

ART. IX.—*Note on a Roman Milestone found near Appleby in 1694 and lately refound.* By PROFESSOR HAVERFIELD, LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A.

*Read at Carlisle, April 23rd, 1915.*

AMONG the papers of the antiquary Richard Gough which are preserved in the Bodleian Library—in his copy of Horsley's "*Britannia*," gen. top. 128, fo. 44v.—is recorded the text of a milestone of the Emperor Philip and his son, "dug out of the military way 1694, now at Hangingshaw." The entry is written in Gough's hand on the last page of a list (also in Gough's writing) of inscriptions belonging to Reginald Bainbridge who was schoolmaster at Appleby in Elizabeth's time and died there in 1606.\* This list had been drawn up by one Hayton of Appleby in 1722 and copied by Gough. But there is nothing to show whether the text of this milestone, found 88 years after Bainbridge's death and plainly none of his collection, was added by Hayton or obtained by Gough otherwise and inserted on a blank page which offered itself; nor is there anything to show where this Hangingshaw was. The notice lay neglected till Hübner undertook the edition of the Romano-British inscriptions, which he issued in 1873 as the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. He included the text of the milestone, under No. 1179. But with his usual carelessness—a carelessness which makes the British volume of the *Corpus* far less trustworthy than the rest of the series—he christened it No. 17 of Bainbridge's collection; he also added the statement that Hangingshaw was near Old Carlisle. However, in the autumn of 1914 the Yorkshire archæologist, Mr. Percival Ross, sent me a photograph of a stone which he had come upon,

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\* See these *Transactions*, N.S., xi., Art. XX.

built into the wall of a farmhouse called Hangingshaw, about 200 yards from the Roman road which runs a little east of Appleby. It then became plain that this stone was that recorded in Gough's papers, although between 1694 and to-day some letters have been broken off. I now give the text of the inscription, as it can be made out from Gough's copy, Mr. Ross's photograph and a rubbing sent me by the Rev. A. Warren, of Old Appleby. The letters RCO in line 2, LIPPO in 3, PHILIPPO in 8, IMO in 9, and I in 10 are not visible on the photograph or rubbing and seem no longer to survive on the stone.

IMPCAE  
 SARIMARCO  
 IVLIO PHILIPPO  
 PIO FELICI  
 INVICTO  
 AVGVSTO  
 pERP  
 ET MIVLPFILIPPO  
 NOBILISSIMO  
 CAESARI

That is: "to the Emperor Marcus Iulius Philippus, Pious, Fortunate, Unconquerable, Perpetual Augustus, and to [his son] Marcus Iulius Philippus, most noble Caesar."

The chief difference in the reading as now known is in line 6 which Gough's copy omitted. This misled Hübner into thinking ERP to be a misreading of AVGVSTO. Really, it appears that Philip here was styled *Augustus perpetuus*. To this there seems to be no precise parallel among Philip's inscriptions, nor does the exact phrase recur till half a century later in the imperial titles as given officially on stone. But it is quite intelligible. During the late first and the second centuries, and still more during the third century, there is visible a tendency to apply to the Roman Emperor, informally or indirectly, such epithets as *perpetuus* or *aeternus*. It starts from

phrases used under the earliest Emperors, which applied to the Roman state and people, *aeternitas imperii* or *aeternitas populi romani*. Presently the notion of the stability of the state is transferred to its rulers. Coins of Vespasian bear the legend *aeternitas Augusti* and in the first years of the second century Pliny speaks of the *aeternitas* of the Emperor Trajan, though he does not go so far as to address him as "Your Eternity." At the end of the second century this sort of phraseology becomes commoner. In the first quarter of the third century coins of the Emperor Severus Alexander mention the *Perpetuitas Augusti*. With the reign of Philip (A.D. 244-9), as this milestone teaches, these indirect epithets begin to figure as adjectives in the actual titulature of the Emperor. Towards the end of the same century Aurelian adds a new variety; he is *semper Augustus*. From the reign of Diocletian throughout the fourth century the adjectives and the adverb are common. Constantine I. is formally described on one stone as *invictus et perpetuus . . . semper Augustus*, on another as *perpetuus imperator, semper Augustus*, and these uses last right into the sixth century.

A mixture of ideas lies behind these phrases. The permanence of the Roman Empire, the long life of the individual ruler, the stability of his house, the immortality conferred by formal vote on dead Emperors, all play their part. It is likely that here, as throughout all ceremonial religion in all ages, words meant different things to every different user of them. But we can hardly doubt that a political sense of the growing autocracy of the Roman Emperors had much to do with the adoption of such language. *Perpetuus Augustus, semper Augustus* stood to plain *Augustus* as "Most August" stands to the mere epithet; the exaggeration of the title marked how the Emperors had become everything and Senate and People nothing.