENE UIC	<i>Dene Victoriae</i>
TORINE	<i>Brigant(iae ?)</i>
BRIGANT	<i>a(ram) d(edicat)</i>
Λ·D·AURS	<i>Aur elius)</i>
5 EN PIANO	<i>Sen[?]pianu(s)?</i>

Copied by myself : the annexed cut is made from a photograph which the Museum authorities kindly consented to let me have taken. I have also received a drawing from



Altar from Woodhook

MR. J. T. Irvine, which agrees with my reading above. One or two points need notice.

(1.) For the *dea Victoria Brigant.* compare the inscriptions:—

- C. 200. *D. Vict. Brig et Num. Aagg T. Aurelianus d(onum d(at) pro se et suis...* (Found near Slack : dated A.D. 205).
- Eph. vii., 920. *Deo Berganti et N. Aug. T. Aur(elius) Quintus etc.* (near Slack).
- C. 203. *Deae Brigant...* (the rest is illegible : Adel, near Leeds).
- C. 875. *Deae Nymphae Brig. quod voverat pro sal(ute) [Fulviae Plautillae?], dom(ini) nostri invict. imp. M. Aureli Severi Antonini Pii etc.* (Castlesteads ; probably about A.D. 203).
- C 1062. *Brigantiae s(acrum), Amandus arcitectus ex imperio imp(eratum, [fecit ?]* (Birrens).

Of these inscriptions, the two dedicated to the *Victoria Brigant.* seem to relate to some victory or victories won either over the Brigantes or by them serving in the Roman ranks ; the other possibility, of victorious insurgents, seems most unlikely. But the precise reference must be left uncertain, especially as we cannot tell whether the word *Brigant.* should be completed *Brigantum* or *Brigantiae*. So far as the lettering is concerned, the new altar may possibly date as early as that of A.D. 205, being somewhat barbarous in character, as is seen in the use of *u* for *v*, the insertion of *a(ram) d(edicat)* before the dedicator's name, and the omission of the final *s* in line 5.

(2). The dedicator's *cognomen* is not easy to decipher with certainty : I have given what seems to me most likely. Dr. Whitley Stokes tells me that *Senopianus* does not suit as a compound Keltic name, the second half- (*pianus*) being unintelligible. Dr. Holder supplies a name *Senopus* from the "Polyptychon Irminonis" (254, 66), and in a German inscription (Brambach 1732) *Senope* is a town-name, probably a variant for "Sinope" in Asia Minor. It is, however, doubtful, if *Senopianus* could be connected with the latter word. The omission of the final *s* has few parallels in Britain, and those only on imported pottery. It is, indeed, not common anywhere, and Seel-

man's examples (*Aussprache des Latein*, p. 362) are largely of late date. Its omission does not appear to be due to any "weakness of sound" on the part of the letter (Brugmann *Grundzüge*, i. p. 507).

XXVII. WATERCROOK.

The spot called Watercrook, a mile or two south of Kendal, is well known to have been the site of a small Roman fort. Ramparts, which were visible at the beginning of this century and are visible still, enclose a rectangular area of about five acres, in and near which various Roman remains have been found (Gough's *Camden* iii. 404; C. p. 72.). The strategic importance of the place is not quite clear, for the Roman lines of communication in Cumberland are by no means certain.¹ But it can hardly be doubtful that it formed part of the line of coast defence against Irish or other pirates, and, like Ribchester, Lancaster, and Overborough, guarded one of the geographical entrances to the inland. A similar line of defence can be traced from the end of Hadrian's Wall, along the coast by Maryport and Moresby to Ravenglass, and there seems some reason to believe that the two lines were connected by a road through Ambleside and Hardknot. In any case, we have distinct remains near Kendal, and two inscriptions. Chancellor Ferguson has lately discovered—in the fly-leaves of pocket-books which belonged to William Nicolson, bishop of Carlisle A.D. 1702-1718—two additions to our knowledge. These he has sent to me and has (except n. 101) printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (xiii. 265) and the *Cumberland and Westmoreland Arch. Soc. Trans.* (xii. 60.). They are as follows:—

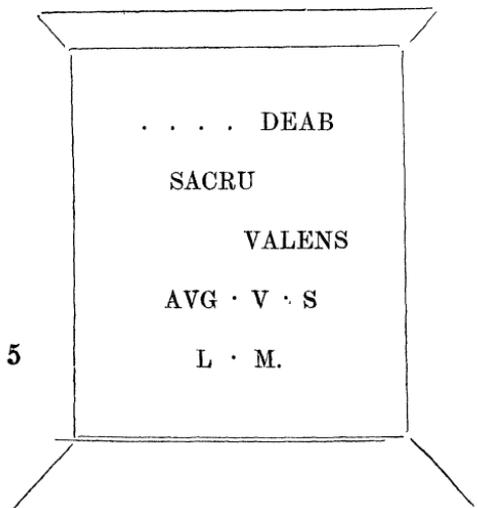
101. [C n. 292] Nicolson gives the "Sergius Bassus" inscription as "found at Watercrook A.D. 1688." This reading, the oldest in existence, puts an ordinary stop instead of a centurial mark before LEG in line 2, and entirely omits line 7. In the former point he may well be

¹I hope Chancellor Ferguson will amend this in his promised survey of the county for the *London Archaeologia*. At present there is an abundance of "probable" roads, most of which are

next to impossible. It might be worth while enquiring whether the vexed *Iter a Clanoventa Mediolanum* (Wess 481-2) has any connexion with the frontier line indicated above.

right, as the mark seems to be very doubtful even in Horsley's copy, and is not necessary.

102. Another inscription is new, but unfortunately the reading is bad :—



The first line and a half may have been [*dis*] *deab(us)* [*que*] *sacru(m)*. It is difficult to supply the name of any specific deities, such as *Nymphis* or *Matribus*, as *deabus* ought then to come first. *Valens Aug.* is, I fear, more or less corrupt. The Emperor Valens (A.D. 364-378) cannot possibly be meant, yet it is likely that the person who copied the inscription was influenced by remembering him, and *AVG* has no sense as it stands.

103. Lamp now in the Taunton Museum, presented by Th. Dawson 'from Crook, nr. Kendal': faint letters.

C M E V P

Copied by myself: apparently unpublished before. The stamp is a well-known one.

XXX. PLUMPTONWALL (OLD PENRITH).

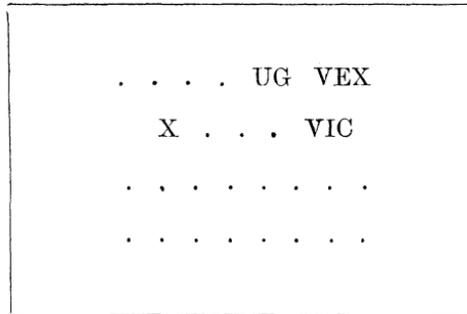
104. "At Lazonby, from Old Penrith" Bp. Nicolson's pocketbook for 1688: edited by Chancellor Ferguson with Nos. 102, 108.

105.

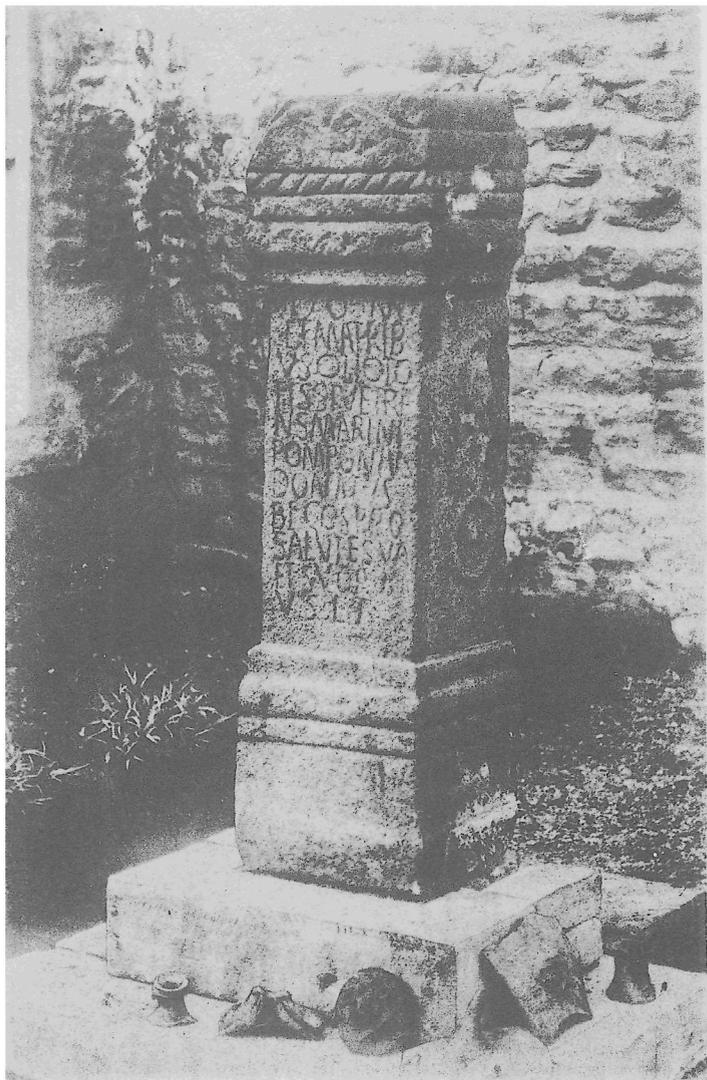


Probably a soldier's tombstone, but further guessing would be useless. The second line may have had *Vixi*[t] *a(nnos)* . . . , the third line *militavit*.

106.



If a guess is to be hazarded here, we have a detachment (*vexillatio*) from some legion, possibly the twentieth *valeria victrix* or the sixth *victrix*. The former occurs less commonly with the abbreviations *VAL. VIC.*, which would be here required, but suits better the *x* in line 2. If *UG* is a remainder of *Aug.*, the stone may be an imperial dedication (*Num. Aug.*).



Collotype.

Oxford University Press.

ALTAR FOUND AT BINCHESTER, MAY, 1891.

107. At the top of tombstone, apparently with three illegible lines below

D. M

108. " Found at Plumpton, March 26. 1701 " : a milestone

IMP.CAL.S	<i>Imp Ca[e]s</i>	
MQIATO	<i>M. Pia[v]o</i>	
NIVS.VIC	<i>nivus Vic</i>	
TORINVS	<i>torinus</i>	
PIVS·F·F·	<i>Pius F[eliox.]</i>	A.D. 265-7.

Bishop Nicholson's pocketbook for 1701; edited by Chancellor Ferguson with the preceding (Nos. 104-107). My correction of the reading is, I think, certain. The P in line 2 was doubtless formed badly much as it is, for instance, in the *lapis unus* stone at Chester (*Eph.* vii, 1025). I hope to say more about the inscriptions of Victorinus in a separate article.

XXXIV. PIERSBRIDGE.

109. [C. n. 430]. Canon Raine tells me that this fragment with the name *Bellinus* was found at Piersbridge, the station on the Tees south of Binchester, and not at Binchester, as Dr. Hübner has it.

XXXV. BINCHESTER.

The great find of the last two years at Binchester is that of the altar mentioning the *matres ollototae sive transmarinae*. I may, however, add, by way of preface, that a full account, with many illustrations of Binchester and its contents has lately been printed by the Rev. R. E. Hooppell LL.D. (*Vinovia, a buried Roman city*, London: Whiting 1891. 8vo. pp. xii. 68). I cannot profess to be in agreement with all of Dr. Hooppell's readings and theories,¹ but the collection of facts and figures which his book contains, makes it one which antiquaries should not neglect. To his exertions, as an archæologist on the spot and a writer, we owe a very great deal.

110. Altar of gritty freestone, 51 inches high, 14 inches broad, found in May 1891, in a field to the South of the Roman fort, about 80 yards from the rampart; now in the possession of Mr. J. E. Newby of Binchester.

¹ For instance (it is a little thing) the potter's marks mentioned, pp. xii. 49, 50, are pretty certainly those of *Cinnamus*,

which are constantly found with reversed lettering (see e.g. *Arch. Journ.* xlvi. 72; C. 1337, 14-18.

	I O M	<i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)</i>
	ET MATRIB	<i>et matribus ollototis sive</i>
	VS OLLOTO	<i>transmarinis, Pomponius</i>
	TIS SIVE TRA	<i>Donatus b(ene)ff(iciarius)</i>
5.	NSMARINIS	<i>co(n)s(ularis) pro salute</i>
	POM PONIVS	<i>sua et suorum v(otum)</i>
	DONATVS	<i>s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo)</i>
	BFCOS PRO	
	SALVTE SVA	
10.	ET SVORVM	
	V S L A	

Copied by myself. Published by Dr. Hooppell, *Times*, May 22nd, 1891 (hence reprinted in many papers) and *Reliquary*, July, 1891 (reprinted in *Vinovia* p. 59); by myself *Arch. Aeliana* xv. 225 with an illustration. The reading is certain; M. Mowat (*Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* v. 131) is wrong in suggesting that the final Δ is half of a damaged M ; it is certainly an unbarred A .

The general purport of the inscription is plain. It is an altar erected to Iuppiter and to the Matres *ollototae*, that is, transmarine, by Pomponius Donatus, a military official, on behalf of himself and his family. There are several details which I will treat separately.

111. [C. 424. 425]. The discovery of the altar just mentioned has suggested to Dr. Hooppell (*Times*, May 22nd, 1891) that the *matres ollototae* were probably mentioned on two other Binchester altars, both now lost, of which the traditional readings are imperfect. For one (C. 424) the case seems fairly certain. The drawings and texts of Camden (*Brit.* iii, pp. 351, 365), Horsley, and Gale (*Itin. Ant.* p. 11) agree in giving *deab(us) | Matribus . . | . . Claudius Quin | tianus bf. cos. | v.s.l.m.* and the letters in the gap are represented as having been $QLOT | TIB$, "tied" up in ways beyond the range of ordinary type to reproduce.¹ This $QLOT | TIB$ has puzzled everyone, but Dr. Hooppell now suggests that it should be emended into *Ollototis*. I was at first inclined to demur to this most ingenious theory, because Dr. Hübner gave as the best reading a leaf stop instead of the q . I find now that this is a mistake, due seemingly to a misreading of Gale (see *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v, 143), and I think Dr. Hooppell's emendation is fairly certain. Possibly as M.

¹ Horsley's drawing is reproduced *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* v, 38.

Mowat (*ib.*, p. 131) has suggested the *ll* of the first syllable were written back to back (ⱥ), as was often done, and the tail of the inverted L was tacked erroneously on to the o to make a q. It is a question only whether we should suppose the TIB of line 3 to be the *tis* of *ollototis*, or accept an abbreviated form of the latter and read *Tib(erius)*, prænomen of Claudius Quintianus.

112. The case for C. 425 is less clear, as the text of this inscription is corrupt almost beyond remedy. The first line is given variously as

CTRIB·OL·T	(Sibbald)
AIRIB OLIST	(Cotton)
TRIB · COHOR·I	(Camden)

It has long been recognised that Camden was here conjecturing, as he was only too fond of doing, and that the first word should be *matribus*. The late Mr. W. T. Watkin even tried to supply an epithet, but unfortunately he went to Lisbon (*Olisipo*) for it, and thus produced an impossible reading (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxix, 370). Dr. Hooppell here too suggests *Ollototis*, and the suggestion, though it cannot be called certain, is very probable.

XLVI. CHESTERS.

113. Fragment found in 1890 at Chesters; lettering possibly of the end of the second or early third century.



Copied by myself: sent me by Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., and edited *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* iv. 291. Any supplement would be guesswork. In line 1 we have perhaps *militum* (v + m and the two *i*'s tied;) in line 2 *ddita im...*; line 3 must be left. It is just conceivable that the inscription was of the type of that found at Jarrow in 1782 (C. n. 498) and contained something about *provincia virtute militum reddita imperio* and the campaigns of Severus. But this is most uncertain.

114. Fragment found Oct., 1891, at Chesters.

a VG

Sent me by Mr. Blair.

115. Fragment of perforated bronze found Oct., 1890.

VTE *re felix*

Sent me by Mr. Blair; printed *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* iv. 291. The formula is too common to need illustration.

LV. CARLISLE.

116. Fragment of tile, 4in. wide by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, found in 1890, fourteen feet below the surface in Fisher Street; roughly made in sunk panel,



? *Le]g. viii[i*

Chancellor Ferguson sent me the tile to examine; the cut is full size. The first letter resembles G rather than C, and the fragment of the last points to I, so that the supplement given seems most suitable. Of other conjectures which might occur, *le]g viii* [*Aug.* is out of the question, as the letter after VIII has an upright stroke, and *c(ohors) viii Batavorum* seems objectionable in several ways. That cohort may have been in Britain as late as the occupation of Carlisle, whenever that took place, and possibly, as Dr. Hübner has supposed, as late as Diocletian (A.D. 290), but it cannot be called at all probable. Nero, as Tacitus

narrates, withdrew eight Batavian cohorts with the Fourteenth Legion from Britain, and a few months later we find them fighting along side of other revolted auxiliaries under Civilis (A.D. 69). Then they almost vanish. The first, second, and third cohorts appear on the Danube in A.D. 98 and 108, the first on the Wall in A.D. 124, perhaps thanks to Hadrian, while a ninth cohort was at or near Passau.¹ It seems, therefore, dangerous to assume that an eighth cohort returned to Britain after A.D. 69, and, as Carlisle was certainly not occupied before that date, our tile can have no reference to it. The lettering, be it added, is also against an initial c or final b. On the other hand, we have no other known eighth or ninth auxiliary cohort in Britain, and, though the tile might undoubtedly refer to a ninth cohort in a legion, such tiles are uncommon. On the whole, the Ninth Legion seems the best conjecture.

This legion lay in garrison at York, with a detachment at Aldborough, till its destruction in Hadrian's reign by a rising of Brigantes, when its place was taken by the Sixth Legion. Hitherto it has not been met further to the north than Aldborough, and its presence at Carlisle is not easy to account for with any certainty. It can hardly have taken any share in the building of the Wall, like the Second and Twentieth Legions, or we should have had other evidence of it. But Agricola certainly took the Ninth Legion with him on his Caledonian expedition, and it is possible—though it is utterly incapable of proof—that this tile may date from Agricola's governorship or from the arrangements instituted then. From this point of view, it is interesting to observe that Carlisle was not actually one of the fortresses *per lineam valli*, though it is not far from the Wall.

117. Bronze *trulla* or *patera* (saucepan), the bowl 9 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, of the usual shape, found in 1886 at Barochan, near Paisley, Renfrewshire, now in possession of Mrs. Dunlop. Stamped on the handle faintly.

. . . OLIBY| [*Cipi P*]oliby.

Copied by myself: I have to thank Mr. J. W. Paton, of the Glasgow Corporation Galleries, for obtaining me a loan

¹ Hübner *Hermes* xvi, 356; Mommsen *Eph.* v., pp. 92, 174; *Allgemeine Zeitung* 1892, No. 130.

of the object. Published with the reading UDIB.Y. by Dr. D. Murray, *Trans. of the Glasgow Archæological Soc.* (new series) i 498-513, and J. Paton, *Scottish National Memorials* (Glasgow, 1890), p. 18.

The reading and supplement which I have given is, I think, certain. Compare the following stamps on other pateræ: my list I trust is fairly complete:—

Herculaneum	P CIPI POLYBI	C x, 8071 (many examples)
Castle Howard	P CIPI POLYIBI	C vii, 1293 <i>a</i>
	P CIPI POLIB	" " " <i>b</i>
Dowalton Loch,	CIPI POLIE	" " " <i>c</i>
Wigtonshire		
Denmark	P · CIPI · POLIBI · F	{ Ingvald Unset <i>Bulletino dell'</i> <i>Inst. di Corr. Archeol.</i> (Rome) 1883, p. 235.
"	CIPI POLIBI	
"	CIPI POLIBY	

Undset adds that similarly stamped *pateræ* are in the museums of Zürich and Hanover. We have, in fact, a good instance of Roman export trade to outlying lands, about which I shall say something in a separate article.

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[Where nothing is added in square brackets after the name, the finds includes inscribed stones: where a square bracket is added, the finds recorded above do *not* include inscribed stones.]

SOME NOTABLE ROMANO-BRITISH INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

It is characteristic of epigraphy that it rarely has to deal with objects which in themselves deserve the epithets notable or important. The great bulk of inscriptions possess little individual interest beyond that which is awakened by the sight of any ancient relic, and they only acquire real value when put together, compared, and tabulated. Military inscriptions, for instance, like those found during the last five years at Chester, may well seem to an ordinary reader, or even to an ordinary scholar, to form nothing but a somewhat monotonous list of names, birthplaces and years of service: yet when they are collected, the statistics of even simple details often furnish conclusions of first-rate importance. From time to time, however, inscriptions are found which, in one sense, do deserve the epithet notable, because, whatever their scientific value, they raise questions which attract both epigraphists and archæological readers in general. Several such documents were published in my last article on "Romano-British Inscriptions," but I deferred any full comments on most of them, as that article was already overburdened with matter, and, with the editor's permission, I have ventured here to put them together with some other notes, as a sort of appendix.

I. THE COLCHESTER TABLET (No. 90).

This relic is a bronze tablet, in shape oblong with *ansae* at the ends, measuring 8 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ and inscribed with five lines of letters formed by small points hammered in. It reads:—

DEO	MARTI	MEDOCIO	CAMP
ESIVM	ET	VICTORIE	ALEXAN
DRI	PII	FELICIS	AVGVSTI
NOSI			
DONVM	LOSSIO	VEDA	DE
SVO			
POSVIT	NEPOS	VEPOGENI	CALEDO

Deo Marti Medocio Campesium et Victoriae Alexandri Pii Felicis Augusti nos[tr?]i, donum Lossio Veda de suo posuit—nepos Vepogeni Caledo.

This, as it stands, must apparently be translated :

‘To Mars Medocius, god of the Campeses, and to the Victory of the Emperor Alexander, a gift from his own purse from Lossio Veda, grandson of Vepogenus, a Caledonian,’ that is the tablet was erected to a native god and to the reigning Emperor Severus Alexander (A.D. 222—235) by a dedicator whose names appear to be Keltic and possibly Caledonian. Unfortunately he has described the god, the emperor, the dedication, and himself in very odd ways.

(i.) The god *Mars Medocius Campesium* appears unique. *A priori* his titles are natural enough, especially if the dedicator be a Kelt. *Medocius* may be one of those epithets like *Visucius*, *Vorocius*, which the Gauls delighted to attach to the names of Roman gods, and in particular to Mars and Mercury. *Campesium*, if a clan-name in the genitive plural, fits well with the long survival of the clan system in Keltic lands. But the two names are, as it seems, neither known nor capable of affiliation to anything known. *Medocius* may, as Dr. Stokes has suggested, be put alongside of *Medogenus*, if this is a proper form (which is very doubtful), and connected with the Greek μέδων, but this does not take us far, and for *Campesium* we have only the equally useless similarity to *campus*. We cannot even be sure whether we should complete it to *campe(n)sium* and compare the not very common Latin adjective *campensis*, or, as in *NOSI* in line three, make *si* stand for *stri* and read *campestrium*. We have a *Mars campester* in Spain, and the volunteer *cohortes campestres* (*Eph.* v., p. 248). But none of this helps to clear the mystery, and Prof. Rhys has propounded a very different theory, which I shall add below.

(ii.) The titulature of the Emperor is also unique. Dedications to the Victory of the Emperor were common enough in the first half of the third century, but the

emperor himself is here described very oddly. Alexander Severus is rarely called simply Alexander except when he is mentioned as one of the two consuls in an indication of date by the consulship. His usual title would be *Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Alexander Severus p. f. Augustus*, and the nearest parallel we have to the titulature on our tablet is to be got from the coins of some of his predecessors or successors, where we find *Severus pius Augustus, Gallienus p. f. Aug.* and the like. NOSI is also a puzzle. NOSTRI would be right and in place, but the abbreviation seems equally unknown to inscriptions and manuscripts. The nearest thing I can find is AVG NOS for *Augusti nostri* in Apulia (*Eph.* viii., n. 78).

(iii). The order of words in the dedication is unusual. Naturally we should expect *donum de suo posuit*, and though this order is sometimes varied,¹ it is hard to parallel the insertion of *posuit* in the middle of the dedicator's names. Possibly the last three words were an afterthought, added when it was seen that there was space after *posuit*; possibly, too, we may compare the curious Christian-British or Keltic inscription from St. Ninian's Church, Whithorn (*Academy* No. 1009, p. 201, 5 Sept. 1891), on which Prof. Rhys reads *Latinus annorum xxxv et filia sua anni v. (? ann. iv), (h)ic si(g)num feceru(n)t nepus Barrovadi*, where the parentage similarly comes in at the end. How natural it is to Kelts to mention parentage and clan can be seen even in the familiar prefixes Mac and O' of Scotch and Irish names.

(iv). The dedicator's names, though new, can be connected with known Keltic names. For *Lossio*, probably a nominative in *o* with a genitive *Lossionis*, we have Lossa and Lossia in Gallic lands² and Prof. Rhys connects the modern "Lysons." For *Veda* we can compare the common *nomen* Vadius, the Cisalpine tribe Vediantii and their "matres Vediantiae," and an obscure Vedomavi on a late Christian inscription in Britain (*Hübner Inscr. Chr. Br.* n. 71). For *Vepogeni* we have Vepus, Vepisona, Veponius, Vepotalus. At first sight one would suppose

¹ For instance Brambach 1597, Espérandieu *Inscr. des Lemovices*, n. 7.

² C. vii, 1336, 576; C. v, 7168, Schuerman's *Styles Figulins* 3021, 3022, Lossa is a potter's mark on Samian (pseudo Arretine) ware made in Gaul. M.

Cagnat (*Revue Archéol.*, xx (1892) p. 148, seems inclined to think the name on the Colchester tablet may, after all, be *Lossio(s)*, but the dropping of the final *s* is rare (see above, n. 100).

that *Vepogeni* came from *Vepogenus* and contained the suffix *-genus*, used in Keltic to denote a mythological or metaphorical descent, but Prof. Rhys has another explanation to be mentioned in connection with his theory. If we pass on to the parentage, we must perhaps call it Keltic. The order, as we have seen, finds its only parallel on a Keltic inscription, and the word *nepos*, rare in ordinary Latin epigraphy, may be also a Keltic use. Prof. Rhys lately pointed out that, in the Whithorn inscription (quoted above), it seems to denote the Keltic clan rather than the simple Latin parentage, and though the instances are rather few for an induction,¹ it is plain that we have here a way of denoting the family which is certainly not that of ordinary Latin. Lastly, the word *Caledo* can, as it stands, be only a nominative, and, extraordinary as such a thing may sound to a Latin epigraphist, can only mean that the dedicator was a Caledonian by birth. The occurrence of similar forms *Caledus* or *Caledius*, *Caledonius*, *Caledoniacus*, do not help us here, as it is a case of meaning, not of etymology. Whether the centurion *Caledonius Secundus* named on a centurial stone near Birdoswald (*Eph.* vii, 1077, *Arch. Ael.* xi. 121) derived his *nomen* from any Caledonian origin cannot here be discussed. When the legions were recruited on the spot, a Caledonian by origin may have become a centurion, and we need not be surprised at an infiltration of northern natives in Britain.

We can now sum up. We may, to begin with, dismiss the idea of a forgery. Years ago forgeries of Roman remains were not uncommon at Colchester,² but I know of no recent cases and the tablet in question has satisfied such judges as Sir John Evans and Mr. Franks. The inscription, too, strange as it is, is unlike what we might expect an ordinary forger to produce. The only alternative theory is that indicated above that the oddities of the dedication are due to the Keltic nationality of the dedicator and his natural ignorance of the *minutiae* of Latin epigraphy. We find the slave bailiff of an estate near Beneventum belonging to Tiberius misdescribing his master (c. v. 1456,

¹ Compare the *nepus Barrovadi* quoted, and the Exmoor *nepus Caratari* (*Academy* 14 Febr., 1892, and *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1891, 29-32).

² *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xiv (1892), p. 111.

Colchester and Exeter are, I believe, the only two places where forgeries of Roman objects have been at all numerous in England. Scattered instances are not uncommon in London.

of A.D. 11), and we need not be surprised that two hundred years later a stray Caledonian in Colchester commits somewhat similar faults. It is possible we might go further and connect his ignorance with the apparent feebleness of Roman municipal life in Britain. If Dr. Stokes' explanation of VASSV (see No. 92) is correct, it shews us a further Keltic element in what ought to be a *colonia* in more than name.

Professor Rhys has tried to work out this line of interpretation in his own sphere of Keltic philology. In a letter written to me and read to the Society of Antiquaries on June 2, he suggests that *Campegium* may be connected with the Campsie Fells in Stirlingshire, an isolated district to which the Picts may have retired before the Aryan Dumnonii (Kelts), and where native fortifications and Roman urns have been noted. With the northern origin of the dedication, he compares the odd use of *nepos*, which he calls Pictic or Goidelic, and not Brythonic,¹ and he suggests that *Vepogeni* is not from Vepogenus, but a Latinized form of *Vipoigenn*, the Pictish genitive of Vipoig, the latter being a name found in the Pictish Chronicle. He adds that *Veda* may be an epithet, "of light complexion," and Medocius may belong to Miodhach, the name of a legendary Irish physician, though the absence of known facts relating to the gods of Caledonia makes further enquiry into the character of the god impossible. No one but a specialist can pretend to discuss these points, and I will not attempt to estimate the probability of the identification suggested of Campsie Fells and *Campegium*, which to a sceptical mind may seem rather bold. But it is certainly remarkable that a Caledonian should dedicate a tablet containing an idiom (*nepos*) which on other grounds has been attributed to the northern Keltic race of Goidels, and the coincidence says a good deal for the genuineness of the tablet.

II. INSCRIPTIONS AT CHESTER.

Under this heading I wish to notice some details connected with inscriptions found more or less recently, but not in the latest excavations, at Chester. They all arise from recent treatments of the texts by other scholars.

¹ Roughly Goidels and Brythons correspond to the Kelts of Northern and Southern Britain. The racial relations of Picts and Goidels are uncertain.

The third volume of the *Journal of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society* contains three papers on Roman inscriptions. Mr. G. W. Shrubsole (p. 47) prints a centurial stone (*Eph.* vii, n. 881) already printed in the *Proceedings* of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries (iii, 387). M. Mowat discusses an inscription to which I shall return, and Dr. Hübner treats fully of the inscriptions found in Chester up to 1888. The latter paper was read, but only in part, to the Chester Society in 1890, so that I was able to notice very little of it in my first article on Roman inscriptions in Britain (*Arch. Journ.* xlvi, 244, 251). I trust no one will think that because I differ from M. Mowat and Dr. Hübner in the points to be treated, I am at all blind to their real merits, or inclined to differ for the sake of differing.

[C. n. 165]. For the strange dedication usually taken to be *Genio Averni*, Dr. Hübner (p. 125) suggests $\text{D}\text{A}\text{V}\text{R}\text{N}$ *centuriae Aurini*. The objection to this is that there is certainly an *e* ($\text{D}\text{A}\text{V}\text{E}\text{R}\text{N}$). The centurial mark is also faint and uncertain.

[*Eph.* iii, n. 70, p. 120]. A Purbeck marble fragment found in 1863 appears to read $\text{OGA} \mid \text{DOM}$. Dr. Hübner (p. 127) reads line 1 as OGI and supplies *horol[ogi]um*. The mention of such an object is, of course, quite possible. We have it, for instance, at Terracina in Italy, *Isidi Restitutri(ci) L. Terentius Stephanus aras et orol[ogi]um d.d.* (*Eph.* viii, n. 632), at Pompeii, and elsewhere (Wilmanns 704, 744). But it is quite certain, I think, that the letter after *G* is not *I* but the beginning of *A* or *M*. The fragment seems to me too slight for completion, though both its own character and the extensiveness of the foundations among which it was found, shew that it must have been connected with an important building.

[*Eph.* vii n. 887.] The stone of Aurelius Alexander has been attacked by both Dr. Hübner (p. 142) and M. Mowat (p. 114). The latter suggests *Syrus Os[roenus]* in place of *Syrus Co[mmagenus]*: the former holds *Co[mmagenus]*, though possible, to be not in agreement with the squeeze. The stone is damaged, and certainly is hard to read, but I think *Co[mmagenus]* is really more like the letters left than is *Os[roenus]*; indeed, if I had not great respect for Dr. Hübner's judgment, I should state

doubted whether the DE is a preposition or part of the name, and whether the final I of 1 and 2 is I or L. It is not easy to settle the first point; so far as the spacing of the letters on the lead takes us, we can read indifferently *de Ceangi* or *Deceangi*. The first is quite possible: we have a preposition in *de Britannis* on another lead pig (C. n. 1201), while the omission of the final s is exactly paralleled by the legend *de Britannii* on gold and silver coins of Claudius (Cohen 16, &c.). *Deceangi(cum?)* as an adjective, on the other hand, agrees better with the MS. reading in Tacitus (*Annals* xii. 32) where *ductus inde canjos exercitus* is easiest emended into *ductus in Deceangos exercitus*, while the adjective has its parallel on lead pigs inscribed *Brig(anticum)*, *Lut(udense)*. The form of the adjective is not perhaps quite what one would expect, but on the whole the balance of evidence seems in favour of a tribe of *Deceangi*, styled, with trifling variation, *Decangi* by Tacitus.¹ The other question whether we should read DECEANGL or DECEANGI² seems to myself less doubtful. From personal inspection I feel sure that neither of the pigs 1 and 2 have final L, and that what looks like a relic of the arm of L is an accidental excrescence, such as abound on the surface of these pigs. On the other hand, Professor Rhys, after looking at the objects, declares for the L, and it is possible that the local name "Tegeingl," borne by the district near Flint, whence this lead presumably comes, may assist his view. It appears, therefore, as Professor Rhys and myself have said in the *Academy* (Nov. 7 and 14, 1891), that we must wait for further evidence.

(2) The question of the position of the Deceangi (or Ceangi) has been raised by Sir John Evans in the Supplement to his *British Coins* (p. 492). He thinks they were a Somerset tribe, working the Mendip mines. This view is based partly on an interpretation of Tacitus, partly on a doubt whether the Flint mines were worked so early as A.D. 74. For the words of Tacitus I may refer to the excellent arguments of Mr. Furneaux (*Annals* ii, p. 254), observing only that I think the sentence even more

¹ The evidence quoted by some writers (Evans *British Coins* p. 493, Vaillant *Saumon de plomb* p. 26) of a supposed EXCEANG or EXKIAN is wholly illusory; it arose from a mistaken inter-

pretation of EX KIAN (*ex Kalendis Januariis*) on a lead pig found in Hampshire (C n. 1203).

² *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1891, p. 137; 1892, p. 165.

opposed to Sir John Evans' view than Mr. Furneaux does. For the working of the Flint mines we have no direct evidence, except that of lead pigs found near them, but it is, I think, pretty certain that Chester was occupied long before 74 A.D. The regular course of Roman conquest was to annex first and subdue afterwards, somewhat on the lines we have lately followed in Burmah. Cæsar acted thus in Gaul, Tiberius in Illyricum, and it is the natural and necessary course for a civilised power to pursue when it is attacking uncivilised tribes, and has a strong army itself.¹ We may well imagine that the Roman invasion rolled over the Midlands swiftly and lightly northwards with little delay. We know that local autonomy, which such a rapid advance must respect, was respected in Sussex, and possibly at Gloucester,² and all indications point to an early annexation of everything south of the Yorkshire hills. The mines would perhaps be worked even before the land was pacified: here again Burmah affords a parallel. We may therefore, I think, leave our Ceangi or Deceangi in the Cheshire corner of N. Wales, and suppose that they mined the lead which was undoubtedly mined in Roman times round and near Flint.

It may be worth while adding here, with respect to the expression EX . ARG which occurs on many lead pigs, that Mr. Shrubsole has recently had a piece of one pig analysed, and found that it had been desilverized.

III. A MILESTONE OF VICTORINUS (n. 108).

Among the inscriptions which Chancellor Ferguson has unearthed from the pocket-books of Bishop Nicolson, is a milestone of Victorinus, found in 1701 near Plumpton Wall, and reading *Imp. Ca[e]s M. Pia[v]onius Victorinus pius f[elicia] . . .*³

Victorinus was one of the nineteen pretenders, often called the Thirty Tyrants, whom the feebleness of Gallie-

¹ The want of adequate troops was felt under the Republic in Spain, and subsequently in Pannonia.

² Glevum became a colony under Nerva A.D. 95-6. The barbarous imitations of coins of Claudius found in such numbers near it suggest that its independence may have been partially respected at first. The view that Gloucester was fortified in the

first years of the Roman invasion is wholly without proof. We have no evidence that it was ever a fortress proper during the Roman occupation.

³ The P of Piaonius in Nicolson's copy is formed something like a Greek Koppa. I cannot pretend that it is well represented by the Q which I have used on p. 196.

nus and the assaults of the barbarians called into existence in various parts of the Empire about the middle of the third century. He was a soldier, possibly at one time tribune in the Praetorian Guard, who joined Postumus, then ruler of the West, in A.D. 265, and, after the latter had been murdered in the same year, reigned himself till his own assassination in A.D. 267.¹ We have some reason to suppose that he was recognized mainly in northern Gaul and Britain. His coins, whether found singly or in hoards, are common only in these two countries.² The eleven legions which he mentions on his coins include the familiar Twentieth from Chester and those guarding the Rhine frontier.³ His rare inscriptions, lastly, belong to the same area. They are almost wholly milestones. The following is, I believe, a fairly complete list:—

Gaul: St. Meloir (Côtes du Nord) Orelli 1018	Britain: Lincoln <i>Eph.</i> vii, n. 1097.
Vannes (Morbihan) Mowat <i>infra</i>	Neath C. n. 1160.
Nantes - Mowat <i>infra</i>	Plumpton <i>supra</i> .
Brimont (near Reims) Mowat <i>infra</i>	
Rennes (4) - Cagnat <i>année épigr.</i>	

To these must be added a mosaic at Trier, mentioning Victorinus or an exact namesake as *tribunus praetorianorum* (Brambach n. 776 ; see Hübner *Bonner Jahrb.* xl, 2 foll.)⁴

¹ The accounts of these years in the histories (e.g. Schiller i, 833, 854) are not satisfactory in detail, but this is not the place to discuss them.

² British hoards containing Victorinus' coins have been found at Lydbrook, Brereton near Kinderton, Wilderspool, Lymm, Wensleydale, Pylle, Evenley, Landwith, Londesborough (exact place uncertain), Bagshot, Crich Cliff (Derbyshire), Eyam dale, Upwell, Fleet (Linc.), Carhayes (Cornwall), Mopus Passage, Ludgvan, Land's End, Hooley near Rochdale, Worden (Lanc.), Walmersley near Bury (Lanc.), Vinstone (Devon), and a very large number of other—perhaps more than a hundred—places. I would venture to suggest to the antiquaries who put together Archaeological Indices for the Society of Antiquaries that it would be well worth while to give the dates of the coin-finds noted. The mere entry "coins" is of little use: it is nearly as much trouble to look out the references as to make an index *de novo*.

³ Cohen, vi, p. 75 ; add the *Legio iii Gallica* (*Rev. Numismatique*, 1889, p. 519.) Why other legions, quartered, for instance in Syria, Moesia, Egypt, are mentioned is not clear. The practice of

mentioning legions on coins began apparently with Mark Antony, and was not really revived till Septimius Severus. The next emperor to follow it is Gallienus who mentions 24 legions. The legionary coins of Postumus include none of these legions but Victorinus may well have thought of rivalling Gallienus in this way. At the same time his legions comprise three omitted by Gallienus (ii Traiana, iii Gallica, and x Fretensis), and it is possible that his army had somehow come to include detachments from other legions than those quartered in Britain and on the Rhine. It has been supposed (though there is hardly any evidence) that a part of the *Legio x Fretensis* was at the time in Britain and other fragments may, e.g., have deserted from the troops with which Gallienus tried to recover Gaul from Postumus.

⁴ A complete list of all found up to 1890 was given by Mowat, *Rev. Numismatique*, 1890, p. 64. The inscription referred to by Orelli 1018 (Brambach n. 96) does not belong to our Victorinus. The list given by Prof. Westwood (*Arch. Cambrensis* 1891, p. 27) does not carry us very far.

There has been some doubt as to the exact spelling of the name Piavonius. The forms given by coins and stones, Piavonius, Piavvonium (not Piauvonius), and the Piaonius of the Trier mosaic, if correct,¹ are merely phonetic variants, but two French scholars, M. Longperier (*Journal des Savants*, 1873, p. 651) and M. Allmer (*Rev. Épigraphique*, 1888, p. 372), have divided the word into Pius Avonius, and M. Cagnat has lent the very high authority of his name to this view. I confess I am inclined to doubt it. It was no doubt suggested by the history of the name of Tetricus. Until 1866 everyone credited Tetricus with the *nomen* Pesuvius or Piesuvius or the like,² but better readings and more discoveries have shewn that two names have been mixed up, *Pius*, a cognomen transferred out of place, and *Esuvius*, a genuine Gaulish name derived from *Esus*, god of war. But no inscription on coin or stone has yet given us *Avonio Pio* or even *Pio Avonio*. It is true that M. Allmer (*Rev. Epigr.*, 1890, p. 64) mentions one coin inscribed *PIA AVVONIVS* (Banduri *num. imp.* i, 320). But no such legend is given by Cohen and Feuardent (ed. 2, vol. vi), and it may be misread or misstruck. On the other hand, it must be confessed that a Latin name Avonius certainly existed (Holder *Sprachschatz*, column 317) and that Piavonius, as Dr. Stokes tells me, does not make a very good Keltic name. On the whole, it seems nearly certain that the man was called Piavonius, not Pius Avonius, but that the origin of the name is obscure.

It is noticeable that practically the only inscriptions of Victorinus are milestones. The same phenomenon meets us in the case of his predecessor Postumus, his successor Tetricus, his rival Marius and other emperors of similar date. This is sometimes explained, at least for Postumus and Tetricus by calling the rulers "grands restaurateurs de routes" (Jullian *Inscr. de Bordeaux* ii, 205), but it seems to be rather a feature of the tangled "Pentekontaetia" which elapsed between the death of Severus Alexander and the accession of Aurelian. During this time, the older fashion of imperial dedications dropped out

¹ The mosaic certainly now has *Piaonius*, as I lately saw myself, and there are parallels to this (*Piaonius* c. ix, 1010, &c.) But if a and v were tied, the extra stroke of the v might drop out from a

mosaic made necessarily of small pieces, and not preserved intact.

² Even in the seventh volume of the *Corpus* (pp. 208, 334) the name is not accurately given.

and, perhaps from want of skill or money, the lapidary marks of respect took the form of milestones or, more exactly, of roadstones, for these third century stones sometimes omit the distances, especially in Britain, though they seem to have invariably marked the course of the road.

4. THE MATRES OLLTOTAE AT BINCHESTER (No. 110, p. 197).

During the year 1891 an altar, which has since become famous, was dug up just about eighty yards outside the s. rampart of the Roman fort at Binchester. The inscription is well preserved and very legible, none the less because the letters had originally been coloured red. It is, omitting marks of expansion,

Iovi optimo maximo et Matribus olltotis sive transmarinis Pomponius Donatus beneficiarius consularis pro salute sua et suorum votum solvit libens animo.

The altar is erected to Iuppiter and the *Matres olltotae* or transmarine, by Pomponius Donatus, a military official, on behalf of himself and his family. There are several details which may here receive further explanation.

Matres olltotae sive transmarinae. The *Matres* or *Matronae*, as is well known, were three native—probably Keltic—goddesses, worshipped especially in the provinces of Lower Germany and Cisalpine and Narbonese Gaul whence soldiers carried the cult to other provinces and not least to Britain.¹ It is common in Germany and Gaul to find the bare title *matres* or *matronae* lengthened by the addition of some epithet, usually, but not invariably, of native origin and geographical significance. *Olltotae* appears to be a new addition to the list of these epithets and its meaning is fortunately given us by the context of the inscription before us. The regular use of *sive* both in literature and on inscriptions is to denote that the objects which it couples are interchangeable.² Thus we have *matribus sive matronis* on a Bonn inscription (*Bonner Jahrb.* lxxvii., 66), the two titles being regarded as interchangeable for the purposes of the worshipper. So here *olltotae*

¹ I have treated this cult more fully and collected the instances of Romano-British sculptures and inscriptions relating to it in an article written for the last

part of the *Arch. Aeliana* (vol. xv, 314-339).

² See Schmalz *Antibarbarus* ii., 519.

is translated by "*transmarinae*," and Dr. Whitley Stokes has supplied an etymology which accords with the translation. He connects the word with the modern Welsh "*alltud*," belonging to another (*all*) country (*tud*), which in early Keltic would be *allo-tôto-s*. The appearance of *o* for *a* in the first syllable may be perhaps explained as in *Adnomatus* for *Adnamatus* (C. iii., 3819), and other instances given by Dr. Holder in his *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz* (3 and 44), though it is somewhat irregular. With this etymology, the word *ollototae*, "goddesses of another country," agrees very well with *transmarinae*, "goddesses of the country across the sea," and refers, like the epithets *patriae* and *domesticæ*,¹ often used with the *matres*, to the continental homes of the dedicators, no doubt soldiers, who erected the altar. I am glad to be able to add that this etymology has been accepted by Prof. Rhys. It is fair to add that three other derivations have been offered, though none, in my judgment, are at all probable. Grienberger (*Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt* 1891, column 204) derives the first half of the word from a Keltic stem meaning "all," the second from the same stem as Dr. Stokes. Phonetically this etymology, as I am told, is open to no grave objections, and it can claim a parallel in the dedication *matribus omnium gentium* from Hadrian's Wall (C. n. 887). But the sense "of all lands" is too unlike that of "transmarine" to be suitable. A third derivation tries to connect *ollototae* with the village of Olot in N.E. Spain, but this, never more than a guess, is now, I believe, admitted generally to be impossible. Not a single sound argument can be urged in its favour, and, on the other hand, the sense is unsatisfactory. A fourth derivation connecting the word with the Welsh *alloedd-othau*, though giving a suitable meaning, is, as I understand, phonetically quite out of the question.

The *beneficiarius* was a lower legionary officer, "seconded" from service with the legion and appointed by some higher officer, tribune, *legatus* or other, for special work. In this case the officer was attached to the governor of the province, the governorship of Britain being an important one, and regularly entrusted to a man of consular rank; hence the officer is entitled *beneficiarius consularis* (not

¹ *Domus* on inscriptions regularly refers 'o the birthplace, not to the domicile.

consulis, as is sometimes wrongly given). His special duty can hardly even be conjectured, but it is possible that he was commander of a small garrison at Binchester. We have several instances where a *beneficiarius consularis* holds such a post. Thus a small village in Bulgaria has recently supplied us with a list of some seventy-five legionary soldiers, forming the garrison of a fort on the Danube, and commanded by a *beneficiarius consularis* in A.D. 155. Apparently, though it is not quite certain, there were several such forts commanded by *beneficarii*, the whole being under a legionary centurion. It is possible that, at one time or another, Binchester had a garrison under a *beneficiarius*. (See further *Arch. Journ.* xlvii. 251; *Eph. Epigr.* iv pp. 400, 529).

Votum solvit libens animo is a variation of the usual *votum solvit libens merito*. It is rare in Britain but common enough in many provinces, for instance, in Africa where it is far commoner than the *merito* form. The expansion *libens animo* is confirmed by a large number of inscriptions, in which the words are written in full; the expansion sometimes given, *libenti animo*, is devoid of authority.¹

V. THE BAROCHAN "PATERA" AND ROMAN TRADE
(n. 117).

A bronze *trulla* or *patera* was found in 1886 at Barochan, near Paisley, in Renfrewshire, which appears to allow of comparison with a quantity of other bronze *paterae* and afford material for reflexions on Roman trade. In the first place, the stamp on the handle appears to be akin to those on several other *paterae*, as the following list, which I hope is not very imperfect, will shew:—

Herculaneum	P CIPI POLYBI	C x, 8071 (many examples)
Stittenham	P CIPI POLYIBI	C vii, 1293 a
	P CIPI POLIB ²	" " " b
Dowalton Loch, Wigtonshire	CIPI POLIE	" " " c
Barochan	. . . OLIBY	<i>supra</i>
Denmark	P · CIPI · POLIBI · F	{ Ingvald Undset <i>Bulletino dell'</i>
"	CIPI POLIBI	{ <i>Inst. di Corr. Archeol.</i> (Rome)
"	CIPI POLIBY	{ 1883, p. 235.

¹ See for instances of *libens animo* in full C. ii. 135, 137, 1403, 5136, 5137 Spain; and for Africa C. viii. 9332, 9336, *Mélanges d'archéologie* xii (1892) pp. 19-25. Examples can be multiplied with ease from most provinces of the Empire. *Libenti animo*, on the other hand, seems never to occur.

² So Dr. Hübner. When I recently examined the saucepans, now at Castle Howard, I read P CIPI POLVYBI (the top of the Y faint and not unlike I) and P · CIPI · POLIB, with a fracture after B. Three others are uninscribed.

Undset adds that similarly stamped *paterae* are in the museums at Zürich and Hanover, having been, presumably, found in the neighbourhoods, and Mowat quotes (*Bull. Epigr.* iii. 266) two specimens, one in the Louvre, one (imperfect) at Florence, of uncertain provenance. We have, in fact, a good instance of the Roman export trade to outlying countries. The original manufacture was probably carried on at or near Herculaneum. There alone, south of the Alps, we have found specimens; the name Cippius is common in its vicinity and we can perhaps detect a firm of Cippii with varying *cognomina*, Hilaris, Hymnus, Nicomachus, Polybius, Saturninus, etc.,¹ a family carrying on the same trade of saucepan-making, though only one, Polybius, seems to have manufactured and exported on a large scale. Why exactly small variations were introduced into the stamp, is hard to say. We have other cases of the same kind, notably in the stamps of potters' names on pseudo-Arretine (Samian) ware. These variations are not such as might be caused simply by use of movable type²: that might account for the difference between SEVERI · M and SEAERIM, but not for that between SEVERI · M, SEVERVS · F, and OF · SEVERI. M. Descemet (*Inscripti ns doliaires latines* pp. 142-154) considers the variations to arise "sometimes from blunder, more often from a desire to distinguish different workshops or issues." The same is the opinion of M. Camille Jullian (*Inscr. de Bordeaux* i. 493) who remarks that "if the stamps of the *Ateii* vary, it is because there was a *gens* Ateia, and if we find *Scotus*, *Scottus*, *Scotinus*, *Scottius*, we may regard them as members of one family." In the instances on metal before us, it is quite possible that the stamps varied from time to time without any special reason. It is simply human nature to let varieties slip into titles and headings where strict uniformity is of no great moment. We may reasonably suppose that POLYBI, POLVYBI, POLIBY, POLIBI are varieties in spelling, while POLIE is probably a misreading of POLIB. The addition of *f(fecit)* to the genitive

¹ *Paterae* inscribed . CIPI PRINCIP .. and L CIPI TANTALI have been found in France (Mowat *Bull. Epigr.* iii. 267, who gives a full list of all the stamps on bronze articles of any sort found in France). Cippius Nicomachus appears on

a *patera* found at Laibach in Pannonia.
² M. Jullian (*loc. cit.*) argues strongly in favour of movable type having been used by the ancients, but the few stamping instruments actually preserved have fixed letters.

in the sixth instance has many parallels among potters marks.

Another Campanian exporting firm was perhaps that of the Ansii, Diodorus, Epaphroditus, Epicarpus, Phoebus; the *paterae* of Ansius Epaphroditus have been found at Pompeii, in Sweden, at Friar's Carse near Dumfries (C. n. 1294), at Evaux in France, and elsewhere. We cannot feel absolutely certain that all the bronze *paterae* of Cipius or Ansius are earlier than the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii in A.D. 79. Provincial factories may have continued the familiar stamp after the fashion of all traders dealing with half-civilized lands. But the absence of any evidence of such later factories¹ suggests that, as a matter of probability, the vessels which bear their stamps are earlier than A.D. 79, and that the trade similarly belongs, at the latest, to the middle of the first century A.D. M. Mowat, indeed, goes so far as to argue that the shape of the γ on some of the Polybius *paterae* distinctly takes us back to the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54).

At all times, however, the exportation of these bronze vessels seems to have been common. Dr. Murray, in the paper mentioned above, has collected an interesting list of such *paterae*, lettered or unlettered, which have been found in the north of England and in Scotland. The places he notes are Rutherglen (two vessels), Friar's Carse, Crichton (Midlothian), Linlithgowshire, Cockburnspath (Berwickshire), Teviotdale, Dowalton Loch, Stanhope (Peebles), Belsay (Northumberland), to which may be added the camp called the "Guards" near Bolton, the Wanny Crag near Risingham, and Prestwick Carr near Ponteland, where many bronze vessels, including five un-inscribed *paterae* were unearthed in 1890 (Hodgkin *Arch. Ael.* xv, 159—166). Canon Raine (*Catalogue of the York Museum*, p. 142) mentions also *paterae* found at Knaresborough, Stittenham near York (*Arch.* xli, 325), Irchester, and Helmsdale in Sutherland (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1885, p. 214). The silver *paterae* from Backworth and "Caspert," (p. 183,) probably belong to a different commercial class of objects.

The use of these bronze vessels has been disputed. They

¹ This is not intended to suggest that there were no provincial bronze-works. We have good evidence that there were, for instance in Gaul.

are not unfrequently found in barrows, but possibly only as part of the dead man's property. Some writers have held them to be votive offerings, but the resultant idea of a shrine hung round with bronze saucepans is not attractive, though it is certain that, like rings, brooches, and other objects not specially intended for dedication, they were sometimes used, notably in Gaul, as *ex-votos*.¹ They may more probably have been sacrificial vessels. The Norse "sortilege bowls," containing the twigs of sortilege to sprinkle the "sortilege blood," were sometimes of metal, and may supply a parallel.² It is also possible that they were used for cooking. The absence of marks of fire is perhaps to be explained by the long decomposition of surface and the concentric lathe-turned rings which appear outside the bottoms of many specimens do not seem to conflict with this view though I should not like to decide whether they are for ornament or to save wear and tear. But it must be confessed that many of these saucepans are rather fragile objects for cooking purposes.

I would venture to impress on archaeologists the importance of noting all inscriptions on such smaller finds. We know that *pelves* (*mortaria*) were manufactured largely in Gallia Narbonensis, and Samian (pseudo-Arretine) largely in Central Gaul, and we have learnt this solely from observation of potters' marks. We have seen that other makers' names have enabled us to trace some scattered bronze vessels to their Campanian home. In time, we hope thus to learn something about the real centres and distribution of Roman manufactured objects. Hitherto writers on Roman trade have erred by knowing too little of Roman history and antiquities,³ and archaeologists have neglected the commercial aspects of their discoveries.

¹ See e.g., Mowat *Notice épigraphique*, pp. 99 176.

² *Corpus Boreale* i. 403, 404. I owe the reference to Mr. F. York Powell.

³ For instance, there is a map of Roman Britain in a recent *History of Commerce in Europe* by H. Gibbins, which is enough to make one's hair to stand on end.

APPENDIX. DUPLICATED INSCRIPTIONS.

A not uncommon form of error in epigraphy, as in numismatics, is that arising from what may be called duplication. Stones are discovered and described, and then overlooked, and, when noticed afresh, are put forward and accepted as new finds. Very often there is some slight difference between the first and second readings of the inscription, which results in two different inscriptions making their way into our books, but sometimes the second finder simply omits to see if his find is really a new one and puts it forward as such. It may be of some use to students if I here give a few instances which I have lately come across, with sufficient explanation to shew the ways in which such duplicating seems to occur.

1. I may begin with an instance in which I myself have gone astray. A fragmentary altar, ornamented with a female figure and altar, and bearing traces of a dedication to the *Matres*, was dug up at Carvoran about 1730, and duly published, with a cut, by Horsley in his *Britannia Romana* (Northumberland, plate lxxv. B). From him it is taken by Dr. Bruce (*Lapidarium* No. 305) and Dr. Hübner (c. vii., n. 756). In 1886 the stone was re-observed and published again by Dr. Bruce (*Arch. Ael.* xii. 285) with a woodcut, and the intimation that it was "not of recent discovery but had been inaccessible to antiquaries." From this source it made its way into one of Mr. Watkin's articles in the *Archæological Journal* (xliv., 118), into the *Bulletin Épigraphique* vi., 146, into Dr. Ihm's list of the *Matres* (*Bonner Jahrbücher* lxxxiii., p. 160), and into the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (vii., n. 1054). In each case it has been treated as a separate find, distinct from the old one, though Dr. Ihm has added a query. But a comparison of Horsley's and Dr. Bruce's cuts shew that the two stones are one, and a personal examination of the object which I have been able to make, shewed me that Dr. Bruce's reading was slightly the more accurate of the two. I do not think that Dr. Bruce himself noticed the identity of the two inscriptions.

2. An altar was found in 1718 at Littleborough (Segelocum) in Nottinghamshire, and described by Stukeley in his *Itinerarium Curiosum* (p. 89), as having only one legible line, the last, LIS ARAM · D · D. From Stukeley it was taken by Mr. Watkin (*Archæological Journal* xxxi, 352), and from Watkin by Hübner (*Ephem. epigr.* iii, p. 120, n. 71). Subsequently Mr. Watkin described (*Archæological Journal* xxxv, 63) an altar which he had seen at Mr. Foljambe's seat at Osberton, between Worksop and Retford, and on which he read I · O · M · in the first line, and IRAT in the fifth line. In the *Ephemeris* (vii, n. 1097), I suggested that possibly the two altars were one, and having since, by the help of the Bishop of Southwell and the kindness of Mr. Foljambe, been allowed to examine the stone at Osberton, I can testify to their identity. It appears to have been found on property belonging to the Foljambes at Littleborough and thence brought to the house at Osberton. The stone is a well preserved sandstone altar, thirty-seven inches high, with

a panel fifteen inches square. The only traces of lettering on it are some faint marks filling about two-thirds of what would be the last or penultimate line. These marks seem to be

LIPARAAA

Of Mr. Watkin's ROM no trace was visible, and the seven letters given were, as it seemed to me, merely scratched in, and that not necessarily by a Roman hand. For the rest, the panel was smooth as if it had never been inscribed.

3. Another instance is supplied by the York inscriptions. In the *Ephemeris* (iii, p. 122, n. 78) Dr. Hübner printed an inscription *deo genio loci v. s. l. m.* and in a subsequent issue of the same epigraphic periodical (iii, p. 313, n. 180), he printed an almost identical text. Dr. Haug (*Bursian's Jahresbericht* xl, 1886, 157),¹ noticed the similarity, and Dr. Raine, curator of the York Museum, assures me that the two stones are really one, that one being described in his *Catalogue* of the Museum (n. 5, p. 33, ed. 1891).

4. A more elaborate instance goes back in part to the sixteenth century. Camden in the first five editions of his *Britannia* printed a very inaccurate text of an inscription found at Old Penrith which he subsequently discarded for a correct text. Meanwhile Gruter (901, 1), copied the wrong text, and Samuel Woodford took it from him or from Camden and inserted it in a MS. Collection of Inscriptions now in the Bodleian (MS. Rawl. C. 907, fo. 26a.) Gough, when engaged in re-editing Camden, used Woodford's papers, without understanding that they were almost wholly based on printed material, and adopted the text discarded by Camden as a distinct inscription, so that the two readings actually figure in Gough's Camden as two inscriptions. Fortunately Dr. Hübner (C. vii, 8* and 237), detected the error, and an examination of Woodford's papers shewed me the reason for it. See further *Archæologia Oxoniensis* i, p. 17.

5. Again, a fragment was found in or before 1828 at Chesterton or Castor, the Roman site on the two banks of the Nene, known to the Romans probably as Durobrivæ, and the difference in description of *provenance* caused Dr. Hübner to catalogue it twice over as being two inscriptions (C. vii, 79, *Ephem.* iii, p. 116, n. 56; see *Ephem.* vii, n. 841.)

6. Again, a fragment, probably of a Tombstone, was found in 1809 at Chichester, and duly published by Dallaway and Horsfield, and later by Dr. Hübner (C. n. 14). In 1885 some antiquaries visiting Chichester re-found it, misread it, and Mr. W. T. Watkin and Mr. C. R. Smith published it as a new inscription. (*Archæological Journal* xlvi, 70).

Other less noticeable instances might be given (cf. for instance *Ephem.* vii, 825, 1,039b, 1,042, 1,047, 1,093, 1,131, 1,177), but those quoted will show the positive danger which exists of making two inscriptions out of a twice found or twice noticed stone. Where, as in Britain, we have a large number of half legible fragments, the danger is necessarily greater than it would otherwise be and the need of caution greater still.

¹ Dr. Haug's article on Romano-British inscriptions, here referred to, is an interesting and valuable one, and well deserves the attention of specialists.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA (pp. 5-23).

p. 6. Mr. R. N. Worth, to whom I communicated the discovery of the stamp on the block of tin at Truro, mentioned it at the last summer Meeting of the Devonshire Association (July 27, 1892). The block of tin, he said, proved, in Mr. Haverfield's opinion, that, while the Romanization of Cornwall might not have been very perfect, Cornwall *was* Roman and part of the Empire beyond the reach of argument. The discovery was a most interesting one, but he (Mr. Worth) regretted his inability to see that it really carried them any further in the direction of Roman authority than he had already admitted—"friendly intercourse for the purpose of trade rather than conquest or dominion."

I am sorry still to find myself in disagreement with an archaeologist like Mr. Worth, but I cannot help thinking that he has treated the epigraphic evidence in a very high handed manner. If the readings of Tintagel and St. Hilary stones and the Carnuntun stamp are to be interpreted as other inscriptions are, they prove, beyond question, that Cornwall in the fourth century was part of the Empire, that a Roman road of some sort ran through it, and that tin mining, whatever its character and extent, was carried on, and carried on under control of the Imperial government. I do not, however, wish here to argue the point further, because I do not quite understand Mr. Worth's own theory of Cornwall in Roman times. He seems to deny that it was part of the Empire, but he has elsewhere spoken of some sort of protectorate or suzerainty which he supposes Rome to have held, nominally, over Cornwall. Neither theory, I think, will hold water; neither certainly agrees with the inscriptions, but each raises different legal and other difficulties.

- p. 11 *line* 3. I should have said that M. Héron de Villefosse's article (*loc. cit.*) contains an excellent account of the *patera* and its ornamentation. Similar *paterae* with punctured inscriptions are not uncommon as *ex-votos*, e.g. in France (Mowat *notice épigr.*, pp 99-176)
- p. 12 *lines* 35 foll. The word "oval" is meant to describe the outline of the superficies of the flat pewter blocks.
- p. 13 *line* 13. For *m(enses)* read *m(ensibus)*.
- p. 14 *line* 11. „ *l(ovi)* „ *I(ovi)*.
- p. 15 *line* 13. The Rev. Preb. Gordon of Harting, son of the former Rector of Elsfield, tells me his father considered the stone as dating from Wise's occupation of the house.
- p. 17 *line* 4. For DOCCAISL read DOCCIASL.
- p. 23 *line* 6. The best representation of the "P" in Piavonius as given by Nicolson would be a Greek Koppa.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS

IN

BRITAIN.

III.

1892-1893.

BY

F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE GERMAN IMPERIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

EXETER :

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[NOTE.—The articles in this pamphlet are reprinted from the *Archæological Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 279—322 without alteration.]

Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1893.

ROMANO-BRITISH INSCRIPTIONS, 1892—1893.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

The following article contains the Roman inscriptions discovered in Britain since my last report, with the addition of a few older finds, which had been overlooked, and some corrections of published texts. Three of the new discoveries, the Cirencester monument of fourth century restoration, the late and possibly Christian tombstone at Carlisle, and the Lanchester dedication to Garmangabis, possess unusual importance, and I have thrown my rather lengthy notes on them into a separate article. The Silchester tile and the gold ring from Thanet, both old finds now brought to notice, and the inscriptions from South Shields and Wallsend are also noteworthy.

I have done my best to examine for myself the texts which I edit or discuss. Completeness in this matter is perhaps unattainable, but I have been able to get a first-hand acquaintance with all but six of the inscriptions which follow, and my readings can claim the merits, whatever they be, of independent collations. At the same time I have found chances of beginning a revision of the readings in the seventh volume of the *Corpus*, and the following pages contain a part of the corrections which I have lately noted. Some of these may seem details, fitted only to amuse or to irritate, but all details matter in epigraphy, and I have omitted a good deal that might have been admitted by others. Later, I hope to draw up a list of the revised inscriptions with the necessary corrigenda added. But the task of revision is not altogether easy: we have few museums in England, and our inscriptions have been scattered broadcast up and down our country houses. Till recently, I had not the leisure even to think of going through them.

I have to thank many friends for aid in procuring access to, in copying, and in understanding the inscriptions here edited. In particular, I should express my gratitude to Dr. Hodgkin, Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., and Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., for help in my visits to the north; and to Prof. Pelham, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Mr. A. H. Smith, F.S.A., and Prof. W. M. Ramsay, who helped in examining inscriptions along the walls of Hadrian and Antonine. I shall be at any time grateful for accounts of new finds, which should be addressed to Christ Church, Oxford.

As before, I have followed the *Corpus* in the arrangement of matter, and in the order of inscriptions. I begin in the South and work upwards, prefixing to each district-heading the number of the section or chapter in the Berlin collection. Where an inscription has been already edited in the *Corpus* or *Ephemeris*, I give the reference in square brackets at the head of the notice. For convenience, I number consecutively with my last article.

Chief Abbreviations:—

C = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*: where no Roman numerals follow, the British volume, VII, edited by Prof. E. Hübner (Berlin 1873), is meant.

Eph. = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, supplements to the above. The supplements to *C.* vol. vii, are in *Eph.* iii and iv (by Prof. Hübner), and in vii (by myself).

Arch. Ael. = *Archæologia Aeliانا* the Journal of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

Arch. Journ. = Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute.

Proc. Soc. Ant. = Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London (or, if Newcastle is added, of Newcastle).

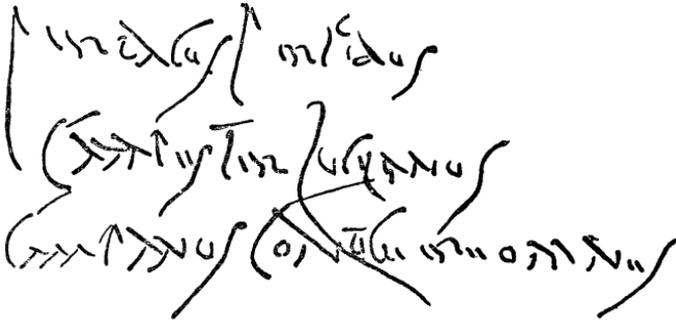
In expansions of the inscriptions, round brackets denote the expansion of an abbreviation, square brackets the supplying of letters, which, owing to breakage or other cause, are not now on the stone, but which may be presumed to have been there.

V. SILCHESTER (?)

118. Tile inscribed with three lines of cursive handwriting, dating probably from the first or second century, thought to have been found long ago at Silchester; now in the possession of Dr. William Davis, of 20, Dorset square, London, N.W., and of Silchester.

I am not wholly satisfied that this tile was found at Silchester or in England at all. Dr. Davis tells me that it

was long in his father's possession in a cabinet at Silchester, with odds and ends found there, and was thought to have been found on the spot. I have, however, included it as I included the Caspet *patera* (No. 83) in my last issue.



Pertacus Perfidus Campester Lucilianus Campanus conticuere omnes.

Copied by Dr. E. Maunde Thompson and published by him in his *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 211, from which the reduced cut is reproduced by leave of the publishers, Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co.

Dr. Thompson observes that the lines seem to be material for a writing lesson, the teacher writing certain words to illustrate certain letters and then dashing off into Virgil's *conticuere omnes*. The alphabet is identical with that used on wax tablets found at Pompei and in Dacia (A.D. 139, A.D. 167). The only ligature is ER.

VII. KENT.

119. Rude figurine in white earth, found at Canterbury in 1867, now in possession of Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A. A goddess on a basketwork chair gives suck to a child, a common type; on the underside in rude letters—

SILI

Sili

“made by Silius.”

Copied by myself: the figurine, but not the inscription, is given in Mr. John Brent's *Canterbury in the Olden Time* (p. 41). It is one of the ugly Gaulish statuettes of which a few have been found in Kent¹ and Essex, this

¹ See Roach Smith *Coll. Ant.* vi., pp. 48-75, 228-239.

being the only inscribed one known to me. In this, as in other details, we can trace the continental influences which were naturally stronger there than elsewhere in Britain.

120. (Eph. iv., p. 210, n. 709.) This fragment of inscribed and figured glass, found in Canterbury, has been re-examined by myself and by M. Schuermans,¹ who reads and completes—

A M V S Pyr]amus.

The A is faint ; I failed myself to detect it. The name of Pyramus appears on similar inscribed glass vessels, though not in the nominative.

M. Schuermans has lately discussed the whole question of these glass vessels with figures of charioteers and gladiators and names attached.² Twenty-two specimens are known, six found in Britain, three in Germany, seven in France and Belgium, and six at unknown places, probably on the Continent. Hence M. Schuermans infers that they were manufactured in north-west France or in Britain—the former is, I think, the more probable—while, from the names of the charioteers, the circumstances of the finds and other details, he shews that they were in fashion at the end of the first and commencement of the second centuries of our era. Apparently people then bought glass adorned with the figures and names of the heroes of the circus, just as they might now buy portraits of distinguished athletes.

121. Gold ring ploughed up at Birchington near Westgate, Thanet : on eleven facets the inscription

FIDES CONSTANI

Fides constan[te]

Literary Gazette, 1860, p. 166 = 1 Sept., from a Dover paper ; hence Mowat *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de la France* x. (1889), p. 336, who observes that it has been overlooked by both Dr. Hübner and myself. He also gives an interesting list of ten similar rings, comparing, for

¹ The object, which belonged to Mr. Cecil Brent, has unfortunately been lost since M. Schuermans saw it, through no fault of Mr. Brent's.

² *Annales de la Société Archéol. de*

Namur, vol. xx. ; reprinted as *Verres à courses de chars*, Namur, 1893. A bit of figured glass found lately at Chesters, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 116, is of a different kind to that noticed here.

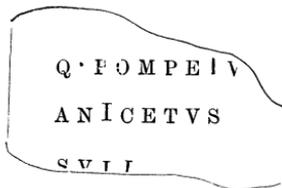
instance, one found near Norwich (C. n. 1301) with *CONSTANI FIDES*. The usual inscription is *FIDEM CONSTANTINO*, which M. Mowat rather conjecturally connects with the swearing of allegiance to the emperor, supposing that the common coins with the legends *FIDES MILITUM* and the like represent donatives given on such occasions, while rings like these may be presents to various officers. We may compare also the gold ornaments with *COSTANTI VIVAS* and the like (C. iii., 6016, &c.)¹

Mr. G. Payne, F.S.A., in his "Archæological Index" to Kent (*Arch.* li., 553), omits this ring, and gives to Birchington no other remains than "pre Roman coins." A Romano-British urn from Birchington is in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. From enquiries I have made, I gather that the ring once belonged to the late Mr. J. P. Powell, of Quex, in Thanet, and is now in possession of his family. I have not been able to get a sight of it.

IX. BATH.

122. (Eph. vii. 828). This stone, found in York street, Bath, in 1879, is now in the Museum of the Royal Institution, where I have examined it. It is a bit of limestone, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with letters $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. tall in the first line and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. tall in the second line. The reading was not quite correctly given by Mr. Watkin (*Arch. Journ.* xxxvii. 136):—

Q. Pompeiu[s] Anicetus
Suli.



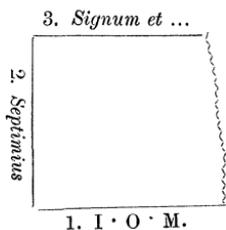
The stone, then, seems to be a dedication to Sul-Minerva, the goddess of Bath, and not a sepulchral monument. As York Street is near the baths, such a dedication is quite suitable.

¹ See further *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxiii., pp. 84, 174; *Kraus Inscr.* 251; *West-deutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, iii., n. 39; *Pais Suppl.* 1086; c. iii., 6019, 12033.

X. CIRENCESTER.

123. Square sandstone "basis," 18 in. high by 16 in. square, found at Cirencester in 1891. Three panels, forming apparently the front, left-hand side, and back, are inscribed with regular lettering $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. high (line 1 is $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. high); a fourth panel, the right-hand side, is quite lost, but was possibly also inscribed.

The panels are arranged as in the diagram; the corners are formed by small balusters, and the top was no doubt surmounted by a column, for fastening which a small hole is still to be seen.



(1.) I · O
 L · SEPT
 V · P · P R ·
 RESTI
 5. CIV / S

1. *Iovi O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] L. Sept[imius.] v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(aeses) [prov(inciae)...] resti[tuit,] curante)?? Ius[tino]??*

(2.) SEPTIMIVS
 RENOVAT
 PRIMAE
 PROVINCIAE
 10. RECTOR

2. *Septimius renovat, primae provinciae rector.*

(3.) NVMET
 . . . ECTAM
 RISCARE
 GIONECO
 15. VMNAM

3. *[Signum et [er]ectam] p[ri]sca religione columnam.*

(4.) Lost, or never inscribed.

Copied by myself; Mr. Bowly kindly sent me photographs and helped me to get at the stone. Published, from squeezes, by Dr. Hübner *Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, 1891, n. 89, p. 225. The reading, expansions and

1



5

2



10

3



15

Cirencester.

supplements are all fairly certain. In the third line there is hardly room for more than ten letters; Dr. Hübner suggests PROV. BRIT. PR. In the fifth line there are traces between v and s of what may be a worn E or I, but I have in my expansion provisionally accepted Dr. Hübner's *c(urante)* *Ius[ino]*. After s no letter is visible. In line 12 at the beginning are traces of (perhaps) the tail of an R. In line 15, the v is plain. I reserve comments for a separate article.

124. (C. 66). Re-examined by myself and Mr. G. McN. Rushforth. In line 4 the last two letters seem to be I†, possibly for *item*. In line 5, for ER (*eredes*) read EX. This latter correction ought to have been mentioned in Eph. vii., 834.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

125. [Eph. iv. n. 666 p. 196] Two fragmentary inscriptions brought from Stancombe Park are preserved in the Gloucester Museum (Watkin *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 69). The text of one seems capable of being better read: the letters are late and badly formed and VIN in line 2, VNX in line 3 are less deeply cut than the rest; according to Mr. Watkin, the stone was partially recut by a mason employed in cleaning it, when it was removed from Stancombe Park. Copied by myself.



vixi[t] an(n)os xx, or *..vixi[t] annos...*, *mil(itavit)] an(n)os xx*, *Ingenuin[a c]on[i]unx*.

Probably a tombstone, erected to a husband by a wife; *anos* for *annos* is not uncommon. Stancombe Park is in the parish of Stinchcombe, very nearly half-way between Gloucester and Bristol. Traces of a Roman Villa have been found there. (G. B. Wits, *Handbook*, p. 65.) The inscription might also have come from Cirencester, as several Cirencester finds were once at Stancombe Park. (Buckman's *Corinium*, pp. 23, 105, 110, 115, 117, 122.)

XVIII. LINCOLN.

126. [C. 184]. A recent examination of this stone, made at the instance of Precentor Venables and Dr. Kubitschek,¹ shewed me that Prof. Hübner's reading is not quite satisfactory. (1) In line 3, where the latter scholar gives CLACLVDI, explaining the strange form as a blunder for *Claudii*, the stone really has *Babudi*. What Prof. Hübner took for CL is a cursive B, made in the shape in which it appears on Pompeian scrawls and elsewhere. This introduction of cursive letters into an inscription in capitals is by no means unique: a good parallel, shewing the cursive R, was found in the last excavations at Chester (*Athenæum*, July 9, 1892). The *nomen* Babudius has been found, I believe, on Umbrian inscriptions, and the cognate Babidius and Baburius are not uncommon. (2) In lines 5 and 6 the lettering is ISPANI GALERIA CLKVNIA, that is, the soldier was a Spaniard from the town of Clunia enrolled in the Galerian tribe. (3) The inscription has never been re-cut. The shape of E, in lines 1-3 (see cut), is not due to any *lapicida novicius* as Prof. Hübner says, but is original, and may, no doubt, be put beside the cursive B. The whole inscription, then, is *L. Semproni Flav(i)ni, milit(i)s leg. viiii., c(enturia) Babudi Severi, aer(um) vii., annor(um) xxx., (H)ispani Galeria (tribu) Clunia.*

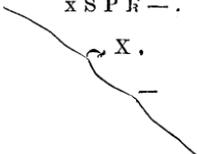
XXI. RIBCHESTER. |

127. [C. n. 226]. After line 6 there appear to have been four more lines to this inscription: a very imperfect reading survives.

VC:V...:G...—

x S P R — .

X .



From a MS. letter dated 1846 preserved in the Romano-British department in the British Museum shewn me by Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A. The seventh line of the inscription (the first above) may have begun *Aug.* The same MS. mentions as found at Ribchester "a bulla apparently inscribed with some characters not to be decyphered."

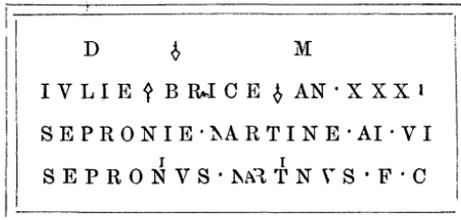
¹ To Dr. Kubitschek is due the first suggestion that the last five letters of the inscription might be CLVNIA.



Lincoln.

XXII. YORK.

128. Tombstone of gritty sandstone found in April 1892, in the cellar of the Mount Hotel, close to the Roman road running south to Tadcaster; now in the York Museum. Above a relief of a woman holding a bowl (?) and child; below an inscription 26 in wide, letters $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in lines 1-3, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in line 4.

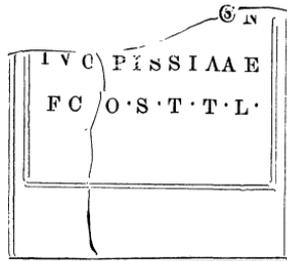


D(is) m(anibus), Iuli(a)e Bric(a)e, an(norum) xxxi, Se(m)proni(a)e Martin(a)e, an(norum) vi., Se(m)pronius Martinus f(aciendum) c(uravit). Tombstone erected by a husband to his wife and daughter.

Copied by Canon Raine, D.C.L., and myself; published by Canon Raine, *Academy*, April 16, 1892. Subsequent examination of the stone has slightly altered the reading first printed; the above is Canon Raine's final reading, with which I agree.

Brica is, I think, a new name. Sepronius for Sempronius can be paralleled from inscriptions of very various dates.¹

129. Tombstone of gritty sandstone, found with the preceding; now in York museum. 20 in. across, letters $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, not very legible except at the end.



Perhaps . . . *coniug(i) piissimae f(ecit) co(niux) . S(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).*

¹ C. i. 930, 956, 958 (republic); C. vi. 2120 (A.D. 155); C. x. 7168 (A.D. 431). see Seelmann's *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 281; Schuchardt i. 105.

Copied by myself and Canon Raine. Published by Canon Raine with No. 129. The invocation *sit tibi terra levis*, “light lie the earth above thy bones”—is well known in Roman epigraphy, but, like other of the “civilized” epigraphic usages, it is not very common in Britain. Three instances are given in the *Corpus* (index), at Benwell, Greatchesters and Risingham, and of these the second is doubtful.

130. While taking me round the Museum at York recently, Canon Raine was good enough to point out various minor inscriptions on pottery, found in York.

130a. On the side of an amphora five horizontal lines and one oblique in ink. The oblique line is clear but broken after the s; the rest seems perfect but is very faint.

U I UV A	
J N I	
F E L	
Y S	} DOMES
I	

The first line may be *oliva* (compare *civ* p 226, n. 2610), the broken word *domesticum*, but I will not venture further. Here, as in the winejar mentioned by Juvenal

*patriam titulumque senectus
delevit multa veteris fuligine testae.*

130b. Numbers cut into the rims of the mouths (1-7), handle (8), and fragments of sides (9-10), of broken *amphorae*; 7, 9, 10 are possibly imperfect.

- | | |
|-----------|--------------|
| (1) VII | (2) VII VIII |
| (3) VIIS | (4) VIIS. |
| (5) VI/I | (6) X |
| (7) III | (8) VIIS |
| (9) VIIIv | (10) VIIIIS— |

Copied by myself. In Nos. 3, 4, 8, 10 S stands for *semis* ‘a half.’ An amphora of proper size held 8 *congi* or 48 *sextarii*: these figures probably state the contents, in *congi*, of the vessels on which they are cut, which may naturally enough have varied somewhat in capacity. It is also possible that the price of the vessels is indicated, but the coincidence of the figures with the average size of the *amphora* makes the former the best supposition. A rim found at Chesters has XII with a fracture before x.

130c. Inscriptions in white slip round Castor ware—

- | | | |
|---------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) (2) | DA MI | <i>da mi</i> |
| (3) | MISCE MI | <i>mi[s]ce mi</i> |
| (4) | VIVATIS | <i>vivatis</i> |
| (5) | ...ES. M... | ? <i>bib]es m[erum?</i> |
| (6) | LXSAS | uncertain sense (<i>laxas?</i>) |

Copied by myself. I have included all but pure fragments for completeness, though some have been printed before (see Canon Raine's excellent *Catalogue*, ed. 8, p. 99; *Arch. Journ.* 1879, p. 297). A good list of similar inscriptions is given in the *Mémoires* of the Society of Antiquaries of France (ix., p. 351.)

130d. Graffiti on pottery (1) rim of black earthenware urn, (2-4) fragments from the sides of large vessels, (5) small white ware, (6-10) Pseudo-Arretine (Samian).

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (1) | XXIIIIII | Perhaps n ^o of <i>sextarii</i> contained |
| (2) | IGΛINI | Canon Raine suggests the name <i>N]igrini</i> |
| (3) |  | Also <i>Ni]grini</i> possibly. |
| (4) | A · V · V | |
| (5) | CIVILIS— | |
| (6) | Q F | (7) GRAM |
| (8) | BIKK | (8) IANVAR (perfect) |
| (9) | ⊕ ⚡ MITI <i>Domiti</i> | (10) KΛT |

Copied by myself: I omit several Pseudo-Arretine graffiti of less importance. In 2 the R is made in the cursive shape which somewhat resembles an A with vertical bar.

XXIII. EAST RIDING.

131. [C. 263a]. This Malton altar, now in the Whitby museum, is, I think, given incorrectly in the *Corpus*. It is a stone 16 by 8 in. in size, with late lettering and lines drawn for the letters in late style. I read it

DEOMAR <hr/> RIGAE <hr/> SCIRVSDIC· <hr/> SAC VSLM)))))	<i>Deo Mar[ti]</i> <i>Rigae</i> <i>Scirus dic?</i> <i>sac(erdos v. s. l. m</i>
---	-----------------------	---

The inscription is fractured on the right and below the last line, but is otherwise perfect. *Marti Rigae* is, I think, far more probable than Dr. Hübner's *Marrigae*;

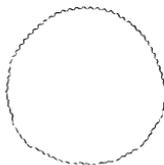
compare the *Mars Rigisamus* on a Somersetshire inscription (C. 61).¹ The third line seems to end DIC, but I am not sure what the letters mean, and the reading is not absolutely clear; the suggestion *scirusor* is, however, out of the question.

XXV. GRETA BRIDGE, BOWES.

132. [C. 279, 280, 281]. The Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., has been good enough to make enquiry on my behalf for these stones which Prof. Hübner reports, on the late Dr. Bruce's authority, as being at Windlestone, near Bishop Auckland (Durham), in the possession of Sir William Eden. No. 279 is still at Windlestone, and the excellent squeezes, which Mr. Fowler sent me, shew that the published reading is correct (2 ANTONI, 3 GETÆ seemingly). But the other two (Nos. 280-281) could not be found. This is the more to be regretted because they mention the division of Britain into two provinces made by Septimius Severus, and, though fragmentary, are of very good value.² It is much to be feared that, being fragments, they may have been destroyed.

133. [Eph. vii., 941]. I have lately examined this inscription, now preserved in the parish church of Bowes, the Roman *Lavatrae*. It appears to be distinctly Roman, and I thought to read, after some wholly illegible lines—

V S · A E M
I I T I I I R



V S
.

C L O I R A E F
F E C I T

¹ Rigisamus according to D'Arbois de Jubainville *Noms gaulois chez César* (p. 12) means "having the pleasures of a king." Riga would mean "king" simply. It has been suggested to me that the R on the Bossens patera (No. 1) stands for such an epithet of Mars, but this is not likely. I would rather compare it with the R on a ring from Germany, lately published by Prof. Zange-meister (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xi., 274).

² They are quoted for proof of the

division by Prof. Domaszewski in a recent article on Romano-British inscriptions (*Rhein. Mus.* xlvi. (1893), 342). He makes the frontier between Upper and Lower Britain run from the Humber to the Solway, through Greta-bridge. This line would nearly coincide with the great road from York by Catterick and Stainmoor to Carlisle. I am afraid that, though much recommends this theory, the evidence does not seem to me conclusive.

The stone has been turned into a circular millstone, like an African inscription at Lambaesis (C. viii., 3010). Probably five letters were lost in the first surviving line, owing to the central hole of the millstone, so that the name may have been *Aem[ilian]us*. In line 3, *praef(ectus)* seems probable; in line 4, *fecit*. The reading given by Mr. Watkin (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxix., 367) is wrong.

XXXI. OLD CARLISLE.

134. [C. 348]. This stone, along with eight others formerly preserved at Wigton Hall (C. 346-9, 351-2, 355, 357-8), is now in the Carlisle Museum. It is a piece of red sandstone about 12 inches high, with well-cut and well-preserved letters, which have not been properly read.



*dea]bus Ma]tribus
pro s]alute M [.Aur
Sev. Alexa]nd[r]i A]ug.
et Iu]liae M]amaeae
.*

Copied by myself: the third line has been intentionally erased.

The altar, then, was erected to the mother goddesses in intercession for the Emperor Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235) and his mother, Iulia Mamaea. The name Alexander was erased after his death, as usual,¹ but some letters of it (N, D, I) are legible still. What stood in the fifth and sixth lines I do not know; possibly the text ran on *Matri Aug. nostri] et c[astrorum]* as usual.

XXXIII. MARYPORT, PAPCASTLE.

135. In examining Mr. Senhouse's fine collection of Roman inscriptions, at Nether Hall,² near Maryport, I noted various small inaccuracies in the published readings.

¹ See No. 139, *Arch. Aeliana*, xvi., 157. museum was Tradescant's, which has
² This collection is, I believe, the developed into the Ashmolean Museum
oldest in England. The first actual at Oxford.

(C. 383.) The number of the *cohors voluntariorum* is xviii, not xix.

(C. 406.) The one surviving line of this battered inscription is, I think, DIS-MANIBV, *dis manibu*[s].

(C. 408.) The lady to whom this tombstone is erected was called *Iul(ia) Martina*, the last letter of the second line being certainly N, not M, as has been usually read. In the gable above there is no star.

136. [C. 415. Eph. iii., p. 130]. Mr. J. M. Brydone has very kindly sent me squeezes of this important inscription, now preserved by Lord Leconfield at Petworth. The published readings seem to be fairly correct. In the first line nothing is legible; the second has EG AVG IN C, but no trace of a letter after c; the third begins NEVM; in the fifth the name of Philip is erased, as Dr. Bruce suggested—probably PHILIP, IL being “tied.” We can, then, accept *cuneum* as correct, and add the *cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium Philippianorum* to the brief list of third century regiments thus styled (Mommsen *Hermes*, xix., 232). The words *in cuneum* probably formed part of some such phrase as *translatus ab . . . l]eg(ato) Aug(usti) in cuneum Frisionum*, that is, the soldier who dedicated the stone had been transferred by some “legatus Augusti” into the regiment in question (Dessau *Inscrip. selectae* 2635). The date of the inscription lies between March, 244, and September, 249, the limits of Philip’s reign, though the consular dates on it shew that it refers to events which happened in October, A.D. 241-2, when Gordian III. was on the throne.

XXXV. BINCHESTER.

ADDENDUM.—The altar to the *Matres Ollototae* has been much discussed, especially by Dr. Max Ihm (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, xcii. (1892), p. 237) and M. le Président Schuermans (*Bulletin des Comm. roy. d’Art et d’Archæologie*, 1892, p. 400). Dr. Ihm. (whose notice contains slight slips of detail) favours Grienberger’s derivation of *Ollototae*, not in its literal sense “of all nations,” but as the name of some Keltic tribe on the Rhine, from which the dedicators came. *Ollototae Matres* would, then, be parallel to e.g. *Matres Suebae Euthungae*. But



ROMAN ALTAR

Found at Lanchester, Co. Durham, about a furlong north of the Roman Station,
near to the line of the Watling Street, on Saturday, July 15, 1893.

From a photograph by Mr. A. Edwards, of the Excise,
Blackhill, R.S.O., Co. Durham.

Ollototae is an odd tribe-name. The altar itself has been given by Mr. Newby to the Newcastle (Blackgate) Museum.

137. [Eph. vii, 1146]. In 1882 Mr. W. T. Watkin published in this *Journal* (xxxix, 361) an account of an inscribed tile found by Dr. Hooppell at Binchester, and since included by the latter in his *Vinovia* (pp. 40-41). I have lately been able to examine the tile, now in the University Museum at Durham, and the Rev. J. T. Fowler has sent me squeezes. From these squeezes Prof. Zangemeister, the chief living authority on *graffiti*, reads

ARAAEA ME DOCVIT

arnea? me docuit

It is not quite clear whether the first word is *aranea* "a spider" (it might be fanciful to compare Robert Bruce) or *arnea*, a hitherto unknown proper name. In the latter case we have the beginning of a hexameter, such as one sometimes finds at Pompeii, for instance (C iv, 1250 *add.*) *Candida me docuit nigras odisse puellas*. In any case, I am sure, from my own inspection, that the third word is *docuit* and not *DOCVII*, and I think, as Mr. Fowler and Dr. Zangemeister both say, that the first word is *arnea*.

XXXVI. LANCHESTER.

138. Altar, 62 in. high, 24 in. wide, found July, 1893, in some digging connected with the water supply of the workhouse, about 200 yards north of the Roman fort and near the Roman road (Watling Street); now in the south porch of Lanchester Parish Church. The lettering (3 in. tall in line 1, $2\frac{7}{8}$ - $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in the other lines) is clear.

D E A E G A R
M A N G A B I
E T N ! O ! ! !
A N I A V G N P R
S A L · V E X · S V E B o
R V M · L · o N · G o R · V o
T v M · S o L V E R V N T · M

Deae Garmangabi et n(umini) [G]o[r]di)ani Aug. n(ostris), pr[o] sal(ute) vex(illationis) or vex(illariorum), Sueborum Lon. Gor(dianorum) votum solverunt m(erito).

Copied by myself: published by W. Crake, *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, July 24; myself, *Academy*, August 19; *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, vi., 55-56; Dr. Hübner *Westdeutsches Ko respondenzblatt* xii. sec. 97. The reading is certain. In lines 3 and 4 O and ANI can be still discerned, the name *Gordiani* having been intentionally erased. The altar is elaborately ornamented with mouldings of the type which sometimes reminds one of Norman work: on the sides are *patera*, *culter*, &c. My comments on this remarkable find follow separately.

XLI. SOUTH SHIELDS.

139. Large slab, 58 in. long by 39 in. high, found in March, 1893, close to the Baring Street Board schools, within the area of the Roman camp; now in the Town museum. The inscription is singularly well preserved. The letters in line 1 are $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, in the other lines 3 in. high. The exact form and arrangement of the letters will be seen on the annexed illustration; the text expanded reads—

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Divi Severi
nepos, divi Magni Antonini fil(ius)
M. Aurel(ius) Severus [Alexander...
Pius Felix Aug(ustus) Pontif(ex) max(imus)
trib(unicia) pot(estate), p(ater) p(atricae)
co(n)s(ul), aquam
usibus mil(itum) coh(ortis) v. Gallo(rum)
induxit, curante Mario Valeriano
leg(ato) eius pr(o) pr(actore).*

Copied by myself and described, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xvi., 157. I have also to thank Mr. Blair for a reading. He published the inscription, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, vi., 14. The text is certain. In 3, *Alexander* has been erased, as usual, and no trace of it can now be read. In 6, *curante*, in ligature, is on the stone.

The date of the inscription is A.D. 222, the first year of Alexander's reign, as we can tell, both from the



South Shields.

titulature and from the mention of Valerianus. This officer we know to have been governor in the north of Britain at that time, from two inscriptions found at Netherby and Chesters and dated A.D. 221-2.¹ Nothing further seems to be known about him.

The word *curante* "supervising" is usually applied to lower officials than provincial governors, but there are cases, especially in Britain, which resemble this one and belong to the third century.²

The fifth cohort of Gauls is an old friend. It was in existence as a *cohors equitata* in Vespasian's reign; it was in Pannonia in A.D. 84-5, and it probably joined in Trajan's Dacian campaigns. It may possibly have come to Britain with Hadrian, who apparently brought with him some auxiliaries from the Danube, but this is only conjecture. In Britain it is known by an undated inscription at Nether Cramond, near Edinburgh, and by remains (tiles, a fragmentary inscription, some lead seals) found at South Shields.³

The inscription belongs to the very large class of building inscriptions, which, in Britain, are especially numerous in the first half of the third century, more particularly perhaps in the reigns of Alexander and Gordian III. (A.D. 222-244). At this time the frontiers of the empire were everywhere objects of much attention, and the troops defending them were becoming more and more territorial, and therefore more and more in need of permanent buildings. This activity in construction and re-construction has, therefore, nothing to do with Septimius Severus, though its results in Britain, and especially in the neighbourhood of the Wall, are sometimes spoken of as though they were his work.

¹ Chesters C. 585; Netherby C. 965.

² So at Netherby, C. 964, 965, 967. Abroad, in Germany, Brambach 1608, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xi., 316.

³ An Aquileian inscription (C. v. 875) mentions a man who began his career as *praefectus* of this cohort and was afterwards decorated by Vespasian. The Pannonian and Dacian inscriptions are C. iii., p. 855, Eph. v.p. 93, and *Arch. Epigr. Mitt.* xiv., p. 111. For the Cramond inscription see C. 1083, for

the earlier finds at South Shields Eph. iii., p. 143, iv., p. 207-9, vii., n. 1003, *Arch. Ael.* x. 223 foll. The statement that tiles of this cohort have been found at Tynemouth (*Hermes* xvi., 52 n.) is a mistake. I have assumed in this list that all the references to a *cohors v. Gallorum* are to the same cohort, an assumption which seems here probable, though in many cases it is dangerous. See further, *Arch. Ael.* xvi., 158.

140. [Eph. iii., n. 97, p. 131.] This fragment, now in the South Shields museum, seems to read



... *oculus pos(uit)*.

Copied by myself. os is faint.

141. [Eph. vii., 1162.] Recent researches have made it probable that the inscription around the bronze dish found on the Herd Sands in 1887 ought to be read.

Λ P O L L I N I · Λ N E X T L O M A R O M A · S A B
Apollini *Anextlomaro* *M. A. Sab.*

That is “dedicated to Apollo Anextlomārus by (a person whose name, abbreviated, was) M. A. Sab.”

We had before read the god’s epithet as *Anextiomaro*, and this appears to be a philologically possible form. It is moreover justified by the actual lettering; it seemed to myself and Mr. A. H. Smith, when we re-examined the bowl, that the disputed letter might be I or L, but resembled I. However, inscriptions have been found in France which leave no doubt as to the existence of names Anextlus, Anextlatus, while no parallel for a form Anextio is forthcoming. Fortunately the variation does not affect the sense. As Dr. Whitley Stokes tells me, *Anextlos* (or *Anextios*) would mean something like “protector,” *Anextlomaros* (or *Anextiomaros*) “great protector.” The *x*, be it added, represents throughout not an *x* but a Gaulish *ch* or Greek *χ*.¹

XLI. WALLSEND.

142. Altar of local freestone, 35 in. high by 16 in. wide, found in the spring of 1892, in the Wallsend allotments (plot 20, belonging to Mr. Alexander Arnott), a little west of the Wallsend camp, and technically a few yards inside the boundary of Walker. The letters are 2 in. high in

¹ See Holder *Sprachschatz*, p. 153; Espérandieu *Epigr. romaine du Poitou* No. 82; R. Mowat, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 187. I have assumed, as I

think one may safely assume that Dr. Hübner’s rendering *Anextio Maro M(arci) A(ntonii) Sab(ini servus)* is wrong.



Wallsend.

the first line, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in the last, 1 or $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in the other lines. Now in the Blackgate Museum, Newcastle.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(azimo)
coh(ors) iv Lingonum eq(uitata),
cui attendit Iul(ius) Honoratus
centurio leg. ii Aug(ustae),
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Copied by myself. I have also to thank Mr. Blair for a squeeze. Described in the *Newcastle Daily Journal*, May 17 and 26, 1892; *Archæologia Aeliana*, xvi., 76-80., by myself; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xiv., 171; *Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, xi., 57, and elsewhere. The lettering is quite certain.

There are several points of interest in this inscription.

(1) The dedicating cohort, the Fourth of Lingones, is otherwise known to us. From "military discharges" (*diplomata* or *privilegia militum*) it can be shewn to have been in Britain in A.D. 103 and 146. In the *Notitia*, the British sections of which belong to about A.D. 300, it is stationed at the place where this inscription was found, Segedunum or Wallsend; an altar dedicated to Jupiter by its *praefectus*, was found at Tynemouth in 1783 in digging out the foundations of a building connected with the priory.¹ It has been supposed, in consequence, that the cohort had a post at Tynemouth, but it is much more probable that the stone was brought down the river from Wallsend by the monks as convenient building material. There is no trace of any Roman fort at Tynemouth, nor is the situation of the priory a likely one for Romans to select. It is one of those exposed and prominent positions of which our north-east coast offers many instances, none of them characterized by Roman remains.

(2) The cohort was commanded by a legionary centurion "seconded" for this special service. The formula which describes his command, *cui attendit*, seems to be unique, but the position is fairly common. Half a dozen instances occur in Britain alone. The centurion, always an important officer in the legion, seems to have acquired additional importance during the second century, and still more at the beginning of the third century when Septimius Severus carried through his military reforms. At the same time,

¹ For the *Diplomata*, see C. 1193, Eph. vii., 1117; for the Tynemouth altar C. 493. I have dealt with the history of

the cohort and the alleged fort at Tynemouth more fully in the *Archæologia Aeliana*.

the appointment of a legionary centurion to command an auxiliary cohort seems to have always been somewhat exceptional. The phrase, *cui praeest*, applied regularly to the ordinary *praefectus*, is seldom applied to the legionary centurion. Instead we have such terms as *praepositus*, *curator*, *cuius curam agit*, or (as here) the strange *cui attendit*.¹

(3) We may perhaps infer from this feature that our altar dates from after the middle of the second century, but I see no reason for assigning it, as Prof. Hübner does (*Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 164), to the reign of Septimius Severus in particular.

143. Fragments of rude sculpture in local freestone, found in Wallsend allotments in the summer of 1892. The sculpture seems to have represented Mercury, holding in his left hand his caduceus, and vested in a chlamys fastened by a *fibula* to his right shoulder and hanging over his left arm. The right arm is extended, as though to hold a purse. At his side is his emblem, the goat, and below the beginning of a two-line inscription, in half-inch letters—

D . M . I
N . F

D(eo) M(ercurio)...



Copied by myself and Mr. A. H. Smith, and printed

¹ Such centurions are mentioned on inscriptions found at Maryport (C. 371), Chesters (C. 587), Birdoswald (Eph. vii., 1071, see No. 154 in this paper), Nether Cramond (C. 1084), Rough Castle (C. 1092), and presumably at Ribchester (C. 218). For foreign examples see Dessau *Inscript. Selectae* 2615, Mommsen

Archäologische Zeitung 1869, A. Müller *Philologus* xli., 482, and Karbe *Dissert. Halenses* iv., 305. The nearest parallels in Latin to *cui attendit* seem to be the post-Augustan uses, like *eloquentiae attendere*, "study eloquence" (Suetonius), or *votis attendere*, "listen to prayers" (Silius viii., 591), but these are not very close.

Proc. Newcastle Ant. v. 178, with woodcut. The inscription is noticeable for having stops on the line, and not half way up, as is usual. The first letter of line 2 may be N or NI tied. The figure of Mercury resembles several in the Newcastle (Blackgate) Museum (Nos. 9 and 50).

XLII—LII. BENWELL—BIRDOSWALD.

144. [C. 510.] I have examined this Benwell altar in the Newcastle museum with Mr. A. H. Smith, and find that Prof. Hübner's text needs correction. The first line ends ESTR. In the third and fourth lines, the erasure of some sixteen or seventeen letters is complete; there is no trace of any S after ASTVRVM. In the fourth line, the word GORDIANÆ (or rather GORDI/NÆ, there being a fracture over the A) has never been erased. At the end of the same line there is room for an abbreviated *nomen* after T. We may then read—

Matr(ibus) tribus Camestr(ibus) et genio alae pri(mae) H[il]ariorum Asturum [Pupienae Balbinae] Gordianae, T. I. Agrippa praefectus) templum a sol[o] restituit.

The lacuna caused by the erasure has been filled up as was suggested by Prof. Mommsen (C. III. 6953).

CHESTERS.

145. Rough bit of sandstone, 7 by 9 inches, found in 1892; there is a fracture before the D, but none after K.



Copied by myself.

For the bit of alphabet, compare the lead fragment with ABCDEF at Lydney (No. 93). It is extremely common to find alphabets, or portions of them, on all sorts of ancient objects. Sometimes they are meant for ornament, sometimes for reading lessons (with a letter intentionally omitted), sometimes for charms. Some again were due

to mere idleness, some, as among the early christians, had a mystical meaning.¹

146. Fragment of yellow pottery with brown bands, found May, 1892; on it deeply incised, with fractures before and after the letters—

R E P O

Copied by myself. R. Blair, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v. 162.

NEAR CARRAWBURGH.

147. Centurial stone, 15 by 6½ inches, found by Mr. A. H. Smith and myself in the wall of Wade's Road near the Sewingshields School-house: now in the Newcastle Museum by the gift of Mr. W. D. Cruddas.



COHI
TERENTI
CANTAB

coh(ors) i
[*centuria*] *Terenti Cantab[ri]*

Copied and published by myself, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 188, 227. The cognomen Cantaber does not mean that the man was an actual Spaniard. Like Romanus, Italus, Raeticus, Gallus, Noricus, Rhenicus, and many more, it has probably lost whatever national force it may at first use have possessed.

148. Rudely inscribed fragment found near the preceding, now in the Newcastle Museum, 11 by 6½ inches in size.



Seen by myself; sent me by Mr. Blair (*Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 227). The letters are rough, and might almost be accidental.

¹ See Kalinka, *Mitth. der K. deutschen Instituts* (Ath. Abth.) xvii (1892) 117 foll.; *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.*, v., p. 124,

viii., pp. 46, 80; de Rossi, *bull. Archéol. Crist.*, 1881, p. 139.

CHESTERHOLM.

149 [C. 724.] I have examined this tombstone with the Bishop of Southwell and Dr. Hodgkin. The right reading appears certainly to be.

INGENV.
 VIXIT. ANNIS *Ingenu[us.] vixit annis xxi v*
 XXIII. MENSES *menses iv et dies vii.*
 IIII. ET. DIES. VII

The stone is ansate in shape, 20 by 25 inches in size.

NEAR CARVORAN.

150. Centurial stone, found in the autumn of 1892, in the turret at Mucklebank, near Walltown, and now there. It is of the usual ansate shape.



*coh(ors) i, c(enturia)
 Fl(avii) C.,*

I have to thank Mr. D. G. Hogarth, M.A., F.S.A., and Mr. R. Blair for copies. The end of line two is uncertain.

151. Amphora stamp found at the same turret.

QMCCAS

I have to thank Mr. Blair and Mr. J. P. Gibson, of Hexham, for rubbings.

152. Fragment, 17 by 7 inches, walled up at Blenkinsopp Castle with Eph. vii., 1061 (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxviii., 278). Above are traces of some anaglyph, representing the legs of a man or beast. Of the lettering, I could distinguish only

M
V.L

Possibly Sepulchral [*dis*]
m(anibus).

I could not find Eph. vii., 1062, at Blenkinsopp. As

given by Mr. Watkin (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii., 278), it read

T P O
S V I S L . . .

and possibly this is a misreading of the fragment above.

LII. BIRDOSWALD.

153 [Eph. vii., 1071]. I have been able with Mr. A. H. Smith to carefully examine this fine altar, which is preserved at Birdoswald. Two points may be noted. M. Mowat (*bulletin épigr.*, 1886, 253), was wrong in suggesting in the third line C-CAM *C(aius) Cam(mius)*, the stone plainly has C-C-A-IVL, that is *cuius curam agit Iulius*. In the fifth line, I thought to detect a small centurial mark before LEG II AVG.

154 [C. 825]. The lettering of this most illegible altar seemed to me to be

I . O . M . . , | C o H | A E L I . . | D A C . . | V M A V G | . . P A V R | . .

That is *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) coh(ors) [i] Aeli[a] Dac[or]um aug[us]t[us] [c(vi)] p(raeest) Aur(elius)...*

155 [C. 833b]. This stone is now at Castlesteads, where I have examined it. In line 3 the first letter is I, not O. Dr. Hübner's conjecture *d]omus di[vinae* is therefore impossible.

156. (Eph. vii. 1082). This inscription, of Shawk quarry stone, is very illegible; it may be read better than I first read it:—

GENI.....
. BASSH... CRESC... E
.... DONO DONAVIT

Copied by myself and Mr. A. H. Smith.

Some one, whose name is in the second line, put this up (*dono donavit*) to a genius.



ROMAN TOMBSTONE FROM CARLISLE

I have examined this ring with the help of Mr. A. W. Franks, and have little doubt that the lettering is as I have given it. Expanded it will be—

Matrum, C. C(ornelius) Ae(lianus).

or similar names. The genitive, in such dedications, is unusual, but not wholly without parallel.

LXIII.—LXVI. SCOTLAND.

Professor W. M. Ramsay, of Aberdeen, and myself, in going through the Hunterian (University) museum at Glasgow and the National museum at Edinburgh, noted various details, some of which may be given here.

159 [C. 1091]. The man's name is Necto (or Necio)velius, the second letter being E, the fourth broken at the top. In the fourth line Stuart rightly gives BRIGANS.

160 [C. 1096]. The upper part of this altar is worn beyond certain decipherment, but we could detect nothing at all like Dr. Hübner's *Deo Silvano*.

161 [C. 1103]. This altar was found at Barhill in 1736 (*Daily Gazetteer*, 7 Sept., 1736). The decipherable lettering seems to be

D E O . M A R	
C A M V L O	<i>Deo Mar(ti)</i>
. . C I A V G . I	<i>Camulo</i>
. M A R I O . . .	<i>[e]g ii Aug..</i>
. . . . S C . .	

162 [C. 1108]. This centurial stone, 5 by 8½ inches, reads—

Probably *c(enturia) Gliconis* [L?] *Abrucius*, a rather unusual formula for such a stone. Centurial stones are naturally rare along the sod built¹ Wall of Antonine. This example belongs to Croyhill camp.

¹ The recent excavations of the Glasgow Antiquarian Society have shewn that this Wall was literally *caespiticius*,

as it is described by Capitolinus. The layers of cut sods can still be distinctly traced

163 [C. 1130, 1136]. The distances are respectively
 MP III DC | LXVI·S and III CCLXXI.

164. The Edinburgh Museum contains also a large altar from Auchenvole, near Falkirk (*Catalogue*, p. 225, FV 14), 40 inches high by 17 inches wide. On one side is a modern IOM, on the other five illegible lines, somewhat resembling—

.....I
 ∴COI..
 E.....
 C.....
 ·S . . .

I give it only to avoid mistake in the future.

165. Handle of bronze saucepan found in East Lothian, now in the Edinburgh Museum (FR 38¹, with maker's name very faint, resembling—

CIPPO! ...

Copied by myself. Possibly *Cipi Polibi* (see No. 117).¹

166. [C. n. 1283]. The Rev. W. Gilchrist Clark, of Gateshead, has been good enough to inform me that the gold ornament inscribed IOVI AVG, VOT XX, which was found at Kirkpatrick about 1787, is now in possession of Miss Rannie, Conheath, Dumfries, to whose father it was given (he thinks) by the original possessor, and in whose hands it is well cared for. He has also very kindly sent me photographs of the object. According to his description and the photographs, it is a fibula with a semi-circular bow. The bow is in section a hollow triangle, of which two sides are cut out into patterns and bear, in pierced work, the letters IOVI AVG and VOT XX respectively²; the third side, the underside, is plain and has scratched on it—

P O R T O

which none before Mr. Clark appears to have detected. The main inscription should, probably be expanded *Iovi Aug(usto), vot(is) xx*. The *vicennalia* are mentioned on several coins of Diocletian, whose title *Iovius* is well-known. Similar *vota* are mentioned occasionally on fourth century inscriptions; though I do not know of

¹ To the twelve instances of *Cipi Polibi* stamps there quoted, should be added some German specimens, *Bonner Jahrbücher* xc. (1891), 37. See also *Revue*

de numismatique Belge v. (1873), 197.

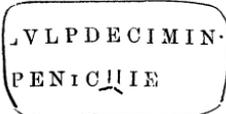
² The photograph shows IOVI, not IOV as in older copies; there are also no stops.

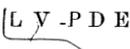
any on smaller ornaments, it is not out of keeping with the ways of the time. One may quote a gold coin of Diocletian (Cohen vi. 393, p. 458), inscribed PRIMI XX IOVI AUGUSTI, where, as on our fibula, it is not quite clear whether *Iovi* is from *Iovius* or *Iuppiter*.

UNCERTAIN.

167. Oculist's stamp, made of Purbeck marble, fully inscribed on two sides, imperfectly on a third; the corners are worn and some letters lost. Recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. A. W. Franks:—

1. 

2. 

3. 

1. *L. Ulp(ii) Decimini, dia[l]epidos crocod(es) ad omnia vitia.*

2. *L. Ulp. Decimin(i) penicil(lum) le(ne)?*

3. *L. Ulp. De . . never finished.*

Copied by myself, with Mr. Franks' aid. The reading seems certain except that in face 2, line 2, the last letter is very faint, and looked almost like a V. The *provenance* of the inscription seems beyond discovery, but it can be traced to a Colchester owner, and Mr. Franks therefore thinks it may have been found there. The material, Purbeck marble, shews that it is, in any case, British.

A valuable list of these medical oculists' stamps is being published by M. Espérandieu in the *Revue Archéologique*. He gives [xxi. (1893), p. 325], this stamp among the rest, with a reading, based on a squeeze, which is substantially correct, though one or two *minutiae* are not right.

INDEX OF PLACES.

[Where nothing is added in square brackets after the place name, the finds include inscribed stones. Where a square bracket is added, they do not include inscribed stones. Where (“*corr.*”) is added, the notes contain only corrections of earlier finds.]

Antonine Wall	-	159	Gloucestershire (<i>corr.</i>)	-	125
Bath (<i>corr.</i>)	-	122	Greta Bridge (<i>corr.</i>)	-	132
Benwell (<i>corr.</i>)	-	144	Kirkpatrick (<i>corr.</i>)	-	166
Binchester (<i>corr.</i>)	-	137	Lanchester	-	138
Birchington [ring]	-	121	Lincoln (<i>corr.</i>)	-	126
Birdoswald (<i>corr.</i>)	-	153	Lothian [<i>patera</i>]	-	165
Bowes (<i>corr.</i>)	-	133	Malton (<i>corr.</i>)	-	131
Canterbury [glass, &c.]	-	119	Maryport (<i>corr.</i>)	-	145
Carlisle	-	156	Northumberland (<i>corr.</i>)	-	158
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Colchester (?) [oculist's stamp]	-	167	Wallsend	-	142
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THREE NOTABLE INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. HAVERFIELD.

My third report on Roman inscriptions in Britain contains three items which deserve separate treatment, a dedication from Cirencester, a tombstone from Carlisle, and an altar from Lanchester near Durham. The first two of these go, in some sense, together: they belong to the fourth century, to an age, that is, to which very few of our Romano-British inscriptions can quite confidently be ascribed. We have only the curious inscription of Justinian from Peak near Whitby¹ and some sixteen or twenty milestones.² The addition to this little group of a dedication and a tombstone is, therefore, of some interest. Our knowledge of Roman-Britain in the fourth century is curiously meagre, and, till we can recover certain vanished fragments of Ammian, we must trust to inscriptions to add a little light. Besides this, both of these inscriptions as well as the Lanchester altar, possess points of interest in detail, which it may be well to discuss.

1. THE CIRENCESTER DEDICATION.

This important inscription consist of a dedication and two hexameters, inscribed on three sides of an originally four-sided "basis," of which the fourth side, now lost, may perhaps have contained a third hexameter. The text, with one exception, is certain and the few lost letters can be satisfactorily supplied with ease. It would, of course, be idle to guess at the sense of the lost hexameter, if one has been lost. The text, expanded and completed, is:—

*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) L. Sept[imius...], v(ir) p(erfectissimus)
pr(aeses) [pr(ovinciae) Brit(anniae) pr(imae)] restituit civs.³*

*Septimius renovat primae provinciae rector
[sig]num et [er]ectam prisca religione columnam*

¹ C. 268, A. J. Evans, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vii., 207 (*Arch. Cambr.* v. 5, 18).

² Sixteen milestones are certainly of the fourth century (or late third century); two have been found in Cornwall (*Eph.* iii. p. 318 and vii., 1095), three in Cambridgeshire (C. 1153-5), one at Kempsey, south of Worcester (C. 1157), two near Neath (C. 1158-9, *Eph.* vii., 1098), one each at Ancaster (C. 1170), at Brougham

and at Penrith on the York and Carlisle Road (C. 1176-7), and the rest near the wall, at Crindledykes on Stanegate, at Thirlwall and at Old Wall (C. 1188, 1190, *Eph.* vii. 1110-1112). Less certain examples occur at Wroxeter and elsewhere.

³ For the latter Dr. Hübner suggests *c(urante) Jus[tino]* but there may have been a letter between v and s.

The scansion of the hexameters is rough, but it agrees thoroughly with the fourth century. In the first line *provinciae* is scanned accentually, in the second the second *i* of *religione* is dropped or made into a *y*. It were idle to quote parallels for accentual scansion; for *religione* we may compare a line in the "Eucharisticos" of Paulinus of Pella (v. 462), who wrote about the end of the fourth century:—

nec ratio aut pietas aut mors religiosa sinebat

The sense of the whole is plain—L. Septimius, governor of Britannia Prima, restored a column and statue of Jupiter which had fallen into disrepair. The monument, therefore, consisted of the existing "base," on which stood a column bearing a statue or statuette of Jupiter. A socket in the base which helped to fasten the column can still be detected, but no trace has been found of the actual column or statue. The type of monument is, however, well-known abroad, though no specimen has been previously identified in Britain. It includes three parts: first, a square pedestal decorated on three or four sides with figures of gods, usually Hercules, Minerva, Juno, and Mercury; secondly, a column, varying from two to six feet in height; and thirdly, a statue of Jupiter on the top, sometimes sitting or standing, more commonly riding over a fallen giant. Wherever an inscription has been preserved, the monument is found to be dedicated to Jupiter. Three years ago Dr. Haug published a list of 218 pedestals belonging to this type, dating, so far as they can be dated, between A.D. 170 and A.D. 246, and occurring most abundantly in the Roman provinces of Rhaetia, Upper Germany, and Belgica. The most perfect specimens of the whole monuments have been found at Schierstein, Hedderheim, and Merten, and may be seen in the museums of Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, and Metz. The Cirencester pedestal is a fourth century restoration, and it is not unnatural, therefore, that the characteristic figures of the three or four gods should be wanting.¹ At Risingham in Northumberland an inscription (C. 1069) mentions a *sigillum* and *columna lignea* erected to Mercury.

¹ F. Haug *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* x. 9-340; Hettner *Römische Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier*, pp.

15 foll.; Florschütz *Gigantensäule von Schierstein* (Wiesbaden 1890).

The monument was erected by L. Septimius..., governor of Britannia Prima. The man is otherwise unknown and need not detain us, but the reference to the province is most noteworthy. We knew already from various provincial lists, such as the Verona catalogue and the *Notitia*, that Britain in the fourth century was divided up on the system introduced by Diocletian and consisted of four provinces, Britannia Prima, Secunda, Flavia Caesariensis and Maxima Caesariensis.¹ We could further assert that this division dates from the year A.D. 296. The title Flavia connects it very plainly with Constantius Chlorus, who in that year defeated Allectus and re-incorporated Britain in the Empire, while the Verona list drawn up soon after A.D. 297, which mentions the four provinces, gives us evidence that they were organised immediately on the conquest. But beyond this we knew nothing. Various conjectures have been made as to the relative positions of these provinces, but the best of them are pure conjectures,² while others betray a conscious or unconscious connection with "Richard of Cirencester," that is Bertram, here adopting a baseless conjecture of Camden's. We now know for certain, that Cirencester was in Britannia Prima. One would gladly go further, but our evidence does not at present permit us to do so. Another discovery may perhaps lay the whole matter clear before us.

Meantime, we learn something definite as to Cirencester. Previous discoveries have made it plain that the site was occupied in early times, though the evidence yet acquired proves only a military occupation in the first century and probably in that part of it which followed immediately on the Claudian invasion. Some such date may well be assigned to the two interesting military reliefs found there.³

¹ Valentia, organised by Theodosius, does not here concern us.

² Even the ingenious suggestions of my friend Prof. Rhys (*Celtic Britain* ed. 2, p. 99), seem to me to be devoid of real foundation. They are based on a view as to the division of *Britannia superior* and *inferior* which is unproved, and which, even if proven, would not aid Prof. Rhys' views. Kiepert, in his *Atlas* (1893), arranges the provinces according to a sketch which accompanies the list in the *Notitia* (p. 171 Seeck), but this sketch seems to represent dignity, not geographical position. If it is geographical,

it contradicts our inscription, for it puts Britannia prima half-way up what should be the east coast. It has been suggested to me that the sketch is geographical but misplaced and that the apparent east coast was meant for the south. This suggestion makes the sketch harmonize with the inscription, but its other consequences are less satisfactory. Some more solid result might perhaps be deduced from the analogies of other provinces on the continent, but the two best parallels, Germany and Pannonia, unfortunately suggest opposite conclusions.

³ C. vii, 66, 70 (not 68).

But it is also plain that the place was one of importance in the third and fourth centuries, both when the original monument was erected and when it was restored. The whole character of the objects found there proves this, and the new inscription comes in to confirm their testimony. We dare not suggest that the city was the capital of Britannia Prima, but we may be sure that it was one of its chief towns and one, besides, of the chief towns in Southern Britain.

Some further reflexions may be based on the titles given to the dedicator, *praeses v. p.* and *rector*. The latter is a general term which is common in the fourth century; the former may be briefly noticed. The subdivision of the provinces which dates mainly from Diocletian, resulted in, or at least confirmed, a lowering of the rank given to the provincial governor. In the first two and a half centuries, the governor was usually a man of senatorial rank; in the new order, he was at first by no means necessarily such. In our inscription the governor has not senatorial rank. He is not *vir clarissimus*—he is only *vir perfectissimus*. If we knew more of fourth century history, this would help us to fix the date of the inscription, for at some time or other in that century the provincial *praesides* seem to have gained in dignity and become *clarissimi*. Unfortunately the evidence is inconclusive. Details which may be gathered from the *Corpus*, and the Theodosian Code suggest only that it may have been about at various dates in various provinces: as to Britain we know nothing that affects this question.

But we can get further. The dedication is a restoration, the column and statue, erected *prisca religione*, had fallen into neglect in the fourth century. It is no rash conjecture to suggest that the neglect was due to the spread of Christianity and the restoration to some revival of paganism. We know sadly little about early Christianity in Britain, but we do know that in Roman times there were Christians in our island. The Christian symbol occurs at Frampton, at Chedworth and elsewhere, and a building has lately been discovered at Silchester, which has, with great probability, if not with absolute certainty, been declared to be a Christian church. The Christian worshippers were probably not in the majority, except perhaps in the towns,

but they would be enough to justify the otherwise strange phrase, *prisca religio*. We may compare the dedications, common in the North of England, to the *dii veteres* or *deus vetus*, which most probably denote the "old," that is, pre-Christian god or gods.¹ We cannot, of course, determine what particular revival of paganism may (if my theory be right) have caused the restoration of the Cirencester column and statue. The great effort of Julian, called the Apostate, naturally occurs to the mind in this context, and Prof. Domaszewski has pointed out to me a parallel among the Pannonian inscriptions which he has lately edited. It is a stone erected to Julian *ob deleta vitia temporum preteritorum*, and its meaning is unmistakable.² It may be added that Julian governed Gaul and Britain for some years (A.D. 355-360) just before he became Emperor and openly renounced Christianity. There are, however, other possibilities. The persecution of Diocletian was felt, though not severely felt, in Britain, and we have the express testimony of a contemporary writer that Constantius Chlorus, then ruling in Britain and Gaul, allowed the Christian churches to be destroyed.³ Even in the half century which elapsed between the abdication of Diocletian and the accession of Julian, paganism was active in an intermittent fashion which would not be inconsistent with the restoration of a ruined shrine in a far-off province. It would, therefore, be wrong to dogmatize on this matter; but, if one may choose between hypotheses, I may perhaps say that, after much hesitation, I think the most plausible to be that which connects the inscription with the effort of Julian.

3. THE CARLISLE GRAVESTONE.

This inscription was found, face downwards, over a wooden coffin filled with fatty earth and a skull, close to the London Road on the South side of Carlisle, where previous discoveries, made principally in 1829 and 1847, had demonstrated the existence of a Roman cemetery.

¹ See No. 61 (*Arch. Jour.*, xlvii, 261).

² Found at Essegg, C. iii, 10648.

³ In the treatise *De mortibus perse-*

cutorum, which certainly belongs to this period, and almost certainly to Lactantius.

The stone has been intentionally broken across the seventh line and this fact and the position in which it was found shew that it was not *in situ* when discovered, though we may well assume that it belongs to the adjacent cemetery. The text, except in the seventh line, is perfect, but the interpretation of the last three lines, after LX, is open to much doubt. The reading is :—

D(is) m(anibus), Fla(viu)s Antigon(u)s Papias, civis grecus, vixit annos plus minus lx quem-ad-modum accom(m)odatam fatis animam revocavit Septimi(?)adoni . . ?

We may with confidence attribute the inscription to the fourth century or, at earliest, to the very end of the third century. The proofs are the following :—

1. The name Flavius, popularized by the Flavian dynasty of the Constantines, becomes very common in the fourth and fifth centuries. The late military cemetery at Concordia (N. Italy), for instance, contains a large proportion of Flavii, while of the 180 Flavii mentioned in the fifth volume of the *Corpus* (which includes Concordia), certainly 60 and probably nearly 90 lived after the year A.D. 300. The name was taken even by barbarian kings, and always suggests a late date for any inscription which does not belong to the era of the first Flavii, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.¹

2. The abbreviations *Flas Antigons* for *Flavius Antigonus* are characteristic of a late period. In the first two or three centuries, the Romans abbreviated by the first letter or syllable of the abbreviated word : in the fourth century, they took the first and last letters or syllables, thus commencing the system which in the middle ages still produced *epus* for *episcopus* and *seti* for *sancti*. I do not know whether the actual forms *Flas* and *Antigons* recur elsewhere, but we have abundant parallels from the fourth and fifth centuries, *Julians* for *Julianus*, *Jans* for *Januarias*, *Debres* for *Decembres*, *cus* for *coniuus*, *Maxianus* and *Constius* for *Maximianus* and *Constantius*, the two latter on a boundary stone at Cherchell in Africa.²

3. The employment of *civis* to denote nationality is also a mark of late date. In the first and second centuries, the word is used of members of an actual community or of a tribe which could be regarded as a *civitas* : later, it denotes only birth, and *civis Gallus* means exactly the same as *natione Gallus*. The meaning crept even into literature and Sidonius Apollinaris (ep. vii. 6, 2.) speaks of a " Goth by birth " as

¹ C.I.L. v. p. 178, Cagnat *année épigr.* 1890, n. 143 foll., 1891, n. 101 foll. See also de Rossi, pp. cxiii and 390, du Cange, s.v. " Flavius," and especially Th. Mommsen's *Ostgothische Studien* in the *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xiv, p. 536.

² See C. xii. 5351, xiv. 399 ; le Blant i. 472, 614 : *Bulletin épigr.* iv. 231 ; *Bulletino di Arch. Christ.* i. 65 (DEPS = *depositus*) ii. 108, (FRIS = *fratris*), etc. The thing is almost too common to need explanation.

civis Gothus.¹ It may be added that *Graecus* in this context does not necessarily mean a native of Greece. A Christian inscription, probably of the fourth or fifth century, found in Hungary, mentions a *civis Graecus ex regione Ladicena* (C. iii. 4220) and a Lyons gravestone records a man who was *natione Graecus Nicomedeae* (Allmer *Lyon* i. 322, n^o. 62). The first was a Phrygian, the second a Bithynian. This, of course, agrees with the literary usage of the word *Graecus*. It would be wrong, I think, to connect with this the proper name *Greca* on a Plumpton Wall inscription. (C. 326).

4. The formula *plus minus*, familiar enough to classical scholars as good Latin, is rarely used on tombstones until Christian times and is indeed almost a mark of Christianity.

5. The lettering and general look of the inscription suggest the fourth century as the most probable date.

We may therefore conclude that the inscription belongs to the fourth century. Later we cannot put it, for the evacuation of Britain came early in the next century, and the proofs I have quoted forbid us to put it much earlier. We may, I think, go further and conjecture that the inscription was Christian. The formula *plus minus* is usually, and I think rightly, reckoned as a mark of Christianity, though simple classical scholars will perhaps smile at the idea. The formula D.M., though in its origin Pagan, is not unknown on Christian tombstones and especially, as it would seem, on the earlier ones.² It must be remembered that, as Hirschfeld and Le Blant have pointed out, the early Christians used ordinary burial phrases, indicating their

¹ Mommsen *Hermes* xix. 35. The following examples may convince doubters:—

- civis Britannicus*, found at Cologne (Brambach 2033 *addenda*).
- c. Gallus*, Pola (Pais, 1096), Rome (Le Blant 656, 658, both fourth century).
- c. Helvetius*, Kothenburg (Brambach, 1639).
- c. Raetus*, Rome, Christian (*Eph.* iv. 943); Birrens and Netherby in Britain (C. vii. 1068, and 972).
- c. Noricus*, Halton and Castleary in Britain (C. vii. 571. 1095); Transylvania (C. iii. 966).
- c. Pannonius*, Africa, Christian C. viii. 8910; Rome, Christian (*Eph.* iv. 953), Chesterholm in Britain (C. vii. 723).
- c. Mensiacus*, (= *Moesiacus*), Bordeaux (Jullian i. p. 146, n. 44).
- c. Graecus*, Hungary, Christian (C. iii. 4220), Bordeaux (Jullian, i. p. 187, n. 69.)
- c. Surus*, N. Italy (Aquilaia), Christian (C. v. 1633); Hungary (*Eph.* ii. 895); Cilli (*Oest. Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* iv. 127,

seen by myself).

- c. Armeniacus Cappadox*, Rome, Christian, A.D. 385 (de Rossi, i. 355).
- c. Ater*, Cilli (C. iii. 5230), and possibly Spain (*Inscr. Christ. Hisp.* 71)
- c. Tuscus*, Rome, A.D. 408 (de Rossi, i. 558).
- c. Thraex*, Cherehell (*Bull. Epigr.* iv. 64).
- c. Francus*, Aquincum (C. 3576), obviously late. See also C. iii, 1324, 3367.

² F. Pecker *die heidnische Weichformel D.M. auf altherchristlichen Grabsteinen* (Gera 1881). To his 100 examples (not all certain), add instances from S. Gaul (C. xii. 409, 2114, 2311, 4059); Africa (C. viii. 11897, 11900, 11905, 12197; *Eph.* vii. 492; Cagnat *année épigr.* 1891, n. 136); N Italy (Pais *Suppl.* n. 349; *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* iii. p. 50, C. iii, 1643, 8588, 8575); Salonae (C. iii, 9414); Larisa (C. iii, 7315); Rome (de Rossi, i, 24 and 1192; Brittany (Corneilhan, *Revue épigr.* i. p. 107), etc. See also De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* i. 174, and F. X. Kraus, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 64, who consider the use as a rare one.

religion only by preference for special words and phrases, like *plus minus*, *pious*, *sanctus*, such as would not attract the attention or arouse the fanaticism of the hostile pagan majority round them.¹

So far we have dealt only with the first half of the inscription. The second and less certain half requires a word or so, especially as it seems to me not improbably to be Christian. It is unfortunate that the stone does not tell us whether we should read *quemadmodum* or *quem admodum* or *quem ad modum*. It is also unfortunate that the last line is so broken that we can hardly tell how it ran. SEPTIMIADONI seems to me most probable, but it is also possible to read SEPTIMA, supposing the stroke after M (which is not quite vertical) to be an accident. The passage, thus involved, has puzzled many persons, and various distinguished scholars whom I have consulted, Prof. Domaszewski, Prof. Ellis, Prof. Wölfflin and others, have differed considerably in their interpretations. Of the views suggested, the most attractive is that which takes *quemadmodum* as three words, "at which date," puts a fullstop after *revocavit* and renders it by the rare sense "gave up." Then *revocavit animam* means "he gave up his soul," either as an equivalent to the common Christian formula *reddidit animam* or with the heathen idea (mentioned in Seneca and elsewhere) of life being a loan from the gods. Of the two alternatives, I confess I prefer the former, but, whichever is accepted, it remains a difficulty that *revocavit* in this sense is very rare.² If, however, it be admitted, we shall render "at which time, he gave up his soul resigned to death (or its destiny)". We shall then suppose that *Septimia* (or *Septima*) *Doni* . . . commences a sentence about the person who put up the tombstone. *Doni* may be part of *donicella*, that is *domnicella*, as Prof. Wölfflin suggests; for the form compare *Dominicellus* on an African inscription of Christian date (*Bulletin épigr.* vi. 39).

¹ *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, viii. 138. *Plus Minus* occurs also on a tombstone found at Brougham (*Eph.* iii. n. 91; Bruce, *Lapidarium*, 814).

² Mr. G. Rushforth has pointed out to me that in the African *Gesta Purgationis Felicis* (of the fourth century, Routh, *Rel., Sacrae*, iv. 290), *revocare* is

used as the equivalent of *tradere*, *restituere* and *revocare*. The later African poet Corippus may possibly have used the word similarly in *Joh.* ii. 344, where the manuscript reading *captivos revocet* "let him restore the captives" would make good sense. But it is a far cry from African Latin to Carlisle.

There are however other possibilities. We may take *revocavit* in its ordinary sense and suppose that the nominative to it was in the lost part of the inscription. *Septima* (if that be right) may belong to a date, such as was often expressed on christian inscriptions. *QUEM ADMODUM* may be taken as two words, *quem* being in apposition to *animam* and meaning "whom, a wholly resigned soul. . . ." Prof. Ellis suggests to me that we should render "he lived sixty years more or less, for so it was that, when his spirit was prepared to meet its doom, he recalled it to life (and did not die)". That is, he was often on the point of death but recovered as often and lived to be sixty years old. On the whole, I fear that certainty is unattainable, but I cannot help thinking that the curious wording, whatever exactly it means, savours rather of Christian than of heathen epigraphy.

THE LANCHESTER ALTAR.

The text and translation of this interesting inscription are fortunately both quite certain. The text, completed and expanded,¹ is as follows:—

Deae Garmangabi et n(unini) [G]o[r]di[ani] n(ostr) Aug(usti), pr[o]sal(ute) vex(illationis) or vex(illariorum) Sueborum Lon. Gor(dianorum) or Gor(dianae), votum solverunt n(erito).¹

In other words, the altar was erected to the goddess named and to the Divinity of Gordian, on behalf of the troop of Suebi stationed at *Lon.* (Lanchester) and bearing the epithet "Gordian." The points of interest are various.

1. The name of the goddess, Garmangabis or whatever the nominative was,² seems to be otherwise unknown both to Keltic and to Teutonic theology, but some sort of Teutonic parallels occur. The Mother goddesses *Gabiae*, mentioned on several German inscriptions, the Rhenish dedication *Deae Idban. gabie* of which name the second half has been rendered the "giver," and the Scandinavian Gefion shew names which may be conceivably connected with the second half of this new name.³

¹ The nominative to *solverunt* can easily be supplied out of *vex. Sueborum*.

² It is quite possible that the name is more or less abbreviated *e.g.* that in full it would have ended in *iae*.

³ For *Idban. gabie* see Ihm *Bonner Jahrb.* lxxxiii. 28, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xxxv. 317. I have been allowed to consult Prof. Napier and Dr. Whitley Stokes as to the name.

2. The emperor mentioned on the altar is Gordian III. (A.D. 238-244), after whom the troop is called, according to third century fashion, "Gordian." In the earlier part of the inscription his name has been so effectively erased that only four letters of it are now faintly legible, and this is noteworthy. Gordian was not one of the Emperors whose names were regularly erased after their deaths; indeed only one instance, and that a poor one, was hitherto known in which his name had suffered this dishonour. That instance occurs on a milestone found near Klein Schwechat on the Roman road from Vienna (Vindobona) to Petronell (Carnuntum), and there the erasure is half-hearted and hardly deserves the name.¹

3. The erection of the altar was made by and on behalf of the *vexillatio Sueborum Lon. Gor(dianorum)*² or as we may almost indifferently expand, *vex(illarum) Suebi Lon. Gor(diani)*. Two interpretations of the technical term are here possible. In the literature and inscriptions of the first and second centuries of our era the words *vexillatio* and *vexillarii* denote soldiers under a separate *vexillum* or flag, either drafts temporarily detached from the legion or, less commonly, from the auxiliary *ala* or cohort to which they belonged, or else veterans who remained "with the colours" under special conditions. It is conceivable that the word is so used here. We have, for example, at Carrawburgh, on the wall, an inscription erected by *Texandri et Sunici vex. cohort(is) ii Nerviorum*,³ that is to say, by a detachment from the cohort mentioned, consisting of Texandri and Sunici.

But it is also possible that we have here another sense of the word *vexillatio*. In the fourth century, that word denotes a "troop of horse" in the movable army and the transition to that meaning has been conjecturally detected in the second century, coinciding with a change in the army. As organized by Augustus, the army comprised the legions

¹ C. iii. 4644, now at Vienna (Hofmuseum, Lapidarium 134) where I have seen it. Gordian's name has been slashed but hardly erased. Two other instances, sometimes quoted, are due to mistakes, one to a slip in indexing (C. ii. 3406), the other to a slip in reading, as I have satisfied myself by recent examination (C. vii. 510, above No. 144).

² Or *Gor(diana)*; both forms of nomenclature occur in full. For *Gor(dianorum)* compare C. vii. 1030 and viii. 2716, for *Gor(diana)*, vii. 218, 510; Eph. v. 1047. The difference is purely grammatical.

³ Eph. iii. 103 (*vidi*); compare C. 1068 *Ræti militantes in coh. ii. Tungrorum*; C. 303, 731 are of doubtful reading.

and the auxiliaries on foot (*cohortes*) or mounted (*alae*). The auxiliaries in some cases bore local names, but except at their formation they were not recruited with any reference to these names and they took no great account of the native customs or tactics of the tribes who provided recruits. Early in the second century a change came and a new kind of auxiliary began to appear, organized with some respect to native tactics. The auxiliaries, we may say in short, were romanized. The name commonly given to these new regiments was *numerus*, but we also meet with *cuneus* and in certain cases Mommsen supposes *vexillatio* to have the same sense. The instances of the latter word are, however, few, and most of them may be explained in accordance with the older usage. Thus the African *vexillatio*, shortly to be mentioned, appears at the precise moment when the legio iii Augusta was not available, and it may be only a temporary substitute drawn from the *auxilia*.

When expressed in full, the titles of these troops are all based on the same scheme, which is that which appears also in the fourth century. We have (1) the nationality of the troop, (2) the name of the place at which they served and (3) an epithet taken from the name of the reigning emperor. To quote instances, for *vexillatio*, in whichever sense used, we have:—

Vexillatio militum Maurorum Caesariensium Gordianorum, A.D. 255
(Lambaesis in Africa C. viii 2716).

vex. eq. Maur. in territorio Auziensi praetendentium, A.D. 260¹
(Auzia, c. viii 9045-7).

And similarly for the other and certain names, for which we have British epigraphic parallels;—

cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium Philip(pianorum) A.D. 244-9
(Papcastle Eph. iii p. 130=C. vii. 415).²

¹ Compare Cagnat, *L'armée d'Afrique*, pp. 253, 306.

² I have to thank Mr. J. M. Brydone, for squeezes of this inscription; the reading given in the *Ephemeris* seems certain.—Papcastle must be Aballava; the epigraphic evidence is in agreement with the geographical lists which connect it with Uxellodunum (Maryport). The familiar difficulty about the names in the Notitia (*Oec.* xi), can be best solved by supposing that after Amboglanna or

Petrianæ the names of the forts on the Wall have fallen out; no other theory that I know will stand criticism. Even the attractive suggestion of Mr. Ferguson (*Cumberland*, p. 53), that the western half of the Notitia list has got inverted, only accounts for Aballava and Uxellodunum, not for Bremetennacum and what follows. Seeck's idea that Aballava may be identical with Galava in the *Itin. Anton.* (Wess. p. 481), is, I think, impossible.

numerus exploratorum Bremen(ensium) Gor(dianorum) A.D. 238-244
(High Rochester, C. 1030, 1037).

numerus eqq. Sar[mat(arum)] Bremetenn(acensium) Gordianus A.D.
238-244 (Ribchester C. 218).¹

Germani, cives Tuihanti, cunei VER. SER *Alexandriani* (House-
steads *Eph.* vii. 1041, *Arch. Ael.* x. 148, 166.)²

I may here add one more doubtful instance, an inscription from the neighbourhood of Lowther in Cumberland, which was copied and sent to Camden by one of his correspondents and has since disappeared. As we have it in Camden's handwriting it reads—

D E A B V S M A
R / 3 V S T R A M A I
V E X C E R M A . P
V . R D P R O S A
L v T E R . F V . S . L . M

It seems possible that the hardly intelligible V.RD may be a relic of the Roman name for Plumpton Wall and that the inscription was erected by *vex(illarii) Germa[ni] Voredenses*.³

Similarly with our Lanchester troop, whether it be a "detachment" from some other troop or an independent organization, we have first the tribe name *Suebi*. The name is an interesting one which one expects to meet only at the beginning and end of Roman imperial history. At the beginning we have Cæsar's wars against Ariovistus, the transference of Suebi and Sygambri across the Rhine into Roman territory by Augustus⁴ and the *bellum Suebicum* of Domitian. At the end⁵ we have the invaders of the

¹ Ribchester must be Bremetennacum and not Coccium as Dr. Hübner and some of the older antiquaries suggested. This suits the Itinerary fairly well (Watkin, *Lancashire*, pp. 25, foll), and agrees with the inscriptions. The latter mention a *numerus* or *ala Sarmatarum* (c. 218, 229, 230), as stationed at Ribchester, the former puts a *cuneus Sarmatarum* there (*Occ.* xl. 54, Seeck). This squadron was apparently formed when Aurelius transferred some 5000 Iazyges Sarmatae to Britain, in A.D. 175; its title of *ala* is a misuse for which there are parallels (C. viii. 9906, &c).

² The meaning of VER. SER. is unknown, but it is probable, as Mommsen suggested (*Hermes* xix. 233.) that *Ver.*

belongs to a place-name, possibly *Ver-covicium*, another form for *Bo-covicium* (compare the Ravenna *Velarton*) and that SER is for *Severiani*.

³ C. 303. Professor Hübner's account of the authorities for this inscription is inaccurate.

⁴ Exactly where they were settled is uncertain. The notion, mentioned for instance by Diäger on *Ta. Agr.* 28, that they migrated to Flanders and left traces of themselves there, seems to rest only on false etymology.

⁵ First mentioned, probably in the Appendix (early third century) to the Verona list of A.D. 297. Compare the citations in Mommsen *Hermes*, xxiv. 25.

Empire who became and gave their name to the inhabitants of Swabia. In between we have few references Tacitus and Ptolemy and other writers who follow them use the name vaguely, so vaguely indeed that some writers have even identified *Suebi* and "Slav." At some date which is after about A.D. 120 and probably before the middle of the third century we find a Suebe serving in the *Equites singulares*.¹ In the neighbourhood of Cologne we have three dedications to *Matres Suebar*, one dated to the year A.D. 223.² In France we meet a tombstone to a certain *Tertinia Florentinia, civis Sueoa Nicreti*, which Prof. Zangemeister connects with various milestones and other inscriptions containing the letters *SN* found near Heidelberg. He infers that near this town there was a community of Suebes settled in Roman territory, called the Suebi Nicretes. The inscriptions prove that this community was existence under Trajan, from whom it got the name *Ulpia*, and lasted on into the third century. It is possible that it dates from much earlier days, conceivably even from Cæsar's arrangements on the eastern (then not Roman) bank of the Rhine. From this community, we must suppose, came the Suebe of Lanchester, the *equus singularis* and the lady who was buried in Gaul.³ It may be worth adding that the presence of our Suebe is in accordance with a definite rule. As Prof. Domaszewski has pointed out, the German and British armies of the second and third centuries exchanged auxiliaries. As we find Sunici, Suebi, Tuihanti and others in Britain, so we find various Britons in *numeri* of the German armies. Britons also appear to have served in at least one of the German legions, the Thirtieth *Ulpia*.

Lon, as has been already indicated, gives us the first syllable of the Roman name for Lanchester. What that was in full, we cannot definitely say, but it perhaps was Longovicium, a fort mentioned in the *Notitia* (*l*cc. xl. 30). We must, however, admit that Lancaster has still a claim. The first syllable of this name appears quite as ancient as that of Lanchester, and it may or may not have been *Longovicium*, while Lanchester may or may not have been

¹ Eph. iv. 935, Mommsen *Hermes*, xvi. 459 *n.* ascribes him to the Mattiaci.

² Ihm Nos. 273, 2 9 : *Westdeutsches*

Correspondenzblatt, ix. (1890), 147.

³ Zangemeister. *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, iii. pp. 1-16.

some other *Lon*.¹ One is, therefore compelled to remain in the unsatisfactory attitude of Buridan' ass.²

It remains only to point out that this inscription gives us one more proof of the importance, at the time it was erected, of various northern forts which were not on the Wall. That the Wall was still defended is certain, but in the first half of the third century and especially between the years A.D. 220-250, we meet many inscriptions belonging to forts in the east and west which were not *per lineam valli*. Some of these were connected with roads. The Lanchester inscription can be combined with other inscriptions from Binchester, Ebchester, Risingham, High Rochester, all certainly, or nearly certainly, of this date and all on the line of Watling Street. It is obvious that this state of things fits in well with the arrangements described in the *Notitia*, the British military sections of which represent the condition of the garrisons before Diocletian's or at least before Constantine's reforms. It also corresponds curiously with some details in the Itinerary of Antonine.

¹ If these Suebes were only a detachment from a regiment stationed elsewhere, the place-name might belong to the station of the regiment, not of the detachment. But in that case the coincidence between *Lon*. and Lanchester is miraculous.

Dr. Hübner in the *Corpus* (vii. p. 70),

made Lancaster to be *Longovicium*. I cannot help thinking that in this, as in some other case, he has identified his British place names a little too confidently, at least in his Indices and references.

