

ART I.—*A Roman Altar from Bankshead: C.I.L. VII 802.\** By ERIC BIRLEY, M.A., F.S.A.

THIS inscription, found in the Bankshead milecastle† in 1808, presents a problem of dating that has not yet been solved satisfactorily. The reading is certain: *Deo Cocidio milites leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito), Apr. et Ruf. co(n)s(ulibus)*—"to the god Cocidius, soldiers of the twentieth legion Valeria Victrix gladly and deservedly paid their vow, in the consulship of Apr. and Ruf." But among the *consules ordinarii* of the Fasti no such pair of names, however they are to be expanded, appears.

Huebner, indeed, referred to the suffect consulship recorded on an inscription from Nescania in Baetica,‡ of P. Septimius *Aper* and M. Sedatius Severianus; the latter included *Rufinus* among his other names, and from the known details of his career Borghesi argued that his consulship must have fallen in or shortly after A.D. 153:§ thus an approximate date was secured for the Bankshead dedication. But there are two real drawbacks to Huebner's view. In the first place, if the second consul's names were to be reduced to one, and that one abbreviated, it would be reasonable to expect another name rather than *Rufinus*. His full style is recorded on a Dacian inscription:|| *Marcus Sedatius Severianus Iulius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Tiberius Rutilianus Censor*—the long string of names is typical of the second-century senator; but he was normally known as M. Sedatius

\* Abbreviations employed: CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*; EE = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*; ILS = Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.

† Cf. I. A. Richmond in *Transactions*, N.S., xxxiii, 238-240; ILS 4722.

‡ CIL II 2008 = ILS 5423.

§ Cf. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* III, S231.

|| ILS 9487.

Severianus (he is so described, for example, on the Spanish inscription which records his consulship), and the proper *cognomen* to select would therefore have been Severianus, and not the third of his other five *cognomina*. Then, as Dessau pointed out in his paper on the consulship under the Gallic emperors,\* dating by suffect consulships became extremely rare in the provinces after the middle of the first century; while in Rome and in the official transactions of the central government the names of the suffect consuls in office for the time being were regularly employed for purposes of dating, in the provinces only the *consules ordinarii*, after whom the whole year was named, were recognized.† It is difficult to suppose that a detachment of the twentieth legion, engaged in work of some kind at one of the milecastles on Hadrian's Wall, would have been aware which pair of senators were then in office as suffect consuls, let alone knowing and selecting the fourth in place of the first and customary *cognomen* of one of them for employment and abbreviation on their altar. It seems, therefore, that Huebner's attribution must be rejected, and we must look for another solution to the problem.

In the paper to which we have referred, Dessau drew attention to the fact that the separatist *imperium Galliarum* of Postumus and his successors (A.D. 259-273)‡ had consuls of its own, since it could not be expected to recognize the consuls nominated by the central government, in opposition to which it had come into being;

\* In *Mélanges Boissier* (Paris, 1903), 165-8.

† At first sight the Spanish record of the suffect consulship of Septimius Aper and Sedatius Severianus might seem to constitute an exception strong enough to invalidate Dessau's reasoning; but it really proves the rule, for by giving the *tria nomina* of the suffect consuls it emphasizes its own exceptional character. It may be conjectured that either Septimius Aper or Sedatius Severianus had a connection with Nescania; this would explain the local knowledge of and interest in the consulship.

‡ For the chronology of this period, cf. the useful paper by S. Bolin, *Die Chronologie der gallischen Kaiser*, in *Årsberättelse* 1931-1932 (Lund, 1932), 93-154.

and many of these Gallic consulships are recorded on coins and inscriptions. Postumus is known to have held the office as many as five times, the last four occasions certainly falling within the period of his rule as Emperor in Gaul; the second and third consulships of Victorinus are recorded on his coins, and three consulships of Tetricus on his; and there are other consuls who can be shown with certainty or probability to have held office under the same regime. Dessau instanced an inscription from the north of Spain,\* set up in the consulship of Postumus (for the fourth time) and Vict(orinus)—the latter presumably the same as the later emperor, whose coins as we have seen record his subsequent tenures of the office; another, from Gallia Lugdunensis,† giving a pair of consuls, Dialis and Bassus, who are unknown to the regular Fasti; and two inscriptions on which the consulship of Censor and Lepidus, each for the second time, is recorded. Of these one comes from Mainz in Germania Superior,‡ and the other from Lancaster;§ we may now add a third example, found a few years ago at Bonn in Germania Inferior.|| The distribution of these inscriptions confirms the evidence of milestones and other epigraphic texts, that Postumus and his successors were in control not only of Gaul and the Germanies, but also of Spain and Britain—in this case, as in so many more, the Diocletianic creation of the praetorian prefecture of the Gauls involved the formal adoption by the central government of one of the irregularities of the third century; and it seems reasonable to assign pairs of consuls, otherwise unknown, that come to light in that area, to the same period. Such an attribution of the Bankshead inscription would remove the difficulty

\* CIL II 5736.

† CIL XIII 3163.

‡ CIL XIII 6779.

§ CIL VII 287 = ILS 2548.

|| *Année Épigraphique* 1930, No. 35.

referred to above; for the names of the Gallic *consules ordinarii* would naturally indicate the date in Britain, where those of *suffecti* would not. And, we may add, the lettering of the Bankshead altar certainly seems more suitable for a date soon after the middle of the third century than for the time of Antoninus Pius.

If this attribution is accepted, it must be noted that there is room for doubt as to the correct expansion of each of the consular names (Aper or Apronianus, Rufus or Rufinus, are possible), and if we are to add another pair of names to the Fasti of the Gallic Empire, we must for the present content ourselves with following the example set by the soldiers of the twentieth legion, and add them in their abbreviated form.

An examination of the evidence for the Gallic Fasti enables us to narrow the period within which the Lancaster inscription and—if our attribution is correct, that from Bankshead also—was set up. The principal evidence comes from the coins, for a note on which I am indebted to Mr. Percy Hedley, F.S.A.; I adopt Bolin's dating of the reigns.\* In the following table, the references in brackets are to coins; references to inscriptions, where they occur, are added after the consuls' names.

#### THE CONSULSHIPS OF THE IMPERIUM GALLIARUM.

A.D. 259.	Postumus (TR.P. COS.) and . . . .
260.	Postumus (TR.P. II COS. II) and . . . .
261.	Postumus (TR.P. III COS. III) and . . . .
262.	} No names recorded.
263.	
264.	
265.	
266.	

\* *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

267. Postumus (TR.P. VIII COS. IIII) and Vict(orus): CIL II 5736.  
 268. Postumus (TR.P. X COS. V) and . . . .  
 269. Victorinus (TR.P. II COS. II) and Sa(n)c-tus: Riese, *Das Rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften* No. 286, and Dessau, *Die Consulate des Kaisers Victorinus in Germania* I (1917), pp. 173-4.  
 270. Victorinus (TR.P. III COS. III) and . . . .  
 271. Tetricus (TR.P. II COS.) and . . . .  
 272. Tetricus (TR.P. III COS. II) and . . . .  
 273. Tetricus (TR.P. COS. III) and . . . .

It will be seen that the five years, A.D. 262-6, remain to be accounted for, and it is therefore within that period that the remaining consulships assigned to the Gallic empire will have fallen. As yet there is nothing to indicate the order in which they occurred, so that the list will have to be completed as follows:—

- 262-6. Censor and Lepidus, each for the second time:\* CIL VII 287, XIII 6779;  
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 Dialis and Bassus: CIL XIII 3163.  
 Apr. and Ruf.: CIL VII 802.

To complete the collection of sources, it may not be out of place to add a list of the inscriptions found in Britain that attest its adherence to the Gallic emperors:—

#### POSTUMUS, A.D. 259-268.

I. *Journal of Roman Studies* XII, p. 281, no. 9; milestone from Breage, near Helston in Cornwall: *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) do(mino) no(stro) Marc(o) Cassiano [Latinio Postumo P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto)]*.

\* Presumably the first consulship of each of these must be assigned to the time of Postumus; it might be conjectured that they had each served a year as colleague of the emperor. It seems likely that Censor at least, like Sanctus, was a Gaul; cf. Dessau, *Mélanges Boissier*, p. 168 and *Germania* I, p. 173.

2. CIL VII 1161 with EE IX, p. 635; milestone from the road between Brecon Gaer and Llandovery: *Imp(eratori) do(mino) n(ostro) Mar(co) Cassiano Latinio Postumo Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto)*.

3. CIL VII 820; altar from Birdoswald: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Dac(orum) Postumi[ana] c(ui) p(raest) Marc(ius) Gallicus trib(unus)\**.

4. CIL VII 822; altar from Birdoswald: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Dacoru[m] Postum[i]ana c(ui) p(raest) Prob(ius)† Augendus trib(unus)*.

#### VICTORINUS, A.D. 268-270.

5. CIL VII 1160; milestone from Pyle near Neath in South Wales: *Imp(eratori) M(arco) C(aesari)‡ Piafonio Victorino Aug(usto)*.

6. Haverfield, *Roman Britain in 1913*, p. 32; milestone from The Castles, near Chesterton in Huntingdonshire: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Marco Piafonio Victorino P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) [ . . . ]*.

7. EE VII 1097; milestone from Lincoln: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Marco Piafonio Victorino P(io) F(elici) Inv(icto) Aug(usto) pon[t(ifici)] max(imo) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) p(atri) p(atriae). A L(indo) S(egelocum) m(ilia) p(assuum) XIII. Probably A.D. 268.*

8. EE IX 1254; milestone (?) from Old Penrith: *Imp(erator) Ca[e]s(ar) M(arcus) [P]ia[v]onius Victorinus Pius Fe(lix) [Aug(ustus)]*.

9. *North Country Diaries, second series* (Surtees Society, vol. 124, 1915): *Northern Journeys of Bishop Richard Pococke* (in A.D. 1760), p. 236; (milestone) from

\* CIL VII 821, from Birdoswald, gives the same tribune, though the cohort lacks the title *Postumiana*; perhaps it was set up before Postumus was recognized in Britain—if so, CIL VII 820 will belong to the early years of that emperor, since commanders of regiments seem normally to have retained their posts for about three years, and seldom more.

† The expansion suggested by Huebner is less probable.

‡ As Henzen observed, M and C are interchanged by the mason's error.

Corstopitum: *Imp(eratori) [C(aesari)] M(arco) Pi[a]vonio Victorino P(io) [F(elici)] Aug(usto).*\*

TETRICUS, A.D. 270-273.

10-11. CIL VII 1150-1, EE IX 1249-50; two mile-stones from Bitterne, near Southampton: (a) *Ipm(eratori) (sic) C(aesari) Exsuvio (sic) Tetricus (sic) P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus).*

(b) *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) C(aio) Pio Esu(v)io Tetrico P(io) F(elici) A(u)g(usto).*†

12. CIL VII 823; altar from Birdoswald: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Dac(orum) Tetricianorom (sic) c(ui) p(raest) Pom[p]o[ni]us Designatus [ . . . ] trib[unus].*

This is not the place to refer to the significance of the road-stones and their bearing on the history of the period in Britain; but for the study of the northern frontier it is useful to note that there is activity attested at Old Penrith and Corstopitum as well as at Birdoswald.

\* Pococke's reading is as follows:—IMPE-M | PIVONIO | VICTORI | NO PP | AVG; the stone is otherwise unrecorded.

† It is possible that Bitterne may have produced a third milestone of Tetricus; cf. Haverfield in EE IX, p. 633.